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Tatiana Nikolaeva Nikolova-Houston

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**MARGINS AND MARGINALITY:
MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS IN SOUTH SLAVIC
MANUSCRIPTS
DURING THE OTTOMAN PERIOD,
1393-1878**

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1393-1878**

by

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Philip Doty

This study examined marginalia and colophons in South Slavic manuscripts to establish their value as primary historical source documents. The evidence of a "history from below" was compared with other primary sources to provide an understanding about the lives of Bulgarian Christian Slavs during the Ottoman period and a history of their language, scripts, and book production.

The Ottoman Empire invaded Bulgaria in 1393, to remain in power there until 1878. During that time, scribes preserved Bulgarian literary heritage by copying manuscripts. They also recorded in the margins of the manuscripts their thoughts and perceptions, formal transactions of the church, and interactions between the church and its community. While the first marginalia were prayers for forgiveness, later marginalia became a somewhat hidden repository of the marginalized voices of the Ottoman Empire: clergy, readers, students, teachers, poets, and artists who repeatedly started with "*Da se znae*" (Let it be known).

This study analyzed the 146 manuscripts in the Historical and Archival Church Institute in Sofia, Bulgaria (HACI) that contain marginalia and colophons. Content analysis of the corpus yielded 20 categories that clustered into six thematic groups: religious texts; marginalia related to book history and production; interactions between the readers and the book; interaction between the Church and the religious community; to historical events; the cosmos and natural history.

This study employed a triangulation of methods, including traditional historical and the New History "grass-roots" methods, deconstruction, critical theory, codicology, diplomatics and linguistic analysis to understand the deeper meanings of marginalia and colophons. This inter-disciplinary study can be considered the first comprehensive, systematic study of South Slavic marginalia and colophons of any magnitude to be made available to Western scholars, and the first substantiated "history from below" of the Ottoman Empire.

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PART ONE: CONTEXT

1 INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

In the year of 1598, there was such sadness and despair...and the Turks arose... Oh! My goodness! What sadness the earth has suffered through! They burned down villages and towns, many churches left desolated, stole holy icons and many people were dragged naked on the ground, some killed by sword, others shot. And no place was left where dead people did not lie - hills, valleys, mountain tops, meadows, everything was covered with dead bodies. And it was a great desolation in this land.

Oh! Oh! Oh! So much distress they caused to the poor and Christians from those taxes! (1793)

Oh! What a wretched place! After 12 months of indescribable suffering they released us from the chains! Ah! And what a happy day was the day of my freedom! (1878)

This census survey of marginalia and colophons analyzes the 146 manuscripts and early printed books from the Historical and Archival Church Institute in Sofia (HACI) that contain marginalia and colophons. These documents were collected from 17 Bulgarian and five Macedonian monasteries, 12 Bulgarian and three Macedonian towns, and 21 Bulgarian villages. The dissertation also provides examples from other Bulgarian libraries and incorporates a pilot study of marginalia and colophons derived from the published Bulgarian anthology *Pisahme da se znae* (We wrote to let it be known) that includes some 1,255 colophons and marginalia.¹

This study analyzes the primary historical evidence found in marginalia and colophons in Balkan manuscripts, evidence that hitherto has been largely ignored. The outcome of this study will be an increased understanding of the lives of the South Slavs during the late Middle Ages of the Balkans (1393-1878) and insight into the history of Bulgarian languages, scripts, and book production. This "history from below" corroborates other sources of primary historical evidence.

¹ Venceslav Nachev and Nikola Fermandzhiev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, 1984).

The Ottoman Empire invaded Bulgaria in 1393, to remain in power there until 1878. The printing press was prohibited, so church scribes preserved Bulgarian literary heritage by copying manuscripts. They also recorded in the margins and white spaces of the manuscripts their thoughts and perceptions, some of the formal transactions of the church, and evidence of the interaction between the church and its community of believers. While the first marginalia were prayers for forgiveness, later marginalia became a somewhat hidden repository for a variety of thoughts. The marginalia constituted a boundary object,² a point of intersection for the people of the marginalized classes of Christians of the Ottoman Empire: clergy, readers, students, teachers, pilgrims, benefactors, poets, and artists.

Marginalia was often an intersection between the past and the future. As writers left their marks on manuscripts to be read by future generations, repeatedly stressing a need for remembrance they frequently started: "Let it be known." Marginalia followed several themes. Before the Ottoman invasion, they addressed spiritual redemption, the weather, and daily events. Afterwards, they included commentary on Ottoman rule, describing the Ottoman period as the "most evil of all times." Scribes hid or encoded their messages and names. For four centuries, marginalia echoed this message: "Oh, and what the Christians experienced during this time, I think, it has never happened before even during the time of Diocletian."³ Marginalia during Ottoman rule documented janissary corps (*enicheri*, elite troops, new soldiers), high taxation, conscription of first-born male children to the janissaries, high prices, earthquakes, and personal suffering. In the late 18th century, marginalia began to reflect a rising national consciousness in Bulgaria, documenting many of the Russian-Turkish wars, the failed struggle for independence (1818), the April Uprising (1876), and the joy of seeing Russian liberators (1878). The jokes, poetry, and philosophical reflections recorded in manuscripts presaged independence.

² Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39." *Social Studies of Science* 19 (1989), pp. 387-420.

³ Diocletian instigated the last great persecution of Christians in 303 A.D.

In order to understand the "grass roots" and literally marginal history, this study employs a variety of methods, from traditional historical research and content analysis to deconstruction and critical theory. Historical research methodology understands the notes as primary historical sources with specific historical, cultural, and social contexts. Content analysis uncovers the meaning of the texts by discovering themes, subjects, and other syntactical constructs. Codicology as method describes and deconstructs marginalia and colophons as documents and to provide a detailed bibliographic description of each specific type of note. Diplomatic analysis compares form, structure, language, and book-hands to provide consistent terminology for the specific structural elements of marginalia and colophons. The codicological and diplomatic analyses then lead to an evaluation of the internal consistency of the notes. This first level of bibliographical analysis determines the categories of marginalia. The second level of bibliographical analysis determines their attributes, known in cataloging and metadata practices as physical descriptors (author, title, subject, date, provenance, physical location, diplomatics, language and script) by asking the same set of questions (who, what, where, when, why (and how) and results in a comprehensive and realistic picture of the phenomena of marginalia and colophons.

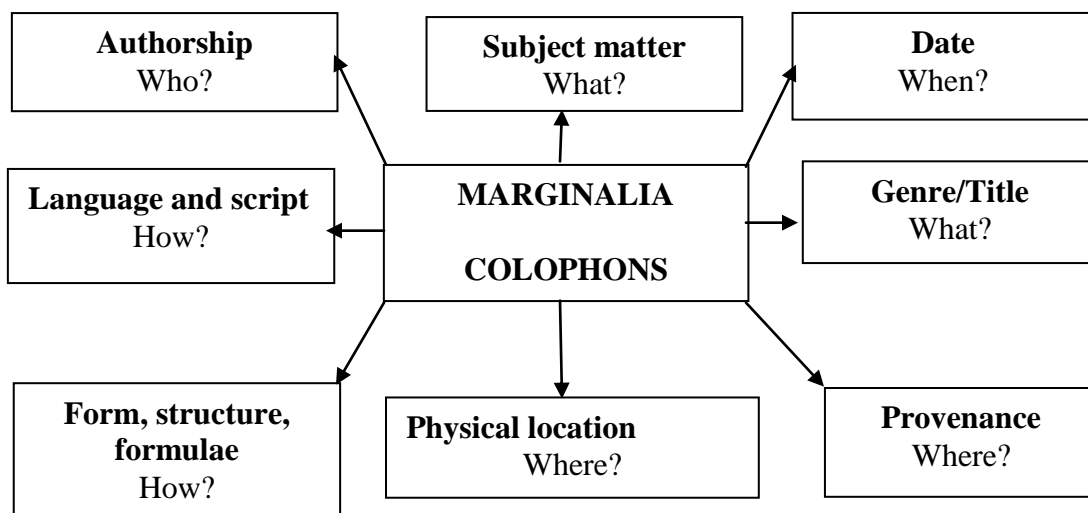


Figure 1.1: Second level: Bibliographical description and physical descriptors.

The third level of analysis, theoretical interpretation, attempts to interpret these findings and discover their meaning through application of relevant theories borrowed from various fields of study. Deconstruction and hypertext theory elucidate the meaning of marginalia and colophons by exploring the relationships between the central text, the marginalia and colophons, other texts, and the historical context. Deconstruction particularly provides a critique of binary oppositions such as center/margin, monastic/non-monastic, literary/vernacular, clergy/layperson, formal/informal, and personal/communal.

Indeed, the interdisciplinary nature of this study itself could be subject of these two theoretical constructs: the intersection between traditional historical method, new history "from below" method and critical theory. The study also provides a visual and inherently non-linear representation of the historical information that would be suitable for hypertextual representation as a work of digital scholarship that would provide greater accessibility through Internet publishing and demonstrates the use of digital technology in providing increased access to previously restricted collections. This study is the first comprehensive, systematic study of Bulgarian marginalia and colophons of any magnitude to be made available to Western scholars and the first substantiated "history from below" of the Ottoman South Slavs. Given the richness of the subject matter, however, it will undoubtedly not be the last.

Statement of the problem

Historians of Southeast Europe often ignore social history, focusing instead on grand battles and grand personalities. Ottoman sources have attempted to present a picture of religious and ethnic tolerance of its subjects and their "voluntary" acceptance of Islam. One purpose of this research was to reevaluate the significance of the records left in manuscripts by the South Slavic peoples, particularly the Bulgarians. Bulgarian historians, however, have always treasured marginalia as very important and unique historical sources:

Marginalia are important not only as historical sources, but especially because the scribes who produced them during the time when South Slavs faced the Ottoman invaders, dedicating time to express their feelings. Even though marginalia were written by unknown authors, are especially important because they demonstrate the spontaneous reaction to the ongoing events. In doing so, they reveal more honestly and truthfully the reality than the works of the official literature. [...] Those witnesses spoke succinctly and silently, as authors knew feared the revenge of each of those words. Perhaps, their silence speaks even more eloquently because the stronger and deeper pain is always silent and never can be expressed in words.⁴

The study of the history and theory of marginalia has focused on examples from Western texts from the medieval, pre-modern, and early modern periods,⁵ neglecting evidence from the Slavic East. The lack of translated primary and secondary sources has also contributed to this neglect. This study provides the marginalia, their categorization, chronological developments, and an interpretation that might lead to a theory of marginalia that would apply both in the East and West.

Purpose of the study

This study transcends the central text of the manuscript and deconstructs the manuscript page in order to hear the voices and stories of the people. It also evaluates the historical value, reliability, and accuracy of Bulgarian marginalia and colophons through their multiple identities as literary texts, historical accounts, archival documents, and historical evidence of the Ottoman period.

This study attempts to answer the following research questions that focus on the nature, interpretation, and value of South Slavic marginalia and colophons. The answers to the first set of questions appear in Part Two: Research Findings, and the answers to the second and third set of questions appear in Part Three: Conclusions (Results of the study and exploration of additional theoretical perspectives and Historical, archival, and evidentiary value of marginalia and colophons).

⁴ Ivan Dujchev, *Vizantia I Slavyanskiat svyat [Byzantium and the Slavic World]* Sofia: Anubis, 1998), pp.282-283.

⁵ Heather Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press, 2001), p. 6.

Research Questions

The study will focus on the following research questions to elucidate the nature, meaning and value of marginalia and colophons:

I. Major characteristics of Slavic marginalia and colophons

- A. What are the major characteristics (descriptors) of marginalia and colophons in terms of authorship, typology, provenance, chronology, physical placement, diplomatics, language, and script?
- B. What is the relationship between marginalia and colophons and their literary, social, cultural, political, and historical context?

II. Theoretical interpretation of marginalia and colophons

- A. How do marginalia and colophons reflect the system of beliefs, assumptions, worldview, perceptions, and knowledge of their authors?
- B. What are the major differences among marginalia before and after the Ottoman invasion in regard to subject matter, chronological development, provenance, physical placement, diplomatics, language, and script?
- C. How do marginalia reflect the social marginality of their authors?

III. The value of marginalia and colophons as a "History from below"

- A. What are the historical, evidential and archival values of South Slavic marginalia and colophons?
- B. Does evidence from marginalia and colophons fit within the New History "from below" interpretation of the life of South Slavs during the Ottoman period?

Definition of terms

What are the commonly established definitions of marginalia? Scholars from different fields have designated variety of terms such as marginalia, inscriptions, graffiti, annotations, glosses, paratext, although generally those notes reside along and outside the major text. Latin *marginalia* (16th cent. or earlier), use as noun of neuter plural of

marginalis. This study initiates itself with the "umbrella" definition of marginalia as "extra-textual notes, scribbles, commentary, and similar material written or printed in the margin or the blank spaces of a printed book or manuscript, which are incidental or additional to the main topic"⁶ and attempts to broaden it by discovering and determining of the whole range of subjects of Slavic marginalia and their specific features.

Colophons of manuscripts follow the main text and are the prototype of the title page of the modern book. The English term "colophon" comes from Greek word Κολοφών, meaning summit, culmination, or final touch. The *OED* defines "colophon" as "The inscription or device, sometimes pictorial or emblematic, formerly placed at the end of a book or manuscript, and containing the title, the scribe's or printer's name, date and place of printing, etc."⁷

Although the practice of writing in the margins predated the printed book, it was literary authors who popularized and defined marginalia as a genre. Samuel Taylor Coleridge popularized the genre by publishing his marginalia on Sir Thomas Browne in *Blackwood's Magazine*, borrowing "marginalia" from the Latin language and redefining it according to his own approach of book annotation as his *modus operandi* as a thinker.⁸ Edgar Allan Poe reasoned that: "The marginalia are deliberately penciled, because the mind of the reader wishes to unburden itself of a thought."⁹ The topic emerged again in the early 1960s with interest in Darwin, Melville, Poe, Swift, James, and Blake's marginalia.¹⁰

⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary*. "Marginalia." <http://dictionary.oed.com>. Accessed on: October 2, 2007.

⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*. "Colophon." Available at: <http://dictionary.oed.com>. Accessed on October 2, 2007.

⁸ J. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press, 2001).

⁹ Edgar Allan Poe, "Marginalia," *Democratic Review*, November (1844).

¹⁰ Mario A. di Gregorio, *Charles Darwin's Marginalia*. (New York: Garland, 1990), Walker Cowen, *Melville's Marginalia* (New York: Garland, 1988), John Carl Miller, ed., *Marginalia/Edgar Alland Poe*. (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1981), Mary Louise Rector, *The marginalia as a reflection of Poe's interests in history, science, the arts, philosophy, and literature* (Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin, 1962), Nathaniel Mayer, *Some unpublished marginalia of Jonathan Swift*. (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1945), Abraham Roback, *William James, his marginalia, personality and contribution*. (Cambridge, MA: Sci-Art, 1942), Jason Snart, *The thorn book: unreading William Blake's marginalia*. (Selinsgrove, PA: Susuehanna University Press, 2006).

In Slavic studies, terminology for marginalia and colophons varies. In Bulgaria, marginalia are designated as *belezhki* by scholars such as Rajkov and Uzunova, and colophons as *pripiski*.¹¹ In Russia, colophons and marginalia both are called *zapisi* by the scholar Karskij.¹² In Serbia, marginalia are *natpisi*, and colophons are *zapisi*, according to the scholar Stojanovich.¹³

Ethnic, religious, and social identification used in this study

The two groups under study consist of Bulgarian subjects of the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman authorities. This study uses nationalities, ethnic identifications, and religious terms interchangeably to designate all Bulgarians as Slav, Christian, and Orthodox, while Ottoman, Turk, and Muslim identify the authorities. The Ottoman authorities identified the population based on the *millet* system based on religious background, while ignoring ethnic-national identities.

Summary of the study

Part One consists of the context of the study. Chapter One introduces the topic of study by providing the historical background of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans (1393-1878), a description of the major research problem, definitions of the phenomena of interest, and a statement of the major research questions. This study considers Slavic marginalia and colophons as evidence about the history of the book, reading, literacy, ecclesiastical history, and the political and natural history of the Balkans. Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical and methodological warrants of the study that rest upon a triangulation of methods and theories from literary critical theory, historiography, diplomatics, linguistics, and history of the book and by application of bibliographical

¹¹ Bozhidar Raykov, "Pripiskite v sistemata na starata bulgarska knizhnina" [Colophons in the system of old Bulgarian literature] *Paleobulgarica* 16, no.2 (1992). Elena Uzunova, *Belezhkite na bulgarskite knizhovnitsi ot XV-XVII v. I tyahnoto znachenie za bulgarskata istoricheska leksikologia* [Marginalia of Bulgarian scribes from the 15th-17th century and their significance for the Bulgarian historical lexicology] (Sofia: Agatho, 1997)

¹² E. Karskij, *Slavianskaja kirilovskaja paleographia* [Slavic Cyrillic Paleography] (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1928).

¹³ L. Stojanovich, *Stari srpski zapisi I natpisi* [Old Serbian colophons and marginalia]. Vol. 1-6. (Belgrade, Karlovtsi, 1902-1926).

analysis. Chapter Three focuses on synthesis of findings, theoretical interpretation of results, and assertion of the value of marginalia and colophons. Chapter Four examines the primary and secondary sources of information about marginalia and colophons and assesses the state of such research in Eastern Europe as compared with the West. Other primary historical sources from the conservative, the independent, and the revisionist schools of Balkan historiography corroborate the evidence of marginalia and colophons. Within this context, Chapter Five identifies the centers of South Slavic literacy and book production and introduces Historical and Archival Church Institute collection that contained marginalia and colophons of this study.

Parts Two and Three examine the characteristics of marginalia and colophons, determine the categories of marginalia, and group the categories in six larger thematic cluster groups: history of the book and its production, interactions with readers, interactions between clergy and laypeople, historical context, natural and astronomical phenomena, and devotion. Each chapter of Part Two addresses one specific thematic "cluster" group and its pertinent categories of marginalia, including corroboration by additional historical evidence. Part Three summarizes the results at the corpus level and discusses pertinent theoretical perspectives derived from Mikhail Bakhtin, Umberto Eco, Jacques Derrida, hypertext and General System Theory. Part Three concludes with an assessment of the value of Slavic marginalia and colophons as documentary, archival, and historical evidence of the life of the South Slavic population during the Ottoman period by comparison of the "history from below" to traditional historiography and presentation of a corpus of historical marginalia. The final chapter evaluates the significance of the study and proposes directions for future research.

After introducing the framework of the study, Chapter Two will elaborate on the theoretical and methodological foundations of this study. Because marginalia and colophons incorporate a wide variety of subject matter, such as literature, history, documents, and art, it is necessary to adopt an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates different techniques from different disciplines: critical theory, linguistics, social history, codicology and diplomatics. Content analysis will reveal the major themes

and subjects in the corpus. Diplomatics will explore the form, structure, and formulae of documents and codicology will study the scripts and language of the documents. Chapter Three identifies the particular methodology used in the study by focusing on the pilot study as a step for category development and refinement, and the method of collection, processing, presentation, interpretation, and evaluation of data. The researcher applied this method across all examples of marginalia and colophons of the HACI collection.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF THE STUDY

The following review of scholarly literature incorporates four areas of scholarship that illuminate marginalia as an object of study. First, it describes the major theoretical developments in the interpretation of marginalia, particularly postmodern critical theories and hypertext theory. Second, it provides examples of some of the scholarly contributions to the study of Western marginalia. Third, it reviews research about Balkan, and especially Bulgarian, marginalia.

Critical theory and hypertext theory

Hypertext theory crosses the boundaries of literary, communications, and social disciplines. The focus of hypertext research is on the product, the elements and the links between the elements, and the dynamics of "reading" rather than "writing" hypertext. The concept of hypertext emerged with Vannevar Bush's memex, an aid to the scholar based on the principle of mechanically linked bodies of text.¹⁴ This linking permitted access to information in a non-traditional, non-linear fashion, building a "trail" of texts that would function as a mechanical mnemonic to bring the user back to prior texts. Ted Nelson introduced the term "hypertext" in 1965 to describe non-sequential, electronically linked text. According to Nelson, hypertext was a means of linking documents to create a web of inter-related sources that would allow readers to follow associative paths.¹⁵

George Landow applied literary critical theory to electronic hypertext and developed what we now call hypertext theory.¹⁶ Landow used the concepts of "link," "web," and "trail." From Nelson, he adopted the concept of "non-sequentially." From Mikhail Bakhtin, Landow used "multi-vocality." From Julia Kristeva, he took "intertextuality," and from Derrida, "decenteredness." Barthes provided the concepts of "node," "network," "path," and "lexia" (units of reading), and "readerly" versus "writerly"

¹⁴ Vannevar Bush, "As We May Think," *Athlantic Monthly* January (1945).

¹⁵ Theodore Nelson, *Literary Machines* (Swarthmore, Pa: self-published, 1981).

¹⁶ George Landow, *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1992).

as descriptors of texts. These concepts help to explain the hypertextual character of medieval and electronic books.

Hypertext theory treats a text as an interconnected system that allows the reader to jump from one element to a related element.¹⁷ This theory developed before electronic hypertexts were available, but electronic texts illustrate some of the core theoretical concepts of hypertextuality. Hypertext consists of links (to use another word with recent connotations) between the central and marginal texts and illustrations, and links to other sources and to liturgical and historical context. Similarly, medieval hypertext consists of the interconnected elements of a manuscript within the manuscript as a coherent, interrelated unit. They could be called a proto-hypertextuality.

Hypertext theory informs readings of literary or historical texts by allowing readers to understand them as patchworks or as networks, with original text connected to other textual sources within and outside the central text. Electronic hypertexts break the linearity of the traditional printed book by allowing the reader to choose a unique path and to follow non-sequential associative thought. Hypertext theory sheds light on the intertextual nature of texts and their ability to make implicit or explicit references reflected in quotations, footnotes, and marginalia. It also explains texts as multivocal and polyphonic nature of texts, making reading a negotiated conversation between texts, between texts and images, and between texts and other forms of expression.

In sum, pre-modern books and especially medieval manuscripts contain a number of hypertext-like characteristics:

Non-linearity: Blocks of text, illustrations, marginalia, and the links between them occur in multiple, reader-controlled viewing order.

Multi-vocality: The variety of voices of authors speaking in different dialects, languages, language forms (official, literary, vernacular) and multiplicity of means and modes of expressions.

Linking: Relationships are possible between the central text and the marginalia. Marginalia may provide a literal equivalent of the central text, or they may

¹⁷ John Simson, ed. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2007 [cited]); available from <http://www.oed.com>.

provide additional information not included in the text.

Inter-textuality: References to other sources are explicitly implied in the text.

Decenteredness: The lack of one dominant unifying center, other than the central text, offers the reader different paths of investigation.

Openness: Ongoing addition of marginality in the lack of fixity, and open to interpretation and interactions with each subsequent user.

These characteristics of hypertexts are in Slavic medieval marginalia. Critics have applied the metaphor of hypertext to traditional written texts, for example, viewing medieval manuscript culture through the lens of hypertext theory. Literary scholars have alluded to such incunabular forms of hypertextual structure as are found in the Talmud, the Bible, the medieval codex, or even scholarly addenda in the form of footnotes and other annotation.¹⁸ For example, David Bolter analyzed medieval, printed, and electronic writing spaces, claiming that both manuscript and electronic writing differed radically from printed writing.

Such hypertextual analysis encourages the discovery and interpretation of links and relations between marginalia and the central text, between marginalia and other external and internal sources of information, and between marginalia and the specific historical, social, or religious movements and contexts.

The margin explains and enriches the meaning of the central text while at the same time destabilizing the relation between text and author. This development in scholarly literature led Roland Barthes to pronounce the "death of the author."¹⁹ Michael Foucault and Jacques Derrida expanded Barthes' concept while emphasizing that a literary work is not the product of a single individual but is a collective cultural product.²⁰ The three revealed how the text changes meaning according to the reader's understanding and interpretation. Derrida further pronounced "the death of the book," that is, the printed

¹⁸ David J. Bolter, *Writing Space : The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing* (Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1991).

¹⁹ R. Barthes, "The Death of the Author," in *Image, Music, Text.*, ed. S. Heath (New York: Hill, 1977).

²⁰ Michel Foucault, "What Is an Author?," in *Twentieth-Century Literary Theory*, ed. V. and Miller Lambropoulos, D. N. (Albany, NY: University Press of New York, 1987). Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

book, and emphasized the margin. Derrida applied this theory of de-centering to the production of his "anti-book" *Glas* (voice), to let it resemble the medieval manuscript with multiple columns of texts, abundance of marginal notes, and comments around the central text in a variety of sizes and typefaces.²¹

The major characteristics of medieval manuscripts and marginalia as hypertexts intersect with theoretical developments and concepts: paratexts, polyglossia, responsiveness, boundary object, interlinking, non-linearity, decenteredness, and open text/work. In the final analysis of those theoretical concepts, it will become obvious how General System Theory appears to include and explain all of those concepts that define hypertext theory and make sense of the medieval and early modern marginalia.

1. Marginalia and multi-layeredness

Gerard Genette focused on extratextual apparatus and suggested a theory of paratextuality and transtextuality to emphasize the interdependence of authors and texts upon each other. Genette viewed texts as "*palimpsests*," characterized by multiple layers of overlain text. The concepts of multi-layeredness include intertextuality of the verbatim quotations, paratextuality by the marginalia, metatextuality by the commentaries on the text, and hypertextuality by the pastiche of texts.²²

The margins of textual discourse preoccupied several postmodern authors. Gerald MacLean focused on class, William L. Andrews on race, Brenda R. Silver on gender, Ann Thomson, Jonathan Bate, and Sonia Massai on adaptation, and David C. Greetham on philology. These marginalized activities act as a "supplement" against the formalist preoccupation with the "text itself."²³ This study examines the social marginality of textual discourse in combination with hypertextuality and *polyglossia*, to reveal the complex nature of medieval texts.

²¹ David J. Bolter, *Writing Space : The Computer, Hypertext, and the History of Writing* (Hillsdale, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1991).

²² Gerard Genette, *Paratexts : Thresholds of Interpretation / Gerard Genette ; Translated by Jane E. Lewin ; Foreword by Richard Macksey*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²³ Barbara Mowatt, *The Theory and Practice of Editing* (1998); Available from: <http://www.folger.edu/institute/bib.pdf>.

2. Marginalia and multivocality

The margins of medieval manuscripts invited and provided space for the multiple voices of the community. Interpretive commentary, usually written in a smaller size script than the main text, completely surrounded the main text of Bibles. Glosses, *scholia* (comments), and marginalia in medieval manuscripts speak with voices from different temporal and geographic locations, occasionally conversing with each other. Medieval manuscripts do not speak with one authoritative and unified voice that dictates meaning, but rather with a plurality of voices that extends beyond the central text and depends on the reader's response, perspective, and interactions with the text.

Mikhail Bakhtin described a network of texts as a chorus of voices, meeting in dialogue, sometimes cacophonously, but none of them enjoying priority.²⁴ He described the power of *polyglossia*, or the multiple ways of thinking and multiple voices in the text, being able to fully liberate "the consciousness from the tyranny of its own language and its own myth of language." His term *heteroglossia* expresses the contestation and dialogues of voices and dialects within texts. Bakhtin applied this *polyglossia* to medieval literature to explain the complexity and ambiguity of its relationship to other literary works.

At any given moment, ... a language is stratified not only into dialects in the strict sense of the word, but is stratified as well into languages that are socio-ideological; languages belonging to professions, to genres, languages peculiar to particular generations, etc. This stratification and diversity of speech "*raznorechnost*" will spread wider and penetrate to ever deeper levels as long as a language is alive and still in the process of becoming.²⁵

3. Marginalia and contextuality

In regard to the content of marginalia and its relations to social context, marginal imagery in Western European manuscripts during the 10th to 15th centuries constituted a

²⁴ M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination : Four Essays*, ed. M. Holquist. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 263. Bakhtin introduced the concept of polyphony (multivocality) and dialogism for the first time in the *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Art* published in Russia in 1929.

²⁵ M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination : Four Essays*, ed. M. Holquist. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), p.428.

special interest for this study. Lillian Randall developed a rudimentary "theory" of marginalia, discovering profane and grotesque marginal images in the margins of 13th to 15th century Gothic religious manuscripts.²⁶ Michael Camille built upon Randall's work, deconstructing the manuscript page and focusing on the margins.²⁷ He discovered a relationship between the physical location of the marginal illustrations and other elements of the manuscript and claimed, "Gothic marginalia reflect the meanings, attitudes, and signs of the medieval unconscious." Camille explored marginal images from different angles, relating them to other social and cultural dimensions of marginality. The margins arose to ensure that the words of the center "be fixed . . . and their shaky status be counterposed with something even less stable, more base and, in semiotic terms, even more illusory."²⁸ Byzantine manuscripts such as the Byzantine Theodore Psalter (1056) used marginal images as political and ideological statements of the Eastern Church against the Iconoclastic controversy (725-843).²⁹ Those marginal images constituted a development from the written commentaries of theological texts and also served as illustrations of the Psalm texts and contemporaneous monastic practices.

4. Marginalia and responsiveness

Manuscripts remain a product of a web of specific cultural and personal motivation and were not "mere" copies. Each manuscript was a unique creation, "inscribed by a motive to preserve and pass on, to attest to a range of motives of personal, institutional, cultural, political, and religious system." Jonathan Evans pointed to the humble and least decorated manuscript whose margins bore scrawled phrases such as "God help me!" or doodled drawings, unrelated to the text. "Manuscript marginalia -

²⁶ Lillian Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, CA: 1966).

²⁷ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

²⁸ Camille, *Image on the Edge*.

²⁹ Charles Barber, *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000).

verbal and pictorial - doodles and stray scraps of verbal graffiti - encode all kinds of information concerning scribal and readerly attitudes towards the texts central to them."³⁰

Marginalia in the 17th to 19th centuries Western printed books has become a popular object of the study of history or literacy and reading since the 1980s. Bill Slights studied marginal notation in John Dee. Evelyn Tribble examined the move from marginal notation to footnotes, and W. Speed Hill focused on textual commentary.³¹ Jackson explored the marginalia written in English printed books by famous authors including Coleridge and detected the development of the genre and classification as a responsive reaction of the reader to the text.³²

5. Manuscripts and marginalia as boundary objects

Medieval manuscripts became the intersection between different communities that interacted in a variety of ways with the book during different time periods and across different geographical boundaries. Scribes translated and copied them, clergymen read and chanted from them, readers and students borrowed and read them. In this manner, manuscripts became "boundary objects" of those different communities as each user interpreted the functions in his own particular way to utilize it. The concept of the "boundary object," although it preexisted in medieval practices, was introduced by Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer to describe the variety of ways communities of practice view or use information that they have access to.

Boundary objects are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use, and become strongly structured in individual-site use. They have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable means

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ James McLaverty, "The Concept of Authorial Intention in Textual Criticism," *The Library* 6th series (1984), W. E. Slights, "The Edifying Margins of Renaissance English Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1989), W. E. Slights, *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2001), Evelyn Tribble, *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1993).

³² Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*.

of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is the key in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds.³³

Not only books, but also the margins and blank pages of books constitute a "boundary object" where different users share thoughts, ideas, and personal experiences with their contemporary and future users.

6. Manuscripts and marginalia as open texts

Traditionally, *Psalters* functioned with multiple purposes such as devotional and liturgical. The *Psalter* as a book remained a collection of separate texts, designed for reading in various orders, an "open text."³⁴ Stephen Nichols also views medieval texts as an open text, evolving with time, but under the "tensions" between the bounded space of the text and the surrounding marginalia.³⁵ Nichols defines the very first text ever written by the original author as "pure" or "nuclear" text and "extended work" as all additions and annotations. Manuscripts are composites of both the "nuclear" and the "extended" texts.

Umberto Eco, however, introduced the concept of the "open text" to aesthetics theory in 1962 to designate the "multitude of intentions," "plurality of meanings," and variety of manners of comprehension and appreciation to works of art.³⁶ An "open text" allows the reader or viewer to develop a multitude of "convergence of concepts, life-views and attitudes."³⁷ Eco's discussion of the interaction and interplay between the background of an artistic work and the subject of painting reminds us of the margin as the center of the book.³⁸

Medieval authors usually dictated their words to their apprentices or secretaries. Later, the manuscript was copied by other scribes and decorated by illuminators, who would add their comments and illustrations according to the copies at hand and their own

³³ Star and Griesemer, p. 393.

³⁴ George P Landow, *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology*. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), pp. 3, 8.

³⁵ Stephen Nichols, "On the Sociology of Medieval Manuscript Annotation," in *Annotation and Its Texts*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 48.

³⁶ Umberto Eco, *The Open Work*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1989), p.8.

³⁷ Eco, p. 20.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.86.

creative imagination. The different influences make manuscripts multiphase products and cultural and historical composites that reflect the subjective interpretation and historical and cultural context of their creators.

7. Marginalia and intertextuality

The parchment scroll was more durable than papyrus. The codex facilitated access to the text better than the scroll. Each innovation "refashioned" the writing space. Medieval authors and scribes contributed to the development of the writing space through the use of word divisions, headings, rubrications, marginal and interlinear glosses, and annotations. Medieval codices are a complex web of texts and interpretations, tradition and innovation, and resemble contemporary electronic hypertexts.

The writing space consists not only of the main text of the primary scribe, but also the text of the margins in which subsequent scribes added commentaries and linked them with the main text through a set of ligatures, colored marks, and pointers. Marginal writings also contain historical, sociological, and literary narratives that can serve as a lens for viewing the historical epoch in which they were created and for their creators, the scribes.

8. Marginalia and non-linearity

The non-linear associative form of the Psalms lent itself to their detachment from the larger work of the Old Testament..³⁹ Illustrations were added, and the *Psalter* became an independent literary form. This system of illustrations, decorations, and rubrications provided random or quick access to different reading units. The design of the *Psalter* page depended entirely on the purpose of the specific edition of the book and on the sponsoring patron's desires.⁴⁰ Its system in the visual design reflected a preoccupation with the hierarchy of colors, letter size, and scripts 11th to 12th century, although Psalters

³⁹ Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*. (London, England: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1998), p. 169.

⁴⁰ Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, (New York: Phaidon Press Limited, 2001), p.36.

began to incorporate illustrations centuries before. Those features helped in classification of priorities of texts.⁴¹

General System Theory

General System Theory was developed by Ludwig von Bertalanffy first in the 1940s but publicized widely in the 1960s. General System Theory is a macro-theory that explains and explores the world on multiple levels as physical, chemical, biological, sociological, cultural, and philosophical levels of interactions.⁴² More specifically, the theory explores "wholeness."⁴³ As a methodological approach of exploration, General System Theory studies entities as conglomeration of parts, not in isolation but rather in interaction among themselves and with their environments.⁴⁴ The theory attempts to study the problems and the order that unifies the parts within the system and results in their dynamic interaction.⁴⁵

Systems can be closed and open. While closed systems are isolated from the environment,⁴⁶ open systems, characterizing all living organisms, maintain themselves in a constant state of dynamic inflow and outflow of information,⁴⁷ known as *homeostasis*, and a steady state of *equilibrium* of creation and destruction of its parts during its lifespan.⁴⁸ The third state of open systems, *stimulus-response*, explains the behavior of the system as a response to external stimuli.⁴⁹

General System Theory not only explains hypertext systems, but it can help us understand South Slavic marginalia. The main characteristics of hypertexts find their foundations in General System Theory as follows:

⁴¹ De Hamel, p. 98.

⁴² Ludwig von Bertalanffy, *General System Theory: Foundations, Developments, Applications*, (New York: George Braziller, 1968), p. xx.

⁴³ Von Bertalanffy, p. 37.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 19, 38, 141).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.39.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 0.165.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.39, 150.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.189.

Marginalia and multi-layeredness: the multiple levels of organization between layers and their interrelations.

Marginalia and multivocality: the parts of the system, organized in multiple levels of interactions and exchange.

Marginalia and contextuality: the relation of the system and constant in-and-out flow of information with its environment.

Marginalia and responsiveness: the stimulus-response state of open systems to stimuli coming from the outside.

Manuscripts and marginalia as boundary objects: multiple functions of parts of the system by the multiple users from other systems in their close interaction and exchange of information.

Manuscripts and marginalia as open texts: the open state of dynamic interaction with its environment, and the inflow and outflow of information.

Marginalia and intertextuality: the process of exchange of information with the other systems and within itself, including its own parts.

Marginalia and linking: The interconnectiveness of being of all parts or living organisms within a system.

Marginalia and non-linearity: The dynamic and cyclic nature of equilibrium of creation, recreation, and procreation.

Some aspects of von Bertalanffy's General System Theory will be applied to the study of marginalia and presented in Part Three: Chapter 15: Summary results and theoretical implications of the study.

Theoretical approaches to South Slavic marginalia and colophons

This study compiled the unique records left by Bulgarians during the Ottoman period (1393-1878). These documents, left predominately in the margins of Bulgarian medieval manuscripts, speak of the events happening during those times and the reactions of the scribes to those events. Bulgarian scholars have not reached consensus about the definitions of the words "marginalia" and "colophons," although two terms have

emerged, *belezhki* and *pripiski*, respectively. Sprostranov was the earliest to explore *belezhki* and *pripiski* in 1907.⁵⁰ The earliest systematic study of marginalia and colophons in Bulgarian manuscripts appeared from Ivana Ruseva in 1921.⁵¹ She defined *pripiska* as the colophon, written by the scribe, which described the date and location of writing of the manuscript. She also defined *belezhki* as marginalia, incorporating the notes written by the patrons, bookbinders, and readers in the margins of the manuscript, describing historical events, extraordinary weather, the life of the person, and incidental thoughts. The word *pripiski* (plural of *pripiska*) comes closest in meaning to "colophons," in that Mutafchieva defines *pripiski* as "not only written, neither copied, but added to, *pripisani*, or glued to, sewed to the main text."⁵² A related word, *belezhki*, refers only to marginalia.

Each *pripiska* is a piece of the gigantic puzzle of South Slavic medieval history. Historians value them because they have not undergone subsequent alteration and because they reflected the thoughts of the authors, who frequently lacked academic training. The role of the historian is to put the puzzle together and to interpret its meaning. The analysis of the entire corpus of *pripiski* creates a feeling of reading history in its totality, and not just in fragments.⁵³

The history of collected Bulgarian manuscript marginalia and colophons dates to the beginning of the 20th century. Sprostranov published a selection of *pripiski* (marginalia) and *belezhki* (notes) containing "historical and cultural significance," from his investigations in 1901 of Sofia area churches.⁵⁴ He shared with his readers his conversations with local clergy about history, transcribing 113 *pripiski* found in ecclesiastical sources from the 18th century. Trifonov followed with his publication of 24

⁵⁰ Evtim Sprostranov, "Belezhki i Pripiski Po Sofiiskite Cherkvi (Notes and Marginalia Found at Churches of Sofia)," *Sbornik na Narodna Universitet* 22-23, no. 3 (1906-1907).

⁵¹ Ivana Ruseva, "Pripiski i Belezhki po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments)," *Izvestia na Seminara po Slavyanska Filologia pri Universiteta v Sofia* 4 (1921).

⁵² Vera Mutafchieva, *Da Se Znae (Let It Be Known)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Nacionalnia suvet na Otechestvenia front, 1964).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁵⁴ M. Bur, "Hristianskoto Naselenie i Pravoslavnite Manastiri na Balkanite prez Osmanskoto Vladichestvo," *Istoricheski Pregled* 40, no. 3 (1984), Sprostranov, "Belezhki i Pripiski po Sofiiskite Cherkvi (Notes and Marginalia Found at Churches of Sofia)."

pripiski and *belezhki* from ecclesiastical books for the period 1558-1869, providing additional information about these marginal notes.⁵⁵

Ruseva traced the development of *pripiski*, claiming that during the 14th to 16th centuries, *pripiski* reached an apex in length, becoming slightly shorter in the following centuries.⁵⁶ She identified features such as the epithet, the scribe's prayer for forgiveness, ending phrases, and various subject matters. She concluded that the medieval scribe was humble, willing to please God, willing to suffer for the forgiveness of sins, punctual, and critical of his work. (In this study, scribes are referred to as masculine, because no female scribes have been identified).

Others identified as *pripiski* the additional notes written by the scribes, patrons, owners, and readers.⁵⁷ Nikolova, focusing on the 10th to 14th century period, identified as *pripiski* the colophons that stand aside from the main content and present information about manuscript production and scribes.⁵⁸ Ivanov and Dujchev used the term *pripiski* for colophons.⁵⁹ Others used the term *letopisna belezhka* for historical notes, or "introduction" or "postscript."⁶⁰ Raikov identified *pripiski* as extra-textual notations and explored the etymology and the semantics of the term, showing that *pripiski* continued the traditional practices of their Byzantine predecessors.⁶¹ He categorized them into two types: primary, including all notes written by the scribe of the central text (the so-called

⁵⁵ Jurdan Trifonov, "Pripiski i Belezhki s Letopisen Karakter" (Marginalia and Notes with Historical Character)," *Periodichesko Spisanie* LXII (1903).

⁵⁶ Ruseva, "Pripiski i Belezhki po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici" (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments).

⁵⁷ M. Stoianov, *Bukvi i Knigi: Studii po Istoria na Bulgarskata Pismenost [Letters and Books: Study on the History of Bulgarian Alphabet and Literacy]* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1978).

⁵⁸ Bistra Nikolova, "Pripiskata v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga ot 10-14 Vek" (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century), in *Pomoshtni Istoricheski Disciplini (Supporting Historical Disciplines)*, ed. Kuncho Georgiev (1991).

⁵⁹ Yordan Ivanov, *Bulgarskite Starini iz Makedonia (Bulgarian Antiquities from Macedonia)*, vol. 2 (Sofia: 1931). Ivan Dujchev, *Iz Starata Bulgarska Literatura (From the Old Bulgarian Literature and Books)*, vol. 1 (1944).

⁶⁰ Boyan Angelov, *Iz Starata Bulgarska, Ruska, i Srubska Literatura (from the Old Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian Literature)*, vol. 2 (Sofia: 1967).

⁶¹ Bozhidar Raikov, "Pripiskite v Sistemata na Starata Bulgarska Knizhnina" (Colophons in the System of the Old Bulgarian Literature), *Paleobulgarica* 1992, XVI, no. 2.

colophons), and secondary, including those added by other people. Hristova, Karadzova, and Uzunova used the term *belezhki* to refer to both colophons and marginalia.⁶²

Nikolova presented a methodology of systematic and typological analysis based on Byzantine conventions, in which Bulgarian colophons used a five-fold pattern of structure.⁶³

1. Introduction: a small sermonette, prayer, or thanksgiving to God.
2. Information about the scribe or the book itself: contents of the book, title, location of production, and name of the scribe.
3. Reasons for copying or translating: personal, for spiritual need, for remembrance, for salvation from sin, or as ordered by another person.
4. Date.
5. Prayer of the scribe to the reader for forgiveness.

Raikov emphasized the role of Bulgarian manuscripts in the transmission of the Byzantine tradition to the Serbian and Kievan Rus' churches. He identified the earliest colophon, written in A.D. 907 by Tudor Doksov, and identified the major themes, contents, forms, paleographic and codicological features, genres, and stylistic characteristics.⁶⁴ Raikov abbreviated Nikolova's structure of colophons to three parts consisting of introduction, exposition, and finale. The introduction invoked the blessing of the Holy Trinity, and the finale included a prayer for forgiveness for the mistakes and sins committed by the scribe during the process of manuscript production.

The following Chapter reviews and evaluates the primary and secondary historical sources about the Ottoman period in the Balkans and the three major schools of thought: the revisionist "Liberator" research school, the conservative "Oppression" research school, and the "Independent" research school that attempts to bring together all available sources, not only from the official history of administrative documents but also from the grass-roots perspective of the common people.

⁶² Boryana Hristova, Karadzova, Darinka, and Uzunova, Elena, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*, vol. 1-2 (Sofia: Nacionalen fond Kultura, 2003).

⁶³ Nikolova, "Pripiskata V Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga ot 10-14 Vek (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century)," *Pomoshni istoricheski disciplini*, Vol. 5, Sofia: 1991

⁶⁴ Raikov, "Pripiskite V Sistemata Na Starata Bulgarskata Knizhnina (Colophons in the System of the Old Bulgarian Literature)."

3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS

The complex character of the phenomena of marginalia and colophons requires a complex research approach, a combination and triangulation of methods to study their various aspects and interpret their meaning. The methodology is driven by the character and complexity of the phenomena, the research questions, and the researcher's worldview. Triangulation will combine traditional and postmodern, qualitative and quantitative, textual, contextual (historical and social), and hypertextual (layout and link to other sources and events) methods of inquiry. Because these documents of the past are found in manuscripts and early printed books, they can also be described and analyzed using traditional methods such as codicology, diplomatics, and historical bibliography.

The postmodern method applies to this study because the context of this corpus is the sensitive and ideologically explosive subject of a South Slavic population during the Ottoman rule of the Balkans. This method allows the voices of the marginalized South Slavic population to be heard. Bulgarian marginalia and colophons often omit the names of their authors. More precisely, their authors intentionally emphasized information at the expense of their own identities. Deconstruction provides a philosophical framework for analyzing the form, structure, content, and meaning of Bulgarian medieval marginalia and colophons within the historical context of their times and in relation to similar texts.

Marginalia and colophons present very complex overlapping levels of information that requires specific methodological treatment and theoretical interpretation. Marginalia can simultaneously feature literary, cultural, historical, and documentary levels of information.

As literary information: The deconstructive theoretical framework, as critical theory, elucidates the meaning of marginalia and colophons through their relationships to the central text and other textual sources. Content analysis identifies the major concepts, themes, and subjects discussed in these documents.

As cultural information: Bulgarian marginalia and colophons and examples of Western marginal images and texts from contemporaneous time periods can be compared to Western marginal images and texts, often with surprising results.

As historical information: Historical research methodology uses content analysis and its auxiliary disciplines diplomatics and codicology to evaluate marginalia and colophons with respect to their historical, cultural, and social contexts. Through this process, marginalia and colophons become valuable primary historical sources.

As documentary information: Colophons and some categories of marginalia have archival value in that they preserve a record of events in the administrative history of the Church. Diplomatics and codicological analysis establish their authenticity as archival documents through analysis of form, structure, major formulae, and subject matter.

In sum, this study attempts to explore the extrinsic (form and structure), intrinsic (content), and contextual aspects of marginalia and colophons.

Form and structure: Deconstructionist literary theories and hypertext theory reveal the meaning of the layout of the manuscript page and the relationships among text, context and hypertext (marginalia). However, the main descriptive techniques used in this study are borrowed from codicology (as applied to the medieval codex), diplomatics (as applied to official documents), and historical bibliography (as applied to notes in printed books).

Content (subject matter): The textual content of marginalia reveals historical, social, psychological, and cultural evidence about the life of South Slavs. Historical methodology and content analysis reveals the nature of this evidence. Content analysis elucidates major concepts based upon frequencies of words and themes. These concepts then are related to one another and to contemporaneous phenomena in primary and secondary sources.

Context: The immediate context is the historical time and the geographical location of the notes. Comparative analysis considers the historical context in the process of comparison of the sources to reveal particular similarities and differences in themes, patterns, and relationships among textual elements such as the image, text, and margin that appear repeatedly in the corpus of data.

Postmodernism, deconstruction, and critical theory frameworks

Deconstruction, a synthetic and interdisciplinary approach to critical textual analysis, launched Postmodernism in the 1970s. As a philosophical worldview and state of mind, deconstruction does not really destroy texts but rather analyzes them for internal contradictions, conflicts and effect, as well as breaks in tone, tense, and "textual subconscious."⁶⁵ According to Derrida, deconstruction is neither a school nor a method⁶⁶ but a deconstructive reading, a deeper level of textual analysis uncovering the multivocality and multiple meanings of texts. Derrida attempted to make the non-apparent realities hidden in the text accessible through analysis of "sign," which led to the "signified."⁶⁷ Such "reading against the grain" shifts the traditional focus from the intentions of the author to the interpretation of the reader. Thus, the meaning of text is never finalized as it depends on how the reader reads. Some of the central concepts and continually recurring themes that emerge from deconstructive reading are power, politics, suffering, and oppression. Frequently, deconstructive readings reveal evidence of conflict with and opposition toward official culture.

Deconstruction can be used to justify social action, to lift the "voices of marginalized or oppressed people."⁶⁸ Deconstruction theory in social or literary critical studies empowers the marginalized, the so-called "Other." It reveals the presence of the meta-narrative and the need to "deconstruct" texts in terms of both reading and writing.⁶⁹ Deconstruction theory justifies the fragmentation and deep analysis (deconstruction) of texts into coherent units. In the case of marginalia and colophons, the units transcend the center and extend into the margins of the page.

In this study deconstruction theory and method allow the voices in the margins of

⁶⁵ Steven G. Nichols, "On the Sociology of Medieval Manuscript Annotation," in *Annotation and Its Texts*, ed. Stephen A. Barney (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁶⁶ Jacques Derrida, *The Ear of the Other : Otobiography, Transference, Translation : Textes and Discussions with Jacques Derrida ; Edited by Claude Levesque and Christie V. McDonald ; Translated by Peggy Kamuf, Nietzsche's Otobiography Translated by Avital Ronell*. (New York: Schocken Books, 1985).

⁶⁷ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1976).

⁶⁸ John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

manuscripts and early printed books to speak for themselves. This approach provides a theoretical framework and focus for this study. It also helps to reveal the needs, concerns, beliefs, interests, professional duties, and personal creative endeavors of the people living in the margins of both Ottoman society and geographical Europe. This approach also allows the comparison of marginalia with the central text and the historical context to discover their relationship, whether that is tension, rupture, or peaceful coexistence. The application of this method or theory is guided by these questions:

1. What is the relationship between the central text and marginalia in the context of the page and codex, in their literary, social, cultural, political, and historical contexts?
2. Why did the annotator place this particular text in the margins of this particular manuscript?
3. Did the annotator attempt to hide or encode information or his identity?
4. Does evidence of historical oppression or marginalization hide in marginalia and colophons?
5. Did marginalia "rupture" the traditional presentation of text in Slavic manuscripts?

In this context, "rupture" could refer to the sphere of language, as in the introduction of vernacular elements and the breaking of the conventional formal standards of colophons. Marginalia "rupture" or "penetrate" the central text, yet depend upon it, because the manuscript offered a space where the voices of marginalized South Slavs could be recorded with little restriction or fear of opposition. Over time, more and more varied voices shared the margins, speaking on a variety of subjects, and becoming more vocal about their identities and needs.

Therefore, deconstruction and post-modernist theory provide to this study the theoretical concepts such as the Margin, the Other, rupture, marginalization, power, and race. They enrich the interpretation of marginalia and colophons within their historical context. The purpose of using this deconstructive reading is to reveal the motivation for this particular episode of writing and the politics involved.

Historical research method

The Historical research method as a qualitative methodology answers the question "What really happened in the past?" in the course of particular events, phenomena, people, and institutions. Max Weber's *verstehen* (understanding) clarifies this quality of social research, to understand, or to make sense.⁷⁰ The historical research method involves more than a mere description of facts of the past; it attempts more to "systematically recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past that have influenced and shaped the present."⁷¹ Historical research explores the relationships between the events that have influenced the past and continue to influence the present and future.⁷²

According to Busha and Harter, there are several distinct steps in historical research: collecting relevant surviving materials, excluding unauthentic materials, discerning the authentic information that is credible (because historic accounts can be authentic but inaccurate), interpreting the meaning of those materials within their context, and organizing the credible, authentic material into a meaningful format, such as a book, article, or educational video.⁷³ By comparing a variety of primary and secondary sources from a historical period, historians create a more credible historical account. Primary sources are particularly important. Personal accounts alone reveal the perspectives of a particular class of people, but they can distort the larger picture. The "protection" of the historian relies on replication and corroboration.⁷⁴ Facts must be substantiated by a variety of sources, considering the insider and outsider perspective. Evaluation of secondary sources is a difficult process, yet the historian must present his case by searching the literature and discovering the existing schools of thought.

Historical methodology includes field research, content analysis, and comparative

⁷⁰ Allen Rubin and Earl Babbie, *Research Methods for Social Work* (Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole, 2005), p. 490.

⁷¹ D. B. Hamilton, "The Idea of History and the History of Ideas," *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship* 25 (1993).

⁷² L. Glass, "Historical Research," in *Advanced Design in Nursing Research*, ed. M.J. Brink P.J. and Wood (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989).

⁷³ Charles and Harter Busha, Stephen, *Research Methods in Librarianship: Techniques and Interpretation* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 91.

⁷⁴ Rubin and Babbie, *Research Methods for Social Work*, p. 490.

methods.⁷⁵ However, historical methodology applies the auxiliary disciplines of diplomatics, codicology, paleography, and bibliographic and textual analysis.⁷⁶ Because this study treats an historical phenomenon that extended over five centuries (1393-1878), the historical method becomes an appropriate tool to explore the development of marginalia within that particular cultural and historical context.

Historiographers have posed questions that would apply to historical research on Bulgarian marginalia and colophons:⁷⁷

1. Who composed the document (authorship)?
2. When was the source produced (date)?
3. Where was the source produced (provenance)?
4. Why did they survive (history)?
5. What are perspectives and perceptions of the authors, and how can biases be crosschecked and corrected (integrity and credibility)?
6. How inclusive and representative are the examples?
7. If you rely only on this particular type of document, how distorted might your vision become (context)?
8. What other documents might balance these sources (context)?
9. What are the key concepts and categories that emerge from the data (content)?
10. What is the evidentiary value of its content (credibility)?

Traditional historiography versus New History, or "History from Below"

Traditional historical methods of study required testing the document for "historical reliability." The process involved weighting the provided evidence, a process known as internal criticism. The method rested on hypothetical criteria such as ability to report, distance of reporting from the actual event, appropriateness of place for reporting,

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 328.

⁷⁶ Axinia Dzhurova, *Vuvedeniievv Slavyanskata Kodikologia: Vizantiiskia Kodeks i Recepciata mu Sred Slavyanite (Introduction to Slavic Codicology: Byzantine Codex and Its Reception among the Slavs)* (Sofia: CIBAL, 1997).

⁷⁷ Babbie, *Research Methods for Social Work*, p. 491. G. Garraghan, *A Guide to Historical Method* (New York: Fordham University Press, (1946).

adequacy of recording instruments, intention, and audience of reporting."⁷⁸ Traditional historians did not regard the spoken word, the folk tradition, or composite cultures as reliable sources of information.⁷⁹

Traditional historiography emphasized politics, history as a narrative of events, actions of great people, and great events. Such history was based on official documents and records of governments. It claimed the importance of objectivity and lack of bias, a history written by "professional historians."⁸⁰

In the 1980s, New History appeared as a reaction to traditional history. New History analyzed the ordinary people, especially the marginal groups. New History examined the discourse of language, collective mentalities, and verbal or mixed language in a necessarily interdisciplinary approach. Burke emphasized that New History practiced "history from below" and "*heteroglossia*" to allow diverse and opposing voices of dead people to be heard again.⁸¹ New History emphasized the margins rather than only great books.⁸² Burke studied the graffiti of Renaissance Italy. Camille studied grotesque and Gothic marginalia. Jackson created a typology of marginalia in English printed and physical location.⁸³ Tribble linked margins to social marginality.⁸⁴ Derrida advocated the margins over the center.⁸⁵

Bulgarian marginalia represent a microcosm of the Christian population in the Balkans during the Ottoman period. They are not appropriate subjects for traditional historiography because they appeared in the margins rather than the central texts and because they constitute something of an oral history. Traditional historians of the Ottoman Empire, and derivative European and American historical revisionists would not

⁷⁸ D. A. Shafer R. J. and Bennet, *Guide to Historical Method* (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1980).

⁷⁹ G. Prias, *Oral History*, ed. P. Burke, *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University, 1992), pp. 116-118.

⁸⁰ P. Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 1-23.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Burke, "History of reading," p. 156.

⁸³ J. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press, 2001).

⁸⁴ Evelyn Tribble, "Like a Looking-Glass in the Frame," in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. Greetham.

⁸⁵ Jacques Derrida, "This Is Not an Oral Footnote," in *Annotations and Its Texts*, ed. S. Barney (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 200.

and could not accept a study of marginalia. They are, however, open to New Historical approach.

South Slavic scribes developed historical marginalia from fragments of information into more extensive and emotional eyewitness accounts. These marginalia spread across the Balkans in manuscripts, codices and early printed books. Paisii of Hilendar collected accounts into a chronicle, and this chronicle influenced 19th century Bulgarian writers. Paisii's "history from below" appeared centuries before Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, and later Peter Burke, established New History.

During times of political crisis, South Slavic marginalia recall Old Testament passages of Israelites' suffering in Egypt and exile in Babylon. History of this sort is rich in figurative language but that feature does not diminish its social and cultural value. Those writings can be taken at "face value," as reflections of the perception and worldviews of their authors. New History "from below" acknowledges the factual limitations of those historical sources, but recognizes their evidentiary value, especially if those sources corroborate other external evidence.

When traditional historians argue about the trustworthiness and authentication of historical sources, we should consider that all historical sources have their own limitations. Every source, oral or written, reflects the particular personal perspective and cultural environment of its author. Ottoman conversion records, for example, employ a highly structured formal style of writing and formulaic language.⁸⁶ The comparison between those conversion records reveals a pattern that repeats itself in every record, similar to "form letters."

South Slavic scribes and authors, represent the clergymen of the Church and other laypeople of the community. Being educated in the Christian tradition, the authors' and scribes' language not surprisingly employs Biblical analogies. Even though historical marginalia sound at times nationalistic and adversarial, historians should accept the fact that they attest to Bulgarian scribes releasing their frustrations and sense of helplessness

⁸⁶ Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans : Kisve bahası petitions and Ottoman social life, 1670-1730*, (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2004).

while under the pressures from civilian and military authorities. Marginalia, written in the vernacular, emotional in tone, reveal the writer, if not his name.

Unlike the Dalmatian poet-priests, Bulgaria's monks and scribes were not educated in Italian university towns, and in time they viewed both the Porte and the Patriarch and the Church of Greece as enemies. Bulgarian and other South Slavic clergymen and laypeople who authored marginalia and colophons as best as they could, or dared, chronicled their interpretations of the historical events happening around them.

Why should we believe authors of marginalia? Their scribes documented specific aspects of their lives. The variety of categories provides evidence that these authors considered seriously the job of recording the surrounding social, political, and cultural circumstances of their life in consideration of the next generations of readers. Scribes wrote as they spoke succinctly but expressively, as the formula "let it be known" will attest but not always figuratively and not always religiously.

Content analysis

Content analysis, also known as textual analysis, is an unobtrusive approach to the analysis and interpretation of unstructured textual data, employing both qualitative and quantitative methods. It is a research technique that makes reliable and valid inferences from data and, as some would say, extracts the multi-layered meaning of messages.⁸⁷ According to Alan Rubin and Earl Babbie, content analysis studies "recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings, and laws to determine major themes, content analysis counts words, sentences, paragraphs, sections, chapters, books, writers, ideological stances, and so forth."⁸⁸

Content analysis appeared in the 1940s. Initially, it focused on word frequency and word count, but in the 1950s scholars focused on developing concepts and semantic relationships between concepts. Currently, application of content analysis involves

⁸⁷ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980).

⁸⁸ Alan Rubin and Earl Babbie, *Research Methods for Social Work*, 5th ed. (Belmont, CA: Thomson Learning, 2005), p. 471. B. L. Berg, "Jewish Identity: Subjective Declarations or Objective Life Styles." (Syracuse University, NY, 1983).

interpretation and utilization of linguistic, psychological, social, cultural and historical concepts. Historians apply content analysis to study historical documents in terms of events, themes, and key historical figures. However, content analysis also identifies patterns within and between historical sources.⁸⁹

In this study, content analysis helps to classify and determine the categories of marginalia contained in the two major corpora of marginalia: the anthology *Pisahme da se znae* that was used for the pilot study, and the HACI manuscript collection that was used for the full study.

The steps of content analysis

Typically, content analysis employs a coding operation, a process of classification and conceptualization of the data into distinct categories. The categories answer the question "What is this text about?," and each category reflects a specific subject matter.

This process of deductive category application, informed by the theory and findings of the literature review, the research questions, and the text itself, is an iterative process of revision and refinement of labels of categories and movement of texts to the category that best fits its subject matter in a manner explained by Mayring.

⁸⁹ Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*.

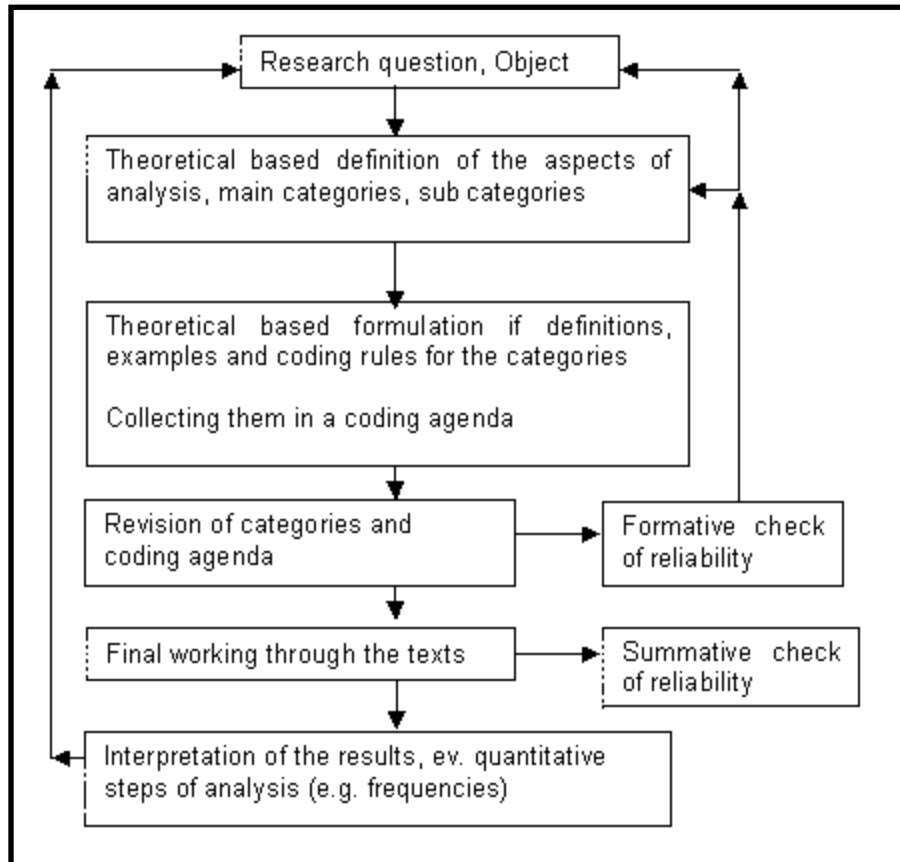


Figure 3.1: Step model of category application (from Mayring⁹⁰).

In this diagram, Mayring uses "coding agenda" to refer to explicit definitions, examples and coding rules for each deductive category, determining exactly under what circumstances a text passage can be coded with a category. Formative check of reliability refers to an inter-coding reliability check and revision of or addition to existing categories and "summative check of reliability" is the final stage that includes cross-validation of the independent coding and checking of the intercoder reliability of coding, prior to the interpretation of the results.

In the current study, development of categories came first, then clustering of those categories into groups based on commonalities between categories. In other words,

⁹⁰ P. Mayring, "Qualitative Content Analysis" in *Forum Qualitative Social Research* Vol. 1, No.2 - June 2000. Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.htm>. Accessed on: December 10, 2007 based on Mayring *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 2000).

particular activities or subject matter that occurred in multiple categories led to grouping those categories together. For example, marginalia that discussed sponsorship of book production, binding, history of the book, and bookplates clustered into a group characterized by the theme of "the book."

The pilot study and literature review provided concepts and categories of marginalia that ultimately determined the final version of the categories. For example, a literature review of previous concepts, terminology, and theory of Western European marginalia yielded the category of "reader's notes." The literature of Balkan scholars yielded the categories of "education-related" and "historical" marginalia. Chapter 7, "Method of Data Collection and Analysis," provides a detailed explanation of the creation of categories.

In addition to the literature review, a pilot study of the anthology *Pisahme da se znae* provided categories of marginalia. The pilot study used this anthology because it was the only collection of marginalia and colophons for the period of this study available in print, of a suitable size, and with an accessible translated corpus of data from Church Slavonic into modern Bulgarian. The pilot study based on the anthology resulted in development of thematically determined distinct and mutually exclusive categories that resembled in subject matter the previous categories found in the literature review about Western and South Slavic marginalia. Some categories, however, such as those that discussed city affairs and planning in 19th century, were original and unparalleled in previous studies. The subject matter that evolved into these preliminary categories based on the pilot study clustered around six larger themes:

- *Historical and political events*: related to the Ottoman occupation, liberation, and food shortages
- *Manuscript and printed books production*: related to scribes, binders, donors, and other people involved with production
- *Personal-related affairs*: related to readers' responses, personal notes, prayers, poems, thoughts, and lending money
- *Church-related affairs*: related to church repairs, church-related activities, and pilgrimages

- *Disasters and natural phenomena*: related to weather, earthquakes, diseases, and prices
- *Social affairs*: related to schools, reading rooms, and city planning.

Types of content analysis

Content analysis techniques can analyze the content of documents in different levels of depth.⁹¹ For example, content analysis, known as *primary content analysis*, employs frequency counting of keywords, themes, trends, and values of manifest (physically present) and latent (symbolic) content. The simplest version, known as *corpus analysis*, consists of counting word frequency and keywords in context.⁹² *Thematic content analysis* creates categories based on the themes and ideas present in the text. In creating the categories, the researcher devises a coding scheme, taking into consideration the contemporary theoretical knowledge of the field of research. The text itself and the research questions also guide the researcher in developing the categories of analysis in an iterative process of refinement as the researcher proceeds through the text. *Referential content analysis* studies the latent or hidden content of the context that incorporates the text, searching for meaning behind the situations, the silences, the pauses within the language, and the choice of nouns, adjectives, and verbs.⁹³

Questions employed in the analysis

Berelson, Selitz, and Silverman emphasize the quantitative element of content analysis, but others, such as Smith, suggest a blending of qualitative and quantitative methods.⁹⁴ Holsti and Carney expand the qualitative-plus-quantitative approach by proposing an analysis of the three components of communication: the sender, the

⁹¹ Becker & Lissmann (1973), quoted in Mayring, P. "Qualitative content analysis," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. (2000).

⁹² R. Weber, *Basic Content analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990).

⁹³ R. Franzosi, *From Words to Numbers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

⁹⁴ B. Barleson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1952). C. Selltiz, *Research Methods in Social Relations* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1959). D. Silverman, *Interpreting Qualitative Data* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1993).

message, and the audience.⁹⁵ Those three components find expression in the following questions: "Who said what and to whom?"⁹⁶ This question addresses source and authorship (who), trends in communication content and message (what), and recipient and patterns of communication (to whom). Another similarly multi-layered question "Why did he or she say it?" analyzes traits in individuals, infers cultural aspects and change of society, and provides evaluative evidence of the historical context. A third complex question "How was the message expressed and to what effect?" studies the channel, style and techniques of persuasion and the responses to a communication. In general, these three complex questions analyze the "story grammar" and structure of narratives and follow the common "W's" of journalism: who, what, where, when, and why in addition to the how question.⁹⁷ This particular study of Slavic marginalia and colophons systematically and uniformly applied those basic set of questions to each category and group of categories, to each particular category of marginalia, and to the corpus as a whole.

Comparative analysis

Comparative analysis is applied to entities that share some common ground, in order to discover their similarities and differences within a particular context.⁹⁸ These entities can be texts, events, and historical figures. The context is known as the frame of reference. In order to avoid the personal biases of the researcher, the study must be based upon specific sources, such as primary sources, and not on conjectures and anecdotes. The basis of choice is a ground for comparison, and it must be meaningful and purposeful and not random.

Comparative analysis creates a thesis statement that anticipates the future

⁹⁵ T. F. Carney, *Content Analysis* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1972). O.R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Scientists and Humanities* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

⁹⁶ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Scientists and Humanities*. Barleson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*.

⁹⁷ R. Franzosi, "Content analysis" in *Sage Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004), p. 187.

⁹⁸ This treatment of the subject is based on: K: Walk, *How to Write a Comparative Analysis*" (The Writing Center at Harvard University, 1998. Cited September 30 2007); available from: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~wricntr/documents/CompAnalysis.html>. Accessed on September 30, 2007.

developments of the study. One important question is whether the entities corroborate, contradict, complicate, or correct each other. For example, historical comparative analysis employs and in fact insists on corroboration of several types of primary sources in order to avoid a research bias. In the case of this study, the value of marginalia and colophons as primary sources was corroborated by archival records from Western, Eastern, Arabic, and Bulgarian sources, by foreign travelers' accounts, by hagiographies, by missionaries' accounts, and by internal consistency among marginalia.

Comparative analysis employs two approaches: a text-by-text approach of discussing the entities one after another, or a point-by-point approach when specific characteristics of two entities are discussed simultaneously, followed by another set of characteristics. For example, monastic book production can be discussed first and then compared to non-monastic book production. Images, texts, and other units of study can be tabulated and sorted out according to their characteristics, for example:

1. How do colophons compare to marginalia?
2. Are marginalia produced by original scribes or by later authors?
3. How do notes in text margins compare to those on blank pages?
4. Does the language represent an official literary language or the vernacular language of the people?
5. Do marginalia resemble official documents?

Historical research applies comparative analysis to discover degrees of similarity and difference between different primary and secondary sources, to balance the different perspectives of opinions and worldviews presented in the evidence and to formulate an accurate account that makes sense within the context of the times. In this research, comparative analysis attempts to analyze a number of dichotomies:

- Social marginality versus manuscript textual marginality
- The perspective of the "marginalized" Christian population versus the official Ottoman perspective
- Western versus Eastern European historical accounts
- Western versus South Eastern European marginalia
- Contemporary versus pre-modern marginalia
- Marginalia in manuscripts versus marginalia in printed books

- Colophons versus marginalia
- Monastic versus non-monastic products and practices
- Marginalia and colophons before and after the Ottoman invasion
- Formal, official records-like documents versus informal, free style marginalia.

Comparative method elucidates the historical context of marginalia throughout the study as well as in the final Results and Interpretation sections. For example, Part Three of this study compares marginalia and colophons to Byzantine and Bulgarian medieval epigraphy, Western European examples of marginalia, and contemporary annotations in books. Beside these techniques that analyze content and context, the historical method uses auxiliary disciplines to examine the text in depth.

Codicology

The investigation of primary historical sources under the "umbrella" of historical methodology uses several auxiliary sciences to examine, describe, and to discover the authenticity of documents. Those auxiliary sciences include codicology, paleography, diplomatics, textology, archeography, epigraphy, and papirology.⁹⁹ This study utilizes codicology and diplomatics.

The discipline of codicology, or *codicologie*, studies the "archeology of the book" and particularly the codex, which are manuscripts bound in book form. Codicology is "the study or science of manuscripts and their interrelationships."¹⁰⁰ Dzurova, a Bulgarian expert in Byzantine and Slavic Codicology and Paleography defines codicology as the science that examines the codex as a complex of its elements such as binding, material, internal organization of binding gatherings, size of the page, script, decoration, content, and marginalia and defines the discipline as "archeology of the book" that examines the codex by asking the specific questions "how, when, where, and by whom was the particular manuscript created and what happened until the manuscript ended up in its last

⁹⁹ Dzurova, *Vuvedenie v Slavyanskata Kodikologia: Vizantiiskia Kodeks i Recepciata mu sred Slavyanite (Introduction to Slavic Codicology: Byzantine Codex and Its Reception among the Slavs)*.

¹⁰⁰ Simson, *Oxford English Dictionary* [cited]. "Codicology." Accessed on: September 30, 2007.

provenance, the latest collection repository." ¹⁰¹ Several pioneers contributed to the field of diplomatics such as: A. Dain (1961), Ch. Samaran (1976), F. Masai (1947), G. Ouy (1961), A. Gruys (1973), and for the Slavic codicology, the Russian scholars K. Kalaidovich (1825), A. Vostokov (1842), P. Shafarik (1852), V. Jagich (1883), V. Shtepkin (1888), E. Karskij (1928). Among the Bulgarian Slavic codicologists are E. Sprostranov (1900), B. Tsonev (1910), H. Kodov (1969), M. Stoianov (1971), B. Raikov (1974), V. Moshin (1956), and D. Bogdanovich (1968). ¹⁰² The major task for the codicologist is to describe the codex and its major attributes. Ouy related codicology to the study of archival documents. ¹⁰³ Codicology and diplomatics overlap in most of their approaches to the study of medieval documents and books. Their ultimate practical purpose is to create an accurate description of the codices as a step to the creation of descriptive cataloging of the collection that would provide an enhanced access and use of the books and documents. ¹⁰⁴

Bulgarian codicological and manuscript descriptive cataloging practices have changed since the turn of the 20th century. Sprostranov, the pioneer who collected and described part of the HACI collection, did not include in his catalogue of the collection many of the currently established attributes/descriptors of marginalia. Goshev, the second cataloger, added in his catalog more attributes (date, script, language, pagination, size, binding, provenance, colophons and marginalia, and decorations). ¹⁰⁵

Dzurova used additional attributes (inventory number in the collection, title or genre, construction of the textual body, script, subject matter, marginalia and colophons,

¹⁰¹ Dzhurova, *Vuvedenie v Slavyanskata Kodikologia: Vizantiiskia Kodeks i Recepciata mu sred Slavyanite (Introduction to Slavic Codicology: Byzantine Codex and Its Reception among the Slavs)*, pp. 7, 15.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 15. The dates in parenthesis indicate the earliest work by the scholar only, only for approximation and visualization of the development of the discipline.

¹⁰³ G. Ouy, *Les Bibliothèques. Les Manuscrits*, ed. C. Samaran, *L'histoire Et Ses Methodes*. (Paris: Godelier, 1961), pp. 1085-1094

¹⁰⁴ Dzhurova, *Vuvedenie v Slavyanskata Kodikologia: Vizantiiskia Kodeks i Recepciata Mu Sred Slavyanite (Introduction to Slavic Codicology: Byzantine Codex and Its Reception among the Slavs)*.

¹⁰⁵ I. Goshev, "Stari Zapiski i Nadpisi: Istoricheski, Liturgicheski, i Bibliographski Zapiski i Tekstove [Old Marginalia and Epigraphy: Historical, Liturgical, and Bibliographical Marginalia and Texts]," (1927, 1929, 1935, 1936, 1937).

bibliography) to answer the following questions:¹⁰⁶

1. What is the inventory number in the collection?
2. What is the genre of the manuscript?
3. When was the manuscript created?
4. How was the codex created: binding, paper size, pagination?
5. What type of script did the scribe use?
6. What type of language did the scribe/author apply?
7. How was the manuscript decorated and ornamented and what is the function of ornamentation?
8. What is the content of the manuscript, regarding individual textual units?
9. What are the colophons, primary scribal notes, and additional marginalia inserted on the manuscript pages?
10. What secondary sources do this particular manuscript and cataloging include?

Diplomatics

Diplomatics studies "official or original documents, charters, or manuscripts; textual study, and the science of diplomas, or of ancient writings, literary and public documents, letters, decrees, charters, codicils, etc., which has for its object to decipher old writings, to ascertain their authenticity, their date, signatures, etc."¹⁰⁷

Because of Bulgaria's extensive, foundational, and contested medieval history overshadowed largely by Ottoman overlordship, historical inquiry relates intimately to archival enterprise and diplomatics. Ivan Dujchev established archival enterprise and formulated a mission statement for historians and archivists, including the following specific goals:¹⁰⁸

- *Collect all possible examples of a particular document, ruler, or scribe.* Slavic scriptoria each maintained a *kondika* (from "codex"), containing copies of all

¹⁰⁶ Dzhurova, *Vvedenie v Slavyanskata Kodikologia: Vizantiiskia Kodeks i Recepciata mu sred Slavyanite (Introduction to Slavic Codicology: Byzantine Codex and Its Reception among the Slavs)*.

¹⁰⁷ Simson, *Oxford English Dictionary* (cited).

¹⁰⁸ I. Dujchev, *Lekcii po Archivistika [Lecture Course in Archival Studies]* (Sofia: Universitetsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski", 1993).

documents issued by that particular ecclesiastic establishment, greatly facilitating cross-referencing.

- *Determine whether the document is an original, a copy or a draft.* The original bears the form and traces of its original creator. Scholars argue whether Paisii's 1762 *History of the Slavic Bulgarians*, found at Zograph monastery, is an original or a draft, based on its many corrections and smudges. Analysis of all 60 copies of this work would describe its textual transmission, its stemma and archetype, and the development of the New Bulgarian vernacular language, all of which would further the analysis of contemporaneous manuscripts.
- *Determine the authenticity of the document.* Quotations in one source might refer to another document and provide indirect evidence about dating and authorship. For example, Bulgarian historians have branded as forgeries three particular acts of donation from Bulgarian tsars, such as the Act of Donation issued by Koloman (1241-1246) for the Zograph monastery in the Mount Athos monastery complex.
- *Establish the external, or extrinsic, characteristics of a document such as the medium.* For example, the colophon of the *Bitolski Triodion* (12-13th century), written on parchment, provides evidence about parchment production. "God forgive the son of Piros, who brought me two rabbit skins on the 3rd day of January." Parchment was used also during more modern times, especially by rulers. Paper entered Bulgaria in the 13-14th century; used first in royal *acta* and diplomas.
- *Establish dating.* The analysis of watermarks gives an earliest date for a manuscript through evidence about the production of the paper. Tsar Ivan Alexander's three acts of donation, *Vatopedska gramota* (1230), *Dubrovnishka gramota* (1230), and *Virginska gramota* (1277), were the first issued on paper in Bulgaria. Later, Bulgarians used Venetian paper bearing the watermark of three crescents or a crescent, stars, and crown. At the end of the 16th century, the three moons watermark appeared.
- *Establish the scribal hand:* Slavic documents were written in uncial, semi-uncial, or cursive script. The earliest use of uncial occurred when scribes adopted the Glagolitic

alphabet to resemble Greek liturgical uncial and preserve the Byzantine tradition. Uncial used upright letters with space between them. The latest uncial (14th century) had equal height letters. Semi-uncial script, with irregular, elongated, larger letters, appeared in the 14th century. Cursive, associated with official documents, appeared in the 15th century. Interestingly enough, the early correspondence of Ottoman Sultans was written in Cyrillic in mixed South-Slavic dialects. Further, all Romanian Orthodox manuscripts until the mid-19th century were written using the Cyrillic alphabet.

- *Determine the scribe and compare with other manuscripts written by the same scribe.* The colophon indicates the scribe, the one who dictates, and the registrar of documents. However, after the Ottoman invasion, centralized authority relaxed and scribes did not always follow the same patterns and use the same hands. Occasionally, documents were written anonymously to protect the author.
- *Determine the internal, intrinsic characteristics; the content of the document.* Medieval documents, generally, contained three parts, the *invocatio*, the *intitulatio*, and the *adresatio*. The *invocatio* (invocation) could be a prayer to God, or a cross, or a formula. The *intitulatio* gave the name and title of the person who issued the document. The *addressatio* included the name and title of the ruler or sender of the document, or it could add a *salutatio* (greeting). Colophons followed well-established Byzantine and Western colophon formulas and structure, starting with a prayer to the Holy Trinity, showing reasons for issuing the document, and including information about the circumstances of manuscript production.¹⁰⁹
- *Provide linguistic analysis of the document.* For Bulgarian documents, orthographic and linguistic features provide clues to a document's age and provenance.
- *Provide stylistic and thematic analysis of the text and compare with other copies.* The author's or the scribe's literary style indicates authorship and authenticity of the document.

¹⁰⁹ Bistra Nikolova, "Pripiskata v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga ot 10-14 Vek (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century)," in *Pomoshtni Istoricheski Disciplini (Supporting Historical Disciplines)*, ed. Kuncho Georgiev (1991).

Contemporary diplomatics theory and method

Today, historians apply diplomatics theory in the study of archival documents. Peter Herde defined diplomatics as the study of documents.¹¹⁰ Luciana Duranti redefined diplomatics for the purposes of archival enterprise as the study of archival documents,¹¹¹ and, later, Duranti established diplomatics guidelines for electronic records.¹¹² The purpose of diplomatics, according to Duranti,¹¹³ does not differ radically from Dujchev's goals and do not need to be repeated here, although she refined the language and provided a more succinct form of describing that set of universal goals of diplomatics.

According to Duranti, diplomatics recognizes three types of authenticity: legal (attested to by public authorities), historical (the truthfulness of historical events, that the information is true) and by diplomatics (written according to the practices of the time and place). Diplomatics analyzes the characteristics of the script to determine the authenticity of the document, while paleographic analysis determines the type of script and its appropriateness to the particular era and context (legal, monastic, royal, or private).¹¹⁴

Duranti postulated extrinsic (form and structure) and intrinsic (content) elements for the determination of authenticity. Extrinsic elements include the medium, script (punctuation, erasures, corrections, and formulae), language (composition and style), signs, seals, annotations and paleography.¹¹⁵ For example, the media of medieval documents, paper, parchment, or papyrus, and watermark analysis can determine the geographical and temporal boundaries beyond which a document could not have been produced.

Intrinsic elements include the document protocol, text, and eschatological (since the Creation) time.¹¹⁶ For example, an invocation addressing God appears in private and

¹¹⁰ Peter Herde, "Diplomatics," *The New Encyclopedia Britanica* (Chicago, IL: Encyclopeidia Britanica, 1985 (1874)).

¹¹¹ Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science," *Archivaria* 28, no. Summer (1989).

¹¹² Luciana Duranti, Terry Eastwood, and Heather MacNeil, *Preservation of the Integrity of Electronic Record* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers Group, 2002).

¹¹³ Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science (Part V)," *Archivaria* 32, no. Summer 91 (1991).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

public medieval documents. Medieval writing followed conventions called *ars dictaminis*. A preamble, presenting the motivation of the document, would be followed by notification, a formula such as *notum sit* (be it known). Later Slavic marginalia contain "let it be known that." Final clauses announce the end. Slavic colophons often have curses against stealing the manuscript, invoking the Day of Last Judgment. The seal constitutes the most important element of medieval documents and states the authority and solemnity of the document.

Diplomatics offers a useful categorization of the major structural elements of medieval official documents.¹¹⁷ Typical features include: *protocollo* (introduction, preamble), *testo* (text), and *eschatollo* (conclusion):¹¹⁸

Protocollo

- *Invocatio* (cross, symbol, and doxological formula)
- *Intitulatio* (title of the document)
- *Salutatio* (greeting)
- *Inscriptio* (inscription)
- *Memorandum* (Let it be known....)

Testo

- *Arenga* (motives for donation, etc.)
- *Dispositio* (names of the donors)
- *Narratio* (circumstances of the event)

Eschatollo

- *Datatio* (date)
- *Locatio* (location)
- *Subscriptio* (name of the scribe of the document)
- *Sanctio* (penalty against not obeying the premises of the document)
- *Apprecatio* (prayer of blessing)
- *Validatio* (signature or official seal of approval).

These elements provided a framework for analysis of colophons and the marginalia that

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ "The Diplomatics of the Papal Documents: Parts of the Document," Available at <http://asv.vatican.va/en/dipl/partsdocument.htm>. For more information about the general diplomatic structure and the internal features of documents, see Arthur Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique* (Paris: Hachette, 1894), pp. 527-590. Olivier Guyotjeannin, Jacques Pycke, and Benoît-Michel Tock, *Diplomatique Médiévale* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), pp. 71-85. For Anglo-Norman charters, see Hubert Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), pp. 208-226; C. R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 95-134.

discussed binding and books sponsorship. In this study, diplomatics elucidates each category of marginalia and colophons to reveal the presence of these basic structural parts and elements and to compare them to other manuscripts. The analysis reveals the time those formulas first appeared, and their frequency, use, language, script, and writing style.

Based on Dujchev and Duranti's diplomatics theory and method, diplomatics answers the questions:

1. What are all existing examples of this particular document, ruler, or scribe?
2. Is the document original, a copy, or a draft?
3. Is the document authentic?
4. What are the external characteristics of the document? Is the medium paper or parchment?
5. When was the document created?
6. How was the document written in regard to the scribal script?
7. Who wrote the document and did he leave other documents?
8. What are the internal characteristics of the document in regard to formulae?
9. How was the document written in regard to language?
10. What style and themes of writing expressed in the document?
11. What is the historical context of the creation of the document?
12. What is the legal, archival, and historical value of the document?

This study uses codicology and diplomatics to analyze the form, structure, and formulae of marginalia and colophons as documents of archival value of the past, created within the context of the Orthodox Church.

Research questions

Marginalia and marginality have interdisciplinary dimensions among the social sciences of historiography, book history, art history, and literary critical theory. Each research method answers questions that overlap with other methods. Eliminating the duplicates yields the following list, which this study addresses, previously mentioned in

Chapter 1:

I. Major characteristics of Slavic marginalia and colophons

A. What are the major characteristics (descriptors) of marginalia and colophons in terms of their authorship, typology, provenance, chronology, physical placement, diplomatics, language, and script?

B. What is the relationship between marginalia and colophons and their literary, social, cultural, political, and historical context?

II. Theoretical interpretation of marginalia and colophons

A. How do marginalia and colophons reflect the system of beliefs, assumptions, worldview, perceptions, and knowledge of their authors?

B. What are the major differences among marginalia before and after the Ottoman invasion in regard to subject matter, chronological development, provenance, physical placement, diplomatics, language, and script?

C. How does marginalia reflect the social marginality of their authors?

III. The value of marginalia and colophons as a "History from below"

A. What are the historical, evidential and archival values of South Slavic marginalia and colophons?

B. Does evidence from marginalia and colophons fit within the New History "from below" interpretation of the life of South Slavs during the Ottoman period?

4 METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data description

For this study, the units of analysis are marginalia and colophons in South Slavic manuscripts and early printed books in the HACI collection in Sofia, Bulgaria. Marginalia about different topics occur almost at random in the blank pages and margins of the HACI items, with one exception: colophons typically appear after the central text, describing the production of the book and identifying the book.

Method of data collection

Prior to this study in 2001-2002, the author thoroughly examined the HACI collection at the collection level and at the individual item level, conducting a census to identify the physical features and preservation state of each manuscript. The census yielded a database of the major attributes of the manuscripts, arranged by inventory number. In addition to the census, the author examined all existing catalogs of the HACI collection. The census method collects data from all members of a population, without any selection or biases in choice, and without sampling. Archeologists use the census method of data collection to avoid omission of important artifacts.¹¹⁹

The data for this study came from the HACI manuscript and early printed book collection, considered by Bulgarian scholars to be second in importance among Bulgarian collections. The material came to HACI from scriptoria and binderies in Macedonia and Bulgaria. The items were created during the Ottoman period and represent both monastic and non-monastic (town and village) origins. The corpus of data consists of all marginalia and colophons found in South Slavic manuscripts and printed books in the HACI collection.

The next stage of data collection involved making approximately 850 digital photographs from the 146 HACI manuscripts that contain marginalia and colophons. The author examined and photographed twenty additional manuscripts from the National Library Sts. Cyril and Methodius, 13 manuscripts from Rila Monastery, and 10

¹¹⁹ D. Schmandt-Besserat, *How Writing Came About* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).

manuscripts from the Public Library in Plovdiv for comparative purposes. They do not form a part of the study corpus.

The anthology of marginalia and colophons *Pisahme da se znae* (We Wrote to Let Others Know)¹²⁰ served as a pilot study because it was the only available comprehensive publication at the time of study. The pilot study analyzed the former anthology to establish preliminary categories for content analysis coding and to look for relationships between those categories and their historical context. After the two-volume anthology *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici X-XVIII vek* (Notes of Bulgarian Scribes from the 10th to the 18th century)¹²¹ became available, some examples from it also served in the HACI study to corroborate and illustrate some particular points of argument.

Method of development of categories of analysis

Step 1. Scholarly studies as a source for categories

Chapter two of this study, "Theoretical perspectives of the study" introduced the development and current state of the study of marginalia in Western and Eastern European and American literature. Western and North American literary scholars, for example, examine readers' notes as a response by the reader to the central text of the manuscript or book, e.g., Jackson and Tribble. Eastern European scholars also focus their studies on single categories of marginalia. The marginalia literature, however, lacks a typology, that is, a systematic classification of categories that share common characteristics across temporal, spatial, or genre contexts. Such a typology could standardize the language and vocabulary among scholars and provide authority files for descriptive bibliography. With such a typology, a scholar could compare his or her data to the typology and perceive any lacunae either in the data or in the typology. The standardization of terms in such a typology could facilitate the development of a theory of marginalia.

¹²⁰ Venceslav and Femandzhiev Nachev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, 1984).

¹²¹ Boryana Hristova, Karadzhova, Darinka, and Uzunova, Elena, *Belezhki Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-19 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-19th Century)*, vol. 1-2 (Sofia: Nacionalen fond Kultura, 2003).

Eastern European Slavic scholars have produced several major studies of marginalia, although the studies fall short of an overall typology. Bulgarian scholars have used the term *belezhki* for marginalia and *pripiski* for colophons. However, other Eastern scholars have established their own typologies of marginalia according to the temporal and geographical dimensions of their particular data. During the last two decades, Bulgarian scholar Uzunova (1993) and Russian scholar Stoliarova (1998) have developed special typologies for the Bulgarian and Russian marginalia they studied.¹²² Uzunova identified categories of marginalia that discussed: purchasing the book; donations of money for book production; bookbinding and repair historical marginalia; and personal marginalia, called *bitov* (everyday life, culture, and economy). Stoliarova developed ten categories of *zapisi*, *pometju*, *pripiski*, and *pravki*, her terms for marginalia and colophons:

- Certification documentary (outgoing and incoming administrative documents, donations, last testament, servanthood)
- Informative (ownership, name registers, library-related, about repair of books, about decoration of books, about binding of books, about translations of books)
- Marginalia with narrative character (diary-like, historical narratives, prayers, "emotional" and epistolary (letter-like))
- Folklore marginalia: puzzles, proverbs, songs and poems
- Notes
- Little notes (archival codes, labels)
- Marginalia (*pripiski*)
- Editorial notes
- Trying the quill
- Drawings.

The present study uses these particular categories as a first iteration of categories for the HACI corpus of marginalia. Specifically, the present study borrows the

¹²² Elena Uzunova, *Belezhkite na Bulgarskite knizhovnitsi ot XV-XVII vek i tyahnoto znachenie za Bulgarskata istoricheska leksikologia*, Dissertation, Sofia: AGATO, 1997), p. 11. Ljubov Stoliarova, *Drevnorusskie nadpisi XI-XVI vekov na pergamennykh kodeksakh*, (Moscow: Nauka, 1998), p. 35.

terminology from these previous studies of marginalia, particularly education-related,¹²³ religious,¹²⁴ historical,¹²⁵ readers' notes, epigrams or proverbs,¹²⁶ donations,¹²⁷ binding,¹²⁸ book sponsorship,¹²⁹ bookplates,¹³⁰ personal,¹³¹ inscriptions,¹³² annotations,¹³³ nature and disaster' related,¹³⁴ commemorations, and pilgrimages.¹³⁵ In further iterations of category development, the HACI categories of marginalia adopted and adapted labels from

¹²³¹²³ Keti Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost Na Pripiskite I Belezhkite S Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century)," *Godishnik Istoria na Obrazovaniето v Bulgaria* 1 (1983).

¹²⁴ E. F. Karskij, *Slavianskaija Kirilovskaiia Paleografiia* [*Slavic Cyrillic Paleography*] (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1928).

¹²⁵¹²⁵ Ibid. Karskij, *Slavianskaija Kirilovskaiia Paleografiia* [*Slavic Cyrillic Paleography*]. E. Uzunova, "Pripiskite V Slavyanskite Rukopisi Kato Domashen Izvor Za Procesa Na Isjamizacia Po Bulgarskite Zemi Prez Xvii Vek (Marginalia in Slavic Manuscripts as Domestic Source About the Process of Islamization in Bulgarian Lands During the 17th Century), *Literaturna misul* 2 (1991). Ivan Rusev, *Sie Da Se Znae (Let All Be Known)* (Sliven: Faber, 1999).

¹²⁶ Karskij, *Slavianskaija Kirilovskaiia Paleografiia (Slavic Cyrillic Paleography)*.

¹²⁷ Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost Na Pripiskite I Belezhkite S Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century)." Rusev, *Sie Da Se Znae (Let All Be Known)*. Elena Uzunova, "Belezhkite Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici Ot Xv-Xvii Vek I Tyahnoto Znachenie Za Bulgarskata Istoricheska Leksikologia (the Notes of Bulgarian Scribes from 15-17th Century and Their Significance for the Bulgarian Historical Lexicology)" (Sofia University - National Library "St. St. Cyril and Methodius", 1997).

¹²⁸ Ivana Ruseva, "Pripiski I Belezhki Po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments)," *Izvestia na Seminara po Slavyanska Filologia pri Universiteta v Sofia* 4 (1921). Rusev, *Sie Da Se Znae (Let All Be Known)*. Uzunova, "Belezhkite Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici Ot Xv-Xvii Vek I Tyahnoto Znachenie Za Bulgarskata Istoricheska Leksikologia (the Notes of Bulgarian Scribes from 15-17th Century and Their Significance for the Bulgarian Historical Lexicology)".

¹²⁹ Uzunova, "Belezhkite Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici Ot Xv-Xvii Vek I Tyahnoto Znachenie Za Bulgarskata Istoricheska Leksikologia (the Notes of Bulgarian Scribes from 15-17th Century and Their Significance for the Bulgarian Historical Lexicology)". Ruseva, "Pripiski I Belezhki Po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments)." Maja Buzukova, "Pripiski v Slavyanskite kirilski pechatni knigi ot XVIII vek v Narodnata Biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodii," (Marginalia in Slavic Cyrillic printed books from the 18th century from the National Library St. St. Cyril and Methodius)

¹³⁰ Buzukova.

¹³¹ Buzukova. Uzunova, "Belezhkite Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici Ot Xv-Xvii Vek I Tyahnoto Znachenie Za Bulgarskata Istoricheska Leksikologia (the Notes of Bulgarian Scribes from 15-17th Century and Their Significance for the Bulgarian Historical Lexicology)."

¹³² Bistra Nikolova, "Pripiskata V Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga Ot 10-14 Vek (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century)," in *Pomoshtni Istoricheski Disciplini (Supporting Historical Disciplines)*, ed. Kuncho Georgiev (1991).

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ E. Uzunova, "Poznanya Za Prirodата Otrazeni V Izvuntekstovite Dobavki V Bulgarskata Rukopisna Tradicia" [Knowledge About Nature Reflected in the Extratextual Additions in Bulgarian Manuscript Tradition]." (Sofia).

¹³⁵ Ivanka Gergova, *Pomenitsi ot Makedonia v bulgarski sbirki* (Commemoration lists in Bulgarian collections). (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo Prof. Marin Drinov, 2006). Svetla Gjurova and Nadya Danova, *Kniga za bulgarskite hadzhii* (Book about Bulgarian pilgrims). (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo Prof. Marin Drinov, 1995).

previous scholarship, thus building upon the findings of previous research. For example, in her comprehensive study of education-related marginalia, Mircheva examined marginalia from the HACI collection, such as, from manuscripts #27 *Four Gospels*:

Let it be known when Daniil studied the Psalter from the priest Dionisii and abbot Grigorii in 1716.¹³⁶

and #47 *Service and Vitae of St. John of Rila*:

+Wrote I, grammarian from the village of Gorni Lozen to be known when the elder priest Iakim as in Sofia where I studied. God forgive him and eternal be his memory. Amen. And elder Spas from Novoselci, Iovan from Doppi Vruh, and Stoian from Chelopechene, in 1671.¹³⁷

Choosing appropriate labels for categories of marginalia became a pressing concern and a reason for standardizing the language. Authors did not use uniform and descriptive labels, some using nouns, some adjectives, and early studies used very descriptive and long labels. For example, Russeva chose *Pripiski i belezhki shto se otnasyat do napisvaneto na rukopisa* (marginalia and colophons that relate to the copying and writing of the manuscript), and *Pripiski i belezhki koito sudurzhat svedenia kak sa se kupovali, prodavali i podaryavali rukopisite* (marginalia and colophons that contain information how manuscripts were bought, sold, and donated).¹³⁸ Mircheva created the category *Belezhki s prosvetna informacia* (marginalia with/containing education information), which contain students' and teachers' marginalia, and *Belezhki s letopisen character* (marginalia with a chronicle-like character).¹³⁹ The Russian Karskij used *Pripiski-pogovrki i poslovitsi* (marginalia-proverbs and epigrams).¹⁴⁰ Finally, while some scholars used *Dariteliski* (an adjective) *belezhki* for donation marginalia, others used two terms:

¹³⁶ #27 *Four Gospels*, Boboshevo monastery, 1665, p. 203b.

¹³⁷ #47 *Service and Vitae of St. John of Rila*, Germanski monastery, p. 185.

¹³⁸ Ruseva, "Pripiski I Belezhki Po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici" (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments).

¹³⁹ Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost Na Pripiskite I Belezhkite S Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century)."

¹⁴⁰ Karskij, *Slavianskaija Kirilovskaija Paleografiia [Slavic Cyrillic Paleography]*.

Belezhki za prilagane na knigata (marginalia for donating of the book) and *Belezhki za otkopuvane na knigata* (marginalia for sponsoring of the book).¹⁴¹

Step 2: The Pilot Study

Pilot studies test, explore, and clarify ideas, methods, and their implications.¹⁴² The method of pre-testing a smaller number of units demonstrates the feasibility of the project, aids in understanding the phenomenon under research, and can forewarn about possible variations in the data. By trial-and-error, the researcher tests ideas to anticipate future errors and to assess the feasibility of the full-scale project.

Examination of the texts in the anthology *Pisahme da se znae* served as a pilot study preceding the study of the HACI collection. This comprehensive anthology of 1,255 marginalia and colophons, translated into modern Bulgarian, provided the first iteration for the categories for the HACI study. The anthology represented the widest possible geographical regions of the South Slavic Orthodox world, including Bulgarian, South and East European collections. It represented also the widest possible range of marginalia subjects. And finally, its dated examples represented the widest possible chronological distribution of data, starting in 907 A.D.

The above-mentioned inclusive nature of the anthology, however, represented its weak point when applied to the HACI study. The HACI marginalia and colophons demonstrated that marginalia and colophons did not necessarily, for example, originate as dated texts. Yet, the authors of the anthology apparently selected dated examples to create their chronological arrangement of marginalia and colophons. Further, the authors did not provide clear identification of geographical provenance of the creation of the marginalia and the manuscripts. Finally, they appeared to emphasize historical marginalia

¹⁴¹ Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost Na Pripiskite I Belezhkite S Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century).", Uzunova, "Belezhkite Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici Ot Xv-Xvii Vek I Tyahnoto Znachenie Za Bulgarskata Istoricheska Leksikologia" (the Notes of Bulgarian Scribes from 15-17th Century and Their Significance for the Bulgarian Historical Lexicology).

¹⁴² Joseph Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. (Applied Social Research Methods Series, Volume 41, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005, p.57. Richard Light, Judith Singer, and John Willet, *By design: Planning Research on Higher Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 213.

while omitting other types, such as graphic marginalia, doodles, donations marginalia, and commemoration lists. Despite those weaknesses, *Pisahme da se znae* still presented the best source of data for the pilot study.

The validity and reliability of the study of the HACI texts increased because the chronological distribution of the dated colophons and marginalia for the two corpora resembled and complemented each other. The number and diversity of marginalia increased over the centuries, and the anthology provided earlier but similar evidence for each category. The two corpora presented similar cases of historical accounts, strengthening the value of the data as historical evidence of wars, battles, atrocities, uprisings, foreign invasions, and janissary and kurdzhalii devastation. The percentage of historical marginalia increased through the centuries to become the most common of the categories. In other words, both corpora presented the importance to the people of historical developments. The *Pisahme da se znae* anthology contains some cases from the HACI collection, for example:

+Let it be known when came Tatar khan to town of Plevan and no livestock was left, neither a woman, neither maiden un-raped in the year of 1690, October.¹⁴³

Coding and category development in the pilot study

As mentioned previously, the diversity of category labels and lack of standardized language among scholars necessitated the creation of clear, concise, and sufficiently descriptive and mutually exclusive categories and labels for the corpus in the pilot study. The process of coding involves discovery of data with common properties, and the purpose of coding is the classification of data for better organization, retrieval, and interpretation.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, the researcher can statistically estimate the distribution of particular themes, key terms, and types of data. Categories can be data-

¹⁴³ Venceslav Nachev and Fermandzhiev Nachev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, 1984).

¹⁴⁴ A. Coffey and P. Atkinson, *Making Sense of Qualitative Data: Complementary Research Strategies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996).

driven, theory-driven, or based on intuition.¹⁴⁵ The categories that emerged from the anthology, for example, incorporated previously known categories from previous studies and added other categories.

As anticipated from the literature review, two primary categories emerged from the pilot study: 1) marginalia and 2) colophons. The marginalia clustered in secondary categories, as listed below. Later, the HACI study required modification of the cluster groups and their labels to eliminate imprecision. For example, the "readership and patronage" group dissolved, and its examples clustered into two separate categories: the "personal matters" group and the "book-related" group. "Prayers" developed into the more general group of "religious" marginalia. "Curses" became part of the "book-related" group, because curses typically characterized colophons, binding, and scribal notes.

The cluster groups that emerged from the pilot study were:

Readership, patronage

- Marginal notes about readership
- Donation of manuscripts and new binding

Historical marginalia

- Marginal notes about the Turkish occupation
- Marginal notes about the Russian army
- Marginal notes about other historical events

Personal matters

- Marginal notes about one's own life
- Prayers, curses
- Wisdom, thoughts, reflections

Forces of nature and other disasters

- Marginal notes about the weather
- Diseases

Public affairs

- Robbery and similar crimes
- Church matters
- City planning
- Schools building.

¹⁴⁵ Sharon Lockyer, "Coding Qualitative Data," in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, ed. Michael S., et al. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004), p.137.

How did the specific categories emerge? Some marginalia that discuss reading practices provided a glimpse of the excitement of reading Paisii's chronicle, *Slavo-Bulgarian History*, from 1794 and 1811, for example:

I, Seraphim, read this history in Sliven in the year of Christ 1794 and found a lot of profit for all Bulgarians.

And I, Nikola, son of priest Lazar, and also a teacher from the town of Ruschuk (Russe), read this history and comprehended what was written there, and you brothers, please work harder and read it also, so you also in order to gain some profit for all Bulgarians and also for praise, and to prove wrong the Greeks and Serbians [who wrote that Bulgarians did not know their own history], in the year of 1811, month of April 23.¹⁴⁶

The act of reading characterizes both examples, although from different copies of the text. When establishing categories, the researcher must ask the questions that best define the theme: "What is this account about? What activity does the author describe?" Both examples discuss the act of reading. They also provide information about the historical context of the act that might be useful to a historian, such as the reference to the denigration of Bulgarians by Greeks and Serbians. Alternately, the category and its code might emerge from a previous theoretical framework.

Step 3: Refinement of category labels

The development of categories and labels for the HACI study involved an iterative process of refinement, based on categories from previous studies. During this process, some of the category labels did not change (historical, binding, pilgrimages, commemorations, donations, readers', and religious marginalia), while other categories underwent substantial changes until the label reflected the subject matter, and the categories resembled those in the existing scholarly literature. For example, the act of writing the author's name in a book initially received the label of "graffiti," later changed to "scribbles," and finally to "inscriptions." For example:

¹⁴⁶ Nachev and Nachev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*.

Let it be known Kiril monk....¹⁴⁷

Wrote Andonii (1619).¹⁴⁸

Papa Georgi Slatino, son of Papa Ugrina. 7336 (1728).¹⁴⁹

These changes occurred because the term "graffiti" signifies the act of writing on a hard surface and proved inappropriate to writing in a book. It also has a connotation of frivolity and destruction of the original. The term "scribble" was inappropriate, because like the term "graffiti" it similarly described random, frivolous, and abstract lines, while the above three examples demonstrate a conscious act: the author left his name as a memorial and perhaps as a sanctification by proximity to a sacred book. Finally, "inscription," despite its origin in relation to epigraphy (the study of hard-surface writing), describes best the act of writing within something, because scholars use it to describe "a short piece of writing placed at the beginning of a book or other composition, descriptive of its nature, contents, authorship, etc."¹⁵⁰

The researcher transferred some notes from one category to another category of marginalia to fit into the appropriate subject matter of the category. Initially, some "trying of the quill" marginalia fell into the "graffiti/inscription" or "wisdom" categories. They later became a category when scholars recognized their sufficient independent existence in literature, describing the process of testing the pen or quill.¹⁵¹ "Trying the quill" marginalia included the poem about the fly, which also would qualify as a creative or literary endeavor. Below are two examples:

I tried my quill and a fly came and drank my ink.¹⁵²

I tried my quill, I tried the ink to see if it can write but a fly came and smeared my words and I threw over her the quill.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ #315 *Apostle*, Seslavski monastery.

¹⁴⁸ #128 *Miscellany*, p. 109.

¹⁴⁹ #198 *Triodion*, printed in Venice, 1561, from Jakovshitsa monastery, p. 194b-195a.

¹⁵⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*.

¹⁵¹ Interview with Elena Uzunova, 2007.

¹⁵² #66 *Octoechos* from Eleshki monastery, p. 138.

¹⁵³ #93 *Menaion* for April, from Dolno Kamartsi.

The working label "wisdom marginalia" was not precise enough and led to the selection of the literary genre of "epigrams." Other changes included, for example, inscriptions that later fit better in the education-related category, as in the case of the student Vluko who attested in the margins to his study (see example below). Even though his note describes two acts, one of testing the writing device and the other of studying, the choice of category label fell on "education-related activity." This choice derived from examination of the motivation behind the act of writing: the student was testing the quill not for its own sake as a writing implement, but as a writing exercise as part of his education. Although secondary, "testing the quill" provided information about the activities in monastic schools and created a story based on that account:

This written work wrote I, Vluko, and tried my quill and ink when I studied at the Lokorski monastery of the Holy Martyr.¹⁵⁴

Another example of change came from the "scribal notes" category. Originally, marginalia, usually the colophon, written by the primary scribe of the manuscript and secondary marginalia that resembled the colophon, fell into this category. For example, the colophons of the original scribes and book sponsorship marginalia produced at the several Etropole scriptoria resembled each other in content, structure, and even in script and language. Despite this resemblance, the original scribe produced some book sponsorship marginalia at a later date, although it differentiated itself from scribal notes that represented only fragments from colophons, such as occasional dates, curses, blessing, etc.

Labels of categories also underwent changes. For example, "student marginalia" later became "education-related" marginalia to incorporate marginalia written by teachers and the other school activities that Mircheva presented in *belezhki s prosvetna informatsia* (education-related marginalia).¹⁵⁵ Such broadening of scope also occurred in the case of "wisdom" marginalia, which later became "epigrams" and included political, religious, and creative personal endeavors.

¹⁵⁴ #13 *Gospel*, p.5 Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost Na Pripiskite I Belezhkite S Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century)."

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

Other labels underwent refinement to achieve more clarity of description. "Donation of money for manuscript production" became the more succinct "Book sponsorship" marginalia. "Book donation" came to mean the act of donating a physical book, rather than providing the funds for its production. The descriptors of these marginalia included the money currency, the motivation for sponsorship (pilgrimage, feast day of St. Dimitur), the date, and the name of the author:

The year of 1842. Let it be known when I, Vancho Grozdev, bought, this book, and we paid 20 grosha in honor of our Pilgrimage to St. Dimitur; it is needed, but other things are lost, and the days get wasted, and life goes away. The month of May 12, day 1, month 9; I, Vancho Grozdev from Etropole, bought for 20 grosha.¹⁵⁶

Data quality assurance in content analysis

Validity defines the extent to which a measure measures what it is intended to measure. Content validity depends on the plausibility of the research findings and consistency with similar research about the same phenomena.¹⁵⁷ The pilot study corroborated the validity of the sources used in the HACI study, in that both corpora described similar events, for example, in political history. Reliability defines the reproducibility of research results using the same instrument when administered by other researchers or in other studies. In content analysis, category reliability depends on clearly established boundaries for mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive categories.¹⁵⁸ The pilot study and the literature review provided the basic categories of marginalia, which facilitated the coding and determined the final categories of marginalia for the HACI study.

In addition to establishment through measures of validity and reliability, the marginalia categories derived from consultation with subject experts. These experts in Slavic linguistics, literature, and history included Elena Uzunova (Bulgarian National

¹⁵⁶ #83 *Irmologion* from Vraca, written in Pirdop, pp. 6-12.

¹⁵⁷ Charles and Harter Busha, Stephen, *Research Methods in Librarianship : Techniques and Interpretation* (New York: Academic Press, 1980).

¹⁵⁸ Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Scientists and Humanities*.

Archeographic Commission), Predrag Mateich (Hilandar Resarch Library at Ohio State University), and John Kolsti (The University of Texas at Austin).

Method of data analysis

Processing of "Raw" Data

The "raw" data¹⁵⁹ from HACI consisted of digital photographs of marginalia and colophons, with sufficient supporting metadata to identify each photograph uniquely and completely. This state of "being" required translation of the writing in each example of the entire corpus into English from the various forms of the Bulgarian and Church Slavonic languages. The metadata included inventory number (HACI shelf listing), title, date, and provenance, whether town, village, monastery, or church.

Content analysis of the corpus

Finally, content analysis of each item in the corpus answered the questions: "What is this note about? What are the major themes demonstrated?" In traditional bibliographic and cataloguing practices, the subject of every item is of utmost importance for establishing the points of reference and providing the keyword access points for searching a corpus. In literary and historical studies, determining the theme of the text helps in its analysis and interpretation. The content analysis technique was designed to facilitate the classification of large amounts of textual data for easy processing, interpretation, and presentation. Using the categories established by the pilot study and literature review, each of the colophons and marginalia (each unit of analysis) fell into one and only one category.

Data clustering

The categories clustered into six clusterings of similarly oriented marginalia:

¹⁵⁹ "Raw" here means material, such as the digital photographs of marginalia that required keying and translation from the Church Slavonic into English language, and then arrangement according to some classification scheme, such the inventory number, or chronology, or subject matter. Also, see Rubin and Babbie, *Research Methods for Social Work*, p. 488. Babbie views 'raw data' in his discussion about historical and comparative analysis by identifying it with old letters, diaries, sermons or lectures, as sources for historical and comparative analysis.

1. Marginalia and colophons about the book itself, such as binding, book sponsorship, scribal notes, book history, and bookplates.
2. Marginalia about interaction with the book by readers, students, and teachers, written as a reading or writing exercise, or as an outburst of creativity. This group included epigrams, inscriptions, "trying the quill" notes, doodles, personal notes, education-related marginalia, and readers' notes.
3. Marginalia about direct participation of lay people in monastic communities. These categories discussed pilgrimages, commemoration lists, donations, and church repairs sponsored by lay people.
4. Marginalia describing historical events such as wars, battles, atrocities, and economic hardship.
5. Marginalia about natural phenomena and disasters.
6. Marginalia including religious texts such as prayers or hymns, added to augment lost or fragmentary central texts.

Some questions repeatedly appeared in literature that discussed application of content analysis, diplomatics, codicology, bibliographic analysis, and cataloging practices. As mentioned previously, the same set of questions, who, what, when, where, and how, resulted in the following more specific summary set that would determine their attributes/descriptors of each specific category or cluster group of marginalia:

- Who wrote the document?
- What did the author write?
- When did the author write?
- Where geographically did the author write?
- Where in the manuscript do these marginalia appear?
- How did the author write in terms of form, structure and formulae?
- How did the author write in terms of language and script?

In the HACI study, each of those cluster group and individual categories consistently and systematically answered these seven important questions that defined the variables (attributes, descriptors) of authorship, subject matter, date, provenance, physical location, description of form, structure and diplomatic formulae, language, and script of each individual example. The author supplied each particular category with a chart or a comparative table to enhance the visualization and detect patterns in the data. This graphical representation then facilitated the creation of a narrative that answered the

seven questions mentioned above that would determine the author (who), genre (which), date (when), provenance (where), language and script (how), physical location in the manuscript (where), and document form, structure and formulae (how).

Previous studies provided additional historical information, including similar facts and cases, to contextualize the information into the larger historical framework. In addition to this graphical and narrative presentation of the categories, for example, the church repair category of marginalia includes corroborating evidence from official documents such as the 7th century *Pact of Umar* (restrictions for non-Muslim citizens), the *Law of Kuffar* (restriction of church repair and construction), and the *Hadith* (restrictions on bell ringing). Balkan archeology, such as surviving examples of church architecture, also provided corroborating evidence for the restrictions on church building. The 15th century Church of the Nativity from Arbanasi, for example, resembles a one-story barn, built without windows in a depression in the ground.

Research Findings

The Research Finding section of the study summarizes the results at the corpus level by answering the same set of questions: who, what, when, where, and how. The separate treatment of each descriptor of marginalia provides information about its relationship with the context. For example, by tabulating chronological distribution of marginalia helped to understand the development of the “date” descriptor over time.

This simultaneous chronological presentation of each category demonstrates how each category changes during the five centuries of the Ottoman rule (1393-1878) by increasing or decreasing in number. It also provides insight about the interests of authors of marginalia during each particular century. Table 1.3 demonstrates, for example, that Bulgarian historical marginalia appeared immediately following the Ottoman conquest (1393-1396) and dominated the annotations of each of the subsequent centuries of Ottoman rule.

Theoretical interpretation of data

The application of a theoretical framework or concepts provides interpretation of

some of the attributes/descriptors of marginalia. For example, General System Theory and critical theory's concepts such as hypertext, open text, multivocality, and boundary object provide insights into the dynamics of a note's physical location with respect to the central text.

Theories such as reader's response theory, however, even though applicable for contemporary annotations or medieval *scholia* (comments) and glosses, did not apply to Slavic marginalia in the corpus because these Slavic marginalia did not interact directly with or comment on the central text. Summary tabulation of each descriptor, such as the physical placement of marginalia on the page and its location in the manuscripts discovered similar patterns. For example, marginalia that addressed binding gravitated in close proximity to the front pastedown. The bottom margin and the back endpapers of the manuscript appeared to hide historical information that might be considered sensitive or even dangerous to the author. In this manner, the functions of the margins emerged as archive, library, chronicle, diary, and even vehicle for creative expression.

The value of marginalia and colophons as historical sources

The final stage of this report will summarize the results of the study by answering the major research questions and assessing the credibility, integrity, and reliability of marginalia and colophons as historical sources. The "traditional" historical method will be compared and evaluated against the New History "from below" method, followed by a chronology of historical marginalia depicting the crisis points for the life of the South Slavic population during the Ottoman period.

Up to this point, we have discussed the theoretical framework and methodology of this study. Chapter Two focuses on the theoretical interpretation of marginalia and colophons and demonstrates the development of theory in the study of the marginalia and colophons from the Western and Eastern European perspectives. Chapters Three and Four establishes the multiple aspects of marginalia and colophons as literary, historical, cultural, documentary, and linguistic information and presents the methodological approaches of this study. Chapter Five reviews and evaluates the three major schools of

historiography of the Balkans under the Ottoman rule: the Liberator school, the Oppression school, and the Independent school. Currently, these secondary sources present one side of the evidence and language representation, the "official" history of administrative documents. However, the primary historical sources of Byzantine, Arabic, and Western European origin support the "history from below" of historical marginalia through their report of political crisis, wars, and uprisings.

5 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

Historiography of the Balkans during the Ottoman period

The Balkans presents a turbulent picture of Ottoman rule. The first Ottoman invasions of Thrace date from 1308-1311. Military raids occurred almost yearly after 1326, expanding into southern Macedonia and central Greece. Epirus and Albania were conquered in 1337. Demotika, Andrianopolis, Kypsala, Kechan, Plovdiv (Philippopolis), Beroe (Stara Zagora), Aytos, Yambol, and Karnobat followed. The strategically important battle at Chirmen in 1371 allowed the Ottomans to penetrate further West, occupying Samokov, Kustendil, Sofia (1382), and Bitolia. Nish capitulated in 1388, opening the road to Serbia, which fell in 1389 after the epic battle of Kosovo Pole. Bayazet I (1389-1402) conquered Bosnia, Hungary, and Wallachia, surrounding North Bulgaria, and in 1393 the Bulgarian capital Turnovo fell, followed by Vidin in 1396. The Mongols caused the first defeat of the Ottomans, resulting in a relative "peace" in Bulgaria between 1402 and 1413.

In 1421, the Ottomans expanded farther into the Peloponnesus, Albania, Serbia, and Hungary. Mahomet II (1451-1481) conquered Constantinople in 1453. Serbia disappeared in 1459, the Trebizond Empire in 1461, then Bosnia in 1463, Albania in 1483, and Herzegovina by the end of fifteenth century. The Ottomans advanced up the Danube Valley to Bratislava and besieged Vienna. In 1683, Jan Sobieski, King of Poland, and Charles, Duke of Lorraine, united European armies and halted the Ottoman advance, but the Ottomans ruled the Balkans for another 200 years.

To achieve a perspective on an event or time, the historian collects information from a wide range of primary sources, arranges it systematically, and interprets it, accounting for possible biases in the sources. This study relies on sources of information from foreign visitors to the Balkans, official Ottoman sources, and documents from the South Slavic natives and their Orthodox Church.

Primary sources

Foreigners were not common in the Ottoman Balkans. Generally, they were the diplomats and the few merchants encouraged by the Ottomans. As a result, the Slavic Orthodox population became isolated from the rest of the world for several centuries. The primary foreign travel accounts, Arabic, Romanian, Hungarian, Venetian, French, and Polish, relate in general the same impact of the Ottoman conquest on the Balkans. Historians have detected some discrepancies and differences in explanations and interpretations in these accounts, generally corresponding to the economic and political interests of the writers.

Arabic sources

Ottoman medieval writers (e.g., Hodzha Hussein, Asik Pasha Zade, and Neshri, Seadeddin) depict the conquest of Asia Minor as a blessing for the population, providing peace and tranquility under the protection of the conquerors. The Ottoman leaders Osman and Orkhan were described as heroes their contemporaries, who would cite the "civilizing and progressive mission" of the Osman Turks.¹⁶⁰

However, even Ottoman authors agree about the devastating impact of the Ottoman conquest. Munedjim Basi and Hodzha Hussein describe the destruction of the cities Karadja Hisar, Anghelokuma, Ak Hissar, and Nikomedia.¹⁶¹ Shortly after the campaigns of Brousse and Nicea, in 1333, the Arab traveler Ibn Batouta journeyed through Asia Minor and described Pergamus, Nicea, and was other towns and villages that were devastated to a degree from which it was hard to recover.¹⁶² Batouta, Seadeddin, and Neshri further describe the destruction and conversion of Christian churches into mosques.¹⁶³

The Ottomans raged "by blood and fire" and crushed any resistance by the local

¹⁶⁰ M. Agdac, *Belletin*, vol. Vol. XIII (1949).

¹⁶¹ A. Tviritinova, "Falsifikacija Istorii Turcii v Kemaliskoi Istorijografii" [Falsifications of History of Turkey in the Kemal's Historiography], *Vizantijskoe vrem.* 7 (1953).

¹⁶² Ibn Batouta, ed., *Voyages D'ibn Batouta* (Paris: 1853-79).

¹⁶³ Batouta, p.308, Seadeddin, 1469. *Chronica dell'origine et progressi della casa ottomana composta da Saidino Turco eccellentissimo storico in lingua turca, parte prima, tradotta da Vincenzo Brattuti*. Vienna, pp. 15, 35, 40, 50.

populations.¹⁶⁴ Neshri noted that, during the campaign of North Bulgaria in 1388, the troops were ordered to ruin and plunder the territory they passed through.¹⁶⁵ Batouta witnessed Slavic slaves and slave markets in Laodicea and Pergamus and the resettlement and enslavement of the populace of entire towns and villages. Neshri and Seadeddin described the capture of "handsome youth and beautiful girls, slaves as splendid as the moon and women as beautiful as the sun" from Bulgarian cities such as Plovdiv, Stara Zagora, Samokov, Ichtiman, Jambol, and Karnobat.¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ Every victory ended with captives and resettlement. The battle at Varna in 1444 produced sixty thousand slaves and prisoners of war.¹⁶⁸

Saededdin reported that the booty, goods, and slaves were divided among the soldiers. The sultan became the owner of the captured land, and he gave it away to his relatives, friends, and military chiefs. Lower ranked soldiers received smaller lands, and were called *timaris*, military fief holders. The peasants on the land become virtual slaves, providing labor and taxes. The majority of soldiers received one-fifth of the booty, including young boys and girls. Orkhan created around 1330s the army of *Yeni Tcheri* new troops or janissaries, from first-born Christian boys, seized from their families, converted to Islam, and trained to rule their native land as administrators or exceptionally brutal soldiers.

Byzantine sources

Byzantine sources varied in their perceptions of the Ottomans. The degree of acceptance of the invaders correlated with the social status of the observer. Byzantine aristocracy tolerated the Ottomans more than clergy and laity. For example, Kritobulus

¹⁶⁴ I. Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othomanidarum a Turcis Sua Lingua Scripti*. (Francuforti [Frankfurt.]: 1588).

¹⁶⁵ M. Nešri, "Kitabi Chihan Numa I Cilt," in *Turk Tarih Kurumu Tarafandan Yapalan Kultepe Kazasa Raporu*, ed. T. Ozguc (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurum Rasomevi, 1953 (1949)).

¹⁶⁶ Sadeddin, *Chronica Dell'origine Et Progressi Della Casa Ottomana. Composta Da Saidino. Turco Eccellentissimo Historico in Lingua Turca. Parte Prima*, ed. V. Brattuti (Vienna: 1469).

¹⁶⁷ Seadeddin, p. 63, 101.

