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FOR THE VIRTUAL MUSEUM
OF SLAVIC CULTURES**

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This collection contains articles by Russian participants of the tripartite (Belgium–Russia–Bulgaria) international research project “Diversity and interaction of written cultures of Southern and Eastern Slavs in the 11th — 20th centuries”, which won the EU ERA NET RUS Plus competition. It was overseen by a scholarly team at the Institute of Slavic studies of RAS with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004). Their articles are intended for the thematic halls of the virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures and will be published on the websites of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Belgian Ghent University in Russian and English. They relate to the written cultures of Russia, Belarus', Ukraine, Bulgaria, Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. These articles discuss the oldest monuments to the written word in these countries, famous saints and scribes, first typographers and writers, Slavist scholars, collectors of book treasures, and so on. The work is addressed not only to narrow specialists, but also to a wider audience — everyone who is interested in the culture of Southern and Eastern Slavs.

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CONTENTS / СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

KALIGANOV Igor I. / КАЛИГАНОВ Игорь И.

The creation of a virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures as an essential task for modern Slavistics / Создание виртуального Музея Славянских Культур как насущная задача современной славистики	12
--	----

GAVRYUSHINA Lidia. K. / ГАВРЮШИНА Лидия К.

Domentian, a Serbian hagiographer from the 13th century / Доментиан, сербский агиограф XIII в.	22
Theodosius, a Serbian scribe from the last decades of the 13th century to the first third of the 14th century / Феодосий, сербский книжник последних десятилетий XIII — первой трети XIV в.	27
Isaiah of Serra: a Serbian writer and translator from the 14th century / Сербский писатель и переводчик XIV в. Исайя Серрский	33
Daniel II, the Archbishop of Serbia / Даниил II, архиепископ Сербский	37
The Archpriest Habbacum / Протопоп Аввакум	43
Spiritual poems in the Russian and Slavic tradition / Духовные стихи в русской и славянской традиции	48

GUSEV Nikita S. / ГУСЕВ Никита С.

The origins of Russian Slavic Studies: Sreznevsky I.I. / У истоков российской славистики: Срезневский И.И.	54
Academic P.A. Lavrov: the Fate of Cyrilo-Methodian research in Bolshevik and Soviet Russia / Академик П.А. Лавров: судьба кирилло-мефодиевских исследований в большевистской и советской России	60
P.A. Rovinsky and his discovery of Montenegro for Russian readers / П.А. Ровинский и его «открытие» Черногории читателям России	66
P.A. Kulakovky: an impartial Slavic researcher and polemical conservative journalist / Объективный ученый славист, консервативный журналист-полемист П.А. Кулаковский	71
Vas.I. Nemirovich-Danchenko: the father of Russian military journalism / Патриарх русской военной журналистики Вас. И. Немирович-Данченко	77

N.S. Derzhavin: a Bulgarist who found success in Bolshevik and Soviet academic studies / Н.С. Державин — болгарист, преуспевший в большевистской и советской науке	82
--	----

DOBYCHINA Anastasia S. / ДОБЫЧИНА Анастасия С.

The Synodicon of the Bulgarian Tsar Boril / Синодик болгарского царя Борила	90
Charters of Bulgarian Tsars from the 13th — 14th centuries / Грамоты болгарских царей XIII—XIV вв.	95
Medieval Bulgarian Short Chronicles / Болгарские средневековые краткие хроники	100
The Charters of Ivan IV (the Terrible) to the Hilandar and Rila monasteries / Грамоты Ивана Грозного Хилендарскому и Рильскому монастырям	106

ISKENDEROV Peter A. / ИСКЕНДЕРОВ Петр А.

Russian consul Ivan Stepanovich Yastrebov on the population of Kosovo / Русский консул Иван Степанович Ястребов о населении Косово	112
The first Albanian educator, Naum Vekilharzhy / Первый албанский просветитель Наум Векильхарджи	117

KALIGANOV Igor I. / КАЛИГАНОВ Игорь И.

The Ostromir Gospel: the oldest dated handwritten book of the Eastern Slavs / Древнейшая датированная восточнославянская рукописная книга, Остромирово Евангелие	122
Holy Archbishop Sava: the enlightener and heavenly patron of Serbia / Просветитель и небесный защитник Сербии, св. архиепископ Савва ...	127
The Holy Blessed Prince Lazarus of Serbia who died in the battle with the Turks on the Kosovo Field / Святой благоверный князь Лазарь Сербский, погибший в битве с турками на Косовом поле	133
St George the New of Sofia: a martyr for the faith burned by the Turks for refusing to adopt Islam / Св. Георгий Новый Софийский — мученик, сожженный турками за отказ принять ислам	139
Paisius of Hilendar and his “Slavo-Bulgarian Hbstory”: a manifesto of the national revival of the Bulgarian people / Паисий Хилендарский и его «История славяноболгарская» — манифест национального возрождения болгарского народа	146

Sophronius of Vratsa, the author of the first ever Bulgarian “Autobiography” and composer of “Nedelnik”, the first Bulgarian printed book in a language close to popular speech / Софроний Врачанский — автор первой в болгарской литературе «Автобиографии» и первой болгарской печатной книги «Недельник» на языке, близком к народному 151

The Serbian historiographer and poet, Jovan Raich / Сербский историограф и поэт Йован Раич 156

LABYNTSEV Yury A. / ЛАБЫНЦЕВ Юрий А.

The Old Russian writer and preacher of 12th century, Cyril of Turov / Древнерусский писатель и проповедник XII в. Кирилл Туровский 162

The literary legacy of Francisk Skorina / Книжное наследие Франциска Скорины 167

The first typographer Ivan Fyodorov who worked in the Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian lands / Первопечатник Иван Федоров, работавший в русских, белорусских и украинских землях 172

The Ostrog Bible of 1581: the first complete printed Bible of the Eastern Slavs / Острожская Библия 1581 г. — первый полный первопечатный библейский свод у восточных славян 178

Printing house of Mamoniches, the largest Orthodox publisher of the Eastern Slavs in the last quarter of the 16th century — first decades of the 17th century / Издательский дом Мамоничей — крупнейшая православная типография у восточных славян в последней четверти XVI — первых десятилетий XVII в. 182

Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania / Статут Великого княжества Литовского 187

MELCHAKOVA Ksenia V. / МЕЛЬЧАКОВА Ксения В.

Bosnian enlightener Staka Skenderova: a woman ahead of her time / Боснийская просветительница Стака Скендерова — женщина, опередившая свое время 192

Alexander F. Hilferding “discovers” Bosnia and Herzegovina / Александр Ф. Гидьфердинг «открывает» Боснию и Герцеговину 198

The «Chronicler of Herzegovina» Procopius Chokorilo and Russia / «Летописец Герцеговины» Прокопий Чокорило и Россия 203

The first periodicals of Bosnia and Herzegovina / Первые периодические издания Боснии и Герцеговины 208

A people's Metropolitan of Herzegovina: Ioaniky Pamuchina / Герцеговинский «народный» митрополит Иоанникий Памучина	213
--	-----

SMOLYANINOVA Marina G. / СМОЛЪЯНИНОВА Марина Г.

The Bulgarian revolutionary romantic poet, Christo Botev / Болгарский революционный поэт романтик Христо Ботев	218
Zakhari Stoyanov: a chronicler of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Bulgarians against the Turks / Летописец революционно-освободительной борьбы болгар против турок Захари Стоянов	223
The poet and educator, Petko R. Slaveykov / Поэт и просветитель Петко Р. Славейков	229
Dobri Voynikov: the "Father" of the Bulgarian national theatre / «Отец» болгарского национального театра Добри Войников	233
Lyuben Karavelov: the Bulgarian narrator, journalist and revolutionary / Болгарский прозаик, журналист и революционер Любен Каравелов	237
The Father of Bulgarian literature, Ivan Vazov / Патриарх болгарской литературы Иван Вазов	242

SOZINA Julia. A. / СОЗИНА Юлия А.

Ivan Tsankar: the Slovenian classic / Словенский классик Иван Цанкар	248
Edward Kotsbek: the "conscience" of his age / Эдвард Коцбек — совесть своей эпохи	253

FROLOVA Marina M. / ФРОЛОВА Марина М.

The first Moscow free Public Library and its creator Alexander D. Chertkov / Первая московская бесплатная публичная библиотека и ее создатель Александр Д. Чертков	260
The Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquities and its development of Bulgarian research / Императорское общество Истории и Древностей Российских и развитие в нем болгаристических исследований	266
The Bulgarian-Macedonian poet, journalist and translator, Rayko Zhinzifov / Болгарско-Македонский поэт, журналист и переводчик Райко Жинзифов	272

Yury I. Venelin and his History of the ancient and modern Bulgarians / Юрий И. Венелин и его История древних и нынешних болгар	278
Alexander F. Veltman and his story "Raina, the Princess of Bulgaria" / Повесть Александра Ф. Вельтмана «Райна, королева Болгарская»	284
Lyudevit Guy: the Croatian educator, "Illyrian" leader / Хорватский просветитель, вожак «иллиров», Людевит Гай	289

SHESHKEN Ala G. / ШЕШКЕН Алла Г.

The Montenegrin poet and ruler, Petar II Petrovich Negosh / Черногорский поэт и правитель Петар II Петрович Негош	296
Blazhe Koneski: a poet and the "constructor" of the Macedonian literary language / «Строитель» македонского литературного языка, поэт Блаже Конеский	303
Kocho Ratsin: the first national Macedonian poet / Первый национальный македонский поэт Кочо Рацин	307
Desanka Maksimovich: the greatest Serbian poet / Крупнейшая сербская поэтесса, Десанка Максимович	312

SHCHAVINSKAYA Larisa L. / ЩАВИНСКАЯ Лариса Л.

The most revered Belarusian regional saint, the enlightener, Euphrosyne of Polotsk / Наиболее почитаемая в Беларуси местная святая, просветительница Ефросиния Полоцкая	318
The Peresopnitsa Gospel of 1550s–60s: the first attempt in Ukraine to translate the texts of the Gospel into "Russian mova" — a language close to popular speech / Пересопницкое Евангелие 1550-х — 60-х годов — первая попытка переложения в Украине евангельских текстов на народную «руськую мову»	323
The Zabłudov Gospel of 1569: the first printed book of Ivan Fyodorov and Pyotr Mstislavets in Podlyashie / Заблудовское Евангелие 1569 г. — первая печатная книга Ивана Федорова и Петра Мстиславца на Подляшье	327
The Kievan "Synopsis" 1674: three centuries of tradition / Киевский «Синописис» 1674 г.: трехвековая судьба	331
St. Dimitry of Rostov and his multi-volume work the "Book of the Lives of the Saints" / Святитель Димитрий Ростовский и его многотомный труд «Книга житий святых»	335
Gregory Skovoroda: the 18th century Ukrainian philosopher and writer / Григорий Сковорода — украинский философ и писатель XVIII в.	339

LIST OF THE BOOK'S ILLUSTRATIONS / СПИСОК ИЛЛЮСТРАЦИЙ	345
INFORMATION ON THE AUTHORS / СПРАВКА ОБ АВТОРАХ	349
ABBREVIATIONS / СПИСОК СОКРАЩЕНИЙ	355
KALIGANOV IGOR I. / КАЛИГАНОВ ИГОРЬ И. INTRODUCTION TO THE INDEXES / ВВОДНЫЕ ПОЯСНЕНИЯ К УКАЗАТЕЛЯМ	359
INDEXES / УКАЗАТЕЛИ	
OF NAMES / ИМЕННОЙ	368
OF PLACES / ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКИХ НАЗВАНИЙ	383



IGOR I.
KALIGANOV

THE CREATION OF A VIRTUAL MUSEUM OF SLAVIC CULTURES AS AN ESSENTIAL TASK FOR MODERN SLAVISTICS¹

Abstract:

The article highlights the need to create a virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures. In our time of rapid digitalization of various spheres of life, this need seems to be obvious. The Museum's materials concerning cultures of Eastern and Southern Slavs from ancient times to the present day are to be posted on the websites of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and Ghent University not only in Russian, but also in English as it is the most common language in the world, with about 1,5 bln speakers. This will allow for a breakthrough in the dissemination of knowledge about Slavic cultures in non-Slavic environments. The Museum's collections will not duplicate the materials available in numerous specialized encyclopedias, handbooks and on Wikipedia. Articles for the Museum will be written by the finest specialists working today, who will be able to build an accurate cultural landscape of the Slavic world, without overloading the visitors with secondary and unnecessary facts. The author proposes as optimal a three-part structure for the Museum's articles, which, accompanied by visual materials, will be able to satisfy a wide variety of interests and tastes of visitors to the future Museum.

Keywords:

Virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures, Dissemination of knowledge about Slavic cultures in the world, format of museum articles.

Аннотация: И.И. Калиганов. «Создание виртуального Музея Славянских Культур как насущная задача современной славистики».

В статье подчеркивается необходимость создания виртуального Музея Славянских Культур — задача, которая в наше время стремительной цифровизации различных сфер жизни, представляется самоочевидной. Материалы из него о культурах южных и восточных славян от древности до наших дней предполагается разместить на вебсайтах Болгарской Академии наук и Гентского университета не только на русском языке, но и на английском — самом распространенном языке в мире, которым в той или иной мере владеют около 1,5 млрд человек. Последнее позволит осуществить прорыв в распространении знаний о славянских культурах в неславянской среде. Экспозиция подобного музея не будет дублировать материалы, имеющиеся в многочисленных специализированных энциклопедиях, справочниках и Википедии. Статьи для Музея будут созданы лучшими специалистами, способными выстроить точный культурный ландшафт Славянского мира, не загружая сознание посетителей второстепенными и в целом ненужными им фактами. Автор предлагает оптимальную трехчастную структуру музейных статей, которые, в сопровождении визуальных материалов, будут способны удовлетворять самые различные интересы и вкусы посетителей создаваемого Музея.

Ключевые слова:

Виртуальный Музей Славянских Культур, распространение знаний о славянских культурах в мире, формат музейных статей.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The process of digitalization is gaining momentum in many areas of our lives today. Various documents such as accounts, design drawings, library catalogs, and academic publications are transformed into digital formats. Young people are increasingly favouring electronic media over paper media. Subway passengers now read electronic books on tablets and iPads, rather than traditional printed books. Older people at home read famous novels downloaded from the Internet, rather than physical copies bought in a bookstore.

The articles in the book you now hold in your hands are also a part of this process of digitalization. They are connected with the international tripartite (Belgium–Bulgaria–Russia) project “Diversity and Interaction of cultures of the Southern and Eastern Slavs from the 11th to the 20th century”, which won the European Union ERA NET RUS Plus competition. They exist not only in print but also in electronic form and are posted in Bulgarian, Russian and English on the websites of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (see <https://sesdiva.eu>) and the Ghent University in Belgium. Plans for the virtual museum of written cultures of the Southern and Eastern Slavs were developed at the meeting of project coordinators (General coordinator, Bulgarian prof. Anissava L. Miltenova, Belgian coordinator, prof. Dieter Stern and Russian coordinator, prof. Igor I. Kaliganov) at the Ghent University in the summer of 2018. They decided to create ten “rooms” in the Museum as follows: 1) the oldest and most famous pillars of literature and writing of the Southern and Eastern Slavs; 2) migration of books, texts and ideas: literary and cultural exchange between Slavic South and East; 3) centers of cultural communication during the Middle Ages and the early period of the modern era (Athos, Kiev, Moscow, Odessa, Monastery of Rila, etc.); 4) popular saints, authors and works; 5) collections of manuscripts and books: their collectors and creators of libraries; 6) the origins of and the dissemination of individual readings in Slavia Orthodoxa; 7) Russian emigration in the Balkans; 8) immigrant literature and culture through the ages; 9) national revival of the Slavs (Balkan writers of the 18th and 19th century about Russia); 10) writers and scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries².

The format of future museum articles was also approved at the same meeting. It was decided that they should not exceed four to five standard pages, including a bibliography, and should be accompanied by five to ten illustrations. Unfortunately the concrete work on the implementation of this project ran into some real difficulties, which related both to the configuration of the conceived virtual museum and to the preparations of its articles. The total number of participants from three countries was only 23, and they were certainly unable to fully fill all ten “rooms” of the Museum in two years (the term of the project). The approved maximum article length was another Procrustean bed. The participants of the project found themselves at a crossroads: on the one hand,

² *Kaliganov I., Miltenova A. Virtualen muzej za kulturite na južnite i zapadnite slavjani prez XI–XX century // Starobalgarska literatura. 59. Sofia, 2019. P. 262–67.*

they wanted to write in the usual academic language, using footnotes and academic terminology in the articles, and on the other hand, they were aware that the Museum should not be aimed at just a few narrow specialists, intimidating many visitors with excessive academic details or unnecessary facts. In any case, the maximum permissible article length adopted at the Ghent meeting was simply unrealistic in this context.

The first book of “Materials” (it was published in Russian five months before) included over 60 articles by the Russian project participants (all of them are scholars from the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences), which reflect various stages of development of the most optimal format for the Museum’s publications. It contains both purely academic works with numerous footnotes and solid bibliography of academic literature (for example, articles by Marina M. Frolova, Ksenia V. Melchakova and some by Yury A. Labyn-tsev, which illustrate unsuccessful attempts to transition to a more acceptable museum format) and academic publications which are in line with gradually established new requirements. The second book of “Materials” was published in English. All the authors sought to comply with the format adopted at the Ghent meeting of coordinators. There were no foot-notes in the works, the bibliography was very short, and as a consequence of reducing article length by these means it became possible to expend the main introductory part and to strengthen the hermeneutical principle. These articles by Russian project participants will be published on the websites of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Ghent University in Russian and English. The process of preparing the articles benefited from the unique resources of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), which brings together specialists from all countries of the Slavic South and East. The reader will find in this book and on the websites mentioned above articles by our scholars about the cultures of Belarus’, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia and Ukraine.

As I worked on the project, I quickly developed the conviction that work in this area should continue after the end of the project’s term. The outcome of the project, in my opinion, should become the first stone laid in the foundation of the virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures (VMSC), which concerns not only the Slavic South and East, but also the West, and its focus should not be limited only to written cultures³. The cover of this book features an image of

³ This consideration was expressed by me in a report at the conference in October 2018. See: *Kaliganov I.I. Mysli o grjadyshechom Muzeje Slavjanskih Kul'tur kak nasushchnoj zadache sovremennoj slavistiki* / “Thoughts on the forthcoming Museum of Slavic Cultures as an essential task of modern Slavistics” // *Tezisy dokladov podgotovitel'noi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii “Raznoobrazie i vzaimodejstvie pis'mennyh kul'tur juznyh i vostochnykh slavjan v XI–XX vv.” V ramkah mezhdynarodnogo tryohstoronnego projekta Bel'gija–Bolgaria–Rossia (ERA)* / *Theses of reports of the preparatory theoretical and practical conference “Diversity and interaction of written cultures of Southern and Eastern Slavs in the 11th – 20th century.” within the framework of the international tripartite project Belgium–Bulgaria–Russia (ERAa)*. October 23, 2018. Moscow, 2018. P. 3–5.

a slice of a “tree” representing Slavic cultures, which reflects a somewhat naive, romantic conception of 19th century Slavophiles about the unity of Slavic cultures throughout their centuries-old development. In fact, this development was much more complex and cannot be reduced to a simple increase in the number of “annual rings” and the gradual growth of the tree trunk outwards. Here, it would be more appropriate to talk about a multi-core spiral “cable” with both increasing and decreasing cores in cross section, which have the ability to weave together, can mutually merge or branch, can multiply and reduce their own number, as well as the diameter of their space-time turns.

I used the image of the “tree” slice solely to illustrate the general configuration of the future virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures and to highlight its main components. As we move from the center outwards, the following materials are seen to be optimal:

- A) Proto-Slavic language, ancient Slavic mythology and other sections of ancient Slavic folklore;
- B) Pillars of writing and literature; regional transformations of the Proto-Slavic language in the South, East and West of the Slavic world up to the present day;
- C) Folk culture;
- D) Domestic, cult and secular architecture;
- E) Sculpture;
- F) Religious and secular painting;
- G) Theatre;
- H) Cinema;
- I) Music.

Inclusion the VMSC of sections on the political history of Slavic states seems inappropriate to me. In the social sciences system, this discipline is one of the most changeable and opportunistic. Every 30–50 years, at the request of power structures, political history begins to be rewritten in accordance with changes in geopolitical orientations. Therefore, it is more reasonable to exclude materials of this kind in the VMSC: they would become a time-bomb, which will sooner or later demonstrate its destructive force. The contours of political history can only be made in dotted lines to denote the volatile configuration of common cultural zones, the boundaries of which do not usually coincide with the boundaries of political zones.

National and institutional factors may pose a significant risk in the construction of the VMSC. The creators’s over-patriotic desire to maximise the representation of their “national” materials in the Museum could lead to a heavy-handed and therefore poor resource. It could lead to the inclusion of museum articles and “exhibits” belonging to more minor stages of cultural development, which have neither originality nor special significance against the background of the world cultural landscape. The same concern applies to the institutional factor:

usually after many years of academic research, scholars are so deeply converged with their field of specialization (in our case, culture) that it seems to them more important than any others. This can lead to an overvaluation by researchers of the cultural phenomena they are engaged in and the desire to provide them with a place in the Museum. The Louvre would not exhibit artifacts suitable for a museum of local history. Similarly, for the exhibitions it is necessary to select only the most precious, valuable and worthy topics, otherwise English-speaking visitors to the museum may form an incorrect opinion about the relatively low level of development of Slavic cultures, and, as such, conclude that they are secondary to Western European cultures.

The filter here is intended to be the word-list, drawn up on the basis of reasonable quotas. These should be established taking into account the size of each Slavic country and the size of their contribution to a particular area of Slavic culture. It is possible, for example, to ask specialists to select 150 names of the best Russian writers from the 11th to the 20th century, 120 Polish, 80 Czech, 50 Serbian, 40 Croatian, etc. Of course, these figures are selected at random for the purposes of illustration and can be further adjusted up or down, as required. The size of the contribution by a group of Slavic peoples to the general Slavic cultural treasury was not always directly proportional to their numbers, and in the course of history their share in it usually varied and was not equal in all areas of national culture. The same is true of architecture, painting, sculpture, music, film art and other cultural activities of Slavic peoples.

As I worked on the creation of a virtual museum of written Slavic cultures of the Southern- and Eastern Slavs from the 11th to the 20th century, I gradually developed an idea of the most optimal format for articles of the future of the VMSC⁴. In my opinion, their average volume should be at least seven to ten pages with a maximum of 20,000 characters. And their structure should not be two-part, but three-part.

The first, as already mentioned, should be created in a hermeneutical way. Throughout work, it is necessary to insure that the unprepared visitor is not put off by the excessive amount of unnecessary academic facts, and to explain in simple language the essence of the described phenomenon of culture and its uniqueness (whether it is the first national poet, the father of war reporting, the most ancient dated manuscript of the East Slavs, the first national novelist, etc.). The descriptions of articles in the VMSC, in my opinion, should not follow the practice of encyclopedias and specialist handbooks, which give concise names of monuments or personal names of writers, and then in the main text begin a more detailed story about them. It is probably better to immediately inform the reader about the essence of article, i.e. to observe a kind of "etiquette" typi-

⁴ It was outlined by me in my report at the conference already mentioned. See: *Kaliganov I.I. "Zametki ob optimal'nom 'muzeinom' formate statei dlja virtual'nogo Muzeja Slavjanskih Kyl'tur" / "Notes on the optimal "museum" format of writing articles for the virtual Museum of Slavic Cultures..." P. 6–8.*

cal to authors of the 18th century, who would courteously inform their reader about their topic from the start. In order to avoid making the title too long, it can be followed by three to five sentences which serve the purpose described. Even if the reader does not read the article further, he will remember the fact that Vas.I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, for example, is the father of Russian military journalism, and A.D. Chertkov was the founder of the first free public library in Moscow. Thus, even the names of the articles of the VMSC will play the role of a concise dictionary of Slavic cultures for adults.

The first part of the article should also describe very accurately and succinctly the essence of the phenomenon of Slavic culture with which the article is concerned. This task can be solved only by highly qualified specialists, who have deep knowledge not only of the subject matter of the narrative, but also have a clear idea of similar phenomena in the development of Slavic cultures and can build a real cultural scale of proper proportions. The ideal persons here are academic scholars: primarily, those of them who are gifted writers. After all, it is no secret that many academic works by serious scholars are written in unwieldy complicated language which repels those who try to read them. In preparing the first hermeneutical part, it is impossible to exclude the involvement of external stylists who can turn difficult texts into clear, understandable, readable ones. Footnotes to academic works in the hermeneutical part are not desirable: they are unnecessary here and only distract the visitor from the hermeneutical essence of the cultural phenomenon which is being presented.

The second part of the article will be initially hidden from the reader: it will be accessible through a link with the label "Historiography". It will be two to three pages long and purely academic in nature. It is intended for those scholars who will want to familiarize themselves with the history of studying this cultural phenomenon in detail. Here, in order to save space, it is possible to use a dry academic style, abbreviations, and use numerous references to academic literature. These are done in the style commonly used by linguists: the text in parentheses gives the name of the academics, the year of publication of the academic work and the referenced page numbers.

The third part, entitled "Bibliography", which will also be accessed through a link, is intended for both a wide range of visitors to the VMSC and scholars. Here you will be able to find a short list of academic and popular literature on the issue, as well as a list and full titles of the specialist's works, to which references were made in the "Historiography" section. The size of this part should not exceed one standard page of text typed with size 14 font.

Articles will be accompanied by a "Gallery", which will contain five to ten illustrations related to the most important moments in the narratives.

My proposed format of museum articles allows us to harmonize the distribution of the included materials. It is hoped that this will lead to the "display" of the VMSC becoming popular and accessible for a wide range of visitors. It will be useful to both non-specialists and scholars. This is especially true of the hermeneu-

tical part of the museum articles in their English-language version, which allows the VMSC to find its niche among specialized printed directories and helps it avoid incorrect comparison with Wikipedia. If we consider that 1.5 billion people in the world understand English, it will become clear that creation of VMSC is capable of leading to the real breakthrough in dissemination of knowledge about the cultures of the Slavic peoples and their historical development.

* * *

In preparing this book, I have tried to ensure that it meets high English language standards as fully as possible. I offer my deep gratitude to its first proof-readers, who, like skilled pilots, helped to steer my Russo-English sailboat to the wide ocean expanses of the English language. This task was taken on with honor by Susannah Westen from the United States and John Harwood and Maria Groves from the United Kingdom⁵.

This book is the first edition in English published by the Institute of Slavic Studies of the RAS. And, I hope, not the last. Sincerely loving our native “great” and “mighty” (academic M.V. Lomonosov) Russian language, we should be aware of the fact that in terms of its prevalence it occupies only a modest eighth / ninth place in the world, sharing it with Portuguese. Further, its international usage continues to decline. Unfortunately, numerous academic works published by the Institute of Slavic Studies of the RAS in the Western world become known mainly to rare specialists who know Russian. Articles published in English-language periodicals by Institute scholars can become “lost” in them and are not able to give readers a complete picture of the scope of the academic research conducted at the Institute, nor of its academic direction in the area of Slavistics, nor of the successes achieved in its various fields.

It seems to me that it is long overdue for the Institute to publish a book in English every two years entitled “The Slavic World: Diversity of History and Culture. Selected works by scholars at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the RAS for 202X–202X years”. It will give a wide English-speaking audience insight into the Institute of Slavic Studies and also help to counteract attempts to rewrite European and World history — attempts, which could lead to the establishment of a global hegemony of particular countries and peoples.

Translated by the author

⁵ I also want to gratitude my son Yaroslav Kaliganov, Maria Harwood and Ksenia Melchakova for their reliable help.

* * *

При подготовке этой книги я старался добиться максимального ее соответствия английским языковым нормам. Выражаю свою глубокую признательность ее первым читателям-корректорам, которые, подобно искусным лоцманам, помогли вывести мой русско-английский парусник на широкие океанические просторы английского языка. Эту роль с честью сыграли Сюзанна Уэстен (США) и Джон Харвуд с Марией Гроувз из Соединенного Королевства⁶.

Данная книга является первым изданием, выпущенным Институтом славяноведения РАН на английском языке. И, как я надеюсь, не последним. При всей нашей искренней любви к родному «великому» и «могучему» (М.В. Ломоносов) русскому языку следует отдавать себе отчет в том, что по своей распространенности он занимает лишь скромное восьмое–девятое место в мире, деля его с языком португальским. При этом его международное использование продолжает сокращаться. К сожалению, выпускаемые Институтом славяноведения РАН многочисленные научные труды в западном мире становятся известны главным образом редким, знающим русский язык специалистам. А публикующиеся в англоязычной периодике статьи институтских ученых «теряются» в ней и не способны дать читателям целостное представление ни о размахе ведущихся в Институте научных славистических исследований, ни о разрабатывающихся в нем научных направлениях славистики, ни о достигнутых им успехах в самых различных ее областях.

Мне кажется, давно уже назрела необходимость публикации Институтом раз в два года на английском языке сборника «Славянский мир: разнообразие Истории и Культуры. Избранные труды ученых Института славяноведения РАН за 202X–202X гг.». Это позволит широкой англоязычной аудитории иметь ясное представление о научном лице Института славяноведения РАН и будет способствовать более действенному противостоянию попыткам переписать европейскую и мировую историю ради утверждения гегемонии на земле отдельных стран и народов.

Игорь Калиганов

⁶ Я также хочу поблагодарить моего сына Ярослава Калиганова, Марию Харвуд и Ксению Мельчакову за их безотказную помощь.



LIDIA K.
GAVRYUSHINA

DOMENTIAN, A SERBIAN HAGIOGRAPHER FROM THE 13th CENTURY¹

Abstract:

The article is dedicated to Domentian, an outstanding 13th century Serbian hagiographer, hieromonk of Athos Hilandar monastery. He was the author of the Life of St Sava, Archbishop of Serbia (c. 1170–1235), completed by him in 1243 or 1254. Later, based on it and using a Life written in 1216 by Stefan the First Crowned (1165–1227), he wrote the Life of St Simeon of Serbia. Hagiographic writings of Domentian arose during the heyday of Serbian statehood, they are distinguished by a high panegyric style.

Keywords:

Serbian hagiography, Mount Athos, Hilandar monastery, Hieromonk Domentian, the Lives of Saints Sava and Simeon of Serbia, high panegyric style.

Аннотация: Л.К. Гаврюшина. «Доментиан, сербский агиограф XIII в.».

Статья посвящена Доментиану — выдающемуся сербскому агиографу XIII в., иеромонаху афонского Хиландарского монастыря. Он явился автором жития св. Саввы, архиепископа Сербского (ок. 1170–1235), завершеного им в 1243 или в 1254 г. Позднее на его основе и при использовании жития, написанного в 1216 г. Стефаном Первовенчанным (1165–1227), он написал житие святого Симеона Сербского. Агиографические сочинения Доментиана возникли в период расцвета сербской государственности, их отличает высокий панегирический стиль.

Ключевые слова:

Сербская агиография, афонский Хиландарский монастырь, иеромонах Доментиан, жития святых Саввы и Симеона Сербских, высокий панегирический стиль.

Domentian is a famous Serbian hagiographer, hieromonk of the Athos Hilandar monastery, a contemporary and disciple of the first Serbian archbishop, Sava of Serbia. Little is known about his life. He was presumably born at the beginning of the 13th century, was of noble birth and received a good education. He apparently took his monastic vows at the Serbian monastery of Zhicha, where he attracted the attention of Archbishop Sava of Serbia, who made him his disciple. Thanks to this, Domentian later often stayed with the saint, accompanied him on his second pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1233–35, was with him in the Bulgarian capital of Veliko Tarnovo and witnessed Sava's death following a brief illness. Domentian then took part in the burial of the saint and the transfer of his relics to the Serbian monastery of Milieshevo in 1237. Following this, Domentian retired to the Holy Mountain, where he wrote the Lives of St Sava

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

and his father, St Simeon the Myrrh-Streaming (whose secular name was Stefan Nemanya), who was the first Serbian Grand prince (zhupan) and the unifier of the Serbian lands.

Domentian's literary gift was highly valued at the Serbian court: both *Lives* were composed by him at the request of King Urosh I, the grandson of Nemanya and the nephew of St Sava.

Domentian completed the *Life of St Sava* in 1243 or in 1254 in the Caryes cell, which the ascetic had at one point founded on Mount Athos. Around 1260 he was elected confessor of the Hilandar monastic order, and he settled in the mountains above Hilandar in a place called Spasova Voda. Here, in the tower of the Transfiguration of Christ, the scribe wrote his second hagiographic work in 1263–64, the *Life of St Simeon*.



*St Sava and St Simeon: worshipers of the main temple
at the Hilandar monastery*

These works of Domentian were created during the heyday of Serbian statehood. They are distinguished by their monumentality and highly panegyric style. Praising the national saints who stood at the origins of the renewal of Christian Serbia, the author glorifies it as the “New Israel”: in his view, after adopting Christianity, the Serbian people had become God’s chosen people. The hagiographer’s grandiose artistic design corresponded to his idea of the Serbian saints as the enlighteners of the whole world. The scribe emphasizes their exceptional role in the history of the salvation of mankind through constant reminders of their continuity with respect to the characters of the Old Testament. In the texts of his *Lives*, Domentian often compares St Sava with the pillars of Old Testament history: Abraham, Isaac, Joseph, Abel, the patriarch Jacob, the prophets Isaiah and John the Baptist. There are especially lengthy comparisons of individual events and miracles from the Life of the first Serbian teacher with those of Moses, the religious leader and first lawgiver of his people. At the same time, Domentian, as a rule, notes how lacking such comparisons are. For him, St Sava ranked incomparably higher than the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, since he partook in the grace of the New Testament, granted to him by Christ himself.

Of paramount importance to Domentian was the apostolic mission of the saints. In creating the ideal face of the “holy twins”, Simeon and Sava, the hagiographer refers to the texts of hymnographic works in honor of the apostles Peter and Paul and often uses the latter’s epistles. He does not confine himself to indicating that the saints had been chosen by God; for him the pinnacle of the ideal image of an ascetic is the dogmatically grounded notion of a likeness to God. Therefore, the scribe repeatedly compares St Sava with Christ. In one of his prayers for the resumption of myrrh-streaming from the shrine with the relics of St Simeon, Sava likens his spiritual union with his father to “the unity of the divine,” that is, the unity of the Father and the Son. The latter is at the same time the hagiographer’s ideal prototype of relations within the church hierarchy. The three representatives of the Nemanich dynasty, St Sava, St Simeon and the son of the latter, St Stefan the First Crowned, are likened to the Holy Trinity. This feature of Domentian’s artistic style is due primarily to his theological and symbolic vision of the world. It is one of the manifestations of the principle of the correlation of the earthly and heavenly planes of existence, which is comprehensive for his *Lives*. The presentation of specific events in the *Lives* is constantly accompanied by the interpretation of their higher meaning, the ascent to spiritual reality. The compositional structure of these works is determined by the change of monumental poetic images depicting this spiritual reality.

It is not known whether Domentian left behind any hymnographic works, however, his prose often approaches hymnography in its artistic principles. The poetic nature of his narration led to the complexity of the “small” genre forms in the composition of his *Lives*. For example, the missive with St Sava’s appeal to his father to come to him to the Holy Mountain evolves into praise of the latter, and then into a poetic interpretation of the Savior’s preaching in the Gospels.



St Simeon of Serbia,
mural painting at the Church of the Virgin (Levish) in Prizren. 1307–09

The style of Domentian's works is characterized by a wealth of rhetorical figures, syntactic "extensions" in the construction of phrases, attention to the aspect of how the words sound. His widely used principles of the "weaving of words" style are at the service of "poetic theology."

It should be noted that the *Life of St Sava* surpasses in volume all of the medieval Serbian biographies (about 200 pages) and is one of the most significant and complex works of ancient Serbian literature. In this essay consisting of 33 chapters, the biography of the first Serbian hagiographer was presented fully for the first time. It contains the texts of valuable historical documents processed by the hagiographer: the charter of the proclamation of autocephaly of the Serbian Church and a number of St Sava's epistles and sermons. The scribe puts many of the statements about St Sava into the mouths of the characters/witnesses: the elder Macarius, the spiritual father of Sava, the Byzantine emperor, the Jerusalem patriarch Athanasius, etc.

One of the main sources in the compilation of this work by Domentian was a brief *Life of St Sava* created by an anonymous author in Hilandar and then revised in the Mileshevo monastery. By incorporating this text into a new rhetorical-panegyric artistic context, Domentian enriched it with new facts from his personal impressions and oral legends about Sava. Central to the scribe's narrative is the story of the election of Sava as archbishop and the creation of the autocephalous Serbian Church. The author attaches considerable importance to the story of church law (the compilation of the *Karyes Tipicon* and *Pilot* (in Slavic "Kormchaya"), the organization of dioceses, the election of bishops)

and the saint's diplomatic activity. The story of Sava's visit to the holy places of Palestine, Egypt, Sinai and Antioch also has great spiritual and symbolic meaning. In speaking about the asceticism of St Sava and his father, Simeon Nemanya, on Mount Athos, the author provides detailed information about the Athos monasteries, hermitages and the life of hermits. He tells the reader how Hilandar arose and was built. The oldest copy of the *Life of St Sava*, edited by Domentian, dating from the 1420s–1430s, is stored in the Russian National Library of St. Petersburg.

When writing the *Life of St Simeon*, Domentian used both his own *Life of St Sava* as well as the text, *Life of Stefan Nemanya*, which was written in 1216 in honor of his father by the elder brother of Sava, King Stefan the First-Crowned (1165–1227). The scribe borrowed one-third of the text from the first and more than 400 lines from the second. It is no coincidence that he turned to the text of *Praise to Prince Vladimir* from a monument of the Old Russian literature of the 11th century, *The Word on the Law and the Grace* by the Metropolitan of Kiev, Hilarion. Like Sava and Stefan Nemanich later in Serbia, this Russian prince played a primary role in Russia in rooting the teachings of Christ. The oldest Slavic manuscripts with the texts of Domentian's *Life of St Simeon* belong to the third or fourth quarter of the 14th century and are stored in the libraries of Odessa University, the National Serbian and Romanian Academy of Sciences.

Reflective of the Holy Mountain in spirit and at the same time intended for the court, both works by Domentian are united by the idea of creating a Christian kingdom under the protection of national saints who are representatives of the same dynasty and combine spiritual and secular principles in their activities.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS²

1. The Monastery of Zhicha, Serbia.
2. The Hilandar monastery, Mount Athos, Greece.
3. The Monastery of Mileshevo, Serbia.
4. St Simeon of Serbia, mural painting at the Church of the Virgin (Levish) in Prizren. 1307–09.
5. St Sava and St Simeon: worshipers of the main temple at the Hilandar monastery.

² Here and below are the illustrations that will be posted on the site. In this issue are published only some of them. Their full list can be seen on pages 345–48.

THEODOSIUS, A SERBIAN SCRIBE OF THE LAST DECADES OF THE 13th CENTURY TO THE FIRST THIRD OF THE 14th CENTURY¹

Abstract:

The article describes the literary activities of the Serbian scribe Theodosius who lived in the last decades of the 13th century — the first third of the 14th century. He penned hagiographic writings, lives, praises, services and canons in honor of Serbian saints. At the end of the 14th century, while in the Athonite Hilandar monastery, he created the lengthy Life of the Holy Archbishop Sava of Serbia. Based on the facts of the life of this saint, written earlier by his predecessor Domentian, the scribe created an independent work, characterized by his literary style and the depth of psychological analysis.

Keywords:

Hagiography, Athos, the Serbian scribe Theodosius, Longer Life of Archbishop of Serbia St Sava, Psychology of storytelling.

Аннотация: Л.К. ГАВРЮШИНА. «ФЕОДОСИЙ, СЕРБСКИЙ КНИЖНИК ПОСЛЕДНИХ ДЕСЯТИЛЕТИЙ XIII — ПЕРВОЙ ТРЕТИ XIV в.»,

В статье рассказывается о литературной деятельности жившего в последних десятилетиях XIII — первой трети XIV в. сербского книжника Феодосия. Его перу принадлежат агиографические сочинения, жития, похвалы, службы и каноны в честь сербских святых. В конце XIII в. он, находясь в афонском Хиландарском монастыре, создал пространное житие святого архиепископа Саввы Сербского. Опираясь на фактографическую основу жития этого святого, написанного ранее его предшественником Доментианом, книжник создал самостоятельное произведение, отличающееся беллетристичностью и глубиной психологических характеристик.

Ключевые слова:

Агиография, Афон, сербский книжник Феодосий, пространное житие св. Саввы архиепископа Сербского, беллетристичность и психологизм повествования.

Theodosius is a Serbian scribe, writer, junior contemporary of Domentian. Information about him as an individual is extremely limited. Most scholars assume that he was a hieromonk and an elder of the Hilandar Monastery in Mt. Athos, whose name was mentioned in the archives of 1302–27. It was also suggested that he was the spiritual father of the Serbian King Milutin (1282–1321).

Theodosius wrote hagiographic works: lives of the saints, praise, services and canons in honor of Serbian saints. The scribe's most famous work is the Life

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

of the first national Archbishop St Sava of Serbia (1219–35), which was apparently written by him at the end of the 13th century at the Hilandar Monastery. Theodosius borrowed the actual outline of the work from the life of the saint in the edition by Domentian, but abandoned the complex symbolism and theological constructions of his predecessor.

Aside from Domentian's writing, the scribe used Byzantine archetypes. He borrowed the introduction to the work from the *Life of Sava the Sanctified*, written by the sixth century Byzantine hagiographer Cyril of Scythopolis, and there are parallels in some portions of the main part of the memorial with the *Life of St Demetrios of Thessalonica*, who lived in the third and fourth centuries. Theodosius offered the reader his own vision of events and interpretation of St Sava's image. He sought to create the image of a true Christian ascetic who prevails over human delusions and transforms a "world" that has become estranged from God. The scribe was able to realize the value of the individual human person and the value of its unceasing striving for spiritual perfection. With respect to Sava's spiritual development, he dwells in detail on a turning point of the fate of his hero — his choice of life path. The hagiographer reveals in detail Rastko's conversation



*St Sava of Serbia, Tsar Constantine and Tsaritsa Helena,
fresco at the monastery of Grachanitsa, c. 1338.*

(such was the ascetic's secular name) with a Russian monk who came from Athos. Unlike Domentian, who was very laconic in this episode, Theodosius shows how strongly impressed the young man was by the old man's tale of the lives of the venerable fathers who lived in the desert, surrounded by wilderness, as well as the maturity with which the young man had chosen to embark on a monastic path.

In Theodosius's narration, as noted by many researchers, one finds some unusual medieval hagiographical "fiction." It consists of the presence of "realistic" elements of the type of medieval "novel" in which the characters experience life crises. Speaking as a preacher, Theodosius, through the behavior of his characters, invites the reader to compare two systems of values: the devoted Saint Sava and the laity, who try to interpret the gospel commandments in ways that favor human passions and affections. In this regard, the behavior of the parents of the saint, the Great prince Stefan Nemanja (1113–99) and his wife Anna, who do not want to "release" their son to embark on the harsh path of a monastic life, is very revealing. In Theodosius's interpretation, Sava's father is a man whose soul is still so strongly attached to secular life and worldly ideas that it is difficult for him to grasp the meaning of his son's leaving them. This is why he seeks to oppose his offspring's decision by any means, and he sees God's providence in this. The description of the parents' heartache and despair upon learning of the sudden disappearance of their son who had gone hunting is very realistic. In fact, he had not gone to hunt but had fled to Athos.

The account is full of drama and of attempts to return Rastko to his parental home. A commander with "noble youths" is sent in pursuit of the young fugitive, who is overtaken when he is already on Athos. But Rastko managed to lull the vigilance of the voivode's men who were guarding him, to elude them and to persuade the monks to secretly tonsure him under the name of Sava. Voivodeship servants demanded that the monks give them Rastko, threatening them and resorting to beatings. And when the next morning he appeared before them, the monk Sava in monastic investments, instead of Rastko, they began to pour out their bitter feelings and resentment against him, considering themselves cruelly deceived. They wept for themselves too in fear of their master's wrath for not doing his bidding. In describing this scene, the hagiographer may have used folkloric sources and a folk song about Sava's departure to Athos.

Unlike Domentian, who saw God's hand in everything, Theodosius attaches great importance to the workings of the human soul, and acts as its expert. The scribe preaches religious truths by depicting the exploits of Sava against the backdrop of secular life. For this purpose, Theodosius shows the transformation of the inner world of the "reigning" holy father, Stefan Nemanja.

The son's deed has a strong impact on him: from despair and grief he gradually comes to the idea of renouncing power and earthly goods and moving to Athos to carry out feats with his son. A major role in his making such a decision is played by Sava's letter to him and his mother from the Holy Mountain, appealing to him to part with earthly goods and devote the rest of his life to serving

God. This edifying letter causes confusion in his parents' souls and admiration for their son's spiritual feat, whom they begin to praise as their intercessor and "spiritual father." After this letter, they no longer dream of their son's return, but only timidly ask him to visit his father's house, at least for a short time.

A peculiar dialogue between Stefan Nemanya and his relatives, noblemen and people at the council convened by him deserves attention. Stefan informs those present about his decision to leave them, and they beg him to stay, mourning the loss of their "father" and lord. Theodosius emphasizes that the main motive for Stefan's decision to become a monk and leave for Athos is his fatherly love for his son and desire to be with him. The scribe shows that his characters' behavior depends on external circumstances, and he reveals the psychological motivations for their actions. He is interested in the complexity of the problem of choice and the relationship of human and divine will in man's path to spiritual perfection. The tortuous nature of such a path, according to Theodosius, is also determined by the diversity of earthly reality itself. This complexity was not realized by Domentian, because he thought in terms of archetypical symbols and sculpted majestic figures of saints who were godlike in their feats.

Theodosius's descriptions of the wonders of St Sava's miracles are full of psychological details. They are very diverse — from the fermentation of milk through the saint's prayer to the killing of the wicked feudal Stresz by his prayer. The story of the death of this villain takes several pages to narrate. Escaping from the persecution of Bulgarian Tsar Boril, Stresz flees to Serbia and finds refuge at the court of Sava's brother, King Stefan the First Crowned (1217–28), but he repays his benefactor with dark ingratitude: he treacherously gathers an army and turns against Stefan, who, not wanting to shed blood, turns to Sava for spiritual help. But Stresz does not heed the saint's admonitions, and then, through his prayer, the wicked man is struck by an angel in a dream. The hagiographer borrowed the plot of this miracle from the *Life of St Demetrius of Thessalonica*, and it is relatively traditional; this part of the life of the saint is interesting, first of all, due to the "psychological portrait" of the villain. Stresz is incapable of spiritual change and repentance. Domentian sees in Stresz only the "son of the devil," but Theodosius seeks to show the depth of the feudal's moral decline and how he becomes "stone-hearted," losing the ability to repent and act mercifully. Power is to blame, for it has corrupted this wicked man and spawned in him monstrous arrogance and pride.

It is probable that Theodosius created his panegyric to Sts. Simeon and Sava at the same time, since it is often found together with it in Serbian and Russian lists of the memorial. This work was based on examples of the Byzantine genre of encomium. It reflects the author's desire to unite the cults of the two aforementioned patrons of Serbia.

Theodosius dedicated his second hagiographical work to Peter of Korish, a saint who labored in the vicinity of Prizren in the second half of the 13th century. He compiled it around 1310 on the basis of oral stories of the ascetic's students and local traditions about him. Theodosius personally visited the places

where Peter of Korish lived his life of ascetism and towards the end of his life recounted his impressions of what he had seen. This narrative is also full of drama, especially in the place where the scribe traces the saint's consistent rejection of all that binds him to the world — his birthplace, a comfortable home, and even his own sister, who for a time was his companion. The external conflict between the hero and the world develops into a dramatic confrontation between the monastic ideal and the earthly desire to sympathize with one's loved ones.

Theodosius significantly enriched and expanded not only the genre of Serbian hagiography, but also hymnography. Between 1307 and 1310 he wrote the service of St Simeon (the monastic name of Serbian Prince Stefan Nemanya), which superseded the service to the same saint compiled earlier by St Sava. The same thing happened with the service composed by him in honor of the first Serbian archbishop St Sava. It was created at about the same time and replaced all previous versions of the service to the saint compiled in the 13th century. Both services were written by Theodosius in accordance with the provisions of the Jerusalem Church Charter, to which the Serbian church began to transition in the beginning of the 14th century. Their compositions contain two original canons. In many troparia, two saints are often glorified at the same time — St Sava and his father, the monk Simeon the Myrrh-Streaming. Another service was composed by Theodosius in honor of Peter of Korish. It appeared at the same time as Theodosius's life of this ascetic. In addition, Theodosius compiled many canons: a Common Canon to Christ, saints Simeon and Sava, Common Canons to Simeon and Sava for eight voices with an acrostic, and a Common Canon to Simeon and Sava for four voices.

Theodosius's *Life of St Sava* had a significant impact on the development of ancient Russian hagiography. Its widespread use began on Russian soil from the first decades of the 14th century. Currently, there are about 100 copies of this document, stored in the largest book depositories of Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania. In 1545, the Russian scribe and monastery head Irodion Kochnev used his text in compiling the *Life of St Alexander of Svir*. The Russian hagiographer borrowed from Theodosius extensive passages describing the childhood and youth of the ascetic, which later migrated to other lives written in the Russian North in the 16th – 17th centuries. In terms of influence, the short story about Rastko's flight to Athos, created in late 17th century Russian literature on the basis of Theodosius's work, is also interesting. The anonymous Russian scribe was attracted to this episode by the presence of elements of "fiction" in it: the entertaining presentation of the material, an abundance of dialogue and dramatic scenes. This story was in keeping with the tastes of Russian readers of that time. After reworking this episode, the Russian author presented the hagiographic hero as the beloved son of his parents, who suddenly lost hope not only for Rastko to marry, but also that he would become heir to the throne. The Serbian land in this story is referred to widowed.

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ISAIAH OF SERRA: A SERBIAN WRITER AND TRANSLATOR FROM THE 14th CENTURY¹

Abstract:

The article deals with Isaiah, the Serbian Athonite monk from the 14th century, translator of the corpus of theological works by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (5th century) from Greek into Slavic. In 1349, he apparently became Abbot of the Panteleimon monastery on the Mount Athos. He was close to the Serbian rulers and sometimes acted on their behalf as a diplomat. In 1375, he was able to assist the Serbian Church in reconciling it with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Isaiah was also the author of a brief original essay *The Story of the destruction of Macedonia by the Turks*. It is found in the preface to the translation of *Areopagitums* and is the only piece of literary and historical evidence of the battle of the Serbs with the Turks on the Maritsa river in 1371.

Keywords:

A monk at Mount Athos, Abbot of St Panteleimon monastery, diplomat, translator of theological writings, *Areopagitums*, the story of the battle of the Serbs with the Turks on the Maritsa river in 1371.

Аннотация: Л.К. Гаврюшина. «СЕРБСКИЙ ПИСАТЕЛЬ И ПЕРЕВОДЧИК XIV в. ИСАИЯ СЕРРСКИЙ».

В статье идет речь об Исае Серрском — афонском иноке XIV в., переводчике корпуса богословских сочинений Псевдо-Дионисия Ареопагита (V в.) с греческого на славянский язык. В 1349 г. он, по-видимому, стал игуменом Пантелеймонова монастыря на Афоне. Исайя был близок к сербским правителям и иногда выступал от их имени в качестве дипломата. В 1375 г. ему удалось оказать содействие Сербской Церкви в примирении ее с Константинопольской Патриархией. Выступил Исайя и в качестве автора краткого оригинального сочинения *Рассказ о разорении турками Македонии*. Оно помещено в предисловии к переводу *Ареопагитик* и представляет собой единственное в своем роде художественно-историческое свидетельство о битве сербов с турками на реке Марице в 1371 г.

Ключевые слова:

Афонский инок, игумен Пантелеймонова монастыря, дипломат, переводчик богословских трактатов, «Ареопагитики», рассказ о битве сербов с турками на реке Марице в 1371 г.

Isaiah is a prominent Serbian scribe of the 14th century (c. 1300 — not earlier than 1375) who worked on Mount Athos and was for some time at the Serbian king's and then the prince's court. He went down in the history of Southern and Eastern Slav literature as a translator from Greek of works by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The key information on Isaiah's life is contained in his

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Life, compiled, most likely, by a disciple of the scribe. It allows us to conclude that Isaiah was born around 1300 “in the diocese of Liman”, that is, within the bishopric of Kosovo Field, the center of which is the Grachanitsa Monastery. His parents, George and Kalina, were nobles, thanks to which the youth managed to get a good education. After serving for some time at the court of King Milutin, the young man took monastic vows at the monastery of St Joachim of Osogovo, and later, until 1330, he went to Mt. Athos, becoming a resident of the Hilandar monastery. The Life says that after a while Isaiah returned to Serbia, visited his parents and managed to persuade them to take tonsure under the names of Gerasim and Theodosia.

In the 1340s Isaiah became a novice of the former Hilandar abbot, the elder Arseny, who introduced him to the Serbian Tsar, Stefan Dushan. Isaiah earned the trust of the tsar and the tsar’s wife, Helena, becoming close to them. Subsequently, this helped him to receive a “chrysobull”: a tsar’s charter, which provided significant privileges and funds for the restoration of the Athos monastery of the saint and great-martyr, Panteleimon, which Isaiah found in a dilapidated and desolate state when he arrived at Mount Athos. Additionally, the tsar’s charter granted land to the monastery. In 1349 Isaiah, according to many scholars, became abbot of the aforementioned monastery and began active construction activities. A cathedral and refectory were erected in the monastery, as well as utility rooms and fortress towers. The monastery’s metochions were located beyond the Holy Mountain. The *Life of Isaiah* does not specify the predominant ethnic composition of the monastic fraternity and does not indicate that the monastery was Russian.



*St Panteleimon monastery, Mount Athos,
modern view*

Isaiah of Serra proved himself as a diplomat. For example, in 1375 he played a significant role in the reconciliation of the Serbian Church with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. By the decision of Prince Lazarus and the Council of Serbian Land (attended by the widow of tsar Stefan Dushan, the aforementioned Helena), Isaiah was sent to Constantinople for negotiations, and his diplomatic mission was a success. In Constantinople Isaiah met with the future Metropolitan of Kiev, Cyprian, who was there in connection with the beatification of the holy Martyrs of Vilna, Anthony, John and Eustathius. There is reason to believe that the distribution of Serbian literature in the late 14th and early 15th centuries is associated with this event, dedicated to these saints, whose *Life* is included in a compilation of short hagiographies.

Isaiah's greatest achievement was his translation into the Slavic language of *Areopagitums*, a corpus of four works written by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite not earlier than the end of the fifth century. These works laid the foundations for the development of Byzantine theology in subsequent centuries. *Areopagitums* had spread on Slavic territory in ancient times (an excerpt from the work was already present in *Izbornik* in 1073). However, it was thanks to Isaiah that a translation of all four theological treatises (*On the heavenly hierarchy*, *On the church hierarchy*, *On the Divine Names* and *On the mystical theology*) and ten epistles accompanied by the interpretations of Maximus the Confessor appeared among the Southern and Eastern Slavs. The translation was made by Isaiah at the request of the Metropolitan of Serra, Theodosius.

In his addition to the translation (it could be a preface or an afterword), Isaiah noted the difficulties of translating the text into Slavic. In the latter, according to the scribe, in comparison with the "infinitely wise" Greek language, there are fewer words that can explain the meaning of abstract concepts. Isaiah's supplement is of particular interest as the only reliable evidence of the Serbs' battle with the Turks on the Maritsa River in 1371. The scribe writes that he began his work in "good times," and ended it in bad times, that is, in the year of this famous battle, when the Serbian army of despot John Uglesha and King Vukashin suffered a terrible defeat by the Turks. This text is known by academics as *The Story of the destruction of Macedonia by the Turks*. The description of the battle has features of a chronicle and an artistic narrative. According to Isaiah, after this catastrophe the Turks "dispersed throughout the Serbian land like birds through the air," bringing death everywhere. He mournfully notes that the land then lost its wealth — people, livestock, and all kinds of fruits, "for there was no prince, no chief or leader of the people, there was no deliverer and savior." And in conclusion, the scribe resorts to words of grief, saying that then "the living envied the dead."

Isaiah's supplement does not appear in all copies of the document. It is usually in old Russian copies, but as a rule is absent in the older Serbian ones of the middle of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century. However, throughout the Middle Ages, Slavic scribes continued to be aware of this artistic and histori-

cal evidence of the battle of the Serbs for their freedom. It was used, for example, in the creation of the *Word on Prince Lazarus* (late 14th century) and in the compilation of the *Russian Chronograph* of 1516–22, due to which it was then included in the Serbian Chronograph (*Troyadik*), as well as Serbian genealogies and annals. Additionally, in 1792, the text of the aforementioned work of Isaiah was included in the *History in Brief of the Bulgarian Slavic People* by the hieromonk Spiridon of Rila.

As for the distribution of Isaiah's translation of *Areopagitums*, about 80 copies from the 14th to the 19th centuries are known. The oldest are of Serbian origin. The copy of Serbian manuscripts from the collection of A. F. Hilferding, No. 46, which is stored in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, belongs to the 1470s and was perhaps written by Isaiah himself.

The question of Isaiah's canonization is unclear. In his Life, he is called "blessed", "reverend" and "saint". The Life may have been compiled in connection with the ecclesiastical glorification of Isaiah, but for some reason his official canonization did not take place. It is unknown whether any hymnographic compositions were written in honor of this ascetic.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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4. Serbian King Vukashin Mrnyavchevich (1365–71), who died in battle on the Maritsa River, contemporaneous fresco at the monastery of Psach.
5. Serbian Queen Helena (c. 1310 — after 75), the wife of Stefan Dushan, fresco of the monastery of Visoki Dechany. 1344.
6. Serbian Queen Helena, the wife of Stefan Dushan, fresco at the Lesnovo Monastery. 1347–48.
7. A modern view of the St Joachim of Osogovo (Sarandapore) monastery founded in the 12th century.
8. The Hilandar monastery at Mount Athos.
9. St Dionysius the Areopagite, mosaic at the Osios Lucas monastery, 12th century.
10. The cover of a modern publication: St Dionysius the Areopagite, collection of essays.

DANIEL II, THE ARCHBISHOP OF SERBIA¹

Abstract:

The article deals with the Serbian hierarch Daniel II (c. 1274–1337), whose life led him from being the Abbot of the Hilandar monastery to becoming the Archbishop of Pech. He proved himself a prolific hagiographer, writing many works that were combined in the collection *Lives of kings and archbishops of Serbia*. It contained hagiographies of King Urosh and King Dragutin, Queen Helena and King Milutin, Archbishops Arseny I, Ioaniky I, and Eustathius I. Later, it also included the *Life of Daniel* himself, written by his disciple after the death of his teacher. The *Lives of kings and archbishops of Serbia* created by Daniel are related in content and composition. As a collection, they represent a kind of typological predecessor of the *Book of the Degrees of Royal genealogy*, a monumental collection created in the Moscow state about two and a half centuries later. In addition, Daniel was the author of hymnographic works and, according to the opinion of scholars, took part in the drafting of the *Charter of King Milutin* to the Hilandar monastery.

Keywords:

Archbishop of Serbia, Hilandar monastery, hagiographer, collection of Lives, *Charter of King Milutin* to Hilandar monastery.

Аннотация: Л.К. Гаврюшина. «Даниила II, архиепископа Сербского».

В статье идет речь о сербском иерархе Даниила II (ок. 1274–1337), прошедшем путь от игумена Хиландарского монастыря до Печского архиепископа. Он проявил себя плодовитым агиографом, написав много сочинений, которые были объединены в сборник *Жития королей и архиепископов сербских*. В нем были помещены агиобиографии королей Уроша и Драгутина, королевы Елены и короля Милутина, архиепископов Арсения I, Иоанникия I и Евстафия I. Позднее в него вошло и житие самого Даниила, написанное его учеником после смерти своего учителя. Созданные Даниилом жизнеописания королей и архиепископов Сербских связаны между собой по содержанию и композиционно. Составленный из них сборник является своеобразным типологическим предшественником *Степенной книги царского родословия* — монументального памятника, созданного в Московском государстве около двух с половиной веков спустя. Кроме того, Даниила выступил автором гимнографических сочинений и, по предположению ученых, принял участие в составлении жалованной грамоты короля Милутина Хиландарскому монастырю.

Ключевые слова:

Архиепископ сербский, Хиландарский монастырь, агиограф, сборник житий, грамота короля Милутина.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Daniel II was an Athonite ascetic, the highest ranking individual in the church hierarchy, writer, diplomat, one of the most influential figures of the Serbian Middle Ages, canonized as a saint by the Serbian Orthodox Church.

He was born into a noble family and, thanks to a good education and his courtly manners, he was invited to the court of King Milutin (Stefan Urosh II), faithfully serving the ruler and providing spiritual support to him until his death. We do not know the ascetic's secular name. He went down in history as Daniel, as he was named when he was tonsured in the monastery of St Nicholas in Konchul around 1300. Later, with the blessing of Archbishop Eustathius, he moved to the monastery of Pech, where he was ordained a priest. About seven years later, at a council convened in Serbia, he was elected abbot of the Serbian Hilandar monastery on Mt. Athos, where, judging by surviving documents, he remained in that capacity until May 1310.

Abbot Daniel showed great personal courage by marshaling the monastery brethren to protect Hilandar from attacks by armed Catalan crusader troops which plundered Athos during raids from 1307 to 1309. The saint, however, did not stay on the Holy Mountain constantly but from time to time left it to carry out various royal missions, including diplomatic ones. Thus, for example, on one occasion Daniel, on King Milutin's behalf, left the Karyes cell of St Sava on Mt. Athos and went to the town of Debrets in Srem to King Milutin's relative, King Dragutin, who then, perhaps not without the influence of the clergyman, adopted a monastic life with the name Theoktist. After his election as bishop of the Banya diocese, the saint moved to Serbia, attended the burial of Queen Helena of Serbia and later wrote her Life.

Upon returning to Mt. Athos, Daniel lived in the tower (pirg) of Hilandar and had as his confessor one of the monks of the Athonite monastery of St Panteleimon, whose inhabitants were then predominantly Serbs. He maintained close spiritual ties with them, but in 1317 he had already received a new appointment and again went to Serbia to the Diocese of Huma (in present-day Herzegovina). Daniel bade farewell to King Milutin before his death, which he took hard and accepted responsibility for the spiritual care of the king's son, Stefan of Dechany. Later, at the request of his master, he performed diplomatic missions in negotiations with the Byzantine and Bulgarian rulers.

After the death of the head of the Serbian Church, Archbishop Nicodemus, a nation-wide Serbian council was convened by King Stefan, at which, on 14 September 1324, Daniel was elected Archbishop of all the Serbian and Pomeranian lands. One of his main aims as archbishop was the construction of churches. The most famous of them was the Church of the Holy Virgin Hodegetria in Pech, which was built in 1328 according to his plan. Along with the churches of St Apostles and St Demetrius, it organically fit into the temple complex of the Pech Patriarchate. The Church of the Ascension of the Lord, built in 1335 in the Monastery of Visoki Dechany, rivals it in beauty and perfection.

The ideas of the saint are probably the basis for the frescoes of the cathedral in Pech, including the so-called "Grape vine of the Nemaniches" (the family tree of the ruling Serbian dynasty of Nemaniches), which was created there on Daniel's order between 1324–37.

Archbishop Daniel died on 19 December 1337 and was thereafter buried in the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria built according to his plan. Today, in its north-western corner, one can see a marble sarcophagus with the ascetic's remains.

Saint Daniel proved to be a prolific writer. His name is associated with the compilation of most of the *Lives of the kings and archbishops of Serbia* included in the so-called *Tsarostavnik* or *Genealogy*. This set of written Serbian documents was compiled over several centuries, starting from the fourteenth century. The oldest part of the *Genealogy* was written by Daniel, who composed the Lives of King Urosh, King Dragutin, Queen Helena († 1306) and her sons King Dragutin († 1316) and King Milutin (1282–1321), Archbishops Arseny I, Ioaniky I and Eustathius I. Compared with the lengthy Lives of previous Serbian hagiographers, these works by Daniel are small and are interconnected in content and composition. Between 1337 and 1340 Daniel's work was continued by his pupil, who composed the Lives of Stefan of Dechany, King Dushan and the *Life of Archbishop Daniel II* himself. At the same time or somewhat later, short notes appeared in the collection about the lives of a number of Serbian kings and archbishops. According to some scholars, Daniel tried to create a kind of Serbian prologue based on the Lives he compiled. *Tsarostavnik* has not yet been fully studied in a textual sense.

In telling about the lives of several generations of rulers from the Nemanich dynasty, Daniel could not ignore their relationships, and hence their everyday conflicts. An account of many events was required primarily to explain the appearance of the next ruler on the throne. That is why in the Lives of Daniel, the images of secular rulers in many ways lose the monumentality that was inherent in 13th century Serbian hagiography. The author does not hide from the reader that his heroes, who spent most of their lives in the world, were not immune to worldly temptations.

Daniel often tries to frame domestic conflicts in terms of an ideological struggle. Thus, in the *Life of King Urosh*, which discussed the king's difficult relationship with his son Dragutin, when the king did not want to give part of the inheritance due to his son, Dragutin addressed his father with a sermon in the spirit of a Christian creed. However, after some time, Dragutin decided to oppose his father with the aid of an army, that is, he openly flouted the gospel commandments. Only then does Daniel begin to lament over the father and son, who were seduced by transient earthly goods and fell into sin.

In Daniel's version, his heroes' path to spiritual revival begins with their recognition of how far they have deviated from the possibility of reconciliation with God and the Church because of their sins. Only then do they completely surrender to the cause of spiritual salvation. Ascetic motifs characteristic of Serbian

hagiography of the 13th and 14th centuries begin to appear in Daniel's depictions of his heroes' asceticism. It consisted not just of charitable deeds in the world — the construction of temples, the protection of widows and orphans and helping the poor. For Daniel, this was only the outward manifestation of their glorification in the Lives. The external virtues of the rulers were a kind of backdrop for him, against which the main "action" unfolded: the spiritual struggles of his heroes with their human weaknesses, passions and sinful thoughts and their sincere repentance for their sins.

The repentant nature of the religious experiences of the heroes in the Lives of *Tsarostavnik* is represented by special literary forms, primarily the characters' internal monologues. A monologue of this kind is found, for example, in the *Life of Queen Helena*: "Woe to me, a sinner, for I have missed the time for my repentance ..." Works such as this reflect the drama of what is happening with the ascetics. The intensity of the saints' repentance over the sins they have committed grows as they realize their end is imminent.

A characteristic of Daniel's heroes is their appeals to their own souls; these are apparently based on the creations of Byzantine hymnographers. For example, in the *Life of Dragutin* there is an example of such a monologue: "O sad soul, o wretched soul, you spent your whole life from youth, without laboring, o soul, the sun has already set, and your days are numbered, sin-loving ..."

The *Life of Queen Helena* is of particular interest. The queen was a Catholic who converted to Orthodoxy, and her virtues earned her the honor of being included among the host of saints. In Slavic medieval literature, women appear relatively rarely as the protagonists of hagiographic narratives. It should also be noted that the central figure in Daniel's cycle of works on the kings and archbishops of Serbia, according to the general consensus of scholars, is King Milutin. The hagiographer portrays him as a powerful ruler and a glorious commander. In general, the creation of the Serbian *Tsarostavnik* or *Genealogy* by Archbishop Daniel in the 14th century is somewhat reminiscent of another grandiose enterprise in 16th-century Russian literature: The *Book of the Degrees of Royal Genealogy*. Both literary documents aimed at glorifying the homeland as a Christian kingdom though the personalities of secular rulers and church hierarchs sent to it by God.

In addition to hagiographic narratives, Daniel wrote two services dedicated to archbishops Arseny and Eustathius. The first of them surpasses the second in volume and artistic merit.

Researchers believe that, compared to his predecessors, Daniel brought something new to Serbian hagiography: in his writings, there was a more distinct spirit of mystical individualism, clearly manifested in the hesychasm of Athos. Also noticeable in his writings are traces of the ornate decoration of letters and pages.

The *Life of Archbishop Daniel* himself was created by one of his pupils after the death of their teacher in the fourteenth century, but this fact does not give

grounds to assert that the veneration of the ascetic as a saint began in the same century. One piece of relatively recent historical evidence of the cult of Daniel in Serbia is the reference to the gift of an aromatic oil that emanated from Daniel's remains in 1643 by Serbs in Russia to the Russian Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich. This sacred object was brought to Russia from the Slavic south by the Pech Archimandrite, Centerion, who was at that time in the Russian lands with the aim of collecting "alms," i.e., donations. In the Belgrade *Serbyak* (collection of the Services to the Serbian Saints) of 1860 edition, one can find a service to Archbishop Daniel, written by Metropolitan Mikhail (Jovanovich).

Images of St Daniel are found in early Serbian medieval painting. In the Church of Our Lady of Hodegetria, for example, two images of the saint are preserved. In one of the frescoes dating from about 1337, Archbishop Daniel is depicted together with Nicholas the Miracle Worker, and in the other he appears as a founder, holding a model of the Pech church built on his initiative. The saint is guided by the Old Testament prophet Daniel, leading him to the Virgin Mary. Ancient frescoes (created between 1339 and 1348) with the image of Daniel are also in the Serbian Dechany monastery. Here the saint is depicted as the "second donator" of the monastery. The memory of Archbishop Daniel is celebrated by the Serbian Orthodox Church on 2 January in the new style.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. Christ Emmanuel serving the schemes of St Queen Helena (Anjou) and King Urosh, the painting at the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. 1320–21. Monastery of Grachanitsa. Kosovo.
2. Arseny Sremats, Archbishop of Serbia (13th century), icon, first third of the 15th century. Bulgaria, Museum of the Rila monastery.

3. *Prophet Daniel and Daniel II, Archbishop of Serbia, church of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Pech Monastery, 1337.*
4. *Daniel II, Archbishop of Serbia, modern icon.*
5. *The sarcophagus of St Daniel in the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Pech Monastery, 1337.*
6. *King Stefan Urosh Milutin (Stefan Urosh II), fresco of the monastery Gračanitsa, 14th century.*
7. *St Eusebius and Eustathius, the Hierarchs of Serbia, fresco at the Church of St Achilles. Arille, Serbia, 1296.*
8. *Monastery of the Pech Patriarchate, the interior of one of the temples.*
9. *St Nicholas and Daniel, Archbishop of Serbia, church of the Blessed Virgin Hodegetria, Pech, 1337.*
10. *Monastery of the Pech Patriarchate, 13th century.*

THE ARCHPRIEST HABBACUM¹

Abstract:

The article talks about Habbacum (in Rus. — Avvakum) Petrov (1620–82), a prominent figure in the Russian Old Believers who opposed church reforms that were undertaken by Patriarch Nikon in the middle of the 17th century. They particularly opposed the introduction of the three fingers sign of the cross instead of the centuries-old two fingers sign and the editing of ancient liturgical books, using new printed Greek editions. The author traces the tragic fate of the rebellious archpriest, who was brutally persecuted by the authorities and finally burned alive by their order in a wooden log house. Considerable attention in the article is paid to the literary works of the sufferer, including his autobiography, the first in the history of Russian literature.

Keywords:

Church reforms of the 17th century, Siberian exile, petition to the tsar, burning in a log cabin, first Russian “Autobiography”.

Аннотация: Л.К. Гаврюшина. «Протопоп Аввакум».

В статье рассказывается об Аввакуме Петрове (1620–82) — видном деятеле русских старообрядцев, выступавших против церковных реформ, которые были предприняты патриархом Никоном в середине XVII в. Особенное неприятие в их среде вызывали введение троеперстного крестного знамения вместо многовекового двуперстного и правка древних богослужебных книг по новым печатным греческим изданиям. Автор прослеживает трагическую судьбу непокорного протопопа, подвергавшегося властями жестоким репрессиям и в конце концов заживо сожженного по их приказу в деревянном срубе. Значительное внимание уделено в статье и литературным сочинениям страдальца, в том числе и его первого в истории русской литературы жития-автобиографии: «Житие протопопа Аввакума, написанное им самим».

Ключевые слова:

Церковные реформы, ссылка, челобитная царю, сожжение в срубе, первая русская автобиография.

Habbacum (Petrov) was a writer, one of the main defenders of the old faith, a holy martyr who met his death for his confession of his faith, and the author of the first autobiography in Russian literature.

He was born in the village of Grigorovo, in the province of Nizhny Novgorod on 20 November 1620 (old style) into the family of a priest. At the beginning of his pastoral journey, he joined a “circle of pious adherents,” which included the tsar’s confessor, Stefan Vonifatiev, and won the protection of the latter. The task of the circle was to strengthen piety in the Russian church. As an archpriest

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

in the city of Yuryevets-Povolsky, Habbacum called on parishioners to correct their demeanor, sternly rebuked them and introduced reading in unison, which made the services longer. This caused not only their discontent, but sometimes resentment.

Fleeing from an angry flock, Habbacum retired to Moscow, where his future ideological opponent, Nikon, already sat on the patriarchal throne. Having hitherto been a member of a circle, his views soon diverged from those of his associates. In February 1653, at the beginning of the Great Lent, Patriarch Nikon single-handedly announced significant changes in the service and the replacement of the two-fingered sign of the cross (which had existed in the Russian church since ancient times) with a three-fingered one. Nikon's attempt to reform the service in accordance with Greek practice was perceived by some believers as a desire to violate the centuries-old foundations of Russian piety, provoking forceful protests and consequently leading to a split in the Russian church. Later it turned out that the editing of liturgical books during the reform was carried out not according to the old, but according to the newly printed Greek editions. In political terms, the reform was designed to meet both the Tsar's plans to put Russia at the head of the Orthodox world and Nikon's desire to affirm the superiority of the patriarchate over secular power.

The authorities' reprisals against the protestors could not but provoke a reaction from Habbacum, who fearlessly denounced the innovations. On 13 August 1653, during his all-night vigil in Moscow's Kazan Cathedral on Red Square, he was seized, put in chains, and then sent to Andronik's Monastery. There Habbacum was subjected to abuse and beating. Together with him, 60 of his associates were imprisoned. An intervention by the tsar saved him from being defrocked. In the same year Habbacum was exiled with his family to Tobolsk "for his outrages" and then sent on a trek to Siberian Dauria with commander A.F. Pashkov on an expedition replete with difficult trials and dangers. On the way he suffered many hardships and humiliations and survived the death of his two sons.

His return from exile through all of Siberia began in 1661. On the way to the capital, Habbacum preached and denounced the innovations introduced by Nikon, according to his own testimony in his biography: "in all cities and villages, in churches and in markets." In Siberia his fame as a defender of and martyr for the "old faith" was born. In Moscow he became the leader of the Old Believers, replacing the priest Ivan Neronov, who was already old and did not have the strength to fight actively.

In the capital, events at first developed favorably for the archpriest: the tsar and the boyars, opponents of Nikon, received him favorably. However, Habbacum spoke not only against the patriarch (which was welcomed by the boyars), but above all for the preservation of church principles. Therefore, the paths of Habbacum and his patrons diverged. In 1664, when he began to openly and publicly speak out against the new rites and compose angry petitions to the



Habbacum's Journey through Siberia,
S. Miloradovich, 1898.
(State Museum of the History of Religion)

tsar, they decided to exile him and his family to the city of Pustozersk. However, they couldn't send them further. Soon, in connection with preparations for the Church Council of 1666, with the participation of the eastern patriarchs, arrests of the archpriest's associates began, and then he himself was brought to the capital for trial. Prior to the trial, Habbacum was kept in the Nikolo-Ugresh and Pafnutievo-Borovsk monasteries. The prisoner did not heed the admonitions of Paul, the Metropolitan of Krutitsa, who, according to Habbacum, tried to convert him to "his loving faith." He did not submit to the demands of the council, for which he, together with Deacon Fyodor Ivanov and the Suzdal priest Nikita Dobrynin, was defrocked and cursed in the Kremlin Assumption Cathedral.

The following year he was exiled to Pustozersk, where he was sent along with the priest Lazarus and the Deacon of Solovetsk Epiphanius (both of whom had their tongues cut off) and the Simbirsk priest Nicephor. Here Habbacum was imprisoned in an earthen cellar, but he did not give up. He continued to defend the old faith and sent exhortations to authorities and like-minded people until his execution, which was sought by Patriarch Joachim. On 14 April 1682, Archpriest Habbacum was burned in a log house, allegedly for "great blasphemy against the royal house," together with his three associates — Lazarus, Theodore, and

Epiphanius. The Archpriest's dying words served as an idiosyncratic testament, in which he addressed the people, raising his hand with a two-fingered sign of the cross: "If you pray with this cross, you will never perish!"

It was during his 15-year-long exile in Pustozersk that Habbacum created his main works, including the aforementioned autobiography. He wrote it in 1675 at the urging of his spiritual father, the monk Epiphanius. This work is preceded by a lengthy theological introduction. Based on the definitions of Dionysius the Areopagite ("the truth is the Eternal, and the abandonment of the truth means the abandonment of the Eternal" and others), the author claims that the "new lovers," that is, the followers of Nikon, fell away from the truth, and therefore rejected God. What follows is a discussion of the spiritual consequences of the change of worship under Nikon, in particular, that the "four-way" chanting of "Hallelujah" is abhorrent to God as a violation of the Divine Trinity.

Habbacum's autobiography is one of the monuments that opened a new era in Russian literature and exemplified the formation of the author's self. The work of Habbacum is a documentary and artistic narrative and, at the same time, the most important source on the history of the Old Believers of the 17th century. Its main, biographical part is a story rich in everyday details and dialogues about the author's life as an unshakable adherent of the old faith. It is stated in simple, sometimes rough, but very figurative language. In the text, the autobiography and quotes from Holy Scripture and Church Slavism coexist with colloquial expressions and descriptions of a naturalistic type.

Habbacum in an expressive and psychologically credible fashion sets out what happened to him, skillfully reproduces individual episodes and creates memorable images with a few strokes. These are the author's stories about the trials that befell him in the Spaso-Andronik monastery, where he, exhausted and hungry was fed tasty cabbage soup by "an angel or a man." There are attacks on him by lay people and priests, whom he had weaned "from fornication," as well as revenge by a "boss," whom he did not allow to take a daughter from her mother. A special place in his composition is occupied by the narrative of a grueling trek in Dauria, in which the touching image of Habbacum's faithful and courageous companion, his wife Anastasia Markovna, is especially notable.

Life of the Archpriest Habbacum, written by Himself was intended to explain to contemporaries the inevitability of suffering for those who oppose the coming Antichrist: "And now they torment everyone, they do not enjoin to believe in the old Son of God, the Savior of Christ, but they call to the new god, the anti-christ." The text of the *Life* has come down to us in three author's editions and in the Pryanishnikov's copy from the 19th century. Among the nearly 60 works of Habbacum, the *Book of Conversations* should be noted, where church reform is presented as a return from the *Gospel* to the *Old Testament*, which marks the approach of the Last Judgment. The *Book of Revelations*, or the *Everlasting Gospel* (1679), contains a polemic on dogmatic issues with deacon Fyodor Ivanov. And in the *Book of Interpretations* (1673–76), in addition to interpretations of the

books of the *Old Testament*, the text includes Habbacum's teaching on *What is Christian mystery and how to live in the faith of Christ*. Habbacum's epistolary heritage includes petitions to tsars Alexey Mikhailovich and Fyodor Alekseevich, letters to associates such as the noblewoman Theodosia Morozova, Eudocia Urusova, Abbot Theoktist and other persons.

Archpriest Habbacum is revered as a holy martyr in all Old Believer concordances. His memory is celebrated on 2 December (according to the old calendar) and 15 December (according to the new calendar).

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. *Habbacum's Journey through Siberia, S. Miloradovich, 1898, State Museum of the History of Religion.*
2. *Cross of the Archpriest Habbacum.*
3. *View of Yuryevets-Povolsky. N. Chernetsov, 1851.*
4. *Holy Martyr Archpriest Habbacum. Volga region icon. Moscow, State Historical Museum, the end of the 17th century — the beginning of the 18th century.*
5. *Archpriest Habbacum, modern icon.*
6. *Kozburin K.Ya.* Archpriest Habbacum. Edition of the series "Life of wonderful people." Moscow, 2011.
7. *Patriarch Nikon.*
8. *Monument to Archpriest Habbacum in the village of Grigorovo. Bolshe-murashkinsky district of the Nizhny Novgorod region. Sculptor V.M. Fangs.*
9. *Boyar Morozova visits Habbacum in prison, miniature of the 19th century.*
10. *Archpriest Habbacum, front sewing, 19th century (?).*

SPIRITUAL POEMS IN THE RUSSIAN AND SLAVIC TRADITION¹

Abstract:

Spiritual verses are a genre associated with an oral folk tradition, and they are often found in written form as part of handwritten spiritual verse collections, which were often accompanied by Russian “hook” notation. In Russian and Slavic folklore, they relate in content and style to church liturgy books and occupy a middle ground between such writings and folklore. Russian spiritual verses arose, most probably, back in the pre-Mongol period. Designed to support the spirit of piety in people, in the past they were performed by travelling singers, so-called “kaliki perehozhiye”. The Old Believers serve as custodians of the oldest examples of spiritual verses up to this day. The poems can be performed at a funeral, on remembrance, during a meal. They served as a particular link that connected the Church and everyday life for the believer. The article examines some types of the Old Believers’ spiritual poems, which are not infrequently compared to examples from eastern and southeastern European folk songs.

Keywords:

Spiritual verses, travelling singers, oral and written tradition, Russian Old Believers.

Аннотация: Л.К. Гаврюшина. «Духовные стихи в русской и славянской традиции».

Духовные стихи — жанр, связанный с устной народной традицией, часто находящей отражение в письменной форме, входя в состав рукописных стиховников, тексты нередко сопровождаются крюковой нотацией. В русском и славянском фольклоре они содержательно и стилистически связаны с церковной книжностью и занимают между ней и фольклором промежуточное положение. На Руси духовные стихи возникли, скорее всего, еще в домонгольский период. Призванные поддерживать дух благочестия в народе, они исполнялись в древности бродячими певцами «каликами перехожими». Хранителями наиболее древнего пласта духовных стихов вплоть до нашего времени являются старообрядцы. Стихи могли исполняться в день погребения, на поминках, за трапезой; они служили своеобразным звеном, которое соединяло для верующего человека церковную и повседневную жизнь. В статье рассматриваются некоторые типы старообрядческих духовных стихов, которые нередко сравниваются с примерами из восточно- и юго-восточной европейской народной словесности.

Ключевые слова:

Духовные стихи, «калики перехожие», стиховники, старообрядчество.

Spiritual poems, a genre that is spread, in particular, in the literature of the Eastern Slavs, belong to both the oral and book traditions and are a kind of way of expressing people’s theological ideas. Through poetry, people have created their religious vision of the world.

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When getting acquainted with various examples of folk spiritual poetry, the literary and musical breadth of this genre particularly stands out. G.P. Fedotov called Russian spiritual poems songs on religious subjects. This definition is true only in a general sense, since the poems are very diverse as to when they were written, their content and artistic features. They owe their origin to ecclesiastical bookishness and are closely related to it in stylistic terms.

Intended for the purpose of supporting the spirit of godliness among the people, in old times the verses were performed by migratory singers, “wandering minstrels.” Among them, for example, are verses that resemble the Lives, since they describe a certain period in the life of a saint or his whole life from birth to death. The most famous example is the “Verse about Alexey, the Man of God,” who devoted himself to God, abandoning his bride and leaving his parents, and after many years came to his native house, where he lived as a slave, unrecognized by his relatives. One of the oldest verses in the Russian tradition about saints is a spiritual verse about the first Holy Martyrs, the princes Boris and Gleb, who were killed by their elder brother, Svyatopolk, for the sake of succeeding to the princely throne. In the poems that appeared during the schism of the Russian Church in the 17th century and immediately thereafter, considerable importance is given to eschatological themes, the coming into the world of the Antichrist, and the ways of saving and purifying the soul in anticipation of the Last Judgment:

*“Already the Antichrist sits on the kingdom,
He gives such a charm,
There will be a great order — persecution.
Throughout the whole earth, through the universe.”*

Up to this day the Old Believers have been the custodians of the most ancient set of spiritual verses. At the end of the last century it was possible to find Old Believer communities in which the singing of verses was an important part of their established way of life. Verses were sung after the service, at funerals, at meals, at wakes. They served as a kind of link connecting church and everyday life.

In many poems, in particular poems about the afterlife of man, confessional and penitential principles prevail. Although the basis of folk compositions of this kind is not always a specific plot, in each of them there is a stable image of a certain religious idea, embodied in one of the many textual and melodic variations.

The moralizing principle did not prevail in every verse. This genre contained many things, from confession and repentance (as already mentioned) to fascinating history and folk legend. A fanciful image of popular faith is found in a verse about three trees used to build a church, in which, in turn, the Virgin, Jesus Christ himself and John the Baptist lie in three coffins. It is believed that in this way — not wanting to part with them — the people expressed their love for Christ, the Mother of God and John the Baptist.

Thus a significant vein of folk poetry exists wholly or mainly in oral form. However, as already mentioned, poems are also preserved in the written tradition. The Old Believers' spiritual poems could be sung by hook verses, in which hook notation was accompanied by a text written in Church Slavonic. Among them, for example, is the verse *Sidya Adam pryamo raya* ("Adam was sitting opposite paradise"), which existed, in particular, among the priestless Old Believers in the Nizhny Novgorod region.

In many cases, verses are sung from the text of a handwritten or printed poetry to a chant, which is passed down from one generation to the next.

The repertoire of poems recited by one or another performer is determined by his age, participation in church life (for example, singing in the choir during worship), as well as personal preferences. It is also important that the singing of poetry in many families was a tradition. To this day, in the homes of Old Believers, manuscript notebooks with verses are handed down from fathers and mothers to children.

The existence of spiritual verses in a peasant environment is a unique cultural phenomenon. In some rural communities there are illiterate people who throughout their lives retain lengthy verses in their memory, each time performing them slightly differently. However, when creating new versions, performers rely on a concrete text existing in the book tradition. In this regard, the spiritual verse *To Whom My Sorrow*, dedicated to Joseph the Beautiful (a story from the *Old Testament*), is very interesting; it has many oral versions, and its text, including printed verses, is one of the most extensive in the Russian tradition.

Folk performers themselves sometimes leave notes in manuscript verses reflecting their idea of the significance of this genre in the life of a believer. So, in them you can read that the spiritual verses are of ancient origin and are imbued with a deep prayerful feeling. It is reported that in olden times verses were sung with reverence, that they supported those singing and listening to them in difficult times.

A rather significant vein of spiritual verses is devoted to the afterlife of the human soul. Russian peasants were very skeptical about the possibility of their own salvation in a future life. While they certainly regarded Christ as their Savior, they were hard on themselves, recognizing themselves as sinners who should not place any hope in a heavenly abode. That is why paradise in spiritual verses seems unattainable — this is merely a certain land which you can admire as you pass by, while lamenting over the fact that the doors are closed there:

*"I pass by paradise,
Bitterly I cry and grieve,
Oh, woe, woe to me, great!"*

Among the poems widely spread in Russia is the so-called *The Virgin's Dream*, which relates the sufferings of the Virgin and contains both her monologue stories about the Passion of Christ and her dialogues with the Savior. Its final lines

contain a reminder of the need to read this verse several times a day to get rid of all kinds of dangers and ailments. This verse, which was also used as a talisman, was widely circulated in manuscript form.

One of the oldest themes of spiritual verses in the Slavic tradition as a whole — about the parting of the soul from the body — is closely connected to the ancient legend of the journey to the afterlife, about the transmission of the soul by an angel to God's judgment. The legend of the "dispute between the soul and the body" is known in many literatures of Europe and beyond and dates back, according to the Russian researcher F. D. Batyushkov, to the first centuries of Christianity. The Russian oral tradition has numerous examples of poems with this theme. In them the angels leading the soul to paradise appear in the guise of white doves, who flew to Mount Zion and saw the soul part from the body. Doves lead their conversation, in which the soul complains to the body about its plight. If the body has but to lie in the ground, then a test awaits the soul — "It is far to go, and it is hard to bear, it is hard to bear sins so serious to the Terrible Court on Judgment Day ..."

In the Serbian poem, *Soul and Michael the Archangel in Paradise*, placed in the collection of Vuk Karadzich, *Srpske narodne pjesme iz Hercegovine* ("Serbian folk songs from Herzegovina"), it refers to the soul that has parted with the body, which is forbidden entry into paradise. The Archangel drives away the soul trying to pass itself off as righteous from the gates of paradise. It must return to the tomb, where its body is buried, and turns to him with words of reproach, which is that while on earth, it only enjoyed food and drink and did not pray to God ("Tjelo, ti si jelo, ti si pilo, ne si Boga si molilo" / "Body, You were eating, you were drinking, and weren't praying to God"). The body responds to the soul's reproach, reminding it that while it is rotting in the ground, it must "repay its debts to God." In the Belarusian version, the body objects to the soul, in turn reproaching it for its intemperance: "*Ab, body, why did you eat so early? And you, soul, why were you not patient?*" In a similar way, the plot unfolds in modern transcripts of a similar verse from the Urals.

All of the above attests to the deep antiquity of the plot, which concerns not only the literature of the Slavs and Europe as a whole, but in part other literature based on the Christian tradition.

A huge number of other subjects, including those which are decidedly ancient, underlie the works of folk poetry of East Slavic literature. Their origin and interconnection within the framework of the Slavic community are still little studied. Spiritual poems as a unique area of folk culture also need further study of their deep connections with the fate of written sources and the literary context of their existence in Slavic countries.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Old Believer handwritten "hook" notated verses, 20th century. Region of Bukovina, Romania.
2. Performers of spiritual verses. Region of Bukovina, Romania. Photograph from 2010.
3. Old Believer printed poetry, 21th century, modern "hook" notated record and the text of a spiritual verse. Old Believers of Lithuania, 21th century.
4. Printed "hook" notated poem, 20th century.
5. Spiritual verse "On marriage in Cana of Galilee," printed "hook" notated poem, 20th century.
- 6–7. Illustrations for the spiritual verse "There lived a young hermit," printed "hook" notated poem, 20th century.



*NIKITA S.
GUSEV*

THE ORIGINS OF RUSSIAN SLAVIC STUDIES: SREZNEVSKY I.I.¹

Abstract:

The article is dedicated to one of the founders of Russian Slavistics, Izmail Ivanovich Sreznevsky (1812–80). Beginning his academic career with the study of Slavic folklore, he gradually expanded the sphere of his research. He wrote an essay on the history of Serbian-Luzhich literature, and then concentrated his attention on southern Slavs: their languages, old literature and paleography of old Slavic manuscripts. Teaching Slavic philology at Kharkov and St. Petersburg universities, he laid the foundations of academic Slavistics disciplines such as dialectology, mythology and ethnography. In 1846 he became the first doctor of Slavic-Russian philology and brought up a whole generation of brilliant scholars of Slavistics. For his scientific merits he was elected a full member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and for many years was the editor-in-chief of the “News of the Department of Russian Language and Speech” of the Academy of Sciences.

Keywords:

I.I. Sreznevsky, origins of Russian Slavistics, Slavic-Russian paleography, dialectology, education of pupils, the first doctor of Slavic-Russian philology.

Аннотация: Н.С. Гусев. «У истоков российской славистики: Срезневский И.И.».

Статья посвящена одному из основоположников российской славистики, Измаилу Ивановичу Срезневскому (1812–80). Начав научную карьеру с изучения славянского фольклора, ученый постепенно расширил сферу своих научных разысканий, написал очерк истории серболужицкой литературы, сконцентрировал свое внимание на южных славянах: их языках, древних литературах и палеографии древнеславянских рукописей. Преподавая славянскую филологию в Харьковском и Санкт-Петербургском университетах, он заложил основы таких научных славистических дисциплин, как диалектология, мифология и этнография, в 1846 г. стал первым доктором славяно-русской филологии и воспитал целое поколение блестящих ученых славистов. За свои научные заслуги он был избран действительным членом Императорской академии наук и долгие годы был главным редактором «Известий Отделения русского языка и словесности» Академии наук.

Ключевые слова:

И.И. Срезневский, истоки российской славистики, Славяно-русская палеография, диалектология, воспитание учеников, первый доктор Славяно-русской филологии.

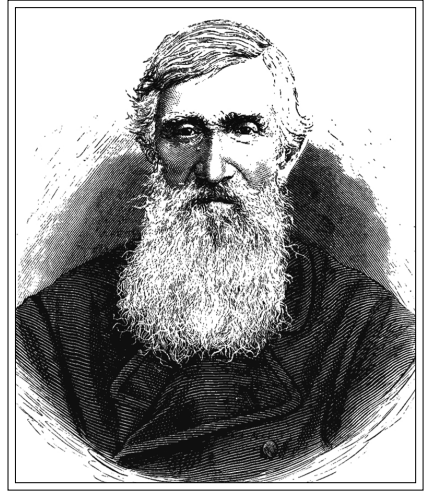
¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Izmail Ivanovich Sreznevsky was one of the founders of Russian Slavic studies, Slavic Russian paleography, dialectology, and a teacher who brought up a brilliant generation of Slavists in the second half of the 19th century, the first doctor of Slavic-Russian philology.

He was born in Yaroslavl, the son of a professor in the department of Russian rhetoric and poetry at Kharkov University. At the age of 14, Sreznevsky entered the university in the faculty of law, graduating in 1829, and then, after defending his dissertation seven years later, began teaching in the department of political economy and statistics. However, since childhood he had been attracted to literature and folklore; he collected folklore material and in his youth prepared the publication of the collections *Ukrainian Almanac*, *Antiquity of Zaporozhie* and *Slovak Songs*, which he recorded with Slovak merchants. His achievements were noticed, and in 1837 he was one of the first to be invited to go to the Slavic regions in preparation for the newly opened department of history and literature of Slavic dialects. His main focus was to be the practical study of languages, lifestyles, mores, customs and folklore, traveling around the country in the summer and engaging in library work in the winter.

In 1839 Sreznevsky left Kharkov. After travelling thorough German regions, where he met with venerable philologists and linguists, he arrived in Prague. There he struck up relationships with Pavel Jozef Šafárik, Josef Jungmann, Frantisek Chelakovsky and Frantisek Palatsky, and for many years was a close friend of Vatslav Hanka. During the same trip, the Russian scholar visited the Sorbs (Lusatian Serbs), having studied their language and everyday lives in detail. Thanks to his work *The Historical Sketch of Serbo-Lusatian Literature*, for many years he was rightly known to the masses to have discovered these peoples, and, as the Sorbs themselves admitted, he “provided advice and his own labor” in developing their national alphabet.

In 1841 Sreznevsky set off on a trip to the southern Slavs. His route lay through Slovakia, where he became friends with an ardent supporter of the independent Slovak language, Ludovit Shtur. Arriving in Lyublyana and then in Maribor, Sreznevsky began actively studying the language and folklore of the Slovenes, visiting coffee houses, taverns and bazaars. This and close interaction with local scholars allowed him to compile a very accurate and ground-breaking classification of Slovene dialects, published in the work *On Slavic Dialects*.



*A Portrait of I.I. Sreznevsky,
engraving, 1880*

Sreznevsky also visited Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro, but in the fall of 1842 he returned to Kharkov and took up a professorship.

In his lecture courses on the “Western Slavs of the northern and southern branches,” which immediately gained popularity, he urged listeners to love and respect all Slavs, “because we are Slavs.” During his years working in Kharkov, Sreznevsky partially processed the material collected on his trips and published articles in which he declared himself to be the founder of a number of Slavic disciplines in Russia (i.e., dialectology, mythology, ethnography). Contemporary seasoned scholars noted the young researcher’s merits in the fields of ethnography and dialectology, and students were enthusiastic about his lectures. In 1846 Sreznevsky was the first in Russia to receive a doctorate in Slavic-Russian philology for his work *Sanctuaries and rites of pagan worship of the ancient Slavs according to modern evidence and traditions*. However, Sreznevsky’s stay in Kharkov was disappointing for him due to students’ lack of interest in issues related to the cultural revival of the southern and western Slavs.

In 1846, after the head of the Slavic department at St. Petersburg University passed away, Sreznevsky took over as its head. However, one could already sense the approach of the period of Russian history dubbed the “seven gloomy years” (1848–53) by contemporaries. In 1847 the Cyril and Methodius Society, based on democratic and pan-Slavic ideas, was forcibly shut down. The Ministry of Education issued a memorandum directing Slavic teachers to pay special attention to Russian studies and, on this basis, to instill patriotism in students.

Sreznevsky managed to adapt to the new conditions and in 1849 gave a brilliant lecture, *Thoughts on the history of the Russian language and other Slavic dialects*, where he outlined a new direction in his research, moving away from folklore and ethnographic research. From then on, Slavic studies took a backseat for him, though it didn’t disappear from the scope of his scholar interests.

His course of lectures on Slavic studies also underwent changes. Previously, the language, literature, history, and ethnography of each nation were studied separately, but now the Slavs were considered as a whole, with the inclusion of the eastern Slavic branch: Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians. Over time, Sreznevsky apparently began to cool toward teaching, as evidenced by students’ rather conflicting memories of his performance. Linguistics as such, obviously, did not interest him — he “blossomed” in front of an audience when talking about Slavic literature, its main figures and about his trips to Slavic countries. At the same time, the scholar attracted his students to academic work; these included future writer Nikolay Chernyshevsky and future critic Nikolay Dobrolyubov, and a number of his students determined the shape of the next stage in the development of Slavic studies. These were the scholars Vladimir I. Lamansky, Peter A. Lavrovsky, Alexander Pypin, Vikenty Makushev, and Jan Baudouin de Courtenay. He encouraged his students to pay close attention to paleography, the science of the peculiarities of drawing written characters and how they changed, taught them how to use this in practice, and published a textbook on

the subject. Contemporaries rightly considered him the best paleographer of the time.

Sreznevsky himself was then actively working on Old Russian and Old Slavonic manuscripts. He published reviews of ancient records of the Russian language, including written records and Yusovo writing, the language of the “southwestern Slavs,” as well as Glagolitic documents, and he proved the Czech-Moravian origin of the *Kiev Folios*. Sreznevsky actively published ancient manuscripts, which contributed considerably to the creation of an academic base for the study of Old Slavic and ancient Slavic languages. The scholar’s most ambitious work was the creation of a posthumously published three-volume dictionary of the Old Russian language.

Sreznevsky’s academic achievements and talents were acknowledged by his election as a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the Russian Geographical and Archaeological Societies, and he became editor of the Academy of Sciences’ journal “Proceedings of the Department of Russian Language and Literature.” In the pages of this journal, Sreznevsky published a large number of reviews and notes on the latest Slavic literature. From the mid-1850s to the mid-1860s, he wrote responses to 543 issues of the Proceedings. Sreznevsky’s academic interests affected the choice of the works reviewed: the majority of the books concerned languages; a smaller part, the history and ethnography of the Slavs. Despite this, the journal served Slavists as a guide in the world of professional literature for many years. Although it was not possible to establish large-scale and systematic interaction with foreign academics, Pavel Jozef Shafárik, Florian Ceynova, Stefan Verkovich, and Bulgarians living in Russia such as Spiridon Nikolaevich Palauzov, Nayden Gerov and others took part in the journal.

At the same time, Sreznevsky’s elevated position as dean of the Faculty of History and Philology required him to have a certain level of loyalty to the authorities. Sreznevsky lived up to his status, although he had held different



The First volume of I.I. Sreznevsky’s work the “Materials for the dictionary of the Old Russian language on written monuments,” published after the death of the scholar

views in his youth. At that time he attached greater importance to the Ukrainian and Slovak languages, while in adulthood he argued that “there is no need to destroy or stop the writing of these dialects, but there is no need to make this writing independent, belonging as it were to a separate people.” Over time he dissociated himself from the idea of Slavic reciprocity and the contribution of both large and small peoples to world culture, disapproving of those of his students who followed this paradigm. Democratic romanticism was something that was also lost from his worldview. Thus, as rector, Sreznevsky in 1861 supported the authorities’ heavy-handed suppression of student unrest. His monarchical beliefs were apparently sincere, but Russia itself was changing, and in the era of the great reforms (1860–70s), many of his views already seemed archaic. For this reason, he was losing contact with the student audience.

