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LEARNING IN SLAVIA ORTHODOXA: EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY AND CONCEPTS OF EDUCATION IN THE FIRST BULGARIAN KINGDOM

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Learning in Slavia Orthodoxa: Educational Activity and
Concepts of Education in the First Bulgarian Kingdom

by

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(Bulgaria)

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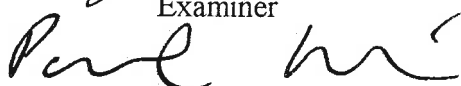
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Contents

INTRODUCTION

Education as a part of medieval cultural activity has received much attention from historians, literary critics, and anthropologists.[1] Investigation of literacy has been placed in the center of social studies as an indicator of both stability and change. The educational process has been examined usually through the constituents of literacy: learning, writing, and reading. From the scholarly point of view, it became important to place the uses and functions of literacy into different historical and intellectual contexts. Consequently, focusing on education as a particular social and individual activity gained validity as a way to survey cultural *ideologemas* in the Middle Ages.

In light of the current research, the present study focuses on the problem of the educational process in a particular place and time - the First Bulgarian Kingdom between the ninth and the tenth centuries.[2] Such an investigation has not been undertaken before despite statements about its necessity.[3] This lack in the research is due to various reasons but mainly to the deficiency of primary sources about educational activity and concepts in

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[1]There are studies on Western and Eastern education and the importance of Greek and Roman heritage in this respect has been underlined: Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); Pierre Richè, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West: From the Sixth Through the Eight Centuries* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1978); Rosamund McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Ibid., ed., *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); James Murray, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977); for the Greek education: Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia.*(Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961); for the Byzantine education: Paul Lemerle, *Le premier byzantin: notes et remarques sur ensignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris: Presses universiatires de France, 1971); and the most recent study of Nigel Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London-Cambridge, MA: Gerald Duckworth&Co., 1996).

[2]The study limits itself geographically and chronologically because of the amount of material it uses varying in themes, genres, and functions.

[3]See Elena Velkovska, "Traktăt na Georgi Xirovosk *Za tropite,* negovijat slavjanski prevod i vizantijskata ritoričeska tradicija" (The treatise of George Choeroboscus *Περί τρόπων,* its translation in Slavonic, and the Byzantine rhetorical tradition) *Starobălgarska literatura* 19 (1985), 89.

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Bulgaria.[4] Moreover, working with later copies of the original ninth-tenth century writings reveals the general textological problem of relationships between the archetype and its copies.[5] Therefore, any examination of a given period on the basis of texts preserved in later copies should aim at only an approximate reconstruction of educational practices and a relative explication of educational concepts.[6]

Although there is a variety and a generous quantity of literary sources at hand, they do not provide enough specific information about the aspects of educational practice and ideas in medieval Bulgaria. Furthermore, the lack of grammars, handbooks, manuals for learning, and the absence of direct indications about the educational process itself necessitates a scholarly approach, different from that applied to the investigation of

[4]Particular studies connected with the philological knowledge of the Slavs in this period do exist but they are focusing rather on a single aspect of education than on perceiving it as a whole, see Bonju Angelov, "Za tri săčinenija v Simeonovite sbornici" (About three writings in Tsar Symeon's miscellanies). *Starobălgarska literatura* 5 (1979): 10-37; Ivan Bujukliev, "Bălgarskijat prevod na Περι τροπων (O obrazjax) ot Georgi Xirovosk" (The Bulgarian translation of George Choeroboscus' Περὶ τρόπων), in *Ezikovata kultura na bălgarskoto Srednovekovie* (The linguistic culture of the Bulgarian Middle Ages) (Sofia:Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 1992); idem., "Lingvistični aspekti v Prologa na Ioan Ekzarx kăm prevoda mu na časti ot Bogoslovie na Ioan Damaskin" (Linguistic aspects of the Prologue of John the Exarch to the John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa*) In *Sbornik 1080 godini ot smărtta na sv. Naum Oxridski,* 161-72. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN), 1993; Klimentina Ivanova, *V načaloto be Knigata* (In the beginning there was the Book) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1983); Kalin Janakiev, "Srednovekovnata kniga kato dom na Slovoto" (The medieval book as a home for the Logos), *Filosofski pregled* 3 (1991): 92-101; Kuju Kuev, *Sădbata na bălgarskite răkopisi prez vekovete* (The fate of the Bulgarian manuscripts) (Sofia: Bălgarski pisatel, 1979); Georgi Čavrăkov, *Središta na bălgarskata knižovnost: 9th-18th vek* (Centres of the Bulgarian booklearning: 9th-18th centuries) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1987); B.N.Florja, ed., *Skazanija o načale slavjanskoj pismennosti* (Narratives for the beginning of the Slavic literacy) (Moscow: Nauka, 1981); Klaus Steinke, "Die grammatischen Traktate der Slavia Orthodoxa (Zur Entwicklung der slavischen Philologie)," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik,* 42.2 (1997): 184-191; Ihor Ševčenko, "Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," *Slavonic and East European Review* 59 (1981): 321-45.

[5]An example of textological methods on Slavonic texts can be seen in William Veder, "Linguistic Problems in the Transmission of O Pismenexъ. The Paradosis of Text Family α," *Slavica Gandensia* 23 (1996): 7-29. The chosen method in this study is a work with the text in critical edition wherever it is available; if it is not, the oldest copy of the text has been chosen. See about the textological process in the book of William Veder: *Utrum in altrum erat?A Study of the Beginnings of Text Transmission in Church Slavic. The Prologue to Gospel Homiliary by Constantine of Preslav, the text On the Script and the treatise On the Letters by Anonymous Authors* (forthcoming).

[6]The innovation of this approach is in the use of these different types of sources which reflect different sides of educational practice and ideas together.

Western or Byzantine education. For that reason, the efforts of this study will be directed at juxtaposing different sources such as explicit examples (i.e., in hagiographic sources) and implicit ones which can be derived from the cultural remnants produced by educational activity (i.e., graffito-inscriptions).

The specific problem of the educational practice and concepts will be marked off from the problem of creating and transmitting texts, a topic too wide in its scope. Therefore, the general approach in this thesis stems from the situation of having no direct evidence for the educational process of Orthodox Slavs in the ninth and the tenth centuries in Bulgaria. Consequently, the specific rubrics which usually structure the study of Western education such as "education of the laity," "education of the clergy," "monastic education," "university education," are not as relevant in this case because of the lack of direct writings on educational practice, theory, and system. Instead, an investigation concerning models of acquiring and utilizing literacy, and a general representation of its theoretical concepts will structure this study. More specifically, the organization of the thesis will be guided by an interpretation of educational practices in their particular representation as learning, reading, and writing activities, and of the educational concepts of Slavonic Bookmen implied in their literary works. Furthermore, this two-sided approach to education will be contextualized within the historical framework of the First Bulgarian Kingdom, and the possible cultural influence of Byzantine education will be examined as well.

The selection of sources from the bulk of the literature of this period was determined first, by taking into consideration those works which are generally known to give information about educational practices in the form of learning letters, reading books,

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teaching (training) students: hagiographic works, monastic *Typika, abecedaria,* such findings as *styla* and writing tablets; second, by assuming that certain sources which do not contain direct information can refer in one way or another to some type of educational activity: alphabetical acrostics, discourses on reading, *erotapokriseis,* and *florilegia;* and third, by reading the earliest grammatical works of Slavia Orthodoxa[7] to glean knowledge about the perception of literacy in the Bulgarian milieu of the ninth and the tenth centuries.[8]

This analysis of the sources will not only attempt to derive data about education but also to look at their possible applicability in Bulgarian society: who must have felt the need to read these particular works and to copy them?

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[7]These works are a grammatical fragment from the ninth-tenth century, known as Macedonian Cyrillic Folium, О писменехъ үрънорицца храбра (Černorizec Xrabr' Treatise *On the Letters*), Прологъ сътворенъ иѡаномь прозвүтерьмь ексархомь българьскомь (John the Exarch' Prologue to John of Damascus Ἔκθεσις ἀκριβὴς τῆ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως), Георгиіа хоүровьска о ѡбразѣхъ (George Choeroboscus' Treatise *On the Figures*). The definition "grammatical" is perceived here, in these works, in a wider sense, not merely in terms of description of grammatical categories.
[8]Some attempts in this respect do exist, for example, in the book of Ivan Bujukliev, *Ezikovata kultura na bălgarskoto Srednovekovie* (The linguistic culture of the Bulgarian Middle Ages) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 1992), but not as a consistent method. However, the recent article of Klaus Steinke on these problems declares that "..den ortodoxen Slawen keine so klar geregelte und fundierte philologische Ausbildung wie in Byzanz oder im Bereich der Westkirche, sondern meist nur einen Elementarunterricht in Lesen und Schreiben gibt.", Steinke, "Die grammatischen Traktate," 190.

CHAPTER I

Political and Cultural Activity in the First Bulgarian Kingdom: A Brief Overview

The period between the ninth and the tenth century is a period of social and cultural transition for the Bulgarian Kingdom.[9] Hence, this brief overview will give a general idea about the dynamics of the events without trying to interpret these events extensively. In other words, the chapter aims to respond reader's expectations about the main points of the study and to orientate him in the problematics of the researched field.

The ninth century is a turning point in Bulgarian history.[10] The act of conversion of the Bulgarians to Christianity in 865 and the consequent gradual promotion of Old Church Slavonic as the language of the state and the Church, brought the Byzantine Christian cultural achievements.[11] Sheltered within the political orbit of the Byzantine Empire from its foundation in 681, Bulgaria had already established its state institutions by the ninth

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[9]The problem of Byzantine influence in all spheres in Bulgarian society, especially after the official conversion have been discussed elaborately by Bulgarian and foreign scholars: Ivan Dujčev, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, G. Bakalov, I. Božilov, the literary relations have been object of the studies of Al. Milev, I. Bujukliev, Kl. Ivanova, A. Miltenova, E. Velkovska. The foreign scholars such as H. Birnbaum, I. Ševčenko, Fr. Thomson are one of the contributors to this approach as well. These scholars considered particular aspects of the problem without providing an overall view on the topic. This is to be found in the book of Richard Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontiers* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), although some of his ideas are not supported by source material.

[10]The reconstruction of the historical situation in Bulgaria in the ninth and the tenth centuries relies predominantly on Byzantine chronicles and hagiographic works: Bulgarian sources are mostly translations and compilations from Greek sources; original Slavonic works (hagiographic, apocryphal, marginal notes in the manuscripts) did exist, not in original but most often in later copies.

[11]Bulgaria was probably acquainted with Greek (pagan) culture through Byzantium despite the fact that this culture was introduced through Christian models and interpretation. As for the remnants from the Greek and Roman culture at the Balkans, the way Bulgarians could perceive them must have been through

century. Some of them, as the office of the emperor, for example, were created after Byzantine models not because of a lack of creativity but rather because of an ambition to challenge these models.[12]

The act of conversion used to be presented as a significant shift in the mentality and in ~~an~~ everyday life of the Bulgarians.[13] Indeed, with this act the political and cultural *in the* consolidation of Bulgars and Slavs came to be established on the basis of common territory and religion. Prior to the process of Christianization, Greek had functioned as the official language of the State.[14] With the final recognition of the Bulgarian Church as autonomous at the Council of Constantinople in 870, Greek became also the language of the Church.[15]

In the second half of the ninth century, two Byzantine missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, created the Glagolitic alphabet, and undertook teaching activities in Great

remnants of local beliefs, cults, and sanctuaries mixed later on with Christian ones, and through the orally transmitted collective memory of the autochtonous inhabitans, the Thracians.

[12]The recent study of Georgi Bakalov, *Srednovekovnijat bălgarski vladetel* (The medieval Bulgarian ruler) (Sofia: Anubis, 1995) provides diachronical and synchronical analysis of the royal title.

[13]A source which has recorded to certain extent this change is *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum.* PL 119, cols. 978-1016. It has to be mentioned, though, that some cases of converted people, probably Slavs, did exist before the official conversion, and despite the persecution of Christians under Khan Omurtag (814-31), see John N.A. Fine, Jr., *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (n.p.: The University of Michigan Press, 1983), 107-8. The conversion was viewed as a fruit of the efforts of both the Greek Church and the Bulgarian ruler, Khan Boris; it was preceded by an intricate rivalry between the Roman and the Greek Church realised that conversion was an opportunity to extend their influence over a "barbarian people." See Henry Mayr-Harting, *Two Conversions to Christianity: The Bulgarians and the Anglo-Saxons* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Vasil Gjuzelev, *The Adoption of Christianity in Bulgaria* (Sofia: Sofia-Press, 1976); Richard Sullivan, "Khan Boris and the Conversion of Bulgaria: A Case Study of the Impact of Christianity on a Barbarian Society," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (1966): 55-139. A general overview as well as specific details from the history of conversion is the book of Vasil Zlatarski, *Istorija na Bălgarskata dăržava prez srednite vekove* (The History of the Bulgarian Empire in the Middle Ages), vol. 2 (Sofia: Dăržavna pečatnica, 1927; reprint, Sofia: Akademično izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov," 1994).

[14]Until the introduction of Old Church Slavonic in Bulgaria in around 885, Greek was the official language of administration and was used also for transcribing the language of Proto Bulgarians (Bulgars), see Veselin Beševliev, *Părvobălgarski nadpisi* (ProtoBulgarian Inscriptions) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1992). This fact is of great importance for bilingualism in Bulgaria after the promotion of a new language (Old Church Slavonic), comprehensible for most of the people.

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Moravia and Pannonia upon the request of Prince Rostislav.[16] Their disciples, Clement and

Naum, after their expulsion from Moravia, came to Bulgaria in 885, carrying with them

the new Slavonic alphabet and Slavonic books translated from Greek. Having heard of

them, Prince Boris (852-89) invited Clement and Naum in Pliska and asked them to

initiate missionary work among Balkan Slavs.[17] This missionary work and the translation

activity most probably undermined and hindered the Greek language from playing the main

role in the social and religious life of Bulgarians.[18] The region of Clement's teaching

activity was Kutmičevica, to the south-west of Lake Oxrid. He received three houses in

Devol as a gift from Prince Boris and stayed there probably until 893, when Tsar Symeon

elevated him to be bishop of Δρεμβίτζα. Thanks to his teaching and preaching activities,

Northern and Central Macedonia, with its historical center of Oxrid, became a focus of

Slavo-Byzantine culture.[19] After his new appointment, Clement's previous work in

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[15]See Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 204-5.

[16]The data about the activity of the Slavic apostles are preserved in Slavonic sources, the most important of which are the two *Vitae Constantini and Methodii*, as well as in Latin sources (papal and bishop's letters, *Italian Legend*). The new alphabet and the translated Bible, brought by the disciples of Cyril and Methodius, became for Bulgarians the first and necessary stage for development of literacy in comprehensive language and for foundation of certain educational principles.

