

Зашев, Е. Яна Хутянова. Из историята на българистиката във философския факултет на Университета „Ян Амос Коменски“ в Братислава. – В: Българистика, № 14, (2009), 44–55. ISSN 1311-8544

From the History of Bulgarian Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy
at Comenius University in Bratislava
(Abstract)

The article traces the history of the Bulgarian Studies program at Comenius University in Bratislava from the establishment of the institution in 1921 until 2009. It notes that Old Bulgarian began to be taught in the year the university opened within the Seminar for Slavic Philologies under the guidance of Prof. M. Weingart, and the first lectureship in Bulgarian was established in 1925. Special attention is given to the first lecturer in Bulgarian, Prof. V. A. Pogorelov, who conducted the course from 1925 to 1945. The stages of institutional and scholarly development of Old Bulgarian Studies and Bulgarian Studies at the university are traced, listing all Bulgarian and local lecturers, their courses, research interests, and publications. The contributions to the development of the specialty by J. Jurčová-Staykova, G. Dosev, V. Blanár, G. Valchev, M. Odárna, Iv. Buyukliev, E. Horák, J. Chutyánová, M. Dobriková, J. Koška, I. Hohel, D. Vakarelska, V. Kyuvlieva, and others are noted. The second part of the article contains a series of brief scientific biographies of prominent lecturers and scholars dedicated to Old Bulgarian Studies and Bulgarian Studies who worked in the university's departments and the institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. Among them are A. Isačenko, J. Stanislav, V. Blanár, Š. Ondruš, E. Horák, M. Košková, J. Koška, E. Paulíny, and R. Krajčovič. The article emphasizes that the development of Bulgarian Studies at Comenius University is a testament to the traditional friendly ties between Bulgaria and Slovakia and the lasting interest in Bulgaria and Bulgarian culture.

Поемата La Bulgheria convertita – проект за промяна в българската национална идентичност. – В: Кирило-Методиевски студии, Кн. 20 (2011), 166–189. ISSN 0205-2253

THE POEM LA BULGHERIA CONVERTITA AS A PROJECT FOR CHANGING
THE BULGARIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

(Abstract)

The paper presents a study on Francesco Bracciolini's poem titled *La Bulgheria convertita*, published in 1637 in Rome by Vitale Mascardi. The work was written on the request of Congregatio de Propaganda Fide and therefore has a clearly expressed religious and propaganda character. The poem has never been translated into Bulgarian, the only serious study on it being that of the Italian scholar Riccardo Piccio.

The study focuses mainly on analysis of the paratext of the poem, i.e. the title pages, the twelve short lists of content and the alphabetical index of persons and events. It aims at acquainting the reader with a number of portraits of historical figures who were involved in the creation of the poem and were mentioned in its introduction part, as well as with the relationships between them. Special attention is given to the authors Francesco and Giuliano Bracciolini, the maecenas cardinal Antonio Barberini -junior, the censors Nicolo' Riccardi and Giulio Rospigliosi, the patron Pope Urban VIII, and the person who inspired the plot - Girolamo Piatti, as well as to the remarkable activity of the Bulgarian Catholic community during the year of publication - 1637.

The paper also proposes a reconstruction of the plot of the poem based on the specific viewpoint of Giuliano Bracciolini, as manifested in the short lists of content and the alphabetical index.

In conclusion the paper offers the theory that the poem was an important part of a larger project for exercising influence on the religious component of the Bulgarian national identity which involved the joint efforts of top officials of the Vatican and local people supporting their religious and political activities. Within the framework of this project, the poem was supposed to play the role of a national epic, but this goal remained unachieved due to a complex of political and historical reasons.

Зашев, Е. Разкази за чудеса, разбойници, блудници и други истории. Превод от старогръцки, коментари и бележки. КМНЦ, София, 2014, 148 с. ISBN 978-954-9787-23-8

Tales of Miracles, Bandits, Harlots, and Other Stories.
Translation from Ancient Greek, Commentary, and Notes
(Abstract)