A number of Sreznevsky’s assertions subsequently turned out to be false, but even during his lifetime there were academic works that refuted his conclusions. He thus believed that the Cyrillic alphabet predated the Glagolitic alphabet, and until the end of his life he defended the authenticity of the Kraljedvorsk and Zeleznogorsk manuscripts. In the latter case, the scholar’s friendship with the author of these fakes, Vátslav Hanka, apparently played a role.

After Sreznevsky’s death, in accordance with his will, he was buried in the village of Sreznevo in Ryazan province, the place where his ancestors had served as parish priests for many years.

The academic’s work was continued by his children. Three of them became philologists-specialists in the history of the Russian language, and two became corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences. Their contributions to science, of course, were inferior to those of their father. In addition to the previously mentioned achievements in the study of Old Slavonic and Old Russian written documents, Sreznevsky made valuable contributions to almost every country-specific branch of Slavic studies. The Bulgarian people welcomed his *Essay on Printing in Bulgaria* (1846), which characterized the state of Bulgarian literature. For Serbians, the biography of Vuk Karadzich, the creator of the Serbian literary language (1846), is of great importance. Sreznevsky left the classification of the Slovenian language to the Slovenes (1841, 1845). His essays from 1846 and 1847 on Slavic literature (*Literary revitalization of the Western Slavs* and *A look at the current state of literature among the Western Slavs*) retained their significance for a long time. He was a pioneer of the small Slavic nationalities: Friulian Režian and Slovin, Zhumbor Uskoks. The majority of Sreznevsky’s contributions to the Slavic heritage were achieved even before his move to St. Petersburg. However, in the capital’s university, Sreznevsky actually laid the foundations for the future development of Slavistics. It was his students in the second half of the nineteenth century who, through their own works, declared his work to be among the highest achievements of pre-revolutionary Slavic studies.

Vladimir Lamansky, one of Sreznevsky’s students with whom the teacher was not always on good terms, wrote in his obituary of the teacher: “One of the first

advocates of Slavic studies in Russia, Sreznevsky will be remembered as one of the most gifted and remarkable Slavists in Europe. In the history of science and Slavic education, Sreznevsky's name will never die and will always be gratefully remembered by posterity."

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A portrait of I.I. Sreznevsky in his youth.
2. The collection "Zaporozhzhie antiquity" prepared by I.I. Sreznevsky.
3. A memorial plaque on the former library building of Kharkov University.
4. Published lecture by I.I. Sreznevsky's "Thoughts on the history of the Russian language."
5. The cover of I.I. Sreznevsky's publication "Tales of Saints Boris and Gleb."
6. The First volume of I.I. Sreznevsky's work "Materials for the dictionary of the Old Russian language on written monuments," published after the death of the scholar.
7. A photo of I.I. Sreznevsky during his years at St. Petersburg University.
8. Imprint of the article by I.I. Sreznevsky on the nationalities that he actually discovered — Friulian *rezian* and words.
9. The grave of I.I. Sreznevsky in the village of Sreznevo, Ryazan region. The inscription on the cross in Church Slavonic reads "Thy will be done."
10. A portrait of I.I. Sreznevsky, engraving, 1880.

ACADEMIC P.A. LAVROV: THE FATE OF CYRILLO-METHODIAN RESEARCH IN BOLSHEVIK AND SOVIET RUSSIA¹

Abstract:

The article refers to the creative path of the famous Slavist, academic P.A. Lavrov (1856–1929), who for many years gave lectures on Slavonic philology and history of Slavic peoples at the Moscow and St Petersburg Universities. He contributed much to the development of Slavistics, studying the activities of Slavic first educators Cyril and Methodius, their disciples Clement of Ohrid and Naum of Ohrid, the paleography of the old Slavic manuscripts and other important areas of this field of science. During his long life, he caught both the rise of Russian Cyrilo-Methodievan studies and the eve of its collapse under the Bolsheviks, who considered the idea of Slavic community bourgeois and harmful.

Keywords:

Slavicism, Southern Slavs, Petar II Petrovich Negosh, Bulgarian language, Athos, old Slavic manuscripts, Slavic paleography, Cyril and Methodius, Clement of Ohrid and Naum of Ohrid.

Аннотация: Н.С. Гусев. «Академик П.А. Лавров: судьба кирилло-мефодиевских исследований в большевистской и советской России».

В статье речь идет о творческом пути известного слависта, академика П.А. Лаврова (1856–1929), много лет читавшего лекции по славянской филологии и истории славянских народов в Московском и Санкт-Петербургском университетах. Он внес большой вклад в развитие славистики, занимаясь изучением деятельности славянских первоучителей Кирилла и Мефодия, их учеников Климента Охридского и Наума Охридского, палеографией древних славянских рукописей и другими важными направлениями данной области науки. За свою долгую жизнь он застал как расцвет российской кирилло-мефодиевистики, так и канун ее разгрома при большевиках, считавших идею славянской общности буржуазной и вредной.

Ключевые слова:

Славяноведение, южные славяне, Петар II Петрович Негош, болгарский язык, Афон, древнеславянские рукописи, славянская палеография, Кирилл и Мефодий, Климент Охридский и Наум Охридский.

Peter (in Rus. — Pyotr) Alekseevich Lavrov was born in Yaroslavl in 1856 into the family of an archpriest and professor of theology at Yaroslavl Demidov Law Lyceum, which largely determined the research interests of the future academic. After graduating from the local gymnasium, in 1858 he entered the historical and philological faculty of Moscow University. His original plans to

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

study ancient Roman history were confounded by the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Serbian-Turkish, and then the Russo-Turkish wars. Lavrov became interested in the Balkans, started to learn Serbian, and chose *The Historical and Literary Analysis of the Kosovo Epics* as the topic of his thesis. In 1880 he was attached to the department of Slavic dialects to prepare for a professorship under the guidance of professor Alexander Duvernois.

Four years later Lavrov was sent on a scientific trip for eight months to the Slavic lands. He had three tasks: collecting materials for a monograph on the literary activities of the Montenegrin ruler, Petar II Petrovich Negosh, studying folklore materials in connection with written sources, and exploring the connections between Serbian and Croatian literature.

During the trip, Lavrov visited Novi Sad, Belgrade, Zagreb, Dalmatia and Montenegro, and worked in the archives and libraries of Vienna and Budapest. On the basis of the material he had collected, in 1887 he defended his dissertation on the biography and literary activity of Petar II Petrovich Negosh, after which he became a private-docent with the goal of teaching Slavic philology.

However, before this could happen, a tragic event occurred that changed the direction of his scientific research. Alexander Duvernois died in 1886 and he had to complete the work on the dictionary of the Bulgarian language which his teacher had been preparing. This forced Lavrov to engage closely in the new Slavic language and its history, and this resulted in a doctoral dissertation, *An Overview of the Sound and Formal Features of the Bulgarian Language*, which he defended in 1893. The study published for the first time a number of important texts of the 14th–18th centuries and a brief historical dictionary of the Bulgarian language. His work on the South Slavic translation of the sermons of Damaskinos Stouditis was a continuation of research in this direction.

In 1892 Lavrov was invited to take up a post as professor of Slavic philology at the University of Warsaw, but he was busy preparing his doctoral dissertation and a new trip to the Slavic lands, so he asked to postpone the start of his work at this university. As a result, this position was accepted by P. A. Kulakovsky, and Lavrov was offered the chair of the Russian language, which he refused, because he wanted to continue his Slavic studies.

In 1894 Lavrov set off on a trip to Mt. Athos. On the way he visited Odessa, where he studied the archive of the famous scholar V.I. Grigorovich, and Constantinople. On the Holy Mountain, Lavrov stopped at the Russian Panteleimon monastery, worked in the Serbian Hilandar and Bulgarian Zograph monasteries.

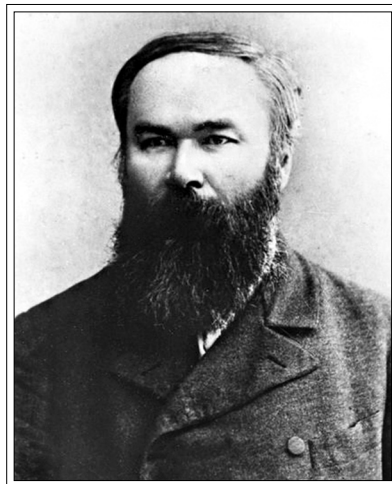


Photo of P.A. Lavrov

Here, the Russian scholar discovered new manuscripts, primarily of an apocryphal nature, clarified information about several others, and then went to work in the library of Sofia. The written documents studied during the trip were published and brought Lavrov recognition as a connoisseur of ancient Slavic writing. Throughout his life, Lavrov studied the works of Clement of Ohrid, a disciple of the first Slavic teachers, Cyril and Methodius, wrote many articles about him, and established his authorship of several texts in a comparative way. Lavrov also studied another disciple of the brothers from Thessalonica: St Naum, whose unknown biography was discovered on Athos and then published. The result of many years of studying this research was turned into a series of books that were published at a much later time. *The writings of Cyril and Methodius in Old Church Slavonic* (1928) is essentially an encyclopedia of Cyril and Methodius, which offers a critical review of almost all of the sources and research related to the initial stage of Slavic writing. The book paid a great deal of attention to the language and style of the documents to determine the place and time of their creation, analyzed in detail the main sources about the lives and work of Sts Cyril and Methodius. The second work, *Materials on the history of the emergence of the ancient Slavic writing* (1930), is a set of the most important documents of the initial period of Slavic writing. This book was published after the death of the scholar.

Immediately after the trip, Lavrov continued to lecture at Moscow University. Lithographic editions of his courses on the history of the Czech Republic and Bulgaria have been preserved. The first was less original, although he demonstrated a deep knowledge of existing literature; for the second, he relied largely on the results of his own work. As a result, he expressed advanced ideas for his time. Thus, he refuted M. S. Drinov's assertion that the Slavs settled the Balkan Peninsula already in the third century, proved the Turkic origin of the Proto-Bulgarians, indicating that they were assimilated already in the ninth century, and stressed the socio-economic basis of the Bogomil heretical movement.

However, there was no permanent position for Peter Alekseevich at Moscow University, and in 1898 he accepted an offer to take up a professorship at Novorossiysk University in Odessa. However, after the retirement of V.I. Lamansky, the position of department head of Slavic philology at St. Petersburg University became vacant, and Lavrov moved to the capital. As S.F. Platonov noted in his presentation of the new professor to the faculty council, "the solid academic reputation of P.A. Lavrov, as well as his never-flagging scholarly zeal, serve as the basis for wishing him to enter our midst." At the university, Lavrov taught courses on Slavic languages, literature, and South Slavic paleography. The latter topic became very fruitful for the scholar, apparently largely thanks to his friendship with the Serbian philologist A. Belich, who, at the request of his Petersburg colleague, sent pictures of the South Slavic manuscripts. In 1905 and 1916 Lavrov published albums of photographs and prepared a major work, *The Paleographic Review of Cyrillic Writing* (1914). It analyzed the lettering of manuscripts of the

11th–18th centuries, providing the features of individual groups of manuscripts and schools of writing, and proposed a detailed classification of South Slavic manuscripts according to paleographic features.

For his services, in 1902 Lavrov was elected a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences; in 1906, a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts; and in 1911, a member of the Yugoslavian Academy.

Concurrent with his scientific activity, Lavrov also took part in public life, protecting the interests of the Slavs, primarily the Serbs. He lectured in Russian capitals and in the provinces on topical issues of the Balkans, published brochures on events in the Balkan peninsula: on the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Balkan wars, the unification of Serbs and Croats, etc. He was a member of various public organizations, i.e., the Society of Slavic Scientific Unity.

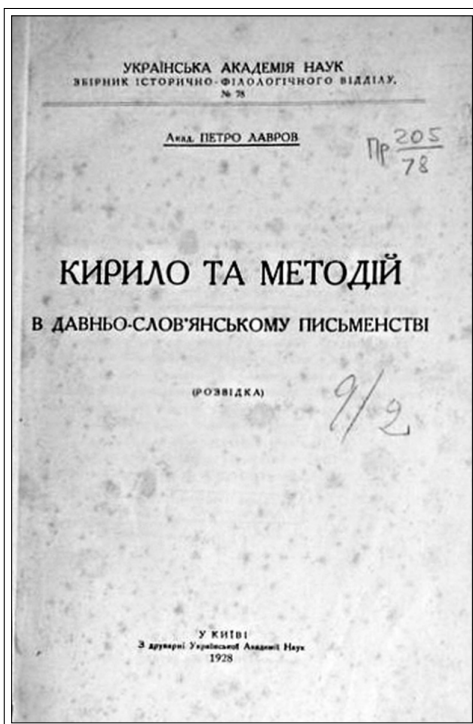
Well aware that the time of an encyclopedic approach to the study of the Slavic peoples had passed, Lavrov in 1901 proposed the creation of three Slavic departments: philology, literature and history, insisting on the creation of at least two, the Department of Slavic Philology, the History of Slavic Literature, and the Department of the History of Slavs. Until 1914, Lavrov tried to achieve the establishment of a new department, but to no avail. But then there was the First World War, and then the revolution that changed everything.

In 1916 Lavrov prepared *Slavic sources for the life and works of Cyril and Methodius*. The work was approved for publication by the Academy of Sciences, but the revolution followed, and the possibility of publication disappeared. He then turned to his friend, A. Belich, with a request for publication, but even in post-war Belgrade, times were not easy.

Lavrov himself did not accept the revolution; first of all, he was oppressed by the arbitrariness of the new government, the degraded situation in which scientists fell. “We are suffocating from violence,” he wrote to his friend in the summer of 1918. At that time he seriously thought about leaving Russia and going to the Slavic countries, but for some unknown reason he stayed. In 1923 Lavrov was elected a full member of the Academy of Sciences, and when the Slavic Scientific Commission was established, he became its actual head. Nevertheless, the situation had not fundamentally changed. The scholars’ small salaries were increasingly devalued in the difficult economic situation. An ideological attack began on science, including philology. Scholars were required to approach everything from a Marxist, international position and to abandon “irrelevant” topics, which often meant ceasing to mention the common Slavic past and the study of church texts. Thus, the first meeting of the commission took place only in 1925; the first volume of its works was published in 1930 (this was Lavrov’s aforementioned book); and in 1924 he, among many others, was not sent to Prague to attend the Congress of Slavic Geographers and Ethnographers. He then complained to his colleague in a letter: “Here they have made a yoke for themselves, the worst of

all they have suffered so far. This terrible evil attack on everything national, on everything sacred to us, a mockery of antiquity.” The attack on the Academy of Sciences was also expressed in constant attempts to liquidate the Department of Russian Language and Literature. But it turned out that in Kiev, in contrast to central Russia, scientific and religious topics were more tolerated. This explains the fact that Lavrov’s most important work on Cyril and Methodius was published in 1928 in Kiev in the Ukrainian language. The author was skeptical about publishing it in other than Russian, because he believed that this would make the work inaccessible to the masses.

In January of the following year, a campaign began that dealt a significant blow to the Russian humanities. In the 1929 election of academics, several Communist candidates were voted down. The new authorities did not forgive such arbitrariness, especially since the first fabricated trials had already begun. Clouds were gathering over those scholars who were unable to adapt to the Soviet regime. In this regard, no matter how wrong it may sound, Lavrov was “lucky” to die in time. On 24 November 1929 he died and was buried near the university, in the Smolensk cemetery in St. Petersburg. Already in January 1930, the Soviet security officers sent a note to the country’s leadership confirming “the existence of a monarchist group in the Academy of Sciences.” S.F. Platonov, who at one time had presented Lavrov to the council of the Faculty of History of St. Petersburg University, was “appointed” as the head of this fictitious organization, and the late Slavist himself was named among the group’s members. Thus, the flywheel of the “Platonov’s case,” also called the “academic case,” gathered speed. If Lavrov had survived the crucible of this process, then, undoubtedly, due to his anti-Soviet views, he would have already been involved in the “Slavic trial” a few years later. Lavrov’s death thus saved him from moral and physical humiliation. However, his name was unjustifiably forgotten during the Soviet period.



*One of the most important works
by P.A. Lavrov: “Cyril and Methodius
in the long-words’s words”*

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATINOS

1. Photo of P.A. Lavrov.
2. The "Dictionary of the Bulgarian language" by A.L. Duvernois, whose work was completed by P.A. Lavrov.
3. The doctoral dissertation of P.A. Lavrov "A review of the sound and formal features of the Bulgarian language."
4. The imprint of the lecture by P.A. Lavrov about the Second Balkan War of 1913, read in Petrozavodsk in 1913.
5. One of the most important works by P.A. Lavrov "Cyril and Methodius in the long-words's words."
6. P.A. Lavrov's work "Materials on the history of the emergence of ancient Slavic writing" which was published after his death.

P.A. ROVINSKY AND HIS DISCOVERY OF MONTENEGRO FOR RUSSIAN READERS¹

Abstract:

The fate of P.A. Rovinsky reads like a story from an adventure novel. He traveled by foot around the Czech and Montenegrin region, was twice expelled from Austria-Hungary, traveled to Siberia, visited China and the United States, was the Director of a colony for juvenile delinquents. He was friends with N.G. Chernyshevsky. But he is most famous for his stay in Montenegro. He was friends with a local Montenegrin prince, inspired great trust and respect among the local population, conducted first archaeological excavations and represented Russia as a diplomat. Most importantly he wrote a multi-volume research work on the country, which is still useful today.

Keywords:

P.A. Rovinsky, Montenegro, ethnography, diplomats-scholars.

Аннотация: Н.С. Гусев. «П.А. Ровинский и его «открытие» Черногории читателям России».

В статье рассказывается о судьбе П.А. Ровинского (1831–1916), которая напоминала авантурный роман. Он обошел пешком чешские и черногорские земли, дважды был выслан за пределы Австро-Венгрии, объехал Сибирь, посетил Китай и США, руководил колонией для малолетних преступников, дружил с Н.Г. Чернышевским. Но в историю он вошел в связи со своим пребыванием в Черногории. Ровинский дружил с местным князем, внушил огромное доверие и уважение к себе у местного населения, впервые провел археологические раскопки, как дипломат представлял Россию, но главное — создал многотомное описание страны, которое не устарело и сейчас.

Ключевые слова:

П.А. Ровинский, Черногория, этнография, дипломаты-ученые.

Рavel Apolonovich Rovinsky (1831–1916) was a writer and traveler who traveled half the world, a provincial intellectual with revolutionary views, a famous non-academic Slav of the 19th century, a “dragoman” (interpreter) for the Russian mission in Montenegro, and the founder of Montenegrin archaeology.

Born in the small village of Gusevka (now in the Volgograd region) into a noble family, he studied at the Saratov gymnasium, where he became friends with the future major Slavist Alexander N. Pypin and the journalist Nikolay G. Chernyshevsky. He then entered Kazan University, where the department of Slavic dialects was headed by the famous academic Viktor I. Grigorovich, who had just returned from a trip to the Slavic countries. Rovinsky often visited his house, used his library and, until the end of his life, emphasized the role this academic

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

had played in sparking his interest in the Slavic peoples. In 1852, after graduating from university, Rovinsky was asked to stay to teach in the department of Slavic studies, but four years later he resigned, apparently disappointed in teaching.

In 1860 he set off for Prague, where he familiarized himself with the local social and political life there. Then, donning the costume of a Russian peasant, he began traveling around to Czech villages, for which he was detained by the Austrian police. For political reasons, he was expelled from the Habsburg monarchy. The materials he had accumulated and his impressions then resulted in a series of articles published by Rovinsky in periodicals and historically themed essay. Despite the fact that the latter were mainly based on academic literature, they were innovative in their interpretation of many aspects of Czech history (primarily the Hussite movement) in the revolutionary-populist spirit that was then fashionable in Russia. Rovinsky became a member of the populist *Narodnik's* circle, "Land and Liberty," and this prevented him from making a new trip to the Slavic regions because of a ban by the Russian authorities. He intended at that time to go to the southern Slav regions in order to study their everyday life, the history of their way of living and advances in education, however, it was only a few years later that he was able to make such a trip.

In 1868 Rovinsky arrived in Belgrade as a correspondent for the newspaper *St. Petersburg News* and remained in Serbia for a little over a year. His trip was motivated by the fact that in 1867, after the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons from the fortresses of the principality, the Balkan Alliance began to take shape to prepare a general uprising against the Turks. "The desires and hopes of all Southern Slavdom were focused on Serbia," is how Rovinsky himself described that period in time. Years later a new crisis erupted in the Balkans, and Rovinsky, as a correspondent for the newspaper *Novoye Vremya* ("The New Time"), again ended up in Serbia, having spent the summer and autumn of the fateful 1878 there. These two trips and the Slavist's passion for the country resulted in the emergence of an extensive body of texts that shed light on life in Serbia at that time. Rovinsky had a great deal of interest in and sympathy for the Serbs and even romanticized them overly much. However, at the same time he noted with regret that in the history of Serbia "there is almost not a single page of joy: only war, only internecine strife." It thus seemed to him that in this country a "man of eternal war" had emerged. For this reason, according to him, everything in Serbia is "temporary, unsteady, everything is in a state of expectancy of something," and such a situation paralyzes the normal development of the country.

At the same time, Rovinsky started to be drawn to academic work. This resulted in an article about the medieval heretical movement of the Bogomils in the Serbian lands. Here something should be said right away about its shortcomings: a lack of knowledge of this issue at that time, the author's lack of reliable sources and his excessive dedication led to a rather arbitrary interpretation of a number of historical facts. Many of the hypotheses proposed by the scholar did not hold up to scrutiny.

In 1870 Rovinsky returned to Russia and set off on an ethnographic trip to Siberia, visited Mongolia and China, and in 1874 traveled to America. He then took up the post of director of a colony of juvenile offenders near St. Petersburg, where he began to apply innovative pedagogical methods that were highly praised by his contemporaries, including Fyodor M. Dostoevsky. In 1878, as already mentioned, Rovinsky set off for the Balkans. In addition to Serbia, he spent several months in Bosnia and Herzegovina, newly occupied by Austria-Hungary. In dispatches from there, he introduced Russian readers to the local population, telling about both local Christian Slavs and Muslim Slavs. Due to the incriminating tone of Rovinsky's reporting on Vienna's advance into the Balkans and the repression that ensued, the authorities expelled the journalist. Thus, by a twist of fate, he ended up in Montenegro. Rovinsky did not initially intend to stay there long, but having become interested in the life of the Montenegrins, he lived in the country intermittently from 1879 to 1906.

From 1880 to 1882, Rovinsky traveled around Montenegro on foot, becoming acquainted with its geography and people, collecting folklore material and searching out historical sources in the monasteries and archives of the Montenegrin rulers. He presented the results of his research in the form of a hand-written book to the Department of the Russian Language and Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Two years later Rovinsky's multi-volume work, *Montenegro in its Past and Present*, was set for publication, but it dragged on for many years. Its volumes were published from 1888 to 1909. Meanwhile, in 1889, the scientist published a book about the Montenegrin ruler and Metropolitan, Petar Negosh (1813–51). A grand-nephew of this prominent Montenegrin ruler and poet, Prince Nikola, suggested that Rovinsky begin an archaeological study of the remains of the Roman city of Dioclea. For several years, in accordance with the scientific methods of the time, Rovinsky studied the ancient city buildings he discovered and the graffiti on their walls.

From 1898 to 1902 the scholar lived in his native village, preparing for publication the next volumes of his work, *Montenegro in its Past and Present*. He then returned to the country that had become his home as a dragoman of the Russian mission, in which status he remained until 1906. Thanks to his connections and fame, he was able to assess the reality of the situation there, to influence the Montenegrin monarch and to help Russian citizens on their scientific and business trips around the country. One of the Russian travelers who visited Montenegro at that time left a beautiful verbal portrait of the subject of this article: "Imagine a man in a well-worn gray suit and a Montenegrin *kapitsa* (hat), of medium height and lean. Gray hair densely covers his wrinkled face with a frozen expression of infinite kindness and gentleness. On his nose are glasses in a simple frame, through which inquisitive eyes gaze with sable overhanging eyebrows. His wrinkled forehead is high and reflects a remarkable mind as well as an indomitable energy. Imagine a person of extraordinary modesty and incorruptible candour. This will be P. A. "Rovinsky, whose name is pronounced with

respect in all the Slavic lands, his book is a four-volume monumental work, the significance and value of which can be equated with Karamzin's *History of the Russian State*."

In this "monumental work" the author divided Montenegrin history into three periods. Into the first, he placed the Middle Ages to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when these lands were part of a Serbian state and were indistinguishable from the rest of Serbia. He called the second period theocratic, setting its chronological boundaries from 1516 to 1851. At that time the country was not a secular state but a theocratic state, in which all functions of state were concentrated in the hands of the church. According to Rovinsky, it was precisely this form of government that best suited Montenegro's tribal structure. His assessment was negative of the changes that took place after the country was proclaimed a principality: the people had turned into an army, which caused an economic collapse and made the political system harsh.

The main virtue of his book, which has not lost its academic significance today, is its ethnographic material. The scholar collected it a long period of time and with care, communicating with the peasants and delving into their everyday lives. The relations of the Russian Slavist with the local population are perfectly encapsulated in the following fact: the local residents trusted him so much that they invited him to be an arbitrator in resolving their internal disputes and lawsuits. Rovinsky had a great deal of sympathy for the Montenegrins, portraying them with a certain share of romanticism. However, at the same time, he did not conceal their negative traits: the neglect of their work by men who preferred to be warriors, shifting household concerns onto the shoulders of women, the observance of the custom of blood feuds, etc.

After returning from Montenegro and settling in St. Petersburg, Rovinsky continued his work for some time, but gradually moved away from journalism and became less and less of a public figure. At fault was probably the scholar's advanced age. Nevertheless, he remained the foremost specialist on Montenegro. Officer N. P. Mamontov, who visited Montenegro in 1909 and wrote a book about it, considered it necessary to give it to Rovinsky to review. In a cover letter, he wrote that in Montenegro he had met Rovinsky's acquaintances everywhere, and that Rovinsky's name was often heard coming from their lips, always "pronounced with a feeling of utmost love and respect for you." The Balkan wars of 1912–13, which completed the process of liberating the Balkans from the power of the Ottoman Empire, gave rise to Rovinsky's plans for new books and works, but he apparently lacked the strength to complete them. Only a few handwritten drafts remain.

At the end of 1915, Pavel Apollonovich fell gravely ill, dying in January of the following year. He was buried on the Literary Bridges of the Volkov's Cemetery in St. Petersburg. The deceased was personally buried (which is very symbolic) by the Montenegrin hieromonk Mordary, who, in his eulogy, told the story of how as a young man, he had met the scholar in Montenegro.

Rovinsky was the foremost expert on the Balkans of the early twentieth century. He was able to understand the local people not from books, but as a result of communicating with living people. Many of his conclusions in the field of history were eventually refuted by scholarship, but the ethnographic material he collected retains its significance to this day. Thanks to the fact that Rovinsky covered the countries of interest to him on foot, he succeeded in penetrating the essence of the mentality of the inhabitants of the Balkans. No wonder almost half a century before the Balkan Wars, in a letter to a childhood friend, Alexander Pypin, he expressed a disappointing but accurate prophecy: "The southern Slavs will defeat the Turks, but they will fight among themselves."

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A portrait of P.A. Rovinsky.
2. A memorial plaques to the scholar in his native village of Gusevka.
3. Photograph of P.A. Rovinsky in a Montenegrin costume.
4. P.A. Rovinsky's book "Montenegro in its past and present."
5. View of Dioclea, the ancient city in the Balkans (Montenegro), where P.A. Rovinsky made his first archaeological excavations.
6. The journal in which P.A. Rovinsky published his numerous articles on the Balkans and the Slavic movement.

P.A. KULAKOVSKY: AN IMPARTIAL SLAVIC RESEARCHER AND POLEMICAL CONSERVATIVE JOURNALIST¹

Abstract:

The article concerns P.A. Kulakovsky (1848–1913), one of the founders of the tradition of teaching Russian in Serbia. He taught in the future University of Belgrade for four years, wrote textbooks and raised pupils. At the same time, he acted as a champion of the unity of Slavs, and therefore he reacted negatively in his academic work to the reforms of Vuk Karadžich, and in his published work aired his anger at supporters of Polish independence.

Keywords:

Kulakovsky P.A., Pan-Slavism, Slavophilism, Serbia, Polish question, Russian language teaching, Warsaw University.

Аннотация: Н.С. Гусев. «Объективный ученый славист, консервативный журналист-полемист П.А. Кулаковский».

В статье речь идет о П.А. Кулаковском (1848–1913) — одном из основателей традиции преподавания русского языка в Сербии. Он четыре года преподавал в будущем Белградском университете, написал учебные пособия и воспитал учеников. В то же время он выступал как поборник единства славянства, и поэтому в своей научной работе негативно оценил реформу Вука Караджича, а в своей публицистике обрушивал гнев на сторонников польской независимости.

Ключевые слова:

Кулаковский П.А., панславизм, славянофильство, Сербия, польский вопрос, преподавание русского языка, Варшавский университет.

Platon Andreevich Kulakovsky (1848–1913) was a brilliant journalist, pan-Slavist and conservative, a champion of Slavic unity and a popularizer of the Russian language in Serbia.

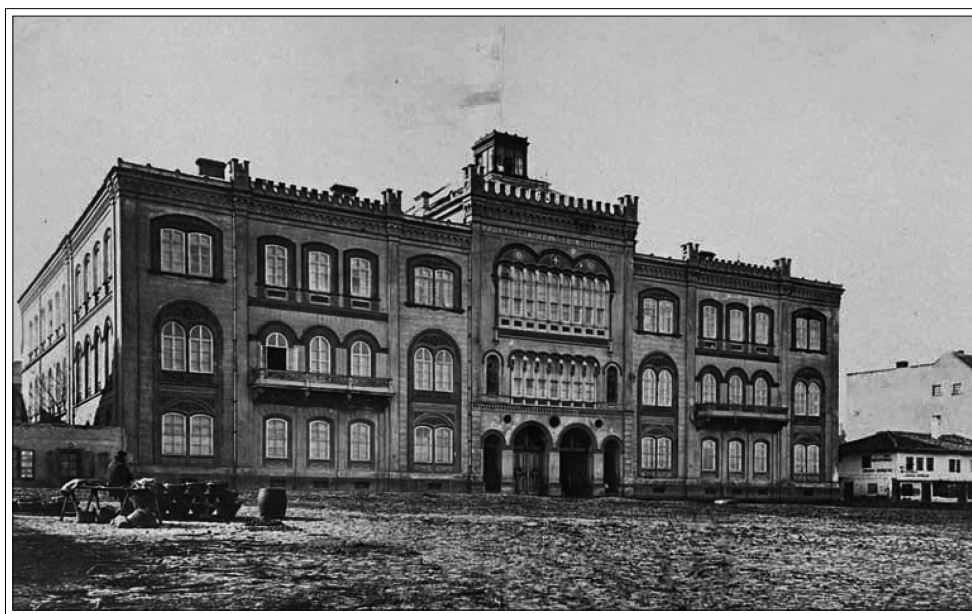
He was born in the city of Ponevezh, in the province of Kovno (now Panevezhs in Lithuania) into the family of a priest, the rector of the local church and teacher of religion at the city gymnasium. He faced difficulties in life early on; at the age of 12 he lost his father, and the local gymnasium was closed after the Polish uprising. Kulakovsky transferred to the Vilna gymnasium, from which he graduated in 1866 with a gold medal, and entered the faculty of history and philology at Moscow University. His teachers were the famous Moscow Slavists O.M. Bodyansky, N.A. Popov and A.L. Duvernois. During his studies, Kulakovsky

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

became close to Slavophiles I.S. Aksakov, and the brothers Y.F. and N.F. Samarin. After university, he worked at the Vladimir provincial gymnasium, then at the fourth Moscow gymnasium as a teacher of Latin and Russian literature.

In 1876 Kulakovsky was sent abroad to study Slavic languages. In that part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that is now the Czech Republic, he studied the Czech language, ethnography, Glagolitic writing and early printed books and was interested in the question of the authenticity of the famous Kralédvor manuscript. Kulakovsky then visited Lyublyana and Zagreb, becoming acquainted with Slovenian and Croatian literature. In the same year, his long-term cooperation with the conservative publisher M. N. Katkov and his newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* ("The Moscow News") began, during which time the young Slavic scholar played the role of a correspondent in the Slavic lands. His publications in this newspaper most often did not have a full signature, and were usually signed as "K.," "P.K.," "K-sky," and sometimes "P.D.," "N.," "Z.," "R.," etc. At the same time, the editor often cut Kulakovsky's articles, primarily for reasons of political censorship.

After Serbia gained its independence in 1878, it was decided to introduce extensive Russian language training there. This was invited by the Minister of Education, A. Vasilievich, who had studied in Russia. He was aware of the inconsistency of the level of training of local teaching staff and the tasks before them. Therefore, a search began in Russia for a "trained person" for the department of Russian language and the history of Russian literature of the Great School



"The Great School" in Belgrade, where P.A. Kulakovsky taught
[Moscow — Serbia, Belgrade — Russia. Vol. 3. Beograd, 2012]

(University) in Belgrade. The head of the Moscow Slavophiles, I. S. Aksakov, and St. Petersburg scholar V. I. Lamansky proposed Kulakovsky, who agreed to sign a three-year contract. "I would like to serve this important cause in Slavic life ... I will try in these three years to travel around the Balkan peninsula and all of Slavdom," he wrote to a friend in 1878.

On 28 October 1878, Kulakovsky delivered an introductory lecture on the topic *A Brief Outline of the Development of the Russian Language*. In Belgrade, he found problems with a lack of educational literature, reporting that "he did not find any anthologies, Russian grammar for the Serbs or dictionaries." He immediately began to rectify the situation. In 1879 *Ruska Chitanka*, a scholarly textbook on Russian literature, prepared by the scholar, was published. Together with students, Kulakovsky translated excerpts from the works of classics of Russian literature, the popularization of which was promoted by his pedagogical talent. A compatriot observing him wrote: "I was at one of his lectures on Lermontov, and I saw how attentively they listened to him and how enthusiastically they recorded every word." However, realizing that it was impossible to be limited to teaching at the university, Kulakovsky wrote five *Letters about Contemporary Russian Literature*, which appeared in the pages of the Belgrade journal *Otadzhbina* ("The Fatherland") in 1880–81. They lacked critical analysis and academic concepts; they merely introduced readers to the state of affairs of Russian literature and periodicals.

This had an effect. "Many people subscribe to books and magazines recommended by me in these Letters," he informed Lamansky in 1881. Kulakovsky provided considerable assistance in sending talented Serbs to Russia to study. At the same time, he admitted that all too often those who went to Russia were poorly prepared, and this was due to the Serbs' behaving like mere consumers of Russian charitable aid.

Due to a lack of trained local personnel, Kulakovsky's trip lasted until 1882, i.e., for four whole years. It should be noted that the salary at the Belgrade Great School was not commensurate either with the scholar's status or his actual expenses. Therefore, he was paid extra by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which considered the dissemination of Russian cultural influence to be a task of paramount importance and the use of the Russian language as a "new spiritual link" between Russia and Serbia. The Russian consul in Belgrade proposed awarding Kulakovsky the Order of St Anna, 2nd class in recognition of his successful implementation of this task, but he was only awarded the Order of Stanislay, 2nd class. Only the Serbs appreciated the Russian Slavacist's efforts in the country. Ten years later, A. Vasilievich wrote to the former Belgrade professor the following: "that in Serbian society there was a desire to study Russian language and Russian literature, this was made possible because of your lectures at the Belgrade Great School and your sympathy for the Serbian people. Now almost the entire younger generation reads and understands Russian, and many speak it."

Upon his return home, Kulakovsky, using the material he had collected, prepared and defended his master's thesis, "*Vuk Karadzich: His activities and significance in Serbian literature.*" This was the first serious academic monograph about the man who had created the Serbian literary language. However, the scholar was unable to distance himself from his Pan-Slavic views. In his opinion, Karadzich's reforms led to the separation of the Serbian language and literature from Russian culture; "the literature of the small Serbian people, because of its weakness, can easily become merely an echo of influences completely foreign to the Serbian people." Apparently, even the very notion of raising the status of the Serbian language was repugnant to Kulakovsky. He considered it a mistake on Karadzich's part that he "raised the language of the people, though soft, sonorous, but far from rich, to a level of language and science." Debate within the Russian scientific community showed that this point of view had both its supporters and detractors.

In 1884 Kulakovsky began teaching at the University of Warsaw, where he worked until moving to St. Petersburg in 1902. From there he traveled to Bulgaria. This trip left no noticeable scientific traces, but the scientist published impressions of it in the newspaper *Moskovskiy Vedomosti*. In 1893 he traveled to Zagreb, and the next year he defended his doctoral dissertation, "*Illyrism: A Study on the History of Croatian Revival Literature.*" In 1895 his book on this topic was awarded the Russian Academy of Sciences A.A. Kotlyarevsky Prize.

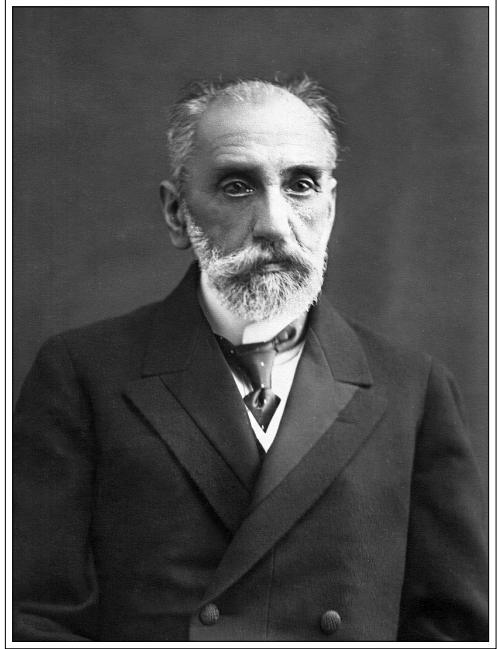
The Illyrian Movement in Croatia of the 1830s–40s considered the Yugoslav peoples to be the descendants of the ancient Balkan Illyrian people and promoted the idea of uniting them into "Great Illyria." To this end, it was considered necessary, as a first step, to engage in the development of the Croatian language and culture, which should become the basis for the future unity of Great Illyria. Kulakovsky focused his attention mainly on the literary and linguistic side of the movement, considering the connections of the Croats with other Slavs. A special place in the book is occupied by the ideologist of the Illyrian movement, Lyudevit Guy, thanks to whose efforts there was a Croatian literary language, and who, on the basis of Latin, created the Croatian alphabet, called "gajitsa" after him. In this work, Kulakovsky was able to show a greater degree of academic objectivity, compared to his previous work on Vuk Karadzich, since he did not give a negative assessment of the Croatian national revival, which estranged Croats from the Russian language and Russian culture even more than the Serbian effort had.

But this did not indicate a change in Kulakovsky's political views. A friend of the scholar noted that two people lived in Kulakovsky: one is an objective academic, impartially revealing the past; the other is a practical figure, a militant publicist with an undeniable temper." During his years in Warsaw, Kulakovsky was also the editor of the newspaper "Warsaw Diary" and in its pages defended his view of Slavdom. "The entire history of the Slavic peoples," he argued, "since the beginning of its revival, shows that the interests and benefits of Rus-

sia and the Russian people are at the same time the interests and benefits of all Slavs, and everything that is harmful to Russia, which diminishes its strength and offends its dignity is harmful and disastrous for the Slavs.” Based on this, he negatively assessed the Poles’ struggle for independence. He devoted a great deal of attention to this topic in his journalism, due to his place of birth, place of residence and the severity of the problem.

In 1902 Kulakovsky moved to St. Petersburg and became the editor-in-chief of the newspaper “Government Gazette”, in which he managed to breathe new life. Three years later, however, in connection with the advent of the new Prime Minister S.Y. Witte, he left this publication and founded a new newspaper, *The Outskirts of Russia*, published from 1906 to 1911. This publication opposed the separatism of the outlying districts of the country; monarchists gathered around it, and Kulakovsky himself took an active part in the right-wing movement.

His last major scientific study, *The Beginning of the Russian School among the Serbs in the 18th Century*, was published in 1903. It examined the period from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Serbian national revival. A central place was given to a little-known story about Mikhail Suvorov’s arrival in Serbia at the order of Peter I. Suvorov, a teacher, brought books and textbooks with him and became the organizer of schools in Karlovtsi and Belgrade. In 1908 Kulakovsky returned to teaching, lecturing on Slavic studies at the St. Petersburg Historical Institute and the Women’s Pedagogical Institute. He passed away on 18 December 1913, and his library was transferred to the library of the Academy of Sciences. A list of books received has been preserved. Several hundred titles in various languages speak of the diversity of the scholar’s interests, however, the main one was the notion of Slavic unity, which was perfectly summarized by another famous Slavic figure, A. A. Bashmakov: “Platon Andreevich [Kulakovsky] loved Slavdom all his life; he believed in the ultimate triumph of the great idea of the alliance of the Slavic peoples.”



P.A. Kulakovsky

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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VAS. I. NEMIROVICH-DANCHENKO: THE FATHER OF RUSSIAN MILITARY JOURNALISM¹

Abstract:

The article traces the life of the Father of Russian military journalism Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko (1844–1936). Attention is focused on that part of his extensive literary heritage, which is devoted to Bulgaria and his description of two conflicts separated by 35 years. Despite a significant number of literary digressions, the journalist's books still retain their value as an important historical source.

Keywords:

Nemirovich-Danchenko, Military journalism. Bulgaria, Russo-Turkish war, First Balkan war.

Аннотация: Н.С. Гусев. «ПАТРИАРХ РУССКОЙ ВОЕННОЙ ЖУРНАЛИСТИКИ ВАС. И. НЕМИРОВИЧ-ДАНЧЕНКО».

В статье прослеживается жизненный путь патриарха русской военной журналистики Вас. И. Немировича-Данченко (1844–1936). Внимание сосредоточено на той части его обширного литературного наследства, что посвящена Болгарии и ее описанию в двух конфликтах, разделенных 35 годами. Несмотря на значительную долю литературных отступлений, книги журналиста и поныне сохраняют свое значение как ценный исторический источник.

Ключевые слова:

Немирович-Данченко Вас.И., военная журналистика, Болгария, русско-турецкая война, Первая балканская война.

Vasily Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko (1844–1936) was a famous Russian writer and the author of about 250 artistic and ethnographic essays, novels, short stories, collections of reports and poems. He was the father of Russian military journalism, and his name was known in pre-revolutionary Russia to everyone “from tsar to schoolboy.” Nemirovich-Danchenko was born into the family of an officer on the outskirts of the Russian empire in Tiflis (present-day Tbilisi in Georgia). He spent his childhood in the Caucasus at the height of the war with the mountain peoples. His father's various postings while in the service allowed him to become familiar with Georgia, Azerbaijan and Dagestan, where he first began to pay attention to the details of the life and customs of different peoples. Nemirovich-Danchenko enrolled in a cadet school in Moscow, but without graduating he went to St. Petersburg, hoping to enter the world of writers. Later he was banished for embezzling money to the northern, Eu-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

ropean part of Russia: to the city of Arkhangel'sk. There he began to write articles in the then-popular travel note genre, richly filling them with details of the life and customs of the local population, landscape sketches, stories of adventures on the road and interesting encounters. Published in leading Russian journals, these works were well received by critics and brought him fame.

In subsequent years he traveled often, describing in his articles the Caucasus, the Urals, the countries of Europe, Asia Minor and Africa. He “fell in love” with Spain, and the Spanish theme resonated in many of his works. In 1876, when Serbia declared war on the Ottoman Empire, Nemirovich-Danchenko went to observe the theater of war and cover the events taking place there and was lightly wounded in the leg. A year after the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, the journalist found himself in the Balkans again, and the articles and books he wrote there became the pinnacle of his work.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 was the first war that readers followed almost in real time. Thanks to technological progress, the public learned of the news of victories and defeats at the front from newspapers the day after the incident. For the first time, correspondents were permitted to be officially embedded with the Russian army, which allowed Nemirovich-Danchenko to spend about a year following the war, more than all of the other journalists. He was the only Russian military correspondent able to visit all of the combat positions and to cover Tsar Alexander II of Russia's activities in the Balkans. His reporting on the siege of Plevna, the battles at Shipka Pass and the winter passage through the Balkans, signed with the pseudonym “Six,” brought him national fame. Portraits of Nemirovich-Danchenko, as well as of other heroes of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, were placed on the packaging of a chocolate produced at that time, and he was awarded the Cross of St George, the most honored among military awards.

After returning home, the writer prepared to publish a three-volume collection of his impressions of the Russo-Turkish War, which was met with public success. He then returned to Bulgaria to see how the formation of the young state was going. Nemirovich-Danchenko admired how thoroughly the Bulgarians approached the matter of restoring their state. According to him, they were aware of the instability of relying on only one army and that it was only possible



*Photo of
Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko,
shortly after 1876*

to ensure their future and independence through a combination of “books and fire,” i.e., it also required developing their culture. He was pleased with the democratic order established by the Bulgarian constitution that was, alas, absent in his homeland. The clash of the nascent Bulgarian intelligentsia with the Russian bureaucratic system made him feel bitter. Bulgarian statehood was created with the help of Russia while the temporary Russian administration was working on the territory of this country. Among his fellow countrymen-officials, Vasily Ivanovich repeatedly noted ignorance, rudeness, and an unwillingness to understand a young, but culturally developed people, whose intelligentsia was ready to die for their homeland but not to be whipped for it.

Impressions from his stay in Bulgaria then formed the basis of three of the writer's novels, describing the events of the era of the Russo-Turkish War. These works were distinguished by an abundance of characters, among whom were soldiers, officers, officials, residents of Bulgarian villages, etc., but his characters were not fleshed out and did not impress the reader. Nevertheless, the author managed to create vivid images of the nurses and embody in them the best qualities of Russian womanhood — i.e., the sort of self-sacrifice that brought a famous actress, a student, as well as a “fallen” woman to the warfront.

In the years of peace that followed, Nemirovich-Danchenko searched for new themes for his works. In his novels, he described the rapid development of industry and Russia's economy at the end of the 19th century, whereas other writers of the time were writing love poetry about different types of love and love affairs. However, at the same time critics noted the implausibility of his plot denouements and the writer's penchant for theatrics and theatrical dialogue. Nemirovich-Danchenko himself did not overestimate his place in Russian literature, considering himself “a mediocre novelist, a conscientious and tireless journalist and a good war correspondent.” Therefore, as soon as the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, Nemirovich-Danchenko immediately set off for the front and over the course of a year published about 350 dispatches, which were in great demand with readers.

In 1912, when the first Balkan war broke out (Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro opposed the Ottoman Empire) Nemirovich-Danchenko wanted to see how the country whose liberation he had witnessed would now battle against its centuries-long oppressor. Therefore, despite his advanced years, he set off for the Balkans. He was received in Bulgaria with all sorts of honors: newspapers reported on his arrival, he was given a reception, and the top officials of the Bulgarian state secured a pass for him to the front lines. He was the first foreign correspondent to witness the fighting with the Turks firsthand. His articles from 1912 were full of nostalgia for the Russo-Turkish War. Following the Bulgarian army, he traced familiar routes and remembered the advance of the Russian army 35 years before. Looking at the unapproachable Chataldzha fortifications near Constantinople, he thought about the epic siege of Plevna and saw in the Bulgarian soldiers the successors of the Russian troops.

Bulgarian statehood filled him with delight, because he was able to see with his own eyes the path the country had taken since its liberation. Nemirovich-Danchenko admired the transformed Bulgarian cities, claimed that Bulgarians were almost universally literate, democracy was present, both in politics and in human relations, and there was full freedom of the press. The essence of his description of the young, recently revived Bulgarian kingdom was expressed in his toast at a dinner party: "To the Bulgaria of mind, knowledge, progress and work!" Only one thing upset the writer: the attitude of the Bulgarians to the wounded, to whom they showed not a shred of sympathy. The writer considered that no matter how competent or hardworking they might be, it was too early to deem a people as having reached the pinnacle of civilization if they had not cultivated a respect for life. However, the first Balkan war was followed by the second, inter-allied Balkan war, and the country's progress was interrupted. During World War I, Bulgaria initially took a position of neutrality, and Nemirovich-Danchenko, using his authority, tried to encourage the Bulgarians to act in concert with Russia. Publicly addressing them, he exclaimed: "Bulgarians! Where are you? Why are you not with us in this bright and joyful hour of shared selfless sacrifice?" However, Sofia eventually sided with the Central powers: Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey.

Nemirovich-Danchenko, naturally, could not miss the next war and went to the front as a correspondent. He covered battles in Galitsia, the Caucasus and even near Verdun. "In his Astrakhan hat and whiskers, despite his age, he runs around like mad, and produces writing that is embarrassing to print." — one contemporary wrote about him. Indeed, with age Nemirovich-Danchenko's dispatches became ever more Germanophobic and jingoistic. Parodying his messages, some journalists wrote about detained Austrian trains with cars full of needles for gouging out the eyes of Serbians, and about magazine covers made by the Turks from the skin of Christians.

Although after the October revolution Vasily Ivanovich remained in the country, unlike his brother Vladimir (a famous theatre director), he did not accept the political changes that took place. In 1922, under the pretext of needing to conduct archival research for a large-scale work, *National Heroes, Leaders and Martyrs*, Hemirovich-Danchenko received an exit visa and went to Berlin. After spending a year there, he moved to "the Russian Athens" of that time, to Prague, where the cream of the Russian émigré intelligentsia had gathered. His countrymen treated him with great respect, but his new literary works were perceived as anachronistic. Nevertheless, he remained strong in spirit, and in 1934 the émigré community celebrated the 90th birthday of the journalist and writer with great fanfare. Two years later Vasily Ivanovich died and was buried in a cemetery in Prague.

Nemirovich-Danchenko was a younger contemporary of Dostoyevsky and Chekhov's elder. He outlived both of these classical writers and managed to write far more than they did. He became part of the history of Russian literature, pri-

marily as the father of war reporting. His dispatches from the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 were particularly famous. They marked a new page in the development of journalism and revealed the Bulgaria of that time to Russian society. His speeches in defense of Bulgaria and its popularization were appreciated by the Bulgarian people. In 1935, in Bulgaria, he was awarded a state pension. In the USSR, the writer's flight abroad led to the banning of his books up until the collapse of the communist system in the country. Nowadays, although interest in Nemirovich-Danchenko's travelogues has gradually revived, one cannot consider them to be widely studied.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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3. The cover of Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko's book "Peasant monastery."
4. The cover of Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko's book based on the Russo-Turkish war.
5. The cover of Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko's book "The War with the Turks for the liberation of the Slavs", intended for children.
6. The cover of a book of memoirs about the hero of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78 General M.D. Skobelev.
7. Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko in 1906.
8. The cover of the "Iskra" magazine with a portrait of Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, October 14, 1912.
9. The cover of the writer's book in two volumes, "With Armed People," dedicated to the First Balkan War of 1912–13.
10. The cover of the journal "Nature and People" from 1915 with an article dedicated to Vas. I. Nemirovich-Danchenko. In the photo — the writer in Manchuria during the Russo-Japanese War.

N.S. DERZHAVIN: A BULGARIST WHO FOUND SUCCESS IN BOLSHEVIK AND SOVIET ACADEMIC STUDIES¹

Abstract:

This article is devoted to the biography of the famous Soviet academic N. S. Derzhavin (1877–1953) and his academic activities, primarily relating to Bulgaria and the Bulgarians. This scholar had a dizzying career, became an academic without a doctorate and created his own specialist institute, by virtue of his sensitive understanding of the state of affairs in the country. He left behind a rich heritage though some of his books did not stand the test of time. All his life N.S. Derzhavin sincerely sympathized with the objects of his study.

Keywords:

N.S. Derzhavin, Bulgaria, Bulgarians in Russia, the Macedonian question, Slavistics from 1930s to 1950s.

Аннотация: Н.С. Гусев. «Н.С. Державин — болгарист, преуспевший в большевистской и советской науке».

Статья посвящена биографии известного советского академика Н.С. Державина (1877–1953) и его научной деятельности, в первую очередь касающейся Болгарии и болгар. Этот ученый сделал головокружительную карьеру, став академиком даже без степени доктора наук и создав собственный научный институт в силу чуткого понимания конъюнктуры. Он оставил после себя богатое наследие, хотя некоторые его книги не выдержали проверки временем. Всю свою жизнь Н.С. Державин искренне симпатизировал объекту своего изучения.

Ключевые слова:

Н.С. Державин, Болгария, болгары в России, македонский вопрос, славистика в 30-е — 50-е гг. XX в.

Nikolay Sevastyanovich Derzhavin (1877–1953) is slavacist, historian, academic, a far from straightforward figure in the history of Russian scholarship. Coupled with a sincere love for Bulgaria and Bulgarian culture were many of the archetypal traits of the “new academics” of the Soviet nation of the 1920s–40s.

The first lines of Nikolay Sevastyanovich’s biography speak about his future specialization. He was born on 15 December 1877, a landmark year in Bulgarian history, five days after the fall of the key Turkish fortress of Plevna in the village of Preslav of the Tauride province (now the Zaporozhie region of Ukraine). The inhabitants of the village were predominantly Bulgarian immigrants, and it was

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

itself one of the centers of cultural life for Bulgarians of the Russian Empire. After graduating from gymnasium, Derzhavin, following in the footsteps of his father, a rural teacher, started training as a teacher at the St. Petersburg Institute of History and Philology. However, for unclear reasons, Nikolay Sevastyanovich soon transferred to the Nezhinsk Institute, which educated similar specialists. Perhaps this was due to its proximity to his home and the lower cost of living in a small Ukrainian town compared to the capital. During his studies, Derzhavin became seriously interested in Bulgarian literature and already in his third year published a paper, *Essays on the Life of Southern Russian Bulgarians*, in the journal "Ethnographic Review." However, after the institute, the talented graduate set off not to conquer the universities of the capital, but to work in Transcaucasia as a teacher of Russian language and literature at a gymnasium of the city of Batumi, and then in the modern Georgian capital of Tiflis. Derzhavin gained credibility with his colleagues, conducting wide-ranging educational work among the local population and defending the right of non-Russian peoples to education.

During this time, he did not abandon his studies but published articles of historical, literary and ethnographic nature, thereby attracting the attention of the Academy of Sciences, which in 1903 sent him on a mission to Bulgaria and Turkey. In the latter, Derzhavin worked as part of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, which elected him as its corresponding member. In 1907 he moved to Petersburg and became a graduate student at St. Petersburg University. In 1909–10, as part of the scientific team from the Academy of Sciences, he visited Bulgaria and Bessarabia, where many ethnic Bulgarians lived. Collecting folklore material, Derzhavin used a technical novelty, a phonograph, enabling him to quickly gather a solid base of sources for his master's thesis. In 1912 he received the position of privat-docent at the St. Petersburg University, and certification that he had submitted a thesis, giving him the right to give lectures but not yet be registered as a staff member, apparently due to a lack of vacancies.

In the same year, the First Balkan War began: Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro joined forces against the Ottoman Empire. Derzhavin warmly wel-



*A portrait of N.S. Derzhavin,
made sometime after 1947*

comed these events, wrote congratulatory letters to his Bulgarian friends, including the famous historian V. Zlatarsky, and delivered public lectures about Bulgaria and its history. When a dispute broke out between Bulgaria and Serbia in 1913 about the future ownership of Macedonia (which the future academic considered to be inhabited by Bulgarians), Derzhavin took an active part in the public defense of Sofia's rights to the contested lands. At academic meetings, he argued with Serbian emissaries J. Genchich and professor Alexander Belich about Macedonia, pointing out to them the futility of attempts "to come to Russia to try to influence the attitude of Russian society towards Serbian harassment," since memories of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78 were still fresh. Here he came into conflict with his university colleagues: M.G. Dolobko accused Derzhavin of bias, and P.A. Lavrov spoke on the side of the Serbs. The Second Balkan War soon followed, ending with Bulgaria's defeat and the transfer of most of Macedonia to the rule of Serbia. After this, Derzhavin wrote to a colleague: "I personally am so depressed by all that happened that I can neither work nor think; most of all I am outraged by these bastard Serbs." Deciding to promote the rehabilitation of the Bulgarian people in the eyes of Russian society, he began to speak publicly on the Macedonian issue and prepared the book "Bulgarian-Serbian Relations and the Macedonian Question," in which he engaged in polemical debates with Serbian scholars and proved the Bulgarian ethnicity of the population in the disputed region. It should be noted that in Russia there were no publishers willing to pay to publish this work; it was issued in Petrograd, paid for out of funds from the Bulgarian government. It should be recognized that at that time it was necessary to have great courage to speak in a similar spirit, since almost all of Russian society was completely opposed to Bulgaria. However, Derzhavin's feelings for this country and its people were apparently so sincere that he ran the risk of doing so.

At the same time, his master's thesis, *Bulgarian Colonies in Russia (Tauride, Kherson and Bessarabian Provinces)* was being prepared. The first volume, an ethnographic review, was published in 1914 in Bulgaria, and the second, de-



The cover of the scholar's popular book "On the Bulgarians and the Bulgarian Relocation to Russia." Berdyansk, 1912

voted to the language of the population, came out in Petrograd in 1915. No matter how principled Derzhavin's position on Macedonia was, he did not hesitate to appeal to Professor P. A. Lavrov, seeking his support to publish the second volume during voting by the faculty's academic council. In 1916 he defended his master's thesis. The academic public greeted it coldly because of the quality of work, and, according to certain information, only the intervention of the legendary Russian philologist A. A. Shakhmatov allowed Derzhavin to obtain his degree. In 1917 he obtained the post of professor at the University of Petrograd, and in the very same year the course of Russian history shifted abruptly: the October Revolution took place, bringing with it a new order, which swooped Derzhavin up and carried him to new academic heights.

In 1922 he created and headed the university "Left Professors Group," became the rector of Petrograd, and then (in connection with the renaming of the city) Leningrad University. In this post, he launched a massive purge of "unreliable elements" from the university. Some "bourgeois" teachers were sent abroad, some were dismissed from work, and half of the students were expelled from the university. However, in 1925 Derzhavin lost the election for rector and became dean of the Faculty of linguistics and material culture, and in 1928: head of the Department of Russian and Slavic languages of the same faculty.

At the same time, Derzhavin worked in Leningrad's public library, became its deputy director and managed to create a Slavic unit, which was responsible for storing and studying Western and South Slavic books and manuscripts. In 1929 Derzhavin was relieved of his post as deputy director, and the following year the Slavic section was closed. Nevertheless, his work at the library greatly influenced Derzhavin's further career; he met director N. Y. Marr, became his loyal supporter and supporter of Marr's Japhetic theory. Its essence was that there is no genetic development of languages, all words of all languages have a common origin, they change under the influence of society's development and intersect with each other. As a result, it argued that Russian is closer to Georgian than to other Slavic languages, and German originated from the Svan language, which is closer to Georgian, etc. This pseudoscientific theory was, however, approved by the Soviet leadership because of it went along with Marx and Engels' theories of class struggle. Marr gained enormous influence and began to arrange patronage for his followers. When elections were held in 1931 in the Academy of Sciences, from which the "alien elements" had just been "cleared," the founding father of the Japhetic theory got Derzhavin elected as an academic, though he lacked not only the status of a corresponding member, but also a doctoral degree.

Later, perhaps because Derzhavin wanted to have his own institute or, something that also cannot be ruled out, for the sake of scholarship, he was able to create the Institute of Slavic Studies, which he headed. Whatever his motives and means, this event must be considered as a positive development; Slavistics once again had its own academic center, with the possibility to publish research on Slavic issues. However, they managed to publish just two collections of pa-

pers. In 1933, the “Slavic case” began: a criminal investigation fabricated by the NKVD, according to which many academic, especially Slavists, created a secret fascist party, which was involved in sabotage and arranged for the assassination of Prime Minister V. M. Molotov. In 1934 a trial was held, convicting about 70 people, including academics and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences. There were no mass death sentences, but Soviet Slavistics was crushed and defamed: it was publicly stated that “Slavic philology pours water on the fascist mill.” The fate of the specialized Institute (as well as the fact that its secretary was implicated in the “conspiracy”) was a foregone conclusion; in 1934 the Academy of Sciences decided to shut down the Institute of Slavic Studies. Derzhavin, as an academic, did not suffer from repression, but apparently fearing it, in 1935 he wrote a letter directly to Stalin himself. In the text, he recalled his youth in Georgia, emphasized his revolutionary activities and exaggerated the role of Koba-Dzhughashvili (Stalin) in the First Russian Revolution in Transcaucasia. In connection with this, he wrote his own biography in the third person, in which he accused his enemies of opposing the party line and constantly emphasized his Marxist views.

Meanwhile, the world was inching toward the Second World War, and in the USSR the official view of the past changed. The Bolsheviks began to seek the prop of patriotism in Russian history. In 1938, realizing this, Derzhavin turned to Molotov with a proposal to recreate the Institute of Slavic Studies to combat fascist propaganda in the Slavic countries and to demonstrate the Soviet Union’s interest in them. The letter went unanswered. The Great Patriotic War raised the issue of relations with the Slavic countries more sharply than ever, and Derzhavin turned out to be a key figure in the Stalinist version of Panslavism. In 1942 he became a member of the Presidium of the All-Slavic Committee and chairman of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Scientists, traveled around the country conducting lectures on the Balkans, and was published in the press. Derzhavin was sensitive to the changes in the leadership’s rhetoric and adjusted to them. Thus, if in 1932 he denounced and scolded the famous pre-revolutionary Slavist V. I. Lamansky, in 1942 he glorified and praised him. Once again there was an opportunity to revive the Institute of Slavic Studies, and Derzhavin began to lobby for this idea. However, under wartime conditions, it was only possible to achieve the creation of the Slavic Commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which, as expected, Derzhavin headed. He resumed his contacts with Bulgarian colleagues, and soon after Bulgaria’s liberation, he visited this country. In 1944 Derzhavin received the title of Doctor of Science *honoris causa* (by virtue of merit) from the University of Sofia. In 1946 he became an honorary member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and a street in Sofia received his name. In 1944 and 1945 he was twice awarded the Order of Lenin, the USSR’s highest award. The war years were fruitful for Derzhavin: he began teaching at the philological faculty of Moscow State University and prepared several books. *The Origin of the Russian People* and *The Slavs in Antiquity* went beyond the ac-

ademic's specialization and were more likely political, but the books about the most important figures of Bulgarian history and culture, I. Vazov and Chr. Botev, although written from a Marxist point of view, were very important in that they introduced the Soviet people to Bulgaria. For his work, the academic was awarded the Stalin Prize in 1948, which attested to recognition of the significance of his work at the highest level. However, at the same time it should be noted that colleagues regarded this fruitfulness as graphomania, and M. N. Tikhomirov, an expert on medieval Russian history, labeled *The Origin of the Russian People* as simply garbage. In the same year, the fourth and final volume of Derzhavin's history of Bulgaria was published, the first such work since 1910, which, in its completeness, had no equal. The academic hoped to receive the Stalin Prize, but this time his application was not supported.

Increased communication with Slavic countries, which were increasingly becoming "people's democracies," reinforced the idea of creating an integrated Institute of Slavic Studies. Derzhavin contributed a lot to its advancement, but in 1945 he suffered a stroke. His ensuing and prolonged illness forced him to let go of the initiative, and when he was able to return to work, it turned out that he had missed his moment, and his attempts to assume the post of director of the institute were futile. In 1947, the Institute of Slavic Studies, the main center for Slavonic studies in the USSR, and now in Russia, was established in Moscow, however, its director was the academic B. D. Grekov, and Derzhavin only headed the Leningrad institutional department, of which he was the one and only member.

In 1950 a new blow awaited the academic. Open criticism of N.Y. Marr had begun, and Stalin's article came out, putting an end to this issue. Marr's approach, previously considered the most Marxist, was declared unscientific. Derzhavin tried to adapt, but he was no longer young, and sometimes, during public speeches, unnoticed by himself, he would again slip into Japhetic theory. The times had also changed: it was now the turn of other academics, new scholarly administrators, and Derzhavin did not fit in. He remained a member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, but his fate took no more sharp turns. On February 26, 1953 Derzhavin died. His ashes were buried at the Literary Bridges of Leningrad's Volkov's Cemetery, the place where many prominent figures of science and art were laid to rest.

With respect to Slavonic studies, N. S. Derzhavin remains a figure with a checkered reputation. A vain careerist and tribune, he played a huge role in restoring the authority of Slavic studies in the USSR. Whatever his motives, objectively his attempts to create specialized centers exerted a positive influence on scholarship. Regardless of how his academic research was perceived, whatever its actual level, Derzhavin fought for his work. He was not ever able to let go of the dispute with Belich, which begun in 1912; he was annoyed by the very mention of the Serbian scientist's name, he argued with him in absentia, and he tried to turn the awarding of the title of honorary professor of Moscow State Univer-

sity into a farce. On the day of Derzhavin's death, one of his colleagues rightly noted: "Through all his life, he bore a love for the Bulgarian people, its history, culture, language."

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Photograph of N.S. Derzhavin.
2. The cover of the scholar's popular book "On the Bulgarians and the Bulgarian Relocation to Russia." Berdyansk, 1912.
3. The cover of the book by N.S. Derzhavin "Bulgarian-Serbian relations and the Macedonian question."
4. The cover of the scholar's book "The Origin of the Russian People," for which he was awarded by the Stalin Prize.
5. The cover of the first volume prepared by N.S. Derzhavin "History of Bulgaria."
6. A portrait of N.S. Derzhavin made some time after 1947.
7. Anniversary of academic N.S. Derzhavina. From left to right: S.B. Bernshtein, Bulgarian composer P. Vladigerov, N.S. Derzhavin, Bulgarian opera singer M. Popov. Leningrad, 13 January, 1948.
8. Participants of the meeting of heads of departments of Slavic philology. In the center — academic N.S. Derzhavin. Kiev, May 1948.
9. A commemorative plaque on the house of N.S. Derzhavin in St. Petersburg (st. 6th line of Vasilyevsky island, 39).
10. The grave of N.S. Derzhavin on the Literary Bridges of the Volkov's Cemetery in St. Petersburg.



ANASTASIA S.
DOBYCHINA

THE SYNODICON OF THE BULGARIAN TSAR BORIL¹

Abstract:

The paper examines a unique relic from the history and culture of medieval Bulgaria: the Synodicon of Tsar Boril from 1211. It is thought that the text is a translation of the Byzantine Synodicon from 843, created in Constantinople to honor a victory over Iconoclasm. The supplemented Bulgarian translation was first made in Bulgaria by order of Tsar Boril, who convened a Synod against the Bogomils in the Bulgarian capital, the city of Tarnovo in 1211. Two copies of the Synodicon are available: Palauzov's from the 14th century and Drinov's from the 16th century. Both copies contain not only anathemas against heretics, but also evidence of the Bulgarians' historical memory about their past and some outstanding personalities: Saints Cyril and Methodius, the rulers of the First and Second Bulgarian Tsardoms and the patriarchs.

Keywords:

Medieval Bulgaria, Tsar Boril, Synodicon, synod against the Bogomils, Palauzov's copy, Drinov's copy, historical memory.

Аннотация: А.С. Добычина. «Синодик болгарского царя Борила».

В статье рассматривается уникальный памятник истории и культуры средневековой Болгарии – Синодик царя Борила 1211 г. Принято считать, что его текст является переводом византийского Синодика 843 г., составленного в Константинополе в честь победы над иконоборчеством. Болгарский перевод с дополнениями был произведен по приказу царя Борила, который инициировал собор против богомиллов в столице Болгарии Тырново в 1211 г. Синодик сохранился в двух списках: Палаузовском XIV в. и Дриновском XVI в. Оба списка содержат не только анафемы еретикам, но и свидетельства исторической памяти болгар о своем прошлом и его выдающихся личностях: свв. Кирилле и Мефодии, правителях Первого и Второго Болгарского царств и патриархах.

Ключевые слова:

Средневековая Болгария, царь Борил, Синодик, антибогомилский собор, Палаузовский список, Дриновский список, историческая память.

The Synodicon of Tsar Boril (1207–18) is a unique relic of the history and culture of the medieval Bulgarian kingdom. The text is considered to be a translation into Slavic of the Byzantine Synodicon of 843, composed in connection with the restoration of the veneration of icons after the period of iconoclasm. The supplemented Bulgarian translation was made at the order of Tsar Boril, who convened a Synod in the Bulgarian capital, the city of Tarnovo in 1211 in order to condemn and eradicate the Bogomil heresy which had spread throughout the Bulgarian lands.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The compiler of the Synodicon made a number of serious changes to the Byzantine original, supplementing it not only with a description of the Synod but also with names and events from Bulgarian history. During the 13th and 14th centuries, the details in the Synodicon were supplemented repeatedly, and this feature makes this relic a valuable source of information on the history of the Bulgarian medieval period.

As an ecclesiastical and liturgical text, the Synodicon was read on the Feast of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday of Great Lent) and was accompanied by ecclesiastical choral singing. Reading of the Synodicon during the liturgy was first introduced by Tsar Boril in 1211, but the Synodicon itself only acquired canonical status in 1235. A supplement to the memorial part of the Synodicon suggests that its reading continued during the first centuries after the Ottoman conquest of the Bulgarian lands.

The original of Tsar Boril's Synodicon has not survived, but its text was partially restored from two later copies. The first is the so-called Palauzov copy, named after its first publisher, the Russian-Bulgarian historian S. N. Palauzov (1818–72). The manuscript was obtained by his cousin, N. H. Palauzov (1819–99), from the Tarnovo collector of antiquity and merchant of apothecary goods, Stoyancho (Stefan) Ahtar. After the death of S. N. Palauzov, the document was moved to the Collection of Slavonic Manuscripts in the Sts Cyril and Methodius National Library of Sofia, Bulgaria, where it is preserved under № 289 (55). The Palauzov copy dates back to the end of the 14th century and contains the version of the Synodicon created under the rule of Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II (1218–41), which was later supplemented at the time of Tarnovo patriarch Euthymius (1375–93).

The manuscript consists of three parts. The first is a text of the Synodicon of Tsar Boril written in so-called *ustav*, which is a uncial majuscule script, with the use of red cinnabar for initial letters. The second part, written in semi-italic letters, contains the decisions of the ecumenical councils. The third part is a Greek original of the Synodicon, from which the second part of the collection was translated. The sheets of the three parts are not sewn into a single whole; they are put together and placed between two wooden covers protected with leather. The scribe placed the sheets in a notebook, but it is impossible to establish how many sheets were in each book, as many of them are torn or mixed up.

Apart from the Slavonic text, the Palauzov copy also contains four notations of the chants that were to be sung in Greek, as evidenced by the Greek entries next to the notes. Above the main text there are additional musical notes in red ink, suggesting the possible direction of the melody. The first piece of music with the name of the composer, placed before the texts, has been lost. The aforementioned musical texts reveal the transitional nature of liturgical choral practice of the Bulgarian church, in which, after the 13th century, there exist elements of both the Middle Byzantine and Neo-Byzantine musical notation.

The second copy of the Synodicon is named Drinov after its owner, the famous historian of Bulgarian origin, M. S. Drinov (1838–1906), to whom this document was presented by a compatriot from the town of Panagyurishte. The manuscript dates back to the 16th century; the name of the scribe is known: the grammarian Angelakus, who was probably a cleric from Western Bulgaria. Unlike the Palauzov copy, the Drinov copy bears traces of editorial work in line with the literary tradition of the Tarnovo Literary School. Currently, the Drinov copy is also stored in Bulgaria in the Collection of Slavonic Manuscripts in the Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library of Sofia, where it is preserved under № 432 (634).

On the basis of both copies, the outstanding slavist, M.G. Popruzhenko, professor at the Novorossiysk and Sofia universities, partly recreated the text of the Bulgarian Synodicon, taking into account the fragments which have been irretrievably lost. Its first part, a glorification of the defenders of Orthodoxy, is called “Thanksgiving.” After that follows an anathema to all its enemies, including the Bogomils, against whose doctrines the Synod of 1211 was convened. Then follow commemorations to the deceased, polychronions of the representatives of the ruling dynasty, those close to them and religious dignitaries. However, most precious is the original Bulgarian part, which consists of historical texts associated with the names of the most important figures in Bulgarian history.

In the section of the Synodicon entitled “The beginning of the Bulgarian Tsars,” eternal memory is proclaimed to Prince Boris I (852–89), who baptized Bulgaria and who is symbolically referred to as the Tsar, to his son Simeon I (893–927), his grandson Tsar Peter I (927–69) and other rulers of the first Bulgarian Tsardom.

The second series of commemorations in the Synodicon is devoted to Sts. Cyril and Methodius and their Slavonic disciples and emphasizes the Orthodox character of the Slavonic liturgy and the fact that the Slavonic liturgy has been an integral part of the heritage of the Bulgarian people and its Church for many centuries. The third part of the historical section of the Synodicon is associated with the memory of the Asen brothers, who restored independent Bulgarian statehood after the period when the Bulgarian lands were under Byzantine rule (1018–1185). All three sections are summarized by the story of the convocation of the Church Council of 1211 by Tsar Boril, which concludes with an anathema to the Bogomils and a three-fold Polychronion to the Tsar, his entourage and clerics. The narrative of the Bulgarian ruler’s meeting with heretics is modeled on the description of the denunciation of them by the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), written by his daughter, princess Anna Comnena. The emperor himself managed to expose the leader of the Byzantine Bogomils, Basil, by feigning an interest in the foundations of this heretical doctrine.

Under the rule of Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II, a historical account appears in the Synodicon about the restoration in 1235 of the Bulgarian Patriarchate,

which again became independent from Constantinople. After that, detailed historical stories disappear, giving way to specific historical facts connected with the memories of tsars, tsarinas and the nobility of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom: the cousins of Ivan Asen, the sevastokers Alexander, Stresz and the despot Alexis Slav, Tsar George I Terter (1280–92), Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Shishman (1371–95), Patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo and other historical figures.

Over the course of many centuries, the Synodicon of Tsar Boril played an important role in preserving the Bulgarians' historical memory of their medieval past. As an integral component of religious practice, it was read during the holiday, accompanied by hymns, and thus served as a means of disseminating information about their native history not only among the noble laity, but also the common people. Above all, the Synodicon' contributed to the formation of the historical consciousness of the Bulgarian people.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Leather cover of the Synodicon of Tsar Boril. Palauzov copy, 14th century.
2. Cover of the Synodicon of the Palauzov copy with later postscripts.

3. Third page from the Synodicon of the Palauzov copy with floral ornaments.
4. Excerpt from the Synodicon of the Drinov copy (16th century) with commemorations to the Bulgarian tsars and St Constantine-Cyril, Equal-to-the-Apostles.
5. Page from the Palauzov copy with the mention of the pious Tsar Boril.
6. The Synodicon of Boril. Palauzov copy with musical notes and an indication of their unknown author.
7. Part of the Synodicon of the Palauzov copy (Greek prototype).
8. M. S. Drinov, whose name is given to the copy of the Synodicon from the 16th century.
9. N. H. Palauzov, cousin of the first publisher of the source, S.N. Palauzov.
10. The cover of Popruzhenko's book with the publication of the full text of the Synodicon based on the Drinov and Palauzov copies.
11. The cover of the first Popruzhenko's edition of the Synodicon (Palauzov copy).

CHARTERS OF BULGARIAN TSARS FROM THE 13th — 14th CENTURIES¹

Abstract:

The paper examines charters of Bulgarian tsars from the 13th–14th centuries which are unique historical sources of secular history. They are made up of two groups of documents: letters of gift and agreements. The collection of letters of gift includes the Vatopedi Charter of Ivan Asen II, Virgino Charter of Constantine Tikh, Zograph, Oryahov and “Mesembrian” (Nessebar) Charters of Ivan Alexander and the Vitosha and the Rila Charters of Ivan Shishman. Among the agreements, connected with the commercial activity of medieval Bulgaria, are the Dubrovnik Charter of Ivan Asen II, the Venetian Charter of Ivan Alexander and the Brashov Charter of Ivan Sratsimir, tsar of Bulgaria in Vidin.

Keywords:

Bulgaria, Middle Ages, Diplomats, tsars' charters, Court office, Letters of Gift, Agreements.

Аннотация: А.С. Добычина. «Грамоты болгарских царей XIII–XIV вв.».

В статье рассматриваются уникальные источники светского характера — грамоты болгарских царей XIII–XIV вв. Среди них можно выделить две группы документов: дарственные и договорные грамоты. К дарственным грамотам относятся Ватопедская грамота царя Ивана Асеня II, Виргинская грамота Константина Асеня Тиха, Зографская, Оряховская и «месемврийские» (Несебрские) грамоты царя Ивана Александра, Витошская и Рильская грамоты царя Ивана Шишмана. Договорными актами, связанными с болгарской средневековой торговой деятельностью, являются Дубровницкая грамота Ивана Асеня II, Венецианская грамота Ивана Александра и Брашовская грамота видинского правителя Ивана Срацимира.

Ключевые слова:

Болгария, Средние века, дипломатика, царские грамоты, придворная канцелярия, дарственные грамоты, договорные грамоты.

The Bulgarian tsars' Charters of the 13th–14th centuries are unique historical sources of a secular character which contain various kinds of information that allow us to form an idea about the features of state authority, the fiscal system, the social composition of the population, and the trade and international relations of the Bulgarian state at different stages of its historical development. Located in close proximity to the Byzantine Empire, throughout its history Bulgaria was strongly influenced by it, including in the sphere of law. It began with the formation of the Bulgarian state (681) and continued until the

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

end of the so-called First Bulgarian Tsardom in 1018. The political independence of the Bulgarians was replaced with Byzantine rule, which was overthrown as a result of an anti-Byzantine uprising led by brothers Peter and Asen, noblemen from the town of Tarnovo. Then began the period of the so-called Second Bulgarian Tsardom, lasting until the conquest of the state by the Ottoman Turks in 1396.

The institution of tsardom in Bulgaria arose quite early. As early as the 10th century, the Bulgarians had already proclaimed Simeon as their Tsar (893–927); he was later dubbed “the Great.” He was the son of Prince Boris, known as the baptiser of the Bulgarians in 865, and who had spent many years as a hostage at the court of the Byzantine emperor and who spoke Greek perfectly. Hence, he knew the morals and manners of the Byzantine court, the structure of the state apparatus and office work. When he became the Bulgarian tsar, Simeon introduced Byzantine practices to the Bulgarian capital, Veliki Preslav. It is obvious that these practices concerned the court chancery, which was a copy of the Byzantine one. The dominant role in Byzantium was played the *logothetes* (a senior administrative title in the Byzantine Empire equivalent to a minister or secretary of state), headed by the *Grand Logothete*. The latter was the keeper of the seal and responsible for drafting charters. The logothetes, in their turn, led the *tainiks* (legal experts), grammarians-calligraphers and scribes. The last two categories of officials had to be highly qualified and able to work skillfully with the material from which the charters were produced. In the Bulgarian court chancery, they usually used cotton paper, called Carta Bombycina, rag paper, as well as parchment.

The main text of charters was written in black ink, and red cinnabar was used for the royal signature. An obligatory element of the royal charter was a cross at the beginning of the text and on both sides of the tsar's signature. In some instances, it was also placed at the end of the text. The tsar's signature was often preceded by the symbolic image of a hand in royal attire bearing a scepter. There was always a picture of a cross on the sleeve and on the scepter. The design of the Bulgarian tsars' charters replicated the practice of the Byzantine imperial chancery.

The Byzantine influence can also be traced in the typology of the Bulgarian medieval charters. Among them the so-called *chrysobulls* (from the Greek χρυσόβουλλον, which means golden seal) prevail. These solemn charters were issued by the rulers of the state. As a rule, they were fastened with a gold seal and signed with their names, accompanied by the relevant title and a portrait. Apart from the *chrysobulls*, there were less solemn decrees. These are the so-called *prostagmas* (from the Greek πρόσταγμα — disposal, order) and *horismoses* (from the Greek όρισμός — condition, obligation, treaty).

According to their content, the medieval Bulgarian charters follow a certain design pattern (so-called form) and consist of three parts: the initial preamble, the main body and the final protocol (the so-called *eschatocol*). The preamble

contains information about the tsar who issued the charter and the recipient. The main body contains the purpose of the document, the content of the grant or treaty and includes the so-called sanction: a ban on violating the terms of the charter, threatening the wrath of the ruler or divine punishment. The most important element of the main body is the corroboration, certifying the authenticity of the document with the signature and seal of the ruler. The final protocol contains information on the date and place of the document and pious wishes.

With regard to the nature and purpose of the Bulgarian tsars' charters, they can be divided into two groups. The first consists of letters of gift issued to certain monasteries listing various privileges and, above all, so-called *immunity*. The latter removed the monasteries from the control of the local authorities: monasteries began to obey the tsar directly. Unfortunately, the charters of the first Bulgarian Tsar, Simeon the Great, and his successors, his son Peter (927–69) and others, didn't reach us because of political cataclysms and Bulgaria's loss of national independence and its conquest by Byzantium.

Relatively better is the situation of the charters of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom (1186–1393). Among them are, for example, the Vatopedi Charter (c. 1230) of Ivan Asen II (1218–41), granted to the Athos Vatopedi monastery; the Virgino Charter of Constantine Tikh (1257–77), addressed to the monastery of St George the Quick-witted and the Victorious, near the city of Skopje (13th century); two chrysobulls of Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander: Zograph (1342), granted to the Athos Zograph monastery, and Oryahov (Mrachski) (1348), addressed to the monastery of St Nicholas in the area of Oryahov near the town of Radomir. Three so-called "Mesembrian" (i.e., Nessebar) charters are also attributed to Tsar Ivan Alexander (between 1341 and 1356). Two of them appear to have been drawn up in favor of the Mesembrian metropolitan and the monastery of the Virgin Mother Eleussa. The third "Mesembrian" charter reaffirms the property rights of the St Nicholas monastery in the area of Nessebar. From the reign of the last tsar of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom, Ivan Shishman (1371–95), we have two charters, the Rila (1378) and the Vitosha charters (between 1371 and 1385), addressed to the Rila and Dragalevtzi (situated near the foot of the Vitosha mountain) monasteries.

The second group of royal charters is represented by agreements related to the granting of trade rights to foreign communities. The Dubrovnik Charter (1230) guaranteed freedom of trade to the merchants of Dubrovnik on the territory controlled by Ivan Asen II. The charter of Tsar Ivan Alexander (1347) regulated the commercial activity of Venetian merchants in the Bulgarian lands. The Brashov Charter (between 1369 and 1380) of the Vidin ruler Ivan Sratsimir (1356–96) provided the inhabitants of the Transylvanian city of Brashov with freedom of movement and trade activities in the Vidin Tsardom.

Apart from their content, the appearance of the charters is unique. They differ considerably from each other in shape and size. The Virgino, Zograph and Rila charters resemble long, wide ribbons, while the Dubrovnik's and Brashov

ones — small rectangles, and the Vitosha one looks like an irregular quadrangle. Some charters have an unusual appearance: i.e., the Oryahov one, which resembles a cutaway section of a large bowl with flat edges.

A characteristic feature of the Bulgarian royal charters is the image of a hand, symbolizing the hand of the ruler who signed the document. On the Virgino, Vitosha and Brashov treaties, the ruling hands bear scepters, while on the Oryahov charter, it bears a cross surrounded by a little crown. The latter is quite detailed: there are elements on the border of the sleeve which resemble buttons or precious stones.

The high status of the royal charters was emphasized not only by the image of the hands, but also by the precious golden seals attached to the charters. Intact seals have been preserved only on double-sided chrysobulls, the Oryahov and the Rila ones. On one side of the Oryahov seal is the image of Jesus Christ the Savior, on the other: the figure of Tsar Ivan Alexander himself, presented in royal robes, bearing a scepter and a scroll; his head is adorned with a helmet. On the front side of the seal of the Rila Charter, Tsar Ivan Shishman is depicted with a big beard and a helmet, in royal robes and bearing a scroll and a scepter in the form of a crosier with a cross. On the other side is the image of St Ivan of Rila, the protector and patron of the Asen dynasty, with a cross and a scroll in his hand; his face is radiant.

Thus, the Bulgarian tsars' charters are unique sources as they have paleographic, historical and philological value. They continue to be the subject of close attention by researchers of various academic areas and have great potential for interdisciplinary research.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The Brashov treaty of Tsar Ivan Sratsimir. 14th century.
2. Vatopedi Charter of Ivan Asen II. 13th century.
3. Dubrovnik Charter of Ivan Asen II. 13th century.
4. Rila Charter of Ivan Shishman. 14th century.
5. A stamp with the image of Ivan Shishman, attached to the Rila Charter.
6. The Cover of the fundamental work of G. A. Il'insky, an outstanding researcher of Bulgarian royal charters.
7. Vatopedi Monastery on the Mount Athos.
8. The Monastery of Dragalevtsi near the city of Sofia in Bulgaria.
9. Zograph Monastery on the Mount Athos.
10. Rila Monastery.
11. The monastery of the Virgin Mother Eleussa near the city of Nessebar, Bulgaria.

MEDIEVAL BULGARIAN SHORT CHRONICLES¹

Abstract:

The paper examines short chronicles as an essential aspect of medieval Bulgarian literary culture, one that reflects changes in the perception of history by Bulgarian society during the Middle Ages. The Bulgarian short chronicle of the Tsar Simeon period, which is represented by *Istorikii* ("Histories") of Constantine of Preslav and the "Short Chronicler", initiated the evolution of the Bulgarians' historical consciousness to the gradual perception of Bulgarian history as part of universal Christian history. The Bulgarian short chronicle of the 14th century, which took the form of appendices to the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses, underlines the idea that the Bulgarians and the ruling Bulgarian dynasty are God's chosen people. The short chronicles of the 15th–16th centuries are the result of a Serbo-Bulgarian cultural synthesis; they symbolize the unity of Orthodox southern Slavs and their history under the conditions of Muslim Ottoman domination.

Keywords:

Middle Ages, Bulgaria, short chronicle, Constantine Manasses, Synod copy, Vatican copy, Vissarion chronicle, Sarandopor chronicle, Belyakovets chronicle, Gabarevo chronicle.

Аннотация: А.С. ДОВЫЧИНА. «БОЛГАРСКИЕ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ КРАТКИЕ ХРОНИКИ».

В статье рассмотрены краткие хроники как ключевая часть болгарской средневековой книжной культуры, отражающая изменения в восприятии истории болгарским обществом на протяжении всего Средневековья. Болгарская краткая хроника времен царя Симеона, представленная *Историкиями* Константина Преславского и *Летописцем вкратце*, положило начало появлению в болгарском историческом сознании идеи о болгарской истории как части мировой христианской истории. Болгарская краткая хроника XIV в. в виде добавок к Хронике Константина Манассии подчеркивает богоизбранность болгар и их династии. Краткие хроники XV–XVI вв. — результат болгаро-сербского культурного синтеза, они символизируют единство православных южных славян и их истории в условиях мусульманского османского владычества.

Ключевые слова:

Средние века, Болгария, краткая хроника, Константин Манассия, Синодальный список, Ватиканский список, Виссарионова летопись, Сарандопорская летопись, Беляковецкая летопись, Габаревская летопись.

Short chronicles are one of the most representative genres of Bulgarian medieval literature. They are characterized by their aim of describing the entirety of history in a brief form: from the creation of the world onwards, reckoning time on the basis of Tsardoms and ending with the present time. The tra-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

ditional manner of compiling a short chronicle presupposes the possibility of adding ever more relevant information to the chronicle as it becomes available. This peculiarity makes it a particularly valuable historical source.

The genre of the short chronicle was adopted by the Bulgarians from the neighboring Byzantine Empire, where it enjoyed wide popularity. While Byzantine historiography tended towards universal chronicles and narrative historical works, Bulgarian authors preferred to record the most significant facts and events of Bulgarian history in the form of short chronicles. In all likelihood, this feature of Bulgarian historiography dates back to the pre-Christian traditions of brief inscriptions of historical content on stones and columns, carried out at the order of the Bulgarian khans. It is to this period that the emergence of the Bulgarian short chronicle in the form of the Khan Chronicle can be attributed: the so-called “List of names of the Bulgarian khans” was composed in the eighth century with the aim of fixing the reigns of successive Bulgarian rulers.

The development of the genre continued under the rule of Simeon I the Great (893–927), when Bishop Constantine of Preslav, a prominent court scholar, created *Istorikii* (“Histories”, 893–94), a compilation of several chronicles. In *Izbornik* (collection) of the Russian Prince Svyatoslav of 1073, there was another work of this genre from the period of Simeon’s reign — “The Short Chronicler.” Both documents reflect the evolution of the Bulgarians’ historical consciousness to the gradual perception of history as being the result of divine providence.

Along with creating their own short chronicles, Bulgarian medieval scribes were actively engaged in translating Byzantine chronographs. A new stage in the development of this genre was marked by the translation of the universal poetic chronicle of a Byzantine writer of the 12th century — Constantine Manasses. The translation was made in 1340–45 at the court of Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331–71).

The appendices by the nameless translator of Bulgarian and world history to the text of the work of Manasses actually constitute a new Bulgarian short chronicle, which consists of 27 marginal notes, nine of which describe events in world history; the remaining 18 are devoted to the most important events in Bulgarian history. They concern the formation of the Bulgarian state in 680–81, the baptism of the Bulgarians under Boris I (852–89), the Bulgarian-Byzantine struggle and the establishment of “Greek domination” over Bulgarian lands in 1018. The last note of the chronicle is devoted to the revival of independent Bulgaria under the rule of Tsar Ivan Asen I (1190–95), which was supposed to complete the entire cycle of the history of Bulgarian statehood.

In the form of notes, the text is presented in the Synodal List of the *Chronicle of Constantine Manasses*, considered to be the closest to the original source, compiled for Tsar Ivan Alexander. It is now preserved in the Synodal Slavic collection of manuscripts of the Moscow State Historical Museum under № 38. The manuscript is made on so-called Carta Bombycina, a coarse rag paper imported from the East, and placed in a leather binding. The text was written in

semi-uncial script with red cinnabar. On sheet 140 there is mention of a copyist, a priest named Philip. The manuscript was probably created in the capital of medieval Bulgaria, Tarnovo, and the customer was a high-ranking hierarch. The manuscript was brought to Russia from Mt. Athos by Arseny Sukhanov, a famous church leader and statesman of the time of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich (1645–76).

By about the 1360s the short Bulgarian chronicle was transforming from marginal notes into a full-fledged text, occupying the entire page of the manuscript. This phenomenon is reflected in a later copy of the Manasses Chronicle, called the Vatican copy because of its current location: the Vatican Library under the code Cod. Vaticanus Slav. II. Judging by the magnificent design of the manuscript, researchers suspect that its customer was the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander himself.

The manuscript consists of 26 parchment notebooks, which seem originally to have been collected in a very ornate cover, but it was lost many years ago. The new cover was made in the 18th century at the order of Pope Pius VI. The text is written in a beautiful uncial. The scribe used red cinnabar for inscriptions, titles and individual initial letters. Some parts of the Bulgarian short chronicle are also written in red cinnabar, obviously with the aim of emphasizing the special importance of this component of the manuscript.

Apart from the text itself, 69 miniatures of the manuscript are of particular interest, a significant part of which is devoted to events in medieval Bulgarian history. They include, for example, a campaign of 811 against Bulgaria undertaken by the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I, a scene of the baptism of the Bulgarians, Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer ordering the blinding of 15,000 captured Bulgarians, and the death of Bulgarian Tsar Samuil after seeing an endless procession of his mutilated soldiers, etc. A separate place in the manuscript is occupied by images of the likely customer of the manuscript, Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander.

In the first miniature, for example, he is represented standing between Christ and Constantine Manasses. At the top of the sheet one can read the title of the Bulgarian ruler: “Ivan Alexander, in Christ the noble Tsar and Autocrat of all Bulgarians and Greeks.” Both elements, the inscription and the miniature, reflect the idea of the unity between the Church and the State and the harmonious connection between them.

After the conquest of the Balkan peninsula by the Ottoman Turks, the genre of the Bulgarian short chronicle was strongly influenced by Serbian literature. This was connected with the migration of Bulgarian culture to the southwest of the former Bulgarian state, emphasizing the idea of a South Slavic Orthodox unity. A great majority of the Bulgarian scribes started to use the Serbian orthography: they used the so-called Resava spelling and actively rewrote the Serbian chronicles, regarding Serbian history as something shared and thus “their own.”

A result characteristic of this Bulgarian-Serbian cultural synthesis was the creation of a short chronicle of the 16th century, from a collection of mixed contents now stored under № 49 in the monastery of Nicoljats in Montenegro. One of the scribes working on this manuscript was the hieromonk Vissarion, a famous scribe born in the city of Debar in modern North Macedonia. A short chronicle entitled *A Short Tale of Real Events from Adam to the Present Time* is located at the very end of the collection. It occupies six text-filled sheets; the first sheet and the end of the chronicle have been lost. The last event mentioned dates to 1496. Many milestones of Biblical history, the rule of Alexander the Great, Cleopatra, Emperor Constantine the Great, events of medieval Bulgarian and Serbian history, and the Ottoman conquest are recorded in this work.

A short chronicle from the beginning of the 16th century with a similar name — *A Short Tale* — is also called the Sarandopor chronicle. This work was placed in Service Book № E 543 from the Library of the Bosnian Zemal Museum in Sarajevo. It is assumed that the manuscript was copied from the Serbian original by a Bulgarian scribe in the monastery of St Joachim of Osogovo (Sarandopor) in modern North Macedonia. The chronicle consists of six full sheets without any signs of watermarks; half of the last, seventh sheet was lost. With the exception of this sheet, the text written in semi-uncial has come down to us in good condition. The beginning of the titles and, most significant from the standpoint of the copyist, the facts are written in red cinnabar.

The chronicle touches on events from Adam to 1512 (i.e., before the end of the reign of Sultan Bayezid II of Turkey). In accordance with the canons of the genre, events in the Sarandopor chronicle are presented in sequential order: those from the Bible, Byzantine times, medieval Balkan history, the Ottoman conquest, the Kosovo battle of 1389, the capture of the Bulgarian capital Tarnovo in 1393, the Varna battle of the Turks with the Crusaders in 1444, etc.



*Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander
between Christ and Manasses,
thumbnail of the Vatican List Chronicles
by Constantine Manasses
(14th – 15th century)*

Another short chronicle of Serbian origin is *A Short Description of Real Events from Adam to the Present Time*, which was very important for the historical consciousness of the Bulgarians. It survived in a Bulgarian copy, which is a part of the so-called Belyakovets' (as it was found in the village of Belyakovets near Veliko Tarnovo in Bulgaria) apocryphal collection of the second half of the 16th century. The manuscript is now a part of the collection of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius National Library of Sofia under № NBKM 309. The work contains references to significant events from the Bible, ancient Roman times, Byzantine times, the medieval history of the Balkan peoples and the Ottoman conquest. Researchers claim that the first part of the work dates back to the Byzantine chronicle authored by Constantinople Patriarch Nicephorus (806–15).

In addition, in the Bulgarian lands in the 16th century they also used to read a short Gabarevo chronicle of Serbian origin. It was discovered in the mid-19th century in the Bulgarian village of Gabarevo near the town of Kazanlak by a Russian scholar, V. I. Grigorovich, during his scientific research work in the Balkans. Now it is preserved in the State Scientific Library of Odessa under № 415 as a part of a collection of mixed contents, titled as "And this is the Chronicler of the Serbian Lord and Tsar." An interesting feature of this document is that, unlike other works of this genre, it does not begin from the creation of the world, but from the creation of the Slavic alphabet by St Cyril the Philosopher, the so-called "Slovenian teacher."

Thus, the short chronicles are an integral part of Bulgarian medieval book culture, reflecting changes in the perception of history by Bulgarian society. The Bulgarian short chronicle from the period of Tsar Simeon is permeated with ideas of divine providence and the participation of the Bulgarians in world Christian history. The Bulgarian short chronicle from the time of Tsar Ivan Alexander emphasizes that the Bulgarian people are God's chosen as is the ruling Bulgarian dynasty. Transcribed by Bulgarian scribes, the Serbian short chronicles of the 15th and 16th centuries symbolize the unity of the Orthodox Southern Slavs and their history under Ottoman rule.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Bulgarian short chronicle in the form of postscripts. Fragment of the Synodal List of the *Chronicle by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
2. Bulgarian short chronicle in the form of postscripts. Fragment of the Synodal List of the *Chronicle by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
3. Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander between Christ and Manasses. Thumbnail of the Vatican List *Chronicles by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
4. The scene of the baptism of the Bulgarians. Thumbnail of the Vatican List *Chronicles by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
5. The conquest of the Bulgarian tsardom by the Byzantines. Thumbnail of the Vatican List *Chronicles by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
6. Blinding of the captured Bulgarian by the Byzantine emperor Basil II the Bulgarian Slayer and the Death of the Bulgarian tsar Samuel at the sight of a string of his mutilated soldiers, thumbnail of the Vatican List *Chronicles by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
7. Transfer of the revered icon of Our Lady of Preslav to the Byzantine conquerors. Thumbnail of the Vatican List *Chronicles by Constantine Manasses*. 14th century.
8. The first sheet of a short chronicle in the Belyakovets collection. 16th century.
9. Sarandopore chronicler, fragment. Facsimile of the last 2 works. 16th century.
10. Monastery Nicoljats in Montenegro.

THE CHARTERS OF IVAN IV (THE TERRIBLE) TO THE HILANDAR AND RILA MONASTERIES¹

Abstract:

The paper examines letters patent and edict charters granted by the Russian Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) to the Serbian Hilandar community of monks at Athos and Rila monastery in Bulgaria. The majority of the sources were lost over time and they are available only in copies from the so-called Ambassadorial book of 1517–71 or in copies from the 17th century. The letters patent of Ivan IV (original and the so-called “word-for-word copy”) to Hilandar monastery are unique. They confirm its right to have its own metochion in Kitai-gorod near the Kremlin. The edict charters to the community of monks are of special interest, as they allowed the right of tax-free and unchecked passage through Russian territory together with the privilege of collecting donations.

Keywords:

Hilandar Monastery, Rila Monastery, Ivan IV the Terrible, letters patent, edict charters, Ktitoria.

Аннотация: А.С. Добычина. «Грамоты Ивана Грозного Хиландарскому и Рильскому монастырям».

В статье рассмотрены жалованные и указные грамоты, выданные русским царем Иваном IV сербскому Хиландарскому монастырю на Афоне и Рильскому в болгарских землях. Большая часть источников была утеряна со временем и дошла лишь в копиях из т.н. Посольской книги за 1517–71 гг. или списках XVII в. Уникальность представляют жалованные грамоты (оригинал и «дословная копия») Ивана Грозного Хиландарскому монастырю. Они подтверждали его право на подворье в Китай-городе близ Кремля. Интерес представляют и указные грамоты монахам, дававшие им право свободного и беспошлинного проезда по территории России с правом сбора милостыни.

Ключевые слова:

Хиландарский монастырь, Рильский монастырь, Иван IV Грозный, жалованные грамоты, указные грамоты, ктиторство.