[17]The data about teaching activity of Clement and Naum in the Western parts of Bulgaria are deduced from the Greek *Vita Clementis* (*Legenda Bulgarica*) by archbishop Theophylact of Oxrid (c.1085-1109), written probably c.1100, and the Greek with Slavonic translation *Vita Clementis* (*Legenda Achrida*) by archbishop Demetrius Chomatianos (c.1216-1235). There are also two Offices of St. Clement, one Old Church Slavonic (composed probably in the tenth century), the other one Greek. An Old Church Slavonic *Vita Naum* (c. 940) also narrates briefly about these events, see the text in J. Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini iz Makedonija* (Old Bulgarian literary monuments from Macedonia) (Sofia: Dăržavna pečatnica, 1931), 305-11. The second *Vita Naum* is not very reliable as a source because probably it was written in the sixteenth century, see for this hypothesis *Starobălgarska literatura* (Old Bulgarian literature), ed. Kl. Ivanova, vol. 1. (Sofia: Bălgarski pisatel, 1986), 527.

[18]Henry Mayr-Harting pays attention to this crucial moment in Bulgarian history comparing it with the language choice of Anglo-Saxons: for Ethelbert of Kent, Latin, as a universal Western liturgical language, was a symbol of independence from Franks and attachment to papacy instead; for Moravians Latin was a symbol of Frankish power over Moravia and this was maybe the reason why Rostislav wanted Slavic missionaries, Mayr-Harting, *Two Conversions*, 12.

[19]Dimitrij Obolensky, "The Byzantine Impact on Eastern Europe," in *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982), 154.

Macedonia was taken over by Naum, who previously has been promoting literary activity in Pliska and in the monastery "St. Pantelejmon" on the Tiča river.[20]

In 893, the Council of Preslav declared Christianity the state religion, institutionalized the use of the new alphabet (Glagolitic or Cyrillic),[21] and proclaimed Old Church Slavonic as the official language of both Church and State. Boris' third son, Symeon, ascended the throne, and Preslav became the new Christian capital of Bulgaria, thus replacing the old pagan capital, Pliska.[22] For the needs of Slavonic liturgy, Clement completed the translation of one of the most important liturgical books, the *Triodion*.[23] Most likely, a big number of liturgical books were translated prior to the tenth century, which provided a solid basis for liturgical activities in Slavonic.[24]

The reign of Symeon (893-927) was a flourishing period of the Bulgarian state, "the Golden Age" of Bulgarian culture. A large number of Byzantine texts were translated

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[20]See Zlatarski, *Istorija*, 239-43. He claimes that Naum, with the help of Prince Boris, founded the first Slavonic school in north-eastern Bulgaria in the "Pantelejmon" monastery; cf. Ivan Dobrev, "Kirilo-Metodievite učenici prez părvite godini sled pristiganeto im v Bălgarija (886-893)"(CyrilloMethodian disciples after their coming to Bulgaria), in *Izsledvanija po kirilo-metodievistika*, eds. Angelina Ignatova and Krasimir Stanchev (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1985), 129-160.

[21]Although many scholars accept that the Preslav Council was the occasion when the Cyrillic alphabet replaced entirely the Glagolitic in Eastern Bulgaria, there are no direct evidence about it.

[22]The data about the decisions of Preslav Council and "прѣложєниѥ книгъ" are taken from later Russian texts as *Tale of Bygone Years* and *Chronograph of Nicephoros* (XIII century, *Novgorodskaja kormčaja*). The replacement of the capitals (Pliska -Preslav) probably did not mean sudden interruption in the cultural activity of Pliska but perhaps after some time, its role gradually decreased, cf. Pavel Georgiev, "Za părvonačalnoto sedalište na Bălgarskata arxiepiskopija" (The original residence of the Bulgarian archbishopry), in *Srednovekovna Bălgarija i Černomorieto*, 67-77 (Varna, 1982).

[23]See Alexander Milev, *Grăckite žitija na Kliment Oxridski. Uvod, tekst i objasnitelni beležki* (The Greek *Vitae* of Clement of Oxrid: Introduction, texts, and commentaries) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1966), 140.

[24]The Gospel Readings, Praxapostolos, and Psalter were most likely translated by Cyril and Methodius in Moravia and Pannonia, cf. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 177. The *Vita Methodii* states that Methodius translated the whole Bible except the Maccabees. A process of translation of some early commentaries on the Bible like Theodorete's, Hesychius' and Hippolitus of Rome' works was undertaken in Preslav as well as a renewal of the translations from the Moravian-Pannonian period. In general, the history of translation of liturgical books is still unclear, cf. F. J. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament," in

into Old Church Slavonic for the needs of the liturgy, monastic life, and secular sphere (law and administration). The building activity of Symeon was impressive: he renovated the Palace in Preslav, and erected churches and monasteries. The political life was dominated by exhaustive wars (894-97, 913-27) and the rivalry with Byzantium. However, Symeon's ambitions to seize Constantinople remained fruitless, but he managed to annex Serbia in 924 and thus, expanded the Bulgarian border to the Croatian kingdom. In 913 he was probably recognized as βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν Βουλγάρων by Byzantium.[25] However, the head of the Bulgarian church was only elevated to the rank of Patriarch much later, in 927, under Peter (927-69).[26]

This brief overview outlines the basic moments of Bulgarian political and cultural activity. This activity was largely dominated by the relationships with the Byzantine Empire which, on their surface, seemed to be mostly in the sphere of political life, but other kinds of relations based on literary and religious practice, monastic life, as well as on court ceremonial, can also be observed. In general, the cultural activity of Bulgaria could not avoid being penetrated by certain Byzantine models because of its geographical position and due to linguistic factors. What part of these models exactly was present in the Bulgarian educational practice and concepts, is one of the questions which this study is going to answer.

Interpretation of the Bible (Ljubljana: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 605-917.

[25]However, this act of the actual coronation of Symeon in Constantinople in 913 is reasonably questioned by several scholars, and most recently by Bakalov, *Srednovekovnijat bălgarski vladetel*, 148-73, who interprets the ritual in Constantinople as a patriarchal benediction and not as coronation. Later on, at the Preslav Council in 918, Symeon declared himself to be цьсарь въсьмь блъгаршмъ и гръкшм; he was coronated by the Bulgarian patriarch Leontius but this act was approved neither by Byzantium nor by the Roman Church, Idem, 163.

[26]His rule is known with its external and to a certain extent internal instability: the Magyars started attacking severely the Balkan Peninsula (958), the Peace with Byzantium of 927 was broken by the

Emperor Nicheforos II in 966, and he persuaded the Russians to invade the Bulgarian territory which ended with exhaustive for Bulgarians wars with them and with Byzantium, Zlatarski, *Istorija,* 567-79.

CHAPTER II

Educational Activity I: Acquiring Literacy

Generally, the first stage of acquiring literacy is connected with learning the alphabet. More specifically, it is related to the process of learning to read and write the letters of the alphabet. It has to be underlined, however, that this activity does not immediately suggest a second stage, for example, the practice of reading and writing texts.

Indications about this first stage of Slavonic literacy can be archeological findings, namely, Greek and Glagolitic *abecedaria* from Preslav and Ravna. Glagolitic *abecedarium* in the Rotunda of Preslav was found in 1959 by Ivan Gošev[27] on the northern wall of the baptisterium in the Rotunda in Preslav, scratched between two crosses; Greek *abecedaria* from Ravna (15 in number) were found in the monastery of Ravna in 1978 during the excavations conducted by Kazimir Popkonstantinov.[28]

Questions regarding the purpose of the Preslav *abecedarium* were raised by scholars who suggested a certain educational activity, that is, training in writing. This hypothesis takes into account the architectural chronology of the Rotunda.[29] There is also

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[27]It is published incorrectly in Gošev, *Starobălgarski nadpisi,* 61. For more information and critical remarks on this publication, see Albina Medynceva and Kazimir Popkonstantinov, *Nadpisi iz Krugloj cerkvi v Preslave* (Inscriptions from the Preslav Rotunda) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo Bolgarskoj Akademii Nauk, 1984), 50-4.

[28]The details around these findings are accessible in Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Dvuezični nadpisi i abezedari ot starobălgarskija manastir do s. Ravna, Varnenski okrăg" (Bilingual inscriptions and abecedars from the Old Bulgarian monastery near Ravna, Varna area), *Bulletin du Musee National de Varna,* 20 (1984): 65-83.

[29]Medynceva and Popkonstantinov, *Nadpisi,* 54.

a possibility, although relatively small, that these scratched *abecedaria* do not serve educational, but some other unknown practice.[30]

Greek *abecedaria* were found in the monastery of Ravna, scratched on the walls of the two buildings which were thought to be the *scriptorium* and the monastery school.[31] A couple of *abecedaria* contain the full alphabet, the rest - only part. The most peculiar example is the *abecedarium* with the names of the letters, representing almost completely all the letters of the alphabet. One hypothesis about the purposes of these *abecedaria* considers the possibility of scribes practicing both writing and speaking Greek. An additional indication for this suggestion is the discovery of the *styla* near (and around) the διδασκαλεῖον, which apparently were used for writing.[32] Indications about the origin of the scribes who have left these *abecedaria* can be discovered in the case of the orthographical "mistakes." The image of the letter υυ as νοι might be considered as evidence for the ethnic origin of the author, namely, the scribe "is Bulgarian because he pronounces the Greek letter υ as *ju*."[33] Nevertheless, the actual way of scratching these *graffiti* is not obvious: it could be done on the basis of written examples or under dictation which is more probable considering the orthogoraphical "mistake."

Apart from archeological material considering learning the alphabet, the particular genre of alphabetical acrostics might be taken as an example of educational activity. The Old Church Slavonic alphabetical acrostics are attested predominantly in liturgical texts: the *Alphabetical Prayer* of Constantine the Presbyter, the acrostic аҗ ѥсмь всемоу мироу

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[30]See the opinion of Gošev that it was written for the consecration of the church (which is a practice in the Western tradition in the seventh and the eighth centuries, Gošev, *Starobălgarski nadpisi*, 62-5.
[31]This is the conclusion of Popkonstantinov, *Dvuezični nadpisi*, 77.
[32]Ibid.

сѣтъ,[34] and the *Hymn of the Holy Trinity*[35] are only part of the Slavonic acrostic literature. *H ꝉo*

The acrostic in general gives another dimension of the text - a vertical one,[36] and its most important function is the semantic function.[37] The letter-acrostics[38] is aid for memorization of the alphabet and probably of the text itself on the basis of mnemotechnics. The important aspect of the function of the acrostics considers their use as teaching-aid for writing.[39] The same characteristics had the method of *schedographia* which deals not only with grammatical analysis but also with memorizing of words and forms alphabetically.

The example of the Greek *abecedaria* from Ravna monastery could be compared with the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabetical acrostics in respect to the use of the full name of letters which is specific feature of the Slavonic words-type acrostics. The difference, though, is of semantic aspect of Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabetical structure which create a text with its own meaning and message.[40] The Greek *abecedaria* lacks of this specific semantic dimension which must have caused problems in the process of memorizing the alphabet.

[33]Ibid., 78.
[34]František Mareš, "Azbučna báseň z rukopisu státní veřejné Knihovny Saltykova-Ščedrina v Leningradě," (Alphabetical verses from the manuscript of the State Library "Saltykov—Ščedrin" in Saint Petersburg), *Slovo* 14 (1964), 5-24.
[35]Nadežda Dragova, "Neproučen starobălgarski azbučen akrostix" (Unknown Old Bulgarian alphabetical acrostic), *Ezik i literatura* 23 (1968), 37-58.
[36]Roland Marti, "Texte mit Alphabet-Akrostichon in der kirchenslavische Tradition," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 42.2 (1997), 129 and Jolanta Darčevska, "Starinnye slavjanskie azbuki i bukvari: k voprosu o edinoj istorii drevneslavjanskago literaturnago jazyka v areale "greko-slavjanskago mira" (Old Slavonic alphabets and primers: towards the question of common history of Old Slavonic literary language in the "Greek-Slavonic world"), *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie* 4 (1979), 62.
[37]Marti, "Texte," 133.
[38]See the classification of acrostics by Marti, "Texte," 130.
[39]Or it was viewed as "Die Grundlage des Schreibunterrichts," Marti, "Texte," 136. Darčevska, "Starinnye slavjanskie azbuki," 63, suggests that the main purpose of these alphabets were the written exercises.
[40]The magic and sacred functions of the alphabet and later on, of the alphabetical acrostics are not going to be discussed here.

Another possible sources of educational activity but this time using liturgical material as teaching device, can be the ceramic tablets from Preslav and two tablets from Ravna.[41] Among them can be listed a tablet (fragment) inscribed with Cyrillic letters, dated from the tenth century and a tablet with a text thought to be from Luke 4:18.[42] For the former, Gošev has suggested that this object might have been a training tablet for the memorization of grammatical questions and answers.[43] It is known that the genre of *erotapokriseis* (questions and answers) acquired great popularity in the Slavonic literary tradition both in the forms of canonical and of apocryphal works.[44] If Gošev is right in his suggestion, this archeological finding can also shed light on the textual evidence of *erotapokriseis* and its possible role in the teaching process.

Another tablet from the Preslav archeological material consists of a bilingual text of morning and evening προκείμενα and instructions for their use during certain days of the week. These instructions were considered to be an indication about educational practice[45] which combines the training in writing (and maybe also in translating) and in learning the order of the office.

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[41]In the edition of Medynceva and Popkonstantinov, *Nadpisi*, 69-74.

[42]For the possibility of such a reading, see Medynceva and Popkonstantinov, *Nadpisi*, 71.

[43]Gošev, *Starobălgarski glagoličeski*, 96. He assumes this on the basis of reading of the fragment and connects it with the sentence from the treatise "On the letters" - "If you ask them then they will answer..." But as far as this tablet is a fragment and not quite legible, the scholars have not responded to this reading.

[44]The genre originates from the Byzantine tradition, for example, from "Questions and answers to Prince Antioch" by Athanasius of Alexandria and "Questions and answers" by Anastasius the Sinaite. They have been translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic in the tenth century as mostly been contaminated between each other and later on, extended with new entries.

[45]Stojan Petrov and Xristo Kodov, *Starobălgarski muzikalni pametnici* (Old Bulgarian musical records (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1976), 27. About the text of the tablet, Medynceva and Popkonstantinov, *Nadpisi*, 71-4.

The Ravna findings include two tablets with Cyrillic and Greek inscriptions of liturgical content as well.[46] One of them contains also a bilingual evening προκείμεν$ | ov from Psalm 53 and the name ΚΛΗΜΕΝΤΟΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΡΟΜΗΣ.[47] The other one has a Greek inscription derived from Psalm 144. According to Popkonstantinov, the scribe must have written this text from memory and not by dictation.[48] He also raises the hypothesis that these inscriptions might have been left by scribes or painters from the Ravna scriptorium[49] which he sees only on the basis of these two inscriptions and the founded *styla*. The practice of writing verses from the Psalter on tablets has been recorded in the West and probably came from the monastic tradition although later it was found also in the schools and in private teaching.[50]

In general, the presence of such tablets in the territory of the monastery of Ravna and the Rotunda in Preslav serves as indication regarding the presence of educational practice and especially primary training in reading and writing. For such kind of training, but in respect to Byzantine educational practice,[51] is the remark of Theodore the Studite, who describes writing with special *styla* on wax tablets and a special method of training in

[46]See Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Za dva pametnika ot 9-10 vek s psaltirni tekstove ot Ravna" (About two inscriptions with Psalter texts from 9th-10th c. from Ravna), in *Prinosi kăm bălgarskata arxeologija*, vol.1. (Sofia: Arges, 1992), 113-9.

