

# *Cyrrillomethodianum*

**XXI**

Thessaloniki

2016

# CYRILLOMETHODIANUM

STUDIES ON THE HISTORY OF GREEK-SLAVIC RELATIONS



VOL. XXI (2016)  
THESSALONIKI





ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΙΟΥ  
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF CYRIL AND METHODIUS  
ЦЕНТР ИЗУЧЕНИЯ КУЛЬТУРНОГО НАСЛЕДИЯ КИРИЛЛА И МЕФОДИЯ

## CYRILLOMETHODIANUM XXI

Editor

A.-E. N. TACHIAOS

*(Center for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Cyril and Methodius, Thessaloniki)*

Secretary

PANOS SOPHOULIS

Editorial Board

M. FLIER (*Harvard University*), G. LENHOFF (*Slavic Department, UCLA*), B. FONKICH (*Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow*), M. GARZANITI (*University of Florence*), P. GONNEAU (*University of Sorbonne, Paris*), H. GOLDBLATI (*Yale University*), Ch. HANNICK (*University of Würzburg*), T. JOVANOVIĆ (*University of Belgrade*), Ljubor MATEJKO (*University of Bratislava*), G. M. PROHOROV (*Institute of Old Russian Literature, Saint-Petersburg*), I. TARNANIDIS (*Greek Society of Slavists*), P. P. TOLOCHKO (*Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences, Kiev*)

GR-P.O.B. 50868, THESSALONIKI 540 14, GREECE, TEL. (+30) 2310 869 960, (+30) 2310 832767

E-MAIL: CYRMETH@GMAIL.COM

Cover Designer

K. ČIŽEK (+)

Technical editing

NIKOS KOUKOULIS

ISSN: 1010-2892

Copyright © Centre for the Study of the Cultural Heritage of Cyril and Methodius





ARTICLES

ELEONORA NAXIDOU, <i>The Archbishop of Ohrid Leo and the Ecclesiastical Dispute between Constantinople and Rome in the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century</i> .....	7
DIETER STERN, <i>Slavonic double Translations of Byzantine Hagiographic Texts: The Life of St Eupraxia</i> .....	21
CYRIL PAVLIKIANOV, <i>Authentic Medieval Slavic Documents kept in the Bulgarian Athonite Monastery of Zographou (1342-1572)</i> .....	53
Долгушина Л. В., <i>Осмысленные расхождения с текстом оригинала в славянском переводе "13СловГригорияБогослова"</i> .....	131
ANTONIOS-AIMILIOS N. TACHIAOS, <i>The presence of the Ladder by John the Sinaite in the Spiritual life of the Orthodox Slavs</i> .....	149
ВЕЉКО РАДУНОВИЋ, <i>Синфонија цркве и државe у доба Стефана Немање</i> .....	183
PANOS SOPHOULIS, <i>Byzantine Chronicles and their South Slavonic Translations in the 14th century</i> .....	199
PETER IVANIČ - MARTIN HETÉNYI, <i>Modern history of Nitra city (Slovakia) in the context of the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy</i> .....	215
BOOK REVIEWS .....	253



# THE ARCHBISHOP OF OHRID LEO AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL DISPUTE BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND ROME IN THE MID 11<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

*Eleonora Naxidou*

## *1. Introduction*

This paper is a contribution to the complex and multifaceted issue of the relationship between the Eastern and the Western Christian Churches in the course of the Middle Ages. Focusing on the role that the Archbishop of Ohrid Leo played in the dispute that led to the schism in 1054, it aims to shed light on how the Archbishopric of Ohrid became embroiled in the discord and antagonism between the two predominant ecclesiastical centers within the Church of Christ.

Since its emergence at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Archbishopric of Ohrid was under the influence of the political and ecclesiastical elite of Constantinople. It was recognized as the autocephalous Bulgarian Church by three imperial sigils which Emperor Basil II issued in 1018-1025 after he had conquered the Bulgarian state and restored Byzantine rule in the Balkan Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> In this way it was designed to serve as the ecclesiastical authority

1. The sigils confirmed that the Archbishopric was in fact the Bulgarian Church whose seat was transferred to Ohrid, the capital of the Bulgarian state that was re-established by Samuil, after having been temporarily conquered by Basil's predecessor, John Tsimiskis. See: H. Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrida. Geschichte und Urkunden*, Darmstadt 1980 (1st edition Leipzig 1902), pp. 3-4. The Archbishopric of Ohrid

of the Slavic populations under Byzantine administration with an Archbishop appointed by the Emperor as its head,<sup>2</sup> thus ensuring direct imperial control. Several Archbishops were chosen among well-educated clerics of high rank in the patriarchal hierarchy or members of the imperial family.<sup>3</sup> This was also the case with Leo.

exerted its ecclesiastical rule over the Bulgarians for about two centuries, until the formation of the second Bulgarian state at the end of the 12th century (1185) and the ensuing establishment of the Patriarchate of Tirnovo. Despite this political and ecclesiastical change, the Archbishopric of Ohrid remained autonomous. See: I. Snegarov, *Istoriia na Ohridskata Arhiepiskopiia. Tom I: Ot Osnovavaneto i do Zavliadivavneto na Balkanskiia Poluostrov ot Turcite (History of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Volume I: From its Foundation to the Conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Turks)*, Sofia 1995 (1st edition in 1924); A. Delikari, *Η Αρχιεπισκοπή Αχρίδων κατά τον Μεσαίωνα. Ο Ρόλος της ως Ενωτικού Παράγοντα στην Πολιτική και Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία των Σλάβων των Βαλκανίων και του Βυζαντίου*, Thessaloniki 2014. With Archbishops of Greek origin and culture at its see, and a mixed Greek and Slavic flock it expanded its jurisdiction over an area, which succumbed to the authority of different Greek and Slav rulers as Byzantine power gradually collapsed. See: E. Naxidou, *Εκκλησία και Εθνική Ιδεολογία: Από την Αρχιεπισκοπή της Αχρίδας μέχρι την Ίδρυση της Αυτοκέφαλης 'Μακεδονικής Εκκλησίας'*, Thessaloniki 1999 (doctoral dissertation), pp. 26-31. The Archbishopric of Ohrid even survived the Ottoman conquest of South-eastern Europe, up until 1767 when it was finally subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. See: I. Snegarov, *Istoriia na Ohridskata Arhiepiskopiia-Patriarshiia. Tom II: Od Padaneto i pod Turcite do nejinoto Unishtozhenie 1394-1767 (History of the Archbishopric-Patriarchate of Ohrid. Volume II: From its Fall to the Turks until its Abolition)*, Sofia 1995 (1st edition in 1932).

2. According to the archimandrite Neilos Doksapatris (mid 12th century): «Διὸ καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἡ Κύπρος καὶ ἡ Βουλγαρία ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως λαμβάνουσιν ἐπισκόπους. Χειροτονοῦνται δὲ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκόπων, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ καλοῦνται ἀρχιεπισκοπαὶ ὡς αὐτοκέφαλοι.»: Νείλου Δοξαπατρίου, *Τάξις τῶν Πατριαρχικῶν Θρόνων*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (P.G.), vol. 132 col. 1097; For the autocephalous status of the Church of Ohrid see: G. Prinzing, *The Autocephalous Byzantine Ecclesiastical Province of Bulgaria/Ohrid*, *Bulgaria Mediaevalis*, 3(2012), pp. 371-373; E. Naxidou, *Μεταξύ τοπικής και κρατικής εκκλησιαστικής οργάνωσης: Η ιδιότυπη διαδρομή της αυτοκέφαλης αρχιεπισκοπής της Αχρίδας*, *Αναμνηστικός Τόμος καθηγητῆ Κωνσταντίνου Πιτσάκη* (in print).

3. List of Du Cange which was also published by Gelzer, *Der Patriarchat von Achrida*, op. cit., pp. 6-7. According to the list which enumerates the Archbishops of Ohrid until the middle of the 12th century, the most prominent ones were Theophylact (end of the 11th - beginning of the 12th century), deacon of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and John Comnenus, brother of Emperor Alexius Comnenus (mid. 12th century).

## 2. Archbishop Leo and his Letters against the Latins

Leo<sup>4</sup> was a prominent clergyman, and former chartophylax of the Patriarchate of Constantinople who became second Archbishop of Ohrid after John, who was of Slavic origin: «Λέων πρῶτος ἐκ Ῥωμαίων, χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ὁ κτίσας τὴν κάτω ἐκκλησίαν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ Σοφίας».<sup>5</sup> In order to provide a better understanding of his stance in the developments that culminated in the schism of 1054, his background and previous activities will be examined. The unique source at our disposal is the following note that Michael bishop of Deavolis (Devol)<sup>6</sup> inserted in the narration of the events of the year 1037 in the text of the 'Synopsis Historiarum' by John Skylitzes:

«καὶ Ἰωάννου δὲ τοῦ Βουλγαρίας ἀρχιεπισκόπου κοιμηθέντος, ἕτερον ὁ βασιλεὺς προχειρίζεται, Παφλαγονίας μὲν ὀρμώμενον, κἄν τῇ μεγάλῃ δὲ ἐκκλησίᾳ διαπρέψαντα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ χαρτοφυλάκου διακόνημα ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν διανύσαντα, ἔρωτι δὲ ἡσυχίας καὶ τῷ μὴ καλῶς τὰ θεῖα οἰκονομεῖσθαι παραιτησάμενον τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ θορύβους, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ θέλιν τῷ πατριάρχῃ προσκρούειν ἡσυχάζοντα καὶ ἰδιοπραγοῦντα. οὗτος Λέων μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο, πᾶσαν δὲ παιδείαν ἐξήσκητο τὴν τε θύραθεν καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῇ Βουλγαρίᾳ πολλὰ μνημεῖα τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς καταλέλοιπεν».<sup>7</sup>

Relating the note to the narration, it is assumed that Leo was appointed Archbishop of Ohrid in 1037 by the then Emperor Michael IV.<sup>8</sup> Michael's decision

4. The most recent biography of Leo of Ohrid together with an edition of Leo's letters and treatise on asceticism is: E. Büttner, *Erzbischof von Ohrid (1037-1056). Leben und Werk (mit Texten seiner bisher unedierten asketischen Schrift und seiner drei Briefe an den Papst)*, Bamberg 2007. As Prinzing notes: Büttner offers preliminary works for a critical edition of Leo's three letters in the form of an improved, commented new edition with German translation. Prinzing, *The Autocephalous Byzantine Ecclesiastical Province*, op. cit., p. 370.

5. List of Du Cange, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

6. The bishopric of Deavolis was under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ohrid. See: E. Naxidou, *Εκκλησία και εθνική ιδεολογία*, op. cit., p. 48 ff.

7. Ioannis Scylitzae *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berlin 1973 p. 400.

8. For the issue see Gelzer, op. cit., p. 8; P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achrida discours, traités, poésies*, Thessalonique 1980, pp. 30-31; Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon* op.

was not due to Leo's high education and qualities but mostly to the fact that both men were from Paphlagonia.<sup>9</sup> Even if they were not personally acquainted, Leo would have certainly been in contact with his influential compatriots in the palace among whom Michael's brother, the monk and eunuch John Orphanotrophos stood out. Being a power behind the throne John brought his family to court and promoted his relatives to high official posts.<sup>10</sup> This is how the Emperor's preference for a cleric who was not actively involved in church matters can be explained.

Michael of Deavolis also informs us about Leo's high secular and ecclesiastical education, as well as his long and distinguished service in the Patriarchate of Constantinople. It can, therefore, be assumed that Leo was relatively old when he became Archbishop. A significant comment in Michael's note is Leo's conviction that ecclesiastical affairs were not being managed properly. Unwilling to oppose the Patriarch he thus, resigned from office choosing his peace of mind over all else. Besides his inclination for the monastic life, which is also evident by the fact that he wrote a treatise on ascetism (Ασκητική Πραγματεία),<sup>11</sup> the main reason for his retirement will be examined later. The above description indicates that Leo was a well-educated cleric with a strong personality. He would rather abandon his post than his beliefs.

As regards Leo's activity as Archbishop of Ohrid, Michael of Deavolis is more laconic. All that he notes is that Leo built the church of Saint Sophia (Holy Wisdom) and left many signs of his virtue which, however, are not specified.

Leo's name came to the fore in the 1050's, quite likely in 1053, when he wrote a letter «περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων καὶ τῶν σαββάτων»<sup>12</sup> to a bishop in Italy,<sup>13</sup>

cit. pp., 26-28.

9. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon* op. cit. p. 23 ff.

10. R. Janin, Un ministre byzantine: Jean l' Orphanotrophe (XIe siècle), *Échos d' Orient* 30(1931) No 164, pp. 431-443; K. M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant. Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*, Chicago and London 2003, pp. 190-193.

11. Edited by Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon* op. cit., p. 78 ff. and

12. Edit. by Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon* op. cit., pp. 180-193.

13. The name of the addressee is mentioned only in two early manuscripts of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. According to them the letter was sent to the bishop of Venice Domenico

in which he addressed all the Frankish priests, as well as the Pope himself. He aimed to show that certain worship practices of the Western Church, such as the Azymes (unleavened bread in the Holy Eucharist) and fasting on the Saturday of Lent were not Christian customs and should therefore be rectified. Moreover, according to the Latin translation<sup>14</sup> the letter had been sent on behalf of both the Archbishop of Ohrid, and the then Patriarch of Constantinople Michael Cerularius. This means that Leo took this initiative in accordance with the patriarchal will and probably under patriarchal instructions. The question then arises why Cerularius did not write directly to the Pope himself. Most likely, this was due to his lack of ecclesiastical education. He was a public official who had been exiled for having instigated a conspiracy against the Emperor Michael IV, during which time he became a monk. When he eventually returned to Constantinople, he ascended to the patriarchal throne in 1043.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, it was not the first time that he expressed his views through a third person; we know that he also commissioned the Nestorian Ibn Butlan to write a treatise against those who used unleavened bread.<sup>16</sup> In the case with Leo it was also possible that the Patriarch did not want to be held responsible for undermining the attempt at convergence between the Emperor and the Pope which was in progress at the time, as will be discussed below.

Regarding the reasons as to why Cerularius chose Leo of Ohrid for this mission, these may be related to both their similar characters and views. Cerularius has been described as arrogant, lacking diplomatic skills and inflexible-

Marango. See: Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon* op. cit., pp. 42-43. This contradicts the Latin translation of the letter which names bishop John of Trani in Apulia as the initial recipient. The Latin translation is published by C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae seculo undecimo compositae extant*, Frankfurt 1963, pp. 61-64. John of Trani was a Latin prelate who also held the office of patriarchal syncellus, in other words the representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople in Southern Italy, as the region was still under Byzantine rule. See: M. Jugie, *Le schisme byzantin. Aperçu historique et doctrinal*, Paris 1941, p. 190.

14. C. Will, *Acta et scripta*, op. cit., pp. 61.

15. S. Runciman, *The eastern schism. A study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the XIth and the XIIth centuries*, Oxford 1955 (in Greek: S. Runciman, *Δύση και Ανατολή σε Σχίσμα*, transl. Ch. Makropoulou, Athens 2008) p. 39 ff.

16. Runciman, *The eastern schism*, op. cit., p. 40.



characteristic of a bureaucrat.<sup>17</sup> In addition, both belonged to the immoderate faction of the Eastern clergy, which was uncompromising in meeting certain terms in order to reach an agreement with the Pope.

Leo sent his letter to the Latins at a time when his namesake Pope Leo IX and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IX were willing to cooperate in order to confront the threat of the Normans, who had begun to conquer Byzantine territories in South Italy and were menacingly advancing towards Rome. Thus, each side felt that an alliance would be in their common interest.<sup>18</sup> This venture, however, could only be successful if ecclesiastical unity was restored. The problem was that relations between the Byzantine Patriarchates and the Papal Church had been seriously injured especially since the Photian schism so that it was difficult for them to be healed. The addition of the filioque in the Creed, as well as several worship practices of the West, such as the use of the Azymes in the Holy Eucharist, were considered erroneous by the East while the recognition of the primacy of the Pope was also unacceptable.<sup>19</sup>

Some of these diversities came to the fore initially through Leo's letter in the process of the negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope, which was certainly more than a coincidence. Obviously the issue was raised by the hard-liners among the Byzantine clergy, if not by the Patriarch himself, who saw their position weakened by the conciliatory policy of the Emperor. In this setting, Leo's initiative triggered a serious conflict with unpredictable consequences. Curiously enough, Leo focused on the ritual differences thus, silencing the doctrinal dispute about the procession of the Holy Spirit. On the whole, it seems that customs of worship were of special significance to Constantinople at that time. The Patriarch appeared to be very sensitive to

17. M. Jugie, *Le schisme* op. cit., p.187 ff.

18. J. C. Cheynet, *Ο Βυζαντινός Κόσμος. Τόμος Β΄ Η Βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία (641-1204)* transl. A. Karastathi, Athens 2011, pp. 128-129; D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century, Byzantium: its Ecclesiastical History and Relations with the Western World, Collected Studies*, London 1972, pp. 7-8.

19. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge 1970; Runciman, *The eastern schism*, op. cit., p. 1 ff.; Jugie, *Le schisme byzantine*, op. cit., p. 3 ff.; H. G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας στη Βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία*, vol. 1, transl. L. Anagnostou, Athens 2004, p. 271 ff.

such matters. He had on many occasions forbidden Argyros, the governor of Byzantine southern Italy, to partake of communion because he followed the western ritual.<sup>20</sup> For the same reason, in 1052 he ordered that all Latin churches in Constantinople be closed.<sup>21</sup> This was probably due to his lack of knowledge and deep understanding on dogmatic issues, as well as his attempt to control the Armenian Church after the conquest of the kingdom of Armenia by Emperor Basil II. The Armenians, besides doctrinal deviations shared worship practices with the Western Church, such as fasting on Saturdays and the use of unleavened bread.<sup>22</sup> Had the Latins consented to the Eastern rite, the Armenians would also have conformed. A final reason might be that ritual differences were naturally more easily understood by the common people.<sup>23</sup>

In this way, in his letter Leo ignored completely the dogmatic dispute probably adhering to patriarchal will. Instead, he tried to demonstrate that the Latins were committing four grave errors: a) the use of unleavened bread, b) fasting on Saturday during Lent, c) not chanting Alleluia during Lent, and d) eating meat with blood. He stressed the fact that the first two practices were actually Jewish customs, while the last one was outright pagan. Leo was categorical in his views, his tone being harsh and intense. He expressed indignation and sheer frustration because the Latins misinterpreted and distorted God's word. The following excerpts are indicative of his frame of mind:

«Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ τὰ σάββατα μετὰ τῶν ἀζύμων φυλάττοντες καὶ λέγοντες Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι οὔτε Ἰουδαῖοι οὔτε Χριστιανοὶ εἰσιν καθαροί, ὅμοιοι ὄντες δορᾷ παρδάλεως, ὡς ὁ Μέγας λέγει Βασιλεῖος, ἥς ἡ θρίξ οὔτε μέλαινα ἐστὶν οὔτε δι' ὅλου λευκή... τίς ἡ τοσαύτη ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων πλάνη; οὐκ ἀναβλέπετε, οὐ νοήσετε, οὐ διορθώσεσθε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν λαὸν, ὡς μέλλοντες κριθῆναι περὶ τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ;...<sup>24</sup> Ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ

20. Letter from Cerularius to the Patriarch of Antioch Peter, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* (P.G.), vol. 120 col. 788.

21. G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας*, op. cit., p. 399.

22. Runciman, *The eastern schism*, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

23. G. Ostrogorski, *Ιστορία του Βυζαντινού Κράτους*, τόμος Β', transl. J. Panagopoulos, Athens 1979, p. 224. This is reasonable if we take into account that Cerularius was very popular in Constantinople. See: Runciman, *The eastern schism*, op. cit., p. 40.

24. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., pp. 188-190.

Θεοῦ, πολλάκις ἀναγνοὺς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ καὶ διδάξας οὕτως αὐτοὺς καὶ διορθωσάμενος μεταγραφῆναι πρόσταξον ἐν πολλοῖς ἰσοτύποις· οὕτως ἔχεις τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς σεαυτοῦ ψυχῆς. καὶ ἀπόστελλε τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι τῶν ἐπισκοπικῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν θρόνων καὶ ὀρκίζε αὐτοὺς διορθοῦσθαι ἅπαντα, ἵνα μέγιστον τὸν μισθὸν καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς σου καλοῖς ἔχῃς.»<sup>25</sup>

Leo left no room for tolerance claiming that the errors of the Latins were so terrible and unforgivable that they would be held accountable before God, if they did not renounce them. It is only to be expected that such a hostile stance would have been considered not only unacceptable but outright offensive by the opposite side.

The Archbishop of Ohrid wrote another two letters «Περὶ τῶν ἀζύμων» referring to the issue of the unleavened bread without any indication as to the recipients.<sup>26</sup> The first of the two is comparable in tone and frame of mind to the one which has already been presented. Leo unfolded his argumentation, posed questions which showed his strong disapproval of the Latin worshipping traditions and gave advice:

«Καὶ διὰ τί τοῦ νόμου ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παυθέντος ἐπιτελεῖτε ὑμεῖς τὰ ἄζυμα ὡς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πεπλανημένοι Ἀρμένιοι; ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετε τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ... ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μοι ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὸ ὕψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, φοβήθητε τὸν θεὸν καὶ νοήσατε...<sup>27</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ πλατύτερον εὐρήσετε ἀναγνόντες τὴν βίβλον τῶν πράξεων τῶν θείων ἀποστόλων καὶ γνώσεσθε ἀναγνόντες, οἷαν πλάνην πλανῶνται οἱ λέγοντες εἶναι χριστιανοὶ καὶ ἐσθίοντες μετὰ Ἰουδαίων κακοφρόνως τὰ ἄζυμα...<sup>28</sup> Ταῦτα, ὦ φίλοι καὶ δοῦλοι θεοῦ, μετὰ σπουδῆς καὶ πόνου ἀναγνόντες τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας διδάξατε καὶ διορθώσασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κἀκεῖνους υἱοὺς καὶ κληρονόμους ποιήσητε τῆς οὐρανίου βασιλείας.»<sup>29</sup>

In his third and lengthier letter, Leo developed his arguments without making

25. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., p. 192.

26. Edited by Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., pp. 206-260.

27. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., p. 210.

28. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., p. 216.

29. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., p. 218.

recommendations. But again there were those telltale expressions of adverse criticism towards those who did not follow the Eastern rite:

«οὕτως οὐδὲ ἀζύμων δεόμεθα ὡς νηπιώδεις καὶ ἔκφρονες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμφρονες τούτων Ἱταλοὶ τε καὶ Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὅτι πνεύματι φεύγομεν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ δυσῶδες ἅμα καὶ δυσειδὲς τῆς αἰγυπτιακῆς κακίας ἄθεον φύραμα, καὶ ζῶμεν κατὰ τὸν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ εὐαγγελίου νόμον...<sup>30</sup> Τίς οὖν ἀναγινώσκων ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγινώσκων ἃ ἀναγινώσκει ἀπαιτήσῃ τοὺς ἐξ ἐθνῶν βαπτιζομένους περιτομὴν ἢ ἄζυμα ἢ σάββατα ἢ νουμηνίας ἢ παρατηρήσεις νομικὰς φυλάττειν, οἷς οἱ ἐμμένοντες μεματαίωνται, νήπιοι ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀτελεῖς ὄντες ἀεὶ καὶ γινόμενοι;»<sup>31</sup>

Leo appears to be a cleric who paid particular attention to the proper and strict observance of the original Christian traditions in the way that the Eastern Church perceived them. At the same time, he was unwilling to tolerate or excuse any kind of deviation whatsoever. This lack of clemency, moderation or even diplomacy certainly did not facilitate convergence at a time that the unity of the Church of Christ was at stake. However, although Leo did contribute to the creation of an unfavorable climate, he cannot be held accountable for the schism which was another serious breach due to the long standing ecclesiastical antagonism between Rome and Constantinople. Moreover, Leo's initiative cannot be attributed to the excessive zeal of an elderly cleric or the tenacity of a Patriarch. Obviously both hierarchs represented the uncompromising faction of the Eastern clergy whose stance threatened not only Christian unity but also the ecumenicity of the Empire.<sup>32</sup>

Leo's first letter was translated into Latin<sup>33</sup> by Cardinal Humbert of Sil-

30. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., pp. 233-234

31. Büttner, *Erzbischof Leon*, op. cit., p. 256.

32. In the East, two factions were formed among the clergy: the moderate and the irreconcilable with the latter gradually prevailing. Ecclesiastical policy towards the West depended on which group controlled church issues in Constantinople. Many Eastern clerics were involved in the East-West dispute by writing treatises. See: A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ορθόδοξος Ελλάς ἡτοι περί των Ελλήνων των γραψάντων κατά Λατίνων και περί των συγγραμμάτων αυτών*, Leipzig 1872; Mettodus Phougias, *Archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain, Έλληνες και Λατίνοι*, Athens 1994.

33. ed. by C. Will, *Acta*, op. cit., pp. 61-64.

va Candida<sup>34</sup> (who was another protagonist in the events of 1054) and was brought to the attention of Pope Leo IX.<sup>35</sup> There is no reference to his other two letters in the written communications between the two sides.

The conflict culminated shortly afterwards. At the beginning of 1053, the Pope responded by preparing a long letter which he addressed both to Leo and Cerularius.<sup>36</sup> Based on the scriptures and traditions, the author, who was probably Humbert, attempted to prove the primacy and infallibility of the Church of Rome. Furthermore, again at the instigation of the Pope, Humbert wrote an treatise entitled «Adversus Graecorum calumnias» (Against the Slanders of the Greeks).<sup>37</sup> Being in the form of a dialogue between a Roman citizen and an inhabitant of Constantinople it aimed to refute Leo's arguments. With these two documents in his luggage, Humbert arrived in Constantinople as head of a papal delegation in 1054.<sup>38</sup> The dispute developed into a conflict which brought to the fore all the ritual and dogmatic differences between the two Churches. Most likely being in Ohrid, Leo was no longer involved in the unpleasant events that took place in Constantinople. However, he was among the recipients of the Anathema pronounced by Humbert in the name of the Pope; the other two being the Patriarch and his sakellarius.<sup>39</sup>

At this point it should be noted that in the meantime Cerularius had made a conciliatory move by sending his own letter to the Pope. Although the document did not survive, Cerularius refers to it in another letter to Peter, Patriarch of Antioch.<sup>40</sup> The former informed the latter that he addressed the Pope with humility in order to win his support against the Franks. At the same time

34. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. I and II, Paderborn 1924 and 1930.

35. For the Latin Church in the 11<sup>th</sup> century see indicatively: W. Ullmann, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, London and New York 1972; M. Stroll, *Popes and Antipopes. The Politics of Eleventh Century Church Reform*, Leiden-Boston 2012; C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy. The Western Church from 1050 to 1250*, Oxford 1989.

36. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (P.L.), vol. 143 col. 744-769.

37. Migne, P.L., vol. 143 col. 929-974.

38. Runciman, *The eastern schism*, op. cit., p. 42 ff.; Jugie, *Le schisme byzantine*, op. cit., p. 193 ff.; Stroll, *Popes and Antipopes*, op. cit., p. 40 ff.

39. Migne, P.L., vol. 143 col. 1001-1004.

40. Migne P.G., vol. 120 col. 781 ff.

he stated that he had never written to the Pope or any other Latin bishop about the issue of the unleavened bread thus, renouncing Leo and his initiative: «ἀλλ' οὐν περὶ οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐδήλωσέ ποτε ἢ αὐτῷ τῷ πάπᾳ, ἢ τινὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτοῦ· πλὴν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἧς νῦν πρὸς σὲ τὸ ἴσον ἐξαπεστείλαμεν».<sup>41</sup> In this way it may be assumed that although Cerularius used Leo, with whom he shared similar views of intolerance, to raise the issue, he denied any involvement when the situation got out of hand in order to rid himself of any responsibility.

### ***3. Leo as a Chartophylax and his Decision to Resign***

Having examined Archbishop Leo's role in the ecclesiastical controversy of the mid-11th century, it is time to discuss Michael of Deavolis' information that Leo had resigned from the post of chartophylax because of his disagreement with a Patriarch who is not named. Bearing in mind that this incident happened before Leo was appointed Archbishop of Ohrid, that is, prior to 1037 and looking back on the events of the previous years, a plausible hypothesis can be put forward. Leo possibly opposed the efforts made in 1024 by the Patriarch Eustathius to restore relations with Rome which had been disrupted since the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century for reasons that are difficult to determine.<sup>42</sup> This endeavor was encouraged by Emperor Basil II because it served his foreign policy well. Having conquered the Balkan Peninsula, and consolidated his power in the East, he was preparing a campaign against the

41. Migne P.G., vol. 120 col. 789.

42. According to Runciman the schism occurred in 1009 due to the fact that in that year Pope Sergius IV sent, as tradition called, the letter of his enthronement to Constantinople having added the filioque in the Creed. For this reason the Patriarch, also named Sergius stopped commemorating the Pope's name in the diptychs, a practice which at least typically ensured the unity of the two Churches. See: Runciman, *The eastern schism*, op. cit., pp. 32-33. Jugie and Beck relate the breach to the policy of Pope Benedict who crowned Henry II as Emperor in 1014 and assisted the Normans to advance against the Byzantine territories in Southern Italy. See: Jugie, , *Le schisme byzantine*, op. cit., pp. 166-167; Beck, *Ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας*, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

Arabs in Sicily before death put paid to his plans.<sup>43</sup> More specifically, Eustathius sent a letter to Rome, proposing that the Patriarchate of Constantinople be recognized as ecumenical within the area of its jurisdiction while the Pope would retain primacy. However, Pope John XIX was prevented from consenting by the Cluniacs who criticized him for his moderation, reminding him that the Christian church was a single and indivisible community.<sup>44</sup> Judging from his stance in the events of 1053-54, it is very likely that Leo of Ohrid opposed Patriarch Eustathius' initiative. This presumption would also explain why Cerularius assigned him to write the letter against the Latin customs of worship.

Leo of Ohrid died soon after the total failure of the debate for reconciliation in Constantinople and the ensuing breach in 1054. This happened during the reign of Empress Theodora in 1056 or 1057 as we are informed in another note by bishop Michael of Deavolis.<sup>45</sup>

#### ***4. Concluding Remarks***

The case of Leo of Ohrid is revealing as regards the types of relations that existed among the ecclesiastical elite of Constantinople, which can better be characterized in terms of an extended network. Built around the Patriarch who played the leading role, it was intertwined with the imperial network, since the Church's position in important state matters affected imperial policy and diplomacy, and vice versa. Although based in Constantinople, this dominant ecclesiastical network had members in the periphery, even among the high clergy of other autocephalous Churches as is the case with the Archbishopric of Ohrid. Its *modus operandi* within the context of the dispute between Constantinople and Rome is most indicative. At a time that the anti-Latin spirit prevailed, Patriarch Cerularius opposed the Emperor's initiative to reach an

43. Ostrogorski, *Ιστορία Β'*, op. cit., p. 197.

44. The unique source for this incident is the chronicle written by Rodulf Glaber who was a monk in the abbey of Cluny. See: Rodulf Glaber, *Historiarum Liber Quartus*, Migne P.L., vol. 142 col. 670-672. The abbey of Cluny was one of the centers for the reformation of the Latin Church in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. See: Morris, *The Papal Monarchy*, op. cit., pp. 64-68.

45. Ioannis Scylitzae, op. cit. p. 479.

agreement with the Pope for fear that he might be obliged to make concessions in doctrinal or ritual matters or even recognize papal primacy. At the same time, however, he did not want to disagree openly with the Emperor for fear of being replaced. For this reason he chose a less conspicuous way to impede the imperial efforts through an intermediate. Leo of Ohrid served his plans well due to his firm anti-Western attitudes and his significant position, which ensured that Rome would respond to his challenge. Neither did Cerularius want to cause an ecclesiastical schism. Alarmed at the rapid escalation of the controversy or under imperial pressure, he made a conciliatory move by writing a friendly letter to the Pope while disclaiming having any responsibility for Leo's involvement in the issue.

As regards Leo, even after he was appointed Archbishop to a remote autocephalous Church, he was associated with the patriarchal ecclesiastical network probably due to his previous personal connections with the high Constantinopolitan clergy and his sharing of their immoderate anti-Western views. This shows how the Archbishopric of Ohrid, far from being a distant and insignificant local Church, was closely related to the ecclesiastical center of the Empire being involved through its high priests in crucial religious and political developments since the very beginning of its emergence.







## SLAVONIC DOUBLE TRANSLATIONS OF BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHIC TEXTS: THE LIFE OF ST EUPRAXIA

*Dieter Stern (Ghent)*

*Setting the scene:  
double translations in Byzantine-Slavonic hagiography*

Having two or even more Slavonic translations of what would count as the same Byzantine base text is quite a common phenomenon, so much so that in recent years a special volume has been dedicated to this intriguing fact of Slavic cultural history (Taseva et al. 2006). Up to this point, however, most Paleoslavic research treated translations, among them double translations, primarily as a factor to be taken into account on coming to grips with the history and transmission of any particular text (Rosén 1998: 103). Double translations were hardly ever addressed as a phenomenon in its own right, despite their obvious value in shaping our view of Slavic cultural history, especially the ideological underpinnings of the cultural practice of translating. Double translations raise the principal question why they were done at all. This is basically a question about the evolution, standards and assumptions of a given literate culture.<sup>1</sup> But case studies on double translations would also lend themselves to pinpoint in a contrastive approach principal differences of divergent individual translation styles through providing

1. Roland Marti (2006) gives a short principled account of this overarching question.

us with a (more or less) invariant base for the comparison at hand, viz. a more or less uniform Greek source text.<sup>2</sup> Double translations are equally fit to test hypotheses about translation techniques, such as the application not only of syntagmatic, but also of paradigmatic strict interlinearity in medieval Slavic translations (Trost 1978; Stern 2001: 171; Christova-Šomova 2006, 242-3).

The term double translation, though appearing quite straightforward at first glance, may refer to quite divergent phenomena, which should accordingly be differentiated (Marti 2006). A text may have been translated for a second time, because its commonly known first translation was considered inappropriate. Inappropriateness may refer to a range of causes, as (1) the perceived low craftsmanship of the translation, (2) a principal approach to translation which was found objectionable at a later period, or (3) concerns about the quality of the version of the original which had been used for the first translation. For these cases we suggest the term retranslation, presupposing a conscious act of replacement of one text by another. In other cases a text may appear to have been translated a second time by accident, i.e. without knowledge of there being a translation of the text available, already. We suggest to reserve the term double translation to this particular case. The reasons for a double translation ought to be sought in the structural prerequisites of a given literacy, rather than in its ideological underpinnings, as in the case of retranslations. Double translations may be indicative of the way a text corpus, like hagiography, emerged and disseminated within Slavic literacy.

Great care should be taken to determine for any given text whether it presents a double or a retranslation. Some general observations may provide a useful guidance. For one, a retranslation as an act of conscious replacement should ideally be reflected in an altered tradition, with the first translation being primarily found in manuscripts up to a certain point in time, whereas the second translation ought to prevail from this point in time onwards. This cri-

2. Of course, one has to be aware that no two translations may be expected to be based on exactly the same version of the original. The problems arising from having to deal with divergent versions of the same abstract text unit may, however, conveniently be bypassed by exclusively focussing on text passages where there is little to no variation within the line of transmission.

terion may, however, prove deceptive, since it does not take into account the overall conditions of Slavic text transmission with its decentralizing effects. A more useful criterion to tell apart both types is that there should be a marked difference in either the craftsmanship, the technical approach or the choice of the original, if one of two translations is to be classified as a retranslation rather than a double translation. Where it can be shown that one of the translations is replete with mistakes while the other is not, or that one translation adheres to a principle of strictest literalism while the other does exactly the opposite, or that both translations are based on markedly divergent versions of the original, a good case can be made for a retranslation. In all other cases the default assumption should be that of a double translation, especially if the preconditions for double translations are particularly favorable, as we assume to be the case with hagiography. Finally, the case of retranslation presupposes that the first translation was known and available to the retranslator and was accordingly used by him in doing his retranslation, which means that at least a partial overlap of exactly matching passages for both translations should be expected (Marti 2006: 30-31).<sup>3</sup> Where this is not the case, the assumption of a double translation will be the most likely option.

We would like to conclude this list of diagnostic criteria by adding a hypothesis which future research may either confirm or falsify. The better known and the more firmly established a text tradition is, the less likely it appears that its constituent texts were translated a second time by accident. We therefore presume that accidental double translations of hagiographic texts occurred preferably within roughly the same period, when the first translation was not yet commonly known and firmly established. The Life of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste, both translations of which can be shown to date back to the beginnings of Slavic translations of Byzantine hagiography on the basis of a contamination of both translations having occurred at a very early stage (Keipert 1999; Marti 2006: 29), seems to point in this direction.

Though hagiography was most likely from the beginning of Slavonic literacy

3. As a matter of fact, retranslations could in principle be qualified as thorough and systematic redactions which make use of a Greek reference text, throughout.

treated as a complex set of related texts, which would ideally take the form of a fixed cycle of *menologia* with an almost standardized set of individual text entries, the reality of hagiographic text transmission displays an enormous variety with respect to the composition of hagiographic collections, so much so that individual hagiographic texts may be said to lead a life of their own. Even if a large-scale centralised project of having the whole cycle of *menologia* translated in one big effort would be assumed<sup>4</sup>, this could not effectively have safeguarded against the occurrence of accidental double translations, though it would certainly have helped reduce their total number by creating a standard reference for any later compiler or translator. We believe that the compilation of the *menologia* was a slow and gradual and accordingly a weakly coordinated process, which offered many opportunities for accidental double translations. Up to this time only few cases of double translations of hagiographic texts have been explicitly identified and established for sure<sup>5</sup>, but a perusal of the BHBS entries reveals variant texts for almost every single saint of the year, many of them displaying very marked differences which may possibly be taken as indicative of an independent translation of the same or a very similar base text.

Accidental double translations could thus be expected to be a major characteristic of the corpus of Slavic hagiographic translations, and the Life of Eupraxia, as we will demonstrate below, ranges as one among them. There is thus a certain likeliness that the Life of Eupraxia had been translated a second time by accident within the same overall framework of a large-scale uncoordinated hagiographic enterprise. But Petrova (2003: 153) offers an even more enticing motive for a double translation in the particular case of the Life of Eupraxia by suggesting that both extant Slavic versions were originally linked

4. IBSL 135 rests doubtful about this, pointing to the insufficient material evidence to assume an early coordinated hagiographic translation project. The premetaphrastic Slavic *menologia* can at least be shown to have been compiled on the basis of an archaic, pre-Studite type of Byzantine *menologia* dating back to the 8th century (Helland 2009: 64). This implies that the major bulk of Byzantine hagiography had probably already been translated at a fairly early period.

5. E.g. Martyres XL Sebasteni (Keipert 1999), St Menignus (Taseva 2014), St Eustachius Placidus (Gladkova 2015).

to different contexts, viz. the translation of the menologion in one case and the translation of the paterikon in the other case.

Retranslation may have played an additional role when the earliest hagiographic translations were transferred to Preslav in the times of Symeon, so that for the 10th century the possibility of either double or retranslation must be weighed, accordingly. The only other cultural event which has brought about a major revision of the extant hagiographic repertoire, was the introduction of the metaphrastic *vitae* into Slavic literacy, though it begs the question whether retranslation would be an appropriate term in this case given the tremendous dissimilarity between the metaphrastic texts and the original *vitae* they were meant to remodel. It may be safe to assume that metaphrastic and premetaphrastic texts were generally not considered as just two versions of the same base text, but rather as different texts which just happened to fill in the same functional slot within a literary-cultural subsystem, in this case the hagiographic cycle within the liturgical year. So, translation of metaphrastic texts should be judged as a case of cultural shift rather than a retranslation in its strict reconstitutive sense.

### *Introducing Eupraxia*

Though St Eupraxia does not count among the most popular and widely known women saints within the Byzantine world, as a regular ‘model nun’ (Petrova 1995: 198) she could not fail to attract the attention of nuns – and probably also monks – beyond the ritual celebration mandated by the church calendar. Accordingly, we find her Life, the 5th century Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς ἁγίας/ὁσίας Εὐπραξίας in both the Greek and the Slavic tradition not only in hagiographical collections, but also in a number of mixed-content miscellanies of a monastic-ascetic character. The wider resonance of this text can also be gleaned from its being quoted by John the Damascene in his *Third Homily against the Iconoclasts* (Capron 2013: 23; Petrova 2003: 144; PMV 2: 215). A Modern Greek translation of this Life, attested in three 17th century manuscripts from Iveron monastery testifies to its unbroken popularity through the ages (Lambros 1900: no. 4855, 5454, 5459). Apart from the Vita, for which

two redactions are identified in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*,<sup>6</sup> a variety of other texts have been dedicated to St Eupraxia, among them an encomion by John Zonaras (Halkin 1961; Odorico 1979: 60; Kaltsoyianni 2008: 639-656).<sup>7</sup>

### *Redactions or translations?*

The Life of Eupraxia (VE) attracted my particular attention because of the very pronounced difference between the version found in the Bdinski Sbornik, on which I have been working for five years now, on the one hand, and that found in most other Slavic testimonies, on the other hand. The present study sets out to explore the reasons for and patterns of this marked difference, which requires as a first step to settle the question whether the Greek Life of Eupraxia has been translated only once, or possibly twice into Slavic.

With Slavic literary culture being basically a monastic culture, Eupraxia's vita would certainly rank among the more likely texts to have been translated into Slavic at an early stage. According to Edmond Voordeckers (1973: 35) there existed three different Slavic versions, and Helmut Keipert (1975: 282) even speaks of several versions. According to a more recent investigation into the matter by Maya Petrova (2003) the total number of versions ought to be

6. BHG 631, consisting of Vat. gr. 866, Paris BnF gr. 1453, Paris BnF Coislin 282 and Moscow GIM Sin. gr. 162, and BHG 631b, consisting of Athos Vatopedi 84, El Escorial Q.IV.32, El Escorial Y.II.16, Halki mon. 96., Florence Bibl. Nazionale, Conventi B.1.1214 (for this grouping cf. Halkin 1961). According to Capron (2013: 24) some readjustments have to be applied to the BHG classification. Paris BnF gr. 1453 appears to be almost identical to Athos Vatopedi 84, so that one of the two manuscripts must be reclassified. Apart from that Vat. gr. 866 and El Escorial Q.IV.32 appear to be quite closely related, despite the marked variant reading right at the beginning of the text, which would situate the El Escorial text with a group of mss. otherwise quite different from both Vat. gr. 866 and El Escorial Q.IV.32.

7. According to Halkin's (1961: 160) assessment, who is still not sure about the identity of Zonaras' encomion with the text he found at ms. Athos, Philotheou 87, Zonaras' text would be basically a revision of the original Vita Eupraxiae, preserving the story-line and the succession of the chapters, but every so often amplifying phrases and dialogues ("amplifier volontiers les phrases et les discours"), thus almost transforming the Vita into some kind of stageable play.

reduced to just two, which Petrova provides with the labels “Russian” and “South Slavic”.<sup>8</sup> The first version is mainly attested within the Russian manuscript tradition, with the Bdinski Sbornik, a 14th century hagiographic collection, standing out for its uniquely gendered composition, apparently being the only extant South Slavic manuscript source containing this version. As Maya Petrova points out, the language of the Russian version exhibits some markedly archaic traits, so that it may be safe to conclude that this version may date to a very early period, indeed, and that it is not so much a Russian, but an archaic South Slavic version.<sup>9</sup> The second version, on the other hand, is found

8. For the time being, there is no exhaustive list of all Slavic copies of the Life of Eupraxia available. BHBS 559 sub June 25 and 590 sub July 25 lists the extant manuscripts of south Slavic origin. A somewhat more exhaustive list is given by Petrova (2003). Additional material may be gathered from Mircea (2005) and Helland (2009). A preliminary list compiled from the above sources yields for the “Russian” version: (1) University Library Ghent, cod. slav. 408 (Bdinski Sbornik) – (2) Moscow, RGB Troice-Sergieva Lavra, f. 304, no. 678 – (3) Moscow, RGB Čuvanov no. 1/14 – (4) RGB f. 173, no. 95 (Duchovnaja akademija) – (5) RGB Volokoamsk 598 – (6) Velikie Minei Čet’i Mitropolita Makarija, sub 25 Iulii (RNB Sof. 1323, GIM Sin. 996), and for the “South Slavic” version: (7) Moscow, GIM Chludov 237 – (8) Moscow, GIM Sin. 949 – (9) St Petersburg, BAN 12.3.9 – (10) St Petersburg, RNB Gil’ferding 49 – (11) St Petersburg, RNB Gil’ferding 57 – (12) St Petersburg, RNB Gil’ferding 58 – (13) Vienna, National Library, cod. slav. 42 – (14) Athos, Zographou 83 (164 / II B 5) – (15) Bucharest, Rumanian Academy of Sciences 164 – (16) Bucharest, Rumanian Academy of Sciences 154 – (17) Belgrade, National Library, Peč 93 – (18) Rila monastery Ms 4/8 (Panegyrikon of Vladislav the Grammarian) – (19) Hilandar monastery 446 (Panegyrikon of Averkios). To these the following mss., for which the affiliation has yet to be determined, can be added: (20) Rila monastery 2/22 (BHBS 590) – (21) Arad 2(2) (Mircea 2005: 192, no. 1062) – (22) Iași, Museum of Literature, House of Dositej, 1859 (Mircea 2005: 192, no. 1062) – (23) Sucevita 22(444) (Mircea 2005, 192: no. 1062).

9. This assessment would be confirmed by the peculiar history of the text in Russia, as it is outlined by Dybo & Kučkin (1966). The material text witness of the Life of Eupraxia, found in the 15th-16th century Russian compilation RGB f. 304. no. 678 on fol. 503r-534v appears to have been removed from a Bulgarian ms. dating from the end of the 14th century, to be then rebound within the Russian manuscript (Dybo & Kučkin 1996: 285-6). This would show this particular copy to be in fact another South Slavic testimony, thus making the “Russian” version more South Slavic than it may have appeared at first glance. It may be noted in passing that Dybo & Kučkin (1966: 285) identify the saint misleadingly as Eupraxia of Olympos, but a scrutiny of the word lists they reproduce from the ms. (especially the possessive adjective андигоновой on p. 294, which unmistakably refers to Antigonos, the father of Eupra-



exclusively in manuscripts of South Slavic origin. At first glance, the situation is reminiscent of many other texts, where an archaic South Slavic translation appears to survive mainly in Russian copies, whereas within the South Slavic area the archaic version has been replaced by a later thorough revision of the text.<sup>10</sup> This characteristic Russian-South Slavic alignment pattern could be interpreted in favor of the Life of Eupraxia being a retranslation of a much later date (presumably 14th century), which was made in order to replace the older translation. This appears to be corroborated by the fact that the presumably more recent South Slavic version is attested in three Panegyrika, which are all classified as “новоизводен” according to BHBS (Rilski manastir 4/8, RAN 164, Hilandar 446). In fact, all testimonies of this version are attested in late, 15th century manuscripts, all of which can be shown to be linked to Tărnovo and its surrounding monasteries and which contain primarily 14th century translations (Petrova 2003: 151). In this case the translation prevalent in the South Slavic manuscripts would be the more recent, replacive redaction. But, as will be argued below, the character of both versions does not support this interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

Upon closer scrutiny the kind and amount of variation to be observed bet-

xia of Thebes) clearly indicates that they are in fact dealing with the Life of Eupraxia of Thebes. As Dybo & Kučkin argue further, ms. RGB 304-678 should be linked to the activities of metropolitan Kiprian and Gregory Camblak. In addition, ms. RGB 304-678 can be shown to have served as a direct model for the compilation of metropolitan Makarii's Reading Menaia. Thus, the history of the transmission of the Slavic Life of Eupraxia in Russia seems to date back no further than the times of Kiprian and Gregory Camblak and should accordingly be placed in the context of the Second South Slavic influence.

10. Another text from the Bdinski Sbornik, the episode of Abraham of Qidun and his niece Mary may be referred to as a case in point, where a later South Slavic revision can be identified in a considerable number of manuscripts of South Slavic origin, whereas the Russian manuscripts will have only the unrevised earlier version. In this case, too, the Bdinski Sbornik aligns with the “Russian” branch in having the more archaic text version, a finding in lign with the general assessment of the Bdinski Sbornik's archaic, and therefore probably provincial make-up. For more details on the classification of the Slavic testimonies of the Life of Abraham of Qidun, cf. Stern (2015).

11. For an earlier argument against the South Slavic version being a 14th century translation based on the identification of lexical and grammatical archaisms see Petrova (2003: 150-1).

ween both so-called versions by far exceeds what is usually found in cases of later revisions of an older translation. On the basis of a lexical comparison between both versions of the Life of Eupraxia Maya Petrova (2003: 148-150) concludes with respect to the South Slavic version that “there is no doubt that this Life is a different translation from a Greek original that, in respect of its content, was close (but not identical) with the one used for the protograph of the Bdinski Sbornik’s vita.” As the following short extracts, contrasting the “Russian” version with the “South Slavic” version<sup>12</sup>, may show, even in passages where there is no variation at all found within the Greek manuscript tradition and where the translation itself will not pose any particular difficulties to the translator, there is constant variation going on<sup>13</sup>, especially at the lexical level:<sup>14</sup>

(1)

<b>β<sup>W</sup></b>	нѣ	<i>николиже</i>	<i>смѣахъ</i>	<i>явити</i>	<i>тебѣ</i>
<b>β<sup>R</sup></b>	нѣ	<i>николиже</i>	<i>смѣахъ</i>	<i>явити</i>	<i>тебѣ</i>
<b>α<sup>V</sup></b>	но	<i>никогдаже</i>	<i>дерзнуохъ</i>	<i>вближити</i>	<i>ти</i>

12. For conveniences’ sake we will label the “Russian” version the α-version (or possibly α-translation?) and the “South-Slavic” version the β-version or -translation. Throughout the paper, both versions will be exemplified by each two manuscripts. The α-translation will be represented by the text of the Bdinski Sbornik (B = Ghent UL 408, fol. 191r-234r) and the text of the Sofijskij spisok of Metropolitan Makarij’s reading menaion (V = RNB Sof. 1323, fol. 294v-300r). The β-translation will be represented by the text of Vienna ÖNB slav. 42, fol. 125v-135r (W) and Rila Monastery 4/8, fol. 560v-572r (R). Though, Petrova’s analysis implies a difference between an archaic (α) and a later (β) version, one should refrain at this stage from interpreting this seeming difference in time as implying that the β-version is a revision of the α-version.

13. According to Lora Taseva (2006) persistent small-scale variation on the lexical and grammatical is one of the key diagnostics to tell a translation from a redaction. In determining the status of the Slavic versions of the Life of Eupraxia, we will rely on the theoretical insights listed by Taseva. For a recent elaboration of Taseva’s criteria, see Gladkova (2015: 35-37).

14. Variation is indicated by italics. Wherever the Greek tradition displays overall uniformity throughout all extant mss., the 11th century Italogreek menologion El Escorial Ω.IV.32 (S) will be employed to represent the whole of the Greek tradition. Given the uniformity of all manuscripts the selection of this particular ms. cannot be otherwise than arbitrary.

$\alpha^B$	и	<i>никогда</i>	<i>δρῖζνοух</i>	<i>ωβличити</i>	<i>ти</i>
S	ἀλλ’	οὐδέ ποτε	ἐτόλμησα	φανερῶσαι	σοι

(2)

$\beta^W$	Ѡна	же	слышавши	горко	<i>въскликноу</i>
$\beta^R$	Ѡна	же	слышавши	горко	<i>въскликноу</i>
$\alpha^V$	Ѡна	же	слышавши и	<i>горѣѣ</i>	<i>восхлипавши</i>
$\alpha^B$	Ѡна	же	слышавши и	<i>горѣѣ</i>	<i>въсклипавши</i>
S	Ἡ	δὲ	ἀκούσασα καὶ	πικρῶς	ἀλαλάξασα

$\beta^W$	и	<i>ѡвѣща къ</i>	<i>посланнымъ</i>	жена <sup>м</sup>
$\beta^R$	и	<i>ѡвѣща къ</i>	<i>посланным</i>	женамъ
$\alpha^V$		<i>глаголю</i>	<i>пущенымъ</i>	жена <sup>м</sup>
$\alpha^B$		<i>вѣща</i>	<i>поущеннымъ</i>	женамъ
S		λέγει	ταῖς ἀποσταλήσαις	γυναῖξιν

(3)

$\beta^W$	повѣдаше	црѣци	о	вещи.
$\beta^R$	повѣдаше	црѣци	ω	вещи.
$\alpha^V$	повѣдаша	црѣци	ω	дѣлѣ.
$\alpha^B$	повѣдаше	црѣци	ω	дѣлѣ.
S	ἀπήγγειλαν τῇ	Βασιλίσσῃ	τὰ τοῦ	πράγματος.

It should be noted that this is the closest to an exact match between both Slavic versions as you will ever get throughout the whole text. The point is, that even those Greek passages, which could be pretty straightforwardly translated from Greek into Slavic, applying a simple word-by-word technique using a fairly uniform core of standard translation equivalents, without any loss of nuances of the original, and where accordingly there would be no real need for any revision, there is still a lot of variation going on. It should also be noted, that none of the Slavic lexical variants of the quoted examples can be iden-

tified as an indicator of either Ohrid or Preslav origin.<sup>15</sup> Both versions seem to randomly select semantically and contextually equivalent items from the Common Slavic stock of existing synonyms, and the fact that both versions only occasionally come up with the same synonym, may be taken as a first hint that both are quite independent from each other.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, this means

15. The lexical items in question have been checked against the list in Slavova (1989). Petrova (2003: 150, ann. 429), however, remarks that some of the lexical differences noted by her seem indeed to reflect the Ohrid-Preslav opposition. Lexical variation, however, does not stop at that. Most of it resists mapping according to the established Ohrid-Preslav pattern, at least for the time being, and some items like the nondescript Common Slavic synonymous pairs вещь vs. дѣло in example (3) may hardly be expected to ever be shown to reflect the Ohrid-Preslav opposition.

16. While a persistent Ohrid-Preslav patterning of all lexical variation between both versions could in theory also be interpreted in terms of a later Preslav redaction of an archaic precursor text (see e.g. Gladkova 2011, 83-4), it is the variation between unmarked synonymic pairs, which due to its apparent arbitrariness and lack of motivation proves difficult to be accounted for otherwise than by assuming a random distribution caused by neither translator knowing the other text. Examples (1)-(3) show a particularly dense pattern of variation, with 12 out of a total of 18 positional units either lexically or morphologically disagreeing. A somewhat more representative sample of 150 positional units, where variation of some kind would be likely to occur, has been explored for lexical and morphological variation. It turned out that in 71 cases there was variation, which is consistent with the assumption of random variation, which should ideally show a roughly equal distribution of coincidence vs. non-coincidence of counted units. These results may be contrasted with the results of a similar counting procedure applied by Yannis Kakridis (2006) to a homiletic text, for which it can be shown that the original base text, as attested in the Codex Suprasliensis and the Glagolita Clozianus, has been later revised. The revision is attested in the Germanov sbornik. Whereas in both copies of the original redaction both lexical and morphological variation did not exceed 10%, it increased to 40% between the original and its later revision. Of course, there is no way of defining a standard value for variation between revisions of the same base text. Depending on the perceived objectionableness of the original and the according rigour of the reviser, values for variation could be anything from 20 to 100%. The same holds for retranslations. But for double translations the assumption of randomness would predict that variation should not fall outside the narrower range of roughly 40-60%. There is, however, one important qualification to be made for this prediction, which assumes that both translators operate within the same regional-cultural environment. Where a regional-cultural difference can be shown to be operative which reflects in the composition of the lexicon, the values for the limits of the randomness range would have to be increased, accordingly. Thus, for any two testimonies of a text which fall within the randomness range, double translation must be considered an alternative hypothesis to the assump-

that they should rather be addressed as independent translations than revisions of the same base text, unless it is supposed that some later redactor took the trouble of having almost all lexical and other details of the original text version at hand systematically altered for whatever reason.<sup>17</sup>

*Aligning the Slavic and the Greek traditions*

The case for independent translations, however, can only be made hard, where it can be shown that some of the observed differences between both versions systematically reflect differences characteristic of the Greek tradition. In case of independent translations, mapping the existing Slavic versions onto the Greek tradition on as broad a material basis as possible may on first sight be expected to yield an unequivocal result. This expectation rests on the reasonable assumption that two translators, working independently from one another, could hardly be expected to accidentally hit upon the same Greek version to make use of for their respective translations. In the case of uncovering different Greek base texts for the Slavic versions of the Life of Eupraxia, one is, however, particularly hard put to the test, since the Greek transmission of this Life is distinguished by a rather low level of overall variation.<sup>18</sup> Both Slavic

tion of a revision or a retranslation.

17. As Horace Lunt (1983, 226) demonstrates on the basis of a comparison of the Dobrilo gospel and the Cod. Marianus, a high degree of divergence between individual testimonies of the same text does not necessarily prove an independent translation. In the case of these two variants of the same Gospel translation it can be shown that the very pronounced dissimilarity was brought about accumulatively through a very long line of simple transmission with only occasional redactorial interventions. However, in this particular case the extant manuscripts would usually reflect this accumulative process through intermediate stages between both extreme ends (i.e. Dobrilo and Marianus). Where this is not the case, and where instead a sharp line can be drawn between both versions, as is the case vor the Vita Eupraxia, a clear cut-off point should be assumed, which may have been brought about by a double or a retranslation. Lunt (1983, 230) also makes a point of stressing that the degree of dissimilarity achieved within the Gospel transmission is unlikely for text genres which he assumes were copied far less often than the gospel, like most hagiographic texts.

18. The original list of Greek testimonies og the Life of Eupraxia, as used for the BHG classification (v. note 6), has in the meantime grown to a total of 17 extant manuscript sources (for the complete list cf. Capron 2013, 24, to which the Louvre

texts display, however, a number of divergent readings which can be consistently mapped onto two different lines of the Greek transmission. Whereas the  $\alpha$ -version appears to closely follow the variant readings of El Escorial  $\Omega$ .IV.32 (S) by adopting its exclusive readings, the  $\beta$ -version aligns with the exclusive variant readings of Vat. gr. 866 (A). These alignments should, however, been treated with some reservations, because most variant readings consist of only minor kinds of variation. Marked and significant variation confirming the alignment is to be found only occasionally, as e.g. the characteristic omission shared by both Vat. gr. 866 (A) and the  $\beta$ -version right at the very beginning of the Life, which gave rise to the BHG classification:

(4)

<b>A</b>						Ἦν	τις	άνήρ
<b><math>\beta^w</math></b>						Бы <sup>e</sup>	нѣкыи	моужь
<b><math>\beta^R</math></b>						Бысть	нѣкыи	моужь
<b><math>\alpha^V</math></b>	Въ	днѣи	бл҃гочѣтнаго	цр҃а	Фев <sup>u</sup> cia	бѣяше	нѣкто	моужь
<b><math>\alpha^B</math></b>	Въ	днѣи	бл҃гочѣстиваго	цр҃а	Фев <sup>u</sup> cia	бѣше	нѣкто	моужь
<b>S</b>	Ἐν ταῖς	ἡμέραις	τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου	βασιλέως	Θεοδοσίου	ἦν	τις	άνήρ
<b>F</b>	Ἐν ταῖς	ἡμέραις	τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου	βασιλέως	Θεοδοσίου	ἦν	τις	άνήρ
<b>A</b>	ἐν τῇ	βασιλευούσῃ		συγκλητικὸς		Ἀντίγονος		ὀνόματι.
<b><math>\beta^w</math></b>	въ	Костандинѣ	градѣ	синглитикѣ		[именемъ		Андігонь].
<b><math>\beta^R</math></b>	въ	Константинѣ	градѣ	синглитикѣ		[именемъ		Андигонь].
<b><math>\alpha^V</math></b>	въ	цр҃іюущемъ	градѣ			Антигонъ		имене <sup>m</sup> .
<b><math>\alpha^B</math></b>	въ	цр҃іюущіимъ	градѣ			Антигонъ		именемъ.
<b>S</b>	ἐν τῇ	βασιλευούσῃ	πόλει	συγκλητικὸς		Ἀντίγονος		ὀνόματι.
<b>F</b>	ἐν τῇ	βασιλευούσῃ	πόλει	συγκλητικὸς		[ὄνομα αὐτῷ		Ἀντίγονος].

papyrus fragment has to be added). For this article the following Greek manuscripts have been consulted: (1) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library, 50 (M) – (2) El Escorial, Biblioteca real, Y.II.6 (T) – (3) El Escorial, Biblioteca real,  $\Omega$ .IV.32 (S) – (4) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Conventi B.1.1214 (F) – (5) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, gr. 1453 (P) – (6) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Coislin gr. 282 (C) – (7) Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, gr. 866 (A).

As is shown by the variant reading of F, which aligns with S, this omission is an exclusive variant reading of A and related mss. Since the  $\beta$ -version shares this exclusive reading with A, an A-like Greek source should be presumed for this Slavic version. As a matter of fact, the  $\beta$ -version systematically aligns with all exclusive readings of the Greek mss. of the A-type, whereas the  $\alpha$ -version never shares these exclusive readings. This is sufficient evidence that both  $\alpha$ - and  $\beta$ -versions must go back to divergent Greek versions. This variant reading does, however, not allow to link the  $\alpha$ -version to a particular Greek version. All passages with exclusive readings for S show, however, that the  $\alpha$ -version systematically aligns with S, as may be gleaned from the following example, which contains a significant error (*Leitfehler*):

(5)

<b>F</b>	Δύο	γάρ	ἔτη	καὶ	τρεῖς	μῆνας	ἔζησε
<b>A</b>	Δύο	γάρ	ἔτη	καὶ	τρεῖς	μῆνας	ἔζησεν
<b>β<sup>w</sup></b>	Двѣ	бо	лѣтъ	и	:г:	мѣце	тъчїю
<b>β<sup>R</sup></b>	Двѣ	бо	лѣтъ	тъчїю	и	три	мѣце
<b>α<sup>V</sup></b>	Два	бо	на десѣте	или	три	на десѣте	мѣци
<b>α<sup>B</sup></b>	Два	бо	или		три	мѣце	жи
<b>S</b>	Δύο	γάρ	ἢ		τρεῖς	μῆνας	ἔζησεν

The variant reading can be easily accounted for by assuming a mistake at the base of the exclusive reading of S. The copyist seems to have missed two letters of the original variant reading thereby replacing ἔτη ‘years’ by ἢ ‘or’, thus drastically reducing the period of matrimony for Antigonos and Eupraxia, the parents of St. Eupraxia, from ‘two years and three months’ to just ‘two or three months’ which would have been hardly enough time to beget and give birth to their daughter Eupraxia. The text of Makarii’s Reading Menaia adds на десѣте after the cardinal numbers два and три, probably in an effort to make the significantly abridged time span of just two to three months of matrimony created by the variant reading of S and adopted by the  $\alpha$ -version, appear more plausible. Here then, is convincing evidence of a shared innovation for

both the  $\alpha$ -version and S and related manuscripts. Both  $\alpha$ - and  $\beta$ -versions can thus be shown to be systematically linked to different Greek text recensions,<sup>19</sup> which means that both versions should be considered independent translations of the Life of Eupraxia.

It goes without saying, that the  $\alpha$ -translation does not offer an exact match with S. But the kind and number of exclusive readings shared by both  $\alpha$ -translation and S leaves no doubt that the Greek source of the  $\alpha$ -translation must have been very closely related to S. In addition, the  $\alpha$ -translation does not take part in any other alignment, which would put the alignment with S under question. This is, however, the case with the  $\beta$ -translation, which besides aligning with the A-group also shares in a number of exclusive innovations of yet another Greek redaction, represented by M, P and F, as exemplified by (6) and (7):

(6)

<b>F</b>	ἐκδοῦναι	τὴν	θυγατέρα	αὐτῆς	Εὐπραξίαν
<b><math>\beta^w</math></b>	вброучити		дщере	ихъ	Єνпражію
<b><math>\beta^R</math></b>	оброучити		дщерь	ихъ	Єнпражію
<b><math>\alpha^v</math></b>	ѡдати		дщерь		Еоупражіину
<b><math>\alpha^B</math></b>	втдати		дщере		Епражіиноу
<b>S</b>	ἐκδοῦναι	τὴν	θυγατέραν	αὐτῆς	Εὐπραξίαν
<b>A</b>	ἐκδοῦναι	τὴν	θυγατέρα	αὐτῆς	Εὐπραξίαν
<b>F</b>	υἱῶ	τινος	συγκλητικοῦ	πάνυ	εὐπορωτάτῳ
<b><math>\beta^w</math></b>	снѡу	нѣкоєго	синглитика	[богата соуци зѣлw]	
<b><math>\beta^R</math></b>	снѡу	нѣкоєго	синглитика	[богата соуца зѣлw]	
<b><math>\alpha^v</math></b>			боляриноу	[богату зѣло]	
<b><math>\alpha^B</math></b>			болярину	нѣкоєму	[бѣтоу зѣло]

19. This conclusion is foreshadowed by BHBS 559 and 590, which identifies the extant Slavic versions with two different BHG entries, viz. BHG 631b for the version of the Bđinski sbornik (sub 25 June) and BHG 631 for the major bulk of the Slavic Eupraxia tradition (sub 25 July). Though, the alignment with two different BHG versions would clearly point to the existence of two independent translations, Ivanova is cautious enough to speak of versions of the same Slavic base text (“други редакции”, BHBS 559).



<b>S</b>	συγκλητικῶ	τινι	πάνυ	εὐπορωτάτῳ
<b>A</b>	συγκλητικῶ	τινι	πάνυ	εὐπορωτάτῳ

(7)

<b>F</b>	τὸν	ἀνθρώπινον	βίον	ἀναλύσας	ἐν	Κυρίῳ
<b>β<sup>w</sup></b>		члвчськоє [житиє	вставль]	къ зѡѣ		wtiude
<b>β<sup>R</sup></b>		члвчскоую [жизнь	вставль]	къ зѡѣ		otiude
<b>α<sup>v</sup></b>		члвчскоую [жизнь	встави].			
<b>α<sup>B</sup></b>		члвчскоую [жизнь	встави].			
<b>S</b>	τὸν	ἀνθρώπινον	καταλείψας	βίον.		
<b>A</b>	τὸν	ἀνθρώπινον	καταλύσας	βίον.		

Though the  $\beta$ -translation shares only exceptionally in exclusive innovations of this particular redaction (M,P,F), which is otherwise characterized by a great number of marked innovations, these cases may not be ignored completely, since they cannot be accounted for otherwise than by assuming some kind of linkage between the  $\beta$ -translation and the M-redaction. A possible scenario would posit a common ancestor for both the M-group and the source of the  $\beta$ -translation, which introduced the innovations shared by both M-group and  $\beta$ -translation. Since the  $\beta$ -translation, however, appears to also share in all innovations of the A-group, the A-group would have to be assumed to also provide the ancestor of the presumed predecessor of the M-group. Since, however, the M-group does not share in all innovations of the A-group, in which the  $\beta$ -translation shares, some kind of contamination has to be assumed, which gave rise to the source for the  $\beta$ -translation.

To make things even more confusing, contamination seems also to have occurred at a much later point between individual testimonies of both Slavic translations, giving rise to a shared feature between a member of the  $\alpha$ -translation, viz. the Bdinski Sbornik (B), and the  $\beta$ -translation. The first case is the identical rendering of the Greek reading εὐλογία by дарованиє in both the  $\beta$ -translation and the Bdinski Sbornik:

(8)

$\beta^w$	яко	велико	дарованіє	то	въмѣняше	$\bar{w}$	баѣ
$\beta^R$	яко	велико	дарованіє	$\bar{w}$	баѣ	то	въмѣняше
$\alpha^B$	яко	велико	дарованіє	$\bar{w}$	баѣ	приѣмахоу	болѣзнь
$\alpha^V$	яко	велико	[ $\bar{w}$ баѣ	приимаху		блѣвнїе]	болѣзнь
S	ὡς	μεγάλην	παρὰ τοῦ	θεοῦ	εὐλογίαν	ἐδέχοντο	τὴν ἀσθένειαν

As a matter of fact, the translation is contextually adequate, since εὐλογία may also convey the meaning of ‘gift’. This particular meaning is derived by way of polysemic generalization from the more specific, but also more common meaning of the Greek word ‘blessing’. However, as Vienna slav. 42 shows, the  $\beta$ -translation would select the dominant, almost standard translation equivalent of благословлєніє. Taking into account the exceptionality of the lexical choice (дарованіє) to render Greek εὐλογία, contamination at this point seems beyond doubt. The text of the Bdinski Sbornik, having adopted the common  $\beta$ -reading, can be clearly identified as the site of contamination. The source of the contamination may possibly be determined more exactly on the basis of an omission, shared by the Bdinski Sbornik (B) of the  $\alpha$ -group and ms. Rila 4/8 (R) of the  $\beta$ -group:

(9)

$\beta^w$	Дверьница	же	бѣ	на вратѣхъ	старіца	блѣговѣина
$\beta^R$						
$\alpha^V$	Вратарици	бо	бѣлаше			
$\alpha^B$						
A	Θυρουρὸς	δὲ	ἦν			
$\beta^w$	яже	[великы	ῥѣтъ]	твораше		
$\beta^R$						
$\alpha^V$	сюже		ῥѣти	бываша.		
$\alpha^B$						
A	δι' ἧς	ἀπόκρισις	πᾶσα	ἐγίνετο.		

