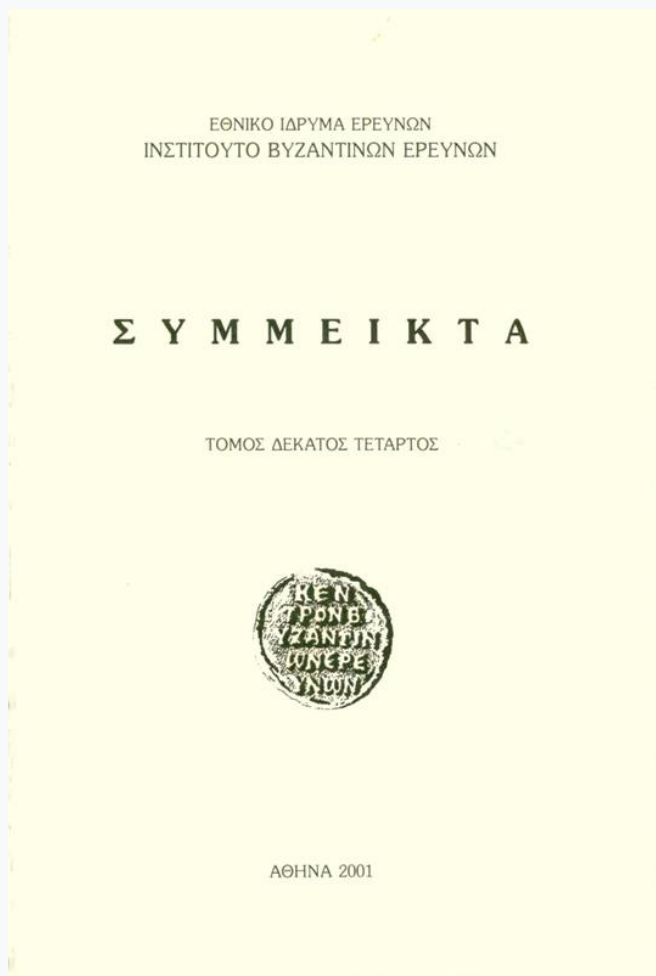


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A Short Catalogue of the Slavic Manuscripts in the Docheiariou Monastery

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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 codices¹. 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 ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, I, Cambridge 1895, 233-269.

century². 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*³, was not found during our mission.

SLAVIC 1 *Tetraevangelon* (older numeration 424⁴). 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^r. After f. 214^v 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^r and 4^r. 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^r and 189^r). 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^v, 112^v-113^r and 189^v-190^r). 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)⁵—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^v and 4^r. This folio bears no numeration and is to be dated to the early 19th century.

CONTENT:

1. (f. 1^v): blank with a note of later date (cf. *Notes*).
2. (ff. 2^r-3^v): **ѠЖЕ УТ МАѠІА СѠГѠ ЕУ^ѠЛІА ГЛАВЫ** (list of the chapters of St Matthew's Gospel). The text is written in two columns.
3. (ff. 4^r-66^v): **ѠЖЕ УТ МАѠЕА СѠГѠ БЛАГОВѠСТВОВАНІК** (the text of St Matthew's Gospel).
4. (ff. 66^r-67^r): **ГЛАВЫ ЕУ^ѠЛІА ѠЖЕ УТ МАРКА** (list of the chapters of St Mark's Gospel). The text is written in one column.
5. (f. 67^v): free space for a miniature of St Mark.
6. (f. 68^r): free space for a headpiece.
7. (ff. 68^r-110^r): **ѠЖЕ УТ МАРКА СѠГѠЕ ЕУ^ѠЛІЕ** (the text of St Mark's Gospel).
8. (f. 70^r): 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^v.
9. (ff. 110-112^r): **ГЛАВЫ ѠЖЕ УТ ЛУКЫ СѠГѠ ЕУ^ѠЛІА** (list of the chapters of St Luke's Gospel). The text is written in one column.
10. (f. 112^v): 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^r): free space for a headpiece.
12. (ff. 113^r-186^v): **ѦЖЕ УТ ЛОУКЫ СТОЕ ЕВЪЛІЕ** (the text of S Luke's Gospel).
13. (f. 187^r): **ГЛАВЫ ЕВЪЛІА ѦЖЕ УТ ІУ** (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^v): free space for a miniature of St John.
16. (f. 190^r): 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^v-238^v): **УТ ІУАННА СТОЕ ЕВЪЛІА** (the text of St John's Gospel).
18. (f. 239^{r-v}): chart for sequence of the scriptural readings and the pericopae.
19. (f. 240^r-246^v): **СЪБОРНИКЪ СЪ БМЪ ІВЪ МЦЕМЪ СКАЗОУКЪ ГЛАВЫ КОКМОУЖАДО ЕВЪЛІЮ, 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* (ѡ) both for indicating a vowel and denoting an obsolete graphical sign in final word position. The two nasals (ѧ and Ѩ) are consistently replaced by ѡѣ and ѡе. 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 Rila⁶. 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^v 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^v: complementary note of 25 verses containing a *troparion* devoted to Saint Matthew and the Virgin. Title: **СКАЗАНИЕ КАКО ЧАТЕТ СЕ И ЕВГЛИЕ**. *Inc.* **АЦЬ** (sic) **ЕСТЬ ПОПЬ БЛАУСЛОВЕНЬ** (sic) **БОГЪ НАШЬ**. *Des.* **ЮЖЕ ПОЮТЬ АГГЛИ БОЖИ ТАКО ЕСТЬ СЕНЬ НЕБЕСНА**. As we have already mentioned above, the orthography of this text is Serbian of the Raška type.