[47]Cf. the reference in Popkonstantinov, "Dvuezični nadpisi," 71.

[48]As support for this opinion, he considers some slight differences in the Greek text in comparison with the text of the Septuagint: Popkonstantinov, "Za dva pametnika," 117. Although this sounds reasonable, the practice of dictating texts was rather popular both in the West and in the East as a teaching method and writing practice.

[49]Ibid., 118.

[50]Cf. Riché, *Education and Culture*, 463.

[51]Pavel Georgiev, "Starobălgarski pisala ot Pliska i Preslav" (Old Bulgarian *styla* from Pliska and Preslav), *Arxeologija* 3 (1980): 43-50; for some conclusions drawn on these findings and also on Ravna's *styla*, see Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Dvuezični nadpisi i abezedari ot starobălgarskija manastir do s. Ravna, Varnenski okrăg" (Bilingual inscriptions and abecedars from the Old Bulgarian monastery near Ravna, the Varna area), *Bulletin du Musee National de Varna* 20 (1984): 65-83.

writing, the so-called σχεδογραφία.[52] Later on, this method was condemned for its "incredible complexity" in Anna Comnena's *Alexiade*.[53] As for Bulgarian educational practice, we do not have any such evidence of written instructional material. However, it has been assumed on the basis of such findings as *styla*, that the σχεδογραφία was in use in the Bulgarian educational practice.[54] This hypothesis does not take into account the different uses of this technique - it could designate ἐπιμερισμοί, a thorough grammatical analysis of a text which shows a higher level of literacy, or, more simply, exercises in orthography. The question how was educational practice organized so far is still open because the available data are not sufficient to answer it.

The presence of liturgical notes, as well as of quotations and allusions from the Bible in the epigraphic material might give a potential list of books, namely, the Psalter and the Gospel which must have been the basis of Christian teaching curriculum. The question is whether this corpus of readings was part of the monastic education only, or as in the case of Jaroslav the Wise, they were also a core part of the education of the laity mainly in the court.[55]

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[52] About this very popular from the eleventh century onwards method in Byzantium, see the reference in Boris Uspenskij, *Istorija russkogo literaturnogo jazyka (XI-XVIII vv.)* (History of the Russian literary language, from the 11th to the 18th centuries) (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1988), 41 where he describes this method as a higher level of Byzantine literacy which deals not only with grammatical analysis but also with memorizing of words and forms alphabetically. Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinische Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)* (München:G.H. Beck Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1897), 590-3, gives a brief description of this method together with sources about it. It was practiced on the examples from the Bible, prayers, hymns as well as some works from "Profanautoren" as Philostratos and Agapetos.

[53] See the text in English and some relevant commentaries on Byzantine education in the sources translated by Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 407. About some commentaries on Anna Comnena's perception of *schedographia* see Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 591-2.

[54] This is a hypothesis of Georgiev, "Starobălgarski pisala," 48.

[55] Cf. who "showed his love for books by reading the discourses of the prophets and the teachings of the Gospels and of the Acts and Epistles, and the Lives of the Holy Fathers," in Franklin, "Booklearning," 832.

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These archaeological evidence presents a sketch of the early educational situation among the Orthodox Slavs, one which must have been based on learning the Psalter and the Gospel.[56] The question is which stage of education they present, primary or secondary, and whether any division into phases (similar to the Byzantine and Western models) can be discerned only on the basis on fragmentary texts.[57] The fact of the numerous inscriptions left in the territory of the Bulgarian state[58] could be connected to the definition of the educational level of the scribes - were they professionals (court scribes, notaries, or other trained clergy) or just ordinary people learning to write. An important question also concerns their status in society which is very difficult to be obtained from only one inscription.[59] The inscriptions of Pavel Chartophylax, Mostič, and Georgi Synkel provide some data in regards to this question. In the case of Pavel Charthophylax, the title could

[56]The Bible and the works of the Fathers had been seen as an authority in educational practice and their proper learning, teaching and preaching was required by the Church Canons, see Canon 10 from the VI Ecumenical Council and Canon 2 from the VII Ecumenical Council. The latter ordains all the bishops to "know the Psalter by heart, so that from it he may admonish and instruct all the clergy who are subject to him. And diligent examination shall be made by the metropolitan whether he be zealously inclined to read diligently , and not merely now and then, the sacred canons, the holy Gospel, and the book of the divine Apostle, and all other divine Scripture."

[57]Compare here the positions of two scholars: of Steinke, "Die grammatischen Traktate," 186, about the Slavonic education : "die erste sich auf 3-4 Jahre erstreckende Ausbildungsphase umfaßte das Erlernen des Alphabets, ferner Lesen, Schreiben und das Auswendiglerner von Gebeten und Gesangen. Man orientiert sich stärker an rein praktischen Notwendigkeiten als an einem abstrakten Bildungsideal. Daran schließt sich eine 2 Phase an, die der Auslegung biblischer und liturgischer Texte sowie der Vorbereitung auf das Kopieren von Texten gewidmet ist." However, the unclear point in this description of educational practice is which sources Steinke use to establish this model of educational practices. The position of Steinke about the stages of education states that the Slavs "sondern meist nur einen Elementarunterricht in Lesen and Schreiben gibt," 190. The second position on this topic is held by Vasil Gjuzelev, *Učilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanija v Bălgarija 13th-14th vek* (Schools, scriptoria, libraries, and types of knowledge in Bulgaria in the 13th-14th c.) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1985), 46, where he supposes a kind of secondary stage of education in the monasteries but again, like Steinke, without mentioning which sources he uses for this assumption.

[58]Review the classification and systematization of these Cyrillic inscriptions in Stefan Smjadovski, *Bălgarska kirilska epigrafika: 9-15 vek* (Bulgarian Cyrillic epigraphy: 9th-15th c.) (Sofia: Studia Classica, 1993), 42-8.

[59]For such kind of study but with respect to Byzantine society, see the article of Z.G. Samodurova, "Social'nyj sostav učaščixsja Vizantii VII-XII vv." (The social structure of people exposed to education in Byzantium between seventh and twelfth century), *Vizantijskij vremennik* 51 (1990): 14-22; 52 (1991): 35-46.

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be interpreted as the assistant of the Bulgarian spiritual head in the middle of the tenth century. Mostič must have been one of the close standing people to the Khan's circle. The inscription of Georgi Synkel gives data about his title which is a high position (not secular) in the clerical hierarchy, a secretary of the Preslav archbishop.[60] These inscriptions left or dictated by high level of court aristocracy have their counterpart in the inscriptions on objects for everyday life - spoons, clay vessels, rings, coins, seals. As textual data in this respect can be taken the names of the bookmen who left inscriptions in the manuscripts, for example, Bishop Constantine, Gregory the Presbyter, Cosmas the Presbyter. All these titles suggest clerical positions, some of them higher in the hierarchy than the others. The variety of the material suggests variety also in the social structure of people who have written, dictated, or ordered the inscriptions.

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[60]Cf. the texts and commentaries of these inscriptions in Smjadovski, *Bălgarska kirilska*, 56.

CHAPTER III

Educational Activity II: Utilizing Literacy

Archeological and literary sources present a primary stage of literacy. The next step is to investigate if there was any higher level of literacy.[61] A presentation of literacy stages could be seen in a much later epoch, in the model of education presented in the grammatical treatise "On the Letters" by Constantine of Kostenec which includes оүченне - писание (education - writing activity, copying books). This model is a part of so-called лѣствица писменъ (ladder of literacy) similar to the лѣствица of virtues of John the Sinaite.

Still, a source which could be used for clarifying the purpose of educational practice especially in the monasteries are the *Typika*. They present an example of monastic pedagogy where the rules and the punishments define a monk's life. The example chosen for the present analysis is the *Typikon* of Gregorios Pakourianos.[62] The remarks in Chapter 31 of the *Typikon* consider the education of young boys in the monastery of "St. Nicholas." It is said that they (their number should always be six) have to be brought up and instructed in the wisdom of the Holy Scriptures by an old man, one of the priests; if they are good in learning and when they achieved the appropriate age for being priests,

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[61] An interpretation of the лѣствица in Gjuzelev, *Učilišta, scriptorii*, 26.

[62] This is the *Typikon* of Bačkovo monastery (near present-day Plovdiv), founded by the Byzantine commander from Georgian origin, Georgios Pakourianos in 1083. The *Typikon* had been written also in 1083 in Greek, Armenian and Georgian. Although until the thirtheenth century the monastery was mostly inhabited by Georgian monks the *Typikon* can serve as a source of information about level of monastic literacy at Bulgarian territory at this time.

they become priests. Those who are not worthy of the priesthood were expelled.[63] This passage does not tell anything about the particular curriculum used in the educational process[64] and about the way this process was carried out. The only data about it consider its purpose, namely, that the training was aimed to prepare priests for the needs of the monastery. The conclusion which can be made on the basis of this passage is that the training was determined by practical reasons, and, most probably, was intended to provide a certain level of literacy (for priests?), and not literacy in general. Furthermore, the small number of the boys to be taken as priests after the training process, could be an indication about the educational situation in the monasteries at this particular moment,[65] namely, the situation of a not wide-spread level of clerical literacy.

Byzantine example of Stoudios *Typikon* is a source of knowledge about reading and learning practices in the monasteries. Chapters 26, 28, 33, and 36 give examples about the responsibilities of the monks in regard to reading. It is clear that the reading was predominantly a communal experience, despite some indications in chapters 26 and 33 about the occupation of the monks in their free (personal) time. Since the Stoudious *Typikon* was considered to be in use in the Bulgarian monasteries,[66] it can be assumed that the reading there had been done similarly to the Greek.

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[63]Cf. the text of the *Typikon* at the site of Dumbarton Oaks.

[64]It might be assumed that the studied curriculum follows that one established by the Canons of the Church. Another source of data about teaching material is the *Legenda Bulgarica*: τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν εὐκοσμίαν καὶ ὅσα τῶν ψαλμῳδιῶν τε καὶ εὐχῶν ὑφηγούμενος, Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 130.

[65]The period is connected with the Byzantine hegemony in Bulgaria.

[66]Review the old but still valuable edition and commentary of the *Testament of Theodore The Studite* and the *Rule* of the monastery done by Ivan Gošev, ed. "Pravilata na Studijskija manastir: uvod, tekst, razsăždenija" (The Rules of the Stoudious monastery: introduction, text and commentary), *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet, Bogoslovski fakultet* 6 (1939/40): 1-74, where comparing the text of the Slavonic Euchologium Sinaiticum and the text of the Stoudious *Typikon*, he makes comments about the use of this *Typikon* in the Bulgarian monasteries.

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The problem of the localization of main centers of cultural and literary activity between the ninth and the tenth century is of relevance for this study in respect to the nature of these centers: were they monasteries, palaces, or churches. On the basis of the archaeological evidence, namely, *styla* (Pliska and Ravna), Greek, Glagolitic, and Cyrillic inscriptions and training tablets (Ravna monastery and Preslav),[67] the presence of buildings thought to be διδασκάλια in the monastery of Ravna and the Great Basilica in Pliska can be assumed.

Oxrid and Preslav have been thought to be the most important literary centers of the First Bulgarian Kingdom according to hagiographic data and archaeological sources. The four *Vitae* of St. Clement and St. Naum and investigations of building activity of the First Bulgarian Kingdom reveal the activity of monastic centers in both the Western and the Eastern parts of the country: the monastery of "St. Pantelejmon," the monastery near the Rotunda in Preslav, the monastery near the Great Basilica in Pliska, the monastic complexes of Oxrid,[68] and the monasteries in Preslav and its vicinity.[69] There is a spirited

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[67]For the reference on these two cases see Pavel Georgiev, "Manastirăt pri Goljamata bazilika v Pliska središte na prosvetna i knižovna dejnost prez 9th i 10th vek" (The monastery near the Great Basilica in Pliska as a center of booklearning and literary activity in the 9th-10th c.), in *Preslavska knižovna škola*, eds. Maria Tixova and Pejo Dimitrov (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 1995), 332-8; and idem, "Starobălgarski pisala," 43-50; for Ravna material see Popkonstantinov, "Dvuezični nadpisi," 65-83; idem, "Das Altbulgarische Kloster bei Ravna – das schrifttums- und kulturzentrum," in *La vie quotidienne des moines et chanoines reguliers an Moyen Age et Temps modernes. Actes du Premier Collogne International du L.A.R.H.C.O.R.* (Wroclaw-Księż: n.p., 1994), 691-7 and Pavel Georgiev, "Istorijata na Ravnenskija manastir" (The history of the Ravna monastery), *Epoxi* 2 (1993): 57-68. For the geographical distribution of the big corpus of Cyrillic inscriptions see the reference in Smjadovski, "Bălgarska kirilska," 11-38.

[68]See for an extensive bibliography the entry in *Kirilo-Metodievska enciklopedija*, s.v. "Oxridska knižovna škola." As for the monastery of St. Naum it has discovered that the church of "St. Naum" located on Lake Oxrid dates from the Turkish period and the real Church of Naum must have been the older *tri̧koncha* at the same place, cf. Dimče Koco, "Proučvanija i arxeološki ispituvanija na crkvata na manastirot Sv. Naum" (Study and archaeological researches of the Church of the monastery of St. Naum), *Zbornik na Arxeološkiot muzej vo Skopje* 2 (1958), 78-9 and Krăstju Mijatev, *Arxitekturata v srednovekovna Bălgaria* (The architecture in the medieval Bulgaria) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1965), 122-6.

debate going on about the status of these centers: were they literary schools or literary centers. The issue also concerns their translation activities in respect to the differences or the similarities in translation principles and methods.[70]

The question of the cultural centers, located in the Northeastern parts of Bulgaria, has became a topic of discussion especially after the discovery of the greatest monastic complex of Ravna in the 70s and the reconsideration of the role of the Great Basilica in Pliska in the cultural life of the First Bulgarian Kingdom. The excavations of these two complexes have thrown a new light on the question regarding the presence of schools and their function in the period after the conversion and the creation of the Slavonic alphabet. Pliska was the capital of the earlier, pagan state, and it remained a cultural center under Prince Boris, who built a basilica and a royal church there. The fact is that near the Great Basilica, on its south side, a building has been found; the hypothesis is that this is a school where perhaps the clergy was educated for the needs of the new Christian church.[71] After the destruction of the school and the *scriptorium*, its literary activity was moved to the new capital, Preslav, but the cultural activity in Pliska might have not been completely interrupted until the tenth century.[72]

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[69] Mijatev, *Arxitekturata*, 123; Totju Totev and Pavel Georgiev, "Novi danni za oblika na njakoi manastiri v Pliska i Preslav" (New data about the countenance of some monasteries in Pliska and Preslav), in *Bălgarsko srednovekovie. Bălgaro-săvetski sbornik v čest na 70-god. na profesor Ivan Dujčev*, ed. A. Džurova (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1980), 130-6.

