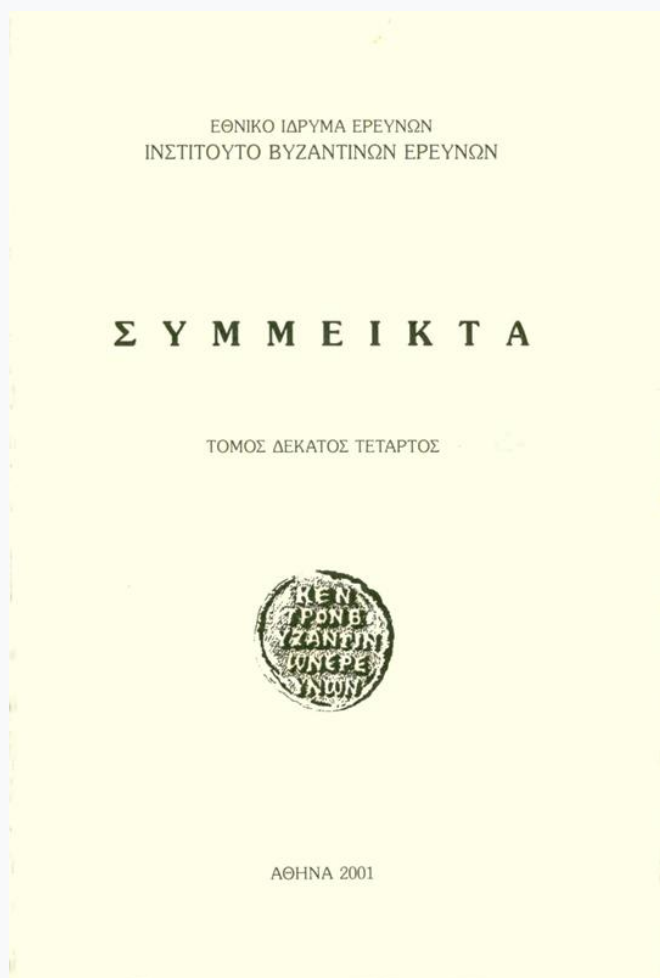


## Byzantina Symmeikta

Vol 14 (2001)

SYMMEIKTA 14



### A Short Catalogue of the Slavic Manuscripts in the Docheiariou Monastery

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doi: [10.12681/byzsym.883](https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.883)

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#### To cite this article:

PAVLIKIANOV, C. (2008). A Short Catalogue of the Slavic Manuscripts in the Docheiariou Monastery. *Byzantina Symmeikta*, 14, 301–321. <https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.883>

CYRIL PAVLIKIANOV

A SHORT CATALOGUE OF THE SLAVIC MANUSCRIPTS  
IN THE DOCHEIARIOU MONASTERY

In February 1998 the National Hellenic Research Foundation and the Theological Faculty of Athens University organised a field trip to the Athonite monastery of Docheiariou. The main goal of the mission was to provide a detailed description of all the Slavic manuscripts and documents available there. The only documents written in a Slavic vernacular of the Bulgarian type which were identified in the Docheiariou archive concerned the donations granted to the monastery by the rulers of Moldavia. They pertain to the history of the trans-Danubian districts where Slavs have always been a minority, so they cannot be described as purely Slavic documents. The Slavic manuscripts in the library of Docheiariou are only nine in number and some of them are preserved in a rather poor, sometimes fragmentary condition. Some manuscripts bear traces of older numbers and it seems that these numbers correspond to the list described by Sp. Lambros in his catalogue of the Greek Athonite codices<sup>1</sup>. The conditions for work at Docheiariou were not perfect, especially as far as light was concerned, so, trying to be as exact as possible, we included no accents and breathings in our transcription of the Slavic text.

No description of the manuscripts was found in the library. However, one paper Tetraevangelon (our *Slavic* 3) is mentioned in the monograph *Survey of the Athonite Antiquities* which the Bulgarian scholar and pilgrim Konstantin Dmitriev-Petkovič devoted to the monasteries of Mount Athos in the mid nineteenth

1. Σπ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, I, Cambridge 1895, 233-269.

century<sup>2</sup>. Concise data concerning four codices of the Docheiariou collection were published in 1999, in a compendious catalogue of all the Athonite Slavic manuscripts prepared by A. Turilov and L. Moškova under the editorship of Prof. A.-E. Tachiaos. Three of them (two Gospels and a liturgical miscellany) can be identified with our *Slavic* 1, 2 and 3, but the fourth one, which is described as an *Oktoechos*<sup>3</sup>, was not found during our mission.

SLAVIC 1 *Tetraevangelon* (older numeration 424<sup>4</sup>). Serbian orthography of the Raška type. Second half of the 14th century.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 280x175-185 mm, ff. 246. Written surface 197x110 mm with 25 lines to a page. The ends of the book are cut off. The binding consists of wooden panels covered with ornamented leather. It is of a post-Byzantine type with flat, slightly curved back, and was probably added to the codex in the late 18th or in the early 19th century. The quires are marked with Cyrillic numbers from 1 to 28 (ѧ-ѧѧ). The last such marking is on f. 220 and after it the numeration disappears. The text is written on yellowish parchment of good quality with a great number of holes (ff. 26, 54, 60, 89, 92, 116, 124, 132, 140, 169, 182, 183, 195, 199, 202, 205, 208, 213, 214, 231 and 232). The ink is black. The text of the Gospels is written in one hand and it is the same hand which has written the red titles from f. 1 to f. 214<sup>r</sup>. After f. 214<sup>v</sup> the red titles are written by another hand. The change in the hand is obviously connected with a change in the quality of the red ink. From f. 1 to f. 214 it is exclusively cinnabar, while from f. 220 to the end it is minium. The manuscript is in a perfect state of preservation.

ORNAMENTATION: Very rich in the beginning of the manuscript, with geometrical, floral and animal motifs prevailing. The titles of the Gospels, the headpieces and some of the initial letters are decorated with gold paint. There are only two headpieces, on ff. 2<sup>r</sup> and 4<sup>r</sup>. The first is a golden rectangle with rich floral ornamentation of the frame. It contains three rosettes coloured in blue, white,

2. K. DMITRIEV-PETKOVIČ, *Obzor afonskih drevnostej, Priloženije k Vimu tomu zapisok Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk*, Sankt-Peterburg 1865, 49-51.