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

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

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

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

f. 172^r: **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: **МАТВА ЕЖЕ КОМОУ НАЧЕТИ ХОТЕЩЕВЪ ЕВГЛІЕ**. *Inc.* **Ѡ ПРѢСТЫИ И ВЪСЕНПѢТИ ВЛАКО ЧЛВКОЛЮБЧЕ**. The orthography of this text is Serbian of the Resava type.

f. 220^v: **ЗАЧѢ СТОМОУ**. Note of later date in the lateral margin.

f. 230^r: **А ПОНЕАИ, ПРѢИДИ ВЪ МАТ ВЪ ГЛАВѢ ОѢ И ТАМО ДРЪЖИ РЕДЬ**. Additional note in the margin.

f. 232^v: **НА ВЪЗДВИЖЕНІЕ КРѢТА НА ЛИТОУРГІИ**. Note of later date in the lateral margin.

INSCRIPTIONS: f. 1^r: 14 **ВѢКА** | 1859 | 23 **ЮНА А(Р)ХИМАДРИТЪ) ПОРФИРИИ | ДОХІАРЪ**. There is no doubt that this inscription is in the hand of the Russian bishop and scholar Porfirij Uspenskij⁷.

f. 2^r: **ВТЪ** (sic) **АРХИМ. ОНУФРИЯ** 1884 4 **НОЕМ(ВРІЯ)**. Written in pencil in the upper margin.

f. 2: **ПОГАРЧИША МОНА^С 1774 ГО^А**. Written in ink in the lower margin.

SLAVIC 2 *Liturgical Miscellany* (older numeration 475⁸). 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 jazыčeskij*, II. *Afon hristianskij*, III. *Afon monašeskij*), Kiev-Sankt Peterburg 1877, 1892, is of considerably lesser interest.

8. Cf. TURILOV-MOŠKOVA, *Slavjanskije rukopisi*, 429-430, No 1104. The manuscript is described as a *liturgic hexaemeron 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-Ѧ), 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 1595⁹.

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) **тросѧ и квѧ прѧ ѧ недела пнеѧ тросѧ глас ѧ. Inc. нѧныѧ вѧинствѧ архистратиси мѧтви. Des. хѧ бѧ подаж мирови велѧж мѧтѧ.**
2. (f. 4v) blank.
3. (f. 5r) **Inc. ...ѧ гвры ѧ прѧвѧспрѧнихъ своиѧ ѧ павда дѧль твоиѧ насытитѧ землѧ.** This text belongs to the Psalter and some of its parts are denoted as *kathismata*.
4. (f. 6r) the text of Psalm No. ѧ (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. ѧ (5).
8. (f. 9v) the text of Psalm No. ѧ (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 вѧскрѧны на ѧи вѧзваѧ ѧ глас. Inc. вечернѧ нашѧ мѧтѧ прѧими...**

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).