¹⁶⁸ Doucas, Doucae Michaelis Ducae Nepotis. *Historia Byzantina*, rec. J. Bekkerus (Bonnae, 1834), pp. 223, Jorga, N. *Notes et extraits pour servir a l'histoire des Croisades au XVe sieclei*, vol.3, p.221. Zakitenos, *Le despotat grec de Moree I*, (Paris, 1932), p. 235.

wrote a historical account in 1453 about the life of Mahomet II (1432-1481).¹⁶⁹

Demetrius Kydones witnessed and documented how "the Turks have ruined our cities, pillaged our sanctuaries, and filled it all with blood and corpses " in 1366.¹⁷⁰ He described the depopulation of Byzantine towns due to massacre or massive flight to neighboring lands.

Contemporary with the events historian Georgious Pachymeres stated that the Turks invaded the land north of Meander (Asia Minor), ruined large numbers of towns and monasteries, forced the population to flee, and turned the land south of Sangarios into a "Scythian desert," crushing local resistance by slaughter.¹⁷¹ As a result, the population of Lydia and Mysia fled. Pachymeres wrote:

Seeing the evils and the calamities that the Turks were perpetrating in the South of Pergamus, none of the inhabitants could hope to save themselves ... faced with the threat of danger, everyone fled Lampsaque ... Dardanelles, ceased with fear and having lost all hope of ever being able to return to their homes.¹⁷²

The Patriarch of Constantinople, John XIX, encouraged Christians to be steadfast after the siege of Constantinople (1453) when the invaders announced their intention of converting the entire population to Islam.¹⁷³

Chalcocondyles and Kydones reported enslavement of Greeks and Bulgarians and the seizure of livestock as payment to soldiers. Balkan slaves were taken to Asia Minor: in about 1383, 122 Bulgarian men and women were sold and moved to Candia (Asia Minor).¹⁷⁴ According to Kritovoulos (1453), fifty thousand slaves were captured during the siege of Constantinople in 1453 twenty thousand from Albania and ten thousand from Hungary. Nearly seven thousand men, women, and children were enslaved and taken from Thessaloniki in 1430. They were bound in chains and forced to walk despite

¹⁶⁹ Z. V. Udalcova, "O Vnutrennih Prichinah Padenia Vizantii V Xv Veke" [Concerning the Internal Reasons of the Fall of Byzantium in the 15th Century], *Voprosi istorii* 7 (1953).

¹⁷⁰ D. Kydones, "Oratio Pro Subsidio Latinorum," in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Seu Bibliotheca Universalis, Integra, Uniformis, Commoda, Oeconomica, Omnium Ss. Patrum, Doctorum Scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum. Series Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857-1866).

¹⁷¹ G. Pachymeres, *De Michaelae et Andronico Paleologis*, ed. J. Bekker, vol. libri XIII (Bonn: 1835).

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ F. Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica Spectantia Historiam Serbiae Bosniae Ragusii* (Graz: 1964).

¹⁷⁴ I. Sukuzov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1929).

exhaustion, old age, and sickness.¹⁷⁵ The unfit were simply killed.¹⁷⁶

Western European sources

In 1433, the French diplomat Bertrandon de la Broquierres traveled in the Balkans. On his way to Constantinople, he passed through Andrianopolis, Philipopolis, and Sofia and witnessed ruins in Eastern Thrace. He mentioned deforestation and depopulation and abject poverty throughout Eastern Thrace.¹⁷⁷ The ramparts of Sofia, Izvor, and Nish were completely demolished.¹⁷⁸ A Polish historian described the destruction of the Roman marble monuments near Nikopol (1396).¹⁷⁹ In 1398, the inhabitants of certain Albanian areas were said to suffer extreme poverty after the invasion of the Ottomans.¹⁸⁰

The foreign diplomats Bouciquant, Froissart, and Schiltberger witnessed the capture of slaves after the battle of Nikopol in 1396. For example, Bayezid deported 16,000 slaves to Asia Minor after this battle.¹⁸¹ Lanoix wrote that the sultan of Babylon had ten thousand slaves from the Balkans, including Bulgaria, Hungary, and Macedonia.¹⁸²

Although Todorova argues for two perceptions of the Balkans, a third, influenced by class and political views, also emerges. The three are: the aristocratic perception that lasted until the 19th century, the enlightened perception influenced by educational fashions of the times, and the liberal populist and humanist perception of journalists and women travelers.

Western Europeans did not display a particular interest in the Balkans and the

¹⁷⁵ O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, vols. 6, 9 (Luca: 1752).

¹⁷⁶ Doucae Michaelis Ducae nepotis Doucas, "Historia Byzantina," in *Notes Et Extraits Pour Servir A l'histoire Des Croisades Au Xve Sieclei*, ed. J. Bekkerus (Bonn: Jorga, N., 1834).

¹⁷⁷ B. de la Broquierres, *Le Voyage D'outremer* (Paris: Ch. Schefer, 1892).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ J. (Dlugosii) Dlugosz., *Historiae Poloniae Annales Poloniae*, vol. Vol. I, Vol. II, Vol. XII (Warsaw (Cracow, Frankfurt): 1985 (1873, 1711).

¹⁸⁰ N. Jorga, *Notes et Extraits Pour Servir a L'histoire Des Croisades Au Xve Siecle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Leroux, 1915).

¹⁸¹ J. Schiltbergers, *Schiltberger's Aus München Von Den Türken in Der Schlacht Von Nicopolis 1395 Gefangen, in Das Heidentum Geführt, Und 1427 Wieder Heimgekommen, Reise in Den Orient Und Wunderbare Begebenheit*, ed. A. Penzel (Munich: Fleischmann, 1814).

¹⁸² Cited in B. Tsvetkova, 1954, p. 85.

Christian population after the Ottoman invasion. The Western view of the area and the Ottomans varied from century to century with the then-existing foreign policy of the Great Powers.¹⁸³ The Balkans became a focus of interest for Venice through the 15th century, according to Venetian accounts. The Habsburg Empire reported on the Ottomans during the 16th century; French accounts dominated in the 17th century; British in the 18-19th centuries; and both British and American evangelical missions in the 19th century. The majority of those accounts come from official agents, diplomats, and, later, missionaries.

Until the middle of the 19th century, foreign authors presented a generally positive view of the Ottomans but virtually ignored the Christian Slavs of the empire. Ten of 16 portrayed the Ottomans positively, and thirteen denigrated the Slavic Christians. Potential bias in these foreign reports is not difficult to spot. R. Knolles wrote *The History of the Turks* in 1603 without first-hand knowledge, direct observations, or the use of primary historical sources.¹⁸⁴ Yet even direct observation could not ensure understanding of the South Slavic Orthodox culture. Henry Blount visited the Ottoman Empire in 1636 and admired the Ottomans as a "Master Nation" of highly civilized, modern, generous, and loving people, disregarding the native populations.¹⁸⁵ Morritt similarly viewed the Ottomans as a "master race." Aesthetic judgments prevailed in English women's accounts, possibly influenced by the social status, attitudes, tastes, and worldviews of the observers. Lady Mary W. Montagu (1689-1762) disdained the tawny complexion of Bulgarian peasant women in comparison to the "shiningly bright" skins of the Turkish women in the baths in Sofia.¹⁸⁶ Kinglake (1834-35) treated Serbia and Bulgaria only as an "exotic adventure" with not much to offer, and St. Clair and Charles Brophy viewed South Slavs as less than animals in outward appearance.¹⁸⁷

The Ottomans controlled travel in their autocratic, authoritarian Empire.

¹⁸³ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁸⁴ R. Knolles, *The Turkish History from the Original of That Nation, to the Growth of the Ottoman Empire [Microform] : With the Lives and Conquests of Their Princes and Emperours* (London: Tho. Basset, 1687-1700).

¹⁸⁵ Todorova, p. 90.

¹⁸⁶ Todorova, p. 92.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Government officials showed hospitality to their European visitors, possibly because they could afford to. The visitors were either the very rich or the foreign diplomats who viewed the world through a Master-Servant lens. They saw gracious hosts, rather than the slaves of the Empire. Apparently, they never asked who produced the luxury of the Ottoman rulers or why the complexion of the peasant woman differed from the complexion of the Ottoman ladies. Because the foreign travelers never mastered the local languages or attempted to understand the culture and religion of the local people, the average visitor viewed all South Slavs as inferior, barbarian, and as the Other.¹⁸⁸ The vocabulary of physical description included "poor," "crooked," "cheaters," "brutish," "obstinate," "idle," "superstitious," "dirty," "uncivilized," "semi-barbarians," "illiterate," and "disgusting and meaningless customs," just as Europeans described the Indian sub-continent (Edward Smith King). Other terms included "inefficient," "lacking history," "ill-mannered," "inhospitable," "piteous underlings," and "incapable of independent development" (St. Clair-Brophy).

However, with the 19th century involvement of American and English journalists and American missionaries, especially women, perceptions of the local people deepened and became more sympathetic. The missionaries Georgina MacKenzie and Adelina Irby traveled to Bulgaria, Serbia, Macedonia, and Bosnia in 1861-1863 and marveled at the desperate conditions of the South Slavs and the ignorance of British foreign policy. Visiting Rila monastery in Bulgaria in 1862, they met the Abbot Neophit Rilski, one of the great literary figures of the Orthodox Church. He described the profound ignorance of the Great Powers about the South Slavic Christians, and the difficult political intimacy with the Ottoman Porte.¹⁸⁹

American missionaries discovered the suppressed Christians in the Balkans while proselytizing around the world. Although unsuccessful in converting the local Orthodox Christians, they advanced charity, education, and book publishing in Bulgaria. Emily Strangford helped Bulgarian peasants with clothes and discovered a "burning desire for

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁸⁹ Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*.

progress, thirst for education, and building schools."¹⁹⁰ With the exception of the somewhat aristocratic view of the Quaker Nicholas Biddle (1806), Americans travelers shaped a positive public opinion in the West for the South Slavic subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The journalists Januarius MacGahan of the *New York Herald* and the *London Daily News*, William Curtis of the *Chicago Record*, and Edward Smith King of *Scribner's Monthly* and the *Boston Morning Journal* created moral outrage in Britain and America specifically referring and describing the Ottoman atrocities during the April Uprising of 1876.¹⁹¹

In sum, the existing primary sources, corroborating HACI marginalia, that appear in the study or those that wait further in-depth study include:

1. Arabic, Byzantine, Armenian colophons,¹⁹² Western primary sources about the Ottoman invasion
2. Foreign diplomatic accounts
3. Foreign travelers' and American missionary accounts
4. Reports from foreign correspondents
5. Evidence from archeology (church architecture) and epigraphy in relation to Ottoman prohibitions and regulations (Chapter 11)
6. Ottoman laws and prohibitions regarding church architecture and the printing press (Chapter 11).
7. Hagiography.
8. Manuscript marginalia and colophons from collections other than HACI (more than 500).
9. Historical folk songs and oral tradition.
10. Official records about the conversion to Islam due to economic pressure.¹⁹³

Secondary Sources

Secondary historical sources each follow one of three distinct schools of thought in regard to the Ottoman rule of the Balkans: the "Liberator" research school, the "Oppression" research school, and the "Independent" research school.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Januarius MacGahan, *Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria: Letters of the Special Commissioner of the 'Daily News' J.A. Macgahan, Esq.* (London: Bradbury, Agnew, & Co, 1876).

¹⁹² Avedis K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301-1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969).

¹⁹³ Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans : Kisve bahası petitions and Ottoman social life, 1670-1730*, (Leiden ; Boston : Brill, 2004).

The Liberator Research School

The Liberator school, approved of and financially supported by the current Turkish government, includes virtually all Turkish and some Western scholarship. It views the Ottomans as liberators, tolerant of religious and cultural minorities. Only one scholar from Turkey, the political refugee Taner Akçam, has achieved recognition for his publications that contradict the Liberator school.¹⁹⁴ Kemal Karpat¹⁹⁵ argued that Ottoman rulers helped the Orthodox Church to achieve its "zenith" in a "flourishing and interacting" relationship between Islam and Orthodoxy, granting "absolute freedom."¹⁹⁶ According to Karpat, Islam and Orthodoxy shared common goals when the Ottomans helped the Orthodox Church to fight paganism and preserve the Balkans from brutal and merciless forced conversion to Catholicism by the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204). Karpat described the Patriarch of the Eastern Orthodox Church (denominationally and geographically very close to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church) as a "docile tool" of the Turkish rulers in an atmosphere of frequent Patriarchal changes and corruption.¹⁹⁷ However Karpat ignored documentation which established that, during the 15th to 20th centuries, Greek Patriarchs were driven from office on 105 occasions, abdicated on 27 occasions, and died natural deaths in only 21 out of 159 reigns. Between 1625 and 1700, 50 patriarchs held office for an average of 18 months each.¹⁹⁸ Rather than a "zenith," this period marks a nadir of Orthodoxy.

Some Western historians have sympathized with the Liberator school. Josef Kabrda criticized "bourgeois" historical methodological positivism and the lack of translated Ottoman sources. He also criticized the lack of understanding of social and

¹⁹⁴ Taner Akcam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London: Zed Books, 2004).

¹⁹⁵ Kemal Karpat, "Ottoman View and Policies Toward the Orthodox Christian Church," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 31, no. Spring-Summer (1986).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ George Bebis, "Introduction," in *Nicodemos of the Holy Mountain*, ed. Peter and Bebis Chamberas, George (New York: Paulist Press, 1989). J. K. Beresford, *The Churches of Eastern Christendom from A.D. 451 to the Present Time* (London: The Faith Press, Ltd., 1927).

economic context in historical research.¹⁹⁹ Machiel Kiel marginalized and denigrated the Oppression school as a "catastrophe research paradigm." He denied Ottoman "brutality, plunder, fire and sword conversions, and religious fanaticism."²⁰⁰ Kiel argued that the Ottomans did not obstruct the development of Christian art and architecture. Carsten Riis, in his analysis of historiographical research during the 1944-1989 Socialist Period in Bulgaria, further denigrated the Oppression school as "nationalistic theory" that viewed the Ottoman Empire as a "dark slaver."²⁰¹ He added to his targets of scorn a "continuity school" that claimed the Orthodox Church helped preserve the Bulgarian nation. Riis dismissed primary hagiographical sources as unreliable, using only two examples of Neomartyrs from 15th century Sofia and citing them out of context. Further, he ignored foreign travel accounts of the Balkans during the Ottoman period, quoting out of context a visit by the German traveler Gerlach to the 12 existing churches in Sofia to establish a claim of religious freedom. Riis failed to mention that Gerlach also described visits to many destroyed churches. Riis failed to consult other accounts, such as Peter Bogdani, an Albanian archbishop, who, like Gerlach, witnessed demolition of churches by the Ottomans in 1640.²⁰²

The Liberator research school appears to rely on questionable secondary sources that do not corroborate with primary sources written by contemporary Christian authors. For example, they question the reliability of primary sources such the *Vitae* (lives) of the 14th-19th century Neomartyrs and cite them out of context. An objective view of the period depends on evaluation of primary and secondary sources and an explanation of any lack of congruency between the different schools of scholarship.

The lack of mastery of the native Slavic languages has prevented Turkish or Western scholarly works to include the corroborating evidence from Christian sources.

¹⁹⁹ J. Kabrda, "Les Problemes De L'etude De L'histoire De La Bulgarie a L'epoque De La Domination Turque," *Byzantinoslavica* XV, no. 2 (1954).

²⁰⁰ Machiel Kiel, *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period. A Sketch of the Economic, Juridical and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian Post-Byzantine Art and Its Place in the Development of the Art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70-1700. A New Interpretation* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1985).

²⁰¹ Carsten Riis, *Religion, Politics, and Historiography in Bulgaria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

²⁰² Peter Bogdani, "Opisanie. Report to the Vatican Church," in *Macedonia: Sbornik Ot Documenti I Materiali*, ed. V. and Panayotov Bozhinov, I. (Sofia: BAN, 1978).

Soviet suppression (1944-1989) further limited access to primary source material through restrictions on foreign travelers and lack of domestic funding for any scholarly research that did not further their political agenda. Finally, some Western scholars have relied on specious scholarship funded by a revisionist Turkish government, as exposed, for example, in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (1995).²⁰³

The Oppression Research School

The "Oppression" research school includes many Balkan and some Western historians who have held since the 1860s the so-called "catastrophe theory" of Ottoman rule. Marin Drinov coined the term "dark centuries" and established the "catastrophe" paradigm, relying on historical evidence and primary sources of the Christian Slavic origin.²⁰⁴ Konstantin Irechek toured Ottoman Bulgaria and termed the Ottoman period a "double yoke," referring to Ottoman political, social, and economic oppression and Greek religious and linguistic subjugation.²⁰⁵ The American-born journalist Januarius MacGahan substantially supported the Oppression school when he documented his personal encounters with Turkish atrocities in 1876.²⁰⁶ His publications, which corroborated British Prime Minister Gladstone's claims, forced the British government to withdraw its support of Turkey, leading to Russian-supported Bulgarian independence.²⁰⁷

More recent scholarship has built on other accounts. The Catastrophe theory, although ridiculed by the Liberator school, elaborates in depth on the eye-witnessed conditions of Ottoman occupation. For example, professions of Ottoman religious tolerance are refuted by accounts of religious conversion by force, by specious judicial

²⁰³ A. M. Rubin, "Critics Accuse Turkish Government of Manipulating Scholarship," *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (1995).

²⁰⁴ Marin Drinov, *Istoricheski Pregled na Bulgarskata Curkva ot Samotoil Nachalo i do Dnes (Historical Overview of the Bulgarian Church from Its Very Beginning until Now)* (Wien: 1869).

²⁰⁵ Konstantin Irechek, *Geschichte Der Bulgarien* (Prague: 1876).

²⁰⁶ MacGahan, *Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria: Letters of the Special Commissioner of the 'Daily News' J.A. Macgahan, Esq.*

²⁰⁷ Hristo Gandev, *Bulgarskata Narodnost prez XV Vek. Demografsko i Etnografsko Izsledvane (Bulgarian National Identity During 15th Century. Demographic and Ethnographic Investigation)* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1972). I. Snegarov, *Turskoto Vladichestvo Prechka za Kulturnoto Razvitie na Bulgarskia Narod i Drugite Balkanski Narodi (Turkish Occupation as Obstacle for the Cultural Development of the Bulgarian and the Other Balkan Nations)* (Sofia: BAN, 1958).

proceedings of Christians, by dress code violations, and by heavy taxation. Hupchick documented taxation, specifically the *devshirme* (Blood Tax), in which first-born Christian boys were conscripted into the Ottoman janissary corps, many later to be returned to their native lands to brutalize their former kin and neighbors.²⁰⁸ Thus, the Ottomans realized the situation described by Scott in *Weapons of the Weak*, in which "the ultimate dream of domination [is] to have the dominated exploit each other."²⁰⁹ Todorova demonstrated that during the 1944-1989 Soviet regime, Bulgarian historical researchers adopted Communist jargon and methodology, a mixture of positivist, romantic, Marxist, psychological, and racist reassessment.²¹⁰ Tsvetkova said that this methodology, grounded in "national spirit" and the materialist historical method, developed further the "catastrophe" school: physical destruction, mass deportations, and mass conversions.²¹¹

Soviet paradigms included social and economic histories of revolutionary movements and class struggle. During this time, said Todorova, the state promoted "national feelings," urging historians to take an active stand against "national nihilism," to rehabilitate an official, glorious Bulgarian past.²¹² Marxist-oriented introductions found in the scholarly monographs of the time substantiate Todorova. They contained a grain of historical truth and comprised "solid studies contaminated with ideological clichés."

A few Bulgarian historians have adopted the Continuity theory, that the Bulgarian Orthodox clergy preserved national identity through non-violent resistance to Islam. Snegarov investigated the 1394-1764 Ohrid Archbishopric to determine its role in

²⁰⁸ Dennis Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1993).

²⁰⁹ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

²¹⁰ Maria Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans," in *Imperial Legacy. The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East*, ed. L.C. Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

²¹¹ Bistra Tsvetkova, "The Bulgarian Haiduk Movement in the 15th-18th Centuries," in *East Central European Society and War in the Pre-Revolutionary Eigtheenth Century*, ed. G.E. & Kiraly Rothenberg, B.K. & Sugar, P.F. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982). Gandev, *Bulgarskata Narodnost prez XV Vek. Demografsko i Etnografsko Izsledvane (Bulgarian National Identity During 15th Century. Demographic and Ethnographic Investigation)*. Snegarov, *Turskoto Vladichestvo Prechka Za Kulturnoto Razvitie Na Bulgarskia Narod I Drugite Balkanski Narodi (Turkish Occupation as Obstacle for the Cultural Development of the Bulgarian and the Other Balkan Nations)*.

²¹² Todorova, "The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans." p. 1108.

maintaining the Bulgarian Orthodox tradition.²¹³ Stanimirov focused on Bulgarian Orthodox Neomartyrs.²¹⁴ The Soviets minimized this theory, but their influence on scholarship was limited to the years 1944-1989 because of the state's ideological position on religion.

The Oppression research school had a lasting effect upon the collective memory and mentality of the Bulgarians, because many adult Bulgarians grew up during the Soviet era. The vitae of New Martyrs and the folk songs recorded during the 19th and 20th centuries support the Oppression school.

The Independent Research School

The Independent research school critically evaluates a variety of primary and secondary sources from multiple perspectives. This broader approach strives to present a neutral and balanced view of the period, rather than a linear dichotomous generalization. Some historians viewed the Ottomans as aggressive conquerors who stabilized the Balkans. For example, American historian Dennis Hupchick and his mentor, James Clarke, studied the 17th century using social history methodology. Hupchick's *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule* utilized primary sources, examining Greek, Ottoman, and even Roman Catholic influences on the Bulgarian Orthodox population and the role of the Church in the survival of culture and literacy.²¹⁵ Hupchick explored the threats posed by the Ottoman rulers and the reasons for the survival of Bulgarian culture. He determined that the Ottomans had exercised an active policy of conversion that increased dramatically during the wars, famine, disease, and migrations of the 17th century.²¹⁶ The Christians living in rural areas experienced heavy economic pressure from Ottoman taxation, resulting in a choice of starvation or "voluntary" conversion to Islam.²¹⁷ In Eastern, Southwestern, and Southeastern Bulgaria

²¹³ I. Snegarov, *Istoria na Ohridskata Arhiepiskopia (Ot Osnovavaneto i do Zavladyaneto na Balkanskia Poluostrvo ot Turcite)*, vol. 1 (Sofia: 1924).

²¹⁴ S. Stanimirov, *Istoria na Bulgarskata Kurkva (History of the Bulgarian Church)*, (Sofia: 1925).

²¹⁵ Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

(Rumelia, Macedonia, and Thrace), Ottoman military units directly attacked the population, converting survivors.²¹⁸

In contrast to Liberation historians, Hupchick applied a comparative method by evaluating critically a number of different primary sources. He juxtaposed Gerlach's 1578 travel account, used by Riis,²¹⁹ against Peter Bogdani's 1640 account.²²⁰ Gerlach's 12 churches had dwindled to Bogdani's five, 60 years later. Although Bogdani wrote in Albanian for Albanian Catholics, he and Gerlach reported similar accounts of the destruction of Orthodox churches by the Ottomans, and they both noted that Greek ecclesiastical clergy presided over the Bulgarian Orthodox community.²²¹ The Greek Patriarchate collaborated with the Ottoman authorities to create an atmosphere of "mutual national animosity"²²² between Bulgarians and Greeks, again calling to mind Scott's *Weapons of the Weak*.²²³ Hupchick used the example of the martyr Georgi Novi Sofiiski (1515) to support his thesis of church as preserver of the *jazik* (language, nation). Five centuries earlier the monk Chernorizets Hrabur had written a poem to emphasize this notion, "The Slavic *jazik* is flying," meaning that the Slavs, with the creation of a written language by Sts. Cyril and Methodius, were moving toward the idea of nationhood.

In addition to emphasis on the social and cultural history, the Independent school rests on the sound conceptual footing of an evidentiary authenticity based on corroboration of the eyewitness accounts by the reports of scribes written (some would say "concealed") in the marginalia and colophons of manuscripts and early printed books. The third footing for the Independent school rests on the vitae of Neomartyrs, eyewitness accounts of their lives and deaths, which yield information about the Ottoman legal process and executions. Military reports and legal documents that might further substantiate Neomartyrology are not used as primary sources in this study due to the difficulty, even for native speakers, of deciphering antiquated Turkish legal jargon

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 61, 63.

²¹⁹ Riis, *Religion, Politics, and Historiography in Bulgaria*.

²²⁰ Bogdani, "Opisanie. Report to the Vatican Church."

²²¹ Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*.

²²² Ibid., p. 93.

²²³ Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*.

written in the Arabic script, the official medium of legal documentation in the Ottoman Empire. Further, some Ottoman sources, such as the *Sicillat* (the procedural acts of the Ottoman courts) frequently omit accounts of the trials of Christian martyrs.²²⁴

Travelers' accounts, manuscript marginalia, *vitae* (lives, *zhitie* in Bulgarian) and *acta* (heroic deeds, *podvig* in Bulgarian) of the saints approach a historical reality that Delehaye described as containing a "note of sincerity" that "go[es] straight to the heart."²²⁵ Delehaye insisted that most of those accounts, although scattered and difficult to obtain, were "worth reading and studying"²²⁶ and prove to be authentic and potentially productive sources of historical information.²²⁷ Eyewitness accounts of foreign travelers such as Gerlach and Bogdani (cf. the more familiar de Toqueville in early 19th century America) provide external evidence to corroborate domestic narratives. Constantinelos stated that foreign travelers to Balkan lands left extensive documentary evidence of forced conversion and martyrdom.²²⁸ Paul Ricaut observed expulsions of Christians from their churches, conversion of churches into mosques, and the lowering of the roofs of churches to a height beneath that of mosques.²²⁹ Ricaut also described the worldly pleasures and allurements bestowed on those who would convert to Islam. Several Western travelers noted Ottoman executions of large numbers of bishops, priests, and monks.²³⁰ Hupchick, Nikhoritis, and Constantinelos presented the numerous travel accounts of Gerlach (1578), Busbeck (1553), Verner (1616), Rancover (1623), Mjaskovski (1640), Rico (1665), Galland (1674), Wolff (1839), McKenzie (1862), and

²²⁴ Demetrios J. Constantinelos, "The 'Neomartyrs' as Evidence for Methods and Motives Leading to Conversion and Martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1978): 208, Konstantinos Nikhoritis, *Sveta Gora - Aton I Bulgarskoto Novomuchenichestvo* (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2001), 16.

²²⁵ Hippolyte Delehaye, "Greek Neomartyrs," *Constructive Quarterly* 9, (1921).

²²⁶ *Ibid.*: 701.

²²⁷ E. Pathlagean, "Ancient Byzantine Hagiography and Social History," in *Saints and Their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore, and History*, ed. S. Wilson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

²²⁸ Constantinelos, "The 'Neomartyrs' as Evidence for Methods and Motives Leading to Conversion and Martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire," p. 231.

²²⁹ Paul Ricaut, *The Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, Anno Christi 1678* (London, reprinted New York: Printed for John Starkey, 1679 & 1970).

²³⁰ Constantinelos, "The 'Neomartyrs' as Evidence for Methods and Motives Leading to Conversion and Martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire." p. 218. Ioannes Perantones, *Aeksikon Ton Neomarturon* (Athens: 1972). E. Pouqueville, *Histoire De La Regeneration De La Grece*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1824).

Burbury (1664). Gerlach, misquoted by Riis, wrote of the destruction and general lack of churches.²³¹ All accounts agree about the force, real or imagined, used to compel conversion.

The next chapter will continue this presentation of primary sources by introducing the major centers of book production, literacy and education in Southeast Europe, particularly those that provided the manuscripts and printed books where these marginalia and colophons resided.

²³¹ Constantinelos, "The 'Neomartyrs' as Evidence for Methods and Motives Leading to Conversion and Martyrdom in the Ottoman Empire." p. 220-22. Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*.

6 CENTERS FOR LITERACY AND SLAVIC BOOK PRODUCTION

The monastic and non-monastic scriptoria and workshops of the Balkans produced and sustained the literary and linguistic heritage of the South Slavic population. The survival of the Slavic manuscript tradition depended in many cases on the geographical locality of the scriptoria, the leadership of creative scribes and illuminators, and the mineral resources of the region. The following overview of the major centers of literacy and book production in the Balkans will present a brief history and describe some of the most significant manuscripts produced there.

Monastic centers of literacy

Etropole monastery Sveta Troitsa (Holy Trinity)

The Holy Trinity monastery (Varovitets) dates back to the Second Bulgarian State, in the 12th century. The commemoration codex from this monastery, *Pomenik*, lists Bulgarian and Serbian rulers and describes the early history of the monastery. The nearby town of Etropole remained a strategic center for mining (lead, copper, iron) and received favors from the Ottomans. Miners came to Etropole from all parts of the Balkans, making the town a center for the dissemination of news and information.

An information nexus, perhaps due to the wealth and status of individuals of higher financial abilities, the monastery became Bulgaria's most active literacy and copying center during the 16-18th centuries, with scriptoria, a well-established calligraphic school, and a cloister school. Among its famous scribes are the priest Vlucho, binder of manuscripts; Hieromonk Daniil and Ioan the Grammarian.²³² The height of activity occurred during the 1620-1640s under abbots Andonii, Zaharii, and Rafail. During this time, Hieromonk Daniil was the most established and active proponent of the Etropole calligraphic, scribal, and illumination school. These monastic scriptoria produced manuscripts for churches throughout the Balkans, including Mount Athos, Eleshnishki monastery, and towns and villages such as Sofia, Lovech, and Dolno

²³² G. Neshev, *Bulgarskite Manastiri prez Vekovete [Bulgarian Monasteries During the Centuries]* (Sofia: Slaviansko Druzhestvo v Bulgaria: Askoni-Izdat, 2006).

Kamarci. The monastic community sustained itself by producing and selling manuscripts, and in this manner their calligraphic and decorative style influenced other manuscript scriptoria.²³³

The Etropole monastic scriptoria contributed to this study the 13 manuscripts that also contain important historical witness to the Ottoman rule of the Balkans. These manuscripts are #85 *Menaion* (17th century), #86 *Menaion* (17th century), #90 *Menaion* (17th century), #97 *Menaion* (1600), #99 *Menaion* (1643), #100 *Menaion* (17th century), #107 *Menaion* (1639), #573 *Octoechos* (1632). Other manuscripts were custom-produced for other churches: #92 *Menaion* (1639), #93 *Menaion* (1603), #96 *Menaion* (1637), #485 *Menaion* (1602), and #511 *Menaion* (1526).

Eleshnishki (Eleshnitsa, Yakovshitsa) monastery Sveta Bogorodica (Holy Theotokos)

The monastery is situated under the Murgash peak, near Ruen mountain, 3 km from the village of Eleshnitsa. The origin of the monastery is uncertain. The church is a simple, one hall basilica, repaired many times, with the earliest dated inscriptions from 1499. The monastery became famous for its scriptoria and as an influential literary center, especially during the end of the 16th-17th century period.²³⁴ In one scriptorium worked Baicho the Grammarian, who copied a *Gospel* later used at Etropole monastery, and Peter the Grammarian, who produced a *Menaion* in 1603. The monastic scriptorium collaborated with the scriptorium at Etropole monastery and exchanged manuscripts. In 1793, Ottoman paramilitary brigands known as *kurdzhalii* destroyed the monastery, and it was rebuilt in 1820. Manuscript marginalia witness the "kurdzhalii devastations and plundering, resettlements of Tatars, Cherkassians, and Caucasians from Crimea in 1876."²³⁵

Eleshnishki monastery contributed 5 manuscripts to this study: #1 *Psalter* (16th century), #11 *Four Gospels* (1577), #66 *Octoechos* (17th century), #103 *Menaion* (1604),

²³³ Uzunova, E. "Etropolski manastir" in Petkanova, D., ed. *Starobulgarska literatura* (Old Bulgarian literature), 2003, p. 169-170).

²³⁴ G. Chavrukov, *Sredishta na Bulgarskata Knizhovnost 9-18 Vek [Centers of Bulgarian Literacy 9-18th Century]* (Sofia: Narodna Prosveta, 1987).

²³⁵ Neshev, *Bulgarskite Manastiri prez Vekovete [Bulgarian Monasteries During the Centuries]*.

and #109 *Menaion* (17th century).

Boboshevo monastery Sveti Dimitur (St. Dimitur)

Situated near the towns of Kjustendil, Kocherinovo, and Rila, 85 km south of Sofia, in the valley of the Struma river near Rila mountain, St. Dimitur is one of the oldest monasteries in Bulgaria, having existed since the First Bulgarian Empire in the 10th century. After being destroyed during the Ottoman invasion in the late 14th century, it was reconstructed in 1488.²³⁶ The church was built in the last quarter of the 15th century. Known as the Bulgarian Jerusalem, Boboshevo monastery was a very important literary and literacy center, with an active scriptorium from the 15th to the 17th centuries. Monks copied manuscripts as part of their discipline. Students from the monastery school produced marginalia that documented their reading practices. Boboshevo monastery contributed three manuscripts to this study: #27 *Four Gospels* (1567), #28 *Four Gospels* (1578), and #78 *Triodion* (17th century).

Iskrets monastery Sveta Bogoroditsa (Holy Theotokos)

The monastery was destroyed during the Ottoman invasion, was revived later, and again was destroyed by the kurdzhalii. Two manuscripts from Iskrets monastery contributed to this study: #54 *Euchologion* (1600) and #67 *Octoechos*.

Situated 29 km southeast of Vraca on the river Iskur, the single dome church was built in the 14th century under Tsar Ivan Shishman (1371-1393), plundered and set on fire more than once during the Ottoman period, and restored in the 16-17th centuries by St. Pimen of Sofia.²³⁷ The monastery had a school and active scriptorium. The earliest extant manuscript in this study, #44 *Typicon* (14th century), witnessed the early history of this monastery. The famous calligrapher, scribe, and illuminator Danail Etropolski from the Etropole monastery produced a *Panegirik* at the Boboshevo scriptorium in 1623. The monastery maintained a monastic network that connected it even to the Russian Church

²³⁶ Chavrukov, *Sredishta na Bulgarskata Knizhovnost 9-18 Vek [Centers of Bulgarian Literacy 9-18th Century]*.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

in as early as the 17th century. The monastery continued as a prominent cultural and educational center during the Bulgarian Revival period (after 1762) and as a center of revolutionary activities during the April uprising in 1876. Cherepishki monastery contributed three manuscripts to this study: #44 *Typicon* (14th-15th century), #54 *Euchologion* (1600), and #117 *Menaion* (1612).

Seslavski monastery Sveti Nikolai (St. Nicholas)

The monastery is close to Sofia and the Eleshnishki monastery, situated on the south slope of the Stara Planina mountain range. The monastery church was built in 1616 with the sponsorship of the monk Danail and the lay community from the region. It became a prominent literary and literacy center with an active scriptorium.²³⁸ It was destroyed and rebuilt in the 17th century. The first abbot of the monastery, Danail, established connections with the Mount Athos community. Seslavski monastery contributed two manuscripts to this study: #2 *Psalter* (16th century) and #315 *Apostle* (16th century).

Sts. Kuzma and Damian monastery, village of Kuklen

The monastery is situated 8 km northwest of Asenovgrad. It is one of the oldest monastic establishments, dating from the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, founded in the 14th century. The monastery had an active scriptorium with a well-established calligraphic school where scribes Sidor and Krustyo the Grammarian copied and decorated manuscripts.²³⁹ This study includes one manuscript from Sts. Kuzma and Damian monastery: #88 *Menaion* (15th century).

Kokalyanski monastery Sveti Arachangel Mikhail (Holy Archangel Michael)

The monastery is situated between Sofia and Samokov on the Iskur river near Plana Mountain. Legend says that Tsar Ivan Shishman was captured here, in the Urvich citadel, after battles against the Ottomans. The Ottomans destroyed the cloister, and the

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 189.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 107.

people rebuilt it. The monastery received material goods and money from the medieval Bulgarian Tsars Simeon, Samuil, and Stratsimir. The long commemoration list attached to #368 *Miscellany* manuscript attests to the status and favor bestowed on this monastery by the local religious community and nobles. This manuscript is treasured by the religious community because of its inclusion of an original work by St. Clement Ohridski, one of the disciples of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.²⁴⁰

Dragalevski monastery Sveta Bogorodica (Holy Theotokos)

Situated in the Valley of Vitosha Mountain, south of Sofia, and associated with the old town of Sredets, this monastery was built in 1348 by Tsar Ivan Alexander, who treasured it as his "royal monastery."²⁴¹ Tsar Ivan Shishman wrote a donation bull in 1378, granting the monastery large property. When the Ottomans captured Sofia, the monastery was spared and restored as a literary center. During the 17th century, the cloister had a monastic school. Dragalevski monastery contributed to this study with one manuscript: #21 *Four Gospels* (16th century).

Kupinovo monastery Sveti Nikolai (St. Nicholas)

Kupinovo monastery, near the village of Kupinovo, Veliko Turnovo region, was founded in 1272 by Tsar Ivan Asen II. With the fall of Turnovo, the monastery burned and was abandoned until the late 17th century, when Bulgarian peasants from the area received Ottoman approval for its reconstruction. In 1794, Sophronii Vrachanski became abbot of the monastery and brought a copy of Paisii's *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*. A literary school appeared in 1830, and later in 1856 the parish constructed two-storied buildings. A wood-carved iconostasis from the old church survived to date as a masterpiece of religious art. The monastery particularly helped in the organization of the Hadzhi Stavri rebellion in 1860 and also took part in the preparations for the 1876 April Uprising. This monastery contributed one manuscript: #207 *Octoechos*.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 186.

²⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 110-111.

Dolni Lozen monastery Sveti Spas (Holy Savior)

Located 17 km from Sofia, the church was built in 1671. During the 17th century, a calligraphic school trained scribes in the arts of decoration and illumination. One of the products was the *Germanski Miscellany* produced in 1671. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the church was burned several times. The current building was built in 1821. This monastery contributed one manuscript to this study: #46 *Service and Vita of Sts. Kyrik and Julita*.

Germanski monastery Sveti Ioan Rilski (St. John of Rila)

Situated in Lozen Mountain 15 km southeast of Sofia, the monastery originated in the 10th century. According to legend, St. Ioan of Rila lived for some time in the area surrounding the Germanski village before retiring into the Rila Mountain. The Germanski monastery is part of the *Sveta Gora* (holy mountain, the Mount Athos of Bulgaria) of the Sofia region, a complex of several monasteries surrounding Sofia. The Ottomans destroyed the monastery in the 14th century although the local community rebuilt it a century later. The monastery became a true cultural center by the 17th century. In the 18th century, kurdzhalii plundered and destroyed the monastery. The monks and local people who survived started rebuilding it in the early 19th century, with a simple one-nave church half-hidden below ground level being finished in 1818. Germanski monastery contributed to this study one manuscript: #47 *Service and Vita of St. John of Rila*.

Kurilski monastery Sveti Ioan Rilski (St. John of Rila)

Situated in a gorge of the Iskur River, Kurilski monastery was established in 1382.²⁴² Legends say that St. Ivan Rilski lived there. The Ottoman invasion destroyed the monastery and left it uninhabited for nearly two centuries until its rebuilding in 1593.²⁴³ In 1596, the monastery walls were decorated. Few extant manuscripts exist to witness its

²⁴² Ibid., p. 188.

²⁴³ Neshev, *Bulgarskite Manastiri prez Vekovete [Bulgarian Monasteries During the Centuries]*.

active book production. Kurilski monastery contributed one manuscript to this study: #24 *Four Gospels* (1665).

Kremikovtsi monastery Sveti Georgi (St. George)

Founded during the Second Bulgarian kingdom and destroyed by the Ottomans in 1398, the current single-dome church has frescoes dating from 1493. Kremikovtsi monastery contributed to this study the earliest known manuscript, #374 *Gospel*, written in 1497, which remains exemplary of the intricate decorative style of South Slavic illustration and provides evidence of the calligraphic school functioning at the monastery. Two schools educated the children of the lay people from Sofia and the neighboring settlements, and another monastic school provided education for future clergy, artists, and teachers.²⁴⁴

Slepche monastery Sveti Jovan Preteca (St. John the Forerunner)

According to the *Pomenik*, the manuscript for commemoration,²⁴⁵ the monastery began its existence in 1020. The Ottomans destroyed the monastery but after the rebuilding campaigns it continued to play a leadership role in the tradition of manuscript production, even during the Byzantine period (1018-1187). It produced the *Slepchenski Apostle* in the 12th century, one of the earliest extant Bulgarian manuscripts, and other Bulgarian manuscripts from the 14-16th century period. Some of its most prominent scribes include Visarion Deburski, Matei Slepchenski, and Pachomii Slepchenski, who escaped the Ottoman invasion and continued their work in this monastery.²⁴⁶ The Slepche scriptorium contributed to this study with well-decorated manuscript #340 *Four Gospels* with gold-plated miniatures and headpieces and the #302 *Apostle* (16th century).

Sveti Prochor Pchinski monastery (St. Prohor of Pchinya)

²⁴⁴ Chavrukov, *Sredishta na Bulgarskata Knizhovnost 9-18 Vek [Centers of Bulgarian Literacy 9-18th Century]*.

²⁴⁵ A. Miltenova, "Slepchenski Monastery," in *Starobulgarska Literatura*, ed. D. Petkanova (Sofia: Universitetsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1997).

²⁴⁶ Chavrukov, *Sredishta na Bulgarskata Knizhovnost 9-18 Vek [Centers of Bulgarian Literacy 9-18th Century]*.

This Serbian Orthodox monastery in the Pchinya district of Serbia, near the Macedonian border, was founded by Byzantine Emperor Romanus IV in the 11th century. A theological and iconographic school and manuscript scriptoria were established there. It contributed six manuscripts to this study: #177 *Euchologion*, #196 *Menaion*, #320 *Menaion* (1510), #326 *Miscellany*, #351 *Bible*, and #353 *Gospel*.

Kratovo monastery Sveti Archangel Mikhail (Holy Archangel Michael)

Kratovo was an important Macedonian mineral and cultural center during the Ottoman period, especially in the 15-17th centuries. During the 16th century, the priest John Kratovski established a new calligraphic and manuscript illumination school and produced manuscripts for churches in Sofia.²⁴⁷ Four of these manuscripts reside at HACI: #34 *Gospel* (1562), #250 *Gospel*, #473 *Gospel*, and #1521 *Service and Vita of New Martyr Georgi Novi Sofiiski* (1564).

Many Bulgarian scribes attended the Kratovo scribal school. For example, priest Petur, from the village of Prolesha, was a disciple of the famous calligrapher John Kratovski and produced the #28 *Gospel* (1578). Joan Kratovski had a very distinct floral style of decoration, including very realistic flowers such as hyacinth and forget-me-nots within the headpieces and standing by the headpieces. Kratovski combined the miniatures with headpieces, portraying the evangelists as working scribes. His earlier manuscripts show a more lavish style, using more gold and bright colors. His style is unmistakable, with knitted branches, buds, and clovers. Most of the manuscripts produced by the Kratovo scriptorium now reside at Rila monastery, Vratsa, and Zograph monastery at Mount Athos.

Zrze monastery Sveto Preobrazhenie (Holy Transfiguration)

Monk German built this single-nave church in the 14th century, 25 km west of Prilep, Macedonia. Legend connects the famous hero Krali Marko with the monastery, which was destroyed, abandoned, and reconstructed at least five times during the

²⁴⁷ B. Hristova, "Kratovo," in *Starobulgarska Literatura*, ed. D. Petkanova (Sofia: Universitsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski," 1997).

Ottoman period and plundered in the 18th century. It became a shelter for rebellion during 18th century. Manuscripts were commissioned and produced here, including two manuscripts from the HACI collection: #294 *Prologue for March* and #303 *Menaion for February*.

Mount Athos (Greece)

A cradle of asceticism and the Hesychastic movement of the Late Middle Ages in Byzantium and Slavic Orthodox countries, Mount Athos promoted ceaseless prayer (the Jesus prayer), a peaceful state of mind, and a devotion to Orthodoxy. Asceticism and martyrdom, two fundamental aspects of Christianity, demonstrated to pagans and to the Ottomans the strength of the Christian faith during persecution. The Mount Athos monastic community played a crucial role in the preservation of Bulgarian and other South Slavic literary heritages and in the independence movement of the Balkan nations by organized individual acts of non-violent civil resistance.²⁴⁸ Although the Mount Athos tradition did not encourage martyrdom, the Athonite community consciously organized the Neomartyrdom movement.²⁴⁹ The movement involved a system of spiritual guidance in ascetic theory and practice, led by experienced elders, leading to martyrdom and the subsequent development of the cult of the Neomartyrs.

The writings of the lives of Orthodox saints and martyrs remained a part of Hesychasm and preserved the Orthodox tradition. Stories of the Neomartyrs of the Ottoman period, however, expanded beyond this primary preservation function to inspire resistance and even a hope of liberation from the Ottomans. Martyrdom and commemoration by hymnography, iconography, and frescoes maintained the fervor. The Athonite School of Neomartyrdom produced 175 *vitae* and *acta* of Neomartyrs between 1453 and 1867. The number of martyrs, however, remains unknown. At first, Greek monks collected, edited, and wrote the *vitae* of Greek Neomartyrs.²⁵⁰ Then, they included Bulgarian martyrs, such as St. Prokopii of Varna (1810), St. Ignatii of Stara Zagora

²⁴⁸ Nikhoritis, *Sveta Gora - Aton I Bulgarskoto Novomuchenichestvo*.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 192. Alexander Milev, "Atanasii Paroski," in *Kirilo-Methodievska Enciklopedia* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Science, 1985).

(1814), and St. Onuphrius of Gabrovo (1818).

The Neomartyrdom tradition flourished during 1760-1820 due to the active involvement of Nicodemos the Hagiorite [1749-1809], of the Neo-Hesychastic tradition at Mount Athos. His literary works instigated a religious awakening and a non-violent resistance, contemporaneous to the secular liberalism of the Greek intellectuals in the West and humanism of the Western "Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment."²⁵¹ Nikodemos hoped that intellectual and spiritual knowledge and enlightenment would help the Orthodox population to resist Islamization more effectively.²⁵²

St. Nikodemos the Hagiorite collected, edited, and translated into modern *dimotiki* Greek three collections of vitae of the saints: *Neon Synaxaristes* (1805-1807), *Eklogion* (1805-1807) and the *Neon Martyrologon* (1794).²⁵³ Two Bulgarian Neomartyrs, St. Ioan the Bulgarian (1784) and St. Damaskin from Gabrovo (1771), were included in this last work, which also presented a method of non-violent resistance to Islam: letting the lives of the Neomartyrs speak. Nikodemos gave as his purpose the renewal of the Orthodox faith, by giving examples of martyrdom to all tyrannized Orthodox Christians and by publicizing the courage of the martyrs.

The Athonite monastic community guided and preserved Bulgarian Orthodox heritage over the centuries by nurturing authors and by producing historical and hagiographic accounts. The first Bulgarian hagiographic works to originate at Mount Athos, *Pohvalno Slovo za Sveti Kiril Filosof* and *Ohridska Legenda*, served as examples for future works.²⁵⁴ During the Ottoman period, the Athonite scribes copied many manuscripts, and the *taxidiots* (traveling monks) spread them to other Balkan lay and monastic communities. The monks charged those whom they visited to rediscover spiritual and national roots, and they established literacy centers in Bulgarian private

²⁵¹ Raphael Demos, "The Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (1750-1821): A General Survey," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 19 (1958).

²⁵² Nomikos M. Vaporis, "Introduction to the Neon Martyrologion," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1978).

²⁵³ Nicodemos the Hagiorite, *Neon Martyrologion Hetoï Martyria Ton Neophanon Martyron Ton Meta Halosin Tes Konstantinopoleos Kata Diaphorous Kairous Kai Topous Martyresantion* (Venice: 1794).

²⁵⁴ Konstantinos Nikhoritis, "Atonskata Agiographska Hinnographska Tradicia v Razvitiето na Bulgarskata Agiologia," *Duhovna Kultura* LXXVII, no. 2 (1997).

homes. Monk Iosif Bradati left marginalia in 1752 about the Ottomans destroying such reading clubs in private homes.²⁵⁵ Mount Athos monastic scriptoria contributed to this study three manuscripts: #183 *Four Gospels* (16th century), #39 *Apostle* (1841), and #916 *Four Gospels*.

Non-monastic centers of literacy

Sofia

Previously known as Serdica and Sredec, Sofia was a town and an administrative, cultural, spiritual, and intellectual center. Its significance is attested to by the fact that Tsar Peter moved the relics of Bulgarian Saint John of Rila to Sredets in 967 A.D. When Byzantium conquered Bulgaria in 971 A.D., the Bulgarian Patriarchate was moved to Sredets.²⁵⁶ During the Second Bulgarian kingdom, especially in the 13th century, Sredets continued to play a prominent role as a literary and literacy tradition.²⁵⁷

After the 15th century, Sofia led in the manuscript production and binding among other towns. Original works dedicated to the New Martyrs appeared there that describe the lives of Saint Georgi Novi Sofiiski, martyred in 1515, and St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski, martyred in 1555. Matei Grammatik's *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski* (#1521, HACI) describe in detail Sofia and the region. In 1578, the Austrian Stephan Gerlach described two schools in Sofia. Besides writing and copying of manuscripts, binding also became important. In 1581, the goldsmith Matei from Sofia bound a *Four Gospel* book from the church St. Paraskeva. Sofia maintained active contact with Mount Athos, Kratovo, and with the surrounding monasteries known as the "Sofia Mount Athos": Kurilovski, Seslavski, Germanski, Eleshnishki, Buchovski, Dragalevski, Ilianski, and Kremikovski. Sofia scriptoria contributed eight manuscripts to this study: #4 *Psalter*, #20 *Four Gospels* (17th century), #22 *Four Gospels*, #23 *Four Gospels* (16th century),

²⁵⁵ Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*, pp. 87-98.

²⁵⁶ Chavrukov, *Sredishta na Bulgarskata Knizhovnost 9-18 Vek [Centers of Bulgarian Literacy 9-18th Century]*.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

#34 *Four Gospels* (1563, produced in Kratovo monastery), #240 *Service and Vita of St. Haralampii*, and #413 *Menaion*.

Turnovo

The most important center of literacy, culture, and spiritual endeavors, and also the administrative capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1187-1393), Turnovo resembled Mount Athos in that it attracted the literate elite of the Balkans to study under the guidance of Patriarch Evtimii. The town also served as a center for pilgrimage, due to its abundant relics of saints.²⁵⁸ The Bulgarian Patriarchate was located in Turnovo until the Ottoman invasion in 1393. Its rulers led a massive building campaign of churches and monasteries, with more than 40 being built during the Second Kingdom.²⁵⁹ Turnovo monasteries become the "university" to educate future monks, grammarians, teachers, artists, decorators, and clergy from Bulgaria and neighboring lands.²⁶⁰ Turnovo monasteries become centers of book production. Monks were required to obtain a good education, copy manuscripts, and read books. Many of those educated monks moved to other places to teach and copy manuscripts.

As a center for literacy, culture, education, and spirituality, Turnovo became famous for two figures: Tsar Ivan Alexander and Patriarch Evtimii. The Tsar led the massive building campaign and book production. Patriarch Evtimii led the most important grammatical and orthography reform and creation of the Middle Bulgarian literary language.²⁶¹ During this time, Slavic books were retranslated from the original Greek.²⁶² Patriarch Evtimii also was instrumental in establishing Hesychasm. Before the Ottomans, the most important highly illustrated and illuminated manuscripts were custom-produced following the tradition of luxurious manuscripts of Byzantine rulers from the Comnenian dynasty. Most of these remnant manuscripts now reside in foreign

²⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 59.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 62.

²⁶¹ Chavrukov, p. 77.

²⁶² Chavrukov, *Sredishta na Bulgarskata Knizhovnost 9-18 Vek [Centers of Bulgarian Literacy 9-18th Century]*.

collections, and HACI does not have manuscripts from this period and location. Turnovo scriptoria contributed to this study with the #203 *Horologion*.

Vraca

Vraca was an important center for literacy and book production during the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, surrounded by a circle of monastic establishments that connected to and nurtured each other.²⁶³ Tsar Ivan Asen I built the most important, Sveta Troitsa monastery, at the end of the 12th century.

Despite the Ottoman invasion, Vraca continued its legacy as an important center of literacy and scriptoria. The earliest evidence comes from 1559 from the monastery Saint Elias. Teacher Todor established the first *kiliino* [cloister] school in 1632 and copied a *Psalter* for its needs.²⁶⁴ The graduates of this school furthered this legacy and established new schools in other places.

In the 18th century, Vraca scriptoria attracted the well-known author, translator, scribe, and *taxidiot* Iosif Bradati, known primarily for his translation of the compilation known as *Damaskin*. Bradati taught the general population but also produced faithful disciples such as Todor Vrachanski. Vrachanski authored ten *Miscellany* books with sermons, *vitae* of saints, and *damaskini*, and he also copied the works of Bradati.²⁶⁵ Further, Vrachanski applied language closer to the vernacular of the masses and left remarkable epigrams in #182 *Panegirik* (1425) and #131 *Damaskin* (1840), two of the manuscripts contributing to this study.

In his works, Vrachanski criticized ignorance and adoption of pagan customs and rituals among Christians and admonished people against conversion to Islam as a matter of preserving national identity.²⁶⁶ In 1794, another famous figure, that of Priest Sofronii Vrachanski, received his episcopate honorific. Sofronii Vrachanski copied two of Paisii of Hilandar's famous chronicle, taught, and served as priest. Vraca scriptoria contributed six manuscripts to this study: #122 *Horologion* (1768), #80 *Lenten Triodion* (1682), #79

²⁶³ Ibid., p. 90.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 195.

²⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 200.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 201.

Triodion (16th century), #116 *Menaion* (16-17th century), #118 *Menaion* (16th century), and #179 *Damaskin* (1782).

Sliven

Sliven was a major cultural and literacy center of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom. Tsar Ivan Asen I built 24 monasteries in the region surrounding Sliven to resemble Mount Athos, and the area became known as *Slivenska Mala Sveta Gora* (the Sliven little holy mountain, or little Mount Athos).²⁶⁷ *Taxidiots* from Mount Athos and Constantinople stopped regularly in this region. Sliven scriptoria contributed one manuscript to this study: #29 *Four Gospels* (16th century).

Skopie (Macedonia)

This well-established center of the 13-14th centuries had active book production, but no examples have survived. Many Bulgarian monastic establishments also existed in this Macedonian area: Virginski, Markov, Karpinski, and the monastery Sveti Jovan Pretecha [St. John the Forerunner]. Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian monks worked, studied, and served together. After the 17-18th century period, some towns and villages located in Stara Planina and Sredna Gora also become important scribal centers. Skopie scriptoria contributed three manuscripts to this study: #188 *Psalter*, #194 *Euchologion*, and #317 *Panegirik*.

Early printed books

This census of the HACI corpus of printed books bearing marginalia revealed a glimpse of the history of printing and the availability of printed books in the Balkans during the Ottoman period. Because the printing press was not allowed into Bulgaria until the middle of the 19th century, Bulgarian churches received printed books only from Venetian, Serbian, Russian, Turkish, and Romanian sources. Bulgaria's liturgical books were printed abroad as early as 1537 in Venice (#208 *Octoechos*) and as late as 1843 (#279 *Octoechos*). Thirty-nine printed books comprised 27% of the total of works in this

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

study. The majority (28) were liturgical books, *Psalters*, *Gospels*, *Menaions*, *Euchologions*, *Triodions*, and *Octoechos*. Devotional books included a *Bible*, *Kiriakodromions*, *Prologues*, a *Works of the Church Fathers*, and an *Akathyst*. Being needed for church services in village and town churches, liturgical books were more in demand and appeared much earlier, although the *Bible* appeared also at an early date.

Venetian printing presses

Serbian typographers Bozhidar and son Vincenzo Vukovich established in Venice the earliest and most important Slavic printing press functioning outside the Ottoman Empire. The first printed book called the *Euchologion* appeared in 1519. In the 16th century, the Bulgarian Yakov Kraikov bought that press.²⁶⁸ Fourteen Venetian printed books contributed to this study, many of them from churches in Sofia and vicinity: #244 *Menaion*, #270 *Psalter*, #272 *Psalter*, #208 *Octoechos* (1537), #271 *Psalter*, #158 *Gospel* (1671), #198 *Triodions*, #256 *Triodions* (1561), #337 *Menaion* (1689), and #270 *Psalter*, #271 *Psalter*, #272 *Psalter*, and #273 *Euchologion*.

Russian printing presses

Printed books from Russia arrived as gifts of good will to Bulgarian Christians in the 17-18th centuries. These books were written in Russian Church Slavonic (RCS) and influenced heavily the development of the New Bulgarian language.²⁶⁹ South Slavic clergy influenced the spread of RCS, especially Kiprian who fled the Ottoman invasion and settled in Muscovite Russia, becoming Archbishop of Moscow, and Grigorii Tsamblak who became Metropolitan of the Kiev.²⁷⁰ Paisii of Hilendar admitted that he used printed Russian sources with RCS but encouraged others to turn to the Bulgarian vernacular "*ruski rechi prosti obratih na bulgarski prosti rechi i slovenski*" (I adapted/changed common/ordinary Russian words into simple and Slavonic words),

²⁶⁸ Petkanova, D. *Starobulgarska Literatura: Ensiklopedichen rechnik*. Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2003), pp. 495-496.

²⁶⁹ I. Haralampiev, *Istoricheska Gramatika na Bulgarskia Ezik [Historical Grammar of Bulgarian Language]*. (Sofia: Faber, 2001).

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

although his hybrid language incorporated a significant number of Russian words and expressions.

Ordinary laypeople could not understand RCS, so Sofronii Vrachanski printed a book in 1806 of his sermons in simplified Bulgarian: the *Kiriakodromion*.²⁷¹ Three copies of this printed *Kiriakodromion* are used in this study: #135, #212, and #341.

The majority of Russian printed books were used in the liturgy and in clerical education. The first complete Russian printed *Bible*, produced in Ostrog in 1581, made its way to Bulgarian lands (#9 *Bible*) and used the 9-10th century Old Church Slavonic language from the time of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.²⁷² The *Bible* was printed at the initiative of Duke of Lithuania Konstantin Ostrozhki to counter the growing Catholic Uniate influence. Russian printed books that appear in this study are: #7 *Psalter*, #9 *Bible* (1581), #180 *Gospel* (1645), #241 *Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, #246 *Prologue*, #247 *Prologue* (17th century), #248 *Prologue* (1735), #260 *Prologue*, #285 *Book of Rules*.

Ukrainian printing presses

In comparison to Russian presses, the Ukrainian presses, specifically those in Kiev caves²⁷³ and Lvov, apparently specialized in the production of *Psalters*. Ukrainian presses contributed four books to this study: #162 *Psalter*, #211 *Psalter*, #276 *Psalter*, and a #161 *Gospel*.

Serbian / Montenegrin printing presses

Five liturgical books with marginalia were printed by Serbian / Montenegrin printing presses and were used in this study: #350 *Menaion*, #350 *Menaion*, #287 *Triodion*; #239 *Psalter*, and #192 *Euchologion*.

Bulgarian printers and printing presses

²⁷¹ Petkanova, p. 496.

²⁷² I. Goshev, "Stari Zapiski i Nadpisi: Istoricheski, Liturgicheski, i Bibliographski Zapiski i Tekstove [Old Marginalia and Epigraphy: Historical, Liturgical, and Bibliographical Marginalia and Texts]," (1927, 1929, 1935, 1936, 1937.).

²⁷³ *Kievo-Pecherska Lavra*, Caves Monastery of Kiev.

The first Bulgarian printer, Yakov Kraikov, worked in Venice during the first half of the 16th century. He bought the printing press owned by Bozhidar and Vincenzo Vukovich and produced liturgical books typeset in the Church Slavonic alphabet.

The first book printed in *novobulgarski* (New Bulgarian) was the *Kiriakodromion* or *Nedelnik*, authored and typeset by Bulgarian bishop Sofronii of Vratsa (Vrachanski), a disciple of Monk Paisii. Bulgarian printers Dimitri Mihailo Popovich and his son Georgi produced 1,000 copies in their workshop located in Rimnik, Wallachia, between April 24 and November 25, 1806. Three copies of this famous *Kiriakodromion* containing the bishop's sermons are in the HACI collection and are used in this study as previously mentioned: from Breznik (#341), the village of Enina (#212), and the Iscrets monastery (#135).

These centers of book production, both monastic and non-monastic, varied in geographical location from Venice in the West, to Moscow in the North, to Mount Athos in the South, to Varna in the East. Chapter 7 will discuss the specific centers that produced the manuscripts and early printed books of the HACI collection and the wide range of genres, origins, languages, and dates of production of the manuscripts and books that form the corpus of interest to this study. The chapter will compare the items that contain marginalia and colophons to the entire HACI collection to indicate the importance of this behavior and practice of writing.

7 THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHIVAL CHURCH INSTITUTE (HACI)

Although no consensus has been reached about the total number of surviving Slavic manuscripts and early printed books, Gergova and Dipchikova in their 1997 proposal for a national survey, and Dobрева in a 2005 study of Bulgarian manuscripts estimate it at 8,000 to 8,500 in Bulgarian repositories.²⁷⁴ The Bulgarian National Library holds 1,510 Slavic manuscripts, according to the UNESCO Memory of the World register and other sources.²⁷⁵ However, Axinia Dzhurova, a professor in Slavic and Byzantine art history, estimates that only 3,000 Slavic manuscripts are preserved in Bulgaria.²⁷⁶

This study focuses primarily on the manuscript collection of the Historical and Archival Church Institute (HACI) in Sofia, Bulgaria. The HACI collection consists of documents from the Bulgarian Exarchate, from the Holy Synod, from other monastery library and archival collections, and from church leaders' personal archives. In 1896, the Holy Synod founded this collection of medieval manuscripts and early printed books. Eighty years later, in 1974, the HACI was established as a research institution.²⁷⁷ In 1987, the Vuzhrozdenski (Renaissance) Museum library and archives collection was transferred to HACI, consisting of letters, a *Kondika* (a codex containing archival documents of the church administration), notebooks, printed books, 362 Slavic manuscripts, 200 Greek manuscripts, about 100 manuscripts in other languages, and about 500 early printed books including 236 Slavic early printed books, with the rest in Greek, and Latin.

The HACI was rated by Bulgarian and international scholars as one of the most

²⁷⁴ A. Gergova and A. Dipchikova, "National Program for the Preservation of Library Collections," (Sofia: Union of Librarians and Information Services Officers, 1997). Milena Dobрева, *Medieval Slavonic Written Cultural Heritage in E-World: The Bulgarian Experience* (2003 [cited 1/20 2005]); Available from <http://www.komunikacija.org.yu/komunikacija/casopisi/ncd/2/d005/document>.

²⁷⁵ E. Moussakova and A. Dipchikova, *The Role of the National Library in Preserving National Written Heritage* (International Journal "Information Theories & Applications, 2004 [cited October 31 2007]); available from <http://64.233.169.104/search?q=cache:3ECQ6cndPeUJ:www.foibg.com/ijita/vol11/ijita11-3-p14.pdf+Bulgarian+national+library+number+of+manuscripts&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=11&gl=us>.

²⁷⁶ A. Džurova, *V Sveta Na Rukopisite [in the World of Manuscripts]* (Sofia: Universitetsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2007).

²⁷⁷ T. Krustanov, "100 Godini Rukopisna Sbirka Pri Svetia Sinod [100 Years of Manuscript Collection at the Holy Synod]," *Tsurkoven vestnik* 17 (1996).

significant collections of manuscripts and early printed books.²⁷⁸ Among the early printed books are incunabula and a first edition of the famous *Ostrozhka Bible* (1581).²⁷⁹ Other significant holdings include the *Slepche Gospel, Four Gospels* written by Ioan Kratovski, and the *Boboshevo Gospel*.²⁸⁰ The miniatures from the *Slepche Gospel* make it one of the most beautiful examples of Bulgarian manuscript decoration during the Ottoman period, with its golden-plated frontispieces of the Evangelists. Manuscripts from across Bulgaria reside in the HACI, but the primary portion of the collection came from the Bachkovo and Nesebur monasteries, two the most significant Bulgarian medieval libraries.

According to a 2001 survey of Bulgarian Slavic scholars, the HACI collection of 1,511 manuscripts and early printed books, including 598 Slavic items, ranks among all repositories as second in importance for Bulgarian manuscripts, second in importance for Byzantine and Greek manuscripts, and second in number and significance of manuscripts and early printed books in Bulgaria, after the National Library.²⁸¹ Scholars in Slavic linguistics, history, the history of art, paleography, computer text processing, medieval studies, and Byzantine musicology say that the collection is "of international and national significance . . . and a part of the Bulgarian national patrimony," "extremely valuable," "second in size in Bulgaria," "significant," and "very important."²⁸² Figures 7.1-2 show the building where HACI collection is currently housed and the renovated facility after the 2003 reconstruction sponsored by the Orthodox charity organization the Order of St. Ignatius.

²⁷⁸ T. Nikolova-Houston, *Pearls and Perils of Slavonic Medieval Manuscripts: A Case Study* (University of Texas at Austin, 2002 [cited]; Available from <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~slavman/HACIpreservationassessment.htm>).

²⁷⁹ #9 *Bible*.

²⁸⁰ #340 *Four Gospels*, #34 *Four Gospels*, #250 *Four Gospels*, #28 *Four Gospels*.

²⁸¹ Nikolova-Houston, *Pearls and Perils of Slavonic Medieval Manuscripts: A Case Study* ([cited]).

²⁸² Nikolova-Houston, Tatiana. *Slavic medieval treasures from Bulgaria*. Available at: <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~slavman/HACIpreservationassessment.htm>



Figure 7.1-2: The edifice of the National Theological Academy, where HACI currently resides. HACI reading room, HACI repository.

The composition of the HACI collection, based on a census of the collection,²⁸³ showed the following distributions of items by national origin, medium, genre, and date.

National origin:

702 Greek	46.5%
598 Church Slavic	39.6%
59 Modern Bulgarian	3.9%
48 Modern Russian	3.2%
104 other	6.9%
Total: 1,511	~100%

Media:

852 paper-based books.....	56.4%
605 paper-based manuscripts.	40.0%
43 parchment manuscripts	2.8%
11 bombazine manuscripts.....	0.7%
Total: 1,511	~100%

²⁸³ Nikolova-Houston, *Pearls and Perils of Slavonic Medieval Manuscripts: A Case Study* ([cited]).

Genre distribution:

The HACI collection consists of 256 different genres and titles, mostly theological and service books, with a few textbooks such as algebra; arithmetic; geometry; an alphabet book; Greek, Italian, Persian, Roman-Greek, South Slavic, and Turkish-Greek grammar books; Geography; History; four dictionaries; and 18 Greek encyclopedias. Other subjects include political theatre, poetry and philosophy, logic, and rhetoric. The Classics consist of Demosten, Diodorus, Xylophone, Mark Anthonius, the mythology of ancient Elada, Socrates, Sophocle, and Plutarch. The most prevalent genres are:

192 <i>Menaion</i>	12.7%
107 <i>Psalter</i>	7.1
82 <i>Euchologion</i>	5.4
70 <i>Four Gospels</i>	4.6
66 <i>Selected Gospels</i>	4.4
51 <i>Octoechos</i>	3.4
51 <i>Miscellany</i>	3.4
51 <i>Triodion</i>	3.4
28 <i>Damaskins</i>	1.9
23 <i>Service and Vitae of Saints</i> ...	1.5
23 <i>Euchologion</i>	1.5
21 <i>New Testament</i>	1.4
20 <i>Chronicles</i>	1.3
16 <i>The Book of Pentecost</i>	1.1
733 other	48.5
Total: 1,511:	100%

The chronological distribution of the 474 dated manuscripts and early printed books is:

10th century:	2.....	0.4%
11th century:	4.....	0.8
12th century: ...	12.....	2.5
13th century: ...	13.....	2.7
13-14th century: 3.....		0.6
14th century: ...	37.....	7.8
14-15th century: 6.....		1.3
15th century: ...	36.....	7.6
15-16th century: 14.....		3.0
16th century: .	120.....	25.3
16-17th century: 16.....		3.4
17th century: ...	69.....	14.6
17-18th century: 5.....		1.1
18th century: ...	40.....	8.4
18-19th century: 3.....		0.6
19th century: ...	94.....	19.8
Total:	474.....	100%

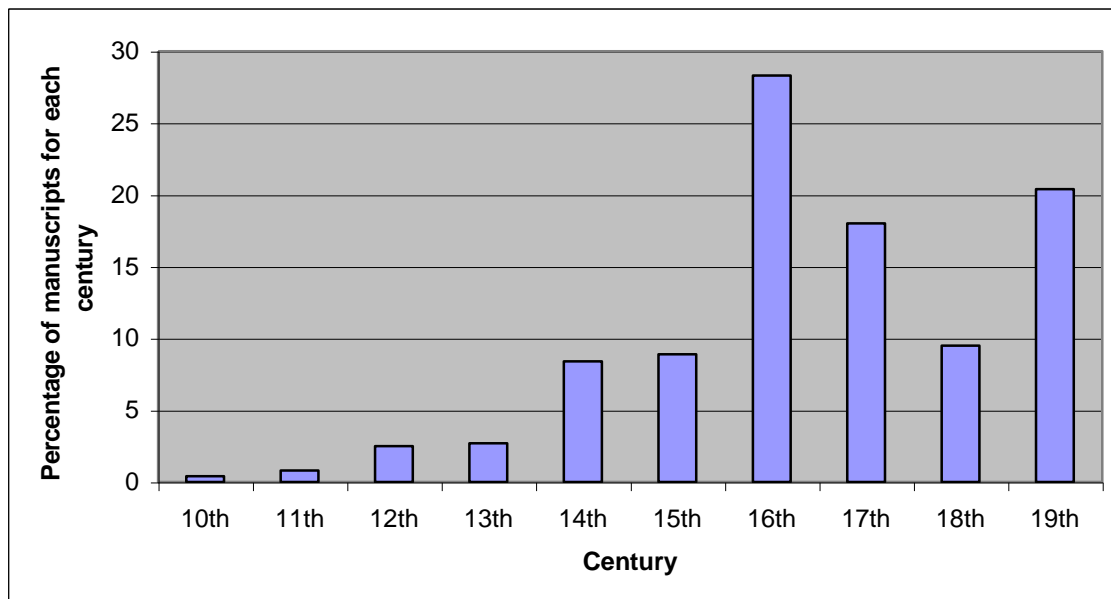


Figure 7.3. Chronological distribution of HACI manuscripts.

The pioneers of descriptive cataloguing in Bulgaria, Evtim Sprostranov and Ivan Goshev, produced the first HACI catalogs in the beginning of the 20th century.

Sprostranov (1900) described the first 137 manuscripts and 20 fragments, although he did

not describe the texts, miniatures, watermarks, and metal cover inscriptions and did not supply any images.²⁸⁴ He did not date the items according to paleographical methods of analysis. Goshev (1926-1937) revised Sprostranov's catalog and described an additional 130 manuscripts.²⁸⁵

Contemporary scholars and researchers in Slavic studies have noted the incompleteness and errors of these older catalogs. Although the HACI collection contains 1,511 items, only a selective few are listed in the union catalog *Bulgarian Manuscripts: from 11th to 18th century*.²⁸⁶ Currently, the National Archeography Commission is describing the complete the collection. The author of this study created an electronic database of the entire HACI collection and verified it with reference to previous publications and catalogs.

Genre distribution of marginalia-containing items

The portion of the HACI collection used in this study can be presented in the following categories: liturgical, devotional, and other genres that relate to the governing of the church services. Appendix 2 lists and describes the liturgical books used in this study. Neither marginalia nor colophons are an obligatory feature of manuscripts and printed books. In fact, the value of this census comes from the thorough examination of the collection. One hundred and fifty six books are missing from the collection, according to data from previous catalogs. Marginalia and colophons appear in 146 Slavic items, 24.4% of the 598 Slavic manuscripts and books in the HACI collection. One hundred and four of the 362 Slavic manuscripts (28.7%) and 42 of the 236 Slavic printed books (17.8%) bear inscriptions. The analysis of the genre distribution of HACI manuscripts containing marginalia appears below:

120 Liturgical books:

²⁸⁴ Evtim Sprostranov, "Belezhki i Pripiski po Sofiiskite Cherkvi (Notes and Marginalia Found at Churches of Sofia)," *Sbornik na Narodnia Universitet* 22-23, no. 3 (1906-1907).

²⁸⁵ Goshev, "Stari Zapiski i Nadpisi: Istoricheski, Liturgicheski, i Bibliographski Zapiski i Tekstove [Old Marginalia and Epigraphy: Historical, Liturgical, and Bibliographical Marginalia and Texts]."

²⁸⁶ Boriana Hristova, Darinka Karadzova, and Anastasiia Ikonomova, *Bulgarski Rukopisi ot XI do XVIII Vek Zapazeni v Bulgariia: Svoden Katalog* (Sofia: Narodna Biblioteka "Kiril i Metodii, 1982).

32 *Menaion* ("books of the months")
 29 *Gospels* (*Four Gospels* books and *Selected Gospel Readings*)
 15 *Psalters*
 12 *Euchologions* (book of prayers and services)
 10 *Triodions* (book containing hymns, prayers, and odes for the season Lent to Pentecost)
 9 *Octoechos* (collection of musical notations of hymns in the eight notes),
 4 *Apostles* books (the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles)
 4 *Service and Vitae* of saints and martyrs
 2 *Irmologions* (musical notation manuscripts for the feasts of Holy Week)
 2 *Horologions* ("the book of hours")
 1 *Akathysts* (collection of hymns dedicated to saints)

24 books for private and communal reading:

6 *Prologues* (collection of short biographical accounts of saints)
 5 *Damaskini* (collection of selected readings from Damaskine the Studite)
 4 *Miscellanys* (collections of various literary genres)
 3 *Kiriakodromions* (*Nedelnik*, the first printed book written in vernacular Bulgarian)
 2 *Bibles*
 2 *Panegiriks* (collection of sermons of praise to saints)
Slavo-Bulgarian History (the famous chronicle written by Paisii Hilendarski)
Works of St. Cyril (devotional readings by the 4th century Church Father).

Other books include two *Typicons* (book of directives and rubrics, which regulate the order of the divine services for each day of the year).

Annotators preferred to inscribe liturgical service books. In sum, the number of liturgical books accounts for 120 or 82.2 % of all books with marginalia and 20% of all Slavic books in the collection. The number of devotional books for private and communal reading, 24, represents 16.4% of the books with marginalia, and 0.4% of all Slavic books in the HACI collection. The number of other books represents 1.3%.

Provenance of books

Monastic and non-monastic scribes and authors chose to inscribe similar sets of liturgical books (*Menaions*, *Psalters*, *Gospels*, *Acts of the Apostles*, *Euchologion*, *Octoechos*, *Triodion*). Annotated books from town churches, however, included more

genres such as *Irmologions*, *Horologions*, and *Akathysts*, produced in monastic scriptoria or imported from foreign printing presses.

A democratization of book culture occurred after the 18th century with the production of new devotional genres of books and imported printed books in the vernacular language, close to the language spoken by laypeople. Each collection of devotional literature for private and communal reading of monastic and non-monastic collections was unique, but the Church encouraged the development of private reading among laypeople. Heterogeneity of genres of devotional books appears in non-monastic collections, especially those from town churches. The town church collection of devotional books shared a similar set of devotional books, such as *Service and Vitae of Saints*, *Panegirik*, *Prologues*, *Kirakodromion*, and the *Bible*. *Miscellany* collections appeared in both monastic and village church devotional collections, while town church libraries shared the popular *Damaskins* and *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* with their readers. As printed books reached village and town churches, some like the *Kiriakodromion* (typeset in the vernacular in 1806) appear in all monastic and non-monastic collections.

The HACI collection represents the geographical area of Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Serbia proper, including books that originated or resided in monastic and non-monastic churches, scriptoria, and other collections. This wide range of locations represents the centers of active manuscript production in the Balkans. Monastic scriptoria remained active throughout the Ottoman period. Sometimes, church officials from abroad donated manuscripts as acts of goodwill, peace, and ecclesiastical brotherhood. Such examples are the 19 manuscripts and two printed books acquired from Serbian sources.

Many manuscripts remained in their original locations until they were brought to the HACI. Other scriptoria produced manuscripts for use in other locations. Printed books published in Venice, Russia, Ukraine, Serbia, and Istanbul came to Bulgarian or Macedonian churches by unknown routes. Thus, the corpus cannot be defined by provenance, because some manuscripts changed hands two and even three times before they ended up at HACI collection. The list shows the origin of the manuscripts and

presents in parentheses the final location.

Sixteen Bulgarian scriptoria produced 41 manuscripts: Etropole monastery (12), Eleshnica monastery (6), Seslavski monastery (2), Boboshevo monastery (3), Isrec monastery, Cherepish (3), Dolni Lozen, Dragalevski, Germanski, Ilinski, Kremikovci, St. Kuzma and Damian, Kurilo, Kupinovo, Buhovo, Kokalyanski, and four manuscripts from unknown locations.²⁸⁷

Four Macedonian scriptoria produced 14 manuscripts: St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (6), Zrze monastery (3), Kratovo monastery (3), and Slepche monastery (2).²⁸⁸ Mount Athos scriptoria are represented by three manuscripts.²⁸⁹ The total number of manuscripts coming from Bulgarian monastic scriptoria is 58.

Twelve scriptoria in Bulgarian town churches produced twenty seven manuscripts produced. Those town-based scriptoria are: Sofia (8), Vraca (4), Pazardzhik (2), Pirdop (3), Lukovit (2), Breznik, Oryahovo, Samokov, Sliven, Teteven, Turnovo, Varna, and one manuscript from an unknown Bulgarian town church.²⁹⁰ Macedonian town churches scriptoria produced three manuscripts from Skopie.²⁹¹ The total number of manuscripts coming from Bulgarian and Serbian town church-based scriptoria is 30.

Thirteen village-based scriptoria produced sixteen manuscripts. Those Bulgarian village churches include Brezovo (2), Kamenica (2), Kunino (2), Beli Lom, Bunovo, Drugan, Kilifarevo, Kochino, Krivodol, Lokorsko, Strelcha, Shipochan, and Mlechevo.²⁹² The total number of manuscripts coming from village-based scriptoria is

²⁸⁷ Etropole monastery (#85, #86, #90, #92, #96, #97, #99, #100, #107, #485, #511, #573), Eleshnitsa monastery (#1, #11, #66, #93, #103, #109), Seslavski monastery (#2, #315), Boboshevo monastery (#27, #28, #78), Iskrets monastery (#67), Cherepish monastery (#44, #54, #117), Dolni Lozen monastery (#46), Dragalevski monastery (#21), Germanski monastery (#47), Ilinski monastery (#41), Kremikovtsi monastery (#374), St. Kuzma and Damian monastery in Kuklen (#88), Kurilo monastery (#24), Kupinovo monastery (#207), Buhovo monastery (#243), Kokalyanski monastery (#368), and unknown (#80, #128, #182, #184).

²⁸⁸ St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (#177, #196, #320, #326, #351, #353), Zrze monastery (#201, #294, #303), Kratovo monastery (#250, #304, #1521), and Slepche monastery (#302, #340)

²⁸⁹ Mount Athos (#39 #183, #916).

²⁹⁰ Sofia (#4, #20, #22, #23, #34, #240, #338, #413), Vraca (#79, #116, #118, #179), Pazardzhik (#108, #111), Pirdop (#83, #115, #131), Lukovit (#123, #134), Breznik (#431), Oryahovo (#15), Samokov (#137), Sliven (#29), Teteven (#225), Turnovo (#122), Varna (#37).

²⁹¹ Skopie (#188, #194, #317).

²⁹² Brezovo (#58, #84), Kamenitsa (#5, #127), Kunino (#13, #63), Beli Lom (#232), Bunovo (#130), Drugan (#38), Kilifarevo (#213), Kochino (#295), Krivodol (#3), Lokorsko (#49), Strelcha (#30), Shipochan (#12), Mlechevo (#251).

16.

Five Bulgarian monasteries (10) used printed books that reside at HACI: the St. Kuzma and Damian monastery, the Buhovo monastery, the Sokolski monastery, the Dryanovo monastery, the Iscrec monastery, and one monastery of unidentified location (provenance not mentioned).²⁹³ The Ravanitsa monastery and another unknown monastery near Nish, each represents one printed books.

Three Bulgarian town churches provided 19 manuscripts: Sofia (14), Turnovo, Breznik, Dupnica, and an unidentified monastery represent another two printed books.²⁹⁴ One Macedonian town church in Mileshevo represents one manuscript.²⁹⁵ Nine Bulgarian village churches provided ten printed books.²⁹⁶ Table 7.1 demonstrates the geographical distribution of manuscripts and printed books containing marginalia and colophons.

LOCATION	MANUSCRIPTS	PRINTED BOOKS	TOTAL
Monastery	58	12	70
Town church	30	20	50
Village church	16	10	26
Total	104	42	146

Table 7.1: Geographical distribution of manuscripts and printed books with marginalia and colophons.

The data demonstrate that monasteries used printed books besides producing and using manuscripts; that town and village churches both were active in the production of manuscripts, and that Sofia churches appeared to use the largest number of printed books, a total of 14. The comparison based on types of books (manuscript-printed books), provenance (town-village, monastic-non-monastic) reveals several trends.

Monastic-Non-monastic book production: In this census, monastic scriptoria present 70 manuscripts and printed books, or 11.7% of all HACI Slavic manuscripts. Non-

²⁹³ St. Kuzma and Damian monastery (#247, #260), Buhovo monastery (#81), Gabrovo (#36), Dryanovo monastery (#211), Iskrets monastery (#135, #6, #7, #50), and unknown (#279).

²⁹⁴ Sofia (#9, #158, #180, #208, #241, #244, #246, 248, #270, #271, #272, #276, #287, #337), Turnovo (#285), Breznik (#285), Dupnica (#239), and unknown (#119, #205).

²⁹⁵ Mileshevo printed (#192).

²⁹⁶ Manuscripts from Gorni Balvan (#186) *Lokorsko* (#70, #256) (Slatino (#198); *Klissura* (#161) (1); Kosachevo (#180) *Dushantsi* (#60) *Sushica* (#72), *Enina* (#212), Palun (#237).

monastic manuscripts present 76 manuscripts and printed books, or 12.7% of all that appear inscribed with marginalia.

Manuscripts-printed books: Authors inscribed 104 manuscripts compared to 42 printed books. Those 104 manuscripts constitute 28.7% of the entire stock of Slavic manuscripts at HACI. The 42 printed books constitute 17.8% of the entire stock of 236 Slavic printed books.

Town-village churches: More authors from towns preserved the tradition of marginalia writing, inscribing 50 manuscripts and printed books, 8.3% of all Slavic books at HACI. Village scriptoria inscribed 26 printed books, 4.3% of all Slavic printed books.

Bulgarian monastic-non-monastic: On the other hand, books from Bulgarian monasteries, including (50 books, 44 manuscripts and 6 printed books), 8.4% of HACI Slavic books, is relatively smaller than the books from Bulgarian churches in towns and villages (72 books, 42 manuscripts and 30 printed books), or a total of 72 books, 12% of all HACI Slavic books.

Bulgarian manuscripts-printed books: Monastic scribes inscribed 86 manuscripts with marginalia, or 23.7% of all Slavic manuscripts. Authors inscribed 36 printed books, 15.3% of all Bulgarian printed books at Bulgarian monasteries.

Bulgarian town-villages: Bulgarian authors in town churches inscribed 25 manuscripts and 21 printed books, a total of 46 books, 7.6% of all HACI Slavic books. These manuscripts and printed books compares with the 17 manuscripts and 9 printed books, a total of 26 books, that is 4.3% of all HACI Slavic books inscribed by authors from village settings.

Having described and delineated the methods of study now we can revisit the major research questions by focusing first on the nature of marginalia and colophons. The following part of this study, Part Two, examines both colophons and marginalia by asking the same set of questions (who, what, when, where, how) that provide a comprehensive view of each specific category of marginalia within its thematically oriented cluster group. In addition, the evidence from archeology, epigraphy, historical sources, other marginalia and Islamic Law Codes corroborates with the HACI evidence

of marginalia and colophons. The findings of this study appear in this section and answer the first set of research questions established in the beginning of the study:

I. Major characteristics of Slavic marginalia and colophons

1. What are the major characteristics (descriptors) of marginalia and colophons in terms of their authorship, typology, provenance, chronology, physical placement, diplomatics, language, and script?
2. What is the relationship between marginalia and colophons and their literary, social, cultural, political, and historical context?

PART TWO: RESEARCH FINDINGS

8 CATEGORIES OF MARGINALIA AND MAJOR THEMATIC CLUSTER GROUPS

Content analysis provides an unobtrusive textual analysis of the unstructured texts of marginalia and colophons based on their subject matter. It also helps to identify patterns within and between different sources. The data, besides being highly unstructured, also possess a high degree of diversity of sub-genres and types such as official documentation, graphic, literary, and historical. As a result of the content analysis, the HACI data clustered into six subject-related categories and 20 subcategories (binding, sponsorship of books, scribal notes, book history, bookplates, doodles and illustrations, epigrams, inscriptions, trying the quill, personal notes, education-related, readers' notes, pilgrimage notes, commemoration lists, donations of goods, church repairs, historical marginalia, natural phenomena and disasters, and religious texts).

. ***Within the codex -- the Word of God:*** Marginalia and colophons about the book, its history, production, preservation, and ownership

The world within: Marginalia about the interaction between the book and its users

The world between: Marginalia about interactions between laypeople and the Church.

The world outside: Marginalia about political and social history

The world around: Marginalia about natural history

The world beyond: Marginalia about God in prayers and hymns.

The 20 subcategories received identical treatment through the application of content analysis, the historical method, and codicological analysis to answer a similar set of questions (who, what, when, where). The answers to these questions define the attributes that describe marginalia and colophons in cataloging terms. These attributes include metadata, archival description, authorship, title/genre, provenance, date, structure, language, scripts, and formulae.

The corpus was also analyzed as a whole to discover other tendencies. For example, the different categories of marginalia changed from century to century: some

categories of marginalia steadily increased in number, while new categories emerged such as the reader notes since the last decade of the 18th century. In general, marginalia appeared throughout the book without pre-established order and design planning, although some authors displayed a preference for particular locations.

9 WITHIN THE CODEX -- THE WORD OF GOD: MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS ABOUT THE BOOK, ITS HISTORY, PRODUCTION, PRESERVATION, AND OWNERSHIP

9A Colophons

The colophons are inscriptions or a devices, sometimes pictorial or emblematic, that the original scribe of the manuscript placed at the end of books or manuscripts to inform about the title of the works, date, number of lines, and the identity of the original from which the scribe copied.²⁹⁷ Colophons date to 7th century BCE cuneiform tablets of the Epic of Gilgamesh,²⁹⁸ and an early use of the colophon was to hold a curse formula to protect the work against theft.²⁹⁹

The legacy of the Byzantine colophons

Byzantine models guided Sts. Cyril and Methodius as they translated the first South Slavic books,³⁰⁰ and South Slavic scribes followed Byzantine models of colophon form, structure, and content. Byzantine colophons apparently served as the model also for works from Serbia, Russia, Wallachia, and Moldavia.³⁰¹ The typical Byzantine colophon consisted of an invocation to God, title, name of scribe, time of writing, humility formula,

²⁹⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Colophon" Available at: <http://dictionary.oed.com>. Accessed on October 1, 2007.

²⁹⁸ D. Weber, "Colophon: An Essay on Its Derivation.," *Book Collector* 46/3 (1997)., p. 379-380.

²⁹⁹ M. Drogin, *Anathema: Medieval Scribes and the History of Book Curses* (Montclair, NJ.: A. Schram, 1983).

³⁰⁰ V. Djorovich, "Utjetsaj i Odnoshaj Izmezd u Starih Grchkih i Srpskih Zapisa i Nadpisa," in *Glas* (Belgrade: Srpske kralvske akademije, 1910).

³⁰¹ Bistra Nikolova, "Pripiskata v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga ot 10-14 Vek (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century)," in *Pomoshtni Istoricheski Disciplini (Supporting Historical Disciplines)*, ed. Kuncho Georgiev (1991), Bozhidar Raikov, "Pripiskite v Sistemata na Starata Bulgarska Knizhnina (Colophons in the System of the Old Bulgarian Literature)," *Paleobulgarica* XVI, no. 2.

and prayer of the scribe to the reader for forgiveness. The colophon of the Byzantine *Porphirski Psalter* from 862 A.D. is typical:

Ἐν ονόματι τῆς ἁγίας ἀχράντου καὶ ζωογονικῆς τριάδος. Πατρός καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐγράφη καὶ ἐτελειώη τό παρόν ψαλτήριον, κελεῦσει τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου πατρός ἡμῶν νέε προέδρου τῆς φιλοχρίστου μεγγλοπόλεως τιβεριάδος.
Ἐτους κόσμου ςτο ἰνδ ἰά. Χειρί θεοδώρου ἐλαχίστονου διακόνου τῆς ἁγίας χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως ὅσοι οὖν ἐντυγχάνετε. Εὐξασθε ὑπερ τῶν κατεργασμένων καὶ ἐργαχμένων εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ.³⁰²

Translation: In the name of the holy, immaculate and life-giving Trinity, Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, the present Psalter was written and completed, by the request of our holy and wise father Noah, bishop of the Christ-loving great city of Tiberias. In the year of 6370 (862), indict 11. By the hand of Theodore, the least of the deacons of the holy Resurrection of Christ our God. As many therefore, of you who meet with it pray for those things which have been accomplished and done for the glory of God.³⁰³

Pre-Ottoman colophons in South Slavic manuscripts

Colophons resemble legal or administrative records, providing evidence of transactions and historical events. The colophon was not the place for scribes to discuss themselves, but to provide proof of professional skill and trustworthiness. On this basis, Slavic colophons are valuable historical sources because of their intellectual content and description of specific historical events, figures, and transactions. Colophons and the title pages of contemporary printed books, identify and authenticate the book by stating title, scribe, translator, date, location, and association with authority and historical events.

The scribe Toudor Doksov wrote the earliest known Slavic colophon in 907. It exists in later Russian copies, although the original manuscript is lost. Invasions by Kievan Rus' and the Byzantine empires many Bulgarian manuscripts destroyed or captured and taken away. Prince Svyatoslav looted the Bulgarian capital Preslav in 968 and 969-171, and Byzantium ruled Bulgaria from 1018 to 1187. Doksov's colophon was

³⁰² E. F. Karskij, *Slavianskaija Kirilovskaiia Paleografiia [Slavic Cyrillic Paleography]* (Leningrad: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1928). p. 276.

³⁰³ Translation by the author.

copied without apparent change from the original Bulgarian manuscript to the manuscript belonging to the Russian ruler.³⁰⁴ It reads:

Those blessed books, called Athanasii, by the will of our Bulgarian Knyaz Simeon, translated from the Greek into the Slavonic language by Bishop Constantine, a disciple of the Moravian Episcopo Methodii, in the year of the Creation of the world 6414 [906], indict 10. According to the will of this same knyaz, Toudor Doksov copied it, in the year from the Creation of the world 6415 [907], near the mouth of the river Ticha, where now sits a holy golden church, built by the same knyaz. During this same year, on May 2, Saturday, died the servant of God - the father of this knyaz, who lived in blessed faith and truthful confession to our Lord Jesus Christ - the great, honest, and righteous lord of ours - the Bulgarian knyaz named Boris, with the Christian name Mikhail. This Boris converted Bulgarians in the year "echt behti." In the name of the Father and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.

This colophon used the Byzantine formula and the official court language to authenticate the document. Doksov identified himself and provided the date of copying and the location of the scriptorium. Traces of Bulgar vestiges still existed in the vocabulary, *echt behti* [Year of the Dog]. The colophon consisted of two subdivisions or layers, one discussing the manuscript's production and the other discussing the deeds of royalty. The scribe provided information about the commission of the manuscript by Knyaz [prince] Simeon, the future Tsar [king] Simeon (893-927). A translator assisted the scribe in the correct textual transmission from the Byzantine original to the Slavic translated textual edition. This translator, Episcopo Constantine, constituted an authority sufficient to assure the authenticity of the textual transmission, consisting of translation, dictation, and writing. The text used Old Church Slavonic grammatical rules, cases, pronouns, and vocabulary.

The Colophon during the Ottoman period

The Ottoman army entered the Balkans in the 14th century and occupied most of it until the Ottoman Empire collapsed into the modern Turkish nation in the early 20th century. Bulgaria fell under Ottoman domination from 1393 to 1878, with regions such as

³⁰⁴ B. Hristova, D. Karadzhova, and E. Uzunova, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*, vol. 1-2 (Sofia: Nacionalen fond Kultura, 2003).

Eastern Thrace remaining under Turkish control into the 21st century. Monk Isaia Serski (i.e., from town of Seres, North Greece) described the September 26, 1371, battle at Chernomen near the river Maritsa, in which the Ottomans destroyed the armies of brothers Vulkashin (governor of Prilep) and Ivan (governor of Seres region) Uglesha.³⁰⁵ Isaia's name appears only in a number cryptogram, revealing the scribe's possible concern about discovery and retaliation from the Ottomans.³⁰⁶

The evidence of colophon production in HACI manuscripts

Colophons did not always appear in Slavic manuscripts and early printed books. The entire HACI collection of 598 Slavic items contains only 37 manuscripts and 15 printed books with colophons. Being situated at the back or the front of the item, colophons might have become detached due to extensive use. Or perhaps those who rebound the items might not have valued the information about manuscript production and omitted colophons during rebinding.

Even though colophons are scarce, the available data can provide information to answer the following questions that identify all attributes/descriptors of colophons:

1. Who produced the colophons?
2. Which types of manuscripts contain colophons?
3. When were colophons written? What is their chronological distribution?
4. Where did colophons occur, geographically?
5. What form and content characterize colophons?
6. Where were colophons placed in the manuscript?
7. Which script and languages were used in colophons?

³⁰⁵ Boryana Hristova, Karadzova, Darinka, and Uzunova, Elena, *Belezhki Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-19 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-19th Century)*, vol. 1-2 (Sofia: Nacionalen fond Kultura, 2003), pp. 51-53.

³⁰⁶ For the text of the colophon and more detailed treatment of the historical information, refer to Chapter 12: Marginalia about political and social history.

Authorship

Who produced the colophons? A significant portion of scribes (10 out of 37 cases, or 27%) did not identify themselves and remained anonymous. Anonymity was normal in the hesychastic tradition of manuscript production in monasteries where the emphasis was not on authorship but on divine revelation.³⁰⁷ In some cases, scribes hid their names by using secret coding schemes.³⁰⁸ During the period 1425-1845, scribes who copied manuscripts represented both monastic and non-monastic clerical and secular occupations. Clergy working as scribes represent the following distribution of professional occupations: priests (8), monks (14), and deacons (1). Until approximately the middle of the 18th century, only monastic priests and monks copied manuscripts. Priest Ioan Kratovski, for example, a famous scribe and illuminator, produced custom-made illuminated manuscripts rich with floral elements and other beautiful decorations (Figures 9.1 and 9.2).³⁰⁹ The hieromonks Raphail, Danail, and Eustatii from the famous Etropole calligraphic and illumination scriptorium produced nine manuscripts (eight *Menaions* and one *Octoechos*).³¹⁰

In the second half of the 18th century, manuscript production spread to non-monastic scriptoria where non-monastic scribes produced manuscripts as best as they could in a writing style and book-hand that reflected lack of training and a lower educational level. Most of those manuscripts, however, were non-liturgical books, such as devotional books intended for private and communal reading, *damaskini*, and historical chronicles. Purvan, son of Vulcho, produced a *Miscellany* in 1825, and grammarian Belcho from Staro Selo copied a *Menaion*. One of the most prolific manuscript copyists of the 19th century was the teacher Theodore from Pirdop, producing

³⁰⁷ #374 *Gospel* (Kremikovtzi monastery), #320 *Menaion* (Prohor Pshinski monastery), #11 *Gospel* (Boboshevo monastery), #93 *Menaion* (Jakovshtica monastery), #573 *Octoechos* (Etropole monastery), #107 *Menaion* (Etropole monastery), #294 *Prologue* (Prilep monastery), #326 *Menaion* (St. Prohor Pshinski monastery).

³⁰⁸ #11 *Gospel*, #131 *Damaskin*.

³⁰⁹ #34 *Four Gospels* and #250 *Four Gospels*.

³¹⁰ #85 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #96 *Menaion*, #97 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*, #485 *Menaion*, #511 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*.

four manuscripts between the 1825-1845 period: a *Menaion*, two *damaskini*, and an *Irmologion*.³¹¹

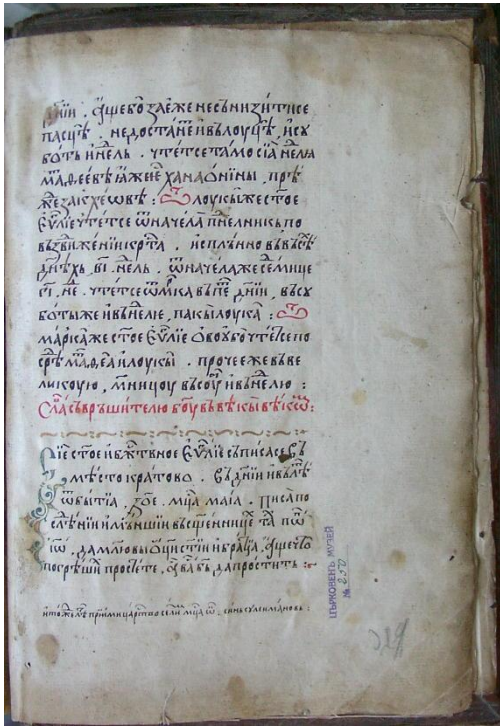


Figure 9.1: #250 *Four Gospels*, colophon of Ioan Kratovski

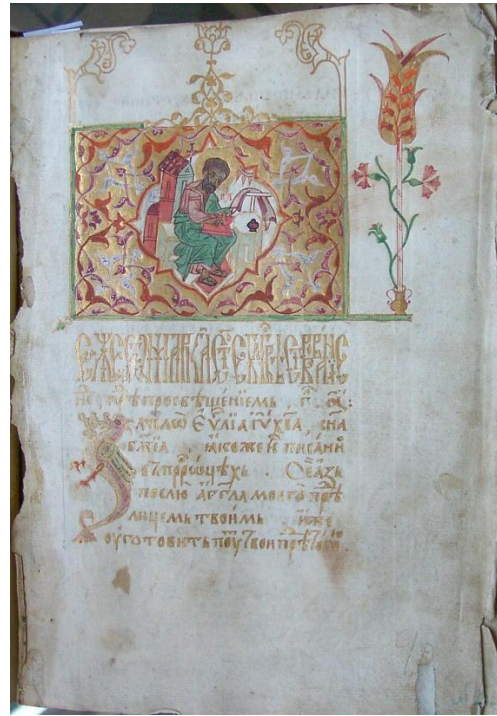


Figure 9.2: #250 *Four Gospels*.

The topos of humility (recusatio)

Traditionally, copying of manuscripts was considered a monastic duty. Scribes never emphasized their own achievements, but rather gratitude to God and their own unworthiness through "humility *topos*." The rhetorical trope of *recusatio* can be traced back to classical poetry to express self-deprecation or pretended humility. The Eastern hesychastic tradition influenced the use the humility *topos* appears frequently in both Western and Eastern Christian medieval literature, although the *topos* of humility resulted from. Scribes de-emphasized themselves in several ways: by positioning their names at the bottom of the colophon, by omission of their names, and by using the formula "the most sinful and unworthy of all." Usually, monastic scribes used the negative superlative

³¹¹ #115 *Menaion* (1825), #130 *Damaskin* (1827), #131 *Damaskin*, and #83 *Irmologion* (1845).

to emphasize their unworthiness before God and among their brethren, following the Biblical and Christian moral code.

Typical epithets included "the most sinful," "the least," "the most unworthy," and combinations of these. Although each scribe was the "most sinful," each found his own formula. Deacon Andrea inscribed in the earliest, from 1425, simply "most sinful." Monk Stephen saw himself as the humble . . . richest in abundant sins, but never good enough in virtuous life or obedience.³¹² The famous calligrapher priest Ioan Kratovski always viewed himself as "the least and last of all servants."³¹³ The Etropole scribes Evstatii and Rapael characterized themselves as "the least of all monks,"³¹⁴ and monks Raphael and Daniel were "the most sinful (Figure 9.3)."³¹⁵ Sometimes, Raphael did not use a humility title:³¹⁶ "the great deed of Hieromonk Raphael who was not tempted in his deeds neither the work of his hand to make something wrong but only his eyes."³¹⁷

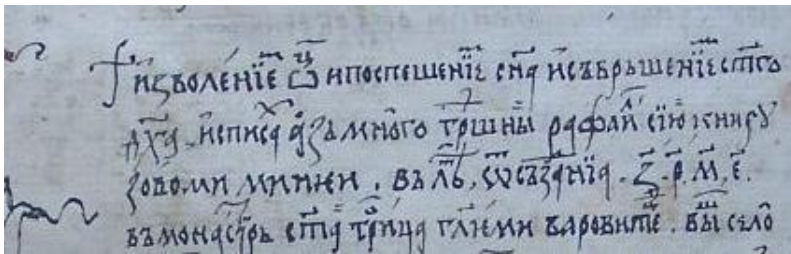


Figure 9.3: #96 Menaion, Etropole monastery, "most sinful Raphail."

The humility *topos* tradition continued until the end of manuscript production in the late 19th century. Teacher Theodore from Pirdop consciously realized the importance of producing manuscripts and revived the tradition, calling himself "the most unworthy and most sinful"³¹⁸ or "the most sinful and unworthy servant,"³¹⁹ "needed by nobody and most unworthy and most sinful."³²⁰

³¹² #916 *Gospel*.

³¹³ #34 *Four Gospels*, #250 *Four Gospels*.

³¹⁴ #485 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*.

³¹⁵ #96 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*.

³¹⁶ #92 *Menaion*, #97 *Menaion*.

³¹⁷ #85 *Menaion*.

³¹⁸ #115 *Menaion*, #83 *Irmologion*.

³¹⁹ #131 *Damaskin*.

³²⁰ #130 *Damaskin*.

Although they used superlatives, these *recusatio* possessed degrees of superlativeness. The first degree included one epithet, such as "the most sinful." The second degree of humility used two epithets, such as "the least and last of all servants." The third degree of humility required three epithets, such as "the most sinful, the most pitiful, and the least of all monks."

Genre distribution

Which kind of works contained colophons? Twenty six percent of HACI liturgical manuscripts, including *Gospel, Menaion, Service and Vita, Octoechos, Euchologion, Horologion, Apostle, and Irmologion* (consult Appendix 2 for explanation of each type of work), contained colophons, and 25% of HACI devotional books, including *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians, Miscellany, and damaskini* contained colophons:

Chronicles: *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1 out of 1) have colophons.

Damaskini (3 out of 5) have colophons.

Panagirik (1 out of 2), *Miscellany* (2 out of 4), *Horologions* (1 out of 2), and *Irmologions* (1 out of 2) have colophons.

Menaions (14 out of 31) have colophons

Gospels (10 out of 29) have colophons.

Octoechos (2 out of 8), and *Apostle* (1 out of 4) have colophons.

Prologues (1 out of 6) have colophons.

Euchologion (1) has colophons.

Few generalities emerge from the data. Older items have fewer colophons, indicating a possible wearing away of endpapers over the years.

Date and chronological distribution

When were colophons written? The presence or absence of colophons could be an indicator of book production, preservation, and susceptibility to damage. Few conclusions can be drawn from the scanty data. In the HACI collection, the earliest colophon appeared from a *Panagirik* found in the village of Gorni Balvan, Macedonia,

written in 1425 by Deacon Andrea to honor Serbian Despot Stephen (much of Macedonia was in political Serbia at that time). No HACI colophons appear in the periods between 1425-1497 and 1665-1704. In the pilot study, the *Pisahme da se znae* anthology included 289 colophons from 1255 books, 230 of which were produced after the Ottoman invasion. Table 9.4 provides comparison between the chronological distribution of colophons in both textual corpora, *Pisahme da se znae* anthology and HACI collection.

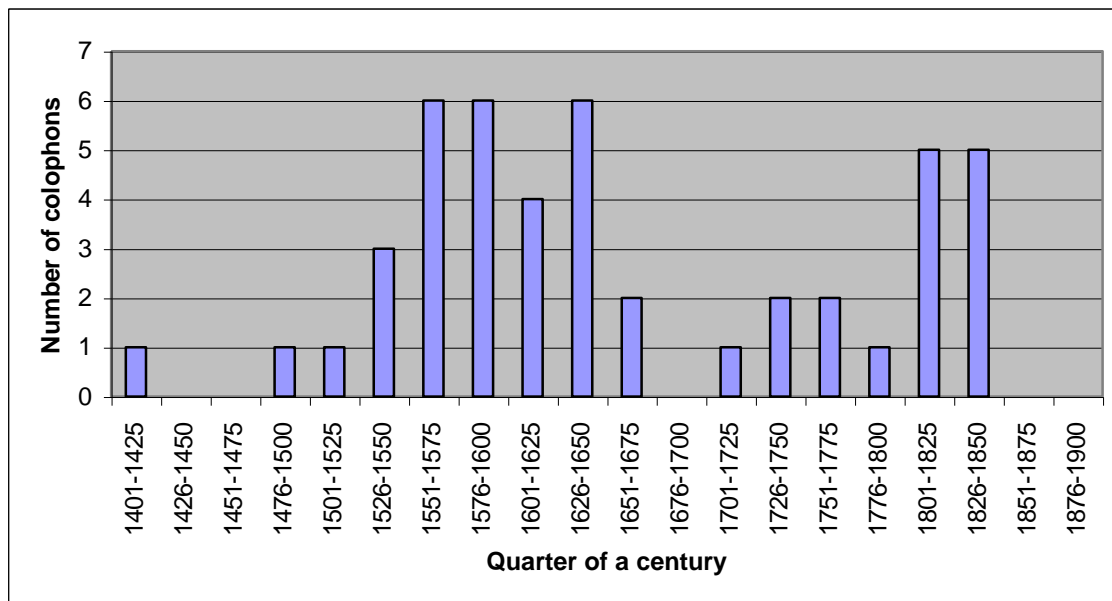


Figure 9.4: Chronological distribution of colophons.

Provenance

Where did colophons occur, geographically? This question addresses the geographical distribution and provenance of manuscript production in the Balkans. Colophons did not always include the place of writing. Scribes sometimes mentioned both the location and the name of a church (10 times)³²¹ mentioned nothing at all (9),³²²

³²¹ #27 *Four Gospels*, #34 *Four Gospels*, #39 *Apostle*, #46 *Service and Vita*, #54 *Euchologion*, #85 *Menaion*, #96 *Menaion*, #207 *Octoechos*, #303 *Menaion*, #1521 *Service and Vita*.

³²² #93 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*, #122 *Horologion*, #128 *Miscellany*, #182 *Panegirik*, #294 *Prologue*, #374 *Gospel*, #485 *Menaion*, #511 *Menaion*.

only the location (11),³²³ or only the name of a church (7).³²⁴

Monastic scriptoria led in colophon production. The most active scriptoria were Etropole monastery (10 colophons), Kratovo monastic scriptoria (3 colophons), Boboshevo (2 colophons). Thirteen monastic scriptoria produced 25 colophons, compared to eight secular scriptoria that produced 12 colophons. All colophons before 1750 were produced in monasteries, remotely located high on the mountains. After 1750, monastic scriptoria reduced production.

Diplomatics: form, content, and formulae

What form and content characterize colophons? Colophons followed the formal documentary structure and manner of writing of Byzantine and Latin medieval documents. The structural parts included a *protocollo* (introduction, preamble), a *testo* (text), and an *eschatollo* (conclusion).³²⁵

First part: the Protocollo (Protocol, introduction)

The *protocollo* in Slavic manuscript colophons usually contained an *invocatio* and an *intitulatio*. South Slavic cribes did not use the *salutatio* and *inscriptio* elements of medieval documents.

Invocatio: Scribes followed the traditionally accepted rule of initiating Byzantine and Latin medieval formal documents with a prayer to the Holy Trinity. When they copied the Byzantine manuscripts, they also translated and copied the colophons, slightly modified, although with similar ideas and formulae.³²⁶ Ruseva first systematized colophons and noticed the opening prayer to God, who allowed the scribe to begin and finish the book. Nikolova designated this element as "introduction" (*uvod*), a short prayer

³²³ #28 *Four Gospels*, #83 *Irmologion*, #115 *Menaion*, #116 *Menaion*, #130 *Damaskin*, #131 *Damaskin*, #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, #179 *Damaskin*, #250 *Four Gospels*, #916 *Gospel*, (?) *Miscellany*.

³²⁴ #11 *Gospel*, #92 *Menaion*, #97 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*, #320 *Menaion*, #326 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*.

³²⁵ Vatican Secret Archives, *The Diplomatics of the Papal Documents: Parts of the Document*. Available At (2007 [cited 2007]); available from <http://asv.vatican.va/en/dipl/partsdocument.htm>. Based on: T. Frenz, *I Documenti Pontifici Nel Meioevo E Nell'eta Moderna. Citta Del Vaticano, Litera Antiqua 6* (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1989). O. Guyotjeannin, Pycke, J., and Tock, B., *Diplomatique Médiévale*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1993)., pp. 71-85, 208-226.

³²⁶ Djorovich. "Utejacaj i odnos izmezhdu starih grchkih i srpskih zapisa i nadpisa," p. 6.

showing gratitude to God, with whose help the book was written.³²⁷ The *invocatio* appeared in 59.5% of colophons, throughout the period, even to the last manuscripts written in the middle of the 19th century.

Variation 1

The *invocatio* begins the colophon, although in rare cases it can frame both opening and closing. Such an opening invocation makes the colophons resemble a "prayer and akathyst."³²⁸ One of the most typical and common initial invocations to God, *Izvoleniem Otsa, i pospesheniem Sina, i suvursheniem Svetago Duha* (With the will of the Father, the help of the Son, and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit),³²⁹ according to Djorovich does not have an equivalent in Byzantine and Greek colophons.³³⁰

The earliest invocation that used this formula appeared in 1262 in *Nomokanon*, written during the reign of Bulgarian Tsar Konstantin, produced by monk Ioan (Dragoslov), for Kiril, the bishop of Keivan Rus, in 1262. Another early example appeared in the *Parenesis of St. Ephrem of Syria*, produced in the Lesonovo monastic scriptorium during the reigns of Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander and Serbian Tsar Stephan in 1353. A third early example appeared in the *Bdinski Miscellany*, produced in 1360 for the queen of the Vidin Bulgarian kingdom.

The doxological *invocatio* formula was used in various monastic and secular scriptoria during the 16-17th centuries but especially in *Menaion* manuscripts. The 11 examples at HACI came from colophons of manuscripts produced at Pshinski (2), Etropole (7), and Boboshevo monasteries,³³¹ and Samokov.³³²

The formula first appeared in two colophons of *Menaion* manuscripts produced at the St. Prohor Pshinski monastery in 1510.³³³ In the HACI corpus, the Etropole monastic

³²⁷Nikolova, "Pripiskata v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga ot 10-14 Vek (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century)." p. 103.

³²⁸Djorovich, "Utjetsaj i Odnoshaj Izmezd u Starih Grchkih i Srpskih Zapisa i Nadpisa.", p. 7.

³²⁹Ivana Ruseva, "Pripiski i Belezhki po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments)," *Izvestia na Seminara po Slavyanska Filologia pri Universiteta v Sofia* 4 (1921), pp. 8-10.

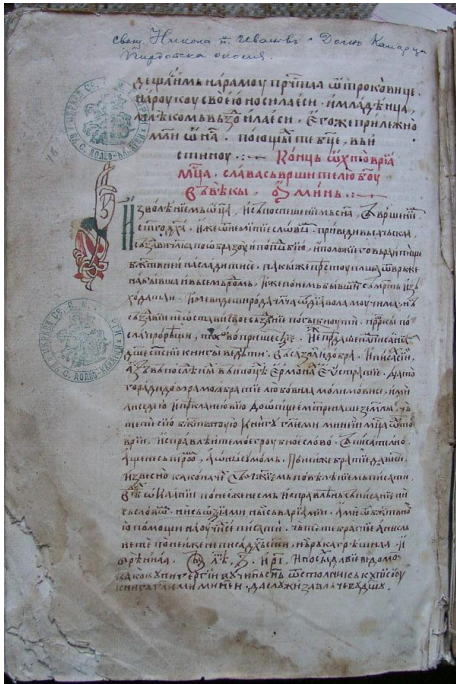
³³⁰ Djorovich, p. 6.

³³¹ #27 *Four Gospels* (1665)

³³² #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771).

³³³ #320 *Menaion* (1510) and #326 *Menaion*.

scriptorium used this *invocatio* formula as its "trademark" (15 cases). Seven of these colophons were signed by the well-known calligraphers and scribes Hieromonks Eustatii,³³⁴ Raphael,³³⁵ and Daniil.³³⁶ This formula received the most elaborated treatment in the #485 *Menaion* produced in 1602 at Etropole monastery (Figure 9.5).



By will of the Father, and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit, only to them be the glory, who created everything, creating Man in His own image and likeness of Himself and placed him to enjoy the heavenly foods, again to remain... To the world, and after them there was death from [...], so Mankind can see the devil tortured Creation and never leaving his creation to perish - prophets proclaiming the glory, who came. And also to hand down the writings of the soul-saving books to know; good stories.

Figure 9.5: #485 *Menaion* produced in 1602 at Etropole monastery.

Frequently used formulae

"By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit." This was one of the most frequently used *invocatio* formulae, which remained stable and characterized a large portion of Bulgarian colophons. This formula of invocation was unprecedented in Byzantine manuscript tradition.³³⁷ The formula was typical for donors' epigraphic inscriptions and appeared as early as 1491 in the church Holy Apostles near the Rila monastery and on icons found at Treskavishki monastery

³³⁴ #485 *Menaion* (1602).

³³⁵ #96 *Menaion* (1637), #92 *Menaion* (1639), #85 *Menaion*.

³³⁶ #99 *Menaion* (1643)

³³⁷ V. Djorovich, "Utjetsaj i Odnoshaj Izmezd u Starih Grchkih i Srpskih Zapisa i Nadpisa," in *Glas* (Belgrade: Srpske kralvske akademije, 1910). quoted in Smjadovski, *Bulgarska Kirilska Epigraphika IX-Xv Vek [Bulgarian Cyrillic Epigraphy 9-15th Century]*. Smyadovski, S. *Bulgarian Cyrillic Epygraphy IX-XV century*. Sofia, 1993, p.13.

from 1430.³³⁸ Appendix 9 contains a table that compares the stability and change in the formula through the years.

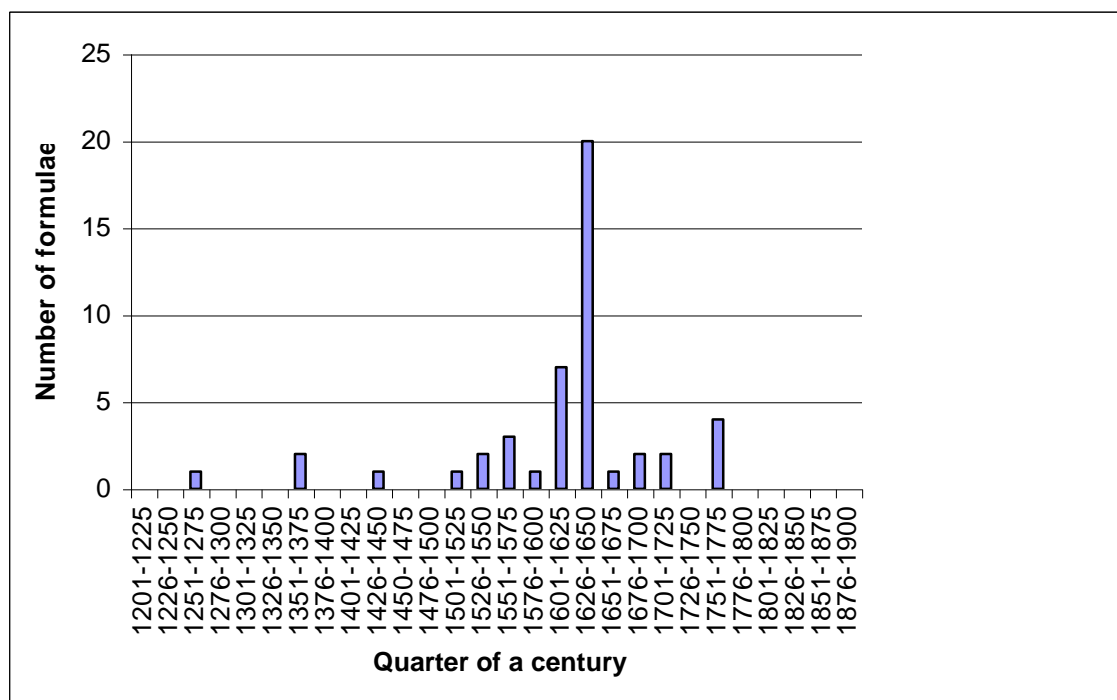


Figure 9.6: Chronological distribution of the formula "By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit."³³⁹

The results of this study demonstrated by Table 9.6, that this formulaic statement appeared in colophons most frequently during the 16th century (31 cases, out of 47, i.e., 66%). The primary reason for this increase in the use of the formula comes from the fact that the Etropole monastic scriptorium not only led in book production during this period but also set the model for other scriptoria to follow. In this particular case, Etropole scribes applied the formula consistently (23 out of 31 cases during the 16th century, i.e., 74%). The HACI collection possessed a significant number of manuscripts produced at

³³⁸ Smjadovski, *Bulgarska Kirilska Epigraphika IX-XV Vek [Bulgarian Cyrillic Epigraphy 9-15th Century]*, p. 70.

³³⁹ Data increments (quarter of a century) were chosen based on the authoritative source *Belezhki na Bulgarskite knizhovnitsi*, written by the Bulgarian National Archeographic Commission, Sofia.

Etropole monastery; 15 manuscripts including *Menaion*³⁴⁰, *Triodion* #499, and *Octoechos* #573.

The use of this formula reoccurred in the last quarter of the 19th century when Paisii's *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* started to be copied. The first copiers, including priest Alexii from Samokov (1771), perhaps applied this formula to appear authoritative and archaic, for the pledge that Paisii set forth in this ideological program encouraged Bulgarians to look back into their past to know their contributions to the *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

Besides its stable and conservative use between 1262 and 1772, the formula presented some small variations in terms of spelling and prepositions. The most stable remained the first part, "By the will of the Father" [*Izvoleniem otsa*], although variations occurred in terms of the word *Otsa*, sometimes being spelled *otsa* (Greek spelling). *ОТЦЪ, ОТЦЪА*, in Old Church Slavonic means father [*bashta* in modern Bulgarian]. *Изволением* means wish, will, intent, allowance [*volya* in modern Bulgarian]. In 1713, monk Kiril from Zograph monastery, however, slightly changed it into *blagovoleniem* (*blagovolyavam, odobryavam, proyavyavam dobra volya*, i.e., having a good intention, approve, demonstrate a good will). He also used another word instead of help: *denstvom sna* (by the act of the Son).

The second part of the formula, "and the help of the Son" (*i pospesheniem Sina*), has gone through changes. During the first century (1262-1360) period, authors used interchangeably *suversheniem* and *pospesheniem*, although afterwards, the formula stood stable at "*i pospesheniem sna*." The preposition *съ* (meaning together with, simultaneously, and especially when participating with another person) was added to *поспешнем* (*pospesheniem*) in some cases. The two usages alternate and do not show a particular pattern or preference of usage.

The third part of the formula "and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit" (*i suvrusheniem s(ve)t(a)go d(u)ha*) also remained consistent, except when the scribes of *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* changed it and used its Russian form, *soversheniem*. The

³⁴⁰ #85 *Menaion*, #86 *Menaion*, #90 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #93 *Menaion*, #96 *Menaion*, #97 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*, #100 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*, #485 *Menaion*, #511 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*.

traditional conservatism in literary language forms is evident also from the consistent abbreviations of the holy names of God and the Trinity in agreement with Orthodox orthography.

Variation 2

Scribes also glorified God in another frequent type of *invocatio*, designated as the "Glory to God" formula. This *invocatio* appeared in ten HACI colophons and lasted until the end of manuscript production in the middle of the 19th century. This address to God as the single Creator differs from the previous form of God as the Holy Trinity. The Glory to God formula appeared in Macedonian and Bulgarian monastic manuscript colophons from Kratovo, Eleshnitsa, Boboshevo, Kupinovo, Cherepishki, Prilep and Mount Athos monasteries, and also in the later devotional books produced by Todor Pirdopski in Pirdop in the 19th century. Manuscripts that used this formula included a wider variety of genres, such as *Four Gospels*, *Service and Vita*, *Octoechos*, *Euchologion*, *Prologue*, and especially the later devotional *damaskini*.

Some scribes called God simply "our God"³⁴¹ or "God the Creator."³⁴² Other addresses sound like hymns: "Glory be to our God in the ages of ages. Amen" or "Glory to God the Creator from the beginning of the world." Scribes from Kratovo, Boboshevo, and Kupinovo monasteries in the 16th century used more descriptive characteristics, such as "most merciful" "the Omnipresent," or "the all-seeing and most merciful and over-blessed God."³⁴³ Hieromonk Dionisii from Kupinovo monastery displayed his devotion most elaborately (Figure 9.7):

+ To the all-seeing and more than merciful and blessing God, to him all the glory and greatness, who allows us to finish all deeds for the common good, and from him who starts all the glory and the country forever and ever, Amen. And the blessedness of God be with you always. Amen.

³⁴¹ #1521 *Service and Vita* (1564).

³⁴² #11 *Gospel* (1577), #916 *Gospel*.

³⁴³ #11 *Gospel* (1577), #28 *Four Gospels* (1578), #207 *Octoechos* (1595).