3. A. TURILOV-L. MOŠKOVA, *Slavjanskije rukopisi afonskih obitelej*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1999, 203, No 496. The manuscript is mentioned as bearing older numeration 489.

4. Cf. TURILOV-MOŠKOVA, *Slavjanskije rukopisi*, 70, No 136.

green and gold. The second headpiece is more complex. It is strongly influenced by the teratological style of ornamentation and consists of two animal figures painted within a rubric framed with interwoven gold and blue geometrical ribbons. The initial letter of St Matthew's Gospel is a bird coloured in blue and gold and its total height is equal to seven lines. The titles of the other Gospels are written in cinnabar on a wide gold ribbon and the initial letters of the main text are also ornamented with gold paint (ff. 113<sup>r</sup> and 189<sup>r</sup>). It is obvious that headpieces and probably even miniatures were intended for all the Gospels, since the scribe has left free space for them before the titles (ff. 67<sup>v</sup>, 112<sup>v</sup>–113<sup>r</sup> and 189<sup>v</sup>–190<sup>r</sup>). Folio 188 is an additional paper one, and its watermark –a crescent and crown similar to V. Nikolaev No 241 (1671) and No 257 (1677)<sup>5</sup>– dates it to the second half of the 17th century. The initial letters of this folio are written in vermilion and are ornamented with specific floral motifs (flame-like arrows which end in dots situated at some distance from the letter). A miniature of St Matthew drawn in pencil on an additional paper folio has been inserted between ff. 3<sup>v</sup> and 4<sup>r</sup>. This folio bears no numeration and is to be dated to the early 19th century.

## CONTENT:

1. (f. 1<sup>v</sup>): blank with a note of later date (cf. *Notes*).
2. (ff. 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>): **ѦЖЕ УТ МАѦІА СѦГѦ ЕУѦІА ГЛАВЫ** (list of the chapters of St Matthew's Gospel). The text is written in two columns.
3. (ff. 4<sup>r</sup>–66<sup>r</sup>): **ѦЖЕ УТ МАѦЕА СѦГѦ БЛАГОВѦСТВОВАНІК** (the text of St Matthew's Gospel).
4. (ff. 66<sup>r</sup>–67<sup>r</sup>): **ГЛАВЫ ЕУѦІА ѦЖЕ УТ МАРКА** (list of the chapters of St Mark's Gospel). The text is written in one column.
5. (f. 67<sup>v</sup>): free space for a miniature of St Mark.
6. (f. 68<sup>r</sup>): free space for a headpiece.
7. (ff. 68<sup>r</sup>–110<sup>r</sup>): **ѦЖЕ УТ МАРКА СѦГѦ ЕУѦІЕ** (the text of St Mark's Gospel).
8. (f. 70<sup>r</sup>): two verses are deliberately erased. The free space was probably designed for a decoration which was never painted. The text is not interrupted and continues on f. 70<sup>v</sup>.
9. (ff. 110–112<sup>r</sup>): **ГЛАВЫ ѦЖЕ УТ ЛУКЫ СѦГѦ ЕУѦІА** (list of the chapters of St Luke's Gospel). The text is written in one column.
10. (f. 112<sup>v</sup>): free space for a miniature of St Luke.

5. V. NIKOLAEV, *Vodjanye znaki Ottomanskoj imperii. Vodjanie znaki na bumage srednevekovyh dokumentov bolgarskih knigohranilišč*, I, Sofia 1954, 97 and 103.

11. (f. 113<sup>r</sup>): free space for a headpiece.
12. (ff. 113<sup>r</sup>–186<sup>v</sup>): **ѦЖЕ ѠТ ѠУКЫ СТОЕ ЕВѦЛІЕ** (the text of S Luke's Gospel).
13. (f. 187<sup>r</sup>): **ГЛАВЫ ЕВѦЛІА ѦЖЕ ѠТ ІѠ** (list of the chapters of St John's Gospel).  
The text is written in one column.
14. (f. 188): additional paper folio containing a prayer (cf. *Notes*).
15. (f. 189<sup>v</sup>): free space for a miniature of St John.
16. (f. 190<sup>r</sup>): two verses are deliberately erased. The free space was probably designed for a headpiece which was never painted. The text is not interrupted.
17. (ff. 189<sup>v</sup>–238<sup>v</sup>): **ѠТ ІѠАННА СТОЕ ЕВѦЛІА** (the text of St John's Gospel).
18. (f. 239<sup>r-v</sup>): chart for sequence of the scriptural readings and the pericopae.
19. (f. 240<sup>r</sup>–246<sup>v</sup>): **СЪБОРНИКЪ СЪ БѢМЪ ІѢ МѢСЕМЪ СКАЗОУКЪ ГЛАВЫ КОКМОУЖѠ  
ЕВѦЛІЮ, ИЗБРАННЫМЪ СТЫМЪ И ПРАЗДНИКОМЪ**. A standard prescribed selection of scriptural readings with calendar indications for the whole year.

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The text of the Gospels is written in uncial. The manuscript follows Serbian orthography of the Raška type, with moderate use of accents and breathings according to the demands of the Greek alphabet. The scribe uses the small *er* (ѣ) both for indicating a vowel and denoting an obsolete graphical sign in final word position. The two nasals (ѧ and ѡ) are consistently replaced by ѣ and ѥ. The large *er* (ѣ) is present only in the red titles after f. 220. Insofar as the Serbian orthography of Raška prevailingly uses small *er*, the sudden use of the large *er* implies that there is an irregularity in the text. As was mentioned in the codicological description, the red titles after f. 220 are written by another hand and in different ink. They are copied according to the rules of the later Serbian orthography of Resava, i.e. by a scribe who followed another cultural tradition. The Serbian orthography of Resava appeared in the end of the 14th century, and during the next two centuries it was frequently used not only in the Serbian lands but also in all the major Bulgarian cultural centres, such as Sofia, Etropole, Kuklen, Loveč and the Monastery of Rila<sup>6</sup>. This detail enables us to date the manuscript more precisely. Soon after 1400 the Serbian orthography of Raška became obsolete and was gradually replaced by the Resava pattern. Therefore, our manuscript was probably written during the second half of the 14th century, when the two orthographies coexisted productively. However, a complementary note on f. 1<sup>v</sup> follows the Raška orthography despite the fact that its palaeographic

6. A.-M. TOTOMANOVA, *Redakcij na starobŭlgarskija ezik, Izsledvanija po Kirilometodievistika*, Sofia 1985, 200–203.

peculiarities date it to the 17th century. Some linguistic features such as **КОУПАЦЬ** (l. 12), **БОГАТАСТВО** (l. 13) and **ДАНАСЬ** (l. 20) make it clear that the scribe of this note was of Serbian origin.

