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OHRID LITERARY SCHOOL IN THE PERIOD OF TSAR SAMOIL AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH LITERATURE

By Gjorgi Pop-Atanasov

Gjorgi Pop-Atanasov was born on November 8, 1940, in the village of Eleshnitsa in the Pirin part of Macedonia. He completed his higher education at the Faculty of Theology in Sofia where he graduated in 1967. He earned his master's and doctorate degrees at the Faculty of Philology at the University "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" in Skopje. He works in the field of medieval Macedonian literature. Since 2012, he is a full member of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Abstract

The article is concerned with the role of St. Clement's Church in the preservation and the spread of Cyril and Methodius's literary tradition and Slavic church services. Special emphasis is placed on the work of the Ohrid Literary School in the time of Tsar Samoil and the spread of Slavic literacy from its centers toward Macedonia's neighboring countries and the Kievan Rus.'

It is known that after the death of St. Methodius (April 6, 885) and the failure of the Moravian mission (863-885), the students of the holy brothers, Cyril and Methodius, were expelled from Great Moravia. Some of them, by different roads, came to the South Slavic territory which at the time was part of the medieval Bulgarian state. Among these students of Cyril and Methodius were Sts. Clement, Naum, and Angelarius, who came to the Bulgarian capital, Pliska, toward the end of 885, at a time when medieval Bulgaria was governed by Prince Boris I.

When Cyril and Methodius's students arrived in the Bulgarian capital, after they had been forced to leave Great Moravia due to the fierce persecution by the Latin rite clergy, they found themselves once again in a hostile environment. Taking into account the fact that the Bulgarian

church, which had been founded in 870 AD, was run by a Byzantine church hierarchy led by an archbishop who was a Byzantine by birth, and the services and sermons were performed in the Byzantine Greek language, these newcomers to the Bulgarian capital, that is, Cyril and Methodius's students, were not allowed to worship nor preach in the church sanctuaries in a Slavic language.¹ For this reason and in order to avoid a more serious clash between Cyril and Methodius's students and the Byzantine-Greek hierarchy which governed the Bulgarian church, Prince Boris sent the holy Clement and Naum to a newly conquered territory²—the Kutmicheva area, in the western part of Macedonia, where the church still had neutral status.³ The conditions there were favorable to St. Clement and he, with the support of his companion from the Moravian mission, St. Naum, created an independent church organization which was not dependent either on Rome, or on Constantinople, and even less on the Byzantine Greek hierarchy of the Pliska-Preslav church organization. Unlike Pliska and Preslav, where the official alphabet was the Byzantine Greek and where the services and sermons were performed in the Byzantine Greek language, Cyril's Glagolitic alphabet was the official script in St. Clement's church and the Slavic language was used for services and worship. This written and liturgical tradition continued even after the death of St. Clement, in St. Clement's Church and St. Clement's Ohrid Literary School, which functioned within the church organization founded by St. Clement. That church organization, whose spiritual and canonical heir is today's Macedonian Orthodox Church-Ohrid Archbishopric, will play the role of savior of Cyril and Methodius's work, of Slavic literacy, and the Slavic liturgical tradition. This is especially true of the time when Macedonia was ruled by the Cometopuli dynasty and its most important representative, Tsar

¹ П. Георгиев, *Плиска*. – *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, том 3, София :2003, 154.

² Е. Георгиев, *Люлка на старата и новата българска писменост*, София 1980, 60.

³ И. Добрев, *Кирило-Методиевите ученици през първите години след пристигането им в България (886–893)*. (София: Изследвания по Кирило-Методиевистика, 1985), 145.

Samoil, when Slavic literacy and Slavic services had spread from Macedonia to several of its neighboring countries and in Kievan Rus.’