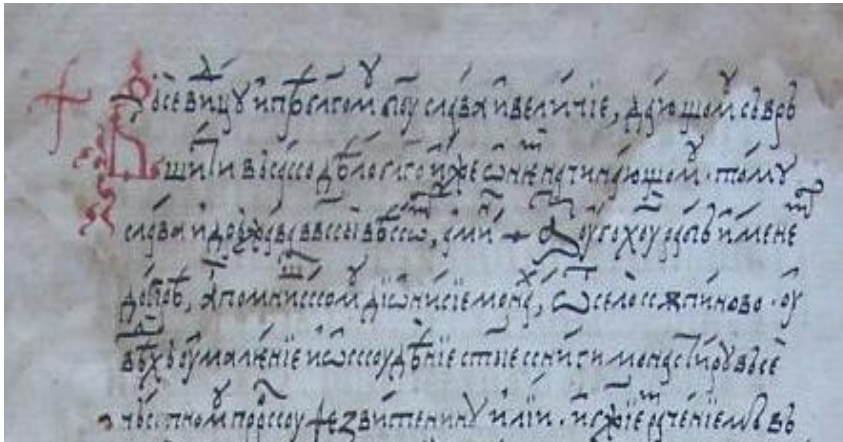


Figure 9.7. #207 *Octoechos*, Kupinovo monastery.

Scribes not only endowed God with the typical characteristics of mercy, omnipresence, and blessedness, but also characterized Him through some typical actions: "God blesses all works and provides the successful ending of them if they are dedicated to His glory."³⁴⁴ "God reigns invisibly everywhere."³⁴⁵

Some scribes used unique expressions as an *invocatio*. The trademark of Todor Pirdopski, who produced four manuscripts during the 19th century that reside in the HACI collection,³⁴⁶ utilized both the "Glory to God" and the "The Trinity doxology": "Glory be to the One in Essence, and Life-giving and inseparable Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. By the will of God and prayers to God" and "In the glory of the Holy and one in essence and inseparable Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit by the will of God."

Intitulatio: 78% of all colophons include the title of the manuscript.³⁴⁷ In rare cases, however, scribes omitted the title although they emphasized the act of copying and their names: "This wrote [the sinful . . .]." The first obvious characteristic of the

³⁴⁴ #11 *Gospel*, "God, giving an end to all blessed works, which was begun on His behalf."

³⁴⁵ #916 *Gospel*, Mount Athos.

³⁴⁶ #115 *Menaion* (1825), #130 *Damaskin* (1827), #131 *Damaskin* (1840), and #83 *Irmologion* (1845).

³⁴⁷ #182 *Panegirik* (1425); #374 *Gospel* (1497); #34 *Four Gospels* (1563); #1521 *Service and Vita* (1564); #250 *Four Gospels* (1567); #11 *Gospels* (1577); #28 *Four Gospels* (1578); #207 *Octoechos* (1595); #54 *Euchologion* (1600); #97 *Menaion* (1600); #485 *Menaion* (1602); #93 *Menaion* (1603); #128 *Miscellany* (1615); #303 *Menaion* (1616); #96 *Menaion* (1637); #92 *Menaion* (1639); #107 *Menaion* (1639); #27 *Four Gospels* (1665); #294 *Prologue* (1748); #122 *Horologion* (1768); #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771); #179 *Damaskin* (1782); #115 *Menaion* (1825); #130 *Damaskin* (1827); #131 *Damaskin* (1840); #39 *Apostle* (1841); #83 *Irmologion* (1845); #85 *Menaion*; #116 *Menaion*; #326 *Menaion*.

intitulatio is in the relationship between the book and the scribe. Typically, and in monastic humility, monastic scribes expressed this relationship in the passive voice "this book was written/finished by . . ." Twenty-three scribes such as Raphael and Evsthatii from the Etropole monastic scriptorium subordinated themselves in this manner, for example. Later, secular scribes mentioned their names before identifying the title of the manuscript. Perhaps they possessed a higher sense of self-esteem or a higher sense of responsibility in positioning their names before the titles, using the active voice: "I wrote this book."³⁴⁸ The majority of these later colophons represent the *Menaion* liturgical genre and two devotional books: "Wrote [scribe's name] this book called *Menaion* in [date] (Figure 9.8)."³⁴⁹

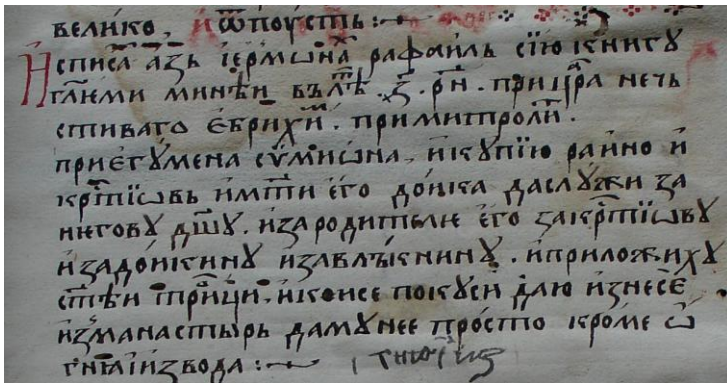


Figure 9.8: #97 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery

The *intitulatio* also provides clues about the typical attitudes of the times toward books. In the HACI corpus, colophons in manuscripts produced between 1425 and 1600 endowed books with characteristics such as: "[. . .] this holy and godly book was written in [location] in [date]."³⁵⁰

The tendency to endow manuscripts with spiritual superlatives disappeared during later times. For instance, six scribes between 1564 and 1748 simply designated the

³⁴⁸ #97 *Menaion* (1600), #485 *Menaion* (1602), #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771), #179 *Damaskin* (1782),

³⁴⁹ #97 *Menaion* (1600); #485 *Menaion* (1602); #96 *Menaion* (1637); #92 *Menaion* (1639); #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771); #179 *Damaskin* (1782).

³⁵⁰ #182 *Panegirik* (1425), #374 *Gospel* (1497), #34 *Four Gospels* (1563), #250 *Four Gospels* (1567), #54 *Euchologion* (1600); #182 *Panegirik* (1425); #374 *Gospel* (1497); #34 *Four Gospels* (1563); #54 *Euchologion* (1600); #250 *Four Gospels* (1567).

manuscript as the "the book" without further description" in three *Menaions*, *Octoechos*, *Prologue*, and *Service and Vita*. The formula-like *intitulatio* statement sounded like: "this book was written in [location]." ³⁵¹

Twelve scribes identified the title of the book using the expression "this [title] was finished/written." Among those examples appeared three *Four Gospels* manuscripts, typically treated as the most significant holy book:³⁵² "[. . .] this *Four Gospels* book was finished" in [date]." ³⁵³

A variation featuring both the generic word "book" and the title or genre of the manuscript appears in manuscripts between 1615 and 1845. Both monastic and non-monastic scribes utilized this particular form of *intitulatio*. Devotional books for private and communal reading, such as *damaskini* and *Miscellany*, appeared in this category. The *intitulatio* statement sounded like: "[. . .] this book called [title] was finished in [date]." ³⁵⁴

One of the most elaborated examples of *intitulatio* originated at Mount Athos. Even in the middle of the 19th century, when manuscript copying had declined the Mount Athos scriptorium continued to copy manuscripts for the entire Slavic Orthodox world. The colophon started with an *intitulatio* that resembled a table of contents. The scribe, "the sinful" monk Pavel, explained that the book was freshly translated from an old, more trustworthy source:

The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, now newly translated and gathered for the readers: liturgies with prokimeinons, and apostles, and hallelujahs, for the Sundays and all days from year to year, and also of the months, the feasts of our Lord and Theotokos and all Holy Saints in order selected without errors by me, sinful Pavel, hieromonk of Mount Athos, from the monastery . . . with the discovery of the life-saving grace of God in the

³⁵¹ #1521 *Service and Vita* (1564); #207 *Octoechos* (1595); #93 *Menaion* (1603); #303 *Menaion* (1616); #107 *Menaion* (1639); #294 *Prologue* (1748).

³⁵² #11 *Gospels* (1577), #28 *Four Gospels* (1578), #27 *Four Gospels* (1665).

³⁵³ #11 *Gospels* (1577); #28 *Four Gospels* (1578); #27 *Four Gospels* (1665); #122 *Horologion* (1768); #116 *Menaion*.

³⁵⁴ #128 *Miscellany* (1615); #115 *Menaion* (1825); #130 *Damaskin* (1827); #131 *Damaskin* (1840); #83 *Irmologion* (1845); #326 *Menaion*.

year since the Creation of the world, 7341, from the birth of God, Word in flesh 1841, indict 14, month of August.³⁵⁵

The *Memorandum* formula "Let it be known that..." occurs only once in the HACI corpus of colophons, in an undated *Menaion*³⁵⁶ produced by grammarian Belcho from the village of Staro Selo, Vraca region. Beyond that example, the memorandum formula does not appear in colophons in the HACI corpus.

Second Part of the Colophon: the Testo (Text, the Body)

The *testo* part of the colophon contained three elements, the *arenga*, the *dispositio*, and the *narratio*. The *arenga* displayed the motives for copying and sponsorship of the manuscript and appeared in 35% of all colophons in the HACI corpus. Most of those manuscripts belong to the *Menaion* genre (8 cases) and were produced at the Etropole monastic scriptorium during the 17th century. Their scribes most frequently emphasized their desire "to serve for the souls of their own, their parents, and relatives."³⁵⁷ This motive represents a long-preserved tradition of copying manuscripts in both the East and West as a way to discipline one's soul by hard and diligent work, filling time without leisure. Apparently, even monks continued to work for the spiritual benefit of their physical families, working hard "to serve for their souls and for the parents of Krustjo and Donka and for Vlugin,"³⁵⁸ "to provide because of my brothers for whom I pray with love and sit down and kneel down . . . mother our Earth . . . to serve for his soul,"³⁵⁹ or simply "to serve for his soul and his parents."³⁶⁰

The earliest example, dating from 1578, displays a higher degree of spiritual humility. The scribe of a *Four Gospels* hoped but was not certain of mercy from God.³⁶¹ Despite typical monastic humility, hesitancy, and suppressed self-esteem, scribes

³⁵⁵ #39 *Apostle* (1841)

³⁵⁶ #116 *Menaion*.

³⁵⁷ #97 *Menaion*, #485 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*, #85 *Menaion*, #326 *Menaion*.

³⁵⁸ #97 *Menaion* (1600).

³⁵⁹ #485 *Menaion* (1602).

³⁶⁰ #92 *Menaion* (1639).

³⁶¹ #28 *Four Gospels*.

completed their tasks and demonstrated great endurance and concern for a spiritual and intellectual benefit not only of themselves but also for a wider circle of people exceeding the monastic circle. One scribe expressed his feelings in a very poetic way:

And it appears that I am swimming in the depths of a stormy sea, wishing to reach a peaceful harbor. In this manner, all scribes would desire to reach the end of the book they write. So, I also, by the grace of God, I was able to achieve that too.³⁶²

Later, scribes began to include more personal statements about themselves and the value of their work. Dionisii, a monk from Kupinovo monastery, felt that the manuscript he copied and the elaborate colophon at its end would benefit the monastic community and provide a memory of him: "to be of service to the holy monastery, and for the memory of me, Dionisii the monk and my parents Kochu and my mother Dobre, and my friend Anna."³⁶³ Similarly, "to be for him for eternal memorial and his parents, and children to come to attend the monastery."³⁶⁴

When Paisii of Hilendar wrote his *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, he influenced his followers to continue his legacy of producing more such books for the general reader. From spiritual benefits, the new motives changed to concern for the survival of the nation and defending its national identity against foreign offenders. Alexii from Samokov in 1771 copied faithfully the original introduction of Paisii (Figure 9.9):

and from the great desire that I had, I labored and copied so that we have it, because I have seen many times how Serbians and Greeks ridicule us because we do not have our own history about the Bulgarian tsars and saints that used to reign and glorified [our history]. Because of this desire, and for my own Bulgarian kin, I copied this so that it would not decay; for fathers and brothers who read or desire to copy.³⁶⁵

³⁶² #54 *Euchologion* (1600).

³⁶³ #207 *Octoechos*.

³⁶⁴ #303 *Menaion* (1616).

³⁶⁵ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771).

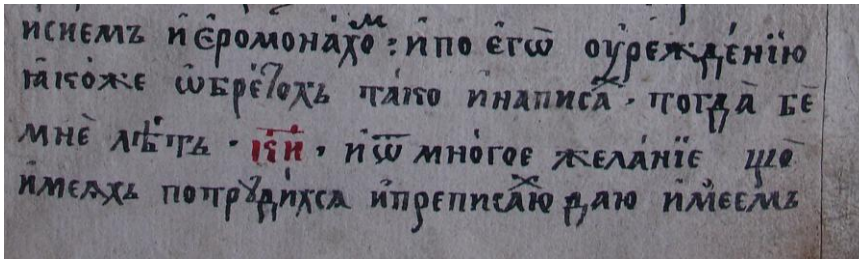


Figure 9.9: #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, 1771 copy.

Another popular book for common public reading, a *Damaskin* dating from 1782, expressed it even more simply: "Our writing is of great profit to all of us."³⁶⁶

Dispositio: The *Dispositio* provided the names of the donors of manuscripts. Only 30% of colophons provided this information. The tradition of including in the colophon information about the donors extended between the 1497-1665 period. The earliest example came from a *Gospel* (1497).³⁶⁷ During the 16th century, monastic scribes also donated manuscripts, fulfilling their religious obligation and discipline as ordered by the head of their monastery.³⁶⁸

The largest number of colophons that featured information about donors came from the 17th century. Secular donors sponsored eight *Menaion* and one *Four Gospels* manuscripts. After 1600, ordinary people became more active donors of manuscripts, and their names often appeared in groups. Nine secular donors provided funds for nine manuscripts,³⁶⁹ while only three monastic scribes, mostly from Etropole monastery, donated their work and the means for the manuscript production.³⁷⁰ Possibly because sponsorship appeared in separately designated formal marginalia (see Sponsorship Marginalia below), in the 1540-1842 period scribes ceased to include this information in colophons.

³⁶⁶ #179 *Damaskin* (1782).

³⁶⁷ #374 *Gospel*.

³⁶⁸ #320 *Menaion* (1510), 2, order of abbot and protoabbot and donor the scribe; #34 *Four Gospels* (1563), order of donor Mr. Mathei Lombardi; #11 *Gospel* (1577), abbot Genadii; #207 *Octoechos* (1595), the scribe as a donor, monk Mitrophan.

³⁶⁹ #97 *Menaion* (1600), 3 secular donors; #485 *Menaion* (1602), 2 secular donors; #303 *Menaion* (1616), 1 secular donor, #92 *Menaion* (1639), 2 secular donors; #107 *Menaion* (1639), one secular donor, #85 *Menaion*, 1 secular donor.

³⁷⁰ #96 *Menaion* (1637), monk Raphael; #99 *Menaion* (1643), monk Daniil, #27 *Four Gospels* (1665), priest donor.

Narratio: The *narratio* included exposition of a story, series of events, or facts, given in order and with connections between them; a narration, a story, an account. In 27 of HACI colophons of 52 (51%), the *narratio* described the historical context and circumstances of writing. Scribes include historical events and political rulers, the census of the sultan,³⁷¹ battles, ecclesiastical tenure, and Serbian and Greek ridicule of the Bulgarian lack of written history.³⁷² By mentioning rulers, scribes continued the practice of their predecessors. Pre-Ottoman colophons were the principal sources of such historical information, while Ottoman-era colophons de-emphasized the historical information, while scribes and other authors explicitly inscribed such information about historical events about wars, battles, atrocities, taxation, and census in separately written historical marginalia.³⁷³

Table 9.1 compares the frequency of historical information by date in colophons and historical marginalia. Historical information moved gradually from colophons to marginalia during the 17th century. During the 18th century, authors showed a preference to write separate historical marginalia rather than include such information in the colophon. A dramatic increase in historical works resulted from Paisii's influence in the 19th century. Both monastic and non-monastic authors documented historical events in various forms of narrative prose.

Century	Historical information in colophons	Historical information in marginalia
15th	1	0
16th	4	0
17th	3	3
18th	1	7
19th	0	35

Table 9.1: Chronological comparison between historical information contained in colophons and marginalia.

³⁷¹ #511 *Menaion* (1526), #250 *Gospel* (1577), #97 *Menaion* (1600), #99 *Menaion* (1643).

³⁷² #207 *Octoechos* (1595), #92 *Menaion* (1639), #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771).

³⁷³ For more detailed discussion of content of historical marginalia, themes, events, and key historical figures, refer to Research Findings: Chapter 12: Marginalia about political and social history.

Third Part of the Colophon: the Eschatollo (conclusion)

The final part of the colophon, known as the *eschatollo*, included conventional phrases of authentication, dating and publication. The *eschatocol* included the *datatio*, the *locatio*, the *subscriptio*, the *sanctio*, the *apprecatio*, and the *validatio*.

The *datatio* statement indicated the date when the document was written. The specification of the time and often the place of execution of a writing or inscription typically appeared at the end or the beginning of a colophon. Scribes included dates in 46 colophons (89%).³⁷⁴ The typical *datatio* formula featured the expression "In the year of [...]." Variations came from different manners of dating. Some scribes dated the creation of the world, *anni ab origine Mundi*, with numbers ranging between 6000-7000 years.³⁷⁵ From 1425 CE to 1643 CE, seven scribes added more detail to the date by including indiction,³⁷⁶ the circle of the sun,³⁷⁷ the circle of the moon,³⁷⁸ *themelie*, *epacht*,³⁷⁹ and so forth. The earliest example from 1425 appeared as "in the year of 6933 (6933-5508=1425)." The latest example from 1643 appeared as "in the year since the Creation of Adam, 7151, Circle of the sun 11, the moon 7, epach 7." Between 1497 and 1845, the majority of scribes simply designated the year and occasionally mentioned the month. The simplest manner endured for the longest time. Fifteen cases "in the year of [...], [month of...]" came from HACI corpus.

Dating according to the Creation was used as early as 1567, "during the days and year since the Creation, 7075." Five cases used this formula of *datatio*. The latest

³⁷⁴ #182 *Panegirik*, #374 *Four Gospels*, #320 *Menaion*, #511 *Menaion*, #34 *Four Gospels* (3), #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski*, #250 *Four Gospels*, #11 *Four Gospels*, #28 *Four Gospels*, #207 *Octoechos*, #54 *Euchologion*, #97 *Menaion*, #485 *Menaion*, #93 *Menaion*, #128 *Miscellany*, #303 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*, #96 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion* (2), #27 *Four Gospels*, #46 *Service and Vita of St. St. Kirik and Julita*, #294 *Prologue* (2), #122 *Horologion*, #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, #179 *Damaskin*, #326 *Miscellany*, #115 *Menaion* (2), #130 *Damaskin*, #131 *Damaskin* (2), #39 *Apostle*, #83 *Irmologion*.

³⁷⁵ The Alexandrian system is based upon the number 5500, later replaced by the Constantinople system of 5508, where this number is the years from the Creation to the Birth of Christ.

³⁷⁶ *Indictio* (Latin), chronological system of dating based upon indictions, a cycle of 15 years.

³⁷⁷ *Cyclus solaris* is another common cyclical chronological system that repeats itself every 28 years.

³⁷⁸ *Cyclus lunaris*, chronological system based on the lunar year, where each month is 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 3 seconds. Each lunar cycle repeats itself every 19 years.

³⁷⁹ Epacts are numbers that show the difference in days between the sun year (365 days) and lunar year (354 days), 11 days that are added to the number of days from the previous year.

example came from 1820 and demonstrated another "hybrid" trend of later times, the inclusion of feast days and modern dating: "on the Day of the Holy Cross, completed on St. Triphon, February 8, 1820, and since Adam 7328."

After 1704, some scribes calculated the *datatio* according to the birth of Christ, setting the modern counting of years. The earliest *datatio* of this type read "in the year since the birth of Christ, 1704, month of July." Five cases appeared using this type of *datatio*. They also displayed the creativeness of scribes, putting together different manners of dating, mentioning the birth of Christ, sometimes called God the Word in flesh. Scribes also combined both counting systems, since the Creation and since the birth of Christ. The latest example of this type of *datatio* came from 1841: "in the year since the Creation of the world, 7341, from the birth of God the Word in flesh, 1841, indict 14, month of August."

In summary, in the 15th to 16th centuries, scribes used both dating systems, since the Creation and dating since the birth of Christ, in an equal number of cases.³⁸⁰ In the 18th century, slightly more used modern dating, although scribes began to use both dating systems. During the 19th century, modern dating prevailed along with a "hybrid" approach.

Locatio: Another typical element of colophons is the *locatio*, designating the provenance of the manuscript. Twenty eight of 37 colophons (75.7%) contain *locatio* formulae, and these are listed in the "Where" section of Chapter 8.

The scribes at St. Prohor Pshinski monastery identified provenance by identifying the church: "the Church of the holy father Prohor Pshinski" and "in the monastery called Pshinski, all holy church of the most reverend father Prohor."³⁸¹ The scribes of another Macedonian monastery identified their monastery by locality, "in the monastery of Zrzei."³⁸² Bulgarian scribes used the titles of the monasteries: for Eleshnitsa monastery, they used "church of Vuvedenie Bogorodichno"[Entrance of the Theotokos];³⁸³ for

³⁸⁰ 15th century: 1-1; 16th century: 4-4 cases; 17th century: 5-6 (modern).

³⁸¹ #320 *Menaion*, #326

³⁸² #303 *Menaion*.

³⁸³ #11 *Gospel*.

Etropole monastery, they used "The Holy Trinity monastery"³⁸⁴ or also added the physical location, "near the village of Etropole (in the *kadiluk*³⁸⁵ of Lovech)." ³⁸⁶

Scribe and calligrapher Ioan of Kratovo typically signified the location by the geographical location, "the place of Kratovo," ³⁸⁷ and another scribe from the same scriptorium emphasized the location by both the physical locality and the title of the church: "in the God-protected place of Kratovo; from the church of St. Michael the Archangel." ³⁸⁸ Scribes from Kupinovo, Cherepishki, Boboshevo, and Dolni Lozen monastic scriptoria also emphasized the geographical location and the church.³⁸⁹ Other scribes from Boboshevo monastery, Mount Athos, Vraca, Vidin, Pirdop, and Staro Selo mentioned only the location.³⁹⁰ Teacher Todor Pirdop used a very distinguishable phrase "in the God-protected village of Pirdop."

Subscriptio: The *subscriptio* included the signature of the scribe or witnesses to the enactment of the document. Typically, a *subscriptio* designated any piece of writing at the end of a document, such as the concluding clause or formula of a letter with the writer's signature, the colophon of a book, or the note appended to the epistles in the New Testament. Slavic authors of colophons included their names in 44 colophons (84.6%). This fact makes *subscriptio* one of the more obligatory elements of colophons.³⁹¹ The *subscriptio* provides more information about the scribe than merely a name. As explained previously, monastic scribes in the first three centuries of Ottoman rule signed their names with epithets of extreme humility. Sometimes, when manuscripts were custom-

³⁸⁴ #97 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*.

³⁸⁵ *Kadiluk* is an administrative unit in the Ottoman Empire, headed by *kadija*, Turkish judge.

³⁸⁶ #96 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*, #85 *Menaion*.

³⁸⁷ #34 *Four Gospels*, #250 *Four Gospels*.

³⁸⁸ #1521 *Service and Vita*.

³⁸⁹ #207 *Octoechos*, #54 *Euchologion*, #27 *Four Gospels*.

³⁹⁰ #28 *Four Gospels*, #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, #179 *Damaskin*, #115 *Menaion*, #130

Damaskin, #131 *Damaskin*, #39 *Apostle*, #83 *Irmologion*, #116 *Menaion*, and #916 *Gospel*.

³⁹¹ #182 *Panagirik*, #320 *Menaion*, #511 *Menaion*, #34 *Four Gospels* (twice), #1521 *Service and Vita*, #250 *Four Gospels*, #11 *Gospel*, #28 *Four Gospels* (twice), #207 *Octoechos* (twice); #54 *Euchologion* (twice), #97 *Menaion*, #485 *Menaion*, #303 *Menaion*, #573 *Octoechos*, #96 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*, #27 *Four Gospels*, #46 *Service and Vita* (twice), #122 *Horologion*, #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, #179 *Damaskin*, #Miscellany, #115 *Menaion*, #130 *Damaskin*, #131 *Damaskin*, #39 *Apostle*, #83 *Irmologion*, #85 *Menaion*, #116 *Menaion*, #916 *Gospel*.

made and sold, scribes did not include humility formulas but even used superlatives to describe their professional abilities.

Sanctio: All Western medieval official documents included a *sanctio* that pronounced a penalty for disobedience to a law or rewards for obedience. During the Ottoman period, only 8 colophons (15%) included *sanctio* formulae. Ruseva considered such cursing and anathema phrases stereotypical and even fashionable for manuscripts, but she discovered that after the 17th century, anathema formulae declined significantly.³⁹²

Anathema or curse formulas protected the book against theft and resale:

Let be that whoever takes this book away from the holy monastery and sells it be cursed by the Lord God and from the Holy Fathers of Nicea. And whoever participates with them, let them be captured and crucified by all of us.³⁹³

Other scribes addressed only theft:

and whoever tries to take out this book out of the monastery, or to steal, or to make it his own. Let him be cursed by 318 fathers and by the Holy Trinity. Protoabbot Zacharias and priest Paisii, their labor.³⁹⁴

Borrowing of books from another monastery required the formal blessing and knowledge of the abbot: "And whoever tries to take it out from the monastery without the blessing of the abbot, let him be cursed."³⁹⁵ The typical anathema formula was: "Let whoever tries to take it [the book] or steal it from the monastery let him be cursed by [. . .]." Here, scribes creatively chose different Christian personalities, God the Father, Holy Trinity, Christ the Savior, the Theotokos (Virgin Mary), or even the Ecumenical Council of Church Fathers. For example: "Let whoever tries to take it out from the monastery, to steal it, let him be cursed by the Holy Fathers and let the Theotokos be his judge at the second coming of Christ."³⁹⁶

³⁹²Ruseva, "Pripiski i Belezhki po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments)," p. 14.

³⁹³#207 *Octoechos*.

³⁹⁴#85 *Menaion*.

³⁹⁵#92 *Menaion*.

³⁹⁶#96 *Menaion*.

Other scribes used variations: "and whoever tries to take it out from the monastery let his life not be so simple except from the Source of God,"³⁹⁷ or "and if someone tries to take it from the monastery, let him be cursed by the Savior and the most blessed [Theotokos] and all of us, the sinful ones, and not blessed."³⁹⁸

Apprecatio: The *apprecatio* designated a good omen formula as a form of closing a document. Such supplication formulae included a short, solemn, and humble prayer to God or another sovereign. Such a prayer was very widely used in colophons. This scribal pledge for forgiveness to the reader and God constituted a major element of all colophons studied by Bulgarian scholars Ruseva,³⁹⁹ Nikolova,⁴⁰⁰ and Petkanova.⁴⁰¹ Petkanova emphasized that this prayer for forgiveness occurred at the end of the colophon and mentioned scribal excuses: sinful human nature, imperfection, lack of education, and the speed of writing. A typical phrase would be: "because it was not the Holy Spirit who wrote but a human, sinful, hand, made of clay."⁴⁰² A typical *apprecatio* would say something like:

"And I pray to God [to the holy fathers and my brothers, to the reader] if something is written incorrectly [if I have erred] ...please forgive [the scribe, me the sinful one], please correct but do not curse, so God can forgive [remember] you."

Every scribe followed his own personal style of *apprecatio*. Typical elements included the reader being addressed, the conditional clause that specified the possibility of errors during copying, the request for forgiveness, the request for not cursing, the request for blessing, and finally the assurance that God would bestow his blessing upon the reader who showed mercy toward scribal errors. In all variations, however, scribes

³⁹⁷ #97 *Menaion*.

³⁹⁸ #303 *Menaion*.

³⁹⁹ Ruseva, "Pripiski i Belezhki po Nashite Pismeni Pametnici (Marginalia and Notes on Our Written Monuments)," pp.10-11.

⁴⁰⁰ Nikolova, "Pripiskata v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga ot 10-14 Vek (Marginalia in Bulgarian Manuscript Book, 10-14 Century)." p. 103.

⁴⁰¹ D. Petkanova, "Starobulgarskia Knizhovnik," in *Slavistichni Studii. Sbornik po Sluchai Petia Kongres v Sofia* (1963), D. Petkanova and I. Bujukliev, "Obrazut na Starobulgarskia Knizhovnik Spored Pripiskite po Bulgarskite Rukopisi," *Bulgarski ezik i literatura* 6 (1962), p.17.

⁴⁰² Petkanova and Bujukliev, "Obrazut na Starobulgarskia Knizhovnik Spored Pripiskite po Bulgarskite Rukopisi," p. 17. National Library, Mss #534, 1618.

used typical action verbs found in the prayer language, such as "to forgive" (15 cases), "to pray" (10 cases), "to bless" (5 cases), and "to curse" (6 cases).

Most frequently scribes addressed the reader and future scribe⁴⁰³ (11 cases) with "may God forgive him," "Forgive me the sinful one [encoded name]," "And you, blessed readers, bless us and do not curse us" or "Most of all, I pray that all who read and copy, correct but do not curse." The scribe could become sometimes very eloquent with poetical pathos:

And I pray as your servant and prostrate myself, that you do not mind my handwriting and language . . . and do not say bad things but keep in mind my poor state in your prayers. So . . . you be able to inherit the Kingdom He has prepared, to live there and glorify the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit forever and ever and to the ages of ages. Amen.⁴⁰⁴

Validatio: The *validatio* of the colophon was an official seal, a cross, typical for official and legal documents. The practice, however, occurred in only 11 of all colophons from HACI collection (21%).⁴⁰⁵

Physical placement

Where were colophons placed in the manuscript? Scribes placed the colophon at the back of the manuscript, succeeding the main text, in 39 colophons (75%), the majority of those written by monastic scribes.⁴⁰⁶ This practice of placement of colophons after the main text continued for monastic scribes until 1748 and for non-monastic until 1820. The front positioning of colophons based on HACI corpus of data appeared first in 1615 in the village of Kamenitsa⁴⁰⁷ and continued until 1845.⁴⁰⁸ The Title pages of

⁴⁰³ #182 *Panagirik*, #320 *Menaion*, #34 *Four Gospels*, #11 *Gospel*, #28 *Four Gospels*, #207 *Ochtoechos*, #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, #179 *Damaskin*, #131 *Damaskin*, #85 *Menaion*, #916 *Gospel*.

⁴⁰⁴ #320 *Menaion*, 1510, (St. Prohor Pshinski monastery).

⁴⁰⁵ #1521 *Service and Vita*, #207 *Ochtoechos*, #93 *Menaion*, #303, #96 *Menaion*, #92 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*, #122 *Horologion*.

⁴⁰⁶ Monastic (24): 1497, 1510, 1526, 1563, 1564, 1567, 1577, 1578, 1595, 1600, 1600, 1602, 1603, 1616, 1632, 1637, 1639, 1643, 1665, 1704, 1748, and three undated. Non-monastic cases (4): 1425, 1771, 1782, 1820.

⁴⁰⁷ #127 *Euchologion*.

⁴⁰⁸ #83 *Irmologion*.

printed books influenced the new tradition, which was more widely applied among non-monastic than monastic scribes.

Language and script

What language and scripts characterize colophons? Being official documents of the church, colophons usually used formal scripts and language. From 1497 until 1771, scribes wrote colophons in a combination of the literary Church Slavonic (CS) and semi-uncial (SU). The number of marginalia written in cursive increased between 1510 and 1841, CS and. New uncial (NU), the script of the less educated population, appeared very rarely from non-monastic scribes and from a much later period. Vernacular appeared only from non-monastic scribes in the 19th century, as Iosif Bradati, Paisii Hilendarski, and Paisii's disciple Sophronii Vrachanski encouraged the development of a simplified hybrid language form, based on the existing vernacular Bulgarian language but heavily influenced by the Russian Church Slavonic of the first Russian printed books.

Table 9.2 demonstrates the comparison between the different language-script combinations in colophons

Language/ Script	Semi Uncial (SU)	SU- cursive	Cursive	New Uncial (NU)	Total
Cchurch Slavonic (CS)	M: 1497, 1526, 1563, 1564, 1567,1577, 1578, 1600, 1600, 1602, 1603, 1643, 1665, 1707, 1748, 1 undated NM: 1425, 1771	M: 1616, 1 undated	M: 1510, 1595, 1632, 1637, 1639, 1639, 1 undated NM: 1615, 1841,		M: 25 NM: 4
CS and vernacular			M: 1825 NM: 1768	NM: 1782	M: 1 NM: 2
Vernacular	NM: 1820		NM: 1827, 1840	NM: 1845, 1 undated	NM: 5
Totals:	M: 16 NM: 3	M: 2	M: 8 NM: 5	NM: 3	M: 26 NM: 11

Table 9.2: Comparison between language and scripts in colophons. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic.

Summary

South Slavic colophons transmitted by imitation the Byzantine manuscript tradition in regard to form, structure, formulae, language, and script. These colophons provide important information about the major attributes of the manuscript or book in which they reside, such as copyist, title, date of production, and location of production. Stating these attributes was possibly a way to build the readers' trust and certainly a way to document official acts of religious and secular communities. Colophons appear to be documentation, sometimes the only documentation, of the transactions of the Orthodox Church. Perhaps for these reasons, they exhibited the structural elements of all medieval documents. Those elements were *protocollo*, *texto*, and *eschatollo*. Each element followed some typical formulae and structure. They began and ended with a prayer to God, and a request for blessing. A curse formula, anathema, would protect the manuscript against stealing. The scribe also would ask for forgiveness from the reader for any errors

made during copying. Beside their formulaic nature, colophons also appear to be formal official documents based on the prevailing usage of the literary and official languages and semi-uncial and cursive scripts. Paisii of Hilendar, the author of the influential *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1762), influenced the colophon tradition by placing the colophon in the front of the book, by his unconventional argumentative style of writing, and by establishing trust through citing existing authoritative sources of reference.

Especially in early colophons, the scribe emphasized the work rather than himself. In doing so, he was building a Home for the Logos, the Word of God. He followed the traditional conventions and expressed creativity only in choosing one of several formulae to fit the situation. Each formula linked to another sphere of usage. The Trinity formula of invocation, for example, had its foundation in the Creed of the Orthodox Church and the Trinitarian nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The humility formula related to the hesychastic mode of life of constant prayer, solitude, and contemplation.

Before the fall of the Bulgarian Kingdom to the Ottomans, early colophons included important information about the historical context and the patron. During the Ottoman invasion, however, the colophon became a historical narrative, full of Biblical imagery, emotional overtones, and figurative description of the Ottoman invaders. Subjects discussed in these early colophons were historic battles, rulers, censuses, and ecclesiastical problems with the Greeks. Later, colophons reduced the amount of historical information, transferring it to historical marginalia. Still later, colophons included some historical facts about contemporaneous political and ecclesiastical rulers.

The colophons of HACI corpus range in dates between 1425 until 1845. The evidence in this corpus reveals that monastic scribes produced manuscripts and created colophons until the middle of the 17th century, when non-monastic scriptoria took the leadership position of production of manuscripts. At this time, Bradati, Paisii, and his disciple Sophronii Vrachanski encouraged the development of a simplified hybrid language, based on the existing vernacular Bulgarian language and influenced by the Russian Church Slavonic.

9B Marginalia about the book itself, book production, preservation, and ownership

This cluster group of marginalia includes categories marginalia such as binding, bookplates (ownership inscriptions), manuscript history and sponsorship, and scribal notes.

Sponsorship of books

Despite the economic and political constraints of the Ottoman period, South Slavic scribes continued to copy manuscripts, searching for and translating from the best available sources. Although new literary works did not appear frequently, new literary genres did: vitae of new martyrs, damaskins, and chronicles. Monastic scriptoria produced primarily liturgical manuscripts, but both liturgical and devotional books served as resources for teaching and reading.

Support for literacy and education came from the Christian population, which was struggling to survive under increasing taxation.⁴⁰⁹ Gradually, lay people saved and donated money for manuscript production and later for the schooling of their children, believing the former act contributed to the salvation of their souls and the latter benefited all. Their financial contributions made possible the survival of the manuscripts, icons, and frescos in churches, and remodeling of churches and monasteries.

In the pre-Ottoman period, colophons included information about the book sponsors, such as rich rulers and high clergy. This tradition continued, although less frequently, during the Ottoman period. Inscriptions about book sponsorship began to exist apart from the colophon, although in close proximity to and exhibiting some of the formal features of colophons. These marginalia and colophons provide the only evidence about sponsorship of Slavic manuscript production during the Ottoman period. Explicit information, so vital to literacy, about this activity exists nowhere else in Slavic books or other sources.

⁴⁰⁹ Dennis Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1993), p. 35.

Binding

Slavic manuscript production followed the Byzantine manuscript tradition of the codex. Byzantine codex binding consisted of a wooden board (beech, oak, linden, or pine) wrapped in calf leather or very rarely in velvet, richly embossed, and decorated with floral and geometrical patterns.⁴¹⁰ Gospels, kept at the altar, had noble metal covers, securely locked with clasps.

From 1185 to 1396, manuscript production and binding were centralized in association with the ecclesiastical and administrative capital of the Second Bulgarian kingdom, the town of Turnovo. The royal and monastic scriptoria in and around Turnovo, led by Patriarch Eutimii, instigated a massive swiping reform of re-translation of books from their Byzantine original models, correcting the accumulated grammatical errors, and setting the standards for book copying, illumination, and decoration by preserving the Byzantine Orthodox master texts. A few of those manuscripts have survived, but most of the binding covers produced during this period were lost and later replaced. The extant manuscripts custom-produced for Tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1372) display rich decoration and illuminations and bindings with precious stones and gold,⁴¹¹ while monastic manuscripts intentionally emphasized simplicity of decoration and binding. This monastic simplicity of manuscript design corresponded to the hesychastic values within the monastic community that emphasized simplicity, humility, contemplation as personal character traits, ceaseless "prayer of the heart," and lack of extravagance in external appearance.

After the disruptive first wave of the Ottoman invasion (1393-1396), bookbinding and rebinding became decentralized. Marginalia and colophons provide perhaps the only evidence for the operation of bookbinding workshops after 1396 and designate the process as *podnovyavane* (renewing) of the manuscript. During the political turmoil and chaos of the early Ottoman period, scribes and clergy left Bulgarian territory and settled

⁴¹⁰ Darinka Karadzhova, "Podvurziia i Obkovi na Bulgarskite Rukopisni i Staropechatni Knigi," in *Bulgarska Kniga: Enciclopediia [Encyclopedia of the Bulgarian Book]*, ed. A. Gergova (Sofia: Pensoft publishers, 2004).p. 351.

⁴¹¹ The colophon of Monk Simon in the London *Four Gospels* book relates that metalsmithing included use of a variety of precious gems and pearls.

in neighboring countries, bringing those surviving earliest manuscripts with them.⁴¹² Ottoman soldiers looted or destroyed monasteries and churches, manuscripts, sacred vessels, and holy relics. The pioneer of Slavic printed book production, Bozhidar Vukovich, described in the colophon of a *Psalter* the intentional destruction of books by the Ottomans in a language that reflected an intense emotional reaction:

So, I the sinful and the least of men, Bozhidar Vukovich, from Dhjurich, Podgonichene, when I saw the decrease of the holy and godly books, the waste and the devastation [tearing] done by the ungodly language [nation], I lived in the Western Italian lands, in the peaceful and glorious town of Venice, and I desired to labor and forget myself because of the imperishable love of God towards men, and to dwell deep in the holy Scripture and do whatever I could do my mind to achieve for God, who helped me to invent this typeset and print this soul-benefiting *Psalter* with additions, the *Sinaxarion*, daily and Lenten [Triodion] ...⁴¹³

Monasteries became the only centers of manuscript production, binding, and rebinding, continuing the long monastic tradition of literacy and copying until the 17 and 18th centuries. Perhaps the remote locations of monasteries, high in the mountains, kept them from feeling the full weight of Ottoman tribute and oppressive taxation, although most of those monasteries were looted and burned. Rila monastery became the leader of manuscript production in the 15th century. Its scriptorium functioned throughout the Ottoman period (1393-1878) and preserved the many older manuscripts that were rebound there in the 16 and 17th centuries.⁴¹⁴ Rila was perhaps the richest monastery in Bulgaria and was able to pay for special exemption from Ottoman laws. Despite its purchased "protection," Rila monastery was not spared and suffered pillage and burning more than once.

Let all readers know that that *haramii* [outlaws] came and twice they captured Rila monastery, the first time, in 1765, and the second time in 1768. During the same time, a great calamity occurred: the Hagarians fought against the Muscovites.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹² A. Gergova, *Knizhovno-Dokumentalno Nasledstvo [Book-Documentary Heritage]* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ohridski, 2006), p. 38.

⁴¹³ #272 *Psalter*, printed in Venice, p. 281b.

⁴¹⁴ Vladislav Grammatik, Mardarii Rilski, and Monk Spiridon.

⁴¹⁵ *Panegirik*, 1765, Rila monastery collection, quoted in *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 106.

and again

In the year of Christ, 1778, month of August, 16, the wicked Hagarians, 30 in number, forcefully entered into the Rila monastery for the third time and burned all the buildings except the tower and the church. There was such agony, and it happened during the reign of the Hagarian sultan Hamid. 1778.⁴¹⁶

In the 16th century, Macedonian binding workshops became more active among the other Orthodox scriptoria, especially the Slepche monastery Sveti Jovan Pretecha (St. John the Forerunner). Some of the bindings produced at Slepche binding workshop possessed complex compositional schemes consisting of geometrical patterns and figures. The Ottomans pillaged the Slepche monastery in the 16th century.⁴¹⁷ The center of binding production moved to Etropole monastery in the 17th century, where the scribes and calligraphers Danail and Raphail produced multiple custom-made manuscripts for sale to churches from other geographical locations. In this manner, they influenced the existing traditions of bookbinding, decoration, and illumination. Etropole manuscript binding covers were famous for their good quality leather, a complex decorative scheme, and a greater thickness of binding boards and clasps.⁴¹⁸

While the printing press was introduced across most of Europe in the 15th century, the Ottomans regarded printing as a foreign invention, a product of the infidels, and disrespectful to sacred texts. Religious and civil authorities did not allow and intentionally delayed the introduction of the printing press into the Ottoman Empire for almost 300 years (1440-1720).⁴¹⁹ No printing press existed in Bulgarian territory until the middle of 19th century, when the Patriarchal printing press was opened in 1847 in Istanbul. Serbian printer Vukovich mentioned in his title page the reason for initiating the

⁴¹⁶ *Service book and Vita of St. John of Rila*, 1778, Rila monastery collection, quoted in Venceslav Nachev and Nikola Fermandzhiev, *Pisahme da se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, 1984), p. 110.

⁴¹⁷ Karadzhova, "Podvurziia i Obkovi na Bulgarskite Rukopisni i Staropeatni Knigi," p. 352.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 352-353.

⁴¹⁹ A. Rafikov, *Ocherki Istorii Knigopechatania V Turcii [Studies on History of Printing in Turkey]* (Leningrad: Nauchnoe Izdatelstvo, 1973).p. 232. The ban against printing presses was lifted in 1720 when Ibrahim Muteferrika obtained permission to operate the first printing press in Istanbul. Until then, the *ulema* (educated elite) and guild of writers to be a *haram* (Devil's invention) considered printing as *Gyaur idzhadi* (invention of the infidels), because the process of stamping and pressing was disrespectful to texts that contained the holy name of God.

printing business as his desire to compensate for the destruction of books by the Ottomans. Books printed in Moscow, Kiev, Lvov, and Venice were introduced into Bulgarian territory. Foreign printed books also became the model for binding and language standards.⁴²⁰

As more laypeople were employed in manuscript production, they imitated the simple ornamental style of the printed books, reducing the number but increasing the size of decorative elements on manuscript covers. Decorations included the four evangelists, the Crucifixion, and other Biblical themes (Figures 9.10).⁴²¹ Most binding boards remained wooden, although cardboard was introduced gradually. Still, the manuscript tradition, especially of devotional books, continued until the 19th century. The scriptoria and workshops at Kotel and Pridop remained particularly active.⁴²² Todor Pirdopski, a teacher from Pirdop, completed the evolution of manuscript production, illumination, and bookbinding during the first half of the 19th century with several *Damaskin* manuscripts for popular readership.

⁴²⁰ Gergova, *Knizhovno-Dokumentalno Nasledstvo [Book-Documentary Heritage]*, p. 38.

⁴²¹ Karadzova, "Podvurziia i Obkovi Na Bulgarskite Rukopisni i Staropechatni Knigi," p. 353. Priest Mladen from Sofia, Teacher Neno from Kilifarevo, and Dimitur from Vraca.

⁴²² Priest Stoiko (Sofronii) and Teacher Michail.



Figure 9.10: #353 *Gospel*, Pshinski monastery.

Scribal notes

"Scribal" or "primary" notes refer to subsequently added marginalia written by the scribe of a manuscript, inscribed in addition to the colophons and in contrast to "secondary notes" written by later authors.⁴²³ In addition to primary scribal notes, other

⁴²³ B. Raikov, "Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnitsi: Predgovor [Introduction]," in *Belezhki Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnitsi*, ed. B. Hristova, D. Karadzova, and E. Uzunova (Sofia: Narodna biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodi", 2003), p. 6.

"scribal-like" notes appear in manuscripts and printed books. These other notes qualify as scribal notes for the purposes of this study because they resemble primary scribal notes and colophons. In most cases these marginalia do not display information about authorship. This study incorporates 18 primary and additional scribal notes, ten of which are original primary scribal notes, constituting 2.4% of the entire corpus of HACI marginalia.

Before the Ottoman conquest (1393), scribes and clergy inscribed manuscripts, expressing feelings of spiritual inadequacy and unworthiness. This monastic practice was known to medieval literary theory as humility *topoi*. Although Slavic marginalia were authored by ordinary but literate people, they contain much expressiveness and interjection that characterize the vernacular speech.

Pre-Ottoman scribal notes

Scribal notes developed over the years, starting with only a name and a year, or a prayer for forgiveness such as: "Oh, oh, oh, me the sinful one!" In another, the scribe was afraid that the quality of the ink and quill that caused him not to produce quality scribal work and asked forgiveness. "Oh, how much have I suffered from this bad ink? Please don't punish me! O, God, save me! O, God, help your servant Jasnav! (1371)."

Those earlier scribal notes expressed reverence, humility, and implied courage on the part of the scribe who, despite pain, left a note for future generations, for all fellow humans.⁴²⁴ The scribe revealed the suppressed emotional reactions in the manuscript margin, perhaps identifying it with the margin, and becoming marginal, himself. The small size of the lettering did not obscure the central text and contrasted the lowly human writing with the divine scripts and texts. Scribal notes were squeezed neatly alongside the edges of the page in the side margins of manuscripts, because the scribe carefully planned the wide margins as framing to emphasize the central text.

⁴²⁴ Vera Mutafchieva, *Da se Znae (Let It Be Known)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Nacionalnia suvet na Otechestvenia front, 1964).

Scribal notes during the Ottoman period

During the Ottoman period (1393-1878), however, scribal notes apparently decreased in number. As manuscripts became accessible to people other than the scribes and clergy, scribal notes appeared to change as well. Scribes continued to search for the best model from which to copy and transcribe without errors.

Oh, may God judge the one who copied this source [master copy]. Whatever I found, I copied. Merciful God, have mercy on me, I, the sinful Neiko, for having discovered such a great Master source. Oh! Oh! (16th century, first half).

During the Ottoman period, scribes and clergy continued to suffer from the low quality of paper and ink and the shortage of food supplies. "Oh, bad quill, how much I suffer! (15th century) and "Oh, bad paper!" (1694). However, scribal notes appeared more like fragments of colophons, displaying elements of colophons.

History of manuscripts

Slavic books experienced shifts of fortune during the Ottoman period. The provenance of manuscripts changed due to stealing, pawning, or being lent to other scriptoria to serve as models for copying. Occasionally, marginalia documented this history of transfer of ownership, but those that do are distinct from the other categories of marginalia.

During the Ottoman seizure of Bulgaria (1308-1396) and subsequent uprisings, the Ottomans destroyed, burned, and even run through manuscripts with the sword. The remaining manuscripts bear witnesses to deeds of the Ottomans, Tatars, and kurdzhalii. Ottomans had a history of burying books, according to the account of *Dyado* (elder) Anton: "The Turks did not burn our books but buried them deep in the ground or walled them in the buildings."⁴²⁵

Early Slavic printers compensated to a small degree for the destruction of books. Vinchenco Vukovich provided such testimony in the colophon to a *Psalter* published in the Slavic publishing house in Venice in 1561: "I was burned with desire for soul-

⁴²⁵ Evtim Sprostranov, "Belezhki i Pripiski po Sofiiskite Cherkvi (Notes and Marginalia Found at Churches of Sofia)," *Sbornik na Narodnia Universitet* 22-23, no. 3 (1906-1907), p. 7.

benefiting books, to compensate for the lack and the reduction and waste caused by the Ishmaelites [Ottomans]."⁴²⁶ Vincenzo echoed his father, Bozhidar Vukovich, who established the publishing house.⁴²⁷

The kurdzhallii (paramilitary gangs) burned towns, destroying sacred objects including books, causing people to cry out "our village Teteven burned down in the year 1801, March 1, and they all took the church property: icons, books, and clothes, and candle-holders, and vessels they captured."⁴²⁸ A note written after the crushing of the April Uprising in 1876 says:

In the Bulgarian rebellion, the Circassians and Turks burned down the church in the village of Batoshevo... and took away all its sacred objects, the sacred vessels, the silver candle holders, clothes, etc. Then, we discovered only this book in the lawn of the yard, which they tried to cut and run through as if it was a Bulgarian rebel man, so they tortured the book in the same manner.⁴²⁹

Churches, monasteries, towns, and villages, all attracted the Ottoman soldiers and terrorist bands because of the precious metals of the sacred objects and books kept in altars. Manuscripts were destroyed in the beginning stages of uprisings and revenge. A *Damaskin* from Elena still bears the traces of an Ottoman sword, being stabbed three times, so that the sharp edge of the sword penetrated two fingers deep into the binding and manuscript pages.⁴³⁰ In some cases, the local church authority paid its tax debts by pawning some of its most important books.

Bookplates

Bookplate are papers pasted on the inside front cover of books intending to show ownership of the books in a library.⁴³¹ Bookplates usually are richly illustrated with a coat-of-arms or another design that signifies ownership. Words such as "from the books of (name)" or "from the library of (name)" frequently occur. Other synonyms of bookplate include *ex libris* (Latin, "from the library of"), defining bookplates as an

⁴²⁶ #270 *Psalter*.

⁴²⁷ #272 *Psalter*, printed in Venice, p. 281b.

⁴²⁸ *Service Book* (1801) from the church Vseh Svetih, Teteven; Vasilyov, T. *Kurdzhalii*, 1882, p. 148.

⁴²⁹ *Menaion*.

⁴³⁰ B. Tsonev, *Knizhovni Starini ot Elena*, vol. 19, 7 (Sofia: Godishnik na Sofiiskiat universitet, 1923).

⁴³¹ *Oxford English Dictionary*.

inscriptions, labels, or stamps indicating the ownership of a book; especially labels or stamps designed and bearing a person's arms or crest or other emblematic device.

Bookplates in Slavic manuscripts and early printed books appeared as marginal inscriptions that identified the ownership of the book. They were written directly on the book, in no specific location, and did not have notable intentionally designed illustrations. Although displaying less formal features than their Western counterparts, Slavic bookplates are important historical sources for information about the development of private ownership of books in Bulgaria. They also provide information about the title of the book, the date of acquisition, price and locality of acquisition, any blessing or cursing formulas for protection of the book, and additional information.

Historically, the Eastern Orthodox Church and its members treasured books, education, and literacy, although historical circumstances and financial abilities did not provide conditions for widespread literacy. Before the creation of liturgical and devotional collections, only the members of the nobility possessed books, those few often bragging about their collections if not reading them.⁴³² Following the Ottoman invasion and for at least two centuries, Bulgarian Christians still did not have the financial resources to own books. With increasing economic development and the appearance of a middle class, some individuals managed to travel abroad and purchased books. In addition to the private acquisitions at this time, people also donated funds for book production. Acquisitions of funds and donations for book production are documented in marginalia. The import of printed books from Russia massively reduced costs and promoted ease of ownership to a certain extent.

The evidence from HACI

The analysis of book-related marginalia will answer the following questions:

1. Who produced, sponsored, and administered the acts of sponsorship of books, their binding, custody, and preservation?
2. Which types of manuscripts contain marginalia that document those acts?

⁴³² Prezbiter Kozma, *Oration against the Bogomils*, written second half of 10th century.

3. When did these activities occur? What is their chronological distribution?
4. Where did they occur, geographically?
5. How were these marginalia structured as to form and content?
6. Where were these marginalia placed in the manuscript?
7. What type of scripts and languages did scribes use?

Sponsorship of books (56 marginalia)

The HACI collection contained 56 marginalia in 43 manuscripts that documented book sponsorship. Compared to the other types of marginalia, "sponsorship of books" ranked fourth and comprised 8.4% of the entire corpus of marginalia, following donations of goods, inscriptions, and historical marginalia. This frequency demonstrates the popularity of sponsorship of books among the South Slavic people.

Binding (38 marginalia)

Manuscripts required repair after centuries of use. Analysis of marginalia found in the HACI corpus revealed that only 28 manuscripts mentioned a process of rebinding or metal-smithing, or approximately 20% of the 143 manuscripts that contain marginalia. Thirty-eight notes regarding binding and metal smithing occurred in these 28 manuscripts, or approximately 1.36 notes per manuscript. Marginalia about book binding occurred more frequently in non-monastic manuscript marginalia (25) than in monastic (13).

Scribal notes (21 marginalia)

Twenty-one scribal notes appeared in 16 manuscripts. These quite traditional marginalia constitute only 3.1% of the total corpus of HACI marginalia. Scribal notes appeared more in monastic (16) rather than non-monastic manuscripts (5).

History of manuscripts (5 marginalia)

Only five marginalia in the HACI corpus emphasize the tragic fate of manuscripts. Those five marginalia are evenly spread in five manuscripts, three from monastic and two from non-monastic centers.

Bookplates (43 marginalia)

Forty-three bookplate notes appeared in 28 manuscripts and six printed books from the HACI collection. These 43 notes about ownership constitute seven percent (7%) of the entire corpus of marginalia. Some manuscripts and early printed books had more than one bookplate, suggesting changes of ownership.⁴³³

Authorship

Who produced or participated in the book-related activities mentioned in marginalia?

Sponsorship of book production

Laypeople from rural areas donated funds for the production of manuscripts, as attested to by 19 notes from rural settings. Two hundred people left their names as sponsors. Among them, laypeople inscribing their entire families accounted for 178, or 89%. Eight additional sponsors had relatively high social status, as indicated by the titles *kir* and *hadzhi*, so that 93% of all sponsors were laypeople. Some women also sponsored manuscript production (1725).⁴³⁴ Six priests and seven monks sponsored and contributed in other ways, including book production and services.

Binding

Three types of people were mentioned in marginalia about binding: sponsors, binders, priests or members of the church council. The sponsor contributed money for the

⁴³³ #88 *Menaion* from Sts. Kuzma and Damian monastery (2 notes); #205 Greek *Triodion* from the church of St. Dimitur (2 notes); #251 *Triodion* from Troyan monastery (2 notes); privately owned printed *Psalters* #273 (2 notes) and #276 (2 notes); #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolay Novi Sofiiski* (4 notes).

⁴³⁴ #7 *Psalter*.

binding operation. The binder or metal-smith performed the operation, and the priest or church council approved or oversaw the operation. The HACI corpus mentioned 38 people who sponsored binding operations: in monastic settings, nine laypeople and two clergy. In non-monastic settings, 27 laypeople sponsored binding, outnumbering the clergy: three priests and two monks. The title *Kir* designated wealthier and prominent citizen sponsors.⁴³⁵

Binders were the second type of individuals mentioned in marginalia about binding. Clergy performed many of the actual operations of repair of books and binding to sustain themselves during political and economic stagnation. Thirteen people worked on monastic and 20 people on non-monastic manuscripts and printed books. During the 17th and 18th centuries,⁴³⁶ priests and monks repaired seven monastic manuscripts, although they also rebound and repaired non-monastic books.⁴³⁷ Monk Antonii from Mount Athos performed the earliest binding operation in 1636 on a *Gospel* printed in Lvov.⁴³⁸ Lay priest Mladen Nikolovich from Sofia was well known in his craft in the entire Sofia region during the last decade of the 18th and first decade of the 19th centuries.⁴³⁹ The HACI corpus contained five cases of marginalia that demonstrates his repair of manuscripts, including manuscripts from churches in Sofia and the villages of Zhelyava and Kosachevo.⁴⁴⁰ Other lay people, such as the teacher Stoian from Triavna, bound a *Four Gospels* manuscript, charging 2.50 grosha (small silver coin).

Occasionally, laypeople rebound books in teams of two to four. For example, Manoil, Ivancho, and Mina repaired a *Gospel* from Kratovo monastery in 1807,⁴⁴¹ and Vlucho and Torgo repaired an *Apostle Book* in 1754 from Ilienski monastery.⁴⁴² Kostadin, Mania, Stoio, and Vasil rebound a *Gospel* in 1696 with new metal smithing on

⁴³⁵ Kir Mino and Ignat, #34 *Gospel*; Kir Hristo, #186 *Menaion*; Kir Iovancho and Toto, #243 *Gospel*; Kir Papa Mlatso, #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁴³⁶ 1681; 1693; 1734; 1734.

⁴³⁷ 1674; 1714; 1725; 1781; 1788; 1803.

⁴³⁸ #161 *Gospel*, printed.

⁴³⁹ Karadzova, "Podvurziia i Obkovi na Bulgarskite Rukopisni i Staropechatni Knigi," p. 353.

⁴⁴⁰ #158 *Gospel*, printed; #180 *Gospel*, printed; #240 *Service Book*; #243 *Gospel*; #246 *Menaion*.

⁴⁴¹ #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁴⁴² #41 *Apostle Book*.

the cover.⁴⁴³ Two examples of binding by using precious metals of *Gospel* books from monastic and non-monastic binding workshops appear in Figures 9.11 and 9.12.

Clergy, parish council members, and occasionally higher rank ecclesiastical figures constitute the third type of individuals mentioned in marginalia about binding. Their names appear on the documents to signify official approval and to justify the funds donated for the operation. The names of 16 priests, administering the binding production, appear in seven monastic and nine non-monastic marginalia.⁴⁴⁴

Scribal notes

The scribes and authors of scribal notes did not leave their names in this type of marginal annotation. One exception exists, a note produced by "Raphail" from Etropole monastery in 1712.⁴⁴⁵ This note followed the formal conventions of colophon writing. Other scribal authorship could be determined only by book-hand analysis, language, and inks used in writing. As a rule, monastic scribes were more literate than the general population, because they received rigorous and extensive education in monastic schools where they learned to read, write, copy and illustrate manuscripts. Three decorated annotations to the texts produced skillfully by the original scribe (the same for both manuscripts) appeared in two *Menaions* from Etropole monastery.⁴⁴⁶

History of manuscripts

Authors remained anonymous and directed attention to other events and figures. One emphasized the priest in Samokov when the *Gospel* manuscript was discovered,⁴⁴⁷ the person who historically changed its provenance, and the "guards" who ensured the

⁴⁴³ #37 *Gospel Book*.

⁴⁴⁴ Monks Haritonii (#1 *Psalter*); Nikodim, Theophan, and Ioan (#34 *Four Gospels*); Sergii and Kiril (#302 *Apostle Book*); Abbot Dionisius (#78 *Triodion*); and non-monastic Priests Papa Manol and Ivancho (#34 *Four Gospels*); Theophan (#9 *Bible*); Veno (#37 *Gospel*); Atanas (#38 *Gospel*); Spas and Stoicho (#49 *Euchologion*); Vulcho (#63 *Octoechos*); Hristophor (#161 *Gospel*, printed); Ano Sakilaria (#180 *Gospel*, printed); Atanas and Iovan (#240 *Service and Vita of St. Haralambios*); Vukol (#243 *Gospel*); Uvan (#244 *Menaion*); and Jeremiah (#1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolay Novi Sofiiski*).

⁴⁴⁵ #90 *Menaion*.

⁴⁴⁶ #86 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion*.

⁴⁴⁷ #12 *Gospel*.

protection of the manuscript.⁴⁴⁸ Another author appeared to justify his search for a manuscript by mentioning the person who witnessed this search.⁴⁴⁹ The author who discussed the controversy around the stealing of a manuscript referred to the people who discovered the manuscript.⁴⁵⁰ Finally, the author of a confiscated *Miscellany* mentioned only the Ottomans who possessed the book.⁴⁵¹

Bookplates

Two types of authors of bookplates appeared: bookplates, inscribed by clergy, which usually designated a book owned by a church, and bookplates inscribed by a layperson to designate book ownership. In 43 bookplates, 22 bear the names of people who inscribed them, and 21 remain anonymous. Owners included 13 clergy: nine priests,⁴⁵² two monks,⁴⁵³ and one deacon.⁴⁵⁴ Private book ownership was rare, due to the extremely high prices of books and the poverty of ordinary people. Twelve laypeople privately owned and signed books.⁴⁵⁵ Eight of those owned mostly printed liturgical books. The earliest case of a privately owned book, a *Gospel*, comes from Sofia in 1690. Examples of inscribing a proper and family name in a bookplate come as early as 1835.

⁴⁴⁸ #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁴⁴⁹ #196 *Menaion*.

⁴⁵⁰ #243 *Gospel*.

⁴⁵¹ #128 *Miscellany*.

⁴⁵² #4 *Psalter*; #251 *Tridion*; #287 *Triodion* printed; #295 *Prologue*; #315 *Apostle*; #337 *Menaion*; #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁴⁵³ #184 *Euchologion*; #248 *Prologue*, printed.

⁴⁵⁴ #573 *Octoechos*.

⁴⁵⁵ #20 *Gospel*; #84 *Irmologion*; #119 *Menaion*, printed; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #212 *Kiriakodromion*, printed; #239 *Psalter*, printed; #241 *Works of St. Cyril*, printed (2 notes); #273 *Euchologion*, printed (2 notes); #276 *Psalter*, printed (2 notes); and #340 *Four Gospels Book*.

Genre distribution

Which genres of manuscripts contained book-related marginalia?

Sponsorship of manuscript

Ninety percent of marginalia about sponsorship of manuscripts (32) appeared in liturgical manuscripts. The liturgical genres were *Gospels* (11), *Psalters* (7), *Menaions* (6), *Octoechos* (3), and *Triodions* (3).

Binding

Generally, liturgical manuscripts used during church services contained marginalia that mentioned frequent repair. Twenty nine liturgical books, *Psalters*, *Gospels*, *Apostles*, *Euchologion*, *Octoechos*, *Triodion*, *Menaion*, and *Prologues*, mention repair, compared to four devotional books: *Panegirik*, two *Service and Vita*, and a *Bible*. Eighteen binding notes appear in *Gospel* books, either in the *Tetraevangelion* (*Four Gospels*) or just *Gospel* books (selected passages from the Gospel arranged according to the Church year). *Gospel* books underwent numerous repairs and rebindings during their existence, probably due to their extensive use.⁴⁵⁶ Six *Menaions* received repair.⁴⁵⁷

Scribal notes

Liturgical books hosted the majority of scribal notes, perhaps due to their frequency of use and value as sacred objects. Fourteen scribal notes appeared in liturgical books, compared to three notes in devotional books such as *Service and Vita*, *Miscellany*, *Damaskin* and a *Typicon*. *Menaions* contained the most scribal notes (9) and originated from Etropole. The original scribes of manuscripts produced six of these scribal notes,⁴⁵⁸ and only one had a note written by another person that was intended to protect the book against theft.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁶ #20 *Gospel* from Sofia, 1674, 1675, 1675; #34 *Four Gospel Book* from Kratovo monastery, 1668, 1807, and 1809; #37 *Gospel*, 1695 and 1753; #243 *Gospel* from the village of Zhelyava, 1790, 1791.

⁴⁵⁷ #109 *Menaion*; #117 *Menaion*; #244 *Menaion*; #186 *Menaion* (2); #196 *Menaion* (2).

⁴⁵⁸ #86 *Menaion* (4 notes); #90 *Menaion*.

⁴⁵⁹ #97 *Menaion*.

History of manuscripts

Among the three such marginalia appearing in *Gospel* books, one described the story of a manuscript remaining hidden for 358 years to reappear at the end of Ottoman period when Bulgarians looked back to their historical roots.⁴⁶⁰ Clergy pawned books to money-lender to pay the taxes as in the case of the illuminated *Four Gospels* from the Kratovo monastery.⁴⁶¹ Pawning generally happened as a last resort.⁴⁶² Another *Gospel* was stolen from Buhovo monastery and reappeared in the village of Zhelyava in 1819.⁴⁶³ A note in a *Menaion* discussed the disappearance of a *Prologue* in 1621 from the St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.⁴⁶⁴ Finally, a devotional book *Miscellany* display information about the Ottomans' taking away of the book, that later clergy was able to purchase back.⁴⁶⁵

Bookplates

The majority of bookplates in HACI corpus came from manuscripts and printed books that were liturgical in origin. Liturgical books demonstrate 27 bookplates (63%), compared to the seven notes appearing in devotional books, 27%. Eight bookplates came from *Menaions*, seven from *Gospels*, and four each from *Triodions* and *Psalters*.⁴⁶⁶

Date and chronological distribution

Table 9.11 demonstrates in a comparative manner the chronological distribution of book-related marginalia.

⁴⁶⁰ #12 *Gospel*.

⁴⁶¹ #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁴⁶² Nachev and Femandzhiev, *Pisahme da se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*, p. 212.

⁴⁶³ #243 *Gospel*.

⁴⁶⁴ #196 *Menaion*.

⁴⁶⁵ #128 *Miscellany*.

⁴⁶⁶ Those books include mostly liturgical books such as *Menaion*, *Gospel books*, *Octoechos*, printed *Triodion*, three printed *Psalters*, *Prayer book*, *Apostle* book and devotional books such as printed *Bible*, printed *Kiriakodromion*, printed *Works of St. Cyril*, and printed *Prologue*.

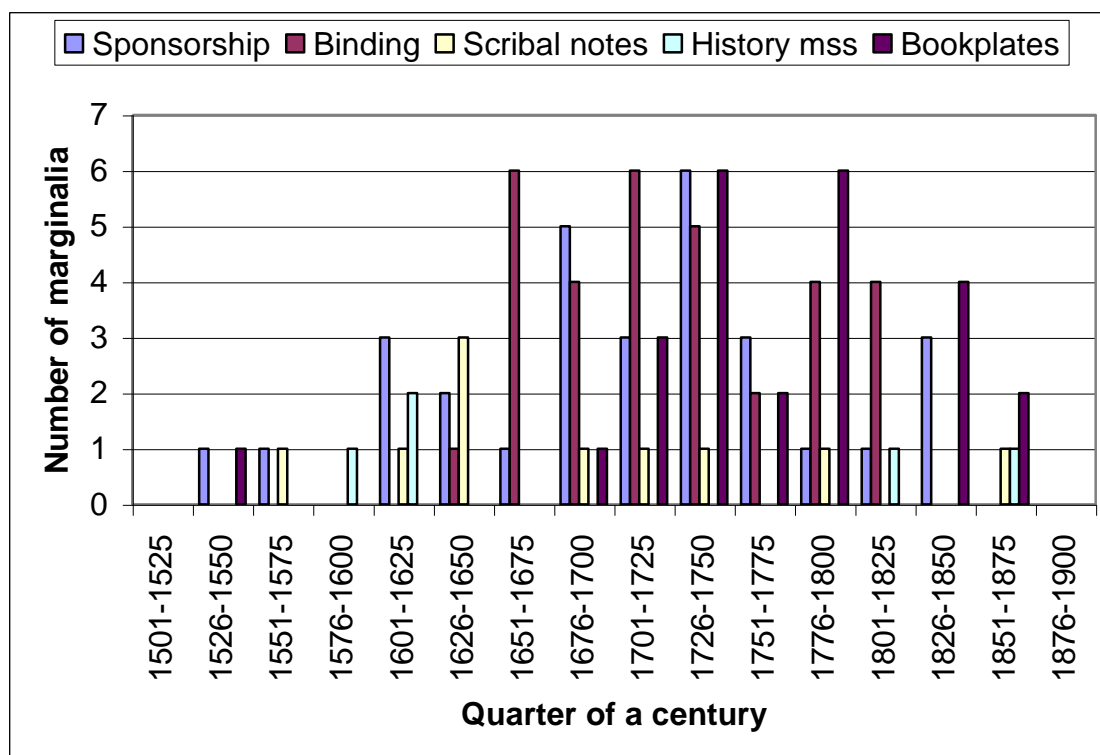


Figure 9.11. Comparative chronological distribution of book-related marginalia.

Sponsorship of manuscript

The authors of sponsorship marginalia did not observe strictly the traditional dating practices associated with colophons. Thirty-six of these 56 marginalia were dated and indicate that sponsorship spanned 300 years, between 1540 and 1842. The chronological distribution of the dated sponsorship marginalia in the Figure 9.10 demonstrates: two notes produced in the 16th century,⁴⁶⁷ 13 notes in the 17th century,⁴⁶⁸ 16 notes in the 18th century,⁴⁶⁹ 4 notes in the 19th century,⁴⁷⁰ and one in the 20th century.⁴⁷¹ The earliest evidence of book sponsorship was recorded in a *Euchologion* (1540) by the monk Nikodim, who donated 940 *aspri*.⁴⁷²

⁴⁶⁷ 1540; 1560.

⁴⁶⁸ 1604; 1612; 1624; 1639; 1646; 1647; 1665; 1677; 1688; 1690; 1694; 1694; 1697.

⁴⁶⁹ 1704; 1704; 1704; 1717; 1718; 1725; 1742; 1743; 1743; 1750; 1751; 1757; 1763; 1782; 1790; 1790; 1791.

⁴⁷⁰ 1817; 1826; 1838; 1842.

⁴⁷¹ #182 *Panegirik*, 1923.

⁴⁷² *Aspri*, Ottoman unit of currency, made of silver.

Sponsorship increased dramatically in the last quarter of the 17th century, continued throughout the 18th century, and decreased in the 19th century. The number of sponsors also followed the same trend: from 12 sponsors in the 16th century, the number of sponsors increased to 44 in the 17th century, and peaked in the 18th century with 67 sponsors. The 17th and 18th century increases correlate to a modest increase in the economic status of the urban Christian population of the Balkans.

The political turmoil of the 19th century, constant wars, uprisings and their suppression, and the kurdzhalii (paramilitary) movement perhaps forced people to devote resources to physical and economic survival, instead of books. Even more likely, printed books, imported from Russia, Romania, and Italy, contributed to the relative reduction in 19th century manuscript sponsorship, because these imported books obviated some of the need for manuscript production.

Binding

The time lapse between manuscript production and rebinding is hard to determine because we lack evidence of the time of production. The first complete, printed edition of the Bible in a Slavic language, known as the *Ostrog Bible*, appeared in 1581⁴⁷³ and was rebound in 1803. The *Four Gospels* manuscript from Kratovo monastery was produced in 1563 and rebound in 1809. A *Gospel* from Kremikovci monastery was produced in 1497 and rebound in 1727. A *Service and Vita Book of St. Nikolai Novi Sofijski* from Sofia was produced in 1564 in Kratovo monastery and rebound in 1781. On average, 229 years elapsed between the time of production and the time of rebinding.

The chronological distribution of binding notes reveals that documentation of manuscript repair occurred between the years 1638 and 1809. During these 171 years, scribes documented this process in 32 marginalia about binding operations. Eleven cases of binding and metal-smithing of covers occurred in the 17th century. The earliest example of metal-smithing was a *Gospel* printed in Lvov, Ukraine, in 1638, two years

⁴⁷³*Ostrog Bible* (Wikipedia, 2007 [cited October 15 2007]); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ostrog_Bible.. Translated from the *Codex Alexandrinus, Septuagint* in Old Church Slavonic.

after its printing.⁴⁷⁴ Binding operations appeared to start in the 17th century (11 notes),⁴⁷⁵ intensified especially in the 18th century (17 notes),⁴⁷⁶ and sharply declined in the 19th century, (4 notes) to cease in 1809.⁴⁷⁷

Metal-smithing involved producing a decorative metal cover of precious metals, such as gold and silver. Apparently, this luxury was applied to the most precious manuscripts such as *Gospels*. In 1807, the team of Manoil, Ivancho, and Mina produced a precious metal cover for the 1563 *Four Gospels* from Kratovo monastery.⁴⁷⁸ Another *Gospel* received a front gold-smithed cover in 1696 and a back cover in 1753.⁴⁷⁹ In addition, the marginalia about the back cover included information about the cost, 32 grosha. The printed *Gospel* in Lvov received silver and gold metal smithing in 1638.⁴⁸⁰

Scribal notes

Scribes did not always date their work. Only ten of all scribal notes had dates. Scribal notes ranged from the early 16th to the early 19th century. The earliest scribal-like note, dated 1565, was inscribed in a printed *Triodion* from Jakovshtica monastery. Six primary scribal notes came from the 17th century.⁴⁸¹ Three notes came from the 18th century, two from *Menaions* produced at Etropole monastery⁴⁸² and one note from 1790. Another three primary scribal notes also originated from the same scriptorium.⁴⁸³ The practice decreased as demonstrated by the single case of a scribal note in an *Irmologion* 1865.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁴ #161 *Gospel*.

⁴⁷⁵ 1638; 1663; 1668; 1671; 1674; 1675; 1675; 1678; 1681; 1693; 1696.

⁴⁷⁶ 1702; 1704; 1704; 1704; 1714; 1725; 1727; 1734; 1734; 1742; 1747; 1753; 1754; 1781; 1788; 1790; 1791.

⁴⁷⁷ 1803; 1803; 1807; 1809.

⁴⁷⁸ #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁴⁷⁹ #37 *Gospel*.

⁴⁸⁰ #161 *Gospel*, printed.

⁴⁸¹ #80 *Triodion* (1682); #86 *Menaion*, # 107 *Menaion* (1639, 2 notes), #315 *Apostle* (1605); #251 *Triodion* (1646) .

⁴⁸² #80 *Menaion*; #86 *Menaion*.

⁴⁸³ #86 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion* (2 notes)

⁴⁸⁴ #83 *Irmologion*.

History of manuscripts

The earliest three marginalia from monastic manuscripts are dated 1598, 1621, and 1622.⁴⁸⁵ Authors from rural churches inscribed two marginalia in the 19th century (1819, 1863).⁴⁸⁶

Bookplates

Twenty-five, 58% of all bookplates, bear dates. The earliest bookplate dates from 1540 from an unknown monastery. It bears the name of Hieromonk Nikodim. The majority of the early bookplates (1540, 1646, 1703) originated in monastic settings. During the 18th century the practice of inscribing book ownership information became popular among laypeople and indicated their increased financial ability to purchase and own books.

The absence of bookplates from 1790 to 1828 or 1835 is difficult to explain. Perhaps, the political situation or the turmoil caused by the kurdzhalii (Ottoman brigands) or the wars of the Ottoman Empire reduced the ability of people to own books. Chronologically, one such note appeared in the 16th century,⁴⁸⁷ two notes from the 17th century,⁴⁸⁸ 16 notes from the 18th century,⁴⁸⁹ and 6 notes from the 19th century.⁴⁹⁰

Provenance

Where did book-related marginalia occur geographically?

Sponsorship of books

Where did sponsorship marginalia occur geographically? A comparative analysis between monastic and non-monastic scriptoria shows that 37 marginalia appeared in non-monastic manuscripts, slightly higher than the 30 notes found in monastic manuscripts.

⁴⁸⁵ #196 *Menaion* (1621); #34 *Four Gospels* (1622).

⁴⁸⁶ #12 *Gospel*; #243 *Gospel*.

⁴⁸⁷ 1540.

⁴⁸⁸ 1646; 1690.

⁴⁸⁹ 1703; 1711; 1730; 1730; 1730; 1735; 1746; 1749; 1772; 1774; 1779; 1781; 1782; 1786; 1790; 1790.

⁴⁹⁰ 1828; 1835; 1839; 1841; 1855; 1872.

The slightly higher number of secular sponsorships likely implied more intensive activity in producing and lending books for the general population.

According to the dated sponsorship marginalia, laypeople contributed equally to both monastic and non-monastic scriptoria (17 dated cases each, a total of 34). Dated marginalia from the 17th century demonstrated its connection to non-monastic settings (8), compared to monastic (4). Dated marginalia during the following 18th century showed a reversal of sponsorship to more monastic marginalia (10), compared to non-monastic (6). The dated marginalia during the 19th century reversed the leadership again to non-monastic (3) versus monastic (1).

Twenty four marginalia documented sponsorship of manuscript production from six Bulgarian and three Macedonian monasteries.⁴⁹¹ However, non-monastic manuscript production gradually supplanted monastic book production after the 17th century. Thirty one marginalia document support of manuscript production by lay people in towns⁴⁹² and rural churches.⁴⁹³

Etropole monastery received the most support, with eight sponsorships for manuscript production. This information appeared in five marginalia and three colophons.⁴⁹⁴ During the 17th century, the Etropole monastery Holy Trinity had an excellent scriptorium and calligraphy school led by hieromonks Daniil and Rafail. The scriptorium produced manuscripts for the whole Western region of the Balkans and charged for its services. By doing so, it managed to sustain itself and to acquire better quality paper, ink, and writing instruments. Kratovo monastery was another example with excellent calligraphy school and book production that served the whole Sofia region. Excellence of book production attracted yet more funds from sponsors.

⁴⁹¹ Etropole (5 notes); Iskrets (3 notes); Kratovo (3 notes); Yakovshtica (3 notes); Boboshevo (2 notes); Prohor Pshinski (2 notes); Sts. Kuzma and Damian (2 notes); Nish (2 notes); Dolni Lozen.

⁴⁹² Sofia (3 notes); Vraca (2 notes); Skender; Breznik; Sliven.

⁴⁹³ Drugan (3 notes); Lokorsko (2 notes); Gorni Balvan (2 notes); Dolno Kamarci (2 notes); Palun (2 notes); Shipochan; Oryahovo; Strelcha; Sushica; Buhovo; Zhelyava; Mlechevo; Trapezi.

⁴⁹⁴ #92 *Menaion*; #97 *Menaion*; #485 *Menaion*.

Binding

Scribes documented more frequently information about binding in non-monastic manuscripts (25 notes) than in monastic manuscripts (13 notes). Non-monastic locations most likely had fewer and lower quality writing materials, more intensive use of manuscripts, and less concerns for preservation, than monastic locations. Binding occurred in monastic workshops between 1663 and 1809, although the earliest example of marginalia about binding appeared in a Russian printed book found in the non-monastic village of Klisura.

After the capture by the Ottomans of Turnovo, the capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1393-1396), the center of manuscript production moved from Turnovo to remote Bulgarian, Macedonian, Wallachian, and Serbian monasteries and to Mount Athos in Greece. The monastic scriptoria in Kratovo and Slepche in Macedonia produced two of the earliest examples of binding; the *Apostle* book in 1663⁴⁹⁵ and a *Four Gospels* from 1668, for the churches in Sofia.⁴⁹⁶

As printed books became more widely available during the 18th century, the centers of binding shifted from monasteries to non-monastic workshops. As mentioned previously, printed books produced abroad were introduced, especially in non-monastic churches. Marginalia about binding available in the HACI corpus point to numerous printed books produced in the Ukraine (Lvov and Kiev), Russia (Moscow and Ostorog), and Venice that underwent repair and rebinding.⁴⁹⁷ Sofia became the most active Bulgarian city for bookbinding operations.⁴⁹⁸ However, bookbinding workshops also operated in villages.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁵ #302 *Apostle Book*.

⁴⁹⁶ #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁴⁹⁷ Jakov Kraikov was the first Bulgarian printer. He had a printing press in Venice (1566-1672). Most of the printed books from HACI were produced by the printing press of the brothers Bozhidar and the son Vincentius Vukovich, as Bozhidar produced the first printed church book, an *Octoechos*, in 1493 in Cetnje, Montenegro. Serbian printing presses functioned until the second half of the 16th century and suddenly ceased to produce, resuming after the middle of the 18th century. During this time, Russian Slavic printed books were imported into Bulgaria and Serbian districts in the Habsburg Empire.

⁴⁹⁸ #9 *Bible*; #20 *Gospel*; #240 *Service and Vita of St. Haralambios*; #180 *Gospel*, printed; #158 *Gospel*, printed, 1791; #243 *Gospel*, 1803; #246 *Prologue*, printed.

⁴⁹⁹ Kunino (#13 *Gospel*, #63 *Octoechos*); Drugan (#38 *Gospel*); Lokorsko (#49 *Euchologion*); Ljuti Brod (#117 *Menaion*); Balvan (#186 *Menaion*); Kilipharevo (#213 *Four Gospel Book*); Zhelyava (#243 *Gospel*).

Monasteries appear to have been leaders in the production of manuscripts, although during the 17 and 18th centuries the data reveal that the leadership of monastic scriptoria was contested by both urban and rural non-monastic centers. Some of the most prolific monasteries in the binding of manuscripts were: Eleshki monastery, Kratovo monastery (3 notes), Ilinski monastery, Boboshevo monastery (2 notes), Yakovshtica monastery, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (2 notes), Slepche monastery, and Kremikovci monastery.⁵⁰⁰

Scribal notes

Eleven of the scribal notes appeared in monastic manuscripts from Cherepish, Dolni Lozen, Etropole, Sts. Kuzma and Damian, Jakovshtica, and Seslavski monasteries. Two had no date or provenance, and five notes originated from non-monastic churches in Lukovit, Vraca and the villages of Krivodol and Mlechevo.⁵⁰¹ The majority of scribal notes confirmed the observation that scribes and monks from monastic scriptoria followed more consistently the formal style of structuring paratextual scribal information than non-monastic authors.

History of manuscripts: Events and changes of provenance

These marginalia dealt with change of provenance and location by various means and the reappearance of manuscripts by purchase or re-discovery. Authors of marginalia demonstrated in the marginalia delight upon the return of a manuscript. Notes about confiscation, stealing, or pawning of books implied an ever-present insecurity and uncertainty of the Christian population during the Ottoman period. The presence of anathemas against theft is no surprise.

The earliest reference of a manuscript history note (1598) related the purchasing of the manuscript from the Turks.⁵⁰² The Turks may have confiscated the book against unpaid taxes or in reprisal for the Turnovo uprising of 1598 that coincided with the

⁵⁰⁰ #1 *Psalter*; #66 *Octoechos*; #34 *Four Gospels*; #41 *Apostle Book*; #78 *Triodion*; #78 *Triodion*; #109 *Menaion*; #196 *Menaion*; #302 *Apostle Book*; #374 *Gospel*.

⁵⁰¹ #3 *Psalter* (Krivodol); #83 *Irmologion* (Vraca); #84 *Irmologion* (Vraca); #134 *Damaskin* (Lukovit); #251 *Triodion* (Mlechevo).

⁵⁰² #128 *Miscellany*.

Austro-Turkish War (1592-1606) between the Hapsburgs and the Ottoman Empire. After the uprising, Ottoman and Tatar soldiers ravaged the land. A historical account from a Service book expressed vividly the author's negative emotions:

In the year 1598 there was great sadness and despair, as Christ foretold. And the Turks arose with many Hagarian [Islamic] soldiers: Tatars, Persians, Circassians, Sketes, and it was not possible to count the multitude then, and they captured several towns, and conquered the Hungarian land. And then they turned around and went and wintered in the Serbian land, and the devil, as he could not stand the silence amongst the Christians, forced the lawless Tartars to act in such a cruel manner.

Oh, my goodness, what sadness the earth has suffered through! In brief, I will tell you: they burned down villages and towns, many churches were desecrated, and they took holy icons away, and they desecrated and dug out the holy places, and then, in severe winter, many people were dragged naked on the ground, some were cut down by the sword, others shot by guns. And no place was left where dead people did not lie -- hills and valleys, mountaintops and meadows, everything was covered with dead bodies. Others were taken away to other lands and dispersed. There was such bitter crying, they separated them one from another, brother from brother, son from father. They said that it was better for all to go into a common grave, instead of being taken away to foreign lands, they cried bitterly and mourned each other. And there was great desolation in this land.⁵⁰³

A note dated 1622 from Kratovo monastery documented the process of buying back a beautifully illuminated Gospel manuscript:

Let be known to all Christians about this holy book called *Four Gospels* that priest Kostadin pawned to pay for a bishop's debt to the Jews and it stayed with them for 12 years. And Adam and his brother Petko brought it back to the church of St. Nicholas to serve for their own and their parents' souls. And again, whoever becomes tempted, either a priest or whoever else, let him be cursed by the Nicene Fathers, and be counted among Judas and Arius, but whoever makes donations, eternal be his memory. And again, let Vekil Nikola Vrankov and Tsona Manov oversee this book, written in the year of 1622.⁵⁰⁴

Priest Mihalko of Samokov discovered in 1863 an old *Gospel* manuscript from 1505 and documented the event:

⁵⁰³ *Service Book* from Mount Athos, monastery St. Paul, quoted in *Ostrog Bible* (cited).

⁵⁰⁴ #34 *Four Gospels*.

Let it be known about this book, because it is from the time of the Bulgarian Patriarch and was discovered in 1863 when priest Mihalko Georgiev of Samokov was a chanter and teacher from the village of Shipochan and found that this *Gospel* was 358 years old when it was written. Whoever does not listen to it for the good of his mind's benefit, let him be cursed by the 318 Fathers.⁵⁰⁵

A Gospel from Buhovo monastery was stolen and later found in the village of Seslavtsi, but somehow ended up in the village of Zhelyava: "Let it be known that this Gospel was stolen from the Buhovo monastery. It was found in the village of Seslavtsi by Dragoia, Stoyan, Stancho, and Tsonjo, who was a Gypsy. 1819."⁵⁰⁶

Bookplates

Although monasteries issued the earliest 14 examples of bookplate inscriptions in the corpus, the practice became more widespread in non-monastic settings. Twenty-eight examples of bookplates came from non-monastic settings, such as Sofia (14 notes), villages (8 notes), and towns (6 notes) and surpassed the number of bookplates produced in monasteries (15 notes). The non-monastic bookplates belonged to private owners,⁵⁰⁷ and one belonged to Deacon Paisii from Etropole monastery.⁵⁰⁸

Monastic authors from Bulgarian and Macedonian monasteries inserted bookplates to remind of the ownership. Those monasteries include Jakovshtica, Henoxa of Mount Athos, Dragalevski, Boboshevo, St. Kuzma and Damian, Etropole, Seslavski, Slepche, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.⁵⁰⁹

Diplomatics: form, structure and formulae

How were book-related marginalia structured as to form and content? This group of book-related marginalia resembles most closely the formal structure and content of documentary style of writing. The Table 9.3 demonstrates what common elements appear

⁵⁰⁵ #12 *Gospel*.

⁵⁰⁶ #243 *Gospel*.

⁵⁰⁷ #4 *Psalter*; #84 *Irmologion*; #212 *Kiriakodromion*; #239 *Psalter*.

⁵⁰⁸ #573 *Octoechos*.

⁵⁰⁹ #103 *Menaion*; #109 *Menaion*; #183 *Gospel*; #21 *Gospel*; #28 *Four Gospels*; #88 *Menaion*; #96 *Menaion*; #315 *Apostle Book*; #340 *Four Gospels*; #350 *Menaion*.

in book-related marginalia, *intitulatio*, *argenga*, *narratio*, *datatio*, *locatio*, and *subscriptio*, and some come even closer to colophons with *invocatio*, *sanctio*, and *apprecatio*. Marginalia related to sponsorship of books appear more formal in style and formulae, followed by history of the book, binding marginalia, scribal notes and bookplates. Bookplates display wide range of variations as private owners did not follow rigid scheme of documentation.

Sponsorship of books	Binding	Scribal notes	History of the book	Bookplates
Memorandum: 21%	Memorandum : 21%	Invocatio 16%	Memorandum: 80%	Memorandum: 10%
Invocatio: 7%	Intitulatio: 68%	Intitulatio 22%	Intitulatio: 80%	Intitulatio: 76%
Intitulatio: 50%	Arrenga 63%	Arenga: 60%	Narratio: 100%	Narratio: 100%
Arrenga: 62%	Narratio: 100%	Datatio 44%	Dispositio: 40%	Datatio: 60%
Narratio: 100%	Datatio: 100%	Subscriptio 28%	Sanctio: 40%	Subscriptio: 52%
Sanctio: 44%	Locatio: 53%	Sanctio: 11%	Datatio: 80%	Sanctio: 14%
Datatio: 54%	Subscriptio: 61%	Apprecatio: 17%	Locatio: 60%	Locatio: 74%
Locatio: 80%	Apprecatio: 18%		Subscriptio: 20%	
Subscriptio 95%			Apprecatio: 20%	
Apprecatio: 12%				

Table 9.3: Form, structure and formulae of book-related marginalia.

Sponsorship of books

Sponsorship marginalia followed a formal documentary structure that resembled colophons and surpassed other types of notes. This type of note had three distinct parts: the *protocollo* (introduction, preamble), the *testo* (middle part) and the *eschatollo* (conclusion). Sponsorship marginalia contained information about location, date, and title

of the book, sponsors, and notators. A motivation formula disclosed the motives for donating money, and the closing formula included the date or a curse against stealing.

The *protocollo* used the form, structure, and content of colophons, and particularly the *invocatio*, memorandum, and *intitulatio* formulas. Typically, the information about the title and location of the act of sponsorship appeared in the *protocollo*. Typical monastic sponsorship notes opened with the *invocatio*: "With the with of the Father, and with the help of the Son, and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit." The scribes of Etropole monastery scriptorium applied this *invocatio* to the marginalia and colophons of all *Menaions* during the 17th century.⁵¹⁰

These marginalia used similar *intitulatio* statements. Twelve cases of *intitulatio* appeared in mostly non-monastic manuscripts, compared to eleven in monastic manuscripts. The earliest sponsorship note starting with "This book called [title]" came from 1598. In 34 marginalia (50%), the author emphasized the identity of the manuscript by opening with the *intitulatio*: "This book called [title] was bought by [name]." The *memorandum* formula "Let it be known" opened eight non-monastic marginalia and six monastic, constituting 14 of the 67 cases. The earliest sponsorship note started with "Let it be known" in 1540.⁵¹¹ Memorandum formulae occurred more frequently in the 18th century (6 notes).

The *testo* or middle part of the sponsorship marginalia typically contained an *arenga*, a *dispositio*, and a *narratio*. The *arenga* presented the motives behind the act of sponsorship and associated closely with the names of sponsors in the *dispositio*. The *arenga* expressed the religious motives of the sponsor. Motives for sponsorship appeared in 62% of all the cases. Typically, sponsors inscribed in their motivation formulas "to serve for their souls," similar to donation and binding marginalia. Sometimes, clergy used a variety of expressions to ensure eternal memory or for the atonement of sins or for the profit of one's soul.

The *escatollo* (conclusion) could include *datatio*, *sanctio*, *subscriptio*, and *locatio*. The *datatio* (date of the act of donation) appeared in 54% of all the cases. The *apprecatio*

⁵¹⁰ *Menaions*: #85, #86, #92, #96, #107, #485.

⁵¹¹ #184, *Prayer Book*.

(prayer of blessing or forgiveness) appeared in 12% of the cases. Documenters provided their names and honorifics in a *subscriptio* in almost all cases (95%). Sponsoring was worth praise and emulation but required words against stealing the manuscript. Thus, a *sanctio* ("anathema") against stealing appeared in 44% of the cases and as early as 1540. More *sanctio* statements appeared in non-monastic (12) compared to monastic marginalia (10), but the practice was common in both settings.

The most typical sponsorship note had the *intitulatio*, *dispositio* and *argenga*, *sanctio*, and *datatio*:

This book called *Menaion* and *Gospel* was bought by [name of sponsor] and he donated it to serve for [purpose: his soul and his family's]. And let whoever steals this book be cursed by Christ, the Virgin Mary and the 318 Church Fathers. [Date]

The most complete version of sponsorship marginalia from the most prolific location, Etropole monastery, included the *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, *argenga*, *dispositio*, *locatio*, *apprecatio*, and *sanctio*:

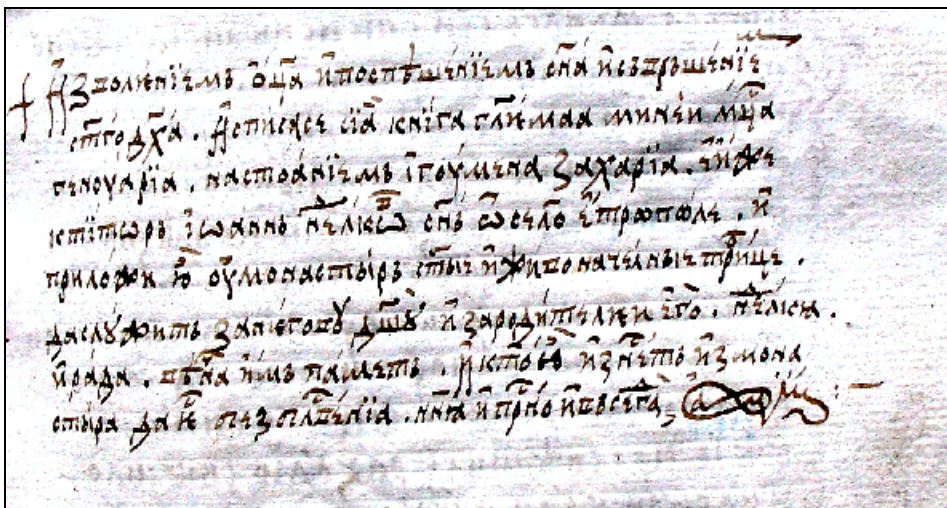


Figure 9.12: #86 *Menaion*, p. 303, Etropole monastery.

Translation: "By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit, this book called *Menaion* for the month of January was made at the request of abbot Zachariah and was donated by Ioan Nedelko from the village of Etropole to the Holy and life-giving Trinity to serve for his soul and his parents'. Eternal be their memory. Whoever steals this book from the monastery remains without salvation forever and ever and ages unto ages. Amen.

Binding

Marginalia about binding and repair followed the formal documentary structure and manner of writing of medieval documents, which included a *protocollo* (introduction, preamble), a *testo* (text), and an *eschatollo* (conclusion).⁵¹²

The marginalia about binding resembled the formal structure and style of writing of the colophon in that they all included the persons responsible for the act, the type of repair, and the date (except for 5 notes).

Most *protocollo* started with the *intitulatio* formula. The most typical example was "This holy [title] book" (24 cases, 63%). In three cases, these marginalia started with the *datatio*, and in five cases with the memorandum, of which the most common opening phrase was "Let it be known."

The *testo*, or middle part of marginalia about binding included *arenga*, *dispositio*, and *narratio*. The *arenga* usually expressed the motives of the people involved. Typically, the act of sponsoring would "serve for his soul and his parents." Sixteen cases (42%) contained a motivation formula. The *dispositio* listed the sponsors. Twenty-eight cases mentioned the binder/metalsmith (74%), 23 cases mentioned the sponsors of the act of binding (60%), and 19 cases mentioned officers (50 %).

These marginalia about binding operations closed with an *eschatollo* formula that included *datatio*, *apprecatio*, *locatio*, and *subscriptio*. Many variations occurred here. Four documenters used the blessing *apprecatio*, and three used a forgiveness prayer. Others ended with a *dispositio* mentioning the names of sponsors (5 notes) or binders (3 notes). Still others concluded with the *datatio* (13 notes).

A single specific type of binding note does not exist. The most typical example of a binding note could be based upon the most frequently used elements: *intitulatio*, *locatio*, *subscriptio*, *dispositio*, *arenga*, and *datatio*.

⁵¹² Vatican Secret Archives, *The Diplomatics of the Papal Documents: Parts of the Document.* Available At (cited). For more information about the general diplomatic structure and the internal features of documents, see: A. Giry, *Manuel De Diplomatique. Diplomes Et Chartes* (Paris: Hachette, 1894), pp. 527-590. Guyotjeannin, *Diplomatique Médiévale*, pp. 71-85. For Anglo-Norman charters, see: H. Hall, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), pp. 208-226. C. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), pp. 95-134.

This holy *Gospel* book was bound in the church of [patron saint] in the town/village of (location) by the most sinful priest [name] during the tenure of priests [names] and Mister [or *Kir* in Greek] donated [amount] grosha for binding this book the church to serve for his soul and for his parents' souls in the year of [year].

The shortest binding note included only a *subscriptio*: "Rancho bound."⁵¹³ Occasionally, information about the prices of binding appeared in the *narratio* (exposition of circumstances). Teacher Stoian charged 2.5 grosha for binding a *Gospel* book in the village of Kilifarevo. Teachers and grammarians bound books as well: "This book was bound. Wrote I, grammarian Peter Galov...wrote on Friday afternoon."⁵¹⁴ Women also participated in the act of sponsoring binding (Figure 9.13).

Let it be known that *baba* [grandmother] Velika donated money to rebind this book called *Octoechos* to serve for her soul and her father Kralcho and mother Stana and son Ioan, in the year following the birth of Christ, 1702.⁵¹⁵

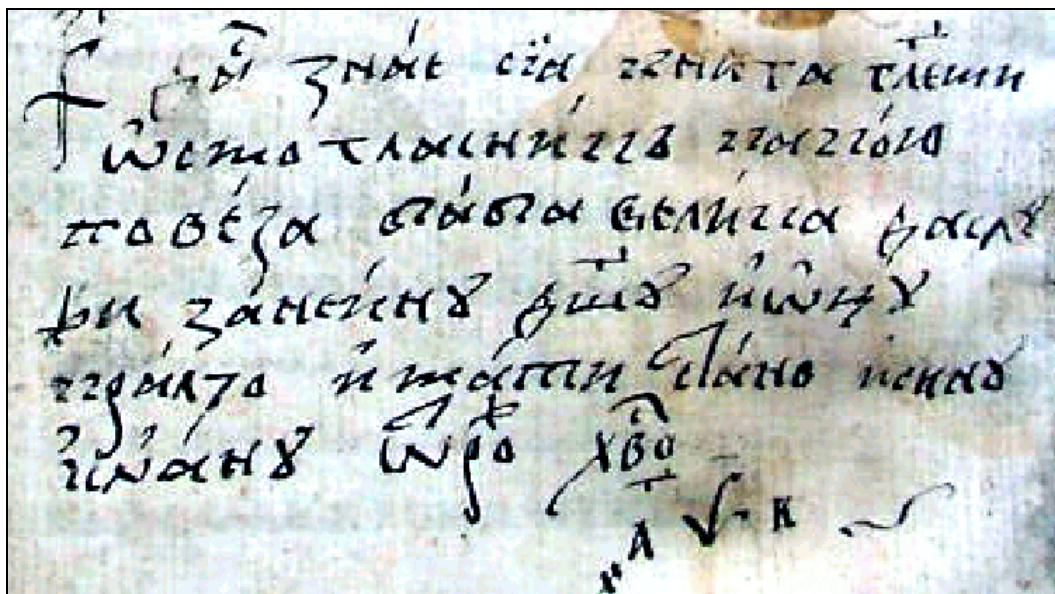


Figure 9.13: #66 *Octoechos* from Eleshki monastery.

⁵¹³ #244 *Menaion*.

⁵¹⁴ #117 *Menaion*) from the village of Ljuti Brod, Vraca region.

⁵¹⁵ *Octoechos* (#66) from Eleshki monastery.

Scribal notes

Scribal notes followed the formal documentary style of composition and structure. They contained one or two of the formal elements such as *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, *datatio*, *subscriptio*, *sanctio*, or *apprecatio*. However, they were incomplete when compared to colophons and other medieval documents. Scribal notes might present only an *invocatio* formula in the margins or an *apprecatio* prayer of blessing.

Scribal notes existed in several variations. The majority of scribal notes (5 notes) had a *datatio*, a formal dating calculated since the creation of the world. With one exception, they were not original scribal notes but added later by other people.⁵¹⁶

Some scribal notes had a *subscriptio*, resembling colophon-like statements and possibly functioned as miniature colophons. For example, "Raphael," the well-known priest, scribe, and illuminator of the Etropole monastery, inscribed a note that contained a *subscriptio* and a *datatio* in the front pastedown of *Menaion*: "Wrote priest Raphael in the year of 1712, March 21 (Figure 9.14)."

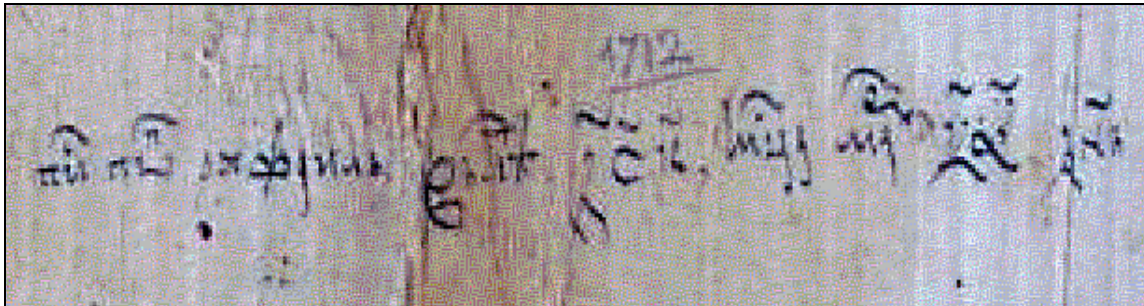


Figure 9.14: #90 *Menaion*, 1712, from Etropole monastery.

Some scribal notes included only an *invocatio*. Most colophons and scribal notes from Etropole started with the typical *invocatio* formula: "By the will of the Father, and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit."⁵¹⁷

Monastic scribes from Dolni Lozen and Etropole incorporated a curse against stealing known as a *sanctio* to protect their manuscripts. The curse formulas condemned severely the sin of stealing and based this judgment upon the authority of the Church

⁵¹⁶ #44 *Typicon*; #88 *Menaion*; #128 *Miscellany*; #198 *Triodion*; #315 *Apostle Book*.

⁵¹⁷ #86 *Menaion*, #80 *Menaion*.

Fathers: "May whoever tries to steal this book be cursed by the 318 Fathers and becomes like lead (Figure 9.15)."⁵¹⁸

Scribal notes in other cases incorporated an *apprecatio*. Traditionally and according to the evidence found in the Slavic manuscripts before the Ottoman invasion, *apprecatio* statements (asking the reader for forgiveness for making copying errors) resided mostly in colophons. Again, Etropole scribes continued this tradition (Figures 9.12 and 9.15).⁵¹⁹

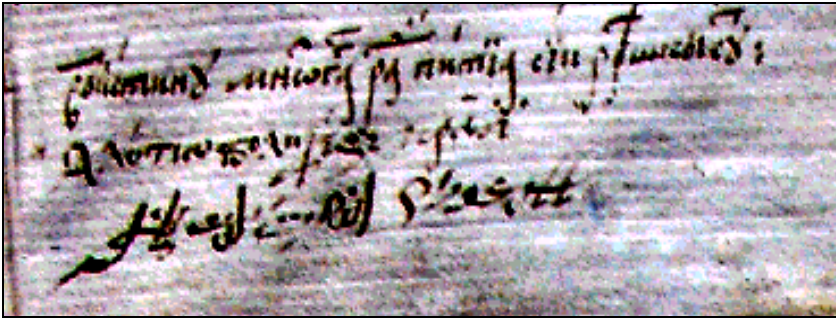


Figure 9.15: #86 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery.

History of manuscripts

These marginalia were characterized by a large number of formal elements such as *narratio* (100% of all cases), memorandum (80%), *datatio* (80%), *intitulatio* (80%), *locatio* (60%), occasionally *dispositio* (40%), *sanctio* (40%), *subscriptio*, and *apprecatio* (20% each). Three marginalia started with the memorandum formula "Let it be known." Authors appear to have applied this formula to many historical marginalia. The other two marginalia start with a *datatio*⁵²⁰ or an *intitulatio* "This book called [title]." ⁵²¹ They finished their notes with a *datatio*⁵²² or with a curse against stealing, a *sanctio*.⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ #86 *Menaion*, #80 *Menaion*.

⁵¹⁹ #86 *Menaion* (Jakovshtica monastery); #198 *Triodion* (Etropole monastery).

⁵²⁰ #196 *Menaion*.

⁵²¹ #128 *Miscellany*.

⁵²² #34 *Gospel*; #243 *Gospel*.

⁵²³ #12 *Gospel*; #34 *Gospel*.

Bookplates

Bookplates are brief, semi-formal texts with a few elements of medieval documents. However, bookplates frequently exhibit elements such as the *intitulatio* (the title), which introduces the book's title: "This book called [title]." Thirty three bookplate in the corpus (76%) begin with an *intitulatio*. The memorandum "Let it be known" appeared in three monastic *Menaion* manuscripts and stated: "Let it be known that this book is from [location]."⁵²⁴ Other bookplates appearing in three non-monastic printed books started with an *inscriptio* of the name of the owner or the statement: "Wrote I [name]."⁵²⁵

The middle *texto* part of three bookplates included a *narratio* that stated the circumstances of book purchase, especially the book price. Bookplates also stated the spiritual and intellectual value of books:⁵²⁶

"Psalters were beneficial for the soul."⁵²⁷

"Words are beautiful and spiritual."

"Gospels are holy and soul-saving books."⁵²⁸

Twenty six bookplates conclude with a *datatio*, informing about the date of acquisition, *subscriptio*, informing about the name of the owner, or the location and name of the church or monastery. *Subscriptio* statements reveal among the names of owners also three Russian owners, two monks, four priests, and two laypeople. A *locatio* including the name of the church or monastery terminated the bookplate in nine occasions. A *sanctio* included sanctions against stealing in three cases. "May whoever takes this book from the monastery let him be cursed." "May whoever tries to take it out and steal it, let him be cursed by the 318 Holy Fathers in the year of 1749."⁵²⁹

⁵²⁴ #88 *Menaion* (St. Kozma and Damian monastery); #96 *Menaion* (Etropole monastery); #109 *Menaion* (Jakovshtica monastery).

⁵²⁴ #212 *Kiriakodromion*; #276 *Psalter*; #287 *Triodion*.

⁵²⁴ #4 *Psalter*; #28 *Four Gospels*; #276 *Psalter*; #287 *Psalter*.

⁵²⁵ #28 *Four Gospels*.

⁵²⁶ #28 *Gospel*; #93 *Menaion*; #205 *Triodion*, printed; #237 *Four Gospels*; #251 *Gospel*.

⁵²⁷ #4 *Psalter*.

⁵²⁸ #28 *Gospel*.

⁵²⁸ #93 *Menaion*.

⁵²⁹ #28 *Four Gospels*; #93 *Menaion*; 205 *Triodion* (2 curses).

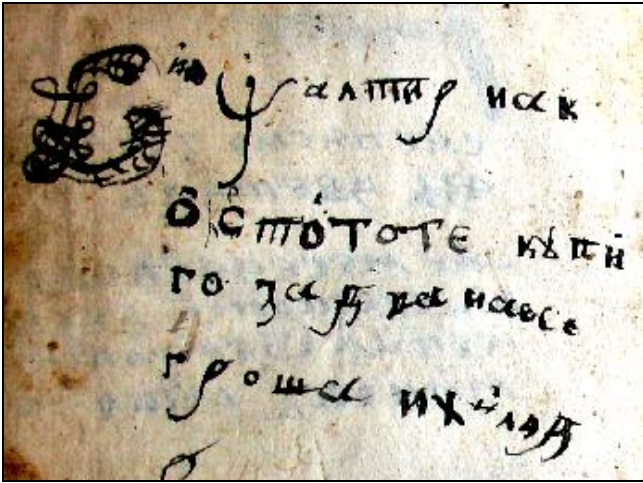


Figure 9.16: #276 *Psalter*, printed, 1786.

Bookplates and prices of books

Bookplates provided information about the price of books and the book-market. The information in all cases of the HACI corpus pertained to purchase of printed books, some of which were acquired abroad, but all of which were printed abroad in Venice, Russia, or Romania. Tare bought his *Gospel* at the Salt Market in Sofia in 1690.⁵³⁰ Prices varied widely throughout the centuries and geographical regions, even within one particular genre of book. Such is the case with printed *Psalters*, produced in different locations (Venice or Ukraine). Traiko bought in 1790 his *Psalter* printed in Venice (circa 1537) for 5 grosha, when he was visiting the Nish monastery.⁵³¹ Tsvetan bought his Russian *Psalter*, printed in the Kievo-Pecherska Lavra, from Krustjo Minov in 1786 for 1000 grosha and 1000 aspri (Figure 9.16).⁵³² Priest Velko bought his *Triodion* from Michal Raevich for 2 [unclear].⁵³³ Tenju Zheljv from the village of Enina bought his printed *Kirakdromikon* for 78 grosha in 1835, during his study in Bucharest.⁵³⁴

The most typical bookplate would read: "This book, called *Menaion* [or *Gospel*] from the monastery [or church] in the village acquired by priest [or layman] [name] in

⁵³⁰ #20 *Gospel*.

⁵³¹ #276 *Psalter*, printed.

⁵³² #276 *Psalter*, printed.

⁵³³ #287 *Triodion*, printed.

⁵³⁴ #212 *Kiriakodromion*, printed.

18th century for [amount] grosha. Whoever steals it let him be cursed." Figure 9.18 shows one of the earliest examples of a bookplate, from Jakovshtica monastery: "This church book at St. Nedelya church, whoever tries to take it out and steal it, let him be cursed by the 318 Holy Fathers in the year of 1749."

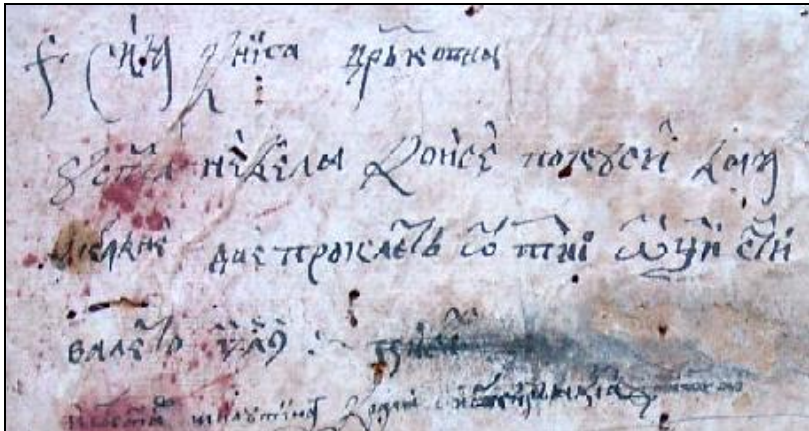


Figure 9.17: #93 *Menaion*, 1603.

Figures 9.17 and 9.18 are examples of bookplates written by the same author in two different *Menaion* manuscripts from the Jakovshtica monastery. In both, the bookplate appeared in the bottom margins of page 6 verso.

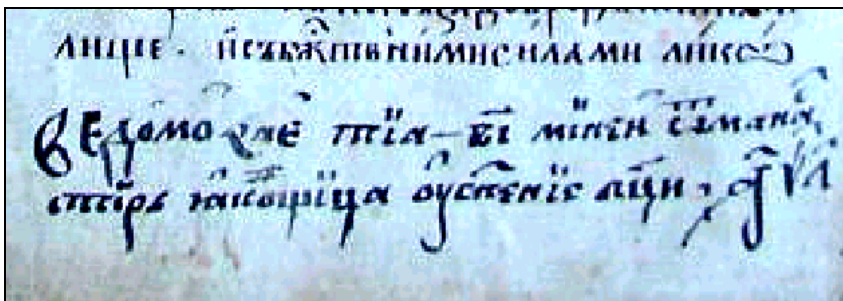


Figure 9.18: #103 *Menaion*.

Physical placement

Where did scribes place book-related marginalia? Table 9.4 demonstrates that they placed marginalia related to book production and history on the bottom margin (31) and after the text (31), the traditional place for colophons. The placement within the body of the manuscript was more common (77) than the front (47) and back (39).

Type and location	Sponsorship of books	Binding	Scribal notes	History of books	Book-plates	Total
Front pastedown	2	12	3	0	6	23
Front endpapers	6	6	2	0	7	21
Top margin	1	0	1	0	1	3
Side margins	1	0	4	0	4	9
Middle inserts	0	0	1	0	0	1
Bottom margin	19	2	3	2	5	31
Multiple margins	0	0	0	0	1	1
After the text	17	2	4	2	6	31
Back endpaper	7	8	2	1	10	28
Back pastedown	2	5	1	0	3	11
Cover	0	3	0	0	0	3
Totals	56	38	21	5	43	163

Table 9.4: Location of book-related marginalia on the manuscript.

Sponsorship of books

Sponsorship marginalia followed a particular pattern of positioning on the manuscript page. Seventeen notes appeared after the official text of the manuscript and 19 notes in the bottom margins. As mentioned before, scribes traditionally included information about manuscript sponsorship in the colophon.

During the Ottoman period, this information became a self-contained freestanding text separate from although frequently adjacent to the colophon. Monastic scriptoria established this pattern of positioning book sponsorship notes after the colophon (12 notes), and the practice continued in non-monastic settings (5 notes). It is possible that scribes imitating the documentary style of writing and content of colophons while placing sponsorship of books notes after the colophon. The earliest examples (16th century), all from monasteries, appeared under the colophon.⁵³⁵ The earliest examples showed a diversity of practices that continued. Dated examples from monasteries later diverged from a position after the main text to the bottom margins⁵³⁶ and even the top margins of pages.⁵³⁷ Monastic practices also included positioning sponsorship notes on blank endpapers.

Non-monastic writers preferred the bottom margin (12 notes).⁵³⁸ Blank pages were popular,⁵³⁹ including the back (9 notes) and the front (8 notes). Non-monastic authors placed five notes after the main text.⁵⁴⁰ Some bottom margin notes were continued on consecutive pages. The most typical sponsorship information appeared in or followed the colophon and originated from Etropole monastery in the 17th century (Figure 9.19 and 9.20).

⁵³⁵ #184 *Euchologion* (1540); #198 *Triodion* (1560); #93 *Menaion* (1604).

⁵³⁶ #135 *Kiriakodromion* (1838).

⁵³⁷ #573 *Octoechos* (1763).

⁵³⁸ #29 *Gospel*.

⁵³⁹ #109 *Menaion* (1624); #350 *Menaion* from Trapezi (1612).

⁵⁴⁰ #12 *Gospel* (1688); #29 *Four Gospels* (1694).

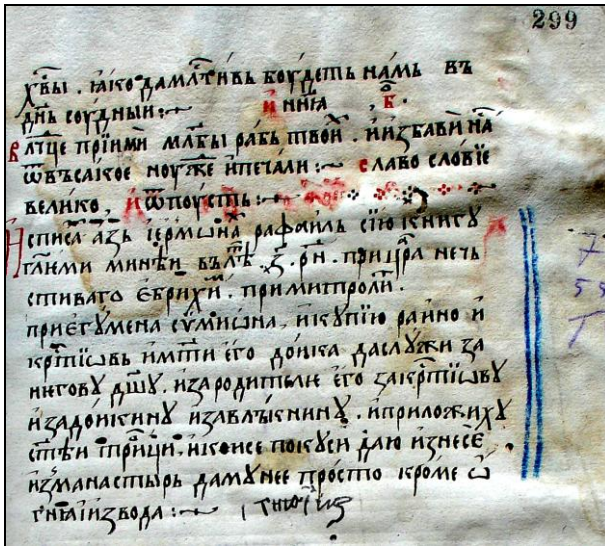


Figure 9.19: #97, Menaion, 1600, Etropole monastery.

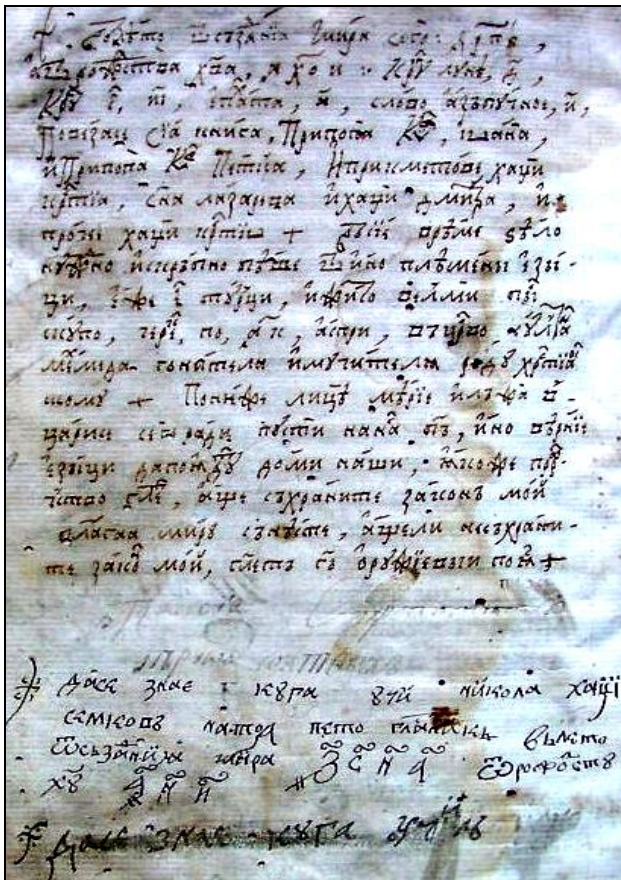


Figure 9.20: #573, Octoechos, 1743, Etropole monastery.

Binding

Writers preferred to insert information about binding operations on whole blank pages, such as the pastedowns and endpapers, because blank pages offered sufficient space for documentation of the procedures. Typically, marginalia about binding from non-monastic settings would appear on the front pastedown of manuscripts while such marginalia from monastic settings would appear on the front endpaper.

The majority of marginalia about binding that originated in non-monastic settings (25 notes) showed a preference for the front (10) and back (5) pastedowns of manuscripts or even on the cover of the manuscript (2). Scribes might have followed pattern of placement that associated marginalia about binding to the binding structure of the manuscript. Such marginalia from monastic settings, however, followed a different set of rules and patterns. Binding notes appeared on front (4) and back (4) endpapers, rather than pastedowns. Monastic binders showed a preference for the front pastedown-endpaper leaves (6). This category of marginalia appeared next to the colophon, to the back, or after the text. Two notes appeared in bottom margins. One note appeared on the back endpaper.

Scribal notes

Scribal notes appeared in various places, however, most often in the side margin and after the main text or after the colophon. These locations, with the style of writing, enhanced the resemblance of scribal notes to colophons. The three marginalia that explain the text appear in the side margin. Thirteen scribal notes appeared within the manuscripts: four after the text; four in the side margins, three in bottom margins, one in a top margin, and one on a blank insert. The scribal notes appearing under the colophons were the earliest dated scribal notes and originated from monasteries.⁵⁴¹ Other monastic scribes followed different conventions and inscribed the side margins and the front blank pages of manuscripts⁵⁴² more often than the back blank pages.

⁵⁴¹ #198 *Triodion* (Etropole monastery).

⁵⁴² #88 *Menaion* (Sts. Kuzma and Damian monastery); #90 *Menaion* (Etropole monastery); #134 *Damaskin* (Lukovit).

History of books

Scribes placed information about the fate of the book, including change of location and owners, in the bottom margins (Figure 9.21) or close to the end of the manuscript, next to the colophon (Figure 9.22).

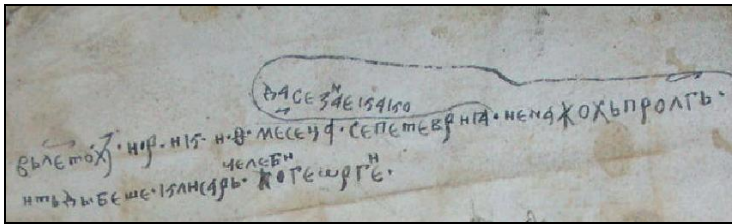


Figure 9.21: #196 *Menaion*. "In the year of 1621, the month of September. Let it be known when I didn't find the Prologue and then the church guard was Chelbko Georgi."



Figure 9.22: #243 *Gospel*, Zhelyava, p. 271 b.

Bookplates

No common placement conventions appear for bookplates. Bookplates appear on front pastedowns and endpapers, back pastedowns and endpapers, immediately after the main text, or in the margins in books. The majority of bookplates appear on the front blank pages (17 notes) and back blank pages (13 notes). Eleven cases appeared in the margins. Owners preferred blank pages (30 notes) over margins (11 notes). The most frequent place was the back endpaper (10 notes),⁵⁴³ followed by the front endpaper (7 notes),⁵⁴⁴ and after the text (6 notes).⁵⁴⁵

In most cases non-monastic bookplates occupied the back blank pages (11 notes). Monastic owners preferred the space immediately after the main text (5 notes). Two monastic bookplates and three non-monastic bookplates favored bottom margins. Monastic and non-monastic owners favored equally front pastedowns (3 cases each). The earliest example of a bookplate appearing in 1540 under the main text came from a monastery (Figure 9.23).⁵⁴⁶

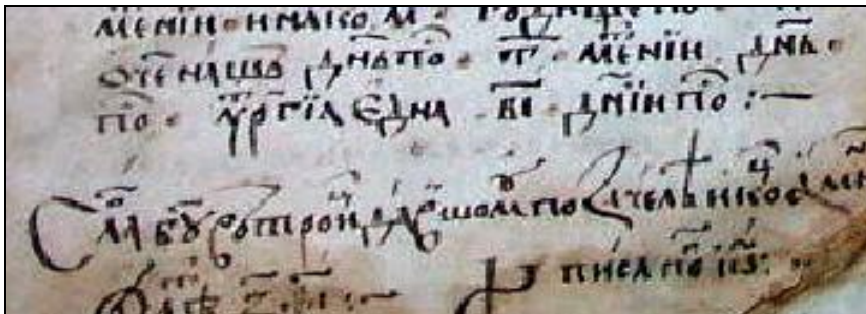


Figure 9.23: #184 *Euchologion*, 1540, monastery.

The earliest example of a side margin bookplate came from a monastery from 1646. Eastern Orthodoxy Church believed that the *Gospel* codex provided the home, or "incarnation" of the Word of God. This respect for books and the *hesychastic* spirit of humility urged scribes and other readers to confess their inferiority. Lay readers admitted

⁵⁴³ #9 *Bible*; #20 *Four Gospels*; #212 *Kiriakodromion*; #276 *Psalter* (2 notes); #350 *Menaion*; #573 *Octoechos*; #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski* (3 notes).

