

# *Cyrillomethodianum*

VII

Thessalonique

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# ASSOCIATION HELLENIQUE D'ETUDES SLAVES

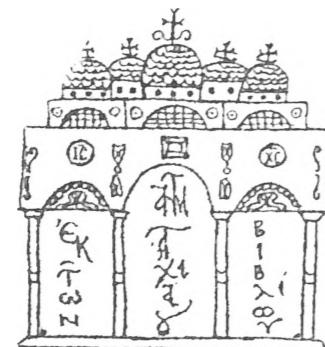
## RECHERCHES SUR L'HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS HELLENO-SLAVES

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## L'ÉTYMOLOGIE ET LA SIGNIFICATION DE PÍRÍCI DE LA VIE DE MÉTHODE, II<sup>5</sup>

*Marin Tadin*

Le XIe Centenaire de la mission morave de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode a donné l'occasion aux savants d'examiner ou de réexaminer plusieurs détails de la vie des deux Frères de Thessalonique. Un des sujets qui intrigue certains chercheurs, connus et respectables, est le mot *pírīci* que l'on lit dans le chapitre II<sup>5</sup> de la *Vie de Méthode*.\*

Tout d'abord, il est nécessaire de rappeler que la discussion concernant ce mot est basée sur les huit exemplaires russes de la *Vie de Méthode* qu' O. M. Bodjanskij a publiés *in extenso* dans les *Čtenija v Imper. Obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskikh*, St.-Pétersbourg, 1865, I, janvier-février. Ces exemplaires sont numérotés par O. M. Bodjanskij lui-même, selon l'ordre ou la place qu'ils occupent dans la publication ci-dessus: I - VIII. Ces huit exemplaires contiennent, tous, le chapitre II de la *Vie de Méthode* et, par conséquent, le mot *pírīci*, ou des variantes, qui nous intéressent. Nous tenons à dresser la liste des manuscrits en question pour y relever le mot dont nous nous occupons.

· No.I, *Čtenija, tom. cit.*, p. 1-14: Recueil de l'Eglise de la Dormition de la Sainte-Vierge (Uspenskij Sobor) de Moscou, en parchemin, des XIIe-XIIIe ss., No. 175 (18), conservé actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. istor. muzej, No. 1063, fol. 102ra-109va (11 mai): *pírīci* (*éd. cit.*, p. 4);

No.II, *Id.*, p. 15-26: Grand ménologe de Macaire (6 avril), XVIe s., No 993 de la Bibliothèque patriarchale (synodale) de Moscou, actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. istor. muzej, No.791, fol. 173ra-181ra: *perici* (*éd. cit.*, p. 18);

No.III, *Id.*, p. 27-39: Ménologe (6 avril) antérieur à la rédaction de Macaire, du milieu du XVIe s., No. 91 de la Bibliothèque patriarchale (synodale) de Moscou, actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. istor. muzej, No.782, fol. 158r-170r: *perci* (*éd. cit.*, p. 30);

No.IV, *Id.*, p. 40-47: Ménologe (6 avril) composé en douze volumes par le prêtre de la Trinité (Serg.), Ivan Milutin (1646-1654), No.804 de la Bibliothèque synodale de Moscou, fol. 269r-281r: *gürçy* (*éd. cit.*, p. 40);

No.V, *Id.*, p. 48-60: Recueil No.63 du XVIIe s. (6 avril), appartenant à l'Académie de théologie de Moscou, actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. bibl. SSSR im. V.I. Lenina, f. 173, fol. 120rb-128vb: *percy* (*éd. cit.*, p. 51);

No.VI, *Id.*, p. 61-72: Ménologe pour avril-mai (6 avril), No. 93 (mais O.M. Bodjanskij écrit No.94!) de la bibliothèque de l'Académie de théologie de Moscou, XVIe s. (après 1549), actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. bibl. SSSR im. V.I. Lenina, fol. 209v-230r: *př'ci* (*éd. cit.*, p. 64);

No.VII, *Id.*, p. 73-84: Ménologe pour avril (4 avril!), XVe-XVIIe ss., provenant du monastère de S. Joseph Volokolamskij et appartenant à l'Académie de théologie de Moscou, No.198 (596), actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. bibl. SSSR im. V.I. Lenina, f. 173, fol. 36-45: *př'ci* (*éd. cit.*, p. 76);

No.VIII, *Id.*, p. 85-97: Ménologe pour avril (6 avril), daté de 1600, au temps du tsar Boris Fedorovič Godunov, copié sur l'ordre de l'archimandrite Pafnutij, appartenant au monastère Čudov de Moscou, No.313 (11), actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. istor. muzej, fol. 135-145: *perici* (*éd. cit.*, p. 88).

On peut constater qu'un seul exemplaire (No.IV) publié par O. Bodjanskij porte le mot *gürcey*. Or, il s'agit là d'un des manuscrits les plus récents et, de surcroît, amputé du chapitre I de la *Vie de Méthode*. En revanche, l'exemplaire No.VII de notre liste transmet le mot *př'ci*. En effet, c'est le douzième ou le dernier mot de la dix-huitième ligne de la page soixante-seize des «Čtenija» ci-dessus.

Il est étonnant que plusieurs savants, dont la compétence ne peut guère être mise en doute, disent et écrivent que l'exemplaire No VII de Bodjanskij mentionne *gür'ci* et pas *př'ci*.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Gürcey* = lat.: *Graeci*

Il est vrai que le nom *gür'ci* n'est pas inséré dans l'exemplaire No.VII de Bodjanskij, mais force est d'avouer que le manuscrit No.IV mentionne explicitement et clairement *gürcey*. Comment expliquer cette exception? Nous avons déjà dit que le manuscrit No.IV était le plus récent de tous le exemplaires de la *Vie de Méthode* que Bodjanskij a publiés. Le copiste s'est permis d'y supprimer le chapitre I; de plus, son orthographe *gürcey* est erronée. En effet, les textes vieux-russes écrivent régulièrement, et correctement, *grikü* (VM, V<sup>2</sup>; VI<sup>3</sup>) et *griciskü* (VM,XV<sup>1</sup>; XVII<sup>11</sup>), ce qui confirme l'absence de tout *γ* sonore (-ür-).<sup>2</sup> Il faut

donc songer à une bêtue du copiste qui aurait pu facilement confondre *gürcey* avec *př'ci*, vu la grande ressemblance des deux lettres cyrilliques: Г (=g) et П (=p). Si, dans le manuscrit, la deuxième barre verticale de la lettre П, П (=p) n'est pas suffisamment longue ni bien lisible de nos jours, le lecteur est tenté d'y voir un Г (=g) et non pas un П (=p); surtout, parce que le nom ethnique de *gürcey* est plus familier que celui de *př'ci* (=příči). La forme estropiée *gürcey* (!=gríči) suppose, pensons-nous, le terme régulier *př'ci* dont on trouve des variantes dans tous les autres manuscrits: No.1:*př'ci*; Nos II et VIII:*perici*; No. III:*perci*; No. V:*pericy*; No. VI:*př'ci*; No. VII:*př'ci*<sup>3</sup>.

D'un autre côté, le mot *gürcey* a été employé par P. J. Šafařík, *Památky dřevního písemnictví Jihoslávanův*, Prague, 1851; 2e éd. par Joseph Jireček, Prague, 1873 (parmi les pièces réunies, la *Vie de Méthode* porte la date de 1868). Cette *editio princeps* de la *Vie de Méthode* a été faite d'après une copie d'un manuscrit du XVIe siècle, que M. P. Pogodin avait transmise à P. J. Šafařík. Ce manuscrit était déposé à l'Académie de théologie de Moscou. Or, nous savons bien que l'Académie possédait les Nos V, VI et VII de Bodjanskij, mais qu'aucun de ces trois manuscrits ne contient le mot ethnique *gürcey* que P. J. Šafařík transcrit en toutes lettres (*op. cit.*, p. 3): *potomou že i gürcey ljubaste j iz dětiska, čestnyq besedy dějachou*, ... (VM, II<sup>5</sup>). On fera remarquer que l'orthographe inattendue *gürcey* (=Graeci) est inconnue des huit exemplaires publiés par O. Bodjanskij, comme le soulignent Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, Zagreb, 1960, p. 153, note 15.

Nous tenons à rappeler que le manuscrit publié par Šafařík est celui de l'Académie de Moscou, No. 93 (No. 94 d'après Bodjanskij!) où l'on lit *př'ci* = No. VI de Bodjanskij, *éd. cit.*, p. 64. L'un des deux savants, Pogodin ou Šafařík, a commis une erreur de lecture ou de transcription: *př-* a été mal lu ou arbitrairement remplacé par *gū-*. Il semble que le *ü* doit son origine à la deuxième partie de la consonne cyrillique П accouplé avec le «jeri» mou: ПG. C'est ainsi que П + й a pu donner Пб: p + i > g + ü.

Après la publication de la *Vie de Méthode* par P. J. Šafařík (1851), l'erreur évidente de *gürcey* a été adoptée par d'autres historiens des Frères de Thessalonique. Aug. Bielowski fait paraître en parallèle le texte vieux-slave et sa traduction polonaise: *gríči*, *Grecy*<sup>4</sup>. Cet auteur «corrige» l'orthographe de P. J. Šafařík et invente la forme *gríči* qu'aucun des témoins de Bodjanskij ne contient. Cependant, dans la note 22 (*loc. cit.*) il signale: *gríči* » *perici* B. Ce B majuscule indique le Ménologe de Macaire pour le mois d'avril. Fr. Miklosich fait connaître la première traduction latine de la *Vie de Méthode*, dans le travail d'E. Dümmler, *Die pannonische Legende von hl. Methodius*, *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer*

*Geschichtsquellen*, 13 (1854), Vienne, p. 156-163; p. 158: *Postea vero etiam Graeci illum a puero amantes magni faciebant...*<sup>5</sup>. J. Perwolf connaît la lecture de *gürçi* introduite par P. J. Šafařík, *Památky*, p. 3, mais il préfère celle de *příči* pour la traduire en tchèque: *odpůrči*<sup>6</sup>. Fr. Pastrnek dit que les deux Nos de Bodjanskij (IV et VII) et l'exemplaire de la *Vie de Méthode* publié par P. J. Šafařík portent le mot *gürçi*; toutefois, il adopte *příči* inséré, malgré la variante orthographique, dans tous les manuscrits de la *Vie de Méthode*, à l'exception du No. IV de Bodjanskij<sup>7</sup>.

Il semble que, grâce à l'autorité de Fr. Pastrnek, les éditeurs et les traducteurs de la *Vie de Méthode* n'insistent plus sur le mot *gürçi*; surtout, parce qu'en général les historiens des SS. Cyrille et Méthode ne doutent pas de leur origine grecque<sup>8</sup>.

Un cas particulier est celui d'Ivan Dujčev dont l'attitude à cet égard mérite notre attention. Ce savant bulgare s'exprime: "In der Tat steht in einigen Abschriften der VM nicht *příči*, sondern *gürçy* (= *Graeci*) ... Der Umstand, dass diese Version nur in verhältnismässig wenigen Abschriften des Textes vorkommt, ist kein entscheidendes Argument..."<sup>9</sup>.

Or, il faut répondre que, dans la *Vie de Méthode*, un seul des copistes connus de Bodjanskij (No. IV) remplace le *příči* par *gürçy*, et non pas *gürçy*, comme Ivan Dujčev l'écrit, deux fois à la page dix-sept, et deux fois à la page dix-huit. D'un autre côté, ce même auteur insiste sur la variante *gürçy* pour défendre l'origine slave de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode (*op. cit.*, p. 18-19): les Grecs appréciaient les qualités exceptionnelles du jeune Méthode bien qu'il n'appartînt pas à leur race. Pour appuyer son hypothèse, Ivan Dujčev rappelle les travaux de V. Pogorelov. Celui-ci a souligné que les traducteurs de l'Evangile et du Psautier vieux-slaves, c'est-à-dire les frères Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode, possédaient parfaitement le slave, tandis que le grec leur était une langue étrangère<sup>10</sup>.

C'est précisément la bonne connaissance du slave qui a servi aussi à J. Vašica pour admettre l'ascendance slave de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode<sup>11</sup>.

Il va de soi que même la plus profonde connaissance d'une langue ne suffit point pour préciser l'appartenance ethnique de son auteur. Dans tous les temps, certains individus ont maîtrisé parfaitement telle ou telle langue étrangère. En outre, nous ne connaissons aucun document vieux-slave qui puisse, avec certitude, être attribué, soit à Constantin-Cyrille, soit à Méthode.

Il faut ajouter ici que l'interprétation de V. Pogorelov n'est pas décisive, car les deux Frères ont effectué leur travail en compagnie des disciples d'origine slave, et ces derniers connaissaient certainement toutes les nuances du slave qui était leur langue maternelle.

En ce qui concerne le mot *gürçy* (= *Graeci*), Ivan Dujčev le considère comme une leçon authentique ("... dass „Graeci,, die ursprungliche Lesung ist ..., ; *op. cit.*, p. 18) à laquelle s'est substituée de bonne heure la mélecture *příči*, par le changement des deux premières lettres: Г > П = Гърцы > Пърци (!).

Nous avons déjà fait remarquer que l'unique variante *gürçy* – orthographiquement irrégulière et absente d'autres sources cyrillo-méthodiennes de la première période – doit être négligée. Par conséquent, cette variante ne peut nullement être utilisée comme une preuve supplémentaire et sûre ("... weitere und sichere Beweise ... , ; I. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, p. 19) de l'origine slave de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode. D'ailleurs, A. Vaillant juge la variante ci-dessus «sans valeur», mais tout de même digne d'attention car elle a pris la place d'un mot (*příči*) dont le vrai sens échappait au copiste de la *Vie de Méthode*<sup>12</sup>. Celui-ci l'a transformé en *gürçy* ne tenant aucun compte de l'orthographe pratiquée par les scribes du slavon russe (= *grīci*).

### Příči

Ici, une remarque d'ordre général s'impose: tous les exemplaires de la *Vie de Méthode* qui nous sont parvenus sont de rédaction russe. Le mot *příči*, *př'ci*, *pür'ci*, introduit dans cette *Vie*, est connu des auteurs russes. Il est inséré dans des Dictionnaires du vieux-slave et des différents parlers slaves d'époque intermédiaire<sup>13</sup>. Les linguistes le font dériver du verbe *prěti* qui a plusieurs équivalents, soit en grec, soit en latin: 1) φιλονεκεῖν = *contendere*; 2) ἀντιλέγειν = *contradicere*; 3) δικαιολογεῖν = *causam tueri*; 4) διμφάλλειν = *dubitare*; 5) κρίνεσθαι = *contentere*. Le nom de *příči* est donc de nature à être traduit par: *contentiosus*, *adversarius*, *causidicus*, *advocatus*, *defensor*, et – par extension – *intercessor*, *patronus*, *protector*. Dans la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>, aucun de ces sens ne trouve sa raison d'être. A juste titre, A. Vaillant (*op. cit.*, p. 232) écrit que *příči* «ne peut signifier «juristes» qu'en y mettant quelque bonne volonté, le sens du mot étant proprement «ceux qui disputent», «les contestants» en justice; et qu'est-ce que les juristes ont à faire ici? »Le sens de «orateur public», qu'A. St. Teodorovč-Balanč y voit, n'est pas approprié<sup>14</sup> , et celui de «Professoren, Lehrer», au dire d'I. Dujčev, semble énigmatique<sup>15</sup> .

A titre de renseignement, il est utile de rappeler que le mot *pàrac* est toujours en usage à Dubrovnik (Raguse) en Dalmatie. Saint Blaise, patron de cette ville historique, est invoqué comme *pàrac* de Dubrovnik et de ses habitants. Dans ce cas, le *pàrac* équivaut au latin *advocatus*, et trouve son correspondant dans

une exclamtion du «*Salve Regina*» de la liturgie romaine: *Eia, ergo, Advocata nostra*. C'est dans ce sens que le mot *pàrac* a été interprété par Vrančić (*causidicus*), par Mikala (*parac, odvitnik, branitelj, patronus, defensor, advocatus*) et par Daničić (*pariči = litigans, procurator*)<sup>16</sup>.

Toujours est-il certain qu'à Dubrovnik existaient au XIIe siècle les *priči opikini(s)ki ... priči gradiči* (!)<sup>17</sup>. Au sujet de ces *priči* ragusains, le grand Dictionnaire de langue croate ou serbe, publié par l'Académie de Zagreb (T. Maretić), IX, p. 637, V<sup>o</sup> *parac*, § g, note: «*Ne razabire se značenje u primjeru: Priči opičinski ... priči gradiči*» (sic!). Nous disons que dans cet exemple aussi les *priči* ne signifient pas autre chose que les *advocati* de la Commune et de la Ville de Dubrovnik<sup>18</sup>.

L'existence de ces avocats est attestée par les Statuts de Dubrovnik (Raguse) composés en 1272: *Et advocati communis (var. E: communis) teneantur per sacramentum eorum denunciare, accusare et placitare contrafacientes, ... tunc ipsi advocati, quia sunt officiales communis (var. E: communis), habeantur pro accusatoribus*<sup>19</sup>. Ils prêtaient le serment de défendre les intérêts de la Commune<sup>20</sup>. De son côté, le Petit conseil (*parva curia*) procédait à l'élection de deux avocats distincts de ceux de la Commune: *Statuimus quod duo advocatores eligantur* (sic!) *in parva curia, ...*<sup>21</sup>. Ces avocats devaient appartenir aux familles nobles et influentes: *cum semper eligantur advocati curie de melioribus et utilioribus civitatis ...*<sup>22</sup>. Somme toute, les avocats ragusains (Commune-Ville) étaient des fonctionnaires publics à l'instar de leurs collègues dont parlent les Statuts de Split (1312), une autre ville dalmate: *DE ADVOCATIS COMMUNIS SPALATI*<sup>23</sup>.

Inutile de dire que *priči opikini(s)ki ... priči gradiči* de l'exemple ci-dessus ne comporte aucun problème d'étymologie ni de signification: *priči* < *prěti*.

Tous les *advocati* (*priči*), fonctionnaires de la Commune ou de la Ville, appartenaient aux familles nobles qui dirigeaient alors les affaires publiques. En fait, il s'agissait là des «*patriciens*» (lat.: *patricii*; slave: *patrici* > *pǔtricī*) exerçant la fonction d'*advocati*.

Et pourtant, la mention de *priči* faite par le biographe de Méthode ne doit pas nécessairement concermer les *advocati* dont nous venons d'esquisser le rôle professionnel. Nous ajoutons tout de suite que *priči* de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>, peut être examiné tel qu'il est écrit, sans nous évertuer à le transformer en *gúrcy*, à l'exemple de P. J. Šafařík ou d'I. Dujčev induit en erreur par le copiste du No IV de Bodjanskij. Cela dit, il importe pour nous de ne pas faire dériver *priči* du verbe *prěti*, comme le pensent de nombreux linguistes et historiens des deux Frères. Il n'est pas absolument indiqué d'y voir «un pluriel emphatique» *iparsi* (grec: *ὑπαρχος, ἔπαρχος*), comme le veut A. Vaillant<sup>24</sup>, ou, enfin, de lire *prići*

(grec: *οἱ πρῶτοι [ἀδρεῖ]*), comme le propose V.Tkadlčík, *op. cit.*, p. 49-50. En vérité, il nous faut prouver une autre étymologie dont nous parlerons plus bas. Cette dernière n'est pas «wohl bekannt»,<sup>25</sup> mais elle nous paraît normale, logique et définitive.

Nous nous étonnons qu'I. I. Sreznevskij, qui a relevé toutes les formes de ce mot (*priči*, *priči*, *percí*, *precí*) et donné leur traduction russe (1. *protivnikū, sporjaščij*; 2. *upornyj, nesoglasnyj*; 3. *bezumnečū* (?); 4. *strjapčij, dělecū*), n'aït compris ni traduit le *priči* de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>. En effet, il s'est borné à transcrire fidèlement le passage «scabreux»: *po tomou že i priči ljubqste j iz dětiska, čistinyja besedy dějachou*, en le faisant précéder d'un point d'interrogation<sup>26</sup>

#### Appréciation des interprétations déjà proposées.

I. *Gúrcy*. Nous avons vu que la variante *gúrcy* d'un seul manuscrit (No IV de Bodjanskij), copié entre 1646 et 1654, doit être négligée aussi bien que l'hypothèse de l'origine slave de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode. Cette variante ne peut servir pour affirmer que même les Grecs (*gúrcy*) admiraient Méthode descendant des Slaves. En effet, les deux Frères ont projeté ou entrepris toutes leurs missions religieuses et diplomatiques au profit de l'Empire byzantin et de l'Eglise de Constantinople. Arrivés en Moravie, à peine, ils ont appris que cette province ecclésiastique ne relevait pas du patriarchat de Constantinople (VM, VIII<sup>10</sup>); c'est pourquoi ils ont agi correctement et respecté les droits juridictionnels du pape de Rome. C'est à Rome seulement que Constantin a cessé d'être le serviteur de l'Empereur (= d'Orient!), car, malade sans espoir de guérir, il n'avait plus la force de continuer sa noble mission. Heureusement, à ce moment-là l'empereur Basile Ier et le patriarche Ignace étaient réconciliés avec le Pontife romain. Sur l'insistance de son frère cadet (Constantin), Méthode renonça à retourner en Orient et, de surcroît, accepta la charge de l'Eglise de Pannonie-Moravie qui dépendait du Saint-Siège. Néanmoins, il garda jalousement, en Moravie, la liturgie grecque et, quatre ans avant sa mort (+885), il se rendit à la Cour de l'Empereur et au Palais du patriarche de Constantinople (VM, XIII).

Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode ont si fidèlement et si efficacement servi les intérêts politiques et religieux de l'Empire d'Orient que les Slaves n'ont aucune raison valable de les compter parmi les grands hommes de leur histoire.<sup>27</sup> En revanche, les Slaves de Pannonie et de Moravie, d'un côté, ceux de Bulgarie, d'Ukraine et de Russie, de l'autre, doivent à SS. Cyrille et Méthode une perpétuelle reconnaissance pour l'héritage religieux et culturel que ces deux Grecs de Thessalonique leur ont laissé, malgré les circonstances complexes et les vicissitudes politiques de l'époque.

II. *Iparsi*. Comme nous le savons déjà, A. Vaillant refuse le *gürçy* mais s'arrête à *přiriči* qui «invite à lire *iparsi*, avec la confusion grecque de ἐπαρχος et ὑπαρχος (Du Cange), et à comprendre «c'est pourquoi les éparques ... l'honoraient de leurs entretiens»<sup>28</sup>. Cet auteur pense que le terme ὑπαρχος (*ἐπαρχος*) indique le chef byzantin de Thessalonique avant que celui-ci ait été élevé au rang de stratège (IXe s.) dont parle la *Vie de Constantin*, III<sup>2</sup>.

Il est difficile de souscrire à l'interprétation d'A. Vaillant. En effet, les vieux documents russes connaissent le mot *eparchij* (*ἐπαρχος*)<sup>29</sup>. D'un autre côté, nous ne comprenons pas pourquoi la *Vie de Méthode*, de «ton savant» (A. Vaillant) et précis, emploie un terme qui ne désignait plus à la fois l'administrateur de Thessalonique et le supérieur hiérarchique du père de Méthode, Léon<sup>30</sup>. Ensuite, le mot *přiriči*, transmis par les manuscrits à l'exception du No IV de Bodjanskij, possède plus d'affinité morphologique avec *pa/třici* qu'avec *iparsi* ou *eparsi*. Enfin, le titre d'*iparsi* ou *eparsi* n'a pas dû subir une telle transformation, ou plutôt déformation, qui le rendait incompréhensible dans les milieux slaves. Par exemple, afin d'éviter toute confusion, le parler croate – qui de bonne heure a abandonné le groupe vieux-slave *-žd-* – a conservé jusqu'à nos jours le titre de *dužd* (*duždī, duži*) lat. *dux*, vénitien *doge*. De fait, les titres honorifiques avaient plus de chance de conserver, *mutatis mutandis*, leur forme originelle, et il est très probable que ce conservatisme a joué de la même façon en Russie médiévale, surtout avant l'incursion dévastatrice des Tartares (1237-1241).

III. *Priyi*. Vojtěch Tkadlčík, *op. cit.*, p. 49, propose une interprétation qui retient notre attention. Il suppose que le scribe russe copiait un texte glagolitique où la lettre *v* (Ѱ) peut être facilement confondue avec celle de *c* (Ѡ), surtout si elle est unie à la voyelle *i* (Ѱ) glagolitique: Ѱ = *vi* > *ci* = grec: [οἱ] πρῶτοι [ἀνδρεῖ] = slave: *přivi / mqži*. Cet auteur n'omet pas de citer plusieurs exemples bibliques où *οἱ πρῶτοι* grec est traduit en latin (Vulgata) par *primi, principes*, et en slave par *starěšiny*:

Mc, VI<sup>21</sup>: *τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Γαλιλαίας* = *primis Galilaeae*;

Lc, XIX<sup>47</sup>: *οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ* = *principes plebis*;

Act., XIII<sup>50</sup>: *τοῦς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως* = *primos civitatis*;

Act., XXV<sup>2</sup>: *οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων* = *primi Iudeorum*;

Act., XXVIII<sup>7</sup>: *τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου* = *principi insulae*.

Même dans le dernier exemple, le traducteur slave emploie le mot *starěšina*<sup>31</sup>, quoique son sens diffère de celui de *οἱ πρῶτοι*. En effet, c'est un titre grec et, plus tard, byzantin qui a été traduit en latin médiéval par *prior*. Le stratège de Samos était qualifié de ὁ πρῶτος<sup>32</sup>. On connaît ὁ πρῶτος des monastères athonites, et le *proto* italien qui est le chef d'une équipe d'ouvriers.

V. Tkadlčík souligne que le mot *přivi* (*οἱ πρῶτοι*) – employé à son avis par le biographe de Méthode – est un exemple unique du lexique vieux-slave («naprosto ojediněly», *op. cit.*, p. 49) et qu'il signifie: *předáci, principes, proceres*, c'est-à-dire le stratège de Thessalonique et ses plus proches collaborateurs.

Malheureusement, cette correction du texte n'est pas justifiée. En effet, dans tous les manuscrits de la *Vie de Méthode*, non issus d'un seul prototype et qui contiennent ce mot, la dernière syllabe *-ci* est bien lisible (*přiriči, perci*, etc.), et il s'y ajoute que les différentes formes de ce mot peuvent admettre une autre explication<sup>33</sup>. Enfin, on fera remarquer que V. Tkadlčík néglige la *Dormition de S. Cyrille (Uspenije sv. Kirilla)* qui qualifie les parents du Saint de *bogatii i přivyi gr(a)da t(o)go* (var. de Lvov: *vů gradě tom*). V. Bil'basov (*op. cit.*, p. 238) traduit en latin le passage en question par *divites erant et nobiles*, et en russe (*id.*, p. 326) par *oni byli bogaty i znatny vů tomū gorodě*.<sup>34</sup>

Cette *Dormition* est due à un Bulgare anonyme du XIIIe siècle, qui a utilisé largement la *Vie de Constantin*, mais il a emprunté certains éléments à la *Vie de Méthode* et à d'autres sources cyrillo-méthodiennes. Le *přivyi* de ce document tardif est la traduction libre du vieux-slave *dobrorodinu* (grec: εὐγενής; lat. *nobilis*) de la *Vie de Constantin*, II<sup>1</sup>, qui désigne la haute classe, la noblesse de la ville. Par conséquent, le terme *přivyi* employé par l'auteur de la *Dormition de S. Cyrille* équivaut à celui de *patricii* que le Prêtre de Dioclée a inséré dans sa Chronique, dont nous parlerons plus loin. Toutefois, le *přivyi* slave n'est nullement une forme estropiée du *patricii* latin; de plus, il est difficile de le confondre avec le *přiriči, přirici, per'ci*, etc. des différents exemplaires de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>.

En définitive, ce *přivyi* signifie, tout simplement, la première classe de la société thessalonicienne, et non pas *οἱ πρῶτοι* = *přivi* où V. Tkadlčík voit le stratège byzantin et ses principaux collaborateurs.

Nous terminons ce chapitre en disant que le grec *οἱ πρῶτοι* est traduit en slave par *přiriči* (= *přivici*), et non par *přivi*; c'est pourquoi tout *mqži* sous-entendu est superflu.<sup>35</sup>

#### Nouvelle interprétation.

I. Tout d'abord, il faut dire que le *přiriči* de la *Vie de Méthode* n'est pas un mot rare et qu'il ne s'est pas substitué à *přivi* pour devenir un exemple exceptionnel ou unique dans la vieille littérature slave. Ensuite, on fera remarquer que l'étymologie de *přiriči* *prěti* = «ceux qui disputent en justice», «les juristes», etc. est la plus répandue parmi les linguistes qui se sont penchés sur ce sujet. La liste suivante, bien qu'incomplète, montre que la plupart des traducteurs ont effectivement choisi ce terme:

ment considéré les *piriči* comme les fonctionnaires publics qui intervenaient et disputaient en justice:

- 1) allemand: *die Rechtsgelehrten*; J. Bujnoch, *Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Pannonisch-en Legenden und der Klemensvita, Slavische Geschichtsschreiber I*, Graz - Vienne - Cologne, 1958, p. 87;
  - 2) anglais: *lawyers*; I. Ševčenko, traduction de la *Vie de Méthode* non encore publiée. Nous remercions l'auteur de la copie dactylographiée qu'il a bien voulu nous offrir; *notables*; Marvin Kantor and Richard S. White, *The VITA of Constantine. The VITA of Methodius. Michigan Slavic Materials No 13*, University of Michigan 1976, p. 73;
  - 3) croate: *pravnici*; K. M. Žitja sv. Čirila i Metoda, *Biblioteka izdanja «Danica»*, Zagreb 1963, p. 68;
  - 4) français: *les juristes*; Fr. Dvorník, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance, Byzantinoslavica, Suppl. I*, Prague 1933; reprint par l'*Academic International*, Hattiesburg, Mississippi 1969, p. 384;
  - 5) grec: *οἱ νομικοί*; I. E. Anastasiou, *Bίος Μεθοδίου. Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεοσαλονίκης Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς, Τόμος ΙΒ'*, Thessalonique 1968, p. 152;
  - 6) latin: *causidici*; Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes Radovi Starosl. instituta IV*, Zagreb 1960, p. 221;
  - 7) polonais: *prawnicy*; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego (obyczki)*, Poznań 1959, p. 104. = *Biblioteka Tekstów Historycznych, IV*;
  - 8) serbe: *pravnici*; Đ. Trifunović, *Čirilo i Metodije*, Belgrade 1964, p. 152;
  - 9) slovène: *pravnički*; Fr. Grivec, *Žitja Konstantina in Metodija*, Ljubljana 1951, p. 114;
  - 10) tchèque: *odpůrči*; J. Perwolf, *Život sv. Methoda, Fontes rerum Bohemicarum I*, Prague 1873, p. 42; *právníci*; J. Vašica, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské*, Prague 1966, p. 234; R. Večerka, *Žitje Mefodija, Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici II*, Brno 1967, p. 141.
- En revanche, les savants bulgares préfèrent le traduire par:
- a) *javni govorniků, ritorů*; A. St. Teodorovů-Balanů, *Kirilů i Metodi I*, Sofia 1920, p. 157a (Slovarče);
  - b) *súbesednicite*; Dr. V. Sl. Kiselkov, *Prostranite žitija na svetite bratja Kiril i Metodij*, Sofia 1945, p. 53;
  - c) *učenite ljude*; B. St. Angelov et Chr. Kodov, Kliment Ohridski, *Súbrani súčinenia III*, Sofia 1973, p. 198.

Il est évident que les termes choisis par les savants bulgares n'expriment pas strictement le sens de *piriči* vieux-slave ou russe. Mais est-il absolument nécessaire de faire dériver ce mot du verbe *preti* et de se référer aux plaideurs en justice?

Sans aucune doute, «ceux qui disputent en justice», c'est-à-dire les avocats ou les procureurs, les plaideurs, ne s'intéressaient pas particulièrement au jeune Méthode, fils du drongaire Léon. Pour quel motif l'auteur de la *Vie de Méthode* aurait-il mentionné ce collège des fonctionnaires publics et omis de nommer les éducateurs, les ecclésiastiques, les enseignants et, surtout, les parents et les amis de Méthode et de son père Léon? Ce sont là les membres appartenant à ce dernier groupe de la communauté urbaine, et non pas les avocats ou procureurs, qui avaient affaire au jeune Méthode. Celui-ci était comblé de bonnes qualités et n'était pas encore entré dans la vie publique; par conséquent, il n'avait aucune raison de fréquenter le collège des avocats-procureurs de sa ville natale ni de leur demander leur aide professionnelle.

Nous comprenons bien que les historiens modernes des deux Frères n'acceptent plus la thèse disant que *piriči* dérive de *preti*, et qu'ils cherchent une autre solution de ce problème.

Il reste encore à penser que *piriči* signifie les gens exagérément critiques qui trouvent toujours quelque chose à reprocher à leur prochain, les gens sévères et grincheux; cependant, le biographe de Méthode, croyons-nous, était assez sérieux pour ne pas tenir compte de ce genre d'individus.

En revanche, cette affaire prend un autre aspect si nous disons que *piriči* atteste la provenance méridionale d'un manuscrit de la *Vie de Méthode* qui a fait fortune parmi les Slaves d'Ukraine et de Russie, où le mot en question a été estropié par les copistes locaux. Inutile de rappeler que les Russes ont reçu leurs premiers livres slaves copiés dans le Sud (Balkans).

A l'exemple du roman, le groupe *dr/tr* des mots empruntés a perdu, dans le Sud slave, sa première consonne: lat. *quadragesima*, *Petrus*; rom. *quaresima*, *Piero*; slave *korizma*, *Pero*, etc.

De même que le *patronus* latin a reçu la forme de *parun*, de même le *patricii* latin a pu devenir *parici* > *pūrči* > *piriči* slave. L'occlusion pratiquée par les Slaves pendant les premiers siècles de leur vie littéraire avait abouti à la prononciation *pūrči* et, plus tard, *piriči* ou *prči* = lat. *patricii*. Quant aux voyelles du mot latin, elles n'ont pas été fidèlement transmises par le slavon russe: *piriči* (No I), *perči* (No II), *perci* (No III), etc.

Du reste, le *patricius* (sing.), *patricii* (plur.) latin a été traité d'une façon bizarre par les copistes russes de la première période (Xe - XIIe s.). Un manuscrit de la *Vie de Constantin*, V<sup>4</sup>, contient la variante *c(ësa)rī sī petrči* (=*patrikii*, d'après la plupart des manuscrits).<sup>36</sup> Cette variante *petr'ci* (=*patrikii*) dépourvue de tout sens

montre que la chute de la consonne *t* a suffi à obtenir la forme *per'ci* des exemplaires publiés par O. M. Bodjanskij: Nos II et VIII: *periči*; No III: *perci*; No V: *percy*. C'est ainsi que la forme absurde *petr'ci* devient *per'ci* (< *prěti*) et reçoit le sens de «ceux qui disputent en justice», «les plaideurs», «les juristes», etc.

Inutile de rappeler que *petr'ci* représentait *příči*, *pitr'ci*, *p'r'ci* du manuscrit plus ancien que le copiste russe avait sous les yeux.

Nous possédons la *Passion de S. Apollinaire de Ravenne* dont les traits linguistiques la font remonter à l'époque vieux-slave. A. I. Sobolevskij l'a publiée d'après un manuscrit russe de 1504, avec les variantes du manuscrit No 912 de Pogodin qu'il faut dater du milieu du XVIe siècle.<sup>37</sup> Cette *Passion* est une traduction d'un original latin qui nous est parvenu et a été publié par les Bollandistes: *Acta Sanctorum*, julii t. V, dies 23, Antwerpiae, 1727, col. 346 ss. Dans le texte slave, on lit le titre d'un certain Demostène: a) *jemuze imq Dimostenū soušcou petričou i dzělo poganou*; éd. cit., p. 117, ligne 14 = lat.: *patricium sed omnino paganisimū*; AA. SS., tom. cit., col. 349 (n. 31); b) *Dimostenū patrikū*; id., ligne 18 = lat.: *Demonsten patricius*; éd. cit., col. 349 (n. 32); c) *Dimostenū petrecū*; id., ligne 22 = lat.: *Demonsten patricius*; id.

Aux trois formes (*petričou*, *patrikū*, *petrecū*) de cette *Passion* s'associe, par exemple, celle de *Patrekēi Oleksēi*, connue grâce à un autre manuscrit russe qui parle des Grands princes de Moscou.<sup>38</sup> Certes, les *petrecū* et *petričou* n'ont pas de sens, mais ils sont réservés à Demostène qualifié clairement et correctement de *patrikū*, dans cette même *Passion*.

Faut-il vraiment affirmer, avec A. I. Sobolevskij, que le traducteur russe (rien ne garantit qu'il était russe!) lisait dans son texte latin *petricius*, et non *patricius*? Nous sommes plutôt d'avis que les copistes postérieurs à la deuxième moitié du XIIe siècle, ont suivi l'usage selon lequel ū/î vieux-slave passait en o/e du slavon russe: *isperva*, *súmerti*, *vesi* (lat. *vicus*), *temnicju* (Evangéliaire de 1164).<sup>39</sup>

L'original latin nous apprend que les formes *petričou*, *patrikū*, *petrecū* sont des variantes du *patricius* qui répondait au nom de Demostène. Dans tous les exemples cités, le groupe *tr* est conservé. La consonne latine *c* a été prononcée, soit comme *c* (*petrecū*), soit comme *k* (*patrikū*). Quant aux voyelles, elles montrent une orthographe tardive et distincte de celle qui était pratiquée par les Slaves du sud.

En revanche, les formes *příči*, *pür'ci*, *perci*, etc. de la *Vie de Méthode* attestent la disparition de la consonne *t* du groupe *-tr-*; de plus, les voyelles latines de *patricii* (plur.), par occlusion, ont été remplacées par ū/î slave: *pür'ci* (= *pür'ci* du No VII où ū dérive de *a* et '= ū de *i*), puis *příči* (No I). De même de nos jours la voyelle intérieure tombe dans certains mots croates (Herzégovine et la région de Bar):

*br'te* (=brate), *p'šit* (=pušit), etc.

Cette nouvelle interprétation de *příči* < *pür'ci* < *pütr'ci* < *patrici* reçoit toute sa justification dans la *Vie de Méthode*. Issu d'une famille noble, c'est-à-dire *patricienne*, le jeune Méthode côtoyait les gens distingués de sa ville natale. Il n'y a rien d'étonnant que cette haute classe de la société de Thessalonique ait connu bien le fils du drongaire Léon et ait admiré ses rares qualités intellectuelles, physiques et morales.

E. A. Tachiaos a raison de mettre en évidence la noble origine des deux Frères. Peu importe si leur père Léon, drongaire, ne bénéficiait pas d'un traitement élevé, comme l'explique I. Ševčenko. La richesse n'accompagne pas nécessairement la noblesse. Il va de soi que tous les nobles de la ville ne pouvaient pas occuper des postes dont les titulaires touchaient des soldes égales, ou à peu près, à celle du premier fonctionnaire urbain. Dans toutes les époques, la différence de rang hiérarchique se retrouve dans la rémunération matérielle. Par conséquent, le noble Léon pouvait très bien être chargé d'une fonction dont le rang était inférieur à celui de stratège ou de tourmarque. Quoi qu'il en soit, la *Vie de Constantin*, II<sup>1</sup> et III<sup>25-26</sup>, relate que Léon était un homme noble et riche («*dobrorodinū i bogatiū*») et qu'il possédait une maison.<sup>40</sup>

Outre le témoignage des *Vies de Constantin* et de *Méthode* que le père et la mère des deux Frères étaient des nobles (ou des patriciens) de Thessalonique, la Chronique du Prêtre de Dioclée (v. 1150)<sup>41</sup> note explicitement la qualité de *patricien* attribué au père de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode: *ex civitate Thessalonica quidam Philosophus Constantinus nomine, filius cuiusdam Leonis patricii...*<sup>42</sup> L'expression du Prêtre de Dioclée vient à propos, et elle est de taille; car, au moment même, ou un peu avant, où le copiste du No I de Bodjanskij traçait le mot *příči* (< *pür'ci* < *patrici*), un vieil ecclésiastique de l'archevêché de Bar (Monténégro actuel en Yougoslavie) écrivait en latin *Leonis patricii*. Cette concordance de témoignages comporte tous les atouts pour provoquer notre admiration.

Conformément à la Chronique du Prêtre de Dioclée, Joseph Georges Stredowsky s'exprime: *Vir maximus et orthodoxus Constantinus cognomento Philosophus, de illustrissimo Romanorum genere, nimurum praerogativa singulari, Civis et patricius Romanus, remisso Constantinopolitanae aulae nuntio, fixit Thessalonicae stationem: a qua etiam apud scriptores civis Thessalonicensis obtinuit nomen.*<sup>43</sup> Ensuite, il commet une erreur en disant que le noble «*civis et patricius Romanus*», Constantin le Philosophe, était le père de notre Constantin-Cyrille et, celui-ci, le frère ainé de Méthode: *Et hujus celsissimae nobilitatis romanae erat thessalonicensis Constantinus, cognomento Philosophus. Is prope initium saeculi noni ... genuit filium, a suo nomine, ad baptismatis fontem dictum Constantinum,*

*quem de facto Cyrillum dicimus ... alterum non longe post natum, Methodium, seu Methudium, lustrica die nominavit.*<sup>44</sup>

Toujours est-il certain que, dans le même sens, une source slave de peu postérieure à la mort de Méthode (+885), l'*Eloge de SS. Cyrille et Méthode*, contient un passage parallèle soulignant que le jeune Méthode était aimé par tous les «maîtres-seigneurs» (grec: δεσπότης; lat.: dominus). Ce texte ignore évidemment le sens de par «vladari», tandis que R. Večerka (MMFH, II, p. 169) préfère le transcrire par «velmožů». Le mot *vladysi* indique la classe dirigeante aussi dans les documents serbes de l'époque contemporaine: *carije ljubljachou j cariskoju ljubiju, i počisti i sanove mimožachou jemou, i iny že vladysi priležno posloušachou jego ...*<sup>45</sup> En revanche, les sources zachoūmiennes et ragusaines ne parlent pas des *vlastela*, mais bien des *vlastela*, «ceux qui tiennent le pouvoir», «membres des grandes familles».<sup>46</sup>

Nous relevons en entier le passage parallèle de cet *Eloge* pour montrer comment un contemporain des deux Frères a compris le *příci* de la *Vie de Méthode*: *Starejšii že jego bratů, přeb(a)ž(e)nyi Methodij, iz mlada žitijskyja sany načqťu priumati. moudrosti bo jako cvětů bl'a/goouchaninu cvětyi, višemi vladyskami byst(i) ljubimů.*<sup>47</sup> – «Son frère ainé, le bienheureux Méthode, lors de sa première jeunesse a commencé à recevoir des grades. Etant donné que, par sa sagesse, il fleurissait comme une fleur bienodorante, il était aimé par tous les «maîtres-seigneurs» (grec: δεσπότης; lat.: dominus). Ce texte ignore évidemment le sens de *příci* = «ceux qui disputent en justice»! Le choix de *vladysi* au lieu de *příci* est d'autant plus important que certains historiens pensent que la *Vie de Méthode* et l'*Eloge* ci-dessus sont dûs au même auteur, Clément d'Achrida.

II. Cependant, nous sommes d'avis que *příci* (= *patrici*) de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>, désigne une autre sorte de *patrici*. Les *příci* (= *patrici*) de cette *Vie*, croyons-nous, ne sont que les stratèges de Thessalonique eux-mêmes, qui portaient aussi le titre de *patrīkios*. Le pluriel emphatique *patrici* > *příci* - pour employer l'expression d'A. Vaillant - indique plusieurs «patrices et stratèges» qui se sont succédés dans le thème de Thessalonique, depuis l'enfance de Méthode jusqu'au moment où il a été capable d'assumer l'administration d'une région. En général, un stratège<sup>48</sup> était nommé pour une durée de trois ou quatre ans, par l'empereur lui-même.

Ces hauts fonctionnaires et supérieurs de Léon ont pu apprécier les qualités de Méthode et en informer l'empereur qui, «apprenant sa vivacité d'esprit» (*ouvěděvú bystrostí jego*; A. Vaillant, Textes vieux-slaves, I, p. 45), lui a confié une région des Slaves (VM, II<sup>5</sup>). La *Vie de Méthode* est précise sur ce point. De son côté, la *Vie de Constantin*, III<sup>1-3</sup>, complète ces renseignements en notant l'intérêt que le stratège portait aux enfants de ses subordonnés. Le «rêve» de Constantin confirme la sollicitude du stratège qui savait parfois proposer à ses jeunes protégés même

une fille à marier.

Le *stratigū* (στρατηγός) du petit Constantin de sept ans (VC, III<sup>1-3</sup>) est appelé *vojevoda* (ἢγεμών, dux) par l'auteur slave du *Prologue de S. Cyrille* (P. A. Lavrov, Materialy, p. 101). Les *příci* (πατρίκιοι) de l'enfance et de la jeunesse de Méthode (VM, II<sup>5</sup>) sont dits *vlastela* (δεσπόται, domini) par celui qui a composé l'*Eloge de SS. Cyrille et Méthode*. Or, si nous juxtaposons le *stratigū* de la *Vie de Constantin* et les *příci* de la *Vie de Méthode* nous constituons le titre propre au chef byzantin de Thessalonique: ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγός Θεσσαλονίκης.<sup>49</sup>

Sans aucun doute, ce sont les «patrices et stratèges» de Thessalonique qui aimaient Méthode depuis l'enfance, formulaient des paroles élogieuses à son égard et soumettaient à l'empereur des rapports favorables sur ses capacités et sur ses activités.

Nous tenons à répéter que la *Vie de Constantin* donne au chef du thème de Thessalonique le titre de «stratège», tandis que la *Vie de Méthode* lui réserve celui de «patrice» (πατρίκιος). Le pluriel tout à fait justifié de ce dernier nom (πατρίκιοι) est inséré dans la *Vie de Méthode* sous la forme de *příci*, *příci*, etc.

Certes, le contexte de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>, et les autres sources, slaves et latines, nous suggèrent d'interpréter *příci* comme *příci* (πατρίκιοι) de l'original vieux-slave, malgré l'orthographe diverse, ou arbitraire, des copistes russes des XIIIe - XVIIe siècles.<sup>50</sup>

#### Conclusion.

Nous concluons ce travail en disant que le *příci* de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>, ne présente pas de problème insoluble et n'a rien d'énigmatique. Sous l'influence du roman médiéval, le titre de *patrici* (lat.: *patricii*) a perdu sa consonne *t* et est devenu *parici*, dans le Sud slave; par occlusion, il a reçu la forme de *příci* > *příci*. La nouvelle vocalisation pratiquée en Russie aux XIIe - XIIIe siècles l'a parfois doté d'une voyelle: *perici* (No II et VIII), *perci* (No III) et *percy* (No V), où le *e* suppose un *i* primitif.

En tenant compte du mot parallèle *vlastela* qui, au dire de l'auteur de l'*Eloge de SS. Cyrille et Méthode*, aimait le jeune Méthode, nous n'hésitons pas à interpréter le *příci* de la *Vie de Méthode*, II<sup>5</sup>, non par les «patriciens» locaux en général, mais par les «patrices» spécifiques tels qu'étaient les différents stratèges de Thessalonique où Méthode est né et a vécu jusqu'à sa nomination à l'archontie des Slaves.

L'archevêque de Pannonie et Moravie, Méthode, descendait d'un père et d'une mère qui étaient, tous deux, nobles, c'est-à-dire membres de la haute

société, voire des patriciens de Thessaloniques: *bě že roda ne chouda ot obojudou* (VM, II<sup>4</sup> et VC, III<sup>2</sup>). C'est une preuve supplémentaire que même la mère de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode était grecque de naissance. En effet, il est difficile d'admettre qu'à l'époque qui nous intéresse cette mère était une «patricienne» slave. De surcroît, cette même mère était tellement attachée à Byzance qu'elle fit jurer ses fils que l'un ne laisserait pas enterrer l'autre dans une terre étrangère (VC, XVIII<sup>16</sup>). Eu égard à l'âge avancé de la mère et à la durée incertaine de la mission morave des deux Frères, cette promesse filiale a dû être sollicitée avant le départ de Constantin et Méthode pour la Grande Moravie, pays des Slaves.<sup>51</sup>

L'unique manuscrit contenant la variante *gúrcy* (No IV) n'est qu'une bêvue du copiste tardif qui a probablement confondu Γ(=g) avec Π(=p) de l'alphabet cyrillique, ou — ne comprenant pas le vrai sens du mot *příči* — choisi celui de *gúrcy* dont l'orthographe confirme que son auteur ne brillait pas par une connaissance profonde du vieux-slave.

Sans aucun doute, l'exemple isolé, et mauvais, de *gúrcy*, qu'il faut écrire *gríci*, si le manuscrit du No IV de Bodjanskij contient vraiment cette variante<sup>52</sup>, doit être corrigé en *púrci* ou plutôt *púřci*, et à jamais négligé quand on s'enquiert de l'origine ethnique de Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode. De toute évidence, les deux Frères de Thessalonique étaient bel et bien Grecs, nullement Slaves.<sup>53</sup>

Paris

\* Dans cette étude on trouvera les abréviations suivantes: VC = *Vie de Constantin*; VM = *Vie de Méthode*; MMFH = *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*. Le texte des deux *Vies* est cité d'après l'édition due à Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *C. et M.*, Zagreb 1960, (voir la note 1).

1. Nous en nommons quelques-uns: I. Malyšev, *Svjatyje Kirill i Mefodij pervoučit’lji slavjanskije*, Kiev 1886, p. 479, et la note 1; Fr. Pastrnek, *Dějiny Slovanských apoštola sv. Cyrila a Methoda*, Prague 1902, p. 223, note 3, mentionne les Nos IV et VII de Bodjanskij, et ajoute l'exemplaire publié par P. J. Šafárik; A. St. Teodorov-Balan, *Kiril i Metodi I*, Sofia 1920, p. 99, note 9; P. A. Lavrov, *Kirilo ta Metodij v dav’no-slov’jans’komu pys’menstvi*, Kiev 1928, p. 300, où il transcrit le mot vieux-slave *příči* pour le traduire en ukrainien par *greki*; *Idem*, *Materialy po istoriji vozniknovenija drevnejše slavjanskoj pisimennosti*, Leningrad 1930; reprint Mouton & Co., The Hague - Paris 1966, p. 70, et la note 3; Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes, Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta IV*, Zagreb 1960, p. 153, note 15: *gúrcy* 4, *gúr’ci* 7; cependant, cet auteur y voit une erreur du copiste: *Formae in cod. 4. 7. lapsu librarii e púrcy, púr’ci ortae sunt*; I. Dujčev, *Graeci amantes eum a puero, Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas. III. Teil. Gedenkband für Heinrich Felix Schmid*, dans le *Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas V* (1966), p.

17-18, où il fait mention des travaux dûs à Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić et à P. Lavrov; R. Večerka, *Žitije Mefodija*, dans les *MMFH II*, Brno 1967, p. 141a, au bas du texte vieux-slave: *gúrcy* 4, 7; Vojtěch Tkadlčík, «Právniči v životě Metoděje», dans le *Slovo 22* (1972), Zagreb, p. 48: *7 gúr’ci*.

2. Voir Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *Const. et Meth.*, p. 153.
3. Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *op. cit.*, p. 153, note 15, pensent également que *gúrcy* est une confusion avec *púrcy*; V. Tkadlčík, *op. cit.*, p. 48, écrit: *7 gúr’ci ... 2 a 3 perci*, bien que le No VII porte un incontestable *púr’ci* et le No II un aussi incontestable *perci*.
4. Aug. Bielowski, *Žywot ś. Metodego*, dans les *Monumenta Poloniae Historica I*, Lwów, 1864, p. 98.
5. Voir aussi, Fr. Miklosich, *Vita s. Methodii. Russico-slovenice et latine*, Vienne 1870.
6. J. Perwolf, *Život sv. Methoda*, dans les *Fontes rerum bohemicarum I*, Prague 1873, p. 42, note 1.
7. Fr. Pastrnek, *Dějiny*, p. 223, note 3.
8. Fr. Dvorník, Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance, *Byzantino-slavica, Supplementa I*, Prague 1933, p. 1, 15, 334; J. Bujnoch, Zwischen Rom und Byzanz. Leben und Wirken der Slavenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios nach den Pannonischen Legenden und der Clemensvita, *Slavische Geschichtsschreiber I*, Graz - Vienne - Cologne 1958, p. 87; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego (obyczne)*, Poznań 1959, p. 104; Fr. Grivec et Fr. Tomšić, *op. cit.*, p. 153 et 221-222; Th. Eckhardt, Die slavischen Alphabete im Spiegel der Ideologien, *Österreichische Osthefte VI/2*, 1964, p. 123; J. Vašica, *Literární památky epochy velkomořavské*, Prague 1967, p. 234; R. Večerka, *MMFH II*, Brno 1967, p. 141; P. Ratkoš, *Pramene k dejinám Vel’kej Moravy*, Bratislava 1968, p. 236; A. Vaillant, Quelques notes sur la *Vie de Méthode*, *Byzantinoslavica XXIV/2*, 1963, p. 232; *Idem, Textes vieux-slaves, I-II*, Paris 1968; I, p. 45 et II, p. 36, introduit *iparsi* = *les éparches*; Etc.
9. I. Dujčev, *Graeci amantes*, *loc. cit.*, p. 17 et 18; voir l'étude antérieure de ce même savant: L'activité de Constantin Philosophe — Cyrille en Moravie, *Byzantinoslavica 24* (1963), p. 219 ss.
10. V. Pogorelov, Napisanija grečeskich slov v kirillo-mefod’evskom perevodě Evangelija, *Slavia VII*, (1928-1929), p. 871-884; *Idem*, Formy grečeskich slov v kirillo-mefod’evskom perevodě Evangelija, *Byzantinoslavica II*, (1930), p. 1-28; *Idem*, Importance de la forme des mots grecs dans la traduction cyrillo-méthodienne, *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini. Studi bizantini e neoellenici V*, (1939), p. 540.
11. Aux noms d'I. Dujčev et de J. Vašica, on doit associer ceux de V. Kiselkov, *Slavjanske prosvetiteli Kiril i Metodij*, Sofia 1945, p. 35-47, et de V. Täpkova-Zaimova, Solunskite slavjani i proischodüt na Kiril i Metodij, dans le recueil *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Jubileen sbornik*, Sofia 1969, p. 66.
- Pour la liste plus complète des partisans des deux thèses (grecque et slave), voir Damian P. Bogdan, La vie et l'œuvre des Frères Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode, dans le recueil publié par les soins d'I. E. Anastasiou: *Kυριλλός καὶ Μεθοδίος τόμος ἑόρτιος ἐπὶ τῇ χιλιωτῇ καὶ ἐκατοστῇ ἐτηρίδι*, t. II, Thessalonique 1968, p. 40-41.
- L'origine grecque des deux Frères est bien défendue par A.-E. Tachiaos, L'origine de Cyrille et de Méthode. Vérité et légende dans les sources slaves, dans le *Cyrillomethodianum II*, Thessalonique 1972-1973, p. 98-140.
12. A. Vaillant, *Quelques notes*, p. 232.

a donné un texte qui a quelques traits particuliers. P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 154-157, a édité le texte de Giliferding, avec les variantes des manuscrits de Lvov et de Belgrade. A. St. Teodorov-Balan, *K. i M. II*, Sofia 1934, p. 115-122; *MMFH II*, Brno 1967, p. 245.

35. Fr. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, h. v., p. 715a. C'est le mot usuel du serbo-croate *prvak* (sing.), *prvaci* (plur.).

36. Recueil en parchemin, Ms 2513 du Musée de Rumjancev (v. 1345-1348) qui est apparenté aux documents bulgares du XIVe siècle, mais il comporte des traits du slavon serbe. Ce manuscrit constitue la seconde partie du Ms 93 de la collection d'A. Popov: actuellement à Moscou, Gosud. Bibl. Lenina, f. 236, fol. 18.

Les extraits de la *VC*, III<sup>15</sup>, V<sup>4-8</sup> et VI<sup>17-19</sup>, VI<sup>25</sup>, VI<sup>50-53</sup>, ont été publiés par K. F. Radčenko, *Otčetů (magistranta K. F. Radčenko) o zanajatijach rukopisjami vů bibliotekach i drugich učenych učreždenijach Moskvy i S. Peterburga vů tečenije sentjabrja i oktjabrja 1896. g.*, dans les *Universitetskaja izvěstija*, Année XXXVIII, № 4, avril, partie II, p. 1-68: I – Pag. 48.

P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. xxviii-xxix, a réimprimé ces fragments d'après l'édition de Radčenko. Bonju St. Angelov et Christo Kodov, *Kliment Ohridski. Súbrani súčinenia, III. Prostrana žitija na Kiril i Metodij*, Sofia 1973, p. 47, ont édité deux passages inconnus de la *VC*, IV<sup>5</sup> et IV<sup>14</sup> contenus dans le même recueil, fol. 42v - 43r; ensuite, ils ont repris le texte édité par Radčenko et, à sa suite, par Lavrov. Voir, *Id.*, p. 48-49.

37. *Izv. Otd. russk. jaz. i slov.*, t. VIII/2, 1903.

38. A. I. Sobolevskij, *Lekciji po istoriji russkago jazyka*, 3e éd. Moscou 1903, p. 72.

39. *Id.*, p. 25-27.

40. A.-E. Tachiaos, 'Η ἐθνικότης Κυρίλλου καὶ Μεθοδίου κατὰ τὰς σλαβικὰς λατορικὰς πηγὰς καὶ μαρτυρίας, dans le recueil *Kyriłław καὶ Meθodīw II*, Thessalonique 1968, p. 83-132; I. Ševčenko, On the social background of Cyril and Methodius, *Studia Palaeoslovenica*, Prague 1971, p. 341-351.

41. D. Mandić, *Crvena Hrvatska*, 1ère éd. Chicago 1957; 2e éd. Rome 1972, p. 29, date cette Chronique de 1149-1153; *Idem*, *Rasprave i prilozi iz stare hrvatske povijesti*, Rome 1963: XIX. Kraljevstvo Hrvata i Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina, p. 452-454.

42. F. Šišić, Letopis Popa Dukljanina, *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija. Posebna izdanja, knjiga 67. Filosofski i Filološki spisi, knjiga 18*, Belgrade - Zagreb 1928, p. 300; éd. Vl. Mošin, avec la trad. croate par Stj. Mencinger et Vj. Štefanić, *Matica Hrvatska. Historijska knjižnica*, Zagreb 1950, p. 48; éd. Dr. Slavko Mijušković, *Biblioteka «Luča»*, Titograd 1967, p. 129 (reprod. phot. du texte latin du *Vatic. lat. 6958*, du XVIIe s.) et p. 186 (trad. croate en caractères cyrilliques); *MMFH I*, Brno 1966, p. 238.

43. Joannes G. Stredowsky, *Sacra Moraviae historia, sive Vita SS. Cyrilli et Methudii*, Solisbachi 1710, lib. II, cap. 2, p. 87.

44. *Id.*, p. 88. J. G. Stredowsky a utilisé: a) la Chronique du Prêtre de Dioclée, publiée par Jo. Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex*, Amstelodami 1666; v. *Id.*, lib. II, cap. 4, p. 206, note (z); b) l'ouvrage manuscrit dû à Christian Hirszenzel, *Vita SS. Cyrilli et Methudii, archiepiscoporum Moraviae sive vetus Welehrad*, Welehrad 1667; c) un Bréviaire polonais; d) un vieux Bréviaire d'Olomouc. On connaît cinq manuscrits de Bréviaires (XIVe - XVe s.), conservés en Pologne, qui comportent la *Légende morave*, tandis que le vieux Bréviaire d'Olomouc (de la fin du XVe s.) contient cette même *Légende* et une autre dite *Quemadmodum*; v.

V. Chaloupecký, *Prameny X. století Legendy Kristiánovy* (- *Svatováclavský Sborník II*, 2), Prague 1939, p. 508.

45. *Žitije sv. Symeona od krále Štěpána z rukopisu XIII. století* (Ms Slave 10 (XIIIe s.), fol. 205v: Paris, Bibl. Nation.), 2e éd. par P. J. Šafařík, Prague 1868; chap. III, p. 3.

46. P. J. Šafařík, *Památky dřevního písemnictví Jihoslavanův*, 2e éd. par J. Jireček, Prague 1873, p. 10 (a. 1233-1235) et p. 21 (22.5.1254). En revanche, Fr. Miklosich, *Mon. serbica ...*, n. 29, p. 24, date de 1234-1240 le pacte conclu entre le «kneži» André de Zachoulmie et le comte de Raguse, Jean Dandolo; n. 44, p. 42-43.

47. P. A. Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 80. Il se peut que le Prêtre de Dioclée ait connu cet *Eloge*, car il dit que Constantin fleurissait comme une rose (*«floruit ut rosa»*); v. éditions citées, *loc. cit.*, note 42 ci-dessus.

48. Hélène Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, *Etudes sur les structures administratives et sociales de Byzance, Variorum Reprints*, Londres 1971; VIII: *Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe - XIe siècles*, p. 45.

49. Voir, le *Taktikon d'Uspenskij* (845-856), publié dans les *Izvěstija russk. archeol. Inst. v Konstantinopolē III*, (1898), p. 129. Le *Klétorologion* de Philothée (899), éd. J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, The British Academy Supplemental Papers I*, 1911; reprint Burt Franklin, New York, s. d., p. 147, note δὲ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς Θεσσαλονίκης, ce qui prouve que le représentant impérial de Thessalonique avait gagné en prestige. L' «Apostolos» slave, lui aussi, traduit par *vojevoda* les titres suivants: δὲ στρατηγός, δὲ στρατολογίσας, δὲ στρατοπέδαρχης et δὲ ἡγεμών. D'autre part, les termes tels que: δὲ ἡγεμών, δὲ ἡγούμενος, δὲ ἀρχηγός et δὲ δεσπότης y sont transcrits par *vladika*; voir, V. Jagić, *op. cit.*, p. 33-34.

Le titre de *vojevoda* comme celui de *vladika* s'appliquent à coup sûr au chef commandant la ville, et non pas aux nobles de Thessalonique. En effet, tous les membres de la haute société ne peuvent pas être qualifiés de *vojevodi* (οἱ στρατηγοί) ou de *vladyki* (οἱ δεσπόται).

50. Le mot grec *πέπερι*, le poivre, est écrit: *pipiri* = *peperi* = *pūpīrī* = *perecū* (russe); v. I. I. Sreznevskij *Materialy dlja slovarja ... II*, col. 1760.

Pour l'orthographe du mot vieux-slave *popirište*, voir Václav Machek, *Staroslověnské popirište* dans les *Slovanské studie (Mélanges J. Vajs)*, Prague 1948, p. 111-114, où, parmi les autres textes, l'auteur relève plusieurs exemples du Suprasliensis: *popirište*, *poprište*, *pūpīrīšte*, *pūprište*, *piprište*. Toutes ces différentes formes sont dues à un seul copiste!

51. Si Constantin-Cyrille n'avait pas été un Grec d'origine, le pape Hadrien II n'aurait pas ordonné, en premier lieu, à tous les Grecs présents à Rome d'assister à ses funérailles (*VC*, XVIII<sup>14</sup>).

52. Nous avons demandé une photocopie du manuscrit No IV de Bodjanskij, mais, malheureusement, elle ne nous est pas encore parvenue.

53. Au sujet de l'appartenance ethnique des saints Frères Constantin-Cyrille et Méthode, le pape régnant Jean-Paul II, dans sa Lettre apostolique *«Egregiae virtutis»*, datée du 31 décembre 1980, s'exprime: «... Cyrilus autem et Methodius fratres, Graeci, Thessalonicae nati, ...»; v. *L'Osservatore Romano*, Année CXXI, N. 1 (36.585), du jeudi 1er janvier 1981, p. 1, col. 1, Cité du Vatican; *L'Osservatore Romano*. Edition hebdomadaire en langue française, N. 2 (1622), du 13 janvier 1981, p. 1, col. 1, Cité du Vatican.

A côté du saint Benoît de Nursie, patron de l'Europe, le pape Jean-Paul II «y constitue et déclare les Saints Cyrille et Méthode co-patrons célestes auprès de Dieu de toute l'Europe, avec

tous les honneurs et priviléges liturgiques qui sont attachés, selon le droit, aux patrons principaux des lieux»; v. la fin de cette Lettre apostolique (*loc. cit.*).

**REMARQUE** – Après la rédaction du présent article, nous avons appris que le *Lexicon Linguæ Palaeoslovenicae* (en cours de publication), Prague, V<sup>o</sup> *příci*, ne fait que mentionner l'opinion de V. Tkadlčík et celle d'I. Dujčev. De son côté, B. N. Florja, *Skazanija o načale slavjanjskoj pis'mennosti /Pamjatniki srednevekovoj istorii narodov Central'noj i Vostočnoj Evropy/*, Akademija Nauk SSSR. Institut slavjanovedenija i balkanistiki, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Moscou 1981, p. 96 (= VM, II<sup>5</sup>), adopte l'explication donnée par V. Tkadlčík, dans le *Slovo*, Zagreb 1972, p. 22: первые (вельможи), en ajoutant ceci: Это толкование представляет ся наиболее (note 6, p. 146).

## THE ROMAN PRIVILEGE “INDUSTRIAIE TUAE” FOR MORAVIA (1100th ANNIVERSARY)

*Lubomír E. Havlík*

The problems of the foreign political situation of the early Slav states in Central Europe are no less important than the other aspects of their medieval history. The formation of the Slav states' foreign political situation either came within the sphere of the – eastern or western – Roman Universum, or touched on the ideological, political and cultural sphere of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) and Western Europe ruled by the Carolingians. Both Rome and Western Europe were interested in the inclusion of the Slav states, which were situated between them, within their spheres of influence. From the second half of the 9th century, the Papacy in Rome under Nicholas I and John VIII had striven to strengthen the idea of the Christian *Universum Romanum*, and to give it superiority over the *Imperium Romanum* both in the West and in the East. Many of the European sovereigns, including those of the Slav countries (Moravia, Bulgaria, Croatia), began to realise that the Papacy, over and above their neighbouring Byzantine or Frankish emperors and kings, would and could afford a kind of protection against any threat on the part of those neighbours. The Papacy's intentions to exalt itself to a position of superiority in European affairs both *in spiritualibus* and *in temporalibus*, on the one hand, and the striving of many European sovereigns and states to secure their positions against the mighty empires, on the other hand, led to the rise of the institution known as the Roman or papal protection.

The problems of the protection or patronage have been dealt with by various authors: A. Blumenstock<sup>1</sup>, C. Daux<sup>2</sup>, K. Jordan<sup>3</sup>, E. Eichmann<sup>4</sup>, G. le Brass<sup>5</sup>, W. Ullmann<sup>6</sup> *et al.* As for the Slav countries, the papal protection granted to Poland at the end of the 10th century is the best known (cf. G. Labuda, St. Kętrzyński, L. Kolankowski, J. Widajewicz, Z. Sulowski, W. Hejnosz, K. Buczek, B. Kürbisówna, H. Łowmiański)<sup>7</sup>. The protections of Bulgaria, Croatia and Moravia have remained less well-known (cf. F. Dvornik<sup>8</sup>, P. Váczky<sup>9</sup>, L. E. Havlík<sup>10</sup>), even though they appeared as early as the 9th century. A. Blumenstock considers Moravia's patronage, bestowed by Pope John VIII, to be the first ever granted<sup>11</sup>. This patronage was the result of the combined efforts of Swentopluk of Moravia and Archbishop Methodius.

Roman patronage for Moravia has just celebrated its 1100th anniversary. It was granted to Swentopluk at his own request, and is embodied in the Privilege *Industriae tuae*, issued in Rome in June 880. The preceding letter from the *Registrum Vaticanum* is dated June 25th, and so the Moravian Privilege must have followed soon afterwards. It is probable that the Privilege was issued on June 29th, on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, because up to 1131 St Peter was the solemnly consecrated patron saint of Moravia.

The text of the Privilege, in southern Italian minuscule letters, has been preserved in the *Registrum Vaticanum I – Registrum Johannis VIII PP.*, fol. 99-100, No. 257, and was written in Benevent or at Monte Cassino in the 11th century. The Register was originally considered to be a copy or excerpt from an older Register of Monte Cassino<sup>12</sup>. Nowadays, historians are convinced that it was drawn up from even older drafts, which had been found in various fascicles<sup>13</sup>. Another, later, copy of the Privilege was recorded in the 16th century<sup>14</sup>.

The text of the Privilege has been published several times, by J. D. Mansi<sup>15</sup>, A. Boček<sup>16</sup>, J. P. Migne<sup>17</sup>, E. Caspar<sup>18</sup>, G. Friedrich<sup>19</sup>, to name but a few. The photographic reproduction of the text has been published by J. Vajs<sup>20</sup>. The Privilege was most recently published in *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*<sup>21</sup>.

Various authors have examined the Privilege, e.g. E. Dümmler<sup>22</sup>, B. Dudík<sup>23</sup>, B. Bretholz<sup>24</sup>, and a critical analysis has been made of it by A. Lapôtre<sup>25</sup>, F. Snopk<sup>26</sup>, F. Pastrnek<sup>27</sup>, F. Dvorník<sup>28</sup>, E. Caspar<sup>29</sup>, who all acknowledge the authenticity of the text as preserved in the *Registrum Vaticanum I*. The Privilege has become a first-class document for the history of the Kingdom of Moravia during the last third of the 9th century. Its importance has been emphasised in the recent works of V. Vaněček<sup>30</sup> and by the present author<sup>31</sup>.

Let us now analyse the contents of the first part of the Privilege. It was addressed to the *dilecto filio Sfentopulcho, glorioso comiti*. Swentopluk (originally Svetopulk) ruled over Moravia between 871-894<sup>32</sup>. He was a contemporary of Alfred the Great, who, in his Orosian Chorography, made Moravia the focal point of Central Europe<sup>33</sup>. Swentopluk expanded Moravia into an empire known as Great Moravia<sup>34</sup>.

In the Privilege he is addressed as the *dilectus filius* of the Papacy. The previous year he had been called the *carissimus filius*<sup>35</sup>. The same appellation was used by the Papacy of Berengar, the Margrave of Friuli in 879<sup>36</sup>, and of Michael, the King of Bulgaria, in 879<sup>37</sup>. Branimir, the Prince of Croatia, was also proclaimed the beloved and dearest son, in 879 and 881-2<sup>38</sup>. They were all the *filii spirituales* of the Pope, as were Alfred the Great<sup>39</sup> and Swentopluk of Moravia. Unfortunate-

ly, we have no precise date for the papal *adoptio filialis* of Swentopluk (*circa* 879) as we have in the case of Boso of Provence<sup>40</sup>, or Guy of Spoleto<sup>41</sup>. The same appellation of the *dilectus/dilectissimus, carissimus et spiritualis filius* was also used of the kings of Francia: Louis the German<sup>42</sup>, Carlomann<sup>43</sup>, Louis III<sup>44</sup>, Charles II<sup>45</sup>, Charles III<sup>46</sup>, of the Roman emperors of that time in the East (Michael III<sup>47</sup>, Basilius I<sup>48</sup>) and of those of the West (Charles II and III<sup>49</sup>). In the second half of the 9th century the Church of Rome was declared the *mater* of all the other churches and the Pope represented the *pater* and *summus princeps super omnem terram*, or the father and the supreme sovereign over all secular princes, including the emperors<sup>50</sup>.

The title *gloriosus comes* applied to Swentopluk has also been a matter for investigation. Swentopluk is differently titled in various sources. We meet the terms: *gloriosus princeps*<sup>51</sup> or *archon*<sup>52</sup>, *rex*<sup>53</sup>, *künədzř*<sup>54</sup>, *malik* or even *shahin-shah*<sup>55</sup>. The east-Frankish annalists made some use of the term *dux*<sup>56</sup>, which may perhaps have appeared comprehensible from their point of view, but it did not correspond to the status of the Moravian sovereigns and seems to indicate a certain bias. The papal term *comes* did not have the same significance as the term 'count' (*grafio*) of the Frankish administration. It referred to a member of the papal *comitatus*, which was composed of "the beloved and dearest sons" of the Papacy. The papal *comitatus* or council of selected secular sovereigns was an honorary institution with no genuine function. An analogous model may be seen in the emperor's personal council (*konsistorion hagion*) in Constantinople. Its members were called *comites*, *consistorii* or *kometes* and addressed as *gloriosi* in common with the emperor's highest dignitaries. The highest dignitaries of the Senate were also addressed in this way<sup>57</sup> by the Papacy, as were Lambert of Spoleto, Boso of Provence, Berengar of Friuli, Pandolf of Capua, Guy of Spoleto and Zdeslav and Branimir of Croatia<sup>58</sup>. These were all the *spirituales filii* of the Papacy and some of them later became kings or even emperors.

The papal letter, properly speaking, was an answer to a request by Swentopluk of Moravia for Roman patronage. The petition was presented in Rome by the leader of the Moravian mission, Methodius, the Archbishop of Pannonia-Moravia. He was accompanied by Zemihizni, the secular leader of the mission and one of the foremost noblemen at the Moravian court, who was called to be loyal (*fidelis*) to his sovereign. All the other Moravian noblemen (*nobiles viri*) mentioned in the Privilege were also loyal to Swentopluk. Other contemporary sources name them *primates*, *optimates*, *velimoži* (the great men), *čestivi i dobrorodni moži* (the honourable and high-born men)<sup>59</sup>. The highest rank among them was occupied by the dukes (*principes*)<sup>60</sup>, the vassal rulers or governors of the provinces of Great Mora-

via and the members of the Moymirean dynasty. Many noblemen held a position of primary or secondary command. The literary sources refer to the *drugi* (*amici*), who were the members of the king's council (*súvětů*) and were therefore called *súvětūnici*<sup>61</sup>. Mention is also made of the members of the military, judicial and financial administration. The *župani* (counts) occupied the chief positions in the various districts (*zupy*)<sup>62</sup>. The minor positions were occupied by the *kumeti* (analogous to the *vicarii*, *centenarii*), who presided over the courts of justice and hence were called *sodüe* – *iudices*. They collected the public rent paid to the sovereign and ensured the smooth functioning of public services and works<sup>63</sup>. The members of the suite – the *møži čistinię cędi* (the men of the royal entourage) – and his personal attendants – *slugi* (*clientes*) and *otroci* (*familiares*) – belonged to the sovereign's executive, which consisted of nobles and officials<sup>64</sup>. All officials were loyal (*vérinii* – *fideles*) to their sovereign.

The term *populus tuus* (i.e. Swentopluk's) or *populus terrae tuae* (i.e. *Moraviae*) mentioned in the Privilege and in the papal letter *Quia te zelo fidei* (885) referred primarily to all loyal men<sup>65</sup>. Secondly, the term *populus* (*lyudie*) embraced all the free people of Moravia. They were named *svojodinii*, *prostii lyudie* – *simplex populus*<sup>66</sup>, *lyudie Moravištii* (the Moravian people), *lyudie stranu Moraviskichu* (the people of the Moravian countries)<sup>67</sup>. The majority of these were the peasantry, who paid their public rent in kind, service and labour. Other categories of the feudal dependent people of Moravia are mentioned in the literary sources: the *dulžnici* (the men who must pay back the loan), the *dušinici* (the people who serve the Church), the *mezdinici* (the loan-workers), the *svobodinici* (the released slaves). A great number of slaves (*rabi* – *mancipia*, *duloi*) in Moravia are also mentioned. They worked on the estates (*selo* – *curtes*), which belonged to the dynasty, or were the properties (*proprietates*) or tenancies (*possessiones*) of the aristocracy<sup>68</sup>.

The extraordinary characterisation of Swentopluk as the *unicus filius* (the only son) of the Papacy deserves special mention. The same designation was also applied to Swentopluk by Pope Stephen V (VI)<sup>69</sup>. A sovereign became the “special” or the “only son” because he had been selected by the Papacy for a higher position. Comparing all the other patronages or protections of the 9th-11th centuries, we have ascertained that the term *unicus filius* is not encountered with respect to the sovereigns of Bulgaria and Croatia, nor to those of Poland and Hungary. Swentopluk appears to have been the only Slav sovereign to be awarded this title. W. Ullmann expresses the view that the designation *specialis* or *unicus filius* could be applied to the Roman emperors only, or to the few individual sovereigns, perhaps, who had been selected as candidates for that supreme secular dignity<sup>70</sup>.

Only Boso of Provence, Louis III, Guy and Lambert of Spoleto and Berengar of Friuli are mentioned as such in Western Europe during the 9th century. Three of them did indeed become emperors<sup>71</sup>. Swentopluk's candidacy, however, did not result in his imperial promotion. Though this seems curious for that time, we must take into account that the papal council, reflected in the term *unicus filius*, existed with good reason in the period when no Western Roman emperor existed at all (877-881). Pope Stephen V (VI) also used the same appellation of King Swentopluk a second time. At that period the Pope was seeking aid and new candidates for imperial dignity against the still-ruling emperor Charles III, and Swentopluk was to be enlisted as one of them. The papal application of such a special term to Swentopluk may also reveal unexpressed political aims on the part of the Papacy with respect to the Carolingians in the Western Roman Empire<sup>72</sup>.

The Roman patronage sanctioned the independence of Swentopluk and all his realm of Great Moravia situated within the Roman Universum and on equal terms with the Roman Empires. Swentopluk of Moravia, as the *unicus filius*, began to play one of the most important roles in papal politics. It is no wonder that the Roman Papacy sanctioned Swentopluk's royal dignity<sup>73</sup>. The Moravian term *kunědzí*, applied to all Moravian sovereigns and to other minor rulers too, was originally equivalent to the German *chuning* and to the Latin *rex*. The European universalistic trends, however, brought a stabilised hierarchical system (emperor – king – duke) into being, and in Moravia there originated a new equivalent for the Latin *rex*, namely *kúrali*<sup>74</sup>. In the course of time, the European sovereigns became desirous of obtaining the sanctioning of their theocratic and hereditary royal dignities by the world's supreme spiritual power – the Papacy. Such a sanctioning might strengthen their rule and significance.

The first part of the Privilege comprises Swentopluk's petition and the papal granting of the patronage. Inspired by divine grace (*divina gratia*), Swentopluk asked the Pope to grant the Patronage of St Peter and the Holy See to him, to his noblemen and to all the people of Moravia, because he, Swentopluk, had decided to be the most devoted son of his patrons St Peter and the Holy See. He wished to have them as his only patrons, with no secular sovereign (including the emperors) as intermediary. Swentopluk's words indicated that he, his nobles and the people of his country commended themselves to the Roman Papacy. The Pope was satisfied by the petition: through the power of his office he granted the Apostles' patronage to Swentopluk, his “only son”, and to all Swentopluk's allegiants, and promised to help Swentopluk to overcome all his enemies. This was the gist and main substance of the Privilege<sup>75</sup>. The *patronatus*, *auditorium* and *defensio* it mentions were reconfirmed to King Swentopluk by Pope Stephen V (VI)<sup>76</sup>.

Only a few European sovereigns asked for Roman patronage. We can mention King Michael of Bulgaria, who commended himself to the Pope under the patronage and the protection of St Peter in 878-879<sup>77</sup>. The protection and tutorship of the Roman Church were granted to Emperor Charles II, the Bald; to Louis II, the Stammerer; to Louis II and Carlomann, the Kings of West Francia, in 882<sup>78</sup>. Roman protection and patronage were acquired by Zdeslav and Branimir, the Princes of Croatia in 879 and 881-2<sup>79</sup>. The papal Apostolic and Roman patronage<sup>80</sup> in no way reduced the position and strength of these sovereigns, even though they were subordinate to the spiritual power of the Vicar of St Peter<sup>81</sup>. On the contrary, it was a significant and strengthening promotion for them. Their relationship with Rome was accompanied by a notional obligation of military and diplomatic aid expressed through an honorary charge – the *denarius* of St Peter<sup>82</sup>.

The Roman patronage gave Moravia an essentially strengthened position in Central Europe and against the Frankish pretensions in particular. Unfortunately, only a few historians have realised the real meaning of the patronage – e.g. E. Dünnmiller<sup>83</sup>, M. Büdinger<sup>84</sup>, B. Bretholz<sup>85</sup>, V. Novotný<sup>86</sup>, L. Hauptmann<sup>87</sup> and F. Dvorník<sup>88</sup>. The significance of it escaped Z. Dittrich<sup>89</sup>. H. Łowmiański compares it to the *Dagome Iudex* and believes the patronage was granted to Moravia as a personal favour<sup>90</sup>, in spite of the fact that the Privilege concerned all the noblemen and people of Swentopluk's country, in addition to Swentopluk himself. The importance of the patronage was recently referred to by V. Vaněček<sup>91</sup> and the author of the present article has analysed the patronage and compared it with other protections of the 9th-11th centuries and emphasised its significance<sup>92</sup>.

At a later period, i.e. the end of the 9th and beginning of the 10th centuries, the Roman patronage took on the character of St Peter's fief. Such was the case with Poland (register *Dagome Iudex*), Croatia (1076) and Hungary (1074 – *regnum Hungariae sanctae Romanae ecclesiae proprium est*)<sup>93</sup>. The so-called Apostolic Rights of the first Hungarian kings are strongly reminiscent of the Apostolic Privilege granted to Moravia<sup>94</sup>, since for Rome, Hungary became the successor of the Kingdom of Moravia in the basin of the middle Danube.

The first and most important part of the Privilege concerns the international political situation of the State of Moravia in Europe, and the political aspect of Moravia's relationship with the Roman Papacy and its attitude towards the Roman emperors – with no reference at all to the kings of East Francia. This was emphasised by the fact that Swentopluk passed over all temporal sovereigns, that the papal patronage was granted directly and without any intermediation, and that the Papacy intended to aid Swentopluk in all worldly affairs against his adversaries.

This first part of the Privilege, of the greatest importance for the secular history of Moravia during the last third of the 9th century, is followed by the second part, which is devoted to Moravia's ecclesiastical history. This part had the same importance for the Church of Moravia as the first part had for the State of Moravia. No wonder that most historians hold it to be the main substance of the Privilege<sup>95</sup>. Since the second part of the Privilege has been frequently dealt with and is not the subject of our examination here, the following survey of its contents may suffice to present the Privilege as a whole.

We read about Methodius' *professio fidei* in Rome and about the approbation of his work, which was declared orthodox. Methodius was destined to the See of Moravia and the privilege of his archiepiscopal dignity, granted as early as 869, was confirmed<sup>96</sup>. Wiching, elected to the bishopric of Nitra by Swentopluk, was ordained for that episcopacy. The Pope made a request for another cleric, who would be suitable to be ordained bishop for another episcopacy established by Swentopluk. Methodius, with these two bishops, could consecrate and ordain further bishops, if Swentopluk established further episcopacies in the countries within his realm, the Empire of Great Moravia. Churchmen of all ranks and of any nationality, who lived within the limits of Methodius' province of Great Moravia, became subordinate to the Archbishop of Moravia.

The province and the archiepiscopacy were called after the name of the archiepiscopal see in the capital of the country. Many historians up to this day have considered *Veligrad* (the ancient agglomeration on the site of Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště and Sady of today) to be that capital. *Veligrad*, however, began to achieve prime importance as late as the end of the 9th and the first half of the 10th centuries. Archaeological excavations render the presumption possible that Swentopluk only began to build a new and very spacious centre for his empire there<sup>97</sup>. But the original capital of Moravia was disclosed in the ancient agglomeration discovered near the present-day village of Mikulčice<sup>98</sup>. The citadel and the adjacent network of minor castles and towns was called *ineffabilis Rastizi munitio* (869), *urbs antiqua Rastizi* (871)<sup>99</sup>, i.e. the ancient capital of Rostislav, who ruled Moravia from 846-870. Moravian-Slavonic literary documents might call the centre *Morava* or *gradū Morava/Marava*. *The Life of Constantine* (appendix in the MS of Lvov) describes the return of Archbishop Methodius from Rome to Moravia and differentiates between his arrival in the countries of Moravia (*vù strany Moravskiiq*) and his entry into the capital of Moravia (*do Moravy*), where the sovereign and all the dukes were assembled<sup>100</sup>. The capital of Moravia became the new see of the former Pannonian archiepiscopacy. The autocephalous Moravian Church was directly subordinate to the Pope in Rome. The Moravian ecclesiastical province

was divided into a few episcopacies subordinate to the metropolitan archiepiscopacy of Moravia. Three episcopacies are mentioned at the end of the 9th century, which might still have been in existence c. 910<sup>101</sup>. The literary sources of the 10th century mention seven episcopacies up to the time of Archbishop Methodius<sup>102</sup>. Only the episcopacy of Nitra, however, can be precisely identified. The seats of the other two to six episcopacies can only be guessed to have been in the countries of the Vistulanians, the Silesians, the Bohemians and the Croats (East Bohemia), among the people on the Tisa-Tisza and in Pannonia. Bishop Pilgrim mentions the names of four episcopal seats: *Speculum Iuliense-Soriguturum, Nitrava, Faviana, Vetvar*. He supposes that they existed during the 920's<sup>103</sup>.

The final part of the Privilege concerns the sphere of culture and liturgy. Swentopluk was informed by the Pope that the Code of the Church Law (*Collectio Dionysiana*) had been sent to him<sup>104</sup>. The Pope granted the use of the Slavonic alphabet devised by Constantine the Philosopher and gave permission for the liturgy to be conducted in the Slavonic language, though some parts of the texts were to be sung in all the churches in Moravia in Latin. Swentopluk and his judges (*iudices*, i.e. the above-mentioned *sodiię* or *kumeti*) were permitted to hear the Mass in Latin, if they so wished.