$\beta^W$	много	чюдеса	и	исцѣленїа	болещимь	творима	бѣхоу	тамо.
$\beta^R$								
$\alpha^V$	многы	* лѣчьбы					бываху	ту.
$\alpha^B$								
A	Πολλὰ	οὖν	ἰάσεις				ἐγίνοντο	ἐκεῖ.

The material presented so far, clearly testifies to two independent translations being transmitted in almost complete seclusion from each other, with contact and contamination taking place only at a fairly late stage in just one isolated case. The hermetic seclusion of both lines of transmission is further supported by the fact, that no overlapping passages between both versions could be identified, except those very simple and short phrases, which would hardly allow for alternative renderings. Both versions or rather translations answer the basic requirement of Lunt's axiom: "Translations of a single original by different translators will rarely coincide completely except for the simplest and most concrete phrases" (1983, 233). These findings support Petrova's hypothesis of both translations originating in different contexts. A likely prerequisite for this kind of contamination would have been the  $\beta$ -translation making its way from the paterikon- into the panegyrikon-tradition, which may be assumed to have taken place no earlier than the first efforts at replacing the *staroizvodni* by the *novoizvodni* panegyrika.

### *Typological considerations*

Now, that it has become apparent that what used to be cautiously addressed as two versions of the same text are in fact two separate translations, can it be shown that these two translations adhere to different translation styles? An answer to this question is expected to settle the as yet open question whether the  $\beta$ -translation is in fact as archaic as Maya Petrova maintains on the basis of linguistic observations, or whether it is a translation of a much later date, as is implied by the circumstance that it is mostly found in manuscripts which contain 14th century translations. In order to confirm Petrova's assessment we should be able to show that both translations apply identical principles. If,

however, it will turn out that the  $\beta$ -translation contrasts from the  $\alpha$ -translation by applying a rigorous literalism typical of 14th century translations, it will stand to reason to dismiss Petrova's assessment and explain the perceived linguistic archaisms otherwise.

As for the  $\alpha$ -translation, the linguistic indications for its archaicity are quite pervasive and are additionally supported by this translation's history of transmission. Therefore, it may be safe to assume it to be a 10th century translation, which we would expect to display a moderate kind of literalism, which will every now and then allow for minor liberties, like transpositions, additions or omissions of single words and an occasional short paraphrase and the like. The liberties taken should ideally be shown to be motivated by the needs of grammar, idiomaticity or comprehensibility in general, but, as has been shown for another 10th century translation, viz. the Life of Abraham of Qidun (VAQ) (Stern 2016), slight redactorial interventions which contribute to an increased ease of perception, should also be taken into account. In order to arrive at a comparative assessment of both translations, we will test both against two criteria, which were found to be typical of the VAQ: (1) a moderate to high rate of exact interlinear matches between the Slavonic translation and its presumed Greek source. This was calculated for the VAQ at roughly 70% – (2) frequent minor deviations from literalism, with only occasional paraphrases, i.e. deviations which cannot be mapped onto its presumed source using an interlinear mode of representation. Among these deviations should ideally be some which contribute to an increased ease of perception.

(1) The VAQ shows in fact a fairly high rate of literalism, and the  $\alpha$ -translation ranges significantly lower, with 57% of exact interlinear matches of the type being illustrated by the following example:

(10)

$\beta^w$	Въ истину,	гѣ	мои, <i>и азъ</i>	множицею	молихсе	бѣи
$\beta^R$	Въ истину,	гѣ	мои, <i>и азъ</i>	множицею	молихсе	бѣи
$\alpha^V$	По истинѣ,	гѣ	мои,	многаци	моли <sup>x</sup>	бѣа
$\alpha^B$	По истинѣ,	гнѣ	мои,	многаци	молихъ	бѣ
S	Ἀληθῶς,	Κύριέ μου,		πολλάκις	ἐδεήθην	τοῦ Θεοῦ

$\beta^W$	яко да	просвѣтити	срдце	твоѣ	и	—	смысль	твои	w	семь
$\beta^R$	яко да	просвѣтити	срдце	твое	и	—	смысль	твои	w	семь
$\alpha^V$	да	просвѣтити	срдце	твѡе	и	wсвѣтити	разоум <sup>m</sup>	твои	w	семь
$\alpha^B$	да	просвѣтити	срдце	твоѣ	и	wсвѣтити	разоумь	твои	w	семь
S	ἵνα	καταυγάσῃ	τὴν καρδίαν σου	καὶ	φωτίσῃ	τὴν διάνοιάν σου	περὶ	τούτου		
$\beta^W$	нѣ	николиже	смѣхъ		явити		тебѣ.			
$\beta^R$	нѣ	николиже	смѣхъ		явити		тебѣ.			
$\alpha^V$	но	никогдаже	дерзнухъ		wбличити		ти.			
$\alpha^B$	и	никогда	дрьзнух		wбличити		ти.			
S	ἀλλ’	οὐδέ ποτε	ἐτόλμησα		φανερῶσαί		σοι.			

In (10) the  $\alpha$ -translation reproduces every lexical and grammatical item of the original in a technically exact manner. We have chosen this particular passage, because it also highlights the typical difference between the  $\alpha$ - and the  $\beta$ -translation. The  $\beta$ -translation will, much like the  $\alpha$ -translation track the wording of the original in a neat manner, but it will insert or omit minor items more often and quite regularly (cf. the addition of *и азъ* or the omission of *φωτίσῃ*). Apart from frequent additions and omissions of the kind observed in example (10), the  $\beta$ -translation will also show a high degree of word order variation, like in example (11):

(11)

$\beta^W$	Она же	възѣмши	[дѣщере	свою]	εὐπραξίῳ
$\beta^R$	Она же	възъмши	[дѣщерь	свою]	εὐπραξίῳ
$\alpha^V$	Еοупраξία же	имши	свою	дѣщерь	—
$\alpha^B$	Епраξία же	приѣмши	[дѣщерь	свою]	—
S	Ἡ δὲ Εὐπραξία	λαβοῦσα	ἴδιον	θυγάτριον	—
A	Ἡ δὲ Εὐπραξία	λαβοῦσα	τὸν ἴδιον	θυγάτριον	Εὐπραξίαν

While the  $\alpha$ -translation, as may be gleaned from its more archaic testimony V, chooses to stick to the exact word order of the original, the  $\beta$ -translation decides to have the possessive *свою* and its head *дѣщерь* swap their respecti-

ve positions, thus making the translation conform to the syntactic preferences of Old Slavonic.<sup>20</sup> The frequent application of this type of minor adjustments lowers its rate of literalism considerably to just 31% of all counted items. Thus, though there appears to be a marked difference between both  $\alpha$ - and  $\beta$ -translation, it is not quite what should be expected for the  $\beta$ -translation to represent a typical 14th century translation. Both translations agree in treating the original in a relatively liberal manner, the only difference being that the  $\beta$ -translation does this more excessively than the  $\alpha$ -translation. But still, both qualify as adhering to the same principle of moderate literalism, even more so than the text of the VAQ, chosen as a reference point.

(2) Both translations show in fact frequent minor deviations from literalism, which amount in most cases to nothing more than the omission or addition of a single word or a moderate word order change applied to lower level syntactic units, like VPs and NPs. In what follows we will try to give an outline of the most typical types of departures from the original, in order to give a general idea of the range of strategic choices employed by both translators. In fact, quite a sizable number of the minor deviations from literalism can be shown to originate in problems of adequately rendering the Greek expressions for which there is no direct match in Slavonic. In these particular cases, both translations alike will show deviations of some kind from their source text, as the following examples illustrate:

20. Cf. Vaillant (1964: 380): “Mais pour les possessifs, il est clair qu’ils se plaçaient ordinairement après le substantif”. As a matter of fact, the exact reproduction of the Greek word order in V will also safeguard the reproduction of the emphatic stress of the Greek  $\text{\textit{\iota}\delta\text{\textit{\iota}\text{o}\text{\textit{\nu}}}}$  ‘my own’: ‘{...} le réfléchi  $\text{\textit{\sigma}\text{\textit{\nu}\text{\textit{o}\text{\textit{i}}}}$  apparaît après le substantif en valeur simple de possessif, {...} et avant le substantif au sens fort de «son propre,  $\text{\textit{\iota}\delta\text{\textit{\iota}\text{o}\text{\textit{\varsigma}}}}$ ,  $\text{\textit{o}\text{\textit{\iota}\text{\textit{k}\text{\textit{\epsilon}\text{\textit{\iota}\text{\textit{o}\text{\textit{\varsigma}}}}}}$ ” (ibidem). Since the emphatic stress of the Greek original, however, does not make much sense in the given passage, it looks like the  $\beta$ -translation decided to opt for a more natural and smooth sounding rendering of the original. Ultimately, the same urge for syntactic smoothness seems to have driven one of the copyists within the transmission of the  $\alpha$ -translation to take the same step and have the word order rearranged, resulting in the variant reading of B.

(11)

<b>β<sup>W</sup></b>	βλῖγочъстивѣ	правити	грѣчьское	<i>црѣтво.</i>	
<b>β<sup>R</sup></b>	βλῖγочъстивѣ	правити	грѣчьское	<i>црѣтво.</i>	
<b>α<sup>V</sup></b>	и βλῖγочътнѣ	строѣ	и рѣмьстѣи	<i>жизни</i>	дѣла.
<b>α<sup>B</sup></b>	и βλῖγочътно	творе	и мирсцѣи <sup>21</sup>	<i>жизни</i>	дѣла.
<b>A</b>	εὐσεβῶς	διοικεῖν	τὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς	καταστάσεως	τὰ πράγματα.

(12)

<b>β<sup>W</sup></b>	Бѣ	же	и	<i>млѣстивѣ</i>	моужь
<b>β<sup>R</sup></b>	Бѣ	же	и	<i>млѣстивѣ</i>	моужь
<b>α<sup>V</sup></b>	Бѣше	же	и	<i>млѣстивѣ</i>	
<b>α<sup>B</sup></b>	Бѣше	же	и	<i>млѣстивѣ</i>	
<b>S</b>	ῥην	δὲ	καὶ	φιλοσυμπαθῆς	ἀνὴρ

(13)

<b>β<sup>W</sup></b>	яко	не	имати	црѣскому	Градоу	дрюгаго	<i>богатѣиша его.</i>
<b>β<sup>R</sup></b>	якоже	не	имѣти	црѣскому	Градоу	дрюгаго	<i>богатѣиша его.</i>
<b>α<sup>V</sup></b>	а	когоже	[иного	не	имѣяше	Црѣтворюющѣи Гра <sup>a</sup> такого]	<i>богата.</i>
<b>α<sup>B</sup></b>	якоже	[иного	не	имѣ	Црѣи	Град такого]	<i>богата.</i>
<b>S</b>	καθότι	οὐκ	εἶχεν	ἡ	βασιλεύουσα	πόλις	τοιούτον ἄλλον ἐν εὐπορίᾳ.

In (11) it is the culturally difficult item ἡ Ῥωμαϊκὴ κατάστασις, meaning the ‘Byzantine public order’, the sense of which either translator tried to capture by employing lexical items (жизнь, царство) which can by no means count as semantic matches of κατάστασις, but which will none the less provide for a proper understanding of the cultural contents of the passage. In (12) and (13) both translators happen to come up with an identical or similar solution to the same problem of finding an adequate rendering *ad sensum* for Greek items which apparently could not be rendered literally. Having to deal with the infrequent Greek compound φιλοσυμπαθῆς both translators decided to

21. The original reading must have been римьстѣи for Greek τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς, with мирсцѣи obviously meant as an emendation of the lectio difficilior of the original translation.

just ignore the first part of the compound φιλο- and translate the semantically synonymous simplex συμπαθής instead, the exact match of which is in fact милостивъ. On the face of it, example (13) looks like a lexical problem posed by the item ἐν εὐπορίᾳ, but it may be assumed that the whole Greek comparative expression ‘there is no one like him in terms of wealth’ was found awkward and cumbersome for a Slavic audience, so that both translators replaced it by a less stylistically marked adjectival construction.

Up to this point we have been dealing with deviations from literalism which might be expected with any responsible translator, who is not bound by an ideology which would take literalism as an almost sacred principle. Stern (2016) identified within the Slavic translation of the VAQ a number of recurrent features, which clearly went beyond the scope of having to find equivalent matches for tricky expressions, and which could be shown to follow a common principle of providing for an increased ease of perception. It was then assumed that these features might be typical for the hagiographic genre and possibly narrative texts in general. An inspection of the two translations of the Life of Eupraxia yielded a number of cases which parallel the findings for the VAQ and may be seen to confirm the assumption.

The common denominator of those modifications in the VAQ which provided for an increased ease of perception was making the implicit explicit. Equivalent cases can be identified in the Life of Eupraxia. A first example for stating the obvious by adding an expression which is implied by the context and would therefore be logically redundant can be gleaned from example (14), where the β-translation adds небеснаго to богатства, though from the context it should be clear that ‘earthly possessions’ are out of the question here. The same holds for the addition of богатства in (15), чисто житіє in (16), со стoуднмъ in (17), съ радостію in (18), and мира сего in (19):

(14)

β <sup>w</sup>	Да	не како лишимъ	бога <sup>c</sup> тва	ωνογω	нб <sup>c</sup> наго
S	Καὶ	ἀποστρέφομεν ἐπὶ τούτου	πλούτου	ἐκείνου	



(15)

β<sup>w</sup> и многа *богатѣства* ουδὸγυι<sup>m</sup> расточиста  
 S καὶ πολλὰ τοῖς πτωχοῖς παρασχὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος

(16)

β<sup>w</sup> хотещои по бѣѣ *житіе* чисто жити  
 S βουλομέναις κατὰ θεὸν ζῆσαι

(17)

β<sup>w</sup> ѿны же срамивше се съ *стогдомъ* ωτιдоше и *ише*<sup>1</sup>ше  
 S Αἰ δὲ ἀτιμασθεῖσαι ἀπελθοῦσαι

β<sup>w</sup> повѣдааше цр҃ци w вещи  
 S ἀπήγγειλαν τῇ Βασιλίσσῃ τὰ τοῦ πράγματος

(18)

β<sup>w</sup> вѣста съ *радостію* и вѣздѣвъ роуцѣ свои на высоту  
 S ἀναστᾶσα διεπέτασεν [εἰς ὕψος τὰς χεῖρας]

(19)

β<sup>w</sup> [житіе *мира* сего ничто же ієсть]  
 S οὐδέν ἐστιν ὁ βίος οὗτος

It is of course many ‘riches’ (15) you give to the poor, and you cannot, possibly, lead a life in God which is not ‘pure’ (16). As for being ashamed ‘with shame’ (17), there couldn’t be a more pleonastic expression. Extensions like these give indeed the impression that the translator did not trust his prospective audience too far, and would rather overstate a point than risking its being lost completely. In addition to this, (17) provides us with yet another category, which could also be identified in the VAQ, viz. the serial verb *отидоше* и *ише*<sup>1</sup>ше, which beats up the verbal event into two phases. (18) is a less obvious case in point, where the positive sentiment made explicit by the Slavic addition *съ радостію* would have to be deduced from the context of the passage

in its whole. This is thus a clear case of providing supporting comment for an audience which might not be used to reading between the lines. The same applies to (19), where the identification of 'life' as meaning 'life on earth' is obliquely expressed by using the proximal demonstrative in the Greek original, which seems to have been deemed insufficient by the  $\beta$ -translator, who made the reference more explicit by adding *мира*.

Ease of perception is not only achieved by making the implicit explicit, but can also be attained by beating up complex event structures into smaller chunks by unpackaging a complex VP with just one verbal head into into a series of coordinated simple VPs (serialization). (17) is a case in point. Another example of this characteristic strategy is (20):

(20)

β<sup>w</sup> прѣбывающе въ вѣкы и хранимо боующимсе ба  
 S ἀποκείμενος εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν Θεόν

By adding a second verb (хранимо) a complex VP with two syntactic arguments is split up into two simpler VPs with each just one argument. At the same time the addition of хранимо foregrounds the beneficent (боющемся бора) and thus puts an additional stress on the usefulness of being pious and God-fearing. Once again, a particular point is forcefully driven home, as if the translator would not trust his audience to get that point otherwise.

As may be gathered from this set of examples, strategies of explicitness appear to be the common stock of the  $\beta$ -translation. In this respect, it is in perfect agreement with the VAQ, whose translator seems to have been driven by the same concerns about his audience. As for the  $\alpha$ -translation, however, the evidence for a recipient-oriented approach turns out to be rather meagre. As a matter of fact, only one possible case could be identified thus far:

(21)

<b>α<sup>V</sup></b>	a	еже бoгa <sup>1</sup> ство	<i>ωχιδαε<sup>m</sup></i>	члѣкы	въ нoсѣхъ,
<b>A</b>	ἀλλ' ἐστιν	πλοῦτος			ἐν οὐρανοῖς

Here, adding the VP *ождаетъ чловѣкы* will achieve the same effect of stressing the beneficence of the ‘heavenly riches’, as will adding *хранимо* in the  $\beta$ -translation in the very same passage (cf. example (20)). We can only guess, why the  $\alpha$ -translator did not care as much about the needs of his audience, as did the other translators. Without wanting to indulge too deeply in speculations, it will be in order to point to the different cultural embedding of both the VAQ and the  $\beta$ -translation of the Life of Eupraxia on the one hand, and the  $\alpha$ -translation of that same Life on the other hand. Whereas the former translations were designed as popular reading stuff for monks and nuns within the framework of *paterični sbornici* (Rimski paterik and Paraenesis), the latter was clearly embedded in a more representative framework, viz. that of the menologion, which apart from its obvious function to be read to a listening audience was also invested with the aura of solemnly representing and celebrating the Lives of the Saints. This additional cultural-semiotic meaning would possibly have precluded treating the text too much in practical terms of processibility and readability.

It stands to reason to assume also a correlation with the different rates of literalism established above, but the evidence is inconclusive on this count. The  $\alpha$ -translation holds the middle ground between the  $\beta$ -translation and the translation of the VAQ. While the low rate of literalism of the  $\beta$ -translation would be perfectly in line with the presumed concern for the ease of perception, the VAQ with its fairly high degree of literalism runs counter to all expectations. Whereas both the  $\alpha$ - and the VAQ-translation try to keep up the generally cherished principle of literalism as the prime guiding strategy, the  $\beta$ -translator appears to have made up his mind to discard this principle in favor of a markedly recipient-oriented approach. This assumption can be further substantiated by another characteristic feature, which will strike any experienced student of Slavic texts as quite unusual. In some instances, the  $\beta$ -translator abandoned the guiding principle of literalism completely, rendering whole sentences and larger syntactic units in a free and informal *ad sensum* style:

(22)

$\beta^w$  Мы же якоже рѣх ти к тому да не wskвьрнимъ себе скръною тѣлесною

$\beta^R$	<i>Мы же якоже рѣхъ ти к тому да не осквернимъ себе тѣлесною скръною</i>				
$\alpha^V$	и	ѡселѣ	не совокоуплавѣ	са w	мирьстѣи совокоупленіи и w стрѣти
$\alpha^B$	и	wtселѣ	не вькоупим се	w	мирсцѣ съвькоупленіи и w стрѣти
S	καὶ	μηκέτι	συντυγχόμεν	τῇ κοσμικῇ	συντυχίᾳ καὶ ἀθλιότητι

(23)

$\beta^W$	<i>никтоже бо съ собою въ гробъ свое богатство вънесе коли</i>				
$\beta^R$	<i>никтоже бw съ собою въ гробъ свое богатство вънесе коли</i>				
$\alpha^V$	ничто <sup>ж</sup>	въ	адѣ	[сходить	ѡ сего]
$\alpha^B$	ничтоже	въ	адѣ	[съходить	wт нѣго]
S	οὐδὲν	ἐν τῷ	ᾧδῃ	τινὶ	συγκατέρχεται

Examples, like the above, do indeed beg the question whether literalism was an intended goal for the  $\beta$ -translator. For the time being, we will register the overall approach of the  $\beta$ -translation as an extreme and exceptional case of the application of the principle of ease of perception at the costs of literalism, but further investigations may uncover more hagiographic texts, which follow this strategic pattern.

### Conclusion

A closer scrutiny of both Slavic versions of the Life of Eupraxia against the backdrop of the Greek transmission of the vita has clearly demonstrated that we are dealing with two separate translations. For one, it could be shown that both versions qua translations reflect different Greek models throughout. Secondly, both versions show almost no textual overlap, a feature which would be hard to account for, if a common Slavic source text would be assumed. This is clearly in line with Petrova's conclusion based on her observations on the lexical and grammatical features of both versions. Petrova (2003: 153) also made an alluring suggestion that both translations originated within different frameworks. The  $\alpha$ -translation found in the Bđinski Sbornik would have been translated as part of a hagiographical collection, whereas the  $\beta$ -translation would owe its existence to the translation and compilation of the

Rimski paterikon and associated texts. This suggestion would also offer a solution to the awkward finding, that the  $\beta$ -translation is also found in a number of panegyrika of the *novoizvoden* type, which would naturally imply its being a fourteenth century retranslation rather than an accidental double translation of an earlier date. Assuming a translation in the framework of the Paterikon would allow to move the timeline for the  $\beta$ -translation significantly back. Both  $\alpha$ - and  $\beta$ -translations could then be said to have originated more or less simultaneously sometime in the 10th century, which would fit in with the idea of an accidental double translation.

Our comparison and appraisal of both translations has shown that there is no major difference in kind, which could serve as a motivation for a retranslation. Both translations adhere to similar approaches towards the source text, which allows them to leave the path of strict literalism every so often and employ free paraphrases wherever it was thought fit. Also the difference between the Greek source texts used for either translation, is not marked enough to justify a retranslation. And finally, none of the two translations is characterized by a noticeable number of mistakes and distortions which would make it appear as a corrupt text in need of being done all over again. The only perceivable difference is in fact that the  $\beta$ -translation will take more extensive liberties than the  $\alpha$ -translation, throughout. We presume, however, with Franklin (2002: 214), that even in periods which allowed for formally less strict modes of translation, literalism was still the norm and deviations from it which went beyond the strictly necessary were never encouraged as an ideal. For this reason it can be ruled out that the  $\beta$ -translation could have ever been a retranslation meant as an improvement on the formally much stricter  $\alpha$ -translation, though it would seem to rank ease of perception higher than literalism. It should have been rather the  $\alpha$ -translation, which could be argued to be meant to replace the  $\beta$ -translation for its excessive liberties. But, then, the  $\alpha$ -translation should be expected to stick to the renderings of the  $\beta$ -translation wherever it adequately reproduces the source text, which is not the case. Thus, no convincing case can be made for either translation being designed to replace the other.

In the end the question remains, why the  $\beta$ -translation was selected for the *novoizvoden* panegyrikon. All I can offer on this count, is a common sen-

se guess. Since there is no Vita metaphrastica of the Life of Eupraxia, the  $\beta$ -translation found in the Paterikon collections would have offered a welcome surrogate to the compiler of the revised panegyrikon, who was faced by the task of having to either replace the *staroizvoden* text, i.e. the  $\alpha$ -translation, by a *novoizvoden* translation of a metaphrastic text, which was for obvious reason out of the question, or to revise the *staroizvoden* text thoroughly. To let the  $\beta$ -translation pass as a revision of the  $\alpha$ -translation by including it in the *novoizvoden* panegyrikon obviously spared the reviser the enormous trouble of a true revision.

#### LITERATURE

BHBS = Ivanova, Klimentina. 2008. *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*. Sofia.

Capron, Laurent. 2013. *Codex hagiographiques du Louvre sur Papyrus (P. Louvre Hag.)*. Paris.

Christova-Šomova, Iskra. 2006. Средневековные славянские переводы Книги Иова из Септуагинты. In: Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие, ed. by Lora Taseva et al., Sofia, 239-251.

Dybo, V. A. and V. A. Kučkin. 1966. Болгарский текст в русской минее XVI века. In: *Byzantinobulgarica* 2, 279-301.

Franklin, Simon. 2002. *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950-1300*. Cambridge.

Gladkova, Olesja V. 2011. Лексические дублиеты в ранних славянских переводах. In: Русская речь 2011-1, 83-85.

Gladkova, Olesja V. 2015. Цикл агиографических текстов о Св. Евстафии Плакиде в русской средневековой литературе: история создания и опыт интерпретации. Ph.D. thesis (докторская диссертация), Moscow State University, 2015.

Halkin, F. 1961. Une nouvelle recension de la vie de Sainte Eupraxie. In: *Analecta Bollandiana* 79, 160.

Helland, Terje. 2009. The Pre-Metaphrastic Byzantine Reading Menologion for July in the Slavonic Tradition. In: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 101(2), 659-667.

IBSL = Miltenova, Anisava et al. 2009. История на българската средновековна литература. Sofia.

Kakridis, Yannis. 2006. *Griechische Verbformen und ihre kirchenslavischen Äquivalente in der Übersetzung der Homilie des Ps.-Epiphanius auf die Grablegung und die Höllenfahrt Christi*. In: Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие, ed. by Lora Taseva et al., Sofia, 163-175.

Kaltsoyianni, E. 2008. Τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ ἔργα τοῦ Ἰωάννη Ζωναρᾶ. PhD Thesis, University of Thessalonike, 2008.

Keipert, Helmut. 1975. Zur Parallelüberlieferung des «Bdinskij Sbornik» (Codex Gand. 408). In: *Analecta Bollandiana* 93(3-4), 269-286.

Keipert, Helmut. 1999. Nochmals zur Kontaminationsproblematik in Nr. 5 des "Codex Suprasliensis". In: *Prace filologiczne* 44, 275-280.

Lambros, Spyridion Paulos. 1895-1900. *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of Mount Athos*. Cambridge.

Lunt, Horace G. 1983. One OCS translation or two? In: *Die Welt der Slaven* 28(2), 225-249.

Marti, Roland. 2006. Mehrfachübersetzungen als Sonderfall der Textüberlieferung. In: Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие, ed. by Lora Taseva et al., Sofia, 23-34.

Mircea, Ion Radu. 2005. *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantins et slaves*. Sofia.

Odorico, Paolo. 1979. Ideologia religiosa e contestazione politica in una opera agiografica tardo antica. In: *Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa* 15-16, 59-75.

Petrova, Maja. 1995. A picture of female religious experience: late byzantine anthologies of women saints. In: *Kobieta w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy*. Prace ofiarowane prof. Alicji Karłowskiej-Kamzowej, Antoni Gąsiorowska (ed.), Poznań, 195-200.

Petrova, Maja. 2003. *The Bdinski Sbornik: A study of a Medieval Bulgarian Book*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Central European University, Budapest.

PMV = Полный месяцеслов востока, red. Archimandrit Sergij, Moscow, 1876.

Rosén, Thomas. 1998. Методи и проблеми при датировани и локализации анонимных церковнославянских переводов. *Slovo: Journal of Slavic Language*

*ages and Literatures* 46, 91-113.

Slavova, Tatjana. 1989. Преславска редакция на Кирило-Методиевия старобългарски евангелски превод. In: Кирило-Методиевски студии 6, 15-129.

Stern, Dieter. 2001. Variation in Mehrfachübersetzungen von Theotokia in altrussischen Gottesdienstmenäen. In: *Die Übersetzung als Problem sprach- und literaturwissenschaftlicher Forschung in Slavistik und Baltistik: Beiträge zu einem Symposium in Münster, 10./11. Mai 2001*, ed. Bernhard Symanzik, Gerhard Birkfellner & Alfred Sproede, Hamburg, 2002, 167-184.

Stern, Dieter. 2015 (under press). Studien zum Bdinskij Sbornik: Die Erzählung des Abraham von Qidun und seiner Nichte Maria. In: *Cyrillomethodianum* 20.

Stern, Dieter. 2016 (under press). Copying Greek into Slavic? The Slavonic Branch of the Greek Tradition of the Life of Abraham of Qidun. In: *Proceedings of the ATTEMPT workshop, King's College, London, December 19-20, 2013*, eds. Ilse De Vos, Olga Grinchenko, Lara Sels, [Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta] Leuven.

Taseva, Lora. 2006. Перевод и редакция: языковые критерии и жанровая специфика. In: Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие, eds. L. Taseva et al., Sofia, 35–55.

Taseva, Lora. 2014. *Die Vita des Heiligen Menignos in zwei südslavischen Übersetzungen*. Paper read at the 10th Meeting of Paleoslavists at Ghent University, May 23–24, 2014.

Taseva, Lora et al. (eds.). 2006. Многократните преводи в Южнославянското средновековие, Sofia.

Trost, Klaus. 1978. *Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungstheorie und –praxis des späteren Kirchenslavischen*. München.

Vaillant, André. <sup>2</sup>1964. *Manuel du vieux slave*, 2 Bde. (Bd. 2: <sup>3</sup>1992), Paris.

Voordeckers, Edmond. 1973. Introduction. In: *Bdinski Zbornik. An Old-Slavonic Menologium of Women Saints — A. D. 1360*, ed. by Jan Scharpé & Frans Vyncke, Bruges, 11-40.





## **AUTHENTIC MEDIEVAL SLAVIC DOCUMENTS KEPT IN THE BULGARIAN ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ZOGRAPHOU (1342-1572)**

*Prof Dr. habil. Cyril Pavlikianov  
University of Sofia "St. Kliment Ohridski"*

**T**he present article intends to offer the reader new knowledge about the authentic medieval Slavic documents kept in the Bulgarian Athonite monastery of Zographou. These documents are only seven and cover the period from 1342 to 1572:

### **A. BULGARIAN ROYAL CHARTERS**

**Slavic act no. 1. 1342.** Chrysobull of the Bulgarian Czar, John Alexander, confirming donations which his relative, the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos, had already made to the Bulgarian Athonite monastery of Zographou.

**Slavic act no. 2. Before 1382.** Chrysobull of the Bulgarian Czar, John Šišman, issued for the monastery of the Mother of God Vitoška near the city of Sofia.

### **B. POST-BYZANTINE SLAVIC ACTS PERTAINING TO ZOGRAPHOU AFFAIRS AND PROPERTIES**

**Slavic act no. 3. 1500-1501.** Act issued for Zographou by the superior of Chilandar, Euthymios.

**Slavic act no. 4. 1568.** Act of donation granted to Zographou by one Kalja,

daughter or wife of George Vlachos.

**Slavic act no. 5. 1572.** Document ratifying an exchange of landed property between the monasteries of Zographou and Chilandar.

### C. POST-BYZANTINE TRANSLATIONS

#### OF EARLIER GREEK DOCUMENTS KEPT IN ZOGRAPHOU

**Slavic act no. 6.** Post-Byzantine Slavic translation of a Greek act of the Bishop of Hierissos, Theodosios, settling a dispute between Zographou and Chilandar over land in the isthmus of Provlakas to the north of Mount Athos. Its Greek prototype dates from **1290**.

**Slavic act no. 7.** Post-Byzantine Slavic translation of a Greek *praktikon* issued by Constantine Pergamenos and George Pharisaios in **1317**.

In Zographou archives there are also 4 post-Byzantine false documents which have been commented and dated anew by us in several recent publications<sup>1</sup>. These documents are:

**False Slavic act no. 1.** Falsified Slavic “translation” of an act settling a dispute between the *hegoumenoi* John of Selina and Paul of Banitza. The date in the text is 1049, but the document was forged in 1583-1586.

**False Slavic act no. 2.** False Slavic chrysobull of an imaginary Bulgarian Czar named John Kaliman. The date in the text is 1192, but the document was forged shortly before 1744.

**False Slavic act no. 3.** False Slavic chrysobull attributed to the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. The date in the text is 1286– 1287, but the document was forged shortly before 1744.

**False Slavic act no. 4.** Composite Charter or imaginary chronicle (*Svodna Gramota*) of the monastery of Zographou. The dates in the text span the period 919-1371, but the document was forged shortly before 1744.

1. Cf. Pavlikianov, *The Early Years*, 176-177, false act no. 1, and 236, pl. 35; *idem*, *The Documents of Zographou*, 325-330, 569-607, falsified Bulgarian charters nos. 1-3, and 830-849, pl. 183-202; *idem*, *Were There Cases in Which the Byzantine Emperors Promulgated Their Chrysobulls in Bulgarian?*, *Bulgaria Mediaevalis* 4-5 (Sofia 2013-2014), 283-336.

What is important in this case is that the Bulgarian Athonite monastery of Zographou in reality possesses only one authentic medieval Bulgarian document – the chrysobull of the Bulgarian Czar, John Alexander (Slavic act no. 1, March 1342), which confirms an earlier donations of his relative, the Byzantine emperor John V Palaiologos, made in January 1342. However, this charter pertains to properties located not on Bulgarian but on Byzantine territory, and consequently has never had legal value of its own.

The second Bulgarian royal charter kept in Zographou (Slavic act no. 2, before 1382) has nothing to do with this monastery and refers to a monastic house situated in Mount Vitoša, near the modern Bulgarian capital of Sofia.

The next three acts date from the period 1500-1572 and elucidate one minor private donation (Slavic act no. 4, 1568) and the relations between the Slavic Athonite monasteries of Chilandar and Zographou (Slavic act no. 3, 1500-1501, and Slavic act no. 5, 1572). The undated Slavic translations of the Greek documents of 1290 and 1317 (Slavic acts nos. 6 and 7) were definitely made shortly before 1572 in order to facilitate the transaction described in our Slavic act no. 5, i.e. the exchange of agricultural terrains between Zographou and Chilandar.

In other words in the archives of the Bulgarian Athonite monastic house of Zographou there is only one medieval Slavic document!

This conclusion sounds quite unusual, given the fact that the neighbouring monastery of Kastamonitou has 4 Serbian donative charters of the period 1428-1433<sup>2</sup>, Vatopedi has more than 12 Slavic documents dated to the period 1230-1610<sup>3</sup>, Chilandar has more than 40 Slavic acts issued between 1330 and 1430<sup>4</sup>,

2. C. Pavlikianov, The Mediaeval Slavic Archives of the Athonite Monastery of Kastamonitou, *Cyrrilomethodianum* 20 (Thessalonica 2015), 153-216.

3. М. Ласкарисъ, *Ватопедската грамота на царь Иванъ Асѣня II* (series Български старини no. 11), Sofia 1930; sC. Pavlikianov, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1480 to 1600 - the Philological Evidence of Twenty-Eight Unknown Post-Byzantine Documents from its Archive* (*Monumenta Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia XIX*), Sofia 2006; *idem*, *The Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi from 1462 to 1707. The Archive Evidence*, (*Университетска библиотека 481*) Sofia 2008; *idem*, Unknown Slavic Charter of the Serbian Despot John Uglješa in the Archives of the Athonite Monastery of Vatopedi, *Хиландарски Зборник (Recueil de Chilandar)* 12, Belgrade 2008, 57-67.

4. Actes de l'Athos V, Actes de Chilandar. I. Actes grecs, ed. L. Petit, *Византийскій*

and the monastery of St. Paul about 20 Serbian documents dating from 1385 to 1480<sup>5</sup>.

## TEXTS OF ZOGRAPHOU SLAVIC DOCUMENTS AND THEIR GREEK PROTOTYPES

### CRITICAL SIGNS

«**ΔΕΛ**» = deleted letters

<**ΔΕΛ**> = letters or phrases which must be ignored

{**ΔΕΛ**} = letters omitted by the scribe

/**ΔΕΛ**/ = brackets used by the scribe

**ΔΕΛ** = addition or later interpolation inserted above the line or in the margin

**ΔΕΛ** = text written with cinnabar ink by a czar or high royal official

[.....] = letters or text missing or not readable with proposals for reconstruction  
(the dots correspond to the approximate number of the lost letters)

[... 35-40 ...] = missing text with approximate number of the lost letters

*Временникъ* 17 (1911), Приложение 1 (reprint Amsterdam 1975); Actes de l'Athos V, Actes de Chilandar. II. Actes slaves, ed. L. Petit and B. Korablev, *Византийский Временникъ* 19 (1915), Приложение 1 (reprint Amsterdam 1975); V. Mošin – A. Sovre, *Dodatki h grškim listinam Hilandarja (Supplementa ad acta graeca Chilandarjii)*, Ljubljana 1948; *Archives de l'Athos XX. Actes de Chilandar I. Des origines à 1319*, ed. M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, and Ch. Giros, Paris 1998; Д. Синдик, Српска средњовековна акта у манастиру Хиландару, *Хиландарски Зборник* 10 (1998); В. Αναστασιάδης, *Αρχεῖο τῆς Ἱ. Μ. Χιλανδαρίου. Ἐπιτομὲς μεταβυζαντινῶν ἐγγράφων (Αθωνικὰ Σύμμεικτα 9)*, Athens 2002; B. Bojović, *Chilandar et les pays roumains (XVe – XVIIe siècle). Les actes des princes roumains des archives de Chilandar (Mont-Athos)*, Paris 2010.

5. Љ. Стојановић, Стари српски хрисовуљи, акти, биографије, летописи, типичи, поменици, записи и др., *Споменик Српске краљевске академије* 3, Belgrade 1890; Д. Синдик, Српске повеље у светогорском манастиру Светог Павла, *Мешовита грађа (Miscellanea)* 6. *Грађа историјског института* 17, Belgrade 1978; Г. Суботић, Обнова манастира Светог Павла у XIV веку, *ЗРВИ* 22 (1983); *idem*, Манастир Богородице Месонисиотисе, *ЗРВИ* 26 (1987); *idem*, Манастир Светог Павла, *Казивања о Светој Гори* 1 (Belgrade 1995).

## STRUCTURE OF THE ENTRY

**Act no.**

**Date:**

## TITLE OF THE DOCUMENT

**Type of the act:** Type of the document as specified in its text.

**Description:** Remarks on the peculiarities and the variants of the document.

**No. in ASA:** Number of the microfilm kept of the Archives State Agency of the Republic of Bulgaria in which a photograph of the document is available.

**Archival no.:**

**Analysis:** Summary of the document's content with recapitulation of its basic points.

**Signatures:** Translation of the signatures and comment on their type and language.

**Dating:** Problems and peculiarities of the date available in the text.

Proposals for dating when the text contains no date.

**Notes:** Text of the additional notes in the margins or on the rear of the act.

**Bibliography:**

**Mentioned document(s):**

**Earlier editions:** They are listed in chronological order.

**Remarks:** Comment on the basic points of the document.

**Prosopography:** Analysis of the prosopographical data offered by the document.

**Topography:** Analysis of the topographical data available in the act.

**Text:**

**Correction(s):** Correction(s) of particularly confusing misspelling(s).

**Biblical quotations:**

**Slavic act no. 1**March 6850 (1342), *indiction* 10th

CHRYSOBULL OF THE BULGARIAN CZAR, JOHN ALEXANDER,  
CONFIRMING DONATIONS WHICH HIS RELATIVE, THE BYZANTINE  
EMPEROR JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, HAD ALREADY MADE TO THE  
BULGARIAN ATHONITE MONASTERY OF ZOGRAPHOU

**Type of the act:** ЗЛАТОПЕЧАТНОЕ СЛОВЕЦ (l. 53, 61 and l. 71).

**Description:** Original (**parchment**), dimensions 604 X 362 mm (see pl. 1-3). The act is well preserved. It has no visible folds so it must have been rolled up for storage. The text is written with uncial script, while the royal signature is a fine sample of the specific type of majuscule Slavic handwriting with abundant ligatures known as *vjaz* or *Ligaturschrift*<sup>6</sup>. The only element written with cursive letters is the so-called *kanikloma*, i.e. the additionally inserted word *слово* on l. 53, 61 and 71.

**No. in ASA:** КМФ 18/943, microfilm no. 323.

**Archival no.:** Б 2/58503.

**Analysis:** Theological introduction. Monks from many Christian nations are inhabiting Mount Athos – Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Russians and Iberians. One of their monastic houses is that of the holy martyr George, commonly known as Zographou. It has been supported by the Bulgarian czars, i.e. by the grandfathers and great grandfathers of Czar John Alexander. After God placed John Alexander on the throne of his ancestors, the czar decided to donate to Zographou an immovable and lasting gift. In the State of the Greeks, in the vicinity of the Strymon River, there is a village named Chandax which had been claimed many times by many different persons. Czars and krals before John Alexander were giving many thousands for it, but they did not succeed to acquire it. Now John Alexander is bequeathing this village to the Athonite monastery of St.

6. W. Stschepkin, *Cyrillische Ligaturschrift*, Archiv für slavische philologie 25, Berlin 1903, 109–160; А. Соболевский, *Славяно-русская палеография*, St.-Petersburg 1908, 73–74 and 109; Е. Карский, *Славянская кирилловская палеография*, Leningrad 1928, 238–242.

George. This became possible thanks to his good relations with his already late in-law relative, the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos [III] Palaiologos. The things did not change after the emperor's death, when his son, John Alexander's nephew Kaloioannes Palaiologos, inherited the throne. The Bulgarian czar requested him to grant Chandax to the monastery of St. George. The young emperor had no objections and donated Chandax to the Athonite monastery of St. George, corroborating this donation with a special chrysobull exactly as John Alexander had requested him. The emperor also declared Zographou exempt from paying 50 *hyperpyra* for the taxes *žitarstvo*, *gornina* and *gradozidanie*. The Bulgarian czar promulgates the present chrysobull in order to confirm Zographou possession of Chandax and the tax exemption which Kaloioannes Palaiologos had granted to it at his request. General confirmation of John Alexander's donation referring to the benefactions which his late grandfathers and great grandfathers had performed in favour of Zographou. Date.

**Signature** (l. 74): John, in God believing czar and *samodružec* (in Greek *autokrator*, i.e emperor) of all Bulgarians, Alexander.

**Dating:** March 6850 (1342), indiction 10th. The date is written on l. 72–73: *мѣсѣца мартѣа ... в лѣто ѿ ѿ.ѿ.п., индиктѣиѣны десѣтиѣ.*

**Bibliography:** V. Langlois, *Le Mont Athos et ses monasteries*, Paris 1867, 91; Т. Флоринскій, *Аѿонскіе акты и фотографическіе снимки съ нихъ въ собраніяхъ П. И. Севастьянова. Библиографическое разисканіе*, Sankt-Petersburg 1880, 35; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, Sofia 1965, 40–41; Tchérémissinoff, *Les archives slaves*, 19–20, no. 7; П. Ангелов, Отношенията между балканските държави, отразени в две грамоти от манастира Зограф от XIV в., *Светогорска обител Зограф* 1 (1995), 33–35; Стоянов, *Дипломатика*, 67–122; Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 9; Павликианов, *История на Зограф*, 52–55; И. Божилов, Документи на българските царе от XIII–XIV век, *Palaeobulgarica* 30/2 (Sofia 2006), 37–51; Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 330–337.

**Mentioned document:** Charter of the Emperor Kaloioannes Palaiologos, i.e. John V Palaiologos, donating the village of Chandax to Zographou. This authentic Byzantine imperial charter dates from January 1342 and is kept in the



archives of Zographou<sup>7</sup>.

**Earlier editions:**

1. Архимандритъ Леонидъ [Кавелинъ], *Историческое обозрѣніе аѳонскихъ славянскихъ обителей: болгарской – Зографа, русской – Русика, сербской – Хилендаря и отношеній ихъ къ царствамъ болгарскому, русскому и сербскому от основанія сихъ обителей до текущаго столѣтія*, Moscow 1867, 365–368.

2. И. Срезневскій, Свѣдѣнія и замѣтки о малоизвѣстныхъ и неизвѣстныхъ памятникахъ, Записки Императорской академій наук (приложеніе къ 34 тому), St. Petersburg 1879, 24–28. This edition was based on photographs taken in Zographou by P. Sevast'janov in the 1860s.

3. Епископъ Порфирій Успенскій, *Второе путешествіе по Святой горѣ Афонской въ годы 1858, 1859 и 1861, и описаніе скитовъ аѳонскихъ*, Moscow 1880, 172–173 (only the first 24 lines of the document).

4. Бобчевъ, *Паметници*, 155–158. This edition reproduces the text published by I. Sreznevskij.

5. *Actes de Zographou*, Slavic act no. III.

6. Ильинскій, *Грамоты*, 21–23.

7. Ивановъ, *Български старини*, 587–590.

8. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 72–76 (only the last 15 lines of the document).

9. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 37–40 and pl. 5.

10. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 330-337, act no. 35/Bulgarian act no. 1, and 740-742, pl. 93-95.

11. Д. Живојновић, Хрисовуља бугарског цара Јована Александра манастиру Зографу (март 1342, индикт X), *Иницијал. Часопис за средњовековне студије (Initial. A Review of Medieval Studies)* 3 (Belgrade 2015), 185-195.

**Remarks:**

The basic principle determining any Byzantine chrysobull of the Palaiologan period as authentic is carefully imitated, since the invariable final Greek phrase which is normally available in any genuine late Byzantine imperial chrysobull – ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον εὐσεβὲς καὶ θεοπρόβλητον ὑπεσημῖνато κράτος

7. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 325-330, act no. 34.

– is rendered into Bulgarian almost literally: **ВЪ НЖЕ И НАША БЛАГОЧЕСТИВАА И БОГОПРОНАРЕЧЕННАА, НАЗНАМЕНА ДРЪЖАВА** (l. 73). However, the equivalent of the Byzantine term *kratos* – the Bulgarian word *država* – is the not first word on the last line of the text and not the only word before the czar’s signature. This is the so-called *kratos* rule of the Byzantine imperial chancery, which was evidently unknown to the scribe who had composed the document. Nevertheless, the *kanikloma* – the triple repetition of the word *slovo* (= λόγος) in three different cases – is correct and consists of one accusative (l. 53), one genitive (l. 61) and one nominative (l. 71)<sup>8</sup>.

Our document closely imitates the verbal patterns and the terminology used in the chrysobull which John V Palaiologos had promulgated in favour of Zographou two month earlier, in January 1342<sup>9</sup>. John Alexander’s charter is the most “Byzantine” of the eight extant Bulgarian royal charters, because its scribe has carefully reproduced two basic features typical of any genuine Byzantine chrysobull – the *kanikloma* and the invariable final phrase (l. 73). The second surviving chrysobull of John Alexander, the so-called Orjahovska Gramota of December 1, 1348, imitates the same peculiarities in a slightly different way. Its *kanikloma* consists of three accusatives and the act itself is labelled not *zlatopečatnoe slovo* but chrysobull (χρῖσοβυλλῆ), while the invariable final Greek phrase has been translated into Bulgarian as **ВЪ НЖЕ БЛАГОЧЕСТИВАА, И БЛАГОВЪНЧЕННАА НАЗНАМЕНА СѦ ДРЪЖАВА ЦАРСТВА МИ**<sup>10</sup>. These Byzantine peculiarities are not imitated in the other medieval Bulgarian royal charters<sup>11</sup> and it is clear that John Alexander was the only Bulgarian czar who attempted to follow strictly the model of the Byzantine imperial chrysobulls.

The Bulgarian chrysobull of March 1342 contains three basic points:

1. Zographou enjoyed the protection of the Bulgarian czars since the time of

8. On the peculiarities of the Byzantine *kanikloma* cf. F. Dölger – J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Erster Abschnitt. Die Kaiserurkunden*, Munich 1968, 29, 36 and 117–125; Γ. Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Βυζαντινὴ διπλωματικὴ. Α. Αὐτοκρατορικὰ ἔγγραφα* (Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται 4), Thessalonica 1972, 261–264.

9. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 325-330, act no. 34.

10. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 41–43, l. 18, 43, 47 and 49–50.

11. Ильинский, *Грамоты*, 3–12; Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 41.

John Alexander's grandfathers and great grandfathers (l. 19–20 and 70–71).

2. The Bulgarian czar had requested John V Palaiologos to bequeath Chandax to Zographou and the emperor had already satisfied his request. This detail makes it clear that the Slavic chrysobull of March 1342 cannot be treated as a separate document but only as a supplement to the aforementioned John V's chrysobull of January 1342.

3. John Alexander had requested John V to declare Zographou exempt from paying 50 hyperpyra for the charges *žitarstvo*, *gornina* and *gradozidanie* (l. 50 and 58), i.e. for the Byzantine taxes *sitarkia*, *orike* and *kastroktisia*. The situation with these taxes prior to January 1342 was the following:

3.1. In September 1327 a chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaiologos ordered that the 50 *hyperpyra* paid by the inhabitants of the Zographite village Prevista and the residents of the other Zographite dependencies should not be increased<sup>12</sup>.

3.2. In March 1328 a chrysobull of Andronikos III Palaiologos legitimated all Zographou landed property underscoring that the monastery's estates had already been granted a full tax exemption, the only exception being the *sitarkia* tax which amounted to 50 hyperpyra per year<sup>13</sup>.

3.3. In January 1342 the Bulgarian czar requested John V to promulgate a chrysobull exempting Zographou estates at Chandax from the 50 hyperpyra due for the taxes *sitarkia*, *orike* and *kastroktisia* and the emperor satisfied his request<sup>14</sup>.

It is thereby evident that John Alexander never donated to Zographou property situated on Bulgarian territory. Moreover, he provided the Bulgarian Athonite monastery no income deriving from his own fisc.

The taxes mentioned in the document are in fact typically Byzantine. Their Bulgarian "equivalents" are attested only in John Alexander's charter of March 1342<sup>15</sup> and are nothing but a correct translation of the Byzantine fiscal terms used in John V's chrysobull of January 1342. For this reason, in our opinion

12. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 288–296, act no. 28.

13. *Ibidem*, 299–305, act no. 30.

14. *Ibidem*, 325–330, act no. 34, Variants 1 and 2.

15. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 121, 124 and 159; Билярски, *Фискална система*, 184–185 and 188.

the existence of the taxes *žitarstvo*, *gornina* and *gradozidanie* in 14th century Bulgaria is dubious<sup>16</sup>. However, there certainly was a Bulgarian tax official called *žitar*. This low-ranking officer is mentioned in two charters of Czar John Šišman – the so-called Vitoški<sup>17</sup> and Rilski<sup>18</sup> chrysobulls. Everything we know about him is that his duties were probably connected with providing grain for the needs of the state<sup>19</sup>.

In 1991 V. Stojanov expressed some plausible suspicions that John Alexander's chrysobull might not be an original, but a sort of an official copy. His arguments are the following:

1. Like the controversial chrysobull which John Šišman promulgated in 1378 for the Monastery of Rila, John Alexander's charter is written with a semiuncial Cyrillic script. The other Bulgarian royal charters use various types of Cyrillic cursive.

2. Along with the false charter of the imaginary Bulgarian Czar John Kaliman, which is also kept in Zographou, John Šišman's chrysobull for the Monastery of Rila and John Alexander's charter for Zographou are the only Bulgarian royal documents that use the Bulgarian equivalent of the Byzantine term chrysobull – *zlatopečatnoe slovo*. The other Bulgarian royal charters use only the term "chrysobull".

3. John Alexander's charter is the only Bulgarian royal act in which the two names of the czar are written separately. In fact they form the first and the last element of his signature: "John, in God believing czar and autokrator of all Bulgarians, Alexander". According to Stojanov, this specific modelling of the czar's name appears prevailing in falsified Bulgarian chrysobulls, e.g. in the false chrysobull of John Kaliman (1192) and in the counterfeited Virginska Gramota

16. Соловјев – Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 474, 482 and 491–492; Г. Цанкова-Петкова, *За аграрните отношения в средновековна България XI–XIII в.*, Sofia 1964, 160; Д. Ангелов, *Аграрните отношения в северна и средна Македонија през XIV век*, Sofia 1958, 196; M. Andreev, *Sur certains traits spécifiques du système fiscal de la Bulgarie médiévale en comparaison avec le système fiscal byzantin*, *Études Balkaniques* 14/4 (1978), 90–91; Билярски, *Институции*, 361–364 and 382–383; Билярски, *Фискална система*, 39–43, 61–63, 75–77.

17. See our Slavic act no. 2.

18. Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 64.

19. Билярски, *Фискална система*, 111–113.

(1257–1277) of the Bulgarian Czar Constantine Tih Asen<sup>20</sup>.

Stojanov's third argument is unsubstantiated, because inserting the imperial signature amidst the emperor's personal and family name was a normal practice in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period. A fine example is provided by John V's charter for Zographou of January 1342, in which we read: Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Παλαιολόγος (l. 48–50). Stojanov's second remark is difficult to comment, because it is based on only two documents. Observations of this kind might be of some importance only if they are based on a much larger number of royal acts. On the contrary, Stojanov's first argument sounds logically. John Alexander's chrysobull really seems to be closer to the tradition of the 14th century Cyrillic liturgic manuscripts than to the pattern of the Bulgarian royal documents, which are written prevalingly in cursive script and were surely intended to be used for proving legal rights. John Alexander's chrysobull is written in a consistent late medieval Bulgarian, so it could hardly be a posterior imitation, regardless that its external appearance seems unusual. The simplest explanation is that this charter was probably not designed to be used in a court of justice, but to be demonstrated on official occasions. Such an interpretation makes sense, because without John V's chrysobull of January 1342 John Alexander's act of March 1342 was actually void. It referred to a property situated in a foreign state and had no legal value of its own for the Byzantine fiscal authorities. On the other hand, John Alexander's signature is definitely not an autograph of the Bulgarian czar, but a highly ornate composition consisting of decorative elements written by a specialized scribe. Scrutinizing the Serbian royal signatures we can easily figure out that they were almost never autographs<sup>21</sup>. Consequently, the formatting of our act seems to be very close to what was considered normal for a 14th century Slavic charter issued by a Balkan ruler.

**Fiscal terms.** The taxes mentioned in John Alexander's Slavic chrysobull are *žitarstvo*, *gornina* and *gradozidanie*. In fact these are literal translations of the Byzantine fiscal terms *sitarkia* (=žitarstvo), *orike* (=gornina) and *kastroktisia*

20. Стоянов, *Дипломатика*, 121–122.

21. See the volumes of the series *Стари српски архив* 1–13 (Belgrade 2001–2014).

(=*gradozidanie*), available in the chrysobull which John V promulgated in January 1342.

1. *Sitarkia* (l. 50 and 58) was a secondary or supplementary tax of uncertain nature. It was usually paid for the *zeugaria* possessed by the paroikoi and was sometimes identified with the *zeugaratikion*, i.e. the tax due for possessing a pair of oxen<sup>22</sup>. Data about the amount of *sitarkia* are scarce and, as A. Každan has explicitly pointed out in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, the best known values are those provided by the archives of Zographou<sup>23</sup>. *Sitarkia* was also a sort of charge that was relatively rarely abolished and, according to N. Oikonomides, it was probably related to providing grain for the needs of the garrisons of the castles and the small fortified towns<sup>24</sup>.

2. *Orike* (l. 50 and 58) was too a supplementary or secondary tax of uncertain nature. It is mentioned in many chrysobulls of the 14th century, usually together with the taxes *kastroktisia*, *ennomion*, *sitarkia* and *mitaton*. According to A. Každan, it must have been somehow connected with the Slav territories of the Balkan Peninsula<sup>25</sup>. On the contrary, N. Oikonomides was convinced that the term *orike* derived from the Greek *oros* (mountain) and designated a tax payable to the proprietor of the land for the exploitation of the forests situated on this land<sup>26</sup>.

3. *Kastroktisia* (l. 50 and 58), literally “construction of fortresses”, was a fiscal charge first attested in a document of Iviron issued in 995<sup>27</sup>. It probably designated an actual state corvée and by the 14th century began to lose its technical meaning gradually becoming a tax payable in cash<sup>28</sup>.

**Topography:** The village of **Chandax** (l. 29, 41, 43 and 55) was located on the west bank of the Strymon River, about 10 km northwest of the river’s mouth, on

22. К. Хвостова, *Особенности аграрно-правовых отношений в поздней Византии (XIV–XV вв.)*, Moscow 1968, 99, 243–244 and 249–251.

23. *ODB*, III, 1906–1907.

24. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 71, 103–104 and 288..

25. *ODB*, III, 1535.

26. Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 84.

27. *Archives de l’Athos XIV. Actes d’Iviron I*, ed. J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides and D. Papachrysanthou, with the collaboration of H. Métrévélis, Paris 1985, no. 8, l. 13.

28. Σ. Τρωϊάνος, *Καστροκτισία, Βυζαντινά I* (1969), 39–57; Oikonomides, *Fiscalité*, 110–111, 174, 284, 285, 288, 292, 295; *ODB*, II, 1112.

the territory of the modern municipality of Koutse and in the vicinity of what is today the village of Eukarpia (see map no. 1)<sup>29</sup>.

### Text:

Ѣма оубо бысть мановение бѣ ѿца и гѣ нашего Исоу Христа ходатаиствомъ  
схщыхъ и истинныхъ ||<sup>2</sup> прѣчистыхъ и прѣбл҃гословеныхъ вл҃цѣхъ и б҃городителницѣхъ,  
на ст҃ѣхъ горѣхъ дошнѣхъ еже быти въ ||<sup>3</sup> ней пристанище сп҃сению въсѣко и  
д҃ши хр҃істианстѣхъ паче же православнѣхъ, и съ оуср҃дїемъ прѣ||<sup>4</sup>вѣгажшю  
въ ней. Ѣже ради вины и въздвигошъ троу҃долюбивнѣ мнози, дѣловы ст҃ыхъ  
вели||<sup>5</sup>кы и дивны цр҃іе бл҃гочестивны и бж҃голюбивны величїе и прѣподобенны  
инѣхъ и оукрасї||<sup>6</sup>шъ и шбогатишъ въсѣко каменїемъ многоцѣннымъ и  
внѣшнъ златомъ же, и сребрѡ||<sup>7</sup>мъ и иманїи и инѣхъ правдами многыми,  
движимыми и недвижимыми, еже быти въ ||<sup>8</sup>довольство и изобѣліе схщимъ  
и прѣбывающимъ въ таковыхъхъ въсечестныхъхъ и бж҃естѣ||<sup>9</sup>хъ {хъ}  
дѣловохъ, похщихъ и славашихъ ед҃ного б҃га въ троици славимаго, и прѣ-  
чистѣхъ и въсѣ||<sup>10</sup>пѣтѣхъ его матере, поминати же и православныхъ и хр҃істолю-  
бныхъ и приснопамятныхъ цр҃ѣхъ, ||<sup>11</sup>и прочѣхъ блаженыхъ ктитѣхъ и въсѣкѣхъ  
рѡдѣхъ хр҃істианскы. Ибо не ѿ ед҃ного рѡда тѣхъ или ||<sup>12</sup>ѿ двою, обрѣтаѣт  
сѧ въ томъхъ ст҃ѣхъхъ мѣстѣхъхъ здателе, нѣ понеже обш҃че сп҃сение въ немъхъ естъ  
||<sup>13</sup>искажшїимъ ю, ок҃ще бж҃о бысть и мѣсто благоволествоужшїимъ. Тѣхъ  
ради, и обрѣта||<sup>14</sup>ѣт сѧ зданїа ѿ въсѣкого рѡда и аз҃ыка православнаго, еже  
схтѣхъ прѣвѣхъ и израднѣшїе, ||<sup>15</sup>грѣци, вл҃ггаре, потѡмъ же, сръвѣхъ, роусси,  
нѣверѣ, въсѣкѣхъ же имѣтѣхъ память прѡтї||<sup>16</sup>хъ своему потроуждениѣ, паче же  
рѣвению. Въ нихъ же обрѣтаѣт сѧ и бж҃естѣвны и ||<sup>17</sup>въсечестны дѡмѣхъ,  
еже въ имѣхъ почитаемы, ст҃аго и славнаго великомѣчїека и ||<sup>18</sup>повѣдоносца  
Гѣоргїа, и нареченны Зѡграфѡвъ. Стѣхъ оубѡ, издавна прѣд҃рѣжїимъ е||<sup>19</sup>сть  
ѿ православныхъхъ и благочестивыхъхъ и хр҃істолюбивныхъхъ цр҃іи вл҃ггарескихъхъ,  
дѣдѣхъ ||<sup>20</sup>и прѣдѣдѣхъ цр҃тѣхъ ми и прилагали схтѣхъ и крѣпили кѣждо ихъ,  
елико бл҃говолихъ естѣхъ, ||<sup>21</sup>даже и до цр҃тѣхъ нашего, о своѣхъ памяти. Ѣнеже  
пакы благоизволихъ естѣхъ г҃ѣхъ б҃гѣхъ мо||<sup>22</sup>и Гѣ Хѣ милости и ходатаиствомъ

29. Λ. Μαυρομάτης, 'Η πρόνοια τοῦ Μονομάχου καὶ ἡ διαμάχη γιὰ τὸν Χάντακα (1333–1378), (*Βυζαντινὰ Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2001), 258.

прѣчистыѣ его мѣтере, и посади мѧ на прѣстолаѣ ||<sup>23</sup> вѣлгарѣскаго црѣва еже  
естѣ дѣдни, и прѣдни црѣва ми, прилагаше и давааше и црѣво ||<sup>24</sup> ми еліко по  
силѣ въ вѣсѣ врѣмена своа, нѣ та вѣсѣ, ни въ что же вѣмѣнѣахѣ сѧ црѣвоу  
ми, ||<sup>25</sup> противѣ и како имааше желаніе и попеченіе и ревноваше зѣлѡ днѣ и  
нощѣ промы||<sup>26</sup> шлѣхѣ како и коеж вещиѣ ли дѣломѣ изъверѣсти и подати  
томоу вѣсечестномоу дв||<sup>27</sup> моу стѣго и славнаго великомѣчѣніка и повѣдо-  
носца Гевргіа, достоаніе нѣкое, ||<sup>28</sup> недвижимо и неѡемлемо. И понеже Ѹбѡ  
обрѣтааше сѧ ѡнѣждѣ въ дрѣжавѣ грѣчестѣ ||<sup>29</sup> и на Отримѡнѣ село зѡвоимѣ  
Хандакѣ, и бѣше о семѣ прѣдѣвѣдомо црѣвоу ми, іа||<sup>30</sup> ко искомо вѣстѣ  
минѡгажѣ ѡ минѡгихѣ прѣжде сего врѣмене. И скахѣ бѡ таковое се||<sup>31</sup> лѡ и црѣ  
вывшіи прѣжде насѣ и краліе и подаваахѣ и минѡго тысаща, и не сподобившѣ  
||<sup>32</sup> сѧ пожитіе. Бѣше же Ѹбѡ се, іако минит сѧ съмѡтреніе стѣго. Нинѣ оубѡ  
црѣво ми поне||<sup>33</sup> же прилежаше таковое селѡ кѣ достоанію тоѣ вѣсечестнаго  
дѡма стѣго и славнааго вѣ||<sup>34</sup> ликѡмѣчѣніка и повѣдоносца Гевргіа, прѣложивѣ  
на щедрѡты бѣжиѣ и прѣчистыѣ его ||<sup>35</sup> матерѣ, и на ходатаиство и помощѣ  
стѣго, юще же и на истиннѣхѣ и нелицемѣрнѣхѣ||<sup>36</sup> любовѣ еже имѣше црѣво ми  
сѣ прѣвѣсокимѣ црѣмѣ грѣцкимѣ вѣзлюбенымѣ вра||<sup>37</sup> томѣ и сватомѣ  
црѣва ми кирѣ Яндрѡнікомѣ Палеологомѣ даже и до смѣрти его. И по ||<sup>38</sup>  
смѣрти егоѡ пакы, не измѣни сѧ црѣва ми любовѣ, нѣ паче оусѡуѣи тѣхѣ и  
на сѣна еѣѡ, ||<sup>39</sup> прѣвѣсокаго црѣ грѣцкомѣ Калоіѡанна Палеолога, вѣзлюбенаго  
анепсеа и свата црѣва ||<sup>40</sup> ми. Ёго же дѣлѣма, и дрѣзновеніемѣ посла кѣ немѡу  
црѣво ми и проси емоу такова||<sup>41</sup> е село зѡвоимѣ Хандакѣ на имѣ стѣго и слав-  
наго великомѣчѣніка и повѣдоносца Гевр||<sup>42</sup> гіа, еже и вѣстѣ аѣе вѣз вѣсѣкого  
прѣкословѣа и прѣрѣканиа паче же сѣ любовиѣхѣ. И пода||<sup>43</sup> де таковое селѡ зѡво-  
имѣ Хандакѣ въ воли црѣва ми, имѣже образомѣ проси е црѣво ми, не ||<sup>44</sup> нѣжд-  
но нѣкако ни прокрыѣено, нѣ по любви. И іако вѣгѡчестивѣ и прѣвѣсокъ црѣ,  
вѣнѣ||<sup>45</sup> тѣ и подаде таковое селѡ сѣ вѣсѣмѣ прилежаніемѣ и правдами его,  
вѣгѡволеніемѣ свои||<sup>46</sup> мѣ въ слоухѣ и явленіе вѣсѣго црѣва его, и сѣ златопе-  
чатнымѣ словѡмѣ црѣва его, еже быти ||<sup>47</sup> неѡстѣпимо и неѡемлемѡ, ѡ вѣ-  
сечестнаго прѣвѣваниа стѣѡ и славнаго великомѣчѣніка ||<sup>48</sup> и повѣдоносца Гевргіа,  
прошенна ради и хотѣніа црѣва ми. Іѣще же и о пѣтъдѣсѣтихѣ ||<sup>49</sup> перпирѣхѣ  
еже задѣваахѣ стѣжанимѣ тоѣ вѣсечестнаго прѣвѣваниа и вѣзимаахѣ ||<sup>50</sup>  
ради житѣрѣства и горнины и градозидаіа, тѣхѣ повелѣ ѡсѣщи сѧ и не вѣзи-



ма||<sup>51</sup>ти сѧ ни до єдїноѧ чѧты, донелиже вѣдетъ и прѣбываетъ въсечестныи двѧъ реченныи. ||<sup>52</sup> И понеже таковомоу и издавна желаемоу и добромоу прошенїю сподоби сѧ приати црѣѡ ѿ, ||<sup>53</sup> благоизволи и црѣѡ ми, и издаватъ настоящее златопечатное словѡ црѣѡ ми, имже ||<sup>54</sup> и заповелѣватъ црѣѡ ми, имѣти и овѣдръжати явленномоу монастырю црѣѡ ми рече||<sup>55</sup>нное селѡ, Хандакъ, вес крамолы весма непотъкновенно и непоколѣблемо и неѡемлемо, ||<sup>56</sup> съ въсѣкымъ прилежанїемъ и прибыткомъ его. Юще же и не задѣвати сѧ стѣжанимъ ||<sup>57</sup> того въсечестнаго монастырѣ за подаанїе реченнымъ пѧтьдесѧтимъ перпирѣмъ, ѿ||<sup>58</sup>же даваахъ ради житарства и горнины и градожданиа, понеже ѡпроси и сихъ црѣѡ ||<sup>59</sup> ми Ѹ прѣвысокаго црѣ гръческаго Калоіѡанна Палеолога, възлюбенаго аневѣа и ||<sup>60</sup> свѧта црѣѡ ми. И тако имѧтъ быти непотъкновенно, крѣпостиж и силѡж насто||<sup>61</sup>ѡцаго златопечатнаго слова црѣѡ ми, и да обладають и овѣдръжатъ прѣ||<sup>62</sup>подобнии инѡци еже въ оградѣ стѧго и славнаго великомѡченика и повѣдоно||<sup>63</sup>сца Гѡвргїа, нѧ реченымъ селѡмъ вес крамолы весма непотъ{к}новено и незывлемо, ||<sup>64</sup> съ въсѣкымъ прилежанїемъ и прибыткомъ его, обаче ни задѣвати кто стѣжанїѡ||<sup>65</sup>мъ того въсечестнаго монастырѣ за подаанїе пѧтьдесѧтимъ перпирѣмъ, по||<sup>66</sup>неже тако вышѣявлено быстъ, ѡпроси ихъ црѣѡ ми съ прочими прошенїи свои||<sup>67</sup>ми. И оувѣза, и оутвѣрди, и оукрѣпи, бл҃говоленїемъ бѧ ѡ{т}ца и гѧ нашего Исоу Хрїста, ||<sup>68</sup> и ходатаиствомъ прѣчистыѧ бѣѡѧ, и помощиж ст҃го и славнаго великомѡчнїка и по||<sup>69</sup>вѣдоносца, Гѡвргїа, еліко по силѣ, понеже да приобращет сѧ и црѣѡ ми въ толи\* ||<sup>70</sup> стѡмъ мѣстѣ, іакоже и прочии православнии и бл҃гочестивии цр҃не, дѣди и прѣдѣдї ||<sup>71</sup> црѣѡ ми. Того во ради и быстъ златопечатное словѡ црѣѡ ми и послано ||<sup>72</sup> быстъ, мѡѧ мѡртїа, на въсѣко Ѹтверждѣнїе извѣстѡе, в лѣто ҃҃.ѡ.н. индїктї||<sup>73</sup>ѡны десѧтиѧ, въ неже и наша благочестивѧ и бл҃гопронареченнаѧ, назнамена дрѣжава. †

||<sup>74</sup> † ꙗѡ въ хѧ бѧ вѣренъ црѣ и сѧмѡдръжець всѣмъ бл҃гарѡмъ а҃леѡѧнрѣ

## Bulgarian act no. 2

[Before 1382]

### CHRYSOBULL OF THE BULGARIAN TSAR JOHN ŠIŠMAN FOR THE MONASTERY OF MOTHER OF GOD VITOŠKA NEAR SOFIA

**Type of the act:** χρисовѣлъ (l. 1 and 15).

**Description:** Original (**parchment**), dimensions 380 X 275–280 mm (see pl. 4). The act bears traces of moisture and is reinforced with a piece of tissue glued to its back. A decorative hand holding a royal sceptre precedes the royal signature on the last line. This specific type of ornamentation is also available in the counterfeited Virginski chrysobull of the Bulgarian Czar Constantine Tih Asen (1257–1277), in the so-called Mrački or Orjahovski chrysobull of Czar John Alexander (1347), and in the charter which Czar John Sracimir granted to the city of Brašov in 1369–1396<sup>30</sup>. The text of the document is written with a cursive script, while the royal signature is a typical example of one specific type of uncial Slavic script with abundant ligatures which is known as *vjaz* or *Ligaturschrift*<sup>31</sup>. The *kanikloma* is not complete as the word “chrysobull”, written with red letters and by a different hand, appears only twice – once in nominative (l. 1) and once in genitive (l. 15).