During the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries, many literary scholars worked at the literary centers of the Ohrid Literary School. They were direct students of Clement and Naum, or students of their students. That period of about 100 years (916-1018) saw the creation of numerous literary works, which at the beginning were written mostly in the Glagolitic script, but later, concurrently to the Glagolitic ones, Cyrillic script church books were also written. These considerations are supported by the fact that out of the ten oldest Cyrillic manuscripts created during the tenth century, eight are linked to the literary activity within the Ohrid St.Clement’s School. The predating of these oldest Cyrillic manuscripts and their localization was made, near the end of his life, by the prominent paleoslavist, Prof. Vladimir Moshin,⁴ who, besides the Macedonian Cyrillic fragments (Novgorod Fragments, Hilandar Folios, Undol’skij’s Fragments, Resen Fragment of Triodion, Macedonian Cyrillic Folio, and Zographos Fragments) also added to the manuscripts created by the circle of the Ohrid School the Codex Suprasliensis and Sava’s book, which in Slavic scholarship were traditionally linked with the Preslav Literary Centre. According to Moshin, only two of the oldest Cyrillic manuscripts (created during the tenth century) have a non-Macedonian provenience—the Bulgarian Enina Apostle and the Russian Sluck Psalter—which was copied from a South Slavic antigraph, most likely, connected to the Ohrid Literary School.

The issue related to the predating of the Codex Suprasliensis from the eleventh to the tenth centuries was proposed by the German paleoslavist Alfons Margulies back in 1927. On the basis of Margulies’ precise argumentation grounded on a detailed paleographic and orthographic

⁴ See: Вл. Мошин, “Древнейшие кирилловские рукописи” In *Избранные дела*, книга деветта, (Скопје: Менора, 2011), 7-88.

linguistic analysis of the manuscript, as well as on his own knowledge during the study of this ancient Slavic manuscript, Moshin dated the Codex Suprasliensis more accurately, placing its creation in the period of Tsar Samoil, toward the end of the tenth or in the beginning of the eleventh centuries.⁵

According to Moshin, the Codex Suprasliensis was written in Macedonia based on a Preslav protograph which is indicated by some linguistic peculiarities of the manuscript—mix of **Ѣ** and **Ѧ**, replacement of the yers semivowels with **Ѧ** and **Ѧ** and etc.⁶ In that sense, the parallelism during the use of certain diacritics is especially indicative, for example, dots and arcs (apostrophes) for designation of iotation which is explained by the fact that a mix of the Ohrid and Preslav prosodic system occurred in this Macedonian transcription of the redacted Preslav Menologion.⁷

This thesis of Moshin is also supported by the various layers in the language of the manuscript,⁸ as well as the opinion of other authors that the composition of the Codex Suprasliensis reflects several phases of the development of the Slavic codices from the Morava mission of the holy Cyril and Methodius until the end of the tenth century.⁹

As it is already known, the Suprasl Orthodox Monastery where this Old Slavonic manuscript was found was established in 1498 by Aleksander Chodkiewicz, and most of the monks living there had come from the Kievan monasteries.¹⁰ On the other hand, there are findings that the manuscript was already in Russia in the thirteenth century and that it was kept in the library of

⁵ Вл. Мошин, *Палеографски албум на јужнословенското кирилско писмо*, (Скопје: 1966), 8.

⁶ Вл. Мошин, “Македонско јеванђеље X века и проблем ревизије правописног и палеографског критерија најстаријих старословенских рукописа.” In: *Избрани дела*, книга втора, (Скопје: Менора, 2003), 40.

⁷ Вл. Мошин, “Древнейшие кирилловские рукописи,” 40.

⁸ Елка Мирчева, “Codex suprasliensis и bibliotheca hagiographica balcano-slavica (некоторые размышления относительно состава одной из древнейших рукописей)” *Преоткриване: Супрасълски сборник, старобългарски паметник от X век*, (София: 2012), 26.

⁹ Анисава Милтенова, “За един предполагаем източник на Супрасълски сборник,” *Преоткриване: Супрасълски сборник...*, 159.