⁵⁴⁴ #84 *Irmologion*; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #273 *Euchologion* (two notes); #315 *Apostle*; #340 *Four Gospels*; #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski*.

⁵⁴⁵ #103 *Menaion*; #109 *Menaion*; #119 *Menaion*; #205 *Triodion*; #239 *Psalter*; #248 *Prologue*; #251 *Triodion*.

⁵⁴⁶ #184 *Euchologion*.

to being simple, stupid, and illiterate. The statement in the *Psalter* from the village of Krivodol reveals the frustration of the reader with the archaic Church Slavonic language: "This book, in times gone by could be read, but now, it cannot. Long time ago, people were foolish but righteous, but now they are intelligent but sinful."⁵⁴⁷

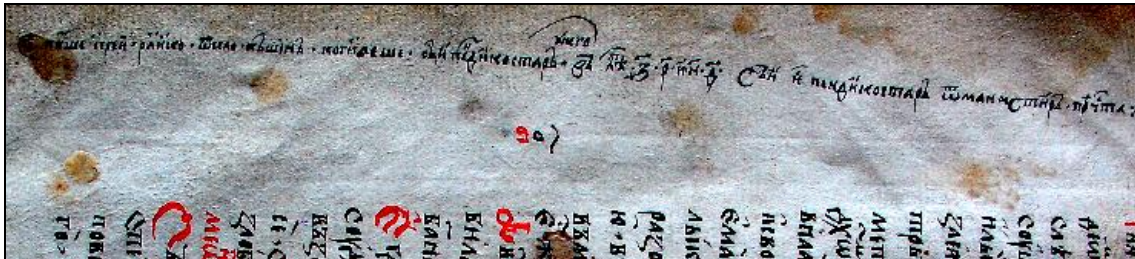


Figure 9.24: #251 *Triodion*, 1646, monastery, village of Kushin.

The earliest example of a non-monastic scribal note appeared in 1646 (Figure 9.24) and of a bookplate in 1690 (Figure 9.25).⁵⁴⁸

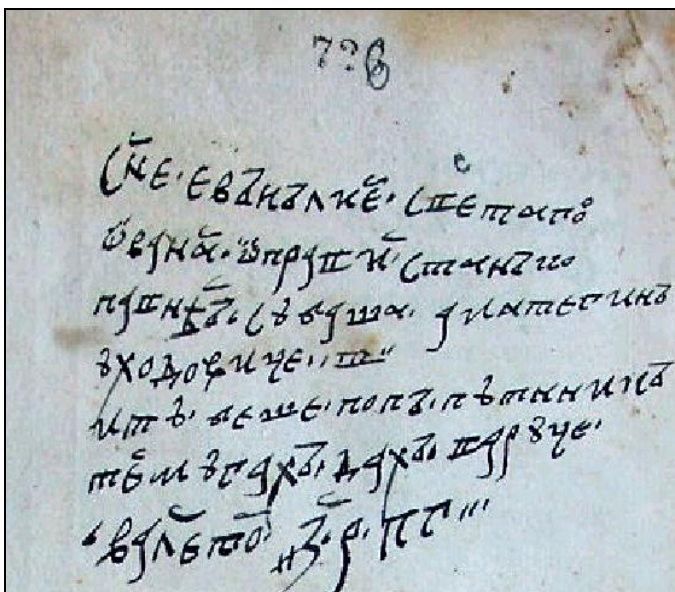


Figure 9.25: #20 *Gospel*, 1690, Sofia.

⁵⁴⁷ #251 *Triodion*.

⁵⁴⁸ #20 *Gospel*.

Language and script

Which script and languages did authors use in book-related marginalia?

Sponsorship of books

Sponsorship marginalia appear in three scripts: Semi-uncial (SU), new uncial (NU), and a combination of SU and cursive (*skoropis*). For sponsorship notes, authors preferred to use the more official and literary SU script (40 notes). SU script usually followed the style of the colophon, as in Figure 9.20. A combination of SU with cursive appeared in only two cases, both non-monastic. Table 9.5 demonstrates the comparison between different combinations of script-language.

Script/ Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1540, 1560, 1604, 1646, 1697, 1704, 1743, 7 undated NM: 1647, 1677, 1690, 1694, 1704, 1725, 1742, 1750, 4 undated	NM: 1817 1 undated	M: 1718	M: 15 NM: 14
CS and vernacular	M: 1757, 1763 (+) NM: 1688, 1782, 4 undated		M: 1704 NM: 1 undated	M: 4 NM: 7
Vernacular	M: 1624 1743, 1 undated NM: 1751, 1 undated		M: 1665, 1838, 1 undated NM: 1826, 1842, 5 undated	M: 6 NM: 9
Modern Bulgarian		NM: 1923		NM: 1
Totals	M: 20 NM: 20	NM: 3	M: 5 NM: 8	M: 25 NM: 31

Table 9.5: Comparison of scripts and language in sponsorship of books marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

SU predated NU and cursive, although it continued to be used until the end of the 18th century. Scribes typically applied SU script for official documents. The earliest

example of official documents, the Dubrovnichka gramota dates from 1230.⁵⁴⁹ In comparison with this earliest case, the HACI marginalia that document sponsorship of books appeared much later in 1540, written in SU script.⁵⁵⁰ Etropole⁵⁵¹ and Boboshevo⁵⁵² monastic scriptoria became the most prominent centers of manuscript production, and developed their own style of SU script. The calligraphic version of SU developed by Etropole scribes in the 17th century rapidly spread out to other proximate geographical locations such as Sredna Gora, where it was known as *srednogorsko pismo* (Sredna Gora script). Then, the geographical distribution of SU script spread to rural centers such as Dolno Kamarci, Shipochan, Sliven, Strelcha, Gorni Balvan, Drugan, and Oryahovo.⁵⁵³

The NU script ranked second with 13 cases, spread between monastic (5) and non-monastic (8) scriptoria. The earliest examples of NU appeared in Boboshevo monastery in 1665⁵⁵⁴ and Pshinski monastery from 1704⁵⁵⁵ and continued in the 19th century in non-monastic settings. NU appeared in a number of sponsorship marginalia as laypeople imitated the script of printed books. Six of the 10 NU notes appear with dates, from 1665 to 1842.

The preferred language of book sponsorship marginalia was Church Slavonic (CS, 29 notes), used primarily in monastic scriptoria. Non-monastic scriptoria also used CS (14 notes), implying a relatively high level of literacy among non-monastic clergy. A mixture of vernacular with CS elements appeared in 9 non-monastic cases.⁵⁵⁶ The second most predominant language was the vernacular Bulgarian language with local dialects of

⁵⁴⁹ D. Karadzhova, "Poluustavno Pismo, Poluustav," in *Starobulgarska Literatura*, ed. D. Petkanova (Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2003), p. 376.

⁵⁵⁰ #184 *Euchologion*.

⁵⁵¹ #85 *Menaion*; #86 *Menaion*; #93 *Menaion*; #96 *Menaion*; #573 *Octoechos*.

⁵⁵² #28 *Gospel*; #78 *Triodion*.

⁵⁵³ #109 *Menaion* (1624); #12 *Gospel* (1688); #29 *Four Gospels* (1694); #30 *Four Gospels* (1694); #186 *Menaion* (1704); #38 *Gospel* (1742); #15 *Gospel* (1750).

⁵⁵⁴ #28 *Gospel*.

⁵⁵⁵ #196 *Menaion*.

⁵⁵⁶ Drugan village, Dolno Kamarci, Pshinski monastery, Skender (Turkish for Alexander).

SU (5 notes) and NU (10 notes). The latest example of modern Bulgarian for this type of note came from Sofia in 1923.⁵⁵⁷

The scribes writing in SU usually were more literate, inferring from their use of the Church Slavonic (CS literary language) (29 notes) and CS-vernacular mixture (11 notes). The NU script correlated to the vernacular (13 notes) and the CS-vernacular mixture (1 note). These results imply that the more literary scribes had a more highly trained calligraphic script than those with cursive or SU. Other professional scribes used CS with cursive (2 notes), while the non-monastic authors with typically less rigorous training expressed themselves in the vernacular wrote NU.

Binding

Scribes wrote marginalia about binding in three handwriting styles: Semi-uncial script (SU, 31 notes), an untrained script known as *nov ustav*, new uncial (NU, 5 notes), and cursive known as *skoropis* (2 notes). The formal SU script sometimes appeared to be calligraphic and at other times less elaborate. The use formal script possibly implies that the writers treated this category of marginalia as official addenda, after the fashion of colophons. Non-monastic documenters, not being able to receive an elaborate graphics education, wrote in a rougher version of SU or NU script.

Monastic scriptoria produced 13 SU marginalia about binding compared to the 18 SU in non-monastic settings, possibly because the major calligraphic schools remained in monasteries (Figure 9.28).⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁷ #182 *Panegirik*.

⁵⁵⁸ Boboshevo monastery (#78 *Triodion*, 1734); Eleshnitsa monastery (#66 *Octoechos*, 1702; #1 *Psalter*, 1734); Kratovo monastery (#34 *Four Gospels*, 1809); Slepche monastery (#302 *Apostle Book*, 1663); St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (#196 *Menaion*, 1747).

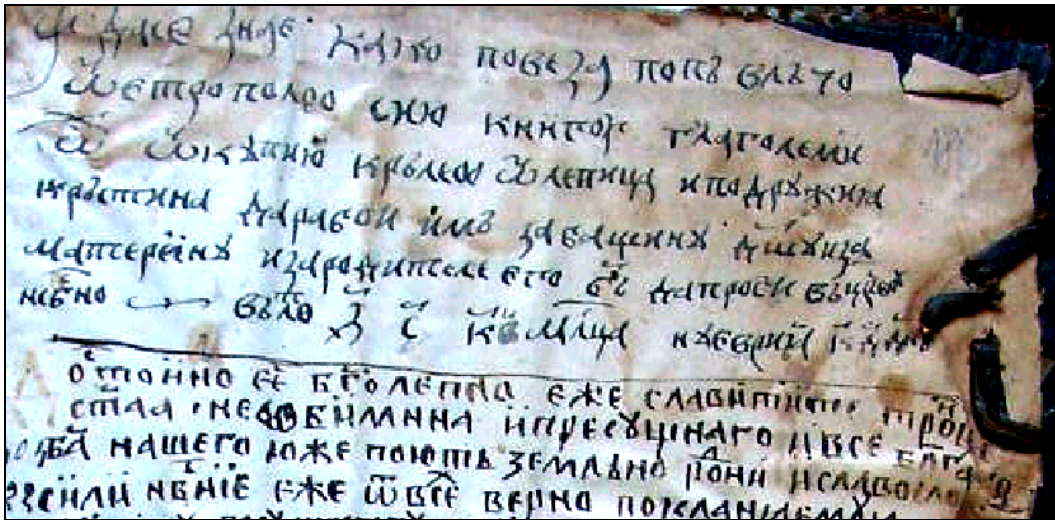


Figure 9.26: #63 *Octoechos*, Kunino village.

NU was a characteristic of non-monastic writers⁵⁵⁹ and originated in three villages: Kunino (Figure 9.26), Ljuti Brod, and Zhelyava, and the urban scribal center of Sofia.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁹ Sofia (1674, 1675), and the villages of Kunino, (1678), Ljuti Brod, and Zhelyava (1791).

⁵⁶⁰ #20 *Gospel*, 1675.

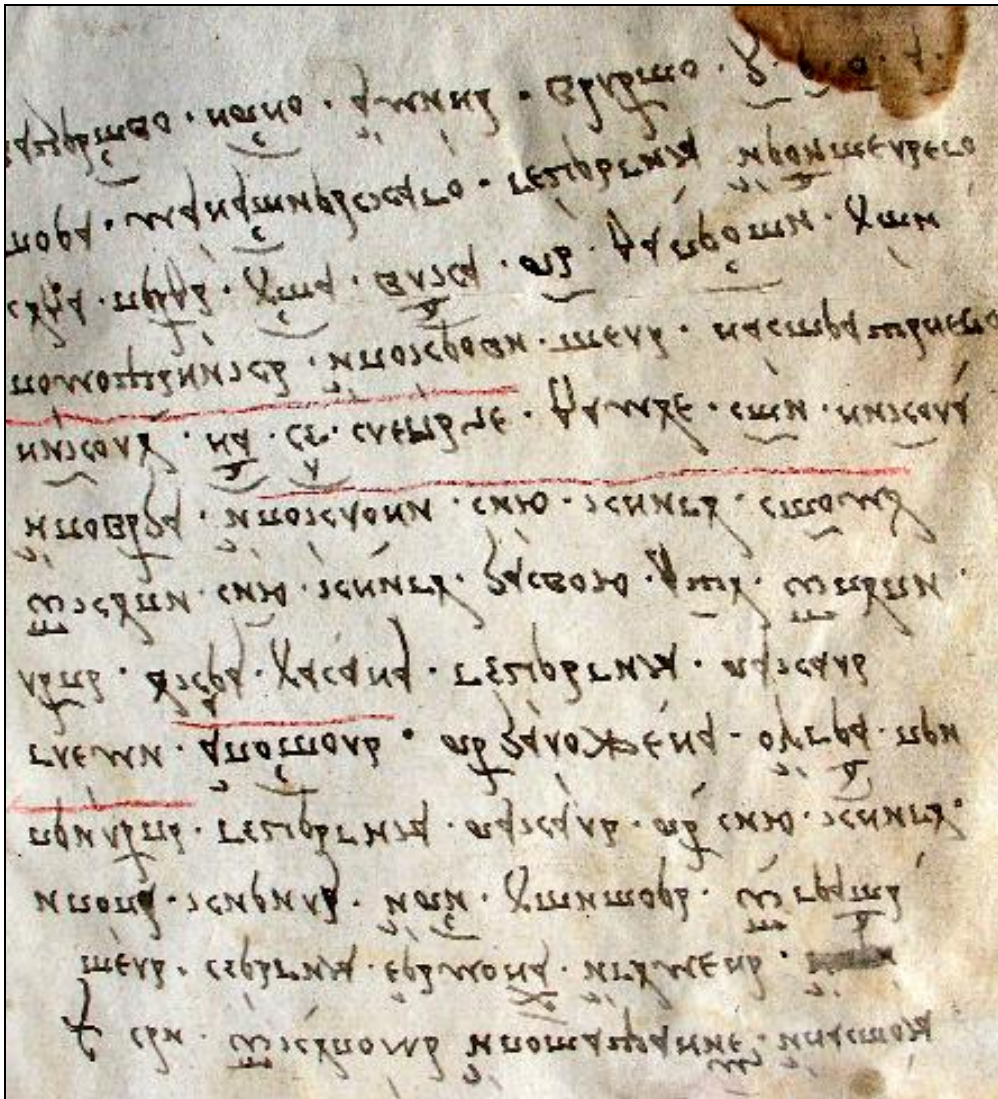


Figure 9.27: #302 *Apostle Book*, Slepche monastery, 1663.

In general, scribes used literary formal Church Slavonic language in combination with the formal and elaborate semi-uncial and cursive scripts. The majority of binding notes were written in the formal Church Slavonic (CS) language (17 notes). These notes represent a relatively earlier time period, 1638-1807. More marginalia about binding written in CS came from non-monastic manuscripts (9 notes), compared to monastic manuscripts (8 notes). The earliest examples of CS appeared in non-monastic marginalia originating in a printed book printed in Ukraine, and found in the village of Klisura.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁶¹ #161 *Gospel* printed in Lvov.

Ten cases show evidence of a transitional CS-vernacular variation: four cases from monasteries (St. Prohor Pshinski, Kratovo, Kremikovtsi, and Ilinski monastery), four cases from Sofia, and two cases from villages (Drugan and Lokorsko). A mixture of CS and vernacular appeared as early as 1671 in a printed book found in Sofia, and the mixture continued until 1809, as far as the dated evidence shows. Six of the 10 cases came from non-monastic manuscripts. The typical language of non-monastic inscriptions was CS (9 notes), followed by transitional CS-vernacular (6 notes), and vernacular (3 notes) from the period between 1638 and 1803.

Language/ Script	SU	Cursive	NU	Total
CS	M: 1663, 1675, 1681, 1693, 1702, 1734, 1747, 1807 NM: 1638, 1696, 1704, 1704, 1753, 1781, 1788, 2 undated			M: 8 NM: 9
CS and vernacular	M: 1704, 1727, 1754, 1809 NM: 1671, 1725, 1742, 1803, 1803, 1 undated		NM: 1 undated	M: 4 NM: 7
Vernacular	M: 1734 NM: 1714, 1790, 1 undated	NM: 1668	NM: 1674, 1675, 1678, 1791, 1 undated	M: 1 NM: 9
Total:	M: 13 NM: 18	NM: 1	NM: 6	M: 13 NM: 25

Table 9.6: Comparison of scripts and language in marginalia about binding. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Table 9.6 demonstrates a mild correspondence between script and language. CS appeared in combination with SU script and vernacular with NU script. Cursive accompanied only the vernacular language.

History of manuscripts

The literary semi-uncial (SU) script appeared at the earliest time, 1622, from Kratovo monastery.⁵⁶² Three cases of new uncial (NU) appeared in monastic and non-monastic manuscripts. The NU note dated 1819 came from the village of Zhelyava.⁵⁶³ A

⁵⁶² #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁵⁶³ #243 *Gospel*.

1863 note from a *Gospel* displays the later cursive documentary script, known as *skoropis*.⁵⁶⁴ Table 9.7 demonstrates the language-script variations in history of manuscript marginalia.

During the 19th century, however, laypeople had more open access to books as demonstrated by numerous readers's and education-related marginalia. Those relatively less rigorously educated than monastic clergy authors expressed in the margins their sentiments about the tragedy of books in their everyday vernacular language and with the NU script.⁵⁶⁵ *Skoropis* relates to the hybrid language that combines elements of both Church Slavonic (CS) and the spoken vernacular.⁵⁶⁶ The literary SU script corresponds to the CS vocabulary of a *Gospel* produced at the Kratovo monastic scriptorium.⁵⁶⁷ The note about the purchase of a manuscript from the Turks listed the date 1598, although the note itself might have appeared at a later time, perhaps even as late as the 19th century, because it demonstrates a typical NU-vernacular.⁵⁶⁸

Language/ Script	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1622	0	0	M: 1
CS and vernacular	0	NM: 1863	0	NM: 1
Vernacular	0	0	M: 1598, 1621 NM: 1819	M: 2 NM: 1
Totals	M: 1	NM: 1	M: 2 NM: 1	M: 3 NM: 2

Table 9.7: Comparison of scripts and language in marginalia about history of manuscripts. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Bookplates

Bookplates appear in three major scripts and one transitional variation: the majority of bookplates -- in the more literate Semi-uncial (SU) script (14 notes), dating

⁵⁶⁴ #12 *Gospel*.

⁵⁶⁵ #243 *Gospel*.

⁵⁶⁶ #12 *Gospel*.

⁵⁶⁷ #34 *Four Gospels*.

⁵⁶⁸ #196 *Menaion*.

from 1540 to 1855, longer than others. Table 9.8 demonstrates the distribution of different combinations of language-script in both monastic and non-monastic bookplates.

Language/ Script	SU	SU and cursive	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1540, 1703, 1730, 1730, 1730, 1746, 1779, 1 undated NM: 1735, 1774, 1781, 1 undated	M: 1 undated NM: 3 undated	M: 1839, NM: 1 undated		M: 10 NM: 8
CS and vernacular	NM: 1717, 1782	NM: 1690, 1749			NM: 4
Vernacular		M: 1772 NM: 1790	M: 1711, 1 undated NM: 1841, 1855, 1872	M: 2 undated NM: 1786, 1790, 1828, 1835, 1841, 2 undated	M:5 NM:1 1
Modern Bulgarian			NM: 2 undated		NM: 2
Russian			NM: 3 undated		NM: 3
Totals	M: 8 NM: 4	M: 2 NM: 6	M: 3 NM: 9	M: 2 NM: 7	M: 15 NM: 28

Table 9.8: Comparison of scripts and language in marginalia about bookplates. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Ten of those 15 bookplates are produced in monastic settings, and five came from Sofia. Cursive script, known as *skoropis*, occur 10 times between 1711 and 1872, divided among monastic (3 notes) and non-monastic (9 notes) examples. The more recent new uncial (NU) script, which imitated print, appear in 9 bookplates from 1786 to 1835. NU appears predominately in non-monastic settings (7 notes) rather than in monastic settings (2 notes). The transitional script that combined features of both SU and cursive scripts occur eight times, six of which appeared in non-monastic settings between 1690 and 1790.

The language used in bookplates varied and gradually grew from Church Slavonic (CS) into a combination of CS and vernacular, then to Bulgarian vernacular, adopted

Russian vocabulary, and finally developed into modern Bulgarian. Nineteen bookplates appeared in CS, 14 of them in the vernacular and five in a combination of CS and vernacular. Modern Bulgarian appears once, and Russian in three bookplates.

All cases of NU are written in vernacular Bulgarian.⁵⁶⁹ Bookplates written in CS appeared in SU script in the majority of cases.⁵⁷⁰ Most of those examples originated in the 18th century. Three examples of scripts written with SU appear in combination of CS and vernacular.⁵⁷¹ Cursive script appears written in combination with a variety of languages: vernacular,⁵⁷² cursive and CS,⁵⁷³ cursive and modern Bulgarian,⁵⁷⁴ Russian and cursive,⁵⁷⁵ and CS-vernacular and cursive.⁵⁷⁶

Scribal notes

Three types of scripts appeared: the traditional semi-uncial (SU, 14 notes), cursive (5 notes), and one new uncial (NU). Monastic scribes inscribed 11 scribal notes in SU at an earlier period, 1565 to 1790. The non-monastic scribal notes appeared in devotional books produced at a later date and also used SU.⁵⁷⁷ Only one case of NU appeared in a late 19th century non-monastic book.⁵⁷⁸ Table 9.9 demonstrates the comparison of script and language variations in scribal notes.

⁵⁶⁹ #4 *Psalter*; #119 *Menaion*; #212 *Kiriakodromion*, printed; #237 *Four Gospels*; #276 *Psalter*, printed (2 notes); #273 *Euchologion*, printed (2 notes); and #287 *Triodion*, printed.

⁵⁷⁰ #96 *Menaion*; #103 *Menaion*; #109 *Menaion*; #183 *Four Gospels*; #184 *Euchologion*; #198 *Triodion*, printed; #337 *Menaion*; #350 *Menaion*; #1521 *Service and Vita* (4 notes).

⁵⁷¹ #93 *Menaion*; #251 *Triodion*; #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁵⁷² #21 *Four Gospels*.

⁵⁷³ #28 *Four Gospels*; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; and #315 *Apostle*.

⁵⁷⁴ #84 *Irmologion*; #213 *Four Gospels*; #573 *Octoechos*.

⁵⁷⁵ #241 *Works of St. Cyril*; #248 *Prologue*.

⁵⁷⁶ #239 *Psalter*, printed.

⁵⁷⁷ #134 *Damaskin*.

⁵⁷⁸ #83 *Irmologion* (Vraca).

Language/ Script	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1565, 1682, 1746, 1712, 1790, 5 undated NM: 1646, 1 undated	M: 1639, 1639, 1 undated		M:13 NM: 2
CS and vernacular	NM: 1 undated	M: 1 undated		M:1 NM:1
Vernacular			NM: 1865, 1 undated	NM:2
Modern Bulgarian		M: 1 undated		M: 1
Greek	M: 1605			M:1
Totals	M: 11 NM: 3	M:5	NM:2	M: 16 NM: 5

Table 9.9: Comparison of scripts and language variations in scribal notes.

The majority of scribal notes appear written in Church Slavonic (CS, 15 notes), CS-vernacular (2 notes), vernacular (2 notes), modern Bulgarian and Greek (1 case each). Table 9.9 shows also the correlation between the earliest dates, the formal SU book-hand and CS. The typical scribal note employed the SU book-hand and the CS language, and was written frequently by the original scribe. CS appeared from 1565 to 1790.

Four combinations of scripts and language were typical for scribal notes: SU with CS (12 notes)⁵⁷⁹ and Greek (1 note).⁵⁸⁰ Cursive appeared in combination with CS in annotations (3 notes),⁵⁸¹ modern Bulgarian (1 note)⁵⁸² and CS-vernacular (1 note).
uthor.)

Summary

Sponsorship of books

During the 16th century, few people could afford to sponsor the production of manuscripts, but sponsorship became widespread during the 17th century. More than 200 people listed their names as sponsors in the HACI corpus, and 178 of them were

⁵⁷⁹ #3 *Psalter*; #44 *Typicon*; #80 *Triodion*; #86 *Menaion*; #88 *Menaion*; #90 *Menaion*; #128 *Miscellany*; #198 *Triodion*; #251 *Triodion*.

⁵⁸⁰ #315 *Apostle*.

⁵⁸¹ #86 *Menaion*, #107 *Menaion* (2 notes)

⁵⁸² #97 *Menaion*.

laypeople of unnoted social status. Sponsorship continued to grow through the 18th century. Perhaps due to the introduction of printed books from abroad and harsher economic and political situations, the number of sponsors dropped radically in the 19th century.

Sponsors donated funds preferentially for the production of liturgical rather than devotional books. The chronological distribution of these marginalia covered 1540 to 1842, with one case from 1923. Laypeople sponsored both monastic and non-monastic manuscripts, but slightly favored the non-monastic. The most active center of manuscript production and sponsorship during the 17th century was Etropole monastery.

Information about book sponsorship traditionally appeared in the colophon. After the Ottoman invasion (1393-1396) and especially after the 17th century, scribal practices in documenting this type of information changed and visually separated book sponsorship into a body of information distinct from the colophon, although still close to the colophon's formal documentary structure, form, and content. As scribes re-positioned sponsorship marginalia after the colophon, they imitated the formal features and elements of colophons such as the *invocatio*, *intitulatio*, *memorandum*, *arenga*, *dispositio*, *datatio*, *locatio*, *sanctio*, and *apprecatio*. In addition, sponsorship marginalia also was written in the formal literary SU book-hand and in the CS language. For this reason, sponsorship marginalia appears as the most formal type of marginalia, worthy of archiving official transactions.

Binding

Scribes documented binding operations by following formal style of writing and formulaic language. Only colophons and marginalia about donations for book production bore a more formal documentary style. Similarly, many marginalia appeared in the formal SU book-hand and the literary CS language. Marginalia about binding typically appeared on whole blank pages, often in the front of the book, where scribes could find more space to include all required information about binding operations. Monastic authors preferred the front endpaper, while non-monastic authors preferred the front pastedown.

These binding marginalia documented sponsors, binders, and officials. Most sponsors were laypeople who contributed to the repair of both monastic and non-monastic manuscripts. These people did not emphasize their social status and possibly represented the lower social class of the Christian population. In addition to their normal ecclesiastical jobs, members of the clergy produced and repaired manuscripts, and, in the 18 and 19th centuries, laypeople also learned the craft and helped with the operations.

Most of the manuscripts or early printed books that underwent the process of rebinding were *Gospel* books or other liturgical manuscripts of non-monastic ownership. This fact implies that monks used more durable materials or were more careful in handling the volumes. The available dated marginalia indicate that the time lapse between the date of a book's production and its rebinding was approximately 229 years. Rebinding occurred between 1638-1809, grew in the 17th and 18th centuries, and then ended suddenly in 1809. The centers of binding and metal-smithing shifted from monasteries in the 17 and 18th centuries to town and village churches and workshops in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Scribal notes

Scribal notes are semi-formal marginalia that resemble official documents such as colophons, although scribal notes display fewer elements than colophons, having an initial invocation of God, or a closing blessing or curse against stealing, or just a date. During the early Ottoman period, scribal notes were mostly a monastic phenomenon, although later the practice was adopted by non-monastic scribes.

The pre-Ottoman predecessors of these notes, the "primary" notes and the colophons written by the scribe who copied the manuscript, usually focused on the challenging conditions of work and contained the typical humility statements. In comparison with those pre-Ottoman scribal notes, the notes from the Ottoman period changed their appearance, location, and content. They remain anonymous statements that exhibit colophon elements, but some moved away from the colophon. Scribal notes are important evidence of the evolution of this specific type of marginalia. They demonstrate also the reduction of colophons into scribal notes, although this particular chapter did not

focus specifically on this issue. Scribal notes demonstrate also the changes in the content of the notes, the structural elements, size and script of writing from the scribal notes of the pre-Ottoman period.

History of manuscripts

Marginalia about the history of manuscripts witness silently the destruction caused by the Ottomans. Some books suddenly disappeared or changed provenance. Others were burned, shot, or pierced. Some books were pawned, others ransomed or stolen. Authors took pride in books as sacred and nationalistic objects that reminded future readers of the glorious past. Todor Manastirski spoke of this pride:⁵⁸³

Ah, you holy, ancient times!
How do you endure to live in such indescribable ignorance?
And you, most beautiful manuscript!
Lead our nation,
Because it depends on you for its salvation.
Oh, you our Past!

Marginalia that documented the history of manuscripts, like colophons, display some of the features of medieval documents such as the formal structural elements and patterns of writing. Although the five examples in HACI corpus are not sufficient for definite conclusions, these marginalia still remain important because they document the resonance of the political events they recount on a grass-root level.

Bookplates

Bookplate marginalia are inscriptions that feature the name of the owner, the title of the book, and the date of acquisition. Some owners inscribed an anathema against stealing; some emphasized the value of the book. Bookplate positioning followed no established style of writing and rules for placement, although monastic owners tended to place them after the colophons, and non-monastic owners used the back of the book.

This corpus witnessed how privately owned printed books of liturgical function. The majority of bookplates occurred in non-monastic manuscripts and early printed

⁵⁸³ #28 *Four Gospels*.

books, rather than monastic. For all their scarcity, bookplates document the history of private book collecting in Bulgaria and Macedonia for the period between 1540 and 1872. Private ownership of books occurred as early as 1690. Chronologically, the majority of cases of private ownership of books occurred during the 18th century.

10 THE WORLD WITHIN: MARGINALIA ABOUT THE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE BOOK AND ITS USERS

This chapter will focus on the second layer of interactions revealed in marginalia produced by individual users of the book. These categories of marginalia include doodles and illustrations, epigrams, inscriptions, trying the quills notes, education-related marginalia, and readers' notes.

Graffiti are the earliest known predecessors of marginalia. The ancient Greeks left numerous writings on walls, graves, and other solid materials and designated them as *επιγραφή* (*epigraphē*, "written upon"), and *γραφειν* (*graphein*, "to write"). Epigraphy, the science whose subject of study became the study and classification of inscriptions and "graffiti," defines graffiti as drawings or scribbling, consisting of single words or letters written or engraved in flat surfaces of books, metal, stones, or walls of buildings.⁵⁸⁴ The shortest inscriptions in the manuscript margins resemble graffiti. Inscriptions exemplify both the act of graphic writing in a book and the textual message, frequently containing the writer's name and the date of inscribing it in the particular book.

Another category of marginalia with ancient roots includes doodles and other graphic representations on the margins. This category of marginalia includes doodles, scribbles, and other graphics beside the more elaborated and informative marginalia that focus on personal educational activity; creative endeavors, such as epigrams, inscriptions; and personal marginalia. A doodle is "An aimless scrawl made by a person while his mind is more or less otherwise applied."⁵⁸⁵ A scribble is "Hurried or negligent and irregular writing; or irregular and unmeaning marks made with pen or pencil."⁵⁸⁶ Scribbles as individual drawings, compared to graffiti,⁵⁸⁷ composed of random and abstract continuous lines, without lifting up the writing tool, authored by children or

⁵⁸⁴ Susan A. Phillips, ed. "Graffiti," *Dictionary of Art*, (London: Macmillan Publishers - Grove's Dictionaries, 1996), p.269. Ralph Mayer, ed. *A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques*, (New York: Crowell, 1969), p. 134.

⁵⁸⁵ "Doodles" in *Ibid*, (cited).

⁵⁸⁶ "Scribbles" in *Ibid*, (cited).

⁵⁸⁷ Phillips, ed., "Graffiti" in *Dictionary of Art*.

adults to fill their time. Scribbles and doodles could be a part of the artistic process as preliminary sketches of a final product, or part of the training and practices of students.

"Trying the quill," another informal category of marginalia with long tradition in scribal practices, demonstrated the testing of scribal tools on the manuscript alongside the primary text. These marginalia typically remained anonymous and undated and focused on the tools of writing. The practice of inscribing this particular type of marginalia existed already in the 12th to 14th century Bulgarian manuscripts. The earliest examples of this practice, before the Ottoman invasion (1393), appeared as a much shorter version, "I tried," without the identification of the scribe's name. The script of these inscriptions resembled the original scribe's script. The scribe Priest Ioan, for example, repeated the formula in the margins of four pages and added another note "I tried the cinnabar" in a 12-13th century *Gospel*.⁵⁸⁸ Next appeared "I tried my quill" in a 13th century *Triodion*.⁵⁸⁹ Another note, stating "I tried the quill" was found in an *Apostle* book and a *Menaion*.⁵⁹⁰

Later, the quill inscriptions differed from earlier examples of scribal notes written by the primary scribes of the manuscripts, by their more detailed content and additional poems. Two variations existed that either tested the writing materials or added the popular poem of the fly, a joke-like, widely spread writing exercise that scribes adopted as a writing practice from older manuscripts.

Education-related marginalia

During their educational or reading activities, users interacted with books and responded to them by inscribing the blank spaces with comments and personal reflections. Students, teachers, readers of books, and budding poets inscribed the margins of manuscripts with their personal reflections, expressing their enthusiasm for learning and achievement.

Throughout history, students and teachers in Western Christendom have left their commentaries in classical and medieval manuscripts. The students of the *Iliad* left

⁵⁸⁸ *Gospel #III*, HAZU, Zagreb, in Hristova, Karadzova, and Uzunova, *Belezhki Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*. Vol. 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Sankt Petersburg, GPB, #I.74, in *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵⁹⁰ *Apostle Book*, Zagreb III #44, p. 65; Sofia, NBKM #897, in *Ibid.*, p. 68.

perhaps the earliest known *scholia*, in the 5 to 4 century B.C.⁵⁹¹ *Scholia* appeared in the margins and provided grammatical or explanatory commentary in response to the text. Other types of extratextual additions such as Glosses translated foreign words and appeared under the text lines. *Scholia* and interlinear glosses are important primary sources, informing us about the habits of reading and education in the ancient world.

South Slavic, and particularly Bulgarian education-related, marginalia differed significantly from their Western European counterparts because they did not attest direct interaction, response, or comment to the central text, except notes documenting the after-fact of reading the book in few cases (19 readers' notes). As a result, Slavic manuscripts do not bear any evidence of text-related annotations but focus on the process and activities of education.

South Slavic education of the Christian population during the Ottoman period

A general historical overview of the period facilitates understanding of South Slavic education-related marginalia. Monastic communities served the spiritual and educational needs of the Orthodox population and preserved a common linguistic, literary, and artistic heritage. Being the oldest and most established and equipped, Mount Athos and Rila monasteries were able to purchase dispensations for their "protection" from the Ottomans although they fell into debt and could not pay their taxes to the Ottoman authorities according to Paisii.

Monasteries established schools for monastic, clerical, and basic educational needs satisfied until the end of the 16th century.⁵⁹² Those schools, however, developed two types of education and curricula: a more rigorous and advanced study based on residency in the monastery and on obedience for students following a clerical or monastic path, and less rigorous program of reading, writing, and arithmetic for lay people.⁵⁹³ Students seeking further study in Slavic liturgy, literature, and iconography traveled to

⁵⁹¹ The D scholia on the *Iliad*. Cicero. *Ad Atticum* 16.7.

⁵⁹² Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*, p. 90.

⁵⁹³ P. Noikov, "Pogled Vurhu Razvitiето na Bulgarskoto Obrazovanie do Paisiia [A View on the Development of Bulgarian Education to Paisii]," *Godishnik na Sofiiskia universitet Istorichesko-filosofski fakultet* XXI, no. 11 (1925), pp. 31-32.

Mount Athos, Rila, Etropole, Kratovo, and Slepche monasteries. The advanced training included Old Church Slavonic calligraphy, illumination, and copying of manuscripts.⁵⁹⁴ Copying without errors was mandatory and rigorous,⁵⁹⁵ a form of spiritual discipline. Typically, the duration of education depended upon the diligence of the *dyak* (student in Greek) and the discretion of the *daskal* (teacher in Greek). Some of the most famous teachers, Danail Etropolski and Rafail Etropolski, established the Etropole illumination and calligraphy school and scriptorium.

The monasteries of Mount Athos and Rila maintained a network of *metochions* (small monasteries consisting of a chapel and school) in towns and villages. The first teachers, known as *daskals* (Greek for teachers), were *taxidiots*, monks from the leading monastic establishments, trained to teach. Village schools, although strongly desired by the population, required a supply of capable teachers and financial support. Some of those establishments ultimately failed due to poverty of the peasants and insecurity, being especially vulnerable to the constant attacks of the *kurdzhalli*.⁵⁹⁶ Town guilds, merchants, miners, and clergy invested more in local schools, hiring of teachers, and school supplies than small villages.⁵⁹⁷ Large cities, such as Sofia and Vraca, with more financially affluent supporters, had more than one school and used the monastic school facilities in nearby Dragalevtsi, Eleshnitsa, Dolni Lozen (for Sofia), and Boboshevo, Cherepish, and Glozhene monasteries (for the Vraca area). After the 17th century, Slavic education increased through a number of such metochion schools in non-monastic settings. Students paid their teachers in material goods and gifts. Students' assignments consisted of

⁵⁹⁴ Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*, p. 102.

⁵⁹⁵ Noikov, "Pogled vurhu Razvitiето na Bulgarskoto Obrazovanie do Paisiia [A View on the Development of Bulgarian Education to Paisii]," pp. 34-35.

⁵⁹⁶ Hristo Gandev, *Bulgarskata Narodnost prez XV Vek. Demografsko i Etnografsko Izsledvane (Bulgarian National Identity During 15th Century. Demographic and Ethnographic Investigation)* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1972), p. 36. N. Chakurov, *Istoria na Bulgarskoto Obrazovanie [History of Bulgarian Education]* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1957), p. 104.

⁵⁹⁷ Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*, p. 106.

copying religious manuscripts that later were purchased by the parents of the students and donated to the local church.⁵⁹⁸

The language taught in non-monastic schools became the "new Bulgarian" literary language, based on a Western Bulgarian vernacular. Because Church Slavonic was not commonly spoken, the use of the vernacular facilitated the increase of literacy among the laypeople. By the end of the 17th century, 69 locations in Bulgaria had operating schools. Those 69 schools were based in monasteries (28), villages (30), and towns (11). Bulgarian education thrived, especially in remote and elevated locations in the vicinity of the Rila, Balkan, and Vitosha mountains and in areas with denser Christian population than other relatively low-elevated areas inhabited by more Ottoman populations and where Ottoman authorities chose to build their headquarters.⁵⁹⁹

Early colophons produced before the Ottoman invasion first mentioned or featured education-related information as scribes paid their tribute to their teachers. The earliest known education-related note came from the 14th century from the hand of the priest Nikola. The scribe paid tribute to his teacher in the colophon to the *Khludov Parimeinik*. "May God remember my parents, and also may God forgive my teacher priest Grudo."⁶⁰⁰ Some book sponsorship marginalia included similar tributes.⁶⁰¹ Marginalia documented teachers instructing children, such as the priest's son Naku Minov from Sofia.⁶⁰²

Student marginalia appeared for the first time in 1617. Students inscribed in *Psalters*, *Gospels*, and *Octoechos*, because these liturgical books served as textbooks. Monastic schools supplied students primarily with those types of books. Evidence from marginalia demonstrates that education was not free. Students were required to pay

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 107.

⁶⁰⁰ Yordan Ivanov, *Bulgarskite Starini Iz Makedonia (Bulgarian Antiquities from Macedonia)*, vol. 2 (Sofia: 1931), p. 104.

⁶⁰¹ #1175, Bulgarian National Library, pp. 4a-b. quoted in Keti Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost na Pripiskite i Belezhkite s Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century)," *Godishnik Istoria na Obrazovaniето v Bulgaria* 1 (1983), p. 75.

⁶⁰² Tsonev, B., quoted in Mircheva, p. 75.

tuition in form of cheese, wheat, beans, or wool.⁶⁰³ Some students studied in distant monasteries despite language and ethnic differences. Monk Danail from Wallachia (Romania) studied with teacher Gerasim from Rila monastery (1709).⁶⁰⁴

Teachers' marginalia demonstrated that clergy, monks and taxidiots worked multiple jobs. They copied, illuminated, and bound books, while simultaneously they taught the local community.⁶⁰⁵ As the most vulnerable part of the Christian *reaya* (Ottoman subject peoples), they often suffered. Monk Pahomii, for example, while teaching in the Vraca area in 1764, documented the Ottomans' attacks on the *metochion*:

Let it be known when the *poganci* [heathens] came to the *metochion*, Hagarians, wanting gold and silver: the students escaped by fleeing, and I was captured and tied up and beaten mercilessly. However, with the help of the Mother of God, I am still alive. May God save and preserve the Christian soul. The year since the Incarnation: 1764. Monk Pahomii.⁶⁰⁶

Although some readers might doubt veracity of this statement, Pahomii appears to have stated the fact as he witnessed it and expressed it in vivid and emotional tones using traditional Christian imagery while placing it in the revered *Gospel* manuscript.

Teachers' notes, according to Mircheva, presented student's names, tuitions, and other information.⁶⁰⁷ Students' notes included the teacher's name, the location of study, the type of curriculum, the dates of study, or information about Bulgarians studying in other Balkan lands and foreign students in Bulgarian monasteries.⁶⁰⁸

Readers' marginalia

Due to the scarcity of paper and resulting high prices of manuscripts, laypeople could rarely afford to purchase them. Christian manuscripts were produced and used in

⁶⁰³ Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost na Pripiskite i Belezhkite s Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century), p. 80.

⁶⁰⁴ Evtim Sprostranov, *Opis na Rukopisite v Bibliotekata pri Rilskiia Manastir [Catalog of the Manuscripts in Rila Monastery Library]* (Sofia: Sveta Rilska obitel, 1902), p. 38; National Library #304, p. 352.

⁶⁰⁵ Mircheva, "Za Izvorovedskata Stoinost na Pripiskite I Belezhkite S Prosvetna Informacia (15-18 Vek): About Colophons and Marginalia About Literacy Movement as Historical Sources (15-18th Century), p. 75.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

the church. Over the years, however, manuscripts gradually became more publicly accessible. Laypeople held manuscripts in high respect and donated funds for their production. They borrowed them, to read and study them in schools and their homes.

The pivotal work of monk Paisii of Hilendar *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, written in 1762, is widely credited with the awakening the national consciousness and starting the Bulgarian revival. Laypeople copied the book and learned to read and write privately and communally. The social and political situation at the end of the 18th century changed dramatically as books began to circulate outside the church.

During the 1800s, Bulgarian Slavic authors began to express their opinions about contemporary life through epigrams. Those marginalia resembled epigrams, which are short poems with a clever twist at the end, or a concise and witty statement. Epigrams and reflections in manuscripts were marked by an informal style although they exhibited literary style of writing, expressed in metaphorical language and symbolism. The political epigrams revealed a growing national consciousness and increase in literacy. In terms of content, these political epigrams may qualify as historical marginalia as well, because they reflected the struggle for National independence of the Bulgarian Orthodox church in 1860-1870s. For the purpose of this study, political epigrams will be viewed rather as forms of individual creativeness and poetic expressiveness.

The evidence from HACI

The analysis of marginalia such as personal, trying the quill, doodles, inscriptions, education-related, reader, and epigrams marginalia will answer the following questions:

1. Who produced these marginalia?
2. Which types of manuscripts contained them?
3. When did they occur, and what was their chronological distribution?
4. Where did personal interaction with book marginalia occur, geographically?
5. How were they structured as to form and content?
6. Where were these marginalia placed in the manuscript?
7. Which scripts and languages did authors use?

Personal marginalia (35 marginalia)

Thirty-five marginalia in the HACI corpus described events or important facts from the lives of clergy, prominent laity, and other laypeople.

Trying the quill (7 marginalia)

The "quill" marginalia represented a small portion of the whole corpus. Only eight notes displayed the common formula "I tried my quill to see if it writes well" or and "I tried my quill. I tried to write. I tried to write, but a fly came and drank my words. Oh, my goodness, what happened to the words. So, I took a stick and beat the fly's wing (symbol)."

Doodles, scribbles, and other graphic marginalia (46 marginalia)

Forty-six doodles and other graphic illustrations appeared in 30 manuscripts. These graphic marginalia imitated decorative elements from the central text, and display how students practiced their alphabet, and drew anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and floral elements by imitating the examples from the central text.

Inscriptions (67 marginalia)

The number of inscriptions in the manuscripts under investigation makes inscriptions the second most common category of marginalia in the corpus. Sixty-seven cases consisted of a person's name added to a manuscript in manner such as: "Wrote, I, [name]..." although authors did not mention the motivation behind the act. Inscriptions have not received yet a systematic treatment as a distinct category of Slavic marginalia.

Education-related marginalia (22 marginalia)

The HACI corpus also included marginalia written by teachers and students, following a more informal manner of documentation. Twenty-two marginalia from 15 manuscripts discuss students, teachers, and school activities. These marginalia demonstrate the existence of both monastic and non-monastic schools. Interestingly enough, the majority of marginalia (16 notes, i.e., 73%) originated in non-monastic settings, compared to monastic settings (6 notes, 27%). Nevertheless, monastic schools

remained the pioneers in South Slavic education during the Ottoman period. The HACI corpus contains relatively few examples of education-related marginalia from monastic schools from the late 17th and early 18th century from two monasteries, compared to larger number of education-related marginalia produced in non-monastic schools in villages and towns especially during the second half of 19th century.

Readers' marginalia (19 marginalia)

Readers' marginalia appeared relatively late in the 19th century. Ten books, including eight manuscripts and two printed books, feature readers' marginalia and constituted 7% of the HACI corpus. These sources reveal 19 marginalia attesting to lay people's reading practices. During the 19th century, people used books beyond their liturgical functions in the Church for their private devotional reading. For example, the copy of Paisii's *History*, produced in 1771 in Samokov, demonstrated a notable example of private reading, dated 1794. Readers even confessed as being *prostak*, i.e., simple, stupid, and illiterate.⁶⁰⁹ Presumably, respect for the book and the wisdom in the book made the reader feel inferior to the author.

Epigrams and reflections (9 marginalia)

Only nine marginalia containing epigrams appeared in six manuscripts from the HACI collection. Apparently, free-style writing in religious manuscripts was not a common practice and appeared relatively late in the period. Epigrams displayed the beginnings of individual creativity in Bulgaria during the Ottoman period. Until the middle of the 19th century, no venues for publishing existed. Manuscripts, therefore, provided an open space, like newspapers, to include observations about political life in the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁰⁹ #130 *Damaskin*.

Authorship

Who produced these marginalia?

Personal marginalia

The category of personal marginalia includes both autobiographical (17 notes) and biographical (18 notes) marginalia. Eighteen laypeople, ten priests, and four monks were identified themselves the subjects of these marginalia. Thirteen known authors described these 32 subjects. Monastic clergy, such as the newly tonsured Gatse Elithedei of Zograph monastery, documented his own and the tonsures of monks Nikanor and Nektarios.⁶¹⁰ Non-monastic clergy also left notes about their own tonsure, wrote personal letters via manuscripts, and described their partnerships with other members of the clergy.⁶¹¹

Laypeople recorded biographical marginalia about other people. Getzo and Grozdan wrote about their visit to Todor. D.⁶¹² Stoev wrote about his personal visit to Lukovit and Edrene.⁶¹³ Teacher Mihail Ivanov from Brezник became the city chronicler and authored three biographical and two autobiographical marginalia about himself and other priests, describing study, marriage, and work as a teacher.⁶¹⁴

Trying the quill marginalia

The quill marginalia remained mostly anonymous in four out of seven notes, being unsigned and not resembling the original scribal script. Hristo left one note on the front pastedown of a *Damaskin*, a very popular genre among laypeople.⁶¹⁵ Two monks, Kiril and Arsenii, also tried their quills on manuscript pastedowns.⁶¹⁶

⁶¹⁰ #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁶¹¹ Priest Peter from Brezovo, #58 *Prayer book*; priests Dimitur from Vraca, #118 *Menaion*; priest Zlatko from Kamenica, #127 *Miscellany*; priest Todor from Seslavci, #315 *Apostle book*.

⁶¹² #47 *Miscellany*.

⁶¹³ #123 *Prayer book*.

⁶¹⁴ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁶¹⁵ #134 *Damaskin*.

⁶¹⁶ #338 *Service Book*; #315 *Apostle Book*.

Doodles and other graphic marginalia

Few scribbles and doodles were signed by their authors. Authors identified themselves in only 23 cases, as these doodles were included in marginalia that contained some information. The color of the ink and the slant of the lines in some cases helped to identify the authors of those doodles and illustrations within a given manuscript. Pointing hands also presented a unique identity mark of certain scribes and a mnemonic to remind the reader about the central text. Hieromonk Raphael from Etropole monastery created such a pointer in the side margin next to the colophon of a *Menaion*.⁶¹⁷

Four priests from Sofia, Boboshevo, Seslavski, and Slepche monastery,⁶¹⁸ three monks from Etropole and Urvishki monastery,⁶¹⁹ and a deacon serving at St. Prohor Pshinski monastery practiced and produced numerous scribbles and doodles. Although laypeople practiced widely doodles, members of the clergy surpassed in the number and elaboration of those illustrations. Clergy members produced more graphic artifacts (46 cases) than the lay authors (14 cases). All of those images appeared in a variety of styles and types of features. Medieval and pre-modern scribes, decorators, illuminators, and other iconographers received training and apprenticeship in monastic scriptoria or monastic schools. Graphic representations appearing in manuscripts reflect the process of training new apprentices and exercising the hands of the established masters while students imitate previously established models for decoration, illuminations, and book-hands.

Inscriptions

After the 17th century, the Church became more actively involved in the process of educating future clergy and provision of the lay population of basic reading and writing skills. South Slavic devotional books especially hagiography and the *Damaskins* became more physically accessible and in their language that reflected the vernacular

⁶¹⁷ #96 *Menaion* (1637).

⁶¹⁸ Priest Mladen, #4 *Psalter*; priest Peter #28 *Four Gospels*; priest Todor; #315 *Apostle* (2 notes), priest Angel #340 *Four Gospel*.

⁶¹⁹ Monk Raphael, #96 *Menaion*, monk Nikephor, #368 *Miscellany* (2 notes), and Monk Eustatii, #485 *Menaion*.

everyday speech, facilitating lay people's pursuit of education and reading for pleasure. Evidence comes from 1619 of dated inscriptions of the names of different users, such as pilgrims, readers, teachers, students, sponsors of book production, and sponsors of other donations to churches and monasteries. But who produced inscriptions in Slavic books?

The major characteristic of inscriptions was the name of the author. Generally, inscriptions do not provide the motives for the act of inscribing although we can speculate about possible reasons behind this activity. It is possible that pilgrims have inscribed their names believing that God will sanctify them by placing their names in His Book of Life and provide material and spiritual benefits for them and their families. A reader might have proudly inscribed a note to document the completion of his reading of a book. A student could have practiced his writing or have been testing his quill. A book's owner could have inscribed his name to document ownership.

Titles, such as the honorifics of clergymen, distinguish, for example, priests from monks or deacons. Lay inscribers occasionally provided occupations or other biographical data. Clergy members and laypeople practiced the act of inscription in about equal numbers. Thirty-six of the names that either lacked a title or had a secular honorific, for example, "grammarian" (teacher), identified the writers as laypeople, and 33 as clergymen, such as priests (16), monks (13), and deacons (4).

Education-related marginalia

Teachers wrote more marginalia (13 notes) than students (7 notes). Monastic clergy served as teachers, especially in the earlier periods of the Ottoman rule. For example, Priest Dionisii and Abbot Grigorii taught at the Boboshevo monastic school in 1716.⁶²⁰ Interestingly enough, the rest of the teachers were laypeople. A note written by Ioan Daskal (teacher Ioan) from 1821 reveals that he either taught or visited the Boboshevo monastery for a pilgrimage. Only three teacher marginalia mentioned students educated in monastic schools.

Students inscribed marginalia upon completion of their educations at monastic schools. Such information appeared in the *Four Gospels* from Boboshevo monastery (2

⁶²⁰ #27 *Four Gospels*.

notes), a *Typicon* from Cherepish monastery, and a *Service and Vita* from Dolni Lozen monastery. Some students wrote in the *Typicon*, a book that provides the order of Church services and the Divine Liturgy.

Most notes, however, described secular school practices. The earliest example dated from 1782, from the village of Klissura.⁶²¹ It described a teacher with a Russian name, Theodosii Anisovich. Using a first and patronymic name was not common for the time. Teachers' names usually appeared as simple names. Another Russian teacher, Theodosii Alekseevich, left a note in 1862. The last occurrence, written by two teachers in Breznik in 1899-1900, Anton Bunzulov and Teodor Mutaphchiev, appeared in a *Kiriakodromion*.⁶²² A note, written by student Purvan documented a particular the existence of secular schools for young men, taught by secular teachers.⁶²³

During the Ottoman period, teaching fulfilled a sacred Christian mission. This theme became a common feature in marginalia, especially after Monk Paisii of Hilendar encouraged Bulgarians to learn and preserve their history in his *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*. People held teachers in high regard and documented their visits as in the case of Teacher Peter in 1871 in Vreshesh.⁶²⁴ A brief mention of the teacher Hadzhi Gencho from Vraca appeared in an *Irmologion* from Pridop.⁶²⁵

Besides teaching, some teachers created chronicles of the events of the local community. Mihail Ivanov[ich] did so in a single book, a *Kiriakodromion* for the town of Breznik near Sofia.⁶²⁶ Mihail Ivanov also showed pride in being a teacher, restating the fact twice, having carefully decided to change his vocation of craftsman to that of teacher. "Let it be known when I became a teacher."

Readers' marginalia

Nineteen marginalia by twenty-one laypeople and six clergy expressed their enthusiasm and joy about borrowing and reading manuscripts. Three marginalia written

⁶²¹ #161 *Gospel*.

⁶²² #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁶²³ #232 *Miscellany*.

⁶²⁴ #13 *Gospel*.

⁶²⁵ #83 *Irmologion*.

⁶²⁶ #341, *Kiriakodromion*.

by monastic clergy attested to the practice of lending manuscripts to other scriptoria for copying.⁶²⁷ An *Octoechos* inspired wider communal reading in an audience of 13 simultaneous borrowers.⁶²⁸ A *Prologue* inspired Stoiancho to read it three times in 1838.⁶²⁹

Readers' marginalia also attested to the initial stages of people's self-identification. People started to inscribe their first and family names more consistently after 1880.⁶³⁰ Before, they would use only their proper name in its diminutive form, for example, Ivancho instead of Ivan, Stoyancho instead of Stoyan.

Epigrams and reflections marginalia

Nine marginalia showed two types of authorship pertaining to two specific types of epigrams: religious and political. Authors who expressed political views identified themselves by names. Authors who expressed religious views remained anonymous. Todor Manastirski and Todor Vrachanski criticized the Greek Patriarch and the high clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople during the campaign for an independent Bulgarian church but hid their comments in the side margins of manuscripts.

Genre distribution

Which genres of manuscripts contained marginalia about the interactions of users and books?

Personal marginalia

Authors did not discriminate among genres when inscribing manuscripts and printed books. They used 14 liturgical books: two *Gospels*, two *Service Books*, two *Euchologion*, four *Menaion*, a *Triodion*, a *Psalter*, and a *Apostle Book*, and eight devotional books: two *Miscellany*, *Damaskin*, *History*, *Works of St. Cyril*, *Prologue*,

⁶²⁷ #61 *Euchologion*; #81 *Triodion*; #100 *Menaion*.

⁶²⁸ #72 *Octoechos*.

⁶²⁹ #248 *Prologue*.

⁶³⁰ #130 *Damaskin* (1881, 1882); #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1890); #1521 *Service and Vita* (1854).

Kiriakodromion, *Bible*, and two books of church rules. The earliest example, in 1490, appeared in a *Euchologion*.

Trying the quill marginalia

The writers preferred liturgical manuscripts and printed books, including *Octoechos*, *Menaion*, *Euchologion*, *Triodion*, *Apostle Book*, and *Service Book*.⁶³¹ One *Damaskin* showed a quill exercise, using the poem of the fly.⁶³²

Doodles and graphic marginalia

Scribbles and doodles appeared in 26 liturgical books, including *Gospels*, *Euchologion*, *Psalters*, *Menaion*, *Acts of the Apostles*, and *Triodion*. Twenty devotional books included *Miscellany*, *Damaskin*, *Prologue*, *Bible*, and *Service and Vitae*. Authors produced graphic illustrations in liturgical books to mark particular texts or to practice drawing saints and martyrs for icons, wall frescos, and manuscripts. Table 10.1 demonstrates a preference for devotional books by laypeople, possibly students using the books for writing and drawing exercises.

⁶³¹ #66 *Octoechos*; #93 *Menaion*; #194 *Euchologion*; #198 *Triodion*; #315 *Apostle Book*; #338 *Service Book*.

⁶³² #134 *Damaskin*.

Genre of manuscript	Monastery	Town/village church	Total
<i>Psalter</i>	0	5	5
<i>Gospels</i>	3	3	6
<i>Menaion</i>	3	1	4
<i>Euchologion</i>	3	3	6
<i>Octoechos</i>	1	0	1
<i>Triodion</i>	0	2	2
<i>Apostle book</i>	2	0	2
<i>Miscellany</i>	3	0	3
<i>Damaskin</i>	0	2	2
<i>Prologue</i>	7	1	8
<i>Bible</i>	5	0	5
<i>Service and Vita</i>	0	2	2
Total	27	19	46

Table 10.1: Geographical distribution of books containing graphic marginalia according to genre (Source: the Author).

Artists such as deacon Angelko favored one particular *Prologue* and inscribed six of the eight notes.⁶³³ Non-monastic *Psalters* prove favorable for doodles among laypeople. Minimal illustrations appeared in the monastic manuscripts kept in altars, such as *Gospels*.

Inscriptions

As a rule, inscriptions appeared twice as often in liturgical books (56) than in devotional books (26). Among liturgical books, *Menaions* remained the most frequently preferred genre (13 notes), followed by *Gospel* books (10 notes), *Triodions* (8 notes) and *Octoechos* (7 notes). Authors preferred to inscribe liturgical books perhaps because they believed that they would be blessed by inclusion in a sacred book of the Church by receiving personal benefits from God. Another, more practical reason might be that readers, teachers, or students inscribed their names simply to document the act of reading.

Readers, students, and pilgrims left inscriptions more often in devotional books. These inscriptions provide evidence of the practices of school reading in the 18th century,

⁶³³ #295 *Prologue* (6 notes)

pilgrimages during the 18-19th century period, and private reading in the 19th century. The *Prologue* from the village of Kochino, a compilation of short stories about saints, contained the most inscriptions (11 notes). Readers might possibly have borrowed this devotional book and even drawn pictures in it. One inscription stated: "Lord God of all and all creatures and Creator. Let it be known when I signed for the first time, 1814." ⁶³⁴ Deacon Angelko inscribed most of those notes, saying: "This note wrote Angleko."

Inscriptions in *Miscellany* manuscripts provide only the names of the writers. Inscriptions in *Damaskin* manuscripts provide more elaborate information about author's names, location, and date of writing that resembled in form colophons. ⁶³⁵ Judging from their secular names inscribed in a *Bible* from Pshinski monastery by Zhivko, Vasilia, and Stoyan, it is plausible to infer that these people might have been pilgrims visiting the monastery. ⁶³⁶

A further analysis of the liturgical book inscriptions shows a slightly different style of composition for each specific genre. Inscriptions in *Gospel* books show more variety of style. The humility *topos* "the most sinful one," typical for earlier monastic scribes, continued to appear in inscriptions in later monastic manuscripts: "Wrote I, the most sinful [name]." Inscriptions in *Psalters* were very brief and stated only the name of the person and the fact of writing: "Wrote I [name]" or "This note wrote [name]." *Menaion* inscriptions from monastic settings have a similar style and content: "Wrote [name]."

Education-related marginalia

Education-related marginalia predominate in devotional books (12 notes) over liturgical books (7 notes). Marginalia placed in devotional books include four notes in a *Kiriakodromion*, ⁶³⁷ two from a collection of stories known as *Irmologion*, and two from *damaskins*. While teachers showed no preference, students preferred *Gospel* books (6 notes). *Gospel* books, the highly treasured manuscripts that remained on the altar and

⁶³⁴ #295 *Prologue* for July-September.

⁶³⁵ #225 *Damaskin*; #134 *Damaskin*.

⁶³⁶ #343 *Bible*.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid*.

served for Sunday readings, also served as textbooks for learning about the Orthodox faith, as reading material, and as a model for decoration, illumination, and script.

As in the Christian West, the *Psalter* became the primary textbook of the South Slavic Orthodox churches for the education of grammarians, scribes, and clergy. Danail studied the *Psalter* with clergymen in 1716.⁶³⁸ Pavel perhaps was trained as a grammarian, i.e. scribe, also using the *Psalter*.⁶³⁹ He studied both *Psalter* and the 6th kathisma of the *Psalter*, which included three antiphons, consisting of Psalms (verses 38-40; 41-43; 44-46). Even in the late 1820s, the monastic school of Dolni Lozen monastery still used the *Psalter* as primary textbook. The student Nikola studied five years to learn the *Psalter* and *Naustnica* by heart.⁶⁴⁰

Readers' marginalia

Students borrowed liturgical manuscripts for their studies in monastic schools attesting an earlier date than the time of the use of devotional manuscripts.⁶⁴¹ People gravitated to manuscripts written in a language close to their vernacular speech, such as that found in the *Damaskin*.⁶⁴² Stories about saints and the "new martyrs" in *Prologues* and *Vitae* provided examples for imitation and encouragement during times of religious persecution and the struggles for personal and national identity.⁶⁴³ The *Service and Vita of St. Nicholai the New [Martyr] of Sofia* belonged to the church bearing the same name in Sofia. The reader Todor Iliev, went beyond the book, searching it thoroughly to find the name of the scribe.

Prologue books were short hagiographic compositions, arranged according to the calendar of saints. They became popular reading material outside of church. Hagiography, or the stories of saints' and martyrs' lives, used as didactic and narrative writings became another favorite devotional reading material for layreaders. Two printed *Prologues* provided five readers' notes dating from the 19th century. The printed

⁶³⁸ #27 *Four Gospels*.

⁶³⁹ #44 *Typicon*.

⁶⁴⁰ #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁶⁴¹ #4 *Psalter*; #60 *Euchologion*; #72 *Octoechos*; #81 *Triodion*.

⁶⁴² #130 *Damaskin*.

⁶⁴³ #246 *Prologue*; #248 *Prologue*; #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nicholas the New [Martyr] of Sofia*.

Prologue from the Sofia Metropoly provided evidence of three closely scheduled readings as two borrowers shared the book. Stancho read it in January 1838, followed by Stoyancho who finished his reading on February 2, 1838.⁶⁴⁴ Stoyancho left two statements noting that he not only read the book for pleasure but also studied it. He might have felt proud of his accomplishment and ability to read.

An *Octoechos* also appeared to be a favorite book for private reading.⁶⁴⁵ The *Octoechos* included chants for each day of the week. Perhaps the fact that this particular *Octoechos* was printed might have contributed to the church's allowing it to leave the church collection. Thirteen people borrowed the printed *Octoechos* to read it together in their reading circle. It is quite possible that those people borrowed the book to practice during the week for chanting the services. The priest fulfilled the role of librarian in lending the book. Among the list of readers appeared a woman-reader, "Vela." The readers stated several times that they borrowed the book repeatedly.

Chronicles and historical accounts attracted readers among laypeople. Perhaps the most popular manuscript for copying and private reading was the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, which was copied at least 60 times. Alexi Velkovich from Samokov produced one of the earliest known copies in 1771.⁶⁴⁶ The book inspired private copying and readership among laypeople. Four readers' marginalia appeared on the front and back endpapers and pastedown of Velkovich's copy. Among the readers were a monk and three laypeople. The latest note from 1890 showed that the manuscript belonged to Rila monastery and was still circulated for private reading (Figure 10.1). Rila monastery allowed lay people to borrow books but apparently required them to leave identifying information about themselves, such as name, job, and a date.

⁶⁴⁴ #248 *Prologue*.

⁶⁴⁵ #72 *Octoechos*.

⁶⁴⁶ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

Лич. А. Спирова
родомъ отъ с. Зворнишани,
Костурска кааза въ
Западна България (Македония)
чиновникъ Финансовъ
Намесникъ въ Ново-
селиската Окаши, Софр.
Окръгъ, прочелъ и исцелъ
цѣла книга отъ Кордо
Корас (Историята на знаме-
нитий Старецъ, Поповъ)
на 8 Януарь, 1890 г.
Рильскій св. Обителъ
Д. Спирова

Figure 10.1: #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, p. 278, 1890.

Damaskini also became popular reading in the 19th century. One example showed that they were being copied even as late as in the 19th century. A copy of *Damaskin* still was being used 55 years after it was copied. Two readers left marginalia that noted their reading of a book, using a similar formula, including their name, place of living, and the date. From the date attesting to the finishing the reading of this work, Christmas, December 25, 1881, can be inferred that the reader Kiril Stamenov read the book as a spiritual discipline during the Christmas fast. Six days later, on January 1, 1882, another reader, Danail Simeonov, finished reading the same book. Simeonov stated that he read

the book 12 times. Such a statement suggests the popularity of the manuscript and genre among laypeople.

Epigrams and reflections marginalia

Non-monastic authors preferred to leave their creative endeavors, such as epigrams and personal reflections, in devotional manuscripts. A *Panegirik* manuscript featured political epigrams. A *Damaskin* manuscript featured more religious reflections. A *Horologion* manuscript included religious ethical notes.⁶⁴⁷ Monastic authors favored especially *Psalters* for inscribing religious epigrams and *Gospels* for political epigrams.⁶⁴⁸

Subject matter

What did individuals write or depict on the margins?

Doodles and graphic marginalia

Authors produced wide spectrum of subject matters and number of doodles and graphic marginalia. Graphic marginalia appear in four categories: letter-oriented, drawings, simple scribbles, and seals and heraldic emblems. Sometimes, one drawing would inspire another author to imitate it. Sometimes, one author would leave multiple images of a saint/martyr figure such as Archangel Michael or Saint George killing the dragon (Figure 10.3). In Figure 10.2, several artists created at least 15 figures.

Lay users, however, produced a relatively smaller number of drawings. They imitated decorative elements such as initials and flora, although their work appears as naïve, frivolous, spontaneous, and less elaborate than professional artists and iconographers (Figure 10.4 and 10.5).

⁶⁴⁷ #182 *Panegirik*; #225 *Damaskin*, #122 *Horologion*.

⁶⁴⁸ #3 *Psalter*; #28 *Four Gospels*.

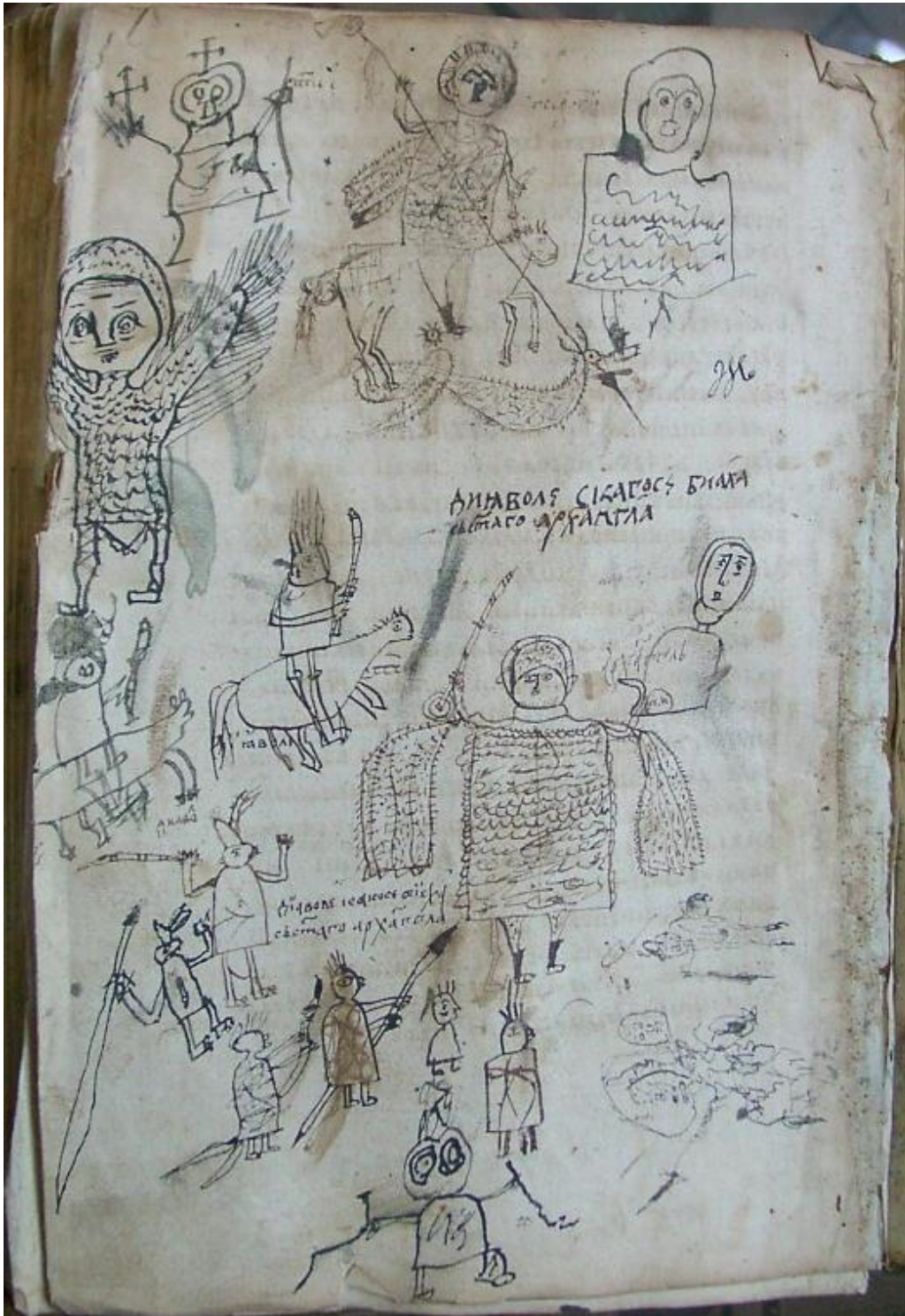


Figure 10.2: #247 Prologue, St. Kuzma and Damian monastery.

Other subject-related graphic representations by clergy members appear in Table 10.2.

Type of graphics and doodles	Authors: Clergy (manuscript #)	Author: Laypeople (manuscript #)	Total number
Pointing hands	#4, #60, #273, #295, #485	none	5
Initials decoration or letters exercise	#28, #273, #295, #295 (3 notes), #315, #351, #368	#225, #239, #276	12
Anthropomorphic (human figures)	#96, #247 (15 figures of saint George or the archangel Michael, #315 (2 figures), #353 (2 notes)	#251 (2), #1521	9 (23)
Floral scribbles	#207	#225, #1521	3
Zoomorphic (birds, horses)	#295	#225	2
Imitation of decorative elements	#340	none	1
Heraldic seals, Christian symbols	# 196, #351	#38	3
Scribbles	#128, #177, #207, #295, #340, #351, #368	#128, #239 (2 notes) #246	11
Total	46	14	60

Table 10.2. Clergy versus laypeople's graphics and doodles.

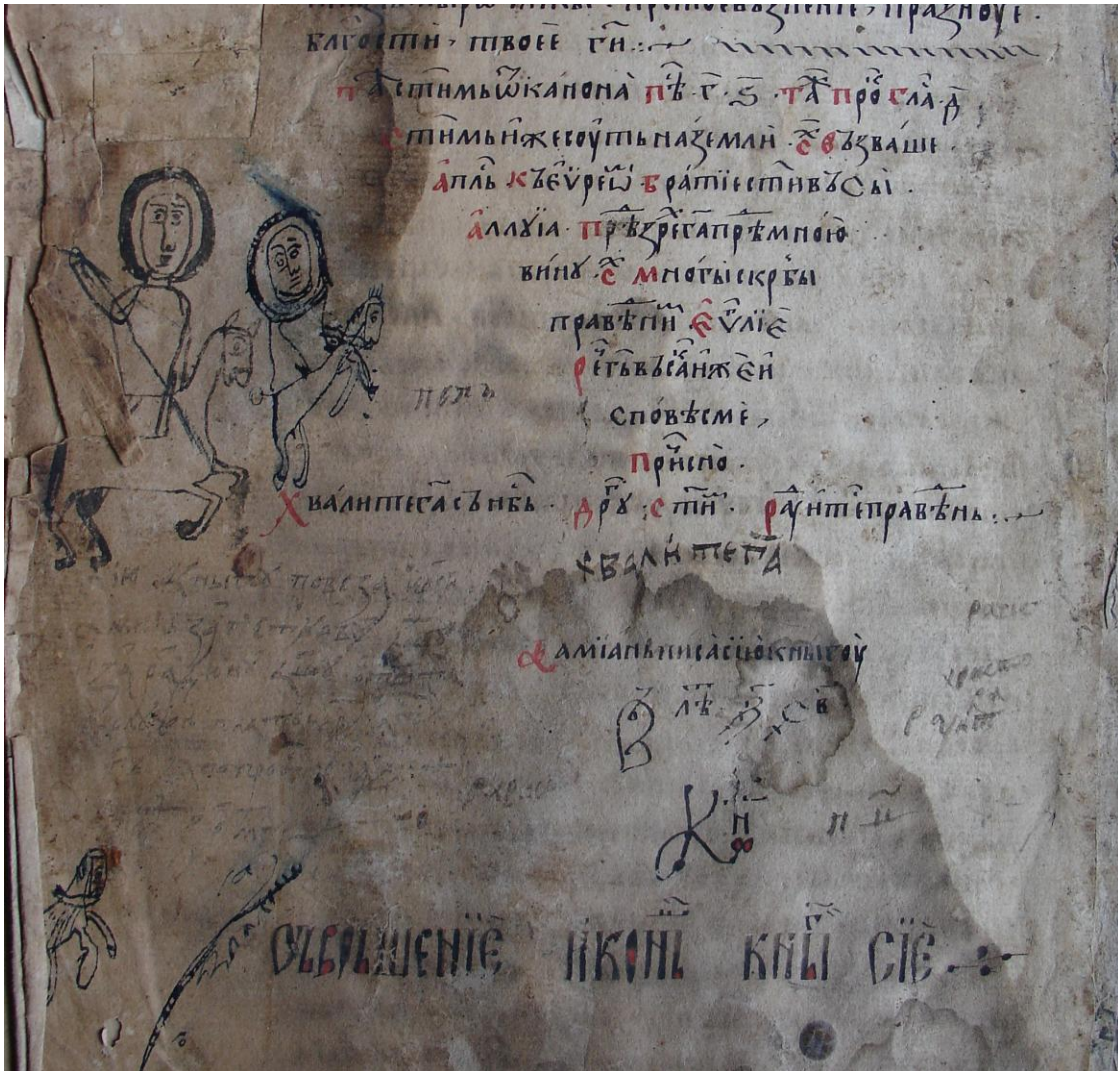


Figure 10.3: #251 *Triodion*, p. 276.

Fourteen letter-oriented marginalia demonstrate how students were trained to draw the alphabet by imitations of the old text. They would exercise with one letter at a time. Students also practiced decoration of manuscripts. Deacon Angelko, for example, learned to inscribe initials by imitating them. The *Prologue* from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery contains 10 marginalia that demonstrate that the manuscript served as textbook for reading and a notebook for writing (Figure 10.4).

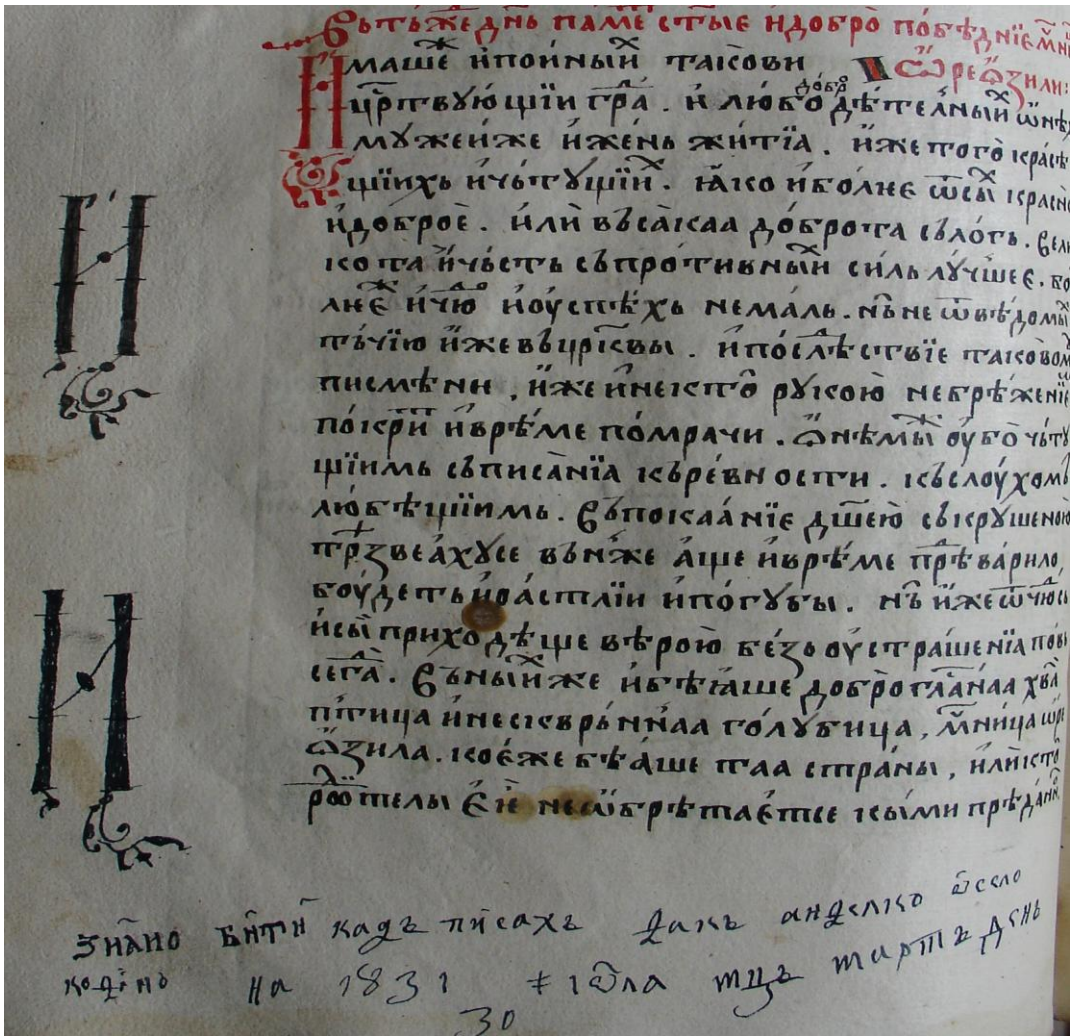


Figure 10.4: #295 Prologue, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (1831), p. 32b. Deacon Angleko writes in Serbian: *Znano biti kadu pisah d(ya)k Angelko ot selo Kodino na 1831 i otla m(ese)ts mart den 30* [Let it be known when I wrote, deacon Angelko from the village of Kodino and on the month of March, 30.]

Drawings constitute a major portion of all graphically oriented marginalia. Authors produced drawings of human beings that resemble saints or martyrs (Figures 10.6 and 10.7).⁶⁴⁹ Drawings were schematic and fragmentary.



Figure 10.6: #7 *Psalter*, printed, Lokorsko, front endpaper, 2a

⁶⁴⁹ #7 *Psalter*, #20 *Four Gospels*, #96 *Menaion*, #247 *Prologue*, #251 *Triodion*, #315 *Apostle*, #353 *Bible* (2 notes), #1521 *Service and Vita*.



Figure 10.7: #1521 *Service and Vita*, Sofia, front pastedown.

Of the seven examples of pointing hands,⁶⁵⁰ non-monastic authors produced three.⁶⁵¹ Figures 10.8 and 10.9 demonstrate the use of pointing hands, a medieval form of hypertext.

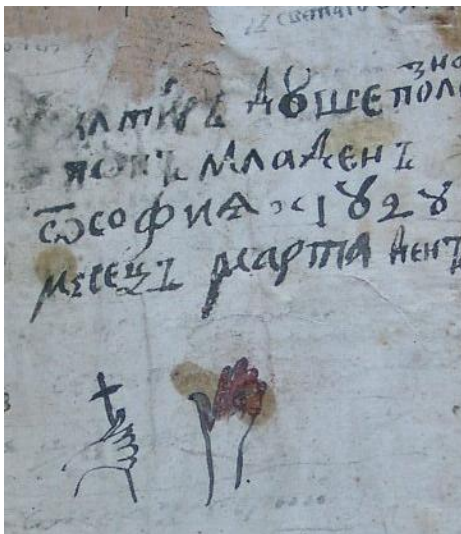


Figure 10.8: #4 *Psalter*, Sofia.



Figure 10.9: #60 *Euchologion*, p. 517a.

⁶⁵⁰ #40 *Psalter*, #30 *Four Gospels*, #60 *Euchologion*, #225 *Damaskin*, #273 *Euchologion*, #295 *Prologue*, #485 *Menaion*.

⁶⁵¹ #4 *Psalter*, #30 *Four Gospels*, #60 *Euchologion*.

As monastic scribes left of manuscripts produced such visual mnemonics and later the lay people imitated them (Figures 10.10 and 10.11).

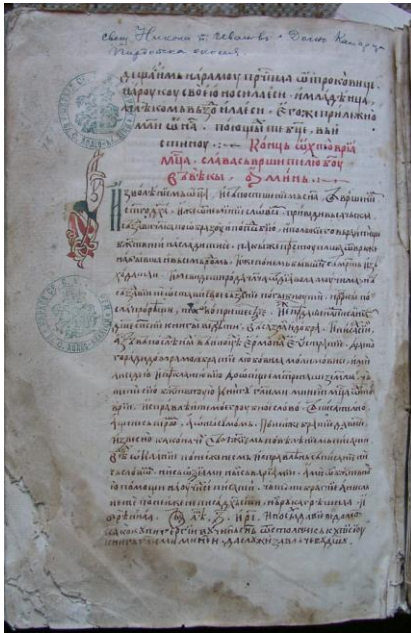


Figure 10.10: #295 *Prologue*, p. 174b.

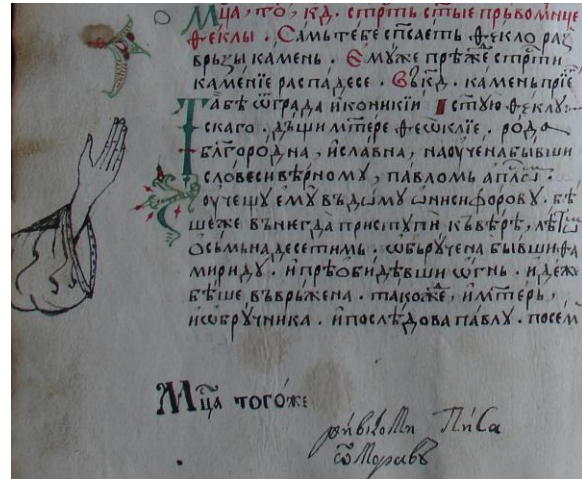


Figure 10.11: #485 *Menaion*, p. 232b.

Particular authors preferred floral-type illustrations and scribbles (Figure 10.12). The floral illustrations were the typical style of the 16th century. Well-known artists and illuminators such as Ioan Kratovski elaborated on the ecclesiastical *topoi* of the Garden of Eden (Figure 9.2).

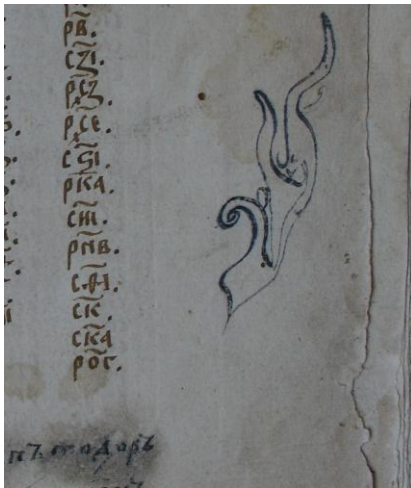


Figure 10.12: #28 *Four Gospels*, Boboshevo monastery, p. 3a.

Authors would occasionally produce graphic illustrations such as seals (Figure 10.14), heraldic emblems (Figures 10.13), and even the Jewish Star of David (Figure 10.15) with Christian symbols (and 10.14).



Figure 10.13: #38 *Gospel*, Strelcha, heraldic emblem, p. 694.



Figure 10.14: #196 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery, front endpaper. These impressions were made by a seal that typically marked the Holy Bread.

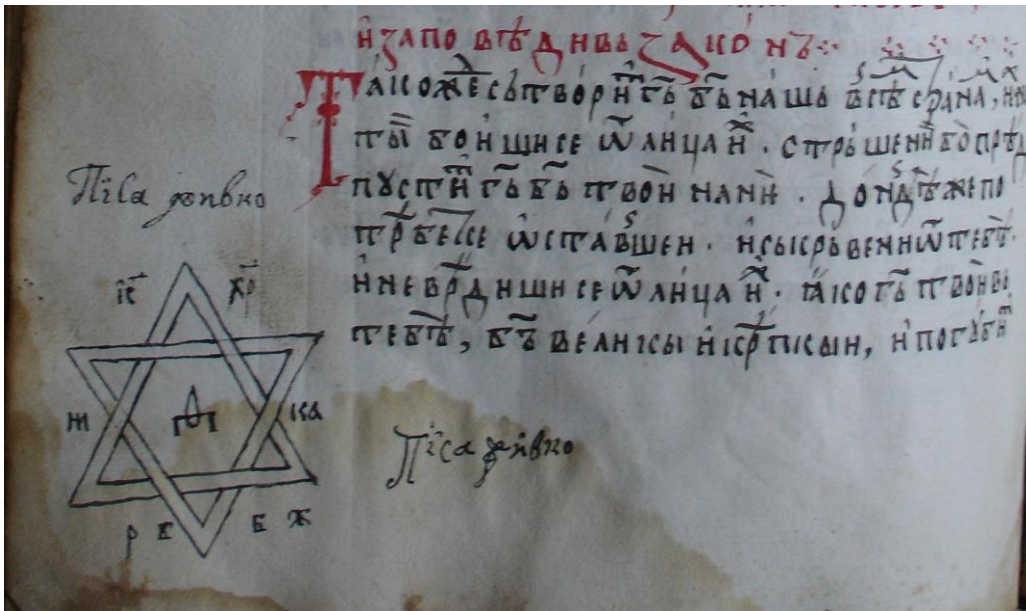


Figure 10.15: #351 Bible, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, p. 159b. Jewish with Christian symbols, IC-XC NI-KA.

Frivolous scribbles and doodles were one of the most common type of graphic marginalia, with 12 examples in the HACI corpus (Figure 10.16).



Figure 10.16: #128 Miscellany, monastery, front endpaper.

Epigrams and reflections marginalia

What did authors discuss in the epigrams? The epigrams reflected the efforts of the Bulgarian church to achieve independence from the Greek Orthodox hierarchy in 1870, an achievement proclaimed by the Ottoman sultan's decree. Evidence from historical marginalia also reflected this struggle and its impact on the Christian *reaya*. Throughout the Ottoman period, Greek bishops controlled the Christian parishes and often mandated the Greek language for worship. Bulgarian Christians lacked representation to the Patriarchate in Constantinople-Istanbul. The marginal note from a *Bible* describes the political and emotional struggle of establishing an independent Bulgarian church:

September 14, 1861, Let it be known when we, the Bulgarians had an argument with the Greeks because we did not want to recognize the Greek bishop. He obstinately sent us bishop Doroteus, who was Bulgarian by body and origin, but in his spirit, he was Greek-Phanariote, and he stayed for three months, and we did not recognize him as a bishop, and a man of his came to our church and people chased him away.⁶⁵²

And another from 1861:

During this time [...] we had a bishop, a Bulgarian, but he was Greek in spirit, even though he was born in Elena. At that time, Bulgaria was struggling to pull out its bishop from Tsarigrad (Istanbul), because everybody wanted to get rid of him too, but they were not able to.⁶⁵³

Finally, the independent Bulgarian church was proclaimed.

In 1872, March, the Episkope of Vidin, Antim I, was announced as the Exharch of Tsarigrad [Istanbul]. He was solemnly sent away from here and welcomed in Varna. During this year, they granted Bulgarians what they begged for many years. In this year, it was decided to have a Bulgarian Exarchate, so they sent Bulgarian metropolitans and bishops to the more prominent Bulgarian cities.⁶⁵⁴

Such anti-Greek sentiments existed and demonstrate the strong sentiments against the Greek ecclesiastical establishment. In 1862, Todor Manastirski promoted the power

⁶⁵² *Bible* (1861), quoted in Nachev and Femandzhiev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*, p. 176.

⁶⁵³ *Euchologion* (1861).

⁶⁵⁴ *Triodion* 1872, quoted in Nachev and Femandzhiev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*, p. 185.

of literacy in combating the ignorance about the national past. He urged people to distinguish between the Greek and Byzantine manuscript traditions and realize that the "salvation" of the Bulgarian "nation" depended on education, reading, and learning. Manastirski echoed his influential predecessor Paissii of Hilendar, who instigated a wide intellectual and political movement for national independence with his *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* in 1762. Manastirski admonished and encouraged his fellow Bulgarians (Figure 10.17):

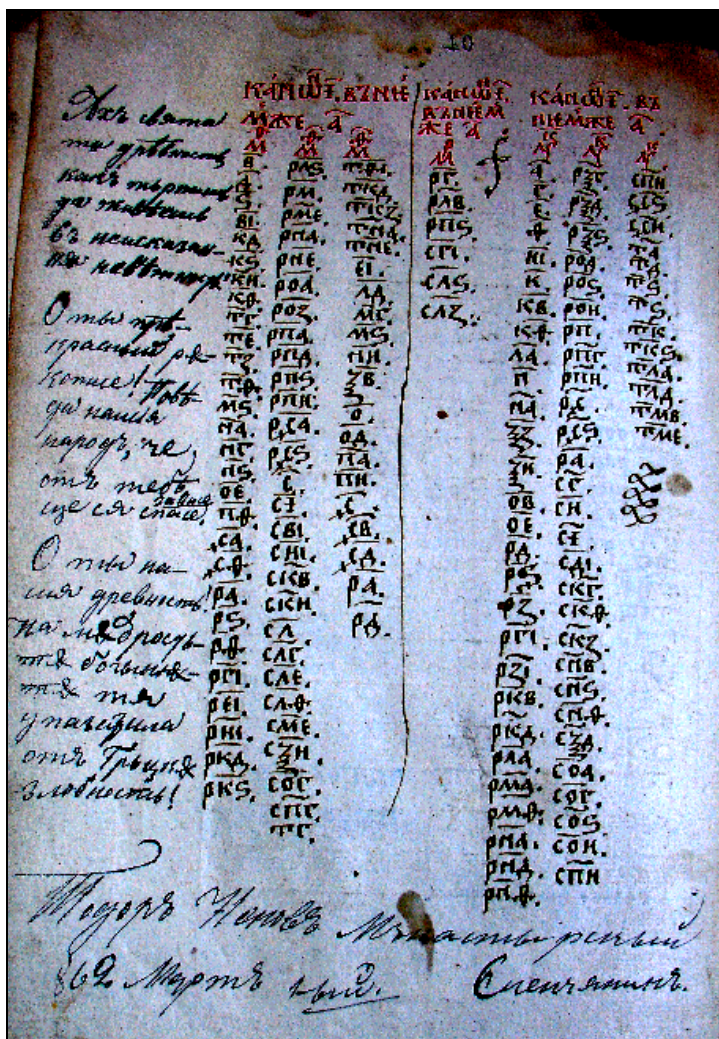


Figure 10.17: #28 *Four Gospels*, Boboshevo monastery (1862), Author: Todor Manastirski

Ah, you holy ancient times!
 How do you endure to live in such indescribable ignorance?
 And you, most beautiful manuscript!
 Lead our nation,
 Because it depends on you for its salvation.
 Oh, you our Past!
 You have learned about the Goddess of Wisdom through Greek hatred!

On another page, Todor Manastirski prayed to Saint Matthew to intercede on behalf of the Bulgarian nation before God and mourned about Bulgaria's unfortunate fate (Figure 10.18):

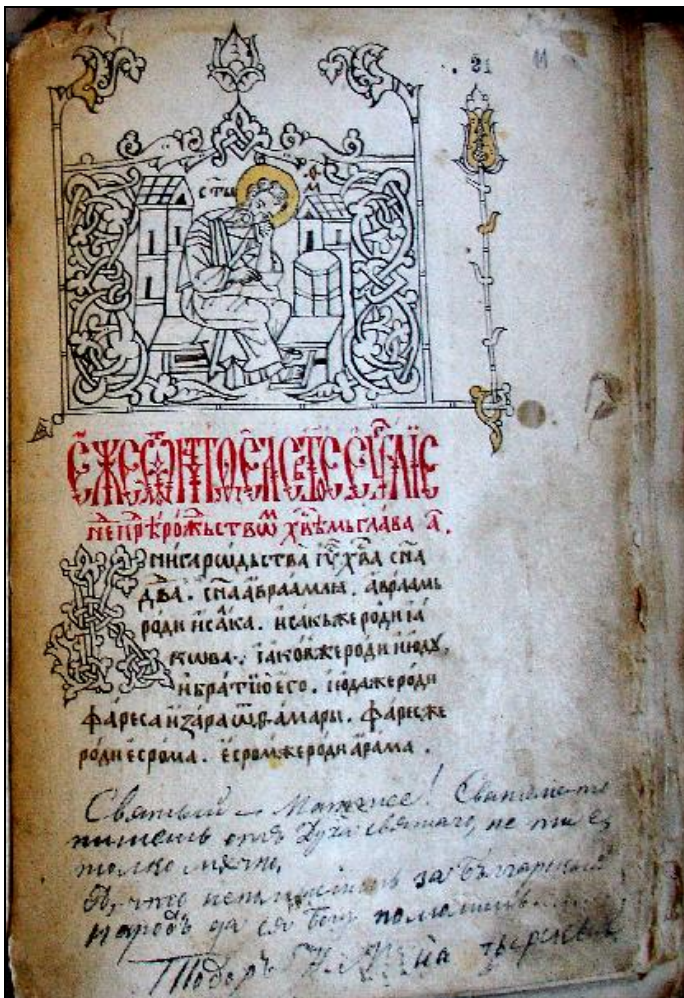


Figure 10.18: #28 *Four Gospels*, Boboshevo monastery, p.21.

Saint Matthew! You have written the *Gospel* from the Holy Spirit.
 And it is not so hard for you!
 But why don't you think about the Bulgarian nation and pray for it?

Another author, the teacher Todor Vrachanski, expressed also his hostility and impatience toward the Greek Church in three notes in the side margins of a *Panegirik*.⁶⁵⁵ He verbally attacked the Greek Church authorities through literary devices, metaphors, and epithets and described Bulgarians as responsible for their own situation through ignorance (Figures 10.19, 10.20, and 10.21).

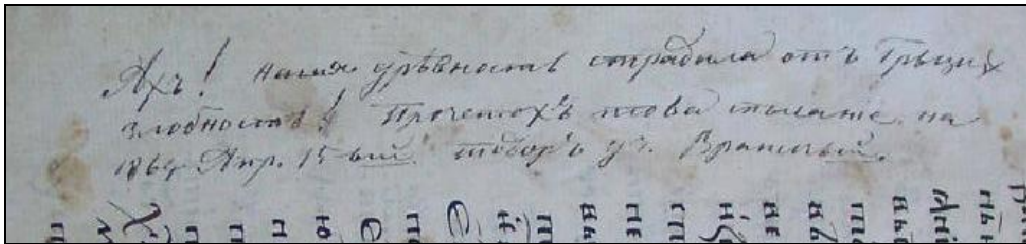


Figure 10.19: #182 *Panegirik*, South Bulgaria, Todor Vrachanski, p. 108b: "Ah! Our antiquity suffered from the Greek hatred! I finished reading April 15, 1864."

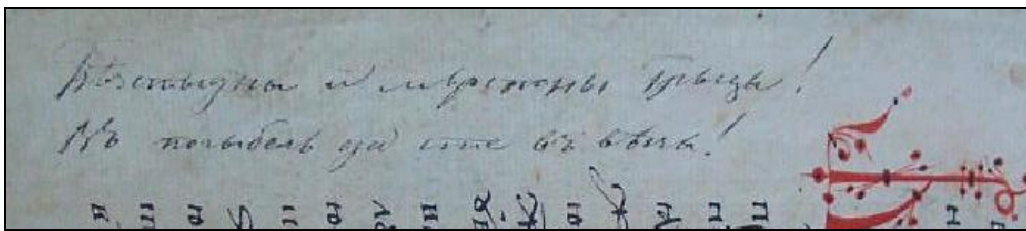


Figure 10.20: #182 *Panegirik*, South Bulgaria, Todor Vrachanski, p. 216b: "You, heartless and evil Greeks! May you be dead forever!"

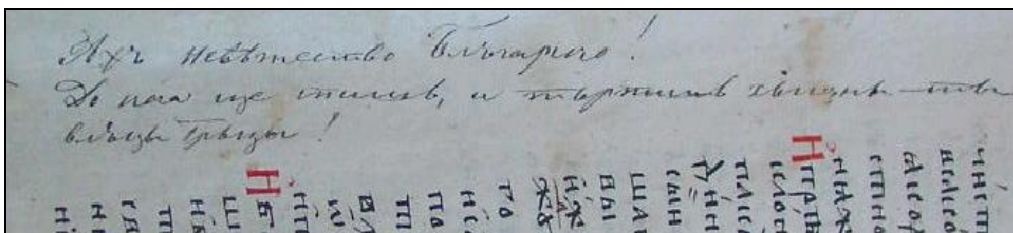


Figure 10.21: #182 *Panegirik*, South Bulgaria, Todor Vrachanski, p. 247b

⁶⁵⁵ #182 *Panegirik*.

Translation: "Ah! Bulgarian ignorance! How long are you going to continue to sleep and bear the Greek crafty wolves?"

Two anonymous reflections written in the vernacular also reflect religious connotations.⁶⁵⁶ The writer might have experienced difficulty in understanding the archaic Church Slavonic language. He argued that spiritual ignorance and illiteracy were worse than intellectual illiteracy. He criticized the present mores, which were worse than those of antiquity. He juxtaposed the high level of literacy to the low level of righteousness in his legal-like reflection that literacy was not a prerequisite for righteousness although that righteousness was prerequisite for literacy:

This book, a long time ago, could be read,
but now it is not possible to read it.
A long time ago, people used to be fools but righteous,
yet now, they are wise but sinful.

The other anonymous author similarly reflected upon the lack of a Christian spirit among the followers of Christ. He said they were preoccupied with other than spiritual endeavors, did not desire in their hearts the Kingdom of God, and perhaps did not support the Church (Figure 10.22).

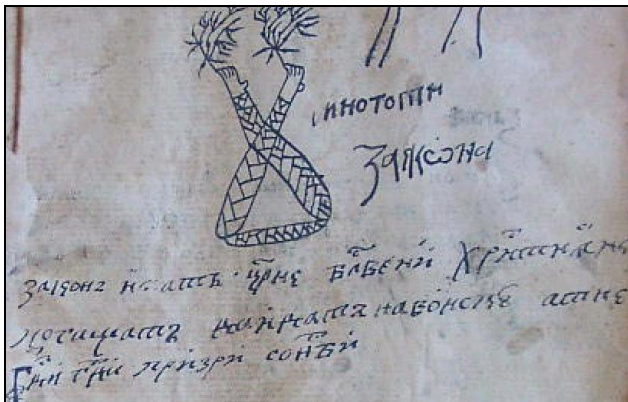


Figure 10.22: #225 *Damaskin*, Teteven, p. 43. "The Law! Christians don't want to look for the blessed Kingdom, Oh Lord, Oh Lord, Call upon your son."

⁶⁵⁶ #3 *Psalter*.

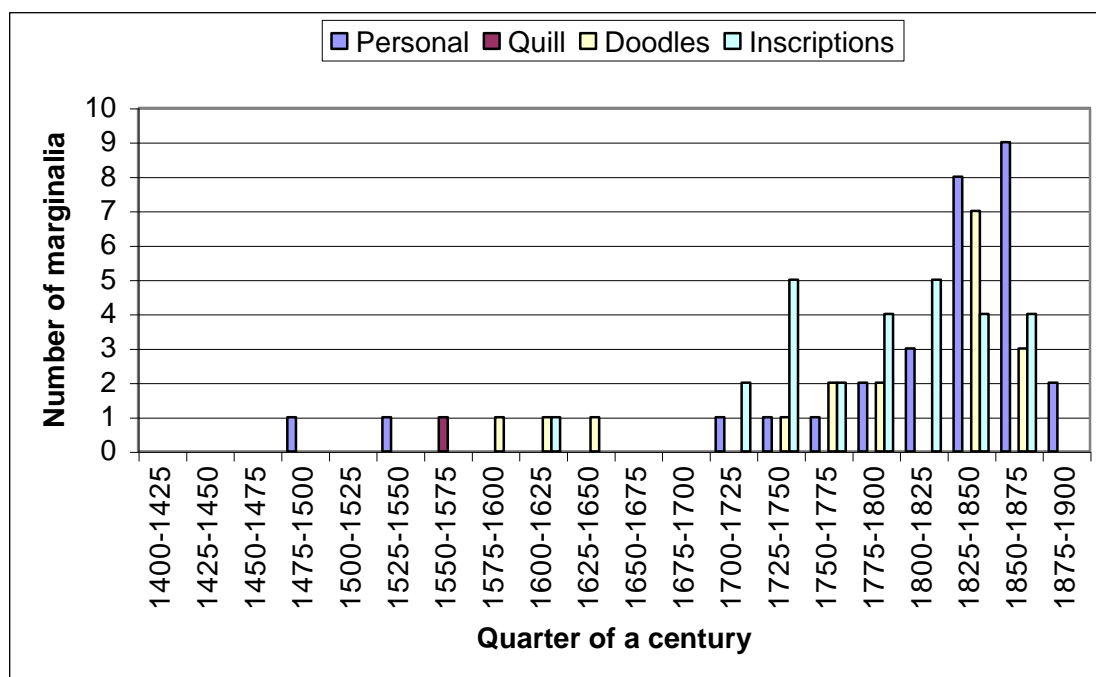


Figure 10.23: Chronological distribution of personal, quill, doodles, and inscriptions.

Date and chronological distribution

When did marginalia that attest to individuals' interactions with books occur, and what is their chronological distribution?

Personal marginalia

Priest Peter from Brezovo inscribed the earliest personal marginalia, dated 1490. The practices of personal marginalia continued until the 19th century.⁶⁵⁷ Five examples found in four monastic and one non-monastic manuscript manuscripts from the 18th century displayed biographical information.⁶⁵⁸⁶⁵⁹ Biographical marginalia increased

⁶⁵⁷ #44 *Typicon* (1789); #60 *Euchologion* (1735); #272 *Psalter* (1710); #315 *Apostle Book* (1773); #353 *Gospel* (1791).

⁶⁵⁸ #272 *Psalter*, 1710, #315 *Apostle Book*, 1773 (Seslavski monastery); #44 *Typicon*, 1789 (Cherepish monastery); #353 *Gospel book*, 1791 (Pshinski monastery).

⁶⁵⁹ #60 *Euchologion*, 1735 (Dushantsi).

dramatically in the 19th century (22 notes),⁶⁶⁰ as lay authors became more prolific and creative, leaving 12 notes compared to 10 written by monastic clergy.

Trying the quill marginalia

Quill marginalia remain undated, except for a single exception in a printed *Triodion* dated 1563.⁶⁶¹ Apparently, authors left quill marginalia even in printed books as well as in manuscripts.

Doodles and graphic marginalia

Drawings are hard to date, unless a clue appears as internal evidence. Figures 10.24 and 10.25 depict marginalia with scribbles and doodles, signed and dated by the author/artist.⁶⁶²



Figure 10.24: #4 *Psalter* (1828), front endpaper, verso, priest Mladen.

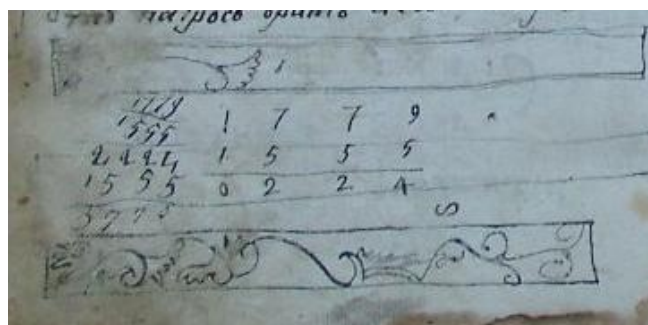


Figure 10.25: #1521 *Service and Vita* (1779), p. 288b.

Similarly, clues come when the drawing appears to be done by the scribe of the adjacent text. Some of those exercises stand in close proximity to the location of the

⁶⁶⁰ 1802; 1812; 1825; 1826; 1832; 1832; 1838; 1839; 1839; 1842; 1849; 1855; 1856; 1857; 1857; 1859; 1859; 1860; 1864; 1871; 1876; 1882.

⁶⁶¹ #198 *Triodion*.

⁶⁶² #4 *Psalter* (1828), #38 *Gospel* (1742), #225 *Damaskin* (1761), #273 *Euchologion* (1790), #1521 *Service and Vita* (1779).

needed illustration, as in the case in Figure 10.26 with the *Four Gospels* from Boboshevo monastery, where exercise of the initial P appears on the back of page, next to page 299.



Figure 10.26: #28 *Four Gospels*, Boboshevo monastery (1578), p. 298.

In other cases, clues leading to the possible date and authorship come from comparison of the inks, slant, alignment, and other graphical characteristics of the handwriting. Deacon Angelko from the St. Prohor Pshinski monastery left five marginalia in 1831 but signed only one of them (Figure 10.27). He typically would imitate the initials in the margin in close proximity.

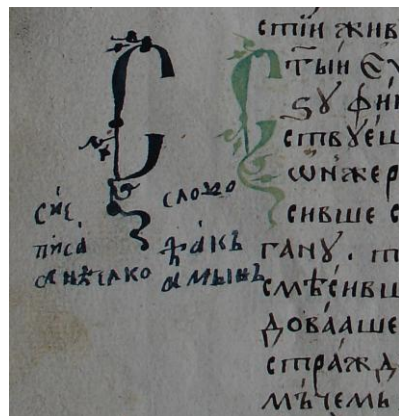


Figure 10.27: #295 *Prologue*, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, p. 172b. Author: deacon Angelko.

Although only 19 of the 46 graphical marginalia (41%) provide evidence of date, the practice of doodles and other graphic marginalia started in the 16th century and continued until late 19th century. In the early years, the tradition of preserving manuscripts as sacred objects without blemish perhaps discouraged the addition of marginalia.

These graphical marginalia provide evidence of the curriculum of monastic and non-monastic schools and private reading practices. The process of learning involved imitating certain exemplary master copies. In conclusion, these marginalia served to draw the attention of the reader to a particular text or served as practice for authors and artists.

Inscriptions

The inconsistent manner of dating of inscriptions (27 of the 67 inscriptions) created an obstacle to the creation of a timeline for the development of the entire corpus of inscriptions, yet some conclusions are possible. Monk Andonii authored the earliest dated inscription (1619) in a *Miscellany* from Varna, stating simply: "Wrote Andonii (1619)."⁶⁶³ Inscription dates became more frequent in the 18th and 19th centuries. Authors supplied information about the date perhaps because they followed the formal documentary styles of writing. Thirteen dated inscriptions come from the 18th century.⁶⁶⁴

The majority of dated inscriptions originated in the monastic centers such as Etropole, Jakovshtica, Slepche, Seslavski, and Kratovo monasteries. Only three cases originated in non-monastic centers. Authors produced 13 inscriptions in the 19th century.⁶⁶⁵ The practice extended beyond the monasteries at Pshinski, Slepche, Iskrec and Etropole and spread to urban and rural churches, including Kochino, Zhelyava, Lukovit, Sofia, Ljutibrod, and Vraca.

Overall, the majority of the dated inscriptions come from monasteries (40), compared to non-monastic settings (35), almost evenly spread between urban and rural churches.

⁶⁶³ #128 *Miscellany* (Varna).

⁶⁶⁴ 1705; 1712; 1728; 1731 (2); 1733 (2); 1754; 1761; 1778; 1789; 1791; 1794.

⁶⁶⁵ 1811; 1814 (2); 1816; 1819; 1826; 1831; 1832; 1841; 1852; 1859; 1861; 1872.

Figure 10.28 demonstrates the chronological distribution of education-related and readers' marginalia, and epigrams.

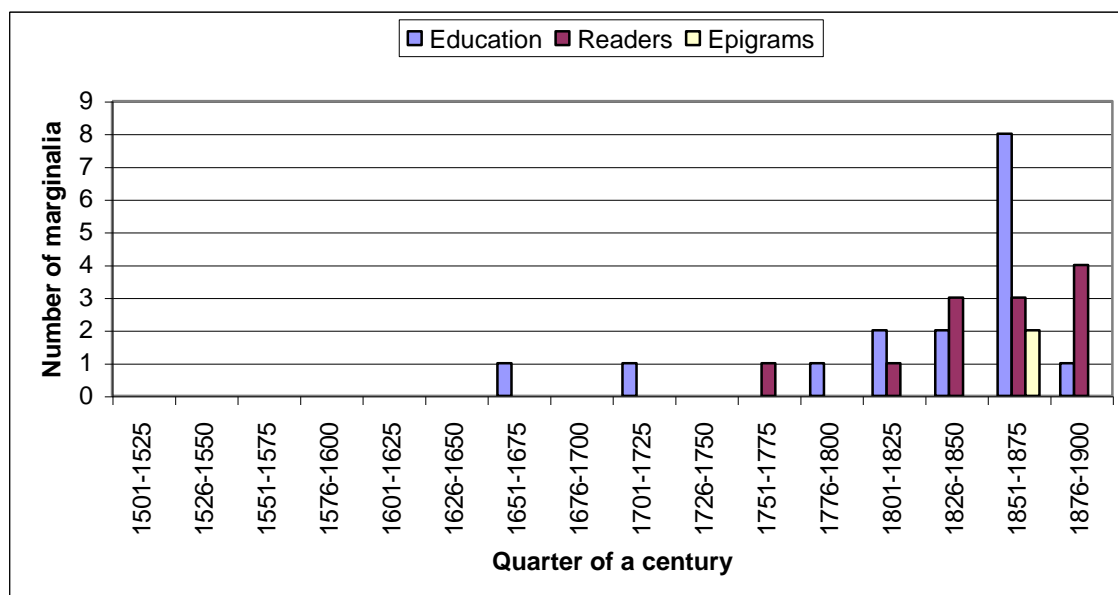


Figure 10.28: Chronological distribution of education-related, reader and epigrams marginalia.

Education-related marginalia

Education-related marginalia were dated in all but five of 22 cases (24%). The practice spanned two centuries, between 1671 and 1899. The earliest example (1671) came from a monastic manuscript.⁶⁶⁶ During the 18th century, only two marginalia described education activities.⁶⁶⁷

Readers' marginalia

Readers dated twelve of the 19 readers' marginalia. One single marginalia from 1778 belonged to a priest Stojko.⁶⁶⁸ The rest of the 11 dated notes came from the 19th century.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁶ #47 *Miscellany* (1671).

⁶⁶⁷ #27 *Four Gospels* (1715); #161 *Gospel*, printed (1782).

⁶⁶⁸ #246 *Prologue*.

⁶⁶⁹ 1803; 1838; 1838; 1838; 1854; 1859; 1859; 1881; 1882; 1890; 1896.

Epigrams and reflections marginalia

Epigrams typically lacked the formal documentary style because they followed the conventions of literary style of writing and content. Religious reflections never included dates. Political epigrams always come with dates, especially in the second half of the 19th century.

Provenance

Where did marginalia attesting to individual interaction with books occur, geographically? Figure 10.29 demonstrates the chronological distribution of monastic and non-monastic personal marginalia.

Personal marginalia

Bulgarian non-monastic authors produced 22 personal marginalia,⁶⁷⁰ compared to the monastic authors who wrote 13 notes.⁶⁷¹ Two non-monastic notes, appeared on a Russian printed *Prologue*, written by its owner Alexei Nikonovich.

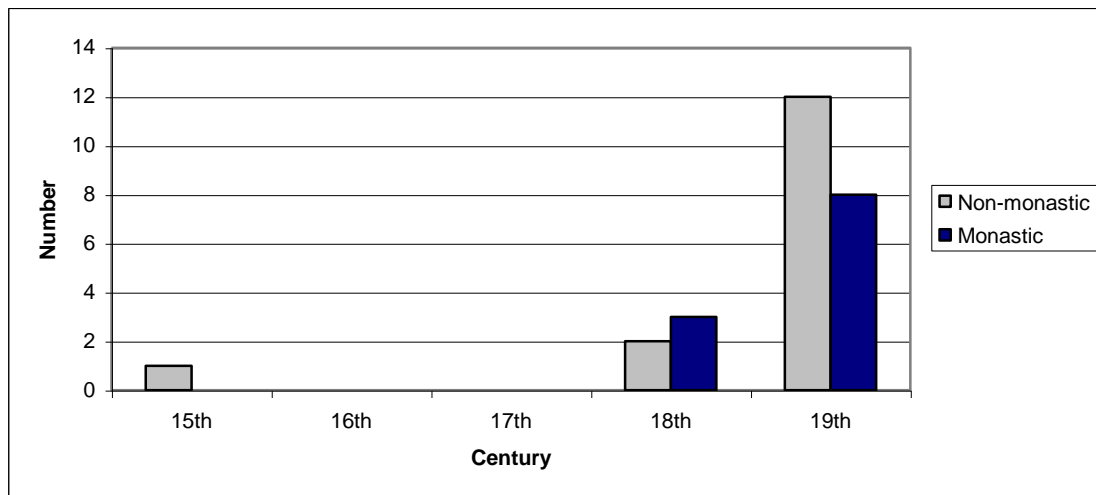


Figure 10.29: Chronological comparison of monastic and non-monastic authored personal marginalia.

⁶⁷⁰ Brezник; Brezovo; Dushanci; Kamenica; Lukovit; Samokov; Slatino; Sofia; Turnovo; Vraca.

⁶⁷¹ Boboshevo (2 notes); Cherepish; Dolni Lozen (2 notes); Etropole (3); German; Sts. Kuzma and Damian; Seslavski; Pshinski monastery (2).

Trying the quill marginalia

The HACI corpus of manuscripts yielded five examples of quill marginalia found in non-monastic manuscripts.⁶⁷² Eleshki and Seslavski monasteries produced monastic examples.⁶⁷³ These notes continued the traditional earlier notes such as "I tried the quill" (Figure 10.30)

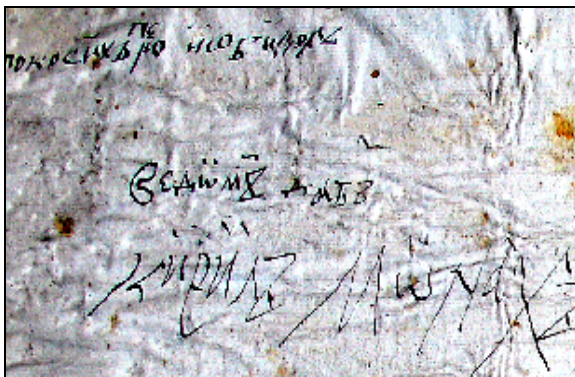


Figure 10.30: #315 *Apostle Book*, front pastedown: "I tried my quill to see Kiril monk"

Five out of seven notes originated in villages (Dolno Kamarci, Teteven, Skopie, Trepshanishta, and Sofia). These five notes expanded the previous formula by adding what I referred to as "the poem of the fly." In this poem, a fly comes to the scribe and obstructs his writing, as a result he kills the fly and "she" dying acts as a person (Figure 10.31-10.33).

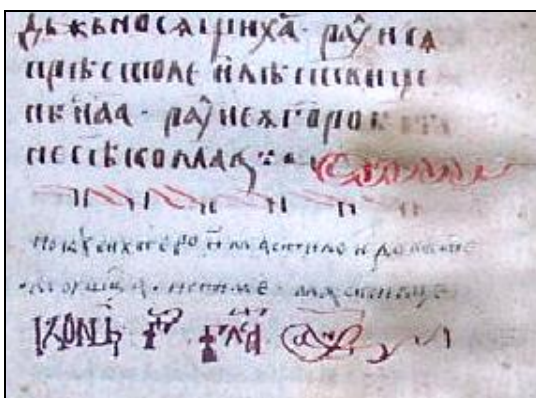


Figure 10.31: #66 *Octoechos*, Novo Selo, p. 138.

⁶⁷² #93 *Menaion* (Dolno Kamarci); #134 *Damaskin* (Teteven); #194 *Euchologion* (Skopije); #198 *Triodion* (Trepshaniishta); #338 *Service Book* (Sofia).

⁶⁷³ #66 *Octoechos*; #315 *Apostle Book*.

"I tried my quill but a fly came and drank my ink."



Figure 10.32: #93 *Menaion*, Dolno Kamarci, front pastedown: "I tried my quill, I tried the ink to see if it can write but a fly came and smeared my words and I threw the quill at it."

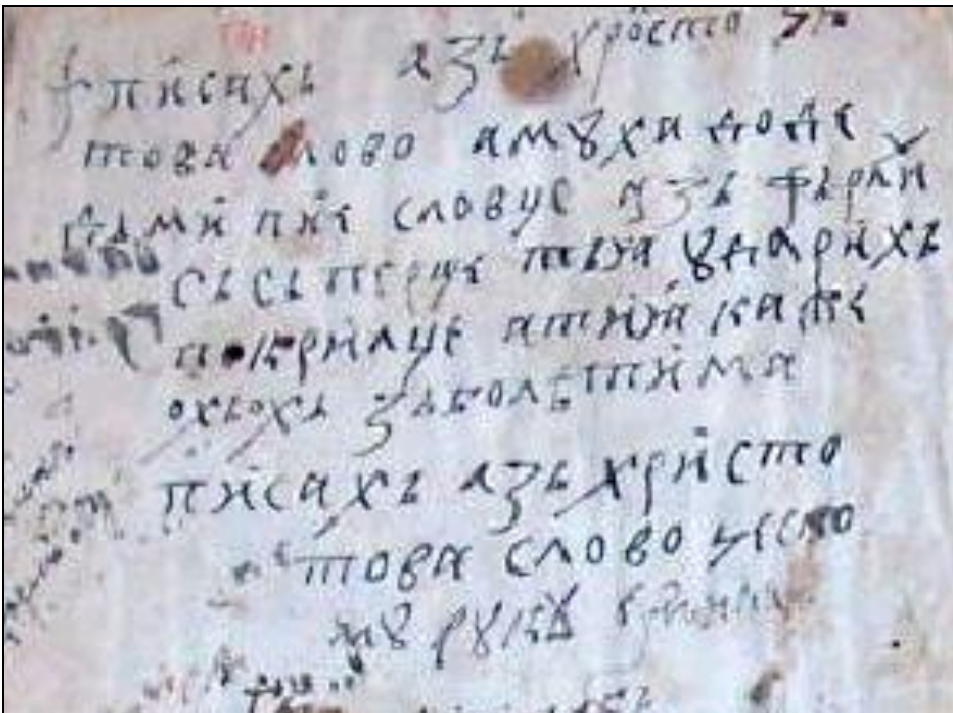


Figure 10.33: #134 *Damaskin*, Teteven, front pastedown:

"† Wrote I, Hristo, these words
but a fly came to drink my words
and I threw my quill at it
and hit its wing
and it said: Oh, I am hurt!
I, Hristo, wrote these words
with my honest hand."

Doodles and graphic marginalia

Monastic authors produced 26 graphic marginalia while non-monastic authors produced 19. Monastic authors came from Bulgarian (Etropole, Seslavski, Urvishki, Boboshevo, Kupinovo, Sts. Kuzma and Damian)⁶⁷⁴ and Macedonian monasteries (St. Prohor Pshinski, Nish, and Slepche).⁶⁷⁵ Non-monastic authors came from Bulgarian towns (Sofia, Teteven, and Dupnica)⁶⁷⁶ and from the Macedonian town of Skopie.⁶⁷⁷

Inscriptions

Inscriptions appeared almost equally in monastic and non-monastic centers. Thirty-seven inscriptions appeared in monastic manuscripts produced in Etropole, Iskrec, Boboshevo, Kamenica, Jakovshtica, Kratovo, Seslavski, Pshinski, and Slepche monasteries. Pshinski and Etropole monastery had the largest number of inscriptions at eight examples each. Inscriptions appeared in three manuscripts from Pshinski monastery⁶⁷⁸ and four manuscripts from Etropole monastery.⁶⁷⁹ Non-monastic manuscripts contained 31 inscriptions from Sofia, Vraca, Varna, Teteven and villages such as Kochino, Mlechevo, Zhelyava, Dushanci, and Lokorsko. Seven inscriptions alone appear in a *Prologue*⁶⁸⁰ from the village of Kochino, in and in four Russian books from Sofia containing six inscriptions.⁶⁸¹

Education marginalia

Five monasteries and nine villages/towns produced education marginalia. The monastic schools established in Germanski, Boboshevo, Cherepish, Pshinski, and Dolni Lozen monasteries served their vicinity. The earliest evidence of a monastic school came

⁶⁷⁴ #96 *Menaion*, #485 *Menaion*; #315 *Apostle* (2 notes); #368 *Miscellany* (2 notes); #28 *Four Gospels* (2 notes); #207 *Octoechos*; #247 *Prologue*.