The book presents, for the first time in Bulgarian, a translated anthology of 50 paterikon stories. All works with identified Greek originals are translated from Ancient Greek. Based on the Old Bulgarian text, only five stories (10, 14, 16, 26, and 38) are rendered, using the edition of the Compiled Paterikon (Svoden Paterik) due to the inaccessibility or ambiguity of the Greek primary sources. The main principle in the selection of the readings is their presence in Old Bulgarian translated paterikons, especially in the Compiled Paterikon (Svoden Paterik) – from which the first 38 stories are drawn. The reason for this decision is that this collection is considered a medieval Bulgarian anthology reflecting both the taste of its anonymous compiler(s) and that of their contemporary audience. The remaining 12 stories appear only in the Sinai Paterikon, and their inclusion in the book is due to their representative genre. The final selection provides at least a partial view of the repertoire of various Old Bulgarian translated monuments: stories 41, 36, 42, 44, 45, 12, 34, 33, 46, 18, and 23 (in the mentioned sequence) from this edition are included in the book from the library of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (Ivan Alexandar's Miscellany from 1348) and show the reader what plots the compiler Lavrentiy deemed worthy of royal attention. Stories 1 to 38 are part of the Compiled Paterikon (Svoden Paterik). Stories 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, and 39 to 50 are part of the Sinai Paterikon, stories 7, 27, 28, and 29 appear in the Egyptian Paterikon, and stories 2, 3, 4, 5, and 11 are included in the Alphabetical-Jerusalem Paterikon. The book includes a preface aimed at shifting the stereotypical reader perspective on medieval Bulgarian literature to present a more vivid picture of the Eastern Middle Ages (pp. 9–10). The ancient paterikons are systematically presented (pp. 11–16) and their existence in medieval Bulgaria (pp. 16–18). An important part of the edition is the prepared reference guides – the alphabetical indexes of historical figures and geographical names (pp. 131–135) and of rare and foreign words denoting medieval realities (pp. 136–138). The section "On the Translation" outlines the principles followed in selection and translation (pp. 139–140) and presents a table of correspondences and sources used for the translation. The edition also includes a bibliographic description of the sources used for the translation, the dictionaries and reference books used, and selected scientific studies. The book is included in the recommended literature for students of the Faculty of History at Sofia University and for students in the history and culture profiles at the National High School for Ancient Languages and Cultures.

Zashev, E. Lavrentiy's miscellany / Tsar Ivan Alexandăr's miscellany of 1348. Ed. and introd. by Evgueni D. Zashev. КМНЦ, Sofia, 2015, 508 p. ISBN: 978-954-9787-27-6

Lavrentiy's miscellany / Tsar Ivan Alexandăr's miscellany of 1348.
Ed. and introd. by Evgueni D. Zashev.
(Резюме)

Книгата е първи том от серия, подготвяна от КМНЦ в рамките на проекта *Образи на европейската културна традиция – ръкописите на цар Иван Александър*, и съдържа фототипно издание на ръкопис F.I.376 от РНБ в С.-Петербург, известен в науката като Лаврентиев (или Иван-Александров) сборник от 1348 г (с. 65–499). Точната датировка и името на книжовника, изготвил сборника, са известни от добавеното на л. 214 посвещение. Ръкописът представлява сборник с разнообразно съдържание, предназначен за индивидуално четене и адресиран към цар Иван Александър и неговото семейство. Изданието е придружено от студия на английски език, която има за цел да набави исторически контекст и да се представи актуална научна информация за книжовния паметник, за епохата на неговото възникване и за неговия създател (с. 9–40). Фототипното издание е осъществено на базата на чернобял микрофилм и възпроизвежда всичките 214 листа на ръкописа. Изготвянето на второ издание на ръкописа след това на К. Куев от 1981 г. се наложи поради три основни причини. На първо място, Лаврентиевият сборник е важен паметник на българското и европейското културно наследство, възникнал средата на ключовото за Европа XIV столетие – епоха на политически и духовен кръстопът, в която европейският Запад и европейският Изток поемат по различни исторически пътища. На второ място стои нуждата този паметник да е достъпен на изследователите и широката публика в своята цялост. Публикацията на К. Куев от 1981 г. не възпроизвежда целия ръкопис. На снимки с недобро качество могат да се видят само две четива (*Написание за правата вяра* и *За буквите от Черноризец Храбър*), обхващащи текста от л. 93v до л. 101v и от л. 101v до л. 105 (общо 13 листа). Третата причина са множеството неточности от различно естество, допуснати при предаването на разчетения текст в книгата на К. Куев (с. 40–47). При изготвянето на това изданието са допуснати множество (понякога системни) грешки при предаването на диакритичните знаци и при разчитането на отделни думи и изрази. Значително е също така количеството от грешки при предаването на еровите гласни, което поставя под въпрос каквото и да е изследване върху тяхната употреба. Грешки са допуснати дори при предаването на заглавията на някои четива (напр.: *О писменехъ Црноризца Храбра* вм. *’О писменехъ Чрноризца Храбра*; *’Иже въ стхъ ѿца нашго* вм. *’Нже въ стхъ ѿца нашго*; *Оученіа црковнаа* вм. *Оученіа црковнаа*; *ѿ различныхъ лицъ* вм. *ѿ [...] различныхъ ѡглавленіихъ ѿ различныхъ лицъ*). Неточности има и при предаването на приписката на Лаврентий (*хрістолюбивоу* вм. *хрістолюбиво*). Липсата на прецизност при изготвянето на изданието от 1981 г. е сериозна пречка то да се използва като пълноценен източник за проучването на текста и езика на сборника. За улеснение на ползвателите отделните четива в ръкописа са изведени още в съдържанието на книгата, като са уточнени английските им названия и са дадени латинските им съответствия в случаите, когато в научната литература има утвърдени такива. (Още в съдържанието е предложен адекватен превод на заглавието съчинението на Нил Синайски *За осемте духа на злото*, което по една погрешна традиция близо половин век се предава като *За осемте духовни порока*). Отново с цел подпомагане на работата на изследователите в книга е включена таблица на съответствията между F.I.376 и изданието на К. Куев,