NOTES: 1<sup>v</sup>: complementary note of 25 verses containing a *troparion* devoted to Saint Matthew and the Virgin. Title: **СКАЗАНИЕ КАКО ЧАТЕТ СЕ И ЕВѦНИЕ**. *Inc.* **АЦЬ** (sic) **ЕСТЬ ПОПЬ БЛАУСЛОВЕНЬ** (sic) **БОГЪ НАШЬ**. *Des.* **ЮЖЕ ПОЮТЬ АГѦЛИ БОЖИ ТАКО ЕСТЬ СЕНЬ НЕБЕСНА**. As we have already mentioned above, the orthography of this text is Serbian of the Raška type.

f. 81<sup>r</sup>: **ЧАС ҃** (third hour). A note of later date added on the lower margin.

f. 96<sup>r</sup>: **ЧАС ҄** (sixth hour). A note of later date added on the lower margin.

f. 112<sup>v</sup>: **ЧАС ҆** (ninth hour). A note of later date added on the upper margin.

f. 157<sup>r</sup>: **ЧАС ҄** (sixth hour). A note of later date added on the upper margin.

f. 172<sup>r</sup>: **ЧАС ҆** (ninth hour). A note of later date added on the lateral margin.

f. 188: Prayer for those who desire to begin reading the Gospel: **МѦТВА ЕЖЕ КОМОУ НАЧЕТИ ХОТЕЩѦ ЕВѦНІЕ**. *Inc.* **Ѡ ПРѢСТЫИ И ВЪСЕНПѢТИ ВѦЛКО ЧЛѦКОЛЮБЧЕ**. The orthography of this text is Serbian of the Resava type.

f. 220<sup>v</sup>: **ЗАЧѦ СТОМОУ**. Note of later date in the lateral margin.

f. 230<sup>r</sup>: **А ПОНЕѦИ, ПРѢИДИ ВЪ МАТѦ ВЪ ГЛАВѦ ОѢ И ТАМО ДРѢЖИ РЕДѦ**. Additional note in the margin.

f. 232<sup>v</sup>: **НА ВЪЗДВИЖЕНІЕ КРѢТА НА ЛИТОУРГІИ**. Note of later date in the lateral margin.

INSCRIPTIONS: f. 1<sup>r</sup>: 14 **ВѢКА** | 1859 | 23 **ЮНА А(Р)ХИМѦДРИТѢ ПОРФИРИИ | ДОХІІАРѢ**. There is no doubt that this inscription is in the hand of the Russian bishop and scholar Porfirij Uspenskij<sup>7</sup>.

f. 2<sup>r</sup>: **ВТѢ** (sic) **А(Р)ХИМ. ОНУФРІА** 1884 4 **НОЕМ(ВРІЯ)**. Written in pencil in the upper margin.

f. 2: **ПОГАРЧИША МОНА**<sup>с</sup> 1774 **ГО**<sup>А</sup>. Written in ink in the lower margin.

SLAVIC 2 *Liturgical Miscellany* (older numeration 475<sup>8</sup>). Bulgarian orthography of the Ternovo type. Circa 1563 with repair circa 1595.

7. Cf. P. USPENSKIJ, *Vtoroe putešestvie po svjatoj gore Afonskoj v gody 1858, 1859 i 1861, i opisanie skitov Afonskih*, Moskva 1880, passim. Uspenskij's monograph *Vostok hristianskij. Istorija Afona*, I-III (I. *Afon jazyčeskij*, II. *Afon hristianskij*, III. *Afon monašeskij*), Kiev-Sankt Peterburg 1877, 1892, is of considerably lesser interest.

8. Cfr. TURILOV-MOŠKOVA, *Slavjanskije rukopisi*, 429-430, No 1104. The manuscript is described as a *liturgic hexaameron containing articles from the horologion* with older numeration 445.

**CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION:** Paper, 215x155 mm, ff. 203. The beginning of the manuscript is missing. The binding dates from the 17th century. It consists of wooden panels covered with ornamented leather and belongs to the post-Byzantine type with a curved back and grooves on the edges of the panels. The quires are marked with Cyrillic numbers from 1 to 24 (ѧ-ѦѦ), except the last one which bears no numeration. The ink is black. The text is written in two hands. The written surface of the first scribe (ff. 1r-4r and 195r-203r) is 170x120 mm with 23 lines to a page, while that of the second scribe (ff. 5r-194v) is 150x100 mm with 19 lines to a page. The manuscript is damaged by book worms at the corners.

**WATERMARKS:** Scales similar to Briquet's examples, 548 of 1563 and 569 of 1595<sup>9</sup>.

**ORNAMENTATION:** Poor. Initials, titles and headpieces in vermilion. Occasionally there are also initial letters decorated with interwoven vermilion ribbons and floral elements (flame-like arrows ending in ornamental dots).