**No. in ASA:** КМФ 18/943, microfilm no. 323.

**Archival no.:** Б IV Б34.

**Analysis:** The Bulgarian Czar, John Šišman, grants the present chrysobull to the monastery of the Mother of God at Mount Vitoša which was founded by his late father, Czar John Alexander. The governor (*kefalija*) of Sredec (Sofia) is not allowed to demand any payment from this monastic house, from all its estates, as well as from the inhabitants of the village of Novačani, which belongs to this monastery and is situated in the city of Sofia (sic!). The same prohibition is extended to the fiscal officers *prahtore*, *kastrofilaci*, *desetnici*, *primikjure*, *al-agatore*, *perpirake*, *žitare*, *vinare*, the *desetkare* authorised to collect the taxes

30. Стоянов, *Дипломатика*, 74–77.

31. For this term see the description of our act no. 1.

due for bees, sheep and swine, *apodohatore*, *komisi*, *stratore*, *gradare*, *varare*, *senare*, *pesjaci*, and *kragujare*. The monastery is also exempted from the taxes *podvoda*, *padalište*, *foun*, *galadstvo*, *razpust*, as well as from all charges known as *globi* (fines). The present chrysobull is being promulgated in order to prevent the aforesaid tax-collectors from intervening in the monastery's affairs. The only person authorized to receive payments from the monastery's peasants is its superior Roman.

**Signature** (l. 22–23): John Šišman, in God believing czar and *samodružec* (=autokrator, i.e emperor) of all Bulgarians and Greeks.

**Dating:** The document contains no chronological references. In her catalogue of the Slavic acts kept in Zographou K. Tchérémissinoff dates it to 1371–1393, i.e. to the time of Czar John Šišman's reign<sup>32</sup>. However, it is clear that the charter could not have been promulgated after the Turkish conquest of Sofia, which took place either in 1382<sup>33</sup> or 1385<sup>34</sup>. Thus, *terminus ante quem* for Šišman's chrysobull is most probably the year 1382.

**Bibliography:** Tchérémissinoff, *Les archives slaves*, 20, no. 8; Ангелов, *София*, 56 and 66–67; Стоянов, *Дипломатика*, Sofia 1991, 67–122; Даскалова–Райкова, *Грамоти*, 10–11.

**Earlier editions:**

1. P. Šafařík, *Památky dřevního písemnictví jihoslovánův, díl předchozí. Okázky občanského písemnictví (krátke letopisy srbské)*, Prague 1870, 108–109.

2. Бобчевъ, *Паметници*, 116.

3. *Actes de Zographou*, Slavic act no. IV.

4. Ильинский, *Грамоты*, 29–30.

5. Ивановъ, *Български старини*, 600–601.

6. М. Ковачевъ, Драгалевскиятъ манастиръ „Св. Богородица Витошка“ и неговитѣ старини, *Материали за историята на София* 9 (Sofia 1940), 8–11.

7. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 183–185 (original text and modern Bulgarian trans-

32. Tchérémissinoff, *Les archives slaves*, 20, no. 8.

33. Cf. П. Никовъ, Турското завоевание на България и съдбата на последнитѣ Шишмановци, *Българска историческа библиотека* I/1, Sofia 1923, 134; Ангелов, *София*, 73.

34. Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 24.

lation).

8. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 47 and plate 6.

9. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 417-427, act no. 53/Bulgarian act no. 2, and 774, pl. 127.

**Remarks:**

The **tax-collectors** mentioned in the charter are:

1. **Kefaliija** (l. 6 and 8). The term corresponds to the Byzantine administrative office of κεφαλῇ<sup>35</sup>. According to I. Biljarski, the institution of the Byzantine *kephalai* or *kephalatikeuontes* was adopted in medieval Bulgaria and Serbia with no changes. In Bulgaria, exactly like in Byzantium, the term *kefaliija* denoted an administrative position with various civil and military functions which, however, was not a hierarchical rank. The *kefaliija* of Sredec (Sofia) was, therefore, a provincial governor in charge of a basic administrative unit. He was also the head of all the fiscal officials and tax-collectors which we would discuss below<sup>36</sup>.

2. **Stasis** (l. 6). This is a Slavic variant of the Byzantine fiscal term στάσις, which denoted an agricultural terrain controlled by a single proprietor. In our document the term evidently refers to the estates of the monastery in general<sup>37</sup>.

3. The verb **μετέχати** (l. 5 and 7) is a Bulgarian variant of the Greek verb μετέχω which means “to participate”. Its fiscal meaning is “to intervene in one’s affairs” or “to interfere with one’s affairs”<sup>38</sup> and not “to rule” or “to possess” as A. Daskalova and M. Rajkova suggested<sup>39</sup>.

The text mentions the following categories of tax-collectors:

1. **Prahtor** (l. 8). The word is nothing but a transliteration of the Byzantine term πράκτωρ. In the Bulgarian royal documents this word appears with two distinct meanings: A. In the charter which the Bulgarian Czar John II Asen granted to

35. *ODB*, II, 1122.

36. Љ. Максимовић, *Византијска провинцијска управа у доба Палеолога*, Beograd 1972, 71–100; Билярски, *Институциите*, 286–292.

37. Соловјев–Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 493; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 84; Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 357.

38. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 325, 342 and 394; Билярски, *Институциите*, 350–353; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 97–98 and 200.

39. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 228–229.

Vatopedi in 1230 it denotes the officers of the local administration in general. B. In all other cases the term designates an officer of the fisc or tax-collector<sup>40</sup>. According to John Šišman's act the prahtor was definitely subordinated to the authority of the *kephalijs* of Sredec (Sofia), and not directly to that of the Bulgarian czar. In Byzantium the term praktor refers to a tax official of a low rank. Theophylaktos of Ochrid describes the praktores primarily as tax-collectors, but in various acts of the period 1000–1200 they are also mentioned as agents of the fisc in general. They also had judicial duties and their significance increased in the 13th century<sup>41</sup>. G. Litavrin assumes that there were two types of praktores in Byzantium – local praktores, who were settled and operated in a specific administrative *thema*, and travelling *praktores* representing the fisc, who were not subordinated to the local authorities<sup>42</sup>.

2. **Kastrofilak** (l. 8). The word is clearly a transliteration of the Byzantine term *καστροφύλαξ*. In the Bulgarian royal documents it usually refers to a superintendent of a fortress, but in our chrysobull it designates a military functionary subordinated to the local governor<sup>43</sup>. In Byzantium the *kastrophylax* was a commander of a stronghold and was usually appointed by the emperor. He was responsible for the maintenance and the repair of his *kastron*, as well as for preserving the order within its walls. According to Pseudo-Kodinos, by the 14th century the *kastrophylakes* were also administrators of the cities. The office is attested from the second half of the 11th century, but is more frequently mentioned from the 13th century onward. Some *kastrophylakes* presided over small *kastra*, while others administered cities as Smyrna, Serrhai and Thessalonica. Their functions are poorly documented in the available sources<sup>44</sup>.

40. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 321; Билярски, *Институциите*, 350–353; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 97–98 and 200.

41. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung, besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1927 (reprint Hildesheim 1960), 71–75; *ODB*, III, 1711–1712.

42. Г. Литаврин, *Болгария и Византия в XI–XII вв.*, Moscow 1960, 300; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 149–150.

43. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 342; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 156; Билярски, *Институциите*, 313–314.

44. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 188; M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1261)*, Oxford

3. **Desetnik** (l. 8). The term is of Slavic origin and obviously refers to an administrative officer subordinated to the local governor. I. Biljarski suggests that he probably had military functions connected with the defense of Sofia and its district. He rejects I. Dujčev's view that desetnik and desetkar were synonyms designating a specific category of tax-collectors authorised to levy the tithe on different agricultural products<sup>45</sup>. In our opinion, Biljarski's interpretation is more convincing.

4. **Primikjur** (l. 8–9). The term is of Latin origin and is well attested in Byzantium where there were military, civil and ecclesiastical *primikerioi*. If we leave apart the *megas primikerios*, the other *primikerioi* were civil or military officers of low rank<sup>46</sup>. However, the Slavic term *primikjur* obviously means something very different from its Byzantine prototype – it designated an eminent peasant who acted as the head of a community of shepherds. He had judicial duties and probably functioned also as a representative of the fisc<sup>47</sup>. According to our act, the *primikjur* was directly subordinated to the authority of the *kefalijs* of Sredec (Sofia).

5. **Alagator** (l. 9). The term is attested only in the present charter and in the chrysobull which Czar John Šišman granted to the Rila Monastery in September 1378<sup>48</sup>. It is evidently a derivative of the Byzantine term ἀλλάγιον. In the late 13th century the term *mega allagion* designated a garrison, especially that of Thessalonica. During the 14th century, the commander of the *allagion* was usually called the *archon tou allagiou*. However, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, there was also a title protallagator<sup>49</sup>. I. Dujčev and I. Biljarski assume that the Slavic term (*a*)*lagator* denoted a commander of a squadron or an officer in

1975, 266–267; ODB, II, 1112–1113.

45. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 322 and 394; Билярски, *Институциите*, 314; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 102–105.

46. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 156; ODB, III, 1719–1720.

47. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 386–387; В. Мошин – Л. Славева – К. Илиевска, *Грамотите на манастирот Св. Ѓеорѓи–Горго Скопски, Споменици за средновековната и поновата историја на Македонија*, I, Скопје 1975, 186–187; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 115.

48. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти на българските царе*, 58.

49. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 138, l. 34–35; ODB, I, 67–68.

charge of the cavalry in general<sup>50</sup>. Based on our act, the *alagator* was subordinated to the authority of the *kefalija* of Sredec (Sofia), and not directly to that of the Bulgarian czar.

6. **Perpirak** (l. 9). The term is of Greek origin and is connected with the name of the basic golden coin used during the late Byzantine period – the *hyperpyron*. I. Dujčev suggests that it designated the tax officers who were in charge for the payments collected in cash<sup>51</sup>. According to our document, the *perpirak* was directly subordinated to the Bulgarian czar and not to the *kefalija* of Sredec. This peculiarity is extensively commented by I. Biljarski<sup>52</sup>.

7. **Žitar** (l. 9). The term derives from the Slavic word for wheat (жито) and refers to the collectors of the tax *žitarstvo*, which is a calque for the Greek *sitarkia*. As we already pointed out above, in Byzantium the *sitarkia* was a secondary or supplementary tax which was rarely abolished. N. Oikonomides assumes that it was also related to providing grain for the needs of the garrisons residing in castles and small fortified towns<sup>53</sup>. I. Dujčev and I. Biljarski suggest that its Bulgarian variant was a sort of requisition of cereals, i.e. it denoted the obligation of the peasants to sell grain to the state at fixed low prices<sup>54</sup>.

8. **Vinar** (l. 9). The term derives from the Slavic word for wine (вино) and designates the collectors of a tax imposed on wine production. The Greek name of this tax is οἰνομέτριον<sup>55</sup>.

9. **Desetkar pčelni, svini** and **ovči** (l. 10). These were tax officers responsible for exacting a tithe from peasants who had bees, sheep and swine<sup>56</sup>. The names

50. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 393; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 155–156; Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 63; Билярски, *Институциите*, 314–317.

51. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 348 and 393; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 155; Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 64.

52. Билярски, *Фискална система*, 101–102.

53. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 71, 103–104 and 288.

54. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 363; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 115, 155 and 157–158; Билярски, *Институциите*, 361–364; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 111–113.

55. Соловјев – Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 472–473; Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 322; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 158–159; Билярски, *Институциите*, 364–366; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 113–114.

56. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 153–156.

of the corresponding Byzantine taxes are *melissoennomion*, *probatodekateia* and *choirodekateia*<sup>57</sup>. In the Byzantine documents of the Palaiologan period these three taxes are usually mentioned together, while in some Greek charters of the Serbian rulers the last two elements can also appear in the compound form *probatochoirodekateia*<sup>58</sup>. The taxation imposed on the beehives was probably connected with the specific value of wax as an exportable product<sup>59</sup>.

10. *Apodohator* (l. 10). The term is definitely Greek, but is not attested in the Greek documentary sources<sup>60</sup>. According to F. Dölger and M. Laskaris, it probably denoted an official authorised to collect the taxes payable in kind<sup>61</sup>. I. Dujčev disagrees with this interpretation underscoring that in medieval Bulgaria the taxes collected in kind were numerous, while the term *apodohator* clearly referred to a single category of tax officers and was definitely not a generic name<sup>62</sup>. Dujčev's remark allowed M. Andreev to suggest that the *apodohator* was the keeper of the taxes that had already been collected in kind<sup>63</sup>. Developing further this view, I. Biljarski argues that the *apodohator* was a warehouse keeper who received from the peasants a payment for guarding the taxes which they had already paid in kind<sup>64</sup>. Biljarski's interpretation is based on the principal lexical meaning of the verb ἀποδέχομαι – “to accept” or “to receive”. However, according to the recently published Greek Lexicon of the Byzantine terminology, there is one specific administrative meaning of the word ἀποδοχή which

57. Ласкарисъ, *Ватопедската грамота*, 36; Соловјев–Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 464–465, 485 and 505; Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 322 and 349.

58. A. Guillou, *les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, Paris 1955, act no. 39 (1345), l. 32–33.

59. Билярски, *Институциите*, 357–361; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 102 – 105.

60. Соловјев–Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 400; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικὸ βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, 148.

61. Ласкарисъ, *Ватопедската грамота*, 40–41; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 149–154.

62. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 323.

63. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 105–106 and 153–154; *idem*, *Службите на провинциалното управление на средновековна България и средновековна Сърбия според данните от царствените грамоти на българските и сръбските владетели от XIII–XV в., Годишник на Софийския университет (Юридически факултет)* 58/2 (Sofia 1967), 26–27.

64. Билярски, *Институциите*, 370–372; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 99–100.



appears in the phrase ἀποδοχὴ φοσσάτου. This phrase stands for “reception of troops” and denotes the obligation of the local population to quarter troops and travelling state officials<sup>65</sup>. Our act clearly aims to prevent the state officials from imposing surplus burden on the monastery and its estates. The payment of a warehouse keeper could hardly have been such a burden and for this reason our opinion is that the apodohator was probably an officer responsible for quartering the travelling military and administrative personnel.

11. *Komis* (l. 10). This is the equivalent of the Byzantine term κόμης τοῦ σταύλου, which corresponds to the French *connétable* and derives from the Latin *comes stabuli*. According to I. Dujčev, in medieval Bulgaria the *komis* was a military commander connected with the cavalry<sup>66</sup>. On the contrary, according to I. Biljarski he was a fiscal officer collecting horses for the Bulgarian army<sup>67</sup>. Biljarski’s view is more convincing, because Dujčev’s interpretation is based on what A. Solovjev and V. Mošin discussed in 1936 about the title of *megas konostaulos*<sup>68</sup>. The title *komis* was introduced in Byzantium in the 11th century under Norman influence, but from the 13th century onward it disappears and is attested only in the form *megas konostaulos*. In our opinion, the Bulgarian tax official *komis* has nothing to do with the high Byzantine title of *konostaulos*. However, in another Bulgarian royal charter the term *komis* appears as *комисъ съ коньми*, i.e. *komis* with horses. This is the controversial 13th century Virginski chrysobull of the Bulgarian Czar Constantine Tih Asen, which is presently kept in Chilandar. In this charter the tax officer *komis* with horses is placed before the strator, i.e. exactly as it appears in our act<sup>69</sup>. The Bulgarian term *komis* with horses seems to be similar to the mid-14th century Byzantine courtly title of *komes* of the imperial horses (κόμης τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵππων) described by Pseudo-Kodinos: “Ὅτε οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς μέλλει τοῦ ἵππου ἐπιβήσεσθαι, τοῦ κόμητος τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵππων κομίσαντος ἵππον καὶ κρατοῦντος αὐτόν,

65. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 91 and 93; Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικὸ βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας*, 148.

66. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 348.

67. Билярски, *Институциите*, 317–319.

68. Соловјев–Мошин, *Грчке повеље*, 463–464.

69. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 35 (l. 99–100) and 205–206.

μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιβῆναι, ὁ πρωτοστράτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλινοῦ λαβὼν σύρει τὸν ἵππον. Based on Kodinos's text, the *komes* of the imperial horses was a courtier who, together with the *protostrator*, held the horse while the emperor mounted. Obviously, he was a high-ranking official responsible for the horses which were constantly at the disposal of the emperor. He was also in charge of the so-called *syrtoi hippoi*, i.e. of the seven additional horses that followed the emperor's cortège and were used in a case of emergency<sup>70</sup>.

12. **Strator** (l. 10–11). This is a transliteration of the Byzantine term στράτωρ. In the mid-Byzantine period the *stratores* formed a corps both at the imperial court and in the service of some high-ranking provincial administrators. Their functions went beyond the simple care of the stable and included purveyance of horses. Their chief was initially the *komes tou staulou* and later the *domestikos* of the *stratores*<sup>71</sup>. The Bulgarian variant of this Byzantine title appeared at a time when its Byzantine prototype was no longer in use. It was surely connected with the army, most probably with the organization of the cavalry units. However, it denoted not a specific category of military personnel but a low-ranking provincial administrative officer with fiscal duties<sup>72</sup>.

13. **Gradar** (l. 11). The term derives from the Slavic verb градити which means "to build". According to I. Dujčev and I. Biljarski, it denoted an administrative officer in charge of constructing and maintaining of the fortifications, who must have also been responsible for the corvée *gradozidanie* or *kastroktisia* (see our act no. 1)<sup>73</sup>.

14. **Varar** (l. 11). The meaning of this term is not clear. If it derives from the Slavic word for lime (варѣ), it probably designates an administrative officer supplying lime for the construction of castles and other public buildings. The text makes it clear that he was a tax-collector who could press the local population and thus it is very likely that his duty was to collect some kind of payment

70. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 168–170. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 155; ODB, III, 1967.

71. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 155; ODB, III, 1967.

72. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 348; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 156; Билярски, *Институциите*, 319–321.

73. Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 52 and 63; Билярски, *Институциите*, 382–383; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 75–77 and 117–118.

connected with the building activities of the medieval Bulgarian state<sup>74</sup>. The suggestion of I. Dujčev and M. Andreev that the word *varar* derives from the verb *варити* and stands for “cook” is unsubstantiated<sup>75</sup>.

15. ***Pesjak*** (l. 11). The term derives from the Slavic word *пѣсъъ* which means “dog” or “hound”. In the controversial 13th century Virginski chrysobull it appears in the form *псаръ*<sup>76</sup>, which is a derivative of the word *пѣсъъ*. The meaning of both terms is exactly the same and most probably designated a low-ranking administrative officer authorised to supply trained dogs for the needs of the Bulgarian royal court. As the text makes it clear that the *pesjak* was a tax-collector who could put pressure on the population, it is very likely that his duty was to collect some kind of regular payment connected with the hunting activities of the Bulgarian aristocracy<sup>77</sup>.

16. ***Kragujar*** (l. 11). The term derives from the Slavic word *кѣрагунъ* which stands for “falcon”. In the problematic 13th century Virginski chrysobull it appears in the form *гѣракаръ* which is a transliteration of the corresponding Greek term *ἱερακάριος* and, more precisely, of its vulgar variant *γερακάρης*<sup>78</sup>. Though it is similar to the high Byzantine courtly title of *protoierakarios*<sup>79</sup>, the Bulgarian term evidently denotes a low-ranking administrative officer authorised to purvey falcons for the needs of the Bulgarian czar and aristocracy. The text makes it clear that the *kragujar* was in fact a tax-collector whose duty must have been to collect from the peasants an additional payment for the royal hunt with falcons<sup>80</sup>.

17. ***Senar*** (l. 12). The term derives from the Slavic word *сѣно*, which means “hay”, and probably refers to an administrative officer authorised to supply hay

74. Дуйчев, *Книжнина*, 393; Билярски, *Институциите*, 383–384; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 118.

75. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 110–111; Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 63; Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 88.

76. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 327.

77. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 322; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 110–111; Билярски, *Институциите*, 379–382; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 109–110.

78. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 348–349; Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота*, 110–111; Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 117.

79. Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, 138, 162, 301, 305, 307 and 309.

80. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 348–349; Билярски, *Институциите*, 374–379; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 106–109.

for the army. I. Dujčev and I. Biljarski support the view that the *senar* was an official tax-collector responsible for the taxation of the hay, a fiscal obligation which was probably paid in kind<sup>81</sup>.

**Taxes** with no reference to tax-collectors:

1. **Podvoda** (l. 11). The term describes a specific type of transport corvée, i.e. the obligation of the peasants to provide pack animals and horses for the needs of the travelling royal dignitaries and the army<sup>82</sup>.

2. **Padalište** (l. 11). This term refers to another type of corvée – the obligation of the peasants to provide housing for the travelling representatives of the state administration. I. Biljarski supports the view that it is a translation of the Byzantine term *kathisma* (κάθισμα τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς ἀρχόντων), which, according to N. Oikonomides, denotes a sort of building and in some occasions refers to the forced accommodation of imperial dignitaries<sup>83</sup>. In our opinion, *padalište* is a calque for the Byzantine term *pesimon* (πέσιμον φοσσάτου), which stands for “compulsory quartering”, i.e. quartering of troops. *Pesimon* derives from the Greek verb πίπτω and *padalište* from the Bulgarian verb пада́ти. The principal meaning of both verbs is the same – “to fall”.

3. **Foun** (Фунѣ, l. 12). The word derives from the Byzantine juridical term *phonos* or *phonikon*, which is the Greek equivalent of the Slavic вражда<sup>84</sup>. In Byzantium the *phonos* was a basic element of the so-called “three capital items” (*demosiaka kephalaia*), a fine levied on the peasants in a case that a murder, rape, or treasure trove had taken place near their village. From the 13th century onward it became a regular tax from which the recipients of privileges were normally not exempted<sup>85</sup>.

4. **Globa** (l. 12). Even today this is the generic Bulgarian term for a fine<sup>86</sup>.

5. **Galad(a)stvo** (l. 13). The meaning of this word is uncertain and so is its

81. Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота*, 65; Билярски, *Институциите*, 366–368; *idem*, *Фискална система*, 114–115.

82. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 376 and 394; Билярски, *Фискална система*, 71–73.

83. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 394; Билярски, *Фискална система*, 65–66; *ODB*, III, 1116; Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité*, 94–96.

84. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 376; Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 393–394.

85. *ODB*, III, 1668.

86. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 118.

reading. A. Daskalova and M. Rajkova suggest that it must be read as *gadalstvo* (reading of omens) and should be interpreted as a fine imposed on those who were getting involved in illegal religious practices<sup>87</sup>. The spelling of the word does not allow us to read it as *gadalstvo*. It is absolutely clear that the abbreviated *л* precedes the letter *д*, and for this reason the conjecture of Daskalova and Rajkova must be ruled out. The word *galadstvo* is mentioned without any comment by K. Petkov, in a recent book which pretends to be the first comprehensive collection of medieval Bulgarian texts in English translation<sup>88</sup>. Petkov's translation is based on the edition of J. Ivanov, and the fact that he has left the word untranslated indicates that its meaning was incomprehensible to him. No dictionary refers to this specific word and it is very likely that it may be nothing but a misspelling of the scribe.

6. **Razpust** (l. 13). I. Dujčev comments this term taking into consideration its Latin translation provided by F. Miclosich: *dimissio* = разводъ, i.e. divorce<sup>89</sup>. However, in Byzantium, as well as in the world of Orthodox Slavs, official divorce has always been next to impossible<sup>90</sup>. According to A. Daskalova and M. Rajkova, *razpust* was a fine paid by a husband who had unreasonably expelled his wife<sup>91</sup>. However, the word *разпѹстъ* is in reality a juridical term attested even in the Slavic translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew (5.31): Речено же бысть, тако иже аще прѣститъ женѹ свою, да дастъ ей книгѹ разпѣстноюю, i.e. „it hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement”. For this reason we assume that in our act *razpust* most probably designates a regular tax similar to the *foun*.

**Prosopography**: The hegoumenos of the monastery of the Mother of God Vitoška, Roman (l. 16) is not mentioned in other documents.

**Topography**: The village of Novačani (l. 6–7) cannot be positively identified.

87. *Ibidem*, 115.

88. K. Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh–Fifteenth Century: The Records of a Bygone Culture (Series East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450)*, vol. 5, Brill 2008, 507.

89. F. von Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico–graeco–latinum (emendatum auctum)*, Vienna 1865, 789.

90. И. Левин, *Секс и общество на православните славяни*, Sofia 1991, 122–134.

91. Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина*, 376. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 333.

What is strange is that it is said to have been situated “in the city of Sofia” (l. 7). However, today there is no village with such a name around the Bulgarian capital. The conjecture of A. Daskalova and M. Rajkova that it should be identified with the modern village of Novačane near the modern city of Botevgrad<sup>92</sup>, which is situated 65 km north of Sofia, beyond Mount Haemus (*Stara Planina*)<sup>93</sup>, is unsubstantiated.

**Text:**

† Бл҃гоизволи цр҃во ми даровати бл҃гоуобразны и въсенастожции с҃ъи ХРИ-  
ГОБѢ ||<sup>2</sup> цр҃ва ми манастирю прѣчистои б҃гомѣри, иже ѣ въ Витоши, иже създа  
и сътвори и в ||<sup>3</sup> краси родителъ цр҃ва ми стопочившии цр҃ъ Іѡанъ Ялє<к>ѡнѣрѣ.  
И такози цр҃во ми ѡ ||<sup>4</sup> своважатъ тѣи манастирѣ цр҃ва ми, съ въсѣмъ  
достоаниемъ и прилеж ||<sup>5</sup> ниемъ того манастирѣ, да не смѣетъ метехати на  
тѣмъ манастиремъ ||<sup>6</sup> ни кефалие срѣдешъское над стасиа манастирѣцкѣ, и на  
люди село Нова ||<sup>7</sup> чаны, иже са находитъ въ градѣ цр҃ва ми Софи, на тѣмъ люди  
да не метехѣ ||<sup>8</sup> ни кефалие срѣдешъское то ни мѡ прахторѣ, ни кастрофилаци, ни  
десатници, ни примикю ||<sup>9</sup> ре же ни алагаторѣ. Потомъ ни перѣпираке цр҃ва ми,  
ни житаре, ни винаре, ||<sup>10</sup> ни десаткаре пчелни и свини и овчи, то ни апѡхаторѣ,  
ни колиси, ни стра ||<sup>11</sup> торѣ, ни гѣаре, ни вараре, ни пѡвода, ни пѡлище, ни крагварѣ  
же, ни песинаци, ||<sup>12</sup> ни сѣнаре, ни фѡнъ, ни гловы, то ни да иматъ власти  
стѣа Софиа на люди прѣ ||<sup>13</sup> чистѣ б҃гомѣре, то ни галѣства, ни разпѣста, то ни  
единыѣ власти да ||<sup>14</sup> не смѣатъ забавити тѣмъ людемъ прѣчистѣ б҃гомѣре  
витошъскѣ, тѣкмо ||<sup>15</sup> въси да ѡгоними виваатъ явленииемъ сего ХРИ-  
ГОБѢ цр҃ва ми, тѣкмо ѣ ||<sup>16</sup> динъ ег҃менъ прѣчистѣ б҃гомѣре Романъ, а  
ниъ никто да са не смѣетъ покѣсити, ||<sup>17</sup> то ни забавити тѣмъ людемъ ни до  
единого власа. Кто ли са иметъ покѣсити и ||<sup>18</sup> и забавити ако и ѡ еди[ном]ъ  
[влас]ѣ, да ѣ проклатъ ѡ ѡца и с҃на, и с҃тго д҃ха, и ѡ ||<sup>19</sup> прѣчистѣ б҃гомѣре, и  
ѡ [б҃и апѣлѣ,] и ѡ тѣи стѣи и б҃гоносны ѡтѣцъ никейскѣ, ||<sup>20</sup> и съ Ивѣж и Яриѣ

92. Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти*, 255. Modern Botevgrad was founded in 1866-1867 as a Turkish town and its initial name was Orhanie.

93. П. Коледаров – Н. Мичев, *Промените в имената и статута на селищата в България (1878–1972)*, Sofia 1973, 180; *Географски речник на България*, ed. Н. Мичев, Ц. Михайлов, И. Вапцаров and С. Кираджиев, Sofia 1980, 337.

вчѣст[иѣ да ни]аѣтъ, и да ѣ ѿлжчѣнъ тѣла и крѣѣ гѣ и вѣгѣ ||<sup>21</sup> сѣа нашегѣ Іс Хѣ  
и сѣ рекшини крѣѣ егѣ на насѣ и на чѣнѣхѣ нашихѣ вѣ ||<sup>22</sup> вѣкы ани.  
† ІѠ шишманъ вѣ хѣ вѣгѣ бѣговѣренъ цѣрь и сѣ||<sup>23</sup> мѣръжѣцѣ  
вѣѣ бѣлгарѣмѣ и грѣкѣ

### Slavic act no. 3

[1500–1501]

#### ACT OF THE SUPERIOR OF CHILANDAR, EUTHYMIOS

**Type of the act:** рѣкописаніѣ (l. 18).

**Description:** Original (**paper**). Dimensions unknown (see pl. 5). The text is written with a semiuncial liturgic script which evidently follows the model of writing typical of the 15th century Slavic manuscripts. The text begins with a highly ornate initial letter в decorated with geometrical figures. An unreadable wax seal is attached beneath the text. The usage of a double small er (ѣѣ) in the word сѣарѣѣ on l. 21 indicates that the orthography of the text follows Serbian spelling rules.

**No. in ASA:** КМФ 18/943, microfilm no. 325.

**Archival no.:** unknown.

**Analysis:** The monks of Zographou had asked the superior of Chilandar, Evtimie, for a permission to use some of the water that was flowing down in the vicinity of Chilandar tower of St. Sabbas in Karyai. This water had already caused frictions between the two monasteries and for this reason the *hegoumenos* of Chilandar Evtimie, the ex-*hegoumenos* Isaia, the *protos* Kozma, the grand *oikonomos* Makarie, the elder Ioil, the spiritual instructor Atanasie, and the elders Grigorie, Epifanie, Daniil, Visarion, Hristofor, Veniamin, and Nikifor officially entitle Zographou to use the aforesaid water. The document has been composed by the elder Hristofor.

**Dating:** About 1500–1501. The document bears no date. The dating which we propose is based on the reference to the *protos* Kosmas Vragotzikis of Chilandar

(l. 20), who is attested as *protos* only in the year 1500–1501<sup>94</sup>.

**Bibliography:** К. Павликянов, *История на Зограф*, 77; Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 451-453.

**Earlier editions:**

1. Павликянов, *История на Зограф*, 127–128 and 158, no. 5.
2. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 451-453, act no. 60/Bulgarian act no. 3, and 783, pl. 136.

**Remarks:** The document contains an arrangement pertaining to the water supply of an unspecified dependency which Zographou possessed in Karyai. The exact location of this dependency remains unknown, because the only detail which the exuberantly pious text of the act makes clear is that Chilandar and Zographou were at odds over the water supply of their properties in Karyai.

**Prosopography:**

1. The *protos* Kozma was a Slav and monk of Chilandar (l. 20). His surname was Vragotziki (πρῶτον ἀπὸ τὸ Χελαντάρι τὸν Κοσμᾶν τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Βραγωτζήκι) and he is attested as *protos* between June 1500 and June 1501<sup>95</sup>. It is this detail that allows us to propose a convincing dating for the document.

A. The *hegoumenos* of Chilandar, Evtimie (l. 19), has signed two documents of the monastery of Dionysiou dating from the period 1493–1496. In one of them his signature is written in Slavic<sup>96</sup>.

B. The ex-*hegoumenos* of Chilandar, Isaias (l. 20), has signed a document of the monastery of Dionysiou dated May 1496. His signature is written in Slavic<sup>97</sup>.

C. The grand *oikonomos* of Chilandar, Makarie (l. 20–21), is attested in a document of Megiste Lavra dated 1505–1506 and in an act of Kutlumus dated May 25, 1506. In the first document his signature is written in Slavic<sup>98</sup>.

94. *Archives de l'Athos VII, Actes du Prôtaton*, ed. D. Papachrysanthou, Paris 1975, 143, no. 98; Δ. Παπαχρυσάνθου, *Ὁ Ἀθωνικὸς μοναχισμὸς. Ἀρχές καὶ ὀργάνωση*, Athens 1992, 384–385, no. 98.

95. К. Павликиάνωφ, *Σλάβοι μοναχοὶ στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος ἀπὸ τὸν I' ὡς τὸν IZ' αἰῶνα*, Thessalonica 2002, 152–153.

96. *Archives de l'Athos IV, Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomidès, Paris 1968, 212–213 (Tableau II), no. 36, l. 24–25, and no. 37, l. 10.

97. *Ibidem*, 212–213 (Tableau II) and no. 39, l. 27.

98. *Ibidem*, 214 (Tableau II). Cf. also *Archives de l'Athos II<sup>2</sup>, Actes de Kutlumus*, ed. P.





старць Гріґоріє, старць Єпи||<sup>22</sup>фаніє, старць Данїиль, старць Висариѡ. старць  
Хрѣтоф, иже ||<sup>23</sup> и писавїи сїа, старць вениамїи, старць Никѡфоръ, и всє коупно  
ѡ Хѣ ||<sup>24</sup> братство. И молимо ѡ ги ѡце и братїю нашоу, иже изволи бѣ по  
||<sup>25</sup> нѣ быти, настоятелїе стѡмоу монастирѡ. сїю нами ѡ бѣ сътворє||<sup>26</sup> нїю  
любѡ, непрѣтворєне быти, нѣ паує множити се: аще ли нѣкои брѣ, ||<sup>27</sup> с денѣ,  
мерю монастири нѣкою скѣдаѡ. или нѣ, или нї. да понесе ка||<sup>28</sup> нон, ако ли се  
не исправїи да се ѡлѡуїи брѣства, а стїи монастири да се ||<sup>29</sup> дрѣже въ [лю]бви  
іакоже выше писахѡ.

**Biblical quotations:** Миръ мои даю вамъ, миръ мои оставляю вамъ (l. 15–16)  
= Gospel of St. John 14.27 (Εἰρήνην ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, εἰρήνην τὴν ἐμὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν  
= Peace I leave with you, my piece I give unto you).

#### Slavic act no. 4

September 17, 7077 (1568)

#### ACT OF DONATION ISSUED FOR THE MONASTERY OF ZOGRAPHOU BY ONE KALJA, DAUGHTER OR WIDOW OF GEORGE VLACHOS

**Type of the act:** писанїе (l. 19).

**Description:** Original. Double sheet of **paper** with one vertical and multiple horizontal folds. Dimensions 310 X 218 mm (see pl. 6). During the early 20th century the left margin of the document has been perforated so that it could be placed in a modern archival folder. The signatures are written by several different hands.

**No. in ASA:** КМФ 18/943, microfilm no. 325.

**Archival no.:** Б 42.

**Analysis:** The daughter or widow of George Vlachos, Kalja, feeling that the end of her life is imminent and having no support from either parents or children, donates to Zographou a house, the yard adjacent to it and a vineyard at

the locality Trendafilovo. The vineyard abuts the properties of George Radišev, Iovica Penkuzov and Mano Guničin, and the locality Jakova Gega. As a superior of Zographou is mentioned the priest-monk Arsenios. The document is said to have been delivered to the ex-*hegoumenos* of Zographou, Kalest (Kallistos). Date.

**Greek signatures** (l. 21 and 24–25): 1. Lazaros, priest and oikonomos; 2. Manuel Knezis; 3. John; 4. Katakouzenos Abrampekes; 5. Paschales Abrapekes.

**Slavic signatures** (l. 22–25): 1. Unreadable signature of a priest; 2. Dimitŭr, priest; 3. Źupan; 4. Stepan; 5. Mavrêgaleka (sic!); 6. George Radišev.

**Dating:** September 17, 7077 (1568). The date is written on l. 19: въ лѣтѣ 7077, мѣсѣца септемврія, 7ї днь.

**Bibliography:** Tchérémissinoff, *Les archives slaves*, 21–22, no. 10; Павликянов, *История на Зограф*, 85–86; Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 485–487.

#### Earlier editions:

1. Павликянов, *История на Зограф*, 131, no. 8, and 161, pl. VIII.
2. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 485–487, act no. 68/Bulgarian act no. 4, and 793, pl. 146.

**Remarks:** On September 17, 1568, Zographou received as a donation from a certain Kalja, widow or daughter of George Vlachos, a house and a vineyard at the locality Trendafilovo. It is very difficult to localize this property, because the Slavic text contains no geographical clues. The only source of geographical information are the personal names and the language of the document. The personal name Iovica (l. 10) is typically Serbian, and so are the words *knez* (head of a rural community, l. 21) and *župan* (governor of an administrative district, l. 23). On the other hand, the text is written in Bulgarian vernacular with some peculiarities typical of the Bulgarian Macedonian dialects, e.g. the future tense **ТЕ НЕ КЕ ПРАВО КАЗАТ** (l. 17). The phrase **ДА ИМА КЛЕТВА** (=to be cursed, l. 15) is a fine example of modern Bulgarian syntax in which the accusative is replaced by a nominative. The correct medieval Bulgarian form should have been **ДА ИМАТЪ КЛАТВЪ**, while the corresponding Serbian variant is **ДА ИМАТЪ КЛЕТВЪ**. Based on these details, it seems that the property which Kalja donated to Zographou in 1568 was probably located in the northern part of the geographical district of

Macedonia where the influence of the Serbian onomastic and administrative tradition was well expressed. However, there is also another piece of evidence that cannot be neglected. Kalja's document is signed by two persons whose family name was Abrampekes – Katakouzenos and Paschales (l. 24). In 1583 a certain Abrapekes Dokianos was a witness to an act of sale issued by the superior of Zographou, Nikodemos<sup>100</sup>. This transaction describes estates located in the central part of the Chalkidike Peninsula and is also signed by an unnamed *megas chartophylax* of the metropolis of Thessalonica. This detail indicates that, most probably, Kalja's property might have been situated either near Thessalonica or somewhere in the Chalkidike Peninsula.

#### Text:

† Яз Калѣ грѣшна Геворга Блѣха ниѣ сѣжѣ понѣжѣ ||<sup>2</sup> на сама, ѿ свое произволеніе  
прѣиде ми желаніе ||<sup>3</sup> ѿ дѣши послѣнаго ѿѣ, и не имѣ ни на кого <на>надеѣти се. ||<sup>4</sup>  
ни на родителе ни на рождѣніе. тѣмо на єдино҃го Бѣѿложѣ ||<sup>5</sup> и на прѣѣта мѣти Бѣжѣ  
и на сѣтѣ великомѣка хѣва Геѿ ||<sup>6</sup> ѿргѣа. того ради вѣди вѣдомо васѣ, како вѣ сѣ срѣѣ  
моѣ ||<sup>7</sup> прѣдадѣ сѣмѣс манаѣтирѣ <оу> Изѣгрѣ, кѣка сѣ вѣ покрѣ ||<sup>8</sup> цю ѿдрѣжѣ  
до ѿграждѣніе ѿколе, и ложиѣ на трѣдафи ||<sup>9</sup> лѣво томи сѣ мегници прѣво изѣ Геѿго  
Радишѣ, дѣно ||<sup>10</sup> ѿвица Пенѣзѣ, ѿздоле до потѣ, лѣво Мано Гѣниѣ, и ||<sup>11</sup> до  
ѣкова гега. Томи тако би ми изволеніе понеже моѣ ||<sup>12</sup> то вѣсе ѣкоже знаѣ мнози  
ере сѣ вѣна сѣ тои, да аѣе ||<sup>13</sup> кто дрѣжнѣ моѣ сѣрѣниѣ или по плѣти, или сѣсѣ,  
и поко ||<sup>14</sup> лѣба више моѣ ѿѣаніе по моѣ сѣмрѣти, томи да вѣдѣ сѣпер ||<sup>15</sup> ни сѣти  
Геѿгѣ на страшѣ с[.]ѣ и да има клѣва тѣи прѣ ||<sup>16</sup> сѣти ѿцѣ и сѣти манаѣтиѣ вѣска,  
и на грѣшнѣи кѣтѣтѣрем ||<sup>17</sup> моа оѣста тѣ не ке право казѣ тако да вѣдѣ емѣ, вѣ  
то вре ||<sup>18</sup> ме прѣдрѣжѣш[с] сѣмѣс манаѣтирѣ егѣмѣство Ярсенію ермонахѣ ||<sup>19</sup> вѣ лѣ  
зѣѣ. ѿца сѣ, зѣ дѣнѣ. И прѣдадѣ сѣ писаніе проѣс ||<sup>20</sup> менѣ Калѣтѣ ермонахѣ, томи  
свѣдѣтеле прѣво:

||<sup>21</sup> † Ὁ Λάζαρ(ο)ς ἱερεὺς κ(αὶ) {οἱ} κονόμος

Μανοῦλ Κνεξίς

||<sup>22</sup> † Ἰ азѣ ѿ [..] ѿ тѣмѣ свѣдѣтелѣ цѣ ѣ вѣиѣ пѣсанѣ

||<sup>23</sup> † Ἰ азѣ ѿ Дмѣтѣрѣ тѣми свѣдѣтелѣ цѣ ѣ вѣиѣ пѣсанѣ

100. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 495-498, act no. 72, l. 20..

АЗЪ ЖѢПѢ ТѢМѢ СЕДѢ

||<sup>24</sup> АЗЪ СТЕПАНЪ ТОМѢ СЕДѢТЕЛѢ

Μαβρ'εγαλεκα (sic!)

Ἰωάννης Κατακουζηνὸς Ἀβραμπέκης

Πασχάλις Ἀβραπέκης

||<sup>25</sup> Γιώργω ΡαδΐσηεβѢ

**Correction of a confusing misspelling:** Κνεξις (l. 21), lege Κνέζης,  
i.e. local low-ranking noble.

### Slavic act no. 5

7080 (1572)

#### DOCUMENT RATIFYING AN EXCHANGE OF A LANDED PROPERTY CALLED ARMENON BETWEEN THE MONASTERIES OF ZOGRAPHOU AND CHILANDAR

**Type of the act:** ЗАМѢНА (сѣ ЗАМЕНИ = it was exchanged for, l. 1–2).

**Description:** Original (**parchment**). Dimensions 233 X 200 mm (see pl. 7). A wax seal is hanging on a cord (*merinthos*) attached to the lower margin of the act. Its diameter is 33 mm and its inscription reads ΧΗΛ(ΗΝΔΑΡЪ). The Slavic text of the document is written with a semiuncial liturgic script. There are neither signatures nor confirmation by any superior authority.

**No. in ASA:** КМФ 18/943, microfilm no. 323.

**Archival no.:** Б 62.

**Analysis:** The document consists of two distinct sections.

**Section 1.** The monasteries of Chilandar and Zographou reached an agreement over a piece of agricultural land which was situated in the isthmus of Provlakas. The monks of Chilandar were represented by their *hegoumenos* Prochoros and those of Zographou by their *hegoumenos* Kallistos. Zographou gave to Chilandar the land of Armenon, which was located near a tower of the Serbian monastery, while Chilandar ceded to Zographou two terrains: one near the dependency

of Megiste Lavra at Trypete and another one near the trail connecting Trypete with Hierissos.

**Section 2:** In *anno mundi* 7080 the two monasteries reconfirmed the agreement.

**Dating:** 7080 (1572). **Section 1** contains no date. The date is written on the first line of the additional confirmation which we label **Section 2**: ВЪ ЛѢТѢ 7080 (l. 14).

**Bibliography:** Мошин, *Акты*, 191–192; Tchérémissinoff, *Les archives slaves*, 22, no. 11; Павликянов, *История на Зограф*, 86; Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 487-489.

**Earlier editions:**

1. Мошин, *Акты*, 191–192, no. 7.
2. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 487-489, act no. 69/Bulgarian act no. 5, and 794, pl. 147.

**Remarks:** The act describes an agreement achieved between the superior of Chilandar, Prochoros, and the *hegoumenos* of Zographou, Kallistos. It pertained to the land of Armenon which was located in the isthmus of Provlakas to the northwest of Mount Athos. The document consists of two separate sections copied by the same hand: A. **Section 1**, which is a description of the exchange. However, it contains neither date nor demarcation of boundaries; B. **Section 2**, which contains a confirmation of the exchange and was composed in 1572. **Section 1** certainly antedates the final confirmation of the deal and it is evident that the exchange was not finalized within a couple of months. There was a delay and this delay was probably due to a deficient documentation.

In Zographou archives there are four Slavic translations of Greek acts connected with Zographou land at Armenon:

I. **Variante 2** of our Slavic act no. 6. Its Greek original was issued in April 1290 by the Bishop of Hierissos, Theodosios, and settled a dispute between Zographou and Chilandar over terrains in the isthmus of Provlakas north of Athos.

II. **Slavic Fragment 1** appended to **Variante 2** of our Slavic act no. 6. Its lost Greek prototype was a decision of an unnamed Byzantine *pansebastos ad-noumiastes* and pertained to a terrain located in the isthmus of Provlakas.

III. **Slavic Fragment 2** appended to **Variante 2** of our Slavic act no. 6. Its lost

Greek prototype contained a delimitation of a piece of land which Zographou possessed near the localities Loustra and Armenon in the district of Provlakas.

IV. **Variant 3** of our act no. 7. Its Greek original is a *praktikon* of the tax assessors Constantine Pergamenos and George Pharisaïos and was composed in December 1317. The toponym Armenon is explicitly referred to in both the original (l. 41) and the Slavic translation (l. 33-34 and 67).

In our opinion, all these translations were made in 1572 and were directly connected with the exchange of the land of Armenon with Chilandar. They were necessary as supporting documents because they proved that Zographou was the exclusive proprietor of this terrain.

**Topography:** The land of **Armenon** (l. 9) is first mentioned as belonging to Zographou in 1266-1267<sup>101</sup>. It was located in the isthmus of Provlakas, to the west or southwest of Hierissos (see map no. 2). According to P. Theodorides, Armenon was a triangular piece of land, since its name evidently derived from the medieval (and modern) Greek word *armenon*, which denoted the well-known all over the Mediterranean triangular Latin sail<sup>102</sup>. Theodorides's suggestion is also supported by an early act kept in Zographou archives which describes Armenon as having a triangular shape<sup>103</sup>. Based on our Slavic act, by 1572 Armenon was already neighbouring a defensive tower owned by Chilandar (l. 7-9). Most probably it was exactly for this reason that in 1572 Zographou ceded Armenon to Chilandar in exchange for two other terrains. The first one was situated near the *metochion* which the monastery of Megiste Lavra possessed at the locality Trypete, i.e. on the west coast of the narrowest part of the isthmus connecting Mount Athos with the rest of the Chalkidike Peninsula. The second one abutted a trail crossing the Provlakas isthmus and connecting Trypete on the coast of the Singitic Gulf (i.e. the Gulf of Mount Athos) in the southwest with Hierissos on the coast of the Strymonic Gulf in the northeast (l. 9-12).

101. Pavlikianov, *The Early Years*, 150-153, act no. 6, l. 45, *idem*, *The Documents of Zographou*, 129-135, act no. 6, l. 45.

102. Θεοδωρίδης, Πίνακας τοπογραφίας τοῦ ἁγιορειτικοῦ παραγωγικοῦ χώρου, Κληρονομιὰ 13B (Thessalonica 1981), 415

103. Pavlikianov, *The Early Years*, 167-171, act no. 11, l. 44, *idem*, *The Documents of Zographou*, 162-170, act no. 11, l. 44.

**Text:**

† Да естъ знаемо и нѣга о сѣ и въ послѣдѣаа како сѣ ||<sup>2</sup> замени и погоди Хи-  
ландѣ и Изографѣ за нивѣ ||<sup>3</sup> на Прѣвлаци. Игѣмѣ хиландарскы Прохѣ ||<sup>4</sup> іерѣнѣ  
съ вѣсеи о ги братіев его, и игѣменѣ ||<sup>5</sup> изогравшкы Калестѣ іерѣнѣ, съ вѣсѣв  
бра||<sup>6</sup>тїев его и съложивѣше сѣ любовно ѡ сїи оба ||<sup>7</sup> прѣрѣнаа мѡнастира, и даде  
Изографѣ Хилан||<sup>8</sup>дарѣ свою нивѣ прѣмѡ сръвскомѣ пиргѣ, зовомѣ ||<sup>9</sup> Армено, а  
Хиландѣ даде Изографѣ свою ||<sup>10</sup> нивѣ прѣмѡ лавръскомѣ метохѣ, зовомѣ ||<sup>11</sup>  
Трипитїи обѣ ѡнѣ срънѣ потока, и дрѣ ||<sup>12</sup> нивицѣ на пѣ идѣщи къ Єрисѣ. И ѡ  
сїи ||<sup>13</sup> погодихом сѣ любовно и своензволно.

||<sup>14</sup> Въ лѣтѣ зп, пакы о сѣ за рѣ сын положихѣ ||<sup>15</sup> мѣжѣ сѣю обѡи мѡнастири,  
аще ктѡ ѡ ||<sup>16</sup> обѡю срънѣ о сѣ съложѣ лѣкаво и неправѣно ||<sup>17</sup> люво ѡ коєи вещи  
и до малїи начинѣтъ ѡми ||<sup>18</sup> шлѣти злохитръно и прѣварѣно люво коѣа ||<sup>19</sup> ѡ  
нѣга и до послѣднїи, да нѣтъ ли клетвы ||<sup>20</sup> ежїе и прѣчтїе е(о) мѣтре, и сѣтѣо и  
славнаго ||<sup>21</sup> великомѣка и побѣдоносца Геѡгїа, развѣ ||<sup>22</sup> съгласїа мѣжѣ сѣнаго,  
ѡбѡю сѣтѣ мѡнастиръ.

**Act no. 6**

April 6798 (1290), *indiction* 3rd

Date of the Slavic translation: shortly before 1572

ACT OF THE BISHOP OF HIERISSOS, THEODOSIOS,  
SETTLING A DISPUTE BETWEEN ZOGRAPHOU AND CHILANDAR  
OVER LAND IN THE ISTHMUS OF PROVLAKAS

**Type of the act:** σημείωμα (l. 20).

**Description:** The document is available in two variants.

**Variant 1:** 13th century Greek original (**paper**). Dimensions unknown (see pl. 8). It is strengthened with a piece of fabric or paper glued to its back. The main text and the signature are written by different hands. The handwriting of the Greek text contains some features typical of the late 13th century Fettaugen



script.

**Variant 2, Basic text:** 16th century Slavic translation of Theodosios's act (**paper**). Dimensions: 340 X 295 mm (see pl. 9). Due to humidity the ink at the left lower corner of the document has faded significantly and some lines are no longer readable. The translation offers a relevantly correct rendering of the Greek text into Slavic.

**Variant 2, Fragment 1.** Slavic translation of a document issued by a Byzantine official whose title was *adnoumiastes*. The act pertained to a conflict between Zographou and Chilandar triggered by their claims to the locality Loustra which was situated in the isthmus of Provlakas.

**Variant 2, Fragment 2:** Slavic demarcation of the boundaries of an agricultural terrain and calculation of its circumference. All the Slavic texts are written by same hand and with a 16th century semiuncial script.

**No. in ASA:** Variant 1 (Greek prototype) – KMΦ 18/943, microfilm no. 331; Variant 2 (Slavic translation) and Fragments 1 and 2 – KMΦ 18/943, microfilm no. 325.

**Archival nos.:** The Greek original is registered as no. ω/E.3 and its Slavic translation as 6 8. A XII. 551.

**Analysis of the basic text:** Zographou and Chilandar had been at odds over vegetable gardens situated at the locality Loustra in the isthmus of Provlakas over a long period of time. The two opponents finally asked for help the bishop of Hierissos. The latter organized a hearing which was attended by the clerics and all the elders of Hierissos. The witnesses – the priests John Arabeniotes (*protopappas*), Demetrios (*deutereuon*), Constantine Symeon, Demetrios Ktistes, George Tychotas, the deacons Constantine Krasas, George Tzagaropoulos, Demetrios Latheras, and the elders George, Nicholas Strymonites, Demetes, Kyriakos Bourios, Constantine Katholikos, Demetrios Pisianos, Nicholas Klostomalos, Nicholas Petalas, and Theodore of Papaianou – declared that the gardens belonged to Zographou and that the Serbian monks were unlawfully attempting to usurp them. The opponents then asked for help a Byzantine official whose title was grand *adnoumiastes*. He issued a written order assigning to the case a *dux* named Kyrkalos. The latter visited Hierissos, revised the case, and the witnesses repeated their previous statement, i.e. that the gardens be-

longed to the Bulgarian monastery. The *dux* visited the controversial locality and concluded that it was the Bulgarian monks who were the real possessors of the gardens. However, the Serbs disagreed with him. A hearing was then convened at the bishopric of Hierissos in the presence of *kyr* Constantine Amnon, Isaakios Amnon, George Ozianos and Alexios Amnon. The witnesses repeated once again that the gardens were the property of Zographou. A second hearing was organized in the presence of the *oikonomoi* of Esphigmenou and Alypiou, Gerasimos and Cyril. In this case the Serbian monks summoned a spiritual instructor (*pneumatikos*) named Eleutherios who declared in the presence of the Serbian monks Amphilochios (ex-grand *oikonomos* of Chilandar), Basil (grand *oikonomos* of Chilandar), Christopher, Michael, Nikodemos (*paraoikonomos* of Chilandar in Thessalonica), and Hilarion (*kellarites*) that the legal owners were the Bulgarian monks. The gardens were finally delivered to Zographou. Final clause demanding that any abuser of this decision should pay to the fisc a fine of 36 *hyperpyra*. Date.

**Signature** (l. 22): Theodosios, Bishop of Hierissos.

**Analysis of Fragment 1:** Chilandar and Zographou had a dispute over a terrain situated near the Serbian *metochion* in the isthmus of Provlakas. The name of this terrain was Loustra. Many attempts at reconciling the two monasteries had been made, but all failed. The Zographite monks then resorted to the emperor who granted them a *horismos* addressed to a nameless *pansebastos adnoumiastes*. The latter assigned to the case a *dux* named Kirkalo(s) whose task was to terminate the conflict.

**Analysis of Fragment 2:** Demarcation of the borders of an unspecified agricultural terrain. Various unidentifiable features of the landscape are described as abutting the land in question, but no neighbours are mentioned. The surface of the terrain totalled 69 *modioi*.

**Dating:** April 6798 (1290), *indiction* 3rd. The date is written on l. 21: μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος τρίτης ἔτους, Ϟψλη. Thus the lost Greek originals of the two fragmentary Slavic texts copied after the Slavic translation of Theodosios's act in Variant 2 must have been composed shortly before 1290.

**Bibliography:** Мошин, *Акту*, 174-178, no. 2; Tchérémissinoff, *Un acte slave*, 1-9; *eadem*, *Les archives slaves*, 19, no. 6; Павликянов, *История на Зограф*,

32-33; Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 487-489.

**Mentioned documents:** **Fragment 1** mentions an imperial *horismos* addressed to an unnamed *pansebastos adnoumiastes*. It was connected with the conflict between Zographou and Chilandar over the land near Loustra, but is not listed in F. Dölger's *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden*.

**Earlier editions:**

**Variant 1** (Greek original):

1. *Actes de Zographou*, 31-33, no. XII.
2. Мошин, *Акту*, 175-177, no. 2. In his edition of the Greek text V. Mošin has introduced some corrections prompted by the 16th century Slavic translation of the document.
3. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 191-197, act no. 15, Variant 1, and 682, pl. 35.

**Variant 2** (Slavic translation):

1. Мошин, *Акту*, 175-178, no. 2. V. Mošin has transliterated the Slavic text with no corrections, preserving its original spelling.
2. Tchérémissinoff, *Un acte slave*, 1-9 and fig. 1-2. K. Tchérémissinoff's edition is a philological one and she has corrected all the misspellings of the document. The authentic forms used in the original can be found in her critical notes beneath the text.
3. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 191-197, act no. 15, Variant 2, and 683, pl. 36.

**Remarks:** It is rather intriguing why there is also a 16th century Slavic translation of the 13th century Greek original. What is important in this case is that the Slavic text is a composite one and consists of the following three separate entities:

1. **Complete Slavic translation** of Theodosios's Greek act of 1290 (**Variant 2**, l. 1-25).
2. **Slavic translation of a lost Greek document** issued by a nameless Byzantine *pansebastos adnoumiastes* (**Variant 2**, **Fragment 1**, l. 1-8). This text pertains to a conflict between the monasteries of Zographou and Chilandar over an agricultural terrain which was situated close to the rivulet of Loustra, in the vicinity of Hierissos. The Slavic translation of the *adnoumiastes*'s act seems

to be an excerpt from a larger text whose lost Greek prototype must have been composed shortly before 1290. This excerpt has been copied beneath the Slavic translation of Theodosios's act, on the same sheet of paper. K. Tchérémissinoff restores its heavily damaged final lines in the following way: *оризмо вожьствено и покланяемо прѣиши вѣо пансѣвастъ еѹдномѣастъ о вѣщи тон и послан вѣо вѣс-ть дѣкъ Киркалѡ Яндренополитъ*<sup>104</sup>. According to Tchérémissinoff, Kyrkalos's surname was *Andrenopolit*, a Slavic variant of the Greek name Adrianopolites which was normally given to persons born or living in Adrianople. Kyrkalos is listed in the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, but, as he is attested only in this document, the relevant lemma in the *PLP* provides no details about his surname<sup>105</sup>. Unfortunately, we are unable to confirm Tchérémissinoff's reading of Kyrkalos's second name as *Andrenopolit*. Our reading of the problematic passage is: *и послан вѣо вѣ дѣкъ Киркалѡ [... 25-30 ....] о вѣщи како ина илѣкто* (**Variant 2, Fragment 1**, l. 7). We carefully scrutinized both our photograph and the photograph published by Tchérémissinoff in 1981, but our final conclusion was that neither of them contained enough visible text to support Tchérémissinoff's interpretation of Kyrkalos's surname.

3. **Fragment of a delimitation of an unspecified terrain** written in Slavic (**Variant 2, Fragment 2**, l. 1-3). Its text consists of only three, heavily damaged and scarcely readable lines. According to V. Mošin, this delimitation referred to land in the isthmus of Provlakas owned by an unspecified monastic dependency. No doubt, this act was in some way connected with the other Slavic texts that were copied above it on the same sheet of paper and, most probably, its lost Greek prototype was issued shortly before Theodosios's Greek document of 1290.

It is rather difficult to figure out why the three Slavic texts, which are written by the same hand, have been copied together on a single sheet of paper. However, it would be even more difficult to explain why **Fragment 1** and **Fragment 2** had been copied in such a fragmentary manner. The most plausible explanation is that this specific textual combination was necessary for some kind of property

104. Tchérémissinoff, *Un acte slave*, 9, l. 6-7.

105. *PLP*, no. 14070.

transfer, or for settling some kind of a difference. As the paleographic features of the three Slavic translations point to the 16th century, the event that had made them necessary should be dated to that century. Being written in a sort of Serbian vernacular they were certainly related to a transaction or conflict involving the monasteries of Zographou and Chilandar. What is important is that all the three texts pertain to properties situated in the isthmus of Provlakas. For this reason the document which the three 16th century Slavic translations probably supported seems to be our Slavic act no. 5 of 1572. It pertains to an exchange with Chilandar concerning the land of Armenon in the isthmus of Provlakas. As we already remarked above, this land had been the property of Zographou since 1267 and was adjacent to the locality Loustra, which is extensively discussed in Theodosios's Greek act of 1290. Obviously, the exchange with Chilandar was not finalized within a couple of months and the delay was probably due to the lack of valid documents. In our opinion, the three Slavic translations which we comment here were compiled in 1572, because they were necessary for finalizing the exchange of Armenon between Zographou and Chilandar.

### Text of Variant 1:

Πρὸ καιροῦ (εἶ)χον τὰ δύο μοναστήρια διενέξεις, [...] τε τῶν Βουλγάρων καὶ τῶν Σέρβων περὶ κηπωροτοπίων [...] ἅτινα εἰσὶν εἰς τὸν [Προαύλακα] εἰς ||<sup>2</sup> τὴν Λούστραν· ἐλθόντα γοῦν καὶ τὰ δύο μέρη [... Βουλγάρων καὶ τῶν Σέρβων εἰς τ(ὴν) (ἐ)πισκοπὴν Ἱερισσοῦ κ(α)τενώπιον [τοῦ ἀρχιερέως] ||<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὄλων γερόν(των) τοῦ Ἱερισσοῦ τοῦ (ἐ)πιλεγομ(ένου) Ἀπολωνιάς γέγονε κρίσις ἐμαρτύρησ(αν) γοῦν οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἰω(άννης) [ἱερεὺς] πρωτ[ο]||<sup>4</sup>παπᾶς ὁ Ἀραβενικιώ(της), παπ(ᾶ) Δημή(τριος) ὁ δευτερε(ύ)ων, Κωνσταν(τῖνος) ἱερ(εὺς) ὁ Συμεών, Δημή(τριος) ἱερ(εὺς) ὁ Κτήστης, Γεώρ(γιος) ἱερ(εὺς) ὁ Τυχωτ(άς), Κωνσταν||<sup>5</sup>[τῖνος ἱεροδιάκων ὁ Κρασάς, Γεω]ρ(γιος) ὁ ἱερ[οδιάκ]ων ὁ Τζαγκαρόπουλος, Δημή(τριος) ὁ ἱεροδιάκων ὁ Λαθηράς καὶ οἱ γέρον(τες) τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς) χώρας, ὁ Γεώρ(γιος) [... 20-25 ...] Νικό||<sup>6</sup>λαος ὁ Στρυμο[νίτης] .....] ὁ Δεμέ(της), Κυριακ(ός) ὁ Μπούριος, Κωνσταν(τῖνος) ὁ Καθολικ(ός), Δημή(τριος) ὁ Πισιαν(ός), Νικόλ(αος) ὁ Κλοστομάλ(ος), Νικό||<sup>7</sup>[λαος ... 10 ...], Νικόλ(αος) ὁ Πετά(λας), Θεόδωρ(ος) τ(ῆς) Παπαϊαν(οῦς), ὅτι τὰ κηπωροτόπια ἔνθα ἔχουν τὰς διενέξεις τὰ δύο μοναστήρια, ὃ τε τῶν ||<sup>8</sup> Βουλ-

γάρων καὶ τῶν) Σέρβων, (εἶ)νε τῶν Βουλγάρων. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἠρκέστησ(αν) εἰς αὐτὸ οἱ μοναχοὶ οἱ Σέρβοι, ἀλλ' οὖν (ἐ)κατεδυνάστευον τ(οὺς) Βουλγάρους. ||<sup>9</sup> Ἀναδραμόντες γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦ(τοι) πρ(ὸς) τ(ὸν) μέγ(αν) (ἐ)σδνουμια(στὴν) ἀπέστειλ(αν) τ(ὸν) δούκ(αν) τ(ὸν) Κυρκαλ(ὸν) μετ(ὰ) γραφῆς. Καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἱερис(σὸν) (ἐ)ποίη(σεν) ἐξέτασ(ιν) καὶ (ἐ)||<sup>10</sup>μαρτύρη(σαν) οἱ γεγραμ(ένοι) ὅτι τὸ τοπί(ον) ἔνθα ἔχουν τὰς διενέξεις τῶν Βουλγάρ(ων) εἶναι· (ἐ)ποίησ(εν) γοῦν ὁ τοιοῦ(τος) δούκ(ας) τοπικ(ήν) θεωρί(αν) καὶ ἐδιέ||<sup>11</sup>κριν(εν) ὅτι εἶν(αι) τῶν Βουλγάρ(ων) καὶ (ἐ)ποίη(σεν) αὐ(τοὺς) καὶ παράδοσιν. Ἀκμ(ήν) γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦ(τοι) Σέρβοι οὐκ ἐπείθον(το), ἐλθόν(τες) δὲ εἰς τ(ήν) πρόνοι(άν) τ(ους) ||<sup>12</sup> ὃ τε κ(ύρ) Κωνσταν(τῖνος) ὁ Ἀμνών, Ἰσαάκιος ὁ Ἀμνών, Γεώργ(ιος) ὁ Ὀζιανός, καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξιος ὁ Ἀμνών ἐντὸς τ(ῆς) (ἐ)πισκοπῆς πάλιν] ἐλθόν(τα) καὶ τ(ὰ) δύο μέρη ||<sup>13</sup> ὃ τε τῶν Βουλγάρ(ων) καὶ τῶν Σέρβ(ων) καὶ εἰσάξαντες τ(ήν) τοιαύ(την) ὑπόθεσιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ἐμαρτύρησ(αν) [... 30-35 ...] ||<sup>14</sup> τὰ αὐτὰ κηρωροτόπια (εἶ)ν(αι) τῶν Βου(λ)γάρων. Κατεδέχθησ(αν) γοῦν καὶ τ(ὰ) δύο μέρη ὅπως γένη καὶ τοπικὴ θεωρία καὶ ||<sup>15</sup> ἀποίη(σαν) (sic) πάν(τες) (ἐ)κεῖ· (ἐ)τυχ(εν) γοῦν καὶ ὁ οἰκονόμος τοῦ μοναστη(ρίου) τοῦ Ἑσφιγμ(ένου) ὁ λεγόμε(νος) Γεράσιμ(ος) καὶ ὁ οἰκονόμ(ος) τοῦ Ἀλυπίου ||<sup>16</sup> ὁ [Κύριλλος.] Προσκαλεσάμ(ενοι) γοῦν οἱ τοιοῦ(τοι) Σέρβοι [καὶ ἕτερον] τ(ὸν) πν(ευμα)τικὸν τ(ὸν) ἱερομόναχ(ον) Ἐλευθέρι(ον), εἵπ(εν) μετ(ὰ) πάσης ἀ||<sup>17</sup>ληθείας ὅτι τὰ κηρωροτόπια ἔνθα (ἐ)χω(σι) τὰς διενέξ(εις) τ(ὰ) δύο μοναστή(ρια) τῆς μον(ῆς) τῶν Βου(λ)γάρων εἰσίν, καὶ ἔδειξεν τ(ὰ) τοιαῦτ(α) ||<sup>18</sup> οἰκείους ὀφθαλμοῖς· ἦσ(αν) γοῦν οἱ καλόγηροι τῶν Σέρβων ὁ πρό(ην) μέ(γας) οἰκονόμ(ος) Ἀμφιλόχιος καὶ ὁ νῦν μέ(γας) οἰκονόμ(ος) ||<sup>19</sup> [Βασίλ](ειος), ὁ ἱερομόναχ(ος) Χριστοφόρος), ὁ μοναχ(ός) Μιχαῖλ(ος), ὁ μοναχ(ός) Νικόδημος) ὁ παροικονόμος Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ὁ κελαρί(της) ὁ Ἰλα||<sup>20</sup>ρίων. Ὅστις ἀμφι]βαλ[λει .....] τ(ήν) τοιαύ(την) κρίσ(ιν) νὰ ζημιεῖτ(αι) εἰς [τὸ] δημόσιον (ὑπέρ)πυρα τριάκοντα ἔξ. Διὰ τοῦ(το) γὰρ ἐγγέγονει καὶ τὸ παρὸν σημεῖωμα) ||<sup>21</sup> εἰς ἀσφάλ(ειαν) καὶ (ἐ)πικύρω(σιν) τῶν Βουλγάρ(ων) ἥτοι τ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τῶν Ζουγράφου, μηνὶ Ἀπρι(λίῳ), ἰν(δικτιῶνος) τρίτ(ης) ἔτ(ους), Ψη.

||<sup>22</sup> † Ὁ ταπειν(ὸς) (ἐ)πίσκοπ(ος) Ἱερισσ(οῦ) καὶ Ἀγί(ου) Ὅρους Θεοδόσι(ος).



