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THE BULGARO-GREEK LITERARY RELATIONS DURING THE TURKISH RULE

BASED ON THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY
"IVAN VAZOV" IN PLOVDIV

The problem of the mutual literary bulgaro-greek relations during the Middle Ages, the Turkish rule and the Renaissance in the Balkans is multidimensional and of primary importance for the study of the cultural relations between Bulgarians and Greeks during the centuries. Before concentrating to one aspect of the problem, I would like to give a systematic diagram, maybe a little schematic, which will offer the opportunity to discriminate explicitly the individual problems faced by the researchers.

When we are talking about *mutual literary relations*, we could lay out three basic types:

1. Adoption of *literary models and forms*¹ from one literature to the other (in our case mainly from the byzantine and modern greek to bulgarian) and working out of the adopted subjects by the other literature.

2. The *translations* of the literary creations:

- a. from greek to bulgarian (most common phenomenon);
- b. from bulgarian to greek (some of these cases I have discussed in my report at the First Bulgarian-Greek Symposium², while lately my colleague from the University of Athens, Demetrios Gones, let me know that he has gathered considerable material for this sort of translations from the period of the Turkish rule).

3. *Literary creations in common* by Greeks and Bulgarians (examples

1. About these terms see the views of R. Piccio, Models and Patterns in the Literary Tradition of Medieval Orthodox Slavdom.—In: *American Contributions to the VIIth International Congress of Slavists*. Vol. II, The Hague-Paris, Mouton, 1973, 439-467.

2. Kr. Stanchev, Greek-bulgarian Relations in the Field of Hagiography XVth-XIXth Centuries.—In: *Πνευματικές και πολιτιστικές σχέσεις ελλήνων και βουλγάρων από τα μέσα του ΙΕ' έως τα μέσα του ΙΘ' αιώνα. Α' ελληνοβουλγαρικό συμπόσιο. Πρακτικά. Θεσσαλονίκη, ΙΜΧΑ, 1980, 267-272.*

can be found in the literary creations of the 14th c. hesychasts, but the problem has not yet been studied as a whole).

The *mutual literary relations* can be classified as follows:

1. *Propagation and copying*:
 - a. greek books by the Bulgarians;
 - b. bulgarian books by the Greeks.
2. *Writing*:
 - a. in the bulgarian language with greek letters;
 - b. in the greek language with cyrillic letters.
3. Creation of *bilingual texts*.

The first type of mutual literary relations has been comparatively better researched. Especially concerning the period of the Turkish rule, we know well the role of the greek popular religious literature in the development of the so-called "literature of the Damaskins" in Bulgaria, as well as the role of the Greek Enlightenment in the creative development of a series of Bulgarian writers of the early Renaissance. Much has been achieved in the field of discovering the above-mentioned translations from one language to the other, even though we still have to work hard on the subject; on the other hand the least has been done to throw light on the immediate literary contacts between Bulgarians and Greeks during the XVth and XIXth centuries (this concerns the earlier period as well), on the appearance, the propagation and the role of the greek manuscript and printed book among the Bulgarians and of the bulgarian (and slavic in general) among the Greeks, on the systematization, the examination and definition of the many cases of expressing one language with the written system of the other, on the character and literary functions of the bilingual texts etc. A big contribution to this point is the recent book by Manjo Stojanov "Stari grăcki knigi v Bălgarija" (= Old greek books in Bulgaria, Sofia, 1978). In this book the writer classifies the information gathered about the greek books printed up to 1877-78 (year of the Liberation of Bulgaria) and found today in the bulgarian libraries. Anyway, there is no complete information as yet about the greek manuscripts in Bulgaria (as well as about the slavonic manuscripts in Greece). There exists only a systematic descriptive catalogue of the greek manuscripts in the National Library "Cyril and Methodius" in Sofia³. This catalogue has not been adequately studied,

3. M. Stojanov, *Opis na grăckite i drugi čuždoezinči răkopisi v Narodnata Biblioteka "Kiril i Metodij"*, Sofia, 1973.

in connection to the problem we are concerned, as well as the material of the slavonic manuscripts kept in Bulgaria.

From the point of view of the problem of the bulgarian-greek mutual literary relations, I will deal here with the material offered by the greek manuscripts in the National Library "Ivan Vazov" of Plovdiv (Philippoupolis) not described up to date.