The text does not relate what alphabet the Pope meant, but most authors prefer the view that it is the Glagolitic script that is referred to in the Privilege<sup>105</sup>. The Slavonic language was the Moravian version of the literary so-called Old Slavonic language. The Moravian literary language included particular features of Moravian speech and it was one of the main characteristics of Moravian nationality of old<sup>106</sup>.

The Roman Privilege for Moravia, its sense and meaning, can be compared with similar patronages granted by the Papacy to Bulgaria and to Croatia. The patronage for Moravia, however, differed from those for Bulgaria and Croatia in some respects. The Moravian patronage mentioned no *servitium* as expressed in the Croatian Privilege. In addition, unlike other protections, the Moravian Privilege contained the emphatic assurance that the political relationship between Moravia and Rome involved no other temporal sovereign.

But all the patronages granted contained one common and basic idea as well. All of them were the consequence of policies made by each country mentioned, by Byzantium, the Franks and the Papacy, which was the chief universalistic and ideological factor in all of them. The papal patronage of the 9th century meant not only ideological protection for the respective countries, but also – and this is to be emphasised – it was the politically and internationally valid approbation

and sanctioning of all the sovereigns concerned and of their states against the menace of their powerful neighbours. The patronages chiefly concerned those states which, by combining their policy with the interests of the Papacy, knew how to make use of their relationship with it and were strong enough to defend their independence. In the latter case, they could also afford to give support to Rome if necessary.

The efforts of the Western Roman Empire to bind the Slav countries were never fully successful in the case of Moravia. The ambitions of East Francia to take over the Western Empire's role towards Moravia after 843 ended in total failure. Moravia strove to come into contact with the Papacy during the first years of the pontificate of Nicholas I. After King Rostislav's attempt had failed, Moravia made an alliance with the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) in 863. The alliance was directed against the Franks and the Bulgarians, who had formed a similar alliance against Moravia and Byzantium. Byzantium could not guarantee Moravia's security, however, and the outstanding members of the Byzantine political and cultural mission to Moravia, Constantine and Methodius, in the name of the Moravian sovereign Rostislav and his nephew Swentopluk, renewed the Moravian endeavour to achieve direct contact with the Papacy, and in this they succeeded. Moravia established close contact with the Papacy, which confirmed her independence within the Roman Universum side by side with the Western Roman Empire and its kingdoms. Moreover, the Carolingians lost their credit in Croatia, which derived from the worldly auspices of the Western Empire under the spiritual aegis of the Papacy. East Francia's policy in Bulgaria proved unsuccessful; Bulgaria favoured the Papacy and eventually came under the auspices of Byzantium. In contrast to the failures of the Carolingians, the Papal policies met with success. It was due both to the striving of the young Slav states to secure their independence on an international scale, and to the political efforts of Rome to obtain hinterland and support against the Western Carolingian emperors and kings and against Byzantium in the East.

*Brno*

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11. A. Blumenstock, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 157.
12. G. Levi, Il tomo I. dei Regesti Vaticani – Lettere di Giovanni VIII., *Archivum Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* 4, 1881, 161 seq.; E. Caspar, Studien zum Register Johannis VIII., *Neues Archiv f. ältere deutsche Geschichte* 36, 1911, 79-156, *ibid.* 38, 1914, 218 seq.; H. Steinacker, Das Register Papst Johannis VIII., *Homenatge a A. Rubic i Lluch 1*, Barcelona 1936, 479-505; F. Bock, Bemerkungen zu den ältesten Papstregistern und zum *Liber diurnius Roman. Pontificum*, *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 57, 1961, 11-51.
13. Cf. W. Wattenbach – W. Levison, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen in Mittelalter, *Bd. IV.*; H. Löwe, Weimar 1963, 455.
14. Iohannes card. Pitra, *Analecta novissima Spicilegii Soleensis*, Tusculum 1885, 1.
15. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum Nove et Amplissime Collectio*, Florentinae - Venetiis 1759 - 1798, t. XVII, 181, No 247.
16. A. Boček, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Marchionatu Moraviae*, t. I, Olomucii 1836, 42-44, No 59.
17. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus...*, I. *Patrologiae latinae* t. I - CCXXII, Paris 1844 - 1864, t. CXXVI, 904, No 293.

18. *Monumenta Germaniae historica – Epistolae Karolinae aevi*, t. IV - VIII, Berolini 1895 - 1939, t. VII, 222-224, No 255.
19. G. Friedrich, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, t. I, Pragae 1904, 18-21, No 24.
20. J. Vajs, *Ioannis VIII. PP. epistolae ad Svatopluk principem et Methodium archiepiscopum*, Romae 1924, 7-9.
21. *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, t. III. *Operi edendo praefuit L. E. Havlik*, Brno 1969, 197-208, No 90 – Introduction and commentary by L. E. Havlik.
22. E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches III*, Berlin 1865, 193-6.
23. B. Dudík, *Dějiny Moravy*, t. I, Praha 1975, 164-171.
24. B. Bretholz, *Dějiny Moravy*, t. I/1, Brno 1896, 83-87.
25. A. Lapôtre, *L'Europe et le Saint Siège à l'époque carolingienne. Le Pape Jean VIII*, Paris 1895, 125 seq.
26. F. Snopek, Bulla Industriae tuae listinou nepodvřenou, *Caš. Matice moravské* 35, 1910, 1-60.
27. F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů Cyrilla a Methoda s rozborem a otiskem hlavních pramenů*, Praha 1902, 18-20, 113-116.
28. See note 8.
29. Cf. bibliography, note 12.
30. V. Vaněček, Über die Außenpolitik des Mährischen Staates in den vierziger bis achtziger Jahren des IX Jahrhunderts, in: *Das Großmährische Reich*, Praha 1966, 294.
31. See note 11. *Id.*, *Morava v 9. - 10. století – K problematice politického postavení, sociální a vládní struktury a organizace* (Moravia in the IXth and Xth centuries – On the Problems of Moravia's Political Situation, Social and Governmental Structure and Organisation), Praha 1978, 34-37.
32. The Moravia of the second half of the IXth century was situated between the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands and the mountain range east of the River Waag, and between the Yesenik Mountains (*saltus Marahorum* – XIth century) and the River Danube. The southern boundary was shifted to the *silvae Moraviae* (the Leiser Berge and the Manhart) during the Xth-XIth centuries.
33. Boc the man Orosius nemned I/1, ed. A. Campbell, *The Tolemache Orosius*, Copenhagen 1953. The part concerning the Slav peoples has been analysed by L. E. Havlik, Slované v anglosaské chorografií Alfréda Velikého (The Slavs in the Anglo-Saxon Chorography of Alfred the Great), *Vznik a počátky Slovanů*, t. V, 1964, 53-85.
34. The kingdom of Moravia included Moravia proper and the dynastic fief principedom of Nitra. Moravia extended its power over several neighbouring countries (Great Moravia or the Empire of Great Moravia). Vistulania, Silesia and the territories on the upper and middle Tisa (Tisza), on the Crișul-Körös and in Pannonia as far as the lower Drava were controlled by Moravian dukes-governors and garrisons. The princes of Bohemia became federates to Moravia at first, later they were subject to Swentopluk's vice-regent and ultimately Swentopluk himself may have ruled Bohemia. The Serbs on the Saale and the Elbe paid tributes to Moravia.
35. *Zuentapu/lcho de Marava*, "Scire vos volumus...", June 14th, 879: *MGH Epist. VII*, No 197; *MMFH III*, Epist. No 80.
36. *MGH Epist. VII*, No 175, p. 140.
37. *MGH Epist. VII*, No 192, p. 152-4; *MMFH III*, Epist. No 75.

38. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 190, 295, p. 151-2; *MMFH III*, Epist. No 74, 97.
39. *MGH Epist.* V, No 31, p. 602.
40. *MGH Capit.* II, p. 368, *Epist.* VII, No 110, p. 102. The adoption was the symbolic designation of the dignity of emperor, W. Ullmann, *Die Machtstellung*, 243 seq.
41. Flodoardus, *Historia eccl. Remes.* IV, c. 1, *MGH SS XIII*, p. 557; *MGH capit.* II, p. 194; E. Eichmann, *Die Adoptio I*, 59.
42. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 2, 15, p. 281.
43. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 64, 89, 179, 74, 193, 194, app. 16.
44. *MGH Epist.* VII, No. 88, 111, 137, 301.
45. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 9, 32, 33.
46. *MGH Epist.* VI, No 107, 110, 136, 180, 224, 225, 233, 234, 247, 251, 252, 257, 260, 268.
47. *MGH Epist.* VI, No 82, 85, 88.
48. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 207, 268.
49. See notes 45 and 46.
50. Cf. W. Ullmann, *Principles*, 49.
51. *MMFH III*, Epist. No 95 (881). The term had a very broad meaning and was applied to any ruler from duke to emperor.
52. Constantine the Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 41; Theofylaktos, *Bios Klementos*, c. V/20, XI/33, XII/40.
53. See "Quia te zelo fidei" (885), *MMFH III*, Epist. No 101; Reginonis Chron. ad 890, 894; Widukind, *Rex gestae Sax.* I, 19; Ann. Altah. mai. ad 890, 893; Auct. Mellic. ad 890; Annal. Saxo ad 890, 893; Cosmae Chron. Boemorum I, 10, 14; Ann. Gradic. ad 894; Ann. Bohemici ad 887; Regnum Sclavorum, ch. IX; Notae de epp. Patav.; Historia epp. et ducum Bavariae ad 876; The Chronicle of Dalimil, ch. 24; Granum catalogi praes. Moraviae ad 900, 901, 907, 915, 920; Przibiconis Pulkava Chronicon ad 894; Aventini Annales Boiorum, ch. IV/XX-50: *Suatobog Magnus*. The Bohemian legends mention Swentopluk only as the king: Diffundente sole (Epilogus de conv. Moraviae atque Bohemiae), ch. 3, 5, 7; Christiani Vita et passio s. Wenceslai, ch. 2; Tempore Michaelis imperatoris (Legenda Moravica), ch. 14; Quemadmodum, ch. 1, 5, 6.
- All the literary sources mentioned above are embraced in *MMFH*, t. I and II, Brno 1966, 1967.
54. *The Memory and Life of Archbishop Methodius of Moravia*, ch. X. Ibn Ḥurdābēh (Kitābu l-masālikī wa-l-mamālikī) drew attention to the fact that the king (*malik*) of the Slavs bore the title *k.nān/z*, i.e. *kün̄dži*.
55. Ibn Rosteh, Kitābu l-a'lāqi n-nāfisati (2); Ḥudūd al-Ālam, ch. 43.
56. Ann. Fuld. ad 871 seq. and other annals derived from them, cf. *MMFH*, t. I.
57. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München 1940, 1963, 14.
58. Boso of Provence (*MGH Epist.* VII, No 1), Guy (*Ibid.* VII, No 257) and Lambert of Spoleto (*Ibid.* VII, No 23, 83, 84), Berengar of Friuli (*Ibid.* VII, No 109, 122, 175), Pandolf of Capua (*Ibid.* VII, No 177), Zdeslav and Branimir of Croatia (*Ibid.* VII, No 184, 195).
59. "Quia te zelo fidei" (885); Ann. Fuld. ad 864, 901; *A Panegyric on Kirill and Methodius*; *The Life of Constantine*, ch. XI, XIV; *The Memory and Life of Methodius*, ch. XVII.
60. Ann. Fuld. AD 884; *The Life of Constantine*, ch. XIV.
61. *The Life of Constantine*, ch. XIV; *The Memory and Life of Methodius*, ch. XI.
62. *Zakonū sgđunii lyudemū* (The Law Code for the People), ch. 3, 20; Ibn Rosteh, Kitābu l-a'lāqi n-nāfisati.
63. Kūmeti: *Zakonū sgđunii lyudemū*, ch. 3, iudices: the Privilege "Industriae tuae" (end).
64. On the state structure and administration of Moravia cf. L. E. Havlík, *Morava v 9 - 10 stoleti* (Moravia in the IXth and Xth centuries), 63-83.
65. Cf. R. Wenskus, *Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen Gentes*, Köln-Graz 1961, 47.
66. The term is from the papal letter "Quia te zelo fidei". It is the precise equivalent of the preceding Slav term from *Zakonū sgđunii lyudemū*, ch. 3, and corresponds to the same term from the *Zaporědi svých otici* (The Poenitentiary), ch. 22: *prostū lyudinū*.
67. *The Life of Constantine*, ch. XIV; *The Memory and Life of Methodius*, ch. XII, XVII; *A Panegyric on Kirill and Methodius*.
68. On the social structure of Moravia cf. L. E. Havlík, *Morava v 9 - 10 stoleti*, 42-62.
69. The Commonitorium of 886, *MGH Epist.* VII, No 33, p. 352-3; *MMFH III*, Epist. No 102.
70. W. Ullmann, *Die Machtstellung*, 228, 490. The fact that the sovereign was chosen over and above other kings was a supreme honour for him.
71. L. E. Havlík, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 18 seq.
- Guy of Spoleto became emperor in 891, Lambert of Spoleto in 894, Berengar of Friuli in 915. Louis III was addressed as *unicus filius* in connection with the explicit assumption of future emperorhood, *MGH Epist.* VII, No 205, p. 165.
72. F. Dvorník in *The Slavs, their Early History and Civilisation*, Boston 1956, 96, indicates that Swentopluk intended to change the Carolingians himself.
73. "Quia te zelo fidei" (885); *Reginonis Chron. AD 890: in regni fastigio sublimaretur*. His coronation is also mentioned in the later *Chronicle of Dioclea*, L. E. Havlík, *Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda* (The Chronicle of Dukly and the Dalmatian Legend), Praha 1976, 37 seq.
- On Swentopluk's royal dignity cf. W. Wattenbach - W. Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, Bd. IV, H. Löwe, 479; L. E. Havlík, Zuentibald, rex Marahrensium, in: *The Relationship*, 116-122.
74. The term *kúrali* (Hung. *király*, Russ. *korol*), however, was applied only to the Carolingians in the IXth century, because the term *kún̄dži* still had the original meaning of *rex* in Moravia (cf. note 54). The Russian term *knyaz* preserved the same meaning for much longer.
75. See notes 18 and 21.
76. *Patronatus, tutio, protectio* – *MGH Epist.* VIII, No 1, p. 354-8; *MMFH III*, Epist. No 101, p. 215-225.
77. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 66 (878), No 65 (878), No 182 (879), No 184 (879), No 193 (879), No 199 (879), No 308 (882).
78. Before 882: *MGH Epist.* VII, No 301, p. 262.
79. *MGH Epist.* VII, No 184, 190, 235; *MMFH III*, Epist. No 71, 74, 97.
80. A. Blumenstock, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 10 seq., 33 seq., 45 seq., 157; C. Daux, *La protection*, 17 seq.; W. Ullmann, *Principles*, 61; id., *Die Machtstellung*, 481 seq. – unfortunately, Ullmann examines the problems only from the end of the Xth century onwards. Concerning the earlier situation cf. L. E. Havlík, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 10 seq.

81. W. Ullmann, *Principles*, 65.
82. The charge may be identified with the aforementioned *magnitudo pecuniae* paid by Moravia to St. Peter in Rome before 900; The Petition of the Bavarian Episcopate, *MMFH III*, Epist No 109.
83. E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches I*, 196.
84. M. Büdinger, *Österreichische Geschichte*, Leipzig 1858, 196.
85. B. Bretholz, *Dějiny Moravy I*, 83-84.
86. V. Novotný, *Česke dějiny I/I*, Praha 1912, 371.
87. Lj. Hauptmann, Das Grossmährische Reich, in: *Historia Mundi V*, Bern 1956, 312.
88. F. Dvorník, in *Les Slaves*, 268 seq. presents the ecclesiastical point of view.
89. Z. R. Dittrich, *Christianity in Great Moravia*, Groningen 1962, 233.
90. H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski V*, 603.
91. V. Vaneček, *Über die Außenpolitik des Mährischen Staates*, 294.
92. L. E. Havlík, see note 10.
93. *Początki Państwa Polskiego I*, 394-397; H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski V*, 595 seq.; F. Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara*, Zagreb 1925, 488 seq., 556 seq.; *Szent Istvan Emlékköny I-III*, Budapest 1938; P. Váczy, *Die Anfänge*, 50 seq. On the papal protection of Poland, Bohemia, Croatia and Hungary cf. L. E. Havlík, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 25-30.
94. Cf. F. Robenek, Apostolská práva králu uherských a Privilegium ecclesiae Moravensis (The Apostolic Rights of the Kings of Hungary and the Privilegium eccl. Moraviensis), *Hlídka* 46, 1929.
95. F. Dvorník, *Byzantské misie u Slovanů*, Praha 1970 (Byzantine Missions among the Slavs, New Brunswick 1970), 176 seq.
96. Methodius became Archbishop of Pannonia (Sirmium) in 869. After his imprisonment, he was sent to Moravia and entrusted into the care of Swentopluk in 873. He resided in the capital of the country. On the history of the archiepiscopacy cf. L. E. Havlík, Das Pannoniche Erzbistum im 9 Jahrhundert im Lichte der wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Papsttum und den Ost- und Weströmischen Imperien, *Ann. Inst. Slavici* 9, 1976, 45-60.
97. V. Hrubý, *Staré Město – velkomoravský Velehrad*, Praha 1955; id., *Antiqua civitas – Veligrad, Monumentorum tutela* 8, 1972, 57-108; id., and K. Marešová, *Uherské Hradiště-Sady, středisko velkomoravské kultury a moci*, Brno 1975.
98. J. Poulik, Velkomoravské mocenské centrum v Mikulčicích, *Monumentorum tutela* 8, 1972, 5-56; id., *Mikulčice, sídlo a pevnost knížat velkomoravských*, Praha 1975.
99. *Ann. Fuld. AD 869*, 871.
100. Cf. P. Beneš, Morabu tés Panonias, *Sbor. praci Fil. fak. Univ. J. E. Purkyně* E 4, VIII, 1959 93 seq.
101. The Petition of the Bavarian Episcopate (900); the letters of Bishop Pilgrim of Passau (974), *MMFH III*, Epist. No 109 and 113, p. 245, 256.
102. Cf. note 101 supra concerning Pilgrim's letters and the spurious documents passed by him, *MMFH III*, Epist. No 122, 129, 131.
- The Bohemian legends also mention the number as seven: *Diffundente sole (Epilogus de conversione Moraviae atque Bohemiae)*, ch. 3; *Christiani Vita et passio s. Wenceslai*, ch. 1.
103. *MMFH III*, Epist. No 122. Pilgrim probably combined the episcopal seats mentioned with those renewed in 899 - 900. *Speculum Iuliense* is supposed to have been the seat of the unknown Moravian bishop (about 976), a contemporary of Pilgrim.

## MINUTIAE VARIAE

Petre S. Năsturel

### IVAN, LE PEINTRE DE VORONEȚ

Peindre, c'était, jadis, adresser une prière perpétuelle à Dieu. Aussi les peintres le plus souvent n'ont-ils point signé leurs œuvres. Ces dernières du reste ne leur appartenaient pas: elles étaient l'«œuvre» du client, prince ou seigneur, qui les rétribuait pour leur peine. Les noms des artistes constituent donc des énigmes qui, depuis ces dernières années, piquent la curiosité des chercheurs roumains, pour nous cantonner dans le domaine des antiquités nationales. Monsieur Sorin Ulea, par exemple, a réussi à identifier le peintre de l'église de Bălinești en la personne du hiéromoine Gavril, comme aussi l'auteur des peintures de l'église conventuelle de Râșca, le Grec Stamatélos Kotronas; il a, par ailleurs, confirmé notre remarque que l'auteur de celles de Humor s'appelait Toma<sup>1</sup>. Personnellement, si nous avons pressenti que le zoographe Thomas de Suceava nous avait laissé comme témoignage de son talent les peintures extérieures de l'église du monastère de Humor, nous avons attiré l'attention sur la présence du nom des artistes qui concurent et exécutèrent le splendide rideau brodé au type de la Dormition de la Vierge, offert à Putna par Bogdan le Terrible en 1510. Et nous rappellerons aussi la signature que nous avons relevée sur la très belle dalle qui recouvre au monastère de Curtea de Argeș la tombe du prince Radu de la Afumați<sup>2</sup>.

Cette fois-ci, nous nous croyons en mesure d'indiquer le nom d'un autre artiste, et non des moindres, celui dont le pinceau s'est immortalisé anonymement, si je peux m'exprimer ainsi, en décorant l'extérieur de Voroneț en 1547.

Alors que Toma avait apposé, en 1535, son nom au-dessus de la tête du cavalier qui, lance sur feutre, se précipite impétueusement hors de Constantinople pour attaquer l'ennemi, l'artiste principal de Voroneț a, lui, noté le sien dans l'un des panneaux du cycle de la Passion de saint Jean le Nouveau, patron de la Moldavie. Dans l'une des scènes finales de cette suite peinte, je déchiffre en effet un nom mystérieux: ИВАНЬ (IVANŪ).

Où? A droite de la scène de la décapitation du martyr par les Tatars. Regardez: entre l'épaule du cavalier et l'encolure du cheval qui traîne derrière lui le corps pantelant de saint Jean, on aperçoit un édicule au toit en forme de champignon et, dans l'embrasure de la porte de cette étrange bâtie, on reconnaît sans peine des lettres cyrilliques joliment tracées en grandes majuscules blanches<sup>3</sup>. Ces lettres, qui forment le nom que nous venons de signaler, sont du même type que celles des légendes qui désignent les scènes elles-mêmes, mais plus petites<sup>4</sup>.

Or, ce ne peut être là le nom du martyr, qui s'appelle Jean – Ion, Ioan – dans toutes les illustrations des divers épisodes de sa passion. Je crois me souvenir qu'un chercheur a pensé autrefois que ce nom (qu'il fut le premier à observer) devait servir à désigner la prison où le martyr avait été enfermé avant d'être livré à ses bourreaux<sup>5</sup>. Mais cette théorie n'a eu aucun succès en raison de son inconsistance. Et j'imagine que personne ne viendra soutenir que le nom d'Ivan était celui du cavalier tatar!

Alors, quelle meilleure explication fournir de ce nom, sinon d'y voir celui-là même qu'a porté le Maître de Voroneț<sup>6</sup>. C'est donc sans la moindre hésitation, d'un seul trait de plume, que nous communiquons notre point de vue aux spécialistes de la peinture médiévale roumaine.

Encore un mot: que l'on n'aille pas croire ou soutenir, sur la foi de ce nom, que ce grand artiste était slave. Bien des Roumains – boyards ou petits gens – ont porté le prénom de Jean sous la forme Ivan<sup>7</sup>. Et notre peintre avait manifestement le culte de saint Jean de Suceava, qu'il devait considérer non seulement comme le protecteur de sa patrie, mais aussi comme son propre patron. Quel motif autrement l'aurait poussé à choisir précisément une scène du cycle de sa Passion pour y placer sa signature, si visible et si discrète tout à la fois, signature plongée dans l'oubli et l'inattention depuis quatre cents ans et plus?

Pour reprendre, en l'adaptant, l'expression d'un chercheur de Bucarest à propos d'un autre peintre<sup>8</sup>, Ivan de Voroneț mérite pleinement de figurer au panthéon des gloires nationales roumaines.

Athènes, 1974

Il me faut signaler encore que sur une icône de Bulgarie du début du XVIIe siècle je viens de lire, entre l'extrémité des doigts de la main bénissante du Christ Pantocrator et le livre qu'il tient de l'autre, ce nom tracé en lettres slaves d'or: Ilija. Cet Ilija (Elie) est manifestement l'artiste bulgare qui peignit l'icône. A l'instar de l'apôtre Jean qui aimait à reposer sa tête sur la poitrine du Divin Maître, Ilija a tenu à reposer lui aussi sur le cœur du Christ, en inscrivant, avec la hardiesse que donne l'ingénuité, son nom sur la poitrine même du Sauveur. Cette icône provient de l'iconostase de l'église des Saints-Théodores, de Dobarsko. J'ignore si les savants bulgares ont retenu le nom d'Ilija et comment ils ont expliqué sa présence en un endroit aussi insolite<sup>9</sup>. Ce sont, naturellement, les signatures de Toma de Humor et de Ivan de Voroneț qui m'ont mené à cette interprétation. Signalera-t-on d'autres exemplaires analogues?

Paris, 26 mars 1976

1. S. Ulea, Gavril ieromonahul, autorul frescelor de la Bălinești, dans le vol. *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare. Culegere de studii îngrijită de M. Berza*, Bucarest 1964, p. 419-461; *idem*, Un peintre grec en Moldavie au XVIe siècle: Stamatélos Kotronas, *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art*, VII, 1970, p. 13-26; *idem*, Originea și semnificația ideologică a picturii exterioare moldovenești, I, *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei*, X/I, 1963, p. 72-73 (cf. à ce propos V. Drăguț, *Humor*, Bucarest 1973, p. 32 et aussi p. 40, n. 75 de l'éd. roum.).

2. P. S. Năsturel, Urmările căderii Țarigradului pentru Biserica românească, *Mitropolia Olteniei*, XI/1-2, 1959, p. 72, n. 102; *idem*, Date noi asupra unor odoare de la mănăstirea Putna, *Romanoslavica*, III, 1958, p. 152 (l'un des artistes du voile de Putna s'appelle indubitablement Zosima; les noms des deux autres font encore difficulté: Ion îñ (?) et, peut-être, Mardarie); *idem*, *Știri mărunte despre cîteva monumente istorice, Sesiunea științifică a Direcției Monumentelor istorice*, Ianuarie 1963, p. 143 (j'hésitais alors entre Mihail ou Mihnea: de fait l'emploi d'une abréviation – MHX – plaide en faveur du premier de ces noms pour le sculpteur d'Argeș).

3. Une bonne reproduction dans Maria-Ana Musicescu et S. Ulea, *Voroneț*, 2e éd. française, Bucarest 1971, pl. 43.

4. *Ibidem*, pl. 37 (translation des reliques de saint Jean à Suceava) et pl. 39 (funérailles du martyr). Dernière étude de la Vie de saint Jean mis à mort non pas à Cetatea Albă (comme on le croit communément depuis des siècles en Moldavie) mais en Crimée d'où Alexandre le Bon fit venir ses reliques à prix d'or: P. S. Năsturel, Une prétendue œuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak: «Le martyre de saint Jean le Nouveau», *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Etudes balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, VII (Littérature - ethnographie - folklore), Sofia 1971, p. 345-351 (voir aussi p. 353-358 la longue polémique qui me mit alors aux prises avec le Prof. P. Penev).

5. Il y a de longues années que j'ai lu à Bucarest l'étude de O. Luția, *Legenda sfîntului Ioan cel Nou de la Suceava în pictura de la Voroneț*, *Godrul Cosminului*, I, Cernăuți 1924, qui renferme, je crois, cette observation.

6. Il est significatif de remarquer que, de même que Toma plaça sa signature dans le cycle de l'Acatiste et du siège de Constantinople, de même Ivan apposa la sienne dans celui du martyre de saint Jean qui, ainsi que l'a montré S. Ulea, remplit un rôle identique dans la préparation idéologique des Roumains à la lutte contre les Turcs, mais dans un autre contexte d'événements historiques. C'est ce détail et ce parallélisme qui me fait considérer Ivan comme le principal des artistes qui décorent Voroneț, à l'instar du rôle qui revient à Toma dans la peinture de Humor.

Pour mémoire toutefois, je rappellerai que des savants comme E. Kozak, V. Podlacha et O. Luția ont cru que le peintre de Voroneț avait nom Marko: ce personnage apparaît mentionné dans une inscription peinte à l'extérieur de l'église, au-dessous du portrait du métropolite Grégoire Roșca, et il y est appelé «pristav» (v. G. Bals, *Bisericile moldovenești din veacul al XVI-lea. 1527-1582*, Bucarest 1928, p. 320). En fait, ce terme qui a dérouté la recherche est l'équivalent d'un autre, répandu surtout en Valachie, «ispravnic». Il s'applique à la personne désignée par le fondateur pour faire exécuter les travaux qu'il a décidés et pour veiller à ce que les maçons, peintres et autres artisans aient le nécessaire, conformément à leur contrat. C'est donc une sorte de surveillant. Marko (et pourquoi ne pas l'appeler en roumain Marcu?) dut être un moine – l'inscription précise qu'il servit à ce saint couvent de Voroneț – désigné par le métropolite pour s'occuper de tous les problèmes matériels relatifs à la peinture de l'é-

glise à l'extérieur et peut-être même aussi de ceux relatifs à l'adjonction du nouvel exonarthex. Tel fut le cas d'Andonie, du monastère de Bisericani, à qui incomberont tous les tracas de construction d'une tour, d'un réfectoire et de la couverture de l'église du monastère voisin de Pângărați, en 1642 (voir G. Balș, *op. cit.*, p. 348). Dans la *Vie de Vlad l'Empaleur* le mot «pristav» désigne les représentants du sultan: le texte dans P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI*, Bucarest 1959, p. 201, ligne 18. En bulgare, le mot signifie encore «préposé, commissaire»; en russe c'est le commissaire de police. Le *pristav*, ou *l'ispravnic*, des Roumains était donc un représentant légal d'une autorité, un fondé de pouvoir.

7. N. A. Constantinescu, *Dicționar onomastic românesc*, Bucarest 1963, p. 83.

8. V. Drăguț, *Dragoș Coman, le maître des fresques d'Arbore*, Bucarest 1969, p. 33 (je ne voudrais pas faire de peine à Monsieur Drăguț, ni aux autres historiens d'art roumains, mais je ne puis les suivre quand ils indiquent Dragoș Coman comme l'auteur des peintures d'Arbure. Je reviendrai prochainement sur cette question).

9. Une reproduction de cette icône dans le catalogue *Icones bulgares IXe-XIXe siècles*, Musée du Petit Palais, 16 mars - 13 juin 1976, photo 41 (on y distingue assez bien le nom d'Illia) et texte explicatif en regard où l'on cite A. Boschkov, *Die bulgarische Volkkunst*, Recklinghausen 1971.

#### QUAND MOURUT MATHIEU DE MYRE?

Mathieu de Myre, le savant métropolite qui vit le jour en Epire, à Pogoniani, appartient aussi bien à l'histoire du patriarcat de Constantinople, qu'à celle de l'Église orthodoxe d'un peu partout. À Moscou à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, puis à Lvov (Lemberg), en Pologne, en 1600, il ira s'établir en Valachie vers 1602 grâce à l'appui du voïvode Radu-Şerban et, là, il composera au monastère de Dealu dont il fut fait higoumène, divers ouvrages qui intéressent aussi bien les lettres néo-grecques que l'histoire roumaine<sup>1</sup>. Une notice laissée par son frère Isaris Angelatos nous a conservé l'année de sa mort: 7132, 7<sup>e</sup> indiction, soit donc l'an 1624, vu que Mathieu vivait encore le 17 mars de ladite année, à Dealu.

Cette information figure sur un liturgiaire copié par le métropolite à l'intention de Sainte-Anne sur l'Athos. En voici la partie finale<sup>2</sup>: ... ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τοῦδε τὸν βίου μεταστὰς παρήγγειλεν ἡμῖν δοθῆναι αὐτὴν [scilicet τὴν λειτουργίαν] ἐνθα ἀφιέρωσεν αὐτὸς ιδίω θελήματι, καὶ δὴ γράφω ἐγὼ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰσαρης ὁ Ἀγγελάτος ἐν ἔτει ζρλβ' ἵνδ. ξ'. Συγχωρήσατε etc. etc.

Une récente découverte en Roumanie et qui, publiée qu'elle est dans une revue locale de faible circulation (pour ne pas dire *valachica non leguntur!*), vient préciser à point nommé le jour de son trépas: *le 14 avril 1624*.

C'est sur la façade de la belle église du couvent Saint-Nicolas-de-Dealu (i.e. de la Colline), tout près de Târgoviște, la capitale d'alors de la Valachie, qu'une main

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Paris 1977

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3. R. Gioglovan, Inscriptii inedite de la mănăstirea Dealu, *Studia valachica (II)*, Tîrgoviște 1970, p. 169-170. Il est fâcheux que M. Gioglovan ne précise pas la longueur des lacunes, qu'il indique systématiquement par trois points entre crochets droits, que nous avons du reproduire. Les deux princes mentionnés dans la notice sont Alexandre l'Enfant, voïvode de Valachie (1623-1627) et son père Radu-Mihnea, qui, après avoir régné sur ce pays en 1611, puis de 1620 à 1623, laissa son trône à son fils pour aller occuper celui de Moldavie, sur lequel il mourut (1623-1626).

#### A PROPOS DE LA CHRONIQUE MURALE DE SUCEAVA

A l'intérieur de l'ancienne église métropolitaine de Saint-Georges, à Suceava, on lit, en lettres d'or, une courte chronique slavonne, dont voici la teneur<sup>1</sup>:

ζπε ιολια κα στα на господство іш Петръ воевода. В  
лѣтв 7082 ιоніа κα покрн цръквн митрополіј и сътвори  
и клопштнціј и приведе и сватагш Ишн ѕ митрополіј.  
В лѣтв 7097 ιοліа ла, роди сѧ Стѣфан воевода, съінъ  
Петра воеводи. И пакы в лѣтв 7098 феврбрія в, съ по-  
мошію Божією, принесош ємѣ скіптаро шт царѣ Тѣре-  
цкаго и помаза сѣ на господство ржкој прѣшсващенаго  
штына нашего, кур Георгіа Мовиловича, митрополита  
въсемъ земли Мѡлдавскон.

«En 7082 (= l'an 1574), le 24 juillet monta sur le trône Io Pierre le voïvode. L'an 7097 (= 1589), le 24 juin il fit recouvrir l'église métropolitaine et il fit faire aussi le clocher et il fit transporter aussi (les reliques de) saint Jean<sup>2</sup> à l'église métropolitaine.

L'an 7092 (= 1584), le 31 juillet est né le voïvode Etienne, fils du voïvode Pierre. Et encore, l'an 7098 (= 1590), le 2 février, avec l'aide de Dieu lui fut apporté l'étendard de la part de l'empereur turc et il reçut l'onction princière de la main de notre très saint Père Mgr Georges Movilovitch<sup>3</sup>, métropolite de tout le Pays moldave».

On n'a pas observé jusqu'ici que ce sacre princier ne concerne pas la personne du prince Pierre le Boîteux, mais son jeune fils Etienne<sup>4</sup>. En effet, Pierre régna à trois reprises sur la Moldavie: d'abord, du 14 juin 1574 au 23 novembre 1577; puis de janvier 1578 au 21 novembre 1579 et, enfin, après le 2 septembre 1582 et jusqu'au 19 août 1591<sup>5</sup>. Au cours de ce troisième et dernier règne Pierre s'associa son fils Etienne, le 18 décembre 1589<sup>6</sup>. Celui-ci n'avait que cinq ans et demi. La cérémonie du sacre avait déjà été, selon la coutume, pratiquée pour Pierre lors de son premier règne. Celle mentionnée dans la chronique murale de Suceava avait

donc pour but de bien asseoir l'héritage de l'enfant au cas où son père viendrait à perdre la couronne par décès ou par suite de la disgrâce du sultan. Mais quand, l'année suivante, le voïvode dut s'enfuir de Moldavie et se refugia au Tyrol, Etienne partagea son sort.

Pour donner plus de faste à la cérémonie du sacre du tout jeune prince associé à la couronne paternelle on choisit une grande fête, le Chandeleur – en roumain întâmpinarea Domnului ou, en slavon, Stretenie – qui tombe, on le sait, le 2 février. Fête de la Présentation de l'Enfant-Jésus au Temple par Ses parents, la cérémonie de 1590 devenait symboliquement aussi celle de la présentation de l'enfant princier<sup>7</sup>, par son père à ses sujets dans le temple par excellence de la Moldavie, la cathédrale métropolitaine.

Cette coïncidence ne saurait être fortuite<sup>8</sup>. Elle lèvera les doutes des chercheurs qui seraient tentés de croire que Pierre le Boîteux reçut l'onction sacrée à peine alors.

Paris

1. D'après E. Kozak, *Die Inschriften aus der Bukowina. Epigraphische Beiträge zur Quellenkunde des Landes- und Kirchengeschichte. I. Teil. Steininschriften*, Vienne 1903, p. 134, note 3; et P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI*, Bucarest 1959, p. 162-163 (qui résout tacitement les abréviations transcrites telles quelles par Kozak et y adjoint une traduction roumaine).

2. Saint Jean le Nouveau, patron de la Moldavie, dont les reliques se trouvent encore de nos jours dans cette église. Sur ce martyr, un marchand grec de Trapézonde, voir P. S. Năsturel, Une prétendue œuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak: «Le martyre de saint Jean le Nouveau», *Actes du Premier Congrès International des Etudes Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, VII, Sofia 1971, p. 345-351 (et aussi, aux p. 353-358, les critiques de M. Penjo Rusev en marge de ma communication et la réplique que je leur ai opposée).

3. Movilovitch, autrement dit, en slave, le fils de Movilă. Le métropolite Georges était l'un des fils du grand logothète de Moldavie Ion Movilă. Deux de ses frères, Jérémie et Siméon, régnèrent tour à tour sur la Moldavie. Leur neveu Pierre illustra le trône archiépiscopal de Kiev.

4. Il n'existe pas encore d'étude sur le sacre des voïvodes roumains. Quelques indications dans mon article, Considérations sur l'idée impériale chez les Roumains, *Byzantina*, 5, 1973, p. 403-404.

5. I. Ioneșcu et Fr. Pall, Elemente de cronologie medievală românească, extrait de *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*, I, p. 103.

6. Loc. cit.

7. Un charmant portrait du jeune Etienne chez N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*, V, Bucarest 1940, p. 300, fig. 38.

8. N. Iorga, op. cit., p. 293, a bien vu que le drapeau était destiné à Etienne, mais il ne parle pas du sacre.

## НАДПИСИ НА СВИТКАХ ПРОРОКОВ В КУПОЛЬНЫХ РОСПИСЯХ СОФИИ НОВГОРОДСКОЙ

*Василий Пуцко*

Остатки древних фресок в Софийском соборе в Новгороде были открыты в конце прошлого столетия при проведении ремонтно-реставрационных работ, осуществлявшихся под руководством В. В. Суслова. В центральной главе находилось гигантское погрудное изображение Христа Пантократора, относившееся к более позднему времени, чем фигуры четырех архангелов на склонах свода и помещенные в простенках между окнами барабана изображения восьми пророков<sup>1</sup>. Большая часть этих стенописей была уничтожена в период немецкой оккупации<sup>2</sup>. Некоторые изображения пророков погибли полностью, другие существуют в сильно поврежденном виде.

Изучением купольных росписей Св. Софии в Новгороде до их разрушения занимался В. К. Мясоедов<sup>3</sup>, а в послевоенный период их исследовали В. Н. Лазарев и В. Г. Брюсова<sup>4</sup>. В работах В. К. Мясоедова и В. Н. Лазарева при описании фигур пророков в простенках барабана купола цитированы и тексты, заполнявшие свитки в руках всех восьми изображенных пророков. Эти тексты, до сих пор не привлекавшие внимание исследователей как предмет специального изучения, являются ценным источником как для истории славянского языка, так и для славяно-русской вещевой палеографии. Воспроизведения указанных изображений пророков приложенные к статье В. К. Мясоедова со следами реставрационных правок текстов на свитках<sup>5</sup>; В. Н. Лазарев приводит эти тексты лишь в копиях<sup>6</sup>. Поэтому мы сочли необходимым опубликовать фотоснимки сделанные во время ремонтно-реставрационных работ 1897 года, когда были удалены позднейшие записи и еще не успели нанести новые правки, существенно обесценившие тексты как памятник палеографии<sup>7</sup>. Одни из этих снимков уже был воспроизведен в статье В. Г. Брюсовой<sup>8</sup>.

Важность сопроводительных надписей на произведениях искусства как палеографического материала и как исторического источника очевидна. В свое время А. С. Орлов составил ценный указатель надписей с библиографией, имеющий лишь один серьезный недостаток: даты, заимствованные из

различных источников, критически не просмотрены составителем, и поэтому не всегда заслуживают полного доверия<sup>9</sup>. В этом плане выгодно выделяются сводные работы по славяно-русской эпиграфике, основанные на изучении памятников в оригинале<sup>10</sup>. Надписи выполненные краской на фресках и иконах оказались, к сожалению, обойденными как палеографами, так и эпиграфистами. Опыты И. А. Шляпкина и П. К. Симони не нашли отражения в печати и по существу не были никем продолжены<sup>11</sup>. Не оказалось результативным и стремление привлечь к изучению надписей лингвистов<sup>12</sup>. В итоге даже наиболее общирные и существенно важные тексты на иконах и фресках, выполненные кистью, остаются неизданными. При изучении эволюции графического начертания букв надписей чаще всего приходится исходить из закономерностей, установленных на базе изучения рукописей, а также памятников эпиграфики<sup>13</sup>. В будущем специфика материала и техники выполнения надписей кистью на фресках и иконах должна потребовать некоторых корректировок. На сегодняшний день, к сожалению, отсутствуют специальные исследования о выполненных кириллицей надписях на фресках, которые можно было бы рассматривать как равнозначные по методике и по охвату материала разысканию Н. Муцупулоса о греческих надписях византийской и поствизантийской эпох<sup>14</sup>.

Югославские исследователи уже с 1930-х проявляют интерес к надписям на фресках, и собранные ими материалы могут служить ценным подспорием к своду сербских записей и надписей, составленному Л. Стояновичем<sup>15</sup>. Тщательно фиксируя надписи в стенописях и соотнося их с греческими оригиналами литургических текстов, авторы работ, однако, не всегда сопровождают свои публикации палеографическими комментариями, предоставляя это компетенции филологов<sup>16</sup>. В идеале так и должно быть, хотя практически историку средневекового искусства нередко приходится вторгаться в сопредельные дисциплины, чтобы добиться однозначных результатов, поскольку материал, о котором идет речь, еще не сделался предметом коллективного изучения различными специалистами.

Публикуемые надписи на свитках пророков приходится сопоставлять с целью выявления особенностей графических начертаний букв с греческими надписями мозаиках второй четверти XI века в Софии Киевской<sup>17</sup>, со славянской мозаичной надписью собора Михайловского-Златоверхого монастыря в Киеве (около 1112 года)<sup>18</sup>, а также с надписями на камне и штукатурке. При этом были учтены палеографические данные, полученные при изучении выполненных унциалом заглавных надписей в греческих рукописях. Славянские рукописные памятники XI – начала XII веков, к сожале-

нию, не дают близких аналогий, позволяющих решить с полной уверенностью вопрос о дате фресок в куполе Софийского собора в Новгороде.

Обращаясь к предыстории изучения надписей на свитках пророков, представленных в простенках барабана купола Софии Новгородской, следует указать прежде всего на опыт палеографического анализа текста на свитке пророка Даниила опубликованный М. И. Михайловым<sup>19</sup>. Согласно его наблюдениям, “при палеографическом разборе отдельных букв данного свитка нужно принять во внимание, что, очень может быть, некоторые из имеющихся перед нами букв утратили свои характерные особенности вследствие реставрации, . . . но, в общем, характер некоторых указывает нам на XII век”<sup>20</sup>. В. К. Мясоедов отмечал “превосходные церковно-славянские надписи, не без русских черт в языке”, которые рассматривал как свидетельство против достоверности известия о выполнении фресок купола Софии Новгородской греками<sup>21</sup>. По В. К. Мясоедову, “палеографические особенности надписей и стиль исключают возможность датировать роспись купола серединой XI столетия”<sup>22</sup>. Логический вывод гласил, что, вопреки известию Новгородской третьей летописи, в 1052 году Софийский собор не был расписан и стоял с голыми стенами вплоть до 1108 года. Таким образом, наблюдения И. А. Шляпкина и М. И. Михайлова, на которые опирался В. К. Мясоедов, были воспринято как палеографическое основание в пользу датировки росписей купола 1108 годом.

Отнесение купольных росписей Софии Новгородской к 1108 году в исследованиях по истории русского искусства стало впоследствии традиционным. Оно было принято Ю. Н. Дмитриевым<sup>23</sup>, М. К. Каргером<sup>24</sup>, его настойчиво защищал В. Н. Лазарев<sup>25</sup>; эту датировку первоначально принимала и А. А. Медынцева<sup>26</sup>. Между тем В. Г. Брюсовой была приведена развернутая аргументация в пользу отнесения фресок в простенках барабана купола к 1052 году<sup>27</sup>, подкрепленная затем анализом грунтов<sup>28</sup>. Е. Н. Мельников высказал интересную мысль о существовании связи между записью попа Упыря Лихого, датированной 1047 годом, и почитанием пророков, нашедшим отражение в изображениях в купольных росписях Софии Новгородской, которых нет в росписях барабана купола Софии Киевской, где представлены апостолы. По Е. И. Мельникову, “когда поп Упырь Лихой переписывал книги пророков, то в Новгороде как раз строился храм святой Софии. Символична надпись на свитке, который держит один из пророков (Соломон), изображенных в новгородском храме Софии – “премудрости божией”, гласящая: премудрость създѣ себѣ храмъ. Это указы-

вает на то, что изображения пророков и надписи на свитках, которые они держат, входили в замысел строителей храма; создателями же храма были князь Владимир и епископ Лука<sup>29</sup>. Поддерживая вывод В. Г. Брысовой о выполнении росписи купола и его барабана непосредственно по завершении в 1050 году строительства собора, Е. И. Мелников указывает, что “этой датировке не препятствуют и надписи на свитках пророков, сделанные древним уставным письмом. В церковно-славянском языке и правописании этих надписей отражены древнерусские типичные особенности, как и в Остромировом евангелии; в языке надписей этих также, как и в языке Остромирова евангелия, отсутствует диалектное смешение ц и ў, цоканье ... Такие особенности в языке и словонаписании надписей, как наличие –ть в окончании глагола в третьем лице (ед. и мн. ч. наст. вр.) и ж вместо старославянского сочетания жд (вижь вместо виждъ), употребление юса малого вместо ѧ и буквы УК (ѹ) вместо юса большого (указывающие на отсутствие носовых гласных), и другие особенности, отражающие живое произношение древнерусских книжников, говорят о том, что новгородские мастера при написании изречений пророков пользовались восточнославянским письменным источником. Данные этого источника восходят ко времени создания новгородской “Книги пророков”. Наличие русских элеменотов (Фонетических, морфологических) в языке изречений пророков Новгородской Софии, как и в языке “Книги пророков” попа Упиря Лихого (известной нам по спискам) свидетельствуют о том, что древнерусские элементы в языке и орфографии Древней Руси — обычное и типичное явление уже в первой половине XI века”<sup>30</sup>. В. Н. Лазарев, относя росписи к 1108 году, признавал, что “это суровое по своему духу искусство находит себе близкие аналогии в наиболее архаической группе мозаик и фресок Киевской” и что “если бы не свидетельство I Новгородской летописи и не палеография надписей, указывающая на XII столетие, фрески барабана Софии Новгородской легко можно было бы принять за произведение XI века”<sup>31</sup>. По этому поводу нами уже было замечено, что причины, препятствующие В. Н. Лазареву отнести фрески к XI веку, устранимы, так как в летописи нет прямых указаний на выполнение росписей главы в 1108 году, а палеографические особенности надписей не настолько определенные, чтобы благодаря им давать предпочтение более поздней датировке<sup>32</sup>.

Поскольку в литературе по истории древнерусских стенописей имеются детальные описания изображений пророков в простенках барабана купола Софии Новгородской, с фиксацией состояния сохранности красочного слоя, мы ограничимся разбором текстов изречений, написанных на свитках, что, собственно говоря, и составляет задачу нашей статьи.

Для текстологического анализа надписей на свитках в руках пророков, изображенных в купольных фресках Софии Новгородской, важное значение имеет славяно-русская рукописная традиция<sup>33</sup>. Изречения пророков в славяно-русской письменности имели такую же судьбу, как и многие другие переводные тексты. Подбор изречений, написанных на свитках пророков, объединен общей идеей — представить свод ветхозаветных предсказаний о явлении Мессии — Христа изображение которого в росписях Софии Новгородской помещено было на своде купола центральной главы. В сущности смысл введения в эту купольную композицию изображений пророков с раскрытыми свитками тот же, что и обусловивший их включение в иконографические схемы, в центре которых Богоматерь с младенцем Христом<sup>34</sup>. Записанные на свитках изречения пророков связаны с темой Воплощения.

На свитке пророка Давид текст:

слъши д/ъши и ви/жь и при/клом оү/хо тво/е/ и զаво/да/ и  
люди т/воя и до/мъ штц/а тво/ег[о] — Пс. XLIV, 11.

Форма повелительного наклонения виžь=вижь, напоминающая древнечешскую форму виžь (viz) была отмечена А. И. Соболевским в Мариинском Евангелии, но исследователь допускал, что это просто описка<sup>35</sup>. В данном случае приведенный пример важен как показатель отсутствия устойчивого написания, согласно нормы. Для изображений пророка Давида в византийском искусстве, и прежде всего в стенописях, не всегда характерен приведенный текст (рис. 1); известны и несколько других цитат из Псалтири<sup>36</sup>.

На свитке в левой руке царя Соломона:

премоудро/сть съзъда/ се въ хра/мъ и оутв/рьди стл/ъпъ  
сем/ь и посъ/ла своя — Притч. IX, 1 (рис. 2)<sup>37</sup>.

Для этого текста характерно старославянское написание редуцированных гласных.

Надпись на свитке пророка Исаии обращает на себя внимание тем, что не соблюдается правило строки:

съ дѣ/ва въ үреvѣ/ զачънетъ и/ рѡдитъ съi/ нъ и нарекоу/  
ть имѧ հեմօվ/ սմանուլ/ь еже есть/ съкаզаемо с/ъ нам<и>  
եր՝ — Ис. VII, 14 (рис. 3).

Для лексической нормы этого текста характерны как черты ближающие его со старославянскими (древнеболгарскими) памятниками, так и особенности не находящие в них параллелей. Тот же текст в Мариинском Евангелии, датируемом XI веком, читается:

Се дѣваа въ уреѣ пріемлетъ и родитъ съинъ, и нарекътъ има юмоу юмъманоуилъ;

В Паремийнике Григоровича, XII века (ГБЛ, Рум. 2) –

Се дѣваа въ уреї пріемлетъ и родитъ съинъ и нарекътъ има юмоу юмъманоуилъ<sup>38</sup>.

Следует также указать на смешение Ѳ с є (въ уреї), что является обычным для русских текстов.

Пророк Иеремия имеет свиток с изречением взятым из книги пророка Варуха:

съ єы/ нашъ и/ не при/ложи/ть сѧ/ инъ къ/юмоу – Вар. III, 36.  
Изображения Иеремии с приведенным текстом хорошо известны византийской иконографии (мозаики Софии Константинопольской, Мартораны, Арты)<sup>39</sup>.

На свитке, с которым изображен пророк Иезекииль, текст:

дѣвъ/ ръ та/ զатво/ рена ְ/ сѣ/ ְ/ ְже н/ къто/ же не и/матъ/ пронти – Иез. XLIV, 2 (рис. 4).

В нем следует отметить употребление I вместо И( никъто ).

Текст на свитке пророка Даниила приведен в следующей редакции славянского перевода:

аѣ даиилъ/ видѣхъ видѣхъ дон/дѣже прѣстол/ и поставиша сѧ/ и ветхъи днъмъ/ сѣде прѣсто/ лъ юго шгньнъ/ колеса юго огн/ь полан – Дан. VII, 9 (рис. 5).

Его следует сопоставить с кирилловским и мефодиевским переводами<sup>40</sup>.

В кирилловском переводе:

չրախъ донъдѣже престоли поставиша сѧ и ветхий днъми сѣаше: шдежа юго вѣла հակո սնեց, и власи главы յօգօ ակի վոլна չистա: и престолъ юго ակи пламень шгненъ, колеса юго шгнь палан

в мефодиевском –

вѣдѣхъ дондѣже прѣти поставлены вѣша. ի ветхъи днъми сѣде ի շдѣніе ѿго հակո սնեց ելօ. և власи главы յօգօ ակի վլնա չистա, ա պրѣլ յօգօ պլамень շгненъ, կолеса ѿго շгнь палан.

Кроме того, что Новгородский фрескист несколько изменил канонический текст книги пророка Даниила (сократил и дополнил начало двумя первыми словами, читаемыми на свитке), он воспроизвел редакцию имевшую иной лексический состав, более приближающейся к кирилловскому переводу, но находящий некоторые соответствия в мефодиевском. Характерно, что сохранено написание дондѣже, а также встречается написание днъмъ.

Еще более сильному сокращению подвергнут библейский текст на свитке пророка Малахии:

се гра/деть са/ мъ گ/ вседарь/ житель/ и къто/ сътрп/ тъ днъ/ исхода юго – Мал. III, 1-2 (рис. 6)<sup>41</sup>.

Здесь надо отметить южнославянскую форму в написании вседарьжитель, къто, сътрпить.

На свитке в руке пророка Аввакума:

եցъ о/ тъ օւ/ га при/деть и/ ստын/ отъ го/ թы пр/ սեն/ հնիա/ չасты. – Авв. III, 3 (рис. 7).

Не говоря уже о том, что это не совсем точный перевод греческого текста, здесь следует отметить написание пр/սենիա и явную описку - չасты

Кроме текстов на свитках пророков существовали еще сопроводительные надписи с именами пророков, судить о форме которых можно лишь на основании фотоснимков Л. А. Мацуевича, где они зафиксированы уже в правленном виде<sup>42</sup>, а также живописных копий 1890-х годов<sup>43</sup>; последние также нельзя рассматривать в качестве точного воспроизведения ни со стороны орфографии, ни в плане отражения первоначальных графических форм. Поэтому приходится ограничиться лишь указанием на эти надписи, имеющие слева от изображения сокращенное греческое обозначение:  , а справа – писанные уставным письмом имена, сохранившиеся в ряде случаев фрагментарно:

ձա/ սո/ լո/ մո/ ն[չ], ի/ սա/ լա, լէ/ թ/ ե/ մ/ ի/ ա, լէ/ չէ/ կ/ իլ[?] ձա/ թ/ ի/ լ/ չ, մա/ լա/ չ [...], ա/ վա/ կու/ մչ<sup>44</sup>.

Язык приведенных выше текстов на свитках пророков, как было на- ми отмечено, послужил для Е. И. Мельникова основанием считать, что при написании изречений новгородские мастера пользовались восточнославянским письменным источником и что написание отражает живое произноше- ние древнерусских книжников<sup>45</sup>. Но сохранение в ряде случаев норм южнославянского написания не оставляет сомнений в том, что в основе этого письменного источника лежал древнеболгарский перевод книг пророков, восходивший к кирилло-мефодиевскому наследию.

Вопрос об отношении к изречениям пророков в росписях купола Со- фии Новгородской как к памятнику палеографии до сих пор не получил в литературе надлежащего решения. При скучности славянских монументаль- ных надписей XI-XII веков, безусловно, вряд ли стоит принебрегать этим источником, однако боязнь принять черты внесенные позднейшими понови- телями за графические нормы XI века приводит к настороженному отноше-

нию. Это, в частности, нашло отражение в исследовании А. А. Медынцевой, которая замечает: “Эти надписи, многие из которых сохранились до наших дней лишь в копиях, безусловно восходят к древним оригиналам, хотя не исключено, что начертания некоторых букв искажены последующими поновлениями”<sup>46</sup>. Но А. А. Медынцева все же решается сопоставлять начертания отдельных букв с имеющимися в надписях называющих имена художников, которые, по ее мнению, могли принимать участие в выполнении купольных фресок<sup>47</sup>. Переходя от анализа материала к общим выводам, исследовательница пишет: “По-видимому, подписи оставили две артели художников, в разное время расписывавшие храм. Одна из них, в которую, очевидно, входили Георгий, Сежир и Олисей, должна была принимать участие в создании комплекса фресковых изображений на розовой цемянке и росписи фресок центральной главы, которая была произведена, как показывает исследование В. Г. Брюсовой, в середине XI в.”<sup>48</sup>. А. А. Медынцева, приводя дополнительные аргументы, полагает, что “приступить к росписи купола живописцы могли только не ранее весны 1053 или даже 1054 года” и осенью 1054 года были прерваны, после чего не возобновлялись, вследствие последовавшей в 1055 году “клеветы” на епископа Луку, вызванного в связи с этим митрополитом Ефремом в Киев<sup>49</sup>. Работу над выполнением фресок центральной главы Софии Новгородской трех мастеров предполагал уже В. Н. Лазарев, исходя из манеры письма. Он писал: “Наиболее “греческим” представляется мне первый мастер, в чьих приемах письма немало от “академической” рутины XI столетия. Созданные им образы очень близки к тому, что мы находим в росписях XI века (например, Водоча). Два других мастера обнаруживают тяготение к более тяжелым и массивным формам и к более свободной живописной трактовке, характерной уже для искусства XII века. Но и эти два мастера очень крепко связаны с византийской традицией. Судить об их национальности было бы преждевременно. Славянские надписи скорее говорят в пользу того, что здесь работали местные художники. Однако они должны были пройти основательную византийскую выучку, иначе их искусство не отличалось бы такой зрелостью, трудно объяснимой для столь раннего этапа в развитии новгородской монументальной живописи”<sup>50</sup>. Принимая наблюдения В. Н. Лазарева, следует иметь ввиду, что фреску центральной главы он датировал началом XII века. И если даже для указанного времени такая творческая зрелость новгородских мастеров ему представлялась маловероятной, то можно ли эти росписи приписывать местным мастерам середины XI столетия?

Если бы на сегодняшний день было доказано, что Георгий – художник сделавший греческую надпись на стене Софии Киевской<sup>51</sup>, и Георгий – один из художников расписывавших Софию Новгородскую<sup>52</sup>, одно и то же лицо, вопрос о мастерах решался бы довольно просто, тем более, что новгородские фрески в стилистическом отношении достаточно сходны с киевскими росписями Св. Софии. И тогда бы этого Георгия можно было бы отождествить с тем мастером, который представлялся В. Н. Лазареву наиболее “греческим”. Но поскольку проблема идентификации и национальной принадлежности оставивших автографы художников остается пока не решенной<sup>53</sup>, приходится затронутый вопрос пока оставить открытым, несмотря на то, что большинство доводов говорит в пользу положительного его решения.

Вопрос о национальной принадлежности мастеров, выполнивших фрески центральной главы Софии Новгородской, едва ли следует превращать в альтернативу: византийцы или новгородцы. Как мы знаем из свидетельства литературного источника об Алимпии Печерском, в Киеве в конце XI века работала смешанная артель мозаичистов, во главе которой явно стоял константинопольский мастер<sup>54</sup>. То же положение установлено В. Н. Лазаревым в отношении мозаик собора Михайловского Златоверхого монастыря в Киеве, выполненных около 1111-1112 годов<sup>55</sup>. В последней росписи Евхаристия, как известно, имеет старославянскую надпись, тогда как сопроводительные надписи возле фигур святых греческие. И. С. Дуйчев правильно акцентировал внимание на территориальном и хронологическом несовпадении византийской культуры с границами Византийской империи<sup>56</sup>. Если в ранний период изучения искусства христианского средневековья понятие византийской культуры являлось всеобъемлющим, то в последующее время усилия исследователей были обращены на выявление национальных школ. Зарождение последних далеко не всегда прослеживается с желанной определенностью. И поэтому начальный период в развитии таких художественных центров как Новгород ничто не препятствует определять как национальные ветви византийской культуры, понимаемой здесь в самом общем смысле, наднациональном, примерно таком же, какой вкладываем в понятие романской культуры. Если практически невозможно провести резкую черту между “собственно византийскими” и ранними русскими стенописями, то следует признать закономерными и сопоставления графики начертаний пророков в фресках Софии Новгородской с греческими памятниками. И именно здесь обнаруживает свою ценность сводка графических форм византийских надписей составленная Н. Муцупулосом.

Правомерность привлечения греческих надписей при изучении надписей на свитках пророков в росписях центральной главы Софийского собора в Новгороде вытекает не только из обстоятельств, обусловленных отсутствием в русских памятниках XI века таких же пространных славянских текстов на фресках, которые, надо сказать, довольно редки и в XII веке<sup>57</sup>. Кириллица, возникшая на базе греческого алфавита, длительное время продолжала сохранять сходство графических форм. И это может служить объяснением такой, например, особенности как большее сходство рассматриваемых изречений пророков с надписями на мозаиках Софии Киевской, чем с выполненными в иной технике и в ином материале славянскими надписями.

При характеристике начертания букв, представленных в текстах на свитках пророков, приходится учитывать прежде всего тот материал, который дают фотоснимки (рис. 1-7). Последние воспроизводят изречения лишь фрагментарно, и, следовательно, это сужает и без того ограниченные возможности в выделении наиболее устойчивых графических форм.

Буква **Δ** с крышкой и острым углом и с косой перекладиной встречается в нескольких вариантах, отличительными признаками которых являются главным образом пропорции, а также расположение перекладины: в одних случаях она занимает почти горизонтальное положение (рис. 5), в других – имеет наклонное положение (рис. 7) либо даже касается основания левой части, тем самым образуя острие петли (рис. 2). Наиболее обычным для графики изречений пророков является второй вариант, находящий аналогии в греческих надписях мозаик Софии Киевской<sup>58</sup>, а также мозаик монастыря преподобного Луки в Фокиде (1042-1043 годы)<sup>59</sup>. Судя по надписям на мозаиках Михайловского Златоверхого монастыря в Киеве, указанный тип начертания переходит и в памятники XII века<sup>60</sup>. Сопоставляя данные эпиграфики, представленные русскими датированными надписями XI-XII веков, отражающими развитие графической формы **Δ**, нетрудно убедиться в том, что их нельзя использовать в качестве критерия при определении монументальных надписей, выполненных в технике мозаики или фрески<sup>61</sup>. Учитывая это, мы в дальнейшем не будем привлекать славянские граффити. Исключение надо сделать лишь для таких монументальных надписей на камне как украшающая Тмутараканский камень, датируемая концом 1067 – началом 1068 годов. Встречающееся в ней начертание **Б** аналогичное представленному на свитках пророков (рис. 2, 7).

Тип **В** в верхней частию, имеющей вид острого угла, и округленным кузовом также находит аналогии в надписи на Тмутараканском камне; в надписях на мозаиках Софии Киевской **В** имеет расстояние между верх-

ним и нижним кузовами и закругленный верхний кузов. Буква **Г** не относится к числу наиболее характерных. В качестве особенности ее начертания можно отметить шаровидное утолщение посередине вертикальной черты (рис. 6, 7), что является также признаком начертания **Τ** (рис. 2, 3, 5-7). Аналогичное по типу **Τ** встречается в надписях на мозаиках Софии Киевской<sup>62</sup>. Буква **Δ**, как правило, полностью, с ножками, стоит в строке (рис. 1-3, 5-7), имеет заостренную верхнюю часть и крышку с крючками, довольно симметричная. Для буквы **Ε** обычными являются овальная форма, расширяющиеся концы, длинный загнутый вниз концом язычок (рис. 5), иногда имеющий шаровидное утолщение посередине (рис. 6). Начертание **Ε** принципиально мало чем отличается от надписей на софийских мозаиках в Киеве. Типологически близкими **Ε** являются **Ϛ** (ее можно графически рассматривать как усложненный вариант **Ϛ**) и **Ϲ**, которая также находит близкие соответствия в киевских мозаиках Св. Софии<sup>63</sup>. При общем сходстве форм букв **Ε** и **Ϲ** надписей мозаик монастыря преподобного Луки в Фокиде нельзя не отметить в них иной вариант **Ϛ**, с коротким язычком со свисающим вниз треугольником<sup>64</sup>.

Как обычно, наиболее характерной по начертанию является буква **Ж**. В надписях на свитках пророков она написана в три приема – вертикальная линия и пересекающиеся на ней слева направо и справа налево (рис. 1, 5, 6). Такое симметричное **Ж** с завышенной нижней частью типично для XI века. Буква **ζ** с большим горизонтальным навесом и с длинным хвостом, спускающимся ниже строки. Это обычная форма для кириллицы XI века, насколько можно судить об этом по такому разнохарактерному материалу как Тмутараканский камень, граффити Софии Киевской, Изборник Святослава 1073 года.

Буква **И** имеет мачты соединенные посередине горизонтальной перекладиной (рис. 1-4, 5, 7), что обычно для ранних надписей; эта же графическая форма **И** представлена и в греческих надписях мозаик Софии Киевской. Буква **Η** состоит из двух мачт, соединенных наклонной чертой, спускающейся слева направо, не достигая при этом вершины одной мачты и основания другой. В одних случаях наклонная черта прямая (рис. 3), в других – волнообразная (рис. 4, 5, 7). Оба указанные типы начертания **Η** засвидетельствованы памятниками славянской письменности XI века, такими как Битольская надпись (1015-1016 годы)<sup>65</sup>, Темничская надпись<sup>66</sup>, Тмутараканский камень. Можно подобные графические формы указать и в греческих надписях мозаик Софии Киевской<sup>67</sup>. Буква **Ο** овальной, иногда почти миндалевидной формы. Аналогичные начертания присутствуют в уже наз-

ванных южнославянских надписях; не представляют они редкость и в греческих, датируемых XI веком.

Труднее указать близкую аналогию для начертания **Ш**, особенностью которой является то, что она не с высокой серединой, а сужена сверху, с невысокой перемычкой с шаровидным утолщением посередине (рис. 3). Близкие по своему типу начертания обнаружены в граффити XI века в Софии Новгородской; некоторой параллелью может служить **Ш** в записи о смерти Ярослава Мудрого в центральном нефе Софии Киевской<sup>68</sup>.

Из характерных начертаний следует указать в надписях на свитках пророков еще **Р** с маленькой округлой головкой, не выходящей из строки. **Ү** тоже сохраняет древнейший вид: буква напоминает чашу на высокой ножке (рис. 3); обе половинки верхней части одинакового размера и округлости, ножка с шаровидным утолщением. Буква **Ү** напоминает латинскую **V** (рис. 1) и в этом смысле приближается к греческой **Τ**, начертания которой дают монограммы и надписи на мозаиках Софии Киевской<sup>69</sup>. Начертание **М** вместе обычной для большинства древних надписей спускающейся с верхушек мачт округлой петли дает более редкий вариант: средняя перемычка, состоящая примерно половину высоты мачт, соединена с ними прямыми или же другообразными линиями. Этот вариант, однако, известен греческим надписям XI века, о чем дают представления уже неоднократно упомянутые мозаики монастыря преподобного Луки в Фокиде<sup>70</sup>. Не столь характерно выражены признаки графического начертания **Л**, отчасти напоминающей уже рассмотренные формы **Δ**. Буква **Х** состоит из двух пересекающихся линий, слегка изогнутых и имеющих небольшие крючки вверху (рис. 5). Буква **К** не имеет каких-либо ярко выраженных признаков по сравнению с формами обычными для тех же надписей, о которых шла речь.

Особо надо сказать о начертаниях знаков, составляющих лишь принадлежность кириллицы. Это **Ь**, **Ѥ**, **Ѱ**, **Ӑ**. Буква **Ь** обычно имеет вертикальную основную линию, **Ѱ** – чаще наклонную, с округленной петлей; соответственно те же признаки сохраняет левая часть буквы **Ѱ**. Буква **Ӑ** обычно имеет крышику, средняя нижняя часть напоминает уже описанный элемент буквы **М**. Графика буквы **Ѡ** имеет также черты характерные для древнейших памятников славянского письма: не выступает за строку, петля довольно велика, но не занимает больше половины мачты, горизонтальная перекладина отстоит на 1/4 от петли и не доходит до верхнего уровня строки (рис. 2, 5, 7). Все эти начертания не имеют каких-либо элементов неизвестных славянскому письму X-XI веков. Единственной зафиксированной нами лигатурой в изречениях пророков является **ѠИ** в изречении Даниила (рис. 5),

а также на свитке Давида (рис. 1). В греческих надписях она составляет обычное явление.

Подводя итоги обзору графических форм букв текстов изречений на свитках пророков в купольных росписях Софии Новгородской, следует отметить в качестве особенностей утолщения концов, а также отмеченные в ряде случаев шаровидные утолщения таких букв как **Г**, **Т**, **Ӯ**, **Ӳ**. В целом же нельзя указать ни одной формы, которая оставалась бы неизвестной греческим или славянским надписям XI века. Следовательно, версия о том, что по палеографическим признакам тексты на свитках пророков следует датировать не ранее начала XII века, не находит подтверждения на конкретном материале. Отмеченное в ряде случаев сходство начертаний букв с греческими надписями мозаик Софии Киевской если и не доказывает факт работы в Софии Новгородской той же артели мастеров, то, по крайней мере, дает еще один аргумент для того, чтобы эту гипотезу не сбрасывать со счетов.

Как было сказано, В. Н. Лазарев, относя росписи купола Софии Новгородской к 1108 году, не мог не заметить их сходства с “наиболее архаической группой мозаик и фресок Софии Киевской”, а также с образами Водочи. Последний памятник, послуживший темой серьезного исследования П. Мильковича-Пепека, в той части фресок, которые датируются временем около 1037 года, действительно обнаруживает точки соприкосновения стиля как со стенописями Софии Киевской, так и с купольными фресками Софии Новгородской<sup>71</sup>. И хотя в задачи нашей статьи, посвященной анализу текстов изречений пророков в древнейших новгородских стенописях, не входит сопоставление иконографии и стиля русских и балканских фресок<sup>72</sup> все же нельзя обойти молчанием этот факт, указывающий на плодотворность сравнительного изучения русских и балканских памятников. Неизбежные черты различия, которые в изобилии можно обнаружить и в пределах одного небольшого цикла росписей, не должны заслонять того очевидного сходства, той общности, которая объединяет разделенные огромным расстоянием памятники в различных концах славянского мира, возникшие под благотворным воздействием культуры Византии.

1. В. Г. Брюсова, О технике стенописи Софии Новгородской, *Советская археология*, 1974, №1, с. 200-203, рис. 1, 2.
2. Подробнее см.: Ю. Н. Дмитриев, Стенные росписи Новгорода, их реставрация и исследование, *Практика реставрационных работ*, I, Москва 1950, с. 136.
3. В. Мясоедов, Фрагменты фресковой росписи Святой Софии Новгородской. *Записки отделения русской и славянской археологии имп. Русского Археологического общества*, X, 1914, с. 26-34.
4. В. Н. Лазарев, О росписи Софии Новгородской, в кн.: В. Н. Лазарев, *Византийское и древнерусское искусство. Статьи и материалы*, Москва, 1978, с. 116-174; В. Г. Брюсова, О датировке древнейших фресок Софийского собора в Новгороде (XI – начала XII вв.), *Советская археология*, 1968, №1, с. 103-114.
5. В. Мясоедов, Указ. соч., рис. 3-10.
6. В. Н. Лазарев, *О росписи Софии Новгородской*, рис. на с. 140, 144, 148, 150, 152, 156, 158, 160.
7. Негативы хранятся в архиве Ленинградского отделения Института археологии АН СССР. Снимки мне предоставлены др. В. Г. Брюсовой, которой приношу искреннюю благодарность.
8. В. Г. Брюсова, Толкование на IX притчу Соломона в Изборнике 1073 г., в кн.: *Изборник Святослава 1073 г., Сборник статей*, Москва 1977, с. 304, рис. на с. 305.
9. А. С. Орлов, *Библиография русских надписей XI-XV вв.*, Москва - Ленинград 1952.
10. Б. А. Рыбаков, *Русские датированные надписи XI-XIV вв.*, Москва 1964; Т. В. Николаева, *Произведения русского прикладного искусства с надписями XV – первой четверти XVI в.*, Москва 1971; см. также: С. А. Высоцкий, *Древнерусские надписи Софии Киевской XI-XIV вв.*, I, Киев 1966; его же. *Средневековые надписи Софии Киевской (по материалам граффити XI-XVII вв.)*, Киев 1976; А. А. Медынцева, *Надписи Софии Новгородской*, Москва 1977; Г. Томовић, *Морфологија ћириличких натписа на Балкану*, Београд 1974.
11. С. И. Котков, П. К. Симони об изучении надписей на памятниках древнерусской станковой живописи, в сб.: *Исследования по лингвистическому источниковедению*, Москва 1963, с. 190-198.
12. Н. В. Подольская, Надписи на предметах и зданиях – лингвистический источник (по материалам XI-XIV вв.), в сб.: *Исследования источников по истории русского языка и письменности*, Москва 1966, с. 25-43.
13. Надписи могут быть также соотнесены с берестяными грамотами. См.: А. В. Арциховский и М. Н. Тихомиров, *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1951 г.)*, Москва 1953; А. В. Арциховский, *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1952 г.)*, Москва 1954; А. В. Арциховский и В. И. Борковский, 1) *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1953-1954 гг.)*, Москва 1958; 2) *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1955 г.)*, Москва 1958; А. В. Арциховский, В. И. Борковский, *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1956-1957 гг.)*, Москва 1963; А. В. Арциховский, *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1958-1961 гг.)*, Москва 1963; А. В. Арциховский, В. Л. Янин, *Новгородские грамоты на бересте (из раскопок 1962-1972 гг.)*, Москва 1978.

14. N. Moutsopoulos, La morphologie des inscriptions byzantines et post-byzantines en Grèce, *Cyrillomethodianum III*, 1975, p. 53-105.
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17. А. А. Белецкий, Греческие надписи на мозаиках Софии Киевской, в кн.: В. Н. Лазарев, *Мозаики Софии Киевской*, Москва 1960, с. 161-192.
18. В. Г. Пуцко, *Старославянская надпись на мозаике Михайловского монастыря (в печати)*.
19. М. И. Михайлов, *Памятники русской вещевой палеографии*, С.-Петербург 1913 с. 27-28.
20. Там же, с. 28.
21. В. Мясоедов, Указ. соч., с. 32. Ср.: В. Г. Брюсова, Фреска Вседержителя новгородской Софии и легенда о Спасовом образе, в кн.: *Взаимодействие литературы и изобразительного искусства Древней Руси (ТОДРЛ, XXII)*. Москва - Ленинград 1966, с. 57-64.
22. В. Мясоедов, Указ. соч., с. 32.
23. Ю. Н. Дмитриев, Указ. соч., с. 136-137.
24. История культуры Древней Руси, *Домонгольский период*, т. II, Москва - Ленинград 1951, с. 366.
25. В. Н. Лазарев, *О росписи Софии Новгородской*, с. 116-117.
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27. В. Г. Брюсова, *О датировке древнейших фресок Софийского собора в Новгороде*, с. 108-113.
28. В. Г. Брюсова, *О технике стенописи Софии Новгородской*, с. 192-193.
29. Е. И. Мельников, Записи древнерусских книжных писцов середины XI века как историко-филологический источник, *Slavia*, т. XLVI, 1977, с. 5.
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33. См.: Документы Библейской Комиссии, *Богословские труды*, 13, Москва 1975, с. 226-332; И. Евсеев, *Книга пророка Исаии в древнеславянском переводе*, С.-Петербург 1897; его же, *Книга пророка Даниила в древнеславянском переводе*, С.-Петербург 1905; И. Панькович, *Mali proroci v Antiochovych pandektech z г. 1307*, *Slavia*, т. XXV, 1956, с. 384-393.
34. Примером подобной композиции может служить аркосная панагия в монастыре св. Пантелеимона на Афоне, датируемая 1195-1203 годами. – Д. Айналов, *Византийские памятники Афона*, III. Аркосница Пантелеимоновского монастыря, *Византий-*

ский временник, VI, 1899, с. 73-75, табл. X; Н. П. Кондаков, *Памятники христианского искусства на Афоне*, С.-Петербург 1902, с. 222-224, табл. XXXI; его же, *Иконография Богоматери*, II, Петроград 1915, с. 254-256, рис. 137. Иную схему дают византийские иконы: G. et M. Sotiriou, *Icônes du Mont Sinai*, I, Athènes 1956, figs. 54-55; II, Athènes 1958, pp. 73-75; S. Der Nersessian, Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Paraclesion, in: *The Kariye Djami, IV. Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*, Princeton 1975, pp. 311-314, fig. 1; *Искусство Византии в собраниях СССР. Каталог выставки*, 3, Москва 1977, № 883.

35. А. И. Соболевский, *Древний церковно-славянский язык. Фонетика*, Москва 1891, с. 7-8.

36. Ср. надписи на свитках в руке пророка Давида в росписях Мартораны и Палатинской капеллы в Палермо (LXXI, 6), в Дафни (CI, 20), в Монреале (XLIV, 3), в Эль-мале-Килиссе (XLV, 11) и в Каранлек-Килиссе (CXXX, 11).

37. Наличие иных текстов на свитке в руке Соломона столь жеично, как и для изображений Давида и других пророков. Мы не будем подробно перечислять все известные варианты, связанные с византийскими мозаиками и фресками, поскольку они уже были указаны в работе В. Н. Лазарева (*О росписи Софии Новгородской*, с. 134-150).

38. И. Евсеев, *Книга пророка Исаии в древнеславянском переводе*, с. 19.

39. Снимка этого текста в росписях Софии Новгородской, не подвергнутого реставрационным правкам, мы не имеем. Поэтому для палеографического анализа вынуждены воспользоваться репродукциями (статья В. К. Мясоедова и В. Н. Лазарева): В. Мясоедов, Указ. соч., рис. 6; В. Н. Лазарев, *О росписи Софии Новгородской*, рис. на с. 150.

40. И. Евсеев, *Книга пророка Даниила в древнеславянском переводе*, с. 108.

41. Для рукописной традиции славянского перевода книг малых пророков см.: Н. Л. Туницкий, *Книги XII малых пророков с толкованием в древнеславянском переводе*, I. Сергиев посад, 1918 (вошли книги Осии, Иоилля, Амоса, Авдия и Ионы). См. также: *Документы Библейской Комиссии*, с. 230 (И. Е. Евсеев пишет, что полный список пророчеств Малахии относится к мефодиевской редакции).

42. В. Мясоедов, Указ. соч., рис. 3-10.

43. В. Н. Лазарев, *О росписи Софии Новгородской*, рис. на с. 140, 144, 148, 150, 152, 156, 158, 160.

44. О нормах русского написания и произношении этих имен см.: Б. А. Успенский *Из истории русских канонических имен*, (История ударения в канонических именах собственных в их отношении к русским литературным и разговорным формам). Москва 1969.

45. Е. И. Мельников, *Записи древнерусских книжных писцов середины XI века как историко-филологический источник*, с. 6. Ср.: И. С. Свенцицкий, Правопис рукописів староруської епохи, в сб.: *Дослідження і матеріали з української мови*, I, Київ 1959, с. 3-9.

46. А. А. Медынцева, *Древнерусские надписи новгородского Софийского собора*, с. 44.

47. Там же, с. 44-47.

48. Там же, с. 54.

49. Там же, с. 55.
50. В. Н. Лазарев, *О росписи Софии Новгородской*, с. 152, 156.
51. С. А. Высоцкий, Автограф художника из Софийского собора в Киеве, в сб.: *Культура средневековой Руси*, Ленинград 1974, с. 122-126.
52. А. А. Медынцева, *Древнерусские надписи новгородского Софийского собора*, с. 42-47.
53. Там же, с. 47.
54. В. Пуцко, Киевский художник XI века Алимпий Печерский. (По сказанию Поликарпа и данным археологических исследований), *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch*, 25, 1979, с. 66-74.
55. В. Н. Лазарев, *Михайловские мозаики*, Москва 1966, с. 100-101.
56. Ив. Дуйчев, Центры византийско-славянского общения и сотрудничества, *Труды отдела древнерусской литературы ИРЛИ АН СССР*, XIX, 1963, с. 108.
57. Кроме уже упомянутой евхаристической старославянской надписи на мозаике собора Михайловского Златоверхого монастыря в Киеве (ей нами посвящена специальная статья) можем указать на остающиеся пока не исследованными как памятники письменности тексты на фресках Кирилловской церкви в Киеве, второй половины XII века, а также на уже не существующие и в своем большинстве известные лишь по репродукциям фресок надписи на стенах и сводах новгородской церкви Спаса Нередицы, датируемые 1199 годом. Изучение этих надписей со временем должно послужить задачей специальной статьи, необходимость в которой давно ощущается исследователями монументальной живописи домонгольской Руси.
58. В. Н. Лазарев, *Мозаики Софии Киевской*, табл. 12, 8.
59. N. Moutsopoulos, op. cit., pl. 15.
60. В. Н. Лазарев, *Михайловские мозаики*, табл. 4, 56, 59.
61. Ср.: Б. А. Рыбаков, *Русские датированные надписи XI-XIV веков*, табл. 1-II; С. А. Высоцкий, *Средневековые надписи Софии Киевской*, с. 168-169.
62. В. Н. Лазарев, *Мозаики Софии Киевской*, с. 100, табл. 22.
63. Там же, табл. 3, 4, 8, 10, 17-20, 22.
64. N. Moutsopoulos, op. cit., pl. 15.
65. Й. Заимов, *Битолски надпис на Иван Владислав самодържец български. Старобългарски паметник от 1015-1016 година*, София 1970, с. 44, табл. 1-4.
66. Љ. Стојановић, Темници надпис, *Јужнословенски филолог*, I, св. 1-2, 1913, с. 4-20.
67. В. Н. Лазарев, *Мозаики Софии Киевской*, табл. 14, 60, 62.
68. С. А. Высоцкий, *Древнерусские надписи Софии Киевской*, с. 39-41, табл. IX-X.
69. В. Н. Лазарев, *Мозаики Софии Київської*, табл. 30, 31-33, 60.
70. N. Moutsopoulos, op. cit., pl. 14-15.
71. П. Миљковиќ-Пепек, *Водоча*, Скопје 1975.
72. Этот аспект частично освещен в моей работе: *Славяно-болгарский фактор в развитии киевского искусства XI века*.

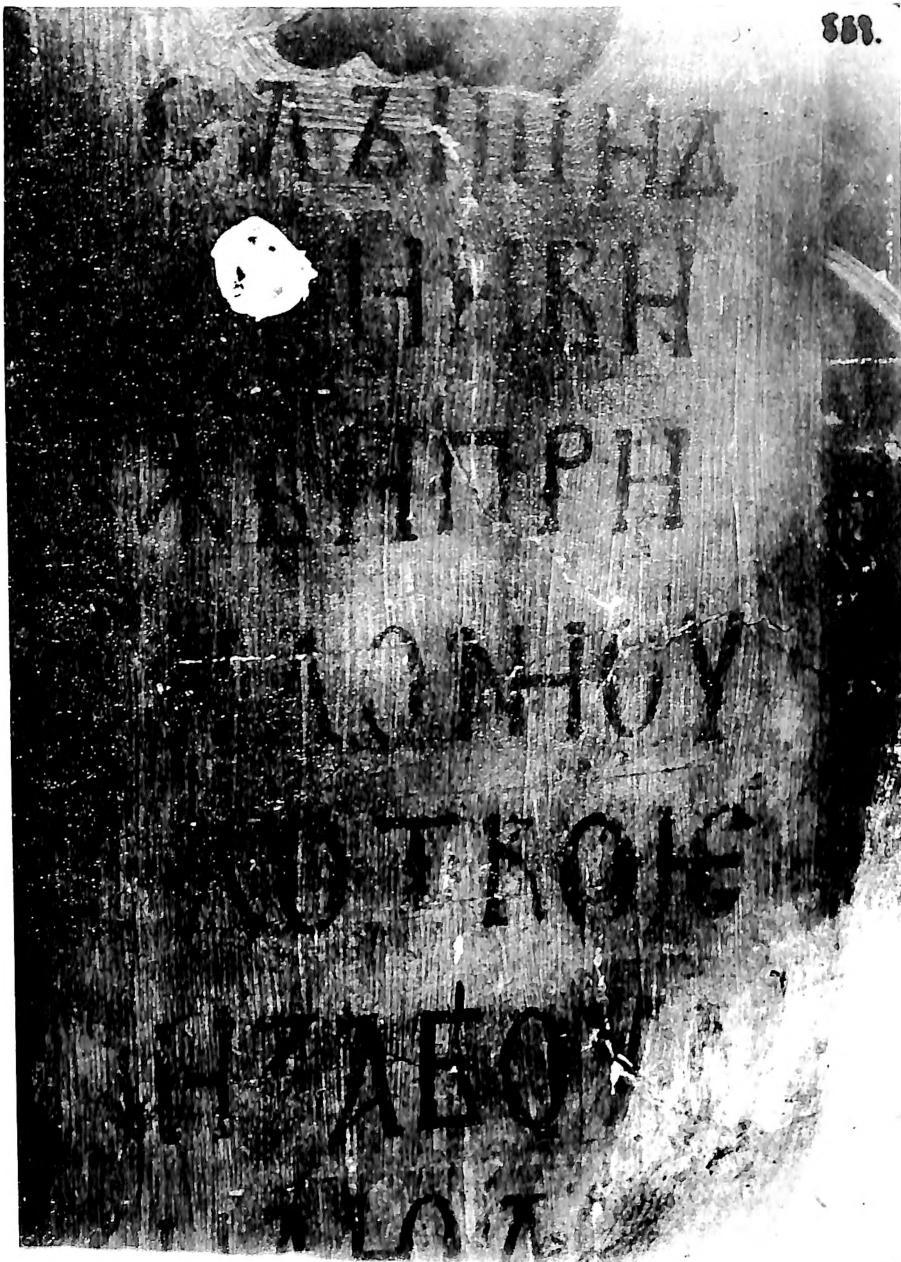


Рис. 1. Надпись на свитке пророка Давида.