The charters that the Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1530–84) granted to Serbian Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos and the Rila monastery in the Bulgarian lands are valuable sources for research on the history of relations between the Southern Slavs and Russia in the 16th century. On the one hand, it is well known that the 16th century was the time of the Ottoman Empire’s “Magnificent Century”, and where both of the aforementioned monasteries were located. On the other hand, it was also a period when the Empire started

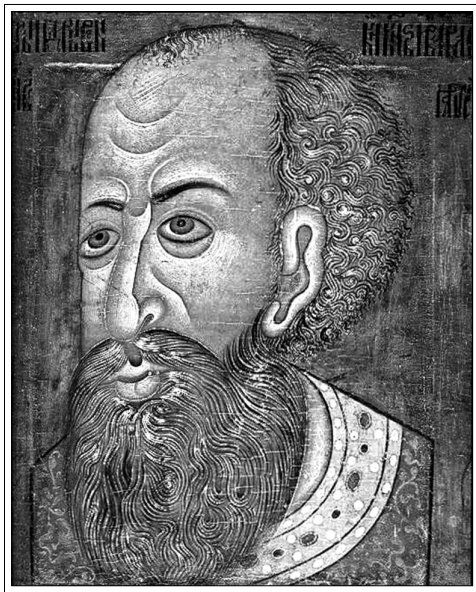
¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

to decline. Even during the lifetime of the Sultan Suleyman I (1520–66), the Orthodox monasteries, including those on Mt. Athos, faced serious financial difficulties, and under the rule of his son, Selim II (1566–74), the practice of seizing their property began.

The Ottoman authorities' arbitrary treatment created an atmosphere in which, in the 1550s, the Hilandar and Rila monasteries almost simultaneously turned for help to the Moscow state, which had grown in strength and which in the 16th century had attracted the attention of representatives of all of the Ottoman Empire's major Orthodox communities. The coronation in 1547 of the young Grand Prince, Ivan IV Vasilyevich, marked a new milestone in the development of the ideology, "Moscow, the Third Rome." It affirmed Russia's unique status as the successor of the Byzantine Empire and the defender of the interests of all orthodox believers. The Russian Tsar's triumphant victory in 1552 over the "fragment of the Golden Horde", the Kazan Khanate, contributed to strengthening Moscow's authority and became a symbol of Christians' successful struggle against the "godless" Muslim enemy.

The Serbian Hilandar monastery on Mt. Athos was the recipient of special attention by Ivan IV. Blood ties played a significant role in this: the Russian autocrat was related to the Serbian rulers on both the side of his grandmother, the Byzantine Princess Sofia Palaiologina, and that of his mother, Princess Helena Glinskaya. Protection of the Serbian Tsar's Hilandar Monastery was supposed to legitimize Ivan IV's new title and to increase the international prestige of Moscow, as well as to strengthen the position of the newly-minted Tsar within the country. It is no coincidence that the titles of the Russian autocrat and certain formulas in his charters were partially borrowed from the acts of Serbian Tsar Stefan Dushan (1346–55), who was a donator at Hilandar.

Who actually initiated establishing regular contacts between Moscow and the Hilandar monastery is still a matter of conjecture. A letter from the Serbian monks in 1550 reveals that they received a certain document written by Ivan IV expressing his desire to be a churchwarden of the monastery, but this document has not been preserved. In 1555 Hilandar officially accepted the Tsar's protection and was proclaimed "a second pilgrimage site," after the "first one": the Russian Panteleimon monastery on Mt. Athos. The abbot of the monastery, Paisius,



*Ivan IV the Terrible,
old painted portrait
(parsuna)*

who arrived in Moscow, presented sacred objects to the Tsar, which were very important to the Serbs: the cross worn by St Sava of Serbia and the relics of the Proto-martyr Stephen, the heavenly patron of the Serbian Nemanich dynasty. In response, in February 1557 the monastery received significant monetary donations from Ivan IV and his brother George, as well as a richly decorated curtain for the royal doors: the “catapetasm” (from the Greek *καταπέτασμα* — “curtain”), a special curtain usually placed behind the iconostasis, separating the royal doors and the altar throne.

Beginning in the 1550s the abbots and monks of Hilandar were frequent guests at the Moscow court and regularly received letters patent (charters) from the tsar, the so-called “chrysobulls” (from the Greek *χρυσόβουλλον* — golden seal), as well as edict (or “travel”) charters granting them the right of tax-free and unchecked passage through Russian territory together with the privilege of collecting donations. The texts of these documents are available in the Ambassadorial Book of 1517–71, located in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts. Most of these documents are not preserved in the original — only the aforementioned Ambassadorial Book allows us to judge their nature and content. Thanks to these records, it is known that Ivan the Terrible did not skimp on generous gifts to the monastery and regularly bestowed upon it substantial sums of money, furs, richly decorated precious church utensils and icons. Along with these “material” gifts, the monastery also received “spiritual” gifts — unique religious books intended for translation into Serbian.

The monastery was able to receive not just movable property as gifts but also some lands. Thus, in March 1556, the Tsar issued a letters patent granting the Hilandar monastery the exclusive right to own a metochion in Kitai-gorod on Nikolskaya Street near the Kremlin. The original of this document has been lost, but the monastery’s archive has preserved the original of another, dated 1571, confirming the Hilandar monastery’s right of ownership of the metochion at the same place.

The document is available in two copies: the original, and so-called “verbatim copy.” Both are on parchment; the text is written in the cursive of the 16th century. As a chrysobull, the document has a rich design: a headpiece, a field decoration with a picture of a flower in the upper part of the left field, initials executed in gold and bright colors. The first word in the charter, “Tsar,” is decorated in the form of a monogram. In the middle of the lower margin of the charter there were traces of a silk red cord attached to it. A gilded round seal is preserved separately from the document. On its front side there is a horseman striking a dragon with a spear and the inscription: “By the Grace of God, the Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasilyevich of All Russia.” On the reverse side there is a double-headed eagle with two crowns; the inscription reads: “Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod Tsar of Kazan and Astrakhan.” The “verbatim copy” of the charter is more modestly decorated: only the letters of the first line are ornamented. A red cord with a seal attached to it has also survived (unfortunately, the seal has been lost).

For the most part, the originals of Ivan IV's decrees, which regulated the Hilandar monks' movement around the country, have also been lost. The archive of the monastery has preserved the original of only one parchment "travel" charter of July 1556, which granted to Serbian monks the right of tax-free and unchecked passage through Russian territory, together with the privilege of collecting alms. Compared with the letters patent, the document has a modest design: it does not have any decorations, colored ink was not used, and the seal attached to the act has been lost.

The originals of Ivan IV's grants and decrees to the Bulgarian Rila Monastery (one of the largest centers of Orthodoxy in the Balkans and under the Tsar's special patronage) did not reach us. The attention the Russian ruler paid to the monastery was closely connected to the name he (Ivan the Terrible) shared with the founder of the community, St John (Ivan) of Rila.

It is well-known that the Rila monastery had strong, long-standing ties to the Russian St Panteleimon monastery on Mt. Athos, as evidenced by a contractual charter between them dated 1466. Close ties were obviously maintained between the Rila and Hilandar monasteries: it was at the Hilandar metochion in Kitai Gorod that the Rila monks stayed during their visits to Moscow. Based on a letter of the Rila elders to Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich Romanov (1613–45), we know that the monastery had chrysobullon letters patent from Ivan IV at its disposal. However, as the visiting monks themselves once complained to the Tsar, "the Tsar's writings sank in the Danube River for our sins."

Among copies from the 17th century, two edict charters have been preserved. They were granted to the Rila monks in 1558. One of them is dated November 1, 1558 and was given to the visitors from Rila: priest Joseph, deacon Cyril and the elder Eugene. In it the Tsar grants them duty-free passage and the right to collect alms in the lands to the north and northeast of Moscow. A December edict charter of the same year is addressed to coachmen on the road from Moscow to Smolensk and the Lithuanian border. It calls for providing transport and guides to the former abbot of the Rila monastery, Gregory, and accompanying monks from the monastery.

The letters patent and edict charters of Ivan IV granted to the two monasteries, the Serbian Hilandar on Mt. Athos and the Rila in the Bulgarian lands, are one-of-a-kind sources. They allow us to form a view of the active inter-Slavic Orthodox connections in the 16th century and Russia's role in their preservation and development. Despite the loss of most of the original documents, they continue to attract the close attention of researchers, as they have great potential for further study of this issue.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Rila Monastery in Bulgaria.
2. Hilandar Monastery on Athos, Greece.
3. The initial sheet of Ivan IV 's letters patent to the Hilandar Monastery. 1571.
4. Fragment of Ivan IV 's letters patent to the Hilandar Monastery, 1571.
5. Fragment of Embassadorial Book No. 1, containing information about the letters patent and edict charters of Ivan IV to the Orthodox centers in the Ottoman Empire.
6. Fragment of Embassadorial Book No. 1, containing information about the letters patent and edict charters of Ivan IV to the Orthodox centers in the Ottoman Empire.
7. Ivan IV the Terrible. Old painted portrait (parsuna).
8. Katapetasma (an offering of Ivan IV to the Hilandar Monastery).
9. The Nicolo-Greek Monastery near the Kremlin, where the historic Hilandar sub-church was located.
10. Cover of the work of the scholar A.N. Muravyov, who first made known some of Ivan IV 's letters patent and edict charters to the Orthodox centers in the Ottoman Empire.



PETER A.
ISKENDEROV

RUSSIAN CONSUL IVAN STEPANOVICH YASTREBOV ON THE POPULATION OF KOSOVO¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to the life and activities of a prominent Russian diplomat of the 19th century Ivan Yastrebov (1839–94). The author pays particular attention to the diplomat's written records evidencing the everyday life of the Serbs as well as the Albanians. The genesis of the Slav peoples in the Balkan Peninsula is also under examination.

Keywords:

Ivan Yastrebov, Russia, the Balkans, Serbia, Albania, Kosovo, ethno-genesis, everyday life.

АННОТАЦИЯ: П.А. ИСКЕНДЕРОВ. «РУССКИЙ КОНСУЛ ИВАН СТЕПАНОВИЧ ЯСТРЕБОВ О НАСЕЛЕНИИ КОСОВО».

Статья посвящена жизни и деятельности одного из ведущих российских дипломатов и специалистов по славянским народам Балканского полуострова И.С. Ястребова (1839–94). Особое внимание уделено его письменным свидетельствам об условиях жизни сербов и албанцев. В статье также рассматриваются вопросы этногенеза балканских славян.

Ключевые слова:

И.С. Ястребов, Россия, Балканы, Сербия, Албания, Косово, этногенез, повседневная жизнь.

Ivan Stepanovich Yastrebov (1839–94) was a Russian historian and ethnographer of the Balkans, a role he adopted as part of his diplomatic career. This began in the Asian department of the foreign ministry of the Russian empire, when he was 27 years old and a graduate of the Kazan Theological Academy. Yastrebov first trained at the Russian embassy in Constantinople, and the following year he became a secretary and dragoman (that is, a translator) of the Russian consulate in the Albanian city of Shkoder (Scutari) and soon headed the Russian delegation there. A little later, in 1870, Yastrebov took the post of vice consul in Prizren, an important political and cultural center of European Turkey, which, with good reason, was called the “Serbian Tsar’grad.” Four years later he was appointed to the Greek city of Yanina, and then again found himself in Prizren as a Russian consul. The final stage of Yastrebov’s diplomatic career was his position as Russian Consul General in Thessalonica.

Thanks to his linguistic talent (Yastrebov mastered Albanian, Arabic, Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian and Turkish) and a natural talent for observation, he be-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

came one of the foremost experts on the Balkans and amassed an enormous amount of knowledge about the living conditions of the peoples in this region. Yastrebov understood with clarity their aspirations and concerns, as well as the subtleties of interethnic and interfaith relationships among the local population. The rich historical and ethnographic material collected by Yastrebov formed the basis of his scientific works, primary among which was *"The Customs and Songs of Turkish Serbs in Prizren, Ipekka, Morava and Dabre"* (St. Petersburg, 1886; three years later the book was reprinted with addenda), *"Addenda for the history of the Serbian Church. From the traveler of the record-writer"* (Beograd, 1879) and *"Old Serbia and Albania. Travel Notes"* // Spomenik SKA XLI. Second razred. (Beograd, 1904). In addition, he published his correspondence and articles in Serbian and Russian journals such as "The Orthodox Review", *Novoye Vremya*, "The News of St. Petersburg Slavic Charitable Society", *Glasnik Srpskog Uchenog drustva*, etc.

In his works, Yastrebov mainly focused on the problem of the ethno-confessional composition of the population in the contentious areas already claimed by various Balkan countries and rulers. Above all, it concerned Kosovo, which in the Serbian historical tradition is called "Old Serbia." The Russian diplomat was the first to undertake a detailed analysis of the processes of Islamization and Albanization of the Orthodox Serbian population in this part of the Balkans. He emphasized that local Slavs who accepted Islam continued to observe Orthodox church holidays. Yastrebov wrote that in Prizren on the day of St George, *poturchentsy* (Serbs who had converted to Islam) did not work and did not trade. This holiday in particular, he said, was the major holiday of Serbs in Kosovo: for both Orthodox and Muslims.

Yastrebov stated that for Serbs there is no more important oath than an oath to the saint considered to be the patron saint of their ancestors and their family's descendants. Even the most destitute Serbs prepared for their patron saint's day with special diligence and reverence, celebrating him very solemnly. In his words, the Serbs call this day "Krsno Ime" — i.e., "The name of the cross," "Sveti" — i.e. "Holy" or simply "Glory."

During his many years in Old Serbia and Albania, Yastrebov observed a multitude of customs and witnessed how they were performed at home and in gath-



Diplomat, ethnographer
I.S. Yastrebov

erings. The celebration of the above-mentioned holiday made the strongest impression on him. In addition, he wrote that the Serbs celebrated it not just in Serbia itself, but also wherever they lived: in Austria, Hungary, Bosnia, Montenegro, on the Kosovo field, on the Morava, in the Prizren region, as well as in the Skoplen, Veles, Prilep, Bitola and Ohrid districts, Dabar, and in the vicinity of Tetovo. Yastrebov testified that all residents within these areas, excluding the Aromanians and Hellenized Walachians, spoke the Slavic-Serbian dialect and faithfully observed this custom, which had acquired the status of a religious rite.

In Yastrebov's estimation, the process of the Islamization of the Serbs began at the very beginning of the 19th century, when the representatives of the older generation in the Opol'e region communicated primarily only in Serbian. With respect to the district of Lyuma, located on the road from Prizren (Kosovo) to Central Albania, Yastrebov wrote in the 1870s that about half a century previously the Lyumlian fathers spoke Serbian. According to his statement, the names of the villages near Lyuma and Opol'e were Serbian.

He observed that Kosovo Serbs sometimes had two names, one Christian and the other Muslim. In the Opol'e region, there were few "real" Albanians, i.e., people from the central Albanian regions of Mat and Dukadzhin. The majority of the population were already Albanized Serbs. Yastrebov attested that about three decades earlier people usually lit a ritual bonfire in Opol'e on Orthodox Christmas Eve. In the village of Brod-u-Gori, according to the stories of local inhabitants,



*View of the city of Prizren,
where I.S. Yastrebov worked as a Russian consul*

there used to be three churches, and local elders recalled how, as children, they used to go to the Church of St Nicholas, and their parents would put candles on their ancestors' graves at the local Orthodox cemetery.

Yastrebov called the Islamized and Albanianized Serbs "Arnautashes" and believed that they differed from the "true" Albanians of "Arnauts": natives of the western regions of the Balkans. In pointing out the differences, he wrote that the *Arnautashes* barely knew what honor was, they were deceitful and did not keep their word. The "real" *Arnautes*, however, behaved differently: they were faithful to their word, would not betray anyone and knew what honesty was. While the *Arnautashes* toadied up to everyone, and their behavior towards the authorities was vile, hypocritical and full of pretense, the *Arnautes* in such circumstances behaved nobly and with dignity.

It was Yastrebov who first introduced into Russian diplomatic language and scientific use such ethnic definitions as the "internal" Serbs and Bulgarians.

The process of the Islamization of the local Serbs gave rise to complex and painful feelings in self-identification and everyday behavior. The Orthodox, he observed, tried to preserve the Serbian language until they converted to Islam. After that, the local Serbs would be ashamed to speak their native language, lest they be called a *poturchenets*. For this reason, such Serbs began to hate their native Serbian language. According to Yastrebov, in the Debar region, east of Korab and in the foothills of the Sharr Mountains, there were about 30 villages inhabited by Orthodox Christians who bore Serbian names but spoke Albanian. According to him, only in the village of Skurdina did the inhabitants, which included Muslims, speak Slavic Serbian.

In his work Yastrebov also paid a great deal of attention to the customs and everyday life of the people of Kosovo. Per his observation, in such relatively large cities as Pech, Prizren, Prishtina and Dzhakovitsa, the local population had little that unified them. Christians and Muslims, he said, led reclusive lives, especially the women.

The writings of I. S. Yastrebov also contain information that allows us to assess the rate of Islamization of the Serbian population of Kosovo. Thus, in the area of the famous Serbian Orthodox monastery of Dechany, in the last twenty years of the 19th century the number of houses inhabited by Orthodox Serbs decreased by more than three times: from 165 to 50. The Russian diplomat testified that it was only by a miracle that the church survived and was never converted into a mosque.

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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1. Diplomat, ethnographer I.S. Yastrebov.
2. View of Shkodra, the city where the Russian consulate I.S. Yastrebov worked as a translator, secretary, and then consul.
3. Orthodox Serbian monastery Visoki Dechany.
4. View of Prizren, the city where I.S. Yastrebov worked as a Russian consul.
5. The Cover of the book by I.S. Yastrebov "Customs and songs of the Turkish Serbs. The second edition, supplemented by their prose." St. Petersburg, 1889.
6. View of Thessalonica, where I.S. Yastrebov served as the Russian Consul General several years until his death.

THE FIRST ALBANIAN EDUCATOR, NAUM VEKILHARDZHI¹

Abstract:

The article deals with one of the leading figures of the Albanian national movement N. Vekilhardzhi (1797–1854). The author focuses on his efforts to protect the Slavic culture of the Balkan Peninsula. The article also discusses the issues of Slavic heritage in Albanian writing and culture.

Keywords:

N. Vekilhardzhi, the Balkans, Serbia, Albania, Kosovo, Slavic culture, the alphabet.

Аннотация: П.А. ИСКЕНДЕРОВ. «ПЕРВЫЙ АЛБАНСКИЙ ПРОСВЕТИТЕЛЬ НАУМ ВЕКИЛЬХАРДЖИ».

Статья посвящена одному из ведущих деятелей албанского национального движения Н. Векильхарджи (1797–1854). Автор уделяет основное внимание его усилиям по защите славянской культуры Балканского полуострова. В статье также рассматриваются вопросы славянского наследия в албанской письменности и культуре.

Ключевые слова:

Н. Векильхарджи, Балканы, Сербия, Албания, Косово, славянская культура, алфавит.

Naum Vekilhardzhi is the first Albanian educator (1797–1856), one of the founders of the national movement in Albania, an ideologue of Albanian education who made a great contribution to the protection and development of Orthodox culture in his country. In his articles and political manifestos, he advocated the need to preserve the Slavic and Orthodox heritage of the Albanians, whom he regarded as one people, regardless of the ethnic and religious characteristics of particular ethnic groups belonging to it.

Naum Vekilhardzhi was born into an Orthodox family in a village in the region of the southern Albanian city of Korcha and inherited an interest in the Slavic heritage of Albanian writing and culture from his father, Panayot Vekilhardzhi, an Albanized Aroman. In 1807–09, in the midst of yet another Russo-Turkish war, Panayot held the position under the Turkish pasha of century master (manager) of the Izmail fortress, then besieged by Russian troops, and passed along valuable military information to the Russian command. It is interesting that it was the Albanian pronunciation of Panayot Vekilhardzhi's post that determined his family's surname.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

After the Turkish authorities found out about the active contacts with the Russians by the pasha's adviser in Izmael, reprisals were launched against his family, resulting in the execution of Panayot's brother. He himself, however, managed to escape with his family to the port city of Galati in Moldova, where in 1821 a Greek national liberation uprising broke out under the leadership of Alexander Ypsilanti. Naum Vekilhardzhi, along with his 15-year-old brother Constantine, joined the rebels, and at the age of 24 he became a commander of the rebels.

After the defeat of the uprising in Galati, the Vekilhardzhi family found refuge in Bessarabia. There, Naum established close contacts among the Slavic and Balkan emigres, including with Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks. These contacts and the informa-



*A portrait of
Naum Vekilhardzhi*

tion he received convinced him of the common interests of all Balkan peoples in matters of national liberation and the preservation of their language and culture.

In 1830, Naum Vekilhardzhi moved to Walachia, where he lived for 15 years in the port city of Braila, working as a lawyer. He later moved to Bucharest, the then center for emigrants from the Ottoman regions of the Balkan Peninsula. He established friendly relations with many prominent representatives of the Slavic peoples, in particular, with the famous Bulgarian enlightener I. Seliminsky. This circumstance had a significant impact on his views, which were distinguished by their internationalist character.

In the 1830s, most of Naum Vekilhardzhi's relatives positioned themselves as Greeks, but he steadfastly insisted that he was Albanian. He characterized the role of language and culture in preserving and strengthening national identity as follows: "Letters are one of the first written foundations of the idea of the movement of the Albanian national awakening."

For obvious reasons, Naum Vekilhardzhi paid special attention to the development of the Albanian language and literature, tirelessly stressing the need to preserve the Slavic and Orthodox heritage in Albania, which he considered to be an integral part of the Albanian ethnos. Having created and published the first primer and textbook of the Albanian language, he simultaneously wrote and sent to all regions of Albania a special "circular letter" (first published in 1845), addressed to "all wealthy and educated Orthodox Albanians."

In this document, the outstanding Albanian enlightener emphasized the equal importance and rights of all three religions that had historically become widespread in the Albanian lands: Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism. Naum Vekil-

Vithkuqi	Modern	Vithkuqi	Modern	Vithkuqi	Modern	Vithkuqi	Modern	Vithkuqi	Modern	Vithkuqi	Modern
Q q	A a	Y y	V v	L l	TH th	h h	N n	t t	T t	X x	
U u	Ë ë	B b	B B b	W w	Z z	U u	NJ nj	F f	F f	E e	
I i	I i	G g	G g	K k	K k	P p	P p	H h	H h	LL ll	
O o	O o	J j	J j	Q q	Q q	R r	R r	H h	H h		
U u	U u	DH dh	DH dh	L l	L l	S s	S s	C c	C c		
Y y	Y y	D d	D d	M m	M m	SH sh	SH sh	Ç ç	Ç ç		

Page of the first ABC book and textbook of the Albanian language, released by N. Vekilhardzhi in 1845

hardzhi emphasized that the Albanian people were united, despite the religious differences among them. According to him, the language, customs and habits of the Albanians had absorbed influences of various ethnic and religious groups and movements, but the Albanian people themselves were one. According to the historical tradition of not only Albania but of other Balkan countries as well, it was Naum Vekilhardzhi's appeal to the Orthodox Albanians that marked the beginning of the Albanian revival, the development of which he saw in close co-operation with neighboring Balkan peoples, including Orthodox. The educator compared the Albanian nation with a larva that would one day become a butterfly.

Naum Vekilhardzhi's educational activities were chiefly focused on the areas of southern Albania with a predominantly Orthodox population. However, he encountered harsh opposition from the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The latter regarded the entire Orthodox population of the Balkans as Greeks, since they were subordinated to its church. In Naum Vekilhardzhi's cultural and educational activities among the Orthodox, the Diocese of Constantinople saw a threat to its interests. According to one historical version, it was agents of the Constantinople Patriarchate who lured Vekilhardzhi to Istanbul, where they poisoned him in 1854.

It was not only the Patriarchate of Constantinople that battled against the progressive ideas of the Albanian enlightener-internationalist, but also authorities of the Ottoman Empire, who spread Pan-Islam among the Albanians. "The Turks, on the one hand, and the Patriarchate, on the other, stubbornly refused to give the Albanians literacy, to create an alphabet for them, and to translate several books into their language," reported A.S. Ionin, the Russian consul in Yanina.

Naum Vekilhardzhi knew the history and culture of not only the Slavic peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, but also Russia. One of his favorite historical characters, in particular, was the Russian Emperor Peter I. According to Vekilhardzhi, Peter opened a "new era" in the history of his people and of the state.

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Portrait of Naum Vekilhardzhi, one of the founders of the national movement in Albania, ideologist of Albanian education, writer, translator and lawyer.
2. The south Albanian city of Korcha, in the vicinity of which N. Vekilhardzhi was born.
3. View of the Romanian city of Braila, where N. Vekilhardzhi lived in exile for 15 years.
4. Picture of Naum Vekilhardzhi with anti-Turkish rebels (bottom row, first on the right).
5. Bucharest — the center of emigration from the Ottoman regions of the Balkan Peninsula of the 19th century. N. Vekilhardzhi created his main works there.
6. Page of the first ABC book and textbook of the Albanian language, released by N. Vekilhardzhi in 1845.



IGOR I.
KALIGANOV

THE OSTROMIR GOSPEL: THE OLDEST DATED HANDWRITTEN BOOK OF THE EAST SLAVS¹

Abstract:

The article talks about the oldest East Slavic dated manuscript: the Ostromir Gospel 1056–57. It takes its name from the Novgorod mayor Ostromir, a trusted associate of the Kievan Prince, who appointed him to manage the city. It is most likely that Ostromir presented this splendid gospel at the newly built cathedral of St. Sophia, the main church of northwest Rus'. This precious manuscript had a colourful fate: in addition to Novgorod, it was at various times kept in Moscow and St. Petersburg, in possession of Russian emperors and empresses until it was transferred in the early 19th century to library storage and is now located in the Russian National Library of St. Petersburg. The Ostromir Gospel serves as an excellent model for studying the written literary language of Old Rus', Slavo-Russian paleography and the art of illuminated manuscripts, in particular their initials, borders and miniatures. The distant protograph of Ostromir Gospel may have been one of the Bulgarian manuscripts from Great Preslav, the capital of Bulgaria at the end of the 9th — 10th centuries.

Keywords:

The oldest East Slavic dated manuscript, Novgorod, city ruler Ostromir, distant Bulgarian protograph.

Аннотация: И.И. Калиганов. «Древнейшая датированная восточнославянская рукописная книга, Остромирово Евангелие».

В статье рассказывается о древнейшей восточнославянской датированной рукописи: Остромировом Евангелии 1056–57 гг. Оно получило свое название по имени новгородского посадника Остромира — доверенного лица киевского князя, назначенного им для управления городом. Скорее всего, Остромир вложил это роскошное Евангелие в только что выстроенный собор Св. Софии — главный храм Северо-Западной Руси. У этой драгоценной рукописи была переменчивая судьба: кроме Новгорода, она побывала в Москве и Санкт-Петербурге, принадлежала русским императорам и императрицам, пока не была передана в начале XIX в. на библиотечное хранение. Находящееся ныне в Российской национальной библиотеке Санкт-Петербурга Остромирово Евангелие служит прекрасным образцом для изучения литературно-книжного языка Древней Руси, славяно-русской палеографии и искусства иллюминации рукописных книг: инициалов, заставок и миниатюр. Дальним протографом Остромирова Евангелия, возможно, послужила одна из болгарских рукописей из Великого Преслава — столицы Болгарии в конце IX–X вв.

Ключевые слова:

Древнейшая восточнославянская датированная рукопись, Новгород, посадник Остромир, отдаленный болгарский протограф.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The Ostromir Gospel is the oldest dated manuscript (1056–57) of the Eastern Slavs measuring 35.5 x 29 cm, on 294 parchment sheets. It is written in a large script in two columns, each of which has an average of 18 lines; the size of the text field is 20 x 24 cm, the size of the letters is from 5 to 7 mm. The manuscript is richly illuminated; it contains miniatures with images of the Evangelists, headpieces, as well as numerous large, medium and small initials. The large initial “B”, which is sometimes zoomorphic or anthropomorphic, is found most often in the text. Cinnabar, gold particles, green, red, brown, yellow and blue paints were used for decoration. The content of the manuscript is a short Book of the Gospels, the main part (s. 2–204) of which are daily readings for the 50 days from Easter to Pentecost, as well as Saturday and Sunday readings for the subsequent weeks of the year. Readings according to the menology from September and for various specific occasions are also inserted within it: for the consecration of a church, “on the tsar’s victory in battle”, etc.



Luke the Evangelist,
miniature from the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 87 r.

On the reverse side of sheet 293 of the Gospel is a record that clarifies the circumstances of the appearance of this manuscript. Judging by the data contained in it, Deacon Gregory worked on its creation for seven months (from 21 October of 1056 to 12 May of 1057). He began to work on it by order of the son of Yaroslav the Wise, the Grand Prince of Kiev, Izyaslav. The manuscript was intended for a close princely relative of the Novgorod mayor Ostromir. In Kievan Rus', the office of the mayor of Novgorod, the second largest city of the state, was a very high position. The mayor was the key figure in Novgorod; he was placed by the Prince of Kiev to rule the city in order to represent the princely interests in it. The Kiev appointee was invested with complete power: he administered the court, was in charge of defense and of Novgorod's trade relations with other Russian and foreign cities. Deacon Gregory calls the mayor by the pagan name of Ostromir, although he presents the name given to him at baptism — Joseph. At the end of the record, the scribe wishes health not only to Ostromir but also to his wife Theophane, their children and the wives of their children. At the same time, Gregory communicated that he had tried to work on the manuscript as carefully as possible and asked not to be cursed for any errors discovered, but to correct them and bless them: a rule encouraged by the apostle Paul.

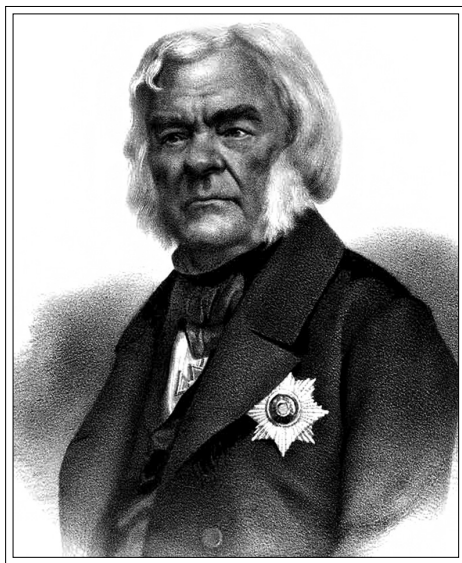
Ostromir came from a noble family: his grandfather Dobrynya was the uncle of the baptizer of Russia, Prince Vladimir, and served as the prototype of the epic hero Dobrynya Nikitich. As for Ostromir himself, he was a cousin of the aforementioned Grand Prince Izyaslav. The magnificent Gospel made for him was most likely intended to be used when he was placed on the throne of St Sophia Cathedral, the main church of northwest Russia, which had just been built in Novgorod (1045–50). After receiving the gospel, Ostromir-Joseph reigned for a relatively short time. Three years later he died, having led the Novgorod militia during a campaign against the *Chud'* (Finnish tribes).

It is not known how long the Ostromir Gospel remained in Novgorod after that. It could have been brought to Moscow by a well-known book lover, the Novgorod archbishop Macarius, who, under Ivan the Terrible, became the Metropolitan of Moscow in 1542, i.e., the head of the Russian Orthodox Church. Or this may have happened later during the punitive campaign against Novgorod in 1570 by Ivan the Terrible himself. In any case, at the beginning of the 18th century the Ostromir Gospel was already stored in the Resurrection Church of the complex of *Verkhne Spassky* Cathedral, which was the home church of Russian tsars at the *Terem Palace* of the Moscow Kremlin. In 1720 the manuscript was handed over to Peter I, and together with other books it ended up in St. Petersburg, belonging in turn to members of the Russian imperial family. In 1806 the Russian Emperor Alexander I ordered the manuscript be transferred to the Imperial Public Library (now the Russian National Library), where it is still stored under the code F. n.1.5. Unfortunately, the magnificent gilded cover of the Ostromir Gospel, made in 1851 at the expense of Moscow merchants, almost led to the destruction of the manuscript. In 1932 a vandal plumber broke into the

display case where it was stored, stripped off the precious binding and threw it behind a bookcase. After the mutilated manuscript was discovered, it was decided not to rebind it, and it was placed for preservation in an oak casket.

The text of the Ostromir Gospel has been published numerous times. It was first published by Russian scholar A. Kh. Vostokov, who in 1843 carried out the typesetting of the text of the document, accompanied by a brief grammar of the Old Russian language and the subscript Greek text. About four decades later, a facsimile edition of this rare manuscript, important for its paleographic study, was issued at the expense of Russian merchant Ilya Kirillovich Savinkov. It is worth noting the expensive gift edition in color of the Ostromir Gospel, printed in Leningrad in 1988 in connection with the 1000th anniversary of the baptism of Russia. Grammars and dictionaries of the Old Slavonic language were created and continue to be created on the basis of the text of the document. The language of the manuscript reflects the features of the archaic written literary Old Church Slavonic language, which was then spread in Kievan Rus' through translated Bulgarian books. (Deacon Gregory probably copied a distant text of Bulgarian origin: apparently, it was a manuscript created at the beginning of the reign of Bulgarian Tsar Simeon the Great.) At the same time, local Russian linguistic features are observable in this language, which makes it possible to conjecture that by that time some of the Eastern Slavs had a Russian edition of the Old Slavic language. This can be seen, for example, in the instances of the use of full consonance, mixing ancient Slavic nasal vowels **А**, **ІА**, **Ж** and **ІЖ** with **ОУ**, **Ю** and **Я** or using reduced **Р** and **Л** instead of syllable **Рѣ**, **Рѣ** and **Лѣ**, **Лѣ**. In the decoration of the manuscript, one feels a connection not only with the artistic traditions of Byzantium and Bulgaria, but also with Western Europe.

As a result of a thorough codicological and paleographic study of the Ostromir Gospel, it was established that at least three scribes took part in its creation and that special “ecophonic” (musical) icons were not always put in the right places. In general, scientific study of the manuscript cannot be considered complete. For example, to this day the controversial issue of whether it was created in Kiev or Novgorod has not been resolved, and currently the arguments of the supporters of the both sides remain approximately equal. Further study of the



Russian scholar A. Kh. Vostokov (1781–1864), who carried out the first typesetting of the Ostromir Gospel in 1843 in St. Petersburg

document will certainly lead to new and perhaps unexpected scientific discoveries.

The only thing that is not in doubt is the great importance of the Ostromir Gospel to the history of earliest writing among the Eastern and Southern Slavs. It is no coincidence that in 2011, UNESCO included the Ostromir Gospel in the list “Memory of the World” — a register that usually includes the most significant documents of the world’s cultural heritage.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. John the Evangelist, miniature from the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 1 r.
2. Border before readings from the Gospel of John, thumbnail from the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 2.
3. Luke the Evangelist, miniature from the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 87 r.
4. Mark the Evangelist, miniature from the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 126.
5. Large anthropomorphic initial “B”. Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 68.
6. Testimony by the scribe Deacon Gregory on the circumstances of his writing the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 293.
7. Testimony by the scribe Deacon Gregory on the circumstances of his writing the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. S. 293 r.
8. General view of the *Verkhnē Spassky* Cathedral — the house church of the Russian tsars at the *Terem Palace* of the Moscow Kremlin, where the Ostromir Gospel was located in the early decades of the 18th century.
9. Russian scholar A. Kh. Vostokov (1781–1864), who carried out the first typesetting of the Ostromir Gospel in 1843 in St. Petersburg.
10. The cover of the first typesetting of the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57, which was carried out in St. Petersburg in 1843 by the Russian scholar A. Kh. Vostokov.

HOLY ARCHBISHOP SAVA: THE EHLIGHTENER AND HEAVENLY PATRON OF SERBIA¹

Abstract:

The article discusses St Sava of Serbia (c. 1170–1235), the greatest figure in the history of religious and cultural life of the orthodox Slavs in the Balkans from the late 12th century to the first third of the 13th century. He was the creator and Archbishop of the autocephalous Serbian Church, the distributor among the Serbs of first codes of church and secular laws and the first known Serbian translator and writer. After his death, Sava was proclaimed a saint, became one of the main heroes of Serbian literature and folklore, and became honored as a heavenly defender of Serbia and protector of Serbian education.

Keywords:

Serbia, St Sava, autocephalous Serbian church, hagiography, first Serbian lives of saints, services and chants, spiritual relations between South and East Slavs.

Аннотация: И.И. Калиганов. «Просветитель и небесный защитник Сербии, св. архиепископ Савва».

В статье рассказывается о св. Савве Сербском (ок. 1169–1236) — крупнейшей фигуре в истории религиозной и культурной жизни православных славян на Балканах в конце XII — первой трети XIII в. Он являлся создателем и предстоятелем автокефальной Сербской церкви, первым распространителем среди сербов сводов церковных и светских законов, первым известным сербским переводчиком и писателем. После смерти Савва был провозглашен святым, сделался одним из главных героев сербской литературы и фольклора, стал почитаться как небесный защитник Сербии и пособник сербского образования.

Ключевые слова:

Сербия, св. Савва, появление самостоятельной Сербской церкви, начало сербской переводной и оригинальной литературы.

St Archbishop Sava was the leading figure in the history of the religious and cultural life of Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans from the late 12th century to the first third of the 13th century, the founder of the autocephalous Serbian church, its first archbishop, the first distributor of church and secular laws among the Serbs, the first famous Serbian translator and writer. He was canonized as a saint immediately after his death, was one of the main heroes of Serbian medieval literature and folklore, and was revered as the patron saint of education and the defender of Serbia.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Rastko (such was the secular name of the future St Sava) was born into the family of the unifier of the Serbian lands, the Great Zhupan (Prince) Stefan Nemanya (1113–99). Just like his brothers Stefan and Vukan, he was destined for the typical life of the sons of a ruler: marriage and inheriting from the father's estate. However, at the age of 16, the book-loving and devout Rastko secretly fled to Mount Athos, where he took monastic vows under the name of Sava. There he settled for a long time in the monastery of Vatopedi, worked in several Athonite monasteries and set up a cell for two to three monks and in it the Church of Sava Sanctified. He translated from the Greek language for them and provided his own additions to the so-called *Karyes Tipicon* — a set of strict monastic rules for the Serbian inhabitants of this cell, which then became the basis for the provisions of monastic life in the monasteries of Serbia. With the generous donations of his father, Sava built three temples on Athos and residential buildings for monks and pilgrims. In 1197 his father voluntarily handed the throne over to his son, Stefan, took monastic vows under the name of Simeon, and retired to the “zaduzhbina”² he had built: the monastery of Studenitsa. A little later he came to Mount Athos at the invitation of Sava, after which a flood of donations poured into the Athos monasteries. For this, Sava was called the “second donator,” the first being the Byzantine Emperor. In 1197 the father and son of the Nemanich dynasty asked the Byzantine emperor, Alexis III Angel, to grant them the Hilandar monastery, which had been abandoned after a pirate attack, in order to rebuild it for Serbian monasticism. Later, around 1200, Sava translated for this monastery the Greek charter of the Constantinople monastery of the Virgin Mary Evergetissa, providing his translation with the necessary changes and additions. Thus his famous *Hilandar Tipicon* was born. After that time Hilandar became one of the main centers of spiritual life of medieval Serbia. On 13 February 1199, Sava's father died, and was almost immediately thereafter proclaimed a saint, becoming the first Serb elevated to the rank of sainthood. For his canonization, Sava wrote the Life and service of St Simeon, the first hagiographic and hymnographic memorial, laying the foundations of Serbian original literature.

In 1204 Sava was placed in the archimandrites, but he did not remain on Mt. Athos for a long time thereafter. In the same year, crusaders seized Constantinople (where they remained until 1261), and there was a real threat of the capture of Athos by the “Latins.” Additionally, his brothers Stefan and Vukan were engaged in an internecine struggle in Serbia. Therefore, in 1207 Sava left Athos together with the myrrh-flowing relics of his father, St Simeon, and moved to the Studenitsa monastery, becoming its abbot. A year later the saint created the *Studenitsa Tipicon*, based on his earlier translation of the Tipicon for the Hilandar monastery. Thanks to his moral authority, Sava was able to reconcile his brothers and peace in the country was restored, but the ascetic was very worried

² The monastery, which the Serbian rulers usually built as their own tomb in commemoration of their souls.

about the strengthening of the Latin influence in Serbia. The Latin Empire was established on a sizable part of the Byzantine possessions. His brother Stefan, the supreme ruler of Serbia, received the royal crown from the Pope and acknowledged himself to be a papal vassal.

Struggling with the strengthening of Latin influence, Sava re-crowned his brother Stefan as king, now in the Byzantine Orthodox rite, and he received the nickname First-Crowned. The ascetic began to consistently push for the creation of an independent Serbian church, and his diplomatic efforts were soon successful. In 1218, at the Council in Nicaea, the Serbian National Church was proclaimed an autocephalous archbishopric, and the next year Sava was elected its head. From his residence, the monastery of Zhicha, Sava sent his disciples to all of the Serbian borders, creating ex cathedra in them. Responding to the needs of the Serbian state and the church, Sava confirmed the foundations of church and secular laws in Serbia by translating and adapting the Byzantine *Nomocanon* (or “Book of the Helmsman”). In compiling this code around 1220, Sava involved Serbian and Russian Athos translators and used the already available Slavic translations of the *Nomocanon* (Cyril and Methodius from 9th century and Russian from the 11th century), various Byzantine editions and numerous later interpretations of its text.

In 1229–30 and 1234–35 Sava made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and before the second trip he voluntarily handed over his throne to his disciple, Arseny. From Jerusalem the ascetic sent letters to the Studenitsa abbot, Spiridon, and thereby laid the foundations of Serbian epistolography, based on Byzantine traditions. While returning to his homeland from his second trip, Sava died in the Bulgarian capital of Veliko Tarnovo and was solemnly buried there. A year later Sava’s nephew, King Vladislav, transferred the relics of his uncle to the Serbian monastery of Milieshevo. There they became the object of worship for the Serbs, who flocked to them from all corners of their native lands for several centuries. The veneration of Sava as the defender of Serbia was especially strengthened after the conquest of the country by the Turks in the mid-15th century.

The fate of the works of Sava of Serbia was largely determined by their purpose. The *Karyes Tipicon* was created for a specific place, a monastic cell or a small monastery, and was therefore preserved in a single old copy during the lifetime of the ascetic (however, it was not written by him). This copy is stored in the library of the Hilandar monastery. As for the communal code of this monastery itself, it was distributed and preserved in several copies, including one dated no later than 1206 and located in the archive of Hilandar. Sava’s *Tipicon of Studenitsa* was addressed to the monastic fraternity and survived in only two copies from 1619 and 1760, stored in the Prague Folk Museum and the National and University Library of Zagreb. The ascetic’s *Nomocanon* gained wider fame in the Slavic world and has come down to us in a considerable number of Serbian copies dating from the 13th century to the 16th century, the earliest of which is Ilovitsky (1262). In the third decade of the 13th century, the translation of Sava’s *Nomo-*

canon came to Bulgaria, and from there forty years later to Russia, where it was called *Book of the Helmsman*. This church-legal collection was often copied in Russia between the 13th and the 17th century by local scribes, thereby creating several new editions. In the middle of the 17th century, Sava's *Book of the Helmsman* was published by the Moscow Printing House with many additions, after which the publication spread to the Balkans and influenced the development of Serbian church law up to and including in the 18th century.

St Sava was also the founder of Serbian hagiography and hymnography. He is the author of the two Lives of his father, St Simeon, and a service to the ascetic. He included the first short Life in the *Hilandar Tipicon*, relating the last days of the life and death of his parent, St Simeon. More interesting from a literary and historical point of view is the second of his Lives. It is more extensive and represents an introduction to the *Studenitsa Tipicon* to introduce the monastery brethren to the circumstances of the monastery's origins and clarify the significance of its existence. Sava compiled it based on Byzantine hagiographic traditions, often using elements of rhetoric, quotations from the Holy Scriptures and drawing parallels between the acts of St Simeon with the actions of illustrious biblical figures. In talking about the secular life of his hero, for the first time in Serbian literature Sava creates the image of the ideal ruler of the state and a true Christian. Stefan Nemanya was able to strengthen Serbian power, to regain all of the previously lost Serbian possessions, and to ensure the country's peace and prosperity throughout his 37-year reign. He was pious and godly, generously endowed the Church, honored the priests, founded four monasteries in Toplitsa, Ras and Studenitsa, was a source of hope for those who had lost it, advocated for widows and orphans, and provided for the wretched and poor. At the same time, he showed indifference to earthly wealth and power and possessed great humility: he voluntarily renounced his throne, gave his possessions to his sons, took monastic vows and became a schema monk. He gave up his soul to God on a bast mat, and insisted that he be brought a stone to place under his head instead of a pillow. Along with the traditional hagiographic topics in this monument of Serbian literature, there are many facts from the Serbs' ancient history that are not presented in other written sources.

The church service which was created by Sava on Mount Athos for the observance of St Simeon's feast day in the temples on February 13/26, is entirely traditional and follows the rules of this very conservative genre. Over the centuries, these rules provide for the use of approved poetic and singing patterns that were created by famous Byzantine hymnographers of the past. Sava chose the service of the Syrian ascetic of the fourth and fifth centuries, Simeon Stylites, as a model for himself, borrowing from it in some parts.

According to legend, a miraculous grapevine grew from St Simeon's empty grave on Athos, the fruits of which relieve infertility. Having created the Life and service of his father, Sava can be said to have, figuratively speaking, planted the "grapevine of the Nemaniches", first through his words and music, and then

through depiction of the grapevine in icons and frescoes by succeeding artists, giving it a three-level essence. For several centuries, artists wove the grapevine into images of the representatives of the Nemanich dynasty, who became the rulers of Serbia and the heads of the Serbian Church and were proclaimed saints after death. The representations of the grapevine, of course, grew in both words and music: the Nemaniches were made the heroes of Lives, services, and various kinds of church chants. Over time, the grapevine grew ever larger, extending its branches of the dynasties and clans of the Serbian rulers Lazareviches-Brankoviches and Yakshiches.

Immediately after his death, the archbishop Sava himself was proclaimed a saint and “woven” into the grapevine of the Nemaniches: in his honor local scribes began to compose Lives, praises, services, canons, troparia and stichera. In the 14th and 15th centuries, famous Serbian scribes such as the hieromonk Domentian, Theodosius Hilandarets, Archbishop Daniel II, Patriarch Daniel III, as well as less prominent anonymous authors wrote about him. The tradition was not interrupted even after 1594, when Pasha Sinan, as punishment for the uprising of Serbs against the Turks, ordered that the Serbian national shrine, St Sava’s relics, be delivered from Milieshevo for public burning on Vrachar hill near Belgrade. However, this act did not diminish the Serb’s veneration of their heavenly protector and patron. Many oral legends about St Sava, associated with his lifetime miracles, spiritual insight and movement on Serbian soil arose. The feeling of the invisible presence of St Sava became part of the Serbian national consciousness and the foundation of a phenomenon called “Svyatosavye.” In Serbia, ships, factories, firms, educational institutions and publishing houses are named after the ascetic. Built in our time on a Belgrade hill, the Cathedral of St Sava is the largest Orthodox church in the Balkans.

St Sava was revered not just in Serbia; between the 14th and 15th centuries his cult existed in Bulgaria and penetrated the Moscow state through Athos. The first information about the ascetic appeared on Russian soil as a result of the distribution of the Verse Prologue with a brief *Life of St Sava*. In the 15th century a service to the ascetic compiled by the scribe Theodosius appeared in Russia. With a list of sanctuaries associated with and named after St Sava, Russian monks would meet to read a manuscript collection by the famous scribe Euphrosyn from the second half of the 15th century, who worked in the Kirillo-Belozersk monastery. In some Russian copies of *Book of the Helmsman* one can find a brief *Life of St Sava*, probably created on Russian soil in the 1460s. The year 1517 can be considered a new milestone in the spread of the ascetic’s cult, when the Athos Elder Isaiah brought to Russia a collection with the *Life of St Sava* and general praise to him and St Simeon: works written by the same Theodosius. The veneration of Sava of Serbia on Russian soil increased in particular after 1550, when the Hilandar abbot, Paisius, brought an icon depicting Saints Simeon and Sava and Sava’s cross, which the ascetic wore before he was tonsured on Mount Athos, as a gift to Tsar Ivan the Terrible. It was also significant that Serbian blood flowed

in the veins of the Russian autocrat (his grandmother was the Serbian Anna of the Yaksheches family). In the 15th–17th centuries, many copies of the works of Theodosius existed in the Moscow state. Facts from his *Life of St Sava* were used by the compilers of the world-historical code: the *Russian Chronograph* of 1516–22. In the fourth decade of the same century, they entered the Nikon Chronicle, and through it into the famous Illustrated Chronicle of Ivan the Terrible of the 1560s–70s.

The great veneration of St Sava on Russian soil is evidenced by the creation by local masters of numerous murals, icons and miniatures with images of the ascetic. The oldest of them, dated 1564, is located on one of the pillars of the Archangel Cathedral of Moscow Kremlin: the tombs of the Russian Grand Princes and Tsars before Peter I. A little later the Moscow artists created miniatures for the Illustrated Chronicle of Ivan the Terrible associated with the iconography of St Sava of Serbia. In addition to Moscow, the icons of the Serbian ascetic were widely distributed in the north and west of the country: in Yaroslavl, Romanov, Vologda, the Pskov lands and other frontiers of the nascent Russian Empire. The veneration of Sava of Serbia has not waned in Russia to this day: every year on 12/25 January the name of this saint is glorified, and the church service dedicated to him is performed in the Orthodox monasteries and churches of the country.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Karyes, the administrative center of Athos.
2. View of the Mount Athos. Monastery of Hilandar.
3. Hilandar's Tipicon.
4. Monastery of Studenitsa.
5. Monastery of Zhicha.
6. Ilovitsk copy of the "Book of the Helmsman", 1262.
7. The grapevine of Nemaniches. Cathedral of Savior of the Almighty, 14th century.
8. St Sava of Serbia. Monastery of Milieshevo, 14th century.
9. St Sava and Simeon of Serbia. Painting of the Archangel's Cathedral at the Moscow Kremlin, 1564.
10. The Cathedral of St Sava in Belgrade, 20th–21th century.

THE HOLY BLESSED PRINCE LAZARUS OF SERBIA WHO DIED IN THE BATTLE WITH THE TURKS ON THE KOSOVO FIELD¹

Abstract:

The article is dedicated to Prince Lazarus (c. 1320–89), who ruled Serbia in the 14th century for about two decades and died in the battle with the Turks on the Kosovo field in 1389. He proved to be a successful ruler and diplomat, managing to unite a large part of the scattered Serbian lands and strengthening dynastic ties with his Balkan neighbors, as well as resolving the conflict of the Serbian Church with the Constantinople Patriarchate. Almost immediately after his death, Prince Lazarus was proclaimed a holy martyr. He occupies a prominent place in Serbian literature and folklore. In the 16th century the cult of Prince Lazarus spread to the Moscow state, but was less important than the veneration in Russian lands of St Sava of Serbia and St Simeon of Serbia.

Keywords:

Serbia, Prince Lazarus, death in battle with the Turks, canonization, reflection of his figure in Serbian literature and folklore, his cult in the Russian lands.

Аннотация: И.И. Калиганов. «Святой благоверный князь Лазарь Сербский, погибший в битве с турками на Косовом поле».

Статья посвящена князю Лазарю, правившему Сербией в XIV в. около двух десятков лет и погибшему затем в битве с турками на Косовом поле в 1389 г. Он проявил себя успешным правителем и дипломатом, сумел объединить значительную часть разрозненных сербских земель, укрепить династические связи со своими балканскими соседями, урегулировать конфликт Сербской церкви с Константинопольской патриархией. Почти сразу же после гибели князь Лазарь был провозглашен святым мучеником. Его фигура заняла видное место в сербской литературе и фольклоре. Культ князя Лазаря в XVI в. проник в Московское государство, но был меньшим по сравнению с почитанием в русских землях св. архиепископа Саввы Сербского и св. Симеона Сербского.

Ключевые слова:

Сербия, князь Лазарь, гибель в битве с турками, канонизация, отражение его фигуры в сербской литературе и фольклоре, его культ в русских землях.

St Prince Lazarus, a ruler of Serbia, unifier of the Serbian lands, builder of monasteries and Churches, was reflected in Serbian literature and folklore as one of the main heroes of the battle against the Turks on the Kosovo field in 1389. After his death he was immediately canonized as a holy martyr by the Serbian Orthodox Church.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Prince Lazarus Hrebelyanovich's rule of Serbia did not begin at an auspicious time. The country was torn apart by strife between large feudal lords, and a part of the territory of the former Serbian state was occupied by warlike neighbors. From the south, the Turks pressed into the northern Balkans, and in 1371 they defeated the Serbs on the Maritsa river. Almost simultaneously, the line of the Nemaniches dynasty, which had ruled Serbia for more than two hundred years, was interrupted. Its last representative, Tsar Stefan Urosh, died, leaving no heirs. The court aristocrat Lazarus, son of the tsar's logothete (head of the office) named Pribats, who owned the town of Prilepets on the South Morava river, was among the contenders for the throne and came out on top. His marriage to Militsa, an aristocrat who was distantly related to the reigning Nemaniches dynasty, greatly contributed to strengthening his power. Lazarus proved to be a successful ruler and diplomat. He enhanced military and political ties with his neighbors by marrying his daughters to Vuk Brankovich, the ruler of the Kosovo region and northern Macedonia; to Alexander — the son of Ivan Shishman, the Bulgarian tsar from Tarnovo; and to Djuradzh Balshich, the Serbian ruler of northern Albania. Additionally, he managed to resolve the long-standing conflict between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Patriarchate of Constantinople in relation to the Serbs' unauthorized installation of their own patriarch in 1345 without reaching an agreement on the legitimacy of such an important church legal act.

Having expanded the territorial boundaries of his possessions, Lazarus did not aspire to the status of a tsar or king but was content with the title of prince. Therefore, scholars later began to call the years he reigned the Serbian lands belonging to him "knyazhevina" / "the period of the prince's reign." In addition to politically strengthening the country, Prince Lazarus significantly improved its economic condition and embarked on creative activities. In the capital of the principality of Krushevats, the magnificent church of the Proto-Martyr Stephen ("Lazaritsa") was erected at his order; he founded his future tomb — "zaduzhbinna" Ravanitsa (a fortress monastery with powerful walls and towers); and built the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Veludzhe. These temples had specific features, which later became marks of the Moravian school in Serbian architecture. Their walls were made by alternating layers of ashlar limestone with



Prince Lazarus,
the lifetime fresco at the monastery
of the Ascension. Ravanitsa,
1385–87

three rows of bricks and had decorative blind arches; cruciform roofs were covered with lead or tile; the drums of the domes were high and narrow; and the main room had side conches-chapels. Prince Lazarus was also a generous donor to a number of Athos monasteries, including the Serbian Hilandar, Russian St Panteleimon and the Greek Lavra of St Athanasius. Many writers and scholars who had left their homes due to the Turks' military expansion in the Balkans found shelter at Prince Lazar's court in Krushevat.

The Turkish conquest of the Balkan lands was carried out sequentially and methodically. Victories and defeats of the Turks alternated repeatedly. The most famous of the Serbs' battles with the Turks was the battle on the Kosovo field, which took place on 15 June 1389, on the day of St Vit (in Serb. — "Vidovdan"). This battle resounded deeply in Serbian folk memory and was embodied in monuments of Serbian literature and folklore. Prince Lazarus led the combined forces of the Balkan peoples (Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, Hungarians, Walachians and Albanians), totaling about 12–20 thousand people. They were met by the Turkish army under the command of Sultan Murad, who outnumbered them by a factor of 1.5. The bloody battle lasted all day with varying success for both sides. The well-known confusion in the Turkish camp came after the unexpected death of Sultan Murad. The Serbian knight Milosh Obilich came to his headquarters on the pretext of delivering an important message and, when he was brought to Murad, immediately removed a dagger from the folds of his clothes and stabbed the sultan in front of his bodyguards and courtiers. The Turks tore the offender to pieces, but they were stunned by what had happened. Bayezid, the sultan's son, took advantage of this critical situation: he ordered that his brother and rival, Jakub, be strangled, and then he led the Turks in a fierce attack on the Serbs. The wounded Prince Lazarus was captured and taken to the tent of Murad and was beheaded over his body. The Turks were victorious, but they them-

ПОСЛѢ СМЪРТИ ЦАРЬ ТУРКІИ СЕРБСКИ
 ЦРЛАЗАРЪ МЕТО ПОСЛѢДНІИ . СЪБЖЕ
 СЛАВНО ПАКЪ ПО СМЪРТИ . СМЕРЕШЕ
 НАМЪ ПОПЪ ЛАЗАРЪ РАЖАНЪ . ЗА НЕВЪ
 ХОТѢ ПОПЪ РАЖАНЪ ДЕРЖАТИ . НАМЪ
 СЪБЖЕ СЛАВІИ НЕМОУЩЕ ПІЕМЪ ГОДЪ
 СТРАНИКЪ

Miniature depicting the death of Prince Lazarus on the Kosovo field, the illuminated compiled Chronicle, second Osterman volume, mid-16th century



selves suffered heavy losses, and their pressure on the northern Balkans was relatively reduced. Serbia became the vassal of the Turks but was able to defend its partial freedom for another 70 years.

Relatives bought back the body of Prince Lazarus, and a few years later it was buried in the princely tomb in Ravanitsa. Lazarus, who had been executed by the Turks, was proclaimed a great holy martyr by the church: an Orthodox believer who had accepted death for Christ at the hands of the gentiles. In honor of the supreme ruler who became a sufferer of Christ, over two dozen works in Serbian literature were created over the course of half a century: lengthy and short hagiographies, laudatory words, services, canons, troparia and stichera. Some of them were very unusual in the nature of the material on which they were created. For example, Helena (in the monastic order of Euthymia), the widow of the despot John Uglesha, who died in 1371 on the Maritsa river, embroidered with gold and silver thread a text of praise to Prince Lazarus on the cover of the holy shrine. And the son of the Prince, the despot Stefan Lazarevich, was allegedly the author of the poetic epitaph to his father on the marble pillar installed on the Kosovo field. The rest of the works were quite traditional (texts written on parchment and paper) and belonged to famous or anonymous medieval authors. Among the former were the Serbian Patriarch Daniel III, who composed an eulogy to Prince Lazarus in the last decade of the fourteenth century, and the Greek Anthony Raphael Epaktit, who wrote a work about the sufferer of a similar genre.

Other hagiographic and hymnographic works of the period dedicated to Prince Lazarus are anonymous. These include a short life with a verse accompanying the text of the service, the *Life of Prince Lazarus, The Word and, in part, memory from the life, Life and authority*, placed in the so-called *Pech Chronicle*. Anonymous church chants dedicated to St Lazarus were also quite numerous. The first of these that should be noted, is the stichera and troparia to Lazarus, composed to glorify the saint on the occasion of bringing his relics to Ravanitsa. Apparently, in the same monastery at the beginning of the 15th century, a service was also written for the great martyr with two canons, the first of which contains an acrostic "Praise Lazarus, my God, grant me reason." Starting from the second half of the 15th century there was a break of about a century and a half in the development of the cult of St Lazarus — only in the last decade of the 17th century did the famous manuscript copyist, hieromonk Cyprian from the monastery of Racha, create a new stichera dedicated to Prince Lazarus. The weakening of the tradition of church veneration of this saint was partly offset by the Serbian oral folk tradition. It became especially widespread after the "Great Migration of the Serbs" to the Austrian possessions in 1690. Prince Lazarus becomes one of the main characters of the Kosovo folklore cycle, in which the story with the martyr's truncated head is often played out. Starting from the 18th century, folklore trends became noticeable in Serbian literature, as evidenced by the *Parable of the Kosovo battle*, the *Tronosh genealogy* and, in part, the *Slavo-Serbian Chronicles* by Georgy Brankovich (end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century).

Information about the battle of Kosovo and the death of Prince Lazarus reached Russia by the end of the 14th century, but any Serbian written documents about the saint were long unknown to the Russian people. Indirect information about what happened penetrated Russia mainly through the story of the battle of Kosovo and the death of Prince Lazarus, which was read in the biography of his son, Stefan Lazarevich, compiled by the Bulgarian writer Constantine of Kostenets. It began to spread in the northeastern Russian lands from the first decade of the 16th century, and the Kosovo story made it into all of the editions of the *Russian Chronograph* of the 16th–17th centuries, beginning with the first of them compiled by hieromonk Dositheos (Toporkov) between 1516 and 1522. Later this story was included in the *Nikon Chronicle*. In the middle of the 16th century the Hilandar abbot Paisius, along with other gifts, brought the icon and service to Prince Lazarus of Serbia for Ivan the Terrible to Moscow. Apparently, from this time on, the service to this Serbian martyr began to spread in the Russian manuscript tradition, but it is still poorly studied. At least two Russian copies of the service to Prince Lazarus of Serbia dating from the end of the 16th century are known. These were in service minations located in Ust'-Orel and Sol'vyche-godsk — the Siberian estates of the Russian industrialist Nikita Stroganov. In the 1580s Russian singers sang and provided musical notation to individual stichera to Prince Lazarus. An example of this are materials from the cantatory collection of the Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery dated "no later than 1586."

The oldest Russian image of Prince Lazarus in Muscovite Russia is considered to be one of the murals from 1564 of the Archangel Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, which is the burial site of the Russian grand princes and tsars up to Peter I. Prince Lazarus was painted here along with other Serbian ascetics — Saints Simeon and Sava, whose cult had penetrated the Russian lands much earlier. In general, we can note a weaker spread of veneration of Prince Lazarus in Russia in comparison with the other famous South Slavic ascetics: Ivan of Rila, Sava and Simeon of Serbia. However, to explain it by the late contacts between Moscow and Ravanitsa monastery (where the relics of the martyr were stored and whose monks first arrived to the Russian capital only in 1693) would be a mistake. After all, the cult of the Serbian martyr had reached Moscow through Athos a century and a half earlier. Most likely, the reason should be sought in the conceptual and political considerations of the Moscow state. St Lazarus became a prominent cult figure among the Serbs as the first supreme ruler of an Orthodox country to fall in battle against the Mohammedans. However, he was not able to become a figure of such significance for veneration among Russians — inhabitants of an Orthodox state — whose leaders were preparing for a decisive struggle against Kazan, Astrakhan and the Crimea, and who had developed the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome. This would be suggesting the possibility of defeat in Russian army's conflict and the death of the first legitimate Russian autocrat, Ivan the Terrible, who had just been crowned Tsar, or those who stood behind him at the head of Russia. Additionally, there were no grounds for ranking Prince Lazarus as

a great martyr, as he is called in one of the first Serbian hagiographies dedicated to him. The prince did not undergo a string of terrible tortures in the name of Christ, and he did not face the alternative of changing his faith in order to save his own life — his execution was almost instantaneous and was caused by the Turk's desire for revenge for the death of Sultan Murad. This is perhaps the reason why, in subsequent Serbian hagiographies and later Russian written sources, he began to appear as the "Blessed" or "Faithful" St Prince Lazarus of Serbia.

Translated by the author

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Monastery of the Ascension of Christ, Ravanitsa, 1375–77.
2. The Krushevats fortress.
3. Cathedral of the Proto-Martyr Stephen (Lazaritsa), Krushevats, 1377–80.
4. Prince Lazarus, the lifetime fresco at the monastery of the Ascension, Ravanitsa, 1385–87.
5. Gazimestan Memorial monument on the Kosovo field.
6. Praise to Prince Lazarus. Embroidering of the nun Euphemia. 1402.
7. Sts Prince Lazarus and Princess Militsa. The fresco at the monastery of the Assumption in Lyubotitse. About 1403.
8. Miniature depicting the death of Prince Lazarus on the Kosovo field, the illuminated compiled Chronicle, second Osterman volume, mid-16th century.
9. Fresco of Prince Lazarus on the pillar of the Kremlin Archangel Cathedral, 1564 under the painting of the 17th century.
10. Holy Great martyrs Prince Lazarus and George the New. Icon of the Hilandar monastery, the middle of the 16th century.

ST GEORGE THE NEW OF SOFIA: A MARTYR FOR THE FAITH BURNED BY THE TURKS FOR REFUSING TO ADOPT ISLAM¹

Abstract:

The article talks about the Bulgarian youth George, executed by the Turks in 1515 in Sofia for refusing to accept Islam. His veneration quickly spread to the Balkans and just as quickly spread on Russian territory by word of mouth. Just a quarter of a century later Athonite monks Prokhor and Mitrophan spoke about the tragic death of the Martyr in Novgorod to Archbishop Macarius, and he told the priest of his home Church, hieromonk Eliyah to make a *Life of George the New* using the information gathered from the strangers. Ten years later, this Martyr of Sofia was canonized as an all-Russian Saint at the Moscow Church Council in 1549, and in this regard, the Pskov hagiographer Vasily-Varlaam wrote a short Life and service to the sufferer. The cult of George the New was extremely widespread in Russian lands, comparable in scale to the cults of other famous South Slavic saints, the hermit John of Rila and Archbishop Sava of Serbia.

Keywords:

The Balkans, religious assimilation, martyrdom, St George the New, Bulgarian and Russian versions of lives and services, features of the cult, exceptional fame in Russia.

Аннотация: И.И. КАЛИГАНОВ. «Св. Георгий Новый Софийский — мученик, сожженный турками в Софии за отказ принять ислам».

В статье рассказывается о болгарском юноше Георгии, казненном турками в 1515 г. в Софии за отказ принять ислам. Его почитание быстро распространилось на Балканах и столь же быстро проникло в русские земли посредством устной передачи сюжета: всего лишь через четверть века афонские монахи Прохор и Митрофан рассказали о трагической гибели мученика новгородскому архиепископу Макарию, и тот повелел священнику своей домово́й церкви, иеромонаху Илье составить житие Георгия Нового, используя сведения странников. Спустя 10 лет этот софийский мученик был канонизован как общероссийский святой на московском Церковном Соборе 1549 г., и в этой связи псковский агиограф Василий-Варлаам написал проложное житие и службу страдальцу. Культ Георгия Нового получил исключительно широкое распространение в русских землях, сравнявшись по своему масштабу с культами других известных южнославянских святых, пустынножителя Ивана Рильского и архиепископа Саввы Сербского.

Ключевые слова:

Балканы, религиозная ассимиляция, мученичество, Георгий Новый, болгарская и русская версии житий и служб, особенности культа, исключительная известность в России.

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St George the New is a Great martyr who was burned by the Turks on 11 February 1515 in the Bulgarian city of Sredets (Sofia) for refusing to accept Islam, and became widely known not only in the Slavic Orthodox south but also in the Russian lands.

The appearance of hagiographic works dedicated to this martyr is connected with the Athos-Constantinople martyrological tradition of glorifying martyrs who suffered for their faith at the hands of the Turkish conquerors. The last tried to force the representatives of the enslaved Christian peoples in the Balkans to convert to Islam from the end of the 15th century until the 19th century. One such martyr was George the New of Sofia. The story of the life and martyrdom of this hero was described in detail and quite realistically by the Sofia presbyter Peyo, who wrote the *Life of the ascetic* and composed his service. According to the scribe, George was born in the Macedonian town of Kratovo, lost his father early and decided to look for happiness in Sofia, hoping to survive and make a living thanks to his beloved profession as a “goldsmith”, i.e., jeweler. Peyo

sheltered the young man and became his spiritual father. All was going well, but suddenly misfortune struck. Young George was extraordinarily handsome, and the Turks of Sofia started to try to persuade him to accept Islam. It was precisely because of this and the threat of being taken as a janissary that he fled from his native town to Sofia, but a similar danger awaited him there, too. Strengthened in his faith by his spiritual father, George repulsed all attempts by the Turks to seduce him with the imaginary virtues of the creed of Mohammed in comparison with that of Christ. However, they then decided to achieve their goal through violence. They slandered the youth in front of a Muslim judge, and George was sentenced to torture on the basis of a false accusation of vilifying Mohammed. For several days the interrogations and torture of the young man proceeded, which he could have avoided had he accepted Islam. However, George stood firm in Christ, preferring terrible torment and cruel execution over rejecting his native faith.



*St George the New of Sofia,
fresco at the Serbian
Patriarchate of Pech,
1561*

His fortitude was strengthened by his spiritual father, the author of the Life, the presbyter Peyo. In violation of the traditions of hagiographic works, he plays the most active role in his work: he persuades a Muslim judge to show leniency to George, urges his spiritual son not to succumb to the persuasions of the Mohammedans to change his faith and to suffer for Christ. Peyo's role in the work does not weaken throughout the narration. He infiltrates a crowd of "Saracens" leading George, who had been sentenced to death, to the place of burning, organizes the theft of the martyr's remains from under the noses of the sleeping Turkish guards, and cunningly gains a Muslim judge's permission for their solemn burial in the cathedral church of St Marina, where he served. In describing these events, Peyo provides in the text of his Life many realistic details that authors usually omit in hagiographies. To achieve greater reliability of the narrative, he seeks to convey the logic of the characters' actions and reinforce it with truthful, vital details. For example, Peyo conducted his mentoring talks with the young man in the house of a prison guard whom he knew well and whom he persuaded to organize these meetings, and the theft of the young man's remains in exchange for a bribe was carried out on his behalf by a certain nameless Christian who lived near the place of the ascetic's execution. In some of the episodes of the Life, Peyo uses elements of naturalism that make a strong impression on the reader: for example, before finally throwing George into the fire, the Turks thrice subjected the martyr to the heat of the flames, until his entire body was covered with blisters from burns.



The Turks take the Christians into captivity,
engraving of the 18th century

George the New of Sofia quickly became one of the most popular martyrs for the faith in the Balkans, having suffered at the hands of the Turks for refusing to convert to Islam. The Life and service to St George the New written by the presbyter were distributed in 15 copies between the 16th and 19th centuries, not only in Sofia, but also in the martyr's hometown of Kratovo, Belgrade, Sarayevo and the Mt. Athos Monastery of Hilandar. Parts of the relics of the young sufferer were kept in shrines in Sofia, the Dragalevtzi Monastery, in the Serbian monasteries of Studenitsa, Great Remeta and Dechany. Numerous icons and murals of George the New appeared in the Balkans in that period, the oldest of which date from the fourth decade of the 16th century and are located in the church of St Nicholas in Toplitsa, the Athos Hilandar Monastery, the Patriarchate of Pech, the cloisters of Studenitsa and Lomnitsa.

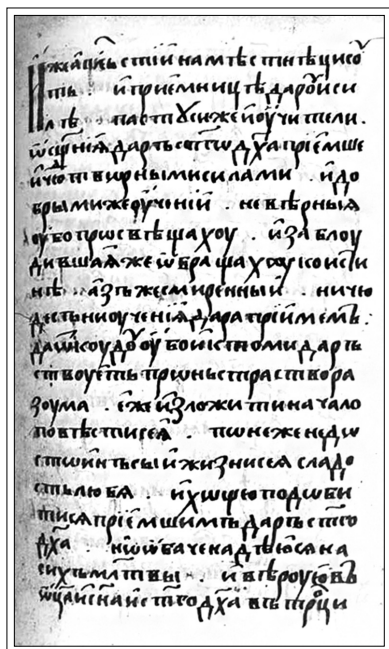
The news of the burning of the Sofia ascetic was brought to Russia a quarter century after his death by the monks Presbyter Prokhor and Mitrophan, inhabitants of the Zograph Monastery of St George the Victorious on Mount Athos. They arrived in the Russian lands in 1539 "for the sake of alms" (that is, to collect donations) and, having visited Novgorod and Pskov, spoke about the martyrdom of George the New to the Novgorod Archbishop Macarius, the future Metropolitan of Moscow and mentor of Ivan the Terrible. This story aroused his genuine interest, and he ordered the presbyter of his family chapel, the hieromonk Elijah, to compile a Life based on the oral information of the Athos monks. Unfortunately, the Life he created cannot be considered a reliable historical source. Prokhor and Mitrophan, traveling on their way to the Moscow state, were clearly in Sofia for a short time, they were not the witnesses of the death of George the New and had only the information that they could glean from the local Sofia laymen and hierarchs. It was at that time that confusion arose in their minds concerning the real facts about the life and execution of St George the New with the similar facts connected with another local namesake martyr, who later was called George the Newest. This ascetic probably died in the mid-1530s, shortly before the appearance of the Athos wanderers, Prokhor and Mitrophan, in Sofia. A Life and service were not compiled for him — it was possible to learn about him only from local conflicting legends.

It is probably for this reason that many facts about the life and death of George the New in the Lives of the two presbyters — the Sofia Peyo and Novgorod Elijah — so strikingly fail to coincide. In the first, the parents of George were Dimitry and Sarah, in the second John and Mary. Peyo testifies that the martyr was born in Kratovo, and Elijah says that Sofia was George's birth place. In the first work it is stated that the young man died at the age of 18, and in the second that he was seven years older. The two authors also differ in the days and months of the ascetic's suffering: Peyo reports that it was in the winter — 11 February, and Elijah writes about the end of spring — 26 May. Lacking accurate background data on the life of the Sofia martyr, the Russian author filled in the lack of an actual narrative with hagiographic topics and selected

as a literary sample one of the rhetorical works of the famous Bulgarian writer Gregory Tsamblak: the *Life of John the New of Belgorod*, a Greek merchant who died at the hands of Tatar pagans in the 14th century in Ackerman (the former name of Belgorod-Dniestrovsky, a city and port situated on the right bank of the Dniester liman in the southwestern Ukraine). Elijah borrowed from it many passages, inserting them into the text of his work in suitable places, especially when he experienced difficulties because of his ignorance of specific facts about the life of George the New. However, this cannot be blamed on the author; compilation practices during the work of medieval hagiographers were very common and were not considered shameful but commendable, especially if the passages were borrowed from respected wordsmiths.

Despite the seemingly small value of the work of presbyter Elijah, due to the abundance of material compiled and the factual inaccuracies in it, underestimating it as a very important document of Russian history and literature would be unfair. Firstly, it is an important historical source about the situation of the southern Slavs under a foreign yoke during the reign of Turkish sultan Selim I (1512–20), nicknamed by his subjects “Yavuz”: Cruel, Terrible. Information about this is contained not in the main text of the *Life*, but in its introductory part, in which, according to the Athos monks, Elijah spoke in detail about the forcible levies on the strongest and most handsome boys in the Janissaries in the Slavic south, about circumcision being performed on them, of their being educated in the spirit of Muslim fanaticism and their transformation into becoming the main striking force of the sultan’s troops, used to conquer Christian Europe. In addition, in the Moscow state George the New became the main symbol of Balkan martyrdom, executed by the Mohammedans for refusing to accept Islam. His story was close and understandable in Russian lands, from which tens of thousands of people were taken during Tatar raids from Kazan, Astrakhan and Crimea, many of whom were converted to Islam. At the *Stoglavyy Sobor* (“Hundred Chapter Synod”) in 1551, a poll tax was adopted for the ransom of Russian prisoners from captivity. At almost the same time, the *Life of the Russian martyr Ivan* was created, who was taken by the Tatars to Kazan and killed there for his steadfastness to Christ and unwillingness to convert to Islam. It was the similarity of the situations in the Balkans and the Slavic East that made the literary memorials created in honor of George the New so extraordinarily popular in Russia.

In addition to the *Life of George the New* by the presbyter Elijah, the well-known Pskov hagiographer Vasily-Varlaam wrote his service and a brief *Life*, in connection with the Church Councils of 1547 and 1549 and the official canonization of the martyr in Russia. In the service, as well as in the lengthy *Life* by the presbyter Elijah, there are numerous compilations from a work of a similar genre in honor of John the New of Belgorod, written by Gregory Tsamblak. Separate chants from the service to George the New in the late 1550s — early 60s were sung by Russian singers; the texts were provided with “znamenny” (musical) notation.



*The oldest handwritten text
of the Russian Life of St George
the New of Sofia.*

Autograph of the Novgorod
presbyter Elijah,
1539

In general, the Russian manuscript tradition of the memorials to St George the New of Sofia during the 16th–19th centuries turned out to be much richer than the similar tradition in the Balkans. It contains more than 30 copies of the lengthy Life by Elijah, 17 copies of the brief Life by Vasily-Varlaam, six excerpts from it, one copy of a brief anonymous edition of the memorial, 15 copies compiled by Vasily-Varlaam of the service to the Sofia martyr and numerous sticheras and glories from it, placed in 11 singing collections with notation. Various versions of the Russian Life of Saint George the New were included in the largest Russian manuscript vaults of the 16th–17th centuries: the tsarist set of the Great Menaion Reader by Metropolitan Macarius and in the menology of the priest Ivan Milyutin, which he composed together with his sons in 1646–54. The increasing fame of the Sofia martyr in Russia occurred after the inclusion of the 1622 service of George the New in the Moscow old-print editions of service menologies and the inclusion of the brief Life of the martyr in the old-printed Prologues, which began to be published in Moscow from the 1640s. The latter

was also included in the largest old-printed non-liturgical publication, the *Book of the Lives of the Saints* by Metropolitan Dimitry of Rostov, which was carried out in the printing house of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra in 1689–1705 and then repeatedly reprinted.

George the New of Sofia's fame in the Russian lands approached that of the other most revered South Slavic ascetics: John of Rila and Sava of Serbia, whose cults penetrated the Slavic northeast much earlier. Relatively little is known about the images of the martyr: the oldest of them are located on the "tablet" icons (small, usually two-sided icons on a canvas) of the 1560s and 1570s and on murals of the Resurrection Cathedral in the Volga city of Borisoglebsk in the second half of the 17th century. Grains of the relics of St George the New, brought to Moscow from Mount Athos or the Slavic south at the end of the 16th and early 17th century, received more veneration in Russia. They were placed in three reliquary crosses that were the work of Kremlin masters and were intended for the Church of the Annunciation, the Kremlin family chapel of the Russian tsars, and as gifts to the tsar's son, Alexey Mikhailovich, on the occasion of his baptism on 22 March 1629 in the Kremlin Monastery of Miracle ("Chudov").

The last two crosses were made at the order of his father, Tsar Mikhail Fyodorovich, and his grandmother, Grand Princess Marfa Ivanovna, and were precious works of art.

The names of George the New and his tormentor, “the godless sultan Selim the Turkish”, and the name of the Bulgarian city of Sredets (Sofia), in which the martyr was burnt, resounded during divine services in Novgorod and Pskov, Moscow and Yaroslavl, in the Russian North, the distant Solovetsk Islands, in Siberia and other corners of the Russian lands. This caused the parishioners to think about the southern Slavs languishing in Turkish captivity, filled the hearts of the worshipers with sympathy for them, and suggested the idea that the slaves should be freed.

Translated by the author

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1. The Turks take the Christians into captivity, engraving of the 18th century.
2. Training of Christian boys for Turkish Janissaries.
3. The Church of St Sophia (6 century), near which St George the New of Sofia was burned in 1515 for refusing to accept Islam.
4. St George the New of Sofia, fresco at the Serbian Patriarchate of Pech, 1561.
5. St George the New of Sofia and St Prince Lazarus of Serbia, icon of the Athonite Hilandar monastery, 1677.
6. The monastery of Zograph. Athos, Greece.
7. Cross (Episcopal) chamber in the Novgorod Kremlin, where as a presbyter served Elijah, the author of Russian Life of the St George the New of Sofia.
8. The oldest handwritten text of the Russian Life of St George the New of Sofia. Autograph of the Novgorod presbyter Elijah, 1539. Moscow, State Historical Museum, Department of manuscripts, collection of E. V. Barsov, № 313. S. 525.
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10. The Church of the Nativity of Christ in Shipka. Part of the memorial complex in honor of the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke. 1885–1902.
11. St George New of Sofia. Wall painting of the 50s of the 20th century at the Church of the Nativity of Christ on Shipka.

PAISIUS OF HILENDAR AND HIS “SLAVO-BULGARIAN HISTORY”: A MANIFESTO OF THE NATIONAL REVIVAL OF THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to Paisius of Hilendar (1722–73) and his “Slavo-Bulgarian History”: a manifesto of the national revival of the Bulgarians. This Athonite monk in 1762 managed to outline the main tasks that faced his native people, who were under the centuries-old Ottoman yoke. These included the restoration of the Bulgarian state, the national Church, and the creation of a system of national education: a network of schools teaching in the Bulgarian language. At the same time, he reminded the Bulgarians of the existence of their powerful state in ancient times, the appearance of their first Slavic tsar named Simeon, as well as the presence of a national Church with its own Patriarch and Slavic books, which were widely distributed among the Slavs. For almost a century, Paisius’ “History” has been available only in handwritten form, but it has played a huge role in awakening the Bulgarian national identity.

Keywords:

Bulgaria, national revival. Slavo-Bulgarian history, the program, the main points, the awakening of the people.

Аннотация: И.И. Калиганов. «Паисий Хилендарский и его «История славяноболгарская» — манифест национального возрождения болгарского народа».

Статья посвящена Паисию Хилендарскому (1722–73) и его «Истории славяноболгарской» — манифесту Национального возрождения болгарского народа. Этот афонский монах в 1762 г. сумел очертить главные задачи, которые стояли перед родным народом, находившимся под многовековым османским игом. Они заключались в восстановлении болгарской государственности, национальной церкви и создании системы национального просвещения — сети школ с преподаванием на болгарском языке. При этом он напоминал болгарам о существовании у них в древности мощного государства, появлении у них первого славянского царя по имени Симеон, а также наличии национальной церкви с собственным патриархом и славянскими книгами, которые широко распространились среди славян. «История» Паисия на протяжении почти столетия ходила в народе лишь в рукописном виде, но сыграла огромную роль в пробуждении болгарского национального самосознания.

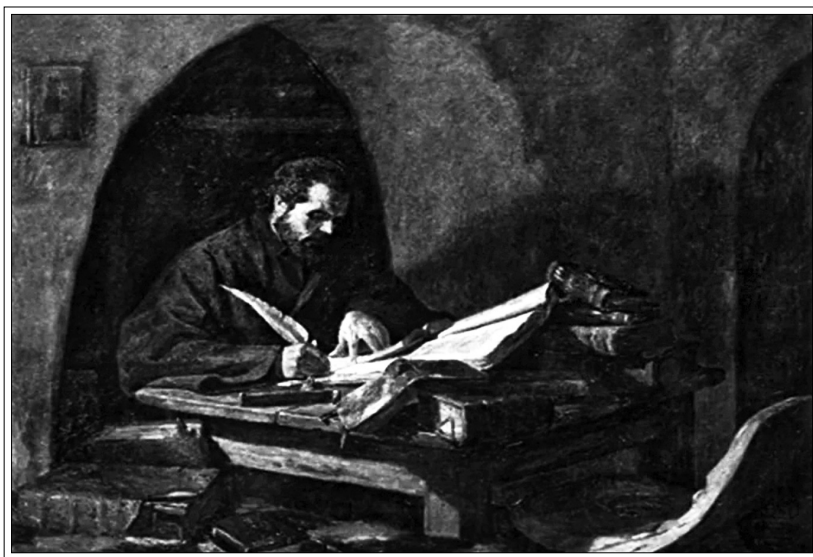
Ключевые слова:

Болгария, Национальное возрождение. «История славяноболгарская», программа, основные пункты, пробуждение народа.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Paisius of Hilendar (1722–73) was a historiographer, the first ideologist of the Bulgarian national revival, credited for the awakening of a national identity in the Bulgarian people. There is no precise information about the milestones in his life. He is believed to have been born in Bansko, in western Bulgaria, into a family of well-off parents. His secular name is unknown. On reaching the age of 23, the young man went to Mt. Athos to the Hilendar (Serb. variant — Hilandar) monastery, where his brother Lavrentius, who later became an abbot, was a monk. His other brother, according to a number of scholars, was Hadzhi Vylcho, a rich merchant from Bansko. In Hilendar, the young man took monastic vows under the name of Paisius, ultimately becoming a hieromonk and an assistant to the abbot. According to scholars, Paisius died in 1773 in the village of Ampelino, which later became the city of Asenovgrad.

While on the Holy Mountain (mainly in Zograph and Hilendar monasteries), Paisius became imbued with the idea of the need to create a history of the Bulgarians, who had begun to forget about their Slavic origins and heroic past. In that intention, according to Paisius's own testimony, he was strengthened by the constant ridicule of Greek and Serbian Athos brethren, who reproached Bulgarians for their ignorance of their own history and their lack of works on the subject. Some scholars believe that Paisius may have been influenced by the Serbian historiographer and educator, the monk Jovan Raich (1726–1801), who visited Hilandar in 1758 and who subsequently compiled his famous *The History of different Slavic peoples, primarily the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs...* in the next decade. Paisius became fired up with the idea of writing his own history of the Bulgarians,



Father Paisius at the work.

Artist Koyu Denchev

having suitable conditions for it. Acting as a „taxidiot“ (from the Greek „stranger“) that is, a collector of donations that had accumulated in Hilendar sites in the Balkans, and at the same time a guide for groups of pilgrims going to the Holy Mountain), Paisius moved around a lot, and this enabled him to start purposefully collecting information about the history of his countrymen. While in various cities and monasteries, he sought out such information in ancient manuscripts, medieval chronicles, Russian printed prologues, and other sources.

He learned most of the information from two books in Russian translations that he found in the library of the Serbian Patriarchate in Sremski-Karlovtsi. These were the works of the Roman Cardinal, Caesar Baronius, *Acts of Church and Civil* (Moscow, 1719) and the essay of the Dalmatian historian Mavro Orbini, *The Book of Historiography...* (Sanct-Petersburg, 1722). The original works of these two authors (which had been published in Latin and Italian much earlier: Rome — 1588–1607 and Pesaro — 1601, respectively) were subjected to significant revision and reduction in the Russian version. These versions formed the basis of Paisius' epochal work, *Istoriya Slavyanobalgarskaya* („Slavo-Bulgarian History“), which he completed in 1762. Externally, Paisius' method of compiling the history resembles the techniques of medieval scribes: he constantly resorts to abundant compilations from foreign sources, most often without mentioning where and what is borrowed. He also appears to the reader in the guise of a typical medieval author, with traditional complaints of bodily ailments, feebleness of mind and his unworthiness for the task which he has undertaken.

Paisius wrote his „History“ by hand, without any hope of publishing it in any printing house, because of the lack thereof in Bulgaria. Therefore, he passionately urged Bulgarian readers to distribute his writings by copying them, by passing them along from hand to hand, and by reading them aloud publicly.

From the second half of the 18th century to the first half of the 19th century, several dozen copies of Paisius' „History“ were created. The whole of it was published in printed form only after 123 years: at first a significant portion of it was published by N. Pavlovich in his *Tsarstvennaya Kniga* („The King's Book“, Budim, 1844), and then the whole work was published by A. V. Loginov (Lublin, 1885). In Bulgaria itself, it was printed 13 years after the Loginov publication by the publisher M. Moskov in Tarnovo in 1898. Despite its medieval handwritten format, Paisius' work was truly appealing to the Bulgarians and awakened them from their medieval torpor. There was a lot that was fundamentally new in it: a bright, passionate language that touched readers and listeners to the quick and made them remember their sense of national dignity.

In *Slavo-Bulgarian History*, a program for a Bulgarian national revival was outlined, which set the task of reviving the national state and the national church and of creating a system of schools teaching in the national language. However, the realization of these ideas, borrowed in part from their Balkan neighbors (for example, the idea of the value of the native language and its equality or even superiority to others, was clearly accepted by him from the Croatian educator,

Andrea Kachich-Mioshich *Pleasant Conversation of Slavic People* (1756) required certain social forces that were then absent in the Bulgarian lands. Paisius was far ahead of his time, because the first secondary school with teaching in the national language appeared in the Bulgarian regions only 73 years later, in 1835; the national Bulgarian church in the form of the Bulgarian Exarchate was restored 108 years later, in 1870; and the restoration of Bulgarian statehood took place 116 years later: the formation of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1878.

Such a wide chronological break in the fulfillment of Paisius' teachings gave him the aura of a national genius in Bulgaria, and on the whole it is impossible to disagree. However, such a judgment should not extend to overinflated estimates of many Bulgarian scholars, who compare this awakener of the people to Rousseau, or even Voltaire, and who consider *Slavo-Bulgarian History* to be the starting point of „new“ Bulgarian literature. If one were to share the latter view, it would follow that Bulgarian literature outstripped Russian literature in its development („new“ literature in Russia began with Pushkin), and the national revival began in Bulgarian society earlier than in Croatian and Serbian society, where the conditions were far more favorable for the development of their national cultures in comparison with Bulgaria. It seems that the more academically correct opinion is that *Slavo-Bulgarian History* is the initial milestone of a long „transitional“ time, the first point of reference in the movement of national literature towards the milestone of „new“ literature.

However, there is no denying the fact that *Slavo-Bulgarian History* is indeed a program of Bulgarian national revival, but with a long-delayed implementation period. In *Slavo-Bulgarian History* there is a lot that is „old,“ but that does not entirely obscure the manifestations of innovative thought of Paisius. The author calls for the use of the national language, but many parts of the work he compiled are written in the language of traditional literature; in some places it resembles artistic journalism, but these are only tiny „islands,“ lost in numerous „borrowed“ passages from the books of Caesar Baronius and Mavro Orbini. Many other similar arguments can be made. Therefore, the characterization of the *Slavo-Bulgarian History* as a historiographical and literary monument of the „transitional“ period seems to be the only objective one. It should also be borne in mind that following Paisius' „History,“ there was a 43-year-long period of stagnation in innovation in Bulgarian literature: the features of the „transition“ period were manifested again in national speech only in the „Autobiography“ of Sofronius of Vratsa (1805).

Translated by the author

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1. Monastery of Hilendar. Athos, Greece.
2. The Bulgarian Zograph monastery. Athos, Greece.
3. Father Paisius at the work. Artist Koyu Denchev.
4. The Paisius' autograph of "Slavo–Bulgarian History," 1762. Monastery of Zograph, Athos.
5. Monument to Paisius of Hilendar in Sofia.
6. Monument to Paisius of Hilendar in Strelcha. Sculptor Spas Kerichev.
7. Bulgarian stamp with the image of Paisius of Hilendar, 1929.
8. Bulgarian banknote of two levs with the image of Paisius of Hilendar.
9. Commemorative coin value of 2 levs with the image of Paisius of Hilendar, 2015.

SOPHRONIUS OF VRATSA, THE AUTHOR OF THE FIRST-EVER BULGARIAN “AUTOBIOGRAPHY” AND COMPOSER OF “NEDELNIK”, THE FIRST BULGARIAN PRINTED BOOK IN A LANGUAGE CLOSE TO POPULAR SPEECH¹

Abstract:

The author considers the biography and creative output of the Bulgarian educator, Bishop Sophronius of Vratsa (1739–1813), author of the first-ever Bulgarian “Autobiography” and the first Bulgarian printed book *Nedelnik* (“Sunday Book”) published in a language close to popular speech. He created them during the period of the Bulgarian national revival, which was characterized by an abundance of unfinished genre and stylistic forms: a phenomenon common in the transition from one literary era to another. All this was fully evident in the two main innovations of Sophronius: “Autobiography” and *Nedelnik*.

Keywords:

Bulgarian national revival, Sophronius of Vratsa, the first book in a New Bulgarian language, the first autobiography in the history of Bulgarian literature.

АННОТАЦИЯ: И.И. КАЛИГАНОВ. «Софроний Врачанский — автор первой в болгарской литературе “Автобиографии” и первой болгарской печатной книги “Недельник” на языке, близком к народному».

Автор рассматривает биографию и творчество болгарского просветителя епископа Софрония Врачанского (1739–1813) — автора первой в истории болгарской литературы «Автобиографии» и первой болгарской печатной книги «Недельник», изданной на языке близком к народному. Он творил в период Болгарского национального возрождения, которое характеризовалось обилием незавершенных жанровых и стилистических форм — явлением, обычным при переходе от одной литературной эпохи к другой. Все это в полной мере проявилось и в двух главных новациях Софрония — «Автобиографии» и «Недельнике».

Ключевые слова:

Болгарское национальное Возрождение, Софроний Врачанский, первая печатная книга на новоболгарском языке, первая автобиография в истории болгарской литературы.

After Paisius of Hilendar, Sophronius of Vratsa was, chronologically speaking, the second most important figure of the Bulgarian national revival, an enlightener of the people and a church hierarchy. He was born in the Bulgarian town of Kotel into the family of a cattle trader, Vladislavov, receiving

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).



Sophronius of Vratsa,
self-portrait in "Autobiography"

the name Stoyko at baptism. In the "cell" school (a form of parochial school), the boy studied Church Slavonic and Greek. Having lost his parents at a young age, he took up tailoring and immediately started a family. A thirst for education led him to the church, and in 1762 he was ordained as a priest in his hometown and guided his flock of parishioners for 30 years. He was greatly affected by a meeting with Paisius of Hilendar in 1765 and the ideas of enlightenment of this national awakener. Two trips to Mt. Athos in 1770 and 1775 also contributed to the expansion of his spiritual and political outlook.

Due to conflicts with wealthy locals, in 1792 Stoyko was transferred to another diocese, where he received a parish in Karnobat and 12 neighboring villages. Two years later Stoyko went to visit his son, who lived in the village of Arbanasi, and then settled in one of the nearby monasteries. On 17 September 1794 he was elevated to the rank of

Bishop of Vratsa under the name Sophronius, but he did not head his episcopal department for long, due to the turmoil that erupted in northwestern Bulgaria. Here military clashes broke out between the sultan's army and the troops of the rebel Pasha of Vidin, Osman Pazvantoglu. In addition, the cities and villages of the diocese were constantly being robbed by the Turkish deserters, "kirdzhali." To save his life, Sophronius fled from Vratsa in 1797 and hid in one city, then another. He then found himself in Vidin, where he was forcibly held by Pasha Osman Pazvantoglu, for three years, until May 1803.

After his release, Sophronius went to Bucharest, where he was welcomed by the local hierarchs and Prince Constantine Ypsilantis. Here he continued to worship together with the local clergy and, despite his voluntarily resigning from his episcopal powers, continued to sign his works as a bishop. During the Russo-Turkish War (1806–12) Sophronius came into contact with the army command of the Russian troops that had appeared in the Balkans, assisted them as an interpreter and drafted an appeal to the population of the Bulgarian lands, urging them to render all possible assistance to the Russian army. He also actively defended the interests of the Bulgarian refugees then in Romania. The exact date of Sophronius' death and the place of his burial remain unknown. According to scholars, he died in a monastery in the vicinity of Bucharest in the second half of 1813.

Sophronius' literary activity may be broken down into three periods by his location at the time: Kotel, Vidin and Bucharest. Like most writers of the national revival, he began his work by copying manuscripts (there were no printing houses in the Bulgarian lands at that time). He wrote several handwritten collections of religious content. In addition, in his hometown of Kotel, he twice copied Paisius of Hilendar's *Slavo-Bulgarian History*. The Vidin period of Sophronius' life is marked by his translations of a number of works from Greek into, as the translator himself wrote, "Bulgarian short and simple language." Of these, Sophronius co-produced two different collections in 1802, which received the name "Vidin." The first of them had a purely ecclesiastical character and consisted of 79 sermons. The second Vidin collection contained secular works: engaging, didactic-soaked short tales, the Mythology of the Sintyper the Philosopher, Aesop's fables and "Philosophical Wisdom": excerpts from A. Marlian's essay "Theatron politicum," preaching the ideas of the enlightened sovereign. In this collection, Sophronius added his own thoughts about the need for education, the need for the Bulgarian people to overcome their ignorance and their lagging behind other peoples in cultural terms.

Sophronius' activity during his Bucharest period was his most fruitful and valuable in a historical-literary and historical-cultural sense. It was here that he prepared for publication the first printed Bulgarian book in a language close to folk language. This one was "Kiriakodromion", i.e., *Nedelnik*, published in Rymnik in 1806. It was a collection of precepts and sermons for Sundays and holidays of the year and was created to help Bulgarian priests deliver sermons from the pulpit in a language understandable to the people and for reading at home. Its contents included works borrowed from an appropriate repertoire of literature translated from Russian or Greek. Most of them go back to the sermons of the ancient Constantinople hierarchs John Chrisostomos and John Kaleka. A number of the teachings are of Bulgarian origin, being close to the works of the local scribe of the 18th century, Joseph the "Bradaty" (Bearded); some others appeared in *Nedelnik* thanks to the publication of the Russian translation of "Kiriakodromion" by the Greek preacher, Nicephorus Theotakis, in 1803. In the Bulgarian lands this book became a table book: it was affectionately called "Sophronie," and handwritten copies were often made of it. Having published *Nedelnik*, Sophronius put into practice the important ideas of Paisius of Hilendar, who dreamed of publishing Bulgarian printed books and advocated the use of the folk language in everyday life and in literature. At the same time, the language of this publication cannot be called that of the Bulgarian folk. The main part of its vocabulary consists of the lexical riches of Church Slavonic language. The latter was poorly understood by the uneducated Bulgarian peasants who heard it, and therefore Sophronius sought to resort to a living, spoken language. On the other hand, the scribe was afraid of overdoing it, fearing a negative reaction by the higher Church hierarchs, one of whom was supposed to bless the release of his book. It is no accident that in the subsequent editions of



The title sheet of "Nedelnik" by Sophronius of Vratsa.
Rymnik, 1806

Nedelnik, there is a partial rejection of the use of elements of the living Bulgarian folk language.

On the basis of compilations and translations from Greek and Russian sources, in Bucharest Sophronius also created the work *The Confession of the Orthodox Faith of Christians and Customs, and the Laws of Jewry and Mobamedan's Religion in General* (1805). He translated the entirety of the aforementioned work by A. Marlian, giving it the name *Civic Pozorishte* (1809). It developed humanistic and rationalist ideas of the Enlightenment that were progressive for the time.

In Bucharest in 1805, Sophronius also wrote his main work, his autobiography, which he called *Life and Sufferings of Sinful Sophronius*. It is placed in the same manuscript as *The Confession of...*, which subsequently ended up in the M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (now the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg). According to a number of typological features, this work resembles the “Autobiography” of Archpriest Habbacum, written in the 17th century, or the 18th century work *The Life and Adventures of Dositheos Obradovich*. It is a literary classic of the “transitional” time: it organically combines the features of a medieval Life and autobiography, far in essence and poetic style from that of ancient hagiographic narratives. It can be considered among Bulgaria’s literary masterpieces — it is so truthful, sincere and confessional, and it attracts readers by the vitality of its descriptions of the then difficult Bulgarian life. Unfortunately, this work remained as only a hand-written manuscript for a long time. It was first published only in 1861 in the newspaper *Dunavsky Lebed* (“The Danube Swan”) by the Bulgarian revolutionary writer G.S. Rakovsky in exile. Therefore, among his contemporaries he was known primarily as the author of the famous *Nedelnik*. Sophronius’ activities were appreciated in Bulgaria only by his descendants: it is not by chance that schools, libraries and reading rooms have been named after him; in 1964 the Bulgarian Orthodox Church canonized Sophronius as a saint.

Translated by the author

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THE SERBIAN HISTORIOGRAPHER AND POET, JOVAN RAICH¹

Abstract:

The article talks about the life and work of a prominent figure of the South Slavic national revival, historiographer, poet and translator Jovan Raich (1726–1801), one of the most educated Serbs of his era. He studied in many countries, spoke five foreign languages, left behind a solid original and translated creative heritage. The most significant of his writings was the voluminous historiographical work *The History of different Slavic peoples, primarily of the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs...*, published at the end of the 18th century in Vienna and St. Petersburg. For his works he earned awards from the Austrian and Russian Empresses. Equally striking was Raich's contribution to the development of national Serbian poetry. Unlike the historiographical writings that Raich wrote in Russian-Church-Slavic, he used a language close to the living Serbian spoken language in his poems.

Keywords:

South Slavic national revival, historiography, Serbian writer from Vojvodina, *“The History of different Slavic peoples, primarily of the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs...”*, religious and secular enlightenment.

Аннотация: И.И. Калиганов. «СЕРБСКИЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФ И ПОЭТ ЙОВАН РАИЧ».