свързваща всяка страница от ръкописа със съответстващата ѝ страница в изданието на К. Куев. Забелязаните неточности при предаването на фолиацията у Куев при л. 43, 43v, 46, 105v, 106v, 107v, 109 и 118v са посочени в бележки под линия (с. 47–52). В отделна глава е включено подробно описание на съдържанието на ръкописа, включващо заглавия, инципити и експлицити (с. 52–62), като в бележки под линия са направени десетки уточнения на публикувания през 2009 г. опис на Б. Христова и колектив (Христова, Б. и др. *Славянские рукописи болгарского происхождения в Российской национальной библиотеке – Санкт-Петербург. С., 2009*) и на описанието на съдържанието на сборника на страницата на проекта на Д. Бирнбаум (*Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature and Letters. <http://repertorium.obdurodon.org/readFile.php?filename=NG376PBS.xml>*). Такъв напр. е случаят с приписката на л. 214 (под посвещението на Лаврентий) – авторите на опис от 2009 г. не са забелязали, че тя почти буквално преповтаря първите три реда на предходния л. 213v и са я разчели грешно. Така изразът **А** еже въ тръни жидове неприемоуше слова в̄жиа:~ а же на добръ се е превърнал в – **А** еже въ тръни жидове неприемоуше слова в̄жиа а жена добръ. В този дял на студията в помощ на изследователите са посочени и началата на членимите единици на четивата (глави и др.) и съответстващият им лист от ръкописа, който лесно може да бъде открит във фототипния дял. Студията завършва с кратко обобщение на кодикологичните и палеографските особености на ръкописа. Както със съдържанието и структурата си, така и с езика, на който е представено, изданието цели да увеличи изследователския интерес към този важен паметник на средновековната българска книжовност, като улесни максимално учените при използването на текста на Лаврентиевия сборник.

Зашев, Е. Полезни за душата разкази от Павел – епископ на богопазената Монемвасия. Превод от старогръцки, коментари и бележки. КМНЦ, София, 2018 ISBN:978-954-9787-30-6, 112 с.

Soul-Beneficial Tales by Paul, Bishop of God-Protected Monemvasia.
Translation from Ancient Greek, Commentary, and Notes

The book reveals for the first time to the Bulgarian reader the small literary heritage of Bishop Paul, the spiritual head of the picturesque medieval Byzantine city of Monemvasia.

The introductory study primarily attempts a prosopographical reconstruction of the biography of Bishop Paul of Monemvasia. The clergyman is a real historical figure, most likely born and raised in Constantinople during the first half of the 10th century. Around the mid-century, he became a monk in one of the Latrian monasteries, where he met St. Paul of Latra, and they shared a common spiritual mentor – the founder of Karya, Abba Peter. After becoming the bishop of Monemvasia, Paul often left his diocese to visit the capital, where he maintained various social contacts. In 955, just before Christmas, he was certainly in Constantinople. His work "Soul-Beneficial Tales" was written after 959, most likely during the 960s or 970s.

Special attention is given to the study of the text and composition of the work. Among the more important conclusions highlighted is the fact that the textual tradition of Paul of Monemvasia's tales is characterized by numerous variations in both the composition and content of the individual works, precluding the possibility of a definitive reconstruction of the original author's text. The main criterion for the composition of the work remains the Arabic manuscript Codex Paris. Arab. 236, reflecting a translation made about a quarter of a century after the original. Readings from No. 1 to No. 10 most likely represent the initial core of the work, while No. 13 and No. 14 were added soon after its writing. To the twelve tales from Codex Paris. Arab. 236, tales No. 12 and No. 13 can be added with some reservations. The Greek text reconstructed by J. Wortley can only be used as a guide for the composition and text of the "soul-beneficial" tales of Paul of Monemvasia, without allowing for completely reliable conclusions about the translations of the work, including the Old Bulgarian translation.

The edition facilitates future researchers of the text by offering tables of correspondences of the individual tales in both Greek (p. 19) and Old Bulgarian sources (pp. 105–106). The translation of the fifteen tales and the story of the pimp Sergius of Alexandria is accompanied by a rich auxiliary apparatus, including reference articles for the mentioned historical figures and geographical names, as well as for rare and archaic words.

All the tales are translated from the Ancient Greek text, reconstructed and published by J. Wortley and included in the TLG. In addition to the initial fourteen, which are accepted to some extent as having been written by Bishop Paul, the fifteenth and sixteenth works are added because they outline the general trend in the evolution of the genre and appear in numerous manuscripts containing copies of the "soul-beneficial" tales.