¹⁰ Антоний Миронович, “Библиотека Супрасълского монастыря в XVI веке”. – *Преоткриване: Супрасълски сборник...*, 309.

the Suprasl Orthodox Monastery even before 1532, which leads us to think that it is very possible that the manuscript had been brought to the monastery by Kievan Russian monks, that it had been transported from Macedonia to Russia along with other Slavic manuscripts, among which was also the Tsar Samoil's Gospel, whose remains are the Novgorod Fragments.¹¹

In Sava's Book, there is systematic usage of the superscript period to indicate iotation above non-iotated vowels, which is a characteristic of the Ohrid Literary School from the tenth century.¹² Regarding this, Moshin emphasizes: "При этом, числовое соотношение указывает на основную традицию охридско-македонскую систему с употреблением точки для обозначения йотации гласных и палатализации нескольких согласных, которые должны было бы выговариваться мягко (что отразилось и в Новг. л.), тогда как апострофы или луки повёрнутые вправо или влево характерны для Преславской школы."¹³ It is interesting that even I. Sreznevsky, the man who discovered Sava's Book, in the introductory article to his paper "Древние славянские памятники юсового письма" says that this manuscript, along with the Codex Suprasliensis, the Hilandar Folios, the Undol'skij's Fragments, and the Macedonian Cyrillic Folio, according to the terminology of that time, belongs to the Southwestern literary texts,¹⁴ i.e., to the literary works of the Ohrid Literary School.

As to the Glagolitic literary heritage from the tenth to the eleventh centuries, we have to conclude that, with the exception of the Kiev Folios from the tenth century, and the Prague Fragments from the eleventh century, all the other Glagolitic literary works from that period are connected to the Ohrid Literary School.¹⁵ In addition, the creation of almost all the Macedonian

¹¹ In the article quoted in this paper titled "Древнейшие кирилловские рукописи" Moshin defines Sava's Book as "македонское апракосное евангелие, почти идентичное с русским Остромировым евангелием, ещё более с его македонским оригиналом, остатком которого являются Новгородские листки."

¹² Ibid., 39.

¹³ Ibid., 32.

¹⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹⁵ The Macedonian Palimpsest texts: the Boyana Palimpsest, the Sinai Palimpsest, the Zograph Palimpsest and

Glagolitic manuscripts from that period is placed at the end of the tenth or at the beginning of the eleventh centuries, i.e., in the period of Tsar Samoil. According to the previous scholarly insights, the Codex Assemanius, the Zograph Gospel, the Euchologium Sinaiticum, the Psalterium Sinaiticum, the Glagolita Clozianus and the Sinai Missal were written in the literary centers of the Ohrid Literary School during the time of Samoil. With the exception of the Glagolita Clozianus, from which only 14 sheets (out of generally about 500) are preserved, they all represent manuscript codices and are used for various literary and linguistic research. In the paleoslavistic scientific literature, only the Dimitri's Psalter and the Sinai small Menaion are placed in the eleventh to the twelfth centuries, while the writing of the Ohrid Folios and the Macedonian Glagolitic Folios is placed in the eleventh century, without a precise estimate of the time of their creation. Taking into account that the Ohrid Folios were written by one of the writers of the Psalterium Sinaiticum,¹⁶ which was created toward the end of the tenth century, it is very probable that the Ohrid Glagolitic Folios were also created in that same period. It is not out of the question that the Macedonian Glagolitic Folios were created in that period as well, especially if we take into account that they have the first Slavic translation of the Miscellany of Ascetic Homilies of St. Ephrem the Syrian as their base. This translation, known under the name Parenesis, was created toward the end of the tenth century¹⁷, i.e., at the time of Tsar Samoil. This Macedonian Glagolitic fragment, also known in science under the name, Rila Glagolitic Folios, was found in the binding of the Adrianti Miscellany which was written by Vladislav the Grammarian in 1473 in the Macedonian monastery Matejche, “където явно паметникът е бил и подвързан. Няма данни за преподвързването на ръкописа в Рилския манастир, където да са

the Leningrad Palimpsest are not included here. They usually date from the second half of the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century.