[70] Remarks about this discussion can be seen in the article of Francis Thomson, "The Symeonic Florilegium – Problems of Its Origin, Content, Textology and Edition, Together with an English Translation of the Eulogy of Tzar Symeon," *Paleobulgarica* 1 (1993), 44.

[71] Cf. the article of Georgiev, "Manastirăt," 334. He believes partly due to the findings there, that the scriptorium must have been in this building. He thinks that in the beginning the school was under Byzantine control but after coming of archbishop Joseph between 886 and 889, the situation has changed - the Slavonic language has replaced the Greek. As a conclusion, Georgiev considers this school to be the first Slavonic literary school in Bulgaria after 866.

[72] As evidence, Georgiev points out to the presence of some findings: *styla*, a buckle of book, graffito-inscriptions on the walls, cf. ibid., 336. In another article, "Razkopki v Goljamata Bazilika prez 1978 i 1979 godina" (Excavations in the Great Basilica in 1978 and 1979), in *Pliska-Preslav*, vol. 6 (Sofia:

The development of literary activity was undertaken in the new Christian capital, Preslav, where many monasteries were built; the Palace of Symeon must also have been a place for such activity, according to archeological and literary sources. Altogether, the role of Preslav in the cultural life of the First Bulgarian state is indisputable; the aspect which is still obscure is exactly how the educational practice took place and how it was presented in the Palace, in the monasteries (Patlejna, Tuzlalăka), in the Rotunda, in the Palace church. The fact is that some of the people who translated and copied manuscripts received theirs commissions directly from Tsar Symeon or from the brother of Prince Boris, Dǫx Černorizec; therefore, to some extent we can talk here about court scribes.[73]

Where did these scribes acquire the knowledge of reading and writing Old Church Slavonic and Greek: in monasteries, in the Palace, or probably in Byzantium? Surely, their literary culture was at a high level, showing acquitance with various Greek texts. A hypothesis which could be proposed here is that these Slavonic court scribes might have formed only a small circle according to their skills (eventually an elite circle), and that their works probably were not designed for a large audience. The reception and the audience of these texts is a question that cannot be answered here.[74]

It would be of relevance for shedding a light on different levels of Slavonic literary culture to see how the act of learning was perceived in some texts.

Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1993), 68 he raises the hypothesis that the decline of the Basilica could be placed after the end of the tenth century in connection with the new historical and cultural situation in Pliska. .

[73]Cf. here the names of Gregory the Presbyter, John the Exarch, etc.

[74]Certainly, the reception can be viewed through the transmission of the texts but it is a diachronical approach which has to take into account later historical periods of no relevance chronologically to this study. Another suggestion takes into account the practice in the court in the Latin West which differs from that in the monasteries. An exemplary case is that of the Carolingian court where an informal literary society and scribes led by Alcuin had to undertake the activity of correcting the mistakes in liturgical books appeared because of the continuous copying of the texts, cf.Robert Lerner, "Literacy and

The difficulties one faced in learning the alphabet are reflected in an apocryphal text, an incantation for somebody who is learning letters but forgets them (егда оучи кто книга и не може пръемати).[75] This text could be termed "low-brow literature" according to its genre, content, and the type of its miscellany. It refers to learning with the help of devouring an object, in this case, an apple. The motif of learning through devouring (a book) has its explicit biblical models in the Revelation of John (10:8-11) where the Mighty Angel gives the Little Book to John and orders him to eat it; then the gift of prophesy came down to John.[76] This episode has many parallels to the commissioning of Ezekiel (2:8-10; 3:1-3), to the Psalter (119:103), and Jeremia (15:16). The motif of devouring a book, attested in the Byzantine tradition, passed to the Slavonic literature, especially to the apocrypha, where it must have been contaminated with old pagan beliefs.[77]

The second text is from the eleventh century, entitled Слово Кырила философа како оувѣри Боугаре (Cyril the Philosopher's Narrative On How He Baptized the Bulgarians), the passage in question being: И видѣхъ голѫба глаголющи, въ оусте ношаше звоѧькъ

Learning," in *One Thousand Years: Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard L. DeMolen (Boston and Attlanta: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), 187.

[75]The text is a part of a miscellany from the first half of the seventeenth century written by the Bulgarian monk Daniil. It has been published by Anisava Miltenova, "Sbornik săs smeseno sădăržanie, delo na Ertropolskija knižovnik jeromonax Daniil" (Miscellany of the monk Daniil from Etropole), *Starobălgarska literatura* 9 (1986): 114-25. She thinks that this work most probably was aimed to be read for acquiring some knowledge and for instruction in the Christian morality, 122. Although the miscellany is very late, the texts it contains are assigned by Miltenova to earlier periods, between the 12th-13th centuries (some of them), and the 13th-14th centuries (the others), 123. The attribution of the incantation in question is related to the 11th-12th centuries as the author kindly pointed me in a letter.

[76]About the biblical genealogy of this motif, see *The Orthodox Study Bible*, 610. About Byzantine counterparts, V. Tăpkova-Zaimova and Anisava Miltenova, *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata knižnina văv Vizantija i v srednovekovna Bălgarija* (Historical-apocalyptical literature in Byzantium and medieval Bulgaria) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski," 1996), 314-5. This motif resonate even in the present-day idiom in Bulgarian and probably in other languages: изяждам книгите с корищите means to learn thoroughly and diligently.

[77]Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova. *Istoriko-apokaliptičnata*, 314.

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сьучци скокине соупоуль свеѕаноу, и врьже мнѣ на крило, и прѣуто[x] ихъ, и обрѣто[x] всехъ

лв и вложихъ и[x] вь пазоухоу, несо[x] митрополитȣ. Тогда wни въ тело мое съкрише се, и

азъ истребихъ грьцки іезикь.[78] This could be understood to exemplify a miraculous way

of learning or receiving knowledge of Bulgarian language.[79] The Christian symbolism is

presented through its usual signs: the "pigeon" as the messenger and the fig-sticks as a

message (gift). It can be assumed that all the elements and participants in this scene

resemble to a great extent the event of the *Pentecost* and the supernatural act of

glossolalia. The motif of gift-receiving in the form of codex refers to some Byzantine

texts, for example, to the Short *Vita* of Romanus the Melode where the Virgin Mary gives

Romanus a codex and he receives a poetical gift.

The way of using a language and its alphabet raises the question about the bilingual

situation on the Bulgarian territory and the level of understanding and use of Greek by

Slavs. The coexistence for some time and then the complete shift from the Greek to the

Slavonic literary language and alphabet can be presented in a following way:

1. the problem of digraphia which arises from the use of the Greek graphic system

   in the creation of the Cyrillic alphabet;

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[78]"And I saw a pigeon which was carrying a bundle of fig sticks, bounded twice. And it threw them in my lap and I read them and found out that they were 32. I slipped them into my bosom and brought them to the mitropolitǫ. Then they hid themselves in my body and I forgot Greek," Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, 282-3.

[79]The text of the passage is quite ambiguous. It is given in different ways in the different editions of the text, however, the edition of Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, which is based on the Tikveški copy from the end of the fifteenth century, gives this text.

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2. the relationship between Greek and Old Church Slavonic as matter of co-existence and later on, of the shift from one mental, grammatical, and graphic model to another[80];

3. the "dignitas" of the new literary language relying on the use of a new (for both Bulgars and Slavs) written system.[81]

The sources which can be of relevance are ceramic tablets bearing monolingual (Greek) texts and bilingual (Greek and Cyrillic) from Preslav,[82] and also some bilingual graffito-inscriptions from Preslav and Ravna. First, they can serve as indications of such a bilingual situation in practice. The question is if Greek suddenly disappeared from all the spheres of Bulgarian life after the Preslav Council, or was a gradual process due to the increasing role of more comprehensive and functional Old Church Slavonic language.[83] Another theory could view the continuous presence of Greek language among the higher strata of literate people until the Fall of Bulgarian Kingdom under Turkish rule in the fourteenth century.

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[80]The use of Greek and Latin *formulae* in Cyrillic inscriptions has been examined in the book of Smjadovski, *Bălgarska kirilska*, 39-81.

[81]Cf. Fr. Thomson, "SS. Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilinguism: A Contribution to the Study of Patristic and Medieval Theories of Sacred Languages," *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992), 75.

[82]The texts on the tablets and their analyses can be found in Medynceva and Popkonstantinov, *Nadpisi,* 69-72, who observe them critically and therefore call into question some of the hypotheses of Ivan Gošev, *Starobălgarski glagoličeski i kirilski nadpisi ot 9 i 10 vek* (Old Bulgarian Glagolitic and Cyrillic inscriptions from the 9th and the 10th c.) (Sofia: Bălgarska akademija na naukite, 1961), 89-96.

[83]The opinion of Kazimir Popkonstantinov, "Razprostranenie na starobălgarskata pismenost prez 9th-11th vek po epigrafski danni" (A spread of the Old Bulgarian writing in 9th-11th c. on epigraphical data), *Starobălgarska literatura* 17 (1985), 65-7 is that in the administrative sphere the process of replacing Greek with Old Church Slavonic has been faster than in the cultural life, due to the need of translations of liturgical and other books.

The translation process and the scope of translated works can also be perceived as an indicator about the level of literacy and its utilization among the Bulgarian Bookmen.[84]

The translations can be divided into categories according to their genre and functions:

1. Monastic (ascetic) works: *Pandecta scripturae sacrae Antiochus Monachus*, John the Climacus' *Scala Paradisi*, *Historia monachorum excerptis e Historia Lausiaca*, *Apophthegmata patrum*, John Moschos' *Pratum spirituale*, the *Protopaterikon Scaligeri*, Ephraim Syrus' *Parainesis*, as well as works of Maximus Confessor, John of Damascus, Isaak of Anthioch, Theodore Studite;

2. Historical works: Nichephorus' *Breviarium*, George Syncellus' and George the Monk's *Chronica*;

3. Pseudo-scientific works: Cosmas Indicopleustes' *Topographia christiana*, the *Physiologos*, the *Hexaemeron*, Pseudo-Caesarius' *Dialogi*, a treatise on logic by Theodore of Rhaithou, an astrological treatise about the months, attributed to John of Damascus[85];

4. The works of the Early Church Fathers;

5. Legal texts: *Nomocanon, Lex iudicialis de laicis*;

6. *Florilegia*: the *Izbornik* of 1073 and of 1076, *Sacra Parallela*.

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[84] See Ihor Ševčenko, "Pseudo-Scientific Literature among the Orthodox Slavs," *Slavonic and East European Review* 59 (1981), 321-45; and Francis Thomson, "Continuinity of Development of the Bulgarian Culture during the Period of the Byzantine Hegemony and the Slavonic Translations of Works by the Three Cappadocian Fathers," in *Meždunaroden simpozium 1100 godini ot blaženata končina na sv. Metodij* (Sofia: Sinodalno izdatelstvo, 1989), 140-153. Although the latter deals with a later period (11th -12th centuires) the approach to the cultural situation through the scope of translations is useful.

[85] These treatises are included in the Izbornik of 1073. Their function in the field of Slavonic literacy is described by Ševčenko, "Pseudo-Scientific Literature," 333: "They gave the tenth-century Bulgarian reader access to introductory material on Aristotelian philosophy and rudimentary astronomy."

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It is obvious from this list that everything translated was subordinated to the desire of acquirement the rich Christian culture though not the culture of contemporary Byzantium, but that of its patristic period. Moreover, the translations and literary culture of the South Slavs at this time were connected with the absorption of Christianity in all its aspects simultaneously.[86] Certainly, to judge the general level of education according only to the translations done at this time would be not objective if the role of the *Typikon* is not taken into account, that is, the necessity of using certain readings on a certain date.[87]

The activity held at the literary centers in the First Bulgarian Kingdom, the bilingual situation, and the scope of the translations can be perceived as certain signs of relatively high literary culture present perhaps predominantly among the high clergy (and laity?) in the monasteries and in the court. A question still without an answer concerns the way this literate strata acquires its education and how did they participate in the educational process in Slavonic.

A point in this respect is the presence and perception of the image and function of the teacher in the educational process. Although this is difficult to be established due to the lack of Slavonic manuals in grammar or rhetoric like those known in Byzantium, there are some other indications about this image. For example, the semantic field of the word "оγүнтєль" (teacher) in Old Church Slavonic renders in general that of the Greek word

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[86]Vlasto, *The Entry*, 179. An indication for these are the translations and compilations from the works of Early Church Fathers (IV-VI c.) not in their original image but adapted and in the form of excerpts (in so-called Apophthegmata patrum and *florilegia*).

[87]Review Thomson, "Continuinity of Development," 143. Also Elena Koceva, "Cerkovnye ustavy i izučenie slavjanskye rukopisej X-XIV v." (The Church typika and the study of the Slavonic manuscripts from the 10th-14th centuries). *Polata knigopis'naja* 13 (1985): 44-50.

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διδάσκαλος[88] but with one specification, in the Slavic world immediately after creation of the alphabet, the word "оүүнтєль" became a topos, reserved predominantly for Cyril and Methodius and their apostolic activity.[89] Therefore, it reflected both the spirituality (апостолство) of their work and their actual educational activity (оүүнтєльство) among the Slavs. Later on, the word was applied to the images of St. Clement and St. Naum as first being the disciples of Cyril and Methodius, and then, as teachers. The First *Vita Naum* illustrates the teaching position of Naum: мѣсто на оүүнтєлство, прѣвы въ оүүнтєлствѣ, прости сє оүүнтєлства.[90]

Data concerning Clement's teaching activity can be found in his *Vita* written by the archbishop Theophylact which presents him as a very skillful person able to do many things, not only teaching: γράφων καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν μαθημάτων (knowledge) τι ὑφηγούμενος.[91] He was also called a "new Paul for the new Corinthians - the Bulgarians,"[92] thus, reactualizing the apostolic *ideologema* of teaching and preaching God's Word. Part of his teaching activity was to find disciples to whom he could transmit his knowledge and whom he would prepare as his successors: καθ' ἑκάστην δὲ ἐνορίαν τριακοσίοις μαθηταῖς εὐθυνεῖτο.[93] The method of teaching Clement undertook required less advanced students to be taught by more advanced.[94] This method could be

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[88]The examples the activity of SS. Constantine and Methodius, of St. Clement and St. Naum.

[89]Cf. the text of the *Alphabetical Prayer, Eulogy* for Saint Cyril by Clement of Oxrid, etc.

[90]The text of the *Vita* has been edited by J. Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, 305-11.

[91] The text has been edited and commented by Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 126.

[92]Ibid., 133.

[93]Ibid., 126. In the West the lack of well-established school structures requires also a succession of teacher and students, Richè, *Education and Culture*, 476.

[94]The division of the students according to their skills and diligence could be observed also in the passage ποιοῦνται δὲ σπουδὴν τοῖς ὀξυτέροις τῶν μαθητῶν παραδοῦναι τὰ θεῖα μαθήματα which concern Cyril and Methodius teaching activity, see Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 80.