### Fragment 1:

[.....]ада

† И понеже имѣху прѣже свадьу Звграфъ монастырь и сръбски монастырь за  
мѣсто нѣкоє ||<sup>2</sup> понеже съ [...] близ[...] сръбляе [...] метоха на Превлаце, такоже  
и вѣгарски монастырь при||<sup>3</sup>ближа [...] къ нивамъ на тѣмъ мѣстѣ зовомо Лвстра  
бара и не малъ мльвъ прїносеце намъ ||<sup>4</sup> и тамо пошѣше и очина обзрѣвше  
мѣсто еда възможе ѿ смирити. И мнѣ сътвори ||<sup>5</sup> не възмогосмо ѿ смирити.  
И потрѣдивше иноци зографсти и моливше о тѣмъ дръжавнѣ и стѣго гдѣн ||<sup>6</sup> цѣра,  
повеленіе оризано бжѣвнѣ и покланяемо прїемши въ пансѣвастъ еднѣмъ о  
вещи тѣмъ ||<sup>7</sup> и посланъ въ двѣ Киркалѣ [... 25-30 ....] о вещи како има мѣсто  
тако да вѣт[...]|<sup>8</sup>[...] мѣ[.....] окомъ монастыри.

### Fragment 2:

[.....]знь хрїсовѣла

[.....]връщи [...] къ вѣстоку дръжи потоку даже до нивы [...]ѣткѣ раздѣлае  
мѣровъ ||<sup>2</sup> и аде ѿлѣчае се къ вѣсту ||<sup>2</sup>къ д[ръжи ... 8-12 ....] пѣта вѣка г, води се къ  
полѣдню, дръжи къ вѣстоку пѣтѣ грѣ тамо ѿнѣ же и поче ||<sup>3</sup> [... 10-15 ....] и свѣт  
вѣка [... 10-15 ....] иже около начитают се [... 10-15 ....] земля мѣзвръ кѣвѣль ѿ  
дрѣга нива [...]

### Slavic act no. 7

December, *indiction* 1st [1317]

Date of the Slavic translation: shortly before 1572

### PRAKTIKON OF CONSTANTINE PERGAMENOS AND GEORGE PHARISAIOS

**Type of the act:** [πρακτικὸν] παραδόσεως (παρεδόθη, l. 1). An unreadable specification is also available on l. 66: ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐγγύονει καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῶν [... 35-40 ...], but the passage is damaged by moisture and cannot be deciphered.



**Description:** The document is available in two variants.

**Variant 1.** Greek original (**parchment**). Dimensions unknown (see pl. 10-11). It has been reinforced with a piece of tissue glued to its back. Beneath the signature there are remains of the cord (*merinthos*) of a lost seal.

**Variant 2.** Early Greek copy with missing end (**parchment**). Dimensions unknown. The last phrase available in this variant corresponds to l. 61 of **Variant 1**. **Variant 2** also features a title which must have been added at a later date: Πρακτικὸν παραδοτικὸν ἐξισώσεως κτημάτων τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡμῶν μονῆς, ἀπογραφῆων θέματος Θεσσαλονίκης [... 12– 15 ...] Περγαμενοῦ [... 15-17 ...] Φαρισαίου.

**Variant 3.** 16th century Slavic translation (**parchment**) with no confirmation by a superior authority. Dimensions: 658 X 240 mm (see pl. 12-13).

**No. in ASA:** **Variants 1 and 2** (Greek prototypes) – ΚΜΦ 18/943, microfilm no. 333; **Variant 3** (Slavic translation) – ΚΜΦ 18/943, microfilm no. 323.

**Archival no.:** The Greek **Variant 1** is registered as no. ω/Δ.16. The number of the Slavic translation (**Variant 3**) is unknown.

**Analysis:** Two tax assessors of the *thema* of Thessalonica deliver to the Athonite monastery of Zographou, also known as the monastery of the Bulgarians, landed property near Hierissos as it has been described in an earlier delivery protocol (*praktikon*). **Delimitation no. 1:** Agricultural terrain near the tower of Zographou in Hierissos. Neighbours: the vineyard of Pothos, the land of Kometiane, the land of Demetrios Mylonas, the locality Stephanea, the land of Katholikos, the vineyard of Bouraina, the road leading to Provlakas, the vineyard of Kale Prentoulia, the property of the Athonite monastery of Alopou, the land of Kalanna's son Nicholas, the locality known as "The Crone's Leap" (*Graias Pedema*), and the land of the priests Nomikos and Rouchas. Total circumference: 25 (**Variant 2:** 23) + 2.5 + 1 + 3.5 (**Variant 2:** 3) + 3 + 19 (**Variant 2:** 16) + 34 (**Variant 2:** 32) + 18 + 22 (**Variant 2:** 108) = 128 *schoinia* corresponding to land of 512 (**Variant 2:** 414) *modioi*, including two vineyards totaling 19 and 30 *modioi*. **Delimitation no. 2:** The land of Loustra in the isthmus of Provlakas. Neighbours: the trench of Diavripos, the property of Megiste Lavra and the property of Esphigmenou. Total circumference: 14 + 6.2 (**Variant 2:** 6) + 11 + 11 = 42 *schoinia*, plus 4 *orgiai* (fathoms) corresponding to land of 56 (**Variant**

**2:** 53.5) *modioi*. **Delimitation no. 3:** The land of Kryos Kampos. Neighbours: the rivulet of Armenon, the property of the residents of Hierissos, the stream of Kourvoelene and the property of the Serbs, i.e. of Chilandar. Total circumference:  $1 + 16 + 4.5 + 11 + 9.5 + 24 = 66$  (**Variant 2:** 66.5) *schoinia* corresponding to land of 136.5 *modioi*. **Delimitation no. 4:** The land of Loukitzes. Neighbours: the ruins of Loukitzes, the ramparts of an ancient fortress and a terrain belonging to Chilandar. Total circumference:  $7 + 3 + 4$  (**Variant 2:** 3.5)  $+ 7.5 + 5.5 + 5.5 + 3 + 14 = 49$  *schoinia* corresponding to land of 75.5 (**Variant 2:** 75.75) *modioi*. **Delimitation no. 5:** The land of Tympanares. Neighbours: an ancient fortress, the land of Loukitzes, the land of Christodoulos, the land of Demetrios Katholikos, the land of Melitas, the landmark of Pachykalo Dragateia, the road leading from Hierissos to Loukitzes and the terrain of Mylonas. Total circumference:  $4 + 7.5 + 1 + 7.5 + 2$  *schoinia* and 2 fathoms  $+ 12 + 3 + 28 = 65$  (**Variant 2:** 62,[?] –uncertain but different reading) *schoinia* corresponding to land of 132 (**Variant 2:** 132.75) *modioi*. **Delimitation no. 6:** The triangular terrain of Armenon. Total circumference:  $11 + 9 + 15$  *schoinia* corresponding to land of 29 (**Variant 2:** 29.75) *modioi*. **Terrains: I.** Land at Kyparission near John Vouros – 6.66 *modioi*. **II.** Land near Loukas – 5 *modioi*. **III.** Land at Karyai near Boulgaropoulos – 8 *modioi*. **Delimitation no. 7:** The land of Saravaris. Neighbours: a property of Vatopedi, a property of Chilandar, the locality Paliraia, the road leading from Mount Athos to the tower of Vatopedi, the gulf of Mikra Paliraia, a property of Iviron, a property of the bishopric of Hierissos, the locality Episkopou Rachis (i.e. “The Bishop’s Crest”), a property of Esphigmenou and a property of Megiste Lavra. Total circumference:  $6 + 10 + 5.5 + 27 + 28 + 15 + 6 + 4 + 10 + 8 = 120$  *schoinia* corresponding to land of 653.5 *modioi*. **Terrains: IV.** Land donated by the priest Leon at the mountain of Samuel near the property of Nomikos – 0.5 *modios*. **V.** Land donated by Pezoboleros at a locality labelled “of Asanos” – 5 *modioi*. **VI.** Land at the same locality donated by Lykommates – 3 *modioi*. **VII.** Land at Chelidonous donated by Xylourgos – 4.5 *modioi*. **VIII.** Land donated by Kophakes at the locality Tympanares near the property of Katholikos – 1.66 *modioi*. **IX.** Land donated by Thelematares at Dragatia near the property of Melitas – 3 *modioi*. **X.** Land at the locality Kourvoelene near the property of [...]atzales – 1 *modios*. **XI.** Land near the bishopric

– 6 *modioi*. **XII**. Land near the property of Xylourgos – 4 *modioi*. **XIII**. Land at the locality Kourvoelene near the property of Iviron – 20 *modioi*. **XIV**. Land at the locality Kake Rachis. **XV**. Land donated by Vitales at the locality “The Crone’s Leap” near the property of Mylonas – 6.5 *modioi*. **XVI**. Land donated by Dometios at Dragatia near the property of Lykommates – 1 *modios*. **In toto**: 1666.5. The *staseis* and the vineyards of the monastery are said to have been excluded from this recapitulation. Confirmation of Zographou exclusive rights to control and exploit the aforesaid estates. Date.

**Signatures** (l. 68-69): 1. The signatures of the tax assessors (*apographeis*) of the *thema* of Thessalonica are not readable. 2. Demetrios, *sebastos* and notary.

**Dating**: Most probably **1317**. The act offers no reference to a year, but only to a month and number of the *indiction*: **December** of the **1st indiction** – μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ, ἰνδικτιῶνος α’ (l. 67). In the early 14th century this combination corresponds to the years 1302, 1317, or 1332. In 1907 E. Kurtz and W. Regel published the document as undated<sup>106</sup>, but in 1939 V. Mošin convincingly proved that it dated from 1317 because of the fact that the Byzantine tax assessors, Constantine Pergamenos and George Pharisaïos, were active in Thessalonica and in the district around it during the second and third decade of the 14th century. From November 1320 to February 1321 they issued one more document kept in the archives of Zographou<sup>107</sup> and four acts which are presently kept in Xenophontos<sup>108</sup>. One of Xenophontos charters is a *praktikon* describing properties around Hierissos adjacent to those of Zographou and reads: ἔτερον κατωτέρω τοῦ Κοπελίτζη ἀπὸ τοῦ Μελιτᾶ πλησίον τῶν δικαίων τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Ζωγράφου<sup>109</sup>. The corresponding passage in the text of our *praktikon* has as follows: διέρχεται τὴν συκὴν καὶ ἀκουμβίζει εἰς τὸ χωράφιον τοῦ Μελιτᾶ, σχοινία ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ· γαμματίζει πρὸς δύσιν, περᾷ τὸν προειρημένον ρύακα, ἀνέρχεται τὴν ράχυν ἔχων ἀριστερὰ τὸ τοῦ Μελιτᾶ χωράφιον (l. 36-37). It is, therefore, evident that in 1317-1321 the property of Zographou near Hierissos abutted

106. *Actes de Zographou*, 120, act no. LIV.

107. See Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, act no. 23 of May 1320.

108. *Archives de l’Athos XV, Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. Papachrysanthou, Paris 1986, 126-144, nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16.

109. *Ibidem*, 136, no. 14, l. 39-40.

that of Xenophontos, and it was the tax officials Constantine Pergamenos and George Pharisaios who were in charge for assessing the taxes to be collected from Zographou and Xenophontos properties. Pergamenos died before August 1321<sup>110</sup> and Pharisaios before February 1332<sup>111</sup>. Thus the only possible date for the *praktikon* which they have composed for Zographou is December 1317.

**Bibliography:** Мошин, *Акту*, 178-179; Tchérémissinoff, *Les archives slaves*, 20-21, no. 9 (only for the Slavic **Variant 3**); Павликянов, *История на Зограф*, 40-42; Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 238-253.

**Mentioned documents:**

1. Earlier delivery protocol or *praktikon* (l. 2).
2. Ancient chrysobulls and descriptions of Zographou property (l. 66).

Nothing specific can be said about these documents.

**Earlier editions:**

**Variant 1:**

1. *Actes de Zographou*, 120-126, no. LIV.
2. Мошин, *Акту*, 179-185, no. 5.
3. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 238-253, act no. 21, Variant 1, and 697-698, pl. 50-51.

**Variant 3:**

1. Мошин, *Акту*, 179-185, no. 5.
2. Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou*, 238-253, act no. 21, Variant 3, and 699-700, pl. 52-53.

**Remarks:**

The text of **Variant 2** is almost identical with that of **Variant 1**, but there are several differences in the measurings. We shall pay special attention to one of them – the difference of half *schoinion* between **Variant 1** and **Variant 2** in the phrase εἰς τὸ πλατὺ λίθινον σύνορον τὸ διὰ σταυροῦ σεσημειωμένον, σχοινία τέσσαρα (**Variant 1**, l. 28-29). In their editions W. Regel and E. Kurtz (1907), and V. Mošin (1939) uniformly transliterated this passage as σχοινία τρία ἡμισυ, i.e. they read 3.5 instead of 4 *schoinia*<sup>112</sup>. Their reading is definitely not sup-

110. *PLP*, no. 22420.

111. *PLP*, no. 29636.

112. *Actes de Zographou*, no. LIV, l. 71-72; Мошин, *Акту*, 181.

ported by our **Variant 1**, in which the numeral τέσσαρα (4) is clearly visible. Thus, the final calculation of the circumference given in **Variant 1** appears to be wrong, as the sum of all sections described in the delimitation of the land of Loukitzes does not total 49, as **Variant 1** states, but 49.5 *schoinia*. However, this difference could be easily neutralized if we adopt the reading 3.5 *schoinia* provided by **Variant 2**. It seems that in this particular case Regel, Kurtz and Mošin have made an attempt at reconciling the contradicting numeric values provided by **Variant 1** by taking into consideration the more convenient figures available in **Variant 2**. However, the relevant passage in the Slavic translation of the document speaks of 4, not of 3.5 *schoinia* – *иже крѣстоуиъ названемани, ѡка 4* (**Variant 3**, l. 45-46). This is a good indication that the Slavic translation is based on **Variant 1**. The translator was unable to decipher the names of the Byzantine officials who had issued his Greek prototype, so he replaced them with blank spaces. He met no difficulty to translate the signature of the *sebastos* Demetrios (l. 86), but got totally confused when he had to translate the term *apographeis* (l. 85), and rendered it in Slavic not as “tax assessors” but as “writers“. He was also unaware of the meaning of the Byzantine administrative term *thema* and translated it as *thauma*, i.e. miracle. This error was surely due to the fact that in early modern demotic Greek the word *thauma* is sometimes pronounced as *thama*. Due to these confusions the Greek phrase “the *apographeis* of the *thema* of Thessalonica” was finally translated into Slavic as “the writers of the marvelous Thessalonica”. The two terminological mistakes indicate that the Slavic translation was made at a time when the Byzantine tax terminology had long ago fallen into oblivion. The Slavic translation of the *praktikon* of Pergamenos and Pharisaios explicitly refers to the land of **Armenon** (l. 67), so it must have also been a supporting document of our Slavic act no. 5 of 1572.

### Text of Variant 1:

† Π(α)ρεδό(θη) τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἀγί(ω) Ὁρει τῷ Ἄθω διακειμέν(η) σεβασμί(α) βασι(λικῇ) μονῇ τοῦ ἀγ(ίου) ἐνδόξου μεγαλομ(ά)ρτυρ(ος) (καὶ) τροπαιοφόρ(ου) Γ(ε)ωργί(ου) τῇ τοῦ Ζωγράφου [καὶ τῶν] ||<sup>2</sup> Βουλγ(ά)ρων ἐπονομαζομένη, ἡ διὰ πρακτικῷ αὐτῆς γῆ, ἥς ὁ π(ε)ριορισμ(ός) (καὶ) ἔχει οὕτως· εἰς τὸ χ(ωρίον) τ(ὸν) Ἱερισσ(ὸν) πλησίον τοῦ πύρ(γ)ου τ(ῆς) αὐτῆς μον[ῆς] ||<sup>3</sup> ἄρ(χεται) ἀπὸ

τ(ῆς) μίξεως τ(ῶν) δύο ρυακίων κάτωθ(εν) τοῦ ἀμπελῶ(νος) τοῦ Πό(θου) ἐν ᾧ  
π(ε)ρικλείε(ται) τὸ τ(ῆς) Κωμητιαν(ῆς) χ(ωράφιον) τῶν δύο μοδίων, ὀρθοῖ  
πρ(ὸς) δύσιν, ||<sup>4</sup> κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) μεσημβριν(ὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τὸ ἐν ὕδατῶδες  
ρύακιον, διέρχεται τ(ὴν) ἑτέραν μίξιν τῶν δύο ρυακίων, ἦτοι τοῦ καταρέοντ(ος)  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυριω(άννου) ||<sup>5</sup> ἀν(έ)ρχε(ται) τοῦ(το) ἔ(ως) ἑτέρ(ας) μίξεως δύο  
ρύακίων καὶ εἰς (τὸ) χ(ωράφιον) Δημη(τρίου) τοῦ Μυλωνᾶ, σχ(οινία) εἴκοσι  
πέντε· κλί(νει) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρα(τεῖ) τὸν δυτικ(ὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τὸ ἐκεῖσε ||<sup>6</sup>  
ρύακιον, ἀνωφορεῖ τ(ὴν) Στεφαναί(αν), σχ(οινία) δύο ἡμισυ· π(α)ρεκνεύει  
ταύτην σχ(οινίον) ἐν (καὶ) πάλ(ιν) ὀρθοῖ, ἀνωφορεῖ τὴν τύμβην, σχ(οινία) τρί(α)  
ἡμισυ· γαμ(μ)ατίζει ||<sup>7</sup> ἀρι(στερά), σχ(οινία) τρία· ἀνωφορεῖ εἰς τὴν μαύρ(ην)  
πλατέ(αν) πέτραν καὶ κατωφορεῖ ἑὼν ἀρι(στερά) τὸ τοῦ Καθο(λικοῦ) χ(ωράφιον),  
ἔρχε(ται) εἰς τὸ ὀφρύ(διον) (καὶ) ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς τ(ὸν) ἀμπελῶ(να) ||<sup>8</sup> τ(ῆς)  
Μπουραίν(ης), περικόπτει τ(ὴν) εἰς τ(ὸν) Προαύλακαν ἀπάγουσ(αν) ὁδὸν εἰς  
τ(ὸν) ἀμπελῶν(α) τ(ῆς) Πρεντουλί(ας) (καὶ) ἔρ(χεται) εἰς τ(ὴν) ὄχθ(ην) εἰς (τὰ)  
δίκαι(α) τ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τοῦ Ἀλυπί(ου), ||<sup>9</sup> σχ(οινία) δεκαεννέ(α)· εἶτα κάμπτει  
πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς), κρατεῖ τ(ὸν) ἀρκτικὸν ἀέρα (καὶ) τὴν αὐτὴν ὄχθην,  
διέρχεται τ(ὸν) πύργ(ον) τ(ῆς) εἰρημέν(ης) μον(ῆς), πορεύε(ται) τὴν ὁδόν,  
διέρχεται ||<sup>10</sup> τὸ τετράγων(ον) σύνορον (καὶ) ἔρχεται ἄχρι τοῦ χ(ωραφίου)  
Νικο(λάου) υἱοῦ τῆς Καλάνν(ης), σχ(οινία) τριάκοντα τέσσ(α)ρα· π(α)ρεκνεύει  
εἰς (τὸ) λίθινον μαῦρον σύνορ(ον) (καὶ) ἐξ αὐ(τοῦ) εἰς τὸ ἔ(τερον) ||<sup>11</sup> λίθινον  
σύνορον, ἀνωφορεῖ τὴν τύμβην ἐν ἣ εὐρέ(θη) ἔ(τερον) λίθινον σύνορ(ον),  
κατωφορεῖ εἰς τὸ τῆς Γραι(ας) Πήδημ(α) καὶ εἰς τὸ χ(ωράφιον) τῶν δύο ἱερέων,  
||<sup>12</sup> τοῦ τ(ε) Νο(μικοῦ) (καὶ) τοῦ Πουχᾶ, σχ(οινία) δεκαοκτῶ· εἶθ' οὕτως στρ(έ)  
φε(ται) πρ(ὸς) δύσ(ιν), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) μεσημβρινὸν ἀέρα (καὶ) τ(ὸν) κρημν(όν),  
ἀπέρ(χεται) καὶ ἀποδίδωσ(ιν) εἰς τ(ὴν) μίξιν τῶν ||<sup>13</sup> δύο ρυακίων ἐνθ(α) (καὶ)  
ἦρξα(το), σχ(οινία) κβ', (ὁμοῦ) τὰ ὅλα σχ(οινία) ἑκατ(ὸν) εἴκοσι ὀκτῶ, ἄτιν(α)  
ψηφιζόμεν(α) κατὰ κεφαλ(ὴν) καὶ πόδ(α) ἀποτελοῦσι γῆν μο(δίων)  
πεντακοσί(ων) ||<sup>14</sup> δώδεκα, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ τ(ῶν) π(α)ροίκων ἀμ(πέλια) τῆς τοιαύτ(ης)  
μον(ῆς) μο(δίων) δεκαεννέ(α) (καὶ) τὰ ιδιόκτητ(α) μο(δίων) τριάκοντα. † Ἐτ(έ)  
ρ(α) γῆ εἰς τ(ὸν) Προαύλακα ἢ ||<sup>15</sup> λεγομένη Λούστρ(α), ἥς ὁ π(ε)ριορισμ(ὸς)  
ἔχει οὕτως· ἄρχε(ται) ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) στ(αυ)ρώσεως τῶν δύο ὁδῶν (καὶ) τοῦ  
Διαβρίπ(ου) τάφρου, ὀρθοῖ πρ(ὸς) δύσ(ιν) ||<sup>16</sup> κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) ἀρκτικὸν ἀέρ(α)  
(καὶ) τ(ὴν) τοῦ Ἰερισσοῦ ὁδὸν ἄχρι τοῦ π(α)ρ' ἡμῶν πηχθέντ(ος) λιθίνου

συνόρ(ου) τοῦ διαχωρίζοντ(ος) τ(ὰ) δίκαι(α) τ(ῆς) μονῆς τ(ῆς) ||<sup>17</sup> Λαύρας, σχ(οινία) δεκατέσσε(ρα)· (vacat) κ[λίνει] πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) δυ(τικὸν) ἀέρ(α) διαίρων τ(ὰ) δίκαι(α) τ(ῆς) Λαύρ(ας) μέ(χρι) τοῦ ἐ(τέρου) λιθίν(ου) συνόρ(ου), σχ(οινία) ἐξ πέμπτ(ον), κάμ(πτει) πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς), κρατεῖ ||<sup>18</sup> τ(ὸν) δυτικ(ὸν) ἀέρ(α), διέρχεται τὸ πεπηγμένον μαῦρ(ον) σύνορ(ον) (καὶ) ἐξ αὐ(τοῦ) εἰς τὸ ἕ(τερον) λίθιν(ον) σύνορ(ον), καταλιμπά(νει) ἐκεῖσ(ε) τὰ δίκαι(α) τ(ῆς) Λαύρ(ας) ||<sup>19</sup> (καὶ) π(α)ραλαμβά(νει) τὰ τ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τ(οῦ) Ἑσφιγμ(ένου), κατέρχεται ἄχρι τ(οῦ) τάφρ(ου) τ(οῦ) Διαβρίπ(ου) (καὶ) τ(οῦ) μαῦρ(ου) λιθί(νου) συνόρ(ου) τ(οῦ) βάλ(του), σχ(οινία) ἔνδεκα· κλ(ίνει) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), ||<sup>20</sup> κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) ἀνατο(λικὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τὸ ἀνάταφρ(ον), ἀπ(έ)ρχεται (καὶ) ἀποδίδωσ(ιν) εἰς τ(ὴν) σ(ταύ)ρωσ(ιν) τ(ῶν) δύο ὁδῶν ἐνθ(α) (καὶ) ἥρξατο, σχ(οινία) ἔνδεκα. (Ὁμοῦ) τὰ ὅλα σχ(οινία) τεσσ(α)ρά(κοντα) [β’], ||<sup>21</sup> οὐρ(γίαι) δ’, ἅτι{ν} α ψηφίζόμενα ἀποτελοῦσι γῆν μο(δίω)ν πεντήκοντα ἔξ. Ἐτέ(ρα) γῆ τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς) μο(νῆς) ἡ λεγομένη(ν) Κρύ(ος) Κάμπ(ος), ἧς ὁ π(ε)ριορισμ(ὸς) ἔχει οὕτως· ἄρ(χεται) ||<sup>22</sup> ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) ρύακ(ος) τοῦ Ἀρμέ(νου), κρα(τεῖ) μεσημβριν(ὸν) ἀέρ(α) σχ(οινίον) ἐν· π(ε)ριπατ(εῖ) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον) ἐὼν ἀρι(στερὰ) τὰ τῶν Ἐρισσιωτ(ῶν) δίκαι(α), ἔχι κάτωθ(εν) τῆς ἀγριαχρα(δίας), ||<sup>23</sup> σχ(οινία) δεκαἕξ· γαμματίζει πρ(ὸς) δύσ(ιν), πορεύεται τ(ὸν) ἀρκτικ(ὸν) ἀέρ(α), διέρ(χεται) τ(ὴν) αὐτὴν ἀγριοαχρα(δίαν), ἀνωφορεῖ εἰς τ(ὴν) ὁδόν, σχ(οινία) τέσσ(α)ρα ἡμισυ· αὐθ(ις) πορεύεται ||<sup>24</sup> πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὴν) ἐκεῖσ(ε) ὁδόν (καὶ) τ(ὸν) δυτικ(ὸν) ἀέρ(α) ἔ(ως) τοῦ μικρ(οῦ) λιθίν(ου) συνόρ(ου), σχ(οινία) ἔνδεκα. Εἴθ’ οὕτ(ως) βαδίζει πρ(ὸς) βορὰν (καὶ) ἔρχεται μέ(χρι) τ(οῦ) ρύακ(ος) τ(ῆς) Κουρβοελέ(νης) ||<sup>25</sup> (καὶ) τ(οῦ) λιθί(νου) συνόρ(ου), ἐὼν ἀρι(στερὰ) τ(ὰ) δίκαι(α) τ(ῆς) μο(νῆς) τ(ῶν) Σέρβ(ων), σχ(οινία) ἐννέ(α) ἡμισυ· ἐντεῦθ(εν) πορεύεται τ(ὸν) τοιοῦ(τον) ρύακ(α) δι’ ὅλου (καὶ) ἔρ(χεται) (καὶ) ἀποδίδωσ(ιν) ἐνθ(α) (καὶ) ἥρξατο σχ(οινία) εἴκοσι ||<sup>26</sup> τέσσ(α)ρα. (Ὁμοῦ) τὰ ὅλα σχ(οινία) ἐξήκοντα ἔξ, ἅτιν(α) ψηφίζόμενα) κατὰ τὸ ὁλό(γυρον) ἀποτελοῦσι γῆν μο(δίω)ν ἑκατὸν τριά(κοντα) ἔξ ἡμισυ. † Ἐ(τέρα) γῆ τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς) μο(νῆς) ἡ ὀνομαζομένη(ν) τ(οῦ) ||<sup>27</sup> Λουκίτζη, ἧς ὁ π(ε)ριορισμ(ὸς) ἔ(χει) οὕτ(ως)· ἄρ(χεται) ἀπὸ τ(ῆς) ἐκεῖσε ὁδοῦ (καὶ) μ(έσον) τ(ῆς) ῥάχε(ως) τ(ῶν) ἐνθ(εν) κάτωθ(εν) δύο σκαφιδωτ(ῶν) χ(ωραφ)ίων, κατωφορεῖ πρ(ὸς) δύσιν ἄχρι τοῦ ρύα(κος), ||<sup>28</sup> π(ε)ρικλείει ἔσθθ(εν) τὸ χάλασμ(α) τοῦ Λουκίτζη, σχ(οινία) ἐπτά, γαμματίζει πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον) σχ(οινία) τρία, ὀρ(θοῖ)



πάλ(ιν) πρ(ὸς) δύσ(ιν), ἀνωφορεῖ πρ(ὸς) τὸ τειχόκαστρ(ον) (καὶ) εἰς τ(ὸ) πλατὺ  
||<sup>29</sup> λί(θινον) σύνορ(ον) τὸ διὰ στ(αυ)ροῦ σεσημειωμ(έν)ον, σχ(οινία) τέσσαρα·  
κλί(νει) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) δυ(τικὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τὸ τειχόκα(στρον)  
ἔ(ως) τ(ῆς) πετρωτ(ῆς) τύμβ(ης), σχ(οινία) ἐπτὰ ἡμι(συ), εἴτ(α) κατωφορεῖ  
δε(ξιὰ) πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς) ||<sup>30</sup> ἄχρι τ(οῦ) ρύακ(ος), σχ(οινία) πέν(τε) ἡμι(συ),  
νεῦει (καὶ) αὐθ(ις) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρα(τεῖ) τὸ ἀναρύ(ακον) μέ(χρι) τοῦ χ(ωρα)  
φ(ίου) τ(ῆς) μο(νῆς) τῶν Σέρβ(ων), σχ(οινία) πέν(τε) ἡμισυ, εἴτ(α) ἀνωφορεῖ  
πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς) ἔ(ως) τ(ῆς) ὁδοῦ, σχ(οινία) τρία, ||<sup>31</sup> κάμ(πτει) πρ(ὸς) μ(ε-  
σημβρίαν), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) ἀνατο(λικὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τὴν ὁδ(όν), ἀπέρ(χεται)  
(καὶ) ἀποδίδωσ[ιν] ἔνθ(α) (καὶ) ἥρξατο, σχ(οινία) δεκατέσσ(α)ρα. (Καὶ) (ὁμοῦ)  
τὰ ὅλα σχ(οινία) μθ', αὐτ(ιν)α κατὰ τὸ ὁλό(γυρον) ||<sup>32</sup> συμψηφιζόμεν(α) ἀποτε-  
λοῦσι γῆν μο(δίον) ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε ἡμ(ίσεως). † Ἐ(τέρα) γῆ ἡ ὀνομαζομ(έ-  
νη) τ(οῦ) Τυμπαν(άρη), ἧς ὁ π(ε)ριορισμ(ὸς) ἔχει οὕτως· ἄρ(χεται) ἀπὸ τοῦ Πα-  
λαιου||<sup>33</sup>κά(στρου) τοῦ διαχωρίζοντ(ος) <τὰ διαχωρίζοντ(ος)> τὰ δίκαι(α) τοῦ  
ἐτ(έ)ρου χ(ωρα)φ(ίου), τοῦ λεγομ(ένου) τοῦ Λουκίτζη, (καὶ) τοῦ π(ε)ριοριζομέ-  
ν(ου), ὀρθοῖ πρ(ὸς) δύσ(ιν), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) μεσημβριν(ὸν) ἀέρ(α), ||<sup>34</sup> ἔχ(ων)  
ἀρι(στερὰ) τὸ χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) τοῦ Χριστοδο(ού)λου, κατωφορεῖ (καὶ) ἔρχ(εται)  
ἄχρι τ(οῦ) χ(ωρα)φ(ίου) Δημη(τρίου) τοῦ Καθο(λικοῦ) (καὶ) ἀπέρ(χεται) σχ(οι-  
νία) τέσσ(α)ρα· αὐθ(ις) ὀρθοῖ πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) δυ(τικὸν) ἀέρα  
ἔχ(ων) ||<sup>35</sup> ἀρι(στερὰ) τὸ δηλωθ(έν) χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) τοῦ Καθο(λικοῦ) (καὶ) ἔρ(χε-  
ται) ἄχρι τοῦ παλαιοῦ λιθί(νου) συνόρ(ου), σχ(οινία) ἐπτὰ ἡμισυ· γαμματίζει  
πρ(ὸς) δύσιν ἄ(χρι) τοῦ ρύακ(ος), σχ(οινίον) ἔν, ὀρθοῖ (καὶ) αὐθ(ις) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(-  
κτον), κρα(τεῖ) ||<sup>36</sup> τ(ὸν) δυ(τικὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τὸ ρυάκι(ον), διέρ(χεται) τ(ὴν)  
συκὴν (καὶ) ἀκουμβίζει εἰς τὸ χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) τοῦ Μελιτᾶ, σχ(οινία) ἐπτὰ ἡμισυ·  
γαμματίζει πρ(ὸς) δύσιν, π(ε)ρᾶ τ(ὸν) προειρη(μένον) ρύ(ακα), ἀν(έ)ρ(χεται)  
τ(ὴν) ῥάχυν ||<sup>37</sup> ἔχ(ων) ἀρι(στερὰ) τὸ τ(οῦ) Με(λιτᾶ) χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) (καὶ) (ἔ)  
ρχε(ται) μ(έσον) τ(ῆς) ῥάχε(ως) (καὶ) τοῦ λιθίνου) συνό(ρου), σχ(οινία) δύο,  
οὐρ(γαί) β'· ὀρ(θοῖ) (καὶ) πάλ(ιν) πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον) συνέχ(ων) τ(ὸν) δυ(τικὸν)  
ἀέρ(α), βαδίζει τ(ὴν) ῥάχυν δι' ὅλου (καὶ) (ἔ)ρ(χεται) ἄχρι τ(ῆς) κορυφ(ῆς)  
τ(ῆς) τύμβ(ης) τ(ῆς) ἐπονο||<sup>38</sup>μαζομ(ένης) τ(ῆς) Παχυκαλ(οῦς) Δραγαττεί(ας),  
σχ(οινία) δώδεκ(α)· ἐντεῦθεν κλί(νει) πρ(ὸς) πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν)  
ἀρκτικ(ὸν) ἀέρ(α), κατωφορεῖ κἀντεῦθεν (καὶ) ἔρχε(ται) ἄ(χρι) τ(ῆς) ὁδοῦ  
τ(ῆς) ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) Ἰ(ε)ρισσ(οῦ) εἰς τ(ὸν) Λουκίτζη ἀπ(ε)ρχομ(ένης) ||<sup>39</sup> ἐὼν ἀρι(-



στερά) τὸ χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) τοῦ Μυ(λωνᾶ), σχ(οινία) τρία· αὐθ(ις) νεύει πρ(ὸς) μ(ε-  
σημβρίαν), κρα(τεῖ) τ(ὸν) ἀνα(τολικὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τ(ήν) δηλωθεῖς(αν) ὁδόν,  
καταλιμπά(νει) ταύ(την), ἐνοῦ(ται) τῷ Παλαιοκά(στρω), βαδίζει τοῦ(το) κα-  
θ(ὼς) ||<sup>40</sup> κυκλεύει (καὶ) ἀποδίδωσ(ιν) ἔνθ(α) (καὶ) ἤρξατο, σχ(οινία) εἴκοσι  
ὀκτώ. (Ὁμοῦ) τὰ ὅλα σχ(οινία) ἐξήκοντα πέντε, ἄτιν(α) κατὰ τ(ὸ) ὁλό(γυρον)  
συμψηφιζόμενα) ἀποτελοῦσι γῆν μο(δίω)ν ἑκατ(ὸν) ||<sup>41</sup> τριάκοντα δύο. Ἐ(τε-  
ρον) χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς) μο(νῆς) ἔ(χων) σχῆμ(α) τριγώ(νου) (καὶ) ὀνο-  
μαζόμενον Ἀρμεν(ον), ὃ καὶ εὐρέ(θη) ἔχον κατὰ τ(ὸν) δυ(τικὸν) ἀέρ(α) σχ(οι-  
νία) ἔνδεκ(α), κατὰ τ(ὸν) ἀνα(τολικὸν) ἀέρ(α) σχ(οινία) ἐννέ(α) ||<sup>42</sup> (καὶ) κατὰ  
τ(ὸν) μεσημβριν(ὸν) σχ(οινία) δεκαπέντ(ε), ὅπ(ε)ρ ἐστὶ μο(δίω)ν εἴκοσι ἐννέ(α).  
† Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὸ) Κυπ(α)ρίσσι(ον) πλη(σίον) Ἰω(άννου) τ(οῦ) Μπούρ(ου),  
μο(δίω)ν ἑξ̄ διμοίρ(ου). † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὸν) Λουκᾶ(ν) τὰς ||<sup>43</sup> συκ(ᾶς) μο(δί-  
ω)ν πέντ(ε). † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ᾶς) Καρύας πλη(σίον) τοῦ Βουλγ(α)ρο(πούλου),  
μο(δίω)ν ὀκτῶ. † Ἐ(τέρα) γῆ τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) ἡ λεγομένη τ(οῦ) Σαρά(βα-  
ρη) ἧς ὁ π(ε)ριορισμ(ὸς) (καὶ) ἔχει οὐ(τως)· ||<sup>44</sup> ἄρ(χεται) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσχισμ(ένου)  
ὀρθί(ου) ἄσπρ(ου) μ(α)ρμ(ά)ρί(νου) συνόρ(ου) τοῦ διαιροῦν(τος) τὰ δίκαι(α)  
τοῦ Βατοπε(δίου), τ(ῶν) Σ(έ)ρβων, (καὶ) τὴν π(ε)ριοριζομένην ταύτην ||<sup>45</sup> γῆν,  
ἔ(χων) ἀρι(στερά) τ(ὸν) ἀρκ(τικὸν) ἀέρ(α), δεξιὰ) τὸ π(ε)ριοριζόμενον(ον),  
ὀρ(θοῖ) πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς), διέρχεται) τὸ διπλοῦν πέτρηνον σύνορον, σχ(οινία)  
ἑξ̄, διέρχεται) τ(ήν) ἐν τῇ ἀγρί(α)||<sup>46</sup> ἀχρα(δία) μονόπετραν τὰ τ(οῦ) Βατοπε(-  
δίου) δι' ὅλου διερχόμενα) δίκαι(α), ἀπέρ(χεται) εἰς τ(ήν) παλαιάν ὁδ(ὸν) (καὶ)  
εἰς τ(ήν) ἐν αὐτῇ με(γάλην) σιδηρόπετραν, σχ(οινία) δέκα· ||<sup>47</sup> στρέφεται)  
πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), κρατεῖ τ(ὸν) δυτικ(ὸν) ἀέρα (καὶ) τὰ δίκαι(α) πάλ(ιν) τοῦ Βα-  
τοπε(δίου), διέρχεται) τὸ μ(έσον) τ(ῆς) Παλिरαί(ας) λίθινον σύνορον, τέμν(ει)  
||<sup>48</sup> τὴν καθολικὴν ὁδόν, ἐνοῦ(ται) τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγί(ου) Ὁρους εἰς τ(ὸν)  
πύρ(γον) τοῦ Βατ(οπεδίου) ἀπαγούσ(η), π(ε)ριπα(τεῖ) μετ' αὐ(τῆς) μέ(χρι) τοῦ  
ἐν τῷ κόλ(πῳ) τ(ῆς) Μικρ(ᾶς) Παλिरαί(ας), ||<sup>49</sup> σχ(οινία) ε' (ἡμισυ)· κάμ(πτει)  
πρ(ὸς) ἀνα(τολάς), ἀπ(έ)ρ(χεται) κἀντεῦθ(εν) τ(ήν) ὁδ(ὸν) τ(ήν) ἀπάγουσ(αν)  
εἰς τ(ῶν) Ἰβήρ(ων), ἐνοῦ(ται) τ(οῖς) δικαί(οις) τ(ῆς) ἀγίω(τάτης) ἐπισκοπῆς Ἰ(ε)  
ρισσοῦ, περικόπτει ||<sup>50</sup> τὸ λιβάδιον, (ἐ)πιβαί(νει) τ(ῆς) μ(εγάλης) ρίζημαί(ας)  
πέτρας, ἀνέρχεται) τὴν ράχυν (καὶ) ἵστα(ται) εἰς τ(ὸν) βάσταγα τ(ὸν) (ἐ)πιλεγό-  
μενον) τοῦ Ἐπισκόπ(ου) Ράχην, σχ(οινία) κζ', ||<sup>51</sup> κλί(νει) πρ(ὸς) μ(εσημβρί-  
αν) ἔ(χων) ἀρι(στερά) τ(ὸν) ἀνατο(λικὸν) ἀέρ(α) (καὶ) τ(ὰ) τῶν Ἰβήρ(ων) δίκαι-

(α), ἀπέρχ(εται) κατ' εὐθεΐ(αν) τὴν τοῦ (Ἐ)πισκό(που) ῥάχυν, δι' ὅλου πορευό-  
μ(ενος) (καὶ) διερχόμε(ενος) τ(ὰς) ||<sup>52</sup> ἐν αὐτῇ πολλὰς (καὶ) μ(εγάλας) πέτρας  
ἐ(ως) τοῦ τάφρ(ου) τοῦ ἀμ(πελίου) τοῦ Ἑσφιγμέ(νου), σχ(οινία) κη'· εἴθ' οὕτως  
νεύει πρ(ὸς) δύσιν, διέρχ(εται) τ(ὸν) τάφρ(ον) τοῦ αὐ(τοῦ) ἀμ(πελίου) (καὶ) λή-  
γει ||<sup>53</sup> [εἰς τὴν] ὁδὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ, σχ(οινία) ιε'. Ἐκεῖθ(εν) δὲ στρ(έ)φε(ται)  
πρ(ὸς) μ(εσημβρίαν), κρατεῖ τ(ὸν) ἀνα(τολικὸν) ἀέρ(α), περιπατεῖ τ(ὴν) ὁδὸν  
[καὶ] τὰς ἐν τ(ῷ) τάφρ(ῳ) πολλὰς ἰταίας διερχόμε(ενος) ||<sup>54</sup> μέ(χρι) τ(ῆς) [...] οὐ-  
σ(ης) πλησίον τ(ῆς) ξηρολίμν(ης) (καὶ) τ(ῶν) πολλ(ῶν) (καὶ) συνεχ(ῶν) προ-  
ναι(ῶν), σχ(οινία) ἔξ· γαματίζει πρ(ὸς) δύσ(ιν) μεσημβρινό(τερον), σχ(οινία) δ',  
ὀρθοῖ πρ(ὸς) δύσιν [...] παρακειμ(ένην) ||<sup>55</sup> μ(εγάλην) πέτραν, διέρχ(εται) ταύ-  
(την) (καὶ) τὴν μικρὰν ἀγρα(δίαν) (καὶ) τὸ κεχωσμένον λίθινον σύνορο(ν) τὸ  
διαιροῦν τὰ δίκαι(α) τοῦ Ἑσφιγμ(ένου) (καὶ) τ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τ(ῆς) Λαύρας, σχ(οι-  
νία) ι', ||<sup>56</sup> (ἐ)κνεύει πρ(ὸς) ἄρ(κτον), πορεύε(ται) τὸ μονοπάτι(ον), διέρχ(εται)  
τὰ δίκαι(α) τ(ῶν) Λαυριωτ(ῶν) (καὶ) τ(ὴν) μαχαιρόπετραν, τὴν διαχωρίζουσ(αν)  
τὰ δίκαι(α) τ(ῶν) Σέρβ(ῶν) ἀπὸ τ(ῶν) Λαυριωτ(ῶν), (καὶ) ||<sup>57</sup> φθάνει (καὶ)  
ἀκουμβίζει εἰς τ(ὸ) ἐσχισμ(ένον) ὄρθι(ον) ἄσπρον μ(α)ρ(μά)ρινον σύνορον ἔν-  
θ(α) (καὶ) ἤρξατο, σχ(οινία) η'. (Καὶ) (ὁμοῦ) τὰ ὅλα σχ(οινία) ρκ', ἅτινα κατὰ  
||<sup>58</sup> τὸ ὁλό(γυρον) συμψηφιζόμεν(α) ἀποτελοῦσι γῆν μο(δίω)ν ἐξακοσί(ων) πε-  
ντή(κοντα) τρι(ῶν) (ἡμίσεως). † Ἐ(τερον) χ(ωρά)φ(ιον) εἰς τ(ὸν) βουν(ὸν)  
τ(οῦ) Σαμουήλ ἐκ προσενέξε(ως) τοῦ παπα Λέοντ(ος) πλη(σίον) ||<sup>59</sup> τοῦ Νο(μι-  
κοῦ), μο(δίω)ν β' (ἡμίσεως). † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὸν) Ἀσά(νην) ἀπὸ τ(οῦ) Πεζοβο-  
λ(έρου), μο(δίω)ν ε'. † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὸν) αὐτ(ὸν) τόπ(ον) ἐκ προσενέξε(ως)  
τ(οῦ) Λυκομμάτ(ου), μο(δίω)ν γ'. Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὴν) Χελιδωνοῦς ἐκ προσενέ-  
ξεως ||<sup>60</sup> τοῦ Ξυλουργοῦ, μο(δίω)ν δ' (ἡμίσεως). † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὸν) Τυμπα(-  
νάρη) ἐκ προσενέξεως τοῦ Κωφάκ(η) πλη(σίον) τ(οῦ) Καθο(λικοῦ), μο(δίω)ν α'  
(διμοίρου). † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὴν) Δραγαττί(αν) ἐκ προσενέξε(ως) ||<sup>61</sup> τοῦ Θελη-  
μα(τάρη) πλησί(ον) τοῦ Μελιτᾶ, μο(δίω)ν γ'. † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὴν) Κουρβοε-  
λέ(νην) πλη(σίον) τοῦ [...] ατζά(λη), μο(δίω)ν α'. † Ἐ(τερον) [εἰς ... 15-20 ... πλη-  
σίον] τ(ῆς) (ἐ)πισκοπ(ῆς), μο(δίω)ν Ϛ'. † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὸν) Κ(αρ)[.....] ||<sup>62</sup> πλη(-  
σίον) τοῦ Ξυλουργοῦ, μο(δίω)ν δ'. † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὴν) Κουρβοελέ(νην) πλη(-  
σίον) τ(ῶν) Ἰβήρ(ων), μο(δίω)ν κ'. † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ὴν) Κακὴν Π[άχι]ν πλη(σί-  
ον) τ[... 12-14 ...]. † Ἐ(τερον) εἰς τ(ῆς) Γραι[ᾶς] τὸ Πήδημ(α) ||<sup>63</sup> ἀπὸ τ(οῦ)  
Βιτά(λη) πλη(σίον) τοῦ Μυ(λωνᾶ), μο(δίω)ν Ϛ' (ἡμίσεως) ε (sic). † Ἐ(τερον)

ἀπὸ τοῦ Δομετίου) πλη(σίον) τοῦ Λυκομμά(τη), μο(δίου) ἐν(ός). (Ὁμοῦ) ἡ πο-  
 σότη(ης) [τῶν τοι]ούτων ἀπάν[των] ||<sup>64</sup> τμημάτων μο(δίων) χιλί(ων) ἐξακοσί-  
 (ων) ἐξήκοντα ἕξ ἡμισυ ἄνευ τῶν στάσε(ων) (καὶ) ἀμ(πελίων) τ(ῆς) αὐτ(ῆς)  
 μον(ῆς) (καὶ) τ(οῦ) ἰδιοκτῆ(ου) ὁ[... 10-15 ...], ἦν (καὶ) ὀφεί(λει) ἡ τοιαύ(τη)  
 ||<sup>65</sup> μονὴ κατ[έχ](ειν) (καὶ) νέμε(σθαι) (καὶ) τὴν ἐξ αὐτ(ῆς) πᾶ[σαν] (καὶ) πα-  
 ντοίαν ἀποφ(έ)ρε(σθαι) [πρόσ]οδον κα[θῶς] (καὶ) τὸ [... 35-40 ...] ||<sup>66</sup> [παλαι]  
 γεν(ῶν) χρυσοβού(λλων) (καὶ) ἀπογρα[φικῶν ἐξισώσε]ων. (Ε)πὶ τούτῳ γ(ὰ)ρ  
 ἐγγεγόν(ει) (καὶ) τὸ π(α)ρὸν ἡμῶν [... 35-40 ...] ||<sup>67</sup> σ(εβασμία) μον[ῆ] δι' ἀσ[φά-  
 λειαν], μ[η]νὶ Δεκε(μβρίῳ), (ἰνδικτιῶνος) α'. † Οἱ δοῦλοι τ(οῦ) κραταιοῦ καὶ  
 ἀγίου [ἡμῶν αὐθέντου καὶ βασιλέως ... 15-20 ... τοῦ] ||<sup>68</sup> θέματος Θεσσαλονί-  
 κης

† Ὁ νοτάριος σ(εβαστὸς) Δημήτρ[... 10-15 ...]

||<sup>69</sup> [† ... 30-40 ...]

### Text of Variant 3:

Прѣддѣ иже въ Оѣиѣ г҃ори доуиствѣи лѣжещїе чѣниѣ цр҃кѣиѣ ѡбитѣли сѣг҃о  
 прѣславнаго велико||<sup>2</sup> мѣника и побѣдоносца Гѣѡгїа, иже Извг҃раѣ и вѣлгарска  
 именованна, дѣла телнѣ сїю землю, иже ||<sup>3</sup> и сѣдрѣжанїа имать сице: въ селѣ  
 Юрисѣ, близъ пирга тоѣ ѡбитѣли, начинаеть ѡ снѣшенїа ||<sup>4</sup> ѡбѡй потоку ниже  
 винограда поѡва, егѡ же затѣараетъ колитїанова нива, ѣ моди, ||<sup>5</sup> ѡправла къ  
 западѣ, дрѣжки полѣднїни въздѣ и едїи водѣни потѣѡ, иде на дрѣгоѣ снѣшенїе ||<sup>6</sup>  
 двиниѣ потѡкѡ, сирѣѣ на текѡщаго ѡ кѡ Іуанна, въсхѡдїи снѣ до дрѣгаго  
 снѣшенїа дѣѡи ||<sup>7</sup> потѡкѡ и до нивѣ Димитриа водѣничара ѣ кѣ, прѣкланяетъ се  
 къ сѣверѣ, дрѣжки запѡнїи въздѣ ||<sup>8</sup> и тамошнїи потѣѡ, въсхѡди на Стефананїю,  
 ѣ ѣ и пѣ, възвращаетъ се снѣ ѣ ѣ и пакы ѡправла ||<sup>9</sup> въсхѡдїи на тѣмѣѣ ѣ гѣ и пѣ,  
 сврѣта на лѣѡ ѣ гѣ, въсхѡди на цр҃кѣи ширѡки каменѣ ||<sup>10</sup> и нисхѡди, и  
 ѡставляетъ ѡ лѣѡ нивѣ католиковѣ, идѣ на вѣгю и ѡ тѣѣ на виноградѣ ||<sup>11</sup>  
 вѣренѣ, прѣсѣщеть на Прѣвлакѣ идѡщи пѣ на виноградѣ прѣндѡлїевѣ, и иде на вѣѣ  
 на ѡправда ||<sup>12</sup> нїа ѡбитѣли алипови ѣ ѣ, прѣкланяетъ се къ вѣстоку, дрѣжки  
 сѣвернїи въздѣхѣ ||<sup>13</sup> и тѣ вѣѣ, иде пиргѡ реченїе ѡбитѣли, ходить пѣтемѣ, иде  
 на четѣворѡвгѣльнїи синѡрь ||<sup>14</sup> и дохѡди до нивѣ никѡлоу снѣ калинина ѡжа лѣ,  
 ѡбращаетъ на цр҃кѣнаго камена синѡрь, ||<sup>15</sup> и ѡ тѣѣ на дрѣгѣи каменѣ синѡрь,  
 въсхѡди на тѣмѣѣ идеже ѡбрѣтаетъ се дрѣгѣи каменѣи ||<sup>16</sup> синѡрь, нисхѡди на



CYRIL PAVLIKIANOV

дрѣжки запанѣи въздѣ и оправанѣа пакы ватопѣска, ѿходѣ иже посрѣ Дра||<sup>76</sup>ча  
каменнаго синора, прѣсѣкветъ съворни пѣть и съединяетъ се пѣть иже ѿ Отые  
гѣри ||<sup>77</sup>къ пиргѣ ватопѣскоу идѣшѣ, ходи съ нимъ до нѣдра малаго Драчѣа,  
ѿ ѣ и по, прѣкланяетъ се ||<sup>78</sup>къ вѣстокоу, ѿходѣ ѿ сѣдѣ пѣтемъ идѣшимъ въ  
Ивери, съединяетъ се съ вправанѣемъ стѣки||<sup>79</sup>шѣ иѣпкпѣ Иериса, прѣсѣкветъ  
ливадѣ, възлази на великыи становити камень, въсходѣ на хри||<sup>80</sup>и становѣтъ  
на вастагѣ иже Глемѣи Иѣпковъ хри||, ѿ кѣ, прѣкланяетъ се къ полвдню, имѣ ѿ  
лѣва||<sup>81</sup>въсточнаго въздѣха и иверска вправанѣа, ѿходи право на иѣпковъ хри||  
по вѣсемъ ходѣ и прѣ||<sup>82</sup>ходѣ въ немъ мнѣгыи и великыи камены до прѣрѣва  
винограда есфигменскаго, ѿ кѣ, иже ||<sup>83</sup>и сѣ възвращаетъ се къ западѣ, иде  
прѣрѣво тога и виногра|| и съводитъ се на пѣть съ нимъ, ѿ ѣ, ||<sup>84</sup>тали възвращаетъ  
се къ полвдню, дрѣжки въсточни въздѣ, ходи пѣтемъ въ немъже вели||<sup>85</sup>и  
връльнѣ рѣвъ, мнѣходѣ до поточца близъ свѣаго езера и мнѣшѣх и честѣ  
трѣнѣахъ, ||<sup>86</sup>ѣжа ѣ, свръта къ западѣ по к полвдню, ѿ д, исправляетъ къ  
западѣ, обрѣтаетъ ле||<sup>85</sup>жещѣ великыи камень, ѿходить того малѣ крѣшки и  
зарывенаго каменаго синора иже раздѣла||<sup>85</sup>тъ оправанѣа сфигменска и окитѣли  
лаврьскыи, ѿ (vacat) възвращаетъ се къ сѣвероу, ходи моношѣ||<sup>85</sup>тищемъ,  
мнѣходи вправанѣа лавръска и пожевни камень, иже раздѣлаетъ оправанѣа  
сръвска ||<sup>85</sup>ѿ лавранѣхъ, и приспѣва и доспѣва въ расцѣплѣнѣе праваго вѣлаго  
мранорена синора идѣ и почѣ, ѿ ѣ. ||<sup>85</sup>И сѣ въса ѣжа рѣ (vacat) иже въса около  
сѣчитаема съврѣшаю землю мѣ хнѣ.

||<sup>85</sup>Дрѣга земля на врѣдо самонилово ѿ приношенѣа попа Леа блѣ номиковъ  
мѣ два и по. Дрѣга ѣ Ясана ||<sup>85</sup>ѿ Пезиволара мѣ ѣ. Дрѣга тѣжѣ ѿ приношенѣа  
Ликомата мѣ г. Дрѣга въ Хелидонѣ ѿ при||<sup>85</sup>ношенѣе ѣилѣргово мѣ д и по.  
Дрѣга въ Тимбанари ѿ приношенѣа Кѣфаки блѣ Католика мѣ (vacat) ||<sup>85</sup>Дрѣга  
въ Драгатѣ ѿ приношенѣа Фелимата блѣ Мелита, мѣ г. Дрѣга ѣ Кѣрвоелены блѣ  
Прѣцалавѣ, мѣ а. ||<sup>85</sup>Дрѣга ѣ Бабино скакалищѣ блѣ иѣпкпѣ мѣ ѣ. Дрѣга ѣ Ворѣ  
блѣ ѣилѣрга, мѣ д. Дрѣга ѣ Коувоелены ||<sup>85</sup>блѣ Ивери, мѣ к. Дрѣга ѣ Зли хри||  
блѣ Католика мѣ б. Дрѣга ѣ Бабино скакалищѣ ѿ Внта||<sup>85</sup>ла блѣ Боденичара,  
мѣ ѣ и пѣта чѣ. Дрѣга ѿ Дометѣа блѣ Ликомата, мѣ а. И ѣ въсѣмъ ||<sup>85</sup>симъ  
коматѣ мѣ ахѣ и по, вѣзъ свѣшъ лѣзѣахъ тоѣ окитѣли и своестежанаго тогожѣ ||<sup>85</sup>  
виногра||. Иже и дѣжна ѣ та вѣнтѣли имати и съдрѣжати сѣа и ѿ того вѣсѣгда  
въсачѣска въспрѣ||<sup>85</sup>имати плѣносѣа, тако и прѣжѣ по вѣставѣ имѣшѣ сѣа цѣркыни

древнѣиши хрисъвъли и потписа||<sup>85</sup>ни познахѡ. Сего рѣ във сътвори се и сѣ  
наше прѣдажнѡ писаніе и подадѣ тоѣ чѣтныѣ обитѣ||<sup>85</sup>ли въ вѣтверженіе, ѡца  
декемвриа, ин ѡ. Раби дръжавнаго и стѣго нашего гна и цра ||<sup>85</sup>писателіе чюднаго  
Голвна (vacat) севаст (vacat) Димитріе.

## ABBREVIATIONS

*Actes de Zographou* = *Actes de l'Athos IV, Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, and B. Korablev, *Византийскій Временникъ* 13 (1907), Приложение 1 (reprint Amsterdam 1969)

Ангелов, *София* = Д. Ангелов, *София през Второто българско царство (1185–1396), София през вековете. Древност, Средновековие, Възраждане*, I, Sofia 1989

Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота* = М. Андреев, *Ватопедската грамота и въпросите на българското феодално право*, Sofia 1965

Биярски, *Институциите* = И. Биярски, *Институциите на средновековна България*, Sofia 1998

Биярски, *Фискална система* = И. Биярски, *Фискална система на средновековна България*, Plovdiv 2010

Бобчевъ, *Паметници* = С. Бобчевъ, *Старобългарски правни паметници*, I, Sofia 1903

Даскалова – Райкова, *Грамоти* = А. Даскалова – М. Райкова, *Грамоти на българските царе*, Sofia 2005

Дуйчевъ, *Книжнина* = И. Дуйчевъ, *Изъ старата българска книжнина. II. Книжовни и исторически паметници отъ Второто българско царство*, Sofia 1944

Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота* = И. Дуйчев, *Рилската грамота на цар Иван Шишман от 1378 година*, Sofia 1986

ЗРВИ = *Зборник радова Византолошког института*

Ивановъ, *Български старини* = Й. Ивановъ, *Български старини изъ Македония*, Sofia 1931<sup>2</sup> (reprint Sofia 1970)

Ильинскій, *Грамоты* = Г. Ильинскій, *Грамоты болгарскихъ царей (Древно-*



- сти. Труды Славянской комиссии 5), Moscow 1911 (Variorum Reprints 1970)
- Ласкарисъ, *Ватопедската грамота* = М. Ласкарисъ, *Ватопедската грамота на царь Иванъ Асѣня II* (series Български старини no. 11), Sofia 1930
- Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικὸν βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας* = I. Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Λεξικὸν βυζαντινῆς ὀρολογίας. Οἰκονομικοὶ ὄροι*, I, ed. Σ. Βαρναλίδης, Μ. Γρηγορίου-Ίωαννίδου, Π. Κατσώνη and Α. Σταυρίδου-Ζαφράκα, Thessalonica 2000
- Мошин, *Акти* = В. Мошин, *Акти из светогорских архива, Споменик Српске краљевске академије* 91 (Belgrade 1939)
- ODB = *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, I-III, New York – Oxford 1991
- Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité* = N. Oikonomidès, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IXe–XIe s.)*, Athens 1996
- Павликянов, *История на Зограф* = К. Павликянов, *История на българския светогорски манастир Зограф от 980 до 1804 г.*, Sofia 2005
- Pavlikianov, *The Early Years* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Early Years of the Bulgarian Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980-1279) and its Byzantine Archives*, Sofia 2011
- Pavlikianov, *The Documents of Zographou* = C. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980-1600)*, Sofia 2014
- PLP = *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol. I–XII, ed. E. Trapp, Vienna 1976–1995
- Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices* = Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices. Introduction, texte et traduction*, ed. J. Verpeaux, Paris 1966
- Соловјев – Мошин, *Грчке повеље* = А. Соловјев – В. Мошин, *Грчке повеље српских владара*, Belgrade 1936
- Стоянов, *Дипломатика* = В. Стоянов, *Дипломатика на средновековните извори (владетелски документи)*, Sofia 1991
- Tchéremissinoff, *Un acte slave* = K. Tchéremissinoff, *Un acte slave des archives de Zographou. Edition et commentaire linguistique*, *Byzantinoslavica* 42/1 (1981)
- Tchéremissinoff, *Les archives slaves* = K. Tchéremissinoff, *Les archives slaves médiévales du monastère de Zographou au Mont-Athos*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 76 (1983)



## PLATES

Plate 1. Slavic act no. 1, photograph 1 (1342)



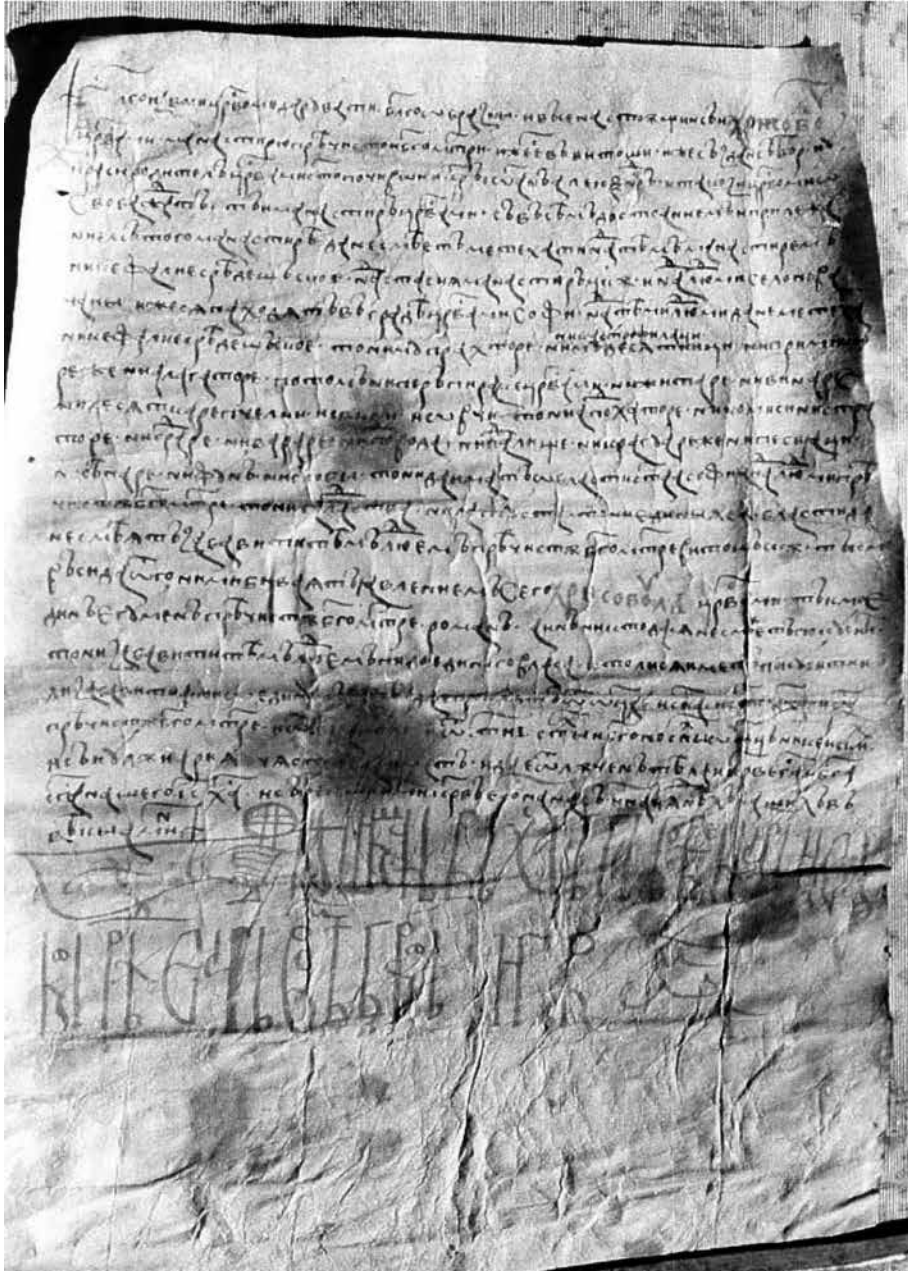




Plate 3. Slavic act no. 1, photograph 3 (1342)



Plate 4. Slavic act no. 2 (before 1382)







[illegible]



Plate 7. Slavic act no. 5 (1572)

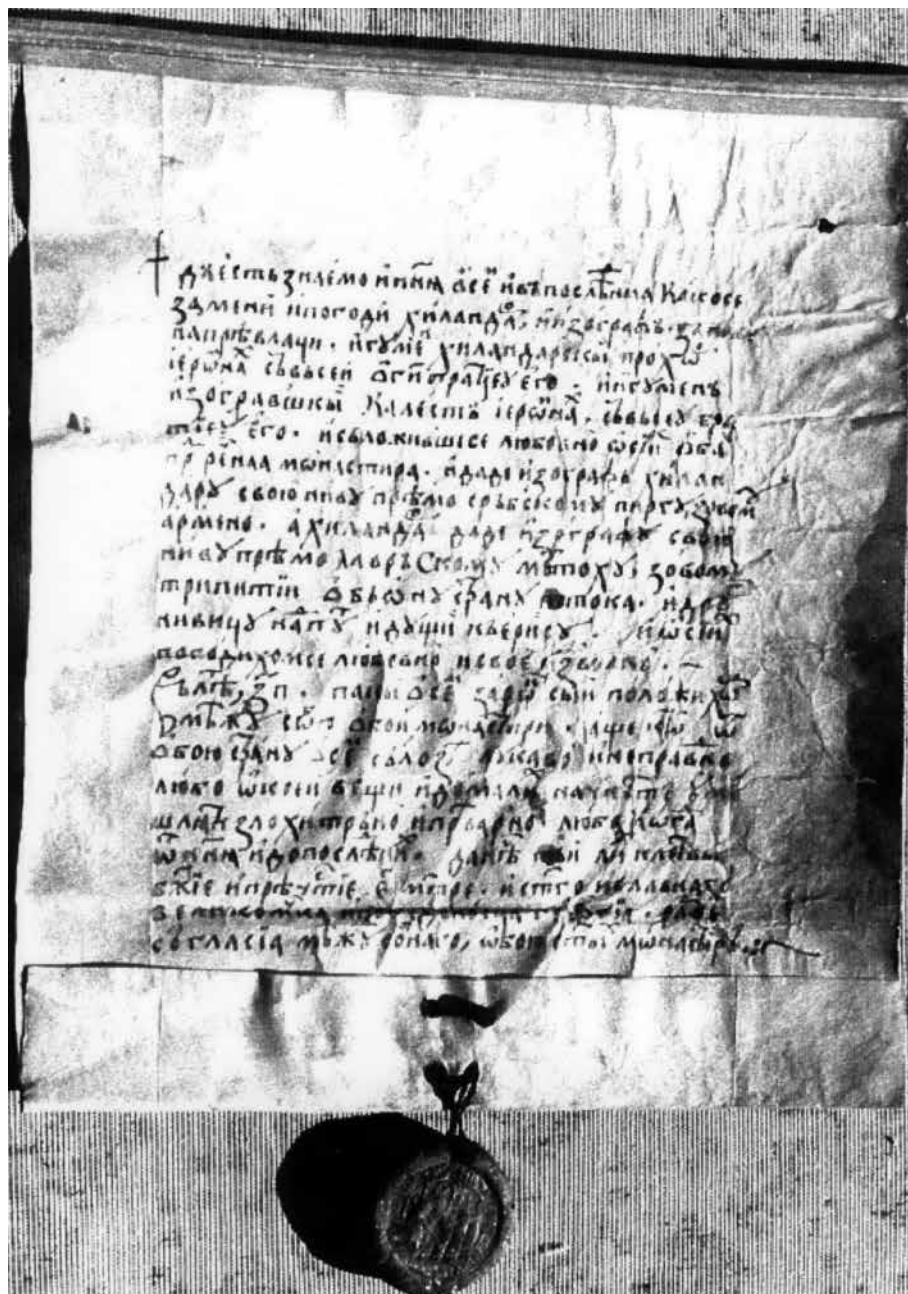




Plate 8. Greek prototype of Slavic act no. 6 (1290)



Plate 9. Slavic act no. 6 (1572)

