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INTRODUCTION

Slavic literary activity in the early centuries after Christianization is often ignored or insufficiently evaluated because pertinent evidence is not apparent or available. This is particularly true of South Slavic literature, which in comparison to East Slavic literature, is less well known and merits more thorough investigation.

One of the early Serbian writers was the Monk Teodosije Hilandarac. This author created original Slavic works; that is, his works were not mere reworkings of Byzantine prototypes. This dissertation undertakes the task of approaching the prose works of Teodosije and by analysis attempting to discern the nature of those innovations which he introduced into Serbian žitje writing in the early fourteenth century.

Žitje was a sharply defined and rigidly confined genre; therefore, any changes are significant regardless of how modest they may appear on first examination. Judging from the works of his literary predecessors and those writers who followed him, Teodosije was writing during a transition period in medieval Serbian literature - from imported Byzantine model to native literary form. Since he was the major writer at the time,
Teodosije's works are the principal means available for study of any changes that occurred during the transition period (the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries). His zitija are important, therefore, both as evidence of changes that had gradually developed in the structure and content as well as the record of one point in the process of that genre's literary evolution. In Teodosije it is possible to discern some of the early innovations in zitie writing which became part of the standard forms for later Serbian biographers.

The accessibility of medieval Serbian literature has been limited by a number of factors. The lack of original materials, previously, made familiarity with medieval Serbian literature all but inaccessible to Western scholars, particularly those in the United States. The Hilandar Slavic Codices Collection, located at The Ohio State University, has recently made possible first-hand study of early South Slavic manuscript materials. Study of these materials should eventually produce better understanding of early South Slavic literature, Church history, liturgy, and culture. In the work at hand, Hilandar Slavic Codex No. 505 not only permitted first-hand acquaintance and analysis of the materials for this dissertation, but through translation one work of this specialized area of Serbian literature has been made available to the reader of English.

During the discussion of Teodosije Hilandarac and his works it is necessary to keep in mind the nature of literature in this
period of Slavic history. Medieval Serbian literature was eschatological. Because of the subordination of the aesthetic function of literature to the religious function, innovations were modest and gradual. Innovations had to be of such a nature that the works still comprised the required canonical forms. It is my contention that Teodosije's ability to add his own personal creativity to such literary works while still fulfilling the canonical requirements of the Orthodox Church is an indication of his literary mastery of this genre. For this reason his works merit more intensive study.

A few words about the organization of this dissertation, the use of quotes, the use of translated material, and procedural matters are appropriate at this time. Titles of works will always be given in English for ease of reading and so that the information contained herein has broader accessibility. The only exception is Teodosije's works which will be followed by their original titles in the discussion of his works in Chapter Three. Quotations from works and critical material will be given in English for the same reasons cited above.

Appendices have been supplied for clarification of some of the material discussed: acrostics, watermarks, and a map locating Mt. Athos and other geographical locations referred to in the text. Also included in an Appendix is a reproduction of the Life of Petar Korški from Hilandar Slavic Codex No. 505, used in the preparation of this dissertation. The final Appendix contains the first English translation of the Life of Petar Korški by the author of this
dissertation. Preceding the Bibliography is a list of abbreviations for some of the major sources used therein. This is designed to make the bibliographic entries somewhat less cumbersome. Finally, all translations in this dissertation are those of the author.
CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIEVAL SERBIAN LITERATURE

The subject of this chapter is the development of medieval Serbian literature. In it I shall attempt to identify the factors contributing to the development of this literature and shall present some background discussion of them. The choice of Orthodoxy profoundly affected the subsequent development of Slavic civilization, particularly its literatures. The creation of an alphabet for Old Church Slavic, the first written Slavic language, marks the beginning of Slavic literacy and literature. Orthodoxy closely regulated the literature produced in the newly Christianized Slavic countries. Through the example of prototypes and established literary patterns and devices, the course of literature was guided for several centuries. Orthodoxy was intimately related to the literature that medieval Slavic society generated. In addition to Orthodox Church literature, translated literature of various genres and contents was available to the medieval Slavs through the intermediary of Byzantium. Teodosije's place in the development of medieval Serbian literature will be located chronologically in a survey of a number of major Serbian writers from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.
I shall discuss the writers who preceded Teodosije and those who followed him so that the reader can orient himself sufficiently for the discussions in later chapters.

By way of clarification, I should like to point out that the use of "Slav" in the ensuing discussion refers exclusively to those Slavs who accepted Byzantine Orthodoxy, the East Slavs (Russians) and the South Slavs (Serbians and Bulgarians). These are the principal groups within the totality of Slavdom who adhered to Orthodoxy. There are, of course, some additions and variations within the designation East and South Slav, but this discussion is attempting to present a general overview. The discussions about culture, art, and literature likewise are qualified as restricted to Orthodox Slavs. In no way is it to be inferred that the discussion in this chapter includes those Slavs not adhering to Orthodoxy, notably the West Slavic peoples.

The Impact of Christianity

Conversion of the Slavs during the ninth century by Byzantium had a profound effect on the subsequent development of those people. Byzantium transmitted to the Slavs its Church organization elements of political structure, administration, and court etiquette. Byzantine literature, painting, architecture, political thought, and scientific philosophies strongly influenced those Slavic peoples who adhered to Eastern Christianity. The Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians were part of the eastern sphere of Christianity in which Byzantine influence was manifest in art, literature, and thought.
For several centuries interaction by both Slavs and Byzantium was of a passive nature. During several centuries of contact the normal interactions common to adjacent populations occurred. Trade was conducted and military conquests were made (primarily by Byzantium). Active acceptance of Byzantine influence occurred when the interaction between the two cultures became religious and scholarly in nature. Although the activity of transmitting Orthodox culture was carried on through the mutual activity of the newly converted Slavs and Byzantium, the flow of influence was essentially in one direction - from Byzantium to the Slavs - because of the nature of the two cultures involved. Christianity was quickly internalized and became a vital part of the inner life of such countries as Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia. As an integral part of the phenomenon, Old Church Slavic enabled the Slavs to express in written records these additions to their culture.

Concrete needs on the part of those Slavs who accepted Orthodoxy motivated their request for instruction in Eastern Christianity. Some of the reasons were protection from encroachment of the German clergy in the area of Moravia, protection from ever-increasing attempts to convert the Balkan Slavs to Western Christianity, and realization that religion would help consolidate the young and developing South and East Slavic countries. Since the Balkan Slavs had been existing within the Byzantine sphere of influence for centuries, the benefits to be realized through cultural interaction made Orthodoxy a natural choice.
Cultural interaction began with communication. The intensity of contact required an improved means for communication of Orthodoxy to the Slavs. As a result the Slavic alphabet was created. The alphabet functioned not only as a means of recording doctrine, but also as an instrument of literature whereby the enrichments given the Slavs by Byzantium as well as further developments of Christianity in Slavic lands could be recorded. As N.I. Konrad remarked: "A language is not only a means of communication and of collective activity, but the material expression of the intellectual unity of a given society." Old Church Slavic literature was the most immediate vehicle, along with Orthodox art, for making Church doctrines and teachings readily available to the newly converted Slavs.

There is an organic link between languages and religions in the medieval period. "Feudalism developed literary languages which were a unifying factor for a number of countries, a number of ethnic units. Such a supranational language was based on a no less supranational culture common to a number of countries and whose characteristic feature was its connection with religion." Organization in the Latin West, the Arabic Caliphate and the Byzantine Empire was, in the medieval period, based on an organized religion. Two of these vast networks were linked by a koine (Latin and Arabic) which recorded doctrines and laws for its followers. Byzantium preferred to translate doctrine and law into native languages. This was the case when the South and East Slavic peoples became part of the religiously oriented medieval world. While they accepted Eastern Christianity with its
cultural appurtenances and organization, they did not acquire Greek as the universal Church language. Old Church Slavic, functioning as a koine, was a unifying factor for the Slavic peoples and a means for the transmission of Orthodoxy and related Byzantine customs to the Slavs. Old Church Slavic was the external linguistic form of a relatively unified and supranational Slavic medieval culture for the Orthodox Slavs.

Initially this benefited both sides inasmuch as it permitted rapid conversion of entire populations with less resistance to Byzantine missionaries (as representatives of a foreign power). It also enabled the new converts to have immediate access to the doctrine and teachings of Orthodoxy. Although the linguistic unity of the Slavs in Old Church Slavic had been diminishing since the ninth century, there had been an effort to preserve Old Church Slavic during the tenth century. By the twelfth century dissolution of Old Church Slavic into Church Slavonic recensions had occurred. The nature of culture and literature likewise changed to accommodate emerging individual national consciousness. This would prove to be an important factor in future events such as: the establishment of autocephalous national Churches, emerging national consciousness, claims for the equality of Church Slavonic with the other liturgical languages, and as a factor in the development of ideology (e.g. the theory of the "Third Rome"). This whole complex of ideas evolved after Orthodoxy had established itself in the Slavic countries and native literature began to appear.
Christianity came to Serbia around 873. Selection of the works to be translated from Greek to Slavic was determined by the literary, theological, organizational, and educational needs of the Christian Church emerging among the Slavs. Liturgical literature was supplemented with canonical, patristic, and hagiographical writings. Historical chronicles (supplemented with some Serbian history) were also a part of the early translated literature. Science and physiology were presented in a theological approach to the exploration of man's surroundings.

**Art and Orthodox Christianity**

Art reflects the society which generates it, and to be complete, retrospective analysis of that literature must consider contemporary extra-literary factors. In Slavic medieval civilization, literature as well as Orthodox medieval art were characterized by a general theological-ideological content. The style of the literature was determined by its content. Because of the role assigned to literature, literary methods developed within the religious framework and resulted in prescribed literary formulae. In this way the Orthodox Church reinforced its strength as the standardized and closely regulated system of instruction for the new converts and promoted a harmonious Orthodox perception of the world by minimizing dissenting opinion or thought. Literature's function was to be didactic and inspirational. Thus, in Orthodox Church literature there existed simultaneously two dominant functions: the religious one made the aesthetic one the means of its own realization.⁴ The task of literature was to offer
the reader the possibility of experiencing some other reality, namely the heavenly one, and by doing so to instruct and orient him toward achieving that reality by adherence to Church law. The strength of any system—religious or ideological—resides in its constancy, harmony, and order. Eastern Christianity consolidated its strength through strict regulation of the individual by means of a prescribed literature, whose aesthetic function was subordinated to the requirements of an extra-aesthetic function.

Serbian literature was created almost wholly within the Church. This accounts for the almost exclusive religious content of medieval Serbian literature and for the proliferation of certain genres which best suited the Church's didactic needs. On the basis of existing material it appears that the main literary activity between the ninth and eleventh centuries was the exact copying of Byzantine books. By the end of the twelfth century there was a considerable volume of literature and a variety of genres available in Serbia. Most of the literature was translated, but there were a number of original works, primarily those of Slavic authors from Ochrid and Preslav, the two centers of South Slavic Christendom after the collapse of the Moravian mission, which were read and copied in Serbia. The native authors included Kliment Ochridski, Naum, Konstantin Preslavski, Čornorizec Xrabr, John Exarch, Presbyter Kozma inter alia.
In addition to the literary activity carried on in Serbia proper, the Monastic Republic of Mt. Athos and the Serbian Hilandar Monastery there should be mentioned as an important center for Serbian literary creativity. Written records indicate the possibility that monks were already living on Mt. Athos in the sixth and seventh centuries. Records available indicate that a more organized form of communal life began in the eighth century; the first monasteries were built in the tenth century. The Serbian ruler Stefan Nemanja (1132-1200), founder of the independent Serbian state and the Nemanjić dynasty, built Hilandar Monastery with his son Sava (Rastko Nemanjić) between 1198 and 1199. Stefan Nemanja had ruled Raška (Serbia) between 1168 and 1195 and had made Orthodoxy the official religion of his domain. In 1195 he abdicated in favor of his son Stefan Nemanjić (the First-Crowned) and went to Mt. Athos, having already taken monastic vows and the name Simeon at Studenica Monastery in Raška. He and his son Sava had built Hilandar as a cultural and religious center of the Serbian Orthodox Church. On Mt. Athos monks were educated, sacred books were copied, and native writers created original literary works. Since most of the Orthodox Churches had monasteries on Mt. Athos, it became a source of literary and cultural interaction with Greek and other Slavic Orthodox communities. Some of the most important Serbian writers of the medieval period were monks who had lived at Hilandar (eg., Sava, Domentijan, Teodosije, Danilo, and Nikodim). The consistent line of development and continuity of Serbian literature was part of the
The dominance of Mt. Athos as a center for learning helped maintain standardized literary production and promoted a conservative attitude toward change.

The predominance of religious literature affected the Slavs in two ways. This literature was effective as a device of religious instruction, and it provided the Slavs with literary models which helped form their notions of aesthetics. Literary taste was developed by listening to and reading the Scriptures: both the Old and New Testaments. In addition, Byzantine literature furnished models for hymnody, hagiography, sermons, and panegyrics. The literature available in translation to the Serbs included the classics of Christian literature. In a way the first Serbian teachers were writers like John Chrysostomos, Basil the Great, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, Athanasius of Alexandria, John Climacus, John Damascene et alia.

Monastic life per se contributed to maintaining literary traditions. Monks had to read the Psalter and other Scriptural writings repeatedly. It is understandable that the content and formal stylistic traits of such works left deep traces in the consciousness of these people and influenced their personal literary creation, offering them ready formulae and images of high style.

The Psalter was particularly rich in antithesis and metaphor, the technical means for concentrating attention on one idea and for lending expressiveness and emphasis.
Literary Sources

A rather modest body of translated literature was available to the Slavs in the early centuries after their Christianization. The Byzantine literature transmitted to the Slavs was, as already noted, primarily liturgical and related to the practice of their new religion. In addition, however, there were also novels, stories, and apocrypha. Not only Byzantine works, but Hebrew (Esther and Joseppa), Latin (Vita of King Wenceslaus, and other Vitae) and Syriac (The Tale of Akir the Wise) were available to the Slavs through the intermediary of Byzantium. Byzantine culture was multinational and so transmitted to the Slavs its literary wealth. These translated writings, like their liturgical counterparts, continued their development in the Slavic countries, acquiring native forms and variants.

After the tenth century the Slavs were familiar in translation with the Story of the Trojan Wars and Greek myths. By the eleventh century Barlaam and Josephat, the Proverbs of Solomon, and Stephanit and Ichnilat from the PanCatantra had been added to the literature available to the Slavs. Some of the narrative and historical translations available included: The Story of Alexander by Pseudo Callestenes, History of the Jewish War by Josephus Flavius, The Tale of Akir the Wise, the Chronicle of George Hammartolus, the Physiologus, the Christian Topography of Cosmos Indicopleustes, the Hexamerons, Aesop's Fables and various encyclopedic collections.
Apocrypha included the Story of Adam, the Story of Abraham, the Story of Enoch, and the Story of Baruch - all about the Old Testament. The New Testament was represented by the Journey of the Mother of God through Hell.

In addition to a consideration of possible external influences, the question of internal or native sources for later Slavic creativity must be considered. The existence of a folk literature and culture might well have been an additional creative fund for the native Serbian writer of literature. In all likelihood, forms of folk literature existed and so became part of the native fund. The content of early folk literature probably consisted of poetry - epic, lyric and dodolske (ritual songs) - and prose - tales, fables, legends, proverbs, and riddles. This, however, is only conjecture. Whether folklore preceded literature in this early period or issued from literary works is a moot question. Little is known of the native cultural phenomena of this early period since folklore was neither collected nor recorded. Only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were anthologies of folklore produced by Yugoslav philologists such as Petar Hektorović, Juraj Baraković, Andrija Kačić-Miošić, Valtazar Bogisić and Vuk Karadžić. Nonetheless, the existence of folklore is alluded to in medieval Serbian literature. In the thirteenth century the Serbian biographer Domentijan in his Life of Saint Sava mentioned that "the people composed songs and sang them on the occasion of St. Sava's departure to the monastery." And Teodosijo, in his Life of St. Sava remarked that while St. Sava
stayed at the court of his father, "he avoided gatherings at which secular (more liberal) songs were sung." 12

Medieval Serbian Literature

The fourteenth century monk Teodosije was a prolific writer, active during the Golden Age of medieval Serbian literature. Teodosije's literary predecessors, St. Sava, Stefan Nemanjić (the First-Crowned) and Domentijan, had provided the modicum of literary continuity upon which Teodosije and his successors could structure the future development of Serbian literature.

Serbian literature began with St. Sava (Rastko Nemanjić c. 1173-1236), who wrote during the thirteenth century. Sava's literary contributions included a Nomocanon, The Life of St. Simeon, Office to St. Simeon, three Typika: Karejski, Studenički and Hilandarski as well as hymns and eulogies. His Life of Simeon was important as the first Serbian biography and because its compositional structure represented a departure from standard hagiographical writing. It is composed of twelve chapters and only includes events of the last two years of Simeon's (Stefan Nemanja's) life. St. Sava made Simeon's monastic life the focus of his biography and so did not describe Stefan Nemanja the ruler, but only his monastic life on Mt. Athos. Sava's writings are marked by a well designed unity of composition and expression.13

The other two predecessors of Teodosije wrote in a more conventional style. Stefan Nemanjić was Sava's brother. He also wrote
a Life of St. Simeon, but he followed a standard hagiographical format, consisting of twenty chapters and encompassing Simeon's whole life. Stefan Nemanjić was the first Serbian ruler to be coronated and assume the title king. As a ruler, he was interested in Simeon's secular life and reign as Serbia's first ruler. Stefan the First-Crowned's biography is notable for its descriptions which appealed to the senses - sight, hearing, and smell. The monk Domentijan had been a disciple of St. Sava on Mt. Athos, and he later became Teodosije's teacher. He wrote two biographies the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of St. Simeon. The first of these, as we shall discuss in the next two chapters, was the basis for Teodosije's creation of the same name. Domentijan wrote in the correct hagiographical style. His language is heavily ornamented and he used extensive Biblical quotations.

After Teodosije Serbian literature began a line of development toward more realism. It was still within the Orthodox framework, but authors after Teodosije had become less dependent on Byzantine sources as models. The Archbishop Danilo II (c 1270-1337) was an abbot of Hilandar and later a bishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church. He wrote a cycle of biographies about the patriarchs and rulers of the Nemanjić dynasty. [He did not write a biography of Stefan Nemanja (Simon) because Sava, Stefan Nemanjić and Domentijan had already written his biography. He also did not write a life of Tzar Uroš V which was later written by Patriarch Paisije.] Some anonymous disciples of Danilo's completed his work, added his biography, and gave the collection the name Carostavnik (or Rodoslov). Danilo's compositions
were all structured on the pattern: introduction, main body or exposition, rhetorical conclusion usually containing an account of miracles. (This, we shall see in Chapter Two, is the pattern of a canonical hagiography.) He wrote in an even, chronicle-like style and portrayed the subjects of his biographies more as individuals, a departure from the usual typification of hagiography.

There were two women writers in the otherwise wholly masculine and monastic literary tradition of medieval Serbian literature. Jefimija (c.1394-1405), whose secular name was Jelena, was the daughter of Vojihna, ruler of Drama Province, and the wife of Ugleša Mrnjačević. The tragedies of her personal life inspired her poetic work. Her most famous works are three: an Encomium to Prince Lazar embroidered on his funeral shroud, part of a poetic prayer woven into a curtain at Hilandar, and the lament over the death of her son, a prayer poem inscribed in gold on the reverse side of a diphtych which had been given to her son by the Bishop of Ser. This was the first poetic prayer written by a Serbian woman. After the death of her father, husband and son, she moved to Kruševac, the capital of Raška at that time, to the court of Lazar Hrebeljanović whose wife was Milica (c.1353-1405). The second authoress Jevgenija (Milica Hrebeljanović) was known in folk poetry as the sister of the nine brothers Jugovići who were all killed at the Battle of Kossovo. She wrote several short works addressed to her husband Lazar.