Further, the codex contains services for every day of the week, especially for matins. Usually there are two *kanons* for every one of the eight modes (normal and plagal). The principal titles, written in red, are:

1. (f. 17^r) **КАНОНЪ СѢКИ И ЖИВОНАЧАЛАНЪИ ТРОИЦѢ ТВОРЕНІЕ МИТРОФАНОВО. НОСА КРАЕГРАНЕСІЕ СЕ· ЕДИНО ТА ПОЖ ТРИСЛІЧНОЕ ЕСТѢВО.**
2. (f. 22^v) **НАЧАЛО ѠТРЪНИ ЦРѢМѢ.**
3. (f. 79^v) **НАЧАЛО ПРЪВОМОУ ЧАСОУ· ПРИИДИТЕ ПОКЛОНИМСА ПРИЦЪ.**
4. (f. 87^r) **В НЕА ВЕѢ НА ГИ ВЪЗВАЛЪ СТЪРЫ КЪ ГОУ НАШЕМОУ ІВЪ ХОУ. ПДА ПРЪХВАЛЪ ГЛАС А.**
5. (f. 91^r) **В ПНЕА КАНОНЪ ЕМОУ ЖЕ КРАЕГРАНЕСІЕ, СИЦЕВО СЪГРЪШЕНИИ МОИХЪ СКВРЪНЪ ОМИИ СЛОВЕ.**
6. (f. 91^r) **КАНОНЪ БЕСПЪТЪНЫМЪ ЕМОУ ЖЕ КРАЕГРАНЕСІЕ СЕ ѠЕУФАНОВА ПРЪВАА АГГЛАМЪ ПЪС(НЪ).**
7. (f. 106^r) **В ПНЕА ВЕѢ НА ГИ ВЪЗВАХЪ СТЪРЫХЪ ГЛАС Б. ПДА ЕГДА Ѡ ДРЪВА.**
8. (f. 110^r) **ДРЪГЪ КАНОНЪ ЧЪТНОМОУ ІВАННОУ ПРАТЧИ ЕМОУ ЖЕ КРАЕГРАНЕСІЕ СЕ КРЪПЛОУ МЛЪЖЪ ПРИИМИ.**
9. (f. 115^v-116^r) blanks without interruption in the text.
10. (f. 124^v) **В ВТОА ВЕѢ НА ГИ ВЪЗВАЛЪ СТЪРЫЛЪ КЪ ГОУ НАШЕМОУ ІВЪ ХОУ ГЛАС Г. ПДА ВЕЛІА КРЪТА.**
11. (f. 128^r) **В СРЪА КАНОНЪ КРЪТОУ ЕМОУ ЖЕ КРАЕГРАНЕСІЕ ВЛАКЪНИ ОУСТАВИЛЪ ЕСИ ЧЛЪКЪМЪ ВОЛЪЗНЪ МИСЛОВЕ ГЛАС Г.**
12. (f. 141^r) **В СРЪА ВЕѢ НА ГИ ВЪЗВАХЪ СТЪРЫЛЪ КЪ ГОУ НАШЕМОУ ІВЪ ХОУ ГЛАС Д. ПДА ХОТЪХЪ СЛЪЗАМИ.**
13. (f. 156^v: в чеѢ вѢ НА ГИ ВЪЗВАЛЪ СТЪРЫЛЪ КЪ ГОУ НАШЕМОУ ІВЪ ХОУ ПДА РАДОУЧИ ПУНИКЪ ГЛАС Е.
14. (f. 176^v) **В ПАА ВЕѢ СТЪРЫЛЪ КЪ ГОУ НАШЕМОУ ІВЪ ХОУ ГЛАС И ПДА Ѡ ПРЪСЛАВНОЕ.**
15. (f. 180^v) **В СЖБ КАНОНЪ ПРЪСЪТЪИ ВЪЦИ ПЪСѢА, ГЛАС И.**
16. (f. 198^v) **НАЧАЛО МАЛОЕ ПАВЕЧЕРНИЦИ. Inc. ВЛЪВЕНЬ БЪ 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 κοινάκια. 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 (ъ and ѣ) follows the rule of Patriarch Euthymius, i.e., the small *er* (ъ) is used to indicate an obsolete graphical sign in final word position, while the