⁶⁷⁵ #177 *Euchologion*, #196 *Menaion*, #295 *Prologue* (6 notes), #351 *Bible* (5 notes); #273 *Euchologion* (2 notes); #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁶⁷⁶ #4 *Psalter*, #20 *Four Gospels*, #246 *Prologue*, #1521 *Service and Vita*; #225 *Damaskin* (2 notes), #251 *Triodion* (2 notes); #239 *Psalter* (2 notes).

⁶⁷⁷ #194 *Euchologion*., #192 *Euchologion*.

⁶⁷⁸ #353 *Gospel*; #343 *Bible*; #326 *Menaion*.

⁶⁷⁹ #86 *Menaion*; #90 *Menaion*; #100 *Menaion*; #573 *Octoechos*.

⁶⁸⁰ *Prologue* #295.

⁶⁸¹ #119 *Menaion*; #241 *Works of St. Cyril*; #246 *Prologue*; #248 *Prologue*.

from Germanski monastery.⁶⁸² The Boboshevo monastic school continued until at least 1821.⁶⁸³ The Dolni Lozen monastic school trained future clergy members, grammarians, and laypeople. Education for lay people lasted for five years, according to Nikola's testimony.⁶⁸⁴

Travelling monks from Mount Athos established secular schools in small cloister schools known as *metochions* and churches (1840-1900), according to the eight notes.⁶⁸⁵ Liturgical and devotional books served as textbooks in those schools. Students wrote on the blank pages of manuscripts because paper was expensive and in short supply. The manuscripts also provided proximate models of the ancient calligraphic scripts. For example, the student Stanko inscribed marginal note about his study in the village of Kunino by inscribing the manuscript, followed by another student, Vluko, who tested his quill on the same page.⁶⁸⁶

Readers' marginalia

Eighteen of the 19 readers' marginalia appeared in non-monastic settings compared to only two marginalia from monastic manuscripts. Non-monastic libraries that lent books to lay readers existed in the towns of Sofia, Samokov, and the villages of Dushanci, Buhovo, and Sushica. Sixteen readers borrowed books from village churches. The copying of *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* in Samokov inspired a wide reading audience, as implied by four readers' notes.

The majority of marginalia, five out of the nine, originated from non-monastic settings, from the village of Gorni Balvan and Teteven.⁶⁸⁷ Two monasteries, Seslavski monastery and Boboshevo monastery yielded two reflections, one religious and one political.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸² #47 *Miscellany*.

⁶⁸³ #27 *Four Gospels*, #28 *Four Gospels*.

⁶⁸⁴ #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁶⁸⁵ #130 *Damaskin*.

⁶⁸⁶ #13 *Gospel*.

⁶⁸⁷ #182 *Panegirik*; #225 *Damaskin*.

⁶⁸⁸ #3 *Psalter*; #28 *Four Gospels*.

Diplomatics: form, structure, and formulae

What form and content characterize marginalia attesting to interaction between individual users and books? Table 10.3 demonstrates what structural elements each category of this cluster group possess.

Personal	Trying the quill	Inscriptions	Education	Readers	Epigrams
Memorandum: 46%	Narratio: 100%	Memorandum: 10%	Memorandum: 41%	Intitulatio: 68%	Narratio: 100%
Datatio: 83%	Datatio: 14%	Arenga: 5%	Intitulatio: 50%	Datatio: 47%	Datatio: 22%
Arenga: 14%	Locatio: 14%	Narratio: 7%	Narratio: 100%	Memorandum: 26%	Locatio: 11%
Narratio: 100%	Subscriptio: 29%	Datatio: 49%	Datatio: 76%	Narratio: 100%	
Locatio: 43%		Locatio: 11%	Locatio: 59%	Arenga: 32%	
Subscriptio: 80%		Subscriptio: 93%	Subscriptio: 77%	Sanctio: 11%	
				Locatio: 42%	
				Subscriptio: 84%	
				Appreciatio: 16%	

Table 10.3: Form and content of marginalia related to the interaction between the book and its users

Personal marginalia

The features that defined personal marginalia were the *narratio*, *datatio*, *subscriptio*, and occasionally *locatio* and *arenga*. The most commonly opening was the memorandum formula "Let it be known" (15 notes), followed by *subscriptio* (9 notes) and *datatio* (5 notes). "Let it be known" became the most commonly used opening

formula after 1770 by both non-monastic (9 notes)⁶⁸⁹ and monastic⁶⁹⁰ authors. Three marginalia inscribed in monastic manuscripts presented autobiographical information and emphasized the tonsure into priesthood of non-monastic clergy: "Let it be known when I became a priest, I priest Todor from the village of Seslavci in the year of 1773 (Figure 10.34).⁶⁹¹

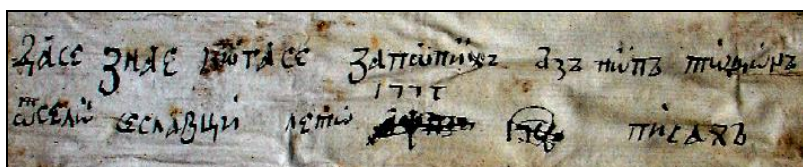


Figure 10.34: #315 *Apostle Book*, Seslavski monastery (1773), back pastedown.

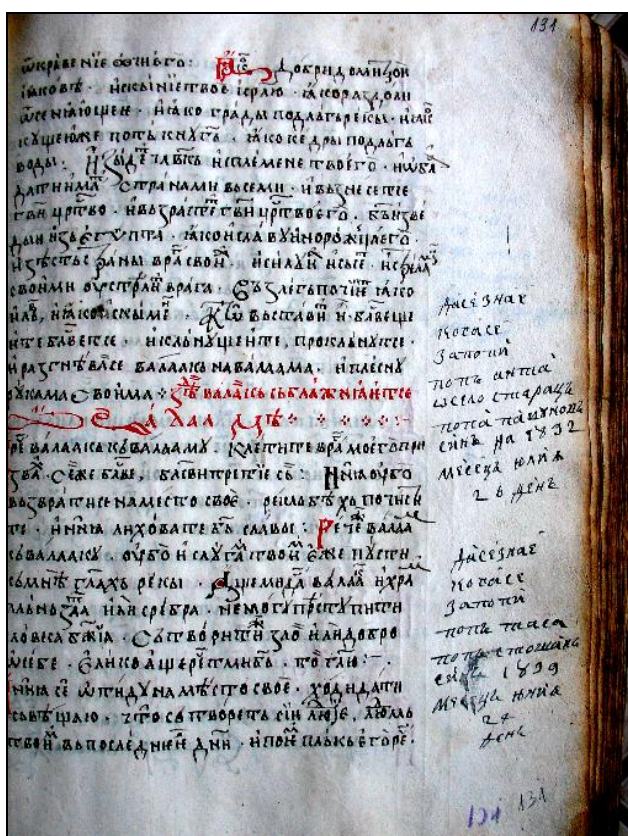


Figure 10.35: #343 *Bible*, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, p. 131a.

⁶⁸⁹ #118 *Menaion*; #248 *Prologue*; #285 *Book of Rules*; #341 *Kiriakodromion* (7 notes).

⁶⁹⁰ #47 *Miscellany*; #315 *Apostle Book*; #343 *Bible* (2 notes); #353 *Gospel*.

⁶⁹¹ #315 *Apostle Book*.

Priest Anto inscribed the side margins of a #343 *Bible* of Pshinski monastery "Let it be known when priest Anto became a priest, from the village of Starac, the son of priest P . . . 1832, July 26 (Figure 10.37)."⁶⁹² Following this note, another author, Priest Taso, inscribed: "Let it be known when priest Taso became a priest, son of priest Tosha in 1839, June 29."

The 19th century non-monastic biographical marginalia started with a *memorandum* formula and varied greatly in content. Some marginalia resembled private correspondence.⁶⁹³ Another marginal note described a child's pranks and parental punishment.⁶⁹⁴ The most prominent example of marginalia that utilized the *memorandum* formula came from a *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik written by the teacher and chronicler Michail Ivanov who left six notes: three biographical and three autobiographical (Figures 10.36-10.38).⁶⁹⁵

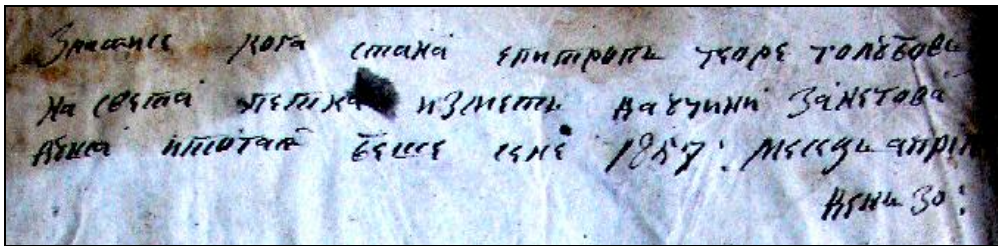


Figure 10.36: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, p. 1a, front endpaper.

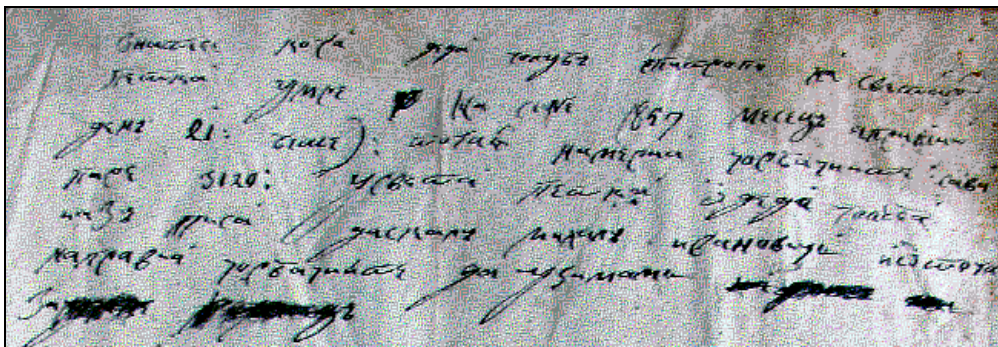


Figure 10.37: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, p. 1b, front endpaper verso.

⁶⁹² #343 *Bible*.

⁶⁹³ #118 *Menaion*.

⁶⁹⁴ #248 *Prologue*.

⁶⁹⁵ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

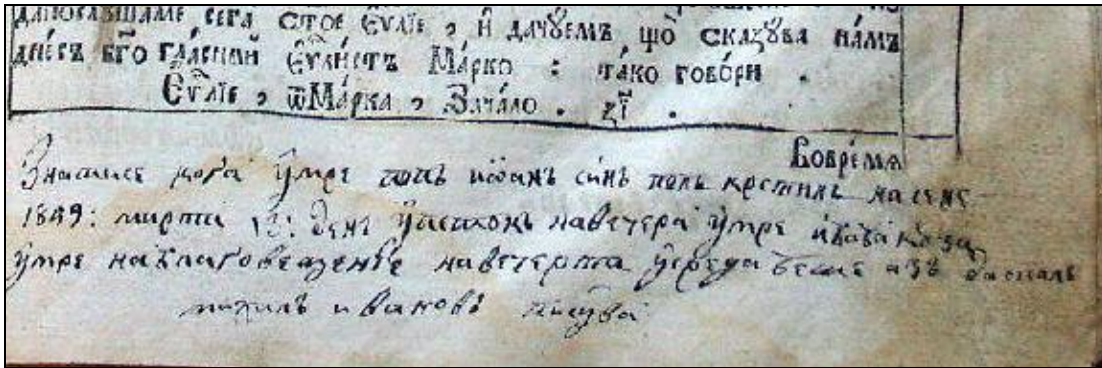


Figure 10.38: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, p. 25, bottom margin.

Non-monastic authors initiated marginalia with a *subscriptio* (a person's name) in eight autobiographical notes.⁶⁹⁶ These notes described death,⁶⁹⁷ partnership,⁶⁹⁸ personal communication,⁶⁹⁹ a visit,⁷⁰⁰ and even orders for clothes.⁷⁰¹ The earliest example of a *subscriptio* starting an autobiographical note also was the earliest example within the entire corpus, dating from 1490.⁷⁰²

A *datatio* typically opened monastic marginalia.⁷⁰³ Sometimes, lay people also used dates, for example, to start a family chronicle or to remember events in their lives (Figure 10.40).⁷⁰⁴ The earliest example came in a *Psalter* from 1710 (Figure 10.39).⁷⁰⁵

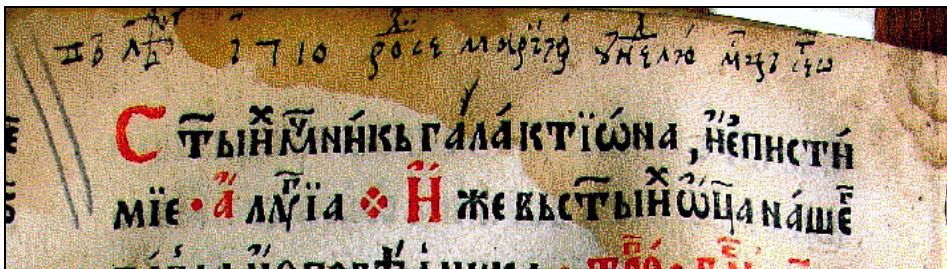


Figure 10.39: #272 *Psalter*, printed, p. 105b, (1710).

⁶⁹⁶ #28 *Four Gospels* (2 notes); #58 *Euchologion*; #118 *Menaion*; #123 *Euchologion*; #241 *Works of St. Cyril* (2 notes).

⁶⁹⁷ #28 *Four Gospels* (2 notes); #58 *Euchologion*.

⁶⁹⁸ #127 *Euchologion*.

⁶⁹⁹ #118 *Menaion*.

⁷⁰⁰ #123 *Euchologion* (2 notes).

⁷⁰¹ #241 *Works of St. Cyril* (2 notes).

⁷⁰² #58 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁰³ #44 *Typicon*; #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁷⁰⁴ #247 *Prologue*; #272 *Psalter*.

⁷⁰⁵ #272 *Psalter*.

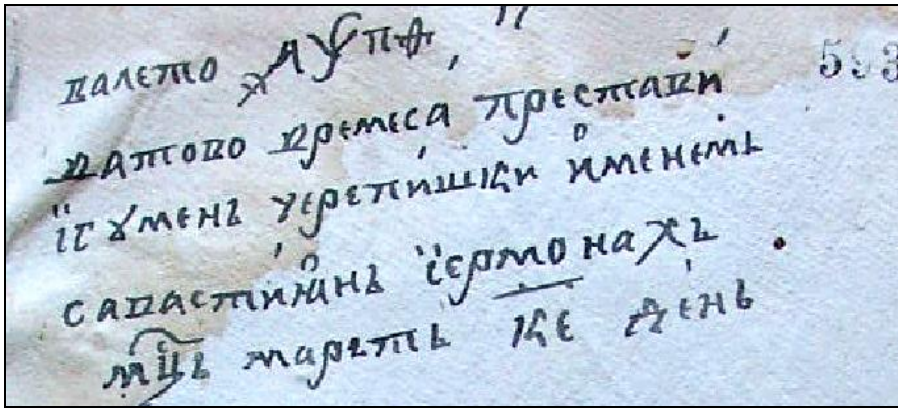


Figure 10.40: #44 *Typicon*, (1789), p. 593.

Laypeople followed a freer style of script, content, and writing style of personal marginalia. They were not able to obtain the formal education in the documentary style of writing. Even the earliest example from a more formal time (1490) displayed an irregular and untrained style of writing.⁷⁰⁶ Other authors finished with *datatio* or *subscriptio* (12 notes). Four such cases came from monastic manuscripts.⁷⁰⁷

In all cases, biographical and autobiographical marginalia presented brief statements, not exceeding 10 to 15 words. The major subjects were names of authors and the topics described (*subscriptio*), date of inscription and/or event (*datatio*), location of writing (*locatio*), an opening memorandum formula, and the biographical events (*narratio*). The common topics of personal marginalia were remembrance of deaths of clergy and family members (nine notes), tonsure of priests and monks (six notes), personal visits to other towns (three notes), work and study-related events (four notes), marriage, personal injury, irregular family relationships, partnerships, and even two letters to other people.

A typical biographical note would read: "Let it be known priest [name] died in the year of [year]" or "I, Priest [name] wrote this to remember when I became priest in [date] for the church of (patron saint name)" or as the earliest personal *marginalium* (Figure 10.39):

⁷⁰⁶ #58 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁰⁷ #47 *Miscellany*; #315 *Apostle Book*; #343 *Bible* (2 notes); #353 *Gospel*.

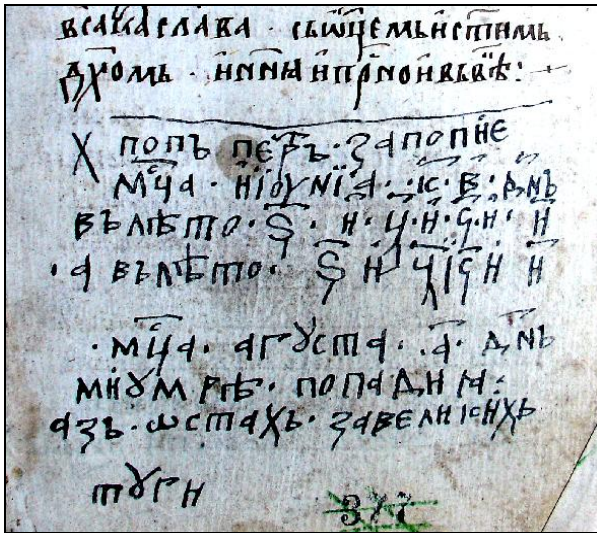


Figure 10.41: #58 *Euchologion*, (1490), p. 377. "+The priest Peter became a priest in the month of June 2, in Christ, 1490. On August 1, 1490, my wife died and I was left behind in great sorrow."

Trying the quill marginalia

Script and language still give trying the quill marginalia a formal appearance. However, *datatio* (14%), *subscriptio* (29%), and *locatio* (14%) do not appear frequently. The main documentary element that characterizes this category of marginalia is the *narratio* element: "I tried my quill to see if it writes." This formula also appears in its shortened version "I tried my quill"⁷⁰⁸ or added information about the motivation of the scribe for writing,⁷⁰⁹ about testing the writing device, "to see if it writes." Possibly, these statements were associated with a writing exercise in these early schools, using liturgical manuscripts as their textbooks.

Some authors added "the poem of the fly."⁷¹⁰ Others employed the poem independently.⁷¹¹ These versions demonstrated the process of change of the earlier notes by adding new information and interpretations of the main characters, the fly and the scribe. In a second version of the poem, the fly was accused of drinking the ink.⁷¹² In

⁷⁰⁸ #194 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁰⁹ #198 *Triodion*; #315 *Apostle Book*; #338 *Service Book*.

⁷¹⁰ #66 *Octoechos*; #93 *Menaion*.

⁷¹¹ #134 *Damaskin*.

⁷¹² #66 *Octoechos*.

another version, the fly was accused of drinking the scribal words, causing the scribe to attempt to kill the fly with the writing device.⁷¹³ In a third version, the fly talked in a human voice.⁷¹⁴ The latest version of this marginalia includes new addition of the scribe's targeting the fly's wing causing the fly to cry out.

Inscriptions

An inscription provides a rather succinct statement of the name of the author and the date of inscription and resembles a scribe's statement of authorship in a colophon. This informal type of statement usually appears as one type of phrase with variations. The most typical statement acknowledges the act of writing the inscription in a formula that resembles the documentary *subscriptio* statement: "Wrote [name]" appears in 42 cases. The *recusatio* formula "most sinful one" appears attached to the name in 13 cases, of which 11 are in monastic manuscripts. Sometimes, authors supplied *subscriptio* (names) and *datatio* (dates of inscription), listing their name (four notes), or only their name and a date (three notes), or just the date (three notes). The most popular *memorandum* phrase, "Let it be known." appeared in nine inscriptions. Sometimes, authors did not finish their statements, writing their wish to leave the note as a memory of themselves, such as stating "let it be known how" (Figure 10.42). In other cases, they followed a more formal style and included more documentary elements such as *intitulatio* (the title of the manuscript), *locatio* (the provenance), and the *datatio* and *subscriptio* (Figure 10.43).⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ # 93 *Menaion*.

⁷¹⁴ #134 *Damaskin*.

⁷¹⁵ #243 *Gospel*; #225 *Damaskin*; #194 *Euchologion*.

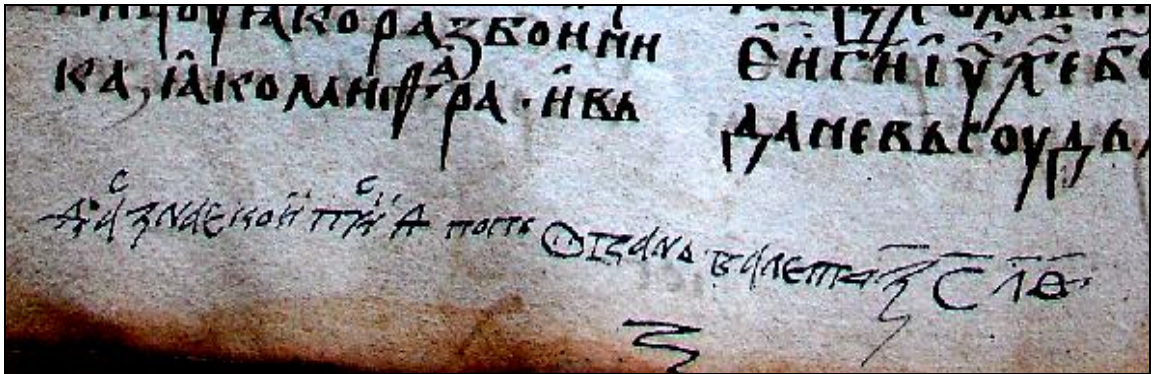


Figure 10.42: #194 *Euchologion* (1731), p. 89b.

The typical inscription would appear in liturgical books, such as a *Menaion* or a *Gospel* book, or in devotional books such as *Prologue*, and would include *scriptio*, (the name of the author) and *datatio*, (the date of writing). When an inscription included *locatio*, (the location of the act of inscribing), the location most probably was a monastery in the 18th century or an urban or rural church in the 19th century. A typical inscription would sound like: "Wrote I, the most sinful [name], year." The shortest inscription provided just a name or a date, and the longer inscriptions resembled a colophon, including memorandum, *scriptio*, *intitulatio*, *locatio*, and *datatio*:

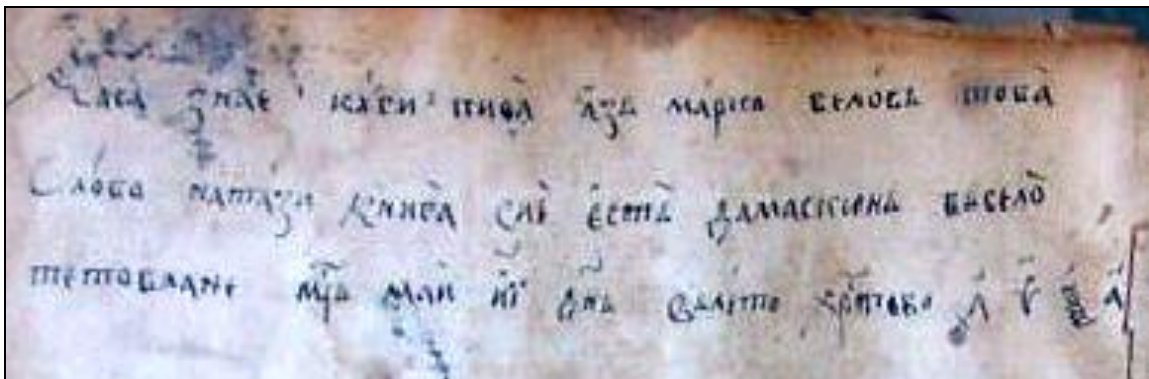


Figure 10.43: #225 *Damaskin*, from Teteven, p. 42b: "Let it be known when I wrote, Mano Velov, these words on this book, that is Damaskin, in the village of Tetovlane, month of May 18, year of Christ, 1761."

Education-related marginalia

Education-related marginalia were brief statements produced by students and teachers. These marginalia usually featured a date, the name of the author and in some cases, names of classmates or other colleagues. In documentary terms, education-related marginalia displayed *narratio* (100%), *subscriptio* (77%), *datatio* (76%) *locatio* (59%) and *intitulatio* (50%). The earliest note (1671) from Germanski monastery was written for remembrance by an anonymous student, trained to become a grammarian in Sofia.⁷¹⁶

As the opening *protocollo*, authors used a *subscriptio* "Wrote I, [name]." or a memorandum "Let it be known that [...]." Students preferred the formulas "Wrote I [name]." (five notes) and "Let it be known" (three notes). Teachers, however, applied a more flexible writing style, that included memorandum "Let it be known" (three notes), or a *datatio* (three notes) to document school activities⁷¹⁷ or the teachings of Russian teachers Theodosii Amosovich⁷¹⁸ and Theodosii Alekseevich.⁷¹⁹

The middle part of these documents, known as the *testo*, included the *narratio* statement. Typical information in the *narratio* included school practices, titles of textbooks, and the process of learning. The practice of trying one's quill was a part of the education process. Students like Vluko left marginalia about his studying at the monastery near Lokorsko.⁷²⁰ Sometimes, authors described extra-curricular activities such as wrestling matches (Figure 10.44).⁷²¹

⁷¹⁶ #47 *Miscellany*.

⁷¹⁷ #83 *Irmologion*.

⁷¹⁸ #161 *Gospel*.

⁷¹⁹ #177 *Euchologion*.

⁷²⁰ #13 *Gospel*.

⁷²¹ #83 *Irmologion*; #239 *Psalter*.

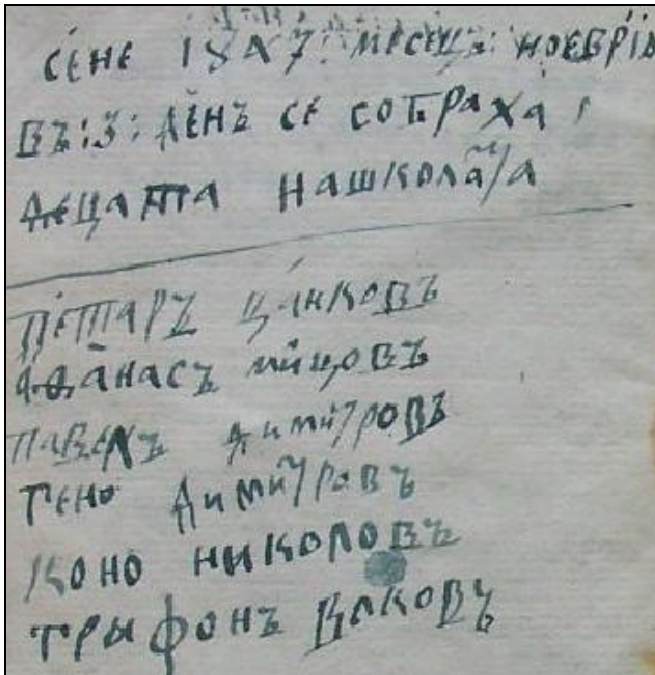


Figure 10.44: #83 *Irmologion*, Vraca, front endpaper.

The *eschatollo* (ending formula) varied widely and included a *subscriptio*, *datatio*, *locatio*, and *intitulatio*. The *subscriptio* featured information about authors' jobs, their teacher, or classmates. Infrequently, authors inscribed information about natural events such as plagues (Figure 10.45)⁷²² or mentioned current Ottoman rulers.⁷²³ The most typical ending of education marginalia provided a *datatio* (eight notes). Students and teachers emphasized the *locatio* of schools (four notes). Students occasionally ended their notes with *intitulatio*, mentioning the textbook.⁷²⁴

The most typical students' note would appear in *Gospel* books and would read: "Wrote I (name) from the village of (location) when I studied under teacher (name) at (location) in the year (date)."

The typical teachers' note would read: "Let it be known when teacher (name) taught in the village of (location) in.(date)" or "Let it be known when I became a teacher. Date."

⁷²² #46, *Service and Vita of Sts. Kirik and Julita* (1815).

⁷²³ #13 *Gospel*, (1871).

⁷²⁴ #44 *Psalter*.

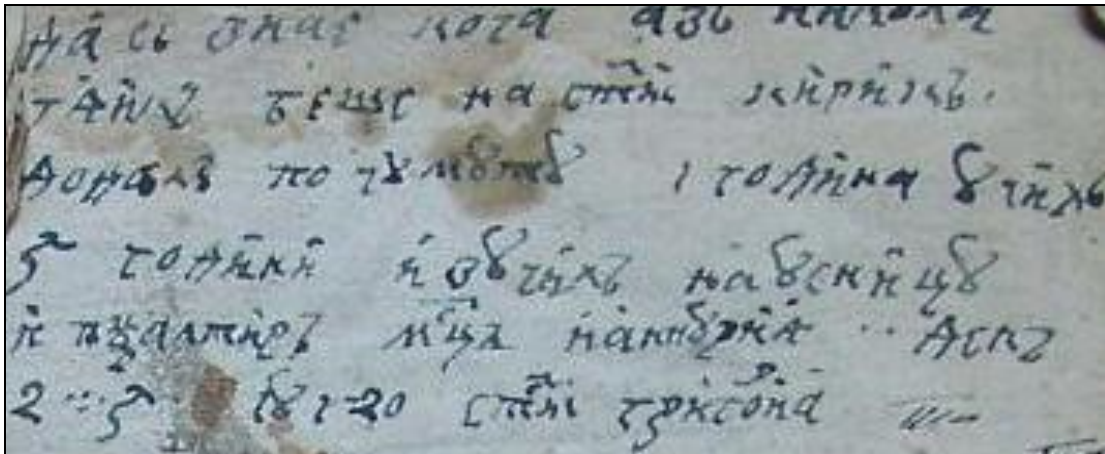


Figure 10.45: #46 *Service and vita of St. Kirik and Julita*, Dolni Lozen monastery, front pastedown.

Readers' marginalia

What form, content, and structure characterize readers' notes? Readers documented their own reading and usually imitated the style and content of writing of previous readers. Rather brief and fact-oriented, these marginalia featured *narratio* (19 notes, or 100%), *subscriptio* (readers' names in 16 notes, or 84%), *datatio* (date of lending the book in 9 notes, or 47%), *intitulatio* (the title of the book in 11 notes, or 58%) and *locatio* (8 notes, or 42%)

The *protocollo* included usually a *subscriptio* or *memorandum* formula. Readers acknowledged their identity in the *subscriptio*, emphasized the act of reading, and concluded with *datatio*. Six marginalia started with a date of borrowing.⁷²⁵ Later borrowers imitated earlier ones. Some marginalia started with the *subscriptio* statement: "I [name] read" (eight notes). Both the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* and a printed *Prologue* provided examples of readers' marginalia beginning with the names of the readers.⁷²⁶ The *memorandum* formula "Let it be known" did not appear as with other marginalia, except for two cases from Buhovo monastery.⁷²⁷

⁷²⁵ #100 *Menaion*; #246 *Prologue*; #248 *Prologue*.

⁷²⁶ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, printed; #246 *Prologue*.

⁷²⁷ #81 *Triodion*; #111 *Menaion*; #1521 *Service and Vita*.

The *narratio* would include information about the circumstances of reading and the value of the books and reading. The readers of the *Octoechos*, for example, expressed good feelings and emphasized their multiple borrowings.⁷²⁸ Six cases noted the very act of borrowing while failing to mention a date.⁷²⁹ The reader of *Service and Vita of Saint Nicholai the New [Martyr] of Sofia*⁷³⁰ thoroughly studied and searched the book:

Let it be known that I, most sinful Teodor Iliev took this book to read the *Vita of St. Nicholai*, and discovered with great sorrow that the one who copied this book signed it, I was not able to understand his name. May 17, 1854, Sofia.⁷³¹

The *eschatollo* (ending) concluded with *datatio*, *subscriptio*, or *apprecatio* statements. This style of closing imitated current colophon practices. Seven cases closed with a *datatio*.⁷³² Readers' marginalia in a printed *Prologue* resembled each other by their content, dating, and placement on the back endpaper of the book.⁷³³ Six marginalia ended with the name of the borrower, and four of those cases appeared in a consecutive manner in *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*. Three cases used an *apprecatio* (blessing, prayer) or *sanctio* (curse against stealing) at the end.⁷³⁴ One of the authors stated: "Whoever steals this Prologue let him be cursed by the 318 Fathers and his mother to lie cursed in the ground. Amen." Two examples gave the simple blessing "Many years, Amen."

The most detailed and elaborate readers' marginalia appeared much later in 1890. The officer and financial overseer in Sofia district, Dimitur Spirov, read the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* during his visit to Rila monastery. He identified himself by first and family name, his place of living, and even his job. Then, he enthusiastically emphasized his reading in depth of the book and his knowledge of the author, ending with the date, location, and again his name. Even at this late date, this influential book in Bulgarian history still aroused pride. His note read as follows:

Dim.[itur] A. Spirov born of Zagorichani Kostursko region in West Bulgaria, (Macedonia), officer and financial inspector in Novo Selo, Sofia district.

⁷²⁸ #72 *Octoechos*.

⁷²⁹ #4 *Psalter*; #60 *Euchogion*; #72 *Octoechos*; #81 *Triodion*.

⁷³⁰ #1521 *Service and Vita of Nicholai The New [Martyr] Of Sofia*.

⁷³¹ #1521 *Service and Vita of Nicholai The New [Martyr] Of Sofia*.

⁷³² #130 *Damaskin*; #246 *Prologue*; #248 *Prologue*.

⁷³³ #248 *Prologue*.

⁷³⁴ #81 *Triodion*; #248 *Prologue*.

Read this book from cover to cover, the history of the famous elder Paisii on July 8, 1890, Rila monastery, D. Spirov

The most typical readers' marginalia would say: "I [name] borrowed and read this book called [title] on this date." The "Let it be known" formula might precede it and a curse or blessing formula might conclude the statement. Readers would identify themselves by their first names, but after the middle of the 19th century, they would add their family names and professions.

Epigrams

Political and religious epigrams did not follow a formal documentary style and composition. The only element that consistently appeared in all epigrams was the *narratio* element (9 notes, or 100%). Authors occasionally included *datatio* (2 notes, or 22%), *locatio*, *sanctio*, and *apprecatio* (1 note each, or 11%), these marginalia did not have opening or closing formulae.

Epigrams were unique and demonstrate the unique personal style of authors' writing. Epigrams display a whole range of punctuation marks, rhetorical questions, figurative language and exclamations. The language and style of writing of epigrams featured symbolism and other literary techniques, including metaphors, epithets, and personifications, such as:

- *exclamations*: Ah! Oh!
- *metaphore*: The manuscript was portrayed "as the savior of the nation."
- *simile*: The Greeks were likened to "crafty wolves."
- *epithets*: The Greeks were called "heatless and evil."
- *personification*: A manuscript being able to lead and save a whole Bulgarian nation.
- *comparisons*: Before, people were foolish but righteous; but now they were intelligent but sinful.

Physical placement

Where did authors place marginalia attesting to interaction of individual with books? Although individual users did not follow any rigid pattern of behavior in placing their textual and graphic marginalia, authors inscribed one half of those marginalia in the

body of the manuscript (102 notes, top, side, bottom margins and middle inserts and after the text), and the front endpapers shared the same amount of notes as the back (52-51). Authors preferred especially the bottom margin (53), but also favored the front endpapers (38), back endpapers (33), and side margin (32). Those tendencies are illustrated in Table 10.6.

Type/ Location	Personal	Quill	Doodles	Inscriptions	Education	Readers	Epi-grams	Total
Front pastedown	0	3	4	3	0	3	1	14
Front endpapers	7	0	11	17	3	3	1	38
Top margin	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	5
Side margins	7	0	10	7	0	0	6	32
Middle inserts	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
Bottom margin	8	2	3	26	10	4	0	53
Multiple margins	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
After the text	2	1	5	0	3	0	0	9
Back endpaper	6	0	4	8	3	6	0	33
Back pastedown	3	1	4	4	1	3	1	18
Cover	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	35	7	46	67	22	19	9	205

Table 10.4: Manuscript location of individual-related interaction marginalia.

Personal marginalia

Where did authors place their personal marginalia in the manuscript?

Biographical and autobiographical marginalia appeared all over the blank pages and margins of the manuscript, although they gravitated to the body of the manuscript (19 notes). The earliest example, written in 1490, appeared after the main text. The most

favored locations, however, became the margins of the page, especially the bottom margin (eight notes) and the side margin (seven notes). Seven marginalia appeared on front endpapers and six on the back. Three cases of personal marginalia appeared on back pastedowns.

Specific practices of placement distinguished monastic and non-monastic personal marginalia. The study revealed that the monastic authors (22 notes) preferred the back blank pages (six notes) and the side margins (three notes). Non-monastic practices of placement (13 notes) varied widely, although non-monastic authors preferred the bottom margins (eight notes). Side margins, after the text,⁷³⁵ and bottom margins housed autobiographical marginalia⁷³⁶ more than biographical.

Trying the quill marginalia

While the typical location for earlier inscriptions of this type was in the side or bottom margin, written in a rather smaller script similar to the scribal script, the notes of later times displayed less fixed preference. Three later preferred locations existed: front pastedown with its larger area for elaboration (three notes),⁷³⁷ bottom margin (two notes, Figure 10.46),⁷³⁸ under the text,⁷³⁹ and back pastedown.⁷⁴⁰ The earliest dated example (1563) utilized the bottom margin.⁷⁴¹

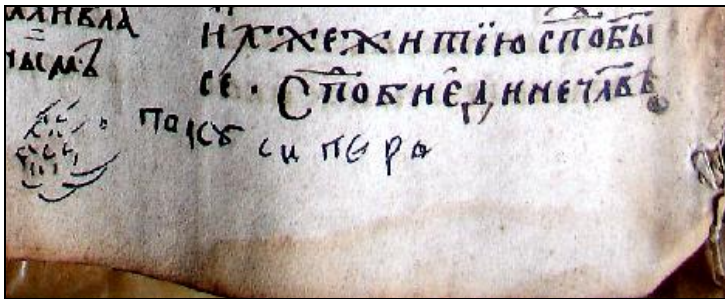


Figure 10.46: #194 *Euchologion Book*, p. 47b: "I tried my quill."

⁷³⁵ #118 *Menaion* (2 notes); #198 *Triodion*; #241 *Works of St. Cyril*.

⁷³⁶ #123 *Religious Book* (2 notes); #127 *Miscellany*; #341 *Kiriakodromion* (3 notes).

⁷³⁷ #93 *Menaion*; #134 *Damaskin*; #315 *Apostle Book*.

⁷³⁸ #194 *Euchologion*; #198 *Triodion*.

⁷³⁹ #66 *Octoechos*.

⁷⁴⁰ #338 *Service Book*.

⁷⁴¹ #198 *Triodion*.

Doodles and graphic marginalia

The front endpaper remained the most favored location (11 cases). Authors also preferred the side margin. In fact, the earliest dated marginalia (1578 and 1637) appeared in side margins. Monastic authors followed this pattern (eight on the front endpaper and seven in the side margin. Non-monastic authors did not demonstrate strong preferences).

Inscriptions

Of the 67 inscriptions, 35 appeared in the margins of manuscripts. Of these, 26 occupied the bottom margin (26 notes) and the front endpaper (17 notes). Thirty-two inscriptions appeared on blank pages.

Monastic inscriptions usually appeared on the front endpaper (14 notes) or bottom margin (11 notes). Monastic writers preferred to inscribe the front (16 notes) rather than the back (5 notes). The earliest example from *Miscellany*, dated 1619, has its inscription in the bottom margin. All four 18th century (1731, 1731, 1733, and 1733) inscriptions from Slepche monastery appear on the front endpaper.⁷⁴² The five inscriptions from Etropole monastery also demonstrate a preference for front endpapers.⁷⁴³

Non-monastic inscriptions appear mostly in the bottom margins (13 notes). Authors preferred the margins within manuscripts (20 notes) compared to blank pages (four front and seven back endpapers and pastedowns). The earliest dated example of an inscription from a non-monastic setting, from 1761, appears in the bottom margin.⁷⁴⁴ The majority of the bottom margin cases for non-monastic settings appear in the 19th century. Five bottom and two side margin inscriptions appear in a single manuscript from Kochino village.⁷⁴⁵

Education-related marginalia

Education related marginalia appeared more often in the bottom margins of manuscripts (10 notes). Of the 16 non-monastic manuscripts, five cases appeared in

⁷⁴² #340 *Gospel*.

⁷⁴³ #573 *Octoechos*; #86 *Menaion*.

⁷⁴⁴ #225 *Damaskin*.

⁷⁴⁵ #295 *Prologue*.

bottom margins as early as 1782 and as late as 1872. Monastic manuscripts provide three cases of marginalia appearing in the bottom margins. The typical location for education marginalia for non-monastic manuscripts was after the main text.⁷⁴⁶ Another possible location for non-monastic notes was the back endpaper and pastedown, with four cases dating from 1840 to 1871. The earliest marginalia of this category, from 1671 and 1716, appeared in the manuscripts from Germanski monastery on the back endpaper⁷⁴⁷ and on a back blank insert.⁷⁴⁸

As with personal marginalia, most education marginalia (14 of 22, 64%) appeared in the middle of manuscript rather than on the front or back blank pages. Not until 1899, 21 years after Bulgarian independence, did an education note appear in a top margin.⁷⁴⁹

Readers' marginalia

Nine readers' marginalia appeared on back blank pages of manuscripts, six on the back endpapers, and three on the back pastedowns. Borrowers of books left six notes on front blank pages, three on the front pastedowns, and three on the front endpapers. In four cases, borrowers placed their notes in the bottom margins.⁷⁵⁰ Clergy and monks preferred the front endpapers of manuscripts, while laypeople placed their notes on the back blank pages or in the bottom margins. Readers followed the practices of previous readers and placed their notes in bottom margins,⁷⁵¹ in the front,⁷⁵² or in the back.⁷⁵³

Epigrams

Six of nine epigrams occurred in the side margins in equal numbers in monastic and non-monastic manuscripts. Authors may have sought to hide their political statements and religious reflections in the margins. Todor Vrachanski placed three epigrams in three different locations in the side margins. One note from Seslavski

⁷⁴⁶ #13 *Gospel* (2 cases); #232 *Miscellany*.

⁷⁴⁷ #47 *Miscellany*.

⁷⁴⁸ #27 *Four Gospels*.

⁷⁴⁹ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁷⁵⁰ #72 *Octoechos*; #111 *Menaion*; #130 *Damaskin*.

⁷⁵¹ #130 *Damaskin* (2 notes).

⁷⁵² #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (4 notes).

⁷⁵³ #248 *Prologue*.

monastery extended from the top to the side margins of a *Psalter*.⁷⁵⁴ Todor Manastirski's epigrams occupied the side and the bottom margins or the bottom margin.⁷⁵⁵ In one single case, a note appeared on the back pastedown.⁷⁵⁶

Language and script

Which scripts and languages characterize marginalia attesting to individuals' interactions with the book?

Personal marginalia

All three scripts, the literary Semi-uncial (SU), the documentary cursive, and the popular New Uncial (NU), were distributed equally. NU script slightly predominated with 12 cases over SU (10) and cursive (12). Surprisingly, the early 1490 note was written in NU script, at a time when the formal SU script increased. During the 19th century, the non-monastic script frequencies were NU (eight notes), cursive (four notes), and SU (one note). Monastic manuscripts were written in NU (three notes), SU (five notes) and cursive (five notes).

Laypeople wrote in more irregular and "illiterate" NU script.⁷⁵⁷ They wrote personal marginalia frequently in vernacular Bulgarian (20 cases, 1773 to 1871) or a transitional mixture of Church Slavonic (CS, eight notes) and vernacular. The earliest note, dated 1490, appeared in vernacular Bulgarian.⁷⁵⁸ Lay authors inscribing in non-monastic manuscripts used the vernacular, except for a *Psalter* (1710) and a *Euchologion* (1871).⁷⁵⁹ CS-vernacular was typical for notes originating in Seslavski, Cherepish, Pshinski, and Dolni Lozen monasteries.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁴ #3 *Psalter*.

⁷⁵⁵ #28 *Four Gospels*.

⁷⁵⁶ #225 *Damaskin*.

⁷⁵⁷ *Miscellany* #47, German monastery, 1812; #247 *Prologue*, Sts. Kuzma and Damian monastery; #343 *Prologue*, Pshinski monastery; #28 *Gospel*, Boboshevo monastery.

⁷⁵⁸ #58 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁵⁹ #272 *Psalter*; #123 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁶⁰ #315 *Apostle Book*; #44 *Typicon*; #353 *Gospel*; #46 *Service Book* (2 notes); #343 *Bible*.

Table 10.5 demonstrates the different combinations of script and language in personal marginalia.

Script/ Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	NM: 1735			NM: 1
CS and vernacular	M: 1789, 1739, 1832, 1839 NM: 1710	M: 1835, 1838, 1856		M: 7 NM: 1
Vernacular	M: 1802 NM: 1842, 2 undated	NM: 1857, 1857, 1859, 1859	M: 1773, 1812, 1860-1864) NM: 1490, 1825, 1826, 1832, (1849-1855), 1856, 1871, 3 undated	M: 4 NM: 17
Modern Bulgarian		M: 1876, 1882		M: 2
Russian		NM: 3 undated		NM: 3
Totals	M: 5 NM: 5	M: 5 NM: 7	M: 3 NM: 10	M: 13 NM: 22

Table 10.5: Comparison of scripts and language in personal marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

The table demonstrates a relationship between script and language. For example, the NU script, written by non-monastic authors from the 19th century, combines with vernacular (13 notes). However, the earliest example of personal marginalia provided evidence of this development even earlier, in 1490. The traditional relationship between SU and CS scripts occurred only twice in these marginalia in the early 18th century. Monastic scribes authored most cases of marginalia that displayed SU-vernacular relationship (five notes), between 1710 and 1839. Cursive script appeared with a wide range of languages and dialect variations: Russian, modern Bulgarian from monastic settings from the last quarter of the 19th century, CS-vernacular (three notes) for monastic, and vernacular (four notes) for non-monastic authors.

Trying the quill marginalia

Five of the seven notes displayed the more literate semi-uncial (SU) script.⁷⁶¹ Apparently, those writers received formal training in schools and perhaps wrote these marginalia as writing exercises. The later-date two cases of new uncial (NU) script appeared in "the poem of the fly" in a *Damaskin* and the short marginal statement in a *Euchologion*.⁷⁶² Table 10.6 demonstrates the variety of script-language variations in quill marginalia.

A combination of Church Slavonic (CS) and vernacular languages appeared in four cases, three of which came from rural settings⁷⁶³ and one from Seslavski monastery.⁷⁶⁴ The pure vernacular appear in three cases from non-monastic setting.⁷⁶⁵ Vernacular language typically appeared written in NU script, full of local dialect and grammatical errors, and disorganized. The combination of CS and vernacular languages usually appeared in the SU script. The CS-vernacular hybrid, written in SU script, was both the most typical case and the earliest example (1563).

Language/ Script	Semi-uncial	New uncial	Totals
Church Slavonic	NM: 1 undated	0	NM: 1
Church Slavonic and vernacular	M: 1563, 1 undated NM: 1 undated	0	M: 2 NM: 1
Vernacular	M: 1 undated NM: 1 undated	NM: 1 undated	M: 1 NM: 2
Totals	M: 3 NM: 3	0	M: 3 NM: 3

Table 10.6: Comparison of scripts and language in quill marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

⁷⁶¹ #66 *Octoechos*; #93 *Menaion*; #198 *Triodion*; #315 *Apostle Book*; #338 *Service Book*.

⁷⁶² #134 *Damaskin*; #194 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁶³ #93 *Menaion*; #198 *Triodion*; #338 *Service Book*.

⁷⁶⁴ #315 *Apostle Book*.

⁷⁶⁵ #66 *Octoechos*; #134 *Damaskin*; #194 *Euchologion*.

Inscriptions

Inscriptions appear written in the three major script styles that corresponded to the literacy of the writer: semi-uncial (SU) script demonstrated that the author received formal education, and typically appeared in monastic settings during the 18th century. New uncial (NU) script spread during the 19th century, and crudely imitated SU and appeared in 21 cases. The faster documentary cursive script, dominated also in the 19th century. Cursive occurred in combination with NU in 21 cases, alone with 16 cases, and in combination with SU in eight cases.

Monastic scriptoria produced 17 SU script inscriptions compared to the five in the SU script in non-monastic settings. NU script characterized the non-monastic writers. These inscriptions written in new uncial script originated from three villages (Lokorsko, Zhelyava, and Kochino) and three towns (Lukovit, Teteven, and Skopie). The transitional SU- mixed with cursive script typified the Etropole monastery scriptoria in the first half of the 18th century (Figure 10.47)⁷⁶⁶ and Pshinski monastery.⁷⁶⁷

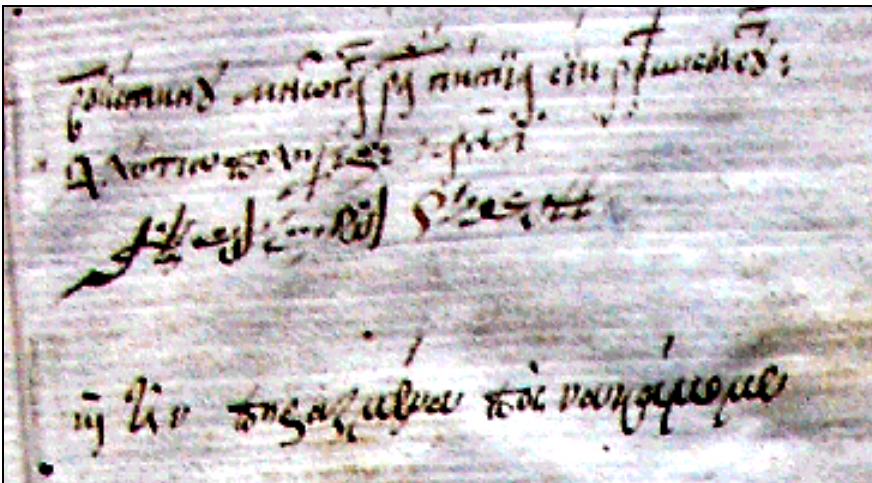


Figure 10.47: #86 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery, p. 1.

Only six of 15 SU inscriptions have dates, making development of this style of book-hand difficult to determine. The earliest marginal inscription from 1619 appear in a SU-cursive script. Non-monastic SU inscriptions appear in 1760 in Teteven. The non-

⁷⁶⁶ #86 *Menaion*; #90 *Menaion*; #573 *Octoechos*.

⁷⁶⁷ #326 *Menaion*.

monastic NU script appears in 1730, and the monastic appeared even later, in the second decade of the 19th century.

Inscriptions demonstrate Church Slavonic (CS) (24 notes) and vernacular with dialectal variation (23 notes) languages. Nineteen cases show evidence of a transitional CS-vernacular variation: four cases from two monasteries (Etropole and Jakovshtica) and three cases from the villages of Lokorsko and Kochino (Figure 10.48). Examples with Russian features appeared in the printed *Works of St. Cyril*.⁷⁶⁸

More inscriptions written in CS came from monastic manuscripts (18 notes), compared to non-monastic manuscripts (six notes). The earliest examples of CS, appeared in monastic manuscript inscriptions originating in 1619. The typical language of the non-monastic inscriptions was the vernacular (16 notes), compared to the monastic inscriptions (seven notes), and came from the period between 1728 and 1841. The mixture of vernacular and CS came as early as 1563 in Jakovshtica monastery and continued until 1831, as far as the dated evidence shows. Twelve of the 19 cases came from monastic manuscripts.

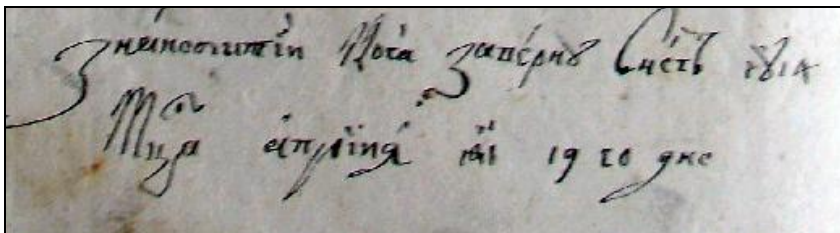


Figure 10.48: #295 *Prologue*, village of Kochino (1814), p. 29b.

Date, location, script, and language clustered together. From Table 10.9, several clusterings of data correlate the earliest inscriptions with monastic origins, the literary Church Slavonic language, and semi-uncial script. Some of the earlier examples of non-monastic SU script appears written in a crude and untrained SU script (three note) from 18th century. Cursive appeared in combination with CS (four notes) and CS- vernacular (five notes) language variations and appears as typical of 19th century monastic settings.

With the spread of schools in towns and cities in the 19th century, the literacy movement spread to more secular areas. This movement became associated with the

⁷⁶⁸ #241 *Works of St. Cyril*.

vernacular of the day to make it comprehensible to the lay people. On the other hand, the spread of Russian printed books affected the adoption of NU script as scribes imitated the printed script from those Russian sources. NU script appears as relatively crude, disorganized, and unaligned in appearance (16 cases occur in non-monastic manuscripts). Nineteenth century inscriptions appear mostly in NU non-monastic inscriptions (12 notes) and in others written by laypeople, possibly pilgrims or readers appearing in monastic manuscripts (four notes). Laypeople wrote in the vernacular in non-monastic manuscript inscriptions (18 cases compared to 6 in monastic manuscripts).

Table 10.7 demonstrates the different combinations of script and language typical for inscriptions.

Script Language	SU	SU and cursive	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1731, 1733, 1733, 1791, 8 undated NM: 1754, 1794, 2 undated	M: 1705, 1712, 3 undated NM: 1619	M: 1852 NM: 1861, -		M: 18 NM: 7
CS -- vernacular	NM: 1778	M: 1705, 2 undated	M: 1816 5 undated NM: 3 undated	M: 2 undated NM: 1831, 2 undated	M: 11 NM: 7
Vernacular	M: 1728, 2 undated NM: 1761, 1789	NM: 1 undated		M: 1814, 3 undated NM: 1819, 1831, 1832, 1841, 1859, 1872 6 undated	M: 7 NM: 15
Russian			NM: 1811, 1826		NM: 2
Totals	M: 15 NM: 7	M: 8 NM: 2	M: 7 NM: 7	M: 6 NM: 15	M: 36 NM: 31

Table 10.7: Comparison of scripts and language in marginalia with inscriptions. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Education-related marginalia

Students and teachers wrote in three scripts: the new uncial (NU) that imitated print (14 notes), the traditional semi-uncial (SU), of the literate class (four notes), and the documentary cursive (four notes). SU characterized monastic notes from Boboshevo, Cherepish and Germanski monasteries.⁷⁶⁹ SU appeared in 1671,⁷⁷⁰ while cursive began in 1782.⁷⁷¹ NU exemplified the handwriting style appearing in 19th century non-monastic settings.⁷⁷²

The vernacular appeared most often (14 notes) in education-related marginalia from non-monastic settings. A combination of Church Slavonic (CS) with vernacular (five notes) came from monasteries such as Boboshevo, Cherepish, and Pshinksi monasteries,⁷⁷³ and Beli Lom village.⁷⁷⁴ "Pure" CS was rare, but still existed in 1671.⁷⁷⁵ A note written in 1782 displays a hybrid language of CS, vernacular, and RCS.⁷⁷⁶

Table 10.8 demonstrates the relationship between script and language. Education marginalia first appeared written in the formal SU script in combination with CS and transformed gradually into a CS-vernacular mixture with SU as early as 1716, according to our evidence. NU always appeared with the vernacular (14 notes), most (13) from non-monastic settings, written by laypeople. Teachers left 11 marginalia in the vernacular compared to three cases left by students. Students produced all the cases of SU, while teachers preferred cursive.

⁷⁶⁹ #27 *Gospel*; #44 *Typicon*; #47 *Miscellany*.

⁷⁷⁰ #47 *Miscellany*.

⁷⁷¹ #161 *Gospel*.

⁷⁷² 1820; 1835; 1840; 1847; 1856; 1857; 1865; 1870; 1871; 1872; 1899.

⁷⁷³ #27 *Gospel*; #28 *Four Gospels*; #44 *Typicon*; #177 *Euchologion*..

⁷⁷⁴ #232 *Miscellany*.

⁷⁷⁵ #47 *Miscellany*.

⁷⁷⁶ #161 *Gospel*. printed.

Script/ Language	Semi- uncial	Cursive	New uncial	Totals
Church Slavonic	M: 1671			M: 1
Church Slavonic and vernacular	M: 1716, 1 undated NM: 1 undated	M: 1821, 1862		M: 4 NM: 1
Vernacular		NM: 1 undated	M: 1820 NM: 1840, 1847, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1865, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1899, 3 undated	M: 1 NM: 14
CS-Russian		NM: 1782		NM: 1
Totals	M: 3 NM: 1	M: 2 NM: 1	M: 1 NM: 13	M: 6 NM: 16

Table 10.8: Comparison of scripts, language, and provenance in education-related marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Readers' marginalia

Readers' marginalia display four types of scripts: new uncial (NU), semi-uncial (SU), cursive, and a mixture of SU and cursive. The earliest example of readers' marginalia appeared in SU script. Seven cases used the more literate SU script that came from monastic settings (Buhovo and Etropole monastery) and from earlier periods.⁷⁷⁷ Three undated cases of SU script originated in rural settings.⁷⁷⁸ All five notes written in NU came from Sofia, dated between 1838 and 1858.

Due to lack of formal training in the documentary style, lay readers inscribed the books they read without following the formulaic style of medieval documents. Still, readers' script reveals a certain level of formal training in formal writing (74%, including SU, cursive, and SU-cursive).

Ten of 19 notes used the vernacular language rich in local dialects and came from churches in Sofia. Four cases used modern Bulgarian from the second half of the 19th

⁷⁷⁷ #246 *Prologue* (1778, 1803).

⁷⁷⁸ #60 *Euchologion*; #72 *Octoechos*.

century and came from rural and urban centers.⁷⁷⁹ Church Slavonic (CS) occurred in three instances of monastic and one non-monastic case.⁷⁸⁰

Script/Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1896, 1 undated NM: 1 undated	0	0	M: 2 NM: 1
CS and vernacular	NM: 1778, 1 undated	0	0	NM: 2
Vernacular	NM: 1803, 1 undated	NM: 3 undated	NM: 1838, 1838, 1838, 1858, 1 undated	NM: 10
Modern Bulgarian (with Russianisms)	0	M: 1890 NM: 1854, 1881, 1882	0	M: 1 NM: 3
Totals	M: 2 NM: 5	M: 1 NM: 6	NM: 5	M: 3 NM: 16

Table 10.9: Comparison of scripts and language in reader marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Table 10.9 demonstrates the comparison of script-language in reader's marginalia. The table demonstrates a relationship between NU script and the vernacular language.⁷⁸¹ Perhaps printed books, used in non-monastic centers, inspired the less educated lay audiences to apply their "rough" imitative NU script. Cursive correlated to modern Bulgarian in all three cases.⁷⁸² All examples of cursive written in the vernacular came from the 1771 copy of *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*. SU corresponded to Church Slavonic (CS), traditionally practiced and used in liturgical and other monastic activities (three notes). The earliest example from 1778 from Sofia appear in a combination of CS with vernacular elements and had a very rough and disorderly manner of writing.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁹ #130 *Damaskin*; #137 *History*; #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁷⁸⁰ #60 *Euchologion*.

⁷⁸¹ #4 *Psalter*; #246 *Prologue*; #248 *Prologue*.

⁷⁸² #130 *Damaskin*; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁷⁸³ #246 *Prologue*.

Epigrams and reflections marginalia

Cursive script appeared in most cases (six of nine epigrams). New uncial (NU) script appeared in two religious reflections. The five examples of political epigrams represented skillfully written cursive in combination with Church Slavonic (CS) mixed with Russian words.⁷⁸⁴ Two examples of religious reflections appear written in CS-mixed with vernacular.⁷⁸⁵ Three cases of CS combined with vernacular, and one single case with semi-uncial book-hand. Table 10.10 demonstrates the relationship between script and language in epigrams.

Script Language	Semi-uncial	Cursive	New uncial	Totals
Church Slavonic	M: 1 undated			M: 1
Church Slavonic and vernacular		NM: 1 undated	M: 1 undated NM: 1 undated	M: 1 NM: 2
CS-Russian		M: 1862, 1 undated NM: 1864, 2 undated		M: 2 NM: 3
Totals	M: 1	M: 2 NM: 4	M: 1 NM: 1	M: 4 NM: 5

Table 10.10: Comparison of scripts and language in epigrams. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Summary

Personal marginalia

Personal marginalia contained biographical or autobiographical information that resembled diaries or family chronicles. Personal marginalia demonstrate not only an increase in the number of notes that describe personal events, such as birth, marriage, death, tonsure of clergy, and employment, such an increase in number implies an increase in the writers' self-awareness.

⁷⁸⁴ #28 *Four Gospels*; #182 *Panegirik*.

⁷⁸⁵ #3 *Psalter*; #225 *Damaskin*.

Although the earliest example of personal marginalia appeared in 1490, these marginalia became more prominent in the 19th century. This development corresponded to the increasing level of secular education among laypeople and private ownership of books. People desired to leave a personal memory of themselves or of other important people on the pages of manuscripts. Personal marginalia became the only channel of self-expression for the laypeople. They informed about the date, the story about particular event of significance, and the appeal to preserve the memory about the event or person: "Let it be known." Being written by laypeople with limited educational training, personal marginalia were characterized by the Cyrillic script and the vernacular language. Personal marginalia are significant because they demonstrate a gradual shift from the anonymous and monastic to the identified and non-monastic and from the biographical to the autobiographical.

The pilot study, based on the anthology *Pisahme da se znae*, yielded 30 readers' notes, all of them appearing from the 19th century. This constituted 2.4 % of all marginalia in the anthology. Among the most popular private reading materials were devotional books such as *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, a *Damaskin* (anthology of popular religious stories in the vernacular), and a *Prologue*.

Trying the quill marginalia

Occasionally, scribes tested their writing tools beside the text. The "Quill" marginal notes remain as some of the most archaic forms and styles of writing of marginalia. Original scribes wrote while copying a manuscript. Students tested their writing tools during writing practices. Gradually, they evolved from the simple "I tried" to more elaborate notes that included variations on a humorous reference to "the poem of the fly." It seems that authors applied creativeness by endowing the fly with personal characteristics that might correspond to a certain level of liberation from the traditional norms and restrictions of writing. Quill marginalia remaining anonymous followed a rather informal writing style that lacked formulaic statements. Yet, these marginalia are valuable testimony for the development of this whole category of marginalia from simple

to elaborate from scribes to later users of the manuscript, and from tests of writing tools to creative writing of poems.

Doodles and graphic marginalia

Graphic marginalia such as doodles, scribbles, drawings, and markings appeared for a variety of reasons and present a plethora of imagery that reflected a vivid imagination and personality. Clergymen, priests, monks, and scribes authored the majority of these graphic marginalia creating many elaborated sub-types.

The scribes produced the earliest markings to the central text, whose pointing hands marked important elements such as the colophon. Judging by the presence of these marginalia, students exercised their hands and imitated older examples of decorative elements such as initials, floral, anthropomorphic, and zoomorphic elements of the prevalent decorative styles of the times.

Graphic marginalia appeared mostly in monastic manuscripts. The lack of authorship and dating characterize them as informal. Still, they remain a highly valuable source for determining the creative and imaginative power of scribes, decorators, students, and readers during the Ottoman period.

Inscriptions

South Slavic inscriptions produced during the 17th to 19th centuries also demonstrated informal features of writing. These inscriptions remain the shortest statements consisting only of the name of the author and the act of writing in the book (*subscriptio*), and including sometimes the location and a date.

The reason for inscribing might be inferred from the book genre and the distinction between lay and clergy writers. The corpus of inscriptions demonstrates that both clergy and laypeople inscribed books in equal numbers and used mostly liturgical books. Some of the earlier examples of non-monastic SU script appear written in a crude and untrained handwriting (three notes) from the 18th century. Pilgrims preferred *Gospel* books and signed them as "most sinful [name]," while readers and students perhaps

signed devotional books as proof of achieving a milestone in their education and literacy pursuits.

The practice of dating inscriptions is evenly distributed between monastic and non-monastic authors. A certain monk authored the earliest inscription in this corpus in 1619. Inscriptions originated in monastic settings, grew greatly during the 18th century and continued during the 19th century as the practice spread predominately to non-monastic centers.

Although inscriptions appeared throughout books, the majority of inscriptions gravitate to the bottom margins, while monastic authors preferred front endpapers. In the 17th to 18th centuries, most inscriptions appeared in monastic manuscripts, written by clergy in the formal and literary Church Slavonic language with the semi-uncial and documentary cursive book-hands. With the introduction of printed books and the rise of the level of literacy among laypeople in the 19th century, the practice of inscribing books spread to non-monastic centers. Inscriptions appear in the crude and untrained book hand known as new uncial and used the vernacular language rich in dialectal variations, adopting foreign words from Turkish and Russian.

In sum, inscriptions during the 17th to 19th centuries presented evidence of the democratization of the Orthodox Church and the interaction of laypeople with the religious community. Laypeople inscribed books as a sign of memory to acknowledge the personal achievements of being able to read and write.

Education-related marginalia

Bulgarian education began in monastic establishments in remote mountainous areas in Western Bulgaria, providing elementary literacy for future clergy members and laypeople. Education also served the growing economic needs of the times. Gradually, *taxidiot* (traveling) monks taught the youth of urban and rural areas. After the 17th century, more educated students became grammarians and *daskals* and taught using their daily vernacular language. Students learned by imitation initially from liturgical manuscripts, but later also from devotional books and chronicles. During this time, education marginalia reflected this process of democratization of religion and education,

which also included the vernacularization of the Bulgarian language. During the 19th century, these marginalia reflected an increase in the economic prosperity of Christians residing in towns.

Education-related marginalia describe the circumstances of learning or teaching, the curriculum, the textbooks, and the locations of centers of education. Students inscribed manuscripts to commemorate their "graduation." Teachers also inscribed to commemorate achieving their status as teachers.

Education-related marginalia bear witness to the survival and development of Slavic culture. Education became accessible to the lay population and provided a sense of identity and self-esteem at having achieved literacy. Slavic education and the establishment of new schools for the general population was absolutely necessary, not only for supplying Christian clergy members and artisans but also for the growing need for literacy in economic life and for physical survival during the declining Ottoman Empire. Encouraged by the Church and especially Paisii, education and knowledge of the history became the priority before the simple survival of everyday life for the Christian population in its struggle for achieving personal and national liberation from the foreign rulers of their native land.

Readers' marginalia

Private reading occurred relatively late in the 19th century urban and rural churches when compared with the reading habits, practices, and readers' responses happening in the West. Although for centuries, monastic libraries lent manuscripts to the monastic community and monastic schools, the "Book" remained practically inaccessible to the lay population. The practice began to change around the dawn of the 19th century. The "Book" became more accessible. Readers' marginalia tell the story of excited readers with a sincere desire for learning and reverence for the "Book." Readers' marginalia demonstrate the growing excitement for private reading.

Marginalia that mentioned private reading corroborates other sources that attest to learning, private book ownership, and creativity. Readers' notes demonstrated the interest of laypeople in new genres such as history, hagiography, and the *Damaskins*. Written by

laypeople in the vernacular and in an untrained calligraphy script, readers' marginalia were brief semi-formal statements. Still, they planted the seed for new library practices and prototypes of contemporary "check-out" slips in libraries. Readers documented reading, and, borrowing, and by writing these brief but emotionally charged statements of personal achievement, they encouraged and attracted new readers.

Epigrams

Towards the end of the Ottoman period, Bulgarians became more aware of their nation and their creative ability. Epigrams expressed this awareness of one's creativity by applying wide range of poetic devices such as exclamations, metaphors, similes and personifications. These perhaps naive writers did not write about themselves, neither bragged about their own talents, but mostly about the political mores of their times, anticipating political change. Epigrams reflected the growth of resistance to foreign political and religious dominion and demonstrated the growth of Bulgarian national self-awareness (Figure 10.49).

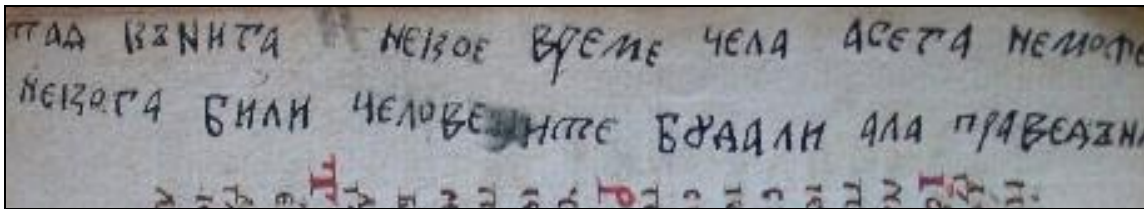


Figure 10.49: #3 *Psalter*, village of Krivodol. Translation: This book, time ago, could be read, but now, it cannot. Time ago, people were fools but righteous, but now, they are intelligent but sinful.

11 THE WORLD BETWEEN: MARGINALIA ABOUT INTERACTIONS BETWEEN THE LAYPEOPLE AND THE CHURCH

Most South Slavic marginalia was created by by monastic or ecclesiastical scribes and clergy members. However, this marginalia also document the connection between the Church and laypeople, through pilgrimages and acts of charity. Four distinct types of marginalia document this connection.

The first type, "pilgrimage marginalia," documented laypeoples' visitis to monasteries to pay homage to saints' feast days or relics. The second type, "commemoration lists," provided lists of pilgrims' names. The third type, "donation marginalia," documented the donation of money, goods, or livestock. The fourth type, "church-related repairs," documented the act of repair and construction of small structures and the process of witnessing donations from patrons of the church with more income or higher status in society. A fifth type, "book sponsorship marginalia," could have been added also to this group of marginalia, due to its similar orientation toward charity from the community, however, this category clustered around the theme of book production and history. Sometimes, two or more types of marginalia appeared together on manuscript pages. Authors imitated each other in placement, scripts, and formulae.

Pilgrimages marginalia

The Orthodox Church has a long tradition of pilgrimages, the journeys that devoted Christian believers undertake as an act of penance, spiritual discipline, or thanksgiving to God and the saints. The practice is common to many religions. The conversion of Emperor Constantine in 326 A.D. promoted the Christian tradition of visiting holy places associated with Christ, but it was his mother, Empress Helen, who claimed to have had revelations about the locations of holy places and encouraged shrine, church, and monastery building and that pilgrims could subsequently visit.⁷⁸⁶ However, as early as 200 A.D., Christians such as Melito of Sardis (d. 190 A.D.) and Alexander,

⁷⁸⁶ F. L. Cross, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 326.

bishop of Capadocia (d. 251 A.D.) traveled to Palestine and Sinai. The nun Egeria from South Gaul or North Spain wrote around 400 A.D. *The Pilgrimage of Egeria* after visiting Sinai, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor.⁷⁸⁷

In the beginning, monks and clergy visited the biblical holy places. The most popular pilgrimage destinations became Jerusalem, Mount Athos, and Mount Sinai in Egypt. Bulgarian presbyter Kozma discussed pilgrimages to the Holy Land in his 10th-century sermon known as the *Oration against the Bogomils*.⁷⁸⁸ The earliest evidence of Bulgarian pilgrimages comes from 1375, from a manuscript at the Mount Sinai monastery of St. Catherine. Later, the names of laypeople appeared in commemoration lists kept in manuscripts known as *Kondika*. For example, *Hadzhi* "pilgrim to the holy land" Nikola from Svisthov town visited Mount Sinai in 1536.⁷⁸⁹ The commemoration lists of the Bulgarian-owned Zograph monastery at Mount Athos documented pilgrimages for the period 1527-1728.⁷⁹⁰

Pilgrimages to holy places and monasteries during the Ottoman period became a common practice for Orthodox laypeople in response to the spiritual and intellectual support they received from the monastic community. Mount Athos and Rila monasteries established *metochion* (chapel-schools) in different cities of the Balkans, where travelling monks, known as *taxidiots*, established schools to educate while collecting funds for their monasteries.

Terms relating to pilgrimages varied in their emphasis. Byzantines applied ζενοϛ (*xenos*) to denote pilgrims as resident aliens, classical Latin used *peregrinus* (foreigner or alien),⁷⁹¹ and Russian used *strannichestvo* (wanderings, journey by foot). The Bulgarian term for pilgrimage, *poklonenie*, denotes kneeling, which usually happens during prayer and represents humbleness of spirit. During the Ottoman period, Orthodox monasteries became centers of education, interaction, and exchange among Orthodox laypeople and

⁷⁸⁷Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997), pp. 921-922.

⁷⁸⁸S. and Danova Gjurova, N., *Kniga za Bulgarskite Hadzhii [Book About Bulgarian Pilgrims .* (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo Marin Drinov, 1995), p. 7.

⁷⁸⁹Ibid., p. 231.

⁷⁹⁰Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁹¹"Pilgrim" in Simson, *Oxford English Dictionary*.

monks.⁷⁹² All Eastern Orthodox monasteries, except Mount Athos that allowed only men, remained open to all nationalities without ethnic restrictions. Greeks could visit Bulgarian monasteries, and Bulgarians could visit Greek monasteries.

Few Bulgarian Christians were able to afford the travel to Mount Sinai or Jerusalem. The ability to embark on pilgrimages depended on the financial status of the pilgrim. Stricken by poverty, ordinary Bulgarians struggled to survive the taxation and usually could not afford the time, funds, or risk of such an endeavor during the Ottoman period. They considered a pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a heroic feat, or *podvig*.⁷⁹³ According to the account left by merchants Todoraki Tsenov and Peter Avramov, the journey required approximately eight months and 5,000 to 9,000 grosha.⁷⁹⁴ Those who completed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land received the Arabic honorific *hadzhi* (*hadzhyika*, feminine). The honorific bestowed the ultimate social recognition on that person. Poorer people with limited financial resources could afford to visit only the local monasteries.

Through pilgrims' contributions and solicitations by *taxidiots*, monasteries survived and contributed to the iconographic arts, manuscript production, and the education movement. The commemoration lists preserved at Zograph, Boyana, Slepche, Etropole, and Glozhene monasteries indicate that Bulgarian Christians invested in these pilgrimages for their personal salvation. Laypeople believed that they could "buy salvation," even that their pilgrimages would ensure the prosperity and good health of their families.⁷⁹⁵ The Eastern Orthodox Church never endorsed the idea of "purchasing" personal salvation:

Money cannot purchase personal salvation. The Orthodox believes that all things belong to God and that we are stewards of His gifts. The tithe is a very old practice of discipline. Pilgrimages or contributions to monasteries do not grant personal

⁷⁹² Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule*, p. 101.

⁷⁹³ Gjurova, *Kniga za Bulgarskite Hadzhii [Book About Bulgarian Pilgrims]*, p. 11.

⁷⁹⁴ Gjurova and Danova, p. 11.

⁷⁹⁵ Gjurova, *Kniga Za Bulgarskite Hadzhii [Book About Bulgarian Pilgrims]*, p. 12.

salvation, but is away of asking the monastic clergy to offer prayers for salvation.⁷⁹⁶

Commemorations of pilgrims, clergy, sponsors, and benefactors

Commemoration lists document the pilgrimages and visits of laypeople to monasteries. In the Roman Catholic Church, such lists were known as "beadrolls."⁷⁹⁷ The tradition of mentioning persons, living or departed, in the prayers of the Eucharistic service remained the same in both Eastern and Western Churches. Typically, commemoration lists included the first names of living and departed people without specifying the occupations, except as implied by the monastic tonsure titles such as nun, monk, hieromonk, and priest. The person responsible for their family's commemoration appeared with the title "blessed."⁷⁹⁸ When the departed were commemorated, the note would state "*Pomeni Gospodi raba svoia* [name]" (Remember, o God, your servant), without explicitly stating that the person had died.

Traditionally, priests read commemoration lists during the Divine Liturgy and the preceding service known as the *Proskomedie*. During the *Proskomedie*, the priest cut the *prosphora* (holy bread) and commemorated Christ, Theotokos, the saints, the church authorities, and the members of the parish. The theological foundation behind this practice upon the belief of the Communion of the Saints, both living and departed. As the priest cut crumbs for the living and dead and placed them on the *discos* [plate from Greek], he commemorated the people. Next, priests read the names of the living and departed people again during the Great Entrance procession as the priest carried the Holy Gifts. People who wanted to be commemorated customarily baked their own *prosphora* bread.

⁷⁹⁶ Elias Nasr, Very Reverend, e-mail, February 26, 2007.

⁷⁹⁷ The etymology of the term "beadroll" comes from the string of beads for praying; the rosary. Simson, *Oxford English Dictionary* (cited).

⁷⁹⁸ Such cases of the title "blessed" appear before the names of Vuchko (pp. 5, 20b), Dimitur (p. 5), Dogancia Bluskov (p. 6b), Georgi (p. 7), Ignat (pp. 8a, 10a), Dochin (p. 9b), Mladen (p. 20b), Akim (p. 21a), Kotse (p. 21a), Kir Velin (p. 23a), and Stocho (p. 24a).

Tertullian first mentioned the practice of praying for the dead is a duty of the Church.⁷⁹⁹ St. Augustine regularly prayed for his mother, Monica. St. Cyprian mentioned that the practice existed in 300 CE. A century later, St. John Chrysostom testified that the practice was still popular. St. Theodosius visited a man and instructed him to pray for the departed, because the commemoration of people during the Diving Liturgy possessed greater beneficial power than the prayers of the saints.⁸⁰⁰

The commemoration lists were designated sometimes as liturgical diptychs. The term came from *diptychon* (dis - twice, and ptysein - fold). *Diptychs*, kept in the altar, consisted of two folded plates, scrolls, or adjacent pages of booklets and included the names of the living and the departed. The practice of writing on *diptychs* was well known since 600 BCE, although in 400-500 CE a distinction arose between profane and liturgical *diptychs*. The profane diptychs functioned as personal chronicles, including the important biographical events of a prominent public figure. The liturgical *diptychs* commemorated the living and departed members of the Church, especially the ecclesiastical authorities and the benefactors of the church, such as those as who offered the bread and wine for the Holy Communion. *Diptychs* served multiple purposes besides the commemorative function, such as baptismal registers or lists of victims of massacres or natural disasters.

South Slavic commemoration lists were known also as *pomenik* (from *pomnya*, to remember, commemorate). Wooden diptychs remain the oldest form of commemoration lists, usually kept in the altar on the table of oblation, where the priest would prepare the holy bread and perform the commemoration of the living and departed. Bulgarian monastic manuscripts contained inserted blank pages for commemoration. The number of filled pages indicated the financial status of the monastery and the charity of the local laypeople. More popular monasteries that pilgrims often visited, such as the Bulgarian Zograph monastery at Mount Athos, designated a manuscript, known as *kinovio* (from *koinos*, Greek, for common), bearing the names of donors to be commemorated during

⁷⁹⁹ Tertullian, *De exhortatione castitatis*, 11.2; *De monogamia*, 10.4, quoted in C. Carozzi, *Eschatologie Et Au-Delà: Recherches Sur L'apocalypse De Paul* (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1994).

⁸⁰⁰ S. Rose, *The Soul after Death* (Platina, CA: St. Herman of Alaska Brotherhood, 1980), pp. 197-203.

every liturgy. The earliest examples of *pomeniks* (commemoration manuscripts) featured the names of historical figures, tsars, rulers, and sponsors. With the Zograph *pomenik*, other noteworthy examples included Bigorski, Vuneshki, Treskavecki, Slepchenski, and Boyanski commemoration manuscripts.⁸⁰¹

Donations by pilgrims and other benefactors

A very prominent category of marginalia designated as donation marginalia commemorate contributions of goods to monasteries and non-monastic churches. Laypeople regularly patronized monastic communities and provided material goods for the sustenance of the community. These acts of charity usually happened during pilgrimages to the monasteries and included donations of money for sponsoring manuscript production or larger church-related repairs projects (see Sponsorship Marginalia, above). They also gave goods, including products necessary for the liturgical services (oil, beeswax for candles, incense, wheat), linen, farm animals (sheep, lambs, calves, etc.), land, and equipment such as a mill.

Ottoman prohibitions concerning Church-related repairs

Marginalia that document church-related repairs provide important historical information about the history of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. These marginalia witness and document the efforts of the Christian population to repair existing churches rather than to build new churches, due to the prohibitions of Ottoman laws.

The so-called *dhimmi* "protected person" of the Ottoman Empire, including the Christian population, suffered social restrictions and regulations under the Pact/Covenant of Umar, paying taxes such as the head tax (*jizyeh*) and the exempt tax (*kharaj*).⁸⁰² The *Pact of Umar*, a 7th century peace accord accepted by the Caliph Umar⁸⁰³ from the

⁸⁰¹ E. Kotseva, "Pomenik" [Commemoration Lists], in *Starobulgarska Literatura*, ed. D. Petkanova (Sofia: Universitsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 1997), p. 377.

⁸⁰² C. Glasse, "People of the Book," in *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. C. Glasse (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2001), p. 32. D. Litman and Bat Ye'or, "Protected People under Islam," in *The Myth of Islamic Tolerance.*, ed. R. Spencer (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005), pp. 92-95.

⁸⁰³ Umar Ibn Abd Al-Aziz (682-720) gave the People of the Book (*dhimmi*s) freedom of religion but limited their religious practices to their homes. L. Adamec, *Historical Dictionary of Islam* (Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2001), p. 263.

Christians of Syria, formed the basis for later interactions between Muslims and non-Muslims and imposed specific obligations on non-Muslims.

When thou camest into our land we asked of thee safety for our lives and the people of our religion, and we imposed these terms upon ourselves; not to build a church, convent, chapel, monk's hermitage, not to repair what is dilapidated of our churches nor any of them that are in Muslim quarters, . . . not to beat the *nakus* [bell], to display a cross on them [the churches], not to carry in procession a cross or our Book, . . . not to keep arms nor put them in our houses nor wear swords.⁸⁰⁴

Although Jews and Christians were considered to be "People of the Book," the Doctors of Islamic Law left the Law open to interpretation. Another *Law of the Kuffar* (infidel) subjected all polytheists (*mashrikun*) to restrictions and even to capital punishment.⁸⁰⁵ These laws applied to Christians who believed in the Holy Trinity, considering them as polytheists. Non-Muslims were restricted in the construction and repair of their religious buildings.⁸⁰⁶ Christians were allowed to perform religious rituals only inconspicuously and without display of religious symbols, crosses, icons, loud prayers, or ringing of church bells.⁸⁰⁷ According to the *Hadith*, Muhammad stated that: "The bell is the musical instrument of Satan."⁸⁰⁸ Islamic scholar Ibn Kathir (1301-1373) emphasized the significance of the *Pact of Umar*.⁸⁰⁹ Enforcement of the rules depended sometimes on bribery.⁸¹⁰

The toleration that spared their lives was not to be taken for granted - it was to be bought with gold and servility and it could be unilaterally abolished, since the

⁸⁰⁴ A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of Umar* (London: Frank Cass, 1970), pp. 5-17. The quotation is from one of the versions of the Covenant found in a letter to Abu Ubaida, chief commander in Syria, from the Christians in Damascus, although Tritton quotes two other extant forms from Ibn Asakir and a version given in the *Mustatraf*, Egypt, 1306. The spirit of the Covenant of Umar and the attitude toward the *dhimmi* is still in evidence today. The *Dhimmi Edict for the Jews of Yemen*, 1905, imposed similar prohibitions for religion and building codes. See: B. Ye'or, "Dhimmi Peoples," in *The Myth of Islamic Tolerance*, ed. R. Spenser (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005), pp. 120-121.

⁸⁰⁵ P. Franke, "Minorities: Dhimmis," in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. R. Martin (New York: Thomas-Gale, 2004), p. 457.

⁸⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 452; R. Spenser, *The Myth of Islamic Tolerance: How Islamic Law Treats Non-Muslims* (Amherst, N.Y: Prometheus Books, 2005), p. 63.

⁸⁰⁷ E. Karsh, *Islamic Imperialism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 29.

⁸⁰⁸ Sadih Muslim 24:5279.

⁸⁰⁹ Tafsir Ibn Kathir, *Paying Jizyah Is a Sign of Kufr and Disgrace* (2002 [cited March 28 2007]); available from <http://www.tafsir.com/default.asp?sid=9&tid=20986>. Accessed March 28, 2007.

⁸¹⁰ Ye'or, "Dhimmi Peoples," p. 119.

punishment of the infidel was only temporarily held at bay. This reprieve, in order to be extended, demanded more gold and more humiliation, more work and more corruption.⁸¹¹

Official documents and archeological evidence imply that enforcement of the *Pact of Umar* was mitigated by subsequent decrees and by bribery of local Ottoman officials. For example, the "protected" *dhimmis* could not build new churches or synagogues or expand or repair the existing ones. In case the land was conquered by attack, the local citizens voluntarily converted to Islam.⁸¹² Churches built before the Islamic invasion could be restored without enlarging or embellishing them or improving their original structure, which resulted in a constant "state of disrepair."⁸¹³ The next section presents archeological evidence of Balkan adherence to the *Pact of Umar* to substantiate and corroborate with the evidence presented in marginalia.

Corroborating evidence from archeology in the Balkans

The Ottoman invasion destroyed churches, monasteries, preexisting Byzantine monuments, and the central Bulgarian ecclesiastical authority. The Byzantine tradition of hesychastic inner mysticism and symbolism that influenced pre-Renaissance ecclesiastical art, iconography, and architecture changed to a more indigenous tradition. Ecclesiastical buildings came to resemble houses, having a single nave and small or no windows.

The types of church buildings manifested a number of elements from folk construction. Their external architecture changed particularly rapidly. The churches hid among the houses in the towns and villages, and their outward appearance did not betray their function. Only their interior preserved traditional forms and elements and sometimes exceptional works of art and iconography.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹¹ Ibid., p. 125.

⁸¹² B. Ye'or, *Islam and Dhimmitude: Where Civilizations Collide* (Madison/Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002), pp. 83-85.

⁸¹³ Ibid., p. 126.

⁸¹⁴ M. Koeva, *Cultural Monuments of the National Revival Period* (LiterNet, 2004 [cited March 28 2007]); available from <http://liternet.bg/publish9/mkoeva/nasledstvo/cultural.htm>. Accessed March 28, 2007.

Under the *Pact of Umar*, the roofs of houses used as churches had to be lower than Muslim houses, so people built church-houses in depressions, several steps below ground level.⁸¹⁵ The 15th century church at Arbanassi presents an example of this exterior simplicity, traditional rich interior mural decoration, and lowered elevation (Figures 11.1 and 11.2).



Figure 11.1-11.2: The church Nativity of Christ of Arbanassi (15th century), exterior and interior views.

Church architecture evolved through the centuries of foreign rule from small, inconspicuous, house-like structures to larger buildings with more prominent decoration:

15-16th century: single nave, no dome, small in size, no windows, using indigenous elements.

17th century: larger; change of structural support elements; but still indigenous structure and construction; adding woodcarvings as decorations.

18th century: basilica form, with large single nave and two aisles.

Last quarter of the 18th century: kurdzhalii attacks destroyed churches. New building, repairs, and remodeling interwove old church structural elements with new structures and interior decorations.

19th century: Civil architecture of schools and courthouses used spacious interiors and simplified exteriors. After the middle of the 19th century, Christians received more freedom to built churches, possibly as a result of pressure

⁸¹⁵ *The Pact of Umar*, previously cited in Adamec, *Historical Dictionary of Islam*..

on the Ottoman Empire following the Crimean War (1853-1856). At this time, church builders added the dome to church buildings.⁸¹⁶

The anthology *Pisahme da se znae* provides information about church remodeling and building. The earliest such entry mentions the repair of the church of the Etropole monastery Holy Trinity in 1682.⁸¹⁷ Subsequent entries document the opening of the St. Elias chapel of the St. Nicholas monastery in Arbanassi in 1716.⁸¹⁸ Description of persecution of clergy members because of building activities appeared in marginalia from 1725:

Wrote this in 1725, I, Priest Dionisii, because I built the monastery on Tsapari [Bitolya region] in 1724: I built the cell and the dining room, and the yard and brought the water inside, but I suffered a lot, I, the piteous one, because I fell into bad disgrace [violation of rights], after they blackmailed me unfairly and without any reason.⁸¹⁹

In 1728, the HACI marginalia below continued the story. Both sources, the anthology *Pisahme da se znae* and the HACI corpus, indicate that similar sporadic incidents happened even at well-protected monasteries in remote upland areas. The anthology provided more evidence about the building of *kaleta* (citadels) against the kurdzhalii gangs around 1800 and about civic buildings such as schools and clock towers after 1810-12.⁸²⁰

The evidence from HACI

The analysis of marginalia that document interactions between laypeople and the Church will answer the following questions:

1. Who produced the marginalia, and who participated in the acts of pilgrimages, commemorations, donations and church-related repairs?
2. Which genres of manuscripts contain marginalia that document these acts?

⁸¹⁶ Koeva, *Cultural Monuments of the National Revival Period* (cited).

⁸¹⁷ Nachev and Fermandzhiev, *Pisahme da se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*, p. 82.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸¹⁹ Nachev and Fermandzhiev, *Pisahme da se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*, p. 93.

⁸²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

3. When did those acts occur or when were they documented? What is the chronological distribution of marginalia about church-related repairs?
4. Where did those acts occur geographically?
5. How were marginalia about pilgrimages, commemorations, donations and church-related repairs structured as to form and content?
6. Where were those marginalia placed in the manuscript?
7. Which script and languages were used in this group of marginalia?

Pilgrimages (28 marginalia)

Twenty-eight notes documented pilgrimages. In addition, four others documented the visits of *taxidiots* (traveling monks) and monastic clergy to monastic and non-monastic locations. In sum, twenty-nine marginalia about pilgrimages and *taxidiot* visits appeared in 16 manuscripts.

Commemoration lists (51 marginalia)

Commemoration lists in HACI manuscripts consists of 51 marginalia that provide evidence for commemorative practices on much smaller scale than the great monasteries such as Mount Athos, Mount Sinai, and Rila monastery in Bulgaria. The *Miscellany* from the Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery shows a more active community life and great interaction between the monastery and the laypeople compared to other sources available in HACI corpus, judging from the specially designated gathering of blank pages sewn into the body. This commemoration list, *pomenik*, included a sequence of lists of pilgrims' visits, donations, and commemorations.⁸²¹ These features reflected the popularity of the monastery and its economic condition.

Donations (89 marginalia)

Eighty-nine donation marginalia mention donations of goods, primarily to monastic communities. The distinct descriptors that characterize them are the names of the donors, the type and amount of donations, the location, but not the date. The simplest

⁸²¹ #368 *Miscellany*.

form of donation marginalia provided the names of the donors and type and amount of the donation.

Church-related repairs (nine marginalia)

Nine marginalia about church-related repairs appear in the HACI corpus. This small number about such an important and expensive activity substantiates the hypothesis that very little church building and remodeling occurred between 1490 and 1779. The marginalia indicate that these activities increased after 1800. Three other possible explanations for this small number. Documentation of this church activity might have been kept elsewhere, scribes might not have documented these activities intentionally, or documents recording these activities might be too well hidden. A lack of building activities is the most parsimonious hypothesis.

Authorship

Who produced the marginalia, and who participated in the acts of pilgrimages, commemorations, donations and church-related repair?

Pilgrimages marginalia

The physical act of documenting pilgrimages in manuscripts symbolizes the sanctification of the pilgrim, who is allegorically written in the Book of Life. The formulas "Let it be known," "the most sinful" and "for the benefit of my soul" appear to emphasize this testimony about the spiritual value of the event.

Pilgrimage marginalia typically provide lists of peoples' names. Twenty-three clergy members left their names, including two abbots, six monks from Hilendar and Rila monasteries, three bishops from Nish, ten priests, and one deacon. Eighteen notes listed individuals, but sometimes a local church priest would lead his parish on a pilgrimage. These cases included as many as 111 people whose names would be listed. Priest Todor accompanied 90 people in 1859 to St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.⁸²²

⁸²² #351Bible.

Pilgrims did not necessarily hold the highest social or financial status in their communities. The HACI corpus contained no social honorific such as *kir* or *hadzhi*, except for the Abbot Hadzhi Evtimii from Rila monastery. Prominent destinations such as Jerusalem and Mount Athos attracted only rich people.⁸²³

Taxidiots (traveling monks) visited communities to collect donations for monasteries, to bring books, and to educate the laypeople. Most active taxidiots came from the Rila monastery clergy. Abbot Hadzhi Evtimii from Rila monastery visited Sofia in 1699 as a taxidiot.⁸²⁴ Hieromonks Veniamin and Nikanor from Rila monastery visited Dolni Lozen monastery in 1797.⁸²⁵ Elder Nikon from Rila monastery visited Breznik as a taxidiot in 1844.⁸²⁶ Protoabbot Partenii from Hilendar monastery visited Sofia.⁸²⁷

Marginalia about pilgrimages demonstrate how people perceived their social identity and status. Pilgrims typically expressed themselves in accordance with traditional humility *topoi*, perceiving themselves as most sinful before God and their fellow humans.⁸²⁸ "Let it be known when I, the most sinful Velik Vuchav Sr. came with my family from Krivorechnaya palanka to Pilgrimage at St. Prohor in the year of 1859."

Commemorations lists

The names of 381 people appear in 51 marginalia. A mean of 7.3 people appear in each commemoration marginalia. The largest number of people listed for commemoration, 270 laypeople, appeared in the Urvishko-Kokalyanski *Miscellany*. A simple comparison between the number of commemoration marginalia from this monastery and other locations with their 111 people showed a ratio of 2.4:1 (270:111). The 43 people listed for commemoration in non-monastic centers (Sliven, Strelcha, Lokorsko, Naselci, Sofia) were much fewer than the 338 in monastic commemoration lists. Monasteries welcomed pilgrims from numerous locations, while commemoration lists from non-monastic churches would include only some of the members of the parish.

⁸²³ #20 *Gospel*.

⁸²⁴ #20 *Gospel*.

⁸²⁵ #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁸²⁶ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁸²⁷ #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁸²⁸ Novak (#44 *Typicon*); Velik Vuchav, Mladen Vuchav, Joakim Vuchav (#351 *Bible*).

Donations

Donation marginalia documents 829 people donating goods and money to their local monasteries or churches. Each note contained a mean of 9.4 names. The Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery benefited greatly from such donations. Over the years, 675 donors contributed a variety of goods to the monastery. Generally speaking, and compared to more prominent and well established monasteries such as Mount Athos or Rila monastery, donation marginalia in HACI manuscripts indicates a smaller scale of charity. This fact is possibly due to the poverty of the general population during the several economic crises in the Bulgarian region of the Ottoman Empire.

Church-related repairs

Church-related repairs marginalia did not always include the name of the writer, emphasizing instead the act of construction and the names of sponsors, workers, artists, and priests in tenure during these events. For example, Priest Stanislav from the village of Kamarica directed the renovation.⁸²⁹ Clergymen also worked as carpenters. Priest Petko from the village of Lokorsko repaired the local church in 1830. Hieromonk Kiprian built a mill that would support the Slepche monastery and donated money for the windows of the church in the year 1751.⁸³⁰

Evidence of more elaborate work and decoration comes from a later time, especially after the Crimean War (1853-1856), when Great Britain and Russia forced the Ottoman government to loosen its control over its subject nations. Anarchy ruled throughout the Empire, and the Church received more freedom. During this time, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church gained its independence from the Greek Patriarchate, later proclaimed officially by a decree of the Sultan in 1870, despite Bulgarian Bishop Ilarion Makariopolski had declared it a decade before.

Church-related repairs required considerable funds, as implied by the honorifics of the sponsors of church-related repairs. Ten prominent local businessmen of the village of Kamarica donated money to repair the church of St. Nicholas. Among them were

⁸²⁹ #5 *Psalter*.

⁸³⁰ #340 *Four Gospels*.

leather workers, merchants, and a pilgrim to the Holy Land.⁸³¹ Anonymous donors from the villages of Belovo and Nedelkovo donated land for the mill building at Slepche monastery.⁸³²

Genre distribution

Which genres of manuscripts contain marginalia that document the interaction between laypeople and the Church?

Pilgrimages and taxidiot visits

Liturgical service books typically contained more marginalia than did devotional books. Among the 16 manuscripts, the *Gospel* proved to be the most favored genre to include pilgrimage marginalia (six notes). Pilgrims possibly believed that the *Gospel* held special powers of sanctification, being a divine text. Among the other liturgical manuscripts with marginalia about pilgrimages were a *Typicon*, two *Service and Vita*, an *Euchologion*, and a *Horologion*.⁸³³ The names of more than 90 pilgrims appear on several consecutive pages of the printed *Bible* from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.⁸³⁴ Sixteen pilgrims and taxidiots, mostly clergy, inscribed their names in the *Service and Vita* when they visited the Dolni Lozen monastery in 1793, 1797, 1837, and 1848.⁸³⁵

Commemoration lists

The number of manuscripts that feature commemoration lists is small (17). As previously noted, liturgical service books were used to incorporate commemoration lists, because these manuscripts were used during services and were convenient for the priest or deacon reading the lists. Commemoration lists as a rule were included in *Euchologions*, on specially designated blank pages reserved for this purpose, or in a

⁸³¹ #5 *Psalter*; #353 *Gospel*.

⁸³² #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁸³³ #44 *Typicon*; #46 *Service and Vita*; #1521 *Service and Vita*; #54 *Prayer book*; #203 *Horologion*.

⁸³⁴ #351 *Bible*.

⁸³⁵ #46 *Service and Vita*.

separate volume.⁸³⁶ The most frequently used genres were *Gospels* (six notes) and *Menaions* (six notes). The other manuscripts were two *Triodions*, one *Euchologion*, and a *Service and Vita*. However, the greatest number of commemorations appeared in the non-liturgical and devotional book, the *Miscellany*.

Donations

Most manuscripts that include donation marginalia are liturgical (16) compared to devotional (2) and one *Typicon*. The donation transaction between the church and the laypeople favored seven *Gospels* as the most favored to archive.⁸³⁷ Other manuscripts included three *Psalters*,⁸³⁸ two *Triodion*,⁸³⁹ an *Octoechos*,⁸⁴⁰ and a *Menaion*.⁸⁴¹ Devotional manuscripts included two *Damaskins*⁸⁴² and the *Miscellany* from Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery.⁸⁴³

Church-related repairs

The writers of inscriptions about church-related repairs preferred liturgical manuscripts to devotional books. Among those manuscripts, three were *Gospel* books.⁸⁴⁴ Among devotional books, writers used the collections of printed sermons *Kiriakodromikon* from Breznik⁸⁴⁵ and the collection of stories *Miscellany* from the village of Kamenitsa.⁸⁴⁶

Subject matter

What types of goods did people donate to their local churches or monasteries?
What kind of repair was evident?

⁸³⁶ Kotseva, "Pomenik" [Commemoration Lists], p. 377.

⁸³⁷ #21 *Gospel*; #27 *Four Gospels*; #34 *Four Gospels*; #237 *Four Gospels*; #243 *Four Gospels*; #340 *Gospel*; #353 *Gospel*.

⁸³⁸ #2 *Psalter*; #6 *Psalter*; #271 *Psalter*.

⁸³⁹ #78 *Triodion*; #287 *Triodion*.

⁸⁴⁰ #67 *Octoechos*.

⁸⁴¹ #96 *Menaion*.

⁸⁴² #134 *Damaskin*; #225 *Damaskin*.

⁸⁴³ #368 *Miscellany*.

⁸⁴⁴ #243 *Gospel*; #340 *Gospel*; #353 *Gospel*; #5 *Psalter*; #46 *Service and Vita*; #256 *Triodion*; #337 *Menaion*.

⁸⁴⁵ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁸⁴⁶ #127 *Miscellany*.

Donations

Donations followed a common pattern. Donations of individual items predominated over marginalia that documented donations containing various goods. In some cases, a large group of laypeople collected similar goods. Thirty-four people donated grains to Seslavski monastery.⁸⁴⁷ Eleven people donated farm animals (oxen, sheep, horses, cows) to Etropole monastery.⁸⁴⁸ Laypeople donated 115 sheep and 120 goats to St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.

Examples of well-established consistent donations appear on the front endpapers of the *Miscellany* from Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery.⁸⁴⁹ Sixty-one donations of money, grains, farm animals, linen and other church provisions appear on 26 pages after 1732. These goods included:

Various goods:	17 notes
Individual goods:	63 notes
• Animals	21
• Money	19
• Food	10
• Land	2
• Linen	2
• Technical	2
• Incense	2
• Liturgies	2
• Mill	1
• Beeswax	1
• Candles	1.

Laypeople contributed money in a variety of currencies. In some cases, money currency was not specified in the document. Here are the total sums based upon the donation marginalia represented in the HACI corpus:

Grosha (Greek, γροσι)	389.5 grosha
Pari (Turkish, 1 para = 3 akce = 1/40 kurus)	209 pari
Aspri (Greek, ασπρα)	106 aspri.

⁸⁴⁷ #2 *Psalter*.

⁸⁴⁸ #96 *Menaion*.

⁸⁴⁹ #368 *Miscellany*.

Wheat, used widely for memorials, became a commonly donated item. Measures of wheat varied greatly from the traditional metric measures (kg). Nine cases described donations of unspecified amounts of wheat. Another form of measure was the shinik (Greek, σοινικι, 21 shiniks = 1 apron). Thirty-four people donated large amounts of wheat, millet, oats, and beeswax to Seslavski monastery.⁸⁵⁰

Types of repair and constructions

In the 18th century Roof repair became absolute necessity for the churches in the town of Kamenitsa⁸⁵¹ and at the Dolni Lozen monastery.⁸⁵² The church in Breznik needed general carpentry.⁸⁵³ Some marginalia provide evidence about modest decoration programs of church interiors. Artists such as Kostadin decorated with frescos the interior spaces of churches in 1862.⁸⁵⁴ Abbot Hadzhi Theodosii decorated the church walls of Slepche monastery and bought church bells sometime between 1866-1889. Such installment of church bells indeed can be considered a major development in the increased freedom of religious expression in the Ottoman Empire and a sign of the final collapse of Ottoman power.

Date and chronological distribution

When did those acts documenting the interactions between the laypeople and the Church occur? Figure 11.3 demonstrates the comparative chronological distribution of all four categories of marginalia, where pilgrimages appeared at the earliest time that the rest for the period between 1634 and 1874. Commemorations lasted from 1636-1832. Donations marginalia occurred between 1680 and 1813. Church repair marginalia appear relatively later from 1728-1862 due to the imposed restrictions by the government.

⁸⁵⁰ #2 *Psalter*.

⁸⁵¹ #5 *Psalter*.

⁸⁵² #46 *Service of Sts. Kirik and Julita*.

⁸⁵³ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁸⁵⁴ #243 *Gospel*.

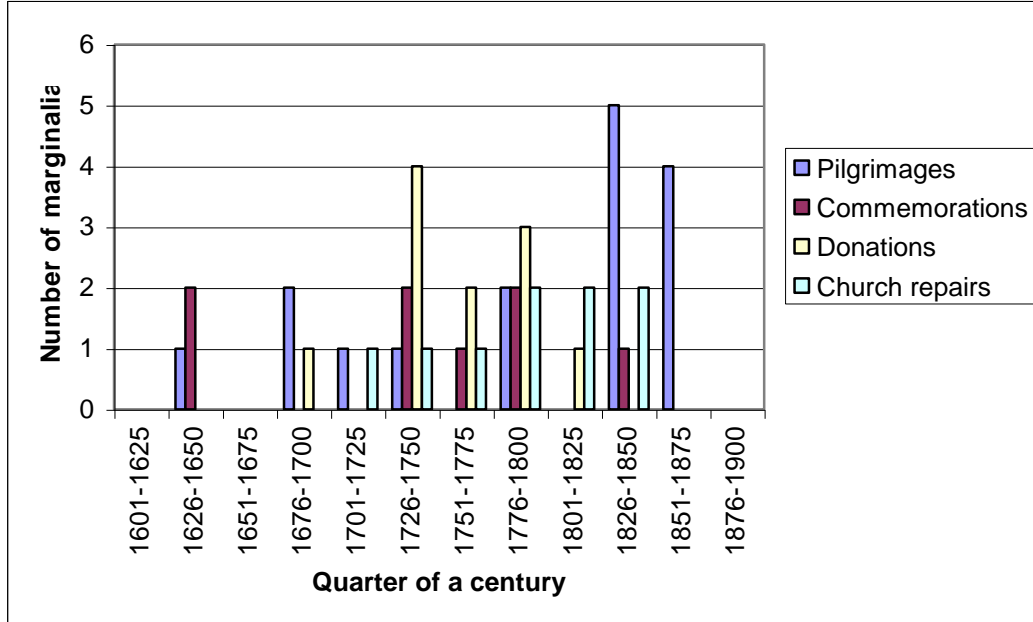


Figure 11.3: Comparative chronological chart of marginalia related to community-church interaction.

The tradition of documenting pilgrimages began in 1634 and lasted until 1873. Dimitrie Popov left the earliest note on his visit to the Boboshevo monastery in 1634, in a *Four Gospel* manuscript after the main text after a chapter, written in a calligraphic script (Figure 11.4)⁸⁵⁵

† Town of Dupnica. Dimitrie Popov made a Pilgrimage and paid his respects to this Gospel at the [monastery of] the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel for his soul's sake for his father and mother to serve to the holy archangels. Whoever displaces it, let the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel be his judge on Judgment Day. In the year of 1634, during the summer, there was a great drought.

⁸⁵⁵ #28 *Four Gospels*.

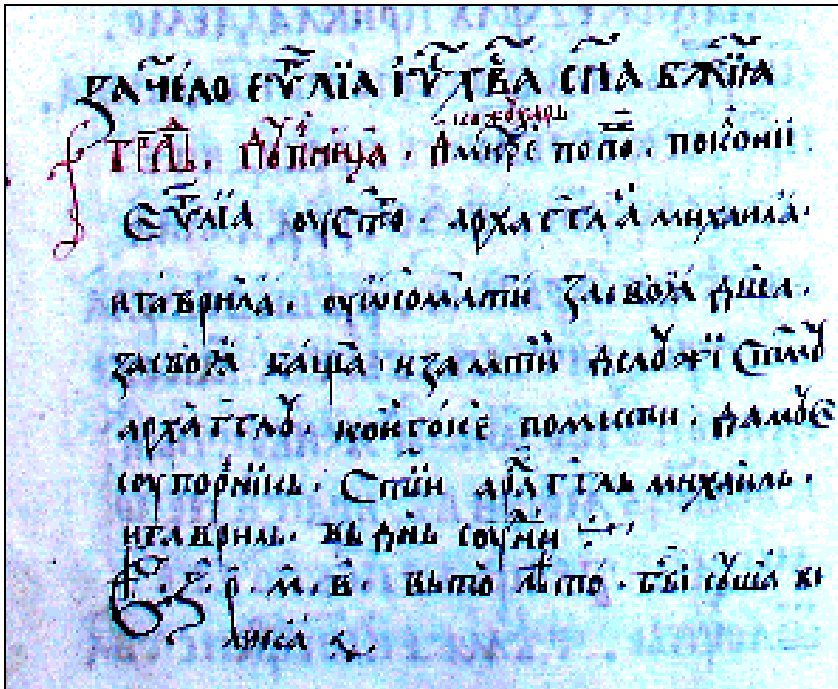


Figure 11.4: #28 *Four Gospels* from Boboshevo monastery, p. 186 verso.

The number of pilgrimage marginalia increased between the 17th and the 19th centuries: three marginalia appearing in the 17th century,⁸⁵⁶ four in the 18th century,⁸⁵⁷ and nine during the 19th century.⁸⁵⁸

Commemoration lists

The evidence points to commemoration somewhat being a regular practice, existing in both monastic and non-monastic centers beginning in 1636, with more observed in the 18th century and 19th centuries. Only eight commemoration lists are dated. Two from the 17th century appeared in a *Service Book* from Sofia and *Miscellany* from Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery.⁸⁵⁹ Five dated marginalia from the 18th century appeared in a *Miscellany* (2 notes), a *Four Gospels* from Strelcha, and a *Four Gospels* from Slepche monastery.⁸⁶⁰ Only one appeared in the 19th century in a *Four Gospels*,

⁸⁵⁶ 1634; 1698; 1699.

⁸⁵⁷ 1708; 1745; 1793; 1797.

⁸⁵⁸ 1837; 1841; 1844; 1848 (2); 1856; 1859 (2); 1873.

⁸⁵⁹ #338 *Menaion* (1636); #368 *Miscellany* (1645).

⁸⁶⁰ #368 *Miscellany* (1738, 1742, 1785); #30 *Four Gospels* (1772); #340 *Four Gospels* (1783).

from Naselci.⁸⁶¹ Apparently, during the 19th century, paper became easier to obtain and cheaper.

Commemoration lists usually did not document the date of commemoration, due to an emphasis on names rather than on formal designators, such as dates or locations. Because priests repeatedly read the commemoration lists, they did not need to mention dates or other information. When a date appeared, it documented a pilgrimage associated with the names for commemoration.

Donations

Scribes rarely recorded the date of the act of donation. Of 89 marginalia, only ten included the date. These ten came from the 17th century, predominately from monastic settings as early as 1680.⁸⁶² Apparently, monastic writers followed a more rigid format of documentation, because a date initiated donation marginalia from Slepche monastery and Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery on five occasions.

17th century: 1680 (Kratovo monastery)

18th century: 1732, 1738, 1738, 1742 (Urvishko-Kokalyanski), 1751, 1785 (Slepche monastery), 1770 (Cherepish monastery), 1777 (Boboshevo monastery), 1791 (Buhovo monastery)

19th century: 1813 (Slepche monastery).

Church-related repairs

Authors always dated their documentation of church-related repairs, which occurred late in the Ottoman period, from 1728 to 1889. Most of those activities occurred in the 19th century (six notes),⁸⁶³ compared to the 18th century (three notes).⁸⁶⁴ Monastic marginalia (1728-1866) occurred earlier than non-monastic marginalia (1782-1862).

⁸⁶¹ #237 *Four Gospels* (1832).

⁸⁶² #34 *Gospel* (Kratovo monastery).

⁸⁶³ 1728; 1735; 1751; 1782.

⁸⁶⁴ 1813; 1818; 1830; 1843; 1862; 1866; 1866.

Provenance

Where did marginalia documenting interactions between the laypeople and the Church occur, geographically?

Pilgrimages

Bulgarian and Macedonian monastic authors recorded evidence of pilgrimages, especially pilgrimages to the monasteries at Kurilo, Boboshevo, Cherepish, Dolni Lozen, Kuklen, and Eleshnitsa.⁸⁶⁵ The commemoration lists of Urvishko-Kokalyanski *Miscellany* do not appear in this category, because the people listed there did not explicitly state that they embarked on a pilgrimage. The most popular monasteries for pilgrimages appeared to be the Dolni Lozen monastery of St. Kirik and Julita and the St. Prohor Pshniski monastery. These monastic destinations attracted pilgrims for the feast day of St. Kirik and Julita in July. The monastery of Dolni Lozen attracted numerous pilgrims, even from Krivorechna Palanka (four notes). Monasteries near Pirot and St. Prohor Pshinski monastery also attracted laypeople, at least 90 pilgrims in 1859.

Judging from the honorific *hadzhi*, some pilgrims previously had visited Jerusalem. Seven separate notes written perhaps by priest Toto (Todor) Kuchakik appear in the side margins of several consecutive pages of the *Bible*. Perhaps he desired to distinguish each family, including his own, and 90 other people from Krivorechna Palanka in 1859 (See Figures 11.3 and 11.14). Perhaps being the only literate member of the Vuchav and Vuckovich families, priest Todor inscribed pilgrim's names as they dictated their words and called themselves “most sinful.” Another *Gospel* book from Pshinski monastery contained a pilgrimage note dated 1698 by the hand of priest Stoyan from Vrana.

⁸⁶⁵ #24 *Gospel*; #28 *Four Gospels*; #44 *Typicon*; #54 *Prayer Book*; #46 *Service and Vita*; #260 *Prologue*; #2 *Psalter*.

Commemorations

Eight commemoration marginalia of the 52 appeared in non-monastic manuscripts from Sliven,⁸⁶⁶ Strelcha,⁸⁶⁷ Naselci,⁸⁶⁸ Sofia,⁸⁶⁹ Breznik,⁸⁷⁰ and the village of Lokorsko.⁸⁷¹ The majority of these manuscripts were *Four Gospels*, usually kept at the altar. Forty-four of the 52 marginalia came from monastic manuscripts. Those manuscripts included 35 notes from the Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery,⁸⁷² three notes from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery,⁸⁷³ one from Boboshevo monastery,⁸⁷⁴ two from Etropole monastery,⁸⁷⁵ and one each from Iskrets monastery and Slepche monastery.⁸⁷⁶

Donations

Most of these marginalia documented donations to monastic communities: Seslavski, Iskrets, Boboshevo, Dolni Lozen (two notes), Etropole, Slepche (six notes), Pshinski, Urvishko-Kokalyanski (71 notes), and Kratovo monasteries (two notes). Only four notes documented donations to non-monastic centers at Lukovit, Teteven, and the village of Palun.⁸⁷⁷

Church-related repairs

Nine church-related repairs marginalia appear in both monastic and more from non-monastic manuscripts. Four villages (Zhelyava, Kamarica, Kamenica, and Lokorsko) and two towns (Breznik and Sofia) conducted church-related repairs that occurred after 1818. The relatively better protected and isolated monasteries located in Macedonia conducted occasional repairs and other remodeling activities, starting earlier in 1728 at the Dolni Lozen monastery.

⁸⁶⁶ #29 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁶⁷ #30 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁶⁸ #237 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁶⁹ #338 *Service Book*; #413 *Menaion*.

⁸⁷⁰ #431 *Menaion*.

⁸⁷¹ #36 *Four Gospels*; #256 *Triodion*.

⁸⁷² #368 *Miscellany*.

⁸⁷³ #196 *Menaion*; #326 *Menaion*.

⁸⁷⁴ #28 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁷⁵ #99 *Menaion*; #573 *Menaion* (2 notes).

⁸⁷⁶ #50 *Euchologion*; #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁷⁷ #134 *Damaskin*; #225 *Damaskin*; #237 *Four Gospels*; #271 *Psalter*.

Diplomatics: form, structure, and formulae

How were marginalia structured as to form and content? Table 11.1 demonstrates that church-related repairs marginalia follows the most rigid protocol of documentation with nine characteristic structural elements and typical formulae, followed by pilgrimage marginalia with seven formulae type statements and arrangements, donations with six, and commemorations with the least number, only four elements, emphasizing only the motivation and the name of the scribe. All four (pilgrimages, commemorations, and church-related repairs, and to lesser extent donations) start with the familiar *memorandum Pisahme da se znae* (We wrote to let you know). They all provide long lists of people (*subscriptio*) and a blessing *apprecatio* at the end of the statement.

Pilgrimages	Commemoration lists	Donations	Church-related repairs
Memorandum: 93% of all notes	Arenga: 100%	Memorandum: 14%	Memorandum: 73%
Subscriptio: 86%	Datatio: 15%	Intitulatio: 40%	Datatio: 100%
Arrenga: 7%	Locatio: 44%	Arenga/Dispositio 97%	Narratio: 100%
Narratio: 100%	Apprecatio: 38%	Locatio: 43%	Arenga/Dispositio: 64%
Locatio: 100%		Datatio: 13%	Sanctio: 18%
Validatio: 32%		Subscriptio: 95%	Locatio: 82%
Apprecatio: 8%			Subscriptio: 27%
			Apprecatio: 18%
			Validatio: 27%

Table 11.1: Form and content of marginalia that focus on the interaction between the community at large and the Church (The percentage shows the ratio between the total number of marginalia to those that contain this particular element).

Pilgrimages marginalia

Marginalia about pilgrimages, despite their brevity, uses a formal documentary structure and style of writing. The marginalia typically emphasizes the need for remembrance of the pilgrimage and the personal identity and circumstances of the

pilgrim, changing the typical order of documentary elements by placing the *subscriptio* and *datatio* at the beginning.

In 26 notes (93%), the *protocollo* started with a *memorandum*: “Let it be known.”⁸⁷⁸ Another variation of the “Let it be known” formula positioned the date either at the beginning, at the end, or after the name of the person.⁸⁷⁹ Pilgrims rarely started with a *subscriptio*: “Wrote I, when I visited (place).”⁸⁸⁰

The *narratio* of marginalia was rather brief statement that did not reveal any extraordinary information, yet pilgrims sometimes noted the circumstances of their visit. Dimitur Popov believed that his pilgrimage to Boboshevo monastery in 1634 would benefit his soul.⁸⁸¹ In addition, Dimitur Popov told about the drought during the time he visited. Kiro from Mazgosh apparently felt proud about his pilgrimage because he duplicated his note.⁸⁸²

In sum, the most typical note documenting pilgrimages or taxidiot visits would include memorandum, *subscriptio*, *locatio*, *datatio*, *narratio*, and occasionally *intitulatio*, *sanctio*, *apprecatio* and *validatio*: “Let it be known when I, [lay person] visited [patron saint] monastery in the year [date].”

Commemoration lists

How were marginalia containing commemorations structured as to form and content? Commemoration lists, when viewed through the prism of medieval document style and structure, appear to be rather informal documents. The 51 commemoration notes contained these elements: *arenga* (51 notes, or 100%), *datatio* (8 notes, 15%). *locatio* (22 notes, or 44%), and *apprecatio* (19 notes, or 38%). Formal document writing style varied from author to author. The *arenga* as a core element contained the list of names for commemoration. Twenty notes contained first names. Twenty others listed

⁸⁷⁸ #2 *Psalter*; #24 *Gospel*; #46 *Service and Vita* (3 notes); #203 *Horologion*; #341 *Kiriakodromion* (2 notes); #351 *Bible* (7 notes); #374 *Gospel*; #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁸⁷⁹ #54 *Euchologion*; #201 *Typicon*.

⁸⁸⁰ #44 *Typicon*; #47 *Miscellany*; #353 *Gospel*.

⁸⁸¹ #28 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁸² #46 *Service and Vita*.

proper names of the people.⁸⁸³ The *locatio*, or residence of the commemorated, came next in frequently occurring 19 times.⁸⁸⁴

A *Miscellany* from Kokalyanski monastery offered interesting variations using different formulas and combinations of formulas in its commemoration lists. As mentioned before, commemoration and donation marginalia occupied whole gatherings (pages bound together) attached to the body of a manuscript. A *locatio* followed by a list of names appeared in seven notes and followed the list of names in two cases. A [name]." (four notes), "[date] wrote [name]" (one note). In four cases, the formula "Remember, God, your servant" appeared after the *locatio*.

Authors not necessarily emphasized the date. Only two examples of dates initiated commemoration marginalia (Figure 11.5).⁸⁸⁵ The date might appear after the location⁸⁸⁶ or at the end of the note.⁸⁸⁷

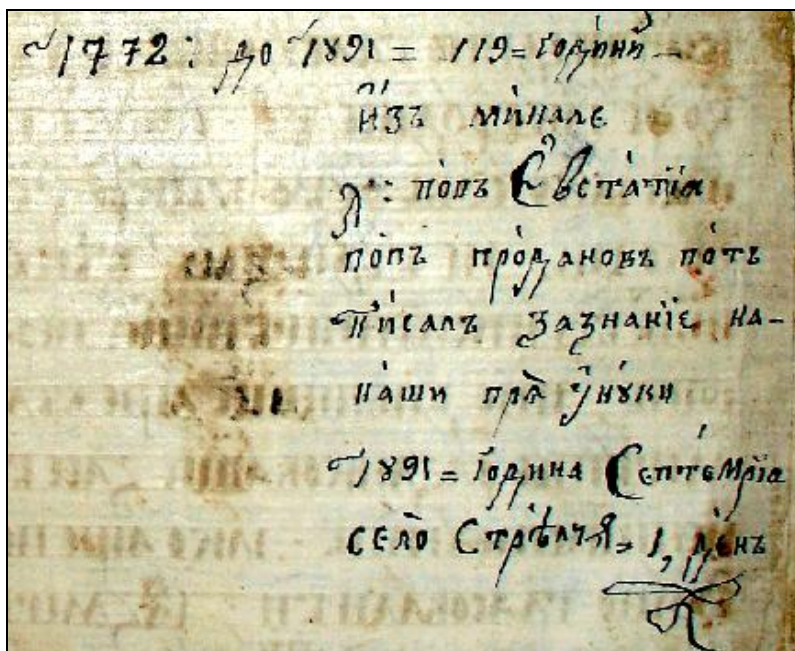


Figure 11.5: #30 *Four Gospels*, p. 6b, 1891.

⁸⁸³ #28 *Four Gospels*; #29 *Four Gospels*; #50 *Euchologion*; #99 *Menaion*; #196 *Menaion* (2 notes); #237 *Four Gospels*; #256 *Triodion*; #326 *Menaion*; #338 *Service Book*, #431 *Menaion*; #573 *Menaion*; #368 *Miscellany* (8 notes).

⁸⁸⁴ #36 *Four Gospels*; #340 *Four Gospels*; #368 *Miscellany* (17 notes).

⁸⁸⁵ #30 *Four Gospels*; #368 *Miscellany*.

⁸⁸⁶ #368 *Miscellany*, pp. 10a, 26a.

⁸⁸⁷ #237 *Four Gospels*; #340 *Four Gospels*.

