

Cyrillomethodianum

III

Thessalonique

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ASSOCIATION HELLENIQUE D'ÉTUDES SLAVES

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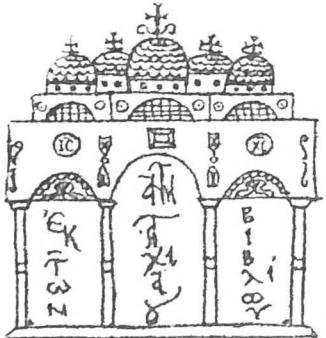
RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS HELLENO-SLAVES

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Le présent volume de *Cyrillomethodianum* est dédié à la chère mémoire de MICHEL LASCARIS (1903-1965) et de DJORDJE SP. RADOJIČIĆ (1905-1970) à l'occasion du dixième anniversaire de la mort du premier et du cinquième de la disparition du second. Amis intimes dès leurs premiers pas dans le temple sacré de la Science, passionnés d'Elle jusqu'à leur dernier soupir, ils ont dédié toutes leurs forces à Son service et Lui ont offert des études précieuses sur les relations byzantino-slaves. Ce volume commémoratif n'est qu'un petit témoignage de respect et d'hommage à leur mémoire.

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DIE ANFÄNGE DES SLAVISCHEN SCHRIFTTUMS UND DIE BYZANTINISCH-GRIECHISCHE LITERATUR

F. V. Mareš

0. Durch das Verdienst der byzantinischen Gelehrten Konstantin des Philosophen (Kyrills) und seines Bruders Method, die auf Wunsch des großmährischen Fürsten Rostislav im Auftrag des Kaisers Michael III. die Mission zu den mitteleuropäischen Slaven unternahmen, sind die Anfänge des slavischen Schrifttums zu einer der großen Perioden der slavischen Literatur und Kultur geworden (863 bis zum Tod Methods i. J. 885). Konstantin hat die erste slavische Schriftsprache (Altkirchenslavisch) geschaffen und eine vollkommene slavische Schrift (die Glagolica) verfaßt. Von ihm, von seinem Bruder Method und wahrscheinlich von einer ganzen Schule ihrer unmittelbaren Mitarbeiter und Jünger stammt eine beachtliche Anzahl von ausgezeichneten literarischen Übersetzungen und Originalwerken.

0.1. Die Slavisten haben viel Mühe und Fleiß der Lösung der Frage erteilt, welche literarischen Werke der kyrillo-methodianischen Epoche zuzuschreiben sind. Neuerlich wurde dieser Problemkreis von der Arbeitsgruppe des Prager akademischen Altkirchenslavischen Wörterbuchs sorgfältig überprüft, denn die Gesamtheit der altkirchenslavischen Texte kyrillo-methodianischer Herkunft bildet die Basis dieses Lexikons. Es wäre übertrieben zu behaupten, daß wir über den Umfang des kyrillo-methodianischen literarischen Nachlasses bereits allseitig und endgültig im klaren sind, aber im großen und ganzen ist dieses Problem verhältnismäßig schon gut durchforscht¹. Mit geringen Ausnahmen vermögen wir auch, die Übersetzungstexte von den Originaltexten zu unterscheiden. Den Kern der kyrillo-methodianischen literarischen Tätigkeit bilden die Übersetzungen, überwiegend Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen.

1. In diesem Aufsatz versuchen wir die Frage anders zu stellen, als es

1. *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského — Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*, Pragae, ab 1958, LXII-LXXXIII; in dieser von K. Haderka verfaßten Übersicht sind alle Texte kyrillo-methodianischen Ursprungs ausdrücklich als solche bezeichnet. - F. V. Mareš, *Konstantinovo kulturní dílo po 1100 letech* (= Das kulturelle Werk Konstantins nach 1100 Jahren), Praha 1970 (Übersichtstabelle, S. 25; dazu s. hier Fußn. 12).

bisher üblich war: Wie widerspiegelt sich die byzantinisch-griechische Literatur im altkirchenslavischen Schrifttum der kyrillo-methodianischen Periode (etwa 863-885).

1.1. Es wurden folgende griechische Texte übersetzt²: 1. die Bibel (mit Ausnahme der Bücher der Makkabäer); 2. die byzantinische Meß-, Ritual- und teilweise auch Horologion-Liturgie, möglicherweise auch die griechische Petrusliturgie; 3. eine Auswahl von Homilien (besonders in den altkirchenslavischen Denkmälern Glagolita Clozianus und —teilweise— im Codex Suprasliensis erhalten); das Paterikon; 4. das Strafgesetzbuch für die Laien (*Zakon sudnyj ljudem*); der Nomokanon; 5. die Chersoner Legende von der Überführung der Reliquien des hl. Klemens I. (autorisierte Übersetzung von drei ursprünglich nur lose verbundenen griechischen Werken Konstantins³; zu diesem Punkte vgl. auch §§ 2.5.1.1, 2.5.1.2, 2.5.2 und 3.1.3).

2. Die ältesten und zugleich authentischen Nachrichten darüber befinden sich in der *Vita Constantini*, Kap. XV., und besonders in der *Vita Methodii*, Kap. XV.; s. Ausgaben: P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnejše slavjanskoy pis'mennosti* (= Materialien zur Entstehungsgeschichte des ältesten slavischen Schrifttums), Leningrad 1930 (Reihe: «Trudy Slavjanskoj komissii AN SSSR», Bd. I; photomechanischer Nachdruck bei Mouton 1966, Reihe: «Slavicistic Printings and Reprintings», Bd. 67), 28, 61, 77. - F. Grivec-F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonenses. Fontes*, Zagreb 1960 (Reihe: «Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta», Bd. 4), 131, 164, lat. Übersetzung: 202, 234-235.-Uspenskij sbornik XII-XIII vv., herausgeg. von O. A. Knjazevskaja, V. G. Dem'janov, M. V. Ljapon, unter Red. von S. I. Kotkov, Moskva 1971, 197. -F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method, Lehrer der Slaven*, Wiesbaden 1960, 132-137, über die frühere Übersetzungstätigkeit Kyrills: 62-63, 168-169. Der Autor der *Vita Methodii* berichtet, daß Method die Bibelübersetzung am 26. Oktober beendet hat und als Danksagung die Messe zu Ehren des hl. Demetrios von Saloniki (des Tagesheiligen) zelebrierte.

3. Die wichtigste Bibliographie zu diesem Problemkreis ist in den beiden Werken von Grivec zu finden (s. Fußn. 2); neulich dazu: (Allgemeines:) J. Vašica, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské 863-885* (= Literarische Denkmäler der großmährischen Epoche), Praha 1966 (besonders Kap. I.: *Literárněhistorická studie* [= Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Studie], 7-98); (Bibel:) Ch. Hannick, *Das Neue Testament in altkirchenslavischer Sprache. Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte*, Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung, Bd. 5, Berlin-New York 1972, 403-435 (nicht in allen Punkten genau); V. Kyas, «Položenie issledovanija v oblasti vizantijsko-staroslavjanskogo parimejnika» (=Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung des byzantinisch-altkirchenslavischen Parömiarions), *Byzantinoslavica* 16 (1955), 374-376; (Liturgie:) V. Tkadlíček, *Byzantinischer und römischer Ritus in der slavischen Liturgie*, Wegzeichen (=Festschrift H. M. Biedermann), Würzburg 1971, 313-332; (Paterikon:) F. V. Mareš, *Welches griechische Paterikon wurde im IX. Jahrhundert ins Slavische übersetzt?*, Anzeiger der phil-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 109 (1972), 205-221 (weitere dies-

2.1. Die altkirchenslavische Bibelübersetzung geht im großen und ganzen auf den offiziellen Text der Ostkirche zurück, d. h. auf die konstantinopolitanische Rezension (Lukiansche Rezension, κοινή); dies gilt jedoch nur als eine Rahmenfeststellung, auch die nichtkonstantinopolitanischen Lesungen kommen verhältnismäßig häufig vor⁴. Weder Übersetzungen aus dem Lateinischen (oder aus anderen Sprachen, vgl. jedoch Fußn. 17), noch ein direkter Einfluß lateinischer Quellen, z. B. der Vulgata, lassen sich im Bereich der kyrillo-methodianischen altkirchenslavischen biblischen Texte feststellen. Die kyrillo-methodianische altkirchenslavische Bibel beruht also ausschließlich auf den griechischen Vorlagen.

2.2. Auch die kyrillo-methodianischen liturgischen Texte gehen in überwiegender Mehrheit auf griechische Originale zurück; dies betrifft sowohl die Meßliturgie (Chrysostomos- und Basilioliturgie), als auch das Stundengebetoffizium und die Liturgie der Sakramente und der Sakramentalien (d. h., in der abendländischen Terminologie, das Rituale). Wieweit solche liturgischen Bücher, wie z. B. die Minäen, übersetzt wurden, bleibt gegenwärtig noch immer unklar.

2.2.1. Es ist möglich, daß auch die Liturgie des hl. Petrus zu kyrillo-methodianischer Zeit ins Slavische übersetzt wurde, d. h. eine gemischte Liturgie: mit römischem Kanon, aber mit byzantinischem Anfang und Ende.

bezügliche Literatur s. *ibid.*, Fußn. 3); (Rechtstexte:) J. Vašica, «Collectio 87 (93) capitulorum dans les nomocanons slaves», *Byzantinoslavica* 20 (1959), 1-8; ders., «Kirillo-mefodievskie juridičeskie pamjatniki» (=Kyrillo-methodianische Rechtsdenkmäler), *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija* VII (Moskva 1963), 12-33; ders., «Právní odkaz cyrilometodějský» (=Das kyrillo-methodianische Rechtserbe), *Slavia* 32 (1963), 331-339; (Historisch-hagiographische Literatur:) J. Vašica, *Die Korsuner Legende von der Überführung der Reliquien des hl. Clemens*, Nachdruck: München 1965 (Reihe: «Slavische Propyläen», Bd. 8).

4. J. Vajs, *Evangelium sv. Marka a jeho poměr k řecké předloze*, (=Das Evangelium nach Markus und sein Verhältnis zur griechischen Vorlage), Praha 1927; ders., «Které recenze byla řecká předloha staroslověnského překladu žaltáře» (=Welcher Rezension war die griechische Vorlage der altkirchenslavischen Psalterübersetzung), *Byzantinoslavica* 8 (1939-1946), 55-86; K. Horálek, *Evangeliaře a čtveroevangelia*, (=Evangelien und Tetraevangelien), Praha 1954; V. Jagić, *Zum altkirchenslavischen Apostolus*, I-III, Wien 1919-1920 (Reihe: «Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse», Bd. 191/2, 193/1, 197/1); F. Pechuška, *Řecká předloha staroslovanského textu Skutků apoštolských*, (=Griechische Vorlage des alt-slavischen Textes der Apostelgeschichte), Slovanské studie (=Festschrift J. Vajs), Praha 1948, 60-65; J. Laurenčík, *Nelukianovská čtení v Sinajském žaltáři*, (=Nichtlukiansche Lesungen im Psalterium Sinaiticum), *ibid.*, 66-83; vgl. auch die Aufsätze von Hannick und Kyas in der vorangehenden Fußnote.

Die zwei bisher bekannten kirchen slavischen Handschriften (beide verhältnismäßig sehr späte Abschriften, vgl. Fußn. 7) bezeugen, daß auch der römische Teil dieser Messe, der Kanon, nicht direkt aus dem Lateinischen, sondern aus dem griechischen Text der Petrusliturgie übersetzt wurde. Diese Liturgie wurde höchst wahrscheinlich nur gelegentlich, neben den anderen Liturgien verwendet.

2.2.2. Auf Grund der Kiewer Blätter und einer ausreichenden Anzahl von historischen und textologischen Angaben können wir praktisch mit Sicherheit annehmen, daß in Großmähren auch die römische Meßliturgie übersetzt wurde, wenigstens teilweise (*libelli*), und zwar aus dem Lateinischen; falls wir jedoch die Übersetzung der Petrusliturgie zu dieser ältesten Zeit des slavischen Schrifttums annehmen, dann geht auch der römische Kanon, der wesentliche Meßteil, in seiner slavischen Version auf die griechische Vorlage zurück (vgl. § 2.2.1). —Das Stundenoffizium und das Rituale blieben zwar im Grunde byzantinisch («griechisch»), sie wurden jedoch auch durch römische, aus dem Lateinischen übersetzte oder nachgeahmte Elemente bereichert.

2.2.3. Im altkirchen slavischen Euchologium Sinaiticum kommt eine Beichtformel vor, die offensichtlich eine althochdeutsche Vorlage verrät (das sog. St.-Emmeram-Gebet). Die wahrscheinlichste Erklärung dieser Tatsache würde ich darin suchen, daß dieses Gebet in Mähren von den vorkyrillo-methodianischen deutschen Missionären im lokalen slavischen Kulturdialekt verbreitet und von der byzantinischen Mission rezipiert und vielleicht sprachlich vervollkommen wurde.

2.2.4. Im erwähnten Euchologium Sinaiticum kommt eine bedeutsame Anzahl von Ritualtexten vor, die ihrer Struktur, Ausdrucksweise und ihrem Stil nach an die byzantinischen Sakramentalienformulare erinnern, zu denen es jedoch bisher nicht gelang griechische Originaltexte zu finden; am meisten handelt es sich um Segensformeln und Gebete, die mit dem landwirtschaftlichen Leben in Verbindung stehen⁵. Bei dieser Gelegenheit möchte ich die griechischen Slavisten bitten zu versuchen, griechische Parallelen zu diesen Texten

5. Vgl. in der Ausgabe: R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum, II*, Ljubljana 1942, 419-423 (alle Gebete, zu denen die Vorlagen bekannt sind, werden mit einem Asteriskus bezeichnet, mit einem Kreuzchen sind diejenigen Gebete bezeichnet, wo der slavische Text mit dem griechischen Original nur teilweise übereinstimmt; keine Bezeichnung: die griechische Vorlage fehlt).

aufzufinden; es scheint jedoch sehr wahrscheinlich, daß manche von diesen Formeln und Gebeten als altkirchen slavische *Originalwerke* anzusehen sind, die im Großmährischen Reich von der kyrillo-methodianischen Schule verfaßt wurden. —Daneben entstanden in Mähren einige neue Offizien des Stundengebets nach dem byzantinischen Ritus, die mit Gewißheit für slavische Originaltexte gehalten werden können: der Kanon zu Ehren des hl. Demetrios von Saloniki, die Offizien dreier neuer Festtage, d. h. der Auffindung der Reliquien des hl. Clemens (30. Jänner), des Festes des hl. Konstantin-Kyrill (14. Februar) und des hl. Method (6. April).

2.2.5. Die kyrillo-methodianischen liturgischen Texte waren also *gemeischt*. Der Texturvorrat am Anfang der mährischen Mission beruhte auf griechischer Basis. Mit der Zeit haben Konstantin und Method für Mähren einen eigenartigen Typus von Ritus geschaffen, wo neben der byzantinischen Meßliturgie auch die römische Messe und vielleicht auch die Petrusliturgie gebraucht wurde, wahrscheinlich mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den Charakter der Festtage oder es wurde die Liturgie jeweils nach anderen aktuellen Umständen gewählt. Das Stundengebet und das Rituale wurden freier behandelt: der Kern dieser Texte blieb zwar im wesentlichen byzantinisch, aber er war der Bereicherung durch andere, auch neue Elemente immer durchaus aufgeschlossen. Der Ritus bei dem Begräbnis Methods illustriert diese Verhältnisse: die Trauerfeierlichkeiten wurden dreisprachig abgehalten⁶ —lateinisch (sicherlich nach dem römischen Ritus), griechisch (sicherlich nach dem byzantinischen Ritus) und slavisch⁷.

2.3. Der Bestand der kyrillo-methodianischen altkirchen slavischen *homiletischen* Literatur läßt sich nicht eindeutig bestimmen. Es wird gegen-

6. Vita Methodii, Kap. XVII; Ausgaben (s. Fußn. 2): Lavrov, 78; Grivec-Tomšič, 166, 237; *Usp. sbornik*, 198.

7. Über die wahrscheinlichste Lösung aller mit dem kyrillo-methodianischen Ritus verbundenen Probleme s. im Aufsatz Tkadlčíks, *Byz. u. rom. Ritus...* (s. Fußn. 3) —mit einer vorzüglichen Übersicht des gegenwärtigen Forschungsstandes und reicher Bibliographie. Über die Frage der slavischen Petrusliturgie schrieb neulich J. Laurenčík, *K otázce slovanské liturgie sv. Petra* (=Zur Frage der slavischen Liturgie des hl. Petrus), *Studia palaeoslovenica* (=Festschrift J. Kurz), Praha 1971, 201-214; meines Erachtens ist jedoch in dieser Studie kein endgültiges Wort gefallen, der Autor hat den grundlegenden Aufsatz von Tkadlčík (s. Fußn. 3) noch nicht gekannt. Ich bereite die Ausgabe eines bisher unbekannten Textes der kirchen slavischen Petrusliturgie vor (die Handschrift stammt aus dem XVII. Jahrhundert; Öffentliche Bibliothek zu Kiew, Signatur 104 [105]).

wärtig allgemein anerkannt, daß die im Glagolita Clozianus enthaltenen Homilien kyrillo-methodianischen Ursprungs sind; eine davon ist eine Originalpredigt Methods (Adhortation an die Fürsten-Richter, dem Inhalt nach steht sie den Rechtsdenkmälern nahe, vgl. § 2.4.2), die übrigen gehen auf griechische Vorlagen zurück (Autoren: Ioannes Chrysostomos, Athanasios, Epiphanios). Ich bin persönlich der Meinung, daß manche (nicht alle) Homilien, die im altkirchenslavischen Codex Suprasliensis enthalten sind, noch aus Großmähren stammen; das vollständige lexikalische Material im Prager akademischen Altkirchenslavischen Wörterbuch (s. Fußn. 1) zeigt nämlich klar, daß der Wortschatz dieses Denkmals mit dem Wortschatz der tschechisch-kirchen-slavischen Denkmäler auffallend übereinstimmt⁸. Bei der Mehrzahl der Suprasliensis-Homilien sind griechische Originaltexte wohl bekannt. Die Auswahl für einzelne Tage entspricht im wesentlichen dem Usus und der damaligen Vorliebe für gewisse Autoren im byzantinischen Kulturbereich; unter den insgesamt 48 Homilien (die bestimmt nicht alle kyrillo-methodianisch sind) befinden sich 19 von Ioannes Chrysostomos, je eine von Basilios, Epiphanios und Photios, die restlichen sind anonym. Zu sechs von diesen Homilien fehlen bisher griechische Vorlagen: 1. Oratio S. Pionii; 2. Passio S. Alexandri, presbyteri Sidae; Passio SS. Trophimi et Eucarpionis; 4. Auferstehungshomilie, angeblich von Ioannes Chrysostomos; 5. Vita et passio SS. Basilii et Capitonis, episcoporum Chersonae; 6. Vita S. Anini⁹. Es ist jedoch kaum anzunehmen, daß diese altkirchenslavischen Texte Originaltexte wären; sowohl die Sprache als auch der Inhalt führen fast restlos zur Voraussetzung, daß uns auch in diesen Fällen Übersetzungen vorliegen (vielleicht könnte man bei der Vita der Bischöfe von Chersones an ein Originalwerk Konstantins denken??); es wäre wünschenswert sich weiter zu bemühen, die fehlenden griechischen (bzw. lateinischen) Vorlagen zu finden (besonders die griechischen Kollegen könnten in dieser Hinsicht wesentlich helfen).

2.3.1. Die Frage, welches Paterikon von Method ins Altkirchenslavische übersetzt wurde, ist noch nicht völlig abgeschlossen (die sog. *otečeskyjje knígy*

8. Dies geht u. a. aus der nichtgedruckten Seminararbeit R. Fischers und aus der vorbereiteten Dissertation G. Kappels hervor (beide Universität Wien); vgl. auch F. V. Mareš, «Česká cirkevní slovanština v světle Besed Řehoře Velikého (Dvojeslova)» (=Die tschechische Redaktion des Kirchen Slavischen im Lichte der Homilien Gregorius des Großen [Dialogus]), *Slavia* 32 (1963), 442, § V/4. Ich danke der Redaktion des Prager akademischen Aksl. Wörterbuchs für die mir Herrn Kappel erteilte Genehmigung die Wörterbuchskartei benutzen zu dürfen.

9. *Lexicon linguae palaeosl.* (Fußn. 1), LXXIV-LXXVI.

im XV. Kap. der Vita Methodii, s. Fußn. 1)¹⁰. Meiner Ansicht nach war dies das «Römische Paterikon», d. h. die Dialoge Gregorius des Großen (*Gregorii Magni Dialogorum libri IV*); dieses Paterikon wurde eindeutig aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, nur das Proömium aus dem Lateinischen —wahrscheinlich aus dem einfachen technischen Grund, daß in Mähren keine griechische Handschrift mit diesem Proömium vorhanden war¹¹ (vgl. FVM, *Welches gr. Paterikon...*, s. Fußn. 3).

2.3.2. Die altkirchenslavische großmährische homiletische und patriarchale Literatur geht also praktisch ausschließlich auf griechische Vorlagen zurück und die Auswahl entspricht im wesentlichen der Gesinnung des IX. Jahrhunderts. Zu einer lateinischen Quelle (Proömium zum Paterikon) hat man nur ausnahmsweise gegriffen, wahrscheinlich aus Mangel an einem griechischen Text. Die Originalhomilie Methods (Adhortatio im Glagolita Clozianus) entstand aus Anlaß der an Ort und Stelle gegebenen Verhältnisse und Bedürfnisse.

2.4. Ein interessantes, gemischtes Bild bieten die kyrillo-methodianischen slavischen Rechtsdenkmäler.

2.4.1. Der Nomokanon —eine Sammlung weltlicher (*vόμοι*) und kirchlicher (*κανόνες*) Rechtsbestimmungen— wurde von Method aus dem Griechischen übersetzt.

2.4.2. Der sog. *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (= Strafgesetzbuch für die Laien) beruht hauptsächlich auf der griechischen Ekloge; die Zahl der angenommenen Elemente des westlichen (römischen) Rechts ist jedoch keineswegs geringfügig und einen wichtigen Bestandteil des Ganzen bilden Originalabsätze, die dem alten slavischen Gewohnheitsrecht entstammen.

2.4.3. Das Pönitential (Handbuch der Bußbestimmungen für Beichtväter) wurde aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, zweifellos deshalb, damit es der in Mähren schon früher, vor Kyrill und Method, verbreiteten Praxis entspreche.

2.4.4. Die Rechtstexte knüpfen also grundsätzlich ebenfalls an die betref-

10. Vgl. *Slovo* 24 (1974), 5-201: dort sind alle Referate veröffentlicht, die auf dem Wiener Symposium über die slavischen Paterika (Mai 1974) verlesen wurden.

11. Oder aber hat Method mit der Übersetzung des Proömiums einen von seinen mährischen Jüngern betraut (z. B. Gorazd), der lateinisch konnte, griechisch jedoch weniger?

fende griechische Fachliteratur an, sie räumen jedoch viel Gelegenheit zur Rezeption der dem mährischen Raum entsprechenden nichtbyzantinischen Gepflogenheiten ein (ungefähr ähnlich wie die liturgischen Texte).

2.5. Das übrige Gebiet des erhaltenen kyrillo-methodianischen Schrifttums umfaßt die historisch-hagiographische Literatur, ein Traktat über die Übersetzungstheorie und poetische Werke¹².

2.5.1.1. Das historisch- und rhetorisch-hagiographische Werk Konstantins, daß uns in der altkirchenslavischen Chersoner Legende *Von der Überführung der Reliquien des hl. Klemens* vorliegt, wurde vom Autor ursprünglich griechisch verfaßt, und zwar in drei selbständigen Teilen: *historica narratio, sermo declamatorius, rotula hymni* (d.h. Auffindungsbericht, Lobrede, Hymnus). Die altkirchenslavische Bearbeitung ist entweder eine Autorenübersetzung oder mindestens eine vom Autor gebilligte Version, sie stellt jedoch zugleich eine Neuredaktion des Ganzen dar. Dieses Denkmal steht also an der Grenze der Übersetzungs- und der Originalliteratur. Dieser Umstand hängt eng damit zusammen, daß es sich gegebenenfalls um keine «klassische» byzantinische Literatur handelt, sondern um eine aktuelle Geschichte, um ein persönliches Erlebnis Konstantins (denn er hat selbst die Reliquien des hl. Klemens gefunden), um ein Ereignis, von dem er als Augenzeuge und Urheber der ganzen Aktion berichtet.

2.5.1.2. Zur kyrillo-methodianischen historisch-hagiographischen Literatur zählen auch die beiden Vitae der Slavenapostel, *Vita Constantini* und *Vita Methodii*. Die erstere stammt entweder direkt von Method oder sie entstand wenigstens unter seiner Redaktion; die letztere entstand praktisch unmittelbar nach dem Tode Methods und wurde von der unmittelbaren kyrillo-methodianischen literarischen Schule verfaßt. In der Frage, ob es sich um slavische Originalwerke handelt, oder aber um autorisierte Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen, ist das letzte Wort noch nicht gefallen. Ich halte es für wahrscheinlich, daß manche Abschnitte der Vita Constantini auf griechischen «Memoires-Skizzen» Konstantins oder auch Methods beruhen, aber im ganzen ist es eher ein selbständig redigiertes Originalwerk. Das Leben Methods ist, meines Erach-

12. Das sog. *Napisanie o pravěi věrě* (=Traktat über den wahren Glauben) stammt nicht von der unmittelbaren kyrillo-methodianischen Schule; s. V. Tkadlčík, *Das Napisanje o pravěi věrě, seine ursprüngliche Fassung und sein Autor*, Konstantin-Kyrill aus Thessalonike, herausgeg. von A. Salajka, Würzburg 1969 (Reihe: «Das östliche Christentum», neue Folge, Heft 22), 185-209.

tens, noch viel mehr für ein Originalwerk zu halten, obwohl es auch hier schwer ist, die Möglichkeit *a priori* auszuschließen, daß der Autor (die Autoren) auch eine Art von «Tagebuch» Methods in griechischer Sprache zur Verfügung hatte(n). Ähnlich wie in der Chersoner Legende, widerspiegelt sich auch in den beiden Heiligenleben das aktuelle, zeitgenössische Geschehen.

2.5.2. Das Traktat Konstantins über die Übersetzungskunst (*Übersetzungstheorie*), das in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Hilferdingschen (Makedonischen) kyrillischen Fragments bekannt ist, liegt uns nur in dieser altkirchenslavischen Version vor, obwohl es mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit von Konstantin ursprünglich griechisch verfaßt wurde¹³; die griechische Version erfüllte wahrscheinlich die Rolle eines apologetischen Traktats, in dem Konstantin seinen Übersetzungsvorgang gegen die möglichen griechischen Gegner zu verteidigen beabsichtigte, die slavische Version diente als Einführungswort des Übersetzers zum slavischen Evangelistar. Auch hier haben wir also mit einer zweisprachigen Autorschaft zu tun, auch hier handelt es sich um keine traditionelle Thematik, sondern um ein neues, höchst aktuelles Werk.

2.5.3. Zwei selbständige¹⁴ Gedichte kyrillo-methodianischer Herkunft (das erste sicher von Konstantin selbst) ergänzen das Gesamtbild der großmährischen Literatur: *Proglas* (Vorgesang zur slavischen Tetraevangelium-Übersetzung) und das Alphabetgedicht (*Azъ jesme въсему миру свѣтъ* 'Ich bin das Licht der Welt')¹⁵. Beide Gedichte sind altkirchenslavische Originale, beide

13. Vgl. A. Vaillant, «La préface de l'Évangéliaire vieux-slave», *Revue des Études slaves* 24 (1948), 5-20; ders., *Textes vieux-slaves*, II, Paris 1968 (Reihe: «Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves», Bd. VIII/2), 52-54.

14. Sonst kommen poetische (versifizierte) Texte auch in den verschiedenen übrigen literarischen Gattungen vor, besonders in den liturgischen und historisch-hagiographischen Denkmälern.

15. F. V. Mareš «Azbučná báseň z rukopisu Státní veřejné knihovny Saltykova-Ščedrina v Leningradě (sign. Q I 1202), (=Das Alphabetgedicht aus einer Handschrift der Leningrader Öffentlichen Staatsbibliothek, Sign. Q I 1202), *Slovo* 14 (1964), 5-24; vgl. auch ders., «Hlaholice na Moravě a v Čechách, (=Die Glagolica in Mähren und Böhmen), *ibid.* 21 (1971), 159, 172 (§§ 17 u. 20/3); —einer anderen Meinung sind N. S. Demkova -N. F. Droblenkova, «K izučeniju slavjanskix azbučnyx stixov» (=Zur Erforschung der slavischen Alphabetgedichte) «Literaturnye svjazi drevníx slavjan» =Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury AN SSSR 23 (1968), 27-61, und V. Tkadlčík, *Systém hlaholské abecedy*, (=Das System des glagolitischen Alphabets) *Studia palaeoslovenica* (=Festschrift J. Kurz), Praha 1971, 369, Fußn. 37; dagegen: FVM, «Hlah. na Moravě a v Čechách», Fußn. 53 und ders., «Kyrillo-methodianische

waren zu ihrer Zeit von aktueller Bedeutung: als poetischer Einführungsgesang besingt das erstere den Wert der Schrift und der Bücher, es betont und verherrlicht deren Bedeutung für die Slaven; das letztere diente als mnemotechnisches Hilfsmittel zur Erlernung der slavischen (glagolitischen) Alphabetordnung.

3. Die durchgeführten Erwägungen erlauben uns, aus dem vorliegenden Material des überlieferten kyrillo-methodianischen altkirchenslavischen literarischen Erbes einige Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen. — Es sei noch vorbemerkt, daß es die Absicht Konstantins und Methods war, nicht bloß die griechische christliche Kultur in einem verdünnten Absud nach Mähren zu übertragen, sondern sie haben sich vorgenommen, für die Slaven eine eigenartige, neue christliche Kulturbasis zu schaffen, mit eigener Schrift und mit eigener Schrift- und Liturgiesprache, eine Kulturbasis, die auf einem breiten und festen byzantinisch-griechischen Unterbau beruhte, zugleich jedoch Bereicherungen und Variationen verschiedener Art offen bliebe, seien es schon westliche (römische) Elemente oder slavische Eigentümlichkeiten (beispielsweise im Bereich des Rechtes), oder aber ganz neue Faktoren (z. B. die Schrift, die Glagolica). Als weise und erfahrene Missionare haben Konstantin und Method dabei immer verständnisvoll darauf geachtet, was den in Mähren bereits eingebürgerten Sitten und Gepflogenheiten entsprach¹⁶. — Auf dem Gebiet der Literatur waren Konstantin und Method vorerst bemüht, einen slavischen literarischen «Minimalkanon» von denjenigen Schriften zu übersetzen, ohne die das christliche und kulturelle «Alltagsleben» undenkbar gewesen wäre (typisches Beispiel: die Perikopenübersetzung); eine zweite Bestrebung trat dazu, die Bestrebung, dem jungen slavischen Schrifttum die Wege zu einer reichereren, kulturell vielseitigen und auch aktuellen Literatur anzubahnen (typisches Beispiel: das *Proglas*-Gedicht).

3.1. Alle Schriften, bei denen es praktisch möglich war, die griechischen Vorlagen zu benutzen, wurden aus dem Griechischen übersetzt. Hierher gehört die Bibel und die Homilienauswahl, Schriften, die ihrer allgemeinen Beschaffenheit nach von den verschiedenen Kultursphären praktisch unabhängig waren. Weiter betrifft dies alle Bereiche des Schrifttums, wo Konstantin und Method bewußt und irgendwie selbstverständlich auf dem byzantinischen

Wurzeln der tschechischen diakritischen Orthographie», *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 110 (1973), 81-99 (Fußn. 35 auf S. 95-96).

16. Vgl. F. V. Mareš, «Die Anfänge des slavischen Schrifttums und die kulturelle Selbstständigkeit der Slaven», *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 16 (1970), 77-88.

Boden standen, d. h. bei der Übersetzung der ursprünglich einzigen Liturgie im byzantinischen Ritus, beim Strafgesetzbuch für die Laien (*Zakon sudnyj ljudem*) und beim Nomokanon.

3.1.1. Selbst wenn Konstantin bei der Bibelübersetzung textkritisch arbeitete und nichtkonstantinopolitanische Lesungen in seinen Text aufnahm, stützte er sich nicht direkt auf die anderssprachigen Texte¹⁷, sondern bediente sich verschiedener griechischer Kodices.

3.1.2. Sogar überall dort, wo es Konstantin und Method für sinnvoll und zweckmäßig hielten, abendländische Texte zu übersetzen, wurden griechische Vorlagen verwendet, wenn sie nur vorhanden waren: so geht wahrscheinlich der slavische Wortlaut des römischen Meßkanons auf die griechische Übersetzung zurück (über die Petrusliturgie) und die Dialoge Gregorius des Großen wurden auf dem Umweg über ihre griechische Version ins altkirchenslavische Schrifttum aufgenommen.

3.1.3. Eine besondere Gruppe bilden die zweisprachig, d. h. parallel griechisch und slavisch verfaßten Werke: die Chersoner Legende, das Traktat über die Übersetzungstheorie = die Vorrede Konstantins zur slavischen Übersetzung der Evangelienperikopen, bzw. auch die Vita Constantini und Vita Methodii (?). Die griechische Version geht zwar chronologisch voraus, aber die slavische Bearbeitung vom Autor selbst oder von seiner unmittelbarsten literarischen Schule stellt eine autorisierte Neubearbeitung dar (überdies sind alle diese griechischen Urfassungen verloren gegangen). In solchen Fällen ist es schwer von einer üblichen Rezeption griechischer literarischer Werke zu sprechen; wir haben es vielmehr mit einer typisch gemischten, griechisch-slavischen literarischen Produktion zu tun, die den beiden Literaturen in gleicher Stufe angehört, in der die beiden Literaturen in einem spezifischen Begegnungspunkt zusammentreffen¹⁸. Die Kontaktstellen sind zwar zahlenmäßig äußerst bescheiden, aber die Tatsache selbst ist für das kyrillo-methodianische kulturelle Milieu sehr kennzeichnend und für das Verstehen der Epoche aufschlußreich.

3.2. Zur Übersetzung von Texten aus dem Lateinischen ist es nur

17. Es wurde jedoch die Meinung geäußert, daß er ab und zu zum syrischen Text griff; vgl. Grivec, K. u. M., *Lehrer d. Slaven* (s. Fußn. 2), 49.

18. Eine ähnliche Erscheinung ist auch in der Neuzeit bekannt; vgl. beispielsweise die deutsch-polnische literarische Tätigkeit von S. Przybyszewski oder die sorbisch-deutsche von K. Lorenc.

dann gekommen, wenn ein gewisses Werk aus örtlich (d. h. mährisch) motivierten Gründen übernommen und übersetzt werden sollte, ohne daß es jedoch in griechischer Version vorhanden gewesen wäre. Dies gilt ganz eindeutig von der römischen Liturgie (wahrscheinlich mit Ausnahme des Meßkanons, s. §§ 2.2.1. und 3.1.2) und vom Pönitential (§ 2.4.3); die westlichen Elemente im *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (§ 2.4.2) verraten eher die Kenntnis der abendländischen Rechtsbestimmungen, als eine wahre Übersetzung der betreffenden Paragraphen. (Das Proömium der Dialoge Gregorius des Großen wurde vielleicht nur aus einem rein technischen Mangel am griechischen Text aus dem lateinischen Original übersetzt; s. § 2.3.2, vgl. auch Fußn. 11).

3.3. Ähnliches gilt auch von der vereinzelten Übersetzung einer Beichtformel aus dem Althochdeutschen (im Euchologium Sinaniticum), wenn es sich nicht eher um Annahme eines vorkyrillo-methodianischen slavischen Gebetes handelt (§ 2.2.3).

3.4. Die kyrillo-methodianischen altkirchenslavischen Originale — gehören — ähnlich wie die zweisprachig verfaßten Schriften — zu den zeitgenössischen Aktualitäten und zu derjenigen Schicht der Literatur, die den Rahmen des «lebensnotwendigen» Schrifttums überschreitet; vgl. §§ 3 (zum Schluß) und 3.1.3. Es gehören hierher: der liturgische Kanon zu Ehren des hl. Demetrios von Saloniki, die Offizien zu Ehren des hl. Klemens, Konstantin-Kyrills und des hl. Method (§ 2.2.4); die Adhortation Methods an die Fürsten-Richter (§ 2.3); *Proglas* und das Alphabetgedicht (§ 2.5.3); wahrscheinlich auch die *Vita Constantini* und *Vita Methodii*, falls es sich nicht um zweisprachig verfaßte Werke handelt (§§ 2.5.1.2 und 3.1.3). — **3.4.1.** Die dem slavischen Gewohnheitsrecht entnommenen Absätze des *Zakon sudnyj ljudem* (§ 2.4.2) können dagegen vielmehr mit den aus dem Lateinischen (bzw. Althochdeutschen) übersetzten Texten verglichen werden: die Rezeption dieser Rechtsbestimmungen erschien in Mähren als notwendig und der Wortlaut war in der slavischen mündlichen Überlieferung vorhanden.

Das Verhältnis des kyrillo-methodianischen altkirchenslavischen Übersetzungsschrifttums zur griechischen Literatur zeigt im Vergleich mit dessen Verhältnis zu den nichtgriechischsprachigen Urtexten und zu den kyrillo-methodianischen altkirchenslavischen Originaltexten, daß die älteste slavische Literaturperiode in vielen Richtungen bewußt weltoffen und selbständig war, als ihre breite und feste Ausgangsbasis aber erscheint ganz eindeutig die byzantisch-griechische Kultur.

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CARATTERISTICHE STRUTTURALI E PROTOTIPI GRECI DELL'AZBUČNO-IERUSALIMSKIJ E DELL'EGIPETSKIJ PATERIK

Mario Capaldo

1. In questi ultimi anni, nel clima di crescente interesse per tutto il complesso di problemi relativi al patrimonio letterario comune—in età medievale—agli Slavi meridionali e a quelli orientali (*drevneslavjanskaja literatura-posrednica* nella terminologia di D.S. Lichačev), si sono fatti notevoli progressi anche nello studio dei pateriki tradotti dal greco¹, come dimostra anche il semplice riferimento al lavoro svolto e a quello in corso: dalle edizioni del *Sinajskij* e dello *Skitskij paterik*² alla discussione, tuttora aperta, sulle *otčebskye kňigy* del capitolo XV della *Vita Methodii*³, fino al recente *Symposium über Fragen der slavischen Paterikon-Übersetzungen* (Vienna, 19-22 maggio 1974) che, oltre ad aver avuto il merito di indicare la direzione del lavoro futuro⁴, ha dato an-

1. I pateriki di traduzione sono raccolte di sentenze e racconti dei primi anacoreti cristiani, dai padri del deserto (Egitto, Palestina, ecc.) ai monaci dell'Italia meridionale: il *Sinajskij paterik* e il *Rimskij paterik* sono traduzione di due opere d'autore, rispettivamente del *Pratum spirituale* di Moschus e dei *Dialogi* di Gregorio Magno; nello *Skitskij paterik* sono rappresentati gli *Apophthegmata Patrum*, in una delle loro varie collezioni (cf. la nota 10); degli originali greci degli altri due pateriki di traduzione, l'*Azbučno-ierusalimskij* e l'*Egipetskij paterik*, si parlerà ampiamente in seguito. Per la bibliografia su di loro, che è già abbastanza considerevole, rimandiamo alle rassegne di Sv. Nikolova, «Rannite starobǎgarski prevodi na pateričnite sbornici», in *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Jubileen Sbornik po slučaju 1100-godišnjicata ot smǎrta mu*, Sofija 1969, pp. 219-236 e di Dj. Trifunović, «Azbučnik srednjovekovnih književnih naziva», *Književna istorija* IV, 15 (1972), 515-518.

2. *Sinajskij paterik*. Izdanie podgotovili V. S. Golysenko, V. F. Dubrovina, Moskva 1967; N. van Wijk, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation of the Ἀρθρῶν ἀγίων βίβλος*, La Haye 1975.

3. Тъгдад је и номоканонъ фектъше законоу праавило и о (тъ)чъсъка книгы прѣложи (*Magna Moraviae fontes historici*, II: *Textus biographici, hagiographicci, liturgici*. Curaverunt D. Bartoňková, L. Havlik, J. Ludvíkovský, Z. Masařík, R. Večerka. Brno 1967, p. 160). Si discute su cosa debba intendersi per *otčebskye kňigy*: un paterik, come credono i più, o un' opera patristica. Un' accurata storia della questione è stata fatta da R. Pope nella «Preface» a N. van Wijk, *The Old Church Slavonic Translation...*, 1-24.

4. In particolare è stata sollecitata la preparazione di edizioni dei singoli pateriki. Dei partecipanti al Simposio già lavorano in questo senso F. V. Mareš (*Rimskij paterik*, trad. A), R. Pope (*Egipetskij paterik*), M. Capaldo (*Azbučno-ierusalimskij paterik*), W. R. Veder (*Skitskij paterik*).

che buoni contributi particolari su una parte di questi testi⁵.

Gli unici pateriki che, nonostante questo revival di interesse, non hanno attirato ancora l'attenzione degli studiosi e che purtroppo sono stati assenti anche al Simposio di Vienna sono l'*Azbučno-ierusalimskij*⁶ e l'*Egipetskij paterik*⁷. Eppure sia per l'uno che per l'altro molti sono i problemi—filologici, linguistici e storico-letterari—che aspettano ancora d'essere studiati. Le uniche notizie che se ne hanno, dal tempo della loro scoperta ad opera dei bibliofili e codicologi russi del secolo scorso⁸, risalgono a questi stessi e, con qualche ulteriore precisazione, a due filologi variamente benemeriti dello studio dei pateriki di traduzione: I. P. Eremin e N. van Wijk⁹. Queste notizie—che, come vedremo, sono in parte da rettificare—si riferiscono esclusivamente al loro contenuto e—ma è solo l'altra faccia della stessa medaglia—ai testi greci di cui sono traduzione. Così, dell'*Azbučno-ierusalimskij paterik* si sa che è una raccolta (divisa in due parti, ognuna preceduta da un prologo) di sentenze e racconti provenienti in gran parte dagli *Apophthegmata Patrum*¹⁰; e dell'*Egipetskij*

5. Cf. i resoconti del Simposio (i cui atti sono editi in *Slovo* 24, 1974) di Chr. Hannick, «La version slave des Paterika», *Irénikon* 3 (1974), e M. Capaldo, «Il Simposio di Vienna sui pateriki slavi di traduzione», *Ricerche Slavistiche* 22 (1975).

6. Va senza dire che questo titolo non ricorre nei manoscritti. Esso rappresenta la fusione dei titoli con cui le due parti che costituiscono questo *paterik* sono indicate in qualche manoscritto recente.

7. Il titolo di questo *paterik* nei manoscritti è *сказание о египетскихъ чесночиз-цехъ*.

8. V. Undol'skij, «Bibliografičeskie razyskanija», *Moskvitjanin* (1846), 11-12, 201 ss.; A. Vostokov, *Opisanie russkikh i slovenskikh rukopisej Rumjancovskogo Muzeuma*, SPbg 1842, pp. 435-437; ierom. Arsenij, *Opisanie slavjanskich rukopisej Biblioteki svjato-Troickoj Sergievoj Lavry*, III, Moskva 1879, pp. 99-104; [I. Ja. Porfir'ev, A. V. Vadkovskij, N. F. Krasnosel'sev], *Opisanie rukopisej Soloveckogo monastyrja nachodjaščichsja v biblioteke Kaz. Duch. Sem. II*, Kazan' 1885, pp. 154-161, ecc.

9. I. P. Eremin, «K istorii drevne-russkoj perevodnoj povesti», *Trudy Otdela drevne-russkoj literatury IL*, III (1936), 37-57; N. van Wijk, «O prischoženii Egipetskogo paterika», in *Sbornik v čest na prof. L. Miletič*, (Sofija 1933), pp. 361-369; *idem*, «Die slavische Redaktion des Μέγα Λειμωνάρτον», *Byzantinoslavica* IV (1932), 236-252; *idem*, «Podrobnyj obzor cerkovnoslavjanskogo perevoda Bol'sogo Limonarija», *Byzantinoslavica* VI (1935-1936), 38-84.

10. Degli *Apophthegmata Patrum* si conoscono varie collezioni, più o meno notevolmente diverse tra di loro. Da quale di queste collezioni deriva l'*Azbučno-ierusalimskij paterik* è uno dei problemi che affrontiamo in questo articolo. Qui è bene comunque tener presente il quadro di queste collezioni, così come risulta dagli studi più recenti (J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, Bruxelles 1962; *idem*, «La tradition manuscrite des Apophthegmata Patrum. État présent des recherches», *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* XLI (1965), 113-124). Nella fase più antica circolavano due serie distinte di collezioni: 1) le alfabetico-anonime, costituite di due parti, la prima contenente apostegmi attribuiti esplici-

skij paterik che è costituito da due Reisebilder monastici (capp. 1-32, 36-60): la *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*¹¹ e la *Historia Lausiaca*¹², da un trattatello morale sotto forma di dialogo tra Alessandro Magno e i Bragmani (capp. 33-35): il *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*¹³, e da una serie di apostegmi attribuiti ad abba Antonio (cap. 61) e ad abba Arsenio (cap. 62), tutti provenienti dagli *Apophthegmata Patrum*. Per quanto riguarda il resto, che è il più, si è invece completamente all'oscuro: ancora interamente inesplorata rimane la ricca tradizione manoscritta dei due *pateriki*¹⁴; della lingua, dell'epoca e della

tamente a questo o a quel monaco (da Ἀντώνιος a Ὡραῖος) e ordinati alfabeticamente (edita in Migne, PG, LXV, 71-440; in seguito ci riferiremo agli apostegni di questa edizione con la sigla *G* seguita dal numero d'ordine dell'apostegma nel dossier in questione; alla sessantina di apostegni mancanti in *G*—per cui cf. Guy, *Recherches*, pp. 236-238—si farà riferimento con la sigla *S*), la seconda contenente apostegni anonimi, e raramente anche nominativi, raggruppati talvolta in piccoli gruppi, intitolati a questa o a quella virtù monastica (gli apostegni 1-392 sono stati editi da F. Nau in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 1907-1913; degli altri, 393-765, manca ancora l'edizione, si conoscono però gli incipit, grazie a Guy, *Recherches*, pp. 64-74, 95-97; agli apostegni anonimi noi ci riferiremo con la sigla *NJ*: *N* 1-392, *J* 393-765); 2) le sistematiche, in cui gli apostegni nominativi e quelli anonimi, i primi in ordine alfabetico seguiti dai secondi, sono organizzati in una ventina di capitoli dedicati alle varie virtù monastiche (finora è stata edita solo la traduzione latina di Pelagius e Iohannes di una di queste collezioni (Migne, PL, LXXIII, 851-988, 993-1022): la citeremo con la sigla *PJ*; da una collezione molto simile a *PJ* è stato tradotto lo *Skitskij paterik*. Delle altre collezioni si ha l'analisi dettagliata in Guy, *Recherches*, pp. 126-181: agli apostegni di queste collezioni ci riferiremo col numero del capitolo e quello progressivo dell'apostegma). A partire da questi due tipi di collezioni «normali» sono state fatte successivamente diverse collezioni «derivate», alcune—semplici epitomi, altre—completi rifacimenti di quelle «normali».

11. A.-J. Festugière, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. Edition critique du texte grec et traduction annotée*, Bruxelles 1971.

12. C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, I-II, Cambridge 1898-1904. Sull'edizione del Butler ha avanzato numerose e fondate riserve R. Draguet; si cf. di quest'ultimo almeno: «Butler et sa Lausiac History face à un ms. de l'édition, le Wake 67», *Le Muséon* 63 (1950), 205-230, e «Butleriana. Une mauvaise cause et son malchanceux avocat», *Le Muséon* 68 (1955), 239-258.

13. Tutte e due le recensioni del trattato sono state edite recentemente: la rec. Θ da J. D. M. Derrett, «Palladius: De vita Bragmanorum narratio, alias Palladii de gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus commonitorii necnon Arriani opusculi versio ornatori», *Classica et Mediaevalia* 21 (1960), 100-135; la rec. Σ da W. Berghoff, *Palladius de gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, Meisenheim an Glan 1967.

14. Dell'*Azbučno-ierusalimskij paterik* van Wijk conosceva solo 4 manoscritti; di altri 20 mss. danno notizia in «La tradizione slava della collezione alfabetico-anonima degli *Apophthegmata Patrum* e il suo prototipo greco. I, La struttura della parte alfabetica», *Ricerche Slavistiche* 22 (1975). Ai 9 mss. dell'*Egipetskij paterik* citati da van Wijk (si tratta propriamente di 8 mss., perché il *Vygol. mon.* 40 e il *Petrozav. arch.* d. 36 sono lo stesso manoscritto)

provenienza delle due traduzioni non si sa quasi niente¹⁵; tutta da studiare è l'influenza da essi esercitata sulle opere originali delle letterature slave medievali¹⁶. E non è tutto. Ci sono altri due problemi relativi ai nostri due pateriki ancora insoluti. Siccome ci sembrano pregiudiziali per ogni altro tipo di ricerca, noi li illustreremo ampiamente nei loro vari aspetti e nella loro portata; ciò anche perché il presente articolo vuole essere un contributo alla loro soluzione.

Il primo problema è quello dei prototipi greci, il problema cioè di stabilire se le particolarità strutturali e testuali che distanziano più o meno notevolmente i nostri due pateriki dalle redazioni note dei corrispondenti testi greci risalgono al traduttore-redattore slavo oppure se erano già, tutte o in parte, nei rispettivi prototipi. Più che insistere sull'importanza di questa ricerca, vorrei accennare, con le parole di van Wijk, alla condizione fondamentale per aviarla a soluzione: «Für das Studium der Paterika ist ein gegenseitiger Materialaustausch zwischen Byzantinologen und Slavisten notwendig. Einerseits sind die slavischen Sammlungen ohne eine grundliche Kenntnis der griechischen Vorlagen schwer genau zu charakterisieren, andererseits dürfte die slavische Überlieferung die Rekonstruktion bisher unbekannter Variationen griechischer Paterika ermöglichen»¹⁷.

Il secondo problema, collegato strettamente col primo, è quello di fare i conti con i dati spesso contradditori della tradizione manoscritta dei due pateriki in questione su ciò che è da considerare come facente parte di essi. Si tratta cioè, per quanto riguarda l'*Azbučno-ierusalimskij paterik* (in seguito *AIP*)¹⁸, di stabilire se il corpus di apostegmi così come ci è testimoniato dalla maggior parte dei manoscritti (± 500 apostegmi nominativi in ordine alfabetico seguiti da ± 450 apostegmi anonimi divisi in 17 capitoli) rappresenti la forma più antica del testo, contrariamente alla indicazione del secondo prologo

possiamo ancora aggiungere MOSKVA, GIM, OR, Sin 549 e 995; LENINGRAD, BAN, 21.6.4 (Nov. 976); GPB, *Solov. mon.* 459-462.

15. Cf. gli articoli citati alla nota 9 e, in più, N. van Wijk, «Dva slavjanskich paterika», *Byzantinoslavica* IV (1932), 22-35.

16. Per questa problematica, e in particolare per l'*Egipetskij paterik* cf. R. Pope, «O charaktere i stepeni vlijanija vizantijskoj literatury na original'nuju literaturu južnych i vostočnych Slavjan: diskussija i metodologija», *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists* (Warsaw, August 21-27, 1973), The Hague-Paris 1973, pp. 469-493, e la letteratura ivi citata; si cf. inoltre I.P. Eremin, «K istorii...», 52-57.

17. N. van Wijk, «Die slavische Redaktion...», 251.

18. Quando sarà necessario distinguere tra la parte alfabetica e quella anonima, useremo la sigla *AP* per la prima, e la sigla *IP* per la seconda.

coi suoi 40 titoli di capitoli di apostegmi anonimi, o se non sia piuttosto da dare ragione al prologo e, considerando ormai la vulgata dell' *AIP* come una sua forma decaudata, attribuire alla forma originaria dell' *AIP*, oltre ai 17 capitoli conservati, anche i 23 *perduti*. E ancora: questi 40 capitoli (qui non importa se completi o frammentari o, degli ultimi 23, solo i titoli) li si dovrà considerare tutti come facenti parte dell' *AIP*, contrariamente a quanto ci suggeriscono le collezioni greche che contano solo 20 capitoli, corrispondenti ai primi 20 del secondo prologo dell' *AIP*? Oppure, in accordo a quest'ultime, si dovranno considerare i capitoli che seguono ai primi 20 come una appendice estranea al vero e proprio *AIP*? In maniera non dissimile—mutatis mutandis—stanno le cose anche con l'*Egipetskij paterik*. Molti sono gli interrogativi sulla sua forma originaria che aspettano ancora una risposta: i 62 capitoli che lo costituiscono nella maggior parte dei manoscritti sono veramente da considerare una unità (come tale intesa dal suo traduttore, o già dal suo prototipo), oppure solo successivamente quello che in origine non era che uno sbornik monastico, un γεροντικὸν di struttura più o meno casuale, è stato sentito come un tutt'uno omogeneo e come tale esplicitamente proposto (con la numerazione e il sommario dei capitoli all'inizio dell'opera)? E ancora: cosa dire di quei manoscritti che ai 62 capitoli suddetti ne aggiungono ancora degli altri? Sono aggiunte posteriori, o non è piuttosto questa forma più ricca la forma più antica dell'*Egipetskij paterik*?

Quanto qui diremo, nel tentativo di dare una risposta ai suddetti problemi, è il risultato delle nostre ricerche sulla fortuna dei pateriki di traduzione nelle letterature slave medievali. La circostanza che una parte di queste ricerche è ancora in corso spiega il fatto che non su tutte le questioni trattate si è raggiunto lo stesso grado di certezza. Va infine detto che qui in genere ci limitiamo solo all'essenziale della dimostrazione, rimandando per analisi più dettagliate e per lo sviluppo di alcune questioni particolari ad altri nostri articoli.

2. Sull'origine della struttura composita dell' *Egipetskij paterik* (in seguito *EP*), supponendo per ragioni di semplice strategia espositiva che esso sia veramente composto dei quattro diversi elementi di cui si è detto, è possibile formulare due ipotesi: che essa dipenda dal prototipo greco, oppure che sia dovuta al traduttore-redattore slavo, il quale avrebbe messo insieme e suddiviso in ordinata successione di capitoli quei diversi elementi esistenti in greco (o già in slavo) indipendentemente. Se finora non è stato trovato un manoscritto greco perfettamente parallelo all' *EP*, si sa però che spesso nei manoscritti greci le opere che da sole costituiscono il 95% dell' *EP* (*HistMon*, *HistLaus*, *DeBrag*)

si presentano raccolte insieme, anche se in un ordine diverso dall' *EP*¹⁹; e già questo è un indizio importante a favore della prima ipotesi. Ancora più decisivo nello stesso senso sembra inoltre il fatto, finora non rilevato, che in due manoscritti greci alle tre opere di cui si è detto segue una raccolta di Ἀποφθέγματα in cui i dossier di Ἀντώνιος e Ἀρσένιος presentano la stessa scelta e la stessa successione di apostegni dei capp. 61-62 dell' *EP*.

I due manoscritti in questione sono: PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, *Fonds grec* 1596, e CITTÀ DEL VATICANO, Biblioteca apostolica, *Vat. gr.* 2592²⁰. L'accordo con *EP* è perfetto, se si esclude qualche omissione supplementare di quest'ultimo²¹:

<i>EP</i> cap. 61 (<i>Tr. Serg. Lavra</i> 710, ff. 98 ^r -100 ^v): Αἴτονιν 1-23	{	= G 1-4. 6-23. 32
<i>Fonds grec</i> 1596: Ἀντώνιος 1-23		
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 2592: Ἀντώνιος 1-23	{	= G 1-15 (<i>EP</i> om. 12).33. 16.39.4 (<i>EP</i> om. 4); 18-25 (<i>EP</i> om. 20-21, 24-25). 28.27.29.51. G 30-32. 40-42
<i>EP</i> cap. 62 (<i>Tr. Serg. Lavra</i> 710, ff. 100 ^v -105 ^r): Αἴτονιν 1-30		
<i>Fonds grec</i> 1596: Ἀρσένιος 1-37	{	= G 1-15 (<i>EP</i> om. 12).33. 16.39.4 (<i>EP</i> om. 4); 18-25 (<i>EP</i> om. 20-21, 24-25). 28.27.29.51. G 30-32. 40-42
<i>Vat. gr.</i> 2592: Ἀρσένιος 1-37		

Un altro manoscritto greco (PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale, *Coislin* 378) s'accorda con i due su citati nella struttura dei dossier di Ἀντώνιος e Ἀρσένιος. L'interesse del *Coislin* 378—che non ha né la *HistMon*, né la *HistLaus*, né il *DeBrag*—è nel fatto che, accordandosi con il *Par. gr.* 1596 e col *Vat. gr.* 1592 *limitatamente* ad Ἀντώνιος e Ἀρσένιος, indizia con ciò stesso l'autonomia dei due dossier, che è presupposta anche dall' *EP*.

Diciamo subito che la speranza di aver trovato nei due suddetti manoscritti greci il prototipo dell' *EP* non è risultata, all' analisi, fondata in quanto troppo numerose sono le differenze strutturali e testuali tra loro e l' *EP* nelle tre parti precedenti perché si possa pensare ad una dipendenza del secondo dai primi. Ciò comunque non diminuisce l'importanza per noi del *Par. gr.* 1596 e del *Vat. gr.* 2592: grazie a loro noi sappiamo con certezza che tutti e quattro gli elementi costitutivi dell' *EP* si trovavano raccolti insieme già in greco; se poi è solo per i capp. 61-62 che ci offrono un testo perfettamente parallelo, questo non vuol dire che non sia possibile trovare altrove (nella ricca tradizione manoscritta della *HistMon*, della *HistLaus* e del *DeBrag*) conferma delle particolarità testuali e strutturali dei capp. 1-60 dell' *EP*. Ché questo è anzi il caso,

19. Nei mss. greci la successione è in genere la seguente: *HistLaus*, *DeBrag*, *HistMon*.

20. Cf. su questo ms. l'eccellente analisi di P. Canart, «Une nouvelle anthologie monastique: le *Vaticanus graecus 2592*», *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), 109-129.

21. Per le sigle *G* e *S* ricorrenti nel prospetto seguente si cf. la nota 10. Per l'*EP* ci riferiamo qui, come altrove in seguito, ad un manoscritto del XV sec. (1493): MOSKVA, Gosudarstvennaja Biblioteka im. V. I. Lenina, Otdel rukopisej, sobr. Troice-Serg. Lavry (f. 304), № 710.

come cercheremo di dimostrare per la prima (capp. 1-32: *HistMon*) e per la seconda parte (capp. 33-35: *DeBrag*).

Per quanto riguarda i capp. 36-60, contenenti un'epitome della *HistLaus*, la nostra ricerca non si è ancora conclusa. Come è noto, l'edizione del Migne (PG, XXXIV) è il frutto di una manipolazione arbitraria del testo, e quella *critica* del Butler, fondata sulla red. G, non favorisce l'orientamento nelle varie redazioni secondarie (B, A), tra cui appunto sembra sia da cercare il prototipo della traduzione slava. Sicché noi dobbiamo studiare per nostro conto l'intera tradizione manoscritta della *HistLaus*, in particolare i mss. (circa 40) non utilizzati dal Butler, in gran parte difficilmente raggiungibili. L'unica cosa che possiamo dire è che, per quanto riguarda il testo, la traduzione slava s'accorda bene con la redazione B, edita dal Meurusius²².

Per il confronto dei capp. 1-32 dell'*EP* con la Ἡ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν μοναχῶν ἴστορία sia Eremin che van Wijk si erano serviti della eccellente edizione che di quest'ultima aveva fatto E. Preuschen²³ alla fine del secolo scorso. La conclusione a cui erano giunti i due studiosi era la stessa. Citiamo Eremin: «Po sravneniju s grečeskim originalom, v slavjanskom perevode ne dostaet liš' skazanija ob oksirinchskich otšel'nikach i zametki o Didime, t.e. glavy 5 i 25 po izdaniju Preuschen'a. Sovpadaja s tekstom etogo izdanija, poka edinstvenogo v našej nauke, slavjanskij perevod otličaetsja ot nego liš' porjadkom, v kotorom sledujut odna za drugoj povesti sbornika»²⁴. L'edizione di Preuschen non era l'unica, ché nel 1914 ne era uscita un' altra²⁵—rimasta sconosciuta non solo ad Eremin e a van Wijk ma anche al Festugiére—fondata su di un manoscritto (GERUSALEMME, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη 112, ff. 116^r-168^r) che, a giudicare dagli studi più recenti²⁶, ha una posizione tutta particolare nella tradizione manoscritta della *HistMon*. Ora è proprio con questa edizione che s'accorda la traduzione slava: vi si ritrova la stessa successione di capitoli e, in più, l'omissione del cap. 5.

Proponiamo il confronto della struttura dei capp. 1-32 dell'*EP* con lo *Hierosol.* 112 da una parte e con le edizioni di Preuschen e Festugiére dall' altra:

22. J. van Meurs, *Palladii episcopi Helenopoleos Historia Lausiaca*, Leiden 1616.

23. E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus*, Giessen 1897.

24. I. P. Eremin, «Κ istorii...», 46.

25. Παλλαδίου ἐπισκόπου Ἐλενονπόλεως ἡ πρὸς Λαῖσον ἴστορία ἦτοι Λανσαῖκὸν καὶ ἡ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν μοναχῶν ἴστορία περιέχουσαι βίον τῶν ἔργητων πατέρων ἐξ Ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου ΙΣΤ' αἰῶνος, ἐκδίδονται ὑπὸ Αὐγουστίνου μοναχοῦ Ἰωδανίτου, Hierosolymis 1914.

26. A.-J. Festugiére, *Historia Monachorum...*, XXXVI-XLII.

EP	Hierosol. 112	Preuschen	Festugi��re
1	prologo	prologo	prologo
2	1 Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐν Λυκῷ	1	1
3	2 Ὁρ	2	2
4	3 βῆ	4	4
		5 Ὁξύρυγχος	5
5	4 Θέων	6	6
6	5 Ἀπολλώς	8	8
7	6 Ἄμμων	3	3
8	7 Ἄμουν	9	9
9	8 Κόπρης	10	10, §§ 1-2, 25-35
10	9 Πατερμούθιος	11	10, §§ 3-24
11	10 Σούρους, Ἡσαΐας, Παῦλος	12	11
12	11 Ἐλλῆ	13	12
13	12 Ἀπελλῆ	14	13, §§ 1-2
14	13 Ἰωάννης	15	13, §§ 3-12
15	14 Παφνούτιος	16	14
16	15 Πιτυρίων	17	15
17	16 Εὐλόγιος	18	16
18	17 οἱ ἐν τῇ Νιτρίᾳ	23	20, §§ 5-8
19	18 Ἀπολλώνιος	21	19
20	19 Διόσκορος	22	20, §§ 1-4
21	20 Ἡλίας	7	7
22	21 Ἰσιδωρος	19	17
23	22 Σαραπίων	20	18
24	23 Ἄμμώνιος	24	20, §§ 9-11
	24 Δίδυμος	25	20, § 12
25	25 Κρονίδης	26	20, §§ 13-14
26	26 Εὐάγριος	27	20, §§ 15-17
27	27 Μακάριος	28	21
28	28 Ἀμοῦν	29	22
29	29 Μακάριος ὁ πολιτικὸς	30	23
30	30 Παῦλος	31	24
31	31 Πιαμμωνᾶ	32	25
32	32 Ἰωάννης ἐν Διόλκῳ + epil.	33 + epilogo	26 + epilogo

L'accordo tra l'EP e lo Hierosol. 112 non si limita alla sola struttura, ch   anche molte particolarit   (omissioni, errori, ecc.) del testo del primo trovano conferma nel secondo: cos  , per esempio, in EP (cap. 9; Tr. Serg. 710, f. 25v) manca il racconto del miracolo del σῦκον μέγα (ed. Festugi  re, cap. X, §§ 21-22); ora di tutti i mss. greci che hanno il cap. su Πατερμούθιος il solo Hierosol. 112 presenta questa stessa omissione. Un altro esempio: възбодътъ епълъ (ои же нивсож(е) възбодътъ епълъ фече еи црковъ показати f. 24r) contro μηδὲν εἰδέναι (μηδὲν εἰναι) di tutti gli altri mss. greci    confermato dallo Hierosol. 112: μηδὲν δεδιέναι.

Come nell'EP così nello Hierosol. 112 alla HistMon segue il trattato di Palladio sui Bragmani (ff. 168v-184r). Purtroppo però l'edizione di Αὔγουστι-voς si arresta al f. 168r, sicch   noi non possiamo dire se anche per questa parte l'EP s'accorda con lo Hierosol. 112. Checch   sia di ci  ,    certo in ogni caso—come dimostra il confronto con le recenti edizioni di Derrett e Berghoff—che la traduzione slava    strettamente imparentata con la rec. Σ del DeBrag, anche se talvolta si allontana da questa per accordarsi con l'altra rec. (Θ). Il fatto che nei pochi casi in cui la traduzione slava s'accorda con la rec. Θ, questa presenta un testo migliore di Σ fa pensare che il DeBrag slavo non sia propriamente un testimone della rec. Σ, ma che tutt'e due—la traduzione slava e la rec. Σ—discendano, indipendentemente l'una dall'altra, da un prototipo comune.

La questione merita un'attenzione particolare, e noi la studiamo ampiamente altrove²⁷. Qui baster   confortare con qualche esempio quanto detto pi   sopra.

Errore congiuntivo della traduzione slava e Σ con valore separativo rispetto a Θ: II, 22 ισον ἐμοὶ πίνεις ὅδωρ. καὶ οὐκ ἀγωνιῶ οὐδὲ τραύματα φέρω οὐδὲ πόλεις κατασκάπτω καὶ ισην ἔχω σοι γῆν καὶ ὅδωρ Θ; sia Σ che DeBrag slavo omettono (omeoteleuto!) καὶ οὐκ ἀγωνιῶ...ὅδωρ.

Accordo di Θ con la trad. slava contro Σ che innova: II, 38 τέθραμμαι Ραρ., τρέφομαι Θ, πιπταὶ επ (Tr. Serg. 710, f. 52r) contro τέρπομαι di Σ.

Sulla base di quanto sin qui detto, risulta assai verisimile che la struttura e il testo dell'EP ripetano la struttura e il testo di un manoscritto greco (un γεροντικόν, per intenderci, del tipo dello Hierosol. 112). Pi   difficile    decidere se anche l'indice dei capitoli, col quale generalmente comincia l'EP (o, in altri termini, la concezione unitaria del paterik) risalga al prototipo greco. Possiamo solo dire che    possibile che anche su questo punto l'EP riproduca fedelmente il suo prototipo.

Se non conosciamo manoscritti greci (i.e. γεροντικὰ del tipo del Par. gr. 1596, del Vat. gr. 2592, dello Hierosol. 112) con κεφάλαια che comprendano, se non tutt'e quattro le parti dell'EP, almeno l'HistMon e la HistLaus, un fatto    per   certo: l'indice dei capitoli dell'EP non    opera del traduttore slavo; infatti i primi trentadue riproducono esattamente i κεφάλαια dello Hierosol. 112, e nella parte riguardante la HistLaus c'   un titolo (cap. 43: Ο Ηγ-λιαῖην ἐδεσψέκμъ =περὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ, Butler XLII) al quale non corrisponde nessun testo, dal che    evidente che nemmeno per questa parte l'indice    stato fatto sulla base dei capitoli realmente occorrenti nell'EP. Quanto detto non esclude comunque la possibilit   che il traduttore slavo abbia riunito da solo i diversi κεφάλαια in un unico indice.

Un'ultima questione    quella relativa ai tre testi che, nella maggior parte

27. «La traduzione slava del trattato di Palladius *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*», Rivista di Studi bizantini e neoellenici.

dei manoscritti, seguono ai 62 capitoli. Il loro contenuto non differisce molto da quello dei testi precedenti, anzi in uno di essi si parla degli stessi anacoreti egiziani di cui tratta la *HistMon*: il primo comprende, riuniti insieme in una successione di 31 capitoletti, le *Constitutiones asceticae* e il *De ascetica disciplina* di Basilio di Cesarea, il secondo la *Epistula ad Anastasium episcopum* di Nilo d'Ancira, e il terzo estratti dalle *Historiae ecclesiasticae* di Teodoreto di Ciro e di Sozomeno²⁸.

E' probabile che tutt'e tre questi testi si trovassero già nel prototipo greco dell' *EP*. Per il primo ciò è quasi certo se si tiene conto del fatto che anche lo *Hierosol.* 112 si conclude con ἀσκετικὰ di Basilio di Cesarea²⁹. Non è possibile invece decidere se gli *словеса* di Basilio—ed eventualmente anche gli altri due testi—debbono essere considerati parte costitutiva, e cioè come i capp. 63-65, dell'*EP* o solo come una appendice del vero e proprio *Сказание о егопетескихъ чесночицахъ* costituito esclusivamente dai 62 capitoli tradizionali³⁰.

3. Assai considerevoli sono le differenze tra l'*AIP* e la collezione alfabetico-anonima «normale», l'unica finora edita (*G-NJ*), degli *Apophthegmata*

28. Tra i manoscritti che hanno questi tre testi ricordiamo, oltre al *Tr.-Serg. Lavra* 710, altri due: LENINGRAD, Gosudarstvennaja Publitsnaja Biblioteka, *Solov. mon.* № 458 (635) e MOSKVA, Gosudarstvennyj Istoricheskiy Muzej, *Sii. sobr.* 995. L'analisi che ne diamo è fondata su quest'ultimo:

1) (f. 926^r) *святаго архиепископа кесария каподокия словеса* χωταψιμί жити чесночица жития (capp. 1-30: PG, XXXI, 1321 ss. λόγοι πρὸς τὸν μονήρη βίον ἀσκοῦντας (rec. N secondo J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de S. Basile*, Louvain 1953, p. 304 ss.); cap. 31 ω̄ житий како лѣпо быти чесночицио: PG, XXXI, 648 ss. πῶς δεῖ κοσμεῖσθαι τὸν μοναχόν, una traduzione diversa di questo stesso sermone si legge in *Izbornik 1076 g.*, izd. podgotovili V. S. Golyšenko, V. F. Dubrovina, V. G. Demjanov, G. F. Nefedov, Moskva 1965, 460-464).
 2) (f. 947^v) *Пила архиепископия къ епископу Инастасу* (PG LXXIX, 345 ss. πρὸς 'Αναστάσιον ἐπίσκοπον).
 3) (f.948^r) ω̄ отцехъ слово ω̄ исторія в лѣто в неже царствова Иоулъ царъ (PG LXXXII, 1163 ss.: l. IV, capp. 17-18, 20-23, 26, 28-32; PG LXVII, 1343 ss.: capp. 21, 28-34; edizioni recenti delle due opere: *Theodore Kirchengeschichte*, herausgegeben von L. Parmentier, zweite Aufgabe bearbeitet... von F. Scheidweiler, Berlin 1954, 246 ss.; *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, herausgegeben von J. Bidez, eingeleitet... von G. Chr. Hansen, Berlin 1960, p. 263 ss.).

29. Sulla base della descrizione del catalogo (S. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ιεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη I, SPb. 1891, 198) non è chiaro quali delle opere ascetiche di Basilio siano contenute nel manoscritto.

30. In qualche manoscritto (per es. *Solov. mon.* 458) gli *словеса* di Basilio sono registrati nell' indice come cap. 63.

Patrum, al punto che una derivazione del primo dalla seconda è pensabile solo supponendo una serie di massicci interventi redazionali.

Per quanto riguarda l'*AP* le particolarità che ne stabiliscono la distanza dall' ἀλφαριθμητικὸν «normale» (*G*) sono le seguenti:

[1.a-b] omissione di un gran numero di apoftegmi ricorrenti in *G*, e ciò sia (a) nel senso della eliminazione completa dei dossier che (b) in quello della loro riduzione;
 [1.c-e] comparsa di apoftegmi nuovi (i.e. sconosciuti a *G*), provenienti: (c) dalla serie anonima dell' ἀλφαριθμητικὸν «normale» (*NJ*), (d) dalle collezioni sistematiche, (e) da opere imparentate in qualche modo con gli *Apophthegmata Patrum* come, per es., il *Pratum spirituale* di Mosca e la *Historia Lausiaca* di Palladio;

[1.f] variazioni, all' interno dei dossier, nella successione degli apoftegmi comuni con *G*;
 [1.g] attribuzione di alcuni apoftegmi diversa da *G*;
 [1.h] organizzazione sistematica degli apoftegmi (secondo l'ordine dei capitoli delle collezioni sistematiche) all' interno dei singoli dossier;

[2] ordine di successione dei dossier, a partire dalla lettera *A*, diverso da *G*.

Anche nell' *IP* si registra una collusione con le collezioni sistematiche; i tratti che la distinguono da *NJ* riguardano sia la struttura della collezione che l'inventario degli apoftegmi:
 [1] la successione degli apoftegmi, in *IP*, non è quella della sezione quarta di *NJ*³¹, ma quella delle collezioni sistematiche;
 [2] l'ordine degli apoftegmi all' interno dei singoli capitoli di *IP* non è quello delle collezioni sistematiche, ma quello progressivo di *NJ*;
 [3] alla fine dei capitoli di *IP* ricorrono apoftegmi di diversa provenienza, tutti comunque estranei a *NJ*.

Di fronte ad una struttura così diversa da quella della collezione «normale» e delle altre collezioni allora note³², ecco in che termini van Wijk formulava il problema del prototipo greco del nostro paterik: «Ne znaju, sochranilsja li v kakoj-nibud' rukopisi grečeskij tekst, točno sootvestvujushčij slavjanskому. Poka takoj tekst ne budet najden, nužno scitat'sja s vozmožnost'ju, čto perevodčik v to že vremja byl redaktorom-kompiljatorom, čerpavšim iz raznykh istočnikov. Ja dumaju, odnako, čto slavjanskij tekst byl pereveden s gotovoj grečeskoj redakcii Bol'sogo Limonarija, i ne udivilsja by, eslib pri tšatel'nom razbore vsech sochranivšichsja rukopisej udalos' najti grečeskij tekst, bolee pochožij na slavjanskij čem issledovanne do sich por kodeksy»³³. Ora noi un testo greco sufficientemente (se non «točno») corrispondente all' *AIP*, disponibile

31. La sezione quarta di *NJ*, comprendente gli apoftegmi N 133-369, rappresenta «le noyau primitif de la série des anonymes» (J.-C. Guy, *Recherches...*, p. 79): i 237 apoftegmi di questa sezione sono divisi in capitoli più o meno esattamente corrispondenti a quelli delle collezioni sistematiche.

32. Grazie soprattutto a W. Bousset, *Apophthegmata. Studien zur Geschichte des ältesten Mönchstums*, Tübingen 1923.

33. N. van Wijk, «Podrobnyj obzor...», 81.

nendo di una migliore conoscenza delle collezioni «secondarie» (abbreviate e derivate) degli *Apophthegmata Patrum* grazie soprattutto alle *Recherches* di Guy, lo abbiamo in effetti trovato: si tratta di una collezione alfabetico-anonima derivata (in seguito *AlfDer*) testimoniataci, per quanto ne sappiamo, da otto manoscritti³⁴. Il raffronto delle due collezioni (*AIP* e *AlfDer*) non lascia alcun dubbio sulla derivazione della prima dalla seconda. Per quanto riguarda la sezione degli anonimi l'accordo è perfetto.