SLAVIC 3 *Tetraevangelon* (older numeration 488¹⁰). Bulgarian orthography of the Ternovo type. Circa 1489-1503.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: Paper, 190x140 mm, ff. 284. The beginning of the manuscript is missing. The binding dates from the late 16th or from the early 17th century. It consists of wooden panels covered with ornamented leather and belongs to the post-Byzantine type with a flat, slightly curved back. The ink is brown with varying density. The text is written in one hand. The written surface varies from 175x100 to 155x100 mm with 20-21 lines to a page. The manuscript is seriously damaged by book worms. The corners, the upper and the lateral margins are in a very poor state of preservation.

WATERMARKS: Sword similar to Briquet's examples 8671 of 1489 and 8677 of 1503¹¹.

ORNAMENTATION: Very poor. Initials, titles and headpieces in vermilion. Some kind of decoration was planned but never painted. Before the text of each Gospel a free space was left either for a miniature and headpiece, or for a single headpiece.

CONTENT:

1. (ff. 4^v-6^v) Ѡеѡфилакта архїенѡпа вѡлгарьскаго предсловіе еже ѡ матфеа стѡго еѡаѡ.
2. (ff. 7^r-81^r) the text of St Matthew's Gospel. The beginning is missing. *Inc. роди мамфана, мамфан же роди їакова...*
3. (ff. 81^v-82^v) еже ѡ марка стѡго еѡѡла главы (list of the chapters of St Mark's Gospel).
4. (ff. 82^v-84^r) прѣдсловіе еже ѡ марка стѡго еѡѡ (preface to the Gospel of St Mark).
5. (f. 84^v) a dedicatory note written in 1679 (cf. *Inscriptions*). Initially the folio was blank and was designed for a miniature of St Mark.
6. (f. 85^r) free space for a headpiece.
7. (ff. 85^r-131^r) ѡт марка стѡго вѡговѣствованїе (the text of St Mark's Gospel).
8. (ff. 131^v-134^r) еже ѡ ажкы спїго еѡѡла главы (list of the chapters of St Luke's Gospel).

10. Cf. TURILOV-MOŠKOVA, *Slavjanskije rukopisi*, 89, No 187 (the manuscript os described as Russian).

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

мѣты его елика и братъ емѣ стоянь. и приложи ѿ сѣго арханѣла. да аще кто хощеть оукрасти или посвонти да е прокле^м ѿ тѣи и ѿ вѣ апѣль и да мѣ е сѣти арханѣлъ михаи^л сѣперникъ на страшни сѣдѣ а кон приложи бѣ да прости въ си вѣкѣ и въ вѣди аминь. въ лѣтѣ зрѣнъ.

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 Michael¹²). 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 Gabūr¹³.

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*¹⁴. 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^v there is a quire marking κѣ (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 1569¹⁵.

ORNAMENTATION: Initials, titles and headpieces in minium.

12. N. OIKONOMIDÉS, *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:

1^r-6^v: 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.

7^v-38^v: text from the Gospel of St John. *Inc.* рекъ къ пришедшимъ к немѹ юуд(е)ѡмъ. *Des.* влъка градоуца ... овца и вѣгаєт (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. 3^v (ѣ = 5), 4^r (ѣ = 6), 5^v (ѣ = 6) and 6^r (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 1518¹⁶.

ORNAMENTATION: Initials, titles and headpieces in minium.