**CONTENT:**

1. (ff. 1r-4r) троѦи кѡѦ прѣѦ недела пнеѦ троѦ глас Ѧ. *Inc.* нбѦныѦ вѡинствѦ архістратиши мѦтѡи. *Des.* хѣ бѣ подаж мирови веліж млѦтъ.
2. (f. 4v) blank.
3. (f. 5r) *Inc.* ...Ѧ гѡры ѡ прѣвѡспрѣнихъ своихъ ѡ пѡда дѣла твоихъ насытитсѦ землѦ. This text belongs to the Psalter and some of its parts are denoted as *kathismata*.
4. (f. 6r) the text of Psalm No. Ѣ (2).
5. (f. 7r) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (3).
6. (f. 8r) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (4).
7. (f. 8v) the text of Psalm No. Ѣ (5).
8. (f. 9v) the text of Psalm No. Ѥ (6).
9. (f. 10r) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (7).
10. (f. 11r) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (8).
11. (f. 11v) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (140).
12. (f. 12v) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (148).
13. (f. 13r) the text of Psalm No. Ѧ (129).
14. (f. 13v) стѦры вѣскрѦны на Ѧи вѣзвахъ Ѧ глас. *Inc.* вечернѡѡ нашѡ мѦтѡи прїими...

9. C. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Paris 1907 (reprint New York 1966), I, No 548 (Arnoldstein) and 569 (Vérone).

1. (f. 17<sup>r</sup>) канѡн сѣѣки и живоначальни троицѣ. твореніе митрофаново. носѣ краегранесіе се. единое та поѣ трислѣичное естѣво.
2. (f. 22<sup>v</sup>) начало 8-трыни ѱѡмѣ.
3. (f. 79<sup>v</sup>) начало прѣвѡмоу часоу. прїидите поклонимса прицѣ.
4. (f. 87<sup>r</sup>) в неѣ веѣ на ги възваѣ стѣры кѣ гоу нашѣмоу иѣ хѣу. пѣд прѣхваѣ глас ѣ.
5. (f. 91<sup>r</sup>) в пнеѣ канѡн емоу же краегранесіе, сицево съгрѣшеніи моих сквернѣ омыи слове.
6. (f. 91<sup>r</sup>) канѡн бесплѣтным емоу же краегранесіе се ѡеѡфанова прѣваа аггѣлѡм пѣс(нь).
7. (f. 106<sup>r</sup>) в пнеѣ веѣ на ги възвах стѣрых глас ѣ. пѣд егда ѡ дрѣва.
8. (f. 110<sup>r</sup>) дрѣг канѡн чѣтѡмоу іѡанѡу прѣтчи емоу же краегранесіе се крѣпѣю млѣѣж прїими.
9. (f. 115<sup>v</sup>–116<sup>r</sup>) blanks without interruption in the text.
10. (f. 124<sup>v</sup>) в втоѣ веѣ на ги възваѣ стѣрыѣ кѣ гоу нашѣмоу иѣ хѣу глас г. пѣд велїа крѣта.
11. (f. 128<sup>r</sup>) в срѣѣ канѡн крѣтоу емоу же краегранесіе бѡлѣзѣни оуставиль еси члѣком бѡлѣзѣнь мислове глас г.
12. (f. 141<sup>r</sup>) в срѣѣ веѣ на ги възвах стѣрыѣ кѣ гоу нашѣмоу иѣ хѣу глас ѣ. пѣд хотѣх слѣзѣми.
13. (f. 156<sup>v</sup>: в чеѣ веѣ на ги възваѣ стѣрыѣ кѣ гоу нашѣмоу иѣ хѣу пѣд раѣоуи пѡниѣ глас ѣ.
14. (f. 176<sup>v</sup>) в пѣѣ веѣ стѣрыѣ кѣ гоу нашѣмоу иѣ хѣу глас и пѣд ѡ прѣславѡе.
15. (f. 180<sup>v</sup>) в сѣѣ канѡн прѣстѣки бѣци пѣѣ ѣ, глас и.
16. (f. 198<sup>v</sup>) начало малое павечерници. Inc. бѣѣвѣнь бѣ наш...

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The text of the Miscellany is written in beautiful semi-uncial with a plethora of abbreviations. As usual, the ἀναστάσιμα στιχηρά have no κοντάκια. The text which replaces them is indicated by the Greek term ὑπακοή written in Cyrillic letters in the margin (УПАКОИ). The manuscript follows Bulgarian orthography of the Ternovo type, with consistent use of accents and breathings imitating the Greek alphabet. The regulation of the two semi-vowels (Ѣ and ѣ) follows the rule of Patriarch Euthymius, i.e., the small *er* (ѣ) is used to indicate an obsolete graphical sign in final word position, while the





11. Cf. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, III, No 8671 (Nancy) and No 8677 (Anvers).

9. (ff. 134<sup>r</sup>–135<sup>v</sup>) **прѣдсловіе еже ѿ лѹкы сѣго еванѣліа** (preface to the Gospel of St Luke).
10. (f. 136<sup>r</sup>) free space for a headpiece.
11. (ff. 136<sup>r</sup>–216<sup>v</sup>) **ѿт лѹкы стѣе бѣговѣствованіе** (the text of St Luke's Gospel).
12. (ff. 217<sup>r</sup>–217<sup>v</sup>) **еже ѿ іѡанна сѣго еванѣліе главы** (list of the chapters of St John's Gospel).
13. (ff. 217<sup>v</sup>–219<sup>v</sup>) **еже ѿ іѡанна сѣго еванѣліа прѣдсловіе** (preface to the Gospel of St John).
14. (f. 219<sup>v</sup>) note of the scribe concerning the Gospel readings during the Easter Liturgy. *Ис. на стѣю пасхѹ на литоргїи времени прїспѣвшѣ чтенїѣ сѣго еванѣліа.*
15. (f. 220<sup>r</sup>) free space for a headpiece.
16. (ff. 220<sup>r</sup>–280<sup>r</sup>) **ѿт іѡанна стѣе бѣговѣствованіе** (the text of St John's Gospel).
17. (ff. 280<sup>v</sup>–284<sup>v</sup>) **сѣборникъ бї мѣсеѣ сказоуѣ главы коемѣждо еванѣліѣ**. A standard prescribed selection of scriptural readings with calendar indications for the whole year.