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assumed on the basis of the reported number of students (3500) under St. Clement's guidance, Ἔχων δέ τινας ἐκλελεγμένους τῶν ἄλλων.. εἰς τρισχιλίους γὰρ καὶ πεντακοσίους ἠριθμοῦντο.[95] A similar kind of teaching activity was discovered in the case of teaching practice of an anonymous Byzantine teacher from the tenth century, namely, the method of teaching younger and less skillful students by more advanced ones.[96]

The *Legenda Bulgarica* offers additional information regarding the techniques of the teaching process in the Kutmičevica region: ἤ τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδασκε καὶ τοῦτο ποικίλως, τοῖς μὲν τὸν τῶν γραμμάτων χαρακτῆρα γνωρίζων, τοῖς δὲ τὸν τῶν γεγραμμένων νοῦν (meaning) σαφηνίζων, ἄλλοις πρὸς τὸ γράφειν τὰς χεῖρας τυπῶν.[97]

However, it is clear from the *Vitae* of St. Clement and of St. Naum that an intensive educational and literary activity had been undertaken in the region of Kutmičevica, first by St. Clement, then by St. Naum. The *Legenda Bulgarica* narrates: καὶ ἁπλῶς πάντα τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ οἷς μνῆμαι θεοῦ καὶ ἁγίων φαιδρύνονται, καὶ ψυχαὶ κατανύττονται, Κλήμης τοῖς Βουλγάροις ἡμῖν πόρέδωκε.[98] Therefore, ⏐ α the teaching activity of Clement and Naum could be perceived as training in primary literacy together with instructing in Christian faith through sermons and moral examples.

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[95]Ibid., 126. The data is from so-called *Legenda Bulgarica* by Theophylact of Oxrid and was viewed by scholars as a topos. It has to be compared with the similar passage in *Vita Constantini* about the creation of the Slavonic alphabet by St. Constantine - he did it alone, for a short time. Towards this passage the Theophylact's remark acts as a replica aimed to stress the dignity of the educational work of Clement, a natural continuation of the first "alphabet" stage.

[96]Paul Lemerle, *Le premier byzantin: notes et remarques sur ensignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle* (Paris: Presses universiatires de France, 1971), 291.

[97]Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 126.

However, it is too much to presume here a "large monastic school which was developed into a kind of university center, the first educational institution of such kind in the Balkans."[99] Certainly, the activity of Clement and Naum was institutionalized by the cultural activity of Prince Boris and Tsar Symeon, but without direct evidence (both archeological and literary) it is much too speculative to talk about a "university center."

As a conclusion, the general parameters of educational practice during this first stage of the development of the Slavonic culture can be outlined. The material and literary sources show the establishment of certain educational methods not without the influence of Byzantium, mainly in respect to the curriculum for elementary education. This curriculum was present in the form of an authoritative corpus of texts, mainly Biblical, used probably up to the eighteenth century. Byzantine influence can be cautiously noted in the implementation of some educational methods ($\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\circ\gamma\rho\alpha\varphi\iota\alpha$).[100] An important remark which should be mentioned here is that the Slavonic translators did not use contemporary Byzantine literature from the intellectually sophisticated tenth century but rather went back to the early period of Byzantine Christianity - the fourth-sixth centuries.[101]

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[98]Ibid., 132. *Kirilo-Metodievska enciklopedija*, vol. 2 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1985), s.v. "Oxridska knižovna škola" offers a relevant and extensive bibliography on this topic.

[99]This suggestion belongs to Pop-Atanasov, Velev, and Jakimovska-Tošić, *Skriptorski centri*, 287. The same point of view is supported by Georgi Čavrăkov, *Središta na bălgarskata knižovnost: 9ᵗʰ-18ᵗʰ vek* (Centres of the Bulgarian booklearning: 9ᵗʰ-18ᵗʰ centuries) (Sofia: Narodna prosveta, 1987), 34.

[100]If, of course, we agree with the hypothesis of Georgiev, see note 54.

[101]Cf. the remarks on this phenomenon in the book of Robert Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria: A Comparative Study Across the Early Medieval Frontiers* (Berkeley and Los Angeles:University of California Press, 1975), where especially important for present study is the chapter on the culture. It is difficult to distinguish where the Byzantine influence stops and where the Slavonic originality begins, but it is very necessary to attempt an objective analysis, leaving the previous romantic conceptions of Slavonic scholars who believed in an almost independent development of Slavonic education and culture.

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Thus, the educational practice (mainly elementary, for the secondary stage, there is too little evidence) seems to be very similar to the Byzantine one.[102] It is necessary to stress that we hardly can speak about the educational practice in terms of the present day understanding of this concept. For this period of the establishment of the Christian institutions, it is better to talk about education in Christian faith, which was acquired through different techniques, namely, through learning and singing the Psalter, prayers, hymns.[103] The concept and practice of "teaching" as the most venerable activity (in the *Vitae* of St. Constantine, St. Methodius, and St.Clement) has for its cultural and scriptural background the model of Apostle Paul who rhetorically shaped the idea of Christianity as a world religion through his teaching discourses.

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[102]The situation during the Byzantine hegemony deserves special interest because it was not very clear what was the attittude of the Greek officials towards the Slavonic literary activity and hence, how exactly the Slavs continued with preserving the cultural heritage from the First Bulgarian Kingdom.

[103]The specific nature of the educational work in the case of these two liturgical books is not very easy to be established, for example, in the Stoudious *Typikon,* Chapter 36, the activity of "learning the Psalter" is mentioned. But it is unclear how this learning took place: as singing, reading, reciting, and thus, learning by heart. Most probably all these activities were presented as different stages' manifestations of literacy skills.

CHAPTER IV

Concepts of Education in the Works of the Slavonic Bookmen

The analysis of the archeological and literary sources showed a type of educational

practice, connected to a great extent with instruction in the Christian faith. However, a

question about the ideological background of this practice should be raised. Therefore, the

focus of this chapter will be an interpretation of some grammatical and rhetorical models

in the light of the idea of education. The aim is to place the new graphic and semantic

system - the Slavonic Written Word within the frame of particular educational concepts

such as naming and describing reality and the Divine Things through the new invented

Letters. In addition, translating from Greek into Slavonic implied a linguistic and cultural

shift from one model with traditions (Greek) to another one, with initially different social

and spiritual dimensions.[104] Defending the new alphabet within rhetorical discourse,

mastering the Word with разоүмъ and мждрость (understanding and wisdom), and finally,

establishing the authority and prestige of the Slavonic alphabet through the political

decisions of the Preslav Council in 893, all created paradigm of educational concepts to

which must be observed in this chapter.

Enlightenment Through Understanding: разоүмъ

The model of intellectual activity regarding the growth of the Slavs towards

enlightenment can be found in the treatise "О писменехъ" (On the Letters) by Černorizec

Xrabr, where the theory of the creation of the Slavonic alphabet is expressed in a clearly

ideological way, particularly regarding the superiority of the Slavonic letters over the Greek ones. What is important to note here is the use of an act with non-political connotations (the creation of the alphabet) for the purposes of a political ideology supported by the Bulgarian rulers and institutionalized after the conversion of the Bulgarians in 864.[105] Xrabr''s arguments and his organizational method clearly shows his intention of promoting a theory of the development of Slavic literacy in contrast to the Greek one which describe the creation of the alphabet and the translation of Holy Scripture.[106] Pursuing this strategy, he constructs his ideas, placing them in a certain historical[107] and biblical paradigm[108]; thus, the structure of the treatise supports the ideological intentions of the author.

The historical data are drawn from the *scholia* (commentaries) to the grammars of Dionysius Thrax and Pseudo-Theodosius, the work of Theodoret of Cyrrhus' *Graecorum affectionum curatio* and his commentary on the Bible, the $\Pi\epsilon\rho\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$ of Epiphanius of Cyprus, Eusebius of Caesarea' *Historia ecclesiastica*, Clement of Rome' *Recognistiones*, and George the Monk's *Chronicq.*[109] In these works, stages concerning

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[104]Here I mean also the pagan past of Bulgarians which was just overcome but the remnants of it were still present in the society and mentality.

[105]Review the recent book of Ivan Božilov about the development of this ideology from the time of the First Bulgarian Empire to the reign of Kalojan, Ivan Božilov, *Sedem etjuda po srednovekovna istorija* (Seven essays on medieval history) (Sofia: Anubis, 1995).

[106]This theory and the fact that this treatise can be found in about 100 copies (Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian) from the fourteenth until the nineteenth century speaks about its relation to the needs of the Slavic societies of historical and cultural self-understanding and modeling an image of the saved through the Word people.

[107]See Giorgio Ziffer, "Zur Komposition des Traktats 'Über die Buchstaben' des Mönchs Chrabr," *Die Welt der Slawen* 58 (1995), 69.

[108]The biblical quotations are from the Psalter 116:1, Luke 1:77, 18:27, and 24:45; Paul's Epistles to 2 Tim 2:7, and 1 John 5:20.

[109]For the study of the possible Greek sources of the treatise see Vatroslav Jagić, *Codex slovenicus rerum grammaticarum* (Saint Petersburg: Berolini, 1896); chapter 5 in Kuju Kuev, *Černorizec Xrabr* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1967). The information drawn from these Greek sources concerns the origin of the

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the development of the Greek alphabet and the translation of the Old Testament (found in the works of Eusebius and Epiphanius) are presented as paradigmatic examples of cultural achievements which, most likely, were in use in the Byzantine school curriculum.[110] In regard to the Slavonic educational practice, it is difficult to establish only on the basis of a single work, (the treatise "О писмєнєхъ"), whether the method of teaching through questioning[111] was present in the Slavonic curriculum.

Since this is quite speculative, of relevance would be the use of the formal aspect of some of the Greek sources (*scholia*) to reconstruct the function of the Slavonic treatise. Since "On the Letters" uses such sources as *scholia* to grammatical treatises, it could be argued that its initial variant was also in the form of a commentary to a grammatical work, which would indicate the presence of certain pedagogical and, of course, hermeneutic elements in the treatise. This assumption can be supported by the fact that the treatise of Xrabr was included to a great extent in the East Slavonic Primers of a later epoch, from the sixteenth century onwards. In addition, the structure of the treatise, namely, the dialectical form of thesis and antithesis, resembles to some extent a "quasi-*erotapocriseis*" form.[112] Thus, the structure might be viewed as another indication of the pedagogical functions of the treatise. Of particular interest concerning the example of teaching through questioning is an apocryph, which appeared between the eleventh and the twelfth century,

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Greek alphabet and the names of its creators, the translations of the Old Testament in Greek (these ones of Septuagint, Ακυλας and Συμμαχος), the question about the oldest language and the origin of the different arts.

[110]Kuev, *Černorizec Xrabr*, 71.

[111]I am refering here to the questions regarding the origin and the development of the Slavonic alphabet and literacy as there were presented in Xrabr's treatise. See Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 581, about the grammatical use of the questions-and-answers model, for example in the thirteenth century work of Manuel Moschopolos, Ερωτήματα γραμμάτικα.

[112]The *erotopokriseis* originate in the ancient Greek teaching discourses.

entitled "A Discourse Which Has Been Derived From the Book Of Genesis: The Words Of Christ, How God Created Everything."[113] This work deals with the questions regarding the origin of literacy and books, and plainly resembles the ideological paradigm of Xrabr's treatise as well as its structure.[114] In this text the learning experience is considered to be less useful than the activity of asking questions. To ask questions might be viewed as a type of educational practice, similar to the public dialogues between teacher and students:

-Tell me what is better - to ask or to learn?
-This one who learns, is like a flint which stays cold. When you hit it at a stone, it gives sparks, and it compels working. But if you do not force it (the flint) to work, it does not learn. That's why it is better to ask (than to learn).

It is possible to compare the application of this genre in Slavonic milieu with its presence within the Latin and Byzantine tradition.[115] It functioned there as a device in the educational practice whenever grammar should be explained in a simple way.[116] In Byzantium this particular teaching discourse in regards to learning the grammar, has been suggested by Tzetzes to be practiced at the same time with *Schulkatechismen*.[117]

The grammatical treatises of Slavia Orthodoxa, and especially the observed treatise of Xrabr corresponds with the idea of разоумъ (understanding) will be which can be detected not only in the grammatical treatises but also in some other works, for

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[113]See the text in Anisava Miltenova, ed., *Starobălgarska literatura* (Old Bulgarian literature), vol. 5 (Sofia: Bălgarski pisatel, 1992), 334-50.

[114]The quotations are respectively, "To whom God sent first the literacy?" "To the Adam's son."; "Who invented the Latin book?" "Hunail, Umam and Ispul"; "Who invented the Greek book" "Mercurius"; "Who invented the Bulgarian book?" "Cyril the Philosopher." This example shows a creation of a paradigm of known and mythical names. There the name of the Slavonic apostle St. Cyril was not simply placed as an end of this sequence but the epithet "Philosopher" was added which from one hand refers to his educational backgound, and from the other hand - praises him as worthy of being the inventor of the Bulgarian alphabet.

[115]This type of education later on became the core of university teaching method in the Latin West.

[116]Cf. the text of one such example in the form of dialogue in Bezrogova and Var'jaš, eds. *Antologija*, 366 onwards.

example, in the hagiographic and panegyric literature written about the Slavic apostles SS. Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, and in the discourses on reading. The specific connotations related to the meaning and the function of the Old Church Slavonic word разоумъ vary according to its context.[118] Moreover, it renders different Greek words as γνῶσις, σύνεσις, γνώμη, διάνοια, νόημα, σκοπός, which demands a contextual reading. In the treatise "О писменехъ," the last section refers to the idea of enlightenment of the Slavs through the Written Word: the biblical quotation from Luke 24:45[119] clarifies the meaning of the word разоумъ: Такъ разоумъ братие б͞ъ есть далъ словѣнмъ (In this way, brothers, God has given the understanding to the Slavs).[120]

The treatise is not merely a grammatical treatise in the way that grammar was presented in Donatus[121] and all the Byzantine grammars. It reveals rather the importance of the creation of the alphabet as an instrument of learning and understanding, which would be norm for this early stage of Slavonic literacy when no need for any pure description of language in grammatical categories was felt. In a later epoch (the fourteenth century), the treatise of Pseudo-John of Damascus (По Божию образоу създанномоу

[117]See Krumbacher, *Geschichte*, 581.

[118]It is very difficult to render this word in English without its linguistic and extralinguistic meanings, for example: there is a difference in translating it with "understanding" or with "enlightenment": while the first one points to a process in the mental activity, the second one points to the result of this activity, including even a spiritual sense.

[119]"And He opened their understanding, that they might comprehend the Scriptures." All biblical quotations in English translation are from *The Orthodox Study Bible* (Nashville, Tenn: Thomas Nelson Publ., 1993).

[120]Kuju Kuev, *Ivan - Aleksandrovijat sbornik ot 1348* (The Miscellany of Tsar Ivan Alexander of 1348) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1981), 210.

[121]The grammars of Donatus are not attested in South Slavonic milieu, they were translated in Russia in the sixteenth century, as well as in the Slavia Romana - also in the sixteenth century, see Dean Worth, *The Origins of Russian Grammar: Notes on the State of Russian Philology Before the Advent of Printed Grammars* (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1983) and Sylvie Archaimbault, "Tradicija Donata i grammatiki slavjanskix jazykov" (The tradition of Donatus and the Slavonic grammars), *Revue des Études slaves* 1 (1998): 17-25.