Since one of the aims of the edition is to present an element of the repertoire of the medieval Bulgarian translated "library," it is important to note that ten of Bishop Paul's tales (No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 12) are found in the Old Bulgarian translated compilation known as the Compiled Paterikon (Svoden Pateric). One of the tales, identified by St. Nikolova in the edition of the Compiled Paterikon as belonging to Paul of Monemvasia, has no correspondence in the Greek text and is not mentioned by earlier researchers of the bishop's work.

In working on the translation, an effort was made to preserve, as much as possible, the selection of linguistic means and stylistics of the source texts. A limited number of realities

(mainly titles, monetary and metric units) are left untranslated to maintain the atmosphere of the era that produced the works. The edition concludes with a rich bibliography containing over 90 items, divided into three sections: 1. Sources used for the translation; 2. Dictionaries and reference books used; 3. Cited and used literature.

Зашев, Е. „Кратко историческо описание на светата Велеградска митрополия“ и сведенията за св. Седмочисленици в него. – Старобългарска литература, 63–64 (2021), с. 301–323. ISSN 0204-868X

A BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE HOLY METROPOLITANATE OF VELEGRAD BY ANTHIMOS ALEXOUDIS, CONTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT THE HOLY HEPTARITHMOI
(*Abstract*)

This paper seeks to present the notes and references to the Seven Slavic Saints in the work by Anthimos Alexoudis, Bishop of Berat, published in 1868 under the title “Σύντομος ἱστορικὴ περιγραφὴ τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μητροπόλεως Βελεγραδῶν καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν πνευματικὴν αὐτῆς δικαιοδοσίαν ὑπαγομένης χώρας”. A short biography of the author is provided to trace his education and career as a clergyman close to the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Particular attention is paid to his research interests in the fields of palaeography, epigraphy and church history by offering a bibliographic description of his most important works. In order to reveal the genesis of bishop Anthimos’s interest in the life’s work of the Holy Heptarithmoi (the Seven Slavic Saints), an attempt is made to reconstruct various aspects of the spiritual atmosphere in the diocese of Berat relating to the Slavic enlighteners: oral tradition, religious services and church representations. A brief overview of the contents of Anthimos Alexoudis book is placed within that cultural-historical context. It is noted that in his work the clergyman mentions the Seven Saints three times – in the seventh, eighth and tenth chapters – and the relevant excerpts are translated into Bulgarian. Attention is also paid to the fact that the bishop has committed himself to the preservation of the relics believed to have belonged to Sts Gorazd and Angelarius: a reliquary was made for the purpose with the costs covered by the metropolitan church. In conclusion, it is emphasised that the book by Anthimos Alexoudis testifies to the fact that one century after abolishing the autocephaly of the Archbishopric of Ochrid and placing its diocese under the jurisdiction of the Oecumenical Patriarchate, the memory of the life’s work of the Seven Saints was infallibly kept alive in the furthestmost southwestern regions. In the diocese of Berat there were two traditions of commemorating and celebrating these saints in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries: in Berat their feast day fell on 26 November; and in Moscopole their feast day fell on 17 July. Influenced by the then available Greek sources, by the oral tradition and by his own impressions, Anthimos Alexoudis composed a “Beratocentric” narrative about the life’s work of the Seven Saints, where he showed himself to be sympathetic both to the facts of the Bulgarian history and toward the contemporary Bulgarians, whom he called “our brethren in Christ”.

Keywords: Berat, Anthimos Alexoudis, history of the Bishopric of Berat, the Seven Slavonic Saints

ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE BERAT RELIQUARY

(Abstract)

The present article discusses the reliquary of the Dormition Cathedral in the city of Berat's acropolis (Albania). This church allegedly contains the relics of Sts. Gorazd and Angelar and even the relics of the Seven Saints as a group. The purpose of this paper is to summarize known data about the reliquary, but not retroactively with regard to its authenticity. Rather, the data are analyzed in perspective with reference to the origin and establishment of the cult of the Seven Saints.

This study traces the scholarly discussion about the authenticity of the relics from the second half of the 19th century until the present. Although I take into consideration the real possibility of these relics to be fake, as a medievalist, I point out that such an assertion is not productive as to the emergence of the cult of the Seven Saints.

I argue that before the end of the 17th century relics considered to belong to SS Gorazd and Angelar, along with other church property, had been moved from Glavinitsa (Ballshi/Ballsh) to the St. George monastery in the Breshtan settlement. From there, looking for extra safety, the relics had been moved to the metropolitan Dormition Cathedral of Berat. These relics generated the local cult of the Seven Saints developments, whereas their presence in Berat or their move to Berat per se became the reason for the creation of the so-called *Berat (or Venice) Seven Saints Service*.

The feast day was commemorated on November 26, right after the feast day of St Clement of Ohrid. Both holidays had been parts of a common festive event. The November 26 commemoration was preserved for more than a century and a half as a specific local tradition despite a second date, July 17, found in the *Moschopolis Seven Saints Service* of 1742.