В статье рассказывается о жизни и творчестве видного деятеля южнославянского национального возрождения, историографа, поэта и переводчика Йована Раича (1726–1801) — одного из самых образованных сербов своей эпохи. Он учился во многих странах, владел пятью иностранными языками, оставил после себя солидное оригинальное и переводное творческое наследие. Наиболее значительным среди него был объемный историографический труд «История разных славянских народов, наипаче Болгар, Хорватов и Сербов...», изданный в конце XVIII столетия в Вене и Санкт-Петербурге. За свои труды он заслужил награды от австрийской и российской императриц. Не менее ярким был вклад Раича и в развитие национальной сербской поэзии. В отличие от историографических сочинений, которые Раич писал на русско-церковно-славянском языке, в своих стихах он использовал язык, близкий к живому сербскому разговорному.

Ключевые слова:

Национальное возрождение у южных славян, историография, сербский писатель из Воеводины, «История разных словенских народов, наипаче болгар, хорватов и сербов», религиозное и светское просветительство.

Jovan Raich is an outstanding figure of the South Slavic national revival, widely known in the Orthodox Slavic world, a Serbian writer, poet, translator, historiographer and author of the famous *The History of different Slavic people primarily of the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs...* He was born into a poor

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

family in Sremski Karlovtsi in Vojvodina, a Serbian city that was ceded to Austria after the 1688–89 war with the Ottoman Empire and became the religious center of the Orthodox Austrian Serbs. It was here that the residence of the Metropolitan was located, and subsequently the first Serbian gymnasium (1791) and seminary (1794) were opened. Jovan received a basic education at the school from Deacon P. Raikovich and the Latin-Slavic School of the Nativity of the Virgin, where Emmanuel Kozachinsky, a native of Russia, taught, and then from 1774 he studied at the Jesuit gymnasium of Komarom and the Protestant lyceum of Sopron. During his years of study, he mastered Latin, Church Slavonic, Russian, German and Hungarian. Desiring to further improve his education, Raich set out on foot to Russia, where he studied at the Kievo-Mogyla Academy from 1753 to 1756.

After graduating from this institution, Raich traveled extensively, visiting Moscow, Smolensk, Poland, Moldova, Walachia, Constantinople and Mount Athos. Then he devoted himself to pedagogical work: from 1759 to 1762 he was a teacher of geography and rhetoric and then the rector of the School of the Intercession of the Virgin in Sremski Karlovtsi. Some years later, at the invitation of the Bishop of Bachka, Moses Putnik, he arrived in Novi Sad, where for five years he taught theology as a professor at the Theological Academy (collegium), serving at the same time as its rector. During this period and later, he was engaged in translating from Church Slavonic and German. Most of the works he translated were on spiritual and religious themes and were written by such Ukrainian and Russian authors as Theophan Prokopovich, Peter Mogyla, Metropolitan Platon (Levshin) and Lazarus Baranovych. Raich's translation of the secular drama, *Urosh V* ("The Tragedy of King Urosh"), written by his teacher, E. Kozachinsky, should also be noted.

The last period of Raich's life was connected with monastic life: in 1772 he took monastic vows in the ancient monastery of the Holy Archangels (founded by St Sava of Serbia) in the village of Kovil near Novi Sad. Subsequently, he was quickly ordained as a hieromonk and then placed in the archimandrites and became a hegemon of the monastery until the end of his days. During this period, he wrote the first history of the Serbian church and published the *Small Catechism*.



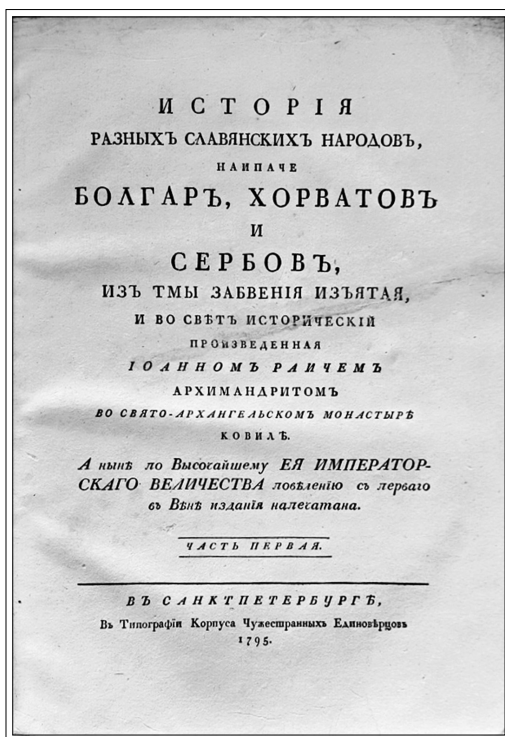
Jovan Raich. Archimandrite.
Engraving from the St. Petersburg
edition of *The History of different*
Slavic Peoples, 1795

Raich combined his pedagogical and translation activities with work on the realization of his plan from much earlier to write the history of the Slavic peoples. During his travels, Raich persevered in collecting the materials he needed for this purpose. His stay on Athos and work in the monastery of Hilandar was very fruitful for him; there he not only found many useful documents but also, apparently, met with the leader of the Bulgarian national revival, Paisius of Hilandar, who later wrote his epochal *Slavo-Bulgarian History*.

According to Raich, he completed his historical work on the Slavs in 1768 but continued to refine it for more than a quarter of a century. The full title of the work was *The History of different Slavic peoples, primarily of the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs, who were removed from the darkness of oblivion and brought into the light of history by the archimandrite Jovan Raich in the Holy Archangel monastery of Kovil*. This massive work of his was first published in Vienna in two installments: books 1–3 in 1794 and book 4 in 1795. The first was an introduction, and the second was devoted to the history of the Bulgarians and covered the historical period from its origins to the end of the 14th century, i.e., before the conquest of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom by the Turks, as well as a brief history of the Croats. The remainder of the books contained a detailed account of the history of the Serbs and Serbia prior to the Peace of Belgrade in 1739 and the abolition of the Patriarchate of Pech by the Turks.

Working on this, Raich managed to free himself from many medieval principles of scrutinizing historical sources and to come close to the academic methodology of modern times. He divided his work into books, chapters and paragraphs, provided it with the family trees of the ruling dynasties, chronological tables, maps and many other supporting materials, and came close to the method of a critical analysis of historical sources. However, his conclusions were often dictated by feelings of patriotism or confessional (Orthodox) predilections, and some parts of his work have a compilatory or even biased, pro-Serbian character.

The author undoubtedly deserves credit for introducing Serbian historical sources into academic research.



*The title page of the work
 The History of different Slavic Peoples.
 St. Petersburg, 1795*

Raich's rejection of previous ideas about the linearity and immutability of historical time was also innovative for the Serbs: the author divides it into ancient, medieval and modern eras. The primary manifestation of Raich's "The History..." were the ideas of the unity of the enslaved Southern Slavs, the cult of education and science — "the pillars and ornamentation of a state," the sense of pride in the Slavic historical past. This book had a great impact on the awakening of the national consciousness of the Southern Slavs and the development of their historical thought. For Serbs, it remained a reference book and the main academic source on their national history until the 1860s.

It was of no less importance for the Bulgarians, where, from 1762 onward Paisius of Hilandar's *Slavo-Bulgarian History*, a work similar in its ideological orientation, was distributed around the country as a handwritten manuscript: the first fragments from it appeared in print only in 1844. But in Russia Raich's aforementioned work, for obvious reasons, was published almost immediately after the Vienna edition. The first edition was published in St. Petersburg in 1795 and aroused great interest among Russian readers. This was not surprising, since in it readers found many vivid passages telling about the conquest of the Balkan lands by the Slavs and Bulgarians and the creation of a powerful medieval state there, about the legends and historical narratives associated with the baptism of Bulgaria and the "golden" age of the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon, about the Bulgarians' falling under Byzantine rule, the revival of Bulgarian statehood and the arrival of the Turks in the Balkans at the end of the 14th century, and the fall of the Bulgarian Tsardom. Raich proved to be an excellent storyteller, who knew how to interest the reader with the vividness of his narrative and who was able to look at the same event through the eyes of many historians, weighing the reliability of their opinions and the correct choice of perspective. Unfortunately, for reasons of censorship, the publication of the second part of Raich's "The History" was not carried out in Russia. The work of the famous Serbian historiographer was afterwards published in its entirety in Budim (Buda) in 1823.

Raich's contribution to the development of Serbian national poetry in the genre of spiritual poems, epitaphs and historical poems was no less significant. He began to write these starting in the 1790s *Pjesni različnija* ("Various verses", Bech, 1790). The most vivid mark in the history of Serbian literature was left by his historical and allegorical poem, *Boj zmaja sa orlovi* ("The Fight of the Snake with the Eagles," Bech, 1791), written in Vienna at the height of the Austro-Russian-Turkish War (1788–90) and dedicated to the historical event of Belgrade's temporary liberation. Unlike "The History...", which was written in the Russo-Church Slavonic language, the poet turned to the Serbian folk language in the poem. In it, the influence of the Baroque tradition of the Kiev literary school is noticeable. Realistic depictions in the poem are intertwined with mythological and allegorical images: the "Snake" represents the Ottoman Empire, and the "Eagles," Russia and Austria. The solemn tone with respect to the winners is juxtaposed against the mockingly humorous tone in relation to the enemy. There

is also a “third,” hidden character in the poem: the enslaved Serbs, who, having joined the allied armies, are fighting for their freedom. The patriotism, civic spirit, and closeness to the people’s aspirations that emerged in Raich’s work became the hallmarks of the subsequent development of Serbian poetry.

Raich’s achievements in the development of Serbian culture and national spiritual enlightenment were celebrated by Russian Empress Catherine II with a gold medal with her own image, and the Austrian Empress Maria Theresa with a precious Archimandrite’s cross. Raich’s achievements have not been forgotten in our time either: the name of Jovan Raich is widely known not only in Serbia but also abroad.

Translated by the author

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2. Jovan Raich, engraving of the 19th century. State Historical Museum, Moscow.
3. Kievo-Mogyla Academy (1659–1817).
4. Mount Athos, monastery of Hilandar.
5. The title page of the work *The History of different Slavic Peoples*. St. Petersburg, 1795.
6. Monastery of St Archangels in Kovil near Novi Sad, where Raich was tortured, labored and buried.
7. Contents of the Second Book “On the Bulgarian People” in *The History of different Slavic Peoples* by Jovan Raich.
8. A large gold medal depicting the face of Catherine II, by whom Raich was honored for his services.



*YURY A.
LABYNTSEV*

THE OLD RUSSIAN WRITER AND PREACHER OF 12th CENTURY, CYRIL OF TUROV¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the main milestones in the life and creative heritage of the outstanding writer of the Eastern Slavs, Bishop Cyril of Turov, as well as the history of the study of his work. He entered into the history of East Slav literature as an author of prayers, canons and homilies. His work's popularity surpassed similar writings of other old Slavic authors for centuries. His spiritual works still echo today in the orthodox folk songs in Belarus', Ukraine and Russia. Cyril of Turov is one of the most revered saints in Belarus': one can see monuments to him in many Belarusian cities.

Keywords:

Cyril of Turov, Old Rus', Orthodoxy, Old Russian literature, handwritten books, inter-Slavic cultural ties.

Аннотация: Ю.А. ЛАБЫНЦЕВ. «ДРЕВНЕРУССКИЙ ПИСАТЕЛЬ И ПРОПОВЕДНИК XII в. КИРИЛЛ ТУРОВСКИЙ».

В статье рассматриваются основные вехи жизни и творческое наследие выдающегося писателя Восточной Славии, Кирилла епископа Туровского. Анализируется в ней также и история изучения данной научной проблематики. Этот творец вошел в историю литератур восточных славян как автор молитв, похвал святым, канонов и поучений. По степени популярности его произведения превосходили аналогичные сочинения большинства других древнеславянских авторов на протяжении нескольких столетий. Сочиненные им молитвы и сегодня звучат в православной народной среде Беларуси, Украины и России. Кирилл Туровский является одним из самых почитаемых в Беларуси святых: памятники ему установлены во многих городах республики.

Ключевые слова:

Кирилл Туровский, Древняя Русь, православие, древнерусская литература, рукописная книжность, межславянские культурные связи.

Cyril of Turov — the saint, Bishop, outstanding writer of Eastern Slavia, author of prayers, praise of saints, canons, teachings. His works in terms of their popularity surpassed the works of other authors of antiquity for centuries. His prayers are still heard in the Orthodox communities of Belarus', Ukraine and Russia. Little information has been preserved about Cyril's life. The dates of his birth and death are unknown; he presumably died around 1183. In the *Life of St Cyril of Turov*, created several decades after his death, it is said: "... blessed Cyril was born and raised by the city ... of Turov in the Russian country ... a son of

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

a rich parent.” The compiler of his Life calls him “The Second Chrysostom” for his literary talent, which delighted contemporaries and their descendants: “Rejoice at the holy prelate, our teacher! The second Chrysostom shone for us more than anyone else ...”

Cyril took monastic vows in his hometown of Turov, became famous for his monastic deeds and theological works, and was supposedly elevated to episcopal dignity in 1159. After taking office, the new Bishop found himself in the midst of political struggle and church strife. Cyril denounced the heresies and the iniquity of princes and bishops capable of making a show of living honorable lives while openly deceiving the people. In the latter days of his life, Cyril left the episcopal ministry and continued his literary works in one of the Turov monasteries, possibly St Nicholas.

Cyril’s hometown of Turov in the twelfth century was one of the most significant old Russian cities. The first mention of it dates back to 980: “Rovgolod came from overseas and exercised authority in Polotsk just as Tury, from whom the Turovians get their name, did in Turov.” Archaeological excavations have shown that a large settlement near the present Turov may have developed much earlier than this. In the tenth century, it was a major economic and cultural center, the capital city of the Principality of Turov. Here arose one of the first bishoprics in Russia, to which many cities and neighboring villages were given into its keeping. At the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, the Greek Princess Barvara, wife of Prince Svyatopolk Izyaslavich, founded the Barvara monastery for women in Turov. On the site of the ancient city, archaeologists have discovered the remains of numerous buildings, a stone cathedral, stone sarcophagi and many cultural artefacts. The latter speak of the wide economic and cultural ties of Turov and the Turov’ region with the Black Sea, the Baltic states and the East. In the center of the city was the princely palace; to the south — the Borisogleb’ Cathedral; to the west of it — the episcopal or “ruler” courtyard in an elevated location.

In the Life of the saint, his writings are listed in detail, some of which have not survived: denunciation of the heresy of Bishop Theodore, numerous letters to Prince Andrey of Bogolyubovo and praise to many saints, the Great Penitential Canon with the arrangement of verses in alphabetical order and other works.

Among the old Slavic authors of Eastern Slavia, Bishop Cyril of Turov was perhaps the most prolific, especially given the writings attributed to him. Unfortunately, despite a relatively long study of the creative heritage of the scribe, an accurate list of his works and their manuscripts has not yet been created. Cyril’s authorship has been established for only a few epistles and teachings (some of which are known only by name), several sermons, about 30 prayers and two canons.

The earliest extant lists of Cyril’s works date back to the 13th century. Over time, the number of such lists gradually increased in both East Slavic and South Slavic lands. Particularly noteworthy is the fact of the wide distribution of hand-written lists of the prelate’s works among the Southern Slavs in the 16th — 17th

centuries. In the following century, Cyril's prayers began to be actively rewritten by Russian Old Believers. Cyril's works were printed in the second half of the 16th century and published in greater number in the first third of the next century. In summary, these were prayers and "a sermon by 'the unworthy monk Cyril' on the Ascension Day on the fourth day of the sixth week after Easter, from the prophetic precepts and about the resurrection of the Universal Adam."

Until the end of the 16th century, Cyril's most widely read and distributed works were the hymnographic and some homiletic works. After that there was a surge of interest in the prayers of the ascetic, which has not dried up to this day. In 1596, in Vilna, in the printing house of the Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit, a collection was published of "Everyday prayers by many of the Church Fathers, Christian teachers, chosen from Greek writings, and other prayers for the week of St Cyril, the cenobite." This edition was published during a period of tragic unrest in church life, in the year of the adoption of the Church Union of Brest. It served as a model and basis for many subsequent editions in the 17th — 20th centuries. Intended for a wide range of Orthodox, primarily laypeople, it brought the prayers of Cyril to many people and many generations.

This publication marked the beginning of a new life for Cyril's prayers and the advent of a new era of their spread among the Orthodox. The texts of the prayers placed in it formed the basis for the publication of a second edition in 1880. It was carried out by an expert on the writings of the saint, Bishop Eugene (Shereshilov) of Minsk, who, together with his colleagues, believed that Cyril's prayers constituted the best part of his works. According to him, they entered church and folk use due to their detachment from conventional influences of place and time, had a wide and beneficial effect on Russian Christians. They can therefore be considered "the best of the existing prayers in church usage." The famous Russian writer N.S. Leskov so appreciated and was inspired by the Cyril prayer cycle that he prepared and published his own edition of it in 1876 under the title "Prayer offerings to God of our holy father Cyril, Bishop of Turov." The book contains an epigraph that allows us to understand how the writer perceived the essence of Cyril's literary creativity: "Not to pray only for ourselves, but also for strangers and enemies, not just for Christians, but also for adherents of different faiths, so that they would turn to God."

Orthodox monasticism has always honored the works of Cyril, especially his prayer cycle. From the prayers of the ascetic, the monks composed a whole book, which they rewrote until the 19th century. Thanks to this, there was a source base for studying the work of Cyril. From the very beginning of the development of Slavic studies as an academic area, researchers drew attention to the literary talent of the saint. The significance of Cyril's work for the history of Slavic culture and his excellent knowledge of Christian literature at that time were appreciated. According to the Church calendar, Cyril's commemoration falls on 28th or 30th of April. In the 1870s Bishop Eugene of Minsk and Turov strengthened the veneration of Cyril: the saint became the patron saint of the Minsk diocese.



*The title page with the prayers of Cyril of Turov,
manuscript of the 15th century. Kiev,
National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky,
Institute of manuscripts. F. 1. st. u. 5357*

In 1984, when the celebration of the Synaxis of the Belarusian Saints was established, our saint was among them. Now the name of Cyril is carried by the Minsk Theological Academy and the public scientific society in the city of Gomel, and in his honor a church order and a medal have been established. Every year on 11 May (April 28th, according to the old style), a celebration in memory of the saint with a procession is held in the saint's hometown of Turov.

No reliable images and descriptions of the appearance of Cyril have been found. However, iconographic scripts describe him as follows: "...elderly, very clever and gentle; with a small round beard, simple hair, a thin face; in chasuble and omophorion, a hat with an embroidered cross on his head, a book in his hands." One of the earliest surviving iconographic images of Cyril dates back to the beginning of the 19th century. Then, apparently, there were only a few, but by the end of the century there were many more of them. Today this saint is one of the most revered Belarusian saints. His images exist not only on icons, but also on secular paintings and graphic works. Monuments were erected to him in a number of Belarusian cities. One of them is located in the center of Turov, the other is on the territory of the Belarusian State University of Minsk, the third is in the centre of the city of Gomel.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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THE LITERARY LEGACY OF FRANCISK SKORINA¹

Abstract:

The article assesses the value of the literary heritage of the doctor Francisk Skorina (16th century) and the distribution of publications of this great Belarusian educator in the Slavic world.

Keywords:

Francisk Skorina, Belarusian literature, biblical studies, Slavistics.

Аннотация: Ю.А. ЛАБЫНЦЕВ. «КНИЖНОЕ НАСЛЕДИЕ ФРАНЦИСКА СКОРИНЫ».

Статья посвящена оценке значения книжно-литературного наследия доктора наук Франциска Скорины (XVI в.) и распространению изданий этого великого белорусского просветителя в славянском мире.

Ключевые слова:

Франциск Скорина, белорусская литература, библеистика, славистика.

Francisk Skorina / in Bel. Francysk Skarina (approximately end of the 1480s, Polotsk — post 1540, Prague) was an Eastern Slavic educator, humanist, publisher, translator, biblical scholar, doctor of medicine, and the national pride of the Belarusian people. The Bible published by him in his translation (*The Russian Bible compiled by Dr. Francisk Skorina from the glorious city of Polotsk, for the honor of God and for the men of the Commonwealth for good knowledge*) became the first printed Bible among the Eastern and South Slavic peoples. It was published almost half a century before the advent of Bibles printed in Polish.

He was born into a Belarusian merchant family in Polotsk, received his initial education at home and in local city schools. During his lifetime, Skorina traveled to many countries, studied at the oldest European universities, earned the highest academic degrees, was a doctor of “the seven free arts” (the liberal arts) and a doctor of medicine. Between 1504–06 he studied at the Krakow Academy, which awarded him a bachelor’s degree on 14 December 1506, and in 1512 he received a doctorate in medicine from the University of Padua. During these years, under the influence of the ideas of the European Renaissance, Skorina conceived a grandiose undertaking: the publication of a Russian Bible itself. Between the years 1517–19, in Old Prague (“in the old city of Prague”), Skorina published 23 books of the Old Testament, translated by him into Russian, supplied with various kinds of commentaries, mainly in the form of voluminous forewords and

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).



A portrait of Dr. Francisk Skorina.
Engraving. 1517

afterwords. In this publication, a xylographic portrait of Skorina himself was also placed, which was a unique phenomenon in the European publishing practice of that time. This publication was not completed: a number of the books of the Old Testament prepared by Skorina for publication unfortunately remained just in manuscript form.

In the early 1520s, Skorina passed through Breslau (Wroclaw) to the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Russia and Zhemaitian Vilna (Vilnius), where he founded the first printing house in Eastern Europe. At the same time, Skorina most likely rented a Prague printing house, but he organized the Vilnius printing house himself. In Vilna he published more than 20 books, among which was a special collection, published about 1522, entitled *The Small Road Book*. This

collection also contained a number of works by Skorina himself, including hymnographic ones. The final publication of the Vilnius printing house, *The Apostle*, was published in March 1525. In the second half of the 1520s, Skorina married Margarita (Malgorzata), the widow of a Vilna merchant, Yury Odvernik (Georgy Odvernikovich). In 1529 he traveled to Poznan' on business about the inheritance of his elder brother Ivan, who had died there.

The following year Skorina was in Königsberg at the court of the Prussian Duke Albrecht, who gave him special protection and called him "an outstanding learned man." These same qualities contributed to Skorina's serving for some time as the personal secretary and doctor of the Vilnius Catholic Bishop Jan. In the spring of 1532, Warsaw merchants Moses and Lazarus slandered Skorina, calling him "an idle man, a vagabond and indigent." As a result, he spent more than two months in a Poznan' prison, from which he was released by special decree of King Sigismund I as a slandered person. In the last years of his life, Skorina apparently lived in Prague, which is evidenced in particular by the charter of King Ferdinand I, issued on 29 January 1552 to Simeon Rus, in which his dead father Skorina appeared as "our gardener." The latter gives reason to consider Skorina as being one of the creators of the Royal Botanic Gardens, one of the first in Europe.

Skorina was a prominent figure of the European Renaissance, a pioneer of the Slavic Renaissance, the brightest representative of the Belarusian and all East Slavic cultures. A convinced humanist and educator, he strove all his life to serve his countrymen, first of all by giving them his own *Bibliya Ruska* and making the eternal biblical truths accessible even to "the ordinary people." Skorina's social ideal was: "Equal freedom for all, common property for all. According to this law everyone believing in Christ lives." The books Skorina published, including his voluminous "Bibliya Ruska," are the colossal work of a humanist and writer. His books represent a complex set of hundreds of different literary works written, translated or prepared by him for printing according to the strictest canons of



*The title page of the publication
by Francisk Skorina "Bibliya Ruska"
("The Russian Bible").*

Prague, 1517–19

publishing at that time. Skorina, as a master of words, appears before us at once in several guises: a prose writer, a hymnographer and a poet, an excellent translator from ancient and new languages. Skorina's work is a synthesis of old and new in Belarusian literature. Without the use of the old, classical tradition, without reliance on it, his compatriots simply would not have understood.

The essence of Skorina's literary feat lies in the fact that for the first time he succeeded in combining two major traditions of European culture — Eastern and Western — and introducing new literary forms. Such a synthesis by Skorina was a completely unique phenomenon, standing at the wellspring of a newly emerging East Slavic literature, worthy of being noted in all the annals of world literature. Skorina's literary and publishing activities were noticed by contemporary humanists: his books not only appeared in their personal libraries, but fragments were also reprinted by them. Skorina's distinction lies in the fact that his purpose was to make his publications and works available not to just a narrow circle of educated people but to all people without exception.

For this reason he did not write in the language of high Latin, but resorted to a language close to the people, and used traditional literary genres. Despite the non-canonical nature of the Bible translated and printed by him, it gained great popularity in Eastern Europe among Belarusians, Russians, Ukrainians and Slavs living along the ridges of the Carpathians. One can even speak of the direct influence of Skorina's Bible on Ukrainian literature (primarily Ukrainian Bible publications and manuscripts, including the New Testament). It also made wide inroads in the Moscow state and Russian lands. It was in the Russian lands that Skorina's works were destined for the longest life. Russian Old Believers, for example, copied and reprinted Skorina's texts (especially hymnographic) until the beginning of the 20th century.

On the whole, the literary, philosophical and theological heritage of Skorina, this recognized genius of the Slavic world as well as a source of pride and a symbol of Belarusian national culture, is still not well understood. However, what we do know about him is enough to understand the scale of his figure. It is not by chance that many Belarusian streets, avenues and educational institutions are named after Francisk Skorina. In Belarus', in honor of the educator, state "Skorina" awards were established, and monuments to him were erected not only at home, but also abroad.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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THE FIRST TYPOGRAPHER IVAN FYODOROV WHO WORKED IN THE RUSSIAN, BELARUSIAN AND UKRAINIAN LANDS¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the activities of the famous first typographer of Russia, Belarus' and Ukraine: Ivan Fyodorov (c. 1520 — 5th December 1583). The first precisely dated Russian book *The Apostle*, as well as a few others, were published by him in Moscow in 1564. At the end of the 1560s Ivan Fyodorov published a number of books at the Zabłudov manor of the Belarusian Orthodox magnates Khotkeviches including *The Didactic Gospel* in 1569. From the 1570s to the early 1580s he went on to publish a number of other books in Lvov and Ostrog. Among these publications was the first printed Bible in Church Slavonic: the Ostrog Bible.

Keywords:

Ivan Fyodorov, Cyril and Methodius heritage, East Slavic early printed book culture, Ostrog Bible.

Аннотация: Ю.А. ЛАБЫНЦЕВ. «Первопечатник Иван Федоров, работавший в русских, белорусских и украинских землях».

В статье рассматривается деятельность знаменитого русского, белорусского и украинского первопечатника Ивана Федорова (ок. 1520 — 5 декабря 1583 г.). В 1564 г. он выпустил в Москве первую точно датированную русскую книгу «Апостол», а затем несколько других книг. В конце 1560-х годов в Заблудове — имении белорусских православных магнатов Ходкевичей. Иван Федоров напечатал еще ряд изданий, в их числе «Евангелие учительное» 1569 г. А в 1570-х — начале 1580-х годов во Львове и Остроге он издал ряд других книг. Среди них была и первая печатная Библия на церковнославянском языке — Острожская библия.

Ключевые слова:

Иван Федоров, кирилло-мефодиевское наследие, восточнославянская старопечатная книжность.

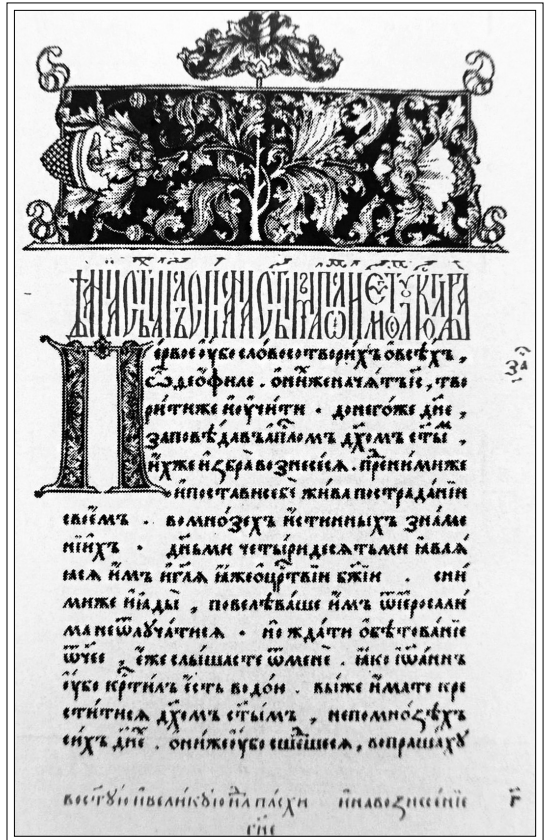
Ivan Fyodorov was a Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian printing pioneer, publisher of the first dated book printed in Russian. The exact time and place of Ivan Fyodorov's birth is not known, but in his publications he constantly emphasized his Moscow origins: "Ivan Fyodorovich, Muscovite Typographer," "Ivan Fyodorovich, typographer from Moscow."

Typography appeared in Moscow in the middle of the 16th century, when, at the behest of Tsar Ivan the Terrible and with the blessing of Metropolitan Macarius, a printing house was founded in 1563. Its beginning and successful

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

development were associated with the activities of Ivan Fyodorov and Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets. It should be noted that by that time several anonymous books had already been published in Moscow without any indication of the place and date of the publication. Finally, on 1st March 1564, was published *The Apostle*, the first dated book printed in Russian. The afterword, most likely composed by Ivan Fyodorov himself, sets out the background of the founding of the printing house. It is reported that, by decision of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, people began to buy manuscript books in the marketplace, but they were full of the mistakes of ignorant copyists. Therefore, as the epilogue says, it was ordered that the royal treasury set up a printing house and begin a printing business. The deacon of the Church of St Nicholas Gostunsky in the Kremlin, Ivan Fyodorov, and Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets were appointed as the “producers” of this publishing undertaking.

After the publication in Moscow of *The Apostle* in 1564, the first typographers published two editions of *The Chapel*, which was used in Russia for teaching reading and writing, but they soon left Moscow, taking with them some of the printing materials. Ivan Fyodorov himself explained the reasons for his departure as troubles due to the bitterness of ignorant people: “not from the tsar himself, but from the many civic and spiritual leaders and teachers” who, out of envy, accused the typographers “of various heresies, wishing to turn good into evil.” They were therefore forced to leave their homeland and move to other “unknown countries,” which were the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland. Here the first typographers found refuge on the estate of the magnate Gregory Khodkevich of Zabludov and soon began to create an Orthodox printing house. On 8th July 1568, in Zabludov they started to print their first book, *The Didactical Gospel*. The set was printed using fonts that they had brought from Moscow; the headpieces, endings and initial letters of the publication



The title page of The Apostle.
Moscow, 1564

were also of Moscow origin: Ivan Fyodorov and Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets used them with the imprint of the *The Apostle* in 1564. *The Didactic Gospel* was published on 17th March 1569. This book also included one of the writings of the famous Old Russian preacher of the 12th century, Cyril of Turov. The following year in Zabudov, Ivan Fzodorov, without Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets (who later began to print books in Vilna), released *The Psalter* with the *The Epistle*, which was widely used for literacy purposes.

In 1572, after Khodkevich's decision to close the Zabludov printing house, Ivan Fyodorov moved to Lvov, where two years later he published the famous *The Apostle* and *The Primer*. These two books laid the foundation for book printing in the Ukrainian lands, and Ivan Fyodorov is rightfully considered the founder of Ukrainian book printing. The main text of the first copy of *The Apostle* printed in Ukraine was completely repeated by the copy of *The Apostle* printed in Moscow in 1564, but three small initial articles and an extensive afterword by Ivan Fyodorov about the beginning of printing were added to it. Unlike Moscow and Zabludov, where the first typographer received great moral and material support from the powerful, in Lvov he was not given that. Here he saw a blatant indifference to the craft of printing, and only a few "low-ranking" Orthodox clergy and Lvov laypeople not belonging to the nobility were ready to help.

In 1579 Ivan Fyodorov, at the invitation of Prince Constantine of Ostrog, arrived in Ostrog, where the prince gathered prominent scholars of that time to prepare and publish the first full printed Bible in Church Slavonic. Before that goal was reached Ivan Fyodorov printed in Ostrog *The Alphabet Book* (1578), *The Primer* (c. 1580), *A book of the things most needed in short order for the sake of finding The New Testament in the book* (1580), *The Chronology* by Andrey Rymsha (1581). In preparation for the publication of *The Bible*, the pioneering typographer significantly expanded and staffed the Ostrog printing house: he prepared a large number of necessary printing tools and accumulated a huge stock of paper for printing such a voluminous publication. In 1581 the Bible was published in Ostrog: a remarkable monument of world typographic art, the first full Bible in the Church Slavonic language. Ivan Fyodorov himself, who was an excellent textual critic and an expert in the Church Slavonic language, was directly involved in preparing the manuscript. At the beginning of 1583, he returned to Lvov, where he died in December 1583 and was buried at the Monastery of St Onuphrios.

The name of Ivan Fyodorov is widely known in many countries worldwide. It is especially precious to the people of Russia, Belarus' and Ukraine, where his activities left their deepest mark. He was an outstanding individual: a member of the clergy, a printing pioneer, an inventor, a writer. As a writer, Ivan Fyodorov left us several of his works in the afterwords to the editions he published. A special place among them belongs to the afterword to the Lvov *Apostle of 1574*, which he called *The Tale*. It became the first ever printed story by a Russian author. However, Ivan Fyodorov's main exploit was his activity as a typographer

and publisher. This was well understood by his contemporaries, who engraved on his tombstone in Lvov: "Ivan Fyodorovich, Drukar Moskvitin (Typographer from Moscow), ... Drukar (Typographer) of books never before seen."

Ivan Fyodorov's books are widely distributed around the world, and most of them are, of course, in Russia and Ukraine, followed by Serbia, Poland, Great Britain, Bulgaria and other countries. About 70 copies of the *Moscow Apostle of 1564* have survived to the present day, most of which are located in different Russian cities, with the majority being in Moscow: one third of those currently known. Copies of this book are also to be found in a number of other countries: Great Britain, the USA, Kyrgyzstan, the Czech Republic, Latvia, and, of course, in Ukraine, where a tenth of them are preserved. About 130 copies of the *Lvov Apostle of 1574* have survived, more than half of which are in Russia, including a quarter in Moscow.

Copies of this book are also to be found in Poland, Lithuania, Greece, Great Britain, Austria, Hungary, Canada, Belarus', Bulgaria, Serbia, Italy, the Czech Republic and Sweden. A quarter of all copies of the *Lvov Apostle of 1574* are to be found in Ukraine, 14 of them in Lvov. A special fate awaited *The Didactical Gospel of Zabludov* (1569), which had a significant impact on the Orthodox, both within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and far beyond, as far as Moscow and the Balkans. This book was repeatedly reprinted, used for work on other publications, copied in different countries, translated into other languages. About fifty copies of *The Teaching Gospel of Ostrog* (1569) have survived to the present day and are now preserved in many countries on different continents: in Poland, the USA, Serbia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, etc. Most of the copies are in Russia: in Vladimir, Nizhny Novgorod, St. Petersburg, Novosibirsk, Petrozavodsk, Yekaterinburg and especially in Moscow, where a total of about 20 copies of this edition are stored. Numerous records of the surviving copies attest to the unusually wide distribution of the book throughout the Orthodox world. Very soon after its publication



*The title page of The Apostle.
Lvov, 1574*

The Teaching Gospel of Ostrog found its way to the Bulgarians, Russians, Serbs and other Orthodox peoples, spread to the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. About 400 copies of *The Bible of Ostrog* have survived to this day, and every year more and more copies are discovered. It is not an exaggeration to say that they are distributed throughout the world. The issue of the circulation of the Ostrog Bible has not yet been resolved, but it was undoubtedly very large at that time. However, the huge number of surviving copies of this book is also explained by the very careful attitude to this outstanding document of Slavic booklore. The publication of the first Bible printed in Church Slavonic in Ostrog in 1581 not only completed the centuries-old history of the creation of a complete “Slavonic” biblical code, but also laid a new, solid foundation for the reception of the text of the Holy Scripture by many peoples, this thousand-year-old core of the entire European cultural tradition.

The Deacon of the Kremlin Church of St Nicholas Gostunsky, “Ivan Fyodorov, a Muscovite son,” is one of those historical figures who happened to become one of the main conduits of the broadest and largest communication of the ancient printed Church Slavonic tradition. Ivan Fyodorov’s multifaceted creative activity in Moscow, Belarus’ and Ukraine is one of the brightest pages in the history of these countries. In the history of East Slavic cultural relations, including Russian-Ukrainian, it is difficult to find an example that so vividly demonstrates the centuries-old spiritual kinship of these two peoples. During his difficult wandering life, which ended in Lvov in December 1583, he printed a number of publications that have become classics and exemplary not only as objects of the world’s typographic art, but also as monuments to the thousand-year-old Church Slavonic book tradition, which still protects and attests to the spiritual and cultural unity of the eastern and southern Slavs.

Streets in a number of cities have been named after Ivan Fyodorov, statues in Moscow and Lvov have been erected to him, and writers dedicate works of art to him. On 23 July 2010 the Moscow State University of Publishing was named after Ivan Fyodorov in connection with the 80th anniversary of the founding of the university.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The title page of *The Apostle*. Moscow, 1564.
2. The homepage of the epilogue in *The Apostle*. Moscow, 1564.
3. The output sheet of *The Didactic Gospel*. Zabludov, 1569.
4. The title page of *The Psalter with the Epistle*. Zabludov, 1574.
5. The title page of *The Apostle*. Lvov, 1574.
6. The homepage of the epilogue in *The Apostle*. Lvov, 1574.
7. The output of *The Primer*. Lvov, 1574.
8. The title page of *The Bible*. Ostrog, 1581.
9. Monument to Ivan Fyodorov in Moscow. Sculptor S.M. Volnukhin, 1909.
10. Monument to Ivan Fyodorov in Lvov. Sculptors V.N. Borisenko and V.M. Podolsky, 1977.

THE OSTROG BIBLE OF 1581, THE FIRST COMPLETE PRINTED BIBLE OF THE EASTERN SLAVS¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the history of the publication of the famous Ostrog Bible, published in 1581 by the Moscovite and Ukrainian pioneer of printing Ivan Fyodorov at the estate of the orthodox magnate Prince Constantine in the city of Ostrog. The Ostrog Bible is a monument of book culture of global significance and it still remains the most famous and important early printed Cyrillic title. Its publication was the result of centuries of manuscript translations of the Holy Scripture into Church Slavonic. Its copies are found all over the world, but the majority of its specimens are in Russia and Ukraine.

Keywords:

Ostrog Bible, biblical studies, Ivan Fyodorov, Church Slavonic language, Slavic studies.

Аннотация: Ю.А. ЛАБЫНЦЕВ. «Острожская Библия 1581 г. — первый полный первопечатный библейский свод у восточных славян».

В статье рассматривается история издания — знаменитой Острожской библии, выпущенной в 1581 г. московским и украинским первопечатником Иваном Федоровым в имении православного магната князя К.К. Острожского в г. Остроге. Острожская библия является памятником книжной культуры мирового значения и поныне остается наиболее известным и значимым старопечатным кириллическим изданием. Ее выпуск подвел итог многовекового бытования рукописных церковнославянских переводов Священного Писания. Эта книга распространена по всему миру, но больше всего ее экземпляров хранится в России и Украине.

Ключевые слова:

Острожская библия, библеистика, Иван Федоров, церковнославянский язык, славяноведение.

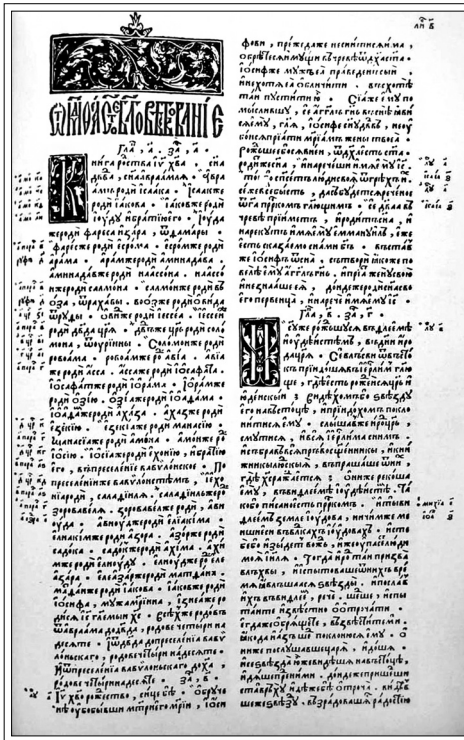
The Ostrog Bible, a cultural literary monument of global importance, was published in 1581 by the famous pioneering Russian and Ukrainian typographer Ivan Fyodorov, in Ostrog at the estate of Prince Constantine of Ostrog. In his publications the typographer added the words “of Moscow,” i.e., he was a native of Moscow. A special printing house and a scholarly community consisting of a number of outstanding scribes of that time was established in Ostrog to issue the Bible. They did a tremendous job in preparing handwritten biblical texts for printing. Thanks to their efforts, the Ostrog Bible of 1581 became and still remains the most famous and significant incunabulum printed in Cyrillic. It summed up centuries of handwritten Church Slavonic translations of the Holy

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Scriptures. It not only completed the centuries-old history of creating a complete set of the books of the Bible, but also laid a new foundation for the perception of the text of the Holy Scriptures, which was the ideological and religious core of cultural tradition for many European peoples.

The preparation and publication of the Ostrog Bible were initiated by the magnate Constantine, Prince of Ostrog. In his city-estate he created one of the largest Orthodox cultural and educational centers in Europe, known in academia as the Ostrog Academy (it has now reopened in modern Ukraine as a national university). Members of the Orthodox scientific community in Ostrog maintained close ties with the Orthodox scholarly world from the Moscow state in the north to the Greek and Slavic centers of the south and west Europe. Ivan Fyodorov, who had already gained fame for his works outside the Moscow State in Podlashie (non-Polish territory under the Polish rule) and in the city of Lvov, was invited to Ostrog by the prince. After the decision to go ahead with publication was made, ambitious editorial work began involving a huge number of biblical texts in various languages: Greek, Latin, Czech and Polish. According to Prince Basil Constantine, he sent his people off to search for the necessary texts in many corners of Europe. However, the main literary treasure

he managed to discover with Tsar Ivan the Terrible's Moscow government was a list of the so-called Gennadius Bible of 1499. It was created at the order of the Novgorod Archbishop Gennadius and was the basis of the Ostrog edition of the Bible: "In all of the countries where Slavic languages are spoken, I searched for collections of the books of the Old Testament. Only from the pious and Orthodoxly devout monarch, the Grand Duke Ivan Vasilievich (Ivan the Terrible) of Moscow, with (the assistance of) a man chosen by God, Mikhail Garaburda, a scribe of the Grand Prince of Lithuania, was I honored to receive, after many entreaties, a complete and perfect copy of the Bible." Many of the differences found between the translations of biblical texts were eliminated mainly by the representatives of the scholarly community. One of the foundations used was a variant of the Greek Bible and individual translations were made from the Latin text of the Holy Scriptures.

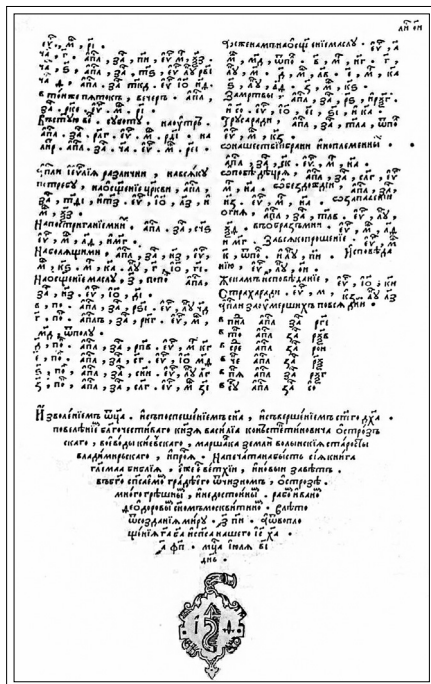


The title sheet of the Ostrog Bible.

The work progressed relatively quickly despite its difficult and painstaking nature. Ivan Fyodorov, who was an excellent textual scholar and expert in the Church Slavonic language, also played a direct role in preparing the manuscript of the Ostrog Bible for printing. From the very beginning, the activities of the printers were conducted on a large scale. Ivan Fyodorov significantly expanded their team, prepared the necessary stocks of printing tools and paper for printing such a voluminous edition. He defined the strategy of publishing the Ostrog Bible, set the work pace, planned out the composition, graphics and type-faces of the book.

For the title page of the Ostrog Bible, Ivan Fyodorov used the frame of the frontispiece of *The Apostle*, which he printed in Moscow and Lvov in 1564 and 1574 respectively. On the other side of the title page he placed the coat of arms of Prince Constantine of Ostrog and verses on this coat of arms. On the next page begins a foreword on behalf of the Prince, written both in Greek and Church Slavonic. Then follows the foreword of the rector of the Ostrog Academy, Gerasim Smotrisky, and his poems addressed to the reader. On a separate sheet, there is the table of contents of the Bible and then there is its text, at the end of which are placed so-called lecture tables with a directory of the Gospel readings for each month of the year and the afterword of Ivan Fyodorov in the Greek and Church Slavonic languages and his typographer's mark with his name.

The Ostrog Bible was typed in four Cyrillic and two Greek fonts. The primary one of them was a small Cyrillic letter reminiscent of the drawing in manuscripts that were then created in the Eastern Slavic lands of the Polish Commonwealth. The book was printed in two colors: predominantly black and red. It uses initials, headpieces, tailpieces, ornamental script and a variety of patterned decorations in it. The entire book has 628 sheets or 1256 pages of large format ("in folio"). On its full pages, there are 50 rows in two parallel columns. To date, about 400 copies of the Ostrog Bible are known, but every year previously unaccounted for copies are found. This book is distributed around the world, with most of the copies in Russia and Ukraine, followed by Serbia, Poland, Great Britain, Bulgaria and other countries.



*A version of the output sheet
of the Ostrog Bible, 1581.*

[With the date of 12 July 1580, but in fact it was released a year later]

Due to a high demand, in 1663 the Ostrog Bible was reprinted in Moscow. This reissue was a kind of tuning point for subsequent publications of the Bible, not only in Russia but also outside it. For Russian Old Believers, the Ostrog Bible remains one of the major holy books to this day; in 1914 they reprinted it in Moscow. In modern times, the Ostrog Bible has been reprinted, including for purely academic purposes. Electronic versions of individual original copies of the Ostrog Bible are now publicly available, but it itself has still not been sufficiently studied, especially by philologists. As the Ukrainian academic Ivan Franco pointed out a century ago, the Ostrog's Bible "in terms of its editing and its sources... Was not investigated in detail."

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. The title sheet of the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
2. The title sheet of the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
3. The Table of Contents of the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
4. The first sheet of the New Testament in the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
5. A version of the output sheet of the Ostrog Bible, 1581. [*With the date of 12 July 1580, but in fact it was released a year later*].
6. The first sheet of the Cathedral is 12 months old in the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
7. Binding one of the copies of the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
8. Poems on the coat of arms of Constantine, Prince of Ostrog, from the Ostrog Bible, 1581.
9. A portrait of Constantine, Prince of Ostrog.

PRINTING HOUSE OF MAMONICHES, THE LARGEST ORTHODOX PUBLISHER OF THE EASTERN SLAVS IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 16th CENTURY — THE FIRST DECADES OF 17th CENTURY¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the history and activities of the largest orthodox Printing house of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was organized in 1574 in Vilna at the expense of the wealthy Orthodox merchants of Mamoniches and existed until 1625. For half of a century over 100 different titles were published there: theological and liturgical texts, journalistic works, textbooks, collections of legislation, publications of laws. Among the publications there were several editions of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, which was printed in thousands of copies. The publications of Mamoniches had a great deal influence on the cultural, political and religious development in the East and South Slavic lands.

Keywords:

Mamoniches, Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets, Vilna, Cyril and Methodius heritage, old printed books.

Аннотация: Ю.А. ЛАБЫНЦЕВ. «Издательский дом Мамоничей — крупнейшая православная типография у восточных славян в последней четверти XVI — первых десятилетий XVII в.».

В статье рассматривается история создания и деятельности крупнейшей православной типографии в Великом княжестве Литовском. Она была организована в 1574 г. в Вильне на средства богатейших православных купцов Мамоничей и просуществовала до 1625 г. За полвека в ней было выпущено более 100 различных изданий: богословские и литургические книги, публицистические произведения, учебники, сборники законодательных актов, издания правового характера. В их число входило несколько изданий «Статута Великого княжества Литовского», печатавшегося тысячными тиражами. Изданные Мамоничами книги оказали большое влияние на развитие культурных, политических и религиозных процессов как у восточных, так и южных славян.

Ключевые слова:

Мамоничи, издательский дом, Петр Мстиславец, Вильно, кирилло-мефодиевское наследие, старопечатные издания.

It was the largest printing house of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the 16th century, founded in 1574 in Vilna by Peter (in Belarussian — Pyotr) Timofeev Mstislavets at the expense of merchants by the name of Mamonich. During the almost half a century of its existence, it produced over 100 publi-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

cations of different genres, which were released in thousands of copies. These were theological and liturgical books, journalistic works, textbooks, collections of legislative acts, publications of a legal nature, including the famous Lithuanian Statute, which was published repeatedly.

In the second half of the 16th century, Vilna was a large multinational cultural and economic center in eastern Europe. After the death in 1572 of Sigismund II Augustus, the last king of the Jagiellonian family, known for his tolerant policies, the stagnation in the internal life of the young state (*Rzecz Pospolita*) became evident. The Catholic clergy intensified their activities, intensifying the struggle against non-believers, and the role of the Jesuits increased. In the confessional struggle for the minds of believers, the printed word began to take on greater importance, together with preaching. Each ethnocultural and ethno-confessional group or party had its own writers, its own literary environment, its own literature serving its interests, and this was reflected in the publishing policy. The backbone of the Orthodox party in Vilna was the Orthodox bourgeoisie, which subsequently initiated the creation of Orthodox fraternities. It was extremely interested in the resumption of printing, which was interrupted in 1525 after the closure of the Vilna printing house of the Belarusian first typographer, Francisk Skorina.

In the early 1570s, almost half a century after this sad event, printing in the city resumed. This happened thanks to the support of the wealthy merchants Kuzma and Luke Mamoniches and a wealthy Belarusian citizen by the name of Zaretsky, who were the soul of the Orthodox party in the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Their help allowed for the opening of a printing house in the house of Mamoniches, organized by Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets, a Belarusian colleague of the first Russian typographer, Ivan Fyodorov. The first Cyrillic books published in it were *The Four Gospels* (1575), *The Psalter* (1576), and *The Chapel* (presumably 1574–76). In composition, all three editions by Pyotr Mstislavets were traditional. Their text and ornamentation were very reminiscent of Moscow: up to the accompanying books of epilogues, sustained by the typographer in the style of the Moscow first printing.

In 1576 Stephen Bathory, a supporter of strong power, who spoke in words of tolerance but in fact pursued a tough policy of counter-reformation, was elected King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Catholic Church, and above all the Jesuits, used all legal means to struggle against the Orthodox, including the abolition of the principle of equal ethno-confessional party representation in local bodies of the city authorities and the magistrate. In 1576 a conflict arose between Peter Mstislavets and the Mamoniches, resulting in a trial. The trial lasted about three years and ended with the published books being awarded to the Mamoniches and all of the printing equipment to Mstislavets. After that, the typographer left the city, and his further fate remains unknown.

The Mamoniches proved themselves to be enterprising and successful traders: they received a noble title for their services and were granted a royal charter

for their printing house (giving them the right to print and sell Slavic books), guaranteeing the success of its activities. Behind the Mamoniches stood the Orthodox petite bourgeoisie of one of the largest cities in eastern Europe and the Orthodox throughout the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The facts of the oppression of the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth immediately became known in Russia, which closely monitored the situation of its co-religionists in neighboring countries. The Mamonich House had extensive pan-European ties with a focus on the Orthodox regions. In Moscow the firm had a kind of representative office; its sales agents were sent to the Balkans, engaged in the distribution of the books of the owners.

The typographer's shop of the House of Mamoniches resumed its activity only in 1583. Apparently, it got none of Pyotr Mstislavets' printing equipment. The Mamoniches bought equipment for it in different places in the Commonwealth and, possibly, in Russia. Grin Ivanovich, a pupil and employee of Ivan Fyodorov, accepted their invitation to work for them for a time and made them two fonts. Five years later, the new printing house had at least three printing presses and a variety of typefaces. In all ways, the Mamonich printing house was superior to all of the other printing houses of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the 16th and early 17th centuries. Its publications were bought with enthusiasm, and they quickly spread throughout Europe, primarily in Russia and the Balkans. The Mamoniches sought to establish a publishing monopoly within the commonwealth and achieved their goal. On 13 March 1586 King Stephen Bathory granted the exclusive right to publish "Russian, Slavic and Greek books", to the "worthy men," Vilna citizens, the mayor Kuzma and the treasurer Luke Mamonich, and to sell them duty free within the commonwealth and beyond.

The first edition of the reinvigorated printing house was *The Servant* of 1583, the imprint of which was designated as "From the printing house of the Mamoniches." It was based on manuscript lists, the texts of which were equally suitable in all the Slavic lands, which was supposed to ensure the publication with a broad market among the eastern and southern Slavs. In it, for example, there are headpieces copied from the publications of the South Slavic typographer Bozhidar Vukovich and his followers. The Mamoniches' *Servant* of 1583 was indeed widely distributed in the Balkans and even made its way to Mt. Athos, where one of its copies is stored in the Hilandar monastery. Today, *The Servant* is considered a rather rare edition: only about 20 copies have survived.

The next publication of the Mamonich printing house, *The Collection* of 1585, was the most interesting in its composition. All of the works contained in it were listed on its first sheet, replacing the title. They are works translated from Greek. The publishers reported that they were printing the collection in full accordance with the manuscript that came to them earlier, that its texts had undoubted value, "and are necessary for Christian people, and appropriate for reading, studying and correcting their faith." A year later, the rare *Slavic Grammar* was published by the Mamonich printing house; only two incomplete copies have been pre-

served. It was published, according to the afterword, “from the public purse of the glorious city of Ostrog” at the request of the Vilna inhabitants. In 1586, the very same year, *The Psalter with Restoration* was published, very reminiscent of *The Psalter with the Theologian* (Zabludov, 1570) and the famous *Tribunal given to the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by the Warsaw Sejm* (1581). The latter contained the law and instructions on the activities of the court of appeal in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was briefly referred to as the *Tribunal*. This publication was printed entirely in italics, similar to the Old Belarusian letter of state chancelleries. However, the most important book of the Mamonich printing house was *The Statute* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania published in 1588. This document became a kind of guarantee of state autonomy and the independence of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, its constitution and a collection of the most important laws at the same time. Under the conditions of the Union of Lublin, this was an unprecedented step in skillful diplomatic struggle of the principality with its neighbor, the Kingdom of Poland, which was united with it into one power, the Commonwealth. *The Statute* is a remarkable, multi-layered document with the elements of the Old Belarusian oral language; unfortunately, in practical terms it has not really been studied. In total, three editions of *The Statute* were published with a release date of 1588.

Starting the following year, the typography began to produce publications in the Polish language, among which there were many Sejm resolutions, various congratulatory and other compositions. Poetic Cyrillic works in the Old Belarusian language, belonging mainly to Andrey Rymsha, continued to be published. By the time the Union of Brest ended in 1596, the Mamonich printing house had produced about 40 various publications. It continued to operate successfully: the position of the Mamonich house as an international publishing center was further strengthened, and it remained close to events of national importance. The Mamonich printing house printed publications that were very different in nature and ethno-confessional orientation, such as *About the Sign of the Cross* by Maximus the Greek (early 1590s), *The Pandectai* of Nikon of the Black Mountain (1592), Hypatius Pociiej's *The Union* (1595), *Description and Defense of the Brest Church Council* by Peter Skarga (1597). With the release of the latter, a new, Uniate, stage in the activities of the formerly Orthodox “brothers” Mamonich begins. However, further down the line they produced quite a lot of purely Orthodox publications, which found great sales both within the state and beyond. Some of the Mamonich books were reprinted from Moscow editions, which were then resold at great profit. The most significant stream of Mamonich publications was distributed in Russia in the 1590s, when the printing house used type faces of Moscow drawing, very reminiscent of Fyodorov's.

From the beginning of the 17th century, the publishing house printed exclusively Uniate editions — there were practically no books for the Orthodox. In 1607 the printing house was inherited by Leo Mamonich, who had converted to the Uniate faith, and from 1609 onward his name was included in the output

published by the printing house. In total, over the course of its half-century history, the Mamonich printing press published about 100 publications, making it one of the largest in the Slavic world and the most significant printing house of the 16th and early years of the 17th century printing in the Cyrillic script.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. Matthew the Evangelist. Engraving of *The Four Gospels*. Vilna, 1575.
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4. *The Servant*. Vilna, 1583. Sheet 214.
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7. The output sheet *The Grammar of the Slavic language*. Vilna, 1586.
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STATUTE OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to the history of creation and publication of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* in 1588. The Statute of 1588 was the main body of civil laws of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Russia and Samogitia: one of the largest state entities in Europe of its time. The Statute of 1588 was in force until the beginning of the 19th century and became the most famous title of the 5,000 books published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in its history.

Keywords:

Statutes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Belarusian literature, the East Slavic book culture, Slavic studies.

Аннотация: Ю.А. ЛАБЫНЦЕВ. «Статут Великого княжества Литовского».

Статья посвящена истории создания и издания *Статута Великого княжества Литовского* 1588 г. Статут 1588 г. был основным сводом гражданских законов Великого княжества Литовского, Русского и Жемойтского — одного из крупнейших государственных образований в Европе своего времени. Статут 1588 г. действовал вплоть до начала XIX в. и стал самым известным изданием из 5000 книг, изданных в Великом княжестве Литовском за всю его историю.

Ключевые слова:

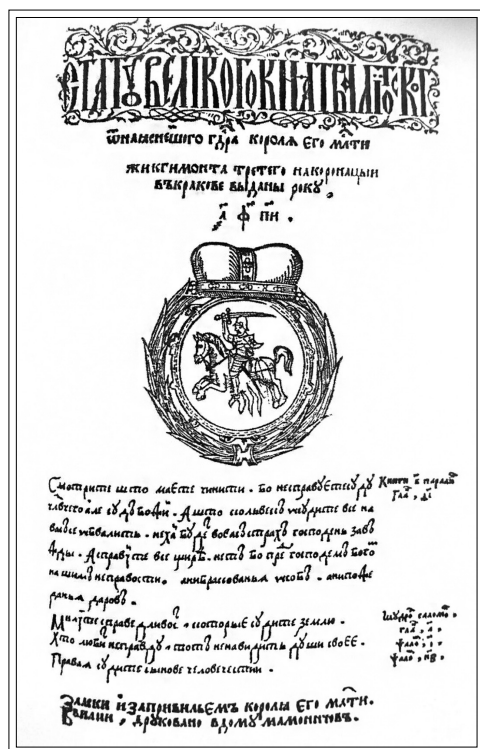
Статуты Великого княжества Литовского, Великое княжество Литовское, белорусская литература, восточнославянская книжность, славистика.

The Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1588 is the main set of civil laws in force on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Russia and Samogitia. It served as a “constitution” of the power that was once one of the largest in Europe and a kind of guarantor of its independence. The “Statute” is a legal and literary monument, which has incorporated all the best from the very rich Cyril and Methodius heritage of this East European state. The Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1588 has always been considered not only as a symbol of the independence of this state, inhabited mostly by Eastern Slavs, but also as an object of special national pride for Belarusians, Lithuanians and, in part, Ukrainians. It is an exceptional monument, very important for the history of the Old Belarusian language and literature, created over decades by the best minds of the Belarusian people, and then for centuries contributed to the preservation of the native culture.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The first *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, containing the norms of land, criminal, civil, procedural and state law, was drawn up in 1529 and consisted of 13 sections. Since it included many outdated provisions, it became necessary to make corrections and changes to it. In 1566 a new version of the “Statute” was composed, consisting of 14 sections. The third Lithuanian “Statute” saw the light of day in the famous printing house of the Vilnius merchants, the Mamoniches, in 1588. All three statutes were the fruit of painstaking work of many authors, a kind of collective essay that over the years was written, corrected, edited. The leading role in the preparation of each was assigned to a special commission, which consisted of various specialists. The commission for the drafting of the Statute of 1588, appointed by the King, consisted of eleven people, among whom were Orthodox as well as Catholics and Protestants. The center of the commission’s activity was the state chancellery, headed by chancellors and sub-chancellors. Its record-keeping was then conducted in the West Russian language with elements of the Old Belarusian and Old Ukrainian dialects. A special role in the preparation of the draft of the Statute of 1588 was played by Chancellor Ostafy Volovich, who converted from Calvinism to Ortho-

doxy, and sub-Chancellor Leo Sapega, who became a Catholic in these years. They knew the local literary language of that time perfectly, and the priority of the Old Belarusian elements in it was then undeniable: this was reflected in many provisions of the 1588 Statute enshrining its state character. There are known to have been three separate editions of the text of the Lithuanian Statute with a publication date of 1588; they differ, in particular, in the design of the title page and its turnover. The sole right to publish the statute in Latin (Polish) and Cyrillic (“Russian”) fonts was granted by the King to Leo Sapega, which he used until his death in 1633. The original monument, including its list, approved by the King, was written in West Russian language, which included elements of the Old Belarusian and Old Ukrainian dialects. The Polish translation appeared much later, and its quality was not entirely satisfactory, since the Polish terminology of that time could not reflect all the features

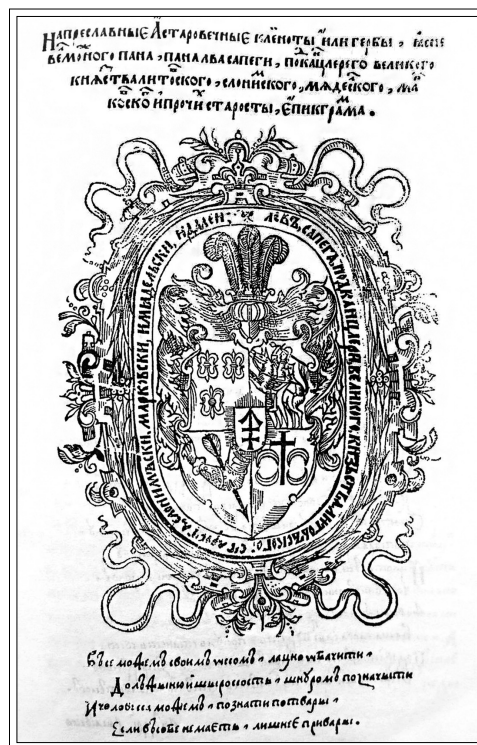


The title page of the first edition of the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, 1588

of the material and spiritual life of the population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The first Polish-language edition of the statute was printed in the very same Mamonich printing house only in 1614, and the second in 1619.

Scholars initially considered the Lithuanian statutes exclusively as monuments of the history of law, but as they were studied, they began to be perceived as monuments of written culture. This was especially true of the Statute of 1588, which had a significant impact on the cultural destinies of neighboring peoples. It was repeatedly reprinted, sold in many thousands of copies, and for more than three centuries served to preserve and develop the Old Belarusian language and literature and to confirm their significance.

The Statute of 1588 was the principal and most important publication among the five thousand books published in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania before the beginning of the 19th century. Also, like the works of Francisk Skorina, this document of Old Belarusian literature aroused great interest in the newly emerging field of Slavic studies at the beginning of the 19th century. All three editions of the 1588 Statute, with a combined circulation of about 4,000 copies, were widely distributed in the state and far beyond its borders. It was in use until the first half of the 19th century, and legal proceedings based on it were still being conducted in some places as late as the 19th century, as evidenced by marks on surviving specimens. Several dozen handwritten copies of the Statute of 1588 are also known. Many countries worldwide evinced a great deal of interest in this publication. Over time a large number of copies appeared in the book collections of famous cultural figures, including Russians. The Statute of 1588 remains to this day the most important evidence of the greatness of what was once one of the most powerful states in Europe.



*The coat of arms of Leo Sapega
in the first edition of the Statute
of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,
1588*

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. The title page of the second edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
3. The title page of the third edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
4. The coat of arms of Leo Sapega in the first edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
5. Portrait of King Sigismund III Vasa in the second edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
6. Portrait of King Sigismund III Vasa in the third edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
7. Appeal of Lev Sapega to the population of the country in the first edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
8. The privilege of King Sigismund III Vasa to publish in the first edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588.
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*KSENIA V.
MELCHAKOVA*

BOSNIAN ENLIGHTENER STAKA SKENDEROVA: A WOMAN AHEAD OF HER TIME¹

Abstract:

The article deals with the outstanding Bosnian enlightener Staka Skenderova (1830–91). She was the author of the essay *The Annals of Bosnia*. In 1858 Skenderova opened a school for girls in Sarajevo, where representatives of all faiths were admitted. This school received assistance from Russia, Serbia and from the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz.

Keywords:

Staka Skenderova, a school for girls, Sarajevo, A.F. Hilferding, A.D. Bludova, Abdul Aziz.

Аннотация: К.В. Мельчакова. «Боснийская просветительница Стака Скендерова — женщина, опередившая свое время».

В статье идет речь о выдающейся боснийской просветительнице Стаке Скендеровой (1830–91). Она является автором сочинения «Летопись Боснии». В 1858 г. Скендерова открыла в Сараево школу для девочек, куда принимали представительниц всех вероисповеданий. Это учебное заведение получало помощь из России, Сербии и от самого султана Османской империи Абдул Азиза.

Ключевые слова:

Стака Скендерова, школа для девочек, Сараево, А. Гильфердинг, А. Блудова, Абдул Азиз.

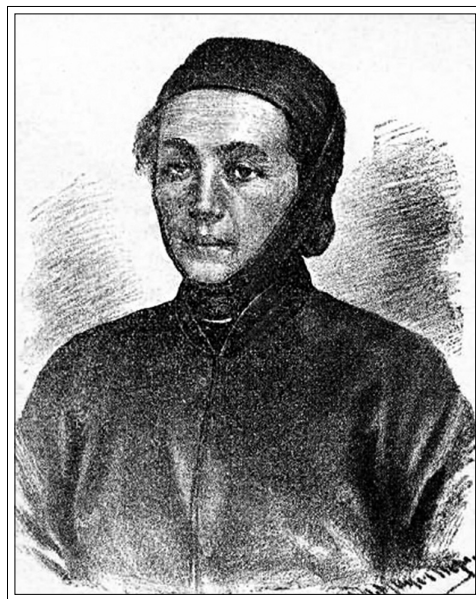
Staka Skenderova (1830–91) was one of the first representatives of women's emancipation in the Balkans, Bosnian educator, founder of the first school for girls in Bosnia, polyglot, first female Bosnian author of a historical review on Bosnia.

For Bosnian society of the 19th century, Staka Skenderova was a truly extraordinary phenomenon. She was born into a patriarchal Bosnian environment, full of prejudices and rules of behavior incomprehensible to European society, but did not assimilate to it. She mastered several languages — Serbian, Turkish, Greek, Russian, sang in the church choir, dressed in dark-colored men's clothing, won an audience with the Turkish Sultan, Abdul-Aziz, independently made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, engaged in literary work and opened a school for girls in Bosnia. She was a nun in a city where there was not a single Orthodox monastery and spent most of her life working in a secular field, earning the respect of her contemporaries and subsequent generations.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The story of her life reads like a novel. She was from an Orthodox Savichev family (according to another version, Petrovich or Damyanovich), which in Bosnia began to be called Skanderovs, because they moved there from Skadar sanjak. Staka was born in Sarajevo, where she very quickly mastered reading and writing, which was rare for a girl in that part of the country.

From a young age, her father dressed her in men's clothing, as Christians and Muslims living in Bosnia often did with their young daughters. She continued this habit throughout her life, and this was one sign of her renunciation of marriage. In it, she attended church, where she read from the Book of Acts, for there was not a single competent young man in the district.



Staka Skenderova

She assisted her elder brother, who was engaged in dressing and selling furs to Bosnian merchants, Turkish officials and the military. While delivering orders, Staka went to many Turkish houses, and as the result she learned Turkish and became acquainted with representatives of the local Turkish nobility. This turned out to be very useful in instances of conflict between Muslims and Christians, in which Staka defended the interests of her co-believers.

Staka Skenderova attracted the attention of the first Russian consul in Sarajevo, A. F. Hilferding, who invited her to write a work about the history of Bosnia during the period 1825–56, which he later translated into Russian and published. Unfortunately, the Serbian original of her work was not preserved. Staka created her *Annals of Bosnia* in a poetic form, stylistically likening it to a folk epic, but A. F. Hilferding translated the work into Russian in prose form. Only the original Serbian poetical text of the author which the translator placed in footnotes has reached us. The chronicle describes the history of struggle of the Bosnians against the Turkish pashas and tells about the severe suffering of ordinary Bosnians under the tyranny of the local nobility.

It also tells the tragic story of Staka's younger brother Jovan. He was a wonderful, educated young man; he knew Turkish, played the violin, tambourine and pipes and worked as a furrier. Everything was going well, but the young man died because of slander by a Turk; i.e., he was falsely accused by a Bosnian Muslim of attacking him with a knife during evening prayer. The reason for the malicious slander was the Turk's jealousy of Jovan because of the girl he liked. The complaint came to the local official, Fazli Pasha, who was not kindly remembered

after his death. He was infamous among Bosnians for his evil disposition and unconcealed hatred of Christians, and without conducting a trial, he ordered that the young man be burned with a red-hot iron and then thrown into prison. Left a destroyed man by the torture he'd experienced, Jovan survived for only about two years after his release.

Staka Skenderova's cherished dream was to open a school for girls. In 1858, this dream was realized with the assistance of a number of Russian and Serbian public and political figures. Among them the aforementioned A. F. Hilferding played an important role. Staka appealed to him for help, and he responded to her request, especially since she, as the petitioner, had mentioned that a main goal of the school was introducing children to Christianity. Upon his return to St. Petersburg, Hilferding secured a school allowance from the Russian government amounting to 1384 rubles. The Russian Empress Maria Alexandrovna also made a donation at the time in the amount of 1400 rubles.

On opening the school, Staka was immediately met with opposition from the patriarchal Serbian social milieu and with mistrust by Sarajevo's Orthodox community. Since she was actively supported by a prominent Ottoman official, Veliudin Pasha, many Orthodox parents refused to send their daughters to a school patronized by the Turkish authorities.

In September 1858 she went to Belgrade, where she was assisted by a Russian aristocrat, Countess Antonina Dmitrievna Bludova. It was the countess who helped her find a suitable teacher for the school. In Belgrade, Staka not only acquired a set of books necessary for the school, but also won the favor of the Serbian Metropolitan Peter, who himself attended the grand opening on 18 October 1858, offering a prayer service, sprinkling holy water on the building and blessing the children's study. The patron of science and education, St Sava of Serbia, was selected as the new school's patron.

The school was situated in a small two-story building, the first floor of which was occupied by Skenderova's family; on the second floor there was a large spacious classroom, a small room for needlecraft and Staka's office, where she prayed.

The school's curriculum included the study of arithmetic, Serbian history, reading and writing, horology, hymns and church singing. In addition, the girls were taught needlework, which attracted even the skeptical prosperous citizens.

Only students from wealthy families paid for their studies. With the funds received, materials were purchased for needlework (silk and gold thread). For poor children, Staka was not only their teacher, but also their protector. Many orphans relied entirely on her for their maintenance. She was their mother, feeding, clothing and raising them. Staka even took on the upbringing of those girls whose mothers resided in brothels, opening up for them new prospects. She was known as a strict but fair teacher. Her students feared her censure more than they did corporal punishment.

At the end of the school year, public examinations were held, which were attended by the Bosnian Pasha himself (or his deputy), church representatives and the parents of the students. Every year they organized exhibitions of handicrafts, of which the school was proud and justifiably renowned. On Sundays and public holidays, a choir of students performed in the church under Skenderova's direction.

The doors of the school were open to children of all faiths. Girls from Orthodox, Catholic, Jewish and Muslim families studied on equal terms.

Despite difficulties and the hostility of the Sarajevo merchants and the Orthodox community, the school under S. Skenderova's leadership continued to exist. In 1858 there were 75 girls attending classes, and in August 1861 — already 120. The fame of the school spread throughout the Bosnian pashalyk.

Upkeep of the school was expensive. Skenderova submitted her accounts to the Russian consul. Considerable amounts were used to pay taxes, and the school's income was consequently small.

Three years after its opening, the school began to receive regular financial assistance from the Turkish government. Staka's school was visited by the Governor-General of the Bosnian pashalyk, Topal Sherif Osman Pasha, and after familiarizing himself with its educational principles, he sent his daughters to be trained there. Other Turkish officials followed his example.

By 1865 the school's financial situation was deplorable: its debts amounted to about 19,000 piastres, and so it had to move to a more modest, unfinished house. Deprived of shelter and persecuted by the Orthodox community, Staka found temporary shelter in the house of an Orthodox widow in Sarajevo. Help came from Russia: Staka received 1000 piastres necessary to construct a building, however, the debts that had accumulated remained unpaid.

In autumn 1865 Staka sent a petition requesting assistance to travel to Russia in order to raise money to pay off debts and to establish women's schools in Bosnian cities. Russian Empress Maria Alexandrovna responded positively to this petition, but Staka had to wait for more than a year to receive permission for this trip. During this time, the school's debts increased significantly, and the petitioner did not have the money to travel to Russia.

In 1870 Skenderova set off on her journey, however, not to Russia, but to Jerusalem, to the Holy Sepulchre. Her route lay through Constantinople, and the former Governor of the Bosnian Vilayet, Topal Sherif Osman Pasha, obtained for her an audience with Sultan Abdul Aziz and payment of travel expenses in the amount of 10,000 groschen. Upon arriving in the Holy Land, Staka took monastic vow. Her trip lasted an entire year, and it was an unheard-of event for that time. In Bosnian society it was considered indecent for women to attend weekday worship services unaccompanied by family members or a male escort. In her case, Staka had ventured to the Holy Land alone and had even deigned to meet with the Sultan himself. Staka's return to Sarajevo was triumphant, and crowds of people came out to greet her.

After the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, the school had to be shut down due to the cessation of monetary assistance from the Sultan and a lack of funds from Russia. The new authorities showed no interest in the operation of such an institution. The English philanthropist, Miss Adeline Paulina Irby, took over the custody of the orphans. At one time, she too had opened a school for girls in Sarajevo and had faced the same problems as Skenderova. Many believed that the new school would compete with Staka's school, but the latter, in her speeches to the church community, emphasized the importance of education and explained the purely educational nature of the English woman's intentions. The women became friends, and when Staka found herself in difficult straits, Paulina took on supporting her together with Staka's elderly mother for the rest of their lives.

Graduates of the Skenderova school were the first educated women of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They were considered to be very eligible brides, and they married well. They brought up their children in the spirit of the new time, instilling in them a desire for learning and a different culture.

Until the end of her days, Staka never ceased helping people. On 26 May 1891 she had an accident while leading two of her pupils from poor families home after a holiday in Sarajevo for the benefit of the poor and orphans. On the way back they were hit by a horse-drawn carriage. The children miraculously were not hurt, however, Staka was fatally injured. The next day the accident victim died in a city hospital. Paulina Irby took care of all the expenses and problems associated with Staka's burial. After Staka's death, she regularly visited the cathedral, lighting candles in memory of her friend.

The circumstances of the opening and operation of Staka Skenderova's school in Sarajevo provide vivid examples of confessional ethnic tolerance in Bosnia and the solidarity on the part of Serbs, Russians, Turks and the English.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ALEXANDER F. HILFERDIND “DISCOVERS” BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA¹

Abstract:

The article deals with the history of the Slavacist Alexander F. Hilferding's presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From 1857 to 1858 he was the Russian consul in Sarajevo. During this time, Hilferding traveled extensively and composed the book “Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia.”

Keywords:

A.F. Hilferding, Sarajevo, the Russian consulate, A.S. Ionin, “Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia.”

АННОТАЦИЯ: К.В. МЕЛЬЧАКОВА. «АЛЕКСАНДР Ф. ГИЛЬФЕРДИНГ «ОТКРЫВАЕТ» БОСНИЮ И ГЕРЦЕГОВИНУ».

В статье идет речь о пребывании слависта Александра Федоровича Гильфердинга в Боснии и Герцеговине. В 1857–58 гг. он занимал пост российского консула в Сараеве. За это время Гильфердинг много путешествовал и составил сочинение «Босния, Герцеговина и Старая Сербия».

Ключевые слова:

А.Ф. Гильфердинг, Сараево, российское консульство, А.С. Ионин, «Босния, Герцеговина и Старая Сербия».

Alexander F. Hilferding (1831–72) was a graduate of Moscow University, a Slavophile, a Slavacist and a diplomat who introduced Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Russian people. In 1856 Russia decided to create the first Russian consulate in the city of Sarajevo, the center of the Bosnian lands. At that time, very little was known about this part of the Balkans. In the 19th century, modern Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Ottoman Empire and was called the Bosnian pashalyk and Herzegovinian sandjak. Their inhabitants were mainly Slavs with common roots, but they were divided along religious lines, confessing Islam, Orthodoxy, and Catholicism. This northwestern part of the Balkan peninsula was poor and backward. Diplomats called it “Europe’s hinterland,” “the backwater of the Ottoman Empire” and felt no particular desire to go there. However, the scholar and Slavacist Hilferding was very attracted to this mysterious corner of the earth. He hoped to find unknown Slavic manuscripts in it and to study the life and customs of the local population.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant 18–512–76004).



A. F. Hilferding.

State Archive of RF, F. 1463,
inv. 1, st. u. 802

Hilferding received an appointment for a year. During this time, he was not only supposed to organize the work of the Russian consulate but also to study in detail the Bosnian pashalyk and the Herzegovinian sandjak. The way to his destination lay through Ragusa (Dubrovnik), where in April 1857 he was met by the secretary of the Sarajevo consulate, Alexander S. Ionin (1837–1900), who delivered to him instructions, a “firman” and “berat”. They then went on together to Sarajevo. The route took two weeks, during which time the young scientist encountered an exotic oriental culture and customs that made an indelible impression on him.

In Mostar, the main city of Herzegovina, Russian diplomats were placed in the palace of a local pasha. They stayed for five days. The manner in which Ottoman officials conducted business left them surprised and

bewildered. In a letter to Alexandra V. Pletnyova, Hilferding described in detail the peculiarities of the Turkish manager’s lifestyle: “At 8 o’clock, they will call for us to dine with His Excellency: they put us at a table laden with an infinite number of pickles and bottles and serve everyone pipes (...). the Pasha will eat a salty piece, drink a glass of mastic (a kind of very strong vodka), drink water, choke on smoke from the hookah and compliment me in Turkish, which they will translate to me and to which I will respond with an appropriate expression of feelings; so it goes for two hours (...) until they reach the most ardent outpourings of love, and until the decanter of mastic is drained to the bottom (...), then the dinner itself drags on for two hours, with twenty-five foods of the most diverse variety and between them each time a pipe, but no longer accompanied by compliments, heavy silence; finally, at midnight, the table is pushed back, and everyone sits for another half an hour, some weighed down by wine fumes, some by boredom and tobacco smoke. Thus do the Turkish nobility spend their evenings.”

During his short stay in the Slavic regions of the Ottoman Empire A. F. Hilferding managed to travel throughout almost all of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The data collected during these trips formed the basis of his writings. There were three such trips, and they covered the following routes:

1. Ragusa — Trebinje — Mostar — Sarajevo;
2. Sarajevo — Rogatitsa — Vishegrad (south of Bosnia) — Old Serbia (Pech, Kosovo field, Dechany, Prizren, Prishtina, Drobnyak, Piva) — Sarajevo;
3. A trip to central Bosnia (Foynitsa, Travnik, Yaytse, Banya Luka).

The scholar conducted these trips not out of idle curiosity; during the course of each trip he acted simultaneously as researcher, public figure and diplomat. His first priority was to collect manuscripts and other materials for the writing of his "History of the Slavs." In monasteries, Hilferding explained to the priests the difference between printed and handwritten material: "Hundreds of times I was shown and even sent from distant places some old printed books from Serbian printing houses (flourishing in the 16th century), in full confidence that these were manuscripts ..." He nevertheless managed to accumulate a rich collection in Bosnia and Herzegovina which is now stored in the Russian National Library's collection and available to all readers. In addition, the former professional philologist studied the dialects and subdialects of this part of the area of the Serbo-Croatian language and compiled a dictionary of folk proverbs and sayings.

A Slavophile, Hilferding set himself the goal of conducting a detailed study of the life and customs of the Turkish Slavs, searching for a possible bond with the Russian reader.

As the first diplomatic representative of Russia in this region, he had to compile a complete representation of it as well as of the Turkish government.

In the pages of "Travel", the Russian consul offered the reader a variety of information about Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia. He paid attention to nature, people, the life and customs of the locals, culture, history, the Turkish government, language. The work contains the texts of collected medieval letters and a detailed analysis of legends.

This work was first published in 1858 in the pages of the Slavophile journal *Russkaya Beseda* ("The Russian conversation").

This was not Hilferding's only work on Bosnia. In the same year, his new essay entitled "Bosnia in early 1858" was published. It begins thus: "I want to briefly acquaint the reader with the domestic state of a Slavic country which may in time become quite important in southeastern Europe." Several main topics are addressed by the scholar:

1. geography of the region, nature, economic development;
2. population, ethnic and religious composition;
3. Turkish management.

While Hilferding was traveling around the region entrusted to him, affairs in Sarajevo were being conducted by A. S. Ionin. In the autumn of 1857, another uprising against the Turks was brewing in Herzegovina. The Ottoman authorities accused the Russian diplomats of organizing popular unrest. The main suspect was Hilferding, who traveled extensively throughout the Bosnian pashalyk and Herzegovinian sandjak. For a time the consular secretary, Ionin, landed up in a Turkish prison. In reality, not only did Hilferding not engage in incitement, but, on the contrary, he was among the first to communicate in his dispatches the danger of imminent developments. There was no open interference by the consul. His reports speak only of sympathy for the local population and an attempt

to resolve the issue by peaceful means, being in agreement with the Ottoman authorities. In addition, he sincerely believed that the state of Bosnian society was such that even successful demonstrations against the Turkish authorities would not lead to anything good. It was necessary to carry out long-term preparatory work in the region, to develop education. Later, all charges against the Russian diplomats were dropped. Hilferding's term of service in Bosnia came to an end, and he had to return home. He did not return to St. Petersburg alone. Accompanying him to the Russian capital was a ten-year-old native of Mostar, Jovan Drech, taken to be brought up in the former consul's family.

During his travels, Hilferding staunchly endured all manner of hardships and inconveniences that befell him: the most difficult crossings along impassable roads, stops in primitive Turkish khans (inns), hours-long dinners and endless conversations with Ottoman officials... In a letter to Croatian historian and political figure Ivan Kukulevich Saksinsky, he wrote: “My stay in Bosnia left a pleasant impression on me for its originality and considerable scholarly productivity; but I will say in all honesty that I wouldn't wish on anyone the chance to experience life in Sarajevo.”

On returning to Russia, Hilferding soon left diplomatic service, but Bosnia left a mark on his life. He was a member of a charitable organization of the Moscow Slavic Committee and later headed its branch in St. Petersburg (1868). The idea and organization of sending boys from Bosnia and Herzegovina to study in Russia was his. On the basis of the data he collected, systematic assistance was provided to schools and Orthodox churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He was not forgotten in Sarajevo. In 1866 the first Bosnian newspaper, *Bosanski vjestnik* (“The Bosnian Herald”) published a short note that the emperor had granted an estate to the former Russian consul in Sarajevo.

The third volume of Hilferding's collected works was entirely devoted to Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was published in 1873, after the death of the scholar. In addition to his own works, there were translations into Russian by Hilferding of the works of his contemporaries from Bosnia and Herzegovina — Yoaniky Pamuchina, Staka Skenderova, Nicephor Duchich, and Procopy Chokorilo. The well-known Russian poet F. I. Tyutchev responded to Hilferding's death by writing that Hilferding, though not a Slav by blood, had become famous among all Slavs and had proven by deed that in the field one could be a warrior if he possessed valor and bravery.

Translated by the author

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THE “CHRONICLER OF HERZEGOVINA,” PROCOPY CHOKORILO AND RUSSIA¹

Abstract:

The article is about Herzegovinian monk Procopy Chokorilo. He is the author of *The Annals of Herzegovina. 1831–57*. This work was first published in Russian. In the middle of the 19th century Chokorilo made a trip to Russia. He collected donations for the construction of a Church in Mostar.

Keywords:

Herzegovina, Procopy Chokorilo, Mostar, A.F. Hilferding, Russia, *The Annals of Herzegovina. 1831–57*.

Аннотация: К.В. Мельчакова. «Летописец Герцеговины» Прокопий Чокорило и Россия».

В статье идет речь о герцеговинском монахе Прокопии Чокорило, авторе сочинения «Летопись Герцеговины. 1831–57». Впервые она была опубликована на русском языке. В середине XIX в. Чокорило совершил путешествие по России, в ходе которого ему удалось собрать средства на строительство храма в Мостаре.

Ключевые слова:

Герцеговина, Прокопий Чокорило, Мостар, А.Ф. Гильфердинг, Россия, «Летопись Герцеговины».

In the mid-19th century, little was known in Russia about the Slavo-Turkic region of Herzegovina. In 1858 a small article, *The Annals of Herzegovina 1831–57*, authored by a hieromonk of Mostar, Procopy Chokorilo (1802–63), was published in the Slavophile journal *Russkaya beseda* (“The Russian Conversation”) and became one of the first works in Russian which dealt with this region of the Balkans.

We owe the publication of this work to the Slavist and diplomat Alexander Fyodorovich Hilferding (1831–72). As the Russian consul in Sarayevo (1857–58), he traveled to Bosnia and Herzegovina and met Chokorilo. Hilferding recorded the Herzegovinian’s story and translated it into Russian. It later entered the third volume of his collected Slavic works. In the preface to the work, Hilferding wrote the following: “The author of the proffered chronicle of events that have happened in our time (...) is an Orthodox monk, a man from Herzegovina, telling what he saw and heard, and often participated in. This simple and true story is translated word for word. The picturesque simplicity with which it spilled out from the pen of a man with no literary education is one of its virtues.”

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant 18–512–76004).

It is noteworthy that the original work was not published in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The publications that appeared later are a translation from Russian.

Procopy Chokorilo took holy orders early, served in Lyubinye (Eastern Herzegovina) and then moved to Mostar. It was there that he became acquainted with Hilferding.

The "Chronicle" of Procopy Chokorilo is a heartbreaking story of the rise, rule of Herzegovina and fall of Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovich Stochovich (1783–1851). This story about the struggle for power is full of descriptions of violence and atrocities, betrayals, exploits and miracles. It is an important source for studying the history of Herzegovina in the 1830s–50s. Most of the work talks about a controversial individual, Ali Pasha, and its final pages succinctly report

on his successors as governor of Herzegovina: Ismail Pasha, Mustafa Pasha and Isaac Pasha. It is noteworthy that in the story of the history of feuds of the local nobility, Chokorilo also mentions Russia. According to him, in the 1830s, wanting to attract Christians to the struggle, supporters of the power of the Sultan, noble-born Herzegovinians (Ali-aga Rizvanbegovich from Stolats, Hassan-beg Resulbegovich from Trebinje, Bash-aga Redzhepashich from Nevesinye, Smail-aga Chengich from Gatsko), composed firmans," which only an expert could distinguish from genuine ones." One side contained an appeal of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39), which reported on the sending of troops to Bosnia from Rumelia, promising benefits to all who sided with the legitimate ruler. On the back of this there was an inscription in Serbian: "My Orthodox Christians! Rise up for an honest Cross, do not give yourself into the hands of the rebels! Stand strong, fight the enemy until I come with my army. Nikolay Pavlovich, the Tsar of Russia." Such propaganda in part helped Ali Pasha gain power over Herzegovina.

A fascinating story illustrating all the hardships of the Christians living in Herzegovina, surrounded by "bloodthirsty Turks" (Muslims. — *K. M.*), was sure to attract the attention of the Russian reader. Moreover, Chokorilo himself had the opportunity to travel to Russia in order to raise funds for the construction of churches and schools in Herzegovina.

Chokorilo was chosen as a guide for the first group of boys from Bosnia and Herzegovina who, in 1858, went to Russia to get education. Among them was Jovan Picheta, the father of the famous Slavic scholar, Vladimir Ivanovich Picheta (1878–1947), who initiated the Slavic Studies sector of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Department of History of Southern and Western Slavs at the M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University.



Procopy Chokorilo

In July 1858 Chokorilo arrived in Odessa. Here he left a group of students and headed to Kiev, and in early October reached Moscow. His stay in Moscow was not without problems. In a letter from the historian and Slavophile Peter Alekseevich Bessonov to the famous historian, publicist and publisher Mikhail Petrovich Pogodin, someone by the name of Vereshchagin, who was appointed to accompany Chokorilo, went on a drinking binge and ceased to fulfill his duties. Hilferding developed a plan to move the monk from Moscow to St. Petersburg and tried to arrange a cell for him in the St Trinity compound. The problem was resolved thanks to P. A. Bessonov, who procured a place for the hieromonk in Moscow from the Metropolitan of Moscow, Philaret.

According to the laws concerning the collection of alms, Chokorilo could not take money for his trip from donated funds and therefore he was in constant need of financial assistance. Russian Foreign Minister Alexander Mikhaylovich Gorchakov personally appealed to Emperor Alexander II with a request to issue Chokorilo funds for travel expenses.

In January 1859 Chokorilo arrived in St. Petersburg. Here he lived not far from St Isaac's Cathedral, in the house of Tischner in Demidov Lane. Countess Antonina Dmitrievna Bludova tried to help the guest from the Turkish lands. In a letter to the archpriest of the Russian embassy church in Vienna, Mikhail Fyodorovich Raevsky, dated 31 January 1859, she wrote: "The Herzegovinian monk Chokorilo is here now, to whom we are giving all the ready-made things for Herzegovina. Hilferding vouches for him." Bludova herself presented Father Procopy the gift of a medallion and an image depicting saints.

Hilferding's article, "A few words about Herzegovina and its churches," published in the St. Petersburg Gazette, helped Chokorilo raise as much money as possible. It contained a brief report on the history of the region and told about the plight of kindred Slavs under "Turkish oppression."

In 1860 Procopy Chokorilo returned to his homeland. Despite the difficulties in organizing the trip, he was very well received in Russia. Empress Maria Alexandrovna herself granted bishop vestments for the Church of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary in Mostar. He brought to Herzegovina a significant amount, 4,000 gold chervonets, and for a long time parcels with donations collected in Russia came to Mostar. Residents of the Novgorod, Kursk and Tula provinces made a significant contribution to the total amount, from which the Holy Synod received considerable assistance for co-believers. With these funds, the construction of the Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Mostar began.

Years late in 1867, the acting Russian consul in Mostar, Alexey Nikolayevich Kudryavtsev (1867–68), wrote in one of his reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about Chokorilo's trip to Russia: "None of the Herzegovinians have ever seen or heard anything like this, that a simple monk could bring with him more than 4,000 gold chervonets. Society and the people have donated. The mighty Roman Catholic Church has lowered its head, while the Austrian and French Jesuits, who patronized it, have become depressed. "Never will all the Catholic powers collectively give as much money as Orthodox Russia has given!"

But then Kudryavtsev told a sad story about how this money had sown discord in the Orthodox environment of Herzegovina and, in his opinion, brought harm instead of benefit, blackening the name of Russia. The fact is that Chokorilo decided to personally dispose of all the funds collected. He believed that the money would be enough for the restoration of 20 churches in Herzegovina and the construction of a large cathedral church in Mostar. Meanwhile, rumors of Russian favors continued to spread throughout the region. The abbots of the monasteries of Duzhi, Taslidzhe, Zhitomyslich and Kosierovo went to Mostar in the hope of receiving money for their parishes, but left with nothing. Complaints poured into the Russian consulate. Chokorilo would not yield, and offended abbots began to spread rumors of deception on the part of Russia.

Chokorilo's plan was also unsuccessful. The Herzegovinian architect Spaso Vulich was hired for the construction of the church, there was only enough money to build walls, one of which cracked. "Four walls now stand majestically on the mountain, pointing out to the people their insolvency, impotence, ignorance ...," wrote Kudryavtsev in 1867.

Procopiy Chokorilo planned to make another trip to Russia. However, this intention was not destined to be realized: on 18 July 1863 he died.

The construction of the cathedral was completed in 1873 under the guidance of one of the best architects in the Balkans: Andrey Damyantov. Russian masters assisted in the arrangement of the interior decoration of the church. In 1992 the church was destroyed; in 2010 its restoration began.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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THE FIRST PERIODICALS OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA¹

Abstract:

In 1865 a printing house was opened in Sarajevo and the publication of the first newspapers began in the Bosnia Vilayet. The article deals with periodicals published in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1866 to 1878: *Bosanski vjestnik*, *Bosna*, *Sarajevski cvjetnik*, *Neretva*.

Keywords:

The Bosnian Vilayet, the printing house, Ignaty Sopron, Mehmed Shachir Kurtchehaich, first periodicals.

Аннотация: К.В. Мельчакова. «Первые периодические издания Боснии и Герцеговины».

В 1865 г. в Сараево открылась типография и начался выпуск первых газет в Боснийском вилайете. В статье идёт речь о периодических изданиях, которые выходили в Боснии и Герцеговине с 1866 по 1878 гг. («Боснийский вестник», «Босния», «Сараевский цветник», «Неретва»).

Ключевые слова:

Боснийский вилайет, типография, Игнатий Сопрон, Мехмед Шачир Куртчехаич, «Боснийский вестник», «Босния», «Сараевский цветник», «Неретва».

In 1865 a new administrative unit, the Bosnian Vilayet, appeared on the map of the Ottoman Empire. During the course of the Tanzimat reforms (plural of the Arabic word “Tanzim,” meaning streamlining), the Bosnian Pashalyk and the Herzegovina Sanjak were combined. From the Ottoman Porte came instructions to establish a printing house in the Bosnian lands and to begin printing the first newspapers in the history of the region.

These events were closely connected with the name of the reformer Topal Sherif Osman Pasha (1804–74), one of the most advanced people of his time and the former Governor General of the Bosnian Vilayet in 1861–69.

To set up the printing house, the Ottoman authorities invited the publisher Ignaz Karl Sopron (1821–97) to Sarajevo from the Austrian city of Zemun (now in Belgrade), who himself delivered all the necessary equipment, sets of letters with the Cyrillic, Latin and Greek alphabets. A three-year contract was concluded with Sopron: he was provided with free premises, 38,000 guildens of annual payment for production expenses and a salary of 2000 guildens. Later, the typesetter Kadri-effendi arrived from Constantinople, bringing Arabic let-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

lationship of Sopron with the Ottoman authorities remains unclear. In April 1866 he returned to Zemun, but after that he continued to issue a newspaper for some time.

Quite quickly a second newspaper appeared in Bosnia. The following news was reported in Issue No. 4 of the "Bosnian Herald" in 1866: "The long-awaited type slugs with Turkish letters arrived in Brčko from Constantinople together with the Turkish typesetter, Kadri Effendi, and as soon as some more things are delivered from Orshova (a city in Romania. — *K. M.*), the release of the official newspaper, *Bosna*, will be launched in the Turkish and Bosnian languages, the release of which is eagerly awaited throughout the vilayet; there are already more than 1000 subscribers."

The official vilayet newspaper *Bosna* ("Bosnia") was published in May 1866; just 40 days after the "The Bosnian Herald." The Russian consul in Sarajevo, Eugraph Romanovich Shchulepnikov (1858–68), wrote on this occasion to the ambassador in Constantinople, Nikolay Pavlovich Ignatiev: "Last week the first issue of the local official newspaper in Turkish and Serbian called *Bosna* was published. It was full of praise for the Sultan for setting up a printing house here and contained absolutely nothing worthy of attention."

The newspaper was published once a week on four pages and was bilingual, printed in the Ottoman and Bosnian (Serbian Cyrillic) languages. The publication covered the news of the vilayet and the Ottoman Empire, as well as foreign news, texts of laws and their explanations. The chief editors at different times were Sarailiya Mustafa Refet-Imamovich (1866–68), Mehmed Shachir Kurtchekhaich (1868–72) and Salikh Biogradliya (1872–78). The main sources of information were newspapers published in Constantinople. The translation of articles and reports from the Ottoman language was carried out by the aforementioned Milosh Mandich. In just 13 years, 636 issues were released. In the final one, dated 18 July 1878, it was reported that the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Sarajevo had announced the readiness of the army of the Habsburg monarchy to move to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which occurred on 29 July.

From December 1868 to 1872 on Thursdays, then on Saturdays, the weekly literary and political edition of the *Sarajevski Cvjetnik* ("The Sarajevo Flower Garden") was published, which was also bilingual (a total of 170 issues). The first issues of the newspaper were printed on yellow paper; therefore, the name "yellow newspaper" took hold.

The editor-in-chief was the director of the Vilayet Printing House and the official translator from Turkish, Mehmed Shachir Kurtchekhaich. He was also the main author of articles. The newspaper aimed to support all the undertakings and policies of the Ottoman authorities. In his notes, Kurtchekhaich actively polemized with Serbian (*Vidovdan* / "The Day of St Vitus"; *Mlada Srbija* / "The Young Serbia"; *Glas naroda* / "The Voice of the People"; *Yedinstvo* / "The Unity") and Montenegrin newspaper *Crnogorac* / "The Montenegro", as well as with publications of the Slavs of Austria-Hungary (*Zastava*, *Panchevac*, *Narodni list*,

Pozor, etc.). In the pages of “The Sarajevo Flower Garden,” much was written about Serbian expansionist plans toward Bosnia, and it was therefore banned in the Principality of Serbia.

The main task of the newspaper was to educate the people, to combat ignorance and superstition. In addition to domestic and foreign news, a permanent column appeared with medical advice led by a military doctor from Sarajevo Veli-beg (Hungarian Bechliya Gall). In his articles, he talked about the basics of first aid in emergency cases, about the need to follow a diet after childbirth, medicines recommended to be taken in the spring, and he also provided details about diseases such as syphilis, measles and tonsillitis. “The Sarajevo Flower Garden” also paid great attention to the problems of developing agriculture and trade. It gave advice on raising livestock and sowing fields, reported on the last major trading operations in the vilayet.

The release of “The Sarajevo Flower Garden” ceased after the death of editor-in-chief Mehmed Shachir Kurtchekhaich in 1872. He is still considered one of the most important journalists in the history of Bosnia.

After the separation of Herzegovina from the Bosnian vilayet in 1876, part of the equipment of the Vilayet Printing House was moved to the city of Mostar. Here they began to issue an official weekly newspaper, “The Neretva.” It too was bilingual. Allegedly, about 40 issues were released, of which only four survived. The editor-in-chief was Mehmed Hulusi (1843–1907). Local and foreign news were published in the pages of the publication, and a lot of attention was paid to education. In its structure, “The Neretva” resembled the “Bosnia” newspaper.