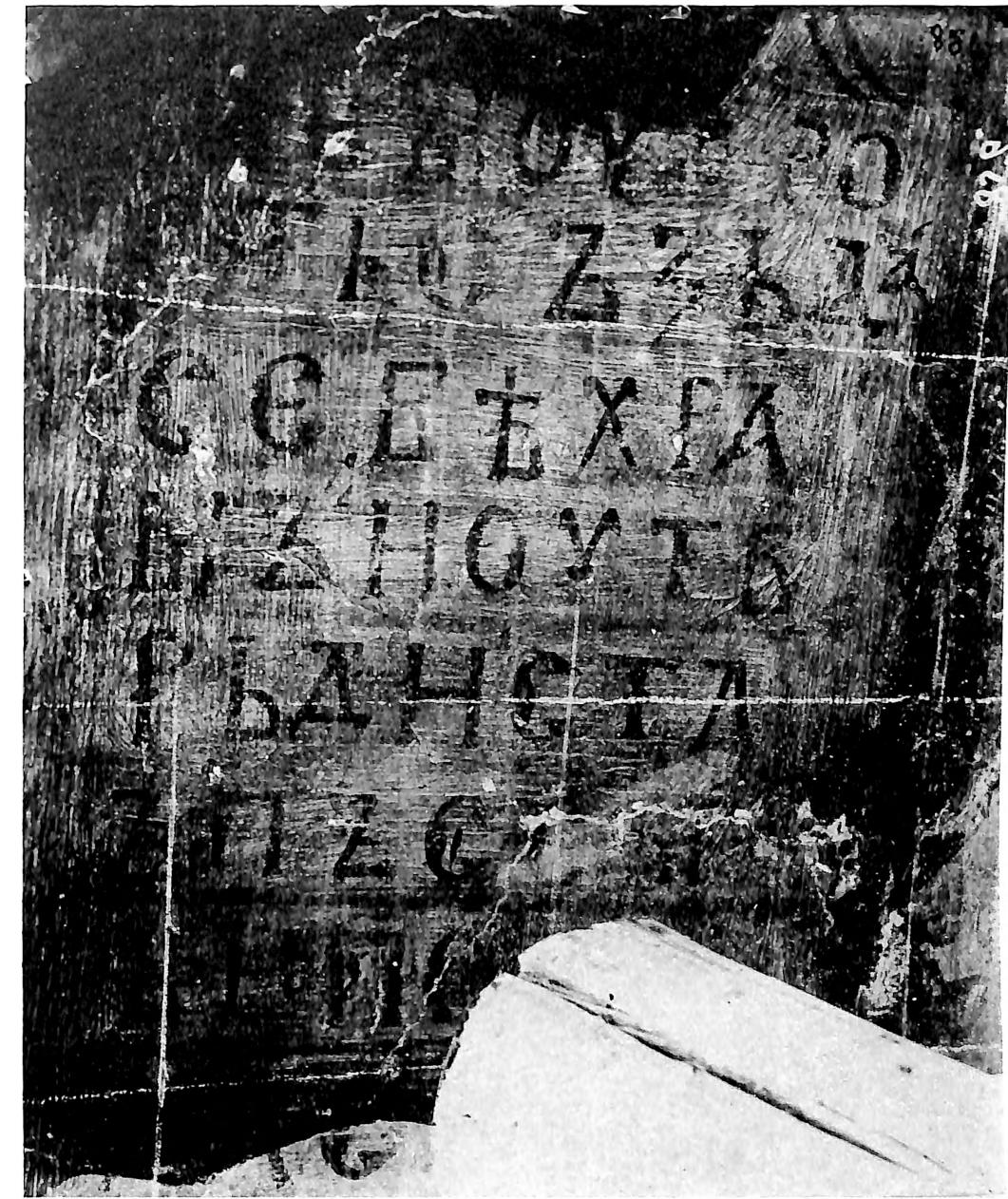


Рис. 2. Надпись на свитке царя Соломона.

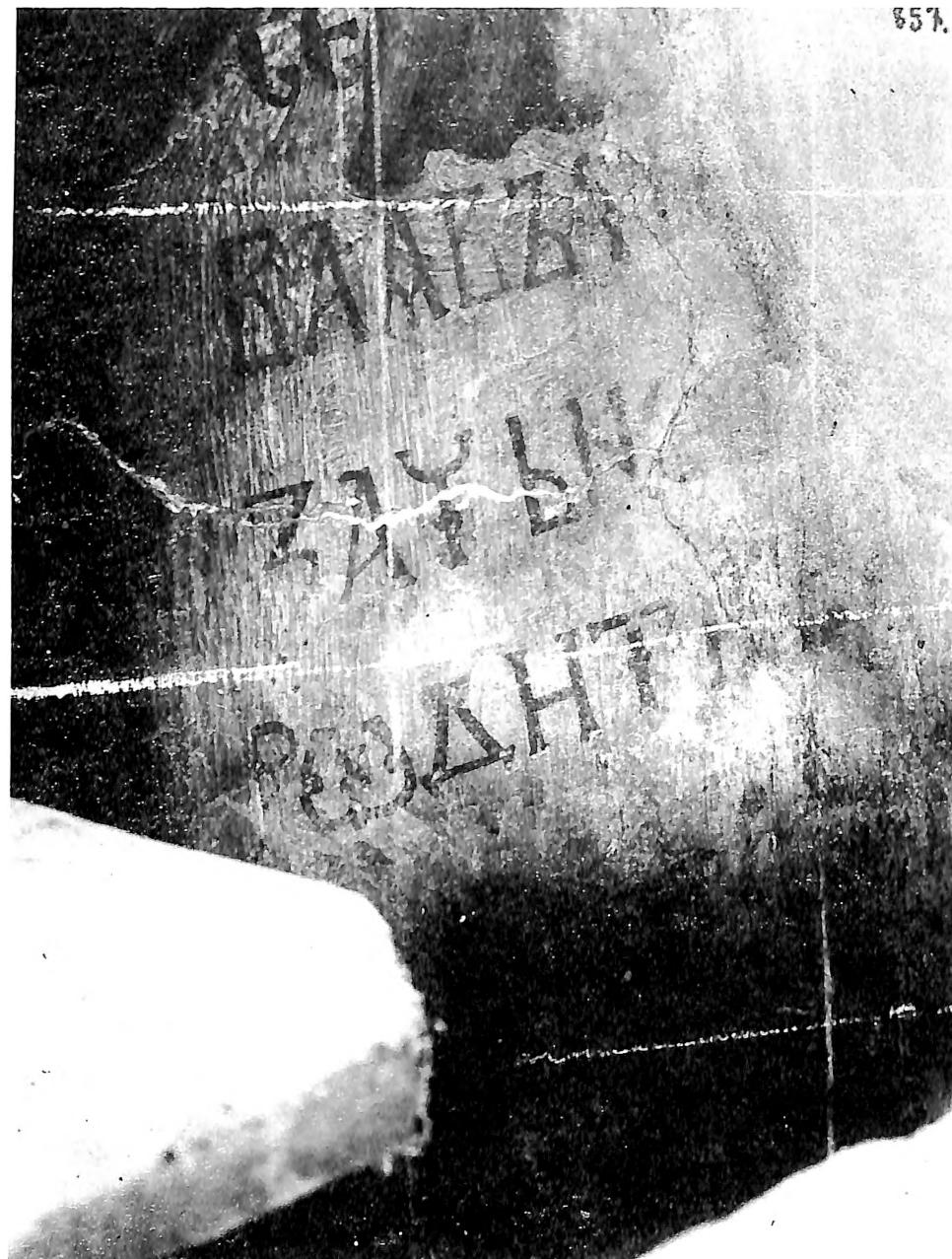


Рис. 3. Надпись на свитке пророка Исаии.



Рис. 4. Надпись на свитке пророка Иезекииля.

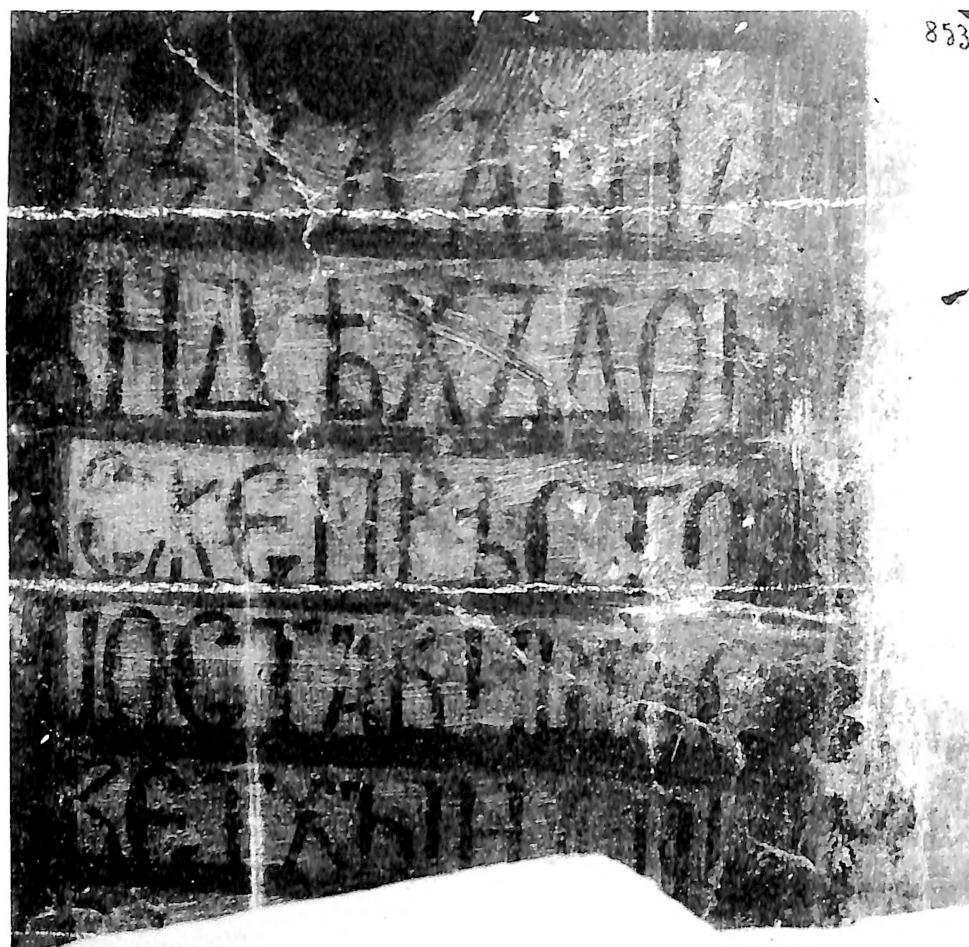


Рис. 5. Надпись на свитке пророка Даниила.



Рис. 6. Надпись на свитке пророка Малахии.



Рис. 7. Надпись на свитке пророка Аввакума.

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## LE PATRONAGE DU MONT ATHOS AU XIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE\*

D. Nastase

Parmi ses multiples conséquences, la conquête latine de Constantinople, en 1204, a marqué un tournant décisif dans l'histoire du Mont Athos. C'est que cet événement crucial privait soudainement le grand centre monastique de ses patrons et «protecteurs naturels»<sup>1</sup> les empereurs byzantins, pour que désormais, jusqu'à l'occupation turque des Balkans, la Sainte Montagne passe successivement sous l'autorité des principaux souverains de cette région. Ces changements réitérés de souveraineté et leurs effets sur la vie de la communauté hagiortie n'ont pas manqué d'être enregistrés par la recherche moderne<sup>2</sup>. Mais chacun d'eux fut toujours considéré comme un cas particulier, résultat de circonstances elles aussi particulières, créées par le hasard des conquêtes qui élargirent la domination d'un prince ou d'un autre sur la Chalcidique. Autrement dit, ce serait la possession de la région environnante qui aurait éveillé chez ces princes l'ambition de faire reconnaître leur autorité au vénérable centre monastique, en s'y posant comme protecteurs, à coups de donations et de priviléges. Quant à la raison même d'une telle ambition, en général, le prestige spirituel de la Sainte Montagne a paru la justifier tout naturellement<sup>3</sup>. Même si l'on observe que tel des souverains en question est mû par l'intérêt, comme dans le cas de Michel VIII Paléologue aidant la Grande Lavra pour s'assurer son appui<sup>4</sup>, c'est dans «la haute autorité morale que représentaient les moines de Lavra» qu'on verra la motivation de cet intérêt<sup>5</sup>.

Je dois pourtant remarquer que le Mont Athos n'était pas uniquement une organisation spirituelle investie d'une autorité morale. Il fut également, jusqu'en 1204, partie intégrante de l'Etat byzantin, bénéficiant d'un régime privilégié de liberté intérieure et placé sous l'autorité du souverain de cet Etat, le basileus et autocrate «des Romains». Or tout changement de souveraineté est un fait de nature politique, indifféremment des occupations de ceux qui le subissent et des apparences qu'il pourrait revêtir. Considéré de ce point de vue, le problème de la domination du Mont Athos ne manque pas de faire ressortir un de ses aspects, passablement négligé à mon avis: l'empressement même que les princes qui s'en emparèrent après 1204 mirent à s'arracher l'un l'autre cette domination.

Après une courte occupation «franque» — sur laquelle je reviendrai — la presqu'île athonite passa pour quelques années sous l'autorité du prince d'Epire Théodore Ange. Ce changement eut lieu semble-t-il vers 1224, lorsque Théodore conquit le royaume latin de Thessalonique<sup>6</sup>, pour se faire peu après couronner empereur par le savant archevêque d'Ochride Démétrius Chomatianos<sup>7</sup>, principal adversaire idéologique des prétentions que Nicée élevait à la succession de Byzance. L'histoire de la Sainte Montagne lors de cette brève période n'est pas très claire. Relevons néanmoins l'ascendant dont y bénéficia à cette époque précisément Chomatianos<sup>8</sup>.

La phase suivante est, en revanche, un peu mieux connue. Et nous pouvons constater qu'en ayant défait et capturé l'empereur Théodore Ange de Thessalonique en 1230, à Klokotnica, le tsar de Bulgarie Asen II (1218-1241) se hâtait de visiter — pratiquement le lendemain de sa victoire! — la Sainte Montagne<sup>9</sup>, où il distribuait, en monarque de l'endroit, priviléges et donations, mais où ses ingérences furent telles, qu'elles devaient provoquer l'opposition catégorique de la communauté<sup>10</sup>. Aussi ces interventions sont-elles manifestement dépourvues de tout caractère spirituel, et l'on ne saurait les appeler autrement que politiques.

Asen II non plus ne réussit à se maintenir que très peu d'années dans ce rôle, revendiqué également par l'empereur de Nicée Jean III Vatatzès<sup>11</sup>: à son tour, celui-ci s'empara de l'Athos dès qu'il put occuper (en décembre 1246) Thessalonique<sup>12</sup>, sinon un peu plus tôt. C'est ainsi que la Sainte Montagne se retrouva, pour un siècle, sous domination byzantine, d'abord de Nicée, puis de Constantinople, depuis la reprise de la capitale, en 1261.

L'Epire, Nicée, mais aussi la Bulgarie, furent les Etats qui se disputèrent la succession de l'Empire détruit en 1204, chacun prétendant au droit exclusif de le restaurer ou de le remplacer<sup>13</sup>. Au cours de cette lutte, qui ne s'est pas livrée seulement sur les champs de bataille, un souci constant anima les souverains émules: légitimer leurs visées en s'appropriant le plus possible des attributs de la souveraineté impériale byzantine. Si nous ajoutons que l'empereur latin Henri de Flandre (1206-1216) offrit lui aussi sa protection à l'Athos<sup>14</sup>, la préoccupation manifeste de ces princes d'acquérir la qualité de patrons et protecteurs de la Sainte Montagne — préoccupation prenant des aspects de véritable programme — nous autorise à penser que cette qualité conférait effectivement un tel attribut.

Ce sont, d'une part, les liens qui réunissaient la communauté hagiorite aux basileis de Constantinople, d'autre part la composition de celle-ci, qui tireront au clair le sens de cet attribut, en confirmant, du même coup, ma déduction.

Domaine ecclésiastique *sui generis*, le Mont Athos dépendait directement des empereurs byzantins, dont l'autorité s'exerçait tant sur l'ensemble, que sur

chacun de ses principaux couvents (les «couvents impériaux»), dès la fondation même du plus important de ceux-ci, la Grande Lavra<sup>15</sup>. Mais pour juger de la valeur et des avantages que ce système revêtait aux yeux des empereurs qui l'avaient institué, il nous faut prendre en considération le trait le plus frappant de la communauté hagiorite: celui de centre monastique multi-national, pan-orthodoxe. Représentants tout particulièrement qualifiés au Moyen Age de leurs nations ou pays, les moines géorgiens, siciliens, amalfitains, calabrais, russes, bulgares, serbes, qui, du vivant encore de saint Athanase de Lavra, ainsi que par la suite, installèrent à l'Athos leurs propres couvents auprès de ceux des Grecs, formaient avec ces derniers un véritable «microcosme de l'œcuménie impériale chrétienne»<sup>16</sup>, δρφαλμὸς ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, comme devaient l'appeler, à l'instar de Constantinople, les athonites eux-mêmes<sup>17</sup>. C'est cette valeur de symbole de «l'empire chrétien» qui confère à l'Athos sa véritable identité et qui explique pourquoi, jusqu'à l'affondrement de 1204, la Sainte Montagne, reflet et image en miniature «du monde entier» réduit à sa plus pure essence, se trouvait, comme de juste, sous l'autorité non de l'Eglise, mais de l'empereur byzantin. Aussi ce régime était-il parfaitement accepté par les princes des pays de provenance des moines étrangers, vu que c'est avec l'autorisation et la confirmation du basileus qu'ils soutinrent et aidèrent substantiellement les couvents hagiortes peuplés par leurs compatriotes, eux, ainsi que des personnages importants appartenant à leurs familles ou à leur entourage, et qui vinrent, plus d'une fois, pour y revêtir l'habit<sup>18</sup>. Il s'ensuit que, avant la quatrième croisade, le patronage du Mont Athos revenait à l'empereur byzantin en vertu d'un droit généralement reconnu, et que ce droit, accepté loin au delà des frontières de son Etat, à travers la chrétienté, cache un symbole du pouvoir universel, l'attribut suprême de la souveraineté impériale. Il va de soi — et le caractère sacré entre tous de l'Athos n'y pouvait laisser aucun doute — que ce droit était censé lui avoir été confié par la Providence elle-même.

Ces constatations entraînent une autre: à savoir que la domination du Mont Athos conférait à tout souverain prétendant à la place des empereurs byzantins un élément de légitimité des plus enviables, du fait surtout que le symbole qu'il renfermait était traditionnellement reconnu comme tel par l'orthodoxie toute entière, et même au-delà des limites dans lesquelles on convient d'habitude de circonscrire ce qu'on appelle de ce nom. *Ce fut précisément cette qualité sans pareille qui détermina les princes qui se disputèrent après 1204 le rôle des empereurs byzantins, à mettre tant d'ardeur pour assumer, de gré ou de force, le patronage de la Sainte Montagne.*

Cette conclusion trouve son entière confirmation dans le fait que, par la suite, *le premier soin de tout basileus en souffrance de légitimité, comme de maint*

*autre souverain visant au pouvoir universel, fut celui de s'assurer de cette condition.*

Il en fut ainsi avec la plus marquante personnalité de Byzance à l'époque qui nous occupe, Michel VIII Paléologue. En effet, c'est en janvier 1259 que Michel usurpa le trône, en se faisant couronner empereur «le premier, au détriment de son pupille le jeune Jean Lascaris»<sup>19</sup>, et ce fut le même mois qu'il accorda un important chrysobulle de donation à la Grande Lavra et un autre à Iviron, suivis en juin d'un troisième, peut-être à Saint-Paul<sup>20</sup>.

Le caractère à part, «philosophique» du préambule du premier et plus important de ces actes a déjà attiré l'attention<sup>21</sup>. Or c'est exactement dans le sens de mon explication que, dans ce préambule, le basileus promu par des moyens doux tient à établir le primat de l'Athos «parmi les lieux consacrés à Dieu», puis la place éminente de Lavra entre les couvents de la communauté, afin de souligner son propre rôle de bienfaiteur de la fondation de saint Athanase, rôle dont il ne manque pas non plus de dire que son chrysobulle même constitue «un exemple frappant»<sup>22</sup>. Un second chrysobulle de Michel en faveur de Lavra<sup>23</sup> a le même caractère<sup>24</sup>. Aussi ne fait-il qu'étayer la signification que j'ai trouvée au précédent et, à la fois, le bien-fondé de mon raisonnement. En effet, cet acte fut émis en avril 1263<sup>25</sup>, peu après que Michel Paléologue eût escaladé le dernier échelon de son usurpation, en écartant définitivement et en faisant aveugler le basileus légitime, l'enfant Jean IV Lascaris, le 25 décembre 1261<sup>26</sup>. Comme on le sait, cet acte provoqua l'opposition ferme du patriarche Arsène qui, loin d'admettre le fait accompli, en excommunia l'auteur, dont la qualité d'empereur se trouva ainsi privée de la légitimité que seule l'Eglise pouvait lui conférer. L'indomptable Arsène fut déposé<sup>27</sup>, mais le conflit se prolongea, provoquant même une longue crise au sein de l'Eglise<sup>28</sup>. Le chrysobulle dont les tourments philosophiques s'efforcent de mettre en évidence, précisément lorsque ce conflit battait son plein, la prééminence de la Sainte Montagne et plus particulièrement de Lavra, pour les relier à la propre personne de Michel VIII Paléologue, nous dit que c'est de ce côté que l'empereur contesté par le chef de son Eglise demandait la confirmation de sa légitimité et, par conséquent, qu'une confirmation de ce genre était en état de suppléer à celle du patriarche œcuménique.

Ces remarques placent sous un jour nouveau les attentions dont l'Athos fut l'objet également plus tard de la part de certains princes, à une époque où la condition impériale des souverains byzantins sera en butte à de nombreuses convoitises et contestations. A son tour, l'éclaircissement des véritables motifs qui déterminèrent ces attentions renforcera *a posteriori* mon explication.

On connaît les efforts que fit, vers le milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, le tsar serbe Dušan pour substituer à l'empire byzantin son propre empire «des Serbes et des Grecs», sinon «des Serbes, des Grecs, des Bulgares et des Albanais»<sup>29</sup>. Je remarquerai d'emblée que les peuples rangés par cette dernière formule sous le sceptre du conquérant serbe ne sont pas sans rappeler ceux représentés par les couvents que groupait la communauté hagiorite<sup>30</sup>. Aussi est-ce visiblement pour consacrer son rang impérial que Dušan œuvra systématiquement afin de s'assurer, comme naguère Asen II, mais avec un succès plus durable, le patronage de la Sainte Montagne.

En voici quelques indications. En novembre 1345, au seuil de la dignité impériale, mais n'étant officiellement que roi, Dušan fait encore mentionner l'empereur byzantin dans son fameux «chrysobulle collectif» en faveur de tous les couvents athonites<sup>31</sup>. Mais ce document suit de peu de jours une lettre où il se déclare déjà «totius imperii romani dominus», le 15 octobre 1345, à Serrès, à proximité de l'Athos<sup>32</sup>. Ce fut vers la fin de la même année<sup>33</sup> — vraisemblablement à Noël — que Dušan se fit proclamer empereur: aussi le premier acte impérial qu'on lui connaît, et qui date d'immédiatement après (janvier 1346), est un chrysobulle athonite<sup>34</sup>. Enfin, le 16 avril 1346, à côté du patriarche serbe qu'il venait de créer, de celui de Bulgarie et de l'archevêque autocéphale d'Ochride, il fit représenter aussi la communauté hagiorite, prêts en tête, à son couronnement comme empereur. Si la participation des chefs des Eglises serbe et bulgare à cette cérémonie lui assurait la reconnaissance de son titre impérial par les deux pays sud-slaves, celle de l'archevêque d'Ochride y apportait la tradition, tant des empereurs byzantins que des tsars bulgares, et, tout à la fois — le précédent de Chomatianos le suggère — l'héritage des «empereurs» et des despotes d'Epire<sup>35</sup>. Quant à celle des représentants athonites, elle doit nous faire penser au cas de Michel VIII Paléologue: à n'en pas douter, la consécration que Dušan demandait à l'Athos était celle d'empereur œcuménique, devant supléer à celle, impossible à obtenir, du patriarche de Constantinople. Et ce n'est pas tout. L'année suivante<sup>36</sup>, le tsar serbe se rendra lui-même au Mont Athos en basileus, pour une très longue visite<sup>37</sup>, durant laquelle il distribua à tous les couvents des chrysobulles qui «imitent jusque dans le détail les actes impériaux byzantins»<sup>38</sup>. Mais, ce qui est tout à fait extraordinaire, outre son fils et héritier présomptif Uroš, il y emmena aussi son épouse, la tsarine Hélène. Or, à cette époque la préoccupation centrale de Dušan devait être forcément de consolider, par tous les moyens dont il disposait, son nouveau titre d'empereur, c'est-à-dire de «souverain universel». C'est ce qui explique pourquoi il avait entrepris et tant prolongé — presque quatre mois<sup>39</sup>! — cette insolite visite de famille, en donnant tant d'ostentation à cette présence féminine sur la Montagne des moines. En effet, pourquoi l'aurait-il fait, sinon pour entourer d'un éclat

œcuménique incomparable, que seul pouvait lui dispenser l'Athos et l'accueil consentant des hagiorites, sa propre condition impériale, mais encore celles de son épouse et de leur fils destiné à lui succéder et, plus loin dans l'avenir, celle de la lignée de ses descendants? <sup>40</sup>

Dušan n'avait pas réussi à occuper Thessalonique, où le gouvernement des Zélotes put se maintenir jusqu'en 1350. A son effondrement, ce fut Jean VI Cantacuzène qui, accompagné du jeune Jean V Paléologue, prit possession de la ville. La situation de Jean Cantacuzène à cette époque était à plus d'un point semblable à celle de Michel VIII Paléologue en 1259, à cette différence près que Cantacuzène ne réussira jamais à établir définitivement son pouvoir personnel. Aussi le conflit avec l'empereur légitime, Jean V, qui finalement devait le renverser, reprit-il de plus belle peu après leur visite commune à Thessalonique. Si mon explication est exacte, Jean Cantacuzène devait donc profiter du pouvoir encore entre ses mains, pour contrecarrer la légitimité de son pupille (nullement résigné à lui abandonner le trône) par la consécration impériale qu'offrait le patronage de la Sainte Montagne. C'est justement ce qu'il fit, à en juger d'après le fait qu'aussitôt la seconde ville de l'empire occupée, il faussa compagnie au basileus porphyrogénète, en se transportant seul, en toute hâte, au Mont Athos, pour y faire reconnaître son autorité <sup>41</sup>.

Mais après Dušan il y eut encore d'autres souverains non-byzantins qui s'érigèrent en patrons ou protecteurs de l'Athos. L'un fut le despote de Serrès Uglješa (+ 1371); un autre, le roi d'Aragon et de Sicile Alphonse V «le Magnanime» (1416-1458).

Apparemment, rien de commun entre le dynaste serbe qui s'était taillé dans les décombres de l'empire de Dušan une principauté éphémère dans la région de Serrès et le lointain roi catholique du XVe siècle. A y regarder de plus près, il existe toutefois entre ces deux princes une ressemblance qui, d'autant plus qu'elle est apparemment l'unique, vient étayer fort à propos ma thèse. En effet, il n'y a pas longtemps que G. Ostrogorsky a mis en lumière les velléités impériales du «despote et autocrate» Uglješa <sup>42</sup>, dont «la principauté de Serrès tend à égaler l'Empire byzantin», à l'instar de «l'Empire des Serbes et des Grecs des jours de Dušan» <sup>43</sup>. Or, comme l'illustre byzantiniste l'a fait aussi remarquer, l'«une des bases les plus solides» de l'autorité d'Uglješa, qui se voulait donc impériale, fut le Mont Athos <sup>44</sup>.

Quant à Alphonse V d'Aragon, on sait que, tout en s'efforçant avec ténacité d'instaurer son hégémonie dans la Méditerranée, il reprit les projets traditionnels des rois de Sicile ses prédécesseurs, ceux de se substituer aux empereurs de Constantinople <sup>45</sup>. Or les rapports d'Alphonse V avec l'Athos sont dûment datés de 1421 <sup>46</sup>, c'est-à-dire de l'année même où ce roi inaugurerait son action persévé-

rante visant la domination de la Méditerranée <sup>47</sup>. Par ailleurs, comme on ne saurait penser sérieusement que la communauté schismatique, principale citadelle de la résistance anti-unioniste, aurait pu exercer son prestige spirituel sur l'enfant chéri de Rome que fut Alphonse V, il nous faut admettre que ces rapports furent dictés par les ambitions impériales du roi aragonais, collectionneur dans ce but d'un nombre imposant de titres suzerains plus ou moins illusoires dans l'Egée et dans les Balkans <sup>48</sup>.

Mais peut-être le meilleur exemple pour illustrer la valeur revêtue par le patronage de l'Athos est-il fourni par le comportement observé à l'égard de la Montagne sacrée entre toutes des chrétiens, par les pires ennemis de la chrétienté, les sultans turcs. En effet, ce comportement reprend, pour l'essentiel, celui des différents souverains dont nous nous sommes occupés <sup>49</sup>, et dans ce cas l'argument du prestige religieux tourne au non-sens. Il reste, en échange, pour expliquer cette attitude, le fait essentiel que pour substituer à l'Empire chrétien qu'ils avaient abattu leur propre règne universel, les sultans ottomans ne pouvaient se dispenser de le légitimer par les mêmes moyens que leurs prédécesseurs chrétiens <sup>50</sup>.

Appartenant à des époques différentes et régnant souvent sur des pays différents, parfois très éloignés dans l'espace, les souverains que j'ai passés en revue sont quelquefois séparés aussi – ce qui me semble décisif – par leurs convictions religieuses, tant entre eux, que de la communauté athonite. La préoccupation évidente qui leur fut commune de s'assurer la domination ou, du moins, le rôle de protecteurs de la Sainte Montagne (de la Grande Lavra, en premier lieu) fut donc déterminée par ce qu'ils avaient aussi de commun: la volonté ou le besoin de légitimer leurs prétentions à la place suprême de la souveraineté médiévale, en un mot, à l'Empire.

A l'aide des résultats acquis par cette incursion au-delà de l'époque qui nous occupe, tâchons maintenant d'élucider certains aspects – qu'intentionnellement je n'ai pas abordés jusqu'ici – du problème posé par le titre de ma communication.

Au point où nous sommes, nous pouvons en effet nous rendre facilement compte que si, malgré ses graves soucis de toute sorte, l'empereur latin Henri de Flandre (1206-1216) offrit son maigre soutien à la Sainte Montagne schismatique <sup>51</sup>, ce fut pour les mêmes raisons que le firent, à différentes échelles, les autres souverains rappelés précédemment. Et cela d'autant plus que sa sollicitude visa tout particulièrement la Grande Lavra <sup>52</sup>, dont une quarantaine d'années plus tard Michel VIII Paléologue devait souligner la place éminente et la valeur à l'aide du langage allégorique des chrysobulles qu'il lui accordait.

Mais celui qui, à la même époque, prit finalement sous son autorité directe le Mont Athos fut le pape lui-même. On sait en effet qu'après différentes autres

mesures en leur faveur, en 1214 Innocent III plaça les couvents hagiortes sous sa protection, en interdisant à tout autre prélat latin de s'y immiscer<sup>53</sup>. Innocent III travailla inlassablement pour établir le pouvoir universel du Saint Siège, pour imposer son hégémonie à l'Empire occidental et aux souverains catholiques, dont plusieurs (les rois de Sicile, de Portugal, de Léon, d'Angleterre, de Hongrie, de Bohême) furent effectivement ses vassaux<sup>54</sup>. Quant aux Balkans, ce pape pouvait s'y enorgueillir de quelques succès hors pair, dont la soumission de l'Eglise bulgare et l'instauration de l'empire latin d'Orient. Aussi, dans une lettre qu'ils lui adressaient en 1206, les représentants du clergé grec constantinopolitain proposaient-ils à Innocent III de faire mention de son nom pendant les offices, «suivant le mode usité pour l'acclamation impériale: 'Longue vie au seigneur Innocent, pape de l'ancienne Rome' »<sup>55</sup>. On nous autorisera donc de penser que ce fut précisément pour renforcer ces positions œcuméniques et «impériales» que le pape adopta lui aussi envers le Mont Athos l'attitude des empereurs d'Orient.

Les basileis de Byzance restaurée ne purent jamais recouvrer entièrement la situation que leurs prédécesseurs avaient détenue à l'Athos avant 1204. Par la force des choses, après cette date fatale, ce fut le patriarcat seul qui, de son exil de Nicée, conserva encore quelques possibilités de lutter contre les différentes convoitises dont la Sainte Montagne faisait l'objet, et pour y sauvegarder, tant soit peu, l'ascendant byzantin. Ainsi, on a vu qu'en 1235 ce fut le patriarche de Nicée, Germain II, qui agit résolument pour soustraire l'Athos à l'emprise bulgare, en allant jusqu'à en faire dépendre la reconnaissance du patriarchat de Târnovo<sup>56</sup>, ce qui, d'autre part, constitue un indice de plus du prix que Byzance exilée attachait au patronage de l'Athos.

La politique unioniste de Michel VIII Paléologue n'était pas faite pour renforcer la position de l'empereur à la Sainte Montagne<sup>57</sup>. Il est vrai qu'avec le renversement d'attitude d'Andronic II (1282-1328) dans la question religieuse, le basileus y regagna du terrain perdu par son père<sup>58</sup>. Mais son option orthodoxe même ne pouvait que l'obliger à sanctionner les positions acquises par le patriarchat, voire à les renforcer<sup>59</sup>. Par ailleurs, avec les graves pertes territoriales que l'Etat byzantin subit pendant le règne d'Andronic II, la mission de maintenir ou d'imposer l'autorité ou, du moins, l'influence byzantine, hors des frontières de l'Empire, qui retréciront désormais à un rythme catastrophique, reviendra, de plus en plus, surtout aux patriarches de Constantinople<sup>60</sup>, dont le rôle directeur de l'Orthodoxie ne devait tarder à se manifester ouvertement sous ses aspects politiques<sup>61</sup>. C'est par suite de cette évolution historique, qu'en novembre 1312 un chrysobulle de l'empereur très orthodoxe Andronic II et, conjointement, un sigillion patriarchal, plaçaient la Sainte Montagne sous l'autorité du patriarche œcuménique, dans les mêmes conditions de liberté intérieure<sup>62</sup>.

Ce tournant met un terme convenable à mon exposé.

Mais, comme on a pu le constater dans une certaine mesure, l'explication que j'ai donnée de la signification symbolique du Mont Athos et de la valeur revêtue par son patronage, ne se laisse pas enfermer dans les limites chronologiques que je m'étais fixées. Aussi, en plus des cas ultérieurs déjà rappelés, éclaire-t-elle d'une lumière nouvelle les efforts que feront, pendant plus de quatre siècles – jusqu'en 1821 – les princes des pays roumains de Valachie et de Moldavie pour assumer ce patronage<sup>63</sup>. En effet – c'est surtout grâce à Nicolas Iorga que nous le savons<sup>64</sup> – pour les peuples chrétiens assujétis par les Turcs, ces princes remplaçaient les empereurs disparus<sup>65</sup>. Or, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer dans d'autres travaux<sup>66</sup>, ce phénomène se fonde sur une véritable conception impériale, parfaitement consciente, que les princes roumains et, après eux, les princes phanariotes, de Moldo-Valachie, se faisaient de leur pouvoir souverain et qui fut partagée par les cercles directeurs de l'Eglise orientale et de l'Hellénisme. C'est bien là qu'il faut chercher l'explication de ces efforts!

Quant à l'époque qui précède l'occupation latine, les résultats acquis par la présente recherche ouvrent des perspectives insoupçonnées jusqu'ici pour une meilleure compréhension des motifs qui déterminèrent la fondation même de la Grande Lavra et les changements radicaux que cet événement introduisit dans la vie du modeste groupement athonite d'anachorètes et de moines, pour en faire très vite le plus important des centres monastiques orientaux. Rappelons à cet effet que Lavra fut fondée en 962-963<sup>67</sup> et que, outre celui géorgien des Ibères<sup>68</sup> (auxquels on rapprochera des athonites arméniens, mentionnés dans certaines sources<sup>69</sup>), les couvents étrangers qui s'établirent à très bref délai sur la Montagne furent celui «du Sicilien»<sup>70</sup>, celui «des Amalfitains»<sup>71</sup> – dont le fondateur et premier higoumène aurait été un frère, nommé Léon, du duc de Bénévent Pandolf II<sup>72</sup> – et celui «des Calabrais»<sup>73</sup>. Et que l'on se rappelle aussi, d'une part, les guerres que Byzance dut mener dès cette époque pour maîtriser la région caucasienne et pré-caucasienne, à la fois bastion avancé sur sa frontière orientale et point d'appui pour divers usurpateurs. D'autre part, la fondation de Lavra se place aussitôt après un événement capital, qui remettait en cause, à l'échelle européenne, la portée œcuménique du titre impérial byzantin, et dont la conséquence immédiate fut un conflit militaire qui souleva de nouveau le problème des droits de Byzance sur la région méridionale de l'Italie, comprenant justement la Calabre, Amalfi, Bénévent, la Sicile: ce fut le couronnement à Rome d'Otton Ier comme empereur d'Occident, le 2 février 962. Mais ces questions trouveront leur place dans une autre étude, que je compte intituler «Le Mont Athos symbole de l'œcuménisé impériale chrétienne»<sup>74</sup>.

\* Communication présentée au XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes, 1976.

La bibliographie, revue depuis cette date, s'arrête en 1980.

1. Cf. Paul Lemerle, *Actes de Kutlumus*, édition diplomatique par, Paris 1946, 13.

2. Il serait oiseux d'énumérer tous les travaux qui le firent. Pour l'époque qui coïncide avec l'existence de l'empire latin de Constantinople, voir, dernièrement, Mirjana Živojinović, Sveti Gora u doba Latinskog carstva, (avec un résumé français), *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 17 (1976), 77-92 (des indications bibliographiques générales, 77, n. 1); cf. Ivan Dujčev, Le Mont Athos et les Slaves au Moyen Age, dans *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos, 963-1963. Etudes et mélanges*, II, Venise-Chevretogne 1964, réédité dans *id.*, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I, Rome 1965 (c'est l'édition que je citerai par la suite), voir 500 sq.

3. Aussi n'exprime-t-on que rarement cette opinion de manière explicite (voir, par exemple, I. P. Mamalakis, Tó "Αγιον Ὄρος ("Αθως) διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων, Salonique 1971, 94): en général, elle est sous-entendue.

4. Germaine Rouillard, La politique de Michel VIII Paléologue à l'égard des monastères, *[Revue des] Etudes byzantines* 1 (1943), 78-79. Cf. M. Živojinović, Sveti Gora i Lionska unija (avec un résumé anglais), *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 18 (1978), 141.

5. G. Rouillard, *loc. cit.*, cf. 73.

Pour une époque ultérieure à celle sur laquelle porte notre recherche, G. Soulis a montré que derrière la générosité de Dušan envers les couvents de Macédoine et du Mont Athos se cache l'intention de gagner le soutien du clergé grec pour l'Etat serbo-grec qu'il était en train de constituer, voire pour ses projets d'occuper «le trône byzantin», G. Soulis, 'Ο Στέφανος Δουσάν καὶ τὸ "Αγιον Ὄρος, réédition anastatische dans son recueil *'Ιστορικὰ Μελετήματα*, Athènes 1980, 36 sq.; version anglaise, Tsar Stephen Dušan and Mount Athos, dans le même volume, 53 sq. (pagination du recueil).

6. Pour cette conquête, survenue en 1224, J. Longnon, La reprise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224, *Actes du VIe Congrès international d'études byzantines*, Paris 1948, tome I, Paris 1950, 141-146; B. Sinogowitz, Zur Eroberung Thessalonikes im Herbst 1224, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 45 (1952), 28.

7. En avril-août 1227, comme l'a récemment prouvé Hélène Bees-Seferlis, 'Ο χρόνος στέψεως τοῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα ὡς προσδιορίζεται ἐξ ἀνεκδότων γραμμάτων Ιωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκάκου, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 21 (1971-1976), 272-279 (voir notamment 278-279).

8. D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957, 81; M. Živojinović, Sveti Gora u doba Latinskog carstva, 78-80. Sur l'œuvre de D. Chomatianos, cf., en dernier lieu, les indications de Giorgio S. Marcou, dans sa communication à ce Congrès, Demetrio Chomatianos nel quadro della cultura bizantina del secolo XIII. Correzioni al codice Monac. Gr. 62 edito dal cardinale C. B. Pitra, Facoltà autonoma di scienze politiche di Atene «Panteios», Anno Accademico 1976-1977, 435-446 (avec bibliographie, n. 1).

9. La bataille de Klokotnica eut lieu le «9/22 mars 1230»: «déjà vers la fin du mois de mars ou au début du mois d'avril», le tsar visitait l'Athos. I. Dujčev, Le Mont Athos et les Slaves..., 500.

10. *Ibid.*, 503; cf. M. Živojinović, *op. cit.*, 88-89; cf. aussi la note suivante.

11. En 1235, les moines de l'Athos étaient intervenus énergiquement dans les pourparlers qu'occasionna cette année, à Gallipoli, la reconnaissance du patriarcat bulgare par Nicée, pour forcer Asen II et ses représentants ecclésiastiques de renoncer à leur immixtion dans les affaires athonites. De concert avec eux, le patriarche byzantin Germain II serait allé jusqu'à en faire la condition de cette reconnaissance même. I. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, 502-503. La source très discutée de cette affaire, en dernier lieu dans *Actes du Prôtaton*, édition diplomatique par Denise Papachryssanthou, Paris 1975, 267-270.

12. Cf. M. Živojinović, *op. cit.*, 90.

13. Pour la Bulgarie, rappelons l'inscription dans laquelle Asen II, «tsar et autocrate des Bulgares», déclare orgueilleusement qu'il règne «d'Andrinople à Dyrrachium», sur «tout le pays grec et albanaise et serbe aussi», et que même Constantinople n'a d'autre empereur que lui et qu'elle obéit à son autorité, «car Dieu l'avait voulu». L'inscription, éditée en dernier lieu par Phaedon Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften der Hämus-Halbinsel. Teil I, Die bulgarischen Inschriften*, Salonique 1979, 53-59, No XII (texte slave, accompagné d'une traduction allemande et de commentaires).

14. M. Živojinović, *op. cit.*, 82-84 (avec sources); cf. *infra*.

15. Bien qu'une vie ascétique et monacale ait existé auparavant sur l'Athos, «l'histoire du plus grand monastère athonite s'identifie à celle du Mont Athos lui-même» (comme P. Lemerle le fait observer très judicieusement dans *Actes de Lavra*, I<sup>2</sup>, publiés par P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, D. Papachryssanthou, Paris 1970, 13). La construction de Lavra (plus tard, la Grande Lavra), fondation du célèbre moine Athanase et du non moins célèbre Nicéphore Phokas, commença en 962-963 (P. Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 35-36; cf. D. Papachryssanthou, dans *Actes du Prôtaton*, 75-77). Les travaux furent interrompus pour quelques temps «vers août 963» (D. Papachryssanthou, *loc. cit.*, 77), mais alors que le couvent fonctionnait déjà (*ibid.*, 75-77, 79-81). Nicéphore Phokas montant sur le trône, Lavra devint «le premier couvent impérial athonite» (*ibid.*, 85), d'une série qui ne fera qu'augmenter par la suite.

Pour la confirmation du prôtos par l'empereur, qui est «l'autorité suprême à laquelle doit s'adresser le prôtos», *ibid.*, 124. C'était cette «confirmation de son élection» qui «constituait la véritable nomination du prôtos», *loc. cit.* «Le privilège d'être affranchi de toute autorité ecclésiastique» a été conféré «en tout cas» à la Sainte Montagne «avant le règne de Jean Tzimiskès» (969-976), *loc. cit.*

16. D. Nastase, *De la împărații romani ai Răsăritului la voievozii români: patronajul românesc la Athos*, Athènes, Fondation européenne Dragan, 1972, 2; cf. *ibid.*, 4, où j'affirme que le Mont Athos fut «un symbole et un attribut impérial»; cf. aussi *infra*, n. 74.

17. Cf. *id.*, Le Mont Athos pendant l'occupation latine de Constantinople, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 22 (tirage à part, Athènes 1977), 128. Voir le projet de charte de «fondation» du couvent athonite de Koutlourous, projet rédigé en 1369 par l'illustre higoumène de ce couvent Chariton au nom du voïvode de Valachie Vladislav Ier (dit aussi Vlaicou, 1364 - vers 1376), *Actes de Kutlumus*, No 26, l. 10 («... ἐν τῷ θαυμαστῷ τῷδε καὶ ἀγίῳ ὄρει τῷ διφθαλμῷ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης») et le «premier testament» contemporain du même Chariton, *ibid.*, No 29, l. 21 («... τῷ ἀγιώτ(α)τον τοὺτη ὄρος τὸ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης διφθαλμόν»). Normalement, cette formule concernait – en différentes variantes (le plus souvent, διφθαλμὸς τῆς γῆς, ou τῆς οἰκουμένης) – Constantinople: cf. les exemples qu'en retient Erwin Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, Munich 1968, *passim*, notamment 132 sq. Même après l'époque où Chariton l'appliquera au Mont Athos, elle con-

tinuera à être employée pour caractériser la capitale byzantine: voir, par exemple, au début du XVe siècle, Paul Gauthier, Un récit inédit du siège de Constantinople par les Turcs (1394-1402), *Revue des études byzantines* 23 (1965), 110, l. 25 (dans le texte, à propos de Constantinople, «... τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης δρόθαλμόν»). A l'exception des Italiens (Amalfitains, Siciliens, Calabrais, pour lesquels *infra*), qui au XIVe siècle n'étaient plus représentés à l'Athos, les autres peuples que j'ai mentionnés en plus des Grecs figurent dans le projet de Chariton («Σέρβοι καὶ Βούλγαροι δηλαδὴ Ἀώς τε καὶ Ἰβηρεῖ», *Actes de Kutlumus*, 103, l. 9), illustrant la valeur d'*δρόθαλμός ἀπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης* de la Sainte Montagne.

18. Voir les exemples des couvents d'Iviron (D. Papachryssanthou, *op. cit.*, 83 sq., le sous-chapitre intitulé «Le rôle des Ibères dans le développement de l'Athos». Le couvent géorgien d'Iviron fut fondé en 979/80 ou un peu plus tôt, *ibid.*, 88), des Amalfitains (*infra*), de Chilandar (qui, ruiné, avait été cédé en 1198 par Alexis III Ange au fondateur de la dynastie des Némanides, Etienne Nemanja et à son fils Sabbas, afin de devenir «laure» serbe, *Actes de Chilandar*, éd. L. Petit et B. Koralev, *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 17, 1910, Supplément 1, Nos 3, 4).

19. G. Rouillard, La politique de Michel VIII..., 78; pour la date, G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*<sup>3</sup>, Munich 1963, 369, n.2.

20. G. Rouillard, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

21. *Ibid.*, 76-77; cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 3. Teil, Munich - Berlin 1932, No 1866, 31. Ce chrysobulle a été édité en dernier lieu dans *Actes de Lavra*, II, Paris 1977, No 71.

22. Cf. G. Rouillard, *loc. cit.*

23. *Actes de Lavra*, II, No 72.

24. G. Rouillard, *op. cit.*, 77. Bien que cet acte ne fasse que confirmer une donation du despote Jean Paléologue, frère de l'empereur, c'est ce dernier qui s'en arroge le principal mérite: ce n'est en effet que son chrysobulle même qui conférerait à ce don ce qu'«ajoute au corps l'âme et ce qu'on appelle le souffle de la vie» (*loc. cit.*), donc sa véritable valeur. Voir le préambule, *Actes de Lavra*, II, No 72, 14.

25. G. Rouillard, *op. cit.*, 75; *Actes de Lavra*, II, acte cité, 12 et 15-16, l. 99-100.

26. Nicéphore Grégoras, I-93; cf. R. Guilland, *Etudes byzantines*, Paris 1959, 31.

27. En 1264. V. Laurent, La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople au XIIIe siècle, *Revue des études byzantines* 27 (1969), 142.

28. *Id.*, Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance. La fin du schisme arsénite, *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique* 26 (1945), 225-313. Cf. Migne, PG, t. CXL, col. 948-958.

29. A. Solovjev - V. Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara (Diplomata graeca regum et imperatorum Serviae)*, Belgrade 1936 (= Londres, *Variorum Reprints*, 1974), No XLIV, 348, l. 198-200, 349, l. 173-175.

30. La présence des Albanais à l'Athos est aussi attestée. Pour un moine albanais à Lavra, vers 1360, *Actes de Lavra*, III, Paris 1979, No 135, l. 19. Un «monastère» dit «de la Tour de l'Albanais», ou «des Albanais», aurait été justement une annexe du couvent serbe de Chilandar. Pendant le premier tiers du XVIe siècle, cette «Tour de l'Albanais» recevra des dons en espèces des princes de Valachie (en 1512, 1525, 1528: *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B, vol. II, aux soins de Štefan Štefănescu et Olimpia Diaconescu, Bucarest 1972, Nos 109,234,235; *Documente privind istoria României, Veacul XVI*, B., vol. II, Bucarest 1951, No 46). En 1489,

on consignera Karakalou comme couvent albanais. Cf. T. Bodogae, *Ajutoarele românești la mânăstirile din sfântul Munte Athos*, Sibiu 1940, 237.

31. G. Soulis, 'Ο Στέφανος Δούσάν ..., 38 (= *id.*, Tsar Stephen Dušan ..., 55); cf. M. Lazaris, Actes serbes de Vatopédi, *Byzantinoslavica* 6 (1935-1936), 167-168 et édition de l'acte, *ibid.*, 173-174. Cf. aussi *Actes de Lavra*, III, appendice XIII.

32. G. Soulis, 'Η πρώτη περίοδος τῆς Σερβοκρατίας ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ (1348-1356)', dans son recueil cité, 81, n. 5. Dans un acte émis le même mois, Dušan se fait intituler «kral et autocrate de Serbie et de Romanie» (page et note citées).

33. G. Ostrogorsky, *op. cit.*, 431 et n. 3.

34. En faveur d'Iviron, A. Solovjev - V. Mošin, *op. cit.*, No VI; cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrania dela*, IV, *Vizantija i Sloveni*, Belgrade 1970, 216. C'est en même temps le premier de la série de chrysobulles que Dušan octroya aux couvents athonites en tant qu'empereur, *loc. cit.*; cf. *infra*.

35. On rencontre, en effet, le titre d'«empereur de Serbie et de Romanie» de Dušan suivi par celui de «despote d'Arta», la capitale de l'Epire («imperator Raxie et Romanie, disputus Larte et Blachie comes», *apud* G. Soulis, voir le recueil cité, 115 et n. 8; cf. 123 et n. 9. Voir aussi, par ailleurs, la signature autographe de Dušan sur un chrysobulle qu'il accorda à Lavra en décembre 1347: ST(E)FAN V' H(RI)STA B(O)GA VERNI CAR+ SRBLEM' I GRKΩM I DESPOTAJU I ZAPADNI ZEMLI. *Actes de Lavra*, III, No 128, l. 43-44.

36. Avant le 1er septembre 1347. G. Soulis, 'Ο Στέφανος Δούσάν ..., 41, n. 1 (= *id.*, Tsar Stephen Dušan ..., 58, n. 17).

37. Pour laquelle, les travaux cités, respectivement 40 sq. et 57 sq., avec sources et bibliographie; cf. I. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, 505-506.

38. G. Ostrogorsky, *Histoire de l'Etat byzantin*, traduction française de J. Gouillard, Paris 1969, 546, n. 1. Une liste des actes de Dušan en faveur des couvents de l'Athos, chez I. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, 506-507. Ses actes grecs athonites ont été édités ensemble par A. Solovjev et V. Mošin, *op. cit.* Cf. G. Soulis, travaux cités, respectivement 39 sq., 56 sq.

39. I. Dujčev, *op. cit.*, 505.

40. Cf. aussi les légendes athonites auxquelles donna naissance cette visite, dont celle, profondément significative, racontée par G. Smirkakis, Τὸ Ἀγιον ὄπος, Athènes 1903, 88, du tsar serbe montant à cheval sur la cime de l'Athos pour y planter «son étendard tropaiphore». (Elle frappa G. Soulis, qui la cite dans les deux versions de son étude sur l'Athos, respectivement 41 n. 3, 59 n. 20).

41. J. Cantacuzène, *Historia*, IV-24, éd. Bonn, III, 176 15 - 178 9.

42. G. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti*, Belgrade 1965, chapitre IV, notamment 81-82. Sur la carrière d'Uglješa, plus récemment, Rade Mihaljić, *Kraj Srpskog carstva* (avec un résumé français), Belgrade 1975, *passim*, notamment 79-89, 95-96, 137 sq.

43. G. Ostrogorsky, Problèmes de relations byzantino-serbes au XIVe siècle, réédité dans son recueil *Byzanz und die Welt der Slawen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-slawischen Beziehungen*, Darmstadt 1974, 77.

44. *Ibid.*, 83.

45. Cf. *id.*, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*<sup>3</sup>, 470 et n. 2 (avec la bibliographie du problème).

46. Anscari Mundó, Alphonse V d'Aragon et le Mont Athos, *Le millénaire du Mont Athos*, I, 152-155.

47. A. Mundö, *loc. cit.*, 154, mais sans avoir su en tirer la conclusion correcte (voir son commentaire, *ibid.*, 155-156).

48. Cf. *loc. cit.*, 155-156.

49. Murad II et Mahomet II garantirent le régime de liberté intérieure de l'Athos, qui constituera ainsi l'une des «autonomies locales» chrétiennes du système ottoman. Dans le cadre de ce système, les athonites ou leurs protecteurs, princes chrétiens tributaires de la Porte, s'adressent aux sultans qui, comme les empereurs byzantins autrefois, accordent des priviléges ou confirment leurs droits aux couvents de l'«Ayanoros». P. Lemerle et P. Wittek, Recherches sur l'histoire et le statut des monastères athonites sous la domination turque, extrait des *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*, 3, Wetteren 1948, 525 sq. (cf. P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kultumus*, 234-235); N. Oikonomidès, *Actes de Dionysiou*, édition diplomatique par, Paris 1968, p. 18; Elisabeth A. Zachariadou, Ottoman Documents from the Archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos), 1495-1520, *Südost Forschungen* 30 (1971), 1-35; N. Beldiceanu, En marge d'une recherche concernant les relations roumano-athonites, *Byzantion* 50 (1980), 620-622. Les constructions ou restaurations effectuées à l'Athos aux frais des voïvodes de Valachie et de Moldavie bénéficient parfois du concours bienveillant des sultans (comme lors de la réfection du couvent de St.-Pantéléimon, entreprise en 1812 par le voïvode Scarlate Callimachi, «avec un architecte envoyé par le sultan lui-même», T. Bodogae, *op. cit.*, 298-299), qui passent pour avoir fait aussi, personnellement, œuvre de donateurs et «fondateurs» à la Sainte Montagne dans quelques cas éloquents. Voir les exemples retenus *ibid.*, 195 (n. 1), 199, 239, 281 (cf. la note suivante).

50. Cf. les constructions au couvent de Xéropotamou attribuées à Sélim Ier (1512-1520) et à Soliman le Magnifique (en 1558) (*loc. cit.*, 199), c'est-à-dire exactement aux sultans qui portèrent «l'empire œcuménique» ottoman à son apogée.

J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou*, édition diplomatique par, Paris 1964, 14, considère comme un «faux du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le hatti-chérif du sultan Sélim Ier, de 1517, appelé fondateur du couvent, qu'il aurait reconstruit après un incendie». Mais dans sa bien connue étude posthume *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xéropotamou*, Louvain 1942, 153, S. Binon – dont, par ailleurs, J. Bompaire souligne l'ingéniosité et la prudence (*op. cit.*, 3) – ne tient cet acte que pour suspect, avec la précision suivante: «Loin de nous la pensée qu'il serait un faux pur et simple, n'ayant aucun fondement historique. Mais nous inclinons à croire qu'un texte plus récent fut, ici encore, plagié et interpolé.» Quoi qu'il en soit, on retiendra donc qu'à une époque où l'on devait en tout cas connaître la signification symbolique de l'Athos, ce «hatti-chérif» confère la qualité de nouveau fondateur de Xéropotamou au premier sultan turc khalife, qui avait conquis les Lieux-Saints du christianisme et, tout à la fois, avait étendu la domination ottomane aux anciennes possessions byzantines de Syrie et de l'Egypte.

51. En dernier lieu, M. Živojinović, *op. cit.*, 82-83.

52. Où l'on voyait autrefois son portrait mural de «fondateur», *loc. cit.*, 83 et n. 29, 30.

53. M. Živojinović, *op. cit.*, 84-85 (avec sources).

54. Sur Innocent III il y a une riche bibliographie, dont: A. Luchaire, *Innocent III*, vol. I-VI, Paris 1905-1908; G. Martini, Traslazione dell'Impero e donazione di Costantino nel pensiero e nella politica d'Innocenzo III, *Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria* 56-57 (1933-1934), 219-362; M. Maccarone, Chiesa e stato nella dottrina del papa Innocenzo III, Rome 1940; A. Fliche, Le pontificat d'Innocent III, dans A. Fliche et V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise*, t. 10, Paris 1950, 11-213; F. Kempf, *Papsttum und Kaisertum bei Innocenz III* ...,

Rome 1954; H. Tillmann, *Papst Innocenz III*, Bonn 1954; J. M. Powell, *Innocent III. Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* Boston 1963.

55. J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, Paris 1949, 96. La lettre dans Migne, PG, t. CXL, col. 293-298.

56. *Supra*, n. 11.

57. Cf. M. Živojinović, *Sveta Gora i Lionska unija*. Même si l'attitude du basileus envers l'Athos après l'union de Lyon (1274) ne fut pas celle de répression sauvage qu'on lui attribuera. Voir I. Anastasiou, «Ο ψυλούμενος διωγμός τῶν Ἀγιορειτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Η' Παλαιολόγου καὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου Βέκκου», *Αθωνιτική Πολιτεία*, Salonique 1963, 207-257.

58. On le verra, entre autres, lors du conflit des deux Andronic. En effet, ce fut le prôtos Isaac qu'Andronic II put charger en 1322 de négocier sa réconciliation avec son petit-fils, Andronic III, le vieil empereur s'adressant en outre, à cette occasion, à deux autres importants athonites, l'higoumène de Vatopédi Niphon et le futur saint Nicodème, moine au même couvent. Jacques Bompaire et Léonidas Mavromatis, La querelle des deux Andronic et le Mont Athos en 1322, *Revue des études byzantines* 32 (1974), 187-198.

59. Pour l'accroissement du rôle du patriarche dans les affaires athonites, depuis l'époque de Nicée et devant culminer sous Andronic II, D. Papachryssanthou, dans *Actes du Prôtaton*, 125-126.

60. N. Iorga, Croisade latine et byzantine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe, dans ses *Choses d'Orient et de Roumanie*, Bucarest - Paris 1924, 38-39; cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte ...*<sup>3</sup>, 457.

61. D. Nastase, Une chronique byzantine perdue et sa version slavo-roumaine (la Chronique de Tismana, 1411-1413), I, *Cyrillomethodianum* 4 (1977), 160 sq.; *id.*, Le Mont Athos et la politique du patriarcat de Constantinople, de 1355 à 1375, *Σύμμεικτα* 3 (1979), 121-177.

62. Les deux actes, en dernier lieu, dans *Actes du Prôtaton*, Nos 11 (le sigillion) et 12 (le chrysobulle).

63. On trouvera l'essentiel de la bibliographie plus ancienne concernant les relations roumano-athonites chez Petre ř. Năsturel, Aperçu critique des rapports de la Valachie et du Mont Athos des origines au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, *Revue des études Sud-Est Européennes* 2 (1964), 93, n. 1. Sur les débuts de ces relations, en dernier lieu, D. Nastase, Le Mont Athos et la politique du patriarcat ..., 131 sq.

64. Voir notamment N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*. Continuation de l'Histoire de la vie byzantine (réimpression, avec une Postface par Virgil Cânde), Bucarest 1971.

65. Cf. P. ř. Năsturel, Considérations sur l'idée impériale chez les Roumains, *Byzantina* 5 (1973), 397-413.

66. Voir notamment D. Nastase, *L'héritage impérial byzantin dans l'art et l'histoire des pays roumains*, Milan 1976; *id.*, L'idée impériale dans les pays roumains et «le crypto-empire chrétien» sous la domination ottomane. Etat et importance du problème, *Σύμμεικτα* 4 (1981), 201-250.

67. *Supra*, n. 15.

68. *Supra*, n. 18.

69. *Actes de Lavra*, I<sup>2</sup>, Addenda, 374 (No 29); cf. *Actes du Prôtaton*, 83.

Je me propose de m'occuper du très ancien couvent athonite «τοῦ Ἀρμενίου ou Ἀρμένιον à Xérokastron» (*Actes de Lavra*, I<sup>2</sup>, 49; cf. *Actes de Lavra*, II, 8) dans l'étude que j'annonce à la fin de ce travail. Pour l'ancienneté de ce couvent, à noter, en attendant, que ses

représentants «apparaissent dans cinq documents du Xe siècle», D. Papachryssanthou, dans *Actes du Prôtaton*, 92.

70. *Ibid.*, 90.

71. *Ibid.*, 86; A. Pertusi, Monasteri e monaci italiani all'Athos nell'alto Medioevo, *Le Milénare du Mont Athos ...*, I, 217 sq. Le couvent amalfitain de l'Athos aurait été fondé vers 985-990 (A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, 221 sq.); moins de cent ans plus tard on le trouve mentionné comme «couvent impérial» (*Actes de Lavra*, I<sup>2</sup>, No 43, 1. 57).

72. A. Pertusi, *op. cit.*, 220 sq., 224-225, 234-235, 251. Pourtant, comme je le montrerai ailleurs, il n'est pas prouvé que le «monasterium amoenum» fondé et dirigé par Léon, «frater Beneventani ducis», fut le couvent des Amalfitains. Par contre, on est autorisé de penser qu'il fut différent de ce dernier, et qu'il devrait donc être ajouté aux couvents latins connus de l'Athos.

73. *Ibid.*, 238 sq. Première mention en 1080 (*ibid.*, 240-241), mais, par ailleurs, «vers 970» déjà, «le Calabrais Nicéphore le Nu avait pris le chemin de l'Athos» (D. Papachryssanthou, dans *Actes du Prôtaton*, 83).

74. Plutôt que «Le patronage du Mont Athos, attribut de la souveraineté impériale», comme je l'annonçais dans «Le Mont Athos pendant l'occupation latine de Constantinople», 130.

Sous une forme générale, encore élémentaire, mais exacte pour l'essentiel, c'est en 1972, dans mon travail cité *De la împărații romani ai Răsăritului la voievozii români ...*, que j'ai déjà exprimé l'opinion que la communauté multi-nationale et pan-orthodoxe de l'Athos constituait, dès l'époque de saint Athanase (+ «ca 1000»), comme par la suite, un symbole de l'œcuménisme impérial chrétien. Ce travail polycopié ayant eu une circulation restreinte, et aussi pour que le principal passage concernant ce problème puisse être accessible aux historiens qui ne connaissent pas le roumain, je crois utile d'en donner ici une traduction française (p. 1-2).

«Dès le début, à cause, dit-on, de l'étroite amitié et de l'admiration que lui portait l'empereur-ascète de Byzance Nicéphore Phokas (963-969), Athanase a attiré sur son œuvre le soutien et la protection impériaux, maintenus aussi sous Jean Tsimiskès (969-976) et Basile II le Bulgaroctone (976-1025). Entre temps, on avait fondé à l'Athos encore beaucoup d'autres couvents, que les empereurs prennent sous leur patronage et qui commencent ainsi, de cette époque déjà, à porter le qualificatif d'«impériaux» (...). Seulement un peu plus tard, en 1060, Constantin Doukas exemptera l'Athos de tout impôt, pour qu'Alexis Ier Comnène proclame sa complète autonomie. Délivrée de la juridiction de l'évêque diocésain et même de celle du patriarche, la communauté hagiortie dépendait donc directement du basileus, et c'était toujours celui-ci qui nommait de règle son chef, le «prôtos».

Ces mesures font de l'Athos un domaine ecclésiastique *sui generis*, constituant, par sa structure, une «fédération» autonome d'unités à leur tour autonomes, mais placées directement sous la protection du pouvoir laïque de l'empereur, qui s'exerçait tant globalement, que sur chacun des couvents «impériaux» qui la composent. Le sens et les avantages du système se laissent clairement voir, si nous prenons en considération l'une des fonctions essentielles de la communauté hagiortie: celle de centre monastique pan-orthodoxe. Cette fonction a été encouragée dès l'origine et, en peu de temps, «la fédération» a aussi compris dans son sein des représentants de nombreux peuples non-byzantins, installés dans leurs propres couvents, avec des higoumènes élus parmi eux.

L'organisation et une première phase d'existence [il faut entendre depuis la fondation de Lavra] du monachisme athonite coïncident avec une période de brillante expansion de l'empire byzantin et avec une immense extension de son autorité ecclésiastique. Sous Nicéphore Phokas, sous Jean Tsimiskès, sous Basile II – donc précisément sous les premiers grands protecteurs de l'Athos – la domination byzantine s'étend de nouveau de l'Italie du sud jusqu'au Danube et du Caucase à l'Euphrate, cependant que son domaine ecclésiastique comprend les Balkans en entier et, bientôt après le baptême des Russes (dans les dernières décennies du Xe siècle), il englobe aussi les steppes infinies du nord de la mer Noire.

En justifiant son titre d'empereur romain, ces succès permettaient effectivement à l'empereur byzantin d'imposer son autorité, ou du moins son prestige, de «chef de la hiérarchie monarchique chrétienne» à de nombreux peuples et Etats «orthodoxes». En installant à l'Athos leurs propres couvents, les représentants de ces peuples – Géorgiens, Bulgares, Russes, plus tard Serbes – ne faisaient que reconnaître au basileus le rôle suprême auquel il prétendait. Ses intérêts exigeaient donc le maintien et le développement du caractère multi-national de la communauté, véritable microcosme de l'œcuménisme impérial chrétien, fonctionnant harmonieusement sous sa directe et ferme domination.»

“ПОХВАЛЬНОЕ СЛОВО КОНСТАНТИНУ И ЕЛЕНЕ”  
ЕВФИМИЯ ТЫРНОВСКОГО И ЕГО МЕСТО В ВИЗАНТИЙСКО-  
СЛАВЯНО - РУМЫНСКИХ ЛИТЕРАТУРНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ

*Gheorghe Mihăilă*

1. *Введение.* В 1975 г. исполнилось три четверти века со дня выхода в свет фундаментального издания сочинений великого болгарского писателя и патриарха Евфимия Тырновского<sup>1</sup>. Читавшие это издание знают, что среди старших и лучших рукописей, содержащих творения Евфимия в среднеболгарской форме важнейшее место занимают славяно-румынские копии XV-XVI вв. (рукописи Гавриила монаха Нямецкого 1439 и 1441 гг. и др.). К известным до сих пор рукописям прибавилась недавно копия *Похвального слова Константину и Елене*, написанная монахом Яковом Путненским в 1474 г. по поручению Стефана Великого; она старше по времени на 5 лет славяно-сербской копии Владислава Грамматика, написанной в Рыльском монастыре в 1479 г. и положенной в основу издания Э. Калужняцкого<sup>2</sup>.

2. *Источники “Похвального слова”.* Слово, посвященное “императорам — покровителям христианства IV в., является единственным агиографическим сочинением Евфимия, которое не связано непосредственно с болгарской мартирологией<sup>3</sup>. Однако личность первого христианского императора, жившего тысячу лет назад, продолжала находиться в центре внимания многих историков церкви и житиеписцов. Произнесенное в Тырнове в праздничный день 21 мая перед новым болгарским царем Иваном Шишманом (1371-1393), по просьбе которого оно было составлено, слово представляло яркий образец политического руководителя, в котором нуждалась Болгария тех времен.

Посвятив свое сочинение прославлению Константина Великого, Евфимий обратился, как и следовало ожидать, к византийским источникам, которые были ему доступны и которым он мог доверять. Он сам говорит в заключении Похвального слова (гл. XXVIII):

Не бо лъжныиъ баснѣмъ послѣдовавше, сїе съставих<sup>ш</sup>(м)  
слово, нь ш(т) истинныиъ и не лъжныиъ свѣ(д)те-  
лїиъ нельстнаа изъбрах<sup>ш</sup>(м) разѣменіа, иже любоею-  
ден се обрѣшеть въ бж(с)твныиъ писанішъ.

Подобным же образом, рассказывая об освящении церкви Воскресения в Иерусалиме (гл. XXIII), Евфимий оповещает своих слушателей и читателей, что за неимением времени он опускает детали, которые можно найти “въ бж(с)твныи(х) писани(х)”. А в начале IV главы он непосредственно цитирует Евсевия Кесарийского (такоже сказано в Евсевії Кесарійському), первого историка христианской церкви, сподвижника и панегириста Константина Великого, хотя, как мы увидим дальше, в большей части своего сочинения он обращается не к его тексту, а к более поздней переработке.

Исследователи, занимавшиеся этим вопросом (А. Попов, 1869; Конст. Радченко, 1898; Хр. Попов, 1901; В. Сл. Киселков, 1938, 1956; Цветана Вранска-Романска, 1942; Э. Турдяну, 1947; П. Динеков, 1962)<sup>4</sup>, ограничились общими высказываниями, верными в своей основе, но покоящимися в основном на изучении образцов и источников других житий и похвальных слов; некоторые из них попытались идентифицировать эти источники среди византийско-славянских житий, имевших хождение в более позднее время. Они занимались главным образом не *Похвальным словом Константину и Елене*, а житиями и словами, имевшими прямую связь с болгарской историей. А. Попов и в последнее время акад. П. Динеков с полным основанием отметили, что это сочинение, описывающее важный момент всемирной истории и созданное для болгар и для всех читающих на книжнославянском языке, является в действительности не *Похвальным словом*, а *Житием Константина Великого*. Оно содержит множество фактов и деталей, большей частью достоверных, и во многом превосходит текст, приписываемый Симеону Метафрасту (вторая половина X в.), но который был составлен, как известно, намного позднее. Действительно, специалисты установили, что среди метафрастовских житий нет жития Константина Великого<sup>5</sup>. Таким образом, текст, включенный Агапием Ландосом в Νέος παράδεισος (Венеция, 1641, с последующими переизданиями), не воспроизводит текст Симеона Метафраста, а является новым сочинением, созданным по источникам, распространенным в то время, среди которых наиболее известной была *Церковная история* Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула (первые десятилетия XIV в.).

Именно поэтому, исходя из указания самого Евфимия, мы сочли необходимым внимательно обследовать известный панегирик Евсевия Кесарийского, *О жизни блаженного Константина императора* (*Vita Constantini*), написанный вскоре после смерти Константина Великого (22 мая 327 г.), а также финальную часть его *Церковной истории*, составленной в 311-325 гг., поскольку оба сочинения имеют ряд общих мест<sup>6</sup>. В итоге мы идентифици-

ровали большое количество отрывков, в том числе писем и речей Константина Великого, воспроизведенных в сочинении Евфимия Тырновского, которые, безусловно, повышают его ценность.

Однако, чаще всего Евфимий обращался не непосредственно к тексту Евсевия, а к упомянутой выше *Церковной истории* Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула (ок. 1256-1317 гг.), священника церкви Святой Софии во время правления императора Андроника II (1282-1328 гг.)<sup>7</sup>. В 18 книгах автор рассказывает историю христианской церкви от её основания до 610 г., за которой следует “конспект” до 911 г., составленные на основе церковных историй Евсевия, Сократа, Созомена, Феодорита, Филосторгия, Евагрия, Феодора, Лектора и политических историй и хроник Иоанна Малалы, Феофилакта Симокатты и Феофана. Чаще всего его текст является простым пересказом этих источников, с добавлением легенд, неподтвержденных историческими исследованиями или просто выдуманных, таких как: три “видения” креста (в *Житии Константина*, написанном Евсевием, говорится только об одном “видении” у ворот Рима, а в его *Церковной истории* и оно отсутствует), чудо о крещении Константина папой Сильвестром в Риме, а не на смертном одре недалеко от Никомидии, заимствованное из легендарного *Жития Сильвестра*, и др.

Таким образом, чтобы установить в деталях, что реально и что фантастично в *Похвальном слове Константину и Елене*, написанном Евфимием, resp. в *Церковной истории* Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула, необходимо сопоставить данные этих сочинений с реальной историей Константина Великого, написанной историками на основе анализа и критического разбора документов и источников времен императора<sup>8</sup>.

Итак, Евфимий обязан своим трудом Евсевию (к тексту которого он обратился непосредственно и опосредованно), Никифору Каллисто Ксанфопулу (а также Сократу Схоластику, Созомену и Феодориту, использованным в VII и VIII книгах *Церковной истории*), у которого заимствует отдельные отрывки, иногда с дословным переводом, иногда в сокращении, а также, может быть, другим источникам. Все это он перерабатывает, подчиняя своей концепции. Его заслуга состоит в том, что он обратился к наиболее богатому и новому источнику, известному тогда в Византийской империи, а также к наиболее подробному и достоверному рассказу времен императора Константина, и сделал их доступными болгарам, в целом всем славянам, а также и румынам. Действительно *слово* Евфимия было широко распространено в Румынских княжествах, начиная с эпохи Стефана Великого и Нягоя Басараба, который включил его в сокращенной форме

в свои *Поучения*, и было переведено на румынский язык во время Константина Брынковяну (конец XVII в.). Таким образом, румынские господари и книжники обратились к наиболее пространной (54 стр. рукописи 1474 г.) и документированной истории Константина Великого, которую они смогли найти на книжнославянском (среднеболгарском) языке. Если отвлечься от “вымышленных” эпизодов, которые появляются уже в *Vita Constantini*, последнем источнике Евфимия, мы можем считать с полным правом его сочинение ценной главой всемирной истории, написанной на среднеболгарском языке, конечно, в риторической и религиозной форме. Распространение, переработка и перевод *Похвального слова* в Румынских княжествах вписывается таким образом в более широкий контекст византийско-славяно-румынских культурных и литературных отношений XIV-XVII вв.

3. Содержание и структура “Похвального слова”. Использование источников. В настоящей статье нет возможности детально рассмотреть способ переработки источников и структуру 28 глав сочинения Евфимия (по разделению Э. Калужняцкого). Мы сделали это во вступительном этюде к изданию древнейшей копии и старорумынского перевода этого ценного сочинения болгарского патриарха. Для иллюстрации воспроизведем анализ XI-ой главы и части XXI-ой главы.

Глава XI в начале воспроизводит от Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула (кн. VII, конец 49-ой главы) известие о победе Константина над “скифами” (готами) у Дуная:

Τόν γε μὴν ποταμὸν Ἰατρον, ὃς  
Δάμανοβις προσηγόρευται, ζεύξας  
λιθίνη γεφύρα, καὶ διαβὰς ἐκεῖθεν,  
τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ Σκυθικὸν ὑποτάσσει,  
τοῦ σωτηρίου ὅπλον πάλιν φανέν.  
τος ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὴν νίκην μιησ-  
τευομένου, καθὰ καὶ τὸ πρότερον

Δεῖσ же цѣрь въ скорѣ  
доѹнавъ рѣкѣ постиже и,  
мишь камѣнь въ нен съ-  
творь, Скиды покори,  
въсеву(с)тномоу ӡнаменію  
ко(с)тномоу тамо томоу  
навльшоу сѧ на нѣси, та-  
коже и прѣж(д)е.

Далее – после краткого уведомления о назначении цесарем Константа, сына Константина, и его отправлении в Галлию (которое мы не нашли в соответствующей главе у Никифора Каллиста) – перечисляются на основе того же источника церкви, построенные императором в Риме, Никомидии, Антиохии и Дрепаноне – ставшем Еленополем, сиѹ(ч) ԑлленинъ градъ объясняет Евфимий – и в Константинополе: церковь святой Софии – τὸν τῆς  
ἀγίας Σοφίας, сѣя Прѣмѫдрости, но добавляет болгарский патриарх:

не нинѣшина, нѣ малѣшина велии<sup>10</sup>; церковь святой Ирины – τὸν  
τῆς ἀγίας Εἰρήνης, сѣя Ирини, и слова добавляет: не гла м(ч)ници<sup>11</sup>,  
нѣ хѣ моего, иже е(с) миръ; церковь Святых Апостолов и другие,  
как в новой столице, так и в других городах (некоторые из них упоминаются  
Никифором Каллистом в начале 50-ой главы). После этого перечисления  
следует заключение Евфимия.

Во втором параграфе XXI-ой главы воспроизводится известная молитва, распространенная Константином Великим среди своих солдат. Составленная на латинском языке, она дошла до нас в греческом и среднеболгарском переводе, будучи в конечном итоге переведена и на румынский язык. Ввиду ее значительности мы позволим себе более подробно осветить историю ее составления<sup>12</sup>.

Лактанций в *De mortibus persecutorum* (XLVI, 6), написанном около 320 г., воспроизводит на латинском языке молитву, которую якобы ангел сообщил Лицинию, чтобы тот заставил выпустить ее своих солдат перед кампанией весной 313 г. против Максимиана Даи<sup>13</sup>. Евсевий же (*Vita Const.*, IV, 19-20) дает греческий перевод латинской молитвы, почти идентичной предыдущей, приписывая ее Константину, который научил своих солдат-нехристиян произносить ее по воскресеньям. В его версии отсутствует однако одно предложение, специфически “цесарское”, которое не могло – по мнению A. Piganiol'a звучать в устах солдат: *imperium nostrum tibi commendamus* (nous te confions notre puissance). «Il n'y a pas de doute qu'Eusèbe nous conserve une version grec de la prière latine de Licinius» – писал известный бельгийский византрист Henri Grégoire, впервые заметивший квази- тождественность двух молитв<sup>14</sup>. Но возможно также – добавляет A. Piganiol<sup>15</sup>, что молитва была составлена в присутствии обоих императоров или при их участии в Милане в 313 г. и что она выражала имперское *credо* того времени, основанное на довольно общем деизме. Перед нами, таким образом, первая официальная (военная) христианская молитва, переданная Лактанцием и Евсевием, переведенная Евфимием Тырновским и попавшая через его сочинение в Румынские княжества, где она была использована Нягоем Басарабом при составлении собственной молитвы “поднятия оружия” на защиту родины (*Слова наказательные своему сыну Феодосию*, часть вторая, гл. VIII). Предлагаем вниманию тексты:

Lactantius, *De mort. pers.*,  
XLVI, 6<sup>16</sup>

“Summe Deus, te rogamus,  
sancte Deus, te rogamus:  
omnem iustitiam tibi commendamus  
salutem nostram tibi commendamus,  
imperium nostrum tibi commenda-  
mus.  
Per te vivimus,  
per te victores et felices existimus.  
Summe, sancte Deus,  
preces nostras exaudi:  
brachia nostra ad te tendimus:  
exaudi, sancte, summe Deus.”

Евфимий, XXI, 2

Тебе единого, Господи, съвѣ-  
мы и Господи, тебе цѣлѣ знаемъ,  
тебе помощника исповѣдоуемъ. Ш(т) тебе побѣдителнаа  
въсприѧхъ(м), тобож крѣп-  
кыяа покориխъ врагы. Ш(т) тебе науатыимъ бл-  
гыимъ блг(д)ть поѣзданаеъмъ  
на та и въ вѣ(д)шіи вѣкъ  
оуповаеъмъ, тебе вси вѣ-  
хъ(м) рабы. Нашего цѣлѣ<sup>19</sup>  
длъгожителнаа на-  
мъ побѣдителнаа съхранити  
молим сѧ.

Eusebius, *Vita Const.*,  
IV, 20<sup>17</sup>

“Σὲ μόνον οἴδαμεν θέον, σὲ βα-  
σιλέα γνωρίζομεν, σὲ βοηθὸν ἀνα-  
καλούμενα, παρὰ σοῦ τὰς νίκας  
ἡράμεθα, διὰ σέ κρείττους τῶν ἔχ-  
θρῶν κατέστημεν, σοὶ τὴν τῶν  
προυπαρξάντων ἀγαθῶν χάρι-  
γνωρίζομεν [σὲ] καὶ τῶν μελλόν-  
των ἐλπίζομεν, σοῦ πάντες ἵκεται  
γιγνόμεθα<sup>18</sup>, τὸν ἡμέτερον βασιλέα  
Κωνσταντίνον παῖδας τε αὐτοῦ θεο-  
φιλεῖς ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἡμῖν βίου  
σῶν καὶ νικητὴν φυλάττεσθαι  
ποτνιώμενοι”

Нягое Басараб, Слова нак.,  
Часть I, отрывок 1, л. 46

тебѣ единого Господи съвѣ-  
мы и тебѣ цѣлѣ знаемъ, тебе по-  
мощника исповѣдоуемъ. Ш(т)  
тебѣ побѣдителнаа въсприѧхъ(м), тобож крѣп-  
кыяа покориխъ врагы. Ш(т) тебе на-  
уатыимъ блг(д)ть поѣзданаеъмъ,  
на та и въ вѣдшіи вѣкъ  
оуповаеъмъ, тебе вси вѣ-  
хъ(м) рабы. Нашего цѣлѣ<sup>19</sup>  
длъгожителнаа на-  
мъ побѣдителнаа съхранити  
молим сѧ.

“Слово Константину и Елене” Евфимия Тырновского

Румынский перевод времени  
Константина Брынковяну  
(копия 1704 г., В.А.Р., рум. рук.  
№ 2518, л. 42 б)

“Pre tine însuși Domnul Dumnezeu te știm și împărat te cunoaștem  
și ajutoriu te mărturisim, și de la  
tine céle de biruință am luat, și cu  
tine am biruit pre vrăjmașii cei tari,  
și de la tine începerile céle bune,  
bunătate cunoaștem, spre tine și în  
veacul cel fiitorul nădăduim, ai tăi  
robi săntem toți. Al nostru împărat  
întru zilele céle delungate și de bi-  
ruință ne rugăm să ne păzești pre  
noi acăstea.”

Румынский перевод Слов нак.  
Нягоя Басараба  
(ок. 1635 г.)<sup>20</sup>

“Pre tine singur te știm Dumnezeu și împărat, pre tine singur te  
mărturisim că ești ajutătoriu, de la  
tine cérem céle de săntu de biruin-  
ță să luom, cu tine am biruit vrăj-  
mașii cei puternici, de la tine cuno-  
aștem că ne iaste mila și începutul  
bunătăților și pre tine ne vom nă-  
dădui și în veacul ce va să fie. Toți  
săntem robii tăi, pentr-a-céia tie ne  
rugăm să păzești pre împăratul  
nostru cu îndelungată viață și biru-  
itoare.”

4. Выводы. При внимательном анализе всего *Похвального слова* мы пришли к заключению, что, хотя Евфимий следует в основном, за текстом Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула и Евсевия, нельзя отрицать его собственного значения, ибо тырновский патриарх внимательно отбирал факты, казавшиеся ему значительными, и опускал другие детали, находящиеся в двух источниках. Впрочем, будучи здесь скорее историком и биографом, Евфимий Тырновский не мог в этом пространном сочинении не прибегнуть к авторизованным источникам, в которые, однако, – от Евсевия до хронистов и агиографов, творивших тысячетение спустя – вкралось также довольно много легенд и “чудес”. Но при всем этом историческая основа в произведении сохраняется; в этом и состоит заслуга Евфимия, который писал для своих соотечественников и для всех, кто читал на книжнославянском языке за пределами Болгарии, настоящую историю Константина Великого, который стал образцом для христианских монархов, включая и румынских господарей, среди которых важное место занимают Стефан Великий, Нягое Басараб и Константин Брынковяну<sup>21</sup>.

București

1. Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375-1393), nach den besten Handschriften herausgegeben von Emil Kalužniacki, Wien 1901, CXXVIII + 453 стр.; недавно переиздано with an introduction by J. Duđčev (*Variorum Reprints, Slav. Ser. 2*), London 1971, 528 стр. Из богатой библиографии о жизни и творчестве Евфимия Тырновского укажем здесь несколько монографий и обобщающих трудов, появившихся в последние три десятилетия: Emil Turdeanu, *Opera patriarhului Eftimie al Tîrnovei (1375-1393) în literatura slavo-română*, оттиск из *Cercetări literare, VI*, Bucureşti 1946; *Idem, La littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle et sa diffusion dans les Pays Roumains*, Paris 1947, Chap. II: Èpoque du patriarche Euthyme (1375-1393), стр. 67-139 (общая библиография, стр. 167-178); *История на българската литература, I*, София (Българска Академия на Науките), 1962 глава Евтимий Търновски, написанная акад. П. Динековым, стр. 285-306 (библиография, стр. 435); П. Русев, Ив. Гъльбов, А. Давидов, Г. Данчев, *Похвално слово за Евтимий от Григорий Цамблак*, София 1971. Г. Данчев представил на XIV Международном съезде по византиноведению (Бухарест, 6-12 сент. 1971 г.) краткое сообщение, *Творчество Евфимия Тырновского в Румынских землях*. Наконец, недавно вышла книга: *Търновска книжовна школа. 1371-1971. Международен симпозиум, Велико Търново, 11-14 октомври 1971*, София 1974, в которой отметим доклады и сообщения характера или посвященные специально Евфимию, представленные следующими авторами: П. Динеков, П. Русев, И. Д. Лаудат, Е. Георгиев, Донка Петканова-Тотева, Надежда Драгова, Н. М. Дылевский, Ст. Лазаров, Г. Михаила, Й. Русек, Дора Иванова-Мирчева, В. Велчев, Светлина Николова, Ст. Кожухаров, Мария Сярова, А. Давидов, Хр. Коларов и Г. Петков.

2. Werke ..., стр. LXXXV - LXXXVIII, СIII; текст, стр. 103-146; Pr. Paulin Popescu, *Manuscrise slavone din mănăstirea Putna, Biserică ortodoxă română, LXXX*, 1962, № 1-2, стр. 109; № 7-8, стр. 696-698; Г. Михаила, Най-старият препис на Похвального слова за Константин и Елена от Евтимий Търновски ..., в кн.: *Търновска книжовна школа*, стр. 161-177.

