

Anna-Maria Totomanova (Sofia)

THE SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY IN MEDIEVAL BULGARIA

The *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* was first translated in Bulgaria by order of tsar Boril (1207–1218), who convoked a synod against the Bogomils in the capital city of Tărnovo on the 11th of February 1211. For this reason, the Bulgarian *Synodikon* is usually referred to as *Boril's Synodikon*. Here, I am not going to delve into the circumstances that compelled a Uniate monarch to convoke an Orthodox synod¹; neither am I going to speculate whether the translation of the *Synodikon* was completed prior to the synod or whether the work on it only began afterwards².

¹ First of all, it is not clear why he would resort to such a measure right at that moment: were heretics really the central domestic political issue of Boril's reign, as suggested by the unknown chronographer whose story became part of the *Bulgarian Synodikon*? (*There sprung like some evil thorn the thrice-cursed and god-hated Bogomilism which was started then by the foulest priest Bogomil and his disciples, just as with Jannes and Jambres who once resisted Moses. And they like fierce wolves mercilessly wasted Christ's flock for which He shed his most holy blood* – D 202v4–12). And if so, why had Boril's predecessors not paid any attention to this heresy? Unfortunately, the extant sources expand more on the doctrine itself than on the practices of Bogomilism, so that we are unaware of the specific political developments that led to the convening of the synod.

The very date of the synod (*the year 6781, indiction 14, moon year 11, year of the solar circle 15 in the month of February (296) on the 11th day – Friday of the Quadragesima*) is given according to the Latin chronology (rather than Byzantine). This not only points to an established Uniate tradition in the royal chancellery, but also adds to the plausibility of the assumption by Bulgarian scholar Pavel Stefanov that the synod against the Bogomils might have been related to the persecutions of the Cathars in Southern France, beginning in 1208 and inspired by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) (П. СТЕФАНОВ, *Нов поглед към унията между Българската и Римската църква през XIII в.*, ПКШ 5, 2001, p. 345). However, the name of Primate Basil, who was at the helm of the Bulgarian Church for almost forty years, is not on the list of the memories of the First Bulgarian Hierarchs. Possibly it was removed from the list later, following the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate and the termination of the union in 1235; but on the other hand, tsar Kalojan, who was the prime mover behind the signing of the union, is praised therein for his many victories over the Latins and the Greeks (И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик. Издание и превод*, София 2010, p. 50).

² The chronographer says (P 29r4–14): *After that the pious king Boril ordered the Synodikon to be translated from Greek to his language, Bulgarian. And following his orders this Holy Synod was also*

The first Bulgarian translation draws on the Comnenian redaction of the Constantinople version of the *Synodikon* (C – according to the classification of Gouillard)³, but the extant text does not agree completely with any of the known representatives of this redaction. The earliest witness of the text (Palauzov's copy in НБКМ 289, cetera: P) is dated to the end of the 14th century and reveals strong editorial intervention, traces of which can be seen on various levels.

First of all, the editor(s) undertook a thorough linguistic revision in order to put the orthography and the grammar of the text in line with the norms of the so-called Tărnovo School, led by prominent Bulgarian spiritual leader patriarch Euthymius⁴.

Second, they inserted some fragments that are not to be found in the Greek original. In general, the translated part of the *Synodikon* (P 2r13–22r13, §§ 1–65⁵) agrees with the critical edition by Gouillard (G. 1–571), with some minor omissions, re-orderings and additions⁶. The sole insertion in the positive canonical part is at 5v5–8: *All who came to our Orthodox faith from the unholy Armenian faith: May their memory be eternal!*⁷, and it is obviously thematically related to the anathema upon those sharing the Armenian heresy in the added text in P 24r10–12 (§ 90). This eternal memory is repeated almost literally in P 5v20–22: *All who accepted Orthodox Christian faith: May their memory be eternal!* The periphrasis bridges the positive and the negative canonical parts. Undoubtedly, the most important addition to the negative canonical part are the anathemas upon the Bogomils (P 13v6–15v19, §§ 39–52), the source of which is the *Letter of Patriarch Cosmas* [Cosmas I, 1075–1081 or Cosmas II Atticus, 1146–1147] *to the dearest metropolitan of Larisa in connection with the ungodly heretics*⁸, preserved in Marcianus gr. II 74 (Coll. 1454 olim Nanius 96), ff. 77v–79v of the 15th

entered among the Orthodox Synods to be read on the first Sunday of the holy lent like the holy fathers have taught since the very beginning of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. In the latter case, the chronographic account is presumably not completely reliable, the more so because the story of the synod apparently copies Anna Comnena's account of the trial against the Bogomils initiated by her father Alexius I Comnenus. Cf. ANNE COMNÈNE, *Alexiade*, XI–XV, vol. III, ed. B. LEIV, Paris 1945, ²1967, p. 218.28–228.29. Cf. И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Византийският свят*, София 2008, p. 623–628.

³ J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire*, TM 2, 1967, p. 3.

⁴ On this matter see: А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Езикът на XIV в. и съставът на Палаузовия сборник*, Pbg 36.1, 2012, p. 24–37.

⁵ The paragraphs are referred to according to Table 1. The initial capital letters designate the respective manuscripts.

⁶ The real order of the translated parts is G. 1–183, 752–762, 185–249, 395–403, 424–509, 517–532, 537–571, 752–755.

⁷ Here and afterwards, the fragments are quoted from the English translation by M. Paneva in: И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилев синодик...*, p. 337–377.

⁸ J. GOUILLARD, *Une source grecque du Synodik de Boril: la lettre du patriarche Cosmas*, TM 4, 1970, p. 361–374.

century. It is not clear how the Bulgarian translator obtained the text of the letter, but he obviously saw the richness of the information it contained and replaced the anti-Bogomil anathemas in C by including the introductory part and, with some re-ordering, the text of the twelve anathemas⁹. The latter are thematically connected with the anathema upon Basil the Doctor (P 15v20–16r3, § 53), which is also missing in the Greek *Synodikon*¹⁰. After the anathema on Basil the Doctor, the Bulgarian text continues according to the Constantinople redaction of the *Synodikon*. Then, at P 16r4–16v5 (§ 54), it includes only the third anathema on Eustratius of Nicaea, condemning those who deny the union of the two natures of Jesus Christ (G. 395–403), although the rubric does not mention his name explicitly¹¹. The next 14 anathemas (P 16v6–22r13, §§ 54–65) follow G. 424–571, with the omission of three anathemas (G. 510–516, 533–535, 536) connected with the synod dedicated to Christ's words Πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστίν (Io 14,28).

After the anathema on Gerontius of Lambé (P 9r12–20, § 19), seven general anti-iconoclastic anathemas have been inserted (P §§ 20–25), which in the Byzantine *Synodikon* occupy lines G. 752–762 in P, after the anathema on Gregory Palamas. They have been taken from the *horos* of the Seventh Ecumenical Council¹²; the first one is an anathema upon all heretics. Gouillard observes that in some C version manuscripts these anathemas are included as well¹³. At the end of Comnenian text, our *Synodikon* repeats the first three anathemas (P §§ 66–68, G. 752–755), with some minor textological variations. These repetitions (not word for word, as they had already been included in the main text), however, suggest that the editors must have had at their disposal the Palaeologan version of the *Synodikon*. This is supported by the fact that on f. 27 (the exact place in the book cannot be identified with certainty; disagreeing with the text of version P) there are anathemas upon Barlaam, Acindynus, Prochorus Cydonius, Fudul and his teacher Piropoul (P §§ 176–177).

The ensuing personal anathemas (P 22r21–23r16, §§ 69–78) were not part of the initial translation of the *Synodikon* either. We believe that they were also

⁹ Cf. the opinion of Božilov in: И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик...*, p. 29–31.

¹⁰ Where the information about the trial against Basil the Doctor was drawn from is a most interesting question. If the compiler of the Bulgarian *Synodikon* was also the author of the chronographic account about the synod, his source could well have been the *Alexiad* by Anna Comnena. But if the story was written afterwards, the information is most likely to have come from the work *Panoplia Dogmatica* by Euthymius Zigabenus, which was known in Slavic literary circles but has only survived in later copies of the 15th–16th cc. (Г. МИНЧЕВ, *Бориловият синодик 800 години по-късно*, Pbg 35.2, 2011, p. 74–77).

¹¹ В. А. МОШИН, *Сербская редакция синодика в неделю православия. Анализ текстов*, ВВ 16, 1959, p. 343.

¹² J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon...*, p. 92 (№ 308).

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 21–22.

inserted by the scholars who revised the text of *Boril's Synodikon* to make it part of a canonical-liturgical compilation, which also included some liturgical services (all to be carried out by the patriarch) as well as the *horoi* of three ecumenical councils (IV, VI and VII) and of two local councils (of patriarch Menas and *Tomos of Union*), containing the main dogmas of Orthodoxy. They were especially selected so as to prove the need of restoration of the veneration of icons¹⁴. The eparchial metropolitans, who were in charge of performing the ritual of the Triumph of Orthodoxy, were provided with a similar type of collections of *horoi* of the ecumenical and local councils in Byzantium¹⁵. The linguistic evidence shows that the *horoi* were translated specifically for the occasion and share common orthographic and grammatical features with the revised text of the *Synodikon* itself. The text of the services, on the other hand, does not show any traces of editorial intervention.

The anathemas on Theodore of Pharan, Sergius and Pyrus, Peter and Paul – patriarchs of Constantinople, Honorius – pope of Rome, Cyrus of Alexandria, Macarius of Antioch and his disciple Stephen (P 23r1–7), which are missing from the Greek *Synodikon*, have been taken directly from the *horos* of the 6th Ecumenical Council¹⁶. We believe that almost the entire list of anathematized heretics in this part was mostly drawn from the *horoi* of the 7th and the 6th ecumenical councils as well as, to a lesser extent, from the *horos* of the 4th Ecumenical council and of the council of patriarch Menas¹⁷. Only five out of the 30 names of Byzantine heresiarchs are missing from the above-mentioned *horoi*: Symeon Magus, *Kukuvrik Manent*, Eusebius, Naucratius and Jacob. Since we have no data on the dissemination of the *horos* of the council of 843 (the origin of which has not been fully clarified by Byzantologists¹⁸) in the Slavic language, and bearing in mind that it does not contain the names of Eusebius, Jacob and Naucratius, it follows that the missing five names – including the names of Symeon Magus and Mani – have probably come from a different source¹⁹.

¹⁴ For details on the content of the collection, which also contains the Greek text of the *horoi* and four noted Greek chants, *vide*: И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик...*, p. 58–62.

¹⁵ Cf. also А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Синодик царя Борила в сборнике Палаузова (НБКМ № 289)*, [in:] *XXI ежегодная богословская конференция. Церковно-историческая исследования в контексте современной науки*, Москва 2011, p. 165–166.

¹⁶ For the coinciding texts *vide*: А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Синодик царя Борила...*, p. 167.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 170–171. See there also our polemics with Božilov, who considers the *horos* of the Council of 843 published by J. GOUILLARD (*Le Synodikon...*, app. 1, p. 293–298) to be the main source of this part.

¹⁸ J. GOUILLARD, *Le Synodikon...*, app. 1, p. 291.

¹⁹ On the mocking nickname for Mani, who is called *Kukuvrik* in the Bulgarian *Synodikon*, *vide*: А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *За една параномасия в Бориловия синодик*, [in:] *Словеса прѣчюдныя. Юбилеен сборник в чест на проф. Иван Буюклиев*, ed. А. ТОТОМАНОВА, Р. ВЛАХОВА-РУЙКОВА, София 2012, p. 36–43.

Upon all the heretics: Anathema at P 23r17 (§ 79) opens the next part, which contains 26 rubrics with anathemas and praises (P 23r17–25v17, §§ 80–104). Seventeen of them are anathemas upon basic Bogomil beliefs and practices; these generally repeat the 12 anti-Bogomil anathemas (P 13v6–15v19, §§ 39–52) in simpler language, more accessible to the faithful. Two anathemas (P 25r20–25v8, §§ 101–102) curse those who devote themselves to sorcery, one (P 25v15–17, § 104) condemns all thieves, murderers and robbers²⁰, and the anathema at 24r10–12 (P § 90) is directed against those sharing the Armenian faith. The first eternal memory is for those who renounced all heresies in the name of the Orthodox faith (P 24r6–9, § 89), the second (P 25r9–19, § 100) – for those who retain the Orthodox faith according to the Gospels, while the third one is for all boyars, priests and monks and all the people who piously keep their devotion to the king and to the archbishops pure and righteous. This part, which likewise has to be the result of 14th-century editing, ends with the exclamation (P 25v18–19, § 105): *Christ is victory, Christ rules, Christ is the joy of Christian faith. God save Christian faith!*²¹, which is to be repeated thrice.

The commemorative part of *Boril's Synodikon* starts with a list of Byzantine rulers and their wives (P 25v20–26v20, §§ 106–109). It does not completely agree with the list in the Greek *Synodikon*; it begins with a praise to Constantine the Great and his mother Helena (P 25v20–26r3, § 106) and contains the names of four rulers (Theodosius, Honorius, Theodosius II and Marcianus) which are also missing in the Greek original. Undoubtedly, the addition of the name of Marcianus is connected to his wife Pulcheria's being included in the list of empresses. Here, too, the connection between the text and the *horoi* can be detected, since Marcianus is mentioned repeatedly as a 'new Constantine' and Pulcheria as a 'new Helena'²². The list of Bulgarian rulers begins with the name of prince Boris²³ (D 201v16–19), who made Bulgaria part of the Christian world; his praise is, in a way, a reminiscence of the praise to Constantine the Great. As regards the names of the rulers of the First and the Second Bulgarian Tsardoms, three rubrics (D 202r5–202r17, §§ 88–90) of the commemorative part are devoted to the memory of the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius, who translated the Holy Scripture into Bulgarian, and to their disciples Clement, Gorazd, Sava and Nahum. The commemorative part comprises two chronographic accounts: *an account of the synod against the*

²⁰ We find a similar anathema on f. 27r1–8 (P § 175), before the anathemas upon Acindynus and Barlaam.

²¹ The exclamation is strongly reminiscent of the refrain of the *laudes regiae* (*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*) and comes from the Byzantine ceremonial. I feel obliged to express my gratitude to my colleague Michael Želtov, who located the phrase in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Ceremoniis*.

²² А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Синодик царя Борила...*, p. 168–199.

²³ The list is restored according to the so-called Drinov copy (*cetera: D*), which shares this part with P; see below.

Bogomils convened by tsar Boril (P 29r4–30v2, §§ 110–112)²⁴ and *an account about the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235 under tsar Ivan Asen II* (P 30r3–32v10)²⁵. The list of tsarinas (P 34r1–35v3, §§ 117–128) includes only the names from the times of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom; it ends with the wife and children of the last Bulgarian monarch, Ivan Šišman, whose name is missing on the list of rulers²⁶. It is followed by the names of servants to the royal family²⁷ (P 35v4–33r16, §§ 129–137), an incomplete commemorative list of Bulgarian patriarchs²⁸, and a list of metropolitans (P 37r1–39r21, §§ 150–155) containing a total of 140 names. The eternal memory of all spiritual leaders of the Bulgarian nation (P 39v1–4, § 165) is logically followed by a praise to all boyars (P 39v5–9, § 165) and a list of names of so far unidentified persons.

It was believed until recently that the text of *Boril's Synodikon* has another extant witness D, included in a *Damaskin* compilation from the 16th century (НБКМ 432)²⁹. In fact, D contains the most important insertions and additions of the first translation: the anti-Bogomil anathemas (D §§ 47–59) drawn from the *Letter of Patriarch Cosmas* and the anathema on Basil the Doctor (D § 60) following the anathemas on John Italus (D § 45) and Nilus Cabasilas (D § 46), coinciding with P §§ 36–37. The second one, in fact, repeats D § 36 above, but in a different redaction. The text after these anathemas (D §§ 61–67) agrees completely with the text of Boril's translation and corresponds to G. 395–403, 424–471, 537ff. The anathema on Constantine of Bulgaria, metropolitan of Cercyra (D § 67) lacks the ending due to the loss of some folia, but the ensuing text (D §§ 68–81) comprises fifteen out of the 26 anathemas preceding the list of rulers in *Boril's Synodikon*. We do not know how many folia are missing, but it seems that D might have contained the personal anathemas of P as well. Drinov's text also includes the final exclamation *Christ is victory, Christ rules, Christ is the joy of Christian faith. God*

²⁴ The above-mentioned rubrics, as well as the beginning of the narrative about the Synod in 1211, did not survive in Palauzov's copy and were restored according to D; see below.

²⁵ In all likelihood, these accounts, too, were added during the final redaction of the text in the 14th century. Cf. А. ТОТОМАНОВА, *Езикът...*, p. 35–36. The end of the list of rulers was restored according to the other witness.

²⁶ On the reasons for this and other omissions in this list, *vide*: И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик...*, p. 48–50.

²⁷ At P 35v4–7 (§ 129–130), there is a later addition connected with the use of the book in Wallachia after Bulgaria's fall under Ottoman rule. A similar addition with the names of two Moldavian rulers of the 16th century is to be found at P 40r8–13 (§ 172–174). Concerning these additions cf. И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик...*, p. 376, fn. 197–199.

²⁸ It is preceded by two rubrics (P 36r1–5, § 138–139) containing the names of two ecumenical patriarchs of the end of the 13th century. Cf. И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилов синодик...*, p. 375, fn. 186, 187.

²⁹ Both witnesses are kept in the St.St. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia and bear the names of prominent historians Spiridon Palauzov (1818–1872) and Marin Drinov (1838–1906), who discovered the respective manuscripts and were the first to study them.

save Christian faith! (D § 82), the whole list of Byzantine rulers, and parts of the list of Bulgarian rulers, comprising the historical accounts, cf. P §§ 106–116 and D §§ 83–93³⁰.

The rest of the text of Drinov's *Synodikon*, as compared to the text of Palauzov's copy, shows numerous differences in terms of word order, Stylistics and lexis³¹. A hand of the 17th century transmitted to us a part of the lost beginning of P, having copied the fading first rows on the wooden book cover:

† пророческииѣ послѣдоуѣще оученииѣ. и апѣльскимъ же| наказанииѣмъ подобаше с[а]|
ѣвѣльскаа писанїа навѣкъш[е]. ѡбновленїюу днѣ прѣзвѣнїиѣ. | ісаїа въ рече ѡбновѣлѣти| се
ѡстрѡвѣмъ къ бѡу еж ѡ е|зикъ назнменоуе| црѣквѣ. сецнїїи ѡв...³²

The parallel text in D 184r4–8 reads:

Пррѣчьскыи послѣдоуѣще глѡ. апѣльскимъ же| вѣщанїи приводїи. и ѣвѣльскыи повѣда|нїе
прилагаѣще се. ѡбновленїа днѣ прѣзвѣнїе. | ісаїа въ ѡвѣ рѣ, ѡбновѣлѣти се ѡстрѡвѣмъ къ бѣ. | иже
ѡ ѣзкыи ѡвѣлѣе црѣквы. сѣ же црѣквы...

Once again, this proves that the initial part of D must have come from a different redaction.

In fact, the initial part of Drinov's *Synodikon* shares some important features with the text of the South-Slavonic *Synodikon* kept in Romania (BAR MS. SL. 307, cetera: R), which unequivocally belongs to the Palaeologan version of the *Synodikon* (P according to Guillard). The fragments §§ 1–42 (G. 1–170, 395–471, 171–249, 479–532) are common to both D and R; unlike P, they contain the memory of St. Andrew of Crete in the positive part (D 188r8–9 and R 6r24–25) and an anathema connected to the problem of incarnation (D § 16) in the negative part. The latter is also missing in P and G., but was included in both Greek and Slavonic printed triodia³³. The inclusion of eternal memory to both St. Theodore Studites and St. Theophanes the Confessor in R 6v12–13, missing from the Greek *Synodikon* as well as from P and the printed triodia³⁴, is the only structural difference between D and R in this initial part. At the same time, this part lacks the

³⁰ Both manuscripts are severely damaged in this part (cf. the comments on P § 10 and D § 93; P § 116 and D § 94, D § 103), but the extant texts complement each other and allow us to presume that they come from a common source.

³¹ The variant readings are duly reported in the edition: И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилев синодик...*; as well as in: *Synodicum Bulgaricum 1211*, ed. А. ТОТОМАНОВА, [in:] *The Great Councils of the Orthodox Churches. From Constantinople 861 to Moscow 2000*, ed. А. MELLONI, vol. I, Turnhout 2016 [= CC.COGD 4.1], p. 426–468.

³² И. БОЖИЛОВ, А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Борилев синодик...*, p. 66.

³³ И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Палеологовият синодик в славянски превод*, София 2013, p. 27.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 75, fn. 17.

insertions typical of P (anti-Armenian anathemas and praises of those who came back to the Orthodoxy from the heresies, as well as the entire part drawn from the *horos* of the 7th ecumenical council; G. 752–762). This means that, following the anathema on Constantine of Bulgaria, metropolitan of Cercyra (D § 44), the text of D must have comprised the anathemas on Constantine's followers and on John Irenicus and by all means the above-mentioned seven general anti-iconoclastic anathemas. The idea that the so-called Drinov copy in fact represents another version of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* was first promoted by I. Biljarski and M. Tsi-branska-Kostova, who noticed that – alongside structural similarities – the text in D and the *Synodikon* from Bucharest (R) also share some peculiar terminological features. These involve three compound words with the first part *въкоупо-* instead of traditional literary *ѣдно-*, such as *въкоупобожьнъ*, *въкоупославьнъ*, *въкоупопрѣстолюбъ*³⁵. This similarity suggests that D and R might have had a common antigraph. In his edition of the extant text of R, Ivan Biljarski presumes that Drinov's copy belongs to the Palaeologan redaction as well³⁶. In fact, the comparison of the extant text of Drinov's *Synodikon* with the other two versions P and R proves that it represents a rather mechanical compilation of the new translation (partially preserved in BAR MS. SL. 307) and the *Synodikon* of tsar Boril in its 14th century version. This explains why some of the rubrics in D are repeated in different redactions: the anathema on Nilus Cabasilas D § 36 according to redaction P and D § 43 – according to C. Cf. also D §§ 17–21 and D §§ 61–66, where the anathema on Michael is omitted in the text that belongs to the redaction P, but it is preserved in the older redaction (D § 62, G. 424–434) as well as in P § 52. We do not think that the anathemas on Barlaam, Acindynus and their followers (together with the following text preserved in R §§ 55–65) were part of D: it is clear that the unknown compiler of D relied on a Bulgarian source similar to P for the second part (which includes the anti-Bogomil anathemas and the list of the rulers)³⁷. The conclusion that D can be divided in two parts – the initial

³⁵ The above-mentioned lexemes are to be found in the rubrics related to the dogmatic argument about Πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστίν (Io 14,28). Actually, only §§ 39, 40 in D and R share this feature, while D § 63 does not agree with R § 44 and displays the compound *ѣднобжню*, thus coinciding with P § 63 (И. БИЛЯРСКИ, М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *За един композитен тип и за Палеологовия вариант на славянския Синодик в Неделята на православие*, Pbg 36.1, 2012, p. 53–55). Cf. also p. 5 above on the coinciding parts of D and P.

³⁶ И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Палеологовият синодик...*, p. 15–18, 48–50.

³⁷ In fact, the compiler replaced the anti-heretical part of R with its anti-Bogomil (anti-Messalian) anathemas (R § 54), drawn from the so-called *Mount Athos Epistle*, containing the decisions of the General Athonite Assembly of 1344. The text has been identified by: A. RIGO, *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili. Le accuse di messalianismo e bogomilismo rivolte agli isicasiti ed il problema dei rapporti tra esicasmo e bogomilismo*, Firenze 1989 [= OV 2]. For the Greek text vide: A. RIGO, *L'Assemblea generale atonita del 1344 su un gruppo di monaci bogomili (ms. Vat.Gr. 604 ff. 11r–12v)*, CS 5, 1984, p. 505, fig. 31–56.

one Palaeologan and the second Bulgarian, based on the Comnenian redaction – leads us to some other important inferences. First, it means that the translation of the Palaeologan version of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* is an integral part of the tradition of the Bulgarian *Synodikon*. Second, the unknown compiler, who chose Bulgarian sources to complete his work with anti-heretical anathemas and lists of rulers, was in all likelihood addressing a Bulgarian audience and he himself must have had Bulgarian origins. In all probability, the compilation was done to meet the needs of the Bulgarian population at the end of the 14th century. Based on certain linguistic features of D (first of all the traces of the Middle Bulgarian confusion of nasal vowel letters and the use of the letter *jat* for marking palatal consonants before the vowel *a*), Popruženko claims that the copyist of D used a Bulgarian antigraph³⁸. It is worth mentioning that traces of Bulgarian Tărnovo orthography are to be found in both parts of D and not only in the added Bulgarian part (as one might have expected given the fact that R observes the Resava rules with no exceptions). Therefore, the Palaeologan version of the *Synodikon* obviously circulated in two orthographic recensions – those of the Resava and Tărnovo schools. This fact allows us to conjecture that the common Palaeologan antigraph of D and R must have been written in Bulgarian orthography, given the fact that Resava norms were only established by Constantine of Kostenets in 15th century, after the fall of the Bulgarian Tsardom under Ottoman rule. If our reasoning is correct, it follows that the translation of the South-Slavic Palaeologan *Synodikon* must have been carried out at a literary centre that used Bulgarian orthography and was connected to Mount Athos. It is the latter location where, according to Biljarski, the Greek Palaeologan protograph arose around 1366 – after the death of Jacob, the only metropolitan of Ierisso, whose memory is mentioned the last in the list of metropolitans preserved in R 20v15–17³⁹. This centre cannot have been Tărnovo, where in the end of 14th century only a revision of the early 13th century translation was undertaken. We can only speculate whether it was the Bulgarian monastery on Mount Athos or some other monastic centre.

³⁸ М.Г. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Синодикъ царя Борила*, БСт 8, 1928, р. XXVIII–XXIX.

³⁹ И. БИЛЯРСКИ, *Палеологовият синодик...*, р. 43–54.

Table 1

Content and structure of the manuscripts

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
2r13–21	1	The beginning is missing in P. P r1–12 features neumes (Greek musical notation).	184r1–3 ДѢЖНОѢ КЪ БѢ	1	
† пророческииꙗꙗ послѣдоꙗꙗще ꙗꙗченнѣꙗꙗ . и апѣтскимъ же наказаниемъ подо-баше с[а] еѡльскаа писанїа навѣкш[е] . ѡбнавлѣнїюу днѣ ꙗꙗзноꙗꙗнѣꙗꙗ. ꙗꙗсаїа въ рече ѡбнавлѣти се въстрѣблѣнѣꙗꙗ къ бѡꙗ еж ѡ е звнѣꙗꙗ назнаноꙗꙗе цркъвѣꙗ . сециїѣꙗ въ...		The text is written on the wooden cover of the book by a hand of the 17 th century. The rest is missing.	184r4–184v5 Пррѣчьскїѣꙗꙗ послѣдꙗꙗꙗще ꙗꙗꙗ.		
			184v6–184v11 Лѣто и всенѣꙗꙗ тн съза іа помѣни сїа.		
2v1–13 Помѣнїи ꙗꙗ поношенїе		P 2v1–13 is not segmented	184v12–15 Помѣнїи ꙗꙗ поно-шение		
			184v15–19 Измѣненїе ѡб		Unlike in P, the text in D 184v15–185v6 is segmented.
2v14–15 Крѣта радн		P 2v16–3r6 Greek musical notation	184v19–20 крѣтѣ ꙗꙗ		
3r7–1v7 Стрѣтѣꙗꙗ и чюдесе-мь еꙗꙗ		Missing text between P 3v and 1r, corresponding to D 185v2–10.	184v20–185v6 стрѣтѣꙗꙗ и чюдсе		

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
2r3–6 [Дѣлѣноє къ бѣ лѣпноє влагод]аренїе,	1		G. 1–3
2r7–2v19 [Пѣррѣчьскыи послѣк] дѣюще глгомы.			G. 4–19
2v10–18 Лѣто ѡ вєснѣ тѣхъ сѣздѣа га [помѣни сѣа.			G. 19–23
2v19–22 Помѣни гѣи поношєниє			G. 23–28
2v23–3r9 Извѣнїєнїє же оубо		Textological differences in comparison with D.	
3r9–3v9 [Θεω] δѣо поношєнїє			G. 28–29
3v9–11 Крѣтъ Г[рѣвь дѣа]			G. 29–60
3v11–14 Вѣнцѣ . G[амѣ то сѣнїє]			

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
1v8–12 И ѿже пльѣтноѡ бѣжѣа слова	2		186r7–8 Иже пльѣтѣскоѡ бѣ слова	2	
1v13– Вѣдѣшиль хъво ѣдино	3	The end is missing.	186r9–15 Вѣдѣшиль хъва ѣдиноѡ	3	
	4	missing	186r15–19 Вѣрѣшющѣи	4	
	5	missing	186r20–186v5 Иже слово ѡсвѣ- щающѣи ѡстни	5	
	6	missing	186v6–12 Вѣдѣши тако жѣзль и скрижѣа.	6	
	7	missing	186v13–18 Иже прѣчкаа вѣниа.	7	
	8	missing	186v19–187r3 Развѣмѣющѣи мѡвѣсею	8	
		missing	187r4–6 Ѣже вѣ испрѣва		
		missing	187r7–14 И пакы пакѡ дрѣзы слова ѡченици		
4r1–11	9	The beginning of the rubric corresponding to D 187r14–20 is missing.	187r14–20 Прѣци пакѡ видѣши	9	

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek Synodikon
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
3v14–17 С[і]ѣ днѣ [трѣжкство			
3v17–18 Ктѣ бѣ [велиі іако бѣ]			
3v18 Ты ѣси бѣ н[а]			
3v19–4r14 Оукорителю ево твоєє сл[авы]			
4r14–18 Иже пльтьскоє ба [слова]	2		G. 61–62
4r18–4v2 Вкдѣши х[ва] ідино҃го	3		G. 66–67
4v3–8 Екрѣющіи	4		G. 68–71
4v9–16 Иже словомь ѡсцѣющіи оустны	5		G. 72–75
4v16–25 Вкдѣши іако жъзль и скрѣжал[ъ]	6		G. 76–81
5r1–8 [Иже пррчкаа вѣнїа.	7		G. 82–86
5r9–15 [Разумю]ши мѡѡсѣю	8		G. 87–90
5r15–19 Ѣже вѣ испрѣва.			G. 90–92
5r19–5v4 И пакы пакѣ дроузи. [слова] оученици.			G. 92–97
5v4–13 Пррци [іакѣ видѣв]ше	9		G. 98–102

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
			187v1-6 Въ словесѣ по читающе		
4r11-14 Си вѣра апска.		4r15-4v5 Greek musical nota- tion in neumes.	187v6-8 Сы вѣра апска		
4v6-10 По сихже бл҃гоучѣтїю проповѣдникомъ	10		187v8-11 Къ сѣ, иже бл҃гоучѣтїа	10	
4v11-17 Герману. тарасїю.			187v11-15 Герман. тарасїю.		In D text in red ink (возвизай десною рѣкою и показѣи прѣстолѣ по ѡбви- чаю вѣчнаа памѣ), missing in BAR MS. SL. 307 and in G.
4v18-21 Игнатїю. фотїю.			187v15-17 Игнатїю. фотїю.		
5r1-5 Въск҃ъ иже на ст҃ых патрїархы			187v17-19 Въса иже на ст҃їе патрїархїи.		
5r6-10 Въск҃ъ иже кр҃омѣ цр҃ковнаго			188r1-4 Въса иже чр҃къъ цр҃ковнаго		
5r11-13 Стефану проповѣд- никоу			188r5-6 Стефан прѣповѣд- никъ		
5r14-17 Євѣмїю. ѳеѳилоу.			188r6-7 Євѣмїю. ѳеѳилоу.		
5r18-20 ѳеѳилактоу. пѣтру.			188r7-8 ѳеѳилактъ. петръ		
			188r8-9 Идрѣо проповѣд- никъ		
5r1-5v4 Іванноу. никола.			188r9-11 Іванъ николаъ		

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek Synodikon
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
5v13–20 [ε: Вѣъ словѣ]сѣ почитающе			G. 103–105
5v20–22 Ἐὶὰ βῆρα ἀπῆλκε .			G. 106–107
5v22–6v1 Къ сѣмь [иже] бл҃гочестїа проповѣдники	10		G. 108–109
6r1–4 [Γέρμανς, ταρασίю, никифорς ἰ μεωάδιю			G. 110–111
6r5–7 [Ἰγнатїю, фотїю			G. 112–113
6r8–12 [Въса ѿже на стїе пат]рїархы			G. 114–116
6r12–16 Въса ѿже чрѣкъ црѣк[внаго]			G. 117–119
6r16–18 Ἐτῆφανῖ [Ἐτῆφάνς прѣпѣвнїи]			G. 120
6r18–21 Ἐνϕίλιϑ . φεω[φίλ]ς.			G. 121–122
6r21–23 ϕεωφїлѣактς • пѣтрϑ •			G. 123–124
6r24–25 [Ἰνдрѣ]ϑϑ прѣпѣвнїи			
6v1–4 Ἰωα[ннς, никѣлаς,			

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
5v5–8 Въсѣкъ иже ѿ скверъныа вѣры аримѣнскыа					
5v9–10 Фѣѡроу въспрѣдѣ- ноу			188r12 Фѣѡрѡ въспрѣдѣ- номѡ		
5v11–12 Г҃акію чюдотворѡу			188r13 Г҃акію чюдотворѡѡ		
5v13–15 Іариноу прѣдѣноу			188r14–15 Илариноѡ прѣдѣ- номѡ		
5v16–17 Сѡменоу прѣдѣноу			188r16–17 Сѡменоѡ прѣдѣ внѣшоѡѡ		
5v18–19 Фѣѡфану прѣдѣ- ноу			188r17–18 Фѣѡфанѡ прѣдѣ- внѣшоѡѡ		
5v20–22 Въсѣкъ пришед- шиа					
6r1–11 С҃ѡ іако бл҃венїа ѡцѣ	11	P 6v featuring neumes and severely damaged.	188r19–188v4 С҃ѡ іако бл҃венїа ѡчка	11	
6r11–1 Словомъ оубо			188v4–9 Иже словѡ		
7r1–8	12	The beginning of the text damaged.	188v9–14 Иже г҃ѡ недписанна- го злѣ' прилагающї се.	12	
7r9–7v4 Иже оубо прѣрѣска видѣнїа	13		188v14–189r3 Иже прѣрѣска ѡво видѣнїа	13	

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
6v5–6 ϕεώδορος въсѣпр[ѣпѣоеномѣ]			G. 127
6v6–8 [Ισακίου] чюдотворѣцѣ			G. 128–129
6v8–10 [Иларіѡнѣ прѣпѣоеномѣ]			G. 130–131
6v10–11 [Θυμεώνѣ прѣпѣѡ] енѣкишомѣ			G. 132
6v12–13 ϕεώδορος ѡ ϕεώфанѣ, [...]]исповѣдникѡ ѡ напи[...]	10	Missing in P, D and G.	
6v14–15 ϕεώфанѣ прѣпѣоенкишомѣ			G. 133
6v15–22 Θ[τα ἰακο βλβε]ν[τα] ѡчѣскаа	11		G. 134–137
6v22–7r2 И[же] слов[омѣ]			G. 138–140
7r3–8 [Иже гла ѡ неѡписан[наго] за] ѣ прил[агаю][щн[се.]	12		G. 141–144
7r8–19 Иже [прѣсѣкаа] ѡ бо ви]дѣн[та]	13		G. 145–150

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
7v5–7v15 Слышѣшиахъ г҃а	14		189r3–8 Иже слышеѣши г҃а	14	No segmentation
7v16–8r4 И҃ко г҃ави сѧ, г҃ако пожитъ			189r8–14 г҃ако видѣхъ бѣ. г҃ако сѣ вълькы поживе		
8r5–8v11 Прѣбывающіи въ и҃коноборѣнскѣи	15		189r15–189v12 Прѣбывающіи въ и҃коноборѣнскѣи	15	
			189v12–18 Въводѣщій о неиз- рѣннѣи пльтекомѣ сѣмѣннѣи.	16	
		Compare this in P 16r4–16v5 (§ 54).	189v19–190r12 Иже не въсакѣи говѣннѣи	17	Repeated in D 197v4–17 (§ 61).
		Compare this in P 17r10–17v5 (§ 56).	190r13–190v4 Гл҃бшій г҃акѣ въ врѣмѣ мироѣспителнѣи сѣртѣи	18	Repeated in D 198r12–198v2 (§ 63).
		Compare this in P 17v6–16 (§ 57).	190v4–11 Иже на кѣжѣи проно- силою жрѣтѣѣ	19	Repeated in D 198v3–9 (§ 64).
		Compare this in P 17v17–18v6 (§ 58).	190v11–191r11 Иже слышеѣши	20	Repeated in D 198v9–199r9 (§ 65).
		Compare this in P 18v7–21 (§ 59).	191r12–191v4 Иже врѣменнаѣ растоанѣа	21	Repeated in D 199r9–21 (§ 66).
8v12–16 И҃настаѣа. кѣстан- дина	16		191v4–7 И҃настаѣа. кѣс- танѣа	22	
8v17–20 Фѣѣта. анѣонѣа. и҃вана.	17		191v7–9 Фѣѣта. анѣонѣа. и҃вана.	23	
8v21–9r11 Пѣвѣа иже въ сѣвѣа	18		191v9–16 Пѣвѣа иже въ сѣвѣа	24	

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
7r20–7v2 [Иже слыше]ше ꙗ	14	No segmentation	G. 151–158
7v2–9 ꙗко вид[ѣнь бы ꙗко съ чѣкы поживе.]			
7v9–8r4 Прѣви]вающѣ въ ꙗкѡн[оборъскон	15		G. 159–170
8r5–11 [Въводещѣ ѡ] ѿнейзрѣнно ^ѡ пльско ^ѡ	16		The Greek text in Popruženko (p. 18–19, §16).
8r12–8v3 [Иже не] съ вѣсакы ^ѡ говѣнїемъ	17		G. 395–403
8v4–17 Глѡщѣ ꙗко иже въ врѣме м[ироспїте]лныє стꙋтѣ	18		G. 435–443
8v18–25 Иже на кѣждо приносилѡ жрѣтв[ѣ]	19		G. 444–448
9r1–25 [Иже слышещѣ]	20		G. 449–462
9r25–9v16 Иже врѣмѣннаа раст[ѡанїа]	21		G. 463–471
9v17–20 ѿнастѣсїа, констандї[на]	22		G. 171–172
9v20–23 Фѣωдо[та] и ѡнтѡнїа . и їωѡнн[а]	23		G. 173–174
9v24–10r7 Павла иже въ сѡвѣ	24		G. 175–179

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
9r12–20 Гѣор҃гіа ѿже ѿ ламба	19		191v16–21 Герондіа, ѿже ѿ лаѿви	25	
9r21 Въса ѣретики, анаѿема	20				
9v1–2 шжтавшее са сѣвѣрице на стѣж икѣны, анаѿема ѣ					
9v3–6 Прѣлагажцихъ ѿ вѣтвѣный писаніи	21				
9v7–9 Приѿбѣжцихъ са въ разоудѣ	22				
9v10–12 Глѣцихъ тако къ ѣгѣмь	23				
9v13–15 Глѣщель тако крѣмѣ ха ба	24				
9v16–20 Дръзѣжцихъ рѣци о сѣвѣрѣни цѣрки	25				
9v21–10r14 ѿже весма начинаж- цихъ	26		192r1–9 ѿже ѿнѣ начинаѣщій	26	
10r15–10v2 ѿже ѣгочествовати	27		192r9–14 ѿже ѣгочѣтвovati	27	
10v3–13 ѿже боудѣ вънѣш- нихъ философѣ	28		192r14–21 ѿже боудѣ вънѣш- ный любомѣдрѣ	28	
10v14–11r4 ѿже вѣщѣтѣвное бѣзначално	29		192v1–8 ѿже вѣщѣ бѣзначелнѣ и видѣвѣ	29	

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
10r7–14 Γερὸν Διά Ἰῆζε [ῶ λαμβν]	25		G. 180–183
			G. 752
			G. 753
			G. 754–755
			G. 756–757
			G. 758
			G. 759–760
			G. 761–762
10r14–24 Ἰῆζε ῶνοῦ δὲ ἀρχίναο [ψῆῖ]	26		G. 185–189
10r24–10v5 Ἰῆζε Ἐλοχέστω [βα]τι	27		G. 190–192
10v5–14 Ἰῆζε βοῦ[ῖοῦ ἐκτῆσιν ἡδῆ] ἀνομοῦ δρυτῆ	28		G. 193–197
10v15–24 Ἰῆζε ἐπίς βεζначелнѡ	29		G. 198–202

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
11r5–19 Глѣщихъ, ꙗко ѣлин- стїи мѣдрѣци	30		192v8–18 Глѣщихїи ꙗко ѣлин- ци прѣмѣдрѣци	30	
11r20–11v9 Или нечистоѡ вѣроѡ	31		192v18–193r5 Иже съ вѣроѡ и чѣтїю	31	
11v10–20 Иже ѣлинскаа про- хѣдѣщихъ	32		193r6–12 Иже ѣлинскаа прохѣ- дѣщїи	32	
11v21–12r12 Иже съ инѣми лѣжисловесн(ы)ми	33		193r13–20 Иже съ иними и васними бледни	33	
12r13–12v13 Глѣщїи ꙗко нѣ послѣднее ѡбще вѣсѣренїе	34	P 12r17–19 are damaged.	193v1–13 Глѣщїи ꙗко вѣсѣ кончнѡ и ѡбщенїе	34	
12v14–13r13 Иже прїимають и прѣдають	35		193v13–194r4 Прїемлющїи и прѣ- дающїи	35	
		All three exclama- tions might have been located on the missing folios between the 18 th and 19 th ff. in the extant manuscript. See be- low for the restored text between § 59 and § 60.	194r4–6 Надченїѡ вивше ѡ инѡка нїла	36	See P 13v3–5 (§ 37) and D 195v18–19 (§ 44).
			194r6–9 Иже неправѣ стѣи надчитѣ	37	
			194r10–16 Прїемлющїи истин- наго бѣ гѣ	38	
		See P 18v7–21 (§ 59).	194r17–194v12 Помишлѣющїи и вѣщающїи. ѡво- женїа прїетїа.	39	Corresponds to P 18v7–21 (§ 59), whose beginning is lost.
		See P 19r5–20 (§ 60).	194v12–195r3 Глѣщїи ꙗко пѣ гѣна	40	Corresponds to P 19r5–20 (§ 60).

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek Synodikon
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
10v24–11r11 Глѹ[щій] ꙗко ѓлинеѣти прѣддѹрѣци	30		G. 203–208
11r11–20 Иже съ вѣрою чистою	31		G. 209–213
11r21–11v3 [Иже ѓл]ли[не]каа прохѹдещій	32		G. 214–218
11v4–13 Иже съ ѣными бѣсньными [владми]	33		G. 219–224
11v13–12r4 [Глѹщій ꙗко] въ коньчнѹ и ѡвѣщѣ	34		G. 225–233
12r5–20 [прѣѣмлющій и] прѣдѹюща	35		G. 234–242
12r20–22 Нлоуѣченнѹ бѣвшемя [ѡ ии] ѡка нѣла	36		G. 248–249
12r23–12v2 [Иже неправѣ еѣы]хъ оуѣчи- тель	37		G. 479–481
12v3–11 Прѣѣмлющій истиннаго бѣ [гѣ]	38		G. 482–487
12v11–13r5 П[омишлѣющій и ве]щяющій ѡ[воженїа прѣѣтїа]	39		G. 488–497
13r5–20 Глѹщій, ꙗко пѣль гѣна	40	Discrepancies with D. The text coincides with the Russian printed triodion.	G. 498–504

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
13r20–13v2 Сѣлагающій єтъкѣ [ѡцѣ] ꙗ глѡы	41	The order of the memories differs from the one in D.	G. 505–509
13v3–14r5 Непріѣмающій, истиннаг[о бѣ']	42	Minor textological differences with D.	G. 517–532
			G. 243–246
			G. 248–249
			Patriarch Cosmas 369.3–371.27
			Patriarch Cosmas 9
			Patriarch Cosmas 10
			Patriarch Cosmas 11
			Patriarch Cosmas 4
			Patriarch Cosmas 1
			Patriarch Cosmas 2
			Patriarch Cosmas 3

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
14v20–15r6 Глѣщені іако жена зачинаеть	46		196v14–19 Глѣщені іако жена зачінаѣ	53	
15r7–13 Иже крѣтителю іуанноу	47		196v19–197r3 Иже крѣтителю іаннѣ	54	
15r14–19 Иже въ црѣвахъ сѣенныхъ	48		197r4–7 Иже въ црѣвѣ сѣенныі	55	
15r20–15v3 Иже стѣжъ и сѣеннѣа слоужевѣ	49		197r7–10 Иже стѣю и сѣенноу сѣевѣ	56	
15v4–10 Иже причестіе чест- наго тѣла	50		197r11–14 Иже причестіе честна- го тѣла	57	
15v11–14 Иже ѡмѣтаютъ са покланѣніа	51		197r15–17 Иже ѡмѣтаютъ се покланѣніа	58	
15v15–19 Иже приѣмлатъ котораго	52		197r17–20 Иже пріѣмающіи Котораго	59	
15v20–16r3 Василіа врача	53		197r20–197v3 Василіа врача	60	
16r4–16v5 Иже не съ вѣсѣцѣ- мь благоговѣніемь	54		197v4–17 Иже не съ вѣсѣцѣ блѣговѣніѣ	61	
16v6–17r9 Вънесена и глава ѡ миѡхана	55		197v17–198r12 Вънесена и глава ѡ миѡхана	62	
17r10–17v5 Глѣщихъ іако іаже въ врѣмѣ миросѣеннѣ стѣти	56		198r12–198v2 Глѣющіи іако іаже въ врѣмѣ миросѣеніѣ стѣты	63	
17v6–16 Иже же по вѣсеіа приносимѣа жрът- вѣ	57		198v3–9 Иже же по вѣсеіа приносимѣю жрътвѣ	64	

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
			Patriarch Cosmas 4
			Patriarch Cosmas 5
			Patriarch Cosmas 6
			Patriarch Cosmas 7
			Patriarch Cosmas 8
			Patriarch Cosmas 12
			G. 395–403
			G. 424–434
			G. 435–443
			G. 444–448

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
17v17–18v6 Слышѣиѣхъ оубо спса	58		198v9–199r9 Слышѣиѣхъ ѡбо спа	65	
18v7–21 Иже лѣтнаа разсто- анїа	59	The end, correspond- ing to D 199r18–21, is missing.	199r9–21 Иже лѣтнаа разсто- анїа	66	
*Иже неправѣ стѣи наѡчитѣ		The text is restored according to D 194r6–9 (§ 37).			
*Прїемлющїи ис- тиннаго ба га и спа нашего		The text is restored according to D 194r10–16 (§ 38).			
*Помишлѣющїи и вѣщающїи. ѡвоженїа прїетїа 19r1–4 ...сега вѣвѡдѣщїи или мѣчтанїе		The beginning is restored according to D 194r17–194v9, the end in P 19r1–4 coincides with D 194v9–13 (§ 39).			
19r5–20 Глѣшнїи тако плѣтъ гнѣ	60	Coincides with D 194v12–195r3 (§ 40).			
19r21–19v9 ѡмѣтажнїихъ стѣиныхъ ѡцѣ гласы	61	Coincides with D 195r4–8 (§ 41).			
19v10–20v2 Непрїемлющїихъ истиннаго ба	62	Coincides with D 195r9–195v12 (§ 42).			
20v3–21v6 Бывшаго митропо- лита керкирскаго	63		199v1–20 Бывшаго митропо- лита керкирскаго	67	The end of the text is missing due to loss of folios. The next text coincides with P 24r12 sq.

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
			G. 449–462
			G. 463–471
			G. 479–481
			G. 482–487
			G. 488–497
			G. 498–504
			G. 505–509
			G. 517–532
14г6–10 [...и нечѣстивѣ ѿ бывшаго] [митро]лита керькіскаѧ,	43		G. 533–536
14г11–14у20 бывшемъ митро ^л итѣ кер ^к ѣ ^р скомъ,	44		G. 537–558

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
14v21–25 Въсѣ́ ѣдиномоудръстевѣющѣ то́моу кон'стандинѣ ѣже вльгартскоиѣ	45		G. 558–561
15r1–16 [нендоуче]наго [ль]жеи́но́ка свѣборнаа [гѣ]анна ирѣни́ка	46		G. 562–571
			G. 752
15r16–17 Шетáвше [се... съво]рице	47	See P 9v1–2 (§20).	G. 753
15r18–20 [Прием]лющѣ ѣже ѿ вжѣт'внаа писанїа	48	See P 9v3–6 (§21).	G. 754–755
15r21–22 Приѡбца́ющѣ се въ рáзслакъ,	49	See P 9v7–9 (§22).	G. 756–757
15r23–24 Глѡщѣ ꙗко во́гвоѡ хрѣтїане	50	See P 9v10–12 (§23).	G. 758
15r24–15v1 Глѡщѣ, ꙗк развѣ хд' ба нашего	51	See P 9v13–15 (§24).	G. 759–760
15v1–4 Др[ъзвзаяцихъ] глати съвѡр- нѣю црковъ	52	See P 9v16–20 (§25).	G. 761–762
15v5–7 ѣще кто хрѣтїанѡ ѡкорїтеи [он ереси съ]	53		G. 763–764
15v7–16r21 гла́с[...] Іѡсе́фа ѣже ѡ крїта еѣца	54	<i>Holy Mount Epistle</i> of 1344 (Ἁγιορειτικὸν γράμμα)	A. RIGO, <i>L'Assemblea gene- rale...</i> , p. 505, fig. 31–56.
16r22–16v19 гла́вы на а́кїи́дина ~ Варлаама и́ а́кїи́дина, и́ оу́ченикы	55	Cf. P 27r10–27v6 (§176).	G. 573–584

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
22r21–22v2 Снимана елѣхѣва прѣваго ѣретика	69				
22v3–7 Кочковрика маненда	70				
22v8–10 Македонїа и аполнарїа	71				
22v11–13 Несторїа злочети- ваго	72				
22v14–17 Дївскора алеѣандрїискаго	73				

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek Synodikon
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
16v20–25 Єще тѣ моудръствѣющіи и	56	No ending due to loss of folios.	G. 585–587
17r1–8 [Прѣреченнаго же В]арлаама	57	Memory to Andronicus III Palaeologus.	G. 687–691
17r9–24 [Всѣ]ль иже ѿ православіи	58		G. 714–732
17r25–18r7 Григоріѣ сѣкишемѣ митро- литѣ	59		G. 692–709
18r8–18 Исповѣдающіи єдино҃го бѣ тристѣстѣвна	60		G. 724–729
18r19–18v3 Исповѣдающіи бѣ . іакѡ по соуществу	61		G. 730–734
18v3–20 Исповѣдающіи [про]сїавни нейзрѣнно свѣтъ	62		G. 735–743
18v20–19r10 Слѣвещіи свѣт г҃на прѣвѣбра- женїа	63		G. 744–751
			G. 295.74–75
			G. 295.76–78
			G. 296.79–81
			G. 296.79–82

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
22v18–21 Орнгена безоумнаго	74				
23r1–7 Фѣѡра фаранскаго ѣпѣпа	75				
23r8–10 Павла самосадскаго.	76				
23r11–13 Александра ковача,	77				
23r14–16 Петра кападокїнскаго дѣдца	78				
23r17 Въса ѣретики, анаѣла:~	79	Compare P 22r14 (§ 66).			
23r18–23v1 Иже правѣ и благо- честивѣ невѣроу- щихъ	80				
23v2–4 Въсѣхъ творящихъ сѣна гдѣ	81				
23v5–7 Иже не исповѣдоуетъ	82				
23v8–10 Прилагающихъ къ бжтвоу	83				
23v11–13 Иже сѣна бжтѣ нет- лѣннѣхъ плѣтъ	84				
23v14–15 Иже дѣвѣхъ и бѣдѣхъ прѣстѣхъ женѣхъ	85				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
23v16–18 Неисповѣдоуѣщихъ въсѣдоушно	86				
23v19–24r1 Невѣроуѣщій хотѣшюмоу быти въскрсеіюу	87				
24r2–5 Въсѣхъ ѿже законоу бѣжюу	88				
24r6–9 ѿже ѿ каковы либо ѣрси	89				
24r10–12 Въсѣхъ приобшаж- щихъ (sic!) сѧ къ ѧрикрестѣи вѣрѣ	90				
24r13–15 Глѣщихъ іако не пріемлетъ бѣ	91		200r1–2 Глѣщій іако не пріемлѣ бѣ	68	
24r16–17 Наричащихъ миро- дръжца быти	92		200r2–3 Наричеши миродрѣца быти	69	
24r18–19 Неисповѣдоуѣщій сѧ бѣжѧ	93		200r4–6 Неисповѣдѣщій сѧ бѣжѧ	70	
24r20–24v2 Невѣроуѣщійхъ іѡанноу крѣлю	94		200r4–6 Невѣрѣщій іѡаннѣ крѣлю	71	
24v3–5 Непріемлѣщихъ сѣѣ причащеніе	95		200r7–8 Непріемлющій сѣѣ причѣщеніе	72	
24v6–10 Некланѣщихъ сѧ сѣѣхъ мошеѧ (sic!)	96		200r8–11 Некланѣщій сѣѣхъ мошеѧ	73	

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
24v11–14 Некланѣжцихъ сѧ ѡтноу ѡ жи- вотворѣшюу крѣстѣ	97		200r11–13 Некланѣжци сѧ ѡтноу ѡ жи- вотворѣшюу крѣстѣ	74	
24v15–19 Иже сѣты бжїѧ цркви	98		200r13–16 Иже сѣте бжїе цркви	75	
24v20–25r8 Иже сѣтинь црква- ль ѡпїамъ же	99		200r16–200v2 Иже сѣтїи црква ѡпїа же	76	
25r9–19 Въсѣль дръжци- нь православнѧ вѣрѧ	100		200v2–9 Въсѣ дръжциїи православнѡ вѣрѣ	77	
25r20–25v4 Иже каковѣль иво оуѡцрѣнїемъ	101		202v9–13 Иже каковѣмъ либо ѡцрѣнїемъ	78	
25v5–8 Иже влѡхвѡванїѡмъ	102		202v13–16 Иже влѡхвѡванїѡ	79	
25v9–14 Въсѣль волѣрѡмъ	103		202v16–19 Въсѣ волѣрѡ	80	
25v15–17 Въсѣхъ иже татѣмъ	104		202v20–21 Въсѣ иже татѣ	81	
25v18–19 Хсѣ повѣда. хсѣ црѣвѣтъ.	105		203r1–2 Хсѣ повѣда. хсѣ црѣвѣ.	82	

Table 1 (cont.)

BAR MS. SL. 307			Greek <i>Synodikon</i>
7	8	9	10
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rows:
19r14–18 Мнѡга лѣта црѣнь ~ гѣ	66	The exclamation is followed by instructions in red ink, missing in G.	G. 767
19r19–20 Мнѡга лѣта црѣнь. ~ гѣ ~ Бѣ да съхранѣи дръжавѣ ѡ хъ ~ бѣ црѣво ѡ да смѣритъ •	67		
19r21–22 възгласи' ~ Нѣныи црѣю, Зел- льныи нашѣцрѣ съхранѣи ~ гѣ.	68		

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
25v20–26r3 Кѡнстантїнѡ вели- колѡѡ и ѡтри	106		201r3–5 Кѡн'стантїнѡ ве ликолѡѡ црѡѡ и ѡтри	83	
26r4–26v9 Фѡдѡрїоу вели- колоу црю	107		201r6–16 Фѡдѡрїѡ великолѡѡ црю	84	
26v10–19 Плакїлѡ црѡци	108		201r16–20 црѡце грѡчьскїи. Плакїлѡ црѡци	85	
26v20– Фѡдѡрїа великаа и сѡта црѡца	109	The end of the <i>Synodikon</i> . The extant text coincides with D 201r20–201v1 (§ 86).	201r20–201v15 Фѡдѡрїа великаа и сѡта црѡца	86	
			201v16–19 начѡло вѡлгарскїи црѡѡ: Борѡсѡ прѡвѡмѡѡ	87	
			201v20–202r4 Сїлѡнѡѡ сѡѡ ѡрѡ. и петрѡѡ		
			202r4–5 Мѡрїи дрѡвнѡи црѡци вѡлгарскѡи		

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
			202r5–11 Кѣрилѣ философѣ	88	
			202r12–14 Мѣѡдїю братѣ его	89	
			202r14–17 Климентѣ оученикѣ	90	
			202r18–19 Іѡаннѣ аскѣнѣ црѣ вѣлѣгнѣю	91	
			202r20–202v2 Фѣѡрѣ нарѣннѡмѣ петрѣ	92	
28r1–29r4		The beginning of the story about the Synod of 1211, corresponding to D 202v3–14, is missing. P 28r1–8v21 coincides with D 202v14–203r20.	202v3–203r20 По сѣмѣ тако прѣк сестрѣ сестричицѣ	93	The end of the story about the Synod, corresponding to P 29r–32v, is missing.
29r4–16 И по сѣмѣ повелѣ	110				
29r16–29v2 Сѣ же вѣсѣ сѣтѣвѡришѣ сѣ					
29v2–7 И сѣ вѣсѣ добрѣ оурѡдивѣ					
29v8–17 Трѣклѣтаго вѡго- мила	111				
29v18–30r2 Вѣсѣмѣ архїерѣшѣмѣ. и ѣпѣпѡ	112				
30r3–30v2 Іѡаннѣ аскѣнѣ црѣ вѣлїкѣмѣ	113				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
30v3–14 Прѣсѣщенни въсе- ленскыи патрїархъ гѣрманъ					
30v15–17 Сѣмьшъ въсеосѣ- щенни па трїархъ. антїохїж					
30v17–19 Нїколае въсео сѣщенни патрїархъ					
30v20–31r3 Силь оубо въсеосѣ- щенниань патрїархшнь					
31r4–31v8 Самодръжавное црѣтво наше					
31v8–17 Гѣрману въселенї скому патрїарху	113				
31v18–32v3 Сїа же въспрїемь црѣ грѣчьскыи					
32v3–7 Сего ради оубо въ сѣнь православи въписахѣ					
32v7–10 Семоу іѡанну асѣню великому					
32v11–15 Калиману бл҃говѣр- ному црю.	114				
32v16–19 Алѣксандру севасто- кратору	115				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
32v20– Κωνσταντίνου βλγο- χρηστικου(ου)	116	The end of the glorification is missing, as are the glories to the next Bulgarian tsars partially preserved in D 203r20–203v19 (§ 94).			
			203r20–203v4 ... ἀ ἵζηε ποложив'- шомъ дшѣ своѣ	94	It seems to be the end of the glory to Constantine Asen (1258–1277).
			203v4–5 Гѣѡргіѡ тертеріѡ старомъ	95	
			203v6 Шшманъ блговѣр- номъ црѣ	96	
			203v7– Фѣѡрѣ свѣславѣ	97	
			203v8 Гѣѡргіѡ тертеріѡ блгохрестикомъ	98	
			203v9–10 Страцимирѣ деспотѣ.	99	
			203v10–11 Миханъ блгохрестикомъ	100	
			203v11–12 Іѡаннѣ стѣпанѣ	101	
			203v13–17 Симъ ѣво правовѣр- ни. ѡ блгохрестивѣи.	102	
			203v18–20 Слико по силѣ ѣдино нѣкоѣ	103	The end of the glorification is missing, as is the end of the <i>Synodikon</i> , in D.

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
34r1-5 Єленѣ новѣи благо- чєстивѣи	117				
34r6-12 Ѣнѣнѣ црци	118				
34r13-15 Марїи хрѣтолюбивѣи црци	119				
34r16-17 Євфросини блговер- нѣи црци	120				
34r18-34v2 Кєраци блгочєстивѣи дєспотици	121				
34v3-7 Фєодѡрѣ блгочєс- тивѣи црци	122				
34v8-17 Фєодѡрѣ блгочєс- тивѣи црци ... сж- щои ѿ рода єврєиска	123				
34v18-35r9 Кєра фамари	124				
35r10-11 Гжї дєсиславѣ и гжї василиси	125				
35r12-14 Кїра марїи	126				
32r15-19 Гжї дєсиславѣ матєри	127				
35r20-35v3 Кєраци. дѣщєри	128				
35v4-6 Дѡмцѣ. тѡца. Вели- каго їѡана	129				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
35v7 Зѡжъ лѡ-ѡетицѡ вѣнѡа еи памѣ:+	130	The lower half of the folio is empty.			
33r1–3 Мѡнахоу сѡвестрѡ.	131				
33r4–5 Мѡнахоу ѡѡѡсѡу.	132				
33r6 Протокелѡтиноу преданкоу	133				
33r7–9 Протокелѡтиноу прѣздѡкѡ	134				
33r10 Цамѡлакоу	135				
33r11–13 Вѡлікому боеѡдѡкѡ кѡнстантѡиноу.	136				
33r14–16 ...ѡѡтѡ вѡлікому дѡѡрѡмірѡ	137				
36r1–3 ѡрсѡніоу ѡрхѡпѡкоу	138				
36r4–5 ѡсѡифоу новоѡу исповѡдѡникоу	139				
36r6–8 Лѡѡнтѡу. дѡли- трѡу. сергѡу	140				
36r9–12 прѡѡсѡѡеннѡи па- трѡіарси трѡновоу					
36r10–12 ѡѡкіѡму прѡвоѡу	141				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
36r13–15 Василіюу. іуакимюу. ігнатіѡ.	142				
36r16–18 Макаріюу трѣбел- женномуу	143				
36r19–21 Іуакимюу. дорѡѡеюу.	144				
36v1–2 Іуанікіѡ	145				
36v3–4 Сѡмешноу	146				
36v5–6 Феодѡсеюу	147				
36v7–8 Іуанікіюу	148				
36v9–10 Сѡѡміѡ	149				
37r1–5 мітрополіте прѣслав- стїи:~	150				
37r19–20; 38r1 мітрополіте чрѣ- внѣстїи:~	151				
37v6–8 мітрополіте ло- вечѣстїи:~	152				
37v19–20 мітрополіте срѣ- дечѣстїи:~	153				
38r11–12 мітрополіте ѡвечѣстїи+	154				
38v1–3 мітрополіте дрѣстєр- стїи+	155				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
38v15–19 Ѧ Ѧже хѡцѣмь нѣнѣ полѣнѣжти	155				
38v20–39r1 Ѧнтѡнїѣ. данїилъ.	156				
39r2–3 Ѧнастѣсїѣ. ѣпифѣнїѣ. дими'трїѣ.	157				
39r4–5 Ѧѡаникїѣ. сергїѣ.	158				
39r6–7 Ѧакѡвъ. порфирїѣ. Ѧѡаникїѣ.	159				
39r8–10 Сѡва. ѡсѡдѡсїѣ. дими'трїѣ	160				
39r11–12 Кѡрилъ. дїѡнисїѣ.	161				
39r13–15 Стефанъ. климентъ. Ѧѡсифъ.	162				
39r16–17 Сѡмѡнъ митропо- литъ	163				
39r18–21 Василїѣ. мѣрко. никодимъ.	164				
39v1–4 Вѣскѣмь мїтро- полїтѡ Ѧ Ѧпкѡ	165				
39v5–9 Вѣскѣмь волѣрѡмъ малым	166				
39v10–15 Сѣмироу. ѡнчю. добрѡмироу.	167				

Palauzov's copy			Drinov's copy		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rubrics:	§	Notes:	Rubrics:	§	Notes:
39v16–21 Ѡрцѣ трoшанoу. рѠтeнoу.	168				
40r1–2 СтефанѠ новoсѣн- нолѠ	169				
40r3 ВѠлкашиноу крѠлю, вѠчнаа пѠ~	170				
40r4 Деспoтю оу҃глешоу,	171				
40r8–9 СтефанѠ мжлѠѠс- колѠ гѠподѠрѠ	172				
40r10–11 ѠѠ Петроу мѠдѠѠ- колѠ гѠподѠрѠ	173				
40r12–13 Ѡ гѠѠжа Ѡ елѠнаѠ	174				
27r1–8 ВѠсѠ иже дѠмѠ хрѠстѠанскѠж	175				
27r10–27v6 ѠкинѠина варлаама.	176				
27v7–20 ФoудоуѠѠ. и оу҃чи- телѠ ѠгѠ	177				

Description: Columns 1, 4, 7 contain the incipits of the rubrics in Palauzov's (P), Drinov's (D) and Romanian (R) versions, taking into account the real segmentation according to the initial and red letters. The new edition of the *Synodikon* of tsar Boril as well as the edition of the Palaeologan *Synodikon* reflect the same segmentation. Columns 2 and 5 show the paragraphs in the edition by Popruženko (M.Г. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Синодикъ царя Борила...*), while column 8 shows the paragraphs in R, thus linking the new editions with the edition by Popruženko.

Bibliography

Sources

- ANNE COMNÈNE, *Alexiade*, vol. III, ed. B. LEIB, Paris 1945, ²1967.
- BOŽILOV I., TOTOMANOVA A., BILJARSKI I., *Borilov sinodik. Izdanie i prevod*, Sofija 2010.
- GOUILLARD J., *Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie: édition et commentaire*, "Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines" 2, 1967, p. 1–316.
- MOŠIN V.A., *Serbskaja redakcija sinodika v nedelju pravoslavija. Teksty*, "Византийский временник" / "Vizantijskij vremennik" 17, 1960, p. 278–353.
- Synodicum Bulgaricum 1211*, ed. A. TOTOMANOVA, [in:] *The Great Councils of the Orthodox Churches. From Constantinople 861 to Moscow 2000*, ed. A. MELLONI, vol. I, Turnhout 2016 [= CC.COGD 4.1], p. 426–468.

Secondary Literature

- BILJARSKI I., *Paleologovijat sinodik v slavjanski prevod*, Sofija 2013.
- BILJARSKI I., CIBRANSKA-KOSTOVA M., *Za edin kompoziten tip i za Paleologovija wariant na slavjanskija Sinodik v Nedeljata na pravoslavieto*, "Palaeobulgarica" 36.1, 2012, p. 51–65.
- BOŽILOV I., *Vizantijskijat svjat*, Sofija 2008.
- GOUILLARD J., *Une source grecque du Synodik de Boril: la lettre du patriarche Cosmas*, "Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines" 4, 1970, p. 361–374.
- MINCZEW G., *Borilovijat sinodik 800 godini po-käsno*, "Palaeobulgarica" 35.2, 2011, p. 68–84.
- MOŠIN V.A., *Serbskaja redakcija sinodika v nedelju pravoslavija. Analiz tekstov*, "Византийский временник" / "Vizantijskij vremennik" 16, 1959, p. 317–394.
- POPURŽENKO M.G., *Sinodik carja Borila*, "Български старини" / "Bälgarski starini" 8, 1928.
- RIGO A., *L'Assemblea generale atonita del 1344 su un gruppo di monaci bogomili* (ms. Vat.Gr. 604 ff. 11r–12v), "Cristianesimo nella Storia. Ricerche storiche, esegetiche, teologiche" 5, 1984, p. 475–506.
- RIGO A., *Monaci esicasti e monaci bogomili. Le accuse di messalianismo e bogomilismo rivolte agli isicasit ed il problema dei rapporti tra esicasmo e bogomislismo*, Firenze 1989 [= OV 2].
- СТЕФАНОВ Р., *Nov pogled kām unijata meždu Bälgarskata i Rimskata cārka prez XIII v.*, "Преславска книжовна школа" / "Preslavska knižovna škola" 5, 2001, p. 343–352.
- TOTOMANOVA A., *Ezikāt na XIV v. i sāvstāvāt na Palauzovija sbornik*, "Palaeobulgarica" 36.1, 2012, p. 24–37.
- TOTOMANOVA A., *Sinodik carja Borila v sbornike Palauzova (NBKM № 289)*, [in:] *XXI ežegodnaja bogoslovskaja konferencija. Cerkovno-istoričeskie issledovanija v kontekste sovremennoj nauki*, Moskva 2011, p. 165–171.
- TOTOMANOVA A., *Za edna paronomazija v Borilovija sinodik*, [in:] *Slovesa prečjud'naja. Jubileen sbornik v čest na prof. Ivan Bujukliev*, ed. A. TOTOMANOVA, R. VLAHOVA-RUKOVA, Sofija 2012, p. 36–43.

Abstract. The paper compares the content and the structure of the three extant South Slavonic *Synodika*: *Boril's Synodikon* as preserved in the so-called Palauzov copy of the 14th century (HBKM № 289); Drinov's *Synodikon* (HBKM № 432), previously considered to be a 16th century copy of *Boril's Synodikon*, and the recently published South Slavonic *Synodikon* from the 16th century, kept in the library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (BAR MS. SL. 307). The comparison is supported by a table showing the rubrics and their order in the three *Synodika*. It demonstrates that while *Boril's Synodikon* is based on a translation of Comnenian version of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, and while the *South Slavonic Synodikon* from Romania must be unequivocally attributed to the later Palaeologan version of the Greek text, the so-called Drinov copy represents a compilation of *Boril's Synodikon* in its 14th version and the Palaeologan *Synodikon*. In fact, Drinov's *Synodikon* contains all of the important interpolations and insertions of *Boril's Synodikon* related to specifically Bulgarian circumstances and history, ranging from anti-Bogomilist anathemas to a list of Bulgarian rulers (comprising two historical accounts as well). Its initial part, however, follows the Palaeologan text preserved in BAR MS. SL. The unknown compiler obviously targeted a Bulgarian audience; in all likelihood, he was Bulgarian himself. Some textological features common to both Drinov's and Palaeologan *Synodikon* suggest that the translated part of Drinov's *Synodikon* and the Romanian *Synodikon* must have had a common antigraph. The latter fact allows us to conclude that the translation of the Palaeologan version of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* is an integral part of the tradition of the Bulgarian *Synodikon*; the presumed common antigraph was written in Bulgarian Tărnovo orthography, traces of which are found in Drinov's text. As to the location of this translation, we can only speculate that it might have been completed in a monastic centre different than Tărnovo by the end of the 14th century.

Keywords: *Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, Palaeologan and Comnenian versions of the *Synodikon*, Bulgarian translations and versions of the *Synodikon*.

Anna-Maria Totomanova

St. Clement of Ohrid University of Sofia
15 Tsar Osvooboditel blvd.
1000 Sofia, Bulgaria
atotomanova@abv.bg