Sometimes, authors prefer to use formulaic statements. Most commonly, they used an *apprecatio*: "Remember, God, your servant" when they commemorated departed individuals. Four such examples exist (Figure 11.6).⁸⁸⁸

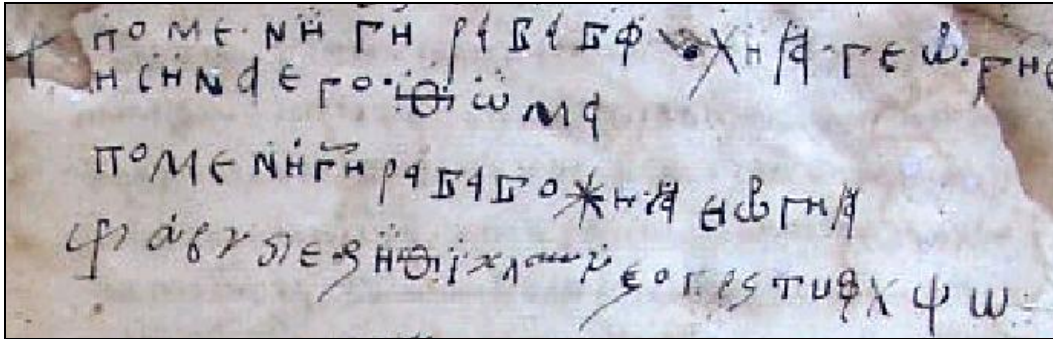


Figure 11.6: #413 *Menaion*, Sofia, p. 206b.

One specific scribe, designated as documenter 2, whose script was calligraphic semi-uncial (SU), repeated three or four times for each person the *apprecatio* statement "Remember, God, your servant [name]" (Figure 11.7)⁸⁸⁹

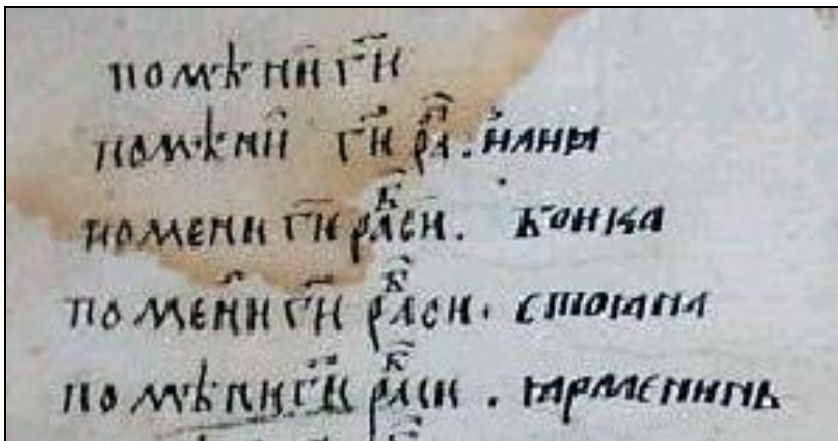


Figure 11.7: #368 *Miscellany*, p. 8b.

Another customary commemoration would be to dedicate 40 liturgies after the death of the newly departed member of the community. In Figure 11.8, the note included the date, location, and the formula depicted. It reads: "Wrote [dedicated] [the names] 40 liturgies." The number 40 was circled in the note.

⁸⁸⁸ #413 *Menaion*; #368 *Miscellany* (3 notes).

⁸⁸⁹ #368 *Miscellany*; pp. 4b, 5b, 6b, 8b.

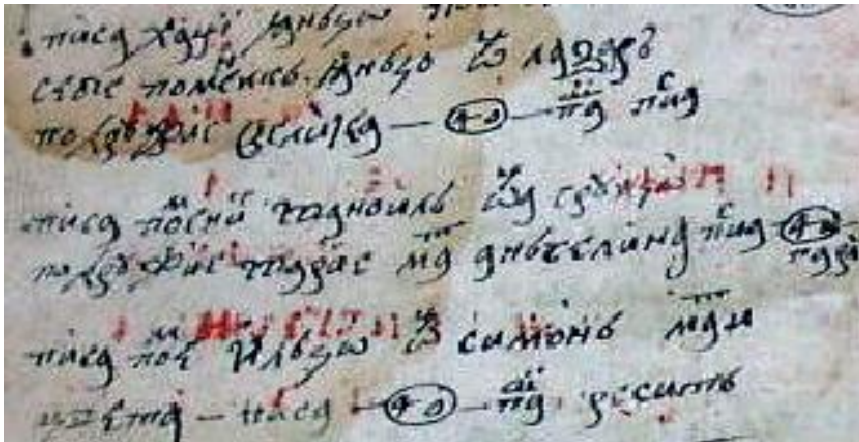


Figure 11.8: #368 *Miscellany*, p. 26b, 1742.

Occasionally, authors commemorated the name of a particular person responsible for a commemorated family. Such notes started with a *subscriptio* statement: "Wrote [name]." and listed the names of his family (3 notes), followed by a series of other commemorations that would start with "Again wrote [name]," (two notes). Such a personal style of writing of a specific documenter, dated 1732, frequently employed the formulas "Wrote [name]", and followed by "Again wrote."

Donations

The most distinctive documentary elements that characterized donation marginalia were *arenga/dispositio* (86 notes, or 97%), *subscriptio* (85 notes, or 95%), and less frequently *intitulatio* (36 notes, or 40%), *locatio* (38 notes, or 43%), *memorandum* (12 notes, or 14%), and *datatio* (11 notes, or 13%).

Donation marginalia used five distinct formulas in the *Protocollo*. Monastic authors initiated their statements with *datatio*, *subscriptio*, *locatio*, or by the memorandum: "Let it be known" and *intitulatio*: "Wrote ... and promised" or "Again wrote ... and promised." Non-monastic authors preferred the common *memorandum* "Let it be known." The majority of donation marginalia from a *Miscellany* from the Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery started with *intitulatio* "Wrote [name] and promised [goods]" (six notes), or "Again wrote [name] and promised [goods]" (28 notes). Scribes frequently imitated the manner of writing of their predecessors, in successive donations.

The *Gospel* from Slepche monastery presented unique cases.⁸⁹⁰ All examples had *datatio* and included information, known as *arenga* and *dispositio*, about the circumstances and witnesses to the donations. All marginalia that documented donations to Slepche monastery appear on inserted blank pages.⁸⁹¹ The first note included also an *arenga* (the motivation behind the act of donating).

The second note also documented a donation of land to the monastery. The formal style of documentation included *datatio* and *arenga*. In addition, a large number of witnesses formalize the act of such a large donation that perhaps did not happen very often during the hardship of the 1785.

In the year of 1785, January 7. Let it be known that from the village of Slepche, Belan wrote about donating a field in Piakovec for [the good of] his soul and for Bogdan and Veliko. [This donation includes] the valley, the vegetable garden, the forest, and Mate's field. Witnesses Mladen Mitre, Ioan, Angelko, Ioan from Kukukchani, Vasil from Hutovo, all peasants, and Marta.

Church-related repairs

Marginalia that document church-related repairs followed the documentary form and content of colophons and marginalia about donations for book production and binding. The introductory *protocollo* typically included a memorandum. The middle *testo* contained an *arenga* explaining the motives, a *dispositio* presenting the donors' names, and a *narratio* relating the circumstances of the activity.

The memorandum would begin like other historical documents. In the majority (7 notes, or 78%) of cases authors use the "Let it be known" formula. Two of these cases came from the monastic manuscripts of Slepche monastery⁸⁹² and St. Prohor Pshinski,⁸⁹³ and two from rural settings, the villages of Lokorsko⁸⁹⁴ and Kamarica.⁸⁹⁵ Four other authors started with a *datatio*; two from the monasteries at Dolni Lozen and Slepche.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁰ #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁸⁹¹ #340 *Four Gospels*, pp. 136b, 137b, 138.

⁸⁹² #340 *Four Gospels* (1813).

⁸⁹³ #353 *Gospel* (1843).

⁸⁹⁴ #256 *Triodion* (1830).

⁸⁹⁵ #5 *Psalter* (1782).

⁸⁹⁶ #46 *Service Book*; #340 *Four Gospels* (2 notes).

The earliest (1728) example of church-related repairs marginalia constituted the final portion of a longer historical note about the Ottomans. This marginalia has a date in both the beginning and the ending parts (Figure 11.9).

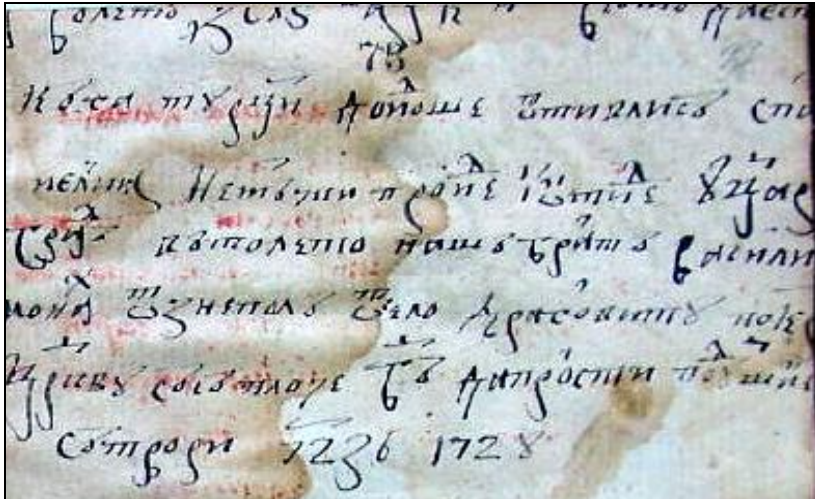


Figure 11.9: #46 *Service and Vita of Sts. Kirik and Julita* (1728), p. 73.

Church-related repairs marginalia ended with a date. The oldest example ended with 1728.⁸⁹⁷ An *apprecatio* terminated an example in a *Psalter*, directed to all sponsors of the deed: "Some contributed less, some more and the church was finished with the will of God, may He be a help to everyone."⁸⁹⁸ Examples of *arenga* and *dispositio* provided the names of organizers and sponsors in two notes in the *Gospel* from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery⁸⁹⁹ and the *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik.⁹⁰⁰

The Slepche monastery Sveti Jovan Pretecha

The Slepche *Four Gospels*⁹⁰¹ provided interesting cases of marginalia documenting church-related repairs and other building activities. All of this documentation appeared on three consecutive separate blank pages inserted into the manuscript.⁹⁰² The earliest example (1751) resembled legal and formal documents.

⁸⁹⁷ #46 *Service Book*.

⁸⁹⁸ #5 *Psalter*.

⁸⁹⁹ #353 *Gospel* from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.

⁹⁰⁰ #341 *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik.

⁹⁰¹ #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁹⁰² Pp. 135-138.

Perhaps because of the importance of these documents, the author placed them in the most valuable manuscript, the altar copy of the beautifully illuminated and illustrated *Four Gospels* (Figure 11.10).⁹⁰³ Ottoman authorities witnessed the event of signing the contract, a rare one in the life of the monastery, because the Ottomans did not allow building or repair of religious or community buildings. This note documented the donation of the land, which was explicitly specified in location.

The documents start with a *validatio* (an official seal of the church) and an *invocatio*, because the text is initiated with the sign of the cross. The opening memorandum formulas include both a date and a "Let it be known" statement. At the conclusion, the scribe, the same for all three, applied a *sanctio* or curse formula, perhaps due to some unusual circumstances that led to this transaction. However, the document's legal status came from the Ottoman witnesses who gave official permission for building such a structure in association with an ecclesiastical institution.

In sum, this type of documentation possessed the following formal elements of medieval documents: *validatio*, *invocatio*, *datatio*, memorandum, *narratio*, *arenga*, *dispositio*, *sanctio*, *locatio*, *subscriptio*, and *apprecatio*. This type of documentation resembles formal colophons by the *sanctio* formula.

⁹⁰³ #340 *Gospel*.



Figure 11.10: #340 *Four Gospels*, Slepche monastery (1751), p. 138: [Seal and cross]

Translation: In the year of 1751. † Let it be known to all Christian brothers that Hieromonk Kiprian made a mill on the river that comes from Obednik. Bele and Nedelko donated the land, Kiprian donated money to the monastery for two windows: one of the windows from the church of St. John, and Beleto and Nedelko made the other window. This note was written to provide information about the window installation, which was placed respectively at the spot where the river comes, and according to the spot where the road splits for Belovo and Nedelkovo. Witnesses Mula Hasan Neboich, Iambula Spachy, and Ali Spachy, son of Bektosho and Muto Kehaia. And also other witnesses from Slepche, big and small and witnesses from the towns. And there is something else to add, to be known... about what happened again from the fair. Let him be cursed and even more cursed by the holy and Godly fathers and by the Lord God Almighty and by the holy John and Holy Gospel and to have the “honor” to be together with Judah and likened to Data and Abiram.

The most typical note that witnessed the act of church-related repairs or other renovations had memorandum, *narratio*, *datatio*, *dispositio*, *apprecatio*, and *datatio* and would look like this: "Let it be known when the church was repaired in [date]. It was repaired by priest/monk [name] and this holy act was sponsored by the partners [names]. May God bless them. [Date.]"

Physical placement

Where in the manuscript did authors placed marginalia documenting the interactions between the laypeople and the Church? Table 11.2 demonstrates that authors of these marginalia preferred the front endpapers (111 notes), as the majority of those cases come from one single *Miscellany* from Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery.

Type/Location	Pilgrimages	Commemorations	Donations	Church-repairs	Total
Front pastedown	2 (7%)	2 (4%)	2 (2%)	0	6
Front endpapers	3 (10%)	39 (76%)	69 (78%)	0	111
Top margin	0	0	0	1 (11%)	1
Side margins	8 (28.6%)	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	0	10
Middle inserts	0	0	4 (4.5%)	3 (33%)	7
Bottom margin	4 (14%)	5 (10%)	3 (3.4%)	1 (11%)	13
Multiple margins	1 (3.5%)	0	0	0	1
After the text	3 (10%)	1 (2%)	0	0	4
Back endpaper	6 (21%)	2 (4%)	8 (9%)	3 (33%)	19
Back pastedown	1 (3.5%)	1 (2%)	0	1 (11%)	3
Cover	0	0	2 (2%)	0	2
Totals	28	51	89	9	177

Table 11.2: Location of marginalia related to community-church interaction.

Pilgrimages

Pilgrimage marginalia appear in close proximity to the central text, although scribes preferred the side, bottom and multiple margins, after the main text (16 notes), rather than the blank pages in the front and back of the book (11 notes). The side margin appears to have been an especially favored location (eight notes). Eight marginalia that also could be considered one longer note reside in the side margins of the St. Prohor Pshinski monastery *Bible* (Figures 11.13 and 11.14).⁹⁰⁴ Monastic authors preferred the back pastedowns and endpapers.⁹⁰⁵

Commemorations

Where were commemoration lists placed in the manuscript? Most of them appeared on the front blank pages of manuscripts. This pattern was typical especially for monastic documenters who left 39 of the 42 commemoration lists. The bulk of the total, however, was due to the *Miscellany* with 35 cases. Other commemorations appeared also on the front endpapers in both monastic⁹⁰⁶ and non-monastic manuscripts.⁹⁰⁷ Monastic authors preferred the front pastedown.⁹⁰⁸

In rare cases, names for commemoration would appear inside the manuscripts, in the bottom margins,⁹⁰⁹ side margin,⁹¹⁰ or after the text.⁹¹¹ This practice was distributed equally between monastic and non-monastic documenters. In general, non-monastic documenters tended to insert their commemoration lists in the margins of books. Monastic authors placed commemoration lists on the back blank pages of manuscripts rarely, although occasionally they used the back endpapers,⁹¹² while non-monastic authors preferred the back pastedown.⁹¹³

⁹⁰⁴ #351 *Bible*.

⁹⁰⁵ #46 *Service and Vita*; #54 *Prayer book*; #1521 *Service and Vita*.

⁹⁰⁶ #99 *Menaion*; #573 *Menaion*.

⁹⁰⁷ #237 *Four Gospels*; #431 *Menaion*.

⁹⁰⁸ #256 *Menaion*; #50 *Euchologion*.

⁹⁰⁹ #28 *Four Gospels*; #29 *Four Gospels*; #36 *Four Gospels*; #196 *Menaion*; #431 *Menaion*.

⁹¹⁰ #326 *Menaion*.

⁹¹¹ #30 *Four Gospels*.

⁹¹² #30 *Four Gospels*.

⁹¹³ #338 *Service Book*.



Figure 11.11: #368 *Miscellany*, p. 26b and p.1 of the main body.

Donations

Donation marginalia gravitated toward the front of the manuscript. Sixty-seven marginalia appeared on the front flyleaves of manuscripts of Dolni Lozen,⁹¹⁴ Iskrets,⁹¹⁵ Boboshevo,⁹¹⁶ Etropole,⁹¹⁷ and Slepche monasteries⁹¹⁸ and Palun village.⁹¹⁹ The documenter of Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery followed the same practice as he placed an additional gathering of 26 folios in the beginning of the manuscript (Figure 11.11).⁹²⁰ The documenter from Seslavski monastery created three back endpapers in a *Psalter* for the purpose of documenting the donations made to the monastery, primarily of grains.⁹²¹ As mentioned before, scribes documented the donations for Slepche monastery on middle

⁹¹⁴ #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁹¹⁵ #67 *Octoechos*.

⁹¹⁶ #78 *Triodion*.

⁹¹⁷ #96 *Menaion*.

⁹¹⁸ #340 *Gospel*.

⁹¹⁹ #237 *Four Gospels*.

⁹²⁰ #368 *Miscellany*.

⁹²¹ #2 *Psalter*, pp. 178-180.

inserts in a *Gospel*.⁹²² Figure 11.12 demonstrates example of placement on the bottom margins practiced in Cherepish monastery.

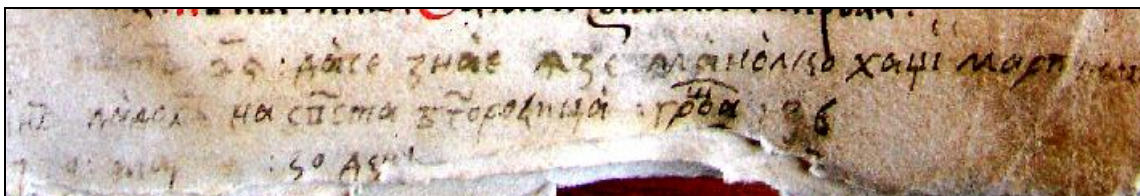


Figure 11.12: #44 *Typicon*, Cherepish monastery (1770), p. 105 bottom margin.

Non-monastic practices varied greatly without a distinct pattern of distribution. Donations appeared in the side margins,⁹²³ on the back endpapers,⁹²⁴ on the front endpaper,⁹²⁵ or on the back pastedown.⁹²⁶

The voluminous information about donations and long lists of contributors necessitated placement of donation marginalia on blank pages. Authors placed donation information within the manuscripts considering them the safest place for its preservation during the political uncertainties of the times and to follow traditional documentary practices.

Church-related repairs

Where were church-related repairs marginalia placed in the manuscript? Every author of church-related repairs followed his own pattern of placement. Five notes appeared within the book itself. Four notes appeared in the back of the manuscript. The earliest example (1728) appeared on the back endpaper of the *Service and Vita*.⁹²⁷

The monastic author from Slepche monastery inserted his three consecutive marginalia about church-related repairs in the middle of the illuminated *Gospel*.⁹²⁸ The author from Pshinski monastery placed his note on the back endpaper.⁹²⁹

⁹²² #340 *Gospel*.

⁹²³ #134 *Damaskin*.

⁹²⁴ #225 *Damaskin*.

⁹²⁵ #237 *Four Gospels*.

⁹²⁶ #271 *Psalter*.

⁹²⁷ #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁹²⁸ #340 *Four Gospels*.

⁹²⁹ #353 *Gospel*.

Non-monastic authors varied their placement of church-related repairs marginalia. The marginalia from 1782 appeared on the back endpaper of a *Psalter*.⁹³⁰ The author from the village of Zhelyava placed his note on several consecutive pages of the *Gospel*.⁹³¹ One author inscribed the top margin of a *Kiriakodromion* (Figure 11.14).⁹³²



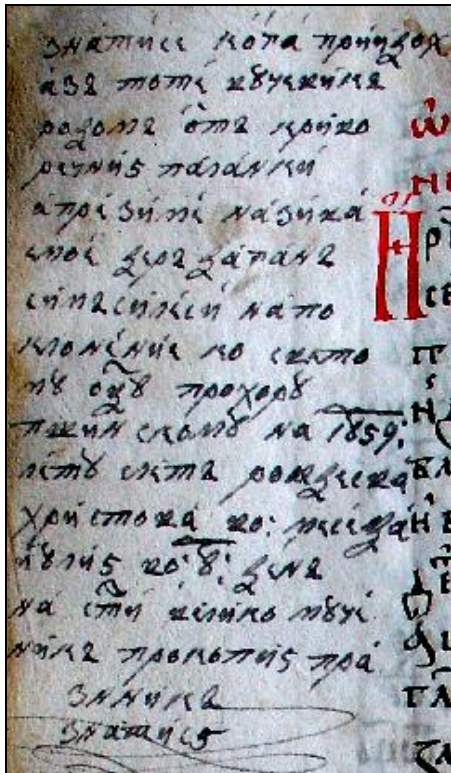
Figure 11.13: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, Breznik (1818), p. 10a.

In other words, no conclusion can be drawn about the placement of these marginalia except that the authors tended to place them within some of the most valuable manuscripts or to hide them in the back of the manuscript.

⁹³⁰ #5 *Psalter*.

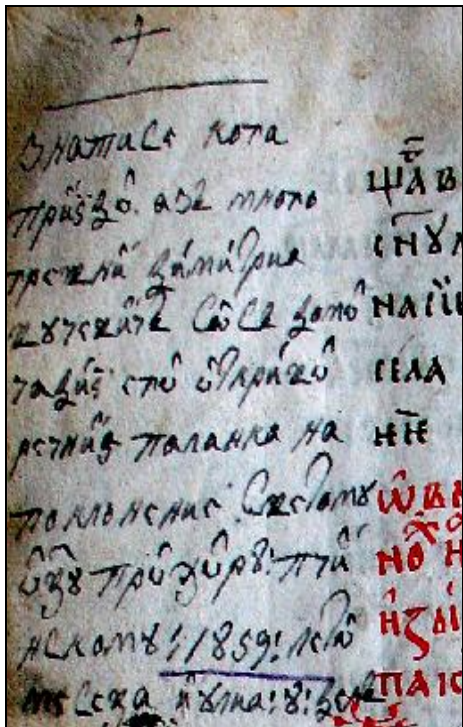
⁹³¹ #243 *Gospel* (1862).

⁹³² #341 *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik (1818).



Let it be known when I, priest Toto Kuchakik came, born in the Krivorechnia palanka in the winter, for a pilgrimage with all my family to the holy St. Prohor Pshinski in the 1859, the year after Christ's birth, on July 8; on the day of St. Kirik the Martyr. Let it be known. With his family Kozma and about 90 people. His wife Maria, three sons, Apostol, first son, second son, Ivan, and third son, Alexander. All came on a pilgrimage in the same year.

Figure 11.14: #351 Bible, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, p. 141v.



† Let it be known when I came, I, most sinful Dimitria Vukovich, with all my children from Kriva Rechnaya palanka on a pilgrimage to St. Prohor Pshinski, 1859, July.

Figure 11.15: #351 Bible, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, p. 142v.

Language and scripts

Which script and languages did authors use in marginalia that documented the interactions between the laypeople and the Church?

Pilgrimages

Pilgrimage marginalia revealed a distinct personal state of graphic education and literary language training. Twelve notes written in the calligraphic semi-uncial (SU) appeared throughout the period 1634 to 1844. Afterwards, the cursive script known as *skoropis* "swift write" appeared in 13 cases. The earliest scribal note from 1634 appeared in a regular and stable SU book hand.⁹³³

Abbot Evtimii inscribed in a highly trained SU script, beautifully calligraphic, applying the abbreviation symbols of formal ecclesiastical writing.⁹³⁴ In 1698, priest Stoyan from Vrana inscribed in a relatively regular SU script.⁹³⁵ Pilgrims who visited the Kurilo, Cherepish, and Pirot monasteries wrote in a crude, unaligned NU script.⁹³⁶

Marginalia about pilgrimages demonstrates the growing influence of the common vernacular in written documents. Marginalia in Church Slavonic (CS, four notes), a written language of the educated class, appears at an earlier date (1634-1797) and evolved into transitional variations in combination with the vernacular (1708-1848) in nine marginalia. Vernacular dominated this particular type of marginalia (15 of 28 notes), appearing as early as 1797 mixed with CS in a manuscript from Dolni Lozen monastery. The three notes written in new uncial scripts used the vernacular language.

Table 11.4 demonstrates the correspondence among date, scripts, and language. Scribes inscribed pilgrimage notes in the 17-18th centuries in SU and used CS and CS-vernacular languages. Pilgrims and clergymen used cursive written in the vernacular language. Vernacular appeared in all three scripts but mostly in cursive dating from 19th

⁹³³ #28 *Four Gospels*.

⁹³⁴ #20 *Gospel*.

⁹³⁵ #353 *Gospel*.

⁹³⁶ #24 *Gospel*; #54 *Euchologion*; #201 *Typicon*.

century. Most of these vernacular notes were undated, with defects and errors such as smearing of the text by a hand.

Script/Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1634, 1698, 1797 NM: 1699:			M: 3 NM: 1
CS and vernacular	M: 1708, 1745, 1793, 1837, 1837, 1841, 1 undated	M: 1848 NM: 1844		M: 7 NM: 2
Vernacular	M: 1833	M: 1848, 1859, 1859, 5 undated NM: 1844, 1844, 1 undated	M: 3 undated	M: 12 NM: 3
Totals	M: 11 NM: 1	M: 9 NM: 4	M: 3	M: 23 NM: 5

Table 11.4: Comparison of scripts and language in pilgrimage marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Commemoration lists

Which scripts did authors use in commemoration lists? Commemoration lists appear in three scripts: semi-uncial, cursive known as *skoropis* "speed write," and new uncial. Semi-uncial (SU) dominated with 29 cases, new uncial (NU) appeared in 14 cases, and cursive in nine cases.

Monastic scripts varied greatly from monastery to monastery. Boboshevo, Etropole, St. Prohor Pshinski, and Slepche monasteries displayed the documentary short hand cursive script.⁹³⁷ The script practices at Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery, however varied from a *Miscellany* with only two examples of cursive to 26 cases of SU. The vernacularization of literary language spread the NU script through the monastic

⁹³⁷ Boboshevo (#28 *Four Gospels*); Etropole (#99 *Menaion*); Pshinski (#326 *Bible*); Slepche (#340 *Four Gospels*).

communities of Iskrets monastery,⁹³⁸ Pshinski monastery (two notes),⁹³⁹ and Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery (nine notes).⁹⁴⁰

Non-monastic authors wrote in variety of scripts, not demonstrating a distinct preference, evenly applying the three scripts. The writers from Sliven,⁹⁴¹ Naselci,⁹⁴² and Breznik⁹⁴³ used cursive. The 1891 example from Strelcha⁹⁴⁴ and both examples from Sofia⁹⁴⁵ displayed the more trained SU script. Two examples from the village of Lokorsko were written in a crude and more disorganized NU.⁹⁴⁶

Script/Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1645, 7 undated NM: 1	M: 1 undated NM: 1 undated	0	M: 9 NM: 2
CS and vernacular	M: 12 undated NM: 1636	M: 1738 NM: 1832	M: 1 undated	M: 14 NM: 2
Vernacular	M: 1742, 5 undated NM: (1772-1891)	M: 1783, 2 undated NM: 1 undated	M: 11 undated NM: 2 undated	M: 20 NM: 4
Totals	M: 26 NM: 3	M: 5 NM: 3	M: 12 NM: 2	M: 43 NM: 8

Table 11.5: Comparison of scripts and language in commemoration marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Commemoration lists appeared with marginalia that documented donations of goods or money, donations for manuscript production, and pilgrimages. All three acts of charity occurred during pilgrimages, and their documentations remained in close proximity on manuscript pages. Commemoration lists included mostly laypeople who

⁹³⁸ #50 *Euchologion*.

⁹³⁹ #196 *Menaion*.

⁹⁴⁰ #368 *Miscellany*.

⁹⁴¹ #29 *Four Gospels*.

⁹⁴² #237 *Four Gospels*.

⁹⁴³ #431 *Menaion*.

⁹⁴⁴ #30 *Four Gospels*.

⁹⁴⁵ #338 *Menaion*; #413 *Menaion*.

⁹⁴⁶ #36 *Four Gospels*; #256 *Triodion*.

remained active in the monastic community. They witness the process of social, intellectual, and spiritual interaction between the monastic and non-monastic communities.

The single example of cursive appears in CS-vernacular.⁹⁴⁷ Authors applying NU script wrote in the vernacular (eight notes) compared with only one written in CS-vernacular (Figure 11.16).

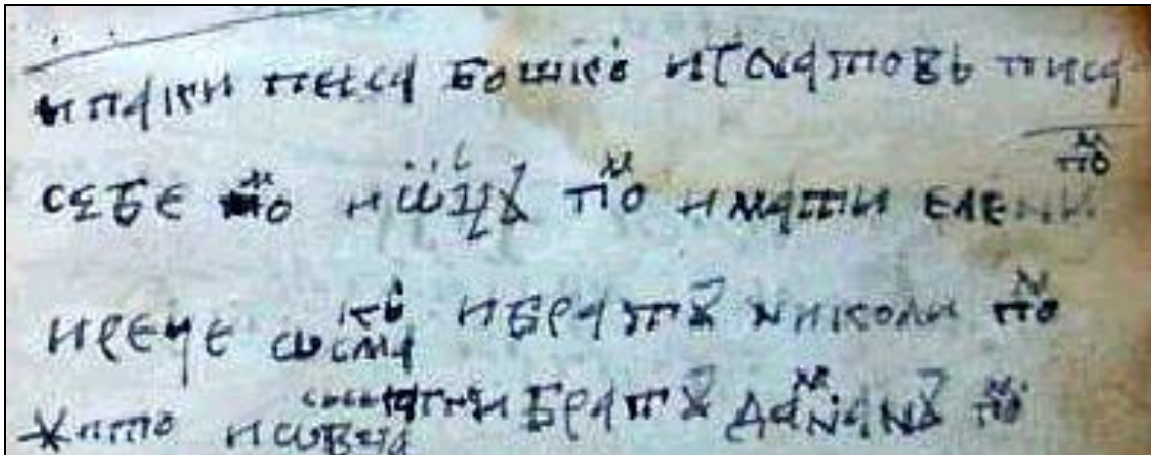


Figure 11.16: #368 *Miscellany*, p. 18a, NU-CS-vernacular.

Monastic authors, other than those at the Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery, wrote commemoration lists in the vernacular, except for the example from Etropole monastery, otherwise famous for its literary and calligraphic school.⁹⁴⁸ Non-monastic commemoration lists appeared in the vernacular in Strelcha,⁹⁴⁹ Lokorsko,⁹⁵⁰ and Breznik.⁹⁵¹

The vernacular language became the most widely spread in 26 cases, followed by a combination of Church Slavonic (CS) and vernacular in 16 cases, and CS alone in 10 cases. The SU script found in the marginalia of a *Miscellany* appeared in a combination of CS and vernacular (14 notes). The earliest dated marginalia from 1645 displays pure CS. Figure 11.15, dated from 1742, displays vernacular dialectal elements.

⁹⁴⁷ #368 *Miscellany*.

⁹⁴⁸ #99 *Menaion*.

⁹⁴⁹ #30 *Four Gospels*.

⁹⁵⁰ #36 *Four Gospels*; #256 *Triodion*.

⁹⁵¹ #431 *Menaion*.

Donations

Three scripts and several transitional variations were distinguishable from the available material. The majority of the notes(41) appear in new uncial (NU) script. Twenty-two cases of new uncial came from a *Miscellany*.⁹⁵² The more educated and aesthetically pleasing semi-uncial (SU) script appeared in 33 cases, 20 of those from the same *Miscellany*. The earliest SU example came from Kratovo monastery in 1680.⁹⁵³ The documentary script of cursive known as *skoropis* "swift write" was less well represented with 15 examples.

Script/Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1680, 1732, 1 undated			M: 3
CS and vernacular	M: 1770, 1781, 1813, 17 undated	M: 1738, 1738, 1751, 4 undated	M: 5 undated	M: 32
Vernacular	M: 1742, 1785, 8 undated	M: 4 undated NM: 1791, 3 undated	M: 1777, 31 undated NM: 4 undated	M: 46 NM: 8
Totals	M: 33	M: 11 NM: 4	M: 37 NM: 4	M: 81 NM: 8

Table 11.6: Comparison of scripts and language in donation marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Table 11.6 demonstrates the relationship between scripts and language in donation marginalia. Donation notes written in SU appear in three linguistic variations: Church Slavonic (CS), a combination of CS and vernacular, and vernacular with local dialects. The SU script corresponds to the more literary CS⁹⁵⁴ and the CS-vernacular mix in 23 cases, 20 of those from a *Miscellany*.⁹⁵⁵ The vernacular appeared in 54 cases,

⁹⁵² #368 *Miscellany*.

⁹⁵³ #34 *Gospel*.

⁹⁵⁴ #34 *Gospel*.

⁹⁵⁵ #368 *Miscellany*.

including one with Turkish vocabulary.⁹⁵⁶ NU appeared in 41 cases,⁹⁵⁷ all of them written in the vernacular or a CS-vernacular mixture.

The people who documented donations in non-monastic centers usually used cursive or NU and wrote in the vernacular. Donations in monastic manuscripts appear in all three scripts and variations and mixtures of the languages, perhaps due the increased influx of laypeople and non-monastic clergymen who documented their donations in less trained book-hands and the vernacular.

Church-related repairs

Church-related repairs marginalia used three major scripts that corresponded to the level of literacy of the writer. The use of scripts such as cursive and semi-uncial and formulaic and literary language indicated that the writers considered these marginalia as official ecclesiastical documents. The semi-uncial (SU) script found in two monastic manuscripts reflected the higher level of education of the writer,⁹⁵⁸ including the earliest (1728), written in Dolni Lozen monastery. The faster cursive documentary style of writing, known as *skoropis*, occurred in three cases: Slepche monastery, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (Figure 11.17), and a manuscript from the village of Lokorsko.⁹⁵⁹ The new uncial (NU) script characterized non-monastic writers. NU crudely imitated the SU of printed books and appeared in one monastic and three non-monastic books.⁹⁶⁰

The local dialects gradually made their way into the language of monastic authors after the middle of the 19th century. The vernacular characterized most marginalia about church-related repairs (six notes). However, non-monastic authors used mostly the vernacular in the 19th century.⁹⁶¹ Two of the earliest cases, dated 1728 and 1751, used this hybrid language and the more formal documentary scripts such as SU and cursive.⁹⁶²

⁹⁵⁶ #340 *Gospel*.

⁹⁵⁷ #2 *Psalter*; #6 *Psalter*; #21 *Gospel*; #27 *Four Gospels*; #271 *Psalter*; #340 *Gospel* (2); #368 *Miscellany* (22).

⁹⁵⁸ #340 *Gospel*; #46 *Service and Vita*.

⁹⁵⁹ #340 *Four Gospels*; #353 *Gospel*; #256 *Triodion*.

⁹⁶⁰ #341 *Kiriakodromion*; #5 *Psalter*; #243 *Gospel*.

⁹⁶¹ #243 *Gospel*; #256 *Triodion*; #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

⁹⁶² #46 *Service and Vita*; #340 *Gospel*.

One later example, from a monastic book using vernacular language, appeared in 1843 in a Gospel.⁹⁶³

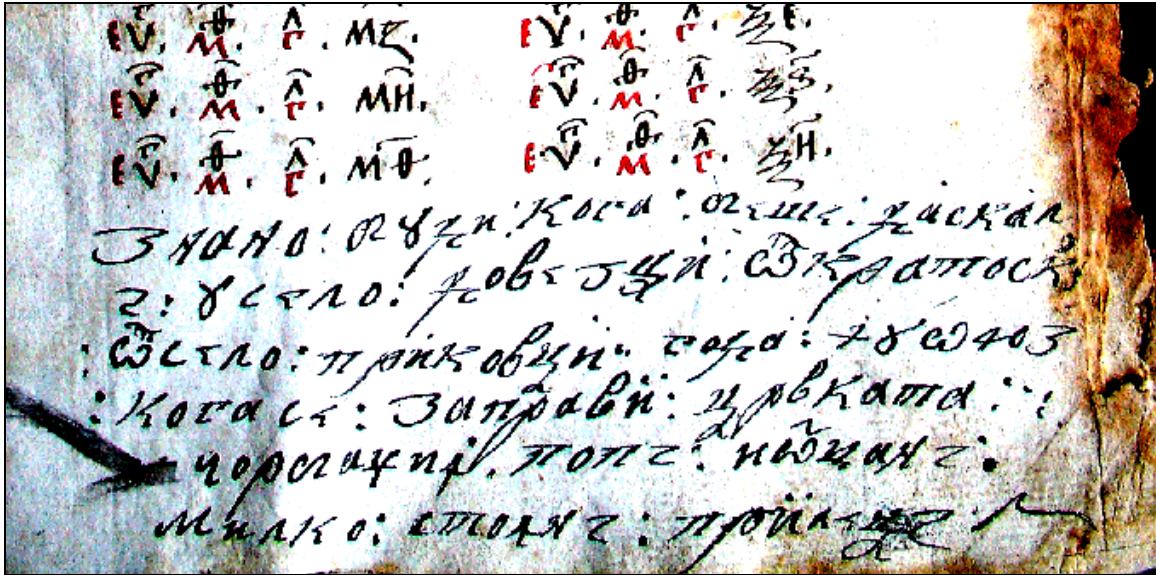


Figure 11.17: #353 Gospel, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (1843), back endpaper.

Script/Language	SU	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS and vernacular	M: 1728, 1813	M: 1751	0	3
Vernacular	0	M: 1843 NM: 1830	M: 1866 NM: 1782, 1818, 1862	6
Totals	2	3	4	9

Table 11.7: Comparison of scripts and language in marginalia about church-related repairs. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Table 11.7 demonstrates the relationship between the earliest marginalia (1728, 1751, 1813) with the transitional SU-vernacular language and a monastic location. The cursive script also corresponds to monastic locations. NU script correlates to vernacular language and appeared as crude, disorganized, and unaligned script, as if written by less

⁹⁶³ #5 Gospel.

formally trained laypeople or non-monastic clergy. Non-monastic authors applied a wide range of scripts in combination with either literary or vernacular languages.

Summary

Pilgrimages

Marginalia about pilgrimages and *taxidiot* visits constitute a significant primary source of information about the social, intellectual, and spiritual interactions between monastic and non-monastic communities during the Ottoman period. These marginalia reflect the constant interaction and exchange of resources, with material and financial support coming from the laypeople and educational and spiritual counsel coming from the monastic community.

The marginalia that document these events typically have a brief and formal character and consistent structure, requesting the spiritual benefit of pilgrimage for the pilgrim. Pilgrimages perhaps mitigated the everyday struggle for survival and enhanced the spirituality of the laypeople. Pilgrims placed their marginalia close to the text, perhaps believing that the notes would protect them and bestow spirituality from God.

The formal character of writing, expressed in the more literate scripts and language, characterized marginalia of the earlier period. Marginalia about pilgrimages became more vernacular at the end of the period. Although the HACI corpus provides relatively little evidence dating from the second quarter of the 17th century until the last quarter of 19th century, the chronological distribution of pilgrimage marginalia demonstrates that pilgrimages did not follow a regular pattern but fluctuated, disappeared, and reappeared, especially between 1825 and 1875. Some of this fluctuation in pilgrimage marginalia might have reflected the political turmoil of the 19th century, due in large part to Russo-Turkish wars (1806-1812, 1828-1829, 1853-1856, 1877-1878), the two Serbian uprisings (1804-1813, 1815-1817), the Greek uprising (1821), the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829), and the April Uprising in Bulgaria (1876).

Commemoration lists

Commemoration lists, known as *pomenik*, functioned as memory aids for clergy during the Divine Liturgy. Pilgrims, donors, and other believers who visited the monastery and contributed to it produced these commemoration lists after the patterns set by liturgical diptychs that listed departed people. The evidence from the HACI corpus documents the practice of pilgrimage among laypeople that spread especially after the 17th century. Monasteries with long and established traditions, historical significance, literary activity, and connections to famous saints such as the monasteries in the Holy Land, Mount Athos, or Rila monastery, tended to have longer commemoration lists that included famous royal and noble figures and included whole manuscripts to list those names from pre-Ottoman times. For the less famous although still very active monasteries, such as Etropole, Kokalyanski, Pshinski, Boboshevo, and Slepche monasteries, commemoration lists consisted of several marginalia to a complete gathering of pages attached to liturgical manuscripts.

Commemoration lists used an informal style of writing, due to their less formal structure and fewer structural elements and formulae than were typical for medieval official documents. They are characterized by long lists of people with occasionally a date, residence of the person, a prayer for the deceased, and a designation of the person in charge of the family. These notes, written by clergy for their own ease of use, tended to cluster together toward the front of the manuscript and show more formal literary and documentary script and language.

Donations

As with sponsorship, church-related repairs, commemoration, and pilgrimage marginalia, donation marginalia note the charitable acts of the laypeople toward monastic communities. People donated money or material goods that would support the life and the liturgical practices of the recipients. The notes that document donations appear in the fronts of manuscripts together with commemoration lists. Each note would list an entire family who believed that they were fulfilling a duty and guaranteeing their salvation.

Donation marginalia also remain semi-formal, although formal enough to document transactions between the church and the laypeople. These marginalia emphasize the donors and the products and usually do not bear dates or other descriptive features. They demonstrate a variety of scripts and language variations, although the prevailing combination was the vernacular language and the NU script.

Donation marginalia appear as the most frequent type of marginalia (89 notes) in the HACI corpus. The number of donation marginalia found in a church's manuscripts indicated the church's popularity and support. In this respect, Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery enjoyed the most support in this sample. Donation marginalia also indicate the level of donation activity in Bulgaria, especially in the 18th century.

Church-related repairs

Marginalia about church-related repairs constitute important historical sources that witnessed the challenges that the Orthodox Church faced in renovating and building new churches during the Ottoman period. The very few (nine) cases recorded between 1728 and 1889 document an activity that previously may not have been permitted at all.

These marginalia used the essential structural elements of medieval documents, especially the *validatio* of the official seal of the Church, the names of the Ottoman witnesses, and the *sanctio* against violations of the legal provisions of the document. Marginalia about church-related repairs, although formal and brief, demonstrate that the act of repair was considered a legal transaction.

The Church was legally obliged to inform and involve the Ottoman authorities as witnesses during the projects as stipulated by Ottoman laws and regulations. The marginalia reflect the later influences of the vernacular language but still display a wide range of script styles and no fixed location of the marginalia. Church-related repairs marginalia emphasize the act of sponsorship, and the sponsors of church-related repairs activities belonged to the more affluent members of the laypeople. Members of clergy worked as repairmen and builders in both non-monastic and monastic centers.

12 THE WORLD OUTSIDE: MARGINALIA ABOUT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Manuscript marginalia and colophons possess historical value as primary historical sources.⁹⁶⁴ They are treated as historical evidence along with other written and oral traditions (chronicles, historical accounts, hagiography, epigraphy, archeology, and foreign travel accounts) and classified as domestic historical sources.⁹⁶⁵ Their real value as documentary evidence, however, rests in their origins as eyewitness accounts of South Slavic and particularly Bulgarian history written by ordinary but committed people, or "history from below," a social history. Historical marginalia provide a more candid and straightforward account than the official documents because, during the Ottoman years, ordinary people and scribes wrote honestly and tried to preserve their own lives and survive, not sit and contemplate historiography.⁹⁶⁶

Pre-Ottoman evidence of historical marginalia

Preceding the Ottoman invasion, hidden in the margins, where scribes ask for forgiveness for scribal errors. "Oh, oh, oh, me the sinful one!" "Please, forgive me!" "I am so hungry and my heart is frowning."⁹⁶⁷ Although very concise and written in extremely small script, such notes reveal not only the difficult circumstances of writing but also the effort and responsibility of the scribe who copied the manuscripts. "I am writing during the night. Please, forgive me for I have to find the candle."⁹⁶⁸ The scribe appears to be in a dialogue with God, his only witness, confessing his insignificance and

⁹⁶⁴ Nikolay Genchev, *Bulgarskoto Vuzrazhdane* (Sofia: 1995), Hristova, Karadzhova, and Uzunova, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*, Hristova, *Belezhki Na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-19 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-19th Century)*, Mutafchieva, *Da se Znae (Let It Be Known)*, Petur Petrov, *Sudbonosni Vekove Za Bulgarskata Narodnost [Fateful Centuries for the Bulgarian Identity]* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1975), Raikov, "Pripiskite v Sistemata na Starata Bulgarska Knizhnina (Colophons in the System of the Old Bulgarian Literature).", Bozhidar Raykov, "Pripiskite v Sistemata na Starata Bulgarska Knizhnina (Marginalia in the System of the Old Bulgarian Literature)," *Palaeobulgarica* 16, no. 2 (1992).

⁹⁶⁵ Genchev, *Bulgarskoto Vuzrazhdane*.

⁹⁶⁶ Ivan Dujchev, *Vizantia i Slavyanskiat Svyat* (Sofia: Anubis, 1998).

⁹⁶⁷ Hristova, Karadzhova, and Uzunova, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*.

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

weakness against the physical suffering of hunger, exhaustion, and extreme cold. Yet, despite his physical weakness and complaints, he endures the hardship and perseveres.

Colophons resemble legal or administrative records, and provide evidence not only of transactions but also of historical events, rulers, and so on. Slavic colophons followed the already established Byzantine formal models and traditions.⁹⁶⁹ As a result, Slavic colophons are valuable historical sources because they contain descriptions of specific historical events, figures, and transactions. Colophons, like the title pages of contemporary printed books, identify the manuscript and assert its existence as an authentic record by providing title, scribe, translator, date, location, and association with authority and historical events. The colophon was not the place for scribes to discuss themselves but to provide proof of professional skill and trustworthiness.

Toudor Doksov produced the earliest extant Slavic colophon in 907 CE.⁹⁷⁰ The manuscript commissioned by then Kniaz and future Tsar Simeon is a copy of the *Sermons of Athanasius of Alexandria* (295-373). The Greek original was translated by Episcopo Constantine, a leading figure in the royal literacy center and scriptorium, and apparently dictated to scribe Toudor Doksov. The date, 907 CE, is associated with the death of Boris, Simeon's father. Simeon possibly commissioned the manuscript to commemorate the death of Boris and to celebrate his greatest achievement, the adoption of Christianity by the Bulgarian Kingdom in the year 6374 from the creation of the world, i.e., 866 A.D.

The colophon discussed the deeds of royalty. Kniaz [Prince] Simeon, the future Tsar [from Caesar, King] Simeon commissioned the manuscript, according to the colophon. The scribe focused on royal achievement, specifically, the reign of Simeon during which church and state developed a national language and identity distinct from Byzantium but still preserving the authority of Byzantine ecclesiastic traditions. The scribe juxtaposed the production of the manuscript with glorification and preservation of

⁹⁶⁹ Raikov, "Pripiskite v Sistemata Na Starata Bulgarska Knizhnina" (Colophons in the System of the Old Bulgarian Literature).

⁹⁷⁰ Hristova, Karadzhova, and Uzunova, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*. For more detailed treatment of the colophon as such, please refer to Research Findings: Colophon.

the memory of the rulers: the building of the Golden Church by Simeon and the conversion of Bulgarians to Christianity by his father, Boris. The scribe appears to have associated Boris and Simeon with the Biblical David and Solomon, likening the most glorious time of the Bulgarian kingdom with the most glorious time of the nation of Israel.

The scribe also provides information about the royal scriptorium associated with the Golden Church built by Simeon. Because he locates it near the river Ticha, historians have identified it as the monastery Saint Teodor, near the capital Preslav. The church described by the scribe is the famous round church built by Simeon. Simeon's reign, which is recognized as the First Golden Age of literacy, literature and the arts, by Slavic scholars, focused on production of manuscripts, including translation of Byzantine theological works into Old Church Slavonic, the literary language of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

Under Ottoman rule

The Ottomans entered the Balkans in the 14th century and occupied most of the region until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century. Bulgaria then fell under Ottoman domination with regions such as Eastern Thrace remaining under Turkish control into the 21st century. One of the crucial battles that allowed the Ottomans to penetrate the Balkans was the battle of Chernomen in 1371. Monk Isaia Serski described the 1371's battle at Chernomen near the river Maritsa, in which the Ottomans destroyed the armies of the brothers Vukashin (governor of Prilep) and Ivan Uglesh (governor of Seres).⁹⁷¹ Isaia encoded his name in a number cryptogram, perhaps revealing the scribe's perception of danger of retaliation from the Ottomans.

I finished this during the worst of all times, when God inspired anger in the Christians from the western states and despot Uglesh aroused the whole Serbian and Greek army, including his brother Vukashin and many others about sixty thousand army. And they went to Macedonia to chase away the Turks, not thinking that anyone was so powerful enough to stand against them. But not only did they not chase away the Turks but they also perished from them and their bones fell and remained unburied and a multitude - some

⁹⁷¹ Ibid.

died from a sword, others were taken into captivity and only few of them saved themselves. And so much need and cruelty filled up all Western towns and states that nobody has ever heard and no eyes have seen ever. After the killing of the brave man Despot Uglesha, the Ishmaelites spread out and flew over the whole earth as birds of prey in the air and some of the Christians they killed by the sword, others, they took into captivity, and others died by premature death. The rest, whom death left untouched, perished from hunger because there was such a hunger in all lands that has never happened since before the Creation or afterwards, Christ merciful, Amen. And those that the hunger did not kill, they by permission of God were attacked and eaten by wolves day and night. Oh my goodness, one could see such a sorrowful view! The earth remained bare from all blessings - people, livestock, and all fruits. There was no *kniaz* [prince], neither leader, nor any supervisor for the people, neither savior, but all people were filled with fear from the Ishmaelite, so even the brave male hearts turned into the weakest female hearts. And then, it is true that the living envied the ones who died before. Please, trust me, I am not illiterate at all, but even the wisest amidst Greeks, Livanius, could not describe the evil that happened to the Christians from the Western lands.⁹⁷²

This section of the three-page colophon reveals the scribe's perplexity over this momentous event in history. The scribe expresses concern for the Christian population, interpreting the historical events in theological terms. He depicts the impending doom of the Christians in terms of the *Apocalypse of St. John*, using the theological theme of the Wrath of God. For him, this was the End of Times, the Last Judgment. He felt obliged to record his observation of the historical events before he died. He associated the Ottomans with the Biblical son of Agar, Ishmael.

This colophon represents the metamorphosis of the colophon into a historical narrative. The historical account overwhelms the previous formal identification formulae. The events impelled Monk Isaia to transform the previously strict Byzantine formulas into an extensive historical narrative that he felt nobody, not even the wise Livanius, could duplicate. This historic colophon marks a break in tradition, when the scribe can share his view of the Ottoman invaders and his new consciousness in confession.

⁹⁷² *Miscellany*, Moscow, RGB, Muz. 93, Ibid., pp. 51-53.

Ottoman dominion through historical marginalia

During the Turkish period, marginalia changed in content, form, and method of denoting authorship. They described not only historical events but also the hardships and ways of coping with everyday life for Bulgarians. In other words, the manuscript page served as a channel to express pain. Weather calamities, high prices, taxation, earthquakes, and locusts: all form pieces of his torment. The change from " Oh, oh, oh, me the sinful one!" to "Oh, oh, oh, from those janissaries!" revealed a change in the national communities' consciousness, attesting that suffering had prevailed over religious contemplation. It seems that the authors hid their somewhat encoded messages in the margins of manuscripts. Scribes of the monastic scriptorium in the Etropole region hid their identities on secret encryptions of names.⁹⁷³ These short and laconic notes were cryptic, as if to prevent discovery by an enemy or to avoid speaking at length about common matters, because all had suffered similarly.⁹⁷⁴

"Great fear!" "Great sorrow!" "Great need!" The outcries became brief and emphatic, especially during severe times. Suppressed Christian voices cried out from manuscript margins. The succinct "Oh! Oh! Oh!" speaks volumes about attitudes toward the suffering during the continual disturbances between the Ottoman Empire when taxes increased dramatically to pay for reprisals, massacres, mass rapes, enslavement, and carnage by the Ottoman army and paramilitary forces. The marginal voices spoke a language imbued with expressiveness and full of emphatic emotional adjectives, interjections, and action verbs describing atrocities. Sometimes, authors left brief and factual historical information. In most cases, however, historical accounts of historical events are descriptive and evaluative.

What mattered to the scribe was sharing his feelings to the extent that the marginal area allowed. Taking up the pen after the hardships of the day, under threat of reprisal, probably required dedication. Historical marginalia placed at the bottom of a number of consecutive pages reflect the fear of discovery and a desire to preserve the

⁹⁷³ Ivan Rusev, *Sie da se Znae (Let All Be Known)* (Sliven: Faber, 1999).

⁹⁷⁴ Mutafchieva, *Da se Znae (Let It Be Known)*.

memory of the times.⁹⁷⁵ If a page were lost, the remaining fragments still bore witness. The most typical are the 17th century marginalia left by priest Peter from the village of Mirkovo, who wrote about events in the Balkan Ottoman Empire and about the Second Turnovo and Chiprovtsi Uprisings.⁹⁷⁶

Corroborating evidence from marginalia

The following chronological arrangement of historical marginalia from the Ottoman period comes from sources that reside in different Bulgarian, Russian, Greek and other South Slavic archives and special collections. This historical evidence has never been published in Western scholarly literature and provides a basis for future research. These marginalia capture the lowest points of history during this period, witnessing peoples' perception of and responses to the historical events happening in the Balkans and other geographical locations. They also agree with external historical sources of Arabic, Byzantine, Armenian, Western European and American origin.⁹⁷⁷

The corpus below consists of accounts from the HACI corpus (in italics) and the anthology *Pisahme da se znae*, the source for the pilot project for this study. Even though data cannot speak for themselves, we shall allow the scribes to speak for themselves without interpretation.⁹⁷⁸ The goal of this study is to present to future researchers the primary sources written by the semi-literate and lower social class South Slavic citizens of the Ottoman Empire. Historians decide whether they are valid historical sources.

1371 I finished this during the worst of all times, when God inspired anger in the Christians from the western states, and the despot Uglesha aroused the whole

⁹⁷⁵ #7 *Psalter*, #72 *Octoechos*, #135 *Kiriakodromion*, #161 *Gospel*, #180 *Gospel*, #341 *Kiriakodromion*, #368 *Miscellany*.

⁹⁷⁶ Rusev, *Sie da se Znae (Let All Be Known)*.

⁹⁷⁷ Consult Chapter 5: Historical Background: Primary and Secondary Sources and Chapter 11: Marginalia about interactions between the laypeople and the Church.

⁹⁷⁸ The italicized marginalia come from HACI collection. They are augmented by others, compiled in the *Pisahme da se znae* anthology. The most powerful epithets, interjections, and descriptions appear boldfaced for emphasis. The author admits that she has selected these cases as representative samples in terms of flowing chronological manner the climaxes of challenges that the Christian population faced in its interaction with the Ottoman authorities and army, authorities, and other terrorist groups during the Ottoman period.

Serbian and Greek army with his brother Vulkashin and many others, about sixty thousand in the combined army. Moreover, they went to Macedonia to chase away the Turks, not thinking that anybody could be so powerful to stand against them. But not only did they not chase away the Turks, but they perished from them and their bones fell and remained unburied and a big multitude - some died from the sword, others were taken in captivity and only a few of them saved themselves. And such need and cruelty filled all Western towns and states that no ears have heard and no eyes have ever seen. After the killing of the brave man Despot Uglesha, the Ishmaelites spread out and flew over the whole earth as birds of prey in the air, and some of the Christians they killed by sword, others took into captivity, and others died by timeless death. The rest whom death left untouched, perished from hunger because there was such a hunger in all lands, that had never happened since before the Creation, neither afterwards, Christ be merciful, Amen. And those that hunger did not kill, by permission of God, were attacked and eaten by wolves day and night. Oh my goodness, one could see such a sorrowful sight! The earth remained bare from all blessings - people, livestock, and all fruits. There was no knyaz [prince], neither leader, nor any supervisor for the people, neither savior, but all people were filled with fear from the Ishmaelites, so even the brave male hearts turned into the weakest female hearts.⁹⁷⁹

- 1393 In the year 1393, Chelebi, the son of the Turkish Amir Amurat, captured the Bulgarian land and the glorious town of Turnovo. And he captured the tsar, the patriarch, the metropolitan, and the episcopo, and burned the holy relics, and turned the cathedral into a horse barn...⁹⁸⁰
- 1393 This book was written in 1393 in the days when by the permission of God we were handed over because of our sins to the lawless and dirty hands of the foe, to the king of Injustice, the most wicked in the whole world. And then, it was such a tribulation and great sadness because of the Godless Ishmaelites, which has never happened before and never will be.⁹⁸¹
- 1537 ...when the severe and unmerciful tsar sultan Sjuleiman reigned. During this most severe [*ljuto*] and saddest [*preskrubno*] time, the Ishmaelites rushed on toward the Christian herd, unmercifully, like fierce lions, and my mind was confused by much fear.⁹⁸²
- 1544 OH! OH! OH! Pity on me, brothers. I wrote in most difficult times, in one hidden spot, and a premonition came to me, that they were collecting Janissaries, but my children were yet not needed for Janissaries. Those wicked betrayers told the

⁹⁷⁹ Moscow, RGB Mus. #93. *Miscellany with works by Dionisius Areopagite*

⁹⁸⁰ *Penedicht*, from *Pisahme da se znae*, p.58.

⁹⁸¹ *Pentecostarion*, from *Pishame da se znae*, p. 58.

⁹⁸² *Gospel Book*, Monastery Sveta Troica, at Plevle, from *Pisahme da se znae*, pp. 62-63.

- wicked Hagarians, and they came to take my children. They came with a friend of mine. I was deeply troubled and don't know what I write. Betrayers don't know themselves nor their children. Amen.⁹⁸³
- 1573 And then, I was in such indescribable sadness, which I can hardly speak about. However, with the help of our God the enemy was conquered soon by the angel with the sword and buried in Hades with the rest of the people of the same tribe. And I, the pitiful one, with my own eyes saw his end. When this happened, then the great master sultan Selim reigned over the whole Urumelia and the Pelagoniiska land, and the Western lands. We, the devoted Christians, still humbled by their oppression, live sometimes in great need, and sometimes in welfare. And during this time, there was a great war on sea.⁹⁸⁴
- 1598 In the year of 1598, there was such a sadness and despair, as Christ foretold. And the Turks arose with many Hagarian soldiers: Tatars, Persians, Circassians, Sketes, and it was not possible to count the multitude then, and they captured several towns, and captured the Hungarian land. And then, they turned around and went and wintered in the Serbian land, and the devil, as he could not stand the silence amongst the Christians, forced the lawless and severe Tartars [to attack]. Oh [*Ole*], my goodness, what sadness the earth has suffered through! In brief, I will tell you: they burned down villages and towns, many churches were desolated, and they stole holy icons, and they desolated and dug out the holy places, and then, in the severe winter weather, many people were dragged naked on the ground, some were killed by sword, others shot by guns. And no place was left, where dead people did not lie - hills, and valleys, and mountaintops, and meadows, and everything was covered with dead bodies. Others were taken away in other lands and spread around. It was such a bitter crying, they separated them one from another, brother from brother, son from father. They said that it was better for all to go into a common grave, instead of taking them away to foreign lands, they cried bitterly and mourned each other. And it was a great desolation in this land.⁹⁸⁵
- 1667 Countless people died from hunger on Zagore land, and at Beligrad also they were dying from hunger. OH! OH! OH! Great need because of our sins.⁹⁸⁶
- 1678 *In the year since the Creation of the world, 1678 [...] +During this time, there was GREAT NEED AND SORROW because of foreign languages [nations] and also because of the Turks, and the wheat was so expensive – 21 aspri/oka. During the reign of Mehmed, PERSECUTORS AND TORTURERS of the Christian kin+ Because hypocrisy and cheating dominated, those foreign languages [nations]*

⁹⁸³ *Gospel Book*, Lovech, from *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 63.

⁹⁸⁴ *Gospel Book* 1573

⁹⁸⁵ *Service Book* from Mount Athos, St. Paul Monastery, in *Pisahme da se znae*, pp. 67-68.

⁹⁸⁶ Year, 1666-Turks fight in Crete, afterwards misery, and the vezier passes through Sofia.

- were able to consume our land. And by the most blessed Theotokos [Virgin Mary], we were able to preserve the law of God that became our weapon.*⁹⁸⁷
- 1690 +*Let it be known when came Tatar Chan to the town of Pleven that no livestock was left, neither a woman nor maiden unraped in the year of 1690, October.*⁹⁸⁸
- 1717 ...heavy [*tezhka*] war passed through Nish and Belgrade. OH! OH! What did the Christians go through: misery [*bedi*] from everywhere. 1717.⁹⁸⁹
- 1737 *Let it be known what a GREAT NEED happened to Christians from the tsar Mohammed the Hagarian, the godless. During this time, the Turks came to Moscow [the Turks and the Russians fought] and there was A GREAT HAVOC. . . the Germans came to Nish and took Nish by the will of God. And a fear from God fell upon the Turks and they gave up the battle. At all towns, there was fear from the Turks and the battles. The fear from God fell upon them and they got up when the sun rose in the morning until it set. . . . and the Turks began to torture the Christians. OH! OH! They tortured the Christians. Everywhere they hang the merciful godly Christians like martyrs. The year of 1737.*⁹⁹⁰
- 1737 OH! And the Christians suffered so much as they had never suffered before, since the Diocletian times.⁹⁹¹
- 1746 OH! OH! Pity on us from the Hagarians during those times.⁹⁹²
- 1749 +*Let it be known when a great Turkish army went to Bech, year of 1681, and did not capture Peshta in the year of 1749. And the Germans took Belgrade in the month of August 18.*⁹⁹³
- 1793 OH! OH! OH! So much distress they caused to the poor and Christians from those taxes!⁹⁹⁴
- 1796 OH! OH! OH! The kurdzhalii did a lot of destruction [*ZULUM*] in the year of 1796.⁹⁹⁵
- 1794 *In the year of 1794. Let it be known that . . . the kurdzhalii came to Etropole for the first time and did much destruction, stealing everything they found. They did*

⁹⁸⁷ #573 *Octoechos*, Etropole monastery Holy Trinity.

⁹⁸⁸ #63 *Octoechos*, village of Kunino, Byala Slatina region, Vraca, church Sveti Nikola

⁹⁸⁹ *Four Gospels* from Busintsi, *Pisahme da se znae*, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁹⁰ #5 *Psalter* 1643, Church St. Nicholas, village of Kamarica.

⁹⁹¹ Panegirik, 16th century, *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 97.

⁹⁹² *Bible*, Lesnovski monastery, *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 98. Describing the Russo-Turkish war, joined by Austria, the revenge of the Turks on the Christians.

⁹⁹³ #58 *Euchologion* (trebник), village of Brezovo.

⁹⁹⁴ *Menaion* from Etropole monastery, *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 117.

⁹⁹⁵ *Four Gospels*, Busintsi, *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 119.

- not come to the church of Holy Trinity. When they left, they took ducats from the agas, because the Turks locked themselves in the tower. And the Christians ran away in the woods. So, when the Christians came back, the Turks locked them in because of the money, that they [Turks] had to give to the kurdzalii, and took them by force from the Christians, 30 bags of ducats and spread the debt among all houses so the priest Grigorii had to pay for the metoch 250 groshs. And a GREAT MISERY happened to the Christians that no human language could describe...⁹⁹⁶*
- 1804 *Let it be known when Kara Feizi came to Breznik. Then, all the world was deadly scared of him, and he destroyed Breznik region to become aga [ruler] . . . and consumed all the sugar in the world so the world would die for bread.⁹⁹⁷ (This note was repeated three times in another manuscript.⁹⁹⁸)*
- 1821 *OH! OH! OH! Pity on me, the sinful one! . . . We suffered a great scourge from Lobut Pasha and the Arnauts at Mount Athos and by the rebellions... And a GREAT EVIL we suffered from the Arnauts, and from the serasker's [military ruler's] people and the guards... And we suffered a great scourge... they burned down the metochions of Kalamaria in the year of 1821.⁹⁹⁹*
- 1821 *Let it be known when there was a GREAT HAVOC. Then, they hanged the Patriarch and the bishop of Nish and other bishops and many chorbadzhi [merchants] they hanged. Then, priest Ilia from Begunovci himself took out his intestines, March 1821.¹⁰⁰⁰*
- 1826 *Let it be known when the nizam [reform] happened with the Turks 1826. I, Kir Papa Velichko, wrote about this time . . . during this time; the love of money was great, and much battle happened between faith and faith. 1835. I wrote, Papa Velichko, most sinful.¹⁰⁰¹*
- 1828 *Let it be known when Moscovites came to Sofia, 1828.¹⁰⁰²*
- 1831 *+Let it be known when Ali beg attacked Sofia and destroyed the workshops and the goods, and robbed churches and desecrated the relics of St. Kral church and spilled the relics on the floor at the Saturday of St. Lazarus, April 11, 1831.¹⁰⁰³*

⁹⁹⁶ #90 *Menaion* for March, Etropole Sveta Troica monastery.

⁹⁹⁷ #6 *Psalter*, Iskrec monastery Sveta Bogorodica.

⁹⁹⁸ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, printed in 1806, Breznik.

⁹⁹⁹ Manuscript from Mount Athos, Hilandar monastery, *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁰⁰ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, printed in 1806, Breznik.

¹⁰⁰¹ #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolay Novi Sofiiski*, Kratovo, church of Sts. Michael and Gabriel.

¹⁰⁰² #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolay Novi Sofiiski*, Kratovo, church of Sts. Michael and Gabriel.

¹⁰⁰³ #246 *Prologue* for March-May, printed in Russia, Church of St. Nicholas, Sofia.

- 1841 *Let it be known when enslavement [robstvo] happened in Nish and Vlastimirci. It was a great fear around there and the serasker pasha came from Edrem. Akup pasha 1841, May.*¹⁰⁰⁴
- 1852 *Let it be known that there was a war in 1852. Then, the sultan was Abdul Medzhid. This happened during his reign. There was a big war and the aga transferred a lot of men in Silistra to Breznik region (300 people, but only 120 came), and the life became so expensive, an oka of bread cost 2 grosha.*¹⁰⁰⁵
- 1862 *AH! You holy antiquity, how do you endure to exist in such ignorance! OH! You beautiful manuscript! Lead our nation, because its salvation depends on you! OH! You our antiquity! The goddess of wisdom has saved you from the Greek envy. Todor Manastirski.*¹⁰⁰⁶
- 1876 *In 1876, . . . then the Pomaks did a lot of harm to the villages, and they destroyed the churches in Petrich, filling them with firewood and burning them down. And many humans were killed by bashi bozuks.*¹⁰⁰⁷
- 1876 *month of May 12. There were thirty people who were choked to death, and was a GREAT FEAR, and then, they destroyed the people of Panagjurishte, Klisura, Kunshtica, on April 30. I assigned Hrisant, as abbot with his grandson born in Triavna.*¹⁰⁰⁸
- 1877 *Let it be known when our brothers the Russians perfectly liberated our nation (narod) from the Turkish yoke and came to Sofia on December 23 1877 and the Turks perished badly.*¹⁰⁰⁹
- 1878 *year, month of May 31, in Klissura. . . . Now is the year of 1878; Emperor Alexander Nikolaevich II, tsar of all Russia, saved Bulgarian people from the Turkish yoke, and is called great emperor, then, in Serbia, knaz was Milan IV Obrenovich . . . Whoever forgets about this, let him be cursed by Jesus Christ and by the 318 Fathers.*¹⁰¹⁰
- 1878 *Our suffering after 12 months of staying, I can't describe. OH! Such a wretched place! Let God do not let us see it again and there after indescribable sufferings*

¹⁰⁰⁴ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, printed in 1806, from Breznik.

¹⁰⁰⁵ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, printed in 1806, from Breznik.

¹⁰⁰⁶ #28 *Four Gospels*, Boboshevo monastery.

¹⁰⁰⁷ #99 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery Holy Trinity.

¹⁰⁰⁸ #107 *Menaion* for October, Etropole monastery Holy Trinity.

¹⁰⁰⁹ #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolay Novi Sofiiski*, Kratovo, church of St. Michael and Gabriel.

¹⁰¹⁰ #161 *Gospel*, printed in Lvov in 1636, village of Klisura, Trun region, Sofia.

they released us from the chains...AH! What a wretched suffering. AH! And what a happy day was the day of my freedom.¹⁰¹¹

The historical evidence in HACI manuscripts

The HACI corpus provides examples of historical marginalia that cover the geographical regions of Western Bulgaria and Macedonia, with fewer examples from Central, North, and South Bulgaria. Fifty-nine historical accounts appear in the HACI corpus, making it the third largest category, after donation and inscription marginalia. The collective personified historian of these accounts portrays the impact of Ottoman rule on the economic, cultural, and political lives of the Christian population.

Analysis of historical marginalia answered the following questions:

1. Who produced historical marginalia?
2. What did historical marginalia discuss?
3. Which genres of manuscripts contained historical marginalia?
4. When did writing of historical marginalia occur? What was the chronological distribution?
5. Where did writing of historical marginalia occur, geographically?
6. How were historical marginalia structured as to form and content?
7. Where were historical marginalia placed in the manuscripts?
8. Which script and languages did authors use in historical marginalia?

Authorship

Who produced historical marginalia? The majority of historical marginalia remained anonymous, while colophons with historical information usually were signed by scribes. Forty-four of the 59 historical marginal accounts were anonymous. This anonymity could be interpreted in two ways: Authors might have sought safety from

¹⁰¹¹ Gancho Shulev, Church History from Koprivshtitsa, *Pisahme da se znae*, p. 198.

reprisals, or they might have desired to emphasize the historical event or figure rather than themselves.

The 13 people who stated their names included four laypeople, four monks and five priests. The famous scribes Raphail and Daniil from Etropole monastery and Dionisius from Kapinovo monastery left the earliest examples. The laypeople, including the teacher and chronicler Mihail Ivanov of Breznik,¹⁰¹² revealed their names in 1857, 21 years before Bulgarian Independence (1878).

Genre distribution

Which genres of manuscripts contained historical marginalia? Authors preferred to inscribe liturgical books (34 notes) with historical reflections, although they inscribed 21 historical marginalia in devotional books. Ten notes appear in *Menaions*, eight notes in *Euchologions*, four in *Psalters* and *Octoechos*, three in *Gospels* and *Service and Vitae*, two in *Apostles Book*, and one example each appeared in a *Triodion* and a *Euchologion*. Fifteen historical marginalia appeared in the devotional book *Kiriakodromion* from the town of Breznik. Three historical marginalia appear in *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, two in a *Prologue*, and one in a *Miscellany*.

Provenance

Where did writing of historical marginalia occur, geographically? Non-monastic authors (39 notes) participated more actively in describing historical events than monastic authors (20 notes). However, the monastic authors set the example of historical observation and evaluation in the colophons of manuscripts. The earliest examples appeared in the colophons of monastic manuscripts written in 1526,¹⁰¹³ 1567,¹⁰¹⁴ 1595,¹⁰¹⁵ 1639,¹⁰¹⁶ and 1643.¹⁰¹⁷ These early documents mention Ottoman rulers such as the Sultans Murad (1360-1389), Selim (1512-1520), and Sulejman the Magnificent (1520-1566), and the census of Ibrahim (1640-1648) in 1643. Authors from nine

¹⁰¹² #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

monasteries left 19 historical accounts: Boboshevo, Dolni Lozen, Iskrets, Kupinovo, Kratovo (two), Seslavski (two), Slepche, Pshinski, and Etropole (nine) monasteries.

Laypeople became more active in leaving their insights about political events than monastic writers were possibly because the lay population felt more severely and directly the impact of Ottoman rule. Because they were in direct contact with the Ottoman authorities and in closer proximity to the capital Istanbul, Bulgarian peasants supplied constant supplies of food and other resources for the capital and the rest of the Ottoman Empire, despite their suffering. However, local clergymen were in an even more vulnerable position as intermediaries between the pressures coming from the Ottoman civil and Greek ecclesiastical authorities. Non-monastic authors came from four villages (Kamarica, Dushanci, Kunino, and Klissura) and six towns (Breznik, Sofia, Varna, Samokov, Skopie, and Turnovo). Breznik, Sofia, and Samokov, more severely affected by political and economic conditions, recorded a larger number of historical marginalia.

Date and chronological distribution

When did writing of historical marginalia occur? What was their chronological distribution? The earliest historical account dates from 1526 and appears in the colophon of a *Menaion* manuscript produced in Etropole monastery.¹⁰¹⁸ Four historical marginalia written in monasteries appeared in the 16th century,¹⁰¹⁹ seven in the 17th century,¹⁰²⁰ 11 in the 18th century¹⁰²¹ and 30 during the 19th century.¹⁰²² Table 12.1 demonstrates the chronological distribution of historical marginalia in the HACI corpus.

¹⁰¹³ #511 *Menaion*.

¹⁰¹⁴ #250 *Gospel*.

¹⁰¹⁵ #207 *Octoechos*.

¹⁰¹⁶ #92 *Menaion*.

¹⁰¹⁷ #99 *Menaion*.

¹⁰¹⁸ #511 *Menaion*.

¹⁰¹⁹ 1526; 1555; 1567; 1595.

¹⁰²⁰ 1636; 1639; 1643; 1678; 1678; 1681; 1690.

¹⁰²¹ 1707; 1715; 1717; 1728; 1737; 1745; 1778; 1780; 1780; 1781; 1794.

¹⁰²² 1804; 1804; 1804; 1813; 1813; 1813; 1813; 1817; 1819; 1821; 1822; 1826; 1826; 1831; 1834; 1835; 1841; 1843; 1852; 1857; 1857; 1858; 1863; 1876; 1876; 1876; 1876; 1877; 1878; 1885; 1889.

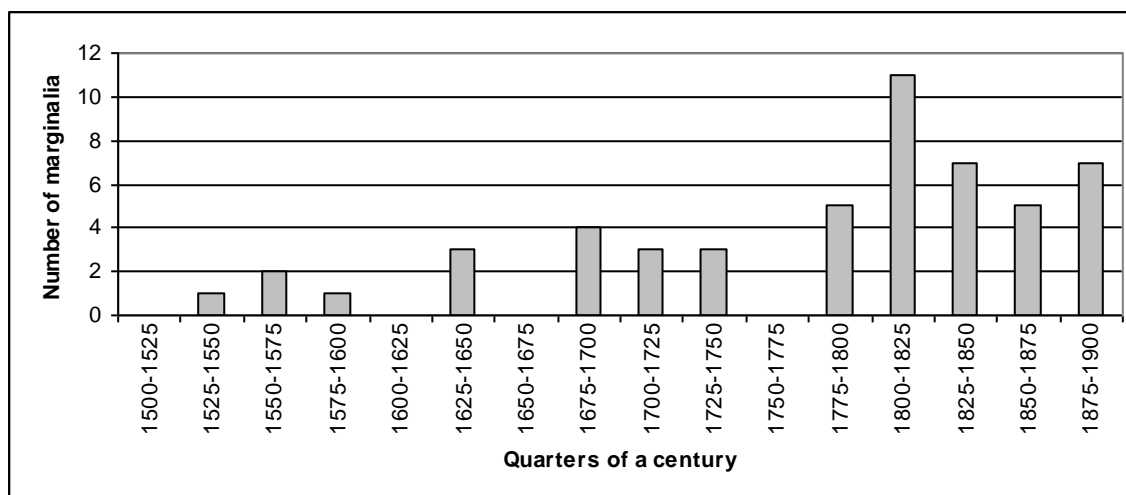


Figure 12.1: Chronological distribution of HACI historical marginalia.

Subject matter

What did historical marginalia discuss? Historical marginalia can serve to reconstruct and recreate the political and social history of the Balkans. This chapter will present in chronological order the major themes and historical events documented by Bulgarian authors.

16th century historical accounts

The earliest examples of historical information appeared in colophons and mentioned the Ottoman ruler. As the evidence from HACI shows, no historical marginalia appeared apart from colophons in the 16th century.

The colophon from Kupinovo monastery provides information about the battle of Giurgiu (1595).¹⁰²³ Sulejman's war with the Magyars and the "evil lawless Turks and Greeks" caused a "great misfortune in the world."¹⁰²⁴ Michail Hrabri acted against the Ottomans, passed over the Danube to Bulgaria, and won the battle against the Ottomans near Nikopol, causing fires in Svisthov, Oryahovo, Pleven, Vraca, and Vidin and more than 2,000 villages near the Balkan mountains. The first Bulgarian uprising in Turnovo (1595) resulted from the Austro-Turkish war (1592-1606). The revolt was crushed,

¹⁰²³ #207 *Octoechos*.

¹⁰²⁴ *Triodion* (1592-1606) in *Pisahme da se znae*.

forcing thousands of Bulgarians to resettle beyond the Danube, leaving behind in many places desperate victims. "A loaf of bread was sold for one golden coin."¹⁰²⁵

According to colophons, the Ottomans were engaged in several wars during the 16th and 17th centuries. The scribe Dionisii described battles along the Danube and apologized for his lack of diligence and his rough writing style:

Because at this time there was great fear about the army that was fighting near the Danube, and being in trouble, we did not have time to be more zealous [diligent], but what time we were able to find, we wrote this crudely and quickly. May the blessing of God be with all of you and us always. Amen.

17th century historical accounts

The Ottomans failed in a final attempt to capture Vienna in 1683, and their empire began a slow contraction. Amid continual warfare on their many borders, including eight Russo-Turkish wars in the 18th and 19th centuries,¹⁰²⁶ the Ottomans increased taxation to meet martial expenditures.¹⁰²⁷ Christians paid a disproportionate share of these taxes, which included only having them to send many of their sons into the Ottoman janissary corps.¹⁰²⁸ Janissary armies of occupation and government corruption became quite common.¹⁰²⁹ The kurdzhalii, autonomous Ottoman soldiers who became robbers, caused tremendous physical destruction and social disorder and precipitated the first Serbian revolt in 1804. With corruption, janissaries, and the kurdzhalii, the condition of the Christian population worsened as the declining Ottoman Empire increased taxation, enticing the poor to convert to Islam in order to pay fewer taxes.¹⁰³⁰ During the 1806-

¹⁰²⁵ G. Dimitrov, *Kniazhestvo Bulgaria*, vol. 2 (Sofia: Pridvorna pechatnitsa B. Shimachek, 1896), p. 62.

¹⁰²⁶ 1710-11, 1736-39, 1768-74, 1787-92, 1806-12, 1828-29, 1853-56, and 1877-78.

¹⁰²⁷ R. J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 52.

¹⁰²⁸ The janissary corps, from *yenicheri*, was based upon a system of human taxation known as *devshirme*, the conscription of young sons of Christian families to become property of the Sultan. Marginalia, foreign accounts, and even folk songs provide evidence of this practice.

¹⁰²⁹ Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects Upon the Reaya," in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change: Contributions to the International Balkan Conference Held at U.C.L.A., October 23-28, 1969*, ed. H. and Vryonis Birnbaum, S. (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).

¹⁰³⁰ Nomikos M. Vaporis, "Introduction to the Neon Martyrologion," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1978), Nomikos M. Vaporis, "The Price of Faith: Some Reflections of Nikodemos Hagiorites and His Struggles against Islam," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 24 (1978): 187.

1812 Russo-Turkish war, 160,000 Bulgarians fled the country.¹⁰³¹ As a result of this long military campaign, taxation increased to six to seven times the 15-16th century level.¹⁰³² Many colophons and marginalia attest to the Ottoman practice of gathering first-born Bulgarian boys for the janissary corps.

In response to military actions in Austria and Hungary, Ottoman authorities required the drafting of soldiers (*voinuk*) from the Bulgarian, Wallachian, and Moldavian populations. Further, the Christians had to feed the Ottoman army. Priest Yovko from Etropole wrote that Murad IV rested his army of 160,000 at Odrin for his war with Poland (1623-1640).¹⁰³³ The Austrian-Turkish Wars (1664) appear in two colophons.¹⁰³⁴ Other colophons and marginalia mention the Tatar invasion (1618-19) and the 1688 Chiprovtsi Uprising.¹⁰³⁵

During the 17th century, seven historical accounts appeared. One concerned the census of Sultan Ibrahim in 1643 and the turmoil it caused (Figure 12.2).

During the tenure of Abbot Rafail, hieromonk, *hadzhia* [pilgrim] during the days of Turkdom tsar sultan Ibrahim, and vezir Mustafa. During this year, a firman was issued to census all the Turkish state as it happened during the days of Caesar Augustus. And among all people there was great turmoil, which nobody can hear, neither say, only the One in the Highest.¹⁰³⁶

¹⁰³¹ Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*.

¹⁰³² Hristova, Karadzhova, and Uzunova, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek (Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Century)*.

¹⁰³³ Hilandar Monastery, Manuscript #360.

¹⁰³⁴ Bulgarian National Library, Manuscripts # 433, #610.

¹⁰³⁵ # 63 *Octoechos*.

¹⁰³⁶ #5 *Psalter*.

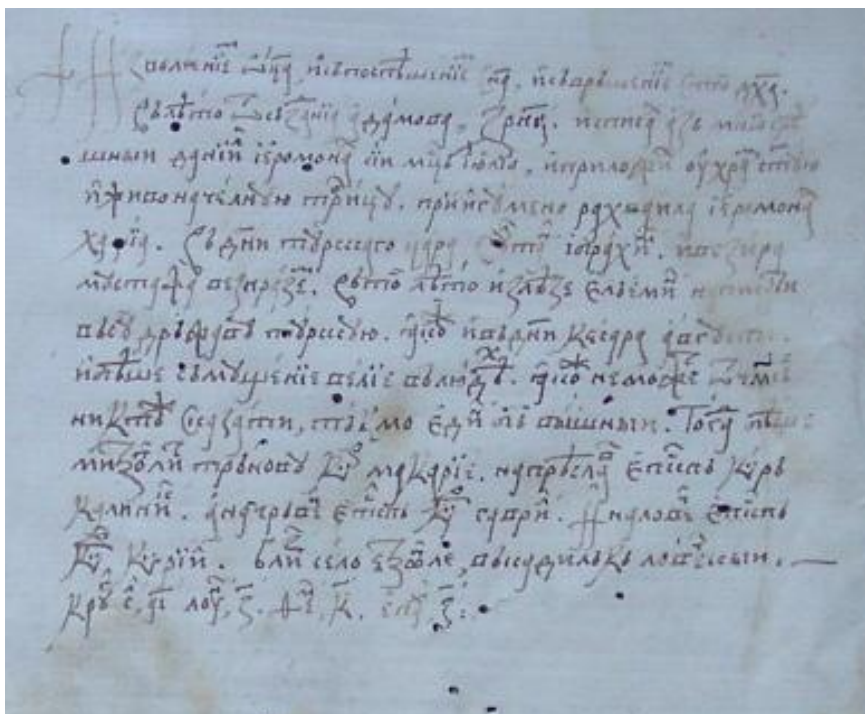


Figure 12.2: #99 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery Holy Trinity, the colophon, p. 299.

Eyewitnesses reported briefly the capture of Nish by the Austrian army in 1689¹⁰³⁷ and the siege of Vienna in 1683.¹⁰³⁸ Two accounts describe the 1678 crisis caused by the Russo-Turkish war (1677-1681). The narration intensifies in detail and emotional overtones when the writers described the political and economic turmoil in 1678 and its aftermath: hypocrisy, corruption, cheating, "desecration" of the native land, great need, and sorrow. The historical account from an *Octoechos* described the plunder and devastations following the passage through Plevan on his way to attack the Habsburgs of the Crimean Tatar Khan Selim Gerai in 1689: "Let it be known that when Tatar Khan came to the town of Plevan, no livestock was left and no woman or maiden went unraped in the year of 1690, October."¹⁰³⁹

¹⁰³⁷ #338 *Service book*.

¹⁰³⁸ #60 *Euchologion*.

¹⁰³⁹ #63 *Octoechos*.

18th century historical accounts

The character of historical observation began to change during the 18th century as the situation in the Ottoman Empire worsened. Historical accounts increased in length and content. During the first half of the century, chroniclers briefly recorded information they received about particular battles (Belgrade, Little Boaz, Tivlis, Peshta) or visits of Ottoman authorities to Bulgarian towns. However, the Russo-Turkish-and Austro-Turkish wars prompted very rich narratives in expressive and religious language.¹⁰⁴⁰ During the last quarter of the 18th century, the kurdzhalii and other Ottoman paramilitary soldiers plundered many Bulgarian settlements, burning down monasteries, torturing people for ransom, and causing them to flee out of fear.¹⁰⁴¹

Marginalia too interpret the troubled times between 1793 and 1832 due to the kurdzhalii who escaped from the sultan's army to spread devastation, fire, and murder. Ordinary Bulgarians experienced a triple degree of hardship: Ottoman taxation, a lack of basic rights as citizens, and the "tyranny" of these gangs of robbers. People fled to distant locations to escape.¹⁰⁴²

Let it be known that during the tonsure of the priest Grigorii, it happened that the Kurdzhalii came to Etropole and caused great violence. Whatever they found, they stole, but to Holy Trinity [the monastery] they did not come. When they came, they took money from the Agas, because the Turks locked themselves in the tower and the Christians fled to the woods. When the Christians came back from the woods, the Turks jailed them, because the Christians should give the kurdzhalii the money, so they took the money back from the Christians, (30 bags), and divided the debt among the houses, so it happened that the priest Grigorii had to give 250 groshs on behalf of the *metochion* [chapel and school established by monks]. And a great need arose during this time for all Christians that no human tongue is able to describe. This happened in the reign of the wicked sultan Selim. And the bishop was the Antim from Lovech and Dyado Peno from the village of Zhelyava was the church sexton at the Holy Trinity.¹⁰⁴³

Paissii of Hilendar discussed passionately two major problems of Bulgarians in the period: religious suppression by Greeks and political suppression by the Ottomans,

¹⁰⁴⁰ #5 *Psalter*.

¹⁰⁴¹ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1778); #92 *Menaion* (1794).

¹⁰⁴² Mutafchieva, *Da se Znae (Let It Be Known)*.

¹⁰⁴³ #92 *Menaion* (1792).

the so called "double yoke" in his influential *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1762) The seemingly privileged status of Mount Athos had a price: 3,000 groscha in yearly taxation, which accumulated to 27,000 groscha, which the monastery was not able to pay. This period of witnessed the Greek *megali idea*, the "great idea" that Greece should include all the lands described by Strabo, circa 23 CE, ideas of Great Serbia and Great Albania and remain to this day. In the 19th century, the newly independent Church of Greece echoed the expansionist claims of the Greek government. Greek ecclesiastic authorities echoed imperialism and condescension toward Bulgarians. A century later, the Bulgarian church won autonomy and shortly thereafter the Bulgarians won their independence from the Ottomans.

19th century historical accounts

Chroniclers wrote seven times as many accounts (29) in the 19th century as in the 16th century (four accounts). These historical marginalia discussed events associated with the kurdzhalii (paramilitary gangs), the Russian army of liberation, and the crushing of the April Uprising. The teacher-chronicler Mihail Ivanov from Breznik witnessed the misery caused by kurdzhalii leaders -- Kara Feizi and his son Ali Beg in 1804, 1822, and 1831-- and recorded his observations in the bottom margins of a printed *Kiriakodromion*.¹⁰⁴⁴ Ivanov also emphasized the uprising and crushing of the Serbs in 1814 and 1841 (Figure 12.3, five notes).

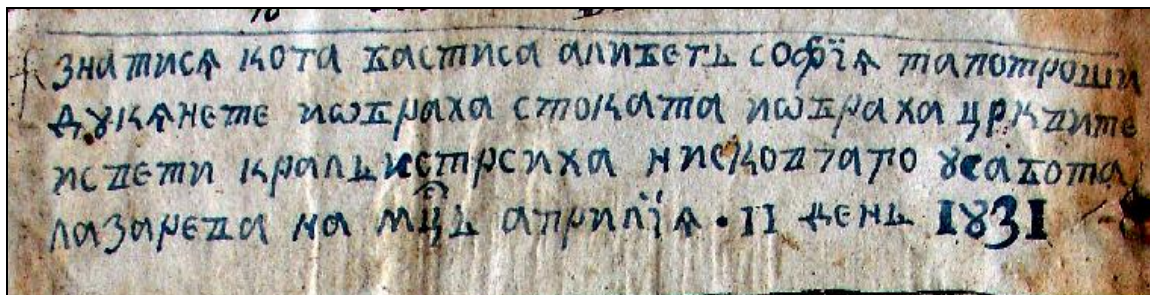


Figure 12.3: #246 *Prologue*, Sofia (1831), back pastedown.

¹⁰⁴⁴ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

The theme of national independence in the Balkans appears in numerous marginal notes. Those struggles involved popular uprisings in Serbia (1804, 1841), Greece (1821), and Bulgaria (1876). Bulgarian chroniclers reported these cases because they involved Bulgarian soldiers. They reported and described the reprisals that followed: "torture," "killings," and "harsh maltreatment" of ordinary people and Church officials. The accounts, true or not, became longer and provided descriptions and evaluations for a public that believed them.¹⁰⁴⁵

The Crimean War (1853-1856) and Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) received special attention. Chroniclers used figurative language to denote their belief and trust in their Russian "brothers" in the quest for liberation from five centuries of the Ottoman "yoke."¹⁰⁴⁶ The accounts described the aftermath of the wars, including severe economic crisis, inflation,¹⁰⁴⁷ epidemics,¹⁰⁴⁸ and resettlements of peoples.

Why should we believe those accounts? These historical are believable because they direct attention to real events happening in the Balkans, which were widely documented by foreign travelers, diplomats, and publicists in the West. The reports also provide evidence of real historical personalities such as the kurdzhalii leader Kara Feizi and his son Ali beg, along with other Ottoman figures. Corroborating evidence of kurdzhalii attacks on the local population exists in almost every Bulgarian library.

The highly personal manner of speaking implies a direct eyewitness' response to the initial shock they experienced. Should we believe only the long and dry diplomatic reports, government conversion records, or foreign journalists? Ordinary Bulgarian people wrote but dared not disclose their names because they feared the retaliation of the Ottoman authorities.

¹⁰⁴⁵ #99 *Menaion* (1876); #107 *Menaion* (1876); #211 *Psalter* (1876).

¹⁰⁴⁶ #161 *Gospel*, 1878; #1521 *Service and Vita* (1877).

¹⁰⁴⁷ #340 *Gospel* (1813); #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1852, 1857).

¹⁰⁴⁸ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, 1813.

Slavic Orthodox authors' perception of history

How did Slavic Orthodox writers perceive historical events? Historical marginalia differ in size, content, and the authors' responses to historical events. Some marginalia are short statements; others are short but evaluative; still others are longer and provide more descriptive, evaluative, and causative statements. The size of the accounts correlates somewhat to the emotional response of the writer. Four types can be identified:

1. Short statements (15 notes)
2. Short cause-effect statements (19 notes)
3. Mid-size evaluative statements (17 notes)
4. Longer evaluative statements (7 notes).

First type: Short statements: rulers, visits, deaths, Ottoman military events.

The briefest historical accounts are short perhaps because of the restrictions imposed by the limited blank pages and margins. Manuscript margins provided such limited space that scribes intentionally reduced the size of the statement. These accounts avoided emotional outbursts. Authors described in a dispassionate manner ruler, such as Sultan Murad or Selim, son of Sulejman,¹⁰⁴⁹ or ecclesiastical authorities or benefactors traditionally appeared in colophons. When they described the military advances of the Ottoman army, especially the successful ones, writers abstained from false praise of Ottoman rulers. Such marginalia mentioned briefly the stay of the Ottomans in Tivlis and the Austrians in Istanbul in 1728,¹⁰⁵⁰ the battle of Vienna in 1681, Pech 1745, Belgrade in 1707,¹⁰⁵¹ and Little Boaz in 1715.¹⁰⁵² Succinct statements note the defeat of the Janissaries in 1826¹⁰⁵³ and the death in 1822 of Kara Feizi, the notorious leader of the kurdzhalii,¹⁰⁵⁴ whom everybody still feared. Authors briefly and recorded visits by government authority figures. In 1717, Sultan Ahmed visited Sofia, in 1829 Moscovites visited Sofia, and in 1889 the Russian Duke Alexander visited Etropole.¹⁰⁵⁵

¹⁰⁴⁹ #92 *Menaion* (1639); #250 *Gospel* (1567).

¹⁰⁵⁰ #46 *Service and Vita of Sts. Kirik and Julita*.

¹⁰⁵¹ #60 *Euchologion*.

¹⁰⁵² #128 *Miscellany*.

¹⁰⁵³ #247 *Prologue*; #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski*.

¹⁰⁵⁴ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹⁰⁵⁵ #1521 *Service and Vita* (2 notes); #97 *Menaion*.

Second type: Short-cause and effect statements: The enemy described in action verbs.

Some short historical statements use expressive language that implies personal internal turmoil about the atrocities of Ottoman, Tatar, and kurdzhalii paramilitary troops. This expressiveness included a particular choice of action verbs such as "torture, kill, ruin, torch, destroy, enslave, arrest, and beat" used throughout those historical statements. Authors described kurdzhalii leader Kara Feizi as "glutton,"¹⁰⁵⁶ "destroyer" of the whole Breznik region in 1804.¹⁰⁵⁷ The kurdzhalii caused people to flee out of fear and horror¹⁰⁵⁸ and were responsible for the burning of Rila monastery in 1778.¹⁰⁵⁹ Those accounts reflect real and not fictional events that caused the destruction of monasteries and churches.

Ottoman authorities became notorious for their treatment of the Bulgarian population, causing grief and sorrow,¹⁰⁶⁰ arrests and beating,¹⁰⁶¹ and resettlement of people during fighting and wars.¹⁰⁶² The teacher-chronicler of Breznik reported vividly the suppression of the first Serbian independent state in 1813 and used the emotionally charged word "enslavement."¹⁰⁶³ The same author recorded the hanging of the Greek Patriarch and other Orthodox religious leaders during the first Greek uprising in 1821. The Tatars swept Plevan, raping women and torturing others.¹⁰⁶⁴ In 1876, the suppression of the April Uprising in Bulgaria resulted in killing and burning of people, the desecration of religious sites, and debris left behind.¹⁰⁶⁵ Western journalists such as Januarius MacGahan publicized the cruelty of the April Uprising widely in the West.

Third type: Medium-size statements: Great fear! Great Sorrow! Great need!

As historians continued to add descriptive and evaluative statements to their accounts, their accounts grew in length, expressiveness, and depth. The prevailing

¹⁰⁵⁶ #6 *Psalter*.

¹⁰⁵⁷ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹⁰⁵⁸ #78 *Tiodion*.

¹⁰⁵⁹ #127 *Miscellany*.

¹⁰⁶⁰ #60 *Euchologion*.

¹⁰⁶¹ #338 *Service Book* (1678); #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1817).

¹⁰⁶² #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1841).

¹⁰⁶³ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ #63 *Octoechos*.

¹⁰⁶⁵ #211 *Psalter*.

emotional overtones became rather negative. Heroic individuals such as St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski remained faithful to their Christian faith even under "torture" in 1555.¹⁰⁶⁶

The language of narrators abounds with terms such as *veilik* (great): "Great fear, so much sadness" erupted in 1595 after the battle of Giurgiu. The census in 1643 of Sultan Ibrahim caused "great turmoil" among the Christians because it signaled upcoming chaos and increased taxation.¹⁰⁶⁷ "Great need and sorrow" followed the war in 1678 between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League nations, with further increases in food prices, inflation, and persecution and torture of Christians by Mehmed.¹⁰⁶⁸ "Great fear" afflicted the hearts of "enslaved" Serbian neighbors (appearing twice for emphasis, in 1813 and 1841).¹⁰⁶⁹ "Great fear" of and "great harm" inflicted by Turks and Pomaks, Bulgarians who converted to Islam, occurred during the April Uprising in 1876 when people were choked to death.¹⁰⁷⁰

The outbursts intensified as the effect of wars caused physical misfortune. "So much sorrow!" "Great hunger! OH! Great sorrow! Great need!"¹⁰⁷¹ Before the Crimean War, battles in 1852 caused resettlement of people from the Danube region to Western Bulgaria and further increased the price of goods.¹⁰⁷² Arrests of people, sorrows, and suffering resulted in the aftermath of the Crimean War in 1858.¹⁰⁷³

The Ottoman officials were described as great "evil doers" and "adulterers" who raped Bulgarian women.¹⁰⁷⁴ Kara Feizi and his son Ali devastated Western Bulgarian lands in 1804 and 1831, attacking Sofia and the surrounding region, leaving behind destruction, robbery, and desecration of holy places.¹⁰⁷⁵ The Bulgarian April Uprising in 1876 left outrages. Pomaks physically hurt people and destroyed and burned churches

¹⁰⁶⁶ #1521 *Service and Vita*.

¹⁰⁶⁷ #99 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁶⁸ #511 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁶⁹ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ #99 *Menaion*; #107 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁷¹ #108 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁷² #341 *Kiriakodromion*, pp. 60b-61a.

¹⁰⁷³ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, pp. 66b-70a.

¹⁰⁷⁴ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1813).

¹⁰⁷⁵ #246 *Prologue*; #341 *Kiriakodromion*, folio 49b.

and houses.¹⁰⁷⁶ "Great fear" followed the suppression of the uprising, and many people were choked to death.¹⁰⁷⁷

Finally, the only two happy historical accounts appeared after the final Russian victory over the Ottomans in 1878. Free voices at last could celebrate the accomplishment of the Russian "brothers."¹⁰⁷⁸ Bulgarians rejoiced at every visit of the Russian Duke Alexander in 1885.¹⁰⁷⁹ "Let it be known when our brothers the Russians completely liberated our people [*narod*] from the Turkish yoke and came to Sofia on December 23 1877, and the Turks perished badly."

Fourth type: Longer accounts: "Great" stories about need, misery, the fight for independence and liberation

Eight historical accounts have long descriptions and evaluations of historical reality. The themes (wars, revolts, the kurdzhalii, janissaries, economic crises, and the Russian liberation) remain the same, but the accounts provide additional information. These accounts told stories that differed from a mere recording of facts.

The conjunction of the Russo-Turkish and Austro-Turkish Wars in 1737 evoked a tremendous outburst of exclamations. "Oh! Oh!" The historian emphatically cried out "great need . . . great havoc . . . great fear!" The language, however, differs from previous accounts in that it includes more religious overtones and characters: Mohammad the Hagarian was "godless." The Ottomans tortured and hanged Christians. Interestingly enough, authors identified the Ottomans by their ethnic and not religious *millet* background, yet this fight was still a battleground of martyrs for their faiths.

Let it be known what a *velika nuzhda* [great need] befell Christians from the godless Tsar Mohammed the Hagarian. During this time, the Turks came to the Muscovites, and there was great havoc to the east side of this town, . . . the Germans came to Nish and took Nish by the will of God. And the fear of God fell upon the Turks and they gave up the fight. In all the towns, there was fear of the Turks and the fighting. The fear of God fell upon them and they [the

¹⁰⁷⁶ #99 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁷⁷ #107 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁷⁸ #1521 *Service and Vita*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ #90 *Menaion*.

Turks] awoke with the sunset. The Turks walked through the town. And devils too. And the Jews learned about this from the Christians, and the Turks began to torture the Christians. Oh! Oh! They tortured the Christians. Everywhere they hung the merciful, godly Christians like martyrs. The year 1737.

Sixty-three years later, in 1794, the kurdzhalii reached the climax of their notoriety and created a "great misery" for both Christians and Turks. Ransom for "freedom," or death and destruction were the only two alternatives. "No human language could describe what happened," wrote the historian of Etropole monastery.¹⁰⁸⁰ The kurdzhalii caused fear and hiding, even among Turkish citizens, not to speak of Christians, who fled and resettled in other regions. Priests received a double measure of punishment from the bandits because they had to give to Turks the money the kurdzhalii took.

The situation worsened, and the tension intensified in the first decade of the 19th century. A copyist of the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* was inspired by this work by Monk Paisii of Hilendar and added more historical accounts after the first copying of the first edition in 1762.¹⁰⁸¹ The added accounts describe the Serbian struggle for independence in 1804-1813 and Bulgarian support for it. Haidut Velko Petrov became the leader of this support movement, forming and leading an army of 7,000 soldiers. The account presents him as a martyr, "a great helper for Christians." In 1804, Haidut Velko and his rebels liberated the town of Negotin. He was killed in 1813, when the Serbs again lost their independence. Along with information about the death of the popular leader and his wife, more facts appear about the taking of Belgrade by the number of men in his army and the participation of the Serbian leader Kara Georgi (Black George) Petrovic with his followers.

Sometimes, authors left the same account in two different books. The teacher Mihail Ivanov from Breznik documented the economic hardships of everyday life in 1857.¹⁰⁸² He wrote faithfully about the current prices of wheat, hay, alcohol, farm

¹⁰⁸⁰ #92 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁸¹ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

¹⁰⁸² #341 *Kiriakodromion*; #341 *Menaion*.

animals, and exchange rates, even though he provided no evaluative judgment of the economic situation.

The theme of the liberation of Bulgaria by the Russian army inspired Bulgarian writers.¹⁰⁸³ The Russian army and the "great emperor" Alexander were treated as saviors of the Bulgarians. For the first time, without fear, historians stated their names. Teacher Stoyan Ljubichev even terminated his account with a curse against anybody's failure to remember the important historical event: "Whosoever forgets about this, let him be cursed by Jesus Christ and the 318 Fathers."

How did the authors' religious worldviews influence their reporting and writing?¹⁰⁸⁴ The religious overtones and language of historical marginalia sometimes follow the already established traditions of formal literary or archival documents. On other occasion, they reveal the psychological drama of social marginalization and the search for personal and communal identity. The HACI corpus demonstrates that religious language was not attested in all cases, despite the religious affiliation of authors. Only 13 of 59 accounts, or 22%, use traces of religious language, expressions, and constructs:

1. Colophons (four notes)
2. Explicitly religious imagery (five notes)
3. Events that relate to church history (four notes).

Traditionally, manuscript colophons followed the religious forms of expression of the central text. These elements could be the opening doxological formulas and the closing blessing or curse against stealing formulas, the date according to the Church calendar, and the humility *topos* expressed by the scribe. Four earlier colophons from this corpus (1567, 1595, 1639, 1643) used such religious formulas. Only one of these colophons contains a historical account with religious metaphorical imagery and expression. The account in a *Menaion* from 1643 describes in vivid language the census

¹⁰⁸³ #161 *Gospel*, printed.

¹⁰⁸⁴ While modernist historiography applies logical, positivist methodology and scrutinizes all evidence, especially religious, post-modernist New History (historiography) feels that all historical records, oral or written, deserve attention as the author's constructed language schemes, way of expression, and background.

of Sultan Ibrahim and compares it to the census that took place in conjunction with Jesus' birth.¹⁰⁸⁵ The scribe uses analogy to convey the subtle negative effect this event would have for the suffering Christian population, although he does not explicitly mention that every census leads to an increase of taxation.

The second type of especially long and emphatic historical accounts that used religious imagery expressed the frustration of wars, economic struggle, impositions of laws and regulations against building churches, the inability of the Christian population to control their own resources, the prohibitions against printing, and the lack of representation as citizens in the Ottoman government. All five accounts witnessed the intensification of the struggle for identity, Christian versus Muslim. Christians suffered greatly after the wars "between foreign nations" around 1678.¹⁰⁸⁶ The Ottomans were "persecutors and torturers" of the Christians, infecting on the world hypocrisy and cheating. The account from 1737 described the impact of Russo-Turkish and Austro-Turkish- wars on the ordinary Christian citizen of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁸⁷ Christians suffered a "great need." The Ottoman ruler was "godless." The Ottoman soldiers, the account continues, mercilessly plundered, tortured, and killed Christians out of anger over lack of military success. The author emphatically repeated "Turks tortured Christians [...] everywhere they hang Christians," and spoke of the "fear of God" befalling upon the. Job, as ancient Kievan churches believed should punish his enemies for their sins.

Christians suffered severely from the kurdzhalii. An account from 1794 depicted these bandits and the inability of the government to protect the population.¹⁰⁸⁸ The other three shorter accounts that used religious language and imagery appeared in the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* and described the crushing of the first independent Serbian state in 1813.¹⁰⁸⁹ The author emphasized the distinction between Christians and Ottomans and

¹⁰⁸⁵ #99 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁸⁶ #573 *Octoechos*.

¹⁰⁸⁷ #5 *Psalter*, village of Kamarica.

¹⁰⁸⁸ #92 *Menaion*.

¹⁰⁸⁹ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

believed that "the judgment of God" punished those doers responsible for the atrocities with well-deserved death and plague.

The third type of historical marginalia uses sparse religious language. Four accounts inform about events related to the history of the Church. Chroniclers emphasized that the atrocities targeted religious institutions and sacred objects and were implemented to diminish the Christian faith.¹⁰⁹⁰ During the Greek War for Independence in the 1820s and 1830s, the Ottoman authorities looted the physical property of the Church, and persecuted and executed ecclesiastical leaders.¹⁰⁹¹ Decades later, other authors depicted the religious struggle for an autocephalic Bulgarian church.¹⁰⁹² Yet another chronicler expressed the liberation of Bulgaria in religious terms as an act of salvation and pleaded for the reader to remember.¹⁰⁹³ The traditional "curse against stealing" was transformed into a "curse against failure to remember." Corroborating evidence of some of these events appears in Chapter Five.

Diplomatics: form, structure, and formulae

What form and content characterize historical marginalia? Historical marginalia feature the structural elements of medieval documents such as *narratio* (59 cases, or 100%), *datatio* (53 cases, or 89%), *locatio* (50 cases, or 84%) and *memorandum* (29 cases, or 49%). Less pronounced documentary elements include *subscriptio* (15 cases, or 26%), *intitulatio* (four cases, or 7%), *invocatio* (five cases, or 9%), and *sanctio* and *apprecatio* (three cases each, or 5%).

Authors applied a wide range of opening statements in the *protocollo*. Most of them emphasized the act of remembrance as they passed this important information onto the next generation through a memorandum "Let it be known" (22 notes). The earliest case of this type of opening came from Sofia from 1636, describing a liturgical service held in Greek, and from 1678, describing the military advance of the Ottomans in Nish in

¹⁰⁹⁰ #246 *Prologue* (1831).

¹⁰⁹¹ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹⁰⁹² #279 *Octoechos* (1863).

¹⁰⁹³ #161 *Gospel*.

1678.¹⁰⁹⁴ Other non-monastic authors started with a wide range of *datatio* statements, that is, the subordinate conjunctions "when," "then," or "during that day," or simply with a date.

Monastic authors observed the formulas and colophon-based conventions. The earliest colophons containing historical information were produced in Etropole monastery and typically started with *invocatio* using the doxological formulas in praise of the Holy Trinity,¹⁰⁹⁵ and "To all seeing and more merciful God,"¹⁰⁹⁶ or a praise of the book "This holy and godly Gospel."¹⁰⁹⁷

Later historical marginalia diversified and distinguished themselves from the colophon. Authors emphasized the date and the act and value of remembrance. Monastic authors started at a later time, the 19th century (1813, 1876, 1876, 1889), with *datatio*, followed by the event (nine notes). A variation of the *datatio* "In the year of" (2 notes) also appeared relatively early from Etropole monastery.¹⁰⁹⁸ A transitional formula combined *datatio* and memorandum: "[Date.] Let it be known" appeared in 1794, 1813, and 1885.¹⁰⁹⁹ Authors emphasized the act of remembrance by opening with the memorandum statement "Let it be known" (four notes). Table 12.1 demonstrates the variations of the opening formulae in historical marginalia:

¹⁰⁹⁴ #338 *Service Book*.

¹⁰⁹⁵ #92 *Menaion* (1639); #99 *Menaion* (1643).

¹⁰⁹⁶ #207 *Octoechos* (1595).

¹⁰⁹⁷ #250 *Gospel* (1567).

¹⁰⁹⁸ #573 *Octoechos* (1678).

¹⁰⁹⁹ #92 *Menaion* (1813); #340 *Four Gospels* (1885); #90 *Menaion*.

Opening formula	Monastic accounts	Non-monastic accounts	Totals
Let it be known	4	19	23
Let us remember	1	0	1
Date	6	3	9
Date. Let it be known	3	3	6
In the year of	2	0	2
When/then	0	2	2
During that day	0	1	1
Name	1	1	2
Turks/Vizier	0	2	2
And thus finished	1	0	1
Totals	18	31	59

Table 12.1: Variations of protocollo opening formulas in historical marginalia.

The *eschatollo* of historical marginalia re-emphasized the date of the event or the act of writing. Twenty-five cases finished with *datatio* (25 notes, or 43%). The practice was more common in non-monastic centers (20 notes) spanning 1678-1857, compared to monastic centers (five notes) from 1639-1780.

Other historical marginalia ended with the description of the event itself, a *narratio*. Most of these accounts are undated. Twenty-two cases appeared from between 1636-1876, originating mostly from non-monastic scribes (15 notes), compared to monastic manuscripts (seven notes). The earliest historical accounts (1636, 1678) ended without any closing formulas.

The third conventional way of closing historical marginalia was through a *subscriptio*. *Subscriptio* statements emphasized names, either the current ruler or the author of the marginalia. Seven cases originated from monasteries, some dating from the earliest or the latest periods: Etropole monastery (1526, 1889, 1885), Kratovo monastery (1567, 1555) and Dryanovo monastery (1876) and one example from Breznik from 1858 end with the name of the author.

Physical placement

Where did authors place historical marginalia? Fifty-nine historical marginalia appeared in manuscripts and printed book margins. The authors that described historical

events not only did not reveal their personal names but also hid the notes in the bottom margins and toward the back of the books.

Location	Monastic manuscripts	Non-monastic manuscripts	Totals
Front endpaper	7	5	12
Top margin	0	1	1
Side margin	0	1	1
Mixed margins	0	2	2
Under the text	2	2	4
Bottom margin	2	16	18
Back endpaper	9	8	16
Back pastedown	1	3	4
Totals	21	38	59

Table 12.2: Placement of historical marginalia.

Twenty-six marginalia appear in the middle, twenty appear in the back endpapers and pastedowns, and only 13 in the front. Monastic practices favored the backs of manuscripts (10 notes) more than the fronts (seven notes). Secular authors also preferred the backs (11 notes) and the bottom margins (16 notes). The chronicler from Breznik followed his own pattern of positioning historical marginalia, favoring the bottom margins. Breznik had the most, with 42 marginal notes, 16 of which described historical events of the 19th century.¹¹⁰⁰

All the earliest examples of colophons including historical information came from the Etropole, Kupinovo, and Kratovo monasteries. Historically, colophons appear to predate marginalia in including historical information, as observed from those earliest examples from Etropole monastery (1526),¹¹⁰¹ Kratovo monastery (1567),¹¹⁰² Kupinovo monastery (1595),¹¹⁰³ and Etropole monastery (1639 and 1643).¹¹⁰⁴

Non-monastic chroniclers preferred the margins (20) and the backs of manuscripts (11). The margin imposed brevity and succinctness on the message. The marginal notes

¹¹⁰⁰ #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1806).

¹¹⁰¹ #511 *Menaion*.

¹¹⁰² #250 *Four Gospels*.

¹¹⁰³ #207 *Octoechos*.

¹¹⁰⁴ #92 *Menaion*.

from Breznik avoided statements about Ottoman military and kurdzhali paramilitary actions but presented powerful and very expressive accounts. The back endpapers and pastedowns also attracted authors. The copy of *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* inspired others to continue Paisii's chronicle by adding more recent historical accounts.¹¹⁰⁵

However, as a whole, authors of historical marginalia preferred blank pages in the back (21) or front (12) of manuscripts, and after the text (four). Thirty-three notes on whole endpapers or pastedowns outnumbered other historical notations (26 notes). It is quite plausible that the blank pages simply provided more space for more detailed and evaluative accounts.

In summary, the most typical case of historical information in monastic manuscripts appeared in colophons but later moved to marginalia on the back endpapers. The most typical case of non-monastic historical marginalia, represented by the towns of Breznik and Sofia, appeared in bottom margins or the back endpapers.

Language and script

What script and language did scribes use in historical marginalia? They wrote their historical accounts in three scripts, cursive, known as skoropis, semi-uncial (SU), and new uncial (NU). Authors used SU in 21 cases, cursive in 18 cases, and NU with 18 cases.

The SU required training and occurred almost equally in monastic (eight notes) and non-monastic (13 notes) centers. The earliest examples of historical marginalia, from the 16th to 18th centuries, appear in SU and came from colophons of manuscripts produced at monastic scriptoria, Etropole (1526 (Figure 12.4), 1643, 1794), Kupinovo (1595) and Kratovo (1555, 1567).¹¹⁰⁶ The evidence here attests to monastic scriptoria as cradles of calligraphic training and literacy and historical writing.

¹¹⁰⁵ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1771).

¹¹⁰⁶ 1526; 1555; 1567; 1595; 1639; 1643; 1678.

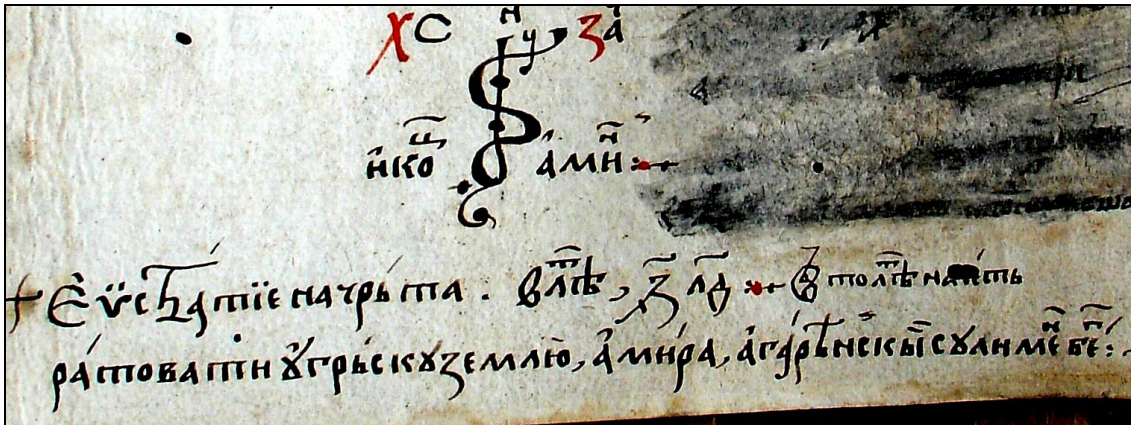


Figure 12.4: #511 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery (1526), p. 158.

Six monastic cases of historical marginalia appear in the cursive and occurred between 1728 and 1876. The earliest example of a calligraphic cursive appeared in a *Service Book* from Dolni Lozen monastery from 1728.¹¹⁰⁷ The three latest examples, describing the 1876 April Uprising, originated in monasteries.¹¹⁰⁸ However, the non-monastic centers demonstrated a more active implementation of this script with 11 cases.

Untrained and crude NU typically characterized non-monastic marginalia. NU occurred first in 1780 and continued to 1885. The majority of historical notes appeared with dates (52 notes, or 88%). Interestingly enough, the earliest case came from an *Apostle Book* from Seslavski monastery and described arrests of priests (Figure 12.5).¹¹⁰⁹ Only five examples represented monastic NU notes, found in Etropole,¹¹¹⁰ St. Prohor Pshinski,¹¹¹¹ and Slepche monasteries.¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁷ #46 *Service Book*.

¹¹⁰⁸ #99 *Menaion*; #107 *Menaion* (Etropole monastery); #211 *Psalter* (Dryanovo monastery).

¹¹⁰⁹ #315 *Apostle book*.

¹¹¹⁰ #90 *Menaion*.

¹¹¹¹ #177 *Prayer book*.

¹¹¹² #340 *Four Gospels*.

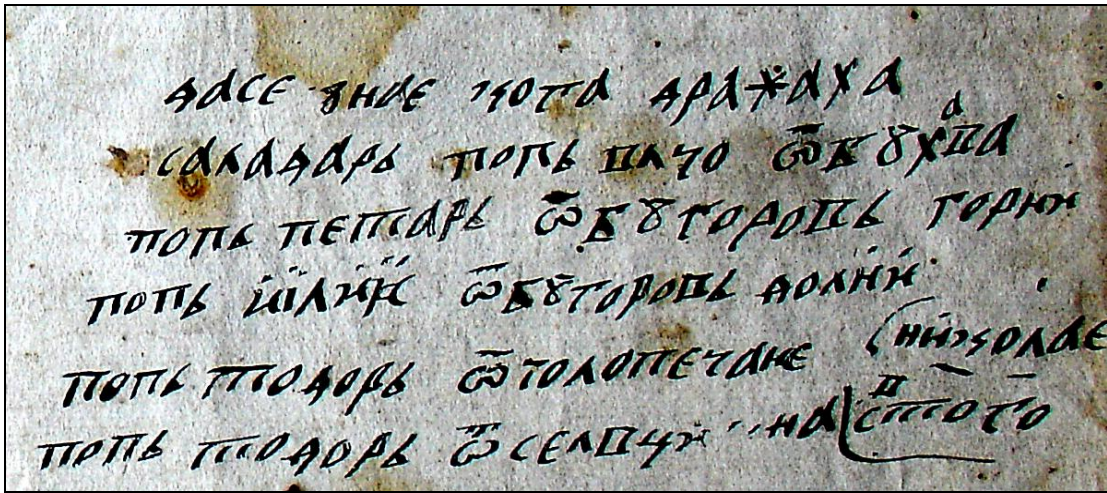


Figure 12.5: #315 *Apostle Book*, Seslavski monastery, (1780), p. 1a.

Fourteen examples of NU originated in non-monastic settings. Eighteen historical marginalia appeared in the printed *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik. Figure 12.6 demonstrates a note written by the teacher Mihail Ivanov).¹¹¹³



Figure 12.6: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, Breznik, (1804), p. 8.

SU and skoropis required a more rigorous graphic training. Historical marginalia and colophons demonstrated the advanced literacy level of their authors who wrote in vivid and expressive language and demonstrated knowledge of historical events. Such well-trained authors, usually from monasteries, wrote prolifically (29 notes) about the

¹¹¹³ #341 *Kiriakoromikon*.

political situation of the Ottoman Empire, much earlier than their non-monastic counterparts. Historically, monastic communities recorded the most historical evidence.

The chronological distribution of scripts demonstrates the prevalence of SU script between the 16th to 18th centuries that gradually increased, peaked slightly in the 17th century, and then declined, especially in the 19th century (Figure 12.7). Cursive script and NU appeared in the 18th century, in the 19th century, when NU became the prevalent script, it demonstrates similar equal number of examples of historical marginalia.

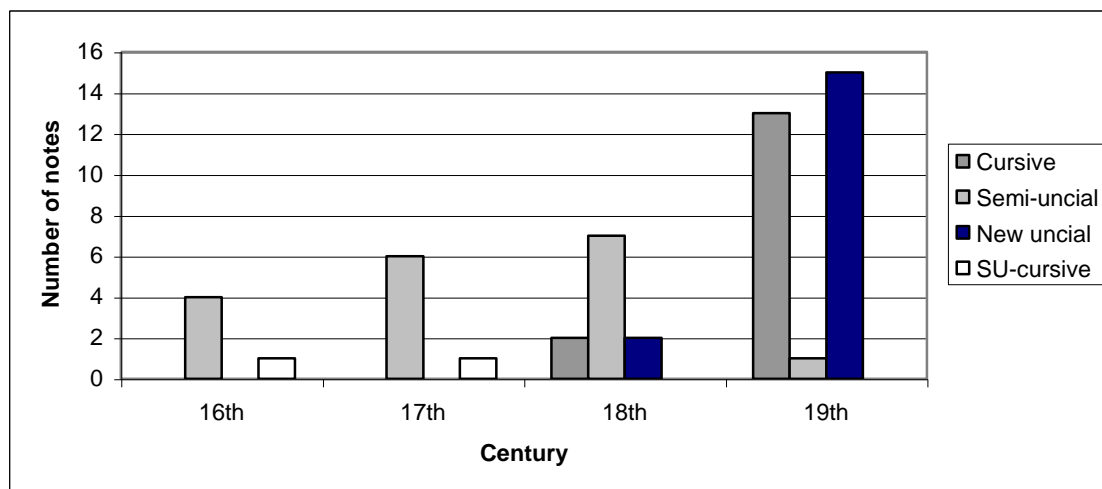


Figure 12.7: Chronological comparison between scripts in historical marginalia.

Monastic authors and scribes applied diverse linguistic expressions. The vernacular prevailed (26 notes), Church Slavonic (CS) appeared in 17 examples, and 17 used a mix of CS and vernacular features. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the language of historical marginalia was CS. Historical marginalia and colophons did not differ linguistically from the language of the main liturgical text of the manuscript. Historical marginalia were found in monastic (nine notes) and non-monastic (eight notes) manuscripts. Monastic CS manuscripts¹¹¹⁴ predated non-monastic CS manuscripts.¹¹¹⁵

The transition from literary CS, the literary and official language of the Church, and to the vernacular, the spoken language of the people, occurred between 1678 and

¹¹¹⁴ 1526; 1555; 1567; 1595; 1639; 1643.

¹¹¹⁵ 1636; 1678; 177; 1745; 1781.

1878. These transitional marginalia came from non-monastic (18 notes) and monastic manuscripts (two notes).

The most widely represented language of historical marginalia was the vernacular language, rich in dialectal forms and Russian, Turkish, or Greek loan words. Non-monastic authors wrote the majority of those marginalia (20 examples). The earliest account came from 1778 in a note describing the devastation caused by the terrorist bands around Rila monastery.¹¹¹⁶

Monastic authors wrote in CS (nine notes), a mixture of CS and vernacular (two notes), and vernacular (26 notes). Therefore, they wrote in the archaic literary language in the first half of the Ottoman rule (14-16th centuries) and eventually began to follow their manner of speech in the 19th century. The historical marginalia written by non-monastic authors appear in the vernacular characteristic of the 19th century (16 notes) compared to mixed CS-vernacular (15 notes) and CS, characteristic of the 15-16th centuries (eight notes).

SU script associates mostly with Church Slavonic (CS, 16 cases). Both monastic (eight notes) and non-monastic authors (eight notes) in an even distribution, applied the CS script. In four cases, semi-uncial appeared in a mixture of CS-vernacular and in combination with the vernacular (two cases). Scribes used cursive in combination with the vernacular (13 notes) and a mixture of CS-vernacular (five notes). Third, NU appears in combination with CS-vernacular (eight notes) and vernacular (11 notes).