CONTENT: 1^r-11^v: text from the Gospel of St Matthew. *Inc.* ... тарієи любовѣице вараютъ ви въ црѣстви бжїи. *Des.* телцоу же пчѣбно еже ѡ лзкы тѣмъ же и ѡ цїенничества задрїи. 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 κ with wide ε 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 (ⲗ) denotes both an obsolete graphical sign in final word position and a vowel in the middle of the word. The nasals ⲛ, ⲛ̅, ⲛ̅̅ and ⲛ̅̅̅ are totally replaced by ⲟϣ, ε, κ and ⲟ. The dimensions of the letters (5x6 mm for ⲗ and 5x16 mm for ⲟ) 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 95¹⁷. The addition is bilingual – it contains both the Greek original of the well known Διήγησις τῶν γενομένων θαυμάτων παρὰ τῶν παμμεγίστων ταξιαρχῶν Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ ἐν τῇ σεβασμῖα μεγάλῃ μονῇ τοῦ Δοχειαρίου ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγίῳ Ὁρει¹⁸, and its Slavic translation. The Slavic text occupies ff. 1^r–11^r 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^r–23^v 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; ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *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 1505¹⁹.

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 vermilion.

CONTENT: 1^r-11^r: Slavic translation of the *Narration. Inc. не може ти даждь и мнѣ прѣшломоу недостоинному рабоу своему крѣпость иманіемъ. Des. свѣтально чиноначелъники мисльним силам славеце всѣдатѣла, и творца всѣхъ ба яко томъ подобаетъ всака слава чѣть. и поклонкнѣ 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 1548²⁰. 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 Chryssochoïdis²¹, 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 Ochrid²². This conclusion is perfectly confirmed by the specific for the Macedonian Bulgarian dialects future tense **кѣт кѣт ѡткѣт**, 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 Grammarian²³. 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 και πραγματικότητες στο Ἅγιον Ὄρος στὰ τέλη τοῦ ΙΕ΄ καὶ στὶς ἀρχὲς τοῦ ΙΣ΄ αἰῶνα, *Ὁ Ἄθως στοὺς 14ο-16ο αἰῶνες*, Ἀθήνα 1997 [Ἀθωνικὰ σύμμεκτα 4], 108-131.

21. ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΪΔΗΣ, *Παραδόσεις και πραγματικότητες*, 145-147, plates 14-16.

22. ΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΪΔΗΣ, *Παραδόσεις και 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.

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 ѡж are totally replaced by ѡѣ, ѡ, к and ю. 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 1564²⁵.

ORNAMENTATION: Liturgical indications, titles and initials in vermillion.

CONTENT:

1. (f. 1^r) *Inc.* ...шати народоу раз(...) юдеанинъ еѣ глаѣ. *Des.* в законном събран(...) сѡ иво бѣдствоуемъ (Acts of the Apostles, 19. 33–40).
2. (f. 1^v) *Inc.* единъ ѡ сѡбот' (liturgical indication in vermillion) събравшии сѡ народъ (...) молбы. призваѣ же павель. *Des.* събравшим сѡ оуче(...) хлѣвъ. павель (Acts of the Apostles, 19. 40–20. 7).
3. (f. 2^r) *Inc.* ...ци. бѡхоу же свѣща многи вы... *Des.* въ оутрїе пристахум противъ хїѡ (...) иже ѡвезохом сѡ ко самѡ (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 7–15).
4. (f. 2^v) *Inc.* сѣтых ѡцѣ. во дни шны сѡ... (liturgical indication in vermillion) ...идохом въ мїлѣтъ. соуди бо паве(лъ ...)лимо ити ефесь. *Des.* градоу

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

въ іер^слімъ, хотѣща в (...) приключити сѧ мнѣ, невѣд... (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 16-23).

5. (f. 3^r) *Inc.* свѣдетелствоуе^т гла (...) не и скорби ждоу^т. *Des.* моужіе гліюціи раз (...) ѡторгнути оу... (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 23-30).
6. (f. 3^v) *Inc.* непрестааоу ча (...) кождо ва^с. *Des.* придохо^м въ кв и (...) въ родосъ. и ѡ (Acts of the Apostles, 20. 32-21. 2).
7. (f. 4^r) *Inc.* ...дѡщъ въ финикію възше^{ше} ѡвезохом сѧ. *Des.* семоуже вѡх^с четири дщери дѣвы прорица (...) ѡ. пребы... (Acts of the Apostles, 21. 2-10).
8. (f. 4^v) *Inc.* никто ѡ юдеѧ пр^сркъ имене^м агавъ. *Des.* прѣв^шіи^м жена^м въ іер^слімъ, любезно пріаше. (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 ъ is prevailing the large er (ъ), 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. 4^v). The letter ы is not confused with и. The small nasal ѡ 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 ѡ with ѡ (f. 3^v: 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. 4^r: ГДИ ГДИ НЕ | ѡ вѣ (...) хи на | ѡ твоегѡ (...) | но бѡговолн | помилвати | насъ воскр^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

Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλου, δι' ἐξόδου κυροῦ Νικολάου τοῦ Κούβλη. At the moment the fragment is not separated from the book. The text is written in one hand. Written surface 210x130 mm with 26 lines to a page. The ink is black. The state of preservation is very poor.