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The manuscript is written in semi-uncial with many cursive elements. It follows a simplified variant of the Bulgarian orthography of Ternovo with a plethora of abbreviations and very rare use of the Greek accents and breathings. The small *er* (ѣ) usually indicates an obsolete graphical sign in final word position, while the larger *er* (ѣ) denotes a vowel, either in the middle of the word, or in final word position in prepositions. The usage of the two nasals *ж* and *ѣ* is rather confused. Though they can be found in orthographically correct positions, they are frequently used erroneously and it seems that the errors are sometimes influenced by the Russian pronunciation of the letter *ѣ* (f. 280<sup>r</sup>: *хсѣва вознесениѣ* instead of *хсѣва възнесениѣ*, f. 280<sup>v</sup>: *сказоуѣ главы коемѣждо еванѣліѣ* instead of *сказоуѣ главы коемѣждо еванѣлію*). One may even state that the most characteristic feature of the manuscript is the constant replacement of *ѹ* and *ю* with *ж* (131<sup>v</sup>: *ѿ лѣкы* instead of *ѿ лѹкы*, f. 219<sup>v</sup>: *времени прїспѣвшѣ чтенїѣ сѣго еванѣліа* instead of *времени прїспѣвшѹ чтенїю сѣго еванѣліа* and *къ западѣ* instead of *къ западоу*). The scribe makes no use of *ѣ* and *ѣ*.

INSCRIPTIONS: f. 84<sup>v</sup>: *да се знае за сѣи стѣи тетроеванѣ како его кѣпи пейѡ ѿ село кабаѣ да слѣжи за негоѡ дѣшѣ и за негоѡи родителїе верѡ и*

мѣты его елѣка и братъ емѣ стопанъ. и приложѣи ѿ сѣго арханѣла. да аще кто хоцетъ оукрасти или посвонти да є прокле<sup>м</sup> ѿ тѣи и ѿ вѣ апѣль и да мѣ є сѣи арханѣлъ ми<sup>х</sup>аѣл<sup>л</sup> сѣперникъ на страшни сѣдѣ а кон приложѣи бѣ да прости въ си вѣкѣ и въ вѣди аминъ. въ лѣтѣ зрѣ<sup>п</sup>з.

The note dates from 1679 and is written in Bulgarian vernacular. It reveals that the Gospel was bestowed on a Monastery of the Holy Archangel. Most probably this is the Monastery of Docheiariou, whose celestial protectors are the archangels Michael and Gabriel (initially only Michael<sup>12</sup>). The donor was an inhabitant of the village of Kabar, which cannot be identified, because its name derives from one of the most frequent place-names in Bulgaria and Macedonia – Gabra or Gabŭr<sup>13</sup>.

The codex is mentioned by K. Dmitriev-Petkovič in the mid nineteenth century. This scholar records that he had seen in the Monastery of Docheiariou only one Slavic manuscript, and it was a Gospel *in octavo*<sup>14</sup>. This detail is sufficient for the identification of the codex, because the other two Slavic Gospels available in Docheiariou are much larger and cannot be described as *in octavo*.

SLAVIC 4 *Tetraevangelon* (no older numeration discernible, modern numeration 600). Bulgarian orthography of the Ternovo type. Circa 1569.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Paper, 315x210 mm. Fragment of codex, 6 separate folios and 38 folios united in quires from St John's Gospel. The greater part of the manuscript is missing. On f. 11<sup>v</sup> there is a quire marking кѣ (25). No binding. The text is written in one hand. Written surface 200x130 mm with 20 lines to a page. The ink is brown. The state of preservation of the paper is very good thanks to recent conservation.

WATERMARKS: Boat similar to Briquet's example 1102 of 1569<sup>15</sup>.

ORNAMENTATION: Initials, titles and headpieces in minium.

12. N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Actes de Docheiariou*, Paris 1984, 11.

13. H. HRISTOV, *Bŭlgarskite obštini prez Vŭzraždaneto*, Sofia 1973, 18, 48, 79–83 and 241.

14. Cf. DMITRIEV-PETKOVIČ, *Obzor*, 51.

15. Cf. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, I, No 1102 (Posen).

## CONTENT:

1r–6v: separate folios without numeration and with no indication as to the author of the Gospel. The text of these folios is seriously damaged and cannot be identified.

7v–38v: text from the Gospel of St John. *Inc.* рекъ къ пришедшимъ к немѹ ю҃ѡд(е)ѡмъ. *Des.* вѣѣка градоу҃ща ... овца и вѣ҃гаетъ (John, 10.12).

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The manuscript is written in uncial with some semi-uncial features. It follows the Bulgarian orthography of Ternovo with moderate use of the Greek accents and breathings. The small *er* (ѣ) denotes an obsolete graphical sign in final word position, while the larger *er* (ѣ) indicates a vowel in the middle of the word and appears in final word position only in prepositions. The use of the nasals ж, ѡ, ѡ and ѡ is correct and extremely conservative for the second half of the 16th century, so one may suggest that the manuscript was copied in a region where Slavic was used only in the Liturgy, i.e., in Moldavia. The dimensions of the letters (5x6 mm for ѡ, 4x10 mm for ѣ, and 6x10 mm for ѡ) indicate that the Gospel was probably designed for the cathedral of a small town or a middle-sized monastery.

SLAVIC 5 *Tetraevangelon* (no older numeration discernible, modern numeration 601). Serbian orthography of the Raška type. Circa 1501–1518.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Paper, 410x270 mm. Fragment of codex, 11 folios from St Matthew's Gospel united in quires. The greater part of the manuscript is missing. Quire markings can be found on ff. 3v (ѣ = 5), 4r (ѣ = 6), 5v (ѣ = 6) and 6r (ѣ = 7). The obvious irregularities in the numeration indicate that the surviving quires are not complete. No binding. The text is written in one hand. Written surface 260x170 mm with 22 lines to a page. The ink is black. The state of preservation of the paper is very good thanks to recent conservation.

WATERMARKS: Crossbow similar to Briquet's examples 743 of 1501 and 744 of 1518<sup>16</sup>.

ORNAMENTATION: Initials, titles and headpieces in minium.

CONTENT: 1r–11v: text from the Gospel of St Matthew. *Inc.* ...таріеи ѡбодѣице вараютъ ви въ цр҃ьствѣи бж҃їи. *Des.* телцѡу же пѡѡбно еже ѡ ѡзкы тѣмъ же и ѡ цр҃енничества заѡр҃и. Most probably the latter text belongs to the

16. Cf. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, I, No 743 (Venise) and No 744 (Trévise).

preface of Saint Luke's Gospel. The most plausible explanation of this irregularity is that f. 11 was attached to the last quire of St Matthew's Gospel during the conservation, which was carried out by persons without experience in Slavic palaeography.