L'esempio che diamo a dimostrazione di questo accordo serve anche ad illustrare in concreto la distanza dell'*AIP* (e, come adesso sappiamo, dell'*AlfDer*), per quanto riguarda la struttura, dalle collezioni normali sia alfabetico-anonime che sistematiche:

cap. 11	<i>AIP</i> ³⁵	<i>AlfDer</i> ³⁵	cap. 11	<i>AIP</i> ³⁵	<i>AlfDer</i> ³⁵
1. N 34	f.244v, 12	f.283v, 1	15. N 279	f.247r, 21	f.285r, 12
2. N 56	245v, 9	284r, 6	16. N 401	247v, 12	285r, 23
3. N 109	245v, 18	284r, 16	17. N 546	248r, 6	285v, 8
3. N 121	245v, 19	284r, 14	18. N 473	248r, 10	285v, 12
5. N 265	245v, 22	284r, 20	19. N 485	248v, 10	285v, 30
6. N 266	246r, 3	284r, 23	20. N 574	248v, 14	286r, 1
7. N 267	246r, 9	284r, 29	21. N 619	248v, 22	286r, 8
8. N 268	246r, 14	284r, 32	22. N 620	249v, 5	286v, 1
9. N 271	246r, 22	284v, 7	23. N 630	252r, 23	288r, 22
10. N 273	246v, 5	284v, 11	24. N 652	252v, 8	288v, 7
11. N 274	246v, 16	284v, 19	25. J 720	252v, 11	288v, 10
12. N 275	246v, 20	284v, 23	26. J 732	252v, 23	288v, 19
13. N 276	247r, 8	284v, 32	27. 11:90	253v, 3	289r, 7
14. N 277	247r, 16	285r, 6	28. 11:89	253v, 7	289r, 10

Non v'è dubbio che anche nella sua parte alfabetica l'*AIP* derivi dall'*AlfDer*; vi sono però tra queste due collezioni, così come ci sono testimoniate, numerose discordanze, le quali tuttavia non infirmano la loro somiglianza, o più esattamente la dipendenza dell'*AlfDer* dall'*AIP*, in quanto sono ancora trasparenti gli interventi redazionali che le hanno generate.

Noi qui adesso esporremo e spiegheremo brevemente, una per una, queste discordanze:

34. Cf. R. Draguet, *Les cinq recensions de l'Ascétikon syriaque d'abba Isaie I*, Louvain 1968, 50*; Draguet non dice quali sono questi manoscritti. Noi ne conosciamo solo tre: ESCORIAL, Biblioteca, *Cod. gr. R-II-1*; PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Fonds grec 919*; MOSKVA, GIM, *Sin. gr. 345*.

35. Per l'*AIP* ci riferiamo al ms. LENINGRAD, GPB, sobr. Gil'f. 50; per l'*AlfDer* al *Sin. gr. 345*.

1) Molti degli apoftegmi dell'*AlfDer* mancano in *AP*.—Ora la maggior parte (95%) di questi apoftegmi ricorrono nella collezione sistematica *PJ*; in altri termini gli apoftegmi che l'*AlfDer* ha in comune con *PJ* non si trovano in *AP*. Evidentemente l'*AP* è da considerare una collezione differenziale: il suo redattore, in possesso di una collezione del tipo *PJ*, non aveva interesse a ricopiare apoftegmi già a lui noti.

2) *AlfDer*: α-γ e *AP*: Δ-Γ si differenziano nella scelta degli apoftegmi e nella successione dei dossier.—Questa differenza si spiega bene supponendo che l'*AP* ha in questa parte (63 apoftegmi) ha contaminato due collezioni, l' ἀλφαριθμητικὸν «normale» (considerato come guida per la successione dei dossier e degli apoftegmi) e l'*AlfDer*, utilizzato per completare (con 8 apoftegmi) la collezione di base. Nel seguito (Δ-Ω) l'*AP* avrebbe abbandonato l' ἀλφαριθμητικὸν «normale» per seguire esclusivamente l'*AlfDer*.

3) Tra le due collezioni, anche nella parte in cui si accordano (*AlfDer*: δ-ω—*AP*: Δ-Ω), si rilevano delle differenze nella successione dei dossier.—La loro origine risiede paradossalmente nel desiderio di *AP* di portare ordine nel suo prototipo: e infatti spesso nell'*AlfDer* i dossier non si susseguono in ordine alfabetico, e altre volte gli apoftegmi di uno stesso monaco ricorrono in due gruppi distinti, separati da altri dossier; in questi casi *AP* ha ristabilito l'ordine alfabetico e ha riunito insieme i dossier spezzati.

4) Alcuni apoftegmi nuovi dell'*AP* (cf. sopra [1.e]) mancano nell'*AlfDer*.—Nei mss. dell'*AlfDer* questi apoftegmi si trovano raccolti in un gruppetto a parte anteposto alla collezione alfabetica; in *AP* questi apoftegmi sono inseriti al loro posto nel corpus degli apoftegmi nominativi.

Resterebbe a questo punto da chiedersi se i suddetti interventi redazionali siano opera di uno o di più redattori e, inoltre, se possa ritenersi che il traduttore slavo sia anche l'autore di una parte di essi, se non di tutti. Secondo noi, l'*AP* è la traduzione di un manoscritto greco che già presentava tutte le particolarità che allo stato attuale distinguono l'*AlfDer*, così come ci è noto sulla base di tre soli mss., dall'*AIP*. Non disponendo però di prove sicure in questo senso, siamo costretti a lasciare aperto questo problema.

Checché si abbia a pensare di ciò, possiamo qui —in attesa che venga studiata tutta quanta la tradizione manoscritta dell'*AlfDer*—prescinderne, e cercare invece di dare una risposta—sulla base dei tre mss. noti—ad un altro problema, quello della consistenza della parte anonima dell'*AIP*. Su questo punto la conclusione che si imponeva, quando non si disponeva che di pochi manoscritti slavi e non si conosceva ancora l'*AlfDer*, era che dovevano far parte dell'*AIP*, oltre alla parte alfabetica, solo 17 capitoli di apoftegmi anonimi (e non 40, come vuole il secondo prologo). E questo è infatti il punto di vista di van Wijk: «Beim jetzigen Stande unserer Kenntnis sehe ich keinen Grund, weshalb wir annehmen sollten, daß die slavische Übersetzung jemals mehr als die aus den oben besprochenen Codices (BERLIN, Staatsbibl., Ms. Slav. Wuk 40; BEOGRAD, Nar. Bibl. 726) bekannten 17 Kapitel enthalten habe. Keiner

dieser Codices hört mit Kapitel 17 der Anonyma auf, aber bei den weiteren Abschnitten gehen die Handschriften auseinander, während nirgends der Text eine Fortsetzung der 17 auch aus anderen Redaktionen bekannten Kapitel bildet. Wenn nicht künftige Forschungen uns eines bessern belehren sollten, so müssen wir annehmen, daß der Übersetzer mit Kapitel XVII aufgehört hat, obwohl in seiner Einleitung noch von weiteren Kapiteln die Rede ist»³⁶. Per noi invece che abbiamo la preziosa testimonianza dell' *AlfDer* e una migliore conoscenza della tradizione manoscritta dell' *AIP*, le cose stanno diversamente. Infatti nel *Gil'f.* 50 ai ff. 3-313^r, che contengono l' *AIP* così come lo ha definito van Wijk, segue una serie di 110 apostegmi e racconti monastici (ff. 313^r-378^r), per i quali si riesce a vedere abbastanza chiaramente il riferimento ai capitoli 18-40 del prologo dell' *IP*. Dal punto di vista della loro provenienza gli apostegmi di questa parte si lasciano distinguere in sei sezioni, ciascuna corrispondente a uno o più capitoli.

Nel manoscritto questo gruppo di apostegmi non si presenta diviso in capitoli, oltre a ciò l'ordine dei fogli è sconvolto, sicché non è sempre agevole ricostruire la corretta successione degli apostegmi. Altrove facciamo un'analisi dettagliata di questa parte del *Gil'f.* 50³⁷; qui basti riassumerne i risultati:

- sezione I* (=Prologo dell'*IP*, capp. 18-20): apostegmi provenienti dai capitoli 18-20 delle collezioni sistematiche;
- sezione II* (=Prologo dell'*IP*, capp. 21-23): la collazione dei 12 anacoreti, il dialogo *περὶ λογισμῶν* e una breve collezione di sentenze; la collazione e il dialogo ricorrono per lo più come dossier supplementare alla fine delle collezioni sistematiche;
- sezione III* (=Prologo dell'*IP*, cap. 24): estratti del *Pratum spirituale*;
- sezione IV* (=Prologo dell'*IP*, capp. 25-36): parte dei racconti attribuiti ad Anastasio sinaita;
- sezione V* (=Prologo dell'*IP*, cap. 37): ο чюдеси бывшии на вбразъ христовъ въ халкапатри;
- sezione VI* (=Prologo dell'*IP*, capp. 38-40): estratti dalle *Collationes* di Cassiano.

Non c'è alcun dubbio che la sezione I è da considerare parte integrante dell' *IP*. Per quanto riguarda le altre, estranee propriamente agli *Apophthegmata Patrum*, il fatto per noi importante è che esse si ritrovano tutte nell' *AlfDer* a continuazione dei venti capitoli di apostegmi anonimi. Che anche la sezione II faccia parte dell' *IP* è certo, se si considera che i tre elementi che la costituiscono sono registrati nell' indice dell' *AlfDer* come capp. 21-23. In quest'ultimo si ritrova—però senza numerazione—anche la maggior parte dei titoli delle sezioni III-VI. La loro aggregazione, come capp. 24-40, al corpus dell' *IP* può

risalire sia al prototipo greco che al traduttore slavo: sia nell' uno che nell' altro caso questi capitoli debbono ormai essere considerati come facenti parte dell' *AIP*, anche se converrà—tenendo conto del loro contenuto—tenerli in qualche modo distinti dai precedenti 23 capitoli di apostegmi «anonimi».

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36. N. van Wijk, «Die slavische Redaktion...», 239.

37. In un articolo di prossima pubblicazione dal titolo «Podrobnyj obzor glav 18-40 anonimnej časti Azbučno-ierusalimskogo paterika».

BYZANTINE - BULGARIAN ECCLESIASTICAL RELATIONS DURING THE REIGNS OF IOANNIS VATATZIS AND IVAN ASEN II, UP TO THE YEAR 1235

Ioannis Tarnanidis

The Archbishopric of Trnovo was created within the context of the Bulgarian rebellion of 1185¹. In their attempt to create an independent Bulgarian state, the leaders of the movement—the brothers Peter and Ivan Asen²—conceived the idea of the parallel creation of an independent Bulgarian Church. In this way would be achieved the complete severance of the new state from every Byzantine influence. This Archbishopric, founded in a somewhat revolutionary way³, existed until 1204, although it received no official recognition from the

1. For this uprising see N. Choniatis, *De Isaakio Angelo I*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonnae 1835, pp. 482-483 and G. Acropolitis, *Annales*, ed. Bekker, Bonnae 1836, p. 22. Cf. V. I. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bǎlgarskata dǎržava prez srednite vekove*, t. III, Sofija 1940, p. 431 and G. Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije* (=Sabrana Dela 4), p. 378.

2. For the origins of these two brothers there exists, in addition to the contemporary Byzantine and Latin sources (N. Choniatis, G. Acropolitis, Villehardouin etc.), a comprehensive modern bibliography, for which see G. Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije*, p. 378 note 3, and G. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija v XI-XII vv.*, Moskva 1960, pp. 430-437.

3. There exist two almost contemporary sources, dating from the end of the second decade of the thirteenth century, which relate to the conditions under which this archdiocese was founded. The first is contained in the letter addressed by Demetrios Chomatianos to Metropolitan Pediaditis of Kerkyra, which was written as a result of the matter of the «Βουλγαροεπίσκοποι» (Bulgarian bishops). On this, see below. On the manner in which the Bulgarian Archbishopric of Trnovo was founded, it includes the following: «καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος δὲ πατριάρχης αὐτῶν [the Bulgarians], καὶ ὑστερὸν εἰς τὸ πατριαρχικὸν ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῦ πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἀνήχθη· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης βαθμὸν παρὰ ἐπισκόπου ἐννόμου καὶ ρωμαίου τοῦ Βυδίνης ἐκείνου καὶ ἔτερων δύο ἐπισκόπων προήχθη». J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica spicilegio solemensi parata. Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum selecta paralipomena*, t. VI, Romae 1891, col. 43. The other related source is more explicit as to the intentions of the Bulgarians. This is contained in the *synodic act* of the Council of 1217 called on account of the aforementioned matter of the «Βουλγαροεπίσκοποι». For this, see: Sp. N. Laghopatis, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β' πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως - Νικαῖας (1222-1240)*, Tripolis 1913, pp. 74-76 and A. Miliarakis, *Ιστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαῖας καὶ τοῦ δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου (1204-1261)*, Athens 1898, p. 181. Here is the related passage: «οὐκ ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ πάντολμον ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μέγα τῆς ἱεραρχίας ἀξίωμα τὴν ἐναυτῶν ἀκρατῶς ἔξετειναν ἔφεσιν, ἥθελον γὰρ τῇ βασιλικῇ

other Churches. However, in that year, after persistent efforts by Tsar Ioannikios⁴, Pope Innocent III canonically declared it an archbishopric while naming its primate, Vassilij, primate of all Bulgaria and Wallachia⁵. Although this region was subject to the claims of the Oecumenical Patriarchate⁶, the approach to the pope followed the natural course of events since Byzantium was the chief enemy of the Bulgarians. From that time until the ascent to the Bulgarian throne of Tsar Ivan Asen II (1218-1241) the Archbishopric of Trnovo was dependent on the papacy, although it is true to say that a certain relaxation of the relations between the two Churches was observed under Asen II's predecessor, Boril. The irregularity created in 1210 (due chiefly to political reasons) was, however, corrected after only two years⁷. Nonetheless, the presence of Latins in the Balkans was a permanent source of agitation and friction which papal intervention was never able to check. Asen inherited this situation when he ascended the Bulgarian throne in 1218⁸. At the same time the Bulgarians

ἀξίᾳ παραζεῦξαι καὶ πατριαρχικήν». Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, t. VI, col. 564. Cf. P. Nikov, «Prinos kǎm istoričeskoto izvoroznanie na Bǎlgarija i kǎm istorijata na bǎlgarskata cǎrkva», in *Spom. Bǎlg. Akadem. na Naukite XX* (1921), *passim*; and Zlatarski, *Istoriya*, t. II, Sofija 1934, p. 475 note 1.

4. Ioannikios ascended the Bulgarian throne in 1197. For his meeting with Pope Innocent III on the ecclesiastical and more general political questions relating to Bulgaria, see Iv. Dujčev, «Prepiskata na papa Inokentij III s Bǎlgarite», in *Godišnik na Sofijsk. Univ., Istor.-Filol. Fakultet* 38 (1942), nr. II, XV, XVIII and IX, as well as *Izvori za Bǎlgarskata Istorija XII* (Latinski Izvori III), Sofija 1965, pp. 307-378. For the relations of Innocent III with Byzantium in general, see the recent study of Gerd Hagedorn, «Papst Innozenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198-1203)», *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23/1-3 (1974), 3-20 and 105-136, with a full bibliography (both ancient and modern).

5. Migne, PL 215, col. 294: «Archiepiscopo Trinovitanensi totius Bulgariae et Blachie primati.....nec non et Ecclesiae tibi commisso, tradimus tibi pallium de corpore beati Petri sumptum, insigne videlicet plenitudinis pontificalis officii...». Cf. *Izvori XII*, pp. 343-342, also *Gesta Innocentii III*, §§ LXXV-LXXVI, in PL 214, col. CXXVII-CXXVIII and *Izvori XII*, pp. 374-375. Cf. also I. Snegarov, *Kratka Istorija na savremenite pravoslavni cǎrkvi*, t. II, Sofija 1946, pp. 43-45 and Zlatarski, *Istoriya III*, p. 203.

6. The eparchies of the newly-founded archdiocese of Trnovo formerly belonged directly on the one hand to the autocephalous archdiocese of Ochrid, and on the other to the general spiritual concern of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. The related letter of Archbishop Demetrios Chomatianos of Ochrid to the Oecumenical Patriarch Germanos II is quoted in Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica* VI, col. 496.

7. See *Chronicon Alberici Trium Fontium*: Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, t. XXIII, p. 886. Cf. V. G. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie Bolgarskago patriaršestva pri care Ioanne Asene II v 1235 godu», *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščenija* c. 298 (1885), 15-16 and Zlatarski, *Istoriya III*, pp. 308-310.

8. See G. Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 23.

were beginning to realise that it was not possible to expect ecclesiastical independence from the pope.

Owing to the above reasons, and in view of the conciliatory mood of the Greek Patriarchate which in 1219 had granted ecclesiastical independence to the Serbs⁹, Tsar Asen was called upon to deal with a new set of circumstances. The rapid rise to power of the despot of Epirus, Theodoros Angelos Doukas, must have played a special rôle in the readjustment of Asen's policy. The former had undertaken a victorious advance northward, capturing many important towns in Macedonia¹⁰. An even greater impression had been made by the capture of Thessaloniki in 1224¹¹, and by Theodoros' subsequent crowning as king (*basileus*)¹². Initially, Asen's relations with Theodoros were friendly and

9. See Domentijan, *Život Svetoga Simeuna i Svetoga Save*, ed. Dj. Daničić, Beograd 1865; and Teodosije, *Život Svetoga Save*, ed. Dj. Daničić, Beograd 1860. The related bibliography is massive. Among the most detailed studies are: I. Paljmov, «Istoričeskij vzgljad na načalo avtokefalii srbskoj cerkvi i učešće patriaršestva v drevnej Serbii», *Christianskoe Čenie* 3-4 (1891), 345-405; St. Stanojević, «Sveti Sava i nezavisnost srpske crkve», *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* CLXI (1934), 197-251; and N. Radojčić, «Sveti Sava i avtokefalnost srpske i bugarske crkve», *Glas Srp. Kralj. Akadem.* CLXXIX, 2 (1938), 177-258.

10. See D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, Oxford 1957, p. 29 ff.

11. For the date of the capture of Thessaloniki by Theodoros Doukas, see J. Longnon, «La prise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224», *Actes du VI^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* I (Paris 1950), 141-146; and B. Sinogowitz, «Zur Eroberung Thessalonikes im Herbst 1224», *Byzantin. Zeitschrift* 45 (1952), 28.

12. The year in which Theodoros Doukas was crowned king has been the subject of much historical research. The great majority of researchers, basing themselves more on deductions than on historical testimony, have considered this event as directly associated with the capture of Thessaloniki by the above despot. Since the date of this capture has been ascertained by J. Longnon as being at the end of 1224, the following year (1225) has been considered as the most likely for the coronation. See G. Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije*, pp. 406-407; D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus*, pp. 65-66. In a later study, L. Stiernon has held that the acclamation of Theodoros as king in certain letters can be taken as an indication of the date of this crowning. Since these letters in the Codex Petropolitanus gr. 250 are placed among those dated after 1227, the above researcher has drawn the conclusion that the coronation of Theodoros must have taken place during either 1227 or 1228. See L. Stiernon, «Les origines du Despotat d'Epire. La date du couronnement de Theodoros Doukas», *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines* II (Belgrad 1964), 197-202. However, A. Karpozilos, carefully studying this Codex, has shown that the title of king was given to Theodoros before his coronation. See Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epirus (1217-1233)*, Thessaloniki 1973, pp. 74-75. In addition, he has shown in a recent study that the texts in this Codex are not placed in chronological order. See, «The date of the coronation of Theodoros Doukas Angelos», *Bvčavtvrā* 6 (1974), 257. Thus Stiernon's suppositions have been destroyed and with them the dating of Theo-

were somewhat strengthened through alliances which were sealed when Asen gave his illegitimate daughter, Maria, in marriage to Theodoros' brother, Manuel Comnenos¹³. Theodoros' rising power, however, combined with his ambitions, naturally made the Bulgarian ruler uneasy, especially since it was well-known that Theodoros' next move would be the capture of Constantinople. Asen's uneasiness seems to have been shared not only by the Latins but also by the Emperor of Nicaea, Ioannis Vatatzis. Each, for reasons of his own, wanted Theodoros' rise stopped and, if possible, neutralised. Thus no other path was open to them apart from collaboration in a common front against this ambitious and dangerous claimant to the Byzantine throne. If the negotiations initiated to this end during this period did not have time to produce a full alliance, this was due to the sudden turn of the Latins of Constantinople to Asen¹⁴. According to the accounts of Western writers¹⁵, it was suggested to the Bulgarian Tsar Asen, after the sudden death of Emperor Robert de Courtenay in 1228, that he should undertake the guardianship of Emperor Baldwin II, who was a minor. The suggestion was most tempting, since not only did it satisfy the ambitious schemes of the Tsar, but it also included an agreement to marry the minor Emperor to Asen's daughter¹⁶. Asen had been adjudged suitable for this guardianship due to his relationship with the Imperial House of Constantinople through his wife Anna-Maria, daughter of the Hungarian King Andrew II¹⁷. The

doros' coronation to 1227-1228. In view of the above, A. Karpozilos returned to supporting the earlier theory that Theodoros' coronation took place in 1225. However, E. Bees-Seferli has recently brought to light unpublished letters of Ioannis Apokafkos from which the coronation of Theodoros Doukas has been ascertained as taking place between April and August 1227. See E. Bees-Seferli, «Ο χρόνος στέψεως τοῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα ὡς προσδιορίζεται ἐξ ἀνεκδότων γραμμάτων τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἀποκαύκου», *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* XXI (1971-1974), Athen 1975, 272-279.

13. Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 41. Cf. Nikov, «Cărkovnata politika...», p. 76. Zlatarski, *Istorija* III, pp. 333-334, follows Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie...», p. 23, in supposing that the rapprochement through marriage between Asen and Theodoros Doukas took place after the latter had captured Thessaloniki in 1224.

14. Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 59: «καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Ἀσᾶν ὑποποιοῦνται, καὶ τούτῳ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην σπένδονται». According to Zlatarski, the discussions between Asen and Patriarch Germanos II on the ecclesiastical question had the same fate, being broken off during 1228 without result. See, *Istorija* III, pp. 366-367.

15. See Marini Sanuti Torselli, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, lib. II, cap. XVIII (apud Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, t. II), Hanoviae 1611, pp. 72-73. Cf. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie», p. 32.

16. «tandem domino Balduino...ad modum utiliter tractatum et jurejurando firmatum fuit de filia Imperatoris Exagorarum». M. Sanuti Torselli, *Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, p. 72.

17. See Th. Archidiaconi, «Historia Salonitana», *Monumenta spectantia Historiam*

Latins' haste was completely justified at this time and was due, as we have said, to Theodoros Doukas' plans of conquest. Thus the direct contacts between Asen and Nicaea were broken off, to be resumed, it is true, some years later. At all events, those preliminary contacts did not remain fruitless. In our opinion (which we shall attempt to substantiate below) the full restoration of ecclesiastical relations between the Archbishopric of Trnovo and the Patriarchate was realised in the context of the political rapprochement of the Bulgarians with the Greeks of Nicaea, referred to above.

The intervening Latin approach to Asen would seem, however, to have been simply a political manoeuvre, since while the latter was priding himself on his success¹⁸, the Latins changed their plans¹⁹. The agreements with Asen were set aside and his place was taken by Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem²⁰. This change in the Latin position was strengthened, perhaps even provoked, by the catastrophic defeat of Theodoros Doukas near Klokotinitza in 1230²¹. Asen won that battle, but lost the diplomatic battle with the Latins, since after the neutralisation of Theodoros, Asen's presence became dangerous, and thus the fulfilment of the agreement concerning the regency was senseless. After this, with everything happening in Asen's ignorance, Jean de Brienne arrived in Constantinople in 1231, and was crowned Emperor²². This event enraged the Bulgarian Tsar to such an extent that he resolved to avenge himself on the Latins. For the success of this plan he did not hesitate to cooperate with the Byzantine

Slavorum Meridionalium, Zagrabiae 1894, SS. III, p. 92, as well as the letter of King Andrew II to Pope Honorius III, in A. Theiner, *Monumenta hist. Hungariae*, vol. I, Romae 1859, p. 21.

18. See the inscription of Ivan Asen in the church of the Forty Martyrs in Trnovo, from the year 1230, in which he speaks of his conquest and subjugation even of the Latins of Constantinople, in J. Ivanov, *Bulgarski starini iz Makedonija*, Sofija 1931, p. 420.

19. For the secret agreement between the Latins of Constantinople and Jean de Brienne, King of Jerusalem, made in Perugia during the year 1229 in the presence of the Pope, see C. Hopf, «Geschichte Griechenlands von Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit», *Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie*, Bd. 85, Leipzig 1867, p. 252, col. 2. Cf. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie...», p. 33.

20. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie...», p. 33, attributes the Latins' change to papal intervention. On the other hand G. Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije*, p. 410, sees this event as the result of the change in political conditions after the defeat of Theodoros Doukas at Klokotinitza.

21. For the battle at Klokotinitza see Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 45; N. Gregoras, *Historiae Byzantinae*, p. 28. Also cf. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 339, where the other Latin and Slav mentions of the event are referred too, as well as the remaining bibliography.

22. See, Hopf, *op. cit.*, 253. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 358, upholds that the agreement between the Latins of Constantinople and the Pope with Jean de Brienne was carefully kept secret from Tsar Asen.

Emperor, Ioannis Vatatzis²³, with whom only three years earlier he had discussed the neutralisation of Theodoros. The later negotiations led to the accord of Lampsakos in 1235²⁴. In this, among other items, was included the final settlement of the ecclesiastical problem, with the Bulgarian Church being proclaimed a Patriarchate²⁵.

From the above, it is clear that the period between 1231 and 1235 was really an opportune one for the restoration of the relations between the Bulgarian Church and the Patriarchate. This has so influenced historical research to date, that the earlier amicable period of 1224-1228 has been completely ignored. Two contemporary sources have given strong support to this impression, a letter relating to the person who occupied the Archiepiscopal Throne of Trnovo up to 1232 and the «Sinodik» of Tsar Boril²⁶. The first, an indirect source, was written by the Metropolitan of Ancyra, Christophoros, who was sent to Greece about the year 1232, following a decision of the Oecumenical Patriarchate²⁷. The purpose of this journey was, in his capacity as Exarch of the Oecumenical Throne, to negotiate a solution to the schism, and the restoration of canonical relations between the Greek dioceses of the West and the Patriarchate²⁸. While

23. For the negotiations between Asen and Vatatzis, see Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 53, and Gregoras, *Hist. Byzantinae* II, 8, p. 29. From the Latin side, mention is made of these negotiations by Andrea Danduli, *Chronica per extensum descripta aa. 46-1280 d.c.*, ed. Muratori t. XII, parte I, p. 295. Cf. D. Angelov, «Italijski izvor za bălgarskata srednovekovna istořija», *Ist. pregled* 28/6 (1972), 86-99, and A. Miliarakis, 'Ιστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαιᾶς', pp. 267-275; Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 379-380, and Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije*, pp. 409-410.

24. Acropolitis, *Annales*, pp. 54-55, and Gregoras, *Hist. Byzantinae*, p. 30.

25. In addition to Acropolitis and Gregoras (as above), this event is mentioned by Ephraemius Monachus, ed. Angelo Maio, Bonnae 1840, p. 329.

26. This «Sinodik» was published by S. N. Palauzov, «Sinodik carja Borisa», *Vremennik Imp. Mosk. obšt. ist. i drevn. Ross.* XXI (1855), 9-12, and later by M. G. Použenko, *Sinodik carja Borisa*, (*Izvestija Russkago Archeol. Inst. v Konstantinopole*), sv. 2 (1897) Prilozhenie I-II, pp. 1-82. Cf. J. Andreev, «Beležki vārhu Palauzovija prepis na Borilovija Sinodik», *Izvestija na Bālg. istor. Družestvo* XXIX (1974), 137-141, and B. St. Angelov, «Deux contributions à l'histoire de la culture médiévale bulgare», *Byzantino-Bulgarica* IV (1973), 75-83.

27. See «Ἐνταλμα τῆς ἐξαρχίας τοῦ Ἀγκύρας», in Fr. Miklosich - Jos. Müller, *Acta et Diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, t. III, Vindobonae 1865, p. 65.

28. Christophoros' rôle is mentioned in the letter addressed to him by Metropolitan Varbanis of Kerkyra. In this, the latter explains to Christophoros that, owing to sickness, he will not be able to be present at the council called to end the schism. See Ed. Kurtz, «Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16 (1907), 139-140. Patriarch Germanos II, in his letter to the despot Manuel Doukas, also gives explanations for the presence there of Christophoros as the representative of the Patriarchate, saying: «τέως δ' οὖν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν τὸν παρόντα ἱερώτατον μητροπολίτην Ἀγκύ-

Christophoros was on the Holy Mountain, he sent a personal letter to the Bulgarian Tsar, Asen, on the subject of the ecclesiastical question itself. This letter, dated 1233²⁹, contains some very interesting information about the condition of the Bulgarian Church and its relations with the Patriarchate. It contains, among other things, the valuable information that Christophoros had met the Archbishop of Trnovo, who had resigned from his throne, and who had, that year, retired to the Holy Mountain³⁰. It is true that no further details are contained in the letter as to the reason for and date of the resignation of the Bulgarian Archbishop. Researchers, however, have not found it difficult to make up for this omission with material supporting their ideas that, up to this time, the Bulgarian Church continued to have a Uniate primate, one subject to the Pope. If this was so, then the reason for the Archbishop's resignation from the Throne of Trnovo would not be difficult to find—it would have been due to his opposition to Asen's turn towards the Greek Patriarchate³¹.

Other information to supplement this is contained in the *Life of St. Paraskeve*³². According to the narrative of its writer, Patriarch Efthymij, when Tsar Asen heard of the miracles and fame of the Saint, he asked the Latins to permit the transference of her relics from the village of Epivatae to his capital, Trnovo. After the agreement of the Latins, who were richly rewarded for it, the reception of the relics of the Saint in Trnovo took place with all splendour. The Tsar Ivan Asen with the royal family, in order to receive the relics went

ρας, ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος, συνοδικῇ σκέψει καὶ συμβουλίᾳ ἔχαπέστειλα τὸν τόπον τῆς ἡμῶν μετριότητος ὁφείλοντα ἐκληπαροῦν ἐν πᾶσι πρακτέοις τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ πατριαρχικῷ προσαρμόζουσιν». Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et Diplomata III*, p. 64. In addition, Christophoros himself in his letter to Asen states the purpose of his arrival in a similar manner: «οὐ γάρ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐγεγόνει κατέλευσις, ὥστε καν ταῖς ἱεροπραξίαις καὶ ἄλλῃ πάσῃ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τόπῳ ἐνὶ ἡ χώρᾳ μιᾷ περιγράφεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δύσει τοποτηρητής καὶ ἔξαρχος ἀπεστάλην παρά τε τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου δεσπότου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῆς Ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀγίας συνόδου, ἅπαντα κατὰ δύσιν διεξάγειν καὶ ἐνεργεῖν, δόποσα προσαρμόζει τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ πατριαρχικῷ». Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141. Cf. Laghopatis, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β' πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινοπόλεως*, pp. 30-71, and A. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical Controversy*, pp. 89-95.

29. In Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141-142. Cf. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 361-362.

30. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141.

31. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 355.

32. See S. Novaković, «Život sv. Petke od patrijarha bugarskoga Jeftimija», *Starine IX* (1877), 48-59, and J. Ivanov, *Starini iz Makedonija*, pp. 431-433. A Greek translation of the Bulgarian narrative of Patriarch Efthymios survives, undertaken by Metropolitan of Myreia at the end of the sixteenth century. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμητικῆς Σταχνολογίας, t. I, pp. 438-453.

out from the city while Archbishop Vassilij with all the clergy went out, too. «И такоже се оукъдѣ благочестиви царъ Иванъ Ясенъ, изиде изъ града съ матерію своею царицею Еленою, и съ своею царицею Янъною и съ въсѣми велможи съвоними, съ ними же и всесъстни патріархъ куръ Василіе съ въсѣмъ причътвъмъ црковныи на»³³.

It is true that it is not known when, exactly, the transfer of St. Paraskeve's relics took place. However, it seems clear that the above event took place after Asen's triumphant victory over Theodoros Doukas at Klokotinitza, since it is mentioned in the narrative that the Tsar had subjected to his authority the whole of Macedonia together with Serres, the Holy Mountain, Thessaloniki, Thessaly, Serbia, Dalmatia and Albania as far as Dyrrachion³⁴. On the other hand, from the readiness of the «Franks» to hand the relics of the Saint over to Asen, researchers have been led to the conclusion that the relations between him and the Latins during this particular period were good, and consequently that the event took place before the coronation of Jean de Brienne as Emperor of Constantinople, which occurred during the month of August, 1231³⁵. Even if there still exist doubts as to the exact determination of the time during which the above events took place³⁶, the mention of Vassilij's name is without doubt a positive factor in the investigation of the matter that concerns us.

Historical research has been particularly concerned with this reference to the name of Vassilij as Archbishop of Trnovo, and in particular as to whether he ought to be identified with the Uniate Vassilij or whether he is a separate personality³⁷. The great interval between 1185 and 1231 (forty-six years) has raised doubts as to the identification of this Vassilij with the first Archbishop of Trnovo³⁸. Finally, to fill another lacuna in the history of the Archbishopric, it has been accepted that Archbishop Vassilij was the same as the one who, in

33. S. Novaković, «Život sv. Petke», p. 58; Cf. J. Ivanov, *Starini..*, p. 433.

34. S. Novaković, «Život sv. Petke», p. 57.

35. Zlatarski, summarising the views of E. Golubinskij, *Kratki očerk istorii pravoslavných cerkvej bolgarskoj, serbskoj i rumynskoj ili moldovaškoj*, Moskva 1871, p. 281, and P. A. Syrku, «Neskoljko zametok o dvuch proizvedenija trnovskago patriarcha Evtimija», *Sbornik V. Iv. Lamanškago I*, St. Petersburg 1883, p. 382 note 3, accepts that the event took place between 1230-1231, when Asen vanquished and neutralised Theodoros Doukas. See *Istorija III*, p. 345, note 1. However, we shall return to this with more recent information.

36. See below.

37. See Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie..», pp. 51-52; P. Nikov, «Cărkovnata politika na Ivan Asenja II», *Bălgarskata Istoricheska Biblioteka III* (1930), 89-90, and Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 362, note 1.

38. Nikov, «Cărkovnata politika», pp. 89-90.

1185, had taken part in the revolution of the brothers Peter and Ivan Asen and who, in 1204, had been proclaimed primate of all Bulgaria and Wallachia by the Pope. The above supposition has been defended in the following manner: first by the claim that, under his Uniate identity, he was forced by Asen to resign after the latter's turn to the Eastern Church, and secondly by the absence of his name from the list of Patriarchs of Trnovo contained in Boril's «Sinodik»³⁹. This «Sinodik» which is preserved in a later copy attributed to the Synod held in Trnovo in 1211 under Tsar Boril, aimed at combatting the Bogomiles⁴⁰. This Council was characterised as Orthodox since the Uniate Archbishop Vassilij was not present at it. An original text to this effect has survived, although the later additions followed the same line⁴¹. Thus when a list of Archbishops of Trnovo was drawn up at a later date, the name of Vassilij was deliberately omitted as incompatible with the Orthodox character of the text. This is the official view of present-day historical research⁴².

Attempts have also been made to interpret a later text along these lines. It concerns the «pittakion» sent to Patriarch Germanos II drawn up in the name of all the Western bishops by Metropolitan Ioannis Apokafkos of Nafpaktos⁴³. It is true that in this letter there is an allusion to negotiations and correspondence between Asen and Nicaea. Defending Theodoros Angelos' right to be called king (a title that the patriarch had denied him), Ioannis Apokafkos complains how, despite this, it is possible for the title to be borne by the Latin gov-

39. Ioakim is referred to as the first Patriarch in the Sinodik. See the edition of Popruženko, *Sinodik...*, p. 75. Cf. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie...», p. 52, and Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 301.

40. For the Bogomils in general see: Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 290-303; G. Ostrogorski, *Istorija Vizantije*, pp. 259-260, note 1; D. Angelov, B. Primov, G. Batakliev, *Bogomilstvoto v Bălgarija, Vizantija i Zapadna Evropa v izvori*, Sofija 1967; D. Angelov, *Le Bogomilisme en Bulgarie*, Sofija 1969; Cf. P. Tivčev, *Byzantino-Bulgarica IV* (Sofija 1973), 333-344; Drag. Dragojlović, «Bogomil political role among Balkanic nations», *Balcanica I* (Beograd 1970), 43-69, and «Bogomilisme et mouvements hérétiques dualistes du Moyen Age», *Balcanica 4* (Beograd 1973), 121-143; *idem*, *Bogomilstvo na Balkanu i u Maloj Asiji, I. Bogomilski Rodo-načalnici* (Balkan. Inst., posebna izd. 2), Beograd 1974.

41. It ought to be noted here that it is more than likely that the original description of the founding of the Bulgarian Patriarchate underwent various alterations with the passage of time. This view is strengthened by the existence of certain variations of the texts which relate to the list of Patriarchs of Trnovo. See the study of V. S. Angelov, «Deux contributions à l'histoire de la culture médiévale bulgare (1. Copie inconnue du récit de la restauration du patriarcat bulgare)», pp. 75-83 and especially 76.

42. See Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 202-203.

43. See this letter, «pittakion», in Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica saeculi XIII. Iz perepiski Ioanna Navpactksago», *Vizantijskij Vremennik III* (1896), 288-293.

ernor of Constantinople, who indeed errs in the faith, as well as by the «Archon» of «Aemos» the Scythian Asen: «Καὶ δικαιούσθω λοιπὸν δὲ μόνη τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει τὸν βασιλικὸν περιγραψάμενος πλατυσμόν, δὲ ἀζυμίτης, δὲ περὶ τὴν πίστιν σφαλλόμενος, βασιλεὺς δονομάζεσθαι, εἴτι δὲ καὶ δὲ τοῦ Αἵμου κατάρχων Σκύθης Ἀσᾶν, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑψηλότατος ἀκουέτω καὶ μεγαλυνέσθω ἐν γράμμασι, παροράσθω δὲ δὲ τὸ δικαίωμα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκ προγόνων λαβών καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν δικαίως καλούμενος...»⁴⁴.

This letter is undated. At first, Vasiljevskij⁴⁵ and after him Zlatarski⁴⁶ supposed that it was written in 1228, and that the negotiations hinted at in it took place during that year, but were doomed to failure due to the fact that the primate of the Bulgarian Church was a Uniate. In particular, Zlatarski mentions that Patriarch Germanos rejected Asen's proposals because of the allegiance of the Bulgarian «patriarch»⁴⁷. Consequently, according to this view, Apokafkos' letter is further evidence for the occupancy of the Uniate Vassilij of the Archiepiscopal Throne of Trnovo up to that year.

Our first doubts as to the above argument arose after a careful reading of the «pittakion», that is to say, of the letter which Metropolitan Ioannis Apokafkos drew up and sent to Patriarch Germanos II. Especially on reading the above quotation, for although the condemnation that he is an «unleavened one ... erring in the faith», is levelled at the Emperor of Constantinople, there is no similar condemnation of the Archon of Aemos, the «Scythian Asen». If, in the year that this letter was drawn up, the Church of Bulgaria continued to be subject to the Pope, what would have prevented its writer from characterising Asen as at least «erring in the faith», if nothing else? This would have been an additional argument for the Metropolitan as to the irregularity of the titles attributed to this archon by the Patriarch and, in all probability, by the Byzantine court in Nicaea.

As has been said, this letter was undoubtedly written after Theodoros Doukas' coronation as king. Mention of this event is made at a number of points in the letter and especially in the phrase, «Εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τούτου κατορθώματα ἀπίδη τις, ἐξ ὅτου θεόθεν παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν ἐνταῦθα τόπων διακυβέρνησιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ ταῦτα, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο εῖχομεν εἰς προτίμησιν, οὐκ εἰκαίως τούτῳ ἀποβραβεύσει τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα»⁴⁸.

44. Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», p. 292.

45. Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», pp. 235-236.

46. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 355, 360.

47. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 360.

48. Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», pp. 291-292.

According to the deductions of recent researchers, Theodoros' coronation as king by Demetrios Chomatianos has been placed in the middle of 1227⁴⁹. It is also worth noting that at the beginning of the letter, Apokafkos makes special mention of the Archbishopric of Ochrid (Achris) as desiring to subscribe to the «pittakion», and, by so doing, to express its submission to the Oecumenical Throne: «ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Βουλγαρίαν αὐτοκεφάλη ἀρχιερατικῆ ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτὴν ἐπισκόποις· ἡθέλησε γάρ καὶ αὕτη τῷ ἀξιωματικῷ τοῦ σφετέρου θρόνου τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμετέραν ἀναφορὰν καὶ δι’ ἔαυτῆς συγκροτῆσαι»⁵⁰.

However, such a readiness on the part of the Archdiocese of Ochrid (in reality of its Archbishop, Demetrios Chomatianos) is incomprehensible, at least after the sharp letter of Patriarch Germanos, in which he reproaches the Archbishop on account of the coronation of the despot, Theodoros, as king by Demetrios⁵¹. Consequently, we ought to draw the conclusion that the «pittakion» was written after Theodoros' coronation, but before Chomatianos had received Patriarch Germanos' letter, since Chomatianos' immediate and vigorous reaction against the Patriarch is well-known. In a letter which he sent to the Patriarch, he not only defends his right to act as he did, but counterattacks and condemns the Patriarch with a list of his own irregular actions⁵². Thus the atmosphere created by the Patriarch's letter did not favour such an amicable dispo-

49. See Bees-Seferli, *op. cit.*, 278-279.

50. Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», p. 288.

51. It is known that in the year that Theodoros captured Thessaloniki, its Metropolitan was Constantinos Mesopotamitis. Invited by Theodoros to crown him king, he tenaciously refused. Acropolitis (*Annales*, pp. 33, 36) describes how, as a result of this stand, he was exiled. On the other hand, Georgios Vardanis in his letter to Patriarch Germanos II, maintains that the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki was never banished by Theodoros and that he preferred exile, despite the fact that he was requested to remain. See Raym. J. Loenertz, «Lettre de Georges Bardanès, Métropolite de Cörçyre, au patriarche oecuménique Germain II, 1226-1227», *'Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 33 (1964), 111. As a result of Constantinos' refusal, Archbishop Demetrios Chomatianos of Ochrid was invited, and he willingly crowned Theodoros king. Chomatianos, defending his action to Patriarch Germanos II, invokes a synodic decision which entrusted him with this undertaking: «Τῆς κοινῆς τοι-νυν ταύτης σκέψεως καὶ δύμοβουλίας ἔργον γέγονεν ἡ χρίσις τούτου τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοκράτορος, ἦν δὲ καὶ προεκρίθημεν ἡμεῖς γνώμη πάντων ἱερουργησαι, ὡς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἔχοντες». Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica VI*, col. 489 (nr. 114). For the *synodic act* recognising Theodoros as king, see Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», pp. 285-286. The letter of Patriarch Germanos to Demetrios Chomatianos is also quoted by Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica VI*, col. 483-486 (nr. 113).

52. Letter of Demetrios Chomatianos to Patriarch Germanos II, in Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, cols. 487-498 (nr. 114).

sition as is evident in Apokafkos' letter. But Chomatianos' letter is also undated. However, in it there are indirect references and phrases which enable us to determine, even if only approximately, the date of its composition.

Chomatianos' reply is a remarkable historical text⁵³, even though it contains much information that is either defective or of little importance. In the first place, with reference to the date of its composition, we have already said that there is no direct information. However, from the description of the events contained in it, we are able to draw certain definite conclusions. In particular, defending himself for his audacity in crowning Theodoros king, Chomatianos invokes the noble and royal descent and military successes of the despot, saying: «Τί γοὺν καινὸν καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, εἰ τὸν ἐξ αἷματος ὄντα βασιλικοῦ, εἰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἐστεμένου περικλύτου σεβαστοκράτορος, εἰ τὸν τῆς πορφυρογενήτου ἔκγονον, εἰ τὸν τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου δυσέκγονον, εἰ τὸν κληρονόμον τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀριστέα, εἰ τὸν ἐκ νεότητος καὶ ἔως ἄρτι στρατηγικοῖς μόχθοις ἐγγυμνασάμενον, νῦν τοῦ δυνάμεως ἡξιώσαμεν»⁵⁴.

Without doubt the above phrases «ἔως ἄρτι» and «νῦν τοῦ δυνάμεως ἡξιώσαμεν» imply no great distance in time from the events of 1227. For a better evaluation of the facts and the deduction of more accurate conclusions, it is true that we ought not to overlook the way in which the correspondence of the period was conducted. Having in mind the special conditions, we ought to allow at least a number of months for a letter from Nicaea to arrive in Ochrid, and vice versa. Thus if the letter of Germanos followed the information of Theodoros' coronation, the earliest that it could possibly have been written would have been the end of 1227 or the beginning of 1228⁵⁵. Chomatianos' reply, taken in conjunction with the phrases «ἔως ἄρτι» and «νῦν τοῦ δυνάμεως ἡξιώσαμεν» that are contained in it, ought to be placed during 1228⁵⁶. Consequently, the letter of Ioannis Apokafkos must have been written between 1227 and 1228, and certainly before the worsening of relations between Chomatianos and patriarch Germanos⁵⁷. However, in this case we ought to accept that during this time serious negotiations took place between Asen and Nicaea,

53. Cf. G. Ostrogorski, «Pismo Dimitrija Homatijana Sv. Savi i odložak Homatijanovog pisma patrijarhu Germanu o Savinom posvećenju», *Sabrania Dela*, t. IV, pp. 170-189. See especially p. 172.

54. Pitra, *Analecta sacra et classica*, col. 492.

55. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical Controversy*, p. 105 (nr. 11) places it between 1226-1227.

56. Cf. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical Controversy*, p. 105 (nr. 13), who places it between 1226-1227.

57. Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical Controversy*, p. 105 (nr. 14) places it between 1226-1227.

as Apokafkos clearly hints in his letter when he says, «ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Αἴμου κατάρχων Σκύθης Ἀσῆν, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑψηλότατος ἀκουέτω καὶ μεγαλυνέσθω ἐν γράμμασι».

This interpretation ought not to be considered impossible, especially if we have in mind Theodoros Doukas' dangerous advances, his capture of Thessaloniki and his coronation there as king. This last action of Theodoros, which in the relevant letters of the ecclesiastical leaders is represented as the sealing of his struggles against the Latins⁵⁸, made clear his ambition of entering Constantinople and restoring the fragmented Byzantine Empire. These intentions of Theodoros, as we have said, would naturally have troubled not only the Latins, but also the Byzantine Emperor, Ioannis Vatatzis, and Tsar Asen. As a result, the coming together of Vatatzis and Asen in the period 1224 to 1228 is not only not to be considered inopportune, but, indeed, most likely.

It is true that a problem is created as to how the Latins, who were surely aware of Asen's change in allegiance, especially following the restoration of his Church to the Patriarchate after he had disowned the Pope, could possibly have proposed that he undertake the regency of the minor, Baldwin II. Perhaps here we ought to accept Vasiljevskij's opinion that the above proposal (which was of a political nature) was made without the Pope having been consulted, and that the latter opposed it as soon as he learnt of it⁵⁹; perhaps even that the Pope himself was responsible for the rejection of Asen and for entrusting the regency of the throne of Constantinople to Jean de Brienne, the King of Jerusalem. Continuing Vasiljevskij's line of thought, it would even be possible to add with certainty that the basic reason for the Pope's hostile stand towards Asen must have been the aforementioned ecclesiastical policy of the Bulgarian leader. This view is made even more convincing by other information from Chomatianos which, as we shall see below, speaks clearly and directly of the

58. See similar expression in the *synodic act* recognising Theodoros as king: «Ἄντος γάρ ἔγένετο ρύστης μετὰ Θεόν καὶ σωτήρ ἡμέτερος καὶ αὐτοτελῆς σωτηρία.... ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ συμπλοκῶν ὑπὲρ ἀφανισμοῦ μὲν τελείου τῶν καταπολεμησάντων ἡμᾶς ἀθέων Λατίνων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Αἵμου Σκυθῶν». Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», p. 285; likewise, in Apokafkos' letter: «Αλλ' ὁ Θεός.... ὑπέταξε καὶ τούτους ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν καὶ συνέτριψεν.... τὰς πόλεις ἀνεσώσατο τῇ 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχῇ, τὰ ἐπισκοπεῖα θεοῦ Λατινικῆς μιαρίας ἀπελυτρώσατο...». Vasiljevskij, *op. cit.*, p. 292, and in that of Chomatianos to Patriarch Germanos: «οἱ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμῶν κατασχάζοντες ἐντεῦθεν συστέλλωνται, τῷ βασιλικῷ ὑποχωροῦντες δνόματί τε καὶ ἀξιώματι, οὓς ὁ κρατιώς οὗτος καὶ ἄγιος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς περιχώρου ταύτης, ἀμυνήτοις ἴδρωσι καὶ πόνοις ἀπῆλασε...». Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, col. 489.

59. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie...», p. 33.

restoration of relations between the Patriarchate and the Archbishopric of Trnovo during the period in which he wrote to Patriarch Germanos II. This explicit information completely overturns all those hypotheses advanced to date in which it is stated that ecclesiastical relations were restored after 1231, and supports the many other allusions to this subject that are to be found scattered in various other texts.

The information is contained in the above-mentioned reply of Chomatianos to Patriarch Germanos II, who had reproved him for his action in crowning Theodoros king. In his reply, Chomatianos cites among the Patriarch's irregular actions his intervention in the Archdiocese of Ochrid and the establishment within its boundaries of the Archbishopric of Serbia⁶⁰, as well as the Archbishopric of Zagora. Concerning the latter, he reproves the Patriarch for appointing an Archbishop in Zagora for it is known that «Ternovos» belongs to his own eparchy. Here is Chomatianos' text: «Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν προχείρησιν τῆς ἱεραρχικῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς αὐτόθεν δεδομένης τῇ Ζαγορᾷ εἰς μέσον προθήσομεν, εὐρήσομεν καὶ ταύτην ἐπισφραγίσασαν τοὺς ἐκεῖσε πάλαι προηγμένους ἀκανονίστως, οὓς μοιχοὺς καὶ ἐπιβήτορας ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅρθος λόγος οἶδε καλεῖν, οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμέτερον δίκαιον παρασπάσασαν, μέρος γάρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαρχίας ὁ Τέρνοβος»⁶¹.

From the above paragraph of Chomatianos, we can surely draw the following conclusions: First, that at the time of the letter's composition, there was an «ἱεραρχικὴ κεφαλὴ» (archbishop) in Zagora who had received his «προχείρησις» (consecration) from the Patriarch, whose see was in Nicaea; second, that this ordination relates to a single instance since the verb «δεδομένης» does not contain the idea of repetition—if this were the case he would have said «διδομένης», to express an action that was either repeated now, or in the future; and third, that there is no doubt that it relates to the Archbishopric of Trnovo since he expressly says: «μέρος γάρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαρχίας ὁ Τέρνοβος». It is true to say that this fully confirms the doubt expressed above as to the correct interpretation of the «*pittakion*». It also fully justifies Apokafkos' omission in not characterising Asen as «περὶ τὴν πίστιν σφαλλόμενον».

In the light of the above information given to us by Chomatianos, we are in a position to give the true interpretation to another misinterpreted letter, to which we have already referred, which is the letter of Metropolitan Christo-

60. «Ἄντοθεν γάρ, ἵνα τὸ ἀπόρρητον εἴπω, ἐπὶ ἀδικίᾳ ἡμετέρᾳ, ἔχειροτονήθη ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Σερβίας». Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, col. 495. Cf. Ostrogorski, «Pismo Homatijana», pp. 188-189.

61. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, col. 496.

phoros of Ancyra to «King» Asen in the year 1233⁶². Addressing himself to Asen, Christophoros calls him «the spiritual son of the most holy lord and oecumenical patriarch»⁶³, something which it would have been impossible for him to say to an archon, subject to the Pope of Rome. But continuing, he expresses himself even more clearly, explaining the spiritual relationship created by the union under Asen of the formerly divided Churches, «ὅτι τῆς ἀγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνον ἐγένου γνήσιον καὶ ἡνωσας καλῶς τὰ πρώην διεστῶτα κακῶς καὶ εὐόδωσας πρᾶγμα ὀρθοδοξότατον εἰς τὴν Ζαγοράν, σπερ οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ σοῦ ἴσχυσε»⁶⁴.

In the past there have been attempts to alter the meaning of the above phrase; i.e. it has been claimed that it expresses the spirit of the negotiations already begun, and that the exaggeration of the expressions was aimed at the enticement of the Bulgarian leader⁶⁵. However, today, we are able to emphasize with certainty that the warmth of the expressions had other intentions, and that the restoration of ecclesiastical relations between the Patriarchate and the Bulgarians referred to in these lines was a reality. Christophoros neither exaggerates the essence of the matter nor does he outstrip events, but according to the epistolary custom of the time he elegantly describes a fact.

Further on, when he has explained to Asen the purpose of his visit, he gives us more valuable information: that on the Holy Mountain he had met the «μακαριώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Τρινόβολού»⁶⁶. His report in this instance is very interesting. He had wanted, he says, to write to the king earlier «of the many matters (on which he had conversed) with this archbishop» but «worldly disorders»⁶⁷ had prevented him. And he continues: «καὶ ἡνάγκασα αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ μετάνοιαν θεῖς καὶ συγγνόμην αἰτήσας ἀπεκρίνατο μοι τινὰ δοκοῦντα εὔλογα»⁶⁸, which means that he had made great efforts and had exercised all his influence to persuade the Archbishop in question to return to his throne. Who, therefore, was the Archbishop to whom Christophoros refers, who had conversed with such intimacy with the exarch of the Oecumenical Throne, who had knelt before him to ask forgiveness, and

62. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141-142.

63. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141.

64. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141.

65. Nikov, *op. cit.*, 86. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie..», pp. 50-51, maintains that the complete submission of the Archbishopric of Trnovo to the Patriarchate had already been achieved even before 1232.

66. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

67. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

68. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

who had justifiable explanations for his removal from his throne which he expressed to the exarch? Was it perhaps the Uniate Vassilij who, as has been upheld⁶⁹, was compelled to resign on account of his allegiance to the Pope? But can the stand of a Uniate, and indeed of one so faithful to Rome, ever be reconciled with one who kneels, asks forgiveness and who also revealed, «τινὰ δοκοῦντα εὔλογα» which surely related to his resignation? And, moreover, why would Christophoros insist on trying to persuade a Uniate Archbishop to return to his throne at the very moment, it is argued, when it was exactly this that was the reason for the relations with the Patriarchate not having been restored? It is true that the Archbishop in question is on the Holy Mountain, having previously left his throne. Christophoros speaks of the resignation of the Archbishop, and even adds that he was informed of this later, not by the Archbishop himself but by others: «φθάνει δέτέρωθιν ἐνηχηθῆναι τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι, δτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην δ τοιοῦτος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος παρητήσατο...»⁷⁰.

But it was only the matter of the *Unia* which could have led to the presumed resignation of the Archbishop. If something had occurred, it would have been impossible for Christophoros not to have known of it and even to have insisted on returning him to his throne. On the other hand, no other mention of this is made in the letter, so it is an unsupportable hypothesis, on its own, which in the light of the above mentioned information of Chomatianos ought to be rejected.

However, if one excludes the above supposition one may ask the question, what positive purpose was served by the letter and what was Christophoros' aim in writing it? As is known, the mission of Metropolitan Christophoros of Ancyra as exarch of the Patriarchate «ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δύσει»⁷¹ had the express purpose of ending the schism which «ἡ καιρικὴ τῶν πραγμάτων περιφορὰ καὶ καθολικὴ σύγχυσις»⁷² had produced. As is clearly described in the correspondence between Patriarch Germanos II and the Western Metropolitans⁷³, this schism and the ecclesiastical disorder in general was created by the demonstrations of autonomy, the ordination of bishops and other initiatives⁷⁴ which

69. Nikov, «Cărkovnata politika», p. 89, and Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 362-363.

70. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

71. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 141.

72. Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», p. 290.

73. See Karpozilos, *The ecclesiastical Controversy*, pp. 46-49.

74. See characteristically: the letter of Ioannis Apokafkos to Patriarch Manuel, in which mention is made of the difficulties facing those wishing to travel to Nicaea for ordination: «καὶ πάντως, ἐπει διὰ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ κατὰ χέρσον καὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ τῆς λατινικῆς ἐπηρείας σκῶλά τε καὶ ἐμπόδια δυσχερής ἡμῖν ἡ πρὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν ἄνοδος». Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», p. 266; the letter of Patriarch Manuel to the above Metropolitan in which the for-

canonically belonged to the Patriarchate. The basic element of the independence of a Church was the election and consecration of the archbishop by the bishops of that Church⁷⁵. It was possible to use the Archbishopric of Ochrid, which was already autocephalous and as such was considered by the Western Metropolitans who co-operated with it⁷⁶, as an example of the disruptive inclinations of certain ambitious Metropolitans. This especially could have influenced the Bulgarian Church which had a tradition of autonomy and which, from its foundation, had made persistent efforts to obtain full independence⁷⁷. On the other hand, from the content of Christophoros' letter to Asen it would seem that the patriarchal exarch was concerned with the matter of the election and the manner of the consecration of a new Archbishop for the Church of «Τρίνοβος». Referring to this, he suggests to the Bulgarian king that a candidate be elected and be sent to the East where he would be consecrated: «εἰ οὖν ἐτοίμως [ἔχεις] ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ στεῖλαι τὸν χειροτονηθησόμενον κάκειθεν δέξασθαι τὴν χειροτονίαν...» continuing «ἄλλος δέ τις μὴ ὑπέλθῃ ταύτῃ σκοπός, ὃς εἴ γε παρ' ὃν ψηφισθήσεται, παρ' ἐκείνων χειροτονηθήσεται»⁷⁸. He does not mention the restoration of relations or the rejection of the *Unia*, since these had already been accomplished. Otherwise it would have been impossible for Christophoros to mention solely the manner of the election and consecration of the new Archbishop, and to omit the most important matter, the rejection of the *Unia*, if the Bulgarian Church had not been restored to her canonical position towards the Oecumenical Patriarchate. It is well-known that the Eastern Church attributed great importance to the matter of the return of hierarchs to Orthodoxy.

mer specifies the instances of arbitrary ordination of the Metropolitans of Dyrrachion and Larissa. Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», pp. 268-269; the letter of Apokafkos to Germanos, in which he refers to instances where the bishops of Kerkyra, Leukas and Farsala were consecrated in the absence of the Patriarch. Apokafkos justifies the event as the result of political confusion: «Ἡ γὰρ κατική τῶν πραγμάτων περιφορὰ καὶ καθολική σύγχυσις ἄδειαν παραλόγου κανονομίας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπισκοπικοῖς εἰσήνεγκεν ἐνεργήμασιν». Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», p. 290. See also the case of the Bishop of Servia in Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, cols. 577-588.

75. For this, see detailed observations of S. Troicki, «Suština i faktori avtokefalije», *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke* 3 (Beograd 1933), 2-16, especially 8-11.

76. See the letters of Ioannis Apokafkos, Vasiljevskij, «Epirotica», pp. 272-273 and 288.

77. The repeated pressure put on the Patriarch from the time of foundation of the Bulgarian Church under Boris (865), as well as the arbitrary announcements of titles and dignities expressing its independence are known from history. We shall return to this subject in a future study.

78. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

An almost contemporary example was the case of the so-called «Βουλγαρο-επίσκοποι» (Bulgarian bishops) on account of whom a local council had been called⁷⁹ to determine their validity and to decide their fate. These hierarchs were judged by one party as uncanonical, having been appointed to sees that were already occupied since they had been ordained by Archbishop Vassilij for dioceses under the Archbishop of Ochrid⁸⁰. It is not possible therefore to believe that Christophoros would have overlooked the matter of the return of the Bulgarian Archbishop to the Orthodox Church, if indeed such a question existed. His silence leads us to believe that just the opposite was true—that the matter had been settled before Christophoros' letter.

From his letter it is clear that Christophoros was not worried about the restoration of canonical relations between the two Churches. However, following his authorisation, he is concerned with trying to define the level of these relations, since the consecration of a new Archbishop by the local bishops would have meant the full independence of that Archbishopric. On the contrary, the Patriarchate sought as far as possible to retain a greater influence over it by reserving the right of consecrating the new Archbishop. At all events, Christophoros' uneasiness and his concern in this instance show clearly that this matter had not been solved at an earlier stage. On the other hand, this matter is quoted by Nikov as positive evidence that the relations between the two Churches were not restored until 1232-1233. According to him, Christophoros wanted to prevent the new situation which would have followed the realisation of the rapprochement of the two Churches⁸¹. It is true that there is a new factor in the matter in question which disturbed the Oecumenical Exarch. However, as we shall see below, this is not the restoration of the canonical relations of the two Churches, but the first election and consecration of a Bulgarian Archbishop following it. However, it is reasonable to ask how it was possible to realise the restoration of canonical relations and indeed to talk about «προχείρησις ἕφαρχικῆς κεφαλῆς» without the fundamental matter of the consecration of the Archbishop having been solved beforehand.

The restoration of relations between the Archbishopric of Trnovo and the Greek Patriarchate could have taken place in one of two ways: either by the

79. See Laghopatis, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β' πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινούπολεως*, p. 79, and Miliarakis, *Ιστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας*, pp. 181-183.

80. See the letter of Demetrios Chomatianos to Metropolitan Padiaditis of Kerkyra, in Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, cols. 39-48 (nr. 8), and the *synodic act*, in Pitra, *op. cit.*, cols. 563-570 (nr. 156).

81. Nikov, «Cărkovnata politika», p. 87.

resignation of the previous Uniate Archbishop, the rejection of the *Unia* by the Bulgarian Church and the election of a new Archbishop to be ordained by the Patriarch or his representative, or through the rejection of the *Unia* by the existing Archbishop who would be obliged to repent and receive the blessing of the Patriarch. The strictness of the Eastern Church in this matter is evident. It is sufficient for us to mention that, in the case of the «Βουλγαροεπίσκοποι», unfrocking had been discussed⁸². It is true that, in the case of Vassilij, nothing of this nature could possibly have been the case, for it is known that he was canonically consecrated by the Orthodox Bishop of Vidin during the early stages of the Bulgarian revolution of 1185⁸³. However, it ought to be emphasised that, during this period of pronounced hostility towards the Latins, any case of secession from Orthodoxy and a later return to it was not a simple formality. If, from the anxiety of Christophoros on the matter of the succession, we are led to the reasonable conclusion that another election and consecration of a Bulgarian Archbishop was not held until that time⁸⁴, we ought to accept that it was Vassilij himself who returned the Bulgarian Church to the bosom of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. The case of Vassilij did not create a precedent to be followed, since a certain canonically unavoidable process was necessary on the part of the Patriarchate which did not give a pretext for other similar initiatives. Then, since there existed no way of self-restoration, the intervention of the Patriarch was undoubtedly needed, and the «προχείρησις τῆς ἱεραρχικῆς κεφαλῆς» to which Chomatianos refers and which was necessary for the canonical restoration of this Church, was accepted by the Bulgarians without complaint. However, in the case of the election and consecration of a new Arch-

82. Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, col. 565.

83. There exists the explicit testimony of Chomatianos himself on this matter, in Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, cols. 43 and 363-364.

84. Vasiljevskij, «Obnovlenie...», p. 52, basing himself on the «Εἰδησῖς» of the monastery of Vatopedi published by Porf. Uspenskij, in *Vostok christianskij. Pervoe puteshestvie v Athonskie monastyri i skiti v 1845 godu*, part 1, Kiev 1877, pp. 46-48, lets it be understood that research ought to be conducted with the aim of discovering another Archbishop of Trnovo, yet unknown to us. And this based on the fact that in the «Εἰδησῖς» mention is made of a certain Archbishop Gregorij of Trnovo, who «πρότερον χρηματίσας μητροπολίτης Φιλίππων». *Op. cit.*, p. 46. A more critical edition of this text has been undertaken by Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, Amsterdam² 1965, pp. 187-189. Zlatarski has also dealt with this matter in a specific study, «Edin grăcki falsifikat, kojto se otnasja kām bālgarskata istorija», *Byzantinoslavica II* (1930), 231-258. He rejects the historicity of the text, calling it forged. On the other hand, its historicity is accepted by G. Cankova-Petkova, in her study «Vosstanovlenie bolgarskogo patriarshestva v 1235 g. i međunarodnoe položenie bolgarskogo gosudarstva», *Vizantijskij Vremennik* XXVIII (1968), 136-150.

bishop the problem was completely different. It is not entirely improbable that there was a departure from the canonical path perhaps even inspired and directed by the great authority and ambition of the secular leader Asen. As we have mentioned elsewhere, there were numerous examples in the tradition of the Bulgarian Church itself that could be imitated. Apart from this, it could be used to stir up the rivalry towards the neighbouring autocephalous Churches of Ochrid and Serbia. In addition, that a parallel tendency existed within the circles of the Bulgarian Church is shown by its proclamation, a few years later, as a Patriarchate, something which was certainly not due to a Greek initiative. Christophoros' letter, therefore wanted to forestall these tendencies.

At first sight, the problem as to why, since Archbishop Vassilij had been reinstated, his name is not included in the list of Orthodox «patriarchs» of Trnovo is certainly not solved by the above. In fact, the matter would seem to become more confused. However, we ought not to overlook the fact that Vassilij was never recognised as patriarch. While he was recognised and reinstated as a canonical hierarch, this was only in his capacity as «archbishop». The Sinodik, at the point that interests us, contains the «patriarchs» of Trnovo⁸⁵. Yet, according to the account of this Sinodik⁸⁶, the title of «patriarch» was first held by Iоаким, and thus it is natural that he should be placed first in the list that follows the above description, and that the name of Vassilij should be missing. However, this is not a complete explanation, since it is known that the Bulgarians had a tendency to call all their Archbishops «patriarchs». Consequently, there is nothing that would have prevented the writer from including Vassilij in the list of «patriarchs» since he had been restored to Orthodoxy. Most probably the explanation is to be found in the more general impression that Vassilij's lengthy devotion to the Pope had created. He was widely known as a Uniate, and the change that occurred during the later years was not able to erase this from people's minds. The erasure of his name from the Sinodik of Boril would seem to be an echo of this deep consciousness of the Orthodox Bulgarian people.

The conclusions of historical research on this matter up to the present day are diametrically opposed. Zlatarski, following Nikov⁸⁷ and without any demonstrable evidence, expressed the opinion that the negotiations of 1231-33 between Asen and the Patriarchate on the ecclesiastical matter ended without result. Christophoros' intervention bore no fruit. From then on, the new «patriarch» of Trnovo was elected and consecrated by the local bishops, without

85. «Πρόκοπος(βάπτισμη) πατριαρχη τρινούον». Popruženko, *Sinodik*, p. 75.

86. Popruženko, *Sinodik*, p. 67.

87. Nikov, «Cărkovnata politika», pp. 87-88.

the participation of either the Patriarch or the Pope⁸⁸. Fortunately, the conclusions of more recent research on this matter are very revealing. Of special interest, is a recent article by S. Kožuharov⁸⁹ in which he publishes for the first time a Chronicle of this period which was previously unknown⁹⁰. The subject of the Chronicle is the *Fame of St. Paraskeve*, and the manner of the transfer of her relics from Callistrateia⁹¹ to Trnovo. At the end of the description, reference is made to the death of the Bulgarian Patriarch during the year of the arrival of the relics in Trnovo, and the dispatch of the monk Ioakim to Nicaea for consecration by Tsar Asen; «И по прѣставлены соꙗщоу патріарху лѣтѹ толоѹ, посла вл(а)говѣрны ц(а)рь Иоакимъ миխа, штца своєго миѡгосмѣрнълааго и пр(е)п(о)д(о)внааго въ мѣдоточнааго оѹченииа, прѣтиии вт І(а)ри гѹ(а)дд въ Никью велїкоѹ, вл(а)г(осло)вленіиа прїети аѹхнєренскѹ»⁹².

Here we see that the unknown writer of the Chronicle gives another picture, one which differs from that created by the suppositions about the ecclesiastical events of the period. First, that the new Archbishop was not consecrated by the local bishops, but that, quite naturally, he was sent to Nicaea by Asen to be consecrated there by the Patriarch. This evidence from the Chronicle fully agrees with the opinions upheld in this study and sheds new light on them. The action of Asen in sending the Archbishop-elect to Nicaea not only corresponds with Christophoros' recommendations, but shows that the matter had been settled earlier. In addition, the Chronicle's information concerning the sending of the monk Ioakim to Nicaea for consecration is in complete agreement with the historical facts of the time, and fills certain gaps in them. Kožuharov, in publishing and commenting on the Chronicle, advances the plausible and sound hypothesis that Ioakim, during his journey to Nicaea for consecration, was a member of a Greek delegation with more general terms of reference. Arriving in Nicaea during the year 1234, this delegation discussed the terms of the Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty with Emperor Ioannis Vatatzis. The Byzantine writers Acropolitis⁹³ and Gregoras⁹⁴, as well as contemporary Lat-

88. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 368.

89. Kožuharov, «Neizvesten letopisen razkaz ot vremeto na Ivan Asen II», *Literaturna Misal XVIII*, 2 (1974), 123-135.

90. The writer places this Chronicle after the third decade of the thirteenth century. See Kožuharov, «Neizvesten razkaz», p. 123.

91. Epivatae is a village near Callistrateia, for which reason mention is made of the latter in most of the related texts.

92. Kožuharov, «Neizvesten razkaz», p. 128.

93. G. Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 52: «πρεσβείαν γοῦν στέλλει ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντα τὸν Ἀσάν, καὶ μνηστείας τῶν παιδῶν μνημονεύει».

94. N. Gregoras, *Hist. Byzantinae*, p. 29: «Ἐν τούτοις δ' ὅντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ἥκουσι

ins⁹⁵, inform us explicitly about this event. Thus Acropolitis' statement that the Archbishop of Trnovo was subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople until the treaty of Lampsakos is explained: «καὶ ὁ Τρινόβου ἀρχιερεὺς ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τελῶν αὐτονομίᾳ τετίμηται»⁹⁶.

There exists another text dating from either the thirteenth or fourteenth century⁹⁷ concerning the dependence of the Archbishop of Trnovo on the Patriarchal Throne up to 1235, namely the «Εἰδησις» at the end of the Typikon of the Monastery of Vatopedi⁹⁸. This refers to a certain dispute between the monks of the Holy Mountain and the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki. The latter, having been ordained by the Bulgarian «Patriarch», wanted to ordain his own bishop for Ierissos and through him, extend his jurisdiction to the Holy Mountain. About three thousand monks opposed this, and appealed to the kings Asen and Vatatzis who, together with the Patriarch, were at Callipolis. There, they accused not only the Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, but the Archbishop of Zagora as well; «τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως εἰς ἔγκλησιν ἐποιήσαντο λόγον κατά τε τοῦ πατριάρχου Ζαγορᾶς καὶ τοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης ἐνώπιον ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων»⁹⁹.

It is true that much has been written concerning the authenticity and historicity of this manuscript¹⁰⁰. However, despite historical inaccuracies (chiefly concerning names¹⁰¹), certain historians have accepted that it contains πρεσβεῖς ἐκ Βουλγάρων σπουδῶν τε εἶνεκα, καὶ ἄμα ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἀσάν Ἐλένη τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως νίστιν Θεόδωρον γαμβρὸν ἔξαιτούμενοι».

95. Mar. San. Torselli, *Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, p. 73; Danduli, *Chronica*, p. 350; as well as information from four Roman Catholic monks who were in Nicaea at that time conducting negotiations with the Oecumenical Patriarchate. See Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio Conciliorum*, t. XXXIII, p. 294.

96. Acropolitis, *Annales*, p. 55; Gregoras, *Hist. Byz.*, p. 30.

97. Zlatarski, «Edin falsifikat», p. 256, places it during the second half of the fourteenth century, while Cankova-Petkova, *op. cit.*, 144, place it at the end of the thirteenth.

98. See Ph. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden*, pp. 187-189; P. Uspenskij, *Vostok christianskij*, pp. 46-48; Zlatarski, «Edin falsifikat», pp. 235-236; and Cankova-Petkova, *op. cit.*, 141-143, Russian translation.

99. Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden..*, p. 188; cf. Zlatarski, «Edin falsifikat», p. 235: «εἰς ἔγκλησιν ἐποιήσαντο, λόγον κατά τε τοῦ πατριάρχου Ζαγορᾶς καὶ τοῦ διαληφθέντος Θεσσαλονίκης ἐνώπιον καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως σφοδρῶς ἄγαν ποιούμενοι».

100. See chiefly, Zlatarski, «Edin falsifikat» and *Istorija III*, p. 362, note 1.

101. For example, a certain Manuel is referred to as Patriarch of Constantinople, although it is known that in the year 1235 Germanos II was Patriarch. In the same way, a certain Gregorij is mentioned as «Patriarch» of Zagora, although it is known from the Sinodik of Boril that at the time of the agreement of Lampsakos this position was occupied by Ioakim. See Popruženko, *Sinodik..*, p. 67.

historical truths of which we do not know from other sources¹⁰². If this view is correct then the «Ἐγκλησίς» of the «Patriarch» of Zagora before the Patriarch of «Constantinople» is of special importance for the matter examined here, namely the relations between the Archdiocese of Trnovo and the Patriarchate. However, a similar indictment would be impossible if the «Patriarch» of Zagora continued to be a Uniate, subject, that is, to the Pope, or if (as Zlatarski suggests) he was autocephalous¹⁰³.

However, let us return to the Slavonic Chronicle published by Kožuharov. The information given in it that the consecration of the new Archbishop, Ioakim, took place after the death of his predecessor deserves special attention. If this is correct, it cannot have been accidental, since, as we have come to believe from certain allusions in Christophorus' letter to Asen, the aforementioned «patriarch» (who was surely Vassilij) had not resigned from his throne. As a result of this, the Tsar was prevented by the canons from appointing another in his place. It is true that Christophorus mentions in his letter that he had been informed indirectly about the Archbishop's resignation, «φθάνει δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐνηχθῆναι τῇ ἡμῶν μετριότητι, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος παρῃστήσατο»¹⁰⁴. Consequently the Archbishop himself had not discussed the matter with him. So what prevents us from supposing that the Archbishop, who for some reason or other was in disagreement with Tsar Asen, was forced to leave his throne, and that after this, his opponents gave out that he had resigned? It was they who informed Christophorus of the matter and he, not wishing to displease the Tsar, spoke of the vacancy of the throne of «Τρινόβου ἐκκλησίας»¹⁰⁵. Despite what Christophorus says about the vacancy of the throne, we see from the Chronicle that the Tsar waited until the «patriarch's» death before proceeding to the election of another. However, what meaning would such a delay have had if the ejected «patriarch» was a Uniate? If, as has been suggested¹⁰⁶, the reason for the disagreement was the Archbishop's allegiance to the *Unia*, then with the agreement of the other hierarchs, it would have been possible for the Tsar to proceed immediately to the election of another «patriarch» subject to the Oecumenical Patriarch. From this, we are led with certainty to the conclusion, which is in complete accord with what has already been stated, that the Archbishop whom Christophorus met on the Holy Mountain

102. See Cankova-Petkova, *op. cit.*, 144.

103. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, p. 367-368.

104. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

105. Kurtz, *op. cit.*, 142.

106. Zlatarski, *Istorija III*, pp. 355, 360-361.

was Vassilij himself, but no longer a Uniate since he had already been restored to the Eastern Church. However, being in disagreement with Tsar Asen, he was forced to leave his throne and seek refuge on the Holy Mountain. Furthermore, only an orthodox hierarch could possibly have had the cordial conversations with the patriarchal exarch Christophorus of which we learn in the latter's letter.

Thus, if the Slavonic Chronicle's information about the «patriarch's» death and the dispatch of his successor, Ioakim, to Nicaea for consecration in the same year is correct, then Vassilij's death ought to be reckoned as having occurred at the end of 1233¹⁰⁷. In fact, according to the sequence given by the Chronicle, which can be fully justified, the order of events concerning Vassilij could be thus: at the beginning of 1233, the arrival of the relics of St. Paraskeve in Trnovo, where they were received by «patriarch» Vassilij. Immediately after this and following a disagreement with the Tsar over an unknown matter, he was forced to leave his throne and take refuge on the Holy Mountain where, in the middle of the same year, he met Metropolitan Christophorus. Subsequent to this, and at the end of the same year, Vassilij died, and Ioakim left for Nicaea. In the case of the first hypothesis concerning the transfer of the relics of St. Paraskeve in 1233, it is true that it is possible to express many doubts, chief among which is the Latins' readiness, mentioned in the life of the Saint, to hand over the relics—a readiness which contrasts with the conditions prevailing in 1233¹⁰⁸. How-

107. Kožuharov, *op. cit.*, 132, places the death of Vassilij at the beginning of 1234. However, the Chronicle which he himself has published does not permit such an interpretation. In particular, after the description of the solemn transfer of the relics of St. Paraskeve, the following is stated: «И по пръвставлени същия патриархъ лѣтотъ томоу, посла вл(а)говѣрни ц(а)рь Иоакимъ», *op. cit.*, p. 128. This means that during the same year as the transfer took place, the patriarch died and that Ioakim was sent to Nicaea; since it is evident from the punctuation of the text that the phrase «лѣтотъ томоу» refers to what has gone before, and connects this paragraph with the preceding, and not the following, one. This would not seem to have been ignored by Kožuharov in the Bulgarian translation of the text, (*op. cit.*, p. 129), but in evaluating the events he has neglected to associate the two. But even if Vassilij died in 1234, we ought to accept that the transfer of the relics of St. Paraskeve took place during that same year. But since it is known that in 1233 Vassilij was on the Holy Mountain, far from his archiepiscopal throne, and that during the reception of the relics he was still active, the year 1234 ought to be rejected as the year of the transfer of the relics of the saint, and consequently as the year of Vassilij's death. On the other hand, it fully agrees with the text and exactly meets the requirements, if we accept that the transfer of the relics took place at the beginning of 1233, and that Vassilij died at the end of the same year.

108. As we have seen above, at the beginning of this study, the relations between the Bulgarians and the Latins were characterised by extreme animosity after the year 1231, when Asen realised the deception that had taken place on the part of the Latins.

ever, perhaps the Greek Life of St. Paraskeve by Metropolitan Matthaeos of Myreon is not unconnected with these events. This hierarch translated a Bulgarian manuscript that is unknown to us¹⁰⁹, and tells us he undertook this translation diligently; «ἄπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπιμελῶς μετηνέγκαμεν εἰς τὴν ἑλληνίδα»¹¹⁰. In this Greek translation, mention is made of the Latins' refusal to hand over the relics, something which forced Asen to threaten them with war¹¹¹. In the face of Asen's pressure, the Latins, aware of their inability to resist and fight him, gave way and promised that they would hand over the relics¹¹². It is therefore not impossible that this allusion may conceal a certain truth. The Latins, knowing Asen's wrath and not wishing to give him a pretext with which to begin hostilities against them, could have submitted to his demands over the relics of St. Paraskeve. Such an interpretation agrees completely with the political conditions of that country in 1233.

However, independently of the above details about which it is quite natural that there should be a certain vagueness, the general conclusion that can be drawn from the Lives, taken in conjunction with the sources that we have discussed, is that the restoration of normal ecclesiastical relations between the Archdiocese of Trnovo and the Patriarchate based in Nicaea took place before Metropolitan Christophoros of Ancyra's arrival on the Holy Mountain. It was the result of the broader policy of both the Bulgarian Tsar Asen and the Byzantine Emperor Ioannis Vatatzis, who sought to form a common front against the dangerous and ambitious Theodoros Doukas, especially after the latters' capture of Thessaloniki and his coronation as king in 1227. Archbishop Vassilij of Trnovo accepted this change and was restored to the Orthodox Church, submitting both himself and his Church to the Oecumenical Throne. His successor, Ioakim, followed this example of submission and for this reason travelled to Nicaea to be consecrated by the Patriarch.

109. See the translation of the Metropolitan of Myrea in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *'Ανάλεκτα*, pp. 438-449.

110. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *'Ανάλεκτα*, p. 449.

111. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *'Ανάλεκτα*, p. 448: «Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Φράγκων καὶ μὴ θελόντων δοῦναι, πρὸς μάχην τοῦτον ἐκίνησαν», and «ἐκ δευτέρου πρέσβεις σὺν ὀργῇ ἀποστείλας τὰ εἰκότα προσηπείλε». The threat was clear: if his desire for the relics to be handed over was not complied with, he would mobilise against them «σὺν λαῷ ἀπειρῷ καὶ ἐμπειρῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀντιπαράταξιν καθ' ὅμδον ἐκστρατεύσω». *Ibid.*

112. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *'Ανάλεκτα*, p. 448: «Ταῦτα οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἀκούσαντες καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι καὶ συμπλακῆναι αὐτῷ, τοῖς ἐκείνου ὑπέκυψαν ρήμασι καὶ τὴν λάρνακα ὑπέσχοντο δοῦναι».

LA MORPHOLOGIE DES INSCRIPTIONS BYZANTINES ET POST-BYZANTINES DE GRÈCE*

N. Moutsopoulos

Une condition préalable fondamentale pour l'étude de l'évolution de l'écriture hellénique, est le rassemblement du matériel, la création d'un corpus constitué de photos et de copies en vraie grandeur. Ces copies en cellophane sont particulièrement précieuses car, au cours de la procédure de copie, la personne qui effectue cette tâche se familiarise avec l'objet.

Durant les dernières quinze années nous avons rassemblé des copies d'environ mille inscriptions de monuments byzantins et post-byzantins, en particulier des inscriptions appartenant à des églises. Ce matériel constitue une base sur laquelle peuvent se formuler des observations qui, à notre avis, pourraient avoir une application plus générale. Toutefois, l'étude de l'écriture d'une certaine période, comme celle que nous nous efforçons de faire, c'est à dire des inscriptions des années de servitude de la «Nation» après la chute de Constantinople (1453) jusqu'à la résurrection de la nouvelle nation hellénique (1821), suppose une connaissance de la morphologie de l'écriture byzantine. Autrement la comparaison serait impossible.

Ainsi, nous avons dû rassembler du matériel d'inscriptions byzantines qui couvre une période allant du 9^e siècle jusqu'à la date-étape qui est généralement reconnue comme une donnée historique, à savoir la chute de Constantinople. Au fond pourtant, cette date n'a aucune influence sur l'art ecclésiastique, sur l'iconographie des temples et naturellement, sur la morphologie de l'écriture. Certaines transformations et évolutions dans l'art de l'Hagiographie, quant à la technique, sont observées bien avant le milieu du XV^e siècle; certaines caractéristiques purement byzantines dans l'art et la morphologie de l'écriture byzantine sont observées même beaucoup plus tard.

Du fait que l'année 1453 est reconnue comme une étape, comme une date-limite qui détermine le sort historique des balkans pour une longue période, sous le joug d'un souverain implacable, nous sommes obligés d'utiliser les dé-

* Communication du Congrès de Varna, sous l'égide de l'UNESCO, 15-20 septembre 1975, sur le thème: «Les civilisations slaves et les Balkans».

nominations suivantes: «conservatisme», «archaïsme» ou, dans les meilleurs des cas, survie de formes byzantines et «mémoires byzantines».

Au fond, la chute de Constantinople n'eut qu'une répercussion très faible sur l'iconographie et sur la morphologie de l'écriture. Bien que ce fait ait troublé l'hellénisme, dans l'art, nous ne voyons que bien plus tard une transformation des valeurs artistiques de l'iconographie byzantine qui ont desservi les nouveaux besoins culturels du peuple asservi. L'introspection, l'austérité et l'ascétisme dans la représentation des formes des Saints, la gamme plus sobre des couleurs et d'autres valeurs esthétiques connues observées dans l'iconographie des années de l'occupation turque commencent à apparaître lentement et avec beaucoup d'hésitation. Il a fallu beaucoup de temps pour que l'évolution interieure et le monde spirituel des rayas chrétiens trouve son expression figurative.

Dans l'intérieur mi-obscur des basiliques humbles, basses, à la toiture en bois de l'époque de la domination turque, le peuple asservi se consolait des tourments de la servitude et puisait de la patience dans l'étude et l'enseignement des scènes des martyrs du nouveau synaxaire des saints, des néo-martyrs de la foi, et dans de l'espoir qui donnaient des scènes allégoriques pour une résurrection future de la Nation, pour une victoire de la croix sur le croissant; pour une libération dont les retentissements lointains arrivaient avec les messages de rayas émigrés, de la grande nation «blonde» chrétienne du nord.

Cette situation statique qui, pendant une longue période, domina l'art de l'Hagiographie et, comme nous verrons, l'épigraphie, était due notamment au conservatisme de l'Eglise exprimé par la politique du Patriarcat Oecuménique qui était le seul dépositaire des valeurs dogmatiques et morales de l'orthodoxie orientale.

Il ne faut pas oublier que, pendant l'occupation turque, la juridiction du Patriarcat Oecuménique s'est étendue de nouveau du Danube jusqu'aux fonds de l'Anatolie, jusqu'à «Kokini Milia».

Il faut, toutefois, examiner très succinctement l'origine de l'écriture grecque.

L'examen systématique de la morphologie de chaque lettre séparément de l'alphabet grec nous conduit à des constatations intéressantes sur l'évolution de l'écriture grecque.

La transformation de l'alphabet archaïque en celui de l'époque classique reflète toute l'évolution des mêmes forces internes qui ont transformé les valeurs artistiques de l'art archaïque en formes d'une parfaite harmonie et de l'*«εὐμετρία»* (juste mesure, juste proportion) qui ont insufflé le souffle aux filles archaïques de l'Acropole pour qu'elles deviennent des cariatides.

La finesse du tracé l'*«εὐμετρία»*, l'harmonie entre l'espace couvert par les lettres des inscriptions de l'époque classique et l'espace négatif entre deux lettres, ont atteint ici leur perfection. Il s'agit de l'alphabet de l'époque classique dont la beauté, comme dans chaque époque, apparaît dans la composition des lettres en mots, en phrases, en parole, en message de l'inscription. Les décrets, les lois, les dédicaces de l'époque classique constituent des monuments d'Art individuels.

La forme et la structure d'une inscription de l'antiquité classique, constituent l'extension, le complément naturel de l'œuvre artistique, qu'il s'agisse d'une statue en relief ou d'une œuvre architecturale.

L'inscription de l'époque classique exprime parfaitement l'esprit constant de l'époque, ce même esprit que nous voyons créer le temple classique, les œuvres de la sculpture et la parole.

Au cours de l'époque hellénistique, l'écriture a suivi la transformation de l'art classique qui est descendu de sa hauteur au niveau des hommes, de la foule anonyme qui formait les Dèmes, en abandonnant la sérénité olympienne et son isolement pour exprimer de manière plus descriptive et plus humaine les nouvelles valeurs, pouvant raconter le mythe créé pour unir l'hellénisme et divulguer les messages des miracles de l'incarnation des dieux au fond de l'Anatolie.

Il était évident que l'inscription aussi devient plus artistique, plus «barbare», comme les textes. Vers la fin de cette période commencent à apparaître des transformations substantielles qui influencent certaines lettres dans leur morphologie même.

Toutefois, les années de la domination romaine ont été décisives pour l'évolution morphologique de l'écriture grecque.

Alors que plusieurs lettres conservent leur indépendance, d'autres sont transformées et altérées de manière substantielle, en perdant ainsi une grande partie de leur simplicité classique initiale.

L'esprit classique est à présent oublié. La sculpture de l'époque romaine recherche d'autres émotions esthétiques et les visages sculptés sont empreints des caractéristiques du portrait. L'artiste créateur n'évite pas l'expression de la douleur et d'autres sentiments humains et états psychologiques internes qui sont reflétés dans les yeux grands ouverts et les traits asymétriques des visages.

Dans les compositions à plusieurs visages des reliefs, on reconnaît des physionomies de la vie quotidienne, avec leurs caractéristiques humaines particulières et leurs imperfections naturelles. L'esprit de perfection, la symétrie, l'*«εὐμετρία»* (juste mesure) sont abandonnés, et certaines inquiétudes in-

ternes apparaissent sur les regards pétrifiés des portraits pensifs de la sculpture romaine que nous étudions dans les musées. L'individu isolé a cédé la place au peuple, voire à la foule. Les valeurs graphiques de l'art expriment à présent, de manière plus responsable, un goût commun qui se trouve très loin des rinesses de l'ancien esprit perdu.

Οὐκετ' Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβην
οὐ μάντιδα δύφνην
οὐ παγὰν λαλέουσαν
ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὕδωρ.*

Toutefois, les nouvelles valeurs ont un contenu substantiel, car elles offrent certains messages qui ont, depuis cette époque, marqué de leur empreinte l'art humain. C'est la première fois que nous voyons se manifester une tentative de représentation des sentiments humains et d'états psychologiques inconnus dans les œuvres de l'art ancien.

L'œuvre d'art devient un outil aux mains de l'appareil étatique qui veut imposer universellement, dans une mosaïque multicolore de peuples et de civilisations, sa volonté sous la forme connue de «*pax romana*».

L'épigraphie a servi fidèlement et d'une manière consciente les nouveaux programmes étatiques. Nous la rencontrons partout, à chaque pas, des miliaria jusqu'aux dédicaces «intentionnelles» assez douteuses des bourgades, dans des générosités d'empereurs ou de fonctionnaires politiques supérieures déifiés. La péninsule balkanique est riche de ces inscriptions.

L'influence de la morphologie des inscriptions latines apparaît clairement sur les inscriptions grecques contemporaines.

La prédominance du christianisme a apporté un bouleversement à l'équilibre social de l'état romain dont nous ne trouvons d'équivalent qu'au début du XX^e siècle. L'écroulement des valeurs morales d'un ordre social établi qui, tout comme la religion, étaient déjà contestées, a laissé ses traces dans le monde entier.

La nouvelle religion trébuche avant de trouver sa nouvelle expression, parfois en rejetant l'art païen, parfois en l'embrassant avec angoisse et en s'efforçant d'exprimer de manière figurative ses premiers signes et ceux-ci, parmi des symboles païens connus par des larges couches du peuple.

La religion chrétienne, aussitôt après son triomphe et après être devenue l'église officielle de l'état, a veillé, à déraciner systématiquement tous les vestiges

* Οδυσ. Λαμψίδου, «Σχόλια εἰς τὸν ὀς δελφικὸν φερόμενον χρησμὸν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ἰουλιανόν», *Πλάτων*, έτος 9ον, τεῦχ. A', 1957, σ. 133.

du paganisme, en particulier ses temples. Sur les ruines des anciens temples, et en utilisant leurs matériaux, la nouvelle religion a bâti ses propres temples, suivant le même style et avec presque les mêmes symboles, en veillant toutefois à leur donner une nouvelle signification.

Le nouvel ordre était établi.

Le nouvel état chrétien théocratique, issu de la grande révolution sociale, a assimilé tel quel le mécanisme administratif romain, la législation et, bien entendu, ce qui nous intéresse, l'Écriture.

La morphologie du tracé des inscriptions paléochrétiennes, diffère très peu de l'alphabet grec de l'époque romaine.

Les alphabets des inscriptions, comme nous les examinons par grandes unités de temps, par périodes, présentent, bien naturellement, sur les positions marginales, de plus grands rapports avec les alphabets des périodes précédentes et suivantes.

Il est pourtant intéressant de constater que depuis cette époque apparaissent sporadiquement des tendances archaïsantes et certaines lettres, inopinément, imitent des tracés plus archaïques.

Ce phénomène, comme nous le verrons, reapparaît tout au long de la période byzantine et se poursuit durant les années de la domination turque, en suivant alors certaines tendances correspondantes dans l'éducation, les «lettres» de l'hellénisme assujetti.

Les formes des lettres de l'époque paléochrétienne (IV^e-VI^e siècles après J.-C.) se répètent tout au long de la période byzantine et post-byzantine, sans différences d'évolution essentielles (Pl. 1-3).

Nous avons rassemblé dans un tableau (Pl. 3-8) les tendances les plus représentatives dans les lettres de cette période. Ces formes précisément se poursuivront avec très peu de variations et d'évolutions jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle, avec une structure différente dans la composition de l'inscription, dans les abréviations et les ligatures (Pl. 9-11).

En dépit de la répétition des formes des lettres isolées au cours de la période entre le VIII^e et le XI^es., nous observons certaines absences de formes qui peuvent, même de manière négative, déterminer une limite maximale de fixation de la date d'une inscription, sur la base de données uniquement morphologiques. Parmi ces données, nous n'observons plus l'écriture du A avec l'angle vers le bas à la place de la ligne horizontale  après le début du XI^es. De même, nous ne rencontrons plus l'écriture de K sous la forme   après

le milieu du XI^e où ces signes apparaissent sous la forme suivante:  .

L'Ω, en particulier à partir du VIII^e jusqu'au milieu du XI^e siècle, présente une double lentille, soit sous forme de deux O tangents  soit en restant ouverts vers le haut et en formant des angles vers le bas  . L'arrondissement commence plus tard, à partir du XI^e siècle (Pl. 1-4).

Aucun autre élément de l'alphabet ne présente de particularité nouvelle au cours de cette période. Seules des constatations négatives créent les conditions préalables d'exclusion de fixations de dates postérieures.

Ainsi, en ce qui concerne l'écriture de la lettre N, nous observons que la ligne diagonale qui unit les lignes verticales n'est pas courbe, comme nous le voyons plus tard, mais droite, parfois en arrivant jusqu'à la base de la ligne verticale droite, parfois en s'arrêtant un peu plus haut   . Pour la lettre M, l'angle avec la pointe vers le bas qui caractérise la lettre au cours de cette période, suit deux formes. Dans le premier cas, l'angle ci-haut prend la forme d'une courbe avec un tracé elliptique dont le sommet touche la base   .

Dans le deuxième cas, l'angle soit touche la base  soit se trouve en suspens en se soutenant des extrémités supérieures des lignes verticales  .

En ce qui concerne l'écriture du Δ nous observons que le tracé particulier avec les extensions de par et d'autre de la ligne horizontale de la base et la réfraction des extrémités vers le bas, constituent une forme qui apparaît plus tard encore  (Pl. 4-8).

Au cours de cette période, nous voyons que l'usage de la ligature est limité, mais nous observons souvent des abréviations dans les terminaisons des mots. Certaines différences imperceptibles dans l'épaisseur des lignes verticales (système semi-épais) différencient les inscriptions du X^e siècle (Voir inscriptions de Saint Etienne à Kastoria et des églises contemporaines de Cappadoce (Pl. 12-13). L'évolution du tracé des lettres est, pour des courtes périodes de temps imperceptible mais, pour des périodes plus longues elle est apparente, comme dans l'espace d'un siècle. (Pl. 8-11).

Sur les mosaïques et les fresques de l'église d'Hosios Loukas*, nous voyons la grande finesse des inscriptions qui prouve la haute qualité de l'Art de l'*«Ecole de la Capitale»* (Pl. 14, 15). Nous distinguons ici déjà les germes d'une disposition pour une décoration artistique qui prédominera plus tard dans les inscriptions de la fin du XII^e siècle, comme à Haghii Anargyri de Kastoria, tendance à présent manifeste en faveur d'une écriture fleurie (Pl. 17). Cette tendance apparaît clairement sur d'autres monuments contemporains tels que Saint Georges de Kourbinovo, en particulier dans l'art des hagiographies (Pl. 18, 3, 19).

Des mouvements violents caractérisent les corps dans les diverses scènes à plusieurs visages et les tuniques se replient comme si agitées par des vents imaginaires dans une démonstration intentionnelle de connaissances de la draperie.

Une forte tendance baroque se manifeste dans l'esprit des hagiographies du dernier quart du XII^e siècle qui se reflète, comme il est naturel, dans la structure, mais en particulier dans la composition des inscriptions (Pl. 20, 21).

Par une recherche plus détaillée on pourrait éventuellement signaler des influences orientales, comme celles des inscriptions arabes (coufiques) fleuries de l'époque. Nous observons également une tendance vers la perte de l'indépendance des lettres et de plus en plus une réunion morphologique de plusieurs lettres et abréviations. Nous rencontrons encore des lettres et des consonnes superposées, au dessous ou à l'intérieur d'autres    (Pl. 9, 8).

La disposition compliquée dans la composition de l'inscription suppose une culture particulière, des qualités, de la sensibilité et de l'imagination, des vertus et des connaissances dont le lecteur doit être muni également.

Evidemment, pour mieux expliquer l'évolution des lettres, nous avons choisi, parmi le matériel d'inscriptions que nous avons rassemblé, sept lettres représentatives de l'alphabet (Α, Β, Δ, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ω). Du IX^e jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, nous observons, en lignes générales, que la morphologie byzantine reste stable et inaltérable dans les lettres de l'alphabet, avec une seule exception: l'apparition sporadique du tracé classique morphologique des lettres au cours du deuxième quart du XIX^e siècle, influencées clairement par l'imprimerie de l'époque (Pl. 25).

Durant les années intermédiaires de servitude, les variations du A diffè-

* 1042-1043. Construite à l'époque de Constantin IX Monomaque (1042-1055) et probablement pendant les premières années de son règne (Voir Eust. Stikas, *Tò οἰκοδομικὸν χρονικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁστού Λουκᾶ Φωκίδος*, Athènes 1970, p. 36).

rent et s'alternent, toujours parmi les types connus qui préexistaient au cours de la période byzantine également. Ce fait peut être interprété si l'on prend en considération le mode de travail des groupes errants (isnaf) des peintres qui trouvent leurs modèles dans les archives limitées (antheboles) qu'ils transportent toujours avec eux même dans les exemples les plus anciens d'hagiographies. C'est à ces raisons qu'est dû le caractère parfois archaïque de la morphologie de certaines lettres qui trouble le chercheur.

Pourtant, l'imitation d'un tracé de lettres plus ancien ne se combine jamais avec une composition plus ancienne de l'inscription. L'inscription est écrite toujours selon les habitudes de l'époque et le nombre et le genre des abréviations et des ligatures montre quelle est l'époque de l'écriture.

En ce qui concerne le A, nous avons vu qu'après les débuts du XI^e siècle nous ne rencontrons plus la forme . Pourtant, une autre forme, provenant de microlettres ou d'habitudes sténographiques, continue à apparaître régulièrement jusqu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle . Une troisième forme du

A est la suivante: où la ligne droite est stable, plus verticale et la ligne gauche courbe, en formant une bosse au point de son union avec la ligne verticale; la ligne horizontale oblique vers le haut à son point de tangence avec la ligne verticale. Des variations de ces formes et des transformations mineures continuent à apparaître régulièrement à partir du X^e siècle et tout au long de la période byzantine et post-byzantine.

Le B, à partir du XI^e siècle, suit une évolution stable, selon laquelle, à droite de la ligne verticale sont fixés deux demi-cercles superposés. Les variations du B, au cours des siècles suivants, sont déterminées par la distance des deux demi-cercles du point de leur tangence, par la forme de leur courbe qui, en réalité, n'est jamais demi-circulaire, mais soit ellipsoïde et soit orthogonale. Parfois, la partie inférieure s'élargit en devenant triangulaire. À partir du XIV^e siècle, régulièrement, les deux parties sont presque égales et assez éloignées l'une de l'autre .

Le Δ, avec ses formes connues à partir du IX^e siècle continue à suivre une marche conservatrice en aboutissant à des formes qui ne diffèrent pas beaucoup des formes initiales du XVIII^e et du XIX^e siècle.

Le K, comme nous l'avons mentionné au début, abandonne, à partir du

XI^e siècle sa forme , en suivant la forme où la partie supérieure est légèrement courbe vers l'intérieur, au lieu de se pencher vers le bas, comme par le passé.

Le Λ suit, quant au tracé et aux inclinaisons de ses deux bras, les évolutions correspondantes du A, selon les époques.

Le M répète ces formes à partir du X^e siècle, en ayant déjà abandonné la forme courbe .

L'Ω, après la forme lenticulée qu'il prend jusqu'au X^e siècle, se présente d'habitude toujours sous une forme demi-épaisse (Pl. 12-17). Parfois, nous rencontrons pourtant une forme différente de l'Ω sur la même inscription (Pl. 3, 4, 5).

Les ligatures sont également des traits caractéristiques de l'épigraphie byzantine, en particulier à partir de la fin du XI^e siècle, bien que les limites par siècles ne soient pas absolues. Aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles elles se multiplient et nous voyons des compositions de plusieurs lettres: Σ + T + H + N: , M + N + H + N: etc., ainsi que des superpositions de lettres par d'autres; du I par le Π: du T par le Π: etc. Cette habitude se poursuit avec un plus grand effort de composition même de mots tout entiers, au cours du XV^e et du XVI^e (p. ex. sur une inscription de 1501: =...ENOY MAPIAC (Παρθένου Μαρίας: vierge Marie) (Pl. 1, 22).

Nous rencontrons également des abréviations de mots, de véritables idéogrammes et des symboles tels que (=Higoumène) (=Prodrome etc.) (Pl. 10, 22).

Pendant l'occupation turque, une épigraphie savante et compliquée s'instaure, en particulier dans les inscriptions des églises exigeant une connaissance profonde de la paléographie byzantine pour la déchiffrer.

Cet hermétisme est intentionnel. Les prêtres érudits qui rédigeaient les inscriptions et les copistes, savaient qu'ils s'adressaient à un public limité de

lettres et même à un public encore plus limité qui pouvait lire les inscriptions de cette composition.

Plusieurs de ces inscriptions sont de véritables œuvres d'art dans les années obscures de la domination turque.

Les inscriptions des églises de cette même époque sont précieuses, car elles nous ont donné une multitude de renseignements. Grâce à ces inscriptions, ont été conservés des événements historiques, d'habitude dramatiques, sur le sort des asservis, des grecs rayas.

A l'intérieur des églises, dans demi-obscurité, l'Eglise, représentée toujours par des érudits, membres du clergé, trouvait l'occasion de graver les belles inscriptions, en préservant ainsi le patrimoine historique des rayas. La sauvegarde tant de la langue que du caractère national du peuple asservi est due aux efforts du Patriarcat Oecuménique.

En tout cas à cette dépendance intellectuelle est dû le conservatisme de l'écriture et l'archaïsme et la mystique des symboles. Le dévoilement du renseignement caché dans l'inscription nécessite des connaissances spéciales. La lecture avance lettre par lettre, le déchiffrage mot par mot et l'éclaircissement des fidèles est complété par le dévoilement du message récité de mémoire, selon l'habitude des gens illettrés (Pl. 29, 30).

Voyons quel est d'habitude le contenu d'une inscription des années de la domination turque. Nous avons choisi au hasard une inscription d'une église du XVIII^e siècle, Haghios Dimitrios au village Mavrido de Fthiotis (1728):

† ΑΝΗΓΕΡΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΘ Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΣΕΠΤΟ^(Σ) ΝΑΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΥΡΟΒΛΗΤΟΥ ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΕΣΤΟΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟΚΑΤΩΘΕΝ ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝ ΚΤΗΤΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΝΥΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΔΙ' ΕΞΟΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΝ ΑΓΑΠΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΥΤΟΙ ΝΕΟΙ ΚΤΗΤΟΡΕΣ Ο ΚΥΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΤΑ ΜΥΛΟΝΟΠΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ ΚΟΠΙΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΟΝΤΕΣ ΜΕ ΟΛΟ ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΛΟΠΙΣΜΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΣΤΩ ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΥΡ ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΥ, ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ἐτελειώθη τὸ καλόν ἔργον (ἐν) ἔτει 1728 Νοεμβρίου ζ, διὰ χειρὸς Κωνσταντίνου Ἱερέως καὶ Μιχάλη ἀναγνώστου.

Après le point où se trouve la croix, les inscriptions commencent toujours en mentionnant la construction et l'histoire, c'est-à-dire l'iconographie de l'église, suivies par le nom du Saint auquel le temple est consacré, en mentionnant ensuite tous ceux qui ont apporté leur contribution pour sa construction (d'habitude avec les mots: διὰ κόπου καὶ ἐξόδου) ainsi que l'évêque dont dépend

la paroisse, les noms des marguilliers, du curé, du peintre et à la fin la date: dans les anciennes inscriptions, depuis la création du monde, l'indiction aussi et dans les plus récentes depuis l'incarnation du Christ, parfois le mois et le jour.

Chaque inscription datée de la période de l'occupation turque, est une source de renseignements précieux, authentiques, provenant d'expériences directes de persécutions, de famines, de guerres, (de recrutements de garçons pour le corps des janissaires), de disettes. Nous lisons souvent sur des inscriptions le niveau atteint par l'*ulçek* le blé ou le maïs et la famine qui ravage «toute la Roumélie». Il s'agit d'événements historiques qui ont touché l'âme du peuple et non de renseignements historiques écrits après une période de temps inconnue écoulée après les événements et après une évolution de la pensée et de la logique d'habitude dans des régions éloignées et à travers le filtre de certains intérêts et des convictions particulières d'un chroniqueur.

Voilà justement la valeur des renseignements des inscriptions de ces humbles églises du temps de l'occupation turque. Les nouvelles émanantes de ces inscriptions constituent des messages désintéressés qui proviennent d'un besoin interne, d'une conscience historique secrète du peuple qui luttait dans les ténèbres pour sa survie.

Nous avons examiné plus haut, l'évolution normale et lente de l'écriture byzantine de l'époque byzantine jusqu'aux années de l'occupation turque. L'évolution toutefois de l'éclaircissement, suivant l'esprit des érudits de la Nation, distinguée dans l'éducation, les «lettres» des rayas, auquelles sont dues dans une très large mesure la résurrection de la nation grecque, apparaît clairement dans la forme des lettres également. Au milieu du XIX^e siècle, se manifeste un mélange d'éléments nouveaux dans l'écriture post-byzantine traditionnelle, inspiré clairement par les imprimés ecclésiastiques, surtout livres et autres matières imprimées en Europe Centrale et à Venise.

Ces nouvelles lettres ont une forme purement néoclassique, mais leur composition s'effectue selon le système traditionnel post-byzantin de l'épigraphie. Une multitude de réunions de deux, trois ou de plusieurs lettres forment, avec les nouveaux éléments mélangés au début, les compositions connues:

  etc. (Pl. 11, 44).

Je reviens à l'importance particulière que revêt, pour l'épigraphie byzantine et post-byzantine, la composition des mots, non en tant qu'unités indépendantes de la phrase mais suivant une disposition purement compositrice, graphique, picturale.

Pour l'épigraphiste des années de la servitude, les mots n'avaient aucun

sens, comme unités indépendantes, mais constituaient des moyens pour la création d'une œuvre synthétique et autonome, telle que l'inscription (Pl. 30).

Dans l'église byzantine et post-byzantine, l'iconographie, la peinture devient «histoire» (les inscriptions écrivent que l'église sacrée a été historiée); l'épigraphie peinture et les deux ensemble, iconographie et inscriptions, constituent des œuvres d'art autonomes et inséparables; ainsi que des sources historiques inaltérables, où l'on peut suivre les dispositions stylistiques de l'époque et la volonté de l'employeur, ainsi que les tendances secrètes, par périodes, de l'âme populaire.

Les inscriptions du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle constituent des «preuves historiques» comme les habits sacerdotaux, ornés de dessins précieux, de véritables arabesques, semblables à ceux qui décorent les étoffes de soie orientales dont les marchés des villes byzantines étaient pleins. La gravure d'une inscription fleurie du XV^e siècle est une tâche difficile nécessitant des capacités particulières et de l'imagination (Pl. 18-21).

Les abréviations, les ligatures, ne sont pas standardisées; il ne s'agit pas de connaissances, mais de décisions du moment qui font preuve d'énergie et d'agilité qui prouvent l'admiration du chercheur, en particulier du chercheur actuel où toute sensibilité et toute personnalité dans les questions de l'écriture sont perdues.

Le XVIII^e siècle a sauvegardé les inscriptions les plus riches, celles qui sont calligraphiées le plus soigneusement. Toutefois, une standardisation et une disposition morphocratique se manifestent dans les sens (Pl. 23, 24).

Dans certaines inscriptions de la Grèce du Nord, on distingue des souvenirs passagers de la morphologie de l'écriture russe imprimée à lettres larges, dont une grande partie, ainsi que des images imprimées, circulait dans les Balkans et en Terres Saintes au cours du XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle (Pl. 25, 1).

Une recherche inverse, au cours d'une période bien plus ancienne, vers le X^e et le XI^e siècle, aboutirait peut-être à des résultats intéressants, en ce qui concerne les inscriptions et les graffitis slaves et surtout bulgares de la même époque. Le même effort également de recherche comparative d'inscriptions du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle aboutirait peut-être à des résultats intéressants, en ce qui concerne la morphologie comparative de l'écriture byzantine et post-byzantine.

De toute façon, les inscriptions protobulgares datées du IX^e siècle (808-904) répondent à une période spécialement importante; il en est de même pour les inscriptions datées dans l'aire grecque (cf. l'inscription sur la chancel de Saint-Jean Magoutis au Musée Byzantin d'Athènes, en 871 et celle de Panaghia Skri-

pou en Béotie de 873/74) (Pl. 3). Ces inscriptions protobulgares en alphabet grec et en langues grecque, grecobulgare ou slave se réfèrent aux événements de la guerre; il s'agit d'inscriptions des fondateurs ou tumulaires. Elles sont écrites par des grecs, prisonniers de guerre probablement, ou par des bulgares qui auraient étudié et qui, en tout cas, connaissaient l'écriture byzantine. Morphologiquement, elles ressemblent beaucoup aux inscriptions grecques-byzantines, comme par ex. l'inscription 14 de la planche 24 (cf. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgaren Inschriften*, Berlin 1963, Nr. 15, p. 174-176, pl. 54) de 866. Le tracé des lettres présente plusieurs éléments morphologiques communs avec les lettres de Skripou en Béotie (pl. 4, 1) spécialement les A, Δ et Ω (pl. 27).

Aux inscriptions protobulgares, les plus anciennes (808-824), nous constatons un archaïsme sur le tracé de quelques lettres comme dans les inscriptions 1-2 de la planche 26 qui permet la comparaison avec les inscriptions helladiques de la période paléochrétienne (IV^e-VI^e siècles), spécialement pour les lettres Δ, E, Z, Λ, etc. (pl. 1, 2). Cette même caractéristique, nous l'avons déjà constaté pour les inscriptions contemporaines de la Grèce.

La morphologie des inscriptions protobulgares suit sévement l'écriture des inscriptions byzantines en lettres majuscules de l'époque et spécialement de manuscrits ecclésiastiques, dont on connaît la circulation en abondance en Bulgarie.

Mais aussi les inscriptions bulgares du X^e siècle suivent absolument la morphologie de l'écriture byzantine contemporaine comme nous pouvons constater facilement sur l'inscription de Temnić du X^e siècle (pl. 27). L'inscription de Jean Vladislav, tsar des Bulgares (1015/16) trouvée à Bitolja en 1956 est très intéressante pour l'étude de la paléographie bulgare (pl. 28). C'est le savant bulgare Jordan Zaïmov, qui a étudié spécialement cette inscription (*L'inscription de Jean Vladislav autocrator bulgare, monument vieux bulgare de 1015/16 découvert à Bitolja*, Sofia 1970, en bulgare avec résumé français, allemand et anglais). Les remarques et les résultats de Zaïmov ont une importance spéciale, par ex. (*op. cit.*, p. 131): «Nous attirons l'attention surtout sur la forme arrondie et étirée des lettres, ce qui rappelle, comme il est connu, une étape du développement tardif de l'alphabet cyrillique (l'étape antérieure se fait remarquer par des lettres pointues). Dans un certain nombre de lettres et suivant leurs particularités graphiques, cette forme arrondie est exécutée d'après le système bicarré superposé qui n'est pas tellement caractéristique des inscriptions en vieux bulgare: de Temnić (X^e s., trouvée au confluent des deux Morava—la Morava bulgare et la Morava serbe), de Mostić (fin du X^e siècle, trouvée à Preslav, Mésie orientale) et de Samuel (993, trouvée en Macédoine du Sud). D'après ce système,

la partie supérieure de certaines lettres (**Ι**, **Δ**, **Λ** et—en partie—**Μ**, **Π**, **Χ**) est élargie. On ne constate pas cette particularité dans toutes les inscriptions grecques du X^e et XI^e s.; elle fait complètement défaut dans les parchemins écrits en onciale. On peut rapprocher de l'inscription de Jean Vladislav une inscription grecque de 904 qui servait à marquer les frontières entre l'Etat bulgare et Byzance au Nord-Ouest de Salonique. Mais là les lettres sont plus longues, la ligne horizontale du dessus est plus petite et ne se détache pas aussi nettement que dans l'inscription de Vladislav. On peut établir aussi parallèles avec quelques inscriptions des souverains protobulgares de la Mésie orientale du IX^e-X^e s. (ces inscriptions sont en grec)».

Nous espérons qu'avec la publication de l'Album des inscriptions byzantines et postbyzantines nous offrirons une aide aux spécialistes qui s'interessent aux études paléographiques et aux inscriptions surtout en lettres majuscules.

Les planches en alphabet d'inscriptions datées qui correspondent au texte, sans compter les autres documents qui donnent, pourront aider à la datation des inscriptions qui ne sont pas datées et surtout à la connaissance de la morphologie de l'écriture byzantine et postbyzantine en lettres majuscules. Les rapports étroits et la correspondance constatés entre les inscriptions grecques -byzantines et bulgares aideront, avec la classification des documents pour une datation comparative, plus ou moins précise, des inscriptions qui ne sont pas datées.

Université de Thessalonique

LÉGENDES DES PLANCHES

Planche 1

Alphabet; époque paléochrétienne (IV^e-VI^e s.).

Planche 2

Alphabet; époque paléochrétienne (IV^e-VI^e s.). 1. N. Bees, *Corpus Inscr. Corinth.*, Inscr. No 31, p. 61. 2. N. Bees, *op. cit.*, Inscr. No 41, pp. 82, 87. 3. Anast. Bendes, *Xριστιανικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἑλλάδος*, tome 1, A' (IV^e-VI^e s.), Athènes 1970.

Planche 3

Exemples des lettres d'après d'inscriptions datées IX^e, X^e et XII^e s. 1. Saint-Jean Magoutis, Athènes; 871, *'Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 8 (1931), 253. 2. Monast. de Zoodochos Pegé, Midye, Thrace orient. *Cahiers Archéologiques* 20 (1970), 55, fig. 76, IX^e siècle. 3. Saint-Merkourios à Corfou, 1074/75, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 21 (1971), 153. 4. Saint-Jean Magoutis, *op. cit.*, 1237/38, p. 250.

Planche 4

1. 873 (2): Monastère de Panaghia Scripou, Orchomenos, préfecture de Béotie.
2. 912 (11): Saints-Anarghyres, Kastoria.
3. 1000 (13): Monastère de Saint-Luc, Stiria.
4. 1028 (16): Eglise de Notre Dame des Chaudronniers (Panaghia Chalkéon), Thessalique.
5. 1152 (20): Monastère de Panaghia Cosmossotira, Ferrae.
6. 1180-90 (34): Saints-Anarghyres, Kastoria.
7. 1258 (37): Saint-Georges, Veria.
8. 1259 (42): Monastère Panaghia Mavrotissa, Kastoria.
9. 1287 (45): Saint-Georges (Omorphoklissia) Gališta, préfecture de Kastoria.
10. 1303 (48): Basilique de Saint-Démétrios, chapelle de Saint-Euthymios, Thessalique.

Planche 5

11. 1306 (49): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome à Serrès.
12. 1319 (52): Basilique de Saint-Démétrios, Thessalonique.
13. 1358 (53): Saint-Etienne (Haghios Stephanos), Kastoria.
14. 1352 (54): Taxiarches, Kastoria.
15. 1355/56 (55): Inscription de Anna Paléologina, Thessalonique.
16. 1371-75 (57): Inscription à la chapelle de Saint-Nicolas au monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome à Serrès.

la partie supérieure de certaines lettres (**Α, Δ, Ι** et—en partie—**Μ, Ψ, Χ**) est élargie. On ne constate pas cette particularité dans toutes les inscriptions grecques du X^e et XI^e s.; elle fait complètement défaut dans les parchemins écrits en onciale. On peut rapprocher de l'inscription de Jean Vladislav une inscription grecque de 904 qui servait à marquer les frontières entre l'Etat bulgare et Byzance au Nord-Ouest de Salonique. Mais là les lettres sont plus longues, la ligne horizontale du dessus est plus petite et ne se détache pas aussi nettement que dans l'inscription de Vladislav. On peut établir aussi parallèles avec quelques inscriptions des souverains protobulgares de la Mésie orientale du IX^e-X^e s. (ces inscriptions sont en grec)».

Nous espérons qu'avec la publication de l'Album des inscriptions byzantines et postbyzantines nous offrirons une aide aux spécialistes qui s'interessent aux études paléographiques et aux inscriptions surtout en lettres majuscules.

Les planches en alphabet d'inscriptions datées qui correspondent au texte, sans compter les autres documents qui donnent, pourront aider à la datation des inscriptions qui ne sont pas datées et surtout à la connaissance de la morphologie de l'écriture byzantine et postbyzantine en lettres majuscules. Les rapports étroits et la correspondance constatés entre les inscriptions grecques -byzantines et bulgares aideront, avec la classification des documents pour une datation comparative, plus ou moins précise, des inscriptions qui ne sont pas datées.

Université de Thessalonique

LÉGENDES DES PLANCHES

Planche 1

Alphabet; époque paléochrétienne (IV^e-VI^e s.).

Planche 2

Alphabet; époque paléochrétienne (IV^e-VI^e s.). 1. N. Bees, *Corpus Inscr. Corinth., Inscr. No 31*, p. 61. 2. N. Bees, *op. cit.*, Inscr. No 41, pp. 82, 87. 3. Anast. Bendes, *Xριστιανικὴ Ἐπιγραφὴ Ἐλλάδος*, tome 1, A' (IV^e-VI^e s.), Athènes 1970.

Planche 3

Exemples des lettres d'après d'inscriptions datées IX^e, X^e et XII^e s. 1. Saint-Jean Magoutis, Athènes; 871, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 8 (1931), 253. 2. Monast. de Zoodochos Pegé, Midye, Thrace orient. *Cahiers Archéologiques* 20 (1970), 55, fig. 76, IX^e siècle. 3. Saint-Merkourios à Corfou, 1074/75, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 21 (1971), 153. 4. Saint-Jean Magoutis, *op. cit.*, 1237/38, p. 250.

Planche 4

1. 873 (2): Monastère de Panaghia Scripou, Orchomenos, préfecture de Béotie.
2. 912 (11): Saints-Anarghyres, Kastoria.
3. 1000 (13): Monastère de Saint-Luc, Stiri.
4. 1028 (16): Eglise de Notre Dame des Chaudronniers (Panaghia Chalkéon), Thessalique.
5. 1152 (20): Monastère de Panaghia Cosmossotira, Ferrae.
6. 1180-90 (34): Saints-Anarghyres, Kastoria.
7. 1258 (37): Saint-Georges, Veria.
8. 1259 (42): Monastère Panaghia Mavrotissa, Kastoria.
9. 1287 (45) : Saint-Georges (Omorphoklissia) Gališta, préfecture de Kastoria.
10. 1303 (48): Basilique de Saint-Démétrios, chapelle de Saint-Euthymios, Thessalique.

Planche 5

11. 1306 (49): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome à Serrès.
12. 1319 (52): Basilique de Saint-Démétrios, Thessalonique.
13. 1358 (53): Saint-Etienne (Haghios Stephanos), Kastoria.
14. 1352 (54): Taxiarches, Kastoria.
15. 1355/56 (55): Inscription de Anna Paléologina, Thessalonique.
16. 1371-75 (57): Inscription à la chapelle de Saint-Nicolas au monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome à Serrès.

17. 1378 (62): Ohrid, Panaghia Périvleptos (Saint-Clément).
18. 1393 (64): Inscription à la Métropole de Kalabaka.
19. 1413 (65): Sainte-Paraskevi, Monodendri, Zagori.
20. 1432 (67): Eglise de Panaghia à Zevgostassi, Kastoria.
21. 1481 (73): Basilique de Saint-Démétrios, Thessalonique. Inscription de Loukas Span-dounis.
22. 1476 (75): Saint-Constantin et Hélène, Ohrid.
23. 1486 (76): Saint-Nicolas, Kastoria.
24. 1501 (82): Monastère de Saint-Etienne (Haghios Stephanos), Météores.
25. 1522 (90): Monastère de Panaghia Molivdoskepasti.

Planche 6

26. 1524 (92): Panaghia Porphyra, Prespa.
27. 1542 (96): Monastère de Plilanthropinon, Ile de Ioannina.
28. 1547 (104): Saints-Apôtres, Kastoria.
29. 1566 (123): Monastère de Varlaam, Météores.
30. 1570 (133): Saint-Démétrios, Palatitsa (Veria).
31. 1606 (152): Panaghia Iconomou, Kastoria.
32. 1614 (167): Panaghia Tsatsapa, Kastoria.
33. 1630 (178): Hagia Trias, préfecture de Larissa.
34. 1639 (188): Saint-Nicolas Gournias, Veria.
35. 1650 (206): Saint-Nicolas de Krepeli, préfecture de Kastoria.
36. 1652 (137): Monastère de Metamorphosis à Dryovouno, préfecture de Kozani.
37. 1662 (220): Monastère de Panaghia Redina, préfecture de Karditsa.
38. 1663 (224): Monastère de Panaghia Xenia, Almyros, préfecture de Magnésie.
39. 1677 (233): Monastère de Panaghia Redina, préfecture de Karditsa.
40. 1682 (234): Monastère de Hagia Trias, Météores.

Planche 7

41. 1708 (258): Monastère de Gonia, Kolimvari de Kissamos, Grèce.
42. 1717 (264): Sainte-Paraskevi, Skamneli, Zagori.
43. 1727 (281): Saint-Jean Prodrome, Kastoria.
44. 1735 (301): Saint-Athanase, Dormani, Veria.
45. 1744 (321): Saint-Athanase, Dormani, Veria.
46. 1753 (338): Saint-Nicolas, Tsaritsani, préfecture de Larissa.
47. 1761 (366): Chapelle de Haghia Pantes à Kalabaka.
48. 1765 (384): Saint-Georges, Zagora.
49. 1774 (398): Saint-Achillé, Pentaphos, préfecture de Kozani.
50. 1789 (431): Saint-Jean Prodrome, Ile de Ioannina.
51. 1809 (441): Evangelismos, Vitsa, préfecture de Ioannina.
52. 1809 (440): Evangelismos, Vitsa, préfecture de Ioannina.
53. 1803 (464): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodromos, préfecture de Serrès.
54. 1806 (478): Panaghia Makryniotsa, Péloponèse.
55. 1813 (490): Monastère de Panaghia Klissoura, préfecture de Kastoria.

Planche 8

56. 1819 (501): Monastère Christossotir, Samarina, préfecture de Grevena.
57. 1821 (507): Monastère de Siamades, préfecture de Karditsa.
58. 1028 (510): Prophète Elias, Samarina, préfecture de Grevena.
59. 1835 (516): Prophète Elias, Kormista, préfecture de Serrès.
60. 1844 (542): Saint-Georges, Eratya (Selitsa), préfecture de Kozani.
61. 1853 (566): Sainte Trinité (Haghia Trias), Messimeri, préfecture de Pella.
62. 1854 (570): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodromos, préfecture de Serrès.
63. 1858 (584): Saint-Athanase, Tihio, préfecture de Kastoria.
64. 1859 (585): Inscription du clocher à l'église de Dilopho à Zagori, préfecture de Ioannina.
65. 1859 (588): Taxiarches du quartier de Saint-Luc à Kastoria.
66. 1869 (608): Inscription du clocher à l'église de Panaghia Vitasta, préfecture de Serrès.
67. 1884 (634): Sainte-Kyriaki et Saint-Georges à Messoropi, préfecture de Serrès.

PLANCHES 9-11: LIGATURAE

Planche 9

1. 873 (2): Monastère de Panaghia Scripou, Orchomenos, préfecture de Béotie.
2. 912 (11): Saints-Anargyres, Kastoria.
3. 1000 (13): Monastère de Saint-Luc, Stiri.
4. 1180-90 (34): Saints-Anargyres, Kastoria.
5. fin du XII^e s. (35): Inscription de Anna Mallassiné, Episkopi, Volos.
6. 1240-1258 (37): Saint-Georges, Veria.
7. circa 1259 (42): Monastère de Panaghia Mavrotissa, Kastoria.
8. 1287 (45): Saint-Georges, Veria.
9. 1303 (48): Saint-Démétrios, chapelle Saint-Euthymios, Thessalonique.
10. 1306 (49): Saint-Jean Prodromos, préfecture de Serrès.
11. 1319/1320 (52): Inscription sur les remparts, Thessalonique.
12. 1338 (53): Saint-Etienne, Kastoria.
13. 1352 (54): Taxiarches, Kastoria.
14. 1355/56 (55): Inscription de Anna Paleologina, Thessalonique.
15. 1371-75 (57): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome, préfecture de Serrès.

Planche 10

16. 1378 (62): Saint-Clément, Ohrid.
17. 1393 (64): Basilique de la Dormition, Trikkala.
18. 1413/14 (65): Sainte-Paraskevi, Monodendri, Zagori.
19. 1432 (67): Eglise de la Dormition, Zevgostassi, préfecture de Kastoria.
20. 1476 (75): Saint-Constantin et Hélène, Ohrid.
21. 1486 (76): Saint-Nicolas, Kastoria.
22. 1501 (82): Saint-Etienne (Haghios Stephanos), Météores.
23. 1522 (90): Monastère de Panaghia, Molyvdoskepasti.
24. 1524 (92): Monastère de Panaghia Porphyra, Prespa.

25. 1542 (96): Monastère de Philanthropinon, Ile de Ioannina.
26. 1547 (104): Saints-Apôtres, Kastoria.
27. 1566 (123): Monastère de Varlaam, Météores.
28. 1570 (133): Eglise de Palatitsa, Vergina, préfecture de Veria.
29. 1592 (137): Eglise de Métamorphosis, Dryovouno, préfecture de Kozani.
30. 1614 (167): Panaghia Tsiatsapa, Kastoria.

Planche 11

31. 1650 (206): Saint-Nicolas, Krepeni, préfecture de Kastoria.
32. 1662 (220): Monastère de Panaghia, Redina, Karditsa.
33. 1663 (224): Saint-Nicolas, Kastoria.
34. 1677 (233): Monastère de Panaghia, Redina, Karditsa.
35. 1682 (324): Monastère de Haghia Trias, chapelle de Saint-Jean Prodrome, Météores.
36. 1708 (258): Monastère de Gonia, Kolimvari de Kissamos, préfecture de Chania, Crète.
37. 1717 (264): Sainte-Paraskevi, Skamneli, Zagori.
38. 1735 (301): Saint-Athanase, Dourmali, préfecture de Veria.
39. 1744 (321): Saint-Athanase, Dourmali, préfecture de Veria.
40. 1753 (338): Saint-Nicolas, Tsaritsani, préfecture de Larissa.
41. 1761 (366): Métropole de Kalabaka, chapelle Haghii Pantes.
42. 1809 (440): Evangelistria, Vitsa, Dodone, Epiros.
43. 1819 (501): Monastère de Christosotir, Samarina, préfecture de Grevena.
44. 1853 (566): Sainte-Trinité (Haghia Trias), Messimeri, préfecture de Pella.
45. 1854 (570): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome, préfecture de Serrès.

Planche 12

Exemple des lettres d'après Hagios Stephanos de Kastoria (X^e s.).

Planche 13

Chapelle de Göreme 6a: 930-40 (d'après M. Restle, *Byzantine wall-painting in Asia Minor*, vol II, pl. IX).

Planche 14

Exemple des lettres aux mosaïques de Saint-Luc (d'après Eust. Stikas, *Tò Οἰκοδομήν τὸν Χρονικὸν τῆς μονῆς Ὁστὸν Λουκᾶ Φωκίδος*, Athènes 1970, p. 36) 1042-1043.

Planche 15

Exemple des lettres d'après les inscriptions des fresques du S-O chapelle de Saint-Luc (Eust. Stikas, *op. cit.*).

Planche 16

Exemple des lettres de l'inscription in fresco de la chapelle de Saint-Euthymios à la basilique de Saint-Démétrios de Thessalonique ($\Sigma\text{TΩΙΑ}=6811=\text{sept. 1302—août 1303}$).

Planche 17

Exemples des lettres d'inscriptions des Saints-Anargyres de Kastoria; fin du XII^e siècle.

Planche 18

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1029: Thessalonique. Notre Dame des Chaudronniers (Panaghia Chalkéon).
2. 1050: Serrès. Métropole (Saints-Theodores); inscription.
3. Kastoria. Saints-Anargyres; fin du XII^e siècle.

Planche 19

Exemples d'inscriptions:

- 1, 2. Kastoria. Saints-Anargyres; fin du XII^e siècle.

Planche 20

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1309: Naxos.
2. 1355/56: Thessalonique. Inscription de Anna Paléologina.
3. 1371-75: Serrès. Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome; chapelle de Saint-Nicolas.

Planche 21

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1388: Météores. Metamorphosis.
2. 1413/14: Eglise de Monodendri à Zagori.
3. 1522: Zagori. Molyvdoskepasti.
4. 1537: Météores. Monastère de Varlaam; chapelle de Haghii Pantes.

Planche 22

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1560: Ksou Skyros. Panaghia.
2. 1566: Météores. Monastère de Varlaam.
3. 1548: Météores. Monastère de Varlaam.
4. 1570: Palatitsa de Veria. Saint-Démétrios.

Planche 23

Exemples d'inscriptions:

- 1, 2. 1727: Kastoria. Saint-Jean Prodrome.
3. 1730: Veria. Sainte-Anne.

25. 1542 (96): Monastère de Philanthropinon, Ile de Ioannina.
26. 1547 (104): Saints-Apôtres, Kastoria.
27. 1566 (123): Monastère de Varlaam, Météores.
28. 1570 (133): Eglise de Palatitsa, Vergina, préfecture de Veria.
29. 1592 (137): Eglise de Métamorphosis, Dryovouno, préfecture de Kozani.
30. 1614 (167): Panaghia Tsiatsapa, Kastoria.

Planche 11

31. 1650 (206): Saint-Nicolas, Krepeni, préfecture de Kastoria.
32. 1662 (220): Monastère de Panaghia, Redina, Karditsa.
33. 1663 (224): Saint-Nicolas, Kastoria.
34. 1677 (233): Monastère de Panaghia, Redina, Karditsa.
35. 1682 (324): Monastère de Haghia Trias, chapelle de Saint-Jean Prodrome, Météores.
36. 1708 (258): Monastère de Gonia, Kolimvari de Kissamos, préfecture de Chania, Crète.
37. 1717 (264): Sainte-Paraskevi, Skamneli, Zagori.
38. 1735 (301): Saint-Athanase, Dormani, préfecture de Veria.
39. 1744 (321): Saint-Athanase, Dormani, préfecture de Veria.
40. 1753 (338): Saint-Nicolas, Tsaritsani, préfecture de Larissa.
41. 1761 (366): Métropole de Kalabaka, chapelle Haghii Pantes.
42. 1809 (440): Evangelistria, Vitsa, Dodone, Epiros.
43. 1819 (501): Monastère de Christosotir, Samarina, préfecture de Grevena.
44. 1853 (566): Sainte-Trinité (Haghia Trias), Messimeri, préfecture de Pella.
45. 1854 (570): Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome, préfecture de Serrès.

Planche 12

Exemple des lettres d'après Haghios Stephanos de Kastoria (X^e s.).

Planche 13

Chapelle de Göreme 6a: 930-40 (d'après M. Restle, *Byzantine wall-painting in Asia Minor*, vol II, pl. IX).

Planche 14

Exemple des lettres aux mosaïques de Saint-Luc (d'après Eust. Stikas, *Tò Οἰκοδομή κὸν Χρονικὸν τῆς μουῆς Ὁστού Λουκᾶ Φωκίδος*, Athènes 1970, p. 36) 1042-1043.

Planche 15

Exemple des lettres d'après les inscriptions des fresques du S-O chapelle de Saint-Luc (Eust. Stikas, *op. cit.*).

Planche 16

Exemple des lettres de l'inscription in fresco de la chapelle de Saint-Euthymios à la basilique de Saint-Démétrios de Thessalonique (ΣΤΩΙΑ=6811=sept. 1302—août 1303).

Planche 17

Exemples des lettres d'inscriptions des Saints-Anargyres de Kastoria; fin du XII^e siècle.

Planche 18

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1029: Thessalonique. Notre Dame des Chaudronniers (Panaghia Chalkéon).
2. 1050: Serrès. Métropole (Saints-Theodores); inscription.
3. Kastoria. Saints-Anargyres; fin du XII^e siècle.

Planche 19

Exemples d'inscriptions:

- 1, 2. Kastoria. Saints-Anargyres; fin du XII^e siècle.

Planche 20

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1309: Naxos.
2. 1355/56: Thessalonique. Inscription de Anna Paléologina.
3. 1371-75: Serrès. Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome; chapelle de Saint-Nicolas.

Planche 21

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1388: Météores. Metamorphosis.
2. 1413/14: Eglise de Monodendri à Zagori.
3. 1522: Zagori. Molyvdoskepasti.
4. 1537: Météores. Monastère de Varlaam; chapelle de Haghii Pantes.

Planche 22

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1560: Ksou Skyros. Panaghia.
2. 1566: Météores. Monastère de Varlaam.
3. 1548: Météores. Monastère de Varlaam.
4. 1570: Palatitsa de Veria. Saint-Démétrios.

Planche 23

Exemples d'inscriptions:

- 1, 2. 1727: Kastoria. Saint-Jean Prodrome.
3. 1730: Veria. Sainte-Anne.

Planche 24

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1744: Veria. Dormani. Saint-Athanase.
2. 1761: Kalambaka. Chapelle de Haghii Pantes.
3. 1765: Pélon, Zagora. Saint-Georges.

Planche 25

Exemples d'inscriptions:

1. 1854: Serrès. Monastère de Saint-Jean Prodrome. Narthex.
2. 1859: Kastoria. Taxiarches du quartier de Saint-Luc.
3. 1866: Serrès. Saint-Georges Kryoneritis.

Planche 26

Exemples des lettres d'inscriptions protobulgares.

Les exemples des lettres d'après le Corpus des inscriptions protobulgares publiées par le prof. Veselin Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1963.

1. Inscription «von der alten Strasse nach Silistra» d'après Škorpil, ou dans les ruines de Gradište près de Kadă-Köj, au Danube entre Tutrakan et Silistra; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 362), 808-813; Beševliev; Nr. 3a-c, pp. 136-145, Abb. 27-30.

2. Fragments d'inscription trouvés dans les ruines de Pliska; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 364); 813. Beševliev, Nr. 16-40, pp. 180-189, Abb. 61-76.

3. Inscription sur un fragment de colonne de provenance inconnue, trouvé dans la gare du Kaspičan; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 633); 813. Beševliev, Nr. 42, pp. 206-208, Abb. 82.

4. Inscription trouvée à Selište près de Preslav \approx 812. Beševliev, Nr. 49, pp. 232-233, Abb. 95, 96.

5. Inscription trouvée au village Suleiman köj (aujourd'hui Sečište) près de Novipazar, elle a été transportée du palais de Pliska; Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 638); 814-820. Beševliev, Nr. 41, pp. 190-206, Abb. 77-81.

6. Inscription gravée sur une colonne; elle a été transportée à l'église de 40 Martyrs de Tărnovo provenance probable Pliska; \approx 822. Beševliev, Nr. 55, pp. 246-260, Abb. 104-106.

7. Inscription trouvée durant les fouilles de 1905 près du village de Čatalar, (aujourd'hui Krumovo), près de Šumen, Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 697); 822. Beševliev, Nr. 56, pp. 260-277, Abb. 107-112.

8. Inscription sur une colonne, trouvée près des fouilles de la grande basilique de Pliska; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 640); 822. Beševliev, Nr. 60, pp. 287-289, Abb. 117.

9. Fragment d'inscription trouvée au village de Sujutli (aujourd'hui Vărbjane); Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 643); \approx 822. Beševliev, Nr. 63, pp. 292-293, Abb. 120.

10. Trois fragments d'inscription gravée sur une colonne qui a été trouvée près du rempart N-O de Pliska; aujourd'hui elle est perdue; \approx 822 Beševliev, Nr. 61, pp. 289-290, Abb. 118.

11. Inscription de provenance inconnue. Kanitz mention, à 1872 encastrée au Čoban-djamici à Provadija; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 624); 818-823. Beševliev, Nr. 58, pp. 281-285, Abb. 114, 115.

12. Inscription sur une colonne de provenance inconnue; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Sofia (Inv. Nr. 665); 827-829. Beševliev, Nr. 59, pp. 285-287, Abb. 116.

13. Inscription trouvée durant les fouilles (1923, 1924, 1932 et 1933) de l'école française dans la basilique de Direkler à Philipes; 837. Beševliev, Nr. 14, pp. 163-174, Abb. 48.

14. Inscription sur une colonne trouvée dans les ruines du Monastère de Balši en Albanie; 866. Beševliev, Nr. 15, pp. 174-176, Abb. 54 (d'après J. Ivanov, *Balgarski Starini* 13).

15. Inscription sur une colonne trouvée au village de Narăš (aujourd'hui Nea Philadelphia) 22 km au N de Thessalonique; aujourd'hui au Musée Archéologique de Constantinople (Inv. Nr. 4691, du catalogue de Nezih Firatlı, *A short guide to the byzantine works of art in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul*, 1955); 904. Beševliev, Nr. 46b, pp. 215-218, Abb. 89, 90.

Planche 27

L'Alphabet de l'inscription de Temnič dans la vallée de la Morava X^e s. (d'après J. Zaimov, *L'inscription de Jean Vladislav*, Sofia 1970, pl. 6).

Planche 28

Exemples de lettres de l'alphabet de l'inscription de Jean Vladislav (1015/16), (d'après J. Zaimov).

Planche 29

Kastoria. Eglise de Saint-Nicolas (43).

Planche 30

a,b. Kastoria. Eglise Saint-Jean Prodrone (Baptiste) (64), (1727).

4^{os} - 6^{os} ai.IV - VI_{me} S.

A	A	A	Z	Z
B	B	B	O	O
Г	Г	Г	Π	Π
Δ	Δ	Δ	P	P
Ε	Ε	Ε	C	C
Z	Z		T	T
H	H		Υ	Υ
Θ	θ	θ	Φ	Φ
I	/		X	X
K	K		Ψ	Ψ
λ	λ	λ	ω	ω
Μ	μ	μ	Ϸ	Ϸ
N	N	N	W	W

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	4 ^{os} , 5 ^{os} ai.	514 μ. x.	4 ^{os} - 6 ^{os} ai.	
A	A	A	A	A
B	B	B	B	B
Г	Г	Г	Г	Г
Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ
Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε
z	Z	Z	Z	Z
H	H	H	H	Π
Θ	Θ	Θ	Θ	Θ
I	I	I	I	I
K	K	K	K	K
λ	λ	λ	λ	λ
Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ

Planche 2 (Suite)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
	40°, 50°, 60°	514 μ.x.	40° - 60°	ai.
N	N N N N			
Ξ	S Ζ Σ Σ Ζ			
ο	Ο Ο Ο Ο Ο □ ◊			
π	Π Γ Π Π Π			
ρ	P P P P S P R			
Σ	C C C C Σ			
Τ	Τ Τ Τ Τ Τ			
γ	Υ Υ Υ Υ Υ Ν			
Φ	Φ Φ Φ Φ Φ			
χ	X X X			
ψ	Ψ Ψ			
Ω	ω ω ω ω ψ ψ ψ			

Planche 3

(1) 871	(2) 9° ai.	(3) 1074 // 75	(4) 1237/38
Α Ν Α		Α Ν Α Ν	
Β		Ξ Β	
Γ Ο Γ Ο Γ Ο Γ Ο			
Δ Π		Π Δ Π Δ Π	
Ε Ρ Ε Ρ Ε Ρ Ε Ρ			
Ϲ		Ϲ Σ Σ Σ	
Η Τ		Τ Η Τ Η Τ	
ν		Ϋ Θ Ν	ν
Φ Ι		Ι Φ Ι Φ	
Κ	Κ	Κ Χ Κ Χ	
Λ		Λ Γ Λ Ψ	
Μ	ω Μ ω Μ	ω Μ	ω ω

1 (2) 873	2 (11) 812	3 (13) 1000	4 (16) 1028	5 (20) 1152	6 [34] 1180/90	7 [37] 1258	8 (42) 1259	9 (46) 1287	10 (48) 1303
А	Д	А	А	А	Д	А	Д	А	А
В	В	В	В			В		В	В
Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	А		Д	Д	Д
К	К	К	К	К	К		К	К	К
Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л		Л	Л	Л
М	М	М	М	М	Н	М	М	М	М
Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ		Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ

11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
(48) 1308	(52) 1319	(53) 1358	(54) 1352	(55) 1355/58	(57) 1371/75	(62) 1378	(64) 1383	(65) 1413/14	(67) 1432	(73) 1481	(75) 1476/77	(76) 1488	(82) 1501	(90) 1522
д	А	ә	ә	А	ә	ә	ә	ә	ә	ә	ә	ә	ә	ә
В	В	В			В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В		В
Д	Д	А	Д		Д	А	Д	Д	А	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д
К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К
Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л
М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М
Ѡ	Ѡ	ѿ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	ѿ	Ѡ	ѿ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ

26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
(82) 1524	(83) 1542	(104) 1547	(123) 1568	(133) 1570	(152) 1606	(167) 1614	(178) 1630	(188) 1639	(208) 1650	(137) 1652	(220) 1682	(224) 1683	(233) 1677	(234) 1682
А	Д	А	Д	А	Д	Д	Д	А	Д	Д	Д	Я	Ч	И
В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В
А	Д	А	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	А	А	А
К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К
Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л
М	М	М	М	Н	М	М	Н	М	М	М	М	Н	М	М
Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ

41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
(258) 1708	(264) 1717	(281) 1727	(301) 1735	(321) 1744	(338) 1753	(368) 1761	(384) 1765	(398) 1774	(431) 1789	(441) 1808	(440) 1808	(484) 1803	(478) 1808	(490) 1813
А	Д	А	Д	А	Д	А	Д	А	Д	Д	Д	А	А	А
В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В
Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д
К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К
Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л
М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М
Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ

56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67
(501)	(507)	(510)	(518)	(542)	(566)	(570)	(584)	(585)	(588)	(608)	(634)
1819	1821	1028	1835	1844	1853	1854	1858	1859	1859	1869	1884
¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶	¶
B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ
Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ	Κ
Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ	Λ
Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ	Μ
Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω	Ω

1	(2)	873	ΜΗΓΗ ΙΚ ΤΗ
2	(11)	912	ΜΗ
3	(13)	1000	ΜΗ Ρ
4	(34)	τελον 12ου αι	ΛΗ ΤΗ ΤΗ ΤΑ
5	(35)	τελον 12ου αι	Ζ Δ ΖΗΝ ΑΛΙΣΛΥΝΗ
6	(37)	1240/1258	Ρ ΠΡΑΦΗ ΝΤ ΜΗΝ ΖΗ
7	(42)	-1259	ΩΝΗ Ρ Σ Β
8	(45)	1287	ΑΙ Ρ Π Π Ν Μ Ρ Η
9	(48)	1303	Φ ΣΤΡ ΜΗ ΤΗ
10	(49)	1306	ΜΒ ΤΗ ΤΑΚ ΙΡ ΜΗ Ρ
11	(52)	1319/1320	Σ Η
12	(53)	1338	ΦΗ Ρ Σ
13	(54)	1352	ΚΗΦ Ρ Σ
14	(55)	1355/56	Τ Φ Ρ Κ
15	(57)	1371/75	Ζ ΜΗΡ Ρ Σ

16 (62)	1378	ԳԻՐ ԽԵՂԵՎ Վ ՌԱՔՈՆ
17 (64)	1393	ԱՏԼԻՐ ՌԱՎԻ ԲԱ
18 (65)	1413/14	Ճ ՄԻ Խ Վ Ա Հ Ր Ի Խ
19 (67)	1432	Վ Ա Խ Ա Խ Ի Խ
20 (75)	1476	ԳԻՐ Ք Ա Խ Ա Մ Գ Ո Ւ
21 (78)	1486	Ա Խ Ա Խ
22 (82)	1501	Գ Ո Ր Խ Վ Թ Ո Ւ Ա Վ Ա Խ
23 (80)	1522	ԳԻՐ Խ
24 (82)	1524	Գ Ո Ր Ա Խ Ա Բ
25 (96)	1542	Վ Ր Ի Խ Ա Խ Ա Պ Տ Ա Բ Ա Խ
26 (104)	1547	Ֆ Խ Ա Խ Ի Բ
27 (123)	1566	Ի Խ Ա Վ Փ Փ Ա Խ
28 (133)	1570	Ա Խ Ա Վ Ա Խ Ա Խ
29 (137)	1592	Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Խ
30 (167)	1614	Ֆ Ե Ր Փ Ա Յ Փ

31 (208)	1650	Տ Ի Ֆ Ա Ջ Ա Ջ Ե Ր
32 (220)	1662	Ի Ի Խ Ա Խ Ա Խ Ա Խ
33 (224)	1663	Ի Ե Շ Ա Վ Ի Ի Խ
34 (233)	1677	Ի Մ Ջ Ա Վ Ա Ն Ե Ջ
35 (234)	1682	Վ Կ Ի Ռ Ա Խ Ա Խ Ա Վ Ր
36 (258)	1708	Ի Վ Ա Վ Ի Ի Ի Վ Ի Ի Վ
37 (284)	1717	Ի Վ Ա Վ Ի Ա Վ Վ
38 (301)	1735	Ա Վ Ա Վ Ի Ի Վ
39 (321)	1744	Է Ֆ Ֆ Է Ֆ Է Ֆ
40 (338)	1753	Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ
41 (366)	1761	Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ Ա Վ
42 (440)	1809	Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա Ա
43 (501)	1819	Վ Ի Մ Ջ Ա Խ Ա Վ Ր
44 (568)	1853	Բ Մ Հ Ե Ե Ի Խ Ա Լ Ե
45 (670)	1854	Վ Ի Պ Խ Ե Ե

ОАРХІСРАТІ
 МІХАНД
 ОАРХІСРА
 ААААААА М
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 Г Г Г П
 Р Р Р
 С Г
 Є Н Н Т Т
 Т Т
 В
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 А А
 Г Г
 Р Р
 Г Г
 О О
 Т Т
 С С
 М М
 П П
 Р Р
 С С

Α Β Γ Δ
Ε Η Θ Ι
Α, Κ Λ Μ Ν Ζ
Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ
Υ Φ Χ
(Ω)

Α Β Γ Ε
Κ Μ Ν
Ο Ρ Σ Κ
Τ Χ

ΟΙΡ ΙΗ
 Όρα Τη λα Χ
 Αί Γι ος
 ΦΙΩ
 ΡΟΣ

ΓΡΩΤΑΙΩΡ
 ΣΤΥΦΧ
 ΚΗΗΟΠ
 ΕΗΘ
 ΑΒΓ
 ΚΗΗΟΠ

Planche 18

ΠΑΡΑΧΡΙΣΤΦΕΝΔΩΣΤΑΒΑΣΙΚΟΛΑΘΑΡΟ
ΚΚΑΡΗΝΔΑΓΒΑΡΔΙΑ^ς ΝΞΙΒΕΤΑΦΛΩ^ς

ΠΑΡΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΟΡΟΥ ΕΝΔΟΣΩΤΑΤ(ΟΥ) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΥ Ά ΣΠΑΘΑΡΗΟΥ
Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΑΤ(Ε)Π(Α)ΝΟ ΛΑΓΟΥΒΑΡΔΙΑΣ ΗΝΔ(ΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ) ΤΒ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΦΛΖ+

1

+ ΕΚΥΜΗΟΣΑΧΘΟΥΙΩΑ[ΠΑΚΕΓΓΑ]

ΝΞΓΕΤΧ[ΔΦΗ]Η +

+ ΕΚΥΜΗ(Η) Ο ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟ)Υ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΗΣ) Ά ΣΠΑΘ(ΑΡΙΟΣ) ΚΕ ΣΤΡ(ΑΤΗΓΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΘΕΜΑΤΟΣ---Ι)ΝΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟΣ Γ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΦΗ+.

2

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΛΙΛΙ ΑΗΝΙΩΤΩΝΟΣΦΙΟΣ;
ΦΘΑΝΩ; ΠΡΟΣΙΓΩΤΟΥΣ ΚΝΙΠΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΗΣΕΡΙ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΥΥΧΗΠΟΘΩ.

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΚΗΛΩΝ ΔΗΜΗΤΩΝ ΟΣΦΥΟΣ;
ΦΘΑΝΩ; ΠΡΟΣ ΙΕΤΩ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΥΛΟΥΣ
ΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΈΜΗΣ ΔΕ ΤΡΙΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΨΥΧΗΣ Πόθεν

3

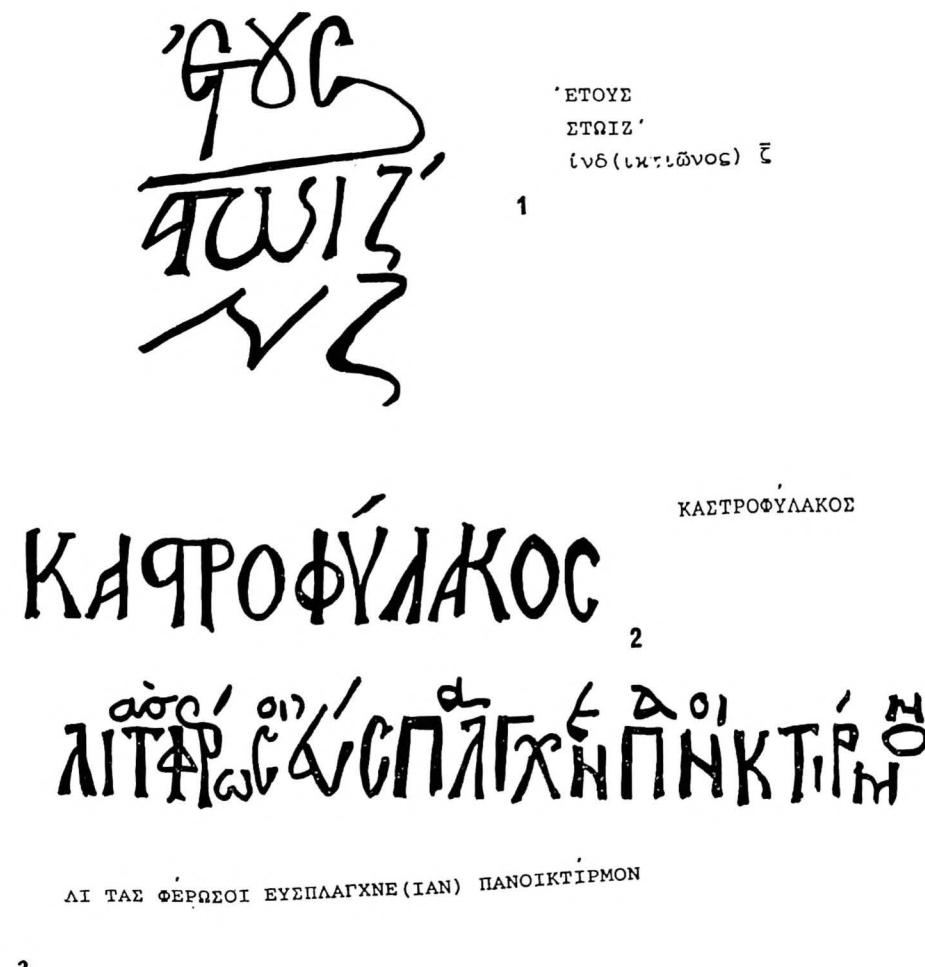
ΗΙΚΕ^ς
ΕΤΩΘΗ
ΨΙΝ·ΩΗ
ΑΡΧΗΕΓΩ

ΔΕΗΓΙΣΤΥΛΟ^ς
ΛΥΣΕΥΤΩ^ς
ΚΑΙ ΗΥΚΗ^ς
ΔΡΟC^ς

ΔΕΗΣΤΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ/ΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ Θ(Ε)ΟΥ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΟΥ)/ΚΑΙ ΗΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΗ/ΤΩΡΟΣ:-

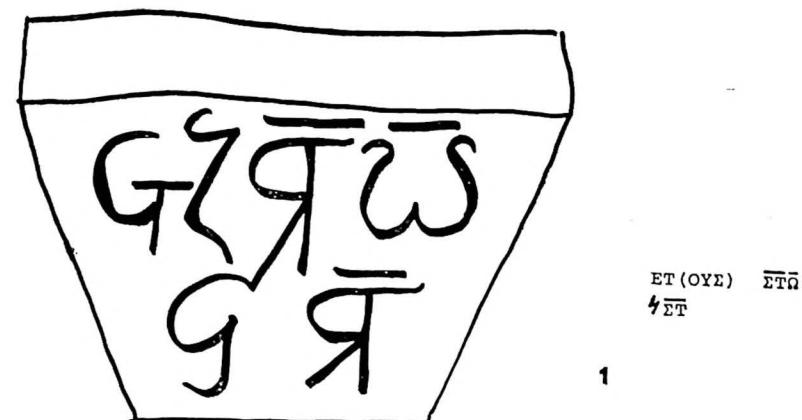
2

Planche 20



3

94



ΜΕΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟΥ) ΔΙ ΕΞΟΔΟΥ

2. ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ
ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ ΑΙΓΑΛΕΩΝ

·ΕΝ ·ΕΤΟΙ. ΖΔ. Ινδ(ιατιῶνος) .Ι. ΔΕΚΕΥΡΙΩ .Α.
ΩΡΑ Ο Θ(ΕΟΣ) ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΚΟΠΟΣ

3

ΚΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΑΡΤΟΛΟΥ . ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΟΥ) ΙΕΡΕΟΣ, ΜΕΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΚΝΩΝ

4

ΜΗΕΚΒΟΩΡΓΩΛΗΣΔ

ΜΗΘ(Η) ΕΚ ΒΟΘΡΩΝ ΔΗ ΕΞΟΔ(ΟΥ)

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΤΗΣΑΣΤΧΔΙΝΑ
ΕΤΕΛΙΩΔΑΣ· ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙ(ΘΗ) ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΝΑΡ
ΕΤΕΛΙΩΘ(Η) ΔΕ, ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΥ

2

ΚΥΡΩΝΚΕΔ.
ΓΖΑΦΤΗΗ· ΓΖΗΣ· ΓΖ

ΚΥΡΩ ΝΕΚΤΑΡΙΟΥ
ΕΤΟΥΣ άφιη. ξμ. Ινδικτιῶνος στ

3

+ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΡΓΩΝ· ΣΗΠΡΑΝΗΝΟΛΓΩΘΙΣ

+ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΕΡΓΩΝ. ΕΝ ΓΡΑΜΑΣΙΝ ΟΥ ΛΕΓΩ Θ(Ε)ΩΣ

4

ΚΙΣΕΡΤΩΝΕ

Κ(ΑΙ) ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ

ΟΕΣΤΑΦΕΑΠΛΙΟΣΥ
ΤΗΝ ΘΕΑΝ

ΟΡΩ ΣΕ ΤΑΦΕ ΔΕΙΛΙΩ ΣΟΥ

2 ΤΗΝ ΘΕΑΝ

ΕΙΠΕΝ
Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ
ΠΑΠΑ
ΒΟΛΗ
ΤΑΥΘΗΝ

3
ΕΙΠΕΝ
Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ
ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑ
ΒΟΛΗΝ
ΤΑΥΘΗΝ

ΔΗΣΠΟΥ ΠΙ ΚΩΝ
ΣΤΙ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΟΤΑΣ

ΔΗΣΠΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΙΕΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ

1

ΣΚΕΑΘΡΩ θεῖος χτες
ταῖς πάντας σένετησθήσω

ΕΚ ΒΑΘΡΩΝ ο θεῖος ούτος
τῶν ἀγίων παντών ἐν ἑτει σ(ωτή)ριν

2

ΕΦΘΑ
ΑΨΞΕ³

ΕΤΟΣ
ΑΨΞΕ⁴

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ

1

ἘΠΙΤΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
Τὸς συλτανὸς τῷ μεν ζητ
ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος
τοῦ σουλτανὸς μεντζήτ
χαν

2

Τῷ μακρίτῳ συναδέλ
φυ μας: Δωρόθεύ:

τοῦ μακαρίου συναδέλφου μας: Δωροθεού:

3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
А	А	А	А	А	А	А	А	А	А	Д	А	Д	А	Д	А
В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В	В
Г	Г			Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г	Г
Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д	Д
Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е	Е
З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З	З
И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И
Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө	Ө
І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І	І
К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К	К
Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л	Л

М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М	М
Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н	Н
И								И	И	И	И	И	И	И	И
О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О	О
П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П	П
Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р	Р
С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С	С
Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т	Т
Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү
Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф				Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф	Ф
Х	Х	Х	Х	Х	Х				Х	Х			Х		
Ѱ					Ѱ						Ѱ				
Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ				Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ	Ѡ

Planche 27

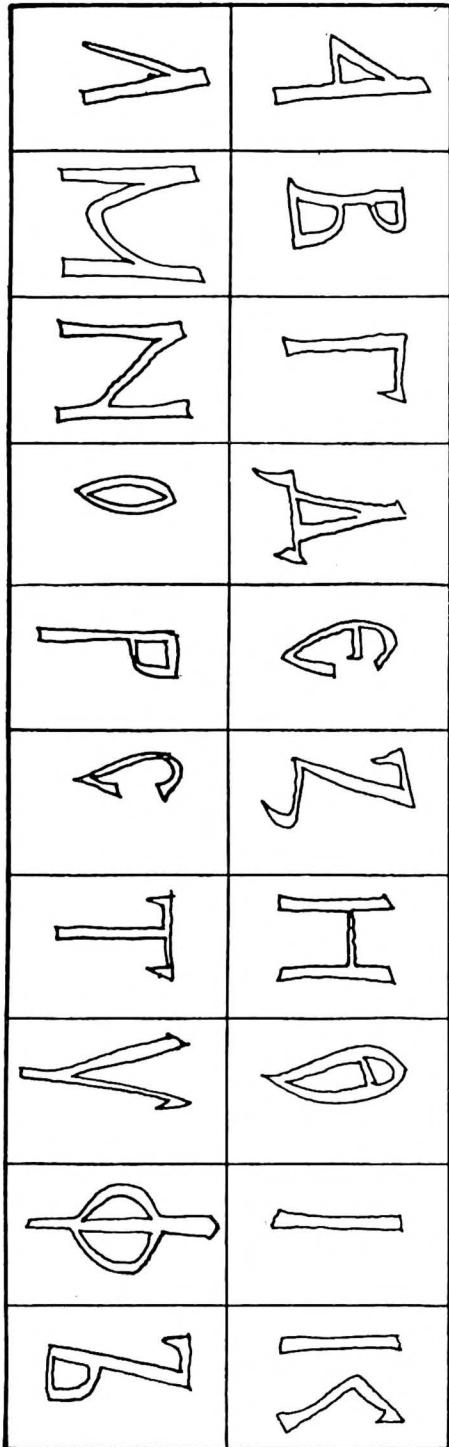
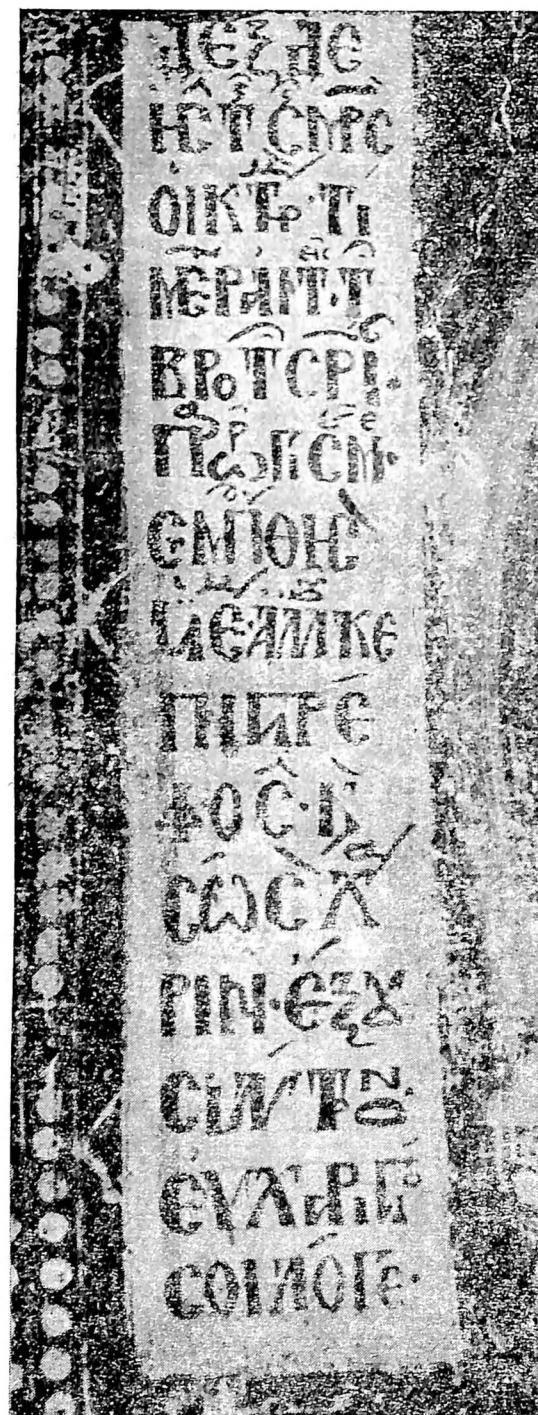


Planche 28

А	Б	В	В	Г	Г
Д	Д	Е	Е	Ж	Ж
З	З	И	И	К	К
Л	М	И	Н	Л	Л
П	Р	Р	С	С	Т
Ф	Х	Х	Т	Т	Ч
Ч	Ч	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү
Ш	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү
Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү
Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү
Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү
Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү	Ү



* Ιερόπηστον καθάπερ οὐκέπει πεντεχρήμενος εἴτε
αἱ τοθοποίαι αὐλακοπίστε πέντε πεντεχρήμενος εἴτε
Νομένυ κύβραντος σελίνη ἐξικονί θηλάστρας
σύπερ διδύσιδαντος επιπλανηπατού επαντελέ
διπιβώντας επεινέφιλοχρωνοντανον· ἀχιρί^{τόνεστρι} πιπετάκυχρονος κιστόντος
κυπρανί κέπεντοντας · κεπτόντοντος
διπιθύμητοντος σμέριοντος τοτερίαρη
αύξεντος επεινέφιλοντος σμέριοντος
τιας· αυτες· χρητελατε

a.

Ω βέστι φειλίσυτεν
θελικάκυραντοντον
Ω μερνέχει τόκοινό
φινέτσποιωνι
βίνοντερασθει
νιτσολιτεκτίς
λάσταφνίσε

b.

NEKI ELEMENTI ODNOSA GLAGOLSKIH IMENICA
OD NEPRELAZNIH GLAGOLA U STAROSLOVENSKOM
PREMA ODGOVARAJUĆIM REČIMA
U GRČKOM ORGINALU*

D. Stefanović

Medju najznačajnije ekstralngvističke faktore u razvoju slovenskih jezika u 9. veku spada prijem i širenje hrišćanstva kod Slovена. Prevodjenjem grčkih književnih tekstova religiozne sadržine stvarao se prvi jezik književnosti¹—staroslovenski jezik. S jedne strane, trebalo je prevoditi sa grčkog na određeni slovenski jezik, s druge strane, trebalo je nove pojmove preneti na književnom nivou tako da se oni shvate. U stvari uspostavljala se komunikaciona veza između razvijene vizantijske hrišćanske kulture i novokrštenih Slovena. U prenošenju poruke odlučujuću ulogu je imao jezik. Tako je jedan od osnovnih aspekata razvoja prvog slovenskog jezika književnosti (i njegovih kasnijih crkvenoslovenskih redakcija) u primanju velikog broja grčizama i u čuvanju sopstvenog slovenskog jezičkog identiteta.

Nova jezička kretanja izazvala su nagli prodor velikog broja apstraktnih pojmoveva i čestu upotrebu reči sa apstraktnim značenjem u staroslovenskom

* Ovaj članak predstavlja deo magistarskog rada koji je odbranjen 1972. godine. U radu se daje tvorbena sistematizacija i klasifikacija glagolskih imenica od neprelaznih glagola na -nije, -enije, -ije, -tije, -bstvije u staroslovenskom jeziku. Osnovna gradja ekscerpirana je iz osam većih staroslovenskih spomenika (*Zografsko jevandjelje*, napisano krajem 10. početkom 11. v., čuva se u Leningradu; *Marijino jevandjelje*, napisano u prvoj polovini 11. v., čuva se u Moskvi; *Savina knjiga*, napisana u 11. v., čuva se u Moskvi; *Asemanovo jevandjelje*, napisano krajem 10. ili početkom 11. v., čuva se u Vatikanu; *Sinajski psaltir*, napisan u 11. v., čuva se u manastiru sv. Katarine na Sinaju; *Sinajski trebnik*, napisan u 11. v., čuva se u manastiru sv. Katarine na Sinaju; *Kločev zbornik*, napisan u 11. v., čuva se u Tridentu i Innsbruku; *Suprasalski zbornik*, napisan u 10. i 11. v., čuva se u Ljubljani i Leningradu.) Ekscerpirane su sve imenice—bez obzira na prelaznost i neprelaznost—date kategorije. Posle ekscerpira materijala izvršena je selekcija izvedenica prema prelaznosti i neprelaznosti. Izvedenice su uporedjene sa odgovarajućim rečima grčkih paralela, sem Sinajskog trebnika, gde nije postojala mogućnost za uporedjivanje.

1. O problemu književnog jezika i jezika književnosti v.: I. Grickat, «Jezik književnosti i književni jezik - na osnovu srpskog pisanog nasledja iz starijih epoha», *Južnoslovenski filolog* XXVIII, 1-2 (Beograd 1969), 1-36.

jeziku, medju njima i proširenu upotrebu glagolskih imenica od neprelaznih glagola na -nije, -enije, -ije, -tije, -bstvije. (Primeri: padenje, visenje, umiljenje, žitije, šestvije).

Već su u praslovenskom bili oformljeni oblici glagolskih imenica navedene kategorije. Sigurno su izvršene i odredjene semantičke promene u odnosu na primarno značenje oblika. Prilikom prevodjenja sa grčkog postojali su gotovi oblički elementi i semantičke mogućnosti za prenošenje odredjenog značenja iz jednog jezika u drugi.

Kod određivanja prelaznosti i neprelaznosti glagola treba imati u vidu da u grčkom jeziku prelaznost i neprelaznost glagola predstavlja sintaksičku kategoriju, a u staroslovenskom leksičko-sintaksičku kategoriju. (O tome će još biti reči u daljem). Kakva su sve značenja imali oblici glagolskih imenica od neprelaznih glagola do 9. veka, ne zna se. Međutim, sigurno je da se prevodjenjem sa grčkog jezika i ulaskom novih pojmoveva u jezičku stvarnost semantika oblika menjala i obogaćivala u staroslovenskom. Na ovo očigledno ukazuje kvantitativni odnos grčkih reči i odgovarajućih staroslovenskih glagolskih imenica date kategorije (približno 295:167). U tom smislu vrlo je čest slučaj da se nekoliko grčkih reči prevodi jednom staroslovenskom reči, napr. staroslovensko «žitije» odgovara sledećim rečima u grčkom originalu: παλιγγενεσία, ἀγνεία, ἀρετή, ἄσκησις, βίος, βιώσιμος, διάθεσις, ζωή, κατοικία, μαμωνᾶς, πολιτεία, πολίτευμα, συναναστροφή, στρατεία, σωτηρία, τρόπος. Reč «žitije» ima sledeća značenja: život, stan, provodjenje života, životopis (biografija), sredstva za život. Staroslovenskom «poveljenje» u grčkom odgovaraju sledeće reči: ἀντιγραφή, βούλημα, γνώμη, διάταξις, δόγμα, ἐπέταξε, ἐπιστασία, ἐπίταγμα, κέλευσις, κέλευμα, νεῦμα, ἀποστολή, πρόσταγμα, πρότασις, τὸ προσταχθέν, φιλοτιμία. Značenja su sledeća: naredjenje, propis, pravilo, zakon, učenje. Postoje primeri, retko, da se ista grčka reč prevodi većim brojem staroslovenskih reči, napr. ἀνάστασις prevodi se glagolskim imenicama «vleskrbsnovenije» i «vlastanije».

I bez dublje semantičke analize mogu da se potvrde semantičke promene u smislu pojave novih značenjskih tipova kod pojedinih oblika, napr. konkretnizacija značenja «lēganije» t.j. «prvovbzlēganije»—«sedjenje u pročelju», ali i «pročelje kod zajedničke trapeze». Grčka konkretna imenica σάλπιγξ (truba, trubni znak) prevodi se na staroslovenski glagolskom imenicom «trobljenje».

Manji je uticaj odgovarajućih grčkih reči na obličku strukturu staroslovenskih glagolskih imenica od neprelaznih glagola. U tom smislu može da se govori o kalkovima, manjem broju složenica koje su oblički gradjene prema

grčkom uzoru, napr. πρωτοκλισία pr̄vovzleženije. Ova pojava obuhvata primere koji pokazuju da je prefiksiranost nekih imenica kalkirana prema grčkom, pr. pregr̄šenje prema παράπτωμα.

Najzad, verovatno je da su pod neposrednim uticajem grčkog orginala počele da se izvode glagolske imenice i od onih neprelaznih glagola koji ranije nisu imali svoje glagolske imenice.

Uporedjivanje glagolskih imenica od neprelaznih glagola (a isti je slučaj i sa prelaznim glagolima) u staroslovenskom sa odgovarajućim rečima grčkog orginala veoma izrazito pokazuje obličko siromaštvo i semantičko bogatstvo, stvarno i potencijalno, imenica date kategorije u staroslovenskom. Glagolskim imenicama date kategorije prevode se sledeće grčke reči:

1. lični glagolski oblik (1 primer), pr. ἐπέταξε
2. imenice:
 - a. infinitiv sa članom (16 primera) pr. τὸ ἐλαύνειν
 - b. imenice sa različitim sufiksima:
 - sa -μα (24 prim.), pr. πτῶμα
 - sa -σις (51 prim.), pr. πτῶσις
 - sa -μος (11 prim.), pr. διαλογισμός
 - sa -εια (20 prim.), pr. συμπάθεια
 - sa -σια (17 prim.), pr. πρωτοκλισία
 - sa -ιον (2 prim.), pr. βραβεῖον
 - sa -ια (37 prim.), pr. διδασκαλία
 - sa -ις (1 prim.), pr. ὕβρις
 - sa -της (4 prim.), pr. στιλβότης
 - sa -τρον (1 prim.), pr. φόβητρον
 - sa -ος (10 prim.), pr. βλαστός
 - sa -ᾶ / η (39 prim.), pr. ἥττα
 - sa -ᾶς (1 prim.), pr. μαμωνᾶς
 - sa -θ- (1 prim.), pr. πάθος
 - sa -γγ (1 prim.), pr. σάλπιγξ
- v. imenice u množini na- (3 primera), pr. τὰ ἔνεδρα
3. pridevi (3 primera), pr. ἐπίβατος
4. sintagme (5 primera), pr. «ἐν ρύσει αἴματος»

Svega 295 grčkih reči prevodi se sa 167 staroslovenskih reči. (Ne računajući Sinajski trebnik).

Kod navedenih grčkih reči, pored obličko-sufiksalne raznolikosti, veoma je širok dijapazon semantike. Od najapstraktnijeg značenja procesa radnje, koje se najizrazitije i u potpunosti ostvaruje kod infinitiva sa članom, preko

značenja čina i osobine, do konkretnih značenja predstavljen je veliki broj značenjskih tipova imenica.

Semantička analiza glagolskih imenica koje su izvedene od glagolskih parova koji se razlikuju po prelaznosti i neprelaznosti, uporedjivanje ovih imenica sa odgovarajućim grčkim rečima pokazuju nam da je kategorija prelaznost-neprelaznost imala i morfološko obeležje kod glagola u staroslovenskom i da je ona predstavljala leksičku kategoriju kod navedenih glagolskih parova. U daljem navode se primjeri glagolskih parova sa izvedenim glagolskim imenicama i odgovarajućim grčkim rečima. Brojevi u zagradi obeležavaju učestalost primera u spomenicima. (Broj glagola uzet je na osnovu većeg broja spomenika po Dostalu², a broj imenica je naveden prema manjem broju spomenika koji su služili kao osnovna gradja za ovaj rad. Ovakav odnos ne dovodi do bitnih pomeranja u proporcijama).

1. Neprelazni glagol: въскръсноти (94)—въскръсновение (4)—(τὸ ἐγερθῆναι) въскръсене (37)—(ἀνάστασις, τὸ ἐγερθῆναι, ἐγερσις, κρύψις).

Prelazni glagol: въскрѣти (67)—въскрѣсене (62) (ἀνάστασις).

Ovi glagoli sa svojim izvedenicama spadaju u crkveno-bogoslovsku terminologiju i često se upotrebljavaju. Razlika po prelaznosti i neprelaznosti relevantna je zbog pojmovne distribucije vaskrsnuća božanstva (neprelazno značenje) i čoveka (prelazno značenje). Ova značenja se prenela, sa manjim kolebanjima, i na glagolske imenice gornjih glagolskih parova. Tako въскрѣсене (въскръсновение) znači, vaskrsnuće čoveka iz mrtvih i sveopšte vaskrsnuće, dogadjaj koji će se desiti drugim dolaskom Isusovim. Ovde su pojmovne razlike obeležene i obličkom razlikom, koja se dosledno sprovodi kroz spomenike. Izuzetak predstavlja AS J 11, 24. Ovu obličko-semantičku distribuciju još jače ističe grčki original gde je jedan oblik (ἀνάστασις) nosilac oba značenja. Ostale odgovarajuće reči prevode se samo neprelaznom glagolskom izvedenicom.

2. Neprelazni glagol: грѣдѣти (u kasnjim spomenicima)—грѣдѣније (u kasnjim spomenicima)—(ἀλαζοεία); възгрѣдѣти—(nema glagolske imenice)

Prelazni glagol: грѣдити—грѣдѣније (ἐπιληψία)—възгрѣдѣније—(nema glagolske imenice).

3. Neprelazni glagol: обѣт'ати (1)—(nema glagolske imenice)

Prelazni glagol: обѣтити (5)—обѣштр'енije (2) (οἱδημα, φλεγμονή).

4. Neprelazni glagol: ослабѣти (6)—(nema glagolske imenice)

Prelazni glagol: ослабити (20)—ослабл'енije (1) (ἀνεσις).

2. A. Dostál, *Studie o vidovém systému v staroslověnštině*, Praha 1954.

5. Neprelazni glagol: тълѣти—тълѣниje (2) (σαθρότης, φθορά)—петълѣниje (ἀφθαρσία); истълѣти (u kasnijim spomenicima)—истълѣниje (14) (ἄφθαρτος, διαφθорά, φθορά); неистълѣниje (ἀφθαρσία); истълѣнъпие (διαφθорά).

Prelazni glagol: тълiti—(nema glagolske imenice); istъliti—istъl'enije (1) (φθορά).

Izvedenica od prelaznog glagola je slabo dokumentovana. Ista grčka reč se prevodi izvedenicama od prelaznih i neprelaznih glagola. Na osnovu analize tekstova moglo bi se zaključiti da izvedenica od neprelaznog glagola znači iskvarenost, pokvarenost u moralnom smislu.

6. Neprelazni glagol: умрѣти (163) —умгътъје (2) (τελευτή)

Prelazni glagol: умгътвiti (34)—умгътвije (1)³ (τελευτή).

Ove imenice se vrlo retko pojavljuju. U spomenicima pojam smrti obeležava reč съмгътъ (θάνατος) i ona se vrlo često pojavljuje. U Novom zavetu θάνατος (съмгътъ) ima, uglavnom, religiozno-moralno značenje, a τελευτή (умгътъје) znači fizički kraj života, smrt. τελευτή se pojavljuje samo jednom u Novom zavetu (Mt 2,15): radi se o Irodovoj smrti. U Marijinom jevadjelju i Savinoj knjizi ova grčka reč se prevodi izvedenicom od neprelaznog glagola.

U slovenskim jezicima glagolske imenice na morfološkom nivou posmatrane spadaju medju imenice, a po svojoj semantici čine deo glagolskog sistema. U staroslovenskom jeziku semantička glagolska kategorija prelaznosti i neprelaznosti ima i svoje morfološko obeležje u izvesnoj meri (въскръсноти—въскрѣти). Ovakva morfološka diferencijacija u nekoliko slučajeva prisutna je i kod glagolskih imenica izvedenih od glagolskih parova koji se razlikuju po prelaznosti i neprelaznosti. Ove vrste morfološke diferencijacije nema kod glagola u grčkom jeziku. U tom pogledu su glagoli i navedene glagolske izvedenice leksički autohtonije i semantika prelaznosti i neprelaznosti predstavlja leksičko-sintaksičku kategoriju za razliku od grčkog jezika, gde se semantika prelaznosti i neprelaznosti može ustanoviti samo na nivou sintakse, prema konkretnom kontekstu.

Beograd

3. Ovaj glagol vodi svoje poreklo od glagolskog prideva мрътвъ.

A. S. NOROV AND THE PAN-ORTHODOX CAUSE

Peter Weisensel

One of the prominent names before the Russian reading public in the mid-nineteenth century was that of Avraam Sergeevich Norov (1795-1869). His three books, *Puteshestvie po sviatoi zemle* (*Journey Through the Holy Land*) (1838), *Puteshestvie po Egiptu i Nubii* (*Journey Through Egypt and Nubia*) (1840), and *Puteshestvie k semi tserkvam upominaemym v Apokalipsise* (*Journey to the Seven Churches Mentioned in the Apocalypse*) (1847), which described his experiences and researches in the Near East in 1834-35, captured the fancy of literate Russians since they capitalized on Russia's growing interest in the «Eastern Question». Nicholas Chernyshevskii wrote that Norov's works were of such importance that they occupied «a place not only in Russian but also in general European literature [on the Near East]¹. So closely was Norov's name associated with the Holy Places, wrote V. N. Khitrovo, one of the founders of the Russian Orthodox Palestine Society, that in the minds of his contemporaries «unwittingly arose the figure of Avraam Sergeevich» whenever the Holy Places were mentioned².

Since his death in 1869, however, Norov's part in Russian-Near Eastern affairs has been forgotten. If historians recall Norov at all, they refer to him only as the ineffective Minister of Public Instruction during the last years of Nicholas I. Contemporaries typically commented that he was «kind» and «good» but also «weak» and «characterless», a typical bureaucrat of Nicholas' epoch. Quite apart from his bureaucratic career, however, Norov was significant for his part in a field yet little researched, Russian-Near Eastern cultural and religious relations in the nineteenth century. The diplomacy of the «Eastern Question» has long been a popular field for research. In this diplomatic context historians have agreed that it was an axiom of eighteenth—and nineteenth—century Russian foreign policy that exercise of the right of protection of Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire disguised pragmatic great-power objectives. Some in Russia, however, took seriously the protection of Orthodoxy in the Levant, for they nurtured the hope that selfless help would

1. *Otechestvennye Zapiski* 98 (1855), 52.

2. Khitrovo's introduction to Norov's *Jerusalim i Sinai. Zapiski vtorago puteshestviia na vostok*, St. Petersburg 1878, p. i.

establish a close communion with their Eastern co-religionists, a close communion which would enable the entire Orthodox world to ward off materialistic and Latin influences from the West. A. S. Norov was such an individual and it is the purpose of this essay to explore Norov's ideas and activities on behalf of the Eastern Church since his ideas were quite outside the varieties of Russian conservatism and nationalism heretofore studied.

Avraam Sergeevich Norov³ was born the son of a retired army officer on October 29, 1795 on his father's estate of Kliuchi in the Saratov province on the Volga. By all available evidence, Norov's father desired a military career for his son. After preliminary education at home young Norov was sent to the pension attached to Moscow University, but before he finished the course of study his father withdrew him from the school. After a period of preparation at home Norov passed the examination which would permit him to enter the Imperial Guards. With the personal intercession of the otherwise infamous Count A. A. Arakcheev, the Minister of War and family friend, young Norov was admitted to the artillery brigade of the Imperial Life Guards in St. Petersburg in March, 1810. Norov took part in the campaign against Napoleon and commanded a battery at the massive confrontation at Borodino. He was severely wounded at Borodino and later captured when the French occupied Moscow. Owing to the severity of his wounds it was found necessary to amputate his left leg, an amputation conducted by Baron Larrey, surgeon to Napoleon's general staff.

After a period of recuperation at his family's estate near Moscow, Norov returned to active service in the Guards in the spring of 1814. He was gradually promoted from first lieutenant to captain in February, 1819 and to colonel in June, 1820. Norov, however, found himself drawn to literary and scholarly pursuits. As an amputee he had at best limited prospects for a successful military career. After 1815 he devoted himself to the study of French, Italian, Latin, Greek and English and to foreign and Russian literature. In the romantic style of Byron, Norov tried his hand at poetry and published several items in literary journals between 1818 and 1834. A series of translations from Dante, Chénier and others appeared as well.

3. Basic biographical information can be found in A. V. Nikitenko, «Avraam Sergeevich Norov», *Imperatorskaia Akademii Nauk. Otdelenie russkago iazyka i slovesnosti. Sbornik*, Vol. 7, No. 9 (1870), 11-34; E. Dylevskii, «Avraam Sergeevich Norov», *Strannik*, No. 4 (1871), 10-44; V. N. Khitrovo's introduction to Norov's *Ierusalim i Sinai*, pp. i-x; and A. S. Norov, «Vospominaniia», *Russkii Arkhiv* 3 (1881), 173-214. See also the author's dissertation, *Avraam Sergeevich Norov: Nineteenth Century Russian Traveler, Bureaucrat and Educator* (University of Minnesota, 1973).

These romantic impulses were behind Norov's initial attraction to the Levant. Norov's interest incidentally was a part of a growing concern throughout literate Russian society for Levantine affairs in the 1820's and 1830's⁴. V. N. Khitrovo commented that Norov's love of the Greek and Roman classics and the romantic trends in literature of the 1820's, especially Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (Paris 1811), drew him to the East⁵. Regarding the romantic element Norov himself wrote much later that the «lofty poetic dreams of youth deeply furrowed in my imagination» drew him initially eastward⁶.

The «lofty poetic dreams of youth» beckoned Norov to the East in the 1820's, but his motivations sobered before his first voyage in 1834. In 1823 Norov abandoned his military career and in 1827 entered the civilian administration, becoming a «bureaucrat of special assignments» (*chinovnik osobykh poruchenii*) in the Ministry of the Interior. As a man drawn to literature, Norov became deeply dissatisfied with the mundane and stifling atmosphere in the bureaucracy. After only four months' service in the Ministry, in May, 1828 Norov approached his friend Konstantin Iakovlevich Bulgakov and pleaded for his aid in arranging an appointment as secretary to Admiral D. M. Seniavin, the commander of the Baltic Fleet. Bulgakov arranged an interview for Norov and with Seniavin's intercession Norov received leave of absence to sail with Seniavin to London as secretary and translator⁷. Norov did not return to his desk in St. Petersburg until 1830. A. V. Nikitenko, an old friend, well-known professor at St. Petersburg University and advisor to Norov in the Ministry of Public Instruction, wrote after Norov's death: «As his external activities isolated him in a confined circle his internal yearnings could not be content... Humanity develops... when it is threatened with being torn apart [and it] rushes to strengthen itself in the fundamentals so irresistibly inherent in us, in the fundamentals of faith... Firmly then the religious mood developed in him finally

4. On this upsurge of interest in the East see especially A. V. Fadeev, *Rossiia i vostochnyi krizis v 20-tykh godov XIX veka*, Moscow 1958, Ch. 1; I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi arabistiki*, Moscow-Leningrad 1950, pp. 73-123; V. Bartol'd, *Istoriia izucheniiia vostoka v Evrope i Rossii*, 2nd edition, Leningrad 1925, Chs. XI, XII. A number of specialized articles on the subject appear in the irregularly published *Ocherki po istorii russkogo vostokovedeniia* (1953-).

5. Khitrovo, p. ii.

6. A. S. Norov, *Ierusalim i Sinai*, p. 133.

7. «Iz pisem Konstantina Iakovlevicha Bulgakovo k bratu ego, Aleksandru Iakovlevichu», *Russkii Arkhiv*, Part 2 (1903), 561-562.

a fervent desire to visit the Holy Places [of Palestine]»⁸. In similar vein, V. N. Khitrovo wrote: «This was not the same young artillery sub-lieutenant with whom we were acquainted [in the 1820's]. The Byronism of the 1820's left its mark on him but... a deep religiosity, not acknowledging or recognizing even the slightest doubt, was most important»⁹.

Norov received leave of absence from the Ministry of the Interior in the autumn of 1834 to visit the Holy Places and he arrived in Alexandria in December 1834, only to return to Russia in June 1835. He visited several archaeological sites on the Nile as far south as the second cataract, and passing into Palestine overland through the Isthmus of Suez Norov visited most of the important religious places in the Holy Land, especially in Jerusalem and its environs. With significance for the future he met the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem and other prelates, whom he impressed with his piety and devotion to the Orthodox Church. Accompanied quite accidentally by the British writer Alexander W. Kinglake, Norov travelled through Anatolia to Constantinople, visiting en route the locations of many ancient Christian cities. From Constantinople he returned to Russia through the Balkans.

Norov maintained his position in the Ministry of the Interior until January 1839 when he transferred to the Commission for the Reception of Petitions to the Tsar, a position which sometimes brought him to report personally to Nicholas I. In 1847 he became a senator. Norov's conservative outlook and reputation as a writer played their part and in 1850 he received the appointment of Deputy Minister (*tovarishch*) of Public Instruction. He replaced the Minister, Prince P. A. Shirinskii-Shikhmatov, upon the latter's death in 1854. Norov's tenure as the Minister of Public Instruction spanned the last years of the reign of Nicholas I and the first years of Alexander II. High hopes and good intentions marked his tenure, but there were few real accomplishments. Laxness in the censorship administration and disorders in the universities, for which Alexander II blamed Norov's «simplicity», compelled him to resign in 1858¹⁰.

During these years, however, Norov pursued a parallel career in scholarship pertaining to the Christian East. Between 1838 and 1847 the three works describing the visit of 1834-35 appeared in print (*Puteshestvie po sviatoi zemle* [2 vols., 1838]; *Puteshestvie po Egiptu i Nubii* [2 vols., 1840]; *Puteshestvie k*

8. A. V. Nikitenko, «Avraam Sergeevich Norov», 18.

9. Khitrovo, p. iv.

10. Alfred Rieber (ed.), *The Politics of Autocracy. Letters of Alexander II to Prince A. I. Bariatinskii, 1857-1864*, Paris, Mouton, 1966, p. 46.

semi tserkvam upominaemym v Apokalipse [1847]), and they were warmly received for the archaeological and historical scholarship they demonstrated. His work brought invitations for membership of Russian and foreign scholarly societies and helped to inaugurate correspondence with scholars in and out of Russia. In the words of V. N. Khitrovo, however, the essence of his link to the East lay not in scholarship but «in that religious feeling, in that unlimited love of the Holy Land which lived in him without interruption»¹¹.

Norov confined his public life after 1858 to membership of the State Council, where he fought a losing battle for the privileges of the Church during the era of reforms, and to presidency of the Archaeographic Commission. After the death of his wife in 1860, Norov travelled once again to Palestine; he termed it «a pilgrimage of salvation for union with her in the lap of our Jesus Christ»¹². Scholarship remained a major consideration in these later years. He edited a work pertaining to the history of Orthodoxy (*Marka Efesskago Okruzhnoe poslanie, nazidatel'nyia mysli, predsmertnoe zaveshanie Georgiu Skholariiu i predsmertnyaia slova Georgiia Skholaria*, Paris 1859) and another on the history of Russian pilgrimage to the East (*Puteshestvie igumena Daniila po sviatoi zemle v nachale XII veka* [1113-1115], St. Petersburg 1864). Norov was the most energetic petitioner for Russian funds to finance Konstantin Tischendorf's search for an ancient Greek text of the New Testament, the *Codex Sinaiticus* which Tischendorf gave to the Russian government in 1862. Norov also sponsored the publishing of the New Testament in a bi-lingual Greek-Slavonic edition in 1861 and 1867. After years of gradually failing health and spiritual preparation, Norov died in January 1869.

Quite apart from his career in the tsarist bureaucracy, Norov involved himself in the relations between Russia and the Greek Patriarchates of the Ottoman Empire. He maintained a set of ideas, however, which were in clear contrast to long-standing Russian assumptions about the Near East. Since the time of Peter I, Russian diplomacy had used the right of protection of Christians in the Ottoman Empire as a tool with which to advance her great-power interests. For the Russian state, politics prevailed over regard for the health of Orthodoxy. Similarly, when Russia set out on a course of Westernization her once close relations with the Greek world gradually fell into abeyance. Norov's notions about the Orthodox East rejected both these traditions.

In several respects Norov's ideas were similar to those of the Slavophiles.

11. Khitrovo, p. i.

12. Gosudarstvennaia Publichnaia Biblioteka im. Saltykova-Shchedrina (Leningrad), (hereafter GPB), fond 531, delo 9, 1. 4.

Like the Slavophiles he came from an old and honored gentry family and like the Slavophiles he was closely associated with Moscow. He once admitted that in youth his friends were nearly all Muscovites¹³, and a certain disappointment with the St. Petersburg bureaucracy has already been noted. Both Norov and the Slavophiles could agree that the religious side of man was most important and that the Russian society of the future would have to be founded on firm Orthodox principles. Both drew a dichotomy between Russia and the West. Norov periodically used «republican» or «Western liberalism» when describing principles unsuited to Russia¹⁴. Norov and the Slavophiles could agree on an interpretation of Peter the Great: he had perverted Orthodoxy by instituting the western Holy Synod to govern the Church. Yet the most fundamental of Norov's ideas remained outside Slavophilism. The Slavophiles believed that Orthodox Christianity and Slavdom were virtually inseparable. In this the Greek East had little place. Often the teachings of the Byzantine Greek fathers were spoken of with respect, but the contemporary Hellenic world offered little warmth. Ivan Kireevskii emphasized that Greece lay debased and desecrated under the heel of the Turks¹⁵. And in the Bulgarian Exarchate affair, A. S. Khomiakov sided with the Bulgarians against the Orthodox Greeks. Khomiakov declared his respect for the «Hellenic-Christian» or «enlightened-Christian» aspects of Byzantine civilization but deplored its «Roman-statist» side represented by the Phanariots of Constantinople. The Orthodox Bulgarians took precedence over the Orthodox Greeks who were not Slavs¹⁶. Norov, however, it will be shown, slighted the Slavic element and emphasized that just as the Orthodox religion bound Russia and the other Slavic nations, it bound them to the Greek East as well. It was a contrast between Slavic Orthodoxy, in which the Greeks were ignored, and what might be described Norov's Panorthodoxy.

Norov did not expound in a special publication or statement a systematic philosophy of Panorthodoxy but several essays and petitions produced over thirty-odd years of eastern activity contain the main elements of his thinking. Each of these essays and petitions will be described in detail in chronological

13. A. S. Norov, «Vospominaniia», *Russkii Arkhiv* 3 (1881), 174.

14. See Norov's «Comparison of the Orthodox and Greek Churches» below and his opinion on the statutes for the peasant emancipation, GPB, f. 531, d. 65.

15. Abbott Gleason, *European and Muscovite. Ivan Kireevsky and the Origins of Slavophilism*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard, 1972, p. 177.

16. Peter K. Christoff, *An Introduction to Nineteenth-Century Russian Slavophilism*, Vol. I: *A. S. Xomiakov*, The Hague, Mouton, 1961, pp. 115-116.

order. Moreover, throughout his public life, Norov consistently performed acts in St. Petersburg on behalf of the Greek Patriarchates. These also will be described in the same chronology, as they complemented and verified the assumptions contained in the essays.

An undated and unpublished essay, «A Comparison of the Orthodox and Greek Churches in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries», held in the State Public Library in Leningrad, deserves first attention since it includes basic assumptions about the purity of Greek Orthodoxy which contrasted markedly to the state of Russian Orthodoxy. Norov was deeply distressed at the Russian Church's metamorphosis from a living and spiritually integrating body in ancient times to a bureaucratic arm of the state in the nineteenth century. According to Norov the Church could trace its decline to Latinism which was brought to Russia by westerners during the Mongol period and by westward-looking advisors to Peter I. As a consequence, Norov continued, the Russians divided between Orthodox and Latins, ancient church customs were abandoned, coldness and disrespect for the Church developed, and the *raskol* festered and became stronger. The Church saved Russia during the Tatar yoke, she was «the invisible empress of Holy Rus», her laws were life-giving and she strengthened and united her diverse communicants. The Church's prelates were the reconcilers, comforters and mediators for all. Neither in Russia, Byzantium, Greece nor Armenia did the Church seek worldly possessions. The foolish tsarist advisors, however, not understanding either the history of the West or their own history, led the monarchs to «the darkness of the West» and away from «the light of the East», the final arbiter of truth and heresy. Under the influence of westward-looking advisors, Peter I did away with the Patriarchate and in its place established «the republican Holy Synod» which became bound to the state in soulless bureaucracy. To save the Church and reestablish harmony, Norov concluded, Russia would have to reestablish the Patriarchate¹⁷.

Such bitterness did not characterize Norov's published writings and discreetly he chose to keep these thoughts to his own writing desk, but the document speaks clearly enough of his feelings about the state of the Russian Church and its relationship with the Orthodox East. Norov thought that whereas Russian Orthodoxy had succumbed to Latin influences, the Eastern Church had not faltered. Russia had abandoned «the light of the East» to follow «the darkness of the West» by abolishing the Patriarchate, but the East had not

17. GPB, f. 531, d. 95, 11. 1-10.

relented. Under the Holy Synod the Russian Church ceased to be an integrating force in society because it became a bureaucratic arm of the state, but the East avoided such errors. Norov repeated these assumptions about the purity of the Eastern patriarchates in his other writings and petitions on behalf of the Eastern patriarchates. The East had escaped Russia's errors and was worthy of Russia's attention.

Norov, however, did not ignore Russian Orthodoxy. Since the Russian Church was in such need, Norov's personal religiosity brought him to render what monetary and political aid he could to the Russian clergy. He regularly dispatched money to various monasteries, and clergymen often wrote to him requesting that he bring their petitions to the attention of the authorities. After such a venture Archbishop Innokentii of Kherson, a famous theologian and religious orator, wrote to Norov in 1855: «You are in the avant-garde of Christ's Orthodox Church; may her faithful sons take heart and be strengthened»¹⁸.

Norov helped the Russian Church but his *cause célèbre* was the Orthodox East. An element of his interest in Greek Orthodoxy, we have noted, came from recognition that somehow the Greek Church had maintained its purity when the Russians had fallen to Latin influences. However, other developments also drew him to help the Eastern Church. Norov returned to Russia from the Holy Land in 1835 deeply depressed by the material poverty of the Greek Church and determined to do his bit to bring about its revival. Norov also resolved to study the history of Orthodoxy. His *Puteshestviia* published between 1838 and 1847 were as much works of history and historical geography as they were a description of his personal experiences. His study of the history of Orthodoxy brought him to see the homogeneity in the Orthodox world, an element often overlooked in his time of national Orthodox Churches. Norov determined to bring the branches of Orthodoxy into a closer communion with one another. A means to the end was the political and material aid which Russia could render to the Orthodox East. Thus we must understand the significance of his petitions for political aid and money before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Holy Synod on behalf of the Eastern Patriarchates.

Norov was well-inclined toward the Greeks for religious reasons. From the Greek point of view, however, several important developments materialized in the decade after Norov's visit in 1834-35 which magnified the need for pro-Greek spokesmen such as Norov in St. Petersburg. Whereas the 1830's

18. Innokentii of Kherson to Norov, 18 February 1855. GPB, f. 313, d. 36, 1. 489.

marked a Russian ascendancy at the Porte owing to the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833), the diplomacy of Palmerston and the London Conventions of 1840-41 supplanted the Russian supremacy and replaced it with English and French domination at the Porte. Russian interest only increased as a result of this setback, but the methods the Russian policy-makers used to reestablish her position severely antagonized the Greeks who wanted to maintain their hegemony over the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. With the precedent of the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric in Jerusalem (1841) and the French-backed Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem (1847), Russia decided to establish her own Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem to reassert Russian presence. Count K. V. Nesselrode, the Foreign Minister, dominated in this decision. Nesselrode regarded Orthodoxy as no more than another weapon in the Russian diplomatic arsenal to be used when needed for political advantage¹⁹. Nesselrode had no intention of arousing the Greeks but unfortunately the choice of head of the Mission fell to Archimandrite Porfirii Uspenskii, a graduate of the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy and former pastor of the Russian embassy church in Vienna. Sent initially to Jerusalem in 1843 on a fact-finding mission, he and the Greek hierarchy became alienated from the start over the issue of the Arab Orthodox of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. Porfirii maintained that the Greeks exploited the Arabs. When the Russian Mission was formally established in 1848 Porfirii was its first head. The objective of the Mission was to reform by example the Greek clergy in order to raise its prestige in its own eyes and in the eyes of other Orthodox people. The second trip was more successful than the first: Porfirii got on much better with the new Patriarch, Cyril II, who had replaced the «Panhellenic» Athanasios, but his arrogance and continued favoritism toward the Arab Orthodox prolonged distrust²⁰. In August 1852, he wrote to the Russian General Consul in Beirut, Konstantin Bazili: «In general the poor inclination of the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher to the commendable and timely establishment of our Ecclesiastical Mission is apparent»²¹.

19. T. G. Stavrou, *Russian Interests in Palestine, 1882-1914. A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise*, Thessaloniki 1963, pp. 32-33; Igor Smolitsch, «Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen der Russischen Kirche und dem Orthodoxen Osten. Die Russische Kirchliche Mission in Jerusalem (1847-1914)», *Ostkirchliche Studien* V (June-September, 1956), 94-96.

20. T. G. Stavrou, «Porfirii Uspenskii and the Slavic Cause», *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, Sophia 1966, III (Sophia, 1969), p. 803.

21. Quoted in P. Bezobrazov, «O Snosheniakh Rossii s Palestinoi v XIX veke», *Snosheniia Imperatorskago Pravoslavnago Palestinskago Obshchestva* 22 (1911), 514.

Russia's increasing political and cultural interest in the East was clear enough to the Greek hierarchy through the establishment of the Ecclesiastical Mission. To them the Russian offensive was a threat to «Hellenism» or continued dominance of the Greeks over other Orthodox in the East. The Metropolitan Dionisios of Bethlehem told Porfirii at the time of his first visit that another war between Russia and Turkey would not be without negative consequences for the Greeks²².

Added to these increasingly difficult relations with Russia were other problems that called for special help. Egyptian control of Palestine after 1833 inaugurated an official policy of toleration for all religious sects. This encouraged a greater influx of Latin and Protestant missionaries. Although Protestant missionaries largely avoided proselytism among the Orthodox, the few cases that did occur caused a violent reaction among the Greek hierarchy. The Bishop of Beirut threatened to excommunicate parents who sent their children to an American school in Beirut, and when an English missionary school opened in Jerusalem the Patriarch issued an anathema against it²³. The Armenians encroached on Greek privileges at the Holy Places. Only with a vigorous Russian diplomatic offensive at the Porte were the Armenian advantages abrogated in 1837²⁴. In addition, to the displeasure of the Russians who often suspected the Greek hierarchy of squandering alms for the Holy Sepulcher sent from Russia, the Greeks redoubled those requests for alms in the 1830's and 1840's. The Greeks pleaded a greater need to bribe Turkish officials in the face of Armenian, Latin, and Protestant proselytism, but also because of loss of revenue from their «dedicated monasteries» in Wallachia and Moldavia, the funds from which fell instead into the coffers of the anti-Greek Rumanian hospodars.

Under these difficult circumstances the Greek hierarchy found it extremely desirable to cultivate friends in high Russian circles. A. S. Norov must have been a logical choice. As letters to Norov demonstrate, the Greek hierarchy was deeply impressed with Norov's religious devotion in general and devotion to the Holy Places in particular. When, upon returning to Russia, he wrote to Jerusalem expressing his willingness to help, a steady stream of petitions for political aid and money followed.

The services Norov rendered the Eastern Patriarchates were not unlike those performed for Russian churchmen. The Metropolitan Peter, for example,

22. Smolitsch, pp. 103-104.

23. A. L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine, 1800-1901*, Oxford 1961, p. 95; *idem, American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, pp. 65, 79.

24. P. Bezobrazov, «O Snosheniakh Rossii s Palestinoi v XIX veke», 180-182.

wrote from Jerusalem to Norov in 1838 thanking him for pleading Jerusalem's petitions for funds «before the powerful and the great»²⁵. In a similar vein, N.A. Protasov, the *Oberprokurator* of the Holy Synod, in 1838 received through Norov and with Norov's own plea a petition for funds from the fathers of St. Savva's monastery in Palestine. Protasov later notified Norov that he had forwarded the petition to the Holy Synod for deliberation as Norov had requested²⁶.

Between 1833 and 1839 the Archbishop Ierotheos of Tabor, on assignment from Patriarch Athanasios of Jerusalem, lived in Moscow as the head of the Jerusalem metochion in the city²⁷. After Norov's return from the East, Ierotheos maintained close relations with him. Soon after Norov's arrival in St. Petersburg Ierotheos wrote him of the dark side of affairs in Jerusalem and of the recent incursions of the Armenians at the Holy Places. He begged Norov's protection and implored him to present those facts to the Synod²⁸. Three weeks later Norov wrote to Ierotheos of his successes and Ierotheos responded with his thanks and blessings but implored Norov, «do not leave this part of salvation, do not abandon the Holy Church in the hands of foreigners, use your petitions as the Lord God commands and fortifies you»²⁹. The correspondence continued through 1837 and 1838. In August 1838 Ierotheos reminded Norov again of the great needs of the Church in Jerusalem: «Although... you have already announced your willingness to ask Count Nesselrode about the affairs in Jerusalem... I will still remind you of my most humble request: serve the Holy Church of Jerusalem!, put a crown to her well-being and comfort!»³⁰ Norov forwarded Ierotheos's letter to Count Nesselrode. Ierotheos's letters thereafter concentrated on the deplorable situation in Moldavia and Wallachia. On one occasion Ierotheos wrote that he hoped that this affair would come to the attention of the Emperor through Norov³¹. Ierotheos returned to Constantinople in the spring of 1839, but he continued to write Norov about the Moldavian and Wallachian estates and the pressing financial need of the Eastern Church. Norov supplemented this political aid with his own material contributions in money and religious objects for divine service, and he spread first-hand in-

25. Metropolitan Peter to Norov, 7 April 1838, GPB, f. 531, d. 525, l. 12.

26. N. A. Protasov to Norov, 21 July 1838, GPB, f. 531, d. 543, l. 1.

27. On Ierotheos's stay in Russia see N. F. Kapterev, *Snoshenija ierusalimskikh patriarchov s russkim pravitel'stvom s poloviny XVI do serediny XIX st.*, Vol. II, St. Petersburg 1898, pp. 592-596, 598-608, 611-613, 654-656, 800-806.

28. Archbishop Ierotheos to Norov, 17 November 1836, GPB, f. 531, d. 358, 11. 4-4ob.

29. Archbishop Ierotheos to Norov, 24 December 1836, GPB, f. 531, d. 358, 1. 6.

30. Archbishop Ierotheos to Norov, 8 July 1838, GPB, f. 531, d. 358, 1. 17.

31. Archbishop Ierotheos to Norov, 27 October 1838, GPB, f. 531, d. 358, 1. 20.

formation about those needs to friends who contributed as well. Ierotheos wrote to Norov of the need for altars, iconostases, vestments, etc., and with Norov's participation Princess T. B. Potemkina sent several beautiful items to the Cairo cathedral of the Patriarchate of Alexandria³².

In 1847 Norov attempted to go beyond his own individual efforts. He and a group of friends organized a society or committee to gather together alms collected in the provinces and to dispatch them to the East according to need. Norov was the society's first president and another officer was Andrei Nikolaevich Murav'ev, the author of an important work on Palestine, *Puteshestvie k sviatym mestam* (1832), and an official in the office of the *Oberprokuror* of the Holy Synod. Little is known of the other members but Porfirii Uspenskii described them as «several champions of the Holy Sepulcher in Petersburg»³³. The formation of such a society, however, demanded imperial approval. In April 1847, Count Orlov presented Norov's petition for imperial sanction to Nicholas I. The petition's course through the bureaucratic labyrinth thereafter is not known but in the end the petition was not approved.

Norov's zeal simply failed to take into account the political objectives of the Russian government in Palestine. We get an inkling of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' reaction and the pressure likely brought to bear against the idea in the position of Konstantin Bazili, the Russian General Consul in Beirut. Bazili disapproved of the Norov plan, wrote a negative report on it to St. Petersburg and later explained his reasons to Porfirii Uspenskii.

Messrs. Norov and Murav'ev nourish unrealizable desires. They want to have a spiritual influence on the Orthodox Churches in Palestine and Syria, in all Turkey and even in Austria, to send doles and ecclesiastical or secular men of similar views bypassing our ministry of foreign affairs.

...The system of our government is a system of the greatest unity. Everything originates from the Emperor and everything is brought to him through the Ministry. With this there are secrets which no one must know except the emperor and a few of his closest confidants. Can the Palestine Committee be initiated into these secrets....?

The emissaries of the Norov committee by their character, misunderstandings, even stupidity or presumptuousnes may cause unpleasantness for the consuls and lead them into difficulty...³⁴

32. A. U(manets), «Znakomstvo s aleksandriiskim patriarkhom», *Moskvitianin*, Part IV (1845), 147.

33. Porfirii Uspenskii, *Kniga bytia moego*, Vol. 3, St. Petersburg 1896, p. 449.

34. Porfirii Uspenskii, *Kniga bytia moego*, Vol. 3, pp. 449-450. There is some difficulty

The Crimean War severely restricted Norov's applications on behalf of the Eastern Church. The Turks closed the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem and expelled Porfirii Uspenskii and its staff in 1854. Pilgrimages for Russians were impossible as was direct communication with the Eastern Church hierarchy. During the Crimean War, however, Norov was at the height of his bureaucratic career. Nicholas I named him as Minister of Public Instruction in 1854. The demands of the office did not permit him to pursue either his research or zealous championing of the Greek Church³⁵. Once relieved of his duties in the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1858, the Christian East became again his primary concern.

The Peace of Paris concluding the Crimean War, among other things, deprived Russia of her exclusive right to protect the Christians of the Ottoman Empire. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, however, devised means to reestablish Russia's presence in the East without arousing the suspicions of the western powers. It was decided to create a second Jerusalem Mission. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Prince A. M. Gorchakov, explained that behind the religious exterior the Mission was to have a political objective: «The role of humble observers for our Mission is not possible. We need *presence* in the East, of course, not political but religious. Neither the Turks nor the Franks, who have their patriarchs and bishops in the Holy City, can deny us this». The leader of the mission, Gorchakov continued, would have to be a bishop in contrast to the more modest rank of archimandrite which Porfirii Uspenskii had, for this

in identifying Norov's colleagues in this venture but it is likely that they included persons who often gathered at Norov's home to discuss Palestine affairs. His associates elected Norov the president of the committee which sought imperial sanction (George Williams to Norov, 2 November 1847, GPB, f. 531, d. 718, l. 6ob) and Andrei Nikolaevich Murav'ev, a writer on Palestine and an official in the office of the *Oberprokuror* of the Holy Synod, cooperated with Norov to found the committee. Another person likely associated was Tat'iana Borisovna Potemkina (née Golitsyna). Porfirii Uspenskii mentioned her presence at Norov's home on several occasions when Palestine affairs were discussed (see, for example, *Kniga bytia moego*, Vol. 7, pp. 56, 69), and with Norov's intercession she sent lavish gifts to the Patriarchate of Alexandria (see footnote 32). Other identification is problematical. A. P. Tolstoi, the *Oberprokuror* of the Holy Synod, V. P. Titov, the Ambassador to the Porte, 1843-56, Alexander Soutsos, the Greek ambassador to St. Petersburg, and «many Greeks» were often in Norov's company but there is no evidence to connect them specifically with the project of 1847 (see *Kniga bytia moego*, Vol. 7, pp. 56, 69).

35. One of Norov's causes while the Minister of Public Instruction was the wider study of Latin and especially Greek. It would train young minds and divert them from pernicious reading and it would familiarize Russian youth with the writings of the Greek fathers in the original language.

«would create a beneficial impression not only in Jerusalem but also in Constantinople, where they have seen neither a Russian bishop nor the magnificent rituals of our divine service»³⁶. Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow suggested that the Mission be responsible to the Holy Synod rather than the Ministry but his opinion was shunted aside. Alexander II approved Gorchakov's plan in February 1857 and Kirill Naumov, a Doctor of Theology and Inspector at the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy, was selected as its head. In compliance with Gorchakov's plan Naumov received the bishop's miter, becoming the Bishop of Melitopol. With negative consequences for the future Naumov received contradictory instructions to concentrate his work among the «wretched Arab clergy» but still maintain good relations with their superiors in the Greek hierarchy³⁷.

The Mission and the renewed flow of pilgrims to the Holy Places became the concern of another group which was not content with the modest plans of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The leadership of this group belonged to the adventurous Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich, the Tsar's brother and Minister of Marine. Konstantin Nikolaevich was the prime influence behind the creation in 1856 of the Russian Steam Packet and Trading Company, a government-subsidized merchant-shipping concern operating from Black Sea ports. The Company was to promote the development of the economic potentialities of South Russia and provide a training for seamen, but its real purpose was to show the flag and thereby enhance Russia's prestige in the Mediterranean³⁸.

Norov found himself involved in a second project of Konstantin Nikolaevich, to found a Palestine Committee in St. Petersburg in 1858. Two years earlier Konstantin Nikolaevich had dispatched a subordinate, B. P. Mansurov, to Palestine to gather information on the conditions of the Russian pilgrims. The report which Mansurov submitted to the Grand Duke painted a dismal picture of the conditions of the Orthodox pilgrims and suggested that the Russian Orthodox create facilities separate from those operated by the Greeks. This would enable the Russian pilgrims to develop their own spiritual life and

36. Quoted in A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Imperatorskoe pravoslavnoe palestinskoe obshchestvo i ego deiatel'nost' za istekshuiu chetvert' veka (1882-1907)*, St. Petersburg 1907, p. 8. The emphasis is Gorchakov's.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

38. W. E. Mosse, «Russia and the Levant, 1856-1862; Grand Duke Constantine Nicholaevich and the Russian Steam Navigation Company», *Journal of Modern History* XXVI (March, 1954), 40.

their own spiritual needs under native Russian supervision. The report concluded with an appeal for funds to enable the Palestinian Orthodox to hold their own against the proselytism of the Protestants and Latins³⁹. Politics, however, still prevailed over religion. Mansurov also submitted a secret report to Konstantin Nikolaevich which was much in the tone of Gorchakov's plan for the Second Jerusalem Mission. The government could not intervene politically in the Levant because it had powerful enemies, but it and the Trade and Navigation Company could act through the development of Russian religious interests. The whole attempt «must be made to assume the form of a private charitable undertaking created for the commercial interests of the Company, but protected by the government for the sake of its pious objects». If funds could be collected in Russia and dispatched to the Levant for the proposed Russian institutions without the interference of St. Petersburg bureaucrats, it would «clothe our interference in Eastern matters in such non-political form, as will disarm our adversaries, and give Russia the opportunity of working directly and openly, with the right of prosecuting all her designs»⁴⁰.

To discuss the Mansurov report in February 1858, Konstantin Nikolaevich invited A. S. Norov to attend a meeting in his offices, also attended by Gorchakov, Brok, the Minister of Finance, A. L. Tolstoi, the *Oberprokuror* of the Holy Synod, and Mansurov himself. The meeting decided to solicit funds for the improvement of the conditions of Russian pilgrims, send doctors and sisters of mercy to Palestine, establish churches at the Russian consulates in Smyrna, Beirut and Alexandria, and enlarge the staff at the Russian Mission and establish an additional consulate in Jerusalem⁴¹. Alexander II approved these plans and to coordinate and supervise their enactment the Palestine Committee was established under the presidency of Konstantin Nikolaevich.

Norov's participation in the meeting to establish the Palestine Committee was not accidental. As a petitioner before the Holy Synod, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Emperor, his interest in religious affairs in the Levant became well-known. As a correspondent with Greek prelates and a traveller-scholar in Palestine he acquired unique insights. However, Norov must indeed have had mixed feelings about the decisions reached in Konstantin Nikolaevich's chambers. Norov could enthusiastically applaud the organization of Russia's material efforts on behalf of Eastern Orthodoxy. He himself had requested

39. In abridged form it appeared as *Pravoslavnye poklonniki v Palestine*, St. Petersburg 1858.

40. Quoted in Mosse, «Russia and the Levant, 1856-1862», 44.

41. Porfirii Uspenskii, *Kniga bytiia moego*, Vol. 7, p. 155.

such aid from Nicholas I with the petition of 1847. However, the aid gathered in Russia in this case was clearly destined for Russian churches, the Arab clergy and the comfort of Russian pilgrims in the Levant. How would this narrowly focused beneficence help Russia's co-religionists, the Greeks, and the ultimate goal of a panorthodox communion? Equally important, was not even this aid to religion prostituted to the larger goals of Russian diplomacy?

Norov composed two pieces during the years 1856-58 when the government was seeking alternative paths to reestablish Russian presence in the Levant. One was another petition to Alexander II to establish a central Palestine society or committee to conduct a permanent collection of alms for the Church in Palestine. The other was an essay, «A Few Thoughts of an Old Pilgrim», published in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*. Both offer ample evidence of Norov's zeal for the Panorthodox goal and his discomfort with the final plans of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Konstantin Nikolaevich's Palestine Committee.

Since the proposal for a central Palestine committee contained many of Norov's basic assumptions about Orthodoxy and the Christian East, it deserves a detailed description. Norov submitted the proposal to Alexander II in June 1856, the time of flux before Gorchakov's plan for the Second Jerusalem Mission received the Emperor's approval. In stark contrast to Gorchakov's and Konstantin Nikolaevich's later programs, the health of Orthodoxy and a closer communion with the Greeks were Norov's objectives. Norov proposed to establish a «permanent collection of voluntary offerings on behalf of our co-religionists abroad». Ignoring political considerations, it was the depressed state of Orthodoxy in the face of the enormous expenditures of the Latins and Protestants which necessitated the collection. Responsible persons would collect funds in the provinces and dispatch them to a central committee composed of hierarchs of the Russian Church and representatives of the bureaucracy. Having gathered information about the conditions abroad, the central committee would then send the aid to local institutions according to need. In that way the funds would lead to the confirmation «of the entire local population in an identity of faith and in its love for us. If the champions of Latinism and different Protestant sects spare neither effort nor expense for their uncanonical ecclesiastical conquests in the Orthodox East, then we can be assured of the pious zeal of the Russian people for the peaceful and entirely canonical supply of our Eastern brothers with means to maintain themselves in the purity of the same faith for which we are obliged to their predecessors»⁴². The objective then

42. GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 1. 3. Norov included an outline of how the central committee or

was the reassertion of Orthodox unity through donations to the Eastern Church.

Whereas Gorchakov's plan for the Second Jerusalem Mission showed little regard for Greek feelings, Norov's proposal pleaded the Greek cause. Many Russians, Norov maintained, blamed the whole Greek Church for the improper activities of some of its bishops and ignored the fact that improper behavior emanated from an uninterrupted and toilsome struggle with servitude. «We must do justice to them that they maintained their holy oppressed Church in purity and have not to the present day allowed heresies and schisms to creep into it. Unfortunately, even our powerful Church was not able to do [this]»⁴³. The Minister of Foreign Affairs (the German Balt Nesselrode, dismissed shortly after Norov presented his proposal), Norov added, «not being Orthodox cannot see these conditions from the present point of view»⁴⁴. Concluding, Norov emphasized clearly his policy of Orthodox unity: «The most important subject to have in mind from the beginning is the building of a close intercourse of our Church with the Greek; otherwise, instead of the benefit of the two churches, irreconcilable hostility or counteraction will arise...»⁴⁵.

Alexander II sent Norov's proposal to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for consideration, but there it perished. Norov submitted the plan before other alternatives had been explored and he focused his proposals too narrowly on religious objectives when higher political goals had to take precedence. Had Russia emerged victorious from the Crimean War, Norov's ideas might have been entertained as a cultural detail added to a politically advantageous reality. As it turned out, the Russian Foreign office rightly or wrongly ignored Norov's suggestions.

Norov's article, «A Few Thoughts of an Old Pilgrim», published in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction* in 1858, expressed again his discomfort with the political use of religion at the expense of «close intercourse»

council would operate. The central committee would stand at the head of each collection in Russia and would make decisions about the distribution of offerings in cooperation with the Holy Synod. The council would collect information about the needy churches of the East and promote publication of this information in the periodical press. The council would help with the establishment of schools, libraries and printing houses in the East and would publish books in Russia of benefit to Orthodoxy. The council would have two presidents: one, a church hierarch to deal with all religious affairs, and the other, a secular person to handle external relations and correspondence with other government agencies. The other members of the council would be persons who had contributed at least fifty rubles each. GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 11. 4-5.

43. GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 11. 8-8ob.

44. GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 1. 8.

45. GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 1. 10.

with the Greeks. Norov began praising the work of the Russian Jerusalem Mission and the Trade and Navigation Company for making the stay of Russian pilgrims in the Levant more pleasant. About the beneficial work of the Company Norov wrote: «I was touched to the depth of my soul by the information provided me by the Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich... Now hostels and hospitals are prepared to open their doors to pilgrims, doctors to lend a helping hand, Russian translators to ease communication with the locals»⁴⁶.

However, in the subsequent paragraphs, treading very lightly, Norov explained why help to «our suffering [Russian pilgrim] brothers» was not enough. «General comfort» certainly came to all Orthodox through the establishment of the Russian institutions, but Norov asked: «What sort of close union has come about through this among the Russian, Greek and Arab Churches?» Doubtless with the pro-Arab activities of the Mission in mind, Norov wrote: «The hand of help is needed for our co-religionist Greek brothers as well as for the [Orthodox] Arabs», and continued, «Has not the time come for all [Orthodox] peoples who believe in the Trinity to embrace one another at the place of their atonement, to forget their hostilities...? Is it not time for them to ask themselves with what spirit they are driven?»⁴⁷.

If then Gorchakov and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs offered one alternative blueprint for Russia's new course in the East and Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich and the Russian Steamship Company offered a second, Norov and his friends presented a third based on religious ties and cooperation with the various Orthodox groups, especially the Greek one.

Norov's political and material aid to Eastern petitioners, the petition for a Palestine committee in 1856 and his writings, «A Comparison of the Orthodox and Greek Churches», and «A Few Thoughts of an Old Pilgrim», reflect his thinking on the Christian East. The Eastern Patriarchates had maintained the purity of Orthodoxy («the light of the East») but that pure Orthodoxy was threatened by Latinism and Protestantism, the former of which had perniciously corrupted the Orthodox Church in Russia. Russia was the richest and most powerful in the Orthodox world and thus was best able to lend a helping hand to the sister churches of the East. Through his applications for money and political aid in St. Petersburg on behalf of the eastern Christians, Norov hoped to alleviate the weak condition of the sister churches of the East. He made no

46. A. S. Norov, «Neskol'ko myslei starago palomnika», *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniya* 97 (1858), otd. 2, 198.

47. *Ibid.*, 198-199.

ethnic differentiation between the Orthodox Churches as all were part of the whole of Orthodoxy⁴⁸. Norov deplored the use of religion for political purposes as it sought a goal other than a closer religious communion, and by the form it took it angered the Greeks and endangered warm relations with them. If Russia could render aid unselfishly, Eastern Orthodoxy would be uplifted, love among the branches of Orthodoxy would result, and Latin and Protestant incursions would be repulsed.

During the last decade of his life Norov took upon himself the responsibility of protecting the Russian Church from secularization. As a member of the State Council which considered the various projects for internal reform, Norov fought a consistent but losing battle against those who would remove elementary education from the control of the parish priest, and in another case against the suggestion that general civil rights be granted to the *raskol'niki*⁴⁹. Regarding the East, Norov recognized clearly the danger to selfless Greco-Russian religious cooperation posed by the program of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Trade and Navigation Company. It remained then to ply onward with aid, publications and even direct interference if anything like a Panorthodox communion was to result.

Turning to his activities for the Greeks after 1856, one is struck by the many ways Norov found to promote the Panorthodox cause. In 1859 Norov turned to scholarship to underscore the common tradition of Greek and Russian Orthodoxy. He feared that recent negotiations with Rome produced a feeling in the East that Russia was assuming a Roman Catholic inclination. The Greeks had to be reassured that no such inclination existed⁵⁰. In that year

48. In this regard Norov's views contrasted markedly with a growing tendency toward Panslavism in Russian-Near Eastern relations. His proposal of 1856 to collect alms for the Church abroad included provisions for aid to Orthodox Slavs in the Austrian Empire but he justified the concern not on ethnic but on religious grounds (GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 11. 9-9ob). While in Constantinople in 1861 he noted that the discord between the Bulgarians and Greeks over the exarchate question «was the subject of lively meetings in the Constantinople Patriarchate», but he refrained from taking sides (*Ierusalim i Sinai*, p. 3). He corresponded with the Czech Slavist Václav Hanka, who filled his letters with glorious praises of Slavic Rus', and he sent money and religious objects to M. F. Raevskii, the head of the Russian embassy church in Vienna, for distribution to the Slavs of the Austrian Empire. In Norov's thinking, however, Panorthodoxy never gave way to Panslavism. Religious sentiments always were foremost. (See «Pis'ma V. V. Ganka k A. S. Norovu i Baronu M. A. Korfu (1841-1857)», *Chteniya obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh*, Book I (1881), 1-23; and Letters of M. F. Raevskii to A. S. Norov, 1848-62, GPB, f. 531, d. 548).

49. See GPB, f. 531, dd. 46, 66.

50. GPB, f. 531, d. 53, 1. 9.

appeared his edition of theretofore unpublished documents of Mark of Ephesus, *Marka Efesskago okruzhnoe poslanie, nazidatel'nyia mysli, predsmertnye zavescheniya Grigoriu Shkolariu*. The collection reasserted the common foundations of the Russian and Greek Churches by reiterating the anti-Latin views of Mark of Ephesus at the Council of Florence. Norov doubtless intended to spread knowledge of Greek as well since the volume was bilingual, Russian and Greek⁵¹. In a similar vein Norov undertook the publishing of a bilingual edition of the New Testament in 1861 together with P. I. Savvaitov, a member of the Archaeographic Commission and former teacher at the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy. In the introduction Norov wrote, as if to underscore the fundamental unity of the Greek and Russian Churches maintained through the New Testament: «Not one of the translations of the New Testament in expressiveness and closeness to the original Greek text can compare with the Slavonic translation»⁵². Norov also intended it to disseminate the Greek language in Russia and the Balkans as he later wrote to a friend⁵³.

The bi-lingual New Testament and the papers of Mark of Ephesus might perform part of the task but direct involvement could accomplish even more. After Crimea Norov continued his applications on behalf of the Greeks, acting almost as their unofficial diplomatic agent in St. Petersburg. Typical was the request of Patriarch Iakovos of Alexandria in October 1862 that Norov arrange aid to the neglected Christians of Upper Egypt: «For the sake of God do what you think necessary, tell whoever you know for the achievement of this blessed affair»⁵⁴. Similarly, in October 1864, Metropolitan Sofronios of Tripoli (Syria) turned to Norov to use his influence in the government to expedite the collection of funds in Russia for the erection of a new Church in Tripoli⁵⁵. Norov took his concern for good relations to the Holy Synod on another affair in 1862. In 1862 the Synod contemplated raising a certain Bishop Iosif, a Bulgarian cleric then living in Kiev, to the archbishop's throne. Since Iosif was ostensibly still under the canonical authority of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Norov and a group of clerics successfully opposed the appointment for fear of offending the Ecumenical Patriarch⁵⁶.

The most pressing need for Norov's service, however, came amid worsen-

51. For comment on this work see *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie* (1860), No. 2, 280-291.

52. GPB, f. 531, d. 130, 1. 1.

53. «Pis'mo A. S. Norova k A. O. Smirnovoi», *Russkii Arkhiv* (1897), book 3, 378.

54. Iakovos of Alexandria to Norov, 26 October 1862, GPB, f. 531, d. 356, 1. 2.

55. Sofronios of Tripoli to Norov, 12 October 1864, GPB, f. 531, d. 585, 1. 1.

56. *Pis'ma mitropolita moskovskago Filareta k A.N.M.*, Kiev 1869, pp. 601-602.

ing relations between the Second Jerusalem Mission and the Jerusalem Patriarchate. Kirill Naumov was the first leader of the renewed Russian Mission, his tenure lasting until 1863. By 1864 the Russians had built a colony in Jerusalem consisting of a cathedral, a residence for the new Russian consul in Jerusalem, a house for the Mission, a pilgrim hostel and a hospital with funds collected by the Palestine Committee and the Emperor's personal donation of 500,000 rubles⁵⁷. The establishment of the Mission, however, infuriated the Greeks as they had not been consulted. In addition, the sending of Kirill, newly ordained Bishop of Melitopol, amounted to a violation of canon law, namely the incursion of one bishop into another's see. Patriarch Cyril II of Jerusalem pointed out both matters to Porfirii Uspenskii during the latter's visit to Jerusalem in 1858⁵⁸. Writing to Gorchakov, Naumov complained of the Greeks: «[They] hinder me in everything which may confirm me in Jerusalem, make me more independent, or provide the means whereby I could offer greater help to the local Christians»⁵⁹. Simultaneously matters worsened with the Russian consuls in Jerusalem, especially A. N. Kartsov, the consul after 1861. Orders were imprecise as to whose authority prevailed over Russian pilgrims in Palestine, the Mission's or the Consulate's. When Naumov resisted Kartsov's attempts to exert his authority, Kartsov retaliated with negative reports of Naumov to St. Petersburg. On the basis of these reports in 1863 the *Oberprokuror* Akhmatov decided to recall Naumov⁶⁰.