3. E. Turdeanu, *La littérature ...*, стр. 101.

4. А. Попов, *Обзор русских хронографов в русской редакции*, выпуск второй, Москва 1869, стр. 28-29; Конст. Радченко, *Религиозное и литературное движение в Болгарии в эпоху перед турецким завоеванием*, Киев 1898, стр. 259-311; Хр. Ив. Попов, *Евтимий, последен търновски и трапезицки патриарх (1375-1384)*, Пловдив 1901, стр. 175-176; В. Сл. Киселков, *Патриарх Евтимий*, София 1938, стр. 286; его же, *Протуки и очерки по старобългарска литература*, София 1956, стр. 188; Цветана Вранска (-Романска), Стилни похвати на патриарх Евтимий, *Сборник на БАН*, кн. XXXVII, Клон ист. филологичен и филос. обществен, 20, София 1942, стр. 112; E. Turdeanu, *La littérature ...*, стр. 71; П. Динеков, Евтимий Търновски, в: *История ...*, I, стр. 302.

5. Hans-Georg Beck, (*Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, стр. 570-575) дает список житий святых, написанных Симеоном Метафрастом, исправляя и дополняя список из *Patrologia graeca*, J. P. Migne'a, t. 114-116: среди них нет ни одного, посвященного Константину Великому.

6. Эти главные сочинения "отца церковной историографии" были изданы вместе с другими в *Patrologia graeca*, J. P. Migne'a, t. 20, Paris 1857, и впоследствии в превосходном издании: *Eusebius Werke*. Erster Band, Über das Leben Constantins ..., hgg. von Dr. Ivar A. Heikel; Zweiter Band, erster Teil – dritter Teil, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, hgg. von Dr. Edu-

ard Schwartz; *Die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, bearbeitet im gleichen Auftrage von Dr. Theodor Mommsen ..., Leipzig 1902-1909. Оба сочинения были переведены на румынский язык бывшим митрополитом-приматом Йосифом Георгияном (Josif Gheorghian): *Istoria bisericăscă și Viața lui Constantin cel Mare de Eusebiu, episcop de Cezarea, București* 1896. Ряд отрывков был воспроизведен в *Fontes historiae Dacoromanae, II*, Bucureşti, Ed Academiei, 1970, стр. 9-17.

7. Напечатана в *Patrologia graeca*, t. 145-147, Paris 1865, О рукописях (старшая, написанная около 1320 г. и посвященная автором императору Андронику II, хранится в Вене), прежних изданиях и переводах (первое греч. издание: Париж, 1630) и об источниках см. книгу: *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos und ihre Quellen*. Nachgelassene Untersuchungen von Günter Gentz. Überarbeitet und erweitert von Friedholm Winkelmann, Berlin 1966. См. также: его же, Церковная история Никифора Каллиста Ксанфопула как исторический источник, *Византийский временник*, 31, 1971, стр. 38-47.

8. С этой целью мы обратились к превосходной монографии А. Piganiol'a, *L'empereur Constantin*, Paris, 1932, и к другим работам, среди которых находятся и истории Византии, написанные А. А. Васильевым, Н. Йорга, Г. Острогорским, С. Д. Сказкиным и коллективом.

9. Оставляя в стороне "чудо", упомянутое в конце предложения, сообщение – хотя и позднее – о мосте у с. Челей (Celei), недалеко от г. Корабия (на западе от реки Олт) имеет для нас особое значение. Константин открыл мост у Sucidava (Celei) 5 июля 328 г. после того, как в 323 г. перешел Дунай, чтобы вступить в войну с готами. Таким образом южная часть Дакии вновь перешла под контроль Римской империи; см. D. Tudor, *Podurile romane de la Dunărea de Jos*, Bucureşti 1971, стр. 155-192.

10. На самом деле, церковь, которую хорошо знал Евфимий, ибо он её видел 1363 г., является четвертой постройкой, великолепной, воздвигнутой Юстинианом в 532-537 гг.; см. G. Young, *Constantinople depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1934, стр. 60-76.

11. Солунская великомученица, умершая во время правления Максимиана (в православной церкви празднуется 3 апреля, а в католической – 5 апреля); см. *Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae, I*, Praha 1966, стр. 785.

12. См. Piganiol, *цит. раб.*, стр. 75-77.

13. См. одно из последних изданий: Lactance, *De la mort des persecuteurs, I. Introduction, texte critique et traduction par J. Moreau*, Paris 1954, стр. 129; том II содержит *Commentaire* того же издателя.

14. La «conversion» de Constantin, *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, XXXVI*, 1930-1931, стр. 231-272. Это же мнение разделяет и J. Moreau, *цит. изд.*, 11, стр. 451-452.

15. *Цит. раб.*, стр. 77.

16. *Цит. изд.*, стр. 129. «Le ton de la prière rappelle de très près celui des acclamations impériales» (J. Moreau, *там же*, 11, стр. 453). Предназначенная хдя больших групп, эта молитва похожа на совсем простое стихотворение; поэтому мы попытались разделить ее на стихи.

17. *Eusebius Werke, I*, стр. 125.

18. «Le texte de la prière, jusqu'à γιγνόμεθα correspond exactement à l'invocation de Licinius, la dernière phrase étant une simple addition destinée à affirmer le caractère constantien de l'oraison» (J. Moreau, *указ. раб.*, 11, стр. 451).

19. Евфимий умышленно опустил имя императора и указание на его сыновей, чтобы придать молитве более общий характер.

20. *Învățăturile lui Neagoe Basarab către fiul său Theodosie*, ed. Florica Moisil, Dan Zamfirescu și G. Mihăilă, București, Ed. Minerva, 1970, стр. 182.

21. О распространении и влиянии *Похвального слова* в Румынских княжествах см.: E. Turdeanu, *Opera patriarhului Eftimie ...*; его же, *La littérature ...*, стр. 67-139; Г. Михайла, Най-старият препис на Похвального слово ..., в кн.: *Търновска книжовна школа*, стр. 161-177 (в частности, о копии 1474 г., находящейся в библиотеке Путненского монастыря, Inv. № 571/11, из которой мы цитировали выше и которую мы подготовили к изданию вместе со старорумынским переводом из копии 1704 г., находящейся в рум. рук. № 2518, В.А.Р. Выражаем нашу благодарность коллеге Дану Замфиреску, любезно представившему нам фотокопии рукописи 1474 г. и транскрипцию старорумынского перевода).

## TOPOONYMY AND HISTORY.

### OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE SLAVONIC TOPOONYMY OF THE PELOPONNESE\*

#### *Phaedon Malinowski*

The holiday-maker from Central Europe who crosses the whole of Yugoslavia, Northern and Central Greece and arrives in the Peloponnese may be struck by the names of certain villages there, such as Μπελιγκράδια in Gytheion, or Μπελεγράδι in Messenia; villages, that is, with the same name as the Yugoslavian capital, Belgrade. If, indeed, the traveller happens to be a Slavicist who has specialised in Slavonic place-names, on comparing the name of the Thessalian town Καρδίτσα with that of the Austrian town Graz, he may come to the correct conclusion that both these names have the same etymology, being from the Slavonic \*gordьcb. Moreover, if our Slavicist happens also to have a lively imagination, even if he lacks the most elementary knowledge of Greek, he may — just as Fallmerayer once did — link the name of the Peloponnese (Morea) etymologically with the Slavonic appellative *more* (sea). He might also be tempted to believe that all the place-names in Greece which happen to be Slavonic or of Slavonic origin, or merely seem to him to be Slavonic, originate exclusively from one specific Slavonic language — Modern Bulgarian — and thus arrive at conclusions concerning Greece's ethnological character in the past.

This last case, extreme as it is, is neither imaginary nor, regrettably, uncommon. Let us quote just one of the many examples of such interpretations, an example which eloquently typifies the quality of the whole work from which it is taken. A two-volume monograph, which was published fourteen years ago in Sofia under the title *The Settlement of the Bulgarian Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula*, informs its readers of the etymology of the place-name Μακρυγάνη as follows:

“Village in the north-west of Crete. From the Slavonic *Mokrjane* (i.e. from the adjective *mokrъ*: ‘damp’), the unstressed *o* being rendered in Greek by *a*, a phenomenon encountered in all the older Bulgarian place-names in Greece. It is difficult to link this place-name etymologically with the Greek μακρός, μακρύς: ‘large’ (*sic; recte*: ‘long’), because in that case it should have the phonetic form Μακριάνη. The -για-, which is the rendition of the Bulgarian *-ja-* indicates precisely that the place-name is not Greek.”<sup>1</sup>

This work was a landmark, since the conclusions it drew had a great impact which was evident not only in Bulgaria (which is only to be expected)<sup>2</sup> but also in recent works by western scholars. For instance, in a doctoral thesis accepted by the School of Philosophy of the University of Munich and published in 1978 under the ambitious title *The Slav Population of the Greek Peninsula*, we read:

"In Crete one observes a concentration of Slavonic place-names in the mountainous western part of the island. Slavonic place-names are particularly numerous in the Rhodopos Peninsula."<sup>3</sup>

In support of his assertion the writer refers to no other source or study than the monograph mentioned above, in particular its accompanying maps, on which the Bulgarian linguist has taken care to place a black dot against every place-name for which he has managed to contrive a Bulgarian etymology. Impressed by the numerous black dots to be found on the map, the writer of the thesis has drawn hasty conclusions which ethnologically distort part of medieval Greece<sup>4</sup>.

Another West German historian, too, has reached certain conclusions with regard to Greece's medieval history. In one of the recent issues of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* he attempts to determine those regions of the Peloponnese in which Slavs settled during the Middle Ages, basing the greater part of his argument not on historical evidence but exclusively on etymologies of place-names in Greece taken from a linguistic work<sup>5</sup>.

It will now be clear that the primary object of this study concerns the recent manifestations of the old problem of the Slavs' descent into Greece during the Middle Ages, as they are presented in modern research in both the East and the West. Using the Peloponnese as an example, we shall endeavour to deal with matters relating to two principal questions:

1. Of what value are the Slavonic place-names in existence today as historical sources? There are two parts to this question: a) what kinds of place-names in Greece can be described as Slavonic? b) to what extent can these place-names allow a purely objective researcher to draw purely historical conclusions?

2. Can the original Slavonic place-names in the Peloponnese be characterised as Bulgarian, or – to follow the example of many of our northern neighbours by turning the question around – are these place-names Bulgarian just because the Slavs who came down to the Peloponnese belonged both linguistically and ethnologically to that group of Southern Slavs who later formed the Bulgarian nation?

Let us consider the first question: which place-names in the Peloponnese can unreservedly be described as original Slavonic names, and what kind of information can the historian draw from them? This, of course, is a fairly old problem; 150 years ago – at the same time as the Modern Greek State was established – the

notorious Fallmerayer, using etymologies that were naive even in his own time, attempted to produce yet another argument to back up his theory. At this point it should be stressed that although many historians still refer to his works today and even try to resurrect his theories<sup>6</sup>, no Slav linguist has ever taken Fallmerayer's etymological derivations seriously. In a severe criticism B. Kopitar was the first to indicate the superficiality of Fallmerayer's knowledge of Slavonic languages<sup>7</sup>. Complete ignorance of the Slavonic linguistic family led Fallmerayer to form the unfortunate notion that the Peloponnesian Slavs had their origins in the regions of Vladimir-Suzdal, Moscow, Jaroslavl' and Kostroma; areas, that is to say, in which the Eastern Slavs came to live long after Slavs had settled in the Peloponnese, and which, as Vasilev proved, had previously been occupied exclusively by Finno-Ugrian tribes<sup>8</sup>. From the time of Fallmerayer's theory until the outbreak of the Second World War the question of the Slavonic place-names in Greece continued intermittently to make an appearance in scholarly works, which were all more or less products of their age. With the exception of F. Miklosich's memorable work *Slavonic Personal Names and Place-names*, in which, however, only a few of Greece's place-names are examined, and then only cursorily<sup>9</sup>, researchers during this period, influenced either by the spirit of the school to which they belonged or by the political circumstances of their time, selected and dealt with only those place-names which usefully served for them to prove their views. Bearing in mind the factors influencing these researchers' methods, the studies of Slavonic place-names in Greece published between 1830-1940 may generally be grouped in the following three categories:

a) Studies published in Russia when the romantic intellectual Slavophile movement was reigning supreme in all areas of the humanities. The St Petersburg Slavicist A. Hilferding's work is a typical example; his Slavophile ideas are clearly evident in all his studies, and in order to magnify the number of Slavs supposed to have settled in Greece he had no hesitation in presenting a great many Modern Greek place-names (such as Μηλά, Κρανιά, Ράμνα, Αχλαδιά, Πηγαδίτσα etc.) as Slavonic<sup>10</sup>. Hilferding's studies were also made use of by later Slavicists in Tsarist Russia (such as I. Sozonovič and A. Pogodin, for example), who, though ideologically they were no longer Slavophile, nevertheless included in their lists all the Greek place-names which Hilferding had wrongly described as Slavonic.

b) In the second category are the works of the, mainly Greek, linguists who, though setting out from contradictory positions, did prove the Greek etymology of the allegedly Slavonic place-names, but did not deal with the genuinely Slavonic place-names in Greece, many of which they attempted to etymologise from dialect forms of Ancient Greek<sup>11</sup>.

c) Finally, in the third category we find all the works by Bulgarian linguists, who, without managing to avoid erroneous etymologies, describe the place-names not simply as Slavonic, but as Bulgarian. This tendency was particularly marked during the inter-war years and was encouraged by the conflict between Bulgarian and Serbian linguists concerning the linguistic (and by extension the national) identity of the inhabitants of present-day Southern Yugoslavia. A good number of Serbian linguists during this period (such as A. Belić, for example) considered the inhabitants of this region — who have called themselves “Macedonians” since the Second World War — to be Serbs, and though none of the rest of the scholarly world shared this view, they also endeavoured to prove that various place-names in Greece are Serbian; thus provoking a series of studies in Bulgaria proclaiming the Bulgarian identity of these place-names.

A study by the German Slavicist M. Vasmer marked a new stage in the study of the Slavonic place-names in Greece. Published in 1941<sup>12</sup>, it is the most fundamental and systematic treatment of the problem to be produced hitherto. Everything written by Slavicists on the Slavonic place-names in Greece prior to Vasmer seems in comparison to be merely pre-scientific attempts<sup>13</sup>, while the few studies produced by Slavicists afterwards — those, that is, which do not expound extreme views, such as the work mentioned at the beginning of this article — are content to repeat the great German Slavicists's conclusions<sup>14</sup>.

The great value of Vasmer's work lies in the fact that he was the first to collect and interpret a very large number of (in his opinion) Slavonic place-names from all over Greece. Thus both the linguist and the historian may ascertain from his work the number and location of place-names anywhere in Greece, from Macedonia to Crete, which, according to Vasmer at least, are Slavonic. Let us see, then, what sort of picture Vasmer's material gives us of the Peloponnese:

The Slavonic place-names he lists for this region number 428, distributed as follows: 24 in Corinthia, 18 in the Argolis, 95 in Achaia, 34 in Elis, 42 in Triphylia, 93 in Arcadia, 41 in Messenia and 81 in Laconia<sup>15</sup>. As one can see, the material is classified statistically and thus can also be of use to the historian, who either is not in a position to check the individual etymologies or is not even concerned with these. In the aforementioned article in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, an attempt was made to determine the extent of the regions which were inhabited by Slavs and the degree of penetration achieved by the Slav element, all on the basis of the density of the Slavonic place-names to be found in these regions according to Vasmer's catalogue<sup>16</sup>. The fact that many of these place-names are not Slavonic, as Georgakas' studies later proved<sup>17</sup>, in the words of the author “is only of minor significance as far as the aims of the statistics are concerned, numerically at least.”<sup>18</sup>

The methodological assumptions from which this writer sets out are, in our opinion, false; a fact which, of course, prejudices the outcome of his whole argument. The reasons for this are as follows:

1. Vasmer's 428 place-names do not reflect the actual number of Slavonic place-names in the Peloponnese either quantitatively or qualitatively, since no complete inventory of these place-names has ever been made. In one small area of the Peloponnese, Messenian or Outer Mani for example, there are some 400 Slavonic place-names — as many, that is, as Vasmer gives for the whole of the Peloponnese. Quite clearly, therefore, any statistical computation based on Vasmer's information does not correspond to the true facts, for he himself gives only nine Slavonic place-names for Outer Mani. If one carried out a more detailed check one would find that the conclusions reached by the writer of the article contradict the evidence of historical sources: on the basis of Vasmer's ratio of 15 Slavonic place-names in Corinthia to 9 in Messenian Mani, one would have to agree that the Slav population of Corinthia (for which no information is to be found in historical sources) was denser than that of Outer Mani, where, as we know, the Slav tribe of the Melingi settled and preserved their linguistic identity until the middle of the XVth century. If, despite the complete absence of historical information, one insisted that Corinthia was more densely populated by Slavs than Outer Mani, one would then have to prove that there were many more Slavonic place-names in Corinthia than the 400 in Outer Mani which have recently been interpreted as Slavonic<sup>19</sup>. The toponymical material collected by Vasmer, therefore, should in no circumstances be considered to reflect the actual extent of Slav penetration into various Greek regions.

2. The second methodological error on the part of all the historians who automatically transfer Vasmer's place-names onto their maps is that they do not check whether these place-names really have been formed directly from the language of the Slav settlers.

Let us see which categories of place-names listed by Vasmer are not Slavonic:

a) Place-names formed directly from loan-words in Modern Greek. Such loan-words, of Slavonic etymology, can still be heard in Greek regions where neither Fallmerayer nor any other imaginative historian has yet dared to discover toponymical traces of Slav settlements. What Vasmer and other scholars did not know is that these are the type of appellatives from which place-names are commonly formed; for example, geographical terms (*βιρός*, *βάλτος*, *λόγγος*, *παγανεύα*, *πολιάνα*, *σοποτός*), names of plants and trees (*τοπόλι*, *τσέρος*, *γρανίτσα*, *βουζι*, *σανός*, *λίπα*), names of animals (*γουστέρα*, *κουνάβι*), technical terms con-

nected with animal-rearing (*στάνη*, *στάλος*, *ββορός*) etc. In this group we may also include those place-names formed from loan-words of an idiomatic nature, i.e. from appellatives which are encountered only in individual Modern Greek dialects. Thus Vasmer, followed of course by all the later foreign historians and linguists, included in his catalogue a whole series of place-names without realising that the appellatives from which they were formed are still to be found in the Modern Greek dialects of their respective regions.

Let us use the example of the idiomatic *μούσγα*, which still exists in dialects of the South-West Peloponnese with the meaning of 'mud, muddy place, small bog' and, quite naturally, is also to be found as a place-name in this region: in Olympia, Triphylia and Pylia alone 25 minor place-names (microtoponyms) have been recorded which were formed from this particular appellative<sup>20</sup>. The fact that the etymology of *μούσγα*<sup>21</sup> is Slavonic is of no significance to an objective researcher into the Slavonic toponymy of the region, since the speakers of the language from which the 25 names were formed (and this number could easily double in the future, since the word is still in use in the dialect of the region) were not Slavs. A meticulous researcher ought indeed to proceed even farther and check whether the place-names which today appear to us to be Slavonic also derive from loan-words which are no longer in use in the dialect of the region he is studying. If, for example, the researcher is aware that in XVIIth-century documents from Dimitsana the appellative *γκολαρία* ('bare, dry ground') is to be found<sup>22</sup>, though it is no longer heard in the region, and if he then encounters Arcadian place-names with the same etymology, he will hesitate to consider them to be Slavonic names rather than Greek names formed from a loan-word which has been forgotten today. In Messenian Mani our researcher would also find the place-name *Ρεμπρή* which he might describe as Slavonic (Slav. *rebro*) if he did not know from documents from this region that its inhabitants used to use the word *ρεμπρή* synonymously with the word *πλευρή* ('side') to denote 'mountainside'<sup>23</sup>. So where we have proof that certain place-names were formed from loan-words, even though these loan-words may be of Slavonic etymology, these place-names are not Slavonic but Greek.

b) A second, fairly large category of place-names wrongly described as Slavonic comprises those place-names formed from the genitive of Modern Greek surnames, such as *τοῦ Ράδου*, *τοῦ Ράικου*, *τοῦ Βρανᾶ*, *τοῦ Στάϊκου*, etc. Even if it were proven that such Modern Greek names were of Slavonic etymology, it would be inadmissible to maintain that all the place-names formed from these Modern Greek surnames according to the rules of Greek morphology are Slavonic. Equally unscholarly is an assertion encountered in various publications in our

neighbouring countries – i.e. that all Modern Greeks who bear names of foreign etymology are themselves of foreign descent. If one were to leaf through the Vienna telephone directory one would soon find that a great many of the names listed therein are not German but Slavonic. Nevertheless, the present author has never heard of any Czech or Polish historian or linguist maintaining that the bearers of these names share his own nationality. We must point out, then, in closing this section, that etymology is not a useful guide for those historians who declare in this day and age that Eugene Voulgaris and Markos Botsaris were not Greeks, and who maintained in a voluminous tome which was brought out on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Greek Revolution of 1821 that all the revolutionary fighters with names not of Greek etymology were Bulgarians.

c) The third category of Vasmer's place-names which are not Slavonic comprises all the compound names of which one part is Greek and the other Slavonic. It is not necessary to produce a detailed argument to prove that it is impossible for such place-names to have been formed from the language of the Slav settlers. That they are Greek from a morphological point of view is also indicated by the fact that the tendency to form compound words is much more marked in Greek than in Slavonic. In our opinion, then, Vasmer was incorrect in describing as Slavonic a whole series of Greek place-names, such as: *Ποδογορά* (*πόδι* [foot] + *gora* [mountain], cf. *etiam* the synonymous *ποδόβουνο*, *ριζόβουνο*), *Γαβρολίμνη* (*gabr* [beech] + *λίμνη* [lake]), *Λιποχώρι* (*lipa* [lime tree] + *χωρίο* [village]) etc.

d) The fourth category, finally, comprises the place-names of Slavonic etymology which cannot be described either as Slavonic or as Greek. These are the place-names which, either from their phonetic forms or from their endings, are indisputably Albanian or Aromunian. A large number of Wallachian or Albanian place-names of Slavonic etymology are described as Slavonic in Vasmer's catalogue.

If, to the categories mentioned above, one also adds all the place-names which Vasmer describes as being of uncertain etymology or for which he gives no etymology at all, then the original number of entries in his catalogue is reduced by 50% or more. The answer, then, to the first part of our question must be: we may describe as Slavonic only those place-names in Greece which a) are of Slavonic etymology, and at the same time b) do not belong to one of the five categories mentioned above. As far as the Peloponnese is concerned, it must be stressed here that of the 428 place-names upon which the recent statistics referred to above are based, 213 are not Slavonic. It thus becomes clear just how valuable are statistical calculations which start out with an error quota of 50%!

Let us now proceed to the second part of our question and see to what extent the historian may use the original Slavonic place-names as a source. There are three basic categories of information upon which the historian may draw in order to evaluate the Slavonic place-names:

1. Indications as to the extent and boundaries of those areas within the Peloponnese where large groups of Slavs settled and remained permanently, preserving their linguistic identity for a period of time.

2. Details concerning the chronology of the Slav areas' course towards linguistic hellenisation.

3. Information concerning the extent of the Slav settlers' technological development during the period of their settlement.

1. It is quite clear, from what has been said above, that Vasmer's topographical material, as he collected and classified it, is of no use to the historian. If one likened even those 215 Peloponnesian place-names in Vasmer's catalogue which can be considered as Slavonic (scattered all over the Peloponnese as they are) to archaeological finds, then the only certain observation one could make is that these finds are not of Greek but of barbarian origin. For the historian it is impossible – and herein lies the chief methodological error on the part of all those who have attempted to make historical use of them – to reach definite conclusions concerning the extent and boundaries of the Slav areas from such a small number of such scattered finds. Indeed, the problem becomes insuperable if one takes into account the fact that the majority of these few finds were not made *in situ*: for the most part the place-names collected by Vasmer are names of settlements (villages or townlets) which were names by the *transfer* of minor place-names from their immediate vicinity. The place-name *Καλάβρυτα*, for example, is the Slavonic hydronym *Kolovr̥tb*, which is encountered in Russia as well as in Bohemia and Croatia; originally, as a Slavonic name, it did not denote the present-day town, but the river near which it is situated, i.e. the River *Κερυνίτης* mentioned by Pausanias, which is the present-day River *Καλαβρύτω*. To locate the regions in which Slavs settled, then, extensive linguistic investigations are necessary; a complete collection, if possible, of minor place-names from all over the Peloponnese, to be evaluated by Slavicists with (the necessity is clear from what has been said above) a perfect knowledge of Modern Greek dialects. Only in this way can definite conclusions be reached.

Let us now refer specifically to the conclusions reached by the author of this study, following his recent research into the minor place-names of Outer Mani, a region in which, as we know, the Slav tribe of the Melingi settled during the Middle Ages<sup>24</sup>. In this region are to be found not only Greek names of Slavonic

etymology, but also Slavonic place-names – that is, place-names which not only have Slavonic etymology but also have Slavonic suffixes, i.e. endings formed according to the rules of Slavonic morphology. The study of these primary Slavonic place-names, which account for some 20% of the total number of minor place-names in the region, led us to the conclusion that all those which derive from appellatives or adjectives belong to the broad semantic field of the natural environment of an agricultural society, while giving a picture of a relatively large variety of semantically kindred meanings. The 400 Slavonic place-names in the region are in fact formed from 81 different personal names in Common Slavonic and 133 appellatives. These latter belong to the following eleven semantic categories: terrestrial environment, aquatic environment, peculiarities of the natural environment, flora, fauna, dwelling-places or settlements, agriculture, animal-rearing, wood-cutting, hunting, natural products. What especially impresses the researcher, however, is the particularly specialised vocabulary which has been preserved in the toponymy, a vocabulary which disposes of two or three appellatives for semantic categories which we today could express only peripherastically. One example is that the notion *spring* can be expressed by the following six, semantically specialised, words: *izvor* (spring), *qbl* (spring), *\*pbs-* (spring), *nevor* (spring which does not gush), *soltina* (salt-water spring), *vonbna* (spring of fragrant or mineral water)<sup>25</sup>.

The study of the toponymy of this region led us to the final conclusion that a few etymologies are not enough to prove that a region was occupied in the past by Slavs; one has to uncover and re-establish a whole toponymical network, which, preserved within the general toponymy of the region, has survived until the present day. The uncovering and re-instatement of a toponymical network in Outer Mani can, in our view, lead a historian to much more certain conclusions than those reached by the writer of the article referred to earlier. If one examines the toponymy of the Messenian Plain, one will observe that the place-names there are almost exclusively Greek, which clearly shows that the Slavs who came down from the north during the Middle Ages avoided the Messenian Plain, preferring to settle on the unapproachable slopes of Mount Taygetus. If, then, we compare the toponymy of these two regions, it is possible roughly to define the north-eastern boundary of the region colonised by the Slavs of Mount Taygetus. This method makes it possible, once all the minor place-names of the whole Peloponnese have been collected, to ascertain whether toponymical networks have been preserved in other regions too, and thus to determine the positions of the Slavonic 'islands' in this part of Greece in the past.

2. A comparative study of the Slavonic place-names puts linguists in a position to gather information concerning their chronological arrangement. Their mor-

phological and phonological characteristics can lead the linguist, not, of course, to date the place-names themselves, but, by comparing them, to determine which are more recent and which are older. When the linguist has evaluated them chronologically, the historian then has at his disposal the second category of information which concerns him, since he may now with certainty surmise that in those regions where the newer Slavonic place-names are not to be found, the spoken Slavonic language had already disappeared, and he may thus gather information concerning a historical process; that is, the gradual hellenisation of the Slavs of the Peloponnese, which, as we are able today to gather from historical sources, had taken place before the Peninsula was finally enslaved by the Turks.

3. The study of the Slavonic toponymy and of the loan-words in Greek allows us, finally, to gather information about certain aspects of the Slav settlers' internal history. From the Slavonic technical terms connected with agriculture, animal-rearing, wood-cutting and metallurgy, which have been preserved in the toponymy of the Peloponnese, we may surmise that during the period of their settlement, at the end of the VIIth century, the Slavs were neither a nomadic people (as were the Avars, for example, and other Turanian tribes) nor semi-nomadic herdsmen (transhumers), like the Vlachs of the Balkans. The relatively large variety of Slavonic technical terms connected with agriculture, animal-rearing, the mining industry etc. which is reflected in the toponymy, is a weighty indication that these settlers were essentially an agricultural people with a mixed economy, who, accustomed to being permanently settled, came down to the south of the Greek Peninsula to rebuild homes and cultivate the land once more, as they had done before pressure from other peoples forced them to abandon their distant homeland.

Let us not omit to mention here, however, the kind of information these place-names *cannot* provide us with. Contrary to what many historians maintain, we cannot learn anything about the social structure, the religion, or the system of government practised by the Slav settlers. These semantic categories have nothing to do with the creation of place-names, and even if they were used some time in the past, they were lost once and for all when the spoken Slavonic language died out. Just as the archaeologist, on opening a tomb, does not expect to find the body's garments untouched by time, so for the linguist those Slavonic place-names in Greece which supposedly denote the 'lawcourt', 'place of the Boljars, the župans', 'agora' etc. are no more than fantasies produced by erroneous and improvised etymologies.

Let us now move on to the second question posed at the beginning: Can we consider the place-names of the Peloponnese to have been formed from the language of speakers who could ethnologically be described as Bulgarian?

An objective historian would maintain that an affirmative answer to this question was based on literally preposterous reasoning. As the Bulgarian historian D. Angelov has proved very convincingly<sup>26</sup>, the genesis of the modern Bulgarian nation is a historical phenomenon which evolved in the region of Lower Moesia, in part of Thrace, and possibly (here one may leave the Bulgarian and Southern Yugoslavian historians to come to some agreement on their own) also in that region which is occupied by the confederate republic which has unluckily named itself 'Macedonia'. The objective historian also knows very well that there is not even the faintest indication in the sources that the Slavs of the Peloponnese continued, once they were permanently settled, to maintain communications with those Slavonic-speaking northerners who later formed the medieval South Slavonic States of the Balkans. Those subjects of the Byzantine Emperor, who during the centuries after their settlement in the Peloponnese preserved their Slavonic linguistic identity, were surrounded by Greek-speaking Πωμαῖοι, who, as the sources explicitly state, outnumbered the Slavs at all periods of their co-existence. The obligations of the Slavonic-speaking Peloponnesian peasant towards Byzantine authority during this period were neither lighter nor heavier than those of his Greek-speaking neighbour. Together they faced the Frankish conqueror and later the Albanian nomads who came down as far as the Peloponnese; together they lived through the last splendours of the Greek Empire, the Despotate of the Morea, and finally bowed their heads together beneath the Turkish yoke. When the time of national uprising came, the period when some Balkan peoples discovered and others invented their past, when Fallmerayer's theories were launched from the entire philhellenic Hesperia, by then there were only Neo-Hellenes in the Peloponnese, who, regardless of whether they bore names such as Staikos and Rados, or Odysseus and Aristotle, were fighting for the freedom of their nation. The objective historian, then, knows very well that the Slav settlers in the Peloponnese were absorbed by the denser Greek element many centuries before the process of the ethnogenesis of Greece's modern neighbours, the Bulgarians, had begun. Nevertheless, this ethnological smoothing-out is not, in our opinion, to be ascribed to that transcendent, metaphysical civilising power of Hellenism, which many modern historians invoke, but rather it was the objective course of events and, most important, the numerical superiority of the Greek element in the Peloponnese which caused the ethnological disappearance of the Slavs.

Nevertheless, more concrete data exist, linguistic evidence which one may draw from the Slavonic toponymy of the Peloponnese and which refutes the theories of the Bulgarian linguists. From this evidence the impartial researcher may

conclude that the Slavs of the Peloponnese may be described linguistically as anything but Bulgarian.<sup>27</sup>

The study of the Slavonic place-names in Greece, which is once more engaging scholarly attentions, is still in its early stages and therefore it is above all a linguistic problem. Future research will of course also bring to light information to interest the historian and will contribute to the solution of the complex problem of the "Slavs in Greece".

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1. Cf. J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na būgarskite Slavjani na balkanskija poluostrov*, Sofia 1967, p. 151.

2. A good example is one of the most recent Bulgarian historical works, a lengthy article by I. Božilov entitled *Les Bulgares dans l'empire byzantin*, *Godišnik na Sof. Universitet, Istoriceski fakultet*, Vol. 69 (1975), Sofia 1980, p. 145-190. Although on p. 147 the author writes that «l'identification totale des Slaves et des Bulgares (scil. in Byzantium), est, bien sûr, inexakte, et je suis loin de la pensée de fonder ma recherche sur elle», nevertheless, with Zaimov's work as his basis, he does nothing less than identify the Slavs who came down to Byzantium with the Bulgarians. In connection with this, cf. our extensive criticism to be published in the forthcoming issue of *Balkan Studies*.

3. M. Weithmann, *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechischen Halbinsel. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Ethnographie Südosteupas*, Munich 1978, p. 194.

4. Cf. etiam our review of Weithmann's book in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie XVI* (1980), p. 212-219.

5. Cf. J. Koder, Zur Frage der slawischen Siedlungsgebiete im mittelalterlichen Griechenland. In: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71 (1978), p. 315-331.

6. Let us bear in mind the case of the English Byzantinologist Jenkins. Cf. esp. his article: "Byzantium and Byzantinism" (Cincinnati 1963).

7. Cf. his review in *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur* Vol. 51 (1830), p. 111-120. On Kopitar's attitude towards Fallmerayer's theories cf. esp. P. Enepekides, Kopitar und die Griechen. In: *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 3 (1953), p. 53-70.

8. A. A. Vasilev, Slavjane v Grecii. In: *Vizantijski Vremennik V* (1898) p. 404-438 and 626-670. Concerning the ethnological composition of the regions in which the East-Slavonic languages (i.e. Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian) are spoken today, cf. W. P. Schmid's

recent study, *Die Ausbildung der Sprachgemeinschaften in Osteuropa*. In: *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands*, ed. by M. Hellmann et al., Vol. 1, Stuttgart 1978, p. 103-121.

9. F. Miklosich, *Die Bildung der slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen*, Reprint Heidelberg 1927.

10. Hilferding's study on the Slavs in Greece has been reprinted in the first volume of his *Collected Studies*. A. Hilferding, *Istorija Serbo i Bolgar*. In: *Sobranie Sočinenij*, Vol. 1, St. Petersburg 1898, p. 281-296. Concerning Hilferding's slavophile ideology and its influence on his work, cf. I. N. Jagić's outline, *Istorija slavjanskoj filologii*, St. Petersburg 1910 (Reprint Leipzig 1967), p. 769-774.

11. A complete bibliography of the Greek works in this category is to be found in D. Vayakakos' work *Σχεδίασμα περὶ τῶν τοπωνυμικῶν καὶ δυθρωπωνυμικῶν σπουδῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι* Athens 1964, p. 334-341.

12. M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, Berlin 1941, Reprint Leipzig 1970.

13. Cf. e.g. G. Weigand's study, *Die Wiedergabe der slavischen Laute in den Ortsnamen des Peloponnes*. In: *Balkan-Archiv IV* (1928), p. 1-52.

14. Of the linguistic studies published after Vasmer's work, two articles by J. Schröpfer are worth mentioning: *Slavisches in Mykene und Umgebung. Griechisch-Slavische Namen-, Wort-, und Mythenentlehnung*. In: *Die Kultur Südosteupas, ihre Geschichte und ihre Ausdrucksformen* (ed. by A. Schmaus et al.), Munich-Wiesbaden 1964, p. 277-302; and *eiusdem*, *Slavisches in Ortsnamen des Peloponnes, besonders der Argolis*. In: *Orbis Scriptus, Festschrift* for D. Tschizewskij (Munich 1966), p. 679-700.

15. Vasmer, *op. cit.*, p. 123-174.

16. Cf. nota 5 supra.

17. Cf. esp. D. Georgacis in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 41 (1941), p. 351-381; 42 (1943) 1949, p. 76-90; 43 (1950), p. 301-333.

18. Koder, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

19. Cf. infra nota 24.

20. Cf. D. Georgacis - W. A. McDonald, *Place Names of Southwest Peloponnesus*, Minneapolis 1967, p. 200.

21. On the etymology of *μουσγα* slav. *muzga* cf. Malingoudis, as cited in nota 24 *infra*, p. 71-72.

22. The appellative is encountered in a document dated April 1664 from Dimitiana. Cf. T. Gritsopoulos, Πωλητήρια καὶ δόλλα ἔγγραφα τῆς παρά τὴν Δημητράναν Μονῆς τοῦ Φιλοσόφου (1626-1787). In: 'Επετηρίς τοῦ ἀρχείου ταπορίας ἐλλην. δικαίου 3 (1950), p. 126.

23. Cf. Malingoudis, as cited in nota 24 *infra*, p. 97-98.

24. Cf. Ph. Malingoudis, *Studien zu den slavischen Ortsnamen Griechenlands. Teil 1: Slavische Flurnamen aus der messenischen Mani* (Akademie der Wissensch. und der Literatur Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- u. Sozialwissenschaft. Klasse, Jg. 1981, Nr. 3), Mainz-Wiesbaden 1981.

25. Malingoudis, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

26. D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na būgarskata narodnost*, Sofia 1971.

27. Cf. Malingoudis, *op. cit.*, p. 148-150, 180 et passim. Cf. etiam our forthcoming review, mentioned in nota 2 *supra*.

## GREGORY SINAITES' LEGACY TO THE SLAVS: PRELIMINARY REMARKS

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The XIVth century was undoubtedly one of the most notable periods in Byzantine and Slavonic literature. The Palaeologian era is commonly referred to as the Renaissance of literature and the Arts in the otherwise declining Byzantine Empire<sup>1</sup>. It was likewise a time of intellectual flourishing for the southern Slavonic countries, which, from the time of their christianisation, had benefitted from their closer contact with the intellectual life of Byzantium and the cultural development which this brought them<sup>2</sup>. During the XIVth century south Slavonic literature reached its peak just before the Turkish conquest. This peak of achievement extended to Russia too, where an extraordinary flowering took place at the precise period when the political foundations were being laid for the country's development into a mighty empire<sup>3</sup>.

An important part was played in this cultural flourishing by the Hesychast movement, which stamped its mark indelibly on the whole of the XIVth century. As we know, it began in Byzantium and spread first to the southern Slavs and subsequently to the Russians, creating amongst them centres similar to those of Byzantium<sup>4</sup>. Of course, a great deal has already been written about the influence of Hesychasm in the Slavonic countries<sup>5</sup>, but nevertheless many questions on the subject remain to be answered. These questions multiply when they reach back into the area of literature, in particular when it is a matter of determining the means by which the Byzantine Hesychast movement was passed on to the Slavs, and also when we have to locate the texts through which Hesychast ideas were transmitted. There is much work yet to be done in this field, as there is with regard to Gregory of Sinai and his works, the literary heritage he bequeathed to the Slavonic world. It would be wrong, of course, to say that extensive research has not already been conducted into Gregory's relations with and influence upon the Slavs, the Bulgarians in particular. Nevertheless, one has to agree that all the details of the dissemination of his writings through the Slavonic countries are by no means clear to us. And it is even more true to say that the extent of his influence upon the Serbs has not been sufficiently researched. This study, through an examination of cer-

tain selected philological details and texts, aims to advance our knowledge on the general subject of the Sinaite's legacy to the Bulgarians and the Serbs and to point out the main problems involved.

Gregory of Sinai was born in the second half of the XIIIth century in Koukoulon, a village in the district of Klazomena in Asia Minor<sup>6</sup>. From what his biographer, Patriarch Callistus, says of his origins we may conclude that Gregory's was a prosperous and noble family. At an early age he was forced to leave his homeland because of Turkish incursions into Asia Minor during the reign of Emperor Andronicus II. He was taken prisoner by the Turks together with his whole family and transported to Laodicea, where the Christians intervened to obtain his release. Once free, Gregory did not return home, but went to Cyprus, where he met a monk, whose influence led him to take his monastic vows. His stay on Cyprus was a short one, it seems, and we next see him entering the monastery of Mount Sinai, which still preserved the ascetic tradition of the great monastic teacher John Scholasticus, whose work the *Climax* is a renowned piece of religious literature<sup>7</sup>. In the Sinai Monastery he devoted himself to strict ascetic practice and thus distinguished himself amongst the other monks, a fact which aroused the jealousy of some of them. This decided Gregory to leave the monastery, never to return. He was joined in this decision by a certain monk named Gerasimus, who, according to Gregory's biographer, came from Euripos in Euboea and, as Syru conjectures, was of the family of Boniface of Verona (1296-1317)<sup>8</sup>. Accompanied by Gerasimus, Gregory landed on the south coast of Crete at the port which from ancient times has been known as Kaloi Limenes<sup>9</sup>. Since the adverse weather conditions were making it impossible for ships to depart from there, Gregory and his companion made their way into the interior of the island in search of an isolated place where they might devote themselves to their ascetic practice, eventually settling in a cave where they commenced a severe and exhaustive fast. While he was there Gregory met an old hermit by the name of Arsenius, with whom he formed the habit of conversing on religious matters. Arsenius asked Gregory what he knew about prayer, and on learning that his knowledge was purely "practical" and in no way "theoretical", he began to teach him about the Jesus Prayer, stillness and guarding of the intellect. Thus Gregory learned of the Jesus Prayer for the first time on Crete from Arsenius the monk; which means that the Jesus Prayer, which is the Hesychasts' primary characteristic<sup>10</sup>, was not being used in Sinai Monastery, at least at the time when Gregory was there.

After Gregory had been initiated into the practice of the Jesus Prayer by Arsenius he continued his travels, this time in the direction of Mount Athos, about which he must have heard a great deal, not only on Sinai but also from his mentor

on Crete. Clearly, his journey there must also have been inspired by his desire to find a place embodying the ideal conditions of isolation, so that he might seriously devote himself to his asceticism. Moreover, he must also have hoped to find on Athos a spiritual leader who would guide him in the practice of the Jesus Prayer and mystic experiences, as Arsenius had done previously. And so, on his arrival on Athos, Gregory began a tour of the monasteries and the *sketes* and even of the most isolated and unapproachable hermitages. It seems that he was greatly astonished to learn that although there were notable ascetics amongst the Athonite monks, nevertheless even the strictest of them were quite ignorant of Hesychast theory and of the Jesus Prayer (... εἰδον μέν ἀνθρώπους οὐκ διάγους πολιὰ τε καὶ συνέσει καὶ πάσῃ τῇ κατά τό ήδος σεμνότητι εἰς ὅσον πλεῖστον κεκοσμημένους οἵτινες τὴν ἀπασαν μέν σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο περί τό πρακτικόν εἰς ησυχίαν δέ τῇ καὶ νούς τήρησαν καὶ θεωρίαν ἐπερωτώμενοι οὐδέ εἰ δύναται ἐγνώριξον τοῦτο ἔλεγον. Pomjalovskij, 10). The only monks who had any knowledge of the Hesychast method<sup>11</sup> were Isaiah, Cornelius and Macarius, who lived in Magoula Skete opposite Philotheou Monastery<sup>12</sup>. Gregory built himself a hermitage near this *skete* and lived there in complete solitude. Later his biographer and disciple Callistus, in the course of conversations with his mentor, came to know of the mystic experiences Gregory passed through during his seclusion in this hermitage.

Gradually the fame of Gregory the Hesychast began to spread all over Mount Athos, and a considerable number of disciples soon began to converge upon him with the intention of living with him. His biographer gives us quite detailed information about the more distinguished amongst them, notably the following: Gerasimus<sup>13</sup> and Joseph, both from Euboea, Nicholas of Athens, Marcus of Klazomena (a close friend of Callistus'), Jacob, Bishop of Servia<sup>14</sup>, Aaron, Moses, Longinus, Cornelius, Isaiah and Clement, who was a Bulgarian<sup>15</sup>. Together with Callistus himself, these number twelve in all. We do not know whether this is a coincidence, or whether Callistus deliberately selected this number as a direct symbol for the Holy Apostles. The latter hypothesis, however, is more probable<sup>16</sup>. Since the Sinaite acquired so many disciples, we must suppose that he transformed his cell into a *skete*, either by enlarging it or by building further cells around it. Unfortunately, Callistus gives us no details about this and we have no means of knowing exactly how this small Hesychast community was laid out.

The method of watchfulness (*νηψίς*) and Hesychast prayer which Gregory had learnt from Arsenius the monk on Crete seems to have been quite new to the spiritual life of Athos. His biographer repeatedly stresses the fact that on Athos Gregory found no "theorists" (*θεωρητικούς*), that is monks who were well-versed in Hesychast mysticism. Of course, there was a continuing tradition of Hesychasm

on Athos<sup>17</sup>, which had remained unbroken until the arrival of the Sinaite. The new element he introduced into this tradition was a certain spiritual discipline – watchfulness (*νηψίς*), guarding of the intellect (*τήρησις νοός*), etc. – coupled with the technique of the Jesus Prayer, in which Arsenius had instructed him. This system, though it did not essentially conflict with Orthodox spirituality, nevertheless included elements which were unknown before the XIVth century and which had obviously been taken from Asiatic mysticism. Gregory systematised what he had learnt from Arsenius, drawing also on the rich stock of his own personal experiences, and developed his Hesychast teaching<sup>18</sup>, which he then passed on to the rest of the Athonites. We must certainly accept, however, that although Hesychasm appeared to suffer a decline in Gregory's time, it did undoubtedly survive, even though in very isolated cases. Two facts lead to this conclusion: first, as K. Ware<sup>19</sup> so rightly observes, Gregory was not far removed in time from Nicephorus the Athonite, whom we know to have been a great advocate of the Jesus Prayer on Mount Athos<sup>20</sup>. And secondly, we have to bear in mind the meeting between Gregory and Maximus Kausokalybes, in the course of which the latter disclosed to Gregory that he did in fact practise the Jesus Prayer<sup>21</sup>. The discreet manner in which he made this revelation clearly shows that the Jesus Prayer, even in its traditional form – that is, without the technique taught by the Sinaite – either was not generally accepted by the Athonites, or was sedulously guarded and reserved for a few select monks.

The Sinaite's teaching became widely known not only by the Hesychasts, who lived in isolated cells, but also by the monks in the monasteries, and strong opposition to this was soon raised. As his biographer tells us, this opposition came from the most learned monks (*τῶν ἐλλογιστέρων*)<sup>22</sup>, who saw Gregory's Hesychast method as something new, and informed him categorically that they did not wish anything to be taught that was not part of the traditional teaching (*μη θέλε διδάσκειν ήμας ὁδὸν οὐν ήμεῖς οὐδαμῶς ἐπιστάμεθα*). The use here of the word *ὁδός*, which has the same meaning as the words *τρόπος* and *μέθοδος*, clearly indicates that what the “most learned” Athonites found strange was the psychophysiological method of practising the Jesus Prayer<sup>23</sup>, and this was precisely the new element introduced by Gregory into traditional Athonite Hesychasm, and which was rejected principally by those who insisted upon an immutable and unchanging tradition<sup>24</sup>. Later the controversy between the Hesychasts and their opponents was to develop into a great theological and philosophical conflict involving the most distinguished Byzantine theologians of the time<sup>25</sup>. And there can be no doubt that it was the Sinaite's teaching which sparked off this conflict.

Although the controversy with the “learned” Athonites soon subsided after the intervention of the *Protos* in Karyes, Gregory nevertheless decided to leave Mount Athos. He stayed for a short time near Simonopetra Monastery and then left, his departure being considerably hastened by Turkish brigands attacking Athos<sup>26</sup>. And so, accompanied by his disciples, Callistus amongst them, he set off for Thessaloniki, intending ultimately to return to the monastery on Mount Sinai. He stayed in Thessaloniki for two months, and then, with Callistus and one other monk, whose name we do not know, he set off by boat for Chios, going via Mytilene, and arriving eventually in the Lebanon. But being unable to find a suitable place there in which to make his retreat, he went on to Constantinople and lived in the Aetos quarter for six months. Travelling once more by sea, he arrived in Sozopolis<sup>27</sup> c.1331, and from there moved on into the interior and deep into the Parorian desert (*ἐν βαθυτάτῳ τῆς ἑρήμου τῶν Παρορίων*) to a place called Mesomilion. There he found a monk answering to the name of Amiraless<sup>28</sup>. The Slavonic *Life of Theodosius of Tirnovo*, who was a disciple of the Sinaite's, informs us that Gregory came to a place situated between the Greeks and the Bulgarians (*въ място нѣкое иже тѣсть посреде гръцъ и българи*)<sup>29</sup>. His biographer says that, having been harassed by Amiraless and his disciple Luke, Gregory withdrew to Mount Katakekryomene. He stayed there for a short time and then set off for Constantinople and Mount Athos, only to return once more to Katakekryomene, where he settled and built a monastery<sup>30</sup>. Repeated efforts have been made in the past to establish the whereabouts of Paroria – that is, the area on the border between Byzantium and Bulgaria – and in particular the place where the Sinaite settled and built his monastery. At one time the theories advanced by Golubinskij<sup>31</sup>, Jirecek<sup>32</sup> and Syrku<sup>33</sup> prevailed – i.e. that Paroria and the monastery were either near Mount Sakar in Eastern Rumelia, or further north in the area of *Manastirski vâzvišenija*<sup>34</sup>. Kiselkov<sup>35</sup> completely overthrew these ideas, maintaining that Paroria and the Sinaite's monastery were in the region of Mount Strandža. A more recent study, written by Gorov<sup>36</sup> after extensive research, makes it even more clear that “Paroria is none other than the frontier mountain range of Bosna-Živak-Ugraš-Hadzijka Atliman in present-day Inner Strandža, and that the Sinaite's monastery was on the site of the present-day chapel of Sveta Petka (Balaklija), in the locality of Manastirat, on the right-hand bank of the mountain river Zaberska reka, between the villages of Zabernovo and Kalovo”<sup>37</sup>.

On Mount Katakekryomene Gregory built one principal monastery (*μεγάλην συνεστήσατο λαύραν*) and three smaller dependent monasteries (*καὶ ἔτεραι τρεῖς λαύραι*)<sup>38</sup>. On account of constant raids by brigands and possibly also the threat of an attack by the Kipčak Mongols led by khan Özbeg in 1341<sup>39</sup>, Gregory was

compelled to seek the protection and aid of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1371). The tsar evinced an immediate interest in the Sinaite's monastery and offered it substantial financial aid (*βασιλικῶς καὶ πλονιώς οἰκονομεῖ*)<sup>40</sup>, with which a church, cells, and above all a tower, were built, the monks being able to take refuge inside the last in the event of a raid<sup>41</sup>. Gregory spent the last years of his life in this monastery. Whenever he felt a need for solitude he would go to a cell he had built at a distance from the others especially so that he might be able to isolate himself from the rest of the monastery. And it seems that it was inside this cell that he died on 27th November 1346.

The period when Gregory was in Paroria was a glorious spiritual era in XIVth-century Hesychast monasticism. He acquired new disciples there whose number seems to have increased daily. Gregory brought the Hesychast traditions of Sinai and Athos unchanged to Paroria, where his disciples kept them alive and flourishing. One of his Greek disciples in Paroria was the renowned Hesychast writer David Disypatos<sup>42</sup>, who also worked with Gregory Palamas. Gregory also had a great many Bulgarian disciples in Paroria. His biographer informs us that his renown and his teaching had permeated the countries not only of the Greeks and the Bulgarians, but also of the Serbs (... ἀλλά καὶ αὐτῶν δήπου τῶν Σέρβων)<sup>43</sup>. On this point Theophanes the monk, biographer of Maximus Kausokalybes, is more communicative and certainly rather extreme, though he is also more informative. According to him, the Sinaite's renown had spread so far that Constantinople, the whole of Thrace and Macedonia and all of Bulgaria and the countries beyond the Danube and Serbia knew of him (... ἡ πᾶσα τῶν Βουλγάρων κατοίκησις καὶ τά πέρα "Ιστρου καὶ τῆς Σερβίας"). The influx of monks to Gregory in Paroria reached such proportions that Emperor Andronicus II, and the rulers of Bulgaria, Ivan Alexander, and of Serbia, Stephen Dušan<sup>44</sup>, had heard of him and expressed their interest; he had, in fact, written didactic letters to all these rulers<sup>45</sup>. It is worth noting that Theophanes' reference to the Sinaite's renown concerns Gregory's time in Paroria rather than on Mount Athos. Clearly, his fame began to reach its height after he settled in Paroria, which is when he began his literary work<sup>46</sup>.

Although we know that Gregory had Slav disciples in Paroria, we have no such information with regard to the time when he was on Mount Athos. Of course, the statement by his biographer Callistus that Gregory brought enlightenment to the countries of both the Bulgarians and the Serbs through his disciples clearly implies that he had Bulgarian and Serbian followers while he was on Athos. Of the Bulgarians, we already know the aforementioned Clement, but we do not know the name of a single one of his Serbian followers. This, naturally, does not preclude

the existence of Serbian disciples, but there is certainly no trace of the influence of Gregory's Hesychast teaching to be found in Serbia, at least during the first half of the XIVth century<sup>47</sup>. In any event, the facts at our disposal allow us to be quite certain that the Sinaite acquired distinguished Slav followers while he was in Paroria.

Gregory's Hesychast tradition was consolidated amongst the Bulgarians chiefly through the work of two eminent Bulgarian students of his, Theodosius of Tirnovo and Romylos of Vidin. Patriarch Callistus, who is also the author of the *Life* of Theodosius<sup>48</sup>, omits to mention where his subject was born, remarking simply that at a very early age he entered the Monastery of St Nicholas of Arčar in the district of Vidin. Following the death of the monastery's abbot he went to Tirnovo to take up residence in the Monastery of the Panaghia Hodegetria. Nor did he remain there long, for we soon see him settling in a monastery in the district of Červen, which, continuing his wanderings, he later left and came to the district of Sliven and settled in the Monastery of the Virgin Mary<sup>49</sup>. While he was at this monastery he came to hear for the first time of the Sinaite, who had by then settled in Paroria for the second time. The renown which accompanied Gregory concerned not only his personal virtues and his dedication to monastic ascesis, but also his Hesychast teaching, which introduced a new terminology, unknown and unused in the Bulgarian monasteries of the time: Съ огъво великии и юес-нии улъкъ и земльныи агѓълъ, не мало лѣт(ъ) сътвориъвъ иже оу нас стѣи горѣ аѡшн?сѹи и мишгыжъ наѹчи добрѣ же и непрѣстнѣ дѣланїи и видѣнїи. ибо тако въ истиной онъ бѣше обогатиъвъ се добродѣтѣлнъи(ъ) бѣзмльвіемъ, съдѣлавъи бжествнѣшдю онъ гороу, не тъуїто дѣнствнъимъ, но и оумнъимъ дѣланіемъ мыслънъимъ таѣкъ и агѓеламъ(ъ) тѣуњи иимъ<sup>50</sup>. The Sinaite's fame very soon brought Theodosius to his side and the young man proved to be one of his best disciples. But Theodosius was particularly useful to the Sinaite's monastery when brigand raids made the assistance of Tsar Ivan Alexander a necessity. It was he who was sent to the tsar to seek this help: and he remained with his spiritual mentor until the end of the latter's life. After this, and after much wandering (to Sliven, Athos, Thessaloniki, Mesemvria, Constantinople, Paroria), he came finally to Tirnovo, where he founded the Monastery of Kelifarevo and became its abbot. There Theodosius practised the Hesychast spirituality which he had learned from the Sinaite and acquired the same renown as his teacher had once had. As Gregory had done before him, so Theodosius built up around himself an international circle of followers<sup>51</sup>: коѫпно бш такъ добрѣ оутврьдан се на горѣ място шевиунѣ չокомое кре-

фаларево, слоуки прослоуцсе птицы бърѣшишіи повесоуда, облѣтае не тъги по самшь българскомъ вѣкоуше се родѣ, иѣ и Срѣбле и въ Оугри и Влахы и еще же и иже окрѣсть Месембра жибовушіихъ<sup>52</sup>. The period Theodosius spent in the Monastery of Kelifarevo was the most productive of his life. Surrounded by distinguished Hesychast monks of diverse nationalities, he succeeded in transporting Gregory's spiritual tradition from the borders right into the very capital of the second Bulgarian state, and Hesychasm was thus established as one of the principal manifestations of Bulgarian spiritual life during the middle of the XIVth century. It is no accident that the highly intelligent Tsar Ivan Alexander – who, after Symeon, seems to have been the only Bulgarian sovereign to take such a great interest in literature and the Arts<sup>53</sup> – encouraged the Hesychasts, knowing full well that by this support he would be contributing to the spread of their teaching. Hesychasm certainly influenced the ideological thinking of the time and created new categories of thought which until then had been quite unknown in Bulgaria<sup>54</sup>. The "spiritual work" (умное дѣланіе) preached by the Hesychasts tended towards spiritual interiority, and this found many more supporters than did the over-emphasis of Western humanism and rationalism<sup>55</sup>. The Hesychasts' resistance to Western rationalism preserved the equilibrium in terms of the already-established symbiosis between classical philosophical terminology and Byzantine mysticism<sup>56</sup>.

In 1363, when Theodosius left his monastery to go to Constantinople, where he died later the same year, the foundations of Hesychasm had already been firmly laid in Bulgaria. Theodosius passed on this heritage of Hesychast spirituality to his fellow-disciple and later Patriarch of Bulgaria, Euthymius, whose prolific writings set their seal on the era of the XIVth-century Bulgarian Hesychasts. This transmission of the Sinaite's Hesychast spirituality is excellently and concisely described by Euthymius' biographer when he writes of Theodosius: Сън Синайскаго шного и мншаго въ боговидѣни Григорія наслѣдова оумнаго житїа правило непрѣльстное, иже Парашорскыя горы испытныи разоумъ оуставомъ ни въ уесомже Синайскыя штаати горы оуправи, и мншго оубо блаженъи дешдосіе, сего же уюдныи Еѹдіміе прїемникъ житїоу и молитвѣ вѣше<sup>57</sup>. Euthymius was the first of the second generation of Gregory's disciples in Bulgaria. Born in Tirnovo c. 1320<sup>58</sup>, he became a monk at an early age in the Monastery of the Hodegetria, where Theodosius too had once lived for a time. Euthymius followed Theodosius when the latter founded the Monastery of Kelifarevo, and soon the two men had established a close friendship. Euthymius accompanied Theodosius on his journey to Constantinople in 1363, and after the latter's death there he

went on to Mount Athos, most probably with the intention of seeking out the roots of the Hesychast tradition as established by Gregory. The signs of his Hesychast convictions are vividly brought out in his letter to the subsequent Metropolitan of Russia, Cyprian, in which Euthymius extols quietude (**без мѧвїе**)<sup>59</sup>. The influence of Hesychasm permeates all Euthymius' writing<sup>60</sup>.

Euthymius spent the last years of his life as Patriarch of Bulgaria (1375-1393). His duties necessarily removed him from the monastic life and isolated him somewhat, which meant that he did not distinguish himself as a Hesychast teacher in the most literal sense, as Theodosius had done. And so, although the Sinaite's tradition lived on in Euthymius' time, it is not easy to determine exactly who were the agents of its survival. Moreover, with the Turkish conquest of Bulgaria in 1393, the intellectual centres there went into an abrupt decline and vanished; and consequently from Euthymius' time onwards it is not individuals so much as the surviving literary monuments, in the form of Bulgarian manuscripts, which bear witness to the continuity of the Hesychast tradition in Bulgaria.

The promulgation of the Sinaite's teaching amongst the Serbs followed a different course. Despite the explicit assurances in the *Life* of Gregory and the *Life* of Theodosius, and also the indirect testimony of the *Life* of Maximus Kausokalybites<sup>61</sup>, that Gregory's fame had permeated the Serbian world, which ought to lead us directly to the supposition that Gregory also had Serbian disciples on Athos, nevertheless the facts do not entirely support this conjecture. The tradition followed by the Serbian monks on Athos was possibly different from that of the Sinaite, without, however, coming into opposition with it. The fact that the Serbian Athonites remained faithful to the tradition established by the founder of their particular branch of monasticism, St Sava Nemanja (who, in his time, although he was a hermit, had not embraced the Hesychast method<sup>62</sup>), might possibly explain the Sinaite's lack of Serbian disciples on Athos. All the same, there is indirect evidence from manuscript data that the Sinaite had a certain influence on the Serbian monks of Mount Athos.

We have specific evidence that Gregory of Sinai's Hesychast spirituality penetrated into Serbia from the *Life* of Romylos the monk, a testimony that goes back to the time of Prince Lazarus (1371-1389). Romylos was born in Vidin of a Greek father and a Bulgarian mother<sup>63</sup>. At an early age he became a monk in the Monastery of the Hodegetria in Tirnovo, and it was while he was there that he heard about Gregory of Sinai, who was then in Paroria for the second time. Struck by Gregory's wide renown and in the face of his abbot's objections, Romylos went to Paroria and was accompanied by another monk, named Hilarion. There they remained until Gregory's death in 1364, after which they went to Zagora in the dis-

trict of Tirnovo. The rest of Romylos' life is a saga of ceaseless wandering. He returned to Paroria, as Gregory's biographer also did from Constantinople, and later the two of them, with Hilarion, set off once more for Zagora. But again they did not remain there long, and we see them moving backwards and forwards between Paroria, Zagora and Athos. They stayed on Athos for a fairly lengthy period. To begin with, Romylos lived in the Melana region, near Lavra Monastery<sup>64</sup>, subsequently moving to the foot of Athos mountain, where his disciple and biographer Gregory helped him to build a cell. He lived a hermit's life there until the death of the despot John Uglješa in 1371, which was followed by a Turkish attack on Mount Athos. This sent Romylos to the town of Valona on the Adriatic coast, where he lived for a short time; but later, disappointed by the low moral standards prevailing there, he set off with his disciples for Serbia<sup>65</sup>. He selected the environs of Ravanica Monastery for his place of asceticism, a monastery founded by Prince Lazarus in 1376 or 1377<sup>66</sup>. It would seem that, since Ravanica Monastery had maintained close relations with Mount Athos from the time of its foundation<sup>67</sup>, it offered Romylos a familiar environment. It was also his last home. After his death, his pupil and biographer Gregory<sup>68</sup> went to Serbia, where, together with the monks who went with him, he settled in Gornjak Monastery, which Prince Lazarus had set apart especially for him<sup>69</sup>. There Gregory built up a monastic centre of upholders of Gregory of Sinai's Hesychast tradition, and these monks became known in Serbian history as "Sinaites"<sup>70</sup>. It may have been due to these Hesychasts that during the time of Prince Lazarus the elements of Byzantine Orthodoxy gained strength in the spiritual life of Serbia, whereas western trends suffered the opposite effect<sup>71</sup>. Thus the Hesychast mystic tradition of Gregory of Sinai came into Serbia during the time of Prince Lazarus, and to a probably limited extent<sup>72</sup>. As a dogma and philosophical conviction, on the other hand, Hesychasm prevailed utterly in the Serbian Church during the XIVth century<sup>73</sup>.

We have seen, then, how the Sinaite's Hesychast circle came into being and who were the most important people to disseminate his teaching and to continue his work in Bulgaria and Serbia. Gregory of Gornjak is the last witness to the survival of Gregory's Hesychast circles in Serbia, and Theodosius the last in Bulgaria. It is consequently difficult for us to trace the Sinaite's tradition in Serbian and Bulgarian monastic circles thereafter. Can it be said, then, that the absence of witnesses indicates that the personality and teaching of Gregory of Sinai were forgotten by the Serbs and the Bulgarians? Assuredly not: the Bulgarian and Serbian manuscripts which have been preserved and comprise the *Life* and works of Gregory are clear proof of the survival of his teaching among these people and of the spiritual heritage he bequeathed them. It is to these manuscripts that we shall now

turn our attention. We should first like to emphasise, however, that any future research into the Slavonic manuscript tradition of the Sinaite's works should not examine the Bulgarian and Serbian translations separately, but rather should view them from the same perspective, bearing in mind that from the time of the complete subjugation of Bulgaria (1393) and Serbia (1459) the literature of the two countries is close in many respects. Moreover, the translations of the Sinaite's works and the making of new copies took place chiefly in monastic circles, in which Serbian and Bulgarian monks frequently lived together. The results of this close contact and collaboration are reflected in the literary monuments, in which Serbian linguistic trends are frequently to be found in texts of Bulgarian redaction and vice versa<sup>74</sup>. The Turkish conquest brought all the Balkan peoples closer together, and more so than any others the Serbs and the Bulgarians, whose cultural and spiritual life acquired mutual points of contact. And so their literary output, too, frequently shows itself to have developed within a context of mutual Serbo-Bulgarian collaboration<sup>75</sup>. This literary collaboration should be borne in mind when one is examining the history of the Bulgarian and Serbian translations of the *Life* and works of Gregory of Sinai during the XIVth and XVth centuries.

This *Life* provides us with information about his literary work. According to Callistus, Gregory wrote 150 chapters (κεφάλαια νηπτικά – ο τρεζβενῖη γλα-  
βηζηνī) during his first period in Paroria<sup>76</sup>. Their composition was inspired chiefly by his desire to instruct Amira, who, with his disciples, was opposed to Gregory's Hesychast teaching. Of course, these chapters mentioned by Callistus do not comprise the whole of Gregory's literary output<sup>77</sup>. His published works include the following:

I. Κεφάλαια δι' ἀκροστιχίδος πάνυ ωφέλιμα (*Capita valde utilia per acrostichidem*)<sup>78</sup>

Inc.: Λογικόν μέν εἶναι τινα ἡ γενέσθαι κατά φύσιν ...

Des.: ... καπηλεύων τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ κατακριθήσεται

Although Gregory's biographer says that he wrote 150 chapters in Paroria, in the printed editions of Nicodemus the Athonite and Migne we find only 137, numbered with letters of the Greek alphabet. This difference creates a problem, which, as we shall see, is not unrelated to the subject of the manuscript tradition of the Slavonic translations of the Sinaite's writings. In any event, it should be noted that Gregory's acrostic has exactly 137 letters corresponding exactly to the first letter of each of the 137 chapters. The acrostic, however, is unfinished<sup>79</sup>.

II. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔτερα κεφάλαια (*Eiusdem alia capita*)<sup>80</sup>

Inc.: Τὰς μεθηλικιώσεις πάσας ...

Des.: ... παρά ἀνθρώπων οἰκονομούμενος

This short piece by the Sinaite appears in different forms in the printed editions. In the *Philokalia* edition it has seven chapters, the first three clearly forming a single unit and bearing the same title, and the remaining four appearing to be quite independent, though, again, each has the same title. In the Migne edition there are again seven chapters, each numbered with a Greek letter, the difference being that the fourth, fifth and sixth chapters have titles. As we do not know exactly which Greek manuscript was used in the redaction of the *Philokalia*<sup>81</sup>, it is difficult to decide what form these chapters originally took.

III. Εἰδησις ἀκριβής περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ προσευχῆς (*Accurata dissertatio de quiete et oratione*)<sup>82</sup>

Inc.: Ἐδει μέν ἡμᾶς εἰπεῖν ...

Des.: ... μικρόν ἐκδιώξη ἐξ αὐτοῦ

This work is in ten chapters numbered with Greek letters, only the third chapter bearing a title.

IV. Περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς (*De quietudine et duobus orationis modis*)<sup>83</sup>

Inc.: Δύω τρόποι εἰσίν ἐνώσεως ...

Des.: ... ἐν καμῷ τούτων δρέψεται

Like the Sinaite's preceding works, this too is divided into chapters, numbering fifteen altogether. Of these, numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 10 and 11 each have individual titles. The oldest known manuscript of this work is MS 197 of Metamorphoseos Monastery at Meteora and dates from the XIVth century. On fol. 213v-219v all fifteen chapters are to be found under the following title: Εἰδησις μικρά περὶ ἡσυχίας Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σιναϊτοῦ πρὸς τὸν γρηγοροῦντα δοιάτατον Νήφωνα κατέπωντον, προτραπέντος παρ' αὐτοῦ· κεφάλαια τε<sup>84</sup>. They also have the same title in MS 506 of Iviron Monastery<sup>85</sup>, which dates from the XVth century. Given that these two are amongst the oldest Greek manuscripts of Gregory's works, we must suppose that this was the original title of these chapters, and that they were in fact written for a monk named Nephon, just as the 150 chapters were written because of Amiraless.

V. Περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καθέξεσθαι τὸν ἡσυχάζοντα εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν καὶ μὴ ταχέως ἀνίστασθαι (*Quomodo oporteat sedere hesychastam ad orationem nec cito asurgere*)<sup>86</sup>

Inc.: Ποτέ μέν ἐπὶ σκάμνου ...

Des.: ... τὰ τοῦ σατανᾶ φαντάσματα

Unlike the others, this work is divided not into numbered chapters, but simply by titles. From these titles one may gather that there are a total of seven chapters, the last one being headed by a question, rather than a title as such. The first four chapters form a single unit, as is indicated not only by their content, but also by the fact that the fourth chapter has a conclusion and finishes with "amen". The three remaining chapters are more loosely connected with these first four.

In addition to these works by the Sinaite there are others bearing his name in the Greek manuscripts; but the question of whether or not they are in fact by his hand has yet to be examined. Apart from a *Λόγος εἰς τὴν θείαν Μεταμόρφωσιν* (Inc.: "Οσοι τὴν θέαν τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς δόξης ...)<sup>87</sup> Gregory is considered also to have composed a number of hymnographical texts<sup>88</sup>. Unfortunately, sufficient research has not been conducted into the Greek manuscript tradition of his works for us to know exactly what may and may not be attributed to him.

Callistus' statement that Gregory wrote the 150 chapters during his first visit to Paroria leads us to conclude that they were translated into Slavonic immediately afterwards. The first translation must undoubtedly have been made by Bulgarian monks with a knowledge of Greek, who translated it into Bulgarian, most probably according to the orthographical system in use before the reformation introduced by Patriarch Euthymius<sup>89</sup>. In his *Life of Theodosius*, Callistus mentions a Bulgarian monk with a perfect knowledge of Greek, who made skilful translations from Greek into Slavonic (имѣаше же и даръ ѿ българи и словенскыи прѣлагати єзыкъ хъитрѣ же и умоднѣ и мнѡгыи книгы и прѣложивъ, црковное оукраси състоаніе)<sup>90</sup>. There must certainly have been such individuals in Gregory's circle too, but the task of translating his works into Bulgarian and Serbian must have been begun during his lifetime and must have been carried out by several persons in collaboration. The oldest Bulgarian translations of the Sinaite's works are to be found in codices written during the third quarter of the XIVth century or very shortly afterwards. The most important, if not the oldest, of these is MS 80 of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and dates from the second half of the XIVth century<sup>91</sup>. It is a very interesting *Sbornik*, originating from the so-called "literary school" of Tirnovo, and for the most part comprises works by Byzantine ascetic and mystical writers, a fact which witnesses to its monastic origin. On fol. 86r-126v we read: Григоріја Сінанта, главы і съ краєгранесіемъ չѣло полезныи. иже краєгранесіе нес сїе. словаца разлиуна, а заповѣдаехъ. велѣниихъ. прѣшениихъ. и обѣтованіихъ. еще же и в помыслочъ. и страстехъ. и добродѣтельехъ. неше же и в вѣзмльви и мѣтвѣ, иже краєгранесіе, се. Inc.: Словесноу оубо бытми...

This is the longest of Gregory's works, comprising 137 chapters in the Greek editions. In this Bulgarian translation the title corresponds exactly with the Greek, but the text is somewhat modified; and in the Greek editions the chapters have no individual titles, whereas here some of them have:

ΛΓ: **Ш МЖКАХЬ**  
М: **Ш ОБЕТОВАНИХЬ**  
З: **Ш ПОМЫСЛОХЬ**  
oe: **Ш СТРСТХЬ**  
ПГ: **Ш ДОБРОДѢЛЕХЬ**  
УД: **Ш БЕЗ'МЛВИ**  
рай: **Ш МОЛИТВЕ**

In addition to these changes, we have here 142 chapters, rather than 137, though chapters 114 and 115 have been combined, so making it appear that there are 141 altogether. Chapters 140 and 141, though numbered differently, nevertheless have the same titles: **Ш СТРАСТНМЬ ИЗМЕНЕНИИ** and **Ш БЛАЗНМЬ ИЗМЕНЕНИИ**.

On folios 126v-132r there is Gregory's ten-chapter treatise: **Виденіе иже вѣст[и]о ш беъмльви и мѣтвѣ и єще же и ш ѣнаменихъ блгатныих и прѣльстныих, и что разлнчие топлотѣ и демствѹ и како кроме наставника оугодез съвходитъ прѣльстъ.** However, instead of 10 chapters, as in the Greek edition, here there are 12. In addition, whereas in the Greek text only the third chapter has a title, here chapter 8 (**о авѣстѣ**) and chapter 10 (**о прѣльстї**) also have titles; and chapter 10 in the Bulgarian translation is several lines longer than the corresponding Greek text. The two extra chapters in the Bulgarian version are brief and have the following *incipit* and *desinit*:

Chapter 11. Inc.: **Подоваетъ вѣдѣти како прѣльстъ...**  
Des.: **...наслажденіе всегдашнее стажавше.**

Chapter 12. Inc.: **Брань оубо авѣма нѣкы има...**  
Des.: **...иже паче икоугашаетъ та и смрадъ штгонить.**

This short work is followed by a, likewise short, commentary to chapter 6, verse 12 of St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, though there is no indication in the title that it was written by Gregory:

fol. 132r-132v: **Тлькъ ш еже нѣсть брань нашъ къ крѹви и пльти.**

Inc.: **Станішє есть, добродѣлемъ растоаніе...**

We know of no such work by Gregory in the original Greek.

There follow (fol. 132v-134r) excerpts from a work by John of Damascus, though the name of the author is not mentioned. From fol. 134r to 141r there are short notes with the following titles:

fol. 134r-134v: **ш црковнemъ сїен'нонауальстви**  
fol. 134v-135r: **кое есть срѣднѣго едїньстъвнаго жительства оустроенїе.**  
fol. 135r-135v: **тлькъ ш сїен'нонауальстви.**  
fol. 135v-136r: **что есть едїньстъвнаго жительства еже по добродѣтели сїен'нонауальство и како съврѣшаетса.**  
fol. 136r-137v: **тлъкованіе о разлнчн сїен'нонауал'наго оустроенїа.**  
fol. 137v-138r: **что есть шбразъ иноуьскаго жительства и что шбразованіа коегождо истина.**  
fol. 138v: **кое есть по иноуьскомъ жительствѣ сїен'нонауалне.**  
fol. 138v-139r: **о шбразѣ ӡрака иноуьскаго шаданїа.**  
fol. 139r-140v: **что сжть шбрази црквнаго и сїен'нонауал'наго оустроенїа.**  
fol. 140v-141r: **ш еже како подобаетъ вѣзимати милостына беъз'мльвиикоу.**

In Kodov's opinion<sup>92</sup> these are commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagites' work on ecclesiastical hierarchy (*Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἴεραρχίας*) and are quite unconnected with the well-known commentaries of Maximus the Confessor and the paraphrases of Pachymeres. Kodov finds that these commentaries and Gregory's works bear a considerable resemblance in both language and style and considers the similarities to permit the supposition that these too were written by Gregory.

On fol. 141r-152r there is Gregory's essay *De quietudine*, which in the Greek edition is in seven chapters:

**Ш беъз'мльви Григорія Сїанта главицни ш еже како подобаетъ сѣдѣти въ беъз'мльви.**

Inc.: **Овогда оубо на столе...**

In contrast to the published Greek original, instead of seven chapters here we find a total of ten chapters. The original seven are numbered as eight, which means that two have been added; they bear the following titles:

Chapter 9: **нравы божіаго промысла.**

Chapter 10: **ш самовласти нашемъ.**

On fol. 152r-160v there is Gregory's fifteen-chapter work *De quietudine*: **Сказание малое Григорія инона Сїанта о беъз'мльви въ главицнах патнадесатих. о шбразѣх мѣтвѣ.**

Inc.: **Два шбраза сжть съединенїа...**

As in the published Greek edition here too there are fifteen chapters, and there are no differences between this translation and the original Greek edition.

From what we have seen up to this point, it is clear that in the manuscript containing the oldest known Bulgarian translation of Gregory of Sinai's works there are obvious differences between the translation and the published Greek original. With the limited knowledge we possess at present about the Greek manuscript tradition of these works, it is not easy to explain these differences. Kodov conjectures<sup>93</sup> that the Slav translator must have been working from a Greek manuscript of the Sinaite's works which is unknown to us today. It is certainly impossible to disagree with Kodov, for all the facts support this hypothesis, and it is indeed particularly valid with regard to the differences and the additions in the Bulgarian translations of those of the Sinaite's works known to us in the original Greek. At first sight, the facts would seem to be as Kodov sees them; but nevertheless we should not rule out the possibility that the additions were made directly in Slavonic and dictated by Gregory himself. It is also quite possible that the translations were supplemented by an unknown Slav monk, either Bulgarian or Serbian, from notes he had made himself during the Sinaite's teachings or in the course of discussions with him. Concerning the other works which are not to be found in the original Greek, we must suppose that they were translated directly as they were written by Gregory in Paroria. If one considers that Gregory wrote his works on Bulgarian territory it is easy to see why they were more widely known in their Slavonic translation than in the original Greek. It is highly probable that the Greek prototype remained in Bulgaria and was lost in the turmoil of the Turkish conquest. As far as the commentaries on fol. 134r-141r are concerned, it is difficult to decide if they really are commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagites, since they have not yet been published and it is not possible to read them in their entirety. At all events, if they are indeed commentaries on the Pseudo-Dionysius, then they are of particular significance, given that these writings were translated into Slavonic for the first time in the XIVth century<sup>94</sup>. If we agree that they are indeed commentaries on areopagitica, written by Gregory, then we should perhaps have to agree that they were translated into Slavonic during Gregory's lifetime, in which case we have to admit that he wrote them *ad hoc*, on the occasion of the Slavonic translation of the areopagitica. If this is indeed the case, then hitherto accepted views will have to be reconsidered and the Slavonic translation of the areopagitica will have to be considered as a product of Bulgarian, Serbian and Greek collaboration in monastic circles during the second quarter of the XIVth century. And we shall have to attribute to Isaiah the monk not the labour of the whole translation, but only its final editing. Of course, these problems will not be solved until the commentaries have been published and studied in depth.

The second oldest Bulgarian manuscript of works by Gregory of Sinai may be considered to be MS 1036 of the National Library of Sofia, which also dates from the third quarter of the XIVth century<sup>95</sup>. On fol. 159r-281r there is the Sinaite's longest work, the 137 chapters. On fol. 281r-184v we find the ten-chapter work, and on fol. 285v-290v the supposed commentaries on the Areopagite writings. On fol. 291r-296v there is Gregory's short treatise *De quietudine*. The manuscript in question is a *Paterik* and is similar in many respects to the previous manuscript.

The oldest Serbian manuscript containing a work by the Sinaite is a collection of ascetic works, Panteleimon MS 28, which was probably written in 1364<sup>96</sup>. On fol. 43v, with no author's note, the first chapter of the Sinaite's seven-chapter work has been inserted: *Ш томъ како подобајеть седѣти въ бѣзмльви*. Inc: *Овогда оубо на столъ...* On fol. 44r, again with no author's note, the third chapter of the same work has been inserted, with the title: *Ш томъ како подобајеть дръжати оумъ*. Inc: *Радоумъ и како никто же может...* If the manuscript's dating to 1364 is correct<sup>97</sup>, then it follows that only eighteen years after his death in 1346 the Sinaite's works had established him as an eminent Hesychast writer and had already taken their place amongst the works of other great ascetic writers<sup>98</sup>.

The second oldest Serbian manuscript, Hilandar MS 640, contains a far greater number of Gregory's works. In fact it comprises two manuscripts bound together, the first dating from the last quarter of the XIVth century; the second dates from c. 1370<sup>99</sup>, which puts it chronologically quite close to the Panteleimon Monastery manuscript. This second manuscript comprises the following works by Gregory of Sinai: fol. 62r, the acrostic chapters (*Съ кратегранесніемъ*), 142 altogether; fol. 105, the fifteen chapters *о бѣзмльви*; and fol. 116v, the work *Ш еже како подобајеть седѣти въ бѣзмльви*, which breaks off after the sixth chapter. The first of these two manuscripts contains three hymnological works bearing the Sinaite's name: fol. 49v, Canon to the Holy Virgin; fol. 52r, Canon to the Holy Cross; and fol. 52v, Canon to the Holy Fathers. The appearance of hymnological works bearing the Sinaite's name in such an old Serbian manuscript urgently raises the question of their authenticity. To begin with, there seem to be two important reasons why Gregory should not have been the author of these works. The first is that the Greek manuscript tradition has not preserved them in their entirety, and the second is that the Hesychast teachers avoided church services, preferring to replace them with the Jesus Prayer; consequently, Gregory would have had no reason to compose canons. The first reason, being an *e silentio* argument, cannot be accepted seriously. The second is certainly more

forceful, but exceptions do exist here. The Thessaloniki-born Patriarch of Constantinople, Philotheos Kokkinos, who was a supporter of the Hesychasts and a disciple of Gregory Palamas and himself came from strict monastic circles, was nevertheless an eminent composer of ecclesiastical hymns<sup>100</sup>. Moreover, the Hesychasts were characterised not by one-sidedness, but by their broadness of scope<sup>101</sup>, and their spirituality enforced no specific rules or conditions upon them. And so in this particular case there is nothing to preclude the Sinaite from having composed hymnological works of which the Greek original has been lost, as has happened in other cases. The question of whether the Sinaite really did compose these hymnological works will be answered when their acrostic has been studied, from which it may be possible to reconstruct the original Greek. The vocabulary too may help in this respect and should be studied and compared with that used in the Sinaite's other works.

Through the Bulgarian and Serbian Slavonic manuscript tradition the Sinaite's works also became known in distant Russia. The renowned XVth-century Russian ascetic Nil Majkov or Sorskij (1433-1508) made no small contribution to their dissemination, and frequently referred to Gregory of Sinai in his own works<sup>102</sup>. The great number of monastic centres in Russia, and particularly those in the North, created appropriate conditions for the dissemination of the Sinaite's works and for the making of a great number of copies<sup>103</sup>. In northern Russia monasticism was more austere<sup>104</sup>, and the Sinaite's Hesychast spirituality was warmly accepted because it corresponded to a great extent to what was wanted there. And so the tradition of the Sinaite's Hesychast prayer and spirituality, which had flourished in the southern Slavonic countries during the XIVth century, was consolidated in the centuries which followed — that is, in ages which were chronologically far removed from the time of the great Hesychast teacher.

Gregory's works came back into the Slavonic limelight in the XVIIIth century when the Ukrainian monk Paisij Veličkovskij (1722-1794) decided to revise their medieval translation. Using the Greek originals and medieval Slavonic translations, Veličkovskij proceeded to make a new translation into the common Church Slavonic which had been formulated in the mid-XVIIth century<sup>105</sup>. The importance of this translation was particularly emphasised by the fact that Veličkovskij's spiritual father, the monk Basil of Poiana Mărului, himself wrote a special foreword to the Sinaite's works<sup>106</sup>. There is a great need for a minute philological and textological study of Veličkovskij's translation compared with the medieval Slavonic translations and the Greek original. It would especially help us to evaluate the essence of Hesychast terminology, which has prevailed in the Slavonic, and particularly the Russian, world for the past two centuries.

All that has been said hitherto is enough to show that Gregory Sinaites was a Greek spiritual figure who was closely connected with the Bulgarian and the Serbian worlds and had a deep and lasting influence on them both. His spiritual legacy to the southern Slavs extended up into Russia too, where it found suitable ground to remain fruitful for centuries. In spite of all this, however, his literary work, both in the original Greek and in Slavonic translation, is still waiting to be studied in depth. The fact that the Sinaite's works were being copied in manuscript in the Slavonic countries up until the beginning of the last century is enough for us to appreciate the dimensions of the philological and textological work which will have to be carried out upon them. First of all, the works bearing the Sinaite's name must be located in the Greek manuscripts and the question of what is actually by his hand clarified. Next, the medieval Bulgarian and Serbian translations must be studied with the aim, amongst other things, of elucidating which of his works have been preserved only in Slavonic translation. In a comparative study of the Greek original and the Slavonic translations, the Slavonic vocabulary must be carefully examined from a semantic point of view with respect to the mystic and ascetic notions it expresses. The path these translations (whether Bulgarian or Serbian is yet another question) travelled to reach Russia is a subject which should interest us greatly. Was the semantic value of the terminology distorted in the translation of Russian redaction? A rough comparison of the vocabulary of Gregory's works in the Greek *Philokalia* and the Slavonic *Dobrotoljubie* — which is Veličkovskij's translation<sup>107</sup> — convinces us of the need for research into this aspect of the subject too. All these problems, in addition to the historical and philological questions which will arise in the course of research, must be solved if we are to comprehend the full extent of the influence of this great Hesychast upon the Slavonic world.

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1. S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970.

2. An enormous amount has been written about the south Slavonic literary flowering which took place during this period. An account of the basic problems connected with this, together with the most important books on the subject, may be found in V. Mošin's brilliant study, O periodizaciji rusko-južnoslavenskih književnih veza, *Slovo*, 11-12 (1962) 92-125 (the same article has also been published in Russian in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, XIX (1963) 85-106).