* * *

The *greek manuscripts* in the National Library of Plovdiv amount to 44, to which is added a handwritten addition to a greek old-printed book, that is there exist 45 manuscripts in total. These do not belong to a separate section of the Library, but are included in the manuscript collection together with the slavonic and oriental manuscripts, as well as the old-printed books.

The greek manuscripts can be classified chronologically as follows:

Xth (or Xth-beginning XIth c.)	— 1
XIth c.	— 1
XIIth c.	— 1
XIIth-XIVth c.	— 2
XIVth-XVth c.	— 2 (generally to the beginning of XVth c.-7)
XVth c.	— 1
XVIth c.	— 2
XVIIth c.	— 2
XVIIIth c.	— 9
XVIIIth-XIXth c.	— 4 + 1 handwritten supplement to an old-printed book
XIXth c.	— 19 (generally XVth-XIXth c. — 37+1)

As is evident from the chronological table, the major part of the manuscripts, that is 85%, belongs to the period we are interested in, XVth-XIXth c. Before discussing these, I would like to tell you a few words about the older manuscripts of the collection.

Six out of the seven manuscripts belonging to the *byzantine period* are liturgical. Only the oldest fragment (R-182, Xth c. possibly) is an exception in relation to its content, but because it is very damaged and half the text is illegible, one cannot maintain its origin. Maybe it is a fragment from a sermon book or from any book for liturgical use. The fragment has been used

to bind another book and that is why the text of pages 1a and 2b is almost completely destroyed. It is a parchment manuscript and the text is written in two columns, numbering 33 lines each, in an elegant small-lettered below the line script. It is decorated with very ancient one-colored initial letters, sketched with the same ink as the text. It contains a fragment of an explanatory homily. The book bound with this fragment belonged to Georgi Radev in the village of Rajkovo (today quarter of the city Smoljan), who also had in his possession the "Damaskin of Rajkovo"⁴. This is evident from his personal seal stamped on the parchment (on top of f. 1a). It is possible that G. Radev himself wrote the note on the lower part of f. 2b on 25.8.1855. This fragment has been bought by the Library in this form in 1919 and it is impossible today to give an answer to the interesting problem of the binding, that is for which book it has been used.

From the XIth c. there is a gospel—"ἄπρακος" (R-99), whose 154 parchment pages are very damaged by humidity. The text is written in one column, numbering 21 lines per page, in a small-lettered below the line script with pronunciation marks. The manuscript is decorated with multi-colored titles and initials. The text belongs to the type of "short-ἄπρακος". On the empty pages (34b, 35a and 96b) there are posterior notes and additions, which contribute nothing to the history of the manuscript. It was bought in 1901-1906, but gives no evidence to its origin.

From the XIIIth c. there is a fragment from the liturgical book (R-148) consisting of 13 destroyed parchment pages, found on the roof of the monastery of St. Anargyrs in the village Kuklen near Plovdiv⁵.

Of unknown origin is one more fragment of a liturgical book from the XIIIth-XIVth c. (R-161) bought in 1919.

In 1909 the Library bought in Thessaloniki three manuscripts. One is a gospel from the XIIIth-XIVth c. (R-120), consisting of 118 paper pages and is decorated with late byzantine initials. The other two are ecclesiastical rituals from the XIVth-XVth c. (R-119 and R-121). In the second one the first four pages are parchment and come from another manuscript.

As we have already said, in the collection we have predominantly *post-*

4. About the Damaskin from Rajkovo, written with greek letters in a bulgarian dialect from middle-Rhodope in 1859, see M. Stojanov, *Rajkovski damaskin*.—In: *Rodopski zbornik*, v. III., Sofia, 1972, 225-307; Kr. Stančev, *Opis na slavjanskite rǎkopi v Plovdivskata narodna Biblioteka "Ivan Vazov"*, postǎpili sled 1920. god. Sofia, 1982, 42-51, No 160 (600).

5. On the roof of this monastery were also found 10 slavonic manuscripts which are now in the National Library of Plovdiv.

byzantine and modern greek manuscripts (XVth-XIXth c.), which in our case form the main object of our attention.