Kirill Naumov's successor upon the recommendation of Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow was Archimandrite Leonid Kavelin, a former military officer who entered the monastic life in 1852. With the errors of Naumov in mind Gorchakov and the Holy Synod agreed that an archimandrite and not a bishop would be more suitable for the Mission. The Synod issued Kavelin with specific orders limiting his sphere to conducting divine service and looking after the spiritual needs of Russian pilgrims or other Orthodox who might turn to the Mission. He was ordered to maintain friendly relations with the local Greek clergy, transmit offerings sent from Russia, and assist the consul if he turned to the Mission for aid⁶¹.

57. Article by «M.», «Rossiia na chernom more i v Palestine v 1856-60 gg.», *Russkaia Starina* 62 (1889), 723.

58. Archimandrite Kiprian, *O. Antonin Kapustin arkhimandrit i nachal'nik dukhovnoi missii v Ierusalime*, (1817-94), Belgrade 1934, p. 120.

59. T. I. Titov, *Preosviashchennyi Kirill Naumov*, Kiev 1902, p. 224.

60. Archimandrite Kiprian, pp. 125-129.

61. Dmitrievskii, pp. 54-56.

The Synod saw in Leonid Kavelin the «strict piety» and «firmness of character» necessary for the post. However, his stay in Jerusalem was short and did not counteract growing Greek suspicions. Kavelin's severe and heavy-handed authority alienated several members of the Mission and the Russian consul, A. N. Kartsov, who desired to remove any rivals to his authority in Jerusalem. During an absence from Jerusalem several of Leonid's secret reports to Petersburg concerning irregularities in the Patriarchate fell into the hands of Patriarch Cyril, who was already unfavorably inclined to the Russian archimandrite. Cyril received Leonid coldly thereafter and on one occasion even suggested that Kavelin should abstain from offering divine service. Cyril ceased inviting Kavelin to participate in services in the Cathedral of the Holy Sepulcher. In April 1865, the Patriarch wrote to the Holy Synod complaining of Kavelin's «disorderly» and «dissolute» behavior and asked the Synod to replace him⁶². On his side Kavelin wrote to the new ambassador in Constantinople, N. P. Ignatiev, defending his actions and denouncing the actions of a clique in the Jerusalem Consulate against him. All of this disreputable business had an unfavorable reaction from Ignatiev. In June 1865, upon Ignatiev's suggestion, Kavelin was removed from the Jerusalem Mission and transferred to Constantinople as the new head of the Russian embassy church⁶³.

Norov knew both Kirill Naumov and Leonid Kavelin personally and corresponded with them during their tenure in Jerusalem. He did not think highly of Naumov, being fearful of the latter's effect on Russo-Greek relations. Visiting Jerusalem in 1861, Norov expressed his displeasure with Naumov's estrangement at the Patriarchate, and later he admitted to Porfirii Uspenskii that Naumov was «not an ecclesiastical person»⁶⁴. Nonetheless, he availed himself of Naumov's written offer to act as a mediator, and Norov sent icons, books, and other gifts to Naumov for distribution to the Greek hierarchy. Naumov never disclosed his personal problems with the Greeks to Norov in his letters⁶⁵.

Norov had a closer relationship with Leonid Kavelin, Naumov's successor in the Jerusalem Mission. Norov and Leonid were already acquainted before the latter's appointment in the East. From his place at the Optina pustyn' Leonid saw to it that there was a priest permanently attached to Norov's village of Nadezhino in the Moscow province. Leonid and Norov made plans to travel together in the Levant in 1861 but in the end Norov made the trip with-

62. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

64. Porfirii Uspenskii, *Kniga bytia moego*, Vol. 8, p. 209.

65. See letters from Kirill Naumov to Norov, GPB, f. 531, d. 387 (1862-1863).

out Leonid⁶⁶. At the time of Leonid's appointment to the Jerusalem Mission Norov provided him with a glowing letter of recommendation to Patriarch Cyril II of Jerusalem which Leonid presented to the Patriarch during his stop en route in Constantinople⁶⁷.

Their friendship allowed Norov to exert some beneficial influence on the tense relations with the Greeks. Unlike Naumov's letters, Leonid Kavelin's letters to Norov demonstrated at once the trust and respect Kavelin held for him. Whereas Naumov said nothing about the Mission or his regard for the Greeks, Kavelin discussed his activities and feelings with candor. Almost from the start of his stay Kavelin complained of the Greek domination of the Russian pilgrims in Jerusalem and his mistrust and dislike of the Greeks in general. In May 1864, only a few weeks after his arrival in Jerusalem, Kavelin wrote to Norov that the Greeks had not welcomed him affectionately. «For reasons well known to you they complain about... Kirill Naumov, during whose tenure their influence over the Russian pilgrims was complete, but from my side they will exert all efforts to support a beneficial agreement with the Greek Church»⁶⁸. Norov's letters hoped to soften Kavelin's harsh evaluation of the Greek hierarchy. Once after Kavelin had complained of the Greeks and the Russian consular staff, Norov advised him: «You must acquire the love of the Greeks, but you hate them. Is this really in agreement with the teachings of the Gospels?» Responding, Leonid admitted that he had not received the love of the Greeks, but announced that a person such as he could not do so without the «loss of honor and conscience». In the end he confessed that the Greeks would never have his love but they might have his condescension if they renounced any religious influence over the Russian pilgrims⁶⁹.

Norov tried to soften the differences between the Greeks and Russians through his gifts and favors but also through his influence as a friend over the rather abrupt and undiplomatic Leonid Kavelin. When, however, in the spring of 1865 Kavelin informed Norov of the insults he bore from Patriarch Cyril II, even Norov's patience came to an end. After a delay of several months Norov

66. Leonid Kavelin to Norov, April 1861, GPB, f. 531, d. 427, 1. 7.

67. Norov to Patriarch Cyril II of Jerusalem, undated, GPB, f. 531, d. 179, 1. 2. Norov introduced Leonid as a «virtuous and truly spiritual man whom I know intimately and with whom I am united by spiritual love... Leonid is penetrated by spiritual love for our Mother, the Orthodox Church, and ardently takes her spiritual interests to his heart... (1. 2.). Later Leonid dedicated his collection of writings on Palestine to Norov (*Staryi Jerusalim*, Moscow 1873).

68. Leonid Kavelin to Norov, 18 May 1864, GPB, f. 531, d. 427, 1. 25ob.

69. Leonid Kavelin to Norov, 12 December 1864, GPB, f. 531, d. 427, 11. 37-38ob.

composed a letter of protest to Cyril. So as not to aggravate the powers in St. Petersburg, he sent a draft of the letter to D. A. Tolstoi, the *Oberprokurator* of the Holy Synod, for his comments. Tolstoi responded that Norov's letter expressed exactly the view of the Synod on the unpleasant clash between the Russian Mission and Patriarchate but advised Norov to exclude any mention of Leonid in it⁷⁰. Norov ignored this last suggestion and sent a surprisingly abrupt letter to Patriarch Cyril. In the past Norov had cultivated and even pampered the Greeks as their friendship was essential to «close intercourse» between the Orthodox Churches. But relations between Cyril II and Leonid Kavelin showed Norov that Greek abuses could also threaten the aim of «close intercourse».

Norov's letter began reminding the Patriarch of his love of the Holy Places and of high regard for him personally. But he quickly turned to an apology for Archimandrite Leonid: «He is a true monk and deeply pious, but his morals are stern and impatient and not always social, and also since he does not know Greek, having relations with Your Beatitude always through a translator, his merits are hidden from you and only his shortcomings are visible....» Norov reviewed the unfortunate relations between Kavelin and the Patriarch but reminded Cyril that in the face of accusations against him, Leonid could not adequately respond since he did not know Greek.

As diplomatically as possible Norov then chastized Cyril that even if Kavelin were guilty, the sister Greek Church «should have covered the incidental act with the manna of love and hidden it from the eyes of the non-Orthodox Christians of Jerusalem who took pleasure in such an incident...». He further added that he knew the Holy Synod in Petersburg was «deeply outraged» by the disrespect shown to Archimandrite Leonid by the Jerusalem Patriarchate, and he concluded with a poorly-veiled threat that if the sad situation did not reach a peaceful outcome the offerings from Russia to Jerusalem might suffer significant damage. «My heart which completely belongs to Jerusalem is distressed at the specter of such conditions»⁷¹.

Norov's complaint and thinly-veiled threat marked the low point of his relations with the Jerusalem Patriarchate. The effect it had was predictable. Archimandrite Antonin, Kavelin's successor, wrote to *Oberprokurator* Tolstoi in March, 1866 that His Beatitude Cyril II had appeared before the Russian consul with Norov's letter which apparently deeply insulted him. He did not recognize Norov's right to instruct despite the latter's zeal for the affairs of

70. Tolstoi to Norov, 15 December 1865, GPB, f. 531, d. 608, 1. 1.

71. Norov to Cyril II of Jerusalem, undated, GPB, f. 531, d. 179, 11. 5-6.

the Church⁷². Norov, however, soon returned to good standing in Jerusalem. No small part in this was played by Antonin Kapustin, a cleric whose qualities and experience could produce a warmer relationship with the Greeks⁷³. Almost regretting his indiscretion with Cyril II, Norov redoubled his gifts to the Patriarchate of money and books, which he sent through Kapustin. Gradually relations between Norov and Cyril improved. Kapustin presented Cyril with a letter from Norov in early 1867 which suggested another trip to Palestine. The Patriarch expressed great pleasure at the prospect adding that he would receive Norov more warmly than ever before⁷⁴. By the end of 1867 relations had returned to normal. Kapustin wrote to Norov that Cyril II was «greatly pleased and calmed» by all Norov's gifts and efforts for the Church⁷⁵.

Greek suspicions and intransigence brought religious leaders such as Kirill Naumov and Porfirii Uspenskii to abandon any thought of cooperation with the Greek hierarchy. Norov's last major effort in the East, involving the Alexandrine Patriarchate, demonstrated that despite his clash with Patriarch Cyril II of Jerusalem he still did not leave the cause of Panorthodox «close intercourse». In 1867 the personal weakness of Patriarch Nikanor of Alexandria encouraged a pretender, a certain Archimandrite Eugenios Dankos, who brought his charges against Nikanor to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Dankos convinced the Ecumenical Patriarch that Nikanor was incapable of administering the Patriarchate and received from him the title of vicar and guardian of the patriarchial throne. Nikanor and his supporters refused to accept the appointment and considered Constantinople's involvement an illegal interference. Nikanor received support from the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem but the affair left the Alexandrine Church split into two parties.

Norov received word of these disturbances from Patriarch Nikanor: «Do not refuse to do for me what your high position permits you. I lay my hope

72. Antonin Kapustin to Tolstoi, 26 March 1866, GPB, f. 253, d. 177, 1. 19.

73. Antonin Kapustin was completely fluent in Greek and thus able to communicate with the Greek hierarchs without an interpreter. He was an expert on Christian antiquities and also acquainted with the canonical and political problems of the East thanks to his tenure at the Russian embassy churches in Athens and Constantinople. Kapustin appreciated the threat felt by the peoples of the East, the Greeks as well as the Turks and South Slavs, in the face of Russian expansion. Much like Norov he recognized the need for selflessness and non-interference when dealing with the Greeks if ever their friendship was to be won. Archimandrite Kiprian, *O. Antonin Kapustin*, pp. 90-93. For a bibliography of the works of Archimandrite Antonin see *Trudy kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii* 45 (November, 1904), 319-380.

74. Antonin Kapustin to Norov, 9 March 1867, GPB, f. 531, d. 229, 1. 3ob.

75. Antonin Kapustin to Norov, 27 December 1867, GPB, f. 531, d. 229, 1. 11.

completely on your Christian feelings and on the generosity of your heart»⁷⁶. To Nikanor Norov responded suggesting that Archimandrite Eugenios return to Alexandria for the «reestablishment of general peace and calm»⁷⁷. He then rushed a letter to Gorchakov insisting that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs intercede to restore order to the Alexandria Patriarchate. Gorchakov responded politely but firmly that indeed the situation in Alexandria was saddening and deserved the «fervent participation» which Norov was exerting. «None-theless, I must say that the interference of our embassy in the present religious disagreement must be conditioned with extreme care and must be limited to indications of only the necessity to bring an end to the discord not projecting into any other action»⁷⁸. To reassure Norov that the Ministry was taking all possible steps to restore order, Gorchakov for several months thereafter sent him copies of Ambassador Ignatiev's despatches from Constantinople pertaining to the Alexandrine affair.

After several years of failing health and spiritual preparation Norov died in January 1869. He was buried at the cemetery in the Sergiev pustyn' outside St. Petersburg where many prominent families maintained mausoleums. By Norov's wish a white stone from Golgotha marked the grave. In Jerusalem the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher assembled to pray for the repose of his soul. Archimandrite Antonin wrote in his diary that Norov's absence was deeply felt in the East⁷⁹.

After Norov's death relations worsened between the Greeks and Russians. Panslavism clashed with Panhellenism where their spheres overlapped in the Balkans. In one form or another Russia lent support to Panslav movements and the Greek hierarchy began to view the activities of the Jerusalem Mission in this light. Antonin Kapustin had ideas more conducive to cooperation with the Greeks but he came to the Mission when it was encumbered by political and ecclesiastical intrigue. Greek resentment against the Mission increased as Antonin and Russia sided against the Greeks in the Bulgarian Exarchate question. In 1872 the Brotherhood of the Holy Sepulcher deposed Cyril II because with Russian promises and influence he refused to sign the document declaring the Bulgarian Exarchate schismatic. Ambassador Ignatiev in Constantinople tried to use economic pressure to remove his successor, Prokopios

76. Nikanor to Norov, 8 October 1867, GPB, f. 531, d. 466, 1. 3.

77. Norov to Nikanor, undated, GPB, f. 531, d. 184, 1. 1.

78. Gorchakov to Norov, November 1867, GPB, f. 531, d. 315, 11. 2ob-3.

79. Diary of Antonin Kapustin, Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv SSSR (Leningrad), f. 834, op. 4, no. 1124, 1. 20.

II (1873-75), but was unsuccessful. For the rest of the century reconciliation between Greeks and Russians became virtually impossible. As a Greek bishop noted: «The Slavs are our natural enemies. We must support the Turks. As long as Turkey still exists we are safe»⁸⁰. Men such as Norov were conspicuously absent. V. N. Khitrovo, one of the founders of the Russian Orthodox Palestine Society, believed that the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of the Greek clergy had led to a decline of Orthodoxy in the Levant. Russia had an obligation to uplift Orthodoxy by becoming Orthodoxy's champion in the East, especially in Palestine. His Russian Orthodox Palestine Society (founded in 1882) built schools and churches in the Levant, but after 1889 government and Panslav influences penetrated the Society, affecting its development and policy. The Greeks became convinced with justification that the Society was a mantle for tsarist and Panslav political objectives.

Despite his prodigious efforts spanning nearly forty years, Norov's work did not appreciably affect worsening Russo-Greek relations in the nineteenth century if judged by results. At best his applications for the Greeks and interference in Russian foreign policy slowed the final rupture. Because of the development of forces in the East which did not recognize the primacy of Orthodoxy, it was a foregone conclusion that Norov's Panorthodox goal would be a failure. Two conflicting ideologies, Panslavism and Panhellenism, lay behind mutual suspicions of Greeks and Russians throughout the Christian East. Balkan nationalism appeared with all its negative implications for Greek hegemony and Russian Panslavism joined it to champion Slav interests and to liberate the Balkan Slavs from political and cultural domination. Panhellenism sought to preserve the traditional prestige which the Greeks had held in the East since the fall of Constantinople. Had Norov lived a century earlier his ideas might have led to a «close intercourse», but in the mid-nineteenth century, especially after the Crimean War, there was little common ground for agreement. Actually, against the background of ideological conflict one gets the impression that Norov's goodwill was exploited, especially by the Greeks. Panhellenism was no more inclined to Panorthodoxy than Panslavism, but a strategically placed Russian official, who desired cooperation and not Russian dominance, could be of benefit to stave off the gigantic pressure from the Slavic North.

Norov's significance lies less in his accomplishments than in his efforts and the assumptions behind those efforts. It is apparent from the start that his

80. Quoted in Konstantin Leontiev, *Vostok, Rossiia i Slavianstvo*, I, Moscow 1885, p. 13.

applications on behalf of the Greek Church, acting almost as its unofficial diplomatic agent in St. Petersburg, offer an interesting footnote to the history of Russia's diplomatic and cultural involvement in the Levant. More noteworthy, however, was his unusual reaction to the Westernization and secularization of Russian society. Confronting Westernization, the Slavophiles wanted Russia to become the seat of a new culture founded upon traditional Russian values and Orthodoxy. Norov, also offended by the influx of foreign values, turned, however, to the Orthodox East. Somehow the common struggle of Russia and her co-religionists would repel the western influences penetrating both areas. Needless to say Norov was not alone in his efforts to promote cooperation between Orthodox Russia and the Greek patriarchates. A. N. Murav'ev, Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin and Metropolitan Philaret of Moscow were all concerned with the question of Orthodox unity, and study of their views on the subject could prove enlightening on a vital question of Orthodox culture in the nineteenth century. This essay on Norov's ideas is a modest contribution to that effort.

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**GEMEINSAME KULTURELLE ZUSAMMENARBEIT
ZWISCHEN BULGAREN UND GRIECHEN IN PLOVDIV
WÄHREND DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE
DES XIX. JAHRHUNDERTS**

Manjo Stojanov

Plovdiv (Philippopol), die Hauptstadt von Nordthrakien, ist der Ort, in dem der griechische Einfluß während der türkischen Herrschaft in Bulgarien sehr stark, sogar stärker als in jeder anderen bulgarischen Stadt war. Der Hauptträger dieses Einflusses hier wie überall in Bulgarien war der hohe griechische Klerus, da, wie bekannt ist, alle bulgarischen Diözesen bis zum Jahre 1870 dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel unterstellt waren. Die Diözese von Plovdiv war eine der größten und reichsten in Bulgarien, und deshalb anziehend für die griechischen Bischöfe, die mit großen Stäben von Episkopen, Archimandriten und Diakonen hierher kamen. Die vielen in der Nähe der Stadt liegenden Klöster zogen auch griechische Mönche herbei an. Die Stadt selbst war wichtiges Gewerbe- und Handelszentrum, das viele griechische Gewerbemeister und Kaufleute besuchten und wo sie sich vorübergehend aufhielten, oder sich dann für immer niederliessen.

Die Bulgaren in der Stadt waren bis zur Mitte des XVIII. Jhds nicht sehr zahlreich, vermehrten sich aber gegen Ende des Jhds und besonders in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jhds durch Zuzug vom Lande und hauptsächlich aus dem Balkan- und Rhodopegebirge. Da die Übersiedler aus den Dörfern kamen und gewöhnlich einfache Landarbeiter und Handwerker waren, gerieten sie bald unter den wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Einfluß der Stadt. Immerhin setzten sich einige von ihnen durch und gewannen an wirtschaftlicher Bedeutung.

Der griechische Einfluß wirkte erstens durch die Sprache, dann aber auch durch die Aufnahme der griechisch-levantinischen Kultur, welche in den Städten des Türkischen Reiches herrschte. So formte sich in Plovdiv ein Gräzismus als Kultur und Weltanschauung einer sozialen Schicht von Grundbesitzern, Handwerkern und Kaufleuten, die zahlenmäßig im Vergleich mit der türkischen Bevölkerung nicht groß war, wirtschaftlich aber von großen Gewicht war.

Zu dieser Schicht gehörte auch der Klerus, in dessen Händen die ideologische Führung lag. Die einfachen Leuten, die in den Werkstätten und auf dem Lande der Grundbesitzer arbeiteten, folgten ihren Herren.

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Bis zum Anfang des XIX. Jhds hatten die führende Rolle in dieser Gesellschaft der Metropolit, und die von ihm favorisierten Familien. In den ersten Dezennien des XIX. Jhds gewannen die aus dem Balkan- und Rhodopagebirge stammenden Bulgaren die Oberhand in den Gewerbezünften der Stadt und verschafften sich dadurch Geltung bei dem Metropoliten und den Vertretern der türkischen Regierung. Unter den aus dem Balkan übersiedelten Familien nahmen die ersten Stellen die zahlreichen Vertreter der Familie Tschaläkovi aus Koprivschtiza ein. Sie waren reiche Viehzüchter und Begliktschii¹ schon vor ihrer Ankunft in Plovdiv und ihr Reichtum vermehrte sich hier noch mehr. Von den Ansiedlern aus dem Rhodopagebirge durch ihren Reichtum stieg besonders die Familie Gümüsgerdan empor. Bis zum Krimkrieg (1853-1855) lag die ganze kirchliche Macht eigentlich in den Händen dieser Familien. Dank ihrer wirtschaftlichen Macht erlangten sie Geltung auch bei der weltlichen (türkischen) Administration.

Was die Ideologie betrifft, herrschte zwischen den bulgarischen und den griechischen Ansiedlern völlige Einstimmigkeit. Die bulgarischen Ansiedler, besonders jene aus den Städten Koprivschtiza, Panagürische, Karlovo, Sopot und anderen, waren zwar sehr in ihren örtlichen Volkstraditionen und Gebräuchen eingewurzelt, da der griechische Einfluß dort nicht eingedrungen war, in den Städten wie Philippopol, Adrianopol und Konstantinopol folgten sie der griechischen Bourgeoisie, die ihnen weit vorangegangen war. So kam es in den dritten und vierten Dezennien des XIX. Jhds in Plovdiv zu einer gemeinsamen kulturellen Mitarbeit zwischen bulgarischer und griechischer Bevölkerung oder, genauer gesagt, zu einem Anteil der Bulgaren an der Entwicklung der griechischen Bildung und Literatur, was umso wichtiger ist, weil sofort nach dem Krimkrieg die Beziehungen zwischen den Bulgaren und den Griechen sich in einen heftigen Kampf ausarteten.

Über diesen bulgarisch-griechischen Kampf, gewöhnlich Kirchenstreit genannt, ist schon viel geschrieben worden, über die friedliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen den beiden christlichen Nationen in Plovdiv und anderswo in Bulgarien aber so gut wie nichts.

Die gemeinsame Arbeit zwischen den Bulgaren und den Griechen zeigte sich bei dem Aufbau von Kirchen, bei der Gründung von Schulen und in der Unterstützung der Literatur.

Gegen Ende des XVIII. Jhds gab es in Plovdiv sechs Kirchen: der heiligen Paraskewa, der heiligen Marina (die Bischofskirche), Panagiaskirche (die Ka-

1. Die Begliktschii übernahmen das Erheben der Steuer über das Vieh in der Türkei.

thedrale), der heiligen Konstantin und Helena, der heiligen Kyriaki und des heiligen Demetrios. Sie alle waren kleine Gebäude und schon veraltet, deshalb mußten sie in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jhds, als die Zahl der Bevölkerung stieg, renoviert und vergrößert werden².

Als erste wurde schon im Jahre 1783 die Kirche der heiligen Marina renoviert. Die Bulgaren nahmen Anteil an der Aufbringung der Geldmittel. Aus dem Kirchenkodex, der erhalten ist³, ersieht man, daß das Geld von Zunftorganisationen aufgebracht wurde, deren Mitglieder meistens Bulgaren waren, was ihre Unterschriften bezeugen. So für die Schneiderzunft Hadschi Athanas Hadschi Stoio (Χατζή Αθανάσιος Χ. Στοϊό), für die Zunft der Meister von Hüten und Mützen Slatan, Stoio und Angel (Ζλατάνι, Στοϊό, Γεώργι), für die Zunft der Meister von Überröcken Georgi Manolov (Γεώργι Μανολού) und Margari H. Boschkov (Μαργάρη Χ. Μπόσκου), für die Zunft der Pelzschnieder H. Nikolai Christu und Pentscho Aleksiev (Χ. Νικολάος Χρίστου, Πεντσό Άλεξήιου).

In dem Vorstand der Kirche (Epitropie) während der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jhds waren auch die Bulgaren Mavrodi Bojadschiov, H. Jeko aus Tschirpan, Petko Kasandschi aus Novo selo, Nikola Batschkvaliata, Ivan Zagarljata und Duschko Moravenov aus Koprivschtiza, Filip Apostolov aus Mrasjan und andere Mitglieder. Sogar der Kassierer der Kirche war gewisse Zeit der Bulgar Nikola Tschaläkov. Dank ihrer Sparsamkeit konnte genug Geld aufgebracht werden, um in den Jahren 1820 und 1853 neune Renovierungen und Verschönerungen an der Kirche vorzunehmen.

Für die Kirche der heiligen Konstantin und Helena sorgte Välko Todorov Tschaläkov und für die Kirche der heiligen Kyriaki sein Vetter Välko Kurto-vitsch Tschaläkov. Sie führten zuerst Ordnung in den Einnahmen der Kirchen ein, welche lange Zeit vernachlässigt und ausgebeutet wurden, und dann ersuchten sie den Sultan, einen Ferman für den Aufbau der Kirchen erlassen zu wollen, der im Jahre 1832 begonnen wurde. Die Bauarbeiten der Kirche der heiligen Konstantin und Helena organisierte Välko Tschaläkov mit der freiwilligen Mitwirkung aller Bulgaren aus dem Kirchenbezirk und den be-

2. Zum Aufbau der Kirchen von Plovdiv und überhaupt über die Geschichte der Stadt vgl. St. Schischkov, *Plovdiv v svoeto minalo i nostojašte* (*Plovdiv in ihrer Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*), Plovdiv 1926, und K. M. Αποστολίδου, *Η τῆς Φιλιππούπολεως ιστορία ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ήμας χρόνων*, Αθῆναι 1959.

3. Iv. Snegarov, *Grăcki kodeks na Plovdivskata mitropolija* (*Der griechische Kodex der Metropolis von Plovdiv*), Sofia 1949, S. 216.

nachbarten Stadtteilen. «So, schreibt Konstantin Moravenov⁴, wurde die Kirche in einem Jahre neu aufgebaut, größer als die alte, und zwar ohne Geldanleihen machen zu müssen, denn als die ersten Kirchen gebaut wurden, arbeitete das ganze Volk—Männer, Frauen und Kinder—wochenlang ohne Gehalt zu verlangen». Auf diese Weise entstand die Kirche.

Vălko Todorov Tschalăkov hat die kleine Kirche der heiligen Paraskewa erweitert und renoviert und ihr auch das Recht auf Stavropigie (Unabhängigkeit vom örtlichen Bischof) verschafft. Zum Vorsteher und Kontroleur ihrer Einnahmen ernannte er Peju Georgiev Kürktschijata, einen Zunftmeister, bekannt wegen seiner Ehrlichkeit und seines Fleißes. Die Bulgaren wirkten mit auch bei dem Aufbau der Kirche des heiligen Demetrios. Die Kirche des heiligen Georgi im Stadtbezirk Marascha und des heiligen Ivan Rilski im Stadtteil Karschiaka wurden im Jahre 1848 von den Bulgaren allein gebaut. In diesen Stadtteilen wohnten keine Griechen und Grekomanen und in den neuen Kirchen wurde der Gottesdienst von Anfang an nur in bulgarischer Sprache gehalten.

In Plovdiv—wie überall in Bulgarien bis zum XVIII. Jhd.—wurde elementarer Schulunterricht nur in den sogenannten kirchlichen Zellen erteilt. Am Anfang des XVIII. Jhds wurde in Plovdiv eine öffentliche Schule gegründet. Sie unterstand dem Metropoliten, hatte kirchlichen Charakter und der Unterricht wurde natürlich nur in griechischer Sprache erteilt. Die ersten Lehrer in ihr waren Spantonakis, Andronikos und Leontarakis Artinos. Am Anfang des XIX. Jhds entwickelte sich die Schule unter der Leitung des gelehrten Priesters Konstantin Ikonom gut, wurde «Gymnasion» genannt und erfreute sich eines guten Namens.

Die Bulgaren, die aus dem Rhodopagebirge nach Plovdiv kamen, waren alle Analphabeten und diejenigen aus dem Balkangebirge hatten ganz elementare Kenntnisse vom Lesen und Schreiben, was für das Leben in der Stadt ganz ungenügend war. Sie sahen ein, daß die Bildung notwendig war, und deshalb unterstützten sie mit allen Kräften die griechische Schule, welche die einzige Bildungsanstalt in der Stadt war. Die Brüder Vălko und Stojan Tschalăkovi wurden bald nach ihrer Ankunft in der Stadt zu Mitgliedern des Schulvorstandes (ἐφόποι) gewählt, der für den Unterhalt der Schule zu sorgen hatte. Der aus dem Rhodopagebirge stammende Athanas Gümüşgerdan

4. Pamjatnik na christianskoto naselenie na Plovdiv po proiznosno predanie ot Konst. G. Moravenov, 1868 [‘Υπόμνημα περὶ τοῦ Χριστιανικοῦ πληθυσμοῦ τῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1868]. Bulgarische Handschrift in der Nationalbibliothek zu Sofia, Nr. 1328. Verkürzte Ausgabe von Al. Peev, Plovdiv 1930.

gehörte zum selben Vorstand noch vor ihnen. Nach ihrem Vorschlag wurde im Jahre 1829 als Lehrer in der Schule der Bulgare Ivan Seliminski berufen. Er stammte aus Sliven und hatte das griechische Gymnasium in Kidonia absolviert. Allein er hielt sich nicht lange in der Schule und seit 1832 übernahm ihre Führung der tatkräftige Georgios Tsukalas von der Insel Zakynthos (im Jonischen Meer). Unter ihm und seinen Nachfolgern, Alexander Xant und Adamantios Tzapek, blühte diese Schule auf und zog Schüler auch von anderen Orten an.

Die Sorgen der bulgarischen Ephoren für die Schule sind von Tsukalas selbst zugestanden, obwohl er im bald darauf eingesetzten bulgarisch-griechischen Kirchenstreit als Feind der Bulgaren auftrat. Im Jahre 1846 schrieb er eine Grammatik der altgriechischen Sprache und widmete sie außer dem Metropoliten auch Τοῖς Εὐγενεστάτοις καὶ Φιλομούσοις Ἐφόροις τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Σχολῆς Φιλιππουπόλεως κυρίοις Βούλκῳ καὶ Στογιάννῳ Θεοδώριτος, Αθανασίῳ Γιουμουσγερτάνῃ, Λάμπρῳ παππᾶ Σαούλ καὶ Ἀντωνίῳ Στογιάννοβίτος.

Im Jahre 1846 fiel das Schulgebäude einem Brand zum Opfer, in dem auch die schöne Schulbibliothek verlorenging. Die Initiative zum Wiederaufbau der Schule kam von Stojan Tschalăkov. Mit Geld, gesammelt an erster Stelle von den Bulgaren, wurde schon in demselben Jahre ein neues Schulgebäude gebaut. Auch ein neuer Schuldirektor wurde ernannt—Alexander Xant, der an der Universität in Wien studiert hatte.

Bald war die griechische Schule für die große Zahl von Schülern unzureichend zumal sie sich, wie gesagt, zur Mittelschule (Gymnasium) entwickelt hatte. Notwendig waren Grundschulen für den elementaren Unterricht im Lesen und Schreiben, die mehr Schüler aufnehmen konnten. Auch solche wurden gegründet und bei deren Gründung betätigten sich wiederum auch die Bulgaren. Die erste wurde bei der Kirche der heiligen Kyriaki im Jahre 1843 von Vălko Kurtovitsh Tschalăkov gegründet. Sie hieß die Trinitätsschule (der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit). Nach ihrem Reglement, bestätigt vom griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, war sie eine Grundschule mit Internat, in der nur 100 Kinder aufgenommen werden konnten und zwar nur aus armen Familien, hauptsächlich aus der Enorie der Kyriakikirche. Der Stifter der Schule, Kurtovitsh, verschaffte ihr auch Einnahmequellen für ihre Unterhaltung. Nach der Absicht des Stifters sollte der Unterricht in der Schule auch in der bulgarischen Sprache erteilt werden, sie entwickelte sich aber von Anfang an als nur griechische Schule. Lehrer hier waren Georgios Papakonstantinu und sein Bruder Ioannis. Später zerfiel sie.

Auch bei der Kirche der heiligen Paraskewa im Jahre 1845 wurde eine

kleine Grundschule gegründet und zwar als griechisch-bulgarische. Der erste Lehrer in ihr Nikola Tondschorov aus Samokov führte den Unterricht in den beiden Sprachen—griechisch und bulgarisch. Nach seinem Weggehen verschwand die bulgarische Sprache aus der Schule, und es blieb nur der griechische Unterricht.

Im Jahre 1848 wurden bei den neu aufgebauten Kirchen in den rein bulgarischen Bezirken Marascha und Karschiaka Grundschulen eröffnet, die von Anfang an bulgarisch waren. Im Jahre 1850 machten die Bulgaren den Versuch die bulgarische Sprache in das griechische Gymnasium einzuführen und, als dies ihnen nicht gestattet wurde, eröffneten sie eine bulgarische Mittelschule unter der Leitung von Naiden Gerov aus Koprivschtiza, der in Rußland studiert hatte. Die griechische Sprache stand auch im Programm dieser Schule, sie entwickelte sich aber als Pflanzstätte für die bulgarische Bildung.

Die Bulgaren in Plovdiv haben nicht nur das Kirchen- und Schulwesen unterstützt, sondern auch die Verbreitung griechischer Bücher. Zu dieser Zeit — den dritten und vierten Jahrzehnten des XIX. Jahrhunderts — erschien schon viele bulgarische Bücher, welche auch in Plovdiv verbreitet wurden, die hiesigen Bulgaren sind aber unter den ersten Syndromiten für jedes griechische Buch, welches ihnen angeboten wurde⁵.

So haben schon im Jahre 1819 für das von Grigorios Kalaganis übersetzte Buch *'Ιστορία τῆς Παλαιᾶς γραφῆς* (Βιέννη) in Plovdiv als Syndromiten nach dem Metropoliten Paissios und seinem Episkop und Protosyncel auch einige Bulgaren abonniert. Für dasselbe Buch hat auch Σμαράγδη X. Βούλκου abonniert und zwar in Brașov (Rumänien), wo sie lebte. Ihr Gatte oder vielleicht Sohn Αναστας X. Βούλκου ist Syndromit wiederum in Brașov für *Στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης* ('Εν Βιέννη, 1818).

Im Jahre 1833 erschien in Bukarest das Buch *Στοιχεῖα παιδαγωγίας*, (ἐργανισθέντα καὶ ἐκδοθέντα ὑπὸ Δημ. Γκανή). Unter den Syndromiten in Plovdiv außer dem Lehrer Georgios Tsukalas sind auch die folgenden Bulgaren: Ιάκωβος Νάϊτινι, Στογιάννος Γκάντζιον, Κωνστ. Δόμπρου.

Für die große Kirchenliedersammlung *Tameion ἀνθολογίας* von Grigorij Protopsalt (2. Auflage, Konstantinopel 1834) haben sich als Syndromiten abonniert, wie auch zu erwarten ist, an erster Stelle die Liebhaber der Kirchen-

5. Das Herausgeben von Büchern durch Syndromiten, d.h. Käufer, welche für das Buch abonnierten und es vorausbezahlt, war in Balkanländern im XIX. Jahrhundert sehr verbreitet, da es keine Verleger gab. Über die bulgarischen Syndromiten für griechische Bücher im XIX. Jahrhundert vgl. meine Arbeit in *Byzantinisch Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, Bd. (der letzte).

musik (μουσικοί), Lehrer, Archimandritea und Igumenen in den nahen Klöstern von denen nur der Igumen von Kuklenkloster, Archimandrit Nikodim, Bulgare ist. Dann kommen andere Syndromiten, von denen Bulgaren nur die folgenden sind: Πέτρος Π. Στογιάννου, Κωνσταντίνος Δόμπρου, Γεώργιος Π. Ηλία Πατακλής καὶ μουσικός, οἱ αυτάδελφοι Πέτρος καὶ Παναγιώτης Σπάσου.

Bulgarische Syndromiten von Plovdiv und anderen Orten finden wir auch für die dritte Auflage (Konstantinopel 1837) desselben Buches: Π. Ἀθανάσιος Π. Στογιάνου ἐφημέριος τῆς Παναγίας μουσικός, Π. Κωνσταντίνος Δήμου ἐφημέριος τοῦ Ἅγιου Κωνσταντίνου μουσικός, Γεώργιος Στογιάνου ψάλτης τοῦ Ἅγιου Δημητρίου, ὁ μουσικολογιώτατος Χ. Στέφανος Χ. Γεωργιάδης ἐκ Παζαρτζικίου, Βασιλείος Γεωργίου Μαρασλῆς παιδαγωγὸς καὶ μουσικός, Χρήστος Πέτρου ἀπὸ χωρίον Καρατζιόβου, Νικόλαος Δημητρίου ράπτης, Δημήτριος Π. Πέτρου ἀπὸ Τσηρπάνη.

Auch für das Buch *Σύνοψις καλοφωνικῶν εἰδομῶν... ἐκδοθὲν παρὰ Ἰωάννου Λαμπαδαρίου* (1842) sind einige Bulgaren von Plovdiv und von benachbarten Orten verzeichnet, Παῦλος Κούρτοβιτς, Γεώργιος Παναγιώτου, Ἰωάννης Τσήτσης, Γεώργιος Χ. Σιεφάνου, Πέτρος Στογιάννου, Νικόλαος Π. Γεωργίου, Ἀναστάσιος Δημητρίου ἀνεψῆς τοῦ Γκάντσου γούναρής, Παρασκευᾶς Μαρινοβίτς.

Die Bulgaren von Plovdiv unterstützten nicht nur das Herausgeben von Büchern, welche für den Gottesdienst notwendig waren, sondern auch solche weltlichen Inhalts. Nicht nur die erwähnte *Γραμματικὴ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἔλληνικῆς γλώσσης* von Georgios Tsukalas ist den bulgarischen Notabeln von Plovdiv gewidmet, sondern Bulgaren stehen an erster Stelle nach dem Metropoliten im Verzeichnis der Syndromiten: Βούλκος Θεοδώροβιτς, Στογιάνος Θεοδώροβιτς, Βλασάκης Τούτσουβιτς, Ἀντώνιος Στογιάννοβιτς, ἡ φιλόμουσος κοκκόνα Ἐλένη Στογιάννου, Ἰωάννης Νέμψογλους, Ἰωάννης Τζιτζάνης, Χ. Ιωάννης Χ. Παύλου, Ἰσκρος Βούλκου, Δημήτριος Γ. Κέσογλους, Γεώργιος Χ. Νένου, ὁ τζιορπατζῆς Στογιάννος Κούρτοβιτς, ὁ τζιορπατζῆς Θεόδωρος Βούλκου, ὁ Σταύρος Μπόντζιου γούναρις, ὁ Γεώργιος Δ. Τζαλαπίτζας.

Man kann sagen, daß das Buch nur dank der Unterstützung der bulgarischen Syndromiten erschienen ist; drei Viertel davon denen sind Bulgaren. Es ist klar, die Bulgaren von Plovdiv interessierten sich für das griechische Buch. Sie unterstützten die Ausgabe des Buches von Tsukalas, obwohl er Griech und von Anfang an den Bulgaren nicht freundlich gesonnen war, weil diese in Plovdiv aus Koprivschtiza kamen und sich fest an ihre örtlichen Gebräuche und Sitten klammerten wie die große Familie Tschaläkovi.

Im Jahre 1837 erschien *'Επιστολάριον ποιηωφελές*, (έρανισθὲν ὑπὸ Μιχ. Χρῆστίδου), das Muster für verschiedene Briefe und allerlei andere nützliche Anweisungen enthält. Die Bulgaren—und zwar nicht nur die von Plovdiv, sondern auch von anderen Städten und sogar aus Rumänien—nehmen wiederum den ersten Platz unter den Syndromiten ein: Βασίλειος Μαρασλῆς παιδαγωγός, Κάλλιστρος Λουκᾶ ἀπὸ Σόποτ, Γεώργιος Χ. Στεφάνου ἀπὸ Χατζιάρη, Πέτρος Π. Στογιάνου ὁμοίως, Κωνσταντῖνος Δόμπρου, Πέτρος Δόμπρου Τσελεπῆ, Παναγιώτης Σπάσου ὁμοίως, Πέτρος Κωνσταντίνου ἀπὸ Ζαγορᾶν, Γεώργιος Μλαδένου Οἰκονομού, Ἀθανάσιος Νικολάου, Νάϊδεν Βούλκοβιτς ἀπὸ Ἀβράδαλαν (Koprivschtiza).

Durch gemeinsame griechisch-bulgarische Mitarbeit in Plovdiv wurde ein Buch nicht nur herausgegeben, sondern auch vorbereitet und geschrieben. Es ist: *'Ανθολογία πάσης τῆς ἐνιαυσίου ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας, ἐσπερινοῦ, ὅρθρον τε καὶ λειτουργίας. τῆς τε μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ τοῦ Πάσχα...* Νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδοθεῖσα εἰς τύπον δ' ἐρυθρῶν σημείων παρὰ τῶν ἐν Φιλιππούπολει Παύλου Κουρτοβιτς Τσαλόγλου καὶ Γεωργίου Π. Κωνσταντίνου Μ. διδασκάλου τῆς Τριαδικῆς Σχολῆς... Ev Κωνσταντινούπολει, 1846.

Der Bulgar Pavel Kurtovitsch aus der Familie Tschaläkovi hat sich mit der Ausgabe der Anthologie—einer für ihn fremden Sache, da er Kaufmann war—, befaßt, weil das Buch nach dem Plan zweisprachig sein sollte—griechisch und bulgarisch (kirchenlatisch)—, um beim Gottesdienst in beiden Sprachen dienen zu können. Wegen seines großen Umfangs sollte es auf zwei Bände verteilt werden, von denen der erste in griechischer und der zweite in bulgarischer Sprache vorgesehen war. Erschienen ist nur der erste Band, der Kirchenlieder nur in griechischer Sprache enthält und nur ein Lied und einige Bemerkungen in bulgarischer Sprache.

Die gemeinsame griechisch-bulgarische Arbeit an der Herausgabe des Buches hat großes Interesse unter den Bulgaren in Plovdiv und in anderen Orten hervorgerufen und, sie beeilten sich, die Ausgabe zu unterstützen. Von den über 130 Syndromiten von Plovdiv sind drei Viertel Bulgaren. Sie sind in spezieller Reihe geordnet—zuerst der Metropolit von Plovdiv und andere Bischöfe, Diakone und Lehrer, dann die Priester und die Laien nach den Kirchenenorien, wo sie wohnten. So ist dieses Syndromitenverzeichnis ein wichtiges Dokument für die christliche Bevölkerung der Stadt Plovdiv in der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jhds.

In der ersten Gruppe gemeinsam mit den griechischen Lehrern stehen auch die Bulgaren, ὁ εἰς Σοφίαν σλαβενοδιδ. ἐκ Σαμοκοβίων κ. Ζαχαρίας (Kruscha), ὁ ἀρχιδιδ. τῆς σχολῆς τῆς ἀγίας Παρασκευῆς κ. Νικόλαος Χρή-

στουβιτς (Tondschorov) Μ. ἐκ Σαμακόβι, ὁ λογιώτ. Βοῦλκος παιδαγωγ. εἰς Μαρασία Μ., ὁ μουσικόλ. Πέτρος Στογιάννου παιδαγ. εἰς Κλεισούραν (bei Karlovo), ὁ κ. Πέτρος Μπόσκου Μ. ὁμοίως, ὁ μουσικολογ. Γεώργιος Χ. Στεφ. ἀπὸ Χατζιάρη (Sveschen bei Plovdiv), ὁ μουσικολογ. Πέτρος Παπ. Στογιάν ἀπὸ Χατζιάρη⁶.

Bei der Theotokenkirche (‘Η ἐκκλησία τῆς Παναγίας)⁷: οἱ αἰδεσιμώτατοι ἐφήμεροι αὐτῆς Παπ. Δ. Π. Ιωάννου, Παπ. Ἀθανάσιος, Παπ. Δημήτριος, Παπ. Στεφ.: οἱ χρησιμώτατοι τσορπατζῆ Στογιάνος Θεοδώρουβιτς, Θεόδωρος Βούλκοβιτς, Νεδέλκος Β. Τσελέπης, Σάλτσιος Ἰωάννοβιτς, Ισκρος Βούλκουβιτς (alle von der Familie Tschaläkovi), οἱ ἐντιμότ. κύριοι Ἰωάννης Δ. Νεμστογλου, Δημήτριος Ἰωάννου Γκέσογλου⁸, Δημήτριος Κωνστ. Χ. Στέργιου, Ἀθανάσιος Ν. Τσαλόγλου Μ.

Bei der Kirche der heiligen Kyriaki (‘Η ἐκκλησία τῆς ἀγίας Κυριακῆς): δο προεστώς αὐτῆς ὑπομνηματογράφος Θεόφιλος ιερεύς: οἱ ἐφημέριοι αὐτῆς Παπ. Ἀργύριος Θεοδώρου, Παπ. Παναγιώτης Ἀργυρίου, Παπ. Νικόλαος Χῖος, Παπ. Βασίλειος: οἱ χρησιμώτ. κύριοι Στογιάννος Κούρτοβιτς, Βλασάκης Τόντσιουβιτς Τσιαλίκη⁹, ἡ εὐγενεστάτη κ. Ἐλισαβετ Β. Τσιαλίκη, τὰ δύο τέκνα αὐτῆς Γεώργιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος¹⁰, οἱ ἐντιμώτ. κύριοι Χ. Γιωβαννῆς Χρήστου Κογιμτζόγλου, Γεώργιος Κεντηντενοβιτς, Στάντσιος Ἰωάννου, Βασίλειος Παπ. Ἰωάννου, Πέγιος Δ. Γούναρης, Ἰωάννης Ἀθ. Κοτσάσοβιτς, Δημητράκης Χρηστοδούλου Καζάσης, Ἀθανάσιος Ῥούσην Ταχταζῆς, Ῥάσκος Μαλεοβιτς (aus Koprivschtiza), Κωνσταντῖνος Στεφάνου Τένιου Μ., Ἀθανάσιος Δ. τοῦ Χ. Γκάντσου Γούναρη, Ἰωάννης Μπράτης Γιάντσογλου, Δημήτριος Κ. Μανόλτσου Μελενίκος, Μιχ. Στογιάννου Λιούτα Τσοχατζῆς ἀπὸ Ἀβρ. (Avradalan=Koprivschtiza), Χ. Κάλτσιος Χ. Πέτρου ἀπὸ Τρογίαν Μ., Βούλος Ἀθαν. Στενιμαχίτης, Ἀναστάσιος Γ. Καζάσης Τήτσ.

Bei der Kirche des heiligen Demetrios (‘Η ἐκκλησία τοῦ ἀγίου Δημητρίου): δο προεστώς αὐτῆς Σακελλάριος Ν. Οἰκονομίδης, οἱ ἐφημέριοι Παπ. Δημήτριος, Παπ. Κωνσταντῖνος Δημ., ὁ κ. Γεώργιος Στογιά- Σιαγκούνη, Ἰωάννης Χ. Παύλου, Ἀθανάσιος Χ. Παύλου.

Bei der Kirche des heiligen Konstantin (‘Η ἐκκλησία τοῦ ἀγίου Κωνσταν-

6. Die Namen geben wir wieder so wie sie geschrieben sind—with Verkürzungen und unrichtiger Orthographie.

7. Bei den Kirchen geben wir die Namen aller Priester, obwohl sie nicht alle Bulgaren sind, weil—wie gesagt—das Verzeichnis wichtig für die Bevölkerung der Stadt ist.

8. Δημ. Γκέσογλου ist der Erzvater der bekannten Familie Geschovi.

9. Alle sind aus der Familie Tschaläkovi.

10. Die Söhne von Elisabeth Tschaliki haben Medizin studiert und Georgi ist der bekannte Arzt und Politiker Dr. Välkovitsch; sein Bruder Alexander ist jung gestorben.

τίνου): ὁ προεστώς αὐτῆς ρέφενδάριος Παππα Στέργιος Μετσοβή, οἱ ἐφιμέριοι Παππᾶ Μιχαὴλ Ν., Παππᾶ Βασίλειος Μ., ὁ μουσικόλ. Ἀποστόλης Κ. Μελενίκιος Δ. αλληλοδ., οἱ ἐντιμώτατοι κύριοι Κυριάκος Ν., Ἀναστάσιος Τόντσιουβιτς, Ἀργύριος Χρήστου Κογιμτζόγλου, Πέτκο Βούλκοβιτς (aus Koprivshtiza), Νικόλαος Φιλίππου, Γεώργιος Χρ. Τσοχατζῆς, Ἀθανάσιος Χ. Ἀθανασίου, Ἀργύριος Δ. Ζάγαρλη (aus Stara Zagora).

Bei der Kirche der heiligen Marina ('Η Ἐκκλησία τῆς ἀγίας Μαρίνης): ὁ προεστώς αὐτῆς πρωτονοτάριος Παπ. Λάμ., ὁ ἵερομνήμων Παπ. Μιχαὴλ Μ., οἱ εφιμέριοι Παπ. Κ. Ἀστερίου, Παπ. Σωτήριος Ἀθ. Μ., Παπ. Παπ. Γεώργιος Χ. Δ., Παπ. Στογιάννης Ἰωάνν., οἱ ἐντιμώτατοι κύριοι Τσάντσιος Ἰωάνν. Τσελέπης, Δημήτριος Πέτκου Καζαντζίόγλου, Γεώργιος Φιλιππίδης Μ. Γαβριὴλ Ἀθ. Μουροβένοφ (und) Νικόλαος Μαλέοβιτς (die beiden aus Koprivshtiza), Β. Δ. Χ. Μιλκόγλου (aus Chaskovo).

Bei der Kirche der heiligen Paraskewa ('Η Ἐκκλησία τῆς ἀγίας Παρασκευῆς): ὁ προεστώς αὐτῆς πρωτοπ. Κων. Δήμου Μ., ὁ ἐφιμέριος Παπ. Γεώργιος Ἀγγελῆ, ὁ κ. Βούλκος Τόλιουβιτς.

Weiter folgen Namen von Äbten und Mönchen in den Klöstern um Plovdiv, von denen einige bulgarischer Abstammung sind.

Auch aus anderen Orten und zwar aus solchen, in denen es keine Griechen gab, haben sich viele Bulgaren als Syndromiten für das Buch inskribiert. Es gibt solche aus Pasardschik, Panagjurische, Samokov, Rilakloster, Haskovo, Karlovo, Sopot, Vratza und Pleven. Die Namen der Syndromiten von Samokov und Rilakloster sind mit kyrillischen Buchstaben gedruckt. In kirchenslavischer Sprache ist auch der Name des bekannten bulgarischen Bücherverkäufers Naiden H. Iovanovitsch aus Pasardschik gegeben, und zwar mit der Anmerkung, daß er aus Eifer für die Aufklärung seiner bulgarischen Brüder 100 Exemplare vom Buche bestellt habe.

Man kann sagen, daß die Anthologie von Georgios P. Konstantinu und Pavel Kurtovitsch vom Jahre 1846 das beste Beispiel für das bulgarisch-griechische Zusammenwirken auf dem Gebiete des Schrifttums im XIX. Jahrhundert ist. Zum Bedauern muß man anfügen, es ist das letzte. In den Büchern aus den folgenden zwei oder drei Jahren findet man hie und da einige Namen von Syndromiten aus Plovdiv und weiter nichts. Zum Beispiel gab der schon erwähnte Georgios Tsukalas im Jahre 1851 sein bekanntes Werk *'Ιστοριογεωγραφικὴ περιγραφὴ τῆς ἑπαρχίας Φιλιππονόπλεως*, heraus. Die Syndromiten von Plovdiv sind sehr zahlreich, aber kein einziger ist Bulgar.

Sofia

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THRENOS IN THE CHURCH OF SAINT PANTELEIMON AT NEREZI

Constantine P. Charalampidis

In the church of St. Pantaleimon at Nerezi, near Skopje, one finds, among the famous mural decorations of 1164, the celebrated representation of the Funeral Lamentation ('Ἐπιτάφιος Θρῆνος)¹ (fig.1). According to A. Grabar, this depiction of the Lamentation or Threnos, represents a stage in the history of European painting² since it has an artistic, aesthetic and humanistic importance within the framework of the world history of art and civilisation. The representation is to be found on the north side of the church, above a series of saints who are depicted frontally, and has a powerful realistic accentuation and dramatic passion. It is a characteristic example of the painting of the Commene period, and a remarkable representation of the subject within the whole iconography of the Funereal Lamentation. Its origin lies deep in the Ancient Greek and subsequent Christian world extending to the period in question. Furthermore, the Eastern tradition offered its living reality to the development and prevalence of the iconographical subject. The representation of the Threnos in Byzantine art was shaped and developed by the existing pagan literature (i.e. philology, myths), and that of the Christians (i.e. apocryphal, patristic), as well as by artistic monuments (e.g. carved representations). The depiction is unknown in Palaeo-Christian times and appears during the eleventh century under the influence of the funeral lamentations of the Mediterranean East and of Corsica.

In ancient times, there were two words in common usage which expressed lamentation, the Θρῆνος and the γύος. Despite the very slight difference in their use and meaning by classical writers, there is a certain distinction in Homer.

1. For this Byzantine monument, see the following general bibliography: A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine*, Geneva 1953, pp. 141-143; R. Ljubinković, «La peinture murale en Serbie et en Macédoine aux XI^e et XII^e siècles», *Corsi di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, Ravenna 1-13 aprile 1962, Ravenna 1962, pp. 405-441. V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin 1967, pp. 199-201, and elsewhere, as well as the bibliography on p. 256, n. 60.

2. A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine...*, p. 143.

For him the γύος is the most frequent of all the laments mentioned. The Threnos in the *Iliad* is a particular song, while the γύος is completely lamentary. Thus mourners, both men and women, are found in Homeric works, as in ancient Rome, lamenting the dead, although men are used to a lesser degree. Terms similar to γύος are the Homeric groans and wailing which relate to the popular laments, and more particularly to the act of the weeper than to the lament itself. In Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* the great κομμὸς (= κτύπημα beating; πλῆξις wounding) is found as an antiphonic lament between Orestes and Electra. The lament for Adonis (Adonia), who is paralleled with Christ in the Christian period, symbolizes the idea of death and resurrection. The laments in the veneration of heroes and in the mystical rites (such as those of Elefsis) had an even more powerful tradition in the ancient world, and influenced and shaped the Lament of the Mother of God. Thus the relation between θρῆνος, γύος and κομμὸς is that the first is sung by officials who mourn the dead, the second is characterized by the spontaneous weeping of the female members of the family, while the third is an especial type of tragic lament.

Also associated with the survival of the formal lament of the women in Eastern Christian art is ancient lyric poetry with its laments, and later poetry with its dirges in honour of individuals, peoples, nations, and other instances³. In Holy Scripture, we find the prophetic lament of the Old Testament, while in the New Testament, we find mentioned the mourning and laments that occur in all ancient civilisations⁴. The Old Testament lament is the reply to the judgement of God, while that of the New Testament leads the Church militant to the joy of the Church triumphant.

Lucian, in his work «Concerning Grief», speaks thus of the mourners: «οἱ μωγαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν καὶ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στέρνα τυπτόμενα καὶ σπαραττομένη κόμη καὶ φοινισσόμεναι παρειαί· καὶ που καὶ ἐσθῆται καταρρήγνυται καὶ κόνις ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πάττεται καὶ οἱ ζῶντες οἰκτρότεροι τοῦ νεκροῦ· οἱ μὲν γάρ χαμαὶ κυλινδοῦνται πολλάκις καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀράττουσι πρὸς τὸ ἔδαφος»⁵. Elsewhere in the same work, the dead son is depicted as saying to his father: «ὦ κακόδαιμον ἄνθρωπε, τί κέκραγας;... παῦσαι τιλλόμενος τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς ἀμύσσων»⁶.

3. M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Cambridge University Press 1974.

4. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (von G. Kittel) vol. 3, Stuttgart 1957, article «Θρηνέω - Θρῆνος», pp. 148-155.

5. 12th edition of C. Jacobitz, vol. 3, Leipzig 1913, *Bibliotheca graecorum et romanorum teubneriana*.

6. 16th ed. *supra*.

As we have seen, the accompaniment to lamenting the dead to which Lucian refers—such as the untying of the hair and its being pulled out; the shrieks and wailing of the women; tears; beating the breast and head; the reddening of the cheeks; the rending of clothing; the sprinkling of dust on the head; sitting or rolling face down on the ground—are, in general, found throughout the ancient Greek world.

The Christian world adopted these customs for the lamentation of its dead, and indeed often enforced the expression of its grief, in this way imitating the heathen. That there exists a relation between the ancient and Byzantine traditions on this matter may be seen by referring to ecclesiastical literature⁷. The attitude of the Virgin weeping over the passion of Christ is mentioned, in the first place, by apocryphal Christian literature. The Acta Pilati says this: «...(the Mother of God) κατέξαινε μετὰ τῶν ὁνύχων τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς καὶ ἔτυπτε τὸ στῆθος· ποῦ διέβησαν, ἔλεγε, τὰ ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ἐποίησας ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ;...»⁸ and elsewhere in the same text: «ἔλεγε, κλαίουσα πᾶς, οὐ μή σε θρηνήσω, υἱέ μου· πᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πρόσωπον οὐ σπαράξω τοῖς ὄνυξιν... τίς τὰ ἐμὰ δάκρυα, γλυκύτατέ μου νίέ, καταπαύσει;»⁹. The ecclesiastical writers later made their own contribution to the matter. Georgios of Nicomedia (9th century) writes of the Virgin: «ἀλλ’ ὡς γλύκιον Τέκνον!... νῦν σου μόνη σφοδροτέρας σου τὰς δόδύνας ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ εἰσδέχομαι καρδίᾳ. Οὐκ ἔνι γάρ ὁ συμμετέχων μοι τῶν ἀλλγεινῶν, οὐκ ἔνι ὁ τοὺς μώλωπας συνδιαμεριζόμενος»¹⁰, and elsewhere: «ἡ Μήτηρ βαθυτέρως μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν πεπληγυῖα, πολλαῖς δὲ ταῖς ἀνακλήσεσι τὸν ἀνασχόμενον ἐπικαλουμένη οὕτω δάκρυα χέουσα προσεφθέγγετο...»¹¹. The same writer also mentions the becoming expression of the Virgin at the passion of her Son, where «τῷ τε γάρ πάθει κοσμίως καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῶς προσωμίλει»¹² and washed His most holy Body with ardent tears. Symeon the Logothete and translator (10th century) has also described the sepulchral laments and funeral hymns of the Mother of God, describing the Virgin saying to her Son: «χλιαροῖς ἐλουσάμην σε νάμασιν, καὶ θερμοτέροις ἥρτι καταντλῶ σε τοῖς

7. For the ecclesiastical and Byzantine writers, as well as other Christian texts, see generally the notes to the work of Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol. 4, Athens 1951 (for that which relates to the Threnos, pp. 162-167).

8. X, pp. 282-283, in C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig 1853.

9. *Ibid.*, XI, p. 292.

10. 8th Sermon on «εἴστήκεσαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ Μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς Μητρὸς αὐτοῦ» καὶ εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον ταφὴν τοῦ Κ. Η. Ι. Χριστοῦ, τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ, PG 100, 1472 D.

11. *Ibid.*, PG 100, 1481 BC.

12. *Ibid.*, PG 100, 1485 D - 1488 A.

δάκρυσιν. Ἐσταύρωμαί σου τοῖς πόνοις, νενέκρωμαί σου τῷ πάθει...»¹³. The information given by these ecclesiastical writers speaks more of a becoming and thoughtful gesture on the part of the grieving Virgin. The Fathers of the Church reprobated the Christians of their time for their pagan and sometimes indecent exhibitions of grief. St. Basil the Great is especially characteristic when, in order to emphasize decorous and becoming tears of grief, he writes: «καὶ τὸ δάκρυον οὐκ ἔστι νομοθεσία πρὸς τὸ θρηνεῖν, ἀλλὰ μέτρον εὐσχημονέστατον ἐκτεθέν, καὶ κανῶν ἀκριβῆς, καθ' ὃν προσῆκε σεμνῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως τοῖς τῆς φύσεως ὄροις ἐμμένοντας διαφέρειν τὰ λυπηρά»¹⁴. This custom of expressing grief has remained in the Byzantine world until the present day, and is found in modern Hellenism, together with dirges for the dead¹⁵.

Greek mythology also gives us similar lamentations in its mythological narratives. Thus Nonnos Panopolitis, in his work *Dionysiaka*¹⁶, speaks of Actaeon, son of Aristaeos and Autonoë, and of his adventures during his hunting expeditions. Apollodoros does the same¹⁷. However, Actaeon is punished by Diana because he has seen her naked, and is torn to pieces by his dogs who fail to recognize him since he has been transformed into a deer. His tragic death is described more closely by Nonnos, and in particular the lament with which his mother Autonoë bewails him: «φιλοστόργῳ δὲ μενοινῇ νήλιπος ἀκρήδεμνος ἴμάσσετο πένθεϊ μήτηρ· καὶ πλοκάμους ἐδάῃξεν ὅλον δ' ἔρρηξε χιτῶνα, πενθαλέοις, δ' ὀνύχεσιν ἐὰς ἐχάραξε παρειάς αἴματι φοινίξασα κατὰ στέρνοιο δὲ γυμνοῦ παιδοκόμων ἐρύθηνε φερέσθιον ἄντυγα μαζῶν μνησαμένη τοκετοῖο· φιλοθρήνου δὲ προσώπου δάκρυσιν ἀενάοισιν ἐλούσατο φάρεα νύμφῃ»¹⁸. Autonoë's lament for her beloved son Actaeon, and his words to his father, Aristaeon, when he appears to him in a dream after his death: «ἀλλά, πάτερ, πυμάτην πόρε μοι χάριν, ἀφραδέας δὲ πένθος ἔχων φιλότεκνον ἐμοὺς μὴ κτείνε φονῆας, παιδοφόνους οἴκτιρον ἀμεμφέας· ἡμιτέραις γὰρ θηρείαις ἀέκοντες ἀπεπλάγχησαν ὀπωπαῖς»¹⁹ remind us of the Virgin's lament and the words of Christ on the Cross. We have representations of this lament on a sar-

13. Sermon εἰς τὸν θρῆνον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, ὅτε περιεπλάκη τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Κ.Η.Ι. Χριστοῦ, PG 114, 216 CD.

14. Περὶ εὐχαριστίας, PG 31, 229 CD.

15. M. Alexiou, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-128.

16. Book V, 287 et seq. (English translation by W. H. D. Rouse) London and Cambridge, Mass. 1940.

17. *Bιβλιοθήκη*, III, IV, 4, p. 322 (English translation by Sir J. G. Frazer) London and Cambridge, Mass. 1967, vol. 1.

18. Book V, 374-380.

19. Book V, 442-445.

cophagus of the Hadrianic period (2nd century BC) which is now to be found in the Louvre Museum in Paris. This representation is one of four scenes from the tale of Actaeon, occupying the last place in the series, and located on the right short side²⁰. The representation shows an almost open cave before which lies the body of Actaeon. Over it weeps his mother Autonoë, who is found in the middle of the composition. Autonoë bows down on her knees, bending over him and tearing at her hair (a detail that is frequently found in ancient funeral depictions). Above right is depicted a dog, who with the others tore the body of Actaeon to pieces after he had been transformed into a deer. K. Weitzmann believes²¹ that this powerful representation from the iconographic cycle of the tale of Actaeon was known in the Byzantine world through the works of the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos, the *Bibliothiki* of Apollodoros and the illuminated text of the Commentary of pseudo-Nonnos on the Sermons of Gregory Nazianzinus. Thus these classical elements of the ancient Greek tradition (viz. the literary, mythological and iconographical evidence) resulted in a more human contribution to the religious subject of the Passion in Byzantine art. However, the Byzantines as Greeks did not simply copy the ancient Greek originals, but endowed them with a more profound meaning, thus justifying their selection²².

Thus the whole of this ancient tradition of laments for the gods and heroes produced the material necessary for the composition of the Lament of the Mother of God and the development of this dramatic subject in Byzantine art²³. It is the opinion of K. Weitzmann that the representation of the Funeral Lament developed as the result of a gradual transformation of the Burial of Christ²⁴.

20. K. Weitzmann, «The Origin of the Threnos, De Artibus opuscula XL», *Essays in honor of Erwin Panofsky* (ed. by Millard Meiss), New York 1961, p. 487 et seq., plate 17.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 490.

22. K. Weitzmann, «The Survival of Mythological Representations in Early Christian and Byzantine Art and their impact on Christian Iconography», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), p. 68.

23. On this subject, see generally the bibliography noted below: L. Reau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, t. II, *Iconographie de la Bible II, Nouveau Testament*, Paris 1957, article «La lamentation» pp. 519-521; G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 2, Gütersloh 1968, article «Die Beweinung», pp. 187-192; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1960 (second edition), article «Le Thrène», pp. 489-516; K. Weitzmann, «The Origin of the Threnos...» pp. 476-490, and plates 161-166; C. D. Kalokyris, *Ἡ Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν εἰκονογραφίαν Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Λύσεως*, Thessaloniki 1972, par. ἡ Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν ταφὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἐπιτάφιος Θρῆνος, ἡ Πιetà, pp. 163-167.

24. K. Weitzmann, «The Origin of the Threnos...» p. 476. Cf. the different opinion of M. G. Sotiriou in her article, «Ἐνταφιασμὸς - Θρῆνος», *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας*, period IV, vol. VII (1973-74), pp. 139-147, who examines the main mo-

It ought to be noted that the Entombment of Christ is mentioned in the Four Gospels of the New Testament, while, as we have said, the Lament is to be found only in the *Acta Pilati*. Proceeding further, Weitzmann says²⁵ that, as in a play, this transformation from the Entombment to the Lamentation unfolds before our eyes in five stages, namely (i) the placing within the tomb; (ii) the ending of the entombment; (iii) the addition of the Mother of God; (iv) the influence of the Virgin's Repose; and (v) the deposition upon the ground. Thus was fashioned the form of the Funeral Lament that developed in most Byzantine representations. But the original representation of this scene depicts Christ laid out on a red-coloured slab and surrounded by angels. According to tradition, the slab was used so that Christ might be laid out after His Deposition in order to receive the required pre-burial rites²⁶. Another representation of Christ shows Him laid out on a taut, white sheet (as in the damaged 13th century wall-painting in the church of Samarina, Messinia)²⁷. This is the so-called eucharistic or liturgical scene. Under the influence of this scene, the embroidered «Epitaphioi» began to appear during the Palaeologan period. This representation was altered by the addition of the historical personages present at the burial of Christ. Thus this new representation, which includes the Virgin among the historical personages, is a combination of the eucharistic and historical Funeral Laments²⁸.

The remarkable wall-painting of the Threnos at Nerezi belongs to this type of composition²⁹ (fig. 1). The dead Christ, with eyes closed, lies stretched out on a burial sheet which has cross-shaped decorations, and He has a loin-cloth around His lower parts. Beside Him to His left, the weeping Virgin embraces Him, her right hand around His neck while her left arm is stretched across His chest to clasp the right arm of her Son in her hand. Her appearance is mournful, shedding

nments on this subject and concludes (p. 146) that these two iconographical themes (Lamentation and Entombment) have a different origin, the former not evolving from the latter, but rather having a parallel iconographical evolution.

25. K. Weitzmann, «The Origin of the Threnos...», pp. 477-487.

26. C. D. Kalokyris, 'Η Θεοτόκος...', p. 164; L. Reau, in *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, t. II, *Iconographie de la Bible II, Nouveau Testament*, Paris 1957, p. 519, writes that this spotted (marble) slab was yellow in colour and that the marks were the prints of the Virgin's tears. He also mentions that this slab is venerated in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, between Golgotha and the tomb.

27. C. D. Kalokyris, *Bυζαντινά Ἔκκλησίαι τῆς Ἰ. Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας*, Thessaloniki 1973, plate 27, fig. a.

28. C. D. Kalokyris, 'Η Θεοτόκος...' p. 165.

29. A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine...*, colour plate on p. 143, and O. Bihalji-Merin, *Byzantine Frescoes and Icons in Yugoslavia*, London 1960, colour plate 26.

tears in great grief, in accordance with the ancient Greek and Christian tradition already mentioned. His beloved disciple, John, is pictured on His left, grievously expressing his great sorrow at the death of his Master, and kissing the Saviour's left hand. He is pictured in a standing position, looking frontally, and simultaneously expressing profound reverence and grief. John's grief, as opposed to that of the Mother of God, is not mentioned in any of the literary sources, and seems to have entered this scene under the influence of the representation of the Dormition of the Virgin. However, since Byzantine art represented this grief in the episode of the Crucifixion of Christ, by analogy it ought also to be present in this scene. It is the expression of a popular sentiment evidenced by the fact that Christ entrusted the Virgin to John's care. On the right of the representation are Joseph and Nicodemus, who kneel and incline their bodies over the feet of Christ which they hold in their hands. Behind them one of the myrrh-bearing women is represented, participating in this scene by weeping for Christ. To the left and right of the scene are mountain slopes. The horizontal line of these mountains gives greater emphasis to the impression of depression and grief produced by this scene. A little above and to the left of Christ's head opens the cave of His tomb. In the upper part of the scene are three flying angels, one of whom looks out towards the beholder, while the other two face each other. To the left and below Christ's head is shown the container with the myrrh to be used for anointing the Dead Christ. Beside the container is depicted a basket containing the tools of the preceding Deposition, the pincers being especially prominent, while behind the myrrh-bearing woman a portion of clothing is visible which, in all probability, belongs to another similar woman³⁰. The forms are delineated by the folds of their clothing, while the light has been depicted nervously with deep, white, twisting lines. The simple, light colours relieve the scene of any heaviness and make it a work of the refined art of the Imperial Court. The chromatic harmony of the deep blue of the sky, the green of the ground, and the mauve of the *maphorion* of the Virgin, together with the ochres and the light red of both the mountains and the naked Body of Christ, constitute a superb image fitting in its expression of this tragic moment of the Divine Person and Christ's eloquent inaction. His broken, naked Body reminds us of the bodies of the ancient kouroi, and He bears on His Hands the marks of the nails caused by His Crucifixion. The white sheet on which Christ's Body

30. See the photograph published by W. Fritz Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten*, Berlin 1968 (*Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, Band III), plate 230, where the scene of the Lamentation is reproduced in its entirety, and where the basket and the portion of clothing of a destroyed form may be discerned.

lies is decorated with delicate lines, ochre in colour, which give a certain grace to the whole scene. Above the haloes of both Christ and the Virgin are the abbreviations of their names.

This scene within the Passion-series of the wall-paintings of Nerezi expresses the natural grief of human pain and realistically demonstrates the long tradition of man's participation in these scenes of grief. As in all the art of Nerezi, the expression of man's humanity is amazing in its affirmation of his painful emotion. The artist reproduced contemporary family mores and the social behaviour of the world in which he lived. Thus this representation, taken together with the artistic whole of the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, contains an especial artistic and humanistic value within Byzantine art. In addition, according to Otto Demus³¹, one of the great themes of lyric expression in the art of Byzantium was just this Lament.

A similar development and artistic arrangement to the Serbian wall-painting is that of the same subject in the eleventh century church of the Agioi Anargyroi in Kastoria³² (fig. 2). There exists a similarity in the characteristics of the persons presented, right down to details which are the same in both monuments (of Nerezi and of Kastoria). It would therefore seem, for both chronological and artistic reasons, that the representation at Kastoria influenced the execution of that of Nerezi, and that the origins of the Lamentation at this Serbian monument lie in the great artistic centre of Thessaloniki³³. In the church of the Virgin of the Coppersmiths in that city, a church which dates from 1044, a similar wall-painting depicting the Lamentation was formerly to be found above the central doors leading from the narthex into the main church, a depiction which no longer exists³⁴. From a surviving sketch by A. Xyngopoulos it can be inferred that this iconographic representation was very similar to that of Nerezi. The same is true of another wall-painting, this time in the twelfth-century monastery of Baćkovo, as we are informed by A. Grabar's sketch³⁵. The wall-

31. *Byzantine Art and the West*, London 1970, p. 224.

32. S. Pelekanides, *Kαστοριά, Ι. Βυζαντινά τοιχογραφίαι, πίνακες*, Thessaloniki 1953, plates 17 β, 18.

33. See that which is written by Prof. C. D. Kalokyris in «Προέλευσις τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τοῦ γεωγραφικοῦ χώρου τῆς Μακεδονίας, τῆς Σερβίας καὶ τῆς Βουλγαρίας (ή συμβολὴ τῆς τέχνης εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν)», Thessaloniki 1970, p. 26 and the reprint of vol. XV from the 'Επιστημονική Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Ἀριστοτελεῖου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, written in German, «Entstehung und Gestaltung der byzantinischen Denkmäler in Mazedonien, Alt-Serben, und Bulgarien», Thessaloniki 1970, pp. 16-17.

34. See A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture Macédonienne*, Athens 1955, p. 17, p. late 2.

35. *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris 1928, p. 59, pl. 13.

painting of the same subject in the church of St. George, Kurbinovo³⁶ belongs to the end of the twelfth century. Here John holds Jesus' legs around the knees while he touches Christ's left hand with his face.

Kastoria, together with Thessaloniki, Nerezi and Kurbinovo is, as far as this particular iconographic representation is concerned, a continuation of the artistic tradition in absolute chronological sequence. Kastoria is the original for the painter of Nerezi. While a certain restraint is expressed in the passion at Kastoria, at Nerezi it is given its most fully dramatic and human force. A deep feeling of the spiritual life, and dramatic expressions and gestures, are expressed in this realistic image. There is no attempt at realistic exaggeration on the part of the artist, yet he succeeds in giving each person an individual part in the divine drama. It is true that there exists a contrast between life and death. In the same way that the Dead Christ is calm in the Deposition scene at Nerezi³⁷, so He is in the Lamentation. There is absolutely no change, in this way expressing peace in death and avoiding any possible naturalistic interpretation of the Passion of Christ as occurred, by contrast, in the West.

On the other hand, a genuine expression of pain is drawn on the faces of the Virgin and John, and the painter has created a similarity in the anatomical characteristics of their faces during this time of mourning. Their eyes, the pointed corners of their eyebrows, their closed mouths, make both faces identical. The contrast between the ideal calm and peace of Christ and the deep expression of pain on the faces of the other persons achieves the most powerful results, and creates the true iconographical type of this subject, filled with high drama and deep spirituality. At Nerezi, one observes the expression at the height of the Divine Drama, and the moment of shock for the Mother and persons beloved of Christ. As the Slav monuments show, the artists there painted a series of wall-paintings relating to the Lamentation, already having in mind the professional laments that existed among the Balkan peoples³⁸. In the church of Nerezi, an iconographical solution is given to the problem of representing the divine passion, which is the result of many previous accomplishments in the history of the art of the Middle Ages³⁹.

36. C. D. Kalokyris, *Προέλευσις τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων...* plate 2, fig. β.

37. See the photograph in V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina...*, pl. 301.

38. For this subject, see the article of T. Vukanović, «Lamentation dans la peinture à fresque chez les Slaves du Sud au Moyen Age», *Vranjski glasnik* 8, Vranje 1972, pp. 78-89, and the same author's «Profesionalno naricanje u balkanskih naroda» *ibid.*, pp. 229-307, neither of which have I read, having been unable to find them.

39. See also M. Rajković, «Iz likovne problematike Nereskog živopisa», *Zbornik Radova S.A.N. XLIV-Vizantološki Institut*, Knj. 3 (1955), pp. 198-200.