3. It should be noted at this point that the Hesychast movement contributed greatly to the establishment of centres of Greek-Slavonic literary collaboration. Concerning these cen-

tres, see I. Dujčev, Centry vizantijsko-slavjanskogo obšćenija i sotrudničestva, *Trudy Otd. drevnerussk. lit.*, XIX (1963) 106-129; G. I. Vzdornov, Rol' slavjanskih monastyrskikh masterskih pis'ma Konstantinopolja i Afona v razvitiu knigopisanija i chudožestvennogo oformlenija russkih rukopisej na rubeže XIV-XV vv., *Trudy Otd.*, XXIII (1968) 170-198; I. Dujčev, Russkij Panteleimonovskij monastir' na Afone kak centr russko-bolgarskikh svjazej v period srednovekovija, *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, Sbornik 10 (Sverdlovsk 1973) 95-98. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, Mount Athos and the Slavic Literatures, *Cyrillomethodianum*, IV (1978) 1-35. Concerning south Slavonic and Bulgarian influence in Russia, see, in addition to Mošin's article mentioned in note 2, the following publications: D. S. Lichačev, Nekotorye zadači izuchenija vtorogo južnoslavjanskogo vlijanija v Rossii, *IV Meždunarodnyj s'ezd slavistov. Doklady*, Moskva 1958, 5-48; I. Snegarov, *Duchovno-kulturni vrázki među Bălgarija i Russija prez srednите vekove (X-XV v.)*, Sofia 1950, 59-93; idem, K istoriji kulturnych svjazej među Bolgarije i Rossijej v konce XIV - načale XV v., *Meždunarodnye svjazi Rossii do XVIII v.*, Moskva 1961, 275-278; P. Dinekov, *Iz istorijata na bălgarskata literatura*, Sofia 1969, 97-119; J. Ivanov, Bălgarskoto knižovno vlijanie v Rusija pri mitropolit Kiprian (1375-1406), *Izvestija na Inst. za bălg. literatura*, VI (1958) 26-65; B. St. Angelov, *Iz istorijata na rusko-bălgarskite literaturni vrázki*, Kniga vtorata, Sofia 1980, 48-78; Dj. Sp. Radojičić, *Južnō-slovensko-ruske kulturne veze do početka XVIII veka*, Kruševac 1967.

4. For a general discussion of the subject, together with the relevant bibliography, see D. Obolensky, *Late Byzantine Culture and the Slavs. A Study in Acculturation*, Athens 1976 (= *XVe Congrès international d'études byzantines. IV. Pensée, Philosophie, Histoire des Idées*).  
2. *Rayonnement de la culture et de la civilisation byzantine après 1204*, Athènes 1976; J. Kolev, Isichasti i slavjanskaja literaturnaja dejatel'nost' na Balkanach v XIV veke, *Etudes balkaniques*, 15 (1979) 3, 104-116.

5. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, Le monachisme serbe de saint Sava et la tradition hésychaste athonite, *Hilandarski zbornik*, I (1966) 83-89.

6. The Greek *Life* of the Sinaite has been published by I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie ite vo svya-tych otca našego Grigorija Sinaita po rukopisi Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*, Sanktpeterburg 1894 (= *Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskago fakulteta Imperatorskago S-Peterburgskago Universiteta*, No. 35). The Greek *Life* had previously been published in abridged form and in the popular language by Nicodemus Hagioireites in *Néou Ἔκλογων*, Constantinople 1863, 292-304. The Slavonic translation of the *Life* has been published by P. Syrku, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita, sostavленное Константинопольским патриархом Каллистом*. Tekst slavjanskogo perevoda Žitija po rukopisi XVI veka i istoriko archeologičeskoe vvedenie, S-Peterburg 1909 (= *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i ikusstva CLXXII*). Concerning the relationship between the Greek text and the Slavonic translation, see A. I. Jacimirskij, Iz kritiko-literaturnych nabljudenij nad Žitiem Grigoria Sinaita, *Vizantijskij vremennik*, XV (1908) 1910, 300-331; D. V. Gonis, *Tό συγγραφέων των οικουμενικού πατριάρχου Καλλίστου Α'*, (The Writings of the Ecumenical Patriarch Callistus I), Athens 1980, 29-68, which includes a very full bibliography on the *Life*. To Gonis' bibliography should be added the following articles: H. Keipert, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzung ins Slavische: Die Wiederholungsfiguren in der Kallistos-Vita des Gregorios Sinaites, *Slavistische Studien zum VIII. internationalen Slavistenkongress in Zagreb 1978*, Köln-Wien 1978, 205-217; A. Lägreid, R. Glockner, H. Walter, Die kirchenoslavische Vita des Grigorios Sinaites und ihre griechische Vorlage. Überlegungen zum Stil hesychastischer Übersetzungen, *Festschrift für Rupprecht Rohr zum 60. Geburtstag*, Heidelberg 1979,

293-311; A. Lägreid, Einige Grundsätze hesychastischer Hagiographie nach den Proömien zweier Viten des Patriarchen Kallistos, *Festschrift für Linda Sadnik zum 70. Geburtstag*, Freiburg 1981, 231-248 (= *Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris. Tom XV*). Cf. the series of articles which D. Balfour has begun to publish, Saint Gregory of Sinai's Life Story and Spiritual Profile, *Θεολογία* 53/1 (1982) 30-62. So far, however, the series has ignored the abundant Slavonic literature on the subject. Of all that has been written about Gregory of Sinai, the most important works are: P. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke. II, Vremja i žizn' patriarcha Evfimija Ternovskago*, Sanktpeterburg 1898, 61-110, 149-156; K. Radčenko, *Religioznoe i literaturnoe dviženije v Bolgarii v epochu pered tureckim zavojevaniem*, Kiev 1898, 51-168; J. Bois, Grégoire le Sinaïte et l'hésychasme à l'Athos au XIVe siècle, *Echos d'Orient*, V (1901-1902) 65-73; V. Sl. Kiselkov, *Grigorij Sinait predstavitel na mysticizma v Vizantija prez XIV vek*, Sofia 1928; E. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays roumains*, Paris 1947, 5-15. Concerning Gregory's native home, Koukoulon, and its surroundings, see Syrku, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita*, p. I-III.

7. See D. Bogdanović's brilliant study, *Jovan Lestvičnik u vizantijskoj i staroj srpskoj književnosti*, Beograd 1968.

8. Pomjalovskij, *op. cit.*, 7. Cf. Syrku, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita*, XXII-XXIV.

9. This place is mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, XXVII, 8. Cf. J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, I, Edinburgh 1926<sup>2</sup>, 389.

10. The Jesus Prayer was the way by which the Hesychast was led to the mystic experience of the vision of the uncreated light. A great deal has been written on this subject: cf. I. Hausherr, *La méthode de l'oraison hésychaste*, Rome 1927 (= *Orientalia christiana IX*); idem, Note sur l'invention de la méthode hésychaste, *Orientalia christiana*, XX (1930) 179-182; idem, L'hésychasme: étude de spiritualité, *Orient. chr. periodica*, XXII (1956), 5-40, 247-285; idem, *Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison*, Rome 1960 (= *Orientalia christ. analecta 157*); Un moine de l'Eglise d'Orient, *La prière de Jésus. Sa genèse et son développement dans la tradition religieuse byzantino-slave*, Chevetogne 1951; M. Jugie, Les origines de la méthode d'oraison des hésychastes, *Echos d'Orient*, XXX (1931) 179-185; G. Wunderle, *Zur Psychologie des hesychastischen Gebets*, Würzburg 1947; E. Behr-Sigel, La prière à Jésus, ou le mystère de la spiritualité monastique orthodoxe, *Dieu vivant*, No. 8 (1947) 69-94; M. Marx, *Incessant Prayer in Ancient Monastic Literature*, Rome 1946; B. Krivochein, Date du texte traditionnel de la "Prière de Jésus", *Messager de l'Exarchat du patriarche russe en Europe occidentale*, Paris 1951, Nos. 7-8, 55-59; B. Schultze, Untersuchungen über das Jesus-Gebet, *Orient. christ. per.*, XVIII (1952) 319-343; H. de B., La prière du coeur, *Messager ... No. 4 (1953) 13-40*; W. Nölle, Hesychasmus und Yoga, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 47 (1954) 95-103; L. Regnault, La prière continue 'monologistos' dans la littérature apophategmatique, *Irénikon*, XLVII (1974) 467-493; K. T. Ware, 'Pray Without Ceasing'. The Ideal of Continual Prayer in Eastern Monasticism, *Eastern Churches Review*, II (1969) 253-261; idem, The Jesus Prayer in St Gregory of Sinai, *East. Ch. R.*, IV (1972) 3-22; M. Van Parys, La Liturgie du Coeur selon saint Grégoire le Sinaïte, *Irénikon*, 51 (1978) 312-337. For a full bibliography of books published in the 1970's concerning Hesychasm and related subjects, see D. Stiernon's article, Bulletin sur le Palamisme, *Revue des études byzantines*, 30 (1972) 231-341. Cf. I. P. Medvedev, Sovremennaja bibliografija isichatskich sporov v Vizantii XIV v., *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, 10 (1973) 270-275.

11. Pomjalovskij, *op. cit.*, 10.

12. Magoula Skete was originally a monastery in the Mylopotamos area, between Iviron and Philotheou Monasteries. There were other monasteries there, too (Kaspakos, St Elias, Kravatou), which, having declined as monasteries, came into the possession of Lavra Monastery. See *Actes de Lavra*. Première partie. Des origines à 1204, Paris 1970, 67 (= Archives de l'Athos, V). Cf. E. Kourilas, Τό κέντρον τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡσυχαστῶν, ἡ σκήτη τοῦ Μαγουλᾶ ἐν Ἀθῷ καὶ ὁ πατριάρχης Κάλλιστος ὁ Α' (The Centre of the Ancient Hesychasts, Magoula Skete on Athos and Patriarch Callistus I), 'Αγιορειτική βιβλιοθήκη, 18 (Volos 1953) 127-134, 199-207, 275-282. With regard to the monasteries mentioned above, and others in this area, a good deal of confusion reigns in the works of recent writers. Cf. V. L. Dentakis, Βίος καὶ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀγίου Φιλοθέου (Κοκκίνου), πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1353-1354 καὶ 1364-1376) τοῦ Θεολόγου (The Life and Service of St Philotheos (Kokkinos) Patriarch of Constantinople (1353-1354 and 1364-1376) and Theologian), 'Επιστημονική 'Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 17 (1971) 564, 576-577, 580-581. In his article mentioned above Kourilas attempts, though not entirely successfully, to clarify matters. Since this area played a significant part in XIVth-century Athonite monasticism, a special study will eventually have to be devoted to it.

13. It seems that Gerasimus did not follow Gregory to Magoula Skete immediately, but came along some time later. Callistus informs us that when Gregory came to the *skete* he lived there quite alone. See Pomjalovskij, *op. cit.*, 10.

14. This Jacob has been wrongly identified as Bishop Jacob of Serres. See Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig*, I, 69, note 2, and V. Rozov, Sinaci v Serbi v XIV veke, *Byzantinoslavica*, I (1929), 19. For a correction of this mistaken opinion, see I. Sokolov, *Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego Grigorija Sinaita*, Moskva 1904, 109. Cf. Tachiaos, Le monachisme serbe de saint Sava, 88, note 12.

15. Concerning some of the Sinaite's disciples, and in particular his biographer Callistus, see Syrku, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita*, XXI-LXIV.

16. This is indicated by what Callistus himself says about the Sinaite's disciples. Pomjalovskij, 30.

17. J. Bois, Les hésychastes avant le XIVe siècle, *Echos d'Orient*, V (1901) 1-11. Interesting information about the Athonite Hesychasts' manner of prayer at the beginning of the XIIIth century is given by the Russian monk Dositheos, who visited Mount Athos c. 1219. See A. S. Gorskiy, O snošenijach russkoj cerkvi s svyatogorskimi obiteljami do XVIII-go stoljetija, *Pribavlenija k izdaniju tvorenij sv. otcov*, VI (1848) 134-135. Concerning the continuity of Hesychast tradition and teaching, see also Archim. Kiprian [Kern], Duchovnye predki svatogo Grigorija Palamy (Opyt misticeskoy rodoslovnoi), *Bogoslovskaja mysl'*. Trudy Pravoslavnago bogoslovskago Instituta v Parize, Paris 1942, 102-131.

18. Concerning the Sinaite's teaching, see Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig*, I 1, 167-211; Radčenko, *Religioznoe i literaturnoe dviženie*, 61-98; G. Papamichael, 'Ο ἀγιος Γρηγόριος Παλαμᾶς δρχειπίσκοπος Θεσσαλονίκης (St Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessaloniki), Petropolis-Alexandria 1911, 48-55; K. Ware, The Jesus Prayer in St Gregory of Sinai, *Eastern Churches Review*, IV (1972) 3-22.

19. Ware, *The Jesus Prayer*, 5, 21-22.

20. Gregory Palamas mentions him in his speeches in support of the Hesychasts. See Γρηγόριον τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα (Writings of Gregory Palamas), (editor P. K. Christou) I, Thessaloniki 1962, 404-405.

21. E. Kourilas and Fr. Halkin, Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.), *Analecta Bollandiana*, LIV (1936) 85. The hypothesis that only a few select monks practised the Jesus Prayer is also confirmed by what Maximus' biographer says about the Sinaite's disciples (p. 83).

22. Pomjalovskij, *op. cit.*, 30-31.

23. Cf. Un Moine de l'Eglise d'Orient, *La prière de Jésus*, 101-103. Appendice I. Méthode psycho-physiologique de la Prière.

24. Cf. Bois, Grégoire le Sinaite et l'hésychasme à l'Athos au XIVe siècle, 16. Cf. A. Kartashev's accurate observations, Svoboda naučno-bogoslovsckich izašledovanij i cerkovnyj avtoritet, *Živoe predanie. Pravoslavie v sovremennosti*, Paris 1937, 33: "The Hesychasts do not deny that their teaching is a theological innovation. But they consider this innovation to be a genuine acquisition, an accurate vision of one of the mysteries of the apocalypse, which is concealed from the blind and immature".

25. See G. Ostrogorskiy, Afonskie isichasty i ich protivniki, *Zapiski Russkago Naučnogo Instituta v Belgrade*, 5 (1931) 349-370; J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris 1959, 65-153. Cf. G. M. Prochorov, Isichazm i občestvennaja mysl' v Vostočnoj Evrope v XIV v., *Trudy Otd. drevnerussk. literatury*, XXIII (1968) 86-91.

26. It is still unknown exactly when this attack took place. Sokolov, *Žitie*, 113, and after him Jacimirskij, Nabljudenija, 311, accept the year 1303-1304. Syrku, on the other hand, *K istorii*, 104, note 3, maintains that the attack took place in 1334. If we accept the former view, we must suppose that between Gregory's departure from Athos and his arrival in Paroria he must have lived in Constantinople for many years, a fact which does not accord with his *Life*. However, nor can we accept the year suggested by Syrku, because, as Gregory's biographer informs us, while Gregory was in Constantinople Emperor Andronicus II showed a great interest in him (Pomjalovskij, *op. cit.*, 35); and, as we know, the emperor died on 13 February 1332. A document of Panteleimon Monastery, dating from 1312, mentions an attack by the Ishmaelites – *Akty russkago na svjatom Afone monastyrja sv. velikomučenika i celitelja Panteleimona*, Kiev 1873, 92. Clearly it was an attack by the Turks, who had followed the Catalonians.

27. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija*, 105.

28. In Pomjalovskij's edition he is referred to as 'Αμφάλης. MSS Lavra I 117 and Panteleimon 173 give the spelling 'Αμφαλῆς. The latter is probably correct, Pomjalovskij having misread the name. It was not his monastic name, of course, but rather his surname. Concerning the Byzantine family Amiralis and the use of this name by the Byzantines, see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica. II. Sprachreste der Türkvolker in den byzantinischen Quellen*, Berlin 1958<sup>2</sup>, 66-68.

29. V. N. Zlatarski, *Žitie i žizn'* prepodobnago otca našego Feodosija iže v Tranove postinčtvovavšago, sapisano svetišim patriarchom Konstantina grada kir Kalistom, *Sbornik za narodni umotvorenija*, kn. II (XX) 1904, 12.

30. We are bound to agree with Kisielkov, *Grigorij Sinait*, 9-10, that the year 1335 must be taken as the *terminus ante quem* of Gregory's second arrival in Paroria.

31. E. Golubinskij, *Kratkij očerk istorii pravoslavných cerkvej, bolgarskoj, serbskoj i rumynskoj ili moldovo-valaškoj*, Moskva 1871, 663.

32. K. Jireček, *Knjažestvo Bǎlgarija*, II, Plovdiv 1899, 700-702; idem, Archaeologische Fragmente aus Bulgarien, *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen*, X (1886) 142-143.

33. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija*, 105-108.
34. Cf. K. Mytilos-Apostolidis, 'Η τῆς Φιλιππούπόλεως ἱστορία ἀπό τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων μέχρι τῶν καθ'ημάτων χρόνων' (The History of Plovdiv from Ancient Times up to the Present Day), Athens 1959, 185, note 11 and plate 44. Cf. Ach. Samothrakis, Λεξικόν γεωγραφικόν καὶ ἱστορικόν τῆς Θράκης ἀπό τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Geographical and Historical Lexicon of Thrace from Ancient Times up to the Capture of Constantinople), Athens 1963<sup>2</sup>, 364-365.
35. V. Sl. Kiselkov, Srednovekovna Parorija i Sinaitovijat manastir, *Sbornik v čest na Vasil N. Zlatarski*, Sofia 1925, 103-118. Cf. G. P. Ajanov, Stari manastiri v Strandža. Prinos kám váprosa za mestonachoždenieto na Sinaitovijat manastir, *Izvestija na Bălgarskija archeologičeski institut*, XIII (1941) 253-264.
36. G. Gorov, Mestonachoždenieto na srednovekovnata Parorija i Sinaitovija manastir, *Istoriceski pregled*, XXVIII (1972) knižka 1, 64-75. Concerning the region of Paroria, see also *Atlas po bălgarska istorija*, Sofia 1963, 21, B 5.
37. Gorov, Mestonachoždenieto, 75.
38. Pomjalovskij, 39-40.
39. See R. J. Loenertz, Dix-huit lettres de Grégoire Akindyne analysées et datées, *Orientalia christiana periodica*, XXIII (1957) 122-124; V. Laurent, L'assaut avorté de la Horde d'Or contre l'empire byzantin (printemps-été 1341), *Revue des études byzantines*, XVIII (1960) 145-162.
40. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie*, 41. From what Callistus says here, we may assume that the tsar had definitely ratified the title to his endowments to the Sinaite's monastery by an official act (*προάστεια κτήματα ἔπι τε καὶ λίμνην*). We do not think it at all improbable that the passage of time has destroyed a charter of the tsar issued on behalf of the Sinaite's monastery. See A.-E. Tachiaos, Sur les traces d'un acte du tsar Ivan Alexandre, *Cyrillomethodianum*, III (1975) 183-189. Ivan Alexander's generosity towards various monasteries is witnessed to by charters which have been preserved. See G. A. Iljinskij, *Gramoty bolgarskich carej*, Moskva 1911, 21-26; A. K. Burmov - P. Ch. Petrov, *Christomatija po istorija na Bălgarija. I. Ot najstari vremena go sredata na XVIII vek.*, Sofia 1964, 320-322, 327-333.
41. Cf. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija*, I, 154, note 2.
42. D. G. Tsamis, 'Ο Δαβίδ Δισύπατος καὶ ὁ πρός τὸν Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν ἀποσταλεῖς λόγος τὸν κατὰ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνον (David Disypatos and his Treatise to Nicholas Kavasilas against Barlaam and Akindynos)', *Buřanová* 5 (1973) 113-127; idem, Δαβίδ Δισυπάτον λόγος κατὰ Βαρλαάμ καὶ Ἀκινδύνον πρός Νικόλαον Καβάσιλαν (David Disypatos' Treatise against Barlaam and Akindynos addressed to Nicholas Kavasilas), Thessaloniki 1973. Cf. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, 78-79, 404.
43. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie*, 30.
44. Maximus' biographer mentions the name Alexander twice, a fact which quite rightly leads Halkin, *Deux Vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe*, 90, note 3, to believe that the second Alexander is probably the Prince of Wallachia, Nicholas-Alexander (1338-1364), brother-in-law to the Bulgarian tsar Ivan-Alexander. N. Vornicescu-Severineanul also shares this view, *Scrisori bizantino-ecclaziastice în țările române (Secolele XIV-XV)*, *Mitropolia Olteniei*, XXIII (1971) 479.
45. Kourilas-Halkin, *Deux Vies de S. Maxime*, 90.
46. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie*, 36.
47. Cf. Tachiaos, Le monachisme serbe, 88-89.
48. The *Life* of Theodosius has been published, as we have already noted, by Zlatarski in *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya*, XX (1904). That Callistus – who was also the Sinaite's biographer – did in fact write this *Life* has been disputed by V. Sl. Kiselkov, *Žitie na sv. Teodosij Tărnovski kato istoričeski pametnik*, Sofia 1926, I-LII, who is of the opinion that, in the form in which it has survived, it comprises a collation from the XVth century and was most probably written by Vladislav Gramatik. Kiselkov's argument is scarcely convincing and was completely overthrown after Gonis had conducted exhaustive research into this *Life*, *Tó συγγραφικόν ἔργον* (The Writings), 69-116. Several publications about Theodosius exist, the most important being: V. Sl. Kiselkov, *Sv. Teodosij Tărnovskij*, Sofia 1926; idem, *Kilifarskijat otčelnik Teodosij, Bălgarska istoriteska biblioteka*, I (1928) II, 139-165; idem, *Prouki i očerti po starobălgarska literatura*, Sofia 1956, 151-159; Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig*, 141-411; Radčenko, *Religioznoe i literaturnoe dviženie*, 169-232; Turdeanu, La littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle, 34-38.
49. See Kiselkov, *Sv. Teodosij Tărnovski*, 10-12.
50. Zlatarski, *Žitie i žizn'*, 13.
51. What Callistus says about an international circle of Gregory of Sinai's disciples is more or less echoed by what he says with regard to Theodosius. The similarity between the two texts, which Syrku has commented upon, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita*, LXXXIII, might be an additional argument in favour of Theodosius' *Life*'s having been written by Callistus. Cf. H. Keipert, Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzung ins Slavische. But more than this, the reference in the biographies of both these Hesychast teachers to an international circle of disciples, is a further testimony to the development of a spirit of Orthodox internationalism within Hesychast circles. This Orthodox internationalism was one of the Hesychast movement's most typical characteristics, particularly during the second half of the XIVth century. Concerning this, see: Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig*, 323-333, 405-407; idem, *Žitie Grigorija Sinaita*, LVII-LXVII; V. N. Zlatarski, Bil li e sv. Teodosij Tărnovski donosčik pred carigradskata patriaršija?, *Priloženie na Čárkoven vestnik*, kn. VII-IX (1903) 97-116; Vl. Mošin, Sv. patriarch Kalist i srpska crkva, *Glasnik Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve*, XXVII (1949) 192-206; A.-E. Tachiaos, 'Επιδράσεις τοῦ ησυχασμοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πολιτικὴν ἐν Ρωσίᾳ 1328-1406 (The Influence of Hesychasm on Ecclesiastical Policy in Russia, 1328-1406), Thessaloniki 1962, 95-102; idem, Le mouvement hesychaste, 124-125; I. F. Meyendorff, O vizantijskom isichazme i ego roli v kul'turnom i istoriceskom razvitiu Vostočnoj Evropy v XIV v., *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, XXIX (1974) 291-305; D. Obolensky, A *Philorhomaios anthropos*: Metropolitan Cyprian of Kiev and All Russia (1375-1406), *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32 (1978) 81-82.
52. Zlatarski, *Žitie i žizn'*, 23.
53. This is also indicated by the encomia written for Ivan Alexander. See P. Dinekov, K. Kuev, D. Petkanova, *Christomatija po starobălgarska literatura*, Sofia 1974<sup>3</sup>, 324-328. The question still remains open of to what extent the Hesychast movement influenced Art, not only in Byzantium, but also in the Slav countries into which it spread. The following publications all deal usefully with the subject: N. K. Golejzovskij, Isichazm i russkaja živopis' XIV-XV vv., *Vizantijskij vremennik*, XXIX (1968) 176-210; E. Bakalova, Kám váprosa za otráženieto na isichazma várchu izkustvoto, *Tărnovska knižovna škola*. 1371-1971, Sofia 1974, 373-389; eadem, Sur la peinture bulgare de la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle (1331-1393), *L'école de la*

*Morava et son temps*, Beograd 1972, 61-75; Meyendorff, O vizantijskom isichazme, 297-301; I. Dujčev, Collaborazione fra artisti bizantini e bulgari nel sec. XIV, *Estratto da Saggi e ricerche in memoria di Ettore di Gotti*, I, Palermo 1963, 5-13.

54. The Bulgarian historian D. Angelov, Kám istorijata na religiozno-filosofskata misál v srednovekovna Bálgarija – Isichazm i Varlaamitstvo, *Izvestija na Bálgarsko istoričesko družestvo*, XXV (1967) 73-92, believes that Hesychasm checked the progress of free thought and humanism in Bulgaria. This opinion is based on a false and one-sided evaluation of the historical facts and is not a new one; many of the allegations it makes have been put forward before. Cf. A. Jacimirskij, Vizantijskij religioznyj misticism XIV veka pered perechodom ego k slavjanam, *Strannik*, Sanktpeterburg 1908, 507-517, 662-672. The Hesychasts considered it retrogressive to return to a spiritual world which had died centuries before. They had a sound philosophical education, but were by no means willing to replace a single part of the divine revelation with philosophy. See B. Tataki, *La philosophie byzantine*, Paris 1949, 261-281 (= E. Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie*. Fascicule supplémentaire, No II). Concerning Tsar Ivan Alexander's interest in literature and in the Hesychasts, see L. Shirkova, *Das Tetraevangeliar des Zaren Iván Alexander*, s.l., 1977, and K. Kuev, *Ivan Alexandrovijat sbornik ot 1348 g.*, Sofia 1981, 7-19.

55. Concerning the transmission of western rationalism into medieval Bulgaria, see I. Dujčev, Racionalistični probljaci v slavjansko srednovekovje, in his collection of studies, *Bálgarsko srednovekovje. Proučavanija várchu političeskata i kulturnata istorija na srednovekovna Bálgarija*, Sofia 1972, 447-477, and 472-473 in particular, which deal with the period which concerns us here. Cf. V. Stojčevska-Antik, Neobjaven prilog kon izučavanju na eretičeskoto učenje na Akindin, *Filološki Fakultet na Universitetot - Skopje. Godišen zbornik*, 4 (1978) 135-140.

56. Cf. J. Meyendorff, Humanisme nominaliste et mystique chrétienne à Byzance au XIVe siècle, *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 79, No 9 (1957) 914.

57. E. Kalužniacki, *Aus der panegyrischen Literatur der Südslaven*, Wien 1903, 33.

58. Euthymius' biography was written by Grigorij Camblak. Apart from the publication mentioned in the previous footnote, there is also a more recent work by P. Rusev, I. Gálábov, A. Davidov, G. Dančev, *Pochvalno slovo za Evtimij ot Grigorij Camblak*, Sofia 1971. A great deal has been written about Euthymius, the most important works being: St. Cankov, *Patriarch Evtimij*, Sofia 1906; Ch. Popov, *Evtimij, posleden Tárnovski i Trapezicki patriarch*, Plovdiv 1901; V. Sl. Kiselkov, *Patriarch Evtimij*, Sofia 1938; idem, Patriarch Evtimij, *Bálgarska istoričeska biblioteka*, 2 (1929) III, 142-177; Radčenko, *Religioznoe i literaturnoe dvizhenie*, 243-253; Syrku, *K istorii*, 551-600; I. Bogdanov, *Patriarch Evtimij. Kniga za nego i negovoto vreme*, Sofia 1970.

59. E. Kalužniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius, (1375-1393)*, Wien 1901, 226.

60. Cf. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare*, 70-135; R. Mathiesen, Note sul genere acatistico e sulla letteratura agiografica slava ecclesiastica nel XIV e XV secolo, *Ricerche slavistiche*, XIII (1965) 57-62; Z. Jufu, Za desetomnata kolekcija Studion, *Studia balcanica*, II (1970) 299-342; I. M. Mulić, Pletenije sloves i hesihazam, *Zbornik za slavensku filologiju*, VII (1965) 141-156; K. Ivanovna-Konstantinova, Njakoi momenti na bálgaro-vizantijskite literaturni vrázki prez XIV v. (Isichazmát i negovoto pronikvane v Bálgarija), *Starobálgarska literatura*, I (1971) 209-242.

61. Kourilas et Halkin, Deux Vies de S. Maxime, 90. The *Life of Maximus* was written after 1365 (cf. ibid. 106, note 2). If Theophanes' biographer knew that the Sinaite had Serbian Athonite disciples, should he not by rights have mentioned it? It should be borne in mind that it was the tendency of the biographers to exaggerate, rather than to under-emphasise.

62. Cf. Tachiaos, Le monachisme serbe de saint Sava, 83-89.

63. The *Life of Romylos* was written in Greek by his disciple Gregory. It has been published by Fr. Halkin, Un ermite des Balkans au XIVe siècle. La Vie grecque de la vie de St. Romyle, *Byzantinoslavica*, 7 (1937-1938) 124-127. Cf. I. Dujčev, Un fragment grec de la vie de St. Romyle, *Studia historico-philologica Serdicensia*, 2 (1940) 88-92. The Slavonic translation has been published by P. Syrku, Monacha Grigorija žitie prepodobnago Romila, *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva*, CXXXVI (1900) XXXIII - 54. Cf. P. Devos, La version slave de la Vie de St. Romylos, *Byzantion*, XXXI (1961) 149-187, which explains the differences between the Greek text and the Slavonic translation; K. Mečev, Ličnossta na pisatelja. Kám charakteristika na izobraziteljni stil v Žitieto na Romil Bdinski ot monach Grigorij, *Literaturna misál*, 1972, No 2, 76-92. Cf. B. Sl. Kiselkov, Sv. Romil Vidinski, *Duchovna kultura*, XL (1929) 157-175, XLI (1929) 250-260.

64. See P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos (avec la collaboration de D. Papachrysanthou) *Actes de Lavra*. Première partie. Des origines à 1204, Paris 1970, Index entry Μελανά (= Archives de l'Athos V).

65. Concerning the situation in Albania, see A. Duceleur, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Age. Durazzo et Valona du XIe au XVe siècle*, Thessaloniki 1981, 556. Romylos came to Serbia in 1375, or immediately afterwards. See Dj. Sp. Radojičić, Grigorije iz Gornjaka, *Istoriski časopis*, III (1951-1952) 93.

66. See B. Bulović, *Ravanica. Njeno mesto i njena uloga u sakralnoj arhitekturi pomoravlja*, Beograd 1966, 25-26; P. Petković, *Pregled crkvenih spomenika kroz povesnicu srpskog naroda*, Beograd 1950, 271-275. Cf. Sv. Radojičić, Zidanje Ravanice, *Letopis Matice Srpske*, knj. 397, sv. 5 (1966) 399-403.

67. See Dj. Stričević, Uloga starca Isaije u prenošenju svetogorskih tradicija u Moravsku arhitektonsku školu, *Zbornik radova SAN*. XLIV. *Vizantoloski Institut*, kn. 3 (1955) 230-231; Bulović, *Ravanica*, 14-17.

68. Radojičić, Grigorije iz Gornjaka, 83-105. Radojičić correctly maintains (p. 93) that Gregory arrived in Serbia after Romylos, c. 1379. This is indicated by the *Life of Romylos* (Halkin, Un ermite des Balkans, 144-145), from which, and from what Gregory says of Romylos' death, we may conclude that Gregory arrived in Serbia not only after Romylos did, but probably after the latter's death.

69. Petković, *Pregled srpskih spomenika*, 69-70.

70. See V. Rosov, Sinajcy v Serbii v XIV veke, *Byzantinoslavica*, I (1929) 16-20. Gregory's disciples were much respected in Serbia also, because their spiritual origin was the Sinai Monastery, for which the Serbs had a special veneration. See Dj. Sp. Radojičić, Jakov Serski, knigoljubac i pesnik srpski XIV veka, *Letopis Matice Crpske*, 390 (1962) 327-332.

71. V. Marković, *Pravoslavno monaštvo i manastiri u srednevekovnoj Srbiji*, Sremski Karlovci 1920, 128. Cf. A.-E. Tachiaos, Isihazam u doba kneza Lazara, *O knezu Lazaru. Naučni skup u Kruševcu* 1971, Beograd 1975, 98-100.

72. Cf. A. Schmaus, Zur Frage der Kulturorientierung der Serben im Mittelalter, *Südost-Forschungen*, XV (1956) 193-194; B. Stipčević, Poetski izraz i pisari moravskog perioda, *Bibliotekar*, XX, br. 5 (1968) 461-478.
73. Tachiaos, Isihazam u doba kneza Lazara, 98-100.
74. See A. Gorskij - K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjanskich rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinoda l'noj Biblioteki*. Otdel vtoryj. *Pisanija svyatych otcev. 2. Pisanija dogmatičeskija i duchovno-nravstvennyja*, Moskva 1859, 469-470, observations on the language of MS 172. Cf. M. N. Spetrenskij, *Iz istorii russko-slavjanskich literaturnykh svjazej*, Moskva 1960, 13-15; J. Trifonov, Srabsko-balgarska bezjusova redakcija v starata knižnina na južnite slavjani, *Makedonski preled*, XII (1940) 2, 25-55.
75. R. Picchio, A proposito della Slavia ortodossa e della comunità linguistica slava eccliesistica, *Ricerche slavistiche*, XI (1963) 106-108; I. Dujčev, Rapports littéraires entre les Byzantins, les Bulgares et les Serbes aux XIVe et XVe siècles, *Moravska škola i njeno doba*, Beograd 1972, 94-99. Cf. D. Bogdanović, O periodizaciji stare srpske književnosti, *Zbornik Matice Srpske za književnost i jezik*, 22 (1974) 13.
76. Pomjalovskij, Žitie, 36; Syrku, Žitie, 37.
77. Concerning Gregory's literary output, see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur in byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, 694-695.
78. These works were originally published by Nicodemus Hagioreites in the *Philokalia*, Venise 1782, 879-925, and were re-published by Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, CL, col. 1239-1345.
79. *Philokalia*, 879-905; Migne, *Patrol. gr.*, CL, 1239-1300.
80. *Philokalia*, 905-907; *Patrol. gr.*, CL, 1300-1304.
81. Concerning the manuscripts which were most probably used as the basis of the *Philokalia*, see A.-E. Tachiaos, De la Philokalia au Dodrotoljubie: la création d'un «Sbornik», *Cyrilometodianum*, V (1981) 208-213.
82. *Philokalia*, 907-910; *Patrol. gr.*, CL, 1304-1312.
83. *Philokalia*, 911-918; *Patrol. gr.*, CL, 1313-1329.
84. N. A. Bees, Τά χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικός τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκεμένων εἰς τὰς Μονάς τῶν Μετεώρων (The Manuscripts of Meteora. Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscript Codices in the Meteora Monasteries), I, Athens 1967, 222.
85. S. P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II, Cambridge 1900, 158.
86. *Philokalia*, 918-925; *Patrol. gr.*, CL, 1329-1345. This work by the Sinaite is also to be found in the following Athonite manuscripts: Dionysiou 3976/442 (XVth century); Lavra 1528/A38 (XVIth century) fol. 165-168v; Koutloumousiou 3083/14 (? century – Lambros has XIIth!) fol. 514-521; Vatopediou 484 (XVIth century) fol. 169-170 (fragment); Lavra 1469/A6 (A.D. 1734) fol. 97-116; Lavra 1413/K126 (XVIIth century) fol. 381-423v; Lavra 1397/K110 (XVIIth century) fol. 91-101v; Vatopediou 617 (XVIIIth century) fol. 8-19v; Vatopediou 214 (XIXth century) fol. 629-660 (in Modern Greek translation).
87. This is to be found only in MS Lavra 63, fol. 19v-32v. D. Balfour has recently published this text in his article: Saint Gregory the Sinaite: Discourse on the Transfiguration. First Critical Edition, with English Translation and Commentary, *Θεολογία* 52/4 (1981) 631-681.
88. Concerning hymnographical works by the Sinaite, see: C. Emereau, Hymnographi byzantini quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adoravit, *Echos d'Orient*, XXII (1923) 432; E. Folieri, Il calendario in forma di canone di Gregorio monaco, *Revue des études byzan-*

- tines*, 24 (1966), 115-152; eadem, *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae graecae*, Città del Vaticano, II (1962) 224, V (1966) 263; M. Velimirović, Unknown Stichera for the Feast of St Athanasios of Mount Athos, *Studies in Eastern Chant*, edited by E. Wellesz and M. Velimirović, I, London - New York - Toronto 1966, 113; C. Hannick, *Studien zu den griechischen und slavischen liturgischen Handschriften der Österreichischen National-bibliothek*, Wien 1972, 133-152.
89. Concerning this reformation, see P. Dinekov, Evtimij Tarnovski, *Istorija na bǎlgarska literatura. 1. Starobǎlgarska literatura*, (edition of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) Sofia 1962, 289-292. N. S. Kočev has offered an interpretation of this reformation from the point of view of Hesychast ideology, Kǎm vǎprosa za filosofskata strana na Evtimievata reforma spored O pismeně na Konstantin Kostenečki, *Tǎrnovska knižovna škola*, II (1976) 239-245.
90. Zlatarski, Žitie i žizn', 18. Cf. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIVe siècle*, 37, 43, 46.
91. Ch. Kodov, *Opis na slavjanske rǎkopisi v bibliotekata na Bǎlgarskata Akademija na Naukite*, Sofia 1969, 174-188; B. Conev, Slavjanski rǎkopisi na Bǎlgarskata Akademija, *Sbornik na Bǎlgarskata Akademija na Naukite. Kniga VI. Klon istoriko-filologičen i filosofsko-obšestven*, Sofia 1916, 17-56; idem, *Istorija na bǎlgarskija ezik*, I, Sofia 1934, 200-201. The pagination of the codex in Kodov's description is not the same as in Conev's. It is most likely that Kodov re-numbered the pages without mentioning Conev's pagination.
92. Kodov, *Opis na slavjanske rǎkopisi*, 180.
93. Ch. Kodov, Vizantijsko-slavjanski literaturno-istoričeski i tekstologičeski problemi, *Cyrillometodianum*, II (1973) 148-149.
94. See Vl. Mošin, Žitie starca Isaii, igumena russkago monastyrja na Afone, *Sbornik Rusškago Archeoložičeskago Obščestva v Jugoslavii*, III (Beograd 1940) 154-158; S. Smirnov, Serbskie svyatye v russkikh rukopisjach, *Jubilejnij sbornik Russkago Archeoložičeskago Obščestva v Jugoslavii*, Beograd 1936, 224; I. Dujčev, Vizantija i vizantiskaja literatura v poslanijach Ivana Groznago, *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury*, XV (1958) 175-176; M. Stojanov - Ch. Kodov, *Opis na slavjanske rǎkopisi v Sofijskata Narodna Biblioteka*, III, Sofia 1964, 216-221; Kodov, *Opis na slavjanske rǎkopisi*, 180. Cf. H. Keipert, Velikyj Dionisie sice napisa: Die Übersetzung von Areopagita-Zitaten bei Euthymius von Tarnovo, *Tǎrnovska knižovna škola*, II, 326-350.
95. Stojanov-Kodov, *Opis na slavjanske rǎkopisi*, 238-239.
96. See A.-E. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic Manuscripts of Saint Panteleimon Monastery (Rosikon) on Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki - Los Angeles 1981, 77-79.
97. The watermarks (pear) date the manuscript paper to 1360-1379, V. Mošin - S. Traljić, *Vodeni znakovi XIII i XIV veka*, II, Zagreb 1957, no. 4369.
98. Cf. Tachiaos, Mount Athos and the Slavic Literatures, 21-22.
99. See D. Bogdanović, *Katalog cirilskih rukopisa manastira Hilandara*, Beograd 1978, 221.
100. See G. M. Prochorov, K istorii liturgičeskoy poezii: gimny i molityv patriarha Filofeja Kokkina, *Trudy otdela drevne-russkoj literatury*, XXVII (1972) 120-149; idem, A Codicological Analysis of the Illuminated *Akathistos* to the Virgin (Moscow, State Historical Museum, *Synodal Gr. 429*), *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972) 239-252.
101. See Tachiaos, Mount Athos and the Slavic Literatures, 24-25.
102. A great deal has been written about the life and work of Nil Sorskij. For a detailed list of works on this subject, see F. von Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften. Die Krise*

*der Tradition im Russland Ivens III*, Berlin 1963. Cf. G. Maloney, *Russian Hesychasm. The Spirituality of Nil Sorskij*, The Hague - Paris 1973.

103. Concerning XVth-century translations of the Sinaite's works, which were certainly due to Nil Sorskij's influence on Russian monasticism, see G. M. Prochorov, *Kelejnaja isichatskaja literatura* (Ioann Lestvičnik, Avva Doroje, Isaak Sirin, Simeon Novyj Bogoslov, Grigorii Sinait) v bibliotek Troice - Sergievoj Lavry s XIV po XVII v, *Trudy otd. drevne-russk. liter.*, XXVIII (1974) 321.

104. See E. Behr-Sigel, *Prière et sainteté dans l'Eglise russe*, Paris 1950, 67-75.

105. See A.-E. Tachiaos, 'Ο Παΐσιος Βελιτσκόφοκι (1722-1749) και η ασκητικοφιλολογική σχολή του' (Paisij Veličkovskij (1722-1749) and his ascetic-philological school), Thessaloniki 1964, 79-82. Cf. A. I. Jacimirskej, *Slavjanskija i russkija rukopisi rumynskich bibliotek*, 557-558.

106. Предисловие или предпутие хотящим чести книгу иже во святых отца нашего Григория Синаита и не погрешати разума в ней лежащаго: *Zitie i pisanija Moldavskago starca Paisija Veličkovskago*, Moskva 1847, 72-84.

107. See Tachiaos, 'Ο Παΐσιος Βελιτσκόφοκι', 108-119; idem, De la Philokalia au Dobrotoljubie; la création d'un «Sbornik», *Cyrillomethodianum*, V (1981), 208-213.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING WORKS  
BY GREGORY SINAITES IN SLAVONIC TRANSLATION

I have deemed it advisable to provide a list of manuscripts containing works by Gregory of Sinai in Slavonic translation as a supplement to the preceding article. It must be clearly understood from the start, however, that this list is far from complete, and I must particularly emphasise its deficiency in terms of the manuscripts of Russian redaction and those of south Slavonic origin which are in libraries in the Soviet Union. Most of these were inadequately catalogued long ago, in such a way that their redaction is far from clear. The manuscripts in the list which follows are classified according to century, with priority being given to the dated manuscripts. It must be clearly understood that the classification of the undated manuscripts should be viewed with circumspection, because those who originally catalogued them in days gone by, being ignorant of many of the data available to contemporary palaeography, frequently made errors in their dating. However, the following list does help one to understand — albeit in full awareness of its shortcomings and albeit in very broad terms — in which periods the Sinaite's works enjoyed the greatest popularity in the Slav world. Above all, it convinces one of the Slavs' unceasing interest in the Sinaite's works from the XIVth century right up until the beginning of the XXth century. I have had the opportunity to examine personally many manuscripts of south Slavonic origin and of the school of Veličkovskij. Those from the Veličkovskij school comprise a special category of their own, but unfortunately no attempt has yet been made to locate them all (cf. Tachiaos, *Σύμμεικτα*, 689-93), and thus to establish more completely the vast library of translations of the works of Byzantine writers which was produced by this school. In the library of Neamț Monastery not all the manuscripts of the Veličkovskij school described by Jacimirskej (*Slavjanskija i russkija rukopisi*, 555-83) are now to be found, while others exist of which he appears to be unaware. The last inventory of this library's manuscripts was carried out in the years 1961-2 and was recorded by hand in a catalogue entitled *Inventarul manuscriselor din biblioteca Mănăstirii Neamț*, 1961-2. On pages 1-28 of this catalogue are listed 297 Slavonic manuscripts, as opposed to 276 recorded by Jacimirskej. Some of the manuscripts which used to be in the library are now in the library of the Roumanian Academy of Sciences, and it has been possible to identify others with corresponding manuscripts in Jacimirskej's catalogue. Wherever this has not been possible, only the old number is given, which Jacimirskej adds in parentheses.

## XIVth c.

1. Bulgarian Academy of Sciences No 80. According to the watermarks it must be dated to the years 1358-1370. Kodov, *Opis*, 176-180; Conev, 'Slavjanski', 18, 23-24, 29; idem, *Istorija na bǎlgarskija ezik*, I, Sofija 1934, 200-201.
2. National Library of Sofia No 1036. Watermarks of the years 1356-1358. This MS probably belongs to the third quarter of the XIVth c. Stojanov, Kodov, *Opis*, 238-239.
3. Panteleimon No 28. AD 1364. Tachiaos, *Slavonic*, 78.
4. Hilandar No 640. Two MSS bound together. The first (fol. 1r-60v) dates from the last quarter of the XVIth c., while the second (fol. 61r-121v) was written about 1370. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 221.
5. Hilandar No 342. Watermarks of the years 1364-1374. Sava Chilandarec, 'Rukopisi', 57; Mateič, 'Neisvesten', 57; Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 139-140.
6. GBL, Moskovskaja Duchovnaja Akademija (f. 173) No 5 (142). Leonid, *Svedenie*, 306-310; *Predvaritel'nyj spisok*, No 1373.
7. Dečani Monastery No 82. Watermarks of the years 1385-1395. Todorović-Šakota, 'Inventar', 205; idem, 'Jovan Gramatik', 172-173; *Moravska Srbija*, 44; S. Radojčić, *Stara srpska umetnost*, Beograd 1966, 184.
8. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 13 (2024). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III 1, 23; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
9. Hilandar No 456. Watermarks of the years 1386, 1398. Sava Chilandarec, 'Rukopisi', 34; Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 175.
10. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588). Ivanova, *Bǎlgarski*, 451-452.

## XIVth-XVth c.

11. GBL, Moskovskaja Duchovnaja Akademija (f. 173) No 3 (49). Leonid, *Svedenie*, I, 5-6; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
12. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 183 (1675). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, I, 176; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.

## XVth c.

13. Hilandar No 468. AD 1400. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 179.
14. Hilandar No 87. AD 1408. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 76-77.

15. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 156 (1681). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 138; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
16. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 308 (841). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, II, 79; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
17. GBL, Muzejnoe sobranie (f. 178) No 200. AD 1431. Vostokov, *Opisanie*, 267-268.
18. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 407 (1351). AD 1437. Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, II, 133; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
19. Savina Monastery No 21. AD 1440. Bogdanović, 'Inventar', 93; *Izložba*, No 194, p. 59.
20. Neamț Monastery. AD 1448. Jacimirskij, 'Iz slavjanskich', 34-35; Turdeanu, *La Littérature*, 12.
21. Rila Monastery No 61. AD 1479. Sbornik written by Vladislav Gramatik. It contains the *Life of Gregory of Sinai*. Sprostranov, *Opis*, 110; G. Dančev, *Vladislav Gramatik. Knjžovnik i pisatel*, Sofia 1969, 73-75.
22. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1941. AD 1497. Ivanova, *Bǎlgarski*, 492.
23. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1044. Ivanova, *Bǎlgarski*, 376-379.
24. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1054. Ivanova, *Bǎlgarski*, 319-320.
25. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1282. Ivanova, *Bǎlgarski*, 474.
26. Hilandar No 641. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 221.
27. Hilandar No 651. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 224.
28. National Library of Austria cod. sl. 28. Birkfellner, 'Zur Literaturgeschichte', 252; idem, *Glagolitische*, 135-136.
29. Hilandar No 464. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 178.
30. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1048. Ivanova, *Bǎlgarski*, 468-469..
31. Hilandar No 227. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 113.
32. Sbornik of Prilep. Mošin, *Slovenski rakopisi*, No 106, p. 299.
33. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 172. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, II 2, 465-469; G. Smirnov-Platonov, 'Obozrenie materialov dlja vrutrennej istorii Russkoj Cerkvi', *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie*, 2 (1860), 271.
34. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 116 (91). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, II, 85.
35. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 763 (1834). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 171-173; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
36. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 758 (1635). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 162; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.

37. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 756 (1637). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 159; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
38. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 753 (1629). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 150; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
39. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 37 (2020). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 42.
40. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 748 (1647). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 144; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
41. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 704. Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 96. Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
42. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 186 (1866). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, I, 178-179; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
43. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 168.
44. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 581.
45. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 34.8.17 (Nov. 4). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, I, 323.
46. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 33.5.20 (Sev. 455). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, II, 100.
47. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 33.20.4 (Nov. 776). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, II, 99.
48. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 33.8.7 (Sev. 454). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, II, 99.
49. National Library of Serbia No 442 (72). Stojanović, *Katalog*, 208.
50. National Library of Serbia No 439 (320). Stojanović, *Katalog*, 198-199.
51. National Library of Serbia No 190 (1.345). Matić, *Opis*, 79-80.
52. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 142. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, II 2, 205..
53. Roumanian Academy of Sciences, *Lestvica* of Neamț No 49. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 727-728; Turdeanu, *La Littérature*, 12.
54. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 259. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 456.

#### XVth-XVIth c.

55. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 196 (279). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 319.

56. BAN, Archangel'skoe sobranie (No 1), Archangel'skoj Duchovnoj Seminarii No 50. Viktorov, *Opisi*, 11.
57. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection No 946. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 457.
58. National Library of Serbia No 191 (827). Matić, *Opis*, 85.

#### XVIth c.

59. Roumanian Academy of Sciences, *Typicon* of Neamț No 22. AD 1593. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 657-658; Turdeanu, *La Littérature*, 12.
60. Roumanian Academy of Sciences No 221. AD 1531. Panaiteșcu, *Manuscrisele*, 320.
61. Hilandar No 171. AD 1580. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 100.
62. National Library of Serbia No 454 (408). AD 1582. Stojanović, *Katalog*, 257; idem, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, I, Beograd 1902, 430, II, Beograd 1903, 298.
63. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1298. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 497.
64. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1286. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 475.
65. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 883. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 346.
66. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 456. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 193.
67. Hilandar 356. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 143.
68. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 463. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 191.
69. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 1287. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 475.
70. Roumanian Academy of Sciences, *Psalter* of the National Museum No 381. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 367-368; Turdeanu, *La Littérature*, 12.
71. Roumanian Academy of Sciences, *Psalter* of the National Museum No 286. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 357; Turdeanu, *La Littérature*, 12.
72. National Library of Sofia No 996. Stojanov, Kodov, *Opis*, 149.
73. Roumanian Academy of Sciences No 42. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 157.
74. National Museum of Prague No 149. Vašica, Vajs, *Soupis*, 327.
75. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 378. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, III 1, 231.
76. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 322. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, III 2, 632.
77. Historical Museum of Croatia No 59. Mošin, *Cirilski rukopisi u Povijesnom Muzeju*, 63.
78. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 145. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, II 2, 212.

79. GBL, Volokolamskij monastyr' No CCCLXXIX. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 168.
80. GIM, Voskresenskij Novo-Ierusalimskij monastyr' No 76. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 260.
81. GBL, Volokolamskij monastyr' No CCLXXVI. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 107.
82. GBL, Volokolamskij monastyr' No CCCXI. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 131.
83. GBL, Volokolamskij monastyr' No CCCLXXXIV. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 171.
84. GBL, Volokolamskij monastyr' No XXXIII. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 33-34.
85. GPB, Osnovnoe sobranie No XCI. Byčkov, *Opisanie*, 498.
86. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 770 (1554). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, III, 178-179; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
87. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 531 (202). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, III, 259.
88. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 464 (641). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, II, 172.
89. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 627 (508). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, II, 422.
90. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 286 (101). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 438.
91. Central'naja biblioteka Akademii Nauk Litovskoj SSR. Vilenskoj Publikčnoj Biblioteki No 70. Dobrjanski, *Opisanie*, 75-76.
92. GBL, Moskovskaja Duchovnaja Akademija (f. 173) No 7 (82). Leonid, *Svedenie*, II, 172; Prochorov, 'Kelejnaja', 321.
93. GPB USSR, Kievskaja Duchovnaja Akademija No 151. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisej*, 77-78.
94. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie rukopisej chranja-ščichsja*, No 189.
95. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie rukopisej chranja-ščichsja*, No 187.
96. GBL, Volokolamskij monastyr' No LXXXI. Stroev, *Opisanie*, 65.
97. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 32.3.2. (Osn. 1099). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 111.
98. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 16.13.1 (Osn. 1284). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 105.
99. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 32.17.3 (No 240). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 102.
100. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 13.17.3 (Nov. 775). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 101.

101. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 34.7.24 (Nov. 5). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 101.
102. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 16.16.40 (Osn. 412). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 74.
103. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 33.7.16 (Sev. 441). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 73.
104. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 16.7.2 (Osn. 707). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, 70.
105. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 265 (1214). Ilarij, Arsenij, *Opisanie*, II, 41.

#### XVIth-XVIIth c.

106. Vladimiro-Suzdal'skij istoriko-chudožestvennyj i architekturnyj muzej-zapovednik, Floriščevoj pustyni No 33 (29). Viktorov, *Opisi*, 232.
107. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 398 (85). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 736.
108. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie rukopisej chranja-ščichsja*, No 190.
109. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie rukopisej chranja-ščichsja*, No 218.
110. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie rukopisej chranja-ščichsja*, No 827.
111. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie rukopisej chranja-ščichsja*, No 439.
112. GPB USSR, Kievskaja Duchovnaja Akademija, No 518. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisej cerkovno-archeologičeskago muzeja*, IV, 518.
113. GPB, A. A. Titov Collection No 93 (211). Titov, *Opisanie*, I 1, 99.

#### XVIIth c.

114. LOII, Aleksandro-Svirskij monastyr' No 22 (57). AD 1614, Viktorov, *Opisi*, 180-181.
115. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588). AD 1622. Ivanova, *Bălgarski*, 234-235.

116. GIM, Sinadal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 173. AD 1630. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, II 2, 470.
117. GBL, Troice-Sergieva Lavra (f. 304) No 674 (411). AD 1630. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, III, 25.
118. GPB, Osnovnoe sobranie No LXXXVII. AD 1632. Byčkov, *Opisanie*, 465.
119. Panteleimon No 16. AD 1633. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic*, 46.
120. GPB USSR, Biblioteka Kievo-Sofijskogo sobora No 578 (357). AD 1640-1650. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisnych sobranij*, III, 249.
121. IRLI, Collection de Pižem No 131. AD 1651. Malysev, *Rukopisi*, 131.
122. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370). AD 1652. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, III 2, 728.
123. National Library of Serbia No Pc 395. Štavljanin-Djordjević, *Stari cirilski*, 414.
124. Roumanian Academy of Sciences No 42. Panaiteșcu, *Manuscisele*, 62.
125. Hilandar No 96. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 80.
126. GIM, Sinodal'noe sobranie (No 80370) No 174. Gorskij, Nevostruev, *Opisanie*, II 2, 470-471.
127. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588). Ivanova, *Bulgarski*, 63.
128. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588). Ivanova, *Bulgarski*, 50.
129. National Museum of Prague No 156. Vašica, Vajs, *Soupis*, 368.
130. Historical Museum of Croatia, Kopitar Collection No 8 (Cod. Kop. 23). Mošin, *Cirilski rukopisi*, 134.
131. National Library of Serbia No 426 (31). Stojanović, *Katalog*, 176.
132. National Library of Serbia No 480 (404). Stojanović, *Katalog*, 342.
133. Hilandar No 365. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 145-146.
134. Roumanian Academy of Sciences No 84. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija*, 219.
135. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 181 (110). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 266.
136. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 243 (5). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 371.
137. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 355 (243). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 560.
138. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 406 (471). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 745.
139. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 276 (797). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, 429-430.
140. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 287 (97). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 443.

141. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 288 (100). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 444.
142. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 289 (98). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 444.
143. GPB, Soloveckij monastyr' (No 717) No 290 (99). Porfir'ev, Vadkovskij, Krasnosel'cev, *Opisanie*, I, 445.
144. BAN, Archangel'skoe sobranie (No 1), Antoniev Sijskij monastyr' No 216. Viktorov, *Opisi*, 105.
145. GPB, Kirillov-Novoezerskij monastyr' (No 351) No 35 (44-26). Viktorov, *Opisi*, 157-158.
146. GBL, Moskovskaja Duchovnaja Akademija (f. 173) No 9 (73). Leonid, *Svedenie*, II, 319.
147. GPB USSR, Kievo-Sofijskij sobor No 186 (362). Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisnych sobranij*, III, 63.
148. GBL, Imperatorskoe obščestvo istorii i drevnostej rossijskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete (f. 204 and 204) No 354. Sokolov, *Biblioteka*, II, 98.
149. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, II 2, 3981.
150. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 928.
151. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 201.
152. GIM, Voskresenskij Novo-Ierusalimski monastyr' (No 80370) No 117. Stroev, *Opisanie rukopisej*, 275.
153. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, 199.
154. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod. Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, 136.
155. GPB, A. A. Titov Collection (No 775) No 317 (1486). Titov, *Opisanie*, I 1, 184.
156. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 21.1.9 (Nov. 1082). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, I 1, 185.
157. Roumanian Academy of Sciences No 295. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija*, 445; Panaiteșcu, *Manuscisele*, 394; Turdeanu, *La Littérature*, 12.
158. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 45.9.12 (Nov. 258). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, II, 136.
159. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 1.2.22 (Sev. 271). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, II, 114.
160. Hilandar No 352. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 142.
161. GIM, Čudovskoe sobranie (No 80370) No 243 (41). Protas'eva, *Opisanie*, 137.

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162. BAN, Archangel'skoe sobranie (No 1), Archangel'skoj Seminarii No 254. Viktorov, *Opisi*, 47.
163. GIM, Čudovskoe sobranie (No 80370) No 250 (48). Protas'eva, *Opisanie*, 140.
164. GIM, Čudovskoe sobranie (No 80370) No 244 (42). Protas'eva, *Opisanie*, 137.
165. Hilandar No 673. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 289.

**XVIIIth c.**

166. Hilandar No 506. Written before the year 1754. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 191.
167. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 21.2.26 (Nov. 991). AD 1776. Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, II, 186.
168. GPB USSR, Kievskaja Duchovna Akademija No 630. AD 1778. Petrov, *Opisanie rukopisej cerkovno-archeologičeskago muzeja*, 651.
169. Hilandar No 502. AD 1784. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 190.
170. GPB, P. P. Vjazemskij Collection (No 166) No CCXXIX. *Opisanie rukopisej knjazja*, 420.
171. BAN, Archeografičeskaja komissija (No 2) No 137. Barsukov, *Rukopisi*, 60.
172. GBL, Imperatorskoe obščestvo istorii i drevnostej rossijskich pri Moskovskom Universitete (f. 204 and 205) No 448. Sokolov, *Biblioteka*, 265, 267, 270.
173. GPB, M. P. Pogodin Collection (No 588) No 914. Ivanova, *Bulgarski*, 455.
174. National Library of Austria No 71. Birkfellner, *Glagolitische*, 230, 231.
175. IRLI, V. N. Peretc Collection No 340. Malyšev, *Drevne-russkie rukopisi*, 88.
176. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod (No 80370). Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, 622.
177. GPB, A. A. Titov Collection (No 775) No 238 (1001). Titov, *Opisanie*, I 2, 129.
178. GPB, A. A. Titov Collection (No 775) No 242 (992). Titov, *Opisanie*, I 2, 133.
179. GPB, A. A. Titov Collection (No 775) No 241 (1962). Titov, *Opisanie*, I 2, 131.
180. GPB, A. A. Titov Collection (No 775) No 253 (679). Titov, *Opisanie*, I 2, 144.

181. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod (No 80370). Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 502.
182. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod (No 80370). Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 627.
183. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod (No 80370). Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 692.

**XIXth c.**

184. GIM, Simonov monastyr' (No 80370) No LXIX. AD 1827. Popov, *Rukopisi*, 179.
185. GIM, Simonov monastyr' (No 80370) No LXVI. AD 1828. Popov, *Rukopisi*, 174.
186. GIM, Simonov monastyr' (No 80370) No LIII. AD 1830. Popov, *Rukopisi*, 76-78.
187. GIM, Simonov monastyr' (No 80370) No LVI. AD 1841-1848. Popov, *Rukopisi*, 87.
188. BAN, Osnovnoe sobranie No 33.4.18 (Sev. 451). Sreznevskij, Pokrovskij, *Opisanie*, I 1, 197.
189. IRLI, I. S. Abramov Collection No 7. Malysev, *Drevne-russkie rukopisi*, 21.
190. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod (No 80370). Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, II 2, No 3773.
191. CGIAL, Archives of the Holy Synod (No 80370). Nikol'skij, *Opisanie*, I, No 663.
192. GIM, Simonov monastyr' (No 80370) No XII. Popov, *Rukopisi*, 15.

**Manuscripts of the School of Veličkovskij**

1. GBL, D. B. Piskarev Collection (f. 228) No 61. AD 1756. Viktorov, *Katalog*, 14.
2. GBL, Skita Ioanna Predteči Kozel'skoj Vvedenskoj Optinskoj pustyni (f. 214). AD 1757. Leonid, *Istoričeskoe opisanie*, 68.
3. Hilandar No 215. AD 1767. Bogdanović, *Katalog*, 110-111. This manuscript comes directly from Veličkovskij's translation workshop, but the works it contains – including the Sinaite's works – come from translations found in older Athonite manuscripts. The scribe particularly emphasises this fact in

order to distinguish them from the translations of Neamț:

Сїа пр€писана иž сватогорскїѧ еже книги, а  
не иž исправленна вновъ иž гр€уескїѧ.

4. Neamț Monastery No 15 (old No 273). AD 1774. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, No 32, p. 558. On fol. ရა� there is the following note:

аѹод года писана монахомъ Митрофаномъ

On the first unnumbered folio:

Стагш Григорїа Сїнанта предсловіє на книго  
сїю ѿ єже ѧкѡ нѣсть наша брань ...

Inc.: Станише есть добродѣтелей растояніє ...

Des.: ... и совершающихъ дѣло божіе.

fol. 1г: Иже во сватыихъ отца нашегш Григорїа  
Сїнанта главы и чрезъ краєграниціє вѣлѡ  
полезныи.

There are 137 chapters altogether, of which the following have titles:

Ѣ	ш аѹоматѣхъ
Ѥ	ш мѹкахъ
ꙗ	ш ѿбѣтованїихъ
ꙑ	ш помыслѣхъ
ѿ	ш страстехъ
Ѱ	ш добродѣтелейхъ
ѱ	ш еѹомолвїи
ѹ	ш молитвѣ
ѹ	ш прелести

fol. 57г: Аѹогїа главици и тогшаде

Inc.: Превѣрѣастїа всѧ ѧже ѿ хѣ

There are five chapters altogether, of which the following two have titles:

Ѣ ш страстиемъ иѹмѣненїи

Ѩ ш блажиимъ иѹмѣненїи

fol. 58г: Тогшаде, ѿ б҃езмолвїи, во главициахъ  
патицадесатиихъ, ѿ авою иѹразѹ митвѣи

Out of the fifteen chapters the following seven have titles:

Ѣ	ш єже ѧкѡ подобаетъ дѣйствовати митвѣи
Ѱ	ш вѹзѧиխїи
Ѩ	ш єже ѧкѡ подобаетъ пѣти
ѱ	ш разливи поѹшиихъ
Ѽ	ш сопротивѹиє
Ѽ	ш прелести
ѹ	ш прѹнтанїи

fol. 72в: Тогшаде Григоріа Сїнанта, вѣдѣнїе иž  
вѣстно ѿ б҃езмолвїи.

There are twelve chapters altogether, of which only the third has a title:

Ѱ ѿ єже ѧкѡ иѹресты дѣйстви

On fol. 79v notes are made of the differences between the Greek original  
and the oldest Slavonic translations.

fol. 83г: Тогожде преподобнагш отца нашегш Гри-  
горія Сїнанта ѿ б҃езмолвницихъ

There are seven chapters altogether.

fol. 100г: Тогожде стагш Григорія Сїнанта ѿ ѿет-  
ырехъ ѿенномонаулствїи

fol. 103в: Уто есть единственнаагш жителства єже  
по добродѣтели свѧеннонаулство и ѧ-  
кѡ совершаєтса

fol. 108г: Уто сѹть образи црковнагш ѿенномонаул-  
нагш оѹстроенїа

fol. 112г: Тогожде стагш Григорія Сїнанта главици-  
ни ѿ сонниихъ искѹшенїи

On fol. 90v there are notes of the differences between this and the Greek  
text.

5. National Library of Sofia No 1034. AD 1775. Stojanov, Kodov, *Opis*, 228;  
Tachiaos, *Σύμμεικτα*, 693.

6. Neamț Monastery No 159. AD 1776. The same works by Gregory Sinaites  
which are to be found in MS No 15 of the same monastery are included on  
fol. 1-147. On fol. 147г there is the following note in red letters:

конецъ хвалы в 8 1776 года, мѣс генвара: дна  
3:

There are a great many notes in the margins explaining Greek and Slavonic  
terms.

7. Neamț Monastery No 99. AD 1781. Jacimirskij, *Slavjaniskija i russkija*, 558,  
No 34 (336). On fol. 131г there is this note: 1781 года монах  
Киріакъ. This scribe has written only the last part of the codex, begin-  
ning with the folio on which the note is written. The preceding folios were  
written by seven different scribes. The Sinaite's works are to be found on  
fol. 11-104v, in the same order as in MSS Nos 15 and 159 of the same mon-  
astery.

8. National Library of Sofia No 1071. AD 1783. Stojanov, Kodov, *Opis*, 376,  
379; Tachiaos, *Σύμμεικτα*, 692.

9. Neamț Monastery No 265 (old). XVIIth c. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 575, No 199.
10. Neamț Monastery No 368 (old). XVIIth c. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 576, No 206.
11. Neamț Monastery No 367 (old). XVIIth c. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 558, No 33.
12. Neamț Monastery No 369 (old). XVIIth c. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 557, No 369.
13. Neamț Monastery No 370 (old). XVIIth c. Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, 558, No 35.
14. Roumanian Academy of Sciences No 1388. XVIIth c. Contains the *Life of Gregory of Sinai*.
15. Neamț Monastery No 260. Beginning of XIXth c. Consists of 105 leaves of works by Gregory of Sinai, as do the preceding manuscripts. It is evidently the first draft of Veličkovskij's translation, as can be seen from the great number of alterations and crossings out it contains. This manuscript is a characteristic example of the philological and translatory work which was carried out at Neamț in accordance with Veličkovskij's principles. On fol. 3v there is the following note:

Сїю книго аще кто хощетъ прєписати, то и житіе сего стагѡ, аще изволитъ, да ишеть въ Кѣ и подъ номеромъ книзѣ.

The hundredth chapter, in acrostic form and taken from fol. 30r, shows Veličkovskij's method of working. We reproduce it below. The underlined words are those originally selected in the translation, and those in square brackets are the ones which were finally adopted:

Штъ всѣхъ потребно есть [подобаетъ] ѧкош  
пүела собирати потребнѣйшада [полезнѣйшва],  
и такш воспріемль [приуашааса: въ греческомъ приуашатиса] штъ всѣхъ по малѣ, тво-  
рите велико дѣланія добродѣтелногш [добродѣ-  
телей] сложеніе, штъ нижже мѣдь премѣдро-  
сти пришерѣтаестса [пришерѣтаестса] къ вese-  
лію дѹшъ.

16. Neamț Monastery No 119. XVIIth c. This manuscript can easily be identified as the old No 369, Jacimirskij, *Slavjanskija i russkija*, No 31, p. 557. It is quite clearly by Veličkovskij's own hand. A very meticulous manuscript with red rubrics and beautiful initials, it comprises the whole of the Sina-

- ite's work. In the margins there are a great many notes and explanations of words and terms, which shows that the Veličkovskij school constantly endeavoured to improve the translations it had already made. This is also indicated by a note in the margin of fol. 76v next to the tenth out of eleven chapters *Пері ἡσυχίας*, at the point where we read: **штнðа б о п од в и ж е т с я и д в и г а е т с я : в ѿ г р е ч е скомъ : пр і ш в а е т с я , но мнитсѧ быти погрѣшеніе, вмѣсто бо еже написати κινεῖται, сирѣчъ подвижется, ѧко же есть въ славенскомъ преѣодаѣ, написано κοινωнѣ еже есть прішваетъ.**
17. Neamț Monastery No 85. Beginning of XIXth c. Comprises an abridged *Life of Gregory Sinaites* written by the patriarch Callistus.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

BAN	Biblioteka Akademii nauk SSSR (Leningrad)
CGIAL	Central'nyj gosudarstvennyj istoricheskij archiv (Leningrad)
GBL	Gosudarstvennaja biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina (Moskva)
GPB	Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina (Leningrad)
GPB USSR	Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka Akademii nauk Ukrainskoj SSR (Kiev)
GIM	Gosudarstvennyj istoricheskij muzej (Moskva)
IRLI	Institut russkogo jazyka i literatury (Puškinskij Dom) (Leningrad)
LOII	Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta istorii Akademii nauk SSSR

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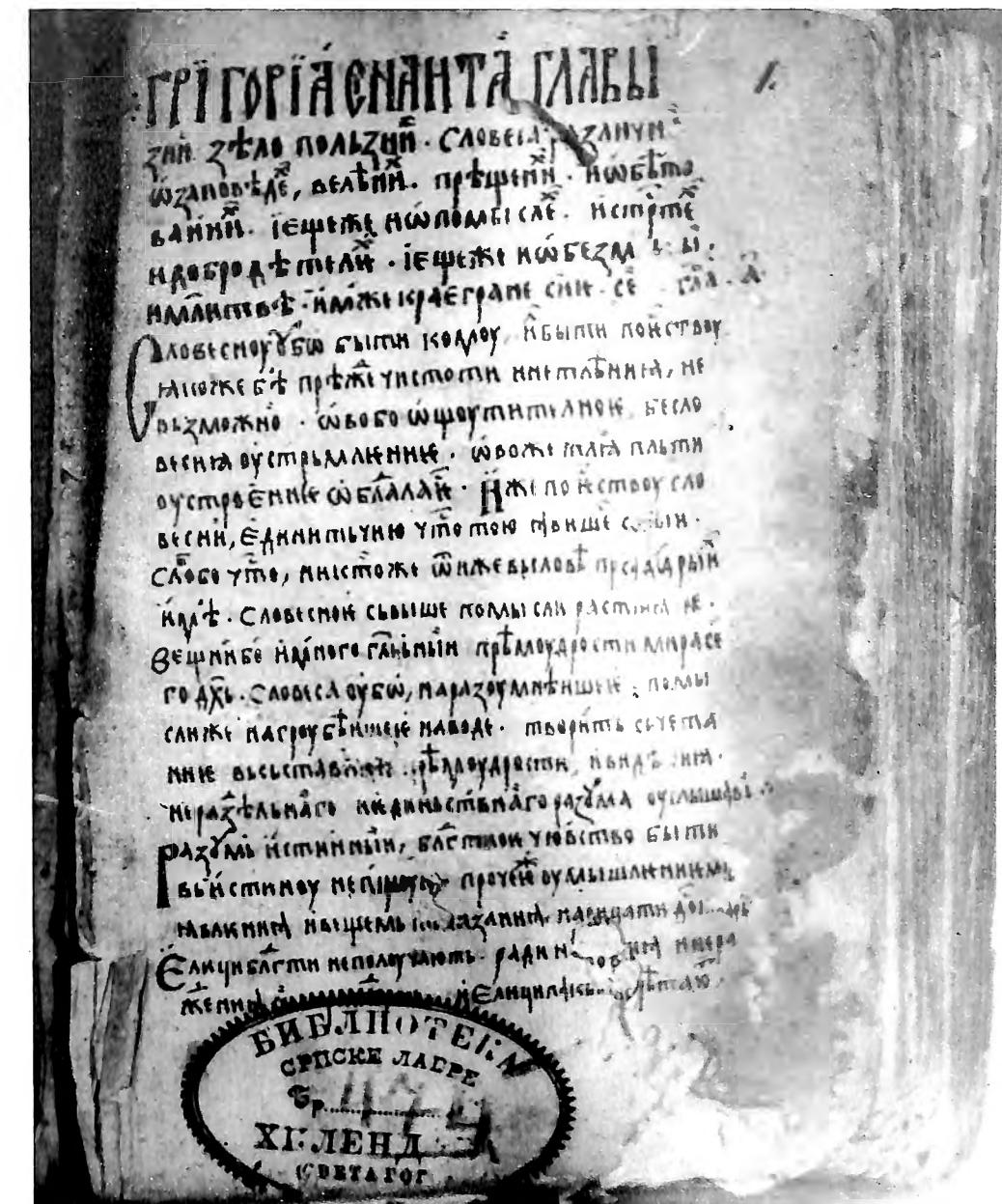
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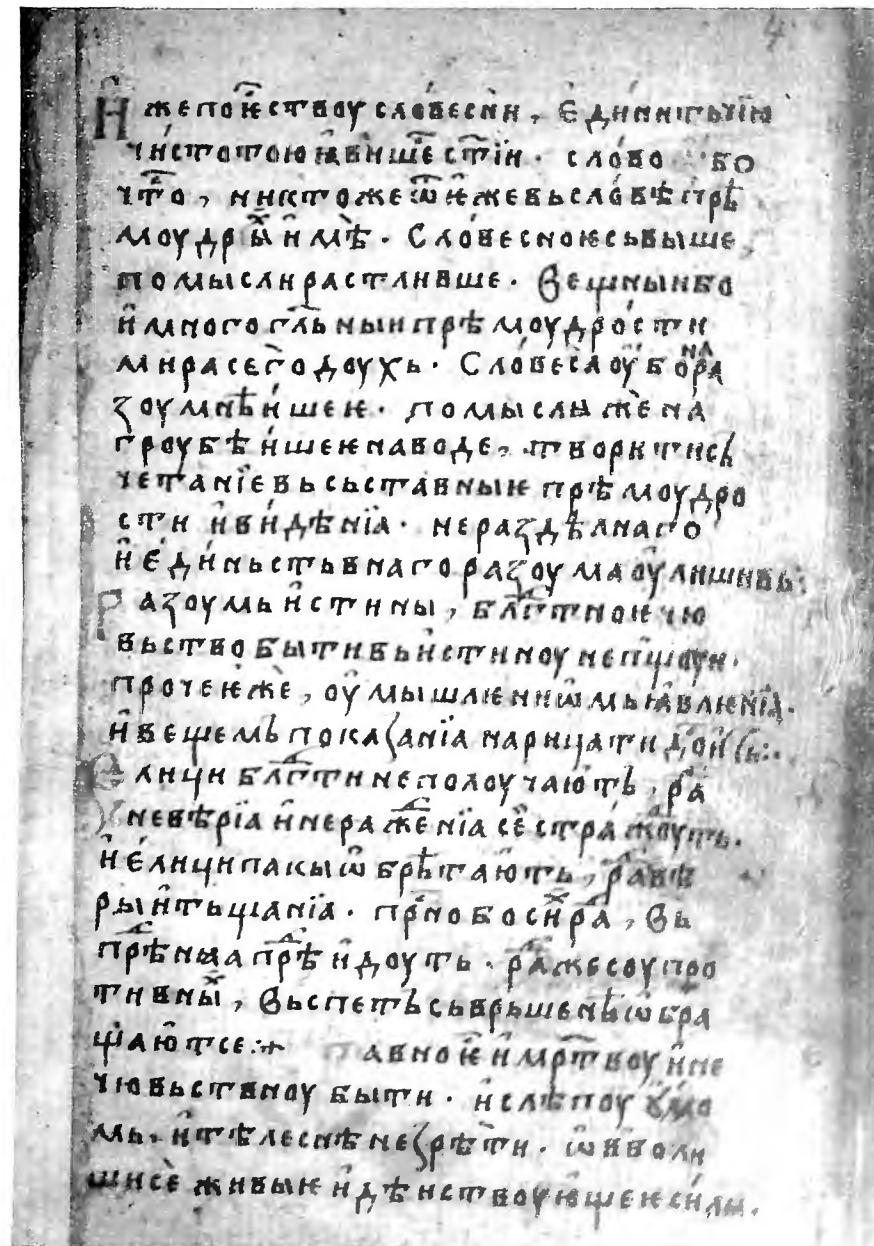
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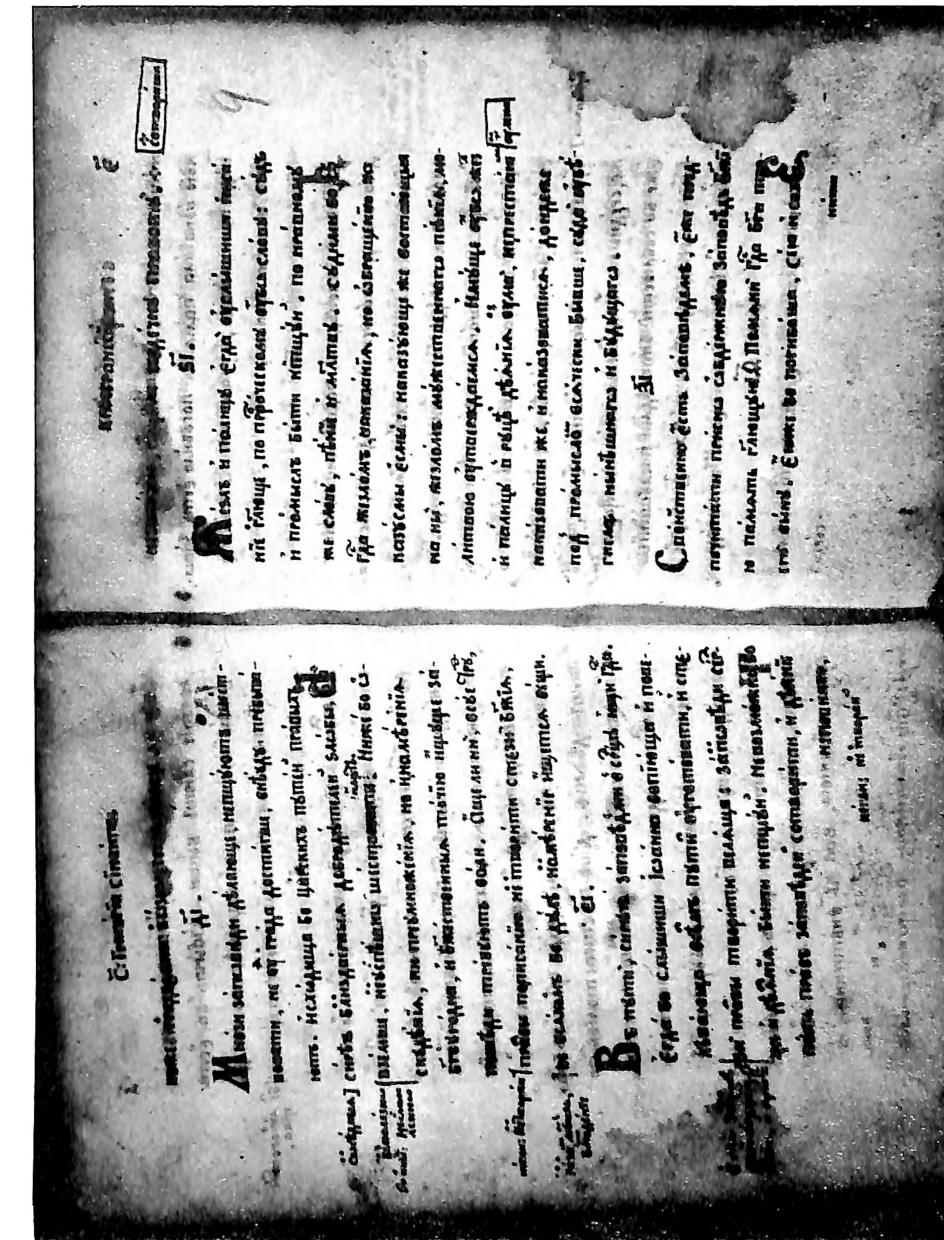
I have great pleasure in expressing warm thanks to Mrs Elena Savova, Directress of the Library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and Mr Ion-Radu Mircea of the Association internationale d'études du sud-est européen, Bucharest, for the ready help they gave me in connection with manuscripts in Bulgaria and Roumania during the years 1974-1975.



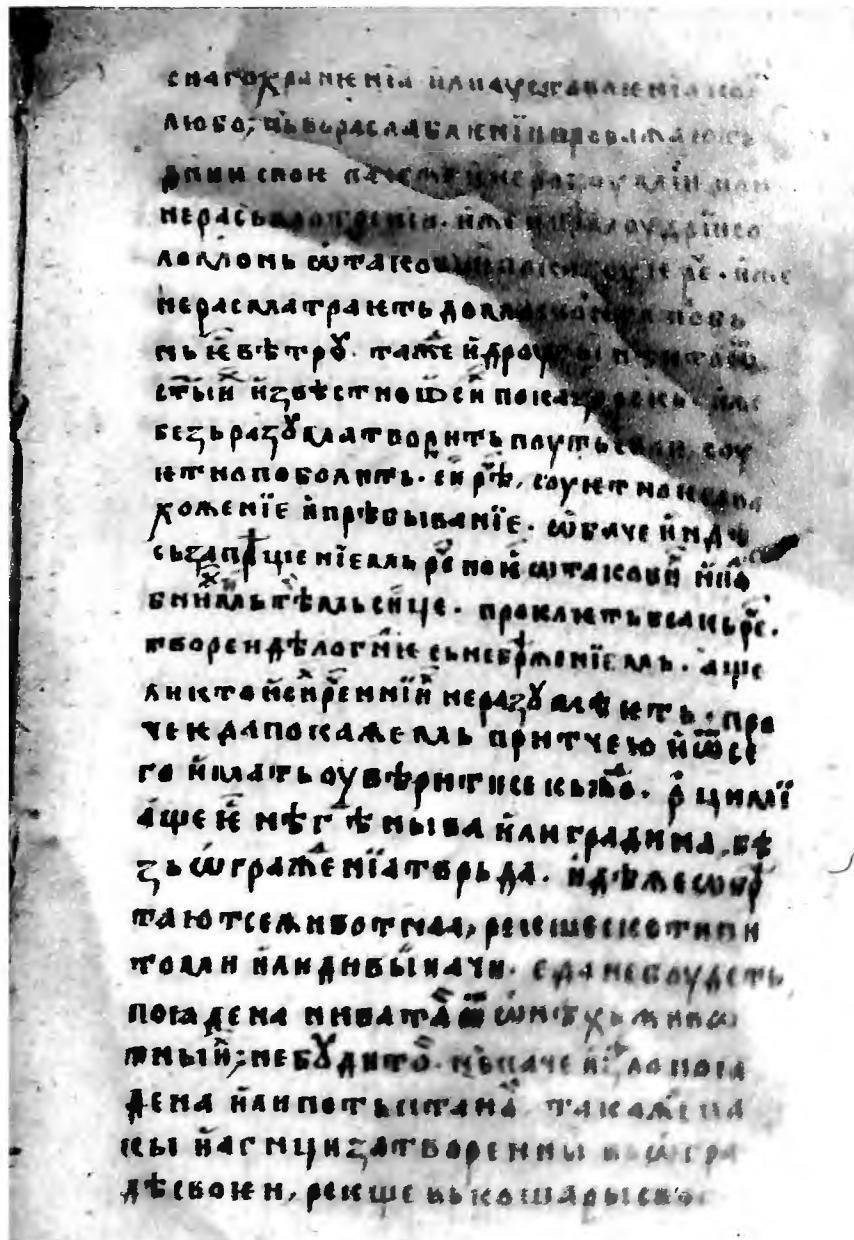
1. Hilandar No 464, fol. 1r. XVth c.