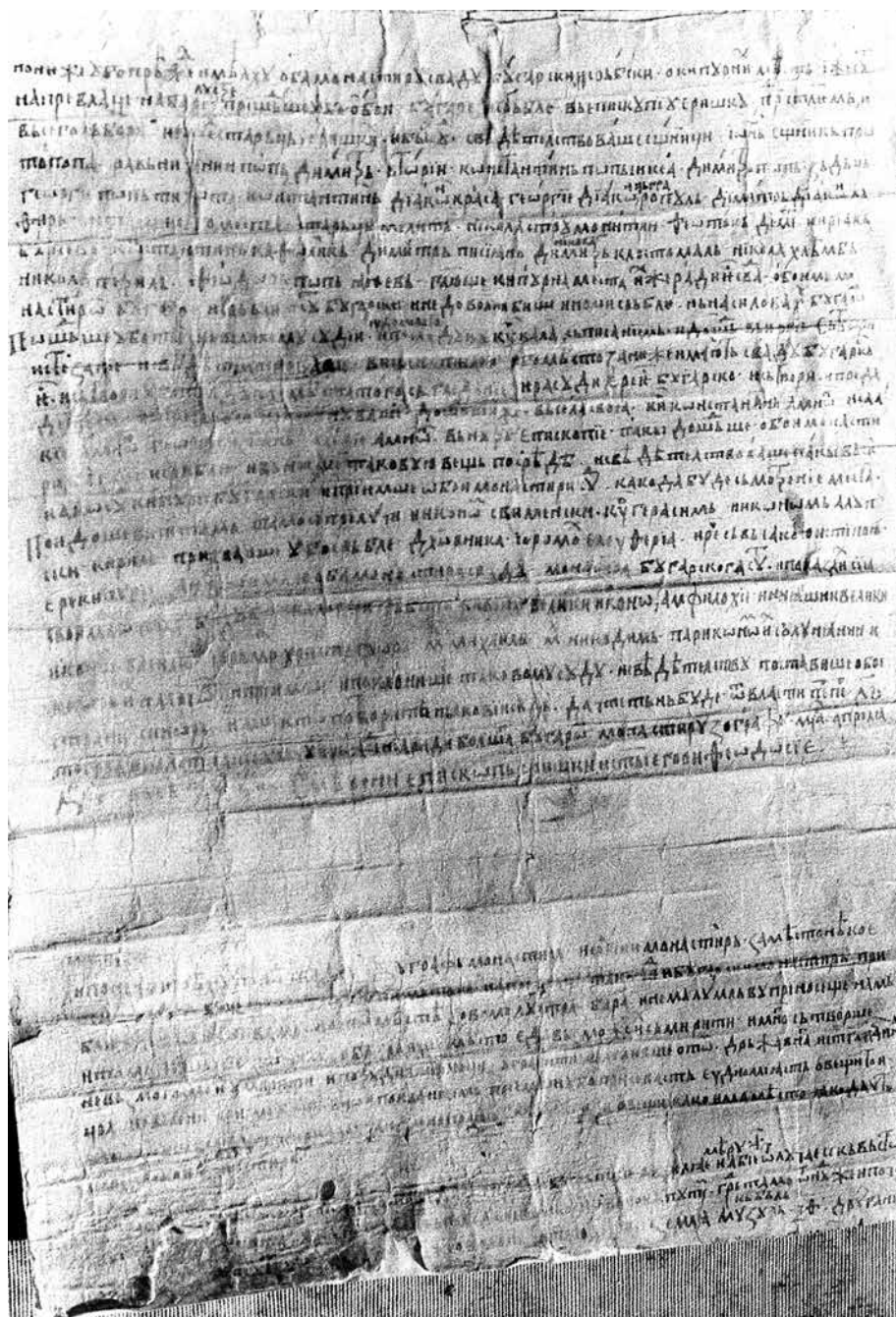




Plate 10. Greek prototype of Slavic act no. 7, photograph 1 (1317)

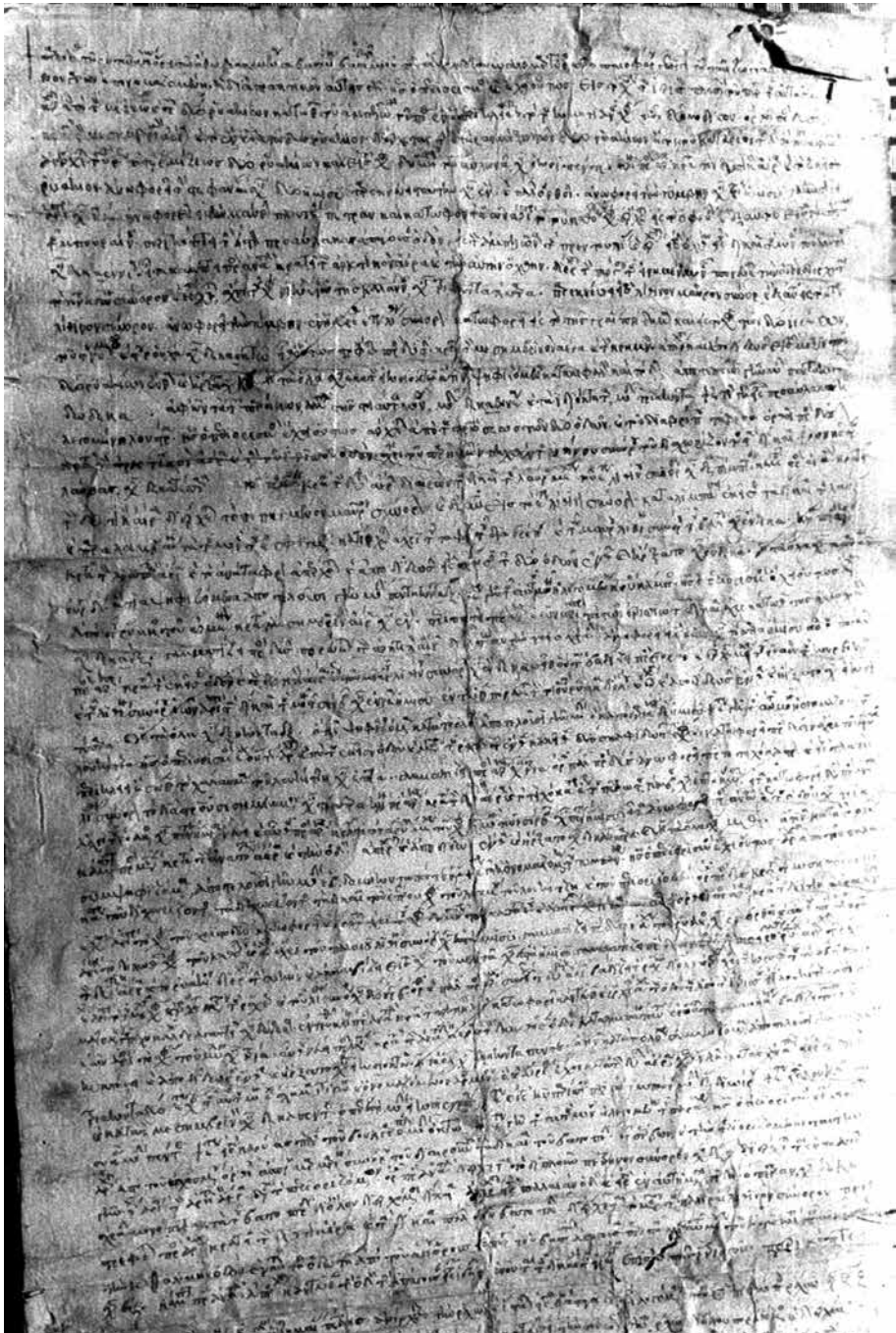
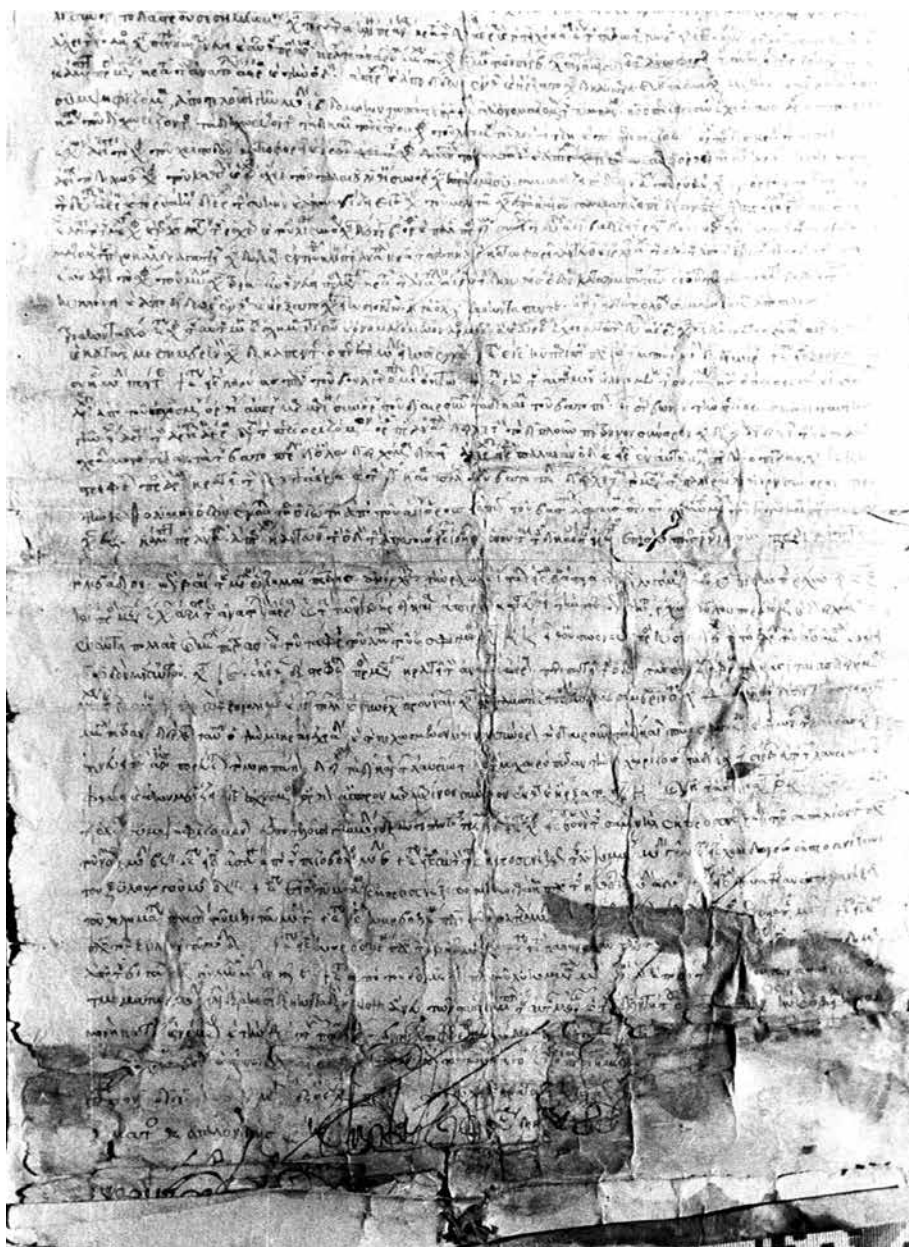


Plate 11. Greek prototype of Slavic act no. 7, photograph 2 (1317)





## Plate 12. Slavic act no. 7, photograph 1 (1572)

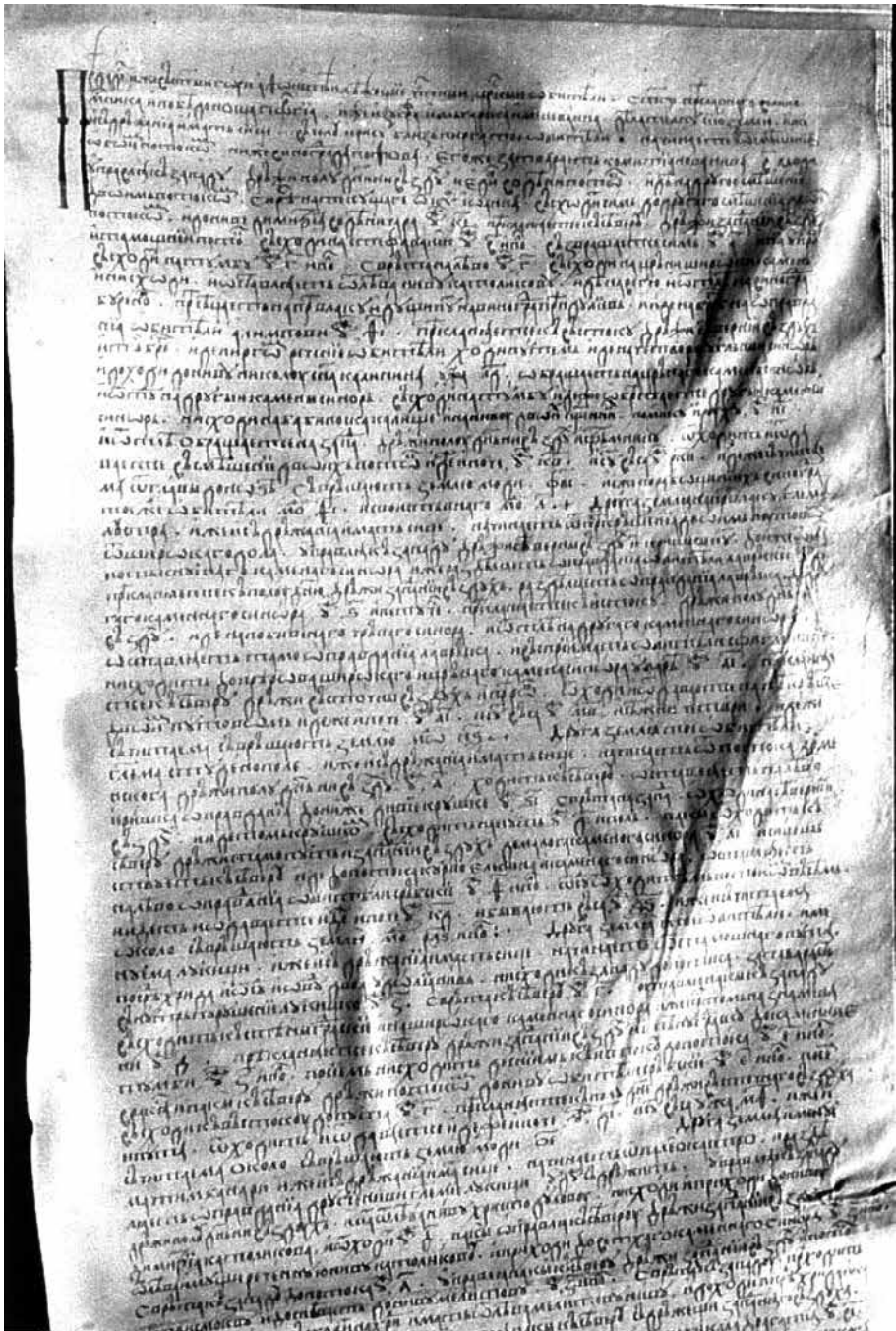
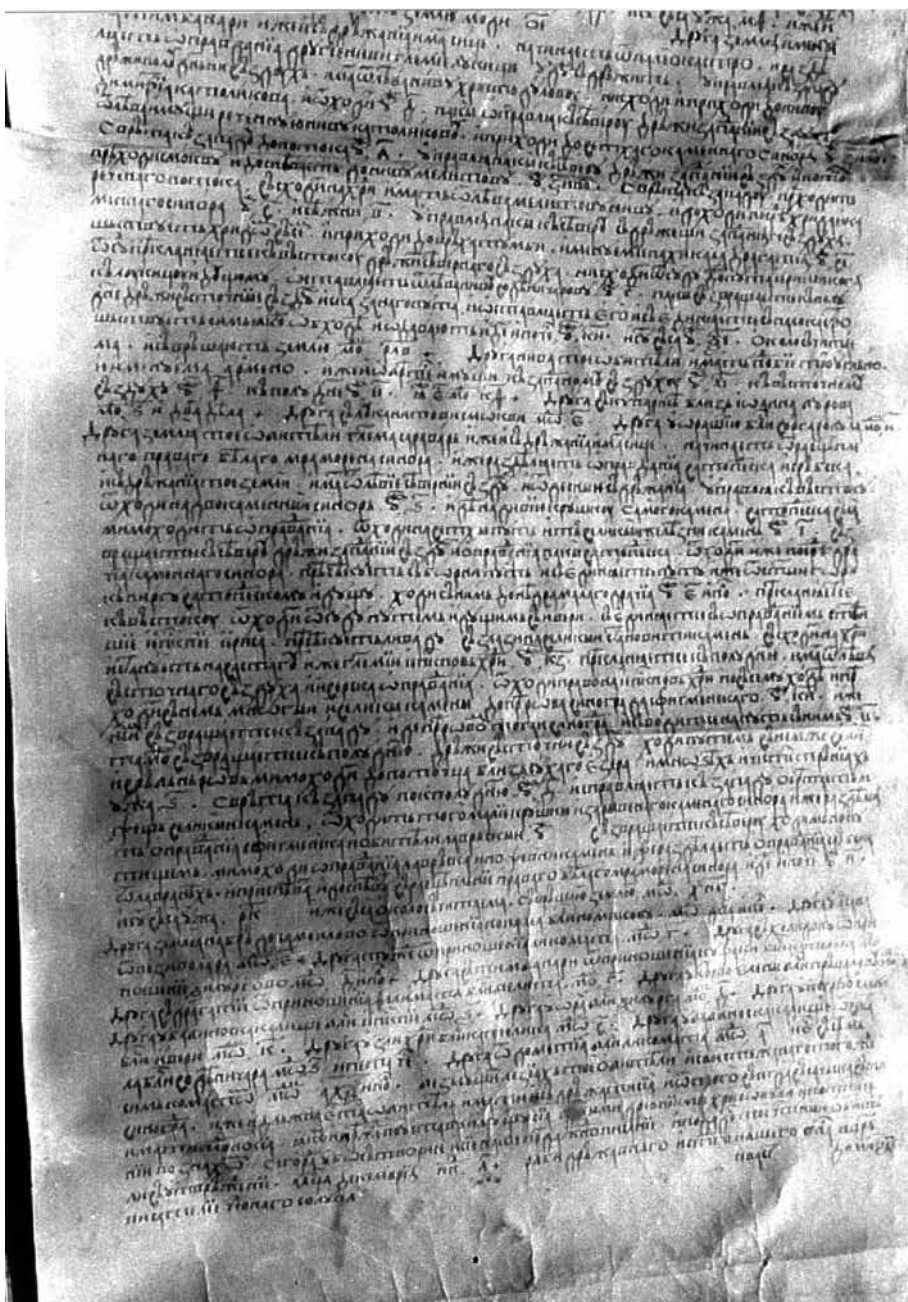


Plate 13. Slavic act no. 7, photograph 2 (1572)







## ОСМЫСЛЕННЫЕ РАСХОЖДЕНИЯ С ТЕКСОМ ОРИГИНАЛА В СЛАВЯНСКОМ ПЕРЕВОДЕ «13 СЛОВ ГРИГОРИЯ БОГОСЛОВА».

*Долгушина Л. В.*

*(Новосибирский государственный университет)*

**С**реди произведений начального этапа существования славянской письменности значительную часть составляют переводные произведения. Исключением не является и славянский сборник «13 Слов Григория Богослова», дошедший до нас в рукописи XI в.

Перевод Слов, входящих в этот сборник, был выполнен, по всей видимости, в Болгарии, но вопрос локализации перевода и его принадлежности той или иной переводческой школе до сих пор окончательно не решен. По мнению ряда исследователей, например, Е. Коцевой и Л. Я. Петровой, [Коцева 1980: С.240-252, Петрова 1991: С.70-75] рукопись «13 Слов Григория Богослова» неоднородна по составу и содержит переводы, выполненные в разное время в разных местах.

Греческий прототип сборника «13 Слов Григория Богослова» до сих пор не обнаружен. Так, А. М. Бруни, работы которого посвящены изучению древнеславянских кодексов Григория Богослова и их византийских прототипов, утверждает, что рукопись имеет «черты частичной греческой полной коллекции, расположенной по оригинальной или особо редкой аколупии, как, впрочем, часто бывало в византийской традиции» [Бруни 2004: 46]. Другую точку зрения на возможный греческий прото-



тип рукописи высказал А. М. Молдаван. Он доказывает, что прототипом для сборника «XIII Слов Григория Богослова» является греческая коллекция из 16-ти Слов, уже на славянской почве дополненная пятью нелитургическими гомилиями, которые «представляют собой цельный блок, находящийся в середине рукописи...эти пять Слов, имевших какую-то свою рукописную историю, были единым блоком механически вставлены в середину рукописи. Образовавшийся конволют из славянских рукописей и послужил антиграфом для Q («XIII Слов Григория Богослова» - Л. Д.)». [Молдаван 2013: 9-10].

Поскольку греческий оригинал «13 Слов» до сих пор не выявлен, в своей работе мы пользовались критическим изданием «*Gregoire de Nazianze. Introduction, texte critique et notes par Claudio Moreschini, trad. par P. Galley. (Sources chretiennes № 358)*», учитывающим расхождения древнейших (X-XI вв.) греческих рукописей полной коллекции.

При сопоставлении с греческим текстом нами было выявлено, что, хотя славянские переводчики по большей части и следовали за текстом оригинала, придерживаясь принципа пословного перевода, в некоторых случаях они, по-видимому, намеренно, отступали от буквальной передачи материала. Такие отступления заслуживают особо пристального рассмотрения.

Один из виднейших российских славистов, Е. М. Верещагин, посвятивший свои труды изучению переводческой техники первых славянских переводчиков, уделил немало внимания и осмысленным отступлениям от текста оригинала при переводе.

Е. М. Верещагин выделяет такие приемы переводчиков, как транспозицию, заимствование, калькирование, ментализацию и экспликацию [Верещагин 1997: 40-50, 47-48, 91-101]. Первые три приема получили достаточно большое освещение в работах исследователей. Последние же два, как отмечает автор, не были ранее предметом рассмотрения в специальной литературе. Если при транспозиции, заимствовании и калькировании переводчик полностью следует за греческим текстом, то ментализация и экспликация являются результатом творческого подхода переводчика к выполнению своей задачи и выражаются в формальном

отступлении от текста оригинала.

Ментализация, в понимании Верещагина, это «переход с понятийного на (более сложный и разветвленный) фоновый уровень, перевод не самого исходного слова-термина, а какой-либо семантической доли из его смыслового объема». Экспликацию же исследователь характеризует как прием, который «в аспекте формы заключается в увеличении количества номинативных единиц, а в аспекте содержания – в придании тексту большей ясности» [Там же: 98].

При сопоставлении с греческим текстом славянских переводов двух гомилий, входящих в сборник «13 Слов Григория Богослова» - Слова 45-го «На святую Пасху» (далее – СП) и Слова 38-го «На Богоявление или на Рождество Спасителя» (далее - СР), нами были выявлены четыре типа осмысленных расхождений. Два из них могут быть отнесены к приемам ментализации и экспликации (возьмем на вооружение эти термины Е. М. Верещагина), другие два мы можем охарактеризовать как переосмысление греческого текста и самостоятельное обращение к цитируемому в оригинале источнику. Ниже на конкретных примерах мы рассмотрим эти типы расхождений более детально.

Итак, в славянском тексте переводов нами были выявлены следующие типы расхождений с греческим текстом.

### *1. Ментализация (осмысление)*

1) На листе 347g в СП мы находим перевод «крѣпѣкими рѣками правдивыхъ» для греческого выражения «*πολεμίας χερσὶ δίκαιων*». В русском переводе «Слов» свт. Григория Богослова текст выглядит так: «Амалик будет низвержен, не оружием только, но и бранноносными руками праведников» [Святитель Григорий Богослов 1994, 1: 675]. Вероятно, выражение «*πολεμίας χερσὶ δίκαιων*» (буквально «враждебными (неприятельскими) руками праведников») переводчику показалось не совсем понятным, а, быть может, и двусмысленным (заметим, что переводчик на русский язык также не считает уместным дать простой русский эквивалент этого слова). Ради большей ясности славянского текста переводчик обращается к одной из семантических долей смыслового объема

лексемы, и в результате прилагательное «πολεμίας» было переведено как **крѣпѣкъмн**.

2) Греческая фраза «ὅτι λαμβάνει μὲν ὁ Πατήρ, οὐκ αἰτήσας, οὐδὲ δεηθῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν» в СП имеет такое соответствие: «**ако принимает же Отец не просивъ, ни помолѣвѣсѣ, нъ помилованиѣ дѣла** (348d). Здесь греческому слову «οἰκονομία» соответствует славянское «помилование», что может также свидетельствовать о стремлении сделать перевод более понятным славянскому читателю, поскольку содержание богословского термина «οἰκονομία» («домостроительство») включает идеи Промысла Божия о помиловании и спасении падшего человека, а также осуществление этого Промысла в истории. Следовательно, семантическая доля «помилование» входит в смысловой объем данной лексемы.

Значение термина «οἰκονομία» в греческой богословской литературе было вполне определенным. В ранних же славянских переводах соответствующая терминология только формируется. Мы наблюдаем попытки найти наиболее адекватное соответствие этому термину: так, в СП мы встречаем **строение** (329b), **помилование** (348d), в СР — **сзмотрение** (152g, 158b).

3) Греческая фраза «αἰδίως, ἀλλὰ μὴ προσωκαίρος» переведена в СП как **вѣчна, и не вѣмалѣ** (349d). В русском переводе соответственно: «вечно, а не временно» [Святитель Григорий Богослов 1994, 1: 676].

**Вѣмалѣ** зафиксировано словарем И. И. Срезневского в значениях: «в небольшом количестве» и «скоро, вскоре». Значение, которое мы встречаем в данном месте СП, словарем не отмечено [Срезневский 1989, II: 168]. Из контекста мы можем заключить, что **вѣмалѣ** здесь означает «недолгий, непродолжительный». Перевод греческого «προσωκαίρος» как «временный» встречается и в этой же рукописи «XIII Слов Григория Богослова» (л. 109), и в других памятниках того же времени (Панд. Ант. XIV. (Амф.) [Срезневский 1989, I: 319]. Что побудило переводчика употребить слово **вѣмалѣ** вместо более употребительного **временный**? Возможно, более конкретный смысл первой лексемы в данном контексте ярче подчеркивает совершенство Новозаветного откровения по сравнению с Ветхозаветным: «Но приступите, и мы приобщимся закона, по



Евангелию, а не по писмени, совершенно, а не несовершенно, вечно, а не временно» [Святитель Григорий Богослов 1994, 1: 676].

4) Греческому существительному «ὕλη» («παρὰ μὲν τῆς ὕλης λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα») в СП соответствует *зѣмаа* (отъ *зѣмаа* же *вѣзавѣ* тѣло (331g)). В СР данная фраза читается как *Ѡ вещьства же примѣ тѣло* (154g), что буквально соответствует греческому тексту. Вероятно, автор перевода СП попытался сделать смысл фразы более понятным для славянского читателя, подобрав лексему конкретного содержания для передачи отвлеченного понятия «вещество». Возможно, в таком переводе нашло отражение библейское повествование о создании Адама Богом из «праха земного» (Быт. 2, 7).

5) Греческое словосочетание «ἐθετο ἐν τῇ παραδείσῳ» переведено как *положи вѣ рая* (332b) в СП и *вѣвѣде вѣ рая* (155a) в СР. В этом отрывке речь идет о том, как Господь помещает Адама в рай. Одно из основных значений греческого глагола τίθημι - «ставить, класть» [Дворецкий, II: 1626-1627], и формально допустимо перевести его на славянский так, как мы наблюдаем в СП. Однако глагол, употребленный в переводе СР, несомненно, больше соответствует смыслу греческой фразы.

## 2. Экспликация

Примером экспликации, или объяснения, можно считать перевод греческой фразы «πάλιν Ἰσραὴλ στίλβει φωτίζεται» как *пакы ИѠль стѣзпѣмѣ огньнѣмѣ просѣтъцактѣа* (147d) в тексте СР. Здесь вставлено определение *огньнѣмѣ*, отсутствующее в греческом тексте гомилии, но присутствующее в Библейском тексте Ветхого Завета. Возможно, автор перевода вставил это определение для большей ясности текста.

Кроме ментализации и экспликации, рассмотренных выше, существуют другие типы осмысленных расхождений переводов СП и СР с греческим текстом, которые можно объяснить вниманием переводчика к богословской стороне произведения, а также стремлением сделать текст понятнее читателю. Такие отступления от оригинала можно охарактеризовать как в некотором роде «соавторство» переводчика по отношению к автору. Это «соавторство» проявляется как в переосмыслении текста, так

и в самостоятельном обращении переводчика к тем произведениям, на которые идет отсылка в оригинале.

Рассмотрим эти типы отступлений от оригинального текста.

### 3. Переосмысление

Такая деятельность переводчика по форме и содержанию отчасти напоминает ментализацию (осмысление). Но если при ментализации греческое слово осмысливается и при переводе учитывается какая-то из семантических долей его смыслового объема, то при переосмыслении перевод получает другой смысл, содержание текста кардинально изменяется.

Рассмотрим такие случаи отступления от оригинала, встретившиеся нам в текстах СП и СР, которые относятся к переосмыслению и изменению содержания исходного текста оригинала.

1) В СП на листе 326а мы читаем: *ѣгда намъ сѧ хѣ ѡвѣ плѣтънѣмъ рождениѣмъ*, тогда как в греческом тексте нет прилагательного «плотной», а в качестве определения к слову «рождение» выступает «тῆς κατ᾽», что в русском переводе гомилии вполне адекватно передано как «дольнее» [Святитель Григорий Богослов 1994, 1: 662]. Возможно, автор (или редактор) славянского текста хотел подчеркнуть, что «дольнее» рождение Иисуса Христа было именно «по плоти», и имел намерение отразить в этой фразе христианский догмат о воплощении Сына Божия. Такое внимание к богословско-догматическому содержанию гомилии было, как мы считаем, не избыточным в тексте, предназначенном для миссионерского просвещения недавно обратившихся к христианской вере славян.

2) Довольно большой отрывок текста СП, в котором свт. Григорий Богослов объясняет происхождение слова «Пасха», в славянском переводе выпущен. Вероятно, это было следствием пропуска (быть может, потери листа) в греческой рукописи или славянском протографе перевода. Также это могло быть проявлением сознательного подхода переводчика (редактора), убравшего из текста то, что не было доступно пониманию

славянских читателей, незнакомых с греческим и еврейским языками<sup>1</sup>.

3) Словам греческого текста «τῇ πρῳτῇ Χριστὸν ἀπαλάσθαι» («первая Христа приветствует» в русском переводе) в СП соответствуют да пър-ваго цѣгѣа цѣаѣктѣ (351a). Здесь, возможно, ошибка переписчика, неправильно прочитавшего слово под титлом хѣта и заменившего его на цѣгѣа. Может быть, имела место порча текста. Но вполне вероятно, что мы видим здесь отражение христианского представления о том, что Адам и Ева через Иисуса Христа вновь обретают свое «первое царство», т.е. утраченное из-за грехопадения достоинство. Так, в «Житии Константина», читая описание его бесед с хазарами, мы находим строки: «Был у меня дед великий и славный, что стоял близ (самого) цесаря, и славу, ему данную, по (своей) воле отверг, и изгнан был, и в землю чужую прийдя, обнищал, и здесь меня породил. Я же, дедовской древней чести ища, не сумел иной обрести, ибо внук я — Адама» [Флоря 2000: 151].

4) В СП на листе 353b читаем поплакаса вѣщю тѣла, а не прослѣзиса закономъ тѣла, как это место переведено в СР (158d), и как должно следовать из греческого текста «ἐδάκρυσεν νόμῳ φύσεως». По-видимому, выражение вѣщю тѣла (то есть «соответственно природе тела» - Л. Д.) показалось переводчику более ясным.

В тексте СР мы тоже встречаем случаи, когда славянский текст расходится с греческим оригиналом, и это расхождение можно объяснить стремлением переводчика к уточнению богословского содержания гомилии. Меньшее количество подобных случаев в СР по сравнению с текстом СП объясняется, по всей видимости, сравнительно меньшим объемом этого произведения. Интересующие нас расхождения с греческим текстом в СР сводятся к следующим:

5) «τοῦ λογού» греческого текста передано как «Божий» (л.160g) во

б) В гомилиях СП и СР дважды употреблено греческое существительное «φαντασία», в значении «представление». В славянских переводах использованы следующие соответствия: в СП - мьчѣта (328а), мьчѣтание (329а), в СР - видѣнник (151b), негдѣразмѣнник (152а). Контексты, в которых встречаются эти лексемы, следующие: «ἀλλης ἐξ ἄλλου φαντασίαις συλλεγομένης. εἰς ἓν τι τῆς ἀληθείας ἱνδαλμα» (СП – внынѣмъ отъ иного мьчтъꙋ събираемъ въ єдинъ истиннъ образъ, СР – н иного видѣнника из иного събракма въ кдиноу истинѣ подовыи) и «εἰς τὸν ἅνω βυθὸν ὁ νοῦς ἀποβλέψη οὐκ ἔχων ὅποι στή

καὶ ἀπερείσηται ταῖς περὶ Θεοῦ φαντασίαις» (СП – въ вышнѣмъ гл҃веннѣмъ ѡмъмъ възрѣть не нмы кѣде сѧ ставнѣтъ и образнѣтсѧ мѣхтаннѣмъ о Бозѣ, СР – въ вышнѣмъ гл҃веннѣмъ ѡмъмъ възрѣть не нмы кѣде стоати и ѡтвѣрднѣтсѧ о неѡдразумѣннѣи Б҃жнѣ). В последнем случае в СР наблюдаем отступление от греческого текста, выразившееся в подчеркивании трудности понимания человеческим разумом беспредельности Божества (приведем более полный контекст в русском переводе: «Разум, рассматривая беспредельное в двух отношениях – в отношении к началу и в отношении к концу... когда устремит взор свой в горнюю бездну, и не находит, на чем остановиться, или где положить предел своим представлениям о Боге...») Лексема «неудразумѣннѣи», по-видимому, является гапаксом, встречающимся только в СР.



Кроме этого случая переосмысления переводчиком греческого оригинала можно привести и еще один пример, где от греческого текста гомилий отступают уже и СП, и СР:

7) Греческая фраза «ἢ διὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν Ἰουδαίζοντες, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀφθονίαν Ἑλληνίζοντες» переведена на русский язык: «или впадем в иудейство из-за единоначалия, или в язычество из-за обилия (богов)» (перевод наш. – Л. Д.). Славянские переводы и СП, и СР отступают от греческого текста: «или единого дѣла жидовѣюще или рѣвнниа дѣла еллинствѣюще (СП 329g), или кдинозачатна ради жидовѣюще или нещадѣства ради еллинствѣюще (СР 152g). Греческая лексема «ἀφθονία», употребленная в этой фразе, имеет значения «отсутствие зависти», «изобилие, множество» [Дворецкий, I: 273]. В тексте гомилий актуализировано последнее из перечисленных значений. Лексемы *рѣвнник* и *нещадѣство* не имели семантики «множество, обилие» и их использование для перевода в данном случае не оправдано. Хотя И. И. Срезневский и считает значением слова *нещадѣство* «обилие (многобожие)», но единственным примером, иллюстрирующим это значение, является как раз рассматриваемое место гомилии СП свт. Григория Богослова. Других примеров употребления данного слова И. И. Срезневский не приводит; однокоренные же слова *нещадѣник* и *нещадѣно*, по которым можно приблизительно судить о значении слова *нещадѣство*, имеют семантику «беспощадность» и «без пощады» [Срезневский, II, 1: 443]. Поэтому можно предположить, что значение слова «*нещадѣство*» определено в словаре И. И. Срезневского неправильно.

Переосмысление греческого текста возникло, может быть, под влиянием ошибочного прочтения или непонимания греческого слова «ἀφθονία». Вполне вероятно, впрочем, и сознательное изменение текста переводчиком.

Так, словами *нещадѣство* и *рѣвнник* авторы перевода могли выразить негативное отношение к «эллинизмованию» (язычеству), объясняя приверженность к нему злым упорством и другими отрицательными человеческими качествами. Значения слова *рѣвнник*, которые прослеживаются по древним рукописным источникам, следующие: «усердие,



рвение; упорство, распря, ссора, зависть» [Срезневский, III, 1: 213]. Значение же лексемы *нещадѣство* в данном контексте СР можно определить как «немилосердие, нежелание уступить, сопротивление».

О том, что использование в данном контексте лексемы *рьвѣник* (в значении «упорство», «ссора» или «непослушание») вполне возможно, свидетельствует факт его употребления в тексте Апостольских посланий по СП 1220 г.: *Бѣщимъ же ѿ рьвѣннѣи и противляющимъся истинѣ* (Рим. II. 8) [Срезневский, III, 1: 213], где оно соответствует греческому *ἐριθείας* («происки, раздоры, интриги» [Дворецкий, I: С.662] ; соответственно *οἱ ἐξ ἐριθείας* - люди сварливые, непослушные». В русском синодальном переводе этого места послания апостола Павла к Римлянам мы читаем: «а тем, которые упорствуют и не покоряются истине, но предаются неправде, ярость и гнев. Скорбь и теснота всякой душе человека, делающего злое, во-первых, Иудея, потом и Эллина!»

Итак, как мы могли убедиться на рассмотренных примерах переосмысления греческого текста, переводчики гомилий стремились сделать текст более понятным и доступным восприятию, сообразовывались с уровнем начитанности и понимания своих потенциальных читателей.

Перевод гомилий, несомненно, делался с расчетом на то, что он будет востребован, будет читаться и пониматься в славянской среде. Как показали исследования огромного количества славянских рукописей Нового завета, проведенные Л. П. Жуковской, «современные представления некоторых филологов о якобы существовавшем в древности у писцов убеждении в сакральности языка церковных книг явно преувеличены... Вся история этого вопроса у славян говорит об иной тенденции: проповедники стремились быть понятыми. Эта идея возобладала еще тогда, когда Кирилл и Мефодий с полного согласия византийского патриарха стремились дать славянам книги на родном языке» [Жуковская 1976: 348-349]. О стремлении переводчиков дать читателю понятный текст пишет и Е. М. Верещагин в одном из разделов своей монографии [Верещагин 2001: 91-101], наглядно показывая это на примерах из «Написания о правой вере» (из сборника 1348 г.), которое является переводом символа веры св. Никифора, патриарха Константинопольского, и восходит к пере-

водческой деятельности свв. Кирилла и Мефодия.

#### *4. Самостоятельное обращение переводчика к прецедентному тексту*

Кроме рассмотренных выше типов расхождения перевода с текстом оригинала, имеет место и такое явление, как самостоятельное обращение переводчика к источнику, цитируемому в тексте оригинала (к прецедентному тексту).

В текстах гомилий СП и СР чаще всего мы сталкиваемся с явным и скрытым цитированием текста Священного Писания.

Текст Св. Писания воздействовал на тексты переводных произведений других жанров двумя путями: во-первых, как содержащийся в оригинале в виде аллюзий, прямых и скрытых цитат; во-вторых, как присутствующий в сознании переводчика. Переводчик мог знать почти наизусть текст Св. Писания, постоянно воспринимая его как по роду своей деятельности, так и благодаря посещению богослужений. Соответственно, переводчик не только всегда мог узнать библейскую цитату в произведении, но и выразить собственное восприятие текста Св. Писания в своем переводе. Это могло быть как сознательным творчеством, так и следствием «внутреннего диктанта». Текст Библии оказывал несомненное влияние и на осмысление переписчиком испорченных мест рукописи.

Рассмотрим это явление на примере изучаемого нами перевода.

Аллюзии на Евангелие и цитаты из Библии во множестве встречаются в «Словах» свт. Григория Богослова. При переводе таких мест переводчик (или редактор), узнавая знакомый текст, иногда добавляет в перевод слова, которых нет в греческом оригинале, но которые расширяют, дополняют или уточняют содержащуюся в тексте аллюзию или цитату. Приведем примеры такого рода.

1) Греческий текст: «ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ πλανώμενον ἦλθεν ὁ Ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς, ὁ τιθεὶς

τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη καὶ τοὺς βουνοὺς, ἐφ' ὧν ἐθυσίαζες». В переводе СП мы читаем: «ако къ прельцьшюмѹса прнде Пастѹхъ добрый ако дшѹ дастъ за овьца на горы и на хлѹмы заблѹдѹиша на ннѹхъже жьраше» (л. 352b). В СР это место переведено в полном соответствии с греческим текстом: «зане къ влѹдащюмѹ прнде Пастырь

добрѣи полагааи дшѣ свою за овца на горы и на хлѣбы на нихъ же жьраше» (л. 157d).

В тексте СП появляется одно слово, не обусловленное греческим текстом, — «заблудивша». Очевидно, такое чтение возникло под влиянием «заблудшей овцы» Евангельского текста (ср. с Мф. 18. 12: Что вамъ мнитсѣ; ѿше бѣдетъ некоемъ человекѣ сто овецъ, и заблѣдитъ едина отъ нихъ: не оставитъ ли деветнадесять и деветъ въ горахъ и шедъ ищетъ заблѣднѣвши).

В данном отрывке греческого оригинала вспоминается текст другой Евангельской притчи — о Пастыре Добром (Ин. 10.11: «Азъ есмь Пастырь добрый: пастырь добрый душу свою полагаетъ за овцы»). В этой притче ничего не говорится о заблудшей овце. Содержание ее таково: «Пастырь добрый полагаетъ душу свою за овецъ. А наемникъ, не пастырь, которому овцы не свои, видитъ приходящаго волка, и оставляетъ овецъ, и бежитъ, и волкъ расхищаетъ овецъ и разгоняетъ ихъ. А наемникъ бежитъ, потому что не пастырь, и не радитъ об овцахъ» (Ин. 10.11-13). Но и самый образ заблудшей овцы в данном отрывке Святителем Григорием также используется: с заблудившейся в горах овцой сравниваются люди, забывшие истинного Бога и приносящие жертвы идолам на горах и холмах. Таким образом, св. Григорий Богослов буквально в одном фрагменте фразы упоминает сразу две Евангельские притчи, объединяемые общими образами овцы и Пастыря. Этот фрагмент в СР переведен без каких-либо изменений, в СП же появляется конъектура (по Будиловичу, надписка несколько позднейшей руки), истолковывающая греческую фразу в таком ключе: «к заблудившейся на тех горах и холмах, на которых приносили жертвы идолам, овце пришел Пастырь добрый, полагающий душу свою за овецъ».

2) В том же славянском переводе СП находим другой подобный случай: «узнавая» текст, переводчик или редактор привносят свое понимание, у них появляются собственные ассоциации. Таков пример, когда при переводе греческого текста «καὶ τὸν ἐπικλόμενον βόθρῳ διὰ φιανθρωπίαν ἵνα τὸ ἐμπλεκτὸς κτήνος κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀνασώσῃται» в СП вместо ожидаемого «по закону» («κατὰ τὸν νόμον») появляется «на раму».

Конечно, первоначальное появление этого варианта можно считать



ошибкой переводчика, спутавшего «κατὰ τὸν ὧμον» и «κατὰ τὸν ὄμον» (на плечо), поскольку в написании этих слов действительно есть сходство; но нельзя исключать и того, что у переводчика (или переписчика) возникла ассоциация с Евангельским текстом: «А найдя, возьмет ее на плечи свои с радостью» (Лк. 15.5), тем более что контекст в данном случае допускает такое понимание.

3) В тексте СП, среди других цитат из Евангелия, цитируется и Евангелие от Матфея о призвании на проповедь 12-ти апостолов (Мф. 10. 5-10). Такое цитирование является характерной чертой творчества свт. Григория Богослова: фрагмент текста Св. Писания органично входит в художественную ткань гомилии, иногда подвергаясь сокращениям и изменениям согласно требованиям контекста. Часто значительный отрывок гомилии свт. Григория Богослова полностью состоит из взаимосвязанных цитат и аллюзий на Священные тексты, которые, раскрывая и дополняя друг друга, служат развитию главной мысли произведения.

В рассматриваемом нами примере автор СП сокращает Евангельский текст, вводя его в свою фразу: «Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὶς μαθητὴς ἐπὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον πέμπεται, φιλόσοφος καὶ ἀπερίττως, ὃν δεῖ πρὸς τῷ ἀχάλκῳ, καὶ ἀράβδῳ, καὶ μονιχτῶνι, ἔτι καὶ ὑμνολόβειν», что в славянском переводе читается как *лице ли кто акы ученикъ на благовѣщение ꙗвицаетца, прѣмждръ и безлихнѣнниа, еммѣ же аѣпо естъ бе злата, и бе жъзла, и съ кднѣмъ ризѣмъ, къ семмѣ же и вогоммѣ ходити* (л.345g). Как видим, переводчик не вполне следует греческому тексту: вместо «τῷ ἀχάλκῳ» (буквально «безмедный» - Л. Д.) у него появляется: *бе злата*.

Такой перевод является по отношению к греческому тексту не совсем точным; в то же время он адекватно передает смысл фразы — в славянском тексте просто появляется другой из членов синонимического ряда (*золото, серебро и медь* в данном случае являются синонимами слова *деньги*). Переводчик мысленно возводит языковую единицу *медь* к денотату «деньги» и затем выбирает для перевода данной лексемы славянское слово *злато* (видимо, более соответствовавшее окружавшим его жизненным реалиям). Возможно и другое объяснение данной лексической замены: из перечисляемых в Евангелии золота, серебра, меди автор СП

выбрал медь, переводчик же – золото. Переводчик не слепо следует за текстом оригинала, а обращается к тому первоисточнику, который цитируется в этой фразе.

В тексте СР тоже встречаются примеры такого рода.

4) Перевод греческой фразы «*πάλιν Ἰσραὴλ στήλω*» как Паки Иѣль стаѣпѣмъ огньнѣмъ просвѣщаѣтъсѣ. Эта фраза уже рассматривалась нами выше, как пример экспликации. Но она также может быть рассмотрена в качестве примера влияния текста Библии на славянский текст гомилии. Возможно, автор перевода вставил это определение для большей ясности текста или потому, что это определение вызывалось в его памяти в данном контексте «внутренним диктантом».

5) Греческая фраза «*ὁ τιθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων*» (цитируется притча о Добром Пастыре) в СР переведена «полагали дѣѣхъ своѣхъ за овѣцѣ» (157d) (для сравнения: в СП читаем «яко дѣѣхъ дасть за овѣцѣ» (352b)). Вставка «своѣхъ» в СР, несомненно, появилась под влиянием Евангельского текста, где в изложении этой притчи читается «*ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*» ('душу свою') (Ин. 10.11).

Подобные примеры самостоятельного обращения переводчика к источнику, цитируемому в тексте оригинала, можно обнаружить и в других древних переводных памятниках. Так, М. Ф. Мурьянов указывает, что в славянском переводе канона патриарху Мефодию (известном по двум спискам иконских Миней XII в.) переводчик вставляет не обусловленное греческим текстом определение, которое взято им из старославянского текста Псалтири (греческая фраза: «*τὰς μύλας τῶν λέοντων*», славянский перевод: *зѣмы чръновыи львомъ* [Мурьянов 2003: 135]). А. А. Алексеев на материале текстологического изучения славянского толкового перевода «Песни Песней» также приводит примеры опознавания библейских цитат переводчиком и говорит о возможности самостоятельного цитирования [Алексеев 1999: 69-72].

Все рассмотренные нами выше примеры расхождения с греческим текстом носят характер обдуманной замены, а не непонимания греческого текста. Разумеется, не все они могут быть безоговорочно возведены к сознательному творчеству переводчика: некоторые могли возникнуть в

результате редактуры или объясняться особенностями греческого протографа. В то же время отклонения от оригинала, если даже и возникли как случайные, несомненно подверглись осмыслению и отразили уровень понимания греческого текста и определенный подход переводчика (редактора).

Тщательное сопоставление греческого текста гомилий со славянским переводом рукописи «13 Слов» может способствовать выявлению новых фактов, так или иначе характеризующих стиль и метод славянских переводчиков, помогающих установить, трудам одного или нескольких переводчиков мы обязаны появлением славянского текста.

### Литература

*Алексеев 1999* – Алексеев А. А. Текстология славянской Библии. СПб.: Изд-во «Дмитрий Буланин», 1999. 254 с.

Бруни А. М. Теологос. Древнеславянские кодексы Слов Григория Назианзина и их византийские прототипы. // Россия и Христианский Восток. Библиотека. Вып.6. СПб., 2004

*Будилович А. С.* Издание «XIII Слов Григория Богослова» по рукописи XI в. СПб., 1985. 285с.

*Верещагин 1997* – Верещагин Е. М. История древнего общеславянского литературного языка. Переводческая деятельность Кирилла и Мефодия и их учеников. М.: Мартис, 1997. 315 с.

*Верещагин 2001* – Верещагин Е. М. Церковнославянская книжность на Руси. Лингвотекстологические изыскания. М.: Индрик, 2001. 608 с

Григорий Богослов. Собрание творений в 2-х т.

Свято-Троицкая Сергиева Лавра, 1994

*Дворецкий И. Х.* Древнегреческо-русский словарь. В 2-х т. М., 1958

*Жуковская 1976* – Жуковская Л. П. Текстология и язык древнейших славянских памятников. М.: Наука, 1976. 368 с.

*Коцева Е.* Най-ранният кирилски препис от слова на Григорий Богослов // Българско средновековие: Българо-съветски сб. в чест на 70-годишнината на проф. И. Дуйчев. София, 1980. С. 240-252

Молдован А. М. О составе сборника 13 Слов Григория Богослова // Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка (2012–2013). М.: Древлехранилище, 2013. С.5-15.

*Мурьянов 2003* – Мурьянов М. Ф. Гимнография Киевской Руси. М.: Наука, 2003. 451 с.

*Петрова Л. Я.* К вопросу о древнеславянском переводе «Слов» Григория Богослова // Славяноведение. 1991. № 4. С. 70-75.

*Срезневский И. И.* Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка: В 3-х т. Репринтное издание. М., 1989.

*Флоря 2000* – Флоря Б. Н. Сказания о начале славянской письменности. СПб.: Алетея, 2000. 384 с.

*Gregoire de Nazianze.* Discours 38-41 introduction, texte critique et notes par Claudio Moreschini, trad. par P. Galley. (Sources chretiennes № 358). P.: Les editions du Cerf, 1990. P. 88-149.

*The Greek New Testament.* Fourth Revised Editions / Ed. by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopulos, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, United Bible Societies, 1994. 918 p.









## THE PRESENCE OF THE LADDER BY JOHN THE SINAITE IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE OF THE ORTHODOX SLAVS

*Antonios-Aimilios N. Tachiaos*

From the day of its completion (7<sup>th</sup> century), the *Ladder*, by John the Sinaite, also known as Scholasticus<sup>1</sup>, has been among the most popular reading material not only for monastics, but also for broader strata in the Christian world. The assertion contained in this excellent book, that through enduring, diligent, but, in the end, rewarding spiritual struggle and ascetic practice, a monk can ascend the thirty rungs of the spiritual ladder and can reach the peak of perfection, was an enticing invitation to the spiritual struggle for the mystic union with Jesus Christ. Apart from this promise, which is inherent in the *Ladder*, however, its value as a manual of the spiritual and ascetic life made it particularly well-respected reading material and gave it a special place among the books of a spiritual and ascetic nature in Christian literature. The *Ladder* gained its place mainly through the monasteries, however, because its content lent itself to the kind of life that was practiced in them. It comes as no surprise, then, to find that, from very early on in the Christian East, this work was a manual which was required reading for every

1. On John the Sinaite see the work by P.K. Christou, *Ἑλληνικὴ Πατρολογία. Τόμος Ε΄. Γραμματεία τῆς πρωτοβυζαντινῆς περιόδου. ΣΤ΄-Θ΄ αἰῶνες*, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 418-23 and 434-3, where there is an extensive bibliography.

novice monk, before he decided to accept being tonsured into the angelic monastic habit. Quite apart from this practice, it is clear that in secular circles, too, where people were seeking a higher level of spiritual life, the *Ladder* offered welcome stimulation for personal asceticism, and always found enthusiastic readers.

It was natural that a book of such spiritual dimensions and such scope would find a response in the realm of the Slavs, too, after their baptism and initiation into the spiritual life of the Christian Church. It remains unknown when the Slavs first became acquainted with this work from Sinai and how it was disseminated among them. Since the *Ladder* is a work of Byzantine provenance, it is natural that our thoughts should go immediately to the two brothers from Thessaloniki, Saints Cyril and Methodius, who gave writing to the Slavs and helped them to become acquainted with the tradition of the Christianity of the Eastern Church. Of course, there is no evidence to support the possibility that it was they who translated the *Ladder* into Slavonic. There were other works of Christian literature, the translation of which was of higher priority as regards the needs of the newly-enlightened Slavs, and so it would have been an act of incomprehensible precipitateness to give them a work, the understanding of which would certainly require knowledge of the preparatory stages of the spiritual life. This being said, Methodius, as a monk of the Monastery of Polychroniou on Olympus, as well as Slav monks from the same monastery<sup>2</sup>, and Cyril himself who had also lived there for a time<sup>3</sup>, would certainly have been acquainted with the *Ladder*, given that it had passed beyond the bounds of the Monastery of Sinai very early on. In the *Life* of Methodius, it is stated vaguely that he translated the *Book of the fathers*<sup>4</sup>, though there is no specific information as to which this was. If it was a book referring to the ancient monks of the East, as some scholars accept, and particularly if it was the *Meadow*, by Ioannis Moschus, then the work translated by Methodius would bring us closer to

2. See A.-E. N. Tachiaos, *Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica. The Acculturation of the Slavs*, Crestwood N.Y., 2001, pp. 33-7, 166-8.

3. *Life of Cyril*, chap. 7. П. А. Лавров, Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности, Ленинград 1930, 11.

4. *Life of Methodius*, chap., chap. 15. Лавров, Материалы, 77.

the Sinaite tradition<sup>5</sup>. However that may be, we should not ignore the fact that Patriarch Photius, to whom the two Thessalonian brothers were linked- Cyril, indeed, having been his student- was one of those who had written commentaries on the *Ladder*<sup>6</sup>, which indicates how popular John's work was in the ninth century. It may be that a more thorough investigation into the vocabulary of the works in Slavonic dating from the time close to Cyril and Methodius will lead us to the trail of the terminology used in the *Ladder*<sup>7</sup>.

Matters become clearer the further we move away from the time of Cyril and Methodius, and go on to trace the presence of the *Ladder* in the tradition of Russia and of those Southern Slav countries which were organized into states. In this phase, the *Ladder* must have passed initially into the realm of the Bulgarians, since this was the first Slav country into which there was an abundant influx of translated Byzantine books, a process which presupposed the consent, if not actually the initiative, of those receiving this spiritual donation<sup>8</sup>. The books of Byzantine provenance which were translated into Slavonic served the specific needs of the newly-established Church of the Slavs and were dictated by imperative needs. The case of the *Ladder* connects us

5. On the scholarly discussion related to the *Paterikon* translated by Methodius, see the proceedings of the special seminar organized in Vienna, in 1974, published in the periodical *Slovo*, 24 (1974), 7-201. Cf. С. Николова, Патеричните разкази в българска средновековна литература, София 1980, 17-26

6. See G. Hofmann, "Der heilige Johannes Klimax bei Photios", *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 7 (1941), 461-479. Cf. H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur in byzantinischen Reich*, München, 523-524.

7. We encounter the hesychast terms «ἡσυχία» (безмолвие, silence) and «νήψις» (трезвение, sobriety) even in very ancient Slavonic texts, which are close to the time of the disciples of Cyril and Methodius. See Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X-XI веков), Москва 1994, 80, 707.

8. The transplantation of Byzantine ecclesiastical institutions and cultural values to the world of the Slavs, where some features were accepted passively and others were selected by the Slavs themselves, was a complex and very delicate process, on which see Д. С. Лихачев, «Древнеславянские литературы как система», VI Международный съезд славистов. Доклады Советской делегации, Москва 1968, 5-48. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, «The Greek Metropolitans of Kievan Rus': An Evaluation of Their Spiritual and Cultural activity», *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, XII-XII (1988-1989), 430-445, and A.-E. Tachiaos, «Byzantine Legacy to the Slav World: Approach and Dialectic Process», *Cyrillicmethodianum: Studies on the History of Greek-Slavic Relations*, Vol. XIX (2014), 5-23.

directly with the time of the appearance of monastic life in Bulgaria, the organization of which, in its initial stages was the task of disciples of Cyril and Methodius. The work by John Scholasticus had a particular quality which links it directly to the living reality of the monastic life. The brief sojourn of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia did not allow the time for them to organize monastic life in that country. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, where conditions were much more conducive to the task, their disciples proceeded apace and they continued the tradition established by Cyril and Methodius. Monasteries were built here and their spiritual needs dictated the translation of the *Ladder*.

The most ancient Slavonic manuscript containing this work is a Russian one from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which, however, contains clear traces of Southern Slavonic and particularly Bulgarian, as regards the language, which seems to indicate an earlier Bulgarian translation<sup>9</sup>. It would, however, be a mistake to be led by this older testimony to the manuscript tradition into assigning a date to the older translation of the *Ladder* into Old Slavonic<sup>10</sup>. Monasteries had been built in the then Bulgarian realm as early as the tenth century. One of the first was founded in Ochrid by a disciple of Cyril and Methodius, Archbishop Clement of Ochrid<sup>11</sup>. At the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Nahum, another disciple of Cyril and Methodius, founded his own monastery on the shores of Lake Ochrid. At a place called 'Patleřina', not far from Pliska, the capital of the ancient Bulgarian state, there was already a monastery, which is where

9. For a description of this manuscript, see Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, хранящихся в СССР, XI-XIII вв., Москва 1984, 104-105, where there is an earlier bibliography.

10. Most probably, the Russian manuscript mentioned above had its provenance in the literary centre of Preslav, Bulgaria, in the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries. See Т. Мострова, «Към въпроса за Лествицата в славянска ръкописна традиция», *Palaeobulgarica*, XV/3 (1991), 70.

11. On the foundation of the monastery in Ochrid by Clement, even before he became archbishop, see his biographer, Theophylactus, who was also Archbishop of Ochrid. See the Life of Clement in the edition of А. Милев, Гръцките Жития на Климент Охридски, София 1966, 132-134. Cf. Н. Л. Туницкий, Св. Климент, епископ словенский, Сергиев Посад 1913, 205, and А. Д. Косо, «Clement's Monastery 'Sv. Pantelejmon' and the Excavations at 'Imaret' in Ohrid», in the work, Ljube Isaiev (ed.), *Climent of Ohrid*, Skopje 1968, 63-97.

Nahum originally settled<sup>12</sup>. Besides, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Bulgarian monk John founded the famous Monastery of Rila<sup>13</sup>. And it must be stressed that immediately after the conversion of the Bulgarians (864), the monastic life found not only warm supporters but also active members within the royal family, since even Tsar Boris (852-889) and his sons took the monastic habit<sup>14</sup>. It is known that the translation into Slavonic of Saint Basil the Great's *Greater Rule*<sup>15</sup> can be dated to this era, a work that is directly concerned with the monastic life. It is very likely that this translation was undertaken at the behest of the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon (893-927)<sup>16</sup>. The latter had enjoyed an excellent Greek education, having lived in Constantinople, and was familiar with Greek Church and philosophical literature. Indeed, according to one source, he had been tonsured in the Byzantine capital<sup>17</sup>. So it must be to this time that we

12. П. А. Лавров, «Житие св. Наума Охридского и служба ему», Отделение русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии Наук, XII (1907), кн. 4, 3-7, 23-26, Е. Trapp, «Die Viten des heiligen Naum von Ochrid», *Byzantinoslavica*, 35 (1974), 161-185. Cf. Л. Гралева, «Наум Охридски», Речник на българска литература, 2, София 1977, 428-429, where there is a bibliography. There are more recent studies on Nahum in the volume Светите Климент и Наум Охридски и приносенот на охридскиот духовен центар за словенската просвета и култура, Скопје 1995. On the foundation of the monastery by Nahum, see И. Снегаров, Манастирът Свети Наум при Охридското езеро (Происход, развитие и културна значение), София 1972, 7-11, and Ц. Грозданов, Свети Наум Охридски, Скопје 1995, 7-36.

13. Й. Иванов, Св. Иван Рилски и неговата обител, София 1917, and И. Дуйчев, Рилският светец и неговата обител, София 1947. References to the beginnings of Bulgarian monasticism are also to be found in I. Dujčev, «La réforme monastique en Bulgarie au X<sup>e</sup> siècle», *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Poitiers 1974, 255-264, and I. Tarnanidis, Πτυχὲς τῆς σλαβικῆς Ὁρθοδοξίας, Thessaloniki 1991, 167-204.

14. See Dujčev, «La réforme monastique en Bulgarie», 259.

15. The surviving Old Slavonic fragment has been published by P. A. Lavrov-A. Vaillant, «Les Règles de saint Basile en vieux slave: Les feuillets du Zograph», *Revue des études slaves*, 10 (1930), 5-35. Cf. А. Минчева, Ст аробългарски кирилски откъслечи, София 1978, 39-45.

16. This is a very reasonable supposition on the part of Dujčev, «La réforme monastique en Bulgarie», 259.

17. This information comes from Liutprand of Cremona, who says of Symeon: «Hunc tenim Simeonem emiargon, id est semigrecum, esse aiebant, eo quod a pueritia Bizantii Demosthenis rheoricam Aristotelisque silogismos didicerit. Post haec autem



assign the Slavonic world's first acquaintance with the *Ladder*, because this was also a classic manual of the spiritual life for monks. We may conclude this by an incontrovertible piece of evidence: a version of the *Paterikon of Egypt* in Old Bulgarian, which dates its provenance to precisely this time, incorporates excerpts from the *Ladder*, though their author is not mentioned<sup>18</sup>. In this form, the text in question passed into a large and important manuscript collection of Patristic and other works, which was compiled for Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria. Thereafter, in 1076, this collection passed to Russia where it is known as the Svyatoslav Collection (Изборник Святослава). Among other works of Byzantine derivation, this collection includes chapter 28 of the *Ladder*, 'On Prayer', which was primarily of a theoretical nature. Also included was another excerpt from the *Ladder*, which bears the name of Saint John Chrysostom, however<sup>19</sup>. Therefore, through this collection the spirituality of the *Ladder* was reinforced even further in Russia. A particular impression is made by a codicological note by the scribe of this manuscript, who declares that his name is John and that he compiled this collection 'from many books of the nobility' ((Избърано изъ многихъ книгъ княжихъ))<sup>20</sup>, which means that he embarked on a selection of works from the many books which were to be found in the library of Knyaz Svyatoslav, among which was certainly the *Ladder*, or a portion of it.

The Russian manuscript of the *Ladder*, with its traces of the Old Bulgarian

relictis artiem studiis, ut aiunt conversationis sanctae habitum sumpsit". *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptorum*, III, 309.

18. W. R. Veder, «Le Protopaterikon Scaligeri», *Polata knigopisnaja* 4, Nijmegen 1981, 76-77. Idem, «Welche Paterika lagen vor 1076 in slawischer Übersetzung vor?», *Slovo*, 28 (1978), 25-34. On this, Veder makes the interesting observation that the miscellaneous codex of Svyatoslav constitutes a compilation of texts which had been translated individually into Old Slavonic much earlier than the year 1076, to which the composition of the codex has been assigned.

19. See *The Edificatory Prose of Kievan Rus'*. Translated by W. Veder and with Introductions by W. Veder and A. Turilov, Cambridge, Mass. 1994, 96, 106. On the contents of this important manuscript, see Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, 41-43, where there is also a rich bibliography.

20. See И. У. Будовниц, «Изборник Святослава 1076 года и Поучение Владимира Мономаха и их место в истории русской общественной мысли», Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы (hereafter: ТОДРЛ), X (1954), 50.

language and probable date, as was mentioned, the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, on the one hand declares an older provenance for the original from which it derived and, on the other, the early timing of the appearance of the work by John the Sinaite in the Russia of the State of Kiev. From as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century, in Kiev, the first Russian capital, the great monastery of the Lavra of the Caves had been established, where the principles and practices of Byzantine monasticism began to be transplanted at a brisk pace. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a total of 24 monasteries had already been created in Kiev, Chernigov, Pereyaslav and Smolensk<sup>21</sup>. If the *Ladder* was already circulating at that time in a Russian translation in the Russian princedom, this would not have been because of some fortuitous interest on the part of the Greek Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia or some outstanding Russian monk who had read it and was captivated by it, but because there must have been a systematic Church action plan, which would certainly have been made precisely because of the spurt of growth in monasticism. At this point it is worth mentioning an interesting feature related to the influence of the *Ladder* which we can trace in the work of a noble layman, and which has not so far been noted. The work is the *Instruction* of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Vladimir Monomakh (1113-11-25) which he wrote for his children. On another occasion, it was mentioned that here we have the first reference in Russia to the Jesus prayer<sup>22</sup>, but now its provenance has been located. In his *Instruction*, Vladimir states: ‘When you are travelling on horseback and are not at war with anyone, if you cannot say other prayers, instead of travelling and thinking about random things, invoke continuously and silently the ‘Lord have mercy’, because this prayer is better than all oth-

21. On the monasteries in Russia at this time and the monastic life pursued therein, see Е. Голубинский, История Русской церкви, I 2, Москва 1904, 552-688. Cf. Макарий (Булгаков), История Русской церкви, Книга вторая, Москва 1995, 302-322, 668-71, I. Smolitsch, *Russisches Mönchtum. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen 988-1917*, Würzburg 1953, 61-78.

22. Α.-Ε. Tachiaos, Ἐπιδράσεις τοῦ Ἠσυχασμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ρωσίᾳ, 1328-1406, Thessaloniki 1962, 57-8, note 41. Cf. idem, «Ἡ ἐπίδρασις τοῦ Ἠσυχασμοῦ στὴ Ρωσία», Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης, Β΄ Συμπόσιον: Ἡ Μακεδονία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων. Thessaloniki 14-20 December 1992, Thessaloniki 2002, 616-17.

ers'<sup>23</sup>. In the 26<sup>th</sup> Discourse in the *Ladder*, Saint John says: 'When you travel, arm yourself with the prayer; when you arrive raise your arms. Scourge the enemies (he means the demons) with the name of Jesus. Because there is no weapon more powerful on earth or in heaven'<sup>24</sup>. It is clear that there can be no doubt that Grand Prince Vladimir's exhortation to his sons is directly linked to that of Saint John to his monastic readership. There are three obvious parallel points: first, continuous prayer while on the march or a journey; secondly, continuous invocation of the divine name; and third the assertion that this prayer is preferable to or more powerful than all others. This observation of the identity of these elements allows us to conclude that here we have clear testimony to the spread of Sinaite spirituality to Russia at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and its transmission beyond purely monastic circles.

This penetration seemed to have enjoyed wide acceptance in the Russian Church. Writing at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Bishop Simon of Suzdal refers to the *Ladder* in a letter to his student or relative, the monk Polykarp<sup>25</sup>, which has been included in the *Paterik* of the Lavra of the Caves in Kiev<sup>26</sup>. There are similar references to the *Ladder* at other points in the *Paterik* of the Lavra<sup>27</sup>. These references are made in such a way as expresses the fact that the text was very well known. This means that the *Ladder* was already in common

23. Повесть временных лет, Москва-Ленинград 1950, 157. When Monomakh wrote his *Instruction*, he also had in mind ascetic texts by Saint Basil of Caesarea, among others. See A. С. Орлов, Владимир Мономах, Москва-Ленинград 1946, 108-126. Cf. A. Vaillant, «Une source grecque de Vladimir Monomaque», *Byzantino-slavica*, X (1949), 11-15.

24. «Πορευόμενος προσευχῇ ὀπλίζου· καταλαβὼν, τὰς χεῖρας διαπέτασσον· Ἰησοῦ ὀνόματι μάστιζε πολεμίους· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰσχυρότερον ὄπλον». See: Κλίμαξ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου καθηγουμένου τοῦ Σιναιίου Ὁρους τὸ πρῶτον ἤδη ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἀγίῳ Ὁρει παρὰ τῇ Μεγίστῃ Λαύρᾳ Σωφρονίου Ἐρημίτου, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1883, 104.

25. On these two persons, see E. Голубинский, История русской Церкви, I 1, Москва 1901, 759-764. Cf. G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus' (988-1237)*, München 1982, 59-161, 164-6.

26. Памятники литературы древней Руси, XII век, Москва 1980, 478, 479, 482. Cf. *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery*. Translated by Muriel Heppel with a Preface by Sir Dimitri Obolensky, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, 114, 116, 118.

27. Памятники литературы древней Руси, XII век, 506, 572. Cf. *The Paterik of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, 136, 181.

use in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and already occupied a prominent place in the spiritual life of the country, to which it brought the spirit of Sinaite monasticism and also the apophthegmatic discourse which was common in the Christian East<sup>28</sup>.