One manuscript belongs to the XVth c. Up to date it is impossible to define whether it was written prior or after the fall of Constantinople. It is a liturgical collection (R-122) with a mixed and insufficient content and an undated notice by the writer (f. 152a). It was bought in Thessaloniki in 1909.

From the XVIth c. we have a complete "Ὁκτώηχος" (R-125, first half of the XVIth c.), which is accompanied by an annex of names for requiems, written between the years 1590-1606, as well as a "Νομοκάνων" (R-139). Both manuscripts have been bought by the Library, but we have no information about their origin.

Two manuscripts are preserved from the XVIIth c. One (R-108) contains two works by Athanasios of Alexandreia (questions and answers), a short chronicle by Avraam "from the baptism of Jesus" up to 1697 and fragments from "Γεροντικόν". The other (R-240) contains modern greek translations of the following texts:

f. 15a-199a: Νόμιμον συλλεχθέν ἐκ διαφόρων ἀναγκαίων κανόνων τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων ... μεταφρασθέν εἰς κοινὴν γλῶτταν:-

f. 201a-212a: Νόμοι γεωργικοί, κατ' ἐκλογὴν βιβλίων τοῦ τῆς θείας λήξεως Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως:-

The manuscripts from the XVIIIth c. are miscellaneous. Among them exists a vast collection with philosophical content (R-265, 403 pages), which begins with the poetic dedication to the Voevod of Valachia Constantin Brincoveanu (1654-1714), whose name is also mentioned in a notice on f. 1a.

From the same century exists also a copy of the known work by Anastasios Gordios "Κατὰ τῶν Μωαμεθανῶν καὶ τῶν Λατίνων" (R-351). Pages 3a-5a of the manuscript have been taken from the text of the known from other manuscripts "Ἐνθύμησις" of the day of death of Anastasios Gordios, which ends with the following indication: "Ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῶν Μεγάλων Βραβιανῶν. αψκθ' (1729)" [that is in the monastery of the holy martyr Paraskevi]. The basic text has the following title: "Περὶ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ὃς ἐστὶν ὁ Μωάμεθ καὶ ὁ πάππας" (f. 7a), which has been obliterated and later a new title has been written on top of the old one: "Περὶ τοῦ τίς ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Μωάμεθ. καὶ περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων μεγάλων βασιλείων/ων/ ἀπὸ τὸν προφήτην Δανιήλ, καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ".

Dating from 1745 there is an "Εὐχολόγιον" (R-51), which has been partly preserved. From the old body of the manuscript we have only pages 68-95, in a small-lettered script, but pages 1-4, 96-111 (a kind of new paper) and pages

5-67 (another kind of new paper) were added in the XIXth c. during the restoration of the manuscript. On f. 69a there is an old stamp with the inscription = †ΙΟCΙΦ ΜΝ XX 1707, and on f. 87b we read the following comment of the copyist of the first part of the manuscript: “Γέγραπται ἐν ἔτει ὁρίῳ αψμεω (1745) κατ’ ἡνὰ ἀπρίλλιον.

Θεοῦ μὲν τὸ δῶρον πέλει,
Κοσμά δ’ ἁμονάχου πόνος».

In 1787-1790 a new collection was formed (R-468) containing homilies by Ioannis Chrysostomos, Gregory of Nyssa, Ioannis Damascenus, Basil the Great, Proclus of Constantinople etc.; at the end of each homily the date of its copying is noted (the oldest date being 12.3.1787 and the latest 31.5.1790). Between the lines of the basic text, languages and commentaries have been added. The manuscript has been donated to the Library in 1935, something that permits us to suppose that it has been used in the area of Plovdiv.

A fragment from a memorandum-book (R-248) contains accounts and notes of financial nature for the period September 1793-March 1794.

From the XVIIIth c. come two musical manuscripts—a “Δοξαστάριον” by Petros Peloponnesios (R-286) and a Psalter Book with melodies composed by Petros Bereketes, father Balasios a.o. (R-129). The second manuscript has been donated to the Library and its origin has been traced: Šopot-Sliven-Plovdiv, which shows that it has been in use in the Bulgarian countries.

From the same century exists also a “Σεληνολόγιον” (a book of witchcraft in relation to the moon with a lunar calendar), in which we find a comment dated 17.2.1821 (R-249), as well as a “Φαρμακολόγιον” (entitled ἹΑΤΡΟΣΟΦΙΟΝ), which contains prescriptions and has been donated to the Library in 1792 (R-777).