The difference in the representation of Nerezi from the others of the same period lies in its artistic quality, which raises its standard of execution to that of the Imperial art of Byzantium. D. Talbot Rice mentions that this monument is characterised by the style of the «Renaissance», with all the elements that are associated with it, namely movement, life, activity, humanism. Indeed, even more personal subjects were adopted—such as the Lamentation—which had been presented with difficulty before this period in Byzantine art⁴⁰. It is true that the art of Kurbinovo (provincial in origin, and executed by an artist from the region of Macedonia) and that of Agioi Anargyroi in Kastoria are closely related artistically to the extent that it is believed that the painted decoration belongs to the same movement, perhaps even to the same artists.

The mural depiction of the Lamentation in the chapel below the monastery of St. (John) Chrysostom at Koutsoventi, Cyprus, also belongs to the twelfth century⁴¹. Here, there are two myrrh-bearing women, as opposed to the depiction at Nerezi, where only one is featured. Christ is laid out on a sheet that has vertical lines on it. The twelfth century presents a group of developed examples of this scene, following its appearance during the previous century. The earliest examples of the depiction of this scene are certain eleventh century ivory reliefs, such as that in the museum at Rosgarten, Constance⁴², in the Wernher Collection at Luton Hoo (where the scene is depicted with the Dormition)⁴³, in the Byzantine Museum at Ravenna⁴⁴, in the National Library in Berlin⁴⁵, and in London's Victoria and Albert Museum (also depicted with the Dormition)⁴⁶. In addition, mention ought to be made of the miniature of the eleventh or twelfth century of the Book of the Gospels (Evangelistarum - Ms gr. 1156, f. 194v) in the Vatican Library, Rome⁴⁷, the iconographic arrangement of which is even closer to the representation at Nerezi, and even earlier than that of Kastoria. The myrrh-bearing women are represented, upper left, behind the tomb, while the chief scene remains the same. This is also true of the miniature

40. *The Twelfth Century Renaissance in Byzantine Art*, University of Hull 1965, in *Byzantine Art and its Influences* (collected studies), London 1973, p. 10.

41. C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, «The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its wall-paintings», *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), pl. 120, and G. Sotiriou, *Tὰ βυζαντινὰ μυημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου*, Athens 1935, pl. 77.

42. K. Weitzmann, «The Origin of the Threnos...», pl. 10.

43. *Ibid.*, pl. 12.

44. *Ibid.*, pl. 13.

45. *Ibid.*, pl. 14.

46. *Ibid.*, pl. 15.

47. R. Valland, *Aquilée et les origines byzantines de la Renaissance*, Paris 1963, pl. 20.

of the Tetraevangelium of Parma (Palat. 5) which dates from the end of the eleventh century⁴⁸, where the Cross (with Christ already deposited) is also represented. Characteristic is the exceptional absence of John who elsewhere is depicted as ardently embracing the Lord's left hand. Artistically this representation is considered inferior to that of Nerezi, despite their unimportant iconographic differences.

In addition, the representation of the Lamentation is found during the same period (11th century) in the West. The Balkan influences came by way of the Adriatic to Aquileia, in northern Italy, where the Funeral Lamentation is represented in the burial chamber of SS Hermagoras and Fortunatus in the Basilica of that city⁴⁹ (fig. 3). There is at present no agreement as to the exact dating of the painting in the crypt of Aquileia⁵⁰. The iconographical distribution of the characters in the Lamentation on this monument follows the tradition known from the Serbo-Greek regions. One of the myrrh-bearing women who stands to the left, at the head of Christ, raises her hands, full of grief, while Joseph kneels, and Nicodemus remains standing, both expressing their grief (they are to be found at the feet of Christ). The myrrh-bearing women are represented on the left, behind the tomb, just as in the other Italian examples (Palat. 5 of Parma and Vat. gr. 1156), while the number of women who participate varies. The two angels flying overhead extend their hands—one towards the myrrh-bearing women, the other towards Nicodemus. The first contemplates Christ with a nervous movement, expressing his despair before this divine drama. The Aquileia Lamentation considerably resembles that at Koutsoventi, Cyprus, where we find the Virgin, John, Joseph and Nicodemus in the same postures⁵¹.

It is clear that there is a general relationship between Aquileia and Nerezi, but that this relationship means that the first was entirely dependent on Nerezi, as Dina dalla Barba Brusin and Giovanni Lorenzoni believe⁵², is at least

48. *Ibid.*, pl. 28.

49. For this representation, see R. Valland, *Aquilée...*, pl. 11. Apart from this particular scene, there are also the Crucifixion, the Deposition and the Dormition of the Virgin. The choice of these subjects is due to the intended use of the location for funerals.

50. According to G. Millet, it belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century («L'art des Balkans et d'Italie au XIII^e siècle», *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini, Roma 20-26. settembre 1936*, pp. 272-297) while according to P. Toesca, it belongs to the end of the twelfth century (Gli affreschi di Aquileia, Dedalo, Giugno 1925, p. 36 et seq.).

51. Additional information in R. Valland, *Aquilée...*, pp. 41-42, where she examines the mercantile and economic relations between the regions of the Adriatic coast and the East (Cyprus) in order to justify the artistic similarities between Aquileia and the Eastern and Balkan countries.

52. *L'arte del Patriarcato di Aquileia dal secolo IX al secolo XIII*, Padua 1968, p. 61.

doubtful and open to question. The usually accepted opinion is that the painting of the scenes of the Passion in the crypt of Aquileia originated from the style of Nerezi. In addition, the aforementioned writers speak of the artistic vocabulary of Aquileia, and of the existence of a connection between the latter and Nerezi⁵³. The expression of the Virgin's passion with all the holy lamentation of the monuments of the East and of Serbia (Nerezi and elsewhere), influenced the wall-painting in the crypt of Aquileia. This painting developed under the beneficial influence of Byzantium, for Balkan and Italian artists based on both sides of the Adriatic cooperated in their artistic field.

Through this wall-painting, Aquileia transmitted the expression of the Passion to the entire West and inspired an abundance of artistic achievements which owe their creation to the original in this Italian city⁵⁴. The meaning of the passion and of the human drama in this superb form in the works of the twelfth century (and especially in the wall-painting of Nerezi) was made known to the Western world by the Balkan road that passed through Aquileia. Later art was taught much by this Italian city, and the Renaissance understood the Christian drama in its own way. The Byzantine discernment of the most human of man's expressions, and in particular of his suffering, created the iconographic type of the Funeral Lament. Thus it is neither an Italian product, nor a commentary of the various monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church. It is true that the East had always retained the representation of the lament of the Mother of God, while the tradition of the Latin Middle Ages produced the Stabat Mater, where greater importance is given to the patience and courage of the Mother of God.

In the East, there was an alteration in the iconographic arrangement of the Funeral Lamentation during the thirteenth century, as is seen from the wall-painting in the church of St. Clement (Perivleptos), Ochrid, which dates from the end of that century⁵⁵ (fig. 4). Christ lies in the opposite direction from that which we know from the monuments that we have examined; that is, His head is on the right of the representation. Christ's head is tilted downwards and His body is on the sarcophagus slab. The Virgin neither embraces nor kisses her Son, but is found in the midst of a crowd of other women who weep and mourn. John, Joseph and Nicodemus occupy their usual places, as in the monuments of the twelfth century. In the following centuries, as in the fourteenth century church

53. *L'arte del Patriarcato di Aquileia...*, p. 61 et seq.

54. See R. Volland, *Aquilée...*, pp. 43-44.

55. C. D. Kalokyris, 'H προέλευσις τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων...', pl. 20, fig. a.



Fig. 1. Threnos: church of St. Panteleimon, Nerezi, 1164.



Fig. 2. Threnos: church of Agioi Anargyroi, Kastoria, 11th century.



Fig. 3. Threnos in the crypt of the Aquileia basilica, 11th century.



Fig. 4. Threnos: church of St. Clement (Peribleptos), Ochrid, 13th century.

of St. Athanasius of Mouζάκης (near the Cathedral church of Kastoria)⁵⁶, the small fifteenth century church of the township of Pedoula in Cyprus⁵⁷, and the sixteenth century church of St. John the Theologian, «Mavriotissa», also in Kastoria⁵⁸, new iconographical and artistic elements were added, which either compound or simplify the representation of the Lamentation.

Returning to the West, subsequent to the twelfth century (to which the Aquileia wall-painting belongs), the subject is found again in a paliotto from the end of the thirteenth century which is now to be found in the Vanucci Gallery in Perugia (no. 21)⁵⁹. Here the iconographic type of Aquileia is repeated, except that Christ's position is reversed (viz. His head is on the right of the scene). In this it resembles that of St. Clement (Peribleptos), Ochrid, which is of exactly the same period, for in both of them the downward tilt of Christ's head is to be observed. The paliotto of Guido da Siena to be found in Perugia also belongs to the end of the same century⁶⁰. Christ is represented with His hands crossed, while one of the myrrh-bearing women behind the Virgin holds the palms of her hands to her face shedding tears of grief. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Giotto painted his Funeral Lamentation in the Scrovegni chapel in Padua⁶¹. This representation maintains the Byzantine tradition in part. Here Christ is semi-inclined, surrounded by the holy persons, while the sky is filled with angels. No longer is emphasis given to Byzantine colour, but instead to the living form. This wall-painting is characterised by its dramatic life as indeed is all the pictorial decoration of Padua. Giotto, in his Lamentation, further abstracts his iconography from the Eastern tradition, while at the same time heralding a new period. In the fifteenth century, Botticelli (in his Funeral Lamentation now to be found in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli of Milan⁶², and in another, which is now in the Alte Pinakothek of Munich⁶³, depicts the dead Christ in a way that is both fully naturalistic and anatomically realistic, and surrounds Him with grieving figures. During this period, Western art is of the type of the Pietà, detaching the Virgin and the Dead Christ and representing her with her Dead Son on her knees. This type was chiefly represented in

56. S. Pelekanides, *Kαστοριά...*, pl. 149 a.

57. G. Sotiriou, *Tὰ βυζαντινὰ μυημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου...*, pl. 101.

58. *Ibid.*, pl. 206 β.

59. R. Valland, *Aquilée...*, pl. 15.

60. G. Schiller, *Ikonographie...*, vol. 2, pl. 598.

61. *La peinture italienne, les créateurs de la renaissance* (études critiques de Lonello Venturi) Geneva 1950, pl. 63, and detail, pl. 65.

62. See *Botticelli* (Classici dell'arte, Rizzoli editore, Milano) colour plate 58.

63. *Ibid.*, pl. (small photograph) 134.

sculpture (see the marble Pietà of Michelangelo in St. Peter's, Rome which is dated 1496)⁶⁴.

During the Byzantine period, the depiction of the Funeral Lament of Nerezi was the most classical and representative type of the great passion, which remains a liturgical image in the Christian East. The art of this Serbian wall-painting with its human drama, the emotional expression of pain, and the unrepeatability of its artistic creation, reached Italy by way of the Adriatic Sea and greatly influenced the artistic execution of the wall-painting at Aquileia. Indeed, Otto Demus⁶⁵ maintains that for many years the majority of Italian artists imitated compositions full of passion and drama, such as those at Nerezi. This Serbian representation, together with all the powerful Eastern tradition on this subject, fashioned the iconography of the Lamentation throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Therefore the art of the duecento and the Renaissance owes much to the superb art of Nerezi, since its Byzantine testimony crossed artistic boundaries and influenced the Latin artists to the extent that they created great works of art of personal human piety and devotion.

64. C. D. Kalokyris, 'H Θεοτόκος...', pl. 245.

65. *Byzantine Art and the West*, London 1970, p. 224. The writer mentions that among the Italian painters, either Coppo or one of his assistants painted the scene of the Lamentation on the Cross of San Gimignano in the Museo Civico (pl. 250), repeating the chief characteristics, but placing the figures nearer to each other.

Mélanges

«HONGROIS ET VALAQUES» OU «HONGROVALAQUES» DANS LA «VIE DE S. THÉODOSE DE TĂRNOVO»?

Petre S. Năsturel

Monsieur Emile Turdeanu a relevé dans la *Vie de saint Théodore de Tărnovo* un passage fort intéressant pour l'histoire du rayonnement spirituel de la communauté groupée non loin de Tărnovo, la capitale bulgare d'alors, à Kelifarevo, autour d'un autre Théodore, ascète contemporain du patriarche. La nouvelle de son établissement dans ce nouveau centre de vie orthodoxe, lit-on dans ce texte hagiographique, «s'envolva partout, plus rapide que l'oiseau, non seulement chez le peuple bulgare, mais aussi chez les Serbes, les Hongrois et les Valaques et aussi chez ceux qui vivent autour de Mésembrie»¹.

Le texte original de la *Vita* fut rédigé en grec par l'ex-patriarche œcuménique Calliste I^{er} ou par quelqu'un de ses disciples. Mais seule la traduction slave nous est parvenue². Le caractère ampoulé du récit ressort du simple fragment de citation reproduit ci-dessus. L'allusion aux habitants des alentours de Mésembrie (Nesebăr) concerne, à mon sens du moins, les Grecs, déjà influencés auparavant par le rayonnement de Grégoire le Sinaïte, dont Théodore de Kelifarevo avait suivi l'enseignement à la Parorée, jusqu'à la mort du grand ascète en 1346³.

Mais la mention des Hongrois dans ce concert de peuples orthodoxes ne laisse pas de m'intriguer, surtout parce qu'ils sont énumérés juste avant les

1. E. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIV^e siècle et sa diffusion dans les Pays roumains*, Paris 1947, p. 36 (nous nous sommes permis de modifier légèrement la traduction du savant roumain en y rétablissant le mot Valaques—conformément à la citation slave—, au lieu de celui de Roumains, préféré par notre compatriote: ce qui est du pareil au même, mais plus près de l'original).

2. Le texte a été édité par V. N. Zlatarski, *Žitie i žizn' prepodobnago otca našego Theodosija iže v Trănove postnič'stvovavšago, sápisano svetiteišim patriarhomu Konstantinagrada kyr' Kalistomu*, Sofia 1904 (tirage à part de Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina). Le passage qui nous occupe ici se lit à la p. 23. Le Professeur I. Dujčev, *Medioeyo bizantino-slavo III*, Rome 1971, p. 339, attribue catégoriquement à Calliste la Vie de saint Théodore de Tărnovo. C'est avec intérêt que nous attendons l'édition qu'il prépare de cette source si importante. (Pour la bibliographie y relative, *ibid.*, p. 339, n. 1).

3. E. Turdeanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36. Pour l'emplacement probable du centre de la Parorée, v. I. Dujčev, *loc. cit.*, p. 340.

Roumains⁴. Sous ce terme faudrait-il entendre les orthodoxes roumains de Transylvanie et du Banat, soumis à la couronne de Hongrie? Ce n'est certainement pas le cas, car cela reviendrait à mentionner les Roumains par deux fois. Aussi, je n'hésite pas à croire à une altération du texte. L'original devait parler des Bulgares, puis des Serbes et des *Hongrovalaques* (qui sont les Roumains de l'État valaque) et, enfin, des Grecs de la région de Mésembrie. La Hongrovalachie est l'appellation officielle donnée par les Byzantins à la Valachie tournée du côté de la Hongrie⁵, pour la distinguer de la Valachie de Grèce (Thessalie). Le terme de Οὐγγροβλάχοι se rencontre pour la première fois sous la plume de l'empereur Jean Cantacuzène pour désigner les Valaques du voïvode Basarab Ier vers 1324; on rencontre celui de Οὐγγροβλάχια très souvent dans les sources byzantines de caractère ecclésiastique, de même que dans la titulature en slavon des princes valaques⁶. Rien de plus naturel que l'auteur de la *Vie originale de saint Théodore de Târnovo* s'en soit servi, surtout s'il a nom Calliste, patriarche de Constantinople de 1350 à 1353, puis de 1355 à 1363⁷.

Notre émendation offre l'avantage de circonscrire nettement la zone de réputation du centre monastique de Kelifarevo aux orthodoxes de l'Europe du Sud-Est. Si, comme nous l'apprend Monsieur Turdeanu, une cinquantaine de moines s'y groupèrent autour de Théodore, il n'est pas défendu de croire avec lui qu'il y aura bien eu parmi eux quelques Valaques⁸. La précision relative à Mésembrie dénote que, en dépit de ses fioritures, le passage considéré n'est pas une simple redondance coutumière au style hagiographique⁹. De

4. Évidemment, si l'auteur avait cité les Hongrois après les Valaques, je me serais gardé de toucher au texte, en dépit de la bizarrerie de l'information. Après tout, pourquoi aurait-il parlé des Hongrois (catholiques), quand il ne souffle mot des Albanais, en majorité orthodoxes à l'époque?

5. C'est ce que j'ai déjà affirmé dans mon compte rendu de la 1^{ère} édition des *Byzantino-turcica* de G. Moravcsik (voir dans la *Revue historique du Sud-Est européen* 25 (1946), 297): l'illustre et regretté savant hongrois voyait dans ce vocable une allusion à la suzeraineté hongroise sur la Valachie. Pour plus de détails, E. Stănescu, «L'unité du territoire roumain à la lumière des mentions extérieures (sic!). Le nom de «Valachie» et ses sens (re-sic!)», *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 7/6 (1968), 877-898; D. P. Bogdan, «Diplomatica slavo-romînă», dans le vol. Acad. R. P. Române, *Documente privind istoria Romîniei. Introducere* 2, Bucarest 1956, 78 sqq. et not. 83.

6. Jean Cantacuzène (Corpus de Bonn), I, p. 175, 1. 17; les renvois à la Οὐγγροβλάχια chez G. Moravcsik, *Byzantino-turcica* 2, Berlin, p. 225 (avec quelques omissions qu'il serait oiseux de citer ici). Voir aussi plus bas, notre note 10.

7. Outre E. Turdeanu, *loc. cit.*, voir par ex. W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg et O. Prinz, *Tusculum-Lexikon*, Munich 1963, pp. 273-274.

8. R. Theodorescu, *Bizanți, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale românești (secolele X-XIV)* Bucarest 1974, p. 203 admet, sinon la présence de Roumains de Valachie à Kelifarevo, du moins l'existence d'échos de la doctrine de Théodore au nord du Danube.

9. Restriction suggérée par E. Turdeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 36, tout en admettant que «la popularité dont jouissait le nom de Théodore parmi les Roumains a quelques chances de traduire la réalité même».

même que l'attraction exercée par l'Athos allait bientôt attirer à Kutlumus vers 1369 un groupe de moines «hongrovalaques»¹⁰, de même la renommée du pieux Théodore en aura fait venir aussi à Kelifarevo. L'hésychasme, tel que l'entendait saint Grégoire le Sinaïte, ne devait pas être inconnu en Valachie: le prince Nicolas. Alexandre semble avoir entretenu correspondance avec le fondateur de la Parorée¹¹.

Notre correction s'appuie donc sur l'énumération assez inattendue des Hongrois dans un contexte par principe orthodoxe. Et elle vient «normaliser» les choses. Certes, il faut souhaiter voir apparaître un meilleur texte slavon que celui édité par Zlatarski ou, mieux encore, la découverte de la version grecque originale. C'est alors seulement que, notre émendation devenant un fait, on pourra en tirer les conséquences d'ordre historique qui permettront de se faire une idée un peu plus précise de la vie spirituelle du Sud-Est européen au cours des années qui s'encadrent entre le rappel à Dieu du Sinaïte (1346) et le décès à Constantinople de l'ascète de Kelifarevo (1363).

Paris

10. P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*, Paris 1945, pp. 10-11, 102-105, 110-116, 116-121 et 134-138; P. ř. Năsturel, «Aperçu critique des rapports de la Valachie et du Mont Athos des origines au début du XVI^e siècle», *Revue des Études sud-est-européennes* 2/1-2 (1964), 94-96; R. Theodorescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-228 et *passim*.

11. E. Kourilas et F. Halkin, «Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIV^e siècle)», *Analecta Bollandiana* 59 (1936), 20. Pour le commentaire de l'information: P. ř. Năsturel, «Le Mont Athos et ses premiers contacts avec la principauté de Valachie», *Bulletin de l'Association internationale d'Études du Sud-Est européen*, 1/1-2 (1963), 33, et l'article cité ci-dessus, 123; j'ai signalé ce passage au regretté métropolite Tit Simedrea, «Viața mănăstirească în Țara Românească înainte de anul 1370», *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* 80/7-10 (1962), 675-679, qui en a reconnu l'importance. R. Theodorescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203 voit une «affirmation hyperbolique» dans la mention du nom du voïvode roumain sous la plume de l'hagiographe byzantin édité par Mgr Kourilas et le R. P. Halkin. Mais c'est oublier les liens de parenté unissant le prince de Valachie au tsar bulgare Alexandre, son gendre. Or Grégoire le Sinaïte avait fondé son monastère de la Parorée en territoire appartenant au souverain bulgare, mais sur la frontière avec l'Empire byzantin. L'échange de lettres entre Nicolas-Alexandre de Valachie et l'hésychaste Grégoire peut se référer non seulement à un échange spirituel mais aussi (et surtout) à une aide matérielle roumaine pour la Parorée. Il ne faut pas oublier que c'est ce prince roumain qui posa les bases de l'assistance séculaire de la Valachie envers le Mont Athos en inaugurant les premiers rapports avec Kutlumus (voir bibliographie à la note précédente). Non moins éloquent est l'exemple de l'adoption du prince de Valachie Vlad le Moine par la sultane Mara, fille du despote de Serbie Georges Brankovitch, dans le but de le faire «fondateur» et donc protecteur du monastère serbe par excellence de la Sainte Montagne, Chilandar; c'est ce que l'on apprend d'un chrysobulle de 1492 du voïvode roumain: P. ř. Năsturel, «Aperçu...», 108-109. De même, dans les Pays roumains —Valachie et Moldavie—, il était de règle que les membres de la famille des fondateurs de monastères, princes ou boïars, s'associassent tôt ou tard à leur action ou qu'ils en assumassent la continuation. Certains rapports entre la Valachie, la Parorée et Kelifarevo ont, par conséquent, toutes chances d'avoir effectivement existé.

DE LA DATATION D'UN ÉVANGÉLIAIRE SLAVO-ROUMAN DE VARSOVIE

Petre S. Năsturel

Il faut féliciter Monsieur Rezachevici d'avoir identifié à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Varsovie un manuscrit moldave. Son colophon en proclamait en effet l'origine. Il s'agit en l'espèce d'un tétraévangile écrit sur parchemin et relié sur l'initiative de dame Théodora dite Dragna, fille du burgrave Duma, pour le repos de son âme et de celles de divers membres de sa famille et offert à l'église métropolitaine de Suceava¹.

Plusieurs des personnages mentionnés dans la notice étaient inconnus jusqu'ici (y compris la donatrice du codex). Et M. Rezachevici a profité, comme de juste, de l'occasion pour se lancer dans d'érudites considérations généalogiques, montrant ainsi que Théodora-Dragna était la nièce du prince de Moldavie Étienne le Grand (1457-1504). Son article est renforcé par cinq facsimilés, dont celui du colophon et de deux frontispices.

Deux autres planches reproduisent des miniatures en pleine page, saint Matthieu (f. 11^v) et saint Marc (f. 72^r). Ces miniatures tranchent sur celles des manuscrits moldaves similaires (21 évangéliaires pour l'époque même d'Étienne). Aussi insisterons-nous là-dessus pour compléter, grâce aux photos publiées par l'historien roumain, le peu qu'il en a dit.

En effet, alors que l'art moldave représente les évangélistes dans la totalité du feuillet, écrivant ou dictant leurs souvenirs sacrés, au milieu d'une ambiance d'architecture fouillée et de tradition byzantino-sud-slave, ici Matthieu et Marc sont cantonnés chacun dans un grand cercle bordé, dans le haut et le bas, d'une frise de médaillons. Ceux-ci n'ont pas retenu l'attention de M. Rezachevici. Certes, ces illustrations sont assez peu claires. Mais, si leur coloris nous échappe (le rouge et l'or dominent, nous dit-on), on n'en reconnaît pas moins :

a) dans le cas du feuillet consacré à saint Matthieu: *en haut*, au centre, Jésus-Christ (avec au-dessus de l'encadrement les mots, en slavon, «l'Ancien des Jours»), accosté à dextre et à senestre d'un buste d'archange; *en bas*, les bustes des prophètes Isaac, Abraham et Jacob².

b) dans celui de saint Marc, *en haut*: à nouveau l'Ancien des Jours (encore appelé Jésus-Christ), avec à sa droite le Christ Pantocrator et à sa gauche

1. Constantin Rezachevici, «Un tetraevanghel necunoscut aparținând familiei din spate mamă a lui Ștefan cel Mare», *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* VIII (1975), 161-183 (le colophon aux pp. 166-167, la traduction roumaine p. 168 et le facsimilé p. 168). Le manuscrit se trouve à la Biblioteca Narodowa de Varsovie, sous la cote B.O.Z., sygn. 4.

2. Voir la photo de la p. 167.

la Colombe du Saint-Esprit (posée, semble-t-il, sur le Trône de l'Hétimasie); *en bas*, saint Jean-Baptiste, une étoile à huit pointes (celle de la Nativité?) et un séraphin (ou un chérubin, les détails distinctifs étant indiscernables)³.

Le dessin est plutôt rudimentaire si l'on songe au talent des miniaturistes moldaves du XV^e siècle et du suivant.

Ce manuscrit appelle, indéniablement, une étude plus fouillée. Il est dommage que sa reliure ait disparu⁴: sans doute était-ce un travail d'orfèvrerie, à l'instar de ceux qui sont parvenus jusqu'à nous.

Mais un détail du travail de M. Rezachevici ne nous satisfait point: pour lui, le codex de Varsovie est le huitième tétraévangile connu de l'époque d'Étienne le Grand, l'oncle de la donatrice⁵. J'en doute fort, et voici pourquoi.

Tout d'abord—sans que cette remarque, je le concède, constitue en soi un argument dirimant—les miniatures du manuscrit tranchent nettement sur celles des autres codices du temps de l'illustre voïvode moldave. Et puis, si Théodora est bien la nièce d'Étienne (et M. Rezachevici m'a pleinement convaincu là-dessus), il faut admettre peut-être un certain décalage chronologique entre les générations et envisager la possibilité que le tétraévangile ait été commandé après la mort du prince (1504), disons dans la première ou même dans la seconde décennie du XVI^e siècle, sinon même un peu plus tard.

Or le colophon bien que non daté renferme un élément capital pour l'histoire du codex: l'indication qu'il fut offert à l'église Saint-Georges de la métropole de Suceava⁶.

Pour M. Rezachevici, il s'agit de la vieille cathédrale des métropolites de Moldavie (Moldovalachie), l'église de Mirăuți, dont le vocable fut en effet celui de Saint-Georges⁷. Mais il a perdu de vue que l'édifice fut gravement avarié au XV^e siècle, si gravement même qu'au début du XVI^e siècle on construisit un nouveau sanctuaire, non loin de là. Ce fut le fils d'Étienne le Grand, Bogdan le Terrible (ou le Borgne) qui en commença l'édification en 1513/1514 et son petit-fils, Ștefan I, qui en acheva la construction en 1522. C'est vers cette date que logiquement l'évangéliaire de Théodora-Dragna dut être donné à la nouvelle église, placée elle aussi sous le patronage de saint Georges. L'édifice n'était d'ailleurs pas encore fin prêt: ses peintures furent exécutées de 1532 à 1534 sur l'ordre du prince Pierre Rareș, un fils d'Étienne⁸. C'est dire combien

3. Photo de la p. 166.

4. Son existence se laisse déduire du texte même du colophon (окова сѧ).

5. C. Rezachevici, *loc. cit.*, 165.

6. ...и даде свѣтѣо евангеліе митрополїи Сучавской, идѣже єст храм свѣтого великомъчнника Георгія...

7. C. Rezachevici, *loc. cit.*, 181 et note 100.

8. Nicolae Stoicescu, *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova*, Bucarest 1974, p. 798 (église de Mirăuți) et p. 803 (église du monastère de Saint-Georges, plus connue sous le nom de monastère de Saint-Jean-le-Nouveau, le patron de la Moldavie, dont elle possède les reliques). Sur ces deux monuments voir aussi le volume *Monumente istorice bisericesti din mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei* (préface par Justin, archevêque et métropolite de Moldavie; introd. par V. Drăguț et Corina Nicolescu), Jassy 1974, pp. 155-

l'on a de marge pour assigner quelque chronologie à l'évangéliaire de Varsovie. Ce fut de toute évidence à cet édifice tout nouveau pour l'époque et non à la ruine croulante du XIV^e siècle qu'il aura été offert.

L'objet, qui appartenait ainsi au trésor de l'église métropolitaine de Moldavie, lui en fut arraché dans des circonstances et à une date conjecturées par M. Rezachevici non sans vraisemblance. Le fait est que les armées polonaises qui envahirent la Moldavie en 1595 et 1600 étaient placées sous le commandement du grand hetman Jean Zamoyski. Or le codex de Théodora se trouve attesté dans la bibliothèque d'un de ses descendants, Stanisław Zamoyski, en 1803. Ce qui peut être un indice du sort que connut le manuscrit⁹.

Il est fâcheux que les miniatures des deux autres évangélistes n'existent plus. Sans doute auront-elles arrachées par des mains barbares. Les mêmes peut-être qui dépoillèrent le codex de sa somptueuse reliure. Mais il nous faut faire remarquer que dans l'iconographie des deux autres miniatures la présence de saint Jean-Baptiste et du prophète Isaac ne saurait être fortuite: le fils même de Dragna-Théodora avait nom Jean et l'un des frères de la donatrice s'appelait Isaac, d'après le colophon du codex, qui nomme encore d'autres membres de la famille de cette pieuse personne¹⁰. On peut, dans ces conditions, se demander si les miniatures perdues des évangélistes Luc et Jean ne renfermaient point l'image également de sainte Anne et du prophète Élie. Notre remarque n'est pas futile: elle voudrait être de quelque secours pour identifier grâce à ces détails hypothétiques mais logiquement possibles, les deux feuillets disparus, au cas où ils existeraient encore quelque part...

L'intérêt que suscite donc déjà le tétraévangile slavo-roumain de Varsovie nous fait souscrire au voeu émis par son inventeur de le voir faire l'objet d'une étude fouille et aussi complète que faire se pourra¹¹.

Sorbonne et C.N.R.S., Paris 1975

162 (notamment l'inscription de la nouvelle église métropolitaine, p. 156) et pp. 381-382 (église de Mirăuți).

9. C. Rezachevici, *loc. cit.*, 181-182.

10. Voir aussi le tableau généalogique de la p. 170 et surtout celui hors-texte entre les pp. 182-183.

11. C. Rezachevici, *loc. cit.*, 182 et note 110. (Nous avons jugé inutile d'allourdir de renvois cette simple note qui suppose connues des lecteurs les études parues par les soins de M. Berza, *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, Bucarest 1964 et *Repertoriul monumentelor și obiectelor de artă din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, sans oublier les études fondamentales publiées par E. Turdeanu).

DIE «KRÖNUNG» SYMEONS IN HEBDOMON

Evangelos K. Chrysos

Die Frage nach der angeblichen oder tatsächlichen «Krönung» des Bulgarenherrschers Symeon durch den Patriarchen von Konstantinopel und Reichsregenten Nikolaos Mystikos anlässlich ihrer Begegnung im Jahre 913 ist neuerdings viel diskutiert und sogar als Thema einer Dissertation behandelt worden¹. Der kurze Bericht darüber in den byzantinischen Chroniken, der trotz einiger Varianten sehr wahrscheinlich aus einer und derselben Quelle stammt², läßt jedoch keine zwingende Rekonstruktion der tatsächlichen Ereignisse zu, dafür aber um so mehr Raum für Spekulation. In dieser Miszelle soll nicht zu den verschiedenen Theorien Stellung genommen³, geschweige denn eine neue vorgetragen werden. Sie soll nur einen Punkt hervorheben, der bisher m.E. ungenügend berücksichtigt worden ist, nämlich die Bedeutung des Ortes, an dem vermutlich die Begegnung Symeons mit Nikolaos stattfand, das Hebdomon.

Bekanntlich unterscheiden sich die zwei Zweige der chronographischen Überlieferung, die das Ereignis beschreiben, unter anderem hauptsächlich darin, daß nach dem älteren Zweig der Patriarch zu dem außerhalb der Hauptstadt weilenden Fürsten kommt⁴; dagegen läßt der jüngere Zweig den Fürsten zum Blachernenpalast in die Hauptstadt kommen⁵. Man ist sich in der Forschung nicht einig darüber, welchem der zwei Überlieferungszweige der Vorzug gegeben werden soll⁶; doch nicht nur die plausible Argumentation Stavridou-

1. A. Stavridou-Zafraka, 'Η συνάντηση Συμεών καὶ Νικολάου Μνστικοῦ (Αύγουστος 913) στὰ πλαταία τοῦ βυζαντινού λαργαρικοῦ ἀνταγωνισμοῦ', Thessaloniki 1972, mit ausführlicher Literaturübersicht und Auseinandersetzung mit den verschiedenen diesbezüglichen Theorien.

2. P. Karlin-Hayter, «The Homily on the Peace with Bulgaria of 927 and the 'Coronation' of 913», *Jahrb. d. Österr. Byz. Gesell.* 17 (1968), 29-39, auf S. 34.

3. In der Zeitschrift *Kleronomia* 5 (1973), 441 f. schloß ich mich weitgehend der «Segens-Theorie» an.

4. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ πατριάρχης ἡλθε (έξηλθε) πρὸς Συμεὼν, Theophanes cont. 385, 19 Bonn; Georgius mon. cont. 878, 3 Bonn; Leo gramm. 292, 7 Bonn; Theodosius Melit. 205 Tafel; slavonische Übersetzung Symeons 126 Sreznevskij.

5. ...εἰσήγαγον τὸν Συμεὼν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ συνειστιάθη τῷ βασιλεῖ, Skylitzes 200, 24 Thurn; Cedrenus 282, 18 Bonn; Zonaras 462, 4 Bonn.

6. In jüngster Zeit plädieren Karlin-Hayter, S. 34 f. und Stavridou-Zafraka, S. 110 f. für die Begegnung außerhalb der Stadt. Dagegen lassen Ai. Christophilopoulou, 'Η ἀντιβασιλεία εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον', Athen 1970, S. 54 und R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, Berkeley-

Zafrakas⁷, die den Einzug Symeons in die Stadt als sehr unwahrscheinlich scheinen läßt, sondern bereits der textgeschichtlich einwandfreie Vorrang der älteren, von mehreren Chroniken und durch mehrere Handschriften überlieferten Version⁸ läßt m.E. keinen Zweifel zu, daß sich die zwei Männer *extra muros* trafen⁹.

Gilt somit als sicher, daß die berühmte Begegnung außerhalb der Hauptstadt stattfand, dann kann sie nur in Hebdomon lokalisiert werden. Denn es geht aus dem chronographischen Bericht deutlich hervor, daß sich Symeon mit seinem Heer nach der erfolglosen Belagerung Konstantinopels nach Hebdomon zurückzog und von hier aus die Friedensverhandlungen aufnahm, die zum Treffen mit dem Patriarchen führten¹⁰.

Los Angeles 1975, S. 62, die Begegnung im Blachernenpalast stattfinden. Es sei hier auch an die Meinung V.N. Zlatarskys erinnert, der aus Gründen der bulgarischen Staatsräson, sowie der patriarchalen Würde des byzantinischen Regenten ebenfalls für den Blachernenpalast eintrat, *Istorija na būgarskata dūržava prez srednite vekove*, Bd. I, II, Sofia 1927 (Nachdruck 1971), S. 358 ff., 772 ff.

7. A. a. O., S. 110 f.

8. Wegen der Tatsache, daß Leo grammaticus ήλθε statt ἔξηλθε schreibt, vermutet Karlin-Hayter, S. 34, daß es um eine Neutralisierung des Sachverhalts handelt, die sogar Skylitzes zur Eliminierung des entscheidenden Satzes über den Gang des Patriarchen zu Symeon außerhalb der Stadt geführt habe: «This plain verb (ήλθε) gives the remark a very neutral look, which might induce Skylitzes to drop it». Das Alter der Handschrift jedoch, die Leos *Chronik* enthält, nämlich *Cod. Paris. gr. 1711*, datiert ins Jahr 1013, läßt vielmehr die Vermutung aufstellen, daß die Lesart ήλθε ursprünglicher ist und daß sie erst in der späteren Überlieferung in ἔξηλθε präzisiert wurde. (Die slavonische Übersetzung der *Chronik Symeons*—aus dem 14. Jahrhundert—hat iz'ide (=ἔξηλθε), S. 126 Sreznevskij). Denn alle anderen Textzeugen sind offenbar jünger, G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1 (Berlin 1958), 270 f. und 516 f. Wie G. Moravcsik, S. 517, abschließend zur Textüberlieferung des «Symeon Magistros» schreibt, «das genaue Abhängigkeitsverhältnis wird sich erst nach dem Erscheinen einer kritischen Ausgabe feststellen lassen». Trotz dieser für die ganze chronographische Überlieferung des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts gültigen Feststellung scheint mir die Vermutung Karlin-Hayters zur Entstehung der genannten Variante jetzt schon unhaltbar zu sein. Die Abschrift bzw. Fotokopie der handschriftlichen Textzeugen besorgte mir freundlicherweise Herr Ath. Markopoulos, Athen, der eine kritische Edition des Ps.-Symeon (*Cod. Paris. gr. 1712*) vorbereitet.

9. Zwei Stellen aus der Korrespondenz des Patriarchen Nikolaos lassen ebenfalls den Eindruck gewinnen, daß er den Bulgarenherrscher nicht im Palast begegnete. In seinem 8. Brief, an Symeon, geschrieben im Jahre 914, spricht Nikolaos von ihrer Begegnung im Jahre zuvor als von einem kurzen Treffen, das die Feierlichkeiten eines Besuches des Fürsten im hauptstädtischen Palast ausschließt: Πέρυσιν εἰς ὅψιν ἀλλήλων καταστάντων ἡμῶν..., S. 50, 89 Jenkins-Westerink. Andererseits schrieb Nikolaos in seinem 26. Brief, an Symeon im Herbst 922 von derselben Begegnung wiederum im Sinne eines kurzen Treffens: «Οσα ἐγώ τὴν σὴν φύσιν ἐνόησα τὴν ὀλίγην ἑκείνην ὥραν ἐν ἡ ἐνωθῆναι ὑπῆρξεν, S. 182, 15 Jenkins-Westerink.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε τῶν τειχῶν κατέμαθεν (sc. Συμεὼν) δύνατοτα τὴν τε ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους

Symeons Bereitschaft, Friedensverhandlungen mit den Regenten aufzunehmen, könnte ein ausreichender Grund gewesen sein, warum er das Druckmittel der Belagerung aus seiner Hand fallen ließ, und sich «sieben-Meilen» (=Hebdomon) von der Stadt entfernte¹¹. Wir wissen jedoch, daß der Bulgarenherrscher nicht mit territorialen oder finanziellen Ansprüchen die Hauptstadt erreicht hatte, sondern sich die byzantinische Kaiserkrone zum Ziel gesetzt hatte. Deswegen muß sein Rückzug nach Hebdomon nicht aus seiner Friedensbereitschaft verstanden, sondern im Rahmen dieses besonderen Anspruchs gedeutet werden.

Hebdomon war gewiß nicht nur geographisch gut gewählt worden, um dort das bulgarische Heer stationieren zu lassen¹². Als *Campus Martius* Konstantinopels ausgebaut und organisiert verfügte es über Kaserneneinrichtungen für das dort stationierte Korps der *Theodosiani* und für die offiziellen Militärparaden, die öfters stattfanden¹³. Aber auch diese praktischen Vorzeuge Hebdomons scheinen mir nicht der ausschlaggebende Grund für die Entscheidung Symeons gewesen zu sein. Stand er mit seinem Heer vor der Reichsstadt, um seinen Anspruch auf die Kaiserkrone durchzusetzen, so mußte er das für das byzantinische Krönungszeremoniell passende Milieu finden. Und für diesen Zweck war Hebdomon der ideale Platz. Denn es war hier, wo eine Reihe von

καὶ τῶν ὄπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πετροβόλων καὶ τοξοβόλων ὁργάνων ἀσφάλειαν, τῶν ἐλπίδων σφαλεῖς ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Ἐβδόμῳ ὑπέστρεψεν, εἰρηνικάς σπονδάς αἰτησάμενος. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρόπων ἀσμενέστατα ἀποδεξαμένων, ἀποστέλλει Συμεὼν Θεόδωρον μάγιστρον αὐτοῦ συλλαλῆσαι τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης. ὀναλαβόμενοί τε ὁ τε πατριάρχης Νικόλαος καὶ Στέφανος καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ μάγιστροι τὸν βασιλέα ἡλθον μέχρι τῶν Βλαχερνῶν καὶ εἰσήγαγον τοὺς δύο οὐλοὺς τοῦ Συμεὼν καὶ συνεστιάθησαν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ πατριάρχης ἔξηλθε πρὸς Συμεὼν..., Theophanes cont. 385, 9-19; Georgius mon. cont. 877, 16-878, 4; Leo gramm. 291, 19-292, 8. Fast wörtlich auch bei Skylitzes 200, 16-24 und Cedrenus 282, 9-18. Ähnlich auch bei Zonaras 461, 19-462, 5 und in dem verkürzten Bericht des Ps.-Symeon 721 Bonn (*Cod. Paris. gr. 1712*, f. 262r).

11. Elf Jahre später belagerte Symeon erneut die Hauptstadt. Diesmal blieb er aber unmittelbar vor der Stadtmauer stehen, als er seine Bereitschaft für Friedensverhandlungen zunächst persönlich mit dem Patriarchen und danach mit dem Kaiser bekanntgab: «Ἐγγιστα δὲ Βλαχερνῶν στρατόπεδον πήξας ἐπεξήτησεν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν πατριάρχην Νικόλαον καὶ τινας τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὡστε περὶ εἰρήνης διαλεχθῆναι, Skylitzes 219, 12-14.

12. Auf der breiten Ebene um das neuzeitliche Makrikoj liegt heute der internationale Flughafen Istanbul.

13. Zur Funktion Hebdomons als *Campus Martius* siehe J. B. Thibaut, «L'Hebdomon de Constantinople», *Echos d'Orient* 21 (1922), 31-44, bes. auf S. 33 ff. (Le Champ de Mars ou Kampos), und Th. Makrides, «Τὸ βυζαντινὸν Ἐβδόμον καὶ αἱ παρ' αὐτῷ μοναὶ Ἀγ. Παντελεήμονος καὶ Μάμαντος», *Thrakika* 10 (1938), 137-198 und 12 (1939), 36-8. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, Paris 1964, S. 446-449, mit weiterer Literatur. Zur Topographie siehe den Beitrag von R. Demangel, «Encore le Tribunal de l'Hebdomon», *Αρχαιολογικὴ Εφημερίς*, Jg. 1953/54 (in Memoriam G. P. Oikonomos), Athen 1955, S. 92-98, der die archäologische Diskussion zur Identifizierung der Ruinen abschließt.

Kaiserproklamationen und später auch Kaiserkrönungen stattgefunden hatte. Valens (364)¹⁴, Arkadios (383)¹⁵, Honorius (393)¹⁶, Theodosius II. (402)¹⁷, Marianos (450)¹⁸, Leon I. (457)¹⁹, Basiliskos (475)²⁰, Maurikios (582)²¹, Phokas (602)²² und Leon V. (813)²³ hatten hier in verschiedenen, durch die Zeit bedingten Formen die Legitimation als Kaiser erhalten²⁴.

14. Ai. Christophilopoulou, «Ἐκλογή, ἀγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ Βυζαντίνου αὐτοκράτορος», *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας* Αθηνῶν 22 (Athen 1957), S. 8.

15. *Ibid.*, S. 10.

16. *Ibid.*, S. 10.

17. *Ibid.*, S. 10.

18. *Ibid.*, S. 25-27.

19. *Ibid.*, S. 28-32.

20. *Ibid.*, S. 38.

21. *Ibid.*, (S. 54): folgt R. Guillard, «A propos du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Le Delphax», *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves (Mélanges H. Grégoire II)* 10 (1950), 297 (Nachdruck in *Études de topographie de Constantinople Byzantine* I, [Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten, Bd. 37], Berlin-Amsterdam 1969, S. 72, der das τριβουνάλιον, auf welchem nach Theophanes, S. 252, 8 und Zonaras III, 182 die Krönung des Maurikios durch Tiberios stattfand, mit dem τριβουνάλιον τῶν ιθ' ἀκούβιτων identifiziert. R. Guillard berücksichtigt jedoch dabei die Angabe des *Chronicon Paschale*, S. 690, 12 Bonn, nicht, das zwar die Krönung des Maurikios nicht lokalisiert, den Tiberios jedoch am Tage darauf in Hebdomon sterben läßt: καὶ τῇ δεκάτῃ τρίτῃ τοῦ αὐγούστου μηνὸς ἐστέφθη (sc. Μαυρίκιος) βασιλεὺς... καὶ τῇ ίδ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ αὐγούστου μηνὸς τελευτῇ Τιβέριος νέος Κωνσταντίνος ἐν προκέσσῳ τοῦ Ἐβδόμου καὶ ἐνεχθέντος τοῦ λειψάνου αὐτοῦ πλοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινούπολει τῇ ἔτης ἡμέρᾳ ἐκηδεύθη καὶ ἀπετέθη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ὄγιους Ἀποστόλους. Die zeitliche Abfolge wird auch durch Theophylaktos Simokattes, S. 43, 15 de Boor, bestätigt, der ebenfalls von τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ spricht. Deswegen müssen wir auch seine Ortsangabe ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπαίθρον τῶν βασιλείων αὐλήν, ἥτις παρήνωται τῇ πολυστιβάδι τῶν ἀνακτόρων οἰκίᾳ προσωλίῳ περιφανεῖ καὶ περιδόξῳ τῷ προσκηνίῳ, S. 38, 27-39,2, gegen Guillard auf das Tribunal Hebdomons beziehen. Cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, S. 139 f.

22. Christophilopoulou, S. 56 f.

23. Die Chronisten lokalisieren die Proklamation Leons V. in das πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τριβουνάλιον, Theophanes 502, 23 de Boor. Daß damit das Tribunal Hebdomons gemeint sein muß, wird dadurch ersichtlich, daß der feierliche Einzug in die Stadt nach der Proklamation Leons durch das Goldene Tor (Χρυσῆ πύλη) und an der Kirche Johannes des Täufers (Πρόδρομοι) vorbeiging. Cf. Christophilopoulou, S. 85 f.

24. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, S. 447, stützt sich offenbar auf H. Glück, *Das Hebdomon und seine Reste in Makriköi*, Wien 1920, S. 14 f., bzw. auf Th. Makrides, «Τὸ βυζαντίνον Ἐβδομόν...», *Thrakika* 10 (1938), 144-147,—die in chronologischen Listen die historischen Ereignisse aufführen, die in Hebdomon stattfanden,—, wenn er zu den Kaisern, die dort ausgerufen bzw. gekrönt wurden, zusätzlich auch Zenon (474), Maurikios (582), Leon III. (717) und Nikephoros Phokas (963) einreihet. Wir verfügen jedoch über keine, oder keine sicheren Zeugnisse darüber. So ist der Verweis von H. Glück auf Victor Tonnennensis

Symeon war bekanntlich in Konstantinopel erzogen worden. Dort hatte er sicherlich die in den Quellen nicht direkt greifbare, aber durch die ganze Geschichte der byzantinischen Diplomatie gegenwärtige «Schule» besucht, in der auswärtige Herrschersprosse ihre Jugend in eleganter Geiselstellung verbrachten²⁵. Hier sollten sie neben ihren normalen Schulfächern vor allem in die Reichsideologie, Reichssymbolik und -mystik initiiert werden, deren staatsrechtliche Relevanz gerade durch die Schriften Kaiser Konstantins VII. Porphyrogennetos bekundet wird, des Kindkaisers, dessen Krone im Jahre 913 auf dem Spiel war. Symeon gehört ohne Zweifel zu den besten Schülern seiner byzantinischen Meister. Als er vor der Reichsstadt stand und sich berechtigt fühlte, die Kaiserkrone in offizieller Überbringung durch das legitime Staatsorgan, die Kaiserregenten zu erhalten, muß er gewußt haben, daß Hebdomon die Bedeutung des dazugehörigen Rahmens in idealer Weise erfüllte. Unabhängig davon, was beim Treffen mit dem Patriarchen tatsächlich geschah, und wie es den Byzantinern hinter den verschlossenen Mauertoren die offiziöse Publizistik schilderte, die Auswahl des Treffpunktes durch Symeon bestätigt m.E. unzweideutig die Annahme, daß er wesentlich mehr aus der «Begegnung» erhoffte, als die Byzantiner glaubten vergeben zu können bzw. vergeben zu haben.

Vielleicht auf denselben Tag vor genau hundert Jahren hatte der befürchtete Vorgänger Symeons Krum Hebdomons Anlagen teilweise zerstört, als er mit der Arroganz des Siegers über die byzantinischen Armeen vor der Hauptstadt stand, seinen heidnischen Göttern opferte und nach Guddunken die Friedensverhandlungen aufnahm und abbrach²⁶. Symeon, der χριστιανικώτατος²⁷ und der *semigrecus*²⁸ wußte als Kind des byzantinischen *commonwealth*—im Sinne D. Obolenskys—mehr und war der Bedeutung Hebdomons bewußt, als er nicht weniger als Haupt des Reiches werden wollte.

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für die Krönung Zenons (in Septimo contra consuetudinem coronatur) nicht zwingend, nicht nur weil eine solche Krönung nicht *contra*, sondern *secundum consuetudinem* gewesen wäre, sondern weil diese Angabe durch Theophanes, S. 120, 4 f. widerlegt wird, der unmißverständlich schreibt: (Λέων) ἔστεψε Ζήνωνα τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα ἐν τῷ καθίσματι τοῦ Ἰπποδρομίου. Andererseits ist der Verweis von H. Glück auf Theophanes, S. 502, 23 für die Proklamation Leons III. unrichtig, weil Theophanes an dieser Stelle von Leon V. (!) spricht. Endlich siehe für die Ausrufung des Nikephoros Phokas (für welche Glück fälschlich auf Cont. Porph., de cer. 438 B verweist, um sie damit ins Hebdomon zu versetzen) Christophilopoulou, S. 105 f.

25. Die Frage der Erziehung der auswärtigen Prinzen in Konstantinopel ist einer eigenen Untersuchung wert.

26. Ps.-Symeon 614 Bonn; cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine*, S. 140. Nur wenige Tage zuvor hatte sich in Hebdomon Leon V. zum Kaiser ausrufen lassen: Μετὰ τούτους τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας Λέοντος ἐπελθόν (sc. Κροῦμμος) ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἵπποις τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει..., Theophanes 503,7.

27. Nikolaos Mystikos, ep. 5, S. 26,13 Jenkins-Westerink.

28. Liudprand von Cremona, *Antapodosis* III, 29.

EIN MITTELBULGARISCHES RÄTSEL

Phaedon Malinovus

Vor kurzem wurden die Ergebnisse der langjährigen Ausgrabungen der bulgarischen Archäologen am ehemaligen Hof der Caren des Zweiten Bulgarischen Reiches in Tǔrnovo, durch eine sehr eindrucksvolle zweibändige Ausgabe der breiteren Öffentlichkeit zugänglich gemacht¹. Zu den Funden zählen unter anderem einige mittelbulgarische Inschriften aus dem 13.-14. Jh. (leider sind sie fast alle nur noch als Fragmente erhalten geblieben), von denen dreizehn im 1. Band der genannten Ausgabe von N. Angelov publiziert werden. Im Folgenden werde ich mich mit einer dieser Inschriften kurz befassen.

Es handelt sich um eine fünfzeilige kyrillische Inschrift, deren Text auf einen Kalksteinblock (Abmessungen: 26 cm Länge, 23 cm Breite) eingeritzt wurde. Der Block wurde während der Ausgrabungsarbeiten der Jahre 1946-1951 im nördlichen Teil des ganzen Hofkomplexes zusammen mit Gegenständen und Materialien, die aus dem 13.-14. Jh. stammen, gefunden². Die Lesung des Herausgebers lautet:

(+) Mene rodi bašta mi
 (a)zъ rodichъ ženq si
 (a) žena mi rodi dě-
 (ti) mi a děti mi
 (rodicha) baštinq mi.

Ich lasse hier die Frage nach der Sprache des Textes, die (wie der Herausgeber mit Recht hervorhebt) von den Normen der Sprache der offiziellen Schriftdenkmäler der Kanzlei des Caren abweicht, unberührt; hier möchte ich nur einiges zur Deutung des Textes, den man neulich als «rätselhaft» bezeichnet hat³, beibringen.

Hinsichtlich des Inhalts, begnügt sich der Herausgeber mit der Feststellung daß dieser einem Textpassus des Alten Testaments entnommen sei. Diese Aussage bedarf einer Präzisierung: wir haben es hier mit nichts anderem als mit einem Rätsel zu tun, dessen Lösung der Name einer Person aus dem Alten Testament, Adam, ist. Nur auf diese Weise bekommt der sonst unverständliche Text einen Sinn.:

1. Carevgrad Tǔrnov, *Dvorecūt na bǔlgarskite care prez vtorata bǔlgarska dǔržava*, Bd. 1, Sofia 1973, Bd. 2, Sofia 1974.

2. Vgl. S. 174-176 des 1. Bandes der oben zitierten Ausgabe, sowie Ab. 8 ebd.

3. So I. D(ujčev) in BZ 68 (1975), S. 286.

«Mich (=Adam) zeugte mein Vater (=Gott)
 ich zeugte meine Frau (=Eva)
 und meine Frau gebar meine
 Kinder (=Abel und Kain) und Meine Kinder (=das Volk Israel)
 zeugten meinen Vater (=Jesus Christus, Gott)

Es ist mir nicht bekannt, ob die überlieferten alt- und mittelbulgarischen Denkmäler einen ähnlichen Fall aufweisen, oder ob das durch die Inschrift überlieferte Rätsel das älteste schriftliche Zeugnis für die Pflege dieser kleineren literarischen Gattung im mittelalterlichen Bulgarien darstellt. Mit ziemlicher Sicherheit kann jedoch behauptet werden, daß der Prototyp dieses Rätsels in der mittelgriechischen Literatur zu suchen wäre.

Bekanntlich war das Rätsel in Griechenland, im Altertum wie in der byzantinischen Zeit, eine literarische Gattung, die von vielen Dichtern gepflegt worden ist. Die Byzantinische Epoche hat viele Vertreter aufzuweisen: Dichter wie Joh. Geometres, Joh. Maupous, Christophoros Mytilenaios, Th. Prodromos, Eust. Makrembolites und viele andere haben ihre Kunstscherheit mit der Schaffung solcher Rätsel unter Beweis gestellt, indem sie aus der Antike überlieferte Motive neu bearbeiteten oder neue erdachten⁴. Folgendes von Joseph Bryennios (gest. ca. 1431) verfaßte Rätsel steht, meiner Meinung nach, dem durch die mittelbulgarische Inschrift überlieferten zeitlich und inhaltlich am nächsten: «Mein Vater (=Gott) zeugte mich aus meiner Mutter (=Erde), und ich gebar meine Frau und meine Söhne (=Eva, Abel und Kain) und starb; und aus den Söhnen meiner Söhne (=Volk Israel) wurde die Mutter meines Vaters (=Mutter Gottes) geboren und sie erlöste mich von dem Tode»⁵.

Offensichtlich stellt das mittelbulgarische Rätsel ein, wenn auch nach einer mittelgriechischen Vorlage geschaffenes, literarisches Produkt dar. Wir

4. Unübertroffen bleibt bisher der Umriß von G. Destounis, «Očerki grečeskoj zagadki s drevnich vremen do novych», in *Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveščenija CCCXX* (Juli 1890), S. 65-98, August, S. 262-290. Vgl. auch Ph. Koukoules, *Bυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*. Bd. 1/II, Athen 1948, S. 64-86. Zur Rätselüberlieferung im Abendlande und im Orient (bis 1600) vgl. A. Taylor, *The Literary Riddle before 1600*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1948. Reiche Literaturhinweise bietet L. Witkowski, der sich mit der antiken Rätselüberlieferung bei den Westslaven ausführlich befaßt hat (vgl. *dens. Przekaz antyku w polskiej zagadce literackiej i ludowej*, Toruń 1971 und *dens. Griechisch-römisches Erbe im tschechischen und slowakischen Literarischen- und Volksrätsel*), in *Listy filologiczne* 98 (1975), S. 129-158).

5. »Ο Πατήρ μου ἐγέννησε με ἐκ τῆς Μητρός μου, κάγω ἔτεκον τὴν γυναικά μου καὶ τοὺς υἱούς μου καὶ ἐτεθνήκειν. καν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν υἱῶν μου ἐγεννήθη ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Πατρός μου καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἐλυτρώσατέ με». Zitiert nach N. Τωμαδάκης, *Ο’Ιωσήρ Βρονέννιος καὶ ή Κρήτη κατὰ τὸ 1400*, Athen 1947, S. 53. Vgl. ferner das *Rätsel* von M. Psellos «Ἄντηρ μὲ γεννᾶ καὶ πατήρ ὑπέρ φύσιν/ Ζωὴν καλεῖ με, καὶ θάνατον προσφέρω»=Eva (J. Fr. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, Bd. III., Paris 1831, S. 435) und das von einem Anonymus der spätbyzantinischen Zeit verfaßte: «Ο πατήρ μου ἐγέννησε με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου/ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐγέννησα τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρός μου»=Adam (A. Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, *Παλαιὰ καὶ νεώτερα αἰνίγματα*, *Laographia* 1 (1909), S. 575).

haben es hier mit einem Kunsträtsel zu tun: Stil und Aufbau, der Versuch durch wiederholt verschlüsselte Aussagen das Erraten der Lösung zu erschweren, bezeugen, daß es nicht aus der volkstümlichen Rätseltradition stammt⁶. Freilich Rätsel, die einen biblischen Bezug haben, sog. «biblische Rätsel», sind der Volksüberlieferung nicht fremd; sie haben jedoch eine andere Gestalt, ihre Überlieferung ist überschaubar.

Als Epimetron sei hier einiges über das volkstümliche Adam-Rätsel gesagt: anders als das oben behandelte ist dieses von einer relativ einfacheren Gestalt: «Wer ist in dieser Welt ohne Vater und Mutter geboren?»⁷. Das Bild Adams als des «nicht-geborenen» ist in der Rätselüberlieferung aller Völker Europas zu finden. Erwähnt sei z.B. das Adam-Rätsel aus Böhmen, das der böhmische Benediktiner Magister Claretus (gest. ca. 1379) schon um die Mitte des 14. Jhs in seinen Werk *Aenigmaticus*, einer Sammlung von 186 vorwiegend volkstümlichen Rätseln, aufgenommen hat:

«Non natus moritur, utero matris sepelitur:
Adam non natus de terra matre creatus»⁸.

Auch die Quelle des volkstümlichen bulgarischen Adam-Rätsels ist leicht erkennbar: es ist eine jener Volkszyklopädien des Mittelalters, eines der sog. *Frage- und Antwortbücher*, die unter dem Namen *Joca Monachorum*, «Ἐρωτήματα» usw. im Osten wie im Westen Europas bis zur unserer Zeit hin weit verbreitet waren⁹. Aus diesem kurzen Exkurs ergibt sich, glaube ich, daß das

6. Über den Unterschied zwischen Volks- und Kunsträtsel vgl. Taylor, *a.a.O.*, S. 1-10.

7. «Koi se e rodil na ovai svet bes tetko i bez maika?» Zit. nach Ch. P. Stoilov, «Klasifikacija i stilistični objasnenija na bûlgarskite narodni gatanki» in *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija i narodopis* XXX(1914), S. 141. (Die bisher vollständigste Sammlung bulgarischen Rätselguts.). In der Arbeit von L. Sadnik, «Südosteuropäische Rätselstudien», *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, Ergänzungsband I., Graz-Köln 1953, werden bulgarische Volksrätsel behandelt, die Naturerscheinungen zum Gegenstand haben (reiche, weiterführende Literatur!). Zum bulgarischen Rätsel vgl. noch Ch. Vakarelski, *Etnografija na Bûlgarija*, Sofia 1974, S. 668-670 und das, mir z. Zt. unzugängliche, Werk von St. Georgieva-Stojkova, *Bûgarski narodni gatanki*, Sofia 1970.

8. V. Flajšhans (ed.), *Klaret a jeho družina*, Sv. 2, *Texty glossované*, Prag 1928, S. 72, 184-185. Zu der Rätselsammlung Klarets vgl. *dens.* «Klaretovy hádanky», in *Sborník prací věnovaných profesoru dru. Janu Máchalovi k sedmdesátým narozeninám* (Prag 1925), S. 298-306; vgl. noch die Neuedition von Fr. Peachy, *Clareti Enigmata, The Latin Riddles of Claret*, Folklore Studies No. 7, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1957.

9. Zur «Frage- und Antwortliteratur» als Quelle für südslavische Volksrätsel vgl. Sadnik *a.a.O.*, S. 15 ff. Für den lateinischen Westen vgl. M. Hain, *Rätsel*, Stuttgart 1966, S. 7-13. In einem, aus dem 18. Jh. stammenden, neugriechischen *Frage- und Antwortbuch* (Ἐρώτησις πλαισίου ἀπόκρισις) ist das Bild des «nicht-geborenen» Adam wiederzufinden: 'Ερ.: «Τις μὴ γεννηθεὶς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀποθανὼν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτάφη;» 'Απ.: «Ο 'Αδάμ». 'Ερ.: «Τις τὴν ιδίαν θυγατέρα ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα;» 'Απ.: «Ο 'Αδάμ τὴν Εὕαν, (ἡ) ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἦν». (C. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Chicago 1969 (Reprint d.

hier erörterte mittelbulgarische Rätsel, kein Volksrätsel sondern ein unmittelbar aus einer byzantinischen Vorlage übernommenen Kunsträtsel ist.

Münster/Westf.

Ausg. 1903), S. 320). Entsprechend lauten auch rumänische Volksrätsel:—«Cine nu s-a născut și a murit?—Adam strămoșul—Cine la moartea lui a intrat în pîntecele maichi-sii?—Tot Adam strămoșul», (zitiert nach B. Petriceicu-Hasdeu, *Etymologicum Magnum Romaniae*, Bd. I., Bukarest 1972, S. 196).

A PROPOS DE DEUX NOUVELLES REPRÉSENTATIONS
DE «L'ENFANT BASILE» DANS LE CYCLE DE SAINT NICOLAS

Anna Tsigouridou

Dans l'église de la Vierge Ljeviška, à Prizrène, et dans celle de Saint Nicolas à Psača, il y a un cycle représentant la vie et les miracles de Saint Nicolas¹. Au cours d'une visite nous avons constaté que, parmi les scènes plus ou moins connues, il existe deux qui étaient restées jusqu'à ce jour inaperçues et, de ce fait, n'avaient pas été identifiées. Malgré les déteriorations subies, surtout dans les représentations de Ljeviška, certains débris d'images conservés nous aidèrent à les identifier: les deux ont le même sujet.

De la représentation de Ljeviška², des restes seulement ont été conservés dans le tambour sud de la voûte d'arête orientale du transept sud, où est représenté le cycle de Saint Nicolas: devant l'édifice qui porte une ouverture, est représenté Saint Nicolas. Il tient dans sa main gauche un livre richement décoré, tandis que sa main droite est dirigée vers l'ouverture de la façade. A droite, on aperçoit la figure d'un homme debout, d'un âge que son visage abîmé rend incertain, vêtu de blanc et portant un couvre-chef inconnu (turban?). Il tient une coupe dans ses mains.

La plus grande partie de la représentation de Psača a été conservée (pl. 1). Deux groupes s'y font face, dont l'un comprend quatre personnages debout et l'autre groupe, deux. A l'extrême-gauche, on voit un moine vêtu d'une longue tunique de couleur foncée et d'un habit blanc avec un capuchon noir sur la tête. Il est tourné du côté droit, les mains étendues en avant, dans une atti-

1. A Psača, la représentation de la vie de Saint Nicolas était chose naturelle, puisqu'il était le patron de l'église. Ici, le cycle comprend, à part l'épisode de Basile, l'entrée du petit Saint à l'école, le sauvetage d'un matelot au cours d'un naufrage, le récit du sauvetage de trois généraux en quatre épisodes et la Dormition du Saint (P. Popović - V. Petković, *Staro Nagoničino-Psača-Kalenić*, Beograd 1933, pp. 52 et suiv., table XIV, 1-2). Quant à l'église de la Vierge de Ljeviška, la représentation de la vie de Saint Nicolas est due à l'ampleur qu'avait prise le culte du Saint dans la Serbie médiévale, et qui trouve encore son expression dans la peinture contemporaine. Le cycle est représenté sur la voûte d'arête orientale du transept sud; les scènes qui y ont été conservées sont: la naissance, l'école, les trois ordinations, l'assistance pécuniaire au père des trois jeunes filles, le miracle de Basile, ainsi que deux épisodes du sauvetage des trois généraux (apparition dans le songe du roi Constantin et de l'éparche Avlavios).

2. L'image se trouve en si mauvais état qu'il ne servirait de rien d'en prendre une photographie; nous nous sommes donc contentés d'en donner une description. Les trois photographies publiées ont été prises de la collection photographique du Musée National de Belgrade (nos 5483, 5790, 5791).

tude qui dénote la conversation ou la surprise. On voit ensuite une figure de femme, grande et frêle, trop abîmée pour être facilement discernable. Tournée elle aussi vers la droite, elle porte un long vêtement qui lui couvre la tête; ses mains ont la même attitude que celle du personnage précédent. Devant elle est représentée une figure d'homme qui porte une longue tunique à longues manches. Il étend sa main droite dans l'attitude de la parole, tandis que sa main gauche s'appuie sur son bras droit. La tête est complètement abîmée. Exactement au centre de l'image, on voit un jeune homme à tunique courte. Il se dresse de face, mais étend ses mains vers la droite, tandis que sa tête est tournée à gauche, comme s'il discutait avec le personnage précédent. Du côté droit de la représentation, on distingue deux figures qui sont tournées vers le premier groupe.

On voit d'abord un garçon vêtu d'une courte tunique à longues manches; il tient une coupe de sa main droite et une cruche de vin de sa main gauche. Il porte autour du cou une pièce d'étoffe blanche brodée, ressemblant à un essuie-mains. Exactement derrière lui, à l'extrême-droite de l'image, on voit Saint Nicolas revêtu de ses vêtements épiscopaux et tenant de la main gauche un encensoir fermé. Son visage est complètement abîmé.

Des éléments iconographiques mentionnés dans la description des deux représentations, en particulier l'enfant avec la cruche de vin et la coupe ou seulement avec la coupe, en conjonction avec les textes se rapportant à la vie et aux miracles de Saint Nicolas³, nous aident à identifier l'épisode représenté. Il s'agit de la délivrance par l'intervention de Saint Nicolas de l'enfant Basile arraché de sa captivité chez les Sarrasins et de son retour à la maison.

Le miracle eut lieu après la mort de Saint Nicolas et appartient au cycle de ses miracles se rapportant aux délivrances de la captivité des Sarrasins⁴. Tous ces miracles, qui prirent place au cours du 9ème et du 10ème siècle, contiennent un fond de vérité historique, qui n'est autre que les luttes de Byzance contre les pirates Arabes sur les côtes de l'Asie Mineure, en Crète, dans les îles de la mer Egée et en Sicile. Le récit concernant Basile se déroule sur les côtes de la Lycie, où il vécut, ainsi qu'en Crète où il fut emmené captif⁵.

3. L'épisode se trouve dans «Thaumata tria», «Vita Acephala», et «L'Encomion de Néophyte» (cf. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos—Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, t. I, Leipzig-Berlin 1913, pp. 188-95, 273-5, 409-10, et t. II, 1917, pp. 407-8).

4. D'autres miracles appartenant au même groupe sont ceux qui ont trait à Petros Scholarios, au général de la Cappadoce, au prêtre de Mytilène, à celui de Sicile, d'Evripus et de Catane (cf. Anrich, *op. cit.*, t. II, pp. 402 et suiv.).

5. D'après les textes, Basile était fils d'un paysan; il habitait sur les côtes de Lycie près de Myra. Ce paysan avait l'habitude, tous les ans à l'anniversaire de la mort du Saint, de célébrer sa mémoire en offrant un festin chez lui. A un de ces jours anniversaires, il envoya son plus jeune fils à l'église du Saint, à Myra. Il y eut malheureusement une incursion de Sarrasins qui se saisirent de tous qui étaient là et les emmenèrent en Crète. Tous les captifs furent vendus comme esclaves, à l'exception de Basile qui fut donné à l'Emir. Celui-ci, en vue du jeune âge et de la beauté de l'enfant, lui confia seulement la besogne de servir le vin à sa table.

Ce miracle de Saint Nicolas n'est pas de ceux qui sont si souvent représentés dans la peinture murale et les icônes portables. On le rencontre pour la première fois dans la crypte de Santa Annunziata, près d'Amalfi (début du 12ème siècle)⁶, et un peu plus tard, sur une icône du Mont Sina (fin du 12ème siècle)⁷, ainsi qu'à Bojana, en Bulgarie⁸. Au 14ème siècle, nous le retrouvons sur une icône de Chypre⁹ et, peut-être aussi, dans l'église en ruines de l'Acropole de l'île de Chalki dans le Dodecanèse où, parmi d'autres représentations du cycle de Saint Nicolas, il en existe une très abîmée dans laquelle on distingue des figures assises à une table rectangulaire¹⁰.

L'unique fresque de cet épisode connue jusqu'à ce jour dans la peinture serbe médiévale était celle de l'église de Saint Nicolas à Ramaća¹¹; elle présente un intérêt tout particulier du point de vue iconographique. Ici, la représentation est donnée en deux scènes: au moment où le Saint à cheval¹² enlève Basile de la maison de l'Emir (pl. 2) et au moment où, toujours à cheval, il le remet à ses parents¹³ (pl. 3). Le plus curieux, toutefois, est que dans la première scène il existe des inscriptions serbo-turques à côté de l'Emir et de sa femme qui, saisis d'épouvanter ainsi que l'indiquent leurs gestes, suivent des yeux l'enlèvement de leur jeune serviteur. Dans ces inscriptions, l'Emir implore le Saint de ne pas le tuer, tandis que sa femme invoque l'aide de Dieu¹⁴. L'existence de ces inscriptions, la composition en général avec ses particularités propres, ont été expliqués par la présence des Turcs en Serbie après la bataille de Kosovo¹⁵,

L'année suivante, au jour de la fête du Saint, les parents de l'enfant, en dépit de leur chagrin, offrirent le festin habituel. Au moment de s'asseoir à table, ils entendirent des aboiements de chiens et, s'étant rendus dans la cour, il virent leur fils en habits arabes, c.-à-d. vêtu d'une courte tunique blanche, une coiffure arabe sur la tête et tenant de ses mains la coupe et la cruche de vin. Ce fut exactement au moment où il servait le vin à la table de l'Emir qu'il fut enlevé par le Saint et transporté auprès de ses parents.

6. E. Berteaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, t. I, Paris 1904, p. 281, fig. 106.

7. Γ. καὶ Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Eἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, Athènes 1956-1958, t. I, fig. 165, t. II, pp. 146 et suiv.

8. A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris 1928, p. 130, pl. XVII.

9. D. Talbot-Rice, *The Icons of Cyprus*, London 1937, p. 191, pl. VI, 2b.

10. Cet épisode ne s'identifie avec aucun d'autres que rapportent les textes. Les fresques de Chalki, qui n'ont pas encore été publiées, se trouvent en fort mauvais état.

11. Br. Knežević, «Crkva u selu Ramaći», *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 4 (1968), 121 et suiv. et particulièrement en ce qui concerne cet épisode 143 et suiv. Aujourd'hui, l'église est consacrée aux Saints Constantin et Hélène et les fresques y datent de la fin du 14ème siècle.

12. C'est la seule fois où, dans la représentation de cet épisode, on voit le Saint voler à cheval. Les textes mentionnent que Basile fut transporté «en l'air» (cf. Anrich, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 194, 410).

13. Les images apparaissent, chronologiquement, en sens inverse. Ainsi, on voit le retour de Basile chez lui (à l'extrémité ouest de la troisième zone du mur sud) avant son enlèvement de la maison de l'Emir (à l'extremité sud du mur ouest, dans la troisième zone).

14. Knežević, *op. cit.*, 144.

15. En 1389 (Voir Knežević, *op. cit.*, 145 et suiv.).

d'autant plus que, comme il a été déjà soutenu, il n'existe pas d'autres représentations antérieures, c.-à-d. dans la période où florissait l'Etat Serbe¹⁶.

Les représentations de Ljeviška et de Psača sont plus simples, moins détaillées que celles de Ramaća; elles ne montrent, en effet, que le moment où Basile arrive chez lui et se rencontre avec ses parents. Ce genre de représentation est aussi le plus répandu. En effet, tandis que nous ne rencontrons la double scène, celle de l'enlèvement et du retour, à part celle de Ramaća, qu'à Santa Annunziata¹⁷ et sur l'icône du Mont Sina¹⁸, l'autre type plus simple se retrouve à tous les autres monuments connus. Ce sont les représentations de Bojana, de Chalki, l'icône de Chypre et celle de Dečani¹⁹. Sur l'icône de Chypre²⁰, on voit à gauche le Saint conduisant le petit Basile à ses parents lesquels, assis à une table en demi-cercle, ont les bras levés en signe d'étonnement. Sur l'inscription on lit: «Saint Nicolas sauvant l'enfant». Sur l'icône de Dečani, trois hommes et une femme, apparemment la mère de l'enfant, sont assis à table, tandis que le petit garçon se tient auprès du Saint.

Il est vrai que les monuments connus à ce jour sont trop peu nombreux pour que nous puissions procéder à de plus amples observations iconographiques ou mieux étudier le développement typologique du sujet. L'important, toutefois, est qu'avec la découverte de ces deux représentations, celle de Ljeviška et celle de Psača, non seulement le nombre des représentations connues s'en trouve augmenté mais encore un problème se pose, celui de leur existence dans la peinture médiévale du pays voisin. En effet, cet épisode avec son noyau historique a un rapport plus direct avec les Grecs et les luttes qu'ils soutinrent, qu'avec cette région des Balkans. La présence des Turcs en Serbie ne donne pas d'explication satisfaisante, surtout après la découverte de deux nouvelles représentations antérieures à la bataille de Kosovo. A notre avis, la présence de cet épisode dans les monuments serbes du 14ème siècle mentionnés ci-dessus, du moins en ce qui concerne ceux de Ljeviška et de Psača, s'explique par l'origine grecque des peintres.

On sait, grâce à l'inscription²¹ au-dessus de l'entrée principale, que «As-

16. *Ibid.*, p. 145, ce qui ne se trouve plus être vrai après la découverte de scènes semblables à Ljeviška et à Psača. Il est plus souvent représenté dans la période post-byzantine (voir Knežević, *op. cit.*, 145).

17. Berteaux, *op. cit.*, fig. 106. Dans la première scène, on voit trois figures assises à table dont deux portent des turbans blancs. Basile se tient à droite, une essuie-mains jetée sur l'épaule et tenant de sa main droite une cruche. Le Saint est absent. Dans la seconde scène, trois personnages sont assis, toujours à table. Du côté gauche on voit venir le Saint et Basile, tandis que sa mère s'empresse de l'accueillir.

18. Σωτηρίου, *op. cit.*, fig. 165. Ici, l'enlèvement de l'enfant est effectué de la tente de l'Emir, à gauche. La seconde représentation est celle, bien connue, de l'arrivée du Saint et du petit chez lui. Trois personnages sont peints assis à table, celui du milieu étant une femme.