¹⁶ *Старобългарска литература, Енциклопедичен речник*. Второ пре-ра-ботено и допълнено издание, (Велико Търново, 2013), 341.

¹⁷ Хр. Кодов, Ефрем Сирий. – *Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*, том I, (София, 1985), 679.

били поставени глаголическите листове. Освен това в последно време върху ленинградската част от фрагментите бяха открити интересни музикални бележки, по палеографски белези идентифицирани с кръга книжовници, сред които е работил Владислав Граматик в Жеглигово. Самите палеографски и езикови белези на Рилските глаголически листове ги свързват по-скоро с паметниците възникнали в по-югозападните български краища.”¹⁸

Taking into account the fact that the majority of the oldest preserved Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts were written during the last three decades of the tenth century and the first two decades of the eleventh century, when Macedonia was ruled by the Cometopuli Dynasty, we can conclude that in that period of almost half a century (970-1018), the literary centers of the Ohrid Literary School were characterized by rich literary activity. In addition, apart from writing religious books and didactical books which were necessary for the normal continuation of religious life in Macedonia, original literature works were also written, as well as new translations of literary works from the Byzantine church literature. Actually, in the period of Tsar Samoil, the Ohrid Spiritual-Literary School was the only active center of Slavic literacy, and the Ohrid Patriarchate was the only church organization of the Orthodox Slavs. Thus, in 976, after the death of the Byzantine emperor, John Tzimiskes, the Macedonian emperor, Samoil, conquered Bulgaria, and Tsar Samoil's Macedonia expanded its territory to the Lower Danube and became a neighbor of the Kievan Rus.' That made the communication between the two states easier and created opportunities for the future church and cultural influence of the Ohrid Patriarchate and Ohrid Spiritual-Literary School on the complete Christianization of the Russian state and people.

¹⁸ Божидар Райков, Боряна Христова, “Нови данни и резултати от проучването на славянската ръкописна сбирка на Рилския манастир.” - *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, книга 3, (София, 1986), 131-132.

Today, it is impossible with valid scientific arguments to deny the fact the Christianization of the Kievan Rus' and the baptism of the Russians in 988 was an act of Tsar Samoил's Macedonia and the Ohrid Patriarchate. Tsar Samoил had sent bishops, priests, and deacons from Macedonia to Russia, as well as suitable church books, by which the foundations of the Russian Orthodox Church were laid; a church with its own church hierarchy, Orthodox liturgies, and Slavic literacy. Taking this into account, M. Speransky explicitly emphasizes that in the early period of the Christianization of Russia, the influence from Macedonia was "найболее существенным,"¹⁹ while M.G. Popruzhenko calls the Ohrid Patriarchate the "pillar of Orthodox Russia."²⁰ The strong relations between Macedonia and Russia at the state and church level are shown by the fact that the first Metropolitan of Kiev, Michael, came from the hierarchy of the Ohrid Patriarchate,²¹ as well as the fact that Prince Vladimir the Baptizer became related to Tsar Samoил by his marriage with Princess Anna of Ohrid,²² whose sons. Boris and Gleb (when they were baptized they were renamed Roman and David), would die like martyrs and be canonized as the first Russian saints.

The fact that categorically speaks in favor of the South Slavic origin of Russian literacy and church literature is that all the oldest Russian literary works created during the eleventh century contain clear linguistic and other characteristics which point to the fact that their writing was based on South Slavic antigraphs, which in most cases are related to the Ohrid Literary School. In that respect, an especially important contribution was given by Prof. Vladimir Moshin with his

¹⁹ М. Сперанский, "Откуда идут старейшие памятники русској письменности и литературы?" *"Slavia"*, VII (1928), кн. 3, 530.