The time period and the monastic/non-monastic origin played a significant role in these combinations. CS came only with SU and appeared very early in the 15th to 16th centuries. The vernacular with cursive appeared in non-monastic manuscripts. The vernacular with NU appeared also in non-monastic manuscripts. NU with CS-vernacular appeared only in non-monastic manuscripts of the 19th century.

Table 12.3 demonstrates the comparison between script-language combinations in relation to location (monastic-non-monastic and time).

¹¹¹⁶ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

Script/ Language	Semi-uncial	SU- Cursive	Cursive	NU	Totals
CS	M: 1526, 1555, 1567, 1595, 1639, 1643, 1717, (+) NM: 1636, 1678, 1681, 1707, 1745, 1781, 1 undated	M: 1595			M: 9 NM: 7
CS and vernacular	NM: 1690, 1715, 1737, 1 undated	M: 1678	M: 1728, NM: 1813, 1817, 1863, 1 undated	NM: 1804, 1877, 1878	M: 2 NM: 11
Vernacular	NM: 1794,1826		M: 1876, 1876, 1876, 1889, 1 undated NM: 1778, 1819, 1826, 1835, 1857, 1857, 1858, 1 undated	M: 1780, 1780, 1831, 1885, 1 undated NM: 1804, 1804, 1813, 1813, 1821, 1822, 1834, 1841, 1852, 1 undated	M: 10 NM: 20
Totals	M: 8 NM: 13	M: 2	M: 6 NM: 12	M: 5 NM: 13	M: 21 NM: 38

Table 12.3: Comparison of scripts and language in historical marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Summary

Historical marginalia, reliable or not, represent the core of the HACI corpus and provide internal commentary on the social and political situation in the Balkans during the Ottoman period (1308-1878). Historical marginalia are third in size (59) following donations (89) and inscriptions (67) among the categories of HACI marginalia, reflecting the concern of both clergymen and laypeople for their physical survival and the impact of the military campaigns of the Ottoman army.

Historical accounts follow an interesting evolution. The earliest accounts (1526) were part of colophons and persisted until the middle of the 17th century. Except for the

historical accounts appearing in the early colophons, individual historical marginalia mostly remained anonymous. Monastic authors set the pattern, and non-monastic authors similarly reported events as they saw them, using colloquial expressions and exclamations.

Historical accounts differ widely in size, emotionality, and level of description or evaluation. Brevity in history does not always mean insecurity, censorship, and fear. Consider the volume of information of a simple interjection "Oh! Oh! Oh!" Consider other repetitive structures such as "Great fear! Great sorrow! Great need!" that recurs in historical accounts. Consider the action verbs describing the Ottomans, Janissaries, kurdzhalii, and Tatars: "torture," "kill," "burn," "enslave," "beat," "arrest," "rape," and so forth.

Historical information about current Ottoman rulers, foreign battles of the Ottomans, and their military successes were reported very succinctly. However, the depth and length of description and evaluation depended upon the level of destruction of the personal, material, spiritual and intellectual property of the Christian population. Events such as the Ottoman invasion, the aftermath of the Ottoman wars with Russia and the Habsburgs, popular uprisings, and the liberation provoked authors to add more descriptive and evaluative detail to their accounts. The latest 19th century narratives resembled chronicles and demonstrated the profound effect of the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1762) on the minds of the Christians.

Historical marginalia used a semi-formal style of writing that emphasized historical facts, events, and their context. Practices of historical reporting, however, differed from monastic to non-monastic authors. Monastic authors followed a formal documentary style, chose blank pages especially in the back of manuscripts, and used the same script, dating the event at the beginning of the account, non-monastic authors used informal, emotional language, placed notes in the bottom margin, used expressive forms of speech in simple vernacular language, and encouraged others never to forget what happened.

Historical marginalia remain one of the most important primary sources in historical research that historians should not neglect, demonstrating a historical reality from the "grass-roots" level, the voice of a subject population deprived of writing supplies and prohibitions of the printing press. These historical accounts, taken together, tell a story of constant turmoil and the struggle for survival of marginalized people living on the periphery of European and Ottoman empires.

Even though the accounts come from the more literate clergy, monks, and teachers and reveal their perspectives on history, they add important historical information not to be found in official documents of time. The presence and volume of these historical accounts offer evidence of the social awareness and political engagement of the authors. These individuals provided important insights into their political thinking and religious experiences during what they term "the most evil of times."

13 THE WORLD AROUND: MARGINALIA ABOUT NATURAL HISTORY

In the Middle Ages, clergy and laypeople alike engaged in exploration of the natural world and started documenting natural phenomena and disasters. Marginalia provide unique and otherwise unobtainable information. Uzunova¹¹¹⁷ describes these documents as a "natural chronicle/register" colored by the religious worldview of their authors, yet still yielding important information that she classifies into seven categories:

Meteorological data and phenomena

- Floods
- Astronomical events (comets and solar eclipses)
- Geophysical phenomena (earthquakes)
- Attacks by insects (locusts, etc.)
- Diseases and epidemics (plagues)
- Medical cures and treatment
- Land (in)fertility and harvest.

These marginalia can be called "disasters" because of their generally detrimental effect on the people, although this category includes sub-categories defined by Uzunova as "nature chronicles."

The earliest information in the HACI corpus about such natural phenomena and disasters comes from 1722, much later many other types of marginalia. However, the anthology *Pisahme da se znae* provides additional corroborating evidence about similar natural phenomena and disasters provides earlier examples.¹¹¹⁸ The earliest example of disaster marginalia from this anthology (1560) describes the effect of a drought, adding historical comment: "In the year of 1560, there was a great drought, nothing grew, and there was great evil and misery from the Turks."¹¹¹⁹

Another note from 1592 reveals the incongruence between a good winter and the "great evil" in the world.¹¹²⁰ In 1631, ash fell from the sky and amazed people, possibly

¹¹¹⁷ E. Uzunova, "Poznanya za Prirodata Otrazeni v Izvuntekstovite Dobavki v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Tradicia [Knowledge About Nature Reflected in the Extratextual Additions in Bulgarian Manuscript Tradition], (Sofia).

¹¹¹⁸ Nachev and Fermanzhiev, *Pisahme da se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)*.

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid., quoting *Miscellany*, p. 64.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 67.

from the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius that occurred during that time.¹¹²¹ Authors described vividly battles of the Ottoman army in addition to natural phenomena. The military success of Murad IV at Baghdad in 1638 is followed by multiple unusual phenomena such as a lunar eclipse, red snow fall, and other *znamenia* (signs):

Tsar Murad captured Baghdad, and a lunar eclipse occurred in the night, and blood-red snow fell down, and many other signs happened on December 20. Tsar Murad died and Tsar Ibrahim began reigning, and then, a new *aspra* [currency] came into use. Then, there was such great crying and mourning over the Western lands, and despair, and many people died a sudden death.¹¹²²

The earliest mention of flood comes from 1654,¹¹²³ earthquakes in 1687,¹¹²⁴ and lunar eclipse in 1688.¹¹²⁵ Ottoman military achievements continue to be recorded in association with natural disasters.

"Let it be known that when the Turkish tsar went to fight with the Orta Madjar in 1684 a terrible drought occurred."¹¹²⁶

In the year 1688. Let it be known that the moon darkened on September 14, in the morning. And then, the heathen [*poganski*] Turkish tribe fought with the Germans. And Tsar Sulejman stayed in Sofia with all his forces.¹¹²⁷

Authors implicitly connect nature and history, believing that a great "Book of Nature" displays signs that predicted future *nevolya* (misfortune). For the suffering Christian peasant, comets, solar eclipses and earthquakes presage only more suffering. Scribe Kojo Grammarian documents in a colophon a comet, *opashata zvezda*, possibly the De Vico comet, and further notes the Tatar invasions and rich harvest.¹¹²⁸ The third passing of Halley's comet in 1682 is recorded alongside military acts of Mehmed IV (1648-1687) at Vienna. Documentation of solar eclipses appeared for the first time during

¹¹²¹ Ibid., p. 73.

¹¹²² Ibid., p. 75.

¹¹²³ Ibid., p. 78.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 84.

¹¹²⁶ Ibid., *Four Gospels*, p. 83.

¹¹²⁷ Ibid., Miscellany from Zograph monastery, p. 84.

¹¹²⁸ Manuscript #9 (153) from Svisthov, Muzei na Vuzrazdaneto, quoted in Uzunova, "Poznanya za Prirodota Otrazeni v Izvuntekstovite Dobavki v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Tradicia [Knowledge About Nature Reflected in the Extratextual Additions in Bulgarian Manuscript Tradition].

the last quarter of 17th century, as for example the note in a *Euchologion* (1686) that documents the solar eclipse of 1691 or 1696. The earliest evidence of earthquakes comes from a note dated November 29, 1793.¹¹²⁹

The evidence from the HACI

The data from HACI differ from the *Pisahme da se znae* data. HACI marginalia almost always are dated and depict earthquakes, floods, plagues, droughts, untimely snowfalls, fire, solar eclipses, and poor harvests. Authors did not reveal their identity or provide any explicit religious connotations or historical associations. Some accounts mention only the phenomenon, while others describe disasters in detail and provide causal evaluative statements, real or imagined.

The information offered in disaster marginalia falls into six categories. Droughts, bad harvests, and land (in)fertility can cluster within one sub-category because scribes placed those natural "disasters" side by side as cause and effect. Table 13.1 demonstrates the six types of events included in disaster marginalia and their distribution:

Type of events	Number of notes
Meteorological data and land infertility (droughts, hunger, bad harvest)	9 notes
Geophysical phenomena (earthquakes)	5 notes
Floods	4 notes
Diseases and epidemics (plagues)	3 notes
Astronomical events (comets and solar eclipses)	2 notes
Fire	2 notes
Total	25 notes

Table 13.1: Types of events appearing in disaster marginalia and their distribution.

The range of subjects in disaster marginalia reveals that the authors are concerned primarily with the fertility of the land and the success of the harvest. The Christian *raya* [literally “flock”] depend on nature and weather conditions for sustenance and to pay the taxes on all the food they produced. The April snow in 1722 and 1886 froze the new

¹¹²⁹ Ibid., *Miscellany* #1070, the National Library, Sofia.

sprouts and trees.¹¹³⁰ Heavy July rains in 1894 destroyed the harvest.¹¹³¹ Droughts in 1732 and 1856 caused the harvest to burn.¹¹³²

The HACI corpus yields 25 disasters marginalia that dated from 1722 to 1894, most from Western Bulgaria and Macedonia. Analysis of these marginalia will answer the following questions:

1. Who produced the marginalia about disasters?
2. Which genres of manuscripts contain marginalia that document disasters?
3. When did marginalia about disasters occur? What is their chronological distribution?
4. Where did marginalia about disasters and other natural phenomena occur, geographically?
5. What form and content characterize disaster marginalia?
6. Where did authors place disaster marginalia?
7. What script and languages dealt with disaster marginalia?

Authorship

Who produced the marginalia about disasters? Like historical marginalia, authors rarely sign their notes about disasters. Of 26 such marginalia, only six authors reveal the identity of their authors. Three unidentified laypeople, two teachers, and two priests document these events. In the earliest case, 1722, Petko from Vraca describes an unusual snowfall.¹¹³³ Nedelko Zlatanov documents another untimely April snowfall in 1886.¹¹³⁴ Stoicho describes a plague in the Kratovo region.¹¹³⁵ Priest Krustjo and teachers Ioan and Michail Ivanov describes earthquakes, storms, plagues, and bad winters in Breznik.¹¹³⁶ Priest Nesho records a fire at St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.¹¹³⁷

Genre distribution

¹¹³⁰ #79 *Triodion*; #92 *Menaion*.

¹¹³¹ #100 *Menaion*.

¹¹³² #194 *Euchologion*; #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹³³ #99 *Menaion*.

¹¹³⁴ #92 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery.

¹¹³⁵ #247 *Prologue*.

¹¹³⁶ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹³⁷ #351 *Bible*.

Which genres of manuscripts contained these notes? Fourteen marginalia appear in four devotional books, and nine marginalia appear in seven liturgical texts.¹¹³⁸ Thus, the majority of disaster marginalia come from devotional books,¹¹³⁹ similarly attested by Uzunova. Those devotional books include *Miscellany*, *Damaskins*, and printed *Bibles* in the 19th century.¹¹⁴⁰

Date and chronological distribution

When did authors write disaster marginalia? What is their chronological distribution? Almost all disaster marginalia contain a date, although the HACI notes come a century after the earliest notes in the anthology *Pisahme da se znae*. The HACI evidence represents primarily Western Bulgaria and Macedonia, from 1722 to 1894. Six records come from the 18th century,¹¹⁴¹ 19 from the 19th century,¹¹⁴² and one is undated. Non-monastic authors produce more notes (20) than monastic authors (five). The documenters from Breznik report events such as the earthquakes of 1813 and 1848 and the plague of 1834.

¹¹³⁸ #24 *Gospel*; #79; #198 *Triodion*; #92; #100 *Menaion*; #1521 *Service book*.

¹¹³⁹ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #194 *Religious book*; #247 *Prologue*; #351 *Bible*; #341 *Kiriakodromion* (11 notes).

¹¹⁴⁰ Uzunova, [unpublished manuscript].

¹¹⁴¹ 1722; 1732; 1748; 1760; 1786; 1795.

¹¹⁴² 1813; 1813; 1813; 1814; 1817; 1819; 1821; 1834; 1834; 1841; 1844; 1844; 1848; 1848; 1856; 1858; 1886; 1894.

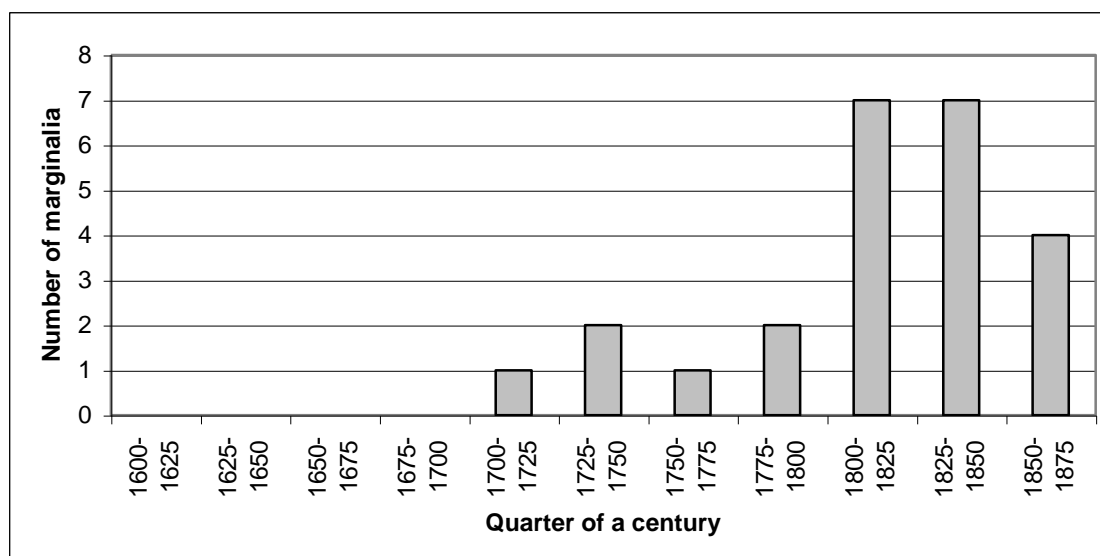


Figure 13.1: Chronological distribution of marginalia about disasters and natural phenomena.

Provenance

Where do marginalia about disasters and other natural phenomena occur, geographically? Most disaster marginalia come from non-monastic documenters. The 13 notes written in the *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik present a unique tradition of documentation passed on through generations by the two teachers, Mihail Ivanov and Ioan, and by the priest Dimitur Binovski.¹¹⁴³ The other seven notes come from manuscripts representing Vraca, Samokov, Skopie, Slatino village, and Sofia, all in the geographical region of Western Bulgaria and Macedonia.¹¹⁴⁴ The only monasteries that record disaster information were Kurilo monastery near Sofia,¹¹⁴⁵ Etropole monastery,¹¹⁴⁶ and the Macedonian Kratovo and Pshinksi monasteries.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴³ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹⁴⁴ #79 *Triodion*; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #194 *Euchologion*; #198 *Triodion*; #247 *Prologue*.

¹¹⁴⁵ #24 *Gospel*.

¹¹⁴⁶ #92 *Menaion*; #100 *Menaions*.

¹¹⁴⁷ #304 *Triodion*; #351 *Bible*.

Subject matter

What do disaster marginalia discuss? The marginalia from the HACI collection contains no religious connotations. This evidence does not support some previous studies by historians who conclude that the religious outlook of authors influenced the content and language of disaster reports.¹¹⁴⁸ Such a discrepancy is possibly due to the later date of the HACI marginalia, the 18th to 19th centuries, its more secular origins. In later notes in HACI or in other sources, authors do not use explicit religious language or statements that would refer to natural phenomena as, for example, God's punishments.

Certain exceptions, however, reveal the religious affiliation of authors. Association of events with religious holidays implies that the events are dated according to the Orthodox religious calendar. Similarly, a note in *Kiriakodromion* is dated "1848 since Christ's birth."¹¹⁴⁹ The late snow in April in the Vraca region coincides with the religious feasts of the Annunciation and Easter.¹¹⁵⁰ Similarly, another author associates an April snow with the feast of St. George.¹¹⁵¹ In another note, the author mentions that God granted a good harvest, although the heavy rain prevents people from harvesting it.¹¹⁵²

It is interesting to note that marginalia reveal a subtle religious worldview toward God's favor of Christians over Muslims, although the statements reveal no animosity. For example, Christians do not suffer from the plague of 1813, but the Muslim do.¹¹⁵³ The 1813 earthquake in Sofia causes eight mosques to fall.¹¹⁵⁴

The HACI disaster marginalia are relatively brief statements describing events in a succinct documentary manner without personal or emotional outbursts. However, the HACI corpus demonstrates two types of statements: documentary statements about only

¹¹⁴⁸ Uzunova, "Poznanya za Prirodata Otrazeni v Izvuntekstovite Dobavki v Bulgarskata Rukopisna Tradicia [Knowledge About Nature Reflected in the Extratextual Additions in Bulgarian Manuscript Tradition].

¹¹⁴⁹ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹⁵⁰ #79 *Tridion*.

¹¹⁵¹ #92 *Menaion*.

¹¹⁵² #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

¹¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, folio 276.

¹¹⁵⁴ #341 *Kiriakodromion*, pp. 5b, 29; #304 *Tridion*; #351 *Bible*.

an event and its date, and analytic statements that also evaluate the event in terms of cause and effect, or with reference to other historical events. This second subtype of disaster marginalia is more descriptive and contains emotional statements.

Simple statements of fact

Of the 26 HACI disaster marginalia, eleven present events as a matter of fact, without comment. Those notes range in subject matter from earthquakes to unusual meteorological conditions to plagues to solar eclipses. One note mentions briefly the earthquake of 1858 in the Kurilo region.¹¹⁵⁵ Three notes state the fact of untimely snow or heavy winter conditions in 1819 and 1886,¹¹⁵⁶ and another mentions a severe snowstorm in January, 1844.¹¹⁵⁷ One note describes the drought in 1732.¹¹⁵⁸ Two notes briefly mention the spread of plague in 1814 and 1834.¹¹⁵⁹ Finally, the noting of solar eclipses in a *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski* in 1748 and 1760 are simple statements of fact, written later, in 1855.¹¹⁶⁰

Descriptive and evaluative statements

Of the second sub-type, 16 marginalia provide more information about the event: date, associated religious feast, the effect of the natural phenomenon on vegetation and people, the depth of the snow, comparison of the phenomenon to others, and the negative impact on people of this event. Cause and effect characterizes these marginalia. For example, Petko from Vraca describes how the late snow caused tree leaves and grass to wither in 1722.¹¹⁶¹ The wheat burns from extreme high temperatures and drought in the Skopje region in 1732. Unusually heavy rains in Samokov in the summer of 1786 do not allow the crops to dry out.¹¹⁶² Long and cold winters cause disease in sheep in 1817.¹¹⁶³

¹¹⁵⁵ #24 *Gospel*.

¹¹⁵⁶ #92 *Menaion*.

¹¹⁵⁷ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹⁵⁸ #194 *Euchologion*.

¹¹⁵⁹ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹⁶⁰ #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski*.

¹¹⁶¹ #79 *Triodion*.

¹¹⁶² #137 *History*.

¹¹⁶³ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

Heavy rains and hail "as big as walnuts" destroy crops and windows in the Etropole region in 1894.¹¹⁶⁴

Plague outbreaks cause numerous deaths, and three notes provide witness to cases of plague. The plague in Kratovo, Macedonia, in 1795 does not spare the priest.¹¹⁶⁵ The plague that spread in Dupnica in 1813 caused the death of Turkish people but did not affect Christians. The author describes his escape into his richer neighbor's estate in order to survive.¹¹⁶⁶ Plague in the Breznik region in 1814 and 1834 causes "a lot of the world" to perish.¹¹⁶⁷ All four notes from the single source of Breznik vividly describe earthquakes.¹¹⁶⁸

Earthquakes also cause destruction of buildings and shortage of water. The earthquake in Sofia in 1813 lasts for three days, according to priest Krustjo, and causes the destruction of eight mosques and the disruption of the public baths and water supplies. A second earthquake occurs in 1820, and a third in 1848, accompanied by lighting and destruction of mosques and other buildings in Sofia.¹¹⁶⁹

Four notes describe floods and two fires and their psychological effect on people. Fire causes the destruction of the altar and holy relics in St. Prohor Pshinski monastery in 1841.¹¹⁷⁰ Fire burns the tower in Sofia on May 13, 1844 and causes "much fear" among the people. The author repeats this note in another location.¹¹⁷¹

Diplomatics: form, structure and formulae

How are marginalia about disasters structured as to form and content? Reports about natural phenomena and disasters resemble modern newspaper reports. Compared to the formal style and structure of other medieval documents, disaster marginalia follow an informal style of writing that emphasizes the narrative, the need for preserving a memory,

¹¹⁶⁴ #100 *Menaion*.

¹¹⁶⁵ #247 *Prologue*.

¹¹⁶⁶ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

¹¹⁶⁷ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5b, 29-30 (multiple margins); p. 29 (top margin).

¹¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷⁰ #351 *Bible*.

¹¹⁷¹ #247 *Prologue*.

and the date of the event. The most common feature of disaster marginalia is the exact date of the event and, in some cases, the day of the week, the religious holiday, and even the hour of the day. Reporters display precision of time. Authors reveal their identity only in six cases.¹¹⁷²

Marginalia about disasters begin either with a datatio or a memorandum "Let it be known." These notes appear relatively early, between 1748 and 1856. The earliest examples from the 18th century (1722-1732), however, emphasize the subscriptio, "I wrote." The date is reported first, especially between 1813-1894 (11 notes). Three disaster notes appear in monastic book margins and eight notes in non-monastic. Sometimes these notes start or ended with the date,¹¹⁷³ sometimes they start with the traditional "Let it be known" and end with the date,¹¹⁷⁴ and some just describe and date the event in a narratio.¹¹⁷⁵ So, the typical marginalia would have memorandum, narratio, datatio, and rarely locatio or subscriptio.

Three examples from a *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik represent the different approaches to describing earthquakes (Figures 13.2, 13.3, and 13.4):

1813. Month of March, 23. Then, an earthquake happened. I, priest Krustjo, recorded it. Then the earth shook for three days and nights. I, priest Krustjo, wrote in Sofia and mosques fell, eight mosques and baths did not operate for three days. Then, a smaller earthquake occurred, great . . . 1820, January 10. A terrible earthquake . . . (p. 5b).

Let it be known that there was an earthquake on September 18, 1848, since Christ. At noon, the earth shook three times and also in the afternoon, and there was a lot of lightning (pp. 29-30). In the morning, there were more after shocks and many mosques fell in Sofia, and buildings fell. There was great fear (p. 29).

¹¹⁷² #79 *Triodion* (Petko); #92 *Menaion* (Nedelko Zlatanov); #247 *Prologue* (Stojcho); #341 *Kiriakodromion* (Teacher Ioan, Priest Krustjo); #351 *Bible* (priest Nesho).

¹¹⁷³ #24 *Gospel*; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

¹¹⁷⁴ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #304 *Triodion*; #351 *Bible*; #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolai*.

¹¹⁷⁵ #247 *Prologue*; #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

Physical placement

Where did authors place disaster marginalia? These marginalia appear all over the margins of the books, mostly within the body of the book. Twenty of 25 reports appear in margins. The earliest examples, from 1722,¹¹⁷⁶ 1748, and 1760,¹¹⁷⁷ appear on the back pastedown, while the note from 1732 appears in the bottom margin.¹¹⁷⁸ Table 13.2 demonstrates the distribution of disaster marginalia.

Location	Monastic manuscripts	Non-monastic manuscripts	Totals
Front pastedown	0	1	1
Top margin	1	2	2
Mixed margins	1	3	5
Side margin	1	2	3
Bottom margin	1	8	10
Back endpaper	0	1	1
Back pastedown	1	3	4
Totals	5	20	25

Table 13.2: Location of marginalia on the manuscript.

The pattern of bottom margin positioning is perhaps relates to the personal preference of the author. Ten examples of bottom placement appear in the printed book *Kiriakodromion*. Sometimes, as in Figure 13.2, the reporter encircles the printed text with his note.

¹¹⁷⁶ #79 *Triodion*.

¹¹⁷⁷ #1521 *Service and Vita*.

¹¹⁷⁸ #194 *Euchologion*.

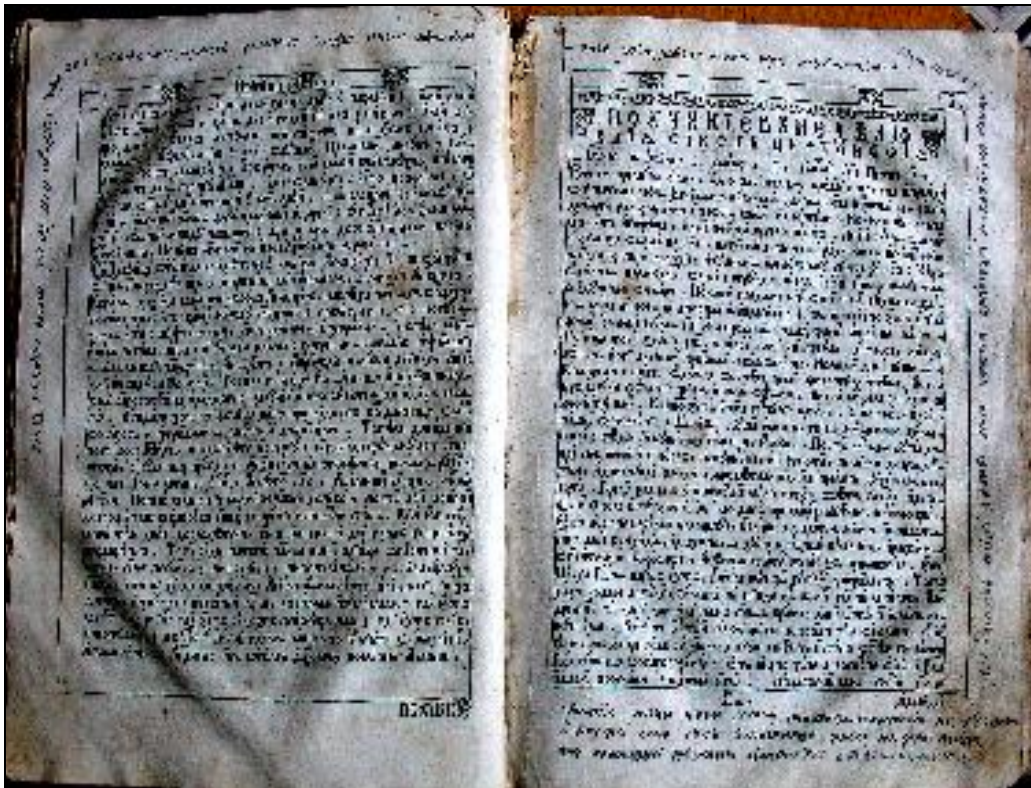


Figure 13.2: #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1848), Breznik, pp. 29-30.

Language and script

Which language and script did authors use in disaster marginalia? Reporters of natural phenomena and disasters use three scripts: semi-uncial (SU) in three cases, cursive known as skoropis (seven notes), and new uncial (NU) in 16 cases. NU developed relatively late and spread among laypeople in towns and villages in the late 19th century as influenced by printed books imported from Russia. Sixteen notes appear in NU occurred between 1732 and 1886. The examples in the figures from the *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik discuss the plagues of 1814 and 1837 (Figures 13.3 and 13.4). In all, eight examples written in NU appear in this printed book.¹¹⁷⁹

¹¹⁷⁹ #341 *Kiriakodromion*.

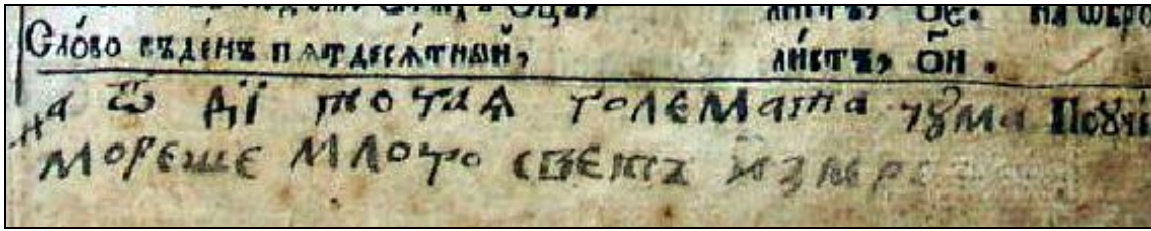


Figure 13.3: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, p. 1, 1814.

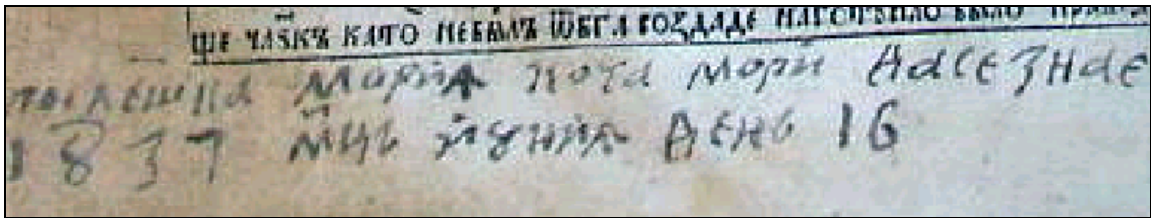


Figure 13.4: #341 *Kiriakodromion*, p. 13b, 1837.

The earliest and rarest examples of this category of marginalia occur in SU in the 18th century. The three examples originate in town churches in Sofia and Vraca (1722, 1748, and 1760). The notes in Figure 13.5 discuss solar eclipses in 1748 and 1760. A later hand calculates in 1855 the time elapsed between the events.

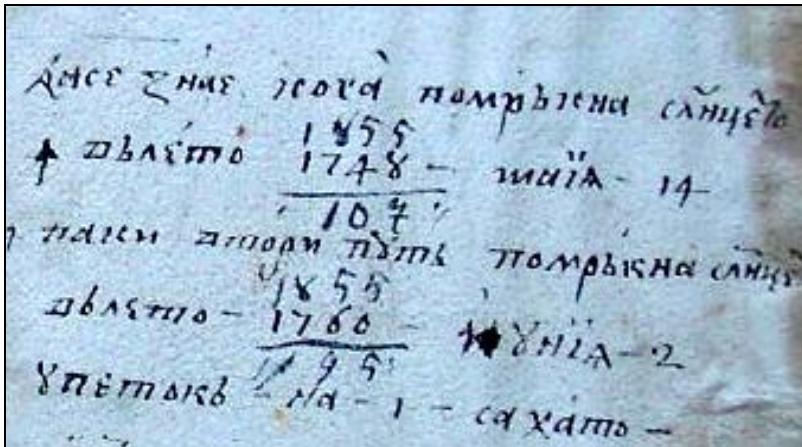


Figure 13.5: #1521 *Service and Vita* (1760), p. 291 a, Sofia.

The second most frequent script, cursive, appears in seven marginalia found in monastic manuscripts, characterized by formal alignment and appearance: Etropole monastery (1894) and Pshinski monastery (1841). However, non-monastic reporters also

use cursive, and the earliest example (1786) comes from Samokov and discusses how the untimely rains in the summer of 1786 spoil the good harvest and cause hunger (Figure 13.6).

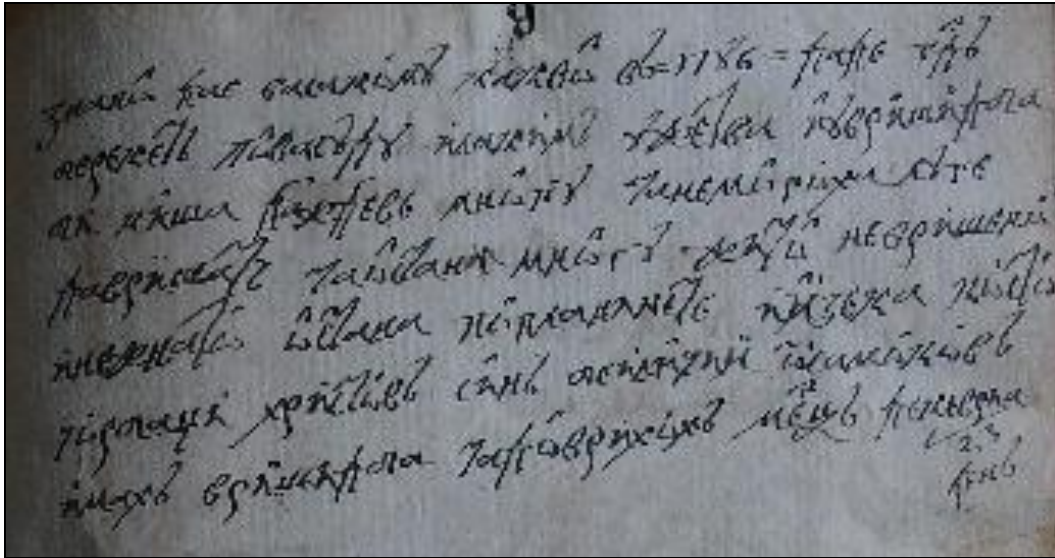


Figure 13.6: #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1786), p. 9.

Several marginal notes written in cursive appear in the printed *Kiriakodromion* from Breznik from 1834-1848. Figure 13.7 below illustrates cursive.

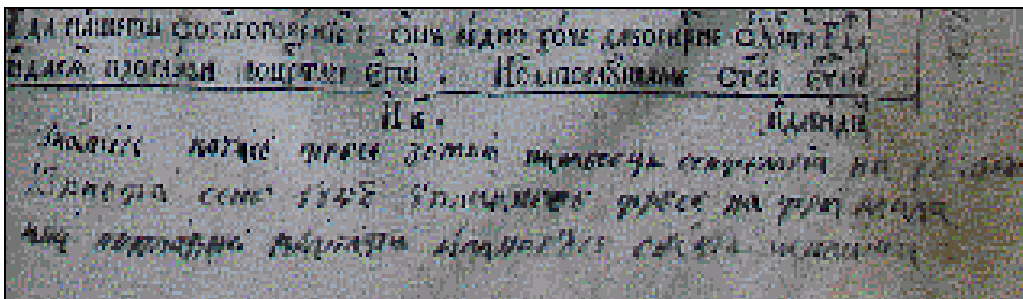


Figure 13.7: #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1848), p. 30.

The dominant language used in disaster marginalia is the vernacular (18 notes). The combination of Church Slavonic (CS) mixed with the vernacular appears in seven

cases as early as 1722.¹¹⁸⁰ Sometimes the vernacular is rich in dialect and Turkish words, such as *bereket* (good harvest).¹¹⁸¹

Figure 13.3 demonstrates the relationship between the vernacular (16 of 19 notes) and NU (13 of 17 notes) used by non-monastic authors (12 of 21). No example of "pure" CS appears in any scripts.

Language/Script	Semi-uncial	Cursive	New uncial	Totals
Church Slavonic and vernacular	NM: 1722	M: 1841 NM: 1786, 1848, 1848	M: NM: 1856	6
Vernacular	NM: 1748, 1760	NM: 1813, 1834	M: 1795, 1858, 1886 NM: 1732, 1813, 1813, 1814, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1834, 1844, 1844, one undated	18
Modern Bulgarian		M: 1894		1
Totals	3	7	15	25

Figure 13.3: Comparison of scripts and language in disaster marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Summary

Disaster marginalia document natural phenomena that affected people during the Ottoman period. Such events include floods, droughts, snowstorms, earthquakes, solar eclipses, and fires. The events were documented in factual or in more evaluative narrative reports that resemble newspaper articles.

Scholars argue that the writers viewed disasters as God's punishment and harbingers of political crisis. The HACI manuscripts, however, do not support these views. As with other agricultural people, the Christian population of the Balkans concerned itself with the success of the harvest that would pay the taxes and ensure survival. Disaster marginalia show a deep concern about natural phenomena that could worsen the economy of the local area and the situation of the ordinary person.

¹¹⁸⁰ #341 *Kiriakodromion* (1848).

¹¹⁸¹ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (1786).

The HACI disaster marginalia document events of the 19th century and come primarily from devotional books. Teachers and other laypeople in towns and villages write them in the vernacular, using many dialectal and Turkish terms. Most disaster marginalia appear in the bottom margins, but some authors use any blank space for narratives of those events. In this case, laypeople act like journalists, reporting local events for current and future readers.

14 THE WORLD BEYOND: MARGINALIA ABOUT GOD IN PRAYERS AND HYMNS

This category of marginalia represents religious texts that augment to the central text due to loss of pages of the manuscript. Such texts include private and communal forms of prayers and hymns. Prayers, for example, represent the mark of a true Orthodox Christian, uniting the person with God and transforming him or her into a "theologian," according to Evagrius the Solitary.¹¹⁸² The hesychastic movement that spread in the 13th-14th century emphasized the power of the Jesus Prayer "Lord have mercy on me the sinner" to achieve solitude and unite the heart and mind of the person with God. The goals of every Orthodox Christian, especially the monastics, became the contemplation of God, a state known as *theoria*, and achieved through the *praxis* of ceaseless prayer.

Father Elias said:

The Church has official books, the *Psalter*, *Menaion*, *Triodion*, *Pentecostarion*, *Octoechos*, *Eothenion*, *Euchologion*, *Synixarion*, and *Akathysts* which are in the *Horologion*. Services are guided by the *Typicon*. These are official books of the Orthodox Church. Local saints have their own services for that a particular region, and the church at large as to perform services in their honor. Many personal prayers are a composite of various church prayers as one can remember one's personal prayer can be composed of what is remembered from other prayers.¹¹⁸³

Four types of prayers originated in the Book of Psalms in the Old Testament. Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Christians share those same four types: adoration or praise (doxology) like Psalm 19; thanksgiving for God's gifts, like Psalm 66; petitions for God's grace and blessings, like Psalm 6; and repentance, like Psalm 51. The genuine Orthodox prayer would incorporate all four elements.

The evidence from HACI

The HACI corpus contains 33 religious marginalia, including prayers and hymns. Analysis of these texts answers the following questions:

¹¹⁸² Evagrius the Solitary, "On Prayer" in *The Philokalia*, ed. G. E. H. Palmer, Sherrard, Ph., and Ware, K. (Boston, Ms.: Faber and Faber, 1979), p.62.

¹¹⁸³ Elias Nasr, Very Reverend, e-mail, October 9, 2007.

1. Who produced this religious text?
2. Who is addressed: God, the Holy Trinity, Christ, Theotokos (the Virgin Mary), the saints?
3. Which genres of manuscripts contain religious text?
4. What type of religious text appear: prayer or hymn; private or communal; adoration, thanksgiving, penitence or petition, intercession, event-specific or general?
5. When did writing of this religious text occur?
6. Where did religious text writing occur, geographically?
7. What form and content characterize those religious marginalia?
8. Where did authors place religious marginalia?
9. What script and language did authors use?

Authorship and audience

Who produced the religious texts? All of the 33 religious marginalia but five remain anonymous. Anonymity appears as the most typical feature of religious marginalia. The secular names of the authors Lazar, Angel, Dragan, and Peyo imply that they were laymen. These men create their own versions of a petition direct to God and include their names and personal requests.¹¹⁸⁴ The whole attention of those authors is directed toward God and His saints.

Who is the addressee of the religious message in the spiritual communication? In the majority of the texts (15) authors address God (the Father).¹¹⁸⁵ God is also addressed: "God the Creator" (two notes), "God" (seven notes) or the "Holy Trinity: "Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit" (three notes).

The authors of six other texts direct their prayers to Christ alone.¹¹⁸⁶ Christ is addressed as "Jesus Christ the Son of God" and "Word of God," a "gift from the Father" (one case), Christ in relation to God (two cases), simply as "Jesus Christ" (three cases) and as the "Lord" (two cases). In the last two cases, the use of "Christ" refers to His ransom for people's sins.

¹¹⁸⁴ #225 *Damaskin* (Lazar, 2 notes), #287 *Triodion* (Angel) and #374 *Four Gospels* (Dragan and Peyo).

¹¹⁸⁵ #7 *Psalter*, #86 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*, #111 *Menaion*, #118 *Menaion*, #184 *Euchologion*, #196 *Menaion*, #198 *Triodion*, #271 *Psalter*, #276 *Psalter*, #315 *Apostle*, #374 *Four Gospels*, #413 *Menaion*.

¹¹⁸⁶ #2 *Psalter*, #50 *Euchologion*, #58 *Euchologion*, #81 *Triodion*, #86 *Menaion*, #374 *Four Gospels*.

Three individuals pray to the Virgin Mary,¹¹⁸⁷ and those prayers demonstrate their devotion to the Virgin Mary and her place in the hierarchy of God's heavenly Kingdom. The prayer is recognized in traditional Orthodox terms as Theothokos (*Bogorodica*), the Mother of God (*Maika Bozhia*). She is called "blessed and faithful Theotokos," "the Queen of all," the "Mother of God," the "Virgin," or simply "Virgin" in relation to Christ and the Resurrection.

The rest of the prayers address saints or belong to the liturgical life of the Church. Three authors pray to the saints most revered in Bulgaria, Sts. Cyril (827-869) and Methodius (826-885),¹¹⁸⁸ St. Ivan Rilski (John of Rila, 876-946), the most popular Bulgarian saint,¹¹⁸⁹ and the Church Father St. Basil the Great (Basil of Caesarea 329-379).¹¹⁹⁰ One text is a fragment from the Cherubic hymn from the Divine Liturgy.¹¹⁹¹

Genre and types of religious texts distribution

Which genres of manuscripts contain religious text? As expected, added religious texts, hymns and prayers appear mostly in liturgical books, such as *Psalter*, *Menaion*, *Euchologion*, *Triodion*, *Four Gospels*, since all of those books typically are books containing prayers: *Psalter* as the model for all prayer, *Four Gospels* as the model of prayers of Christ and the Apostles, *Menaion* as a model of prayers to the saints, and *Euchologion* as a model for intercessory prayers for specific personal or communal needs. A connection exists between the type of prayer and the genre type of the manuscript. Nine notes appear in seven *Menaions*; six in four *Psalters*; five in four *Euchologions*; three notes in two *Gospels*; two texts in two *Triodions*; and one in an *Apostle*.

Some of those texts are prayers or hymns; have private or communal character; belong to the four types of prayers such as adoration, thanksgiving, penitence and petition

¹¹⁸⁷ #58 *Euchologion*, #225 *Damaskin*, #287 *Triodion*.

¹¹⁸⁸ #96 *Menaion*.

¹¹⁸⁹ #182 *Panegirik*.

¹¹⁹⁰ #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

¹¹⁹¹ #271 *Psalter*.

to the saints; or address specific events. For example, the morning prayer includes *The Trisagion Hymn of the Divine Liturgy*

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

O Heavenly King, Comforter, Spirit of Truth, Who is omnipresent and fulfilling all things, a Treasury of blessings and Giver of life: Come and dwell in us, and cleanse us of all impurity, and save our souls, O Good One.

(+) Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us. (3 times)

(+) Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, both now and ever, and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

O Most Holy Trinity, have mercy on us. O Lord, cleanse us from our sins. O Master, pardon our iniquities. O Holy One, visit and heal our infirmities for Thy name's sake.

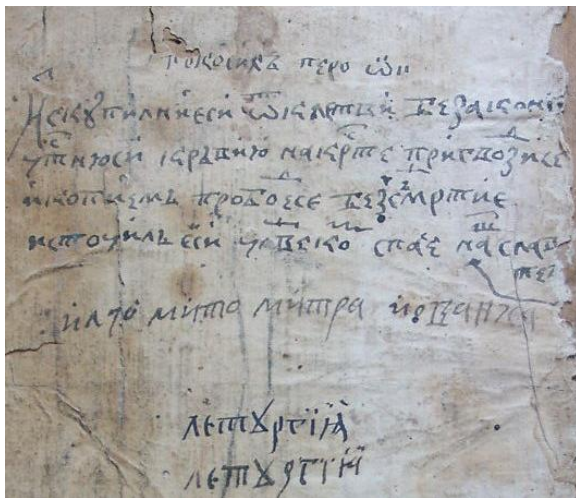
Lord, have mercy. (3 times)

(+) Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and unto ages of ages.

Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For Thine is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory, of the (+) Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, now and ever and unto ages of ages. Amen.

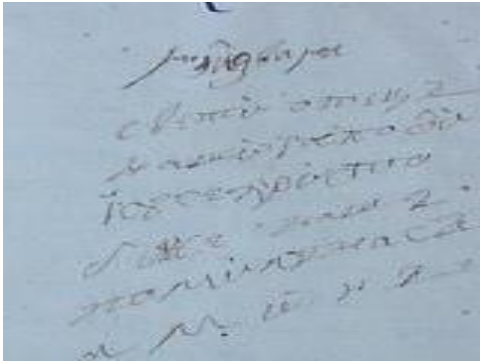
Samples of the religious texts under each particular category follow:

Adoration (4): #7 *Psalter* from Lokorsko, #50 *Euchologion* from Lokorsko (Figure 14.1), #273 *Euchologion* from Zrze monastery, #276 *Psalter* from Sofia (Figure 14.2).



You ransomed yourself from the oath of lawlessness with your blood on the Cross, you nailed yourself and pierced with a spear, immortality you gave to men, saving us, you our glory.

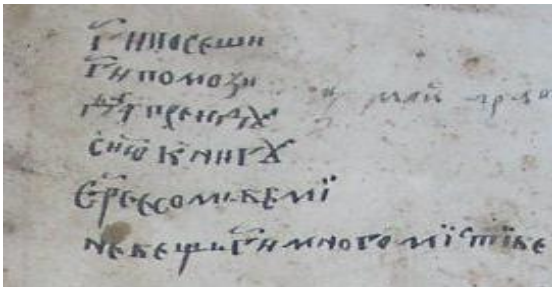
Figure 14.1: #50 *Euchologion*, front pastedown.



Holy Father...Our Father, forgive me.
Amen

Figure 14.6: #99 *Menaion*, front endpaper.

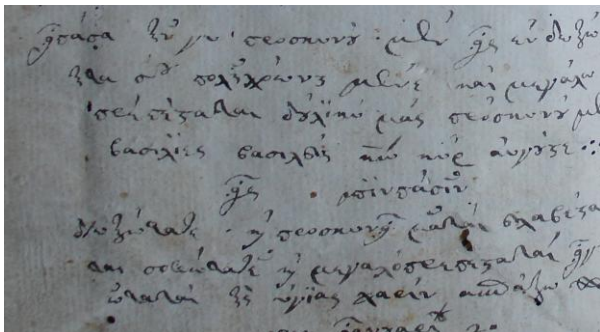
Petition (4): #2 *Psalter* from Seslavski monastery, #196 *Menaion* from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery (Figure 14.7), #374 *Gospel* from Kremikovtsi monastery (two), and #413 *Menaion* from Sofia.



God, hurry! God, help! This book is against heresy. Who knows anything about God's great mercy?

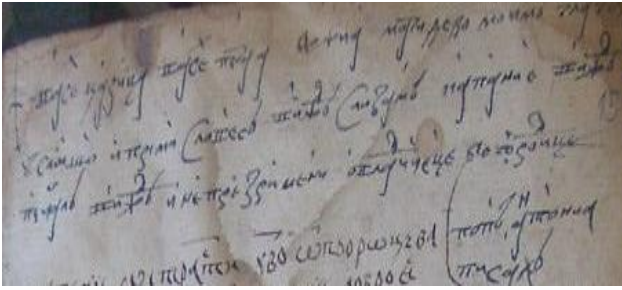
Figure 14.7: #196 *Menaion*, front endpaper.

Intercession (8): #58 *Euchologion* from Brezovo (Theotokos), #96 *Menaion* from Etropole monastery (Sts. Cyril and Methodius), #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* (St. Basil) (Figure 14.8), #182 *Euchologion* (St. Ivan Rilski), #225 *Damaskin* from Teteven (two notes, Christ and Theotokos) (Figure 14.9) #287 *Triodion* from Sofia (Theotokos).



Glory to St. Basil (in Greek) 1814,
January 20

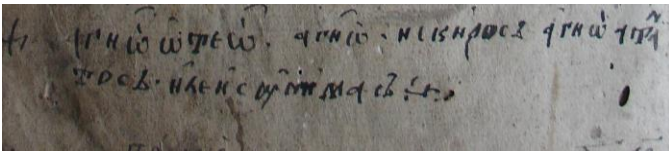
Figure 14.8: #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, p. 280.



+Of all, queen of all, the mother of God, Virgin, hear my crying and accept my words and see my tears dropping, see my sorrow, and see me, oh you, Queen Theotokos, priest Anton wrote.

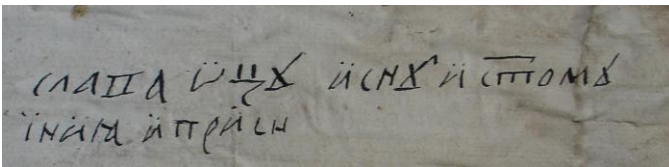
Figure 14.9: #225 *Damaskin*, p.146.

Divine Liturgy (4): The Creed, in #196 *Menaion* from St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, Trisagion Hymn, in #198 *Triodion* from Slatino (Figure 14.10), Cherubic hymn, in #271 *Euchologion* from Zrze monastery, Trisagion prayer, in #315 *Apostle*, from Seslavski monastery (two notes, Figure 14.11).



+Holy God, holy Mighty, holy Immortal (in Greek)

Figure 14.10: #198 *Triodion*, p.264.



Glory to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and forever...

Figure 14.11: #315 *Apostle*, back pastedown.

Feasts of the Church (1): Blessing of the waters at Theophany (Epiphany), in #86 *Menaion* from Etropole monastery.

Private celebrations (1): Blessing at a wedding, in #118 *Menaion* from Vraca.

Date and chronological distribution

When did religious texts appear, chronologically? The only dated prayer is the intercessory prayer to St. Basil, in the #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, bearing the date January 20, 1814. The Feast day of St. Basil the Great, however, is on January 1 (January 14, according to the Julian Calendar) and coincides with secular New Year celebrations.

Provenance

Where did religious text writing occur, geographically? Religious texts usually emphasize prayer and are never concerned with place and time. Beside the geographical location of the manuscript, the provenance, there is no other clue about the location.

Fourteen religious marginalia come from monastic centers such as Etropole (four), Seslavski (three), Kremikovtsi (two), St. Prohor Pshinski (two), Buhovo, Slepche, and Zrze monasteries (one note each).¹¹⁹² Non-monastic manuscripts and printed books yield 20 religious texts, including Sofia (five), Vraca, Samokov (one note each), Teteven (three), Turnovo, Pazardzhik, and the villages Lokorsko (two), Brezovo (three), Gorni Balvan, Slatino (one note each), and one unidentified location.¹¹⁹³

Physical placement

Where did religious marginalia appear in the manuscript? Prayers and hymns, being part of Divine Liturgy and other feasts or services of the Church, appear primarily in the body of the manuscripts in the margins and especially under the central text. Table 14.1 demonstrates authors' preferences to place religious texts under the central text (12). Other favorite locations for placement are the back endpaper (five). Monastic authors

¹¹⁹² #86 *Menaion*, #96 *Menaion*, #99 *Menaion*; #2 *Psalter*, #315 *Apostle*; #374 *Gospel*; #81 *Triodion*; #196 *Menaion*; #340 *Four Gospels*; #273 *Euchologion*.

¹¹⁹³ #271 *Psalter*, printed, #276 *Psalter*, #413 *Menaion*; #118 *Menaion*; #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*; #225 *Damaskin*; #285 *Book of rules*; #111 *Menaion*; #7 *Psalter*, #50 *Euchologion*; #58 *Euchologion*; #182 *Panegirik*; #198 *Triodion*; #184 *Euchologion*.

preferred the front and back endpapers (each three) while non-monastic authors prefer to add religious texts after the central text.

Location	Monastic manuscripts	Non-monastic manuscripts	Totals
Front pastedown	0	1	1
Front endpaper	3	1	4
Top margin	2	0	2
Under the text	2	10	12
Side margin	1	2	3
Bottom margin	2	2	4
Back endpaper	3	2	5
Back pastedown	1	1	2
Mixed margins	0	1	1
Totals	14	20	34

Table 14.1: Location in the manuscript of religious marginalia.

Diplomatics: form, structure, and formulae

What form and content characterize religious texts? Religious texts do not follow any conventions of documentary style of writing, form, and structure. The texts follow very specific guidelines in terms of their vocabulary, symbolism, and three levels of theological meaning. The four major types of prayers have their foundation in the *Book of Psalms* (adoration, thanksgiving, repentance, and petition), and also constitute the four major parts of the Orthodox prayer. The two models of prayer inherited from the *New Testament* have always been the Lord's Prayer and the hesychastic Jesus Prayer.

The Orthodox Church still attempts to this day to preserve its ancient rituals and incorporate them in the believer's personal life. The formal prayers of the Church are learned constantly by repeating and practicing them, by memorizing passages in the *Psalter* and the *Gospel*, by saying the simple prayers in solitude. In their private lives parishioners create their own forms of prayers. What counts is not expressing emotions but achieving the state of *theoria*, of direct contemplation of God.

Orthodox prayers can be formal liturgical prayers with communal nature and informal devotional with private nature. The official canon of the Church stipulated the

content, form and structure of formal liturgical prayers. Examples in the HACI corpus has fragments from the Creed, the Trisagion hymn, “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on me!,” and the Cherubic Hymns from the Divine Liturgy or from Feasts of the Church.¹¹⁹⁴

Informal prayers reflect the vernacular language laypeople use in their private devotional lives. The majority of prayers in this corpus are rather informal. The private prayers of Lazar, Anton, K. and his partner Dragan¹¹⁹⁵ and exhibit a style and are familiar to the members of their religious communities. The examples below demonstrate that informal prayers have a repentance or petition nature and allow much freedom of expression, including also some interjections such as "Oh" and personal references.

Repentance: Oh, from me, the sinful one!¹¹⁹⁶

Repentance: Holy Father...Our Father, forgive me. Amen.¹¹⁹⁷

Petition: God hurry up! God, help! This book is against heresy. Who knows anything about God's great mercy?¹¹⁹⁸

Petition: Accept Oh Lord the hymn of your servant K....and his partner Dragan.¹¹⁹⁹

Petition: Remember, God, your servant Peyo. Remember God your servant Petko from Sofia.¹²⁰⁰

Language and script

What script and language characterize religious texts? The table below demonstrates that the majority of these marginalia are written in the literary CS language of the Church and the formal SU script (22). Some prayers bear the Greek language written in SU script and cursive (two). The only exceptions are the later NU script written

¹¹⁹⁴ #315 *Apostle* (2), #285 *Akathyst* (blessing of the waters on Theophany, January 6), #271 *Psalter* (Cherubic hymn), and #196 *Menaion* (the Creed).

¹¹⁹⁵ #225 *Damaskin* (2 texts), #374 *Four Gospels*.

¹¹⁹⁶ 2 *Psalter*, Seslavski monastery.

¹¹⁹⁷ #99 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery.

¹¹⁹⁸ #196 *Menaion*, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.

¹¹⁹⁹ #374 *Four Gospels*, Kremikovtsi monastery.

¹²⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

by mostly non-monastic authors (six) and belonging to a later time period, the 19th century.

Language/Script	Semi-uncial	Cursive	New uncial	Total
Church Slavonic	M: 12 undated NM: 10 undated	M: 1 undated	M: 2 undated NM: 4 undated	M: 15 NM: 14
Church Slavonic and vernacular	NM: 1 undated	0	NM: 2 undated	NM: 3
Greek	NM: 1 undated	NM: 1 undated	0	NM: 2
TOTAL	M: 12 NM: 12	M: 1 NM: 1	M: 2 NM: 6	M: 16 NM: 19

Table 14.2: Comparison of scripts and language in religious marginalia. M = monastic; NM = non-monastic. (+) designates undated note of monastic origin; (-) designates undated note of non-monastic origin.

Summary

Private and communal prayers and fragments from liturgical hymns appear often in the margins and especially after the central text of manuscripts. The prayers follow the four conventional styles of prayers: adoration, thanksgiving, repentance, and petition to God, the Holy Trinity, Christ, the Virgin Mary, and also to the most revered saints of the Bulgarian Church. All four types are established in the Book of Psalms in the Old Testament and represented in the HACI corpus. The intercessory prayers to the saints also testify to the believers' communal and private devotional life.

Monastic authors inscribe those prayers and hymns in a formal literary CS language and the SU script of the Church. They never mention their names or dating their prayers, although in a few cases, later non-monastic authors spontaneously inscribed their petitions of repentance in an individual style and spoken language. This development begins from the 15th century on more and more to deviate from the Church Slavonic or Old Bulgarian roots.

The previous part of this study, Part Two, presents a comprehensive overview of marginalia and colophons. Content analysis resulted in 20 distinct categories of marginalia, each category developed with descriptors and a summary statement presented through graphics and charts. Those descriptors include authorship, genre/title, provenance, date, script and language, form and structure.

Building on this overview, summarizes the observations of descriptors across the corpus to perceive the relationships and patterns of distribution between categories. Part Three of the study interprets the results in light of ideas from modern and post-modern literary critical study, philosophy, psychology, science and linguistics by applying concepts such as *polyglossia*, boundary object, open text, linguistic marginality, and System theory and Hypertext theory. The next section three addresses the research questions established in the beginning of the study:

II. Theoretical interpretation of marginalia and colophons

- A. How do marginalia and colophons reflect the system of beliefs, assumptions, worldview, perceptions, and knowledge of their authors?
- B. What are the major differences among marginalia before and after the Ottoman invasion in regard to subject matter, chronological development, provenance, physical placement, diplomatics, language, and script?
- C. How does marginalia reflects the social marginality of their authors?

PART THREE: CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 15: SUMMARY RESULTS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

This chapter of the study applies the previously established questions to the whole corpus of data and summarizes the results of all existing categories of marginalia and colophons by answering the familiar set of questions on a corpus level. In addition, several theoretical constructs will elucidate the deeper meaning and significance of the different facets of marginalia and colophons, described previously as descriptors. Those theories include General System Theory and hypertext theory. The study will borrow theoretical concepts such as Bakhtin's *polyglossia*, Umberto Eco's open text, and Star's boundary objects.

The author admits that the presentation of these theories and concepts requires further in-depth exploration in the future. These theoretical constructs will enrich the future study of marginalia and colophons which, until now, has applied a limited range of theories, especially readers' response theory. Readers' response theory, however has focused only on the study of readers' marginalia as commentary of the central text, leaving other types of reader's responses. Marginalia, in general, are multi-faceted phenomenon that includes different categories, as this study has discovered. The application of particular theoretical perspectives on each particular category or thematic cluster group to comprehend the nature will help to interpret the meaning, and understand the value of marginalia.

This major section will present the theoretical interpretation applied to the authorship, subject, physical location, and language descriptors of marginalia. In addition, this section will present a summary of results on the corpus level, including all descriptors such as authorship, subject, date, provenance, physical location, diplomatics, language and script. Chapter seven will summarize the results of the study of provenance and genre descriptor of marginalia.

In sum, the methodology of this study involves three levels of analysis: content, bibliographic description, and theoretical interpretation. Figure 15.1 demonstrates the overview of the methodology of the study.:

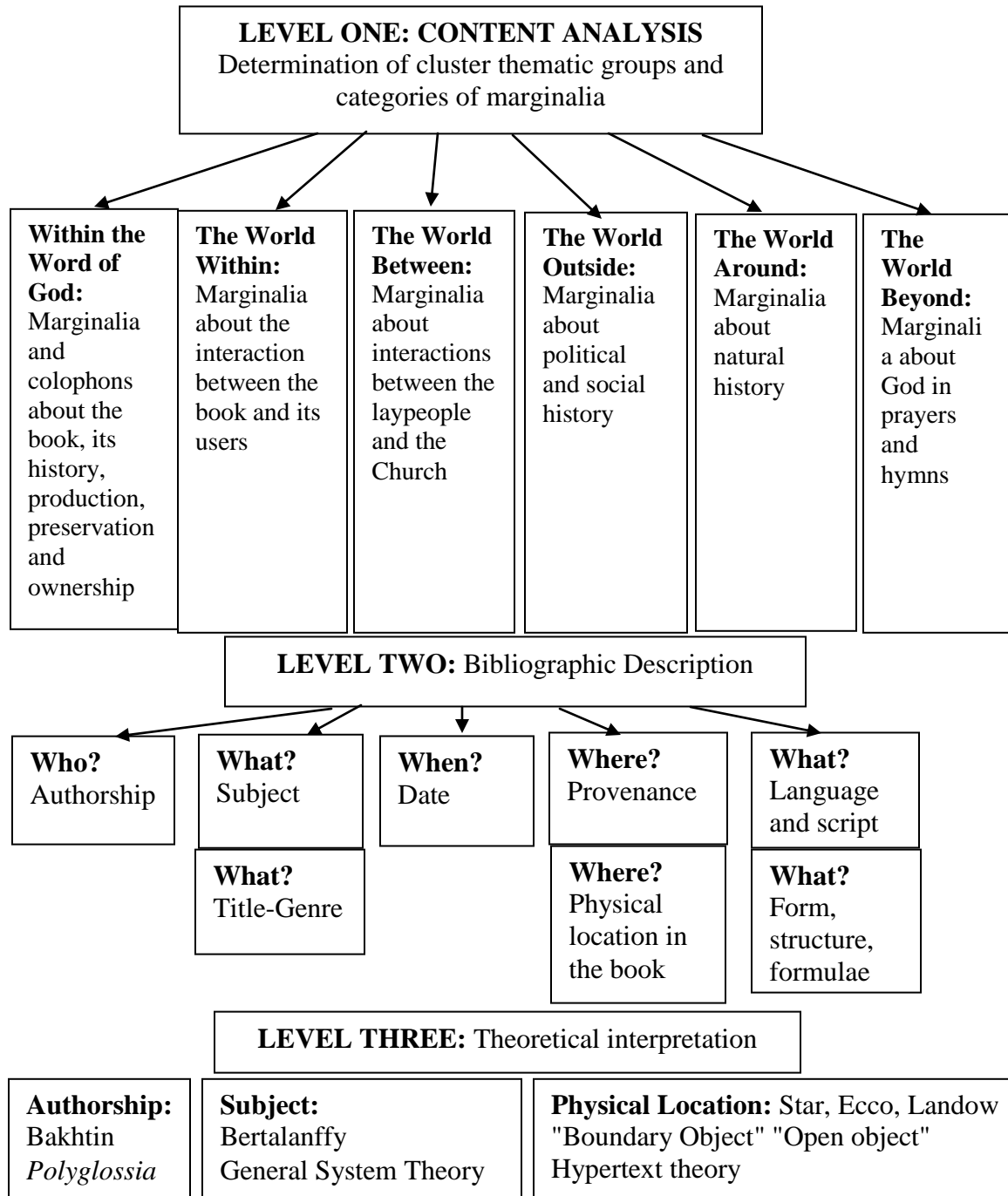


Figure 15.1: Methodology of the study of marginalia and colophons, three levels of analysis.

The major set of questions being applied to the whole corpus of data remain:

- *Authors, creators, and participants*: Who Produced these marginalia?
- *Genre and subject matter*: What kind of information do they present?
- *Chronological distribution*: When were these marginalia inscribed, chronologically?
- *Provenance*: Where were these marginalia produced?
- *Physical location in the book*: Where do such marginalia appear in the book?
- *Language and scripts*: What language and script characterize them?
- *Form, structure, and formulae*: What form, structure, and formulae characterize them as documents?.

AUTHORS, CREATORS, AND PARTICIPANTS

The many voices of people appearing in the margins remind us about the multiplicity of meanings of spoken language, about language variations and dialects, and about the continuum between the literary, the official, and the vernacular language of a given time. Bakhtin reminded us of this phenomenon, designated by him as *polyglossia* (*mnogoglasie*), the presence of many voices in the narrative, although it existed long before him.

Another of Bakhtin's terms, *heteroglossia* (*raznorechie*), designates the different, even opposing voices in a literary as opposed to a vernacular language.¹²⁰¹ Those apparent opposites, however, coexisted and nurtured each other for the South Slavs and spread the Church Slavonic language abroad, to the Northern territories of the Great Russ. What we see in South Slavic manuscripts during the Ottoman period is the appearance of Greek, Turkish, and Russian words within the marginalia. The world of marginalia is a microcosm of the *polyglossia* and *heteroglossia* of the South Slavic Christian community, revealing the complexity and hybridization of language as a unity of several "languages." The codex provided shelter for those multi-lingual voices. Bakhtin reminds us that in Russian society the peasant operated in several different

¹²⁰¹ M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 263, 428.

language systems: the ecclesiastical language of liturgy, the language of the folk songs, and the official court language.¹²⁰²

The same observation is applicable to the South Slavic Christian society during the Ottoman period. These voices and language forms coexisted and allowed people to function in a variety of settings. Manuscript margins became a place of sharing and communication between the people. When one author intruded into that space, another dared to follow and responded with further comments.

Manuscript margins reveal the chorus of voices of Christian. Not able to express their personal opinions in public, those stifled voices speak from the books sometimes quite emotionally, sometimes eloquently, yet at other times, they remain very brief, even silent, or just say "Oh! Oh! Oh!"

A recurrent theme of marginalia scholarship is the author's anonymity or identity. Other themes include diversity of voices, modes of expression, and the occupations of clergy and laypeople. Appendix 3 demonstrates the relationship between categories of marginalia and the people, including authors, scribes, and other participants in the events mentioned in marginalia. This section summarizes the answers to the W's questions that appear in the analysis of each category of marginalia. Every "who" is important in creating community represented by marginalia.

"Who is the Author?"

Under certain circumstances, authors remained anonymous. Scribal notes, for example, do not bear the names of their authors because the copyists wanted to foreground the text rather than themselves. Bookplates designating church ownership do not identify the authors. Religious epigrams or admonitions for righteousness did not bear names, either. Scribes were taught to record the Word of God without alteration and to avoid writing themselves into the book. Similarly, when authors described a lost book they wrote about the book, not themselves. When a student or a scribe tested their quill or told the "fly joke," they were desecrating the book and perhaps did not want to be caught.

¹²⁰² Ibid., p. 295

Other marginalia display very different authorial motives. Authors of these texts wished to emphasize the negative impact of the events they recorded or perhaps intentionally hid their names for fear of persecution. When the monk Isaia witnessed the "desolation" of the land caused by the Ottoman invasion, he described the events but hid his identity through a secret code.

However, when members of the clergy authored official records of the church, such as binding operations, sponsorship of book production, and church repair, they followed the rules of official documents by identifying themselves. Graffiti on manuscripts and walls were common among laypeople. Pilgrims, readers, students, teachers, and book owners inscribed their names, perhaps with the belief that they would receive salvation if their names resided in a sacred codex kept in the altar of the church. Others may have autographed these relatively inaccessible locations because their freedom of expression was restricted elsewhere. Some readers signed proudly their names when they completed reading of a book, because both books and literacy were restricted. Students signed their names in the sacred codices when they completed their education. Teachers proudly designated themselves through marginalia and remembered their teaching as a milestone of their lives.

Before the Ottoman invasion, scribal notes, squeezed into the margins, witnessed the humility of scribes and their desire to leave the sacred manuscript clean. Under the Ottomans and without central ecclesiastical authority, clergy and laypeople alike joined the chorus of marginal voices of students, teachers, pilgrims, readers, monks, high and low clergy, and rich and poor laypeople. These voices increased in number and tonality. As time progressed, the political situation worsened while the level of literacy increased. The margins provided a haven for sharing concerns, needs, duties, and even artistic and creative expressions. The margin became the center.

In 146 manuscripts, 38 people sponsored binding, 200 sponsored the manuscripts, and 829 donated money and goods to the monastic community. Among laypeople, 381 desired commemoration, 111 completed a pilgrimage or participated in the life of a monastic community. Yet, 69 others signed their graffiti-like inscriptions simply to leave

a memory of themselves for future generations. Over the years, the increase of numbers of marginalia demonstrates and corresponds to the rise of literacy among laypeople: 27 readers, 13 teachers, 12 private owners of books, and seven students left a trace of themselves.

Job designations and responsibilities

Marginalia and colophons document civil and ecclesiastic administrators, workers, and duties. The largest such category describes binding and repair of books and church buildings. Some sponsored those acts, others administered, and others participated. Artists, illuminators, scribes, and workers stated their names as did scribes in colophons. Others, in some cases even Ottoman authorities, appeared as witnesses to these acts. Church-related acts mentioned also the names of priests in tenure.

Marginalia and colophons document the variety of job responsibilities borne by members of the clergy. *Taxidiot* (traveling monks) from Mount Athos or Rila monastery, for example, traveled and established *metochions* (small monasteries with a chapel and school) and lay schools to educate people and to accept contributions for the religious communities. Monastic communities that included scribes and calligraphers supported themselves by producing custom-made books. Priests and monks bound and repaired books and created beautiful gold or silver metal-smithed bodies for the codices. Clergymen also documented political events, wars, battles, and uprising aftermaths. They were the chroniclers who recorded information about natural phenomena and disasters. They repaired roofs, built protective walls, constructed mills, and taught students in monastic and secular schools. They cared for church libraries and guarded the books as well as they possibly could.

In addition, manuscripts and colophons document the primary responsibilities of church personnel: serving divine liturgy and preaching. They traveled long distances, serving areas without local priests. They healed and prayed for healing, as marginalia reveal.

INTELLECTUAL CONTENT AND SUBJECT MATTER OF MARGINALIA

Content analysis revealed the major subjects appearing in the HACI corpus, classified into the 20 mutually exclusive categories. The same set of Ws questions mentioned before and appearing below will be asked to the level of the entire HACI corpus to summarize the results of the study:

- Who produced these marginalia?
- What kind of information did they present?
- Which genres of manuscripts contained such marginalia?
- When were these marginalia inscribed, chronologically?
- Where were these marginalia produced?
- Where do such marginalia appear in a manuscript?
- What form, structure, and formulae characterize these marginalia?
- What language and script characterize them?

Contemporary cataloguing practice characterizes every information object by the physical features of its body and subject matter, based on content. For example, the Library of Congress emphasizes physical descriptors and subject headings. Yet, the disciplines of epigraphy and paleography classify inscriptions based on content and not on external characteristics such as medium.¹²⁰³ The tentative categories developed in this study grew on the basis of the pilot project and literature review. Six clusterings emerged from those categories. General Systems Theory illuminated the interactions between these categories. The thematic cluster groups include:

First clustering: Within the Word of God: Marginalia and colophons about the book, its history, production, preservation, and ownership

Binding: Documents that record the acts of repair, binding, and metal-smithing of the manuscript, and that follow the standards of colophon style, formula, language

¹²⁰³ S. Smjadovski, *Bulgarska Kirilska Epigraphika IX-XV Vek [Bulgarian Cyrillic Epigraphy 9-15th Century]* (Sofia: Agata-A SD, 1993), p. 44.

and script. These records provide information about the usage of manuscripts, their maintenance and preservation.

Sponsorship of books: Resembling the colophon and other official records in their form, structure, formulaic statements, position in the manuscript, language and script, sponsorship marginalia describe and document the act of sponsoring of book production among laypeople.

Scribal notes: Anonymous, laconic and rather fragmentary, these marginalia include different elements of the colophons or other records and formulae such as the prayer of forgiveness of scribes, invocation to the Holy Trinity, the title of the book, a curse against stealing, or just the scribe's name and date.

History of manuscripts: These marginalia document the accidental discovery of old manuscripts, theft of manuscripts, and other changes of provenance and the fate of manuscripts during the period.

Bookplates: These marginalia record provenance specifically the ownership of books and include the name of the owner, title of the book and date of acquisition.

Second clustering: The world within: Marginalia about interaction between the book and its users

Epigrams: Poems, jokes, wisdom, admonitions, criticism against contemporary moral norms and political controversies. These creative venues provided an outlet for self-awareness and self-expression with the suppressive regime of the Ottoman society and the growing awareness of Bulgaria as a nation in itself.

Inscriptions: Graffiti-like marginalia that present a brief statement of the names of people who have been in contact with the book. They left their names and dates of such interactions. Inscriptions provide evidence about the process of democratization within the Church and the opening of the textual space for laypeople.

Trying the quills: While practicing handwriting on the book, scribes and subsequently students left marginalia that initially read "I tried my quill to see if it writes" but developed into incorporating a popular poem about the fly.

Doodles and illustrations: Drawings, scribbles, and other graphic representations that resemble icons, imitate decorations and initials, that provide evidence of the handwriting decorative exercises and practices of students, artists, and other users of the book.

Personal notes: Marginalia, resembling family chronicles, that present biographical and autobiographical information about individuals, laypeople or clergy, from their private or professional lives. They demonstrate the increasing self-awareness of people recording information about themselves for future generations.

Education: Marginalia that document the process of learning and teaching, including years of study, location, teachers, textbooks, and methods of studying. They also record the continual process of democratization and vernacularization of Slavic education and the history of literacy.

Readers: Brief and fact-oriented marginalia, similar to contemporary check-out slips, that describe a process of borrowing and lending of books and the transmission of the text by the readers and sometimes their enthusiasm about reading. Among the most preferred books for private and communal reading were devotional books, vitae of saints, the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, and the *Damaskins*.

Third clustering: The world between: Marginalia about interactions between laypeople and the Church

Pilgrimage notes: Marginalia that detail the travels of lay people to monasteries and those of *taxidiots* (traveling monks) to urban communities. Typically, during such visits, laypeople would donate money or goods to monasteries and local churches and request their names be commemorated during Church services. Taxidiots would teach in local *metochions* and collect funds for their monasteries.

Commemoration lists: Known as *Pomenik*, these are lists of people to be blessed during the divine liturgies of the church on regular, Sundays, or major feast days. The people had perhaps visited a monastery on a pilgrimage or supported the Church with goods or other donations.

Donations: Marginalia that list items donated by laypeople to the monastery or their local church such as food, livestock, or money. Some monasteries include them in the commemoration lists, *pomeniks*.

Church repair: Official records of the Church that document the acts of completion of repair, decoration, or building of churches. They also provide evidence of the restrictions on building during the Ottoman period and the need to have Ottoman authorities witness acts of even the smallest repair.

Forth clustering: The world outside: Marginalia about political and social history

Historical accounts: Shorter than chronicles, these eyewitness accounts describe and evaluate events of history and particularly wars and their aftermath as well as kurdzhalii attacks, and the eventual liberation. These accounts record South Slavic perception of their foreign rulers and the challenges the Ottoman rule created. These accounts vary in size from short statements to longer evaluative statements of historical events and figures, full of interjections "OH!" and exclamations such as "Great hunger," "great fear," "great sorrow," "great need." These accounts reveal the need and misery of people and their fight for independence and liberation from foreign rulers. Historical marginalia remain important historical primary sources that document the "history from below" of the South Slavs during the Ottoman period.

Fifth clustering: The world around: Marginalia about natural history

Disasters and natural phenomena: Marginalia that document disasters, extreme weather conditions, earthquakes, and astronomical events. They often record the aftermath of the natural disasters and emotional impact on peoples' lives. These descriptive and evaluative accounts provide evidence of the perception of nature,

its effects on the life of Christians, and the expanding horizons of authors as they attempted to comprehend their own place in the natural world.

Sixth clustering: The world beyond: Marginalia about God in prayers and hymns

Religious texts: Hymns, private and communal prayers of adoration, thanksgiving, repentance, petition to God, Christ, and intercession to Virgin Mary and the saints. Scribes added additional prayers and hymns to augment lost religious texts due to physical loss of pages of the manuscript.

General Systems Theory illuminating the worldviews of authors of marginalia

The classification of marginalia and colophons into categories, and the clustering of the categories into six groups, led to the application of systems theory to explore the interactions among the individual author, the central text, the codex, the author's creative expressions and educational activities, the religious community, historical events, the cosmos, and God. As a system, these elements can be depicted through seven nested levels (Figure 15.2) that represent the thematic cluster groups and the central text.

Within the Word of God: Marginalia and colophons about the book, its history, production, preservation, and ownership

The world within: Marginalia about interaction between the book and its users

The world between: Marginalia about interactions between laypeople and the Church.

The world outside: Marginalia about political and social history.

The world around: Marginalia about natural history.

The world beyond: Marginalia about God in prayers and hymns.

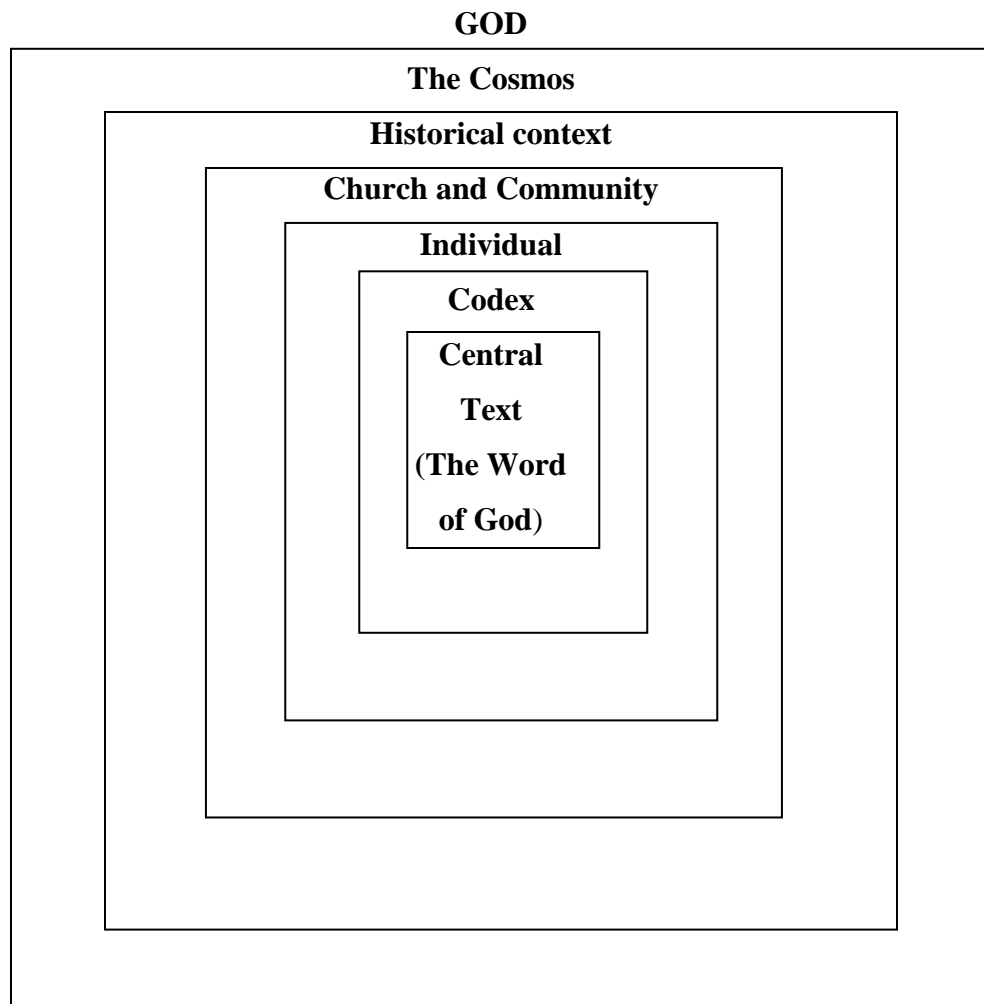


Figure 15.2: The system of interactions facilitated by marginalia and colophons.

The central text of the manuscript is open to interactions at many levels. Systems theory¹²⁰⁴ provides a way to understand these interactions, based on the subject matter of marginalia and colophons. This nested system represents the universe of the author, a Christian Slavic male, during the Ottoman rule of the Balkans. Its hierarchy represents his level of interests, duties, and creativity expressed through marginalia and colophons. This system depicts how the individual functioned within that society. People survived because they relied on their communities. The opening of the manuscript space to the

¹²⁰⁴ K.L. Bertalanffy, *General System Theory: Foundations, Development, Applications* (New York: George Braziller, 1968).

laypeople outside the Church facilitated the sharing of their own stories and perception about current historical events, natural phenomena, and in general their lives.

Hymns, prayers, and other religious material function at the text level. At the book level, the colophon or title page provided information about the book itself and its production. Other marginalia at the book level included information about ownership (bookplates), and the book's history and provenance. At the *individual level*, marginalia discussed the individual and his activities, personal interests, and creative behavior such as epigrams, reading, education, and graphical representations. At the *communal level*, marginalia related the interactions of the individual with his religious community and the Church, such as pilgrimages, commemorations, donations, and church repairs. At the *historical level*, marginalia reveal the perceptions of the individual about the historical environment, political events, and economic hardship. Beyond this level of social and political history lay the *natural history level* of delving of the cosmos through astronomical phenomena. The most inclusive level of this system, the *religious or devotional level* incorporated, for the medieval Slav, God. God, then returned to the first level of the central text, the Word of God, perceived by the Orthodox believer as the incarnation of the Son. Marginalia bridged level to level, integrating them into one whole system of interactions that reveal the worldview of authors.

Before the Ottoman invasion, a strong Church regulated the life of the community. The manuscript was not subject to change but remained a sacred space, where the layperson was not allowed a voice. Pre-Ottoman codices represented a closed system that focused on the text itself and reflected the access of monks and clergymen alone to books. The post-Ottoman system (Figure 15.2) of complex web of texts, interpretations, and hypertexts,¹²⁰⁵ represents the opening of texts and books to the general layreader. Medieval book production focused on fragmentation of the writing space through word divisions, headings, rubrications, marginal and interlinear glosses, and annotations. In this system, images served as mnemonic devices to remind the reader about particular textual reference. Special initials and images distinguished passages by

¹²⁰⁵ George Landow, *Hypertext: The Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1992), p. 22.

their size, colors, and typefaces. Codices provided space for the multiple voices of the religious community, as long as the voices commented on the central text.

After the invasion, the Church lost its headquarters and one unified center of manuscript production that would set the norms and standards for decoration, textual transmission, and preservation of manuscripts. The codex gradually opened to permit new readers a voice.¹²⁰⁶ Layreaders did not attempt to keep the margins clean but left their marks throughout. Marginalia that were added during the Ottoman period did not focus on the text but on the duties of the clergy, interaction with the community, and the world outside oneself. During the Ottoman period, the book received on multiple levels of use, due to economic reasons, including restrictions in paper and writing supplies and the prohibition of the printing presses by the Ottoman authorities.

Manuscript margins functioned as archive, chronicle, diary, newspaper, library, textbook, and even drawing notepad and allowed a growing number of diverse users to enter the textual space. As a result of that, categories of marginalia grew in number, variety, and authorship. The process of democratization opened the text and the book to the wider community, providing space for people to share perceptions of their reality.

CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS

Marginalia do not always include dates. This simple fact, based upon observation of the HACI corpus, prevents the application of the historical method to the entirety of the corpus. Nevertheless, the dated marginalia (313 out of 668 marginalia and 48 colophons) constituted a large 43.7% portion of the whole. The dated marginalia showed a gradual diversification of categories during the Ottoman period, 15th-19th century. HACI corpus marginalia ranges from 1425 to 1845. The HACI corpus contains few manuscripts from the pre-Ottoman period. The HACI corpus contains very few marginalia from before the 15th century CE. One reason for this lack of marginalia is the destruction of manuscripts due to accidental and intentional events. On the other hand,

¹²⁰⁶ The Polish occupation of Moscow (the Third Rome) in the turn of the 17th century, raised new questions and answers to what went wrong. The standard answer "God punished us for our sins" was no longer adequate.

the hesychastic attitude of the Church toward keeping the body of the Codex holy and “immaculately” clean did not encourage frivolous writing and “defilement.” A large portion of the HACI manuscripts lost their last pages, the typical colophon page, due to overuse. In the 15th century, during the foreign rule, manuscript production appears to have ceased following the Ottoman invasion, not to resume for several decades. Gradually, the production of manuscripts increased especially during the 16th, dropped in the 17th century and fluctuated until 1845 (Figure 7.3) During this time, non-monastic scribes continued to copy devotional books, such as *Damaskini*, and historical works, such as Paisii’s *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*. Liturgical printed books from Russia and abroad were imported, although a new genre of devotional and historical manuscripts were produced in non-monastic settings. Chronological distribution of marginalia, however, followed different development in numbers and rate (Figure 15.3)

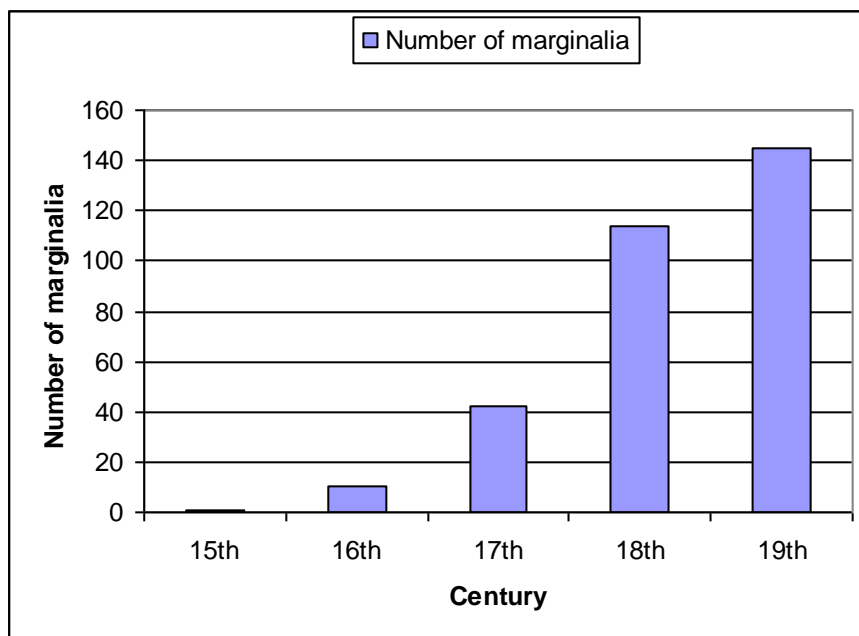


Figure 15.3: Chronological distribution of marginalia

The first dated note containing personal information appeared in 1490. In the 16th century, historical marginalia outnumbered other categories of marginalia. A single note documented sponsorship of manuscript production, implying extreme poverty among

laypeople, although, during this time, people began to leave modest traces of themselves by producing graffiti-like inscriptions in manuscript margins.

The 17th century data from the HACI corpus reveals expansion of people's worldview in terms of new categories of marginalia. For the first time, in 1671, a record describing an educational pursuit appeared. Scribal notes, book ownership statements, and records about book history also appeared. Scribes continued to be record historical events and their impact on the people's lives in increasing numbers to a modest seven. Daily survival depended on the hard labor necessary to produce the food for the Ottoman army and to pay other taxes. The hard labor of Christians materialized into the emergence of small personal wealth in a few individuals, who in return began to donate goods and money to the Church. The Church encouraged Christians to the portion of goods and money, and people believed that they would achieve salvation in return. In this manner, the 17th century man contributed to manuscript production and to the binding and repair of manuscripts, as witnessed by 20 notes. During this century, six notes documented religious activities such as pilgrimages.

The 18th century witnessed a 15-fold increase in marginalia and similar increases in their diversity. Ottoman rule continued to be a prominent theme in historical marginalia, with eleven notes mentioning it. The 18th century man also began to contemplate the forces of nature and documented natural disasters and other natural phenomena in six notes. Students and teachers sporadically reflect on their education and begin to record their private readings of books in 1778. Individuals begin to own and read books privately. This private ownership of books might have allowed more personal freedom to leave inscriptions.

During this century, new categories of marginalia documented the repairs and remodeling of church and other buildings. Local churches repaired overly used manuscripts more than they produced and copied new genres of manuscripts, such as *Damaskins* and historical chronicles. The slightly increased financial ability of the 18th century man allowed him to contribute to the Church and its activities of restoring and preserving traditional items.

Twenty-nine marginalia during the 19th century demonstrated the continued preoccupation with the political and economic crisis of wars, uprisings, and gang depredations. Seventeen witnessed the destructive forces of nature. As the Ottoman Empire crumbled, the 19th century author showed evidence of self-actualization through creativity, learning, and reading. For the first time, he inscribed the margins of manuscripts with poems, reflections, and epigrams. Personal notes, inscriptions, diaries, and chronicles demonstrate the growing self-awareness of modern South Slavic person. Although authors inscribed books with 33 prayers and hymns to God, those religious texts remain undated and prevented their inclusion into the comparative table of chronological distribution of categories (See Appendix 6).

PHYSICAL PLACEMENT OF MARGINALIA AND THE FUNCTION OF SLAVIC BOOKS

What is the logic of choosing a particular location to record extra-textual information in a manuscript? Does the choice of location relate to the particular type of marginalia? Did scribes, annotators, and archivists follow any formal archival conventions? Did scribes desire to hide historical marginalia within the manuscript?

Analysis of the positioning of marginalia in Slavic manuscripts revealed the interplay between the sacred and secular, personal and communal, duty and charity. How did different communities of practice share the boundary object of the medieval manuscript? In the process of investigating manuscript marginalia

Analysis of the location of marginalia in Slavic manuscripts demonstrates that monastic and non-monastic authors followed, although not rigidly, a pattern of guiding principles and models of annotation in the blank manuscript spaces. For example, judging from the encoding of scribe's names and anonymity of historical marginalia it is possible to infer that scribes used the bottom margins to hide their perceptions of the world, that is, the profane, in commenting on the historical and natural realities (historical marginalia and disaster marginalia).

Such a practice of physical placement of marginalia exemplifies not only the long-standing hesychastic tradition of humility of the Christian authors of marginalia, but also the lower social status of the Christian in Ottoman society. As with the grotesque images in the 12th century Gothic images discussed by Michael Camile,¹²⁰⁷ the bottom margins of Slavic manuscripts hosted the insights and perceptions of a low socioeconomic class of people.

At the same time, annotators used the front of manuscripts as an *archive* of transactions of the church with the community (binding, sponsorship, commemoration, and donations marginalia). In some instances, the front of the manuscript was used as a *textbook* and a tool for education, literacy, and creativity (education, reader, doodles, and epigrams marginalia). The back of the book became a *chronicle* of historical events (historical marginalia), the *library* space (reader marginalia), and a *diary* (personal and inscriptions marginalia). For the results of the summary of HACI corpus based on the physical location of marginalia see Appendix 5.

Margins as the world within and without oneself

The margin functioned to hide or reveal personal reflections and interactions between the annotator with the book, the Church, nature, and history. The margin became the safe haven that sheltered the annotator's personal worldview. Inscriptions resided in side, bottom and top margins, or even surrounded the central text. Sometimes, they continued on subsequent pages when space was limited. Did scribes follow any internal pattern of placing those marginalia? The comparison between the number of a particular category of marginalia and a particular location in the manuscript revealed results that will be developed by looking at each location (the front of the manuscript, the front pastedowns and endpapers, the inside of the manuscript: bottom margin, side margin, top margin, the back of the manuscript: back endpapers and pastedowns).

¹²⁰⁷ See Chapter 2, Theoretical perspectives of the study.

Bottom Margins

Traditionally designed and produced as the largest in size, bottom margins sheltered personal insights and were the second most frequently used location for marginalia. One hundred twenty-nine notes of all 668 marginalia (19.3%) appeared in the bottom margins. Bottom margins contained inscriptions, historical information, records of donations of money for books, students' and teachers' notes, disasters, and personal information. This behavior often appeared in pre-Ottoman religious annotations, written in very small script next to the edges of the page. Those mostly clergymen who placed marginalia in the bottom margins possibly followed their habits of reverence before the religious text into the lower position of their personal marginalia. During the Ottoman period, the bottom margin attracted historical marginalia, possibly deliberately hidden in the bottom and back of manuscripts through fear that they would be discovered.

The manuscript page represented the binary opposites of heaven and earth through sacred and profane space and texts. The sacred space of the central text, written in literary Middle, New or Russian Church Slavonic, contrasted with marginalia written in the vernacular language about the personal and worldly matters in the margins. Still, the relation between central text and margin in comparison with the relation between the literary and vernacular language did not reveal a conflict, most likely because scribes and authors preserved the deep reverence for the sacred text.

Side Margins

The side margin became the place for exercising creativity and individuality. This sharing of creative works, such as poems and epigrams, came at a later time, around the 19th century, and implies the rising self-assertion and mentality of the man who knows his place in history and hopes for freedom. This modern man criticized the existing order and creatively asserted himself in the side margins, one step above the bottom margin, and on an equal footing with the central text.

Fifty-six marginalia appear in the side margins, or 8.4 % of 668. People left their personal reflections, life experiences, names, and the dates when they interacted with the book and poetical inspirations. Scribes practiced drawing headpieces, and laymen

frivolously exercised their hands in drawings and doodles. Side margins bore the names of people or organizations that owned the book. Clergy members inscribed prayers or hymns, and pilgrims documented their pilgrimage to monasteries.

Top Margins

The top of the manuscript page remained almost immaculate. Only twelve out of 668 marginalia appear on the top margin (1.8%). Perhaps the narrow size of the top margin did not allow scribes to place marginalia. On the other hand, considering the reference of the hesychastic tradition, it is possible that scribes associated the top margin with authority and the sacred. Indeed, prayers appear on the top margins.

Multiple Margins

Disasters and natural phenomena marginalia sometimes extended from the top through the side margin to the bottom of the page. Fifteen notes of all 668 marginalia appear on more than one margin (2.2%). The annotators felt compelled to share it and spread it on all available blank marginalia space.

Natural phenomena enveloped the central text and writings, revelation of the supernatural. The central text was, always, reserved for the Word of God. The annotations, by their placement and wording, reflected belief that God was still active in nature. Reports of unusual natural phenomena and unnatural meteorological conditions frequently coincide with historical reports.

After the central text

Annotators placed marginalia about book sponsorship (19) after the central text and the colophon. Sponsorship of books, traditionally a part of the colophon, imitated colophon conventions and added more information about the sponsorship of book production omitted in the colophons of later times. In some cases, prayers and hymns found a place in close proximity to a pertinent part of the central text. Scribal notes added information similar to colophons and appear after the completion of the main text. Scribal notes usually displayed partial information also found in colophons, such as opening and

ending formulas, dates, prayers of blessing, or curses against stealing. Monastic scribes chose location of the bookplates usually close to the colophon.

The front of the manuscript as the Archive of the Church

The blank pages that separated the manuscript body from its case became the archive of the Orthodox Church. Paper was expensive, of low quality, and very scarce, so clergy inscribed manuscripts front endpapers and flyleaves with the Church's official transactions and activities using a formal tone and style of writing. The front blank pages became the second most preferable place for marginalia, although the front endpapers remain as the favorite place to inscribe compared to all other separate locations. What types of information appear on front pastedowns and endpapers?

Front Pastedowns

Fifty-one notes appeared on front pastedowns (7.6%). Most of them were binding notes. Front pastedowns also contained statements of book ownership, doodles, inscriptions, and scribal notes.

Documentation of the binding procedures and the people involved required more space than the margins could provide. Therefore, annotators placed binding marginalia on the front pastedown, in close proximity to the very object of repair -- the body or cover of the manuscript. Communities followed slightly different practices with non-monastic annotators utilizing the front pastedowns and monastic annotators utilizing the front endpapers.

"Trying the quill" marginalia and the more elaborate version that included the "poem of the fly" usually appeared on the front pastedown. Such marginalia apparently document of students practicing their handwriting. Non-monastic scribes demonstrated more flexibility of placement of marginalia than the monastic.

Front Endpapers

The front endpaper comprises the point of transition between the case and the body of the manuscripts, the boundary line between the outside and inside, and a point of transition between the sacred and the secular. The largest amount of marginalia appears

on front endpapers. One hundred eighty-eight notes of the 668 marginalia, 28% of all marginalia, appeared on the front endpapers.

Annotators who chose the front endpapers followed the monastic tradition of recording donations (68 cases) near commemoration lists (40 cases). One manuscript from the Urvishko-Kokalyanski monastery¹²⁰⁸ had a whole gathering of pages with names of donors and commemorated persons sewn to the front body of the manuscript. Besides donation and commemoration records, records of binding operations and donations of money for manuscript production appear in this area.

Although some of those people confessed their "littleness" and confessed that they wrote for the whole world to laugh at them, they desired to leave a trace of themselves on the front of manuscripts, to expose themselves, living in the margins of society and in isolation from the rest of the world. Further, scribes believed in the sanctifying power of the sacred text because they left their names for commemoration and remembrance.

Occasionally, historical information also appeared on the front endpapers. Monastic and non-monastic annotators alike described the impact of the kurdzalii gangs. The laypeople expressed their admiration for the Russian army and emperor as liberators from the Ottoman rule.

The back as Chronicle

The back blank pages appear utilized in lesser extent than the front or the middle of manuscripts. Still, with 147 marginalia of all 668 marginalia (22 %), the back of the book became the location for historical accounts, Church archives and library interactions with readers. People preferred to place their creative endeavors such as free-hand drawings, doodles, epigrams, or simply their names.

Back endpapers and pastedowns

Perhaps for safety, annotators used the back of the manuscript to place facts and insights about historical events during Ottoman rule. Twenty historical accounts appeared

¹²⁰⁸ #368 *Miscellany*.

on the back endpapers. The back endpapers allowed more space to share and elaborate on the challenges of Christian life in the Ottoman Empire, as the back pages appear less exposed than the front pages.

The back blank pages typically included the colophons, where scribes would insert notes about the current rulers and the historical context of the manuscript's production. The earliest colophons from Etropole, Kratovo, and Kupinovo monasteries (1526, 1567, and 1595) contain information about damage done by Sulejman the Magnificent's rule and his military campaigns. Paisii's chronicle *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* motivated people to share their personal insights about history and to continue its narration. Scribes chose to place such information to preserve it for the coming generations, stating "let it be known."¹²⁰⁹

The back endpapers, like the front, contained documents of Church activities, such as binding operations, donations of money for book production, donations of goods, and pilgrimages. Non-monastic owners positioned bookplates of their ownership on the back endpapers (11).

The back endpapers became a "Library space" because after reading the book, the reader turned to the closest page and wrote their names and dates, similar to contemporary library practices. The ample blank spaces of the back invited the readers to document their reading and to leave their impressions of the book. Students and teachers occasionally would leave their insights on the back endpapers. The back endpaper appears to have been regarded as the location where a person could express himself with fewer limitations and without formal writing. Accordingly, readers left their names for eternal memory or left just doodling and jokes. Figure 15.4 demonstrates the Map of the Slavic book that associates each category of marginalia to a particular location. The

¹²⁰⁹ In the year from the Creation of the world, 1678, from the birth of Christ, 1678...[...].+ During this time, there was GREAT NEED AND SORROW because of foreign languages [nations] and also because of the Turks, and the wheat was so expensive – 21 aspri/oka. During the reign of Mehmed, PERSECUTORS AND TORTURERS of the Christian kin. + Because hypocrisy and cheating dominated, those foreign languages [nations] were left to consume our land. And by the most blessed Theotokos [Virgin Mary], we were able to preserve the law of God that became our weapon. *Octoechos*, from Etropole monastery.

percentages of each category of marginalia mean how many of the total number of all marginalia belong to this particular category appear on this location.

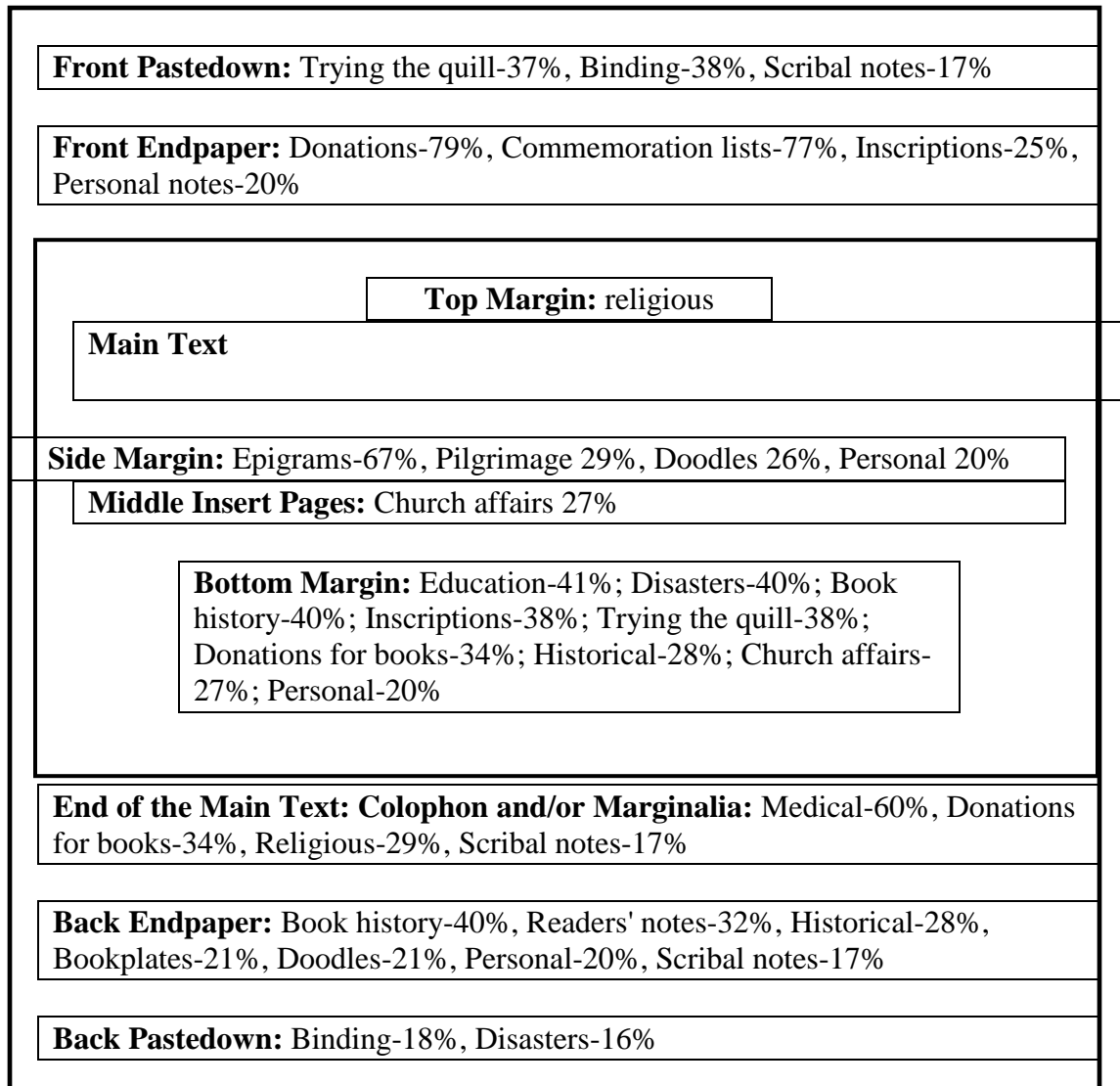


Figure 15.4: The Map of the Slavic book

Colophons: The last or the first word?

Traditionally, colophons were the final word of authority in the book, giving the scribe's name, information about the production of the book, the patron of the book, the date, and the location of production. Such acts of professional duty of the scribe appeared in marginalia that documented manuscript production, scribal notes, and church repairs

that monastic and non-monastic clergy members performed as part of their religious duties.

Early manuscripts followed the Byzantine tradition of placing colophons after the texts. With one exception of front placement, the back position continued until 1768. Paisii Hilendarski changed the norm and created a colophon-like introduction to his *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*. In the introductory colophon, Paisii discussed the benefit of studying history for the ordinary Bulgarian: *za polza na Bulgarskia rod* (for the profit of the Bulgarian kinfolk). Paisii's students and other scribes followed his example. After the production of this manuscript, non-monastic scriptoria produced the majority of codices from HACI corpus, placing their colophons in the front.

Printed books from Russia and Italy comprised a second influence on book production and colophon placement. Of the nine printed books in the HACI the three books printed in the 16th century (1537, 1563, and 1581) have colophons in the back, after the text. The six books printed have colophons in the front.

Scribal notes mimicked colophon conventions by appearing after the text or in front but later changed their placement to the side margins. The back of the manuscript predominated as the place of official statements about the authorship and custodianship of books and codices.

Manuscript marginalia and social marginality

The relation between physical location, type of marginalia, and social marginality has become a favorite topic of post-modern art and literary historians such as Heather Jackson¹²¹⁰ and Michael Camille.¹²¹¹ Although limited in scope, Jackson's study finds that the physical location of marginalia followed certain patterns of distribution and “mirrors the text itself.”¹²¹² The 18th century marginalia of English printed books are predominately notes that explain, comment, and expand on the text and show pride of private ownership. In other words, 18th century English marginalia reflect the social

¹²¹⁰J. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books* (Yale University Press, 2001).

¹²¹¹Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

¹²¹²Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers Writing in Books*, p. 41.

habits of reading and private ownership of books by the privileged class of English society. Camille's study, in contrast, examines the obscene and cynical marginal imagery in early Gothic manuscripts as a reflection of the social customs of the underprivileged and outcast classes of 12th century Western society. According to Camille, marginalia is socially and historically constructed, a lens that reveals societal norms and habits. He claims that the bottom margins of Gothic manuscripts relate to the unconscious of the authors of marginalia and present interplay of the text and margin.

During the Ottoman period, Slavic manuscripts and printed books became an "open text." The manuscript opened itself to textual additions that discussed personal, communal, natural, or worldly affairs. Different communities that served and used the book followed different patterns of placement of marginalia, making manuscripts into boundary objects.¹²¹³ These discourses in the margins did not conflict with the official text in the center, but nested themselves next to it for the practical reason of scarcity of paper.

LANGUAGE AND SCRIPTS IN MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS

Manuscript marginalia and colophons constitute one of the most important primary sources for the study of the development of the Bulgarian language. They reveal the emergence of vernacular dialects and common Bulgarian speech, especially after the fall of the Bulgarian Second Kingdom. Handwriting (script) changed from semi-uncial (SU) to semi-cursive and cursive at the end of the 19th century. While colophons provide evidence about book production and the development of literary languages under foreign influences, marginalia provide evidence about the infusion of the vernacular into the official manuscript space. Both literary and vernacular languages coexisted in life as well as on the manuscript pages, especially during the five-century occupation of Bulgaria by the Ottomans.

¹²¹³ Susan Leigh Star and J.R. Griesemer introduced the term "boundary object" in 1988 to denote a shared object that serves as a common reference to different communities of practice possess their own ways of interpretation and meaning. S. Star and J. R. Griesemer, "Institutional Ecology, 'Translations' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907-39," *Social Studies of Science* 19 (1989).

Historical background

After prince Sviatoslav of Kiev campaigns (944, 967, 968, 970), Bulgaria fell to Byzantium. For the next 169 years (1018-1187), Byzantium suppressed Bulgarian manuscript production as Byzantine clergymen inhabited and administered Bulgarian monasteries, destroying Slavic and producing Greek manuscripts.¹²¹⁴ Two centuries of Byzantine rule over Bulgarian territories between 971 and 1196 followed the Golden Age of literacy of the First Bulgarian Kingdom. Byzantine ecclesiastical authorities proclaimed Greek as the official language, replaced Bulgarian clergymen with Greek-speaking clergy and replaced Slavic codices with Greek. Very few Slavic manuscripts from this time still exist. Their crude script and marginalia reflect a struggle to preserve a Slavic identity. Language and grammar in codices deviated from earlier sources and accumulated errors. During this period, scribes left their notes close to the edge of the side margins, written in language that incorporated vernacular expressions. The scribe Georgi Gramatik described in a colophon his winters of almost unbearable hunger and cold, hiding in a tower.¹²¹⁵ The “sinful” Georgi's language incorporated both literary and vernacular language expressions.

*... Greshnii Georgie, u Stlpen bljude pishah. U stjh vrachei 31 dn. Dek pomiluite mene bratia moya. Shto mi mrznet ruchitsama. Tuj pishah, tu jadah, tu lezhah bez ogjn na prash...*¹²¹⁶

Translation: The sinful George wrote in Stlpen tower, at the holy doctors [Sts. Kuzma and Damian] monastery on the 31st day ... Please, forgive me brothers, because my hands have frozen. This I wrote; I ate, and I lay without fire in the fireplace.

Several decades before the Ottoman invasion, Patriarch Evthimii conducted a campaign to reform the literary language of Cyril and Methodius and retranslate all liturgical books. He attempted to translate anew all ecclesiastical works from Greek, create new original hagiographical works, and correct the scribal errors previously

¹²¹⁴ Kujo Kuev, *Sudbata na Starobulgarskata Rukopisna Kniga prez Vekovete [The Fate of Old Bulgarian Manuscripts During the Centuries]* (Sofia: Nauka I Izkustvo, 1986).

¹²¹⁵ Venceslav and Fermandzhiev Nachev, *Pisahme da se Znae [We Wrote to Let Others Know]* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, 1984), Venceslav Nachev and Nikola Fermandzhiev, *Pisahme Da Se Znae (We Wrote to Let Others Know)* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otechestvenia Front, 1984).

¹²¹⁶ *Bitolski Triodion*. Sofia, BAN #38.

accumulated. This language that he promoted is known by scholars as Middle Bulgarian, however, it remained far from the language of the common Bulgarian. Influenced by Greek authors, Evtimii introduced new vocabulary, calques of Greek newly-coined words formed in Byzantine *Hesychast* sources.

14-15th century: After the Ottoman invasion

The Bulgarian Kingdom ceased to exist after the fall to the Ottomans and most of the clergy and monastic leaders fled to neighboring countries. The Bulgarian church, for the most part, could no longer control scribal practices. The primary scribal activity during this period remained the copying of liturgical books for the local churches.

The New Bulgarian Language and the Damaskin

A new literary genre called *damaskin* (plural *damaskini*) emerged in Bulgarian literary works in the 17th century. It had its roots in *Θησαυρός* or *The Treasure*, written a century earlier by the monk Damascene the Studite. The original work, in Greek, contained hagiography and sermons dedicated to the feasts of saints. Damascene encouraged writing in the language that the common person, or "the multitude," would comprehend. In the introduction to this work, he explained his motives.

If the garden is locked and the well is sealed up, what is the use of either? Works, [when] written in a language difficult to comprehend by the common person, are like a locked garden and like a sealed up well - the treasures that they contain are unreachable for the reader and listener. For a book to have use, to nourish and give pleasure to human souls, the author must make it comprehensible -- it opens up widely the garden and reveals the well so that everybody can drink.¹²¹⁷

Scribe Grigorii of Prilep and an anonymous scribe from Western Bulgaria independently translated Damascene's original into Bulgarian. Josif Bradati produced his translation from Greek into simplified Bulgarian in 1740 and left behind a legacy of 50 copies of *Damaskins* throughout Bulgaria. The original work, however, evolved into a compilation of different literary genres and works, intended for private reading by the laity and written in the dialectal forms of the region. These compilations, named

¹²¹⁷ Donka Petkanova, *Bulgarska Srednovekovna Literatura* (Veliko Turnovo: Abagar, 2001).

Damaskin after Damascene, consisted of three parts: *apocrypha*, moral and ethical writings, and the 12 sermons by Damascene.

The New Bulgarian language began to emerge in the 17th century. This literary language was a hybrid and it differed from the spoken language. Some of the major characteristics of New Bulgarian were its mixture of archaic and contemporary words, verbs lacking the infinitive, a breakdown of the CS case system, and the appearance of dialectal phonetic and lexical features and loan words.¹²¹⁸ The colophon presented below appeared in a *Damaskin* written in 1689.¹²¹⁹

By the will of the Father and the help of
the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy
Spirit, Amen.

*Izvoleniam otsa i supospesheniemu sna i
syvrusheniemu s(ve)t(a)go d(u)ha, amin.*

Written was this book called *Damaskin* in
the village of Handzhar by the sinful
hands of the teacher Nedyalko and his son
Philiop in the year 7194 from the Birth of
Christ 1686.

*Ispisa se sia [b(o)zh(es)tvenaya] kniga
gl(agole)mi damaskinu v selo Handzhar
rukoju greshnoyu **daskala** Ne(de)lka i sna
ego Filip v leto 7294 a ot rozh(d)estvo
H(risto)vo 1686.*

There was such great hunger then, a
kilogram of wheat cost 500 [*aspri*], and a
kilogram of rye 380, and a kilogram of
millet cost the same as the rye, but was
nowhere to be found.

***Togizi** beshe **glad velik** beshe kilo
pchenitsa 500 a kilo rysh
380 a kilo proso hodeshe **tukmo** sus
rushta chi go **nemashe nikak.***

And in the village of Handzhar, a shinik
of millet was sold for a whole *grosh*.
Whoever was selling - sang, and whoever
was buying - cried, Whether it be for
medicine, or for food.

*I prodade se vuv selo Handzhar **shinik**
proso za seme za grosh **cyal.**
Koito prodavashe ta peeshe a koito
kupuvashe **ta** placheshe dali tsjaru dal za
gurlu*

Afterwards, God bestowed plague on
everybody - towns and villages alike,
because of human pride and oblivion,
because they had forgotten God and also
[had forgotten] to have mercy on the poor
orphans, and for the sake of salvation of

***Potomu** zhe dade bo(g) **mor velik** po vusei
gradi i sela radi
prevuzna(se)nie **chel(ove)cheskago i**
zabvenia
ih radi behu **zabili** b(og)a i
sirotu pomluvati*

¹²¹⁸ Ibid.

¹²¹⁹ Example: *Damaskin*, Sankt Peterburg, BAN, 24.4.32, 1689.

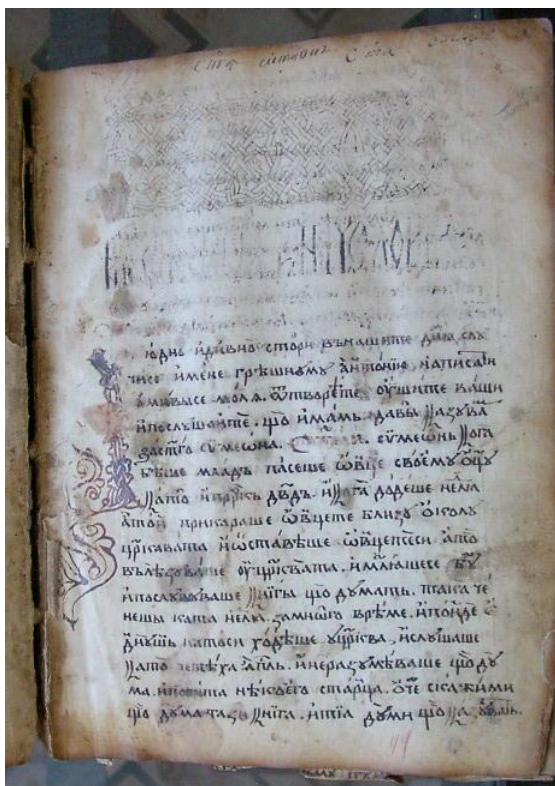
the memory of their souls and to give thanks. To God, the glory and the power, forever and ever, Amen. *i za svoyu d(u)shu podati b(og)u slava i druzhava vu veki amin.*

The colophon consists of two distinct structural parts. The first part is an invocation to the Holy Trinity, following the traditional formula, written in a language close to Late Middle Bulgarian. Suddenly, after the invocation, the language becomes more vernacular and provides information about the shortage of grains (wheat, millet, rye). The ending returns to a religious tone and provides reasons for the wrath of God: the pride and sinfulness of the people.

This colophon provides evidence of dialectal forms and mixing of vernacular, Greek and Turkish words, and even Russian Church Slavonic. First, the vernacular is evident in words such as *daskala* (Greek for *uchitel*, teacher), *togizi* (togava, then), *nemashe nikak* (nikak nyamashe, there was none anywhere), *tsaru* (*ciar*, *lekarstvo*) in Modern Bulgarian, medicine), *gurlo* (*gurlo*, throat). Russian Church Slavonic is evident in words such as *potomu* (*potom*, then, in Bulgaria, *posle*), *chelovecheskago* (humanly, instead of *choveshki* in Bulgarian), *zabvenia* (oblivion, instead of *zabrava*, *nepomnene* in Bulgarian)

Between the 17th and 20th centuries, more developments marked the written literary language, due primarily to emerging political concern for the preservation of Bulgarian cultural and national identity. The Church became involved in the struggle for Bulgarian national independence¹²²⁰ and modernized the language to gain popular support. The language, known as New Bulgarian, reflected local dialects and introduced Arabic and Turkish words. Scribes, monks, and priests used it as a literary language; Annotators did not observe strict grammatical rules.

¹²²⁰ See "Mount Athos: linguistic and literacy movement..



Chudno i divno stori v nashite dnya sluchi se i mene greshnomu Antoniju, napisati ...molya. Otvorite ushite vashi, i poslushajte shto imam da vi kazuvam za stago Simeona...egumen koga beshe mlad paseshe ovtse svoemu otsu kato prorok David. I kigo dadeshe ne(d)na a toi prikarashe ovtsete blizu okolu tsurkvata i ostaveshe ovtsete si a to vulezovi u tsurkvata imeashese bu(..) i poslushuvashе kniguj shto dumat, taka che neshi kata nem zamnogo vreme i poide i ...katosi hodeshe u tsurkvi i slushashe kato chetyaha apostola shto kazuva i nerazumyavashe shto дума i popita nyakoi startsi "oche skazhi mi shto дума tazo kniga i tija dumi..."

Figure 15.5: #225 *Damaskin*, 17-18th century, Teteven (transcription by the author).

The *Damaskin* presents another example of pure vernacular language, although it still imitates the more archaic semi-uncial (SU) scripts and traditional ornamentations (Figure 15.5). For the modern reader, the text is comprehensible, although some local dialectal forms appear. Some reduction ("darkening") of the last vowels appears: *blizu* instead of *blizo*, and *okolu* instead of *okolo*. Examples of insertion of letters typical to particular geographic regions in the Balkans include *kazuvam* instead of *kazvam*, and *vulezovi* instead of *vlizat*.

Damaskin sets side by side the central text and marginalia (Figure 15.6). While the central text now speaks with the voice of the common people, it appears to follow tradition in its use of the SU scripts and decoration. Yet, the voice from the central text invited four vernacular marginalia, written in the different scripts by four people separated from each other by decades, even centuries,. The "poem of the fly" appeared here. For the first time a joke breaks into a manuscript page. *Damaskins* indeed represent

that hybrid state of development between the literary and the vernacular; between the folk narrative and the traditional biblical narratives.



Figure 15.6: #134 *Damaskin*, 17th century.

16-17th centuries: monastic and non-monastic manuscripts

While annotators leaned toward a vernacular language in marginalia, monastic scribes strove to preserve the then-official Middle Bulgarian language. Both marginalia and colophons began to change in regard to their language and scripts. The colophon that monk Raphail from Etropole monastery wrote for the *Menaion* demonstrated transitional scripts, a mixture between cursive and SU script. A different SU-cursive script occurred as a result of borrowing from the documentary cursive of the Church office. Even his language exemplified vernacular elements introduced into the Bulgarian. For example, in the *locatio* phrase *manastir staa Troitsa glagoljemi Varovitets* (monastery of the holy Trinity, which is called Varovitets, the participle *glagolemi* (called) comes from the Old

Church Slavonic verb *glagolati* (to speak, to say, to call).¹²²¹ Another word, *pokusi*, from *pokositi*, also of archaic origin, and was kept in the traditional *anathema* curse formula against stealing.

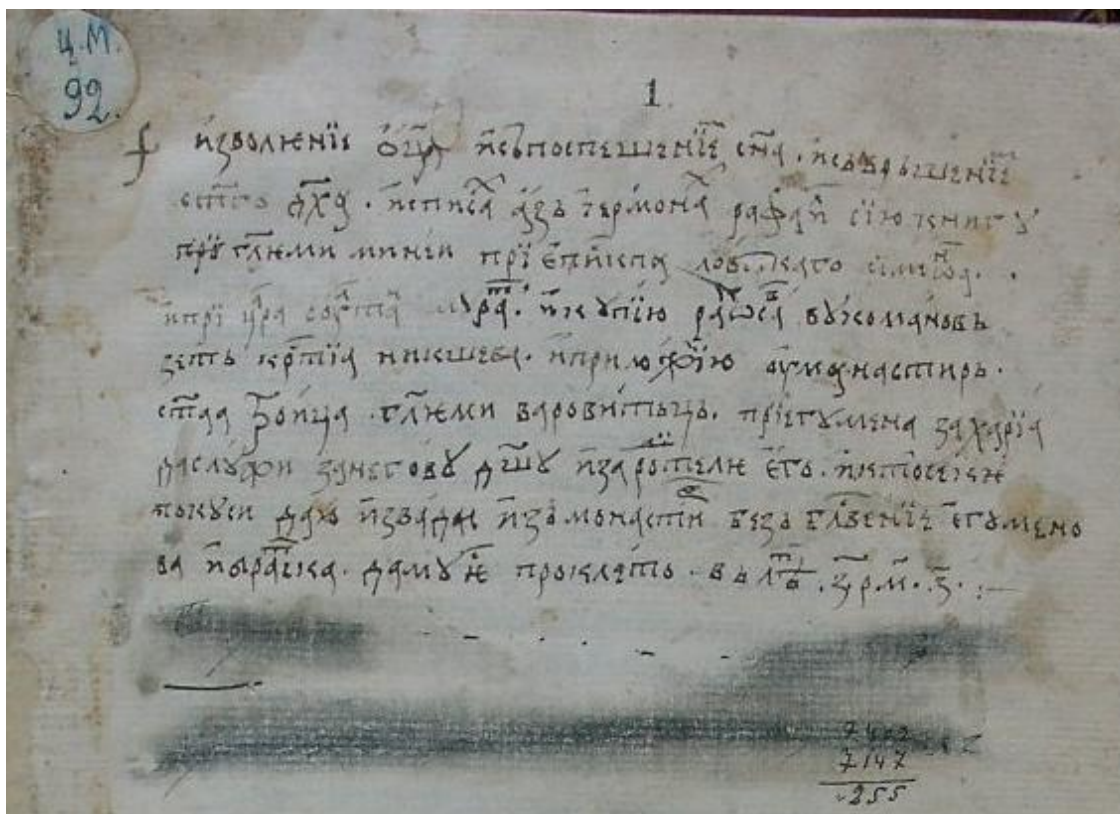


Figure 15.7: #92 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery, colophon.