19. L. Mirković, «Ikone manastira Dečana», *Starine Kosova I Metonije*, t. II-III (Priština 1963), p. 46, fig. 54.

20. Voir note 9.

21. D. Panić - G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, Beograd 1975, pp. 22 et suiv.

trapas» fut peintre de l'église de Prizrène. Il s'agit, selon toute probabilité, du peintre grec Michel Astrapas de la Perivleptos d'Ohride, du Saint Nikitas et du Staro Nagoričino²². En ce qui concerne le peintre de Psača, il y a une divergence d'opinions: P. Miljković-Pepek²³ soutient que le peintre auquel, à ce qu'il croit, appartient le nom de «Merkuri» inscrit sur l'épée de Saint Mercure, est un Serbe qui a appris le grec en travaillant dans les ateliers de peintres grecs. Au contraire, V. J. Djurić²⁴ est d'avis qu'au moins l'un des peintres de Psača était un Grec vivant dans le milieu serbe, du fait que l'on discerne dans certaines inscriptions mixtes slavo-grecques un mauvais emploi de la langue serbe. Le même savant serbe n'exclut pas le cas selon lequel ce peintre s'appela Merkurios; en même temps, il exprime l'opinion que l'existence d'un nom sur les armes ou sur les habits des Saints, lorsque ce nom n'est pas accompagné du mot «peintre» ou de l'expression «de la main du peintre», ou encore seulement par les mots «de la main», ne signifie pas nécessairement qu'il s'agit du nom du peintre.

Ainsi, nous croyons que l'existence de la représentation du miracle de Basile dans l'église de Psača, affirme, d'une certaine manière, l'opinion de Djurić, qu'un des peintres de cette église-là fut Grec.

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22. V. S. Djurić, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1974, pp. 49 et suiv.

23. P. Miljković-Pepek, «Zograf 'Merkuri' —Jedan od autora fresaka crkve Sv. Nikole u Psači», *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 7 (1971), 219 et suiv.

24. V. S. Djurić, «Ime Merkurije iz Psače», *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 7 (1971), 229 et suiv.

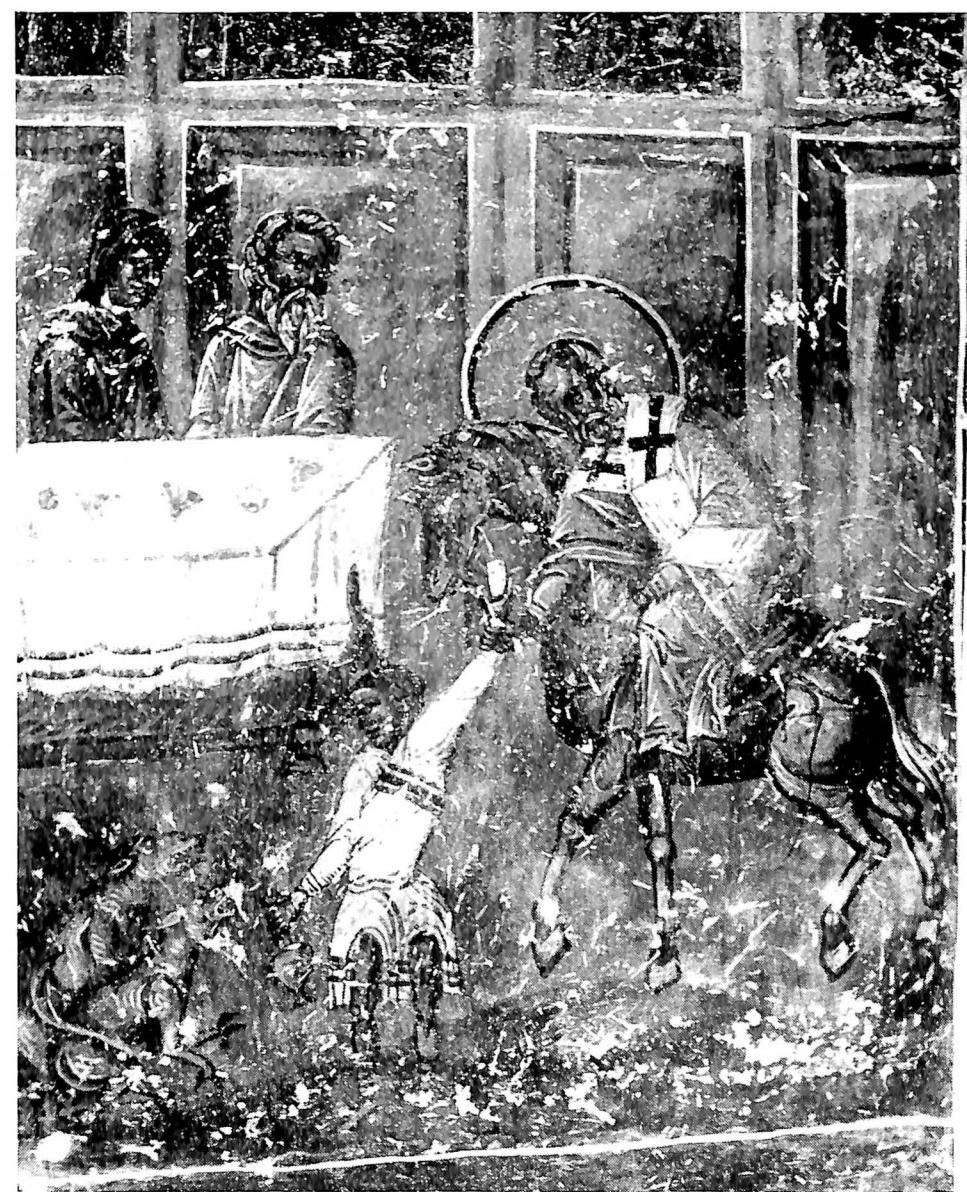
Planche 1



Planche 2



Planche 3



SUR LES TRACES D'UN ACTE DU TSAR IVAN ALEXANDRE

Antoine-Emile N. Tachiaos

Contrairement à ce qui est valable pour Byzance et la Serbie, en ce qui concerne les chartes et les diplômes de leur souverains du Moyen Age, du passé bulgare nous ne possédons qu'un nombre très limité de pareils actes. On se serait tenté de croire que les tsars bulgares n'avaient pas promulgué autant de chartes que les basileis byzantins et les souverains des autres pays voisins, mais lorsqu'on se rend compte de la forme et du contenu des actes qui sont conservés jusqu'à présent, il est difficile de croire que la chancellerie des tsars bulgares n'ait pas fonctionné aussi activement que celle des autres souverains voisins. La vraie cause de la pauvreté en chartes bulgares que l'on constate, doit être recherchée dans le fait que la Bulgarie avait subi la conquête totale de son territoire par les Turcs, avant les autres pays balkaniques¹. Les monastères et les foyers culturels ayant été dévastés par le conquérant, un grand nombre de monuments littéraires et autres ont péri à jamais. Ceci étant donné, il serait très utile pour la recherche de l'histoire et de la culture bulgares du Moyen Age de retrouver au moins les traces laissées par les monuments littéraires de cette époque qui ont disparu. C'est dans une telle perspective que nous croyons avoir découvert les traces d'un acte du tsar Ivan Alexandre, acte qui n'a pas été conservé, mais dont l'existence dans le temps nous est témoignée indirectement par une source hagiographique du XIV^e siècle.

Vers l'année 1335 le fameux maître hésychaste byzantin, Grégoire le Sinaïte², accompagné d'un nombre de disciples grecs et slaves, vint s'installer à

1. Sur la catastrophe apportée par la conquête turque aux monastères de la Bulgarie ainsi qu'aux monuments littéraires du passé bulgare voir I. Snegarov, *Turskoto vladicestvo prečka za kulturnoto razvitie na bălgarskija narod i drugite balkanski narodi*, Sofia 1958, pp. 145-149, 151-176. Cf. G. Nešev, «K voprosu o sostojanii bolgarskikh cerkvej i monastyrej v pervye stoletija osmanskogo vladyčestva», *Études historiques* V (Sofia 1970), 273-290.

2. La Vie de Grégoire a été publiée par I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie iže vo svyatych otca našego Grigorija Sinaita po rukopisi Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*, St-Pétersbourg 1894 (Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskago Fakulteta Imperatorskago S-Peterburgskago Universiteta № 35). Cf. Afonskij paterik ili žizneopisanie svyatych na svatoj Afonskoj gore prosijavšich I, Moscou 1897, pp. 318-340; I. Sokolov, *Žitie iže vo svyatych otca našego Grigorija Sinaita*, Moscou 1904; P. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke. Tom I, vyp. 1. Vremja i žizn' patriarcha Evfimija Ternovskago*, St-Pétersbourg 1896, pp. 61-110, 149-156; K. Radčenko, *Religioznoe i literaturnoe dviženie v Bolgarii v epochu pered tureckim zavoevaniem*, Kiev 1898, pp. 51-168; J. Bois, «Grégoire le Sinaïte et l'hésychasme à l'Athos au XIV^e siècle», *Échos d'Orient* V (1901-1902), 65-73; V. Sl. Kislov, *Grigorij Sinait predstavitel na mistici-zma v Vizantija prez XIV vek*, Sofia 1928, et E. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIV^e siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays roumains*, Paris 1947, pp. 5-15.

un endroit situé près de la frontière byzantino-bulgare, qui à l'époque était appelé Paroria³. Dans l'intérieur de cette région il y avait une montagne, la Katakekryomeni, où Grégoire se retira avec ses compagnons et construisit un grand monastère, auquel il annexa trois autres bâtiments monastiques plus petits. Bien que se trouvant à un endroit si lointain, la communauté monastique de Grégoire était constamment dérangée par des brigands. A la peur, provoquée par les attaques des brigands, en 1341 vint s'ajouter l'horreur provoquée par les rumeurs, d'après lesquelles une attaque des Mongols de Kipcak, qui avaient sous les ordres du khan Özbeg, était imminente⁴. Devant un tel danger, Grégoire le Sinaïte dont le monastère se trouvait sur le sol bulgare, prit la décision de s'adresser au tsar Ivan Alexandre et de demander sa protection. En fait le généreux tsar bulgare ne tarda pas à exprimer, de la façon la plus somptueuse, son intérêt pour la communauté du Sinaïte. En voici comment les détails de la bienveillance d'Ivan Alexandre sont racontés par le biographe de Grégoire, qui n'est autre que son disciple Calliste, futur patriarche de Constantinople: 'Αλλ' ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος καὶ ὑψηλότατος βασιλεὺς τῶν Βουλγάρων, διαφερόντως ἀρετὴν καὶ τοὺς ταύτην μετερχομένους ἄγιους ἄνδρας τιμῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐκείνου θεοφιλεῖς λόγους ἀσμένως δεξάμενος, χρήματά τε ἵκανά εὐμενῶς ἀποστέλλει καὶ παντοίαν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν εἰς διατροφὴν τῶν ἐκεῖ, διά τε τὰς μεγάλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μισθαποδοσίας καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτων καθ' ἔκαστην πρὸς αὐτὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἀναπεμπομένας εὐχάς τε καὶ εὐλογίας· διὰ ταῦτα καὶ πύργον ἐκ βάθρων ἀνοικοδομεῖ στερρώτατον καὶ ἴσχυρότατον εἰς ὑψος τε ἐπηρμένον, ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον πηγνύει καὶ ἀνεγείρει κατὰ τὸ πρέπον κελλία καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ὑπηρεσίαν βασιλικῶς καὶ πλουσίως οἰκονομεῖ καὶ καταγωγὴν καὶ ἀνάπτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν ζώων, καθάπερ ὅρπται μέχρι καὶ νῦν παρὰ πάντων τῶν ψυχικῆς χάριν ὀφελείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως ἐκεῖσε ἀφικνουμένων. Ποῦ δ' ἂν εἴη τῶν δικαίων τὴν ἐτέραν μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ μετὰ συμπαθείας φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως τοῦδε παραδραμεῖν, καὶ ὅπως προάστεια κτήματα, ἔτι καὶ λίμνην ὑπερμεγέθη βιβάρια ἔχουσαν εἰς παντοίων ἰχθύων

3. L'identification de cette localité a fait l'objet de débats parmi les savants. De la bibliographie relative voir V. Sl. Kiselkov, «Srednovekovna Parorija i Sinaitovijat monastir», *Sbornik v čest na Vasil N. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925), 103-118; G. P. Ajanov, *Strandža. Etnografski i istoričeski proučavanija*, Sofia 1938, pp. 160; *idem*, «Stari manastiri v Strandža. Prinos kām vāprosi za mestonachoždenieto na Sinaitovijam manastir», *Izvestija na Bălgarskija Archeologičeskija Institut* XIII (1941), 253-264, et N. A. Bees, «Ein Buchgeschenk an das Madonnen-Katakekryomeni-Koster», *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 15 (1938), Athènes 1939, 187-195. Il paraît que le problème soit résolu avec l'article de G. Gorov, «Mestonachoždenieto na srednovekovnata Parorija i Sinaitovija monastir», *Istoričeski pregled* XXVIII (1972), knižka 1, 64-75.

4. Voir R. J. Loenertz, «Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Acindyne analysées et datées», *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XXIII (1957), 122-124, et V. Laurent, «L'assaut avorté de la Horde d'Or contre l'empire byzantin (Printemps-été 1341)», *Revue des Etudes byzantines* XVIII (1960), 145-162.

ἄγραν, πρόβατά τε καὶ βόας ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια πλεῖστα εἰς θεραπείαν τῶν μοναχῶν, ὡς ἐνταῦθα ἐπικάίρως ἢν εἴη λέγειν καὶ ἄγαν ἡρμοσμένως καὶ προσηγόντως καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐτὴν προαιρεσιν τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως ἐξισοῦν τῇ μεγαλοφύᾳ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ ἀγίου βασιλέως τοῦ Βατάτζη κυροῦ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ καὶ τὴν σεβασμίαν τῶν Σωσάνδρων μονὴν ἀνεγείραντος ἐξ αὐτῶν κρηπίδων, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ διάπυρον πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς μοναχοὺς αἰδῶ καὶ τιμῆν⁵. Mais cet admirable et très grand roi des Bulgares, qui témoigne de l'intérêt pour la vertu et honore les hommes saints, et qui pour cette raison avait accueilli avec grand plaisir les paroles saintes de celui-ci (c.-à-d. de Grégoire), lui envoie avec bienveillance une quantité suffisante de provisions et toute autre victuaille pour la subsistance de ceux qui vivaient à cet endroit. Et cette donation a été faite pour les grandes mérites de Dieu et pour les prières et les bénédictions que ceux-ci (les moines) journellement rendent à Dieu pour son âme (c.-à-d. du tsar). C'est pourquoi il construisit (le tsar) une tour très haute, solide et puissante, aussi érige-t-il une église et édifie, d'après les besoins, des cellules. Aussi arrange-t-il de façon royale et richement tous les autres services et il fait faire des étables et des commodités pour les animaux, tels que tous ceux qui y viennent jusqu'à l'heure présente peuvent les voir. Il serait vraiment injuste de passer sous silence l'autre acte de générosité que le très grand roi a fait avec affection et émulation, à savoir qu'il a offert des propriétés foncières, de même que des viviers énormes pour la pêche de toutes sortes de poissons, aussi il a offert des moutons et des boeufs et plusieurs bêtes de somme pour les besoins des moines, en nombre plus grand que l'on puisse énumérer. Il serait opportun et convenable de raconter, et en même temps de mettre à un niveau égal cette intention royale du très grand roi avec le génie du regretté et saint roi kyr Jean Vatatzès, qui, pour l'amour de Dieu et l'honneur et le respect qu'il éprouvait pour les moines, érigea le vénérable couvent de Sosandra.

La version grecque de la *Vie de Grégoire le Sinaïte* est la source la plus riche en ce qui concerne le geste du tsar bulgare. Il est vraiment étonnant que la version slave de ce même texte soit sur ce point de beaucoup plus succincte que la grecque. Outre le fait que le rédacteur de la version slave n'a pas utilisé des adjectifs aussi abondamment que l'auteur du texte grec et qu'il n'a même pas fait allusion au geste de l'empereur Jean Vatatzès non plus, il omet même de nous transmettre dans sa forme intégrale l'information concernant le geste d'Ivan Alexandre. En voici le même passage dans la version slave de la *Vie de Grégoire*: ...и́меніа же довол'нъ огра́дно томъ посылаетъ и ве́кч(ь)ско и́но 8готованіе въ прѣпітаніе сѣчих(ъ) тало, ҏад(и) великааго ѡт(ъ) бoga м'здо въздааніа, и ҏад(и) иже ѡт(ъ) него на ве́кк(ъ) д(ъ)нъ къ в(ог)ѣ о того д(ъ)ши въз'силаемых(ъ) м(о)л(и)твъ же и вл(аго)с(ло)вениа. Сего ҏад(и) и пір'гъ ѡт(ъ) глашини въз'граждает(ъ) твръдѣнишн крѣпокъ, подвижке и жрътвенникъ въздрожаетъ, и въздвижен(ъ) келлия и ино все требованіе по под(о)байциомъ

5. Pomjalovskij, Žitie...Grigorija Sinaita, pp. 40-41.

оутралаетъ⁶. Or, le rédacteur de la version slave omet ce qui est dit dans le texte grec concernant les propriétés foncières et les viviers, dont le généreux tsar avait doté le monastère⁷. Il est vrai que dans la version slave il y a le mot имѣніа, qui pourrait être le substitut pour προάστεια κτήματα, mais comme ce mot est employé par le rédacteur slave pour désigner les χρήματα du texte grec, il n'y peut avoir doute qu'il s'agit de provisions ou de biens mobiliers.

Une information sur le geste en question d'Ivan Alexandre existe aussi dans la *Vie* du moine bulgare Théodore de Tarnovo, qui fut l'un des disciples de Grégoire le Sinaïte. D'après la *Vie* de Théodore, c'était notamment ce moine bulgare que Grégoire envoya comme médiateur à Ivan Alexandre pour lui demander aide et protection. Le tsar, ayant écouté les demandes que Théodore lui présenta, имѣніа же и скоты, и ина елика тѣмъ потрѣбна вѣхой на оутврѣжденїе пиргогу 8довоу ют(ъ)сла радостною д(8)шею и багатою роуккою....Пиргогу же прѹе съврьшившасе и ц(ъ)ркви, безмльвіе въсако и тишиноу полоѹчише и разбонинческих(ъ) нападенїи прѹблѣнишесе⁸. Cette affirmation, que la *Vie* de Théodore nous fournit, vient confirmer ce que nous apprenons sur le geste d'Ivan Alexandre dans la *Vie* de Grégoire le Sinaïte. En plus de ce qui est dit dans la version grecque de la *Vie* du Sinaïte, la *Vie* de Théodore parle du bétail (скоты), lequel dans la version slave est peut-être sous-entendu par l'expression все т҃ребованіе. Que les viviers eussent été compris dans la donation du tsar bulgare, nous en avons le témoignage indirect par une autre source hagiographique du XIV^e siècle, la *Vie* de Romylos, moine d'origine greco-bulgare, qui fut aussi l'un des disciples du Sinaïte. D'après l'auteur de ce texte, Romylos s'occupait de la pêche dans les lacs qui se trouvaient dans la région du monastère de Paroria, en employant non pas des lignes, mais des filets, choses qui prouve l'existence des viviers, dont nous parle Calliste dans la *Vie* de Grégoire⁹.

D'après tout ce qui a été dit il résulte que le tsar Ivan Alexandre a) fit construire pour le monastère du Sinaïte des édifices (église, tour et cellules),

6. P. A. Syrku, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita sostavленное Константино-Константино-Калистом. Текст славянского перевода Жития по рукописи XVI века и историко-археологическое введение*, St-Pétersbourg 1909 (Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva № CLXXII), p. 42.

7. Les differences entre version grecque et version slave de la *Vie* de Grégoire ont été étudiées de façon qui laisse beaucoup à désirer par A. Jacimirkij, «Iz kritiko-literaturnych nabljudenij nad Žitiem Grigorija Sinaita», *Vizantijskij vremennik XV* (1908), St-Pétersbourg 1910, 300-331.

8. V. N. Zlatarski, «Žitie i žizni prepodobnago otca našego Feodosija iže v Trūnově postničstvovavšago, súpisano svetčiším patriarchom Konstantīna grada kyrī Kalistomī», *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija*, kn. II (XX) 1904, 14.

9. F. Halkin, «Un ermite des Balkans au XIV^e siècle. La Vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos», *Byzantium XXX* (1961), 122, et P. A. Syrku, *Monacha Grigorija Žitie prepodobnago Romila, po rukopisi XVI v. Imperatorskoj Publijnoj Biblioteki sobranija Gil'ferdinga*, St-Pétersbourg 1900, p. 10 (Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva № CXXXVI).

b) fit la donation de biens mobiliers (provisions, bétail etc.) et c) procéda à la cession de propriétés foncières (terres, pâturages, viviers etc.). Il est évident que les προάστεια κτήματα impliquaient aussi l'existence de cultivateurs paysans qui sans doute étaient sous la dépendance du monastère¹⁰. Pour donner une image des richesses, que la générosité d'Ivan Alexandre avait cédées au monastère du Sinaïte, Calliste évoque le geste de l'empereur Jean III Doukas Vatatzès en faveur du monastère de la Vierge de Lemvoi à Sosandra en Asie Mineur. Cette évocation n'est pas gratuite, car Jean Vatatzès avait fait reconstruire entièrement le monastère en question et il ne cessa pas de le combler de bienfaits tout au long de son règne, ses bienfaits étant confirmés par une série de diplômes qu'il fit promulguer et par lesquels l'immunité du couvent était assurée¹¹. Or, si Calliste évoque le cas de l'empereur Vatatzès, qui avait vécu un siècle avant, ce n'est que pour souligner l'importance du geste d'Ivan Alexandre et pour démontrer les analogies qui existaient entre les deux cas. Par conséquent cette évocation de Calliste nous autorise à conclure que, tout comme Ivan Alexandre avait imité Jean Vatatzès en ce qui concerne la quantité et la qualité des cessions, de même l'avait-il imité dans la façon dont ces cessions furent ratifiées.

D'Ivan Alexandre nous connaissons en tout quatre actes slaves¹². Il existe

10. F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1927, 115. Cf. G. Cankova-Petkova, *Za agrarnite otношенија v srednovekovna Bălgarija (XI-XIII v.)*, Sofia 1964, pp. 52-71.

11. Voir Fr. Miklosich et I. Müller, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi sacra et profana. Vol. IV. Acta et diplomata monasteriorum et ecclesiarum orientis*. Tomus primus, Vindobonnae MDCCCLXXI, *passim*; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*. 3. Teil: *Regesten von 1204-1282*, Munich et Berlin 1932, pp. 8-25. Sur les relations de l'empereur Jean Vatatzès avec le monastère de Sosandra voir aussi G. Akropolitès, *Annales* (éd. I. Bekker) chap. 74, pp. 163, 164, et N. Grégoras, *Historia byzantina*, t. 1, livre 2, chap. 7, pp. 44-45. Cf. V. G. Vasiljevskij, «Materialy k vnutrennej istorii vizantijskogo gosudarstva», *Zurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveščenija* 210 (1880), 98-170, 355-440; A. Višnjakova, «Chozajstvennaja organizacija monastyrja Lemvotissý», *Vizantijskij vremennik* 25 (1927), 33-52; Fr. Dölger, «Chronologisches und prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrh.», *Byzantinische Zeitschrift XXVII* (1927), 291-320. G. Ostrogorski, *Pronija. Prilog istoriji feudalizma u Vizantiji i u južnoslovenskim zeljama*, Belgrade 1951, pp. 42-44, 52-57; idem, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine*, (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia II), Bruxelles 1956, pp. 43-46, 48-52, 55-61, 64-68; idem, «K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii», *Vizantijskij vremennik* 13 (1958), 74-76, 100-101.

12. Voir G. A. Iljinckij, *Gramoty bolgarskich carej* (Drevnosti trudy slavjanskoy komissii Imperatorskago Moskovskago Archeologičeskago Obščestva, t. V), Moscou 1911, pp. 21-26, et S. Ljubić, «Listine o odnošajih izmedju slovenstva i Mletačke republike», *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium III* (Zagreb 1872), 246-248. Cf. W. Regel, E. Kurtz et B. Koralev, *Actes de Zographou* (Actes de l'Athos, t. IV. Vizantijskij vremennik, priloženie k XIII tomu, № 1), St-Pétersbourg 1907, 165-168, et J. Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini iz Makedonija*, Sofia 1931, 587-594.

trois actes en grec de cette époque pour des monastères de Mésembrie, qui nous sont parvenus en copie et dont l'appartenance n'est pas encore définitivement clarifiée¹³. Un certain nombre de donnés corrobore l'opinion selon laquelle ces actes pourraient être également attribués à l'activité de la chancellerie de ce tsar des Bulgares¹⁴. Les actes en slave les plus importants sont deux chrysobulles qui concernent des donations et des priviléges cédés aux monastères de Zographou du Mont Athos (1342) et de Saint Nicolas de la région de Mraka (1348). Dans le dispositif du deuxième chrysobulle le donateur enumère les villages, lequels par son ordre passent à la possession du monastère, et ajoute que cette possession est comprise ...съ всѣмъ бранищемъ идѣже аще сѫтъ, или парици и штроци, или тѣхнитаф, или людне какови либо, или сѫтъ нивіа, или виногради, или сѣнокоси, или жрънки, или кипврие, или периволе, или бранища и фыннаа ловица, или ѿрѣшне, или иныхъ какови либо сѫтъ стаси и прилежанія того монастырѣ съ всѣмъ да шладѣтъ тон монастырь¹⁵. Ensuite il nomme tous les dignitaires de son royaume, qui dans aucun cas ...шт сихъ въсѣхъ да не иматъ власти нижто испакостити ни ноги поставити на силл в сия села и люди и селища монастырѣ ц(а)р(ь)ства ли и въсемъ правини, ни писати, ни дани възати, ни комад, ни митати, ни десатокъ никакъвъ, ни хлѣбъ, ни вино, ни масло, ни зоби, ни кѣрата, ни самѣхъ поемати на коа либо работя ц(а)р(ь)ства ли, ни иашъ конъ енгараепати, ни воловы, ни шелате, ни подводж възати, ни на ино что испакостити, тѣмъ людемъ развѣ да иматъ всѣкож влас(ть) съ всѣми своими правинами монастырѣ ц(а)р(ь)ства ли с(вѣ)т(а)го Николы¹⁶. Etant donné que l'attente de l'attaque des Mongols se place en l'année 1341 et que Grégoire mourut en 1346, il résulte que les donations du tsar au monastère du Sinaïte avaient été faites entre ces deux dates, donc quelques années avant la promulgation du chrysobulle pour le monastère de Mraka. Par ces extraits du chrysobulle en question que nous venons de citer, on voit clairement que les cessions faites au monastère de Mraka comprenaient des biens immobiliers et des propriétés foncières, de même que des viviers (фыннаа ловица), tout comme dans le cas du monastère du Sinaïte. Donc, si les cessions faites au

monastère de Mraka nécessitaient la promulgation d'un chrysobulle, alors pourquoi celles pour le monastère du Sinaïte n'auraient-elles pas mérité un acte pareil? Et si les cessions du chrysobulle de Mraka ont été faites avec un dispositif si détaillé, suivi de sanctions prévoyant une *poena spiritualis*, ne devons-nous pas croire que la même chose était valable dans le cas des cessions faites au monastère du Sinaïte? Nous croyons que cela ne fait pas de doute et que toutes les donnés, tirées des sources déjà citées, nous amènent à l'affirmation que le généreux tsar Ivan Alexandre, en faisant les cessions et donations au monastère greco-bulgare du Sinaïte, les eût accompagnées et affermies par un chrysobulle.

Malheureusement de ce chrysobulle nous n'avons qu'un très lointain écho dans les versions grecque et slave de la *Vie de Grégoire le Sinaïte*. La conquête turque, outre les autres malheurs qu'elle apporta à la vie spirituelle et culturelle du peuple bulgare, a fait aussi disparaître les témoignages de la générosité d'Ivan Alexandre, ce magnanime Mécène du deuxième royaume bulgare.

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13. Les actes en question ont été pour la première fois publiés par A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *'Ανάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχνολογίας I*, St-Pétersbourg 1891, pp. 467-470, et de nouveau par I. Dujčev, *Iz starata bălgarska knižnina. II. Knižovni i istoričeski pametnici ot vtoroto bălgarsko carstvo*, Sofia, s.a., pp. 140-148. Le contenu de ces actes a fait l'objet d'une étude de P. Mutafčiev, «Kăm istorijata na Mesemvrijskite manastiri», dans la rédition de ses œuvres *Izbrani proizvedenija I*, Sofia 1973, 653-678. C'est notamment Mutafčiev, qui a contesté l'authenticité des actes, et il paraît avoir persuadé M. Lascaris, «Influences byzantines dans la diplomatie bulgare, serbe et slavo-roumaine», *Byzantinoslavica III* (1931), 509-510.

14. Voir Dujčev, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-383.

15. Iljinskij, *Gramoty bălgarskich carej*, p. 25.

16. Iljinskij, *Gramoty*, p. 25. Pour les dignitaires du deuxième royaume bulgare voir M. N. Andreev, *Vatopedskata gramota i văprosite na bălgarsko feodalno pravo*, Sofia 1925, pp. 148-168.

Compte-rendu

THE SLAVS AND SLAV TOPOONYMS
AND THEIR ENDINGS IN GREECE

Antonios Thavoris

This criticism was prompted by the treatise of the Bulgarian linguist J. Zaimov which was published a few years ago by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences under the title *Zaselvane na Bălgarskite Slavjani na Balkanskija Poluostrov. Proučvane na Žitelskite imena v Bălgarskata Toponimija* (*Settlements of the Bulgar Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula. Research on the names of inhabitants in Bulgarian Toponymy*), Sofia 1967, vol. I, pp. 345; vol. II, 17 maps.

In his treatise, Zaimov surveys the toponyms of Bulgarian origin in the Balkan peninsula which come from the name of the inhabitants of a place.* Of the three main endings which are used to form them, -iš, -jane and -ci, Zaimov confines his research to the last two, -jane (with its derivatives -janci and -čane) and -ci (with its derivatives -ovci, -evci and -inci).

Emphasizing the importance of his research on toponyms of this kind in the preface of his treatise, Zaimov writes that, during their formative stage, these toponyms used to denote exclusively inhabited areas, unlike other toponyms, which are formed from appellatives or take other endings, and denote uninhabited areas (trees, hills, waters, rivers). Thus the verification of the origin of these toponyms can, according to him, reveal to us a whole series of areas which used to be inhabited and are now deserted, or sketch «more accurately the history of the settlement or migration of the population in the past».

Zaimov also informs us in his preface that Bulgarian toponyms of this kind have not been adequately researched, as other countries' have been; and the lack of such a systematic investigation has often led to erroneous con-

* Zaimov uses the term «inhabitants' names» (*žiteljski imena*), but in translation the sense is better conveyed by the periphrases «toponyms from inhabitants' names» or «toponyms from national and family names». They are also called «proper-noun toponyms». (See, e.g., *'Επετηρίς Έταιρειας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν* 1 [1938], 458).

S. Menardos calls the names of the inhabitants of a place «local names» (*τοπικὰ ὄνοματα*; see S. Menardos, «Περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ἐπιθέτων τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλληνικῆς», *'Επετηρίς Έταιρειας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 4 [1927], 333 ff.). D. Georgakas and W. A. McDonald (*Place-names of South-west Peloponnesus*, Minneapolis, Minnesota Press, 1967, p. [6] 24) call the names of the inhabitants of a place «local ethnics». However, we shall call all «proper-noun toponyms» «inhabitants' toponyms» for the sake of brevity.

clusions. Thus the aim of his research is to determine the routes, and if possible the time, of the settlement of the Bulgar Slavs in the lands of South-east Europe, following the exodus from the common Slav fatherland, and even to trace some of the migrations of the Bulgars within Bulgarian lands.

He then lists his sources. These are mainly population registers, maps, documents and notes, as well as a personal collection of toponym material. Geographically the author includes in his work all the lands in which the Bulgars live or have lived and in which traces of inhabitants' toponyms are found. Great care is taken with the toponyms found on Roumanian soil, since Zaimov believes that there it is not easy to find a true name-giver in toponyms with Bulgarian roots. This is because the Roumanians have borrowed many Bulgarian words. However, the endings -jane and -janin are -ian and -eşn in Roumanian, while the Latin ending -anus became in Roumanian -in. If, therefore, the root as well as the ending of such a toponym is of Bulgarian origin, then chances are that the toponym must be a Bulgarian formation rather than a Roumanian one. On the whole, it must be stressed that this influence does not come from the mere interaction of the two peoples, but rather from a Bulgarian population which was absorbed after its settlement in Roumanian lands centuries ago.

Concerning the Bulgarian material in Albania and Greece, however, the situation is different. The Bulgarian-lent words in these languages are not so many, nor of such a nature, as in Roumanian, and so the Bulgarian inhabitants' toponyms can be traced comparatively easily. For Greece, Zaimov recommends M. Vasmer's well-known work *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Berlin 1941).

In his conclusions (p. 99), Zaimov states, among other things, the following: The geographical expansion of patronymics in -iš from *-itj-, in addition to the inhabitants' toponyms, shows clearly that the Bulgar Slavs entered Macedonia and Northern Greece directly by the Timok crossings. There they were followed by the north-western immigration torrent which descended from the crossings of the Morava, Tisa and Eastern Pannonia. The isoglosses of inhabitants' toponyms show crystal clear that the area which was originally most densely populated by Bulgar Slavs was Macedonia, with its surrounding areas, especially the lower crossing of the Bulgarian Morava, Central and Southern Albania, the northern and central crossings of the Vardar, Northern Epirus, Northern Thessaly, and the Strymon area with the Thessaloniki plain. Here Zaimov states that P. Ivić's opinion (*Južnoslov. Filolog* XXII [1958], 192) concerning the «Macedonian language» is baseless. According to Zaimov «the Macedonian dialects and the inhabitants' toponyms in Macedonian toponymy are the most conservative and archaic element in the Bulgarian language and in Bulgarian toponymy», contrary to Ivić's claim (*loc. cit.*, 195). And he goes on:

It is not difficult to show that today's classification of the Bulgarian dialects does not coincide entirely with the regions of initial settlement of the Bulgar Slavs in the Balkan lands. Later influxes, especially after the 14th c., have somewhat changed the initial picture; to it was added the none too insignifi-

cant degree of assimilation of the Bulgarian population in areas of older settlement—Wallachia, the Timok areas, Albania, Southern Epirus, Thessaly. One of the most interesting conclusions is that referring to the settlement of the Rodope range, which could not be settled from the Thracian side. There, according to historical records, no continuous settlements of Bulgar Slavs took place until several centuries after the first raids. Procopius and other historians stress that the Slavs inflicted severe losses on the Byzantine troops in Thrace.

About the middle of the 6th c. they laid waste the Astiki area (between Philippopolis and Adrianople), and even got as far as the outer fortifications of Constantinople (cf. *Greek Sources on Bulgarian History II* [1958], pp. 136 ff.). According to the same author, during the same period Philippopolis, Aimes, Adrianople and Didymoticho were «in the grip of the barbarians» (cf. *Greek Sources II*, p. 176). It is evident that we are concerned here with ruinous raids which cannot be characterized as permanent settlements. Thus the Slav population invades not through the Eastern Balkans but by the main Belgrade-Constantinople road. We cannot speak of permanent settlements in Thrace even later, because Thrace was for long afterwards laid waste due to the numerous battles between the Byzantine and Bulgar armies. But this does not mean that there was no Bulgar settlement there at that time. It means that settlement was temporary, for the reasons already mentioned. The fortunes of this area remained unchanged for some centuries. We may cite as proof of this the fact that during the 9th c. the Byzantine Empress Theodora donated to the leader of the Bulgars, Boris, the at that time deserted area from Sidera (in Western Strantza), which then formed the boundary between the Romans and the Bulgars, to Delveto (between Pyrgos and Gruntovo), in recognition of his acceptance of Christianity. These areas were called (by the Bulgars)¹ «zagora» (*Zagorá*). (Cf. also *Greek Sources on Bulgarian History V* [1964], pp. 117 ff.).

The name *Zagora* (from *za*=behind and *gora*=mountain) alone shows that it was coined by the Slav tribes of Moesia and used to mean the territory south of the Balkans. Apart from this and a few names from the southern areas of the Balkans, almost the whole toponymy of modern Thrace or medieval *Zagora* is of non-Slav origin. From all this it becomes evident that Rodope could not have been peopled from the east and still less from the north (p. 103). The geographical expansion of ancient names indicates beyond doubt that one of the earliest and most densely populated areas was that of Thessaloniki; both its plain and the surrounding hills, as is directly testified by the powerful Slav raids against the thriving fortified city of Thessaloniki during the 7th c. It is possible that the starting points of these raids were certain distant areas from which the attackers must have originally come, and not the nearer existing fortified places such as Mt. Paiko, Mt. Kozouch, Belasitsa, Roupel, Crna Gora (Montenegro), Zmiinitsa and Mt. Bog-dan.

On the evidence of inhabitants' toponyms, Rodope was peopled from a

1. And by Byzantine writers too: e.g. Symeon Magistrus 655, 5 (Bonn.), cf. K. Amantos in *Έλληνικά* 5 (1932), 428.

south-westerly direction. Judging from the geographical expansion of the names, it must be supposed that from the Strymon Straits there suddenly emerged a people who later descended to the crossings of the lower Strymon and to the area of Thessaloniki and Chalkidiki, settled there, and some time later began to move and settle in the north-east of Rodope and in the Eastern Aegean.

The geographical area of this people shows beyond doubt that it came and settled prior to the second wave via the same route. This wave must have arrived somewhere between modern Meleniko and Upper Jounagia, and its language is similar to that of the population of the Sofia area, in the broadest sense. Thus Rodope is one of the boundary areas of Bulgaria with the most ancient settlements.

The organic unity between the Bulgarian idioms of Thessaloniki (sic) and Rodope, as well as the evidence for the geographical expansion of inhabitants' toponyms, leaves no doubt whatever that the bearers of these two Bulgarian dialects belong to a national group which was single in language during the first centuries of settlement. The similarity of the language of Cyril and Methodius, as we know it from the first written monuments in Bulgarian, with the Rodope dialect thus receives a convincing explanation. This is not the place to go into details about the similarities between the dialects of Thessaloniki and Rodope. They stand out, regardless of method of comparison, because of their phonetics, syntax, accent, articulation and above all their vocabulary and archaisms.

Jagić has already expressed the right opinion in saying that the area from which the language of Cyril and Methodius came must be between Thessaloniki and Constantinople (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchen-slavischen Sprache* [1913], pp. 241 ff.). The western section of the Thessaloniki dialect already seems identical with the dialect of the area of the lower Axios.

Reading Zaimov's work, we notice that he has attempted to locate the already known settlement of the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula on the basis of a certain category of toponyms; namely, as we have seen, those toponyms which were originally the names of the inhabitants of an area (a village, a place), and were then turned into toponyms, exactly as in Greek where the same thing can happen.

For example, the name of the inhabitants of the village Καλημέρα, Καλημεριάνοι (plural of Καλημεριάνος), was turned into the toponym Καλημεριάνοι² even when the inhabitants, whether collectively or represented by one family or even a single person (i.e. a family surname), moved out for various reasons and settled in another place. M. Vasmer³ mentions the name of a cape Ζαγοριώτη in Samothrace. This name, he goes on, is «zweifellos nach einem Ζαγοριώτη», i.e. from the inhabitant of Ζαγοριόυ. This obviously concerns someone who came from Ζαγόρι on Mt. Pelion, since the toponym Ζαγόρι is

2. See, e.g., *Néa Έστία* 68 (1960), 1554.

3. M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, Berlin 1941, p. 230.

not attested, as far as I know, anywhere else in Samothrace. The name Ζαγοριώτης could have been turned into a toponym even through its use as a family name (surname), so it could have nothing to do, after its change into a toponym, with the place of origin which it originally denoted: e.g. Zagoriotis' fields (on the cape), or something else relating to the person named Zagoriotis.

In Bulgarian the most important endings by which are denoted national names (i.e. the inhabitants of a place) are, as Zaimov informs us in his preface, the endings *-iš*, *-jane* and *-ci*. The Greek language today has analogous and even more numerous endings, such as *-άιος* (*Αθηναίος*), *-άϊτης* (*Μοραΐτης*), *-άνος* (*Πρεβεζάνος*), *-ανός* (*Αφρικανός*), *-άτης* (*Ασιάτης*), *-έζος* (*Μαλτέζος*), *-ιάνος* (*Καλημεριάνος*, *πρωτευουσιάνος*), *-ιανός* (*Σφακιανός*), *-ιάτης* (*Μανιάτης*), *-ίνος* (*Φλωρεντίνος*), *-ινός* (*Ζακυνθινός*), *-ιός* (*Σαλονικιός*), *-ίτης* (*Θασίτης*), *-ώτης* (*Ηπειρώτης*), *-ιος* (*Πόντιος*), and perhaps others⁴.

Zaimov traces in his work only *-jane* and *-ci* (and their derivatives). His research must undoubtedly have been exhausting, both in the collection of material so extensive in scope and in its classification and study. He attempts to handle thousands of toponyms, which cover the entire Balkan peninsula, reaching from the Caucasus to Cape Tainaros.

In addition to the endings, he studies, as we have seen, the etymological origin of their roots, classifying them into groups, and, on the basis of the social, historical and cultural problems they present, attempts to draw general conclusions, especially as regards the settlement of Slav groups in various areas in the Balkans, as well as the routes of these groups, following them from their starting points in the northern parts of the peninsula.

I should like here to make certain observations, chiefly concerning toponyms of Slav origin in Greek areas. I think that the author's eagerness to make his collection as complete as possible has led him into certain errors and exaggerations, which are undoubtedly due to the fact that he does not seem to know Greek well: he was thus easily carried away by the apparent morphological similarity of the roots and endings of many Greek toponyms to ascribe a Slav origin even to those purely Greek, and also failed to use almost any even of the most important of the many studies of Greek toponymologists who have from time to time dealt with various related topics, especially toponyms and endings of toponyms of the same type as those which he himself studied, and which he concluded are of Slav origin through the use of exclusively Bulgar data. In the Greek bibliography (p. 290), Greek toponymological science is almost totally lacking, while if he had made use of the Greek toponymologists' research, even if it be regarded as incomplete⁵, he would have been better able to judge whether a Greek toponym that he considers of Slav origin actually belongs to the category of toponyms he has studied. In fact, however in spite of this serious limitation, he follows a Procrustean method, so that every Greek toponym of Slav root which happens to possess an ending phonetically somewhat

4. ΟΕΣΒ, *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική (τῆς Δημοτικῆς)*, Athens 1941, p. 204.

5. J. A. Thomopoulos, *Μελέτη τοπωνυμική τῆς νήσου Κέω*, Syros 1963, p. 3.

similar to the Slav ending *-jane* or its derivatives is regarded by him as proof of the settlement of Slavs in the area of the presence of the toponym.

It is well-known that the subject of toponyms of foreign origin in a country is not amenable to easy ethnological conclusions. If, for example, it is quite certain that a Greek toponym has a Slav root, this cannot, in my opinion, be regarded as positive proof of the settlement of a Slav group in the area. A number of other cases are possible in which the root of a word of Slav origin, due to proximity of and frequent intercourse between Greeks and Slavs, during the medieval period as well as the more recent period of the Turkish occupation, could become the starting point of the formation of a Greek word, and circulate in Greek mouths and in Greek areas as a borrowed word, i.e. a word now Greek. Then this word, like all other Greek ones, could easily be turned into a toponym through the influence of well-known factors—political, social, religious, cultural, etc.—and chiefly with the help of Greek endings.

Zaimov concedes this difficulty in the case of Roumanian toponyms, but not of Albanian and Greek ones. He justifies this by claiming that Bulgarian loanwords are not so common, nor do they have such a nature, in these two languages as they do in Roumanian.

M. Vasmer, in the book cited by Zaimov⁶, examines the question of how far «the spreading of Slav toponyms by the Greeks» can be proven.

As regards names of inhabitants and toponyms derived from them, we may observe the following:

There is always a high probability that certain inhabited areas (villages, towns, settlements) which have names of foreign origin, for example Slav, may owe their names to originally foreign populations⁷, for example Slavs, who according to Procopius (VII 14. 24) «ἀμείβουσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως χῶρον». But history has surprises in store for us, so that we should not be too sure about ethnological conclusions of this kind solely on the basis of toponyms, without the aid of other evidence as well. Cases are listed going back to the period of Turkish occupation in which villages in Macedonia bearing a name of Slav origin had a purely Greek population (Greek surnames, Greek proper names, etc.) while, on the other hand, another village with a thoroughly Greek name was found to have a population of basically Slav character⁸.

The problem does not end with the case of toponyms of inhabited areas.

Zaimov examines even toponyms of Slav origin which represent places now uninhabited and unknown to have been inhabited in the past; for when we are dealing with various places—waters, rural areas, fields, hills, huts, sheepfolds, etc.—things are somewhat different.

In these cases it is impossible to claim, in the absence of any other histo-

6. M. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

7. Cf. K. Amantos, *Γλωσσικά Μελετήματα*, Athens 1964, p. 445: «...The names Βαρβάροι, Βαρβάρω, Κομάνοι, Βουλγάρω, Ἀρμένοι suggest the settlement of foreign soldiers during the Byzantine period».

8. S. Kyriakidis, *Τὰ βόρεια εθνολογικὰ ὄρια*, p. 41.

rical evidence whatever, that we are dealing with a collective settlement of foreigners, just because the toponym has a foreign root, even if it belongs to the category of origin from the name of an inhabitant or inhabitants of a village or any other inhabited area. This is so simply because, apart from the real settlement of a group in an area, it is equally possible for the name of an inhabitant or inhabitants of an area to be turned into a toponym from an original family surname. Generally such a local name is turned into a family surname when the inhabitant of a city, town or village moves to another area, far away or near, and settles there by himself, as we have seen to be the case with the name Ζαγοριώτης in Samothrace or the name Καλημεριάνος elsewhere.

In modern Greek there exist family names which refer to foreign nationalities such as Ἀμερικανός or Ἀμερικάνος, Βούλγαρης or Βούργαρης (Βουργαρ-ίδης, Βουργαρ-άκης etc.), Ἐγγλέζος or Ἰγκλέσης, Σενεγαλέζος, Γάλλος, Σέρβος, Τούρκος etc.

These names may be taken as family surnames by true Greeks for a number of reasons; they often start as nicknames. Ἀμερικανός, for example, might be taken by someone who had been to America or wanted to go there, or claimed to be an American, or was naive; Βούργαρος or Βούργαρης might be taken by someone who came from the Greek parts of Bulgaria (Philippopolis, Melniko, Varna etc.), or someone who was psychologically akin to the Bulgars (as the Greeks pictured the Bulgars, due to their cruelties during the incessant wars etc.)⁹.

Then, as a surname, the word may be turned into a toponym for the reasons we have mentioned.

Generally every toponym of Slav root in Greece which has one of the following endings: -αινα, -αινη, -αινι; -ανα, -ανη, -ανι, -ανια; -(γ)ιάνοι, -εανους, -εν, -ενα, -ενη, -ενι, -ενια, -ενο, -ενον, -ενος; -ιανα, -ιανη, -ιανι, -ιανιν, -ιανις, -ιανο, -ιανον, -ιανος (-ιανου, -ιανους); -ιν, -ινα, -ινη, -ινο, -ινον; -υγιαννη, and perhaps others, is a possible indication that we are dealing with a toponym of Slav origin, but is not proof of the settlement of Slav groups in the area. We can even claim that the opposite is true in such cases: that the heavy Greek population of the area has turned the perhaps originally Slav toponym into Greek; for it is well-known not only that the Slavs often turned Greek toponyms into Slav ones, modifying the phonetics and meaning to fit their own language, but that the Byzantine Greeks also did the same to many Slav toponyms, which they replaced with phonetically similar Greek ones. In this connexion the example of Greek toponyms with second element the word πόλις (-πολις) speaks for itself. The Slavs replaced it in many toponyms with the phonetically similar Slav word -polje (=place, plain): e.g. Νικόπολις became *Nikopolje*, Δρυϊνόπολις *Drenopolje*, etc. Conversely the Byzantines substituted for Slav toponyms with second element -polje the phonetically similar Greek word πόλις:

9. Cf. J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ νεοελληνικὰ ἐπώνυμα. Ἐπώνυμα πατριδωνυμικὰ ξένα», *Nέα Εστία* 88 (1970), 886 ff.

hence the Slav toponym *Ovčepolje* (=sheep-place) is referred to by Byzantine writers as Εὐτζάπολις or Νευστάπολις, etc.¹⁰

It is a characteristic that many such toponyms of Slav origin are used with the forms of the different cases of the Greek noun, in both singular and plural. This can only mean that we are dealing with genuine Greek formations, e.g. Βουργάρο (=Βουργάρ-ων), Δοβελ(ι)τζηνοί (p. 187), Δρολιανῶν (Δρολιανά), etc.

K. Amantos has wisely written: «We would be making a grave mistake if we characterized all parts of Greece in which there are Slav toponyms as zones of previous Slav settlement; and we would be unable to explain their Hellenization while the originally fewer Albanians who came down to Greece in the 14th c. or even earlier were able to albanize those Greeks living among them»¹¹.

But the most important thing is that a good many of the above endings of Greek toponyms with Slav roots, which Zaimov lightly ascribes to the Slav ending -jane and its derivatives, have nothing to do with this ending, but were already used as toponym endings in ancient and later Greek, i.e. long before the arrival of the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula and Greece; and, of course, they did not always give the toponym the sense of «inhabitants' toponym». Some of these, moreover, are of Latin origin, but were adapted in time to the Greek language and soon enough became Greek; some of them even became productive, like the Slav—as is believed—ending -ίτσα (also -ίτσι in medieval Greek)¹².

One should not exclude the possibility that many names with the Slav ending -jane may have been rendered by the Greeks with the corresponding, phonetically similar, Greek endings -ιανη and -ανη, as we have mentioned, in just the same way as the toponyms which had as second element the word -polje, or as those with the Latin endings -ensis and -ense, which the Byzantine Greeks rendered by the ancient Greek endings -ήσιος and -ήσιον¹³.

Thus the continuation of the formation of such toponyms, including some with words of Slav origin, cannot always be connected with the settlement of Slav peoples in the areas where the toponyms appear.

In my view, the presence in these cases of such toponyms may render support to historical evidence, but the toponyms alone cannot always be faithful witnesses to such historical events as the settlement of a foreign people in an area in which we know from other sources that no settlement took place, e.g. the Aegean islands, the shores of Chalkidiki, Crete, Asia Minor, etc., especially when other explanations of their formation are possible.

10. K. Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel*, Amsterdam 1967 (photocopy reprint of the Prague edition, 1877), p. 70.

11. K. Amantos, *Γλωσσ. Μελετ.*, op. cit., p. 337.

12. N. Andriotis, *Ἐπνυλογικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς Κοινῆς Νεοελληνικῆς*, Thessaloniki 1967, under -ίτσα.

13. Cf. e.g., ancient Greek ήμερήσιος, Latin *burgensis*=medieval βουργήσιος, modern άλογήσιος, etc.

There follow the results of the research I have done concerning such endings in Greek. Their attestation in ancient and post-classical toponyms as well as in medieval and modern ones with a Greek root, or even a Latin or Turkish root in borrowed words, clearly point to their Greek origin.

-αινα (-ενα)

On this toponymic ending there is in Greek D. Georgakas' treatise «Συμβολή εἰς τὴν τοπωνυμικήν ἔρευναν. Α'. Περὶ ἐλληνικῶν τοπωνυμίων εἰς -ΑΙΝΑ»¹⁴; although Zaimov mentions this (p. 126, perhaps taking the reference from another author), he does not seem to have consulted it himself.

Georgakas does not deny the existence in Greece of toponyms of Slav origin in -ενα (-αινα), both feminine (ἡ Ἀλβενα, ἡ Λινίδενα) and neuter (τὰ Βρέστενα, τὰ Κρέστενα). But there are, he says, many toponyms in -αινα which are «Greek or at least formed from Greek words»¹⁵.

In general, Georgakas accepts as correct the following principle as regards the medieval and modern elements in the Greek language: every language element which cannot be explained through Greek must only then be examined to determine its origin, in order that genuine Greek elements should not be regarded as Slav owing to the many Slav remnants. Thus he attempts in his study to prove the Hellenism of many Byzantine toponyms in -αινα (-ενα) as follows: The ending -αινα is an ancient Greek one and comes from masculine nouns in -ων, e.g. γείτ-αινα (γείτ-ων), δράκ-αινα (δράκ-ων), Λάκ-αινα (Λάκ-ων) etc.; and it underwent an analogous extension to other nouns, e.g. Θέ-αινα (Θε-ός), λύκ-αινα (λύκ-ος), ύ-αινα etc.¹⁶ With the sense «someones' wife», Georgakas mentions the names Σκύθαινα (=Skythes' wife), which is ancient (Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 184), and Τρύφαινα, which is later (N.T., Romans 16, 12: ἀσπάσασθε Τρύφαιναν. Cf. also Suidas, under ἄβαξιν). During Byzantine times examples of names in -αινα multiply, e.g. Βατάτζαινα, Δούκαινα, Σκλήραινα, Παλαιολόγαινα etc. (from authors), Μαρούλαδαινα, Κολιάνδραινα, Μαστραγέλαινα, Βράναινα, Ρήγαινα, Γλάβαινα, Χούμναινα, Γλύκαινα, Κοπάδαινα, Προγούλαινα, Πλεύραινα, Βουσμούλαινα, Τόμπραινα etc. (from various documents). In modern Greek the use of such names is Panhellenic: Γιώργαινα, Λάμπραινα, Μάνθαινα, Νικόλαινα, Παύλαινα, Στεφάναινα etc.

Because, according to Georgakas, there are many toponyms in Greece which come from women's baptismal names, e.g. Ἀνθοῦσες, Γεωργίτσα, Ζαχαριά, Ζαχάρω, Ζωίτσες, Καλίτσα, Κυριάννα, Μαρίτζας (13th c.), Μάρθα, Παναγιώτα, Σταμάτα etc., we also have toponyms derived from andronymics

14. *Αθηνᾶ* 48 (1938), 15 ff.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

16. Cf. N. Andriotis, *Λεξικό*, under -αινα.

17. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, Munich 1950, vol. I, p. 456: «λύκαινα nach τέκταινα u.a., wo v ursprünglich zum Wortstamm gehörte». Cf. also pp. 475 and 488. In my opinion we are dealing with a regular formation from μέλαινα < μέλαν-ja, cf. E. Schwyzer, *op. cit.*, I, 272: «τέκταινα aus -avja».

(women's names formed on their husbands') in -αινα, such as the medieval χωράφιον τῆς Κοκκομύλαινας, οἰκήματα τῆς Ματζιφάραινας, ποτάμι τῆς Μαυροζούμαινας, etc., and the modern τῆς Δήμαινας ἡ λάκκα, μόλους τοῦ Γιουργάκαινας, τῆς Παραγιούμαινας ὁ τσῆπος, etc. Then the kind of estate was dropped and they said simply τῆς Μαγούλαινας (13th c.), τῆς Καναβίτζαινας, τῆς Κολύμβαινας, στῆς Αναγνώσταινας, της Δήμαινας, etc.¹⁸, whence from the genitive they became single words in the nominative: 'Αγγέλαινα, 'Αρκούδαινα, 'Αργύραινα, Βάναινα, Βίτσαινα, Μάκραινα, Ρόζαινα, Σώταινα, Φώταινες, etc¹⁹.

Thus, concludes Georgakas, we have the following process of formation for these toponyms:

—andronymic: ἡ 'Αργύραινα

—toponym in genitive: τῆς 'Αργύραινας (sc. the estates, the buildings)

—toponym in nominative: 'Αργύραινα

As we shall see below, a toponym 'Αργύραινα could also be formed, from a matronymic (δ 'Αργύραινας) which in turn came from the mother's andronymic (ἡ 'Αργύραινα).

Zaimov mentions (p. 42) quite a few such toponyms in -ενα (-αινα, -ενα), and accepts that the Bulgar -e- derives from an older vowel -ja- (i.e. -ena comes from an older -jana). In Greek toponyms of Slav origin he concedes the substitution of -αι- for Bulgar -e- through the influence of the ancient Greek ending -αινα, and adds that the Greek form replaces a live Bulgar one, as in the northern parts of Epirus and Thessaly, where a Bulgarian population exists even today(!).

As even Georgakas stresses, we do not doubt the Slav origin of certain toponyms in -ενα. But Zaimov ascribes Slav origin to many other Greek ones when it is evident that they derive from andronymics, and he tries hard to explain them on the basis of the Slav languages. For instance, he mentions as of Slav origin the following toponyms: 'Αλέσταινα (146), 'Ανδρίτσαινα (186), Βίτσαινα (115) and Βύτσαινα, Γόραινα (120), Γράμαινα (122), Δήμαινα (126), Ζαγάραινα (132), Ζούπαινα (135) and Ζούπενα, Καλίτσαινα (190) and Καλίτσενα, Κόλαινα (138), Μάκραινα and Μάκρενα (151), Λάζαινα (145), Σκλάβαινα (169), Τζέπαινα (182), Τόμπραινα (126), etc.

It is obvious, however, that these toponyms come from andronymics on surnames or proper names such as 'Αλέστας (from the Italian phrase *alla lesta* =in a hurry), a surname; 'Ανδρίτσος (diminutive of the proper name 'Ανδρέας; cf. also 'Ανδρούτσος), a surname²⁰; Βίτσας (from the noun βίτσα=rod), a sur-

18. Cf. also the toponym 'Αλέξαινας, Ch. Papachristodoulo, *Τοπωνύμια τῆς Ρόδου*, Rhodes 1951, p. 209; and the surname 'Αλέξ-ινας: see N. P. Andriotis, «Die mittel- und neugriechischen Metronymika», *Atti e memorie del VII Congresso Intern. dei scienze Onomastiche*, Firenze - Pisa 1961, 62.

19. Stephanos Byzantios mentions the toponym Μάζαινα: «Μάζαινα, πόλις τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἀπὸ Μαζάνου, οἱ πολῖται Μαζαινηνοί».

20. See D. Georgakas, «Συμβολή», *Αθηνᾶ* 48 (1938), 22ff.

name; Ἀγόρος (from the neuter ἀγόρι, ἄγουρος), a surname; Γράμμος, also Γραμμός (from the noun γραμμή), a surname; Δῆμος (diminutive of the proper names Δημήτριος or Δημοσθένης); Ζαγάρης (from the modern Greek τὸ ζαγάρ-ι—δὲ Ζαγάρ-ης), a surname²¹; Μακρῆς (from the adjective μακρύς, μακρός), a surname; Λάζος (proper name and surname); Σκλάβος (from the adjective σκλάβος) a surname already in medieval times: cf. the poet Μανόλης Σκλάβος; Τζέπος (perhaps from the well-known modern Greek surname Ζέπος), a surname; Τόμπρος (from the modern Greek adjective ντόμπρος, of Slav origin: *dobăr*=good), a surname.

These, then, are the truly Hellenic toponyms that the Greeks used as models for the adaptation of certain phonetically similar (i.e. in -ενα) words of Slav origin; but even these must be regarded as a Greek formation since the Greeks adapted them to their language so early.

On toponyms in -αινα, -αινη, -άινη, -αινή, see also the ending -ενα/-ενη, feminine of -ενος.

-ανης

Zaimov mentions only the toponym Ἀλητζανῆ (104), about which see p. 213 below.

-ανος (see also -ιανος)

1. -ανος is an ancient ending of nouns, e.g. στέφ-ανος (στέφ-ω) as well as an ancient and modern Greek ending of adjectives, e.g. ἀπίθ-ανος, ἀβάσκ-ανος, ἀπήγ-ανος, ἀδάπ-ανος, ἀνίκ-ανος, ἀμήχ-ανος, περήφ-ανος, πεντάρφ-ανος, ψηλοτάβ-ανος, where the -αν- usually belongs to the root of the noun.

The only toponym is the modern one Κάντανος (Crete)²². Zaimov mentions none.

2. -ανη is the modern Greek feminine ending of ancient and modern adjectives in -ανος, e.g. ἀπίθανη, ἀδάπανη, περήφανη, ψηλοτάβανη, etc. Cf. also the modern noun ρίγανη.

Zaimov mentions a few toponyms, e.g. Ἀβόρανη (185), Ἀμόρανη (104), Ζάβλανη (131), Τσαρίτσανη, which come from Slav names in -jane; cf. also the ending -ιανη.

3. -ανο(ν) is a neuter ending of ancient nouns, e.g. φρύγ-ανον (φρύγ-ω), ἄγ-ανον (ἄγ-νυμι), and of ancient and modern adjectives: ἀπίθανο, ἀβάσκανο, ἀνίκανο, περήφανο, etc.

Ancient toponym: Μύρτανον²³.

21. On the formation of modern Greek toponyms from asigmatic nouns by the addition of -η, e.g. βίτσα - Βίτσα-ς, ζαγάρι - Ζαγάρη-ς, see N. P. Andriotis; «Τὰ βυζαντινὰ καὶ νεοελληνικὰ ἐπώνυμα», *Μακεδονικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον* (1965), 163.

22. See J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ εἰς -ΑΝΟΣ ὄνόματα», *Nέα Εστία* 68 (1960), 1554.

23. W. Pape - G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1863 (hereafter = P).

Modern: Μαύρανο (Syra)²⁴, Σούλφανο (Milos)²⁵.

Zaimov mentions the following: Ρηγόζανον (115-116), of Slav origin, and Παλαιογράτσανον (Παληογράτσανον 188), which as a compound seems purely Greek. Cf. also Παλαιογράτσα(ι)άνη as the toponym of Velvendo (in whose area Παλαιογράτσανον is located), and Γρατσ(ι)άνη, which seems more closely related to Γρατιανός, Γρατιανή.

The plural -ανα is already observable in ancient toponyms, e.g. Ἄδανα, Καύχανα, Κόμανα, Λίβανα, Μάλανα, Φάρσανα, Ωξείανα²⁶.

Zaimov mentions the following: Ἀγόρανα (120), with the Greek prefix ἀ-, Γκορίτσανα, Τζερίτζανα, Φρέστανα. Σχωρέτσανα seems rather to be Greek (ἐσωχωρέτσανα=ἐσωχώρα or *Συχωρέτσανα); cf. also the genitive Σχωρετσάνων (173).

4. -άνος is a later ending and usually denotes national names. With it are rendered chiefly nouns of Italian origin which ended in -ano, e.g. Βετεράνος, δραγουμάνος, πολιτισμάνος, ρουφιάνος, σαρακατσάνος, τσαρλατάνος, τσιγγάνος (cf. Greek ἀθίγγανος), etc. Then the national names: Ἀμερικάνος, Γαϊτάνος, Καστελλάνος, Ναπολιτάνος, Πρεβεζάνος, etc. The Italian -ano, like the French -an, comes from the Latin -anus²⁷.

The only toponyms are the modern ones Φουρκάνος (Rhodes)²⁸ (=the inhabitant of Φούρκας, then a surname), and in the genitive Σινάνου²⁹ (1834 «εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Σινάνου»).

Zaimov mentions the toponym Δουπιάνου μονύδριον (34, 36, 129), where it seems that Δουπιάνου is the genitive of the surname Δουπιάνος. Cf. also Ζοριάνου (173), Μουρστιάνου (153).

5. -άνη is an ancient noun ending, e.g. στεφάνη (στέφ-ω), etc., and the feminine of ancient and katharevousa adjectives in -άνος.

Toponyms (ancient): Κονάνη, Κοροσάνη³⁰.

Of the toponyms Zaimov mentions, those that are of importance are the ones that refer to inhabitants' names. (We may include in this category certain names in -ani which were rendered in Greek as neuters in -άντι). Of those of Slav origin in -ανη, such as Ἀβοράνη, Βισοτσάνη, Βλασάνη, Βοσταράνη, Γαβράνη, etc., some may come from surnames, e.g. Γαβράνη. Γαβράνης or Γκαμπράνης is well-known as a surname in northern Greek idioms (maybe from the word γάβρος or γράβος, later γράβιον, a kind of tree, well-known even in modern Greek. Cf. the corresponding Slav word *gabăr*=caprinus tree; v. Zaimov pp. 117-118. Cf. also the toponyms Γραβιά, Γραβιανή, etc.).

24. J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ εἰς -ΑΝΟΣ», 1554.

25. *Ibid.*

26. See W. Pape - G. Benseler, *op. cit.*, and F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papryusurkunden*, Berlin 1925-1931, pp. 1-3 (hereafter = Papyr).

27. J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ εἰς -ΑΝΟΣ», 1554.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. See. W. Pape - G. Benseler, *op. cit.*

6. -άvo(v) is not a productive ending either in ancient or in modern Greek. (Among the rare nouns in -άvo in modern Greek are ἀεροπλάνο and ύδροπλάνο).

Toponyms: Zaimov mentions only Βριαζιτσάνον (also Βριζιατσάνον 187). See also -ιάvo. For toponyms in -άvι ('Ασάνι, Γερμοτσάνι, Μεσδάνι etc.), see -άvn.

7. -anòs is an ancient adjective ending, e.g. λιχ-ανòs (=finger), στεγ-ανòs (στέγ-ω), etc. Cf. also the modern adjectives φαγανòs (root φάγ-), Μωαμεθανòs (Μωαμεθ-), Αμερικανòs etc.

Toponyms (ancient): 'Αμανòs (P), cf. 'Αμανίτης. Zaimov mentions one in acc. pl. Βοστιτζανòv (187; from nom. pl. Βοστιτζανοί). Cf. also Κρυφτσανού (192, 206) which could be genitive of Κρυφτσανός. See also -ιανòs.

8. -anή is the feminine ending of adjectives in -anòs, e.g. στεγ-ανή³¹, etc.

Toponyms (ancient): Αιλανή (cf. 'Αριανή), Φρεντανή (P), Χουμβρανή (P). Cf. also Ωξειανή λίμνη (P). Zaimov mentions none. See also -ιανή.

9. -anò(v) is the neuter ending of adjectives in -anòs, e.g. στεγ-ανòv.

Toponyms (ancient): 'Αλβανòv ὅρος (P), 'Αμανòv τὸ ὅρος (P), Κομανòv τὸ ὅρος (P), Φρεντανòv (Steph. Byzant. P). Zaimov mentions only Γρατσανòv (188). See also -ιανò(v). The plural -anà is met in ancient toponyms such as Μαλανà (P), Μαρικανà, as well as in later ones such as 'Αλεξανà³² (from 'Αλεξῆς in Karpathos), Πετρανà (a village in the Kozani area), Φρυγανà (Bithynia)³³.

Zaimov mentions nine such toponyms of Slav origin: Βλιζανà or Βλυζανà, Γρατζανà or Γρατσανà, Δρεβενà, Κοτσανà, Λωζανà, 'Οτσανà, Ριζανà, Τσαραπλανà and Φραστανà. Ριζανà, according to Zaimov from the Bulgar *răž* =rye, may perhaps be connected with the Greek *ρίζα*.

-ενα (-αινα)

The endings -αινα, -ενα and -αινà, -ένα may in Greek be feminine singular or, especially in toponyms, neuter plural. Zaimov mentions one feminine in -αινα: Δομβραίνα (Δομπραίνα, Δοβραίνα), and three toponyms in -ένα: Βελιτσένα, Δοβρένα (Δομπρένα) and Ρετσένα, the gender of which, unfortunately, he does not indicate. This is true of all toponyms in his treatise.

-ενος (-αινος)

1. -ενος is also an unusual ending in Greek, except, of course, in proper names and participles in -μενος of ancient and modern Greek, e.g. (ancient proper names) Κλύμενος, Κτίμενος, Μελπόμενος, Ὁρμενος etc. (cf. also the modern participles λεγάμενος, χαρούμενος etc.). Zaimov mentions no related toponyms.

2. -ενη (and -ενα, which can also be neut. pl.: see below) is also an unusual

31. P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en Grec ancien*, Paris 1933, pp. 197 ff.

32. K. Amantos, *Die Suffixe der neugriechischen Ortsnamen*, Munich 1903, (= *Suff.*), p. 54; see also *Γλωσσικὰ Μελετήματα*, where it is reprinted.

33. K. Amantos, *Γλωσσ. Μελετ.*, p. 485.

ending, except as the feminine form of adjectives in -μενος (but only in modern Greek: ancient Greek and katharevousa form the feminine in -μένη, not in -μενη).

Zaimov mentions toponyms in -αινη and -ενη, e.g. Τζέπαινη, Λάζενη, Βύρμπενη (cf. also the neuter in -ενι: Βίγκενι).

3. -ενο(v) is also common only in participles in -μενος (ancient λεγόμενον, δηλούμενον etc., modern λεγάμενο, χαρούμενο etc.).

Zaimov mentions the toponyms 'Αραγόζενο, Δρέβενο and others (nine altogether), all of Slav origin. Some were also rendered in Greek by -αίνον, e.g. Λίπαινον, Ρηγόζαινον, Σκλήβαινον.

The plural -ενα coincided, as we have seen, with the feminine ending -ενα/-αινα.

4. -ένος is also an unusual ending, except in participles in -μένος (ἀναμένος, θλιμένος, πικραμένος, τεντωμένος etc.).

Zaimov mentions no toponyms in -ένος.

5. -ένη is also unusual, except in the ending -μένη as the feminine form of ancient participles in -μενος and -μένος and of modern participles in -μένος. Certain participles had already been changed in ancient Greek into proper names and nouns, e.g. Ἐπιλυσαμένη, Κλυμένη, Μελπομένη, οίκουμένη and δεξαμένη (which later became δεξαμενή).

Zaimov mentions only the toponyms Σφραντζένη (168) and a few in -αίνη (Γιαννοβαίνη, Δρανοβαίνη and genitive Δρυανούβαίνης, Κουντσκοβαίνη, Σλαναίνη), as if they were feminines formed from literary genitive cases: e.g. Γιαννόβαινα gen. Γιαννοβαίνης and then nom. Γιαννοβαίνη, etc., or from -αίνα (-ένα) gen. -αίνης (-ένης): Δομβραίνα gen. Δομβραίνης. Cf. also neutrals in -ένι (Γερμοτζένι, Δρανοβένι, Μπιστένι, Τριβένι).

6. -ένο(v) is also found as the neuter form of participles in -μένος (ἀναμένο, πικραμένο etc.).

Zaimov mentions only the toponym Τρεμπένο (176), where, of course, we do not have the ending -ένο but the adaptation of a word of Slav origin in -en to the class of Greek neuter nouns in -o.

7. -ενòs is also an unusual ending in ancient Greek. The ending -μενòs, however, is found in many ancient nouns (maybe from participles in -μένος with a change of stress), e.g. Ἀγαπωμένος, Ἄγχομενός, Ἀκεσαμένός, Ἀκουμένός, Ἀλεξαμένός, Ἐπιλυσαμένός, Κλαυσαμένός, Τισαμένός (τίομαι, ἐτισάμην), Φιλουμένός etc. (P).

Ancient toponym: 'Ορχομενός.

Modern: 'Αγρενός (ἀγρός), Γιαννιτσενός (Γιαννίτσης), Δαμαλενός (Δαμαλᾶς), Καλαμενός (καλάμι), Καρδαμενός (Καρδάμης), Λευκενός (Λευκες), Στυρακενός (στυράκια) etc.³⁴

Zaimov mentions only one toponym, Σφελενός (168) or Σφολενός (173). Cf. also the genitive Σφολενοῦ (173).

8. -ενή, like -ενòs, is found only in ancient forms of nouns in -μενη (from

34. Ch. Papachristodoulou, *op. cit.*, p. 200 ff.

participles in -μένη, with a change of stress to the final syllable), e.g. δεξαμενή (from original δεξαμένη, participle of δέχομαι), Ἐλλαμενή (cf. also Ἐλλαμένη) etc.

Ancient toponyms: Εἰδομενή (also Εἰδομένη; Steph. Byzant.), Ἐλλαμενή (P); plural Ἀκεσαμεναι (Steph. Byzant.), Δεξαμεναι (Steph. Byzant.)

Modern: Καλοστρατενή (Rhodes)³⁵, Κυργαζενή (Kyriazis, Rhodes)³⁶.

Zaimov mentions only two: Βερβενή and Ραβενή (Ραβαινή). The form Σφραντζαινής is perhaps genitive of Σφραντζαινή.

9. -ενό(ν) is also an unusual ending in Greek.

Toponyms: there exist only modern dialect ones, e.g. Καταγρενό, Λευκενό, Μαλενό³⁷. Zaimov mentions only two: Γρεβενόν (122) and Ζεμενόν (133).

Plurals: Καστρενά, Κουνενά, Μουκενά, Τραχενά³⁸. Zaimov mentions three: Γαρδενά, Γρεβενά and Δρεστενά, and three in -αινά: Βαρβαινά, Διαβαινά and Ζερβαινά. On Διαβαινά (125) he writes nothing about the parety-mological influence of the Greek verb διαβαίνω.

The endings -νός, -ενή, -ενό, which, as we have seen, are found only in the southern dialects of modern Greek, may perhaps be identified with the ending -ινός (with change of -ι to -ε).

The -en in toponyms of foreign origin is an element in the root of the words.

-ηνος (see also -ινος)

1. -ηνος. An unusual ending in Greek.

2. -ηνη. Also unusual.

3. -ηνο(ν). Also unusual. The noun δαμάσκηνον comes from the neuter of the medieval adjective δαμασκηνόν, from the phrase δαμασκηνὸν κοκκύμηλον with recessive accent.

4. -ῆνος. We find no examples of this ending in Greek except the plurals of toponyms, e.g. (genitive) Ἀντιοχήνων πόλις (Papyrus.), Καμήνων χωρίον (Papyrus.).

5. -ήνη is known only as an ending of ancient nouns (proper and common), e.g. Ἀθήνη, ἀπήνη, γαλήνη, ειρήνη, κρήνη, Μυκήνη, σαγήνη, ὑπήνη etc., which seem to be of pre-Hellenic origin³⁹.

Toponyms: Καρήνη (Papyrus.), Μακρήνη (P.).

6. -ήνο(ν) is also an unusual ending.

7. -ηνός is an ancient ending (in Doric -ανός), e.g. Ἀβυδηνός, Ἀσιηνός, Περγαμηνός, Σαρδιηνός, Φιλιππηνός etc. Cf. the medieval Βυζαντηνός, Δαμασκηνός (=inhabitant of Damascus and coming from Damascus. Cf. also δαμασκηνὸν / δαμασκηνόν above). The ending coincided in modern Greek with -ινός, on which see below.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*

39. P. Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

Zaimov mentions the toponym Δεβλιτζηνός (189).

Toponyms in the plural -ηνοὶ already existed in ancient Greek, e.g. Ἀλπηνοὶ (Locris) (Herodotus 7, 176, 229), Κοταρζηνοὶ (P), Μησηνοὶ (Papyrus.)

Zaimov mentions the toponym Δοβελ(ι)τζηνοὶ (189).

8. -ηνή we meet in post-classical and medieval Greek, e.g. βωληνή (=vine)⁴⁰, ποταμηνή (river and goddess)⁴¹, Παρθηνή, Λευκοφρυνή. Soudas writes «Μαγδαληνή: ἀπὸ τόπου» (=Máygalalā).

Toponyms: Αἰαμηνή (P), Καμισηνή (P) Κομινηνή (P), Μελιτηνή (P), Μοριμηνή, Πτηνή, Σοφανηνή, Σωφηνή, Τανταρηνή, Τυρρηνή (P), Χοαρηνή, Χορτηνή, Χαρτιανηνή (P, Papyrus.). Cf. also -ινή.