чловѣкоу и слова почтенномоу саномъ, сего части, имиже състоится, не безъ оучениа оставити потреба) stated and fulfilled this need.

The concept of enlightenment of Slavs explicitly presented in early Slavonic writings focuses on the importance of the Written Word for the more perfect understanding of Divine wisdom. However, an analysis which stresses the role of this concept in the Slavonic educational paradigm, has not been raised in the scholarly literature to this date.

A stage from development of the ideological background of Slavonic literacy is the justification of the Slavonic Written Word. It has to be examined by taking into account the terms "norm" and "dignitas" as applied to the functioning of the Old Church Slavonic language in the cultural system of the Byzantine Commonwealth.[122] The use of these terms has implications in the treatise of Xrabr and in the *Vita Constantini*, where the problem of the триѩзычьнаѩ ѥресь ("trilingual" heresy) has been raised.[123] The prestige of the new literary language (Old Church Slavonic) is based on the techniques of translation established by Constantine and Methodius, and is conceptualized by John the Exarch in his *Prologue*. An interpretation of the functions that Old Church Slavonic could exercise both as sacred (liturgical) and profane language also sheds light on the linguistic situation in ninth-century Bulgaria.[124]

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[122]Cf. the argumentation of these concepts in the book of Ivan Bujukliev, *Ezikovata kultura na bălgarskoto Srednovekovie* (The linguistic culture of the Bulgarian Middle Ages) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 1992), 46-7.

[123]For the origin and the authenticity of the trilingual heresy, see the article of Francis Thomson, "SS. Cyril and Methodius"; another point of view which is older but still held by most of the scholars, can be reviewed in the book of Kuev, *Černorizec Xrabr*, 72-84.

[124]See the study of Ekaterina Dogramadžieva, "Za săotnošenieto meždu govorima reč i knižoven ezik v slavjanskite ezici prez IX-XI vek" (About the correlation between the spoken and the literary language in respect to the Slavic languages from the ninth to the eleventh centuries), *Slavjanska filologija* 17 (1983),

Meaning[125] of the Word: ρazογμъ

The emphasis on the lexeme ρazογμъ can be detected in another grammatical

work, the Prologue of John the Exarch to the translation of John of Damascus' *De fide*

orthodoxa: Да никакоже, братьга, не zazирaнте, aцɪe къдɪ wбргацιεtε нɪ истын глъ, нɪбонъ

ρazογмъ εмоȢ ιεcтъ положɪнъ тоджɪмоцьнъ (Therefore, brothers, don't be dainty about

finding somewhere not the same word, because the same meaning (ρazογмъ) has been put

in it).[126] The use of this lexeme (ρazογмъ) here designates a different meaning, and hence,

presents another approach to the Written Word not occurring in Xrabr's treatise, namely

the creation of a translation theory not based on the "word-for-word" type, but on

"meaning" (ρazογмъ). The focal point in this theory is that since each word has different

connotations, the translators could not rely only on its literal meaning. Such a theory is not

an invention of Exarch, although he applies it for the first time to the Slavonic language. It

can be found much earlier in the works of two Antiochian scholars, Theodore, the bishop *l i·q*

of Mopsuest⎰ and Diodorus of Tarsus, and going back to Origen's ~~Example~~ ~~on the~~ *Hexapk*

~~Septuagint~~.[127] There is a similar reference in one of the Epistles of St. Basil,[128] asserting

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286-9 where she observes different functional languages: "1. Official language of the state; 2. Church-juridical language; 3. Liturgical language; 4.Official language for the education; 5. Language of the literature." What attracts the attention here is the separate educational function of the language. This idea has been validated through the data from literary and non-literary sources; so, we can assume the particular place of the Old Church Slavonic in the educational practice keeping in mind also the specific role of the Greek language in it at least in its initial period.

[125]I am not going to make a difference between "sense" and "meaning" although such a difference exists in some of the modern languages.

[126]The text is given after the critical edition of Sadnik, *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus*, 19-20. In the edition a German translation is also provided.

[127]According to them, "a word has semantic field, difficult to be reproduced by a single word in another language," for the references to them and their theory see Nigel Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London-Cambridge, MA: Gerald Duckworth&Co., 1996), 30.

[128]It is the First Epistle to bishop Amphilochius in 374, Canon No 15, see it in Ivan Stefanov, ed. *Pravila na*

that a word-for-word translation of Holy Scripture is not substantial and that a good

translation can denote the signifier without necessarily giving the literal meaning to the

Jewish word. Finally, a particular passage of Pseudo-Dyonisius the Areopagite was also

translated and viewed as authoritative on this topic.[129] It is certain that Origen's, Basil's,

and Dionysius' works were familiar to the Bookmen from the Preslav circle,[130] and by

using them, the Slavonic *litterati* promote not simply any theory of translation but one

whose center is the concept of "meaning." This theory can be also found in the

grammatical fragment, the Macedonian Cyrillic Folium in the expressions: "нє во сѫтъ ны

на потрѣбѫ глаголи ти и словеса нъ разоумъ and also разоума са нє отъпоуштаѫштє

инъмъ глагольмъ положихъмъ.[131] The fact that a theory of translation exists in such an

early period indicates a certain level of trained (qualified) clergy, willing to clarify

grammatical concepts.

Svetata Pravoslavna cărkva (Canons of the Holy Orthodox Church) (Sofia: T.T. Dragiev i s-ie, 1930), 27.

[129]See the passage from Pseudo-Dionysius in the Prologue of Exarch: Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ἄλογον, ὡς οἶμαι, καὶ σκαιὸν τὸ μὴ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ σκοποῦ προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ ταῖσ λέξεσι, Sadnik, *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus*, 21.

[130]This circle is thought to be formed in the court of Tsar Symeon in Preslav in the tenth century and it has been connected also with the flourishing of the Preslav literary school.

[131]"Because we do not need the mere words but the meaning," "in order not to give up the meaning, we put another words." The problems of the dating and attribution of Macedonian Cyrillic Folium are raised by Ivan Dobrev, "Sădărža li Makedonskijat kirilski list otkăs ot proizvedenie na Konstantin Filosof-Kiril za prevodačeskoto izkustvo?" (Does the Macedonian Cyrillic folium contain a part of a work of Constantine the Philosopher-Cyril about the art of translation?). *Starobălgarska literatura* 9 (1981): 20-32, where the author listed some opinions about the authorship of the text: that John the Exarch's Prologue took some ideas from the MCF which is a work of St. Constantine-Cyril, served initially as Preface to the translation of the Gospels (A. Vaillant), another opinion views it as a Entwurf and Rechenschrift from a text of St. Constantine about the entire translation of the Gospels (K. Trost), the opinion of Dobrev himself relates the text to a part of a apology probalby written by John the Exarch, against a clergy who accused the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Gospels in dogmatic and linguistic imperfection. The text itself was edited and commented by Angelina Minčeva, *Starobălgarski kirilski otkăsleci* (Old Bulgarian Cyrillic fragments) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1978), 77-81.

The creation of a theory of translation can be perceived as a natural continuation of the first stage of the development of Slavonic literacy - the invention of the alphabet. Its functioning in the educational discourse (in the sense of "enlightenment") speaks about its purpose and to some extent, about its consequences, namely, an establishment of a corpus of writings about the newly enlightened people, the Slavs. This theory of translation can be viewed as a model of semantic thinking within the new Slavonic literate discourse. The institutionalization of this semantic model was made by Tsar Symeon's commission of the *Izbornik of 1073*: повелѣ мнѣ прѣмѣноу сътворити рѣчи, инако набъдѧаште тождьство разоумъ его. (commanded me/ to make the change of the language while preserving in another way the identity of his thoughts).[132]

Thus, the cultural and linguistic model, pursued in the works of Xrabr and John the Exarch, can be examined as a part of an educational paradigm, directed to the understanding of Divine Truth.[133] This model had for its basis the apology and the panegyric of the Slavonic alphabet. Later, in the two Greek *Vitae* of St. Clement, this ideology was viewed through the educational activity of the disciple of Cyril and Methodius, St. Clement, as his teaching activity being perceived as of particular importance for acquiring Slavonic literacy.

People did exist (mainly in the court and among the higher clergy in the monasteries), and apparently, these people wrote treatises directed to similarly educated readers. It was exactly in these treatises where a literary or educational ideology (which

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[132]The translation is after Fr. Thomson, "The Symeonic Florilegium," 51-2. Although here разоумъ is rendered as "thought," the general idea is that the translator should adhere to the "meaning" of the thoughts not to their form.

sometimes is developing into a political ideology) was raised, namely: the creation of the Slavonic alphabet as sacred and God's inspired act, as well as the concept of its superiority over the Greek, the theory of translation which offers a semantic understanding of the fuction of the words in the language without simplifying the matter and hence, the development of the idea of the "understanding" and "meaning" which have to be acquired through the Written Word and through the translation of the Holy Scripture.

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[133] An approach to the dynamics of the Slavonic philological culture could be viewed in Steinke's article "Die grammatischen Traktate," 187 which reveals the following phases in the linguistic culture of the Slavs: "Die *Angangsphase*, die Wiederherstellung and die *einzelphilologische* Phase."

CHAPTER V

Mastering the Word

Книжноіє оүченіє

Horace Lunt views the process of mastering the Word in Kievan Rus' in the following way: "the first stage is marked by the new enlightenment brought through baptism; then in the second period the written word has been mastered, and the third stage is the книжноіє оүченіє, that is ready to be used to profit the souls of the faithful."[134] The term книжноіє оүченіє can be explicated as the study or the teaching of letters as in the context of basic literacy, or more general, of books.[135] Which books the narrative refering to, is not clear, but it is possible to associate this passage with an example from *Povest' Vremennyx Let'* (A Tale of Bygone Years), describing Jaroslav the Wise who shows "his love for books by reading the discourses of the prophets and the teachings of the Gospels and of the Acts and Epistles, and the Lives of the Holy Fathers."[136]

These three stages as discussed by Lunt do not necessarily occur in chronological order (except for the initial act of creating the alphabet). The paradigmatic model of this is the activity of SS. Constantine and Methodius who completed the process of creating the alphabet, translating the books, and teaching them to the faithful as one "complex act."[137] Or, in other words, these stages can appear simultaneously in order to accumulate the

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[134]Horace Lunt, "The Language of Rus' in the Eleventh Century," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/89), 294-5. The scholar uses a passage from the *Primary Russian Chronicle* analysing its metaphorical message concerning the "plowmen" and the "seed."

[135]See the explanation of these terms in Simon Franklin, "Booklearning and Bookmen in Kievan Rus': A Survey of an Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 12/13 (1988/9), 831. An attempt to clarify the lexicon connected with the literacy and education in Old Church Slavonic is made in Chapter 4.

[136] Franklin, "Booklearning," 832.

Christian culture as theory and practices at the same time.[138] A passage from the *Legenda Bulgarica* can be interpret within the paradigm of such model: τῷ λαῷ τὰς γνώμας στηρίζων, ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς ὀρθῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν θρησκείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῖς κατασκευάζων στερέωμα.[139]

The growth in knowledge and faith at the same time in South Slavonic culture can be viewed through two concepts which constitute the semantic field of the early Old Church Slavonic literature. The concepts of знаниѥ (γνῶσις) and мждростъ (φρόνημα, φρόνησις, σοφία) define the act of obtaining knowledge not to satisfy vainglory, but to reach the Divine Wisdom. For this reason more than likely education in secular knowledge and instruction in the Christian faith (both as practice and ideology) can not be viewed separately. In quite similar way this relationship is presented the writings of St. Augustine where mastering the meaning of Scripture as the repository of Christian wisdom was viewed as based on faith and the love of God.[140]

The opposite model is presented in the refusal of sharing the knowledge: "You are reading the books secretly."[141] Reading became a temptation,[142] led to vainglory, because the book was kept for private use only.

The relation between knowledge and faith can be exemplified in practice, particularly in the cases of "catechumens" instructed in Christian faith and morality

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[137]Lunt, "The Language of Rus," 295.
[138]See here the translations and compilations from the works of Early Church Fathers (IV-VI c.) not in their original image but adapted and in the form of excerpts: sentences in the so-called Αποφθεγματα and chosen texts in the *florilegia*.
[139]Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 130.
[140]See H. de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in* Europe, vol. 1. University in the Middle Ages. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 308.
[141]Бесєдд Коэмъı прєзвитєрд, in Kuev, *Xristomatija*, 220.

through proper examples from books.[143] The canons of the Orthodox Church insist on a similar practice stating that all bishops should teach the people to the principles of piety through the selection of arguments for the Truth from the Holy Scripture.[144] Educational, the practice in the Latin West seemed to have been the same: in the monastic, episcopal and parish schools pupils were taught the alphabet and the Christian virtues simultaneously.[145] It is not possible though, to verify the techniques of this activity without clear indications either in texts or in non-literary materials such as tablets, inscriptions, images.[146]

The *Zlatostruj*, a tenth-century florilegium of Bulgarian provenance, including John Chrysostom's homilies thought to be compiled by Tsar Simeon himself, can serve as an indication that Christian instruction and the education occurred simultaneously. The *Zlatostruj* probably used not only as liturgical text but also for moral instruction of clergy and laity through private reading.[147] Additional support for this assumption can be based on hagiographic quotations, mainly from the *Legenda Bulgarica*: λόγους γὰρ

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[142]This is very clearly showed in the case of Dante's characters from *Inferno* Paolo and Francesca, cf. the article of Boyarin, "Placing Reading," 21.

[143]Cf. Joseph A. Munitz, "Catechetical Teaching-aids in Byzantium," in *Καθηγήτρια, Essays presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th birthday*, (Camberley, Surrey: Porphyrogenitus, 1988), 69-83. In this article Munitz suggests to observe *Sacra Parallela* as a teaching device for teaching the catechumens to Christian virtues and vices. For the similar practice in the Barbarian West stressin the need of doctrine knowledge most often learned by heart, see Richè, *Education and Culture*, 480.

[144]The Canon No 19 from the VII Ecumenical Council.

[145]Lerner, "Literacy and Learning," 175.

[146]Images as educational devices were investigated by Margaret Mullett, "Writing in Early Medieval Byzantium," in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Rosamund MacKitterick, (Cambridge: Cambridge Unversity Press, 1990), 156-85. If some examples from the Church Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa and John of Damascus, are to be taken, they will show the relevance of this approach, cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De S. Theodore martyre*, "For the silent painting speaks on the wall, and does much good," PG, 46:737, and John of Damascus' *On Divine Images*, 17 "What the book is to the literate, the image is to illiterate. Just as words speak to the ear, so the image speaks to the sight; it brings understanding."

[147]Cf. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. Ed. A. Každan (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2227, where he presumes also a not negligible level of literacy in Bulgaria at this time.