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The manuscript is written in uncial. It follows a paradigm similar to the Serbian orthography of the Raška type, but is seriously influenced by the scribal tradition of the later Serbian orthography of Resava. The frequent use of the Greek accents and breathings as well as declaring  $\kappa$  with wide  $\epsilon$  indicate that the scribe was accustomed to using Resava orthography, but the example he was obliged to copy was written according to the rules of the earlier orthography of Raška. The small *er* ( $\text{ⲉ}$ ) denotes both an obsolete graphical sign in final word position and a vowel in the middle of the word. The nasals  $\text{ⲛ}$ ,  $\text{ⲗ}$ ,  $\text{ⲙ}$  and  $\text{ⲙⲛ}$  are totally replaced by  $\text{ⲟⲩ}$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\kappa$  and  $\text{ⲙ}$ . The dimensions of the letters (5x6 mm for  $\text{ⲛ}$  and 5x16 mm for  $\text{ⲙ}$ ) indicate that the Gospel was probably designed for the cathedral of a small town or a middle-sized monastery.

SLAVIC 6 *Narration concerning the Miracles of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel in the Monastery of Docheiariou* (older numeration 95). Serbian orthography of Resava type. Circa 1505–1510.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Paper, 210x145 mm. This is not a separate codex but a pair of quires added to Greek manuscript No 95<sup>17</sup>. The addition is bilingual – it contains both the Greek original of the well known  $\Delta\iota\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omega\upsilon\upsilon\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon\ \theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omega\upsilon\ \pi\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\rho\chi\omega\upsilon\ \text{Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ ἐν τῇ σεβασμῇ μεγάλῃ μονῇ τοῦ Δοχειαρίου ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει<sup>18</sup>, and its Slavic translation. The Slavic text occupies ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>r</sup> but its beginning is missing. The written surface in this case is 160x95 mm with 21 lines to a page. The Greek original occupies ff. 12<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup> with a written surface of 135x120 mm and 21 lines to a page. The ink is brown. All the text –Greek and Slavic– is written in one hand. The binding of the codex is of Western type, with$

17. Cf. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Katálogos*, I, 245, No 2769 (95).

18. Cf. V. BARSKIJ, *Stranstvovanija po svjatyh mestah Vostoka*, III, *Vtoroe poseščenie sv. Afonskoj gory*, Sankt-Peterburg, 1887, 273–287; BHG No 1290z; F. HALKIN, *Novum Auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*, Brusells 1984, 151, No 1290z; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Actes de Docheiariou*, 3–4.

decorative ribs supporting the curved leather back which joins the wooden panels. The state of preservation is very good.

WATERMARKS: Scales similar to Briquet's example 2586 of 1505<sup>19</sup>.

ORNAMENTATION: The Slavic text has no ornamentation. The Greek text begins with a decorative cross and a headpiece consisting of two interwoven ribbons. All the decoration and the title are in vermillion.

CONTENT: 1<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>r</sup>: Slavic translation of the *Narration. Inc.* не може ти даждъ и мнѣ прѣшломоу недостоинномоу рабоу своемъ крѣпость иманіемъ. *Des.* свѣтѣлно чиноначелъники мисльнимъ силамъ славеще всѣдатѣла, и творѣца всѣхъ бѣако томъ подобаетъ всака слава чѣтъ. и поклониѣ въ вѣки вѣкомъ. аминъ. The last part of the concluding sentence is taken from the Liturgy (ὅτι Σοὶ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις).

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: According to Kr. Chryssochoïdis, the Greek text was copied by the *protos* of the Holy Mountain Seraphim, who was active in the cultural life of Athos from 1500 to 1548<sup>20</sup>. Seraphim was of Slavic origin and a careful comparison of the Slavic text with his Slavic marginal notes in the Protaton library, recently published by Chryssochoïdis<sup>21</sup>, proved that he was the scribe and, probably, the author of the translation. Seraphim is mentioned for a last time in 1548, so the *Narration* must have been translated before this date. However, the watermarks date the paper to the very beginning of the 16th century and it is quite probable that the text was written before 1510. Having in mind Seraphim's connections with the archbishopric of Ochrid, Chryssochoïdis supposes that he was born in the district of Ochrid<sup>22</sup>. This conclusion is perfectly confirmed by the specific for the Macedonian Bulgarian dialects future tense **кѣт кѣт ѡтѣт**, which appears in some of Seraphim's marginal notes. The conjecture that Seraphim was the author of the translation is supported by the fact that we know an earlier Slavic variant of the same text deriving from the hand of the well-known Slavic medieval scholar Vladislav the Grammarian<sup>23</sup>. On general lines the two texts are identical, but there is a

19. Cf. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, I, No 2586 (Florence).

20. Κ. ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΪΔΗΣ, Παραδόσεις καὶ πραγματικότητες στὸ Ἅγιον Ὄρος στὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΕ' καὶ στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ ΙΖ' αἰῶνα, *Ὁ Ἄθως στοὺς 14ο–16ο αἰῶνες*, Ἀθήνα 1997 [Αθωνικά σύμμεκτα 4], 108–131.

21. ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΪΔΗΣ, *Παραδόσεις καὶ πραγματικότητες*, 145–147, plates 14–16.

22. ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΪΔΗΣ, *Παραδόσεις καὶ πραγματικότητες*, 128.

23. Vladislav's translation is not published and I am greatly indebted to Dr. Klementina Ivanova who kindly made the text available to me. Cf. G. DANČEV, *Vladislav Gramatik – knižovnik i pisatel*, Sofiia 1969.

The manuscript is written in semi-uncial with many cursive features and with very frequent use of the Greek accents and breathings. It follows the Serbian orthography of Resava. The use of the two semi-vowels is rather confused but the greater *er* (ѣ) prevailingly indicates obsolete graphical signs in final word position and in prepositions, whereas the small *er* (ѣ) usually denotes a vowel in the middle of the word. The nasals ж, љ, њ and њ are totally replaced by ѡ, ѣ, ѣ and ѡ.