2. Hilandar No 456, fol. 4r. XIVth c.



3. National Library of Sofia No 1034, fol. 4v-5r. AD 1775



4. Hilandar No 640, fol. 4r. XIVth c.

## Григорія Синаїти

104

ніс лоукавому бордю . наїже слово напреда дадеть .  
Брѣмѣнѣ же поіѣж мѣль , наїшев на дрішъ вутемицѣ  
ше велісамоу . тѣже і аїшвъ не рвімо є піспаги . даршикѣ  
вѣстѹю приша гороу . єлѧ ѿтнімѣ сѣти , прѣмѣнїти  
шніго . симардившоуєт вѣли , не тѣ подражанїи тасово  
єт . вѣж вѣпушесте руци се вождєт . такоже тон іс на  
бного иже вождєт сѣт пагатасови бѣтвод и поіллови єго .  
ноуєшитенни бывѣ ѿн , шогутнела ісаиса ради і сданіе .  
благостніже ѿншемъ роди єлагодѣтелето вѣ таїс єв .  
и югода прѣшадомо єадама ради прѣстоупленіа єаповѣдн .  
иуви мѣтшадашвѣззоб . иноути таствада засобицѣ  
жнїпід земіа издавле ивокодине . вѣтрае вѣздеть  
благородіе . ивѣспрѣнть шамрѣтніе таи прѣстрадатицѣ .  
и містѣблесномо єен . єти ослѣпленіе поисаюблюбо виѣтѣ сѣлъ  
такошесе , не тѣчю не слаѣтѣвѣ дешевѣн . єти . и вѣтѣ  
вѣтніи иже дозамѣтѣнѣ прѣпішина и прѣтнада засоби  
чини подаєт . вѣпросишина ірца прѣто наїсаніе , и сарао  
спѣт ємоу дешевѣн . єти . дешевѣ ніс вѣмптицѣ сїд  
разумѣт . іст . вѣтѣш дасить глати и вѣстнє ипспѣ  
вѣрно стади єпндо ивѣтлѣннаго наїмѣршаетвада єад .  
Его же ради ираны . ноузи . ноудимъ ѿнти . и затвори . и вѣ  
мрти и конѣтнѣ поимань , и прѣтрапѣде тоужиствен .  
и вѣтуши мѣтніи мѣтвоздадніе вѣтраноце . лишемо .  
и вѣтреши . єлоблѣтн , поеванкомоу аплов . и вѣмѣнѣн  
єти саѣтѣ и наїладѣш та вѣтвѣши ѿншомъ ісаисою , и наїзда  
ко . и юдание и ютада вѣтѣлан дашамъ наїшомъ ѿнѣ бѣтѣ .  
Его же ради прѣстоупленіа юкоже итн глах єпмрата єадама .  
и вѣннігда помошіо єбони и вѣтнію . мѣтвою попадю и наїкою  
и ніпрѣстадніи мѧнніемъ євд ерца єтнти . тогдѣ прѣсѣт  
шалтес наїшомъ и наїсад , вѣтнаа обладающїа дишти .  
иже и вѣтнѣто фіса сугте дешн . поштосомоу єтнтиставоу .  
тогдѣ погрісоу и црн можемъ и наїшад дрѣновіемъ глати ю  
єон . єднѣтъ вуслышши гаде мон . єднѣтъ прѣстаднїтѣт  
и црнніе . и вѣтѣто праеднїи пренено . Сицеже вѣтѣ  
шннаа дешевыма єтнма , простирадетс єуго сїсіадема  
и юнаа дешн доброта . и нїже пїе зѣтѣ вѣдѣт вївши чайс . ѕрн  
и вѣтвѣнѣ якоже ѿнѣ прѣвѣи єадамъ прѣстаднїи .  
и ху ѿнѣ наїсаніи юкоже руцес сївшиаво брати ѿнѣ єад .  
и вѣ , и юасно вѣзумъ вѣдѣт вѣлагат . єад маніш вѣтвѣроуше  
и нірца . иицеган юнаа . и нїже пїе зѣтѣ погрѣ  
такноу єноу женоу и прѣвѣи . и слови єаднѣралдема

5. Rila Monastery No 61, fol. 274r. AD 1479

THE FRESCOES IN THE CHAPEL OF ST NICHOLAS  
AT THE MONASTERY OF ST JOHN PRODROMOS  
NEAR SERRES

I. Djordjević – E. Kyriakoudis

It is now ten years since A. Xyngopoulos published his monograph on the frescoes in the *katholikon* of the Monastery of St John Prodromos on Mount Menikion<sup>1</sup>. This notable work was a vital supplement to earlier research into the monastery's art treasures<sup>2</sup>, and chiefly studied the fourteenth-century frescoes. Amongst these, in a separate chapter, he also included the frescoes in the chapel of St Nicholas<sup>3</sup>. Xyngopoulos mentioned only some figures which have been preserved in the lower zones of the chapel, and passed over the remaining paintings, which were repainted much later, in 1852. However, when we first visited the chapel in autumn 1978, we found that many more sections than had been mentioned were part of the original decoration, or had been very slightly touched up. This discovery confirmed that some of the frescoes should certainly be cleaned, and this was done the following year, in 1979<sup>4</sup>. After seeking the advice of our colleague, the *Epimeletes* of Antiquities Mr Ch. Bakirtzis, we visited the monastery again and included in our study the new details which appeared after the frescoes in the chapel had been cleaned. Apart from locating the sections of fourteenth-century painting, this study intends to make an artistic evaluation of the chapel's paintings and to investigate their connection with the frescoes in the outer narthex of the *katholikon*<sup>5</sup>. When these two groups of frescoes are compared, one has the impression that the artists who painted the chapel of St Nicholas belonged to the same group of artists who executed most of the paintings in the outer narthex; and there are good reasons for supposing that some of the figures in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos, behind the apse of the *katholikon*, were also painted by this group<sup>6</sup>. The final aim of our study is to make an essential stylistic analysis of these paintings, and to look for similarities with other contemporary works<sup>7</sup>.

The majority of the frescoes in the *katholikon* date back to the period when the Serbs were ruling Serres and the neighbouring regions<sup>8</sup>. Their presence in these recently-acquired areas of Byzantium is connected with a series of gifts and endowments made to monasteries and churches. Tsar Stefan Dušan was the first to set the example, and indeed showed particular concern for the Monastery of St John Prodromos<sup>9</sup>. Apart from making gifts to the monastery, he was probably also connect-

ed with the decoration of the *katholikon* – though this is something which today we may only conjecture<sup>10</sup>. The hypothesis is significantly reinforced, however, by M. E. Cousinery's information about the existence of the portrait of Dušan and his family in the outer narthex<sup>11</sup>; and an unknown Russian writer of a text on the monastery's history repeated this information a few years later, in 1864<sup>12</sup>. It seems that this writer saw the portrait of Dušan as founder together with his family in a copperplate engraving of the monastery dating from 1761, in the centre of which was St John Prodromos; on the saint's right were Joachim, with a model of the church, and Helen, and on his right Dušan with his son Uroš, erroneously noted as Michael (pl. 1)<sup>13</sup>. The Serbian rulers' interest in the ecclesiastical foundations of the occupied regions did not end with Dušan's death, as was formerly believed<sup>14</sup>. On the contrary, as G. Ostrogorsky has observed, the Serbs' relations with various monasteries, and particularly those on Mount Athos, became closer, and reached their peak when the despot Jovan Uglješa was ruling over the Serres region (1365–1371)<sup>15</sup>. Uglješa took a very practical interest in Mount Athos and endowed various monasteries, Vatopedi in particular<sup>16</sup>. He also made a decisive contribution to the completion of Simonos Petras Monastery<sup>17</sup> and had the chapel of Sts Cosmas and Damian at Vatopedi decorated with frescoes<sup>18</sup>. It is very likely, and only to be expected, that the despot of Serres also showed a similar interest in the Monastery of St John Prodromos and followed Tsar Dušan's example there. Of course, we cannot be sure of this today, as there is a gap in the monastery archive's documents relating to this period, but it is a sound hypothesis if one bears in mind Uglješa's activities in this area and above all the fact that his sister Helen was buried in the chapel of St Nicholas at some time during this period. A recent publication of the funerary inscription on Helen's tomb leads us to important conclusions for a more accurate dating of the chapel's frescoes, and also about the general activities of the Serbs who endowed the monastery<sup>19</sup>.

Xyngopoulos dates the funerary inscription to somewhere between 1365 and 1371, which was the period when Helen's brother, the despot Jovan Uglješa, was independent ruler of the Serres region<sup>20</sup>. However, like earlier scholars, Xyngopoulos did not read correctly the second name of Nikola, Helen's husband, on the inscription<sup>21</sup>. This problem was solved by Messrs G. Subotić and S. Kissas, who deciphered the name as PAΔOXNA and realised that this was the Greek transliteration of the Slavonic name RADONJA<sup>22</sup>. The two researchers then proceeded to identify this person as Nikola Radonja, son of the Sebastocrator Branko Mladenović, governor of Ohrid<sup>23</sup>. After his short-lived marriage to Uglješa's sister Helen, Nikola Radonja withdrew from the world and became a monk at Chilandari, the chief reason for this, apparently, being the deaths of Helen and their two daughters<sup>24</sup>.

On the basis of the details furnished by the funerary inscription of these three people in the chapel of St Nicholas, and with the assistance of the historical sources, Subotić and Kissas came to the conclusion that the end of Radonja's married life and his departure for the monastic life must have fallen within the period between 1358 and 1364. During the same period Uglješa rose to the position of despot and Radonja sponsored the frescoes and the inscription in the chapel of St Nicholas<sup>25</sup>. Radonja spent the rest of his life first as an ordinary monk, under the name of Roman, and later as a *megaloschemos*, under the name of Gerasim, at Chilandari, a monastery which he assisted in many ways<sup>26</sup>. He also assisted several other Athonite monasteries, such as Koutloumousiou<sup>27</sup> and, especially, Saint Paul's<sup>28</sup>, and it is very probable that he showed a similar interest in the Monastery of St John Prodromos on Mount Menikion, since his wife and children were buried there.

Having considered all these facts, let us now proceed to an analysis of the frescoes in the chapel of St Nicholas; apart from anything else, this will reinforce the view that this art work is connected with Nikola Radonja.

#### *The arrangement of the frescoes*

As we mentioned earlier, Xyngopoulos studied only a few figures from the chapel's frescoes: St Nicholas on the north wall to the right of the entrance; St Stephen on the north pilaster before the sanctuary; the *Imago Pietatis* of Christ in the prothesis conch; and the Madonna and Child on the arcosolium of Helen's tomb<sup>29</sup>. We must, then, describe all the scenes painted in the chapel, and as we do so locate those sections which have to a greater or lesser extent preserved the original fourteenth-century decoration.

In the dome there is a painting of Christ Pantocrator, and on the tympanum, in between four windows, are four pairs of prophets: Jeremiah and Isaiah, Elijah and Elisha, David and Daniel, and Jonah and Azariah. In between the pairs of prophets are cherubim, while the pendentives are occupied by seraphim, rather than the more usual portrayals of the Evangelists<sup>30</sup>. Other angelic powers, together with the *Mandylion* and the *Keramion*, are depicted on the fronts of the arches, in between the seraphim. The remaining decoration of the chapel is divided into two zones. In the upper zone are scenes from the Twelve Feasts of the Church: the Annunciation on the triumphal arch of the sanctuary; the Nativity on the south wall; the Dormition of the Virgin Mary on the west wall; the Crucifixion on the north wall; the Descent into Limbo occupies the north section of the soffit of the triumphal arch of the sanctuary; and the south section bears the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth. The *Platytera* is in the semi-dome of the apse, and below it is the

representation of the Liturgy, with John Chrysostomos and Basil the Great on either side of the altar. Finally, in the lower zone are the standing figures of saints, of which we shall write in detail in the iconographical analysis which follows.

#### *Iconographical analysis*

A large part of the art work in the chapel is still painted over, as the recent cleaning operations were confined to a few frescoes on the lower surfaces. It must be stressed at once, however, that most of the later touching up did not completely cover the original paintings, but rather reinforced and emphasised outlines, folds, certain light areas, and details on the figures. This is true of almost all the paintings in the upper zone, and of a great many of the frescoes on the lower surfaces. The only scenes and figures which were completely painted over were in the lower area of the chapel, and this top layer of paint has been partially removed by cleaning.

Since the touching up is so light, both the typological and the general stylistic characteristics of most of the figures have retained their original details, thereby making it possible to compare and contrast the frescoes in the chapel with those in the narthex, and also with those in other monuments.

*The Pantocrator.* This bust of Christ within a circle occupies the centre of the dome (pl. 2a). His right hand is raised in blessing and in his left he holds a richly-bound Gospel. He is wearing a chiton and a himation, the sleeves of which reach down almost as far as the hands. It is chiefly the light parts of the Saviour's face and his hair which have been touched up, while the body and arms are almost unchanged. The rays of light from the halo have also been touched up; they cover the whole of the north half of the circular surface upon which the face is painted, in contrast to the south section, where the rays are fewer in number, allowing one to read the ending -THC of the inscription which originally accompanied the Pantocrator. Despite the later touching up, the figure of Christ has retained its original details to a great extent. The characteristic U-shape, representing the Adam's apple, and other features too, such as the ears, the eyes, and the general style of the hair, bring to mind the figure of Christ *Antiphonetes* and Christ Teaching the Apostles in the outer narthex of the *katholikon*<sup>31</sup>. The Pantocrator also shares details with the Christ of the Last Judgment in the rendering of the chiton. Iconographically the fresco of Christ Pantocrator follows the models established in the Middle Ages<sup>32</sup>. Of the depictions of the Pantocrator in fourteenth-century monuments, most similarities are to be found in those of the monasteries of Chora<sup>33</sup> and Pammakaristos<sup>34</sup> in Constantinople, of the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki (the body only)<sup>35</sup>, and of Staro Nagoricino<sup>36</sup> and Lesnovo (narthex)<sup>37</sup> in

Serbia. There are very close similarities in the picture of the Pantocrator in the church of the Chryseleousa of Emba on Cyprus<sup>38</sup>.

*The Prophets.* These figures are all painted on a bi-coloured background, dark blue above – a more recent addition which noticeably affects the whole composition – and shining ochre below, with very little touching up. The inscriptions in the upper part, bearing the names of the prophets, are also later additions, while the texts on the scrolls they carry are original. In the figures of the prophets themselves the original painting has been preserved in varying degrees; the fourteenth-century painting is almost completely intact on the lower bodies and the feet, while the upper part of the bodies and the heads have been touched up. However, as we have said, this touching up is superficial, and the typological characteristics of most of the prophets remain almost unaltered.

The prophets are portrayed in pairs in between the windows, and the effect of a unified composition is achieved through their attitudes and movements, the angles of their heads, and the positions of their hands.

*Jeremiah and Isaiah.* These two prophets occupy the north-east section of the tympanum. They are facing away from each other and the movements of their hands are different. Each wears a chiton with a *clavus* and a robe which covers all but the extremities of the body. *Jeremiah*'s face is tense and serious<sup>39</sup>, his right hand raised high and his left holding a small scroll at thigh level<sup>40</sup>. The prophet's left foot is badly damaged and the paint is peeling from the middle of the body. The picture has been touched up, chiefly on the face and hair and also on the hem of the chiton, but nevertheless the face has retained its original character to a great extent, and may be compared with the faces in the compositions in the lower zones which have recently been cleaned (e.g. the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, pl. 7), and also in the outer narthex<sup>41</sup>. The picture of *Isaiah*<sup>42</sup> shows much less movement than that of *Jeremiah*; the prophet is holding both hands before his chest, with a scroll in the left hand<sup>43</sup>. The face is still in good condition and has been lightly touched up, chiefly in the outlines of the features. The prophet's facial characteristics are different from those in the painting of the same prophet in the outer narthex<sup>44</sup>, but they do resemble those of certain other figures there<sup>45</sup>.

*Elijah and Elisha.* These are portrayed in the south-east section of the tympanum, each in a different attitude. *Elijah* is turning slightly towards the left, though his head is inclined in the opposite direction. On his shoulders, over his robe, he is wearing a sheepskin cloak (*melote*) and in his right hand he is holding a scroll<sup>46</sup>. The face is similar to quite a few faces in the paintings in the outer narthex<sup>47</sup>, and to a certain extent it resembles that of the same prophet there<sup>48</sup>. *Elisha* is painted in three-quarter profile, turning towards *Elijah* and holding a scroll

in his left hand<sup>49</sup>. The paint is peeling quite badly at chest level, and there is distinct touching up in the form of bright brush-strokes on the robe and to a considerable extent on the head, in particular the hair-covered areas. However, the characteristic face with its strong brow recalls some of the faces in the paintings in the outer narthex<sup>50</sup>.

*David and Daniel* (pl. 2b). These two prophets occupy the south-west section of the tympanum. *David* is in three-quarter profile, turning towards Daniel and extending his right hand towards him, while in his left he is holding a scroll<sup>51</sup>. The prophet is wearing the familiar royal garb. The outlines, the folds in the garments, and the face have all been touched up. *Daniel* is depicted full-face, unlike the other prophets, and is holding an open book in both hands<sup>52</sup>. His clothing, too, is different, and is known as Persian: a short robe with chevrons on the shoulders and edging around the maniple, a short chiton, and a cloak over the shoulders. On his head he wears a small mitre, like that of a Jewish priest, and on his feet sandals with bands wound up and round the shins. The typological characteristics of the face are closely related to those of St Stephen and the Virgin of the Annunciation (pl. 4b) in the lower zones of the chapel. It also has certain similarities with those of the angels in the painting of Christ *Anapeson* in the outer narthex, both he and they having the same curly red hair<sup>53</sup>.

*Jonah and Azariah*. These two prophets are painted in the north-west section of the tympanum, both turning towards the right. *Jonah*'s right hand is raised in an oratorical gesture and he has a scroll in his left hand<sup>54</sup>. The figure of the prophet, despite the peeling paint on the right shoulder and arm, has preserved much of the original painting, and the touching up is very slight. The head is virtually untouched, and consequently it may easily be compared with a series of faces not only in the lower zone of the chapel, but also in the scenes in the outer narthex<sup>55</sup>. The figure of *Azariah*<sup>56</sup>, finally, has clearly been touched up in the areas of the clothing and head. His youthful face, however, has preserved its essential characteristics.

*Cherubim*. Four many-eyed cherubim complete the decoration of the tympanum. They have been touched up to a considerable extent, and it is probable that the eyes dispersed over their bodies are later additions. Around the base of the tympanum is a decorative frieze of the meander design, which bears signs of damage and has also been touched up.

*Seraphim* (pl. 3a). The six-winged seraphim are portrayed in the four pendentives. Some of them (particularly the one in the north-east pendentive) are badly damaged and all four have been noticeably touched up. The stars in the background must be later additions.

The cycle of pictures on the superstructure is completed by the subjects depicted on the fronts of the arches between the pendentives. At the top of the front of the north and south arches there is an angel portrayed in a medallion, while the east and west sides bear the *Mandylion* and the *Keramion* respectively. The *angels* are depicted in full-face poses, holding the symbols of power: in the right hand a sceptre and in the left an orb. Of the two, the angel on the south arch is in better condition; apart from a few brush-strokes added to the face, it has retained its original features, unlike the one on the north arch, which has been badly damaged and considerably touched up. The two angels and the *Keramion* are attended by representatives of yet another group of angelic orders, the *Thrones*<sup>57</sup>. The *Mandylion* (pl. 3b) is in relatively good condition; its design follows the more recent tradition, as it developed after the thirteenth century<sup>58</sup>. In form it resembles the model common to a group of early fourteenth-century monuments, as a recent study has pointed out<sup>59</sup>. The face of Christ is quite badly damaged and has been touched up. The *Keramion* is in a similar condition, the face of Christ (IC XC) showing evidence of severe damage.

#### *Scenes from the Twelve Feasts of the Church*

On the triumphal arch of the sanctuary there is a fresco of the *Annunciation* accompanied by the inscription Ο ΧΑΙΠΕΤΙΜΟC (pl. 4). At the top of the arch is a magnificent building, Mary's house, flanked by the scene's two protagonists. On the north side the Archangel Gabriel is depicted, moving towards the Virgin and extending his right hand towards her, and holding a sceptre in his left. He is accompanied by the inscription Ο ΑΡΧ(ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ) ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ and his well-known salutation to the Virgin: ΧΑΙΠΕ ΚΕΧΑΠΙΤΩΜΕΝΗ Ο Κ(ΤΡΙΟ)C META COT (Luke 1:28). Opposite him the Virgin is portrayed standing with her hands upon her breast. She is accompanied by the inscription ΜΗ(ΘΗ)P Θ(ΕΟ)Υ and her reply to the angel: ΙΔΟΤ Η ΔΟΤΛΗ ΚΤΡΙΟΤ ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ ΜΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΦΗΜΑ COT (Luke 1:38). Above the Virgin rays of light stream from a section of the sky, and one large ray bearing the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove is directed towards her head.

The scene of the *Annunciation* was not cleaned during the recent operations, but despite the damage it has suffered and the touching up it retains many details from the original painting. The sumptuous building in the centre is almost completely intact, except for the decorative cloth covering it. The section of the sky with the dove is also intact, as are all the inscriptions. The figures of Gabriel and the Virgin Mary, on the other hand, have been considerably touched up, albeit superficially. The Archangel's robe, wings, arms, and hair have been touched up,

while a great part of the face has been preserved unchanged (pl. 4a). A lily has even been inserted, very clumsily, into Gabriel's left hand, while the original lily remains intact in its proper place, at the top of the sceptre<sup>60</sup>. The figure of the Virgin Mary has been touched up much to the same extent as that of the Archangel (pl. 4b): rough brush-strokes, which do not completely cover the original work, have been applied to her *maphorion* and hands, though her face and veil remain untouched. The wonderfully youthful face has close typological links with the face of the Virgin on the arcosolium of Helen's tomb (pl. 11b). Iconographically, the picture of the Annunciation looks back to the well-known models of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>61</sup>.

On the south section of the soffit of the east arch, very near to and at the same height as the Virgin of the Annunciation, is a painting of the *Meeting of Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary* (pl. 5a), which, according to St Luke's Gospel, is the scene immediately following the Annunciation<sup>62</sup>. The two women are portrayed embracing in front of the entrance to a building with a pedimented roof; on the left is the Virgin Mary, with the inscription MH(TH)P Θ(EΟ)Υ, and on the right Elizabeth, with the inscription Η ΑΓΙΑ ΕΛΙΣΑΒΕΤ. In the doorway, which is covered by a curtain, part of the figure of a child can be seen. The painting is quite badly damaged, as are the rest of the paintings in the sanctuary, owing chiefly to the damp. This painting, too, has not been cleaned. The touching up, however, is limited and superficial, so that the picture has preserved its original form to a great extent. Elizabeth's face, which is in quite good condition, has clear links with the face in the scene of the Flight into Egypt in the outer narthex<sup>63</sup>. The other faces in this scene also bear a resemblance to those of figures in the outer narthex<sup>64</sup>. From an iconographical point of view the painting is traditional in style<sup>65</sup>.

The *Nativity* occupies the greater surface of the tympanum and the soffit of the south arch (pl. 6). The main areas have been cleaned<sup>66</sup>. In the centre of the composition is the rocky cave, in the opening of which can be seen the figures of the Virgin Mary (MHP ΘΥ) lying on a bed of straw, and the Holy Child (IC XC) swaddled in the crib<sup>67</sup>. A calf and an ass are bending their heads over the crib, and the Star of Bethlehem is directing its rays upon the Christ Child's head from a section of sky painted at the top of the soffit of the arch. The incidental scenes are disposed symmetrically around the central subject. On either side of the soffit, in the sky, are singing angels, one of them, in the left-hand section of the composition, proclaiming the glad tidings to two shepherds. The younger shepherd is sitting on a rock playing a pipe<sup>68</sup>, while the elder is standing gazing enraptured at the angel. There is a third shepherd in the foreground on the left-hand side, with Joseph, who is sitting in pensive mood. This characteristic scene is somewhat iso-

lated by its low position<sup>69</sup>. At the same level, immediately to the right, there should be the Bathing of Christ, as we can see from some of the remnants visible beneath the natural landscape<sup>70</sup>. The right-hand section of the picture is occupied by the three Magi with their gifts, and an angel showing them the way to Christ in the cave (pl. 5b). Farther right, on the lower part of the soffit, the Magi's arrival on horseback is depicted.

The portrayal of the Magi on the right and the shepherds on the left is rarely encountered in Byzantine art; but as G. Millet observes, it is an old eastern iconographical tradition which later passed over into the West<sup>71</sup>. One of the older medieval examples is the well-known eleventh-century miniature of the Nativity in codex 762(610) of Vatopedi Monastery<sup>72</sup>. Similar, later, examples are to be found in Sopočani (thirteenth century)<sup>73</sup>, and in the church of St Nicholas at Stegi in Cyprus<sup>74</sup> and in St Athanasius's church in Kastoria<sup>75</sup> (both fourteenth century). The depiction of the arrival of the Magi on the right-hand side is of particular interest, because the older tradition usually places this scene on the left<sup>76</sup>. The painter of the Monastery of John the Baptist must have had a similar model in mind, or else he had no choice, owing to lack of space; or it may have been done in this way through a misunderstanding of some kind.

Most of the faces in this composition bear direct typological similarities to those of figures in the outer narthex, similarities which become more obvious after cleaning. Amongst these, the most obvious is the resemblance between the features of the oldest Magus and the prophet Elijah<sup>77</sup>.

The fresco of the *Dormition of the Virgin Mary* occupies the tympanum and the soffit of the west arch (pl. 7a). A window was later opened up in the middle of the tympanum, thereby destroying the centre of the composition; also, the remainder of the picture was covered over with a new layer of painting, a large part of which was removed during the recent cleaning operations. Of the original painting only the detail of the two angels and the gates of Heaven at the top of the soffit of the arch were left uncovered, and this was the only feature which indicated the presence of the picture of the Dormition underneath the top layer of paint (pl. 7b).

In the north section of the composition, the greater part of which has been cleaned, there are four apostles and three hierarchs, whose identities are indicated by the initial letters of their names: Π – Peter, ΑΝ – Andrew, Ι – James (apostles), and Ι – Jacob, Τ – Timothy, ΙΕ – Hierotheos (hierarchs)<sup>78</sup> (pl. 8a). Of the fourth apostle only the body as far as the shoulders remains: this must be John, as we can see from the way he is bending low over the Virgin Mary, of whom only the lower part of the legs remains<sup>79</sup>. Behind John is the half-ruined figure of an angel, and

parts of the heads of five other angels, surrounding Christ, are still visible above the window. In the south section of the composition, which has hardly been cleaned at all, one can discern the lower part of the figure of the Apostle Peter holding a censer, the head of another apostle, and part of the Virgin Mary's deathbed together with the edge of her halo. In the soffit of the arch, on either side of the gates of Heaven, the apostles are depicted on flying clouds, accompanied by angels; each cloud bears one apostle and one angel<sup>80</sup>. In the north section the figures of the apostles: Paul – Π, John – ΙΩ, Luke – Λ, and part of that of James – Ι, have been cleaned. In the south section all that remains today is a cloud bearing the Apostle Peter – Π.

As in the case of the singing angels and other details in the Nativity, so here too the depiction of the apostles in the soffit of the arch was dictated by lack of space. The same applies to the apostles in the Dormition fresco in Koumbelidiki church in Kastoria<sup>81</sup>, where the apostles and angels are likewise depicted on clouds, one of each on each cloud. This feature is common to a whole group of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century monuments<sup>82</sup> and, as has already been observed, it must be considered the most frequent iconographical model in the Palaeologian period<sup>83</sup>.

There is a slight idiosyncracy in the rendition of the clouds bearing the apostles, namely that they are shaped like animals at one end (pl. 8b). This interesting detail is a rare iconographical feature, which is not mentioned in iconography manuals<sup>84</sup>. There is a similar fourteenth-century example in the Dormition fresco in the church of the Peribleptos at Mystra, in which the top of the cloud is shaped like a fish<sup>85</sup>. Later examples are comparatively more frequent, as we can see from the well-known mid-fifteenth-century icon in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow<sup>86</sup> and two related sixteenth-century icons in the Greek Institute in Venice<sup>87</sup>. There are similar sixteenth-century examples in Barlaam Monastery at Meteora<sup>88</sup> and in the triptych of Agirbici in Romania, which dates from 1555<sup>89</sup>.

Another rather singular iconographical detail is connected with the figure of the angel in the north section of the composition, which was largely destroyed when the window was opened up. The angel is wearing imperial attire, which is a detail infrequently encountered in pictures of the Dormition. It is to be found in the early work of Miroz at Pskov<sup>90</sup> and later at Kurbinovo<sup>91</sup> and in the Omorphi Ekklisia at Athens<sup>92</sup>. From what remains of the other angels it is not possible to determine whether or not they too were similarly dressed or simply wearing the customary chiton and himation; if the latter were the case, the picture would correspond with that at Lesnovo, in which some of the angels are dressed in the himation and others in imperial garb<sup>93</sup>.

Apart from the two aspects mentioned above the rest of the painting of the Dormition does not differ in detail from the usual iconographical models of the period. As for the typological features of the figures, the fine condition of some of them, such as the apostles and the hierarchs in the north section, allows for direct comparison with figures in the outer narthex<sup>94</sup>.

The *Crucifixion* occupies the tympanum and the soffit of the north arch (pl. 9). Almost half of the picture has been repainted and has not been cleaned. Of the original painting the east section of the composition remains intact, including the figures of John, the centurion Longinus, Joseph of Arimathea, and most of the crucified Christ. The west section has been almost entirely repainted, the new layer of painting covering the original figures of the Virgin Mary and her three friends, the west arm of the cross, and Christ's right arm. Some of the original details of the female figures are only half hidden, such as the Virgin's hands, the friend on her right, and to a certain extent the lower parts of all four figures. It is clear that these figures were in the same positions originally as they are depicted now<sup>94a</sup>. The figures of the lamenting angels in the soffit of the arch have been painted over and are badly damaged. The moon in the east section is intact, while the sun in the west section has been painted over. The original building in the background has been largely preserved. Christ's face is almost completely destroyed, and John's shows signs of damage around the eyes.

The arrangement of the composition and the figures themselves follow the models of Palaeologian iconography<sup>95</sup>. Christ's dead body is rendered with the realism of the period, the head bent low and the body bowed towards the left<sup>96</sup>. This bowing, though not extremely acute, as is the case in most Macedonian monuments<sup>97</sup>, is nevertheless quite pronounced, and similar examples are encountered in quite a number of fourteenth-century monuments<sup>98</sup>. The Virgin Mary is portrayed in the familiar swooning attitude, supported by two of her friends, while the third expresses her emotion by the position of her hands<sup>99</sup>. John is turned towards the crucified Christ, reaching out his left hand to him and, his head raised, is probably gazing steadily at him (pl. 9b). As has been observed, John is rarely portrayed with raised head<sup>100</sup>. This tradition, though uncommon, is very old, as we can see from two eighth- to tenth-century icons in the Sinai Monastery<sup>101</sup>; it is more frequently encountered during the Palaeologian period, however. Behind John is the centurion Longinus, in military dress and with the familiar white covering on his head. He is looking at Christ, his upraised right hand pointing towards him and his left holding a spear. On his left shoulder he bears a triangular shield decorated with a two-headed eagle, only one head of which can be seen. The haloed figure next to Longinus is a very rare detail, and we identify it as Joseph of

Arimathea. Though we do not know which model the artist had in mind, we must consider that the portrayal of Joseph is based on the developed model of the Crucifixion, in which other figures are depicted apart from Longinus. In the Gradac Crucifixion scene, for instance, apart from Longinus there is another haloed figure in the crowd, which Millet identifies as Joseph<sup>102</sup>, while Xyngopoulos sees it as one of the two soldiers who believed in Christ<sup>103</sup>. K. Berg is also of the opinion that the figure is that of Joseph, basing this hypothesis on the fact that Joseph was one of Christ's followers present at the Crucifixion<sup>104</sup>. In the case of our own monument it seems that the artist was following a similar tradition, but owing to limitations of space, instead of the crowd he painted only Joseph of Arimathea. In this way he also balanced the composition by providing a counterweight to the group of women in the left-hand section. As far as the typological characteristics are concerned, the figures of Longinus and Joseph of Arimathea, which are completely intact, closely resemble several figures in the outer narthex<sup>105</sup>.

The *Descent into Limbo*, which occupies the north section of the soffit of the east arch, is severely damaged (pl. 10a). The west and central sections of the composition have been preserved, albeit considerably impaired, while only a few remnants of the left-hand section remain. Christ (IC XC) is portrayed turning towards the right and trampling upon the broken gates of Hell. He is wearing a chiton with gold striations and a himation, the edge of which has been flung up high by his violent movements, and his face is surrounded by an elliptical glory. Behind his head, which is now ruined, one can discern the cross he was holding in his left hand; his right must have been holding that of Adam. All that remains of the latter is the tips of his feet on the lip of the sarcophagus. Higher up, level with Christ's head, there is a small section of a halo which most probably surrounded the head of St John Prodromos. On Christ's left are the severely damaged figures of the prophet-kings Daniel and Solomon, and of another King and a Judge<sup>106</sup>.

From an iconographical point of view the picture of the Descent into Limbo follows the familiar models as they prevailed during the Palaeologian period<sup>107</sup>. The arrangement of the figures, and particularly Christ's violent movement towards the right causing his robe to fly upwards, is common to many contemporary works. From this point of view this particular fresco is related in many ways to the miniature of the Descent into Limbo in the well-known thirteenth-century MS no. 5 of Iviron Monastery<sup>108</sup>, and to a group of fourteenth-century monuments, including the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki<sup>109</sup>, the *Protaton* in Karyes<sup>110</sup>, the church of the Theoskepastos in Trabzon<sup>111</sup>, and also the Palaeologian icons<sup>112</sup>. An interesting iconographical detail is the depiction of Adam kneeling on the edge of the sarcophagus. This unnatural position resulted from an erroneous illustration

of Nicodemus's apocryphal narrative, in which he actually reports that Christ raised Adam up from the ground when the latter knelt to give thanks, and not that he drew him up out of the sarcophagus<sup>113</sup>. Xyngopoulos has dealt with this subject and observes that some painters in the Palaeologian period corrected this error, though many of them perpetuated the erroneous model, which is an old iconographical tradition<sup>114</sup>.

#### Frescoes in the Bema

In the upper part of the apse there is the *Platytera*, accompanied by the inscription: MP ΘΤ Η ΠΛΑΤΤΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΤΡΑΝΩΝ (pl. 10b). The Virgin Mary is portrayed after the *Blachernitissa* model, i.e. open-armed and with Christ Emmanuel in a medallion on her breast<sup>115</sup>. The figure of Christ is accompanied by the inscription: IC [XC] O EMAN[OTHΛ]. The picture has suffered considerable damage, but the touching up on the faces has been partially removed. The Virgin is wearing a *maphorion* which has the same edging as that of the Virgin of the Annunciation (pl. 4b), and the edge of the veil and many facial details are also the same in both paintings.

Under the *Platytera*, on the semi-cylindrical surface of the conch, are paintings of two hierarchs celebrating the liturgy. In the north section is John Chrysostomos (pl. 11a) and in the south Basil the Great. Both are turning and slightly inclining towards the sanctuary and holding scrolls bearing extracts from liturgical texts. The figures of both hierarchs have been considerably damaged and touched up, particularly St Basil's face. In the course of the maintenance work the heads of the two hierarchs were cleaned to a certain extent, but the touching up on the bodies has remained. The inscriptions accompanying both figures are more recent additions, as are the texts on the scrolls. The latter, however, must be rewritings of the original texts, as the beginning of the text on both scrolls retains the original letters. St Basil's scroll bears the blessing from the cherubic hymn: ΟΤΔΕΙC ΑΞΙΟC ΤΩN ΣΤΝΔΕΔEMENΩN TAIC CAPKIKAIC ΕΠΙΘTMIAIC (KAI HΔONAIC), and Chrysostomos' the *proscomide* blessing: O Θ(EO)C O Θ(EO)C O TON OTPANION APTON (THN TPOΦHN TOT ΠANTOC KOC MOT...).

In the *proscomide* conch there is the *Imago Pietatis* of Christ, which Xyngopoulos discusses<sup>116</sup>. The painting is quite badly damaged and has been touched up, though some of this has been removed. In the conch of the *diaconicon*, damaged but with no touching up, is the cross – the tree of life with the cryptogram: IC XC NI KA.

***Figures of saints in the lower zone***

The lower zone is devoted to the figures of standing saints and to the stylites. On the *south wall*, next to the iconostasis, is St John Prodromos as he was painted in the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly there was a painting of St John Prodromos in this position originally, as he is the patron of the whole monastery and this accords with the well-known iconographical tradition prevailing chiefly in the Macedonian monuments. It is significant that the patron of the chapel, St Nicholas, is portrayed in a corresponding position on the north wall. In the west section of the south wall there is a painting of *St Anthony*, which has been painted over; during the recent operations the saint's upper body and head were cleaned, but remnants of the newer painting still remain in various places, on the hair-covered parts for example. Next to St Anthony, on the east face of the south-west pilaster, is *St Daniel Stylites*, who was replaced by the figure of St Alypius in the nineteenth century. The painting has been partially cleaned, but most of the saint's face is ruined. As well as the new inscription the old one is also discernible: [O A]Γ[IOC Δ]ΑΝΙΗΛ Ο ΚΤΤ[ΛΙ]THC. The saint is depicted in a full-face pose, his body and head turning slightly towards the left, and both hands before his breast, the open palms facing the onlooker. His hair and beard are long, and the waves in them are very similar to those of St John Prodromos in the outer narthex<sup>117</sup>.

In the south-west corner of the chapel is the arcosolium of the tomb of Helen and her two daughters. On it the Virgin Mary is portrayed with Christ after the *Eleousa* model — MH(TH)P Θ(EO)Υ H ΕΛΕΟΤCA (pl. 11b). The Virgin is holding the infant Christ in her arms and bending her head tenderly towards him. Christ — IC XC — has his right arm around his mother's neck, his head resting against her face, and his left hand is clutching the Virgin's *maphorion*, which falls in characteristic triangular folds. The border of the *maphorion* and the edge of her veil are precisely the same as those of the Virgin of the *Platytera* and the Virgin of the Annunciation, and there are also many similarities in the features of all three faces. Christ is wearing a white chiton and a himation. The chiton has triangular decorations, which, as Xyngopoulos has noted, are the same as those on the chiton of the Christ *Anapeson* in the outer narthex<sup>118</sup>. His himation has gold striations which are very similar to those on the figure of Christ in the painting of the Descent into Limbo. The *Eleousa* picture is accompanied by two large inscriptions. On the south face of the south-west pilaster is the Virgin's intercessionary prayer to Christ on behalf of those buried in the tomb<sup>119</sup>; during the recent operations the second part of the inscription was also cleaned, but it is very badly damaged. On the other side, on the west wall, is the funerary inscription of Jovan Uglješa's sister and her daughters, which we have already discussed.

In the north section of the *west wall* there is the figure of *St Theodore of Tyre*, which has been cleaned to a considerable extent, though it is badly damaged. The saint is depicted standing in three-quarter profile turning towards the right. He is in military uniform, holding a spear in his right hand and a triangular shield in his left, and is accompanied by the inscription: [O ΑΓΙΟC ΘΕΟ]ΔΩΡΟC Ο ΤΗΡΩN. On the south and east faces of the north-west pilaster are two stylite saints. On the south face is *St Symeon Stylites*, quite badly damaged, though his inscription is completely intact: O ΑΓ(IOC) ΣΤΜΕΩN Ο ΚΤΤΛΙTHC. The painting on the east face must be of *St Alypius Kionites*, as far as we can make out from the iconographical model and the epithet KIONITHC which accompanies him<sup>120</sup>. Both these stylite saints are portrayed in full-face poses from the waist upwards, their hands before their breast in a similar position to that of St Daniel. They are both wearing an ascetic cowl and are surrounded by a marble border<sup>121</sup>. The depiction of the stylite saints on the chapel's pilasters has a purely symbolic and protective significance.

In the west section of the *north wall* is a painting of *St Theodore Stratelates* which was later covered by a picture of St Theodore of Tyre. During the maintenance operations the lower half of the body and the face were cleaned to reveal the original painting, and to the left of the head part of the original inscription came to light: O A[ΓΙΟC ΘΕΟ]ΔΩΡΟC . . . The saint is wearing a short chiton and the rest of the usual military accoutrements, of which his scabbard is discernible, with letters written along it, probably for decorative purposes only.

On the same wall, to the east of the entrance, is the chapel's patron, *St Nicholas* (pl. 12a). He is portrayed in a frontal position and standing firmly on his right leg, the left being relaxed. With his right hand he is giving a blessing, while in his left he holds a closed Gospel. He is clad in the attire of an arch-hierarch, with distinctively decorated orarion, stole, *epigonation*, and maniple. The figure of the saint is quite intact, except for a certain amount of damage to the eyes and the middle of the body. He is accompanied by the inscription: O ΑΓ(IOC) ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟC Ο ΘΑΤΜΑΤΟΡΓΟC.

To the east of St Nicholas, on the north pilaster before the sanctuary, there is a painting of *St Stephen*; the whole body is portrayed, standing and facing the onlooker. The saint's head is badly damaged in many places and has been considerably touched up, as have most of the letters of the original inscription. Nevertheless, they are still discernible under the more recent lettering: [O ΑΓΙΟC] ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟC [Ο Π]ΡΩΤΟΜΑΡΤΥC. Xyngopoulos describes as quite rare the portrayal of St Stephen in a chiton and himation, rather than the customary deacon's vestments<sup>122</sup>. How far such a description is justified we shall see further on when we discuss this iconographical subject specifically.

The figures depicted on the pilasters at the chapel's entrances also belong to the group of saints in the lower zone. On the east pilaster at the south entrance is the prophet *Zacharias* (pl. 12b). The right-hand part of the figure has suffered a certain amount of damage, but the rest has remained untouched, though hitherto researchers do not appear to have noticed it. Half of the accompanying inscription has also been preserved: . . . ZAXAPIAC. The prophet is depicted full-face, his two hands holding a rolled-up scroll before his breast, and there is a cylindrical object resembling an ink-well which is just discernible level with his left hand<sup>123</sup>. On his head he is wearing the small mitre which we saw in the painting of David: the figure of Zacharias corresponds exactly with the picture of the same prophet in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos<sup>124</sup>. Two figures of saints were at one time portrayed on the pilasters at the north entrance, but today they are covered with a layer of dark varnish. Nevertheless, on the east side the figure of St Terence is discernible together with his inscription: O ΑΓ(ΙΟ)C TEPEΝΤΙΟC. There used to be a third entrance to the chapel on the west side. After the recent cleaning operations the half-ruined figure of a military saint appeared there, but it has remained unidentified. The saint is wearing a white over-garment with the same decorative triangles as we saw on Christ's chiton on the arcosolium of the tomb and in the painting of Christ *Anapeson*.

#### Foliate decoration

The free surfaces of the chapel are covered with foliate and floral decoration identical to that in the unpainted areas of the outer narthex. For the most part the decoration covers the soffits of the arches and other hemispherical surfaces, but it is also to be found on flat surfaces, such as the two examples of which we have made plates and which are representative of the decoration as a whole (pl. 13 a & b). The first type of decoration consists of entwined branches, usually ending in heart-shaped anthemia, and the second of a band of consecutive calyxes of soft acanthus linked with branches. This type of decoration was common during the fourteenth century, as is indicated by the similar examples to be found in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki<sup>125</sup>, in Staro Nagoričino, and in St Nicetas's church in Čučer<sup>126</sup>, and also in many miniatures<sup>127</sup>.

Having made this lengthy iconographical analysis, we may now proceed to draw certain conclusions about the painter and his art, and the relationship between the paintings in the chapel and those in the outer narthex. We shall also point out certain details in connection with the chapel's founder Nikola Radonja and the general presence of Serbs in the monastery.

To begin with, from an iconographical point of view it is clear that the frescoes in the chapel of St Nicholas are works of contemporary art as it developed in the most important artistic centres of the fourteenth century, i.e. Mount Athos and Macedonia, Mystra, and Serbia. The painter concentrates on the familiar iconographical tradition of his time and also shows two special characteristics. First he correctly adapts his development of the scenes and paintings to the space available. Because of the narrowness of the space his compositions are restricted to the essential scenes, details, and figures, and thus they lose none of their monumental character. In this respect the artist was working in a climate of iconographical simplicity similar to that prevailing in early fourteenth-century monuments in Thessaloniki and the surrounding area – e.g. St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki and Christ's Church in Veria<sup>128</sup>. This tendency, which largely resulted from the small dimensions of the churches, is also evident in other Macedonian monuments contemporary with the paintings in the chapel, such as, to give one example, the frescoes dating from 1359/60 in the church of Taxiarchis tis Mitropoleos in Kastoria<sup>129</sup>.

The second distinguishing characteristic of the artist or the supervisor of the paintings is the use of certain iconographical details which are not often encountered in Byzantine art. Some of these, such as the changing of the positions of the Adoration of the Magi and the Bringing of the Glad Tidings to the Shepherds in the Nativity composition, are connected with old traditions which evolved in the East and afterwards survived sporadically in the purely Byzantine areas. Other iconographical details indicate the artist's knowledge and skill, which enable him to avoid monotonous repetition of traditional forms and to seek solutions which are certainly connected with advanced religious thought and knowledge of ecclesiastical texts; the presence of Joseph of Arimathea in the Crucifixion scene stands out particularly in this respect. Another indication of the artist's superior intellectual level is the faultlessly beautiful style in which he writes the inscriptions.

The selection of the pictures and compositions also indicates the capabilities of the artist and whoever supervised the artistic decoration of the chapel. As we shall see presently, the chapel's iconographical scheme is directly connected with certain fundamental subjects: the dedication of the whole monastery to St John Prodromos and of the chapel in particular to St Nicholas; the Serbian founders; the chapel's function as a mausoleum; and finally the interrelation between the paintings in the chapel and a great many of the frescoes in the outer narthex of the *katholikon*.

Let us recall, first of all, the scenes from the cycle of the Twelve Feasts of the Church which are depicted in the chapel: the Annunciation, the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, the Nativity, the Dormition, the Crucifixion, and the Des-

cent into Limbo. The first two scenes and the last are in the sanctuary and the rest are on the three walls – that is, on the chapel's arches. All these scenes bear reference to the dedication of the monastery as a whole, and also to the sepulchral function of the chapel, while some give indications as to the national origin of the founder. For instance, the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth reminds us of St John Prodromos through his mother. The inclusion of this event among the Twelve Feasts is quite an old custom which was particularly popular during the twelfth century in the Archiepiscopate of Ohrid<sup>130</sup>. Later, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was more rare and became part of an iconographical cycle devoted to St John Prodromos or the Virgin Mary<sup>131</sup>. The question arises here of whether this old iconographical custom has anything to do with Nikola Radonja, who came to Serres from Ohrid. Reference is made to the monastery's patron, St John Prodromos, through other iconographical subjects too. Apart from the portrayal of the prophet himself on the south wall, the depiction of prophets rather than apostles on the tympanum of the dome is a characteristic example. The portrait of the prophet Zacharias, John's father, at the chapel's south entrance may also be considered in this context<sup>132</sup>.

The sepulchral function of the chapel of St Nicholas is another theme promoted through the iconographical scheme. Apart from the Virgin Mary with Christ on the arcosolium of the tomb, the paintings of the Crucifixion and the Descent into Limbo are particularly representative of this idea, for it is expressed through these scenes throughout the Orthodox world<sup>133</sup>. From this point of view it is interesting to compare this monument with the north-east chapel of the church of St Sophia (Christ Zoodotes) at Mystra, in which there is also a tomb; in addition to the Crucifixion and the Descent into Limbo, this chapel is also decorated with the scenes of the Annunciation, the Dormition, and the *Imago Pietatis* of Christ accompanied by the Virgin Mary and St John Prodromos<sup>134</sup>. In the east conch of the chapel at St Sophia's there is the *Platytera* and in the dome the Pantocrator surrounded by the angelic powers. These last – and in particular the presence of seraphim rather than Evangelists in our own monument – seem to be connected with its sepulchral function. The depiction of seraphim in the pendentives is not uncommon in the Orthodox world and is chiefly a feature of sepulchral monuments, such as the church of the Panhagia Chalceon in Thessaloniki<sup>135</sup>, the Afentiko in Mystra<sup>136</sup>, Lesnovo<sup>137</sup>, and Pološko in Serbia<sup>138</sup>. If – as is probable – the seraphim have a protective significance, it is as the guardians of the Upper World, of Heaven<sup>139</sup>.

Its dedication to St Nicholas is also connected with the chapel's sepulchral function. As it has long been known, St Nicholas takes second place to St John Pro-

dromos as intercessor with Christ for the salvation of mankind, and he and John are depicted alternately in paintings of the *Deesis*<sup>140</sup>. This is why many Byzantine chapels are dedicated to St Nicholas<sup>141</sup>, and why he is a particularly appropriate patron for sepulchral monuments<sup>142</sup>. In our own monument the capacities of St Nicholas as patron of the chapel, and St John Prodromos as patron of the whole monastery, are perfectly combined.

The chapel's dedication to St Nicholas is also connected with its founder Nikola Radonja, for the saint is not only the intercessor for the souls of the dead, but also Radonja's own namesake. In his particular devotion to St Nicholas, Radonja was continuing an old Serbian tradition, which began at the end of the twelfth century with Stefan Nemanja and continued throughout the Middle Ages<sup>143</sup>. During the fourteenth century the Serbs' worship of St Nicholas revived strongly, particularly during the time of the ruler Stefan Dečanski, to whom, the story goes, the saint restored his sight<sup>144</sup>. Moreover, the citizens of Ohrid – which is where Nikola Radonja came from – were well known for their worship of St Nicholas<sup>145</sup>.

The painting of the Madonna and Child, after the *Eleousa* model, known in the Ohrid region as the *Pelagonitissa*<sup>146</sup>, was a particularly common tombstone decoration of the Serbian nobles who were buried in this area. In fact, the iconographical model of the Virgin may be connected with members of the same family: in the 1470s the caesar Vojihna, son-in-law of the despot Uglješa, built a tomb for himself at Chilandari and decorated it with this subject<sup>147</sup>. Uglješa's son, Uglješa Despotović, also had a tomb in the same place, decorated with the same subject<sup>148</sup>. Thus we see that the relatives of the governor of the Serres region – his sister, his son, and his son-in-law – all had the picture of the Holy Virgin *Pelagonitissa* over their last resting-place; and as we have said, it was the Serbs who brought this iconographical model to these parts<sup>149</sup>.

There are other paintings in the chapel which are connected with Serbian iconographical traditions and cults of saints. The most characteristic example is the depiction of St Stephen the Protomartyr dressed as an apostle. As we remarked earlier, Xyngopoulos has already observed that such a presentation of St Stephen is outside the customary iconographical context of Byzantine art<sup>150</sup>. But it is a well-known fact that the saint was very frequently portrayed in this guise in the Serbian countries from the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, as the patron saint of the Nemanja family<sup>151</sup>. The *kral* Milutin particularly espoused the cult of St Stephen, and built the mausoleum-monastery at Banjska in his honour<sup>152</sup>. As his bequest to Mount Athos – in the *katholikon* of Chilandari Monastery – he also ordered a similar portrayal of St Stephen in the founder's picture of c. 1319<sup>153</sup>. This iconographical model of St Stephen must somehow have reached the chapel

of St Nicholas via the Serbian monastery on Mount Athos. At this point we must not forget that after the death of his wife and children Nikola Radonja took the habit at Chilandari<sup>154</sup>, a fact which goes a long way towards explaining not only the depiction – unusual in these regions – of St Stephen dressed as an apostle, but also the iconographical model of the Virgin Mary *Pelagonitissa*.

As we have seen, then, three fundamental themes are expressed through the paintings which decorate the chapel: first, the dedication of the chapel to St Nicholas, with reference also to the dedication of the whole monastery to St John Prodromos; secondly, the presence of certain Serbian iconographical elements introduced by Nikola Radonja; and thirdly, the chapel's sepulchral function, which is also a key factor in the iconographical scheme.

A very important aspect which we must now touch upon is the relationship between the paintings in the chapel of St Nicholas and a considerable number of the frescoes in the outer narthex. From the analysis we have just made certain conclusions automatically follow, which we believe to be decisive in this respect. First of all, there are a great many similarities in the typological characteristics of most of the figures in the chapel and in the outer narthex. To these we may also add the similarities in various iconographical details and in the foliate decoration<sup>155</sup>. Another important detail which confirms the relationship between the two groups of frescoes is the identical manner in which all the inscriptions are written, a fact which other researchers have also pointed out<sup>156</sup>. Finally, there are also certain, let us say, practical connections between the decorative scheme of the outer narthex and that of the chapel above it: the domed ceiling of the outer narthex was not a suitable surface for the painting of Christ Pantocrator and the figures which usually accompany it, and consequently these paintings, supplemented by the principal scenes from the Twelve Feasts of the Church, were executed in the chapel, which in a way comprised the upper zone of one decoratively uniform area. It now becomes more than obvious that most of the paintings in the outer narthex<sup>157</sup> and the frescoes in the chapel in the upper storey are contemporary, and it is highly probable that both areas were also built during the same period. This theory is reinforced by the fact that the two central arches of the outer narthex are particularly strong, as though built specifically to bear the weight of the chapel which is directly above<sup>158</sup>.

Xyngopoulos also mentions the probability that part of the art work in the outer narthex is connected with the frescoes in the chapel, but he reasons along different lines and gives different dates. Specifically, Xyngopoulos believes that almost all the art work in the outer narthex (except, of course, for the very earliest frescoes) belongs to two separate periods: a) the period between 1333, the year

of the founder Joachim's death, and 1345, the year when Dušan captured Serres<sup>159</sup>; and b) the period of Dušan's reign, 1345-1355<sup>160</sup>. Xyngopoulos also places the frescoes in the chapel of St Nicholas in this second period, with the sole exception of the *Eleousa* on the arcosolium of the tomb, which he dates to somewhere between 1365 and 1371<sup>161</sup>. However, from the extensive analysis conducted above, the frescoes have been ascertained as homogeneous<sup>162</sup> and as belonging to the period between 1358 and 1364<sup>163</sup>. We have also ascertained that the frescoes in the chapel are homogeneous and contemporary with almost all the frescoes in the outer narthex, without there being any reason to divide the latter into two groups, as Xyngopoulos does. On the contrary, a simple comparison between all the frescoes in the outer narthex convinces one that they form a uniform pictorial group<sup>164</sup>; apart from the similarity of iconographical detail, the foliate decoration, and the inscriptions, this relationship is also confirmed by a considerable number of easily identifiable typological similarities between the figures in the various pictures. It is significant that Xyngopoulos himself is unable to place several scenes in the outer narthex decisively in one group or the other, obviously because of the similarity between them<sup>165</sup>.

Other researchers too consider the paintings in the outer narthex to be homogeneous and contemporary with the frescoes in the chapel, though others again date them differently. H. Hallensleben believes that both groups of paintings were executed between 1344 and 1345<sup>166</sup>, while V.J. Djurić dates them to Dušan's time<sup>167</sup>. Subotić and Kissas agree with our own view, and also correctly date the frescoes to the period between 1358 and 1364<sup>168</sup>. It is worth noting that special "thin-layer" structural analyses are being undertaken to determine the precise dating of all the frescoes in the Monastery of St John Prodromos, though as yet no specific conclusions have been reached<sup>169</sup>.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this study, the group of frescoes we are examining should also include the remnants of the frescoes in the chapel consecrated to the Birth of St John Prodromos; Xyngopoulos dates them to 1535<sup>170</sup>. We have already been able to ascertain the close relationship between the portrayals of the prophet Zacharias in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos and the chapel of St Nicholas. We may now add to this the striking similarity between the portrayal of St John Prodromos<sup>171</sup> in the latter chapel and its counterpart in the outer narthex<sup>172</sup>. Their relationship is confirmed not only by their iconographical similarities but also by their stylistic characteristics, which we shall now proceed to examine.

*Stylistic analysis*

Having dated the frescoes to between the sixth and seventh decades of the fourteenth century, we may now go on to consider their artistic merit in comparison with other earlier and contemporary works of art. But first let us consider the basic characteristics of the artist's craft.

In the organisation of space the artist shows particular compositional ability, using the surfaces correctly and successfully. His abilities are particularly evident in the Nativity, the Dormition, and the Crucifixion, which are so arranged as to make their position on the hemi-spherical surface of the tympanum seem absolutely natural, if not the only suitable one. The compositions of the Annunciation, the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, and the Descent into Limbo are equally successfully arranged, despite the fact that suitable space was not available. The individual scenes within the compositions are developed unhurriedly and harmoniously around the central subject, a good example being the Nativity, which also happens to have the greatest number of themes. As we have emphasised elsewhere in this study, the compositions are characterised by simplicity and only the absolutely essential subjects and details are portrayed. This contributes decisively to the clarity and equilibrium of each picture as a whole, and also to the unhurried presentation of the figures, which, despite their relatively small dimensions, retain their individuality. The calculated use of natural and architectural landscape also contributes to the proper arrangement of space. The scenes which take place out of doors, such as the Nativity for example, are developed on various levels which are indicated by the rise and fall of the ground<sup>173</sup>. The ground and the rocky landscape in particular, are rendered schematically for the most part, but nevertheless the colours and the naturalistic rendition of the flora give the impression of a perfectly natural landscape. This naturalism is infrequently encountered in the monuments of the early fourteenth century, exceptions being the church of St Nicholas Orphanos<sup>174</sup>, and Christ's Church in Veria<sup>175</sup>, where the landscape displays a very similar realism. The same tendency towards naturalism in the landscape is evident in certain monuments contemporary with the Monastery of St John Prodromos in western Macedonia and other neighbouring regions (e.g. St Athanasius of Mouzaki in Kastoria<sup>176</sup>, and the cave church of Mali Grad in Prespa<sup>177</sup>). The relatively rich architectural background properly projects the human figures without stifling them with its bulk. The artist evidently enjoyed decorating the buildings, but never went to extremes which would have been to the detriment of the composition as a whole. The logical use of architectural background within a realistic framework is also encountered in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos and Christ's Church in Veria<sup>178</sup>.

The human form is rendered by a dextrous and unvarying design, with an occasional weakness which usually appears in quickly moving or seated figures. For example, the seated figure of Joseph in the Nativity seems to be hovering in the air, a weakness of technique which is also to be seen in the same painting in Christ's Church in Veria and to a certain extent in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos<sup>180</sup> and in Mali Grad<sup>181</sup>. As a rule the physical proportions are accurate, a feature which is most evident in the figures of the prophets on the tympanum and in the principal figures in the various compositions. Those figures which are moving in any way are covered by voluminous garments with many folds, which nevertheless follow the curves of the limbs underneath, thus giving an impression of plasticity. The folds of the garments are rendered in a basically linear fashion and have a decorative effect. In some cases the lines and surfaces are disturbed, the result of the artist's desire to give his figures life and movement; the figures of the prophets in the tympanum and the Magi with their gifts in the Nativity are characteristic examples<sup>182</sup>. Certain bright brush-strokes give the folds a metallic effect, a detail which to the same limited extent is also to be seen in the frescoes in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos<sup>183</sup> and in the monuments of the second half of the fourteenth century which are connected with it<sup>184</sup>. A similar stylistic detail can be seen in the mosaics and frescoes in the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki<sup>185</sup>; and there are other details in the rendering of the folds which are also common to the frescoes in this monument<sup>186</sup>. Finally, the garments of some figures are depicted with fairly simple folds, such as those, for example, in the scene of the Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth<sup>187</sup>.

The facial characteristics are regular and are usually repeated unvaryingly in most of the figures<sup>188</sup>. In the shaping of the faces and in the details colour plays a more important part than line. Face and head are outlined in reddish-brown, and the shaping is done in raw ochre, which is covered by olive-green in the darker areas. The light areas are emphasised with white brush-strokes, while a russet colour is used for the cheeks and eye-sockets, and for various other details. In young faces the dark and light areas are subtly blended, so that, with a few exceptions, these figures are idealised. On these faces details are outlined, though never to the detriment of the pictorial conception as a whole. In contrast to the young faces, older ones show a marked tendency towards realism, which is expressed through contrasts of colour and the use of line, which sometimes, however, results in stylised or very decorative forms. The alternation of dark and light is stark, but this never reaches the point of exaggerated delineation of the various sections of the face, as is the case in pictorial monuments of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century (e.g. St Clement's in Ohrid, the *Protaton*, St Euthymius's, and

others). In this respect, the frescoes in the Monastery of St John Prodromos are closer to those in St Nicholas Orphanos (above all) and Christ's Church in Veria, where dark and light areas tend to be subtly blended<sup>189</sup>. This technique of creating a balance between light and dark was used chiefly in monuments of the second decade of the fourteenth century, examples being the King's church at Studenica, Staro Nagoricino<sup>190</sup>, the church of St Marina at Apollonia in Albania<sup>191</sup>, the frescoes of Chilandari (in the *katholikon* and particularly in the refectory)<sup>192</sup>, and the somewhat later frescoes in the church of the Holy Apostles<sup>193</sup>. In the decades which followed, this technique was used in very few cases, because expressionism and line became the basic expressive techniques<sup>194</sup>. Nevertheless, from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, in some monuments the pictorial methods of modelling faces became prevalent once more and colour contrasts were noticeably absent – examples are the frescoes in the chapel of St John Prodromos in the upper storey of the narthex of St Sophia's church in Ohrid (1346-1350), the work of the artist Theorianos<sup>195</sup>, and the frescoes of Matejč (1356-1360)<sup>196</sup>. These works mark the beginning of an artistic spirit which was to find its fullest expression at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century (most notably in the monuments of Mystra and Morava). During the second half of the fourteenth century, however, there were also other pictorial groups in which such stylistic features were due purely and simply to imitation of models from the beginning of the century. In this category we find some of the paintings of Pološko (1370)<sup>197</sup> and the art work in Mali Grad (1369) and related monuments, St Athanasius's of Kastoria (1383/84), and Børje (1389/90)<sup>198</sup>.

As well as the two basic ways of shaping the face, there are also both youthful and middle-aged faces in which there is far more shadow than light. This disproportion, which can be seen, for example, in the prophets on the tympanum, the apostles (e.g. in the Dormition in the chapel, and in the picture of Christ teaching the Apostles in the outer narthex), and in other figures too (the Virgin *Kecharitomene*, for example, and the angels in the picture of the Baptism in the outer narthex), involves the use of stylistic features which prevailed during the last decades of the thirteenth century<sup>199</sup>. Finally, there are certain figures, such as the prophet Zacharias (in both pictures of him) and St Nicholas on the north wall of the chapel, in which line is predominant and plays an important part in the depiction of facial details; in these cases the shaping is done in raw ochre upon a grey-green base.

As we have said, as a rule the facial features are not exaggerated. This can easily be seen in the figures painted in profile (e.g. the angels at the Nativity and the Baptism), which are simply portrayed and without the caricaturistic aspect so

typical of other monuments and which frequently descends to the grotesque. On the other hand, there is a facility and rapidity in the execution of those figures which are frequently depicted in three-quarter profile. In these cases the effect of perspective is achieved both by reducing the size and by altering the shape of the details on the half-hidden side, though this does not distort the facial features over all<sup>200</sup>. The decorative tendency we have seen in the facial details is also evident in the hair-covered areas. In old faces the hair and beard are painted with broad light-coloured brush-strokes upon a dark, usually reddish-brown, background, while fine parallel brush-strokes sketch in the details. Broad and fine brush-strokes – or only the latter – are used for the hair of young and middle-aged figures, while their beards are usually very plain. There is a general tendency towards decoration, which is counterbalanced, however, by naturalism. Typical examples in this respect are the single curl at the front of the hair of quite a number of figures, just above the forehead, and also the shapely curly hair of many youthful figures. In contrast, the hair and beard of the prophet Zacharias are hurriedly shaped and painted in both portrayals, and the same is true of other stylistically related figures<sup>201</sup>. The colours used for the individual hairs in these figures are grey and off-white.

Finally, as far as the colours are concerned, the most characteristic feature of the paintings in the Monastery of St John Prodromos is the use of secondary colours (green, orange, violet) and their derivatives (grey, olive-green, raw and burnt sienna, grey-brown). Of the primary colours, much use is made of red and its derivatives, while the use of blue is limited. Finally, golden yellow is also in evidence, chiefly in the golden striations and other details of Christ's clothing. All the same, the monastery lacks the rich range of colours which characterises the two early fourteenth-century monuments (St Nicholas Orphanos and Christ's Church in Veria), and nor are there any contrasts of bright colours. Soft colours prevail, without contrasts, and the general unity of colour achieved in this way is augmented by gradual transitions from one colour to another. Finally, in the isolated figures, which, as we remarked a short time ago, stand out to a certain extent from the rest of the collection, dull, cool colours prevail – grey, off-white, dark green.

With regard to the workshop and the artists who took part in the decoration of the monastery, we are able to make a certain number of observations. One general fact arising from both our iconographical and our stylistic analysis, is that the paintings we have examined are to a great extent homogeneous and characterised by a common conception of the given solutions. The presence of one principal artist is obvious throughout the whole collection of frescoes, but nevertheless it is clear that other artists also participated in the decoration of the outer narthex and

the two chapels, as colleagues or assistants of the master artist. We have already located one of these in the paintings in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos and in certain individual figures in the rest of the paintings. His hand is distinct for its easy and schematic use of various means of expression, with a tendency towards academicism which becomes more marked in the frescoes in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos. In the shaping of the faces, as we have observed, this painter uses line as one of his chief means of depicting details. In this respect the sharp triangular shape used to denote deep lines on the cheeks of aged figures is characteristic, as is the linear technique used for the wrinkles above the eyes (e.g. in the figures of the prophet Zacharias and of St Makarios the Roman). The same stylistic features are detectable in other individual figures in the chapel of St Nicholas, such as St Alypius Kionites, St Symeon Stylites, and the two hierarchs in the conch. It is also probable that he participated in the painting of the superstructure of the chapel, as can be seen from certain common details (in the face, the hair, the beard) in the figures of the prophets (e.g. Isaiah and Jeremiah). Finally, the figure of St Nicholas on the north wall of the chapel could also be attributed to the same artist<sup>202</sup>. Several individual figures in the frescoes in the outer narthex may also be attributable to him, though of course this does not rule out the possibility of his having contributed to the various compositions. It is quite probable that this artist undertook the frescoing of the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos on his own, separately from the rest of the workshop, while the rest of the decoration was being done, or perhaps shortly after it was finished. The frescoes in this chapel closely resemble the contemporary paintings in the chapel of the Archangels at Chilandari, a fact which was pointed out some time ago by V. Djurić<sup>203</sup>.

Of the rest of the artists who assisted in the painting of the monastery we possess no clear distinguishing features, though their hand can be seen in minor figures, such as the apostles painted on clouds in the picture of the Dormition of the Virgin, and in other scenes of secondary importance in the various compositions (e.g. the Birth of St John Prodromos, and the picture of St John Prodromos addressing the soldiers, which is in the outer narthex<sup>204</sup>). However, the difference in quality in certain details and even in whole pictures in relation to the whole collection is not always due to the participation of other, lesser, artists, but rather to variations in the style of the master artist himself, according to the significance of the area in question. For this reason, when we undertake to evaluate his work, we should consider only his most notable pictures.

Among the principal artist's loveliest works, without a doubt, are the figures of Christ *Antiphonetes* and St John Prodromos in the outer narthex, and the Virgin *Eleousa* and the Pantocrator (despite the touching up) in the chapel of St Nicho-

las. Observing the general characteristics of these figures and also a great many details, which, despite the relative, and for that matter natural, variations from one figure to another, echo the same artistic spirit, one can easily form an overall opinion of the artist's abilities. He was an experienced painter who portrayed expressive and lively figures with ease, successfully following the models of the earlier period. Without over-burdening his figures with emotion, he clearly expresses their psychological state, and at the same imposes an air of tranquillity upon the picture as a whole. Familiar with the secrets of painting, he shows his preferences through the colours with which he forms his figures. These latter characteristics and a certain decorative tendency bring him very close to the artistic conceptions which were to prevail in the decades to come. Considering the artist's work in the light of these characteristics allows us to attribute to him with considerable certainty yet another notable picture, that of St John Prodromos on the outer side of the north wall of the outer narthex<sup>205</sup>. Xyngopoulos dates this work to the beginning of the fifteenth century, finding in it parallels with the art work of Kalenić and Manasija in Serbia<sup>206</sup>. Without completely doubting such a relationship, we consider it more probable that this fresco, too, belongs with the rest of the paintings, a theory which is supported not only by what has already been said above, but also by a direct comparison between this picture and that of the Virgin *Eleousa*, which clearly indicates a close relationship between the two. A secondary, but by no means insignificant detail, is the decoration of the soffit of the arch surrounding the prophet, which is in the same style as the rest of the painting. Moreover, the monumental character of the picture of St John Prodromos sets it apart from the rest of the paintings to a certain extent, and is the result of its large dimensions, as there was plenty of space in which to paint it. At the same time, it would be rather absurd to suppose that such a good painter was invited to the monastery at the beginning of the fifteenth century simply to paint this one fresco, and so far there has been no evidence of any other paintings from this period in the monastery. Finally, with regard to the stylistic similarities between this work and the Morava paintings, of which Xyngopoulos has written, apart from the fact that they are not so very close, this is not a factor which necessarily leads us to the beginning of the fifteenth century, since there exist monuments which are closer both chronologically and geographically – such as the frescoes in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Thessaloniki, for example – which date from 1360-1380 and are directly connected with the art work of the Morava monuments<sup>207</sup>. Indeed, a comparison between the paintings in the Thessaloniki monuments and the picture of St John Prodromos reveals quite a number of resemblances, which are certainly much greater than those with the Morava paintings<sup>208</sup>. However, it must be stressed that the connec-

tions between the fresco of St John Prodromos and the art work in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Thessaloniki – and much more so in the case of the Morava paintings – do not indicate a direct dependence, but merely that all this art work was part of a more general artistic movement in which parallel pictorial trends found expression.

From this point of view, the picture of St John Prodromos and the rest of the monument's paintings must be included in the group of works which link two periods: the classical Palaeologian period (late thirteenth to early fourteenth century) and the last great flowering of Byzantine art at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. We know that in the monuments dating from the mid-fourteenth century and the decades immediately afterwards various artistic trends are evident, though these mainly look back to the classical models of the early fourteenth century. In some of these the elements which were to prevail are clear<sup>209</sup>, while in others a tendency towards expressionism develops, a characteristic example being the frescoes of Marko Monastery<sup>210</sup>. However, in the majority of cases the return to the older models is usually translated into sterile imitation, from which only a few works of mediocre quality escape. In these terms the frescoes in the Monastery of St John Prodromos have been characterised as anything from "mediocre" to "interesting" and even "outstanding for their period". For instance, although in an early study Chatzidakis singles these frescoes out from amongst contemporary provincial works<sup>211</sup>, in his review of Xyngopoulos's monograph he describes them as being of average quality with respect to the whole range of the region's frescoes<sup>212</sup>. H. and H. Buschhausen place them within the artistic school of Thessaloniki, but consider them to be of inferior quality to the city's collections of paintings from the first half of the fourteenth century<sup>213</sup>.

For a more correct assessment of this relationship and an evaluation of the art work we are dealing with, we should remember certain common details we have pointed out in the frescoes of the Monastery of St John Prodromos and the paintings of St Nicholas Orphanos and Christ's Church in Veria. Chiefly in relation to St Nicholas Orphanos, we observed a common conception in the rendition of the natural and architectural landscape, the same tendency towards simplicity and moderation in the organisation of the compositions, many similarities in the use of expressive techniques in the modelling of the faces, etc. We must add to these similarities the fact that the artists who decorated the Monastery of St John Prodromos used the same models for the saints and almost the same composition for the individual scenes in many of their pictures, regardless of the fact that they occasionally employed a different overall arrangement. Characteristic in this respect are the paintings of the Baptism, the Nativity, and the Crucifixion of Christ<sup>214</sup>

All these details indicate that the art of Thessaloniki directly influenced that of the Monastery of St John Prodromos. The final result may be said to be particularly satisfactory and certainly superior to other contemporary examples also influenced by the frescoes in St Nicholas Orphanos and Christ's Church in Veria. This is true, for example, of the three monuments of north-west Macedonia and Albania, i.e. the paintings of Mali Grad, St Athanasius's in Kastoria, and Borje; despite the fact that the same models were used in these monuments too<sup>215</sup>, the end result is inferior to what we see in the Monastery of St John Prodromos. The explanation for this must be sought in the monastery's proximity to the artistic centre of Thessaloniki, and in the founder's ability and desire to employ the most capable painters of the time<sup>216</sup>.

Certain contemporary works on Mount Athos also indicate the artistic influence of Thessaloniki, and show a close connection with the frescoes in the Monastery of St John Prodromos; among these the prime examples are the picture of the Virgin *Eleousa* over the tomb of the ruler Vojihna at Chilandari<sup>217</sup> and to a certain extent the frescoes in the chapel of the Archangels in the same monastery<sup>218</sup>. To these we may also add the picture of the Virgin Mary with Christ in the chapel of Sts Cosmas and Damian at Vatopedi<sup>219</sup>. As far as the frescoes in the chapel of the Archangels are concerned, they can be more closely linked with the painter to whom we attributed (amongst other works) the painting of the chapel of the Birth of John the Baptist; as V. Djurić has suggested<sup>220</sup>, it is highly probable that this artist, and the other members of the workshop, came to Mount Athos via Serres, in which case we should note that at Chilandari his work became more academic and abstract. On the other hand, the connection between the paintings in the Monastery of St John Prodromos as a whole and the frescoes in the chapel of Sts Cosmas and Damian at Vatopedi, although not very close, is indicative of common artistic origins, since both monuments have links with Thessaloniki.

Given all these facts, then, we may with great certainty include the paintings in the Monastery of St John Prodromos within the artistic school of Thessaloniki and consider them to be a characteristic example of the centre's influence upon the surrounding region. Although, of course, they do not attain the same standard as the art work of the first decades in Thessaloniki, these frescoes nevertheless continue the artistic tradition which was eventually to develop into the art we see in the churches of the Prophet Elijah and St Dimitrios in Thessaloniki.

In summing up what has been said in this study, we reach the following conclusions. As we have seen, a great many of the surviving paintings in the Monastery of St John Prodromos date from the days of Serbian rule, and in particular the pe-

riod when the despot Jovan Uglješa was in power in Serres. He and his sister Helen and his brother-in-law Nikola Radonja together made a decisive contribution to the development of cultural activity in the area between Serres and Mount Athos. During the period 1358-1364 Jovan Uglješa took the title of despot; at the same time his sister died and his brother-in-law became a monk at Chilandari. It was precisely at this time that Radonja – probably supported by Uglješa – financed the building and frescoing of the chapel of St Nicholas and the completion of the pictorial decoration of the outer narthex of the *katholikon*. During the same period, or soon afterwards, the frescoes in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos were also painted by a member of the same workshop.

Our examination of the iconographical scheme of the chapel of St Nicholas led us to draw certain conclusions regarding the founder, the dedication, and the function of this chapel. It showed that these three aspects are all interconnected and fit together excellently: the founder, Nikola Radonja, whose origins and tradition had given him a profound respect for his namesake St Nicholas, dedicated to him the chapel in which he had buried his wife and children; the choice of St Nicholas as the chapel's patron fits in perfectly with the old Christian tradition of his sharing with St John Prodromos the role of "intercessionary saint" between mankind and God; and indeed, in this particular case, the consecration of the whole monastery to St John Prodromos takes this idea even further. The significance of the chapel's sepulchral function, finally, is reinforced by the iconographical scheme, several themes of which relate directly to this function.

Certain iconographical subjects – amongst them the picture of the Virgin *Eleousa* after the *Pelagonitissa* model, and the portrayal of St Stephen as an apostle – are connected with the founder and his origins in Serbian society. However, the rest of the scheme is based on traditional iconography as it appears chiefly in the monuments of Thessaloniki and Macedonia. There are many similarities with the frescoes of St Nicholas Orphanos and Christ's Church in Veria, though these lie not so much in the details as in the general planning and conception of the paintings. A number of details, however – and some of them very interesting ones – have no parallels in these two monuments. This indicates that the painters of the Monastery of John the Baptist had other models in mind; significant in this respect is Xyngopoulos's observation that the artists who painted the outer narthex followed the Palaeologian iconographical tradition, but at the same time were using extensively illuminated manuscripts of the Gospels<sup>221</sup>. We have also seen that in many pictures there are individual scenes which are modelled on pictures in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos (mainly) and Christ's Church in Veria, though they do frequently appear in a different order. These features indicate the master artist's desire and ability not to content himself with mere imitation of his models,

but to seek to modify traditional features; the inclusion of Joseph of Arimathea in the Crucifixion scene is the best example from this point of view.

As far as style is concerned, the artists contrived to produce a homogeneous pictorial unity quite free of extreme elements. Familiar with the secrets of pictorial art they painted quickly and simply, conscious of their capabilities. The master artist's hand stands out, as he undertook the main bulk of the work and also supervised the whole enterprise. He was an able and experienced artist with a sense of space, he worked to a steady and skillful plan, was clever in the use of colours, and knew how to portray in simple ways the inner world of the figures he painted. Of his colleagues the man stands out who worked mainly on the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos, and his work is characterised by an emphasis on line and ornamentation.

The art of the painters of the Monastery of St John Prodromos is based on the Palaeologian tradition as it had developed by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Working in the sixth and seventh decades of the fourteenth century, they were obliged to refer to older models, as there were no serious examples of creative art in their own time. They found suitable models of earlier art in the monuments of Thessaloniki, specifically in the frescoes of St Nicholas Orphanos and Christ's Church in Veria. Taking into account the relatively short distance separating the Monastery of St John Prodromos from Thessaloniki, and above all the directness of this artistic centre's influence upon the monument's art work, we consider it very likely that the artists actually came from Thessaloniki itself. Of course, their work does not compare with the paintings in the two monuments of the Thessaloniki district, but it may be described as superior to the other contemporary monuments which are also artistically based on the same models. From a stylistic point of view, the most closely connected works may be said to be those from the same period on Mount Athos, and in particular at Chilandari (the tomb of Vojihna and the chapel of the Archangels), and at Vatopedi (the chapel of Sts Cosmas and Damian). This connection is natural, because Mount Athos was also influenced by the same artistic centre, Thessaloniki. Moreover, during this period the Serbs founded a great many monuments on Mount Athos, and for them Thessaloniki was certainly the most accessible centre from which to secure artists. Bearing in mind, then, that the work of one of the artists who painted the Monastery of St John Prodromos – the one who worked mainly on the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos – closely approaches the frescoes in the chapel of the Archangels at Chilandari, we may consider it very likely that Nikola Radonja employed artists from Thessaloniki to work first at the Monastery of St John Prodromos and then on Mount Athos.

However, in addition to their largely correct re-utilisation of early fourteenth-century artistic elements, the artists of the Monastery of St John Prodromos showed, albeit faintly, that they were by no means ignorant of the new trends in pictorial art which were beginning to appear at precisely that time. The picture of St John Prodromos on the outside of the north wall of the outer narthex, which we grouped with the rest of the paintings, together with certain individual pictures (the Virgin *Eleousa*, Christ *Antiphonates*, etc.), indicate a relationship with the style of art which was to appear a short time later in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Thessaloniki and subsequently in the monuments of Morava and Mystra.

The art work of the Monastery of St John Prodromos is of particular importance with regard to the study of the art of Thessaloniki and the surrounding region during the second half of the fourteenth century. Indeed, if we consider that in Thessaloniki itself there are no collections of frescoes from the same period as those in the Monastery of St John Prodromos, then these latter can be seen to be of even greater significance in the development of art in this region.

#### *Thessaloniki*

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1. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Προδρόμου παρά τὰς Σέρρας*, Thessaloniki 1973.

2. See H. Hallensleben's study of the monastery's architecture, Das Katholikon des Johannes-Prodromos-Kloster bei Serrai, *Byzantinische Forschungen* I (1966), 158-173, and the relevant, though old, bibliography.

3. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 67-72.

4. X. Μπακαρτζῆς, *Βυζαντινά μεσαιωνικά καὶ νεώτερα μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ Θράκης*, 'Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον 1979, *Χρονικά* (in press).

5. It is worth noting here that various opinions have been expressed concerning the dating of the frescoes in the chapel of St Nicholas and in the outer narthex of the *katholikon*. We shall refer later in more detail to the dates which have so far been suggested.

6. Xyngopoulos (op. cit., 77-78) gives the probable date of the remnants of the frescoes in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos as 1535.

7. Xyngopoulos paid very little attention to a stylistic analysis of the frescoes as a whole when he studied them in his monograph. M. Chatzidakis makes this observation in his review of the work, in *Néa Εστία* 96 (1974), 1125-1126.

8. Most of the scholars who have studied the monument support this view: H. Hallensleben, op. cit., 171; A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 2, 5; V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijiske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1974, 217.

9. See A. Soloviev - V. Mošin, *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara u Srednjem veku*, Beograd 1936, XXVII-LV; A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le Mont Ménécée*, Paris 1955.

10. A. Soloviev - V. Mošin, op. cit., supra.

11. M. E. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris 1831, I, 220f; A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 64-65.

12. *Skazanie o načale i nastojaštem položenii stavropigialnago monastyrja čestnago, slav-nago proroka, Preteči i Krestitelja Gospodnja Ioanna, v Serresskoj eparhii v Makedonii*, St Petersburg 1864; p. 17. The author relates that the monks of this period looked upon Dušan as the second founder of the monastery, and that he himself has seen the founder's picture with members of Dušan's family in art works from this period. It is interesting that Dušan's son Uroš is referred to by the name of Michael.

13. There is a copy of this engraving in the Fine Arts Gallery in Sarajevo. See Dj. Mazalić, *Zanimljiv stari bakropis, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* XLVIII (Sarajevo 1936), 52-57, fig. 3. It should be noted that the depiction of the monastery in the engraving of 1761 tallies with that published in the front of the Russian book of 1864; it is highly probable that the latter was based on the 1761 engraving.

14. G. Soulis, Tsar Stefan Dušan and Mount Athos, *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954), 125-139.

15. G. Ostrogorski, *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti*, Beograd 1965, p. 115. Concerning the despot Jovan Uglješa, apart from what Ostrogorsky has to say in his study (pp. 13-19), see also B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama*, Beograd 1960, 171-173. It is worth noting that Uglješa was in Serres not only during the period when he was independent ruler (1365-1371), but also some time earlier, when Dušan's widow, empress-nun Jelena-Jelisaveta, was governing the Serres region.

16. See G. Ostrogorski, op. cit., 112-118; R. Mihaljić, *Kraj srpskog carstva*, Beograd 1975, 139-140.

17. D. Kasić, Despot Uglješa kritor manastira Simonopetra na Svetoj Gori, *Bogoslovije* 1-2, Beograd 1976.

18. V. Djurić, Freske crkvice sv. Besrebrenika despota Uglješe u Vatopedu i njihov značaj za ispitivanje solunskog porekla resavskog živopisa, *Zbor. Rad. Viz. Inst.* VII (Beograd 1961), 125-136.

19. G. Subotić - S. Kissas, Nadgrobni natpis sestre despota Jovana Uglješe na Menikejskoj Gori, *ZRVI XVI* (Beograd 1975), 161-181.

20. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 70-71.

21. Older readings of the name vary: ΒΛΟΧΑΝ or ΔΟΧΑΝ (Ε. Στράτης, 'Ιερά Μονή τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρόμου παρά τὰς Σέρρας, Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρείας, Περ. Β', τόμ. Γ', τεύχ. Α' Β', 1926, 10); ΒΑΛΟΧΑΝ (Dj. Radojić, Grčki nadgrobni natpis Jelene, sestre despota Jovana Uglješe, i njenih dveju kćeri, *PKJIF XXI*. 1-2 (1955), 125); and ΒΑΟΧΝΑ (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 70).

22. G. Subotić - S. Kissas, op. cit., 164-165.

23. Ibid., 165.

24. Ibid., 172.
25. Ibid., 171.
26. Ibid., 172-174, 178.
27. Ibid., 167, 178.
28. Ibid., 174, 178.
29. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 67-70.
30. Concerning this iconographical problem, see K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων in Thessaloniki*, Graz - Köln 1966, 25-26.
31. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. Γ', 10, 18.
32. Concerning depictions of the Pantocrator, see K. Wessel, Das Bild des Pantokrator, Polychronion, *Festschr. für F. Dölger*, Heidelberg 1966; E. Lucchesi-Palli, Christus-Pantocrator, *Lexikon der Christ. Ikonographie* I, Freiburg 1969, 392-394, and the relevant bibliography.
33. P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 2, The Mosaics, New York 1966, pl. 17-19, 44-45.
34. H. Belting - C. Mango - D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul*, Washington 1978, pl. I.
35. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, 'Η ψηφιδωτή διακόσμησις τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἅγιων Ἀποστόλων Θεοσαλονίκης, Thessaloniki 1953, pl. 1.
36. G. Millet - A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, III, Paris 1962, pl. 72, 1.
37. Millet - Frolow, op. cit., IV, pl. 26, 54.
38. Γ. Σωτηρίου, Τὰ βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Κύπρου. Α'. Λεύκωμα, Athens 1935, pl. 99, β.
39. It is also described in this way in Διονυσίου ἐκ Φουρνᾶ, 'Ἐρμηνεία τῆς ξωγραφικῆς τέχνης, published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in St Petersburg in 1907, 71.
40. The text of the scroll: ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΚΤ(ΡΙΟΤ) ΠΡΟΣ ΕΜ(Ε) ΛΕΓΩΝ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΤ ΜΕ ΠΛΑΣΑΙ ΣΕ ΕΚ ΚΟΙΔΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΣΟΤ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΜΑΙ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟ ΤΟΤ ΕΞ· ΕΛΑΘΕΙΝ ΕΚ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΗΓΙΑΚΑ ΣΕ, Jeremiah 2:5; cf. also Διονυσίου, 'Ἐρμηνεία, 77, 290.
41. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ, pl. 22, 29, 36.
42. He is portrayed as an old man with a long beard in accordance with traditional iconography, cf. Διονυσίου, 'Ἐρμηνεία, 77.
43. The text of the scroll: ΙΔΟΤ Ο Θ(ΕΟ)Σ ΜΟΤ Σ(Ω)ΤΗΡ ΜΟΤ Κ(ΤΡΙΟ)Σ Κ(ΑΙ) ΠΕ· ΠΟΙΩΣ ΕΣΟΜΑΙ ΕΠ' ΑΤΤΩ Κ(ΑΙ) ΣΩΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΤΗΙ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΚΑΙ ΟΤ ΦΟΒΗΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΔΙΟΤ(I) Η ΑΙΝΕΣΙΣ ΜΟΤ ... Isaiah 12:2.
44. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 16, β.
45. Ibid., pl. 36, 40.
46. The text of the scroll: ΖΗ Κ(ΤΡΙΟ)Σ ΤΩΝ ΔΤΝΑΜΕΩΝ Ω ΠΑΡΕΣΤΗΝ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΟΤΙ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΟΦΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΑΤΤΩ, Kings III, 18:15.
47. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 18-20, 38, 40.
48. Ibid., pl. Η', 22.
49. The text of the scroll: ΖΗ Κ(ΤΡΙΟ)Σ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΕΣΤΗΝ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΟΤΙ ΟΤΚ ΕΣΤΙ Θ(ΕΟ)Σ ΕΤΕΡΟΣ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΗ ΤΗ ΓΗ ΑΛΛ' Ή ΟΤΤΟΣ.
50. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 18-20, 29, 40.