ORNAMENTATION: None. The text is written without the usual red initial letters.

CONTENT: f. 1r: Narration about the early years of Kosmas. St John of Damascus and the common teacher of the two saints, the *asecretis* whose name was probably also Kosmas²⁶, are also mentioned. *Inc.* ελλίνσκοε οκρδζκное наказаниѣ (...) ѿльъ инѣ бѣг о дѣхновеннаго писаниа. *Des.* обличи злочѣстивѣю иконобориѣю ереѣ.

LINGUISTIC COMMENT: The manuscript is written in semi-uncial with some cursive features. It follows the Serbian orthography of Resava, decorated with a plethora of Greek accents and breathings. The small *er* (ь) indicates obsolete graphical sign in final word position, while the large *er* (ѣ) indicates vowel in the middle of the word. The typical Serbian combination ѣѣ (l. 2: ѿльъ) is also present. The obsolete letter ѣ is replaced by и and the nasals ж, љ, њ and њж are replaced by ѡѣ, ѣ, к and ю.

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

APPENDIX

Two Slavic donative notes. Moldavian variant of Bulgarian language written according to the Serbian orthography of Resava. 1598.

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION: The notes are added on ff. 240^v and 257^v of Greek parchment Gospel No 21, which dates from the 12th century²⁷. They are written by the same scribe in brownish-black ink.

CONTENT:

1. (f. 240^v) сѣи тетриваѣте ѡкова па ѡ лѣпнѣ | стрвиѣ(ел) великии логофеѣ
земли мѡѡдавскои | въ монастиѣ дохѣтаѣ идеѣ(ѣ) еѣ храѣмѣ аѣхѣстрапнѣ
михаила и гавриѣла. в лѣ(ѣ)по ѣѣрѣс | ѣв ѣ(ндиктѣ).

26. Θ. ΔΕΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ, *Kosmās ó Melφδός. Βίος καὶ ἔργο*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1979, passim. Cf. also *ODB*, II, 1152.

27. Cf. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Kατάλογος*, I, 235-236, 2695 (21) .

2. (f. 257v) ꙗ та^а(еръ) за шкованіе и пѣ^тв^п(ерпиръ) за позлаценіе и десе^т потрои^тни за сребро | живое и пѣ^т та^а(еръ) за рабо^то(у) дадо^т. да се | знает. и имаєт бити гопова на с^ти 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* (ъ) 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 (κηρόβουλλα) of the lords of Wallachia and Moldavia, John Radul, John Alexander, John Gabriel Mogila, John Constantine Šŭrban and John Matthew Basarab²⁸, 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.

Cyrlil ΡΑΥΛΙΚΙΑΝΟΝ, Συνοπτικός κατάλογος τῶν σλαβικῶν χειρογράφων τῆς μονῆς Δοχειαρίου

Τὸ ἄρθρο παρουσιάζει διεξοδικὰ τὰ ἐννέα σλαβικὰ χειρόγραφα, πού ἐντοπίσθηκαν στὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἁθωνικῆς μονῆς Δοχειαρίου τὸν Φεβρουάριο τοῦ 1998. Τρία ἀπὸ αὐτὰ σώζονται ὡς αὐτοτελεῖς κώδικες, δύο ὡς σπαράγματα τευχῶν καὶ τέσσαρα ὡς σπαράγματα φύλλων. Τὸ σύνολο αὐτὸ περιλαμβάνει δύο δείγματα γραμμένα σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν σερβικὴ ὀρθογραφία τῆς Ρεσάβας (ἄρ. 6 καὶ 9), ἕνα πού 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 ἀντιγραφῆι 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 ἀρχές 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.