The 13<sup>th</sup> century was the time when the *Ladder* entered triumphantly into the spiritual life of the Slavs and acquired for them the status of a work which was of equal value to those of the great Fathers of the Church. This was particularly evident in the realm of Serbia. At the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, after a long stay on the Holy Mountain and visits to Constantinople and the Holy Land, the prince-monk Saint Savva Nemanja (1174-1235) returned to Serbia<sup>29</sup>. Here he organized the monastic life at the Monastery of Studenica, which had been founded by his father, Grand Prince Stefan<sup>30</sup>. During his stay on the Holy Mountain, Saint Savva had organized the coenobium of the Monastery of Hilandar. Saint Savva drew up two special Rules<sup>31</sup> for these two Serbian monasteries, choosing as the basis the Rule of the Monastery of the Evergetis in Constantinople, after it had been supplemented and revised between the years 1143 and 1158. This Rule was influenced to a large extent by the *Ladder*, and through it the elements of Sinaite hesychast spirituality

28. Evidence of the existence of the Ladder in Russia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century is provided by the existence of three manuscripts dating to that century which include it either *in toto* or in part. See Сводный каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг, 229-32, 260-1, 300-30. One of these manuscripts, which is of particular paleographic interest comes from the region of what was then Western Russia. See М. Галченко «Палеографическое описание Архивской Лествицы XIII в., одной из древних славянских рукописей, написанных на бумаге и пергамене ("в проладку")», *Paleobulgarica*, XIII (1989/1), 46-52.

29. Although a whole host of discrete studies have been written about Saint Savva, his life and activities, the only fundamental biography remains that of Ст. Станојевић, *Свети Сава*, Београд 1935. A recent bibliography on him can be found in the work by G. Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien*, München 2000, 554 (Register).

30. В Петковић, Преглед црквених споменика кроз повесницу српског народа, Београд, 1950, 312-320.

31. See В. Ђоровић, Дела старих српских писаца. Књига I. Београд-Ср. Карловци 1928. There is a newer edition of the Typiko of Hilandar by D. Bogdanović: Хиландарски Типик, Приредио Д. Богдановић, Београд 1995. Cf. Студенички Типик, цароставник Манастира Студенице I. Књигу приредила и поговор написала Х. Р. Синдик, Београд 1922, II, Књигу приредио, превео и поговор написао Т. Јовановић Београд 1994.

were introduced into Serbian monasticism for the first time<sup>32</sup>. As the foremost student of the *Ladder*, D. Bogdanović correctly observed, ‘these traces of the influence of the *Ladder*, even though indirect, are also important as regards this: that at the very beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the *Ladder*, even if only through the translation of the Rule of the Monastery of the Evergetis, was introduced into Serbian ascetic theology as an authentic, accessible and established monastic work, which was to form the foundation for a whole monastic spirituality’<sup>33</sup>. We know that, even before Saint Savva translated the Rule of the Evergetis, the *Ladder* was already well known in Serbia through a translation which had reached the royal court, to which Savva himself belonged. In the biography of their father, Symeon, Savva’s brother, Stefan the First-Crowned (Првовенчани) 1196-1228, mentions the *Ladder* explicitly<sup>34</sup>, which indicates that the work was already in the royal library. As Bogdanović has convincingly demonstrated<sup>35</sup>, the form of the monastic life which was introduced into Serbia by Saint Savva, was thoroughly imbued with the theology of the *Ladder* and of Sinaite spirituality, which reinforces an older observation, that Saint Savva was far removed from the tradition of the Athonite hermits and hut-dwellers of his time<sup>36</sup> and was closer to that of Sinai. Given this, it is

32. On the hesychast influences on Saint Savva, see the article by Д. М. Калезић, «Исихазам Светога Саве», Гласник. Службени лист Српске Православне Цркве, XCVI (2016), 157-60.

33. Д. Богдановић, Јован Лествичник у византијској и старој српској књижевности, Београд 1968, 178-9.

34. В. Ђоровић, «Житие Симеона Немање од Стефна Првовенчаног», Светосавски зборник. Књига 2, Извори, Београд 1938, 51. It is clear from what Stefan says that his father and the founder of the Serbian royal dynasty already knew the *Ladder*. See also Ђ. Трифуновић, Стара српска књижевност, Београд 1994, 21.

35. Богдановић, Јован Лествичник, 176-7.

36. А.-Е. Tachiaos, «Le monachisme serbe de saint Sava et la tradition hésychaste athonite», *Хиландарски сборник*, 1 (1966), 83-89. Cf. idem, «Улога светога Саве у оквиру словенске делатности на Светој Гори», Међународни научни скуп Сава Немањић–Свети Сава Београд 1979, 85-89. Apart from the two Rules mentioned, Saint Savva also wrote that of the hermitage he himself founded in 1119 in Karyes on the Holy Mountain. See V. Horovich, *Dela starix srpskix pisaca*, 5-13. It is true that the Typiko of Karyes is closer to that of Saint Savva the Sanctified, in Palestine, but in this instance we have a peculiar case which has to do not with coenobitic monasticism but rather with the eremitical life. See Ј. Мирковић, «Скитски устави св. Саве»,

certainly reasonable to assume that the Sinaite spirituality of the *Ladder* which Saint Savva introduced into Serbian monasticism was a pioneering situation and the basis on which Byzantine hesychasm could later be founded, as this was expressed by Gregory the Sinaite and Gregory Palamas. It was natural that the adoption of the *Ladder* by Saint Savva and his contemporaries, as a work of superior spirituality and an exemplary manual for the perfection of monastics, created a climate favourable to its broader acceptance, testimony to which is the extensive use of the terminology of this ascetic work in the hymnography of the Serbian Church in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

In this way, the *Ladder* was from the beginning placed at the foundations of Serbian monasticism, which, throughout the following centuries faithfully followed the course and tradition set by Saint Savva. Here, however, we should note another fact worthy of our attention, which is that there is convincing evidence available to the effect that the *Ladder* circulated officially in the royal libraries of Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia. We still have no answer to the question: 'Who introduced the *Ladder* into the libraries of the Slav princes?'. As regards Bulgaria and Russia, we must accept that this introduction was probably effected by Greek clerics, who played a decisive role in the guidance of these countries in taking their first steps in the Christian faith. Almost the same must be true of Serbia. Here, Prince Symeon Nemanja took steps- at the suggestion of some other person who was, perhaps, a Greek cleric again- to enrich his library with the *Ladder*, with which his son, Savva had become acquainted even when he was still living in the royal court<sup>37</sup>. Be that as it may, however, it is beyond doubt that the *Ladder* entered the royal courts of the Slav countries as a basic spiritual manual immediately after their conversion

*Брамсво* XXVIII (1934), 52-67.

37. We should perhaps accept that the *Ladder* came into Serbia from Bulgaria and was not translated from Greek in Serbia. What we know of Saint Savva's knowledge of Greek (see Mirkovich, «Skitski ustavi sv. Save», 66-67) does not favour the supposition that the translation of the *Ladder* which circulated in Serbia was made in that country. Apart from Saint Savva's humble acknowledgment that he himself was not well enough acquainted with Greek, the truth of the matter is demonstrated by his clumsy translation of the Typiko of the Monastery of the Evergetis. Cf. Bogdanovich, Jovan Lestvîčnik, 179.



to Christianity. Perhaps we should ask the question here: included among the many features which the Slav princes adopted in imitation of the Byzantine court, was there also the *Ladder*, as a conventional necessity in the library of any Christian prince? An answer to this question would require more exhaustive research and take us well beyond the bounds of the present study. From what is generally known, however, it does not seem that this was the case in the Byzantine imperial court.

If the 13<sup>th</sup> century was an era when there is evidence for the dissemination of the *Ladder* to the world of the Slavs, we can say that the following, 14<sup>th</sup>, century was the time when the circulation of the book in this world was at its height. This is confirmed by the large number of manuscripts in which the *Ladder* has survived, most of them copied in the latter half of that century<sup>38</sup>. This increase in the number of manuscripts concerns not only Greek but also Slavonic manuscripts. Such a sudden abundance must certainly be attributed not merely to the simultaneous flowering of monasticism, but, above all, to the hesychast movement, which, in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century spread by leaps and bounds. It is well known that this dissemination was hugely assisted by Gregory the Sinaite, who revived Sinaite spirituality on Athos and in the Balkan countries, enriching it with the practice of the prayer of the heart<sup>39</sup>. The prayer of the heart, however, and, through this, the participation in the uncreated energies of God, presuppose a preliminary stage of asceticism and perfection, and it is precisely this stage which is included in the *Ladder*. This explains why we note that the *Ladder* was taken up by hesychast circles in particular.

38. See. Богдановић, *Јован Лествичник*, 205-208. Cf. M. Heppel, «Some Slavonic Manuscripts of the “Scala paradāisi” (“Lestvica”)», *Byzantinoslavica*, 18 (1957), 233-270. Idem, «The Rila Manuscripts of the (“Lestvica”)», *Byzantinoslavica*, 32 (1971), 276-283. A statistic of manuscripts of the *Ladder* was published by Г. М. Прохоров, «Келейная исихастская литература (Иоанн Лествичник, Авва Дорофей, Исаак Сирин, Симеон Новый Богослов, Григорий Синаит) в библиотеке Троице-Сергиевой лавры с XIV по XVII в.», *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы*, XXVIII (1974), 317-324.

39. On the influence of Gregory the Sinaïte on the Slav countries, see A.-E. Tachiaos, ‘Gregory Sinaïtes’ Legacy to the Slavs: Preliminary Remarks’ *Cyrrillomethodianum*, VII (1983), 113-65.

The renewed interest in the *Ladder* created the need for authoritative translations, specifically in language comprehensible to the people of that time. The old translations had survived in manuscripts which had become worse for wear through much use and were written in an archaic language which was obviously not longer readily comprehensible. So the need for the preparation of new translations presented itself. We should note here that, in general, the hesychast movement brought with it features of renovation and reform, as can be confirmed by the initiative for liturgical reform, undertaken in the Greek realm by Patriarch Philotheus Kokkinos and in the Slav world by Patriarch Euthymius of Turnovo, in Bulgaria. The latter, in fact, proceeded with a reform of the spelling of the Bulgarian language, which was immediately imposed within the country<sup>40</sup>. Through this general climate of renewal, then, new translations of the *Ladder* were made<sup>41</sup>. Representative of these is the case of the Bulgarian monks John and Methodius, who, in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, were involved with manuscripts in the Monastery of the Great Lavra on the Holy Mountain. We derive our knowledge of the translating and copying activities of these two monks from a note on a manuscript which came into the possession of the Monastery of Sinai. The first of the two made new translations of ecclesiastical books and the works of ascetic authors, based on Greek originals. Among the latter works was the *Ladder*. Methodius also copied a large number of manuscripts, among which was the same work. With these manuscripts these two assiduous monks enriched the libraries of Bulgaria<sup>42</sup>. Also well known is the case of another Bulgarian monk, who, in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century made a new version of the Bulgarian translation of the *Ladder*. From the codicological note on this manuscript of the *Ladder*, we may conclude that this monk was called Mark and that he most probably worked on this trans-

40. See И. Харалампиев, *Езикъти езиковата реформа на Евтимий Търновски*, София 1990. Cf. Н. Ευαγγέλου, *Γλωσσικές και εκκλησιαστικές μεταρρυθμίσεις στη Βουλγαρία τον 14ο αιώνα. Η συμβολή του πατριάρχη Τυρνόβου Ευθυμίου*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2002, 89-153.

41. Г. М. Прохоров, «Лествица Иоанна Синаитского», *Словарь книжников и книжности древней Руси. Вып. 2. Часть 2 (Вторая половина XIV-XVI в.)*, Ленинград 1989, 13-14.

42. Ъ. Иванов, *Български старини из Македония*, София 1931, 274-275.

lation while he was staying in one of the monasteries on the Holy Mountain. This edited translation of the *Ladder*, which was made by Monk Mark on the basis of a Greek original, entered Bulgaria thereafter and new copies were made of it<sup>43</sup>.

It was precisely in this climate of spiritual flowering that a new manuscript of the *Ladder* made its appearance, which came from the pen of Metropolitan Cyprian of Russia, a Bulgarian by birth<sup>44</sup>. Cyprian was no casual translator or copier, but a most learned hierarch who came from the hesychast circles in Bulgaria, prominent among which was the Bulgarian monk Theodosius, a disciple of Gregory the Sinaite, and Euthymius, later Bishop of Turnovo. Cyprian's career in the Church unfolded in Byzantium. Initially he was a disciple, student and trusted official of Philotheus Kokkinos, the Patriarch of Constantinople and thereafter, with the patriarch's support, was elected Metropolitan of Kiev in 1375<sup>45</sup>. As Metropolitan of All Russia, Cyprian went to Moscow

43. Christova's identification of the person who edited this particular translation as Monk Markos and the suggestion that the work was completed on the Holy Mountain are entirely convincing. Christova quite rightly corrects P. Syrku, who claims that Monk Markos made a new translation. He simply corrected an older translation and adapted it to the language of his own day.

44. There is a very rich bibliography on Cyprian and his oeuvre. See the publications of: Α.-Α. Ταχιάος, 'Επιδράσεις τοῦ ἡσυχασμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ρωσίᾳ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1962, 61-154, Н. Дончева-Панайотова, *Киприан, старобългарски книжовник*, София 1981, D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, Oxford 1988, 173-200, Н. Ф. Дробленкова, Г. М. Прохоров, «Киприан — митрополит Киевский и всея Руси», *Словарь книжников*, вып. 2, часть 1, 464-475.

45. See Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits*, p. 184. Regarding the ability of Cyprian to translate from Greek into Russian, there was an unfavourable assessment by Nil Kurljatev, a disciple of Maxim the Greek, who says that Cyprian «...did not understand Greek sufficiently well nor did he know our language enough...», since he wrote in a way which was strange and difficult for Russians to understand. This assessment also misled Archbishop Filaret into sharing Kurljatev's view and reaching the hasty conclusion that this criticism 'can justifiably be extended to other translations by Cyprian'. Филарет (Гумилевский), Архиепископ Черниговский, *Обзор русской духовной литературы*. Книга первая. 861-1720, Издание третье, Санктпетербург 1884, 88. This assessment is certainly erroneous. Cyprian had lived among Greeks for a good many years and was particularly close to Patriarch Philotheos, whose 'own monk' he was considered to be. (Miklosich-Müller, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, II, Vindobonae 1862, 118. It is unthinkable that he would have held high office at the patriarchal court unless he knew Greek well. Kurljatev's facile judgment was

in 1390, apparently taking with him the manuscript of the *Ladder*, which was also of considerable value for its beautiful decoration, with headings and initial letters and a depiction of the heavenly ladder<sup>46</sup>. Cyprian had signed his manuscript, noting that he completed it on 24 April, 1387, in the Monastery of Studium in Constantinople. This monastery is known to have been a monastic and philological centre of Greek-Slav collaboration, where translations were made from Greek into the Slavonic languages or manuscripts were copied<sup>47</sup>. The closeness of the text of Cyprian's *Ladder* to that of the same work which resides in the library of the Monastery of Rila has raised questions as to whether his Bulgarian translation is his own work or simply a copy of one already in existence<sup>48</sup>. Irrespective of whether Cyprian made a new translation of the

more to do with Southern Slavs in general and their different pronunciation. For other, indeed positive, assessments of Cyprian's oeuvre, see Б. Ст. Ангелов, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература*, София 1958, 159-161.

46. See the description of Cyprian's *Ladder* in the work of А.В.Горский-К.И. Невоструев, *Описане славянских рукописей Московской синодальной (патриаршей) библиотеки*, III, отдел II, часть 2, Москва 1859, 193-205. Regarding the artistic features of Cyprian's manuscript, see Г. И. Вздорнов, *Искусство книги древней Руси. Рукописная книга северо-восточной Руси XII-начала XV веков*, Москва 1980, 59. The view put forward by Bortnes that it was Cyprian who drew attention to John of the Ladder and Dionysios the Areopagite in Muscovite Russia is not correct, at least as far as the former is concerned. J. Bortnes, *Visions of Glory. Studies in Early Russian Hagiography*, Oslo 1988, 115. As we've seen, the *Ladder* was already well known in Russia from the time of the conversion of the country to Christianity. Moreover, it also seems that the Areopagite writings were introduced into Russia after the death of Cyprian. See Г. М. Прохоров, *Памятники переводной и русской литературы XIV-XVII веков*, Ленинград 1987, 49-50.

47. И. Дуйчев, «Центры византийско-славянского общения и сотрудничества», *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, XIX (=Русская литература XI- XVII веков среди славянских литератур, 1963, 112-120. Cf. Г.И. Вздорнов, «Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV-XV вв.», *Труды Отдела*, XXIII (*Литературные связи древних славян*), 1968, 171-194.

48. The first person to articulate this doubt was Ivanof and it was repeated by Donseva: Й. Иванов, *Избрани произведения*, том I, «Българското книжовно влияние в Русия при митрополит Киприан (1375-1406)», 77-80, Дончева-Панайотова, *Киприан, старобългарски книжовник*, 116-118. However, Ivanof's arguments are somewhat rough and ready. The similarities are beyond doubt, and yet it is clear that Cyprian made an effort to adapt the language of the text to the Russian rules of spell-

*Ladder* himself or simply copied one already in existence, what is certainly of significance is the observation that when he arrived in Russia, as the Metropolitan of that country, he took with him a beautiful manuscript of the *Ladder*. Apart from the *Ladder*, however, the name of Cyprian has also been linked in manuscript tradition with another manuscript which included works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite in a Slavonic translation which was made on the Holy Mountain, in 1371, by the distinguished Serbian monk, Isaiah<sup>49</sup>. It is no accident that the hesychast Cyprian was considered- even though this is not the case for one of the two- to be the person who introduced into Russia two books, one of which symbolized the struggle for spiritual advancement and perfection, while the other was an introduction into an even higher level, that is, initiation into mystic theology. The combination of the *Ladder* and Areopagite theology was a new pattern of spirituality for Russia. We should remember here that Cyprian also brought to Russia the liturgical movement which had been introduced by the hesychast Patriarch, and Cyprian's teacher, Philotheus Kokkinos<sup>50</sup>. At this point, the question must be posed as to why Cyprian, at such a crucial time for himself, when he was anxiously awaiting

ing, in a good number of cases. Be that as it may, the fragments of the *Ladder* from the manuscript of the Monastery of Rila and that of Cyprian quoted by Ivanov are so short as to be insufficient to allow us to draw definite conclusions. It is worth noting, though, that in a copy of the *Ladder* in the city of Tver in 1402, there is an observation that '*this Ladder was written in Constantinople from Greek into Russian by the Most Holy Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia*'. Л. П. Саенко, «К истории славянского перевода текста Лестницы Иоанна Синайского», *Palaeobulgarica*, IV (1980/4), 23. The scribe who copied the *Ladder* of Tver in 1402, that is while Cyprian was still alive, was certain that the latter had translated the *Ladder* into Russian.

49. About Isaiah and his work see: Ё. Трифуновић, Писац и преводицац инок Исаија, Крушевац 1980. Cf. Г. М. Прохоров, «Корпус сочинений с именем Дионисия Ареопагита в древнерусской литературе (Проблемы и задачи изучения)», Труды Отдела, XXXI (=“Слово о полку Игореве” и памятники древнерусской литературы) 1976, 150-361 and idem, Памятники переводной и русской литературы XIV-XV веков, Ленинград 1987, 41-59. where there is a meticulous overview of the Slavonic tradition of the Areopagite writings.

50. The liturgical oeuvre of Cyprian formed the subject of an extensive study by И. Мансветов, «О трудах митрополита Киприана по части богослужения», Прибавления к изданию творений святых отцов, 1882 II, 152-205, 413-495, 1882 III, 71-175.

his reinstatement to the throne of the Russian Church, would have gone to the trouble of copying or even editing the *Ladder*, to the extent, indeed, of adapting it to Russian spelling, up to a point. If we recall that, centuries earlier, the *Ladder* had occupied a prominent place in the libraries of Slav princes, it may be that we should interpret this act on the part of Cyprian as an offering to Russia of a more modern translation than that which was already in circulation there. The library of the Metropolitan palace, and probably, thereby, that of the royal palace would have acquired an up-to-date translation of a work as important as the *Ladder*.

The literary oeuvre of Metropolitan Cyprian also included the composition of the *Life* of Metropolitan Peter of Russia (1308-1326). Although there was already a *Life* of Peter in Russia, Cyprian decided to write a new, more extensive one, in which he incorporated historical and also ideological elements<sup>51</sup>. So, in praising the virtues of his predecessor as Metropolitan, Cyprian stressed that, when he was a monk, the virtuous hierarch spent his time in submission to the monastic order 'as if he had put a ladder of ascent in his heart, in accordance with the recommendations and word of [Saint John of] the *Ladder*. Because always, and in all things, he submitted to his abbot and served the brothers conscientiously, not as people but as God Himself. And with his humility, his meekness and his calmness he made himself a model of the virtuous life for everyone'<sup>52</sup>. It is clear that Cyprian used this opportunity to promote the *Ladder* as a manual of the spiritual life and perfection for monastics and for the clergy in Russia in general, by drawing attention, as he did, to the fact that the virtues of Metropolitan Peter, as set out in the *Life*, had their source in the *Ladder*.

Immediately after his arrival in Moscow, Cyprian formed strong spiritual ties with the great monastic saint of Russia, Sergius of Radonezh (Сергий

51. A valuable analysis of the content of this text has been performed by А. Дмитриев, «Роль и значение митрополита Киприана в истории древнерусской литературы (к русско-болгарским литературным связям XIV-XV вв.)», Труды Отдела XIX, 1963, 236-254. (=Русская литература XI-XVII веков среди славянских литератур).

52. Б. М. Клосс, Избранные труды. Том II. Очерки по истории русской агиографии XIV-XVI веков, Москва 2001, 37. Cf. Б. Ст. Ангелов, Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература, 164.



Радонежский) who became a supporter of his when Cyprian faced problems with being recognized in Moscow. Saint Sergius was the first monk in Muscovite Russia to introduce the coenobitic system, at the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, at the suggestion and with the support of Patriarch Philotheus of Constantinople<sup>53</sup>. The introduction of this coenobitic system was not immediately accepted by all the monks, which forced Patriarch Kallistos of Constantinople to return to the issue with a letter in which he urged the monks anew to accept the coenobium. In his letter, Kallistos speaks of the obedience monks should show to their abbot, reminding them that ‘obedience begets humility, as John the teacher of Mount Sinai says’<sup>54</sup>. Thereafter, when Metropolitan Alexius of Russia (1354-1378) founded the Monastery of the Icon of the Saviour not Made by Hands, known as the Andronicus’ Monastery, he also introduced the coenobium system into it<sup>55</sup>. Therefore, Cyprian brought the *Ladder* to Moscow at a time when monasticism was flowering there, and its dissemination contributed greatly to its consolidation, bringing with it, as it did, the traditions of Sinaite and also Athonite coenobitic monasticism.

Certainly our view that, with his own manuscript of the *Ladder*, Cyprian wanted to introduce a new, official text of the work into Russia, appears to be justified when we follow the fate of his manuscript. Events indicate that Cyprian’s *Ladder* did not remain a book for the personal use of the Metropolitan, but was copied and disseminated on a larger scale, becoming some of the most popular reading material among monastics and clergy in general. We already know that a copy of Cyprian’s *Ladder* was made in 1402, for Arsenios, the bishop of the town of Tver. Before his elevation to the office of

53. Concerning the introduction of the cenobitic system in the Monastery of the Holy Trinity, see details in the work by A.-A. Ταχιάος, Βυζάντιο και Ρωσία. Θέματα πνευματικών και πολιτιστικών σχέσεων, Θεσσαλονίκη 2016, 173-193.

54. See the Life of St. Sergius published by L. Müller, *Die Legenden des heiligen Sergij von Radonež*, München 1967. As far as the introduction of the cenobetic system at the monastery of St. Sergius see details: Ταχιάος, Ἐπιδράσεις του Ἠσυχασμοῦ, 47-55. Cf. О. А. Белоброва, «Посольство Константинопольского патриарха Филофея к Сергию Радонежскому», Сообщения Загорского государственного историко-художественного музея-заповедника, Загорск 1958-11-18.

55. Павлов, Памятники древне-русского канонического права, 188.

bishop in 1390, he had been Cyprian's archdeacon<sup>56</sup>. In the *Ladder*, which had been copied from the Metropolitan's manuscript, there is the following note: 'In the year 6000-nine hundred and ten [1402], in the tenth Indiction, this book, known as the *Ladder*, was written from the copy of the Metropolitan of All Russia, Lord Cyprian, because that most holy metropolitan translated it in the Reigning City from Greek into Russian. This copy was brought to the holy Bishop Arsenios, in the town of Tver, by the Hieromonk Prokhor. And I pleaded with the most holy Bishop of Tver, Arsenios, for this book with great desire and I wrote this book in great haste'<sup>57</sup>. It is clear from this note that Cyprian's *Ladder* was brought to Tver at the request of Bishop Arsenios, but the question arises as to what precisely happened there. In other words, it is not obvious from the note whether Arsenios simply kept Cyprian's manuscript there for his see or for some other purpose or whether the copy that was made from it was destined exclusively for the scribe who made the note. I think it is more reasonable to accept the second as the more likely case. However, another question remains open. As archdeacon, Arsenios had been close to Cyprian from years before, so he knew of the existence of the *Ladder* which Cyprian had brought from Constantinople. In 1390, Arsenios became Bishop

56. Тверская летопись: Полное собрание русских летописей, (ПСРЛ) XV, column 445, where it says: 'archimandrites, abbots and the whole of the priestly class came to the Grand Duke against Bishop Euthymius, but he [the ruler of Tver] sent them to the Metropolitan for a verdict in accordance with the canons of the holy Fathers. They deposed Euthymios and the metropolitan [Cyprian] gave his protodeacon Arsenios to the town of Tver as bishop'. For details on the election and life of Arsenios, see the work of Klibanov, where he accepts as valid the later information that Arsenios was Greek. А. И. Клибанов, Реформационные движения в России в XIV-первой половине XVI вв., Москва 1960, 151-156.

57. Вздорнов, Искусство книги древней Руси, 58-60, table 21. L. P. Saenko, who studied the Russian manuscripts of the *Ladder* of this period from a textological point of view reached two basic conclusions: 1) Although the *Ladder* of 1402 agrees linguistically with the Bulgarian translation of the *Ladder* made by Cyprian in Constantinople in 1387, it does not agree with it in terms of the structure of its content. This indicates a personal initiative on the part of the scribe; 2) At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were already four different translations of the *Ladder* in Russia and it was from the one by Cyprian that the copy of 1402 was taken, as were the majority of copies in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Саенко, «К истории славянского перевода текста Лестницы», 19-21.

of Tver, yet it was another twelve years before he thought to ask Cyprian to have a copy made. This means that for all those years he had not personally felt the need to acquire this valuable book. Why, then did he ask for it so many years later? While it is difficult to provide an answer to this question, there is a detail which might shed some light on matters. In 1400<sup>58</sup>, that is two years before Cyprian's manuscript of the *Ladder* was copied, the royal throne of Tver was occupied by Ivan Mikhailovich, who had succeeded his father, Mikhail Alexandrovich, a noble and very devout man<sup>59</sup>. The possibility should not be excluded that Arsenios had the new prince in mind for this important book, in order to conform to the etiquette which was observed in Moscow. Making a copy of the manuscript would certainly have taken some time for the scribe, but the year provided by the note in the book (1402) is very close to that of the ascent of Ivan Mikhailovich to the royal throne. The bishop's interest in the dissemination of the *Ladder* went further than the copy of 1402. Two years later, another copy was made, which contains the note: 'In the year 6912 [1404] this book, the *Ladder* was completed on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of the month of May, when we remember the holy martyr Thallelaios, in the reign of Grand Prince Ivan Mikhailovich and the tenure of Bishop Arsenios'<sup>60</sup>. It is worth noting that the scribe, who gives no other information about himself or his place of work, links the copying with the time in office of Ivan and Arsenios. This manuscript, too, should be seen as part of the literary activity being carried out in Tver during the tenure of Bishop Arsenios<sup>61</sup>.

In precisely the same year during which Cyprian's *Ladder* was being copied in Tver, it seems that a similar initiative was being undertaken in Riazan. Another copy of the manuscript of the *Ladder* was made there, in which a note

58. The Russian chronicles differ as regards the year when Ivan Michaelovich ascended the throne of Tver, but range between 1399 (the year of the death of his father) and 1401.

59. Тверская летопись, ПСРЛ, XV. Вып. 1, 463-470. Sooner had he assumed his duties than the new prince built the church of Saint Nicholas in the town of Gorodok, an act that confirmed him in his capacity as ruler. Cf. В. С. Иконников, Опыт русской историографии, II 1, Osnabrück 1966, 995-996.

60. Вздорнов, Искусство книги в древней Руси, table 22.

61. Вздорнов, Искусство книги в древней Руси, 58-60.

remarks: 'From the Grand Prince Fyodor Olegovich (Федор Олегович)'<sup>62</sup>. This was the Prince of Riazan. He was the son of Prince Oleg Ivanovich, who, in September 1386, after mediation by Saint Sergius, formed an alliance with the Grand Prince of Moscow, Dimitri Ivanovich, an event crowned by the marriage of Fyodor Olegovich and Princess Sophia, the daughter of Dimitri. On 5 July 1402, Oleg Ivanovich died, having first donned the monastic habit, and his son, Fyodor Olegovich became his successor, undertaking the government of Riazan and assuming the title of 'Grand Prince'<sup>63</sup>. This new capacity demanded that he conform to everything implied by the title. It is therefore no surprise that, as soon as he became Grand Prince, he ordered the manuscript of the *Ladder*, which, as was the case in the tradition of the Princes of Moscow already in place, acted as confirmation of his princely estate. It may be that, as the basis of this manuscript, the Prince of Riazan used that of Cyprian. It is of no great import whether the copies that were made thereafter had Cyprian's manuscript as their prototype or some other one. What matters is that it was the head of the Russian Church who encouraged the reading, use and dissemination of the *Ladder*. So there were those who continued Cyprian's work. But apart from Cyprian, his successor to the Metropolitan throne of Russia, the Greek Photius Monemvasiotis (1408-1431)<sup>64</sup>, when he came to the country to assume his pastoral duties, also brought a wonderful, richly and originally illuminated manuscript of the *Ladder*<sup>65</sup>, among other valuable Greek manu-

62. Горский-Невоструев, Описание славянских рукописей. Отд 2, часть 2, 205-207.

63. Никоновская летопись, ПСРЛ, XI, 90, 188. Cf. Воскесенская летопись, ПСРЛ, VII, 243.

64. About Photius see: А.С.Горский, «Фотий митрополит Киевский и всея Руси», Прибавления к изданию творений святых отцов в русском переводе, 1852, часть II, 207-27, Голубинский, История русской Церкви, II 1, Москва 1900, 357-413. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, «The Testament of Photius Monembasiotes, Metropolitan of Russia. Byzantine Ideology in XVth Century Muscovy», *Cyrrillomethodianum*, VIII-IX (1984-1985), 77-109.

65. It is Codex Vaticanus graecus 394. R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, II, Vaticano 1937, 93-94. Cf. J. R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton 1954, 177-181, A. Muñoz, «Le rappresentazioni allegoriche della vita nell'arte bizantina», *L'Arte*, VII (1904), 131-132, W. Denison and C. R. Morey, *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*, New York 1918, 3-6, S. Beissel, *Vatikanische Miniaturen*, Freiburg 1893, 24-25.

scripts. From a note in the manuscript we are told that Photius dedicated it to the Metropolis of Moscow (no doubt in the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God), with the express command that anyone who removed it from there be cursed<sup>66</sup>. The popularity of the *Ladder* at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Moscow and the surrounding principalities was achieved within an atmosphere of a quest for a higher degree of spiritual life. This search was, beyond doubt, due to the activities and influence of two outstanding spiritual personalities, Metropolitan Cyprian and the great ascetic Saint Sergius Radonezhkij. It is no coincidence that, when they felt their end approaching, Mikhail Alexandrovich, Prince of Tver, and Oleg Ivanovich, Prince of Riazan, both abdicated and donned the monastic habit. The *Ladder*, which as we already know, passed into the libraries of their sons and successors was a reminder for secular authorities of another way of life and another way of advancement, not in terms of secular power but of the spiritual life.

As regards the *Ladder*, another man who continued the work of Cyprian made his appearance in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the person of the monk, Eusebius-Ephraim. This monk, who appears to have known Greek very well, made two translations of the *Ladder*, one in 1421 in the Monastery of the Perivleptos in Constantinople, and the other in 1424, on the Holy Mountain<sup>67</sup>. The question arises as to whether these works of Monk Eusebius were undertaken at the behest of Metropolitan Photius. It appears to be no coincidence that 24 manuscripts of the *Ladder*, in total, have survived in Russia from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while there are 83 from the 15<sup>th</sup><sup>68</sup>. Judging by the number of surviving

66. It would appear that the best reading of this note is that by Fonkich: Б. Л. Фонкич, Греческо-русские культурные связи в XV-XVII вв. (Греческие рукописи в России), Москва 1977, 12.

67. М. Г. Галченко, Книжная культура, книгописание. Надписи на иконах Древней Руси, Москва 127-146 (=chapter with title: «Палеографические и графико-орфографические особенности Лествиц 1421 и 1424 гг. Написанных в Константинополе и на Афоне русским монахом Евсевием-Ефремом»).

68. As mentioned above, Cyprian's *Ladder* created a surge in interest in the creation of new copies and editing of the text. Regarding the number of copies and some of the most important of them, see: Прохоров, «Лествица» Иоанна Синайского, 15, А. А. Турилов, Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописных книг XV в., хранящихся в России, Москва 1986, 108-111, Вздорнов, Искусство книги в

manuscripts and the rate at which they were copied, it appears that interest increased considerably from the time that Cyprian and Photius arrived in Moscow. This interest is also expressed by the fact that the translators and copiers of the manuscripts of the *Ladder* also took the initiative in reorganizing the order of the chapters or incorporating comments or linguistic observations, some of which, indeed, copied or imitated instances in Greek or Slavonic manuscripts of the *Ladder*<sup>69</sup>.

If, in Russia, the interest in the *Ladder* grew within an atmosphere of not only ecclesiastical but also secular progress and prosperity, in the Balkan countries, where Turkish expansion was an increasing threat, this interest was focused both on introversion and also on the search for a spiritual escape, based on the spiritual riches contained in this book. We know that the Serb, Prince Stefan Lazarević (1402-1427), had ordered a manuscript of the *Ladder*, thus continuing the ancient tradition that a Serbian ruler should have a copy of this spiritual book in his library and should read it<sup>70</sup>. In this atmosphere of respect for the *Ladder*, a new translation was made in Serbia, this time because of the personal interest of the son of Stefan, Prince George Branković. The story behind this translation is told by a note in the codex by the scribe David, which accompanies it. What is worthy of attention in this note is that the Serbian prince speaks in the first person and tells how the codex came to be written:

“I, George, the pious prince of the Serbs, in Christ our God, given my great interest in and preoccupation with this book, which is called the *Ladder*, and having zealously read the divine and beneficial words written by various translators, in which one says one thing and another something else, with great care sent to Constantinople and the Holy Mountain, Athos, to seek various

Древней Руси, 88-90, tabl. 42, 43, and Саенко, «К истории славянского перевода», 19-24.

69. On the relationship between other Greek and Slavonic manuscripts which contain the *Ladder* with that of Photius, as well as their decoration, see the study by Э.С. Смирнова, Лицевые рукописи Великого Новгорода. XV век, Москва 1994, 37-50.

70. Љ. Станојевић, Стари српски записи и натписи, III, Београд 1905, No 4952, page 47. Cf. Богдановић, Јован Лествичник у византијској и старој српској књижевности, 196.

copies, which I found<sup>71</sup>, in both Greek and Serbian. I invited men well stricken in years<sup>72</sup> from the Holy Mountain of Athos, holy, learned and honourable monks, and they sat down with the most holy Metropolitan Savvatos of Vranitsevo and by searching and asking, with great efforts we discovered the best among the various copies and ordered the *Ladder* to be written according to them, in the year 6942 [1434], being the twelfth Indiction. David wrote it<sup>73</sup>. This note is of particular historical importance. In the first place it reveals the personal interest in the *Ladder* on the part of the Serbian prince, who, on the eve of the dissolution of the last Orthodox Christian state in the Balkans, was concerned with the quality of the Slavonic translation of the work, interest which extended to his own participation in checking the manuscripts for the accuracy of the translation. The copies he looked for in Constantinople would certainly have been Greek, which indicates that he considered the Byzantine capital the most reliable centre for the preservation of the Byzantine spiritual tradition. The Athonite manuscripts would clearly have been both Serbian and Greek, while the venerable personages to whom he addressed himself were certainly Greek and Serbian monks familiar with both languages, who would be able to produce a reliable new translation. The work of the translators, which was a purely linguistic effort, was a sign of progress for their times. It is clear that their exertions produced a vocabulary which derived from the terminology of the *Ladder*<sup>74</sup>, which is a sure sign of the high standard of their

71. Here, Prince George uses the technical term изводи which, in this particular instance corresponds to the Greek ‘απόγραφο’. On the use of the term in medieval Serbian literature, see Ђ. Даничић, Рјечник из књижевних старина српских, I, Београд 1863, 395.

72. Here Brankovich uses the inflated adjective столетние (to mean ‘centenarians’), no doubt in an attempt to demonstrate just how experienced and venerable the monks were whom he had chosen.

73. Љ. Станојевић, Стари српски записи и натписи, I, Београд 1902, No 262, page 86. Cf. Св. Душанић, «Браничевски превод Лествице Јована Синаита», Браничево II/4, Пожаревац 1956, 62–83, Богдановић, Јован Лествичник у византијској и старој српској књижевности, 30–31, Heppel, «Some Slavonic Manuscripts of the ‘Scala paradisi (Lestvica)»», 266–267, Трифуновић, Стара српска књижевност, 247–248, М. Спремић, Деспот Ђурађ Бранковић и његово доба, Београд 1994, 175–176.

74. Ђ. Трифуновић, «Речник уз српске преписе Лествице. Прилог проуча-



efforts. The manuscript of George Branković demonstrates most eloquently that, in the royal court, the *Ladder* was no ordinary religious book but a particularly valued object of the protocol of the royal house. This manuscript, which consists of 350 leaves of Italian paper, has careful calligraphy, with a standard 24 lines per page, it has beautiful initial letters and on the binding is the imprint of a lion, the coat-of-arms of the house of Branković. This manuscript was inherited by George's son, Stefan, who guarded it religiously, and it then passed to his wife, Angelina, and eventually, no doubt, to the last Prince of the Serbs, Lazar. Thus, the Serbian royal dynasty kept the *Ladder* as a legacy and symbol, until the very end of the Serbian despotate and of the dynasty itself.

Just how deeply the *Ladder* had penetrated the spiritual life of the Russians can clearly be seen in its wide use in the works of the great teacher of the ascetic life Nil Sorskij (1433-1508), a man who had a profound influence on the spiritual life of Russia<sup>75</sup>. In both his main works, *Tradition*, written for his disciples, and the *Rule* for his skete<sup>76</sup>, he makes considerable use of the *Ladder*, referring to it and quoting from it 38 times<sup>77</sup>. Nil uses the *Ladder* more than the works of other ascetic fathers, an indication of how greatly his work was imbued with Sinaite spirituality. Nil's use of the *Ladder* is not confined to an abstract, theoretical plane. The whole life of this great ascetic was devoted to the teaching of Saint John. Taking into account the standing of Nil in the monastic circles of Russia, especially among the hesychast monks beyond the Volga<sup>78</sup>, it is not difficult to understand that, with his references to and

вању српске средновековне лексикографије», Југословенски филолог, XXXVIII (1982), 79-87.

75. The more detailed monography about Nil Sorsky is that by F. von Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorsky und seine Schriften. Die Krise der Tradition im Rußland Ivans III*, Berlin 1963. For a more complete bibliography see Г. Прохоров, «Нил Сорский», Словарь книжников и книжности, вып. 2. часть 2, 133-141.

76. See publication of these texts by М. С. Боробкова-Майкова, *Нила Сорского Предание и Устав*, s.l. 1912 (=Памятники древней письменности и искусства, CLXXIX).

77. Μοναχοῦ Βασιλείου Γκρόλιμουντ, Τοῦ ἐν ὁσίοις πατρός ἡμῶν Νεῖλου Σόρσκυ ἅπαντα τα σφζόμενα ἀσκητικά, Θεσσαλονίκη 1985, 119.

78. See I. Smolitsch, *Russisches Mönchtum. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen 988-1917*, Würzburg 1953, 101-118, G. M. Prochorov, «Nil Sorskij nella storia della spiritualità russa», *Nil Sorskij e l'Esicasmò*, à cura di A. Mainardi, Magnano (BL)

quotations from the *Ladder*, he once more established it as an approved spiritual handbook. As a supporter of non-possessing monasticism, which was first introduced into Russia by Metropolitan Cyprian<sup>79</sup>, Nil both renewed it and systematized it<sup>80</sup>, introducing hesychast writings, and in particular the *Ladder*, more deeply into the daily life and spiritual aspirations of the monks. From as early as the time of Cyprian and Saint Sergius, an atmosphere of mysticism had been created in Russia and this had a beneficial influence on art, not only in the Moscow region, but also in that of Novgorod. Later, the great iconographer Andrej Rublev<sup>81</sup> would be inspired by this spirit.

In addition to what has already been said, it should be noted that, in general in Russia, from as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, we can discern a wider social acceptance of the *Ladder* and its author. Suffice it to mention the respect shown to Saint John of the Ladder by official, secular personages. The Russian chronicles record that, on 21 May, 1329, on the initiative of Ivan Kalita, the Grand Duke of Moscow, next to the cathedral of the Kremlin, a stone church was founded, dedicated to Saint John of the Ladder, the inauguration of which took place on 1 September of the same year. This shows how much the ruler was concerned about the timely completion of the church and the personal interest he took in it. Clearly, the inauguration would have been performed by the Greek Metropolitan of Russia, Theognostos, who had taken up his duties a year earlier<sup>82</sup>. So was Theognostos in some way connected to the

1995, 39-49.

79. Cyprian's views on monastic poverty are set out in his letter to the monk Athanasios Vysotsky. Павлов, Памятники древне-русского канонического права. Часть первая, 362-365.

80. J. Meyendorff, «Les biens ecclésiastiques en Russie des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Irénikon* XXVIII (1955), 396-405, idem, Partisans et ennemis des biens ecclésiastiques au sein du monachisme russe aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles, *Irénikon*, XXIX, 28-46, 151-164.

81. В. Н. Лазарев, Андрей Рублев и его школа, Москва 1966, 151-164.

82. It is worth noting that this event is mentioned in all the chronicles related to this era, an indication of how important it was for the ecclesiastical life of Moscow. Московский летописный свод конца XV века, ПСРЛ, V, 169, Воскресенская летопись, ПСРЛ, VII, 202, Никоновская летопись, ПСРЛ, X, 201, Владимирский летописец, ПСРЛ, XIII, 105. Cf. also Н. Я. Тихомиров, В. Н. Иванов, Московский Кремль. История архитектуры, Москва 1967, 12, 101-102.

construction of this church? This is a difficult question to answer. If we bear in mind, however, that each Metropolitan of Russia, who was usually referred to as the 'spiritual father' of the ruler, was his advisor on church affairs<sup>83</sup>, then the participation of the Metropolitan in this initiative cannot be ruled out. Be that as it may, what should be stressed is that the church of Saint John of the Ladder was only the second one to be built in stone in the Kremlin. The first, both in terms of time and importance, was the cathedral of the Dormition of the Mother of God, where the Metropolitans of Russia were buried.

A similar instance of rendition of honour to Saint John can be seen in Moscow two centuries later. On 1 November, 1557, the outstanding Metropolitan of Moscow, Makarij, performed the inauguration of the church of Saint John of the Ladder in the Monastery of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael, in the Kremlin. Present at the inauguration were Tsar Ivan the Terrible and his wife, Anastasia, his son, Ivan Ivanovich, and the Tsar's brother, Yuri Vasilievich. Apart from these, also present were the Metropolitan of Euripus, who was also the locum tenens for the Metropolis of Cyzicus, Ioasaf and monks from the Holy Mountain<sup>84</sup>. The presence of these Greeks was neither fortuitous nor unconnected to the event of the inauguration of the church of Saint John of the Ladder. It is well known that Metropolitan Ioasaf played a leading role in having Ivan recognized as Tsar by the Patriarchate of Constantinople<sup>85</sup>, and his presence at that time in Moscow, together with Athonite fathers, was entirely to do with the preparations for this recognition. The honour accorded to

83. See В. Вальденберг, Древнерусские учения о пределах царской власти, Петроград 1916.

84. Никоновская летопись, ПСРЛ, XII, 276.

85. Ioasaf was in Moscow to negotiate the recognition of Ivan as Tsar, naturally in return for a financial consideration to the benefit of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. After the events of the inauguration of the church of Saint John of the Ladder, Ioasaf left for Constantinople, accompanied by Archimandrite Theodoritos of Suzdal and Matfej Volkov. W. Regel, *Analecta byzantino-russica*, Petropoli 1891, pp. CV, 73, 78. [А. Н. Муравьев], Сношения России с Востоком по делам церковным, Санктпетербург 1858, vol. I, 71-73, А.-А. Ταχιάος, Πηγές ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας τῶν ὀρθοδόξων Σλάβων, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, 156-164. Cf. H. Neubauer, Car und Selbstherrscher. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Autokratie in Rußland*, Wiesbaden 1964, 39.

Saint John of the Ladder by Ivan the Terrible was a continuation of the honour paid to the saint by previous Slav rulers in general. The chronicler has this to say about the event, dating it to 1557: 'In that spring, on 21 May, by order of the Great Prince of all Russia, Ivan Vasilievich, in the city of Moscow, in the square [of the Kremlin], the old church of the great Archangel Michael was razed, because of its age. It had been built by the great, pious and Christ-loving ruler Ivan Daniilovich in the year 6841 (=1334). A new church of the Archangel Michael was founded on the same site, and it was here that the mortal remains of the great regional leaders were placed<sup>86</sup>. At the same time, they pulled down the church of Saint John of the Ladder, which was under the bell-tower and which had been built by the great prince Ivan Daniilovich in 6837 (=1329) And they founded a new church of Saint John on the original site'<sup>87</sup>. From what is said in the chronicle, it appears that part of Tsar Ivan the Terrible's intentions was to preserve the tradition of honour towards Saint John of the Ladder, which had been rendered by Russian rulers for centuries.

Apart from erecting a new church in honour of Saint John of the Ladder, it is also known that Ivan the Terrible had in his library two manuscripts containing the *Ladder*. One of these was that which was written in the Monastery of Perivleptos in Constantinople by the monk Eusebius-Ephraim. The other was given by Ivan to the Monastery of Solovetsk<sup>88</sup>. This gift certainly involved some symbolism. The tsar gave the monastery a work which did, indeed, have to do with the monastic life, but which was also a necessary personal possession of the ruler. Ivan's interests in the spiritual world of Byzantium are well known<sup>89</sup>, but the question which arises here is what it was that brought him

86. In the text: великих князей удельных. These were leaders subordinate to the Grand Duke of Moscow, in charge of outlying regions. See S. G. Pushkarev, *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms from the Eleventh Century to 1917*, Yale University Press 1970, 38-39.

87. Софийская первая летопись, ПСРЛ, XXXIX, 176. See the precise location in the map included by Тихомиров-Иванов, Московский Кремль, 111.

88. Н. Н. Зарубин, А. А. Амосов, Библиотека Ивана Грозного. Реконструкция и библиографическое описание. Под редакцией С. О. Шмидта, Ленинград 1982, 40-41. Cf. N. N. Zabunin, *La biblioteca di Ivan il Terribile. Note e integrazioni di A. A. Amosov*, Roma, s.a., 32-33, 58.

89. See И. Дуйчев, «Византия и византийская литература в посланиях Ивана

to a knowledge of the *Ladder*. Was it perhaps his knowledge of Byzantium; was it the existing tradition for Russian rulers to have a copy in their library; or was it the influence exercised over Ivan by the strict monk Silvester?<sup>90</sup> Given the facts as we know them, it is difficult to formulate an answer. But in the instances already mentioned, of the Princes Ivan Kolita and Ivan the Terrible, it is noticeable that the same thing occurred as in Bulgaria, Russia and Serbia in previous centuries: which is that rulers held the *Ladder* in particular honour. This observation certainly strengthens our view that this penchant of the rulers for the *Ladder* was not coincidental, but was incorporated into the prevailing, long-established custom among the Slavs of having a copy of the work at a royal court. It affirmed the ruler's status and was a public testimony to his piety as regards the monastic ideal. Together with other features, which confirmed the capital as the centre of power (the seat of the metropolitan or archbishop, the cathedral church, the relics of saints and so on), the *Ladder* also clearly constituted one of the necessary adjuncts to court etiquette.

What is worthy of particular attention is the fact that, while the *Ladder* was favourite reading material for the Non-Possessor, hesychast monk Nil Sorskij, it was also used by his opponents, the Possessor monks of the Monastery of Volokolamsk, especially the abbot, Joseph Sanin<sup>91</sup>. Apart from these, however, the 15<sup>th</sup> century Russian heretic, Ivan Chornij, (Иван Черный) not only used the *Ladder* but also, in 1487, himself made a copy of the manuscript<sup>92</sup>.

Грозного», ТОДРЛ, XV (1958), 159–176, H. Goltz, «Ivan der Schreckliche zitiert Dionysios Areopagites», *Kerygma und Logos. Beiträge zu den geistgeschichtlichen Beziehungen zwischen Antike und Christentum*, Göttingen 1979, 214–225.

90. K. Waliszewski, *Ivan le Terrible*, Paris 1904, 174–180, P. Г. Скринников, Великий Государь Иоан Васильевич Грозный, т. I, Москва 1996, 185–224, and Б. Флоря, Иван Грозный, Москва 1999, 58–69.

91. See A. А. Зими́на и Я. С. Лурье, Послания Иосифа Волоцкого, Москва-Ленинград 1959, 152, 300, 313, 331. There is a difference in the way Nil Sorskij and Joseph Sanin made use of the *Ladder*. The former mostly quotes hesychast and contemplative passages, while the latter dwells more on practical matters, which indicates how each of them saw the usefulness of the book. For the manuscripts of the *Ladder* which existed in the Monastery of Volokolamsk, see Книжные центры Древней Руси. Иосифо-Волоколамский Монастырь как центр книжности, Ленинград 1991, 31, 73, 346–347.

92. See Н. А. Казакова и Я. С. Лурье, *Антифеодальные еретические движения*

It appears that John the Sinaite's work, with the profound delving into the human soul which typifies it, was particularly suited to the mystical tendencies of the Russians. When the first printed edition of the *Ladder* was produced in Moscow in 1647<sup>93</sup>, interest among Russians in this work was already well advanced, with manuscripts having long done the rounds with comments, indeed, by Russian scribes or learned monks. After 1647, a new era dawned, with reprints of the *Ladder*<sup>94</sup> and of other works related to its author or his work. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Gerasim Firsov, a scholarly monk of the Monastery of Solovetsk, composed an encomium in honour of Saint John of the Ladder<sup>95</sup>.

In more recent times, there was a new attempt to edit the text of the *Ladder*. This effort was made within the context of other, more general activity undertaken by the distinguished Ukrainian monk Paisij Velichkovskij (1722-1794), who had proved to be a great spiritual guide, with some one thousand monks of various nationalities under his guidance<sup>96</sup>. The course of Paisij's spiritual

на Руси XIV- начала XVI века, Москва-Ленинград 1955, 184-185, А. И. Клибанов, Реформационные движения в России в XIV-первой половине XVI в.в., Москва 1960, 58-62, Я. С. Лурье, Идеологическая борьба в русской публицистике конца XV-начала XVI века, Москва-Ленинград 1960, 201. Cf. C. G. de Michelis, *La Valdesia di Novgorod. "Giudaizzanti" e prima riforma*, Torino 1993, 66-68.

93. See И. В. Поздеева, И. Д. Кашкарова, М. М. Леренман, Каталог книг кириллической печати XV-XVII в.в. Научной Библиотеки Московского Университета, Москва 1980, 175. This printed edition, which was read at assemblies of monks and during services, also included comments from the *Rule* of Nil Sorskij. See Н. И. Николаев, «Об источниках московского издания Лестницы 1647 г.», ТОДРЛ, XLVII (1993), 277-283.

94. As far as these editions are concerend see C. Kern, *Les traductions russes des textes patristiques. Guide bibliographique*, Chevetogne-Paris 1957, 36.

95. Н. Я Бубнов, «Герасим Фирсов», Словарь книжников. Вып. 3 (XVII в.), Часть 1, 193-196.

96. Протоиерей С. Четвериков, Молдавский старец схиархимандрит Паисий Величковский, Вып. 1-2, Petseri 1938, and English Translation of the same book, Fr. S. Chetverikov, *Starets Paisii Velichkovskii. His Life, Teaching, and Influence on Orthodox Mysticism*. Translated from the Russian by V. Liskwar and A. I. Lisenko, Belmont, Mass. 1980, Α.-Α. Ταχιάος, 'Ο Παῖσιος Βελιτσκόφσκυ (1722-1794) καὶ ἡ ἀσκητικοφιλολογικὴ σχολή του, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984. The 3<sup>rd</sup> international conference of the Monastery of Bose on Russian spirituality was dedicated to Velichkovskij. The proceedings of this conference were published under the title Paisij lo starec. Atti del III Convegno ecumenico internazionale di spiritualità russa "Paisij Veličkovskij e il suo movimento spirituale", Bose 20-23 settembre 1995, a cura di A. Mainardi.

life was determined by his conclusive break with theological teaching as this was then being offered at the Theological Academy of Kiev<sup>97</sup>. This disappointment directed Velichkovskij to the study of the Church Fathers. Paīsij had heard of the *Ladder* when he was still a young man. He was just a novice at the Monastery of Saint Anthony, in the small Ukrainian town of Lyubets when the abbot gave him the *Ladder* to read, telling him: 'Take this book and read it carefully and with attention and you'll learn about holy obedience and every good work because this work is very beneficial for the soul'. Reading the *Ladder* brought him such great delight, that, as he himself says: 'When I had read a little from this book, my soul was so pleased with the words of the God-bearing Father, who was full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that I thought that, since I would not be staying in the monastery for long, but would be moving to another place where I might not find such a book, I would copy it, for the benefit of my soul, at night, when I had peace and quiet'<sup>98</sup>. In this way, the *Ladder* became Paīsij's personal manual, which he later used in his teaching to his own monks. The *Ladder* opened Paīsij's spiritual horizons onto a field of spirituality and theological understanding of life very different from the theological knowledge offered by the Kiev Academy. Paīsij realized that reading the *Ladder* opened to him the path towards a better understanding of the mystic theology of many of the other great Fathers of the Church.

Magnano (BI) 1997. For extensive bibliography about Velichkovskij see А.-Э Тахиаос, «Возрождение византийского мистицизма Старцем Паисием Величковским (1722-1794)», *Cyrrillomethodianum*, XVII-XVIII (1993-1994), 212-227.

97. In his autobiography Velichkovskij talks about the severance of his connections with the Academy of Kiev, which was imbued with Scholastic theology. It is typical that the sterile, lifeless theology of the Kiev Academy repulsed to off the brightest spirits in the Ukraine in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Velichkovskij and Skovoroda, who, coincidentally, were born and died in the same year. The former turned to the ascetic and mystic Fathers and the latter to philosophy. A.-E. Tachiaos, *The Revival of Byzantine Mysticism Among Slavs and Romanians in the XVIIIth Century. Texts relating to the Life and Activity of Paisy Velichkovsky (1722-1794)*, Thessaloniki 1986, 17-19, and A.-E. Tachiaos, «Paisij Veličkovskij and Grigorij Savvič Skovoroda: Two Unconventional Reactions to Kievan Theology», *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Graciotti*, Roma 1990, 613-621. Cf. A. Okara, «Paisij Veličkovskij e Grigorij Skovoroda», *Paisij, lo starec*, 115-128.

98. Tachiaos, *The Revival of Byzantine Mysticism*, 31.



It is well known that, during his eighteen-year stay on the Holy Mountain (1746-1764), he contributed to and set in motion the magnificent plan for the translation of the works of the ascetic and mystical Fathers of the Church into Slavonic and Romanian. He corrected the works that had been translated in the past, adapting the language to Russian Slavonic, in which the books in use in the Church were written, and made original translations of others into this language<sup>99</sup>. It is clear that Paisij was moved by the spirit of renewal found among the hesychasts of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, since he exhibited many features in common with them and actually sought a return to the study of the ascetic and mystical literature of the ancient and Byzantine Fathers. Within the framework of these efforts, it was hardly possible to omit a translation of the *Ladder*<sup>100</sup>, of which Paisij had been so fond as a young man. The sources at our disposal do not reveal when exactly Paisij began to be involved with the translation of the *Ladder*, simply that he himself was responsible for it<sup>101</sup>. Clearly his decision to translate it anew would have been taken on the grounds that the earlier ones were not satisfactory. Information arising from the manuscripts surviving in the libraries of the Monasteries of Neamț in Moldavia and Simon in Moscow is quite enlightening in relation to Paisij's work on the *Ladder*. In the Monastery of Neamț, manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries have been preserved, containing older translations<sup>102</sup>, while there are at least five in the libraries of this monastery and that of Simon which come from the school of Paisij<sup>103</sup>. From a codicological note on a manuscript of Sviensk, in the town of

99. See Ταχιάος, 'Ο Παΐσιος Βελιτσκόφσκυ καὶ ἡ ἀσκητικοφιλογικὴ σχολή του, 57-108.

100. See E. M. Vereščagin, «I principi di traduzione in Paisij Veličkovskij e nella sua scuola. L'esempio della versione della "Scala del Paradiso", *Paisij lo starec*, 217-230.

101. Ταχιάος, 'Ο Παΐσιος Βελιτσκόφσκυ 94-96.

102. А.И. Яцимирский, Славянские и русские рукописи румынских библиотек, Санктпетербург 1905, 566, 727-728 (=Сборник Отделения русского языка и словесности, LXXIX).

103. Н. Попов, «Рукописи Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) библиотеки, Вып. 2. Собрание рукописей Московского Симонова моастыря», Чтения в Императорском Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском Университете, Москва 1910, 20-22.

Briansk, it appears that Paĩsij's translation had been completed before 1783<sup>104</sup>.

This host of manuscripts, and the interest in making new translations of the *Ladder*, just when printed editions were in circulation and readily available to the public at large, can only be explained by the fact that Paĩsij considered the printed translations to be out of date or unsuccessful and, therefore, unacceptable. Paĩsij's translation itself also eventually made its way to the printer's. Among other publications of manuscripts of translations from the school of Paĩsij, the Monastery of Optina, which was the spiritual heir to his work, also published an edition of the *Ladder*, in 1851. This was no ordinary publication of Paĩsij's text. Since a good many decades had passed since he had completed it, Monk Avrosij of Optina undertook the task of comparing it with other translations, either manuscripts or printed editions. The final text which Amvrosij settled upon, was checked by the outstanding abbot of the monastery, Fr. Makarij, who also put together the extensive index which is at the end of the book<sup>105</sup>.

From what has been said, then, it emerges that the *Ladder* was in the field of vision of the Slavs from the very first years after their entry into the world of Christendom. As a guide book, not only for the spiritual life of monastics, but also of devout lay people, it became popular and indispensable reading material. What is certainly readily apparent from any investigation into the fate of the *Ladder* in the world of the Slavs is that it was an absolute requirement for the royal library. Given its completely ascetic character, the *Ladder* served to remind the rulers of a different life, totally dedicated to God, a life which differed radically from the secular and transient glory in which the princes lived. Another observation is that, in every phase of efforts to bring about a renaissance in the Slav Orthodox Churches, we see the *Ladder* at the centre of interest of the prime movers of these attempts at renewal. This demonstrates the spiritual dynamism of the book which, with the rungs leading to heaven, indicates a continuous movement and progression towards perfection and glorification.

104. Попов, «Рукописи Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей библиотеки)», 22.

105. И[еромонах] Л[еоид], Сказание о жизни и подвигах блаженного памяти старца Оптиной Пустыни иеросхимонаха Макария, Москва 1861, 175-176.



## СИНФОНИЈА ЦРКВЕ И ДРЖАВЕ У ДОБА СТЕФАНА НЕМАЊЕ

*Вељко Радунов*

Историја српског народа која нас је учинила делом европске и светске историје и цивилизације, духовности и културе, писмености и уметности, одиграла се у време Немањића. Она је потпуно остварена у време Немањића, јер је заједно са државним границама утврђена и духовност народа која упркос тешким и несигурним временима кроз које је пролазио српски народ траје и данас. Средњовековна Србија се формира на великом религиском и културном раскршћу између Запада и Византије. Настањеност на делу јединственог етногеографског простора имало је за Србе судбоносни значај. Културни и духовни идентитет Срба на овом простору Балкана формира се у контексту супротности Истока и Запада, односно православног и римокатоличког хришћанства.<sup>1</sup> Српска држава није била ништа друго него мост преко кога су пролазили народи Истока и Запада, како је то историја диктирала. Иако је и до Стефана Немање Србија била у византиској утицајној сфери,

1. Ђ. Трифуновић, *Стара српска књижевност*, VII, *Између Истока и Запада*, Београд 1984, 631-649. Р. Јосић, *Српска Православна Црква на међи Истока и Запада у Средњем веку*, ГСПЦ број 10,11,12, Београд 1949, 223-239. В. Радуновић, *Свети Сава настављач Ћирило-Методијевске традиције у Србији*, *Cyrrillomethodianum*, Thessaloniki 2014, 25-33.

веома је значајан начин прихватања тог утицаја који ће дати посебан печат верском и културном животу срдњевековне Србије.<sup>2</sup> Пресудну улогу у том правцу је имао велики жупан Стефан Немања и његов син Растко познат касније као Свети Сава.

Световна историја Стефана Немање је слојевита у сваком погледу. Може се читати и тумачити у разним правцима.<sup>3</sup> На свом путу ка престо-лу великог рашког жупана Немања је наилазио на многе препреке међу којима једна од првих, али и најтежих била је његов брат Тихомир који је најстари међу браћом сматрао да престо припада њему. Већ тада Немања је показао да њега не интересују дотадашњи начини по којима се престо наслеђивао. Он га није поштовао већ је са Тихомиром заратио и победио га. Није Немања поштовао обичаје ни око наслеђа престола, њега самог није наследио најстари син Вукан, већ средњи Стефан. Када је била у питању његова лична власт, али и интерес државе, Немања је био неми-лосрдан. Кроз Његову владавину дати су многе догађаји који нису били узвишени али су били корисни. Немања је долазио код василевса Ма-нојла и тражио од њега милост, али исто тако био је спреман да зарати са самим василевсом. Имао је он многе ситуације када је изгледало да је све изгубљено. Од стране браће био је бачен у тамницу, ишао је бос и гологлав са ужетом око врата код василевса Манојла нудећи му мач и себе на милост да не страда његов народ. Немања је успевао да се извуче из свих тих недаћа и изађе чак и јачи. Он је имао јак осећај за политичку реалност. Био је велики ратник, али исто тако нема ниједну бесмислену битку у којој је јасно да се не може ништа добити осим «храбре смрти». Знао је он да таква смрт и таква страдања ни њему, а ни држави не могу

2. Д. Обленски, Византијски комовелт, Београд 1991, 96-99. Е. Арвелер, Политичка идеологија византијског царства, Београд 1988. 32-40. И Божић, Хисторија народа Југославије, Загреб, 1953, 353-395. Г. Острогорски, Историја Византије, Београд 1969, 328-395

3. В. Ћоровић, Света Гора – Хиландар, Београд 1985, 48-61. И. Шпадијер, Светогорска баштина, Београд 2014, 16-45. Д. Богдановић, Историја старе српске књижевности, Београд 1980, 143-165. Ћ. Трифуновић, Стара српска књижевност. Основи, Треће, проширено издање, Београд 2009. М. Кошанин, Српска књижевност у средњем веку, Београд, 1975, 128-149.

да користе. Он је био први српски политичар који је успевао да преговара са највећим владарима Европе, и у тим преговорима се идеално сналазио. Битка на Морави је била велика победа византијске војске над српском, но истовремено то је била и велика политичка победа Немањина.<sup>4</sup> Избарио је не само признање Рашке као државе већ је дашло у до уласка средњег Немањиног сина у царску породицу. Наиме византијска принцеза Евдохија дошла је на рашки двор средњем Немањиним сину Стефану. Највећи Немањин успех је остварење идеје да православље буде кључни чинилац који ће Србе одржати у заједници. Знао је Немања да је световна власт без духовне кратког века. Осетивши и доживевши значај хришћанске вере, он је преко свога сина Растка све учинио да створи самосталну цркву и тиме утре пут народу и држави кроз све време трајања. У време Стефана Немање склопљена су разна савезништва са Византијом, Немачком, Угарском, Бугарском, но народ је имао један савез-савез са Богом.<sup>5</sup> У то време Православна црква је била и црква и школа и академија и саветовалиште. Савез са Богом и опредељење за Царство небеско, то свесно жртвовање овоземаљског живота, та жртва са смислом, је омогућила трајање народу и нацији и створила све битне предуслове за васкрс државе и народа, нешто што је најдрагоценије за целу епоху. После освајања Рашке наметнуло се питање која ће српска земља бити центар уједињења Зета или Рашка. Све предности су биле на страни Зете, а Немања се ипак одлучио да Рашка буде та која ће бити центар окупљања Српства и центар који ће створити државу. Самим тим што се одлучио за Рашку, Немања се определио за православну веру.<sup>6</sup>

4. В. Станковић, Путовања кроз Византију, Београд 2014, 279-291. Ј. Калић, Стефан Немања у модерној историографији у зборнику: Стефан Немања – Свети Симеон Мироточиви, историја и предање, Београд 2000, 9-12. Б. Ферјанчић, Стефан Немања у византијској политици друге половине XII век, у зборнику Стефан Немања - Свети Симеон Мироточиви, историја и предање, Београд 2000, 26-33. С. Марјановић-Душанић, Владарска идеологија Немањића, Београд 1997, 64-70.

5. Н. Велимировић, Српски народ као теодул, сабрана дела V, Диселдорф 1977, 652-656.

6. М. Благојевић, Немањићи и Лазаревићи и српска средњовековна државност, Београд 2004, 56-63. Ј. Калић, Борбе и тековине великог жупана Стефана Не-

Центар свих важнијих догађаја у Рашкој, политичких, а нарочито верских, помера се у манастир Светих Апостола Петра и Павла где је било и седиште епископа. Немања је вешто успео да повеже српску државну идеју са верском идејом и да их за дуго време учини нераздвојним. Сви ранији и каснији Немањини радови око подизања православних храмова, као и стално јачање утицаја православне цркве, везани су управо за то. Његова ктиторска делатност била је колико верска толико и политичка. Он је много помагао цркву и уживао њену велику подршку. Градио је Немања православне храмове и раније, због тога је долазио у сукоб са браћом, али тада је то имало друге циљеве. Ранији његови грађевински подухвати требало је да му послуже при добијању црквене подршке у продору освајања власти, а сада треба манастири и цркве да му остваре духовно јединство у држави коју има намеру да створи. Дакле, црква му је утрла пут до власти, и створила углед.<sup>7</sup> Немања је био тај који је створио српску државну идеју, али он је знао да мора и духовно да је уобличи. Он је знао да би православље на том путу могло да одигра одлучујућу улогу и ишао је свакако ка томе, да Србе држи на окупу.

Немања је државу формирао на великом религиском и културном раскршћу између запада и Византије спајањем приморских српских земаља изложених непосредном утицају Римске цркве и српским континенталним областима која су била под утицајем византијске цркве. Сам Немања иако је ратовао против Византије, видео је у њој и јединог могућег правог узора за даљи наставак српског духовног и државног живота. Он је био под великим утицајем византијске духовности и културе и многе ствари које је створио биле су директно инспирисане баш примером Византије. Прихватање византијског утицаја даће посебан печат верском и културном животу средњовековне Србије.<sup>8</sup> Но тај задатак Немања није могао

мање, Историја српског народа, Београд 1981, 151-162. Ј. Калић, Црквене прилике у српским земљама до стварања Архиепископије, Међународни научни скуп Сава Немањић – Свети Сава, Београд 1979, 27-48. Ђ. Трифуновић, Стара српска књижевност, Београд 1994, 17-43.

7. Ј. Калић, Стефан Немања у модерној историографији, 10-13.

8. Ђ. Трифуновић, Српска књижевност, 26-40. А.Е. Тахинос, Улога Светога Саве у оквиру словенске књижевне делатности на Светој Гори, Сава Не-



сам обавити већ га је поверио свом најмлађем сину Растку-Светом Сави. Растко је био очигледно љубимац већ остарелим родитељима: „А овај преподобни отац наш такође имађаше најмлађега сина међу свом децом својом, по имену Растко, који је после био Сава, љубљаше га највише од свију“.<sup>9</sup> На први поглед могло би изгледати претерано Доментијаново казивање да је Немањин најмлађи син васпитан „у великој љубави и доброј вери и чистоћи“, у чему је очев утицај морао бити пресудан. Међутим, одлазак седамнаестогодишњег Раска, у јесен 1191 год. на Свету Гору, тада нјстрожи монашки центар, и његова одлука да као монах Сава тамо трајно остане сведоче да се на двору његовог оца живело у духу побожности. Повлачење Растка из световног живота на Атосу оставили су јак утисак како на Немањиним двору и у читавој Србији, тако и у Византији.