51. The text of the scroll: Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΕΜΦΑΝΩΣ ΗΞΕΙ ΠΤΡ ΕΝΩΠΙΟΝ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΚΑΤ· ΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΚΑΛΕΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΤΡΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΩ ΣΤΝΑΓΑΓΕΤΕ ΑΤΤΩ ΤΟΤΣ ΟΣΙ· ΟΤΣ ΑΤΤΟΤ, Psalm 49 (50), 2-3.
52. The text of the book: ΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΕΙ Ο Θ(ΕΟ)Σ ΤΟΤ ΟΤΡΑΝΟΤ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΝ ΗΤΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΑΙΩΝ(ΑΣ) ΟΤ ΔΙΑΦΘΑΡΗΣΕΤΑΙ, Daniel (Theodetian translation) 2:44.
53. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. Ε', 23.
54. The text of the scroll: Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΛΘΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ Η ΠΡΟΣΕΤΧΗ ΜΟΤ ΠΡΟΣ ΝΑΟΝ Τ(ΟΝ) ΑΓΙΟΝ ΣΟΤ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΚΛΙΠΕΙΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΞ ΕΜΟΤ ΤΗΝ ΨΤΧΗΝ ΜΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΚΤ(ΡΙ· ΟΤ) ΕΜΝΗΣΘΩΝ, Jonah 2:8.
55. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 18, 19, 39-41.
56. In his left hand he is holding a scroll with the following text: ΕΣΤΑΙ ΚΤΡΙΟΣ ΕΙΣ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΑΤΤΟΤ ΕΝ ΚΤΚΛΟΤΝ ΠΑΣΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΗΝ ΕΡΗΜΟΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΨΩΘΗΣΕΤΑΙ Κ(ΑΙ) ΕΠΙ ΤΟΠΟΤ ΜΕΝΕΙ, Zacharias 14:9-10.
57. The Thrones, together with the Cherubim and Seraphim, occupy the first rank of the angelic orders. See Διονυσίου, 'Ἐρμηνεία, 45. Concerning angels generally, see D. Pallas, Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* III, col. 78-89.
58. Concerning the iconography of this subject, see: A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon. Le Mandylion dans l'art orthodoxe*, Seminarium Kondakovianum, Ζωγραφικά 3, Prague 1931; K. Weitzmann, *The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago and London 1971, 224-246. See also N. Thierry, Deux notes à propos du Mandylion, *Zograf* II (Beograd 1980), 16-19.
59. A. Τσιτουρίδου, 'Η ἐντοίχια ξωγραφική τοῦ Ἅγιου Νικολάου στή Θεσσαλονίκη, Thessaloniki 1978, p. 38, fig. 11. As the author correctly observes, similar examples are to be found in the chapel of St Euthymius in Thessaloniki (Γ. καὶ Μ. Σωτηρίου 'Η βασιλική τοῦ Ἅγιου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Β' (Λεύκωμα), Athens 1952, pl. 82a), in Christ's Church in Veria (Σ. Πελεκανίδης, Καλλιέργης, 'Ολης Θετταλίας ἄριστος ξωγράφος, Athens 1973, pl. 11), in the King's church at Studenica, and at Staro Nagoričino (Millet - Frolow, op. cit., III, pl. 58, 1 and 106, 2), at Žiča (M. Kašanin - Dj. Bošković - P. Mijović, Žiča, Beograd 1969, sketch on p. 134), in the church of the Virgin Mary at Peć (M. Ivković, Crkva Bogorodice Odigitrije u Pećkoj Patrijaršiji, *Starine Kosova i Metohije* 2/3 (1963), fig. 54), and in St Peter's at Bijelo Polje (these frescoes have not been published).
60. The depiction of Gabriel with a lily in his right hand is a western custom, in contrast to the Byzantine tradition, in which this iconographical detail is unknown. See K. Καλοκύρης 'Η Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν εἰκονογραφίαν Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, Thessaloniki 1972, 118-119.
61. Concerning the Annunciation in general, see: G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, Paris 1916, 67-92; D. M. Robb, The iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936), 480-526). Concerning the Virgin Mary in the scene of the Annunciation, see K. Καλοκύρης, op. cit., 115-120.
62. Luke 1:40 f. Cf. K. Καλοκύρης, op. cit., 120-122. This scene is not one of the Twelve Feasts, but belongs properly to the cycle of the Virgin's life. We include it here, however, in order to follow the chronological order of the Gospel narrative.
63. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 27.
64. Ibid., pl. 30 (cf. the figure of the child and that of John), 32, 33.
65. Concerning the iconography of this scene, see L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III.1, 416-417.

66. As can be seen from a comparison between plates 6a and 6b, before cleaning quite a number of figures and details had preserved their original aspects – e.g. Joseph and the shepherd in the foreground, the Magi and their gifts, the Virgin's face, etc. Note that the inscription Η ΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ has not been cleaned, and only a few letters are discernible now.

67. The Virgin's position is the same in a whole group of Athonite monuments and looks back to old Syrian and Cappadocian models. See G. Millet, *Recherches*, 108-110. For the dogmatic significance of the Virgin's position, see K. Kalokármētēs, Ή Γένησις τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὴν βυζαντίνην τέχνην τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens 1956, 31 f. Concerning the iconography of the Nativity in general, see G. Ristow, *Geburt Christi, Reall. zur Byz. Kunst II*, 1971, 630-662, and the relevant bibliography.

68. According to G. Millet's iconographical classification (op. cit., 124), the model of the seated shepherd in this picture belongs to the Mystra-Athos group.

69. Concerning the group of Joseph and the shepherd and the interpretations which have been offered for this, see M. Σωτηρίου, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ ναούδριον τῶν Ταξιαρχῶν Δεσφίνης, Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας, περ. Δ', τόμ. Γ', (1962-1963), 182-183.

70. A highly probable form for the body of Christ may be indicated by an icon of the Nativity from Patmos, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, which bears strong similarities to our own picture. See M. Χατζιδάκης, Εἰκόνες τῆς Πάτμου, Athens 1977, p. 99, pl. 53. Some of the scenes, such as that of Joseph and the shepherd, are very similarly portrayed, and they are obviously based on common models. As Chatzidakis correctly points out, the Patmos icon, together with a group of iconographically similar sixteenth-century icons, is based on the Palaeologian tradition and, more specifically, calls to mind the frescoes in the church of the Holy Apostles at Peć (R. Ljubinković, *L'église des Saints-Apôtres à Peć*, Beograd 1964, fig. 36), and in the Peribleptos and the Pantanassa at Mystra (G. Millet, *Mistra*, pl. 118, 139).

71. G. Millet, op. cit., 151-152, pl. 103.

72. Ibid., pl. 102; and X. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, Εἰκονογραφικά θέματα ἀπό τὸν κώδικα ἀρ. 762 τῆς Μ. Βασιλείου, Κληρονομά 6 (1974), 368-370, pl. 8.

73. R. Hamann-Mac Lean – H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, I. Giessen 1963, pl. 126.

74. See K. Kalokármētēs, Ή Θεοτόκος εἰς τὴν εἰκονογραφίαν, pl. 202.

75. Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καστορία I. Βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι. Πίνακες*, Thessaloniki 1953, pl. 146a. It is characteristic here that the scene of the Adoration of the Magi appears twice, on the left- and the right-hand sides of the cave.

76. G. Millet, op. cit., 151.

77. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. H', 22.

78. The apostles' names are noted in a similar way in the representation of Pentecost in the outer narthex, A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 24.

79. Cf. L. Wratislaw-Mitrović - N. Okunev, La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge dans la peinture médiévale orthodoxe, *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931), 134-180, for the iconography of the Dormition in general, and pp. 136-137 for John's position in particular.

80. Concerning the apostles on clouds, see Mitrović - Okunev, op. cit., 140-141.

81. X. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 13ου αιώνα στὴν Κουμπελίδικη τῆς Καστοριᾶς, Thessaloniki 1973, p. 64, pl. 18-21.

82. For example, in Mileševa, Sopočani, Gračanica, Staro Nagoričino, and Matejč (Mitrović - Okunev, op. cit., pl. II, III, IV, VII, and XIII respectively), in Pološko (G. Babić, Quelques observations sur le cycle des Grandes Fêtes de l'église de Pološko (Macédoine), *Cahiers Archéologiques* 28 (1978), 163-170, fig. 8), and elsewhere.

83. Cf. X. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη, op. cit., 65.

84. Nor does the "Interpretation of Art" mention this detail; Διονυσίου, Έρμηνεία, 144-145.

85. M. Chatzidakis, *Mistra. La cité médiévale et la forteresse*, Athènes 1981, pl. 55.

86. M. V. Aplatov, *Early Russian Icon Painting*, Moscow 1978, pl. 7.

87. M. Chatzidakis, *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut*, Venise 1962, 33-35, pl. 14, 15.

88. Γ. Γούναρης, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῶν Ἅγιων Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῆς Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας στὴν Καστοριά, Thessaloniki 1980, pl. 40,β.

89. Adormirea Maici Domnului, detaliu din triptic, tempera pe lemn, 1555 (Agirbici), I. D. Ștefănescu, *Iconografia artei bizantine și a picturii feudale românești*, București 1973, plates between pages 144-145.

90. Mitrović - Okunev, op. cit., 144, fig. 8.

91. Hamann-Mac Lean - Hallensleben, op. cit., II, fig. 47.

92. A. Βασιλάκη-Καρακατσάνη, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῆς Ὁμορφης Ἐκκλησιᾶς στὴν Ἀθήνα, Athens 1971, 54, pl. 36, 37, in which the examples mentioned are referred to and this iconographical singularity is pointed out.

93. Mitrović - Okunev, op. cit., pl. XIV. Cf. also A. Βασιλάκη-Καρακατσάνη, op. cit.

94. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., cf. pl. 18-20, 22, 38-41, 44-48.

94a. As our colleague Ch. Bakirtzis so kindly informed us during our examination of the west section of the picture, a large part of the original painting has perished.

95. Concerning the iconography of the Crucifixion generally, see G. Millet, *Recherches*, 396 f., particularly 443-460; K. Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung*, Recklinghausen 1966; G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, t. 2, Gütersloh 1968, 98 f.

96. See L. H. Grondijs, *L'iconographie byzantine du Crucifié mort sur la croix*, Bruxelles 1941, Utrecht 1948.

97. G. Millet, *Recherches*, 410.

98. Cf. the examples in the King's church of Studenica and at Staro Nagoričino (Millet - Frolow, op. cit., III, 63.I and 92.I), at Gračanica (Hamann-Mac Lean - Hallensleben, op. cit., I, fig. 330), on the Alexandrova porte (G. Millet, *Recherches*, fig. 443), in a Palaeologian icon at the Sinai Monastery (Γ. καὶ M. Σωτηρίου, Εἰκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ, fig. 205), and elsewhere.

99. Concerning the Virgin Mary's swoon and the assistance given by her friends, see G. Millet, op. cit., 417 f. Cf. Γ. Γούναρης, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τῶν Ἅγιων Ἀποστόλων, 46-47, for a more recent bibliography on the subject.

100. He is thus portrayed in Christ's Church in Veria; Σ. Πελεκανίδης, Καλλιέργης Ὄλης Θεραπείας ἄριστος ἵωγράφος, Athens 1975, 66, pl. Θ', 30-31. In dealing with this exceptional depiction of John, the author gives as similar examples the Crucifixion in the King's church of Studenica, in St Nicholas Orphanos (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἅγιου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης, Athens 1964, pl. 14,25), and in the church of St Nicholas Kyrizis in

Kastoria (Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καστορία*, pl. 156β). To these examples we may add those of Mali Grad at Prespa (V. J. Djurić, *Mali Grad. – Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu – Borje*, *Zograf* 6 (1975), 31-50, fig. 40), of St Andrew Rasoulis (fifteenth century) in Kastoria (Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καστορία*, pl. 162β), and also the Palaeologist icon at the Sinai Monastery (Γ. καὶ Μ. Σωτηρίου, *Εἰκόνες τῆς Μ. Σινᾶ*, fig. 211).

101. Γ. καὶ Μ. Σωτηρίου, op. cit., fig. 25, 27; cf. also the eleventh-century icon (fig. 57).

102. G. Millet, *Recherches*, 439, note 3, fig. 474.

103. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, 'Η παράσταση τοῦ Ἐκαποντάρχου Λογγίνου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ μαρτυρησάντων δύο στρατιωτῶν, 'Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν Λ' (1960-61), 60-61.

104. K. Berg, Une iconographie peu connue du Crucifement, *Cahiers Archéologiques* IX (1957), 323-328.

105. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ καθολικοῦ, cf. pl. 18-20, 40, 41, 45 etc.

106. Concerning the depiction of prophets in the Descent into Limbo, particularly David, see I. Karmpártos, 'Η εἰς Ἀδου κάνθοδος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπό ἐπόψεως δρθοδόξου', Athens 1939.

107. On the subject of the Descent into Limbo, see R. Lange, *Die Auferstehung*, Recklinghausen 1966; *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* I, Stuttgart 1966, 142-148; *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie* 2, Freiburg 1970, 322-331.

108. Σ. Πελεκανίδης - Π. Χρήστου - Χ. Μαυροπούλου-Τσιούμη - Σ. Καδᾶς, Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἄγιου Ὁρους, B', Athens 1975, fig. 36.

109. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, 'Η ψηφιδωτή διακόσμησης τοῦ ναοῦ τῶν Ἅγιων Ἀποστόλων', pl. 28.

110. R. Lange, op. cit., 63.

111. G. Millet - D. Talbot-Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond*, London 1936, pl. XXIV.1.

112. Γ. καὶ Μ. Σωτηρίου, op. cit., fig. 209, 215.

113. It was G. Millet who pointed out this mistake a long time ago in his study on the Daphni mosaic; G. Millet, *Monuments*, Piot 2, 1895, 209 f.; see also A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 31.

114. See A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 31-32, for relevant examples.

115. Concerning the *Platytera* after the *Blachernitissa* model, see N. Kondakov, *Ikonegrafiya Bogomateri*, Petersburg 1905, vol. II, 55 f. Cf. also K. Kalokártos, 'Η Θεοτόκος, 56-58, and on the *Blachernitissa* in particular 74-76.

116. A. Ξυγγόπουλος op. cit., 68-69, pl. 56.

117. Ibid., pl. H', 22.

118. Ibid., 70, pl. 23. In the author's opinion this similarity indicates not that the two paintings are contemporary, but simply that one is a copy of the other.

119. Ibid., 70-71. See also G. Subotić - S. Kissas, op. cit., 164.9, in which the last words of the inscription are corrected.

120. St Alypius is depicted as he is described in Δωνυσίου, 'Ἐρμηνεία Ζωγραφικῆς', 166.

121. Concerning the position of the stylite saints on columns as they are portrayed in Byzantine iconography, see A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Οἱ στυλῖται εἰς τὴν βυζαντινὴν τέχνην, 'Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρ. Βυζαντ. Σπουδῶν' 19 (1949) 115-129, particularly p. 120 f. Concerning St Symeon see J. Lafontaine-Dosogne's special study, L'influence du culte de Syméon Stylite le Jeune sur les monuments et les représentations figurées de Géorgie, *Βυζάντιον* 41 (1971), 183-196. Con-

cerning the not uncommon custom of portraying the stylite saints in chapels built in the upper storeys of churches, see I. Djordjević, *Sveti stolnici u srpskom zidnom slikarstvu srednjeg veka*, *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 18 (Novi Sad 1982), 37.

122. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 68.

123. See I. Djordjević, Predstave pribora za pisanje i opremu knjige u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu, *Zbornik Vladimira Mošina*, Beograd 1977, 87-112; concerning the ink-well specifically, see pp. 96-97.

124. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 78, pl. 72. It is interesting that the figure of Zacharias bears many typological similarities to the figure of the aged St Makarios the Roman in the outer narthex of the *katholikon* (op. cit., pl. 9).

125. A. Τσιτουρίδου, 'Η ἐντοίχια ζωγραφική', pl. 108.

126. Millet - Frolov, op. cit., III, pl. 137.3,6 and 121.5.

127. Σ. Πελεκανίδης - Π. Χρήστου - Χρ. Τσιούμη - Σ. Καδᾶς, Οἱ Θησαυροὶ τοῦ Ἄγιου Ὁρους, passim.

128. Concerning this tendency towards iconographical simplicity, cf. A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., 228 f.

129. See Σ. Πελεκανίδης, *Καστορία*, pl. 119-139; A. 'Ορλάνδος, Τά βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Καστορίας, 'Αρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος Δ' (1939), 61-106.

130. L. Haderman-Misgwich, *Kurbinovo*, Bruxelles 1975, 107.

131. Ibid.

132. The prophet Zacharias, father of St John Prodromos, is depicted as he is described in the "Interpretation of Art": an old man with long hair and beard, Διονυσίου, 'Ἐρμηνεία', 79. Cf. also the representation of the same saint in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos; A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 78, pl. 72.

133. Concerning depictions of the Crucifixion, the Descent into Limbo, and the *Deesis* as characteristic themes in funerary churches, see V. J. Djurić, *Pološko-Hilandarski metoh i Dragušinova grobnica*, *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja* VIII (Beograd 1975), 337-342, for relevant literature and many examples.

134. See M. Chatzidakis, *Mistra*, 71.

135. K. Papadopoulos, op. cit., 25-26.

136. S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra*, Paris 1970, index s: see Séraphine.

137. N. L. Okunev, *Lesnovo. L'art byzantine chez les Slaves*. I recueil, II partie, Paris 1930, pl. XXXIII. Note that Lesnovo was the mausoleum of the bishops of Zletovo.

138. S. Radočić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo*, Beograd 1966, 148; concerning Pološko as a funerary church, see V. J. Djurić, *Pološko*, op. cit.

139. The seraphim are also depicted as the guardians of the entrance to Paradise; cf. S. Radočić, Mileševske freske strašnog suda, *Glas. SAN CCXXXIV* (Beograd 1959), fig. 78. Concerning seraphim in general, see D. Pallas, *Himmelsmächte, Erzengel und Engel*, *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* III, col. 78-89.

140. Cf. Ντ. Μουρίκη, Οἱ βυζαντινὲς τοιχογραφίες τῶν παρεκκλησίων τῆς Σπηλιᾶς τῆς Πεντέλης, Δελτίον Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρείας, περίοδος Δ', τόμ. Ζ' (1973-1974), 98-99.

141. Cf. G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines*, Paris 1969, 138, 144; Ντ. Μουρίκη, op. cit., 99, note 58.

142. Such is the case with the funerary chapel of St Nicholas in the Cave of Penteli, Nr. Μουρικη, op. cit., 99.
143. Cf. V. J. Djurić, Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba, *Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava. Istorija i predanje*, Beograd 1979, 248.
144. M. Čorović-Ljubinković, Ikonostas crkve Svetog Nikole u Velikoj Hoči, *Starinar n.s. IX-X* (Beograd 1959), 174-178.
145. As the patron saint of sailors St Nicholas was particularly revered in lakeside areas too, as we can see from the examples of Kastoria, Ohrid, Prespa, etc.
146. P. Miljković-Pepelj Umilitelnite motivi, *Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej II*, (Skopje 1958), 20-27.
147. V. J. Djurić, Fresques médiévales à Chilandar, *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'études byzantines*, III, Beograd 1964, 91-93; D. Bogdanović - V. J. Djurić - D. Medaković, *Hilandar*, Beograd 1978, 118, fig. 97.
148. V. J. Djurić, Fresques médiévales, 93-94.
149. Ibid., 96-98.
150. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 68.
151. M. Čorović-Ljubinković, Odraz kulta sv. Stefana u srpskoj srednjovekovnoj umetnosti, *Starinar n.s. XII* (Beograd 1961), 41-60.
152. Ibid., 53-54.
153. V. J. Djurić, Fresques médiévales, 73, pl. 23.
154. G. Subotić - S. Kissas, op. cit., 165.
155. N.B. also the similarity in the triangular shapes decorating Christ's chiton in the picture of Christ *Anapeson* (in the outer narthex) and the Virgin *Eleousa* (on the arcosolium in the chapel), which Xyngopoulos has also pointed out (op. cit., 70).
156. G. Subotić - S. Kissas, op. cit., 170, note 35.
157. This does not include, of course, the few frescoes from the founder Joachim's time (1300-1333), A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 9-13.
158. Both Hallensleben and Xyngopoulos consider the chapel to be contemporary with the outer narthex; the former believes that both were built in Dušan's time (H. Hallensleben, op. cit., 171), while Xyngopoulos wavers between this view and the idea that they belong to Joachim's time (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 71).
159. Xyngopoulos includes in this period the individual figures of saints which are portrayed on the walls, and also certain compositions, though he suggests that some of the latter may belong to the second group (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 13-27).
160. He includes here the frescoes on the arches, that is the two iconographical cycles devoted to the life of St John Prodromos and to the miracles of Christ (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 27-58).
161. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 71-72.
162. Concerning the picture of the Virgin *Eleousa* with Christ, we have had several opportunities to make iconographical and typological comparisons with other depictions of the Virgin Mary in the paintings in the chapel.
163. Cf. note 25.
164. Only the picture of St Nicholas underneath the painted arch in the north wall shows any variations from the rest of the group (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 17, pl. 14). It is worth noting, however, that not only the figure but also the letters of the inscription are different.

165. This concerns the compositions on the walls of the narthex, that is Pentecost, Christ *Anapeson*, and Christ teaching the Disciples after the Washing of the Feet, which Xyngopoulos at one point includes in the group of pre-1345 frescoes (op. cit., 13, 79) and at another in the frescoes from Dušan's time (op. cit., 27).
166. H. Hallensleben, op. cit., 171.
167. V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijiske freske*, 217.
168. G. Subotić - S. Kissas, op. cit., 171.
169. A preliminary paper on this research was given at the Second Symposium for Byzantine and post-Byzantine Archaeology and Art, from the proceedings of which abstracts of the papers have been published, Γ. Χρυσούλακης - Β. Περδικάτσης. Μελέτη τῆς μικροστρωματογραφικῆς δομῆς τῶν τοιχογραφιῶν τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Ἀγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου Σερρῶν, Δεύτερο Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινῆς καί Μεταβυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καί Τέχνης. Πρόγραμμα καί Περιλήψεις Ἀνακοινώσεων, Athens 1982, 105.
170. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 77-78.
171. Ibid., pl. 71.
172. Ibid., pl. 17. Cf. also the similarity between the figures of John the Baptist and St Makarios the Roman (ibid., pl. 9).
173. Cf. a similar landscape in pictures in the outer narthex (A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 22, 23, 30, 31, etc.).
174. A. Τσιτουρίδου, Ἡ ἐντοίχια ἡσωγραφική, fig. 19, 31, 34, 54, etc.; see also pp. 186-188, where the author discusses realism in the rendition of the natural landscape.
175. Σ. Πελεκανίδης, Καλλιέργης, pl. 16.
176. Σ. Πελεκανίδης, Καστορία, pl. 142.β, 146.α, 148.β.
177. V. J. Djurić, Mali Grad. – Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu – Borje, fig. 14, 16, 24.
178. A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., 189-196.
179. Σ. Πελεκανίδης Καλλιέργης, pl. 16.
180. A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., fig. 19.
181. V. J. Djurić, op. cit., fig. 14.
182. Cf. a similar effect in moving figures in Christ's Church in Veria (Σ. Πελεκανίδης Καλλιέργης, pl. 18, 19, 24, 41, etc.) and in St Nicholas Orphanos (A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., 204, fig. 20, 30, 33, 38, 48, etc.). Cf. also the representations of the *Akathistos* hymn in the Monastery of Marko (C. Grozdanov, Novootkrivene kompozicije Bogorodičinog akatista u Markovom manastiru, *Zograf* 9 (1978), 37-42), where exaggerated use is made of this stylistic feature.
183. A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., fig. 19, 20, 30, 48-50, etc.
184. V. J. Djurić, op. cit., fig. 15, 17, 25, 28, etc.
185. This stylistic feature is widespread in fourteenth-century icons and monuments, and later developed into a characteristic way of depicting folds; see A. Ξυγγόπουλος, Ή παλαιολόγειος παράδοσις εἰς τὴν μετά τὴν ἀλωσιν ἡσωγραφικήν, Δελτ. Χριστ. Ἀρχ. Ἐταιρείας, περ. Δ', τόμ. Β' (1960-1961), 85-86.
186. N. Νικονάνος, Οἱ Ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι Θεσσαλονίκης, ed. IMXA, Thessaloniki 1972, pl. 30-32, V-VI. Cf. particularly the figure of the prophet Zacharias in the chapel of St Nicholas and the detail from the Birth of St John Prodromos (pl. IV) in the church of the Holy Apostles.
187. There is a similar simplicity in the folds on certain figures in contemporary monuments in west and north-west Macedonia; see V. J. Djurić, op. cit., 13-14, 32, 37, and C. Grozdanov, *Ohridsko zidno slikarstvo XIV veka*, Beograd 1980, pl. 89-91.

188. Concerning the similarity between and the lack of exaggerated details in the paintings in the *katholikon* of the Monastery of St John Prodromos, see H. Buschhausen's review of Xyngopoulos's book in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 25 (1976), 345.

189. Concerning the depiction of faces in St Nicholas Orphanos and comparisons with pictures in contemporary monuments, see A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., 202-206.

190. Millet - Frolov, *La peinture en Yougoslavie*, III, pl. 54.

191. Heide und Helmut Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*, Wien 1976.

192. D. Bogdanović - V. Djurić - D. Medaković, *Hilandar*, 88, pl. 63-68.

193. N. Νυκονάνος, op. cit., pl. 25-33, V-VII. The frescoes in the church of the Holy Apostles have recently been dated somewhat later, to the end of the third or to the fourth decade of the fourteenth century; see S. Kissas, O vremenu nastanka fresaka u crkvi Svetih apostola u Solunu, *Zograf* 7 (1977), 52-57.

194. Concerning trends in painting during the second quarter of the fourteenth century in Greece, see Nr. Μουρίκη, Οι ταχιγραφίες τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου στὴν Πλάτανα τῆς Μάνης, Athens 1975, 67 f. Concerning the corresponding movements in Serbian painting during the middle of the fourteenth century, see V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijske freske*, 78.

195. V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijske freske*, 68-69; it is noteworthy that the author expresses the view that Theoranos was probably taught in the artistic circles of Thessaloniki.

196. Ibid., 70-71, and pp. 214-215 for the relevant bibliography.

197. Ibid., 83-84.

198. Ibid., 88-89; cf. idem, Mali Grad, supra.

199. It is interesting that a similar return to thirteenth-century models in the shading of the faces is also noticeable in some of the frescoes in St Nicholas Orphanos; see A. Τσιτουρίδου op. cit., 203-204. Moreover in monuments which are contemporary with the Monastery of St John Prodromos this stylistic feature is particularly marked in the work of the metropolitan and painter Jovan, for example in the church of St Andrew in Kleisoura on the river Treska, near Skopje (1388-89); see V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijske freske*, 86-87, and p. 220 for the relevant bibliography.

200. The use of perspective became more common in the first decades of the fourteenth century. A similar style is evident in St Nicholas Orphanos, too; cf. A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., 198, 231.

201. Such as, for example, the figures of St Anthony and certain individual saints in the chapel of St Nicholas, St Makarios the Roman and St Elesbaan in the outer narthex, and most of the surviving figures in the chapel of the Birth of St John Prodromos.

202. At this point it is worthwhile comparing the figure of St Nicholas with that of St John Chrysostomos and noting the many similarities in the depiction of the facial details.

203. D. Bogdanović - V. Djurić - D. Medaković, *Hilandar*, 106. Djurić, in fact, expresses the opinion that the paintings in both chapels are the work of the same artists.

204. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., pl. 26, 30.

205. Ibid., pl. 61.

206. Ibid., 73.

207. V. J. Djurić, Solunsko poreklo resavskog živopisa, *Zbor. Rad. Vizant. Instituta* 6 (1960), 115-118; cf. idem, La peinture murale de Resava, *L'école de la Morava et son temps, Symposium de Resava 1968*, Beograd 1972, 284.

208. It is very difficult to compare and to draw conclusions about the paintings in the church of the Prophet Elijah in Thessaloniki, both because of the fragmentary condition of the frescoes, and because no specialised monograph has ever been written about the church. V. J. Djurić has published some pictures of the church, however, in *Freske crkvice sv. Besrebrnika*, fig. 9-10; idem., *L'école de la Morava*, fig. 8-9.

209. Features presaging the idealistic art of Mystra and Morava at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century appear in the work of Theoranos in Ohrid and Matejč (see notes 195 and 196).

210. Concerning the Monastery of Marko, see V. J. Djurić, *Vizantijske freske*, 80-83, and pp. 218-219 for a very full bibliography.

211. M. Chatzidakis, *Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 170, note 83.

212. M. Χατζηδάκης, Νέα Εστία 96 (1974), 1126.

213. H. and H. Buschhausen, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia*, 218; cf. also H. Buschhausen, *JOB* 25 (1976), 345.

214. Concerning the church of St Nicholas Orphanos, see A. Τσιτουρίδου, op. cit., pl. 19, 22, 27; concerning Christ's Church in Veria, see Σ. Πελεκανίδης, Καλλιέργης, pl. Γ', Ε', Θ'.

215. V. J. Djurić, Mali Grad, 48-49.

216. The connection between the paintings in the Monastery of St John Prodromos and the artistic school of Thessaloniki has also been noted by A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 80.

217. D. Bogdanović - V. Djurić - D. Medaković, *Hilandar*, fig. 97.

218. Op. cit., fig. 78; V. J. Djurić, *Fresques médiévales à Chilandar*, fig. 97.

219. V. J. Djurić, *Freske crkvice sv. Besrebrnika*, fig. 13.

220. D. Bogdanović - V. Djurić - D. Medaković, *Hilandar*, 106.

221. A. Ξυγγόπουλος, op. cit., 2, 45, 80.



Pl. 1. Eighteenth-century copperplate engraving of the Monastery of John the Baptist on Mount Menikion and its founders



Pl. 2a. The Pantocrator, the prophets and the angelic powers



Pl. 2b. The prophets David and Daniel



Pl. 3a. Seraph



Pl. 3b. The Mandylion



Pl. 4a. The Annunciation.  
The Archangel Gabriel



Pl. 4b. The Annunciation.  
The Virgin Mary



Pl. 5a. The Meeting of  
Mary and Elizabeth



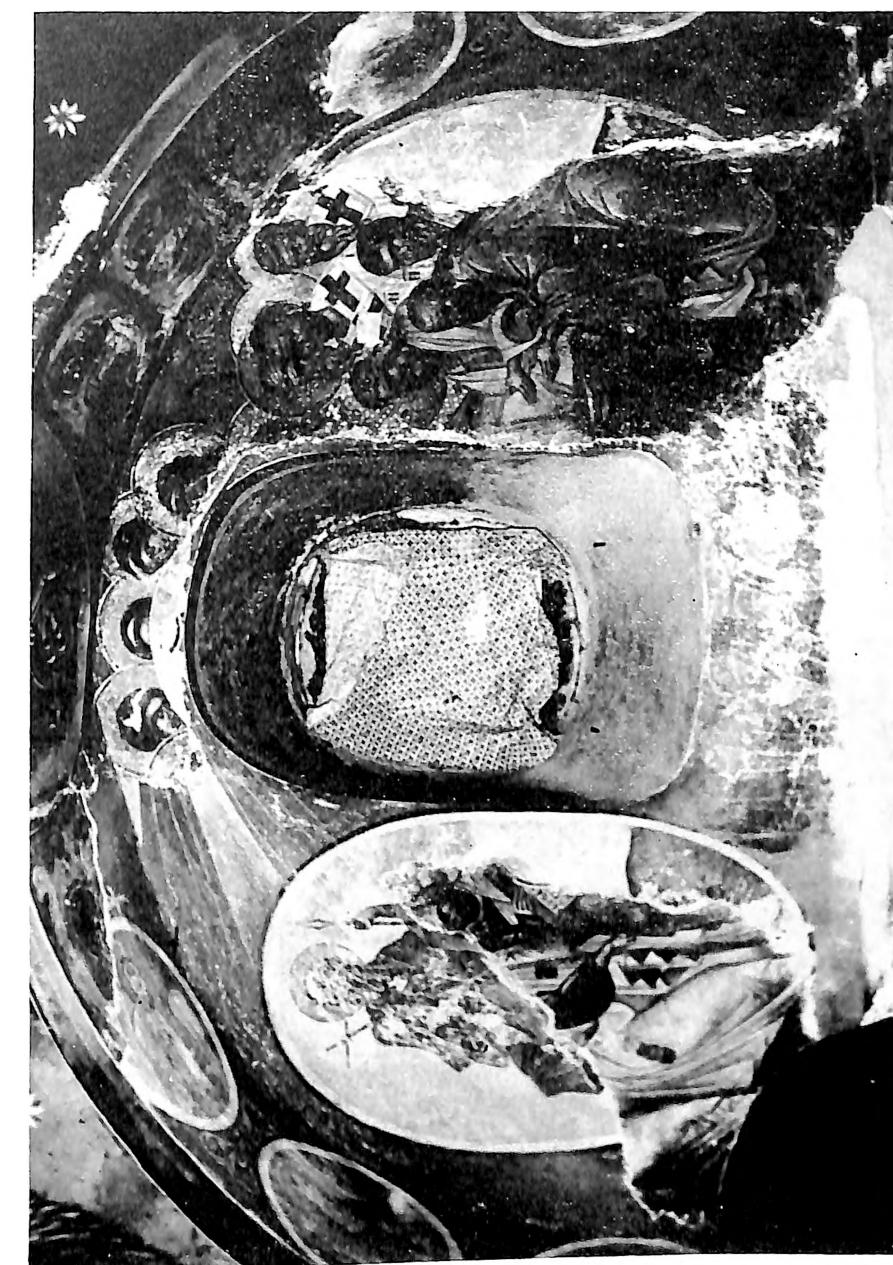
Pl. 5b. Detail from pl. 6a.  
The angel leads the Magi to the crib



Pl. 6a. The Nativity after cleaning



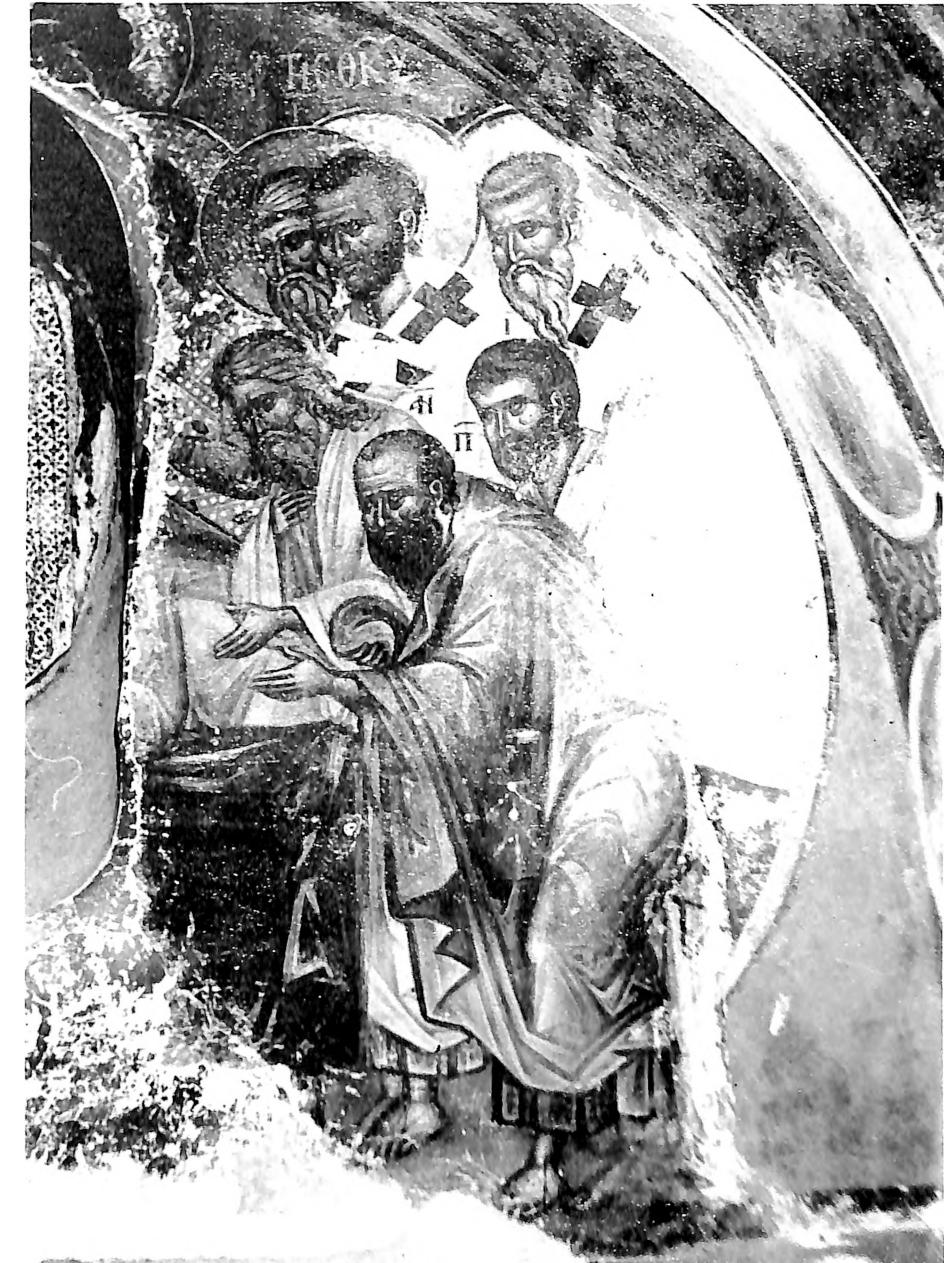
Pl. 6b. The Nativity before cleaning



Pl. 7a. The Dormition of the Virgin



Pl. 7b. The gates of Heaven  
Detail from the Dormition



Pl. 8a. Apostles and hierarchs.  
Right-hand section of the Dormition



Pl. 8b. The apostles borne on clouds.  
Detail from the Dormition



Pl. 9a. The Crucifixion



Pl. 9b. The Crucifixion. Detail  
(east section)



Pl. 10a. The Descent into Limbo



Pl. 10b. The *Platytera*



Pl. 11a. John Chrysostomos



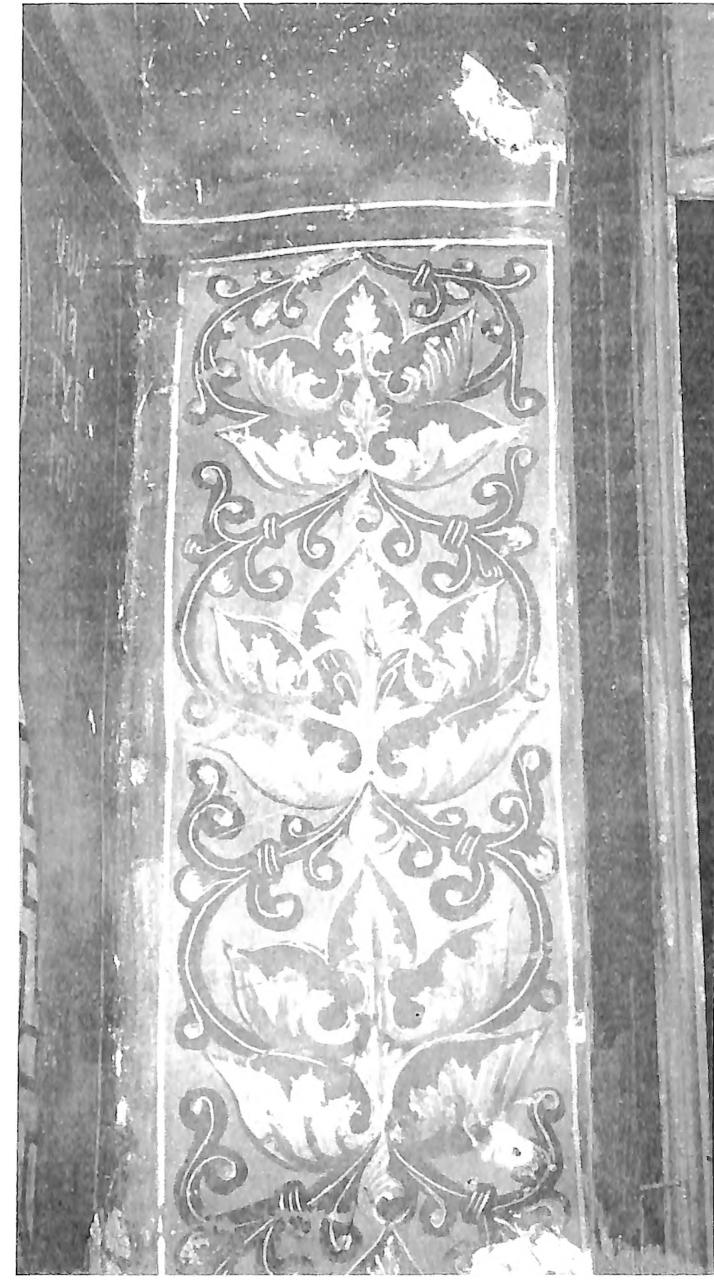
Pl. 11b. The Virgin Eleousa



Pl. 12a. St Nicholas



Pl. 12b. The prophet Zacharias



Pl. 13a. Foliate decoration



Pl. 13b. Foliate decoration

## NEW APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF IDENTIFYING THE GENRE OF THE LIFE OF JULIJANA LAZAREVSKAJA

Julia Alissandratos

The *Life* of Julijana Lazarevskaja has been called the first Russian secular biography since the time of V. O. Ključevskij, though there is reason to believe that it was actually intended and written as a saint's life as most recently argued by D. S. Lixačev and others<sup>1</sup>. This article will advance several new arguments in favor of the latter position. These include an analysis of the *Life* of Julijana Lazarevskaja in terms of the encomiastic narrative pattern usually associated with the genres of the saint's life or sermon; an examination of the text within the context of its convoy; a consideration of whether Julijana Lazarevskaja was ever canonized. Finally, an attempt will be made to identify the prototype of the portrait of Julijana and to place it in the history of Russian literature.

### I

As a basis for the analysis it will be necessary to define the encomiastic narrative pattern. This consists of components and subcomponents of the *histoire*<sup>2</sup> which correspond to the traditional encomiastic categories of themes and sub-themes<sup>3</sup>. The first component is that of origins, including the subcomponents of nation, country, city, ancestors, and/or fathers. The second is the birth with sub-components of dreams and/or signs. The next component is training, containing any of the subcomponents of early or moral instruction, academic education, outstanding characteristics of the mind and/or spirit, qualities that continue into later life, and/or physical features. The only required and, therefore, essential component is that of deeds, which may include the subcomponent of death. Alternatively a separate component may generally treat the hero's death through the more specific subcomponents of time, place, blessedness, and/or posthumous events. An optional final component is one or more comparisons favorably likening the hero(ine) to mythological and/or historical figures; or the comparisons may be interwoven into the realization of other components. Each component is recognized through any one or more of its subcomponents.

The elements of the *histoire* alone do not comprise a narrative pattern until they are ordered in a particular way on the level of the *récit*<sup>4</sup>. The combination

of such components with a particular ordering is the surest sign of the encomiastic narrative pattern.

The first, older version of the *Life* of Julijana has no introduction, but this was not an obligatory part since only the distinctive main body was<sup>5</sup>. In the main body of this work are realized the components of *origins, birth, training, deeds, death, and posthumous events* in the prescribed order and including many commonplaces.

Under the *origins* (p. 276) one learns that Julijana's father Justin was a man of faith who took care of the poor while serving as a steward (*ključnik*)<sup>6</sup>. His wife Stefanida loved God as well as the poor and had the additional virtues of faith, like her husband, and purity. The naming of the parents and references to faith and profession are commonplace motifs of the subcomponent of parents. The additional information that the couple had many children and servants as well as much wealth was recommended for the pre-Christian Greek encomium<sup>7</sup>, but was usually absent in its Christian successors, which did not emphasize wealth. Here this information calls attention to the parents' ties to the noble class. What is curious is that the city of Murom, the mother's home, is mentioned, implying it was Julijana's ancestral home and so realizing the subcomponent of city. In fact, Julijana spent only part of her childhood there, despite the epithet *Muromskaja* in some titles of the *Life*. There is definitely an attempt to connect her with this more prestigious city located near the village of Lazarevo, where she actually lived. As Soviet researchers have noticed, this section also contains more information about family names than most Russian works realizing the encomiastic narrative pattern.

The *birth* of blessed Julijana is noted, so briefly realizing the optional component of birth (p. 276).

For the component of *training* the author writes that Julijana lost her mother at the age of six, when she moved to her maternal grandmother Anastasija's. There the girl was raised in the virtues of faith and purity until the age of twelve, when this grandmother died. Julijana was then committed to the care of an aunt, Natalja, who with her daughter ridiculed her ward's virtue. Despite their attempts to force the girl to eat, Julijana fasted and prayed, loving God and showing obedience and humility to all. In addition, she was quiet and abstained from children's games and pastimes. Instead, she sewed and spun all night, saving up for orphans and widows. She also looked after the needy and sick. All marveled at her faith and wisdom (*razum*). Julijana feared God and was instructed by His virtue though she lived too far from church to attend services.

Moral training, a subcomponent of training, is realized through the statement that Julijana was instructed by God. This is a commonplace though the Holy Ghost is usually specified. The *Life* of Julijana includes too the commonplace ascetic acts of fasting and praying. The subcomponent of virtues extending into later life include faith, fear of God, wisdom, obedience, humility, and charity towards orphans, widows, the needy, and the sick. Of course, one might question just how obedient Julijana was, since she defied her aunt in order to fast. This kind of apparent contradiction had a precedent in the *Life* of Theodosius of Pečera, in which the obedient saint ran away from his domineering mother several times. Sergius of Radonež, moreover, had a mother who tried to prevent his fasting, but he prevailed. Here the aunt is a mother-substitute for the orphaned girl and serves the purpose of offering resistance to the young person's acts of asceticism. Ultimately such disobedience towards one's family was sanctioned by Christ's injunction to leave all behind and follow Him. This section also contains a commonplace found in the encomiastic saint's life since as a child Julijana shuns the activities of her peers.

With her marriage at the age of sixteen to Gregory Osor'in, Julijana passes from childhood to adulthood. Her subsequent *deeds* continue to demonstrate virtues she had shown before. Good, wise, humble, and obedient, she also turned out to be a capable manager of the house, so during her husband's frequent absences on business, her in-laws entrusted the household to her. In the mornings and evenings she prayed, bowing one hundred times. By night she sewed and spun to aid the poor and build churches. By day she ran the house and took care of widows, orphans and servants. As can be seen, her life was essentially the same as it had been with an increase in responsibilities to include running the household.

Two things are notable. First, Julijana contributed to building churches as did traditional Orthodox saints. This puts her on the side of the traditional Church, despite other evidence that she was opposed to it<sup>8</sup>. It is also said that she did not address her slaves by their simple name; perhaps like the peasants as late as the nineteenth century, she used their patronymics. As mistress she took responsibility for the slaves' misdeeds and not only corrected, but also instructed them. And she did not require certain basic services from them like removing her boots. All these interesting real-life details offer information about the times though they are distorted to show Julijana as favorably as possible in the role of an exemplary slaveholder.

Among her deeds are acts of asceticism. After bearing her husband ten sons and three daughters, Julijana asked his permission to go to a convent. Although her husband refused, he agreed to a chaste marriage. Following the murder of her

oldest son by a servant and after her husband's death, Julijana's practice of asceticism intensified as she mortified her flesh by not wearing warm clothes or by wrapping her bare feet in her boots during the winter; instead, she put sharp objects like nut shells into her boots.

When a priest was sent by an icon (*sic*) of the Virgin to honor Julijana, she declined, claiming to be a sinner and henceforth increased her acts for God's sake. She repeated the perpetual prayer, encountered demons, again received the aid of St Nicholas, and swore the author, together with others, to secrecy after telling them about the miracle. During a second, worse famine she was too old to go to church, so she prayed at home and freed her servants, lest they starve, but some decided to stay anyway. She fed these with bread baked from plants, which became celebrated as the best bread in the area. This experience reduced her to poverty, which she endured two years without complaint.

Many of Julijana's acts of charity are traditional, like feeding widows, orphans, and the clergy as well as building churches, but her ministry to the victims of famines is an unusual event due to the exact historical circumstances of her times. Another commonplace of saints' lives dedicated to married persons was the pact between husband and wife to abstain from sex. Extreme asceticism, moreover, was not unknown to saints' lives though again the particular kinds exercised by Julijana are unusual<sup>9</sup>.

Many of the commonplaces of the encomiastic saint's life are employed to relate Julijana's death. The day of death is reported as January 2. When dying, Julijana took communion, called together her subordinates (servants and children) to instruct them. She then ordered the preparations for the funeral service and commended her spirit to God through the Biblical passage quoted by most dying Orthodox saints.

In addition to these commonplaces, there are two interesting references to practices of the times. Julijana explains that she had wanted to take vows, but could not because of her sins and poverty. This implies that the monks would not take anyone without funds to contribute – a sad state<sup>10</sup>. Before dying, Julijana put down her prayer beads, a gesture attesting to their use in this period.

The subcomponent of *posthumous deeds*, or miracles, is realized through the halo that glows around Julijana's head as in icons of saints. After being washed and put into her coffin, Julijana emitted a burning light and fragrance that night. Both miracles are commonplaces arguing in favor of her canonization.

The subcomponent of burial entails Julijana's interment in the Church of Lazar next to her husband in the town of Lazarevo, about three miles from Murom. Posthumous deeds, another subcomponent, continues with the revelation

that Julijana's grave was discovered by accident during excavations for her son George's grave. Julijana's grave exuded a sweet smell and was full of myrrh that resembled beet liquor (*kvas*) by day and purple meat by night. The myrrh, in turn, miraculously healed people.

The sentence that the author would not have reported all this had he not witnessed it serves as a brief, unusual epilogue, instead of the traditional prayer. It also recalls the formulaic endings of folklore and suggests a substitution of the latter for the prayer. This seems an attempt to recast an encomiastic saint's life in a folklore manner characteristic of seventeenth-century literature.

Besides the encomiastic narrative pattern, another feature of Church genres is the attribution of evil to the machinations of the Devil<sup>11</sup> or his demonic agents, whose plots are foiled so that the original state of harmony is restored<sup>12</sup>. In a dream early in Julijana's marriage demons appear and threaten her by threatening to kill her, but St Nicholas intervenes and sends them away, comforting her. The Devil sowed discord in Julijana's household and, as she learned in a later vision, a particular demon was responsible for goading a servant to kill her oldest son. After this, there is no more news of strife in the house, so harmony seems to be restored. Later, while praying, Julijana was surrounded by demons threatening to kill her. Once more, St Nicholas intervened and drove all of them away, except one, whom he tortured into confessing responsibility for the discord in Julijana's home, including her son's murder. The demon left only after it had threatened Julijana with death and after she had crossed herself. In each case the Devil or his agents cause trouble, so disturbing a previously harmonious situation, but through the intervention of St Nicholas the source of the trouble is vanquished and harmony is restored. This is the device of "harmony restored" found in encomiastic sermons and saints' lives as well as other medieval genres.

The analysis demonstrating that this work realizes the encomiastic narrative pattern also exhausts most of the arguments previously given to support the position that this work is a saint's life. Only those that are not valid have been excluded. V. O. Ključevskij, for example, claimed that the foreword was in the spirit of hagiography<sup>13</sup>, but there is no foreword in the first and probably older version of the *Life of Julijana*, though there is one in the second – a distinction of texts not made until the next century by M. O. Skripil'<sup>14</sup>. V. F. Pereverzov insists on a "realistic", psychological interpretation of Julijana's visions, calling them hallucinations. He also argues that while her getting upset is attributed to the Devil, it is really her response to the harsh conditions of the times<sup>15</sup>. That may be, but psychological realism is being imposed on a period which did not know or consciously practice it.

Apparently taking many faulty arguments from Pereverzev, Antony Stokes has accumulated most of the points offered against this being a saint's life. He notes that the *Life* of Julijana contains no inadequacy *topos*, commentaries, laments, or eulogies<sup>16</sup> (*poxvaly*, presumably). But none of these is an obligatory part of the saint's life. Lives in the Greek and South Slavic tradition frequently omitted the humility *topos*<sup>17</sup>. Laments and *poxvaly* were interchangeable with miracles, which do figure prominently in this work. The commentary is a common, but not obligatory feature of the encomiastic saint's life and particularly of the encomiastic sermon. The absence of these elements is related, in Stokes' opinion, to the lack of an overriding didactic goal. Yet the very choice of form is didactic, and so are individual episodes, as when Julijana instructs her servants. Finally, Stokes' comment that the work contains no quotations or parallels with Biblical or Patristic literature overlooks quotations from prayers and the explicit reference to the *Life* of St Cornelius as well as Julijana's deathbed quotation from the Bible ("Into thy hands I commend my spirit") – to give only the most obvious examples<sup>18</sup>.

Skripil' argues that the work is not hagiographical because it includes too much factual information like surnames and details about noble-servant relations as well as exact details about Julijana's life<sup>19</sup>. The surnames are found not in the first, short version, but in the second, unquestionably hagiographic version. As for quantity of facts, there are probably just as many in the best Russian example of word-weaving (*pletenie sloves*), the highly rhetorical *Life* of St Stephen of Perm. The difference is that they are more concentrated in the *Life* of Julijana. Even so, at all times they are strictly subordinated to the hagiographical goal of praising Julijana as a saintly woman.

## II

Two related questions that have never been raised before can help determine whether the *Life* of Julijana is a saint's life. One entails the convoy<sup>20</sup> of the manuscripts of the first version; the other deals with the question of Julijana's canonization.

As mentioned in another article<sup>21</sup>, it appears that there was at least one more manuscript (published by Kostomarov)<sup>22</sup>, than the five Skripil' reported as belonging to the first version of this life, but unfortunately I have not seen this sixth manuscript. Of the five manuscripts that Skripil' published, moreover, the convoy of one (the first) belonging to the Zabelin Collection of GIM, does not yet have a published description. The following comments will, therefore, be limited to the convoys of the other four manuscripts Skripil' published.

Skripil's second manuscript contains a life of the princes Constantine and Michael as well as Princess Theodora, the dormition of St Julijana, and a tale about a miracle-working icon. Each work is assigned a feast day<sup>23</sup>. The third manuscript includes services dedicated to Kiril of Beleozero and Julijana, the two lives and miracles of Kiril and Avramij of Smolensk, one eulogy (*poxvala*) of Kiril with miracles, several historiographic texts (a cosmography, short chronicle, princely genealogy, genealogical extracts, and a history [*skazanie*] about a prince), and a Biblical parable about heavenly birds that immediately precedes the last work, which is dedicated to Julijana<sup>24</sup>. The fourth manuscript offers a service and life with miracles dedicated to Dmitrij of Uglić and another work dedicated to the dormition of St Julijana<sup>25</sup>. The fifth manuscript contains a passion of the martyr Christopher, a life of the Muscovite Metropolitan Philip, a sermon about Varvar, a tale about the blessed father German, three hymns (two *troparia* to two different Germans, one kondakion without any indication of dedication), two works on the miracles of Theodosia and German of Soloveckij, and the dormition of Julijana<sup>26</sup>. In each case the work dedicated to Julijana is explicitly attributed to *St Julijana the miracle-worker* with the feast day of January 2. This evidence, together with the service for Julijana, strongly implies she was a canonized saint.

E. E. Golubinskij was inclined to assign Julijana to a special category of virtuous people (*usopšie* – those who had fallen asleep in the faith) who were venerated on the lowest possible level before attaining sainthood with or without the Church's approval<sup>27</sup>. The scholar admits, however, that there may be some inaccuracy in his categorization of minor saints<sup>28</sup>. That might well be the case with his data on Julijana.

V. I. Tagunova hints that the cult of Julijana Lazarevskaia had its ups and downs and that the second version without miracles that she discovered perhaps attests to a point of decline in the cult's cycle<sup>29</sup>. She does not prove this conclusively, however.

Because the oldest manuscripts call Julijana "saint", because their convoys contain predominantly hagiographical works, because a seventeenth-century service was dedicated to her, and because Archbishop Filaret edited her life as that of one of the Russian saints<sup>30</sup>, it seems that Golubinskij was too cautious in not counting Julijana among the full-fledged saints. This conclusion is supported by the religious motifs, especially the miracles that occur in the work.

In a literary tradition which placed so much emphasis on authoritative models and patterns<sup>31</sup>, it is unlikely that any writer would have tried anything as *avant garde* as this life has been made out to be. That Julijana Lazarevskaia was not a member of the princely class was odd enough<sup>32</sup>. For the rest, the author tried to

fit her into the traditional mold by attributing albeit unlikely miracles to her, and illustrating her ascetic and charitable virtues. He offers excuses several times for Julijana's not having taken vows together with subtle criticism of the monks – a combination of a pro-monastic position and critical attitude towards monasticism familiar in Old Russian literature<sup>33</sup>. The analysis of the work in terms of the encomiastic narrative pattern, the supporting evidence of the work's convoy, and the evidence of Julijana's canonization thus suggest that this work was a saint's life, so vindicating the position of D. S. Lixačev and others.

### III

It is also possible to ask what type of ideal Julijana represents. V. V. Kuskov considers Julijana an ideal housewife<sup>34</sup>. Following Ključevskij's lead, the Soviet Academy history calls Julijana an ideal woman – blessed, but not holy<sup>35</sup>. L. R. Lewitter notes that Julijana had greater independence and responsibilities than the Domostroj allowed and that Julijana was exceptional since, unlike other wives, she attained not only salvation, but sainthood<sup>36</sup>. According to Stokes, part of Julijana's life is a model of Christian virtue<sup>37</sup>. Yet one may be even more explicit. Julijana is an ascetic, whose self-mortification approaches the extremities of Palestinian saints. She is also industrious, humble, charitable (loving), and eventually poor. Humility, poverty, and love are virtues of the kenotic saint, who as illustrated by Theodosius of Pečera, is also industrious<sup>38</sup>. To these virtues Julijana's hagiographer adds the suffering of extreme ascesis. The evidence so points to Julijana's canonization as a kenotic type of saint in the mold of Theodosius, who was also wealthy, but willingly became poor.

The *Life* of Julijana Lazarevskaja is a transitional work in the history of Old Russian literature with respect to its form and the character type it portrays. On the one hand, the *Life* eulogizes a non-princely laywoman and so represents a first step in the secularization of a sacred form. At the same time the *Life* of Julijana is yet one more literary carrier of the kenotic prototype and so represents the saintly precursor of many a long-suffering, kenotic character of modern Russian literature, whether female, like Fedor Dostoevskij's Marmeladova, or aristocratic, like Tolstoy's Father Sergius.

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The author would like to make it clear that this article was written and submitted for publication in *Cyrillomethodianum* before T. A. Greenan's article 'Iulianiya Lazarevskaya' appeared in *Oxford Slavonic Papers XV*, 1982.

1. D. S. Lixačev, *Razvitie russkoj literatury X-XVII: Èpoxi i stili* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1973), 152. For a survey of the various positions and their proponents, see Julia Alissandratos, 'A Reassessment of the Life of Julijana Lazarevskaja', *Festschrift for Riccardo Picchio*, ed. Michele Colucci, Giuseppe dell'Agata, and Harvey Goldblatt (in press).
2. Gérard Genette, *Figures*, III (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1972), 72.
3. For a fuller theoretical elaboration, see Alissandratos, 'Leo Tolstoy's "Father Sergius": A Parodic Use of the Encomiastic Narrative Pattern and Selective Satire of Russian Culture', (in press).
4. Genette, III, 72.
5. Julia Alissandratos, *Medieval Slavic and Patristic Eulogies*, Studia historica et philologica 14, Sectio slavica 6 (Florence: Licosa, 1983), 7.
6. *Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms from the Eleventh Century to 1917*, compiled by Sergei G. Pushkarev, ed. George Vernadsky and Ralph T. Fisher, Jr. (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1970), 38.
7. Theon, Aelius of Alexandria, *Progymnasmata. Rhetores graeci*, ed. Leonhard Spengel (Lipsia: Teubner, 1854), 2: 110.
8. Čyžev'skij considers the allusion to Julijana's perpetual prayer as a sign of her support of the school of Nil Sorskij. Dmytro Čyžev'skij, *History of Russian Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1960), 317. See too: George A. Mahoney, *Russian Hesychasm: The Spirituality of Nil Sorskij* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973).
9. Her fascination with sharp objects sticking into her flesh offers a Russian precedent for Raxmetov's bed of nails in N. G. Černysevskij's novel *What is to Be Done?*
10. For more about this, see Mahoney, *Russian Hesychasm*.
11. This is related to the theological conception of *misokalos daimon*. Fran Gnidovec, *Vpliv sv. Gregorija Nazianzskega na sv. Cirila in Metodija ter na njuni Žitji* (Ljubljana: Ljudska Tiskarna, 1942), 47-51.
12. Alissandratos, *Medieval Slavic and Patristic Eulogies*, 20, n. 50.
13. V. O. Ključevskij, *Drevnerusskie žitija svyatyx kak istoričeskij istočnik* (Moscow: K. Soldatenkov, 1871), 322-323.
14. M. O. Skripil', 'Povest' ob Ulijanii Osor'inoy (Kommentarii i teksty)', *TODRL*, 6 (1948), 256-323.
15. V. F. Pereverzev, *Literatura drevnej Rusi* (Moscow: Nauka, 1971), 227-228.
16. John Fennel and Antony Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), 228.
17. The Patristic tradition plays down the inadequacy, or humility *topos*, as in Gregory of Nyssa's Eulogy of Gregory the Miracle-Worker. So do early Slavic saints' lives like those dedicated to Cyril and Methodius as well as (Paxomij's?) redaction B (Б) of the *Life* of Sergius, according to Tixonravov's edition.
18. V. V. Kuskov repeats many of Perverzev's and Stokes' erroneous arguments. Kuskov, *Istorija drevnerusskoj literatury* (third ed.; Moscow: Vysshaja škola, 1977).
19. Skripil', 260-268.
20. D. S. Lixačev, 'Ponjatie "konvoja" v tekstologičeskix issledovanijax pamjatnikov drevnerusskoj literatury', *Drevnjij mir. Sbornik statej. Akademiku Vasiliju Vasil'eviču Struve* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1962), 646-650.
21. Alissandratos, 'A Reassessment'.

22. N. Kostomarov, 'Povest' ob Ul'janii Muromskoj', *Pamjatniki starinnoj russkoj literatury*, I: *Skazanija, legendy, povesti, skazki i priči* (St Petersburg: Tipografija P. A. Kulisa, 1860), 63-67.

23. *Obstojatel'noe opisanie slavjano-rossijskix rukopisej . . . Grafa Fedora Andreeviča Tolstogo*, ed. K. Kalajdović and P. Stroev (Moscow: Tipografija S. Selivanovskogo, 1825), otdelenie II, no. 303, p. 459.

The description also refers the reader to manuscript no. 108 (otd. II, p. 278), which is primarily historiographic, including two tales and three histories, and a chronicle excerpt about Russian princes. At the beginning of this manuscript there are two sacred works, one about a miracle-working icon, another about the life of an archbishop of Kazan'. It is not clear whether this is a continuation of manuscript no. 303. If so, it is significant that the hagiographical section, including the dormition of St Julijana precedes the historiographical one. The main convoy for the work on Julijana is, therefore, hagiographical.

24. *Obstojatel'noe opisanie*, otdelenie II, no. 68, p. 38.

25. *Opisanie rukopisnogo otdelenija Biblioteki akademii nauk SSSR*, IV, vyp. 1: *Povesti, romany, skazanija, skazki, rasskazy*, compiled by A. P. Konusov and V. F. Pokrovskaja (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1951), no. 17.12.13, p. 182.

26. *Rukopisi slavjanskie i rossijskie, prinadležašcie . . . Ivanu Nikitiču Carskomu*, ed. Pavel Stroev (Moscow: Tipografija V. Got'e, 1848), no. 120, p. 58.

27. E. E. Golubinskij, *Istorija kanonizacii svjatyx v russkoj cerkvi* (Moscow: Universitet-skaja tipografija, 1903), 42, 331.

28. Golubinskij, 42.

29. V. I. Tagunova, 'Muromskie spiski "Povesti ob Iulijanii Lazarevskoj"', *TODRL*, XVII (1961), 415.

30. Filaret (Dmitrij Grigorjevič Gumilevskij), 'V tot že (2) den' prestavlenie pravednoj Iulianii Lazarevskoj', *Russkie svjatye, čtimye sveju cerkovju ili mestno: Opyt opisanija žizni ix (Janvar', Fevral', Mart, Aprel')* (third ed.; St Petersburg: I. L. Tuzov, 1882), 2-10.

31. Riccardo Picchio, 'Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom', *American Contributions to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists, Warsaw, August 21-27, 1973*, II: *Literature and Folklore*, ed. Victor Terras (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 439-467.

32. Picchio, *Letteratura russa antica* (Milan: Nuovo Accademia Editrice, 1959), 259-260.

33. This is the case in the *Life of Stephen of Perm*, according to Vladimir A. Grixin, 'Tvorčestvo Epifanija Permskogo i ego mesto v drevnerusskoj kul'ture XIV-načala XV vv.', Kandidatskaja Dissertacija, Filologičeskij Fakul'tet Moskovskogo Universiteta, 1974, 27-28.

34. Kuskov, *Istorija drevnerusskoj literatury*, 195.

35. *Istorija russkoj literatury*, II: *Literatura 1590-1690 gg.*, ed. A. S. Orlov (Moscow-Leningrad: Akademija Nauk SSSR, 1948), 95.

36. Lewitter, 4.

37. Fennel and Stokes, 227-228.

38. George P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind* (New York: Harper, 1960), 128.

## Notices bibliographiques

Дим. Богдановић, Каталог ћирилских рукописа манастира Хиландара, Београд 1978, pp. 1-321.

Using the most modern palaeographic methods, Professor D. Bogdanović has successfully dealt with the prodigious amount of material comprised in the 950 Slavonic manuscripts of Hilandariou Monastery, and presented us with a complete account of them all as one coherent unit. The linguistic variations indicate the multifarious activity of Hilandariou's scriptorium, and the unbroken chronological sequence the monastery's continuing manuscript tradition. The methodical and faultless presentation of the material allows the specialist to follow, through the texts, the development of the language, of the writing, and above all of the Serbs' literary creativity.

The catalogue itself is preceded by a lengthy foreword, which deals with the following points:

1. *Research in the library of Hilandariou Monastery*. The author refers to previous visitors and the research they carried out into the monastery's manuscripts, and considers these visits to be the fruit of lively and unbroken contact between the monastery itself and Serbia. Systematic work in this field began with the visit of the Russian Slavicist Victor Ivanovič Grigorovič in the mid-XIXth century. There followed the journeys and the manuscript descriptions of Porfirij Uspenski, Dimitrije Avramović, K. P. Dmitriev-Petković, P. L. Sevastjanov and, in particular, Leonid Kavelin. But a substantial – though admittedly incomplete – cataloguing of the monastery's manuscripts was not carried out until the end of the XIXth and the beginning of the XXth century, by a monk named Sava, who was of Czech descent. His first catalogue, which was published in 1897 (*Rukopisy a starotisky Chilandarské*), comprised 471 manuscripts and 147 old printed books, in contrast to Leonid's 250 and 75 respectively. Sava's second catalogue, produced a few years later, comprised a further 68 manuscripts. The Serbian Academy of Sciences showed a particular interest in this supplemented catalogue (*Katalog py-konusa словенских у монастыру Хиландару*) and intended to print it; but in the end the printing never took place and the catalogue is still in manuscript form in the monastery.

2. *The history of the collection of Cyrillic manuscripts and old printed books*. Referring back to the sources, the author establishes that the library is as old as the monastery itself. Amongst the first books ever to form part of its collection are two Russian manuscripts, one dating from the end of the XIIth and the other from the beginning of the XIIIth century. They are the *Stihirar* (No. 307) and the *Irmologion* (No. 308) respectively. The library was subsequently augmented by Slavonic manuscripts dating from the beginning of the XIIIth and continuing up to the XIXth century, and comprising copies, gifts, and original works.

The author pays particular attention to Hilandariou's scriptorium, which was constantly at work and staffed by monks not only from the monastery itself, but also from the monastery's dependencies – i.e. the *sketes*, cells, towers etc. Very interesting information is given about the writers who worked there from time to time and happened to leave their name in some note. However, a great many of these unflagging spiritual workers remained for ever shrouded in anonymity.

Printed books started to come into the library in the XVIth century, and there are many Serbian, Wallachian and Russian books from the period which testify to this.

The author devotes a special paragraph to the smaller libraries in the *sketes*, the cells and other parts of the monastery. The present library is composed of all the manuscripts and printed books originally found in these smaller libraries and in the monastery's main library itself. The latter, having been shifted for centuries from one location to another, since 1973 has had a permanent site, especially constructed for the purpose. Today all the manuscripts – Cyrillic, Greek and others – and the printed books are arranged and classified systematically and securely in their appointed places.

Of particular interest is the section concerning the history of the manuscripts' disappearances, destruction, theft and transfer. Although the monks, on the whole, have always been very strict on the matter of the removal of books from the library, it seems that a good many manuscripts have ended up in other libraries, largely through their having been purloined by various travellers. Uspenski and Grigorović in particular left the monks very bad memories of their thefts of the monastery's monuments.

3. *Catalogue of Cyrillic manuscripts and old printed books*. Still part of the foreword, this section begins with the history of the Serbian mission to study the monastery's manuscripts and old printed books. The group of specialists, headed by Professor Bogdanović for the manuscripts and Professor Medaković for the printed books, was commissioned by the National Library of Serbia and the Serbian Academy of Sciences.

The author then proceeds to give a detailed and precise account of his methodology for cataloguing the manuscripts. In his division of the material he thought it right to conserve the order followed in Sava Hilandarac's catalogue, though it must be borne in mind that Sava failed to distinguish the manuscripts from the ordinary archive material. The small changes he does make, the author mentions in the appropriate places. As far as the numbering is concerned, he has followed that of Mik. Konatović. Sava's numbering (1897 and 1906) and the position of the manuscripts in the library are given after the description of each one and also in a special index at the end of the book.

As far as the titles and dates of the manuscripts are concerned, Professor Bogdanović's catalogue has been compelled to ignore previous catalogues, which contain a great many errors in this respect. Title and date are followed by a description, the format of which is strictly adhered to throughout the study:

First paragraph: Palaeographical description (material, number of leaves, dimensions, and water-marks when the manuscript in question is undated). The author also gives details here about the binding, though he does not give a description of the quires.

Second paragraph: Information about the scribe (name, location, the time when he was working), the type of writing and its palaeographical dating, the redaction and the illumination. Any absence of illumination is also noted, as a characteristic of the manuscript.

Third paragraph: Here the content of the manuscript is given and the type of text and language is also discussed. In the case of a collection (*sbornik*) each individual chapter is mentioned, together with its *incipit* and *desinit*.

Fourth paragraph: This final paragraph deals with the notes – if any – which are of course given in full, with the exception of those which are either unimportant or meaningless.

In this section the author also explains why he does not provide a bibliography for the manuscripts he describes. It is because he considers the existing bibliography to be so circumstantial and inadequate that it could only hinder a proper evaluation of the manuscripts.

As we have said, the catalogue of old printed books was drawn up by Professor Medaković, in accordance with the stipulations set by the committee in charge. Only those books which comprise Serbian editions of the period between the XVth and the XVIth century have been dealt with here. The format of their description follows the same general lines as that of the manuscripts.

In the manuscript catalogue the Serbian manuscripts predominate, numbering some 470 altogether. Of particular note are: the early XIIIth-century *Typikon of Hilandariou* (No. 156), the *Tetraevangelon* (No. 22) dating from the second quarter of the XIIIth century, the *Evangelistarion* (No. 8) dating from the third quarter of the XIVth century, and the early XIVth-century *Evangelistarion* of the *kral* Milutin (No. 1). Most of the manuscripts are liturgical books, Lives of Saints, various Gospels, Sermons, works of Canon Law, patristic works, etc. There are twenty copies of the *Climax of John* (*Lestvica*) and some 65 *sborniki*, the majority of which date from the XIVth century and are ascetic-Hesychast works.

Of the remaining manuscripts the oldest in the collection are two Russian works – the late XIIth-century *Stihirar* (No. 307) and the early XIIIth-century *Irmologion* (No. 308). A further 20 manuscripts are of Old Slavonic redaction, and there are also: 29 of Bulgarian redaction, 25 in the Wallachian idiom, 14 of what the author terms "Macedonian", 17 of Moldavian, and 290 of Church Slavonic redaction. In addition to the Old Slavonic texts, there are a number of more modern ones: 28 Bulgarian, 5 Slavo-Macedonian, 8 Romanian, 13 Russian, 26 Russo-Slavonic, and one Turkish.

The catalogue is supplemented by the following indices and tables: 1. Index of authors, 2. Index of names mentioned in the notes (*zapisi*), 3. Index of geographical names mentioned in the notes, 4. Tables of contents, 5. Index of languages and linguistic idioms (redactions), 6. Chronological index, 7. Index of the manuscript numbers.

A separate volume, with the same format, comprises a select album of the most representative manuscripts in the collection. The album is of particular interest because it places the source-material of such an old and important collection of manuscripts at the disposal of palaeographers for the very first time. As the author himself emphasises, the collection's value does not lie only in the parchment codices, but also in the dated paper manuscripts, because their water-marks make possible a much more accurate assessment of the age of the undated manuscripts as well.

The photographs were selected strictly according to the manuscripts' palaeographical importance, and consequently it was not possible to include examples of all the manuscripts. Only those manuscripts were chosen which were deemed most representative for their style of writing or their historical or literary significance. Nor was the illumination of the manuscripts taken into account, because a special edition is to be devoted to this particular aspect.

In illustration of his theory that Hilandariou Monastery has been constantly producing or copying works from the Middle Ages up until recent times, the author has selected examples of this development in writing. And so, having grouped the plates according to their redaction, he also arranges them in chronological order. The album comprises some 250 plates: 2 Russian, dating from the end of the XIth and the beginning of the XIIIth century; 18 Serbian dating from the XIIIth century; 64 Serbian dating from the XIVth century; 27 Serbian dating from the XVth century; 5 Serbian dating from the end of the XVth to the beginning of the XVIth century; 14 Serbian dating from the XVIth century; 44 Serbian dating from the XVIIth century; 6 in the Slavo-Macedonian idiom, dating from the XIVth to the

XVIth century; 10 Bulgarian, dating from the XIVth to the XVth century; 4 Wallachian, dating from the XVth to the XVIth century; 6 Moldavian, dating from the XVIth century; 8 modern Russian, dating from the XVth to the XVIIth century; and 16 Church Slavonic, dating from the XVIIIth to the XIXth century.

The plates are preceded by an index, including the official numbering, the title of each manuscript and the number of the page pictured. The volume ends with a list of the official numbering of the manuscripts, accompanied by the number of each one as it appears in the album.

*Thessaloniki*

*J. Tarnanidis*

A.-E. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic Manuscripts of Saint Panteleimon Monastery (Rossikon) on Mount Athos*, Thessaloniki - Los Angeles 1981, pp. 198 (p. 123-189 plates).

Byzantinists are well aware that Mount Athos, with its centuries of history and its numerous monuments, is a living testimony to the spiritual traditions of Byzantium. Under the sceptre of Orthodox spirituality, monks from various countries and with diverse national traditions behind them, have succeeded in living together in fellowship and in establishing an outstanding ecumenical community, one of the great achievements of liberal Byzantine politics.

It was in just such a political climate that the intellectual collaboration between the Greeks and the Slavs was cultivated. On Mount Athos the encounter between the Greeks and the Slavs was decisive, continuous, and fruitful, and the great Greek-Byzantine heritage was successfully passed on to the Slav people in such a way that, later on, they felt that they too were Byzantine to a great extent.

The monuments produced by this historical encounter were, and still are, numerous. Mount Athos' dozens of libraries, which were inundated with manuscripts, as old and more recent historical texts inform us, contained not only a great many Greek, but also a significant number of Slavonic manuscripts. It is a regrettable fact, however, that many of these manuscripts no longer exist, whether through having been destroyed by fire, through theft, or through having simply mouldered away in some damp and neglected corner. It is a comfort, at least, to know that in our time a systematic endeavour is being undertaken to preserve, film and catalogue those manuscripts which remain, so that there is no further chance of their being destroyed and lost for ever. As we know, the Institute for Patristic Studies has taken on the Greek manuscripts of Mount Athos, while the Slavonic manuscripts are being dealt with by various scientific bodies in collaboration with the monasteries which house them. And so, in the light of this contemporary restoration and cataloguing of the Slavonic manuscripts, it was a great pleasure to see the publication of Professor D. Bogdanovic's catalogue of Hilandariou Monastery's Cyrillic manuscripts in 1978, and Professor Tachiaos' catalogue of Panteleimon Monastery's Slavonic manuscripts last year. Furthermore, we have recently learnt that the cataloguing of Zographou Monastery's Slavonic manuscripts by a group of Bulgarian specialists is nearing its end; and it seems that the work of cataloguing the rest of Mount Athos' Slavonic manuscripts is well on its way to completion. Let us hope it will not be long before we see the results.

In his introduction Professor Tachiaos refers to both old and more recent historical sources which helped him to calculate a considerable number of manuscripts which used to belong to the library of Panteleimon Monastery and the greater part of which no longer exist. Even manuscripts mentioned by fairly recent researchers, travellers or amateur historians (Vasilij Grigorovič-Barskij, Victor Ivanovič Grigorovič, Dimitrije Avramović, K. P. Dmitriev-Petković, Antonin Kapustin, Leonid Kavelin) have disappeared, evidently destroyed in the recent fires. We can therefore appreciate the author's emotion in the few instances when he managed to find and identify any of the manuscripts mentioned in the older sources.

Professor Tachiaos' work is not merely a catalogue of manuscripts. In addition to a physical and palaeographical description of each manuscript, he also gives the style of writing, the author whenever possible, the content, and any other historical details which might be of interest to specialists and researchers. After selection, pagination and re-numbering, the manuscripts have been deposited in a safe place in Panteleimon Monastery's library.

One very significant aspect of the book, which will be of particular interest to students of Slavonic literature, is the division of the manuscripts according to their redaction. Amongst the 74 manuscripts he includes in his catalogue, Professor Tachiaos distinguishes four redactions: Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Church Slavonic.

24 manuscripts are of Serbian redaction. The oldest, No. 2, is a XIIIth-century parchment *Evangelie aprakos*. The first and last leaves are missing, though the rest of the text is well preserved. It is written in South Slavonic uncial (*ustavni*) writing of the late XIIIth century. One of the most notable manuscripts of Serbian redaction is Ms. No. 6, a XIVth-century *Praxapostolos*. It is one of the very rare Bosnian manuscripts in which Glagolitic letters are encountered from time to time. Another very notable manuscript is No. 17, the XIVth-century *Chronicon of George Hamartolos*. It was at one time thought to be lost, but in 1952 Professor Dj. Sp. Radojičić mentioned its existence, though without giving any further details. Its rediscovery and inclusion in the present catalogue is a great contribution to science, as it is a manuscript of considerable importance. Yet another very significant manuscript is No. 22, a XVth-century *Miscellany (Sbornik)*, which contains a rare variation of a text about *knez Lazar* and the battle against the Turks at Kosovo Polje. The text of the manuscript is given in full.

The remaining manuscripts of Serbian redaction are the following: 1. XIVth-century *Apostolos*, 3. XVth-century *Praxapostolos*, 5. XIVth-century *Octoechos* (this text ends with some lines in verse to St Sava of Serbia, which the author conveniently quotes at the end of his description of the manuscript), 8. XIVth-century *Apostolos and Evangelistarion*, 9. XIVth-century (Serbian and Greek) *Office of St Panteleimon*, 10. XIVth-century *Octoechos*, 11. XIVth-century *Menaion*, 12. XVIth-century *Menaion*, 14. XIVth-century *Pentecostarion*, 15. XVth-century *Paterikon*, 16. XVIIth-century *Paterikon*, 18. XVth-century *Menaion for June*, 19. XVth-century *Paterikon*, 20. XVth-century *Menaion Heortologion*, 23. XVth-century *Praxapostolos*, 24. XVIth-century *Triodion*, 25. XVIIth-century *Tetraevangelon*, 27. XVIth-century *Menaion for January*, 28. XIVth-century *Patristic Miscellany*, 29. XIVth-century *Triodion*.

Five manuscripts are of Bulgarian redaction. The oldest is Ms. No. 7, a XIIIth-century parchment *Tetraevangelon* written by the Bulgarian scribe Pop Dragyja. The other four manuscripts in this group are Nos: 4. XIVth-century *Praxapostolos and Evangelion*, 13. XVth-century *Octoechos*, 21. XVIth-century *Tetraevangelon*, 26. XIVth-century *Ascetic Miscellany*.

23 more recent manuscripts are of Russian redaction. The oldest is No. 33, a XVIIth-century *Carstvennaja Kniga*. Although these manuscripts are more recent, several of them are quite notable works, such as Nos 37 and 40, both *Razrjadnaja Kniga*, 38. *Sobornoe Uloženie* dating from 1649, 39. XVIIIth-century *Chronograph*, 41. XVIIIth-century *Sobornoe Uloženie*, 48. XVIIIth-century *Letopisec* and *Rodoslovec*, 55. XVIIIth-century *Collection of Sermons*.

22 manuscripts belong to the Church Slavonic category, their contents varying considerably. It is clear that these too are more recent manuscripts, dating from the XVIIth century and later. Of particular note are Nos 49. XVIIIth-century *Ascetic Miscellany*, including the oldest known copy of St Ivan Rilski's testament, the text being appended in full; and 69 and 70, which comprise a hitherto unknown translation of Thekaras' work by St Ivan Rilski. Also of great interest are Nos 34 and 43, which are *Works of Isaac Syrus* dating from the XIXth and XVIIIth centuries respectively, 44. XVIIIth-century *Miscellany*, 45. XVIIIth-century *Kriny Selnyja*, 46. *Catechetic Sermons of Theodorus Studites*, produced by the scriptorium of the School of Velickovskij and adding considerably to our knowledge of that establishment's literary and translational activity.

The study is supplemented and completed by 69 plates, selected to demonstrate types of writing, variety of graphical style and the most noteworthy textual decorations.

This work is a valuable contribution to the field of Slavonic research. It has brought to light old manuscripts which were thought – and some indeed were – lost to science, and others that were quite unknown. As far as the description of the manuscripts is concerned, in our opinion the author has successfully exploited the relative freedom of expression which the science of palaeography permits. Professor Tachiaos deals with the literary, linguistic, and historical interest presented by each manuscript, and in most cases takes care to provide the full content, particularly of the *Miscellanies*, or else gives full bibliographical details relating to those who have previously dealt with the manuscript in question. In this way he presents a most vivid picture of the manuscripts and offers specialists valuable information for their further research.

*Thessaloniki*

*J. Tarmanidis*

Сава Немањић – Свети Сава. Историја и Предање, Београд 1979 – Colloque scientifique international (Décembre 1976), pp. 512.

There can be no doubt that Sava Nemanjić, son of the ruler Stephen Nemanja, was a dominant figure in medieval Serbian life. In the Church as a spiritual leader and missionary, in politics as an adviser at the palace and as a diplomat, and in the wider field of culture as a teacher and writer, he laid the foundations upon which the Serbs' medieval state was built.

The object of the congress in Belgrade in December 1976 was to discuss all the aspects of Sava's complex personality and his influence on Serbian tradition as time passed. The papers, which were subsequently published as complete studies in the present volume, dealt with such diverse subjects as history, tradition, literature, religion, and art. We shall discuss all of them here, with the exception of the papers on art, which will be dealt with by our colleague Mr Sotiris Kissas, since art is his particular speciality. The studies will be taken in the order in which they are published.

S. Ćirković, *Problemi biografije svetoga Save* (7-13). The author asserts that most of the studies of Sava's life carry no scientific weight whatsoever, owing to the absence of critical research. This gap can be filled only by a purely literary study of the extant texts.

M. Živojnović, *Klitorska delatnost svetoga Save* (15-25). The author begins by mentioning the monasteries founded by Sava: on Mount Athos, in Serbia, Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and even as far away as Palestine. Ms Živojnović's somewhat rash conclusion is that Sava's foundations and his ecclesiastical activities in general had ulterior political motives.

J. Kalić, *Crkvene prilike u srpskim zemljama do stvaranja arhiepiskopije 1219. godine* (27-53). This is a study in depth of the prevailing conditions and the ecclesiastical situation inherited by the Serbs when they formed a united archiepiscopacy in 1219. The area where they originally settled came under the jurisdiction of the *Justiniana Prima*, and both the rival centres, Rome and Constantinople, participated in their eventual Christianisation. Consequently, the first episcopates (Belgrade and Braničevo in the ninth, and Ston in the tenth century) were not under the same dependence; the Bishops of Belgrade and Braničevo were under the authority of Constantinople, while the Bishop of Ston came under the authority of the archiepiscopate of Split, and consequently that of Rome.

The situation did not remain stable, because it was affected by the political changes brought about by the fluctuations of Byzantine power and influence in the Balkans. With the victories of Emperor Basil II at the beginning of the eleventh century, the autonomous archiepiscopate of Ohrid was created, which annexed the Serbian episcopates of Niš, Belgrade, Braničevo, Prizren, Lipljan, and Ras. Durazzo retained its autonomy, though this was considerably limited by the new archiepiscopate.

As regards the Western Church, the archiepiscopate of Bar was established during the same period (eleventh century). There was considerable rivalry, not only between East and West, but also between the individual archiepiscopates, which were all anxious to extend their sphere of influence; it would be very difficult to determine the chronological order of their establishment and the geographical limits of each one. The author makes an extensive study of the papal documents of the period – some of which appear to be forged – in order to prove quite convincingly that the archiepiscopate of Dubrovnik was established a century later than that of Bar; it was not until the twelfth century that it acquired the security of a papal bull.

The ecclesiastical situation changed mainly with the archiepiscopate of Bar's increasing influence, which followed the dynamic expansion of the Serbian state of Dioclea (Zeta). On the death of Emperor Basil II, the provinces of Ras, Bosnia, and Trebinje came under the jurisdiction of Bar, chiefly reducing the sphere of influence of the metropolis of Durazzo. After the end of the twelfth century the episcopate of Ras was annexed to the archiepiscopate of Ohrid.