The editorial staff actively collaborated with representatives of all faiths. Their freelance correspondents, in particular, were the Metropolitan of the Dabro-Bosnian diocese, Dionysius II, and the Sarajevo Archimandrite Sava Kosanovich. The main idea of Osman Pasha was to make Bosnian newspapers interesting and accessible to all residents of the vilayet, who were called Bosniaks in the pages of periodicals, and their native language was Bosnian. It can be noted that the quality of the materials left much to be desired. They published a lot of funny, curious messages. Local residents could already learn foreign news and exchange rates by subscribing to Serbian and Austrian newspapers, but finally they had the opportunity to get acquainted with the news and laws of their own vilayet. From 1867 onward the Bosnian authorities banned the import and distribution of Slavic newspapers from Austria-Hungary and Serbia. Thus, the vilayet periodicals became the only available sources of information for the Bosnians. After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, many employees of Bosnian newspapers began to work in the editorial offices of the periodicals of the Habsburg monarchy.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. The governor of Bosnian vilayet Topal Sherif Osman Pasha (1861–69).
2. The first Bosnian newspaper, "The Bosnian Herald" (1866–67).
3. The second Bosnian newspaper "Bosnia," which began to appear in 1866.
4. The Russian consul in Sarajevo Eugraph Romanovich Shchulepnikov (1858–68).
5. The Russian ambassador to Constantinople, Nikolay Pavlovich Ignatiev.
6. The editor of the newspaper "Bosnia" Mehmed Shachir Kurtchekhaich (1868–72).
7. The Bosnian weekly "The Sarajevo Flower Garden" (1868–72).
8. The Bosnian weekly "The Neretva," published since 1876 in Mostar.
9. Sarajevo Archimandrite Sava Kosanovich.

A PEOPLE'S METROPOLITAN OF HERZEGOVINA, YOANIKY PAMUCHINA¹

Abstract:

The article is about Archimandrite of Mostar Yoaniky Pamuchina, one of the most outstanding figures in Herzegovina in the 19th century. He is known for his literary work and charitable activities. On a number of occasions he several times acted as a negotiator during the unrest in the region, and from 1860 to 1864 unofficially served as the Metropolitan of Herzegovina.

Keywords:

Herzegovina, Yoaniky Pamuchina, Mostar, A.F. Hilferding, a Metropolitan of Herzegovina, Vuk Karadzich.

АННОТАЦИЯ: К.В. МЕЛЬЧАКОВА. «ГЕРЦЕГОВИНСКИЙ “НАРОДНЫЙ” МИТРОПОЛИТ ИОАННИКИЙ ПАМУЧИНА».

В статье идет речь об одном из самых выдающихся деятелей Герцеговины XIX столетия, архимандрите из Мостара Иоанникии Памучине. Он известен своим литературным трудом и благотворительной деятельностью, неоднократно выступал переговорщиком герцеговинцев с турками во время волнений в регионе, а с 1860 по 1864 гг. неофициально исполнял обязанности Герцеговинского митрополита.

Ключевые слова:

Герцеговина, Иоанникий Памучина, Мостар, А.Ф. Гильфердинг, герцеговинский митрополит, Вук Караджич.

Yoaniky Pamuchina (1810–70) is rightfully considered one of the messengers of Herzegovina's national revival. He spoke Greek, Turkish and Russian and for some time he was the unofficial metropolitan of Herzegovina. He was known for his literary work, engaged in charitable activities and dreamed of becoming a successor to the cause of the linguist and reformer of the Serbian language, Vuk Karadzich (1787–1864).

Pamuchina was born in the Herzegovinian village of Zagradina near Trebinje. At baptism, he received the name Boshko, studied at the monasteries of Duzhi and Zavala, and in the latter he received monastic tonsure in 1829 under the name Yoaniky. From 1835 he was the spiritual leader of the church in Mostar; from 1853 he became an archimandrite and one of the regular authors of the magazine “The Serbo-Dalmatian Journal.” Between 1846 to 1867 about 30 of his publications were published in this journal: folk songs, proverbs, sayings, superstitions, riddles, compositions with historical and ethnographic themes, as well as descriptions of events that he himself had witnessed.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).



Yoaniky Pamuchina

Among his works are two biographies. These are the biographies of the well-known hieromonk Seraphim Sholai and the vizier of Herzegovina, Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovich. They are important historical sources, detailing the life of Herzegovina in the first half of the 19th century.

In 1857 he managed to become acquainted with the Russian diplomat and scholar Alexander Hilferding, when he visited Mostar. Later the Russian scholar wrote about this meeting in his essay, "Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia," as follows: "[Yoaniky Pamuchina] rendered great services to the Orthodox people in Herzegovina. Originally from the Trebinje region, he had no opportunity to receive an education other than through self-study;

self-taught, he became familiar with the Greek language and became a scholar, something very remarkable for that region; he has a special passion for word production and philological explanations of Serbian and Slavic words; having penetrated the spirit of Slavic speech and having a thorough understanding of his people, he speaks the Serbian language so perfectly that only the famous Vuk Karadzich can compare with him in this regard."

Hilferding was impressed by Pamuchina's literary talent. He therefore asked the archimandrite to compose an essay on one of the most prominent personalities in the history of Herzegovina in the 19th century, Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovich (1783–1851). Pamuchina's work, "The Life of Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovich, Commissar, Herzegovinian Vizier," first saw the light of day in Russian in 1859 and was reprinted four years later. The work was translated into Serbian only in 1976. It is an important historical source, since its creator witnessed many of the events he described. In addition to the personality of Ali Pasha, who was famous in Herzegovina, much attention is paid to ethnographic sketches of the life of the people of this region.

This was not the first work published in Russia by Pamuchina. Three years earlier he had published an article entitled "The Trial of a Christian Girl in Mostar in 1841" in the pages of the Slavophile magazine *Russkaya beseda* ("The Russian Conversation"). In it the author told the story of Rista, who preferred death over

adopting the Mohammedan faith. She withstood the fury and persuasion of Muslims, did not apostatize and was "saved."

Modern scholars highly appreciate Pamuchina's work in collecting Herzegovina's oral folk art. Father Yoaniky was a big fan of the work of the famous Vuk Karadzich. He did not know him personally, but contacted him through a merchant from Dubrovnik, Jovo Layinovich. Karadzich did not work in Herzegovina, so Pamuchina can be safely called the successor of the great Serb in collecting and preserving the folklore of this region.

Hilferding pointed out that the Herzegovinians highly valued Pamuchina and called him the "people's man." He put forth great efforts for the good of the church and his countrymen, and was respected not only among Christians, but also Muslims. Pamuchina organized the sending of his compatriots to study in Serbia and Russia. He entered the history of Mostar as a benefactor of a local school. In 1869 he appealed to the Asian Department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a request to invest his personal savings (800 "chervontsi" — gold coins) in a Russian state bank and to remit the interest to the Mostar school.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, several attempts were made to nominate local clergymen to the post of Metropolitan. In 1850 the Orthodox community of Mostar turned to Russia with a request to facilitate the appointment of Yoaniky as the Metropolitan instead of the "hated Greek" Joseph. However, this action was unsuccessful. Moreover, Pamuchina had to hide for some time from Turkish persecution in Dubrovnik. He returned to Mostar only in 1853. Seven years later Metropolitan Gregory of Herzegovina died, and the local population, with the support of Serbia and Russia, began to seek the appointment of a Serb from Herzegovina as the Metropolitan. The main candidates were Nicephor Duchich and Yoaniky Pamuchina. They clashed with each other, but Duchich ultimately yielded to his opponent. The Orthodox community of Mostar turned to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril VII, with an official request to approve Father Yoaniky as the new Metropolitan. In the same year, another uprising broke out in Herzegovina. The new metropolitan was not approved in Constantinople, but until 1864 the throne of metropolitan was in fact unofficially occupied by Pamuchina.

He actively collaborated with the Moscow Slavic Committee and the Archpriest of the Russian Embassy Church in Vienna, M.F. Raevsky, and was engaged in the redistribution of aid coming from Russia.

Pamuchina also displayed diplomatic abilities, repeatedly helping to resolve conflicts between the Ottoman authorities and the Herzegovinian rebels. For example, during unrest in the province in 1857–58 he acted as a negotiator on behalf of the Turkish government. His attempts to peacefully negotiate with the rebels were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, Pamuchina's efforts were beneficial: thanks to his reports, it was possible to prove that neighboring Montenegro was not the organizer of the unrest. This conclusion contradicted the facts fabricated by Turkish military leaders and British agents. The intrigues of local officials thus became apparent to the sultan. However, such diplomacy led to Pamuchina's

falling out of favor with the Mostar pasha. Later, for his assistance in establishing peace in Herzegovina, he received the pectoral cross from the Russian government.

In 1862, on the occasion of the Millennium of Russia, at the initiative of M.F. Raevsky, it was decided to award Russian medals to outstanding figures from among foreign Slavs. The primary candidate from Herzegovina was Pamuchina. On 8 September, he was presented with the Order of St Anne, 3rd class. The initiative to award Pamuchina came from Hilferding. In addition, the list of the Metropolitan's awards includes the Turkish medal of Medzhidiye.

The Pamuchina's passing was a great loss for the people of Herzegovina. In 1871 the Russian vice-consul in Mostar, N.A. Ilarionov, wrote the following: "having lost the famous archimandrite Yoaniky Pamuchina, who died at the end of last year, the Orthodox inhabitants of Herzegovina now have, with a few minor exceptions, almost no worthy and somewhat educated pastor..."

Yoaniky Pamuchina's numerous works are of interest to this day to historians, philologists and ethnographers studying Herzegovina. Since 2012 the library of the Zakhum-Herzegovina diocese in Mostar has borne the name of Yoaniky of Pamuchina.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. The old church in Mostar.
3. The library named after Yoaniky Pamuchina.
4. The cover of the book by V. Maslesha "Chronicle. Procopy Chokorilo, Yoaniky Pamuchina, Staka Skenderova." Sarajevo, 1976.
5. Alexander Fyodorovich Hilferding. A portrait with the signature "Hilferding." Moscow, State Archive of the Russian Federation, F. 1463, inv. 1, st. u. 802.
6. Mikhail Fyodorovich Raevsky.
7. Ali Pasha Rizvanbegovich.
8. The journal "Serbian-Dalmatian magazine."



MARINA G.
SMOLYANINOVA

THE BULGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY ROMANTIC POET, CHRISTO BOTEV¹

Abstract:

This paper deals with Christo Botev (1848–76), a famous Bulgarian revolutionary, romantic poet, and publicist. He lived only 28 years, but left a deep impression not only on the history of the national liberation struggle of the Bulgarians against the Turkish yoke, but also in the history of the Bulgarian and, more widely, world literature. This applies both to his brilliant revolutionary romantic poetry and his journalism. Botev's first and the only book, "Songs and Poems by Botev and Stambolov", was published in 1875 in Bucharest. He published in it just 20 verses, but they brought him immortality. The poet did not live long. The following year, when the Bulgarians rebelled against the Turks, he hurried to their aid. Together with a detachment of about 200 people, he seized an Austrian steamer on the Danube and forced the captain to moor it on the Bulgarian coast. The detachment began to be pursued by the Turks, and after three days the poet was hit by a bullet from a Turkish sniper. The poetry of Botev belongs not only to the Bulgarian people, but also to all mankind.

Keywords:

Bulgaria, Christo Botev, national revival, Bulgarian folklore, poetry, revolutionary, romanticism, journalism.

Аннотация: М.Г. Смольянинова. «Болгарский революционный поэт-романтик Христо Ботев».

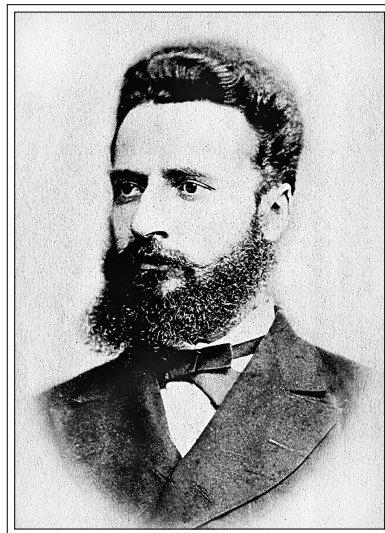
В работе речь идет о Христо Ботеве (1848–76) — известном болгарском революционере, поэте-романтике, публицисте. Он прожил всего 28 лет, но оставил глубокий след не только в истории национально-освободительной борьбы болгар против турецкого ига, но и в истории болгарской и — шире — мировой литературы. Это касается как его гениальной революционно-романтической поэзии, так и его публицистики. Первая и единственно прижизненная книга Ботева «Песни и стихотворения Ботева и Стамболова» была издана 1875 г. в Бухаресте. В ней он опубликовал всего 20 стихотворений, но они принесли ему бессмертие. Поэт прожил недолго. На следующий год, когда болгары восстали против турок, он поспешил им на помощь. Вместе с отрядом около 200 человек он захватил на Дунае австрийский пароход и заставил капитана причалить к болгарскому берегу. Отряд стали преследовать турки, и через три дня сразила пуля турецкого снайпера. Поэзия Ботева принадлежит не только болгарскому народу, но и всему человечеству.

Ключевые слова:

Болгария, Христо Ботев, национальное возрождение, болгарский фольклор, поэзия, революционный романтизм, публицистика.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Christo Botev, great Bulgarian revolutionary romantic poet and journalist, whose works have been translated into 33 languages. He was born during the era of the Bulgarian national revival, when the country's struggle intensified against the centuries-old Turkish yoke. His studies in Russia and the controversy between the Russian liberals and the revolutionary democrats greatly influenced the formation of his worldview. He was especially fascinated by the ideas of the Russian revolutionaries M. A. Bakunin and S. G. Nechaev. After graduating from gymnasium in Odessa in 1866, Botev taught for several months in the Bessarabian village of Zadunayevka in a school for children of Bulgarian immigrants. His father's illness forced him to return to his hometown of Kalofer in Bulgaria, where he continued to teach, while at the same time preaching revolutionary ideas. This period, however, did not last long because of the threat of arrest by Turkish authorities. In the fall of 1867, Botev moved to Romania, where many Bulgarian immigrants were living.



Christo Botev

There he met many prominent figures of the Bulgarian national revival: playwright Dobri Voynikov, writers Ivan Vazov and Lyuben Karavelov, Bulgarian freedom fighters Vasil Levski, Hadzhi Dimitar and Stefan Karadzha. In the summer of 1868, while gathering together with the “voivode” (military commander) Zh. Chernev to cross over the Danube into Bulgaria to fight for the liberation of the fatherland, Botev wrote the poem *At Parting*, in which he prophetically predicted his fate.

However, that campaign never took place because of Zh. Chernev's arrest; destiny thus presented Botev with eight more years of life. In Romania the poet earned his daily bread by teaching and publishing articles in numerous emigrant newspapers. He had barely enough to live on and survived, half starving, in awful misery, wearing threadbare clothing. In the winter, together with Vasil Levski, he lived in a dilapidated windmill near Bucharest. Despite all these hardships, they remained undaunted. Botev was struck by Levski's resilience, energy and belief in the ultimate victory of the revolution. The latter managed to create an entire network of revolutionary committees throughout Bulgaria. In 1873, when the Turks captured and hung this fearless revolutionary, Botev responded to this terrible news with his brilliant poem *The Hanging of Vasil Levski*.

In April 1876 the Bulgarians rose up against the Turks, and Botev rushed to their aid. On 16 May of the same year, at the head of a “*cheta*” (a group usually

numbering about 20–50 people), he seized the Austrian steamship “Radetsky” on the Danube and forced the captain to dock at the village of Kozloduy on the Bulgarian coast. From aboard the steamship, Botev sent telegrams to European newspapers, informing them of his group’s campaign and expressing his hope that civilized nations would support the Bulgarians in their fight for freedom.

Then, as if having a presentiment of his own death and wanting to be on the safe side, he sent a letter to his wife Veneta and daughter Ivanka. In another letter from aboard the steamship, directed to his revolutionary comrades, Botev wrote of the joy filling his soul and giving him the strength of a lion in the impending struggle for freedom of the fatherland. According to him, this joy was immense, because the hope that he had expressed in the lines of his poem *My Prayer* had already begun to be realized.

Turkish military groups began to pursue Botev’s *cheta*, which had moored on the Bulgarian coast. After three days of fighting, the *cheta* had moved far inland, but on 20 May 1876 the life of the poet came to an abrupt end. On a mountain peak near Vratsa, Botev was struck by the bullet of a Turkish sniper. After the death of their leader, the remaining *cheta* members being pursued by the Turks quickly dispersed.

Botev lived just 28 years, but he left a deep mark not only on the history of the Bulgarians’ struggle for national liberation against the Turkish yoke, but also on the history of Bulgarian and, more broadly, European literature. This applies to both Botev’s revolutionary romantic poetry and his journalism.

Botev wrote his first poem, *To my Mother*, in Russia; it was published in 1867 in the newspaper *Guyda* (“The Bagpipe”). This poem and his other poetic works were written from his heart. In his poetry, the arbitrariness of the Turks and national oppressors was usually resisted by “*bayduks*”: noble robbers who both sought to revenge offenses committed against the people and to restore vital justice. The popular movement of *bayduks* was glorified by the poet in his poems and the ballads *Fugitive*, *Hadzhi Dimitar*, *At Parting* and *A Dark Cloud is Coming*.

Botev managed to rise to creative heights previously unknown in Bulgarian poetry due to the close connection of his works with folklore. He absorbed it together with the milk of his mother, who knew more than 300 national songs and often sang them to him. This national spirit imbues not only the figurative system of Botev’s poetics but also the rhythm of his verses. As someone who reinvented folkloric images, he created innovative, original poetry, which came to be regarded as the pinnacle of Bulgarian literature and belonging among the greatest achievements of world poetry.

This is most brilliantly illustrated by one of the poet’s ballads, *Hadzhi Dimitar*. This work was dedicated to the feat of Hadzhi Dimitar Asenov, who in 1868 led a campaign of his revolutionary compatriots to Bulgaria with the purpose of inciting rebellion. Elements of romantic imagery are combined with realistic depictions. The poet’s grief over the death of Hadzhi Dimitar, who died fighting for the freedom of the people, was boundless. All of nature seeks to alleviate

the suffering of the dying “*yunak*” (daredevil): an eaglet uses its wing to shield him from the scorching sun, a wolf licks his wounds, a free falcon and beautiful “*samodiv*”, legendary and romantic creatures embodying people’s dreams of eternal beauty and youth, mourn over him. In the ballad, the heavy, tragic tune of reaper slaves develops into a passionate, pathetic anthem of the Balkan mountains, glorifying the immortality of the fighters who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the people.

One can clearly trace folkloric romantic motifs as well as realistic streams in Botev’s works. Even his early poems are distinguished by their passionate citizenship; the poet was oppressed by the moral deafness of many Bulgarians who did not hear the “cries of the people.” These features also appeared in his later verses (*Elegy*, *Struggle*, *St George’s Day* and *In the Tavern*), which depicted the sufferings of the Bulgarians and exposed Turkish slavery.

Botev’s brilliant journalism provided a striking example of his civic consciousness, unwillingness to concede to oppressors and of his qualities as a national tribune. In Romania he cooperated with the Bulgarian emigrant newspapers, *Baraban* (“The Drum”), *Dunayskaya zarya* (“The Danube Dawn”), *Svoboda* (“Freedom”) and *Nezavisimost* (“The Independence”). He also issued his own newspapers: “The Word of the Bulgarian Emigrants” (1871), *Budilnik* (“The Alarm Clock,” 1873), *Zname* (“The Banner,” 1875) and *Nov bulgarsky vestnik* (“The New Bulgarian Herald,” 1876). A series of his feuilletons, *Whether You Know Who are We*, represents a satirical panorama of life in the Ottoman Empire. Such works as the pamphlet *Ridiculous Crying*, the articles *Whether the Church Issue is Resolved?*, *People Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*, along with a series of political feuilletons, *The Message from the Sky*, and a review, *The Political Winter*, are among Bulgarian journalism’s highest achievements of that time.

Journalism was something Botev subordinated to his main purpose in life: the liberation of Bulgaria. As a troubadour of freedom, he reproached the Bulgarian people for being too long-suffering and pointed to the availability of forces, means and patriotism to attain freedom. Along with this he was worried about the dearth of broad revolutionary propaganda which would unite the Bulgarians’ disparate revolutionary actions against the Turks together and would point the people to the ultimate noble goal — liberation from foreign despotism.

Despite its many merits, Botev’s journalism is far surpassed by his poetry. Only a few dozen of his verses have survived (the majority of them were published in the book *Songs and Poems by Botev and Stambolov*, Bucharest, 1875), but they brought him immortality. He can be compared to the English romantic poet Byron, who died half a century before battling against the Turks for the freedom of the Greeks. The poetry of these two creative geniuses belongs not just to the people of England and Bulgaria, but to all of humanity.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. Christo Botev. Portrait.
3. Cover of the only lifetime collection of the poet “Songs and poems by Christo Botev and Stefan Stambolov”, published in 1875 in Bucharest.
4. A letter from Christo Botev to his wife Veneta, sent by him on 17 May 1876 from the ship “Radetsky” shortly before his death.
5. Facsimile of Botev’s letter to T. Peyev, a comrade in arms in the revolutionary struggle.
6. Monument to Christo Botev in Vratsa.
7. Research of Christo Botev’s work by Bulgarian scholars I. Undzhiev and Ts. Undzhieva. Sofia, 1975.

ZAKHARI STOYANOV:
A CHRONICLER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE BULGARIANS
AGAINST THE TURKS¹

Abstract:

The article refers to the Bulgarian revolutionary, writer and publicist Zakhari Stoyanov (1850–89), who is noted the history of national literature as the creator of the monumental multi-volume work *Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings*. A participant and witness to many revolutionary events, he tried to document the preparation, course and defeat of the Starozagora's (1875) and April (1876) revolts of the Bulgarians against the Turks. The writer drove around the country, interviewing the direct participants of these events, recording their oral stories and collecting relevant documentary evidence. As a result, the Bulgarians had a work that acquired the status of a kind of national Bible in the country.

Keywords:

Bulgarian national revival, journalism, memoirs, annals of the national liberation struggle of the Bulgarians against the Turks, Russophilia and Russophobia.

Аннотация: М.Г. Смольянинова. «Летописец революционно-освободительной борьбы болгар против турок Захари Стоянов».

Статья посвящена болгарскому революционному писателю и публицисту Захари Стоянову (1850–89), который вошел в историю национальной литературы как создатель монументального многотомного труда «*Записки по болгарским восстаниям*». Участник и очевидец многих революционных событий, он попытался документально воссоздать подготовку, ход и поражение Старозагорского (1875) и Апрельского (1876) восстаний болгар против турок. Писатель ездил по стране, опрашивая непосредственных участников этих событий, записывая их устные рассказы и собирая соответствующие документальные свидетельства. В итоге у болгар появилось произведение, которое приобрело статус своеобразной национальной Библии.

Ключевые слова:

Болгарское национальное возрождение, журналистика, мемуары, летопись национально-освободительной борьбы болгар против турок, русофильство и русофобство.

Zakhari Stoyanov (1850–89) was a Bulgarian prose writer, journalist, memoirist, public figure, and revolutionary.

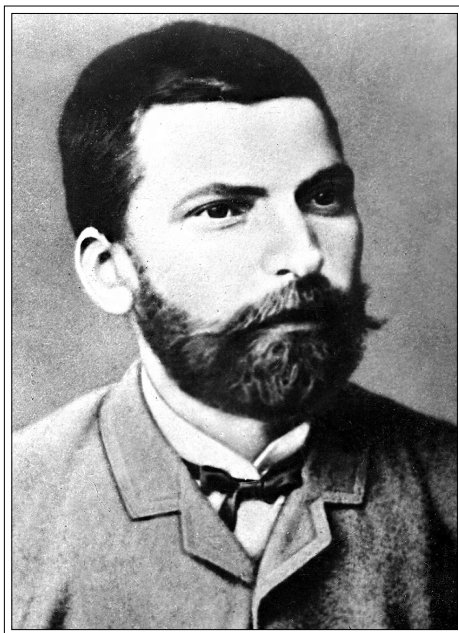
Stoyanov was born in the village of Medven into a peasant family, graduated from a church school, worked as a shepherd, artisan, tailor and became an active

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

participant in the Bulgarian people's struggle for national liberation against the Ottoman enslavers. He was one of the organizers of the Starozagora's (1875) and April (1876) uprisings. After Bulgaria was liberated by the Russian troops in 1878, he wrote: "Only Russia, by word and deed, proved that it loves our people, that it desires our moral and material development." And again: "The Bulgarian people believe no one else but Russia." Later, in 1885, he led the struggle to unite the Principality of Bulgaria with Eastern Rumelia, achieving this goal with other like-minded people on 6 September 1885 (this date became one of the principal national holidays of the country). He joined the Provisional Government and later became a deputy and chairman of the National Assembly (Bulgarian Parliament). During this time, he experienced an ideological shift: by 1885 his attitude towards Russia had changed because of the Russian

tsarist government's condemnation of the Union, of which it disapproved and which took place without Russia's knowledge, complicating its relations with Western European powers. From a passionate Russophile, Stoyanov turned into an ardent Russophobe. He supported the russophobic prime minister Stefan Stambolov, and created the newspaper *Svoboda* ("Freedom," which was the Stambolov government's official press arm), publishing articles criticizing the highest ranking Russian authorities. Zakhari Stoyanov did not live long, not even reaching the age of 40. In August 1889 he went to an international exhibition in Paris, where he fell ill and died on 2 September of the same year.

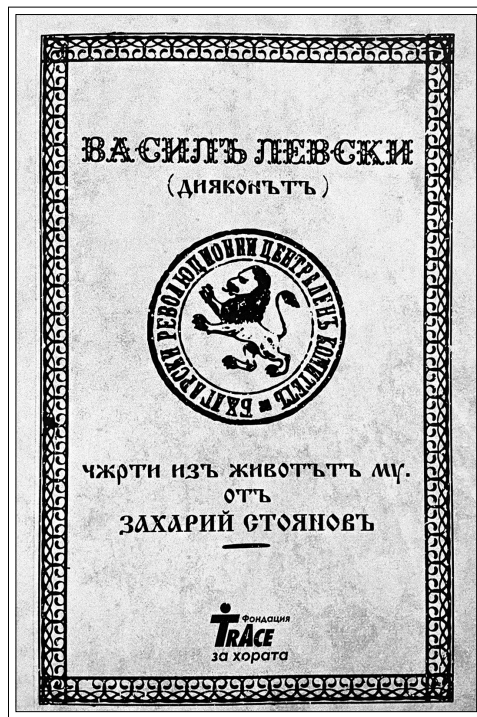
Stoyanov's literary activity began in 1880. Together with like-minded people, the following year he founded "The Worker," newspaper in Ruse, in which he began to publish his satirical articles, literary critiques and essays related to the political struggle. Many of his publications criticized the rural rich, "Chorbadzhii," who always supported the rule of the Turkish sultan, favoring the enemy. Stoyanov then wrote the following: "Bulgaria is not yet completely free, because it was freed only from the Turks, but not from their mercenaries, the Chorbadzhii." In his articles he often recalled the names of the freedom fighters of the country Vasil Levski, Christo Botev, Lyuben Karavelov, emphasizing that he was defending the implementation of their ideals. Like Bulgarian classical writer Ivan Vazov, who



*Bulgarian revolutionary,
writer and politician
Zakhari Stoyanov
(1850–89)*

wrote the poem *The Epic of the Forgotten*, Stoyanov persistently sought to perpetuate the names of these outstanding figures of the Bulgarian national revival era and to prevent them from being erased from the people's memory. He wrote books about Vasil Levski (1883), Lyuben Karavelov (1885), Christo Botev (1888), as well as a book about the Bulgarian revolutionary detachments and their leaders: "The Chetas in Bulgaria. Philip Totyu, Hadzhi Dimitar, Stefan Karadzha" (1885). In terms of genre, these books resemble fictionalized biographies.

Stoyanov's most striking work is the landmark *Zapiski po balgarskite vastaniya. Razkaz na ochevidtsi. 1870–76* ("Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings. Eyewitness Reports. 1870–76." Vol. I–III. Plovdiv. 1884–92). In these memoirs he captured the preparation of the Starozagora's and April revolts by the Bulgarians against the Turks, the course of their development and defeat. As a participant in the historical events described and not relying solely on his own memory, he traveled around the country in search of other rebels so that his work would be founded on a wider factual base, including their stories and memories. Therefore, Stoyanov's "Notes" contains a lot of documentary materials (letters, protocols, charters), but the author appears in the book not as a cold-blooded historian, but as a folk chronicler and passionate journalist. He narrates the greatness and tragedy of the national liberation struggle, creates a gallery of portraits of figures from the Bulgarian national revival: George Benkovsky, Panayot Volov, Nikola Obretenov and others. Historical authenticity is combined in the work with an artistic recreation of unforgettable events. A man of the people, a native of the "guild" of shepherds, Stoyanov set himself the task of writing a book for the poor: "I appeal to you, brothers, simple poor people, for you I sought to write a real book to show you that the most ardent fighters and defenders of our country were not proud, rich and puffed-up men of letters, but your simple and unlearned brothers." The language of "Notes" is simple, colourful, and at the same time extremely energetic and rich in folk sayings. In them the author used the traditions of national revival literature laid down by Paisius of Hilendar in his *Slavo-Bulgarian History*. This is



"Vasil Levski ('Deacon').
Features of his life,"
the cover of the Stoyanov's book
on the revolutionary

a kind of folk chronicle about the fateful historical events of the country, valued as a national Bible.

Zakhari Stoyanov is one of the heroes of the story. *Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings* talks of how he turned from a poor shepherd into a writer, historian and chairman of the National Assembly (Parliament). Stoyanov tells about his life before liberation, about being a shepherd in Dobrudzha, about the life of a shepherd and the servile situation of Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire. His father did not support his son's dream of continuing his education and for his disobedience drove him out of the house. Left without a penny in his pocket, Zakhari walked barefoot along the railroad tracks, first to Varna and then to Ruse.

He spent the night in an empty boat on the banks of the Danube, begging during the day for bread from shepherds. The young man finally found a place as an apprentice in a sewing workshop, reading books at night to expand his education. For this, he was dismissed by the master, who decided that the student was burning candles in vain and made him pay for them. Stoyanov was sheltered by the employees of the Ruse reading room "*Zora*," which, like other reading rooms in Bulgaria, served as a hotbed of cultural and revolutionary life for the Bulgarians. They were not merely repositories of books and newspapers — they held lectures, staged theatrical performances, recited poems, and discussed the latest political events. Zakhari Stoyanov was happy: he found himself in the world of books and other printed materials. Among them, he found a leaflet: "To arms, brothers! Death to the tyrant!" In the reading room, the young man made friends with Nikola Obretenov and other revolutionaries and became a member of the revolutionary committee.

One of the main themes of "*Notes*" as it was already mentioned, is the history of the two uprisings: the Starozagorsk's in September 1875 and in April in the following year. It is noteworthy that in Stara Zagora, the future writer met Stefan Stambolov. The experience of the first uprising was unsuccessful. The revolutionaries, Stefan Stambolov, Georgy Apostolov, Georgy Ikononov, Zakhari Stoyanov and others, were forced to disperse and seek refuge in the mountains. After the failed uprising, Stoyanov worked at a railway station, living in empty railroad cars to avoid being arrested by the police.

The members of the Bucharest-based Central Bulgarian Revolutionary Committee (CBRC) decided to stage a new rebellion. On 6 February 1876, the prominent revolutionary Panayot Volov came to Stoyanov to inform him of the committee's decision to appoint him as an apostle (inspirer and leader of the 4th Plovdiv revolutionary district). Stoyanov developed his activities in the Rhodope Mountains and in Panagyurishte. In the latter he met the revolutionary Georgy Benkovsky, whom he revered. Stoyanov was enthusiastic about the fighters for the national liberation of Bulgaria and the participants in the uprisings. For him, the deputies of the Council in Oborishte were "the most honest, ideal people," patriots, brave men, ready to sacrifice themselves for the liberation of the homeland from the Turkish yoke. In his book he showed that the uprisings were truly

popular movements that arose without external influence. In telling about the preparation for the April uprising, the author reveals the attitude of all of the social strata of Bulgarian society: peasants, artisans, clergy, Chorbadzhi, and intellectuals. The stories are often tragic and sometimes humorous.

The announcement of the beginning of the April uprising, the rebels' first victories, mass heroism, the triumph in Panagyurishte, the capture of the Bey's residence ("Konak"), the consecration of the revolutionary banner: these unforgettable scenes were described vividly, artistically and with talent by Stoyanov, an onlooker and eyewitness of these historical events. He testified that when the uprising was declared, the Turks fled from the Bulgarians so quickly that their clothes assumed a horizontal position and fluttered like wings. Then the author wrote about the catastrophe, the horror of defeat and the flight of the rebels into the mountains, where they were doomed to starvation. The Turks pursued the rebels, and many of them, including Stoyanov himself, were caught, arrested and thrown into prison. In September of the same year, Stoyanov was released from prison, because he had managed to confuse the Turkish investigators so much that they did not even understand who he really was and did not assume that they were dealing with one of the main organizers of the uprising.

During the liberation of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78, Stoyanov left for the city of Tarnovo, which had just been liberated by the Russians. His main literary activity flourished after the Bulgarians' liberation from Ottoman oppression.

"Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings" had a three-fold purpose. First of all, it was an autobiography, and second, an invaluable historical document. Third, it was a literary work of art of the memoir genre. The author very realistically depicted the social, ideological and political atmosphere of the Bulgarian revival. His memoirs became an indispensable historical document of his era, raised to the level of a talented artistic generalization. Stoyanov realistically portrayed the atrocities of the Turks, the cruelty of their oppression and the heroic resistance of his compatriots against the violence directed them. *"Notes on the Bulgarian Uprisings"* is one of the best books in Bulgarian literature. It will always be read. It does not matter that it is a memoir, not a novel. The book affects the reader as a true work of art. Stoyanov was a talented writer of fiction who created amazing Bulgarian landscapes, expressive portraits of his comrades in the struggle for the liberation of Bulgaria and vividly outlined their unique characters. The reader is captivated by the author's narrative style, with its abundant use of colloquial speech and classical literary style. By virtue of the attributes of this voluminous work, the reader reads it to the end with unflagging interest. After all, the era of the Bulgarian national revival is revealed in it in its true greatness.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. Bulgarian revolutionary, writer and politician Zakhari Stoyanov (1850–89).
2. Monument to the Bulgarian writer Zakhari Stoyanov in Sofia.
3. The house of Zakhari Stoyanov in Ruse.
4. Monument to Zakhari Stoyanov in Ruse.
5. Portrait of Zakhari Stoyanov. Painter Maria Stolarova, 1976.
6. “Vasil Levski (‘Deacon’). Features of his life,” the cover of the Stoyanov’s book on the revolutionary.
7. Meeting of the Bulgarian Secret Revolutionary Committee in 1885. In the picture: Kosta Panitsa, Ivan Stoyanovich, Zakhari Stoyanov. Ivan Andronov and Dimitar Rizov.
8. Monument to Zakhari Stoyanov in Plovdiv.
9. A letter from Traycho Kitanchev to Zakhari Stoyanov with information about Vasil Levski to help the author to write a book on this revolutionary.
10. The house-museum of Zakhari Stoyanov in Medven.

THE POET AND EDUCATOR, PETKO R. SLAVEYKOV¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to Petko Rachev Slaveykov (1827–95), the Bulgarian educator, poet, publicist, public figure and fighter for the independence of the Bulgarian church. It is possible to track the development of Bulgarian literature of his time through his creative output. He wrote lives, didactic works, published poetry collections with sentimental themes on love and landscape, and penned some fine poems. He made a major contribution to the creation of the Bulgarian fable. Besides that, he also wrote revolutionary songs which Bulgarians sang throughout the whole country during the periods of national liberation struggle against the Turks. After the liberation of Bulgaria from slavery as a result of Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78 Slaveykov devoted much of his attention to social and political work: he was the Chairman of the National Assembly (Bulgarian Parliament), the Minister of Education, the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Keywords:

Bulgaria, national revival, poetry, Russian literary influence, fables, poems and songs.

Аннотация: М.Г. Смольянинова. «Поэт и просветитель Петко Р. Славейков».

В статье речь идет о Петко Рачеве Славейкове (1827–95) — болгарском поэте, публицисте, просветителе, общественном деятеле и борце за независимую болгарскую церковь. По его творчеству можно судить об этапах развития болгарской литературы того времени. Он писал жития, дидактические произведения, публиковал поэтические сборники, содержащие сентиментальную, любовную и пейзажную лирику, создал несколько прекрасных поэм. Большой вклад внес он и в создание жанра болгарской басни. Кроме того, в периоды подъема национально-освободительной борьбы против турок он писал бунтарские песни, которые болгары распевали по всей стране. После освобождения Болгарии от иноземного рабства в результате русско-турецкой войны 1877–78 гг. Славейков уделял большое внимание общественно-политической работе: был председателем Народного собрания, министром просвещения, министром внутренних дел.

Ключевые слова:

Болгария, национальное возрождение, поэзия, басни, поэмы и песни.

Slaveykov was a Bulgarian poet and journalist, a public figure, enlightener, and fighter for the independence of the Bulgarian church. Born in Tarnovo, he graduated from a church school and then attended the Helleno-Bulgarian school in the city of Svishtov. He worked as a teacher in villages and cities of Bulgaria. He published in the Bulgarian language in the Constantinople newspapers *Gaida* ("The Bagpipes," 1863–67) and "Macedonia" (1866–72). After Bulgaria's

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

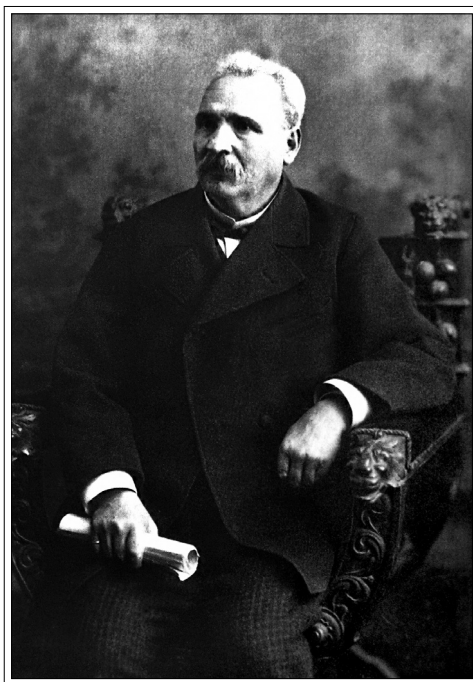
liberation from the Ottoman yoke, he took part in the socio-political life of the country, was chairman of the National Assembly (Bulgarian Parliament), Minister of Education and Minister of Internal Affairs (1880–81).

Slaveykov's first literary works were published in 1843: the satire *Proslavilo se Tarnovo sâs slavni gratski vladitsi* ("Tarnovo was Glorified by the Glorious Greek Rulers") and *Akathist na tri svetiteli* ("Akathist to the three saints"). Thereafter, Slaveykov used various pseudonyms: Mednikarov, Slaveisky, Uncle Deco, Byulbyuloglu and others.

Based on the trajectory of the writer's work, one can trace all of the stages of the development of Bulgarian literature during the era of the national revival. He wrote a Life ("The Life of St Theodore of Tyrone," 1845) and didactic works; paid tribute to sentimentalism and romanticism; later, in a number of his works, realism began to dominate. In 1852, collections of his poetry, *Smesna kitka* ("Variegated Bouquet"), *Pesnopoyka* ("Songbook"), and *Basnenik* ("Fables") were published in Bucharest, containing sentimental, love and the loco-descriptive lyrics of a young author imitating contemporary Serbian and Greek poets.

Slaveykov's fables reflect a transformation of Bulgarian works into original ones. This was a qualitatively new stage in his work and a harkening back to the fables of Aesop, J. Lafontaine, I.A. Krylov. In his translations, the poet made extensive use of folk symbols. The Aesopian fables "The Shepherd's Child" and "The Flea" concern the fearless hero of Balkan folklore, *Korolevich Marco* (The king's son Marco). Slaveykov also introduced "cunning Peter" into the fables, a favorite from folk tales. The poet gradually turned from moralizing fables to satirical ones. In *The Wolf and the Lamb* and *The Fox and the Lion*, he created grotesque images of enslavers. The characters in these fables weren't conventionally allegorical but vital characters. Aesop's language of allusions helped the poet to express thoughts considered seditious by Turkish censors. Slaveykov is rightfully considered the father of uniquely original Bulgarian fables. His fables: *Crow and the Crawfish*, *Two Toads* and others, written without foreign influences, passed into folklore and became Bulgarian proverbs and sayings.

As a poet, Slaveykov was shaped by Russian literature. He freely translated the poems of K.N. Batyushkov, A.S. Pushkin. M.Yu. Lermontov, A.V. Kol'tsov,



Petko Rachev Slaveykov.
Photo, 1884

N.M. Yazykov, A.N. Pleshcheev, I.S. Nikitin. Thanks to Russian verse and Bulgarian folklore, he was able to establish a syllabic-accentual system of versification in Bulgarian poetry. Translations and imitations served as his school of poetic mastery, helping him to grow into a splendid, original Bulgarian poet. His collections *The New Songbook* (1857) and *Songbook* (1870) show the rich palette of the poet, who overcame imitation and created an original national poetry. They contain love stories from the worldview of a national revival man, landscape lyrics, satirical works scourging ignorance and patriotic poems.

During the ups and downs of the Bulgarian people's struggle for national liberation against their Turkish enslavers, Slaveykov wrote romantic songs of rebellion. The poet created the first cycle in 1850–56, when Russia's help imbued many Bulgarians with hope for their speedy liberation from the Ottoman yoke. The second cycle appeared during the April uprising of 1876 against the Turks and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78. He developed the theme of struggle for national independence in his romantic poems. In the poem *The Daring Commander* (1873), the heroine is a peasant girl, the leader of a hayduk group (a kind of Bulgarian Joan of Arc).

The prototype of her image may be found in folk legends about Rada Baranchin, who fought against the Turkish oppressors in the vicinity of Tarnovo. This work by Slaveykov is distinguished by its epic majesty and folkloric way of depiction. The poem *Krakra of Pernik* (1874), based on folktales, is dedicated to the struggle of the Bulgarians led by governor Krakra against the Byzantine emperor, Basil II the Bulgar Slayer. The heroine of one of Slaveykov's best poems, *Izvorat na belonogata* ("The source of the white-legged," 1873), rejects the love of the Turkish vizier fascinated by her, refuses to leave Bulgaria, her father's house and her beloved groom. The poet interprets her image according to popular notions of female beauty, honor, and love for the homeland.

In the years 1860–70 Slaveykov published the poems *Momche, uma si sāberi* ("Youth, Hold Your Mind"), *Pesen na parichkata mi* ("Song of My Coin"), *Bogach i siromah* ("Rich and Poor"), sa-



*The first edition of the collection by
Petko R. Slaveykov
"Variegated bouquet".*

Tsar'grad [Constantinople], 1852

tirically depicting the high and mighty. The poet created images of working-class people: *Narod* ("People"), *Trud* ("Labor"), *Truzbenikam* ("Workers"), *Prolet* ("Spring"). Social issues reveal the evolution of his creativity and the predominance of a realistic trajectory in Slaveykov's poetry of this period.

After the Russo-Turkish War, the poet glorified the liberators in the poems *Rusia ni svobodata s krav izvoyuwa* ("Russia gave us Freedom with its Blood"), *Vyarata I nadezbdata na balgarskata kam Rusia* ("Russia is the Belief and Hope of the Bulgarians").

In his journalism and poetry, Slaveykov continued the literary traditions of the national revival and laid down the foundations of the modern Bulgarian literary language. According to the Bulgarian classic, Ivan Vazov, this creator used the "chisel (the first primitive instrument) of his poetic gift to sculpt statues of fine lines and shapes from the rough rock of folk speech, extracting from the folk language sweet sounds and songs that have implanted in our souls the seeds of love for beauty." The writer died and was buried in Sofia.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. Portrait of P. R. Slaveykov. Artist Ivan Mrkvichka.
3. Petko Slaveykov's wife Irenka with their children.
4. The translators of the Bible into the Bulgarian language: Christodoulos Kostovich, Ilyas Riggs, Albert Long and Petko Slaveykov. Tsar'grad [Constantinople].
5. The first edition of the collection by Petko R. Slaveykov "Variegated bouquet". Tsar'grad [Constantinople], 1852.
6. Petko Slaveykov House-Museum in Tryavna.
7. Monument to Petko and Pencho Slaveykovs in Sofia.
8. Interior of the Slaveykov House-Museum in Sofia.
9. The Petko Slaveykov's spectacles.
10. A five levs coin minted for the 150th anniversary of Petko Slaveykov.

DOBRI VOYNIKOV: THE FATHER OF BULGARIAN NATIONAL THEATER¹

Abstract:

The article talks about Dobri Voynikov (1833–78), a Bulgarian playwright, the creator of the Bulgarian theater, a poet. He worked both in Bulgaria enslaved by the Turks and in Romania. While in emigration, Voynikov published Bulgarian newspapers, created the Bulgarian Theater Society, wrote the first significant works of national drama, mainly plays of historical content. They encouraged the Bulgarians to fight against the Turks and filled the audience with a sense of pride in the glorious deeds of their distant ancestors. He also showed himself as a political journalist, literary critic and collector of national folklore.

Keywords:

Bulgaria, national revival, theater, the first plays on the Bulgarian theme.

Аннотация: М.Г. Смольянинова. «“ОТЕЦ” БОЛГАРСКОГО НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО ТЕАТРА ДОБРИ ВОЙНИКОВ».

В статье говорится о Добри Войникове (1833–78) — болгарском драматурге, создателе болгарского театра, поэте. Он работал как в порабощённой турками Болгарии, так и в Румынии. В эмиграции Войников издавал болгарские газеты, создал болгарское театральное общество, написал первые значительные произведения национальной драматургии, преимущественно пьесы исторического содержания. Они поднимали болгар на борьбу против турок и наполняли зрителей чувством гордости за славные деяния своих далеких предков. Он проявил себя также публицистом, литературным критиком и собирателем национального фольклора.

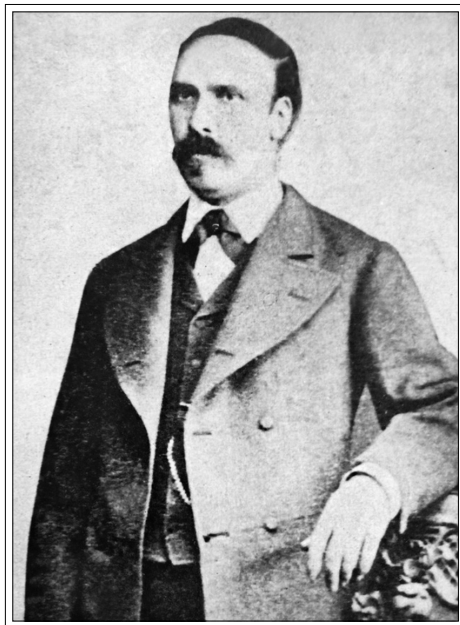
Ключевые слова:

Болгария, национальное возрождение, театр, первые пьесы на болгарскую тему.

Dobri Voynikov (1833–78) was a Bulgarian playwright, poet, journalist, director, creator of the Bulgarian theater. Born into the family of a priest in Shumen, he studied at a Shumen school and then at a French college in Constantinople (1856–58), after which he worked as a teacher in his native city, where he organized theatrical performances, created an orchestra, wrote dialogues, poems of a patriotic and didactic nature, textbooks. In 1864 Voynikov emigrated to Romania, where two years later he created the first permanent Bulgarian theater troupe, for which he himself formed a repertoire. He founded the newspaper *Dunavska zora* (“The Danube Dawn,” 1867).

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

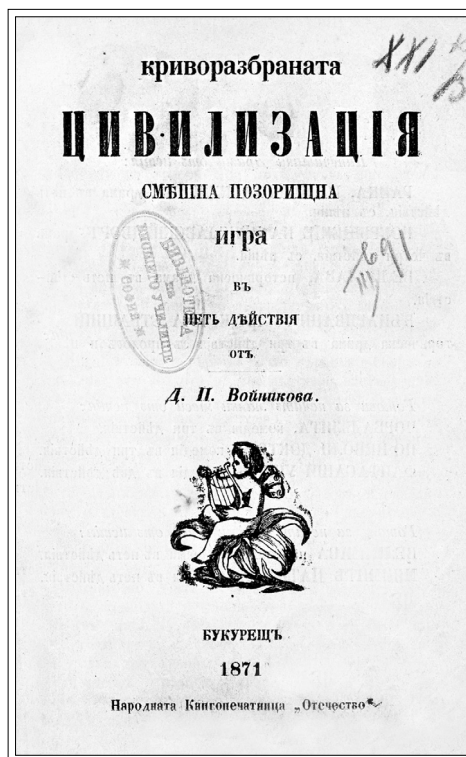
Voynikov's first publication, *Zbirka ot razlichni sâchineniya* ("A collection of various essays"), dates back to 1860. After eight years in Braila, two collections of his poems were published: *Pesni lyubovni, horovodni, swatbeni i smeshni* ("Songs of love, dance, wedding and funny") and *Razni stibotvorenia* ("Various poems"). Voynikov was the author of the first significant works of national drama of mainly historical content. In Bulgarian theater of the Bulgarian national revival era, the plays staged were mostly historical. As the "father of the Bulgarian theater," Voynikov wrote in the article "Bulgarian theater": "when people start visiting their national theater, where they see a living image of the deeds from their glorious past, the historical exploits of their forefathers and hear their thoughts in live speech, where they gain an idea of the spirit, talents, inclinations, and abilities of their ancestors, who so worthily glorified the name of their people, then they realize the need for national revival and the importance of national development."



Dodri Voynikov.
1875

Infused with patriotic ideas, the plots of Voynikov's historical dramas, *Stoyan voivoda* (1866), *Princess Raina* (1866), *Pokrastvane na Preslavskaia dvor* ("Baptism of the court of Preslav," 1868), *Velislava* (1870), *Vaztsaryavanieto Krum Strashniya* ("Ascension to the Throne by Krum the Terrible," 1871), *Desislava* (1874), and *Frosina* (1875), transported the audience to the most important events in the history of the country, most often to the periods of struggle for national liberation against foreign invaders. His heroes, carriers of the idea of national independence, are, as a rule, the statesmen and cultural figures of old Bulgaria, fearless and majestic, generous and noble. The images of the conquerors encroaching on the freedom of the fatherland are always sharply negative: these are typical theatrical villains, insidious, power-hungry, cruel. In the dramas of the writer, educational and romantic components were combined in a peculiar way. His plays gained their widest popularity in the 1860s and 1870s.

"Princess Raina" in particular was a resounding success; it represented a reworking of the novel, "Raina, the Queen of Bulgaria" (1843), by the Russian romantic A.F. Veltman. During the April uprising of 1876, impressed by watching the play "Princess Raina," residents of the city of Panagyurishte called a local teacher named Raina Popgeorgieva "Princess Raina," for she, in secret from the



*The first edition of the comedy by D. Voynikov
"The misunderstood civilization."
Bucharest, 1871*

Turkish authorities, embroidered a velvet banner with the motto: "Freedom or death!" Understanding that the historical plays of Voynikov were contributing to an intensification of the Bulgarians' struggle for national liberation, the Turkish authorities often banned their productions. Voynikov often seemed to be a romantic who idealized the national past, but at the same time he showed a penchant for realistic portrayal. He created texts in which modern mores were castigated (the satirical play *Lozbnorazbranata tsivilizatsia* / "The Misunderstood Civilization," 1871) and ridiculed ignorant people who blindly imitated foreign fashion — *Poyevropeichvane na turchin* ("The Europeanized Turk," 1876) and *Dimanka ili verna prvninska lyubov* ("Dimanka, or fidelity to a first love," 1876). In his journalism, Voynikov urged his compatriots to fight, denounced the Turkish enslavers, and welcomed the Bulgarian rebels. He also acted as a literary critic, publishing reviews of poetic and dramatic works. The writer also showed an interest in folklore and collected and popularized Bulgarian songs, proverbs and sayings.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Voynikov Dobri (1833–78).
2. D. Voynikov, 1875.
3. The first Bulgarian orchestra, created in 1851 with the participation of D. Voynikov (the second on the right, playing the flute).
4. Musical Notes belonging to D. Voynikov.
5. The first edition of the comedy by D. Voynikov “The misunderstood civilization.” Bucharest, 1871.
6. The house-museum of D. Voynikov in Shumen.
7. A room in the house-museum of D. Voynikov. Photo with his wife.
8. A room in the house-museum of D. Voynikov. On the table is Voynikov’s conductor’s wand.
9. The desk in the house-museum of D. Voynikov.
10. Monument to D. Voynikov in Shumen.
11. The reading room named after D. Voynikov in Shumen.
12. The grave of D. Voynikov in Veliko Tarnovo.

LYUBEN KARAVELOV: THE BULGARIAN NARRATOR, JOURNALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY¹

Abstract:

The article is about Lyuben Karavelov (1834–79), the preeminent Bulgarian writer who worked in the era of the Bulgarian national revival, an author of tales, short stories, ethnographic essays and political articles. Almost all of his creative life was spent in exile: he lived in Russia, the Serbian Principality, Austria-Hungary and Romania and published his works not only in Bulgarian, but also in Russian and Serbian, influencing the development of literary movements wherever he was located. In his creative evolution, he moved towards a realistic representation of life, overcoming the tendency typical of Bulgarian writers at that time to write with elements of sentimentalism and revolutionary romanticism. He wrote the best Bulgarian story of that era, “Bulgarians of Old times”. Many of his works reflected the influence of N.V. Gogol, N.G. Chernyshevsky and M. Vovchok, and contributed to the formation of realism not only in Bulgarian but also in Serbian literature. His influence would have been much greater if he had not died at the age of 45 from tuberculosis immediately after the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke.

Keywords:

Bulgarian national revival, Bulgarian literature, Lyuben Karavelov, emigration, the best national fiction writer of his time, affirmation of realism.

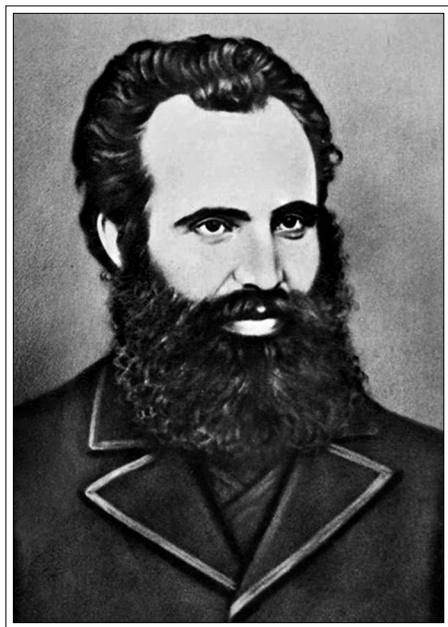
Аннотация: М.Г. Смолянинова. «Болгарский прозаик, журналист и революционер Любен Каравелов».

В статье речь идет о Любене Каравелове (1834–79) — крупнейшем болгарском писателе, творившем в эпоху Болгарского национального возрождения, авторе повестей, рассказов, этнографических очерков и политико-публицистических статей. Почти вся его творческая жизнь прошла в эмиграции: он жил в России, Сербском княжестве, Австро-Венгрии и Румынии и публиковал свои произведения не только на болгарском, но и на русском и сербском языках, оказывая воздействие на развитие литературных процессов там, где он находился. В своей творческой эволюции он двигался к реалистическому изображению действительности, преодолевая тогдашнее увлечение болгарских писателей сентиментализмом и революционным романтизмом. Ему принадлежит лучшая болгарская повесть той эпохи — «Болгары старого времени». Во многих его произведениях отразилось влияние Н.В. Гоголя, Н.Г. Чернышевского и М. Вовчок, он способствовал становлению реализма не только болгарской, но и сербской литературы. Масштабность его фигуры была бы гораздо больше, не умир он в возрасте 45 лет от туберкулеза сразу же после освобождения Болгарии от османского ига.

Ключевые слова:

Национальное болгарское возрождение, болгарская литература, Любен Каравелов, эмиграция, лучший национальный беллетрист своего времени, утверждение реализма.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).



Lyuben Karavelov.
Photographer
Anastas Nikolov Stoyanovich,
1876

Lyuben Karavelov was a Bulgarian writer of prose, poet, playwright, publicist, literary critic, folklorist. He studied in Koprivshtitsa and Plovdiv at a Greek gymnasium and at a Bulgarian school. In 1857 he arrived in Moscow, where he spent 10 years. The following year Karavelov became a volunteer at the Historical and Philological faculty of Moscow University. He received a five-year scholarship from the Slavic Charity Committee and until 1864 he attended the lectures of O.M. Bodyansky on "Slavic dialects," S.M. Soloviev on Russian history, S.V. Yeshesky on world history and other famous professors at the university. During this time he became close to Slavophiles and Slavic scholars M.P. Pogodin, V.I. Lamsky, A.N. Afanasyev, N.A. Popov, and read the works of Gogol, Dostoevsky, Shevchenko, Chernyshevsky, Pisarev and Belinsky. At the same time Karavelov was attending meetings of banned revolution-

ary circles, for which he was subjected to police surveillance. One can say that as a writer he was formed in Russia.

Karavelov published his first poems, translations, and critical articles in 1860 in the journal *Bratsky trud* ("The Brotherly Work"): an arm of the Moscow Bulgarian "squad," which brought together his fellow Bulgarians studying in Moscow. His first short story, *Ataman (from the Bulgarian customs)*, was written in Russian and was published in 1860 in the Russian newspaper *Nashe vremya* ("Our Time"). Karavelov next published a collection, *Monuments of the Folk Life of the Bulgarians*, which included fairy tales, proverbs and sayings, described folk rites and customs. He combined all of his tales and short stories published in the Russian periodical in the collection *Pages from the book of the Bulgarian tribe suffering* (Moscow, 1868). In his prose, Karavelov was influenced by Russian and Ukrainian literature, especially that of Gogol, Chernyshevsky, and Vovchok. If sentimental tendencies can be felt in the works relating the sufferings of his compatriots [*Siroto semeistvo* ("The Orphaned Family"), "Neda", *Na chuzhd grob bez sâlzi plachat* ("On a nonrelative's grave one cries without tears"), and the rebel tales about the fighters's heroism against the enslavers are romantic in nature ("Voivode", "Doncho", "Martyr")], then the novel *Balgari ot staro vreme* ("Bulgarians of Old times") displayed the writer's skill in writing realism. In it

the author described life and social relations in Bulgaria in the mid-19th century, using the example of his native Koprivshtitsa. The prototype of one of its main characters was the writer's grandfather, and some of its characters bear the actual names of their prototypes. However, this did not mean that he portrayed reality similar to a documentary. Learning from Gogol, in his early stories Karavelov used some of Gogol's artistic techniques. This included stylized folk speech, and the use of Bulgarian words and expressions explained by the author in the Russian text, as well as his use of introductory episodes that tell about the narrator, and humor in describing the characters. However, after copying certain techniques, the Bulgarian writer quickly moved on to the development of a realistic type of creativity. His skill was manifested both in the accurate depiction of everyday details of Bulgarian life, and in sparkling humor and subtle irony in depicting typical national characters (above all, the images of Hadzhi Gencho and grandfather Liben, who have become household names among the Bulgarians). The story is replete with folkloric comparisons, proverbs and sayings that are organically woven into its artistic fabric.

Karavelov was a multilingual writer: he wrote not only in Bulgarian and Russian, but also in Serbian, achieving not only great artistry, but his works also had an influence on the literary process of the country in which he created. In 1867, while in Serbia as a correspondent for Russian newspapers, he wrote and published three novellas in the Serbian language: *Je li kriva sudbina?* ("Is fate too blame?") in 1868, and a year later — *Nakazao je bog* ("God punished her") and *Gorka sudbina* ("Bitter Fate"). While Karavelov's works of fiction in Russian recounted Bulgarian reality, his Serbian cycle reflected Serbian reality, and he was thus actively involved in the development of realism in Serbian literature. In one story that was extremely popular among Serbian readers, "Is fate too blame?," the writer showed the cruelty of the Serbian principality's corrupt elite and at the same time created images of forward-thinking people of a new type in the spirit of the heroes of Chernyshevsky's novel "What Is to Be Done?" In Serbia Karavelov was a kind of conduit for the influence of Russian literature. His critical articles on Serbian literature (*Poetry and Thought, How we were brought up*) were evaluated by the Serbian democrat S. Markovich as the beginning of a critical attitude in Serbia towards an idealistic and romantic worldview. For his sharp criticism of the Belgrade rulers, Karavelov was first expelled from the country to Novi Sad in Austria-Hungary, and then in 1868 he was imprisoned in a Pest jail on false charges. After his release, Karavelov, under the influence of Dostoevsky's "Notes from the Underground," wrote his memoirs, *Iz mǎrtviya dom* ("From the Dead House"), describing his sufferings during his own imprisonment (1869).

Having moved to Bucharest, then the center of Bulgarian emigration, the writer began to publish the Bulgarian newspaper *Svoboda* ("Freedom," 1869–72) and its continuation, *Nezavisimost* ("Independence," 1873–74). Their main task was to prepare a revolution in Bulgaria. In these publications Karavelov published pointed pamphlets, feuilletons, as well as new literary and critical articles,

prose and poetry: “Hadzhi Nicho,” (1870), *Bogatijat siromakb* (“The Rich Pauper,” 1872), the trilogy *Otmsbchenie* (“Vengeance”), *Posle otmsbchenia* (“After the revenge”), and *Tuka mu e krayat* (“Here he is finished,” 1872–74), as well as stories written in Russia and Serbia in a significantly revised and expanded form.

Shocked by the tragic death of Vasil Levski, Karavelov doubted the possibility of achieving freedom through revolution. He ceased publishing the newspaper *Nezavisimost* (“The Independence”), left the leadership of the revolutionary body and in 1875 began to publish the journal *Znanie* (“Knowledge”), promoting educational ideas in it. Under the general heading *Tri kartini iz bālgarskiya zhvot* (“Three pictures from Bulgarian life”), he published the novellas *Mamino detentse* (“Mama’s boy”), *Izvānreden rodolyubets* (“Unusual Patriot”) and *Progressist* (“Fantastically progressive man”) — bright satirical works, attesting to their author’s loyalty to democratic positions. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78, Karavelov worked as a translator in the Russian army. In the summer of 1878, after the liberation of Bulgaria from the five-century-long Ottoman yoke, he returned to his homeland, and thus his wandering odyssey finally came to an end. The circle “Bulgaria — Russia — Serbia — Austria-Hungary — Romania — Bulgaria” had closed. However, the writer did not have long to inhale the smells of his native land: only six months later, in January 1879, he died of tuberculosis at the age of 45 and was buried in Ruse. However, he died not in a foreign



Monument to Lyuben Karavelov in Koprivshtitsa near his house.
Sculptor Nadezhda Petrenko

land, but in his own native land, as he himself had wished. While in exile, Lyuben Karavelov wrote the poem *Khubava si moya goro* ("You are beautiful, dear forest"). His beautiful but enslaved homeland appeared to him in the form of a spring forest, as an embodiment, characteristic of "Hayduk" epics. This elegy of his reflected the longing of numerous Bulgarian exiles for their lost homeland; it became one of the most popular folk songs and an eternal hymn of love for the native land. No matter where his fate as an emigrant cast him, Karavelov's thoughts were always turned toward Bulgaria. He enthralled his compatriots with the ideals of freedom and worked toward realising them with all his public activities and artistic creativity.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Lyuben Karavelov. Photo of the writer, until 1879.
2. Lyuben Karavelov. Photographer Anastas Nikolov Stoyanovich, 1876.
3. The book by L. Karavelov "Mama's boy." Sofia, 1946.
4. The story by Lyuben Karavelov "Bulgarians of Old time" in Russian translation. Moscow, 1977.
5. Monument to Lyuben Karavelov in Koprivshtitsa near his house. Sculptor Nadezhda Petrenko.
6. The House Museum of Lyuben Karavelov in Koprivshtitsa.
7. The house in Bucharest where Lyuben Karavelov lived and worked.
8. The Library. "Lyuben Karavelov" in Ruse.
9. The Grave of Lyuben Karavelov in Ruse.
10. The ship "Lyuben Karavelov."

THE FATHER OF BULGARIAN LITERATURE, IVAN VAZOV¹

Abstract:

The article discusses Ivan Vazov (1850–1921), the father of Bulgarian literature, poet, novelist, playwright, one of the creators of the modern Bulgarian literary language. He was the chief creative figure of the Bulgarian national revival era and the several subsequent decades, the creator of the first Bulgarian novel *Under the Yoke*, one of the pillars of Bulgarian national theatre. Vazov became a chronicler of his era, making it possible to study the history of Bulgaria through his work. During the life of the writer, Bulgaria managed to throw off the five-century Ottoman yoke following the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78. This made him a russophile, for which he was persecuted by the Bulgarian authorities, who soon after the liberation of the country took a pro-Western position. Vazov's work belongs not only to Bulgarian literature, but also to world literature. His works have been translated into 52 foreign languages.

Keywords:

Ivan Vazov, Encyclopedia, literary chronicler, pioneer, Russophilia, novel *Under the Yoke*.

Аннотация: М.Г. Смольянинова. «ПАТРИАРХ БОЛГАРСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ ИВАН ВАЗОВ».

В статье говорится об Иване Вазове (1850–1921), патриархе болгарской литературы, поэте, прозаике, драматурге, одном из создателей современного болгарского литературного языка. Он являлся крупнейшей творческой фигурой эпохи Болгарского национального возрождения и нескольких последующих десятилетий, создателем первого болгарского романа «Под игом», одним из столпов болгарского национального театра. Вазов стал летописцем своей эпохи, по его произведениям можно изучать историю Болгарии, которая при жизни писателя сумела избавиться от пятивекового османского ига благодаря освободительной русско-турецкой войне 1877–78 гг. Это сделало его русофилом, за что он пострадал от болгарских властей, которые вскоре после освобождения страны заняли прозападную позицию. Творчество Вазова принадлежит не только болгарской, но и мировой литературе. Его произведения переведены на 52 иностранных языка.

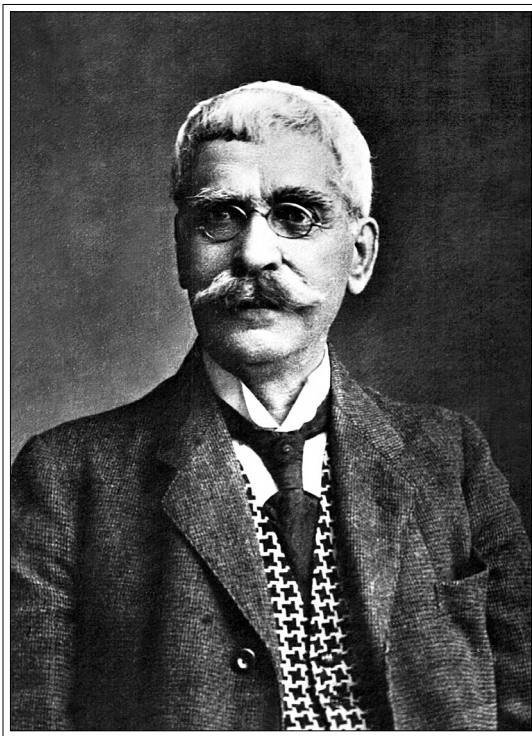
Ключевые слова:

Энциклопедичность, патриарх, «летописец», «первопроходец», русофильство, роман «Под игом».

Ivan Vazov was a Bulgarian poet, prose writer, playwright, whose works have been translated into 52 world languages. Honorary Member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (1921), Honorary Doctor of Philology, Sofia University (1921). Born in Sopot into the family of a merchant, he studied at a school in his hometown and later at a gymnasium in Plovdiv. In 1875 he took

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

part in the work of a Secret Revolutionary Committee in Sopot, which set as its goal the national liberation of Bulgaria. In 1876–77 he lived in exile in Romania, where he became a member of the Bulgarian Charity Society. During the Russo-Turkish War of liberation (1877–78), he served in the Russian army as a special duty officer. After Bulgaria's liberation from the Ottoman yoke, he lived in Plovdiv, where he was a member of the Standing Committee of the Regional Assembly (1880–85). At the time of the Stambolov regime, he was persecuted for his Russo-ophile convictions and emigrated to Odessa (1887–89). He was the people's representative in the VIII and IX National Assembly (1894–99) and the Minister of Education (1897–98).



Ivan Vazov.

Photo of the last years of the writer's life

Vazov began to publish in 1870. The poem *Pine* ("Periodical Journal," 1871) and three collections of poetry published in Romania in the 1870s brought him fame. The first of them, *The Banner and The Harp* (1876), reflected the Bulgarian people's upsurge of patriotism during the final stage of the national liberation struggle on the eve of and during the April uprising against the Turks in 1876. Many of the collection's poems called for the overthrow of Ottoman tyranny and glorified the heroism and self-sacrifice of the fighters who fought for Bulgaria's independence (*Freedom or Death, Banner, Avenger, Radetsky*). The hero of these works is a romantic "avenger" (in the spirit of folk songs), a patriot ready to die for the freedom of the motherland. The heroes of individual poems actually merge with a lyrical image of the author himself. The poet recalled: "The revolutionary movement began in 1875. At that time, under the influence of new revolutionary ideas and poems by Botev and Stambolov, I began to write rebellious songs, most of which were later included in the collection *The Banner and the Harp*. One poem, *The Battle Rages*, printed under the title *Song of the Panagyur Rebels*, became very popular during the April uprising and was sung throughout Bulgaria. Vazov connected faith in the imminent liberation of the motherland with an idea that was infinitely dear to him: that of a pan-Slavic brotherhood, with the hope of help from Russia.

In the poetry collection *The Sorrows of Bulgaria* (1877), Vazov, with pain and anger, condemned the atrocities of the Turks who had put down the April uprising of 1876, massacring the population of Batak, burning many villages and towns to the ground, and killing thousands of children, women and elderly. Vazov called the Ottoman yoke “Hellish torments” and “Golgotha,” and called on Russia to help his compatriots. In the poem *Russia*, written in November 1876, five months before the start of the Russo-Turkish war of liberation, Vazov appealed for help and wrote that the Bulgarians were waiting for Russia as a messiah; Russia responded to Bulgaria’s sobs and cries. On 12 April 1877, Emperor Alexander II declared war on Turkey. At the cost of enormous human sacrifice, the Russian people liberated Bulgaria from five centuries of slavery.

The final collection of the poetic trilogy, *The Deliverance* (1878), expresses the jubilation of the Bulgarian people and their gratitude to the Russians for liberating Bulgaria. The poems *Pleven fell*, *Guns thundered* and others sing of the glory of Russian arms. The poet devotes a series of poems to members of the imperial family. In *Ode to Emperor Alexander II*, written on the occasion of the triumphal entry of the tsar to Bucharest in June 1877, the poet, in a classical vein, glorifies the hero, who goes into battle not to enslave Bulgaria but to liberate it. He compares the Russian emperor with the sun, radiating hope and incinerating the chains of slavery. While the odes dedicated to the members of the imperial family are stately and solemn, then Vazov’s poems about the dead Russian soldiers are filled with pain and compassion.



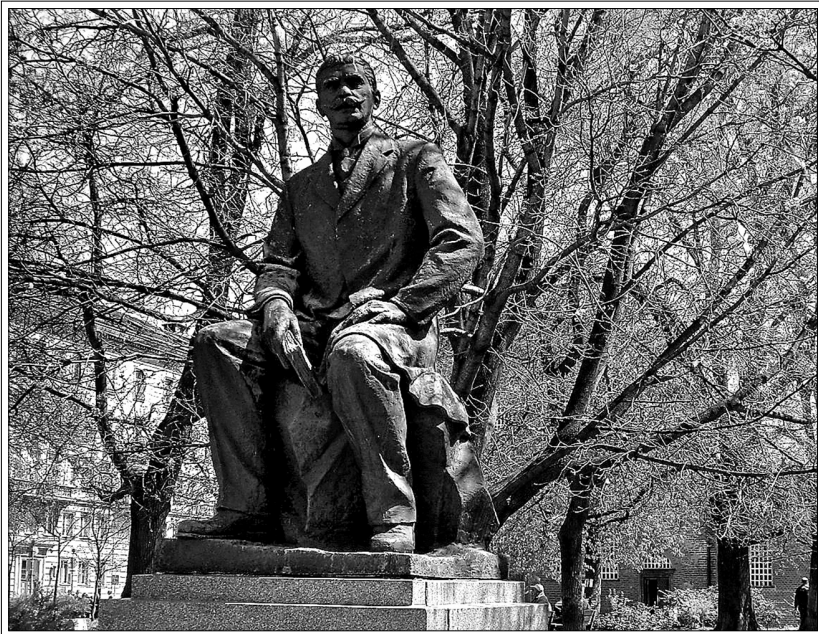
*The house-museum of Ivan Vazov in Sopot,
where he was born*

Vazov's works reflect universal ideas of Christianity (about good and evil in this world, Christian culture, and the relationship between God and man). Vazov believed that Bulgaria's liberation by the Russians was God's providence. In the poem *Hello, Brothers*, the mother tells her son about the Russians: "God himself sent them, // To help us, son." The works of Vazov not only deliver aesthetic pleasure, but are also an artistic chronicle of national history. Vazov called the Russian soldiers "knights of good."

After the Bulgaria's liberation from the Turkish yoke, Vazov wrote in the 1880s a cycle of short lyrical epic poems, *Epic of the Forgotten* (1881–84), devoted to figures of the national revival (Paisius of Hilendar, Georgy Rakovsky, the Miladinov brothers, Vasil Levski, etc.), emerging as the pinnacle of patriotic poetry.

During this period, the poems *Gramada* (1880), *Trayko and Reese* (1881), *Zagorka* (1883), *The Realm of Mermaids* (1884) and others were written. In 1881 Vazov published in journal "The Science" in Plovdiv his memories on the April uprising, *The Recent*, marking the birth of Vazov as a prose writer (in the previous decade, he wrote only as a poet).

In the 1880s he published the poems *Gusli* (1881), *Fields and Forests* (1884), *Italy* (1884) and *Slivnitsa* (1886). His lyrics differed in their thematic and genre diversity. Poetic depictions of Bulgarian nature alternate in these books with sharp satire on modern society. In 1889 the collection *Songs of a Wanderer* (1899) was published and in 1900 *Under Our Sky*. Many of the poems in these



Monument to Ivan Vazov in Sofia

books are devoted to the harsh fate of Bulgarian peasantry. Vazov's prose initially relied on the author's memoirs, recreating life of the final years of slavery. In his first short story, *Mitrophan and Dormidolsky* (1881), the writer used impressions of life in Berkovitsa. In 1885 the story *Our Kin* was published, which humorously depicted life in a Bulgarian province on the eve of the war of liberation. By the 1880s he had already created works that were considered to be classics of Bulgarian literature: the story *The Miserable Ones* (1883–84), dedicated to the life of Bulgarian emigrants in Romania, and the novel *Under the Yoke* (1889–90). This novel was published five times in Bulgaria during the writer's lifetime, was translated into many languages and became a sensation not only in Bulgarian, but also in world literature. Vazov did not rely on historical documents in the novel, and there were no depictions of historical personages in it (in contrast to *Epic of the Forgotten*). Yet this novel, which portrayed the main historical process of the national revival, the transformation of peaceful Bulgarians into rebels fighting for the freedom of their homeland, was a broad epic canvas, depicting the lives of the Bulgarian people during their final years of slavery. For the first time in Bulgarian literature, the people were portrayed as the conscious driving force of the liberation movement. The novel is a testament to the artistic mastery of the writer, who was able to imbue everyday life with the breath of history and to convey the spirit of the revolutionary era.

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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1. Ivan Vazov. Photo of the last years of the writer's life.
2. The house-museum of Ivan Vazov in Sopot, where he was born.
3. The house-museum of Ivan Vazov in Berkovitsa.
4. Ivan Vazov in his office in his own house on the street. G. Rakovsky in Sofia. 1895.
5. The house-museum of Ivan Vazov in Sofia on the street. G. Rakovsky.
6. Muse of the writer, Eugene Mars (1877–1945).
7. The grave of Ivan Vazov near the church of St Sophia. The boulder for his grave was brought from Vitosha, where he liked to walk.
8. Monument to Ivan Vazov in Sofia.
9. National Drama Theater named after Ivan Vazov in Sofia.
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JULIA A.
SOZINA

IVAN TSANKAR: THE SLOVENIAN CLASSIC¹

Abstrast:

The article talks about the classical creator of national literature, Ivan Tsankar (1876–1918), a writer, playwright, publicist and critic, who was the central figure of “Slovenian modernism”. He was able to synthesize the achievements of various literary and aesthetic movements in his work and created a highly artistic literary world, whose imagines later took root in many works of Slovenian literature.

Keywords:

Slovenian literature, classic, prose, dramaturgy, “Slovenian modernism”, “free artist”, psychologism, social protest.

Аннотация: Ю.А. Созина. «СЛОВЕНСКИЙ КЛАССИК ИВАН ЦАНКАР».

В статье речь идет о классике национальной литературы Иване Цанкаре (1876–1918) — писателе, драматурге, публицисте и критике, являвшемся центральной фигурой «словенского модерна». Он сумел синтезировать в своем творчестве достижения различных литературно-эстетических течений и создать отмеченный печатью таланта свой высокохудожественный литературный мир, образы которого в дальнейшем укоренились во многих произведениях словенской литературы.

Ключевые слова:

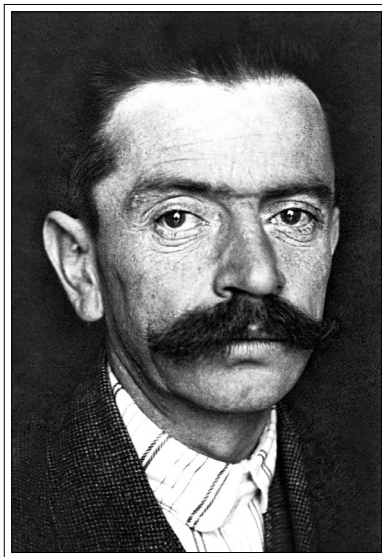
Словенская литература, классик, проза, драматургия, «словенский модерн», «свободный художник», психологизм, социальный протест.

Ivan Tsankar (in Slov. — Cankar) is the first professional Slovenian writer, classic, novelist, playwright, journalist, critic and poet. He was the author of 30 books: nine novels, a range of novellas and collections of fiction, dramatic plays and comedies, a central figure of Slovenian modernism.

Born in Vrhnika (1876) into a poor family with many children (he was the eighth of 12 brothers and sisters), he graduated with honors and therefore received financial support from the local community to continue his education. Tsankar published his first work, the ballad “Ivan Katsiyanar,” at the age of 17, when he was a student at the Lyublyana Real School. He also began to publish critical notes and essays, proving himself to be a talented critic. In Lyublyana, his close friends were the future leaders of “Slovenian modernism”: Dragotin Ketta (1876–99), Josip Murn (1879–1901) and Oton Zhupanchich (1878–1949). Among his teachers was the famous Slovenian literary scholar, essayist Franz Levets.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The only collection of Tsankar's early poetic efforts is his *Erotika* ("Erotica"), compiled and published in Lyublyana in 1899. Along with Zhupanchich's *Čaša opojnosti* ("A Cup of Ecstasy"), his work marked the beginning of Slovenian modernism, in which the influence of decadence and naturalism can be felt. However, the 700 copies of the thousandth printing of "Erotica," the innocent experiments of an inexperienced young man, were bought out and publicly burned by order of the bishop of Lyublyana, Anton Bonaventura. Three years later, Tsankar published the collection again as a form of political protest, but this publication became at the same time his farewell to lyric poetry. He probably did not consider that his poems achieved the perfection of those of his close friend Zhupanchich, though some of them are still regarded as the pinnacle of Slovenian poetry of that era. Like other representatives of Slovenian modernism, Tsankar became interested in Russian literature (he even changed his original Slovenian name of Yanez to the Russian Ivan). In his development as an artist, a significant role was played by N.V. Gogol and F.M. Dostoevsky, although in this regard one cannot fail to also mention F. Nietzsche, G. Ibsen, O. Wilde, M. Maeterlinck and other famous contributors to world culture.



Ivan Tsankar,
1915

In 1896 Tsankar went to the University of Vienna to study engineering, but a month later he transferred to Slavic and Romance studies, lost his personal stipend and became a "free artist," earning his living from his pen. As the first professional Slovenian writer, Tsankar constantly refused lucrative offers of well-paid jobs and earned his living through his writing. He was conscious of his artistic gift as a wordsmith and highly prized his independence. His artistic creed demanded a great deal of him, including fidelity to his gut feelings, freedom from all dogma (including sociopolitical and also national ideas), and integrity to himself.

He remained in Vienna for about 10 years, and this period proved to be very fruitful for him. Here he wrote most of his major novels: *Tujci* ("Strangers," 1902), *Na klanecu* ("On a steep road," 1903), *Hiša Marije Pomočnice* ("The Hermitage of Mary Protector," 1904), *Križ na gori* ("The cross on the mountain," 1905), *Martin Kačur* ("Martin Kachur," 1905), *Nina* ("Nina," 1906), *Marta* ("Marta," 1907) and *Novo življenje* ("New life," 1908). But in general, the writer was more attracted by the conciseness and concentrated power of genres such as short stories and novellas. After leaving Vienna, he moved to his brother-priest in Sarajevo, and later settled for good in Lyublyana.

Tsankar's creativity is characterized by its connection with the national literary tradition of Slovenian folklore. It often contains mythological motifs, including the popular legend of King Matthias. Psychologism occupies a huge place in the poetics of his work. His heroes' inner emotions include feelings of impossible dreams, a passionate desire for something elusive, a striving for the unknown. This can be compared with the constant yet never realized dream of the three sisters, the heroines of Chekhov's play of the same name, to go to Moscow.

It is no accident that Tsankar's lyricism quickly gave way to depictions of prosaic everyday life. The unsightly reality of everyday life was something the writer perceived with pain and protest against the triumph of her spiritual squalor. The writer experienced these feelings at a deep philosophical level and sometimes expressed them in a satirical way, which imparted to his works lofty social and universal values. In his work, he synthesized the achievements of various literary and aesthetic currents, which were advanced for the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Tsankar created his own recognizable artistic world, imbued with a depth of feeling, sincerity, social responsibility and the highest aesthetic purity. Most of Tsankar's psychological portraits, as well as his situational sketches of interpersonal relationships, remain relevant today. Having overcome a spatial-temporal framework, they have acquired timeless universal status.

The prose of Tsankar turned out to be truly innovative. In it, he managed to overcome the characteristic peculiarities of national literature and to rise above realistic similitude. He managed to open a new perspective of artistic vision and delve into the realm of subjective, personal perception of the world. This enabled the writer to personify ideas, people's attitudes and aspirations: from the most intimate to the most pronounced social and national. He first raised the problems of the inner world of the artist and his relationship with the world and society. In a broad social and moral context, Tsankar revealed the real-life tragedy of all those who have been "humiliated and insulted," workers, laborers, the destitute, sick and needy, and above all, children. These tendencies were reflected in both his novels as well as in his novellas and short stories.

In Tsankar's famous novella, *Farmman Yerney and His Right*, which he considered as one of his best works, the chasm between law and natural human truth was marked. The protagonist of the work, Yerney, spent his entire life laboring for the prosperity of the Stitarov family, treating it like his own, but after the owner's death, he lost everything created by his own sweat and blood. He failed to discover justice anywhere, neither in his birthplace nor in Lyublyana or Vienna. Consequently, in despair Yerney set fire to the estate, himself dying in the fire.

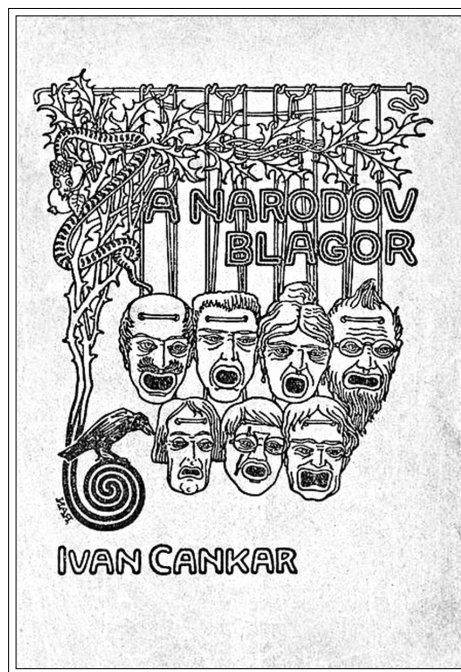
In the story *A Cup of Coffee* (1910), Tsankar wrote about a loving, caring mother and his own filial ingratitude and callousness; this work became a supreme example of artistic succinctness and the human desire for moral purity.

The writer also ventured into the genres of journalism, literary criticism and essays. Here he spoke directly about the diseases of modern society, and he tried

to address the pressing ethical and aesthetic questions reflected in his own and his contemporaries' spiritual and moral pursuits.

In national drama, Tsankar created the first examples of psychological [*Hlapci* ("Slaves," 1910)] and social drama, comedy and farce [*Pokujšanje v dolini šentflorjanski* ("The Seduction in the Valley of St Florian," 1907)]. He also expanded the boundaries of poetic drama, addressing through it the pressing social, psychological and moral issues of the era [*Lepa Vida* ("Beautiful Vida," 1911)]. His comedy *Za narodov blagor* ("For the Good of the People," 1900) is a sharp political satire and is still popular today; in it the influence of Gogol's "Inspector" is quite palpable. At the heart of its plot is a split within a political party; two new leaders (representatives of different generations) are trying by all manner of inconceivable means to gain the favor of an influential and, most importantly, rich person. However, he turns out to be much smarter than they think and cares mainly about his own peace of mind. *Kralj na Betajnovi* ("King of Betajnov", 1902) is considered Tsankar's best socio-political drama, in which the "masters of life" are confronted by a new hero: an intellectual who simultaneously experiences feelings of the need to resist and of impending doom.

The writer was politically active: he was a member of the Social Democratic Party, ran for office (albeit unsuccessfully) in the imperial Austrian parliament, read public lectures in different cities during the Balkan wars of 1912–13. On the eve of the First World War, Tsankar spoke in favor of uniting the southern Slavs into a single confederation, was accused of "Slavophilia" and subjected to short-term arrest. He was mobilized into the army, but quickly released for health reasons. Tsankar deeply experienced this war as a global catastrophe, plunging humanity into chaos and madness. He embodied his thoughts about what was happening and about a possible future in his collection *Podobe iz sanj* ("Images from Dreams," 1917), which he considered to be his best book. The writer died on 11 December 1918, after a bad fall, concussion, and subsequent flu, which developed into pneumonia. He was buried in the Lyublyana cemetery "Stings" in the "Grave of poets of Slovenian modernism," where the friends of his youth, D. Ketta, J. Murn and Oton Zhupanchich, were buried.



The cover of the I. Tsankar's
"For the good of the people,"
1900

Tsankar is rightly considered to be the second greatest Slovenian artist after Frantse Presheren (1800–49). Thanks to his contributions, Slovenian prose and drama reached a qualitatively new level, not inferior to that of Europe, and many of his works have been translated into foreign languages.

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *Ivan Tsankar, 1915.*
2. *The cover of I. Tsankar's "Farmman Yerney and His Right," 1907.*
3. *I. Tsankar. "For the good of the people." Manuscript.*
4. *Vrhnika. The house in which I. Tsankar was born.*
5. *View of Lyublyana, 1894.*
6. *Vienna in the beginning of the twentieth century.*
7. *The tomb of poets of Slovenian Art Nouveau. Lyublyana.*
8. *The cover of I. Tsankar's work "Erotica," 1899.*
9. *"Visions". I. Tsankar's manuscript collection, 1917.*
10. *I. Tsankar, the manuscript of "Martin Kachur."*

EDWARD KOTSBEK: THE CONSCIENCE OF HIS AGE¹

Abstract:

The article is dedicated to the Slovenian modernist, Edward Kotsbek (1904–81), a writer who occupied a prominent place in the history of the national literature and political life of the country. Kotsbek's active civil and democratic position led him to conflict with communist power and forced him into retirement in order to limit his influence on Slovenian society. But these measures were unsuccessful: he was a person of great prominence and left a lasting effect both on the history of Slovenian literature and on the story of the struggle of democratic intellectuals against totalitarianism.

Keywords:

Slovenian literature, Catholic direction, personalism, dissidence.

Аннотация: Ю.А. Созина. «EDWARD KOTSBEK: THE “CONSCIENCE” OF HIS AGE».

Статья посвящена словенскому модернисту Эдварду Коцбеку (1904–81) — писателю, занимавшему видное место в истории национальной литературы и политической жизни страны. Активная гражданская и демократическая позиция Коцбека привела его к конфликту с коммунистической властью и принудительной отправке на пенсию с целью ограничить его влияние в тогдашнем словенском обществе. Но эти меры оказались безуспешными — он был личностью большого масштаба и оставил глубокий след как в истории словенской литературы, так и в эпопее борьбы демократической интеллигенции против тоталитаризма.

Ключевые слова:

Словенская литература, католическое направление, персонализм, диссидентство.

Edward Kotsbek (in Slov. — Edvard Kocbek) was a Slovenian poet, essayist, politician and public figure, a representative of the young Catholic literary movement, known as “the conscience of his era,” and a dissident. He was the first to speak publicly about secret mass executions in Slovenia after the end of the Second World War. His only collection of short stories, *Strah in pogum* (“Fear and Courage,” 1951), outpaced the general development of national prose.

Kotsbek was born in the town of Videm (Gornja Radgona) into the family of an organist. Upon completing a classical gymnasium in Maribor in 1925, he studied theology and became a member of the Christian socialist movement, then transferred to Romance philology at the Philosophy department of the University of Ljubljana and attended lectures in Berlin. While still a high school

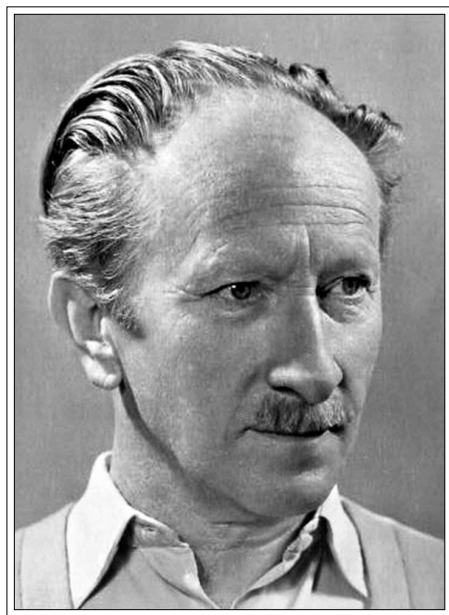
¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

student, Kotsbek published his first poems in the gymnasium newspaper, *Stražnji ognji* ("The Watch Lights," 1924). As a student, he became the editor-in-chief of the Catholic youth newsletter *Križ* ("Kross") and published his works in one of the central literary magazines with a pro-Catholic orientation, *Dom in svet* ("Home and World," 1929). Upon completing his studies in Lyublyana in 1930, Kotsbek worked as a teacher and continued to write.

In articles and public speeches, the young writer expressed a critical attitude toward the existing capitalist structure, arguing that the economic doctrine of Marxism did not contradict Christianity and that both teachings were similar in their understanding of eternity and history. At the same time, Kotsbek was convinced that a new society needed pluralism rather than totalitarianism.

In 1932 Kotsbek continued his studies in Lyon and Paris, having become acquainted with personalism, whose ethics and existentialism influenced his further work. For many years he maintained contact with Emmanuel Mounier (1905–50), the leading representative of French personalism.

Prior to the start of World War II, Kotsbek had only one poetic collection, *Zemlja* ("The Earth," 1934). His poems were of a Christian, existential nature: the main motifs in them were Earth, God and Death. Experts rated this book as one of the most significant poetic collections of the interwar twentieth century in Slovenia. Thanks to this work and his essays, the writer gradually came to be one of the most prominent representatives of the Young Catholic trend in Slovenian literature.



Edward Kotsbek,
1930

In 1937 Kotsbek openly supported the Spanish revolutionary camp in one of his articles and condemned Catholic circles for their right-wing views. Their condemnation of fascism was shared by many Christian socialists and Catholic social commentators. He published a monthly on economics, culture and politics *Dejanje* ("Activity," 1938–41), becoming its editor-in-chief. In the pages of this and other publications, he spoke out against the clericalization of Christianity and for a creative attitude toward life by every free and ethically responsible person. The writer's articles, *Slovenska politika* ("Slovenian Policy," November 1939) and *Slovenci in politika* ("The Slovians and Policy," 1940), are considered the best works of that time on the Slovenian national question.

After the start of the Second World War and the organization of the UF (Libe-

ration Front), Kotsbek immediately became a member of its Executive Committee from the Christian group and conducted an active anti-fascist propaganda campaign in occupied Lyublyana in his articles and speeches on the illegal radio station *Kričac* ("The popular cry"). In the spring of 1942, he joined the partisans, and by the end of the year he became the Slovenian vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia, at the same time publishing the Catholic bulletin of the Slovenian Revolution Public Foundation. From March 1945 to February 1946, Kotsbek was the Minister for Slovenia in the government of the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia, and from spring 1946, the Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Slovenia and the Central Committee of the PF. His political career, however, was interrupted after his speech at the Second UF Congress in April 1951. In it, Kotsbek openly expressed his disagreement with the political course pursued by the country's leadership, accusing it of voluntarism, undemocratic tendencies and ideological narrowness. His collection of stories, *Fear and Courage*, added fuel to the fire. In February 1952, Kotsbek was forced into retirement and began to be persecuted as a writer and private individual.

The aforementioned collection, *Fear and Courage*, consists of four short stories, each of which depicts a borderline extreme situation. Their heroes must make hard choices on which human lives depend. The stories reflect the doubts of a person looking for answers to complex questions of human existence and trying to grasp the true meaning of life. At the same time, they speak about the writer's readiness to step beyond all ideological conventions and convey to his contemporaries the truth about the people's struggle for liberation, which was at odds with the authorities' official interpretation. The writer showed how tragically and fratricidally society was split and conveyed in the book how he had changed his mind and how he felt as a poet and as a Christian. Kotsbek's extraordinary perspective on the events of the recent heroic past engendered misunderstanding at the highest levels and caused a political storm, although the writer did not doubt the correctness and historical necessity of the partisan movement during the last war.

For Kotsbek, the historical accuracy of his novels was far less important than the truth of his characters' feelings, sensations and impressions. They were interpreted by the writer in terms of a deeper life and philosophical plan. In post-war Slovenian literature, this was the first attempt to comprehend the inner mystery of man. The leitmotif of the collection was the search for humanity in the midst of war. Intertextuality plays a large role in the novels; there are abundant references to European and Slovenian musical and literary masterpieces across a wide chronological spectrum. They are designed to emphasize the universality and unresolved problems of the hero, his innate spirituality and humanism, and serve as expressions of the emotional tension of a person who is full of internal conflicting feelings.

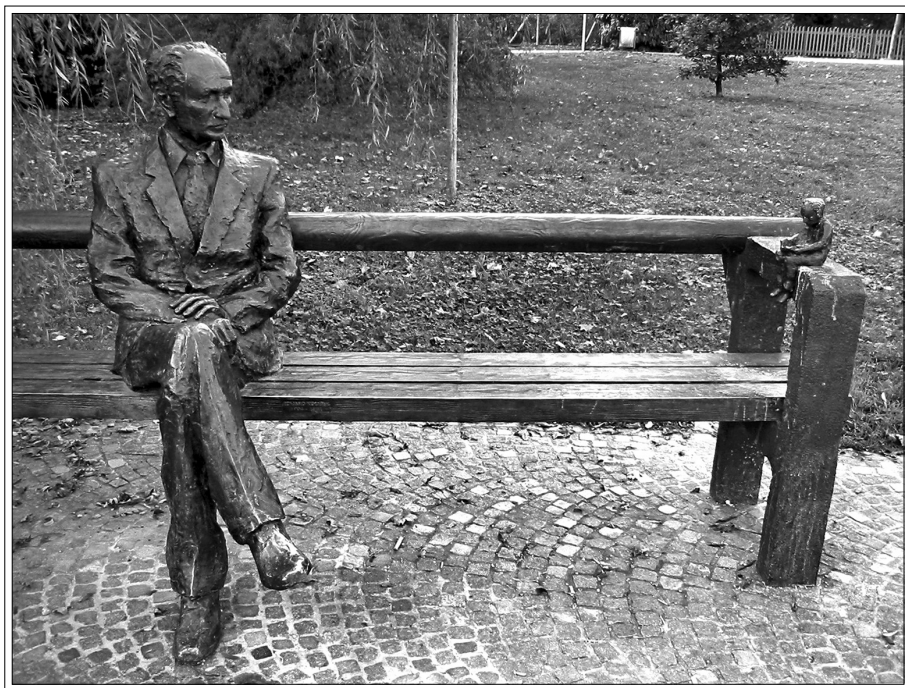
According to Kotsbek, a person already differs from history because he pre-dates history. In being true to his inner nature, a person should strive for good and constrain evil, even when obliged to submit to external circumstances. In the collection *Fear and Courage*, the author with great sincerity created a poetic image of human existence, full of conflicts and contradictions. It is marked by freedom and responsibility, which is determined by physical death and spiritual immortality. After the writer's death, the famous Slovenian director Matyazh Klopchich (1934–2007) shot a feature film in 1989, on the basis of the final short story of the collection, *Črna orbideja* ("Black Orchid"), based on the script of the famous Slovenian writer Andrey Hing.

Until the early 1960s the authorities tried to isolate Kotsbek from the political and cultural life of the country, placing him under constant surveillance. But he continued to create, translating the works of Balzac, Maupassant, Merime, M. Frisch, Saint-Exupery. In addition, the writer secretly collaborated with the Catholic magazine *Nova pot* ("The New Way"). Starting in 1961, he again began to publish in the magazines *Perspektive* ("The Perspectives") and *Sodobnost* ("Modernity"). Two years later, Kotsbek's second poetic collection, *Groza* ("Terror"), came out, earning him the Grand Presheren Award, and in 1969 his third poetry collection, *Poročilo* ("Message"), was published.

In 1975, in the Italian border city of Trieste, the magazine "Zaliv" published a separate issue with an interview of the writer, "Edward Kotsbek is a Witness of Our Time." In it, the writer talked about the secret mass extermination of the "military reserves" in the Kochevsky Rog after the end of the Second World War. They had fled to neighboring Austria, but the Allied British troops extradited them to the new Slovenian government, after which about 12000 people, including the families of the internees, were shot without trial. These facts, carefully concealed by the new government, caused a real shock in Slovenian society. The words of the writer resounded throughout the country and abroad. For this Kotsbek was subjected to house arrest and public harassment. He was saved from trial only through the protection of foreign colleagues and the intercession of German writer and Nobel laureate Heinrich Böll. In 1976 the poet's poems were published by "Continent", a Russian émigré edition in Paris.

A year later, another collection, *Izbrani pesmi* ("Selected Poems"), was released, which included works from different years, including the "partisan" cycles *Pentagram*, *Žerjavica* ("The scorching heat"), and *Nevesta v črnem* ("The bride in black").

At the heart of Kotsbek's poetry lies a metaphysical attitude to the personal and historical world of man. It is dominated by a lyrical reflection of social cataclysms and an awareness of the complexity and ambiguity of historical situations. At the same time, the poet was convinced that the course of history could not control a free and responsible person in his existential reality. The poet's poems are associated with the so-called "transhistorical" person and his metaphysical boundlessness, which can only be conveyed through the language of poetry.



Monument to E. Kotsbek in Tivoli, Lyublyana.
Sculptor B. Drinovets, 2004

Most valuable are the writer's diaries, some of which were published during his lifetime. The books *Tovarišija* ("Partnership," 1949) and *Listina* ("Document," 1967) cover the period from May 1942 to December 1943 and are considered the most reliable evidence of the Slovenian people's liberation struggle and its leaders. They are a fusion of facts about political and military events, impressions of their participants, authorial dialogues and discussions with comrades, letters, personal observations, philosophical reasoning and lyrical digressions. A selection of Kotsbek's pre-war diaries is presented in the book *Pred viharjem* ("Before the Storm," 1980). The writer's travel notes were partially included in the book *Krogi navznoter* ("Circles Inward", 1977). A more, though not entirely, complete edition of the writer's diaries was published in a separate series in 2000–04.