²⁰ Иван Богданов, *Кратка история на българската литература в две части. Част I. Стара българска литература и литература на възрождането*, (София: 1969), 117.

²¹ Куйо М. Кувев, *Съдбата на старобългарската ръкописна книга през вековете*. Второ преработено и допълнено издание, (София: 1986), 15, 29.

²² М. Н. Тихомиров, *Исторические связи России со славянскими странами и Византией*, (Москва: 1969), 123; Сп. П. Димитров, "Владимир Покръстител и княгиня Ана". *Годишник на СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“*. (Научен център за славяновизантийски проучвания „Иван Дуйчев“, т. 83 (3), 1989), 49-83.

discovery that the Novgorod Fragments were remains of Tsar Samuil's Gospel Codex sent by the Macedonian ruler to Russia in 991, as well as that the oldest dated Russian manuscript, the Ostromir Gospel, from 1056-1057, is a transcription of Tsar Samoil's Macedonian Gospel. Prof. Moshin presented a detailed elaboration of his discovery in his paper at the Nineteenth Congress of Slavistic Societies in Yugoslavia, held in Struga, October 6-10, 1982, under the title "Новгородски листићи - остатак македонског царског јеванђеља, посланог у Русију 991 године." This paper, in its extended form and under a changed title (because of the editor's intervention) was published in the journal "Archeographic Contributions"²³ in Belgrade.

Prof. Moshin's discovery caused great interest in the foreign Slavistic circles, especially in Russia. He was invited by the Russian slavists to hold a series of lectures about his discovery in several Russian scientific institutions, which he did despite his advanced age: he held lectures at the Slavistic Institute in Moscow, the Institute of Russian Literature within the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, and in other scientific and cultural-educational institutions.

The fact that we can find some translations of Byzantine literary works created within the Ohrid Literary School in Russian transcriptions from the eleventh century is also very indicative of this. That is, for example, the case with the commentaries of Pseudo-Athanasius of Alexandria,²⁴ which were translated in the tenth or eleventh centuries within the Ohrid Literary School and are preserved in the oldest Russian psalters with commentaries—the Eugene's Psalter from the eleventh century and the Tolstoy Psalter from the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth centuries, as well as the Macedonian Psalters from the thirteenth century,²⁵ the

²³ Вл. Мошин, "Новгородски листићи и Остромирово јеванђеље." – *Археографски прилози*, 5, 1983, 7-64.

²⁴ Concerning the commentaries of Hesychius of Jerusalem, which are wrongfully attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria.

²⁵ In the article quoted in this paper titled "Древнейшие кирилловские рукописи" Moshin defines Sava's Book as "македонское апракосное евангелие, почти идентичное с русским Остромировым евангелием, ещё более с

Bologna and Pogodin Psalters. Their text closely follows the oldest Glagolitic psalter from Sinai—the Psalterium Sinaiticum, which was written at the literary center of the Ohrid Literary School in the period of Tsar Samoil and is based on the early translation of the Psalter by Cyril and Methodius. On Macedonian territory, the commentaries of Pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria were added to this first Slavic translation of the Psalter. We should also make a note of the fact that even M. Speransky emphasizes that the Psalter with commentaries was brought to Russia from Macedonia, which is also substantiated by the Macedonian linguistic characteristics in the aforementioned oldest Russian psalters with commentaries.²⁶

The creation of the patristic anthology known as “Limonarij,” which includes selected texts from the Florilegium Sinaiticus and where Bogomil tendencies can be felt, is also connected with the Ohrid Literary School and the period of Tsar Samoil. This anthology was already disseminated in Russia in the eleventh century.²⁷ The fact that a large part of the literary works of the Byzantine religious writers came to Russia in South Slavic translation is also acknowledged by the eminent Russian theologian and literary historian, V.M. Ustrin.²⁸

These insights are also confirmed by the latest linguistic and textological analyses of two Russian literary works from the eleventh century—the Putyatin Menaion (Menaion for May), and the so-called Ilin’s Book, a liturgical anthology which contains festive services for the first half of the church year (September - February).