By the end of the XVIIIth or beginning of the XIXth c. Four musical manuscripts were created (R-53, R-143, R-246-fragment and R-317). To the same period belong the handwritten annexes (37 ff) in an old-printed Greek Psalter Book (No 361), printed in Leipzig in 1761 and coming from the Backovo monastery.

Among the XIXth c. manuscripts the musical ones prevail and they amount to 10 (RR 130, 144, 187, 244, 245, 247, 318, 325, 353, 362). This is natural since most of them express the so-called “new method” and are connected with their introduction to the churches of Bulgaria, in which churches the divine service was performed in Greek during the first decades of the XIXth c. Two more manuscripts are related to the ecclesiastical tradition: a “Κατήχησις” dated 1829 (R-128) and a copy of “Βίος τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀντωνίου”

(R-299), at the end of which we find a comment by the copyist: “Ἐγράφη αὕτη ἡ φυλλάς, διὰ συνδρομῆς καὶ δαπάνης. τοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ χρησιμωτάτου Κυρίῳ, Κυρίῳ Σωτήρι, Φιλιπποπολίτη. Ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ αὐκ. 1820. (sic) Φευρουαρίου. γ. 3. Εὐχέσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ γράψαντος».

From the XIXth c. there exist also two “Φαρμακολόγια” (R-311 and R-352).

Two other manuscripts belonged to Georgios Hatzizachariou from Samokov, as we can see from their comments. One contains works by Plutarch and Themistios (R-300). In f. 1a there is the following comment concerning its owner: “Κτήμα ἐμοῦ Γεωργίου χ. Ζαχαρίου”. The other manuscript (R-303) contains homilies by Ioannis Chrysostomos, Isokrates, Theodoretus Cyrus and Basil the Great, as well as verses (tetrastichs) by the latter and Gregorius Theologus (distich apophthegms). In f. 1a we read the following: “Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ὑπάρχει ἐμοῦ Γεωργίου χ. Ζαχαρία. Ἐκ Σαμοκόβιον”. The name of Georgios Zacharias is mentioned in the same form among the contributors of the edition of Dimitris Kalambakidis’ “Arithmetic” published in Bucharest on 1834. He is registered there as student in Plovdiv⁶.

Two manuscripts come from the library of the most prominent bulgarian teacher, social worker, scholar and translator Joakim Gruev (1828-1912) and they must have been written by him. One (R-321) is a greek Grammar and the other (R-322) includes canon lists (beginning 1833) and relative explanations, astronomy, physics and political geography. In the second manuscript in f. 92a we find inserted a poem in bulgarian entitled “Post” (=Fasting), maybe an original creation by Joakim Gruev (it bears his signature at the end).

Finally, from the XIXth c. (1844-1857) we find a memorandum-book (R-348) containing notes on financial transactions and important events for the period 9.2.1844-26.6.1857 (it also contains information on the enlargement of the church of the Virgin (“Sv. Bogorodica”), on a lunar eclipse etc.).

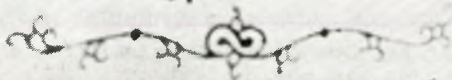
The five last manuscripts are closely connected to the cultural and social life of Plovdiv in the XIXth c. and are worth being object of a more detailed research.

The above information concerning the greek manuscripts in the National Library of Plovdiv is the result of a first quick examination of the collection and it will possibly be completed and determined after a detailed multilateral study, which could end up to the composition of a full descriptive catalogue. Nevertheless, even at this point of research, one could maintain that part of the manuscripts shows a remarkable interest for the examination of the bulgarian-greek mutual literary relations.