An interesting marginalia follows the colophon of monk Raphail's 1639 *Menaion* (Figure 15.7). The marginalia written by dyado Peno resembles and imitates the formal style of writing in colophon. However, the author states emphatically "Let it be known!" when he described kurdzhalii crimes in 1794. Perhaps, to sound more authoritative or perhaps through an increased sense of historicity, the author mentions the governmental and ecclesiastic authorities: Sultan Selim, Priest Grigorii, and Bishop Antim from Lovech at the Holy Trinity monastery near Etropole. Dyado Peno from Zhelyava village uses the new uncial (NU) script and writes as he speaks.

¹²²¹ #92 *Menaion*, Etropole monastery, p. 1.

His language abounded with colloquial words, including adverbs such as *kugi* (instead of *koga*, when), *togi* (instead of *togava*, then) *togiva* (instead of *togava*, then), *mnogu* (instead of *mnogo*, a lot, very), *dekasho se izubraha* (instead of *kudeto se subraha*, where they gathered). The prevalent vowel sound was "e," revealing the Western dialect: *beha begale* (instead of *byaha byagali*), *hristianete* (instead of *hristianite*), and *zapreha* (instead of *zapryaha*). He also used Turkish words such as *zulum* (tyranny).

A colophon written by Monk Nikifor (1758) displayed a mixture of Late Middle Bulgarian and vernacular language forms.¹²²² Typical constructions for New Bulgarian were replacement of infinitives with *da ...* plus present tense forms, such as *da poluchite milost ot Boga* (to receive grace from God) instead of *polichiti*, and a lack of case systems. The case system endings that appeared in his colophon have survived in the *invocatio* formula of the colophon, *siju dushepoleznuju knizhicu* (this soul-saving little book), but overall the nouns do not bear the old case endings: *na prost ezik* (in simple language), *ot negov izvod* (from his own source), *v den sudnii* (at the Day of the Last Judgment). New pronouns appeared, and pronouns demonstrated a sporadic lack of endings, such as *ot negov zhe izvod* (from his own source).

Mount Athos and linguistic and literacy movements

The monastic communities at Zograph and Hilendar monasteries at Mount Athos also played an important role in the literacy movement of the region throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule. They preserved the Bulgarian Orthodox heritage by producing manuscripts and establishing new centers of literacy and schools for the Bulgarian people. Original historiography and hagiographic accounts produced at Mount Athos nurtured and inspired the struggle for independence. During the Ottoman period, Athonite scribes copied many manuscripts, and so-called *taxidiots* (traveling monks)

¹²²² #982 *Miscellany*, This beneficial for the soul little book was translated from many books and brought into simple language by Josif the Hieromonk, monk from Rila monastery, and from his source I copied it, the most unworthy monk Nikiphor in the holy Rila monastery, in the year from Adam 7266, from Christ 1758, month of January, 20th day, during the abbot Hieromonk Serapion and his substitute Hieromonk Nikita. Fathers and brothers, while you read, if you find something erroneous, don't swear, but correct for God's sake and please forgive us, because I am not very skillful in writing, so may you also receive grace from God at the Day of the Last Judgment.

spread them to Balkan lay and monastic communities.¹²²³ The monks charged those whom they visited to rediscover spiritual and national roots in spite of the Ottoman regime.

The New Martyrdom social and literary movements focused on a non-violent "silent resistance" to the Ottoman rulers. Written and translated into languages closer to the Greek and Bulgarian vernaculars, the hagiographical accounts focused on ordinary saints from the common people. These saints, different from the saints of the Church Fathers, were called New Martyrs or Neomartyrs, a movement started in the Mount Athos monastery complex. Saint Nikodemos the Hagiorite remains the most influential figure of the Mount Athos. He collected, edited, and translated into modern *dimotiki* Greek three collections of *vitae* of the saints: *Neon Synaxaristes* (1805-1807), *Eklogion* (1805-1807), and *Neon Martyrologon*, which included the Bulgarian New Martyrs St. Ioan the Bulgarian (1784) and St. Damaskin from Gabrovo (1771).¹²²⁴

The monk Iosif Bradati (1714-1758), a *taxidiot* from Rila monastery, traveled throughout Bulgaria, copying manuscripts and spreading literacy among the common people. His colophons and marginalia witness the establishment of a "house for reading" in Samokov, which the Ottomans destroyed.¹²²⁵ He encouraged Bulgarians to maintain their own religious identity, to remain distinct from the invader. Bradati also spoke about the need for books written in "simple language" so that the "illiterate people" could understand, because they remained "hungry" after church services.

The *taxidiot* Nikiphor coauthored the Bulgarian edition of the *vita* of Saint Onouphrios of Gabrovo, using folk dialectal and Turkish words. A comparative textual analysis between the Greek original and the Sokolski monastery translation of the *vita* reveals that during the process of textual transmission, the Bulgarian hagiographer remained faithful to the content of the Greek original, translating faithfully all the text,

¹²²³ Dennis Hupchick, *The Bulgarians in the Seventeenth Century: Slavic Orthodox Society and Culture under Ottoman Rule* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1993).

¹²²⁴ Konstantinos Nikhoritis, *Sveta Gora - Aton I Bulgarskoto Novomuchenichestvo* (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2001).

¹²²⁵ Petkanova, *Bulgarska Srednovekovna Literatura*.

although he left his personal style in nuancing and intensifying the writing expression.¹²²⁶ Nikiphor used a number of Turkish words and provided more description of the Bulgarian portion of the saint's life. The Turkish words reflect the judicial setting of the court trial of the saint in Chios. "Turk" and "Turkish" appear often, while the Greek original uses *Hagarene*. Thirteen Turkish words appear (*sjunet, papuci, papukchia, gezhva, tebdil, agi, emir, guzhba, trombruk, fetva, mehkemeto, zimbil, and varka*). In this respect, the Greek original used a literary language, while the Bulgarian presented the story in a vernacular Bulgarian mixed with Turkish. This choice of words might have revealed a more secular setting and audience, or it might reflect a desire to display proficiency in languages.

Paisii of Hilendar and the National Revival Movement

In 1762, the Bulgarian Monk Paisii of Hilendar Monastery at Mount Athos completed his famous *Istoria Slavyanobolgarskaya (History of the Slavo-Bulgarians)* and inspired the Bulgarian National Revival movement so that "all Bulgarians should know how many saints are of Bulgarian ancestry." The book, extant in about 60 copies and editions, presented a combination of history and hagiography. Saints and martyrs, including Neomartyrs, became integral to the history of the nation. The famous introduction to the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* exemplifies a colophon transformed into a historical narrative:

I have studied grammar and politics, but wrote in a simple manner for the simple Bulgarians. I did not try to place my speech in an orderly manner according to the rules of grammar and to position the words, but to gather together this little history (*istoriica*).

Most Slavic scholars agree that Paisii proposed a New Bulgarian language, *Novobulgarski*, but also speculated about why he admitted to his lack of knowledge of grammar. Paisii wrote for his audience, as following the example of Damascene. Paisii understood that literary language must be comprehensible. Some Slavic scholars think

¹²²⁶ Tatiana Nikolova-Houston, "The Vita of Neomartyr Onouphrios of Gabrovo (1818): Historical and Textual Analysis," in *HIS 397 L Saints' Lives as Historical Sources* (The University of Texas at Austin, 2004).

that Paisii's statement of being ignorant of formal grammar refers to the grammar of Old Church Slavonic.¹²²⁷ After a thorough linguistic study, Andrejchin confirmed that the basis for Paisii's language is New Bulgarian, a mixture of archaic Old Church Slavonic words and contemporary Bulgarian words and expression. Ilia Konev, however, argued that Greek textbooks or grammar were quite common during the 18th century in Bulgaria and that Paisii was distinguishing himself from scholars educated in academic institutions.¹²²⁸

Paisii's "hybrid" language of his 1762 draft of "the History" used literary Russian Church Slavonic (RCS) when he directly quoted from the Russian sources and Middle Bulgarian, colored by vernacular expression elsewhere. RCS words appeared in the colophon, such as *obretoh* (discovered), *obratih* (translated), *izvestie* (news), *zabvennaya* (forgotten), *togda* (then), *zemlya* (land), *dejanja* (deeds), and *ego Otsem* (his Father). Also appearing are the archaic infinitive verb forms *sobirati* (to collect, instead of *da subera*), *slagati* (to arrange), instead of *da slozha*, *sterpeti* (to be patient), instead of *da turpia*, and the prevalent use of the all but lost case system, *o narode* (about the nation), and *po roda svoego* (about its own people). Old forms of pronouns included *svoego* (instead of *svoi*), *nashego* (instead of *nashia*), *nam* (instead of *na nas*), *siju istoriju* (instead *taja istoria*, *tazi istoria*), *be emu* (instead of *beshe na nego*), and *mene* (instead of *na mene*).

Scribes enthusiastically spread Paisii's legacy, producing 60 known copies and editions of "the History."

The HACI copy of Paisii's History of the Slavo-Bulgarians

Priest Alexii Velikovich Popovich from Samokov produced one of the earliest copies of Paisii's chronicle, in 1771. The HACI copy belongs to the earliest Western major redaction of the work. Some scholars feel that Paisii directly encouraged priest Alexii to copy the manuscript, based on the Serbian-sounding expression: *po ego*

¹²²⁷ Vera Boycheva, *Sveti Paisii Hilendarski i Novobuglarskoto Obrazovanie* (Sofia: Urispress/Askoni-Izdat, 2002).

¹²²⁸ Ilia Konev, "Osnovni Istini za Paisii Hilendarski," *Struma* 2 (1982).

ourezhdeniju jakozhe obretoh tako i napisa (and following his [Paisii's] request, in how I found it and I copied it), yet others think that the scribe claimed that he faithfully copied it without any changes. Among one of the new usages in this manuscript is the word "Macedonia" for a geographical region.¹²²⁹ The colophon in Figures 15.7 and 15.8 demonstrates how the author attempted to create an authoritative copy, by imitating the old style of colophon writing, by using the semi-uncial script, by applying red color to emphasize the date and his age, and by using the traditional invocation formula *Izvoeleniem o(t)tsa, s pospesheniem s(i)na i soversheniem s(ve)tago duha* (By the will of the Father...). Alexii emphasized in several ways the hybrid nature of the language in his copying of *Istorija Slavenobolgarskoja*. He followed the rules Paisii's model and heavily utilized Russian words and forms, i.e., the expression *slavnoi zemli* (for glorious land) rather than *slavna zemya*. *Naritsaem* (called) instead of *narechen* or *narekovan* constitutes another Russian usage. In the expression, "Kako *oukarajut* (argued, ridiculed) in stead of *karat*, nas *serbie* [instead of *surbi*, Bulgarian] i *greci* [gurci, instead of *gurtsi*, Bulgarian], *zashto neimeem* [instead of *nyamame*, Bulgarian] svoya istoria zaedno *sovokuplena* [instead of *subrana*, Bulgarian]," the italicized words bear a Russian OCS or Serbian influence.¹²³⁰

¹²²⁹ Hristova, *Belezhki na Bulgarskite Knizhovnici 10-18 Vek [Marginalia of Bulgarian Scribes 10-18th Centur]*. Vol. 2, p. 275.

¹²³⁰ Translation: "How the Serbs and the Greeks were making fun of us, because we did not have our own history, based on collected sources."

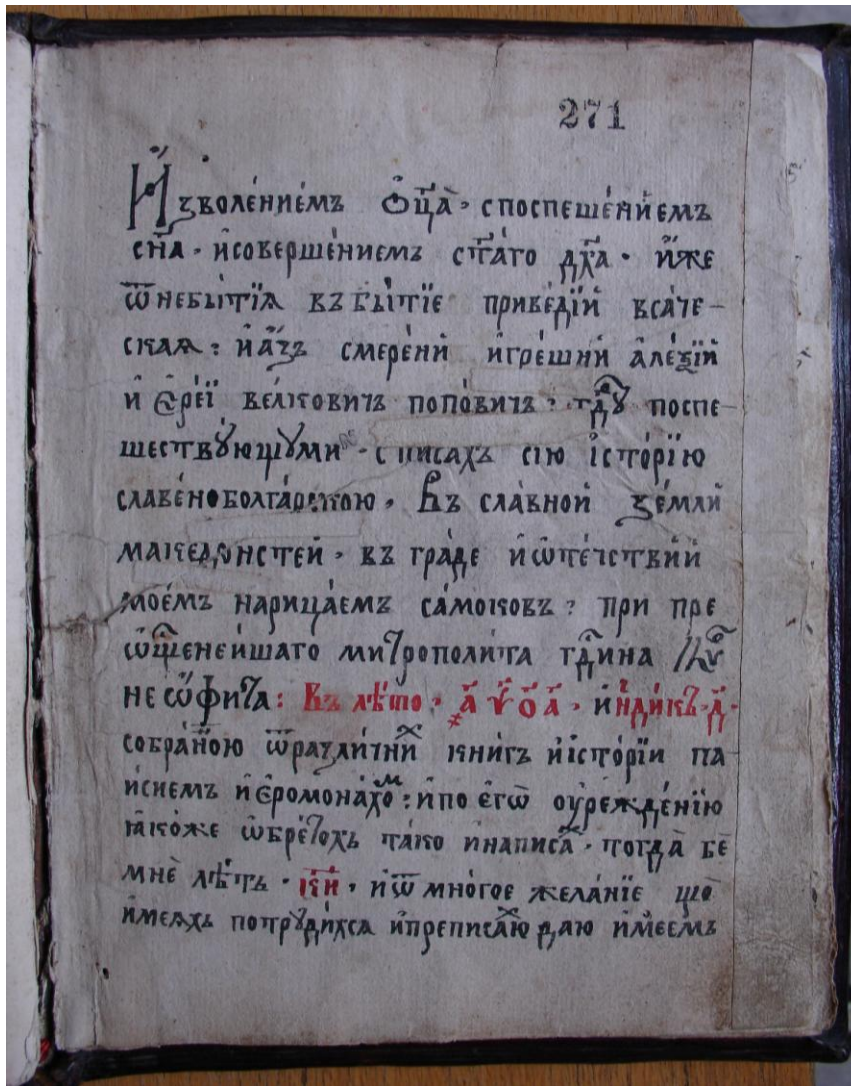


Figure 15.8: #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

Translation of the colophon: By the will of the Father, and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit, who created everything in Creation from the raw matter (*nebitie*), so I, the humble and sinful Alexii priest Velikovich Popovich, with God's help, copied this *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* in the glorious Macedonian land, in my hometown called Samokov, during the tenure of holy metropolitan Kir Neophit, in the year of 1771, indict 4. It [the *History*] was collected from different books and chronicles attributed to the monk Paisii and according to his arrangement, as I found it useful, I copied. At that time, I was 28 years old and had a great desire, and labored, and copied it so I would have it.

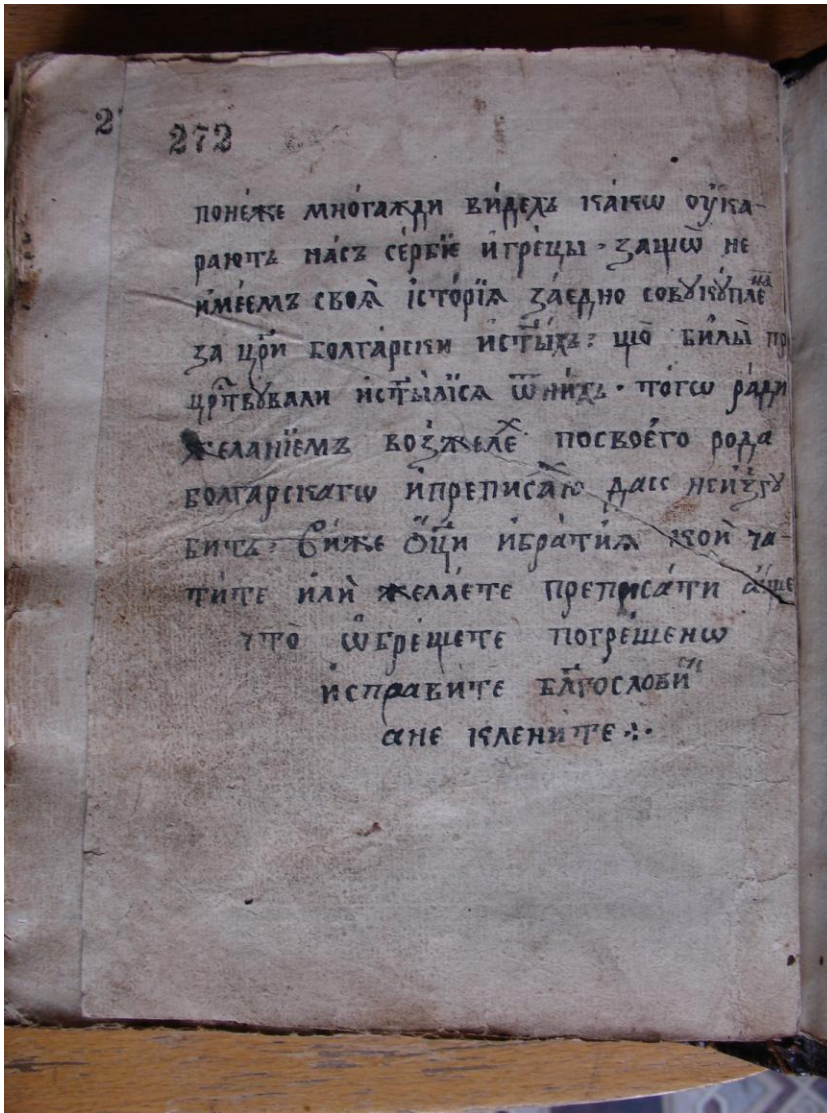


Figure 15.9: #137 *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*.

Translation of the colophon: ... because many times I saw how the Serbs and the Greeks would accuse us, that we do not have our own history, I compiled the Bulgarian tsars and saints who, a long time ago, reigned and were glorified. That is why, from my deepest zeal for the Bulgarian kin, I copied it so that it would not be lost. And you, fathers and brothers, when you read or wish to copy it, if you find something mistaken, correct it and bless, but don't curse.

Alexii wrote the colophon of the *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians* in the hybrid literary language mixed with Russian words and used the official SU script possibly in an

attempt to establish trust with the reader. Even in the late 19th century, the language-script of the central text showed evidence of intrusion of NU uncial and CS.

The central text, the colophon, and the marginalia

As demonstrated in the chronologically arranged examples in Appendices 9 and 10, the central text remained relatively stable and traditionalist in terms of the language, Church Slavonic and the semi-uncial. The combination of CS-SU occurred in 20 of 23 cases (87%) compared to the remaining two presenting transitional forms of language and script, NU-CS and SU-vernacular. The development occurred with a *Damaskin*¹²³¹ in the 17th century, which used SU-V(ernacular).

The colophon, traditionally written by the scribe to resemble the central text, stood in the transitional state between central text and marginalia in terms of language and script. The CS-SU combination prevailed in 16 of 23 cases (70%). The language of the court, cursive, appeared in the 16th century in combination with CS-SU. Other transitional forms account for two cases (SU-vernacular and CS-NU).

Marginalia, written in later times than the central text and by laypeople less educated than clergymen, have always appeared diverse and transitional in regard to language and script. New uncial in combination with vernacular was the most common script in 13 of 32 (41%). Cursive-vernacular appeared in five cases) while SU-CS appeared only in four cases.

Linguistic marginality

Linguistic marginality reflects the social marginality of people living in the periphery of society. Only endangered people and outcasts¹²³² speak as they write, and the marginalia they leave consists of iconic words, foreign vocabulary, interjections, and expressive sounds. The phenomenon of linguistic marginality is common to many cultures, and marginal groups possess their own vocabulary and specific sounds.

¹²³¹ #134 *Damaskin*.

¹²³² B. Joseph, *On the Linguistics of Marginality: The Centrality of the Periphery* (Ohio State University, 2006 [cited October 3 2007]); available from <http://www.ling.ohio-state.edu/~bjoseph/publications/1997onth.pdf>. Accessed on: October 3, 2007. D. Churma, *Arguments from External Evidence in Phonology*. (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1985).

Borrowed words also appear as marginal, because they enter from the periphery of society: "Languages have marginal features; societies have marginal members; social borderers."¹²³³

The phenomenon of linguistic marginality is well attested to in South Slavic marginalia during the Ottoman period. The marginal notes are voiced in the language of the masses, the vernacular. In time, without a centralized ecclesiastical authority, the multivocal choir of different dialectal forms of the vernacular and transitional forms, combining vocabulary from literary and official sources and the vernacular entered the manuscript space. The language and script changes of marginalia reflected the societal changes in European Turkey, where the Bulgarian population lived on the periphery of the empire. Marginalia was to the central text what speech was to writing, the forms of language coexisting peacefully.

Even more marginal than the population were the monastic scribes in remote isolated mountainous locations. Bulgarian, Russian, Greek, Romanian, and Serbian monks on Mount Athos incubated and transmitted transitional forms of language and scripts and borrowed foreign vocabulary from each other. In the 17th century, *Damaskins* and printed books from Russia influenced the development of the New Bulgarian language. The language changes reflected radical changes in society and the community. Monastic leaders Nikodemos the Hagiorite, Iosif Bradati, Paisii Hilendarski, and Sophronii Vrachanski advocated the incorporation of the vernacular into the literary language that had become incomprehensible to the masses. At the same time, the language of marginalia even incorporated many words of Arabic and Turkish origin.

Throughout the Balkans, establishment of national languages led the struggle for political independence. During centuries of oppression, language represented and unified various nations. However, which version of the language: the ancient, the ecclesiastical, the vernacular and dialectal, or a hybrid? In Bulgaria, the vernacular prevailed, led by

¹²³³ J. Neikirk-Schuler, "From Adaptation to Nativization: A Synchronic Analysis of the Category of Aspects in Borrowed Verbs in Russian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian" (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1996).

damaskins, Paisii Hilendarski, and his disciple Sophronii Vrachanski, who printed the first book that used the language of the Bulgarian masses.

Thus, as the language of marginalia evolved into the language of the central text, it reflected the evolution of Bulgarians from a marginalized *millet* into emancipated nation.

DIPLOMATICS: FORM, STRUCTURE, AND FORMULAE OF MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS

Medieval papal documents followed a rigid manner of composition with a specific pattern and used a template with commonly established formulae.

Protocollo (protocol or introduction). Medieval documents had an opening set of phrases that intended to establish the authoritative and formal character of the document. These commonly used formulaic statements consisted of a prayer to God (*invocatio*), the name or title of the documents (*intitulatio*), the name, honorifics, and capacities of the person the document is dedicated or addressed to (*inscriptio*), and the greeting (*salutatio*).

Testo (text). The middle or body of the document called the *testo* provided the context and content of the event by using different commonly used moral or religious formulae to explain the motives for the action (*arenga*), describe the content of the document (*notificatio*), describe the circumstances that required the type of action (*narratio*), announce the donor or promulgator and declare his purpose for the legal action (*dispositio*), guarantee the fulfillment and validity of the legal action (*clausulae*), demonstrate the threat of punitive action in case of refusal or malpractice (*sanctio*), and state the means for action to validate the document (*corroboratio*).

Eschatollo (conclusion). The closing of the document called *eschatollo* included the formula that allowed the authentication and date of the document. It consisted of the signatures of the people who participated in the composition, authentication, dating, and publication of the document, the scribes, witnesses to the enactment of the document

(*subscriptio*) and the date (*datatio* or *datum*), location (*locatio*), a final prayer to guarantee the successful realization of the action specified in the document (*Apprecatio*) and the validation of the document by a recognition or seal (*validatio*).

Evidence from epigraphy, marginalia, and donation certificates

Slavic documents also followed conventions in official style of writing that originated in the Byzantine court but were common throughout the medieval world.¹²³⁴ Those commonalities included specific formulae employed by scribes. Epigraphy provides evidence also for legal and official types of inscriptions that assured the fulfillment of promise of donation by kings, high clergymen, or other authority figures. Donation epigraphy for a building, for example, would announce the construction of the building and provided evidence of the donors or rulers of the state, diocese, or other area. Two patterns inherited from the Byzantine inscriptions included *intitulatio*, statement of the fact of construction and the reasons, *dispositio*, and the clause announcing punishment, *clausa poenalis*.¹²³⁵

Invocatio statements resembled the commonly used prayers in the liturgical and devotional life of the Orthodox Church. Donation certificates also opened with a *invocatio* formula such as *Izvoleniem otsa i pospesheniem Sina i suversheniem Svetago Duha* (By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit), or modifications "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Frequently, the sign of the cross also appeared before the *invocatio*, similar to the same action of crossing oneself when the name of the Holy Trinity is invoked in prayer or hymns.

Commemorative and donation epigraphy resembled donation certificates by royal authorities and their Byzantine predecessors in terms of their structure and formulae. Formulaic statements that announced the completion of a building used the formula *poche se svurshi se [...]* (what was begun was finished...) that resembled the formula

¹²³⁴ Smjadovski, *Bulgarska Kirilska Epigraphika IX-XV Vek [Bulgarian Cyrillic Epigraphy 9-15th Century]*, p. 51.

¹²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

used in colophons, *ispisa se sia kniga pri blagovernim cri ioane aleksandre...* (this book was copied during the time of the blessed Tsar Ioan Alexander).¹²³⁶ The scribes of the epigraphic inscriptions used the cliché formula *rab bozhi* (servant of God).¹²³⁷ Epigraphic inscriptions and marginalia shared similar formula statements *pomeni g[ospo]di raba svoja josifa i tihota sustavsha knjigu siju* (Remember oh Lord your servant Joseph and Tihot, who compiled and copied this book), from the *Bolonski Psalter*.¹²³⁸ Another famous epigraphic inscription, *Batoshevski nadpis*, consisted of a symbolic *invocatio* (cross), an *intitulatio* to announce the author of the document, and an *expositio* with *inscriptio* to describe the act of donation. The *dispositio* element of medieval Slavic donation certificates announced the reasons and motives for the act of donation. The *sanctio* element resembled religious punitive announcements and was used by scribes of colophons and marginalia, *da bude proklet* (to become cursed). The *corroboratio* element and the signature form the closing of the document, and the *arenga* focuses on the ethical-moralistic statement very typical for donation certificates, too.¹²³⁹

The evidence from the HACI corpus

Colophons: The colophon of Slavic manuscripts displayed all characteristics of formal official documents. Its major elements were *invocatio* (30 of 52, or 58%), *intitulatio* (48 of 52, or 92%), *narratio* (30 of 52, or 58%), *datatio* (48 of 52, or 92%), *sanctio* (5 of 52, or 10%), *apprecatio* (35 of 52, or 68%), *locatio* (42 of 52, or 80%), and *subscriptio* (50 of 52, or 96%). The most typical *invocatio* formula said: "By the will of the Father, and the help of the Son, and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit," and "Glory to God." The typical *intitulatio* formula included "This wrote [the sinful ...]" or included the sentence "This book was written/finished by..." or the expression "This [title] was finished/written." A typical *arenga* formula would read: "to serve for their own souls, for

¹²³⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

¹²³⁷ Ibid., p. 51.

¹²³⁸ I. Dujchev, *Bolonski Psaltir* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bulgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1969), p. 254.

¹²³⁹ N. Ovcharov, *Istoricheski Prinosi kum Starobulgarskata I Staroslavjanskata Epigraphika i Knizhovnost [Historical Contributions to the Old Bulgarian and Old Slavonic Epigraphy and Literacy]*. . (Sofia: Akademichno Izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov", 2006), pp.119-127.

their parents, and for their relatives." A typical *datatio* formula would say: "In the year of [date]." The *sanctio* formula included an anathema statement such as:

Let it be that whoever takes away this book from the holy monastery and sells it, let him be cursed from the Lord God and from the Holy Fathers of Nicea. And whoever participates with them, let them be captured and crucified.

The *apprecatio* final prayer to God would sound like:

And I pray to God (or to the holy fathers and my brothers, or to the reader), if there is something written incorrectly (or if I have erred), please forgive the scribe (or forgive me the sinful one), please correct but do not curse, so God can forgive (or remember) you.

The Cross appeared frequently as a *validatio* sign at the end of colophons or in the beginning sometimes with red color.

Colophon scripts were very formal and conservative, using SU, SU-cursive, and cursive variations in 92% of all cases. They also used in 86% of all cases the formal languages of CS and CS-vernacular.

First clustering: Within the Word of God: Marginalia about the book, its history, production, preservation, and ownership

Binding marginalia: Binding marginalia included the following statements in percentages relative to the total number of binding marginalia: *memorandum* (8 of 38, or 21% of the cases), *intitulatio* (26 of 38, or 68%), *arrega* and *dispositio* (24 of 38, or 63%), *narratio* (38, or 100%), *locatio* (20 of 38, or 53%), *subscriptio* (23 of 38, or 61%), and *apprecatio* (7 of 38, or 18%). The formula most widely used was the *intitulatio* "This holy [title] book . . ." A typical example of a binding note could be formulated from the most frequently used elements: *intitulatio*, *locatio*, *subscriptio*, *dispositio*, *arrega*, and *datatio*. For example:

This holy *Gospel* book was bound in the church of (patron saint) in the town/village of (location) by the most sinful priest (name) during the tenure of priests (names). Kir (name) donated (amount) grosha for binding this book for the church to serve for his soul and for his parents' souls in the year of (year).

82% of the binding marginalia used a formal type of semi-uncial (SU) script, and the rest used cursive scripts.

Sponsorship of books marginalia: Documents announcing the acts of donation of money for book production also followed the formal conventions of form, structure, and formulae and resembled colophons in many respects. The typical elements, expressed in terms of percentages, included *memorandum* (12 of 56, or 21%), *invocatio* (4 of 56, or 7%), *intitulatio* (28 of 58, or 50%), *arrenga* and *dispositio* (35 of 58, or 62%), *narratio* (58, or 100%), *sanctio* (26 of 56, 44%), *datatio* (30 of 56, or 54%), *locatio* (45 of 56, or 80%), *subscriptio* (53 of 56, or 95%), and *apprecatio* (7 of 56, or 12%). A typical sponsorship note had the *intitulatio*, *dispositio* and *argenga*, *sanctio*, and *datatio*, for example:

This book, called *Menaion* (or *Gospel*) was bought by (name of sponsor), and he donated it to serve for (the purpose, such as for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his family). And may whoever steals this book be cursed by Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the 318 fathers. (Date).

77% of sponsorship marginalia appeared in the formal Church Slavonic language, and 69% used the formal SU and cursive scripts.

Scribal notes: Scribal notes included relatively few elements in smaller percentages compared to binding and sponsorship marginalia. Those elements included *invocatio*: "By the will of the Father, and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit" (3 of 21, or 16%), *intitulatio* (5 of 21, or 22%), *arenga* (14 of 21, or 60%), *datatio* (9 of 21, or 44%), *subscriptio* (6 of 21, or 28%), *sanctio*: "May whoever tries to steal this book be cursed by the 318 Fathers and become like lead" (2 of 21, or 11%), and *apprecatio* (4 of 21, or 17%). The script was formal SU and cursive in 19 of 21, (90%) of the cases. The language was SC and SC-vernacular in 18 of 21, (85%) of the cases.

Book history marginalia: Marginalia discussing the fate of books during the period appeared also relatively formal in form and structure. The major elements of medieval documents that appear are: *memorandum* "Let it be known." (80% of the cases), *intitulatio* "This book called [title]" (4 of 5, or 80%), *narratio* (5, or 100%), *dispositio* (2 of 5, or 40%), *sanctio* (2 of 5, or 40%), *datatio* (4 of 5, or 80%), *locatio* (3 of 5, or 60%),

subscriptio (1 of 5, or 20%), and *apprecatio* (1 of 5, or 20%). Half of the cases used formal SU and cursive scripts, and half used the formal CS and CS-vernacular languages.

Bookplates: Bookplate formulaic structural elements included memorandum (4 of 43, or 10%), *intitulatio* "This book called (title)" (33 of 43, or 76%), *narratio* (43, or 100%), *datatio* (26 of 43, or 60%), *subscriptio* "Wrote I (name)" *inscriptio* (22 of 43, or 52%), *sanctio* (6 of 43, or 14%), and *locatio* (32 of 43, or 74%). The most typical bookplate would read: "This book, called *Menaion* (or *Gospel*), from the monastery (or church in the village), was acquired by priest (or layman (name)) in the 18th century for (amount) grosha. Whoever steals it let him be cursed..." The formal SU, combination of SU-cursive, and cursive scripts were used in 33 cases (76%) and the formal CS, CS-vernacular languages in 29 cases (67%).

Second clustering: The world within: Marginalia about interaction between the book and its users

Epigrams marginalia: Epigrams used informal forms and structures and did not contain the typical elements of medieval documents other than the *narratio* (9, or 100%), *datatio* (2 of 9, or 22%), *locatio* (1 of 9, or 11%), *sanctio* (1 of 9, or 11%), and *apprecatio* (1 of 9, or 11%). Epigrams' scripts have more formal features, using SU and cursive in 6 of 9 cases, (67%), while epigrams' language appear relatively informal, using CS and CS-vernacular in 4 of 9 cases (44%).

Inscriptions: Inscriptions also did not present formal structural elements of documents except: *memorandum* (7 of 67, or 10%), *arrena* (3 of 67, or 5%), *narratio* (5 of 67, or 7%), *datatio* (33 of 67, or 49%), *locatio* (7 of 67, or 11%), and *subscriptio* (62 of 67, or 93%). The most typical statement acknowledged the act of writing the inscription in a formula that resembled the documentary *subscriptio* statement: "Wrote (name)." appears in 42 cases. The script used in inscriptions was SU, SU-cursive, and cursive in 46 of 67 cases (69%), and the language CS and CS-vernacular in 41 of 67 cases (62%).

Doodles and illustrations: Graphic marginalia does not have textual character.

Personal marginalia: Marginalia that displayed biographical and autobiographical information under this category followed also the formal conventions of documentary form, style of writing and elements. The common elements were *memorandum* "Let it be known" (16 of 35, or 46%), *datatio* (29 of 35, or 83%), *arrenga* (5 of 35, or 14%), *narratio* (35, or 100%), *locatio* (15 of 35, or 43%), and *subscriptio* (28 of 35, or 80%). The most typical biographical notes would read: "Let it be known when priest [name] died in the year of [year]." Script was formal with usage of SU, cursive in 22 of 35, or 63% of all cases and the language used CS and CS-vernacular in 13 of 35, or 37% of all cases.

Education-related marginalia: Education marginalia appeared also relatively formal in form, structure and formulae, resembling documents. They consisted of the *memorandum* (9 of 22, or 41% of all cases), *intitulatio* (11 of 22, or 50%), *narratio* (22, or 100%), *datatio* (17 of 22, or 76%), *locatio* (13 of 22, or 59%), and *subscriptio* "Wrote I, [name]." (17 of 22, or 77%). The typical student's note would appear in a *Gospel* book and would read: "Wrote I (name) from the village of (location) when I studied under teacher (name) at (location) in the year of (date)." The typical teacher's note would read: "Let it be known when teacher (name) taught in the village of (location) in.(date)" or "Let it be known when I became a teacher. Date." The script used was SU and cursive in 7 of 22, or 32% of all cases and the prevailing script was CS and CS-vernacular in 6 of 22, or 27% in all cases.

Readers' marginalia: Readers' marginalia demonstrated some formal features of document form, structure, and formulae. The elements that appeared most frequently were *intitulatio* (13 of 19, or 68%), *datatio* (9 of 19, or 47%), *memorandum* (5 of 19, or 26%), *narratio* (19, or 100%), *arrenga* (6 of 19, or 32%), *sanctio* (2 of 19, or 11%), *locatio* (8 of 19, or 42%), *subscriptio* (16 of 19, or 84%), and *apprecatio* (3 of 19, or 16%). The most typical readers' marginalia would say: "I [name] borrowed and read this book called [title] on this date." The script used was SU and cursive in 14 of 19, or 74% of the cases and less formal in language, using CS and CS-vernacular in 5 of 19, or 26% of the cases.

Third clustering: The world between: Marginalia about interactions between the laypeople and the Church

Pilgrimages marginalia: Marginalia that documented pilgrimages and *taxidiot* visits also bore formal features of medieval documents. Those structural elements included *memorandum* "Let it be known" (26 of 28, or 93% of all cases), *subscriptio* (24 of 28, or 86%), *arrenga* (2 of 28, or 8%), *narratio* (28, or 100%), *locatio* (28, or 100%), *validatio* (9 of 28, or 32%), and *apprecatio* (2 of 28, or 8%). The typical pilgrimage marginalia would read: "Let it be known when I, [lay person] visited [patron saint] monastery in the year [date]." The scripts used were the formal SU and cursive in 25 of 28, or 89% of the cases, and the languages used were the semi-formal CS and CS-vernacular in 12 of 28, or 43% of the cases.

Commemoration lists: Commemoration lists called *pomenik* included very few of the typical elements of documents, and those elements included *arrenga* (51, or 100%), *datatio* (8 of 51, or 15%), *locatio* (22 of 51, or 44%), and an *apprecatio* such as "Remember, God, your servant" when they commemorated departed individuals. Four such examples exist (19 of 51, or 38%). The script used was formal SU and cursive in 37 of 51, or 72% of all cases and relatively formal in 27 of 51, or 53% of all cases.

Donations marginalia: Donations marginalia appear relatively formal in form, structure and presence of formulaic elements. Those elements included *memorandum* (39 of 89, or 44%), *intitulatio* (36 of 89, or 40%), *arrenga* and *dispositio* (86 of 89, or 97%), *locatio* (38 of 89, or 43%), *datatio* (12 of 89, or 13%), and *subscriptio* (85 of 89, or 95%). Formal SU and cursive script was used in 48 of 89, or 54% of all cases and CS and CS-vernacular language in 35 of 89, or 39% of all cases.

Church repair marginalia: Marginalia documenting the acts of repair of buildings also bore relatively formal structures and formulaic statements. The major elements were *memorandum* "Let it be known" (73%), *datatio* (9, or 100%), *narratio* (9, or 100%), *arrenga* and *dispositio* (6 of 9, or 64%), *sanctio* (2 of 9, or 18%), *locatio* (7 of 9, or 82%), *subscriptio* (2 of 9, or 27%), *apprecatio* (2 of 9, or 18%), and *validatio* (2 of 9, or 27%). The most typical note that witnessed the act of church repair or other renovations would

sound like: "Let it be known when the church was repaired in [date]. It was repaired by priest/monk [name] and this holy act was sponsored by the partners (names). May God bless them. [Date.]" The language used was CS-vernacular in 3 of 9, or 33% of all the cases, and the script was SU and cursive in 5 of 9, or 55% of all cases.

Forth clustering: The world outside: Marginalia about political and social history

Historical marginalia: Historical marginalia include a relatively large number of formal elements including *memorandum* "Let it be known" (29 of 59, or 49%), *datatio* (53 of 59, or 89%), *intitulatio* (4 of 59, or 7%), *invocatio* "By the will of the Father and the help of the Son and the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit" (5 of 59, or 9%), *narratio* (59, or 100%), *sanctio* (3 of 59, or 5%), *locatio* (50 of 59, or 84%), *subscriptio* (15 of 59, or 26%), and *apprecatio* (3 of 59, or 5%). The script used was the formal SU, SU-cursive, and cursive in 41 of 59, or 69% of the cases. Languages were the less formal CS and CS-vernacular in 29 of 59, or 49% of the cases.

Fifth clustering: The world around: Marginalia about natural history

Disaster marginalia: Marginalia that presented information about disaster and natural phenomena appeared very informal in their form, structure, and lack of formulae. The most typical elements included *memorandum* "Let it be known" (15 of 25, or 60%), *narratio* (25, or 100%), *datatio* (25, or 100%), *locatio* (7 of 25, or 28%), and *subscriptio* "I wrote" (8 of 25, or 32%). The script used was SU and cursive in only 10 of 25, or 38% of the cases, and the language used was the transitional and semi-formal CS-vernacular in 6 of 25, or 23% of the cases.

Marginalia about God in prayers and hymns

Religious texts such as prayers and hymns did not belong in the genre of official documents, although they provided the formulae of *invocation* and *apprecatio*, which appeared in all cases. The scripts used were the formal SU and cursive in 25 of 34, or 74% of the cases, and the languages used were CS and Greek in two cases.

CONCLUSION

I. Major characteristics of marginalia and colophons

Typically, the pre-Ottoman scribe produced colophons to provide information about the scribe who copied the original central text of a particular manuscript. The scribe might also have left marginalia, distinct in size and script, owing to the inclusion of the vernacular and folk dialects. Such scribal notes were fragments similar to different formulae of the colophon or were notes about trying the quill or describing the conditions and materials for writing. These marginalia squeeze themselves in the side margins of the page.

Both marginalia and colophons underwent profound changes during the Ottoman period. Marginalia increased in number, diversity of subjects, authorship, and style of writing. Originally introspective in nature, marginalia came to encompass and reflect the worldview of the medieval and early modern South Slavic man living in a community with distinct boundaries based on linguistic, cultural, and religious differences from the ruling Ottoman authorities.

Marginalia in their totality represented a system of seven distinct levels or tiers of interactions that incorporated: the text as the embodiment of God's Word, the book itself with its history, production, and preservation; the individual scribe with his own creative expressions and educational activities; the interaction and exchange between the religious community and the "grass-roots" church; the historical context; the cosmos and its effect on the individual; and ultimately, God. Marginalia, in other words, provide a lens to examine this microcosm of worldview, beliefs, interest, duties, and creative endeavors.

Both monastic and non-monastic authors contributed equal amount of marginalia and colophons. Their products however, differed significantly in terms of more formal and formulaic elements and features. The diversity of genres is well represented by the texts: religious prayers and hymns, poetic and creative writings, historical narratives, documents of church transactions, journalist-like accounts about meteorological or astronomical events, and biographical or autobiographical narratives. Even though

marginalia were succinct, some genres such as the historical differed in length due to the elaboration of events, or the emotional reactions.

The central text, the colophon, and the marginalia shared the manuscript space, although the central text dominated with traditional language and script. The colophon became a bridge between the center and the periphery through its transitional styles, language variations, and script variations. The marginalia spoke the vernacular of everyday speech, and shared the periphery, turning itself toward the world outside rather than toward the central text.

Marginalia provided almost the only documentation of the official transactions of the Church during the Ottoman period, taking shelter next to the central text of manuscripts and early printed books. Local churches made books more accessible to the parishioners and provided more services to them, and as a result more voices of the community became vocal in the blank spaces of manuscripts. Paper was scarce and authorities did not allow the printing press until the middle of the 19th century when the book became a creative outlet.

II. Theoretical interpretation of marginalia and colophons

Since ancient times, scribes have placed colophons at the end of the central text. With the introduction of printed books, scribes adopted front placement of the colophon. Yet, it is hard to say that South Slavic scribes of later manuscripts published in the 18th-19th centuries placed the colophon in the front, since such a richness of practices existed, simultaneously preserving older traditions of colophon writing and adopting the new as well.

Marginalia varied greatly in respect to the physical placement of particular types of information. Generally, marginalia spread out throughout blank page and margins. Some patterns of placement appear to have existed among annotators. For example, marginalia that documented binding operations appears on the front pastedown, next to the cover itself. Clergymen preserved the most valuable documents of the Church within the *Gospels*. Marginalia about sponsorship of books, previously a part of the colophon,

followed the colophon and the central text. Readers' notes appeared in the back endpapers to show evidence of reading of the book. Epigrams appeared in the side margins next to the central text. Historical marginalia hid in the bottom margins or in the back of the manuscript.

Overall, the bottom margin incorporated the widest diversity of marginalia: education, disasters, book history, inscriptions, trying the quill, historical events, church affairs, and personal notes. The top margin remained almost spotless. The book functioned as an archive, chronicle, diary, library catalog, travelogue, textbook, and even a newspaper, beside its primary function as a religious text. The book became a boundary object for different communities of practice, sharing concerns, duties, interests, and personal creative endeavors. Bulgarian manuscripts and printed books remain boundary objects, as art historians, historians, historians of the book, linguists, archivists, literary scholars, historians of literacy, theologians, and bibliographers use them to understand a corner of Southeast Europe.

Authors had a sense of historicity long before the development of the New History method of inquiry. Their marginalia provided some of the most important surviving evidence of the Christian population during Ottoman rule. Marginalia reveal the worldviews and perceptions of the authors who mention events and figures of their times. Some provide rich spontaneous, emotional, descriptive, and evaluative information. At times, authors briefly mentioned current events, including wars and battles taking place elsewhere.

The evidence from the historical marginalia corroborates other historical sources and provides ample evidence of Ottoman misrule: controlling its subjects: a father hiding in the basement when he hears that the Janissaries are coming to take his first child; monasteries and churches desecrated and destroyed; attacks on the Christian population by kurdzhali and Janissaries; reprisals following wars and popular uprisings. The marginalized voices endured restrictions and prohibitions, discrimination and segregation, onerous taxation, and censorship.

Marginalized people wrote as they spoke. Moreover, they spoke succinctly. In historical documents, historians must account for the pauses and interjections in what they had to say. The voice of the marginalized people is the voice of pain, muffled silence, and interjections. There are no long, descriptive foreign travel narratives or dry official tax records that can compare in expressiveness and magnitude to phrases like these: "Oh! What a great need! Oh! What a great sorrow! Oh! What a great fear! Oh! What a great evil for all of us, Christians!"

Writing in the margins of books, examined above, indeed suggests social marginalization and isolation from the outside world, and indeed a state of isolation in their own country

The next chapter (16) will define the historical, archival and evidentiary value of marginalia and colophons in the context of "history from below."

16 THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHIVAL VALUE OF SLAVIC MANUSCRIPT MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS

This study compares the form, structure, and formulae of Slavic marginalia and colophons to their Byzantine and Latin counterparts. Based on these comparisons, the Slavic marginalia and colophons follow the rules of documentation and resemble official medieval documents in terms of form, structure and formulae. The diplomatic analysis of marginalia and colophons attests to the archival value of these sources with respect to originality, credibility, and reliability. Marginalia and colophons provide documentary evidence of the official transactions and interactions of the Church with the surrounding community and Ottoman authorities.

Each of the marginalia and colophons is a unique production by its author, and exists in only one copy. While the HACI colophons copy Byzantine formulaic statements, the HACI colophons are unique and original documents in themselves, except for the colophon in the copy of Paisii's *History of the Slavo-Bulgarians*, produced by Alexii from Samokov, one of the first of the 60 surviving copies of Paisii's great history.

Marginalia definitely reflect the worldviews and perceptions of their creators. Critics might say that these marginalia are not valid and authentic sources of historical evidence; that they have nationalistic and religious biases. New History "from below" emphasizes that every historical source bears the worldview and the cultural and linguistic perspective of its author and presents an aspect of historical reality.

The "proof" in historiography, including traditional, "history from below," and oral historiography, comes in the corroborating evidence and the contextualization of sources. The creators of marginalia included not only clergy and monastics, but also laypeople representing the Christian population in Bulgarian and Macedonian lands. The sources represent almost 500 years of events, happening in the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire to a wide range of literate citizens. The 668 marginalia and 52 colophons reveal the variety of aspects of the life of the Christian population. Authors described and evaluated real historical events such as the wars and military campaigns of the Ottoman Empire with the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Marginalia agree

with and corroborate primary sources such as: foreign travel and missionary accounts of Western, Russian, Byzantine, and Ottoman eyewitnesses (Chapter 5); hagiography (Chapter 5); epigraphy and archeology (Chapter 11); and historical marginalia and colophons from other collections (Chapter 12).

These examples of marginalia and colophons represent a variety of environments in time and space: monastic and non-monastic; lay and clergy; from different geographical locations, both remote and urban. They represent a diverse group of participants with various levels of formal education. This diversity implies that marginalia and colophons from HACI are representative of the experiences of many literate Slavic Bulgarians during the Ottoman period.

A final test of evidence concerns internal consistency, the degree to which the examples of form and content of the material agree with each other and with the situation they purport to represent. Analysis of marginalia and colophons through the science of diplomatics involved identifying patterns in physical placement and structure of marginalia on the page and the chronological development of language, scripts, grammar, and syntax. While these elements evolved radically over time, a lack of discrepancies substantiates this corpus as historically valid, credible, and reliable.

Why should we believe the authors of marginalia? These semi-literate and devoted people took very seriously and "professionally" their job as local historians and documented the social, political, and cultural circumstances of their lives the best they could, by squeezing their notes into the narrow margins of available blank spaces in books.

Traditional historical method of study requires testing documents for reliability, a tedious process that involves weighing and comparing the evidence at hand with that in the existing external sources. Traditional historiography emphasized politics, actions of great people, great nations, great wars, and great events, relying on official documents and records of institutions, written by "professional historians" accurately, objectively, and without bias. On those grounds, traditional historiography disregards and dismisses

written records or oral tradition of marginalized lower classes as unreliable and untrustworthy.

The methodological approach of this study, based on the New History "from below," attempts to counter-balance the extreme rationality of traditional historiography as a positivistic method of inquiry. It recognizes the falsity of idealized and hypothetical notions such as "ability to report," "distance of reporting from the actual event," "appropriateness of place for reporting" about people of the past. Each account of the past reflects its author's emotional, intellectual, educational, and religious perceptions about their historical reality.

The HACI marginalia and colophons satisfy the criteria of the historical and diplomatics methods of inquiry. They represent archival evidence of the life and work of their creators and the official transaction of the Church. They are original examples, existing in only one copy, in the context in which they were written. Marginalia remain valid and important primary sources that provide a glimpse into the political, social, and cultural aspects of the lives of the Bulgarian Christian population. Taken together as pieces of a gigantic puzzle, these accounts tell the story of struggle for survival of a marginalized people living on the periphery of the European and Ottoman empires.

17 SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

Extremely few South Slavic (Bulgarian, Macedonian, and Serbian) primary, secondary, and tertiary sources exist in Western Europe and American library collections or on the Web. This study constitutes the first attempt to make Slavic primary sources accessible, by translating, organizing, and classifying the HACI corpus of manuscripts and early printed books, rated second in size and importance among Bulgarian special collections after the National Library. This collection previously has been available only to local scholars and is virtually inaccessible to the international scholarly community.

The study also presents Slavic marginalia and colophons as an important source of historical information about the life of the Christian population during the Ottoman period. The study is important because it provides comprehensive evidence for a "history from below" of the Balkans during the Ottoman period, drawn from contemporaneous sources that largely have been overlooked until now. Further, the study presents this evidence in accessible form by being translated from the original archaic language into English, by the numerous photos of those sources, and the visualization of historical information through charts, graphs, and tables.

The study is multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary, using the methods of traditional historical methodology, critical theory, diplomatics theory and method, and bibliographical methods of description. Perhaps the most important contribution of this study is its use of traditional and post-modern theories and concepts to understand the significance, value and meaning of marginalia and colophons as primary sources. The author evaluated each particular category of marginalia and also the HACI corpus as a whole, compared it with other cases, and also interpreted it in accordance with the prevailing religious, ethical, cultural, and historical context of the time and with contemporary post-modern approaches.

The documentary value of this study comes from its being the first systematic study of marginalia and colophons as documents and sources of archival information. So far, very few studies exist that attempt to study marginalia and colophons according to their internal structure, presence of formulae, and major elements of medieval documents

(invocation, etc.). This study also compares marginalia and colophons to other epigraphic monuments.

The linguistic value of this study comes from using marginalia and colophons from Bulgaria throughout the Ottoman period. Language in its totality includes literary, documentary, and vernacular dialectal forms and modes. Those forms of Slavic language in particular have coexisted in South Slavic books from that period. This study demonstrates how and when the changes in these three forms of language were recorded and how the vernacular infused itself into the official language of books and documents.

Further, this study of marginalia and colophons from this geographical region and time period enriches the history of books and book culture by incorporating previously neglected books and their annotations. Both monastic and non-monastic centers of book production in this geographical region have contributed and passed down invaluable books from generation to generation. The Orthodox Church provided the resources, means, and books to develop literacy among its community by encouraging the development of literary language comprehensible for the common person, and encouraging reading habits beside provision of elementary education. Such a study of Slavic book heritage has been missing in Western scholarship, and the study illustrates differences in book traditions in the East and West of Europe, in ancient and modern times.

South Slavic marginalia and colophons provide important evidence also of the development of book-hands (scripts). The major scripts used in the official documentary and literary works underwent mixing, merging, and transfer, going from the literary semi-uncial to the cursive script of the offices. The new uncial script reveals the relatively low level of education and training of its authors.

For the field of Library and Information Science, this study of medieval and pre-modern marginalia and colophons provides more key access points for descriptive bibliography, metadata, and cataloguing, based on the attributes of the information objects. The field of history of books and libraries benefits through the description of medieval Slavic book production, ownership, and sharing.

Bulgarian, Slavic, and even Byzantine manuscripts remain, however, an under-explored domain in the universe of knowledge. These primary sources exist primarily in Eastern Europe and are virtually inaccessible and deeply hidden in manuscript depositories. Compared to Latin medieval primary and secondary sources, Byzantine and Bulgarian sources probably constitute 5-7% of the surviving cultural records. This study increases that percentage.

This study is one more step towards illuminating our understanding of the Ottoman period of the Balkans. Bulgarian manuscript marginalia and colophons constitute a major documentary source, largely ignored, for reconstructing the history of the Balkans and demonstrate a unique case of a socially marginalized people voicing in the margins of manuscripts their reactions to and concerns about historical events and their effects. In this respect, this study supplies the primary sources of previously unknown and unpublished materials about the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans.

Beside its bibliographic and textual analysis, the study produced several tools such as a database containing digital images of manuscript marginalia and colophons with transcriptions and translations into various languages, which can be posted on a Web site for immediate world-wide access. These digital images of manuscript colophons and other notations allow scholars to refrain from handling of original documents, to enlarge images to discover previously unnoticed details, notes, and hidden texts, and to manipulate versions of the text. In this manner, the manuscripts are reunified into a unique, single corpus.

18 DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Recommendations for Bulgarian research on marginalia

No matter how exhaustive and systematic, no study will be complete until the entire corpus of all existing examples of marginalia and colophons are collected and processed. For Bulgarian scholarship, this theme has recurred since the 18th century in searches for lost and forgotten sources. Famous historians, literary authors, revolutionaries, bibliographers, and collectors like Sprostranov and Goshev, who established the HACI collection and created its first catalogues, have only begun this process.

The time is ripe to search everywhere and discover those primary sources. The author of this study has collected evidence from published catalogues and other monographs, scholarly articles, and marginalia in the manuscripts of Hilendar, Rila, and Troyan monasteries and the towns of Berkovitsa, Elena, Gabrovo, Lovech, Kotel, Pleven, Sliven, Svishtov, Turnovo, and Varna.

The next step in this line of research should involve communication among all Bulgarian museums and archives in order to coordinate the efforts of librarians, archivists, and museum workers. This collaboration and networking would increase access to manuscripts and secondary sources that include marginalia from various geographical regions.

The catalogues of the National Library (five volumes), the Bulgarian Academy of Science (BAN), the "Ivan Dujchev" Center of Slavonic-Byzantine Studies, and the National Library in Plovdiv list all marginalia that appear in their manuscripts. The next step is to transcribe these marginalia and translate them into contemporary Bulgarian and English. For Slavic scholars, however, the text should be transliterated using the original script of Church Slavonic characters.

Rila monastery in particular constitutes one of the most important manuscript collections that survived from the monastic library that have survived over the centuries. This collection is organic in nature and origin. It will serve as example of manuscript production and production of marginalia on a collection level.

In general, manuscripts produced in one particular scriptorium appear in the Balkans. Such was the nature of manuscript production during the Ottoman period: monastic scriptoria provided liturgical books for the churches in the region and abroad. Etropole monastery played leadership in production and distribution of manuscripts during the 17th century. Existing manuscripts from such scriptoria should be traced and processed separately.

On the subject level of marginalia, further research can proceed on each specific subject category established in this study. Historical marginalia in particular perhaps remain the most important evidence of the history of the Balkans during the Ottoman period and should come first. The author of this study has collected, translated and analyzed 500 historical marginalia. Still, many more historical accounts remain in other unexplored Bulgarian and Slavic collections. The current study could not accommodate such a focused study of historical marginalia, although marginalia from the anthology corroborated the HACI evidence. A more detailed analysis of historical marginalia will be the subject of future work.

Recommendations for further research in comparative analysis of Western and Eastern European marginalia and colophons

Studies of marginalia and annotations by Western scholars have been well established and have almost exhausted their resources. This study can provide a methodological and theoretical framework for Eastern European scholars who have been focusing only on collecting that evidence, publishing anthologies, and translating them into modern languages. Language has always been a problem in dividing scholarly communities. Unfortunately, South Slavic scholarship has been itself marginalized due to the unique languages of the region. This study will make South Slavic primary sources available to the wider scholarly community as an online resource. A comprehensive theory of marginalia will be developed only if it considers evidence from both Western and Eastern sources that no language or culture is omitted. No theory should omit evidence, especially evidence of so marginalized and under-developed societies.

Recommendations for further research in Library and Information Studies

The author is creating a searchable database linked to digital images of marginalia that will appear on the Web. The attributes and descriptors of marginalia and colophons resulting from this study provide keywords for the online searching. For example, any online sources of manuscripts should provide access by keyword search of title-genre of books, categories of marginalia, and specific attributes or descriptors such as author (scribe and sponsor), date, provenance, physical location on the manuscript, documentary formulae, language, and script. The cataloging community should consider incorporation of the results of this study into their cataloging practices as access points.

To conclude, this study of South Slavic marginalia and colophons provides a unique, multi-faceted, interdisciplinary method of inquiry, standing at the forefront of contemporary analyses of cultural history, and contributes to a broad range of scholarly communities, e.g., historians, linguists, cultural historians, textual scholars. This study emerges from the "history from below" movement that seeks to provide a voice to a marginalized and underrepresented social group. This study rests on the value of its fascinating and unique primary sources, previously hidden and literally disintegrating. Michael Camile expressed it best:

For when I open a medieval manuscript this is entirely different from the experience of opening of a printed book, for I am conscious not only of the manuscript but also of how in reception the parchment has been penetrated, of grease stains, thumb marks, erasures, drops of sweat, places where images have been kissed away by devout lips...Every book is a relic of bodily pain, desire, and death.¹²⁴⁰

To those giants of the human spirit, the humble scribes and authors of marginalia, on whose shoulders we scholars stand, my ultimate respect and gratitude. To them, this study is dedicated.

¹²⁴⁰ Michael Camile, "Glossing the Flesh," in *The Margins of the Text*,

19 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Master list of manuscripts from HACI

Mss	Title	Date	Provenance
#0001	<i>Psalter</i>	16c	Eleshnitsa monastery Holy Theotokos. Sts. Archangels Michael and Gabriel, village of Dolna Beshevitsa
#0002	<i>Psalter</i>	16c	Seslavski monastery St. Nicholas. Germanski monastery
#0003	<i>Psalter</i>	16c	end of century. Village of Krivodol
#0004	<i>Psalter</i>	15-6c	second half of century. Sofia
#0005	<i>Psalter</i>	1643	St. Nicholas Church, village of Kamenitsa
#0006	<i>Psalter</i>	16c	printed Venice. Iskrets monastery Holy Theotokos
#0007	<i>Psalter</i>	18c	printed Russia. Nish. Iskrets monastery. Lokorsko
#0009	<i>Bible</i>	1581	printed Ostorog. Sofia, St. Paraskeva Church
#0011	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1577	Eleshnica monastery Holy Theotokos
#0012	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1505	village of Shipochan
#0013	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	middle of century. Village of Kunino
#0015	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1519	St. Nicholas Church, Suchava, Moldova. Oryahovo
#0020	<i>Four Gospels</i>	15-6c	first half of century. St. Spas Church, Sofia
#0021	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	second half of century. Dragalevski monastery
#0022	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	second half of century. St. Paraskeva Church, Sofia
#0023	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	St. Paraskeva Church, Sofia
#0024	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	end of century. Kurilo monastery
#0027	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1565	Boboshevo monastery St. Dimitur
#0028	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1578	Village of Prolesha. Boboshevo monastery
#0029	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	St. Nikolay Church, Sliven
#0030	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	second half of century. Village of Strelcha
#0034	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1563	Kratovo monastery. St. Spas Church, Sofia
#0036	<i>Four Gospels</i>	18c	printed Russia. Gabrovo Monastery
#0037	<i>Gospel</i>	16-7c	St. Nicholas Church, unknown village or town
#0038	<i>Gospel</i>	15c	middle of century. Village of Drugan
#0039	<i>Apostle Book</i>	1841	Zographou monastery, Mount Athos. Village of Dragushinovo
#0041	<i>Apostle Book</i>	15-6c	Ilinski monastery St. Spas
#0044	<i>Typicon</i>	14-5c	Cherepish monastery Holy Annunciation
#0046	<i>Service & Vita of Sts. Kirik and Julita</i>	1704	Dolni Lozen monastery St. Spas
#0047	<i>Service & Vita of St. John of Rila</i>	15c	Germanski monastery St. John of Rila
#0049	<i>Euchologion</i>	1519	printed Venice. Village of Lokorsko

#0050	<i>Euchologion</i>	1519	printed Venice. Iskrets monastery. Unknown town/village
#0054	<i>Euchologion</i>	1600	Cherepish monastery Holy Theotokos. St. Elias monastery, Teteven
#0058	<i>Euchologion</i>	1490	village of Brezovo
#0060	<i>Euchologion</i>	16-7c	printed. Village of Dushantsi. Village of Kamenitsa
#0063	<i>Octoechos</i>	16c	first half of century. St. Nicholas Church, village of Kunino
#0066	<i>Octoechos</i>	17c	first half of century. Eleshnitsa monastery Holy Theotokos
#0067	<i>Octoechos</i>	17c	beginning of century. Iskrets monastery Holy Theotokos
#0070	<i>Octoechos</i>	19c	printed. St. Nicolas Church, village of Lokorsko
#0072	<i>Octoechos</i>	n.d.	printed Wallachia. Village of Sushitsa
#0078	<i>Triodion, Lenten</i>	16c	beginning of century. Boboshevo monastery St. Dimitur
#0079	<i>Triodion, Pentecost.</i>	16c	second half of century. Vraca region
#0080	<i>Triodion, Pentecost.</i>	1682	unknown monastery, Vraca region
#0081	<i>Triodion, Pentecost.</i>	16-7c	printed Russia? Buhovo monastery St. Archangel Michael Church
#0083	<i>Irmologion</i>	1845	Pirdop
#0084	<i>Irmologion</i>	17c	first half of century. Village of Brezovo, private owner. Vraca region
#0085	<i>Menaion, May</i>	17c	first half of century. Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0086	<i>Menaion, Jan</i>	17c	first half of century. Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0088	<i>Menaion, Jan</i>	15c	first half of century. Sts. Kuzma and Damian Monastery, Kuklen.
#0090	<i>Menaion, Mar</i>	17c	middle of century. Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0092	<i>Menaion, Apr</i>	1639	written at Etropole monastery. Eleshnitsa monastery
#0093	<i>Menaion, Apr</i>	1603	Eleshnitsa monastery. Dolni Kamarci village
#0096	<i>Menaion, May</i>	1637	Etropole monastery. Eleshnitsa monastery Holy Theotokos
#0097	<i>Menaion, Jun</i>	1600	Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0099	<i>Menaion, Jul</i>	1643	Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0100	<i>Menaion, Aug</i>	17c	second half of century. Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0103	<i>Menaion, Sep</i>	1604	village of Dolni Kamarci. Eleshnitsa monastery
#0107	<i>Menaion, Oct</i>	1639	Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0108	<i>Meanion, Oct</i>	16c	end of century. Pazardzhik region

#0109	<i>Menaion</i> , Nov	17c	first half of century. St. George church, village of Dolno Kamarci. Eleshnitsa monastery Holy Theotokos
#0111	<i>Menaion</i> , Nov	15c	first half of century. Pazardzhik region
#0115	<i>Menaion</i>	1825	St. George Church, Pirdop. Zlatica
#0116	<i>Menaion</i>	16-7c	Vraca region
#0117	<i>Menaion</i>	1612	Cherepishki monastery. Village of Ljuti Brod
#0118	<i>Menaion</i>	16c	Vraca region
#0119	<i>Menaion</i>	n.d.	printed. Unknown village or town
#0122	<i>Horologion</i>	1768	Varna
#0123	<i>Euchologion</i>	19c	Lukovit
#0127	<i>Euchologion</i>	19c	St. Nicholas Church, village of Kamenitsa
#0128	<i>Miscellany</i>	1615	Monastery. Varna
#0130	<i>Damaskin</i>	1827	St Triphon Church, village of Bunovo, Pirdop region
#0131	<i>Damaskin</i>	1840	Pirdop. Vraca
#0134	<i>Damaskin</i>	17c	end of century. St. George Church, Lukovit
#0135	<i>Kiriakodromikon</i>	1806	printed Romania. Iskrets monastery
#0137	<i>SlavoBulgarian History</i>	1771	Samokov. Rila monastery
#0158	<i>Gospel</i>	1671	printed Venice. Sofia Metropoly
#0161	<i>Gospel</i>	1636	printed Lvov. Village of Klisura
#0162	<i>Psalter</i>	1742	printed Kievo-Pecherska Lavra, Ukraine. Transfiguration Church, Sofia
#0177	<i>Euchologion</i>	15c	St. Prohor Pshinski monastery
#0179	<i>Damaskin</i>	1782	Vraca metropoly, Pirdop region
#0180	<i>Gospel</i>	1645	printed Russia. Village of Kosachevo, Sofia
#0182	<i>Panegirik</i>	1425	unknown monastery. Village of Gorni Balvan
#0183	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	Mount Athos, Xenophontos monastery
#0184	<i>Euchologion</i>	1503	unknown monastery
#0186	<i>Menaion</i> , Festal	14-5c	village of Gorni Balvan
#0188	<i>Psalter</i>	14-5c	Skopie
#0192	<i>Euchologion</i>	16c	middle of century. printed Mileshevo. Zrze monastery Transfiguration Church
#0194	<i>Euchologion</i>	15c	Skopie
#0196	<i>Menaion</i> , Sep	16c	St. Prohor Pshinski monastery
#0198	<i>Triodion</i>	1561	printed Venice. Eleshnitsa monastery. Village of Slatino
#0201	<i>Typicon</i>	14c	end of century. Pirot monastery
#0203	<i>Horologion</i>	15-6c	Turnovo metropoly
#0205	<i>Triodion</i>	1581	printed Venice. Unknown provenance, St. Dimitur Church
#0207	<i>Octoechos</i>	1595	Kupinovo monastery
#0208	<i>Octoechos</i>	1537	printed Venice. Sofia

#0211	<i>Psalter</i>	1728	printed Kievo-Pecherska Lavra, Ukraine. Dryanovo monastery
#0212	<i>Kiriakodromioon</i>	1806	printed. Village of Enina
#0213	<i>Four Gospels</i>	15-6c	Dormition of the Theotokos Church, village of Kilifarevo
#0225	<i>Damaskin</i>	17-8c	end of century. Teteven
#0232	<i>Miscellany</i>	1820	village of Beli Lom, Vidin
#0237	<i>Four Gospels</i>	15-6c	middle of century. Village of Palun. Village of Naselevtsi, Pernik region
#0239	<i>Psalter</i>	1769	printed. Chernigorska Ilinska. Holy Trinity Church, Dupnitsa
#0240	<i>Service & Vita of St. Haralampii</i>	18c	Sofia
#0241	<i>Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem</i>	18c	printed Russia. Sofia
#0243	<i>Gospel</i>	16-7c	beginning of century. Buhovo monastery. Village of Zhelyava
#0244	<i>Menaion</i>	15c	printed Venice. Sofia
#0246	<i>Prologue, Mar-May</i>	18c	printed Russia. St. Nicholas Church, Sofia
#0247	<i>Prologue, Sep-Nov</i>	1689	printed Russia. Sts. Kuzma and Damian Monastery, Kuklen
#0248	<i>Prologue, Dec-Feb</i>	1735	printed Moscow Russia. Sofia
#0250	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1567	Kratovo monastery
#0251	<i>Triodion, Lenten</i>	1594	St. Nicholas church, village of Mlechevo. Trustenik. Monastery of Holy Theotokos, Teteven
#0256	<i>Triodion, Lenten</i>	1561	printed Venice. Village of Lokorsko, Sofia region
#0260	<i>Prologue, Jun-Aug</i>	17c	printed Russia. Sts. Kuzma and Damian Monastery, Kuklen
#0270	<i>Psalter</i>	16c	printed Venice. Sofia
#0271	<i>Psalter</i>	1561	printed Venice. Village of Berende, Pernik. Sofia
#0272	<i>Psalter</i>	1561	printed Venice. Sofia
#0273	<i>Euchologion</i>	16c	printed Venice. Unknown monastery. Nish
#0276	<i>Psalter</i>	1672	printed Kievo-Pechorska Lavra, Ukraine. Sofia
#0279	<i>Octoechos</i>	1843	printed Tsarigrad. Monastery, Turnovo region
#0285	<i>Akathyst</i>	18c	printed Russia. Turnovo
#0287	<i>Triodion</i>	1563	printed. Skender, Macedonia. Sofia
#0294	<i>Prologue, Mar</i>	1588	Transfiguration Church, Zrze monastery, Prilep
#0295	<i>Prologue, July-Sep</i>	16c	St. Dimitur Church, Village of Kochino
#0302	<i>Apostle Book</i>	15-6c	Slepche monastery St. Nicholas
#0303	<i>Menaion, Feb</i>	1616	Transfiguration Church, Zrze monastery, Prilep
#0304	<i>Triodion</i>	16-7c	Kratovo monastery
#0315	<i>Apostle Book</i>	16c	end of century. Seslavski monastery St. Nicholas
#0317	<i>Panegirik</i>	15c	Skopie
#0320	<i>Menaion, Jun</i>	1510	St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, Skopie

#0326	<i>Miscellany</i>	15c	St. Prohor Pshinski monastery
#0337	<i>Menaion</i>	1689	printed Venice. St. Kiriaki Church, Sofia
#0338	<i>Menaion, Festal</i>	15c	unknown town, Varosha. Sofia
#0340	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	Slepche monastery. Skopie
#0341	<i>Kiriakodromikon</i>	1806	printed. Breznik
#0350	<i>Menaion, Festal</i>	16c	printed Serbia. Holy Archangels Mihail and Gabriel Church, village of Trapezi. Velika Ravanica monastery, Serbia
#0351	<i>Bible</i>	16c	St. Prohor Pshinski monastery
#0353	<i>Gospel</i>	16c	St. Prohor Pshinski monastery, Skopie
#0368	<i>Miscellany</i>	16c	first half of century. Kokalyanski monastery
#0374	<i>Four Gospels</i>	1497	Kremikovtsi monastery
#0413	<i>Menaion</i>	15c	Sofia
#0431	<i>Menaion, Festal</i>	16-7c	Breznik
#0485	<i>Menaion, Oct</i>	1602	Etropole monastery Holy Trinity. Village of Dolno Kamartsi
#0511	<i>Menaion, Feb</i>	1526	Etropole monastery Holy Trinity. St. Spas Church, Sofia
#0573	<i>Octoechos</i>	1632	Etropole monastery Holy Trinity
#0916	<i>Four Gospels</i>	16c	middle of century. Mount Athos monastery. Village of Chukovets
#1521	<i>Service & Vita</i>	1564	Sts. Michael and Gabriel Church, Kratovo. St. Nikolai Novi Sofiiski Church, Sofia

Appendix 2: Description of books represented in the HACI collection

Menaion

The *Menaia* ("books of the months") is the collection of twelve books (each a *Menaion*), one for each month of the calendar year, containing the propers for the immovable feasts and the saints' days falling in that month. The Slavonic General *Menaion*, which contains full offices for all possibilities, even for feasts of the Lord and Mother of God, and provision for full festal celebration with Doxastika, Polyeleos and so forth, has been translated a number of times into English.

Gospels

Also known as the *Tetraevangelion*, the *Evangelion* is the *Book of Gospels*, usually arranged by the pericopes appointed to be read throughout the liturgical year. It is generally kept on the altar table in a metal case decorated with icons of the evangelists; tradition forbids the use of animal skin on the altar table.

Psalters

The **Psalter** is simply the biblical book of the Psalms of David arranged for liturgical use, divided into twenty sections called kathismata. Each kathisma is further divided into three stasis

Triodion

The **Lenten Triodion** ('book of the three odes') contains the propers from the beginning of the pre-Lenten season (the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee, the 10th Sunday before Pascha) until Holy Saturday

Euchologion (prayers for services)

The ευχολογιον το μεγα or **Great Euchologion** principally contains the prayers of the priest, deacon, and reader for Vespers, Orthros, and the Divine Liturgy. The Book of Needs, the **Small Euchologion** (*mikron euchologion* or *agiasmatarion*, "book of blessings") usually contains the forms for the mysteries sacraments other than the Eucharist and ordination.

Octoechos (music, chants, services, the 8th tones)

Octoechos ("book of the eight tones") refers to two books containing the common of the cycle of liturgical services relating to the eight tones—*The Great Octoechos* (Parakletike,

book of supplication") and an abridged version of it called the *Little Octoechos*, which contains only the materials for Sundays.

Prologue

Short hagiographic compositions arranged according to the calendar of saints.

Damaskin

Bulgarian anthologies from the 16-19th centuries, the so-called *Damaskini* (after the Greek teacher Damaskin Studit). They represent the transition from religious to secular literature and from Old Slavic to the vernacular language.

Apostles

The **Apostolos** ('book of the apostle'), also called the *Epistle Lectionary*, is the book containing prescribed readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, arranged according to the Orthodox liturgical year. The lections are used in the first scripture reading in the Divine Liturgy, usually called the *Epistle reading*. This lectionary often includes the prokeimena and alleluias that are sung before and after the epistle reading, respectively.

Miscellany

A mixed-content *Miscellany* is a manuscript book that consists of an arbitrary set of texts (articles) selected and arranged without the application of any particular organizational principle, without a common genre, function, etc. Those works can be vitae, sermons, revelation, nomocanon, patericon, acts of Lord Jesus Christ, Kalendologion), instructional or edifying readings.

Service and vitae

For particular saint or martyr, containing the reading and the service, including hymns and prayers to the particular saint or martyr. Very popular during Ottoman period were the vitae of New martyrs.

Kiriakodromion

The first printed book in vernacular Bulgarian in 1806 typeset by Sofronii Vrachanski, disciple of Paisii Hilendarski. A compilation of Sunday sermons by Sofronii.

Bible

The Old and New Testament, Scripture.

Typicon

The ***Typikon*** (also spelled as Typicon) is the "book of directives and rubrics, which regulate the order of the divine services for each day of the year. It presupposes the existence of other liturgical books which contain the fixed and variable parts of these services. In the strict monastic sense, the Typikon of the monastery includes both the rule of life of the community as well as the rule of prayer

Irmologion (music chants)

The musical volume entitled *Irmologion* only contains the *irmi* that are commonly sung, that is those for Sundays, major feasts and Holy Week.

Horologion (contains the daily cycle of services)

The ***Horologion*** is the "Book of Hours," containing the fixed texts of the services of the Daily Cycle. There is also the larger Great Horologion (*horologion to mega*).

Panegirik (short sermons of praise)

A **panegyric** is a formal public speech, or (in later use) written verse, delivered in high praise of a person or thing, a generally highly studied and discriminating eulogy, not expected to be critical. It is derived from Greek meaning a speech "fit for a general assembly" (*panegyris*).

Akathyst

An **akathist** (Greek, *akathistos*) is a hymn dedicated to a saint, holy event, or one of the persons of the Holy Trinity. The word *akathist* itself means "not sitting." The akathist *par excellence* is that written in the 6th century to the Theotokos.

Appendix 3: Authors, creators, participants

Category of marginalia	People mentioned	Note
Scribal notes	anonymous	Anonymous.
History of manuscripts	anonymous	Anonymous. Priests would guard the books and rejoice when discovering a lost one.
Binding	Sponsors, binders, metal-smithers, clergy administering and witnessing the act	38 people (27 lay and 9 clergy). Priests worked as metal-smithers and binders. Church council oversaw the operation (witnesses). 13 people worked on monastic and 20 on non-monastic mss. Wealthy are in the minority. Clergy worked as binders. Monk Antonii from Mount Athos rebound the earliest time, 1636. Priest Mladen did many binding, workshop in Sofia. Teachers from Tryavna also rebound books later. Teamwork, including 2-4.
Epigrams	Anonymous and signed up Depending on the content (religious and political)	Anonymous by monastics earlier and religious in nature; Authorship when political and at the end of 19 th century and those authors identified themselves proudly maintaining their position..
Donations	829 people	829 people identified themselves, contributed to the monastic communities. The people not of very high status.
Sponsorship of manuscripts	Laypeople (93%) and 8% clergy sponsored manuscript production	200 people (only 8 rich social status). 186 people of lay people. Only one woman.
Inscriptions (graffiti)	Pilgrims, teachers, students, sponsors, book owners	69 people (36 laypeople and 33 clergy). Equal distribution. 33 clergy, 16 priests, 13 monks, 4 deacons. Variety of users: pilgrims, teachers, readers, students. People identify themselves but without motives.
Bookplates (43)	Anonymous (19) and authored (25).	Private owners of books. Only 12 laypeople privately owned books. 13 clergy and 9 priests among the owners. 12 laypeople privately owned books only. Earliest 1690.

Personal	Anonymous (18) and authored (17).	18 laypeople and 14 clergy, 4 monks. Wrote about their lives, partnerships, pilgrimages, study and hiring as teachers.
Readers	Always signed.	21 laypeople and 6 clergy Communal reading of 13 people Rarely private reading. People identified themselves, proud that they finished reading.
Education	Always signed. Students and teachers, and school activities	Students (7 notes), teachers (13 notes). Clergy (priests and abbots) worked as teachers. Students wrote their names when they graduated. Two Russian teachers. Breznik teachers mentioned a lot. Teachers wrote the chronicles of the city Breznik.
Quill (trying the quill)	Mostly anonymous.	Anonymous. 2 clergy and one layman (later). People practicing handwriting and having fun, joking.
Church repair	Sponsors, workers, artists, priests in tenure, witnesses	Sponsors of higher social status. Clergy worked as carpenters and builders. Partners, richer including leather merchants, hadzhi. Repairmen: priests, monks, peasants Artisans Tenured ecclesiastical authority Witnesses (Turks, 3)
Pilgrimages and taxidiot visits	Always signed names. Clergy, laypeople	111 people (one pilgrimage in 1859 gathered 90 people) 23 clergy (abbots, monks, bishops on visitations). Pilgrims not of high social status. Taxidiots from Rila monastery. Exchange between monastic communities, and laypeople. The sinful one
Commemoration lists	Always signed names. Lists of names. Laypeople mostly. Pilgrims, donors, lists of diseased people	381 people (270 alone in U-K monastery). 43 people in non-monastic churches. 38 people commemorated in non-monastic books.

Disasters and natural phenomenon	Mostly anonymous (only 6 out of 26 authored). The authors: laypeople, teachers, priests	Mostly anonymous. Only 6 identified themselves, ordinary, teachers and priests.
Historical marginalia	Mostly anonymous, except colophons	Mostly anonymous 75%. 12 people (laypeople, priests, teachers, 5 priests, scribes). Etropole monastery, Raphail and Danail, Dionisii from Kupinovo monastery. Three laypeople, teachers from Breznik, M. Ivanov.

Appendix 4:

Provenance

Total number	Types of notes	Monastic centers	Non-monastic settings
52	COLOPHONS	29	23
35	Personal biographical	13	22
67	Inscriptions	36	31
7	Trying the quill	3	4
22	Education	6	16
19	Readers and borrowers	3	16
9	Epigrams (wisdom, jokes..)	4	5
46	Doodles and graphic marginalia	27	19
205	TOTAL	84	121
56	Book sponsorship	25	31
21	Scribal notes	16	5
5	Book history others	3	2
38	Binding	13	25
43	Bookplates	15	28
163	TOTAL	72	91
9	Church affairs (building, history, decoration, etc.)	5	4
28	Pilgrimages and taxidiot visits to towns	23	5
51	Commemoration lists	43	8
89	Donations (money, food, livestock	81	8
177	TOTAL	152	25
59	Historical events (Kurdzalii, uprisings, Russians, wars), hardship	21	38
25	Natural disasters and events (earthquakes, fairs, sun eclipses); (Plagues and deceases)	5	20
8	Other (medical, calculation)	4	4
34	Religious texts (prayers, hymns)	14	20
TOTAL:	MARGINALIA AND COLOPHONS	Total: 374	Total: 349
Marginalia: 668		Marginalia: 353	Marginalia: 319r
Colophons: 52		Colophons: 29	Colophons: 23

Appendix 5: Location of marginalia in the manuscript

Type of marginalia	T o t a l	Front paste down	Front End- pape r	Top mar -gin	Side mar -gin	Bottom mar- gin	Mult. Mar- gins	I n s e r t	After the main text	Back end- pape r	Back paste down	C o v e r
Sponsorship	55	2	6	1	1	19	0	0	17	7	2	0
Bindings	38	12	6	0	0	2	0	0	2	8	5	3
Bookplates	43	6	7	1	4	5	1	0	6	10	3	0
Scribal notes	18	3	2	1	1	3	0	1	4	2	1	0
Book history	5	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
Church affairs	9	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3	1	0
Donations	89	2	69	0	1	3	0	4	0	8	0	2
Pilgrimages	28	2	3	0	8	4	1	0	3	6	1	0
Commemoration lists	51	2	39	0	1	5	0	0	1	2	1	0
Historical	58	0	12	1	1	18	2	0	4	16	4	0
Disasters	26	1	0	2	3	10	5	0	0	1	4	0
Reader	19	3	3	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	3	0
Inscriptions	67	3	17	2	7	26	0	0	0	8	4	0
Education	22	0	3	1	0	10	0	1	3	3	1	0
Personal	35	0	7	2	7	8	0	0	2	6	3	0
Epigrams	9	1	1	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Quill	7	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	0
Doodles	46	4	11	1	10	1	3	3	5	4	4	0
Religious notes	34	24	2	4	4	1	0	0	10	4	3	0
Other	10	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	3	1	1	0
TOTAL	668	69	185	16	56	126	12	9	61	102	44	5

Appendix 6: Chronological distribution of dated marginalia

Century Category (dated only)	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	Total
Colophons	2	8	12	5	6	33 of 52
Book sponsorship	0	2	13	16	4	35 of 56
Binding	0	0	11	17	4	32 of 38
Scribal notes	0	1	6	3	1	11 of 21
Book history	0	1	2	0	2	5 of 5
Bookplates	0	1	2	16	6	25 of 43
Epigrams	0	0	0	0	2	2 of 9
Inscriptions	0	1	0	13	13	27 of 67
Quill	0	1	0	0	0	1 of 7
Personal	1	1	0	5	22	29 of 35
Education	0	0	1	2	2	5 of 22
Readers	0	0	0	1	11	12 of 19
Pilgrimages	0	0	3	4	9	16 of 28
Commemorations lists	0	0	2	5	1	8 of 51
Donations	0	0	1	9	1	11 of 89
Church repairs	0	0	0	3	6	9 of 9
Historical	0	5	7	11	27	40 of 59
Disasters	0	0	0	6	20	26 of 26
Religious	0	0	0	0	1	1 of 34
Total number of dated marginalia	3	21	60	116	138	338

Appendix 7: Language and script of the central text-colophon-marginalia

Inventory #	Date	Central text	Colophon	Marginalia
#201 <i>Typicon</i>	14 th century	SU-CS	SU-CS	NU-vernacular
#182 <i>Panegirik</i>	1425	SU-CS	SU-CS	1864, cursive-Modern Bulgarian with Russian.
#188 <i>Psalter</i>	14-15 th century	SU-CS	SU-CS	1819, Cursive-vernacular
#58 <i>Euchologion</i>	14-15 th century	SU-CS	SU-CS	New Uncial-vernacular
#28 <i>Four Gospels</i>	1578	SU-CS	SU-CS	1862, Cursive-CS-Russian
#1521 <i>Service and Vita</i>	1564	SU-CS red	SU-CS	1835, new uncial-vernacular 1837, new uncial-vernacular 1877, new uncial-vernacular, Russian
#250 <i>Four Gospels</i>	1567	SU-CS	SU-CS	SU-CS (smaller size)
#294 <i>Prologue</i>	15-16 th century	SU-CS, red	SU-CS	New Uncial-CS-Russian
#3 <i>Psalter</i>	16 century	SU-CS	SU-CS	New uncial-vernacular
#295 <i>Prologue</i>	16 th century	SU-CS	SU-CS	Doodles, new uncial-vernacular
#368 <i>Miscellany</i>	16 th century	SU-CS	Cursive-CS	New Uncial-CS-vernacular or vernacular SU-Cursive-vernacular or CS-vernacular
#916 <i>Gospel</i>	16 th century	SU-CS	Cursive-CS	New Uncial-CS
#96 <i>Menaion</i>	1637	SU-CS	SU-CS	Cursive-CS-vernacular
#128 <i>Miscellany</i>	1650	SU-CS	SU-CS	SU-CS-vernacular
#573 <i>Octoechos</i>	1602	SU-CS	Cursive-CS	SU-CS New uncial-vernacular 1839, cursive-vernacular, Greek
#243 <i>Gospel</i>	1790	SU-CS	SU-CS	1819, New uncial-vernacular

#86 <i>Menaion</i>	1639	SU-CS	SU-CS	SU-CS (smaller size)
#107 <i>Menaion</i>	1639	SU-CS	SU-CS	SU-CS (smaller size)
#46 <i>Service and Vita</i>	1704	SU-CS red	SU-CS	1704, Cursive-CS 1728, Cursive-vernacular 1832, Cursive-vernacular 1839, cursive-vernacular
#134 <i>Damaskin</i>	17 th century	SU-Vernacular	SU-vernacular	New uncial-vernacular 1789, SU-vernacular
#137 <i>History SlavoBulgarian</i>	1771	SU-CS	SU-CS, with Russian	1814, Greek cursive-CS new uncial-vernacular
#83 <i>Irmologion</i>	1845	New uncial-CS	New uncial-CS	New uncial-vernacular
#232 <i>Miscellany</i>	1820	SU-CS-vernacular	SU-vernacular	New uncial-vernacular

Appendix 8: Comparison of the scripts in the central text, the colophons, and the marginalia

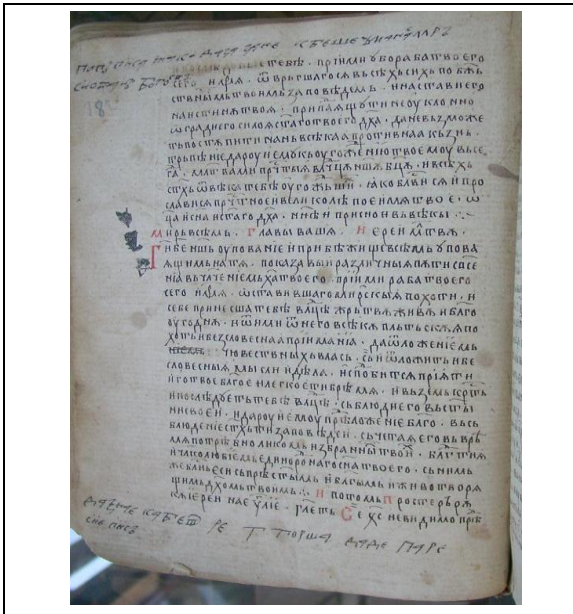


Figure 19.1: #201 Typicon, 14th cent, Pirot monastery

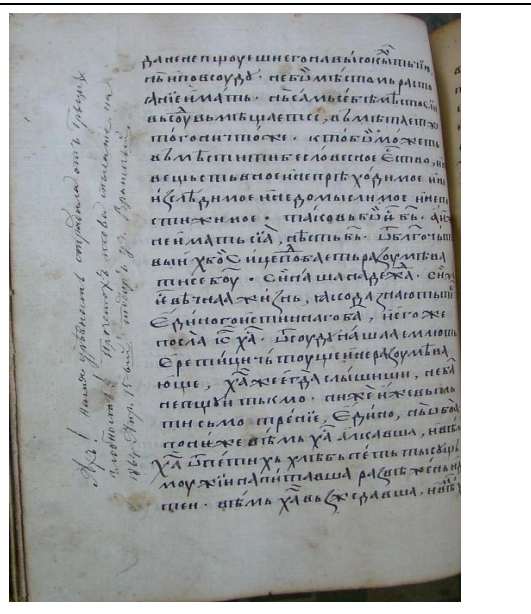


Figure 19.2: #182 Panegirik, 1425.

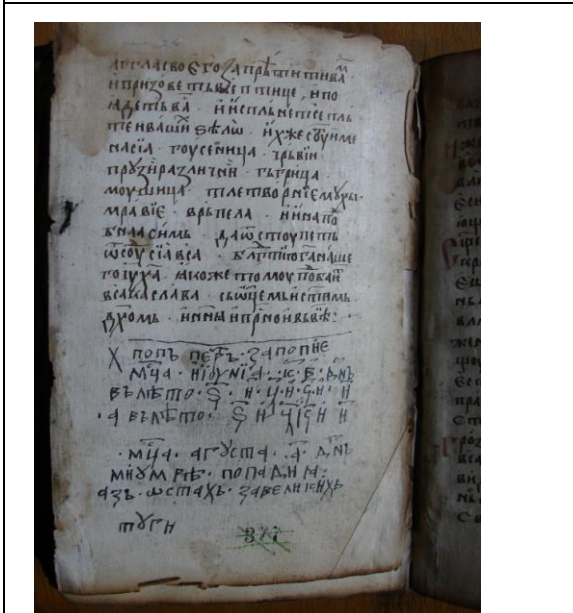


Figure 19.3: #188 Psalter, 14-15th century

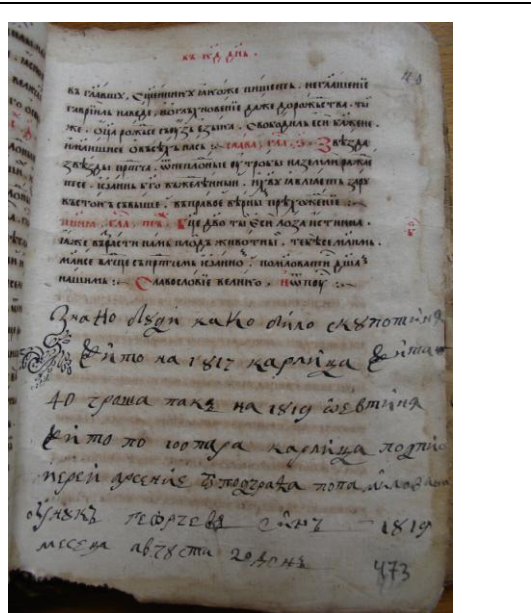


Figure 19.4: #58 Euchologion, 1490

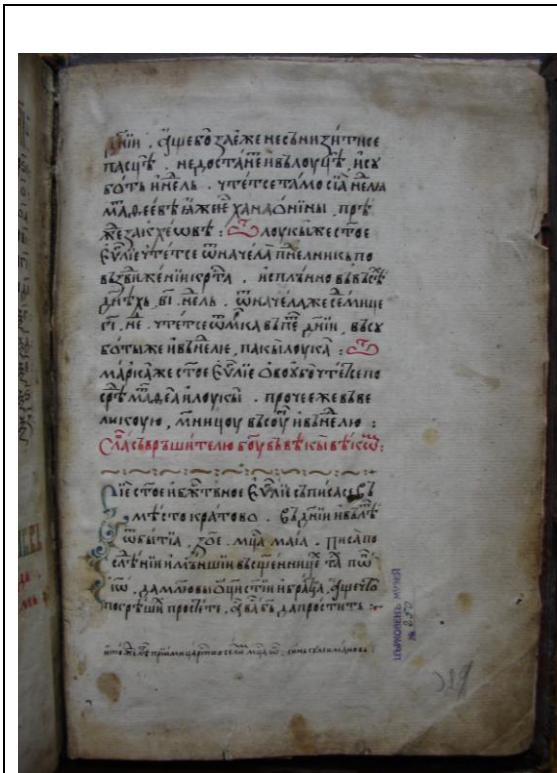


Figure 19.5: #250 *Four Gospels*, 1567, Kratovo monastery

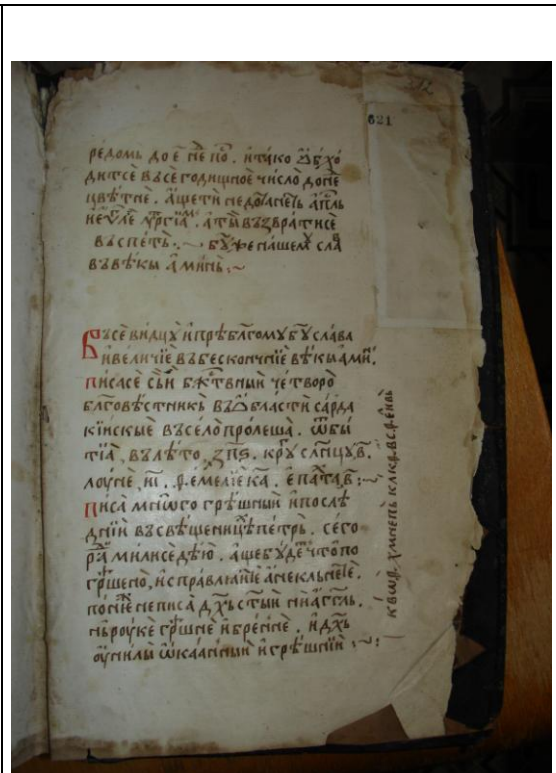


Figure 19.6: #28 *Four Gospels*, 1578, Boboshevo monastery

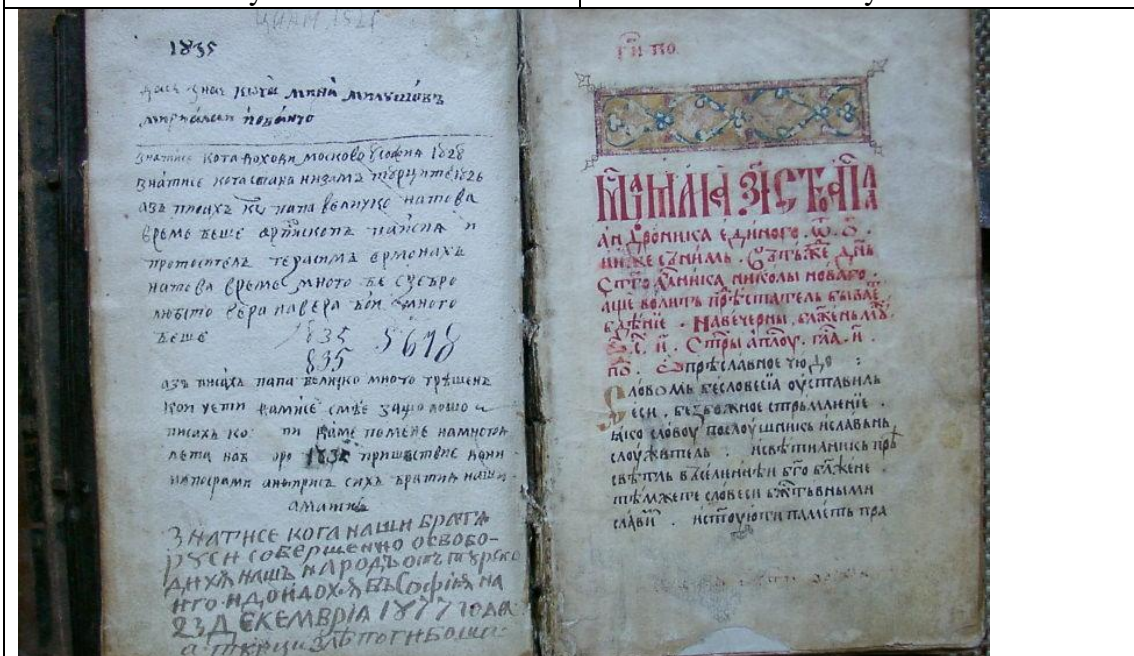


Figure 19.7: #1521 *Service and Vita of St. Nikolay Novi Sofijski*, 1564, Kratovo monastery, Sofia.

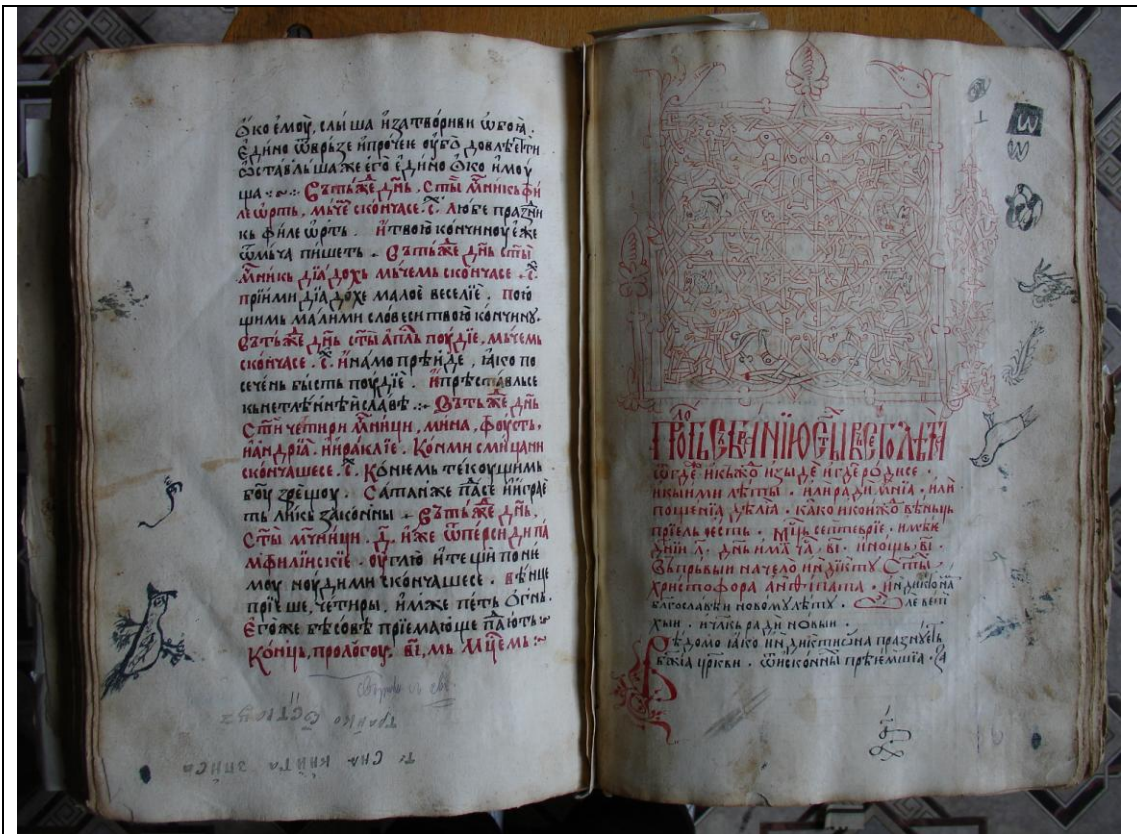


Figure 19.8: #295 Prologue, 16th century, St. Prohor Pshinski monastery.



Figure 19.9: #368 Miscellany, 16th century Urvisko-Kokalyanski monastery.

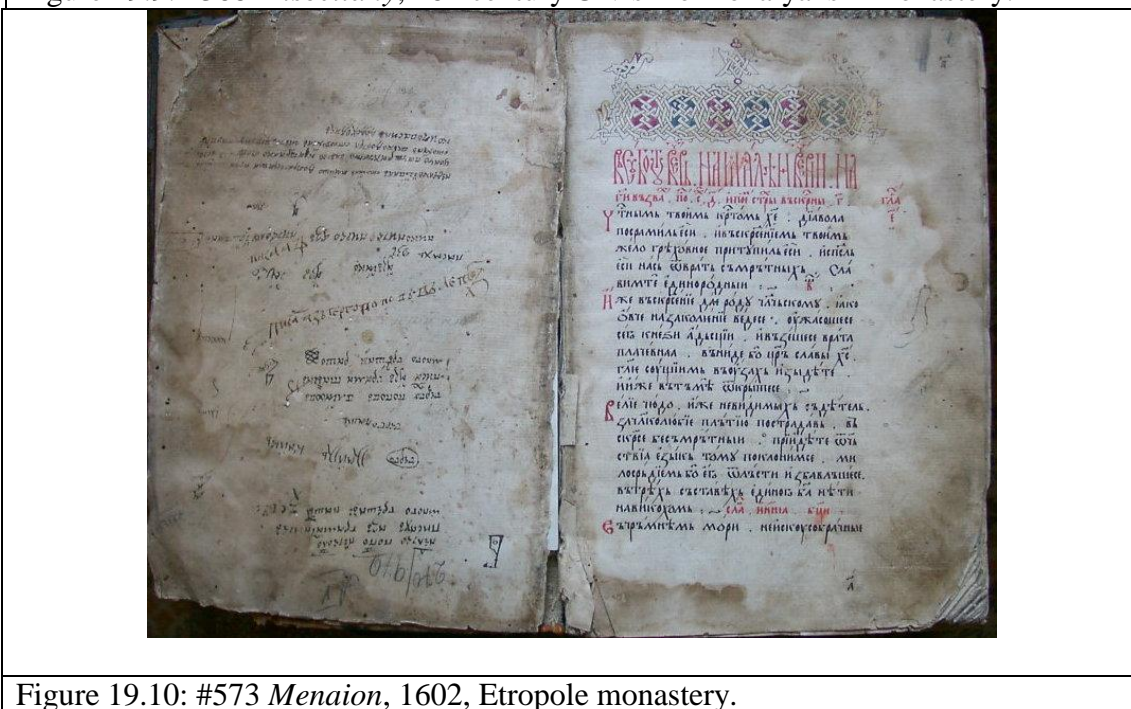


Figure 19.10: #573 Menaion, 1602, Etropole monastery.

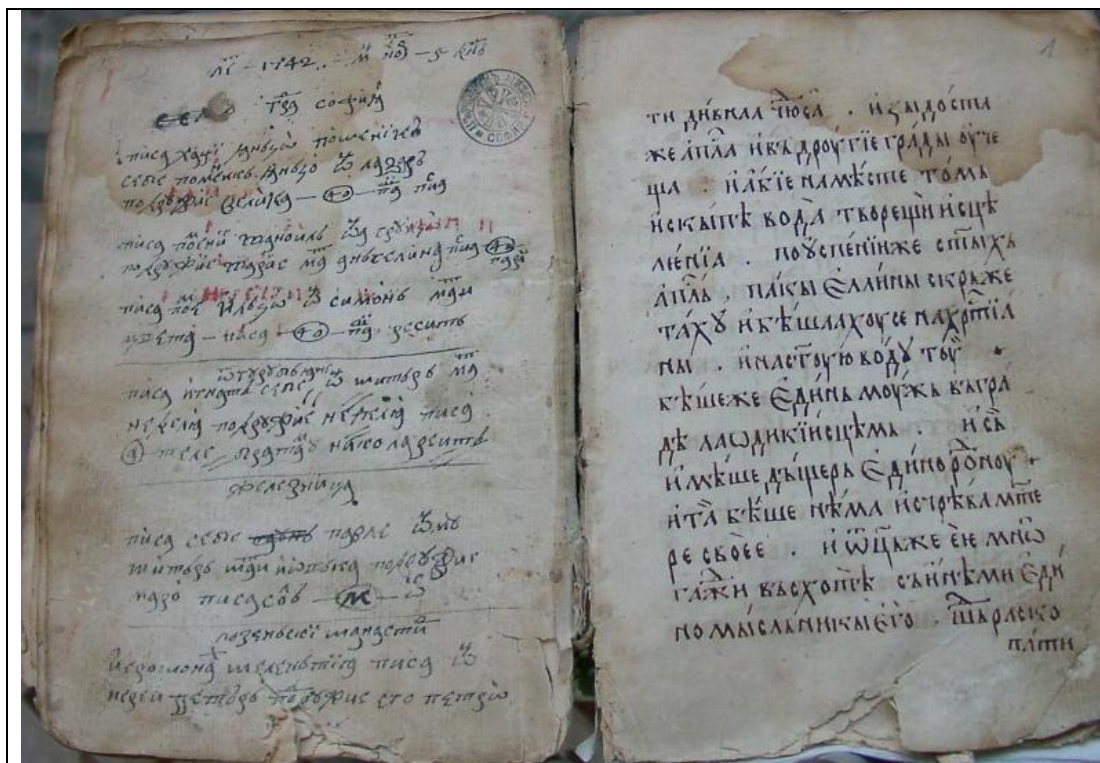


Figure 19.15: #368 Miscellany, 16th century Urvisko-Kokalyanski monastery.

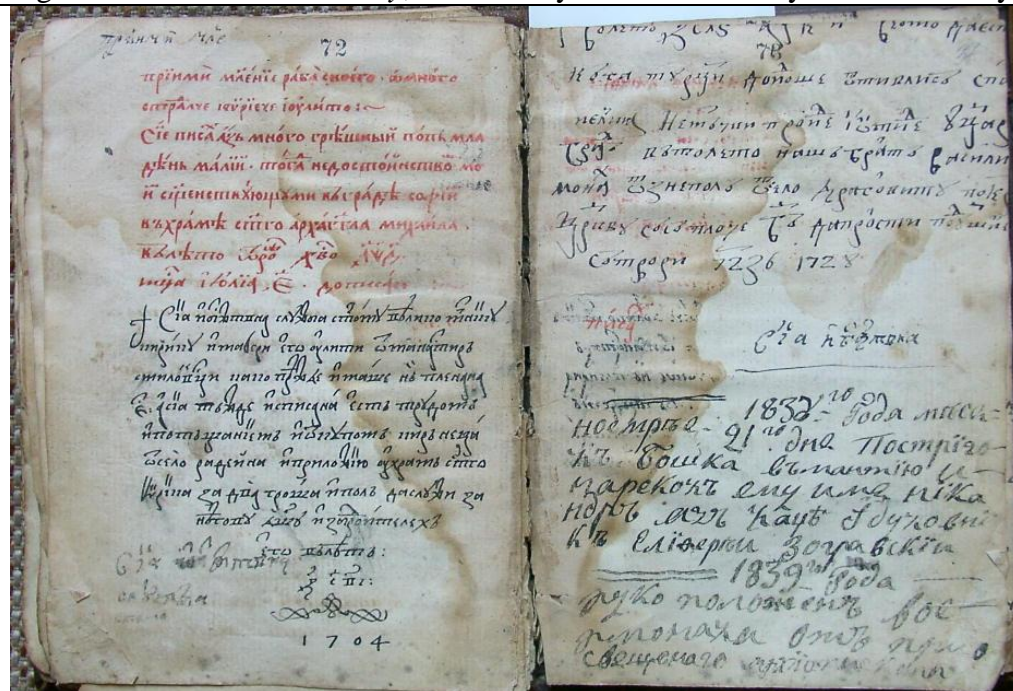


Figure 19.16: #46 Service and Vita of St. St. Kyrik and Julita, 1704, D. Lozen mon.

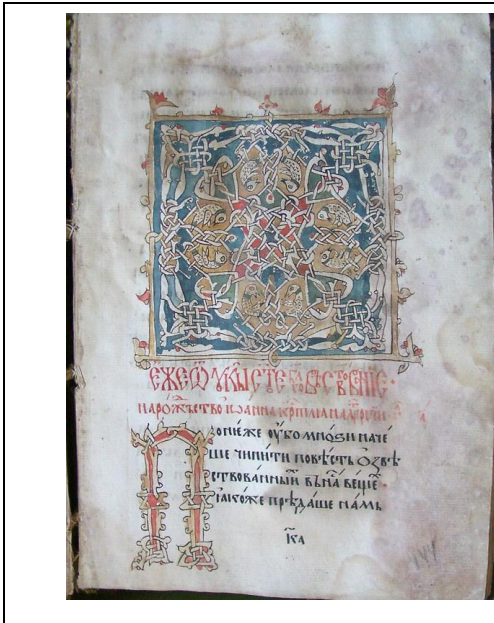


Figure 19.17: #243 Gospel, 1790, Buhovo monastery



Figure 19.18: #243 Gospel, stolen and moved to Zhelyava village



Figure 19.19: #232 Miscellany, 1820, village of Beli Lom.

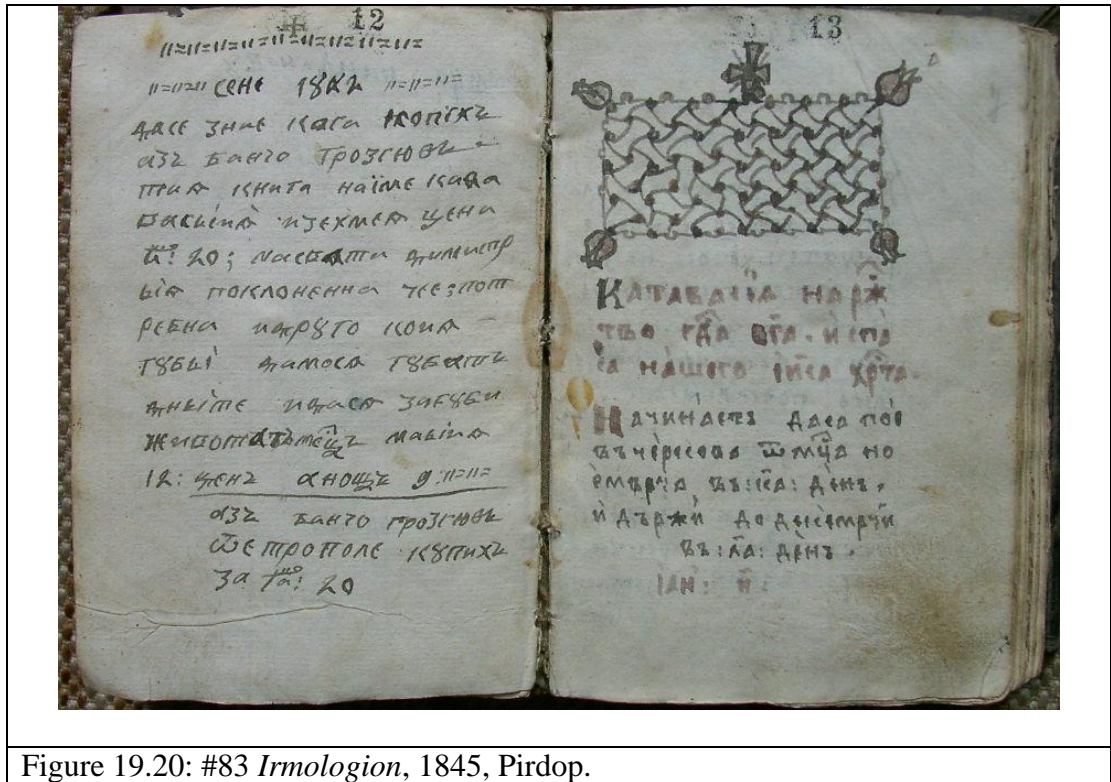


Figure 19.20: #83 Irmologion, 1845, Pirdop.

Appendix 9: The development of the Trinity formula in colophons

Date	With the will Of the Father	And the help of the Son	And the fulfillment of the Holy Spirit	Scribe, provenance
1262	Izvolenie(m oca	I svrushenie(m) sna	I pospesheniemu stgo dha ¹²⁴¹	Monk Yoan (Dragoslov), Kiev
1353:	Izvoleniemu oca	I pospeshenie sna	I suvrusheniemu stago dha.... ¹²⁴²	Lesnovo monastery
1360	Izvoleniemy oca	I suvrusheniemu sna	I supospesheniemu stgo dha. ¹²⁴³	Bdin
1435	I(zvolenie)my oca	I pospeshenie(m sna0	I suvrusheniemu stgo dha... ¹²⁴⁴	
1510:	Izvolenie(m) oca	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I svrushenie(m) stgo dha...¹²⁴⁵	(abbot Mina, Prohor Pshinski monastery).
1544:	Izvolenie(m) oca	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I svrushenie(m) stgo dha... ¹²⁴⁶	(grammarian Peter, Lovech)
1547	Izvoleniem oca	I supospesheniem sna	I suvrusheniemu stago douha... ¹²⁴⁷	(monk Pachomii)
1559	Izvolenie(m) oca	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I syvryshenie(m) stgo dha... ¹²⁴⁸	Stoyan
1564:	Izvolenie(m) oca	I pospesheniemu sna	I suvrusheniemu stago dha... ¹²⁴⁹	(monk Gavrail, Rila monastery)
1565:	Izvoleniemu oca	I pospesheni(m) sna	I suvrusheniemu stgo dha ¹²⁵⁰	(monk Gavrail, monastery Uspenie Bogordchno, Batenovci).

¹²⁴¹ Moscow, RGB #232 *Nomokanon*.

¹²⁴² Hristova, et al., p. 46, Sofia, National Library, #297 *Parenesis of Ephraim the Syrian*.

¹²⁴³ Ibid., p. 49, Ghent, University Library, *Myscellany*, Slav. Ms. 408.

¹²⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 71, Sofia, National Library, #122 *Festal Menaion*.

¹²⁴⁵ HACI, #320 *Menaion* for June.

¹²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 10, National Library, #483 *Four Gospels*.

¹²⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 11, Zagreb, #III *Euchologion*.

¹²⁴⁸ Ibid. p.16, National Library, #459 *Psalter*.

¹²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 17, Rila monastery #2/9 *Festal Menaion*.

¹²⁵⁰ HACI #27 *Four Gospels*.

16 th c., last quarter	+ Izvoleniemu oca	I su pospesheniemu sna	I suvrusheniemu stgo dha... ¹²⁵¹	Jakovshitsa monastery
1601	Izvolenie(m) oca	I pospesheniemu sna	(i) suvrushenie(m) dha... ¹²⁵²	priest Nikola
1602	Izvoleniemu oca	I supospesheniemu sna	suvrushenie(m) stgo dha...¹²⁵³ (monk Evstatii, Etropole monastery
1609	Izvolenie(m) oca	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha... ¹²⁵⁴	(deacon Dragul, Kameno Pole).
1609	Izvolenei(m) oca	I pospeshenie sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo (dha).. ¹²⁵⁵	(grammarian Ioan)
1619	Izvolenie(m) oca	I supospeshenie sna	I suvrushenie(m) dha... ¹²⁵⁶	(grammarian Koyo, monastery Kievo)
1620	Izvolenei(m) oca	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha..¹²⁵⁷	(monk Danail Etropole monastery)
1622	Izvolenie(m) oca	I suvrushenie(m) sna	I supospeshenie(m) stgo dha... ¹²⁵⁸	Etropole monastery
1632, 1639	Izvolenie(m) oca	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha...¹²⁵⁹	(monk Danail, Etropole monastery).
1634	Izvolenie(m) oca	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha... ¹²⁶⁰	(priest Yovko, village of Hadzhar).
1635:	Izvolenie(m) oca	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha... ¹²⁶¹	(deacon Yoan, Etropole monastery).

¹²⁵¹ Hristova, p. 33, National Library, #155 *Menaion*.

¹²⁵² Ibid., p. 35, BAN, Sankt Petersburg, 13.3.5. *Octoechos*.

¹²⁵³ HACL, #485 *Menaion*..

¹²⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 37, National Library #168 *Menaion*..

¹²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 37. BAN Sankt Petersburg, #24.4.29. *Octoechos*,

¹²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 41, Svishtov chitalishte library #9 *Lenten Triodion*.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 41. National Library, #1042 *Prologue*.

¹²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 42. Etropole monastery, *Apostle*.

¹²⁵⁹ HACL, #573 *Octoechos*.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 46, Mount Athos, Hilandar monastery, #360 *Horologion*..

¹²⁶¹ Ibid., p. 47, Vraca Metropoly #1 *Prologue*.

1636	Izvoleniemu oca	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ami(n) ¹²⁶²	Priest Yovko from village of Handzhar
1636	Izvoleniem osa	I pospesheniemu sna	I suvrusheniemu stgo dha ¹²⁶³	Etropole monastery
1637	Izvolenei(m) o(ts)	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha¹²⁶⁴	Raphail, Etropole monastery
1638	Izvolenie(m) otsa	I supospesheniem sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha¹²⁶⁵	Hieromonk Danail, Etropole monastery
1638	+Izvolenie(m) otsa	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha¹²⁶⁶	Hieromonk Danail, Etropole monastery
1638	Izvoleniemu tsa	I pospesheniemu sna	I syvrusheniemu stga dha¹²⁶⁷	Etropole monastery
1639	Izvolenie otsa	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I syvrushenie(m) stgo dha¹²⁶⁸	Hieromonk Raphail, Etropole monastery
1639	Izvolie(m) otsa	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I syvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁶⁹	Priest Yoan, village of Etropole
1640	Izvolenie(m) otsa	I supospeshenie(m) sna	I syvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁷⁰	Monk Kiril, Mount Athos
1640	Izvoleniemu otsa	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I syvrysheniemu stgo dha amin ¹²⁷¹	Nikita, from Etropole
1641	Izvoleniemu otsa	I pospesheniemy sna	I syvrushenie(m) stgo dha¹²⁷²	Etropole monastery

¹²⁶² Plovdiv, Library, #73 *Triodion*.

¹²⁶³ Sofia, National Library, #1044 *Prologue*.

¹²⁶⁴ HACI, #96 *Menaion*.

¹²⁶⁵ HACI, #499 *Triodion*.

¹²⁶⁶ Sofia, National Library #2 *Four Gospels*.

¹²⁶⁷ HACI #107 *Menaion*.

¹²⁶⁸ HACI #92 *Menaion*.

¹²⁶⁹ Svishtov, Chitalishte #10.

¹²⁷⁰ Zograph monastery, Mount Athos, #II b 13.

¹²⁷¹ Sofia, National Library, #1388.

¹²⁷² HACI, #85 *Menaion*.

1641	Izvolenie otsa	I suposhenie sna	I syvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁷³	Hieromonk Raphail, Etropole monastery
1643	Izvolenei(m) otsa	Isypospeshenie(m)) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁷⁴	Hieromonk Danail, Etropole monastery
1644	Izvolenie(m) otsa		I supospesheniemu stgo dha ¹²⁷⁵	Daskal Rasho, Vraca
1644	Izvolenie otsa	I suposhenie(mu) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁷⁶	Teteven
1644	Izvolenie(m) otsa	I (po) speshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁷⁷	Etropole monastery
1646	Zvoleniem otsa	I supospesheniem syjna	I suversheniem svetago dha ¹²⁷⁸	Mount Athos, monk Evtimii
1656	+ Izvolenie(m) otsa	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁷⁹	Priest Yoan, Etropole
1686	+Izvolenie(m) otsa	I pospeshenie(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁸⁰	Grammarian Dushko from Lovech
1686	Izvoleniemu otsa	I supospesheniemu sna	I suvrusheniemu stgo dha ¹²⁸¹	Teacher Nedyalko and his son Philip
First quarter of 17th c.	+Izvolenie(m) otsa	I pospeshenie(m)	I suv(ru)shenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁸²	Metropolitan Seraphim Dobrobosnenski
1713	Blgovoleniemu otsa	Denstvo(m) sna	I suvrushenie(m) stgo dha ¹²⁸³	Monk Kiril, Zograph monastery
1770	Izvoleniemu otsa	I spospesheniemu sna	I soversheniemu stagø dha ¹²⁸⁴	

¹²⁷³ HACI #85 *Menaion*.

¹²⁷⁴ HACI #99 *Menaion*.

¹²⁷⁵ Koprivshtica museum, *Four Gospels*.

¹²⁷⁶ Vraca, Metropolis, #5.

¹²⁷⁷ Sofia, National Library #921.

¹²⁷⁸ Kiev, Ukraine, DAP #371.

¹²⁷⁹ Sofia, National Library #76.

¹²⁸⁰ Rila monastery #2/3.

¹²⁸¹ Sankt Petersburg, BAN #24.4.32

¹²⁸² Sofia, National Library #197.

¹²⁸³ Zograph monastery, Mount Athos, *Psalter* #13.

1765	+Izvoleniamu otsa	I s pospesheniamu sna	I suvrusheniamu stago dha ¹²⁸⁵	Priest Stoiko from Kotel (Sophronii Vrachanski)
1771	Izvoleniam otsa	Spospesheniamu sna	I soversheniamu stago dha¹²⁸⁶	Priest Alexii Popovich, Samokov
1772	Izvoleniamu tosa	Spospesheniamu sna	I soversheniamu stago dha ¹²⁸⁷	Monk Nikiphor Rilski

These data come from the *Belezhki na bulgarskite knizhovnitsi* anthology.

¹²⁸⁴ Rila monastery #1/36.

¹²⁸⁵ Sankt Petersburg, BAN, *Damaskin* #13.5.18.

¹²⁸⁶ HACI #137 *History SlavoBulgarian*.

¹²⁸⁷ Sofia, BAN, *History SlavoBulgarian*, 96.

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