Along with the *Berat Service*, the relics serve as the basis of a wide-spread common iconographic design for the representation of the Seven Saints in the city of Berat and its vicinity. In 1885, under the patronage of the local bishop Anthimos Alexoudis, the relics were placed into a specially designed reliquary. This silver-plated reliquary has a relief image of the Seven Saints and several inscriptions. The differences between the names of the Seven Saints can be attributed to both types of traditions: the oral tradition, which can be seen on the reliquary inscription, and the written tradition whose continuation is evident in the service. Today, the reliquary silver decoration is missing, although the reliquary has been preserved and it is kept in the Dormition Cathedral, which since 1986 has been transformed into the Onufri National Iconographic Museum. The reliquary's relics and metallic shoes provide sufficient basis for the assumption that they had belonged to one and the same saint, whose identification is a task that remains for future research.

The relics kept in the Berat reliquary are the basis for the modern Seven Saints cult whose Berat origin has a high degree of certainty. Having emerged at the end of the 17th or the beginning of the 18th century in the multiethnic environment of the city of Berat, this cult has been represented by a rich iconographic tradition and a service associated with Southern Albania.

Keywords: Berat reliquary; Berat service; St Gorazd; St Angelar; the Seven Saints.

THE EARLIEST VERBAL IMAGE OF THE SEVEN SAINTS: MECHANISMS OF
INVENTION

(Abstract)

The article presents an analysis of some of the structural mechanisms in the invention of the collective image of the Seven Saints in the first discovered source constructing and celebrating their shared memory, the so-called *Berat* or *Venetian Service*. The author emphasizes that although the liturgical work is a compilation, the image that is being constructed is new, largely original, and is a precedent as regards the later tradition. The observations are made on over 100 examples, presented in the original and in Modern Bulgarian translation.

The creation of the image of the Seven Saints is marked by the aspiration to affirm the signified and the signifier within the linguistic sign Ἑπτάρηθμοι. The very construction of the community of Seven Saints is not arbitrary but part of a system: the group consists of three hierarchical couples and one single saint.

The construction of the image of the Seven Saints is complemented with historical and geographical references, generally represented by the realia *Bulgaria* and *Bulgarians*, more often used independently, but accidentally accompanied by other similar realia – *Moesia*, *Moesi* and *Dalmatia*, *Dalmatae*. The context of the readings including *Moesia* and *Moesi* suggests they are identical with *Bulgaria* and *Bulgarians*. The independent uses of *Dalmatia* and *Dalmatae* are significantly fewer and are evidence of a careful balance between the connection of the Seven Saints and Bulgaria, which is accepted as historically plausible, and the cult of their holy relics, which are believed to have been laid at the cathedral in Belograd (Berat).

The idea of the Seven Saints features several visual registers among which most distinct are the light/enlightening imagery, the metaphoric representation of the saints as a peculiar Bulgarian home of Wisdom and the musical imagery highlighting the unity and the harmony among them.

Within the framework of the composition of the work, the small vespers observe more strictly the initially set structure of the group of saints and focuses on their connection with Bulgaria above all. While the liturgical work unfolds, the connection between the saints and Dalmatia and with the town that celebrates their memory, Berat, gains prominence.

Compiled in a late historical period and drawing on literary sources and local legends, the *Berat Service* cannot be used as a historical source about the work of the first teachers Cyril and Methodius and their disciples. However, it is an important document marking the occurrence and the institutionalization in the multiethnic milieu of the southern Albanian lands of a new cult which was about to spread and establish itself mainly among the Bulgarians in the Balkans.

Keywords: Seven Saints; Berat/Venetian Service; verbal image.