6. See M. Stojanov, *Stari grčki knigi v Bălgarija*, 1978, 141.

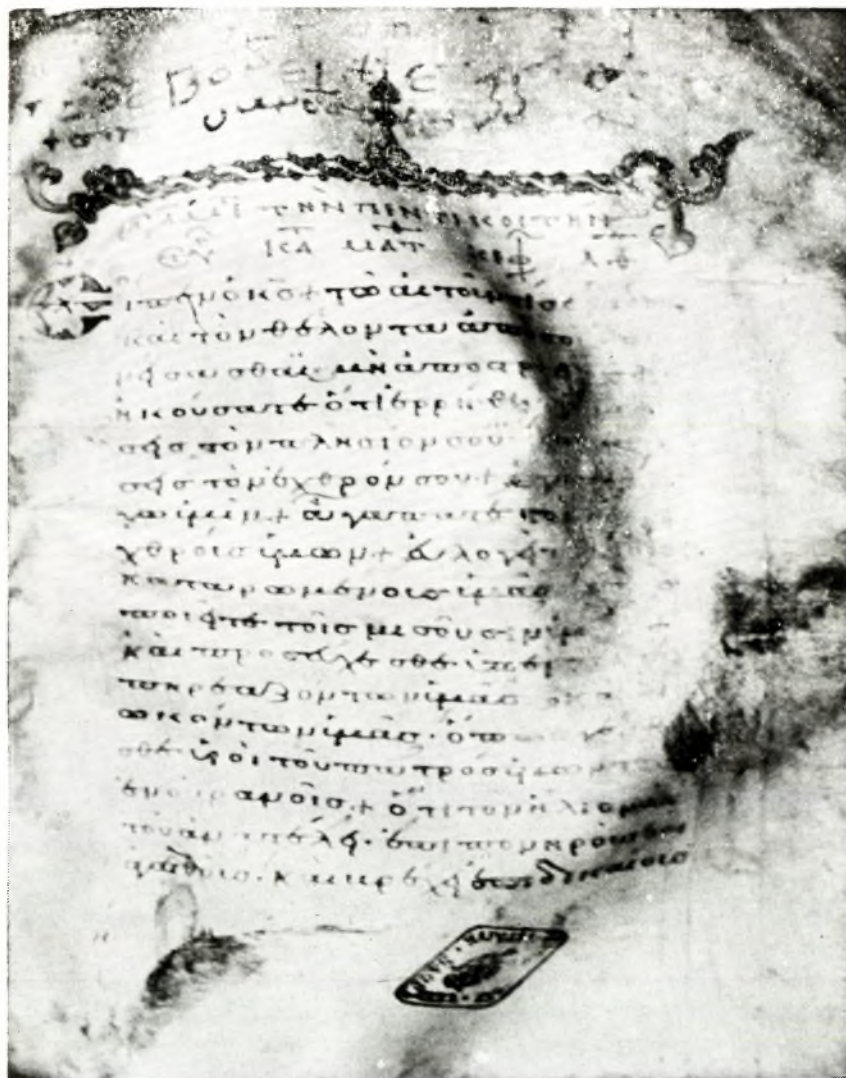
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λησὶ. Ἐν δόμοισιν ἔσθ' τοῦ
 διαφυλαχθῆναι, ἵνα ἡμεῖς
 ἐπακούσῃς ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ σὺν
 ἡμῶν, ἡ ἐκ τῆς θαύτης τῆς
 ἐργασίας τοῦ σὺν ἡμῶν ἀπο-
 λησιν.



Γάργαπαι ἐν ἐπὶ σῶν, ἀφ' ἡμῶν
 κ' ἡμῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς.