Modern: Ἀστοιφηδηνή (Pyrgio)⁴².

9. -ηνό(ν) is a well-known ending in ancient Greek, e.g. ἄγρηνόν, καρυνόν, (καστηνό?). Cf. the medieval δαμασκηνὸν above.

The ending coincided in modern Greek with -ινό(ν).

Toponym: Μισηνόν (P).

Zaimov mentions the toponym Δοβελιτηνόν.

-ιανος

1. -ιανος is an unusual ending in Greek.

Zaimov mentions the toponym Κόλιανοι (138).

2. -ιανη (and -γιαννη or -γιανη, from false etymology of Γιάννης as second element in, e.g., Παπαγιάννης, Καλογιάννης, Κουτσογιάννης etc.) is a common ending of toponyms of Slav origin. On it see G. Stadtmüller, «Τὰ προβλήματα τῆς ιστορικῆς διερευνήσεως τῆς Ἡπείρου», *Ἡπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 9 (1934), 160 ff.

Zaimov mentions more than seventy toponyms in -(γ)ιαν(ν)η. Generally the -η in these toponyms, as well as their feminine form, is a Greek adaptation.

3. -ιανο(ν) is also an unusual ending in Greek.

Zaimov mentions only Λάντζιανο and Ρηγόζιανον. This ending too, with its plural -ιανα, is a Greek adaptation to neuter nouns in -ο(ν). Zaimov mentions about twenty toponyms in -ιανα, e.g. Βρούβριανα, Γούργιανα, Κώλιανα, Σέλσιανα etc. (Βρούβριανα is perhaps the same as Βρουβιανά. See below, p. 210).

4. -ιανος is met in the post-classical toponym Αμιτίανος κώμη (Papyrus.). Zaimov mentions none.

5. -ιανη is an unknown ending in ancient Greek.

6. -ιανο(ν) is familiar only in its plural form -ιανα, which we find in post-classical toponyms, e.g. Κυρίανα (a castle in Macedonia) (P), Λικινίανα (Ptolemy 2, 5, 8), Λογγίανα (a castle in Illyricum), Τιτίανα (a castle in Epirus, Latin *Titiana*) (P).

40. See Liddell-Scott-Jones *Lexicon*, under βωληνή.

41. *Ibid.*, under ποταμηνή.

42. K. Amantos, *Γλωσσ. Μελετ.*, p. 374, cf. *idem, Suff.*, p 51.

7. -ιάνος comes mainly from nouns and national names of Italian and Venetian origin in *-iano*=Latin *-ianus*, e.g. ρουφιάνος - *ruffiano*, Βενετσιάνος - *Veneziano*, Σισιλιάνος - *Siciliano*. The Latin ending *-ianus*, in the same way as *-anus*, becomes in Greek *-ιανός*, e.g. Ἀππιανός - *Appianus*, Ἰουλιανός - *Julianus*, χριστιανός - *christianus*, πραιτωριανός - *praetorianus*, βικαριανός - *vicarianus*, etc. This form is also used by katharevousa: Ζαγοριανός, Καλαματιανός⁴³, Λιβισιανός, Σικελιανός, Ψαριανός⁴⁴. The difference appears most clearly in the pair Σισιλιάνος - Σικελιανός.

Toponyms: we meet toponyms in -ιάνος in modern Greek chiefly in the gen. sing. or nom. pl.

a) in gen. sing.: τοῦ Μαυριάνου (a bay in Kythnos)⁴⁵, Πλεμενιάνου (Messenia)⁴⁶.

b) in nom. pl.: Ἀνδρωνιάνοι (Euboea)⁴⁷, Βαρδιάνοι⁴⁸, Γαργαλιάνοι (Messenia), Καλημεριάνοι⁴⁹, Καλλιάνοι⁵⁰ etc. Cf. surnames in -ιάνοι, e.g. Βοκιάνοι, Γιατριάνοι, Στεφανιάνοι etc.⁵¹

Zaimov mentions the following in -ιάνοι: Γκαβαλιάνοι (197), Δολιάνοι (and Δολιανοί, 127), Ζαγουριάνοι (132-133), Κεμενιάνοι (136), Καλλιάνοι and Κολιάνοι (138), Μπεμελιάνοι, Σερβιάνοι. The genitive Βερβιάνων (117) may come from a nominative Βερβιάνοι or a neuter form Βέρβιανα. Cf. also the accusatives Βανιάνους (106), Δελβοτζιάνους (124), Μοκρέανους (for Μοκριάνους, 151) and Ραβνιάνους (164).

Here, too, it is obvious that these forms soon took the Greek ending, so that they even formed cases, along with a plural, during their use by the Greeks.

8. -ιάνη is an unusual ending in Greek. To it were adapted a few Slav toponyms: Zaimov mentions Ἀρτζιάνη, Βαριάνη, Βατουσιάνη, Ζοργιάνη, Καλιάνη, Λυκουβιάνη, Λουτζιάνη, Σανιάνη, Φραστιάνη, Χοστιάνη. Of course, the Greek adaptation consists only in the final -η. The toponym Μελιντζιάνη (192-193) is rather of Greek origin. In Greek μελιντζάνα (=aubergine) is a very common word, as well as the colour μελιτζανή and the surname Μελιτζάνης (dialectal Μελιντζιάνης)⁵². Thus Μελιντζιάνη are M's estates.

Some Slav toponyms were also adapted to the Greek neuter nouns in -ι, as -ιάνι(ν), e.g. Βροστιάνι (228) and Γλοζιάνιν (119).

43. J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ εἰς -ΑΝΟΣ», 1555.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*, p. 1554.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. N. Fardys, "Υλη καὶ σκαριόρημα ἴστορίας, τῆς ἐν Κορσικῇ ἔλληνικῆς ἀποικίας", Athens 1888, p. 26; cf. D. Vayakakos in *Λακωνικά* 3 (1966), issue 15; 5 (1968), issues 28-30.

52. Cf. the dialect form Μερτζιάνης (also Μερτζάνης and -ίδης), Thessaloniki; see the telephone directory.

9. -ιάνο(ν) is met only in the post-classical toponym Λογγιάνον (P).

Zaimov mentions the following toponyms: Βανιάνον, Ζοπιάνον⁵³, Καμενιάνον (Καμινιάνον) and Κολιάνο, and the plurals Μπολιάνα, Σελλιάνα and Υλασιάνα, although, as we have mentioned, he does not indicate the gender: they could be feminines in -ιάνα.

10. -ιανός is a post-classical Greek ending, coming from Latin *-ianus*⁵⁴. It is a common ending of adjectives, e.g. αἰγοκεριανός, καλοκαιριανός, μαγιανός, πραιτωριανός, πρασιανός, Ταυριανός, χριστιανός⁵⁵, and of proper names, e.g. Ἀριανός, Ἀσιανός, Ἀττικιανός, Βακτριανός, Καυκασιανός, Λουκιανός, Νερωνιανός, Φουσκιανός etc.⁵⁶ (N.B. Φασιανός was formed on the name of the river, Φάσις, gen. Φάσιος, by adding the ending -ανός; and εύδιανός was formed on the ancient noun εύδια with the ending -νός or -ανός Cf. εύδιος).

Modern toponyms: Θημιανός (or Θυμιανός, =mountain thyme)⁵⁷, Κουμαριανός, Χορτιανός (Kardamyla)⁵⁸. In the genitive: Ἀλυκιανοῦ (ἀλυκιανὸς - ἀλυκή)⁵⁹, Καλλιανοῦ⁶⁰ etc. Cf. the post-classical Αἴλιανοῦ χωρίον (Papyr.).

Zaimov mentions the toponym Καρδουλιανός as Slav (137); but it seems thoroughly Greek. In modern Greek καρδούλα is today a very common diminutive of καρδιά (=heart), and from it is very easily formed the surname Καρδούλας or Καρδούλιας (by adding the ending -ιας; cf. the surname Γιαννακούλιας). From Καρδούλιας or Καρδούλας came later Καρδουλιανός, with the ending -ιανός. Zaimov also regards Καλλιανοῦ as Slav (136). He mentions the following plural forms: Ἀμοργιανοὶ (104), Δολιανοὶ, Δομιανοὶ (104). Cf. also Δολιάνοι (127). The genitive Δρολιανῶν has as nominative either Δρολιανοὶ or Δρολιανά.

11. -ιανή is also a post-classical and medieval Greek ending as the feminine of adjectives in -ιανός: καλοκαιριανή, πραιτωριανή etc. Orivasius mentions Θεσπεσιανή as a medicine (6th c. A.D.). Cf. also the proper noun Λευκιανή (as an epithet of Artemis; and Λευκιανοὶ=Luciani), Μαρινιανή (cf. Μαρινιανός, P), Τατιανή, Τιανή (=inhabitant of the city of Tios), Φλαβιανή(Ρ), Χριστιανή (P).

Post-classical and medieval toponyms: Αἴλιανή (Papyr.; cf. Αἴλανή, on which see -ανή)⁶¹, Ἀριανή (a country in Eastern Persia: Strabo, P), Βακτριανή

53. See also J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ εἰς -ΑΝΟΣ», 1554.

54. W. Pape - G. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd reprint Graz 1959, p. xxii; P. Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 197; K. Dieterich in *Balkan Archiv* 4 (1928), 158.

55. See P. Kretschmer - E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1944, 2nd ed. 1963.

56. Papyr. and P.

57. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 54.

58. K. Amantos, «Τοπωνυμικά Σύμμεικτα», *Αθηνᾶ* 22 (1910), 198.

59. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 54.

60. J. A. Thomopoulos, «Τὰ εἰς -ΑΝΟΣ», 1554.

61. These names are not exclusively names of estates belonging to a man (cf. Αἴλιανοῦ

(Steph. Byzant. P), Δομετιανή (P), Καρκασιανή πόλις (P), Λικινιανή (Λικίννιος P), Μαριανή (Marius P), Ματιανή (an Asian district, in modern Adzerbaijan; P, Strabo 2, 73), Μισσιανή (Soudas), Σουσιανή (Papyrus., P; σοῦσα= lilies: see the Liddell-Scott-Jones dictionary; cf. also Σουσιανοὶ ὄροι), Τιτιανή (P) etc. K. Amantos mentions also Σιγριανή⁶² («τὸ ὄρος τῆς Σιγριανῆς»).

Modern toponyms: -ιανή today usually denotes a place where there is a church of Our Lady. The name of the place comes from the adjective which goes with Παναγία in the place to define it. Here is a selection of toponyms in -ιανή. Π stands for Παναγία and signifies a place where there is a church of Our Lady: 'Ακρωτηριανή Π (cape)⁶³, 'Αχλαδιανή Π (from the toponym 'Αχλάδα, Thera)⁶⁴, Βρυσιανή (fountain)⁶⁵, Γαβριηλιανή (Gabriel)⁶⁶, Γαλατιανή (Galatas)⁶⁷, Δωριανή (Rhodes)⁶⁸, Ερειθιανή (ancient 'Ερειθαι)⁶⁹, Θυμιανή Π (Sfakia)⁷⁰, Καισαριανή (a well-known suburb of Athens; perhaps from the name Caesar), Καρδιανή (Καρυδιά, Tenos)⁷¹, Καστριανή Π⁷², Κεπαριανή and Κυππεριανή (Κύπερη Π)⁷³, Λουτριανή Π⁷⁴, Μεσσιανή (a village in Kozani province), 'Ολυμπιανή⁷⁵, Παραδεισιανή Π⁷⁶, Πη(γ)αδιανή Π⁷⁷, Ροδιανή (a village in Kozani province), Σπηλιανή⁷⁸, Χαλανδριανή⁷⁹ etc.

In the plural we have the post-classical Μαριαναὶ φόσσαι (*fossae Marianae*; P) and the medieval 'Αρκαδιαναὶ (a place in Constantinople) and Θεοδωριαναὶ⁸⁰.

Zaimov mentions more than twenty toponyms in -ιανή, e.g. 'Αμμουλιανή, Βερτζιανή, Δολιανή, Δροβιανή, Ζεμιανή, Καλλιανή, Λουζιανή, Μουλιανή,

χωρίον, Papyrus.) or a woman (cf. Αἰλιανῆς χωρίον, Papyrus.), but also names that refer to a region (cf. 'Αριανή χώρα), etc.

62. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 53.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. *Ibid.*

67. *Ibid.*

68. Ch. Papachristodoulou, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

69. K. Amantos, «Συμβολὴ εἰς ἀνθρωπογεωγραφίαν Χίου», 'Επιστημονικὴ 'Επετηροὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 6 (1950), 64.

70. Information from my colleague N. Drandakis.

71. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 54.

72. J. A. Thomopoulos, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 127.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 127.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

75. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 55.

76. J. A. Thomopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

77. *Ibid.*

78. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 55.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Ποριανή etc. Here, too, the Greek formation of these toponyms is obvious. Some seem also to have Greek roots: e.g. Γαβριανή (117-118), which is best connected with the toponym Γαβριὰ or Γραβιά, which are themselves from the modern noun γάβρος, a kind of tree (see above, p. 201). On the toponym Γαλανή see below. Ποριανή (109) must also be connected with the Greek noun πόρος (=river crossing, etc.). The toponym Ζημιανή (134) has been under the parety-mological influence of the Greek noun ζημιά, 'Οπισθιανή of the literary adjective δπίσθιος, and 'Υπεκδοριανή (160) of the preposition ὑπό and the literary noun ἐκδορά.

12. -ιανὸ(ν) is the neuter of the ending -ιανὸς above.

Post-classical and medieval toponym: Μαριανὸν (cape and city, Mt. Ptolemy; P). Zaimov mentions only Καρδουλιανὸ (145), on which see above p. 207.

The plural -ιανὰ is a common ending of ancient and medieval toponyms, e.g. 'Αλεξανδριανὰ⁸¹, 'Ελενιανὰ⁸², Εύτυχιανὰ⁸³ (cf. Εύτυχιανός), Θεοδοριανὰ (P), 'Ιστριανὰ (P), Κανδιδιανὰ (P), Κλημεντιανὰ (P)⁸⁴, Κυπριανὰ (P)⁸⁵, Μαριανὰ (P), Μαρκελλιανὰ (Μαρκελλινά, P), Μαρκιανὰ (P), Πετρωνιανὰ⁸⁶ etc. (usually with omission of the noun κάστρα).

In modern toponyms with the ending -ιανά, instead of κάστρα must rather be meant κτήματα or some other related thing (fields, buildings etc.) which belong to one family. This kind of toponym is very common in many places, especially Crete⁸⁷. They have been formed mainly from surnames. Here is a small selection: 'Αγγελιανά ('Αγγελος), 'Αρμενιανά, 'Αμουργανά (Rhodes)⁸⁸, Βρανιανά, Βαριδιανά, Βαρδιανά (Βάρδας), Βλαχιανά (Βλάχος) Γαβαλιανά (Γαβαλᾶς), Γερακιανά (Γέρακας, Γεράκης etc.), 'Επιβατιανά⁸⁹, 'Επισκοπιανά (ἐπίσκοπος), Ζερβιανά (Ζέρβας, Ζερβός etc.), Ζωνιανά⁹⁰, 'Ηρακλειανά⁹¹, Θεοδωριανά, Θυμιανά (and Θημιανά)⁹², Καλαθιανά (Καλαθᾶς), Καλλεργιανά (Καλλέργης), Καλουδιανά (Καλούδης), Καμουλιανά⁹³, Καλογεριανά⁹⁴,

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*

83. *Ibid.*

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

87. See *ibid.*, pp. 52 ff.; N. Chatzidakis in 'Επετηροὶς 'Εταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν 1 (1938), 454; and N. Stavrakis, *Στατιστικὴ τοῦ πλυθυνασμοῦ τῆς Κρήτης*, Athens 1890.

88. Ch. Papachristodoulou, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 248.

89. Χρονικά τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς, issue 17-18 (1969), 180.

90. 'Επετηροὶς 'Εταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν 2, 376.

91. Χρονικά τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς, vol. cit., 179.

92. K. Amantos, «Τοπωνυμικὰ σύμμεικτα», *loc. cit.*, 198.

93. K. Amantos in 'Ελληνικά 6 (1933), 260; (Byzantine proper name: Θεόδωρος πατρίκιος Καμουλιανός).

94. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 54.

Κορακιανά (Κόρακας)⁹⁵, Καπετανιανά (Καπετάνιος), Καψαλιανά (Καψάλης), Κουμαριανά⁹⁶, Κυνηγιανά (Κυνηγός), Λαμανιανά, Μανωλαδιανά, Παπαδιανά, Σιγανιανά (Σιγανός), Τσιμεριανά, Φωτιανά (proper name Φώτιος, -ης, surname Φωτίου), Χανωθιανά (Χανιά, Χανιώτης), Χριστιανά⁹⁷ etc.

Zaimov mentions more than fifty such toponyms in -ιανά. Besides attributing them all to the Bulgarian -jane ending, he attempts to find Slav roots in all. That many of those which he regards as Slav are Greek nouns or modern surnames, despite the foreign origin of some, is evident from the multitude of Greek toponyms in -ιανά we have seen, especially in Crete, i.e. in an area which no other source (except a doubtful one: see Zaimov, p. 89) mentions as having undergone Slav settlement, despite the claim of Zaimov, who wishes to base theories on these toponyms. In fact, of the toponyms he mentions, apart from the ending, which is a true Greek morphological element, the following are, in my opinion, of Greek origin, their formation coming from proper names and surnames: Βρούβιανά (111; βρούβα is a kind of plant, from which the surname Βρούβας is perhaps derived), Βρανιανά (surname Βρανᾶς), Δαριβιανά (124; surname Δαριβάς), Δελιανά (surname Δέλιος), Δεμιρτζιανά (surname Δεμιρτζῆς, Turkish *demir*=iron; cf. the surname Δεμίρης), Δουλιανά (surname Δούλιας), Ζερβιανά (132, 173; surname Ζέρβας, Ζερβός; see above, p. 209), Θεοδωριανά (175; proper name Θεόδωρος, surname Θεοδώρου), Κουμπουριανά (273; κουμπούρι=pistol; see below, p. 214), Λαζιανά (proper name and surname Λάζος), Λεσσιανά (146; village Λέσσι), Μελιανά (150; surname Μέλιος), Μηλιανά (150; proper name and surname Μήλιος), Μουλιανά (104; surname Μουλᾶς), Παλληκαριανά (137; παλληκάρι), Πιστιανά (surname Πίστας), Πλεμενιανά (surname Πλεμένος), Σερβιανά (173; surname Σέρβος), Σεργιανά (173; proper name Σέργιος), Σφεντιλιανά (135, 168, 173, 198; σφένδυλας=village Σφεντύλι, see below, p. 216), Χωσιανά (χωσιά=crypt, from χώνω), etc.

-ινος

1. -ινος is an ancient ending of adjectives formed from nouns, e.g. αἰμάτινος (αἷμα), ἄλ-ινος and ἄλατ-ινος (ἄλς, ἄλας), βίβλ-ινος and βύβλ-ινος (βύβλος), γή-ινος (γῆ), δρύ-ινος (δρῦς), ἔλατ-ινος (ἔλατον), πέτρ-ινος (πέτρα), etc.⁹⁸ Cf. also the modern Greek ἀγέρ-ινος, βελούδ-ινος, γίδ-ινος, κρεάτ-ινος, ξύλ-ινος, ρόδ-ινος, ψάθ-ινος, etc.

There are no Greek toponyms in -ινος, neither does Zaimov mention any.

2. -ινη is the ending used to form the feminine of adjectives in -ινος in modern Greek (ancient Greek and katharevousa form it in -ινη), e.g. βελούδινη, ξύλινη, ψάθινη etc.

In ancient Greek, -ινα is found as an ending of toponyms, e.g. Αἴγινα: according to the *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἔγκυλοπαιδεία* this word is of pre-Greek

95. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

96. See also *Ἑλληνικὰ* 2 (1929), 338.

97. K. Amantos, *Suff.*, p. 55.

98. P. Chantraine, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

origin; probably, however, it is related to the ancient αἴγες (=waves; Artemidorus Dald., 2, 12, 2nd c. A.D.). Cf. Hesychius: «αἴγες· τὰ κύματα Δωριεῖς», as well as αἴγιαλός, Αἴγαι, Αἴγαιον, Αἴγαιος etc. In the lexicon P it is translated «Wellenkamp, Seeland»; Καμάρινα (Latin *Camarina*), Μέλινα (an ancient city in the Argolid; Steph. Byzant., P; whence also Μέλιννα as a woman's name =sweet), Μύρινα (Lemnos; modern Κάστρο), etc.

Modern toponyms in -ινα: Φλώρινα, and perhaps Μόρνα (from Μόρινα: μόρινος=of mulberry from μόρον=μοῦρο). Zaimov mentions none.

3. -ινο(ν) is the ancient and modern Greek neuter of the ending -ινος, e.g. αἵματινον, ἀέρινον, βελούδινον, ξύλινον etc.

Toponym: Λούρινον (P; cf. Herodotus 2, 7: βολβίτινον στόμα).

Zaimov mentions Βράτσινον (116), Βριάσινον (116), Ρούζινο and Ρυζόγινον (166-167). Here, too, the ending betrays the Greek formation.

4. -ινος is used in ancient Greek to denote a) common nouns, e.g. γυρ-ινος, κεφαλινος, κυπρινος, ἔχινος, τυφινος, χυτρινος etc. (usually sea-beasts) and b) post-classical national names of Latin origin, e.g. Ἀκραγαντίνος, Ταραντίνος⁹⁹.

In modern Greek there are some nouns in -ινος of Italian origin, e.g. ἀρλεκίνος, καμποτίνος, λεβαντίνος, μανδαρίνος (and later also θεατρίνος), from *arlechino*, *cappuccino* etc. and perhaps *teatrino*. The feminine of these words, where it exists, is formed in -ινα: ἀρλεκίνα, θεατρίνα etc.

Toponym: Αβαρίνος (=Navarino); cf. also the plural Αβαρίνους. Zaimov mentions none.

5. -ινη is used to form the feminine of the ancient ending -ινος and the later national names in -ινος, e.g. αἵματ-ινη, βιβλίνη, πρασίνη, Ακραγαντίνη etc.

Ancient toponyms (where usually πόλις is understood): Αλαβαστρίνη (Papyr.), Ελεφαντίνη (see Herodotus 2, 17: Ελεφαντίνης πόλιος; cf. Ελεφάντων πόλις, Steph. Byzant., P), Καλαμίνη (P), Κωνσταντίνη (and Κωνσταντίνα) (P), Τραχίνη (Ταρρακίνα, P). See also Αλματίνη, Βολβυθίνη, Ταλαμίνη, Τελλίνη, Χοατίνη etc. (Papyr. and P).

Modern: Κατερίνη ('Εκατερίνη¹⁰⁰, Αίκατερίνη)¹⁰¹.

6. -ινα appears in the toponyms Αβαρίνα (P) and Περσίνα (feminine of Περσένς; see A. Koraes, *Κριτικὰ Σημειώματα Ἡλιόδωρον* II, 149).

Modern toponyms: τῆς Μαλλίνας (Epanomi, nr. Thessaloniki)¹⁰².

7. -ινο(ν) is used in modern Greek to denote some nouns of foreign, mostly Italian, origin. e.g. καζίνο, καπελίνο, κινίνο, κομοδίνο, κρινολίνο, μαντολίνο, μαρασκίνο and όμπρελίνο.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 205 ff.

100. See A. Keramopoulos in *Αθηνᾶ* 51 (1941), 128. From 'Εκατερός and the ending -ινη, Latin -ina.

101. Cf. J. Tsikopoulos in *Αρχεῖα Συλλόγου Κοραή*, 33; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 116, 275-302.

102. *Χρονικὰ τῆς Χαλκιδικῆς*, vol. cit., p. 175.

Toponyms: Βελεστίνο, Βερολίνο, Δουβλίνο and perhaps others.

8. -ινός is an ancient ending of adjectives, e.g. αὐρινός, δροσινός, ἡμερινός, μεσημβρινός, πρωϊνός, σημερινός, χθεσινός etc. In modern Greek it is common as an ending of national names, e.g., Ζακυνθινός, Πατρινός, Καλαβρυτινός etc.

Zaimov mentions only the toponym Σφελινός (173).

9. -ινή is the ancient feminine form of -ινός, e.g. αὐρινή, δροσινή, ἡμερινή, μεσημβρινή, πρωϊνή, σημερινή, χθεσινή etc. Hesychius mentions βαρακινή as a nominalized adjective: «βαρακινῆσιν ἀκάνθαις, σκόλοψι». Toponyms: the plural of this ending is common in modern dialect, e.g. Δενδρινές or Δεντρινές (Cephalonia), Κεχρινές (Lefkas)¹⁰³, etc.

Zaimov mentions only Βερβινή (117) and Βουλγαρινή (112).

10. -ινό(ν) is the neuter form of ancient adjectives in -ινός, e.g. αὐρινόν, δροσινόν, ἡμερινόν, μεσημβρινόν, πρωϊνόν, σημερινόν, χθεσινόν etc.

Toponyms: the plural of this ending is common in ancient and later toponyms, e.g. Μαλαγινά (P), Μαρκελλινά (P), Ρωματινά (=castle; see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* 127, 10).

Modern toponym: Ροδινά (Mani)¹⁰⁴.

Zaimov mentions only Βαλτσινό (105) and Γαλεανινό (118).

-ίτσι

Zaimov also examines many other Greek toponyms of Slav origin, mainly in -ίτσι, all of which he attributes to the Bulgarian ending -ci, which, along with -jane, is an ending of inhabitants' names; and he attempts to draw ethnological conclusions from these in the same way.

With these, too, he makes the same mistake. One cannot postulate the settlement of Slav groups in these cases merely on the basis of toponyms, without the aid of other sources. The reason is that the ending -ίτσι had become, quite early in the Middle Ages, a productive Greek diminutive ending (πηδηματίτσιν, τυρίτσιν, ψωμίτσιν etc.), which was later taken over by proper names and surnames (Γιαννίτσης, Μιχαλίτσης etc.); and it was mainly from these surnames that most toponyms in -ίτσι came. As proof of this, we may cite their presence today in all Greek places. Today toponyms in -ίτσι exist even in areas in which there is no suggestion of the presence of Slavs, e.g. in many Aegean islands and in Asia Minor. This is satisfactorily accounted for by the fact that these toponyms must come from surnames. Thus we have the toponym τοῦ Γιαννίτση in Ceos¹⁰⁵, τοῦ Διαβολίτσι, τοῦ Πετρίτση, τοῦ Μιχαλίτση in Asia Minor¹⁰⁶, etc.

103. K. Amantos, *Γλωσσ. Μελετ.*, p. 374; *Αθηνᾶ* 22 (1910), 198.

104. K. Amantos, *Γλωσσ. Μελετ.*, p. 374.

105. J. A. Thomopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

106. D. Zakynthinos, *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 1946-1947 and 1947-1948*, Thessaloniki 1953, p. 206. Cf. *Ἐλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινούπολεως*, year 11 (1877), 81.

In some of these toponyms in -τσι, moreover, coming from surnames, we may even have the influence of the Turkish ending -ci (and -çi)¹⁰⁷, which is a not unknown ending in Greek and Slav words.

Let us now proceed to certain specific observations. I would chiefly like to demonstrate what I stressed at first: that Zaimov lacks adequate knowledge of the Greek language. This failing is evident from the wrong accentuation and misspelling of many Greek words. On page 290, for example, there are so many mistakes that they cannot, I think, be considered typographical errors: 'Ατλάς τῶν δημῶν.., γλώσσις...etc.

Here, then, are a few remarks:

p. 104: *Avlieni*, a village in Bulgaria. Its name, according to Zaimov, comes from the toponym *Avlija(ta)*, which he says is a dialectal form of *avlja*=vegetable garden; this from the Turkish *avlı*, *avlı*=court. He finally states that «this is not the medieval city *Avli*».

The most ancient and very common Greek word αὐλὴ (ancient, medieval and modern Greek), from which come, besides the Latin *aula*, the Turkish word and the Bulgar toponym, is completely unknown to him.

p. 104: 'Αβλιάνα, a village in Kozani province. It is not clear why Zaimov separates this toponym from the above-mentioned Avlieni and attributes it to a certain Slav form *Obljane*, which he says comes from an original toponym *obla*=hill, mountain top.

p. 104 (and 34): 'Αλητζανή, a village in Crete. Here Zaimov's imagination tempts him to separate the word into the Greek prefix ἀ- and *Αλητζανή, because he wishes to match the latter with the Slav *ličane, which he says is from the toponym *liče*=sunshine.

Obviously we are dealing with the name 'Αλη-Τζανής (Turkish *âli*-'Alîç, proper name, and Τζανής=Venetian *Gianni*, or more probably Turkish *can*=soul). Moreover, it concerns a village located on a hill and of feminine gender: ή 'Αλητζανή is preserved in old documents under the name 'Αλιτζάν or 'Αλιτσάν-Alican. For further details, see J. S. Alexakis, «The toponym 'Αλιτζανή»¹⁰⁸.

p. 106 (and 38): *Βραστά* and *Vrasta*, a village in Chalkidiki. Zaimov again mentions the opinion of M. Vasmer¹⁰⁹, who attributes the toponym to the Slav *Brăstane. About the Greek word βραστὸς neither Vasmer nor Zaimov says anything at all.

The toponym *Βραστή* also exists, in the Yannitsa region. The older name of the village is Πρόσνα.

p. 118 (and 37): *Γαλανή*, a village on the island of Serifos. Cf. also *Galani-*τό *Γαλάνη*, a village in the Kozani area. Zaimov derives this name from the Bulgar form *Goljane (cf. also Γόλιανη, he writes) or the form *Galjane, i.e.

107. H. C. Hony-Fahir Iz, *A Turkish-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1960, under the words: *cicek-ci*, *cift-ci*, *cikik-ci*.

108. J. S. Alexakis, «Τὸ τοπωνύμιο 'Αλιτζανή», *Κρητικὴ Εστία* 6 (1954), issue 42, pp. 23-25.

109. M. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

from the toponym *Gala* (e.g. *gala reka*, *gala bara*: *gal*=black; cf. also, he writes, *Galik*=the river Γαλλικός in Thessaloniki).

He fails to mention the very common modern Greek adjective γαλανός =blue (from the noun γάλα and the ending -ηνός, or from the ancient adjective γαληνός)¹¹⁰. From γαλανός come:

1. The adjective γαλάνης=blue-eyed
2. The surname Γαλάνης

3. The toponyms Γαλάνα (a suburb of Carystia on Euboea), Γαλανέικα (a suburb of Lamia), Γαλανιανά (a suburb of Anticythera), and Γαλανάδος (a village on Naxos)¹¹¹. Cf. also the various places in any areas called Γαλανόβρυση, γαλανὸν νερό, etc.

p. 123 (and 68): Γουναριάνικα. Zaimov relates this to the Slav *gumno* =threshing-floor. He says that the toponym comes from the older form *Γουναριάνι; this in turn from the form *Γουμιναριάνι, which comes from the toponym *Gumānar, which comes from the noun *gumānar=one who works on a threshing-floor, thresher. The month of August (the threshing month) is, he says, called in some Bulgarian dialects *Gumnar* and *Gumnač*. He justifies the phonetic changes as follows: for *mn*>*vn*>*n*, cf. Bulgarian dialect *gumno* ≈ *guňno* and *guňnu*. He stresses that on Greek soil the name evolved with the ending -ικα, like the toponyms Αραχοβίτικα, from the Bulgar *Orăchovo, and the nearby Καρυώτικα (with the same meaning).

He knows neither the very common modern Greek word γούνα (=fur), pl. γούνες, nor γουναρᾶς (=furrier), nor the well-known surname Γούναρης. If he does know them, he should explain why Γουναριάνικα are not the estates of one Γούναρης or of some furriers, and why so many phonetic changes had to occur for a Slav toponym.

The same can also be said about Γιαννιτσάνικα (p. 196), which he says comes from the toponym Γιαννιτσάνη. This, he writes, may have been formed on Bulgarian or Greek soil from the name Γιάννης or *Jan(o)* and the ending -ιτσα or -iča; cf. the toponym Γιάννιτσα in the same area. He says nothing about the well-known modern Greek surname Γιαννίτσας.

p. 143 (and 23): Κουμπουριανά, a village in Thessaly. Zaimov states that this may come from the form *kō borjane (originally *kā borjane), i.e. the preposition *kā* and the toponym *borjane. He says nothing at all about the modern Greek word κουμπούρι (from the Turkish *kubur*). But there exist today not only the modern Greek surname Κουμπούρης, but also Κούμπουρας (or Κουμπουρᾶς or Κουμπούρας), Κούμπουρος etc., Κουμπουρλῆς, Κούμπουρόπουλος and Κούμπουρίδης, so that there is no need to derive the toponym by this elaborate system, which Zaimov suggests only to show that the toponym is a Slav one.

p. 151: Μακρυγιάνη, a village in Crete. Zaimov derives this toponym from the Slav *Mokrjane as follows: the unstressed *o* was rendered by *a*, some-

110. N. P. Andriotis, *Λεξικό*, under γαλανός.

111. See under the appropriate words in the *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυλοπαιδεία* (MEE).

thing which often happens in older Bulgar toponyms in southern Greece. It is difficult, therefore, to relate this name to the Greek adjective μακρός, μακρύς, because then it should have been *Μάκριανη; the -υγια-, coming from the Bulgar -ja-, shows that the name is not Greek.

Zaimov's complete lack of knowledge of Greek and of the rules for the formation of Greek names becomes obvious here. The ancient adjective μακρός became, in medieval Greek, μακρύς like adjectives in -νς (παχύς, βαρύς), μακριός like those in -ιός, μακρινός with the ending -ινός, and μακρουλός with the ending -ουλός¹¹². In the same period we also find the diminutive μακρούτσικος¹¹³.

Greek adjectives in -νς take the ending -ινός, not -ιανός: e.g. ταχὺς - ταχινός, βραδὺς - βραδινός, μακρύς - μακρινός, and perhaps others. Thus a form *Μάκριανη from *μακριανή (with recessive accent) is unthinkable in Greek. Also, Bulgar -ja- gives Greek -για-, not -υγια- as Zaimov thinks. Thus of the toponyms Μόκραινη, Μάκραινα (and Μάκρενα) and Μακρυγιάνη mentioned by him as Slav, only Μόκραινη could come from the Slav *Mokrjane. Μάκραινα and Μάκρενα, if they do not come from the andronymic Μάκραινα, (i.e. the wife of Μακρῆς, which is a very common modern Greek surname), on which see below, could also be a Greek transformation of Μόκραινη.

But how could Μόκρενη become Μακρυγιάνη, especially in Crete, where no Slav ever set foot? Once again, Zaimov is ignorant of the widely-known modern Greek surname Μακρυγιάνης (=Long John); he did not notice that the village is mentioned with the article: στοῦ Μακρυγιάνην¹¹⁴; and he has never heard—how could he—of the well-known quarter of Athens Μακρυγιάνη, which was named after the Greek hero of 1821, General Μακρυγιάνης, famous for his memoirs, whose house and estates were located there.

p. 162 (and 36): Ποραζάνος, a village, now γεφύρι τοῦ Μπουραζάνη (-άνη). Zaimov mentions the opinion of M. Vasmer¹¹⁵, who accepts the theory that the toponym comes from the Slav form *porāčane. I think that here too we are dealing with a bad rendering in somewhat learned language of the dialectal Greek noun μπουραζάνης (still used today) in the northern dialects bouražántς. This is a borrowing from Turkish *borazan*=trumpeter (and trumpet, too, as in Turkish) from *boru*=μπουρί, which, among other meanings (e.g. stovepipe), means trumpet in certain dialects, as in Turkish¹¹⁶. The bridge is indeed called γεφύρι τοῦ Μπουραζάνη to this day. On the modern Greek surname Μπουραζάνης see the newspaper *Μακεδονία*, issue of 20.5.71.

p. 169 (and 24): Ἀγκουσελιανά, two villages in Crete. Zaimov's method

112. See Ducange, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, Graz 1958 (reprint), under μακριός and μακρύς.

113. *Ibid.*, under μακριός: μακρούτσικος.

114. See MEE under Μακρυγιάνης.

115. M. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

116. H. C. Hony-Fahir Iz, *Dictionary*, under *porazan*; Heuzer - Sefket, *Türkish-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden 1967, under *boru*.

forces him to mutilate this toponym too, breaking it into 'Αγκού- and -σελιανά (sic), since the latter, due to its phonetic similarity, could be identified with the toponyms Σελλιάνα, Σέλιανη and Σελιανή (from the Slav *selo* and the ending *-jane*). But what about 'Αγκού? Nothing to it, according to Zaimov: it is the Greek preposition (sic) *ἀγκοῦ (=ancient Greek ἀγχοῦ), which we meet in the modern verb ἀγκουσεύματι (=gasp). He refers the reader here to D. Demetrikos' dictionary, where one may read: «ἀγκουσεύω, -ομαι: ἔχω ἀγκούσα, πνευστιῶ // μεταφ. στενοχωρούματι, δυσφορῶ».

I sincerely regret the unforgivable high-handedness of my friend Zaimov. How could the Homeric adverb (not preposition - *predlog*) ἀγχοῦ wait for the Slavs or Slav-speaking Greeks in order to join the toponym Σελιανά, being substituted for the Slav preposition *do* (**doseljane* - *Ντασελιανά) or the preposition *prā* (*Prăseljane* - *Πρεσελιανά). Zaimov does not even hesitate to place διάσελλο (διάσελο, *Dhiaselon*, διάσελλον, Διάσελα: p. 55) in the same category, i.e. to separate the word into διά (preposition) and -σελ(λο)v=Slav *selo* (=village), while it is well-known that the word has as second element the Latin derivative σελί=σελλίον, diminutive of σέλ(λ)α¹¹⁷.

To make matters worse, he attempts to give the etymology of ἀγκουσεύματι: from ἀγκοῦ and the verb σεύματι // σεύω=hunt, provoke — «*lovuvam, gonja, draznja*». He pays no attention to Demetrikos' reference to the word ἀγκούσα, meaning today difficult breathing, tension, whose etymology is, according to N. Andriotis, from the Venetian *angossa* (Latin *angustia*; or, according to Chatzidakis, from δύκοῦσα, a participle of the verb δύκοῦματι¹¹⁸; or still, in my own opinion, from the influence of ἄγχος). From ἀγκούσα the modern Greek dialect surname 'Αγκουσέλης is easily formed, with the ending -έλ(λ)η, which is prevalent in Mytilene. 'Αγκουσελιανά, therefore, can be nothing but the estates of one 'Αγκουσέλλης.

p. 173: Σφεντιλιανά. Zaimov exaggerates the importance of this toponym in Crete in order to give credence to his claim of the settlement of Slavs there (which he mentions on pages 18, 36, 50, 55, 58, 89, 135, 168, 195 and 198).

In this case his imagination has gone wild. The toponym, according to him, comes from the Slav phrase *svyat Iljane, which in turn comes from the toponym *Svjat Ilja (=St. Elias). Then the sv- (ζβ-, σβ-) became in Greek σφ-, something we observe also, according to Zaimov, in the word σφινάρι, which he derives from σβινάρι; he ignores the word σφηνάρι, from the ancient Greek σφήν, modern σφήνα. Here he refers us to M. Vasmer¹¹⁹, as well as to Šišmanović¹²⁰.

We are concerned with a little village in the parish of Moulete, in the Kissamos district of Chania province¹²¹. I do not know if the village possesses

117. N. P. Andriotis, *Λεξικό*, under διάσελο.

118. *Ibid.*, under ἀγκούσα.

119. M. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

120. See *Bălgarski Pregled IV* (1897), pp. 3, 90.

121. See *MEE* under Σφεντιλιανά.

an 'Αη-λιά; but 'Αηλιάδες exist in countless Greek villages. As far as village names go, however, only one exists in Greece: Προφήτης Ἡλίας.

But Zaimov is unaware that in Crete (district of Heraklion Plain) there is a village Σφεντήλι (also Σφενδῆλι, today Σφενδήλιον)¹²², obviously from the modern Greek word σφοντύλι (=spindle; ancient σπονδύλιον, diminutive of σπόνδυλος). Also, in Crete σφένδυλας is a word for neck, neck vertebra¹²³. We also note the Cretan word σφεδιλοράδι¹²⁴ meaning an ear of ἀσφεδιλιάς, i.e. ἀσφοδέλου=asphodel. (In Crete, ἀσφεδιλιά and ἀσφεδιλιές=ἀσφοδίλια, σφερδούκια, σφερδούκλια, a kind of plant)¹²⁵.

There is no doubt, therefore, that Σφεντιλιανά as a toponym may come from the toponym Σφεντήλι (sc. Σφεντύλι) or from the surname Σφεντύλης or Σφένδυλας (cf. the surname Τραχίλης), or even from the noun ἀσφεδιλιά or ἀσφεδιλιές (with loss of original ἀ-, cf. σφεδιλοράδι), originally *Ἀσφεντιλιανά; cf. Βουρβουλιανά from Βουρβουλιά=κράταιγος, πυράκανθα¹²⁶, a kind of plant, and -ιανά, cf. Βρουβιανά above.

p. 213 (and 12): Γερακάρτσι (today Γερακώνας) in the Yannitsa area. Zaimov derives this toponym from the Bulgar *jerakari* (=falcon hunter) «in all probability in connexion with the privileges of inhabitants who were employed as falcon hunters, taming these birds and using them in the hunt during the Middle Ages».

But γερακάρτσι in this sense (ἱερακοτρόφος) is an early medieval Greek word¹²⁷; it seems to have replaced the more ancient ἱερακοτρόφος and ἱερακοβοσκός (3rd c. B.C.)¹²⁸. Zaimov does not mention that *jerakari* is of Greek origin: from medieval γερακάρης, post-classical γερακάριος, which in turn comes from the ancient ἱεράκιον, diminutive of ἱεράξ, medieval γεράκιν, modern γεράκι, and the ending, also medieval, -άριος (from the Latin *-arius*, later *-árius* / *-árης* (already found in medieval times)).

In Greek today, besides the surnames Γεράκης, which exists even in foreign languages (cf. the European *Falkon*), and Γερακάρης, there exist also in various places several toponyms, names of villages, suburbs etc., which come from the medieval γερακάρης. Thus we have Γερακάρι in Crete, in the Aghias area (Larisa), and in the Yannina area (Dodoni); Γερακάρι(ον) in the district of Kalabaka, on the island of Kythera, and in the Arcadia area of Zakynthos province (upper middle and lower), Γερακαριά in Chalkidiki, Γερακαροῦ in the Langada area of Thessaloniki, and perhaps others¹²⁹.

We come now to the Yannitsa Γερακάρτσι. The ending -τσι made Zai-

122. *Ibid.*

123. G. Pangalos, *Περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ἰδιώματος τῆς Κρήτης*, Athens 1961, vol. 3, p. 495.

124. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 182.

125. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 183.

126. See 'Ιστορικὸν Λεξικόν under βουρβουλεά.

127. See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, under γερακάρης.

128. *Ibid.*, under the appropriate words.

129. See *MEE*.

mov suppose that the toponym has its roots in a Slav inhabitants' name. But how can one be certain about such a hypothesis when the word could also have the Turkish ending *çι-* or *çι-*, or may in any case originate in a surname? Cf. the surname Λυκάρτσης.

p. 248; Zaimov derives the name *Levter* from the Greek proper name Λεύτερος (literary ἐλεύθερος). Of course, in Greek the proper name is Λευτέρης (literary Ἐλευθέριος).

On page 89 Zaimov writes that the fact that in the north the Slavs moved south through valleys and between river banks, but in the south along the mountains, is impressive: and instead of considering this logical and natural—since in the north, where their places of origin were, the Slavs descended in greater numbers—he attempts to offer a different interpretation, explaining the fact through the political conditions of the areas and the Byzantine administration, claiming that the Byzantines had stronger garrisons in the south than in the north in the 5th and 6th centuries.

I shall stop here although I could go on with my criticism. My conclusion is that without a good knowledge of the Greek language and at least the most important works among the relevant Greek bibliography, such a treatise should never have been attempted. I think that in these cases the cooperation of Greek and Slav toponymologists, linguists and other specialists is preferable, since the danger of misunderstandings and other serious errors could thus be minimized, at least in certain disputed cases.

Regarding Greek toponyms of Slav origin, the existence of which in Greece no one denies: it would be better if their origin is attributed more to the language interaction which developed during the peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Slavs in the period of Turkish occupation¹³⁰, and less to the forced Slav influence during the settlement of Slav groups in Greek lands.

Thus not even this treatise by Zaimov could present the argument for which our northern neighbours have been looking for so long in order to defeat the only correct view regarding the Slavs and their settlement in Greece in the Byzantine period: which is that «the Greek food-cells devoured to complete extinction the few foreign blood corpuscles that invaded»¹³¹.

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130. A. Vacalopoulos, 'Ιστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, 1354-1833, p. 153.

131. S. Kyriakidis, *Bυζαντιναὶ Μελέται VI*, Thessaloniki 1947, p. 97.

Notices bibliographiques

Maria Nystazopoulou-Pélékidis et I.-R. Mircea, *Tὰ ρουμανικὰ ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς ἐν Πάτμῳ Μονῆς* (*Les documents roumains des archives du monastère de Patmos*). Tirage à part des *Σύμπεικτα* du Centre de Recherches byzantines (Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν) du Centre National de la Recherche ('Εθνικὸν Ἰδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν), tome II, Athènes 1970, pp. 257-327 (avec résumé en français et 19 planches).

Enfin un travail sur les relations des Principautés roumaines avec le monastère de Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, dans l'île de Patmos! Le premier du genre. Et c'est bien ce qui en fait l'intérêt. Il a fallu pour y parvenir la collaboration de deux savants, une Grecque et un Roumain. Il faut s'en féliciter. Et les féliciter.

Que savait-on jusqu'ici de ces relations? Rien, ou pratiquement rien puisqu'on avait avancé, bien à la légère, que le prince de Moldavie Étienne le Grand avait fait don d'une paire de rhipidia (éventails liturgiques) au couvent de Patmos¹. Or je n'avais pas eu de mal à montrer à son heure l'inanité de cette donation: il s'agit en fait d'objets religieux offerts en 1488 par Étienne le Grand au monastère de Zographou, au Mont-Athos, et aliénés dans des circonstances demeurées encore inconnues. (Voir mon article. «In legătură cu unele danii de la Ștefan cel Mare», *Romanoslavica* V [1962], 148-149). Ce n'est que tout récemment qu'une étude bien menée du Professeur C.C. Giurescu, «L'aide accordée par les Pays roumains à l'enseignement de la Péninsule balkanique et du Proche-Orient», *Revue des études sud-est européennes* IX (1970), 831-832, a projeté quelques lueurs sur les donations roumaines au profit de l'École du monastère de Patmos. Mais voici maintenant la riche récolte du Centre d'études byzantines d'Athènes qui, sous la direction du Professeur D. Zakythinos, travaille d'arrache-pied depuis plusieurs années à inventorier et étudier aux fins de publication, les trésors multiples de Patmos à l'époque byzantine et post-byzantine.

Dans ce travail en collaboration, le slaviste roumain Ion-Radu Mircea s'est réservé la lecture et le déchiffrement des documents en slavon ou en roumain, qu'il a communiqués en résumé à sa collègue athénienne. Cette dernière a assumé la rédaction d'une excellente introduction historique (avec un aperçu sur la diplomatie roumaine), la description de tous les actes et les notes explicatives bien informées qui les accompagnent. Le travail étant publié en grec, il ne sera malheureusement accessible qu'à un petit nombre de lecteurs roumains et, si je puis élever un voeu, c'est qu'on le publie un jour aussi en Roumanie.

En attendant nous en donnerons une brève présentation.

Il s'agit d'un recueil de 36 documents roumains dont le plus ancien remonte à l'an 1584

1. M. Beza, *Urme românești în Răsăritul ortodox*, 2^e éd., Bucarest 1937, p. 179 et photo. La notice du *Repertoriul monumentelor și obiectelor de artă din timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, Bucarest 1958 était déjà incomplète lors de sa parution. Le texte slavon que portent les deux rhipidia est publié pour la première fois, à ma connaissance, par S.A. Papadopoulos, *Ἐπιγραφὲς Ἰ. Μονῆς Ἰωάννου Θεολόγου* dans le volume *Ἐπιγραφὲς τοῦ Πάτμου*, Athènes 1966, p. 93, n° 250 et 250a et photo. pl. II (Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Δελτίου, N° 9).

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et le plus récent à 1820. On les a classés en deux groupes: d'une part les documents princiers (22 chrysobulles dont 4 en slave, 16 en roumain et 3 en grec) et d'une autre, un dossier de 14 pièces relatives aux quêtes de subsides faites en Moldavie et Valachie en 1815 et 1816 par les moines de Patmos en la personne de leur higoumène Jacob (toutes en langue roumaine, sauf une, connue en traduction grecque).

Les auteurs ne nous livrent pas le texte intégral de ces documents, mais seulement de larges résumés (regestes).

Si, comme nous le déclarions il y a un instant, les relations roumano-patmiotes ne remontent pas au XV^e siècle, leur ancienneté n'en est pas moins respectable: il semble que le prince de Moldavie Pierre le Boiteux les inaugura le 30 août 1584, lorsqu'il octroya au monastère de Patmos une charte de donation annuelle de 5000 aspres (plus 1000 autres encore pour couvrir les frais de route des moines qui viendraient toucher ladite somme). Il mit aussi une condition à sa donation: les moines le reconnaîtraient pour leur nouveau fondateur (*novy ktitor*, νέος κτήτωρ) et prierait au memento de la liturgie pour lui-même et son épouse la princesse Marie, pour ses fils řtefan et Vlad et sa fille Marie, pour ses parents pieusement dédés, le voïvode Mircea et Despina, pour ses frères, les voïvodes Mihnea, Vlad, Miloš², et Mircea, et pour ses soeurs Marie, Sofia, Roxandra, Despina et Samfira. La donation fut faite avec l'assentiment de l'Église et des boyards moldaves. Je signalerai aux deux auteurs que si le texte original slave est encore inédit, le document figure en traduction roumaine dans les *Documente privind istoria României. Veacul XVI. A) Moldova*, vol. III, Bucarest 1951, pp. 260-262.

Après ce premier document, il faut patienter jusqu'en plein XVII^e siècle pour rencontrer à nouveau des donations roumaines, celles de 1670 du prince de Valachie Antoine de Popeşti et du prince de Moldavie Georges Doukas. Certes, cela ne prouve pas absolument qu'il y ait eu une aussi longue césure dans les relations roumano-patmiotes, mais dans l'état actuel des recherches on ne saurait en dire davantage.

Le chrysobulle d'Antoine de Popeşti est un magnifique parchemin enluminé: le symbole de Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste (enseveli, selon la tradition, à Patmos où il écrivit son évangile), y figure dans l'angle supérieur de gauche. C'est l'Aigle, qui tient ouvert dans ses serres l'évangile selon cet apôtre. On y déchiffre du reste les premiers mots de l'incipit *In principio erat verbum, etc.*, (en slavon toutefois).

J'en reproduirai un fragment (inédit) pour l'édition du lecteur, car il en ressort la fraternelle sympathie des Roumains pour les Grecs opprimés. Le prince valaque déclare catégoriquement ceci: «Envers la grande et sainte Église qui s'appelle Patmos où est le merveilleux et grand saint Jean le Théologien et où aussi a été écrit par lui le Saint Évangile, pendant toutes les années de notre vie que nous soyons redébables de 3000 sous (*bani*), somme que nous nous engageons à donner ou plutôt nous estimons que nous fixons cette aumône à la sus-dite église, parce que nous la savons comme une nef qui vogue au milieu des vagues et de la tempête de la mer, souffrant au milieu des acerbes hérétiques, les fils d'Agar (=les Turcs)...». La photo de ce document (voir la planche 4) nous permet quelques observations supplémentaires. L'acte tout d'abord est intéressant paléographiquement du fait que son

2. A noter, rapprochement que l'avenir éclairera peut-être un jour d'une lumière nouvelle, que Miloš était devenu en 1573 le «nouveau fondateur» d'un autre sanctuaire illustre de la mer Égée, la Néa Moni de Chio: v. N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucarest 1971, p. 144.

écriture (cyrillique) accuse une vive tendance à la cursivité: des fioritures alambiquées en enjolivent avec vivacité mainte lettre. Et puis, chose toute nouvelle à ma connaissance, il y a l'emploi de parenthèses rondes et droites, que je n'ai jamais rencontrées jusqu'à présent dans la paléographie roumaine du temps. Autre chose: la première ligne du document utilise des majuscules où l'on décèle sans peine l'influence des caractères russes de l'époque. On connaît cela en Valachie depuis l'époque du prince Mathieu Basarab, quand la chancellerie était entre les mains de son érudit beau-frère Udriște Năsturel, excellent connaisseur du vieux slave et même du russe. Or, le chrysobulle d'Antoine de Popeşti a été composé sous le contrôle du fils même d'Udriște, Radul Năsturel, lui aussi un lettré. Les auteurs me permettront peut-être de rectifier ici une menue erreur de leur commentaire: l'acte n'a pas été composé par Radul Năsturel, alors second logothète, qui était *ispravnic* (exécuteur) de la décision princière, mais écrit en avril 1670 par un simple logothète Radul, fils du şufar Georges.

Peu de temps après, le 4 juin de la même année, le voïvode de Moldavie Georges Doukas accorda au monastère une donation de 4000 aspres, plus 800 autres destinés à dédommager les frères quêteurs du débours occasionné par le voyage.

Je n'entrerai pas ici dans le détail des nombreuses donations, valaques et surtout moldaves. L'ouvrage et, dans une certaine mesure, son résumé doivent y subvenir. On y verra comment à un moment donné les donations au profit du couvent se doublent de largesses très substantielles pour l'École de Patmos.

Parmi les documents de ce recueil, il faut signaler aussi un acte privé, conservé en traduction grecque authentifiée: celui par lequel haute et noble dame Aniţa Goleasca, qui appartenait à l'une des premières familles de boyards valaques (les Golescu), dédia à Patmos le monastère de Vieros, bâti par ses ancêtres non loin de la ville actuelle de Piteşti. La donation (20 février 1759) embrassait aussi tous les biens de cette fondation pieuse³. L'higoumène devait être envoyé par le couvent de Patmos. L'acte fut passé avec le consentement du prince et du métropolite de Valachie et au su des grands boyards. C'est, en l'espèce, l'un des innombrables cas d'octroi de couvents roumains à un monastère grec, question qui allait susciter au siècle dernier, comme on sait, un délicat problème non seulement pour les intérêts vitaux de la jeune Roumanie, mais même pour la diplomatie européenne.

L'un des aspects les plus intéressants à mon sens de toute cette collection de documents c'est le dossier relatif à la quête effectuée en 1815 et 1816 par l'higoumène Jacob. Madame Nystazopoulou-Pélékidis met parfaitement en lumière les conditions dans lesquelles le délégué d'un monastère criblé de dettes pouvait aller demander des secours à ses coreligionnaires plus heureux des bords du Danube. Elle nous apprend le mécanisme de la ζητεία⁴. Le quêteur effectuait sa mission muni de lettres de recommandation et de reliques. Ces démarches étaient rendues nécessaires par les exactions et l'arbitraire ottomans. Et c'est bien l'un des titres de gloire des Pays roumains d'avoir su et pu épauler fortement—bien plus fortement

3. Ceci complète avantageusement l'histoire du monastère de Vieros (édifié en 1571), sur lequel on consultera N. Stoicescu, *Bibliografia localitătilor și monumentelor feudale din România. I) Tara Rom...*, vol. 2 (1970), pp. 708-710.

4. Sur cette pratique voir aussi les suggestives remarques de Madame Nystazopoulou, «Τέσσαρα ἄγνωστα ρωσικά ἔγγραφα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐν Μήλῳ Μονῆς τῆς Θεοτόκου (1656-1705)», dans *Σύμμεικτα*, tome I [1966], pp. 246 sqq. L'histoire des relations roumano-athoniotes constitue en fait un ample chapitre roumain de la ζητεία des moines grecs.

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que l'immense empire des tsars—leurs frères éprouvés des Balkans et de l'Orient orthodoxe sans nourrir des visées impérialistes à leur détriment comme le faisait perfidement la Russie, dont le monarque, sous couleur de vouloir délivrer les chrétiens du Sud-Est de l'Europe opprimés par les Turcs, rêvait de s'emparer de Constantinople et de faire sillonna la Méditerranée à ses marins...

Que l'on me permette quelques remarques aussi.

Page 288 (note 7 du document n° 8): l'on nous dit que Constantin Brancovan de 1748 n'est certainement pas le même que le prince homonyme qui régna sur la Valachie de 1688 à 1714. Et pour cause: le prince fut décapité par les Turcs avec ses quatre fils le 15 août 1714 à Constantinople. Celui de 1748 était son petit-fils. S'il ne put retrouver le trône de ses ancêtres, il n'en devint pas moins grand ban, la plus haute des dignités de la cour de Valachie.

Page 297: il est dit des *cămărăși de ocnă* que c'était le responsable des mines de sel (exploitées par les forçats). En fait le mot ici est au pluriel.

Page 304: certes, l'étymologie du mot roumain *popor* «peuple» du latin *populus* est tentante. Mais les philologues en doutent depuis longtemps pour bien des raisons d'ordre phonétique..., à commencer par la place de l'accent tonique.

Page 311 (résumé du document 25): je ferai observer que Neamț et Secul sont deux monastères distincts, mais réunis alors sous une seule administration religieuse, depuis le fameux starets Paisie Velitchkovski. Zagavia est un ermitage (*skit*) sur une colline qui surplombe, au-delà du Bahlui, la petite ville de Hirlau, en Moldavie⁵.

Quand j'aurai dit que les 19 planches qui illustrent ce travail constituent en miniature un album de paléographie, de diplomatique et de sigillographie slavo-roumaines, j'aurai, je pense, achevé de présenter cet ouvrage qui continue sur le plan scientifique les relations séculaires multilatérales qui unissent si étroitement la Grèce et la Roumanie.

Désireux du reste d'apporter mon obole moi aussi aux deux collègues et amis qui s'occupent de Patmos, je leur dévoilerai l'existence, à la bibliothèque de l'Académie de Bucarest, d'un manuscrit (slavon, si mes souvenirs sont exacts, ou grec si ma mémoire me trahit) renfermant des documents de Patmos qui, peut-être, compléteront leur dossier. J'espérais bien m'en occuper, mais mon séjour en Grèce me met dans l'impossibilité de le faire. Et comme je ne vois pas de motif de garder le secret pour moi, je le leur signale, animé du désir de les voir poursuivre une collaboration qui a si heureusement débuté dans l'intérêt réciproque de la science de nos deux pays.

Paris

P. NĂSTUREL

Evangelos Kofos, *Greece and the Eastern Crisis 1875-1878*, Thessaloniki, Institute for Balkan Studies no. 148, 1975, pp. 284.

Le problème balkanique au cours des événements qui ont amenés au Congrès de Berlin

5. Quelque chercheur grec aura peut-être intérêt à savoir qu'il existe à Zagavia la pierre tombale d'un certain Zacharie, de Néo-Patras, décédé en 1812, et de sa femme Atoros. J'ignore qui ils furent. Voir le texte intégral de l'inscription grecque dans mon article «Insemnări din Hirlău și împrejurimi», *Monumente și muzeu I*, Bucarest 1958, p. 225 (avec, à la note 2, la bibliographie concernant la skite de Zagavia).

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n'a été abordé, jusqu'à une date relativement récente, que dans son rapport avec le problème plus général de l'équilibre européen. Dans les ouvrages classiques de Sumner ou de Gorianov, ja référence aux peuples de la péninsule n'a pas été faite à la suite d'une recherche ou d'une connaissance approfondie de leurs problèmes. Les perspectives assez différents de l'historiographie européenne et les difficultés d'accès aux sources principales avaient longtemps entravé les tentatives d'une approche systématique de l'histoire contemporaine des états ou des nations balkaniques. Cette étude méthodique n'a été entreprise qu'après la deuxième guerre mondiale. En ce qui concerne plus spécialement la période critique du Congrès de Berlin, les ouvrages de R. H. Davison, Serif Mardin et E. Ramsaur sur la Turquie, ceux de D. MacKenzie sur la Serbie et de Stavro Skendi sur les Albanais, en constituent l'exemple. Le travail de M. Kofos vient couronner cette même tendance en mettant en lumière encore un aspect très important de la question d'Orient.

L'intention principale de M. Kofos est d'examiner la position de la Grèce au cours de la crise qui éclata par les événements de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine pour trouver une solution, toujours contestée et transitoire, dans les décisions de Berlin. L'auteur se penche sur le développement de la diplomatie hellénique en fonction de l'évolution des événements au niveau international. Dans son introduction, bien concise, il tient à esquisser les traits généraux de la Grande Idée, les rapports de la Grèce avec les grandes puissances et les états voisins balkaniques, ainsi que la position de l'hellénisme au sein et en dehors du royaume libre. Dans le développement du sujet l'auteur examine tout d'abord l'attitude adoptée par le gouvernement d'Athènes face à l'insurrection de Bosnie et d'Herzégovine ainsi que l'influence exercée par les événements révolutionnaires sur ses relations avec les voisins Serbes, Bulgares et Roumains. Ensuite, après avoir abordé l'activité déployée par les Grecs lors de la Conférence de Constantinople, il entreprend d'éclairer la position indécise des autorités d'Athènes face à la guerre russo-turque, jusqu'à leur initiative tardive d'envahir les territoires de Thessalie, qui viendra couronner l'effervescence révolutionnaire de l'hellénisme en Crète, en Épire et en Macédoine. L'auteur se penche, enfin, sur les négociations et les décisions de San Stefano et de Berlin, tout en mettant l'accent sur ce qui a trait plus spécialement aux affaires helléniques.

L'examen détaillé et systématique des réactions helléniques lors de la crise des années 1875-1878 permet à M. Kofos de révéler les aspirations, les buts déterminants et les dilemmes de la politique extérieure de la Grèce. Le gouvernement d'Athènes, largement déterminé dans ses décisions par sa faiblesse diplomatique et militaire, se trouva lors des événements devant un choix bien difficile: participer à une action militaire commune contre la Porte, dans l'espoir d'hériter, à brève échéance, une parcelle du territoire ottoman, ou préserver le status quo balkanique en attendant une occasion plus propice à l'hellénisme? Prendre position aux côtés des Russes et de leurs protégés slaves ou suivre les conseils de prudence fournis par les puissances occidentales, et, surtout, par l'Angleterre?

Le dilemme prendra aux yeux des dirigeants et du peuple grec une allure dramatique, étant donné que ni dans un cas, ni dans l'autre, les aspirations nationales n'auraient pas pu être satisfaites. Si les décisions prises à Berlin ont finalement préservé certains des intérêts les plus légitimes de l'hellénisme, c'est un fait tenant beaucoup plus au jeu de l'équilibre des forces entre les grandes puissances qu'à la présence dynamique de la diplomatie d'Athènes. D'autre part, la Grèce, tout en sortant de la crise en partie rassurée, fut néanmoins condamnée à des choix diplomatiques extrêmement limités. Obligée déjà de faire face à une pression slave de plus en plus menaçante, elle ne parviendra pas davantage à un accord avec la Turquie à

cause, tout d'abord, du problème de la délimitation des nouvelles frontières en Thessalie et, ensuite, du conflit à propos de la Crète qui restait assujettie au joug ottoman.

L'auteur tout en mettant l'accent sur le problème hellénique, procède en même temps à l'examen des conditions qui ont déterminé le développement de la crise générale et l'évolution des rapports interbalkaniques. Il met ainsi pour la première fois en lumière les efforts entrepris en vue de la réconciliation et de la collaboration de la Grèce avec ses voisins; or, les peuples de la Péninsule, bien que conscients d'être liés par des intérêts communs, n'arriveraient pourtant pas à se décider à faire front commun contre la domination ottomane. En effet, les nouvelles réalités issues des événements des années 1875-1878 et les pressions contradictoires des grandes puissances ouvrirent plutôt la voie à l'exaspération de l'antagonisme entre les nationalismes balkaniques.

L'ouvrage de M. Kofos éclaircit également la politique des grandes puissances, surtout celle de l'Angleterre et de la Russie. Ses longues recherches dans les archives du Public Record Office lui ont permis de mettre en relief le rôle joué par la diplomatie britannique. Mais l'auteur se penche aussi sur l'activité déployée par le gouvernement russe qui a largement conditionné le déclenchement et l'évolution de la crise balkanique. Après avoir fait le point sur le cheminement de la Russie vers la prise d'une position bien nette en faveur des revendications slaves aux dépens des aspirations panhelléniques, il met encore en lumière les fluctuations de la diplomatie officielle de Petersbourg, dictées sous l'impératif d'un opportunitisme momentané. La crainte d'un éventuel front anglo-turco-hellénique et encore l'espoir de faire participer les Grecs à la guerre contre le Sultan, poussa le représentant du Tsar à tenter de convaincre le gouvernement d'Athènes d'entreprendre une action militaire. Or, l'attitude de ce dernier, dictée sous la pression des sentiments et d'influences contradictoires, resta dilatoire et hésitante; et sa décision finale de déclarer la guerre à la Porte a été soldée par l'échec diplomatique le plus complet, la Russie s'avérant à San Stefano bien résolue de jouer à fond la carte slave.

L'ouvrage de M. Kofos est basé sur l'étude de sources inédites. L'auteur a bien mené ses recherches dans les archives publiques—archives diplomatiques autrichiennes, françaises et, surtout, britanniques et grecques. Mais il a également consulté les documents privés de certaines personnalités ayant joué un rôle important au cours des événements. Sa tâche lui a permis d'élargir l'horizon de nos connaissances et de compléter le tableau esquisonné jusqu'à présent par des historiens qui ont basé leurs synthèses, parfois très intéressantes, sur une recherche beaucoup plus restreinte de sources inédites. Bien fixé quant à l'étude de la question d'Orient par rapport au problème hellénique, il nous permet d'enrichir et d'approfondir nos connaissances sur tous les aspects d'une crise qui marqua par sa portée et ses conséquences un tournant dans la vie internationale. Certes, pour établir une vue d'ensemble exacte de la situation dans les Balkans, non seulement au niveau des développements au sein des nations de la Péninsule, mais encore au niveau des rapports interbalkaniques, non plus interétatiques mais internationaux, il reste beaucoup à faire. Dans cette voie, la contribution de M. Kofos peut servir d'exemple. Son ouvrage, fondé sur une recherche bien étendue et enrichie de matériel inédit, répond aux exigences accrues d'un sujet d'intérêt primordial.

Athènes

C. SVOLOPOULOS

Zbornik istorije književnosti, Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti u Beogradu, knj. 9, *Jovan Sterija Popović*, Beograd 1974, pp. 672.

The ninth book of the *Zbornik istorije književnosti* (Collection of the History of Literature), published by the Department of Language and Literature of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences under the editorship of the academician Vojislav Djurić, relates to the collection of works dedicated to the scientific and literary creativity of the Serbian comedian, satirist, poet, and philologist J. St. Popović (1806-1856).

«Sterija comes from that polyglot area where even modern Greek could be heard and learned... He knew enough classical languages too; he studied lexical connections between Serbian and Vlach... Even Sterija's name does not contain homogeneous elements: Jovan is Hebrew, while Sterija and Popović are of Greek origin, with only the distinction that the common noun *pop* (*πάππος*) must have entered the Serbian language before the period in which the Thessaloniki Brothers began their translating work...» (p. 4)—reads the conclusion of the introductory article *Sterija terminolog* (Sterija the Terminologist), written by the classical philologist, balkanologist and linguist Milan Budimir. In the article this excellent expert on ancient Balkan languages and cultures scientifically treats that work of Sterija which is entitled *Razlozi o nezavisnosložnim rečima* (Arguments concerning Independent-compound Words).

Sterija's idea that the *Društvo Srpske slovesnosti* (The Society for Serbian Enlightenment) should undertake as its task the publication of a terminological dictionary was correct and has been justified. However, the translation of cultural, scientific, and technical terms is a difficult and responsible task. M. Budimir pointed out, in a series of examples, exceptions and incongruities, as well as some polyonymy in the production and reproduction of such expressions and terms. The creator of Serbian literary language and of national culture, the encyclopedist from Tršić, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić raised his voice against the translation of foreign terms. And he was right more than Sterija was—concludes M. Budimir—as «he does not force the Serbianization which, in this case, only separates and increases the distance between us and an international vocabulary, which we necessarily meet with while learning foreign languages and using untranslated terminology of a classical origin», (p. 6).

Sterija's *Slogomerje* (Syllable-measurement) and his classical metrics (pp. 13-110) are the subject matter of Žarko Ružić's discussion aimed at enlightening the issue of classical metrics of J. St. Popović on the basis of an analysis of his article entitled *O srbskom slogomerju*, as well as of the unfinished *Predgovor o slogomerju srbskom* (On Serbian Syllable-measurement; A Foreword to Serbian Syllable-measurement), the critical edition of which we find in the Appendix of the discussion.

The rules of Sterija's metrics are mainly limited to prosody. In fact, Sterija is here under the influence of P. J. Šafarik, and in his conceptions is nearer to the rules of classical metrics, while building verses (hexameter, elegiac couplet, Alcaics and Sapphics) according to the principle of the quantity of syllables.

While following the development of Sterija's verse, the author, however, did not take into sufficient consideration Sterija's translations of Horace. In relation to that subject, we refer the reader to our contribution «Eolsko metričko ruho Sterijine poezije» (Aeolic Metric Attire of Sterija's Poetry), published in the review *Balcanica* V (1974), 395-412.

A large study, almost a book in itself, entitled *Retorski, parodistički i satirički elementi u*

romanima Jovana Sterije Popovića (Rhetorical, Burlesque, and Satirical Elements in the Novels of Jovan Sterija Popović) (pp. 111-429), by the classical philologist and literary historian Miron Flašar is divided into three parts; particularly interesting is the second part: *Sterijin «Roman bez romana», antička dijatriba i prosvetiteljska satira* («The Novel without a Novel» by Sterija, classical diatribe and enlightening satire), as well as a general review on the subject *Sterijini romani i antičko književno nasledje* (Sterija's Novels and the Classical Literary Inheritance).

The literary-historical approach to the study of the origin of Sterija's pseudo-historical novel *Boj na Kosovu* (The Battle at Kosovo) and of the satirical-burlesque *Roman bez romana* could, in terms of the subject matter, be best illustrated by some of the titles, cited here, of the chapters of the second part of the study: *Motivi iz «Don Kihota», Rebenerov «Cinik» i Vilandov Diogen. Kuvikòs tróπoς dijatribe i menipske satire*, (Motifs from «Don Quixote», Rebener's «Cynic» and Diogenes Viland's Kuvikòs tróπoς Diatribes and Menip Satires). *'Επιδίρθωσις, Παραβολή, Πλαράδεγμα. Incertae personae ficta oratio. Noviji posrednici i retorski priručnici, Horacije kao negativni primer moraliste i patriote, Senekin pseudoistoriografiski ПРООИМПОВ. Poigravanje kiničko-stoičkim stavovima i napad na pitagorovec, Menip, Lukijan i Viland, u sceni sa gimnosofistom*, (Recent Mediators and Rhetoric Handbooks, Horace as a Negative Example of a Moralist and Patriot, Seneca's pseudo-historical ПРООИМПОВ, Playing on Cynic-Stoic Attitudes and an Attack on Pithagoreans, Menip, Lucian, and Viland, in a Scene with a Gymnosophist).

One is led to the conclusion that there is a multi-layer classical element in the literary matter which has been gradually accepted and critically evaluated by Sterija, as well as that the part of the ancient inheritance in Sterija's novels is, in many cases, indirect and concealed by contaminations from more recent literary conceptions and influences of baroque-sentimental prose, including the baroque-knight-type novel—concludes M. Flašar (p. 405).

Until now, in all comparative research on Serbian poetry concerning the first half of the nineteenth century, the name of the eighteenth century English poet and aesthete Edward Young (1683-1765), the author of the well-known religious mystical poem *The Complaint or Night Thoughts* (1742-45) has rarely been mentioned. The work of Dragiša Živković *Odjeci «Noćnih misli» Edvarda Janga kod Sterije i u srpskoj poeziji prve polovine XIX veka* (pp. 431-450) (Echoes of «Night Thoughts» of E. Young in Sterija and in Serbian poetry of the first half of the XIX c.) is written with the purpose of pointing out some rather conspicuous similarities between some of the poems and motifs in Serbian poetry of the first half of the nineteenth century (P. P. Njegoš, Jovan Subotić, and particularly Sterija in the collection of poems *Davorje-1854*) and Young's poetic thoughts.

Prva pominjanja Sterijinih dela kod Nemaca (First Mention of Sterija's Works in Germany) (pp. 451-456) is related to the review by Zoran Konstantinović. O. D. v. Pirch (1830) was the first to write for the Germans, in his interesting notes on travels throughout Serbia, on the Serbian country as well as on achievements of various kinds in cultural life, besides the Serbian folk poetry already-known at the time. At the same time he informed them of the fact that the Serbs possess a drama—*Svetislav i Mileva*, as well as about its author—J. St. Popović.

The plays *Pokondirena Tikva* by Jovan Sterija Popović and *Fashion* by Anna Cora Mowatt Ritchie depict the same social manners which, in fact, result from the similar circumstances responsible for the deviations the two playwrights make fun of. Starting from this

premise the author of the article (Ileana Čosić) comments, in broad outlines, on the social climate in Vojvodina and America in the first half of the XIXth century and then proceeds to the analysis of characters by comparing the main ones in *Pokondirena Tikva* with their counterparts in *Fashion*. In conclusion the author emphasises that by depicting two distinct groups of different characters and confronting false with true values both playwrights purposely made their message explicit.

Živan Milisavac, in his contribution *Sterija u Kežmarku* (Sterija in Kežmark) (pp. 473-538) shows the importance of that Hungarian town at the time when Serbian authors studied law at the local Lyceum. This subject matter is particularly treated in two chapters on Sterija: *Pre odlaska u Kežmark* (Before the Departure to Kežmark) and *Preokret u gledanju na svet i u književnom postupku* (The Change in Viewing the World and in Literary Proceedings).

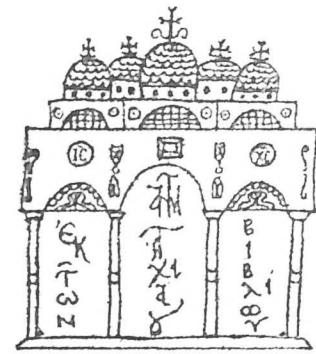
Ivana V. Veselinov presents to the reader an original and until now unpublished manuscript of *Retorika* (Rhetoric) by Jovan Sterija Popović (pp. 539-631), which is stored at the Manuscript Department of the «Matica srpska» in Novi Sad, as well as Sterija's article on the theater and on theatrical works (*Sterijin članak o teatru i teatralnim delima*). This manuscript on the Serbian theatre is different from the incomplete version published in the paper «Srbske novine», Belgrade, May 1, 1852, No. 50, p. 1, so that I. Veselinov is publishing it now *in extenso* (pp. 633-639).

Bibliografija o Jovanu St. Popoviću (Bibliography on J. St. Popović), drawn up by Lidija Subotin, is divided into three different parts: (i) the bibliography on the work and person of J. St. Popović in Serbo-Croat and in Slav languages using the Cyrillic alphabet, where material is classified by alphabetical order; (ii) writings in our own and in foreign languages using the Roman alphabet, where material is classified in Roman alphabetical order, and (iii) collections of works, and works of a monographic character, dedicated to J. St. Popović.

Viewed as a whole, this collection of works on Sterija, with a series of until now unexplained details concerning his literary inheritance, has monographically completed the research of the scientific, literary and cultural renaissance of the Serbian people in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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