Kotsbek's essays were a new milestone in the development of the essayist genre in Slovenia. In the collection *Sodobni misleci* ("Modern Thinkers", 1981), the writer presented portraits of Christian thinkers and theologians: Kierkegaard, Peguet, Mounier, de Chardin and others. Kotsbek's essays were diverse and responded to topics of the day and were reflexive. Collections of the writer's essays were published for 30 years, from 1940 to 1972. Kotsbek's best essays were included in the book *Svoboda in nujnost* ("Freedom and Necessity," 1974).

Kotsbek was a central figure of Slovenian post-war literature, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. His ethical and aesthetic principles influenced not only young writers, but also such diverse, original literary artists as Drago Yantsar, Jozhe Snoy, Tõmay Shalamoun, and others. Streets in Lyublyana, where he died, and in Tselye have been named after him. On the centenary of his birth, a statue was erected to him. His works have been translated into many European languages.

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Edward Kotsbek, 1930.
2. Monument to E. Kotsbek in Tivoli, Lyublyana. Sculptor B. Drinovets, 2004.
3. The cover of the collection by E. Kotsbek "Fear and Courage," 1951.
4. The parish church in Videm.
5. Cover of the Bulletin of Catholic Youth ("Cross"). October — November, 1928.
6. View of Berlin, 1920s
7. Cover of the magazine "Home and World". January — February, 1929.
8. Night Paris, Brassai, 1932.
9. Reflection on Spain. A page from the magazine "Home and World". April, 1937.
10. "Edward Kotsbek is a witness of his time." *The Gulf Magazine*, 1975. Facsimile, 2013 (Boris Pakhor — Aloise Rebula).



*MARINA M.
FROLOVA*

THE FIRST MOSCOW FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND ITS CREATOR ALEXANDER D. CHERTKOV¹

Abstract:

The article deals with the history of a unique book and manuscript collection by the famous historian, numismatist and Slavist, A.D. Chertkov (1789–1858). The collection later became the first free private library in Moscow. Special attention is given to the development of Chertkov's love of books and bibliophilia, the emergence of his idea to collect all works in every language about Russia in a library. Interest in the history and culture of the Slavs was reflected not only in his academic work, but also in the composition of his collection, which included books in Slavic languages. The article reveals the contribution of Chertkov to Russian book culture.

Keywords:

A.D. Chertkov, book culture of Russia, Chertkov Library, M.P. Pogodin, G.A. Chertkov, P.I. Bartenev.

Аннотация: М.М. Фролова. «Первая бесплатная публичная библиотека в Москве и ее создатель Александр Д. Чертков».

В статье рассматривается история создания известным историком, нумизматом, славистом А.Д. Чертковым (1789–1858) уникального книжного и рукописного собрания, которое впоследствии стало первой в Москве бесплатной частной библиотекой. Обращается особое внимание на возникновение у Черткова любви к книге, библиофильству и появление замысла — собрать в библиотеке все сочинения и на всех языках о России. Интерес к истории и культуре славян отразился не только в научном творчестве ученого, но и на составе его коллекции, в которую вошли книги на славянских языках. Раскрывается вклад Черткова в книжную культуру России.

Ключевые слова:

А.Д. Чертков, книжная культура России, Чертковская библиотека, М.П. Погодин, Г.А. Чертков, П.И. Бартечев.

Alexander Dmitrievich Chertkov (1789–1858) was bibliophile, bibliographer, scholar, historian, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, creator of the first free public library and museum in Moscow. He was elected a member of the Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquities.

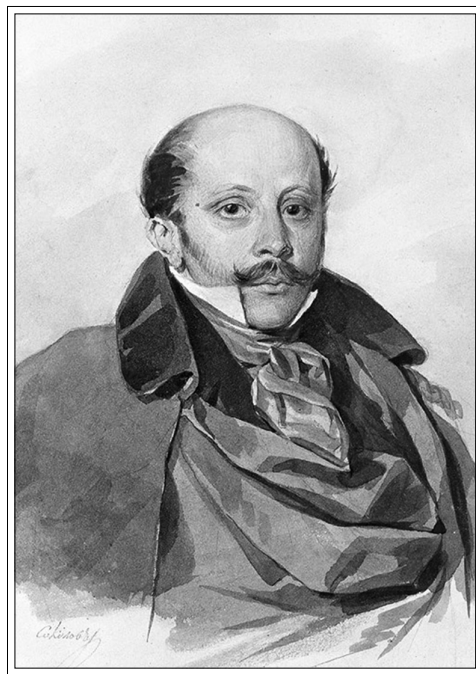
He was born into a family of book lovers and began to collect his personal library from a young age. Wars with Napoleon and foreign campaigns, in which Chertkov participated with the rank of a Leibe Guards of the Horse Regiment lieutenant, awakened Russian society's interest in Russian history. Bibliophilia

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

came into vogue. In 1817, in the journal "Son of the Fatherland," the corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences Friedrich von Adelung put forward the idea of creating a Russian national museum, which would include a national library. The latter was to contain a complete, systematic collection of all books in Russian and foreign languages about Russia, and this task was to be fulfilled by the state. Similarly, the Director of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg, Alexey Olenin, also proposed to develop the Imperial Public Library, expressing his intention in a private letter earlier in December 1815. Other progressive sons of the Fatherland expressed similar thoughts.

This large-scale project also captivated Chertkov, which he wrote about in 1838 in the preface to the catalog "The General Library of Russia", outlining his patriotic plan. Prior to Chertkov, no one in the country had tried to implement such a grandiose enterprise: neither the state nor private individuals. Chertkov belonged to the best segment of the nobility, which felt itself to be a transformer of the Fatherland. This young man began to create a huge library on his own. It was quickly replenished with numerous books and manuscripts, including quite rare ones. For example, it included the 1516 edition of the Russian Chronograph, which Chertkov purchased in 1817 from a private individual in St. Petersburg. He had sufficient energy and financial opportunities but often doubted that his plan would be successfully implemented. Meanwhile, the number of books in his library grew with each year, giving the collector greater confidence in the feasibility of achieving his goal.

Chertkov's contemporaries gradually began to recognize the uniqueness of his library. It was praised by the historian and bibliographer Ivan Sakharov in a letter to Chertkov from St. Petersburg in 1841. The famous historian Mikhail Pogodin, in the journal *Moskvityanin*, stressed that the most complete collection of books about Russia belonged not to the Russian Academy nor to any university or scientific community, but was in Chertkov's library. There was even an article published about it in Leipzig. The uniqueness of Chertkov's library consisted not only in the composition of its book and manuscript treasures but also in the fact that Chertkov himself participated in the acquisition of the collections,



Alexander Dmitrievich Chertkov.

Artist P.F. Sokolov,
the end of 1830s

in addition to engaging commission agents and book sellers. Chertkov devoted considerable energy to this business, personally looking for suitable books and manuscripts in book markets and stores in Russia and Western Europe. He was an educated person with an encyclopedic knowledge and constantly increased his erudition by familiarizing himself with the contents of each book he acquired. Moreover, Chertkov compiled annotations on them, which were then included in his printed "Second Addition" to his library's catalog. These annotations were greatly appreciated by the collector's contemporaries. The rector of St. Petersburg University, academic Peter Pletnyov, wrote that by reading them one could become a scholar, or at least a well-read person.

Chertkov's love of books and manuscripts was passed on to his descendants. After the death of the collector, his son Gregory did not sell the collected treasures at the book auction; fulfilling his father's will, he built a magnificent building for the library and opened it in 1863. Peter Bartenev, a great lover and connoisseur of Russian history of the 18th–19th centuries and a tireless bibliographer who gave the library a second life, was invited to the post of its director. He widely published information about the library's manuscript treasures in the journal "Russian Archive," which began to be published at the library. Numerous gifts with the autographs of donors and authors began arriving in the collections of the Chertkov library. Scholars considered it an honor to submit their manuscript or book here. All of this attested to the transformation of this repository into one of the main centers of book culture in Russia.

The private collections of the admiral of the Russian Empire, Count Alexey Musin-Pushkin, were donated to the library, as well as of Russian writer and prince Vladimir F. Odoyevsky, Acting State Councilor and Director of the Imperial Public Library Baron Modest A. Korf, major general and military historian Ivan P. Liprandy and many other famous people. In 1864 it was enriched with a priceless notebook containing the handwritten texts of the famous Russian poet Mikhail Lermontov. The motive behind these gifts was the idea that unique collections should not belong to a private person but to the Fatherland. Confidence in the durability and reliability of the Chertkov library also played an important role.

The library gradually gained fame and turned into a vivid manifestation of the cultural life of pre-revolutionary Moscow. It was



*Ex libris of
Alexander D. Chertkov*

visited not only by Muscovites and the residents of other Russian cities, but also by foreigners. Such famous writers and scholars as the poet Vasily Zhukovsky worked in it, as did writer Leo Tolstoy, folklorist Peter Bessonov, philosopher-futurologist, teacher and bibliographer Nikolay Fyodorovich Fyodorov and many other outstanding personalities. In addition to books, manuscripts, maps and graphic materials, the library of Chertkov contained valuable collections of antique and Russian coins, ancient Russian and Egyptian antiquities, painted Etruscan vases and mirrors, natural science collections of minerals, insects, butterflies and herbaria. Thus, it played the role of not just a library but also of a free, public museum.

In 1871 Chertkov's son Gregory donated this library (over 10,500 books and brochures) with all its collections to Moscow. It was first located in the building of the Moscow Public and Rumyantsev Museums. Then it formed the basis of the library of the Historical Museum (in 1887). In 1938 the main book holdings were transferred to the newly created State Public Historical Library. The principle of the indivisibility of the collection, stated when it was bequeathed to the Moscow library, was constantly violated. The most valuable manuscripts, letters and ancient books were included in the Department of Manuscripts of the Historical Museum, all the archival material — in the Department of Written Sources, manuscripts of writers of the 18th–19th centuries were transferred to the State Literary Museum of Moscow.

In the 1830s–40s Chertkov published *General Library of Russia or a catalog of books for studying our country in all respects and details* and *The Second Addition* to it. The catalog consisted of 4701 book titles. The academics Peter Köppen, Yakov Berednikov and Izmail Sreznevsky considered the Chertkov library “a good gift to the Fatherland,” “a diamond shining with European distinctiveness,” “the foundation of Russian bibliography” and one of its main sources.

Chertkov was also preparing another special catalog, which was to include handwritten and printed letters, atlases and maps of Russia and its regions, plans and views of cities, monasteries, churches, villages, monuments erected in honor of Russian victories; the plans of battles and sieges, the positions of the Russian army and fortresses captured by the Russians, images of historical events, types of battles, samples of uniforms of troops, images of the clothing of people living within its territory, antiquities and everything related to Russia. This is evident from his introduction to the catalog of 1845, but death prevented him from carrying out his creative plan.

Among other things, the Chertkov library included books by Slavic authors of the period of the national revival (18th–19th centuries). Bibliographer Nina Mikhailovna Pashaeva searched the holdings of the State Public Historical Library for books preserved in many Slavic languages and published the corresponding catalog. There were books in the Chertkov library in the Bulgarian, Polish, Czech and Serbo-Croatian languages. Croatian glagolitic books are especially interesting, and they, like many other publications, have found their

way into other collections and libraries. They are yet to be identified by scholars and book sellers.

The composition of Chertkov's personal (home) library, reflecting the interests of its owner, remains hypothetical. It undoubtedly contained books of an entertaining nature in foreign languages, Masonic literature, books on the military art of European states, publications on history, numismatics and art. Of course, it also contained books on the geography and economy of Western European countries and guides to cities and museums in Europe. Reconstruction of this composition is the task of researchers.

Among other things, Chertkov was a scholar, having published at his own expense a number of academic monographs. A vivid illustration of this is his book *Memoirs of Sicily*, published in Moscow in 1835. It gave the Russian reader an idea of this wonderful island, its ancient temples, caves, nature and the poverty of its inhabitants at that time. This work received the well-deserved and unanimous praise from its reviewers, but all of them noted the poor quality of the illustrations (due to imperfections in the lithography). This shortcoming was overcome in the *The Third Addition* (Moscow, 1842), in which Chertkov described and presented images of 60 coins: copper, silver and gold of the "tsar period." Usually the scholar printed his books in two versions. One version was intended for sale to the general public and was published on cheap Russian paper. The other version was a "gift": it was printed on English Whatman paper, had a gold edge and morocco binding. Two of Chertkov's books were especially luxuriously published. One was a translation of the *Chronicles of Constantine Manasses* from Greek into Slavic (which was accompanied by an essay on the history of the Bulgarians), published in Moscow in 1842. The second book was a description of the war of Prince Svyatoslav against the Bulgarians and Greeks in 967–71, published the following year.

In total, Chertkov published 18 of his books, which were distinguished by amazing typographic skills. According to contemporaries, these books were true cultural monuments of their time. They also had high academic value: for his research on numismatics, for example, he received the Demidov Prize, which he donated entirely towards the publication of the oldest Russian dated book, the Gospel of Ostromir 1056–57.

Thus, Chertkov made a very noticeable and significant contribution to the book culture of Russia at that time. He acted simultaneously as a collector of a remarkable library, a compiler of its catalog ("The General Library of Russia"), and a publisher of his own research. He opened the first free, public library in Moscow. The scale of his cultural activity has not yet been fully appreciated and still awaits its researchers.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. Alexander D. Chertkov in the ceremonial uniform of the Leibe guards Horse regiment. Artist P.E. Rockstuhl. Moscow, State Historical Museum, 1820s.
2. Alexander D. Chertkov. Artist P.F. Sokolov, the end of 1830s.
3. Alexander D. Chertkov. Artist S.K. Zaryanko, 1857.
4. Diploma on the introduction of A.D. Chertkov in the Noble genealogy book of the Moscow province. Department of written sources of the State Historical Museum, 1833.
5. Chertkov Gregory Alexandrovich, 1860–63.
6. G.A. Chertkov's mansion. Left wing of Chertkov's library. Engraving by an unknown artist, 1860s.
7. G.A. Chertkov's mansion. 7 Myasnitskaya str., Moscow.
8. Ex libris of Alexander D. Chertkov.
9. Half title of A.D. Chertkov's book "Description of the Russian coins." Moscow, 1834.
10. The title page of A.D. Chertkov's book "Description of the Russian coins." Moscow, 1834.
11. The title page of A.D. Chertkov's book "On the translation of the *Chronicles by Constantine Manasses* from Greek into Slavic on two manuscripts: the Vatican and the Patriarchal libraries with an essay on the history of the Bulgarians." Moscow, 1842.
12. Half title of A.D. Chertkov's book "Description of the war of Prince Svyatoslav against the Bulgarians and Greeks in 967–71." Moscow, 1843.
13. The title page of A.D. Chertkov's book "Description of the war of Prince Svyatoslav against the Bulgarians and Greeks in 967–71." Moscow, 1843.

THE IMPERIAL SOCIETY OF HISTORY AND RUSSIAN ANTIQUITIES AND ITS DEVELOPMENT OF BULGARIAN RESEARCH¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the history of the Society of History and Russian Antiquities (SHRA, 1804–1929), highlights its academic and publishing activities in the first half of the 19th century in relation to the study of Bulgarian issues. On the basis of this material it is concluded that the SHRA aimed at increasing the prestige and development of national historical academic research and contributed to the formation of an academic community of people passionate about the ideas of knowledge and national service: a “scholarly community”. Although Bulgarian research was not dominant in Slavic scholarship which was actively developed by the SHRA members from the 1830s, its emergence testified to increasing interest in the Bulgarian people. The work of the SHRA contributed to the accumulation of knowledge about and understanding of the Bulgarian people, their history and culture.

Keywords:

Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquities, N.M. Karamzin, Y.I. Venelin, A.D. Chertkov, O.M. Bodyansky, V.M. Undolsky, V.I. Grigorovich, P.A. Bessonov.

Аннотация: М.М. Фролова. «ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЕ ОБЩЕСТВО ИСТОРИИ И ДРЕВНОСТЕЙ РОССИЙСКИХ И РАЗВИТИЕ В НЕМ БОЛГАРИСТИЧЕСКИХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЙ».

В статье рассматривается история создания Императорского Общества истории и древностей российских (ОИДР, 1804–1929), освещается его научная и издательская деятельность в первой половине XIX в. в формате изучения болгарской проблематики. На основе приведенного материала делается вывод о том, что ОИДР, нацеленное на повышение престижа и развитие отечественной исторической науки, способствовало формированию сообщества людей, увлеченных идеями познания и национального служения — «ученого содружества». И хотя болгарские сюжеты не были доминирующими в славянской проблематике, активно разрабатывавшейся членами ОИДР с 1830-х годов, но их появление свидетельствовало об увеличении познавательного интереса к болгарскому народу. Деятельность ОИДР способствовала накоплению знаний о болгарском народе, его истории и культуре и их осмыслению.

Ключевые слова:

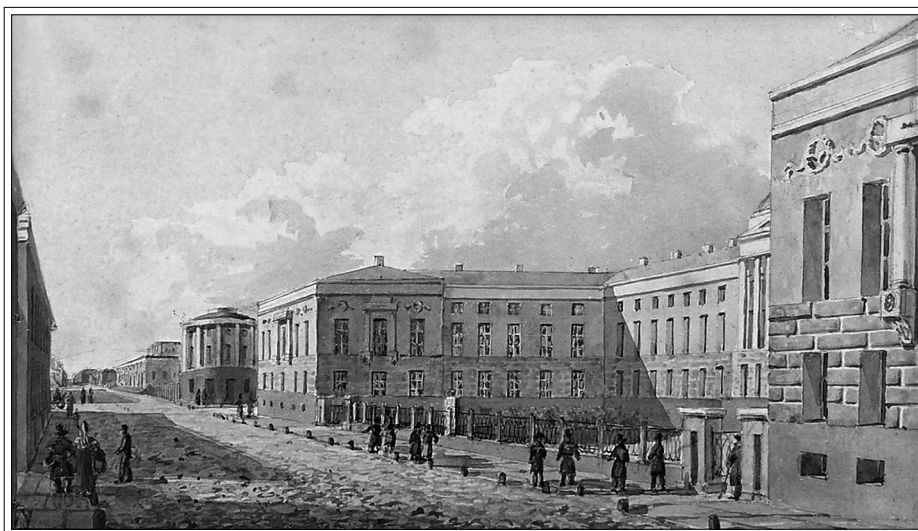
Императорское Общество истории и древностей российских, Н.М. Карамзин, Ю.И. Венелин, А.Д. Чертков, О.М. Бодянский, В.М. Ундольский, В.И. Григорович, П.А. Бессонов.

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The Society of History and Russian Antiquities (SHRA, 1804–1929) is one of the oldest academic societies in Russia, originated at Moscow University with the purpose of the study and critical publication of Russian chronicles and played an important role in the development of Slavic studies in Russia in the first half of the 19th century.

From the very beginning of its existence, the society was not limited to the publication of Russian chronicles: it entrusted its members with the task of searching out information concerning “the Slavic peoples from ancient historians.” Publication of its materials by the SHRA was significantly hampered for a long time a lack of a solid financial base, since contributions from members of the society and donations were its main source of funds. However, in 1837 it received imperial status and annual funding in the amount of five thousand rubles in silver.

South Slavic themes began to emerge in the society a decade and a half after its creation. In 1818 the SHRA correspondent major P.F. Gorenkin sent along his study, “On the Antiquity of Slavonic Writing,” which stated that Cyril and Methodius had not created a new alphabet but had only “fixed what the Slavs had previously used” and that the modern Bulgarian language was close to Church Slavonic. Interest in the history and writing of the southern Slavs increased in the 1830s, after Russia’s brilliant victory over Turkey in the war of 1828–29. The SHRA report for 1837 referenced Y.I. Venelin’s work studying the history of the Bulgarians and other Slavic peoples.



*“View of Mokhovaya street.
The building of the Moscow Imperial University.”*
Paper, watercolor. Unknown artist, 1830s

In the early 1840s, the vice president of the society A.D. Chertkov, made four reports on his research on the Glossary of the Vatican List of the Bulgarian Translation (14th century) by the Byzantine *Chronicle of Constantine Manasses* (12th century), famous for its 69 miniatures. The scholar copied the glossaries of this list in the Vatican in 1839, and then found another list of the Bulgarian translation of this document in the Synodal Collection of the Patriarchal Library in Moscow and conducted a comparative analysis of both lists. He later published two monographs on the history and culture of medieval Bulgaria: *On the translation of the Manassine chronicle into Slovenian, according to two lists: from the Vatican and from the Patriarchal Library, with an essay on the history of the Bulgarians* and *Description of the war of Grand Duke Svyatoslav Igorevich against the Bulgarians and Greeks in 967–971*. These were published in the Russian Historical Collection and became a significant event in Russian pre-revolutionary Bulgarian studies. Unfortunately, the decision of the SHRA to publish the text of the Bulgarian translation of the chronicle, adopted on 21 December 1840, was not fulfilled.

After O.M. Bodyansky, an extraordinary professor in the department of History and Literature of Slavic dialects at Moscow University, was elected secretary of the journal, by virtue of the academic's professional pursuits, the journal started to contain more materials devoted to South Slavic issues. In 1846 the publication of the *Vinodolsky Law of 1288* appeared: one of the most ancient documents of South Slavic lawmaking. Bodyansky also translated an article by Czech scholar F. Palatsky, *Comparison of the laws of Tsar Stefan Dushan of Serbia with the oldest Zemstvo decrees of the Czechs*.

Issues concerning Cyril and Methodius became a constant for SHRA; among the articles devoted to this topic was one written by the Bishop of Riga, Philaret (D.G. Gumilevsky). V.M. Undolsky (1815–64), another scholar, bibliographer and archeographer, elected librarian of the SHRA in 1847, was one of the first in Russia to study the creative legacy of Clement of Ohrid, a Bulgarian enlightener and disciple of Cyril and Methodius. At a meeting of the SHRA in 1845, Undolsky presented a plan to publish the works of St Clement, and two years later he read his article, *Constantine, Bishop of Bulgaria, Methodius's disciple*. However, the materials collected by Undolsky were published only in 1895.



Osip M. Bodyansky

In 1848 Bodyansky published his translation of P. Shafarik's report, *The Flowering of Slavic Writing in Bulgaria*, which he had done a year earlier at the Royal Czech Academic Society, in the journal "Readings in SHRA." It contained biographical information about Cyril and Methodius, their disciples Clement, Naum, Angelarius, Sava and Gorazd and the successors of the latter: Constantine, Gregory, John the Exarch of Bulgaria, Chernorizets Chrabar and others.

In 1846 M.A. Obolensky, director of the Moscow archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, presented the article *On the Greek code of George Hamartolos stored in the Moscow Synodal Library, and on the Serbian and Bulgarian translations of his chronicle*. He emphasized in it the need to study the works of Byzantine chroniclers in Slavic translations and Slavic chronographs.

Members of the SHRA were attracted by the topic of the settlement of the ancient Slavs in the Balkans and Europe. The aforementioned Bishop of Riga Philaret wrote about this in his work *The Holy Great Martyr Demetrius the Solun and the Slavs of Solun*. Chertkov actively developed a hypothesis about the ancestral homeland of the Slavs. Even as far back as 1842 he read a report at an SHRA meeting entitled *On the territory of the ancestors of the Slavs in the countries beyond the Danube*. His research on the issue of Slavic ethnogenesis, *On the resettlement of the Thracian tribes across the Danube and further to the North, to the Baltic Sea and to us in Russia*, was published in five books of the "SHRA Annals": Books 10, 13, 16, 23, 25.

V.I. Grigorovich, professor in the department of History and Literature of Slavic dialects at Kazan University, made a trip to the Balkans in 1844–47 and agreed to publish two manuscripts he brought back: *South Slavic Monuments of the 15th Century: Two Letters of Stephen Voevoda of Moldowalachia and Dorotheus, Archbishop of the First Justinian, i.e., Ohrid (from the manuscripts of St Ivan of Rila Monastery)*.

A lot of material about the Bulgarians was contained in the 21st book of the annals. In the article, *On some years of the Nestor Chronicle*, historian D.N. Dubensky noted that "the March calculation came to us from the Bulgarians." Then followed a study by historian S. N. Palauzov, *Synodicon of Tsar Boril according to the manuscript of the 14th century*. The "Materials" section contained *Bulgarian songs from the collection of Yu. I. Venelin, N.D. Katranov and other Bulgarians*. A collection of Bulgarian folk songs with explanation and research was presented by Moscow University candidate, P.A. Bessonov. At a meeting on 30 April 1854 this study was read and the author was elected to the society's associate members.

The "Materials" section of the next, 22nd book of "The Annals" included a second edition of the *Collection of Bulgarian Songs*, which was provided with a general index of the songs and an explanation of the obscure words found in them.

On 30 March 1856 Bessonov submitted a written proposal on the election of A.F. Hilferding, who presented four of his books and ten Latin letters, "relating to

the history of the Serbs at the house of Nemanya, copied by him in the Vienna Archive and explanation in the appendix.” Bessonov pointed out the significance of these letters, emphasizing their importance for the history of all Slavs and the Russian enlightenment.

The SHRA library was constantly replenished with books on Slavic topics. In 1829 Serbian scholar V. Karadzhich sent the first volume of L. Von Ranke’s *Serbian Revolution*, from Vienna and in 1837, his work on Montenegro. In 1840 the book *Serbian Monuments*, by Belgrade priest Pavel Tvrtkovich was delivered and two years later the publications *Bulgarian Scribes* and *The Day Soldier of Bulgarian Education* by Bulgarian merchant V.E. Aprilov. The society was known in distant Montenegro, from where, in 1855, writer and historian Milorad Medakovich sent his essay entitled *The Story of Montenegro from the Earliest Time until 1830*.

The SHRA established ties with many Slavic scholars; among them was the Serb V. Karadzhich. In 1845 Serbian Prince Alexander Karageorgievich, Petar Negosh, the Metropolitan of Montenegro, and “Serbian historian and poet” Sima Milutinovich were elected honorary members of the society. The SHRA established contact with South Slavic academic societies and organizations — the Serbian Academic Society in Belgrade and the Matitsa Croatian in Zagreb, organizing an active exchange of literature with them.

N.M. Karamzin, author of the famous work, *The History of the Russian State*, did not believe in the effectiveness of the collective work of scholars, but the practice of the SHRA from the 1830s–50s justified this form of association between historians: it created new areas of academic cooperation, facilitated greater exchange of academic information and familiarity with academic criticism by their colleagues.

The SHRA neither controlled the academic creativity of its members and nor dictated their research topics. The famous historian I.E. Zabelin claimed that members of the society were free to choose topics, and it depended on happenstance. However, even unusual works, in his words, reflected “the direction and tastes of the scholars of their time.” In the first half of the 19th century, South Slavic subjects did not figure prominently among the issues that SHRA members were actively pursuing. However, starting in the early 1850s there was an observable increase in their number. Due to the growth in SHRA’s publishing activity, the results of the research of its full members were widely disseminated in Russian society and abroad and became socially significant. The activities of SHRA as a whole contributed to the accumulation of knowledge about the South Slavs, their history and written culture.

Translated by Ksenia Melchakova

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. “View of Mokhovaya street. The building of the Moscow Imperial University”. 1830s. Paper, watercolor. Unknown artist.
2. The title page of the first issue of the journal “Notes and works of SHRA” (Moscow, 1815) with a portrait of August-Ludwig Siletser on the frontispiece.
3. Osip M. Bodyansky.
4. Palatsky, Frantisek.
5. Undolsky, Vukol Mikhailovich.
6. A portrait of Prince Mikhail Andreevich Obolensky. Artist K.P. Bryullov, 1840.
7. Grigorovich, Viktor Ivanovich.
8. Bessonov, Peter Alekseevich.
9. The title page of the magazine “Readings in SHRA.”
10. The title page of the magazine “Vremennik SHRA.”
11. The title page of the work of P.A. Bessonov “Bulgarian songs from the collection of Y.I. Venelin, N.D. Katranov and other Bulgarians.” VSHRA, 1855, Book 21.

THE BULGARIAN-MACEDONIAN POET, JOURNALIST AND TRANSLATOR, RAYKO ZHINZIFOV¹

Abstract:

The article highlights the life of the famous poet, translator, writer and publicist R. Zhinzifov (1839–77), whose work belongs equally to the cultural heritage of two modern states: Bulgaria and North Macedonia. The article draws attention to the relationship between Zhinzifov and members of the Moscow Slavic Charity Committee, P.I. Bartenev and I.S. Aksakov, reveals the reasons why Zhinzifov did not return to his homeland in the Ottoman Empire after studying at Moscow University, notes his contribution to the creation of literature during the period of the Bulgarian national revival and his contribution to the education of the Bulgarian people.

Keywords:

R. Zhinzifov, D. Miladinov, Slavic Charity Committee, P.I. Bartenev, Chertkov Library, I.S. Aksakov, «Bulgarian squad».

Аннотация: М.М. Фролова. «БОЛГАРСКО-МАКЕДОНСКИЙ ПОЭТ, ЖУРНАЛИСТ И ПЕРЕВОДЧИК РАЙКО ЖИНЗИФОВ».

В статье освещается жизненный путь известного поэта, переводчика, писателя, публициста Р. Жинзифова (1839–77), творчество которого в равной степени принадлежит культурному и духовному наследию двух современных государств — Болгарии и Северной Македонии². Обращается внимание на взаимоотношения Жинзифова с членами Московского Славянского благотворительного комитета П.И. Бартевым и И.С. Аксаковым, раскрываются причины, из-за которых Жинзифов не вернулся после учебы в Московском университете на родину в Османскую империю, отмечается его вклад в создание литературы периода национального Возрождения и деятельность на поприще просвещения болгарского народа.

Ключевые слова:

Р. Жинзифов, Д. Миладинов, Славянский благотворительный комитет, П.И. Бартев, Чертковская библиотека, И.С. Аксаков, «Болгарская дружина».

Rayko Zhinzifov (1839–77) was a poet, translator, writer, journalist. He was born in Veles (Northern Macedonia), into the family of a teacher, I. Zhinzif (Dzindzifi), who, being an admirer of Hellenic culture, called his son by the Greek name Xenophont and gave him an education in Greek at a Greek school. In 1855 the young man began working as a junior teacher at a school

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

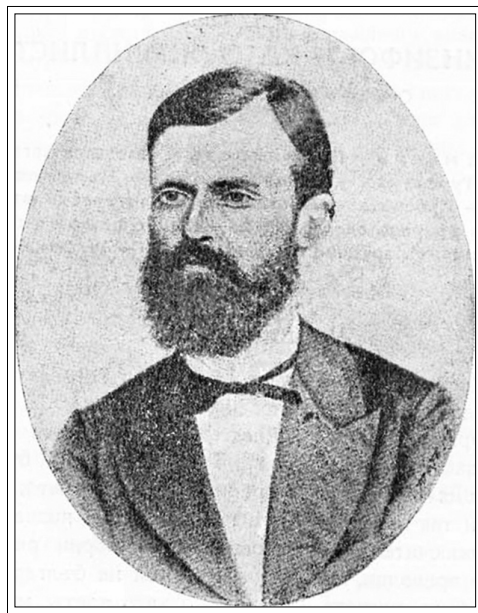
² According to Bulgarian prof. A. Miltenova, the Bulgarian-Macedonian multidisciplinary conciliation commission, which started its work in May 2018, came to an agreement that R. Zhinzifov had a Bulgarian identity. (Editor's note)

in Prilep, where the senior teacher was the “ardent defender of the Slavs” and enlightener D. Miladinov (c. 1810–62). It was he who turned his gifted ward away from Hellenophilism, revealing the beauty of Bulgarian songs and attracted him to their collection. It was Miladinov who began to call Xenophont by the Bulgarian name Rayko.

At the end of 1857 Miladinov sent his young colleague to teach in the city of Kukush, populated, according to Zhinzifov, exclusively by Bulgarians. The new teacher introduced the Bulgarian language and literacy into the school curriculum. Both boys and adults began to come to him to learn their native language, and “even priests, for in the churches it was necessary to replace worship in Greek with Slavic.”

In July of the following year, Zhinzi-fov arrived in Odessa as one of a cohort of eight Bulgarian-Macedonians whom Miladinov sent to study in Russia with the assistance of Russian public figure A.V. Rachinsky (in 1861–62 he was the Russian consul in Varna). Here he met with G.S. Rakovsky (1821–67), a well-known Bulgarian herald of freedom from the Turkish yoke. He made such an impression on the young man that Xenophont finally decided to change his Greek name to the Bulgarian Rayko. It’s true that official papers his publications in Russian newspapers and letters to Russian addressees were still not signed as Rayko, but as Xenophont. In Moscow they addressed him as Xenofont Ivanovich. However, for the Bulgarians he was Rayko.

At the end of this year, Zhinzifov arrived in Moscow and became a scholarship holder of the Slavic Charity Committee, and the next year he entered the Faculty of History and Philology of Moscow University. But the scholarship of 20,000 rubles in silver was not enough, since the Bulgarian student had large expenses because of the Russian cold climate. Rayko’s father did not respond to his requests for money. Effective help came from the members of the Slavic Committee, who, knowing of the financial needs of their students, helped them to find additional income. Thus in 1862, P.I. Bartenev (1829–1912), a member of the commission in charge of the affairs of Bulgarian students, invited Zhinzifov to work in the Chertkov library in the summer during his absence. Bartenev was then the head of this library, which, in memory of its collector, historian and bibliographer, A.D. Chertkov (1789–1858), his son G.A. Chertkov decided to open to the public as the first free private library in Moscow. This took place in 1863.



*A portrait of
Rayko Zhinzifov*

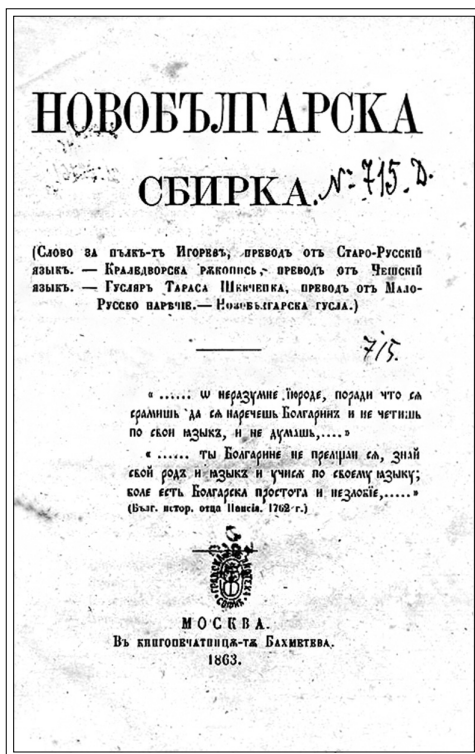
Xenophont coped well with his duties, and Bartenev invited him to take the post of assistant librarian in the Chertkov library with a salary of 20 rubles per month. However, his studies kept him too busy to allow him to accept this offer. In October 1862 Bartenev recommended Zhinzifov as a teacher to the family of a certain Waldgard, then Baranov (in the summer of 1863), and A.N. Karamzin (in 1865).

In Bartenev's house, Zhinzifov was received "not as a friend, but as a close relative." A cordial relationship was established with him and with the family of I.S. Aksakov. From letters to Bartenev, it is clear that Zhinzifov loved music, painting, theater; he periodically visited "places of amusement, that is, to different Hermitages with Saxons, singers, dwarfs and so on and so forth."

During his studies, Zhinzifov earned extra money at the weekly newspaper of I.S. Aksakov, *Den'* ("The Day"). His first journalistic articles ("A letter from one of the Bulgarian students in Moscow to the editor," "A few words of a Bulgarian about the feud between the Greeks and Bulgarians," "Dmitry and Constantine Miladinov," etc.) attracted attention due to the author's undoubted literary talent and his ardent heart of a patriot.

His studies at the university and worries about the next meal could not distract Zhinzifov from his sadness about the plight of the Bulgarians in the Ottoman Empire and the lack of their own literature. In the early 1860s, many natives of the Ottoman Empire studying in Moscow later made a significant contribution to the national and cultural revival of Bulgaria: M. Drinov, G. Theokharov, S. Filaretov, L. Karavelov and many others. They formed the "Bulgarian squad," one of the goals of which was to promote the development of Bulgarian literature. Zhinzifov's first literary experiments appeared precisely on the pages of the *Bratsky trud* ("The Brotherly Work") magazine published by the squad.

In addition, he published the collection *Novobalgarska Sbirka* ("New Bulgarian collection," 1863), which included his translations of poems *The song on Igor's Campaign* and *Kraledvorsky Manuscript* by T. Shevchenko into Bulgarian, and several of his own



*The title page of the collection
"Novobalgarska Sbirka".*

Moscow, 1863

works. As an epigraph, Zhinzifov took the famous words of Paisius of Hilendar, urging his compatriots not to be ashamed to be called Bulgarians and to study, read and think in their own language. It should be emphasized that Zhinzifov had become familiar with the *History Slavo-Bulgarian* by Paisius of Hilendar in the Chertkov library, where a copy was kept, made specially for A.D. Chertkov in 1844 from the Zheravna manuscript. The author of the book, *Novobalgarska Sbirka*, published it in the 100th edition, intended to distribute the book free of charge to the Bulgarian schools in the Ottoman Empire and to award it to the best students.

In 1864 Zhinzifov graduated from Moscow University with a candidate degree. He received invitations from Belgrade, Sofia, Bolgrad and other cities to take the post of a teacher. The modern Bulgarian scholar I. Konev explained his refusal to go to the Balkans as “fear” of joining the revolutionary forces of Bulgaria in the 1870s and “working to liberate his people in the extremely difficult conditions of Turkey.” It was precisely in the contradiction between his love of his motherland and his “flight” from the revolutionary movement, from direct participation in the political life of Bulgaria, that Konev saw the tragedy of the fate of Zhinzifov, who preferred to act in the name of liberating his people with his pen. The Bulgarian scholar D. Lekov believed that the difficult mission of an “awakener” was simply beyond Zhinzifov’s power.

Bulgarian scholars did not know of Zhinzifov’s letter dated 11 November 1865, which is stored in the archival fund of diplomat M.A. Khitrovo, who then served in the Russian mission in Constantinople. It turns out that Zhinzifov had accepted Russian citizenship and was looking for a teaching position in the Bulgarian school of Constantinople, but there were no vacancies.

He was accepted as a teacher of Greek at the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow and simultaneously worked as a teacher of Greek at the 1st and 2nd Moscow gymnasiums. At the same time, his friend Nesho Bonchev, who went down in history as the first Bulgarian literary critic, reported that Zhinzifov “received a very good salary.” In the 1870s Zhinzifov taught at the Lyceum of Tsarevich Nikolay, at the 5th Moscow gymnasium. In 1875 he became a collegiate assessor of the 8th rank, which corresponded to the rank of major and gave him the right to personal nobility.

In 1866 Zhinzifov made a trip to Bulgaria and Macedonia, but could not reconcile himself with the Turkish rule there and returned to Moscow. After that he wrote an extensive essay saturated with many facts, “From the Notes of a Traveler in Macedonia,” published in the same year in five issues of the “Modern Chronicle” newspaper.

In February 1868 Zhinzifov became a member of the Moscow Slavic Committee and a member of the Imperial Society of Lovers of Natural History, Anthropology and Ethnography. Two years later he was elected a full member of the Bulgarian Literary Society, which was a prototype of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Communicating closely with members of the Slavic Committee and prominent Slavophiles, Zhinzifov could not help but share their views. It is quite clear that such people as bright, talented, and sincerely soul-sick for the Slavic cause I.S. Aksakov and N.A. Popov had a tremendous influence on the young man who came from a remote corner of the Ottoman Empire then Eyalet of Rumelia (or of Bitola). Their active role in the enlightenment of the Slavic peoples, including the Bulgarians, was consonant with Zhinzifov's thoughts, feelings and subsequent activities along this path. He published in lot of Russian periodicals ("The Day," "The Contemporary Chronicle," "Moscow," *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, etc.), informing the Russian reader about the events taking place among the Western and Southern Slavs.

Zhinzifov worked a lot and fruitfully in the name of enlightening the Bulgarian people. On 26 June 1864 he wrote to Bartenev that his first duty was to publish his or someone else's books to help create Bulgarian "literature," the absence of which simply "drove him crazy." Zhinzifov made Bulgarian translations of poems by T.G. Shevchenko, M.Yu. Lermontov and other poets, as well as several of his own original works, for example, the poem "Bloody Shirt." It contained the story of an old Bulgarian woman about the 'Turks' murder of her only son for no reason. His bloodstained shirt, kept by the unhappy mother, appealed for vengeance, and these feelings resonated with the Bulgarian reader. Zhinzifov sent his translations and works in Bulgarian to the Bulgarian periodicals: "The Bulgarian Bee," "The Danube Dawn," "Nationality," "Macedonia," "Freedom," etc. He became the first historian of Bulgarian literature, write a special article for the collection "Poetry of the Slavs" in which the development of Bulgarian literature was traced, starting with Paisius of Hilendar up to 1871.

Zhinzifov's literary work belongs equally to two states at once: Bulgaria and North Macedonia. Until 1878 their lands were part of the Ottoman Empire, and in its Orthodox "millet" which united all the Orthodox peoples of Turkey, there was an intensive demarcation of Greeks, Hellenophiles, adherents of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and Slavs: Bulgarians, who defended the right to their own church independent of Greek Ecumenical Patriarch. In 1870, in accordance with the sultan's firman, the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchate was announced, and a competition for congregation began with renewed vigor in the provinces with a mixed population (primarily in Macedonia): to which church would people go as a result of a public poll. In his writings, Zhinzifov reflected the ups and downs of church feuds between Greeks and Bulgarians, while protecting the interests of the Slavs who lived on the territory of the modern states of Bulgaria and North Macedonia, whom he called Bulgarians. In addition, it was important for him to prove to the whole world that in his native Macedonia, there lived not Greeks, but Slavs-Bulgarians (Bulgarian-Macedonians). At that time, there was no concept of a separate Slavic people: the Macedonians; Zhinzifov did not live to see this era.

On the eve of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78, Zhinzifov began to compose “Road builder in Macedonia, or otherwise a geographical and statistical description of Macedonia” as well as a small Russian-Bulgarian dictionary. However, he did not have time to complete his work on this: death came to him on his birthday on 15 February 1877, when he was 38 years old.

In Russia, which became Zhinzifov’s second homeland, his talent as a poet, translator, writer and journalist was revealed. His works in Bulgarian addressed to the Bulgarian reader contributed to the development of the Bulgarian revival and enlightenment. He fulfilled another, very important mission facing Bulgarian patriots: the creation in Russian society of the image of an oppressed, suffering Bulgarian people, waiting for help from Russia to both resolve the church issue and to assist in liberation from the Turkish yoke.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A portrait of R. Zhinzifov.
2. A portrait of R. Zhinzifov.
3. A portrait of R. Zhinzifov, 1864.
4. A portrait of Dimitar Miladinov.
5. A portrait of Pl. Bartenev.
6. A portrait of I.S. Aksakov. Artist I.E. Repin. Oil. 1878.
7. The title page of the collection “Brotherly Work,” Issue IV, Moscow, 1862.

YURY I. VENELIN AND HIS HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN BULGARIANS¹

Abstract:

The article highlights the life and academic activities of Y.I. Venelin (1802–39), the founder of Russian-Bulgarian studies and his work in the Moscow Society of History and Russian Antiquities. He made the first professional trip to Bulgaria, but the materials he collected were only published after his death. Most historians (including the famous P.J. Shafarik) were very critical of Venelin's essays "History of the Ancient and Modern Bulgarians in their Political, Folk, Historical and Religious Relation to the Russians" (1829). But for Bulgarian society during the period of its national revival, the essays had a special importance and made a huge impact. Nowadays the works of Venelin have attracted attention again, which has resulted in their republications.

Keywords:

Y.I. Venelin, I.I. Molnar, M.P. Pogodin, Moscow Society of History and Russian Antiquities, Bulgarian revival.

Аннотация: М.М. Фролова. «Юрий И. Венелин и его История древних и нынешних болгар».

В статье освещаются жизненный путь и научное творчество зачинателя русской болгаристики Ю.И. Венелина (1802–39), его деятельность в Обществе истории и древностей российских. Он совершил первую научную командировку в Болгарию, но собранные им материалы были опубликованы лишь после его смерти. Большинство историков (в том числе и знаменитый П.Й. Шафарик) весьма критически отнеслись к сочинению Венелина «Древние и нынешние болгары в политическом, народописном, историческом и религиозном их отношении к россиянам» (М., 1829). Но для болгарского общества периода национального Возрождения оно имело особую значимость и оказало на него огромное влияние. В настоящее время труды Венелина вновь привлекают внимание, что выражается в их переиздании.

Ключевые слова:

Ю.И. Венелин, И.И. Молнар, М.П. Погодин, Общество истории и древностей российских, Болгарское возрождение.

Yury Ivanovich (George Hutsa) Venelin (1802–39) was an amateur scholar and pioneer of Russian-Bulgarian studies, who caused Bulgarians to take a fresh look at their history and awakened in them a sense of national pride.

He was born into the family of a Transcarpathian village priest, I. Hutsa. The village of Tibava (or Great Tibava, Big Tibava), along with Transcarpathia, was

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

then a part of the Austrian Empire. After the Second World War it was annexed to Ukraine, one of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union. After graduating from gymnasium in Ungvar (now Ukrainian Uzhgorod), George Hutsa entered the local theological seminary, then studied at the Episcopal Lyceum in Satmar (now Satu Mare, Romania) with his cousin, I.I. Molnar, and from 1822 continued his education at the faculty of Philosophy at Lvov University. While still at the lyceum, Venelin began to write his first notes on the history of the Slavs, a topic which developed into a real passion. The young man showed an amazing ability to learn foreign languages: he knew ancient Greek and Latin well, spoke fluent Magyar (Hungarian), German and French, and understood English, Italian, Spanish and Walachian (Romanian) well. He also quickly mastered the Slavic languages.



Yury I. Venelin
(1802–39)

A career as a Catholic priest stopped to seem appealing and, as a Carpatho-Russian or “Rusyn” by origin, he felt himself to be Russian and dreamed of living in Orthodox Russia. Upon moving to Russia, he changed his surname from Hutsa to Venelin. Together with Molnar, he first settled in Kishinev (1823–25) and then in Moscow, enrolling in Moscow University’s medical faculty. Venelin successfully completed medical school in 1829, but his love of history proved to be stronger than his love of medicine. This was encouraged in every way by a professor at Moscow University, the famous historian M.P. Pogodin (1800–75), who prompted Venelin to write the book *“Ancient and Modern Bulgarians in their Political, Folk, Historical, and Religious Relation to the Russians.”* In 1829 Pogodin published it at his own expense, won over by the “childishly pure soul” of the author and his “dreams of the Bulgars.” This work was very relevant, because at that time the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29 was underway.

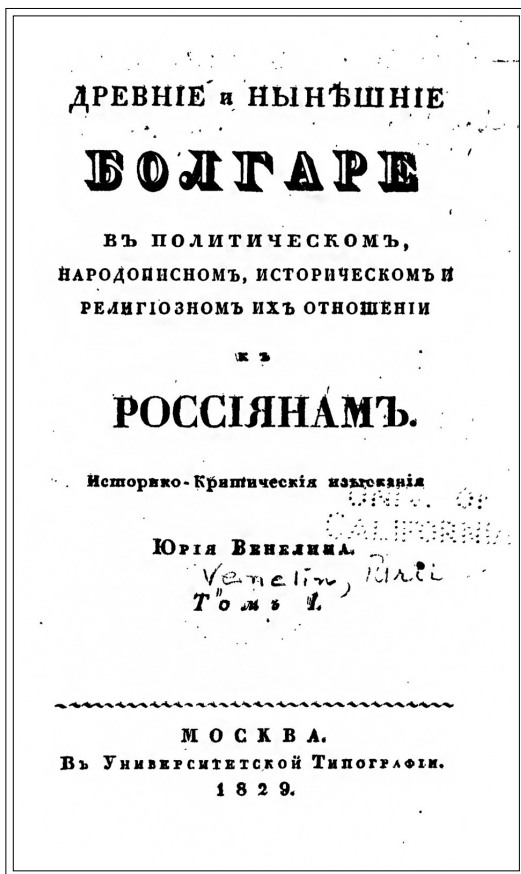
Thanks to help from acquaintances in Moscow and, particularly, from Pogodin, in 1830 he was sent on academic trip to Bulgaria by the Imperial Russian Academy. However, the conditions were unfavorable. According to the Adrianople Peace Treaty of 1829, Russian troops had by then left the Bulgarian lands. Venelin was able to visit only two war-ravaged Bulgarian cities: Varna and Silistra. On the positive side, his research in the archives of the Archdiocese of Bucharest

proved fruitful: there the scholar discovered many documents in the Slavic language from 14th to 17th centuries, which he subsequently prepared for publication. Venelin's work, *Walacho-Bulgarian or Daco-Slavic Documents*, received a favorable response from the academic A.Kh. Vostokov, though it was only published in 1840, that is, after the author's death, and long retained its academic importance.

The main purpose of Venelin's trip was to collect Bulgarian folk songs. The romantically inclined scholar believed folklore to be one of the most important sources of knowledge, not only of the character, customs and rites of the people, but also of its history. The fifty songs he collected were then included in Russian Slavicist P.A. Besonov's publication, *Bulgarian songs from the collections of Yu.I. Venelin, N.D. Kastranov and other Bulgarians* (Moscow, 1855. Vol. 1–2).

One of the main results of Venelin's scientific journey to the Balkan peninsula was *The Grammar of the Present Bulgarian Dialect*, completed by the scholar in 1834. However, the Russian Academy reacted negatively to it. It was published relatively recently: in 1997 it was printed by Russian philologist G. K. Venediktov.

In 1835 the Department of History and Literature of Slavic Dialects opened within the philological department of Moscow University's Faculty of Philosophy, whose head Venelin attempted to become. With this in mind, a year earlier he had created a "synopsis of teaching" of these disciplines, which was the first attempt to describe the course program of university-level Slavic studies. However, due to his lack of a degree in philology or history, Venelin did not have the right to head the department, according to the university's charter. Despite Pogodin's energetic support of Venelin's candidacy, Professor M.T. Kachenovsky (1775–1842) was selected as the chair. Venelin's manuscript of the program was itself published only in 1898.



*The title page of the book
"Ancient and Modern Bulgarians in their
Political, Folk, Historical and Religious
Relation to the Russians."*

Moscow, 1829

Venelin was very distressed by this series of failures but didn't abandon his academic studies. The scholar's only consolation was that his supporters in Moscow, who were members of the Society of History and Russian Antiquities (SHRA), elected him as a full member in 1832. Academic readings and discussions within the walls of SHRA continued at the literary evenings for which Moscow was famous in the 1830s–40s.

Venelin's sudden death in March 1839 shocked his friends and colleagues in SHRA. The publication of twelve of his scientific papers in the pages of the journal "Readings in the Society of Russian History and Antiquities" from 1846 to 1870 attests to their respect for him and his work. These papers were discovered in an archive of Venelin's works belonging to the Molnar family, and were then transferred to the SHRA, from where they ended up in the manuscript division of the Russian State Library. To date, about 70 of Venelin's writings, diary entries, and letters have been published.

Let us now turn to Venelin's famous book, "Ancient and Modern Bulgarians..." In the first quarter of the 19th century, academic research was dominated by the view of Western European scholars August Ludwig von Schlözer, Johann Christian von Engel, Johann Erich Thunmann et al., who believed that the Bulgarian horde of Khan Asparukh, which had come to the Balkans in the seventh century, was of Turkish-Tatar origin. Having settled among the Slavs, they blended into them, but left them their name, "Bulgarians." This point of view was shared by Russian historians N.M. Karamzin, M.T. Kachenovsky, et al. As for Venelin, he passionately defended the concept of the Slavic origin of the ancient Bulgarians and simultaneously refuted the idea of the Norman roots of the Russian people, constructed according to a similar scheme. He argued that the Bulgarian Slavic state had existed since ancient times, and its beginnings were lost in the chaos of the so-called Scythian world. The Turks overthrew this state at the end of the 14th century, but the Bulgarian people themselves did not disappear. There was simply little information about them, so the Europeans forgot about the Bulgarians. For this reason, they lost not only their statehood but also their history. The paucity of historical evidence and facts and the insubstantial exploration of the topic, combined with Venelin's ardent and romantic nature, caused him to speculate about many things using the power of his imagination. This work was not favorably received in academic circles.

The courage and novelty of the Venelin's ideas that the Slavs, prior to the sixth century, lived under other names won over N.P. Pogodin. He averred that none of the historians, who were trained in Schlözer's strict methodology, ever considered the historical existence of these people before the appearance of information about it in the chronicles and did not dare to look for traces of its existence before the sixth century.

However, everything changed when the Bulgarians discovered Venelin and his work; initially, these were Bulgarian emigrants living in Russia. This work had an extraordinary effect on them. Many of them had previously been ashamed

to admit their Bulgarian origin and had posed as Greeks. By virtue of his talent and love for Slavs, Venelin proved, first of all to the Bulgarians themselves, how splendid were the people to whom they belong, and how magnificent their history was. At the same time, he wrote about how sad it was that the Bulgarians' fate was now under the yoke of the Turks, that these glorious people are suffering under spiritual dominance of the Greeks and the deplorable state of education. The increased national self-awareness by representatives of the Bulgarian emigres encouraged them to work toward educating their people. V.E. Aprilov (1789–1847), a russified Bulgarian from Odessa and previously zealous hellenophile, together with his countrymen, rich Bulgarian merchants N. Palauzov and H. Mustakov, created a charitable institution to raise funds to construct a new type of secular Bulgarian school in the city of Gabrovo, i.e., within the territory of the Ottoman Empire. It became a model for other new educational institutions created in Bulgaria, which replaced the so-called “cell” elementary schools at monasteries and churches. Venelin's writings are representative of an entire era in the Bulgarian national consciousness. They were reflected in the work of such prominent figures of the Bulgarian national revival as G.S. Rakovsky, R. Zhinzifov, L. Karavelov, S. Palauzov, M. Drinov, D. Voynikov, V. Drumev, Petko Slaveykov, D. Chintulov, etc.

Venelin's death was regarded by many Bulgarians as that of someone close to them. The poet G. Peshakov, who had previously praised the scholar in an ode, responded to his death with a mournful poem, *“Weeping at the death of Yu.I. Venelin.”* It was no accident that in 1841 the Odessa Bulgarians, at their own expense, erected a monument on the grave of the scholar in Moscow's St. Danilov Monastery. The inscription carved on it read: “To Yury Ivanovich Venelin from the Odessa's Bulgarians. Born 1802 — died 1839. He reminded the world of the forgotten, but once glorious, powerful tribe of Bulgarians and ardently wanted to see its rebirth. Almighty God! Hear the prayer of your servant.” Unfortunately, this tombstone did not survive, however, the scholar's memory continues to live on in Bulgaria: surprisingly, his surname has become a common first name which many Bulgarians have chosen for their children.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Yury I. Venelin (1802–39).
2. A peasant house of the late 18th century in the village of Tibava. The inscription on the memorial plaque reads: "According to one hypothesis Yury Venelin-Hutsa was born in this house in 1802."
3. The title page of the book "Ancient and Modern Bulgarians in their Political, Folk, Historical, and Religious Relation to the Russians." Moscow, 1829.
4. The title page of the book "Ancient and Modern Bulgarians in their Political, Folk, Historical, and Religious Relation to the Russians." Moscow, 1856.
5. Ivan I. Molnar. A portrait of the artist S.I. Hlobystov, 1840.
6. Moscow University, created in 1755. First quarter of 19th century.
7. Mikhail P. Pogodin (1800–75). Lithograph. Prague, 1846.
8. Vasil Aprilov (1789–1847), the Russified merchant of Bulgarian origin who lived in Odessa.
9. Yu.I. Hutsa-Venelin; a memorial plaque in the town of Svalyava.
10. Memorial plaque-centographer to Yu.I. Venelin on the northern wall of the St Danilov Monastery in Moscow. The monastery cemetery, where the scholar was buried, was destroyed by the Bolsheviks after the 1917 revolution.

A.F. VELTMAN AND HIS STORY “RAINA, THE PRINCESS OF BULGARIA”¹

Abstract:

The article talks about talented writer A.F. Veltman (1800–70) and his story “Raina, the Princess of Bulgaria”, which was translated into Bulgarian and had a significant influence on Bulgarian readers and theater audiences. The article explores the creative mind of the author and determines his attitude towards the Bulgarian people through the study of the realities of Russian society of the first half of the 19th century, when A.F. Veltman lived and worked. This means looking at society, the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29, the activities of the Society of History and Russian Antiquities, and the historiography of the time. It should be emphasized that the idea of the historical predestination of Russia in the liberation of Bulgaria, which was embraced by the Bulgarian society of the second half of the 19th century with great enthusiasm and hope, is the leitmotif of Veltman’s entire novel.

Keywords:

A.F. Veltman, “Raina, the Princess of Bulgaria,” Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29, Moscow Society of History and Russian Antiquities, A.D. Chertkov.

Аннотация: М.М. Фролова. «А.Ф. Вельтман и его повесть «Райна, королева Болгарская».

В статье сообщается об одаренном писателе А.Ф. Вельтмане (1800–70) и его повести «Райна, королева болгарская», которая, будучи переведенная на болгарский язык, оказала значительное влияние на болгарского читателя и театрального зрителя. Исследование реалий русского общества первой половины XIX в., когда жил и творил А.Ф. Вельтман, а именно: русско-турецкой войны 1828–29 гг., деятельности Общества истории и древностей российских, существовавшей в тот период историографии, позволяет проникнуть в творческую лабораторию автора и выявить его позицию в отношении болгарского народа. Следует особо подчеркнуть, что через всю повесть Вельтмана проходит лейтмотивом идея исторического предопределения России в освобождении Болгарии, которая воспринималась болгарским обществом второй половины XIX в. с большим воодушевлением и надеждой.

Ключевые слова:

А.Ф. Вельтман, повесть “Райна, королева болгарская,” русско-турецкая война 1828–29 гг., Общество истории и древностей российских, А.Д. Чертков.

Alexander Fomich Veltman (1800–70) was a writer, poet, historian, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, director of the Moscow Armory, and a State Councilor at the end of his career. He graduated from a military academy which prepared junkers to become officers of the General Staff,

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004),

a prototype of the Academy of the General Staff, after which he served in Bessarabia. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29 Veltman received the Order of St Vladimir, 4th class, and the rank of captain. Due to illness, he retired in 1831 with the rank of lieutenant colonel and settled in Moscow, where he engaged in fruitful literary and social activities. His famous Literary Thursdays brought together famous writers, historians, artists and musicians.

He wrote 15 novels, dozens of novellas and short stories, became the founder of the genre of historical fantasy, and one of the first in world literature to use the device of time travel.

In 1843 his story *Raina, the Princess of Bulgaria* was published, which enjoyed great popularity among Bulgarian emigrants and in Bulgaria itself for half a century. In 1852 it was twice translated into Bulgarian by translators Helena Muteva and Joachim Gruev.

Dobri Voynikov created the drama “Raina the Princess,” on the basis of the story and for many years it was successfully performed on professional and amateur stages in Bulgaria and Walachia. Its subjects attracted artists: illustrations for Veltman’s “Raina” became a classic of Bulgarian fine art. The Bulgarian scholar D. Leikov noted that Veltman’s story had an “impact on the formation of artistic criteria and taste” of Bulgarians of the second half of the 19th century and “is felt” in the creative world of men of letters and writers in Bulgaria. It is considered to be quite well studied, but a careful reading reveals many previously unnoticed features of the era in which A. F. Veltman lived and worked.

What is this story about? It recounts the historical events of Bulgaria and Kievan Rus’ of the 10th century, about the campaigns in the Balkans of the Russian prince Svyatoslav, and his great love for the daughter of the Bulgarian king,² Peter, the princess Raina, about court intrigues in the struggle for the Bulgarian throne and the diplomatic cunning of the Byzantines. According to Russian and Byzantine historical sources, Prince Svyatoslav appeared in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephoros, to “fight in the Bulgarian land and keep it in his power.” But once in Bulgaria, he turned from an enemy of the Bulgarians into their ally and friend and helped Boris, the rightful heir to the throne,



Alexander F. Veltman.

Artist F. Berger,
copper engraving, dotted.
France / Russia, 1835

² Veltman used the title “king” for the sovereigns of Bulgaria, although in historiography they are called tsars. Bulgarian translators gave this title each in its own way: H. Muteva — as “king”, J. Gruev — as “prince”.

ascend the throne. Having received news of the Pechenegs' attack on Kiev and the illness of his mother, Princess Olga, Svyatoslav hastened to his homeland. Meanwhile, the Byzantine Emperor, John I Tzimiskes, invaded Bulgaria and captured its capital of Preslav. Svyatoslav returned to Bulgaria with an army of 10,000, but was forced to retreat at Dorostol (Silistra) in an unequal struggle with the Byzantine army of 100,000. Raina left her native land with her lover, and both of them perished from the arrows of the Pechenegs on the Dnieper rapids. And Bulgaria came under the two-century rule of Byzantium.

In search for the origins of the idea behind the story, literary historians believed the writer was introduced to the Bulgarian people and Bulgaria through the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29. However, one cannot agree with this assertion. In the novel *Wanderer* (1830–32), which brought Veltman fame, many pages were devoted to this war. They depict the movement of the Russian army from the Danube, through Pazardzhik to the fortresses of Shumla (Shumen) and Varna, and then its return to Iasi to their winter quarters. However, at the same time, there is no mention of the Bulgarians in any of the pages. More often than not, Moldavian speech is represented in the novel; its heroes and characters speak German, French, modern Greek, Turkish and Arabic. But you will not find a single phrase in Bulgarian in the work! An explanation for this is found in the memoirs of the participants of the 1828 Russian military campaign, who wrote about the absence of the Bulgarians in the cities and settlements occupied by the troops. This was because the Turks had forced the Bulgarians to leave with them without exception. And during the following year Veltman did not participate in the Russian army's famous Trans-Balkan campaign and therefore was unable to remember how hospitably the Bulgarians had welcomed Russian soldiers beyond the Balkan mountain range.

The writer's interest in Bulgaria apparently awakened a general atmosphere of heightened attention to the culture of the Slavs in the Society of History and Russian Antiquities (SHRA). In 1833 Veltman was unanimously accepted as a full member of the society after he presented the collection of books he had written, *An Outline of the Ancient History of Bessarabia* (Moscow, 1828) and *Song to the Militia of Igor Svyatoslavich* (Moscow, 1833), i.e., a translation of "The Song of Igor's Campaign." Veltman's activity in the SHRA was diverse and active, but unfortunately it has not yet been studied in detail.

In 1839 SHRA vice president Chertkov, a participant in the siege of Silistra in 1828, studied the famous manuscript of the Bulgarian translation of the Byzantine chronicle of Constantine Manasses (12th century) in the Vatican Library. In the margins of this manuscript, the 14th century Bulgarian translator provided information about his country's past in cinnabar. Chertkov ordered color copies of the miniatures with scenes of the baptism of the Rus', the entry of Prince Svyatoslav into Dristar (Dorostol), the battle of the Russians with the Bulgarians, the entry of Byzantine Emperor Tzimiskes into Preslav, and the battles of the Russians and Byzantines near Dorostol.

Russian scholarship of the 19th century was dominated by historiographer N.M. Karamzin's opinion on Prince Svyatoslav as "a model of great commanders" but "not the builder of the Russian state." For a long time, the prevailing view was that the Prince of Kiev had passed through Bulgaria with fire and sword, having captured Bulgarian Tsar Boris II (970–71). As for Chertkov, he was the first among Russian historians to single out facts that spoke of friendly, allied relations between the Bulgarians and the Russians. When the Byzantines captured the Bulgarian tsar and brought him to Tzimiskes, it turned out that the captive continued to wear the insignia of royal dignity and "was not imprisoned in chains by Svyatoslav." The Rus', the historian wrote, unlike the Byzantines, did not plunder the royal treasures. Of Chertkov's contemporaries, Veltman alone accepted the assumption about the existence of an alliance between the Russians and the Bulgarians. Almost a century later, the Bulgarian historian Petar Mutafchiev also responded positively to the matter of a possible Russian-Bulgarian alliance during the campaigns of Svyatoslav in the Balkans.

At SHRA meetings, Chertkov reported on his work on the book *Description of the War of the Grand Prince Svyatoslav Igorevich against the Bulgarians and Greeks in 967–971* (Moscow, 1843). Critically comparing its sources, the scholar produced a scrupulous analysis of information from the Byzantine chroniclers, Leo the Deacon (10th century), John Skylitzes (11th century) and Joannes Zonaras (12th century), *Tales of Bygone Years*, as well as the research of historians Jovan Raich, L.I. Stritter, S. LeBeau, and others. The logic of Chertkov's arguments and conclusions convinced Veltman. He accepted the scholar's version of the first campaign of the Kiev Prince as the conquest of a part of Bulgaria as an ally of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephoros II Phokas, and of the second campaign as the war of the Russians and the Bulgarians against Byzantium. Veltman's romantically ardent nature could not help but be enthralled by the vivid, dynamic and tragic images of the campaigns of Svyatoslav's army in Bulgaria. According to the recollections of Russian officers, during the war of 1828–29 in the Balkans, the Russian army in Bulgaria was invisibly accompanied everywhere by the "shadow of Svyatoslav."

Thanks to his literary talent, Veltman was able to translate the results of academic research and evidence from the chronicles about Svyatoslav's campaigns into remarkable artistic forms. At the same time, he managed to revive the narrative with the story of the extraordinary romantic love of Svyatoslav and Raina, whose remarkable image was the fruit of the writer's imagination.

Both Chertkov and Veltman wrote about medieval Bulgaria as a rich, powerful kingdom. The writer did not mince his words when describing the beauty and wealth of Bulgaria, the luxurious vestments and precious ornaments of Raina. The royal palaces in Preslav and Dorostol are described by him as magnificent chambers, which open on to wonderful views of the cities. And this was despite the fact that Veltman's memory reproduced a picture different from what he had seen in Bulgaria in 1828: "the unsightliness of houses, even of Turkish pasha, reminiscent of Ukrainian mud huts."

Veltman's story, "Raina, the Princess of Bulgaria," was widespread in Bulgaria, because it not only "embraced the national pride of the Bulgarians of that era" (as the Bulgarian scholar Ivan Shishmanov wrote), but also inspired confidence and hope that Bulgaria — a country with a glorious past — would certainly rid itself of Turkish oppression. The work loudly reverberated with the idea of the historical predetermination of Russia taking part in the liberation of Bulgaria. It was shared by all Russian officers, participants in the Russo-Turkish war of 1828–29, and Bulgarian readers of the second half of the 19th century shared it with great enthusiasm and hope.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. Veltman A.F. Artist F. Berger, copper engraving, dotted. France / Russia, 1835.
2. Veltman A.F. Drawing from a photograph of K.O., Fermentation, engraving by L.A. Seryako, 1860s.
3. A group portrait of employees led by M.N. Zagoskin and A.F. Veltman. Burdin N.A. The Armory in the Kremlin, 1846.
4. Muteva Helena. "Raina, Bulgarian Tsarkynia." St. Petersburg, 1852.
5. Gruiev Joachim. "Raina, Princess of Bulgaria." Belgrade, 1852.
6. Cover of the modern edition of "Raina, Princess of Bulgaria."
7. "The Unknown cuts off the head of the statue of Bellerophon." Bulgarian artist Nikolay Pavlovich's Lithography. Printed in Vienna by Renfenstein and Resch, 1874. [Bellerophon — a hero of Greek mythology, who performed his exploits on the winged horse Pegasus, winner of the evil monster Chimera. Note by M.M. Frolova].
8. "Vision to Tsar Peter." Bulgarian artist Nikolay Pavlovich. Lithography, 1874.
9. "Fainting Raina in the church." Bulgarian artist Nikolay Pavlovich. Lithography. Printed in Vienna by Renfenstein and Resch, 1874.
10. "The meeting of Princess Raina with her brothers and the Russian Prince Svyatoslav." Bulgarian artist Nikolay Pavlovich. Two-color lithography, 1860.

LYUDEVIT GUY: THE CROATIAN EDUCATOR, "ILLYRIAN" LEADER¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the life and work of the outstanding Croatian educator L. Guy (1809–72), notes the key stages of his emergence as a public figure and leader of the Illyrian movement. Significant attention is paid to covering Guy's contacts with Russia and the circumstances of his stay in Moscow.

Keywords:

L. Guy, J. Collar, "Great Illyria", I.I. Sreznevsky, M.P. Pogodin.

Аннотация: М.М. Фролова. «Хорватский просветитель и вождь «иллирийцев» Людевит Гай».

В статье рассматриваются жизненный путь и деятельность выдающегося просветителя Хорватии Л. Гая (1809–72), отмечаются основные этапы его становления как общественного деятеля и лидера иллирийского движения. Много внимания уделено освещению контактов Гая с Россией и обстоятельствам его пребывания в Москве.

Ключевые слова:

Л. Гай, Я. Коллар, «Великая Иллирия», И.И. Срезневский, М.П. Погодин.

L yudevit Guy (1809–72) was an outstanding Croatian educator, linguist, creator of the national alphabet, poet, journalist. He was born into the family of a wealthy pharmacist in the town of Krapina. When he was still a child, Guy became convinced that his homeland was the cradle of the Slavs. He had repeatedly heard the folk legend that in ancient times three brothers had lived in castles on the hills near the town of Krapina: Czech, Lech and Mech. Unwilling to submit to the Romans, they rebelled, but the forces were not equal. Fleeing enslavement, the brothers led their people away from these places, and their new settlements laid the foundation for Bohemia, Poland and Moscovia. Guy also remembered the words of his mother, who did not skimp on alms to the poor during lean years. She had repeatedly told him that poverty would go away and people would get rich after gaining knowledge from books printed in a language they understood. In Croatia, as is known, the language of the Catholic Church, clerical work, court and education for a long time was Latin, and in the Austrian Empire, which included Croatia, the official language in the 19th cen-

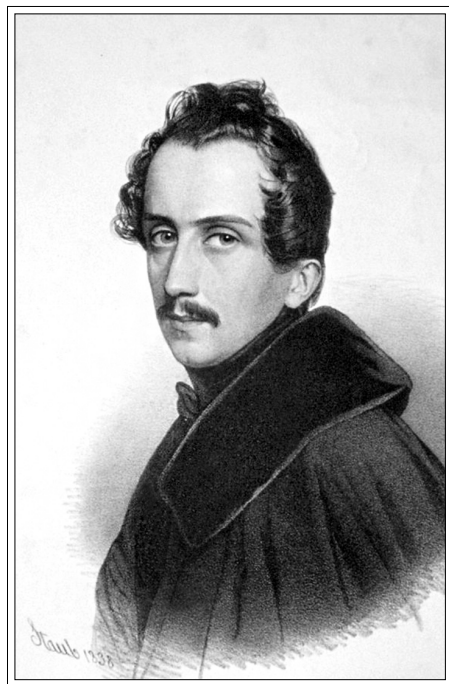
¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

tury. was German. The Croatian language itself had several main dialects (Kaikavian, Chakavian and Shtokavian), which derived their names from the pronunciation of the words for “what”: “kai,” “cha” and “shto.” The authors who wrote in these dialects adapted the Latin alphabet to their native speech at their own discretion. Thoughts about the kinship of the Slavs and the urgent need to have books in their native language determined Guy’s subsequent activities and, ultimately, his fate.

He first studied at the school at a Franciscan monastery (Varazhdin), at a gymnasium (Karlovats), at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna (1826), and then in Graz. Starting in 1829 he attended courses at Pest University in Hungarian Law, Literature and History. In Leipzig he received the title of “Doctor of Philosophy.” Young Guy diligently searched in libraries for information about his hometown, which he placed in

his first book, *Brevis description loci Krapinae* (“Brief Description of the Place of Krapina”). The author was then in his 15th year. Two years later, in 1826, he managed to publish it, when it was translated from Latin into German (“Die Schlösser bei Krapina”). Guy’s first poetic works, written in his native Kaikavian dialect, were also dedicated to the beauty of the Zagorye region. As a student, he studied the history of his people, collected songs and proverbs, became an active member of the circle in Graz called the Illyrian Club. This circle was multiethnic: in addition to Croats, it included Serbs and Slovenes. In it, Guy first became acquainted with the Cyrillic alphabet, learned the Shtokavian dialect and read Serbian folk songs published by Serbian linguist and folklorist Vuk Karadzich (1787–1864). Young people dreamed of educating their people through the establishment of schools, libraries, learned societies and museums.

In Pest Guy became acquainted with the Slovak pastor and preacher of Slavic cultural rapprochement, Yan Kollar (1793–1852). His idea of Slavic reciprocity, loudly voiced in the poem “Daughter of Glory,” received great recognition among Slavic youth. Kollar taught Guy the Czech language and shared his views on common Slavic spelling. In 1830 Guy published a grammar of the Croatian language *Kratka osnova brvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja* (“Concise Basis for a Croatian-Slavonic Orthography”), in which he emphasized the need to create a unified orthography for all Croats. Following the example of Czech writing,



*A portrait of
Lyudevit Guy*

he used the Latin alphabet and introduced superscripts to convey the sounds of Croatian speech. The Latin-based spelling subsequently began to be called "gaitsa" or "gaevitsa."

Guy possessed not only the oratorical skills and the ability to convince others, but also the charisma of a leader. Having a fairly extensive circle of acquaintances, he began to promote actively the idea of switching to a new script. This could be done most effectively if there were a newspaper, an organ around which the patriotic forces of the country could unite. Guy began to implement this idea after graduating from university, having settled in Zagreb in early 1832. However, the Hungarian authorities did not give him permission to publish a literary magazine. Guy then went to Vienna, where he was favorably received by Chancellor Prince Metternich (1821–48), and then by the Austrian emperor, Franz II (1768–1835) himself, who also agreed to the publication of a political newspaper. Starting in 1835, the first national newspaper, *Novine Horvatske* ("The News of Croatia"), with the literary supplement *Danicza horvatzka, slavonszka i dalmatinzka* ("The Daily Newspaper of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia"), began to be published in Zagreb. Nevertheless, Guy introduced the new spelling in it gradually. All materials printed in *Danicza* began to be published using the new pan-Croatian spelling, and in the Shtokavian dialect prevailing among Croats and most Serbs only from the 28th issue. This dialect stood out from the others for its great lexical wealth, and considerable literature had already been created in it.

The idea of "Great Illyria" was preached in the pages of this publication, in which on the basis of national and cultural rapprochement through literary and linguistic unification, all southern Slavs were to unite in the future in one state. The people ought to develop the need for reading, for the use of the Illyrian language to create their own theater, literature, music, establish libraries, scientific and other societies. In 1836 Guy changed the name of his newspaper to *Ilirske narodne novine* ("The Illyrian People's News") and the magazine to *Danica ilirska* ("The Illyrian Morning Star").

Guy's ideas won over the minds of the Croats. The success of his work was evident in the fact that in the early 1840s the signs on most Zagreb shops, hotels and pastry shops were made "in the Illyrian language." Traveling through the Slavic lands of the Austrian monarchy, the Russian scholar I.I. Sreznevsky, when he visited Zagreb on 20–30 March of 1841, testified to the fact that "the Croatian-Illyrian dialect" was heard everywhere in the city. He stated that in six years a significant literature had been created in it with a very impressive list of authors and their works. Among them, Sreznevsky believed that the first place, "if not according to the syllable and number of works, then in the spirit of excitement, and through his influence on all others, undoubtedly belongs to the unforgettable Guy." His poem "Croatia Has Not Yet Perished" was especially popular: it was put to music and could be heard at soirees, meetings, concerts and in the streets.

The Hungarian authorities did not allow Guy to open a printing house, and he was again forced to ask for support from emperor Ferdinand I (1835–48), who did not refuse it: in 1838 the printing house finally started operating. Professor of Moscow University N.I. Nadezhdin (1804–56) compared Guy with the famous Russian educator and publisher N.I. Novikov (1744–1818). He, according to him, also founded a printing house and “pours books into the people in their native language...”

At social gatherings and public concerts in Croatia, music was usually performed with singing in German or French. Guy was not a musician, but he began to listen to folk motifs, transpose patriotic verses to their tunes and tried to introduce folk songs into concert programs. In March 1835, at Guy’s insistence, countess Sidonia Erdedi (1819–84), who possessed a beautiful soprano voice, for the first time sang one Croatian song and Guy’s song, “Croatia Has Not Yet Perished.” This caused a real sensation in the society. After that, public evenings and balls began to be held, at which the Croatian language was heard exclusively.

Guy was received enthusiastically everywhere. His intention was to attract to his movement Orthodox Serbs and Bosnians who already had a diverse literature in Cyrillic. His printing house was in need of an appropriate font that could convey the ideas of Illyrism to a wider circle of Slavs with the help of the written word that they understood. Guy decided to turn for money and the Russian script to Russia, from which a number of Austrian Slavic scholars had received significant funds.

In 1840 he arrived in St. Petersburg. The Imperial Russian Academy granted the leader of “Illyria” a grant of 5,000 rubles in bank-notes. In Moscow the Croatian educator was greeted very cordially. Despite the unfavorable circumstances (there had been an unprecedented crop failure in Russia for two consecutive years, and the nobility had become impoverished), Muscovites raised the very significant sum of 17,500 rubles for Guy.

The Illyrian movement, which was gaining strength, met with serious opposition from the Hungarians, who did not abandon their intention to Magyarize the Croats. A segment of Croatian aristocrats and large landowners of the “Magyarons”, i.e., “Magyarophiles” also opposed him. They sought the political merger of Croatia and Slavonia with Hungary. The maelstrom of political struggle also took hold of Guy. He formulated the slogan “God bless the Hungarian constitution, the Kingdom of Croatia and the Illyrian people!” Consequently, he advocated autonomy within the Kingdom of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, as well as the cultural unification of the southern Slavs, primarily Croats, Serbs and Slovenes.

The intensity of the political passions in Croatia alarmed the Viennese government. Emperor Ferdinand I at first favored Guy, and even as a sign of the highest mercy and appreciation for his literary works, awarded him a diamond ring in 1839. However, then the monarch’s favor turned to anger. In accordance

with an imperial decree of 1843, the use of the concepts "Illyria" and "Illyrians" in the press was prohibited, and censorship was tightened. Guy had to change the name of his publications. However, two years later, due to increased Hungarian challenges, the Viennese court lifted its ban, relaxed censorship, and allowed the establishment of a department of Croatian language and literature at the Zagreb Academy. In 1847 the Croatian language was recognized as official in Croatia and Slavonia.

During the vicissitudes of the revolution of 1848, Guy was unable to maintain himself at the same level. He didn't have enough political sense and foresight, and his opponents were more skilled. In addition, he was very impractical in money matters. In the 1840s, at the height of his fame, Guy led a luxurious lifestyle: he arranged endless receptions, and the doors of his house were always hospitably open to the mass of patriots who came to Zagreb. In 1850, due to financial difficulties, Guy had to hand over his publications together with the printing press to the Viennese government and withdraw into the shadows. His periodic attempts to return to the sociopolitical life of the country were unsuccessful. The last 15 years of his life he was very badly off. Incidentally, in 1867, Guy managed to come to Russia to the Slavic Congress, but here he was lost among the crowd of guests.

In 1909, during the festivities in Croatia on the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lyudevit Guy, the famous Croatian scholar V. Jagich (1838–1923) praised the contribution of the national educator to the written culture of the country and compared his merits with those of the famous Serb Vuk Karadžich.

Guy was neither a gifted writer nor a venerable scholar nor a major politician, but he was able to awaken the dormant forces of the Croatian people. He became one of the most brilliant and active representatives of Illyrianism, that "axis" around which, according to Yan Kollar, the "spiritual and popular life in Zagreb and even the whole of Croatia" revolved.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. A portrait of Lyudevit Guy.
2. Lyudevit Guy. Portrait.
3. Lyudevit Guy. Portrait.
4. Krapina.
5. The house-museum of Lyudevit Guy in Krapina.
6. Yan Collar. Portrait.
7. Title page: *Kratka osnova brvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja*.
8. The title page of *Danica ilirska*.
9. The title page of *Novine Horvatzke*.
10. Illyrian coat of arms.
11. Lyudevit Guy. Zagreb.
12. Lyudevit Guy. Memorial in Krapina.
13. Lyudevit Guy. Postage stamp.



*ALA G.
SHESHKEN*

THE MONTENEGRIN POET AND RULER, PETAR II PETROVICH NEGOSH

Abstract:

The article talks about the representative of the national revival of the Southern Slavs, Petar II Petrovich Negosh (1813–51), the ruler of Montenegro, poet and writer, who had a great influence on the development of the national identity of the Montenegrins. The main theme of his creativity was the struggle of the people against Ottoman Turkey. In his poems, dramas and lyrics, he outlined with great artistic persuasiveness the persistent national character of the Montenegrins and their cult of valor and heroic characteristics. Negosh's works enriched the national literature in terms of genre and made a great contribution to the development of expressive capabilities in the native language. His works are a part of the national picture of the world, many of them have been used in citations.

Keywords:

Negosh, Montenegro, poetry, classicism, romanticism.

Аннотация: А.Г. ШЕШЕКЕН». «ЧЕРНОГОРСКИЙ ПОЭТ И ПРАВИТЕЛЬ ПЕТАР II ПЕТРОВИЧ НЕГОШ».

В статье рассказывается о представителе эпохи Национального возрождения южных славян, Петре II Петровиче Негоше (1813–51) — правителе Черногории, поэте и писателе, оказавшем большое влияние на развитие национального самосознания черногорцев. Главной темой его творчества была борьба народа против османской Турции. В своих поэмах, драмах и лирике он с большой художественной убедительностью обрисовал стойкий национальный характер черногорцев и свойственный им культ доблести и героизма. Произведения Негоша обогатили национальную литературу в жанровом отношении и внесли большой вклад в развитие изобразительных возможностей родного языка. Произведения являются частью национальной картины мира, многие из них были разобраны на цитаты.

Ключевые слова:

Негош, Черногория, поэзия, классицизм, романтизм.

Petar II Petrovich Negosh (in Montenegr. — Petar Petrovič Njegoš, 1813–51) is outstanding Montenegrin and Serbian poet and statesman of the first half of the 19th century, a bright representative of South Slavic romanticism. He belonged to the ruling Negosh dynasty. At birth he received the name Radi-voy (Rade). After the death of his uncle, Petar I Petrovich-Negosh (1830), he became the lord of Montenegro, inheriting the highest secular and spiritual power,

in connection with which he took monastic vows in 1831 and became an Archimandrite under the name of Petar II Petrovich. In 1833 in Russia he was consecrated as a Bishop; in 1844 the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church elevated him to the rank of Metropolitan. Negosh's work brilliantly reflects the era of the national revival of the southern Slavs, which entered a decisive phase in their struggle for deliverance from Ottoman rule. Negosh's poems, dramas and lyrics depicted the persistent national character of the Montenegrins, the cult of valor and heroism (*chojštva i junaštva*) peculiar to this people. His works enriched the national literature in terms of genre and made a great contribution to development of the native Montenegrin poetical language.



*A portrait of
Petar II P. Negosh*

Negosh did not receive a systematic education, but he knew several foreign languages and had a wide knowledge in the fields of literature (from Homer, whom he translated, to Byron and Pushkin), history, philosophy and theology. A decisive influence on the formation of his creative personality was made by the educated and talented people from his inner circle: uncle, lord and poet Petar I Petrovich and the famous Serbian poet Sima Milutinovich-Sarayliya, who participated in the uprisings against the Turks. Russian literature had a great influence on him: in the poet's library there were works by such famous Russian authors as Lomonosov, Derzhavin, Pushkin and others. Negosh didn't have the opportunity to meet Pushkin in person, but when he visited Russia, he honored the memory of the great Russian poet by visiting his grave in 1837.

As a truly national poet, Negosh devoted all his work to the centuries-old confrontation between the Montenegrins and Ottoman Turkey, in which a small but persistent people remained undefeated. The poet's lyrics are distinguished by a deep, organic connection with folklore: his early poems were written in the spirit of folk poetry, using its imagery, size and rhythm. They were included in a collection published in 1834, *Lijek jarosti turske* ("The Cure for the Turkish Fury"). In a poem dedicated to A.S. Pushkin, *Slobodijada* ("The Freedom Song", 1835), Negosh described the Montenegrins' battles with numerous enemies — Turks, Venetians and French — for more than a century, from 1711 to 1813. These works, and especially the collection's odes, *Pustinjak Cetinje* ("The Her-

mit of Tsetinye", 1834), reflected such features of Negosh's poetry as a combination of classicism and romanticism inspired by the poetry of Lomonosov, Derzhavin and Mushijsky. The latter — romanticism — gradually started to prevail in Negosh's work.

This was reflected in his works of various genres, in particular in the epic philosophical poem *Luča mikrokozma* ("The Ray of the Microcosm", 1845). The poet writes in it about the creation of the world and of man, the latter's expulsion from paradise, and the battle of God the Creator and Satan. In terms of genre and type of narrative, it is close to the poem "Paradise Lost" by John Milton. The battle between the forces of light and darkness in it unfolds on a universal scale and develops with a tragic intensity of passion, for Satan is almost equal in power to God. The confrontation ends with the victory of the Creator, who illuminated the battlefield with his divine ray and defeated the forces of evil. In the poem, Negosh questions the origin of evil in the world and the reason for the suffering of man, while providing his own explanation for the circumstances of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise. It differs from the biblical canon: according to the poet, the first man and his descendants believed in Satan and fought in the universal fateful battle of light and darkness on the side of evil. For this sin, like others, man must atone on earth. Negosh considers pride and envy to be the most terrible of sins, as they are directly related to the forces of destruction.

The pinnacle of Negosh's poetry is his poem *Gorski Wijenac* ("The Mountain Crown", 1847). It has been translated into many foreign languages and gained worldwide fame. Its dedication ("Ashes to the Father of Serbia") is addressed to the leader of the First Serbian Uprising (1804–13) Karageorgi. Negosh calls him "immortal", because he, "despite all obstacles, achieved a great goal: he raised the people in the name of the Cross, destroyed the barbarian chains, called the Serbs from the dead and breathed souls into the Serbs". The plot of "The Mountain Crown" is based on the dramatic clashes of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the historical period when the founder of the Negosh dynasty, Bishop Danilo, realized the need to unite all Montenegrins in fighting against the Turks. The most dangerous then were the compatriots, "Turchens", who converted to Islam and sided with the enemies invading the country, taking part in the ruin of the Mon-



The cover of the first edition of "The Mountain Crown," 1847

tenegrin city of Tsetinye and the Montenegrin spiritual capital — the Tsetinye monastery. Relying on the support of the people, Bishop Danilo decided to expel the Turchens from Montenegro. However, at the same time he experiences a tragic internal conflict. A sense of duty tells him to act decisively and harshly, but a desire to employ humane means makes him think about the tragedy of the coming conflict between compatriots: there is one blood, their faiths are different, but they are all Montenegrins. Danilo is afraid of many deaths and the custom of blood feud, which could wipe out all the Montenegrin people. However, the current situation leaves him no choice, and on Christmas Eve the traitors are expelled from Montenegro.

Among the poem's many vivid images, its main protagonist, the people, comes to the fore. All the major episodes of the poem are mass scenes in which the voices of representatives of the tribes and brotherhoods sound. The people's opinion is expressed in the song performed during the *Kolo* (round dance). The collective song, as a kind of choir of ancient Greek tragedy, offers an assessment of the events that have occurred, glorifies the dead and inspires people to victory. The proponent of the highest folk wisdom is the old blind abbot Stefan, who strengthens the Montenegrins' determination to defend their freedom: "die with glory, since you must die".

Negosh devotes much attention to portraying the national character of the Montenegrins. He tells of their history, recalls the glorious Nemanich kingdom, sees in his characters the descendants of the heroes of the Kosovo battle of 1389, who did not want to submit to the Turkish sultan, took refuge in the mountains and continued to fight for their faith. At the same time, the choir, in the spirit of folk poetry, blames princely strife for defeat in the Kosovo field. The Kosovo myth and the cult of the hero of the battle, the knight Milosh Obilich (who used his cunning to penetrate the tent of Sultan Murad I and stab him with in the midst of the battle), are an important part of "The Mountain Crown". Almost all the heroes of the poem see Milosh Obilich in a dream in white robes on the eve of the decisive battle with the Turchens. The dream is interpreted by them as a good omen.

The author sees the purpose of his people in the stubborn struggle for freedom. The main element of the Montenegrin national character is the desire to be a warrior. After all, the Montenegrins, according to Negosh, are not capable of being, like the Venetians, successful merchants, or becoming prosperous artisans or farmers, for there is almost no fertile land in the country. The main attributes of heroes are their willingness to sacrifice and patriotism. For Montenegrins, the world of harsh mountains, nature, the sounds of dulcimers and songs glorifying heroes are absolute values. This world is contrasted with the Western world, using the example of Venice, which is depicted by the author satirically: it is stuffy, there is no air, men are all fat and pampered. The world of the East (Turkish) is no better, i.e., extremely alien to the Montenegrins. The poem provides many everyday details of the lives of the people: national costumes,

customs, rites and superstitions. Montenegrins believe in dreams, although they often laugh at their interpretation, they divine on the bones of animals: a sheep's shoulder blade. The amusements of young people are described in the poem, as well as the high-spirited games that make future warriors bold and agile.

The title of the poem "The Mountain Crown" is a multi-layered metaphor. This is the crown of mountain peaks, among which the Slavic people live. At the same time, this is the crown of martyrdom: the mountains are littered with the bones of warriors who laid down their heads for a just cause. This is also the crown with which the winners are crowned: the author of the poem believes that his native people will overcome their enemies, and the heroes will remain in the bright memory of their descendants. This is the crown of young brides — a hairstyle adorning the head of a young woman. However, such a crown is not worn for long — brides quickly become widows and, as a sign of mourning, cut off their hair (there is an episode about this in the poem). The intensity of tragedy in such episodes is achieved due to the elevated tone and the solemnity of sound, emphasized by the use of Church Slavonic vocabulary. At the same time, some episodes are colored with humor, jokes and the sound of laughter, which brings to the text the immediacy of lively colloquial speech. The abundance of aphoristic sayings in the poem has led to the widespread use of quotations in the everyday speech of Montenegrins. "The Mountain Crown" is still one of the most famous and beloved works in Montenegro, and many can quote entire passages from this poem by heart.



*The Mausoleum of Petar P. Negosh in Lovchen,
Montenegro*

Montenegrins' traditional sympathies for Russia are reflected in almost all of the writer's works, including the last of them. This is the historical drama *Lažni car Scepan Mali* ("The Impostor Stepan the Small", 1847), which talks about the historical events of the last quarter of the 18th century. It was then that an impostor appeared in Montenegro, posing as the Russian Tsar Peter III. The Montenegrins recognized his royal title and entrusted him with the government of the country. The impostor took the name Stepan (the name of one of the representatives of the Serbian Nemanich dynasty) and ruled Montenegro for six years, from 1767 to 1773. Stepan Mali was not forgotten by the people, who "recalled only what was precious", but almost no documents about him have been preserved. Negosh based his tragedy on "folk tradition" and on documents found in Venetian archives, but "he himself added nothing". The author refers to this historical fact, "in view of the importance of the event and its singularity". In the preface to the publication, he wrote: "Stepan Mali was a liar and a vagabond, but his reign under the name of the Russian tsar became a famous era for Montenegro and its neighbors". Stepan laid the foundations of the modern state system, built the judicial system, installed memorials in honor of the major victories of the Montenegrins over the Turks. The Montenegrins rallied around the liar, which caused great concern among hostile neighbors. The Venetian Republic and the Turks tried to force the Montenegrins to hand over the "Russian Tsar", exerting various kinds of pressure on the Montenegrins. They were promised the delivery of food, weapons and gunpowder, if they agreed to hand over Stepan. The Montenegrins were not seduced by such promises, and then the Turks sent their strong army against them, but it was defeated. The enemies of Montenegro achieved their goal only with the help of bribery and deceit: the liar Stepan was killed by an assassin.

Negosh was an outstanding man of his time. He maintained close contacts with prominent figures of that era: the enlighteners Vuk Karadzich and Lyudev- vit Guy. Negosh is a great poet whose works continue to live in the national consciousness of Montenegrins.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. A portrait of Petar P. Negosh.
3. Tsetinye monastery.
4. Sima Milutinovich-Saraylya, the teacher of Petar P. Negosh.
5. The cover of the first edition of "The Ray of the Microcosm," 1845.
6. The cover of the first edition of "The Mountain Crown," 1847.
7. The cover of the first edition of "Imposter Stepan the Small," 1851.
8. The Mausoleum of Petar P. Negosh in Lovchen, Montenegro.
9. Monument to Petar P. Negosh in the center of Belgrade, 1994.
10. Bank-note with a portrait of Petar P. Negosh.

POET BLAZHE KONESKI: THE “CONSTRUCTOR” OF MACEDONIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

Abstract:

The article talks about Blazhe Koneski (1921–93), the founder of modern Macedonian literature, poet, narrator, translator, scholar and a founder of the Faculty of Philology of the University of Skopje and the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts. His collection of poems “The Embroiderer” (1955) contains real masterpieces of national lyrics. He has created national poetic masterpieces dedicated to love and landscape, philosophical and patriotic poetry. In his writings he uses a variety of folk tradition and the richness of its themes. He has translated into Macedonian many prominent poets such as Alexander Blok, Adam Mitskevich, Heinrich Heine and others.

Keywords:

Blazhe Koneski, Macedonian literature, national poetry, folk tradition, sonnet.

Аннотация: А.Г. ШЕШКЕН. «“СТРОИТЕЛЬ” МАКЕДОНСКОГО ЛИТЕРАТУРНОГО ЯЗЫКА, ПОЭТ БЛАЖЕ КОНЕСКИЙ».

В статье речь идет о Блаже Конеском (1921–93) — основоположнике современной македонской литературы, поэте, прозаике, переводчике, ученом, основателе филологического факультета университета в Скопье и Македонской академии наук и искусств. Его поэтический сборник «Вышивальщица» (1955) относится к шедеврам национальной лирики. Он создал замечательные образцы национальной любовной, пейзажной, философской и патриотической поэзии. В них были творчески использованы фольклорная традиция — богатство ее мотивов, символики и ритмики — и опыт европейской поэзии XIX–XX вв. Ему принадлежат переводы на македонский язык произведений А. Блока, А. Мицкевича, Г. Гейне и др.

Ключевые слова:

Блаже Конеский, македонская литература, македонская поэзия, фольклорная традиция, сонет, элегия.

Blazhe Koneski (1921–93) was a first-rate Macedonian poet, prose writer, translator, scholar, the founder of modern Macedonian literature as well as a public figure. Coming from a simple peasant family, after receiving his education at Belgrade and Sofia universities, he became one of the major figures in the country’s scientific, social and cultural life. He participated in the compilation of the first orthographic code of the Macedonian language (1945), was the creator of “A Grammar of Standard Macedonian” (1952–54), served as the editor of the three-volume “Macedonian Dictionary” (1961–66), and wrote a number of studies on the history of Macedonian literature. He was the rector of the



Blazhe Koneski

University of Sts Cyril and Methodius in Skopje (1958–60), the first president of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (1967–75), the first chairman of the Union of Writers of Macedonia (1946), and the editor of the first literary journal in the Macedonian language, “The New Day” (1945–50).

Koneski’s name is associated with the genesis of modern Macedonian literature. He began publishing at the age of 24 and became the author of 16 collections: 15 of poetry and one of prose. He translated Petar Petrovich Negosh’s poem “The Mountain Crown”, and many poems by Heinrich Heine, Alexander Blok, Valery Bryusov, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Eduard Bagritsky, Adam Mitskevich, Juliush Slovatsky, Zygmunt Kraśinski, Julian Tuwim, K. Macha, Yan Neruda, P. Brezuch, Yirzhi Volker, Vitezslav Nezval and others. At the

beginning of his career, Koneski was heavily influenced by the poetry of Vladimir Mayakovsky. From the 1950s onward, the aesthetic basis of his work changed significantly; the range of his exploration in the field of form expanded enormously. He showed an interest in realism, romanticism, symbolism and acmeism but remained indifferent to expressionism and surrealism, towards which many poets of Macedonia gravitated in the second half of the 1950s and 1960s.

Among the most striking Macedonian literary masterpieces of the revolutionary era is Koneski’s poem, “The Bridge” (1945). The poet dedicated it to the revolution and the socialist transformation of the country, the exploits of the partisans and free labor. This poem, imbued with romantic pathos, synthesizes the traditions of folk poetry, the experience of the first national poet, Kocho Ratsin, and modern lyrics. Koneski strove for the maximum diversity of rhythm and stanza, to the extent of combining syllabic and tonic verses within the framework of one work.

Koneski’s lyric poetry of the 1950s and 1960s constitutes the classical foundation of Macedonian poetry, combining simplicity of style and philosophical depth, relying on the traditions of folklore and European literature. It is characterized by musicality and a richness of rhythm and strophe pattern. His poetry collection “The Embroiderer” (1955) marked a new stage in the development of Macedonian literature. It contains love, philosophical and patriotic lyrics, samples of syllabonic tonic poetry and free verse (“The Embroiderer,” “Angel of St Sophia”, “Image”, “Stranger”, “Peace”, “From the Train Window”, “Patient

Deutchin”, “Simply and Sternly”). A consistent motif of Koneski’s lyric poetry was reflection on the poet and poetry. In the programmatic poem “The Embroiderer,” Koneski formulates his poetic credo: to write “simply and strictly” based on national traditions. The second edition of the 1961 collection was supplemented by the “Stern” cycle, in which the motif of performing a feat is closely tied to the formulation of existential problems of life and death, good and evil. The collection was edited by the poet, its composition changed; and it acquired its final form only in 1990.

Koneski’s poetic creativity of the 1970s and 1980s is represented by a number of poetry collections, which are characterized by a wealth of themes and motifs, expressive imagery and the modest beauty of his language and style. It also displayed significant exploration in the field of versification, with Koneski using a variety of styles, from sonnet to free verse (“Notes,” 1974). The poet became the spokesman for the joys and sorrows of his courageous and long-suffering countrymen. His images of simple peasant women in the poetic cycle “The Lives of the Saints” (“The Life of Bona”, “The Life of Tasa Boyanoska”, “The Assumption of Aunt Menka”) are the embodiment of the nation’s tragic fate. In the collection “Epistle”, he discusses the place of the poet and poetry in society, the complex and multifaceted manifestations of poetic inspiration (verse “Poetics”, 1987). Reflections on this subject raise the underlying problems of the philosophy of creativity. Koneski considered “thought” and “rhythm” to be key in his poetry. In his ironically playful poem built on the stylistic device of onomatopoeia, “Ars poetica”, the author expresses the idea of the need to work painstakingly on poetic expression so that it sounds “easy and soft, strong but gentle, sympathetic and ardent with bitter experience and suppressed pain”.

In the collections “Poems Old and New” (1979), “Sources” (1984), and “Church” (1988), Koneski discussed the meaning of life, referring to memories of childhood and youth. Throughout the 80s philosophical ideas increasingly occupied a place in his poetry. Reflecting on the ruthless movement of time, the poet created a collection of sonnets, demonstrating the continuing relevance of this classic genre of European lyric poetry (“Sources”). In the poems “Kocho Ratsin”, “Che Guevara”, “Troy” and in pointedly intimate mini-portraits (“Grandfather Kone” and “Ann”), the poet raises the problem of death and immortality, which became one of the mainstays in his lyric poetry. In a collection written near the end of his life (“The Heavenly River”, 1991), the lyrical hero is captured by the theme of earthly and eternal life, and in his very last poetry collection, “The Black Ram” (1993), one senses a premonition of imminent death.

“The Vineyard” (1955), a collection of short stories on the theme of childhood, urban and rural everyday life, contains one of the first examples of Macedonian psychological prose. One senses that it is based on the traditions of a Chekhov short story. The author pays great attention to the social environment, outlined in several bright strokes, and to portrait, subject and landscape details. The interior space of his prose is always wider than the plot outlined.