SLAVIC 7: *Oktoechos* (?) (no older numeration, modern numeration 603). Serbian orthography of the Raška type. End of the 13th century.

ORNAMENTATION: None. The text is written without the usual red titles and initials.

CONTENT:

1. (f. 1r) text of a *kanon* containing the third *ode*. Title: ꙗꙑсънь ѿ (и)рмѣ ба те прѣста.
2. (ff. 1v-2r) not readable.
3. (f. 2v) the text of the eighth *ode*. Title: ꙗꙑсънь ѿ (и)рмѣ с пламеѣ же влѣкоу всѣхъ плътию родивши владичствїа ме страѣтен ѡтроковице исхыти. A little bit lower is the text of the ninth *ode*. Title: ꙗꙑсънь ѿ (и)рмѣ г҃а члвко (з)ьль въсачьскыхъ дѡво избави.

24. Seraphim is attested as *protos* not earlier than 1538. Cf. Διονυσία ΠΑΠΑΧΡΥΣΑΝΘΟΥ, Ὁ ἀθω-  
νικός μοναχισμός. Ἀρχὲς καὶ ὁργάνωση. Athens 1992. 392, No 118.



LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The manuscript is written in semi-uncial with no Greek accents and breathings. It follows the Serbian orthography of Raška. The only semi-vowel in use is the small *er* (ѣ) and it denotes both obsolete graphical sign in final word position and a vowel in the middle of the word. The letter ѣ is frequently replaced by и. The nasals ж, ѡ, ѡѡ and ѡѡ are totally replaced by ѡѣ, ѣ, ѣ and ѡ. The lower part of the letter з is extended below the next two letters.

SLAVIC 8 *Praxapostolos* (no older numeration, modern numeration 602). Russian orthography. Circa 1540–1564.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Paper, larger than 250x135 mm (the original dimensions cannot be determined). Fragment of codex, 4 folios from a *Praxapostolos* glued two by two and used as internal protecting cover to the front and rear wooden panels of a Greek book bearing numeration 519. At the moment the fragments are separated from the codex. The text is written in one hand. Written surface 250(at least)x135 mm with 23 or more lines to a page. The ink is black. The state of preservation is very poor and large parts of the written surface are missing.

WATERMARKS: Lily similar to Briquet's examples 6943 of 1540, 6944 of 1552 and 6945 of 1564<sup>25</sup>.

ORNAMENTATION: Liturgical indications, titles and initials in vermillion.

CONTENT:

1. (f. 1<sup>r</sup>) *Inc.* ...шати народѡу раз(...) юдеанинѣ ѣ глаѣ. *Des.* в законном събран(...) сѡ иво вѣдствоѡемѣ (Acts of the Apostles, 19. 33–40).
2. (f. 1<sup>v</sup>) *Inc.* единѣ ѡ сѡботѣ (liturgical indication in vermillion) събравшии сѡ народѣ (...) молбы. призваѣ же павелѣ. *Des.* събравшим сѡ ѡѣс(...) хлѣбѣ. павелѣ (Acts of the Apostles, 19. 40–20. 7).
3. (f. 2<sup>r</sup>) *Inc.* ...ци. бѡхѡу же свѣща мнѡги вы... *Des.* вѣ ѡѣтрѣе пристахѡм прѡтивѣ хѣс (...) иже ѡвезѡхѡм сѡ ко самѣ (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 7–15).
4. (f. 2<sup>v</sup>) *Inc.* сѣтых ѡѣѣ. во дни ѡны сѣ... (liturgical indication in vermillion) ...идѡхѡм вѣ мѣлѣтѣ. соѣди бо павелѣ (...)лимо ити еѣсѣ. *Des.* градѡу

25. Cf. BRIQUET, *Les filigranes*, II, No 6943 (Neisse), No 6944 (Neisse) and No 6945 (Neisse).

въ іер<sup>л</sup>імъ, хотѣаа в (...) приключити сѧ мнѣ, невѣд... (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 16-23).

5. (f. 3r) *Inc.* свѣдѣтелствоуѣ<sup>т</sup> глаа (...) не и скорби ждоуѣ<sup>т</sup>. *Des.* моужіе глаюцїи раз(...) ѡторгнути оу... (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 23-30).

6. (f. 3v) *Inc.* непрестааху ча(...) кождо ва<sup>с</sup>. *Des.* придохомъ въ кѡ и (...) въ родосъ. и ѡ (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 32-21. 2).

7. (f. 4r) *Inc.* ...дѡщъ въ финикїю възше<sup>а</sup>ше ѡвезохом сѧ. *Des.* семоуже вѡх<sup>8</sup> четири дщери дѣвы прорица(..)а. пребы... (Acts of the Apostles, 21. 2-10).

8. (f. 4v) *Inc.* никто ѡ юдеа прѣр<sup>к</sup>ъ имене<sup>м</sup> агава. *Des.* прїѡв<sup>ш</sup>їи<sup>м</sup> жена<sup>м</sup> въ іер<sup>л</sup>імъ, любезно прїаше. (Acts of the Apostles, 21. 10-18).

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The manuscript is written in uncial with a plethora of Greek accents and breathings. It follows a specific type of Russian orthography with no ж. This obsolete nasal is fully replaced by the letter оу. The sign which replaces the semi-vowels ь and ѣ is prevailingly the large er (ѣ), which indicates both an obsolete graphical sign in final word position and a vowel in the middle of the word. The small er appears very rarely, mainly in the verb type есмь (f. 4v). The letter ы is not confused with и. The small nasal ѧ is used consistently and can be found at its etymological places. A convincing evidence for the Russian origin of the book is provided by the substitution of ѧ with ѧ (f. 3v: и сѧ рекъ instead of и сѧа рекъ). The letter ѣ is used according to the late Russian tradition and indicates the consonant j. All the letters are large (6x4 mm for ѡ and 5x4 mm for и). The same type of script is widely imitated in the early Russian printed books.

INSCRIPTIONS: f. 4r: ГДІ ГДІ НЕ | ѡ вѣ(..)хи на | ѡ твоегѡ (...) | но бѡговолї | помиловати | насъ воск<sup>р</sup>сене. A prayer written in black ink in the lateral margin. It is followed by the Slavic alphabet.