*LIEUX DE MÉMOIRE OF ST GORAZD AND ST ANGELARIUS
IN THE CITY OF BERAT (ALBANIA)
(Abstract)*

This article examines various lieux de mémoire associated with St Gorazd and St Angelarius in the city of Berat (Belograd, Velograd, Velegrad or Albanian Belgrade), in order to highlight the place and role of the memory of these two disciples of Cyril and Methodius in the process of the emergence and institutionalization of the cult of the Holy Heptarithmoi (the Seven Slavic Saints). Its objects of study are oral lore about the relics of St Gorazd and St Angelarius, and the artefacts and written monuments attesting to the veneration of these saints. The various sources presented here categorically attest that in the eighteenth nineteenth centuries, and perhaps quite earlier, the memory of St Gorazd and St Angelarius was venerated in Berat. This memory was most probably entirely post-biographical and had mixed (folk and literary) origins, based on their supposed relics. It is the connection with these relics that unites a series of lieux de mémoire which, arranged in chronological order, look like this: Berat (Venetian) office for the Seven Slavic Saints with a canon dedicated to St Gorazd and St Angelarius (1720); an icon of the Seven Slavic Saints representing the assumption of St Gorazd and St Angelarius (1812–1814); two reliquaries in the shape of shoes, one of them dedicated to St Angelarius (1823); A Brief Historical Overview of the Holy Metropolitanate of Velehrad by Anthimos Alexoudis, indicating the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Berat as the place where the relics of St Gorazd and St Angelarius were preserved (1868); a second icon of the Seven Slavic Saints representing the assumption of St Gorazd and St Angelarius (1873); a silver-plated reliquary from the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Berat. The hypothesis is presented that the meaningful framework uniting those lieux de mémoire is a local oral narrative that is partially reconstructed. The interpretation of the sources listed and of the links between them points to the conclusion that the “relics” of St Gorazd and St Angelarius were the material basis for the construction of a local tradition of veneration which, in turn, formed the core of the cult of the Seven Slavic Saints that was institutionalized in the early eighteenth century. These relics are the sacred centre around which the memory of the seven Slavic enlighteners was organized in Berat and its surroundings – a cult that was to be gradually freed from this dependence, as the chronologically second Moscopole office for the Seven Saints shows, and to become part of Bulgarian Revival culture.

Keywords: the Seven Slavic Saints; St Gorazd; St Angelarius; Berat; lieux de mémoire

ON THE EARLIEST TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SEVEN SAINTS CULT

(Abstract)

The current research traces and summarizes the information about the historical persons from the circle of the Seven Saints, paying special attention to the distinction between *mention, enumeration and grouping*. Various historical evidences are examined as focal memory points of a *conjoint cult* of the Seven Saints – some of them are literature sources – *the Prologue life of St. John Vladimir* (1690), *the Berat liturgy for Seven Saints* (c. 1720) and *the Moschopol liturgy for Seven Saints* (1742), other sources are artefacts – eight wall paintings, three icons, a carved medallion and three reliquaries. Based on the mentioned sources, the earliest topography of the Seven Saints cult is outlined, and the individual monuments are presented in their geographical, cultural-historical, and architectural context. There is an emphasis on the fact that the historical evidences of the early stage of the propagation of the Seven Saints cult derive from a relatively limited geographical area – the lands of the Berat diocese and its immediate surroundings. The images from Dratcha monastery (1735) and from the church “St. Prophet Elijah” in Siatista (1744) are rather exceptions. As a conclusion, it is noticed that the language of the entire described tradition, including both the three written monuments and the numerous images and artefacts, is Greek. This tradition cannot yet be recognized as a genuine Bulgarian national initiative of the revival type, but rather is a regional post-Byzantine cult that arose in the southwestern regions of the Ochrid Archdiocese in a multi-ethnic environment with a dominant cultural Hellenism. The artefacts preserved to present days, which are probably only a part of those actually created, testify to the inclusion of the Seven Saints in the sacral pantheon of the Ochrid Archdiocese, thereby raising its ecclesiastical authority and supporting its historical pretensions to canonical independence. The tendencies observed in the perspective of the cult development in the second half of the 19th century are the gradual transfer to the east and northeast to the lands of Macedonia, more compactly populated with Bulgarians, and the appearance of images bringing to the fore the creation of the Bulgarian alphabet.

Keywords: St. Seven Saints, lieux de mémoire, written monuments, artifacts.

ABOUT THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE BERAT (VENETIAN) SERVICE
FOR SEVEN SAINTS

(Abstract)

The article presents a critical reappraisal of two hypotheses for the authorship of the so called *Berat Service for Seven Saints*, stating that the *Canon for St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius*, included in the liturgical text, was created between 889 and 893 by the Bulgarian Prince Boris I, and the entire service was compiled by Gregory, Metropolitan of Dratch, in the XIV century. As a result of the analysis of the presented arguments, both hypotheses are rejected, and at the same time a new opinion for the authorship of the Service is proposed. Expounded are arguments that the compiler and author of the original sections and the recensions included in the *Berat Service* was the bishop of Gora and Mokra, Michael Ipischiot, and based on the available evidence, an attempt has been made to partially reconstruct his life and work. The assumption that Michael Ipischiot was a key figure in the composition of the *Berat Service* leads to the conclusion that both the original *Canon for St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius*, as well as the entire liturgical work, were created immediately before its printing in Venice - at the end of the 1720s.

THE BERAT MEMORY FOR THE HOLY HEPTARITHMOI
(Abstract)

The present study is dedicated to the earliest traces of the collective cult of the Seven saints, preserved in the south-western regions of the Ohrid archdiocese, covering today mainly the lands of southern Albania, and more specifically the Berat bishopric and its immediate surroundings. Various historical sources are presented and interpreted – written monuments, various artefacts, oral narratives.