συ⟨τεθεικὼς εἰς πάσας τὰς ἑορτὰς ἁπλοῦς καὶ σαφεῖς καὶ μηδῆν βαθὺ μηδὲ ⟨⟨⟨

περινοημένον ἔχοντας, ἀλλ᾽ οἵους μὴ διαφεύγειν μηδὲ τὸν ἠλιθιώτατον ἐν

Βουλγάροις[148] and from the *Vita Clementis (Vita brevis)* by Archbishop Demetrius

Chomatianos:Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ Βουλγάρων ἔθνος οὔπω πᾶν ἐπεφώτιστο τῷ βαπτίσματι καὶ

θηριωδίαν εἶχε βαρβαρικήν, τοῖς θεοπνεύστοις αὐτοῦ διδαχαῖς πάντας εἰς

θεογνωσίαν ἐφωταγώγησε καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης.[149] Teaching through preaching was

strongly suggested by the Canons insisted in the Canons of the Ecumenical Councils[150] and

must have been the easiest way to educate the illiterate in the Christian faith. The Canons

of the Orthodox Church[151] credit with teaching duties only the clergy because these

duties, namely, teaching and preaching the Scripture to the laity, originate from the very

nature of the priesthood.[152] If a laymen confronted this Canon and dares to make speeches

or to teach publicly, he would have been punished with excommunication for forty days.[153]

Positioned in the context of the Orthodox Canons, the preaching activity of St.

Clement is, in fact, teaching in knowledge of the Scripture and in faith.

The preaching activity requires a creation of homilies and sermons which have to

to express rhetorically the meaning of the Scriptures without oversimplifying the discourse

but, at the same time, comprehensible for the ordinary people. Certain rhetoric skills,

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[148]"[St. Clement] compiled simple and plain homilies for all feasts which are not of depth and wisdom but are understandable for even the most ignorant Bulgarian," Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 132.

[149]"Since the Bulgarian people were not entirely enlightened and they possessed a barbarian wildness, [St. Clement] through his divine-inspired preachings, led them all to the knowledge of God," Milev, *Grăckite žitija*, 178.

[150]See the Canon 10 from the VI Ecumenical Council and 19 from the VII Ecumenical Council, "It behoves those who preside over the churches, every day but especially on Lord's days, to teach all the clergy and people words of piety and of right religion, gathering out of Holy Scripture meditations and determinantions of the truth, and not going beyond the limits now fixed, nor varying from the tradition of the God-bearing fathers," *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church*, ed. Henry R. Percival, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 374.

[151]The Apostolic Canons most probably existed in early Slavonic translation.

therefore, must have been required in order to translate well and to compose original sermons in a new language. In the Slavic world in this early educational situation, the rhetorical skills and knowledge must have been gained through the examples of Church Fathers' homiletic literature.[154]

Rhetoric as a part of the *trivium* cannot be assumed in the Slavic world neither in this early epoch nor later due to lack of sources: the only example concerning direct instructions in rhetorics is the Slavonic translation of treatise of the Byzantine teacher George Choeroboscus "Ѻ ѡбразѣхъ" (On the tropes).[155] This work contains a list of tropes and figures, together with examples for each of them taken from Homer, from the Psalter and from the Gospels. This work was probably included in the original Greek copy of the miscellany which the Slavonic translator must have had as a prototype.[156] The interesting fact is that in the whole Slavonic tradition, such kind of rhetorical works cannot be found until the seventeenth century.[157] Why this particular treatise had been chosen for

[152]Canon 10 from the VI Ecumenical Council, About preaching as teaching activity in the West, see Richè, *Education and Culture*, 483-9.

[153]Canon 64 from the VI Ecumenical Council.

[154]Although rhetoric as discipline was part of both the Western and Eastern educational programs, namely, of the *trivium* which originates from the classical Greek tradition. There have been many manuals in rhetorics used in the school curriculum both in Western and Eastern Europe but I will mention only the most famous of them: Cicero, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Quintilian.

[155]The text is edited by Angelina Minčeva and Rumjana Pavlova, *Simeonov sbornik: po Svetoslavovija prepis ot 1073* (Tsar Symeon Florilegium on the Svjatoslavov copy from 1073), vol.1 (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1991), 668-74. A critique of some of the papers in this edition is the article of Thomson, "The Symeonic Florilegium," 37-53.

[156]There is a debate about the possible translation of this *florilegium* from one complete Greek *florilegium* or a compilation on a Bulgarian soil according to the needs of the Preslav *literati*. For the first point of view see Ihor Ševčenko's article, "Pseudo-Scientific Literature," especially 332. The second opinion is held by Francis Thomson in the article "The Symeonic Florilegium." The most recent study of the possible Greek photographs of this florilegium is the book of M.B.Bibikov, *Vizantijski prototip drevnejšej slavjanskoj knigi:Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073* (A Byzantine prototype of the oldest Slavonic book: Izbornik of Svjatoslav from 1073) (Moscow: Pamjatniki istoričeskoj mysli, 1996).

[157]The opinion of Elena Velkovska is that this treatise must have been difficult for understanding by the medieval readers due to the uncomprehensibility of the Greek texts and to non-familiarity with the ancient and Byzantine rhetorics from the Slavonic translator, see Elena Velkovska, "Traktatăt na Georgi Xirovosk

translation, can be answered if the opinion that the Izbornik is entire translation from a Greek miscellany is taken into consideration; the conclusion then is that the Slavonic translator just had likely translated everything which was included in the Greek miscellany.[158]

What is still unclear is the question of the function of this treatise in the Slavonic milieu. It could be assumed on the basis of its paradigmatic examples that it must have been used for some type of educational purpose (together with the whole miscellany).[159] Considering this work in the Slavonic educational practice, will lead the assumption of a utilitarian character of early Slavonic education, that is, the "curriculum" taught in one or another way must have been subordinated to the focus on a correct understanding of Holy Writ.[160] But at the same time it should be stated that this treatise also connotes certain educational concepts of a sophisticated culture which most probably were understood by the Slavonic translator. In this respect, the treatise is an example of the shaping a kind of elevated literacy although functioning as an case in the Slavonic literary tradition. Another

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Za tropite, negovijat slavjanski prevod i vizantijskata ritoričeska tradicija" (The treatise of George Choeroboscus *Περὶ τρόπων,* its translation into Slavonic, and the Byzantine rhetorical tradition), *Starobălgarska literatura* 19 (1985), 82-3. In the same article the author goes into the question of the function of this text in the newly baptised Slavonic world, and reached the conclusion that the main principles of the classical rhetorics are not requisite for the Slavs but the list of tropes and figures is a applicable to every kind of text.

[158]Velkovska, "Traktatăt," 83. However, Bujukliev does not agree with such an opinion because "the availability of small amount of copies of this text is not a reason for claiming such an attitude by the Slavonic translator; critical commentary and analyses of the quality of the translation is provided in the chapter about Choeroboscus' treatise in Ivan Bujukliev, "Bălgarskijat prevod na *Περὶ τρόπων* (O obrazjax) ot Georgi Xirovosk" (The Bulgarian translation of George Choeroboscus' *Περὶ τρόπων*), in his book *Ezikovata kultura na bălgarskoto Srednovekovie* (The linguistic culture of the Bulgarian Middle Ages) (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sveti Kliment Ohridski", 1992).

[159]Cf. E. Granstrem and L. Kovtun, "Poetičeskie terminy v Izbornike 1073 g. i razvitija ix v russkoj tradicii: analiz traktata Georgija Xorovoska) (The poetical terms in the Izbornik of 1073 and their development within the Russian tradition: an analysis if the treatise of George Choeroboscus), in *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073: Sbornik statej,* ed. V.A. Rybakov (Moscow: Nauka, 1977), 102 consider the educational function of this treatise independently of the function of the miscellany.

strong possibility is that the Slavonic translation of the treatise shifts from pure rhetorics (the creation of texts) to hermeneutics (the interpretation of texts).[161]

The use of the certain types of miscellany like the *Izbornik of 1073*, in the educational practice is another controversial issue. It has been rarely discussed due to the lack of direct evidence. The importance of reconstructing different kinds of knowledge has already been considered *(Izbornik of 1073)*, but the question of its possible use as a teaching aid has not yet been raised. A hypothesis concerning another miscellany, from the fourteenth century, suggested that this kind of work, miscellanies, were probably used in elementary education.[162] However, in this early period of the tenth century, it would be quite speculative to view the *florilegia* in general as port of elementary education. More likely, if their content is to be considered, they were not a device of elementary education.[163] The time of their emergence and spread[164] can also be an indicator of their certain didactical functions, namely, serving as manuals of practical and theoretical (theological) knowledge, most probably designed not for primary education, but rather for private or collective (monastic) reading after the users had already acquired a certain (relatively high) level of literacy.[165] In the Latin West this type of monastic readings

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[160]In this case not only the Bible but also the writings of the early Church Fathers which were very popular in the initial period of the Slavonic translations.

[161]Georgi Xazagerov, "O obrazex": Ioan, Xirovosk, Trifon: k diaxronii tropov i figur v greko-slavjanskoj tradicii" ("On the tropes": John, Choeroboscus, Triphon: to the diachronics of the tropes and figures in Greek-Slavonic tradition), *Izvestija Akademii nauk, serija literatury i jazyka* 1 (1994), 70.

[162]See Gjuzelev, *Učilišta,scriptorii,* 46. He considers especially *The questions and answers of Athanasius of Alexandria* from the Lavrentiev Miscellany of 1348. However, there are no evidence for such a hypothesis.

[163]It was a compendium of theological, historical, rhetorical, astronomical works which most probably provided the Slavs with knowledge of the Antiquity experienced through Christian mentality and vocabulary. The question is if this pseudo-scientific terminology was comprehensible for the readers of these *florilegia.*

[164]The tenth century onwards. This was the time when the new Christian institutions (Church, State, Ruler) were build, and the rapid translation and multiplication of books was took place.

[165]See for the use of *florilegia* in Byzantium the article of Munitiz, "Cathechetical Teaching-aids," 77.

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contained of patristic *florilegia* was composed by Bede the Venerable for his monks.[166]

Byzantine practice also hints at the use of *florilegia* as teaching devices.[167]

Почитаниіе и послоушаниіе книжьноіе

The problem which the first Slavonic compilers probably faced was how to read the

Scripture in order to use it in their compilations.[168] "Reading books" is a theme appeared

in three discourses on reading, of the parainetic genre, compiled from Biblical and patristic

examples. The form of reading and moral instructions in the discourses is spirited by the

use of Psalter verses and sanctioned by the names of the Church Fathers. An investigation

of the origin of these discources, the type of miscellany they appear, and the models of

reading they present, will provide data about literary development and communication in a

society where knowledge of books meant "salvation."[169]

The three discourses on reading have certain relationships among them according

to their genesis, and then, textual and formal features.[170] Their topic focuses on the

activity of both individual and collective reading of the Scriptures, an activity which was

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[166]Cf. Richè, *Education and Culture*, 473.

[167]Anthologies and *florilegia* must have been used also as teaching devices in the West for acquiring knowledge about ancient authors through excerpts from their works rather than through complete texts, Richè, *Education and Culture*, 472.

[168]Cf. the texts of the three discourses on reading and the chapter on books by Cosmas the Presbyter. The latter concerns not only the attitude to the Bible but the attitude to the books in general, accusing the rich clergy of being selfish in keeping the entire knowledge only for themselves.

[169]See here the ascertainment of Mullett, "Writing," 5 that "The functions of the literacy need to be established in relation to a particular society's needs."

[170]Cf. the article of William Veder, "Three Old Slavic Discourses on Reading," in *Studia slavica mediaevalia et humanistica Riccardo Picchio dicata*, II, ed. H. Goldblatt (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1986), 721. The texts will be quoted according to Veder's publication, 722-6.

typical in a monastic community in the Middle Ages.[171]As a rule, all three discources refer

to почитаньке книжьнок[172] as a process of enlightenment the mind (оумъ). The variation

within this main model consider mainly the pragmatics of the reading act, namely, the

particular actions during the reading process.

The first discourse, entitled Григоріа папы римскаго о почитаніи книжнѣм слово

(Gregory's Discourse on Reading Scripture)[173] does not have a Greek counterpart and is

probably a Slavic compilation prefaced a miscellany also of compiled works.[174] Two

semantic centers in the text are почитание and слышати оученіа (пооученне).[175]

The first activity, reading, is phrased in the axiological paradigm of "benefit"

(польза) and "good deed" (добро). It is articulated in an imperative short-sentenced form

which is a distinctive feature of the whole text. This form implies certain characteristics of

an oral discourse, namely, preaching and reading aloud. This kind of reading was practiced

mainly in the monastic communities which had to be instructed in Christian ethics through

proper examples from the Scriptures.[176] Listening activity is discernible as "benefit"

(польза) and the model of "living unknown" (безвѣстно жити) if not "listening to the

lecture of the Scripture" (слышаще оученіа). The verbs слышати (listen) and слоушати

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[171]Stoudious Typikon can serve as an exemplary case, and especially Chapters 26, 28, 33, 36 on reading.
[172]The word почитаньке out of a context can be translated with "reading," "veneration," and "observation"
of the books, cf. A. Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskago jazyka po pismennym'
pametnikam'* (Materials for lexicon of Old Russian language on the basis of literary monuments) (Graz:
Akademische Druckund Verlagsanstalt, 1956), the verb чисти.
[173]The translations of the discourses' titles are made by W. Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses."
[174]See Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 717. He considers its origin to be early, pre-existent to the
Izbornik of Svjatoslav (written probably in the tenth-century Preslav) according to linguistic and textual
features.
[175]Some examples from the text will clarify this statement: добро кстъ, братіе, и полезно всакомоу вѣрнѕ
почитаньке книжьнок (Every correct reading of the books, brothers, is good and useful thing), 723.

(give heed) probably refer to the semantic of προσεχω, and especially to its liturgical connotations.[177] Thus, knowledge about the individual (изв҇ѣстно жити) could be acquired through the purest execution of reading, listening and probably his writing activities.[178] The act of reading recapitulates an experience of listening to the Word of God.[179]

In general, viewed as a compilation which prefaced a miscellany, the analysed text gives indications about the needs of the monastic (?) community at this particular historical moment, that is, monks to be instructed in the way they should treat the Scripture and the works of the Church Fathers. The model of reading and listening activity are perceived as beneficial both refering to the authoritative writings of the Bible and the Church Fathers.[180]

The second discourse on reading is a translation from Greek, and can be attributed either to John Chrysostom or to Ephraim Syrus: Слово с҇тааго Иωана Ѱлатооустааго о томь, како подобаютъ чьтѣнии послоушати и вънимати (John Chrysostom's Discourse on How to Listen and Give Heed to Lecture).[181] One of the manuscripts which contains this discourse is the eleventh-century Moscow copy of the *Pandecta scripturae sacrae Antiochus Monachus*, which also includes the alphabetical verse of Gregory of Nazianzus

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[176]Cf. also Chapter 28 of the Stoudious Typikon, "When the brothers come down for the midday meal, they should carry a verse [of the psalm] on their lips...A reading then take place..."

[177]See the meaning of this word in connection with the part of the office before reading of lessons, attested in John Chrysostom's *Homilia in Actuum Apostolorum*, *Greek -English Lexicon*, 9th ed, eds. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

[178]The modern concept of literacy is defined in terms of social practice and conceptions of reading and writing, Brian Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 3.

[179]This is common feature of both Western and Eastern learned societies, see Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the 11th and the 12th centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 149.