Од самог почетка Растко је био наклоњен вери, али га је сигурно и сам Немања усмеравао и васпитавао ка одређеном циљу, дајући му посебну улогу у томе: „А када је дете ојачало дадоше га да се учи Светим књигама.“<sup>10</sup>

Немањина освајања су углавном заокружила државне границе и он је под својом контролом држао доста велику територију која је на северу обухватала области између Западне и Велике Мораве, на истоку је то Дубочица област око Врања. На западу су под Немањину власт Зета, Требиње и Хум.<sup>11</sup> Рашка је излазила на море, али и на три велике долине: моравску, косовску и метохијску. Све ове области су биле веома различите и биле су у заједници захваљујући Немањи. Међу њима још убек није постојала нека идеја која би била у стању да их држи на окупу. Сама национална идеја тада није била развијена и није се могло са њом покушати да се уједине ове српске области. То је морала бити нека друга идеја,

мањић-Свети Сава. Историја и предање, Београд 1979, САНУ књ XII, 85-89.

9. Доментијан, Животи Светога Саве и Светога Симеона, превео Л. Мирковић, Београд 1938, 29.

10. Теодосије, Житије светога Саве, превео Л. Мирковић, превод редиговао Д. Богдановић, Београд 1984, 7.

11. С Ћирковић, Унутрашње и спољне кризе у време Немањиних наследника, Историја српског народа, Београд 1981, 163-172. Б. Ферјанчић, Стефан Немања у византијској политици друге половине XII века, 26-33.

која је требала да буде довољно јака и чврста и која ће бити прихваћена и јасна да је сви схвате. Истовремено та идеја мора имати и једну чврсту организацију која ће је моћи заступати, али и која ће бити сама довољно поштована, да би била уопште у стању да обави овај задатак. Та идеја је могла да буде само идеја православља, а црква је та организација која ће се старати да се православље шири и учврсти по целој земљи.<sup>12</sup> Дакле, овако уједињена заједница могла се одржати знао је Немања, једино православном вером. Зато јој је Немања и придавао толики значај и био је неуморан дародавац и градитељ православних храмова.<sup>13</sup> У свом деловању на јачању цркве, Немања се током своје владавине обрачунао са богумилима који су представљали опасност не само за цркву, него и за државу. За духовни део државне идеје који је морао да се учврсти помоћу православља, Немања је, као што смо већ напоменули одредио најмлађег сина Растка, кога је вероватно врло рано упутио на учење светим књигама. Ово нам потврђује Растково третирање на Немањиним двору: „Бејаше дете благообразно и весело душом и напредоваше у учењу и изазиваше дивљење својим разумом у дететињем узрасту, тако да су сви говорили: Ово ће дете бити неко ново знамење“.<sup>14</sup>

Растко је од саме младости показивао изузетне особине и велику наклоност ка монашком животу: „Расуђиваше да су царства и богатства слава и сјај и свака срећа пуни метежи и нестални; сматраше видљиву лепоту и обиље овога света као сенку, и разумевши да је много јела и весеље и све што је људско на земљи сујетно и нестварно, деснога пута се дохвати па се бављаше проучавањем књига, и није се ленио да у цркви на свим службама стоји. Љубио је пост, избегавајући сујетно празнословље и неуместан смех, срамотне и штетне песме младићких пожуда, што слабе душу, сасвим мрзећи. Добар, кротак, свима љубазан ништељубив као мало ко други, монашки чин исувише поштоваше тако да су и сами родитељи његови зазирали и стидели се, такву брижљивост и закон врлине

12. Р. Јосић, Српска Православна Црква на међи Истока и Запада у Средњем веку, 224-228.

13. Ј. Калић, Стефан Немања у модерној историографији, 12-14.

14. Теодосије, Житије Светог Саве 6.

видевши у младом узрасту. И сматраху као да није од њих рођен, већ да је заиста од Бога дан.»<sup>15</sup>

На Немањиним двору су се окупљали монаси и Растко је могао да их свакодневно види и разговара са њима. Млади Растко је рано схватио оно што је Немањи од самог почетка било јасно. Српско јединство једино може одржати православна црква али не она која је постајала до тог момета, већ једна много снажнија на чијем челу стоји јака личност која зна шта хоће.<sup>16</sup> Можда је Растко у томе видео своју духовно-политичко и културну мисију. У то време све српске области изузев Зете, биле су културно заостале, а ни црква није била у много бољем стању. Она није имала такве свештенике и монахе који су били у стању да као неколико деценија касније, буду ти који ће образовати и духовно уздизати српски народ. Српског свештенства није било много, а и оно није било самостално, већ под управом Васељенске цркве. Таква црква није могла бити у суштини српска народна црква која ће несебично помагати српску државу везујући своју судбину са њеном. Овакву идеју о формирању српске цркве, која ће бити темељ српске државности, али и носилац духовно културних схватања имао је и млади Растко. Временом је код њега религиозни жар узео толиког маха да је одлучио да оде у Свету Гору. Са богатим духовним наслеђем из Византије које је Свети Сава добио на Светој Гори учинио је да је он разумео да је подвижнички живот у строгом посту и молитви само припрема, и то најсигурнија припрема, за један други подвижнички живот и рад у свету у друштву. То му је много помогло за остварење идеје о формирању српске цркве, која ће бити темељ српске државности. Он је успео да паралелно буде и аскета и државник, а да увек у свакој прилици остане Христов монах. Свети Сава је у самоћи и молитви сакупљао духовну снагу, пре сваке земаљске делатности, пре доношења неке одлуке или неке државничке мисије. Зато и свим великим Савиним подухватима претходи повлачење у тиховање (самотништво) - исихији.<sup>17</sup> Путовање у Цариград због потреба Хиландара, повратак у Ср-

15. Теодосије, Житије Светог Саве 7.

16. А. Јевтић, Богословље Светог Саве, Врњачка Бања 1991, 8-43

17. А. Јевтић, Живопрдање у Цркви, Врњачка Бања 1998, 250-280. Ј. Тарнани-

бију са моштима светог Симеона и мирeње браће, добијање аутокефалије Српске цркве, смиривање прилика у Србији под краљем Владиславом, све те мисије су праћене светогорским подвизавањем и тиховањем. Ево како је говорио Свети Сава када је на позив свога брата Стефана дошао у земљу, са мртвим телом свога оца Светога Симеона, да би свој народ спасао братоубилачког рата: „Вас ради саплеменика ми, оставих свету ми и слатку пустињу и не дођох да тражим више од душа ваших.”<sup>18</sup> Не тражи Свети Сава власт, моћ, силу, богатство, већ душе људи својих. Победио је он себе, све своје краљевске потребе, и посветио се Богу. Он неће да влада, неће да суди, већ да просвети свој народ, да окрене његово лице Богу и осветли његов лик именом Божијим у срцу. Отуда потиче велики утицај Светог Саве на српски народ јер он највеће истине није доказивао речима, већ својим животом.

И поред честих ратова и сукоба са Византијом многи подстицаји и узорни долазили су непосредно из Византије.<sup>19</sup> Сложене духовне односе са Византијом прати и развој свести о положају Српске земље у склопу византијских погледа на хијерархије држава. О томе у Хиландарској повељи у уводу монах Симеон Немања сликовито разврстава хијерархију држава:

„ У почетку створи Бог небо и земљу и људе на њој, благослови их и даде им власт над свим створењима својим. И постави једне за царе, друге за кнезове, неке за владаре и свакоме даде да пасе стадо своје и да га чува од свакога зла што наилази на њега. Тако, браћо, премилостиви Бог утврди Грке царевима, а Угре краљевима и сваки народ раздели и закон даде и нарави установе и владаре над њима према обичају и према закону растави својом премудрошћу. Стога према његовој великој и неизмерној милости и човекољубљу дарова нашим прадедовима и нашим

дис, Култ Светог Саве и Светог Симеона код Грка, Хиландарски зборник 5, Београд 1981, 101-156. В. Ραντούνοβιτς, Ο Άγιος Σάββας πρόδρομος του ησυχασμού στην Σερβία, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, 443-457.

18. Доментијан, Живот Светог Саве и Светог Симеона, 98

19. Ђ. Трифуновић, Књижевна историја, XIII 52, Стара српска књижевност, Београд 1981, 669-676

дедовима да владају овим српским земљама. А Бог свакако чинећи на боље људима, не хтеде човечје пропасти и постави ме за великог жупана, у светом крштењу нареченог Стефана Немању.<sup>20</sup> У оснивачкој повељи за манастир Хиландар, Немања је на јасан начин исказао мисао да је свака власт од Бога дарована, да је он тако примио, а затим је одредио место своје државе у хијерархији држава.

Немањини наследници, владари, и њихов однос према православљу, према држави, цркви и народу, према туђим државама, народима и верама биле су према узору првога владара српске државе и политичке вође српског народа васпитавани су у духу овог прототипа. Када је касније било одступања, по слабости људској, мерена су и оцењивана лица и њихова одступања по мери, по духу Светог Симеона.

Стефан Немања судбоносно предодређује основни ток српске средњовековне државности, духовности, културе и књижевности како је то некад учинио Св. Констатин у Византији.<sup>21</sup> Константин је током читавог средњег века важио за прототип идеалног хришћанског владара који победе своје односи снагом своје вере и посебне Божје милости, зато је

20. Ђ. Трифуновић, В. Бјелогрић, И. Брајовић, Хиландарска оснивачка повеља Светог Симеона и Светог Саве, Осам векова Студенице, Београд 1986, 46-60. Г. Острогорски, Византијски систем хијерархије држава, Сабрана дела V, Београд 1970, 251. И. Шпадијер, Светогорска баштина, Београд 2014, 16-45. С. Марјановић-Душанић, Владарска идеологија, 61-67. Списи Светог Саве, издао их Д-р Владимир Ћоровић. Београд – Ср. Карловци 1928, стр. 1. Последње датирање Немањине повеље другом половином 1198. године предложио је Фрањо Баришић, који одређеније поставља и време састављања и друге, Стефанове, Хиландарске повеље: „свакако су вероватнији 29. септембар 1199. или 1200, него 1201. или 1202.“ (Ф. Баришић, Хронолошки проблеми око године Немањине смрти, Хиландарски зборник 2 Београд 1971, 48-49). Претпоставља се да је Свети Сава саставио оснивачку хиландарску повељу или, пак да је само учествовао у њеном састављању. Упор.: Ђ. Трифуновић, Удвајање и понављање као начело књижевног дела Светог Саве, Сава Немањић – Свети Сава, историја и предање. Београд 1979, стр. 197. С. Ћирковић, Моравска Србија у историји српског народа, Моравска школа и њено доба. Научни скуп у Ресави 1968. Београд 1972, стр. 103..

21. С. Марјановић-Душанић, Владарска идеологија, 286-291. К. ΚΑΡΑΣΘΑΤΗΣ, ΜΕΓΑΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ, ΑΘΗΝΑ 2012, 50-125. Δ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΔΗΣ, ΜΕΓΑΣ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ Ο ΙΣΟΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, ΚΑΒΑΛΑ 2012, 217-251.

и сматран узором хришћанског војсковође. Он је у византиском свету називан *ισαλοστόλος* - равноапостолним, ову почаст дуговао је заслугама за преображај римске државе у хришћанску империју.<sup>22</sup> Увођењем Константина као светитеља у Византији у IX веку, цареve особине постале су део канона идеалног средњовековног владара. Константин је узор потоњим василевсима, западним владарима и владарима на просторима снажног зрачења византијског утицаја. У томе су пресудну улогу имале цареve одлуке, браниоца праве вере, праведности, савлађивања анархије, пожртвоване бриге за мир и градитељску делатност. Дакле, и други хришћански владари настојали су да се својим делима угледају на првог хришћанског цара. У кругу ових настојања формулисан је лик српског владара Новог Константина, који је оставио трага у државној управи, књижевности, повељама и уметности. Константинова идеологија добила је најдоследнији израз у генеалогiji Неманића из пера Константина Филозофа, текста који покушава да порекло српске династије веже за оснивача Цариграда.<sup>23</sup>

Тек од Константина Великог држава је почела да поштује цркву као живо представништво од Бога, која указује на циљ постојања. Настанак држава је одувек био у непосредној вези са религијом тако да можемо рећи да је држава у знатној мери производ религије. Древне државе су у потпуности биле оличење религијских учења на основу којих су настале јер су и створене као овоземаљска капија божанског поретка. Међусобни сукоби и културна размена су непосредно утицали, како на промену религијских идеја, тако и на промене у организацији државе. Културна размена народа је створила услове за развој нових религијских идеја из којих настаје хришћанство, вера ослобођена националних и језичких граница. Римска империја, изграђена на основу римске културе, религије и војне силе, није била вољна да толерише верско учење које је имало универзални карактер и оспоравало божанско право римских властодр-

22. Наведена дела 313-325, 255-273, 286-291

23. „Константин Филозоф и његов живот Стефана Лазаревића, деспота српског“, изд. В. Јагић, Гласник СУД 42 1875, 257; превод текста Л. Мирковић, Стара Српска књижевност III, Нови Сад – Београд 1970, 191 257; превод, 191.

жаца чиме је заговарало анархију која је уништавала религиску и правну основу на којој је почивала империја. Велике и упорне борбе у којој је хришћанство уз велике жртве успело да се наметне али се и само прилагодило прихватајући неминовност постојања државне организације која треба да обезбеди сигурност и заштити народ од освајача. Када је хришћанство легализовано у доба Константина (306-337) а после прихваћено као државна религија за време владавине Теодосија I (379-395), Римско царство више није било ни јединствено ни моћно а угрожавали су га упади варвара споља и економски и политички проблеми изнутра.

Премештањем центра царства на исток, долази у време када западни део губи некадашње централно место како на економском тако и на политичком и културном плану. Спајањем хеленске културе са хришћанском религијом и римском државном формулом, условио је настанак онога што називамо Византијским царством.

Сарадња државе и цркве, коју је утемељио Константин, донело је и једној и другој страни користи, али и нове проблеме. Римска држава је у хришћанству нашла снаге која може духовно да је уједини, а царски апсолутизам је добио јаку моралну подршку. Црква је од државе добила јаку материјалну подлогу и потпору за свој мисионарски рад и борбу против антицрквених струја, али је управо због тога дошло до турства државе. Са друге стране, држава је везала своју судбину за цркву и тако је била увучена у борбу различитих државних праваца и струја. Верске борбе више нису биле само ствар цркве, већ су постале и битан елемент како црквеног, тако и политичког развоја. Док су у Византији владари често утицали на избор патријарха, западни део царства, који је морао бити препуштен продору варвара, очувао је независност римског папе и наметнуо га као најзначајнију политичку личност западне европе. На западу је био карактеристичан однос краљева и верских поглавара, у којима су краљеви третирани као странци који треба да се прилагоде и који не могу рачунати на лојалност поданика уколико њихов статус владара није потврдила црква, па се сходно томе и идеја државе као краљевог приватног поседа иако оспоравана ипак делимично прихваћена у самој цркви. Прихватање овакве реалности давало је право цркви да се поста-



ви изнад државе и одлучује коме ће дати то јест уступити право да влада одређеном територијом. Папе су се служиле додељивањем краљевских титула као политичким средством изражавајући тиме супериорност папства над световним владарима.

У православном свету црквенодржавни односи су се темељили на јеванђелском учењу о извору и смислу власти. Задатак владара као носиоца световне власти је да штити законитост, са циљем да обезбеди поредак и благостање народа у својој држави, а задатак патријарха је да брине о духовном животу тог народа.<sup>24</sup> У Византији и у Србији се полазило од чињенице да народ припада не само држави, него и цркви, то јест сваки поданик је истовремено члан и државе и цркве. Зато је систем симфоније (сагласја) био најприкладнији за развој односа између цркве и државе. С обзиром на чињеницу да има владара чија власт прераста у тиранију, и поред јеванђелског учења о међусобним односима људи и о њиховим обавезама према властодршцима, историја сведочи да није мали број владара који су се стављали изнад закона и своје поданике хришћане поробљавали, на разне начине. Зато је црква својим учењем још од првих векова свога постојања опомињала царе да и за њих постоји закон, а верницима дала до знања да се треба покоравати само оним владарима који раде за добро народа.

За Немању Византија је била узор у свему што није искакало из оквира православља, али у исто време он је то прилагодио за чување своје посебности, државности и народне самосталности. Руковођен дубоком и искреном побожношћу и бринувши се за духовни живот свог народа, Немања је подизао цркве и манастире како у својој земљи тако и у освојеним градовима, и уз то слао помоћ манастирима изван граница Србије. Изградњом манастира Хиландара Св.Симеон и Св.Сава су од почетка имали идеју да од њега створе српски расадник духовности. Определивши се за православље као главну веру своје државе и династије, Немања је подигао у Србији неколико манастира, од којих Студеница тако

24. Т. Тарановски, Историја српског права у Немањићкој држави, Београд 1931, 110-118. М. Петровић, Студенички типик – самосталност српске цркве, Београд 1986, 4-42.

сликовито говори о полету, стабилности, нивоу државе, и уметничком смислу њеног ктитора. Како је Св.Гора у то време била светионик православља са представницима разних народности и средина, то је сасвим природно што су Симеон и Сава хтели да у свом новом манастиру створе могућност и српским калуђерима да изађу из круга Рашке и Зетске области и да у најцењенијој монашкој средини прошире своје образовање и употпуне своје знање. На тај начин српско манаштво добија бољи и спремнији свештенички кадар као главног помагача у изгађивању државне творевине, којој је Немања са толико муке, поставио темеље. Немања је дакле поставио темеље у држави у којој ће друштвени живот вековима бити тесно повезан с духовним животом, политика с религијом, историја државе с историјом цркве, држава која ће бити не само чувар вере него и заштитник националног идентитета.

На овим Немањиним темељима Свети Сава наставља да гради и учвршћује институције државе и цркве избегавајући вешто све оне појаве које су реметиле склад у црквено-државничким односима. У своју номоканонску књигу – Законоправило, није унео ни један од византијских списа који би ишли у прилог цезаропапизму или такозваном источном папизму а таквих списа је било.<sup>25</sup> Он је слободно одабирао и распоређивао номоканонску грађу имајући у виду потребе свога времена и тек осамостаљене помесне српске цркве. Он се трудио да у једној књизи сабере све што је битно за његов у вери још непросвећени и неупућени народ, а да државним посланицима, првенствено епископима и свештеницима да приручнике за основне истине појмова и правила живота и понашања у цркви како би могли на самом почетку живот народа и цркве зидати на здраве темеље.

Основни циљ визионара Стефана Немање био је да се уз симфонију др-

25. Законоправило Светога Саве, приредили и превели Миодраг М. Петровић – Љубица Штавланин-Ђорђевић, Београд 2005. С. Тројицки, Црквено-политичка идеологија Светосавске крмчије и Властареве синтагме, Глас Српске академије наука, ССХП, Београд 1953, стр. 177. О. Крчмији Светога Саве упор.– Д. Богдановић, Крчмија Светога Саве, Међународни научни скуп Сава Немањић – Свети Сава, историја и предање. Децембар 1976, Београд 1979, 91-99.

жаве и цркве у Србији оствари благостање, да сви служи свима, како би Србија била независна и јака духовно и материјално. По њему основни предуслов за благостање јесте узајамно помагање државних и црквених власти заснованих на свести о самосталности српског народа као целине, коко би га заштитио од отуђења.

Оно што су Српски народ и Српска црква по својим специфичним особинама биле и јесу у основи је дело Стефана Немање и Светог Саве. Њихов дух само може Српски народ и Српску цркву одржати на овом опасном и судбоносном, географском, духовном и културном раскршћу.







## BYZANTINE CHRONICLES AND THEIR SOUTH SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS IN THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

*Panos Sophoulis*

It is well known that the Byzantine influence on the world of the Slavs was expressed in a particularly strong manner in the sphere of literary production. Byzantine letters began to spread into Eastern Europe in the 9<sup>th</sup> century with the translation by Cyril and Methodius, and thereafter their disciples, of religious and liturgical texts, texts of a legal nature as well as hagiological works in general, and even some secular literature, which laid the foundations for the first scholarly Slavonic language –that which is called Old or Church Slavonic.<sup>1</sup> In Bulgaria, the Glagolitic alphabet was gradually replaced by the Cyrillic and the circle of translations expanded considerably, familiarizing Slav readers with more works by Byzantine authors and also ex-

1. On the original and translation work of the two Thessalonian missionaries, see A.-E. Tachiaos, Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι θεμελιωτές της αρχαίας σλαβικής γραμματείας, Thessaloniki 1992; A. Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen. Zum Problem der Rezeption und Transformation (6. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, Wien – München 2000, pp. 109-124; A. Delikari, «Η αποστολή των αγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου στη Μεγάλη Μοραβία», in: P. Sophoulis – A. Papageorgiou (eds.), *Μεσαιωνικός σλαβικός κόσμος*, Athens 2014, pp. 125-146; Ch. K. Papastathis, *Τὸ νομοθετικὸν ἔργον τῆς Κυριλλομεθοδιανῆς ἱεραποστολῆς ἐν Μεγάλῃ Μοραβίᾳ*, Thessaloniki 1978; J. Vašica, «Slovanská liturgie sv. Petra», *Byzantinoslavica* 8 (1939-1946) 1-54.

posing them to new literary genres.<sup>2</sup> This activity continued unabated over the next period and was accompanied by the production of increasing numbers of original Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian works, based on Byzantine models. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century in particular, a time when both Byzantium itself as well as the neighbouring Slavic states were falling apart under Ottoman pressure, the translations from Greek, the editing of Byzantine texts by Bulgarians and Serbs who adapted them, but also the circulation of Byzantine manuscripts among the Hesychast centres of the Balkans, formed the background to the emergence of what is perhaps the most splendid phase of South Slavonic literature.

Of the secular works which were translated at that time, the genre which enjoyed the greatest popularity in the Slavic world was, without doubt, the Chronicle. At this point it ought to be mentioned that historiography in Byzantium consisted of two basic forms: the so-called ‘classicizing’ history and the Chronicle. Classicizing historiography was based on the tradition of classical historical writing. Its style, language and historical thought followed the models of the ancient classical historians, particularly Herodotus and Thucydides. The ‘classicizing’ historians in Byzantium, who, for the most part, came from the aristocratic or public service class and generally addressed the upper social strata, wrote in an Atticizing language, with a complex structure, sometimes with mistakes, as well as in a scholarly, rhetorical style. They focused on the military and political events of a particular, usually short period of time, as

2. A. Delikari, «Η κυριλλική γραφή. Το ιστορικό πλαίσιο της δημιουργίας και της εδραίωσής της στον κόσμο των Σλάβων», in: A. Delikari (ed.), Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο “Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος: Το Βυζάντιο και ο κόσμος των Σλάβων”, Θεσσαλονίκη 28-30 Νοεμβρίου 2013, Thessaloniki 2015, pp. 389-398. The first known texts in Cyrillic (among them, a bilingual inscription on a clay vessel) were found in Bulgaria and date to the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century; see K. Popkonstantinov – O. Kronsteiner, *Starobălgarski nadpisi*, vol. 1, Salzburg 1994, p. 185. The Glagolitic alphabet had been created to meet the needs of the mission of Cyril and Methodius to Great Moravia: see A.-E. Tachiaos, Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι αρχαιότερες βιογραφίες των Θεσσαλονικέων εκπολιτιστών των Σλάβων, Thessaloniki 2008, pp. 80 (Life of Constantine-Cyril), 198 (Life of Methodius); E. Uchanova, «L’alphabet glagolitique et les alphabet „missionnaires“ de l’Orient Orthodoxe», *Slavica occitania* 12 (2001) 365-390; Tachiaos, Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος, pp. 94-102.



a rule the age in which they lived. In accordance with the classical view of history, they were interested in the objectivity of their narrative and the identification of the causal relationships between the events they described.<sup>3</sup>

The Chronicles, on the other hand, are characterized by a less refined view of history and the fact that they are more clearly Christian. This particular genre was cultivated frequently –though not exclusively– by monks, which is why it is known as ‘monastic chronography’ (*Mönchschronik*). The Chronicles had world history as their subject. The narrative was structured by year, beginning with the creation of the world (from Adam) and ending either at the time when the author was living or a little earlier. The aim of the Chronicles was to highlight the role played by the Christian *imperium romanum*, that is the Byzantine empire, in the salvation of the human race (the well-known theory of the *imperium romanum* as the ‘chosen vessel’ for the fulfilment of the divine plan). So the chronographers observed history as the ‘history of salvation’ which God set in motion for us. Events are interpreted Christologically, as the intervention of Divine Providence. The chronicler makes no effort to interpret them or to analyze them rationally. He addresses a wide reading audience consisting of devout Christians, mostly from the lower social strata. The style is more popular and idiomatic and the language is usually simple and accessible, very like the spoken language of the time.<sup>4</sup>

3. A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί Ιστορικοί και Χρονογράφοι*, vol. 1: (4th – 7th c.), Athens 1997, pp. 259-276; H. Hunger, «On the imitation (ΜΙΜΗΣΙΣ) of Antiquity in Byzantine literature», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1968) 17-38; G. Moravcsik, «Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung», in: P. Wirth (ed.), *Polychronion. Festschrift Franz Dolger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg 1966, pp. 366-377; R. Scott, «The classical tradition in Byzantine historiography», in: M. Mullett – R. Scott (eds.), *Byzantium and the classical tradition*, Birmingham 1981, pp. 61-84; A. Kazhdan – A. Cutler, «Continuity and discontinuity in Byzantine history», *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 429-478.

4. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί Ιστορικοί και Χρονογράφοι*, vol. 2, pp. 528-533; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 1, München 1978, pp. 257-278; H.-G. Beck, «Zur byzantinischen Moenchschronik», in: C. Bauer – L. Boehm – M. Mueller (eds.), *Speculum historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel von Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung*, Freiburg – München 1965, pp. 188-197; C. Mango, «The tradition of Byzantine Chronography», *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/1989) 360-372.

It has rightly been remarked that none of the classicizing historians appears to have been translated into Church Slavonic in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, a good few of the Chronicles appeared in a Slavonic version. One of the first interpretations of this phenomenon –that these particular histories were difficult to translate because of their classicizing language– can be considered to be without foundation, since we know that even earlier Slav scholars had dealt with much more complicated texts, Patristic and Liturgical, which were often written in a particularly opaque language.<sup>5</sup> The preference for the Chronicles may be attributed, briefly, to three reasons. The first is the religious interpretation of history which they contain. In particular, the idea that all human issues are linked to God and his will (for example, natural disasters are interpreted as punishment for human sins), that the fate of people and nations is part of the eternal struggle between God and Satan and that the divine plan is promoted by conversion to Christianity had particular resonance among the recently baptized Slavs, who were attempting to understand the meaning and significance of their own actions and their own historical path.<sup>6</sup>

Secondly, because of its time-based structure, a Chronicle has the potential of being continually extended, which gave the Slav chroniclers the opportunity to continue the history which had remained incomplete in the Byzantine works. That is to say, they could present the Slavic peoples as those who were continuing and completing God's plan, with the creation of a world-wide Christian commonwealth, led by themselves. In other words, any extension to a Chronicle gave the Slavs the opportunity to acquire and highlight their own global and historic role.<sup>7</sup>

Thirdly, the Chronicles told the story of the evolution of the whole of humankind, rather than being restricted merely to events in Byzantium: they told the story of Adam and Eve, Noah's ark, the life of Alexander the Great, the

5. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500-1453*, New York - Washington 1971, pp. 329-330; Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen*, pp. 199-200.

6. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 330; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, p. 262.

7. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 330.

birth of Christ, the story of the Roman emperors, with particular emphasis on Constantine the Great and the victory of Christianity, finally ending with the Byzantine era. They were thus able to widen substantially the historical and geographical horizons of their Slav readers.<sup>8</sup>

Beginning in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, a significant number of Byzantine Chronicles were translated into Old/Church Slavonic, particularly in Bulgaria, during what is known as the ‘golden age of Bulgarian literature’.<sup>9</sup> Among these are the *Chronicle* of John Malalas (a work dating from the 6<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>10</sup> the *Chronographikon syntomon* of Patriarch Nicephorus (from the 9<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>11</sup> the *Letopisec vkratce*,<sup>12</sup> a supplementary work, most likely from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the material for which is thought to have been extracted from the *Chronographikon syntomon* of Nicephorus,<sup>13</sup> the *Christianiki topographia* of

8. Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen*, pp. 200, 215; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 330.

9. On the ‘golden age of Bulgarian literature’, which is linked mainly with the period of Symeon’s rule (893–927), see G. Čavrákov, *Središta na bǎlgarskata knižnovnost, IX–XVIII vek*, Sofija 1987; K. Ivanova – S. Nikolova (eds.), *Tǎrǎžestvo na slovoto. Zlatnijat vek na bǎlgarskata knižnina: Letopisi, žitija, bogoslovie, ritorika, poezija*, Sofija 1995.

10. M. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky v literatuře církevněslovanské. Přehled a rozbor filologický*, vols. 1–2, Bratislava 1922–1923, here vol. 1, pp. 18–51; M. Laskaris, «Αἱ βυζαντινοὶ χρονογραφίαι ἐν τῇ παλαιοσλαβικῇ λογοτεχνίᾳ», *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 2 (1925) 330–341, here 331–332; A. Miltenova, «Istoričeski sǎčinenija», in: A. Miltenova (ed.), *Istorija na bǎlgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, Sofija 2008, pp. 187–188; V. M. Istrin, *Hronika Ioanna Malaly v slavjanskom prevoda. Podgot. izdan., vstup. stat. i pril. M. N. Černyševa*, Moskva 1994, p. 4; S. Nikolova, «Hronika na Joan Malala», in: D. Petkanova – A. Miltenova (eds.), *Starobǎlgarska literatura. Enciklopedičen rečnik*, Sofija 1992, pp. 500–502.

11. V. N. Stepanov, «Letopisec vǎskore patriarha Nikifora v Novgorodskoj kormčej», *Izvestija otdelenija russkogo jazika i slovesnosti* 17/2 (1912) 250–293 and 17/3 (1912) 156–320; E. K. Piotrovskaja, «O vremeni perevoda, Letopisca vskore’ konstantinopol’skogo patriarha Nikifora na slavjanskij jazyk», *Vspomogatel’nye istoričeskie discipliny* 7 (1976) 101–118; Miltenova, «Istoričeski sǎčinenija», p. 186; J. Malingoudi, «Zur Adaptation der Chronik von Nikephoros in Bulgarien und Russland», *Βυζαντιακά* 4 (1984) 61–74.

12. In the Slavonic translation, the title is rendered as *Kratāk letopisec ot Avgust dori i do Konstantin i Zoja, care Grǎcki* (Σύντομος χρονογράφος από τον Αύγουστο έως τον Κωνσταντίνο και τη Ζωή, βασιλείς των Ελλήνων).

13. A comparison of the two works reveals convergences, but also important differences: for a discussion, see B. Angelov, «Le ,Letopis’c’ v’krat’ce du recueil de Sime-

Cosmas Indicopleustes (a work from the 6<sup>th</sup> century) and others.<sup>14</sup> The production of such texts waned from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when Slav scholars turned their attention to other literary forms, such as apocryphal and revelatory works,<sup>15</sup> but in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Byzantine Chronicle returned to centre stage, an event linked to the general flowering of South Slavonic literature which occurred at that time.

Indeed, a special place among the works translated in the Slavic world at that time is occupied by four Byzantine Chronicles: the *Chronikon syntomon* by George the Monk or Hamartolos (from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century);<sup>16</sup> the *Chronographia* by Symeon the Magister and Logothete (second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century);<sup>17</sup> the *Epitome historion* by John Zonaras (composed in about the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century);<sup>18</sup> and the *Synopsis chronike* of Constantine Manasses (also from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>19</sup> One observation which might be made has to do with the chronological order of the translations. The oldest is that of the *Epitome historion* by John Zonaras which, according to one view, was made in Bulgaria before 1344.<sup>20</sup> The eight surviving manuscripts, the

on de 1073», *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966) 95-105; Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky*, vol. 1, pp. 58-62; Miltenova, «Istoričeski sačinienija», pp. 185-186.

14. T. Slavova – A. Miltenova, «Sāčinienija o estestvoznanie», in: Miltenova (ed.), *Istorija*, pp. 175-176; C. Čolova, *Estestvenonaučnite znanija v srednovekovna Bālgarija*, Sofija 1988, pp. 28-30.

15. V. Tāpkova-Zaimova – A. Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata knižnina vāv Vizantija i srednovekovna Bālgarija*, Sofija 1996 (= English translation entitled: *Historical and apocalyptic literature in Byzantium and medieval Bulgaria*, Sofia 2011); I. Evangelou, Λόγια και απόκρυφη βουλγαρική γραμματεία στον ύστερο Μεσαίωνα, Thessaloniki 2007.

16. George the Monk, *Χρονικόν*, ed. C. de Boor, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, vols. 1-2, Bonn 1904 (reprinted with corrections by P. Wirth, Stuttgart 1978).

17. Symeon Magister and Logothete, *Χρονικόν*, ed. St. Wahlgren, *Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon* [CFHB 44/1, Series Berolinensis], Berlin – New York 2006.

18. Ioannis Zonaras, Ἐπιτομή ιστοριῶν, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, *Epitomae historiarum* [CSHB 3], Bonn 1897.

19. Constatnitine Manasses, Σύνοψις χρονικῆ, ed. O. Lampsides, *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum* [CFHB 36/1], Athens 1996.

20. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky*, vol. 1, pp. 117-124; S. Nikolova, «Hronika na Joan Zonara», in: Petkanova – Miltenova (eds.), *Starobālgarska literatura*, p. 500; A. Jacobs (ed.), *Зонара́с-Зонара. Die byzantinische Geschichte bei Joannes Zonaras in slavischer Übersetzung*, München 1970, p. 102.

oldest of which is in the collection of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (Slav.321), dating from the last decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, seem to come from Serbian editors.<sup>21</sup> There follows the translation of the work by Constantine Manasses. The two older codices which survive –in Moscow (Sinod sobr. 38) and in the Vatican (Vat. Slav. 2)– date to 1345 and 1348 respectively.<sup>22</sup> These were produced in Veliko Tŕrnovo, capital of the Second Bulgarian state, on the orders of Ivan-Alexander, the ruler of Bulgaria, though probably by different translators.<sup>23</sup> The third work in the series is the *Chronikon syntomon* by George the Monk (known as *Letovnik*), the manuscript in the Hilandar Monastery (cod. 381) dating to the decade between 1350 and 1360, while those in Moscow (Sinod sobr. 148), in the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon on the Holy Mountain (Slav. 17), Vienna (Slav. 10) and Prague (IX D 32) are all from about 1380.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the *Chronographia* of Symeon Logothete, which

21. Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky*, vol. 1, pp. 87-90; Jacobs, *Zonaras*, pp. 94-101; M. Petrova, «Hamartolos or Zonaras. Searching for the author of a chronicle in a fourteenth-century Slavic manuscript: MS. Slav. 321 from the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences», *Scripta & e-Scripta* 8-9 (2010) 405-418. An abridged version of the Slavonic translation survives in three manuscripts, including cod. 65 of the Russian State Library in Moscow, known as «Paraleipomenon» (16th c.); see. O. D. Bodjanskij (ed.), *Paralipomenon Zonarini*, Moskva 1847.

22. I. Dujčev (ed.), *Letopista na Konstantin Manasi. Fototipno izdanie na Vatikanski prepis na srednobŕlgarskii prevod*, Sofija 1963; I. Bujulliev – I. Božilov (eds.), *Hronikata na Konstantin Manasi. Zorata na bŕlgarskata epika*, Sofija 1992; Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky*, vol. 1, pp. 164-219; S. Nikolova, «Hronika na Konstantin Manasij», in: Petkanova – Miltenova (eds.), *Starobŕlgarska literatura*, p. 502.

23. N. Gagova, «Dŕrŕavna i kulturna politika. Car Ivan Aleksandŕr kato pokrovitel na kniŕzinata», in: Miltenova (ed.), *Istorija*, pp. 508, 510; B. Todorov, «Monks and history: Byzantine chronicles in Church Slavic», in: K. Fresco – Ch. D. Wright (eds.), *Translating the Middle Ages*, Surrey – Burlington 2012, pp. 147-159, esp. 154-155.

24. Weingart, *Byzantske kroniky*, vol. 2, pp. 61-111, 145ff.; S. Nikolova, «Hronika na Georgi Amartol», in: Petkanova – Miltenova (eds.), *Starobŕlgarska literatura*, pp. 499-500; A.-E. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic manuscripts of Saint Panteleimon Monastery (Rossikon) on Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki – Los Angeles 1981, pp. 47-49; A. A. Turilov, «K istorii vtoroj (makedonskoj) rukopisnoj kolekcii A. F. Gil'ferdinga», *Slavjanskij al'manah* 2002, Moskva 2003, pp. 130-143, esp. pp. 133-134. On the older manuscripts, see Miltenova, «Istoričeski sačinienija», pp. 189-190; V. M. Istrin, *Hronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjano-russkom perevode*, vols. 1-3, Petrograd – Leningrad 1920, 1922, 1930; A. Dostál, «Slovanský překlad byzantské kroniky Georgia Hamartola», *Slavia* 32/3 (1963) 375-384.

circulated in versions which were each attributed to a different author, narrates events from the beginning of the world up to the year 948.<sup>25</sup> The Slavonic version, which continues the narrative up to 1068, was probably composed before 1380.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the order of the translations was: Zonaras, Manasses, Hamartolos, Logothete, while that of the originals: Hamartolos, Logothete, Zonaras, Manasses.

As regards the translations of the Byzantine chronicles themselves, two obvious questions arise. First, why were these particular works selected, whether by the translators themselves or those who commissioned the work? And secondly, what was the general historical and cultural context for these translations? We shall begin with the second question. On a political level, the basic characteristic of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Serbia and Bulgaria was the reinforcement of central authority. During the reigns of Stefan Miliutin (1282-1321), Stefan Dečanski (1321-1331) and, in particular, of Stefan Dušan (1331-1355) Serbia was transformed from being a merely appreciable kingdom into a dominant force in the Balkans.<sup>27</sup> The Serb rulers gradually extended their dominion to the Danube and the Sava, the Adriatic coast, northern Albania, Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly and the coast of the Corinthian Gulf. Shortly after the capture of Serres, at the end of 1345, Dušan declared himself 'emperor of the Serbs and Romans'. Indeed, at Easter the following year, he was crowned in Skopje by the primate of the Serbian Church, Ioannikios, whom he had elevated to

25. A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί Ιστορικοί και Χρονογράφοι*, vol. 2: (8ος – 10ος αι.), Athens 2007, pp. 391-409.

26. V. I. Sreznevskij (ed.), *Simeona Metafrasta i Logofeta. Opisanie mira ot bytija i lotovnik sobran ot različnyh letopisej. Slavianskij perevod Hroniki Sirneona Logofeta*, St Peterburg 1905; Weingart, *Byzantské kroniky*, vol. 1, pp. 63-83; R. Zlatanova, «Hronikata na Simeon Logotet otnošenieto kām reformata na Tärnovskie knižovnici», *Tärnovska knižovna škola* 4 (1985) 204-242.

27. For greater detail see L. Mavromatis, *La foundation de l'empire Serbe. Le Kralj Milutin*, Thessaloniki 1978; J. V. A. Fine, *The late medieval Balkans. A critical survey from the late twelfth century to the Ottoman conquest*, Ann Arbor 1994, pp. 217-227, 255-267, 270-275, 286-291; G. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331-1355) and his successors*, Washington D.C. 1984, pp. 31ff.; Lj. Maksimović, «Η βυζαντινή Μακεδονία στην πολιτική της μεσαιωνικής Σερβίας», *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 85B (2010) 261-285.

the rank of Patriarch.<sup>28</sup>

In the same way, Bulgaria, during the reign of Ivan-Alexander (1331-1371) enjoyed its last great period of political vitality. The Bulgarian ruler normalized relations with Serbia, created a powerful alliance with Besarab, the Voevod of Wallachia, and attempted to benefit from the civil war which was raging in Byzantium by temporarily annexing a large portion of north-western Thrace.<sup>29</sup> In about 1344, Ivan-Alexander was declared ‘tsar and autocrat of all the Bulgarians and Greeks’ – a title which we encounter in manuscripts commissioned by him and also in his proclamations, such as the ‘edict of Orjahovo’, which was published in December 1348.<sup>30</sup>

In Serbia, particularly in the time of Milutin and Dušan, the strengthening of the position of the ruler was accompanied by the adoption of elements of Byzantine political ideology, Byzantine ritual, Byzantine titles as well as the Byzantine political, administrative and legal system.<sup>31</sup> And in Bulgaria, too, there was obvious imitation of Byzantine political and ideological models. In the famous, illuminated ‘Tetraevangelion’ from 1356, which was created on the order of the ruler himself in the scriptorium of either Tărnovo or the Monastery of Zographou on the Holy Mountain, Ivan-Alexander is depicted in five miniatures as in Byzantine prototypes, in full imperial regalia, standing on a purple cushion with a double-headed eagle embroidered on it in gold.<sup>32</sup>

28. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium*, pp. 72-80; A. Papageorgiou, «Οι Σέρβοι και η Σερβία κατά τους μέσους χρόνους», in: Sophoulis – Papageorgiou (eds.), *Μεσαιωνικός σλαβικός κόσμος*, p. 173, with all the relevant bibliography.

29. I. Božilov – V. Gjuzelev, *Istorija na Bălgarija vi tri toma*, vol. 1: *Istorija na srednovekovna Bălgarija, VII-XIV vek*, Sofija 1999, pp. 584-607, 608-609; Fine, *Late medieval Balkans*, pp. 325-326, 367-368; P. Sophoulis, «Η μεσαιωνική Βουλγαρία», in: Sophoulis – Papageorgiou (eds.), *Μεσαιωνικός σλαβικός κόσμος*, pp. 98-99.

30. Božilov – Gjuzelev, *Istorija na Bălgarija*, pp. 608-609. On the ‘edict of Orjahovo’, see. G. A. Ilinski (ed.), *Gramoti bolgarskih carej*, Moskva 1911, pp. 24-26.

31. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 252, 254-255; B. Ferjančić – S. Ćirković, *Stefan Dušan, kralj i car 1331-1355*, Beograd 2005; Sp. Troianos – S. Šaćić, «Ο κώδικας του Στέφανου Δουσάν και το βυζαντινό δίκαιο», in: *Βυζάντιο και Σερβία κατά τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα*, Athens 1996, pp. 230-247.

32. L. Živkova, *Četveroevangelieto na car Ivam Alexandăr*, Sofia 1980; V. D. Lihačeva, «Rol’ vizantijskoj rukopisi XI v. kak obrazca dlja bolgarskogo tak nazyvemoego londonskogo evangelija Ivana-Aleksandra XIV v.», *Vizantiiskij Vremennik* 46



There are also five portraits of the Bulgarian ruler or members of his family in an illuminated manuscript of the *Synopsis chronike* of Constantine Manasses in the Vatican (vat. Slav. 2). In one of these, the divine origin of the authority of Ivan-Alexander is symbolized in the figure of Christ on his right and a flying angel who is placing a crown on his imperial diadem.<sup>33</sup> Of interest is the fact that of the total of sixty-nine miniatures in the Vatican codex, only twenty-one are dedicated to purely Bulgarian matters. The other forty-eight, which most probably derive from a lost Greek, illuminated manuscript of Manasses, draw upon Byzantine history for their subject matter.<sup>34</sup> What can this mean? Perhaps that Ivan-Alexander, who, as we have seen, styled himself ‘tsar and autocrat of all the Bulgarians and Greeks’, did not wish to separate the history of the two empires. He considered the Bulgar state to be an unbroken continuation of the Roman empire. It would seem, however, that his vision for a universal Christian commonwealth was now centred on Veliko Tŕrnovo, the New Constantinople, and not the Byzantine capital. This view is stated clearly in the Slavonic translation of Manasses, where there are nineteen additions with elements from Bulgarian history.<sup>35</sup> Apart from the additions, the translator also made other changes to the text, the most important being that, in the

(1986) 175ff. (arguing that the ‘Tetraevangelion’ was produced at Tŕrnovo); I. Talev, *Bŕlgarski “predrenesans”*. *Mitove i realnost*, Sofija 2005, p. 137 (claiming that it was painted on the Holy Mountain).

33. I. Dujčev, *Miniatjurite na Manasievata letopis*, Sofija 1962 (= English translation entitled: *The miniatures of the Chronicle of Manasse*, Sofia 1963); I. Božilov, «Vatikanskiat Manasii (Cod. Vat. Slavo 2). Tekst i miniatjuri», *Problemi na izkustvoto* (1996/2) 3-12; T. Velmans, «La Chronique illustrée de Constantin Manassès. Particularités de l’iconographie et du style», in: *Byzance, les slaves et l’Occident. Études sur l’art paléochrétien et medieval*, London 2001, pp. 175-229; I. Spatharakis, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts*, Leiden 1976, pp. 160-165.

34. Dujčev, *The miniatures*, p. 127; E. N. Boeck, «Displacing Byzantium, disgracing convention: The manuscript patronage of Tsar Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria», *Manuscripta* 51/2 (2007) 181-208, esp. 206-207.

35. For eighteen of these textual additions of Bulgarian history, the translator used red ink (the rest of the text is written in brown), clearly in order to distinguish them from events relating to the history of the Byzantine empire; Nikolova, «Hronika na Konstantin Manasij», p. 502; K. Nichoritis, «Πτυχές βυζαντινής επίδρασης στην ιστορική σκέψη των Βουλγάρων (9ος-14ος αι.)», in: *Οι Άγιοι Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος*, Thessaloniki 2000, p. 149.

passage where the theory of the ‘renewal of the empire’ (*renovatio imperii*) is being developed, the name of Manuel Komnenos (in whose reign Manasses composed his work) is replaced with that of Ivan-Alexander, while the place of Constantinople (‘New Rome’ in the original), is given to Târnovo.<sup>36</sup>

Clearly, the Bulgarian ruler wished to use Byzantine historiography as an ideological tool, as a means of assimilating the Byzantine past and the Roman imperial tradition in order to promote his personal and ecumenical ambitions. But why choose the Chronicle of Manasses specifically? According to one view, a significant role was played by the fact that the original work had been sponsored by the imperial court.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, it is well-known that Manasses was included in the narrow circle of scholars who surrounded the wife of the second son of the emperor John II Komnenos, the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, one of the most important personalities in the sphere of the protection of literature in the Komnenian age.<sup>38</sup>

In a similar fashion, the Serbian edition of the Slavonic translation of the *Epitome historion* by John Zonaras is perhaps linked to the imperial ambitions of Stefan Dušan.<sup>39</sup> It is indicative that in the Slavonic text, the Serbs appear on the historical stage as early as antiquity, replacing the Dacians, to whom the Byzantine author referred, while of particular interest is the fact that Licinius, who was emperor from 308 until 324 and was brother-in-law to Constantine the Great, was called a ‘Serb’, because he was born in the province of Upper Moesia, that is, lands which later came to belong to the Serbian kingdom.<sup>40</sup> A

36. I. Božilov, *Stara bālgarska literatura*, vol. 3: *Istoričeski sāčinenija*, Sofija 1983, pp. 214-241; M. Kaimakamova (ed.), *Bālgarskata kratka hronika v srednobālgarskija prevod na Manasievata hronika*, vol. 1: *Tekst, prevod, komentar*, Sofija 1983, pp. 178-183.

37. Boeck, «Displacing Byzantium», p. 202; Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, p. 419.

38. W. Treadgold, *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York 2013, pp. 399-400. On Manasses and his work in general, see. A. Karpozilos, *Božantivoi Istorikoi kai Xronoygāfoi*, vol. 3: (11os – 12os ai.), Athens 2009, pp. 535-557. On Eirene, see E. Jeffreys, «The sebastokratorissa Eirene as literary patroness: The monk Iakovos», *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/3 (1982) 63-71.

39. V. Kadanovskij, «Iz srbsko-slovenskoga prievoda bizantinskoga ljetopisa Joanna Zonare», *Starine* 14 (1882) 125-172, here p. 125.

40. Weingart, *Byzantske kroniky*, vol. 1, p. 120; Petrova, «Hamartolos or Zonaras»,

new genealogy was thus constructed at the Serbian court in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, which linked the Nemanjid dynasty to Roman emperors, and, in particular, to Constantine the Great. The relationship of descent was also reproduced in what are known as the *rodoslovi*, the genealogies of the Serbian rulers which were composed mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, it was not only powerful Balkan rulers dreaming of the creation of a Byzantine-Slav universal empire who were behind the translations of Byzantine Chronicles in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The translators of these works were almost exclusively monks;<sup>42</sup> thus undoubtedly the Christian nature of the Chronicles would have reflected their personal world-view. As noted above, the aim of the chronographers was to demonstrate the role played by the Byzantine empire in the salvation of the human race. In their works, they narrate the history of humankind in which the Bible (in particular the Old Testament) provided a universal perspective on the one hand, and, on the other, a soteriological, Christological interpretation of events. History as it unfolds in the Chronicles, then, is of a clearly instructive (in certain cases even a moral) nature. It is entirely in harmony with the Christian religion and reflects the Christian historical viewpoint.<sup>43</sup>

Of the Byzantine Chronicles translated at that time, the most popular in the Southern Slav monastics circles was undoubtedly the *Chronikon syntomon* of George the Monk. Although it had been translated in Bulgaria in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, a new translation was made, probably in Bulgaria again.<sup>44</sup> Eight co-

pp. 411-412.

41. L. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, Sr. Karlovci 1927, pp. xviii, 45; B. Krsmanović – N. Radošević, «Legendarne genealogije vizantijskih careva i njihovih porodica», *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 41 (2004) 71-98, here 92-93. On the *rodoslovi* in general, see. G. Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865-1459*, München 2000<sup>2</sup>, pp. 490-493.

42. See, among others, Dujčev, *The miniatures*, p. 23; V. Gjuzelev, *Bulgarien zwischen Orient und Okzident. Die Grundlagen seiner geistigen Kultur vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1993, pp. 192ff.; Todorov, «Monks and history», pp. 154-156.

43. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, pp. 258-264.

44. Istrin, *Hronika Georgija Amartola*; Božilov, *Stara bālgarska literatura*, pp. 123-151, 389.

dices survive today from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, all of them the result of Serbian editing.<sup>45</sup> Two of these come from the Hilandar Monastery (Athon. Hilar. 318 and Mosk. Sinod. sobr. 148), where it is certain that more were produced. In its Greek version, the Chronicle sets forth events from the beginning of the world up to 842 A.D., though in some manuscripts the narrative continues (either independently or as a continuation of that of George the Monk) as far as the 11<sup>th</sup> or even the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>46</sup> In some codices, the Slavonic translation extends to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, since various Serbian historical narratives are also incorporated in it (e.g. *Žitija i žiteljstva kraljeva i careva srpskih*).<sup>47</sup>

Although fundamentally a history, the work of George the Monk focuses on theological issues. The most thorough and lively of his narrations concerns the period of iconoclasm, of which, of course, he was an opponent.<sup>48</sup> The popularity of this particular Chronicle in the Slavonic world should therefore be attributed to his special interest in ecclesiastical history and his passionate rhetoric against iconoclasm, Islam and heretics in general. The attempt to spread Bogomilism to the Holy Mountain (relevant details are provided in the *Life of Saint Teodosij Tarnovskij*),<sup>49</sup> the increased force of the heresy itself in extensive areas of the Serbian realm (e.g. in Macedonia and Bosnia), as well as the threat from Islam with the establishment of the Ottomans in the Balkans (from 1360), all made the Chronicle of George the Monk an exceptionally topical work at a time when the Serbian monks in the Hilandar Monastery were

45. On the eight codices, see Turilov, «K istorii», p. 134. The ninth in Turilov's list (Slav. 321 of the Romanian Academy of Sciences) contains the Slavonic translation of Zonaras, not that of George the Monk; on this see Petrova, «Hamartolos or Zonaras».

46. Karpozilos, *Bvčavtinoi Istorikoí kai Xpovoyráfoi*, vol. 2, p. 229.

47. D. Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*, Beograd 1980, p. 210; Ć. Trifunović, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova*, Beograd 1974, pp. 337-341.

48. Karpozilos, *Bvčavtinoi Istorikoí kai Xpovoyráfoi*, vol. 2, pp. 223-225, 227.

49. V. Zlatarski (ed.), «Žitie i žizn' prepodobnogo otca našego Feodosija», *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija nauka i knižnina* 20 (1904) 1-41; Kl. Ivanova, *Stara bălgarska literatura*, vol. 4: *Žitiepisni, tvorbi*, Sofija 1986, pp. 443-468; J. Hamilton – B. Hamilton, *Christian dualist heresies in the Byzantine world c. 650-c.1450: Selected sources*, Manchester 1998, pp. 52-53, 283-284. It should be noted that the Holy Mountain was under Serbian suzerainty from 1345 to 1371.

editing and reproducing its translation into Slavonic.

In conclusion, and with a view to incorporating the activities of these translators into a more general historical and cultural framework, we ought to note that in the turbulent world of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Balkans, where, as Dimitri Obolensky aptly points out, there was an intense feeling that real culture was on the wane, that Orthodox faith was under threat from heresy, and that the Christian commonwealth was on the threshold of political collapse,<sup>50</sup> Slav intellectuals, many of whom belonged to the hesychast movement,<sup>51</sup> placed their hopes for a moral and political revival on a wider attempt at reform; this reform began with the language (in particular from the linguistic reform of Patriarch Euthymios of Tărnovo)<sup>52</sup> and is associated with a more general shift towards antiquity, towards an idealized past, which was represented in particular by the Cyrillo-methodian tradition.<sup>53</sup> The restoration and preservation of this heritage was the most fundamental pillar of the reform-movement. However, the desire to return to the Byzantine, Cyrillo-methodian past also created a Slav counterpart,<sup>54</sup> in imitation: Slav scholars also shifted their attention towards their own antiquity, which they attempted to bring to the fore –in part through the translation of Chronicles. They thus contributed to a new historical awareness which, among other things, is reflected in the conviction of rulers (and

50. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 339.

51. See among others I. Evangelou, *Ο Ησυχασμός στον κόσμο των νοτίων Σλάβων τον ΙΔ΄ αιώνα. Επιδράσεις στον πνευματικό, εκκλησιαστικό και πολιτικό τους βίο*, Thessaloniki 2010; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 301-305.

52. The linguistic reform of Patriarch Euthymios of Tărnovo (1375-1393) was aimed at restoring unity between the spoken and written word, at removing grammatical errors caused by the gulf between the oral and written language and at correcting mistakes in translation. In particular, Euthymios wanted to lay the foundations for a new spelling system, based on that of Cyril and Methodius, and to revisit older translation of –mainly liturgical– works to compare them with the Greek original. For more on this, see I. Evangelou, *Γλωσσικές και εκκλησιαστικές μεταρρυθμίσεις στη Βουλγαρία του 14ου αιώνα. Η συμβολή του Πατριάρχη Τυρνόβου Ευθυμίου*, Thessaloniki 2002, pp. 85-119; P. Dinekov, *Evtimij Tărnovski*, in: V. Velčev – E. Georgiev (eds.), *Istori-ja na bălgarskata literatura*, Sofija 1963, pp. 285-307.

53. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 338-340.

54. A.-E. Tachiaos, «Η πνευματική κληρονομία του Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου στους Σλάβους», in: *Μακεδονία – Θεσσαλονίκη. Αφιέρωμα τεσσαρακονταετηρίδος*, Thessaloniki 1980, pp. 165-188.

of those in general who shaped state ideologies in Bulgaria, Serbia and later Russia), that their countries were destined to assume the political heritage of the Byzantine empire.







# MODERN HISTORY OF NITRA CITY (SLOVAKIA) IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN LEGACY

*Peter Ivanič – Martin Hetényi (Nitra)*

## Introduction

**D**espite its diversity, the history of Slovakia and other Slavic nations shows many common characteristics. One of the key moments that defined the historical development of the Slavic world is the numerous works by Constantine and Methodius and their disciples. Constantine and Methodius are undoubtedly two great personalities of European culture, science, politics, and diplomacy. The mission of the Byzantine brothers in Great Moravia represented a profound historical landmark in relation to the development of education, literature, and spreading of Christianity in Central Europe. For Slovakia, and Nitra in particular, the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage is a fixed point providing solid ground in the search of our “identification code” within the context of integrated Europe.

A tradition can be viewed as a part of the culture that has an important role in affirming the continuity of a historically formed community, by passing on a complex of information and experience.<sup>1</sup> One of the efficient elements of the community self-definition is the cultural legacy of ancestors. The cultural

1. KREJČÍ, Marek. Dědicové národních tradic? K reinterpretacím uměleckých tradic v padesátých letech. In: SKLENÁŘOVÁ, Sylva (Editor). *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století II*. Ústí nad Orlicí : Oftis, 2007, pp. 108 – 116.

value cultivation of the Great Moravian figures in the religious, national, and cultural life of the Slovaks started already during the national revival<sup>2</sup> and flourished in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the cultivation and spreading of the cultural heritage of Constantine and Methodius in Slovakia has not been continual and was characterized by a certain instrumentalization. This is mainly due to political and historical circumstances, which resulted in preferring other cults and cultural traditions with significant regional variations.

In the historical context, the city of Nitra is typically given the attributes such as “ancient”, “magnificent”, “mother of Slovak towns”, “cradle of Christianity and culture”, all of which are grounded. Archaeological research shows that Nitra was an important power center as early as in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> In the coming decades, the city became a principality – the first famous prince was Pribina. Around 828, this ruler invited Adalram, Archbishop of Salzburg, to consecrate the first Christian church in Central Europe.<sup>4</sup> In the geopolitical and cultural context, Nitra had an important status also during the Great Moravian times: it was the seat of a prince. This center also played an important role after the arrival of the Byzantine mission to Great Moravia, which is also evident from the promotion of the city as a seat of the new Nitra bishopric by Pope John VIII (880).

The stay of the world-class thinkers, Sts. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, in the heart of Europe was certainly not random: it was meant to be the next stop on their multidimensional mission. Fate, however, arranged the circumstances in a way that their mission to the Rastislav’s court was their last, and it was of great significance not only for the Byzantine deputation, but also for the overall development of the Great Moravian Empire and the Slavic world. The great teachers left their traces not only in the creation of the new alphabet, but also in the translations of key literary works, production of their

2. TIBENSKÝ, Ján. Funkcia cyrilometodskej a veľkomoravskej tradície v ideológii slovenskej národnosti. In: *Historický časopis*, 1992, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 579 – 594.

3. LUKAČKA, Ján. Byzantská misia a Nitra. In: SIKÁ, Pavol (Editor). *Dedičstvo sv. Cyrila a sv. Metoda v slovenskej a bulharskej kultúre*. Nitra – Bratislava : Nitrianska štátna galéria – Národné osvetové centrum Bratislava, 1996, p. 20.

4. State Archives (hereinafter SA) in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Pribina Collection.

own literary creations, the Slavic liturgy and clear proclamation of the Gospel, establishment of schools, preparation of the priesthood and formation of a separate archbishopric.

After Methodius's death in 885, the clergy, promoting Latin liturgy and lead by Wiching, bishop of Nitra, opposed the disciples. Moreover, Wiching's followers won the decisive support of king Svätopluk. The disciples were exiled from Great Moravia. In the centuries to come, their works paved the way for the political and historical development of the Slavic nations mainly in South and East Europe. After the disintegration of Great Moravia, a place where the Thessalonian brothers spent the most fruitful period of their lives, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was on a decline. Great Moravia was certainly not abandoned by all the disciples of the Cyrillo-Methodian school. The clergy and common believers did not totally renounce the fruit of the Byzantine mission in the fields of religion, thought, and action.<sup>5</sup> However, after Methodius's death, Latin was reintroduced as a liturgical language in Great Moravia<sup>6</sup> and when the Hungarian Kingdom was formed, the Latin cultural and religious course even strengthened and was pushing Slavonic language out.

### **Cyrillo-Methodian heritage and Nitra after the fall of Great Moravia**

After establishing the Hungarian Kingdom, the relations of the local church representatives towards the Methodius's followers weakened significantly. By the end of the 10 century, there was again pressure aimed at eradicating the residues of their activities and influence. The Cyrillo-Methodian cult was quite quickly replaced with the cult of Hungarian saint rulers and the saints of

5. MARSINA, Richard. Cyrilometodská tradícia na Slovensku. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia V*. Trnava: Katedra histórie Filozofickej fakulty Trnavskej univerzity, 2004, p. 27.

6. In the territory of Nitra, where Wiching operated for longer time, one can hardly expect the development and continuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian liturgy. MULÍK, Peter. Ideologické interpretácie cyrilo-metodskej tradície v slovenských dejinách. In: *Kirilo-metodievski studii. Kniga 20*. Sofia : Kirilo-metodievski naučen centr – Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2011, p. 207.

the Nitra Diocese (Sts. Svorad and St. Benedict). The Cyrillo-Methodian literary tradition came to a standstill and the application of liturgical habits introduced by the holy brothers was disrupted for a long period of time. However, their work survived many generations in the universal spiritual context – in the lives of nobility of Slavic origin, as well as the common people. The Slavic-Slovak continuity manifested itself in the area of spoken language and folklore and it did not disappear completely from the religious life either (mainly in its non-liturgical contexts).<sup>7</sup> There are opinions that even after banning the Slavic liturgical language, the liturgy introduced by Constantine and Methodius was preserved in some of the monasteries, the Benedictine monastery on Mt. Zobor being the most important one.<sup>8</sup>

In the coming centuries, the territory of the Hungarian Empire was affected by various raids of enemy armies. The raids took their toll: the whole cities and their cultural, educational, and sacral institutions with their documents were destroyed. The absence of historical sources like missals or antiphonaries resulted in preserving no data from before the 14<sup>th</sup> century, e.g. on the veneration of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. It is only in the calendars in the medieval codes from Spiš and Bratislava from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries that the names of these two saints are mentioned in connection with their feast on March 9<sup>th</sup>. As some researchers suggest, the mentions in the mass books and breviaries from this period are not sufficient evidence of the continuity of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Slovakia: their Czech provenience proves that this cult was spread by the Glagolitic monks from the Benedictine Emmaus monastery in Prague.<sup>9</sup> The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition is also connected to the sanctification of sacral buildings to St. Clement, i.e. the Pope, whose relics

7. BOTÍK, Ján. *Etnická história Slovenska. K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2007, p. 40. See also e.g. FEDOR, Michal. *Spolupatróni Európy. Ich odkaz na Slovensku*. Michalovce: Spolok sv. Cyrila a Metoda, 1990.

8. VRAGAŠ, Štefan. *Cyrlometodské dedičstvo v náboženskom, národnom a kultúrnom živote Slovákov*. Zürich – Toronto – Bratislava : Zahraničná Matica slovenská – Lúč, 1991, p. 55.

9. For more information, see MULÍK, Peter. Ideologické interpretácie cyrilo-metodskej tradície v slovenských dejinách. In: *Slavica Slovaca*, 2009, vol. 44, no. 2, p. 98.

were transported to Rome by the Thessalonian brothers. This kind of patronage of churches in the medieval times occurred in Močenok and Veľký Kýr, as well as at other places.<sup>10</sup>

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the reverence for Sts. Cyril and Methodius is documented much more frequently in the written sources of almost all Slavic nations. The holy brothers were mentioned mainly in historical and liturgic sources, whereby the notions on their activities were harmonized in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> In the Hungarian Empire,<sup>12</sup> the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was mentioned for the first time by the Jesuit Melchior Inchofer in his *Church History of the Hungarian Kingdom* (1644).<sup>13</sup> There was also another written source that helped with practical spreading of the knowledge on the saints among the priests, teachers, and common believers. This was *Cantus Catholici*, i.e. a songbook of Catholic songs published in 1655, used universally in religious services in almost all Catholic parishes. Its author, Benedikt Szöllösi, spoke in detail about Sts. Cyril and Methodius as the evangelists of the Slovaks in the songbook preface.<sup>14</sup> A true revival of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in Slovakia can be traced back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century thanks to its clear and uninterrupted continuity.

It is commonly known that the whole era of the Slovak national revival was fueled by the development of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The brothers were mentioned in the works of Lutheran and Catholic scholars such as Daniel

10. MARSINA, Cyrilometodská tradícia, pp. 29 – 30.

11. As early as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Slovak scholars started to present Slovak history in such a way that they provided information from very early times. To its center, they placed the significant memorial to Great Moravian events and famous personalities, including Pribina or Svätopluk, as well as to the tradition of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. BOTÍK, ref. 77, 2007, p. 59.

12. A historian Peter Mulík reminds that in comparison with other traditions, to which various customs, liturgic, and paraliturgic relics were bound, in case of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, the apologetic ideology of Slovak elites is foregrounded and it emerges already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in a comprehensive form with the aim to support and shape their awakened historical awareness. MULÍK, Ideologické interpretácie, pp. 208. See also: ŽEŇUCH, Peter. *Medzi Východom a Západom. Byzantsko-slovanská tradícia, kultúra a jazyk na východnom Slovensku*. Bratislava : Veda, 2002, pp. 47.

13. INCHOFER, Melchior. *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariae*. Rome 1644.

14. SZÖLLÖSI, Benedikt. *Cantus Catholici*. Trnava 1655.

Sinapius-Horčíčka, Samuel Timon, Juraj Papánek, and Juraj Sklenár. The tradition (emphasizing its religious dimension) was also greatly developed by the followers of Anton Bernolák, mainly by Juraj Fándly. The national revivalists ignited common interest not only in literature, but also in folk songs. Vojtech Šimko, member of Slovak Scholarly Society (Slovenské učené tovarišstvo), popularized the hymn “Nitra, milá Nitra” (“Nitra, dear Nitra”), in which the “Slovak mother” receives clear attributes of the Cyrillo-Methodian ideology. This revivalist hymn, composed at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was sung by Štúr’s followers at Devín on April 24, 1836.<sup>15</sup> The song proves that the notion of Nitra as a symbol of Great Moravian history was already formed among the small patriotic circles and Nitra as a sacred city embodied the fate of not only Great Moravia, but also of the whole nation. The Romanticists paid much attention to the hymn and wrote many poems and newspaper articles about it.<sup>16</sup>

The eminent Lutheran scholars such as Ján Kollár and Pavol Jozef Šafárik highlighted the importance of the alphabet and codified language in the Slovak cultural heritage. It was mainly under the influence of literary works of the Catholic priest and poet Ján Hollý that the Cyrillo-Methodian cult was foregrounded – above all its national and governmental aspects – by the followers of Ľudovít Štúr. In 1842, Jozef Miloslav Hurban started publishing the *Nitra* Almanac and the very first issue contained a poem with Great Moravian theme called *Osudové Nitry* (The History of Nitra).<sup>17</sup> The images of magnificent Nitra could be seen by the visitors of theatrical performances in 1841 in Sobotište and a year later in Myjava.<sup>18</sup>

Followers of Ľudovít Štúr developed the national-identity interpretation of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition to level of civilization identity as a part of higher level of collective identity. Certain paradoxes related to the issue of con-

15. The song was first published by a poet Ján Kollár in the *Národné zpievanky* (1834, 1835) collection. In 1836, Karol Kuzmány published it in the periodical *Hronka*.

16. Dušan Škvarna says that singing this song at Devín was a traditional ritual. ŠKVARNA, Dušan. *Začiatky moderných slovenských symbolov. K vytváraniu národnej identity od konca 18. do polovice 19. storočia*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2004, pp. 19, 47, 49 – 50, 63.

17. VRAGAŠ, *Cyrlometodské dedičstvo*, pp. 72.

18. ŠKVARNA, *Začiatky moderných*, pp. 50.

fession are currently observed by Peter Mulík, historian of *Matica slovenská*. He claims that evangelic revivalists had put a great emphasis on cultural heritage of Byzantine mission (liturgical language, alphabet, education) and, as if deliberately, they were avoiding the ecclesiastical and religious nature and characters of the persons involved; thus the Byzantine mission indirectly obtained anti-Roman attitudes. *“Such interpretation convened not only to Slovak Protestants, but it was also accepted in the spirit of ecumenism as a nationwide consensus because the language became the priority of national identification in the Slovak political program... Slovaks, as a nation anchored in Western civilization for centuries, started to identify with culture of Slavic East. In the context of Slovak Protestantism, this paradox is doubled as the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in essence represented the reverence for saints, which they strictly refused because of doctrinal reasons. These trends played their role in forming of ideology of Panslavism and Russophilia among Slovak elite circles.”*<sup>19</sup>

Even the establishment of *Matica slovenská* in 1863 was connected to the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Byzantine mission arrival to Great Moravia. By reviving this tradition, it was possible not only to disseminate it among the Slovak people, but also to initiate a scholarly analysis of the Great Moravian era. The Cyrillo-Methodian cult could further develop.