The paleographic-orthographic, linguistic and textological particularities of these Old Russian manuscripts point to their connection with the literary tradition in the Ohrid Literary School. The Russian paleoslavist, K. A. Maksimovich, relying on his thorough analysis of the

его македонским оригиналом, остатком которого являются Новгородские листки.“

²⁶ М. Сперанский, “Откуда идут старейшие памятники русской письменности и литературы,” 530.

²⁷ Св. Николова, Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература, София, 1980, 22.

²⁸ В. М. Истрин, *Очерки истории древнерусской литературы, домонгольского периода, XI- XIII в.*, (Ленинград, 1922), 14.

Putyatin Menaion, came to the conclusion that the translation of the Menaion for May was most likely made in the circle of the Ohrid Literary School. According to him, the Menaion for May, which was translated toward the end of the ninth century, in the following several decades, was subject to additional corrections and adjustments in accordance with the various versions of the Byzantine original.²⁹ On the other hand, the so-called Ilin's Book, in addition to the translated liturgical texts, contains original Slavic literary works (the Canon of Saint Demetrios of Thessaloniki, the alphabetical hymns for the Nativity of Christ, the Canon and alphabetical hymns for St. Cyril of Thessaloniki, the troparia from the composition of the Canon of the Assumption of the Virgin from Clement of Ohrid, the Canon and alphabetical hymns dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel), as well as specific "beatific" stanzas for festive liturgies, which connect this anthology with the liturgical tradition in Thessaloniki and Ohrid. According to A. Pentkovsky, the texts that are contained within this Russian manuscript first came into being on Russian soil in the early period of the development of liturgical service in the Russian Church. This period is characterized not only by the existence of literary connections but also by relations between the churches in Ohrid and Kiev.³⁰

Some of the Russian manuscripts from the eleventh century have traces of the Glagolitic written tradition (Eugene's Psalter, the Panegyric of Gregory the Theologian, the Pandects of Antiochus, etc.), which was a characteristic of the Ohrid Literary School, in contrast to the Preslav Literary Center where exclusively Cyrillic texts were written. In other Russian manuscripts from the same period, there are traces of Macedonian paleographic and orthographic characteristics (the Chudovo Psalter and the Kontakion Sticheron from the collection of the

²⁹ К. А. Максимович, "Служебная майская минея как памятник древнеболгарского книжного языка (К новейшему изданию Путятиной минеи XI века)." – *Славяноведение*, 2003, 6, 69-70.

³⁰ А. М. Пентковский, "Анонимный славянский канон архангелу Михаилу: атрибуция, локализация, датировка." – *1100 years since the death of Saint Naum of Ohrid, Collection of papers from the International Scientific Symposium*, Ohrid, October 3-5, 2010, Ohrid 2011, 103-104.

Synodal Library),³¹ or the remains of words of Macedonian origin in the language (the Eugene's and the Tolstoy Psalter),³² etc.

It is assumed that not only were Macedonian Glagolitic antigraphs used in the earliest period of the development of the Russian written tradition but there was also usage of the Glagolitic script.³³ That the Glagolitic alphabet was known for a long time in the Russian ecclesiastical circles is confirmed by the fact that it had been used until the fourteenth century in Russia for cryptographic purposes.

The fact that the literary works of St. Clement are preserved mainly in Russian transcripts, some of which are found in exceptionally archaic Russian codices, also speaks in favor of the mass movement of literary works from Ohrid to Kiev. For example, the Russian parchment Chrysostom³⁴ of the twelfth century (RNB F. I.46) contains six of Clement's didactic homilies and homilies of praise (homilies of praise for Palm Sunday, for the Holy Prophet Elijah, for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, for the Holy Trinity and for the Raising of Lazarus, and the Didactic Homily for Easter), the Troitsky Panegyric from the twelfth century (RNB f. 304/12) contains five of Clement's didactic homilies (the Template Didactic Homily "Didactic Homily for the Holidays," the Didactic Homily for the Holy Trinity, the Didactic Homily before the Eucharist, the Didactic Homily for Sunday, and the General Didactic Homily for Apostle or Martyr), and the Uspensky Miscellany from the twelfth century (GIM, Usp. 4) contains the oldest transcript of the Vast Hagiography of St. Methodius, etc. A large part of the hymnographical works of St. Clement is preserved in Russian transcriptions.