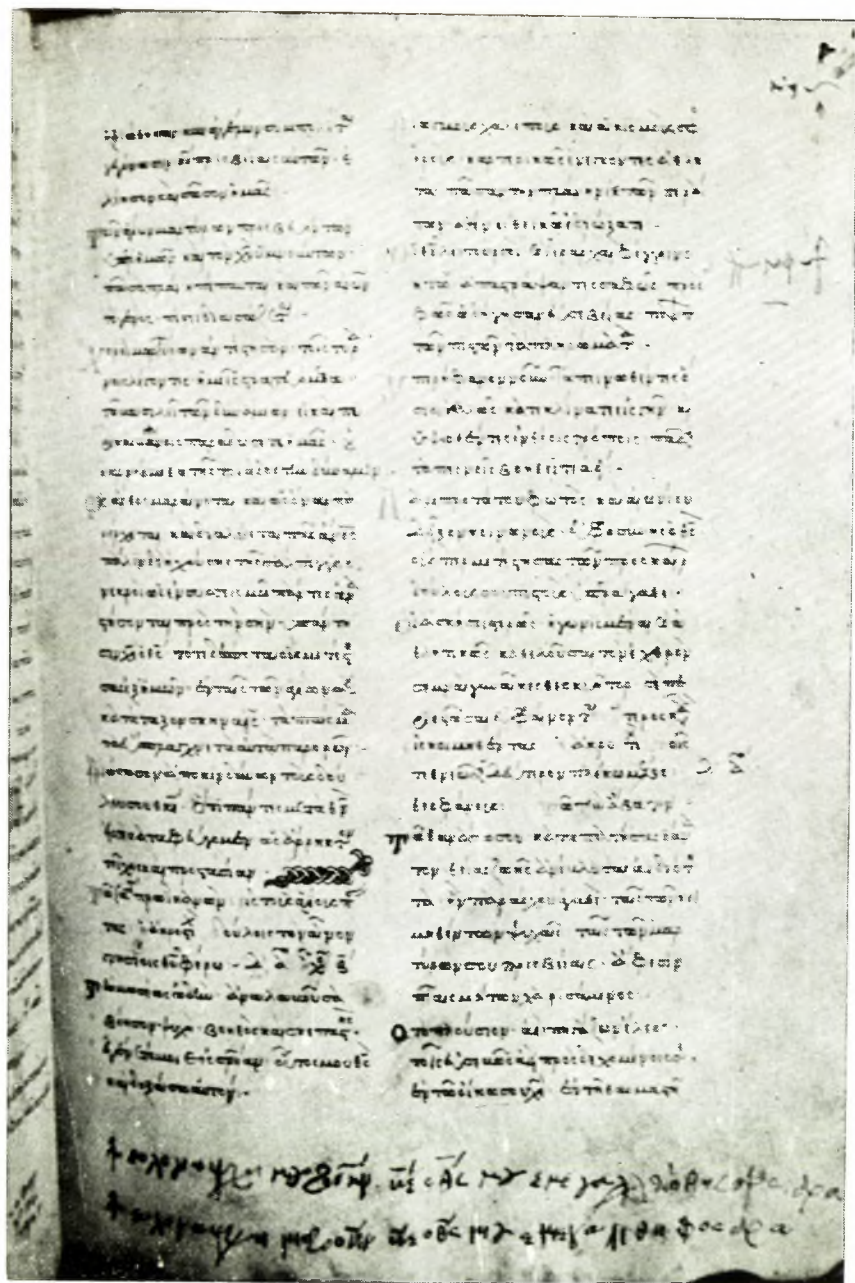
Θεοῦ μὲν ἰσχυρὸν πέλῃ.
 Κοσμοῦ δ' ἀμυναῖς πόνοι.