The establishment of the Serbian State under the Nemanja dynasty marked the beginning of a new era in the Serbs' ecclesiastical history. When Sava undertook the organisation of the Serbian Church the situation was as follows: the Serbian coastal provinces came under the sphere of influence of the Western centres, Bar, Dubrovnik, and Split, while the episcopate of Ras was under the authority of Ohrid.

This study makes a valuable contribution to the Serbs' ecclesiastical history and its conclusions should form the basis of any evaluation of the works of St Sava. For it is only when one takes into consideration at what stage he inherited the organisation of the new Church

that one can explain his relations with Rome and Ohrid. One can then also fully understand the power and influence he must have exerted over his people and over the secular authority of his country in order to be able to throw in its lot once and for all with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

J. Tarnanidis, *Koliko je sv. Sava kao ličnost mogao da utiče na ostvarenje avtokefalije srpske crkve* (55-63). This study emphasises Sava's personal role in the concession of Serbian autocephaly. His spirituality was tried on Mount Athos, and his devotion to the Ecumenical Patriarchate was tested when Rome went so far as to offer a royal crown to his brother Stefan in her efforts to tempt him away. In Sava the Byzantine emperor found an ally against the Latin influence and against the dangerous power of Theodore Angelos, the despot of Epirus. The concession of autocephaly to the Serbs was the crowning point of this alliance.

B. Ferjančić, *Aftokefalost srpske crkve i Ohridska arhiepiskopija* (65-72). The first person to cast any doubt upon the regularity of the Serbian autocephaly was the Archbishop of Ohrid, Dimitrios Chomatianos. Professor Ferjančić in turn examines the regularity of Chomatianos's arguments through an extensive and comprehensive evaluation of all the historical and canonical facts of the period.

The author's conclusion is that *both* the procedure of Sava's election and ordination at Nicaea – with the participation of the emperor, the ordination being performed by the patriarch before a synod – and Chomatianos's objections were in accordance with all the prevailing canons. With reference to Chomatianos's objections, the author observes that this autocephalous archbishop did in fact have the right to rule his own province, and within the sphere of his own jurisdiction only he could have conferred autocephaly. Deliberately, perhaps, the author leaves the reader with a question: how did two perfectly orthodox actions come to be in mutual opposition, and in the end who was right – Sava or Chomatianos?

It should be said at this point that the canons have frequently been found to be powerless to solve historical problems. It would be very difficult, and risky besides, to try to give a specific answer to this question, especially through a modern interpretation of age-old canons of church administration. Confusion and lacunae have arisen from time to time through the Church's inability to enforce her law. Amongst the confusions which, through necessity or convenience, were inherited by the archiepiscopate of Ohrid – and indeed by every autocephalous archiepiscopate – was its doubtful right to confer autocephaly upon any of its provinces. We know of no comparable instance, and nor do we know if the Ecumenical Patriarchate ever abandoned its right to exert any superior control in this area of Illyricum.

M. Janković, *Episkopije srpske crkve 1220. godine* (73-84). The author's chief aim is to determine the number of provinces in the first Serbian archiepiscopacy. We have no complete list from that time. A later catalogue does exist, from the fifteenth century, but it makes no mention of the episcopate of Prizren, which is, however, referred to in Dimitrios Chomatianos's text. The author questions the completeness of the catalogue and endeavours to supplement it from other sources. On the basis of evidence in fifteenth-century sources she manages to include, in addition to the episcopate of Prizren, that of Lipljan as well, in her list of the original episcopates. In this way she also provides documentation in support of the view – which has been put forward before – that the first episcopal sees of the Serbian Church numbered eleven altogether: Žiča (archiepiscopate), Zeta, Ras, Hvosno, Hum, Toplica, Budimlje, Dabar, Moravica, Prizren, and Lipljan.

As things stand, the last word has by no means been said; certainly, one cannot help feeling that the author's very persuasive conclusions, when taken together with Snegarov's view – he also includes the episcopate of Srem – also give plausible support to the old theory that the number of episcopates of an autocephalous church ought traditionally to be twelve, the same number as Christ's disciples.

A.-E. Tachiaos, *Uloga svetoga Save u okviru slovenske književne delatnosti na Svetoj Gori* (85-89). This study presents St Sava as the founder not only of Serbian but of Slavonic literature in general. His very original literary work began a distinct tradition of Athonite Slavonic literature, and at the same time, through his ascetic life and his wide interest in monasticism, he introduced onto Mount Athos both his own personal ideas, as formulated in the *Typikon* of Chilandari, and the tradition of Jerusalem. He thus succeeded in reforing the links between the monasticism of Mount Athos and the older monastic tradition of Jerusalem, and was himself established as a widely acknowledged spiritual authority.

D. Bogdanović, *Krmčija svetoga Save* (91-99). Recapitulating the problems that still face us in connection with the Serbian Book of Canon Law, the author points out that if only a critical edition based on various Byzantine models were forthcoming a large number of the problems could be solved. As far as the authorship of the book is concerned, the writer accepts the view that St Sava inspired and supervised its redaction; he made a unique contribution to its creation in that he himself selected the texts it comprises. He avoided any potential points of secular and ecclesiastical conflict and gave the Serbian State and the Serbian Church an absolutely harmonious code of independent conduct. The Book of Canon Law had an enormous effect on the life of the Serbs; from the Middle Ages it passed into the people's consciousness when they were enslaved by the Turks, and endured until the establishment of the new Serbian State.

The Russian linguistic influence detectable in the text should not be seen as indicating its dependence on some Russian prototype; it is due to the general Russian influence experienced by Sava during the years he spent on Mount Athos. It is also quite probable that there were Russian monks in the groups which translated the Canon Law texts from the Greek under Sava's supervision.

V. Mošin, *Pravni spisi svetoga Save* (101-128). Sava made a great personal contribution to the juridical foundations of the Serbian State during the various stages of his career: 1) as governor of the province of Hum; 2) as a monk on Athos and the founder of several monasteries; 3) as an administrator, pedagogue, and missionary, during the years he spent at Studenica as an archimandrite; 4) as the head of the autocephalous Serbian Church, when he gave the state his wide organisational and ecclesiastical legislative services. During all these periods his contribution was substantial and well in advance of its time.

M. Blagojević, "Zakon svetoga Simeona i svetoga Save" (129-166). A collection of laws with this title is frequently mentioned in medieval Serbian diplomatic texts. The text of it has not been preserved, but we can make a guess at its content from later references to it. A close examination of these references has led the author to conclude that there were essentially two texts: one concerned the obligations of the inhabitants of the area around Studenica Monastery (*zakon svetoga Simeona*) and the other those of the inhabitants of the area around Mileševa Monastery (*zakon svetoga Save*). The two laws were commonly mentioned together because the two saints were always closely linked in the consciousness of the Serbian people, and the content of the two laws was the same.

Although the text of these two laws has not been preserved at first hand, from indirect references to them the author has been able to distinguish certain classifications referring to various groups of people. Examples of such classifications are found in the "law for the people of the Church", the "law for the Wallachians", and the "military law".

The author is able to make the significant point that the principles of these laws applied to all subsequent Serbian monasteries and were one of the basic features of feudal Serbian society.

P. Ivić, *O jeziku u spisima svetoga Save* (167-175). Of the works attributed to St Sava the *Life* and the *Service* of St Symeon are written in pure Ancient Serbian. On the other hand, Sava's letter to the abbot Spiridon is written in the simple language of the people. The *Typikon* of Chilandari and the *Typikon* of Studenica, which derive from a translation and adaptation of the *Typikon* of the Monastery of the Evergetes, contain many mixed language elements, the former in particular. In it Mr Ivić finds a great many south-east Serbian idioms, which leads him to the conclusion that Sava could not have been either the translator or the author of these texts, though the first three chapters, which are quite free of heterogenous linguistic idioms, could be his. The similarities between the two documents indicate the existence of a common original which has now been lost.

The author makes the very important point that both the Serbs' literary language and their diglossy began with St Sava.

O. Nedeljković, *Sveti Sava i raška pravopisna škola* (177-188). According to the author, Byzantine sovereignty over the Balkans between the eleventh and the twelfth centuries was the basic reason for the severing of relations between the East and the South Slavs. In fact, she attributes the break in the south Slavonic manuscript tradition's dependence on the East to the untenable notion that the Byzantines "systematically destroyed" the Slavonic manuscripts of the region. And so, she maintains, the manuscript tradition continued in the peripheral centres of learning or in the mountain monasteries. She does not explain, however, exactly how Slavonic writing survived in these places, nor why the Byzantines' destructive activities did not spread farther – since a considerable number of these places (Sinai and Mount Athos, for example) were in their hands. The complete untenability of this old idea, which Ms Nedeljkovic is attempting to revive without providing any arguments to support it, has been demonstrated notably by: A.-E. Tachiaos, Clément d'Achrida dans l'actualité bulgare, *Balkan Studies* 7 (1966) 446; Ph. Malingoudis, Die Nachrichten des Nikitas Choniates über die Entstehung des zweiten Bulgarischen Staates, *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 67-68; G. G. Litavrín, Uslovija ratvitii bolgarskoj kul'tury v XI-XII vv., *Istorija i Kul'tura Bolgarii*, (Moskva 1981) 293; idem, Narody balkanskogo polnostrova v sostave vizantijskoj imperii v XI-XII vv., *Formirovavc rannefeodal'nykh slavjanskih narodnostej*, (Moskva 1981) 179.

The author's main argument is that the Raška school was not established along the same lines as the Zeta school. The East Slavs' original linguistic influence on the South Slavs continued via Galicia and Hungary during the Byzantine occupation, and so both the Raška and the Zeta-Hum schools used the east Slavonic redactions as their sources. Regarding the orthographic innovations which appeared in Raška and Zeta-Hum texts, the author maintains that these were in fact adopted before St Sava's departure for Mount Athos; and consequently, St Sava and his colleagues could not have been the founders of the Raška school. Subsequently, of course, his departure for Mount Athos meant that east Slavonic manuscripts were increasingly used in the medieval Serbian State.

D. Trifunović, *Udvajanje i ponavljanje kao načelo književnog dela svetoga Save* (189-199). The author undertakes a literary analysis of St Sava's works and discovers many instances of "doubleness and repetition". This literary device is encountered in the Old Testament, chiefly in the Psalms of David and in the book of Proverbs, and it subsequently passed into Byzantine tradition. In St Sava's time it was a dominant feature of the works of Greek writers.

These correlations enable the author to detect three concurrent influences in St Sava's work: the ancient tradition of the Serbian books which were translated from Greek, the Byzantine tradition, and the influence of contemporary Greek authors.

R. Marinković, *Istorija nastanka života gospodina Simeona od svetoga Save* (201-213). In the *Life* of Symeon, which was written by St Sava, Ms Marinković observes that factual and descriptive narrative are interwoven. However, she discerns three main sections in the actual content: a) the report of Nemanja's death, written at Chilandari Monastery immediately after the event – between 1199 and 1202; b) a rhetorical and hymnological account of Nemanja's life, also written at Chilandari, but rather later, and intended to accompany the canonisation of St Symeon; c) the *Life* of Symeon, written after Sava's return to Serbia (1208) and before preparations recommenced for Symeon's canonisation. There is a final section comprising biblical interpolations included out of a desire to give the text a rather more didactic aspect.

V. Djurić, *Lik svetoga Save u književnosti* (223-230). The author observes the figure of St Sava through the written texts and the oral tradition of the Serbian people. St Sava takes on different aspects in accordance with the people's needs and problems: he is seen now as abandoning worldly affairs, and now as embracing them like a great patriot; now as a warrior and conqueror of the Turks, now as protector, castigator, or judge. None of this literature, apart from the *Life* of Domentijan and that of Theodosius, could be considered as anything other than mediocre in quality.

J. Tucakov, *Doprinos svetoga Save unapredjenju zdravstvene kulture u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (269-278). From amongst St Sava's varied diplomatic, ecclesiastical, spiritual, and literary activities, the author attaches particular importance to his social work. St Sava was the founder of medical science in Serbia. He established hospitals at Studenica and Chilandari and elaborated special charters so that they would function correctly. He also saw to the translation of the works of Hippocrates and Discorides, Galen and Avicenna, and absolutely revolutionised Serbian medical history. Moreover, his journeys to Asia Minor and Africa, which were long ones for their time, enabled him to introduce valuable and unknown medicines into his own country.

St. Hafner, *Svetosavska crkva i Rim u XIII i XIV veku* (381-388). This is an extremely interesting review of the Serbian Church's relations with Rome during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Serbian Church had been in direct contact with Rome since the end of the twelfth century, when the Latin Zeta came into Nemanja's Serbian State as an autonomous province. This relationship was strengthened during the reign of Stefan Prvovenčani, who made a clear distinction between political, ecclesiastical, and religious ideology. Both Stefan and Sava sedulously avoided any involvement in the rivalry between Byzantium and Rome.

As far as Sava's relations with Rome are concerned, Domentijan's information, though not entirely acceptable, can by no means be dismissed. Starting with the assertion that during the thirteenth century the anti-Latin polemic and ecclesiology against the papal precedence

had not been completely formulated, he wonders whether Sava might have been one of those theologians to whom the development of this idea was clear.

Further advances on behalf of the unification of the Serbian Church with Rome were made during the reign of Uroš II Milutin, and were reinforced by Hungary's policy of extending her influence into Serbia. On the other hand, with the Serbian State's expansion southwards, Serbo-Byzantine relations were also improved. Under Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, and even more so under Stefan Dušan, the atmosphere became distinctly anti-Latin, as we can see clearly from Tsar Dušan's *Zakonik*.

Despite the fluctuations he observes in the relations between the Serbian Church and Rome, the author concludes that the Serbian Church remained loyal to the religious heritage and line of Cyril and Methodius.

I. Božić, *Sveti Sava u predanju* (389-395). Having studied the folk tradition surrounding St Sava, the author has discovered that a considerable number of demotic songs and folktales are based on the information provided by his biographers. This does not mean, however, that popular creativity was unable to break away from the texts. On the basis of the saint's life and work, various myths have been created in accordance with changing circumstances, Sava being portrayed with varying characteristics at various times. In many cases popular imagination far surpassed actual facts and attributed older myths and traditions to Sava, his name taking the place of that of some other hero. This tradition also found expression in pictorial art.

M. Pantić, *Andrija Zmajević o svetom Savi* (407-414). Andrija Zmajević was the Catholic Archbishop of Bar and *primas* of Serbia during the second half of the seventeenth century. He was also a poet and a historian, and part of his literary work was devoted to St Sava. The author analyses his work and observes that this particular part is of no definite historical value, though it does have a certain broader significance. It proves that the cult of St Sava was kept alive during this period amongst the Catholics, who, of course, on the basis of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić's *Life of Sava*, believed him to be a Catholic saint.

M. Pavić, *Lik. sv. Save u srpskoj književnosti XVIII veka* (415-426). On the basis of unpublished biographies of Sava, hymns, encomia, and the fact that his cult penetrated into eighteenth-century scholastic circles, the author verifies that the cult of St Sava was still going strong during the eighteenth century. With the addition of a new facet, however: interest in St Sava began to express itself through new forms of literary creativity, rather than being restricted to the transcription or simple translation of older biographical or devotional texts.

D. Stefanović, *Sveti Sava u crkvenoj muzici* (427-441). Mr Stefanović's study is an original and thorough examination of the musical tradition surrounding the cult of St Sava. He begins by tracing back the historical development of the relevant hymns, and his research then concentrates on an analysis of the musical manuscripts known to us today in Chilandari and Rossikon Monasteries. There follows a list of the terms used in the Serbian version of the manuscript services for St Sava, and the study also includes an alphabetical catalogue of the authors of the hymns.

Through the great variety of hymns dedicated to St Sava and set to Serbian and Russian church music in different forms over a period of 800 years, the author perceives the importance of St Sava and the wide geographical spread of his cult. Our knowledge of this latter aspect will be considerably enriched by the publication of the Greek service for St Sava (Kult sv. Save kod Grka, *Hilandarski Zbornik*, 5).

I. Dujčev, *Sveti Sava u bugarskoj istoriji* (443-452). Prompted by the archaeological excavation of 1972 in Tirkovo, when the empty tomb of St Sava was discovered, the author returns to the events of the saint's time and to his relations with the Bulgarians.

His aim is to revive Stanojević's old theory that on his second visit to Palestine Sava's mission was to intercede on behalf of the recognition of the Bulgarian Patriarchate. Nowadays this hypothesis seems less valid than ever, for two reasons: a) Relations between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Bulgarian Church had been completely restored, possibly as much as a decade before the Synod of 1235 at Lampsako (see Byzantine-Bulgarian Ecclesiastical Relations, *Cyrillometodianum III*, 28-52), and consequently, the Bulgarians could have made their petition directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople, who had himself ordained the archbishop "in Zagora"; b) When Sava made his second journey to the Holy Land, both the Serbian and the Bulgarian Churches were of approximately the same standing, being both autocephalous archiepiscopacies. Why, then, would Sava have interceded for the Bulgarian Church's promotion to the level of Patriarchate and not for his own Church's promotion? Would not such an action have run quite contrary to the ambitions of the Serbian people and the Serbian government?

R. Samardžić, *Sveti Sava u modernoj srpskoj istoriografiji* (453-465). The author examines every possible source mentioning St Sava from the beginning of the sixteenth century up to the 1870s. In his analysis of historical works of this period, chronicles, genealogies, descriptions, and notes, he discovers constant references to the saint and his works. The saint's prominence at this time no doubt fulfilled certain political, religious, and didactic needs of the people.

V. Dedijer, *Istorija gradja iz narodnoslobodilačke borbe 1941-1945. O prosvjetiteljskoj ulozi svetoga Save* (467-490). The author cites an impressive number of documents in support of his contention that during the struggle for national liberation from 1941 to 1945, the principle of religious tolerance was paramount in Yugoslavia. This meant that a variety of customs and religious forms were able to survive freely and to find expression amongst the revolutionary units and in revolutionary areas. The documents the author quotes refer chiefly to festivals organised in honour of St Sava.

J. Tarnanidis

S. Radojičić, *Lik Svetoga Save u Domentijanovom životu i podvisima arhiepiskopa sve srpske i pomorske zemlje prepodobnog oca i bogosnog nastavnika Save* (215-221). This text is one of the last works by the great scholar and teacher. The author endeavours to give an account of the spiritual life of St Sava's biographer, Domentijan. The Greek way of Domentijan's thinking is evident in his work, which is based on imitation spontaneously transformed into creativity. The personality of St Sava develops along the lines of given models, upon which it feeds and branches out into a magnificent new model. The Serbs followed the Greeks in always starting off from a selected model, which is why they so easily became one of the spiritually hellenised medieval peoples.

Love lies at the very heart of Sava's interior personality. Here the author observes the application of a technique brought to completion in the work of the followers of the Platonic philosophy in later antiquity. There is also a certain concentration on the idea of pre-

destination, a deification of the members of the Nemanja dynasty. St Sava's personality appears from the start as fully developed, complete; he is already an ideal spiritual father.

Domentijan was a notable authority on all branches of Greek literature, and indeed the author links him with the tradition of later antiquity. His work is imbued with optimism, belief in the light, beauty, and love.

The author finally draws a parallel between Domentijan's literary portrait of St Sava and the pictorial portrait at Mileševa, in which "St Sava is indeed a God-bringing father, a spiritual personality of indomitable inner strength, which is not simply sketched but expressed in its entirety by the enraptured eyes which gaze forth with a radiant light".

This work without a doubt gives one of the best analyses of the work of Domentijan.

V. Korać, *Sveti Sava i program raškog hrama* (231-243). The author begins by discussing the relevant literature on this subject. Žiča is the most important monument in which new elements appear that can be attributed only to the most significant person of the period: St Sava. The new elements in the monument are as follows: a) the alteration to the end of the east section; b) the external closing off of both ends of the transept; and c) the creation of chapels on the north and south sides of the narthex. In the altered plan of the sanctuary the author discerns a close relationship between Žiča and the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra. The so-called low transept at Raška too, according to G. Millet, originated through the influence of the Athonite lateral conches and was introduced by Sava, but this change did not affect the existing architectural tradition. The author accepts Millet's view. The side chapels, according to the author, were also influenced by Athonite tradition (Great Lavra, Vatopedi, Iviron), with which Sava, an Athonite himself, was very familiar. The author then goes on to comment on the passage by Sava's biographer Theodosius, according to which, on his return from Nicaea as archbishop, "he brought from the Greek land many builders and experienced marble-workers", and he believes that their work was not confined simply to the interior decoration of the church, but that they also played a part in the above-mentioned changes carried out at the east end of the church.

During the second constructional stage at Žiča, which was the see of the Serbian archiepiscopacy, a large outer narthex was added, with a gallery and a bell-tower on the west facade, each floor of which served as an auxiliary area. Although the double narthex is a characteristic of Constantinople and Mount Athos, the large dimensions of the outer narthex of Žiča leave open the question of its origin. Similarly, the reason for the decision to build it remains unknown, and the question unanswered as to whether such a large narthex was built for the first time ever at Žiča. The gallery of the outer narthex is referred to in the sources by the term *catechumena* and is due to Athonite influence introduced by St Sava. In the bell-tower on the church's west facade the author sees the influence of Roman art on the architecture of Raška.

For a complete picture of St Sava's influence on contemporary Serbian architecture it is essential to refer to the works on ecclesiastical architecture of his period. The cathedral church of the Holy Virgin at Hvosno repeats the design of Žiča. Mileševa church, which was begun during the third decade of the thirteenth century, confirms that the architectural conception realised at Žiča became the model for the large churches. There are very few variations from the type in the church of the Holy Apostles at Peć. Pridvorica belongs to the same group of monuments and was most probably built immediately after the church of the Holy Apostles at Peć. The same group includes the outer narthex of Studenica and of Mileševa, and the narthex with two towers in the church of St Nicholas at Toplica and of St George at Ras (*Djurđevi Stupovi*).

Although St Sava considerably influenced the design of the church at Raška, the innovations and changes did not alter the nucleus of works of Serbian monumental architecture which had been created before it and continued until the end of the thirteenth century, and in some cases beyond.

The changes brought about by St Sava concern the interior of the monument, rather than its external appearance. They revived the interiorising concepts of the ancient Byzantine world, a change of values which may have been due to the influence of monastic ideas.

V. J. Djurić, *Sveti Sava i slikarstvo njegovog doba* (245-258). The author begins with a brief commentary on the sources which refer to St Sava's relations with the fine arts and the monasteries he founded (these sources being the biographies by the Serbian monks Domentijan and Theodosius), emphasising that greater familiarity with these literary monuments conduces to their credibility. He then goes on to deal with St Sava's contribution to the painting of Studenica Monastery's church (1208-1209). This contribution lies in his choice of artists, the use of Serbo-Slavonic inscriptions, the adaptation of Byzantine mosaic decoration to a Serbian environment, and the iconographical scheme. At Žiča, which was built by the *kral* Stefan Prvovenčani, was the see of the Serbian archiepiscopacy, and was painted in 1219, artists brought there from Constantinople by St Sava further developed the concepts he had applied at Studenica. Apart from the special positioning and representation of the patron saints of the founder and of St Sava himself (St Stephen the Protomartyr and St Sava of Jerusalem respectively), a chapel was also consecrated to each of them, one built on the north and one on the south side of the outer narthex. In almost all thirteenth-century Serbian churches these two chapels were consecrated to St Stephen the Protomartyr, patron saint of the Nemanja dynasty, and to St Symeon Nemanja, the head of the dynasty. St Sava also selected the decorative scheme of the chapel in the upper gallery of Žiča's bell-tower (dating from the third decade of the thirteenth century).

The author then examines the information provided by the Serbian Archbishop Nicodemus (1317-1324) that St Sava, on his return from Jerusalem, built the Great Church (either Žiča or the Holy Apostles of Peć) "in the likeness" of the churches of Sion and the Monastery of St Sava. He leaves the question open, emphasising that it is possible that the similarity refers to the iconographical schemes of Žiča and Peć, which were unique in medieval Serbian art, being based on evangelical events which took place at Sion.

St Sava contributed greatly to the creation of the cult of his father, Symeon Nemanja. During the last months of his life a small cycle of frescoes appeared, dedicated to the founder of the dynasty, in the south chapel of the narthex built by *kral* Stefan Radoslav (1227-1234) at Studenica.

Finally, the author considers the position in contemporary art of the paintings executed under the aegis of St Sava, comparing them with monuments that have been preserved in Cyprus, on Sinai, in Georgia, Constantinople, and Macedonia. Both the sources and the monuments themselves indicate that St Sava always selected the best artists of his time.

Generally, St Sava made a decisive contribution to the adaptation of the scheme of Byzantine churches to the Serbian environment, and to the appointment of a special place for Serbia within the Orthodox world by the development of special cults and the selection of patron saints. In inviting the best artists of his time to work for him he showed what Serbia needed in order to be numbered amongst the most artistically developed states in the Orthodox East.

A. Tsitridu, *Manastir Filokalu u Solunu* (263-268). The author has endeavoured to present a complete picture of the medieval Philokallou Monastery in Thessaloniki, the existence of which is known only from the sources. To begin with, the founder of the monastery is identified as Eumathius Philokalles, eparch of Constantinople at the end of the twelfth century and a logothete of the σεκρέτων at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The author analyses the information provided by St Sava's biographers, the monks Domentijan and Theodosius, concerning his relations with the monastery. This information leads her to the conclusion that: a) St Sava stayed and worked at Philokallou Monastery whenever he went to Thessaloniki; b) he himself decorated its church with valuable icons; c) the authors refer to it as "his own monastery" and Theodosius informs us that the monks considered him to be its founder on account of the gold with which he had endowed it. In a further analysis and interpretation of Theodosius's information, the writer concludes that St Sava was the "new" or "second" founder of the monastery, which was new and probably unfinished at the time when he endowed it. The study ends with an analysis and presentation of all the sources which refer to the monastery's two centuries of history (1210-1405).

Ms Tsitridu's study is undoubtedly the most complete account of Philokallou Monastery's history yet attempted. One does, however, have certain reservations about her particular version of St Sava's relations with the monastery. The word ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΤΜΗ, as the monk Theodosius uses it, means not *reconstruction* but *restoration*, in this case financial. It should also be noted that the body of the Blessed Nicodemus the Younger of Veria, who was a monk at Philokallou Monastery at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, never produced a miraculous aromatic balm.

Desanka Milošević, *Ikonografija Svetoga Save u srednjem veku* (279-315). At the beginning of her study the author gives an account of the principles governing the pictorial representation of one specific person (the portrait) in later antiquity, the early Christian period, and the whole of the Byzantine era. Byzantine concepts also influenced the medieval commissioners of portraits. The portrait of St Sava fulfills the requirements of one typology (Portrait Modus), with regard to attitude, movements, clothing, and insignia, and the inscriptions carefully note the saint's rank and his position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. However, the pictorial representation of St Sava was influenced by many factors: the model which was used, the use of details observed in the saint's descendants, the demands of the donors, and the ability of the painters. With regard to the problem of the "model" for the portrait of St Sava, the author accepts that icons were used from the refectories of the Nemanja monasteries, the cathedral churches, and the places where ecclesiastical synods were convened (in the symbolical presence of Serbia's first archbishop).

The author then goes on to refer to certain problems encountered in the study of medieval portraits, and emphasises as an essential condition that St Sava's portrait should be studied within the context of the compositions in which it appears, that is within its iconological totality. Sources of the cult of St Sava were the Serbian court, the Serbian Church, and above all the archbishops who succeeded him, and the monasteries he founded. The author then mentions the hagiological devotional texts dedicated to St Sava (Lives, services, canons) and goes on to examine representations of the saint, after having first briefly referred to the monuments which used to bear portraits of him, but which no longer exist.

The order of presentation is chronological and each portrayal of the saint is discussed individually. In the case of compositions the author examines their iconological significance

and the social concepts and ideas they express. There are forty-two medieval representations of St Sava. Iconography followed its own line of development, according to the spirit and ideas of each era, which also found expression in literature. St Sava never lost his own features, but the emphasis was on the form as a whole and not on the faithful rendition of physiognomical characteristics.

In this brief presentation, we cannot, unfortunately, enumerate all the portrayals of St Sava, from the superb portrait of him at Mileševa (c. 1228) down to that over the tomb of Repoš Kastriotis at Chilandari (1431). In a series of pictures in the Byzantine tradition, St Sava is depicted as a hierarch in the sanctuary apse in the scene of the Breaking of Bread (in the church of the Holy Apostles at Peć [c. 1260], in the Prothesis of Peć [c. 1265], in Sopocani [c. 1265]). At Gradac we have a short cycle of scenes from the life of the saint (c. 1275). In the church of the Holy Virgin of Ljeviška (pre-1313) the saint is depicted on the horizontal tree of the Nemanjas, and at Gračanica (1321), in the narthex of Peć (1330), and at Dečani (1348-50) he is shown in similar genealogical compositions. He is depicted with St Symeon Nemanja in various monuments (*kraljeva crkva* at Studenica [1314], St Nicetas near Skopje [pre-1316]), as founder (Dečani [1348], Veluča [1373-77]), as intercessor for the salvation of the souls of the dead (in the outer narthex of the church of the Holy Virgin at Studenica [1240-50]). In other monuments he is depicted in special compositions (Staro Nagoričino, St Nicholas Bolnički, St Dimitrios at Peć, the narthex of Peć).

Gordana Babić, *Nizovi portreta srpskih episkopa, arhiepiskopa i patriaraha u zidnom slikarstvu (XIII-XVI v.)* (319-340). This study examines the iconographical and ideological origin of the series of portraits of local bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs in the narthex of Serbian cathedral churches. In these series the prelates are depicted in chronological order, but only those who are contemporary with the monument are portraits from life. As a whole, the series emphasise the long duration of the Serbian Church's independence.

On the north wall of the chapel of Radoslav at Studenica (1233-35) there are pictures of St Sava, first Archbishop of Serbia (1219-1233), Arsenios, second Archbishop (1233-1263), and the monk Sava, son of Stefan Prvovenčani, who became the third Archbishop of Serbia as Sava II (1263-1271). This series is interpreted as expressing Serbia's ecclesiastical and political independence.

On the north and west walls of Arilje (1296) six Serbian archbishops are portrayed, not including Daniel I (1271-1272), who was punished for some unspecified misdemeanour, and Jacob (1286-1292), because he had not yet been declared a saint. In this church there is also a series of four local bishops, which leads the author to conclude that there was once a similar group of portraits at the see of Moravica.

In the outer narthex of the church of the Holy Virgin of Ljeviška at Prizren six Serbian archbishops are portrayed, excluding St Sava, who is depicted together with the members of the Nemanja family, and Archbishop Sava III (1308/9-1316), who, as one of the founders, must have been portrayed on one of the ruined sections of the fresco. Also in the outer narthex are six local bishops. The author examines the relationship between the local prelates depicted here and those known from the sources. The series is interesting both from the point of view of the differences in the archbishops' vestments and for the differences in the titles of the pictures.

In the church of St Peter at Bijelo Polje (c. 1320), the cathedral church of the episcopate of Hum, two local bishops and one archbishop are portrayed on the south section of the west wall of the narthex, their limited number being due to lack of space.

At Lesnovo only the Bishop of Zletovo, John (1347-49), and his successor, Arsenios (1349-1353), are portrayed. According to the author, the founder, despot Jovan Oliver, and the bishops of the newly-established episcopate did not wish to emphasise the tradition of the independent Serbian Church.

In the monuments of the Morava School there were no similar series of portraits during this period. They reappeared with the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć (1557). In the outer narthex of Peć (1561) St Sava is portrayed as "first patriarch", together with Ioannikios (1346-54), Sava IV (1354-75), Ephraim (1375-80 and 1389-96?), and Sava V (1396-1409?). The whole collection also includes the composition of the founders together with the first patriarch of the restored Patriarchate, Makarije Sokolović. In the same part of the church there are portraits of the Serbian archbishops Arsenios I (1233-63), Jacob (1286-92), Eustathius I (1279-86), Sava II (1263-71), Ioannikios (1272-76), and Eustathius II (1309-16).

Amongst the frescoes in the outer narthex of Gračanica (1570) there is a similar collection, though it is fairly badly damaged and obscure. In the church of St Nicholas Dabarski (1571), in the outer narthex there is a painting of the historical scene of the line of the patriarchal throne from Makarije to Anthony; next to this are the Metropolitan of Novo Brdo, Dionysius, and the old founder Bishop Nicholas III (founded 1329-30); and next to them are three unrecognisable figures, possibly archbishops. The purpose of the series is to emphasise the restoration of the old cathedral church. In the church at Budisavci (1568) there is no series of prelates. In the cathedral church of St Nicholas at Orahovica (1594) all twelve archbishops, from Sava I to Ioannikios II, are portrayed in the scene entitled "The Tree of the Nemanjas". The examples from the Turkish Occupation reveal the contemporary respect for the old models; the antiquity and the duration of the Serbs' organised Church are emphasised together with the authority of their saints.

The author finishes by devoting particular attention to the problem of the origins of such compositions. Anthony of Novgorod (1200) mentions the existence of portraits of emperors and patriarchs in the annexes (bishop's residence) of St Sophia in Constantinople. The chronicle of Novgorod (early thirteenth century) mentions the existence of the portraits of all the patriarchs in the narthex of St Sophia. An anonymous Russian traveller in 1389-90, the Archbishop of Mytilene, Leonardus Chiensis, and Makarios, Metropolitan of Ankara all mention the existence of a series of portraits of the emperors and patriarchs in the narthex of St George at Mangana. There are similar examples at Rome (St Peter's, St John's at Laterano, St Paul's *extra muros*) and at Ravenna (Sant'Apollinare in Classe).

St Sava, who was familiar with Constantinople, adopted a well-known theme as an appropriate expression of the autonomy and continuity of the Serbian Church.

Gojko Subotić, *Ikonografija svetoga Save u vreme turske vlasti* (343-354). During the Turkish Occupation representations of St Sava continued to be produced in religious art, based on models which had been known since the Middle Ages. In the mid-fifteenth century he appeared as a prelate in the sanctuary apse, together with St Clement of Ohrid, in the church of the village of Dolgaec in Pelagonia. He was frequently portrayed with his father St Symeon Nemanja in the lower zone of a church, and they often take the place of Sts Constantine and Helen beside the door in the west wall. The author emphasises the possibility that their presence on the west wall may have had a protective purpose. But there are also cases where they are portrayed in other parts of a church, on the north wall, or in one of the choir-stalls, as in Poganovo (1499). On the intrados of the south-west arch in Matka (1496/7) they have the

special characteristics of the patron saints of the founders. The presence of Sts Sava and Symeon at the end of the fifteenth century in monuments of the Skopje area and the absence at this time of saints in the archiepiscopate of Ohrid (St Paraskevi at Pobužje in 1500 and the chapel of St Nicholas in the gallery of the church of the Holy Virgin at Kučevište in 1501) is taken by the author as one more indication that the Serbian Church retained its independence until the second decade of the sixteenth century and was not dissolved immediately after the fall of the Serbian despotate. In the various regions of the medieval Serbian State Sts Sava and Symeon occupied a fixed position in churches. They appear in a series of little-known fifteenth- and sixteenth-century monuments – apart from those we have already mentioned – on the south wall (St Prohoros Pećinski [1489] and Banjani [1548/9]), on the west wall (Jašunjski manastir of John the Baptist [1524]), and on the east wall of the narthex (St Nicholas of Demir Hisar [1536/7]).

The restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate (1557) contributed further to the preservation and spread of the pictures of Sts Sava and Symeon together in almost all collections of frescoes and even on iconostases. In the monuments which were decorated before 1614 there are some thirty pictures of St Sava. In most cases the picture of Sts Sava and Symeon together prevailed during the first century of the Turkish Occupation, but there are also special thematic groups, such as the series of Serbian archbishops in the outer narthex of Peć (1561) and in the outer narthex of Gračanica (1570), from which St Symeon is absent. In other cases he appears in the company of eminent Church fathers or takes his place in a series of pictures of the Nemanja dynasty (Orahovica [1594] and Holy Trinity near Plevlja [1594/5]). Sometimes local tradition influenced the choice of persons, as in the church of the Assumption at Savina Monastery (Sava is portrayed together with St Symeon, his nephew Stefan, son of Vukan, and Cyril the Philosopher). He is also depicted with well-known Slav anchorites (in the church of St Athanasius of Alexandria above the village of Žurče [1621/2]) or rejecting the symbols of worldly power (Piva [1625/6]).

The iconographical model of St Sava remained unchanged throughout the Turkish Occupation. A few alterations were made to his dress only, according to the capacity in which he was being presented.

As founders Sts Sava and Symeon together constituted a particular theme for the Serbian Athonite Monastery of Chilandari. Their icons were considered to be precious objects and some twenty of them have been preserved. The cult of the founders of Chilandari influenced other Athonite monasteries too. There are representations of them in Molyvoklisia (1536) and in the chapel of St George at Ayiou Pavlou Monastery (1552). Icons of the two saints with Serbian inscriptions in other Athonite monasteries (e.g. Xenophontos) also originate from Chilandari. The portrayal of Sts Sava and Symeon together is due in Athonite works to the cult of the two saints as founders of Chilandari, and in Serbia to the fact that they were the founders of the independent Serbian Church and the independent Serbian State. In this capacity they also find their way into the decoration of ecclesiastical books (e.g. the menaion of Božidar Vuković [1538]), which in their turn became the models for frescoes and miniatures. There were pictures of the two saints in the illumination of manuscripts too. In the seventeenth century the monks of Chilandari were decorating their letters with the portraits of their first founders, and there is also a picture of them in the Novi Sad psalter (1642/3).

St Sava's great political significance for the Serbian people is evident from the fact that he was portrayed on the flags of the Serbian revolutionaries of Banat at the end of the six-

teenth century, and also from the fact that the Turks found it necessary to burn his bones, which were being kept in Mileševa Monastery at Vračar (1594).

The author then goes on to explain why we have scarcely any pictures of St Sava as a monk. The medieval portraits of this type have been lost, with the exception of the one at Rudenica (1402-5), and from the period of the Turkish Occupation only the one at St Nicholas's at Paštrovici (1620) has been preserved.

From the Turkish Occupation two iconographical cycles of the life of St Sava have been preserved, one in the refectory of Chilandari, the work of the artist Georgije Mitrofanović (1621-1622), and the other is the icon at Morača (1645). The author does not accept as the model for these cycles the illustrated manuscript of Theodosius's *Life of St Sava*. The post-Byzantine conception of the pictures indicates a post-Byzantine model, if such a thing ever existed.

Sreten Petković, *Sveti Sava Srpski u starom ruskom, rumunskom i bugarskom slikarstvu* (357-379). The author begins by discussing the factors which contributed to the spread of the cult of St Sava to Russia from the end of the fourteenth century onwards. The chief agents of the transfer of this cult were Serbian writers who fled to Russia and worked there (e.g. Pachomios Logothetes), artists, and noble Serbs. Amongst these nobles Ana Jakšić had a special place; she was the wife of the great knez of Lithuania, Vasilij L'vovič-Glinskij, and the maternal grandmother of Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (1547-1584). In 1517 the Athonite monk Isaiah (of Chilandari or Vatopedi) brought to the great knez Vasilij III Ivanović (1505-1584) the *Life of St Sava*, written by the monk Theodosius. The constant visits to Russia by the monks of Chilandari and Mileševa also contributed to the spread of the cult of St Sava. Tsar Ivan the Terrible's particular veneration for St Sava played a certain part in this spread, in the prevailing climate of emphasis on the universal nature of the Russian Church and the great pretensions of the Russian rulers expressed in the well-known theory of Moscow as the third and ultimate Rome.

This cult left its mark upon the fine arts. Thus St Sava is portrayed twice in the church of the Archangels in the Kremlin (paintings dating from 1564/5, restored in 1652-66); the first is in the sanctuary and the second on the west face of the north-east pier together with St Symeon Nemanja, Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-1282), and the knez Lazar Hrebeljanović (1371-1389). In the illustrated chronicle known as *Letopisnyj licevoj svod* (mid-sixteenth century) sixty-one pages are devoted to him, decorated with 122 miniatures based on Theodosius's *Life of St Sava*. In the company of well-known saints of the Eastern Orthodox Church and Russian saints he is portrayed on icons and tapestries (an icon in the museum of Psjkov [third quarter of the sixteenth century], an icon at Rostov-Suzdalj in the Tretjakov art gallery [1565], an icon in the Novgorod museum [mid-sixteenth century], a curtain in Chilandari Monastery, the gift of the Russian Empress Anastasia [1565]). Here we should also mention the appearance of the description and sketches of St Sava in drawing manuals of the Stroganov studio.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century various factors led to a decrease in the popularity of St Sava in Russia (the relations between the Russian and the Serbian Churches to a minor extent, because of the relations between the Russian Church and the Eastern Patriarchates, the change of political circumstances with the arrival of the Romanov dynasty, etc.). Nevertheless, the *Lives* of St Sava continued to be copied, he is mentioned in ecclesiastical books, and he is emphasised as being the model for the anti-Catholic work by Zaharij Kopisten-

skij (1623). The monks of Chilandari and Mileševa continued to go to Russia for alms. There is an icon in the Vatican museum dating from the seventeenth century (sixth or seventh decade) which the author considers to be a copy of the icon presented by the monks of Mileševa to the Emperor Aleksej Mihajlović (1652).

The spread of the cult of St Sava to Wallachia and Moldavia was due to Serbian fugitives who became writers in the ruling houses and copiers of manuscripts. Also in books written under Serbian direction there are texts devoted to St Sava. Members of the last noble Serbian families also found refuge there. The monks of Mileševa and Chilandari influenced the spread of the cult of St Sava, and a series of diplomats bore witness to the special relations between the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia and the two monasteries. The writer then goes on to mention the exceptional icon in the National Museum in Bucharest (1521) bearing the portrait of Despina-Milica Branković, wife of the ruler Basaraba IV Neagoe. St Sava is also depicted in two Moldavian monuments: in Bălinesti (last decade of the fifteenth century) as a monk, and in the narthex of Voronež (mid-sixteenth century) with the characteristics of St Sava of Jerusalem.

The local cult of St Sava at Veliko Tărnovo in Bulgaria left no traces in the fine arts, though there is later evidence of its existence. In the south-west regions of Bulgaria, which were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Peć, there are representations of Sava (e.g. St Theodore's church at Boboševo in the seventeenth-century layer). The presence of Bulgarian monks at Chilandari in the nineteenth century influenced the spread of the Serbian saint's cult (church at Elena [1804], *Belovata crkva* at Samokor [1869], church at Koluša [1880-82]) and also the creation of a small iconographical cycle of eight scenes in the chapel dedicated to him at Rila Monastery.

If one may be permitted to make a small addition here, the text on St Sava's scroll at Bălinesti: Τῷ Δέλᾳ ἡ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν πάτερα. Βέρωνα ὁ θεολόγος (p. 376, note 143) is identifiable as the following text by Gregory the Theologian, which is, however, taken from the well-known collection *Apophthegmata Patrum*: Τά τρία ταῦτα ἀπαιτεῖ ὁ Θεός παρά παντός ἀνθρώπου ἔχοντος τὸ βάπτισμα: πίστιν δρθῆν ἀπό τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀπό τῆς γλώσσης, καὶ σωφροσύνην ἀπό τοῦ σώματος (Φιλοκαλία τῶν Νηπτικῶν καὶ Ἀσκητικῶν. Ἀποφθέγματα Γερόντων, ἐκδ. Π. Κ. Χρήστου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1978, 178.1).

Dejan Medaković, *Istorische osnove ikonografije sv. Save u XVIII veku* (397-404). The author begins by referring to the historical background to the development of the iconography of St Sava in the eighteenth century. He analyses the role of the restored Serbian Patriarchate of Peć in the efforts of the Western Catholic powers to unite the enslaved Balkan peoples into a strong anti-Turkish alliance. At that period the idea was born of restoring the Serbian State (the *Imperium Illyricum*), an idea which ultimately became part of Austrian policy in the Balkans. The first Serbian emigration (1690) upset the Turco-Serbian equilibrium, and the Serbian Church began efforts on behalf of the recognition and conservation of the Serbian people's privileges; efforts which proved successful after the second emigration under the Empress Maria-Theresa (1739). Russia, too, was counting on a solution to the Illyricum question to her own advantage and agreed to an important though lengthy alliance with the Serbian people. Through this complex network of conflicting interests the Serbs fought to defend the privileges the Turkish State had promised them through the Patriarchate of Peć. This struggle characterised Austro-Serbian relations during the eighteenth century, and the cult of the Serbian saint-rulers became an instrument of resistance in this struggle.

In the eighteenth century iconographical models continued that had been created in the Middle Ages or in the time of the restored Patriarchate of Peć. The common model of St Sava as a prelate continued, as did that of St Symeon as a monk, though with certain variations (such as the central figures holding a model of the church or the icon of the Three-handed Virgin, or rejecting the symbols of authority). This model was introduced onto the iconostases in the chapels of Chilandari, and into the series of prelatical icons. On other iconostases it was included with the *Deisis* (Žitomišljic [1718]). The iconography of Sts Sava and Symeon evolved particularly as part of the thematic enrichment of the eighteenth-century iconostasis. Here it is connected with the cult of the saints from amongst the Branković archbishops (iconostasis of Krušedol Monastery [1745]). St Sava is also depicted on the iconostasis of Jazak Monastery (1769), which comprises the richest collection of icons of Serbian rulers and saints. On the iconostasis of the cathedral of Sremski Karlovci the two saints are portrayed in the series of prelatical icons (1780). In another case they replace the Virgin and St John the Baptist, surrounded by Serbian rulers and saints (iconostasis in the village of Veliki Vastaji in Slavonia, the work of Mojsej Subotić). They are also depicted on the entrance to the sanctuary (Beočin [1754/5] and the church in the village of Susek [1779]), on the side-wings of an iconostasis (Susek [1779]), on an ambo (St Nicholas of Zemun [1762]), and on lecterns (Pakra Monastery [1774-79]). In various icons they are depicted as casting away the symbols of authority, or in the company of Maksim Branković (Bodjani [1737]). A special place in the eighteenth-century representations is occupied by the icon of St Sava rejecting the symbols of authority, which was painted in Moscow in 1739 and sent as a gift to Savina Monastery by Matej Pavlov Vladislavić.

The principal centres of the cult of the two saints were Chilandari, the Patriarchate of Peć, and the cathedral of Sremski Karlovci. Through the well-developed Austro-Hungarian social structure this last centre made a decisive contribution to the development of the iconography of St Sava. The *Stematografija* of Hristofor Žefarović moulded the Serbs' political thinking in the eighteenth century, and it was this that saved them from being converted into a *Patriomonium Domus Austrice*. The iconography of St Sava was used as a weapon in the eighteenth century for the Serbian people's spiritual and political resistance to foreign political plans.

The ecclesiastical nature of the icons is marked by their clearly historical captions, taken from the *Life* of the saint. An example is the scene "St Sava reconciles his quarrelling brothers Stefan and Vukan over the tomb of their father" in the church of the Virgin at Zemun (1815). With this scene the new iconography of St Sava was born, which was to occupy the attention of various generations of Serbian painters in the nineteenth century.

#### *Thessaloniki*

K. Kuev, *Иван Александровият сборник от 1348 г.*, Sofia 1981, pp. 411.

The reign of Tsar Ivan Alexander, as we know, was spiritually and culturally one of the most illustrious periods of the Second Bulgarian State. Although this was essentially the Second State's final phase, and coincided with the end of its political and military power, nevertheless – just as in the case of Byzantium – its spiritual and cultural life did not follow the decline of its political activity. Quite the contrary, in fact, for in a national atmosphere of

#### *S. Kissas*

constant pressure from Turkish aggression and under the threat of ultimate destruction, religious and cultural activity underwent a rare revival. Two great personalities were dominant in this sphere: Tsar Ivan Alexander himself, and Patriarch Evtimij, who was arguably the most eminent Slav writer of the fourteenth century. One product of this revival was the manuscript miscellany (*Sbornik*) of 1348, which was compiled in Bulgarian at the command of Ivan Alexander, and which, after a certain amount of wandering, ultimately came to rest in the Public Library of Leningrad (for an account of this wandering, see K. Kuev, 'Sud'ba sbornika Ivan Aleksandra 1348 goda', *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* XXIV (1969), 117-121; and idem, *Sădbata na starobălgarskite răkopisi prez vekovete*, Sofia 1979, 185-187). A few years ago the late Ljudmila Živkova published in an excellent study the famous illuminated Gospel, which was written and decorated for Ivan Alexander and is now to be found in the British Museum (see L. Shikova, *Das Tetraevangelium des Zaren Ivan Alexandar*, Recklinghausen 1977). And now, one of the most eminent specialists in Old Bulgarian textology and literature, whom we have to thank for a great many extremely interesting and important studies in this field, has examined and published another interesting literary monument, namely the *Sbornik* of 1348.

The first chapter of Professor Kuev's book is devoted to the Bulgarian tsar's interest in the development of literature (pp. 7-19), with mention of the donations he made to the monasteries of Dragalevski, Paroria, Kilifarevo, Sv. Troica, and Preobraženski. The second of these, Paroria, was founded by the famous Greek monk Gregorius Sinaites, and it seems most probable that the Bulgarian tsar promulgated a special chrysobull in its favour, which has unfortunately been lost (see A.-E. Tachiaos, 'Sur les traces d'un acte du tsar Ivan Alexandre', *Cyril-lomethodianum* III (1975), 183-189). The tsar's spiritual interests are fully reflected in the type of manuscripts he commissioned for his personal library. Amongst these is the 1348 *Sbornik*, which was compiled by the Bulgarian monk Lavrentij. After the fall of the Second Bulgarian State in 1393, the *Sbornik* went the way of other Bulgarian manuscripts, crossing the Danube and arriving at Neamț Monastery in Moldavia. From there it was transported to the Monastery of St Paul on Mount Athos, and subsequently, in 1655, Arsenij Suchanov took it to Russia. It remained in the Synodal Library for two centuries and finally came to rest in the Public Library of Leningrad (pp. 19-29). Unlike the other manuscripts written for Ivan Alexander – particularly the British Museum Gospel, which is a superb example of skill and technique – this *Sbornik* is a very commonplace manuscript and very sparingly decorated. It is thus more reminiscent of those plain and simple manuscripts produced by strict monastic circles, in which the content of the book was more highly esteemed than illumination and aesthetic considerations. This, at least, is what comes out from Professor Kuev's detailed analysis of its palaeographic characteristics (pp. 29-46), which clearly reveals his vast experience and ability in the field of palaeography. I should like, however, to make one criticism with regard to this section: while the author gives the Greek word for some of the orthographic terms, he omits a number of others, such as *iso* – ἴσον, *spiritus lenis* – ψιλή, *diple* – διπλῆ.

The second part of the book comprises an edition of the texts contained in the *Sbornik*, each one being preceded by a detailed introduction. The first text is the *Life* of St John the Almsgiver written by Leontius of Cyprus (pp. 47-108). Following the correct method for the study of texts, Professor Kuev examines it within the context of the Slavonic manuscript tradition and evaluates it accordingly. He might at this point have made a comparative study of the Slavonic and Greek manuscript traditions, but it would seem that this was not one of his immediate concerns.

This and the subsequent texts are edited according to the method generally followed in Bulgaria, i.e. retaining all the abbreviations. The analysis of abbreviations is a subject which has been repeatedly discussed in international professional circles, and the Bulgarian viewpoint has been so clearly formulated as a philological principle that it is now generally respected and is no longer considered a matter for discussion, especially in isolated cases such as this. The next text is a compilation of monastic legends bearing the title *Povesti svętychi oticī* (pp. 108-128), a genre which was widespread amongst the Slavs during the fourteenth century (see S. Nikolova, *Pateričnite razkazi v bălgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, Sofia 1980, 27-82). There follows another text from the early Byzantine period, Neilos Sinaites' treatise *Περὶ τῶν ὀκτώ πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας* (pp. 128-141) in Bulgarian translation. Like many other fourteenth-century *Sbornik* this one contains both Byzantine texts in Bulgarian translation and purely Slavonic texts with their origins in Slavonic or Bulgarian antiquity. The first of these is the famous *Napisanie o pravēi vērē*, which manuscript tradition holds to be the work of Constantine-Cyril of Thessaloniki. Because of the exceptional importance of this work, and also because this manuscript preserves the most ancient copy of it, Professor Kuev deemed it advisable to reproduce it here both in facsimile (pp. 149-165) and in transliteration (pp. 167-179), precisely following the lines of the manuscript pages. He makes relatively few comments on the text, for it has been published and criticised from a philological point of view a great many times (see G. A. Iljinskij, *Opyt sistematicheskoy Kirillo-Mefod'evskoj bibliografii*, Sofia 1934, 132; M. Popruženko, S. Romanski, *Kirilometodievska bibliografija za 1934-1940 god*, Sofia 1942, 82; I. E. Možaeva, *Bibliografija po Kirillo-Mefodievskoj problematike 1945-1974 gg.*, Moskva 1980, 111). The editor has applied the same principle to the next text, which is none other than the unique ancient Bulgarian literary work *O pismenech*, attributed to the "mysterious" Chrabăr (pp. 182-217). In the past Professor Kuev has expressed his unshakable conviction that Chrabăr is an Old Bulgarian proper noun, deriving from an adjective made into a substantive (see K. Kuev, *Černorizec Chrabăr*, Sofia 1967, 38-44). He now brings out another sheaf of convincing arguments to support this point of view (pp. 182-196), which in my own opinion is absolutely correct. The following text is the Slavonic translation of the answers given to Antiochus (*Πρός Ἀντίοχον ἀρχοντα*), believed to have been written by Athanasius of Alexandria. A lengthy introduction (pp. 217-244), in which Professor Kuev mentions a total of 110 Slavonic copies of this work, is followed by the text itself (pp. 244-287). Next we have a short anonymous treatise entitled *Učenije crkovnae o svętei vēre svętychū otecī* (pp. 288-294), followed by the questions and answers believed to be the work of Anastasius Sinaites (pp. 295-321). The work which follows is another of those linked with Slavonic antiquity (pp. 321-365); it is the *Sukazanyie crïkovnoe*, which manuscript tradition holds to be the work of Constantine of Preslava, a view which Professor Kuev would appear to accept. It is to be understood, of course, that this treatise is based in its entirety on a work by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus I, an allegorical mystic interpretation of ecclesiastical rites (see H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München 1977, 475). The final works in this notable manuscript are short anonymous texts and pseudepigrapha (pp. 365-400). The book closes with an edition of the manuscript's colophon, which, as we have said, was written by the monk Lavrentij. It is followed by a detailed commentary (pp. 400-404).

Professor Kuev's work throws light upon one of the most interesting periods of Bulgarian literary activity, the illustrious reign of Tsar Ivan Alexander. The 1348 *Sbornik* provides yet

further evidence of the rich cultural influence exerted on the Second Bulgarian State by its neighbour Byzantium. There is possibly one further aspect of this notable Bulgarian literary monument which remains to be explored, and that is its typological study in the context of Byzantine and Slavonic textual predilections in the fourteenth century. But this would involve us in the more general question of the circumstances under which *Sbornik* were compiled, research into which is as yet a desideratum. Though it does not broach this subject, Professor Kuev's book, like all his previous works, remains a very weighty and important contribution to research into the rich and fruitful literature of medieval Bulgaria.

*Thessaloniki*

A.-E. Tachiaos

M. Băčvarov – N. C. Kočev, *Др Иван Селимински. Избрани съчинения* (ed. Nauka i izkustvo), Sofia 1979, pp. 426.

The life and work of the Bulgarian scholar Ivan Seliminski (1799-1867)<sup>1</sup> is an as yet unexplored chapter of Modern Greek history and literature, for though he was a Bulgarian he had very close links with Hellenism. He studied at the celebrated School of Kydoniai from 1817-1821, took part in the Revolution of 1821, and studied at the Medical School in Athens, gaining his degree in 1844. He wrote many of his texts in Greek, and had very close relations with Greek scholars of the last century, and was frequently influenced by Western trends through them. His whole life is a mirror of Bulgarian and Greek relations. As long as he remained a champion of the idea of the Greek Nation, he did not come into conflict with Hellenism, but only with the bad representatives of the Greek Nation. But when his Bulgarian consciousness awoke within him he felt it intensely, and then conflict was inevitable; for Seliminski did not merely defend himself, he moved in to the attack. In his Greek writings he turned against Phanariotism, the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Hellenism, and Greek culture in general. It is in this point that Seliminski's greatness and his tragedy lie, and it was likewise tragic for Orthodoxy and the Balkan peoples.

Ivan Seliminski's works have already been published once before, between 1904 and 1931.<sup>2</sup> The present book comprises a selection of his most important works, compiled by Professor M. Băčvarov and the well-known researcher N. Kočev. Professor Băčvarov dealt with the general presentation of the book and wrote the introduction, while Mr Kočev compared the Bulgarian texts with the Greek originals, prepared the texts for publication, and compiled the explanatory notes and the lists of names, terms, and objects.

In the Introduction (pp. 5-27) Professor Băčvarov deals with the life and ideology of Ivan Seliminski. This is followed by the texts themselves, which are divided into three groups: a) Philosophy and sociology (pp. 29-145); b) The Bulgarian renaissance and culture (pp. 146-337); c) Correspondence (pp. 338-400). The first section comprises articles and studies in

1. For further information, see M. Arnaudov, *Dr Iv. Seliminski. Život, delo, idei*, Sofia 1938. K. Topalov, 'Seliminski', *Rečnik na Bălgarskata Literatura* 3 (1982), 252-253, with bibliography.

2. Dr Ivan Seliminski, *Biblioteka*, kn. I-XIV, Sofija 1904-1931.

which Seliminski sets out his philosophical and sociological ideas. The works in the second section deal with problems connected with the Bulgarian renaissance and culture, and also a few problems of a general cultural nature (e.g. the means of liberating Bulgaria, the important part played by Russia). In the letters in the third section Seliminski deals with philosophical and sociological problems and gives his views on education, language, literature, and the destiny of the enslaved Balkan peoples. There follow 166 explanatory notes (pp. 401-409), a list of names (pp. 410-418), lists of terms and objects (pp. 419-424), and finally the general index (pp. 425-426).

This is in general terms a successful presentation of the texts, and Mr Kočev's knowledge of Greek guarantees that they have been accurately translated from Greek into Bulgarian. The explanatory notes help the reader better to understand the texts, though they are not exhaustive. The lists give the work an undeniable completeness, making it easy to use and practical.

This second publication of works by Ivan Seliminski makes it very clear that what is needed now is an edition of the scholar's original Greek works, in the Greek language. This would offer a great deal to the study of both history and Modern Greek literature; and above all it would assist the mutual understanding between two neighbouring countries.

Athens

D. V. Gonis

Sv. Radojčić, *Odabrani člani i studije 1933-1948*, Beograd 1982, pp. 9-288 text, pp. 291-325 abstracts in German and French, 192 black-and-white + 19 colour photographs + 43 sketches. Published jointly by Jugoslavija (Belgrade) and Matica Srpska (Novi Sad).

In this book thirty articles and studies by the late Svetozar N. Radojčić are republished, preceded by an article by Professor Vojislav J. Djurić entitled "Rad i uloga Svetozara Radojčića". This article analyses Professor Radojčić's work and discusses the important part he played in the development of the study of the history of medieval art in Yugoslavia.

In the past, two collections of Radojčić's studies have been published, under the titles *Tekstovi i freske*, Novi Sad 1965 (twelve studies) and *Uzori i dela starih srpskih umetnika*, Beograd 1975 (eighteen studies).

The author himself selected the studies to be republished in the present volume shortly before his death, and also included two previously unpublished articles (nos. 6 and 23). Although they are arranged neither chronologically nor thematically they cover the whole spectrum of the author's interests over forty-five years of scholarship.

The study entitled "Menada iz Tetova" (17-24) concerns ancient Greek bronze sculpture, while "Crkva u Konjuhu" (25-42) chiefly concerns the history of ecclesiastical architecture.

The following studies are taken from the field of sculpture, with emphasis on questions of origin and iconographical problems: "Kijevski reljefi Dionisa, Herakla i svetih ratnika" (59-61), "Ploča s likom vladara u krstionici splitske katedrale" (128-134), "Kentaur-strelac u srpskoj plastici kasnog XII veka" (135-139).

Problems connected with monumental art (iconography, style) are dealt with in: "Prilozi za istoriju najstarijeg ohridskog slikarstva" (109-127), "Mileševske freske Strašnog suda" (182-189), "Psaltir br. 46 iz Stavronikite i sopočanske freske" (190-194), "Gračaničke freske" (234

-240), "Portret mladića na dovratniku u srpskom slikarstvu XV veka" (241-247), "Jedna slikarska škola iz druge polovine XV veka. Prilog istoriji hrišćanske umetnosti pod Turcima" (258-279).

The following studies concern the field of manuscript illumination: "Hilandarski diptih. Novi prilog poznavanju mletačke minijature kasnog XIII veka" (150-154), "Srpske minijature XIII veka" (154-166), "Naslovna strana hilandarskog Šestodneva iz 1263. godine" (167-181).

Byzantine applied art is the subject of the study entitled "Bronzani krstovi-relikvijari iz ranog srednjeg veka u beogradskim zbirkama" (53-58). The study entitled "Zračenja vizantijiske umetnosti na slovenske zemlje u vremenu od XI veka do 1453. godine" (97-108) is devoted to Byzantino-Slavonic artistic relations, while the relationship between ancient and medieval Serbian painting is discussed in "Uloga antike u starom srpskom slikarstvu" (65-73).

The following studies investigate the relations between literature and the fine arts: "Freska Konstantinove pobede u crkvi Sv. Nikole Debarskog" (43-52), "O čulima i čulnosti u srpskoj književnosti s kraja XII i iz XIII veka" (211-222), "O Trpezi Premudrosti u srpskoj književnosti i umetnosti od ranog XIII do ranog XIV veka" (223-229), "Odtek 'Pesme nad pesmama' u srpskoj umetnosti XIII veka" (230-233), "Opasnosti stvaranja kao tema u narodnom pesništvu" (280-288).

Questions relating to the determination of various periods in medieval Serbian art are studied in the articles entitled: "Problem celine u istoriji stare srpske umetnosti" (76-80), "O vremenima stvaranja srpske monumentalne umetnosti" (140-149).

The following studies discuss problems concerning the aesthetics and theory of painting: "Beleška uz jedan citat iz Sopočana" (195-198), "Zlato u srpskoj umetnosti XIII veka" (199-210), "Zografi. O teoriji slike i slikarskog stravanja u našoj staroj umetnosti" (81-96). And finally, the following general studies should also be noted: "Umetnost prvog milenija" (61-64), "Naša stara umetnost i mi" (74-75), "Vizantijsko slikarstvo od 1400. do 1453. godine" (248-257).

Thessaloniki

S. Kissas

K. M. Kuev, *Съдбата на старобългарските ръкописи през вековете* (ed. Nauka i Izkustvo) Sofia 1979, pp. 224.

In this book Professor Kuev endeavours to give answers to a whole series of questions connected with the fate of the Bulgarian manuscripts. The main, two-part, question he answers is: why have comparatively few manuscripts survived in Bulgaria, and how did so many manuscripts disappear or leave Bulgaria in some way? He divides his book into three sections, with the following titles: "The Wandering of the Manuscripts" (pp. 11-105); "Destruction of the Manuscripts" (pp. 107-143); and "The Fate of the Most Significant Old Bulgarian (written) Monuments" (pp. 145-205). A brief foreword precedes these three sections (pp. 7-9), and they are followed by a list of names, geographical terms, lauras and monasteries, and manuscripts (pp. 206-216), a summary of the work in German (pp. 217-221), and finally a general index (pp. 222-223). Between pages 192 and 193 there are thirty-two plates featuring photographs of manuscripts, researchers, etc.

The first chapter of the first section is entitled "The Fate of our Manuscripts from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century" (pp. 12-27). Here Professor Kuev is occupied with the heated question: why have no manuscripts of original ninth-century Bulgarian works survived in Bulgaria (works by Clement of Ohrid, John Exarchos, Constantine of Preslava, Černorizec Chrabăr, for instance), and why are they so often rediscovered in other countries, notably in Russian or Serbian redaction? He links their removal from Bulgaria and their transportation to Russia with three events: 1) Bulgaria's conquest by the Russian ruler Svjatoslav (968-971);<sup>1</sup> 2) Bulgaria's conquest by John Tsimiskes and the consequent flight of many Bulgarians to Russia;<sup>2</sup> 3) the ecclesiastical connections between Bulgaria (Achrida) and Kiev. Svjatoslav may have conveyed Bulgarian manuscripts to his homeland as trophies. After Tsimiskes' invasion the Bulgarian fugitives may have taken manuscripts with them to Russia, together with whatever else they had of value. From the tenth century onwards, the ecclesiastical relations between Achrida and Kiev created ideal conditions for the transfer of manuscripts from Bulgaria to Russia.<sup>3</sup> Professor Kuev also enumerates a great many Russian manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries which were transcribed from Bulgarian originals (pp. 15-26). The destruction of the Bulgarian originals in Russia was the work of Mongols and Tatars during the revolutions of that period (p. 27).

In the second chapter of the first part ("The Turkish Invasion and the Fate of our Manuscript Heritage", pp. 28-35), Professor Kuev shows that under the pressure of the Turkish threat, Bulgarian scholars and other people fled to the neighbouring countries (Serbia, Wallachia, Moldavia, etc.), where they not only preserved valuable manuscripts, but also enjoyed ideal conditions for the creation of new ones. These manuscripts were copied and circulated, and from Moldo-Wallachia they were conveyed to Russia, Mount Athos, and the West. This is attested not only by the discovery of Bulgarian manuscripts in these places, but also by many chronographical notes in manuscripts.

The third chapter ("The Mission of Arsenij Suchanov", pp. 35-41) describes the transfer of a great many Greek and Slavonic manuscripts (more than 460) from Mount Athos to Russia in the seventeenth century, when the monk Arsenij Suchanov, at the command of Patriarch Nikon, compiled a collection of manuscripts which were essential for the correction of the many mistakes which had crept into the liturgical books.<sup>4</sup>

1. G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München 1963<sup>3</sup>, p. 242.

2. Ibid., pp. 244-246.

3. Professor Kuev accepts that "when Vladimir was deceived by Byzantium he broke off ecclesiastical relations with Achrida, source of priests and books. The first Metropolitan of Kiev, Michael (989-991), was a Bulgarian from Achrida. In fact, we have information that Michael went to Kiev together with a certain number of bishops" (p. 14). Professor Vl. I. Pheidas, in his doctoral thesis, examines all the existing theories about the origin of the first prelacy of the Russian Church, and then goes on to maintain, on the basis of canonical and historical criteria, that the first Metropolitan of Kiev came from Byzantium ('Η πρώτη ἐν Ρωσίᾳ ἐκκλησιαστική ἱεραρχία καὶ αἱ ρωσικαὶ πηγαὶ', Αθῆναι 1967. Cf. idem, 'Επίτομος ἐκκλησιαστική ιστορία τῆς Ρωσίας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι σήμερον', Αθῆναι 1967, pp. 14f.).

4. Concerning the correction of the liturgical books in Russia, see Vl. I. Pheidas, 'Επίτομος ἐκκλησιαστική ιστορία τῆς Ρωσίας, pp. 107f.

An important part in the removal of Bulgarian manuscripts was also played by various scientific missions to the Balkans and the East in the nineteenth century. They were very interested in the creation of Slavonic philology and in collecting relevant material. Researchers and other individuals removed manuscripts, mainly from monasteries, under a variety of pretexts: sometimes for a fee; otherwise as gifts, as tokens of esteem, as keepsakes, as loans on the promise of returning them; and sometimes, quite simply, they stole them. This is how so many Bulgarian manuscripts have come to be in private collections, which are described in chapters four to fifteen (pp. 42-97); to be specific, the collections of: P. J. Šafarik (pp. 45-48), A. Mihanovič (pp. 48-52), Lord Curzon<sup>5</sup> (pp. 52-55), A. S. Norov (pp. 55-59), V. I. Grigorovič (pp. 59-66),<sup>6</sup> Porfirij Uspenskij (pp. 66-70), A. F. Gilferding (pp. 70-80), St. I. Verkovič (pp. 80-83), V. M. Undolskij (pp. 83-86), P. I. Sevastjanov (pp. 86-88), P. A. Syrku (pp. 88-97). In the sixteenth and final chapter of this part (pp. 97-105), Professor Kuev describes "other means whereby manuscripts have been removed" – by pilgrims to the Holy Land, to Mount Athos, to the Sinai Monastery, etc.

In the second part ("Destruction of the Manuscripts") the author sets down the reasons why and the ways in which manuscripts were destroyed (pp. 107-143). The appearance of palimpsests caused a great many manuscripts to be destroyed, particularly in the event of transcription from Glagolitic into Cyrillic script. Financial reasons led to the old text being erased from the parchment and a new text being written in its place. Sometimes the leaves of parchment manuscripts would be used as binding for other manuscripts and books (pp. 108-111). Manuscripts were destroyed through ignorance and carelessness. They were used as wrapping paper, to hold fishing bait, as kindling, in baking bread, as money wallets . . . (pp. 111-115). Many manuscripts have been rendered useless through being poorly preserved (pp. 115-122), or because they have been concealed in walls or in the ground to protect them from raids etc. (pp. 123-126). A host of manuscripts has been destroyed by fire under various circumstances (pp. 126-137).

The eighth and final chapter of the second part is entitled: "The Phanariots' Attitude towards our Books during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (pp. 137-143). This chapter is of particular interest to Greek readers, and we shall therefore pay special attention to it. Professor Kuev maintains that the Greeks' negative attitude towards Slavonic literary tradition had its origins in the ninth century, as Černorizec Chrabăr attests in his work *O pismenech*, and continued, with fluctuations, throughout the centuries which followed. "[Their] intention is that every trace . . . of our people's past culture should vanish" (p. 137). Subsequently, he states that the systematic and organised destruction of the Slavonic written monuments began in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Patriarch of Constantinople, Samuel (1763-1768, 1773-1774), succeeded in abolishing the archiepiscopates of Peć (in 1766) and Achrida (in 1767). He also gave orders that the Slavonic books were to be burnt and that

5. R. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London 1849. This work has also been translated into Greek: 'Τά μοναστήρια τοῦ Ἀθωνος' (translated by I. Karatsouta), 'Η Εὐτέρη πτη 3 (1849-1850), pp. 817-826 and 841-847.

6. Greek readers may follow V. Grigorovič's journey in a recent edition of his work *Očerk putešestvija po evropejskoj Turcii*, Sofija 1978, which is a phototype reprint of the second edition (Moskva 1877).

only Greek was to be used for worship. To demonstrate the truth of all this, Professor Kuev provides the testimonies of various writers who speak of the destruction of Bulgarian books and manuscripts during the second half of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century. It must be said, however, that the author's arguments are not very convincing. The evidence comes mainly from Bulgarians and other Slav writers (V. Gr. Barskij, G. S. Rakovski, V. I. Grigorović, Neofit Bozveli, Archimandrite Leonid, V. Popović, Iv. Seliminski, P. R. Slavejkov, K. Jireček, M. Karlova, St. Zahariev, V. Kăncev, F. Kanitz), many of whom were keenly Slavophile. Many of them also participated in the Bulgarians' struggle against the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Phanariots. In their writings they cultivated a deliberate tendency to exaggerate in order to minimise the influence of Greek culture, which so attracted the Balkan Slavs, and to turn the Bulgarians towards their own language and culture (notably Rakovski, Seliminski,<sup>7</sup> and others). This is a legitimate means of defence, but it does pose problems if their writings are to be used as historical sources. Usually in these testimonies it is a question not of specific historical facts, but rather of "traditions". And when specific events are broached, the author makes no reference to official documents. For instance, he mentions G. S. Rakovski, who writes the following about Patriarch Samuel Chatzeres: "This persecutor of the Bulgarians openly began to burn the Old Bulgarian books and to wipe all trace of Bulgarian antiquity from the face of the earth; and then the Bulgarian language was driven out of the churches and Greek was introduced. Boorish and parasitic Greek monks were sent from Mount Athos to take care that Bulgarian was read nowhere and to introduce Greek into the schools . . ." (p. 138). He also mentions K. Jireček, who "refers to a printed encyclical given out by the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1835, which contained an explicit order that all the old icons and books were to be burnt. This command was also received by Rila Monastery" (p. 143). It is significant that Professor Kuev also refers to certain literary works such as V. Popović's *Monologue or Thoughts* (p. 139), while ignoring the works of Jurd. Trifonov<sup>8</sup> and J. F. Clarke.<sup>9</sup> He likewise ignores the fact that Ilarion of Tărnovo was one of the leading translators of the Scriptures into Bulgarian, a task which the Bible Society had taken on. One would need to undertake serious research and keep a very cool head to reach definite conclusions on this problem. Of course, when the Bulgarians' battle against the Ecumenical Patriarchate was at its height, certain excesses undoubtedly took place. But there is a world of difference between systematic, organised destruction and a few minor incidents or cases of chance destruction.

7. See, for example, I. Seliminski's work entitled *Ancient Culture and the Greeks*, in which the erstwhile champion of Ancient Greek culture is transformed into its severe critic. He presents it as the creation of the peoples of Asia and Africa, from whom the Greeks then took it (M. Băčvarov – N. Kočev, *Dr Ivan Seliminski Izbrani sāčinenija*, Sofija 1979, pp. 281–289).

8. Jurd. Trifonov, 'Predanieto za izgorena starobǎlgarska biblioteka v Tǎrnovo', *Spisanie na Bǎlgarskata Akademija na Naukite*, kn. XIV (1917), Klon istoriko-filologičeski, pp. 1–42.

9. J. F. Clarke, *Bible Societies, American Missionaries, and the National Revival of Bulgaria*, Harvard University, June 1937 (reprint edition New York 1971), pp. 147–163. Idem, 'Ilarion of Turnovo in the Light of Historical Criticism', *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes* IV, Sofia 1969, pp. 269–278.

The third and last part of the work examines "The Fate of the Most Significant Old Bulgarian (written) Monuments" (pp. 145–205). In these twenty-five chapters Professor Kuev discusses the Zographou Monastery Gospel, the Codex Marianus, the Asemani Gospel, the Cloz Collection,<sup>10</sup> the Sinai Psalter, the Sinai Euchologium, the Sava Gospel (*Savina kniga*), the Suprasǎl Monastery Collection (Codex Suprasliensis), the Dobromir Gospel, the Slepčen Monastery Apostolos, the Achrida Apostolos, the Fragments of Grigorović, the Boyana Gospel, the Bologna Psalter, the Gospel of Dobrejšo the priest, the Dragan Menaion, the Kochno Gospel, the Loveč Collection, John Alexander's Collection by Lavrentij, the Gospel of Teotokij Psilica, Nikon's Pandects, the Lesnovo Monastery Paraeneses of Ephraim Syrus, the Manasses Chronicle, the John Alexander or London Gospel, the Tomič Psalter, and the Tihonravov Damaskenarion. Professor Kuev gives essential information and a very satisfactory bibliography for each of these monuments of the Bulgarian language.

Professor Kuev's work makes a genuine contribution to the study of not only Old Bulgarian palaeography but also the history of the manuscripts in general. With facility and scientific consistency he presents the reader with all the information he requires to follow the tragic destiny of an eminent literature. It is well worth the Greek researcher's while, particularly, to study this work, not only in order to draw from it rich and frequently source material of great value to research, but also in order to understand the fate of the Bulgarian manuscripts – which also happened to be the fate of the Greek manuscripts, since in a shared environment (that of the Ottoman Empire) and under the same conditions, a great many of the manuscripts of both these Orthodox peoples were destroyed or else made their way along the various paths of migration.

Athens

D. V. Gonis

10. Concerning this codex, see Ch. K. Papastathis, Τό νομοθετικόν ἔργον τῆς κυριλλομεθοδιανῆς ιεραποστολῆς ἐν Μεγάλῃ Μαραθίᾳ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1978, pp. 15f.

## **ANNOUNCEMENT**

The Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies, in collaboration with St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, is privileged to announce to scholars interested in the ancient life and culture of the Slav peoples some most important news. In a matter of months the Secretary of the Association and professor of the University of Thessaloniki, Dr Ioannis Tarnanidis, will be ready to send to the printer's the catalogue he has compiled of the Slavic manuscripts discovered at St Catherine's Monastery in 1975.

In the writer's opinion, the completion of the study of the texts comprised in these manuscripts and the palaeographical evaluation of the codices themselves will profoundly influence future research into the origin and development of Slavic writing, language, and literature. And this is because the hitherto limited corpus of Glagolitic monuments has now virtually doubled, while the oldest Cyrillic literary monuments have been considerably supplemented by the new discoveries.

In November 1981 the *Iera Synaxis* of the monastery wrote to Dr Tarnanidis and officially entrusted to him the task of classifying, cataloguing, and studying the manuscripts. He began work in June 1982, making repeated visits to Sinai, in the course of which he had the opportunity to classify and study the new Slavic manuscripts systematically. The work is now in its final stages, and we hope very soon to present the results in a meticulously edited volume.

The information about the manuscripts which we have been given for the purposes of this Announcement, though limited, nevertheless provides some indication of their importance.

The original selection of the manuscripts was carried out by the monks themselves, who, although they had no knowledge of the language, took a great interest in them. Fully realising that they had a priceless treasure trove in their hands, they took great pains to ensure that the manuscripts were carefully cleaned, photographed, and preserved. However, when the Slavic manuscripts were selected from

amongst the rest of the foreign-language collection – which was the first stage – fragments of different codices became mixed up together, and Slavic manuscripts were intermingled with manuscripts in other languages. The isolated leaves were in a particularly chaotic state, and eventually proved to belong to various highly important texts of ancient Slavic literature. Consequently, whereas these manuscripts were believed to number between twenty and twenty-five, it was finally ascertained that the new corpus in fact totals forty, though, of course, a proportion of these – some ten or twelve – are very short pieces of one to four leaves. The catalogue will also include three single leaves from different manuscripts, which were discovered pasted onto the covers of old Greek books belonging to the monastery.

There was also considerable confusion in the Glagolitic section of the new collection, where whole quires from one manuscript were found incorporated in another. Whereas their number had originally been estimated at two or three, they eventually proved to total more than this. We should mention that two of these are missing sections from previously discovered manuscripts, while the others are quite unknown to the scholarly world. Naturally, they are all ecclesiastical and liturgical texts, monuments of the Slavs' classical literature. Some of them date from the time of Cyril and Methodius's disciples and in some parts give clear echoes of the atmosphere and tradition of the two Thessalonian brothers.

There are quite a number of Cyrillic manuscripts, including fragments from the oldest of their kind dating back to the beginning of the twelfth century. The more recent ones are more numerous and principally Serbian, though there are also Bulgarian and Russian manuscripts in this group.

We believe that this new publication will mark a significant stage in the field of Slavic studies. For, in the writer's opinion, when all the texts brought to light in this work have been studied in depth, the veil which still covers the real face of Old Slavic literature will be swept aside. Many hypotheses will prove to be fully justified, while others will have to be abandoned; many gaps will be filled, and new hitherto unknown facts will play a decisive role in future research.

#### ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ

Η Ελληνική Εταιρεία Σλαβικών Μελετών, σε συνεργασία με την Ι. Μονή Αγ. Αικατερίνης του Σωά, έχει το προνόμιο να αναγγείλει στους μελετητές του βίου και του πολιτισμού των σλαβικών λαών της αρχαιότητας μια πολύ σημαντική είδηση· στους προσεχείς μήνες παραδίδει στο τυπογραφείο τον κατάλογο των νεοευρεθέντων κατά το έτος 1975 στη Μονή σλαβικών χειρογράφων, έργο του γραμματέα της Εταιρείας κ. Ιωάννη Ταρνανίδη, καθηγητή στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Θεσσαλονίκης.

Κατά την εκτίμηση του συγγραφέα, η ολοκλήρωση της μελέτης των κειμένων που περιλαμβάνονται στα χειρόγραφα, αλλά ακόμα και της παλαιογραφικής αξιολόγησης των κωδίκων, θα σημαδέψει την παραπέρα έρευνα πάνω στη γένεση και εξέλιξη της σλαβικής γραφής, της γλώσσας και της φιλολογίας. Και αυτό, γιατί ο μέχρι σήμερα περιορισμένος αριθμός των μνημείων της πρώτης σλαβικής γραφής, της γκλαγκολιτικής, διπλασιάζεται σχεδόν, ενώ και τα αρχαιότερα κυριλλικά συμπληρώνονται με τις νέες ανακαλύψεις.

Την ταξιδόμηση, καταγραφή και μελέτη των χειρογράφων αυτών έχει αναλάβει ο κ. Ταρνανίδης από τον Ιούνιο του 1982. Συγκεκριμένα, το Νοέμβριο του 1981 η Ιερά Σύναξη της Μονής του απηύθυνε επιστολή, με την οποία επίσημα πια του ανέθετε το έργο. Επακολούθησαν επανειλημμένες επισκέψεις του κ. Ταρνανίδη στο Σωά, κατά τις οποίες είχε την ευκαιρία να ταξιδώσει και να μελετήσει κωδικολογικά τα νέα σλαβικά χειρόγραφα. Ήδη η μελέτη βρίσκεται στο τελευταίο στάδιο και ενελπιστούμε πολύ σύντομα να την παρουσιάσουμε σε πολυτελή έκδοση.

Οι περιορισμένες έστω πληροφορίες, που μας δίνει ο συγγραφέας γύρω από τα χειρόγραφα για την παρούσα ανακοίνωση είναι ενδεικτικές για τη σπουδαιότά τους.

Η πρώτη περιουσλλογή των σλαβικών χειρογράφων έγινε από τους μοναχούς της Μονής, οι οποίοι, παρόλο που δεν γνώριζαν τη γλώσσα έδειξαν μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον, γιατί αντιλήφθηκαν πως κάποιο θησαυρό μεγάλης αξίας κρατούσαν στα χέρια τους. Έτσι, με μεγάλη προσοχή φρόντισαν για τον καθαρισμό, τη φωτογράφηση και τη διαφύλαξή τους. Πάντως, η πρόχειρη διαλογή των σλαβικών

χειρογράφων από τα υπόλοιπα ξενόγλωσσα, που έγινε στο πρώτο στάδιο, είχε σαν συνέπεια την ανάμειξη τμημάτων από διαφορετικούς κώδικες ή και σλαβικών με άλλα ξενόγλωσσα χειρόγραφα. Κυρίως χαώδης ήταν η κατάσταση στα μεμονωμένα φύλλα, που τελικά αποδείχτηκε πως προέρχονταν από μέγιστης σημασίας διαφορετικά κείμενα της αρχαίας σλαβικής γραμματείας. Έτσι, ενώ πιστεύονταν πως τα χειρόγραφα αυτά ήσαν συνολικά είκοσι έως εικοσιπεντε, τελικά διαπιστώθηκε πως το νέο σύνολο ανέρχεται στα σαράντα· βέβαια, ένα μέρος από αυτά – δέκα έως δώδεκα – αποτελούν μικρά τεμάχια των ενός έως τεσσάρων φύλλων. Στον κατάλογο όμως περιληφθούν και τρία μεμονωμένα φύλλα, διαφορετικών χειρογράφων, που βρέθηκαν επικολλημένα σε εξώφυλλα ελληνικών παλαιότυπων βιβλίων της Μονής.

Ιδιαίτερη σύγχυση υπήρχε στο γκλαγκολιτικό μέρος της νέας συλλογής. Εδώ, ολόκληρα τετράδια από ένα χειρόγραφο βρέθηκαν ενσωματωμένα σε άλλο. Έτσι, ενώ ο αριθμός τους υπολογίζονταν στα δύο έως τρία, τελικά αποδείχτηκε πως ήσαν περισσότερα. Εδώ όμως πρέπει να πούμε πως τα δύο αποτελούν συμπλήρωμα στα κενά που υπήρχαν σε παλαιότερα ανακαλυφθέντα χειρόγραφα, ενώ τα υπόλοιπα είναι τελείως άγνωστα στον επιστημονικό κόσμο. Όλα βέβαια είναι εκκλησιαστικά και λειτουργικού περιεχομένου κείμενα, μνημεία της κλασικής γραμματείας των Σλάβων. Μερικά από αυτά ανήκουν στην εποχή των μαθητών του Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου, ενώ υπάρχουν ενδείξεις πως κάποια σημεία τους απηχούν την άμεση ατμόσφαιρα και παράδοση των δύο Θεοσαλονικέων αδελφών.

Ογκωδέστερος είναι ο αριθμός των κυριλλικών. Και ανάμεσα σ' αυτά υπάρχουν σπαράγματα από τα αρχαίοτερα του είδους, που ανάγονται στις αρχές του δωδέκατου αιώνα. Στα νεότερα και περισσότερα αριθμητικά, το μεγαλύτερο μέρος καταλαμβάνουν τα σερβικά, ενώ δεν λείπουν και τα βουλγαρικά ή ρωσικά.

Πιστεύουμε πως η νέα έκδοση θα αποτελέσει σταθμό στη σλαβολογική επιστήμη. Γιατί, κατά την εκτίμηση του συγγραφέα, όταν ολοκληρωθεί η επεξεργασία και σε βάθος μελέτη όλων των κειμένων που με το έργο αυτό έρχονται στο φως, η αρχαία σλαβική γραμματεία θα έχει παραμερίσει το πέπλο που καλύπτει ακόμα το πραγματικό της πρόσωπο· πολλές υποθέσεις θα βρουν την πλήρη δικαίωσή τους, ενώ άλλες θα πρέπει να διαγραφούν, πολλά κενά θα καλυφθούν, ενώ νέα άγνωστα μέχρι σήμερα δεδομένα θα παίξουν καθοριστικό ρόλο στη παραπέρα σλαβολογική έρευνα.