Some recent research suggests that not only were clerics and books sent during the time of

³¹ Вл. Мошин, "Македонско јеванђеље X века," 42.

³² Вл. Мошин, "О периодизацији руско-јужнословенских књижевних веза." – *Slovo*, 11-12, Zagreb, 1962, 53.

³³ В. М. Живов, "Slavia Christiana и историкокултурни контекст Сказания о русской грамоте." – *Из истории русской культуры, т. I, Древняя Русь*, (Москва 2000), 575.

³⁴ In the three-volume edition of the *Collected Works of St. Clement of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences* is named differently: Златоуст, Златоструј and „Тържественник“.

Tsar Samuil from Ohrid to the Kievan Rus,' but also literary scholars and master-builders. Of course, that is quite acceptable and logical, because the newly established Russian church needed cadres from all the domains of church life: it was necessary for someone not only to bring church books, but also to teach the Russians how to use the them in church liturgy; scriptoriums were formed, in which the experienced literary scholars from the Ohrid Literary School taught the new Russian grammarians how to write, ornament, shape and bind the necessary church books, while the Macedonian master-builders, by building the first Russian church temples, created new native workers from this profession for the needs of the newly founded Russian church.

In her essay titled "К вопросу о македонской переводческой традиции на Руси," Anna Pichhaze, studying the language of the Novgorod menaions from the end of the eleventh century, found that there were no Russianisms in them, and she put forward the supposition that they were translated (or written) in Russia by Macedonian literary scholars.³⁵ On the other hand, Oleg Ioannisiyan in his article, "Крещение Руси начало монументального строительства. К вопросу об истоках: Константинополь или Балканы?" introduces us to the latest archaeological research of the Church of the Tithe³⁶ in Kiev, built around 889 by Vladimir the Baptizer. In addition, he concluded that experienced master-builders were needed for the construction of a monumental temple such as the Church of the Tithe, which at the time could not be found in Russia. Concerning this, he posed the question about the place of origin of those master-builders. Because the latest archaeological research on the Church of the Tithe has shown that it was of a basilical type, which had not been built in the Byzantine Empire for a long time, while the tradition for building basilicas was still alive at the time in the territories of the Southern Slavs,

³⁵ Искра Христова-Шомова, "Кръгла маса „Западна България и източните славяни“. - *Старобългаристика*, XXXII (2008), 2, 127.

³⁶ In this church Vladimir the Baptizer transferred the remains of his grandmother Olga. His wife Princess Anna, the mother of St. Boris and Gleb, as well as the Prince Vladimir, were buried there. It is called Church of the Tithe because for its support one tenth of the incomes of the prince's family were set aside.

he points to the possibility that the master-builders who built the Church of the Tithe had come from the Slavic South, from the Balkans.³⁷

It is not out of the question that after the fall of Samoil's empire under Byzantine rule in 1018, when the Byzantine ecclesiastical authorities destroyed the Slavic church books under the pretense that they contained heretical Bogomil texts, some of the Macedonian literary scholars left with their Slavonic books for Russia where they continued their literary activity. Others, of course, left for Mount Athos, and from there to Palestine and Sinai, which also explains the fact that the oldest Macedonian Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts have been found outside of Macedonia, in the monasteries of Mt. Athos, the Sinai monastery "St. Catherine" and the Holy Land.

³⁷ Христова-Шомова, Цит. Д., 129.