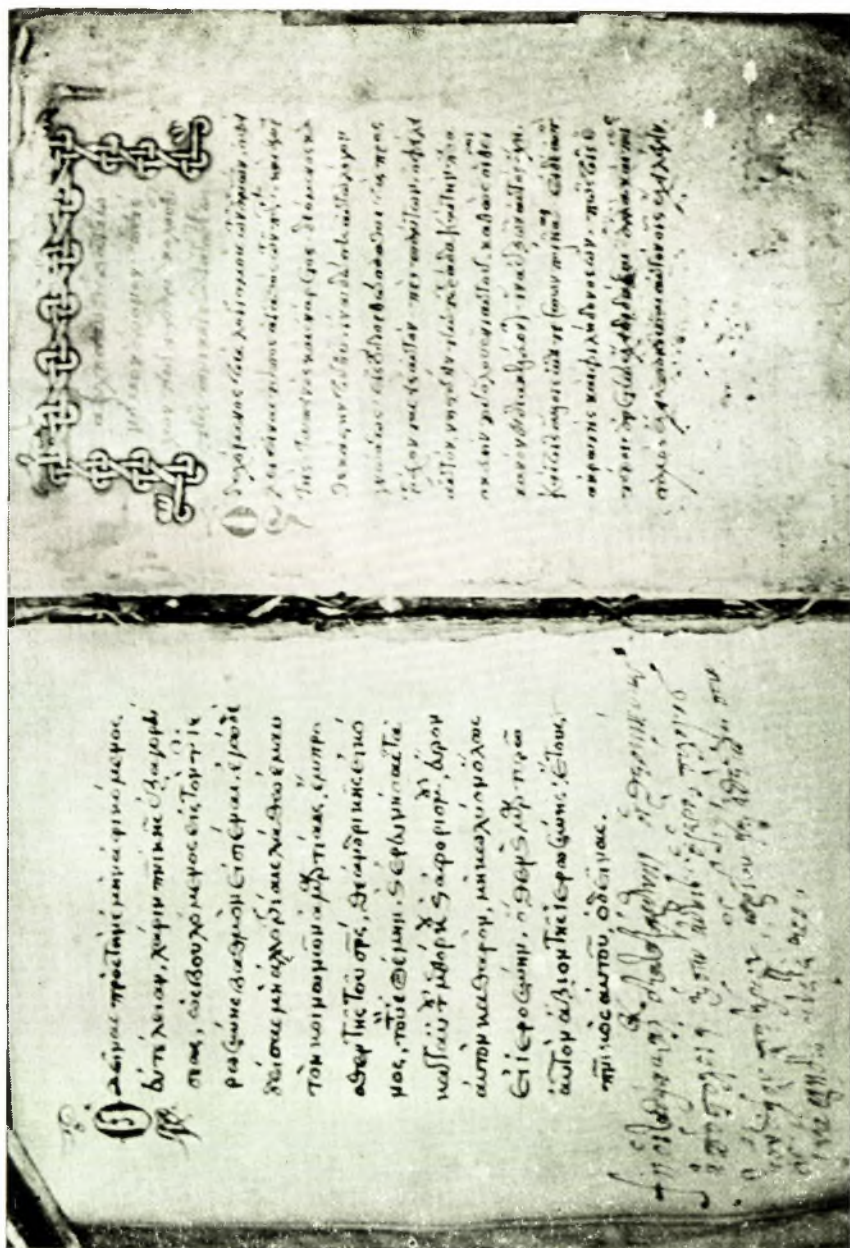
2. Plovdiv, NB "Ivan Vazov", manuscript 99 f. 35a.



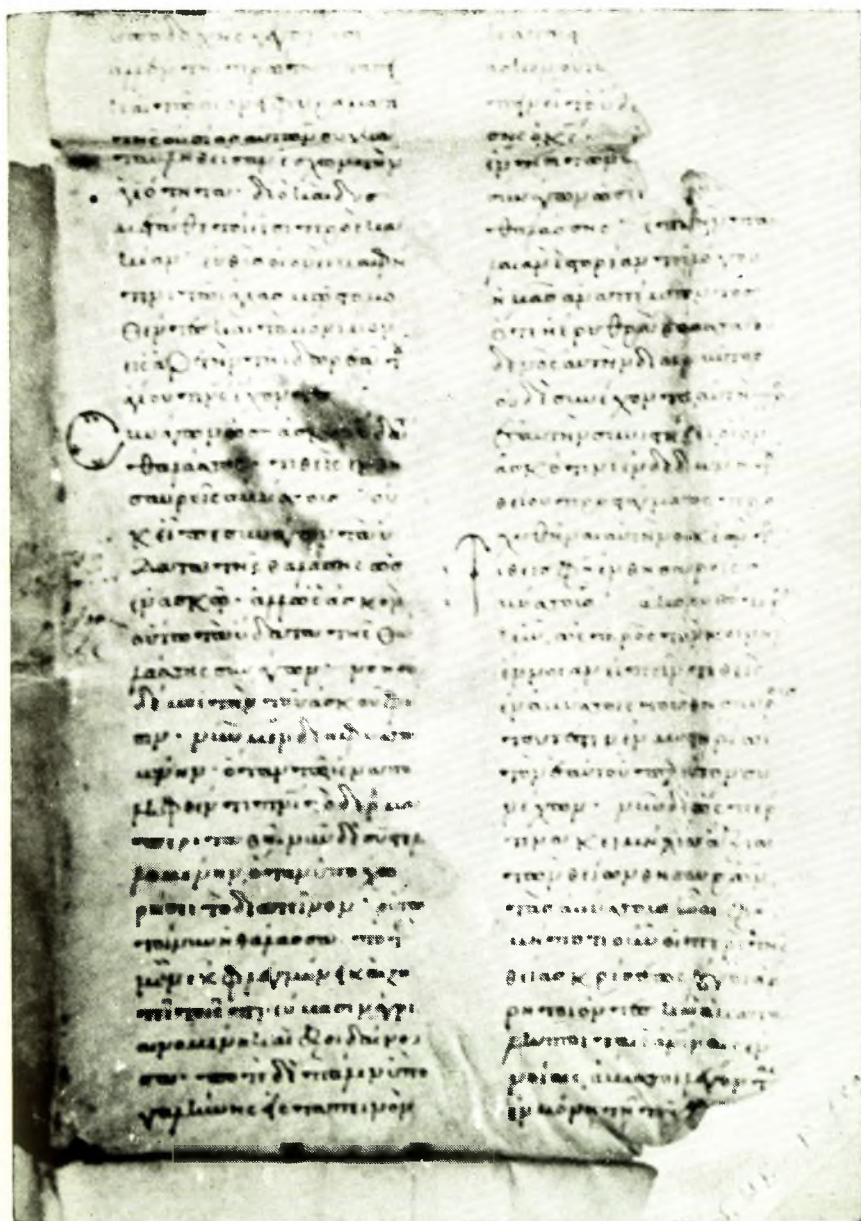
3. Plovdiv, NB "Ivan Vazov", manuscript 120 f. 66a.