The narrative tone and special atmosphere of his stories are underpinned by his concise language and use of understatement. Especially significant are those stories which center around the image of a child naively and directly perceiving life and learning its first, often painful lessons (“Shoes”).

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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7. Monument to Blazhe Koneski. Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts.
8. Blazhe Koneski. Photo.
9. The house-museum of Blazhe Koneski in Nebregovo.
10. A bank-note with the image of Blazhe Koneski.

KOCHO RAT SIN: THE FIRST MACEDONIAN NATIONAL POET

Abstract:

The article is devoted to Kocho Ratsin (Solev, 1908–43), the first Macedonian national poet. He published his poems under a pseudonym in honor of a girl he was unrequitedly in love with. Kocho Ratsin was also a member of Yugoslavian revolutionary movement of 1920–30s and fought for the recognition of Macedonians as a separate nation. He died during the Second World War fighting with partisan group against the Nazis. His only published collection of poems *Beli Mugri* (“The White Dawns”, 1939) was dedicated to poverty and the plight of his nation. The main themes of his work were social injustice and protest against exploitation. Ratsin’s verse is naturally linked to the tradition of Macedonian folk poetry.

Keywords:

Kocho Ratsin, Macedonian literature, social protest poetry, folklore, collection “The White Dawns.”

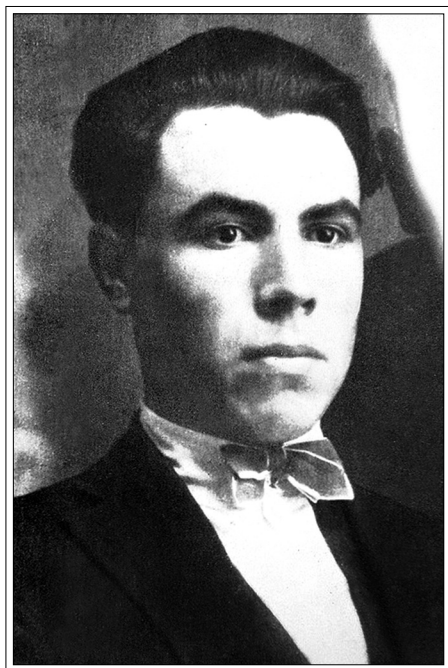
Аннотация: А.Г. Шешкен. «Первый национальный македонский поэт Кочо Рацин».

Статья посвящена Кочо Рацину (Солеву, 1908–43) — первому македонскому национальному поэту. Он публиковался под псевдонимом, образованном от имени девушки, в которую был безответно влюблен. Являлся участником революционного движения Югославии 1920–30-х гг. и борцом за признание македонцев отдельным народом. Погиб во время Второй мировой войны, сражаясь в партизанском отряде против фашистов. Его единственный сборник стихов *Бели мугри* («Белые рассветы», 1939) был посвящен бедственному положению народа. Мотивы социальной несправедливости и протеста против эксплуатации были главными в его творчестве. Стих Рацина органично связан с традицией македонской народной поэзии.

Ключевые слова:

Кочо Рацин, македонская литература, поэзия социального протеста, фольклор, сборник «Белые рассветы».

Kocho Ratsin was born in Veles into the family of a poor artisan potter, who was unable to provide his son with access to a systematic education. Ratsin inherited a love for the beauty of his native language from his grandfather, a singer and musician who played at rural holidays, and his mother, a well-known performer of folk songs. He was very naturally gifted, drew well, learned Russian, Czech and German, read in French, and used every opportunity to visit the library, studying works on philosophy and culture as well as historical materials related to Macedonia’s past. As an individual, Ratsin was molded by



Kocho Ratsin

the country's socialist movement of the 1920s–30s. A thirst for social justice and the emergence of national literature in their native language were closely associated by the Macedonians with the struggle for national identity in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which did not recognize it and which prohibited the official use of the Macedonian language. Ratsin was a member of the workers' movement and the editor of the illegal newspaper *Iskra* ("The spark," 1934), the Communist Party's press organ, published illegally in Skopje. He was arrested and imprisoned for publicly reading his revolutionary poems (1932–34). He died prematurely during the Second World War, fighting in a partisan group against the Nazis and was buried in Kichevo.

Ratsin's social origins awakened in him a desire for social justice at an early age, and predetermined the themes and

ideological pathos of his early works. He identified with the movement of "social literature", whose press organs ("Criticism" and "Literature" in Zagreb, *Snaga* / "The Strength" in Sarajevo, *Radnik* / "The Worker" in Zagreb and *Mladost* in Belgrade) became interested in the work of the young author "of the workers" and began to publish his poetry, prose and critical articles. Ratsin's early poetry, and particularly his prose, often demonstrated a simplistic sociological view of artistic creation, its themes and problems. In the second half of the 1930s, having entered a period of creative maturity, he began to pay serious attention not only to content, but also to the artistic aspect of creativity. At first, he produced poetry, prose and criticism in the Serbian language; in those years publishing works in Macedonian was forbidden. His first collection of poems about his unrequited love for the girl Ratsa, "Anthology of Pain" (1928), remained unpublished. This was the origin of the poetic pseudonym he chose for himself, "Ratsin", that is, belonging to his beloved Ratsa.

He made his literary debut in 1928 in the journal "Criticism" with the programmatic poem *Sinovij Gladi* / "Sons of Hunger." It reflected the young author's intention to write on behalf of downtrodden workers ("...I have nothing... I am the son of hunger"), who were humiliated and insulted ("contempt and laughter are the rewards received from everyone"), and in whose souls hate of their oppressors is born and ripens into a protest of immense power. The early Ratsin gravitated towards expressionism, with its penchant for abstraction, baring of

emotions, grotesque imagery, and a fantastic, “mystical” vision of the world. The motifs of “pain”, “terrible scream” and “hunger” run through all of his work, undergoing changes along the way.

Ratsin’s lyrics from the years 1928–33 openly called for a revolutionary re-organization of the world (*Vatromet* / “Fireworks”). His prose from those years [stories, excerpts from the novel *Afion* (“Opium” — in Serbian)] was notable for its open bias, journalistic bent, social protest and satirical denunciation of the ruling class. The story *U kamenolomu* (“In the quarry”, 1931), about the death of workers as a result of an explosion, was recognized by the magazine *Literature* as the winner of its short story contest.

The most fruitful and significant new period in Ratsin’s creative development came after his arrest and imprisonment in a penal camp in 1934–35. Without losing its sharp ideological orientation, his poetry of the second half of the 1930s gradually departs from abstract and overly expressive images and takes on concrete national outlines. Ratsin began to write in the Macedonian language; the power of a living spoken language became the basis of his lyrics, because in the folk songs of Macedonia he caught “its prayer, the reflection of its soul and its breath”.

The lyrics he produced in Macedonia during the years 1936–39 were consolidated in the collection *Beli Mugri* (“The White Dawns”, Zagreb, 1939). For reasons of secrecy, its circulation was printed in the vicinity of Zagreb in a private printing house. The collection was distributed illegally but quickly became famous and gained recognition. The new poet was mentioned in the leftist press. It consisted of a dozen poems and two poetic cycles *Elegii za tebe* (“Elegies to You”) and *Na Struga djukyan da imam* (“Would I have a workshop in Struga”), creating an image of Macedonia and its long-suffering people. The poet’s gaze was drawn to people who were close and dear: a Macedonian girl who dreamed of a happy marriage but died of tuberculosis (*Lenka*), a peasant whose entire crop was killed by frost (*Selska Maka* / “Peasant Labor”), a married couple at the moment of separation, when the husband leaving for work senses that he will not return alive (*Proshtevane* / “Farewell”), artisans once known for their craftsmanship but now ruined (the cycle *Na Struga djukyan da imam*).

Approaching the pillars of national life entailed a considerable change in his poetic arsenal and a change in the lyrical hero and was reflected in the form of the poem and the nature of its genre. Ratsin uses the motifs, imagery, metaphors and epithets of folk poetry.

The poet still openly declared his ideological stance. He observed that the peasant all “his century has been working for nothing / all for someone else’s barn”. The sharper ideological orientation and tendentiousness of the verse helped to bring both the “object” of the lyrics (tobacco collectors, unemployed artisans, peasants working from dawn to dawn) and the author’s ideas unto focus: he openly expressed and doggedly repeated his belief that the world’s structures were unjust, and advocated for their change. The lyrical hero is overcome

with love and sympathy for his native land and its people, and this colors the poet's lyrics in elegiac tones. One of the collection's cycles is called "Elegies to You". They, however, have no specific addressee. "You" is the land of Macedonia, on whose behalf the poet dreams of gaining a better and more equitable share. And although the author, as before, is waiting for the "dawn", the revolution, he clothes this expectation in poetic formulations that are close to folk poetry, using the octanarian meter characteristic of folklore. Ratsin's technique of employing antithesis, a tradition of folk lyrics, serves to increase the ideological pathos of the verse by using this technique to the fullest extent. In the collection, epithets peculiar to folklore are widely and constantly used *sindzbir zhelezni* / "iron chain," *solntse svetlo* / "the sun is bright," *gora zelena* / "green forest," *voda studena* / "cold water," *luti rani* / "cruel wounds," *izvori bistri* / "quick springs," metaphors, personifications and repetitions.

Popular folk songs are a kind of subtext, while receiving a new interpretation. In the poem "Lenka," the words of one of the most famous songs in Macedonia, "Bilyana, the canvas was white", were taken as an epigraph. But unlike the folk song, Ratsin's young girl withered early and died of hard work. In the cycle "Would I have a workshop in Struga," the lyrical hero bitterly recalls the former wealth of the city, the gold and silver craftsmen, i.e., the times when the folk song of the same name was born. It is filled with joyful, cheerful content. In it an unnamed author sings that the workshop in Struga would help him become a rich and an enviable groom. Ratsin's lyrical hero, on the other hand, lives hand to mouth. In the creator's poetry, the motif of the anti-Turkish uprising of 1903 on St. Elijah's Day is also developed, transformed into a symbol of eternal striving for freedom.

The poem "Diggers" in its emotions echoes Ratsin's early poetry in Serbian. It contains a protest against social oppression and glorifies the working man. In it, Ratsin refers to the "descendants of Grandfather Bogomil," the leader of the heretical religious movement, which the poet called the first carrier of the idea of social equality in Europe. On this subject, Ratsin wrote two articles: "The Bogomils" and "The Peasant Movement of the Bogomils in the Middle Ages," proving that the Macedonians have a glorious historical past, and that they contributed to the history of religious and philosophical thought in Europe.

Ratsin's collection of poetry played a special role in the development of Macedonian literature. The appearance of "The White Dawns" was the result of a long historical journey of art in Macedonia. At the same time, it was a landmark work which opened the way for the future development of national literature. It was firmly entrenched as the pinnacle of achievement of Macedonian literature of the interwar period.

Ratsin participated in discussions on issues of tradition and innovation, the problem of artistic "truth" and the purpose of art, the nature of "bias" the correlation between ideology and artistry, the social origin of the artist and his work. Speaking in Belgrade's *Umetnost i Critika* ("Art and Criticism") and *Nasba*

stvarnost ("Our Reality"), along with other like-minded people, he argued that literature should strive for truth. It is the basic condition of realism, which is unattainable without the connection of artistic creation with the social environment. He criticized the simplified approach of evaluating a work of art, wrote about the importance of modern poets mastering the traditions of world culture. Ratsin saw the task of art as being the depiction of the reality of national life. The close connection of social realism with spiritual tradition and national existence was, in his opinion, in the convergence of national literature with folk art. This was most fully formulated in his article *Razvitak i značenje jedne nove naše književnosti* ("The Development and Significance of Our New Literature," 1940), dedicated to the birth of literature in the national language in Macedonia. This article served as a manifesto, announcing a qualitatively new artistic phenomenon, and at the same time it was a spiritual testament of the poet, who believed that the successful development of modern realistic literature was possible only by relying on folk traditions. Ratsin called contemporary Macedonian writers the descendants of those creators who in the distant past attempted to write in the native language of the Macedonian people.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Photo of Kocho Ratsin.
2. View of Veles, 1920th. Card.
3. The cover of Kocho Ratsin's poetry collection "The White Downs."
4. Monument to Kocho Ratsin on Mount Lopushnik.
5. Monument to Kocho Ratsin in Veles.
6. Monument to Kocho Ratsin in Lazaropolis.
7. The collective of folk dance and song named after Kocho Ratsin.
8. The House-Museum of Kocho Ratsin in Veles.
9. Presentation of the diploma "Ratsin's Recognition" for the best prosaic work of 2019 to writer Venko Andonovski.
10. A postage stamp with image of Kocho Ratsin, 1983.

DESANKA MAKSIMOVICH: THE GREATEST SERBIAN POET

Abstract:

The article is devoted to Desanka Maksimovich (1898–1993), the greatest Serbian poet of the 20th century, author of storybooks for children and a translator. The themes of her rich poetic work, include love lyrics, the subtlety of a female soul's experiences, the understated beauty of her native land, people's courage during the Second World War and past glories from history. The poems' depth of meaning is combined with subtle lyrical imagery and musicality. Desanka Maksimovich's contemporaries called her "the face of the Serbian poetry". She was recognized by UNESCO as a "Personality of Culture of the 20th Century".

Keywords:

Desanka Maksimovich, Serbian poetry, anti-fascist theme, women's lyrics, elegy, prose poet.

Аннотация: А.Г. ШЕШКЕН. «Крупнейшая сербская поэтесса Десанка Максимович».

Десанка Максимович (1898–1993) — крупнейшая сербская поэтесса XX в., автор произведений для детей, переводчик. Любовная лирика и тонкость переживаний женской души, неброская красота родного края, мужество народа в годы Второй мировой войны, славное историческое прошлое — темы ее богатого поэтического творчества. Глубина содержания сочетается в нем с тонкостью лирического рисунка и музыкальностью звучания. Современники называли ее «лицом сербской поэзии». Она была признана ЮНЕСКО «Личностью культуры XX века».

Ключевые слова:

Десанка Максимович, сербская поэзия, антифашистская тема, женская лирика, элегия, стихотворения в прозе.

Desanka Maksimovich (1898–1993) was the greatest Serbian writer of her time and author of numerous collections of poems, several novels and storybooks for children. She made a great contribution to developing the expressivity of the Serbian poetic language, enriching it with new subtle images, and managing to explore, like no one else, the inner world of the female soul. In 1998, UNESCO recognized Maksimovich as a "Personality of Culture of the 20th Century".

She was born into the family of a rural teacher and the daughter of a priest. Her love for literature was instilled in her by her father and Sima Pandurovich, a high school teacher and a poet. While studying at the philological faculty of the University of Belgrade, she was strongly influenced by the literary critic and

university teacher Bogdan Popovich, under whose guidance she wrote her thesis. It was on his recommendation that, after a year working as a teacher in Dubrovnik, the aspiring poet received a scholarship from the French government and majored in art history at the Sorbonne (1924–25). Upon her return, she worked as a teacher in Belgrade, and after World War II, she worked in the country's Ministry of Education, and as a writer too.

Her first publication appeared in 1920 in the Belgrade magazine *Misao* ("Thought"), and her first poetry collection, *Pesme* ("Songs"), was published in 1924 and was favorably received by critics. The famous literary historian M. Kashanin called Maksimovich a gifted poet with an innate poetic gift and sense of style. In the interwar period her fame increased markedly after the publication of the poetry collections *Zeleny Vitez* ("The Green Knight", 1930), *Gozba na Livadi* ("Feast in the Meadow", 1932), *Nove Pesme* ("New Poems", 1936) and the collection of short stories *Kako oni zhive* ("How they live", 1935).

She did not join any of the literary movements of the time and scarcely participated in poetry circles. The exception was the Russian-Serbian circle "Steps" (1927), whose members (M. Kashanin, G. Krklets, M. Pogodin, E. Tauber and others) were mainly engaged in poetic translation. In those years she developed a deep interest in Russia and Russian literature, explainable by her personal circumstances: she became the wife of a Russian emigrant, the translator S. Slastikov.

Without entering into literary polemics, the poet developed her own unique style, and mastered and developed those aspects of 20th century art which were close to her worldview and corresponded to the nature of her talent. It is possible to speak about her perception of and experience of impressionism in her communication of shades of feelings, and changing states of nature and about the cult of beauty inherent in modernity. At the same time, as a citizen Maksimovich was inherently intolerant of evil and hypocrisy. Her verse is distinguished by a calm, almost narrative, intonation and a special melody, a subtle rhythmic pattern, highlighting the numerous changing nuances of mood. Her poetic language is no stranger to metaphor. It is very rich in its use of synonyms; there is an abundance of epithets, comparisons, metaphors, fresh and memorable images that do not violate the norms of classical syntax and grammar.



Desanka Maksimovich

Maksimovich's lyrics are filled with intimate experiences and penetrate deeply into the inner world of the personality; they are woven from half tones. Everything deliberate and loud is alien to the lyrical hero, immersed in contemplation of the world. *Pesma* ("Poem") emphasizes that the object and source of poetry seem outwardly simple and inconspicuous things. The two main themes of the poet's pre-war lyrics, love and nature, are closely related to another recurrent theme: that of the homeland. At first glance, it sounds unremarkable, but in fact it has a rich range of motives and nuances. Here are pictures of her native land, and memories of her childhood and family home, her father who died during the First World War (the cycle *Sjećanje na oca* / "Remembering my Father") and thoughts about her own destiny. During this period the key genres of Maksimovich's work are elegy and poem in prose ("The Green Knight").

The Second World War and the heroic resistance of the Serbian people to fascist aggression introduced new themes into Maksimovich's poetry: *Pesme o poroblyonem hlebu* ("Song on the enslaved bread"), *Srbija je velika tajna* ("Serbia is a great mystery"), *Srbija se budi* ("Serbia is awakening"), *Bayka o ustanichkoj pushki* ("The Tale on the rebel's gun"). The poet's lyrics acquire a tragic intensity, filled with civic pathos and pride in her people. The most significant work of this period — the poem *Krvava Bajka* ("Bloody Tale", 1941) was a response to the mass execution of almost the entire male population of the city of Kraguyevats in October 1941. Among the victims were several classes of high school students who were put to death together with their teacher straight from their lessons. The contrast of everyday school life and the heroic deaths of the children gives the poem a highly tragic ring. The emotional impact of the work is enhanced by the calm epic intonation, the sparse adjectives, details of school life and general biographical details of the victims. The self-control of children who walk with firm steps and equanimity to their execution engenders admiration for the courage of the Serbian people and makes an important contribution to the formation of the aesthetic ideal of the era, when writers praised the strength and greatness of a person whose self-sacrifice became the measure of beauty.

Maksimovich was one of the first to address the motif of mass martyrdom for faith and homeland, something which has a rich tradition in Serbian folklore and literature. Her poetry of those years is based on the oral folk tradition in terms of genre, choice of expressions and poetic dimensions.

In the postwar years, the main thrust of Maksimovich's works was patriotic and civic poetry, in which new motifs appeared. Their thematic core was selfless resistance to the enemy and the joy of liberation. The poet's focus was on the partisan hero and a man-the-builder, who was rebuilding the destroyed country. She praised the courage of her people in the cycle *Pesme o ropstvu i slobodi* ("Poems on Slavery and Freedom"). In the poem *Otatsbino, tu sam* ("I am here, my Homeland", 1951), which is dedicated to Dushitsa Stefanovich, who endured terrible torture and was executed by the Germans in October 1941, there are noticeable similarities with the poem by the Russian poet M. Aliger, "Zoya". Mak-

simovich depicts the war as a terrible test for a person, as a time of terrible losses and deep sorrow in *Obudovela nevesta* ("The widowed bride"). In the patriotic lyrics of those years, she turned to the origins of the national character, contrasting the breadth of soul and sincerity of the Serbs with the "civilization" of Europeans (*Balkanats* / "The Balkanian").

In the 1950s–60s Maksimovich returned to the genre of lyrical confession, subtle emotional experiences, inspired by memories of childhood, contemplation of native places and reflections on the transience of life, its sorrows and joys: *Miris zemlje* ("The smell of the earth", 1955), *Zaroblenik snova* ("Prisoner of dreams", 1960), *Govori tikho* ("Speak softly", 1961). Reflections on the historical fate of her people and, at the same time, the dream of a world living according to laws of love and humanism, are contained in one of Maksimovich's main collections of work *Tražim pomilovanje* ("I demand a clemency", 1964). The book is subtitled "Lyrical discussions with the 'Lawyer' of Tsar Dushan" — a set of legal acts of 1349, established by the ruler of the Serbian medieval state during its heyday. Critics noted that the poet's story about this code of laws was intended to convey an important message for our time, one containing the great poetry of love, understanding and compassion. The collection was built as a dialogue between a ruler who gave his people fair laws and a poet who judges the world and man according to the laws of love. It is an epic cycle consisting of about 70 verses. Its main idea is the contradiction between a rational attitude to life and the infinite complexity of its real manifestations, when the most just law can turn into cruelty. It contains the poet's prayers for "royal roads", for "the land on which the army sets foot", for "a runaway slave", and she asks for mercy for the "shepherdess who is not called by her father", for "weddings without a wedding", to "committed adultery", to "barren women", to the misunderstood, naive, persecuted and insulted. The collection is written in free verse but has an internal rhythm. Its lexical richness is based on the use of archaisms, dialects and modern language. For Maksimovich, one's native language is the primary link between the distant past and the present, when a person is in no less need of mercy.

After a long absence Maksimovich published another collection of poems, *Nemam vishe vremena* ("I Have No More Time", 1973), which heralded a new stage in her work, when "there is no time for long phrases and long conversations". It was followed by more than a dozen poetry collections: *Letopis Perunovih potomaka* ("Annals of the descendants of Perun", 1976), *Pamtichu sve* ("I will remember everything", 1988), *Ozon zavichaja* ("Ozone of the native land", 1990), etc. The publication in 1987 of Maksimovich's collections *Babino Leto* ("Indian Summer") and *Festival snova* ("Festival of Dreams") sparked great interest among readers. They contain sonnets with reflections and memories of life lived and of the bitter loss of friends and relatives.

Maksimovich's poetry continues to be highly valued in her home country. For the centenary of the poet's birth, a library fund *Zaduzhbina* was established

in Belgrade, named after her. It regularly hosts the so-called *Desankinii Majski Razgovori* (“Desanka’s May Conversations”) timed to her birthday: academic and public readings, the materials of which are published in separate collections. Maksimovich’s fame is also widespread abroad. In Russia, in particular, her poetry is known due to translations by such wordsmiths as V. Kornilov, Joseph Brodsky, Anna Akhmatova, David Samoylov, Boris Slutsky, Margarita Aliger, Bella Akhmadulina, Leonid Martynov and others.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A photo of Desanka Maksimovich.
2. A photo of Desanka Maksimovich in her youth.
3. Sima Pandurovich, the Serbian poet and gymnasium teacher, who noticed D. Maksimovich’s talent.
4. Bogdan Popovich (1863–1944): Serbian critic, professor of the Philological Faculty of the University of Belgrade, scientific adviser of D. Maksimovich.
5. The cover of the Serbian edition of Desanka’s poetry collection.
6. A Monument in Valevo to Desanka Maksimovich: “The Face of Poetry”.
7. Monument to Desanka Maksimovich in Belgrade’s Tashmaydan Square.
8. A street, named after Desanka Maksimovich in Belgrade.
9. The annual Belgrade memorial day “Desanka’s May Conversations.” Laying flowers at the grave of the poet.

LARISA L.
SHCHAVINSKAYA

THE MOST REVERED BELARUSIAN REGIONAL SAINT, THE ENLIGHTENER EUPHROSYNE OF POLOTSK¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to the life and activities of one of the most revered saints, the Belarusian Orthodox Abbess Euphrosyne of Polotsk (born between 1101 and 1104, died on 23 May 1167 or 1173). She was the daughter of a Polotsk Prince, but she chose to go in a different direction with her life and made a huge contribution to the development of spiritual culture in her native land. Euphrosyne of Polotsk was the great enlightener, the founder of monasteries and patron of the arts and crafts. In 1984 Euphrosyne of Polotsk was canonized in the Russian Orthodox Church. She is one of the most prominent Belarusian saints along with St Cyril of Turov and St Athanasius of Brest.

Keywords:

Euphrosyne of Polotsk, Principality of Polotsk, Orthodoxy, Cyril and Methodius heritage.

Аннотация: Л.Л. Щавинская. «Наиболее почитаемая в Беларуси местная святая, просветительница Евфросиния Полоцкая».

В статье рассказывается о жизни и деятельности самой почитаемой в Беларуси местной святой, полоцкой игуменьи Евфросинии Полоцкой (около 1101/1104 г. — 23 мая 1167 или 1173 г.). Она была дочерью полоцких князей, избрала в жизни иной путь и внесла огромный вклад в развитие духовной культуры родной земли. Евфросиния Полоцкая была великой просветительницей, основательницей монастырей и покровительницей искусств и ремесел. В 1984 г. Евфросинию Полоцкую канонизировала Русская Православная Церковь. Она входит в число трех наиболее почитаемых в Беларуси местных святых наряду со святителем Кириллом Туровским и святым Афанасием Брестским.

Ключевые слова:

Евфросиния Полоцкая, Полоцкое княжество, православие, кирилло-мефодиевское наследие.

The Reverend Mother Superior of Polotsk is one of the most revered saints in Belarus', a great educator, scribe, founder of monasteries and a builder of churches, patroness of arts and crafts.

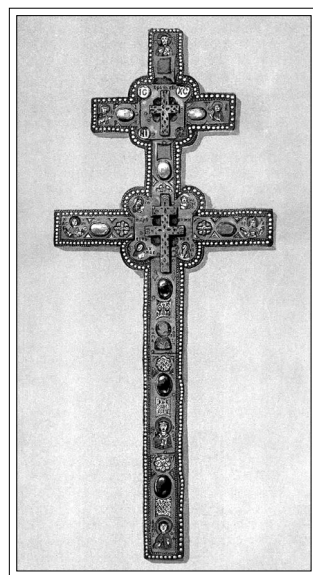
Her secular name was Predslava. She belonged to a family of princes of Polotsk, whose family tree originated with the (holy, equal-to-the-apostles) Prince Vladimir, and was the daughter of Prince George Vseslavich. At home she received what was for that time a good education. From an early age, she was dis-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

tinguished by her love of prayer and book learning, and at the age of 12 she secretly took the veil using the name of Euphrosyne. With the blessing of Bishop Elijah of Polotsk, sometime after her tonsure, she began to live at St Sophia Cathedral, where she “started to write a book with her own hands” in the scriptorium at the local library, and, upon taking a fee, gave it to those in need. Here she spent her time in prayer, vigil and copying spiritual books, saturated with wisdom from the books of the cathedral library: “Euphrosyne filled her heart with God’s Wisdom.”

Around 1128 Bishop Elijah instructed her to build a convent in Seltse, two miles from Polotsk, on the banks of the river Polota. Going to the place of the future monastery, Euphrosyne took only books, for “they comfort my soul and make my heart rejoice.” Euphrosyne was elevated to the rank of abbess of the Transfiguration (Preobrazhensky) Monastery, which gradually grew and gained strength. Under Euphrosyne the construction of a Spassky (Savior) monastery-nunnery began in Seltse. She begins “with joy and diligence” to teach the sisters of the nunnery to read and write: “Teach me how to work with a merry heart.” In the newly built Spaso-Preobrazhensky Monastery, the saint taught the girls to copy books, sing, sew and do other crafts: “let them learn from youth to understand the law of God and hard work.” Here, Euphrosyne’s sister Gradislawa (going by the name of Eudocia) as well as her cousin Zvenislava (going by the name of Eupraxia) took their vows.

By 1161, due to St Euphrosyne’s zeal, the stone Transfiguration Cathedral, one of the gems of ancient Russian architecture, had been erected, which, in a reconstructed form, has survived to this day. In the same year of 1161, by the order of Euphrosyne of Polotsk, master Lazarus Bogsha created an altar cross made of wood and studded it with gold on the front and back and with silver plates on the sides. On the sides of the cross there is an inscription with the date it was made, the name of the customer and a terrible spell against theft. The name of the master was carved on the back: “Lord, help your slave Lazarus, named Bogsha, who made this cross for the church of the Holy Savior and Euphrosyne.” St Euphrosyne also founded the Virgin Mary Monastery for men, built a stone church in it in honor of the Most Holy Virgin Mary. The Abbess devoted a lot of attention to decorating the temple. She sent her servant Michael to Constantinople with rich gifts to the emperor and the patriarch with a request to send a copy of the miraculous Ephesian Icon of the Mother of God. In 1162 the icon arrived in Russia. It first spent about



*The cross of St Euphrosyne
of Polotsk,
12th century*

a year in Korsun' (Chersones) and, at the request of its inhabitants, received the name Korsun'skaya, and then arrived in Polotsk. In 1239, when marrying the Grand Prince Alexander Nevsky, the daughter of Polotsk Prince Bryachislav took the icon as a blessing and presented it to the city of Toropets, where the princess was married.

Shortly before her death, the nun Euphrosyne, with her nephew David and sister Eupraxia, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Places. Having worshiped at the shrines of Constantinople, she arrived in Jerusalem, where she died in the Russian monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Mary on 23 May of 1167 or 1173. After the death of the Abbess, she was buried in the Jerusalem monastery of St Theodosius. Not later than 1187, the relics of St Euphrosyne were transported to Russia to the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery. Soon after the conclusion of the Union of Lyublin in 1579, the Orthodox churches of Polotsk were transferred over to the Jesuits, and the Orthodox transferred the cross of Euphrosyne of Polotsk to the St Sophia Cathedral. From 1579 to 1841 the cross was kept there, and only in the last date, after the termination of the union was, the cross transferred to the restored Spaso-Euphrosyne monastery.

At the end of the 16th century, there was a Catholic legend about Saint Praxedis — Paraskeva of Polotsk — whose cult was supposed to strengthen the position of Catholicism and the Uniate Church in the Polotsk territory and contribute to forgetting the veneration of the Orthodox St Euphrosyne, Abbess of Polotsk. The Life of St Paraskeva served as a model for its foundation. According to legend, St Praxedis set off for Rome in the early 1230s, where she died on 12 November of 1239, as a Catholic. A little later she was allegedly canonized by the Roman Church as a saint. The cult of St Paraskeva eventually became quite widespread in Polotsk. She became, as it were, an outward doppelgänger of the nun Euphrosyne, which reverberated until the 19th century. Not without the desire to merge these two images in the people's memory, there was yet another Catholic legend about the "cross of St Paraskeva," in imitation of the cross of the holy nun Euphrosyne. The so-called "cross of St Paraskeva," created not earlier than "the very end of the 16th century," has survived and is now in the collection of the Rostov-Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve.

In 1910 the relics of the holy nun Euphrosyne, Abbess of Polotsk, were transferred from the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra to the Spassky Monastery in Polotsk. On 20 May 1910 the relics of the saint were delivered to the St Nicholas Cathedral in Polotsk, and two days later they were transferred to the Spassky Monastery and placed in a silver shrine specially built for them. In 1921 the authorities carried out the seizure of church valuables in the Spaso-Euphrosyne Monastery, including the cross of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk and the silver shrine with its relics. The following year, by order of the local authorities, the shrine was opened and the relics of the saint transferred to the Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore. In 1928 the Polotsk Spaso-Euphrosyne Monastery was closed, and the cross of Euphrosyne was handed over to the Minsk Museum, where it was kept in storage. Then it was

sent to Mogilev, where it disappeared during the Second World War. In October 1943 the relics of the saint were returned to the Polotsk Spaso-Euphrosyne Monastery, where they are still located.

In 1984 the venerable Euphrosyne of Polotsk was canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church. On 6–7 July 1989 the Polotsk diocese was restored and simultaneously, the Polotsk Spaso-Euphrosyne Monastery was reopened. Three years later, on the occasion of the millennial celebration of the Polotsk diocese and the Orthodox Church in Belarus,⁷ a decision was taken to recreate the cross of Euphrosyne of Polotsk. In 1996–97 Brest artist-jeweler N.P. Kuzmich made an exact replica of it, and on 24 August 1997 it was consecrated in Brest. On the eve of the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the recreated and consecrated cross was solemnly handed over to the Polotsk Spassky Monastery, where it is currently kept.

St Euphrosyne of Polotsk, who became famous as the patroness of female monasticism, is equally venerated by both the Orthodox and Catholic churches. The details we know about her are from her *Life*, which was composed at the end of the 12th century. Based on the fact that the events described in it could only be known by a person who knew the saint, it is believed that the author of the *Life* might have been the sister of the venerable, Eupraxia, who accompanied her during the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or one of her religious disciples. Written at the end of the 12th century, *The Life of the St Euphrosyne of Polotsk* has survived in six editions and more than 180 copies dating from the 16th–18th centuries as part of collections and menaions. It was constructed according to the general canons of the hagiographic genre: at the beginning there is a rhetorical introduction, then the main part with a narration about the life trajectory of the saint and her spiritual ascent, and concludes with praise of the ascetic. A distinctive feature of the *Life* of Euphrosyne of Polotsk is the absence of stories about posthumous miracles, which are usually presented after the aforementioned three-part composition. Archbishop Philaret (Gumilevsky), historians E.E. Golubinsky and A.I. Sobolevsky believed that the *Life* of Euphrosyne was written in the pre-Mongol period, and modern scholars share their opinion. The veneration of St Euphrosyne as a local saint began shortly after her death. Stichera in a handwritten 12th century poem from the most ancient service of the venerable “Come, all who are wise...”, to have survived until our time. In the 16th century, Metropolitan of Moscow Macarius included *The Life of the St Euphrosyne of Polotsk* in the Great Menaions Reader, and then in *The Book of Royal Degrees*. After that, there were two editions of the *Life* from the “Prologue” (collection of brief Lives and Sermons), and in the 17th century the *Life* of the saint was included in St Dimitry of Rostov’s *The Book of the Lives of the Saints*. In 1893 the service of the saint was compiled, and seven years later, hieromonk Nicodemus (Kononov) wrote a dedicated holy akathist. Then in 1911 a service was written for the transfer of the relics of St Euphrosyne from Kiev to Polotsk, which was published in the same year by the Synodal Printing House of St. Petersburg.

Euphrosyne of Polotsk is widely revered among Eastern Orthodox Slavs along with St Cyril of Turov and St Athanasius of Brest. Her memory is celebrated according to the Orthodox Church calendar annually on 23–24 May and during the feast of the Synaxis of Belarusian Saints, the third week of Pentecost. In honor of the saint, temples have been consecrated in many cities of the world, numerous monuments have been erected to her, her image inspires icon painters, artists, writers and poets. In Belarus' there are creative unions and public organizations bearing her name. Since 1993 the All-Belarusian Women's Fund of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk and the Belarusian Exarchate established an order and a medal bearing her name.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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2. The beginning of the "Life of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk". Copy dating from the mid-16th century, DM RNL. Collection of N.P. Pogodin, st.u. 869. S. 318 r.
3. The cross of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk, 12th century.
4. St Euphrosyne of Polotsk, modern icon from a private collection.
5. St Euphrosyne of Polotsk, engraving dating from the 19th century.
6. The cell of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk in Spassky (Savior) Church of the Polotsk Spaso-Euphrosyne's Monastery. A photo dating from the beginning of the 20th century.
7. Bringing the relics of the saint to Polotsk from Kiev in 1910. Photo from 1910.
8. Monument to St Euphrosyne of Polotsk. Sculptor I. Golube. Polotsk, 2000.
9. Medal of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk. Belarusian Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church.
10. Modern view of Polotsk, Spaso-Euphrosyne Monastery.

THE PERESOPNITSA GOSPEL:
THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE
INTO POPULAR LANGUAGE “RUSSIAN MOVA”
IN THE UKRAINIAN LAND DATING FROM THE 50s — 60s
OF THE 16th CENTURY¹

Abstract:

The article deals with a wonderful monument of book and language culture, the Peresopnitsa Gospel. This parchment manuscript of large format (482 s.) was written in 1556–61 in the Ukrainian land of Volhynia. It contains the first translation of the Holy Scripture from Church Slavonic language into the West-Russian language, which included the Old Ukrainian and Old Belarusian dialects. Some structural and linguistic features of the monument tell us that translators of the Gospel used West Slavic and possibly Greek texts. The Peresopnitsa Gospel is one of the most precious ancient manuscripts of the Ukrainian people.

Keywords:

Book culture, Codicology, translations of the Holy Scripture, Ukraine, Peresopnitsa Gospel.

Аннотация: Л.Л. Щавинская. «Пересопницкое Евангелие 1550-х–60-х годов — первая попытка переложения в Украине евангельских текстов на народную “русьскую мову”».

В статье рассматривается замечательный памятник книжной и языковой культуры — Пересопницкое евангелие. Этот пергаменный рукописный кодекс большого формата на 482 листах был создан в 1556–61 гг. в украинских землях на Волыни. В нем помещен первый перевод Священного Писания с церковнославянского языка на народную «русьскую мову» — западнорусский язык с использованием староукраинских и старобелорусских диалектов. Ряд структурных и языковых особенностей памятника свидетельствует о том, что при переводе евангелия были использованы западнославянские и, возможно, греческие тексты. Пересопницкое евангелие является одной из главных святынь украинского народа.

Ключевые слова:

Книжная культура, кодикология, переводы Священного писания, Украина, Пересопницкое евангелие.

Peresopnitsa Gospel is a first translation of the Holy Scripture from Church Slavonic language into the West-Russian language, which included the Old Ukrainian and Old Belarusian dialects. It is a large format parchment codex on 482 folia, one of the main shrines of the Ukrainian people. Since the early

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

1990s the presidents of Ukraine have sworn an oath on it. The names of the two direct creators of the Peresopnitsa Gospel are known. They were the son of an Archpriest from Sianik and head of the whole work, Mikhaïl Vasyľevich, the scribe and apparently the main translator, the monk Gregory, the future Archimandrite of the monastery of Peresopnitsa. Creation of the codex began in the Ascension Monastery in Volhynia in the summer of 1556, where 155 of its sheets were written, and work on it was completed in the summer of 1561 in the Peresopnitsa monastery, which was only fifty kilometers northwest of the first. The second monastery was located in the village of Peresopnitsa, which had belonged since 1501 to the princes of Chartorysky, who presented it in 1630 to the Catholic parish of Klevan.

The Peresopnitsa Four Gospels (consisting of the four gospels and used for home reading) are written in a charter and half-order with cursive elements. It is richly illuminated: each Gospel opens with a beautifully executed colored miniature of a particular evangelist. The sheets are decorated with magnificent ornaments, it has many headpieces, initials and other decorations using multi-colored paints and gold. The Church Slavonic text was the basis for the translation of the Peresopnitsa Gospel. A number of structural and linguistic features also allow us to consider that its creators also used West Slavic texts and, possibly, Greek ones. There is no doubt about the fact of the creators' familiarity with the publications of Francisk Skorina. At the end of the manuscript, the creators of the codex commented on all their work as follows: "the books of the four Evangelists translated from the Bulgarian language to the Russian language." They also described the role of the Orthodox magnate patrons who financed their work: "With an overlay of the faithful and Christ-loving Princess ... Nastasia Yurevna Golshansky. And under the faithful and Christ-loving Prince Ivan Fyodorovich Chartororysky, her son-in-law's mercy. And under the faithful and Christ-loving Prince Ivan Fyodorovich Chartororysky, her son-in-law's mercy. And under the faithful and Christ-loving Princess of his Eudoxia." They especially emphasized the contribution of Archimandrite Grego-



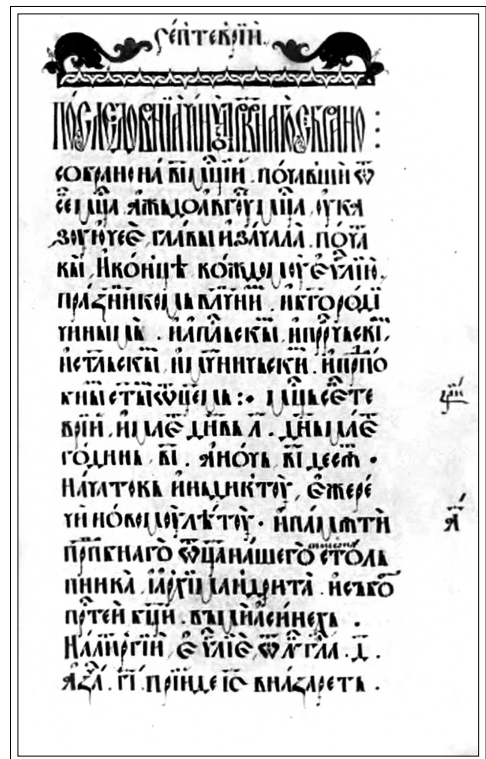
*The first sheet of the
Peresopnitsa's Gospel,
1556–61*

ry: “these books, the four Gospels, are arranged by the meek, humble and God-loving Hieromonk Gregory, Archimandrite of Peresopnitsa.”

Information about the fate of the Peresopnitsa Gospel after it was written until the beginning of the 18th century is almost nonexistent. As early as the 1570s, the Chartorysky family seized its property from the Peresopnitsa Monastery. In 1595, according to Prince Yury Chartorysky, there were no more monks in the monastery. In 1596 it was revived for a short time, but the transition to Catholicism by the representatives of the ancient powerful Chartorysky family at the end of the 16th century negatively affected their position as patrons of the Orthodox monastery. It apparently existed in some very wretched form until the 1620s, but then the buildings, along with the village of Peresopnitsa, were transferred to the Catholics in 1630. The last Abbot of the Orthodox Peresopnitsa Monastery was Nikon (Dobryansky), who in

1620 renounced his abbacy. In 1600 the Peresopnitsa Gospel was probably still in the monastery, since the inventory of its books compiled at the end of October of the same year by the former abbot Simeon (Kosovsky) says: “... another Gospel, written as tetr (consisting of the four gospels and intended for home reading), covered with green satin; on it there are five white silver plaques.” The monastery then had a significant library with a large number of various types of manuscript books. Abbot Simeon “gave in addition to these church books ... for his remission of sins” more than ten manuscripts and old-printed volumes of “books of his own” and “also a Moscow chest for the safekeeping of books.”

In 1701 hetman Ivan Mazepa presented the Peresopnitsa Gospel to the cathedral in the city of Pereyaslavl, which is recorded on its first pages: “This Gospel was sent and given from the clear lord of his grace, Pan Ivan Mazepa, the hetman of the tsar’s luminous majesty’s army on both sides of the Dnieper in Zaporozhie, and also the Cavalier of the glorious rank of the Holy Apostle, Andrew, to the throne of the Pereyaslavl bishop, which was created from his mercy as a donor and renewed and decorated with precious church utensils, at the time of Bishop Zakhary Kornilovich. Year 1701, on the 17th day of April.” At the end of the 18th



*The first sheet of the month
in the Peresopnitsa's Gospel,
1556–61*

century, the Peresopnitsa Gospel was transferred to the library of the Pereyaslavl Theological Seminary, and in the 1860s, together with the seminary, moved to the city of Poltava. Since then it has come to the attention of many scholars, and in 1948 was included in the Department of Manuscripts of the State Public Library of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev (now the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine), where it is now in safekeeping.

A historical and cultural center was opened in 2011 in the modern village of Peresopnitsa, which is located a few kilometers from the regional center of Rovno. Earlier, in 1989, a memorial sign was erected here in honor of the Peresopnitsa Gospel, and in recent years the Orthodox Peresopnitsa monastery has been revived, in which the wonderful parchment codex we discussed was created.

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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1. The first sheet of the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
2. Matthew the Evangelist. Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
3. The first sheet of the Gospel of Matthew. Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
4. Mark the Evangelist. Thumbnail of the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
5. The first sheet of the Gospel of Mark in the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
6. Luke the Evangelist. Thumbnail of the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
7. The first sheet of the Gospel of Luke in the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
8. John the Evangelist with Prokhor. Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
9. The first sheet of the Gospel of John in the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.
10. The first sheet of the month in the Peresopnitsa's Gospel, 1556–61.

ZABLUDOV GOSPEL OF 1569: THE FIRST PRINTED BOOK OF IVAN FYODOROV AND PYOTR MSTISLAVETS IN PODLYASHIE¹

Abstract:

The article tracks the history of the publication and study of one of the most famous Slavic old printed books, the Zabludov's Gospel of 1569.

Keywords:

Zabludov's Gospel, didactic Gospels, Ivan Fyodorov, Pyotr Mstislavets, Church Slavonic language.

Аннотация: Л.Л. ЩАВИНСКАЯ. «ЗАБЛУДОВСКОЕ ЕВАНГЕЛИЕ 1569 г.: ПЕРВАЯ ПЕЧАТНАЯ КНИГА ИВАНА ФЕДОРОВА И ПЕТРА МСТИСЛАВЦА НА ПОДЛЯШЬЕ».

В статье представлена история издания и изучения одного из самых известных в истории славянской старопечатной книжности — Заблудовского Евангелия 1569 г.

Ключевые слова:

Заблудовское Евангелие, учительные евангелия, Иван Федоров, Петр Тимофеев Мстиславец, церковнославянский язык.

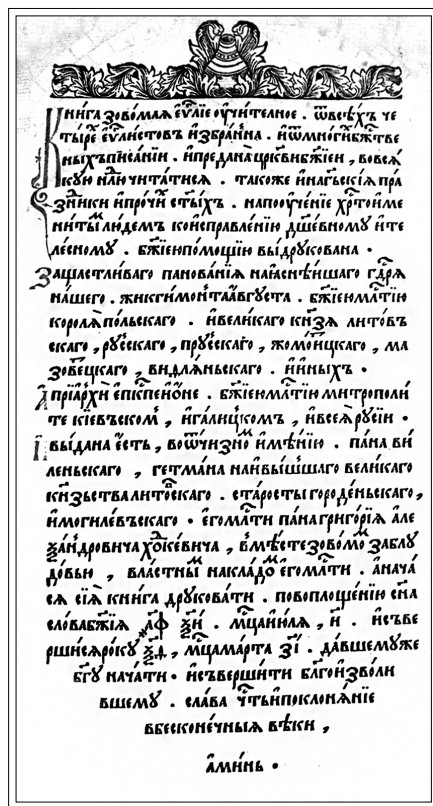
Zabludov Gospel is one of the most famous publications in the history of Slavic incunabula. It was printed in Podlyashie, in Zabludov, on the estate of the Khodkevich magnates, who founded the Monastery of the Annunciation in Suprasl. One of the oldest Orthodox publishing houses was established there in the mid-1560s, housing the first typographers from Moscow: Ivan Fyodorov Moskvitin and Pyotr Timofeev Mstislavets. On 8 July 1568 their first book, the *Didactic Gospel* began to be printed at the Zabludov printing house. The typesetting was done using fonts brought by the typographers from Moscow. The headpieces, endings and initial letters used in this work, were used by Ivan Fyodorov and Pyotr Mstislavets when publishing the first dated book of the Moscow press: the *Moscow Apostle* of 1564. The printing of the *Didactic Gospel* was completed on 17 March 1569. On its title page it states: “The Book called the Didactic Gospels. Selected from all four Evangelists. And from many Holy Scriptures. And is given to God’s church to be read every week. And also on the Lord’s holidays and the holidays of other saints. To instruct Christian people in spiritual and physical improvement. Printed with the help of God.”

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

The publication was a collection of sermons and teachings on gospel readings arranged for various weeks and holidays. There were two main varieties of teaching gospels. The more ancient of them, which is a literal translation from Greek abbreviations of “paternal interpretations,” is associated in the manuscript tradition with the name of Constantine of Preslav, a Bulgarian bishop and disciple of the first Slavic teacher St Methodius. This gospel contains 51 conversations for Sunday readings. The second version of the *Didactic Gospel*, which appeared much later than the first, was published in Zabludov. It is often called the Patriarchal homily of Constantinople, which was supposedly composed by several authors who lived in the 12th, 13th and even the 14th centuries. The composition of said teaching gospel is significantly different from the first and has two parts: 53 or 52 teachings for Sundays and some other days, and 26–25 teachings on fixed holidays and the corresponding weeks from 1 September to 29 August.

The Slavic translation of this collection from Greek appeared relatively quickly after its creation. The exact date of the translation is unknown, but according to scholars, it originated in the late 14th to 15th centuries. The basis for the printing of *Didactic Gospel* was one of the earliest copies of the Slavic translation. A collection of copies of this book, then distributed in Podlyashie, is the likely source of this gospel. We managed to find an ancient copy of the *Didactic Gospel* from Podlyashie, which is probably the prototype of the Zabludov publication. It comes from the library of the Suprasl monastery.

The book was not translated into “simple speech” but printed directly from the ancient manuscript, because the publishers believed that the modern translation of ancient “true” books distorted their meaning, and that the “Gospel is educational”; in their opinion, even without translation the book was “easy and useful for reading.” Nevertheless, before setting the type, the text of the collection was thoroughly edited. The book opens with a foreword by the tycoon Gregory Khodkevich: “That is why I, Gregory Alexandrovich Khodkevich, having seen the Christian teaching in this book, wished God’s word to multiply, and the teaching of the Greek law to people to spread, because there is a lack of these



*The output sheet of the
Zabludov Gospel, 1569*

books in various places. And I did not spare any treasures given me by God in this undertaking. In addition, I also found for myself two men learned in printing: Ivan Fyodorovich Moskvitin and Pyotr Timofeevich Mstislavets. I commanded them to found the printing house and to print this *Didactic Gospel*.”

The publication is provided with an extensive table of contents: “The chapters which are contained in this book.” The book also contains the “Word on the Ascension,” which was written by St Cyril of Turov, a well-known East Slavic preacher. It was included in all three subsequent reprints of the Zabludov *Didactic Gospel* carried out in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th century.

The Zabludov *Didactic Gospel* of 1569 had its own special fate. It had a significant impact on the Orthodox both within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and far beyond its borders, including the Muscovite state and the Balkans. It was repeatedly reprinted, used for work on other publications, copied in different countries, translated into other languages. An example is the Bulgarian manuscript codex of the beginning of the 17th century made in Târnovo by Hieromonk Daniil and now stored in the collection of the Bulgarian National Library of Sts Cyril and Methodius. It is one of the first Bulgarian manuscript books based on East Slavic printed texts.

About ten years after the publication of the *Didactic Gospel* in Zabludov, it was reprinted in an anonymous Orthodox printing house in Vilna. Another reprint of it in the same city was carried out in 1595 in the Mamonich Printing House, belonging to an Orthodox family of Belarusian merchants. Sometime later this book was again reprinted there.

About 50 copies of the Zabludov *Didactic Gospel* of 1569 have survived to this day. This voluminous collection of more than 800 pages, a huge book, is now preserved in many countries on different continents. Numerous records of the surviving copies testify to the unusually wide distribution of the book throughout the Orthodox world. Quite quickly, the *Didactic Gospel* from Zabludov reached the Bulgarians, Russians, Serbs, and other Orthodox peoples, spread to the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland, primarily in the Ukrainian lands and Lemkovshchyna.



Translated by Igor Kaliganov

The Coat of arms of G.A. Khodkevich.
Zabludov Gospel of 1569

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2. The Coat of arms of G.A. Khodkevich. Zabłudov Gospel of 1569.
3. The first page of the Preface by G.A. Khodkevich in the Zabłudov Gospel of 1569.
4. Foreword by Ivan Fyodorov and Pyotr Mstislavets in the Zabłudov Gospel of 1569.
5. "The word of Ascension" by St Cyril of Turov in the Zabłudov Gospel of 1569.
6. First sheet of contents in the Zabłudov Gospel of 1569.
7. A portrait of G.A. Khodkevich.
8. View of Suprasl's Annunciation monastery. Engraving from the 19th century.
9. Record of widow of G.A. Khodkevich in the Zabłudov Gospel of 1569.
10. Modern view of the Annunciation monastery in Suprasl.

KIEVAN SYNOPSIS 1674: THREE CENTURIES OF PUBLICATION¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to the history of publication and wide readership in many countries of the Kievan Synopsis, the famous collection of historical information. It was first published in 1674 and continues to be published to this day. The image of Great Prince Vladimir Svatoslavich, the Baptizer of Rus', takes a central place in the narrative.

Keywords:

Kievan «Synopsis», Innokenty Gizel, Kievo-Pechersk Lavra, Ukraine, Russia.

Аннотация: Л.Л. ЩАВИНСКАЯ. «Киевский Синописис 1674 г.: три века изданий».

Статья посвящена истории публикаций и бытования в самой широкой читательской среде многих стран знаменитого свода различных исторических сведений — киевского «Синописиса», впервые напечатанного в 1674 г. и продолжающегося издаваться по сей день. Одно из центральных мест всего повествования занимает образ крестителя Руси великого князя Владимира Святославича.

Ключевые слова:

Киевский «Синописис», Иннокентий Гизель, Киево-Печерская лавра, Украина, Россия.

The Kievan Synopsis is one of the most remarkable editions of the Kievo-Pechersk Lavra Publishing House, a famous collection of a variety of historical information, first published in 1674 and continuing to be published to this day. “Synopsis or a brief collection from different Chroniclers...” was published “with the blessing of ... Innokenty Gisel ... archimandrite ... Lavra.” The idea of all-Russian unity was expressed in it for the first time. The narrative in the book, beginning from the time of the Old Testament, ended with the events of the middle of the 17th century. A central place in the narrative is occupied by the image of the baptizer of Russia, Grand Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich. The Synopsis of 1674 contained a total of 124 pages in Church Slavonic typeface, and the word “synopsis” was printed in large Greek letters. As an illustration, it contains a woodcut made by the famous master Eliyah, depicting the sacrifice of the biblical Noah after the flood. Synopsis became the most widespread historical work in Russia of the 18th century.

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

recent attempts to publish Synopsis was made by the Moscow publishing house "Europe" in 2006. A considerable number of handwritten manuscripts of Synopsis have been preserved, which have been made from various editions over the course of two centuries.

The fate of this work over more than three centuries is very remarkable. In the 17th century Synopsis had the value of an almost scholarly treatise, while taking into consideration the realities of the time; even in the 18th century it continued to be considered an academic work and was even repeatedly printed by the printing house of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. However, by the 18th century a debate had already begun in the academic community about Synopsis, which had become a kind of guide to Russian history. In the second half of the 18th century, Synopsis already provoked a sharp, ironic assessment on the part of many educated people, because a lot of it turned out to be myth. Nevertheless, Synopsis was successfully reprinted later, and its title became almost a household name. From the first Kievan editions of Synopsis, handwritten copies were made almost immediately, including in Russia. Many of them have survived. Apparently, the most scientifically verified and authoritative in the history of Synopsis should be considered the editions of 1823 and 1836, carried out with supplements by the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra Publishing House in civil print. They were prepared by no less than Metropolitan Eugeny (Bolkhovitinov), an expert on Slavic antiquities.

Nowadays the Kievan Synopsis is still a largely mysterious book for researchers. For most of them, the authorship of this collection, as before, is considered an almost insoluble problem; some see Innokenty Gisel as its creator and others consider it the work of an entire team of authors. The latter seems to us more likely. Many libraries today still have a large number of manuscript copies of Synopsis from the 17th–19th centuries, which can serve as a valuable historiographic base for the study of the existence of the copies of the document among the readers of several Slavic countries. It would be very useful for clarifying the boundaries of the areas of its distribution and the magnitude of its impact on the consciousness of the Slavic Orthodox peoples.



The title page of the second edition of "Synopsis."

Kiev, 1678

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4. The first page of the chapter “On the Beginning of the Ancient Slavic People” in “Synopsis.” Kiev, 1680.
5. St Vladimir Svyatoslavich. Engraving from the “Synopsis.” Edition of 1680.
6. The title page of the “Synopsis.” St. Petersburg, 1762.
7. The first page of the chapter “On the Beginning of the Ancient Slavic People” in the “Synopsis.” St. Petersburg, 1762.
8. The table of contents of the additions to the “Synopsis.” Kiev, 1823.
9. The title page of the “Synopsis.” Kiev, 1836.
10. The title page of the 4th part of the “Works” of St Dimitry of Rostov, printed in the Kievo-Pechersk Lavra “with the addition of Synopsis.” 1901.

SAINT DIMITRY, THE METROPOLITAN OF ROSTOV AND HIS MULTI-VOLUME WORK “THE BOOK OF THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS”¹

Abstract:

The article is devoted to the creative activity of the Metropolitan Dimitry of Rostov (Daniel Savich Tuptalo), one of the most famous Slavic writers of the late 17th — early 18th centuries. He entered into the history of Russian literature as an author of a multi-volume work on the Lives of the Saints (1689–1705). This work has been translated from Church Slavonic into many foreign languages and has become an important source for spiritual reading for millions of people around the world.

Keywords:

St Dimitry, Metropolitan of Rostov, hagiography, the Lives of the Saints, Menaions.

Аннотация: Л.Л. Щавинская. «Святой Димитрий, митрополит Ростовский и его многотомный труд “Книга житий святых”».

Статья посвящена творчеству Димитрия, митрополита Ростовского (Даниила Саввича Туптало) — одного из самых известных славянских писателей конца XVII — начала XVIII в. Он вошел в историю русской литературы как автор многотомного издания «Книги Житий святых» (1689–1705). Этот труд был переведен с церковнославянского языка на многие иностранные языки и стал одним из важных источников духовного чтения для миллионов людей в мире.

Ключевые слова:

Святитель Димитрий, митрополит Ростовский, агиография, многотомная «Книга житий святых».

The Great Menaions or *The Book of the Lives of the Saints*, compiled by St Dimitry, Metropolitan of Rostov, is the largest work of Slavic literature. It is a huge collection, containing, in contrast to secular almanachs, texts for instructive extra-liturgical reading, arranged by months and days of a year. The basis of Dimitry of Rostov’s work was laid by the Great Menaions Reader of Macarius, Metropolitan of Moscow, drawn up by his order in the 16th century.

Dimitry of Rostov was born as Daniil Savich Tuptalo in 1651 near Kiev into the family of a Cossack Sava Grigorievich Tuptalo. He received his primary education at home. After the family moved in 1660 to Kiev, Daniel, at the age of twelve, entered the Kiev College Monastery. In 1668, he was tonsured at the Kirillov Monastery under the name Dimitry and after a few years became wide-

¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

Saints, the most extensive hagiogram of the history of the Christian world, was compiled with exceptional care. As an Orthodox writer, he was able to combine in his work the literary achievements of two branches of Christianity: eastern and western. Dimitry of Rostov's *The Book...* was read not only in the age of the Enlightenment, but also during the Slavic revival. Many writers drew inspirations for their own works from this grandiose work about the saints throughout the nineteenth century. It is enough to mention the figures of two such giants of Russian literature: A.S. Pushkin and L.N. Tolstoy. A feature of the wide reception of the literary heritage of Dimitry of Rostov was that in Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus' (and to a lesser extent in Bulgaria and Serbia), his work was perceived as part of each nation's own national culture and literature. The writer's main book, his famous *The Book...* especially contributed to this perception and understanding. This huge collection of short biographies of three centuries has been a favorite subject of reading among eastern and southern Slavs. Numerous translations of this work into foreign languages and its repeated reprints in the 18th–19th centuries testify to its great impact on the consciousness of many Slavic Orthodox peoples who lived through the era of the national revival.

The multi-volume *The Book of the Lives of the Saints* by Dimitry of Rostov played a special role in the spiritual and cultural life of the South Slavic, Moldavian and Romanian peoples. Along with dozens of different printed editions of these Four Issues dating from the 17th–20th centuries, which were widely dispersed in the multinational Orthodox environment, many of them lived in manuscript form. They were copied by local Orthodox scribes, as well as other works of the Prelate, including his *Cell Chronicler*. The latter in particular to this day is stored in a manuscript copy and is read on Mt. Athos in several monasteries. The writings of Dimitry of Rostov, including the hagiographical ones, exerted a clear influence on the Bulgarian authors of historical works of the late 18th century. This can be seen for example, in the *History of the Slovenian-Bulgarian People* of the second half of the 18th century from the Zograph monastery. *The Book...* ultimately determined the date of the celebration of the memory of the Thessalonica brothers, the Slavic enlighteners Cyril and Methodius. The date indicated in their Life by Dimitry of Rostov, of 11 May according to the old style and 24 May according to the new one, was adopted as the date of the Day of Slavic Writing and Culture. Here is how the famous Bulgarian Slavacist K. Kuev wrote about this: "In the adoption of 11 May as a holiday of the two brothers Cyril and Methodius, a large role was played by the book of Dimitry of Rostov ... from which information was drawn by some of our revivalists ... That's how this purely church holiday on 11 May from 1857 became a national holiday of the Bulgarian enlightenment, national unity, and national culture. From then and to this day, the entire Bulgarian nation honors the memory of the creators of Slavic writing and Slavic written culture on 11 (24) May."

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The title page of the first edition of “The Book of the Lives of the Saints” by St Dimitry of Rostov. Vol. I. Kiev, 1689.
2. Handwritten letters on a copy of the Moscow old-printed Prologue of 1685, which St Dimitry used when working on “The Book...” Moscow, Russian State Library, Museum of books.
3. A page of the Moscow old-printed Prologue of 1685 from the library of St Dimitry with his letters. Moscow, Russian State Library, Museum of books.
4. The initial page of the handwritten story about St Lazarus, Prince of Serbia, placed in the Moscow old-printed Prologue of 1685, used by St Dimitry when working on “The Book...” Moscow, Russian State Library, Museum of books.
5. St Dimitry of Rostov. Engraving.
6. The first page of the Preface to the reader by Barlaam, Archimandrite of the Kievo-Pechersk Lavra in “The Book of the Lives of the Saints” by St Dimitry of Rostov. Vol. I. Kiev, 1869.
7. The first sheet of the Life of St Nestor, the Chronicler in “The Book of the Lives of the Saints” by St Dimitry of Rostov. Kiev, 1689.
8. The last sheet of the Life of St Nestor the Chronicler in “The Book of the Lives of the Saints” by St Dimitry of Rostov. Kiev, 1689.
9. The first sheet of the Life of the Apostle Andrew the First-Called in “The Book of the Lives of the Saints” by St Dimitry of Rostov. Vol. I. Kiev, 1689.
10. The last sheet of the Life of the Apostle Andrew the First-Called in “The Book of the Lives of the Saints” by St Dimitry of Rostov. Vol. I. Kiev, 1689.

GREGORY SKOVORODA: THE 18th CENTURY UKRAINIAN WRITER AND PHILOSOPHER¹

Abstract:

The article discusses the work and teachings of Gregory Savich Skovoroda (1722–94), a prominent Ukrainian writer, philosopher, teacher and educator. His doctrine of “three worlds” still causes very different interpretations in academic studies. Skovoroda was a poet who wrote spiritual poetry. He wrote poems, particularly various sorts of the songs, treatises, parables, dialogues, fables and made translations. Skovoroda became widely known as a writer even during his life time. However, interest in his philosophical works developed only many years after his death. Gregory Skovoroda is one of the most remarkable thinkers in the history of Slavic cultures and literature.

Keywords:

Gregory Skovoroda, Cyril and Methodius heritage, Ukrainian literature.

Аннотация: Л.Л. ЩАВИНСКАЯ. «Григорий Сковорода — украинский писатель и философ XVIII в.»,

В статье рассматривается деятельность и учение Григория Саввича Сковороды (1722–94) — выдающегося украинского писателя, философа и педагога-просветителя. Его учение о «трех мирах» до сих пор вызывает весьма различные толкования в научных кругах. Сковорода был поэтом, писавшим духовные стихи. Он сочинял стихотворные произведения, прежде всего различного рода песни, писал трактаты, притчи, диалоги, басни, делал переводы. Еще при жизни писатель Сковорода стал широко известен. Но интерес к его философским произведениям стал возрастать лишь через много лет после кончины их автора. Сковорода является одним из самых замечательных мыслителей в истории славянских культур и литератур.

Ключевые слова:

Григорий Сковорода, кирилло-мефодиевское наследие, украинская литература, философия.

Gregory Skovoroda (1722–94) is an outstanding Ukrainian writer, philosopher and educator who created the original doctrine of the “three worlds.” He was born into a Cossack family in the Poltava region. With a break he studied at the Kievo-Mogila Academy, where St George of Konis was one of his teachers. He sang in the court choir of the Russian Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, traveled as part of her mission to the Austrian Empire, where he stayed for more than two years, learning about the local culture and science. Upon returning to

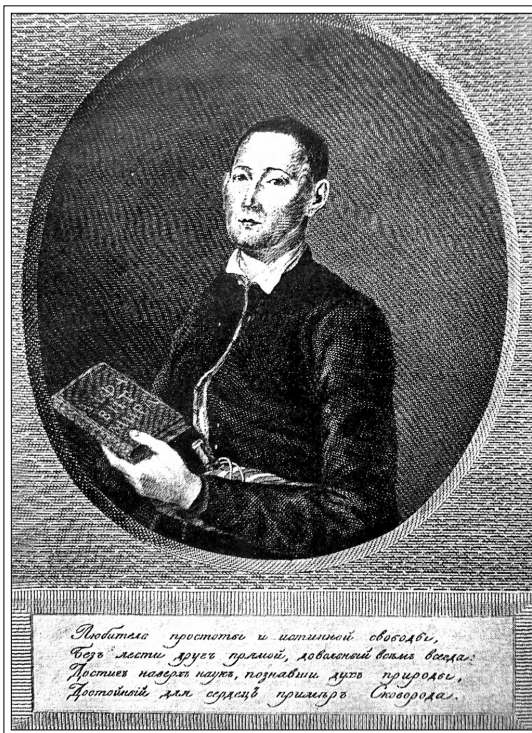
¹ The work was carried out with the financial support of the RFBR (grant № 18–512–76004).

his homeland, he taught at the Pereyaslavl Collegium, served as a private tutor, composed many spiritual songs that already made him famous among the people. For several years in the 1760s, Skovoroda taught intermittently at Kharkov College and, after a series of conflicts with the church authorities, finally moved on to the position of a wandering sage: "the Elder." During this period, he created the major part of his works, his own philosophical doctrine crystallized, based on the concepts of "macrocosm," "microcosm," the "world of symbols" and two "natures." Skovoroda interpreted the Bible as a deeply symbolic book, and this biblical study deserves special attention, because only then is it possible to correctly understand everything he wrote.

The diversity of genres in Skovoroda's works was largely determined by the recipients for whom they were created. He composed poetry, particularly various sorts of songs, wrote treatises, parables, dialogues, fables, made translations, and the body of his epistolary works is significant. His satirical song, "Every city has a temper and a right," became widely known. It was derided by landowners, usurers and merchants. Later on it was put to music and eagerly performed by Kobzar singers.

The main language of Skovoroda's writings was the book language of that time, cultivated, in particular, at the Kievo-Mogila Academy, which included many Church Slavisms. Some of his

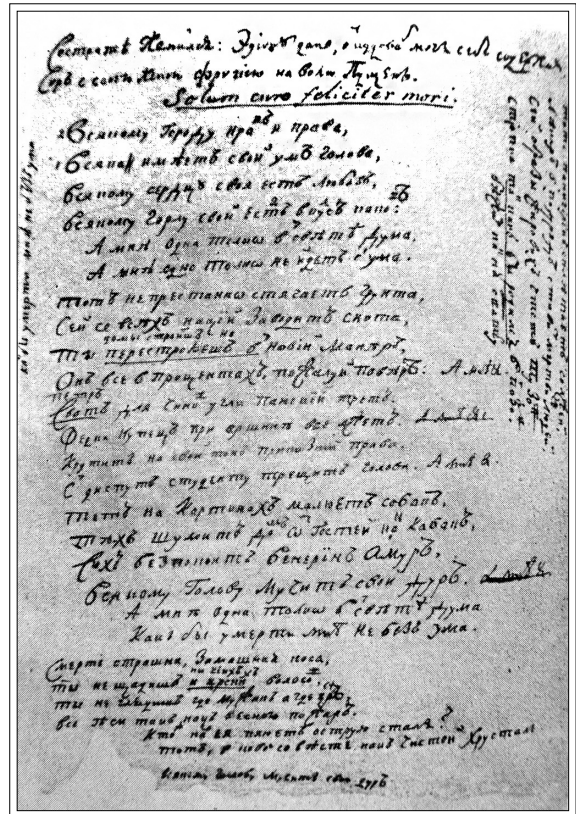
works were created in Latin and Greek, which he knew. The most detailed and accurate information about the beginning of Skovoroda's main literary activity was left by his beloved student and friend, M.I. Kovalinsky, who wrote about Skovoroda's desire for solitude: "Skovoroda, prompted by the spirit, withdrew into deep solitude. Near Kharkov there is a place called Guzhvinsky, belonging to landowners by the name of Zemborsky, whom he loved for their kindness. It is covered with a gloomy forest, in the middle of which was an apiary with one hut. Here Gregory settled, hiding from the rumors of life and the slander of the clergy. Indulging in free reflection, and his peace of mind protected by silence, dispassion and the absence of worldly vani-



Gregory Skovoroda,
engraving of the 19th century

ties, he wrote his first work here in the form of a book called by him *Narcissus, or: Know Yourself*. His earlier, previously written small works were only fragmentary, in verse and prose. Continuing his life as a recluse there, he wrote another work entitled: *The book of Ashan' on the knowledge of himself*, which he attributed to his friend. Kovalinsky who had known Skovoroda very closely for many years, also offered a very important description of his inner state: "Curiosity, settling in the heart of Skovoroda, brought him the well-being possible for the earth-born. Free from the bonds of all compulsion, vanity, temptation, care, he found all his desires fulfilled in the insignificance thereof. Engaged in reducing his natural wants and not in their propagation, he tasted pleasures incomparable to those of the fortunate. When the sun, burning countless candles on the woven emerald shroud, offered his meal with a generous hand to the senses, then he, accepting a cup of amusements, not dissolved by any sorrows of life, no passionate sighs, no vain distractions, and tasting the delight of high mindedness, in complete peace of complacency, used to say: "Thanks be to the all-blessed God that he made the necessary easy, and the difficult unnecessary!"

Skovoroda did not care much about the fate of his creations; at the end of his life he even wrote that "they would have disappeared long ago for me." In these years he called himself "the Elder, a teacher of the law of God Gregory Varsava Skovoroda" and asked: "What does Varsava mean? Var is a Jewish son; Sava is the sirs of the world. So Var — Ivan is the son of a dove; Var — Sava — the son of the world, i.e., the son of Sava." Thus, the external and internal appearance of Skovoroda can be described by his own definitions of "elder," "teacher of the law of God," "son of the world," which are very important for a correct understanding of the evolution of the philo-



The handwritten text of the song by Gregory Skovoroda "Every city has a character and law."

Kiev, Institute of Literature
named after T.G. Shevchenko of the National
Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

F 86, No. 24, L 80

sophical and theological and general life views of this philosopher. In contrast to the spiritual songs (cantos) of Skovoroda, which were widely disseminated among the people during the life of their author through rewriting, and more often due to the singing of wandering kobzars and lyrists, his first prose works began to be printed only after his death. They attracted the attention of prominent people from enlightened society only in the middle and second half of the 19th century. Moreover, by that time much of what he had written, but which remained in the manuscript form, had been lost.

Even during Skovoroda's lifetime, some manuscripts of his prose works were distributed among his not so numerous admirers, to whom we owe their preservation. The first attempts to collect Skovoroda's works were mainly made by Kovalinsky, whom the philosopher frankly informed that he "didn't give out autographs, but also distributed autographs, made gifts of them, squandered them" and even "burned" them in bitterness. In total, according to Skovoroda himself, the number of his creations was as follows:

- “1) Narcissus, or: Know Yourself.
- 2) Symphony: rivers — I will keep my ways.
- 3) Symphony: Don't hang it.
- 4) Illiterate Marco.
- 5) Alphabet of the world: on nature.
- 6) Conversation 'Ring.'
- 7) Ancient world.
- 8) Lot's wife.
- 9) The battle of the Archangel Michael with Satan.
- 10) Icon of Alcibiades.
- 11) Conversation I. Zion.
- 12) Conversation II. Zion.
- 13) Conversation III. Two.
- 14) Dialogue: Soul and immortal Spirit.
- 15) Grateful Herod.
- 15a) Poor Lark.
- 16) On Christian good morality, or catechism.
- 17) Ashan', about knowing yourself.

Translations:

- 1) About old age (Cicero).
- 2) About God's justice ...
- 3) About death ...
- 4) About protection from debts ...

- 5) About peace of mind ...
- 6) About lust for wealth ...
- 7) On solitude ... (Sidronia)."

Kovalinsky's final words about the works of the writer and philosopher are very important. Cited by him in his own handwritten essay, *The Life of Gregory Skovoroda*: "In addition to the works and their translations, many in Russian, Latin, Hellenic, his letters are very instructive, written to a friend and others; many poems and other works, a collection of which is partly kept by his friend. Since he wrote for his country, he sometimes used Little Russian dialects and spelling used in pronunciation of Little Russian: he always loved his natural language and rarely forced himself to express himself in a foreign language; he preferred Hellenic to all other foreign languages."

To date, there is a great deal written in many languages of the world devoted to the life and work of Skovoroda. Analysis of it allows us to make a convincing case that much of his legacy has received and continues to receive very different, sometimes completely contradictory evaluations. Researchers mostly agree, perhaps, on one thing: Gregory Skovoroda was one of the most remarkable thinkers in the history of Slavic cultures and literature, the undoubted and absolute pride of Eastern Slavia, "the peak of Old Ukrainian culture."

Translated by Igor Kaliganov

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. A portrait of Gregory Skovoroda. Unknown artist, the end of the 18th century — beginning of the 19th century.
2. Gregory Skovoroda, engraving from the 19th century.
3. Personal belongings of Gregory Skovoroda. The National Literary and Memorial Museum of G.S. Skovoroda.
4. The handwritten text of the song by Gregory Skovoroda "Every city has a character and law." Institute of Literature named after T.G. Shevchenko of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. F. 86, No. 24, L. 80.
5. The first page of the handwritten dialogue by G. Skovoroda "Narcissus". Kiev, Institute of Literature named after T.G. Shevchenko of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. F. 86, No. 9, L. 67.

6. The handwritten text of a letter by Gregory Skovoroda to Y. Provitsky (DM RSL. F. 32, 16. 21. L. 1).
7. A watch which belonged to Gregory Skovoroda. The National Literary and Memorial Museum of G.S. Skovoroda.
8. Bust at the burial place of Gregory Skovoroda in the village of Skovorodinovka. Sculptor I. Kavaleridze. 1972.
9. Monument to Gregory Skovoroda in Kiev. Sculptor I. Kavaleridze, architect V. Gnezdilov. 1977.
10. A plaque from the burial place of Gregory Skovoroda. The National Literary and Memorial Museum of G.S. Skovoroda.

*LIST OF THE BOOK'S
ILLUSTRATIONS*

*СПИСОК
ИЛЛЮСТРАЦИЙ*

1. St Sava and St Simeon: worshipers of the main temple at the Hilandar monastery. P. 23.
2. St Simeon of Serbia, mural painting at the Church of Virgin (Levish) in Prisren, 1307–09. P. 25.
3. St Sava of Serbia, Sts Tsar Constantine and Tsaritsa Helena, fresco at the Grachanitsa monastery, c. 1338. P. 28.
4. St Panteleimon monastery, Mount Athos, modern view. P. 34.
5. Habbacum's journey through Siberia. Artist S. Miloradovich, 1898. Moscow, State Museum of the History of Religion. P. 45.
6. A portrait of I.I. Sreznevsky, engraving, 1880. P. 55.
7. The First volume of I.I. Sreznevsky's work "Materials for the dictionary of the Old Russian language on written monuments," published after the death of the scholar. P. 57.
8. Photo of P.A. Lavrov. P. 61.
9. One of the most important works by P.A. Lavrov: "Cyril and Methodius in the long-words's word." P. 64.
10. "The Great School" in Belgrade, where P.A. Kulakovsky taught. [Moscow — Serbia, Belgrade — Russia. Vol. 3. Beograd, 2012]. P. 72.
11. P.A. Kulakovsky. P. 75.
12. Photo of Vas.I. Nemirovich-Danchenko, shortly after 1876. P. 78.
13. A portrait of N.S. Derzhavin, made some time after 1947. P. 83.
14. The cover of the scholar's popular book "On the Bulgarians and the Bulgarian Relocation to Russia." Berdyansk, 1912. P. 84.
15. Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander between Christ and Manasses, thumbnail from the Vatican List of Chronicle by Constantine Masnasses (14th century). P. 103.
16. Ivan IV (the Terrible), Old painted portrait (parsuna). P. 107.
17. Diplomat, ethnographer I.S. Yastrebov. P. 113.
18. View of the city of Prizren, where I.S. Yastrebov worked as a Russian consul. P. 114.
19. A portrait of Naum Vekilhardzhi. P. 118.
20. Page of the first ABC book and textbook of Albanian language, released by N. Vekilhardzhi in 1845. P. 119.
21. Luke the Evangelis, miniature from the Ostromir Gospel, 1056–57. L. 87r. P. 123.
22. Russian scholar A. Kh. Vostokov (1781–1864), who carried out the first typesetting of the Ostromir Gospel in 1843 in St. Petersburg. P. 125.
23. Prince Lazarus, the lifetime fresco at the monastery of the Ascension, Ravanitsa, 1385–87. P. 134.
24. Miniature depicting the death of Prince Lazarus on the Kosovo field, the illuminated compiled Chronicle, second Osterman volume, mid-16th century. P. 135.
25. St George the New of Sofia, fresco at the Serbian Patriarchate of Pech, 1561. P. 140.
26. The Turks take the Christians into captivity, engraving of the 18th century. P. 141.
27. The oldest handwritten text of the Russian *Life of St George the New of Sofia*. Autograph of the Novgorod presbyter Eliyah, 1539. P. 144.
28. Father Paisius at the work. Artist Koyu Denchev. P. 147.

29. Sophronius of Vratsa, self-portrait in "Autobiography." P. 152.
30. The title sheet of "Nedelnik" by Sophronius of Vratsa. Rymnik, 1806. P. 154.
31. Jovan Raich. Archimandrite, engraving from the St. Petersburg edition of *The History of different Slavic Peoples*, 1795. P. 157.
32. The title page of the work *The History of different Slavic Peoples*. St. Petersburg, 1795. P. 158.
33. The title page with the prayers of Cyril of Turov, manuscript of the 15th century. Kiev, National Library of Ukraine named after V. I. Vernadsky, Institute of manuscripts. P. 165.
34. A portrait of Dr. Francisk Skoryna, engraving, 1517. P. 168.
35. The title page of the publication by Francisk Skorina *The Bibliya Ruska* ("The Russian Bible"). Prague, 1517–19. P. 169.
36. The title page of *The Apostle*. Moscow, 1564. P. 173.
37. The title page of *The Apostle*. Lvov, 1574. P. 175.
38. The title sheet of the Ostrog Bible, 1581. P. 179.
39. A version of the output sheet of the Ostrog Bible, 1581. [With the date of 12 July 1580, but in fact it was released a year later]. P. 180.
40. The title page of the first edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588. P. 188.
41. The coat of arms of Leo Sapega in the first edition of the *Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1588. P. 189.
42. Staka Skenderova. P. 193.
43. Alexander F. Hilferding. State Archive of RF, F. 1463, inv. 1, st. u. 802. P. 199.
44. Procopy Chokorilo. P. 204.
45. First Bosnian newspaper, "The Bosnian Herald" (1866–67). P. 209.
46. Yoaniky Pamuchina. P. 214.
47. Christo Botev. P. 219.
48. Bulgarian revolutionary, writer and politician Zakhari Stoyanov (1850–89). P. 244.
49. "Vasil Levski ('Deacon'). Features of his life," the cover of the Stoyanov's book on the revolutionary. P. 225.
50. Petko R. Slaveykov. Photo, 1884. P. 230.
51. The first edition of the collection by Petko R. Slaveykov "Variegated bouquet." Tsar'grad [Constantinople], 1852. P. 231.
52. Dodri Voynikov. 1875. P. 234.
53. The first edition of the comedy by D. Voynikov "The misunderstood civilization." Bucharest, 1871. P. 235.
54. Lyuben Karavelov. Photographer A. N. Stoyanovich, 1876. P. 238.
55. Monument to Lyuben Karavelov in Koprivshtitsa near his house. Sculptor N. Petrenko. P. 240.
56. Ivan Vazov. Photo of the last years of the writer's life. P. 243.
57. The house-museum of Ivan Vazov in Sopot, where he was born. P. 244.
58. Monument to Ivan Vazov in Sofia. P. 245.
59. Ivan Tsankar, 1915. P. 149.

60. The cover of the I. Tsankar's "For the good of the people," 1900. P. 251.
61. Edward Kotsbek, 1930. P. 254.
62. Monument to E. Kotsbek in Tivoli, Lyublyana. Sculptor B. Drinovets, 2004. P. 257.
63. Alexander D. Chertkov. Artist P.F. Sokolov, the end of 1830s. P. 261.
64. Ex libris of Alexander D. Chertkov. P. 262.
65. "View of Mokhovaya street. The building of the Moscow Imperial University." Paper, watercolor. Unknown artist, 1830s. P. 267.
66. Osip M. Bodyansky. P. 268.
67. A portrait of Rayko Zhinzifov. P. 273.
68. The title page of the collection *Novobălgarska Sbirka*. Moscow, 1863. P. 274.
69. Yury I. Venelin (1802–39). P. 279.
70. The title page of the book "Ancient and Modern Bulgarians in their Political, Folk, Historical and Religious Relation to the Russians." Moscow, 1829. P. 280.
71. Alexander F. Veltman. Artist F. Berger, copper engraving, dotted. France / Russia, 1835. P. 285.
72. A portrait of Lyudev it Guy. P. 290.
73. A portrait of Petar II P. Negosh. P. 297.
74. The cover of the first edition of "The Mountain Crown," 1847. P. 298.
75. The Mausoleum of Petar P. Negosh in Lovchen, Montenegro. P. 300.
76. Blazhe Koneski. P. 304.
77. Kocho Ratsin. P. 308.
78. Desanka Maksimovich. P. 313.
79. The cross of St Euphrosyne of Polotsk, 12th century. P. 319.
80. The first sheet of the Peresopnitsa's Gospel. 1556–61. P. 324.
81. The first sheet of the month in the Peresopnitsa's Gospel. 1556–61. P. 325.
82. The output sheet of the Zabludov Gospel, 1569. P. 328.
83. The Coat of arms of G.A. Khodkevich. Zabludov Gospel of 1569. P. 329.
84. The title page of the first edition "Synopsis." Kiev, 1674. P. 332.
85. The title page of the second edition "Synopsis." Kiev, 1678. P. 333.
86. The title page of the first edition "The Book of the Lives of the Saints" by St Dimi-try of Rostov. Vol. I. Kiev, 1689. P. 336.
87. Gregory Skovoroda, engraving of the 19th century. P. 340.
88. The handwritten text by G. Skovoroda's song "Every city has a character and law." Kiev, Institute of Literature named after T.G. Shevchenko of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, F. 86, No. 24, L. 80. P. 341.

INFORMATION
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СПРАВКА
ОБ АВТОРАХ

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St Mary Magdalene (3rd class). He has honorary titles of the International biographical center. Research interests: history, culture and literature of the East Slavic peoples and cultural interaction between them in a wide chronological range. Author and co-author of several dozen monographs and pamphlets in Russian and Belarusian, including individual ones: "Cyrillic editions of Suprasl printing house" (Moscow, 1978); "Slavic Cyrillic printed books from the 15th to the first quarter of the 17th century (Moscow, 1982); "To the whole Orthodox world (Orthodox literature of interwar Poland)" (Moscow, 1995); "On good education" (Minsk, 1999); "The literary legacy of N. P. Rumyantsev" (Moscow, 2004); Member of the editorial boards of the multi-volume "Orthodox Encyclopedia", of magazines "Ancient Rus'" and "Traditions and modernity", of the "Yearbook of Belarus" and "Ukraine: history and culture", and the RAS publishing series "History of Slavic Cyrillic printing of the 15th — early 17th century". In this book, he is the author of six articles about early printed books and the first typographers of the Eastern Slavs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

СПИСОК
СОКРАЩЕНИЙ

A

ab. ⇒ about
 ac. ⇒ academic, academician
 admin. ⇒ administrative
 Alb. ⇒ Albanian
 Am. ⇒ American
 ambas. ⇒ ambassador
 anc. ⇒ ancient
 ap. ⇒ apostle
 arch. ⇒ archaic
 art. ⇒ artist
 archbish. ⇒ archbishop
 archaeol. ⇒ archaeologist
 archim. ⇒ archimandrite
 archit. ⇒ architect, architecture
 archiv. ⇒ archivist
 archpr. ⇒ archpriest
 Ath. ⇒ Athonite
 Austr. ⇒ Austrian

B

Balk. ⇒ Balkanian
 Belar. ⇒ Belarusian
 bibl. ⇒ biblical
 bibliogr. ⇒ bibliographer
 biblioph. ⇒ bibliophile
 Belg. ⇒ Belgian
 Believ. ⇒ Believer
 bish. ⇒ bishop
 Bosn. ⇒ Bosnian
 Bulg. ⇒ Bulgarian
 Byz. ⇒ Byzantine

C

c. ⇒ circa
 Can. ⇒ Canadian
 cap. ⇒ capital
 cath. ⇒ catholic
 christ. ⇒ christian

collect. ⇒ collection, collector
 cor. ⇒ correspondent
 cr. ⇒ creator
 crit. ⇒ critic
 Croat. ⇒ Croatian
 cult. ⇒ culture

D

Dal. ⇒ Dalmatian
 Dan. ⇒ Danish
 desp. ⇒ despot
 dipl. ⇒ diplomat
 disc. ⇒ disciple
 dist. ⇒ district
 dram. ⇒ dramatist

E

ed. ⇒ editor
 educ. ⇒ educator
 em. ⇒ emperor, empress
 Eng. ⇒ English
 equalap. ⇒ Equal-to-the-Apostles
 ethnogr. ⇒ ethnographer

F

f. ⇒ fund
 folk. ⇒ folklore, folklorist
 for. ⇒ foreign
 fig. ⇒ figure
 found. ⇒ founder
 Fr. ⇒ French

G

gen. ⇒ general
 Georg. ⇒ Georgian
 Ger. ⇒ German
 Gr. ⇒ Greek
 grmrt. ⇒ Great-Martyr

H

heg. ⇨ hegumen
 Herzeg. ⇨ Herzegovinian
 hier. ⇨ hieromonk
 his. ⇨ historical
 hist. ⇨ historian

I

ideol. ⇨ ideologist, ideological
 il. ⇨ illuminator
 inv. ⇨ inventory
 It. ⇨ Italian

J

jour. ⇨ journalist

K

k. ⇨ king

L

l. ⇨ list
 lead. ⇨ leader
 libr. ⇨ library
 librar. ⇨ librarian
 ling. ⇨ linguist
 lit. ⇨ literature, literary
 Lith. ⇨ Lithuanian

M

Mac. ⇨ Macedonian
 mrtr. ⇨ martyr
 mem. ⇨ member
 merch. ⇨ merchant
 metrop. ⇨ metropolitan
 migr. ⇨ migrant
 mil. ⇨ military
 min. ⇨ ministry, minister
 mod. ⇨ modern

Mold. ⇨ Moldavia, Moldova,
 Moldavian
 mon. ⇨ monk
 monas. ⇨ monastery
 Montenegr. ⇨ Montenegrin
 mov. ⇨ movement
 mus. ⇨ musician

N

nat. ⇨ national
 Norw. ⇨ Norwegian
 Novg. ⇨ Novgorod, Novgorodian

O

Ottom. ⇨ Ottoman
 outst. ⇨ outstanding

P

patr. ⇨ patriarch
 philol. ⇨ philologist
 philos. ⇨ philosopher
 Pol. ⇨ Polish
 pr. ⇨ priest
 prof. ⇨ professor
 proph. ⇨ prophet
 publ. ⇨ publicist
 publish. ⇨ publisher

Q

q. ⇨ queen

R

r. ⇨ reverse
 reg. ⇨ region
 rel. ⇨ relative
 relig. ⇨ religious
 rep. ⇨ representative
 res. ⇨ researcher

rev. ⇨ revolutionary, revolutionary
rever. ⇨ revered
riv. ⇨ river
Rom. ⇨ Romanian
rur. ⇨ rural
Rus. ⇨ Russian

S

sch. ⇨ scholar
scien. ⇨ scientist
Serb. ⇨ Serbian
sevast. ⇨ sevastocrator
slav. ⇨ slavist
Slavoph. ⇨ Slavophile,
Slavophilism
Slov. ⇨ Slovenian
Slovak. ⇨ Slovakian
soc. ⇨ social
sov. ⇨ soviet
spec. ⇨ specialist
St ⇨ Saint
Sts ⇨ Saints
st. u. ⇨ store unit
Sw. ⇨ Swiss
Swed. ⇨ Swedish

T

Test. ⇨ Testament
theatr. ⇨ theatrical
transl. ⇨ translation, translator
Turk. ⇨ Turkish

U

Ukr. ⇨ Ukrainian
un. ⇨ university

V

v. ⇨ village

W

wr. ⇨ writer

Y

Yugosl. ⇨ Yugoslavian

AE → American English
AS → Academy of Sciences
BE → British English
DM → Department of Manuscripts
DSc → Doctor of Sciences
PhD → Doctor of Philosophy
RAS → Russian Academy of Sciences
RFBR → Russian Fund for Basic Research
RNL → Russian National Library
RSL → Russian State Library
SHM → State Historical Museum
SHRA → Society of History and Russian Antiquities



IGOR I.
KALIGANOV

INTRODUCTION TO THE INDEXES

One of the greatest difficulties in preparing this book for publication was the translation of Slavic personal names and geographical places into English. In searching throughout English-language sources for particular examples, I found myself in conditions of complete confusion and chaos. Just one example of a translation of a Russian personal name into English — the name ‘Юрий’ — had as many as seven iterations: Juri, Jurii, Yuriy, Yuri, Yrii, Yuriy, Yury. The situation was no better with many other lexical elements included in our indexes. All this led me to disappointing conclusions about the extreme heterogeneity of English language. If you liken it to the element of water, then in addition to the deep, clean ocean of classic English, you can also find seas, costal bays and harbors, which are fed by turbid rivers. The latter are translations of abstracts, articles and books made by foreigners from their native languages into English. In addition, it should take into account the growing impact on classical British English of its booming American version.

It seems that when choosing the best ways to transfer personal names and geographical names, it is most reliable to refer to academic literature. However, this is not always a guarantee of success. I remember many years ago encountering two different names for a 15th-century South Slavic writer — Constantine, who was born in Bulgaria, but then worked in Serbia. Russian scholars, who specialize in Serbia, followed Serbs’ own usage and called him Kosten’chski or Kostench’ski, but other Russian researchers (who did not know Bulgarian) called him Kostenechki in imitation of a Bulgarian tradition. I had to object to both, emphasizing that in accordance with the rules for the formation of adjectives in the Russian language, this Constantine should be called Kostenetsky, since he came from the Bulgarian village of Kostenets. Only after such an argument, this name managed to successfully establish itself in our academic literature. Therefore, reliance on “academic” samples does not always justify itself. Unfortunately, it is also the case even in authoritative publications such as *Encyclopedia Britannica*: I recently found the name of the ancient Bulgarian capital ‘Търново’, translated as ‘Tŭrnovo.’¹ And this is although the Bulgarian sound **ѣ** can be more successfully conveyed by letters **a** or **ă**, than by **u** or **û**. Therefore, it is necessary to approach the selection of appropriate examples with caution, not blindly trusting that the pseudo-academic tradition is always correct.

Looking through English-language sources with the purpose described above, I was able to identify several main reasons for this game of linguistic leapfrog. One of them is scholar’s using a particular website when translating Slavic proper names and geographical names. This website is designed to translate Slavic words and names of academic works listed in bibliographies from Cyrillic to Latin.² Apparent-

¹ See: *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*. 15th Edition. Vol. 14. New York, 1997. Bulgaria. P. 623–36.

² <https://www.translitteration.com/transliteration/en/russian/ala-lc/>

ly, this is why some of the forms of the Russian name 'Yuri' that we have mentioned were created. The machine-generated ending **'iy'**, unlike **'ay'**, **'oy'** and **'ey'** after consonants, is not typical of the English language, and it looks strange to the Russian eye too. The same applies to the ending **'ii'**. It would be more organic for proper names in English to represent the sound **'i'** after a consonant through the inflection **'y'** (Yury), or, less plausibly, using **'i'** (Yuri — a form that spread in the English-speaking world after the flight into space of Y. Gagarin). As for the incorrect use of the letter **'J'** at the beginning of this name, its first creator was clearly influenced by the correspondence of certain lexical pairs in Russian and English such as **'Юлия'** — **'Julia'**, **'Иосиф'** — **'Joseph'** and the like. However, he did not consider that his use of **'J'** leads to an involuntary compromise of the name: it begins to resemble the word for a fake person.

The greatest objection I have is to the increasingly used direct transfer of personal names and geographical names from South Slavic languages which use the Latin alphabet into English. It seems that this transfer is based on an erroneous belief in the existence of a common Latin alphabet, the same for all its users. In fact, there are many variations of the Latin alphabet in the world, adapted to the specific sound structure of each of the specific languages. These sounds are transmitted by creating special letters, using diacritical marks, introducing rules for the sound of widely used letters depending on their position in the word, and so on. A direct transfer of words from one language system to another, without taking into account these specifics, can often disfigure its sound beyond recognition. As an example we can cite the English version of the article in Wikipedia on the Slovenian writer Ivan Tsancar. Its anonymous author uses the original Slovenian spelling of the creator's last name **'Cancar'**, and this radically changes its sound. The initial syllable **'Can'** will certainly be pronounced as **'kán'**, by English speaker, which forces the author to add an explanation. He apologetically clarifies the correct pronunciation of this surname in English, requires that the initial **'c'** should be pronounced as **'ts'**, but this does not change the essence of the matter. The author's recommendation contradicts the generally accepted rules of pronunciation in English, and he clearly forgot about the well-known saying "When in Rome, do as the Romans do", believing that when English speaker reader comes across the unchanged Slovenian surname **'Cankar'** in publications, he will certainly ask Wikipedia how to pronounce it correctly in English. In general, one should use this encyclopedia very carefully, keeping in mind that its articles are posted without any prior academic editing.

The forms mentioned above are very often used by Eastern and Southern Slavs who, when translate their articles into English, do not realize that there is a difference between BE and AE.

There is another side to the matter. I would like to emphasize that the translation in this book was made into BE from the Russian language, and not from the Belarusian and Ukrainian. Therefore, readers will not find in it the forms of proper names and geographical names that convey their Belarusian or Ukrainian vocalization. They will not find in it, for example, such a form of the Belarusian name as **'Францыск Скарына'** / **'Francysk Skaryna'**: the preference is given to the Russian

form 'Франциск Скорина' / 'Francisk Skorina.' It is what how this outstanding East Slavic educator of the 16th century called himself (see the illustration on p. 169 of this book). The same applies, for example, to the Ukrainian name announcement of the "mother of the Russian cities," the city of "Київ" / "Kyiv." In the book tribute is paid to the centuries-old tradition of translating this word from Russian into BE: 'Киев' / 'Kiev.' Without this kind of linguistic purism, we would end up with a translation into BE from some unthinkable Russian-Ukrainian-Belarusian language.

The similar is my attitude to the widespread direct transfers from the South Slavic languages of proper names and geographical names with specific Latin letters, such as Karadžić, Negoš, Kičevo, Žića. The abundance of such transfers in AE may be explained by the presence in the United States of numerous South Slavic diasporas, especially Serbian and Croatian. Many words of this kind are beginning to permeate the BE because of the ever-increasing influence of the overseas AE. My attitude to these transfers is quite definite. I replaced the letters **ž, č, š** (which are not present in the English alphabet) by the English letter combinations **zh, ch, sh** that convey their sound. Throughout the articles there was a replacement of the letter 'c' in many South Slavic words, such as 'Studenica' and 'Lazarica', which has the sounds 'ts' in these examples. If you leave it unchanged in the English text, it will transmit the sound 'k' in this position. Similarly, in the process of translation, I consistently expelled the letter **j**, which was used by researchers-translators to indicate iotation at the beginning of a word, in the middle of a word before a vowel, or to soften the preceding consonant: for example, in the Slovenian word Ljubljana. In English it does not have such functions, and therefore is replaced in such cases by **y**: Lyublyana instead of original Slovenian 'Ljubljana'. Without these changes, many English-speaking (and especially non-native English) readers would have difficulty trying to pronounce South Slavic words in their native graphic embodiment with the diacritics. Constantly encountering them in VMSC, such readers will experience a whole range of feelings. In the beginning, this will confuse them because they do not know how to pronounce such words (and they will pronounce them, of course, incorrectly), then they will feel annoyed, followed by irritation, and eventually they will have a feeling of rejection of what is in front of them.

In general, one can be surprised at the tolerant courage of the British, allowing a mass invasion of unfamiliar foreign material into the deep, clean ocean discussed above, unafraid of its contamination. I am sure that Russian readers would be horrified by the presence of the South Slavic Cyrillic letters such as **љ, њ, џ, ћ, ќ** or Ukrainian and Belarusian **ѣ, і** and **і** in Russian words. This would be perceived by them as acts of linguistic ill-breeding.

I will also add that the problem of correct pronunciation of many "irregular" English words could be mitigated by providing audio recordings of the articles on the VMSC website, read by professional English speakers. It would be useful for all categories of the visitors to the VMSC website: the correct English pronunciation of many Russian words, for example 'Tsar' [za:], one can rarely hear from foreign reporters even at the academic conferences.

ВВОДНЫЕ ПОЯСНЕНИЯ К УКАЗАТЕЛЯМ

Одной из самых больших трудностей при подготовке этой книги к публикации являлась передача на английский язык славянских личных имен и географических названий. Отыскивая нужные мне образцы в англоязычных источниках, я столкнулся с полной неразберихой и хаосом. Одних только вариантов передачи по-английски русского имени 'Юрий' обнаружилось целых семь: Juri, Jurii, Juriy, Yuri, Yrii, Yuriy, Yury. Не лучше обстояло дело и со многими другими, входящими в наши индексы лексическими единицами. Все это привело меня к неутешительному выводу о крайней неоднородности стихии английского языка. Если уподобить ее стихии водной, то, помимо глубокого, чистого, океана (классического английского), в ней открываешь прибрежные моря, заливы и бухты, в которые вливаются не всегда прозрачные реки. Последними служат переводы аннотаций, статей и книг на английский язык, сделанные иностранцами, для которых он не является родным. Кроме того, здесь следует учитывать растущее воздействие на классический английский Британский ('BE' — British English) его бурно развивающегося Американского варианта ('AE').

Кажется, что при выборе наилучших вариантов передачи личных имен и географических названий надежнее всего обращаться к научной академической литературе. Однако и это не всегда служит гарантией успеха. Я помню, как много лет назад столкнулся с двумя различными прозвищами южнославянского писателя XV в. Константина, родившегося в Болгарии, но затем творившего в Сербии. Российские сербисты вслед за сербами называли его Костенчским или Костеньчским, а не знавшие болгарского языка исследователи в подражание болгарской традиции, — Костенечки. Мне пришлось возразить и тем, и другим, подчеркивая, что, в соответствии с правилами образования имен прилагательных в русском языке, этого Константина следует называть Костенецким, поскольку он происходил из болгарского села Костенец. Лишь после этого аргумента данное прозвище сумело благополучно утвердиться в нашей научной литературе. Следовательно, опора на «академические» образцы не всегда оправдывает себя. К сожалению, даже в таком, например, авторитетном издании, как *Encyclopedia Britannica* я обнаружил недавно название древней болгарской столицы 'Търново', переданное как 'Tŭrnovo'¹. И это притом, что болгарский звук **ѣ** более удачно в английском языке передается посредством **a** или **ă**, но не **u** или **û**. Поэтому к выбору для себя соответствующих образцов необходимо подходить с осторожностью, не доверяя слепо правильности псевдоакадемической традиции.

¹ See: *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*. 15th Edition. Vol. 14. New York, 1997. Bulgaria. P. 623–636.

Просматривая англоязычные источники с названной выше целью, мне удалось выявить несколько основных причин упомянутой чехарды. Одной из них является использование учеными при передаче славянских имен собственных и географических названий сайта, предназначенного для перевода с кириллицы на латиницу славянских слов и наименований научных работ из списков литературы². Видимо, благодаря этому возникли некоторые упомянутые нами формы русского имени 'Юрий'. Появившееся в результате работы машины окончание **'iy'**, в отличие от **'ay'**, **'oy'** и **'ey'** после согласных, не свойственно английскому языку, выглядя странным и для русского глаза. То же самое относится и к окончанию **'ii'**. Более органичными для имен собственных в английском выглядит передача звука **'i'** после согласной посредством флексии **'y'** (Yury), или, что менее благовидно, при помощи **'i'** (Yuri — форма, распространившаяся в англоязычном мире после полета в космос Юрия Гагарина). Что же касается неверного употребления в начале этого имени буквы **'J'**, то её первый создатель явно находился под влиянием соответствия таких лексических пар в русском и английском, как 'Юлия' — 'Julia', 'Иосиф' — 'Joseph' и им подобных. Однако он не учел, что использование им начального **'J'** приводит к невольной компроментации имени: его звучание начинает напоминать слово, обозначающее фальшивого человека.

Наибольшее противление у меня вызывает все шире применяющийся прямой перенос в узус английского языка личных имен и географических названий из языков южнославянских народов, использующих латинский алфавит. Складывается такое впечатление, что этот перенос строится на ошибочном убеждении в существовании некоего общего латинского алфавита, одинакового для всех его пользователей. На самом же деле в мире существует множество вариантов латинского алфавита, приспособленных к специфике звукового строя каждого из конкретных языков. Она передается посредством создания особых букв, применения диакритических значков, введения правил звучания широко распространенных литер в зависимости от их позиции в слове и т.д. Прямой перенос слов из одной языковой системы в другую без учета названной специфики зачастую может изуродовать его звучание до неузнаваемости. В качестве примера здесь можно привести английский вариант статьи в Википедии о словенском писателе Иване Цанкаре. Ее анонимный автор использует исконный словенский вариант написания фамилии творца 'Cancar,' и это кардинально изменяет ее звучание при чтении на английском. Начальный ее слог 'Can' англичанин и англоговорящий иностранец однозначно внутренне проговорит его как 'kân', и поэтому автор был вынужден оговориться. Он извинительно уточняет правильное произношение данной фамилии по-английски, отмечая, что начальное **'с'** нужно произносить как **'ts'**, но это не меняет сути дела. Рекомендация автора противоречит общепринятым правилам произношения в английском языке, и он явно забыл об известной поговорке "В чужой монастырь со своим уставом не ходят". По-видимому, он полагал,

² <https://www.translitteration.com/transliteration/en/russian/ala-lc/>

что, встречая неизмененную словенскую фамилию Цанкар в публикациях, англоязычный читатель будет непременно справляться в Википедии, как ее следует правильно произносить по-английски. В целом пользоваться данной энциклопедией нужно очень осторожно, помня о том, что статьи в ней размещаются без какой-либо предварительной научной редактур.

Упомянутые выше формы очень часто используют восточные и южные славяне, которые, переводя свои статьи на английский язык, не отдают себе отчета о наличии разницы между 'BE' и 'AE'.

Существует и другая сторона дела. Я хотел бы подчеркнуть, что помещенный в данной книге перевод на 'BE' производился с языка русского, а не с белорусского и украинского. Поэтому читатели не найдут в нем форм имен собственных и географических названий, передающих их белорусскую или украинскую огласовку. Они не обнаружат в нем, например, такую форму белорусского имени, как 'Францыск Скарына' / 'Francysk Skaryna' — предпочтение отдается русской форме 'Франциск Скорина' / 'Francisk Skorina'. Именно так именoval себя сам этот выдающийся восточнославянский просветитель XVI в. (см. иллюстрацию на с. 169 данной книги). То же самое относится, например, к украинской огласовке названия «матери русских городов» г. 'Київ' / 'Kyiv'. В книге дань отдается многовековой традиции перевода этого слова с русского на 'BE': 'Киев' / 'Kiev'. Без соблюдения этого своеобразного лингвистического пуризма мы получили бы в итоге перевод на BE с какого-то немыслимого русско-украинско-белорусского языка.

Аналогичным образом строится и мое отношение к широко распространенным в 'AE' прямым переносам из южнославянских языков имен собственных и географических названий со специфическими латинскими литерами, типа Karadžić, Njegoš, Kičev, Žiča. Обилие подобных переносов в 'AE', возможно, объясняется присутствием в США многочисленных южнославянских диаспор, особенно сербской и хорватской. Слова такого рода начинают проникать и в 'BE' по причине все усиливающегося влияния на него его заокеанского собрата. Мое отношение к ним вполне определенное. Отсутствующие в английском алфавите литеры **ž, č, š** были заменены мной на передающие их звучание английские буквенные сочетания **zh, ch, sh**. Произошла замена во многих южнославянских словах, типа 'Studenica' и 'Lazarica', и буквы **ц**, звучащей в них как 'ts'. При оставлении ее без изменения в английском тексте она станет передавать в такой позиции звук '**k**'. Подобным образом в процессе перевода я последовательно исключал букву **j**, переносимую исследователями-переводчиками для обозначения йотации в начале слова, в середине слова перед гласной или для смягчения предшествующей согласной, например, в словенском слове Ljubljana. В английском языке она не имеет таких функций, и поэтому заменяется в подобных позициях **y**: Lyublyana вместо словенского написания этого слова 'Ljubljana'.

Без аналогичных замен многие англоговорящие читатели, не имеющие филологического образования (особенно те, для которых английский не является родным), стали бы испытывать трудности, пытаясь произнести южно-

славянские слова в их исконном графическом воплощении с диакритикой. Постоянно сталкиваясь с ними в ВМСК, такие читатели испытают целую гамму чувств. В начале это поставит их в тупик из-за незнания, как такие слова следует произносить (и произнесут они их, разумеется, неправильно), затем они почувствуют досаду, сменяющуюся раздражением, и в итоге у них возникнет чувство отторжения того, что находится у них перед глазами.

В целом можно поражаться толерантной отваге англичан, которые допускают массовое вторжение инородного материала в тот глубокий, чистый океан, о котором ввелась выше речь, не страшась его загрязнения. Я думаю, что русские читатели пришли бы ужас от появления в русских словах специфических южнославянских кириллических букв, наподобие **љ**, **њ**, **џ**, **ћ** и **ќ** или украинских и белорусских **г**, **й** и **і**. Это было бы воспринято ими как акты, свидетельствующие о языковой невоспитанности.

Добавим также, что смягчить проблему правильного произношения многих «неправильных» английских слов помогло бы озвучивание статей на сайте ВМСК, выполненное профессиональными английскими дикторами. Оно было бы полезным для всех категорий посетителей ВМСК: правильное английское произношение многих русских слов, например ‘царь’ [za:], редко услышишь от выступающих иностранцев даже на академических конференциях.

В именном указателе встречающиеся в книге имена иногда приводятся в двух-трех вариантах: библейском, архаичном (часто церковнославянском) и более осовремененном.

INDEXES

УКАЗАТЕЛИ

INDEX OF NAMES / ИМЕННОЙ УКАЗАТЕЛЬ

A

- Abdul Aziz, *Türk. sult.* ⇒ 192, 195
 Abel, *Old Test. patr.* ⇒ 24
 Abraham, *Old Test. patr.* ⇒ 34
 Adelung F.P., *Rus. hist., philos.* ⇒ 261
 Ademovich F., *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 212
 Aesop, *anc. Gr. fabulist* ⇒ 153, 230
 Akhmadulina B.A., *Rus. poet.* ⇒ 316
 Akhmatova A.A., *Rus. poet.* ⇒ 316
 Akhtar Stoyancho (Stefan),
Bulg. collect. ⇒ 91
 Aksakov I.S., *Rus. wr., ed., publ.,
 ideol. of Slavoph.* ⇒ 227, 272, 274, 276
 Aksyonova E.P., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 88
 Alekseev S.V., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 132, 138
 Alexander I, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 124
 Alexander II, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 78, 205, 244
 Alexander Nevsky, *Rus. prince, St.* ⇒ 320
 Alexander of Svir', *Rus. St.* ⇒ 31
 Alexander, *Bulg. sevast., brother of Bulg. tsar
 Ivan Asen II* ⇒ 93
 Alexander, *son of Bulg. tsar
 Ivan Shishman* ⇒ 134
 Alexander, *Tsar of Mac., outst. gen.* ⇒ 103
 Alexandra, *daughter of Bryachislav,
 prince of Polotsk* ⇒ 320
 Alexey Mikhailovich, *Rus. tsar* ⇒ 47, 102, 144
 Alexis Comnenos, *Byz. em.* ⇒ 92
 Alexis III Angel, *Byz. em.* ⇒ 128
 Alexis Slav, *Bulg. ruler, desp. of Rhodope* ⇒ 93
 Aliger M.I., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 314, 316
 Anastasia Markovna, *wife of archpr.
 Habbacum (Rus. – Avvacum)* ⇒ 46
 Andrey of Bogolyubovo, *Rus. prince* ⇒ 163
 Andrew, *ap.* ⇒ 338
 Andrich I., *outst. Serb. wr.* ⇒ 316
 Andronov I ⇒ 228
 Angelakus, *grammatist* ⇒ 92
 Angelarius, *St., disc. of Sts. Cyril
 and Methodius* ⇒ 269
 Angelov B., *St., Bulg. philol., hist., lit. crit.* ⇒ 93,
 104
 Angelov D., *Bulg. hist., ac.* ⇒ 93
 Anna, *Serb. princess from
 the Yakshich dynasty* ⇒ 131
 Anna, *wife of Stefan Nemanya* ⇒ 29
 Anna Comnene, *Byz. princess* ⇒ 92
 Anthony Raphael Epactitus, *Serb. wr.* ⇒ 14, 136
 Anthony, *St. mrtr. of Vilna* ⇒ 35
 Antonov A., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 104
 Antonov I., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 228
 Aprilov V.E., *Odessa merch., sch., fig. of Bulg.
 nat. revival* ⇒ 270, 282
 Apostolov G., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 221
 Aretov N., *mod. Bulg. philol.* ⇒ 288
 Arnaudov M., *Bulg. sch., ac.* ⇒ 149
 Arseny (Arsenius), *heg. of Hilandar* ⇒ 130
 Arseny (Arsenius), *archbish. of Serbia,
 disc. of St. Sava* ⇒ 31, 37, 39–42
 Arsh G.L., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 120
 Asenides (Bulg. – Aseni), *ruling dynasty
 at the end of the 12th–14th century.* ⇒ 92, 98
 Asparukh, *khan, found.
 of the first Bulg. state* ⇒ 281
 Athanasius of Brest, *Belar. St.* ⇒ 318
 Athanasius the Athonite, *St.* ⇒ 135
 Athanasius, *patr. of Jerusalem* ⇒ 25

B

- Babich B., *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 212
 Bagritsky E., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 304
 Bakunin M.A., *Rus. rev., ideol.
 of anarchism* ⇒ 219

- Balshich D., *Serb. ruler* ⇒ 134
 Balzac O. de, *Fr. wr.* ⇒ 256
 Baranovich L., *Ukr. archim., wr.* ⇒ 157
 Baranovs, *Rus. noble family* ⇒ 274
 Baronius Caesar, *Rome cardinal, historiogr.* ⇒ 143, 148–149
 Barsov E.V., *Rus. sch., collect.* ⇒ 166
 Bartenev P.I., *Rus. hist., librar. of Chertkov libr.* ⇒ 260, 262, 267, 272–274, 276
 Bashmakov A.A., *Rus. soc. fig.* ⇒ 75
 Basil II, the Bulg. Slayer, *Byz. em.* ⇒ 102
 Basil, *heresiarch, head of the Bogomils* ⇒ 92
 Bathory Stefan., *Pol. king (see Stefan Bathory)*
 Batyushkov F.D., *Rus. poet, philol., teacher* ⇒ 51, 230
 Baudouin de Courtenay I.A., *Rus. and Pol. sch., ling.* ⇒ 59
 Bayeva S., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 232, 235
 Bayezid I, *Türk. sult.* ⇒ 135
 Bayezid II, *Türk. sult.* ⇒ 103
 Baytsura T., *Slovak. sch.* ⇒ 282
 Bazil-Barlaam (Vasily-Varlaam), *Pskov's hagiogr.* ⇒ 139
 Belich A., *Serb. and Yugosl. sch., ling.* ⇒ 62–63, 65, 84, 87
 Belyaeva J., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 311
 Benkovsky G., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 225
 Berednikov Ya.I., *Rus. hist., archit., ac. of Petersburg AS* ⇒ 263
 Berger F., *art.* ⇒ 288
 Bernik F., *Slov. sch.* ⇒ 252
 Bernshtein S.B., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 88
 Bershadskaya M.L., *mod. Rus. philol.* ⇒ 277
 Bessonov P.A., *Rus. slav. folk.* ⇒ 205, 207, 263, 266, 269–270, 280
 Bilyarsky I., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 93, 98
 Biogradliya S., *Bosn. ed.* ⇒ 210
 Blagoyevich N., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 65
 Blechich L., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 316
 Blok A.A., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 302
 Bludova A.D., *Rus. countess, wr.* ⇒ 192, 194
 Bodyansky O.M., *Rus. hist.-slav.* ⇒ 71, 238, 266, 268–269
 Bogatova G.A., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 59
 Bogdanovich D., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 145
 Bogsha L., *Belar. goldsmith* ⇒ 319
 Böll H. T., *Ger., wr., transl.* ⇒ 256
 Bonaventura A., *Slov. bish.* ⇒ 249
 Bonchev N., *first. Bulg. lit. crit.* ⇒ 275
 Boril, *Bulg. tsar* ⇒ 9, 30, 90–92
 Boris and Gleb, *brothers, Rus. Princes, first. Rus. Sts.* ⇒ 49
 Boris I, *khan / prince, the Baptizer of Bulgaria* ⇒ 92, 96, 101
 Boris II, *Bulg. tsar* ⇒ 92, 96, 101, 285, 287
 Botev Chr., *Bulg. poet and rev.* ⇒ 8, 87, 221–222, 224–225
 Bovan V., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 115
 Bozhilov I., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 93
 Brankoviches, *Serb. dynasty* ⇒ 131
 Brodsky I.A., *Rus. and Am. poet* ⇒ 316
 Bryusov V. Ya., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 304
 Burdin M. A., *employee of A.F. Veltman* ⇒ 288
 Burmov T., *Bulg. ed., fig. of nat. revival*
 Byron Ch., *Eng. poet* ⇒ 297
- ## C
- Catherine II, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 160
 Centerion, *archim. of Pech* ⇒ 41
 Chardin Pierre Teilhard de, *Fr. theologian, philos.* ⇒ 257
 Chartoryskies, *nobiles.* ⇒ 325
 Chartorysky Yu., *prince, state and mil. fig.* ⇒ 324–325
 Chekhov A.P., *Rus. wr., dram.* ⇒ 80, 250, 305
 Chelakovsky F.L., *Czech poet, wr., sch.* ⇒ 55
 Chengich Ismail-aga, *Herzeg. ruler* ⇒ 204
 Chernetsov N., *Rus. art.* ⇒ 47
 Chernev Zh., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 219
 Chernyaev M.G., *Rus. mil. fig.* ⇒ 47
 Chernyshyova M.I., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 2
 Chernyshevsky N.G., *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 56, 60, 66, 238

Chertkov A.D., *Rus. sch., bibliogr., cr. of the first Mos. Public libr.* ⇒ 8, 265–266, 268–269, 273, 275, 284, 286–287

Chertkov G.A., *son of A.D. Chertkov* ⇒ 260, 262–263, 273

Chintulov D., *Bulg. poet, compos. and teacher* ⇒ 282

Chizhevsky D., *Pol. sch.* ⇒ 343

Chokorilo P., *hier. from Mostar* ⇒ 7, 201, 203–206, 216

Chorovich Ch., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 132, 316

Chrabar Chernorizets, *Bulg. wr.* ⇒ 269

Christ ⇒ 136, 138, 140, 143, 145

Churkina I.V., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 206, 216

Clement of Ochrid, *St., bish., wr.* ⇒ 60, 62, 268–269

Cleopatra, *Q. of Egypt* ⇒ 103

Constantine Manasses, *Byz. poet and chron.* ⇒ 100, 102–105, 264–265, 268, 286

Constantine I Asen Tikh, *ruler of Second Bulg. Tsardom* ⇒ 91

Constantine of Kostenets, *Bulg. wr.* ⇒ 137, 361

Constantine, *prince of Ostrog* ⇒ 174, 178–180

Constantine of Preslav, *Bulg. bish., wr.* ⇒ 100, 169

Constantine the Great, *Rome em.* ⇒ 103

Constantine Ypsilantis (see Ypsilantis C.), *Moldav. ruler* ⇒ 152

Cyprian, *metrop. of Kiev* ⇒ 35

Cyprian, *hier. from Racha* ⇒ 136

Cyril and Methodius, *equalap. Sts., first Slav's teachers* ⇒ 5, 60, 62, 64, 66, 90–92, 104, 129, 267–269

Cyril, *deacon of Rila* ⇒ 109

Cyril of Scythopolis, *mon., hist. of churches* ⇒ 28

Cyril of Turov, *St., Rus. bish., wr.* ⇒ 7, 162–166, 318, 322

Cyril VII, *patr. of Constantinople* ⇒ 215

Cyril, *heg. of the Rila monas.* ⇒ 109

Czech, Lech and Mech, *legendary brothers, found. of states of the Czechs, Polishes and Muscovites* ⇒ 289

D

Damascene Studite, *St., Gr. wr.* ⇒ 61

Damyanov A., *Balk. archit.* ⇒ 206

Danchenko S.I., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 2, 76

Danichich D., *Serb. philol.* ⇒ 26, 41

Daniel, *hier.* ⇒ 329

Daniel II, *Serb. archbish.* ⇒ 5, 31, 37–42, 131

Daniel III, *Serb. patr., wr.* ⇒ 8, 131, 136

Daskalova A., *Bulg. philol.* ⇒ 98

Demetrius of Thessalonica (*Myrrh-Streaming*), *St. grmrt.* ⇒ 28, 30, 269

Demidov P.N., *Rus. industrialist* ⇒ 60

Denchev K., *Bulg. art.* ⇒ 147, 150

Derzhavin G.R., *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 297–298

Derzhavin K.N., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 236

Derzhavin N.S., *Rus. sch., ac.* ⇒ 6, 82–89, 155, 218

Dimitry, *father of St. George the New of Sofia* ⇒ 142

Dimitry, *metrop. of Rostov, St., wr.* ⇒ 9, 144, 321, 332, 335–337

Dinekov P., *outst. Bulg. sch., ac.* ⇒ 145, 238

Dionysius II, *Bosn. metrop.* ⇒ 211

Dionysius the Areopagite, *St., wr.* ⇒ 36, 46

Dizdar S., *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 212

Dobrolyubov N.A., *Rus. lit. crit.* ⇒ 56

Dobrynin N., *Rus. pr., Old Believ.* ⇒ 45

Dobrynya (Nikitich), *Rus. feudal lord, hero of folk.* ⇒ 124

Dobychina-Simova A.S., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 2, 6, 89–92, 95, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 346

Dolobko M.G., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 84

Dolar J., *Slov. sch.* ⇒ 258

Domentian, *Serb. hagiogr.* ⇒ 5, 22–30, 131

Dosithey (Toporkov), *Rus. hier.* ⇒ 137

Dostal M.Yu., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 59

Dostoevsky F.M., *outst. Rus. wr.* ⇒ 68, 80, 234, 238, 249

Dragutin (in monasticism Theoktist), *Serb. king* ⇒ 37, 40

Drech J., *Herzeg*. ⇒ 201–202
 Drinovets B., *Slov. art.* ⇒ 257–258
 Drinov M.S., *hist., philol.* ⇒ 62, 65, 90, 92, 274, 282
 Drumev V., *Bulg. bish., polit. fig., wr.* ⇒ 282
 Dubensky D.N., *magister of the Mos. un., teacher* ⇒ 269
 Duchich N., *Serb. archim.* ⇒ 201, 215
 Duvernois A.L., *Rus. sch., ling.* ⇒ 61, 65, 71
 Duychev I., *outst. Bulg. hist., ac.* ⇒ 98
 D'yakov V.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 65
 Dylevsky N.M., *Rus. and Bulg. philol., ling.* ⇒ 110, 155
 Dzhordzhevich L., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 316

E

Egorov E.E., *Rus. merch., collect.* ⇒ 145
 Eliyah, *bish. of Polotsk* ⇒ 319
 Eliyah, *Novg. presbyter* ⇒ 139, 142–145
 Elizaveta Petrovna, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 339
 Engel J. Kh., *Austr. hist.* ⇒ 281
 Engels F., *Ger. thinker, sch.* ⇒ 85
 Epiphanius, *heg.* ⇒ 45–46
 Erdödi S., *countess, Croat. opera singer* ⇒ 292
 Eugene (Bolkhovitinov), *Rus. metrop.* ⇒ 332–333
 Eugene (Shereshilov), *bish. of Minsk and Turov* ⇒ 164
 Eugene, *elder of the Rila monas.* ⇒ 109
 Euphrosyne of Polotsk, *St.* ⇒ 9, 318–322
 Euphrosynius (Efrosin), *Rus. scr.* ⇒ 131
 Eupraxia (Zvenislava), *cousin of Euphrosyne of Polotsk* ⇒ 319, 321
 Eustathius, *archbish. of Serb.* ⇒ 37, 42
 Eustathius, *St. mrtr. of Vilna* ⇒ 35
 Euthymia, *Serb. nun.* ⇒ 138
 Euthymius, *Bulg. patr. of Tarnovo, wr.* ⇒ 91, 93

F

Fazli Pasha, *Bosn. official* ⇒ 193
 Fedotov G.P., *Rus. hist., philos., relig. thinker* ⇒ 49, 52

Feofana (Theophane), *wife of Ostromir, Novg. ruler* ⇒ 124
 Feoktist (Theoktist), *heg., Old Believ.* ⇒ 38, 47
 Ferdinand I, *em. of Austr. Empire* ⇒ 169, 292
 Filaret / Philaret (D.G. Gumilevsky), *metrop. of Mos., church. hist.* ⇒ 321
 Filaret / Philaret (V.M. Drozdov), *metrop. of Mos.* ⇒ 205
 Filaretov Sava, *secretary of the Rus. mission to Constantinople* ⇒ 274
 Franko I., *Ukr. wr., poet, sch., publ.* ⇒ 181
 Franz II, *Austr. em.* ⇒ 291
 Frederick II, *the Great, king. of Prussia*
 Frisch M., *Swiss wr.* ⇒ 256
 Frolova M.M., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 8, 14, 255–256, 259–260, 271–272, 279, 282, 284, 289, 349
 Fyodor Alekseevich, *Rus. tsar* ⇒ 47
 Fyodorov I. (Moskvitin), *pioneer of Rus. and Ukr. printing* ⇒ 7, 9, 172–176, 178–180, 183–184, 327, 329
 Fyodorov N.F., *Rus. philos., bibliogr.* ⇒ 263

G

Gachev G.D., *Rus. lit. crit., wr.* ⇒ 282
 Gavryushina L.K., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 5, 22, 27, 33, 37, 43, 48, 346
 Genchich J., *Serb. sch., polit. fig.* ⇒ 84
 Gennadius, *archbish. of Novg.* ⇒ 179
 George, *Rus. deacon, scr.* ⇒ 124, 126
 George the Victorious, *St. grmrtr.* ⇒ 97, 142
 George (Gerasim in monasticism), *father of Isaiah of Serra* ⇒ 34
 George Brankovich, *Serb. wr.* ⇒ 136
 George I Terter, *Bulg. ruler.* ⇒ 93
 George of Konis, *St., Ukr. wr.* ⇒ 319, 339
 George the New of Sofia, *St. grmrtr.* ⇒ 6, 138–139
 George the Newest, *Bulg. St., mrtr.* ⇒ 142
 George Vasiliyevich, *brother of Rus. tsar Ivan the Terrible* ⇒ 108
 Georgiev E., *Bulg. lit. crit., slav., ac.* ⇒ 288
 Georgy (Svyatoslav) Vseslavich, *prince of Vitebsk* ⇒ 318

Germanov G., *Bulg. philol.* ⇒ 288
 Gerov N., *Bulg. wr., dipl., Rus. vice-consul in Philippopolis (Plovdiv)* ⇒ 57
 Gizel I., *archim. of Kiev-Pechersk Lavra, hist.* ⇒ 331
 Gnezdilov V., *Rus. archit.* ⇒ 344
 Gogol N.V., *Rus. wr., dram., publ.* ⇒ 238, 249, 251
 Golitsyn D.P. (Muravlin), *Rus. state fig., wr.* ⇒ 202
 Golube I., *Belar. sculpt.* ⇒ 322
 Golubinsky E.E., *hist. of Rus. Orthodox Church, archit.* ⇒ 321
 Gorazd, *St., disc. of Sts. Cyril and Methodius* ⇒ 269
 Gorchakov A.M., *min. of Foreign Affairs of Rus. Empire.* ⇒ 205
 Gorenkin P.F., *Rus. officer, cor. mem. of SHRA* ⇒ 267
 Gradislava (Eudocia), *sister of St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk* ⇒ 319
 Gregory, *heg.* ⇒ 109
 Gregory, *Herzeg. metrop.* ⇒ 215
 Grekov B.D., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 87
 Grigorovich V.I., *Rus. philol.-slav., hist., cor.-mem. of Petersburg AS* ⇒ 61, 66, 104, 266, 269
 Grinevich V., *Pol. sch.* ⇒ 166
 Groth K.Ya., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 57
 Groves M., *Eng. proofreader* ⇒ 2, 18
 Gruiev J., *Bulg. enlight. and teacher* ⇒ 270, 285
 Gruzinsky A.S., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 326
 Gumilevsky I.N., *Belar. sculpt.* ⇒ 166
 Gumilevsky L.N., *Belar. sculpt.* ⇒ 166
 Gusev N.S., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 5, 54, 60, 66, 71, 77, 81–82, 329
 Guy L., *Croat. enlight., ling., cr. of the nat. alphabet, poet, jour.* ⇒ 9, 74, 289–293
 Gyuzelev V., *outst. Bulg. hist., ac.* ⇒ 98

H

Habbacum (bibl. Habakkuk, Rus. – Avvakum), *archpr., wr., found. of Old Believ. mov.* ⇒ 5, 43, 155

Hadzhi Dimitar (Dimitar Nikolov Asenov), *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 219–220
 Hadzhihuseinovich Salih Sidki-effendi, *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 209
 Hanka V., *Czech philol., poet, slav., teacher, fig. of nat. revival* ⇒ 55
 Harwood J.M., *Eng. proofreader* ⇒ 2, 18
 Harwood M. ⇒ 18
 Hawkeswoth S., *Eng. sch.* ⇒ 196
 Heine H., *Ger. poet, publ.* ⇒ 303
 Helena (in monasticism Eugene), *widow of John Uglesha* ⇒ 43, 136
 Helena Glinskaya, *regent, mother of Rus. tsar Ivan the Terrible* ⇒ 107
 Helena, *Bulg., q. of Serbia, wife of Serb. king Stefan Dushan IV* ⇒ 36
 Hilarion, *metrop. of Kiev* ⇒ 26
 Hilferding A.F., *Rus. sch., dipl.* ⇒ 7, 36, 192–194, 198–206, 214–216, 269
 Hieng A., *Slov. prose wr., dram., screenwriter* ⇒ 256
 Homer, *anc. poet* ⇒ 249, 297
 Hulusi M., *Bosn. ed.* ⇒ 211
 Hutsa I., *Ukr. pr.* ⇒ 278

I

Ibsen H.Yu., *Norw. dram., poet and publ.* ⇒ 249
 Ignatiev N.P., *Rus. count, state fig., dipl.* ⇒ 210, 212
 Ikhchiev D., *Bulg. hist., transl.* ⇒ 110
 Ikononov G., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 226
 Ilarionov N.A., *Rus. vice consul in Mostar* ⇒ 216
 Ilich J., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 216
 Ilyinsky G.A., *Rus. philol.-slav., hist., archeogr.* ⇒ 98
 Inkret A., *Slov. sch.* ⇒ 258
 Ionin A.S., *Rus. dipl.* ⇒ 198–200, 202
 Irbi A.P., *Eng. benefactor* ⇒ 196, 197
 Isaac Pasha, *Herzeg. governor* ⇒ 204
 Isaac, *Old Test. patr.* ⇒ 24
 Isayevich Y.D., *Ukr. sch.* ⇒ 181

Isaiah of Serra, *Serb. transl., wr.* ⇒ 5, 32–36
 Isaiah, *proph.* ⇒ 24
 Iskenderov P.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 6, 112, 117, 346
 Ismail Pasha, *Herzeg. governor* ⇒ 204
 Ivan (John) Alexander, *tsar of the Second Bulg. Tsardom* ⇒ 95, 97–98, 101–102, 104
 Ivan (John) Asen I, *ruler of the Second Bulg. Tsardom* ⇒ 101
 Ivan (John) Asen II, *tsar of the Second Bulg. Tsardom* ⇒ 91
 Ivan (John) of Belgorod, *first Mold. St. mrtr.* ⇒ 143
 Ivan (John) of Kazan, *St. mrtr.* ⇒ 143
 Ivan (John) of Rila, *St. hermit, patron of Bulgaria* ⇒ 98, 109, 139, 144
 Ivan IV (the Terrible), *first Rus. tsar* ⇒ 6, 95, 106, 110, 124, 131–132, 137, 142, 172, 179
 Ivan Shishman, *Bulg. tsar, ruler of Tărnovo Tsardom* ⇒ 93, 95–97, 134
 Ivan Sratsimir, *Bulg. ruler of Vidin Tsardom* ⇒ 91
 Ivanov F., *deacon* ⇒ 45–46
 Ivanov J., *Bulg. hist., lit., archeol., folk.* ⇒ 110
 Ivanovich R., *Serb. philol.* ⇒ 301, 316
 Izyaslav, *Grand prince of Kiev* ⇒ 124

J

Jacob, *Old Tēst. patr.* ⇒ 24
 Jacub, *son of Türk. sult. Murad* ⇒ 135
 Jacques E., *Am. sch.* ⇒ 120
 Janich J., *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 212
 Joachim of Osogovo (Sarandopore), *St., mon., hermit* ⇒ 34, 36
 Joachim, *Rus. patr.* ⇒ 45
 John Chrysostom, *St., archbish. of Constantinople, wr.* ⇒ 24, 49, 153
 John (Ivan) of Vilna, *St., mrtr.* ⇒ 35
 John the Baptist, *proph.* ⇒ 24, 49
 John the Evangelist ⇒ 126
 John (Ivan) the New of Belgorod (Ackerman), *first Mold. St., mrtr.* ⇒ 143
 John the Exarch, *Bulg. church fig., wr., transl.* ⇒ 269
 John Uglesha, *Serb. desp.* ⇒ 136
 Joseph the Beautiful, *St., son of the Old Tēst. patr. Jacob* ⇒ 50
 Joseph Bradaty (Beared), *Bulg. scr.* ⇒ 153
 Joseph, *Herzeg. metrop.* ⇒ 215
 Joseph, *mon. of Rila* ⇒ 109
 Jungman J., *Czech sch.* ⇒ 55

K

Kachenovsky M.T., *Rus. hist., prof., lit. crit.* ⇒ 280–281
 Kachich-Mioshich A., *Croat. poet and philos., fig. of nat. revival* ⇒ 149
 Kadri-effendi Tsarigradliya, *Türk. typesetter* ⇒ 208, 210
 Kaleca John, *Byz. wr.* ⇒ 153
 Kaliganov I.I., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 2–3, 5–6, 8, 10–11, 14, 16, 26, 36, 41, 47, 51, 121–122, 133, 139, 145–146, 149, 151, 165, 170, 176, 182, 186, 189, 196, 206, 211, 216, 221, 227, 256, 346–347, 351
 Kalina (in monasticism Theodosia), *mother of Isaiah of Serra* ⇒ 34
 Karadzha St. (S. Todorov), *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 219, 222, 225–226,
 Karadzhih V., *Serb. sch., enlight., cr. of Serb.-Croat. alphabet* ⇒ 51, 58, 71, 74, 209, 213–215, 270, 290, 293
 Karageorgy A., *Serb. ruler* ⇒ 298
 Karamzin A.N., *son of N.M. Karamzin* ⇒ 274
 Karamzin N.M., *Rus. hist., the largest Rus. sentimentalist* ⇒ 69, 266, 270, 281, 287–288
 Karavelov L., *first Bulg. professional wr., fig. of nat. revival* ⇒ 8, 219, 224–225, 237–241, 274, 282, 289
 Kashanin M., *Serb. lit. critic, res. of arts* ⇒ 313
 Kashtanov S.M., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 110
 Katkov M.N., *Rus. soc. fig., publ.* ⇒ 72
 Katranov N.D., *Bulg. student of Mos. un.* ⇒ 269, 280
 Kavaleridze I., *Ukr. sculpt.* ⇒ 344
 Kaymakamova M., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 104–105
 Keppen P.I., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 263
 Kerichev S., *Bulg. sculpt.* ⇒ 150, 155
 Kette D., *Slov. poet, rep. of modernism* ⇒ 248, 251

- Khitrovo M.A., *Rus. dipl., poet and transl.* ⇒ 275
 Khlebnikova V.B., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 19, 87
 Khmara V., *Rus. jour.* ⇒ 81
 Khodkevich G.A., *magnate* ⇒ 172–174, 328, 330
 Khodov Chr., *Bulg. sch., paleogr.* ⇒ 93–94
 Khomyakov A.S., *Rus. soc. fig., philos., poet* ⇒ 202
 Khoroshkevich A.L., *mod. Rus. hist.* ⇒ 172–174, 179
 Kierkegaard S.O., *Dan. relig., philos., wr.* ⇒ 257
 Kisterev S.N., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 110
 Kitanchev T.I., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 228
 Klopchich, *Slov. producer* ⇒ 256
 Klykov V.M., *mod. Rus. sculpt.* ⇒ 47
 Kochnev I., *Rus. scr.* ⇒ 31
 Kollar J., *Slovak. pastor, fig. of culture and Slav's community* ⇒ 289–290, 293
 Koltsov A.V., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 230
 Koneski Blazhe, *Mac. poet, sch.* ⇒ 303–306
 Konev I., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 275, 277
 Konstantinov G., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 228
 Korf M.A., *baron, director of Imper. Public Library* ⇒ 262
 Kornilov V.N., *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 316
 Kosanovich S., *archiman. of Sarayevo* ⇒ 211–212
 Kosik V.I., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 216
 Kostovich Chr., *Croat. sch.* ⇒ 232
 Kotlyarevsky A.A., *Rus. sch., ethnogr.* ⇒ 74
 Kotov A.E., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 76
 Kotsbek E., *Slov. wr., publ., polit. fig.* ⇒ 8, 253–258
 Kovachevich V., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 216
 Kovalinsky M.I., *disc. of G. Skovoroda* ⇒ 340–343
 Kozachinsky E., *Ukr. wr., dram.* ⇒ 157
 Kozhurin K.Ya., *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 47
 Krasin'sky Z., *Pol. poet* ⇒ 304
 Krkletsy G., *Serb. poet* ⇒ 313
 Krshich J., *Serb. hist.* ⇒ 196
 Kruming A.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 338
 Krushevats T., *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 212
 Krylov I.A., *Rus. fabulist* ⇒ 230
 Kudryavtsev A.N., *Rus. consul in Sarayevo* ⇒ 205–207
 Kukulevich-Saktsinski I., *Croat. sch., wr.* ⇒ 201
 Kulagina A.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 56, 81
 Kulakovsky P.A., *Rus. sch.-slav., wr.* ⇒ 5, 61, 71, 73–74, 293
 Kurtchekhaich M.Sh., *Bosn. jour.* ⇒ 208, 210, 212
 Kuyev K., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 337
 Kuzmich N.P., *Belar. jeweler* ⇒ 321
- ## L
- Labyntsev Yu.A., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 7, 14, 162, 167, 172, 178, 247, 347–348
 Lafonten J. de, *Fr. fabulist.* ⇒ 230
 Lamansky V.I., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 56, 58, 73, 76, 86
 Lapteva L.P., *Rus. sch., historiogr.* ⇒ 65, 70, 282
 Laskaris M., *Gr. sch., paleogr.* ⇒ 98
 Lavrentius, *brother of Paisius of Hilendar* ⇒ 147
 Lavrov P.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 5, 60–65, 84–85
 Lavrovsky P.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 60–63
 Layinovich J., *merch.* ⇒ 215
 Lazareviches, *Serb. dynasty* ⇒ 131
 Lazarus Hrebelyanovich, *St., Serb. prince* ⇒ 6, 33–35, 133–138
 Lazarus, *Rus. pr., Old Believ.* ⇒ 74–75
 Lebeau S., *Fr. hist., wr., poet* ⇒ 287
 Lekov D., *Bulg. lit. crit.* ⇒ 275, 277, 285, 288
 Lermontov M.Yu., *outst. Rus. poet, novelist, dram.* ⇒ 79, 230, 262, 276
 Leshchilovskaya I.I., *mod. Rus. hist.* ⇒ 293
 Leskov N.S., *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 164
 Lev the Deacon, *Byz. wr., court hist.* ⇒ 287
 Levets F., *Slov. lit. crit., essayist* ⇒ 248
 Levsky V., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 219, 224–225, 228, 240
 Likhachev D.S., *outst. Rus. philol., hist. of culture* ⇒ 336

Liprandi I.P., *Rus. gen., state. fig., mil. hist.* ⇒ 262

Loginov A.V., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 148

Lomonosov M.V., *outst. Rus. sch., ac.* ⇒ 297–298

Long A., *Eng. sch.* ⇒ 232

Luke the Evangelist ⇒ 123, 126

M

Macarius, elder, confessor of St. Sava of Serbia ⇒ 25

Macarius, Novg. archbish., metrop. of Moscow, St. ⇒ 139, 142, 172, 224, 321, 335

Maeterlinak M.P., *Belg. wr., dram., philos.* ⇒ 249

Maha Karel Ginek, *Czech poet* ⇒ 304

Mahmud II, *Turk. sult.* ⇒ 204

Maksimovich D., *Serb. poet.* ⇒ 9, 110, 312–316

Makushev V.V., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 56, 186

Mamonich Kuzma, *merch., found. of Publishing house* ⇒ 183–184

Mamonich Leo, *merch., owner of Publishing house* ⇒ 185

Mamonich Luka, *merch., found. of Publishing house* ⇒ 183–184

Mamoniches, *family of merch., publish.* ⇒ 7, 182–183, 188, 329

Mamontov N.P., *Rus. jour., transl.* ⇒ 69

Mandich M., *Bosn. transl.* ⇒ 209–210

Marfa Ivanovna, *Rus. Grand princess* ⇒ 144

Maria Alexandrovna, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 194–195, 197, 205

Maria Theresa, *Austr. em.* ⇒ 160

Marina, *St.* ⇒ 141, 144

Mark the Evangelist ⇒ 125

Markovich S.Zh., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 316

Marlian A., *cath. relig. wr.* ⇒ 153–154

Marr N.Ya., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 85

Martynov L.N., *sov. poet* ⇒ 241, 316

Mars E., *Muse of I. Vazov* ⇒ 246

Marx K., *Ger. sch.* ⇒ 87

Maslov S.I. ⇒ 330, 224

Matthew the Evangelist ⇒ 326

Matich T. ⇒ 150

Maupassant G. de, *Fr. wr.* ⇒ 256

Maxim the Confessor, *mon., theolog., philos.* ⇒ 35

Maxim (Maximus) the Greek, *relig. publ. wr., trans.* ⇒ 185

Mayakovsky V.V., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 304

Mazepa I.S., *Ukr. hetman* ⇒ 325

Medakovich M., *Serb. wr., hist.* ⇒ 270

Mekenzie G.M. ⇒ 196

Melchakova K.V., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 2, 7, 14, 18, 31, 88, 115, 119, 191–192, 198, 201, 203, 208, 213, 246, 252, 258, 216, 270, 348

Merimee P., *Fr. wr. and transl.* ⇒ 256

Metternich K. von, *Austr. dipl., min., chancellor* ⇒ 291

Michail (Jovanovich), *Serb. metrop.* ⇒ 41, 197

Michich A., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 65

Mikhail I Fyodorovich, *first Tsar from the Romanov dynasty* ⇒ 41, 109

Mikhailov K., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 232

Miladinov D., *fig. of nat. revival, folk., enlight.* ⇒ 272, 274

Miladinov K., *Miladinov's D. younger brother, collect. of folk.* ⇒ 272, 274

Militsa, *Serb. princess* ⇒ 134, 136

Miloradovich S., *Rus. art.* ⇒ 45, 47

Miltenova A. L., *mod. Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 13

Milton J., *Eng. wr.* ⇒ 298

Milutin, *Serb. king* ⇒ 27, 34, 37–42

Milutinovich-Saraylia S., *Serb. poet* ⇒ 270, 297, 302

Milyutin John, *Rus. pr., scr.* ⇒ 144

Minkova L., *Bulg. philol., lit. crit.* ⇒ 288

Mircheva E., *Bulg. philol.* ⇒ 93

Mitrofan (Metrophanes), *Athonite. heg.* ⇒ 139, 142

Mitskevich A., *Pol. poet* ⇒ 303

Mogila Peter, *metrop. of Kiev, wr., St.* ⇒ 157

Mohammed, *Islam proph.* ⇒ 140

Molnar I.I., *doctor, cousin of Yu.I. Venelin* ⇒ 278–279, 281
 Molotov V.M., *sov. polit. fig.* ⇒ 86
 Mordarius, *Montenegr. hier.* ⇒ 69
 Morne J., *Slov. poet, rep. of modernism*
 Morozova F.P., *boyar, Old Believ.* ⇒ 47
 Moses Putnik (see Putnik Moses), *Serb. bish. of Bachka*
 Moses, *bibl. proph.* ⇒ 24
 Moshin V.A., *Rus. hist., philol.* ⇒ 36
 Moskov M., *Bulg. sch., transl., enlight.* ⇒ 148
 Mounier E., *Fr. philos.-personalist* ⇒ 257
 Mrdzhia A., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 65
 Mrkvichka I., *Czech art.* ⇒ 232
 Müller-Landau K., *Ger. hist.* ⇒ 32
 Murad, *Türk. sult.* ⇒ 125, 138
 Muravyov A.N., *hist. of Orthodox Church, publ., wr.-pilgrim* ⇒ 110
 Murn J., *Slov. poet, novelist* ⇒ 248–249, 251
 Mushitsky L., *Serb. wr.* ⇒ 298
 Musin-Pushkin A.I., *Rus. count, state fig., archeogr., hist., collect. of manuscripts and Rus. antiquities* ⇒ 262
 Mustafa Pasha, *Herzeg. governor* ⇒ 204
 Mustakov Chr., *Bulg. merch. of Odessa, enlight.* ⇒ 282
 Mutafchiev P., *outst. Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 98
 Muteva H., *Bulg. poet, transl.* ⇒ 285

N

Nachev V., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 99
 Nadezhdin N.I., *Rus. sch., lit. crit., philos., jour., ethnogr.* ⇒ 292
 Nanevski D., *Mac. sch.* ⇒ 311
 Napoleon I Bonaparte, *Fr. em.* ⇒ 260
 Naum (bibl. Nahum) of Ohrid, *St., bish., disc. of Sts. Cyril and Methodius* ⇒ 60, 62, 269
 Nechaev S.G., *Rus. rev.* ⇒ 226
 Negosh P. II P., *Montenegr. ruler, poet* ⇒ 60–61, 68, 270, 296–301
 Negosh N. P., *Montenegr. ruler* ⇒ 68
 Nemaniches, *Serb. dynasty* ⇒ 134

Nemirovich-Danchenko Vas.I., *Rus. wr., father of nat. mil. journalism* ⇒ 5, 77–80
 Nemirovsky E.L., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 330
 Neronov Ivan (John), *Rus. pr.* ⇒ 44
 Neruda J., *Czech poet* ⇒ 304
 Nestor the Chronicler, *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 348
 Nezval V., *Czech poet* ⇒ 304.
 Nicephorus II Phocas, *Byz. em.* ⇒ 285, 287
 Nicephorus, *patr. of Constantinople* ⇒ 104
 Nicephorus, *pr., Old Believ.* ⇒ 45
 Nicheva K., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 155
 Nicholas of Myra, *bish., St.* ⇒ 38, 41
 Nietzsche F.V., *Ger. thinker, philos., compos., poet* ⇒ 249
 Nikitin I.S., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 231
 Nikitin S.I., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 94
 Nikitin S.A., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 202
 Nikodim (Nicodemus, Kononov), *hier.* ⇒ 321
 Nikodim (Nicodemus), *Serb. archbish.* ⇒ 38
 Nikolay I, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 204
 Nikon (Dobryansky), *heg.* ⇒ 325
 Nikon, *Rus. patr.* ⇒ 43–44, 46, 130
 Nikon of the Black Mountain, *wr.* ⇒ 185
 Nikulina M.V., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 282
 Novikov N.I., *Rus. enlight., publ.* ⇒ 292

O

Obilich Milosh, *Serb. knight* ⇒ 135
 Obolensky M.A., *Rus. hist., archiv.* ⇒ 269
 Obradovich D., *Serb. wr.* ⇒ 155
 Obretenov N., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 225
 Odoevsky V.F., *Rus. prince, wr., rep. of romanticism, found. of Rus. musicology* ⇒ 262
 Ognev V., *Rus. lit. crit.* ⇒ 316
 Olenin A.N., *Rus. state fig., hist., archeol., art.* ⇒ 261
 Olga, *Rus. St., equalap.* ⇒ 286
 Omerza I., *Slov. sch.* ⇒ 258
 Orbini Mavro, *Dalmat. historiogr.* ⇒ 148–149

Osman Pasha Topal Sheriff,
Bosn. ruler ⇒ 195, 208–209, 211–212

Ostromir (Joseph), *Novg. ruler* ⇒ 6,
121–122, 124–126

P

Pahor B., *Slov. wr.* ⇒ 258

Paisius, *abbot* ⇒ 131

Paisius of Hilendar, *heg., found. of Bulg. nat. revival mov., St.* ⇒ 6, 146, 149–151, 153, 158–159, 275

Paisius, *Ath. elder* ⇒ 107–108

Pakhomova L.Yu., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 70

Palatsky F., *Czech sch.* ⇒ 268

Palauzov N.Kh., *Rus. and Bulg. soc. fig.* ⇒ 90–91

Palauzov N.S., *Bulg. Odessa merch., patron of the arts* ⇒ 57, 282

Palauzov S.N., *hist., publ. soc. fig.* ⇒ 266, 269, 282

Pamuchina Y., *archim. of Mostar* ⇒ 8, 201, 213–216

Pandurovich S., *Serb. poet* ⇒ 312, 316

Panitsa K., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 228

Panteleimon, *St. grmrt.* ⇒ 34, 61, 135

Paraskeva of Polotsk, *princess, St.* ⇒ 320

Pashayeva N.M., *Rus. hist., bibliog., ethnogr., poet* ⇒ 263, 265

Pashkov A.F., *Rus. voivode* ⇒ 44

Paul, *ap.* ⇒ 124

Paul, *metrop. of Krutitsa* ⇒ 45

Pavel Tvrtkovich ⇒ 270

Pavlovich N., *Bulg. art.* ⇒ 148

Pazvantogly O., *Türk. pasha* ⇒ 152

Pegue Ch., *Fr. poet, dram.* ⇒ 257

Penev B., *outst. Bulg. lit. crit.* ⇒ 277

Peshakov G., *Bulg. poet* ⇒ 282

Peter (Jovanovich), *Serb. metrop.* ⇒ 194

Peter I, *Rus. tsar, em.* ⇒ 75, 119, 124, 132, 172, 336

Peter I, *St., Bulg. tsar of the First Bulg. Tsardom* ⇒ 92, 97

Peter III Romanov, *Rus. em.* ⇒ 301

Peter IV Theodore, *one of the found. of the Second Bulg. Tsardom* ⇒ 96

Peter of Korish, *Bulg. St., hermit* ⇒ 30–32

Peter, *ap.* ⇒ 24

Peter (Pyotr) Timofeev Mstislavets, *Belar. pioneer of printing* ⇒ 173–174, 182–184, 327, 329

Petranovich B., *Bosn. wr.* ⇒ 209

Petrov P., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 93

Petrova D., *Bulg. philol.* ⇒ 105

Petrovich D., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 41

Peyo, *Bulg. presbyter* ⇒ 140, 141

Philaret (Drozdov), *Mos. metrop.* ⇒ 205

Philaret (Gumilevsky), *bish. of Riga* ⇒ 268–269

Picheta J., *archpr.* ⇒ 204, 206

Picheta V.I., *Rus. crit.* ⇒ 238

Pius VI, *Pope of Rome* ⇒ 102

Platon (Levshin), *Rus. metrop.* ⇒ 157

Platonov S.F., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 63–64

Pleshcheev A.N., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 231

Pletnyov P.A., *Rus. sch., ac.* ⇒ 262

Pletnyova A., *Rus. poet, liter. crit.* ⇒ 199

Pogodin M.P., *Rus. hist., soc. fig., teacher of Mos. un.* ⇒ 205, 207, 260–261, 278, 281

Polyvyanny D.I., *mod. Rus. hist.* ⇒ 93

Popov N.A., *Rus. hist., archiv., cor. of Petersburg AS* ⇒ 71, 271, 276

Popovich A., *Serb. hist.* ⇒ 196

Popovich B., *Serb. philol.* ⇒ 196, 313

Popruzhenko M.G., *Rus. sch., philol.* ⇒ 92–93

Potsey (Potcej) H., *church and state fig of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, theolog., wr.* ⇒ 185

Presheren F., *Slov. poet, rep. of romanticism* ⇒ 262, 256

Pribats, *Serb. logofet, father of St. Lazarus* ⇒ 135

Prodanov N., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 105

Prokhor (Prokhorus), *Athonite mon.* ⇒ 139, 142

Prokhorov A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 166

Prokopovich Feofan (Theophanes), *church. wr.* ⇒ 157

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite,
Byz. wr., theolog. ⇒ 33, 35
Pushkin A.S., *outst. Rus. wr.* ⇒ 149, 230,
297, 337
Putnick Moses, *Serb. bish. of Bachka* ⇒ 157
Pypin A.N., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 70

R

Rachinsky A.V., *Rus. soc. fig., consul* ⇒ 273
Radoychich N., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 41
Raevsky M.F., *Rus. archpr.* ⇒ 205, 207,
215–216
Raich J., *Serb. archim., wr., historiogr.* ⇒ 7,
147, 156–160, 273, 282, 287
Raikovich R., *Serb. deacon*, 157
Rakovsky G.S., *Bulg. rev., wr., publ.* 155, 273,
282 *rus. art.*
Ratsin Kocho (Racin Kočo),
Mac. poet ⇒ 307–309
Redzhepashich Bash-aga ⇒ 204
Repin I.E., *Rus. art.* ⇒ 277
Rebula A., *Slov. wr.* ⇒ 258
Resulbegovich Hassan-beg,
Herzeg. ruler ⇒ 204
Riggs I. ⇒ 232
Rista, *Herzeg.* ⇒ 214
Ristovski B., *Mac. hist.* ⇒ 311
Rizov D., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 228
Rizvanbegovich Ali Pasha,
Herzeg. vizier ⇒ 204, 207, 214, 216
Robinson A.N., *outst. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 150, 155
Robinson M.A., *mod. Rus. hist.* ⇒ 47, 65, 87
Romanenko E.V., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 110
Rousseau H., *Fr. enlight.* ⇒ 149
Rovinsky, *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 5, 66–68, 70, 76
Rymsha A., *Ukr. poet* ⇒ 174, 185
Samarins Yu.F. and N.F., *brothers*,
Rus. soc. fig. ⇒ 72
Samoylov D., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 316
Samuel, *Bulg. tsar* ⇒ 102
Sapega L., *sub-chancellor, state and mil. fig.*
of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania ⇒ 188
Sarah, *mother of St. George the New*
of Sofia ⇒ 142
Sarayliya Mustafa Refet Imamovich,
Bosn. cd. ⇒ 210
Sava of Serbia (Rastko), *St., relig., cult.*
and polit. fig., found. of autocephalous Serb.
Orthodox Church and its first archbish. ⇒ 6,
22, 27, 108, 127–29, 133, 137, 139, 144, 157
Sava the Sanctified, *St., cr. of Jerusalem*
Tipicon ⇒ 28
Savinkov I.K., *Rus. merch.* ⇒ 125
Schlötser A.L., *Ger. and Rus. hist., publ.* ⇒ 281
Selim I, *Turk. sult.* ⇒ 143
Selim III, *Turk. sult.* ⇒ 107
Seliminsky I., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 118–119
Seryako L.A., *Rus. art.* ⇒ 288
Servinovich K.S., *Belar. sch.* ⇒ 322
Shafarik P.J., *Czech and Slovak. hist., poet,*
fig. of Czech and Slovak. nat. revival ⇒ 55,
57–59, 69
Shakhmatov A.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 85
Shalamun T., *Slov. poet* ⇒ 258
Shchavinskaya L.L., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 9,
317–318, 323, 327, 331, 335, 339, 357
Shcheglov S., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 316
Shchulepnikov E.R., *Rus. consul*
in Sarayevo ⇒ 210, 212
Shemyakin A.L., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 76
Sheshken A.G., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 9, 295–296, 305,
307, 312, 343
Shevchenko T.G., *Ukr. poet*
and thinker ⇒ 238, 274, 276, 341, 343
Shipovats N., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 216
Shishmanov I., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 150, 288
Shlyapkin I.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 338
Sholaya S., *Herzeg. mon.* ⇒ 214
Shtur L., *Slovak. poet, sch.* ⇒ 55
Sibinovich M., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 316

S

Saint-Exupery A. de, *Fr. wr., poet,*
essayist ⇒ 256
Sakharov V., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 52
Saltykov-Shchedrin M., *Rus. wr.* ⇒ 153

- Sigizmund I, *Pol. king* ⇒ 169
- Sigizmund II Augustus, *Pol. king* ⇒ 183
- Simeon (Myrrh-Streaming), *Serb. St.*, see *Stefan Nemanya* ⇒ 22, 27, 130–131, 133, 137, 146
- Simeon (of Kosovo), *heg.* ⇒ 325
- Simeon I the Great, *Bulg. prince, first Slav's Tsar* ⇒ 92, 96–97, 101, 104, 125–126
- Simeon the Stylite, *Syrian ascetic* ⇒ 130
- Sinan, *Türk. pasha* ⇒ 131
- Sintippa the Philosopher ⇒ 153
- Skarga P., *cath. theolog., wr., found. of Polish oratorical prose* ⇒ 185
- Skenederova S., *Bosn. enlight.* ⇒ 7, 192–197, 201, 216
- Skobelev M.D., *Rus. gen.* ⇒ 81
- Skorina Francisk, *pioneer of Slav. printing* ⇒ 7, 167–171, 183, 189, 324
- Skovoroda G., *Rus. and Ukr. wandering philos.* ⇒ 9, 339–343
- Skylitzes J., *Byz. chron.* ⇒ 287
- Slastikov S., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 304
- Slaveykov Petko, *Bulg. poet, publ., folk., enlight., soc. fig.* ⇒ 8, 229–232, 282
- Slovatsky J., *Pol. poet* ⇒ 304
- Smolyaninova M.G., *mod. Rus. philol.* ⇒ 8, 217–218, 223, 229, 233, 237, 242, 272, 277, 282, 348–349
- Smotritsky G., *wr., teacher* ⇒ 180
- Snegarov I., *Bulg. church hist., archiv., archeogr.* ⇒ 110
- Snoy Yo., *Slov. poet, wr.* ⇒ 321
- Sokolov P.F., *Rus. art.* ⇒ 265
- Sokolova B., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 120
- Solovyev S.M., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 238
- Sophronius of Vratsa, *Bulg. bish., wr., enlight., St.* ⇒ 7, 149, 151, 153
- Sophronova L.A., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 343
- Sopron I., *typographer* ⇒ 208–210
- Sozina Ju.A., *mod. Rus. sch., transl.* ⇒ 8, 247–248, 253, 349
- Spiridon, *abbot of Studenitsa* ⇒ 130
- Spiridon of Rila, *mon., scr.* ⇒ 36
- Srechkovich P., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 26
- Sreznevsky I.I., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 5, 54–55, 263, 289, 291
- Stalin (Dzhugashvili) I.V., *sov. polit. lead.* ⇒ 86, 88
- Stambolov St., *Bulg. poet, polit. fig.* ⇒ 221–222
- Stanoyevich S., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 26
- Stardelov G., *Mac. sch.* ⇒ 306
- Stefan / Stephen Bathory, *Pol. king* ⇒ 183–184
- Stefan Dushan, *first Serb. tsar from the Nemanich dynasty* ⇒ 34–36, 107, 268
- Stefan Lazarevich, *Serb. desp., son of prince Lazarus* ⇒ 136
- Stefan Nemanya (see also Simeon the Myrrh-Streaming), *Serb. gr. zhupan of Rashka, found. of Serb. state* ⇒ 23, 26, 29–30
- Stefan of Dechany, *Serb. ruler, St.* ⇒ 38–39
- Stefan the First Crowned, *Serb. king, wr.* ⇒ 22, 24
- Stefan Urosh I, *Serb. king* ⇒ 23, 37, 39, 41
- Stefan Urosh II, *Serb. king* ⇒ 38, 42
- Stefan Urosh V, *Serb. king* ⇒ 157
- Stephen, *St. Proto-mrtr.* ⇒ 108, 134
- Stephen, voivode of Moldo-Walachia (Stephen III the Great), *ruler* ⇒ 269
- Stern D., *mod. Ger. sch.* ⇒ 13
- Stolyarova M., *art.* ⇒ 228
- Stoyanov V., *Bulg. hist.* ⇒ 99
- Stoyanov Z., *Bulg. wr.* ⇒ 8, 223–224, 226–227
- Stoyanovich L., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 36
- Stoyanovich I., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 228
- Stresz, *Bulg. feudal lord* ⇒ 30, 32, 93
- Stritter (Schritter) I.M., *hist., ac. of Petersburg AS* ⇒ 287
- Stroganov N., *Rus. industrialist* ⇒ 137
- Sukhanov A.P., *Rus. church and state. fig., dipl., wr., scr.* ⇒ 102
- Suleyman I, *Türk. sult.* ⇒ 107
- Suvorov M., *Rus. teacher* ⇒ 75
- Svyatopolk, *Grand prince of Kiev* ⇒ 49, 163
- Svyatoslav I Igorevich, *prince of Novg., prince of Kiev* ⇒ 264, 285
- Svyatoslav Yaroslavich, *Grand prince of Kiev, local rever. St.* ⇒ 101

T

- Tauber E., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 313
 Teokharov G., *Bulg. lawyer, min. of Public Education* ⇒ 274
 Tepich I., *Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 202
 Terzich S., *mod. Serb. sch.* ⇒ 115
 Theodosius, *metrop. of Serra, scr.* ⇒ 5, 22, 35, 131
 Theodosius, *Serb. scr.* ⇒ 27–32, 131–132
 Theoktist, *abbot* ⇒ 47
 Theotakis Nicephorus, *Gr. preach.* ⇒ 153
 Themeskes J., *Byz. em.* ⇒ 286
 Thunmann J., *Swed. sch.* ⇒ 281
 Tikhomirov M.N., *Rus., hist.* ⇒ 86, 110
 Titov V.F., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 322
 Tkachenko V., *sch.* ⇒ 334
 Todorov I., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 150
 Tolstoy L.N., *Rus. wr., classic* ⇒ 263, 337
 Tomashevich D., *Serb. sch.* ⇒ 196–197
 Totomanova A.-M., *mod. Bulg. philol.* ⇒ 93
 Trifunovich D., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 41, 138, 148
 Trubetskoy G.N., *Rus. sent.*
 Tsamblak G., *metrop. of Kiev, Slav. and Mold. wr.* ⇒ 132
 Tsaneva M., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 246
 Tsankar I., *Slov. classic, prose wr., dram.* ⇒ 8, 248–252
 Tuptalo S.G., *Ukr. mil.* ⇒ 335
 Turilov A.A., *mod. Rus. sch.* ⇒ 93, 110
 Tyutchev F., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 201
 Tuvim J., *Pol. poet* ⇒ 304
 Tzimiskes I., *Byz. em.* ⇒ 286

U

- Undolsky V.M., *bibliogr., archeogr.* ⇒ 266, 268
 Undzhiev I., *mod. Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 222
 Undzhieva Ts., *mod. Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 222
 Urusova E.P., *princess, Old Believ.* ⇒ 47
 Ushkalov L. ⇒ 343

V

- Vâlcho Hadzhi, *Bulg. merch. from Bansko* ⇒ 147
 Vasich M.M., *Yugosl. sch.* ⇒ 41
 Vasilievich A., *Serb. min., educ.* ⇒ 72
 Vasilievich M., *copyist* ⇒ 324
 Vasily-Varlaam (Bazil-Barlaam), *Pskov's hagiogr.* ⇒ 137, 143–145
 Vazov I., *Bulg. wr., classic* ⇒ 8, 21, 29, 87, 224, 242–246
 Vekilhardzhi K., *brother of Naum Vekilhardzhi* ⇒ 118
 Vekilhardzhi N., *Alb. enlight.* ⇒ 6, 117–119
 Vekilhardzhi P., *father of Naum Vekilhardzhi* ⇒ 118
 Vekilhardzhi P. ⇒ 117
 Velchev V., *Bulg. sch.* ⇒ 150
 Veli-beg (Bechliya Gall), *Sarayev doctor* ⇒ 211
 Velikov Y., *Bulg. philol., theolog.* ⇒ 93
 Veltman A.F., *Rus. wr., poet, hist.* ⇒ 9, 234, 284–288
 Veliudin Pasha, *Osman. official* ⇒ 194
 Venediktov G.K., *mod. Rus. philol.* ⇒ 280, 282
 Venelin Yu.I. (Gutsa Georgy), *hist., first Rus. bulgarist* ⇒ 9, 266–267, 269, 278–283
 Verkovich S.I., *Rus., Bulg. and Bosn. sch.* ⇒ 57
 Vernadsky V.I., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 166
 Vissarion of Debar, *hier.* ⇒ 103
 Vit (Vitus), *St.* ⇒ 135
 Vladimir I Svyatoslavich, *St. equalap., Baptizer of Rus'* ⇒ 26, 124, 331–332
 Vladigerov P., *Bulg. composer* ⇒ 88
 Vladislav, *Serb. king* ⇒ 130
 Vladislavov Stoyko (Sophronius, bish. of Vratsa) ⇒ 151–152
 Vladislavov, *father of Sophronius of Vratsa* ⇒ 151
 Vladyshevskaya T.F., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 126
 Voalker J., *Czech poet* ⇒ 304
 Volov P., *Bulg. rev.* ⇒ 226
 Volovich O., *chancellor* ⇒ 188

Voltaire, *Fr. philos.* ⇒ 149
 Vorobyev L.V., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 241
 Vostokov A.Kh., *Rus. philol., ac. of Petersburg AS* ⇒ 125–126, 280
 Vovchok M., *Ukr. wr.* ⇒ 237
 Voynikov D., *Bulg. dram., publ., jour., music., father of nat. theatre* ⇒ 8, 98, 233–236, 282, 285
 Vrchevich V. ⇒ 301
 Vuk Brankovich, *Serb. feudal lord, desp.* ⇒ 134
 Vukan, *Serb. prince, brother of St. Sava of Serbia* ⇒ 128
 Vukashin Mrnyavchevich, *Serb. king* ⇒ 35–36
 Vukovich B., *Serb. publish.* ⇒ 184
 Vulich S., *Herzeg. archit.* ⇒ 206

W

Westen S., *Am. proofreader* ⇒ 2, 18
 Wilde O., *Eng. wr., poet* ⇒ 249
 Witte S.Yu., *Rus. politic., prime min.* ⇒ 75

Y

Yagich V., *Croat. philol.* ⇒ 293
 Ypsilantis C., *ruler of Moldova* ⇒ 118, 152
 Yakshiches, *Serb. dynasty* ⇒ 131, 133
 Yoaniky I., *archbish. of Serbia* ⇒ 37
 Yanchar D., *Slov. wr.* ⇒ 258
 Yroslav the Wise, *Rus. prince* ⇒ 124
 Yastrebov I.S., *Rus. consul* ⇒ 112–116
 Yazykov N.M., *Rus. poet* ⇒ 231

Z

Zabelin I.E., *Rus. hist.* ⇒ 270, 280
 Zagoskin M.N., *Rus. wr. and dram.* ⇒ 288
 Zagrebin V. M., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 126
 Zapasko A.P., *Ukr. sch.* ⇒ 326
 Zarynko S.K., *Rus. art.* ⇒ 265
 Zeiss K., *Ger. hist. and philol., found. of celtology* ⇒ 55
 Zheltov M.S., *Rus. liturgist, hist., pr.* ⇒ 110
 Zhilenko I.V., *Ukr. sch.* ⇒ 334
 Zhivoynovich D., *Serb. philol.* ⇒ 98
 Zhinzifi I. (Dzindzifi), *father of R. Zhinzifov, teacher* ⇒ 272–273
 Zhinzifov R. (Xenophont Ivanovich), *Bulg. poet transl, wr., publ.* ⇒ 8, 272–277, 282
 Zhukovskaya L.P., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 126
 Zhukovsky V.A., *Rus. poet, one of the found. of Rus. romanticism* ⇒ 263
 Zhupanchich O., *poet, novelist, dram.* ⇒ 248–249, 251
 Zenkovsky S., *Am. hist.* ⇒ 47
 Zernova A.S., *Rus. sch.* ⇒ 186
 Zlatarsky V., *Bulg. outst. hist.* ⇒ 84
 Zonara J., *Byz. hist., mon., theolog.* ⇒ 287
 Zvenislava (Eupraxia in monasticism), *cousin of St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk* ⇒ 319

SOME MODELS OF NAMES CORRESPONDENCES*

(Biblical, Church-Slavonic, modern)

Alexis, a "Man of God", St / Aleksey Tolstoy, Rus. wr.
 Andrew the Apostle / Andrey Voznesensky, Rus. poet
 Arsenius the Great, St / Arseny, metrop. of Rostov
 Basil the Great, St / Vasily III, Rus. prince
 Barlaam of Calabria, philos. / Varlaam, metrop. of Moscow
 Demetrios of Thessalonica, grmrt. / Dmitry Shostakovich, sov. composer
 Elijah, Bibl. proph. / Elias of Murom, Rus. St., Ilya Erenburg, sov. wr.
 Habakkuk, Bibl. proph. / Habbacum, Avvacum, Rus. Old Believ., wr.
 Innocent I, Pope / Innokenty Smoktunovsky, Rus. actor
 Joannicius the Great, St, proph. / Yoaniky Galyatovsky, Ukr. wr.
 Metrophanes II, part. of Constantinople / Mitrophan, bish. of Voronezh, St.
 Nahum, Bibl. proph. / Naum of Ohrid, St., disc. of Sts Cyril and Methodius
 Neophitos of Cyprys, pr., St / Neofit of Rila, Bulg. monk, ed.
 Nicephorus Phocas, Byz. em. / Nikephor, Ath. monk
 Nicetas Choniates, Byz. chronicler / Nikita Tolstoy, Rus. sch.
 Nicodemus the Hagiorite, St / Nikodim (Rotov), metrop. of Leningrad
 Nicholas the Miracle Worker, St / Nikolay Gogol, Rus. wr.
 Procopius of Caesarea, Byz. hist. / Prokopy Lyapunov, Rus. commander
 Sabbas Stratelates, St / Sava, archbish. of Serbia, St
 Sergius of Radonezh, Rus. St / Sergey Yesenin, Rus. poet
 Stephen Proto-Mrtr., St / Stefan Karadzha, Bulg. rev.
 Theodore the Studite, St / Fyodor Dostoevsky, Rus. wr.
 Theophanes the Confessor, St / Feofan/Theofan Prokopovich, Rus. wr.
 Xenia of Petersburg, St / Ksenia Melchakova, mod. Rus. sch.
 Xenophont, anc. wr. / Ksenofont Zhinzifov, Bulg. wr.
 Zachariah, Bibl. proph. / Zakhari Stoyanov, Bulg. rev., wr.

* These names can be seen in: The Bible, Revised authorized American Standard version. Printed, bound and published by Harper Collins Publisher. Glasgow, 1993; different sites of the Russian Orthodox Church out of Russia; The Encyclopedia Britannica. 15th edition, New-York, 1997, (different volumes).

INDEX OF PLACES / УКАЗАТЕЛЬ ГЕОГРАФИЧЕСКИХ НАЗВАНИЙ

A

Ackerman (Belgorod near riv. Dniester) — *Mold. city* ⇒ 143
 Africa ⇒ 78
 Albania ⇒ 111, 113–114, 117–118, 120
 America ⇒ 68
 Ampelino (Ambelino) — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 117
 Antioch ⇒ 26
 Arbanasi — *Bulg. v.* ⇒ 152
 Archangel Cathedral
 of the Mos. Kremlin ⇒ 132, 137–138
 Archangelsk — *Rus. city* ⇒ 77
 Arille — *Serb. v., monas.* ⇒ 42
 Asenovgrad — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 147
 Asia Minor ⇒ 78
 Astrakhan — *Rus. city* ⇒ 80, 107, 109, 137,
 140–143, 145, 147, 150
 Athos (Mount Athos) — *peninsula*
in Greece ⇒ 13, 22–23, 26–27, 29–34, 38, 40,
 102, 106, 110, 128, 130–132, 135, 184, 317
 Austria ⇒ 80, 157, 175, 252, 256, 340
 Austrian Empire ⇒ 278, 289, 33
 Austria-Hungary ⇒ 62, 65, 68, 72, 80,
 210–211, 237
 Azerbaijan ⇒ 77

B

Bachka — *Serb. reg.* ⇒ 157
 Balkan Peninsula (the Balkans) ⇒ 61–63,
 69–70, 102, 109, 111–113, 117–120, 126,
 130–131, 134–136, 139, 142, 144, 148, 152,
 159, 184, 192, 198, 203, 206, 269, 280, 285,
 287, 329
 Baltic sea ⇒ 269
 Baltic states ⇒ 163
 Banya Luka (Banja Luka) — *Bosn. city* ⇒ 96,
 199

Bansko — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 147
 Batak — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 244
 Batum — *Georg. city* ⇒ 83
 Bazardzhik (Bazardjik) — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 286
 Bech (Beč, Vienna) ⇒ 159
 Belarus' ⇒ 2, 14, 162, 170, 172, 174–176,
 318, 321, 337
 Belarusian Exarchate ⇒ 166, 322,
 Belgium ⇒ 2, 13–14
 Belgrade ⇒ 2, 26, 32, 36, 41, 61, 67, 71–73,
 75–76, 98, 131–132, 152, 194, 208, 270, 275,
 288, 302–303, 308, 310, 312–313, 316
 Belgorod (Ackerman) — *Mold. city* ⇒ 143
 Belyakovets — *Bulg. v.* ⇒ 100, 104
 Berkovitsa — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 246
 Berlin ⇒ 80, 254, 258
 Bessarabia — *Ukr. reg.* ⇒ 83, 118, 285
 Bitola — *Mac. city* ⇒ 114, 275
 Bohemia ⇒ 189
 Bolgrad — *Ukr. city* ⇒ 275
 Borisoglebsk (Tutayev) — *Rus. city* ⇒ 144
 Bosnia ⇒ 7, 14, 113, 153–155, 192–193,
 195–202, 204, 206, 208–212, 214
 Bosnia and Herzegovina ⇒ 7, 14, 61, 196,
 198–201, 203–204, 208–212, 215
 Bosnian pashalyk ⇒ 195, 198–200, 208
 Bosnian vilayet ⇒ 195, 208–212
 Braila — *Rom. city* ⇒ 118
 Brashov — *Rom. city* ⇒ 95, 97–99
 Breslau (Wroclaw) ⇒ 168
 Brest — *Belar. city* ⇒ 164, 185, 318, 321–322
 Brod-u-Gori — *Serb. v.* ⇒ 114
 Bucharest ⇒ 118, 120, 152–155, 218–219,
 222, 230, 235, 241, 244, 279
 Budapest ⇒ 61
 Budim ⇒ 148, 159

Bukovina — *Carpathian reg.* ⇒ 52

Bulgaria ⇒ 2, 9, 13–14, 41, 58, 77–84, 87, 90–92, 95, 100–103, 106, 110, 125, 130–131, 147, 154–155, 175, 180, 218–221, 224, 227, 229–230, 233, 237–238, 240, 243, 246, 268–269, 272, 274–275, 278–279, 284, 286–288, 337

Bulgarian Exarchate ⇒ 149

Bulgarian Patriarchate ⇒ 92, 276

Byzantine Empire (Byzantium) ⇒ 95–95, 101, 107, 286–287

Bulgarian Tsardom ⇒ 152

C

Canada ⇒ 175

Caucasus ⇒ 77–78, 80

Central Albania ⇒ 114

China ⇒ 65, 68

Chigirin — *Ukr. city* ⇒ 332

Chataldzha — *Türk. citadel* ⇒ 79

Constantinople (Tsar'grad, Istanbul) ⇒ 33, 35, 83, 90, 104, 111, 119, 128, 140, 153, 195, 208, 210, 212, 215, 229, 231–232, 275–276, 319–320, 328

Crimea ⇒ 137, 143

Croatia ⇒ 2, 14, 56, 74, 289, 292–293

Czech reg. ⇒ 65

Czech Republic ⇒ 62, 72, 175

D

Dagestan ⇒ 77

Dalmatia ⇒ 61, 291

Danube — *riv.* ⇒ 109, 218, 220, 269

Dauria — *dist. in Siberia* ⇒ 44, 46

Debar — *reg. in Mac.* ⇒ 114

Debar — *Mac. city* ⇒ 103, 115, 117

Dechani (Dečani) — *Serb. v. monas.* ⇒ 41, 115–116, 142, 199

Deoclea — *anc. city in the Balkans* ⇒ 68, 70

Dnieper — *riv.* ⇒ 286, 325

Dniester — *riv.* ⇒ 143

Dorostol (Silistra) — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 286

Dragalevtsi — *Bulg. v. monas.* ⇒ 97, 142

Drobnjak (Drobnjak) — *Serb. city* ⇒ 199

Dubrovnik (Ragusa) — *Croat. city* ⇒ 95, 97, 99, 199, 215, 313

Dukadzhin (Dukajin) — *reg. in Albania* ⇒ 114

Dzhakovitsa (Djakovica) — *Alb. city* ⇒ 115

E

Eastern Europe ⇒ 168, 170, 183

Eastern Rumelia ⇒ 224

Eastern Slavia ⇒ 162–163, 343

Egypt ⇒ 26

England ⇒ 221

Europe ⇒ 51, 59, 78, 143, 179, 198, 200, 252, 263, 269, 310

European Turkey ⇒ 111

Exarchate of Bulgaria ⇒ 149

F

First Bulgarian Tsardom ⇒ 90, 92, 97

Foynitsa (Fojnica) — *Bosn. city* ⇒ 199

France ⇒ 199

G

Gabarevo — *Bulg. v.* ⇒ 100, 104

Gabrovo — *Bulg. city* ⇒ 282

Gatsko — *Bosn. city* ⇒ 204

Galati — *Mold. city* ⇒ 118

Galitsia — *Ukr. Reg.* ⇒ 80

Georgia ⇒ 77, 86

Germany ⇒ 80

Ghent — *Belg. city* ⇒ 2, 12–14

Golden Horde ⇒ 107

Gomel — *Belar. city* ⇒ 165–166

Grachanitsa (Gračanica) — *Serb. monas.* ⇒ 28, 32, 34, 41–42

Grand Duchy of Lithuania ⇒ 168, 173, 175–176, 182–185, 187–189, 273, 329

Graz — *Austr. city* ⇒ 290

Great Britain ⇒ 175, 180

Great Illiria ⇒ 74, 291

Great Preslav — *anc. Bulg. cap.* ⇒ 145

Great (Velika) Remeta — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 142
 Greece ⇨ 32, 79, 83, 110, 145, 150, 175
 Grigorovo — *Rus. v.* ⇨ 43, 47
 Gusevka — *Rus. v.* ⇨ 65, 70
 Guzhvinsky — *Ukr. locality near Kharkov* ⇨ 340

H

Herzegovina ⇨ 2, 9, 14, 38, 198–200, 202–206, 208–209, 211, 213–216
 Herzegovinian sanjak ⇨ 198, 208
 Hilandar (Hilendar) — *monas. in Athos* ⇨ 6, 22–23, 25, 27–28, 32, 34, 36–38, 61, 106–110, 128–129, 135, 137, 142, 145–150, 152, 158, 184, 245
 Holy Land ⇨ 22, 129–132, 195
 Holy Places ⇨ 323
 Holy Sepulchre ⇨ 195
 Hungary ⇨ 134, 175, 292

I

Ishmael — *the Danube fortress* ⇨ 118
 Italy ⇨ 175
 Ipeca — *reg. in Mac.* ⇨ 113

J

Jerusalem ⇨ 25, 129, 192, 195, 320–321

K

Karyes — *admin. centre in Athos* ⇨ 23, 25, 128–129
 Kalofer — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 219
 Karlovats (Karlovac) — *Austr. city* ⇨ 75, 290
 Karlovtsi (Karlovci) — *Serb. city* ⇨ 75
 Karnobat — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 152
 Kazan' — *Tatar city, cap.* ⇨ 66, 107, 137, 143
 Kazan' Khanate ⇨ 107–108, 237, 143
 Kazanlyk — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 104
 Kharkov — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 54–56, 59, 340
 Kichevo (Kičevo) — *Mac. v.* ⇨ 308

Kiev — *old Rus. city, Ukr. cap.* ⇨ 13, 26, 35, 64, 124–125, 166, 205, 286–287, 321–322, 326, 331–332, 334–336, 338
 Kievan Rus' ⇨ 124–125, 285
 Kiev-Pechersk Lavra — *monas.* ⇨ 144, 331, 336
 Kingdom of Croatia ⇨ 292
 Kingdom of Poland ⇨ 329
 Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovans ⇨ 308
 Kirillov monas. in Kiev ⇨ 335
 Kishinev — *Mold. city, cap.* ⇨ 279
 Kochevsky Rog — *Slov. locality* ⇨ 256
 Komarom ⇨ 157
 Königsberg (Kaliningrad) ⇨ 169
 Koprivshitsa ⇨ 238–241
 Korab — *Serb. city* ⇨ 115
 Korcha — *Alb. city* ⇨ 120
 Korish — *Mac. locality* ⇨ 30–31
 Korsun' (Chersonesos) — *Crimean city* ⇨ 320
 Kosierovo — *Herzeg. monas.* ⇨ 206
 Kosovo field — *Serb. locality* ⇨ 34, 41, 103, 199, 299
 Kosovo reg. ⇨ 6, 34, 41, 111, 113, 115, 117, 299
 Kostenets — *Bulg. v., city* ⇨ 135, 137
 Kotel — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 151, 153
 Kovil — *Serb. v., monas.* ⇨ 157, 160
 Kovno (Kaunas) — *Lith. city* ⇨ 71
 Kozloduy — *Bulg. v.* ⇨ 219
 Kraguevats (Kragujevac) — *Serb. city* ⇨ 314
 Krakov — *Pol. city, old cap.* ⇨ 167
 Krapina — *Croat. city* ⇨ 289–290, 294
 Kratovo — *Mac. city* ⇨ 140, 142
 Kremlin (in Moscow) ⇨ 106–108, 110, 137, 173, 176, 288
 Krushevats (Krushevac) — *Serb. city* ⇨ 134–135, 138
 Kukush — *Türk. city* ⇨ 273
 Kursk — *Rus. city* ⇨ 205
 Kyrgyzstan ⇨ 175

L

- Latin Empire ⇨ 129
 Latvia ⇨ 175, 183
 Lazaropolis — *Mac. city* ⇨ 311
 Lemkovshchyna — *historical. reg. of present-day Poland and Lithuania* ⇨ 329
 Leningrad ⇨ 87, 222
 Lyon ⇨ 254
 Literary Bridges — *a section of the Volkov's cemetery in St. Petersburg* ⇨ 329
 Lithuania ⇨ 52, 81, 175, 179
 Lyublyana (Ljubljana) — *Slov. city; cap.* ⇨ 55, 72, 248–251, 252–254, 257–258
 Lomnitsa (Lomnica) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 142
 Lyubinie (Ljubinje) ⇨ 148, 204
 Lyublin ⇨ 320
 Lyubotitsa (Ljubotica) ⇨ 138
 Luma — *an area between Prizren and Albania* ⇨ 114
 Lvov — *Pol., Ukr. city* ⇨ 172, 174–177, 180, 279

M

- Macedonia ⇨ 2, 14, 33, 35, 84–85, 275–277, 304, 309–311
 Maribor — *Slov. city* ⇨ 55, 252
 Maritsa — *Balkan riv.* ⇨ 33–36, 134
 Mat — *Alb. locality* ⇨ 114
 Medven — *Bulg. v.* ⇨ 223, 228
 Messembria (Nessebar) — *Byz., Bulg. city* ⇨ 95, 97, 99
 Mileshevo (Mileševo) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 22, 25–26, 129, 131
 Minsk — *Belar. city; cap.* ⇨ 76, 164–165, 320
 Mogilev — *Belar. city* ⇨ 321
 Moldavia (Moldova) ⇨ 118, 157
 Monasteries of:
 Ascension in Ukraine ⇨ 324
 Annunciation in Suprasl' ⇨ 327
 Montenegro ⇨ 2, 5, 14, 56, 61, 65, 69, 79, 83, 103, 105, 114, 215, 270–271, 296, 299–302
 Morava — *riv., valley in Kosovo* ⇨ 113–114

Moscovia ⇨ 289

- Moscow ⇨ 1, 8, 13, 17, 37, 44, 47, 52, 60, 62, 71, 73, 87, 94, 98, 101, 107–108, 124, 130–131, 137, 143–144, 148, 155, 157, 160, 166, 172–180, 198, 201, 205, 215, 222, 238, 241, 246, 250, 260, 262–265, 267–268, 273, 278, 282–284, 288–289, 292, 325, 332, 336, 338, 343
 Moscow Kremlin ⇨ 126, 132
 Moscow state ⇨ 131–133, 137, 170, 176, 179, 250
 Mostar — *Herzeg. city* ⇨ 199, 201–207, 211–216
 Mount Athos ⇨ 23, 26–27, 33, 36, 38
 Mount Zion ⇨ 51
 Muscovite state ⇨ 329

N

- Neretva — *riv.* ⇨ 211–212
 Nessebar (Messembria) — *Byz., Bulg. city* ⇨ 95, 97, 99
 Nezhin — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 83
 Nevesinye (Nevesinje) — *Herzeg. city* ⇨ 204
 Nicaea ⇨ 129
 Nikolskaya street (Moscow) ⇨ 108
 Nizhny Novgorod ⇨ 43, 47, 50, 175
 North Macedonia ⇨ 2, 14, 103, 172, 275
 Northwestern Russia ⇨ 22
 Novgorod — *Rus. city* ⇨ 108, 122, 124–125, 139, 142, 145, 179, 205
 Novgorod-Seversk — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 336
 Novi Sad — *Serb. city* ⇨ 61, 157, 160
 Novosibirsk — *Rus. city* ⇨ 175

O

- Odessa — *Rus. (now Ukr.) city* ⇨ 13, 26, 61–62, 104, 205, 219, 243, 273, 282–283
 Ohrid — *Mac. city* ⇨ 60, 62, 114, 268–269
 Old (anc.) Rus' ⇨ 122, 162
 Old Serbia ⇨ 198–200, 202, 206, 216
 Opol'e — *Balk. reg.* ⇨ 114
 Orthodoxe Community ⇨ 162
 Oryahov — *Bulg. reg.* ⇨ 95, 97–98

Ottoman Empire ⇨ 69, 78–79, 83, 106, 110, 119, 159, 167, 198–199, 208–210, 272, 274–276, 282

Ottoman Porte ⇨ 208

Ottoman Turkey ⇨ 297

Orshova — *Rom. city* ⇨ 210

Osogovo — *Mac. v., monas.* ⇨ 34, 36, 103

Ostrog — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 7, 172, 174–176, 178–180

P

Padua — *It. city* ⇨ 167

Pafnutievo-Borovsk monas. in Russia ⇨ 45

Palestine ⇨ 26

Panagyurishte — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 92, 227

Panevezhis — *Lith. city* ⇨ 71

Panteleimonov monas., Athos ⇨ 33–34, 36, 38, 61, 107, 109, 135

Paris ⇨ 224, 254, 256, 258

Patriarchate of Constantinople ⇨ 119, 133–134, 142

Patriarchate of Pech ⇨ 145, 158

Pech (Peč) — *Serb. city, monas.* ⇨ 36–39, 41–42, 142, 199

Peresopnitsa — *Ukr. v.* ⇨ 9, 323–326

Pereyasavl — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 325–326, 340

Pernik — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 231

Pest — *Hung. city, mod. part of Budapest* ⇨ 23, 239, 290

Petersburg (see St. Petersburg)

Petrograd ⇨ 85

Petrozavodsk — *Rus. city* ⇨ 56–46, 175

Piva — *Herzeg. monas.* ⇨ 199

Plevna (Pleven) — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 78–79, 82

Plovdiv — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 228, 238, 241–243, 245

Podlyashie — *the Belar.-Pol. Borderland* ⇨ 9, 327–328

Poland ⇨ 157, 173, 175–176, 180, 185, 289

Polish Commonwealth ⇨ 180

Polota — *Belar. riv.* ⇨ 319

Polotsk — *Belar. city.* ⇨ 163, 167, 318–322

Poltava — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 326, 339

Poznan' — *Pol. city* ⇨ 168–169

Prague ⇨ 55, 67, 80, 129, 167–169, 171, 289

Preslav (Great Preslav) — *Bulg. city, old cap.* ⇨ 96, 100–101, 122, 286–287, 328

Preslav — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 82

Prilep — *Mac. city* ⇨ 273

Prilepets — *Serb. city* ⇨ 134

Principality of Bulgaria ⇨ 149, 254

Principality of Polotsk ⇨ 318

Principality of Serbia ⇨ 209–210

Principality of Turov ⇨ 163

Prishtina (Priština) — *Serb. city* ⇨ 41, 115, 199

Priyepol'ye (Prijeapolje) — *Serb. city* ⇨ 209

Prizren — *city in Metohiya* ⇨ 25–26, 30, 111, 113–116, 199

Psach — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 36

Pskov — *Rus. city* ⇨ 132, 139, 142, 145

Pustozersk — *Rus. city, now does not exist* ⇨ 45–46

R

Radomir — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 97

Ragusa (see Dubrovnik)

Ras — *old Serb. cap.* ⇨ 13

Ravanitsa (Ravanica) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 134, 136–138

Riga — *Latvian city, cap.* ⇨ 268 — 269

Rila — *Bulg. mount., monas.* ⇨ 6, 13, 41, 95–99, 106–107, 109–110, 139, 144

Rogatitsa ⇨ 199

Romania ⇨ 52, 152, 219, 221, 234, 237, 240, 243, 245, 279

Romanov-Borisoglebsk (Tutaev) — *Rus. city* ⇨ 132

Rome ⇨ 320

Rostov — *Rus. city* ⇨ 144

Rostov Veliki — *Rus. city* ⇨ 9, 336

Rovno — *Ukr. city* ⇨ 326

Rumelia — *a part of Ottoman Empire* ⇨ 204, 276

Rus' ⇨ 331

Ruse — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 224, 228, 241

Russia ⇨ 2, 7, 13–14, 26, 31, 41, 44, 52, 56, 58–60, 64–65, 67–68, 72–73, 77, 81–82, 84, 102, 106, 109, 111, 119, 124–126, 130–132,

137, 143, 159, 162–163, 168, 178, 180, 192,
195–196, 198, 200–202, 204–206, 214–216,
219–221, 224, 237, 243–244, 260–263,
274–277, 279, 284, 288–289, 292–293, 313,
316, 319, 331–334, 337

Russian Empire ⇨ 132, 262

Russian North ⇨ 32, 145

Russian state ⇨ 287

Rymnik — *Rom. city* ⇨ 154

S

Saint-Petersburg ⇨ 26, 32, 36, 52, 54, 56, 58,
60, 64, 69, 72, 74–77, 83, 103, 122, 148, 160,
194, 201–202, 205–206, 260, 292, 332–333

Sarandopore — *Bulg. locality* ⇨ 100, 103

Saratov — *Rus. city* ⇨ 65

Sarayevo (Sarajevo) — *Bosn. city, cap.* ⇨ 103,
142, 192–201, 203, 206, 208–209, 211, 249

Satmar (mod. *Rom. city of Satu Mare*) ⇨ 279

Scadar sanjak — *a part of Ottoman Empire
in the Balkan* ⇨ 193

Scythopolis ⇨ 28

Second Bulgarian Tsardom ⇨ 90, 93,
96–97, 158

Seltse — *Belar. locality* ⇨ 319

Serbia ⇨ 2, 5–6, 14, 22, 24–30, 32, 34–42,
53, 56, 61, 71–72, 79, 83–84, 107–108, 111,
117, 124, 127–128, 131, 133, 136–137, 144,
158–159, 175, 180, 192–193, 196, 211, 215,
240, 268, 298, 337

Serbian Patriarchate ⇨ 148

Serbian Principality ⇨ 211, 237

Serra — *Mac. city* ⇨ 5, 35, 53

Sharr Planina — *a ridge of the Balkans* ⇨ 115

Shipka — *Bulg. v., mount. pass* ⇨ 78, 145

Shkoder (Scutari) — *Alb. city* ⇨ 111

Shumla (Shumen) — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 105, 233,
236, 286

Sianik — *Ukr. v.* ⇨ 324

Siberia ⇨ 44–45, 47, 65, 145

Sicily ⇨ 264

Silistra (Dorostol) — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 279

Simbirsk — *Rus. city* ⇨ 45

Sinai ⇨ 26

Skopje (Skopje, Skoplje, Uscuba) —
Mac. city, cap. ⇨ 97, 303–304, 306, 308

Slavia Orthodoxa ⇨ 13

Slavic East ⇨ 14

Slavic South ⇨ 14

Slavic West ⇨ 14

Slavonia ⇨ 291–292

Slivnitsa — *Bulg. locality* ⇨ 245

Slovenia ⇨ 2, 14, 255

Smolensk — *Rus. city* ⇨ 109, 157

Smolensk's cemetery
(in St. Petersburg) ⇨ 64

Sofia (Sredets) — *Bulg. city, cap.* ⇨ 6, 62,
91–93, 98–99, 104, 109–110, 139, 140, 142,
144, 150, 222, 228, 232, 241–242, 245–246,
275, 303

Solovetsk Islands ⇨ 145

Sol'vychevodsk — *Siberian city* ⇨ 137

Sopot — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 242–243, 246

Sopron ⇨ 157

Southern Europe ⇨ 336

Spain ⇨ 78, 258

Spaso-Andronik monas. in Rus. ⇨ 46

Spasova Voda — *Athonite locality* ⇨ 23

St. Athanasius Lavra in Athos ⇨ 135

Stolats (Stolac) — *Herzeg. city* ⇨ 204

Strelcha — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 150

Struga — *Mac. city* ⇨ 310

Studenitsa (Studenica) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 128,
130, 132, 142

Suprasl' ⇨ 327, 329

Suzdal — *Rus. city* ⇨ 75

Svalyava — *Ukr. city
in Transkarpattia* ⇨ 283

Svir' — *Rus. riv.* ⇨ 31

Sweden ⇨ 175

T

Tarnovo (Veliko Tarnovo) — *Bulg. city,
old cap.* ⇨ 22, 90–93, 96, 102–104, 129, 134, 148

Taslidzhe — *Herzeg. monas.* ⇨ 206

Tetovo's distr. — *Balk. reg.* ⇨ 114

Thessalonica — *Gr. city* ⇨ 28, 30, 62, 111, 116

Tibava (Velikaya Tibava, Bolshaya Tibava) — *v. in Transcarpathia, Austr. Empire, since 1945 Ukraine* ⇨ 278, 283
 Tiflis (Tbilisi) — *Georg. cap.* ⇨ 71, 177(77?)
 Tobolsk — *Siberian city* ⇨ 44
 Toplitsa (Toplica) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 130, 142
 Toropets — *Rus. city* ⇨ 320
 Transcaucasia ⇨ 83, 86
 Travnik — *Bosn. city* ⇨ 199, 299
 Trebinje (Trebinje) — *Herzeg. city* ⇨ 199, 204, 213–214
 Tryavna — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 232
 Trieste — *It. city* ⇨ 256
 Tselye (Celje) — *old city* ⇨ 258
 Tsetinye (Cetinje) — *Montenegr. cap., monas.* ⇨ 298–299
 Tula — *city in Russia* ⇨ 205
 Turkey ⇨ 80, 83, 104
 Turov — *old Rus. city* ⇨ 7, 162–165, 174, 318, 322, 329
 Tutaev (see Borisoglebsk)

U

Ukraine ⇨ 2, 9, 14, 22, 31, 143, 162, 172, 174–176, 178–180, 323–324, 326, 337
 Ungvar (Uzhgorod) — *Ukr. city*
 Unated Kingdom ⇨ 2, 18
 UNESCO ⇨ 310
 Urals — *Rus. mountain* ⇨ 48, 51
 USA ⇨ 2, 18
 USSR ⇨ 86
 Ust'-Orel — *Siberian city* ⇨ 137

V

Varazhdin (Varaždin) — *Slov. city* ⇨ 290
 Varna — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 103, 273, 279, 286
 Vatican ⇨ 100, 102, 268
 Vatopedi — *Athos monas.* ⇨ 95, 97, 99, 128
 Veles — *Mac. city* ⇨ 114, 272, 307, 311
 Velika (Great) Remeta — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 142
 Veludzhe (Veludže) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 134

Venetian Republic ⇨ 301
 Venice ⇨ 299
 Videm (Gornja Radgona) — *Slov. city* ⇨ 253, 258
 Vidin — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 95, 97, 152–153
 Vidin Tsardom ⇨ 97
 Vienna ⇨ 61, 156, 158–159, 205, 215, 249–250, 252, 270, 288, 290–291
 Vilna (Vilnius) — *Lith. city* ⇨ 164, 168–169, 174, 329
 Virgin Evergetissa — *Byz. monas.* ⇨ 128
 Vishegrad — *Bosn. city* ⇨ 199
 Vitebsk — *Belar. city* ⇨ 320
 Vitosha — *a mount. near Sofia* ⇨ 95, 97–98
 Vladimir — *Rus. city* ⇨ 175
 Volga — *Rus. riv.* ⇨ 47, 144
 Volhynia — *Ukr. reg.* ⇨ 323–324
 Volkov's cemetery (in St. Petersburg) ⇨ 69, 87
 Vologda — *Rus. city* ⇨ 132
 Volokolamsk — *Rus. city* ⇨ 322
 Vrchar — *hill near Belgrade* ⇨ 131
 Vratsa — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 7, 149–150, 154, 220, 222
 Vrhnika — *Slov. city* ⇨ 248, 252

W

Walachia ⇨ 118, 158, 285
 Warsaw — *Pol. city, cap.* ⇨ 61, 71, 74, 169, 343
 Western Europe ⇨ 125, 170, 262
 Western Bulgaria ⇨ 92
 Wroclaw (Breslau) ⇨ 168

Y

Yanina — *Gr. city* ⇨ 111, 118
 Yaroslavl — *Rus. city* ⇨ 55, 60, 132, 145, 336
 Yaytse (Jaice) — *Bosn. city* ⇨ 199
 Yekaterinburg — *Rus. city* ⇨ 175
 Yugoslavia ⇨ 255
 Yuryevets-Povol'sky — *Rus. city* ⇨ 44, 47

Z

Zabludov — *Pol. city* ⇨ 172–175, 177, 328–330

Zadunaevka — *Bessarab. v.* ⇨ 219

Zagorye — *Croat. reg.* ⇨ 290

Zagreb — *Croat. city, cap.* ⇨ 61, 72, 74, 129, 270, 291, 293–294, 308

Zaporozhie — *Ukr. reg.* ⇨ 55, 59, 82, 325

Zavala — *Herzeg. monas.* ⇨ 213

Zemun — *Serb. city, mod. distr. of Belgrade* ⇨ 208, 210

Zheravna — *Bulg. city* ⇨ 275

Zhicha (Žiča) — *Serb. monas.* ⇨ 22, 26, 129, 132

Zhitomislich — *Herzeg. monas.* ⇨ 206

Zion ⇨ 342

Zograpf (Zograf) — *Bulg. monas., Athos* ⇨ 61, 95, 97, 99, 142, 145, 147, 150

Zumdor ⇨ 5



Австро-Венгрия ⇨ 65, 237

Албания ⇨ 112, 117

Афон ⇨ 27, 33, 60, 106

Балканский полуостров ⇨ 117

Балканы ⇨ 112, 117, 127, 139

Белоруссия (Беларусь) ⇨ 4, 162, 218

Болгария ⇨ 4, 77, 82, 91, 146, 218, 229, 233, 237, 242, 272, 278, 284

Босния ⇨ 4, 208, 213

Бухарест ⇨ 218

Великий Преслав ⇨ 121

Великое княжество Литовское ⇨ 162, 187

Вена ⇨ 156

Вольнь ⇨ 323

Восточная Славия ⇨ 162

Второе Болгарское царство ⇨ 91

Герцеговина ⇨ 4, 198, 203, 208, 213

Древняя Русь ⇨ 121, 162

Дунай ⇨ 218

Европа ⇨ 187

Забудов ⇨ 173, 327

Киево-Печерская Лавра ⇨ 331

Китай ⇨ 65

Китай-город ⇨ 106

Константинопольская патриархия ⇨ 33

Косово ⇨ 112

Косово поле ⇨ 137

Львов ⇨ 172, 260, 289

Македония ⇨ 33

Марица ⇨ 33

Москва ⇨ 3, 4, 121, 172, 260, 278, 289

Московское государство ⇨ 37, 139

Мостар ⇨ 203, 213

Новгород ⇨ 121

Острог ⇨ 172, 178

Пантелеймонов мон-рь на Афоне ⇨ 33

Первое Болгарское царство ⇨ 91

Подлясье ⇨ 327

Полоцкое княжество ⇨ 318

Рила ⇨ 106

Румыния ⇨ 233, 237

Россия ⇨ 4, 82, 106, 112, 162, 178, 192, 203, 237, 260, 289, 331

Русь ⇨ 47, 331

Санкт-Петербург ⇨ 121, 156

Сараево ⇨ 192, 208

Северная Македония ⇨ 4, 272

Северо-Западная Русь ⇨ 121

Сербия ⇨ 4, 71, 112, 117, 127, 192

Сербское княжество ⇨ 237

Сибирь ⇨ 65

Скопье ⇨ 303

Словения ⇨ 4

София ⇨ 139

Старая Сербия ⇨ 198

США ⇨ 65

Турция ⇨ 296

Тырново ⇨ 91

Украина ⇨ 4, 162, 178, 323, 331

Хиландар ⇨ 22, 27, 37

Хорватия ⇨ 4, 228

Черногория ⇨ 4, 65, 296

Югославия ⇨ 303

ЮНЕСКО ⇨ 307

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