After the fall of Trnovo and the Bulgarian Empire in 1396, many writers took refuge in the then still independent Serbian State.
Three of these writers made important contributions to Serbian letters, and hence are considered Serbian writers. Gregorij Camblak (1365-1419/20) was a Bulgarian by origin and wrote in Bulgarian, Russian, and Serbian. The author of sermons, biographies, and hymns, he was most important as the writer of the *Life of Stefan Dečanski*. Konstantin Filozof, also known as Kostenički, was a Bulgarian by origin and the third man named Konstantin Filozof in Slavic letters. He was the head of the School of Resava, a cultural center founded by Stefan Lazarević at the Manasija Monastery. There he wrote his *Treatise on Letters*. It contained the rules for a proposed reform of Old Serbian language along the lines of the reforms introduced into Old Bulgarian by Eftimij and his followers in the School of Târgovište. His most important work was the *Life of Stefan Lazarević* which contained the first Serbian genealogy and ended with a lament in poetic form. Dmitrij Kantakuzin was Greek by origin; he wrote in Greek and Serbian. He witnessed the fall of Serbia and the consequent tyranny of the Turks. In his works he was pessimistic, obsessed with the power of death and human mortality. His *Prayer to the Mother of God* is a personal, first person poem about his feelings regarding the catastrophes he witnessed. He also wrote an *Office to St. John of Rila*.

Medieval Serbian literature ended with the seventeenth century writer Paisije Janjevac. Paisije was Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church (1614-1647) and his most famous work is the *Life of Tzar Uroš V*. He also wrote an *Office to Stefan the First-Crowned*.
(Simon), *Life of St. Simon, Office to Tzar Uroš* and a *Life of Tzar Stefan Dušan* and *Tzar Uroš* which was a reminder of the past glory of the Serbian state.

**Some Conclusions**

Eastern Christianity had a profound effect on Orthodox Slavic medieval civilization, providing its religious perception of the world, developing its alphabet and thereby Slavic literacy, and determining its art and literature according to the dictates of Eastern Orthodoxy. Slavic aesthetic tastes developed as a by-product of Christianization, based on the classics of early Christian literature and fostered by conservative Mt. Athos and Serbian monastic traditions. We can identify some of the translated literature available to the Orthodox Slavs which may have had an effect on the development of Serbian literature. Unfortunately, we do not have enough data on folk cultural of this period to draw any conclusions. Toodosije wrote during the transition period (Golden Age) of Medieval Serbian literature. The literature was well developed by the fourteenth century and a transition from previous imitation of Byzantine prototypes was giving way to a new tradition of more realism.
Footnotes


3 Lixačev, 27.


5 A discussion of the mission of Cyril and Methodius is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For further discussion, the reader is referred to: F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs*. Rutgers University Press, 1970.

6 Refer to the map in Appendix A.

7 M. Matejić and D. Milivojević, *An Anthology of Medieval Serbian Literature*. Unpublished material, 2. (Read in manuscript form).


12 Radojičić, 161.

For further information on the writers mentioned in this section
the reader is referred to:

Beograd, 1938.
St. Novaković, editor. Primeri književnosti i jezika staroga
Dr. Pavlović and R. Marinković. Iz naše književnosti feudalnog
CHAPTER II

THE GENRE ZITIE

The genre Zitie was a prose form of medieval Serbian literature modeled on Byzantine hagiographies and imitating their iconographic method of portraying a saint's life. The Zitie tradition of medieval Serbian literature begins with the original writings of the first native writer Sava (Rastko Nemanjić). During the Golden Age of medieval Serbian literature - the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries - the Zitie was already a well-established genre. The chief writers of Zitie at this time were Domitijan, who had been a student of St. Sava, and Domitijan's student Teodosije. In this Chapter I shall review the development of the genre Zitie, its function within the spectrum of Orthodox literature, and the form of a canonical Zitie, in preparation for the examination of Teodosije's two Zitija - the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški in Chapter Four. In the final section of this chapter I shall focus attention on the Serbian Zitie and the writers Domitijan and Teodosije. The close association of the lives and works of these two Serbian hagiographers will be examined further in Chapter Three.
Origin and Development of Ζίτιε

Biographies of outstanding representatives of society, those persons who best exemplified the virtues to which a particular society subscribed, are examples of an important genre called variously biography, hagiography, Vita, and in Slavic literature, Ζίτιε. This genre originally was related to the ancient eulogies which were also used to celebrate the life of a great person. The early sources of this genre are varied, and the genre's function and content have been defined in different ways depending on the historical context. For example biography and Vita, from the Greek and Latin words for "life" (φυλή and Vita) originally began as secular literary traditions whose purpose was the presentation of an earthly person, who because of his deeds became a model for emulation, a symbol of earthly superiority and invincibility.2

In medieval Byzantium the spiritual dimension took precedence over secular writing traditions; biographies of the saints overshadowed their secular counterparts. The function of biography within the Orthodox framework was to depict the lives of saints, those who adhered to Orthodox teachings and who would serve as models for its followers. Thus, for medieval Eastern Christianity the word biography with very few exceptions designated specifically the life of a saint, known as hagiography in Greek (αγιος - "holy").
The sources of inspiration for Byzantine hagiography were the Bible and biographies composed by the earliest Christians. The Bible contains several examples of saints' biographies, such as the Martyr Stephan and John the Baptist. Likewise, the writings of the earliest Christians contained biographies of the first Christian saints (for example, Justin). The hagiographic tradition developed firmer roots in the eastern sphere of Christianity, whose proclivity toward asceticism and mysticism nurtured such idealized and abstracted literary portraits. The western sphere of Christianity, on the other hand, early turned toward realism and more earthly ideals.

Byzantine literature produced during the early period of Slavic conversion differed from earlier Christian tradition. It focused on then familiar Biblical and historical tales, elaborating the forms of narration while preserving the content unchanged.

Attention to literary devices and full orchestration of form and content was the objective of the Byzantine writer of this period. The literature of the earliest Christians was primarily concerned with content, not form. The first function of literature was communication; the message had primary importance. Once the message was known, the aesthetics of presentation or composition could be considered. In Byzantium between the eighth and eleventh centuries hagiography was a very popular literary form and achieved a high degree of development. Writers focused their attention on the forms used to convey the biographical content. In medieval Byzantine biography a complex panegyric, rhetorical style known
as hagiographical style developed and became the canonical style for writing saints' biographies, which were known as hagiographies. Byzantine hagiography was the source of Serbian hagiography (agio.grafija), known also by the Slavic word kitie. In medieval Serbia the word kitie or hagiography referred only to the biography of a saint. In fact, if a person were not considered a saint, even though he might have been a great ruler, his life would not have been celebrated with a kitie. An example in point is the great Serbian ruler Stefan Dušan.

The parallels and similarities of medieval Serbian kitija are rooted in Byzantine hagiography. Twelfth and thirteenth century Serbian biography was patterned primarily on Byzantine models and possibly on the already existing original Slavic kitija in terms of thematic range and conceptual framework, as well as forms and sets of devices. All forms of Orthodox literature, kitie included, now continued their development but within the Slavic context. The strong influence of Byzantine literary traditions was preserved for several centuries through the monastic tradition developed in Serbia and through the intermediary of the Monastic Republic of Mount Athos, where some of the earliest Serbian biographers (eg., Sava, Domentijan, Teodosije) lived and created their kitija.

Biography in the Orthodox context is necessarily the same as kitie or hagiography: a saint's life. Literature functioned as a superstructure of Orthodox culture, promoted and determined
by the Church: Hagiography presented a narration about those people who embodied the Church's ideals and would thereby serve as fitting examples for practicing Christians. There is some disagreement, however, among scholars which centers on the elements of realism that gradually were included in the composition of Serbian žitija. Did žitija with these elements merit a separate classification? Was there now a separate secular biography?

Bogdanović disagrees with those authors who would divide žitija into separate categories. He views Serbian žitija literature of the medieval period as an organic whole, with no need to make distinctions and no basis for divisions. As an example he cites that some scholars would like to construe fundamental differences between Teodosije's Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški labelling one a biography (more realistic) and the other a hagiography when in fact "there is no basis for the division." Gudzij and Eremin concur with Bogdanović.

The case for a separate designation is unclear. Authors proposing the division are not agreed upon the criteria; all offer different reasons for the division. Andjelic feels that the gradually included realistic elements distinguish some of the žitija "because we can know the Serbian past from them, although they are not quite as accurate as historical sources." Dr. Pavlović proposed that žitija with added elements of realism "by their social character and origin [comprised some sort of] court literature." Pavlović does not say what the function of court literature was, nor does he
clarify the difference between court literature and the remaining
body of medieval Serbian literature. Birnbaum distinguished
between žitija on the basis of "typification and individualization," the realistic elements presumably being part of the latter category. Since he gives no examples with his discussion it is difficult to
determine which specific literary examples he may have had in mind.

Gradual inclusion of realistic elements happened as a result
of having a literary language close to the vernacular, which could
digress slightly from the Byzantine prototypes. Further, it was
the result of constructing a native "olympia", that is, a body of
literature whose function was to make known and praise the deeds of
native heroes or saints. Proximity to the native saints, living at
the same time as them and even having personal contact with them,
may have made abstraction a difficult task for the writer. Not
only were differences from the Byzantine originals likely since
the native Serbian saints had lived in a different historical
situation, but political-ideological considerations gradually entered
into the compositions of the žitija. Since, however, the concept
of Serbian Orthodoxy and the emerging Serbian national consciousness
were essentially synonymous, such variations should not be misconstrued
as "secular", nor were they sufficient to warrant a separate genre
designation. Secular biography would not appear in Serbian literature
until the eighteenth century.
The Canonical Form of Zitje

It was the task of hagiography to present a beautiful figure with all possible virtues, ridding itself of all individual characteristics, moving away from the transient, private and chance happening.11 The devices used in the Zitje had developed from counterparts in Byzantine rhetoric and religious poetry, Biblical models and writings from the time of the early Christians. This was an ornate, heavy hagiographical - rhetorical style, that Birnbaum has referred to as a "genre-bound style", in which there is mutual reinforcement by approach and style, by content and form.12

In a canonical Zitje descriptions of everyday detail were kept to a minimum, so as not to detract from focus on the idealized image. Gradually such descriptions would be added. Extra details enhanced the credibility of the narration: remembering historical people or events, allusions to witnesses describing events that happened to saints, expressive dialogue (retaining frequently the intonation of living speech), and bytt lexicon for both author and persona.13 These all helped to orient hagiography away from canonical forms and closer to chronicle prose. Changes from the canonical form of hagiography occurred in Serbian Zitija as these elements of realism were admitted. Peretic described the change as producing a conflict of two literary methods: typification and realism. The result was that in presenting the ideal,
the author also presented contradictions. Mulić commented that "decomposition happened when [žitje writers] put in concrete [details] which weakened the efficacy of the other elements." Concrete presentation of what was prescribed to be an abstract ideal represented a contamination of order and harmony as established by the Orthodox worldview. The shift in orientation of žitje toward more realism occurred gradually in original Serbian works about native Serbian saints. Contributing factors included changes in ideological orientation due to development of national consciousness and the construction of a native "olympia" which contributed to claims for independence both politically and religiously. A sharp binary outlook was no longer possible; abstract religious ideals would no longer fulfill medieval man's literary needs. Peretc said that for the literary historian "digressions or wanderings from the prescriptions are the important indications of change." In addition to studying these, the literary historian should analyze such works as medieval žitje "to reveal the real idea of the content, abstracted in the required religious form.

A hagiography consisted of proemium, praxeis, translatio, curriculum vitae, admonitio and miracula. There are three basic parts: introduction, body and conclusion. In the introduction the author apologized for his ineptitudes: he doubted his ability to fulfill the task, the words available to him were insufficient to express the necessary content, he was unable to find expressions powerful enough to convey the message, et alia. The introduction
was a theological - religious explanation concerning the writing of the Ṣitie, the cult of the saint, and the motivation of the cult. In a general hagiography there were moral pronouncements, admonitions to imitate the saint depicted, and a prayerful turn by the writer first to God, then to the saint for supernatural help in writing the Ṣitie. Religious writing was a sacred act.

The main body required a strictly defined depiction: good or bad. The saint was motionless, no movement, no drama. The author's one task was to collect material to illustrate his sanctity. The second part included the main work of the Ṣitie. It encompassed the saint's life from birth (or before) to his death. It drew upon many quotes from the Bible and other scriptural writings, detailed those external elements which exhibited a religious outlook on the world and events in the life of this one person. The exposition showed all the experiences in the saint's life which might have contributed to his saintliness, for example, an unusual birthplace, an unusual childhood. Throughout the narration the author emphasized that all of this was controlled by Providence; nothing had happened by chance.

The next section was the lament over the saint's death. Included were miracles: an important sign of saintliness. This did not necessarily mean that the saint had been canonized; rather miracles formed a logical part of the Ṣitie composition. À propos of this fact Kostić remarked that there were two primary tasks of the Ṣitie: (1) to write about life on earth and (2) to write about
life after death and miracles. Finally in the conclusion there was an encomium to the saint, a sort of ode in prose, which is different from the rest of the prose text because it is closer to poetry or a hymn.

The prescribed elements (trafaret) of a canonical Kitie included unhurried narration in the third person singular with some asides permitted and short sentences which gave the narration almost visible smoothness. Rhetorical tropes and devices which composed the means for conveying the purpose of the Kitie included; preponderance of symbolism, personification of abstract concepts, presence of metaphorical images, introduction into the exposition of monologue and dialogue speech (for dramatization), panegyrics, lyrical laments, rhetorical exclamations and questions, realized metaphors, comparisons, parallels, antithesis, rhythmically organized speech - expressed in repetitions, tmesis, series of verbs standing in a row in a sentence and sometimes rhyming with each other -, word weaving (pletenie sloves), and symmetric arrangement of parts of sentences.

Mulic characterized hagiographical writing as consisting of elevated style, suggestive symbolical and equivocal interpretation which raised the level of discourse from the mundane to abstract, general to eternal. Language in the form of allegories, implied similes and circumlocutions added to the emotional - religious charge of the work. The encomium at the end of the Kitie was always of poetical quality and served as a summary. Resembling an ode it offered praise to the saint for his exemplary Christian life.
There was a great use of synonyms due to extensive use of word weaving (pletenie sloves) and in imitation of the Psalter. "Variety and detail served the interest of generality not particularization. Objects were described by enumerating their immanent properties; actions and states by listing their nuances in order of increasing or decreasing intensity." Synonyms were used in a row, not interrupted or divided as if the author were debating which to use. The purpose was to focus the reader's attention not on nuances and differences but on the general similarity between them. Simply being in proximity established mutual limitations among synonyms, cleared away mutually excluding nuances, and allowed one to find what was basic. Lines of synonyms and comparisons removed the visual meaning in favor of a general abstract idea. Many authors used chains of close meanings or paired meanings and images - one of which might have been visual and concrete. Chaining synonyms in gradations, weaving words in unexpected word combinations, neologisms and calques were all a part of word weaving, which had come from Byzantine homiletic literature (gonootelevta).21

In summary, synonyms were used in these ways: (1) synonyms, (2) words referring to concepts of which one was a more general case of the other, (3) strings of words denoting close but not identical subjects, (4) more general concept is represented by a separate word, the string of close words serving to concretize the concepts, (5) all the words in one clause bear to those in another clause the relation of general to specific, (6) paraphrases, (7) tautology - repetition of the verb as the corresponding verbal noun: a. - repetition of the same word
(emotional effect), b. - repetition of the same verb (in different forms), c. - repetition of same verbal root, and (8) root repetition in simple and compound words.22

Some of the themes that predominated in the žitija of medieval Serbian literature were: the divine right of the ruler, the founding of many monasteries connected with a stereotyped eulogy of the ruler, emphasis on charity and asceticism, the idea of monastic life, venerableness and formidableness of the monarch - which was related to two motifs (topoi): unspeakableness and outcomparing or surpassing. These two motifs determined some of the specific devices used in their literary portrayal such as: pleonasms, hendiadys phrases and rhetorical repetitions.23

Hagiography is similar to iconography: still position, typification and "frame technique." The figures were two-dimensional; development of the subject in both was along linear matrices. The icon, like the žitie, was based on an idealized religious representation. In both the emphasis was placed on the divine aspect of the figure depicted. There was one and only one method of depicting reality: purge all figures of individual characteristics and portray them in a static pose. The figure was stripped of all physical or material features that might distract the believer and call his attention to human imperfections. Both the icon and the žitie were visible evidence of divine powers that could transform the imperfect life on earth into a life of celestial perfection. The viewer was inspired by this perfection as an ultimate state for his soul. Both depictions were a source of strength
The national consciousness made possible through Old Church Slavic was put into a literary form by means of the genre Xitje. A desire for Church and political independence caused medieval Serbians to create their own "olympia" of saints for teaching purposes, edification, and articulation of national pride. Although the Byzantine prototypes of hagiography were still the principal source of inspiration, "the Serbian Xitje traces its ideological core to the charters issued by Serbian rulers for the foundation of various monasteries." The Serbian Xitje had purely hagiographic origins, supplemented by elements of annalistic historiography (chronicles), tied with the Charters (chrysobulla), patterned on Byzantine documents which embodied a self-contained ideology regarding dynasty and a pervasive religious motivation with political realism.

In Serbia the genre Xitje ranges from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the two Xitja of the Serbian ruler Stefan (Simeon) Nemanja were written by his two sons Sava and Stefan the First-Crowned (Prvovenčani), through the fifteenth century when the famous biography of the despot Stephan Lazarević was written by Konstantin Kostenički, to the work of Patriarch Paisije the Life of Tzar Uroš V in the seventeenth century.
The work of Saint Sava was continued by one of his disciples and contemporaries, a Hilandar hieromonk Domentijan who wrote the first *Life of Saint Sava*. This *žitie* is an account of Sava's life as well as an apotheosis of monasticism. Indeed, the underlying current in Domentijan's work is the glorification of monasticism and Christianity. The *Life of Saint Sava*, written between 1253 and 1254, is learned and ornate, with many digressions. Domentijan has a heavy, ornamented style; his panegyric diction consists of inserted rhetorical, allegorical and lyrical amplifications, abundant theological and mystical elements, and numerous lengthy quotations from the Bible. Domentijan, like other medieval authors, used extensive quotes from other works. For example, for his *Life of Saint Simeon* Domentijan borrowed 438 lines from Stefan the First-Crowned's *Life of Saint Simoon*, one-third from his own previous *Life of Saint Sava*, and Ilarion's *Encomium to Saint Vladimir* for his *Encomium to Saint Simeon*. Domentijan did not transform or alter his borrowings significantly, unlike Teodòsije. Domentijan followed closely the established hagiographical patterns and produced a "good and full biography of the type of Byzantine rhetorical *žitie.*" 26 Both of his *žitija* were strongly determined by and confined to Domentijan's metaphysical and aesthetic view. Symbolism and Biblical pharaseology were used to emphasize his spiritual and clearly monastic point of view.
V. Corović states that in medieval Serbian literature there were no individual styles, except for Teodosije's.\textsuperscript{27} Teodosije's work, the \textit{Life of Saint Sava}, was a late thirteenth century reworking of Domontijan's work of the same name. But it was so stylistically complete that Andjelić has commented figuratively that "not stone upon stone remained of the old building" ("ni kamen na kamenu od stare zgrade nije ostao").\textsuperscript{28}

Very little in Teodosije's works resembles Domontijan, his endless Biblical quotes and theological elements. Teodosije's writing was natural, cohesive, vivid, and dramatic. His style in the \textit{Life of Saint Sava} is "simple, straight-forward, without much amplification, more realistic and naive."\textsuperscript{29}

A comparison of Domontijan and Teodosije reveals that Domontijan used more complicated rhetoric, more Biblical quotes (twice as many), and maintained less historical accuracy than Teodosije. Evaluation of the works of these two writers very often polarizes Slavic scholars; that is, they usually strongly prefer one writer or the other. For instance, Safarik claimed that "Serbian literature shows greater originality the more ancient it is. The narrative by Domontijan in particular appears to be witness of the striking intelligence and broad culture of the writer; it is one of the most precious jewels of the entire early Slavic tradition."\textsuperscript{30} He placed Domontijan's work far above that of Teodosije "who disfigured Domontijan's works." On the other hand, "Đaničić sees no great difference between the two, while Jagić criticizes Domontijan's work for being lacking in facts."\textsuperscript{31}
Teodosije's revision of Domentijan's Life of Saint Sava, if studied carefully, shows greater consistency with the account of Stefan than does Domentijan. It shows an important degree of development toward simple, clear writing, unadorned prose and straightforward style. For this reason Radojičić called Teodosije "the best stylist, most readable narrator and romancier of thirteenth century Serbia." Bogdanović went further acclaiming Teodosije the greatest biographer of Saint Sava and the most important biographer of Serbian literature.32
Footnotes

1. *Zitie* is the singular form, *Zitija* is the plural.


5. Bogdanović, 7.


9. Andjelić, 42. Bogdanović, 8.


11. V.P. Adrianova-Peretc, "Zadaćii izučenija agiograficeskogo stilja drevnej Rusi." TODRL, XX (1964), 43.

12. Birnbaum, 300-301.


16 Adrianova-Peretc, 40.
17 Adrianova-Peretc, 70.
18 Mulić, 129-130
19 Mulić, 135.
20 Talev, 42.
21 Mulić, 139.
22 Talev, 14-15.
23 Birnbaum, 333-337.
26 Bogdanović, 14.
28 Andjelić, 49.
31 Stanojević, 27.
CHAPTER III

TEODOSIJE HILANDARAC

The field of focus has now been narrowed to the primary consideration of this dissertation: Teodosije Hilandarac. From the preceding chapters we know that Teodosije was a fourteenth-century Serbian writer, who composed Јитија at the height of that genre's development in the history of medieval Serbian literature. In this chapter we shall focus on the person Teodosije, using biographical information available on him and his works, as a preliminary preparation for a study of his Јитија the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški in the next chapter.

In the corpus of literature on Teodosije's life there is some controversy about his youth. There is no concrete information available about this part of his life. Such a dearth of information encouraged further research which resulted in some scholars' devising a hypothesis about Teodosije and a certain scribe named Teodor Span. In the first section of this chapter I shall present a translation of one of Teodor Span's inscriptions which forms part of the basis for the theory of suggested identification, and then I shall consider the theories about Teodor Span and their
various ramifications. Biographical details were gleaned from all available sources on Teodosije. In addition to a biographical sketch extrapolated from the works consulted I shall consider what possible educational background or literary preparation might have contributed to the formation of this writer. Finally I shall enumerate and comment on the works produced by Teodosije.

Teodor Span

In an attempt to discover specific data about Teodosije's youth further enquiries on his life produced the hypothesis that Teodosije is one and the same person as Teodor Span (also known as Teodor Gramatik). Teodor Span was a scribe, an accomplished calligrapher and the protegé of Domantas. The hypothesis was constructed on the basis of marginal notes made by Teodor Span on the manuscripts he copied, by comparison of these notes with samples of Teodosije's writing, and "on the basis of details which are related to this problem."² (Scholars propounding this theory failed to state clearly what they meant by this last criterion.) Today, there is a widely accepted theory among scholars that Teodosije and Teodor Span are one and the same person.³ If this is the case, then judging by the dates and age assigned to Teodor Span, we know more about the early life of Teodosije. Likewise it might then be possible to reconstruct Teodosije's whole biography. The lives of Teodosije and Teodor Span converge at the time of the writing of Saint Sava's biography.
(1290-1292). This theory centers on the writing of the Life of Saint Sava by Teodosije and so chronologically this is the most convenient point to mesh their lives.

Before proceeding with the discussion of Teodor Span and his relation to Teodosije, I shall present in translation one of Teodor Span's longer inscriptions, his Introduction to John Exarch's Hexameron, which he copied for Domentijan. This is presented for the reader's perusal since it is cited as part of the evidence for the case of identifying Teodor Span with Teodosije.

In the books which they were copying, monks sometimes jotted down remarks in connection with the book being copied or about contemporary events. This chance writing can be significant. In the case at hand it became part of a theory to identify Teodor Span with Teodosije. Teodor Span's writings were confined to a few marginal notes and introductions. In this one Teodor Span gives some interesting information about himself and Domentijan.

Teodor Span's Inscription

1262 - 1263

I give you praise, 0 Lord, you allowed me to begin this book and permitted me to finish. Blessed Mother of the Heavenly King, Most Blessed Mother of God, to me, Teodor, who is most sinful, sinful beyond counting, smothered with cares of this ill, of this vain world, who worked with this book, out of love for the glory and praise of your Son, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, here listen and protect me from the many difficulties of spiritual and corporal suffering, and there offer prayers on my behalf to Christ your Son.
This book was written at the request and through the support of our holy, venerable and divinely-illumined hieromonk Domontijan, who at that time was an elder at Hilandar Monastery. He was a saintly book-lover, and in the true meaning of the word a great God-lover, to whom honor was given in heaven by God himself and by His blessed angels for the heavenly favor of his love for his blessed erudition, which is represented by the sacred books.

And when I, a beardless person, came to the Holy Mount and spent one year, this Christ-loving spiritual father found me and learned from me that I knew how to copy sacred books. And in the presence of God, the two of consulted each other about how, God willing, this might be done. At that time the persecution of beardless persons was begun by the protos and dwellers of the Holy Mount, and many were expelled from the Holy Mount, and me with them. I went to the city of Thessaloniki (Salonika) and there spent half a year, but my blessed spiritual father, already burning with the Holy Spirit, did not abandon the desire of his heart, and coming, led me out of the city of Thessaloniki, and through divine wisdom led me again to the Holy Mount, and in the Lord's name, in the presence of God, we began to write this book. And when I had written the first half, a jealous devil implanted an evil thought in the heart of one of my enemies, who then falsely accused me to the protos, and many messages were sent to my spiritual father on my account.

And, this truly blessed spiritual father and lover of children, he did not let me out alone, so that I would not be punished and mistreated as the others were. And when the holy day of the Dormition of the Holy Mother of God came, my spiritual father took me and went to the Council of the Fathers. We found the protos in an angry mood and hostile toward me because of that enemy who had accused me to him. The protos asked my spiritual father about me, and he distressed my spiritual father on my account, but God was with my spiritual father and did not let the protos completely defame him. And I, standing and looking at my spiritual father's sad face, was shaken by the intense sorrow - like that of those under judgment - and said, "Believe me, my father and brothers." It seemed to me as I were at the Second Coming of Christ (the Last Judgment) and was awaiting the punishment to which I would be sentenced. But due to the mercy of God and the prayers of my spiritual father, God
saved me from all those punishments which the protos had pronounced on me, but sent me to an estate belonging to Hilandar, and guided by the Lord and directed by the prayers of my spiritual father I completed the second half (of this book). And my spiritual father did not deprive me of his blessings and all my work was fulfilled, and may the Lord not deprive my spiritual father of His mercy, here and through all eternity. Amen Amen Amen!

At the outset of this discussion the reader should be aware that by Athos rule, beardless men were not allowed to reside among the monks, neither in monasteries nor on their outskirts. They looked like women, and women were not allowed to set foot on Athos land. Not only women, but anything female. "Exceptions included female saints, but only those heavenly creatures. Also excepted were birds who flew in from heavenly heights." But for animals where one could distinguish male from female, only the male was allowed on the Holy Mount. As a result on Mt. Athos "there were bulls but no cows, stallions but no mares, asses but no she-asses, billies but no nanny goats."8

Teodor Span was of Serbian origin and was educated. His education may have begun very early in life, and this would go a long way in explaining some of the anomalies of this theory. (eg. his early appearance on Mt. Athos). Some scholars (eg. Dj. Sp. Radojičić) say that Teodor Span was fifteen years old when he came to Mt. Athos.9 Since he spent one year there, he was born circa 1246, which coincides with the generally accepted birth year assigned to Teodosije. This might be how Teodor Span succeeded in going to Mt. Athos and remaining there for one year. His lack of beard growth would not have been suspect, but merely not yet
developed because of his young age.

Another detail which figures in the story of Teodor Span is the poem "The Escape of Saint Sava to the Holy Mount" ("Bekstvo sv. Save u sv. Goru"). Dačić and Kostić believe that there was a folk poem "The Escape of St. Sava to the Holy Mount" in circulation at the Serbian Court at this time. They hypothesize that Teodor Span (later Teodosije) learned this poem and recited it for Domentijan. On the basis of Domentijan's and Teodosije's biographies of St. Sava, Kostić "resurrected" this poem. Dačić claims that Teodor Span acquired his education by reading and broadened his culture by travelling. Undoubtedly Teodor Span was at a number of monasteries as deacon, rhetorician and scribe because the teachers there realized he could work with sacred books. In his wanderings through Raška (Medieval Serbia), Teodor Span according to Dačić "undoubtedly heard the above mentioned folk poem about Sava's escape. He probably heard it at the court - since such traditions were strongest at the court - or he just knew it." 11

In 1262 Domentijan noticed Teodor Span at the monastery Vaznesenije and took Teodor Span with him to his monastery Preobraženije with the desire that the young scribe would copy the Hexameron for him. Then an expulsion of beardless persons was begun by the protos, and Teodor Span had to leave Mt. Athos. He lived in Thessaloniki for a half year until the spring of 1203 when he returned to Mt. Athos. Despite attempts of the two to discuss the problem with the Council at Karyes, Teodor Span was expelled
a second time from Mt. Athos. This time he settled immediately outside the Athos limits at Xromitica (Kumica). Domentijan visited Teodor Span while he was completing his work of copying the Hexameron from 1263 to the winter of 1264. Simultaneously Domentijan had been completing his work on the Life of Saint Simeon (1263-1264).

During this last period at Xromitica, Dačić and Radojičić speculate that "Teodor Span and Domentijan talked about Simeon, biography writing, Domentijan's role at the monastery, Hilandar, the Serbian government, the Serbian Church and undoubtedly about Sava." For the hermit of Mt. Athos, who for a long time had no contact with the world, "the young Teodor Span could relate what he had heard and remembered about Sava from the time of his stay at the court." This is then how Radojičić believes that Domentijan became acquainted with the medieval poem about Sava's departure for Athos. Teodor Span evidently knew the poem by heart and recited it for Domentijan. Consequently the latter's biography of Sava ends with the words: "the people stayed, instructed by the Holy Spirit, composing songs, mourning (in song) the departure of the heavenly-inspired youth." Both Sv. Vulović and Drag. Kostić likewise insist that Teodor Span related the folk poem to Domentijan.

Both the fact of Teodor Span's presence at the Serbian court where he might have learned the poem and the fact that he made the poem known to Domentijan who used it as a literary model are purely conjecture. Both are plausible, but neither Dačić, Kostić nor Vulović have any concrete basis for their speculation.
Apparently Teodor Span later grew a beard and, since then he would have no difficulty returning to Athos, he did so and was able to become a monk. The theory purports that Teodor Span after monastic vows became known as Teodosije. And that, with all of these experiences behind him - particularly the talks at Xromitica -, Teodosije wrote the *Life of Saint Sava* between 1290-1292. In this way Teodor Span/Teodosije is first associated with Domentijan as protégé to teacher. Having learned from his teacher, he then used Domentijan's *vitie* as the model for his masterpiece.

The theory about Teodor Span's being the same person as Teodosije is plausible. More substantiation is needed, however, before such a theory can be accepted as fact. There are still some unanswered questions. The rules of Mt. Athos strictly forbade beardless persons entrance to the Holy Mount. This would preclude Teodor Span's being an older man. Therefore, we assume that he was allowed entry because he was a youth. This makes his chronology coincide with Teodosije's. But why if he were a boy would he have had to emphasize that he was beardless? Because of the protos' periodic expulsion efforts? Perhaps he was anxious to grow a beard so that he could become a monk. How then do we account for his year on Mt. Athos before he and others like him were expelled as suspect? Important to note here first of all is that there were indeed others. Secondly, according to Đačić the rule that people without beards were not allowed on Athos is not totally
precise. He cites as an example to the contrary that Rastko himself (Sava) went as a boy. The answer to these questions might be the novitiate. These young boys might well have been novices, preparing themselves on Mt. Athos for monastic vows. Being young some of them might have not yet grown a full beard.

It does seem most likely that Teodor Span was young, and not as Dačić alternatively suggested "a grown man by nature beardless." It is doubtful that the "broad culture" suggested for this mature person would have been sufficient reason for a change in the entrance rules. Dačić suggested further that this "grown man" was expelled because "he invited doubt on himself ....but later grew a beard, became a monk, and took the name Teodosije." While entrance to the novitiate on Mt. Athos for a beardless youth was sometimes possible, entrance for a "mature man by nature beardless" was out of the question. Further, the physiological possibility of an already mature man suddenly in later life producing a beard is all but impossible. Teodor Span's appellation in his inscription to the Hexameron of Domontijan as a "lover of children" or benefactor to children puts a final touch on the idea that Teodor Span was in all likelihood a youth.

Dačić states that by the content of his notes "Teodor Span would have had to have been older than fifteen (Radojičić's calculation) to speak of 'this vain world' or 'his grief' when he had to leave Mt. Athos for Thessaloniki." He adds that "monks knew these by heart, but not a fifteen year old." First of all, the written traces of Teodor Span are not very extensive. Such
phrases as those cited might be considered hookish or highly literary in certain contexts, but certainly not beyond the expressive powers of a boy already familiar with Scriptural writing. In this respect it might be valuable to recall the effects of Scriptural reading and the liturgy on writers as suggested in Chapter One. Contrary to Dačić's contentions all of these expressions are not necessarily the phrases of a mature person, but they are the phrases of a person who knew how to work with sacred books. Further, if Teodor Span and Teodosije are identical people, it must be recalled that Teodosije was an exceptional writer. Would not such a person perhaps have shown early on some evidence of his future talents?

There is some question of the etymology of word span (σταθώς). Did the Greek word mean completely beardless or "of meager or poor beard" as the derivation of span might suggest. This is a possible explanation of the name applied to the scribe. He was called Span on account of his youthful, meager beard, which subsequently increased in fullness and made possible his acceptance into the monastic community.

The theory proposes the following chronology:

c.1246 - Teodor Span/Teodosije's birth
1261-64 - Teodor Span's work on the Hexameron. Allegedly he was fifteen to eighteen years old.
c.1265 - Domentijan's death.
c.1271 - the earliest that Teodosije could have taken monastic vows, based on the given birth date. The canonical age requirement at that time was twenty-five.
1290-92 - Teodosije wrote the Life of St. Sava. He would have been forty-four to forty-six years old.
Chronologically Teodor Span's youth coincides well with Teodosije's from birth in 1246 to 1290-92. This still leaves a period of more than fifteen years unaccounted for (1271-1290), when Teodosije would have been between the ages of twenty-five and forty. Perhaps documents will eventually be found to provide information on this period of his life. We have no definite information on Teodor Span after 1264. He worked with Domentijan after Domentijan had written his *Life of St. Sava*, but still during a portion of his literary creativity. Teodosije was known to have been Domentijan's student and would have had to have been in contact with him on Mt. Athos sometime before 1265, the year of Domentijan's death. This is one more point where the lives of Tedor Span and Teodosije coincide. The humble inscription in Teodosije's own *Life of St. Sava* could be construed as a gesture of deference to his lately deceased teacher Domentijan.

There is the question of Domentijan's great tenacity regarding his protégé. Why would he have gone against Athos rule so persistently? Surely Domentijan must have perceived some special talents in Teodor Span to continue in his struggles with the protos. Finally, the sparse accounts of the early educations of Teodosije and Teodor Span are not contradictory. Indeed, the broad experience of the youth Teodor Span might have made valuable contributions to the creative fund of the great writer Teodosije.

In summary, the theory about Teodor Span/Teodosije is plausible. It is primarily attractive because it concerns an unknown part of
Teodosije's life. There are still many unanswered questions as I have tried to indicate in the preceding discussion. Until there is more substantiation, the theory cannot be accepted. I think the theory is attractive and bears more research and discussion; however, it would be premature to make a judgement on its validity at this time. The greatest obstacle in pursuing the theory of Teodor Span is that the literature available on the theory to date infrequently distinguishes between fact and speculation.

His Life

Teodosije Hilandarac, author of the most widely read biography of Saint Sava, is less historically known than Domentijan. The dates of Teodosije's life are generally given as circa 1246 to circa 1328. The year of his death has been determined by examining the Charters (povelja) of the Mt. Athos Acts for mention of his name. After repeated mention was found, surcease of such mention was logically interpreted as indication of his death. The methods for determining the year of his birth, unfortunately, were nowhere indicated in the sources consulted on Teodosije's life. We know very little about Teodosije's life; we know nothing of his origin. This dearth of information has been attributed to his practice of monastic humility. Once a man took monastic vows his previous secular life became totally sublimated by the newly accepted monastic way of life. This resulted in complete anonymity of origin, youth, and details other than the proper, prescribed details which might be conjured up at a later date were the monk to become a saint. Consequently, no data is available
on the young Teodosije, except for a few marginal inscriptions which are unreliable sources. A reconstruction of Teodosije's life is, therefore, at best conjecture.

The first information about Teodosije was presented by P. Šafarik in 1831. He had found a manuscript dating from 1780 containing the Life of St. Sava "told by Domentijan, and written by Teodosije" (skazano Domentijanom, a spisano Teodosijem). On the basis of style and the language used in the manuscript, Šafarik mistakenly identified Teodosije as an eighteenth century writer. Later in 1860 and 1865 a fifteenth century manuscript copy of the same Life of Saint Sava was published by Daničić who incorrectly assigned authorship to Domentijan. A short time thereafter the Teodul copy of the Life of Saint Sava - believed to be first copy of the original žitiè - was found. This copy dates from 1335-1336. The original žitiè, therefore, would have had to have been written before this date. After careful research, Dj. Sp. Radojičić concluded that the origins of this žitiè could be placed between the years 1290 and 1292. It was then finally possible to assign Teodosije a chronological place in the history of Serbian literature. On the basis of the preceding material Jagić, Murko, and Stanojević assigned Teodosije to the thirteenth century, making him a close contemporary of Domentijan. Novaković, attributing to Teodosije both the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški, identified him as a fourteenth century author. I agree with this last designation.
We know nothing of Teodosije's youth. It has been hypothesized that he was the son of a country priest who studied books and became a scribe. To support this contention Dačić cites a chryso-bulla of Milutin, which was in effect during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and which allowed for sons of dependent farmers (zavisnog seljaka) to study and become scribes. Previously this had not been possible. Dačić further emphasizes that this was the only means of upward mobility available to members of the non-ruling class. The dates of Milutin's law (1282-1321) and the probable time of Teodosije's education do not quite coincide. However, Teodosije undoubtedly acquired his education partially at some monastery even without the benefit of Milutin's law.

The date of Teodosije's arrival on Mt. Athos is unknown. He took monastic vows at Hilandar sometime after 1271, residing and working there for the rest of his life, and first achieved fame with the Life of Saint Sava (1290-92). His only absence from Hilandar was between 1307 and 1310, the time of the Catalan invasion of Mt. Athos, when he was in Serbia most of the time, primarily in the area of Prizren. It was there that he compiled the necessary documents for the cult of Saint Petar Koriški. Upon return to Hilandar, Teodosije apparently became part of the administration of the monastery as part of the "bratija načelna". Apparently there were twenty-five such monks, but only five were referred to as kir, among them Teodul. This title had also been written next to Teodosije's name in the margin of a Hilandar...
manuscript. In 1316, Teodosije was first recognized by the title hieromonk (previously he was simply designated monk). Teodosije is additionally known as Hilandarac by virtue of his long residence at the Hilandar monastery where he did most of his writing. Mention of Teodosije in the charters (povelja) of Mt. Athos appears under the years 1316, 1322 and 1347-48. In 1327 he became the elder of a seaside monastery and priest to King Stefan Uroš IV Dečanski. The end of his life, circa 1328, was spent at this monastery, St. Basil's, which belongs to Hilandar.

Educational Background

Judging from his works, Teodosije was a contemporarily well-educated person: well-read and possessed of not only a literary education but of wide-based general knowledge and culture. He was perceptive, introspective and had a good knowledge of himself and man in general. In addition to the sources of his education and literary influences, Teodosije added his own characteristic creative vision to his works. He was a perceptive observer, which helped him creatively supplement the usual prototype patterns and prescribed hagiographical elements. He wrote within the Church spirit, adding his own elements of innovation.

Undoubtedly as Đakić speculated, Teodosije began his early education by copying Scriptural lessons on waxen tablets. That is, Teodosije probably acquired literacy and some portion of his higher education under the tutelage of monks. In medieval monasteries boys were educated by long hours of copying sacred books. This
long and repetitive process was undoubtedly the first influence on Teodosije's writing. This would account in some part for the influence of the Bible on Teodosije. More than in his use of direct or indirect quotes, the influence is found in the effect of the Biblical level of narration on Teodosije's style as a whole. For example, the *Life of Petar Koriški:* the structural economy of this short yet all encompassing biography, the focus on the drama of good versus evil - the cosmic struggle that pervades the Bible. Lives of the saints such as the Martyr Stephan and John the Baptist were possibly his first acquaintance with hagiography. The Bible is one source of Teodosije's literary mastery and the beauty of his style.

Still speaking in hypothetical terms, some scholars maintain that by all appearances Teodosije's literary culture did not only consist of reading theology. For instance, Savković contends that Teodosije's basic literary conception reveals a man who was well-acquainted with Byzantine culture. Unfortunately he does not give reasons or specific examples. S.P. Rozanov presented a case for the direct influence of Byzantine literature on Teodosije, specifically by the *Life of Sava the Blessed* by Kirill Skitopolis. He states that Teodosije used the introduction of that *zitie* for his own *Life of Saint Sava* and that other parts of this Byzantine *zitie* can be found in passages of the *Life of Petar Koriški.* There is some question whether such similarities are a result of direct literary influence or just similarities that resulted from the
proscriptions leveled on Sitie writing which may have developed frequently repeated phrase patterns. Other scholars have claimed the influence of the Physiolog on Teodosije's Life of Petar Korięki, which they contend is evident in the "engaging and interesting style of narration."33 Still others say that familiarity with eschatological literature was part of Teodosije's literary preparation.34 Clearly, such claims cannot be definitely proven, particularly in view of the paucity of biographical data available on the authors. Demonstration by literary analysis of literary influences on Teodosije - an extremely difficult thing to prove - can only be undertaken after a thorough monograph analysis of Teodosije's writings has been completed.

Teodosije arrived at Mt. Athos with a good education: familiar with manuscript work, the sacred books, and everything connected with scribal work. On Mt. Athos he probably became acquainted with the literature of the early Christians and the Lives of the Saints. Mośin maintains that these works of Byzantine literature were read by Teodosije in the original Greek. (As proof of Teodosije's knowledge of Greek, Mośin points out that an Act of 1327 formulated while Teodosije was engaged in supervising purchases for Hilandar was written in Greek).35 Regarding the possible influence of his native literary predecessors, Kostić stated that while Teodosije was at Studenica he read the Life of Simeon by Stefan the First-Crowned,36 and that Stefan had been Teodosije's favorite writer since his youngest years. He used some of the same Biblical quotes that Stefan did, as well as Stefan's portrait in his
One of the most important points in Teodosije's education and life orientation was his acquaintance with Domentijan, who was very erudite in theological matters. However, Teodosije showed greater talent in matters of composition and literary manipulation of devices. Teodosije used theological meditations and Biblical quotes and data far less frequently than Domentijan. By his own admission Teodosije based his greatest work, the Life of Saint Sava, on Domentijan's work of the same name. However, Teodosije's version is completely different and independent. Some of the differences between the two compositions include the artist's conception of Sava as a person and the arrangement of the structure of the composition. Teodosije's narration is livelier, his descriptions more vivid and more closely approaching reality. His exposition is natural, coherent and dramatic. Further elements of Teodosije's style will be the subject of our attention in Chapter Four.

Teodosije's masterpiece, the Life of Saint Sava, was for a time attributed to Domentijan because of the modest inscription "told by Domentijan and written by Teodosije." Teodosije was thus thought to be merely Domentijan's scribe, and not the author of a work that was something in the way of a reworking of Domentijan, yet so complete and of such quality that it is considered an original work.
His Works

An original and prolific writer of the fourteenth century, Teodosije wrote both prose and poetry. Teodosije was a great poet of medieval Church hymnody. He showed his versificatory mastery of this medium in both content and form. During the period of his literary creativity Teodosije produced a sizable quantity of Church hymnody: Common Canon to Christ, St. Simeon and St. Sava (Kanon opšti Xristu, Simeonu i Savi), Encomium to St. Simeon and St. Sava (Poxvala Simeonu i Savi), Common Canon to Sts. Simeon and Sava in eight tones (Kanon opšte Simeonu i Savi za svix osam glasova), Common Canon to Sts. Simeon and Sava in four tones (Kanon opšti Simeonu i Sava za četiri glasa), Office to St. Simoon (Služba sv. Simeonu), Office to St. Sava (Služba svetom Savi), and generally the Office to St. Petar Koriški is attributed to Teodosije (Služba svetom Petru Koriškom). This represents an important part of the body medieval Serbian hymnody and according to Bogdanović, "Teodosije is undoubtedly the greatest and richest Serbian hymnographer."37

A canon is a part of the liturgy modeled on the Biblical Canticles. Originally there were nine cycles of stanzas in each canon related to the nine Biblical Canticles. Gradually, however, the second cycle of stanzas was omitted because of its melancholy or gloomy quality, not corresponding well with the optimistic nature of the other eight. The original numeration of the cycles of stanzas was retained, but the second cycle was no longer even written. Each cycle usually consisted of a
The hiermos plus four stanzas. The hiermos (model) was at the beginning of each cycle and provided information about the tone to be used. The third stanza (or penultimate) within the cycle was a doxology; the last stanza was the theotokarion. Between the sixth and seventh cycles there was an interruption for the ikos and kondak. And after the eighth cycle the Magnificant was chanted.

Poetic parts were common in the liturgy which was composed of prayers, hymnody and actions. The poet composing the hymnody had before him at all times a definite tone, and so there was necessarily an intimate connection between text and melody. The choice of tone was not free; there were only eight tones allowed. Each had its own specific melodic characteristics. The author would choose the tone with the characteristics most appropriate to the tenor of his work. The tones were repeated continuously throughout the year. The author, being familiar with them, would usually select the tone used with the types of hymns must closely resembling the one he was composing. The Common Canon to Sts. Simeon and Sava in four tones, for example, consisted of eight cycles of stanzas. Each stanza had four parts the last of which was dedicated to the Mother of God - as it must be according to canonical regulation. The ikos, was short and had only one part. In this stanza Teodosije asks the Mother of God to protect the monks. The theme of the ikos is the role of Simeon Sava as defenders of Serbia in battle. This Canon was written between 1292 and 1301. The other Common Canon to Sts. Simeon and Sava in eight tones contains an example of a literary phenomenon.
characteristic of Teodosije known as acrostic (krajagrano̱sije). This is a significant means of identifying which works of medieval Serbian literature were original Slavic creations, since the acrostic would not withstand translation. To clarify, Teodosije gave a short sentence at the end of his introduction to this canon. Each letter of each of the words in that sentence would subsequently appear in the same order as the initials of succeeding parts of the canon. 38 In this particular canon the stanza of the first tone had no acrostic, while all the remaining stanzas did.

The Office to St. Simeon also contains an acrostic. This one is very important because Teodosije put his own name in this acrostic. It reads: "I, unworthy Teodosije, sing praises about you, father Simeon." ("Teodosije nedostojni poju te, otče Simeone"). In this way Teodosije came out of anonymity yet still maintained his monastic humility. This Office was written between 1307 and 1310, when Teodosije was about sixty years old. The Offices to Simeon, Sava and Petar Koriški contain all the required elements of canonical literature (as they had to be accepted for liturgical use). The elements of innovation can be found in author's ideas about these new saints. Among Teodosije's creations, "first place," according to Dačić, "goes to his Office of St. Simeon," which is chanted on February 13 (26). 39 The Economium to St. Simeon was written between 1307 and 1310. It was written in a rhythmic and vivid panegyric style.
Besides hymnody Teodosije composed two žitija the Life of St. Sava and the Life of Petar Korički. Both of these žitija are discussed in the next chapter. I shall, therefore save my comments about them for Chapter Four.

Some Conclusions

We now have some idea of the biographical background of the writer under investigation, Teodosije Hilandarac. The information is incomplete and requires more research. Most of the material discussed contains speculation which might well be borne out (eg. the influence of outside sources), after a thorough monograph study of Teodosije's writings has been completed. The Teodor Span theory is a convenient means to interpolate the lives of two people, thereby arriving at some notion of what Teodosije's childhood was like. However, the theory is incomplete, unsubstantiated and therefore cannot be accepted at this time. Hymnody comprises the greater portion of Teodosije's literary legacy and so must comprise an important part of any future study. In the next chapter we shall continue our description of Teodosije's works, turning our attention to his prose writing.
Although Teodosije did write during the last decade of the thirteenth century, the main body of his works was produced during the fourteenth. For this reason and because his works represent a change from those of his thirteenth century predecessors, I consider him a fourteenth century writer.


Protos: Each of the approximately twenty monasteries on Mt. Athos has one representative in the administrative council at Karyes. Four of the monasteries (among them Hilendar) are considered "major" monasteries. From among the representatives of these four major monasteries, a protos is elected. The protos is the presiding monk of Mt. Athos and administrative head for one year beginning in January. The other three "major" representatives form a synod, which also carries on administrative activities.

Council of the Fathers: the administrative body composed of representatives from each monastery on Mt. Athos, usually nineteen representatives and one protos. The council is located at Karyes.


Dačić, 17.


Dačić, 21.
Bratija načelna: Elders elected to be confessors and spiritual fathers, part of the administrative and spiritual advising body of the monastery.
27 Dačić, 13.

28 Dačić, 13.

29 Dačić, 13.

29 Dačić, 14.

30 Dačić, 27.


32 S.P. Rozanov, "Istočniki, vremja sostavljenija i ličnost' sostavitelja Teodosievskoj redakcijii žitija Savvi Serbskakgo," IzORJaS, VXI (1911), 136-209.

33 Dačić, 24.

34 Dačić, 25.


37 Bogdanović, 15.

38 See Appendix B for an example of acrostic.

39 Dačić, 37. The date is given Old Style (with New Style in parentheses). The feast of St. Sava is January 14 (27). The feast of St. Petar Koriški is June 5 (18).
CHAPTER IV

TEODOSIJE'S PROSE WORKS: CONTENT AND FORM

The two prose works written by Teodosije Hilandarac are the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški. It is an undisputed fact that Teodosije wrote the Life of Saint Sava and that he wrote it between 1290 and 1292. The authorship of the second žitie, the Life of Petar Koriški has been contested in the past. St. Novaković attempted to definitively prove Teodosije's authorship of this work, and did establish the date of the žitie as circa 1310. Most scholars writing on Teodosije, among them Dašić, Dj. Sp. Radojičić, Bašić, Bojčević, Kostić, Bogdanović inter alia, concurred with Novaković's opinion. Still a handful of scholars, most notably M. Murko, suggested despite Novaković's research that the identification of Teodosije as the author was added at the end of this žitie to ensure recognition for a work actually written by some lesser author of the early fourteenth century. The only basis for disclaiming Teodosije's authorship of this work is the contention that the writing is not of the same quality as that in the Life of Saint Sava. On the contrary, however, there are enough similarities in style
between the two Mitija and the quality of writing is sufficient to warrant attributing authorship of the Life of Petar Koriški to Teodosije. As proof of this authorship the similarities and characteristics of Teodosije's writing in both Mitija will be discussed.

The Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški

Saint Sava occupies a special place in Serbian history, in the history of the Serbian Church, and in the devotion of the Serbian people. Teodosije used a canonical form of Mitie for Sava's biography. The content and myths were reworked from Domentijan's biography of the same name. Teodosije added freshness to Sava's biography by eliminating some of the extraneous material and simplifying the highly complex rhetoric. A discriminating selection of events from Sava's life enabled Teodosije to reveal the many facets of the saint's personality. A summary of the Mitie follows.¹

Rastko Nemanjić, the third son of Stefar Nemanja, was born circa 1175. As a child he was obedient to his parents, loved books, and avoided the play and games of his peers. His early education was based almost entirely on religious literature. He was given to fasting and frequent church attendance. Monks from the Holy Mount were frequent visitors at the court of his father. He became acquainted there with a certain Russian monk who helped him run away to Mt. Athos when he was about eighteen years old. A search
party was sent after him and found him at the Russian St. Panteleimon Monastery. The monks tired the search party out with a feast and long church service, and hurriedly tonsured Sava while the search party slept. Sava was then no longer a layman and, therefore, enjoyed certain privileges assigned to monks of the Holy Mount. Namely, no ordained monk could be forcibly taken from his monastery.

Sava lived at the Greek Vatopedi Monastery, and at first was a bit overzealous about his fasting and vigils; his superiors had to restrain him for the sake of his health. At Vatopedi Sava learned Greek and expanded his education by reading theological and liturgical texts in the original. Sava's time spent as a simple monk was brief due to his family's position. Shortly he was sent as an envoy to the Imperial Court to obtain privileges for Vatopedi. Circa 1196 his father Stefan Nemanja, who had abdicated the throne and had been tonsured Simeon at the Studenica Monastery in Raška, arrived at Vatopedi. Through their generosity and the prestige of their family connections, the Holy Mount received many benefits.

Sava successfully petitioned the Byzantine emperor to build Hilandar Monastery for the Serbian monks on Mt. Athos. In June 1198, Hilandar and several other deserted monasteries formerly belonging to Vatopedi became the autonomous Serbian Imperial Lavra. Sava, Simeon and a few other monks were the first dwellers in the new Serbian Monastery. St. Sava composed the Typikon of Hilandar to regulate the lives of its inhabitants. After his father's
death on February 12, 1200, St. Sava became acutely aware of the need to increase the population of Hilandar both for efficient management of the monastery and for protection from invaders. In 1204 Sava was elevated to the rank of hieromonk.

After Simeon's death, internecine struggle had broken out between Sava's brothers Stefan and Vukan. Their struggle threatened the welfare of Raška and thereby the future growth of Orthodoxy. Sava returned to Raška with Simeon's remains to make peace between his brothers. At that time the Church in Raška was still under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Ochrid. Sava was determined to establish an autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church and so set about training more monks and structuring the ecclesiastical organization in Raška. Sava was always concerned about the State as well as the Church, because the strength of the country was a necessary condition for the welfare of the Church. For this reason he was sent to arbitrate with a Bulgarian nobleman named Strez, who was planning to attack Serbia. While Strez would not yield to Sava's entreaties, some of his leaders did. They rebelled against Strez and killed him; Serbia was spared. Around 1217 Sava returned to Mt. Athos; shortly after his return he received a letter from Stefan asking him to return to Serbia. Sava, however, intended to acquire independence for the Serbian Orthodox Church before his return. In 1219 Sava was in fact granted independence for the Church from the Emperor Theodore and Patriarch Manuel of Nicaea. In addition, Sava was consecrated Archbishop of the Serbian
Orthodox Church. Returning to Serbia, Sava continued his work of spreading Orthodoxy and strengthening the organization of the Church. His brother Stefan the First-Crowned, having taken monastic vows and the name Simon, died in 1228. Around the same year Sava made his first journey to the Holy Land. On his return he stopped in Nicaea (1229) where he received the grammota declaring the autocephality of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Around 1233 he made a second trip to the Holy Land apparently on behalf of the Patriarchate of the Bulgarian Church. Before leaving Serbia he had abdicated his position as archbishop, appointing Arsenje in his place. On this second journey, Sava was beset by pirates, whom he not only persuaded against attacking him, but rewarded them for compliance with his requests. There was also a fierce storm at sea; through his prayers Sava saved the ship and all those on board. Sava reached Trnovo and shortly after arrival died there circa January 14, 1235. His remains were brought to Serbia around 1237.

There is a change in mood and orientation in this ?itio from the solemn, unattainable heights characteristic of a canonical ?itio, to an ever so slightly more accessible yet still religiously dignified plane for the presentation of the biography of Sava - saint, monk, and historical person. Sava, in all of his roles, confronted the evil he saw surrounding man, likewise the ignorance, egotism and weaknesses of human nature. The author dramatized this by a series of moral portraits and dramatic scenes. These scenes
include: the cunning he used to escape from his father's house, misleading his father concerning his going hunting; his successful escape and the Christian charity he showed toward the pirates; and the recurring theme of the primacy which he assigned to his calling, necessitating repeated realignment of priorities particularly regarding his family. Some of the motifs found in this Vita would include Sava's escape and fasting, his work to foster the growth of Orthodoxy in Serbia and strengthen the Serbian Orthodox Church, as well as the Serbian State.

Teodosije's work was popular not only because it depicted Sava's personal achievements, but also because it conveyed Sava's accessibility to the ordinary man. Throughout his life Sava had been attentive to people, the directives regulating their lives, and man's constant confrontation with the opposing forces of good and evil. The added realistic elements and proximity of the saint made Sava close to the reader, yet still on a higher plane because of his great spiritual strength and opposition to evil: the essence of his saintliness. The Life of Saint Sava concerns the great spiritual deeds of one man, of one strong individual. Because of Teodosije's manner of presentation, Sava did not remain a two-dimensional figure. Many facets of his personality were revealed; rudimentary elements of psychological motivation are found in this Vita.

As for the second Vita written by Teodosije, a contributing factor to the inferior classification of Petar Koriški's biography
was, in fact, the nature of the content. This *žitie* dealt with the then popular concept of "leaving the world" - and so one's family - in order to follow a life of prayer and devotion to God. Such behavior was popular at the time this *žitie* was written, as it was throughout the Middle Ages. To a contemporary of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, on the other hand, when this work was first critically appraised, such behavior was incomprehensible and appeared somewhat perverse. This undoubtedly colored the evaluation of scholars like Murko who found the style of writing somewhat lacking. This is particularly true when one remembers that it has to be analyzed in comparison with the popular *Life of Saint Sava*, whose subject was a truly unique person in Serbian history.

The *Life of Petar Koriški* was the first *žitie* of a Serbian hermit. He was from the village Unjimir located in Hvostanska district (present-day Peć district). From an agricultural family, he became a monk and went to live on the outskirts of Prizren, near the village of Koriš, where the cave and wall described in the *žitie* are still standing. The dates of Petar Koriški's life are only approximate. According to Dučić, he was born circa 1211-1215, became a monk circa 1231-1235 and died on June 5, circa 1270-1275.²

The *Life of Petar Koriški* is a conventional fullform *žitie*. In the preliminaries (proemium) the author acknowledges the monk Grigorije, who convinced Teodosije to write this *žitie*. The monk
Grigorije lived in the area of Koriš, where he built a church. He died circa 1348. The main body of the žitić summarized Petar Koriški's life. Born of virtuous parents, he spent a holy childhood. Since his earliest years he was attracted to the ascetic life and was determined to become a hermit. When his father died, Petar had to stay at home to help his mother and sister. His mother died shortly thereafter, and the only obstacle to his becoming a hermit and devoting his life to God was his younger sister. Refusing to marry, the sister attempted to follow the ascetic life with Petar. He found her presence distracting and abandoned her one night. Petar went to live in the desert near Koriš, where he settled in a cave on a mountain. The author described some of the many battles Petar found there with the devils in the guise of wild animals and an evil serpent. After many struggles with the devil Petar died a holy death. Many miracles and healings occurred at the cave where his remains were laid to rest.

Near the end of the Life of Petar Koriški, the writer identifies himself as Teodosije and narrates how he had come from Mt. Athos where he lived, and where St. Sava had lived, in order to research the life of St. Petar Koriški. As we learned in Chapter Three, Teodosije Hilandarac was absent from Hilandar Monastery between 1307 and 1310, when he was known to have been in the area of Prizren and Koriš learning about Petar Koriški from the local
In the Life of Petar Koriski Teodosije most closely approached rudimentary psychological analysis, even more than in the Life of Saint Sava. The Life of Petar Koriski depicted a complex human nature, composed of contrasts and opposed forces. It focused on Petar's human feelings, disdain for his human weaknesses, self-denial and pursuit of his ideal - union with God, which Petar eventually realized. Teodosije used Petar Koriski's act of leaving his sister as a psychological touchstone for the rest of the story. Later, amidst his struggle with the devils and in an apparent hallucinatory state he hears the voice of his own sister filled with righteous and bitter indictment for him. This heightened the drama, since women in Teodosije are dependent creatures; only men can take action. So once again Petar was the active agent. This emotional note increased the tension connected with the Biblical command which Petar Koriski was attempting to follow and which is at the crux of a proper interpretation of this story. (The command: "Who loves father and mother more than me, is not worthy of me.") In this hallucinatory state, Petar experienced great despair, heightened by the imagined return of his sister, and he vacillated between heaven (his spiritual striving toward God) and earth (his human weaknesses). The personality of the hermit Petar conditioned the mood of Teodosije's writings. The plot is dramatic and develops...
by means of polemic dialogues and monologue prayers. Petar Koriški because of his dialogue with the devil was forced to review the path he has chosen and to relive the tension of the moment he abandoned his sister and the great psychological battle he suffered through in making that decision. Through prayer, and God's aid in the form of Michael the Archangel, he was confirmed in his chosen way of life.

The similarities and differences to be found in analyzing these two Kitije are related to the subjects of each and how Teodosije became familiar with each subject. This eventually determined the form and content of each Kitie and accounts for the differences between two works by the same author.

Sava Nemanjić was a historically developed and strong personality, much more than Petar Koriški. The situation of Sava's life had far-reaching effects on many ways of the people, state and Church of medieval Serbia. Petar was, on the other hand, only a hermit. He was not, like Sava, a personality of Church politics, or the subject of a national cult closely associated with the establishment of the autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church. His running away, spiritual feats, and powers are qualitatively different than Sava's. In Petar Koriški they are confined to the individual level and developed within that single microcosm, while in Sava they are of national proportions. Sava's life embraced both his spiritual life and, necessarily, his relation to the
earthly welfare of Raška and the history of its people. The idea of knowing God and dealing with the contradictions of this world are expanded to several levels in Sava’s Kitie. Sava displayed ambivalence and anxiety because of this; Petar Koriški bore the tragic counter position of good and evil.

Sava’s life was developed by Teodosije in the appropriate perspective of the whole world of his land and people—his fatherland and he himself. Petar Koriški is developed within his own soul, isolated in the cave on the mountain amidst the beauty of nature. There is a parallel developed by Teodosije: Petar Koriški in his chosen retreat is confronted with nature and her beauty as well as the terror such beauty can bring with itself. This is parallel to the goal toward which Petar is striving, God, and the difficulties and suffering entailed in achieving union with God. Finally, the outcomes of each life in terms of the values realized are different in each case. Petar Koriški realized his own personal goal, while Sava in addition to that reaped benefits for State, Church and all those who cooperated with him.

The Life of Saint Sava was written because of the interest in him on the part of secular and ecclesiastical powers. Since Sava was from Hilandar where this Kitie was rewritten, Teodosije probably had a great number of information sources. And since Sava was already a well-established saint some of the content was already determined for the writer. Teodosije had already been exposed to his Kitie
through services to him and the abbreviated form of his life used on his name day. In contrast, the only motivation we are aware of for Teodosije's writing the Life of Petar Koriški is the urging of the monk Grigorije. Petar Koriški was a recluse known primarily in the region of Koriš, the place where Teodosije himself went to gather information about St. Petar. His information came by way of stories of local inhabitants and witnesses of miracles which happened near the saint's remains. Thus, we have a difference in the initial motivation for writing, the subject of the žitje, the world of the subject described, the importance of the saint described, methods of information gathering, and popularity of details about the saint's life. It would appear that the Biblical origin of the command to abandon one's family for the sake of serving God is a critical element to remember.

In the preliminaries (proemium) to his Life of Saint Sava Teodosije remarked that elders (teachers) have an obligation to write down the lives of the foremost men and to respect them because of the good they can bring to the people. A similar sentiment was expressed in the Life of Petar Koriški where the author commented that the life of Petar, a venerable man, was good to recall.

Kostić cites a further similarity between the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Peter Koriški because of a familiar folk song found in both žitija; and, therefore attributes author-
ship of the latter to Teodosije. It is beyond the competency of this author to speak to the validity of his contention.

In both štitija there are elements of a solemn, epic-like pace characteristic of the canonical štitie. In addition there are lyrical elements. Part of Teodosije's originality and contribution to the development of the štitie genre is his use of lyric elements and his well-developed narrative technique.

Content and Form

Both the Life of Saint Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški are canonical form štitija. Their purpose, stated at the outset, is to present the lives of men worthy of emulation for the edification of and imitation by the Serbian people. Both men were saints, though the lives by which they achieved sainthood are disparate. The focus of each štitie is slightly different. The Life of Petar Koriški has a single sharp focus on Petar Koriški and his achievement of sainthood in solitary. The Life of Saint Sava focused on how Sava became a saint, but the focus is not as sharp and limited. Sava's life encompassed too much to be limited to a single idea. In both štitija Teodosije used associations, all related to a main theme, to lend unity to the biography. For Sava's biography it was related to ujeleniti (catching the deer), which was symbol parallelling his soul's search for Christ. For Petar Koriški's biography it was the Bible command cited several times above (Matt. 10:37).
Part of Teodosije's innovation is his streamlining or simplifying of forms used to convey content. His style likewise is not as complex as the rhetorical style of Domentijan. He eliminated much extraneous detail and verbal ornament. In Teodosije narration and the use of dialogue perform multi-faceted tasks. They present information, establish mood, and reinforce it with more information or quotes, add realistic elements to the story, and add drama to the narration.

Both saints became part of the Serbian "olympia" referred to in earlier chapters. The saints occupy vastly different positions; Sava is among the hierarchy while Petar Koriški occupies a rather modest place. Teodosije would have had personal contact with neither chronologically. He came to know both through narration. However, the extent of popularity of St. Sava's cult made him closer in proximity to Teodosije, but also meant a certain part of his Štitje was predetermined. Both depictions are of "ideals" but not of the completely idealized images found in a canonical Štitje. The degree of abstraction has lessened somewhat, undoubtedly partly due to proximity, but more as a result of the drama Teodosije introduced into his Štitjina.

Neither saint is motionless, and both evidence human anxieties over familial relationships and over moral battles. Neither depiction is strictly iconographic; a completely binary outlook has been tempered by human feelings. Teodosije has introduced with more frequency than previous Štitje writers
some extra details, eg. geographical locations and fairly extensive
descriptions of the place where Petar settled as a recluse. He
appealed to visual powers with a lyrical description of that
setting. There is also some  byt  lexicon, eg. gusli (a folk instrument),
appears in Petar's biography.

Teodosije's strength is as an artistic narrator. His
narration is light, flows regularly and is not encumbered with far
and wide meanderings from the main current of thought. Verbs are
the principal carrier of narrative flow. Dialogues also contribute
to the freshness of his narrative, and draw the reader into the
works. Teodosije streamlined the narrative of superfluous details,
preferring to use a limited number of the most expressive details.

Women in Teodosije's works are compassionately portrayed
as dependant on the men in the family and occupied with caring for
the family welfare. But, they are powerless in themselves.

Finally, Teodosije was concerned with symmetrical composi-
tion. The principal metaphor of each  Mitia  is a single idea (the
deer; leaving one's family). Both  Mitija  are closely related to
their corresponding Services in content; symmetry of form is
possibly part of their relationship to these hymnodic forms.
The characteristic style until Teodosije was rhetorical, flowery and metaphorical. Naturalness became one hallmark of Teodosije's creations. He presented each persona against a backdrop of his normal surroundings and development. Actuality in time and space was established by extra details such as geographic locations. For example, he referred to the Hvostanska district, the area of Prizren, Mt. Athos, the court of Sava's father, Sava’s journey to Raška to make peace among his brothers.

Part of the compositional architecture is the paysage description. In the Life of Petar Koriški the author digresses lyrically and presents a description of Petar's cave on the mountain above the "sweet flowing water of the mountain stream." The description appeals to the reader's sense of sight and imagination. The awful beasts likewise appeal to the senses: sight and hearing. Most of the images in the Life of Petar Koriški, like his abandoned sister alone in the night calling out his name, are highly emotional and graphic. Elements of drama were not as frequent in žitje writing before Teodosije. He elaborated on the concept of using elements of drama and dialogue to convey action, which then served as a source of inspiration for the reader, being both more interesting and more concrete.
Teodosije eliminated much superfluous detail and verbosity, so that the data used (content and device) would serve to concentrate attention on the main theme and motifs of the žitie; whatever is present is significant. For instance, in addition to the geographical details cited above for both žitije, Teodosije included historical and political detail in the Life of Saint Sava. This included information pertinent to the internecine strife threatening to undermine Raška's strength, as well as narration about Sava's desire to spread Christianity throughout Raška and to strengthen the Serbian Church. These ideas are motifs which re-occurred in the žitie and were closely connected with political and ecclesiastical desire to establish and maintain autocephalous Serbian Orthodox Church.

Because of the sharp focus in the Life of Petar Koriški contrast between character portrayal is seen in greater relief. It is even more vivid because Teodosije chose to use metaphorical and symbolic devices of animal forms to emphasize and enhance the drama of Petar Koriški's struggles with the forces of evil. The beast and animal forms represent the personification of the forces of evil. From Teodosije's narration the reader becomes aware of their physical unattractiveness and wild savagery they displayed toward Petar. They were endowed with the human qualities of speech and reason, as well as the normal animal capacity for howling and screeching, which they used to torment Petar; through his description of it Teodosije appealed to the reader's sense of hearing; the description is so vivid that the reader
easily shares in Petar Koriški's distress. The Archangel Michael appears as the representative of the forces of good. With his appearance, Petar Koriški is fortified in his beliefs, relentlessly and successfully fighting the devils' attacks. The vividness of Teodosije's works are due in part to the device of personification and the use of Biblical allusions. The sinner Petar Koriški is depicted as a man worn thin by a life of fasting and seclusion. Only skin and bones, he has no physical characteristics to speak of, and few garments. Since Teodosije was focusing on Petar's spiritual dimension there is appropriately little physical description. Petar is given to vacillation when under heavy attach by the devils, but always manages to summon sufficient spiritual strength. For this he is referred to throughout the vitie as the "venerable one" (prisredobni). In the Life of Saint Sava there are many more personae and less extreme binary contrast between them, due to Teodosije's wider focus in this vitie. There is less pure spirit and more earthly person in the characters depicted because of Sava's role in both monastic and secular life. Clearly, those in conflict with Sava and, therefore, opposing God's will, are depicted as sinners and are readily identifiable. For example, the pirates, the jealous brother Vukan Nemanjić, Strez, and Stefan Nemanjić while he is contemplating cooperation with Rome. Sava is portrayed as the least of the sinners, possessed of great spiritual strength, firm convictions and inspired foresight.
The writer Teodosije had absorbed many of the stylistic devices used in the Bible and as part of Office reading and hymnody. Many Biblical quotes are found in both 'vitija. The point of departure for both 'vitija could be summarized as sacrifice and "leaving the world". In working out this theme Teodosije drew heavily on the Psalms, with slightly more quotes from that Book of the Bible being used in the Life of Saint Sava. In addition to the Psalms, the Gospels are used frequently in the Life of Petar Korilški, with the Gospel according to Matthew 10:37 supplying the main theme. Teodosije's choices of quotations are deliberate, well coordinated and perfectly à pointe. Quotations are used so deftly that at times, when not set off with quotation marks, they appear to be Teodosije's own material.

The Bible was a great source of symbol, metaphor and other literary devices for Teodosije. Symbols, Biblical images and metaphors were used by medieval writers to convey the abstract concepts connected with religion. A number of Biblical symbols were used by Teodosije; they function as symbols per se and in metaphors and similes. All serve to reinforce the two levels of each 'vitija: principal metaphor and the surface narrative. It should be remarked that Teodosije was relatively sparing in his use of these devices.
Symbols based on a derivative of the root svět - connoting "light" and "blessedness" are found in both Yitiju.

PK: В свете плоди (from the light, i.e., holiness) 236v. Лицемъ в святлымъ сиящъ (shining with a blessed face) 244v.

SS: Покрымъ благосвятлы ия cвятлником земля сербока просвѣщающа The Serbian land shined forth with such a God-blessed light 89r. (HSC No. 505)

References to the heavenly bodies rarely appeared in Teodosije's writings. A comparison with the sun was used once. And only thunder of all the meteorological elements was mentioned.

SS: Иже и вѣдѣзебанимъ жилицемъ яко вѣсне сіяюще бѣху (45v.) Whose heavenly-directed deeds were shining like the sun.

The preceding comparison was used on the occasion of Sava's bringing Simeon's remains to Serbia in an attempt to halt the struggle between his brothers.

SS: си же всѣмъ слышавшимъ грому подобенъ плачъ въ всѣхъ возышающа (21v.-22r. HSC 505) For all those who heard a cry resembling thunder rose up from everyone [waiting for Nemanja's arrival]

The glance of Sava's teacher on Mt. Athos was likened to a piercing arrow, in the lone mention of a weapon. "He carried the [piercing] arrow of that glance in his heart and returned to his monastery" while Stefan the First-Crowned's eyes in a hyperbolic simile were compared with a lake: "His eyes filled up with
tears as a lake with water." The comparison depicted the facial reaction of Stefan to a conversation with Sava about Roman Catholicism.

The most frequently used image in Teodosije is fire and all of its various manifestations.

The leader of the search party who came to Mt. Athos for Rastko, said:

SS: Пойди с нами рабы твоими веселяся, да оугасьши пламень, родители твоих, их же серца запалил еси твоим странном и шествий, и брать твои и всех благородных (8v.)

Come with us your servants and rejoice with you people, you have extinguished the flame (in the heart of) your parents, their hearts were rent by your strange running away, as were those of your brothers and all your relatives.

Further the leader commented:

SS: Ὑ πῆςα. Ἰελαμαμὺς ἰελαμοῦσιν τῆς ἡμαίμνης κάκο πρωνεμέν τὰ ἃκα βολὴ. ῼσβραζ (11v.)

A sought after cloak, a burning desire brought you to this the image you wanted.

The above cited passage also contains a morphological figure characteristic of Teodosije's style. The repetition of word roots, (here, ἓλαμ-, ) in different morphological forms and in close proximity, producing phonological and semantic repetition.

A fire-image appears again during the episodes where Sava on his journey to the Holy Land is first accosted by pirates, and then a great storm wells up. The lightning
is described as "fire from the heavens." Fire is used in reference to the Last Judgment, calling it a "river of fire" (ΩΔΕ ΡΕΙΚΑ ΟΓ ΗΕΝΝΑ ΤΕΤΕΙ (50v)) and in connection with the agony of death.

Like a man who had been seized by the agony of a natural death.

While fire images preponderated in the Life of Saint Sava, animal symbols were abundant in the Life of Petar Korisliki. Here Teodosije used a great snake (SMIN ΒΕΛΙΚΩ 236v.), a bear form (ΜΕΔΒΕΞΗΙΜ ΠΑΒΙ - 239v.), a lion figure (ΛΒΟΒΙΜΟ ΟΒΡΑΣΟΜ - 237v.), ravens (ΒΡΑΝΟΒΕ - 237v.) howling dogs (ΠΣΙΛΑΙΟΝΕ - 239v.), heads of wild boars (ΑΙΝΙΚΗ ΒΕΠΡΥΒ ΓΛΑΒΙ - 239v.), and other wild animals (ΓΛΑΒΗ ΠΡΟΧΙΧΥΣ ΣΒΕΡΕΝ - 239v.) as symbols for the forces of evil.

Two animal images used in Saint Sava's biography include "golden-winged eagles" to which Stefan Nemanjić's young sons are compared, and the important central metaphor of that biography - the deer.
He left in peace saying that he would return soon. It didn't mean that he (Sava) didn't go to catch deer, rather he wanted the source of life, Christ, and for him the deer represented his soul.

Synonyms used in both Јитија include:
usnu ~ pocinu (rest), vozvesolet semuzradujot se (rejoice),
čto dobro ~ čto krasno (what is good), kogo ubjoju se ~ kogo
ustrasu se (whom I fear), opolčet se polk~vstanet bran' (stand battle). The most commonly used epithets in both were compounds formed with the roots bogo- (bo-), "God" or "heavenly" and blago- (bla-), "blessed" or "holy".

The length of sentences in both was similar, being fairly brief. Within sentence the author frequently used participial phrases. The conjunctions used and the manner of their use in both Јитија were similar. Teodosije used principally the words ače (an),  и, аби, иже (eže) and ожо, although other introductory words are present.

Parallels used included Petar Koriški's association of being freed from the devil with being saved from the hunter's snares. The righteous man is likened in the Life of Petar Koriški to the Biblical figure Abraham. Other figures used by Teodosije include rhetorical question and inner monologue.
Some Conclusions

For the reasons given in the preceding discussion it would seem appropriate to attribute authorship of the *Life of Petar Koriški* to Teodosije. This *vitie* obviously had to be written by a writer of great skill. Its streamlined content and rhetoric, the deft selection of Biblical quotes, and deliberate concentration of subject to the single microcosm of Petar Koriški's soul required the talents and experience of an already proven writer. Teodosije was the dominant writer of this period in medieval Serbian literature. Further, he had been urged by a fellow monk Grigorije to undertake the writing of Petar Koriški's *vitie*. Teodosije was absent from Mt. Athos between 1307 and 1310 when he was in the area of Koriš gathering information about St. Petar. The *vitie* has been determined as written circa 1310. In his first *vitie*, Teodosije indicated his authorship and the source of his information in the text of the *vitie*. Likewise, at the end of the *Life of Petar Koriski* he has indicated his authorship to us, as well as emphasizing the source of his information on St. Petar: the inhabitants of the Koriš area.

The stress in Teodosije's *vitija* is on the speeches of the principal characters, which serve to carry along the theme and dramatic flow. Dialogues gave expression to the inner life of the saint. Teodosije employed striking contrasts, rudimentary
elements of psychological motivation and dramatic narrative
dynamics through deft use of dialogue. He depicts some character-
istics of human nature, making his personae more than two-
dimensional line drawings. Teodosije's style does not reflect
highly developed theology and hagiography in the strict meaning
of those words. His live speech prevents monotony; there are
an abundance of emotional words. He used few symbols, and relied
primarily on metaphor, Biblical quotes and a tight compositional
structure based on a theme and a few closely related motifs in
both "Mitija. Teodosije's style consists of simple clear writing,
unadorned prose and straightforward style.

In assessing Teodosije's innovations it is necessary to
recall once more the nature of medieval Serbian literature.
To be acceptable literature had to conform to certain canonical
requirements. Innovations were necessarily modest; originality
was a matter of increased or decreased frequency of occurrence
relative to prototypes and previous literary works.

Teodosije's narration is somewhat less solemn, and more
manageable in content and form. Human characteristics are now
discernible in the former rigid iconographic depiction of the
saints. Teodosije's characteristic use of dialogues lends drama
to the "Mitija. He added more realistic details, (e.g., geographical,
political, historical) than were found in previous "Mitija; he also
increased the frequency of lyric elements. Finally Teodosije's
well-developed narrative technique enabled him to concentrate the
focus of his "Mitija within a well-designed structure.
Footnotes


3 Dačić, 102-103.

4 Dačić, 98.

CHAPTER V

PALEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF HILANDAR SLAVIC CODEX NO. 505

The *Life of Petar Koriški*, discussed in Chapter Four, was read from manuscript No. 505 of the Hilandar Slavic Codices Collection (HSC) located at The Ohio State University. This collection of microfilmed manuscripts is a unique opportunity for scholarly research, making possible access to original Slavic authors and broader research into early Slavic philology. The *Life of Petar Koriški* as contained in HSC 505 is reproduced in Appendix D. The first complete English translation of this *žitje* by the author of this dissertation is also included in Appendix E. Having used the content of the *žitje* for a stylistic analysis in the preceding chapter, I shall now proceed with a paleographic analysis of the *Life of Petar Koriški* in HSC 505.

General description of HSC 505

Hilandar Slavic Codex No. 505 (506) is found on Roll No. 182; the film is designated 16-CH. Microfilmed in black and white, HSC 505 contains 279 folia (II+279 folia). The checklist title of this
manuscript is **Offices for Serbian Saints** (Srbljak); the language is given as Church Slavonic, Russian recension; the manuscript is dated as eighteenth century. The manuscript was microfilmed at the library of Hilandar Monastery on Mt. Athos. The selections found in HSC 505 fall into two groups based on the two distinct scribal handwritings found in the manuscript. The first group contains the **Life of Saint Sava** by Teodosije, the **Life of Saint Simeon** by Domenijan, the **Encomium to Sts. Simeon and Sava** by Teodosije and the **Life of Arsenjo** by Danilo II. All these works were copied by the same hand. There is an inscription after this series of four works, which was written in a different hand and added in 1920 (lota ot' Xrista 1920 godnii). The second group of works are all in the handwriting of another scribe. In this group are the **Life of Prince Lazar** by Danilo III, the **Life of Petar Korilski** by Teodosije, and the **Canon to Sts. Simeon and Sava** by Teodosije. These three works are written in a cursive style of handwriting. After these works there is also an inscription. Only a few individual words are legible, but the date 1829 is clearly visible. Most likely these three works were copied sometime before that date.

**The Life of Petar Korilski: Outward Appearance**

This *žitie* is the sixth selection in HSC 505, located from 230 recto (r.) to 246 verso (v.). The microfilm reproduction is very legible; these are two blank frames and one duplicate frame.
The format is quarto (4°) and the average measurements of a page are as follows:

- page: 11 1/2 x 7 3/4 inches
- length of line: 5 7/8 inches
- text: 9 1/2 inches
- top margin: 3/4 inch
- right margin: 7/8 inch
- bottom margin: 1 1/4 inches
- left margin: 3/4 inch

The Yitie is complete and includes a title. Purple ink was used for pagination which is marked by folia in Arabic numerals; this numeration is correct and was added in 1963 by Dj. Sp. Radojičić. All pages are present, none are damaged. The signatures are present: KE (236 v.), KS (237 r.), KŠ (244 v.), and KŽ 245r. The material used is paper; no damage is visible.

There is a watermark in the paper. (See Appendix C for an example.) The heading (an introduction of four lines), a few simple initials, and the titles found at the top margins of every recto and verso page are written in red. Everything is written in the same script; however, those letters appearing in red are slightly larger than the rest of the text. In all, there are thirty-three pages with one column per page. There are twenty-seven lines per page except for 232r, which has twenty-six lines and the final page 246r, which has ten complete and four shorter lines. The shorter lines are written in such a way that the text tapers into a V-shape at the end. The first page of the Yitie has twenty-seven lines. However, the first four lines are slightly larger and form the introduction; the
remaining twenty-three are consistent in size with the rest of the Kitie.

The text is divided into individual words. Three marginal inscriptions contemporary to the writing of the text are present. On 243r. at the middle right plamenom (πλάμενομ) reiterates a word found on the same line. On 234v. at the top left světo (σύβετο) should be joined to the word otšestvie (οτσεστβιε) indicating that Petar's sister had died (left for the spiritual world) and had not merely "gone away". On 239r at the bottom right ostavim (οσταβιμ) indicates that the scribe deliberated whether to use that word or predam (πρεδαμ), speaking about "leaving his bones for the animals". There are no marginal drawings or ornament in this section of HSC No. 505.

Content

The content of this Kitie is religious prose composed by an original Slavic author about a native saint. St. Petar Koriški was a late thirteenth century Sorbian saint. A summary of the content of this Kitie was given in the preceding chapter. The author used many Biblical quotes in this work. The quotes in order of their appearance are given below, as they are found in a Douay-Rheims version of the Bible.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psalms</th>
<th>21:26</th>
<th>Psalms</th>
<th>17:17,12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>72:25</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>118:41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>10:37</td>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>18:27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruth</td>
<td>1:16</td>
<td>I Corinthians</td>
<td>15:42,53</td>
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<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>21:17</td>
<td>I Corinthians</td>
<td>15:50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>6:28-29</td>
<td>Matthew</td>
<td>8:29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>15:5</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>29:1-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>22:14</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>72:2</td>
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<td>Psalms</td>
<td>69:6</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>93:17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>30:3</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>88:1-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>73:19</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>70:15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>40:12</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>41:2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>34:25</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>70:9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>17:1-2</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>26:12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>24:1</td>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>34:24-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>69:1</td>
<td>I Timothy</td>
<td>1:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>34:26</td>
<td>I Corinthians</td>
<td>10:12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>6:2-3</td>
<td>Luke</td>
<td>17:9-10</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The quotes are deftly blended with the text, appropriately illustrating the author's narration. For example, "Lord thou knowest all things." (John 21:17) 233v. "...nor will I leave you. Your God is my God and wherever you go to settle, I too will go." (Ruth 1:16) 232v. "Who loves his father and mother more than me, he is not worthy of me." (Matthew 10:37) 231v. Also in the text the author uses a number of heretonia or composita. Among them: твердоименитe ("strong-named"), referring to Petar's name, called "rock" in the Gospel) 241v., каменотерпeнитe (rock-like patience) 241v., and коленопреклонeние (genuflection, bowing with one's knee) 234v. There were only two unusual lexical items. As part of a geographical reference the author used диоклитив fostynskija (231r). And the word gusli (237v), a native Slavic folk instrument, also occurs.
The *incipit* is the first semantic unit that occurs at the beginning of the text after the normal formulae, which occur in the heading. The formulae customarily end with the words "Father, give us the blessing" (осе бывает). The *incipit* for this *Xitie* reads as follows:

Graciously and through the gracious humility of you, Brother Grigorije, who, remembering the venerable Petar and wanting to have a copy of his life and works for yourself, strongly urged me to write it down for the benefit of myself and those who listen to it.

Finally a few personae were mentioned in the text. The monk Grigorije, who was instrumental in convincing Teodosije to write this *Xitie*, is recognized at the beginning. Michael the Archangel is mentioned because he came to Petar Koriški’s aid in his battle against the devils. St. Sava Serbski is mentioned as being a saint, miracle worker and dweller on Mt. Athos in connection with the author’s having come from Athos to the vicinity of Prizren and Koriš to investigate Petar’s life. There the author learned about Petar by talking to the people of the surrounding area. Finally, Teodosije mentions himself as the author of this *Xitie*.
ORTHOGRAPHY

The text is written in cursive script which could be described as of average width, asymmetrical, slanted toward the right, rounded and calligraphic. The script is identical throughout the text and was undoubtedly written by one hand. The scribe, unfortunately is nowhere identified. Two initials are used in the text, both on 230r: \( M \) - the first letter of the first word of the title and \( T \) - the first letter of the first word of the text. The two letters are approximately three times larger than the rest of the text and are red in color. They are simply larger letters, written in cursive script slightly more stylized. There are a few ligatures used in the text: \( \pi o \) (po), \( \pi o \) (to), \( \pi p \) (pr), \( \pi o \) and \( \pi \) (ot), \( \pi o \) (en'). Title is present in two forms \( ~ \) and \( ~ \). Supralinear letters used under the title include: \( \varepsilon \), \( \gamma \), \( \xi \), \( \omicron (a) \), \( \mu \). Supralinear letters used without title are: \( \gamma \), \( \Delta \), \( \chi \), \( \Upsilon (r) \), \( \lambda (3) \), \( \lambda (m) \). Several abbreviated words are used in the text. Title is indicated when it was found with the abbreviated form.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{GREEK} & \quad \text{GREEK} \\
\alpha \tau \iota \gamma \varepsilon & \quad \alpha \pi o \lambda \omega \mu \varepsilon \\
\alpha \tau e & \quad \gamma \lambda \sigma a, \gamma \lambda \tau i \\
\alpha \tau g & \quad \Delta \chi a, \Delta \omega \mu i \\
\alpha \tau k & \quad \epsilon \gamma \nu \lambda \nu a & \quad \iota \mu \sigma a, \kappa \rho \tau a \\
\alpha \tau g o & \quad \kappa \rho \tau a & \quad \iota \mu \sigma a, \kappa \rho \tau a \\
\alpha \tau g \delta \omega & \quad \kappa \rho \tau a
\end{align*}
\]
Stress has been indicated for a large number of words with (oksia) representing primary stress and (zvotolco) representing secondary stress. The assignment of primary or secondary stress seems to follow the approximate intonations of reading with less important words and shorter ones having secondary stress. In the top margin of each page a title is written, one for every recto and every verso page).

On the recto side: "vitie prpbnago petra koryškago" (vitie trò po nago petra koryškago) and on the verso side: "mca išnia v 27 den'" (mca išnia v 27 den').

Several supra linear marks are used. Erōk (7) indicates that some vowel had been omitted. The signs ' or " are used to set off two vowels written next to each other. "Tvoĕ", "ojuščno", "po učenje". Spiritus, or breathing marks, are represented by varia and iso. 

There are seven punctuation marks used in the text. Period (.) is used to end large semantic units. Comma (,) divides smaller semantic units into phrases and is always used with participial phrases. Colon (:) is used before quoted speech, usually after glagolati (to speak); and when the phrase following the colon is the summary or outcome of that preceding it. Semicolon (;) is
used for breaks in large semantic units between periods. Hyphen (−) is used when breaking into words at the end of a line. Exclamation point ( ! ) is used for exclamation. é is written both as part of a desinence, or over the conjunction ū in imitation of Greek.

Capital letters are used to begin a new sentence after each period, except when the new sentence begins with the conjunction ū (and).

A chart of the various forms used for each letter in the text is given below. Letters no longer in use at the time this manuscript was copied were the front and back nasals ( ā , ŋ ). Joticized vowels used are ha , y , ıa .

Joticized vowels used are ha , y , ıa .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Chart</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
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<td>b</td>
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<td>i</td>
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<td>p</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>˘</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common form is ď - used in native Slavic words as an orthographic variant of ď .
\( A : \chi \)

\( M : \chi \)

\( N : \chi \chi \chi \chi \)

\( O : \theta \theta \theta \theta \)

\( \pi : \pi \pi \pi \)

\( \rho : \rho \rho \rho \rho \)

\( a : \chi \chi \chi \chi \)

\( m : \mu \mu \mu \mu \)

\( y : \gamma \gamma \gamma \gamma \)

\( \psi : \psi \psi \psi \psi \)

\( x : \chi \chi \chi \)

\( \mu : \mu \mu \mu \)

\( \mu : \mu \mu \mu \)

\( \sigma : \sigma \sigma \sigma \)

\( \theta : \theta \theta \theta \theta \)

\( b : b \ b \ b \)

\( \beta : \beta \beta \beta \beta \)

\( \alpha : \alpha \alpha \alpha \alpha \)

\( \omega : \omega \)  

(omega: used as an orthographic variant of \( \Omega \).)
Measurement of letters. In descending order of largeness, the following are letters which extend beyond the average unit size of the others.

It is significant that these letters are larger not only in word final or line final position, but wherever they occur.

Phonology, Morphology and Syntax

Phonology. The language used in this manuscript has been listed as Church Slavonic of Russian recension. I shall list in the section some of the pertinent phonological data gleaned from the manuscript. The front and back nasals have both disappeared. The front nasal (A) has evolved into ь: ьта: мрса (232д), ьке (232в). The back nasal (X) has evolved into oy, Ѳ: рекъ (230в.) суднвше (230в.) пригздю (232д) и каллю (230в.). Front jer and back jer have become о and ə, respectively. Hard and soft signs are present.
There is some incorrect use of them principally in a tendency to
generalize hard sign (т) in final position even where soft sign
(б) would be appropriate (for example, ПОМОШь). The use
of hard sign for soft sign was found only in word final position.
The ti- and dj- reflexes are шибка- and ьд-, respectively. Tj- > шибка:

всеношнное (236r.), пошеение (230r.), and
все ношных (234v.). Only a few examples of the tj- reflex
could be found in the text. It would appear that the pronunciation
of that reflex is [ься], which is consistent with evidence from
fairly early times that the Bulgarian symbol (у, м) was
pronounced [ься] in Russian Church Slavonic. This would be in
keeping with the other conservative phonological characteristics
of the language of this manuscript. Dj- > ьд-: о с я ж а н о
(243r.) and о д е ж а з (235r.). Jат' (о) is preserved accurately.
Phonological phenomena not observed in this text are: dissimilation
of consonants, haplography and polyphony (полногласие). Contraction
of endings has taken place to phonologically simplify forms
(e.g. - aago> ago and - ваше> асе). я > оя and я > я
in all appropriate desinences, and ъ has been acquired in desinence
final position.
Morphology.

All three numbers—singular, dual, and plural—are used. Dual is consistently found in conjugation and declension (ИСКОСТА, ПРЕБЫВАСТА 233r. and ВОЧЮ 234v.). Verbs are used in the present (рек 230r.), imperfect (ПРИНЮХА 232v. ПРОВАЛЫШЕ 231v.) aorist (БЫТЬ 231r., ВОЗУТОБЯ 231r.) conditional (ДОЛЯ БЫ 231r. ОСОБОВШИ НЫКОМБ 230r.) compound past or perfect (БСОЛИС ЕСИ -230r.), verbal substantive (ПРОШЕНИЕ) and supine (ГЛАГОЛАТЫ). Both passive and active voice are used.

A full complement of participial forms were found: present active (любяшин - 230v., пишаши - 230v.), present passive (прочнаема - 230v.), past active (СУДИВШЕ 230r.) and past passive (НАПИСАННЯ - 230v.) The resultative participle is also used alone, without an auxiliary form of БЫТИ, as the past tense (ЖЕЛАЯ, ВОЗУТОБЯ-231r). In addition to the indicative and conditional moods, the imperative mood is also used (НЕЗАБЕДИ-230v). Nouns have a full declension, including three numbers and the vocative case. The о/jo- stems still have an instrumental plural form in убы (ПОДВИГИ - 233r., КАЛМЫ-232r.), but a -БИЯ/ -ИЯ form exists concurrently. The genitive plural of о/jo- stems under the influence of ù- stems has added an infix -ов/-ов- which became the desinence. A-stems have a regular declension. Genitive singular and nominative/accusative plural of ja-stems have Ι for desinence. ù-stems have apparently merged with о-stems, but have retained a secondary genitive and locative (ИЗ ДОМЪ 230r. В ДОМУ - 231v.) ù-stems seem to still have their own declension (АЮБЕ-233v.).

It is impossible to determine changes or moves toward consolidation.
in the declensional types s-stem, n-stem, nt-stem, r-stem because too few nouns of these declensional types are present in enough different grammatical contexts to make a determination. Very few plural forms are found in the manuscript. The instrumental singular form for all declensions has not been regularized, there is both -ं० (231v.) and -ं० (235r.). The genitive plural of all nouns has not been regularized. The accusative case, singular and plural, for masculine animate nouns is the same as the genitive in all instances (the designation animate includes animals). Adjectives and participles have a regularized declension from simplified desinences of long form adjectives. Short form adjectives occur as predicates with एवि. Personal pronouns still have full and abbreviated forms. The abbreviated forms are used both independently and as enclitics, added to the end of verbs.

Syntax. Masculine animate nouns are distinguished by having an accusative form the same as the genitive. Genitive case is used with comparisons (एकों दीवन्यकों- 230r.). The dative case is used to show possession (गोड एम्य- 233r.) and with certain verbs (प्रिय ऑकहू-231v.). Instrumental case to express means is used both with and without a preposition. The
The infinitive is used as a complement to finite verb and with the meaning "ought." The verbs glagolati (ГЛАГОЛАТИ), rosti (РЕШТИ) and otvēlati (ОТВЕЛАТИ) are used to indicate live speech or quotes.

The conjunctions used in this selection and their meanings are: da - in order to, to, that; da + past tense - and then; iže - a relative pronoun, used to introduce an explanatory phrase; jāže - because, or interchangeably with iže; ašte - if, whether; ašte li - and if?; abie - right away; jako, jako ūč - thus, and then, since, so that, et alia.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Teodosije Hilandarac is a fitting subject for this, the first dissertation written using the materials of the Hilandar Slavic Codices. Teodosije was one of the most prolific writers of medieval Serbia, who produced an admirable legacy particularly in terms of hymnody. In examining Teodosije Hilandarac and his works I have attempted to show both the well established Orthodox literary canons which comprised the basic framework of this writings as well as the originality he demonstrated in his two Vitija with respect to manipulation of literary devices and adjustments in amount and proportion of quotes, realistic detail, lyric elements, et alia which characterized his style.

In approaching this subject I have made use of several methods of analysis. The earlier portion of this dissertation provided discussion of the genre requirements which largely determined the content and form of canonical literary works of medieval Serbian literature. Historical data elucidating the function of literature within Orthodoxy, medieval Serbians'}
notions of aesthetics, the monastic tradition, and the development of language, literature and national consciousness was provided to add depth to the reader's understanding and to make available the necessary background for an evaluation of Teodosije Hilandarac. Emphasis was placed on the fact that the nature of the literature of this period was eschatological, since that premise is absolutely necessary for an appreciation and critical appraisal of Teodosije's accomplishments.

This author has attempted to summarize the materials known about Teodosije and his works. Most of the information presented appears in English for the first time, making a heretofore neglected area of Western literary scholarship available to English readers. The corpus of critical material available on this writer in the Slavic languages is by no means complete. Most of the articles are brief, and concerned with one work or part of one work; there is considerable repetition. Very few comparative works dealing with either his prose or hymnody have been published. Indeed, there have been few attempts at producing a comprehensive study of the man and his works. It was my intention to provide an introduction and basis for additional studies of his works, and eventually a monograph study of the author. This, then, is the first primer available to the English reader on one of the most important figures of medieval Serbian literature, and - it is hoped - the first of many about the literary wealth of medieval Serbian literature and culture.
Beyond artistic models and conservative literary requirements which circumscribed the productions of original Slavic authors, Teodosije had his own artistic identity. His literary works, by style, unity of vision and compositional structure, are those of a mature and talented artist. Demonstrating his commitment to Orthodox literary canon, he worked with that modicum of freedom permitted to artistic expression within the Orthodox framework.

Comparative analysis has attempted to show the characteristics of his style, which could be summarized as: simplification of language, literary device, and composition; strengthening of the structure of each work through concentrating the focus on the main subject; eliminating superfluous details; and coordinating the woven fabric of main theme - main metaphor - with well chosen motifs - principally in the form of Biblical allusions, images and quotes. A comparison of his two žitija provided the basis for affirming Teodosije's authorship of the previously disputed Life of Potar Koriški. In addition, to the level of literary device, the Life of St. Sava and the Life of Petar Koriški both have a number of common characteristics. They include: well-designed composition, singularity of theme, coordination of motifs to enhance the development of theme and to depict selected details of the saint's life. Teodosije accomplished these through artistic narration, increased frequency of realistic details, inclusion of lyrical elements, and drama produced through dialogues.
Similar to the icon, a comparison alluded to earlier in this work, the \textit{vitie} gradually acquired traces of recognizable human characteristics. In both of these rigid genres, recognizable features crept into the composition and interrupted ever so slightly the strict two-dimensional matrices of their composition. Both were the result of an author's attempt at personal, creative expression within prescribed limitations.

Teodosije's works have been analyzed with respect to their originality of structure and artistic conception. A number of conclusions reached have been summarized and stated already in the preceding chapters. In accordance with my contentions I have shown that Teodosije Hilandarac was the author of the \textit{Life of Petar Korški}, based on stylistic analysis in comparison with his earlier \textit{vitie} the \textit{Life of Saint Sava}. Historical data was also cited for the purpose of establishing his authorship of this work. The disclaimer for this authorship, based on a non-specific objection to the style, was shown to be without substance and construed principally on an extra-literary basis.

Both works are representative canonical \textit{vitija} of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Teodosije's originality, modest in present-day terms, was, within the framework of the aesthetic perceptions of his time, significant. His narrative skill and studied selection of detail presented made both \textit{vitija} well structured and motivated works of art -
something difficult to achieve in a literature where aesthetic function is of necessity subordinated to the didactic one.

The materials presented in this dissertation, it is hoped, will enable others to gain a better understanding of the works of Teodosije Hilandarac and encourage further investigations into medieval Serbian literature and the original materials available in the Hilandar Slavic Codices.
APPENDIX A

MAP OF THE PLACES CITED IN THE TEXT
APPENDIX B

AN EXAMPLE OF ACROSTIC

The given example is taken from: Dj. Sp. Rudoljić, "Teodosijevi stihovi o Simoonu Nemanić," Letopis MS (April 1962), 347 and 349. The capital letters at the beginnings of stanzas form the acrostic (krajagranesic), spelling out the sentences given by Teodosije at the beginning of the canon.
Аналогично противопоставленная пьте слоёв

другой стороне, противоположной сухой каше.
APPENDIX C

WATERMARK FROM HSC NO. 505

These watermarks of HSC No. 505 were taken from the original manuscript at the library of Hilandar Monastery on Mt. Athos by Professor Mateja Matejić.
APPENDIX D

REPRODUCTION OF THE

Life Of Petar Koriški

in HSC No. 505
Тут, где впереди солнце, здесь все впереди
шага, а уроков бесчисленных.
Но почему начало
разделено на пять частей,
как слово, ведущее в небеса божественные.
Оно же и есть путь, и ведение, и
разделение на пять частей — как
слово, ведущее в небеса божественные.

До сих пор мы изучали, как
разделение на пять частей — как
слово, ведущее в небеса божественные.
Оно же и есть путь, и ведение, и
разделение на пять частей — как
слово, ведущее в небеса божественные.

До сих пор мы изучали, как
разделение на пять частей — как
слово, ведущее в небеса божественные.
Оно же и есть путь, и ведение, и
разделение на пять частей — как
слово, ведущее в небеса божественные.
...
null
безыбытков, не имущих убийц, и тем
рассеянных огонь, приготовленных к
судьбе. Подавляя судьбу, войско без
прогноза, с неизвестным страхом.
Безыбытков и не имущих убийц,
тем рассеянных огонь, приготовленных
к судьбе. Подавляя судьбу, войско без
прогноза, с неизвестным страхом.
null
null
APPENDIX D

English Translation of the
Life of Peter Koriški
by
Regina Curtis Scoles

This is the first complete English translation of this Vitie. The author would like to acknowledge that an excerpt from the Vitie corresponding to 232r. through 234r., previously translated by Professor Mateja Matejić, has been incorporated into this translation.
The month of June, the twenty-seventh day, the
life and works of the holy, venerable and God-
hearing father of ours Petar who was a hermit
in the Koriš hills. Father, give the blessing.

Graciously, and because of [your] gracious humility, wishing
to have the record of the venerable Petar's life in written
form, as a useful instruction for yourself as well as for
those who would listen to it, you have urged me, Brother
Grigorije, to make it public. For a long time I declined,
as it is known to you, O venerable one, not through sloth,
but rather on account of a paucity of wisdom, for to under-
take such a work is beyond my strength. Although the
venerable one was of the most recent generation, he was in
no way inferior to the outstanding ascetics of ancient
times. He became like one incorporeal through fasting,
praying and tears, for, let me say it, like an angel he
spent his life in the desert of Koriš [serving] God duti-
fully. How then could I uncultured and unworthy one, who
has wasted his life in an abundance of sins, filthily and
despically, whose heart has been darkened and mind impassioned
and bereft of the thoughts of wisdom, whose property derives
from there, strive toward uttering words adequate and beauti-
ful enough to praise his life? However, in order that you
may not think that I do not care for your love and judging
that it was better not to anger you, as much as it was
possible for my poor intelligence, I zealously fulfilled your
request.

I pray God, the teacher of wisdom and the giver of good sense,
to give us a drop of your wisdom of the grace of the Holy
Spirit, that I may be able to present an account worthy of
your expectations. I praise and honor your excellent wis-
dom in this matter and your appropriate request from us and
your God-inspired love which you feel for this saint. Be-
cause it is good that you caught up your soul with this.
It is good and very useful and appropriate to bequeath in
written form the lives of saints and their outstanding and
God-loving lives to the latest generation. By reading this
virtuous people strive toward good by zealousness and
virtuousness. Just as in outside [non-religious] writings,
about those who in ancient times fought bravely in battle, a
lover of warfare, having found these braveries described, will desire eagerly to read them. From them he learns to be diligent, clever and fearless to enemies in battle. Similarly, then, those who hear and write the \textit{vitie} of saintly men, [their] suffering, and in regards to the devil [their] bravery, resistance and victory. And if they accept humility for the sake of goodness, and if they are found to be concerned with ascetic deeds enhancing spirituality, thereby they will become skillful against spiritual opponents and endeavor to fight against the enemies of our souls. By their good properties they are useful to both: to those who listen, and they reward those who have written them for the advantage they have given to those who have heard.

Because of this we, in the name of God having submitted ourselves to your love, begin to tell the \textit{vitie} of the blessed one at your request. I am not endeavoring to praise this one, nor even desire to achieve anything advantageous \textit{per se} from this; because when the venerable one was on earth during his life he did not desire nor did he look for plaudits from his fellow men. In heaven even more of these things are not needed by him now, for according to heavenly David: "With thee is my praise in a great church" (Ps. 21:26), that is, in heaven, "For what have I in heaven? And what do I expect from you here on earth" (Ps. 72:25). He is not now neglected of the divine praises as well as angelic [ones]. We have not the capacity to conceive these [praises] and we will never be capable of expressing them. I am writing so that the good \textit{vitie} of the good father and his suffering in the desert will not be hidden by the depths of oblivion. We too, looking attentively at him, and like him the others [other ascetics], shall repeat his deeds and at least draw a little nearer to virtue. We are beginning this account having the help of God, through the prayers of the saint whose account this is. The saint was from the region which is the hilly side of Dioclotea. From a certain village called Unemir. He was the son of pious and virtuous parents, and who upon birth was enlightened with holy baptism. When he had grown, they arranged for him to learn the holy books. The youth was very obedient from childhood and in all things displayed a quiet manner and countenance.
With a simple God-loving soul he manifested in his young age that future grace of God which was to come to him later. Many of his peers were going to [harmful] games and entertainments, as worldly people are accustomed, and tried persistently to invite him into their society. He said that he would not participate in such things, and he did not want to go there. Often his parents were saddened on his account because of such things, and said to him: "It is disgraceful to the family, and it is our shame. Why don't you go out with the others to have fun? You are always quiet and silent. You go around like one who is mourning. Why do you behave toward us in this manner? What sort of secret thought do you carry in your heart without telling us?" This guileless one, being like an innocent child, smiled and said nothing. But instead he adhered to the teachings even more, and was more often at church services than at home. He was not concerned either about food or dress for the sake of his body. If they realized his need, they would give these [things] to him. Having had the opportunity to get acquainted with the sacred books and having meditated on the commandments from the Gospel, and having listened to the Lord as he said there: "Who loves his father and mother more than me, he is not worthy of me" (Matt. 10:37), he conceived the idea to leave his parents. So that if he went somewhere and found anyone serving God, he would stay with him and serve God. He thought about this all the time. And soon his father was called by God.

And his mother understood her son and was aware of his intention to leave and, as mothers do, she embraced him and, crying, she told him: "Do not leave mother, my child, have pity on my widowhood, have pity on the misery of your sister [who is] still a little girl. You know that except for God I have you and her alone as my soul's consolation. Do not leave me, I beg you, lest I die weeping because of you [and] then you will be responsible to God for having caused my death. I am not forcing you to eat meat or to get married. Stay and live as you please only do not leave me," And he, having felt pity for the wretched maternal heart and being detained by her many tears, did not leave at that time. And immediately after the death of his father he assumed the care of the household, and being in this respect obedient to his mother, he worked subjecting himself to her with respect, yet imposing upon himself even stricter fasting; because of this he was given the mocking nick name 'lenten food eater'. Next to his body he wore sackcloth and no
one knew of this but his mother. Because of this his mother's grief for him increased, for she saw the flower of his youth wither because of fasting. However, being afraid that he might leave, she let him live as he pleased. Then his mother expired, too, and having paid the respect due his mother through tear-shedding and funeral psalms and required rituals, he distributed to the poor everything he found in the house.

And, having unburdened himself, he intended to go where he had wanted to go in the first place, but the young age of his sister, whom he had no one to leave with, detained him. And when he asked her: "Do you want to get married, my sister?" She, being fond of purity and being quite upset because of this question, replied to him: "If you yourself avoid marriage, why do you try to impose it upon others? By the living God and by your living soul [I swear] I will not do that [get married] nor will I leave you. Your God is my God, too, and where you go to settle I too will go," (Ruth 1:16), and as you live observing fasting I also will live with you, only do not leave me." After he had pleaded long with her to get married and having failed to persuade her, he said: "May the Lord's will be done." Having left the village and his father's house, the venerable one received the angelic rank through monastic vows in a church located above that village, [dedicated] to the holy and chief among the apostles, the Apostle Peter, [by laying of the hands] of an elder who lived there. There he also built a hut for his dwelling and another, not far from his, for his sister, and then the brother and sister lived serving God through prayers and fasting, eating vegetables only. Their friends, acquaintances and relatives marveled at their strange retreat and life devoted to God; they visited them and brought them things necessary [for life]. The venerable one protested very much against this and the visits of many people made him quite uneasy; he, therefore, said to his sister: "It would be very well for us to live far from our people so that we do not see either their joys or sorrows."

She answered: "As you wish, Master." They got up and went to a different area, to [a place] known as Altin where they continued their asectic life once more near a church [dedicated to] the holy and first among Apostle Peter. However, there too, they were unable to conceal themselves from visitors on account of their pious deeds. The venerable one, having listened to the biographies of the ancient Fathers and being whole-heartedly ready to put his
strength on trial by some more difficult [ascetic] deeds, wished to settle in some wilderness where no would know him, but the cordial ties to his sister obstructed him. He deplored this fact very much, saying: "Oh, what a great bother this woman is to me!" And once, when he could take it no longer, he left her alone and escaped. And his sister, sensing this, abandoned her hut and went after him. And having reached a high mountain located near the city of Prizren, above the city known by the name of Koriš, they stopped at that mountain to rest from their tiresome traveling, for his sister was exhausted and thereupon fell asleep. And the venerable one wished to find even a cracked stone in that mountain which he could enter inside of which, God willing, he would spend the rest of his life in solitude. And he thought of how miserable and inconvenient it was for one to live in the desert with a female, and he therefore said to himself: "It is better to give preference to God than to one's sister, and it is more expedient to sadden her temporarily rather than to offend God."

Having arisen to pray and while making prostrations he said "Lord, thou knowest all things!" (John 21:17), and thou knowest the longing of my heart for thee and that because of my love for thee I am now leaving my sister alone in this wilderness, for I wish to serve thee, my God, without being bound by anything. In accordance with thy benevolence direct me there, where I could lay a foundation for my penitence, sincerely repenting of my evil deeds. I declare my willingness and give my promise, yet thou shouldst give me endurance to live in this wilderness until the end of my life. I also pray for this handmaiden of thine, my sister: may thou so decree by thy benevolence and may the good angels lead her there, where in pleasing thee by her penitence, she would spend her life. Do not overlook, O Lord, that for thy sake she lived in celibacy, purity and fasting. Protect her by the protection of thy power from all visible and invisible snares of the devil so that I too, Thy servant, may rejoice and exalt in her salvation." And having then made the sign of the cross over her head, he left her while she was asleep, pouring forth a river of tears because of the parting and, having entered the wilderness, he hid himself from her. And having got up from sleep and not seeing him around, she looked for him, calling his name; and having not found him even after a prolonged search, she realized that he had fled away from her as he had originally intended, and crying bitterly in the mountain and tearing apart her heart by heartbreaking lament she was saying: "Woe to me, this is my end! Woe to me, my
brother-master and my leader to salvation!

Woe to my sweet light of which I am now deprived! Where did you go after you abandoned me? Our mother entrusted me to you and you left me mercilessly alone in the wilderness and you deserted me and fled away. Woe to me, what is my reward for sleeping and what is my gain; O, why did not I, who was already covered by the sweet agony end my life then, thus avoiding being trapped by this agonizing affliction. And now, alive though I am, I am heading finally and irrevocably toward an evil death. Woe to me, the miserable one, what should I do, where should I go? O, holy mountain of God, please let me meet my death here. Be you at least merciful to me, accept me here and may my grave tie me with you forever, for I do not want to return to or dwell in the world, nor does it befit me to live without being able to look at my brother and master. This she said and many other things which move one to tears, and thus crying and lamenting she went to a foreign country, where she remained unknown, and where she spent her life wisely in celibacy and innocence, in fasting and praying, as she had learned from her brother, and, having pleased God, she expired. And when the most worthy one received later the news of her death, he thanked God and rejoiced because he too was always praying to God to save her. This, then, was what happened to the sister of the most worthy venerable one.

The venerable one, after leaving his sister, went to the mountain which is called holy and he looked around it for a place where he could stay, where he would build for himself a hut. Having gone down from there, he found a valley surrounded by high palisades. In these [palisades] there were many caves. And climbing one of these high palisades, holding onto it with his bare fingers, like climbing onto a column, he scarcely got upon it. He found there a cave, as if prepared by God, he greatly rejoiced about it, giving thanks to God. Exposed to sun and winds he took it as a dwelling place. He was frozen with the frost and scorched by the sun. If we were to attempt to describe his many ascetic practices, standing in prayers, genuflections, chest beatings [a symbol of repentance], all night vigils, his tears and humility, it would be inadequate and he would appear as lazy. He was utterly poor and homeless and had nothing in the cave which could be stolen by thieves except his blackened body covered with the essential sackcloth, and this only to cover his shameful organs, of which we became aware through the transgression of our forefathers. Going without food, saying little, incorporeal and without any comforts or smoke of burning [fire in the cave].
Ho was satisfied with what food there was, consisting of wild plants growing around and beech nuts which he collected, if this is worthy of being food. His drink was sweetly-flowing and thirst quenching water from the mountain.

He was not enslaved by long sleep. Whenever some generous people who knew him would bring from time to time a little bread, he accepted bowing in gratitude; praying them not to come too often and he exhorted them not to tell others about him in order that he would not be known to many and thereby compelled to leave. He slept little, usually inclined against a stone wall. He preferred nakedness to his soft clothes, and visualizing a lily of the field he rejoiced [since] in the words of my Lord and God Jesus Christ [the lily]: "surpasses Solomon's glory" by its floral beauty (Matt. 6:28-29). Living in this manner he was somewhat the unkind, neglectful and unmerciful enemy of his body. [This was so because] he was physically strong, but his body was undisciplined. In the mentioned cave there were many devils, and wild animals who had lived there before he entered there to live. In a lower cave, below the palisade of the saint's [cave] a large serpent had come in and was dwelling. But even the wild animals, when the saint came, were at peace toward him, and so they lived together and no one ever harmed him until their departure. The sinister evil spirits are, however, human-hating beings, as they had at the very beginning done harm to the first man Adam and had tempted him through the serpent's counsel. They caused him to be expelled both from God and from paradise through transgression of the commandment as well as tasting of the tree. In the same manner they raised malice toward the venerable one and together with the hostile serpent as if they had taken counsel, they rose with great abuse in order to attempt to run him out of the palisade, out of the cave.

However, the serpent then did not dare to get in the sight of the saint: being angry he stayed in his cave hissing day and night without end, and the hissing created a disturbance. It created great fear in and troubled the venerable one. The evil spirits on the other hand inflicted nightmares and created a clatter at night, screaming, often they attacked him. Sometimes they would appear as if accompanied by that serpent, [and it would seem] like
his jaw had enveloped him [the saint]. On another occasion they would come to him in the appearance of his sister, crying in the night, they would say [in her voice]: "Brother, brother", calling him by name. "Come out Brother-Master. Come out and allow me to come into the cave, that I may not be devoured by the wild animals. You are all that I had taking the place of our parents, and, having given up everything I followed you. You have abandoned me. How much time have I been searching for you in the mountains. Weakened by hunger and crying, I am perishing! You stay away from me as if I were unrelated to you. You stone-hearted one, unmerciful one. Have you no pity on my tears. Will you, Master, be acceptable to God even though you have abandoned me. At least now come out and take me back to the world. And then return to your hermit cave. The venerable one was aware of the devil's cunning, and singing David's Psalms, he said not one word to them. And having gained nothing, they left in shame.

Again having come they shook the cave and screamed at the saint, saying: "Why are you here, accursed one, or do you say that you fear God? Yet for such a long time you did not find it necessary to look for her and became unafraid of judgment when God will demand from you the soul of your sister. There could be no greater sin than this by which you have angered God, than, not to have come out and found her bones and buried them in the earth. And at least thereby you yourself make peace with God." The saint, praying, said nothing to them. And because the venerable one did not answer them anything, they were boiling with rage and they went away. The serpent, as we said, always enraged, hissed and troubled the venerable one. And it was impossible for him to pray pure prayers from his heart undisturbed because of the great noise and hissing. The venerable one was ashamed and from his palisade he said to the snake below: "This valley and this cave together [were given] to me as property from my God and Lord Jesus Christ. And also that cave in which you have nested yourself and dwell spitefully now is mine. Even if I wanted to have you as a cohabitant and friend because you are angry at me and with your constant hissing you bother me, it is unpleasant for me to have you as a friend. Just as in the beginning God placed enmity between you and us, so I shall not now have peace with you, for friendship with you would not be good. Get up and go out, you are my temptation."
The serpent having heard the threats, hissed even more angrily at the elder and did not go out from the cave. The venerable one, falling down and with great tears, said: "You see my misery, Lord, for the place to which your grace led me this evil serpent with rage and much hissing is trying to drive me away from it. And I, your servant, being a man weakened by sin, cannot dare to confront him with anything but your power. For as you said: 'Without me you can do nothing,'" (John 15:5). And immediately in the manner of the ancient fathers having completed a vigil of forty days and nights with the help of God, he prayed to God to send an angel to help him expel the spiteful one, the evil serpent. When the days of the prayerful vigil ended lo, on account of prayer the venerable one was shielded with hope and faith, as armor. Taking his staff he descended from the palisade, wishing to go to the cave where the serpent lived. And lo as in ancient times Gedeon attacked the Madian, so to this angel of the Lord went against the serpent, having weapon in hand. An angel appeared and stood before this one. The elder was awed by his radiance and had almost fallen. But he raised him up and the other one said to him: "Don't be afraid of my appearance, O soul searching for the Lord, I am Michael, leader of the hosts of the Lord. Lo as you have asked for an angel to help you, now I was sent from him and came to expel the evil serpent who is troubling you and now you shall see the glory of Christ our God.

When they came close to the opening of the cave, the serpent who could not endure the onslaught of the double attack, the angel's with his weapon and and the elder's with his staff; from the top of the cave escaped into the abyss, and running in panic went into the unknown. The archangel said to the elder: "Peace to you, soul seeking the Lord. Did you not see the glory of our Lord? Lo, your request God has fulfilled by me and from now on the spiteful serpent cannot return here for all eternity. Be attentive to yourself, make yourself strong in the Lord. You will endure many attacks by the devils, who envy you here. Don't be afraid of them, don't fear their threats, don't be overwhelmed. In the name of the Lord oppose them, Ashamed, they will go away." At that moment instantly he disappeared from his sight. The elder was awed by the powerful light of God's angel and the unexpected of expulsion of the serpent. And with a great feeling of humility, beating his chest, he said: "Who am I, who has turned black with passions and having rotted in sins is stinking. Your greatest, most holy, your chief angel, Lord, you sent to my aid," and having entered the cave having given thanks to God with many tears he destroyed the serpent. He praised
rejoicing the same Michael the Archangel as his good guardian. And when he had converted the serpent's cave into a church of God, he like Abraham said: "On this holy place the Lord will see thee". (Gen. 22:14).

After the expulsion of the serpent with more strict prayers the venerable one indulged in longer fasting, more strict prayers and all night vigils. Moreover, in humility and through tears he constantly confessed and emptied himself of all spiritual impurities and achieved a considerable amount of pure love of God and purity of mind. On account of this the most evil devil together with his adherents was distressed very much, was consumed with rage and attempted to destroy that which he derived from silence and prayer. With all the cunning and artifice the instigators plotted how they would endeavor to expel him from the palisade and cave. One day it was cloudy, and they with much cursing and assuming a sort of animal-like appearance, came against the saint. Bellowing like animals, appearing as if they were about to devour him, like ravens plucking out the pupils of his eyes, they climbed forward into the cave. Soon the venerable one got up and having crossed his arms to signal his helplessness, saying to God, "My helper and my deliverer, Lord, make no delay." (Ps. 69:6) In the form of a lion my enemies rose up and approached me, rush to deliver me. "Do not deliver up to the beasts the souls of those who confess thee" (Ps. 73:19). "My enemy shall not rejoice over me." (Ps: 4:12). "Let them not say we have swallowed him up." (Ps. 34:25) And immediately he began to speak the creed of the holy faith, "I believe in the one God," as in ancient times, David through the singing of songs disquieted the evil spirit of Saul as he was escaping from him. So too, they, having heard the saint speaking the symbol of the holy faith, ran out of the cave and were not heard from again.

The saint, threatening them said: "Incorporeal animals and your fellow servant, the spiteful and tangible serpent, in the name of the Lord, my God Jesus Christ, were expelled from here. I will take care of your apparitions by his name. Having prostrated himself, with many tears, praising God, he said: "I love you, Lord, my strength, my refuge and sustainer (Ps. 17:1-2) and shield against my enemies. In your name I shall defeat those who rise up against you, our enemies." And again he indulged even more in the hardship of fasting. However, God, as he did with the strong ones in the past, tempted his servant of his too, and wishing to
crown him with endurance and many struggles with the evil spirits, he often permitted evil spirits to attack him. And they often pushed him from the height of the palisade and dashed him against a stone. However, protected by the power of God, he was never injured and entered into his cave with a joyful soul. Thus, he received the malice and injuries inflicted on him by the evil spirits, and God the Ruler, being aware, saw his struggling against the devil and passions. The devil seeing how with unsated love he was ready for even greater battles his endurance in suffering and his invincible courage [in fights], they themselves were ashamed and were making endeavors to kill him or make him angry.

Beneath that palisade on which the venerable one stood, a river flowed down from the mountains, approaching to that place. With the first snow and rain the river swelled. The devils saw this and were joyous. A great number of them joined together and fell on the saint. Through God's permission they took him from the palisade. They took him into the muddy stream and dragged him along the sharp stones and tore his flesh. Urging each other, they said: "Hurry, friends, hurry. Although we were lazy in the past about killing this enemy of ours, now it is time to be efficient and to show zealousness. Let us today make efforts as much as possible and drown our enemy". Having brought him to the stream, but having no final authority, they could not throw him into it. Delivering him many blows, they were saying: "Go away from us, accursed ones, you who have not place with men, you who came into our abode to expel us, and who succeeded in unjustly inheriting our palisade and cave. Go away from us, go away peacefully. No one before you entered here by force. Stop insulting us so that you do not come to an evil end." The venerable one said nothing to them. As they accomplished nothing, ashamed, they said to themselves: "Let's leave him alive now, and if he doesn't go away from here we will come back and kill him". Thus with threats they left him.

The venerable one, covered with wounds, scarcely getting into the cave holding on with his bare hands, went up to
the palisade, saying: "Lo, I am still alive, again in the name of the Lord my God Jesus Christ I am not afraid of you." And again he took to his former silence, observing fasts and praying, saying: "I trusted you, may I never be put to shame, and do not let my enemies deride me" (Ps.24:1). The devils then left and for a time were absent. When a great number had again collected out there, they came against the saint. And they filled the whole valley up to the palisades. Armed, they walked up on the palisades and appeared to have heads covered with helmets which looked like the heads of wild boars, bears and other animal forms. They created this sight as a nightmare in order to scare the holy one. Having come into the cave, they stood in front of him and threatened the saint saying: "Lo, your death is at hand, and do nothing, as we were merciful on other occasions [you think] that this time also after fighting we will leave you alive. Finally, we have come to kill you and what are you going to do now in your ignorance? At least be wise now and listen to us. Get up and then go out. Lest you be slaughtered by weapons. Otherwise we will not allow even your dried up body to be buried in a human manner. After we cut up the limbs of your body we will leave them and will scatter them as food for animals in the desert. So that others seeing the manner of your death don't dare to fight us like you did. The venerable one armed himself with prayers against them, saying, "Heed, O Lord, deliver me. O Lord make haste to deliver me (Ps.69:1). Those who are trying to expel me again have taken counsel together, my enemies have come to me plotting the death of my soul. And boasting they speak, "Go after him and take him. For God has forsaken him. And there is no deliverance for him. Oh God be not far from me. My God come to my aid! Let them be ashamed together and disappear who speak evil of my soul (Ps.34:26). Let them who seek evil for me be dressed in shame and disgrace (Ps.34:26). I am always hoping on you, and for each of my struggles I will do praise to you." And to the devils he said without fear: "If you come against me with even more armies than what you have now my heart will not be afraid, I shall appear fierce with you in the name of my God." The devils felt a burning anger with him and they rushed toward him to kill him. The elder appeared at the opening of the cave and with his staff prevented them from coming to them. Like howling dogs they ran around, and dug into the cave from the rear saying: "Be brave, be brave, keep the fight unabated. From here we will enter to slaughter him". Those who were at the opening of the cave, clattering with weapons at him, attacked with spears and swords and leapt in to kill him. And as if stabbed by a spear the saint was doubled over and fell backwards into the cave. Being in horror he said:
"Have mercy on me, Lord, for I am helpless. My soul is very troubled" (Ps.6:2-3).

Instantly by the help of an angel of God, being fortified, he did not fall. And again preventing them with his staff from entering, he was saying: "The Lord has heard my supplication; the Lord hath received my prayer. Let all my enemies be ashamed and very much confused. Let them be turned back and be ashamed very speedily" (Ps.6:10-11). And so the elder was strengthened with God's help. Having been defeated the devils left the cave where he stood. The elder was standing before the cave and again threatened with his staff the leaders of the devils, saying: "Why did it enter your mind to go against me as if I were helpless? Why did you come in with the intention to destroy me. Having fought many times with me, did you not become aware of your own impotence, or have you not experienced the force and strength of my God, Jesus Christ, who has been my helper and you did not overcome me. And now, have you not realized your incapacity and your failure? You came upon me alone with a troop. You ran against me in anger as a fire among thorns. Running against me furiously you were burning with desire to kill me (Ps.117:17,12). In God's name I opposed you and will oppose you, for I shall not die but live. My strength praises the Lord and he will be mine in salvation. The right hand of the Lord created strength. The right hand of the Lord lifted me up and strengthened me against you. I shall not die by your hands, as you vainly boast, on the contrary, I will live in my God and Savior Jesus Christ. Even though today, pushed by you, as I leaned to fall the Lord caught me up. The Lord is my strength and my praise and he was my salvation.

Even if you do not cease to assault me with innumerable attacks, in his name here I will end my life. And whereas you will be put to shame you will gather and disappear." The leader of the devils [said] to the elder: "How do you, a man who is perishing, speak such ridicule and rejoice, or do you think of escaping from us alive? Wait a little while and then again we will arrive and soon you will see your own killing. Moreover, what other greater malice and suffering more cruel than that which you have inflicted on yourself can we afflict you with? What are you saying, accursed one, since your life is worse than any most cruel or most bitter tribulation. Why don't you grasp that death is more preferable than your life. For what is your life, of which you boast like a fool. Don't you munch plants alone in
the desert like an animal? Haven't you killed yourself with hunger, scorched by the sun, wearied by the rains and wind? And in your stone cave you freeze, tormenting your body with nakedness. Having turned black from nakedness, your body resembles the earth. In it similarly your sack of bones are dried out like hay, scarcely holding you up. Enduring such great suffering foolishly you wasted your life. Which of these is more insulting for you? What could we do better than this to harm you or to make you miserable?" The venerable one said: "Let your mercy also come upon me, O Lord, and I will have the word by which to answer those who have reviled me (Ps.118:41).

For I trust in your word". And radiantly he said to the devils: "Your evil treachery is not unknown to me, with which you deceitfully tried to praise me, wishing to infect my mind with pride. By the same pride the unclean before the Lord and everyone who is conceited swell up. And those are fools. And such a one if he in the course of many years, hoped in his own strength without the help of God, may lose it in one instant. I confess that I am the most sinful of men. I am dust and ashes (Gen.18:27). And I don't think I have done anything worthy on my own without the help of God. That is the reason for my fasting and my suffering here in the desert, because he is my God and my Savior and my life and I trust in him. If my body has rotted or is rotting, it creates no problem for me. So also if it suffers corruption and I withstand and become corruptible, and it is then with glory it will raise up. If now powerless and blackened by exposure, I shall then stand in the power and light. "For it is necessary", it is said, "that the corruptible must put on incorruption; and this mortal must put on immortality (I Corin.15:42,53). What is the use according to your teaching to worry much about food? A well-fed body drowns into sins with blood boiling with many passions. Flesh and blood cannot possess the kingdom of God (I Corin.15:50), said the divine apostle. My suffering and my life of deprivation of which you speak insultingly, all the years of my life are nothing compared to a single day of eternal suffering, which is what is awaiting you, and those who listen to you.

As you yourselves know and confessed saying, "Why are you bothering us with Jesus. You have come before time to torment us. For this reason it is not those who serve God but you yourselves who are accursed and worthy of pity, and fit to be so called, knowing from what great honor, joy, glory and light you have fallen on account of pride." They, having heard such things from the elder, could not find anything to answer.
They were burning with bitterness and biting their lips with their teeth said: "You're a pest, O you Petar, the strong-named one! Withstanding with your stony patience and endurance, we are leaving from here, from our dwellings because we must. But even if we are sometimes defeated, we will fight forever. By this we overcome some even if at the end of life, even if they are great. And thus, unvenerable one, we will attend to you. And being ashamed in this manner, they went away.

The venerable one, after that terrifying battle, after victory in conflict and after the departure of the devils, having gone to the cave and prostrating himself with great lament, beating his chest, spoke to God praising him in the manner of David. "I will extol thee, O Lord, for thou hast upheld me, and hast not made by enemies rejoice over me (Ps.29:1-2). But my feet almost yielded, my steps well nigh slipped (Ps.72:2). Unless the Lord had been my helper, my soul had almost dwelt in hell (Ps.93:17). Your mercy O Lord has helped me. My lips will sing your glory forever (Ps.88:1-2). My mouth shall shew forth thy justice and thy glory all the day long (Ps.70:15).

Thus in great gladness through prayers he praised God for the many things done for him. After this a great light and ineffable visions illumined him in the cave, and sleep abandoned him both by day and night. He seemed to think that he was in heaven and not still on earth. In his joy and rejoicing on account of those ineffable visions, he did not sleep for many days and forgot to eat even this poor grass and bitter nuts. Since the grass was thin and bitter he did not even think to go out and collect it nor did he desire to live on this earth any longer. Satiated with the love of his Lord God, he was speaking the words of the Psalms "My soul panteth after the strong and living God, when shall I come and appear before the face of God?" Thus edifying self day and night with the gladness of a joyful heart, he was offering to himself his own tears as sweet food and drink. Even the bitter and unpalatable plants which from that time he took to eat appeared to him as manna which God gave and sweetened for him, and it appeared more than a table rich with food. His heart was on account of this strengthened, and his soul rejoiced and he was never bothered by the corrupting things of this world. He did not care about possession of a village nor the maintenance of a home. Joyfully he rejoiced with the God-hewn cave and the oak forest and the abyss, as if they were luminous palaces. Thus thanking God, spending the rest of his years in great peace and joy with his love and mind raised from all earthly things to God. As David, ancestor to God
[through the root of Jesse], said of such [kind of people], the strong of this earth tie themselves firmly to God.

Even the devils did not dare to touch him [Petar] and they did not make bold to come near him. Without forgetting he always stored in his heart their boast which they told him is that even at the end of their lives that some persons, although great, were defeated. And having this [warning] in his soul like a weapon he was afraid lest he be like one of them. He therefore, prayed all the time saying: "Cast me not off in the time of old age; when my strength shall fail do not forsake me (Ps.70:9). Deliver me not into the hands of enemies who are envious of me (Ps.26:12). Let them not rejoice in their hearts: It is well, it is well, we have swallowed him up (Ps.34:24-25). Thus in fear and trembling work out your salvation." He remembered the humble words of the Apostles: "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners of whom I am the chief one" (I Tim. 1"15). And again "Wherefore he that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall (I Corin.10:12). So also when you have done all these things that are commanded say: we have done that which we ought to do (Luke 17:9-10). Because everyone who exalts himself will be humbled and he who humbles himself shall be exalted (Luke 14:11). In great humility he accused himself before God, humbling himself. In this manner he prayed until the end of his life that his soul might be preserved from the malice of the devils. It pleased God to make known his life spent in the desert in long-suffering asceticism. He was found by some God-loving monks, who having come begged him to accept them so that they might learn from him the hermit life. He, anticipating his near departure to God, did not want to deny them this, and received them.

He ordered them to settle in caves beneath the palisade directly opposite him. After this he ordered them to go into the world and bring him an axe and chisel. On that same wall on which he suffered, he begged them to cut out his tomb. In the stone cave in which the venerable one had followed the ascetic practice until the end of his life. Having lived a few days after the tomb was prepared, he taught about the fasting life and dwelling in the desert to the brethren. And he strengthened them not to fear devilish attacks because they are powerless. And he told them everything about his life. After this being stricken with a high fever, his human nature ailed for a short time. Having received the divine and life-giving sacrament of Christ, [he said:] "May God be thanked for everything". Often and with many tears he prayed before you brethren for the parting of your soul, saying: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, accept my soul in peace and make me worthy to transmigrate the air as
well as the spirits of evil, unhindered and undisturbed, without commotion and malice, protected and defended by your holy angels. Instruct and guide me to where I may bow down to you my God and where I might be taken graciously by thee and not condemned according to my many evil deeds. And thus having both peace and blessing and protection as a cover from the devils, having given the last kiss in the Lord to his brethren, as well as having accomplished in blessed old age his course of asceticism, he proved to be a virtuous sufferer for God’s sake.

How many worthy deeds of this father which escape the breadth of this account have I passed by without tolling. May the angels of God speak to him for although possessed of human body he lived with them as one incorporeal and may they praise him for we have said too little about much. Petar was an honourable, a venerable man, strong by his name and substance. Petar was a true non-possessor, who really had nothing for himself in the desert and he, therefore, not being afraid even of incorporeal thieves, neither did incorporeal ones think to take him prisoner. Petar was a hermit by his outstanding suffering and rigid abstinence to the ancient ascetics and even surpassing many of them. Petar was holy and God-bearing, by goodness of soul and meekness he was an actual dove. By his prayers the all-blessed Petar was a dreadful warrior of devils and their persecutor. He had the name of the chief apostle, and being similar to him by faith, like the latter he condescended joyfully to be crucified for Christ. This one too spending willingly all his days in the desert was co-crucified with Christ the ascetic. Petar excelled in everything: prayers, at vigils, by painful fasting in cold nakedness, in scorching sun, in unending crying and sighing, gladness and in heartbreak throughout the years in the desert.

After having dedicated himself to a life in the desert he proved to be above sinful passions appearing as though he had reached the very peak of zeal which all God-loving people endeavor to do. A perfection let me say: God’s love is the primary and only blessedness. Leaving the earthly life, transitory and deceitful, and called to the eternal one in Christ, the blessed one wanted to give up his spirit in solitude. Immediately he allowed the above-mentioned brethren to go to their own caves and ordered them to come again to him the next day. On the ensuing appointed night at midnight, when they had gotten up for matins and services of praise they heard ineffable songs and sounds which by their sweetness captured the mind
and heart and soul in gladness. Rushing out from the cave they tried to find out from where came this sweet, pleasant singing which they heard. Looking up at the elder's place, which was as if illumined by many candles. Amazed by this they were saying: "You who have let the elder alone. When we went away there was no fire before in his cave, how do we see in it this great light? How do we hear many voices singing? Could it be that some of those who known to him before us came after we left and are rejoicing together with him?"

But how strange is their rejoicing, for we are unable to comprehend the power of their song. They wished to go up to the cave to find out what was happening, but were kept back because of the elder's order. They said that night seemed to them like a whole year, and they were eagerly awaiting the morning so that they could go to the elder to see what was happening. And when the sweet, ineffable singing ended and when immediately after that the day had dawned, the brothers hurriedly reached the cave. And they found it filled with sweet scent. And there they saw no one else in it except the venerable one, in his hewn tomb, laying in it as if asleep. Covered with sackcloth, he had gone to the Lord and his face was shining brightly, light thereby manifesting his purity and the brightness of his soul. They understood that the voices they heard from the cave were not human sounds chanting for the elder or deceitful, issuing from sinful and impure lips, but incorporeal and pure with constant praising of God like the holy angels. The voices they heard came from the cave and they were amazed at the holiness of the Father and they honored him, and thus they praised God. They felt rebellion against the elder and lamented saying: "How great is your haughtiness and cruelty toward us, O Father? You condescended to receive the angels for your funeral, but us, because we are sinful you chase away. There are many of those who you have offended, who haven't offended you. However, they thanked God because they were fortunate to receive at all his blessings and prayers prior to his death."

They honored the father with abundant shedding of tears and funeral psalms, [albeit he has already had a service sung before by the angels]. They kissed the face of the venerable one respectfully and, having covered with stones his stone grave, they left speaking of themselves as sinful and doomed ones because they were bereft of their holy elder and so, wished to conceal his efforts and sweating for the sake of God and the good and firm suffering of the venerable one in
the desert. After a short time his honorable and holy relics, dried up by fasting exuded a pleasant scent similar to aromatic myrrh and God bestowed upon them the grace to be able to perform miracles. Many heard the news about him. Right away believers from many neighboring and near and far places began to come to the saint's relics and venerate them to this day. People venerated his relics and all who came departed without grief, sadness and sorrow, and with faith and love. No one left empty-handed. For they received the healing for many and varied illnesses. And those who were tormented by unclean spirits were freed. For they had received the power of God to chase those in the life and death of this one. For so glorifies God who glorifies him. I the humble Teodosije had heard about the miracles of healings which happened from the relics of the venerable one through the Holy Spirit.

And having a great affection for him in love and faith, being made worthy by God through the prayers of the venerable one, I came from the Holy Mountain of Athos, from the monastery of Sava Serbski and I venerated the holy and wonder-working remains of the holy father. I have looked at and seen his desert and palisades on which he suffered, and the dwelling place for the hermit which was wonderfully made by God. The place was outside the world, conducive to constant humility and weeping and tears for those who love God. In the cave of the venerable one in which he lived for a while in angelic rather than human manner, a Church of God was erected. In it is his grave, the wonder-working remains of his holy relics. His holy head and other members of his body at first were lying in the desert. Some Christ-loving people found them and with much love and faith those (people) took some to the city of Constantinople, to other places they were somehow carried off. Each of them to his fatherland for the beauty of the churches and usefulness divided. Thus, having seen all and also having understood that the venerable one who was great in ascetic endurance and was indeed worthy to be glorified by God, I inquired of those who lived there and many who lived in the neighborhood about his life, which I wanted to know. And what they have heard of those monks who buried the venerable one and, those who were there with them, those and others who came after them, and who from generation to generation left the account to be maintained. This they told me about him.
Clearly these are made public in writing so that everyone could read it. In order that the good μίτιο of the venerable one be narrated not in the manner of a fable, thereby being deprived of great usefulness deriving from humility. May I and all who respect and listen abandon evil deeds through the prayers of the venerable one walk in goodness pleasing God and may we be forgiven our sins in this life and in the eternal receive eternal treasures in the other life. Through the very same Christ Jesus Our Lord, to whom belongs glory, power, honor, and worship with the Father and Holy Spirit. Now and forever, and unto the ages. Amen.
Abbreviations

Used in the Bibliography

AfSlPh - Archiv für slavische Philologie, Vienna-Berlin.

BAN - Българска Академия на Науките, София.

GodSU - Философ. ист. Фак. - Годошник на Софийския университет, философско-исторически факультет, София.

IzORJaS - Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti AN SSSR, Leningrad (St. Petersburg, Petrograd).

RFV - Russkij filologicheskij vestnik, Warszaw.

SbBAN - Sbornik na Belgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Sofia.

SbORJaS - Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovenosti AN SSSR, Leningrad (St. Petersburg, Petrograd).

SEER - Slavonic and East European Review, London.


TODRL - Trudy Otdola drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury AN SSSR (Puškinskoi dom), Leningrad.

ZMNP - Zurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvećenija, St. Petersburg.
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