Roman Catholic dioceses and their parishes did not participate equally in Cyrillo-Methodian commemorative events held in 1863; these events were more or less successful only in two dioceses in Northern Hungary. Several parishes belonging to the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nitra engaged in the memorial events during the jubilee significantly. The attempts to organize the millennial Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations directly in Nitra were approved neither by the Esztergom archbishop, nor by the Hungarian authorities. A well-known Slovak activist Jozef Viktorin was not successful either when trying to build a memorial of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the city.<sup>20</sup> Considering the vicinity of Nitra, priest Dr. Matej Šteffány is worth mentioning: he initiated the con-

19. MULÍK, Ideologické interpretácie, pp. 212–213.

20. VRAGAŠ, *Cyrlometodské dedičstvo*, pp. 80 – 81. For more information, see ŠKVARNA, *Začiatky moderných*, p. 112.



struction of a new side altar dedicated to “1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Slavdom baptism” in his parish Church of St. Francis Xavier in Dražovce (today a part of Nitra). Statues of Sts. Cyril and Methodius were also placed on the richly decorated altar by a carver from Nitra Andrej Keck. The historical press informs us that during its consecration ceremony on December 31, 1863, the priest preached on the “1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Christianity”.<sup>21</sup>

Over the centuries, a number of days in the calendar were dedicated to Sts. Cyril and Methodius’s celebrations. In the Catholic Church, the date has changed a couple of times. The eldest documents from mid-14<sup>th</sup> century from Czechia mention the anniversary celebrations on March 9. On the request of Maria Theresa, Pope Pius VI issued a bull in 1777, authorizing the celebrations in all countries belonging to the Habsburg Monarchy on March 14. In 1864, the Bishop of Banská Bystrica and head of Matica slovenská Štefan Mojzes, along with the Croatian and Czech bishops, asked the Holy See to move the annual liturgical celebrations of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in all Slavic countries to July 5.<sup>22</sup> The encyclical *Grande munus* from 1880 was another impetus: Pope Lev XIII highlighted the merits of the brothers and ordered their anniversary to be celebrated on July 5 in the whole Church, i.e. in the universal calendar all around the world. As the expression of gratitude, the Slavic and Slovak pilgrimage to Rome was held in July 1881.

Prominent philologists from evangelical part of national movement Svetozár Hurban Vajanský, Jozef Škultéty, and an attorney from Nitra Pavel Valášek participated in another commemorative event held beyond the borders of the monarchy – in the celebrations of the 1000<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Methodius’s death in Kiev on April 21, 1885.<sup>23</sup> It has to be added that the Orthodox Church, pres-

21. Cirkevný vestník. In: *Cyril a Metod. Katolicke noviny pre cirkev, dom a školu*, 21. 1. 1864, p. 21. Currently, the statues of Sts. Cyril and Methodius are not placed on this altar.

22. The move of the celebrations was not homogenous in the individual northern Hungarian dioceses. ZUBKO, Peter. Cyrilometodský kult v Košickej a Spišskej diecéze v cirkevno-liturgickom kontexte 19. storočia. In: *Kirilo-metodievski studii. Kniga 20*. Sofia : Kirilo-metodievski naučen centr – Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2011, p. 237.

23. MULÍK, Ideologické interpretácie, p. 215.

ent mainly in Eastern Slovakia, celebrates the Day of Sts. Cyril and Methodius on May 11, i.e. on the day when, according to tradition, the Thessalonian brothers arrived in Great Moravia.

Even during the Hungarian Kingdom era, Nitra maintained the position of an important political and Church center<sup>24</sup> and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its picture gained a stable and stereotyped form in the revivalist circles. As one of the few Slovak cities, Nitra maintained a continuous Church and administrative development up until the modern times. This is why the reminiscence of the past – along with the times of Great Moravia – reverberates also in the present. Its most prominent representatives are the princes Pribina and Svätopluk and the Byzantine missionaries Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.<sup>25</sup>

Nitra belonged to the church legal jurisdiction of the Roman Curia practically from the very beginning of Christianity on our territory, whereby the Latin rite dominated the liturgy, as well as the presence of numerous non-Slavic elites (until 1918 when the multinational Hungary came to an end) – this all resulted in the cultural heritage of the Thessalonian brothers to begin to flourish as late as the national revival. Despite all the activities of Bernolák's followers, as well as other groups or generations of seminarians supported by the local church dignitaries, the Slovak movement was rather indistinctive. Further development was marked by several different political systems with interruptions of the cult. Before 1918, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition could not have been cultivated, as it bore dangerous Slavism. It was frequently rejected on the religious level by the authorities of Hungarian Church – there is information that the last Hungarian bishop in Nitra Viliam Batthyány refused to serve the masses when he beheld the statues of Cyril and Methodius in the church.<sup>26</sup> When the Austro-Hungarian Empire broke up in 1918, the attempts

24. For more information, see STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*. Budmerice : Veda – Rak, 2004.

25. In the Western Church, to which Nitra due to its confessional structure belongs, the day of the disciples of Sts. Cyril and Methodius – the so-called Seven Saints – was declared in Czechoslovakia as late as in 1971 as the St. Gorazd and Companions Day. ŠKOVIERA, *Svätí slovanskí sedmopočetníci*. Bratislava: Slovenský komitét slavistov – Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava, 2010, p. 41.

26. LIBA, Peter. Svätí v národnej kultúre. In: LIBA, Peter. *Prieniky do literatúry*

of Hungarian political elites to pursue their own policy of a single Hungarian nation came to an end, and so did the pressure on using Hungarian national symbols. However, it needs to be added that during the Hungarian monarchy era, at least Slovaks living abroad, where approximately a third of them lived in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, could freely and fruitfully cultivate the Cyrillo-Methodian reverence.<sup>27</sup>

History of Slovakia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is characteristic by frequent and significant changes. The formation of the liberal Czechoslovak Republic brought in new possibilities and symbolism. Religious adoration of the holy brothers became mundane; Slovaks viewed them as their national patrons and the Catholics started to eagerly celebrate their anniversary every July 5.<sup>28</sup> During the period between the wars, the city of Nitra highlighted itself by the ordination of the first Slovak bishops after the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: Marián Blaha for Banská Bystrica, Karol Kmeťko for Nitra and Ján Vojtaššák for Spiš. The revoked Hungarian bishops were replaced by them. The national ceremony, which was held on February 13, 1921, was marked by deep symbolism of the Methodius's seat and continuity of the Catholic Church in Slovakia. It manifested itself in the ceremonial grandiosity and other various ways, e.g. the papal nuncio Klement Micara greeted the new bishops as successors of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

Since 1927, the Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations were organized and held periodically (once per two years) at Devín castle, one of the major Great Moravian settlements; the nature of these celebrations was more and more transforming to political demonstrations of autonomists since the thirties of the last century. Another important commemorative event in the city's history was the national all-Slavic celebration held in 1933, known also as Pribinove slávnosti (Pribina Celebrations). There were many other events performed in order to support the celebrations and numerous publications were issued with focus

*a kultúry*. Nitra : Kulturologická spoločnosť, 2010, 303 pp.

27. VRAGAŠ, *Cyrlometodské dedičstvo*, p. 93.

28. This was regardless of the fact that the state – due to its declared ideology – vehemently supported the Hussite tradition (in Protestant circles) and the tradition of St. Wenceslaus, practiced in the Czech nation.

on the figure of Pribina, the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy, as well as on the long religious tradition among the Slovaks.<sup>29</sup> The 1100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Pribina's church consecration (in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many scholars believed that the church was consecrated in 833) was attended by hundreds of thousands of Slovaks. The course of the grand celebrations clearly showed the long-term division in the political circles regarding the viewpoint on the Great Moravian tradition. While the Czechoslovak government with its official state ideology of Czechoslovakism tried to point out that the celebrations were an example of a made-up unified Czechoslovak nation based on the historical brotherhood between the Czechs and Slovaks, the Slovak autonomist parties (mainly Hlinka's Slovak People's Party) preferred their own symbolic images of national emancipation (in this case the culturally older and nationally more authentic tradition of Pribina<sup>30</sup>), propagating autonomy of the Slovak nation. The celebrations also became a demonstration for the autonomy of Slovakia. The incidents culminated in a trial with 45 of their main participants, who were on December 14, 1935 granted presidential amnesty, which meant the end of their further criminal prosecution.<sup>31</sup>

In the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy, ideological platform for attempts to unify the Slovaks, Czechs and Moravians could be seen. However, it was not only the members of the unionist movement who sought their common heritage in it. Certain Slovak politics such as Vavro Šrobár or Milan Hodža considered the idea of connecting the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition to traditions of St.

29. E.g. HODÁL, Juraj. *Kostol kniežaťa Pribinu v Nitre*. Nitra : Výbor cirkevno-národných slávností, 1930; STANISLAV, Ján (Editor). *Ríša veľkomoravská. Sborník vedeckých prác*. Praha: Nakladateľ L. Mazáč, 1933; *Životy slovanských apoštolov*. Translation Ján Stanislav. Praha : Nakladateľ L. Mazáč, 1933; *Katolícke Slovensko 833 – 1933*. Trnava : Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1933; *Slnce nad Nitrou*. Trnava: Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1933; *Život Privinov. K 1100 ročným Privinovým slávnostiam v Nitre*. Nitra: Prípravná komisia Privinových slávností, 1933.

30. For more information, see e.g. MULÍK, Ideologické interpretácie, p. 216.

31. ZUBÁČKA, Ida. *Nitra za prvej Československej republiky*. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 1997, pp. 51 – 56. See also BARTLOVÁ, Alena. Využitie tradícií a jubilejných osláv v propagačnej politike HSĽS v prvej polovici 30. rokov 20. storočia. In: *Človek a spoločnosť*, 2004, vol. 7, no. 3. Available online: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/3-2004/08Bartlova.html>.

Wenceslaus or St. Adalbert of Prague. The declaration of these traditions had no practical impact for Slovaks.<sup>32</sup> Although Masaryk's national program based on the Hussite and Reformation traditions did not allow the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition to play significant role in the official – state structure of Czechoslovak history, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was actively being transferred to all the spheres of the social, religious, educational, and cultural life. From this point of view, the negation of Cyrillo-Methodian cult could not be successful in the majority of Slovaks. After many years of education regarding the significance of Cyrillo-Methodian mission, Slovaks adopted this cult during the interbellum period. From this viewpoint, the most significant organizations were Matica slovenská and Slovak League. Widening of knowledge related to Byzantine mission was supported by both education system and the scientific community in that period. Cyril and Methodius were also very inspiring theme for many artists of those times. In this period, a renowned artist Maximilián Schurmann worked in Nitra and left here a monumental work *Saint Cyril and Methodius* (the painting is placed in the residence of the Nitra bishop).

The period of the first Slovak Republic (1939 – 1945) was marked by national emancipation. At the turn of 1938 – 1939, the political situation in Czechoslovakia was marked by a huge international tension of power. The implementation of the Nazi plans resulted in breaking up of Czechoslovakia and the formation of a new Central European state. Historiography generally recognizes the period of the first Slovak Republic as the time of a dynamic development of cultural, educational, scientific, and sporting activities<sup>33</sup>, regardless of the fact that from the point of view of material support, this all was carried out mainly due to the unsustainable wartime boom and at the expense of the selected groups of citizens.<sup>34</sup>

32. MARSINA, Cyrilometodská tradícia, p. 34.

33. See e.g. KAMENEC, Ivan. *Slovenský štát*. Praha : Anomal, 1992, p. 99. LACKO, Martin. *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945*. Bratislava : Perfekt, 2008, pp. 159 – 162. FREMAL, Karol. Poznámky k činnosti Matice slovenskej v rokoch 1938 – 1954. In: MIČKO, Peter (Editor). *Historické špecifiká stredného Slovenska v rokoch 1938 – 1948*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2009, pp. 91 – 104.

34. PEKÁR, Martin. *Východné Slovensko 1939 – 1945*. Prešov : Prešovská univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2007, p. 152.

In this respect, the newly formed state made huge leaps in public education since its very beginnings. For example, in 1939 – 1940, the Central Education Committee organized a series of lectures which – according to the authors of the contemporary book *Päť rokov slovenského školstva 1939 – 1943* (*Five Years of the Slovak Educational System*; published in 1944) – had influence “on reorientation of one class of the nation and on the spiritual development of Slovakia in general”<sup>35</sup>. The lectures started as a part of national celebrations right after Jozef Tiso was elected president of the Slovak Republic. Therefore, it was not a coincidence that they included not only president’s life and the constitution – including a letter by Jozef Škultéty “Môj pozdrav prezidentovi” (“My Greetings to the President”) – but there were also lectures on Matúš Čák of Trenčín, as well as Pribina and Svätopluk.<sup>36</sup> In addition to it, between December 15, 1939 and April 15, 1940, the Ministry of Public Education organized courses on Slovak history led by all the teachers and professors. Their aim was to deepen the “a healthy nationalism, sense of belonging, national pride, and courage to defend the precious values” in people<sup>37</sup>.

The tradition of the Byzantine mission and its symbolism was celebrated in various manners by popularizing the topic on a massive scale. Nitra was rightly included among the major Slovak cultural centers, organizing nationwide events focused on the early history of the Slavic ethnicity. It was expected that the city also made its contribution toward legalizing the cult of the Thessalonian brothers. On April 16, 1939, the Nitra weekly *Svornosť* published a call to set one day in the calendar as a national holiday dedicated to Sts. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. The call also stated that each household, school and office must display their image and their statues were to be placed on the squares.<sup>38</sup>

The Slovak government proclaimed July 5 as a national holiday dedicated to the Thessalonian brothers; this date was set by the Catholic Church as

35. *Päť rokov slovenského školstva 1939 – 1943*. Bratislava : Štátne nakladateľstvo, 1944, p. 528.

36. *Päť rokov slovenského školstva 1939 – 1943*, p. 528.

37. *Päť rokov slovenského školstva 1939 – 1943*, pp. 528 – 529.

38. Zásväťme deň sv. Cyrila a Metoda. In: *Svornosť*, 16. 4. 1939, p. 1.

early as in 1880. In 1939, the anniversary celebrations were dedicated to the Slovaks living abroad. According to the historical press, all the preparations and celebrations were in the spirit of the motto “For our Slovak language all over the world”.<sup>39</sup> The first celebrations of the anniversary took place in several towns and cities. The Prime Minister Jozef Tiso attended the celebrations along with Eugen Filkorn, a member of parliament and the head of the Slovak Catholic Students Headquarters and with the general secretary of the Hlinka’s Slovak People’s Party Jozef Kirschbaum in Banská Bystrica, where about 30,000 people gathered. The manifestation also took place on Devín, attended by Alexander Mach. The Nitra celebrations were organized by Tido J. Gašpar, a senator and head of the governmental press department.<sup>40</sup> Symbolically, this day was also the inauguration of Karol Sidor, the new Slovak ambassador to the Vatican.<sup>41</sup>

The development of the cult of Sts. Cyril and Methodius was also aided by scientific and journalistic circles. To popularize the idea, various printed materials with their respective information goals played an important role in the process. Articles about the Thessalonian missionaries also kept appearing in local newspapers. In July 1939, on the occasion of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Day, the Catholic weekly periodical *Svornost’* issued their short biographies on the first page.<sup>42</sup> The connection between Nitra and the Thessalonian brothers can also be found in the articles published on the occasion of the bishop consecration of Andrej Škrábik on September 17, 1939.<sup>43</sup> In 1940, the Nitra region weekly periodical *Nitrianska stráž* published a series of articles “Kriesime starú svoju slávu” (“Bringing Our Old Glory Back to Life”), four of which were dedicated to the life of the Slavic apostles. Their content reveals that the unknown author was well-versed in the issue. The articles are written in a popular-scientific style with the quotations from the Life of Con-

39. 5. júl národným sviatkom. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, 2. 7. 1939, p. 1.

40. Slávný deň sv. Cyrila a Metoda na Slovensku. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, 9. 7. 1939, p. 1.

41. VRAGAŠ, *Cyrlometodské dedičstvo*, p. 95.

42. Sv. Cyril a Metod (5. júla). In: *Svornost’*, 9. 7. 1939, p. 1.

43. Cyrlometodejská Nitra víta nového biskupa. In: *Svornost’*, 17. 9. 1939, pp. 1 – 2.



stantine and Life of Methodius.<sup>44</sup> In one of his latest articles published before the end of the war in the monthly periodical *Kultúra* under the name “Svetlo z Nitry” (“The Light from Nitra”), the historian František Hrušovský describes Nitra as the cradle of Christianity in Slovakia and a missionary center for the neighboring countries.<sup>45</sup>

One of the focuses of the national policy was education and schooling. František Hrušovský was the author of history textbooks for national schools, high schools and teacher academies. His synthesis of Slovak history was a recommended teaching aid for high schools and teacher academies.<sup>46</sup> In his work, Great Moravia was presented as a Slovak state and the disciples of Constantine and Methodius as Slovak priests, exiled by the “strongest Slovak king” Svätopluk.<sup>47</sup> Education drew on the scientific development pursued by Matica slovenská, the National Institute of Archaeology, the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts etc. The Cyrillo-Methodian idea reverberated with such scientists as the aforementioned František Hrušovský, or Ján Stanislav and Daniel Rapant.

The year 1943 was also remarkable for commemorating of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Pribina Celebrations. The nationwide celebrations in Nitra on August 14 and 15, 1943, merged the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition on one hand and the tradition of Pribina on the other hand.<sup>48</sup> The celebrations focused mainly on the social, national, and religious dimensions. This was manifested

44. Kriesime starú svoju slávu. Sv. Cyril a Metod. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, vol. 20, no. 15, 7. 4. 1940, p. 2. Kriesime starú svoju slávu. Sv. Cyril a Metod. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, vol. 20, no. 16, 14. 4. 1940, p. 2. Kriesime starú svoju slávu. Sv. Cyril a Metod. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, vol. 20, no. 17, 21. 4. 1940, p. 2. Kriesime starú svoju slávu. Slovensko po páde Veľkej Moravy. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, vol. 20, no. 18, 28. 4. 1940, p. 2.

45. The article was written on the occasion of Karol Kmeťko being appointed an archbishop. BŔBOVÁ, Mária. PhDr. František Hrušovský. *Obraz rokov 1944 – 1945*. In: ŠMIGEL, Michal – MIČKO, Peter – SYRNÝ, Marek (Editors). *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov V. Slovenská republika medzi povstaním a zánikom 1944 – 1945*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2006, pp. 330 – 336.

46. *Päť rokov slovenského školstva 1939 – 1943*, pp. 143, 223 – 224.

47. HRUŠOVSKÝ, František. *Slovenské dejiny*. 5. ed. Turčiansky Sv. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1940, p. 51.

48. SA in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Obecný notársky úrad Nitra Collection (hereinafter C.), box 7, without no.

not only in the Pribina Football Cup,<sup>49</sup> organized by the Minister of Interior Alexander Mach and the head of the Nitra region Štefan Haššík, at the pitch of the AC Nitra, but also in a fact that a special cultural program took place in the city theater.<sup>50</sup> The following day started with a morning line-up and oath of the guardsmen on the Tiso Square, attended by the commander of the Hlinka Guard Alexander Mach. Then the holy mass took place on the Calvary (a bishop and military vicar Michal Buzalka celebrated a low mass and preached). The mass was followed by a public gathering on the Calvary opened by the regional head of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party Rudolf Turček. The president Jozef Tiso delivered a solemn speech. A part of the cultural program, including the gathering, was broadcasted by the Slovak Radio. The event was substantial, what was evident from the preparations of the guardsmen. The report by a chief of staff of the Hlinka Guard from August 10, 1943, informs that the celebrations were attended by about 500 guardsmen – all the district heads, the graduates from school in Bojnice, and a selected district unit. On this occasion, an accommodation list was created with the names, number of rooms, and the accommodation capacities.<sup>51</sup>

Such grand Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations were also planned for the next year and František Hrušovský was invited as well. However, the celebrations were canceled due to bombing.<sup>52</sup>

The substitution of street and institution names, “improper” statues, images, symbols, inscriptions etc. by new ones, including those depicting Sts. Cyril

49. The first Pribina Football Cup was held in 1933.

50. The evening special cultural program (on August 14) consisted of the following parts: 1. state anthem, 2. opening speech by the head of the local Hlinka's Slovak People's Party Organization Ján Rybárik, 3. a special lecture by a member of Parliament František Hrušovský, 4. two songs by Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský in the interpretation of Gusta Vyčislíková, 5. *the pieces* by Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský *Otčenáš* (Our Father), *Pieseň ku sv. Cyrilovi a Metodovi* (A Song to Sts. Cyril and Methodius), and *Bože, čoś ráčil* (God, what you have Condescended) performed by the choir of the Nitra local Hlinka's Slovak People's Party Organization, 6. Papal Anthem.

51. SA in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Obecný notársky úrad Nitra C., box 7. Accommodation list. For more on the tasks and activities of the Hlinka Guard, see SOKOLOVIČ, Pavol. *Hlinkova garda 1938 – 1945*. Bratislava : Ústav pamäti národa, 2009. 559 pp.

52. BÔBOVÁ, PhDr. František Hrušovský, pp. 330 – 336.

and Methodius, was a manifestation of mood shifts in the nation. The development of events in 1938 – 1939 in the area of Nitra was very dynamic as well.<sup>53</sup> Supporters of the new course energetically embraced the upcoming events – as early as on March 14 and 15, 1939, the Czechoslovak symbols were being ostentatiously disposed of (e.g. boards with the emblem of Czechoslovakia, the lion symbolizing the former state, etc.).<sup>54</sup> In 1940 – 1941, there were attempts to remove symbols with Hungarian emblems (including a lot of valuable works of art). They started after the State Security Headquarters was created and when Štefan Haššík became the head of the Nitra Region. Already in July 1942, the Nitra Bishop Karol Kmeťko voiced that such proceedings as assessing the saints according to their nationality may oppose the teaching of

53. The most prominent and most visible supporters of the new course were the radicals from the Hlinka Guard. Many offenses and incidents can be attributed to them. From the more significant ones, we can mention putting down the statue of the first Czechoslovak president Tomáš G. Masaryk in front of the judicial palace on December 22, 1938. Even the local authorities did not keep secret that Hlinka Guard members were the main suspects. It is only symbolical that the statue of a person who did not fit into the new context was consequently intended for an exchange or sale to a Czech town by the Nitra local government of the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party. SA Nitra, Štátny policajný úrad (ŠPÚ) Nitra, box 1, no. 4/1939. For more about the state administration changes in this period, see TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Kontinuita a diskontinuita fungovania okresného zriadenia na Slovensku v roku 1938 na príklade okresov Rožňava a Dobšiná. In: MERVART, Jan – ŠTĚPÁN, Jiří (Editors). *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století. Osudové osmičky v našich dějinách*. Hradec Králové : Univerzita Hradec Králové, 2008, pp. 139 – 148. TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Náčrt postavenia okresných úradov na Slovensku počas krajinského zriadenia (1928 – 1939). In: *Historica*, 2002, vol. 45, pp. 219 – 223. TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Okresná správa na Slovensku počas I. ČSR. In: *Historica*, 2005, vol. 46, pp. 147 – 185. TIŠLIAR, Pavol. K otázke organizácie a fungovania štátnej správy na Slovensku v rokoch 1938 – 1945. In: LACKO, M. (Editor): *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov II*. Trnava : M. Lacko vlastným nákladom, 2003, pp. 55 – 82.

54. Udalosti z týždňa. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, 19. 3. 1939, p. 2. In April 1939, the Hlinka's Slovak People's Party gave the Nitra local administration suggestions to rename some of the streets: at this time, the suggestions were mainly the names of personalities, dates, and organizations from modern history. The Štefánik Square changed to Hlinka Square, Masaryk Square to Štefánik Square, Čineš was renamed to the Hlinka Guard Street, October 28 Street was changed to October 6 Street, Sokolská Street was changed to March 14 Street, etc. On May 4, 1939, a memorial of Milan Rastislav Štefánik was erected on the place of the former Masaryk statue. Čo nového v Nitre. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, vol. 19, no. 17, 16. 4. 1939, p. 2.

the Church, and he stressed the need for protection of the cultural heritage.<sup>55</sup> Another resolute step in this field was the Ministry of Interior Regulation no. 315/1943 from July 9, 1943, on the removal of improper statues, pictures, etc.<sup>56</sup> In case it had been carried out thoroughly, the damage to the cultural and historical monuments would have been significant and hard to calculate.<sup>57</sup> In churches, these included mainly the statues of St. Stephen, St. Imrich, St. Ladislaus, various symbolic red-white-green flags, and the depictions of the Hungarian national emblem. The state authorities achieved only very rarely major success – apart from removing the flags, painting over the inscriptions in Hungarian, or moving the pictures and statues to remote locations.<sup>58</sup> The reaction of some priests to the actions of state authorities was extremely sharp. Their most common means of defense was stating that they were not allowed to carry out any changes without the consent of the Bishop's Office or the Monuments Board.<sup>59</sup> During the conference on October 13, 1943, the bishops

55. SA in Nitra, Nitrianska župa III C., box 59, no. 584 and 585/II-2/ŠB/1942 accessible.

56. In the end of 1941, the Ministry of Interior with the help of the police stations made a list of Hungarian inventory in churches (SA in Nitra, Oblastné žandárske veliteľstvo Nitra C., box 3, no. 367/1941 confidential.). Also the Ministry of Public Education requested on April 24, 1941, the bishop offices for the lists of foreign state symbols and inscriptions in the Slovak churches (SA in Bratislava, Bratislavská župa III C., box 51, no. 111/1944 accessible.). The regulation directions hint that these were mainly (e.g. in the Nitra district apart from the Jewish symbols) the Hungarian symbols: “... to ban and not allow in our territory any improper things (...), especially when these are of foreign spirit or hostile and incompatible with state sovereignty”; “... improper are e.g. the various depictions of St. Stephen's Crown, Freemason symbols, the Star of David...” These measures had to be carried out discretely and with the strict confidentiality. In September 1943, an advisory board was created at the Ministry of Interior, whose task was to carry out this regulation. It consisted of the representatives of the Ministries of Education and Interior, Matica slovenská, the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church, and the Lutheran Church (SA in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Okresný úrad Nitra C., box 58, no. D1-640/1944 accessible.).

57. E.g. in the Bratislava region, 22 churches and 3 other church buildings were affected to a varied extent; 16 churches (1 of them a Lutheran church) and 10 other sacral buildings in the Nitra district.

58. For example, we can mention a priest from Radošina who replaced the statues of St. Stephen and Ladislaus with the statues of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. SA in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Okresný úrad Nitra, box 58, no. D1-640/1944 accessible.

59. Vojtech Aništík, the dean of Nitrianske Hrnčiarovce, addressed his objections to a local police chief: “One should not look at the saints according to their nationality,

also discussed the removal of statues with the resolution that the statues and pictures may not be removed. They only allowed the possibility of changing or removing the foreign inscriptions and foreign national emblems. Since the difficulties with the implementation of the controversial regulation could not be kept secret and the state apparatus did not want to exasperate the Roman Catholic clergy, on November 15, 1943, the Ministry of Interior stopped all the administrative, criminal, and execution proceedings against Church property.<sup>60</sup>

*but one should see that they were canonized by the Church as saints. Especially the patron saints of the church may not be changed without the approval of the Holy Roman See.*“ Nitra parish priest Michal Boleček did not avoid even the financial issue: *“The new painting in the parish church would cost around 50,000 Ks. I kindly ask you to inform me, who would cover the expense...”*“ Mainly personal motives led the priest František Neubert from Výčapy-Opatovce to send a letter to the advisory board: *“In case this regulation is carried out, the priest would be suspected that the changes are done of his will... By carrying out this regulation, I would discredit myself at the very beginning of my ministry...”*“ The sharpest objections came from a priest in Jarok: *“The violent removal of such statues practically means denying the dogma on the reverence for the saints. In other words, this would be an apparent iconoclasm. This appeal (...) asks me as a priest and my faithful for an apparent apostasy and sacrilege. This is an obvious rape of the consciousness that is against the constitution which safeguards the freedom of religion for not only Jews and Lutherans, but also for the Catholics. ... We will not remove this statue (...); Slovaks (the locals – a note by the authors) took offence when on August 15 this year (during the celebrations of Constantine-Cyril, Methodius, and Pribina – a note by the authors) they heard the president’s speech, who – allegedly – spoke against the reverence for St. Stephen. They said to themselves: Leave the saints alone and instead deal with today’s Hungarians. Even the Czechs who do not believe did not do such things... Even the Catholic and priestly government tampers with the saints?! They have taken property from the Jews and they take the saints from the Catholics; they have driven the Jews away to Poland and they want to drive the Hungarian saints to Budapest. Is Mr. President still a priest when he allows this all? The Hungarian saints will be followed by the Czech saints and then all the others, including St. Joseph, Holy Mary, and Jesus, because they were Jews. Not a one saint will be left: Jánošík, because Cyril and Methodius were Greek, St. Benedict and Svorad were Polish, etc. ... the Bolsheviks keeps saying that even Stalin would not be worse than today’s rulers...”*“ SA in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Okresný úrad Nitra C., box 58, no. D1-640/1944 accessible.

60. However, the regulation directions still applied in relation to the private property in the form of non-religious objects and inscriptions that were successfully removed from many buildings without any major problems. SA in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Okresný úrad Nitra C., box 58, no. D1-640/1944 accessible. SA in Bratislava, Bratislavská

The change of the old symbols to the new ones quickly turned out to be a heavy burden to the state apparatus. A much simpler and easier way was to use the new symbols on the newly-built sacral buildings, new currency, stamps, medals etc. In 1943 in the village of Molnoš (Mlynárce) which is currently a part of Nitra, the Roman-Catholic parish priest Michal Boleček, together with the faithful from the parish, decided to build a church dedicated to the Thessalonian brothers. The project was prepared by a Nitra architect Otto Kapalla. In the same year, the Nitra bishop Karol Kmeťko blessed the church's foundation stone. The historical press informs us that even the threat of the approaching war conflict in 1945 did not discourage the believers from completing the new church – in January, the foundations were finished and building material was bought.<sup>61</sup> The war events did not stop the construction of the church: as early as in 1946, the building was roofed and in November of the same year, holy masses were celebrated here. The church was finally consecrated on the day of its patrons, July 5, 1947, by the Nitra bishop Eduard Nécsey.<sup>62</sup> In 1940, a statue of St. Cyril and Methodius (created already in 1936 by the academic sculptor František Gibala) was erected south of Nitra in the village of Branč, i.e. symbolically on the then border with Hungary. This way, the purchaser, Nitra mayor, wanted to express the inviolability of further territory.<sup>63</sup> In Nitra,

župa III Branch, box 51, no. 111/1944 accessible.

61. Nový cyrilometodský kostol v Molnoši. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, 28. 1. 1945, p. 1.

62. The relief above the main entrance was created by a sculptor František Gibala and the altar painting is by a painter and artist Edmund Massányi. BAGIN, Anton. *Cyrilometodské kostoly a kaplnky na Slovensku*. Trnava : Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1985, pp. 79 – 81. GÁLOVÁ, Valentína – GÁL, Jozef. *Kostoly a kaplnky na Slovensku, ktoré v názvoch a výzdobe pripomínajú cyrilometodskú tradíciu*. In: MICHALOV, Jozef – HETÉNYI, Martin – IVANIČ, Peter – TANESKI, Zvonko (Editors). *Význam kultúrneho dedičstva sv. Cyrila a Metoda pre Európu*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 2008, pp. 349 – 350.

63. GÁLOVÁ – GÁL, ref. 135, p. 355. Another sacral building construction in those years is connected with a priest Štefan Bitter from the village of Mojmirovce near Nitra, who in 1942 as a parish priest in Terchová started the construction of a church dedicated to the Thessalonian brothers. The building was projected by a well-known architect Milan Michal Harminc (1869 – 1964). In fall of 1944, the church walls were standing and plastered, and the building was covered with shingles. The interior decoration was completed after the front line passed. In the end, on October 8, 1949, the church was consecrated by the Nitra bishop Eduard Nécsey. CABADAJ, Pavol. *Ko-*

plans were underway to build a monument to king Svätopluk. On March 10, 1940, the weekly *Nitrianska stráž* published on its title page a public collection call, where Svätopluk was presented as a great builder of the Slovak nation and state in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> Upon its completion, there were also plans to commemorate Sts. Cyril and Methodius.<sup>65</sup>

After breakup of the Czechoslovak Republic, the cult of Sts. Cyril and Methodius could have gained an unlimited national character<sup>66</sup>, which was also reflected in the design of medals, Slovak coins, and bills.<sup>67</sup> A coin with the nominal value of 20 Sk, depicting the Thessalonian brothers, eventually got into general circulation. The coin with the nominal value of 10 Sk depicted Pribina building the first Christian church. Both coins used the designs by the sculptors Ladislav Majerský and František Štefunko.<sup>68</sup> The 1,000 Sk bill remained only at the proposal stage, with Pribina on the left and Svätopluk on the right of its head. Its author was a painter and artist Štefan Bednár.<sup>69</sup>

The end of the first Slovak Republic and the post-war restoration of Czechoslovakia, or, better said, the rule of communist dictatorship and atheist ideology (1948 – 1989), disrupted the adoration of the missionaries and their cultural heritage. The reverence for Sts. Cyril and Methodius and the religious

*stol sv. Cyrila a sv. Metoda. Terchová. Terchová : Obec Terchová, 1991, pp. 11 – 17.*

64. *Nitrianska stráž*, 10. 3. 1940, p. 1.

65. PAUČO, Jozef. I Svätopluk sa zaslúžil o slovenský štát. In: *Nitrianska stráž*, 7. 3. 1940, p. 1.

66. In the interbellum years, the representatives of the autonomist stream in the Slovak public life endorsed the tradition of Pribina, i.e. the pre-Great Moravian tradition, which was due to their opposition to the official state ideology that supported the historical brotherhood of Czechs and Slovaks derived from Great Moravia.

67. For more information, see PECNÍK, Marcel. Miesto cyrilometodského motívu v mincovnej, bankovkovej a medailárskej tvorbe na Slovensku. In: MICHALOV, Jozef – IVANIČ, Peter – HETÉNYI, Martin – TANESKI, Zvonko (Editor). *Poznávanie kultúrneho dedičstva sv. Cyrila a Metoda*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 2007, pp. 225 – 247. PECNÍK, Marcel. Peňažníctvo na Slovensku v rokoch 1939 – 1945. In: ŠMIGEL, Michal – MIČKO, Peter (Editor). *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov IV*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2005, pp. 64 – 73.

68. KOLNÍKOVÁ, Eva (Editor). *Kronika peňazí na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Fortuna Libri, 2009, p. 191.

69. KOLNÍKOVÁ, *Kronika peňazí*, p. 193.



life in general were in a sharp contradiction to the attitude of the governing party. Immediately after the end of hostilities, the celebrations at Devín were restored, but with a different character – the Panslavic day stressed especially the Slavic reciprocity. One of the reasons for the celebration of this tradition was the fact that it originated in the east and also carried an anti-German overtone.<sup>70</sup>

Since 1953, the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences has been located in Nitra and many of its activities included research on Great Moravian history. However, the research focused mainly on the material aspects and political-military development of the Great Moravian society as the beginnings of the common Czechoslovak state. This is also evidenced by the exhibition of archaeological finds from Great Moravia in 1963, i.e. in the 1100 jubilee of the coming of the Thessalonian brothers. This event took place in the context of gradual liberalization of the regime. Although the scientific research did not question the fact that Sts. Cyril and Methodius were missionaries, in accordance with the then trend it stressed mainly their cultural function.<sup>71</sup>

Relative relaxation of political climate in the 1960s led also to critical re-thinking of the contribution of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission on the part of historians. In the second half of the twentieth century, during the renewed efforts for emancipation of Slovaks in Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, some Slovak historians started expressing the Slovak right to federalization of the Republic on the basis of the dualism of Rastislav's and Svätopluk's realms

70. HUDEK, Adam. Cyrilo-metodská tradícia na Slovensku v 20. storočí. In: *Bratia, ktorí menili svet – Konštantín a Metod*, Bratislava – Nitra : Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologický ústav SAV 2012, p. 237. ŠKVARNA, Dušan – HUDEK, Adam. *Cyril a Metod v historickom vedomí a pamäti 19. a 20. storočia na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Historický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2013, p. 104.

71. As a result of this period, the spiritual issues and the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition were sidelined by the scientific research. The exceptions were the anthologies of studies issued by Spolok sv. Vojtecha in the Cyrillo-Methodian anniversary under the name *Apoštoli Slovienov (The Slavic Apostles*, Trnava 1963). On the occasion of the 1100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of St. Cyril's death and 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the existence of Spolok Sv. Vojtecha, an anthology *Dedičstvo otcov (The Heritage of the Fathers*, Trnava 1969) was published.

(Morava and Nitrava). As Peter Mulík rightly claims in his works, such conclusions have no support either in linguistics or ethnography.<sup>72</sup>

After the termination of the democratization processes of Prague Spring in 1968 and the following period, known as normalization in Czechoslovak history, the ruling regime stopped using the Great Moravian and Cyrillo-Methodian tradition to its favour, on the contrary, it started to consider it dangerous, as it became an important symbol to the underground Church and Catholic dissent.<sup>73</sup> The manifestations of the believers' will to fight for religious freedom, which could not be fully suppressed by the state, escalated in the second half of 1980s. A number of important religious events took place in the 1100 anniversary of Methodius's death. Their official permission was related to several foreign and domestic political factors (declaration of Perestrojka in the USSR, activities of Slavic pope, CSCE, etc.). The most significant event was the pilgrimage in the Moravian Velehrad on July 7, 1985, attended by thousands of Slovak believers. However, the communist regime did not allow the invited Pope to come.<sup>74</sup> The government, as a response to such events and developments, hosted an exhibition (in Nitra) on the results of archaeological research of the Great Moravian era (similar to the one in 1963) and a conference on the Czechoslovak state and Slavic culture.

Due to the unfavorable situation at home, the Cyrillo-Methodian idea and legacy moved abroad. The great strength of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius cult in Slovak emigrants is attested also by the number of Cyrillo-Methodian patronage of churches of Slovak communities in the USA, which is comparable to their number in the territory of Slovakia. Cyrillo-Methodian tributes on the part of exiles contributed to the weakening of communist power in Czechoslovakia.

It was only after 1989 and the fall of the communist dictatorship that the

72. On the other hand, he also talks about the northern tributaries of Danube and upper basin of Tisa were ethnically Slovak in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. MULÍK, *Ideologické interpretácie*, p. 216.

73. HUDEK, *Cyrilo-metodská tradícia*, p. 239.

74. Another Cyrillo-Methodian pilgrimage took place in a Slovak town of Levoča and a national pilgrimage took place in Šaštín (on September 15, 1985).

clear and undistorted image of the significance of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in science and in broader social contexts could be restored back to life. The legacy of Great Moravia and of the Byzantine mission drew attention to the scientific circles as well as broader groups of society. Literature focused not only on the material, but also on cultural, educational, and literary aspects of the Byzantine mission in Great Moravia and its impact on the development of other Slavic nations. Recently, a lot of attention has been paid to the religious context. Historiography is not only predominantly interested in the historical events from the Great Moravian era, but also the reminiscences of the Cyrillo-Methodian spiritual heritage with Slovak scholars from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The impact of the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy in various periods of Slovak history is presented in the monographs by Štefan Vragaš (from the beginnings to the end of the 1980s), Dušan Škvárna (from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century), and most recently by Andrej Škoviera (mostly the cult of the Seven Saints).<sup>75</sup> In 1992, a study by Ján Tibenský was published – it knowledgeably informs about the Slovak tradition of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and of Great Moravia.<sup>76</sup> Recently, a number of conferences dedicated to this issue have taken place in Nitra and other Slovak cities, producing several valuable anthologies.<sup>77</sup> Since 2000, the Nitra branch of the Slovak Writers' Society successfully issues a new Nitra, a cultural, literary, and journalistic almanac following the original Nitra Almanac published by Jozef Miloslav Hurban. There are also several notable historiographical publications marginally dealing with the Cyrillo-Methodian theme.<sup>78</sup> The en-

75. VRAGAŠ, *Cyrlometodské dedičstvo*. ŠKVARNÁ, *Začiatky moderných*. ŠKOVIERA, *Svätí slovanskí sedmopočetníci*.

76. TIBENSKÝ, *Funkcia cyrilometodskej*, pp. 579 – 594.

77. SIKÁ, Pavol (Editor). *Dedičstvo sv. Cyrila a sv. Metoda v slovenskej a bulharskej kultúre*. Nitra – Bratislava : Nitrianska štátna galéria – Národné osvetové centrum Bratislava, 1996. NEMCOVÁ, Emília – PÍŠOVÁ, Janka (Editors). *Cyrl a Metod. Slovensko a Európa*. Trnava : Univerzita sv. Cyrila a Metoda, 2007.

78. For example BAGIN, Anton. *Cyrlometodská tradícia u Slovákov*. Bratislava : SAP, 1993. SEDLÁK, Peter. *Christianizácia západných Slovanov s osobitným zreteľom na Slovensko*. Levoča : Polypress, s. r. o., 1999. KOREC, Ján Chryzostom. *O rehoľnom živote*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2004, p. 45 and 51. KOREC, Ján Chryzostom. *Tisíc rokov Slovenska s Cirkvou*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2004. JUDÁK, Viliam. *Nitrianske*

tries on Constantine and Methodius, as well as their disciples, are included in a representative publication on significant Nitra personalities from 1998.<sup>79</sup> The life of Methodius is also mentioned in a brief history of Nitra.<sup>80</sup> It is remarkable that the legacy of the Thessalonian brothers emerges in the prose by the contemporary young authors from Nitra.<sup>81</sup>

The period after 1989 is the time of strengthening the democracy and freedom of opinion and expression. The national and religious vitality, that had to be concealed until this year, could be revived. After the long period of preferring other saints (Hungary, the first Czechoslovak Republic) or ideology (communism), the human legacy of the Slavic apostles got to the well-deserved pedestal, which has been reflected in scientific literature, as well as in the lives of the citizens, including the people living in Nitra.

The period after 1989 is characteristic by anchoring of democratic freedoms, e.g. freedom of opinion. The national and religious vitality, which had to be kept in secret up to that year, was starting to be revived and construct of this national story was logically transferring into consciousness of broader social classes and to the interests of the majority of citizens. After the establishment of the Slovak Republic in 1993, the new Slovak political elite was trying to promote and support national identity as an instrument for legitimization of the new state. One of the features of democratization was the changes in the naming of various objects, buildings, institutions, streets, squares. The number of streets and squares named after the Thessalonian brothers and their disciples has increased after the revolution. The increment in quantity of artistic representations of personalities from our early history is undoubtedly a proof that the mood has changed. The local philatelic clubs also contributed on their parts and have been actively promoting this historical theme. Considering the multiethnicity of Slovakia, it is necessary to add that non-Slavic nationalities

*biskupstvo od čias Metodových*. Nitra : Gorazd n. f. Kňazský seminár sv. Gorazda pre Biskupský úrad v Nitre, 2006. BOTÍK, ref. 77.

79. PAŽITNÝ, Anton (Editor). *Významné osobnosti Nitry*. Nitra : Mesto Nitra, 1998.

80. FUSEK, Gabriel – ZEMENE, Marián R. (Editors). *Dejiny Nitry. Od najstarších čias po súčasnosť*. Nitra : Mesto Nitra, 1998, pp. 93 – 95.

81. ŽIAK, Miroslav. *Oskar Esch. Prebúdzanie*. Nitra : Forpress, 2011, p. 124.

living in Slovakia have not adopted the idea of celebrating a day dedicated to Slavic missionaries in general.

Unlike the ancient territory of Devín, which is currently the center of organizing governmental celebrations commemorating the Great Moravian era, Nitra is after the fall of the communist regime more inclined towards the regional and folk traditions. In addition, due to the dominant position of the Catholic Church and religiousness of its citizens, Nitra – apart from the cult of Pribina – prefers the spiritual dimension of the mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. The reverence for the Seven Saints is directly connected to the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage, to which it actually belongs. At first, it was present only in the Balkans, mainly around the Ohrid Lake, and it spread throughout the territories of Western and Eastern Slavs mostly in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the areas that used to be under the direct administration of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>82</sup>

Opening up to the West and the perspective of cooperation with the more developed neighboring countries have occurred in several forms. The freedom of movement and religion enabled to organize celebrations that did not take place in Nitra, but had a lot in common with the city. The Cyrillo-Methodian celebrations in 1995 were exceptional – the city under Mt. Zobor was visited by Pope John Paul II. On June 30, 1995, his meeting with the youth and 350,000 believers was held in the spirit of activities of the Slavic apostles.<sup>83</sup> The Holy Father decided to change his schedule and he also visited the seat of the bishopric – the Nitra Castle and Cathedral. At the end of his visit, a traditional Sunday holy mass dedicated to Sts. Cyril and Methodius was celebrated, attended by the highest governmental representatives. The symbolism of

82. For more information, see ŠKOVIERA, *Svätí slovanskí sedmopočetníci*.

83. In his speech, the Holy Father stressed this several times: *“I am grateful to God that I could come to the ancient Nitra – the Bethlehem of Christianity in Slovakia.... Nitra tells us about the first millennium. Here was the first Christian church in the whole Central-Eastern Europe... Already during the life of Methodius, a diocese was established here, as well as a cathedral church above the city, being one of the oldest bishopric seats among the Slavic nations. A reliable disciple St. Gorazd was born here, chosen by Methodius as his successor...”* NC 1995, p. 19.

the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition could be seen in the field altar decoration.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the fact that the evidence of the missionary work of Thessalonian brothers related to many towns is missing, the symbols of ancient times are present in various locations of those regions. A typical example of such a phenomenon is the city of Nitra. According to certain historians, the Church supports the myth of connection of Cyril and Methodius to Nitra in this way.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, there can be no doubt that Nitra Church authorities do not question reliable historical data in their numerous speeches and the Church perceives the criticized connection between Byzantine mission and Nitra as symbolic.

During post-communist era, it was possible to define scientific ideas about the mission, respectively, the interpretations of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in a more notable manner than in the past. From many discussion papers, it is perhaps worth to mention several illustrative ideas of historians, who significantly contribute to shaping of historical awareness among public in Slovakia. The nestor of Slovak medieval studies Richard Marsina has dealt with doubting the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition for several times in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Discussing the post-war period, he writes that its secular part (Great Moravian tradition) was perceived as origin of Czechoslovak statehood. *“In our context, the denial of eligibility of its relating to the Slovakia and Slovaks can be observed only after the development of Slovak Constitution which commemorates this tradition. People who criticize the eligibility of Slovak relation to Cyrillo-Methodian tradition do not come up with new significant arguments supporting their opinions; they simply consider it as ineligible, or even a myth. Public promoters of such opinions are usually not people who would deal with Cyrillo-Methodian tradition or this historical period in a scientific manner...”*<sup>86</sup> Richard Marsina speaks of motivation, mostly of political nature, and that there can be recognized certain consensus of international character. *“Unfortunately, we are currently witnessing unprecedented attitudes towards the contribution of Cyrillo-Methodian mission; such atti-*

84. NC 1995, p. 20.

85. HUDEK, Cyrilo-metodská tradícia, p. 243.

86. MARSINA, Cyrilometodská tradícia, p. 35.

tudes had not occurred in the past (not even during the periods of official Marxist prevalence over historiography opinions, or historical materialism) We can observe non-historical consideration of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition as mythic, while the myth can not be considered a piece of information which is evidenced by historical sources.” Professor Marsina did not avoid criticism of the scientific studies from another spectrum as well: “Evaluation of Constantine and Methodius’s work was discussed to great extent by Church historians. They considered Constantine and Methodius as saints and viewed their work and life as purely religious activity... Their work and significance can not be reduced only to religious activity.”<sup>87</sup> Dušan Kováč, historian from Slovak Academy of Sciences has also dealt with the issue of interpretation and he perceives the tradition very differently, e.g. according to him, Feast day of Sts. Cyril and Methodius is of mythological nature: “It is about search of some mythical and ancient roots of both culture and Slovak “statehood” what is in contradiction with real existing Hungarian, Latin-Christian tradition...”<sup>88</sup> The ways how the new Slovak (mainly political) elites were trying to support and strengthen the national identity as legitimization instrument of new state after 1989 is described by a representative from late generation of historians Adam Hudek in his relatively extensive study from 2013: “Great Moravian era and Cyrillo-Methodian tradition belong to key periods of Slovak historical development; therefore it is only logical that there existed various myths and political theories related to them. They are constantly victimized by strong instrumentalisation.”<sup>89</sup>

87. MARSINA, Richard, *Metodov boj*, Tretie vydanie. Bratislava, Vydavateľstvo Spolku slovenských spisovateľov, 2012, p. 12.

88. KOVÁČ, Dušan. Štátne sviatky v Slovenskej republike ako „miesta pamäti. In: HLAVAČKA, Milan –MARÈS, Antoine – POKORNÁ, Magdaléna et al. *Paměť míst, událostí a osobností: historie jako identita a manipulace*, Praha : Historický ústav AV ČR, 2011, pp. 105–117.

89. HUDEK, Cyrilo-metodská tradícia, pp. 229, 242–244.



## Conclusion

The intensity of spreading the cult of the Thessalonian saints has been different in various Slovak regions. In many places, the cult of the Slovak national revival activists has been preferred. In the towns and villages where the national minorities prevail, mainly the personalities of their own ethnicity and national history have been revered.<sup>90</sup> There can be no doubt about the legitimacy of the cultural and civilizational function of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. At least since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, its vitality has been continuously proven by a lot of sources. Since then, the well-deserved reverence for their work and immense message has enlivened. Today, the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Day is naturally celebrated as a public holiday.

The central theme of this study is to look at how the legacy of Great Moravia and the Cyrillo-Methodian cult have been spread, mainly in the modern history of Nitra. We can see that the model city of Nitra has had a close relationship to spreading the cult of the Byzantine missionaries (regardless of the fact that the attention was not always focused just on their spiritual message), which is undoubtedly connected with the position of Nitra in Slovak history. At present, this historically significant Slovak city belongs to the cradles of cultivation of this tradition. The city is attractive as the center of glory and antiquity in Slovak history and may even be undoubtedly considered a national symbol.

There is still a debt to be paid in the field of the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage and this historical book may provide an entrance to understanding the interdisciplinarity of the current and future research... The cultural and religious

90. It needs to be added that the Cyrillo-Methodian cultural heritage has been strongly rooted in the Ruthenian ethnic group and the Greek Catholic Church. For more information on this, see BORZA, Peter – MANDZÁK, Daniel Atanáz. Vznik a činnosť spolku Jednota sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Michalovciach. In: SOKOLOVIČ, Peter (Editor). *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VIII. Od Salzburgu do vypuknutia Povstania*. Bratislava : Ústav pamäti národa, 2009, pp. 471 – 498. On the cultural changes of the German minority in Slovakia, see e.g. GABZDILOVÁ-OLEJNÍKOVÁ, Soňa. Transformácie kultúrnych hodnôt spišských Nemcov v závislosti na zmenách geopolitickej situácie na Slovensku. In: DOBIAŠ, Daniel – GBÚROVÁ, Marcela – MATTOVÁ, Irina (Editors). *Medzikultúrny dialóg. Stav – kontexty – perspektívy*. Prešov : Prešovská univerzita, 2009, pp. 318 – 335.

traditions of Nitra do not belong just to history and the past. The tradition belongs also to the present and it should belong to the future as well. We should know it in order to like it.

From this description, it can be observed that the tradition was used, selected and modified for the sake of achieving of various goals and it went through a variety of transformations within the Slovak context. It, or, respectively, the cultural and Church-religious interpretation of this tradition, has complemented or substituted national identity and etatic-territorial functions in many stages of historical development.

This article is supported by a scientific grant agency of the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic VEGA 1/0615/15.

## SOURCES AND LITERATURE USED

### Archive collections

State Archives in Nitra, Nitrianska župa III Collection.

State Archives in Nitra, Oblastné žandárske veliteľstvo Nitra Collection.

State Archives in Nitra, Pribina Collection.

State Archives in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Nitra District Office.

State Archives in Nitra, Nitra Branch, Obecný notársky úrad Nitra Collection.

State Archives in Bratislava, Bratislavská župa III Collection.

Nitra City Hall Archive. Nitra Chronicle.

Nitra Museum Archive in Nitra.

### Historical press

Cyril a Metod. Katolícke noviny pre cirkev, dom a školu

Echo

Hronka

Katolícke noviny

Nitra. Kultúrno-spoločenský mesačník

Nitrianska stráž

Svornosť

### Monographs and studies

BAGIN, Anton. *Cyrilometodská tradícia u Slovákov*. Bratislava : SAP, 1993.

BAGIN, Anton. *Cyrilometodské kostoly a kaplnky na Slovensku*. Trnava : Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1985.

BARTLOVÁ, Alena. Využitie tradícií a jubilejných osláv v propagačnej politike HSĽS v prvej polovici 30. rokov 20. storočia. In: *Človek a spoločnosť*, 2004, vol. 7, no. 3. Available online: <http://www.saske.sk/cas/archiv/3-2004/08Bartlova.html>.

BÔBOVÁ, Mária. PhDr. František Hrušovský. Obraz rokov 1944 – 1945. In: ŠMIGEL, Michal – MIČKO, Peter – SYRNÝ, Marek (Editors). *Slovenská re-*

*publika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov V. Slovenská republika medzi Povstaním a zánikom 1944 – 1945*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2006, pp. 330 – 336.

BORZA, Peter – MANDZÁK, Daniel Atanáz. Vznik a činnosť spolku Jednota sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Michalovciach. In: SOKOLOVIČ, Peter (Editor). *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VIII. Od Salzburgu do vypuknutia Povstania*. Bratislava : Ústav pamäti národa, 2009, pp. 471 – 498.

BOTÍK, Ján. *Etnická história Slovenska. K problematike etnicity, etnickej identity, multietnického Slovenska a zahraničných Slovákov*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2007.

CABADAJ, Pavol. *Kostol sv. Cyrila a sv. Metoda. Terchová*. Terchová : Obec Terchová, 1991.

FREMAL, Karol. Poznámky k činnosti Matice slovenskej v rokoch 1938 – 1954. In: MIČKO, Peter (Editor). *Historické špecifiká stredného Slovenska v rokoch 1938 – 1948*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2009, pp. 91 – 104.

FUSEK, Gabriel – ZEMENE, Marián R. (Editors). *Dejiny Nitry. Od najstarších čias po súčasnosť*. Nitra : Mesto Nitra, 1998.

HODÁL, Juraj. *Kostol kniežaťa Pribinu v Nitre*. Nitra : Výbor cirkevno-národných slávností, 1930.

HRUŠOVSKÝ, František. *Slovenské dejiny*. Turčiansky Sv. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1940 (5th edition).

GABZDILOVÁ-OLEJNÍKOVÁ, Soňa. Transformácie kultúrnych hodnôt spišských Nemcov v závislosti na zmenách geopolitickej situácie na Slovensku. In: DOBIAŠ, Daniel – GBÚROVÁ, Marcela – MATTOVÁ, Irina (Editors). *Medzikultúrny dialóg. Stav – kontexty – perspektívy*. Prešov : Prešovská univerzita, 2009, pp. 318 – 335.

GÁLOVÁ, Valentína – GÁL, Jozef. Kostoly a kaplnky na Slovensku, ktoré v názvoch a výzdobe pripomínajú cyrilometodskú tradíciu. In: MICHALOV, Jozef – HETÉNYI, Martin – IVANIČ, Peter – TANESKI, Zvonko (Editors). *Význam kultúrneho dedičstva sv. Cyrila a Metoda pre Európu*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 2008, pp. 347 – 356.

HUDEK, Adam. Cyrilo-metodská tradícia na Slovensku v 20. storočí. In: *Bratia, ktorí menili svet – Konštantín a Metod*. Bratislava – Nitra : Slovenské národné múzeum – Archeologický ústav SAV, 2012, pp. 229 – 244.

INCHOFER, Melchior. *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariae*. Rome 1644.

JUDÁK, Viliam. *Nitrianske biskupstvo od čias Metodových*. Nitra : Gorazd n. f. Kňazský seminár sv. Gorazda pre Biskupský úrad v Nitre, 2006.

KAMENEC, Ivan. *Slovenský štát*. Praha : Anomal, 1992.

*Katolícke Slovensko 833 – 1933*. Trnava : Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1933.

KOLLÁR, Ján. *Národné spievanky. I. diel*. Bratislava : Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1953.

KOLNÍKOVÁ, Eva (Editor). *Kronika peňazí na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Fortuna Libri, 2009.

KOREC, Ján Chryzostom. *O rehoľnom živote*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2004.

KOREC, Ján Chryzostom. *Tisíc rokov Slovenska s Cirkvou*. Bratislava : Lúč, 2004.

KREJČÍ, Marek. Dědicové národních tradic? K reinterpretacím uměleckých tradic v padesátých letech. In: SKLENÁŘOVÁ, Sylva (Editor). *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století II*. Ústí nad Orlicí : Oftis, 2007, pp. 108 – 116.

KOVÁČ, Dušan. Štátne sviatky v Slovenskej republike ako „miesta pamäti“. In: HLAVAČKA, Milan – MARÈS, Antoine – POKORNÁ, Magdaléna et al. *Paměť míst, událostí a osobností: historie jako identita a manipulace*, Praha : Historický ústav AV ČR, 2011, pp. 105 – 117.

LACKO, Martin. *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945*. Bratislava : Perfekt, 2008.

LIBA, Peter. *Prieniky do literatúry a kultúry*. Nitra : Kulturologická spoločnosť, 2010.

LUKAČKA, Ján. Byzantská misia a Nitra. In: SIKÁ, Pavol (Editors). *Dedičstvo sv. Cyrila a sv. Metoda v slovenskej a bulharskej kultúre*. Nitra – Bratislava : Nitrianska štátna galéria – Národné osvetové centrum Bratislava, 1996, pp. 20 – 29.

MARSINA, Richard. Cyrilometodská tradícia na Slovensku. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia V*. Trnava : Katedra histórie Filozofickej fakulty Trnavskej

univerzity, 2004, pp. 25 – 36.

MARSINA, Richard. *Metodov boj*. Vydanie tretie. Bratislava : Vydavateľstvo spolku slovenských spisovateľov, 2012.

MULÍK, Peter. Ideologické interpretácie cyrilo-metodskej tradície v slovenských dejinách. In: *Kirilo-metodievski studii. Kniga 20*. Sofia : Kirilo-metodievski naučen centr – Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2011, pp. 206 – 218.

MULÍK, Peter. Ideologické interpretácie cyrilo-metodskej tradície v slovenských dejinách. In: *Slavica Slovaca*, 2009, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 97 – 105.

*Päť rokov slovenského školstva 1939 – 1943*. Bratislava : Štátne nakladateľstvo, 1944.

PAŽITNÝ, Anton (Editor). *Významné osobnosti Nitry*. Nitra : Mesto Nitra, 1998.

PECNÍK, Marcel. Miesto cyrilometodského motívu v mincovnej, bankovkovej a medailérskej tvorbe na Slovensku. In: MICHALOV, Jozef – IVANIČ, Peter – HETÉNYI, Martin – TANESKI, Zvonko (Editors). *Poznávanie kultúrneho dedičstva sv. Cyrila a Metoda*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 2007, pp. 225 – 247.

PECNÍK, Marcel. Peňažníctvo na Slovensku v rokoch 1939 – 1945. In: ŠMIGEL, Michal – MIČKO, Peter (Editors). *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov IV*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2005, pp. 64 – 73.

PEKÁR, Martin. *Východné Slovensko 1939 – 1945*. Prešov : Prešovská univerzita, Filozofická fakulta, 2007.

SEDLÁK, Peter. *Christianizácia západných Slovanov s osobitným zreteľom na Slovensko*. Levoča : Polypress, s. r. o., 1999.

SIKA, Pavol (Editor). *Dedičstvo sv. Cyrila a sv. Metoda v slovenskej a bulharskej kultúre*. Nitra – Bratislava : Nitrianska štátna galéria – Národné osvetové centrum Bratislava, 1996.

*Slnce nad Nitrou*. Trnava : Spolok sv. Vojtecha, 1933.

SOKOLOVIČ, Pavol. *Hlinkova garda 1938 – 1945*. Bratislava : Ústav pamäti národa, 2009.

STANISLAV, Ján (Editor). *Ríša veľkomoravská. Sborník vedeckých prác*.

Praha : Nakladatel' L. Mazáč, 1933.

STANISLAV, Ján. *Životy slovanských apoštolov Cyrila a Metoda v legendách a listoch*. Turčiansky Sv. Martin : Matica slovenská, 1950.

STEINHÜBEL, Ján. *Nitrianske kniežatstvo*. Budmerice : Veda – Rak, 2004.

SZÖLLÖSI, Benedikt. *Cantus Catholici*. Trnava 1655.

ŠKOVIERA, Andrej. *Svätí slovanskí sedmopočetníci*. Bratislava : Slovenský komitét slavistov – Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava, 2010.

ŠKVARNA, Dušan. *Začiatky moderných slovenských symbolov. K vytváraní národnej identity od konca 18. do polovice 19. storočia*. Banská Bystrica : Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2004.

ŠKVARNA, Dušan – HUDEK, Adam. *Cyril a Metod v historickom vedomí a pamäti 19. a 20. storočia na Slovensku*. Bratislava : Historický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2013.

TIBENSKÝ, Ján. Funkcia cyrilometodskej a veľkomoravskej tradície v ideológii slovenskej národnosti. In: *Historický časopis*, 1992, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 579 – 594.

TIŠLIAR, Pavol. K otázke organizácie a fungovania štátnej správy na Slovensku v rokoch 1938 – 1945. In: LACKO, M. (Editor). *Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov II*. Trnava : M. Lacko vlastným nákladom, 2003, pp. 55 – 82.

TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Kontinuita a diskontinuita fungovania okresného zriadenia na Slovensku v roku 1938 na príklade okresov Rožňava a Dobšiná. In: MERVART, Jan – ŠTĚPÁN, Jiří (Editors). *České, slovenské a československé dějiny 20. století. Osudové osmičky v našich dějinách*. Hradec Králové : Univerzita Hradec Králové, 2008, pp. 139 – 148.

TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Náčrt postavenia okresných úradov na Slovensku počas krajiniského zriadenia (1928 – 1939). In: *Historica*, 2002, vol. 45, pp. 219 – 223.

TIŠLIAR, Pavol. Okresná správa na Slovensku počas I. ČSR. In: *Historica*, 2005, vol. 46, pp. 147 – 185.

VARGA, Jozef (Editor). *Sborník Župy nitrianskej*. Nitra : Europa, 1943.

VRAGAŠ, Štefan. *Cyrilometodské dedičstvo v náboženskom, národnom a kultúrnom živote Slovákov*. Zürich – Toronto – Bratislava : Zahraničná Mat-



ica slovenská – Lúč, 1991.

ZUBÁCKA, Ida. *Nitra za prvej Československej republiky*. Nitra : Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa, 1997.

ZUBKO, Peter. Cyrilometodský kult v Košickej a Spišskej diecéze v cirkevno-liturgickom kontexte 19. storočia. In: *Kirilo-metodievski studii. Kniga 20*. Sofia : Kirilo-metodievski naučen centr – Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2011, pp. 231 – 247.

ŽEŇUCH, Peter. *Medzi Východom a Západom. Byzantsko-slovanská tradícia, kultúra a jazyk na východnom Slovensku*. Bratislava : Veda, 2002.

ŽIAK, Miroslav. *Oskar Esch. Prebúdzanie*. Nitra : Forpress, 2011.

*Život Privinov. K 1100 ročným Privinovým slávnostiam v Nitre*. Nitra : Pripravná komisia Privinových slávností, 1933.

*Životy slovanských apoštolov*. Translation Ján Stanislav. Praha : Nakladatel L. Mazáč, 1933.







## BOOK REVIEWS

**Πάνος Σοφούλης – Αγγελική Παπαγεωργίου (επιμ.), Μεσαιωνικός σλαβικός κόσμος (= Medieval Slavic World), [Mediaevalia I], Athens, Herodotos Publications, 2015, 548 pp., ISBN: 978-960-485-100-3**

This edited volume represents the collaborative effort of 11 scholars from Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Czechia, Russia, and the United States. The seed for its creation was planted when the editors (both of them faculty members of the Department of Slavic Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) realized that medieval Slavic history and culture had received very little attention in Greek academic scholarship, and set out to fill this gap with a collective work that would serve both as an introduction and as a general overview, bringing together experts in various fields of research. The task was finally accomplished through a generous financial grant by the Demetrius and Aegle Botsaris Foundation. By design, the publication aimed at a wider audience in Greece; therefore, since most of the contributors regardless of nationality are affiliated with Greek academic institutions, it was decided that all chapters would be in that language, including the three that were submitted in English and had to be translated. The latter includes a chapter by Serb researcher †Tibor Živković (1966-2013), written during the final stages of his illness; the volume is dedicated to his memory.

The material is organised in more or less chronological order. Giorgos Kardaras begins (pp. 29-55) by introducing us to the world of the early Slavs and Antae from the fifth to the seventh century AD. The chapter includes an examination of the prevailing theories regarding the origins and ethnogenesis of the Slavs, as well as an overview of the sources (both literary and archaeological) that shed light on the first encounters between Slavs and Byzantines and the settlement of the former on Balkan soil. Kardaras (Hellenic Research Foundation) concludes that the catalyst in the creation of the medieval Slavic

nations was their contact with the Byzantine Empire and the various Germanic kingdoms.

Panos Sophoulis (pp. 57-103) picks up where the latter left off, with a chapter on medieval Bulgaria from the seventh century to the Ottoman conquest. Unlike earlier studies written by Greek historians, this one focuses mainly on the Bulgarian state itself and not so much on its relations with Byzantium: although Sophoulis is forced to rely heavily on Byzantine written sources, he manages to lard his narrative with references to Bulgarian texts, as well as indicative archaeological data, thus making an important contribution to the understanding of medieval Bulgaria from a uniquely Bulgarian perspective.

Evidence from archaeology takes pride of place in the next chapter (pp. 105-124), where Romanian-born historian Florin Curta (University of Florida) manages to interweave what little we learn from Latin chronicles with finds unearthed from ninth-century burials to offer us a brief, yet rather informative survey of the history of Great Moravia. His contribution dovetails nicely with that of Angeliki Delikari (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), whose chapter (pp. 125-146) deals with the Byzantine mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius to Moravia. Her analysis indicates that the legacy of this mission influenced not just the evolution of Slavonic culture, but European culture in general.

Co-editor Angeliki Papageorgiou and the late Tibor Živković (Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences) provided chapters on the South Slavs of Western Illyricum, the former writing about the Serbs in the Middle Ages (pp. 147-182), the latter submitting a text on the history of Croatia from the seventh century to 1493 (pp. 183-212 — with footnotes added by the editors). Papageorgiou pays particular attention to Byzantium's influence on Serbia, while Živković stressed medieval Croatia's position between Byzantium and the West.

A brief history of the state founded by the princes of Rus is the subject of the chapter (pp. 213-247) written by Christian Raffensperger (Wittenberg University). The author traces the development of the single largest Slavic polity in medieval times, from the founding of the state of Novgorod by the Rurikids in 862 to the apogee of the Muscovite state during the reign of Ivan III (1462-1505). In the course of this short survey, Raffensperger touches upon

various aspects of Rus' history: the translation of the seat of Rurikid power from Novgorod to Kiev, the Christianization of Vladimir and his subjects, the dissolution of the Kievan Rus' state in the twelfth century, the Mongol invasions, and the rise of Moscow.

To round off this overview of medieval Slavic history, A. Papageorgiou contributed a further chapter, an examination of medieval and early modern Poland (pp. 249-272). It is a subject that, not unsurprisingly, has attracted little attention among Greek scholars in the past; however, Papageorgiou manages to put together a readable narrative that illustrates the salient features of the history of the Poles from the ninth century to the death of Zygmunt II August (1572).

The final three chapters of the volume form a distinct part with regard to content, since they all focus primarily on the written culture. Evelina Mineva (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) offers an authoritative summary of medieval Bulgarian and Serbian literature (pp. 273-300). Czech literature from the ninth to the fifteenth century forms the subject matter of the chapter by Pavla Gkantzios-Drapelova (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) and Martina Chroma (Charles University in Prague) (pp. 301-328). Finally, Tatiana Borisova (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) examines a series of texts written in Old East Slavic from the eleventh to the fourteenth century (pp. 329-354).

In order to enhance the volume's accessibility and usefulness to researchers, the editors compiled an index of names and terms, and consolidated the bibliographical references of individual chapters into a 140-page bibliography. Eleven maps are added to illustrate the equal number of chapters. All in all, this publication is a significant contribution to research and will certainly fulfil its stated purpose of providing a handy Greek-language reference textbook of Slavic Studies.

*DR CHRISTOS G. MAKRYPOULIAS*  
*ATHENS*