In the first chapter, the exposition focuses on the so-called Berat reliquary, and the relics stored in it, which are considered as the material fundament and generator of the local cult of the Seven Saints. An attempt has been made to reconstruct the history of both the relics and the reliquary itself. The fact is emphasized that the commemoration of the Seven Saints in the city of Berat and its surroundings is an intersection of two traditions – oral and written, with the first existing in the form of a local tale, and the second related to the liturgical works of Theophylact of Ohrid, Demetrios Homatianos and Constantine Kabasilas, dedicated to St. Clement and St. Naum.

The presence of the relics or their transfer to Berat served as starting point for the writing of the *Berat Service of the Seven Saints*, to which the second chapter of the book has been dedicated. All available data for the liturgical work have been collected and summarized, with special attention given to the unresolved problem of its authorship. The notion that the Service originated in the 9th century and that knyaz Boris Michael was its author has been criticized and rejected. A detailed analysis of numerous written sources leads to the hypothesis that the creator of the Berat Service was the bishop of Gora and Mokra, Michael Ipsichiot (c. 1690 – 1780), and the work itself was composed immediately before its printing in Venice (c. 1720). Based on the available sources, a prosopographical characterization of Bishop Michael is proposed. The conducted review of historical facts leads to the conclusion that the *Berat Service* was compiled by direct borrowings, revisions of earlier works and at least one original part – the *Canon of St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius*. Michael Ipsichiot, but probably also representatives of the Papas family, originating from Berat, on whose expenses the liturgical part was printed, took part in the writing process of this canon. It has been emphasized that at the time of its printing, the date of the commemoration of the saints had already been established – November 26, and the second date indicated in the *Moschopolis Service of the Seven Saints* – July 17 – did not replace the first, and the two dates coexisted together for at least one century and a half.

The third chapter of the study contains an attempted insight into the semantic structures of the text of the *Berat Service*, the purpose of which is to discover and trace the mechanisms through which the earliest verbal image of the Seven Saints was "invented". *Enumeration* and *direct naming* are highlighted as the leading principles for confirming the seven-member composition of the group, thereby simultaneously confirming both the signified and the signifier in the linguistic sign Ἑπτάρηθμοι. The very construction of the community of seven saints is not random, it is subject to a certain system and hierarchy. Practically, the group consists of three pairs established in the title, each with its own internal hierarchy, and one individual saint. These are the first eachers St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the Ohrid saints with their own cults Clement and Naum, the "Berat" saints Gorazd and Angelarius and St. Sava. However, with the unfolding of the liturgical text an intention is noticed, by means of variation within the established pattern, for each of the participants in the group to be connoted and singled out with some semantic emphasis. The construction of

the image of the Seven Saints is complemented by historical-geographic references, and this role is most often played by the realia *Bulgaria* and *Bulgarians*, *Mysia*, *Mysians* and *Dalmatia*, *Dalmatians*. The context of the readings including *Mysia* and *Mysians* suggests their identity with *Bulgaria* and *Bulgarians*. Independent uses of *Dalmatia* and *Dalmatians* are considerably rarer and indicate a careful balance between the connection of the Seven Saints with Bulgaria, accepted as historically reliable, and the cult of their relics, which were believed to be kept in the city of Berat. The stated observations are the result of a detailed analysis of the text of the Service, with all examples presented in the original language and translated into Bulgarian. This principle of presenting the sources is followed through the whole exposition.

The fourth chapter focuses the reader's attention on the “memory traces” of Berat origin, specifically related to St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius, the worship to whom is considered as a kind of core of the researched cult. Based on written sources and a series of preserved artefacts, it is concluded that in the 18th–19th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, the memory of St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius was widespread in Berat. This memory is entirely post-biographical and has a mixed origin (folk and literary), and the presumable relics of the saints form its fundament. A semantic *framework* uniting the chronologically presented artefacts (icons and reliquaries) and written texts is an *oral narrative* that (although it cannot be completely reconstructed) contained plot elements, among which – the discovery and/or transfer of the relics of St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius from Balshi's Assumption Cathedral (or from a monastery bearing the same name) in Berat; the participation in this event of a monk or a shepherd named Pimen, the memory of whom was enduring and reflected in iconography; the “Gorica” bridge, on which the monk (or shepherd) entered the city and which probably suggests the place from where he came; initial laying of the relics in the Assumption Parish Church of the Mangalem district of Berat, from where they were transferred to the Assumption Cathedral after its restoration in 1797. This narrative was probably part of two macro-narratives involving Gorazd and Angelarius in the group of the Seven Saints. The first macro-narrative is closer to the folk tradition and includes the names Kenos and Teodoro in the group of the Seven Saints, and the second rests on the literary sources used by the author of the *Berat Service*. An echo of the second macro-narrative is present in the *Brief historical description of the Holy Metropolis of Velegrad* by Antim Alexoudis, according to which the Cyrillo-Methodian disciples Clement, Naum and Angelarius arrived directly in Berat, and the meeting with the Bulgarian knyaz Boris, who longed to see them, took place in neighbouring Ohrid.

The fifth chapter shifts the focus of research interest from the couple St. Gorazd – St. Angelarius to the whole group of the Seven Saints. Based on the preserved historical sources, the stages of formation of the group are traced – mention, enumeration, and differentiation. As *lieux de mémoires* for the Seven Saints are examined separately and presented in a chronological table three written monuments, eight wall paintings, four icons, one wood-carved medallion, three reliquaries and one donation vault. On this basis, the approximate topography of the early stage of the process of emergence and consolidation of the collective cult of the Seven Saints has been reconstructed. The presented facts show that at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century, the group of saints, including the primordial teachers Cyril and Methodius and their closest disciples, gradually defined its seven-member composition. At this stage, this group still has no specific name and collective cult. The situation changed at the end of the second half of the 17th century, when in the southwestern regions of the Ohrid archdiocese (Berat, Neokastro) the saints were designated by a collective name – Ἐπτάρημοι, as evidenced by the *Short Life of St. John Vladimir* (1690), and the *Berat Service* (c. 1720) marks the beginning of the joint commemoration of their memory in Berat and its immediate surroundings on 26 November. In today's southern Albanian lands, there

are parallel narratives about the Seven Saints. The central one is the Berat one, according to which the metropolitan church of the city preserves the relics of St. Gorazd and St. Angelarius (or of all seven saints), and the Seven Saints proclaim the word of God “through the whole city” and throughout the lands “of Bulgarian Mysia, Albania or Epirus and Upper and Lower Illyria, Dalmatia and Serbia”. As per this narration, the Seven Saints created the letters according to the Bulgarian speech, presented the Bulgarians with the gift of the Gospel and literacy, and knyaz Boris was baptized by St. Clement in Ohrid. For its part, the monastery “St. John Vladimir” in Neokastro (Elbasan) is the source of another story that connects the Seven Saints with the conversion of Simeon – “king of the Bulgarians and of Ohrid” and with the return to Orthodoxy of the “peoples deluded by the heretics Massalians and Bogomils among the Bulgarians in Mysia, Albania, Dalmatia, Illyria and Serbia”. With the writing and printing of the *Moschopolis Service of the Seven Saints* (1742), a new commemoration date was established – 17th of July, and at the same time the cult was emancipated from its regional attachment to Berat and the presumable relics of the saints. It is important to note that all three written monuments directly connect the work of the enlighteners with Bulgaria and the Bulgarians, simultaneously promoting the idea of their belonging to the lands of Dalmatia, Illyria, or Albania. From the 30s of the 18th century, the collective image of the Seven Saints appeared in church painting singled out as a group with different compositional patterns. The distribution of the images of the Seven Saints covers, with few exceptions, the lands of the Berat Metropolis and its immediate surroundings, and the change of ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the area in 1767 did not affect the popularity of the motif of the Seven Saints. The fact is highlighted that the entire traced tradition is Greek-speaking and cannot yet be recognized as a genuine Bulgarian national initiative of the revival type, but rather is a regional post-Byzantine cult that arose in the south-western regions of the Ohrid Archdiocese in a multi-ethnic environment with a dominant cultural Hellenism.

The last sixth chapter presents the transformation of the Berat tradition into a reflection in the work of the Berat bishop Antim Alexoudis published in 1868 – *A brief historical description of the holy Metropolis of Velegrad and the area under its spiritual jurisdiction*. In this part of the study, an attempt was made to reconstruct the mechanism by which Berat's memory of the Seven Saints was internalized by a clergyman and scholar “external” to the local community, such as Bishop Antim, who was a native of the Thracian Chersonese and previously was serving in Constantinople and Ephesus. In the excerpts of his work dedicated to the Seven Saints, Antim Alexoudis creates a “Beratocentric” narrative in which the activity of the Slavic enlighteners is centred around the city, of which he himself is the head of the metropolitan chair. Written in a multi-ethnic environment, for which Greek is the main cultural language, the book of Antim Alexoudis is distinguished by an obvious benevolence both to the facts of the Bulgarian history and to his contemporary Bulgarians, whom he calls “our brothers in Christian faith”. Although a whole century has passed since the liquidation of the Ohrid archdiocese and the struggle for an independent Bulgarian church is very close to its outcome, Bishop Antim continues the tradition of the Ohrid and Berat metropolitans of exalting and glorifying the local cults, among which he singles out in the first place that of the Seven Saints.

In the Appendix at the end of the book a new edition of the text of the *Berat Service* is presented, with an exposition of the motives imposing it. Also included are three works by the alleged author of the Berat Service – Bishop Michael Ipischiot: *Consecration to Ohrid Archbishop Joasaph* from the *Service for St. Naum* (Moshopolis, 1740), *Consecration to Ohrid Archbishop Joasaph* from the *Service for St. Clement* (Moshopolis, 1742) and *A brief history of the great famine and deprivation that occurred in 1740*, placed at the end of the *Service for St. Naum of Ohrid* (Moshopolis, 1740).