4. Plovdiv, NB "Ivan Vazov", manuscript 125 f. 55a.



5. Plovdiv, NB "Ivan Vazov", manuscript 139 f. 11a.



6. Plovdiv, NB "Ivan Vazov", manuscript 182 f. 2a.

μισον· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος λέγει· ὅτι αὐθροπὸς διδασ-
 ζει ἄλλον αὐθροπὸν· ἐοῦσαι ἰὺν ψυχάν τε· διὰ τοῦ
 τοῦ καλὸν συνειδέναι ἰδὲ κινῆν τε· ἐὼς ποῖαι γενν
 αἱ τοῖς διὰ τὴν καλοῦ τῶν ψυχῶν του· καλοῖς ἐὼν
 ἰδὲ κινῆν τε· Ταῦτα ἁπλῶν ὁ ἄγγελος· ἐκείναι ἰὺν
 κεφαλῶν περὶ τὸν γέροντα ἦσαν αὐτῷ· ἀλογισ-
 ποτὶ Ἀγῆς συγχωρήσαντες· τοῖς πρὸς οὐρανὸν
 προσκυνῶντες αὐτῷ λέγων· κορυβὶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν,
 παραστῆναι τῇ Ἀγίᾳ Τριάδι· ὡς προσβλεῖ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν·
 καὶ ἀναχωρήσει ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφ' τῷ οὐ-
 ρανῷ· ὅς ἐστι Ἀβραῆς Μακάριος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφ' τῷ
 καλῷ αὐτῷ· ἐδὲν γέροντα τινὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 καὶ συμποσκητῇ αὐτῷ· δοξάζον, ὡς ἀλογὸν τὸν
 Θεόν, ἅτις τὴν αἰῶνα τῶν αἰῶνων· Ἀμήν

Τέλος καὶ τῷ Θεῷ δοξα· π.

ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ ὁ φυλακὴ, διασωθῆναι ὡς λατρί-
 ραι· τοῦ τιμωτάτου καὶ χορηγώτατου ἡμεῖς.
 ἡμεῖς· Σωτῆρι· φιλιπποκλίτη· ἐν ἑταῖς τοῖς
 ρίς· ἁγῶν· 1420· φιλίππου· γ· 3· π· π·
 εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ τῶν γράψαντων· π· π· π·

ΠΗ6 - P 299, c 27

ΜΙΝΕΖ

Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς
ἡμετέρας πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκείνης.

Διοφάνης καὶ Ἰουλιανός.	93
Ἰουλιανός καὶ Ἰωάννης Μουσός.	23
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	25
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	28
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	30
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	34
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	37
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	38
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης. Μουσός καὶ Ἰωάννης.	48
Διοφάνης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	50
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	61
Διοφάνης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	66
Μουσός καὶ Ἰωάννης.	70
Μουσός καὶ Ἰωάννης.	73
Μουσός καὶ Ἰωάννης. Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	75
Ἰωάννης καὶ Μουσός καὶ Ἰωάννης.	80
Διοφάνης καὶ Μουσός.	83
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Μουσός.	86
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	88
Ἰωάννης καὶ Ἰωάννης.	133

Εκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς
ἡμετέρας πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἐκείνης.

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