[180]The interesting fact is that the name of the Slav apostle St. Constantine-Cyril has been included among the names of St. Basil the Great, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom, a sign which points to

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(алфавитарь).[182] The structure and the content of the Pandects illuminate its didactic functions as a manual for monastic life.[183] The incipit of the discourse has for its source the Greek alphabetico-anonymous collection of the *Apophthegmata patrum*.[184]

In the discourse the act of reading is viewed as something which necessitates special preparation and actions - open the inner eyes, be diligent, be patient, be eager. The pragmatic of this example points to a certain understanding of reading as manual labor not every time enjoyable but definitely indispensable and substantive.[185] The insctructions command the reader to focus on "good reading," without haste: и не тъщи ся листы тъкмо обращати.

Слово стааго Иѡана Ƶлатооустааго situates reading (ѵисти), listening (послоушати), understanding (въниматн) and creating (творити) within the paradigm of "enlightenment of mind through θεογνωσια" (просвѣтиши оумъ и съмыслъ свѣтомь разоума твоѥго). This passage is part of a prayer for comprehension which "repeats and elaborates the elements of the introduction."[186] The focal point is the insistence of doing the things which were written in the book: да не тъкмо ѵьтеши написанъихъ, нъ да и твориши.

This particular perception of literary activity might be compared with grammatically describe model of literacy in the treatise "On the Letters" by Constantine

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the origin of the compiler and expresses a similar to the ideology in Xrabr's treatise О писмѣнехъ point of view.

[181]Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 718.

[182]Cf. the edition of the text by J. Popovski in *Polata knigopisnaja* 23-24 (1989).

[183]In this case of Gregory of Nazianzus' alphabetical verse, it must have not been aimed to help in acquiring of an initial literacy as in the case of the Glagolitic and Greek abecedaria, but rather to serve as a lesson in Christian morality.

[184]Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 718.

[185]Cf. Chapter 26 of the Stoudious Typikon about the whole day reading activity of the monks.

[186]Cf. Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 718.

of Kostenec.[187] In this work, the author connects the two aspects of becoming lettered

(having книжовна грамотност) to the understanding of Holy Scripture through writing

and reading. The two inseparable natures (substances) of "writing" as a manifestation of

the Divine Idea are the written (orthographical and grammatical form) and verbal

"expression" of "лѣпотє" as a concept which also can be applied to the relationship

between text and reading.[188] The two examples of literacy reveal a certain change in the

paradigm of educational activity. In the case of the discourse analyzed above, the

presented model of literacy does not take into account any grammatical knowledge, while

in the second case of the fifteenth-century treatise, the formal characteristics of the parts

of speech, which secure the precise meaning of the word and the sentence, are considered

by the author as crucial for preserving the orthodoxy of the faith.[189] Thus, this second

example resembles to a certain extent the idea of preserving the "meaning" of the words as

important for a good translation and proper understanding, expressed in the Prologue of

John the Exarch.

The third discourse entitled Слово нѣкоюго калоугєра о чьтєнии книгъ (The

Discourse of a Certain Monk on Reading Scripture), serves as a preface to a miscellany,

the *Izbornik of 1076*. This text differs from the previous two ones in some aspects.The

title itself points to the social status of the author (translator or/and compiler) - нѣкоюго

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[187]This is a fifteenth century grammatical treatise written by Constantine of Kostenec, a Bulgarian compatriot, who was working in Serbia in the first half of the fifteenth century.
[188]See this analysis of Constantine's concept of "literary education" in Elena Koceva, "Edna văzmožnost za pročit na liturgični tekstove văz osnova na Rilskite muzikalni pripiski" (Towards a possible interpretation of liturgical texts on the basis of Rila musical inscriptions), *Paleobulgarica* 3 (1987), 35.
[189]Cf. the recent book of Harvey Goldblatt, *Orthodoxy and Orthography: Constantine Kostenečki' Treatise on the Letters* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1987).

калоугера (certain monk) which is probably designed of Slavic origin.[190] The fact of the attribution corresponds with the function of the miscellany, which most probably was aimed for monastic use, to instruct in morality and spiritual perfection.[191] As far as the content of the discourse and his place as a preface in the miscellany are taken into account, it can be suggested that this text must have served as a guidance in reading - reading in general, and reading the particular text of the miscellany.[192]

The text focus on personal reading and comprehension of the Scripture[193]: єгда үьтєши книгъі..нъ поразоумѣи, үьто глѧтъ книгъі и словеса та.[194] The motif of reading with разоумъ in order to поразоумѣти is the leitmotif; it is in the same semantic paradigm as the one, presented in Xrabr's treatise, "enlightenment through understanding." This paradigm has its parallels also in the discourse of John Chrysostom but rather connoting a listening than reading activity: отъврьзи ми оуши и оүи срьдьүьнѣи оуслышати слово твоє и разоумѣти ѥ.[195]

The typology of "good reading" model is manifested as well through the examples of Church Fathers' learning activity: Иꙁ млада прилежаахѫ стхъ книгъ, то же и на добраꙗ

[190]Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 720.

[191]B. Angelov, "Za tri săčinenija v Simeonovite sbornici" (About three writings in Tsar Symeon's miscellanies), *Starobălgarska literatura* 5 (1979), 31.

[192]The same suggestion can be made about the *Pandects of Antiochus* prefaced by the John Chrysotomos' Discourse.

[193]The personal reading is attested as practice in the Stoudious *Typikon*, Chapter 26: "…and the brothers assemble at the book station: each one takes a book and read it until the evening."

[194]Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 725: "When you are reading books… do understand what the books and the words are talking about."

[195]Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 724: "Open my eyes and my ears hearty to hear your word and to understand (comprehend) it."

дѣла подвигнѫшѧ сѧ.[196] The relationship between morality and literacy status of the Saints is very clear in this case. It explicates also the positive attitude towards книжнок оуѥник in the form of reading or learning books.[197] The cases when there is some information about saint's книжнок оуѥник are, as a rule, very rare in the early period of Slavonic literature.[198] The paradigmatic example is of St. Constantine-Cyril who went to Constantinople and наоучи сѧ Омироу и геометрии и оу Лькка и оу Фотига диалеѯицѣ и ккѣ`мъ философьскъимъ оуѥньемъ, къ симъ же и риторикии и арифмитикии, астрономии и моусикии и ккѣ`мъ проучимъ елиньскъимъ хѫдожьствомъ[199] is the earliest example in Old Church Slavonic literature about learning; it specifies very acurately the nature of this learning - the seven liberal arts curriculum which was in use in Constantinopolian Magnaure School. Nevertheless, this type of learning can not be found in the cases of Slavonic saints, and one can only guess the nature of книжнок оуѥник (books' learning) of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo: и кивш̈ лѣта ω книжномо оуѥнѥмъ, и родители его даша оуучити съ книгъ, и мин̈кши мало крѣмѧ, всѧ писанiѧ раӟмѣкъ, не единомъ газикомъ, но многимъ.[200] It is clear that he learnt to read (and to understand)

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[196]Veder, "Three Slavic Discourses," 726: "From their youth they showed persistence in (learning/reading) the Holy Books, and then they were plunged to good deeds."

[197]Cf. this attitude with the opposite one expressed in the stories about Nikita of Novgorod, Klim Smoljatič, and Avraamij of Smolensk, Franklin, "Booklearning."

[198]There is the example of St. Wenseclas who was given to the clergy к̈ попиноу наоучити книгамъ оуѥ́ти данъ кыст, *Vita Venseslavi*.

[199]The text of the *Vita* is given after Stojan Stojanov and Miroslav Janakiev, *Starobălgarski ezik: Tekstove i rečnik* (Old Bulgarian: Texts and dictionary) (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1976), 17, the translation is mine: "And he learnt Homer and geometry and from Leo and Photius - the dialectic and all philosophical learning, and also rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy and music, and all the others Greek (Hellenic) arts."

[200]The passage is taken from so-called Popular Life of St. Gabriel of Lesnovo who lived probably in the 11th century, he became an anachoret in the area of Zletovo, Western parts of Bulgaria. Ivanov, *Bălgarski starini*, 396. The *Vita* narrates that "and when he became at age for learning, his parents gave him to

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the Scripture but how exactly and when - the text does not explain. It is known tha he

lived in the time of Byzantine hegemony in Bulgaria when the cultural activity was not

anymore supported by the ruler, but rather, was scattered in monasteries and churches.

The one possible interpretation then of this passage would be to view him studying under

Greek priests - the reference to his multilinguistic skills is an implication for this; the other

- is to suppose a kind of monastic education which must have taken place in Slavonic

(although the text does not say explicitly in which language he learnt the Scripture) and to

a certain extent, in Greek.

The way книжною оученнє is presented in the discourses on reading (both as model

and compilation practice) shows a presence of a higher stage in educational activity in

comparison with the "alphabet-learning" stage detected from Preslav and Ravna

abecedaria. On the level of reading models, the example of personal reading with

understanding suggests passing the initial stage of literacy, learning the alphabet. The

model of collective reading (or reading aloud) postulates the presence of listening activity,

both as слышати (listen) and слоушати (give heed). It is perceived in co-existence with

reading activity in two aspects: ideologically, as the other side from the enlightenment

process, and pragmatically, as equally (to personal reading) reliable way of approaching

the Scripture.

The compilation work done in the discourses explicates carefully chosen examples

from patristic literature and thus, indicates also a certain level of literacy of the compiler

(and translator). In any case, this level exceeds the simple knowledge of copying and

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learn (study) books, and after some time, he understood the entire Scripture not only in one language but
in many," , 396.

transmitting texts, and reveals a higher level of competence both in reading and composing texts.

CONCLUSION

Present reconstruction of the educational practice has been based on the difference between fact and hypothesis. The scarcity of sources often tempts scholars to formulate ungrounded theories. In my thesis I tried to avoid making theoretical assumptions without actual material support.

The first and most general conclusion of the present work is that the teaching of literacy was part of the catechetical process. Teaching letters and preaching faith simultaneously emanated from the particular historical and cultural situation in the First Bulgarian Kingdom. This combined activity of Slavonic educational practice differed from the contemporary Byzantine practice, and adapted the Christian culture to the needs of the Slavs in this particular period. The very short time in which the educational structures were established, the lack of enough trained Slavonic teachers, and the complex political and ethnic situation in Bulgaria in the ninth century, all can be regarded as reasons for the emergence and development of this specific model of Slavonic literacy and education. Στοιχέιοω, teaching in the basic principles of general education and religion, instructing the catechumens during the pre-baptismal period, and finally, edificating in "practical" Christianity, must have been the only possible ways for clergy, and, especially for laity, to acquire the knowledge of the Scripture. This practice is very clear in the case of Clement's teaching activity which could be perceived as part of a wider educative mission. The concept of "teaching" which was exemplified in the literature through the *topoi* of оүчнтєль and апостоль obviously followed the model of the Apostle Paul and the Canons of the Ecumenical Councils.

Apparently, the goal of universal literacy was not aimed to be reached by the first Slavonic apostles and teachers; rather, the dissemination of letters in their actual limits must have been one of the main points in early Slavonic educational activity. The very nature of the Slavonic alphabet was perceived from one hand, as sacred led the Slavs to enlightenment through разоумъ, and from the other hand, as functional, served for acquiring (оучи книга) and utilizing (почитанье и послоушание книжьною) literacy.

The concept of functionality is basic for Slavonic literary culture and it is quite clear presented in the organization of the educational process which resembled in some of its examples the Byzantine models: possible teaching methods (through *abecedaria*, alphabetical acrostics, *erotapokriseis*, and probably *schedographia*), and activities included in their primary stage which can be called "грамотност," learning (reciting, memorizing, reading, and singing), writing, reading, listening and perhaps dictating the Scriptural books. The functional aspect of Slavonic literacy can also be seen in the situation of bilingualism (Greek and Slavonic language) and in the use of two different graphic systems for rendering the phonetic system of one single language (Glagolitic and Cyrillic script).

As for next, certainly higher level of literacy, книжною оучение, it is not so deeply based on functionality, but rather on ways of mastering knowledge: reading with diligence and understanding, listening to the words of the Scripture, treating the book as a source of knowledge without boasting it.

The highest stage of literacy which could be called "образованост," (literary culture) seemed to be very different from the Byzantine type of university education. This

stage suggests the presence of relatively small number of people - probably in the court or in the monasteries near the capital - which compiled, translated, and wrote works with clearly high literary qualities aimed to reach the audience who shared the same skills and interests. Evidently, this audience could not be searched among the low clergy, although the concepts of alphabet's dignity expressed in these works were quite understandable. However, it is the rhetorical organization of the works, and their ideological framework that made them accessible predominantly for people with similar level of literacy. Among these works have to be mentioned the grammatical treatises, and their concepts of education, namely, the enlightenment through understanding, the apology and panegyric of the alphabet as a part of a holy enterprise, and the theory of translation subordinated to the concept of "meaning." All these concepts were created in Slavonic soil partly on the basis of Greek models and *ideologemas*. But it was their applicability in the Bulgarian cultural space which imbue them with new connotations.

There is no stage in the early literary Slavonic tradition as it was in Byzantium, for example, which was preoccupied with a systematic teaching of grammar. Each of these works (grammatical treatises) represents an aspect of the philological knowledge of the Slavs based on Greek examples, and experienced in the practice of translations and compilations. Moreover, a possibility exists that the Slavonic *litterati* must have used some Greek grammatical treatises without translating them, thus, they must have had grammatical models in their mind and simply actualized them in the process of translation of various works. Or, we can assume that the translation practice itself served as a kind of standardization of grammatical paradigms.

In this case of lack of grammars and manuals for learning, the teaching curriculum was subordinated to the need of preparation for understanding the Scripture. In respect to the Bulgarian educational practice, two types of curriculum[201] were deduced in this study. The first one is preoccupied with learning the alphabet, as later shifted to learning the Psalter, the Gospel, the Apostle. This curriculum is sanctioned in the Canon II from the Seventh Ecumenical Council. This Canon considers mainly the bishops' learning and teaching activities, but one of its commentaries says that the laymen also should learn the Psalter (by heart). The division between the clergy and the laity in respect to their possibility to learn and to be educated is not clear in the case of the early Bulgarian education because of lack of sufficient data.

The second type of curriculum must have consisted of various types of *florilegia* (aimed for monastic use and for laymen), pseudo-scientific, historical, astronomical, and geographical works. As in the case of the grammatical works, these texts were directed to an audience who had enough skills in reading and understanding them. Although probably relatively small and situated mainly in the capital, particularly in a circle around the Symeon, this literate audience probably exist and wrote and read these works.

The general research in this field of study to the present date, stressed only some of the aspects of educational situation in Bulgaria, mostly in respect to the literary culture of the South Slavs. No complete study of almost all available material relating to educational practice and concepts, has been done before. Therefore, this study contributes to the gathering of this material and to structuring it in a specific way. Definitely, it is almost impossible to find new sources which could shed more light on the educational

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[201]The word "curriculum" is used here not in terms of something established as a rule, but rather as

situation of the Balkan Slavs in the ninth and the tenth century, but the different approaches to already available sources can reveal new sides from that cultural enterprise, which was also one of the aims of this study.

something quite often used.

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