SLAVIC 9 *Vita of Saint Kosmas the Hymnographer, bishop of Maiouma* (no older or modern numeration). Serbian orthography of the Resava type. Second half of the 15th century.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Paper, 260x180 mm. Fragment of a codex, a single folio from a manuscript containing hagiographical works. It was used as internal protecting cover to the front wooden panel of an old printed Greek *Parakletike* bearing the numeration 1420 and published in 1580 in Venice ὑπὸ

INSCRIPTIONS: f. 1r: (ἀγα)θόγνωμε κ(αὶ) γλυκομίλητε φρόμε (sic) κ(αὶ) γνωστικὲ (...) πολλὰ πῖρα τὸ στόμα σου. Written in ink in the lower margin. This note can be dated to the early 17th century.

## APPENDIX

27. Cf. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Κατάλογος*, I, 235–236, 2695 (21) .

2. (f. 257v) ꙗ́ та҃(еръ) за ѡкованіе и пѣтѣвѣ(ерпиръ) за поглащеніе и десе҃т потрои҃ни за сребро | живое и пѣтѣ та҃(еръ) за рабо҃тѣ(у) дадо҃сѣ. да се | знае҃т. и имае҃т бити гопова на сѣти димитрие.

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The notes are written in Moldavian Slavic cursive typical for the end of the 16th century. The orthography seems to be Serbian of the Resava type with moderate use of the Greek accents and breathings. The only present semi-vowel is the great *er* (ѣ) which indicates an obsolete graphical sign in final word position. The payments mentioned are calculated in *hyperpyra* and Austrian *talers*. According to the notes, a luxurious golden-plated silver binding was added to the codex in 1598, when it was donated to the Monastery of Docheiariou by the Moldavian nobleman Lupul. Unfortunately, it is not preserved.

## CONCLUSIONS

The study of the Slavic manuscripts preserved in the Docheiariou Monastery reveals that the monastery had some connections with the Bulgarian lands. Although rather occasional and irregular, these connections were intensified in the beginning of the 16th century when the *protos* Seraphim, who originated from the Bulgarian-speaking district of Ochrid, translated in Slavic the *Narration about the Miracles of the Holy Archangels in the Monastery of Docheiariou*. However, this direct declaration of reverent interest remained an isolated phenomenon. The 16 donative edicts (κρηόβουλλα) of the lords of Wallachia and Moldavia, John Radul, John Alexander, John Gabriel Mogila, John Constantine Šŭrbān and John Matthew Basarab<sup>28</sup>, which are kept in the monastery, provide enough evidence that after the 15th century the main incomes of Docheiariou derived from its real estate in the trans-Danubian principalities. In this context the contacts with the Bulgarians were imposed by the fact that the direct way from Athos to Bucarest even today passes through the lands of central Bulgaria.

From the nine Slavic manuscripts described above three are preserved with their binding, two are in fragmentary condition, with two or more quires surviving, and four consist of one or two double folios. Two of the last four fragments are written according to the Serbian orthography of Resava (*Slavic* 6 and 9), one

28. Cf. P. SUGAR, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule (1354-1804)*, Seattle- London 1977, *passim*.

according to the Serbian orthography of Raška (*Slavic* 7), and one follows an orthography of Russian type (*Slavic* 8). One of the larger fragments is Bulgarian of the Ternovo type, whereas the other one is Serbian of the Raška type. Last, and probably most important, two of the bound codices are Bulgarian of the Ternovo type, while the third follows a mixed orthographic pattern combining the conservative model of Raška with some features of the later orthography of Resava. If we eliminate the lesser fragments, there are three Bulgarian manuscripts (*Slavic* 2, 3 and 4) in the monastery and only two Serbian (*Slavic* 1 and 5). However, it is clear that only one codex derives directly from Bulgaria (*Slavic* 3), whereas the other two (*Slavic* 2 and 4) are probably of Moldavian origin.

Cyrl PAVLIKIANOV, Συνοπτικὸς κατάλογος τῶν σλαβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς μονῆς Δοχειαρίου

Τὸ ἄρθρο παρουσιάζει διεξοδικὰ τὰ ἐννέα σλαβικὰ χειρόγραφα, ποὺ ἐντοπίσθηκαν στὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἁθωνικῆς μονῆς Δοχειαρίου τὸν Φεβρουάριο τοῦ 1998. Τρία ἀπὸ αὐτὰ σώζονται ὡς αὐτοτελεῖς κώδικες, δύο ὡς σπαράγματα τευχῶν καὶ τέσσερα ὡς σπαράγματα φύλλων. Τὸ σύνολο αὐτὸ περιλαμβάνει δύο δείγματα γραμμένα σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν σερβικὴ ὀρθογραφία τῆς Ρεσάβας (ἄρ. 6 καὶ 9), ἕνα ποὺ τηρεῖ τοὺς ρωσικοὺς ὀρθογραφικοὺς κανόνες (ἄρ. 8). Τὰ λοιπὰ χειρόγραφα μποροῦν νὰ χαρακτηρισθοῦν ὡς βουλγαρικοῦ τύπου, ἂν καὶ εἶναι πολὺ πιθανὸν κάποια ἀπὸ αὐτὰ νὰ ἔχουν ἀντιγραφεῖ στὴν Μολδαβία. Τὰ βουλγαρικά αὐτὰ βιβλία, κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα, ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν τὶς πνευματικὲς καὶ τὶς ἐπικοινωνιακὲς ἀνάγκες τῶν εἰδικῶν ἀπεσταλμένων τῆς μονῆς στὴ Μολδαβία, οἱ ὅποιοι ἦσαν ἀναγκασμένοι νὰ ταξιδεύουν καὶ νὰ λειτουργοῦν σὲ βουλγαρόφωνο γλωσσικὸ περιβάλλον. Στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ ΙΕ΄ αἰῶνα μαρτυρεῖται ἐπίσης καὶ μιὰ ἀπομονωμένη μεταφραστικὴ προσπάθεια, ἡ ὁποία συνδέεται μὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ σλάβου Πρώτου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁρους Σεραφεῖμ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀχρίδα.