

## An Unknown Copy of the Description of Jerusalem by Constantine of Kostenec

Maya PETROVA (Sofia / Budapest)

I have mustered the courage to return to the problem of the descriptions of Jerusalem in medieval South Slavic literatures, which has been so thoroughly investigated in the last few years,<sup>1</sup> after a fortunate discovery in the National Library of Serbia in September 1996:<sup>2</sup> an account on the holy places around Jerusalem heretofore totally unknown in its beginning portion. This particular text, which proved to be a fully preserved copy of the *Description of Jerusalem* translated by Constantine of Kostenec, has not until now attracted scholarly attention. It is incorporated into *MS 49*, dating from 1556,<sup>3</sup> which originally belonged to the library of the Nikoljac Monastery close to Bijelo Polje, Montenegro. The codex is a miscellany containing various sermons, epistles, the questions of Nicodemus of Tismana to Patriarch Euthymius of Târnovo, a number of works the translation of which is attributed to Constantine of Kostenec, and other texts.

The miscellany itself is rather well known. It was first mentioned in the 1930s by scholars such as Dj. KISELINOVIĆ<sup>4</sup> and D. ANASTASIJEVIĆ.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript was described by Vladimir MOŠIN<sup>6</sup> and, analytically, by Vladimir ĆOROVIĆ,<sup>7</sup> who had the opportunity to

<sup>1</sup> To mention only some recent titles: Svetla GJUROVA, *Поклонничество и поклонническа литература*, Sofia: ВРЪМА 1996; eadem, *Словото за светите места в Бдинския сборник. Текстологичен анализ*, Старобългарска литература 22 (1990) 64-89; G. PODSKALSKY, *Die Jerusalemwallfahrt in der bulgarischen und serbischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ByzSlav 56, 3 (1996) 679-86; Klaus-Dieter SEEMANN, *Die Palästina-Beschreibung des Konstantin von Kostenec im Kreise der griechischen Pilgerführer*, in: Търновска книжовна школа, vol. 5: Паметници, поетика, историография, ed. G. Dančev, Veliko Târnovo: Университетско издателство Св. Св. Кирил и Методий 1994, pp. 121-33; T. JOVANOVIĆ, *Лаврентиев путопис*, Књижевна историја 26 (1994) 95-108; id., *Путопис Јеромеја Рачанина*, Браничево 40 (1994) 62-99; Dj. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Азбучник српских средњовековних књижевних појмова*, Beograd: Нолит 1990, s. v. "Путописи."

<sup>2</sup> I am very grateful to Tomislav JOVANOVIĆ for letting me publish this text and to Anissava MILTENOVA, Henrik BIRNBAUM and Ralph CLEMINSON for their numerous valuable comments in the course of preparing this article. The first draft of this paper was initially written for, and presented at, the international conference "St John of Rila and the Monastic Culture in Medieval Europe," Sofia, October 19th-21st, 1996.

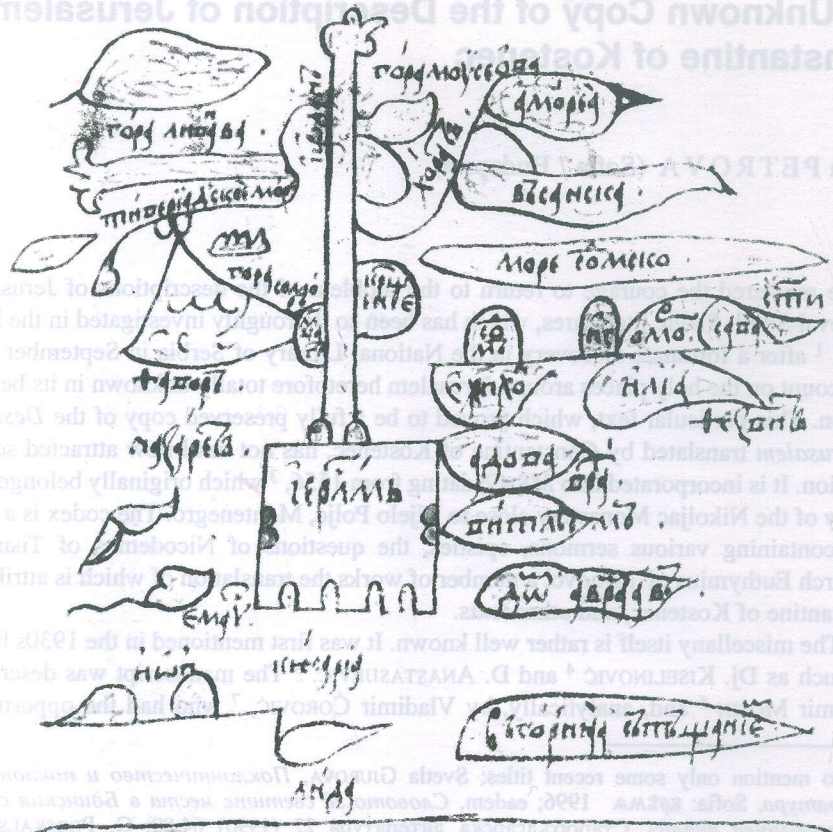
<sup>3</sup> The exact year when the collection was compiled is mentioned on f. 310r: НИНА ЖЕ ТЕКОУЩЕЕ ЛѢТО ЗЪД: On the water marks of the manuscript, see R. STANKOVIĆ, *Датирање и Водени знаци рукописних књига манастира Никољца*, Археографски прилози 16 (1994) 179-81.

<sup>4</sup> Dj. KISELINOVIĆ, *Стара школа у Бијелом пољу*, in: Извешај државне реалне гимназије у Бијелом Пољу за 1929-1930 г., Bijelo Polje 1930, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> D. ANASTASIJEVIĆ, *Споменици из старих цркава у Санџаку неиздани или с погрешкама издани*, Богословље 6, 1 (1931) 65.

<sup>6</sup> V. MOŠIN, *Ђирилски рукописи у манастиру Никољцу код Бијелог Поља*, Историјски записи 18, 4 (1961) 697.

<sup>7</sup> V. ĆOROVIĆ, *Прилози за нашу стару књижевност и хисторију. Рукописи у Никољцу код Бијелог Поља*, Зборник за историју Јужне Србије и суседних области 1 (1936) 86-90.



Σεφε Κόσταντίνου Σεμερε  
Σεικίμτροις ὑπενεχόμε, πτότιν πορμεντομίσι ἀν  
ἵπτοαν ἄμιο ἀνελῶ. Ἀφμερπτο ἵπτορμα ἵπ  
ζῆρο. πτότινοβελνισσ σπῆρ μῆσπῆρ ὄον  
ρῆρῆχδ. ἀφμερπτοί Σικαί σπῆρδνῆι ἵε  
ροσολημῶ ἰοῖ ἵπτοπῆρ  
ἵπτορπτο βελνισσ ἵπτορμῶ σπῆρ πτόμυ γε φενμῆρῆι δο  
βελνισσῆι ἵπτορπτο ἵπτορμῶρῆι. ἁ, σπῆρπῆρ ἵπτορ  
μῆρῆι. ἵπτορπτο φῆρ δο ἵπτορπτο πῆρπτορ. ὦ, πῆρῆι  
ἵπτορπτο φῆρ δο δορμῆρ ἁβῆρ. ὦ. ἁῶμῆρῆρ ἁβῆρ σῆρ ἡ.







work with it *de visu*. Later, Bonju ANGELOV reproduced ĆOROVIĆ's description and, on the basis of a microfilm containing photos of some of the folios, identified the miscellany's compiler or copyist as the famous sixteenth-century man of letters Visarion of Debăr.<sup>8</sup> Thus, this manuscript became known among Slavists as the Bjelopoljski, the Nikoljski (Nikoljački), or Visarion's Sbornik. Separate parts of it have been published by Stojan NOVAKOVIĆ,<sup>9</sup> Relja NOVAKOVIĆ,<sup>10</sup> Bonju ANGELOV,<sup>11</sup> and Djordje TRIFUNOVIĆ.<sup>12</sup>

The identification of the description of Jerusalem becomes possible when one considers the surrounding texts in the miscellany. The description of Jerusalem can be found on ff. 306v-308v.<sup>13</sup> The page preceding it was left blank, thus visually separating the account from the texts immediately before. The description starts from the middle of f. 306v, its upper part being occupied by a large illustration - a sketchy map of the holy places around Jerusalem. There is no title. Its function, however, is fulfilled by an explanatory sentence which is attached to the map and is written in somewhat larger letters: СѢ НЕ МѢРОУ СЪПИСАХОМЪ, ТЪЧЮ ПО РАСЪЖЕНІЮ ДНѢ. И ПО ВІДѢНІЮ ДНѢМЪ. ДА АЩЕ ЧТО И ЗАВѢРНО ІЕ НѢ ЧЮДНО. ТЪЧЮ БО ВѢЛИКА СТАА МѢСТА ВОБРАЗИХЪ. ДА ВѢСТЪ СѢ СЪ КОЕ СТРАНЫ ІЕРОСАЛИМЪ КОЕ МѢСТУ.

The description is followed by numerous short texts discussing problems of natural history. These are the well-known *Fragments of Medieval Cosmography and Geography*, some of which Bonju ANGELOV published and which he suggested to have been a part of a large compilation of translations undertaken by Constantine of Kostenec. The main argument ANGELOV put forward to sustain his hypothesis was that these pieces on natural history were very often placed in the immediate surroundings of Constantine's original writings and that parts of the fragments were directly quoted in Constantine's *Skazanie o pismenech* and in the *Life of Stefan Lazarević*.<sup>14</sup> According to ANGELOV, from this hypothetical original compi-

<sup>8</sup> V. ANGELOV, *Из старата българска, руска и сръбска литература*, vol. 2, Sofia: Издателство на БАН 1967, pp. 162-88; *ibid.*, vol. 3, Sofia: Издателство на БАН 1978, pp. 232-38. In a recent article Svetlina NIKOLOVA, reexamining the photos contained in Bonju ANGELOV's archive, argues that *MS Nikoljac 49* was not written by Visarion of Debăr. Cf. Svetlina NIKOLOVA, *Ръкописите на Висарион Дебърски и текстовата традиция на Стария завет*, in: *Българският шестнадесети век: сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XVI век*, Sofia, 17-20. X. 1994, ed. Borjana CHRISTOVA, Sofia: Издателство на Народната библиотека "Св. Св. Кирил и Методий" 1997, pp. 364, 387-88. On the literary production of Visarion of Debăr see also: Borjana CHRISTOVA, *Западнобългарски книжовници от XVI век*, in: *Българският шестнадесети век...*, 341-50; G. РЕТКОВ, *Четири преписа на стихия пролог от XVI век в ръкописи на Висарион Дебърски*, *ibid.*, pp. 351-62; P. РЕТКОВ, *Огласителните поучения на св. Кирил Ерусалимски в преписа на Висарион Дебърски*, *ibid.*, pp. 403-26; Elena UZUNOVA, *Характеристика на някои палеографски и правописно-езикови особености в скрипторските бележки на Висарион Дебърски*, *ibid.*, pp. 443-57.

<sup>9</sup> S. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Odlomci srednjevjekovne kosmografije i geografije*, *Starine* 16 (1884) 41-56.

<sup>10</sup> R. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Николски летопис*, *Зборник Филозофског факултета* 3 (1955) 155-71.

<sup>11</sup> V. ANGELOV, *Из старата българска...*, vol. 2, pp. 172-85; *id.*, *Стари славянски текстове*, *Известия на Института за българска литература* 8 (1959) 263-74.

<sup>12</sup> Dj. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Тумачење 'Песме над песама' од Теодорита Кирског у преводу Константина Философа*, *Зборник за славистику* 2 (1971) 86-105.

<sup>13</sup> The existence of the description of Jerusalem in this collection is listed in both ĆOROVIĆ's description and the catalogue of the Cyrillic manuscripts in Yugoslavia compiled by D. BOGDANOVIĆ: V. ĆOROVIĆ, *Прилози за нашу стару књижевност...*, 89: „Од л. 313г почињу хронолошка обавештења, затим астрономска и општа географска, с једним нашим описом Јерусалима;” D. BOGDANOVIĆ, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији, 11-17в.*, Beograd: САНУ 1982, p. 35, № 302.

<sup>14</sup> V. ANGELOV, *Из старата българска...*, vol. 2, pp. 162-88. ANGELOV's hypothesis is accepted in

lation different excerpts were later taken out which entered the also well-known Bogišić's,<sup>15</sup> Drinov's,<sup>16</sup> and Lovčanski Sbornici.<sup>17</sup> The Greek counterparts of most of these texts have been identified: twenty-six were written by Michael Psellos (1018-1081?), four were taken from Basil the Great's homilies on the *Hexaemeron*, while the rest, around fifteen, have close or fairly close parallels in various unpublished Greek manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> But since until now no Greek manuscript has been discovered containing all the Byzantine sources used by the translator of the Slavic fragments, Ivan DUJČEV has suggested that most probably their selection and arrangement were made in the course of the compilation of the Slavic miscellany.<sup>19</sup> In *MS Nikoljac 49* the *Fragments* are followed by another of Constantine's translations, the *Interpretation of the Song of Songs* by Theodoret of Cyrillus,<sup>20</sup> and by a Serbian chronicle also believed to have been composed by Constantine.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, seen in its context of *MS Nikoljac 49*, that is, preceding a long list of Constantine's translations, the description of Jerusalem becomes easy to identify. It is obvious that this is the complete text of the itinerary of the Holy City which was for a long time considered lost and which belongs to the literary legacy of Constantine of Kostenec. This work of his was, until now, known in a single copy, actually a fragment containing only the end of the text,<sup>22</sup> in the now lost Lovčanski Sbornik. As Constantine himself admitted, he

the last edition of the *Fragments* in modern Bulgarian, cf. Anisava MILTENOVA, *Константин Костенечки: 'Отломки от средновековна космография и география'*, 401-7. The edition of Constantine's collected works prepared by KUEV and PETKOV, however, does not mention them as a part of the literary heritage of Constantine of Kostenec. Cf.: K. KUEV - G. PETKOV, *Събрани произведения на Константин Костенечки. Изследване и текст*, Sofia: БАН 1986.

<sup>15</sup> MS 19c dating from 1567, now in Valtazar Bogišić's Collection, Cavtat. Cf. D. BOGDANOVIĆ, *Инвентар ћирилских рукописа у Југославији, 11-17 в.*, Beograd: САНУ 1982, 106, № 1523. See also the literature quoted there.

<sup>16</sup> MS 432 (634), National Library, Sofia. Description in: B. CONEV, *Опис на ръкописите и старопечатните книги в Софийската Народна библиотека*, vol. 1, Sofia: Държавна печатница 1910, pp.438-42.

<sup>17</sup> Description in: G. IVANOV, *Исторически известия и предания из Ловешко*, *Известия на историческото дружество* 4 (1915) 214-17. Cf. as well: B. ANGELOV, *Из старата българска...*, vol. 2, pp. 162-86.

<sup>18</sup> C. GIANNELLI, *Di alcune versioni e rielaborazioni serbe delle 'Solutiones breves quaestionum naturalium' attribuite a Michele Pselo*, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1939) 445-468, esp. 463nn.; I. DUJČEV, *За научната мисъл в средновековна България*, *Археология* 5, 2 (1963) 10-15; Anisava MILTENOVA, *Константин Костенечки: 'Отломки от средновековна космография и география'*, in: Anisava MILTENOVA, ed., *Стара българска литература*, vol. 5: *Естествознание*, Sofia: Български писател 1992, pp. 401-7; Svetana ČOLOVA, *Естественонаучните знания в средновековна България*, Sofia: БАН 1988, pp. 30-33.

<sup>19</sup> I. DUJČEV, *За научната мисъл...*

<sup>20</sup> Dj. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Тумачење 'Песме над песама'...*

<sup>21</sup> S. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Članci hronografa trojadika o srbima i bugarima*, *Starine* 10 (1878) 52-60; Sp. RAĐOJIĆ, *Константин Филозоф и стари српски родослови*, *Зборник за славистику* 10 (1951) 57-61; Lj. STOJANOVIĆ, *Стари српски родослови и летописи*, *Sremski Karlovci: Српска Краљевска Академија* 1927, p. 11; B. ANGELOV, *Из старата българска...*, vol. 2, pp. 185-88.

<sup>22</sup> The fragment has been published several times, both in Old Slavonic and in modern Bulgarian: Ј. TRIFONOV, *Живот и дейност на Константин Костенечки*, *Списание на Българската Академија на Науките* 66 (1943) 288-90; I. DUJČEV - С. KRISTANOV, *Естествознанието в средновековна България*, Sofia: БАН 1954, pp. 256-57; B. ANGELOV, *Из старата българска...*, vol. 2, pp. 194-196; K. KUJEV, *Konstantyn Kostenecki w literaturze bułgarskiej i serbskiej*, in: *Biblioteka Studium Słowiańskiego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Seria A*, 5, Kraków 1980, pp. 115-

had visited the Holy City and was acquainted with its topography. At the end of the Lovčanski Sbornik fragment, the copyist added a note explicitly stating that this description of Jerusalem is excerpted from Constantine's book: сѣ же мѣ ѿ книги Константина философа, такоже рече сѣ, прѣписана обрътше здѣ положихѣ.

The attribution of the description in *MS Nikoljac 49* to Constantine of Kosteneč is further supported by the correspondence of its end to the fragment of the Lovčanski Sbornik. Only small deviations can be observed in the spelling of the proper names or in the figures indicating the distances between different places of interest. Further, in most of the cases these differences are evidently due to scribal errors (thus, for example, when used as numbers и when used as numbers и is sometimes interchanged with н and at several places other letters are omitted).

All the scholars who have dealt with the description are unanimous that most likely Constantine was not its author and had only translated the text from a now lost Greek original.<sup>23</sup> This hypothesis was initially suggested by Jurdan TRIFONOV, who had first published the text of the Lovčanski Sbornik,<sup>24</sup> and was further developed by DUJČEV.<sup>25</sup> In later scholarship this opinion became widely accepted, and was quoted in all the commentaries to the numerous reprints of the Lovčanski Sbornik fragment in Middle Bulgarian or in modern Bulgarian translations.<sup>26</sup>

Here, while providing the full text of Constantine's description of Jerusalem, I will not dwell at length upon all the places of interest enumerated in it. Constantine's text follows an already established tradition: although textologically independent from the rest of South Slavic descriptions, most of the tourist sites which are mentioned in it are known from other contemporary sources, such as the Bđinski Sbornik,<sup>27</sup> the Gorički Sbornik,<sup>28</sup> and the description by Arsenij of Thessalonika.<sup>29</sup> The discovery of the entire text of the description, however, demands the reopening of some previously disputed questions, as well as posing some new ones. On the basis of the text in *MS Nikoljac 49*, I will draw attention to some passages which reveal that Constantine's account is more of a compilation, or, as I would rather call it, a translation with commentary. I will also try to prove that the comments were inserted because of the specific aim of the text.

16; K. KUEV - G. PETHKOV, *Събрани произведения...*, pp. 524-26; *Стара българска литература*, vol.5: *Естествознание...*, p. 162.

<sup>23</sup> I. DUJČEV, *Географски описания в средновековната българска книжнина. Към историята на българската наука*, in: S. GANOVSKI - T. BEROV, eds., *Сборник в чест на академик Никола В. Михов по случай осемдесетгодишнината му*, Sofia: БАН 1959, p. 167; id., *За книжовното творчество на Константин Костенечки*, *Известия на института за българска литература* (1954) 231. In a recent article Klaus-Dieter SEEMANN stated the same opinion, cf.: Klaus-Dieter SEEMANN, *Die Palästina-Beschreibung...*

<sup>24</sup> Ју. TRIFONOV, *Живот и дейност ...*

<sup>25</sup> I. DUJČEV, *Географски описания ...*, 167; id., *За книжовното творчество...*, 231.

<sup>26</sup> See footnote 23 above.

<sup>27</sup> I. DUJČEV, ed., *Bđinski Zbornik. Ghent Slavonic Ms 408, A. D. 1360*, London: Variorum Reprints 1972, facsimile edition; J. SCHARPÉ - F. VYNCKE, eds., *Bđinski Zbornik. An Old-Slavonic Menologium of Women Saints, A. D. 1360*, Bruges: De Tempel 1973, with an introduction by E. VOORDECKERS.

<sup>28</sup> MS 446 SANU, Belgrade, cf. D. BOGDANOVIĆ, *Инвентар...*, 34, № 282. About the description of Jerusalem, see: Dj. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Две посланице Јелене Балиић и Никонова 'Повест о Јерусалимским црквама и пустињским местима'*, *Књижевна историја* 5, 18 (1972) 289-313.

<sup>29</sup> Valentina ADRIANOVA, *Хождение Арсения Селунского*, *Известия Отделения Русского Языка и Словестности* 18, 3 (1913) 195-224.



As already mentioned, Constantine's description of Jerusalem belongs to the genre of itineraries, that is, very short, dry enumerations of noteworthy places or objects usually associated with the Christian religion in which important things that ought to be seen on the way were often alluded to as well. In most cases, these compilations do not have a narrative character, since naming the places was enough to remind the reader or listener of the famous, most often Biblical, stories and events attached to them. Thus, these works functioned in a way very similar to that of modern travel guides. As Ivan DUJČEV has pointed out, speaking about the fragment in the Lovčanski Sbornik, "the text obviously belongs to the type of the well-known *proskynetaria* for pilgrims to Palestine, for it gives only data about the sites of interest associated with the Old and New Testament. The compiler of the itinerary is satisfied to mention only a few famous localities and settlements, adding information about the distance, measured in steps".<sup>30</sup> Klaus-Dieter SEEMANN also observed that the Lovčanski Sbornik fragment fits well into the criteria for guidebooks for pilgrims (*Pilgerführer*), namely: impersonality of the description (that is, catalogisation of the holy places), anonymity, lack of specific route of the journey, and limited range of the text.<sup>31</sup> The full text of Constantine's account in *MS Nikoljac* 49 suggests, however, that, unlike the Greek original from which it had been translated, the Slavonic version on the whole served quite a different purpose. To my mind, it was not translated and copied as a practical manual for people intending to visit the Holy Land, but, on the contrary, in order to help those who were never to see it to imagine the places where the Biblical events had taken place.

The low number of extant South Slavic descriptions of Jerusalem, as well as the scant evidence of pilgrims who visited Palestine, suggest a picture very different from what the Western material reveals. In the West, where during the Later Middle Ages the practice of peregrination to the Holy Land is attested by hundreds of accounts, writing and copying of guidebooks for pilgrims was a part of a well-developed system. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Western pilgrims to the holy places were received, accommodated, and instructed by the Franciscans. For the visitors the friars arranged excursions in the course of which the guide addressed his audience, if possible, in their mother tongue. Individual trips were not welcome. Some of the pilgrims, as they admit in their accounts, even obtained permission to copy the books which the Franciscans themselves had used to prepare their lectures. Others complained in their writings that the guides did not show them all the tourist sites and frequently omitted places of interest mentioned in the lists.<sup>32</sup>

By contrast, the scarcity of the preserved Slavic and Greek material (with the single exception of that from medieval Russia) testifies to the fact that in the Orthodox world such a system never existed. In the East the sacred journey to Jerusalem never became a religious ritual of major importance.<sup>33</sup> By the same token, none of the known authors of the South Slavic descriptions of Jerusalem went to Palestine as pilgrims: Arsenij of Thessalonika confesses that he has been living in Jerusalem for seventeen years,<sup>34</sup> Nikon of Jerusalem, who

<sup>30</sup> I. DUJČEV, *Географски описанија...*, 167.

<sup>31</sup> Klaus-Dieter SEEMANN, *Die Palästina-Beschreibung ...*, 125.

<sup>32</sup> Josephie BREFELD, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism*, Hilversum: Hilversum Verloren 1994.

<sup>33</sup> This difference is discussed at length by Svetla GJUROVA, *Поклонничество и поклонническа литература*, 28-34.

<sup>34</sup> се назъ рабъ ѿжи арсени, смиреннѣи дѣбаконъ селѣна града, бѣлъ есмь въ іерлимѣ. ѿ. лѣт, ... Cf.: Valentina ADRIANOVA, *Хождение Арсения Селунского...*

was most probably Greek, spent a long time in the Serbian Monastery of the Holy Archangels there,<sup>35</sup> and Constantine of Kostenec himself pointed out that he was sent to the Holy Land by Stefan Lazarević in order to study.<sup>36</sup> In this light it is more likely that these authors designed their descriptions of Jerusalem not having in mind co-travellers, but rather their fellow countrymen back home.

Such a conclusion can also be supported by the character of the manuscripts in which these descriptions appear and which are almost without exception monastic miscellanies. Among them, only the Bdinski Sbornik's purpose is not clear since its colophon does not give explicit information on this point. It is, however, quite possible that it was not intended for Tsaritsa Anna's personal library, but for a donation to a convent of nuns somewhere in the region of Bdin.<sup>37</sup> The best known Greek parallel to the Bulgarian anthology in this respect is the so-called *Meterikon* of Abba Isaiah, being both an imperial commission and containing apophthegms and stories about women saints: it was compiled for the nun Theodora, a daughter of Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185-95, 1204-05), so that she could choose the saint she liked the most and try to imitate her until the end of her own life.<sup>38</sup> The phrase "БЛ҃ВИ ОЧЕ" in the title of the Bdinski Sbornik's СЛОВО ѿ МѢСТЪ СТЬІ ІАЖЕ ВЪ ІЕРУСАЛМЪ also suggests that the text was read aloud in front of an audience. With respect to its purpose, the Gorički Sbornik of Elena Balšić, which she presented to the Gorica Monastery in Montenegro founded by her, may be considered another counterpart to the Bdinski Sbornik in the South Slavic tradition. The description of Jerusalem which the Gorički Sbornik contains was especially written for this Serbian lady who had never visited the holy places herself.

The aim of Constantine's description of Jerusalem for people who were not acquainted with the Holy City can be traced in his text as well: only in this way can one explain some interpolations in the text which are, most likely, due to Constantine himself. It seems that in order to make his description clearer and to help his readers to imagine the objects and places alluded to, he included comparisons understandable to them. Thus, for example, after

<sup>35</sup> Dj. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Две посланице...*, 297

<sup>36</sup> ... оучению посылает ме и еже вшыше мнѣ къ стомуоу грау цра великааго Јеросалимоу шъствѣю спъваает... Cf.: K. KUEV - G. PETKOV, *Събрани произведения...*, 388.

<sup>37</sup> This supposition can be corroborated by the fact that all the extant Greek parallels of women saints' collections were created to be used in nunneries. See on this problem: I. HAUSHERR, *La Météricon de l'abbé Isaïe*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 12 (1946) 286-301; A. EHRHARD, *Textsammlungen für Feste weiblicher Heiliger*, in: A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Berlin - Leipzig: Akademie - Verlag 1952, pp. 906-15; Maja PETROVA, *A Picture of Female Religious Experience: Late-Byzantine Anthologies of Women Saints*, in: *Kobieta w kulturze średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. A. Gąsiorowski et al., Poznań 1995, pp. 195-200.

<sup>38</sup> I. HAUSHERR, *La Météricon de l'abbé Isaïe*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 12 (1946) 286-301; J. GUILLARD, *Une compilation spirituelle du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le livre II de l'abbé Isaïe*, *Échos d'Orient. Revue trimestrielle d'histoire de géographie et de liturgie orientale* 38 (1939) 72-90; *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, vol. 7, Paris: Beauchesne 1971, s.v. "Isaïe", by D. STIERNON; H. G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1959, pp. 645-46. The text of this compilation is available in its Russian translation undertaken by Bishop Theophan in the fifties of the nineteenth century (first published in several consecutive issues of the magazine *Воскресное чтение* during 1853-59) from a copy of Abba Isaiah's book (Cod. Gr. No 243), now in the State Public Library "M. E. Saltykov-Ščedrin" in Saint-Petersburg. Cf.: *Митерикон собрание наставлений всечестной инокине Феодоре*, Москва: Издательство Спасо-Преображенского Варлаамского монастыря 1995.

the mention of the place where Elijah the Prophet, after a long run, rested under a juniper tree and saw an angel in his dream (3/1 Kings, 19:4),<sup>39</sup> the text in *MS Nikoljac 49* reads that the juniper itself is more similar to a morellotree, and its fruits to cornel-cherries: ..... идѣже почитъ илїа вѣгаѣ по смрѣчиємъ ... .. смрѣчїе побно ѣ вишнѣи вѣщѣше же. плѡм же дрѣнїа. And if it is not possible to state for sure that Constantine was responsible for this particular comment (it may well have belonged to his Greek original), another sentence - describing the Jordan river - is an obvious interpolation and leaves no place for hesitation as to its authorship: ѿрданъ съ вѣстокъ тѣчетъ. и побитъ се малѡ стрѣмѣ. перїнь гѡра на нїей же прѣстави се мѡусїи. петръчь ерїхѡнъ. вѣлїсица гѡрѣ стѣи на нїеже ѣрлмъ. Here the writer clearly refers to some local place names in the territory of then principality of Velbāzd (present day Kjustendil in Bulgaria): стрѣма, перїнь, петръчь, вѣлїсица,<sup>40</sup> thus comparing the topography of the Holy Land to that of the Balkans.<sup>41</sup>

The deciphering of most of the places alluded to in Constantine's text does not pose much of a problem ('Perin' was the name applied to the mountain of Pirin on the left bank of the river Struma,<sup>42</sup> also referred to in the text, and the mountain of Belasica is located south of the river Strumica which flows into the Struma).<sup>43</sup> The identification on the toponym петръчь, however, creates more difficulties. This name is widespread in the Balkans, and in the Middle Ages several settlements are denoted by it. The first association that comes to mind, naturally, is the medieval village known under this name (south of present-day Plovdiv) next to which the famous Bačkovо Monastery is situated. Due to its proximity, the monastery was usually referred to as Petritzos Monastery or as 'Virgin Mary of Petrič' (*Theotokos Petriziotissa*). Taking into consideration that Constantine of Kostenec had been living for about ten years in this monastery,<sup>44</sup> it seems likely that his description refers to this place. Geographic proximity, however, suggests another solution. In the region

<sup>39</sup> Cf. L. van Ess, ed., *Vetus testamentum Graecum iuxta Septuaginta interpretes*, Leipzig: Sumtibus Ernesti Bredtii 1854, Βασιλειῶν τρίτη, 10: 4: ... καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, καὶ ἦλθε καὶ ἐκάθισεν ὑποκάτω ῥαθμῆν, καὶ ἠτήσατο τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν...

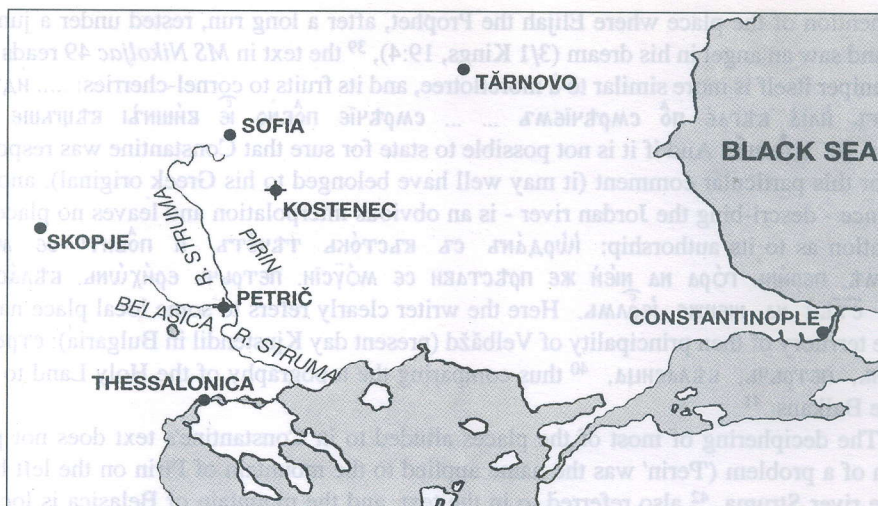
<sup>40</sup> According to JAGIĆ, Constantine of Kostenec came from Kjustendil: V. JAGIĆ, *Konstantin Filosof i njegov život Stefana Lazarevića, despota srpskog*, Гласник Српског ученог друштва 42 (1875) 230. JAGIĆ's opinion, however, was later refuted. The discussion about Constantine's birth place is summarised by КУЕВ and РЕТКОВ, *Събрани произведения ...*, 11-15.

<sup>41</sup> The same comparative approach was used by the twelfth-century Rus' pilgrim Daniil who compared the Jordan with the river Snov' in his homeland: Вѣмъ естъ подобенъ Јерданъ рѣцѣ Сновьстѣи, въ шире и глубле, лукаво же вельми и быстро течеть; болонїа же имать якоже и Сновъ рѣка... вшире же Јерданъ рѣка якоже на усты рѣка Сновъ рѣка естъ ... И естъ же по сей странѣ рѣцѣ купели тоя яко лѣсокъ малъ, древїе много по берегу Јерданову превысоко, яко вербїе подобно, но нѣсть верба; вшыше купели яко лозїе много по берегу Јердана, но нѣсть наша лоза, но инака, яко ксїяжи подобно естъ. A. S. НОРОВ, ed., *Паломник Данила мниха. Сказание о пути, иже естъ к Йеруслиму, и о градах и о самом града Йерусалима и о местах честных, иже около града и о церквах святых*, S.-Peterburg: Типография Императорской Академии Наук 1864, pp. 55-56.

<sup>42</sup> The same region is also referred to in the apocryphal видѣнїе исанїе пр(о)рокїа ѡ послѣднемъ врѣмени что хоцетъ бѣти родѣ члвчю послѣднемъ колѣнѣ in: Vasilka ТАРКОВА-ZAIMOVA - Anisava MILTENOVA, *Историко-апокалиптичната книжинна във Визанїа и в средновековна България*, Sofia: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски" 1996, p.233. See as well editors' comments on page 239, footnote 11.

<sup>43</sup> See Map. 1.

<sup>44</sup> K. КУЕВ - G. РЕТКОВ, *Събрани произведения ...*, 7, 18.



Map 1

indicated by the other three toponyms used by Constantine, that is, generally speaking, the Struma valley, the modern town of Petrič is located: it stands on the opposite bank of the Struma at the foot of Belasica and across from "Perin" mountain. South of the modern town of Petrič a medieval fortress (dated on the basis of its building techniques to the eleventh century) was excavated. The fortress was in use till the end of the fourteenth century, though some of its defences were later (through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) reutilised by the Turks.<sup>45</sup> Presumably the same place is mentioned in a charter granting privileges to Panteleimonos monastery on Mt Athos issued by the Dragaš (Dejanović) family around 1379.<sup>46</sup> Albeit the history of the fortress after the end of the fourteenth century is not well established, it seems that at the time of Constantine of Kostenec it gradually lost its importance, experiencing in this way a fate similar to that of the Biblical Jericho. Thus, its identification with the *петръчь* of Constantine's description seems to me beyond doubt.

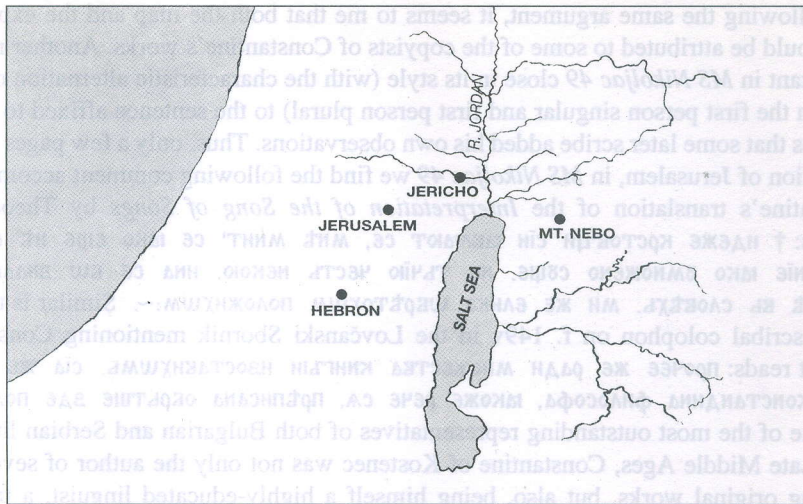
According to this interpretation the topographic situation outlined by Constantine presents a very close match between the region of the Struma valley and the indicated places in the Holy Land. The above mentioned geographic terms correspond to the actual location in Palestine of the sites mentioned in the text: there the Jordan separates Jericho from Mount Nebo which Moses climbed and from which he viewed the promised land across the river before he died (Num. 27:12, Deut. 32:49, and esp. Deut. 34:1);<sup>47</sup> similarly, across Petrič, on the right bank of the Struma, stands the mountain of "Perin"; and, finally, Petrič is located to the northeast of Belasica the same way that in Palestine Jericho is to the northeast of Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Z. PĹAKOV, *Средновековни селища в областта на Средна Струма (VII-XIV век). Каталог, с.в.* "Петрич", Исторически преглед 1 (1997) 92-93.

<sup>46</sup> J. IVANOV, *Северна Македонија*, Sofia 1906, p. 127; и *еще приложисмо 8 петръчи...*

<sup>47</sup> Deut 34:1: "Then Moses climbed Mount Nebo from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah, across from Jericho. There the Lord showed him the whole land..."

266 <sup>48</sup> Cf. Map 2.



Map 2

Geographic comparisons of this kind are typical of Constantine's works. His *Life of Stefan Lazarević*, for example, reveals the same approach but there the analogies, due to their different purpose, are constructed the other way round: there the similarity of Belgrade to Jerusalem is extensively illustrated.<sup>49</sup> The parallels with Jerusalem in this case, however, did not obviously aim at illustrating the narrative, but rather at glorifying the Serbian capital as another holy city.

One can assume that the purpose of the sketchy map affixed to the text was the same as that of the comments interpolated into the text: to make the description more accessible to its readers. Its existence in Constantine's Greek protograph, however, does not seem to me very probable. The places depicted on the map (λίδα, ἰώπ, κίεσαρία, εμαῖ, νάζαρετῆ φάβορ, γόρα σομόρ, τίβερίαδ'σκόε μόρε, γόρα λικαῖα, ἰώρδανῆ, μῆσα γῆ, κρῖσηνίε, γόρα μοῦσεῶβα, ἀμορεά, χόρατῆ, εῦσανσκα, μόρε σόμσκα, σόμῆ ἡ γόμο, σῆτι σαβα, εριχῶ, ἰλία φεζκίτῆ, ἀδοκα βρά, βίτλβемъ, дѡ авраамъ, вѣ гор'ниаа сѣ тѣццаніе) and those referred to in the text do not overlap. Further, several of the localities are misplaced: for example, εριχῶ and γόρα μοῦσεῶβα are depicted at the same bank of the Jordan which contradicts what the text says and what the comparison with Bulgarian topography reveals. These facts, as well as the statement attached to the map that it was drawn up "without measuring but taking into consideration only the distances in days as they were seen and reflected upon" (which certainly means not copying a model), indicates that it was sketched by somebody who was not well acquainted with the topography of Palestine and who, most plausibly, had some other written sources about the region at his disposal.

<sup>49</sup> К. КУЕВ - Г. РЕТКОВ, *Събрани произведения ...*, 393-96; Ninoslava RADOŠEVIĆ, *Laudes Serbiae: The Life of Despot Stephan Lazarević by Constantine the Philosopher*, *Зборник Радова Византолошког института* 24-25 (1986) 445-49; G. SVANE, *Константин Костенечкий и его биография сербского деспота Стефана Лазаревича*, *Старобългарска литература* 4 (1978) 21-38, esp. 35-37.

Following the same argument, it seems to me that both the map and the explanatory note should be attributed to some of the copyists of Constantine's works. Another marginal note extant in *MS Nikoljac 49* close in its style (with the characteristic alternation of verbal forms in the first person singular and first person plural) to the sentence affixed to the map indicates that some later scribe added his own observations. Thus, only a few pages after the description of Jerusalem, in *MS Nikoljac 49* we find the following comment accompanying Constantine's translation of the *Interpretation of the Song of Songs* by Theodoret of Cyrthus: † идеже крстов'ци сиѣ являють се, мнѣ мнит' се јако еше нѣ съврши повѣденіе јако ѓмножено сѣще. нѣ тѣчю честь некою. ина се бѣ знааше јако мнѣ бѣ въ словѣхъ. ми же елика шрѣтохѣм положихѣм:~. Similar is the well-known scribal colophon on f. 149v in the Lovčanski Sbornik mentioning Constantine's name. It reads: прочее же ради множества книгъ изоставихѣмъ. сѣ же мѣи ѿ книги констандина философа, јакоже рече са, прѣписана обрѣтше зде положихѣм.

One of the most outstanding representatives of both Bulgarian and Serbian literatures in the Late Middle Ages, Constantine of Kosteneč was not only the author of several outstanding original works, but also, being himself a highly-educated linguist, a translator from the Greek. In his *Life of Stefan Lazarevič* Constantine even calls himself прѣводникъ, thus attaching a special attention to this occupation of his.<sup>50</sup> The precise scope of the pieces translated by Constantine is still to be specified. In this respect, Bonju ANGELOV's pioneering efforts need to be continued. Due to a lucky chance - the preservation of the colophon in the Lovčanski Sbornik - the *Description of Jerusalem* could beyond doubt be attributed to Constantine's legacy. The *Description*, now available in full, reveals once again the many-sided interests and the translating techniques of this South Slavic man of letters. It is also, to my mind, indicative of the way the itineraries to Jerusalem functioned within the boundaries of the *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

\* K. KUEV - G. PETKOV, *Српски преводници ... 303-86. Николаје Радковић* (Serbia: The Life of Despot Stefan Lazarevič by Constantine the Philosopher, *Византологички институт* 24-25 (1986) 442-49. G. SVANE, *Константин Костенецьки* (Konstantin Kostenečki) (Tbilisi: *Историко-лингвистички институт* 1987) 32-37.

50 For another interpretation of the passage see K. KUEV - G. PETKOV, *Събрани произведения ...* 19.

Сѐ не мѣрою съписахомъ, тѣчию по расъженію днѣ. и по видѣнію днѣмъ. да аще что и зазорно ꙗко нѣ чюдно. тѣчию бо велика стаа мѣста въобразихъ. да вѣстъ сѣ съ коѣ страны іеросалимъ коѣ мѣстѹ<sup>1</sup>

Ѿ порте великіе ꙗже на вѣстѹ прѣма геѳсиманіи до великыѣ вратѣ затворенныѣ ф. ступліеніи хоженіемъ. Ѿ голгофы до двора пилатова Ѿ пакы Ѿ голгофы до дома двѣа .ѵ. дѣмъ же двѣвъ сѣѹ ꙗко. || успѣніе бци. въ самѣмъ сѣѹнѣ. Ѿ идѣже пренѣ солѹмонъ кѹвѹ стаа стѣи, тоу и грѣвъ двѣвъ. тоу дѹ бци. и тайна вера. и горнично мѣсто. съшѣствіе стго дха. тоу ꙗви се ученикѹ и ѳимѣ. тоу грѣ стѣфана прѣвоѹнѣка съ вѣстока цркѣи. тоу стлѣпни сѣѹнѣстїи, и ꙗнаа многаа знамѣніа. Ѿ пирѣга позорна до оусеченіа рѹкы софѣниныѣ скѣ. и Ѿ порты великіе іерлмъ вѣсточіне до стѣфанова побіеніа тл. ступліеніи. Ѿ тоу до срѣ потѣка кѣдрѣска, идѣже помазаше солѹмона на црѣтѣво .р. Ѿ тѣ до геѳсиманіе .ѣ. Ѿ тоу до пещеры идѣже ха еше .м. Ѿ пещеры до идѣже рѣ оче аще възмѣжно ꙗко .сл. Ѿ іерлма до вѣѣаніе .еф. въ вѣѣлѣеме же Ѿ вѣртѣпа рѣженіа, до крѣва бѣце .ск. Ѿ иліны пещеры и до іермѣныѣ горы малыи .аѹ. Ѿ тоу до вѣрх идѣже възне се иліа .сг. напогорѣ .рк. и поравнѣ до іурдана тл. и пакы Ѿ іерлма до идѣже почитѣ иліа вѣгаѣ по смрѣчіемъ .еѹ. смрѣчіе повѣно ꙗко вишныѣ вѣцѣше же. плѹмъ же дрѣніа. ѿбѣнъ по іурдана полѣ еліко Ѿ сѣ. іурда .н. ступліеніе гдѣ ꙗко тѣскнейшеѣ. Ѿ тѣ по сей странѣ до продрѣма .а. Ѿ тѣ крѣеніа .а. Ѿ іермѣныѣ до вѣ іурдановы .цк. Ѿ продрѣма до ерѣхѹ .сф. Ѿ тѣ до край полѣ .еѣ. || мало веки Ѿ мѣце идѣже постї се хс, Ѿ цркѣе стго герасіма къ сѣмѣскомъ морѣ, .рв. іорданъ съ вѣстока тѣчѣтъ. и повитѣ се малѣ стрѣмѣ. перинѣ гѣра на нѣи же прѣстави се мѣѣси. петрѣч ерѣхѹнѣ. вѣлѣсица гѣрѣ стѣи на нѣиже іерлмъ. нѣ нѣ стрѣмѣнини нѣ съ единой страны. вѣсхѣтѣ жепѣ жестѣоко. Ѿ іурдана съ вѣстока вѣсхѣтѣ. Ѿ газы съ юга. Ѿ мѣра съ запады. Ѿ самаріе съ сѣвѣра. тогѣ ра глѣютѣ вѣса писаніа вѣсхѣде въ іерлмъ, и нѣсхѣде Ѿ іерлма. пакы Ѿ порѣтѣ сѣвѣрнѣе, до цркѣе арѣхистратигѣе .со. Ѿ гра же до винѣгרא арѣханѣгѣлова .аф. до дѣла же .ѵ. а винѣгרא, ѹл стоупліеніи. Ѿ винѣгרא до оулице идѣже глѣ спатї нѣкыѣ въ мнѣогыѣ лѣтѣ фс. Ѿ тѣ до оусеченіа крѣтѣ гнѹ .ѹо. Ѿ тѣ до горнѣаа дѣмъ захаріина .зтлѣ. Ѿ іерлма до елѣѹа .вм. и до галілеѣе .вм. толіко ꙗко. <sup>2</sup> Едіна земліа галілеа. дроѹгаа канѣ галілеа. и сѣ въ галілен, нѣ на кѣнѣцѣ. трѣтїа ꙗко на елѣѣнѣ, дѣлѣ ма, порѣ <sup>3</sup> възненіа. <sup>4</sup> Ѿ елѣна <sup>5</sup> (!) дѣнѣже (!) <sup>6</sup> глѣ <sup>7</sup> жрѣтѣва <sup>8</sup> авраамова <sup>9</sup> за гѣрою <sup>10</sup> .ѵ. <sup>11</sup> и сѣ на елѣѹноѹ

<sup>1</sup> All the variant readings are given according to the Lovčanski Sbornik fragment (the edition of KUEV and PETKOV). <sup>2</sup> толіко ꙗко is placed in the right margin. <sup>3</sup> ...редь <sup>4</sup> възнесѣніа <sup>5</sup> елѣѹна <sup>6</sup> до идѣ <sup>7</sup> глѣтѣ <sup>8</sup> жрѣтѣва <sup>9</sup> авраамова <sup>10</sup> гѣрѣа <sup>11</sup> .тѹ.

12 ѿ възнѣніа 13 са́мого. идѣже 14 сто́па х́ва 15 на ка́мены 16 въо́брази се, 17  
 ѿ́га възнѣ́ се. 18 и́бо 19 е́леѿ гла́шаёт ѿ́ 20 ѿ пото́ка кіедръска́. 21 и до ви́даніе  
 22 и проча́. ѿ гра́ же 23 до до́ла плачевна́ .ѿн. и ѿ тѣ́ 24 до се́ла 25 скуде́лнича  
 26 .рн. 27 и ѿ стлѣ́ща до иде́же х́с 28 исцѣ́ли слѣ́паго .с. 29 ѿ тѣ́ 30 до силóама  
 31 гóр'ни. т. и. г., 32 во́ сѣ́ галиле́. || цр́ква же въ 33 до́мъ 34 заха́рийнъ, оу́ 35  
 длѣ́жинъ, 36 н. 37 тоу́ іе́ роже́ніе іу́ан'новъ 38 въ 39 ви́тлѣ́ме 40 же съ стоу́ 41  
 млѣ́ка въ 42 пеше́рѣ 43 .ке. вра́ же коли́ко е́дѣа́ прони. цр́квы́ вѣ́іа грóба въ  
 44 длѣ́жинъ, 45 рл. 46 стѣ́пъ. 47 ѿ тѣ́ 48 до ѡ́врѣ́теніа 49 кр́тѿ. състѣ́пъ 50 дѣ́ла  
 51 .оѿ. пеше́ри ші́ръ 52 .еі. о́крѣ́тъ 53 грóба съ 54 четы́ры 55 стра́нѣ до стлѣ́повъ,  
 56 по .еі. ѡ́града́ вѣ́іа грóба, въ длѣ́. п. а́ въ ші́ръ, иі. ѿ стлѣ́повъ до пупа  
 57 землі́е, 58 .зі. ѿ пупа́ 59 землі́ 60 до вра́ 61 .иі. ѿ вра́ до иде́же 62 раздѣ́лише  
 63 рѣ́зы 64 х́вы .иі. ѿ грóба до съ́нетіа 65 .н. ѿ тѣ́ 66 до го́лгофы, ке. о́крѣ́тъ  
 67 же іе́рлѣ́ма. и ви́тлѣ́ма 68 нѣ́ гóрѣ́ пѡ́в'но. нѣ́ 69 та́ко вы́со́кими 70 прѣ́лі  
 у́краше́нно 71 и нѣ́ка́ко дѣ́в'но 72, е́лео́н' 73 же вы́ш'ши всѣ́ 74 іе́. х́въ же грóвъ  
 о́браше́нъ 75 іе́ на въ́сто́къ. 76 и въ 77 ге́о'сіма́ніи 78 же б́ци грóвъ на ю́гѣ по  
 то́гашнѣ́мъ 79 о́бываю. ѿ въ́сто́ка 80 же до стѣ́іе 81 тра́пѣзы 82 стѣ́не, 83 г.  
 ѿ тѣ́ 84 до грóба прѣ́стѣ́іе 85 б́ци .ѿ. іе́ же мѡ́вами и всѣ́ стѣ́. 86 да спѡ́бытъ  
 87 и на́ 88 о́врѣ́стѣ́ млѣ́тъ въ 89 днѣ́ сѣ́ни, 90 а́минь:

12 е́леѿнъ, нѣ́ 13 възнесѣ́ніа 14 иде́же 15 х́ва 16 ка́мены 17 въо́бразы са 18 са  
 19 и́бо 20 са 21 Кіедръска 22 Ви́даніа 23 е 24 ѿ тѣ́ 25 се́ 26 скѣ́делнича 27  
 .рн. 28 х́ч. 29 ѿ тѣ́ 30 силóама 31 ти. 32 въ 33 дѡ́мъ 34 сѣ́ 35 длѣ́жинъ  
 37 .н. стѣ́пленіи 38 іу́ан'ново 39 въ 40 ви́тлѣ́мѣ 41 състѣ́пъ 42 въ 43 пеше́рѣ 44  
 въ 45 длѣ́жинъ 46 .рн. 47 стѣ́пъ 48 ѿ тѣ́ 49 о́врѣ́теніа 50 състѣ́пъ 51 дѣ́лѣ  
 52 ші́ръ 53 о́крѣ́сть 54 сѣ́ 55 четы́ри 56 стлѣ́повъ 57 пжпа 58 земла 59 пжпа 60  
 земла 61 вратѣ́ 62 доидѣ́ 63 раздѣ́лишъ 64 рѣ́зы 65 съ́нетіа 66 ѿ тѣ́ 67 о́крѣ́тъ  
 68 ви́тлѣ́ма 69 нѣ́ 70 вы́со́кы и́ми 71 оу́краше́нно 72 дѣ́вно іе́ 73 е́леѿн 74 въ́сѣ́  
 75 о́браше́нъ 76 въ́сто́къ 77 въ 78 ге́о'сима́ніи 79 то́гашнѣ́мъ 80 въ́сто́ка 81 стѣ́іа  
 82 тра́пѣзы 83 степѣ́ 84 ѿ тѣ́ 85 прѣ́стѣ́іа 86 іе́ же мѡ́вами и всѣ́ стѣ́ - omitted  
 270 in the Lovčanski Sbornik 87 спѡ́бытъ 88 бѣ́ - omitted in Nikoljac 49 89 въ 90 сѣ́днѣ́и