

Annotated Corpus of Pre-Standardized Balkan Slavic Literature

Philological Description

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1. Introduction

Areal features in the Balkans were subject to intensive research since the very discovery of first parallels between the affected languages. However, the diachronic dimension of this research was for long based mostly on isolate, exemplary instances interpreted as reflections of developments towards, say, analytic expressions of case relations or definiteness marking. Quantitative research based on digital and annotated corpora was not possible, as available resources included mostly texts of modern, standardized varieties. The preparation of such resources is the primary aim of the *Annotated Corpus of Pre-Standardized Balkan Slavic Literature*.

The following paper describes individual sources included in the second release of the corpus. Its primary purpose is to provide metadata about these sources for the reader, wishing to find and access the originals, be it for the sake of philology, diachronic linguistics or just fun. It also provides additional information about the context, origins and place of the given sources in time, space and society. As this kind of data is not always available - especially in case of older, anonymous manuscripts - this description sometimes turns into less technical, more speculative discussions, following both hints and clues in the manuscripts, as well as in the descriptions from the secondary literature.

Another role of this text, and also of the corpus itself, is to answer the question, which texts are relevant for diachronic studies of Balkan Slavic? The corpus hardly exhausts the vast number of manuscripts from the given period and area available to the scholars today. For this reason, the description of sources also contains arguments for the very choice of each text in the corpus. Furthermore, relevant linguistic features of individual texts, perceived as separate instances of development of local varieties and norms of language of literature, are not only described for each of the sources, but also serve as a basis for their comparison and classification.

2. Data

Selection of sources for a corpus of pre-standardized Balkan Slavic literature first requires us to clear the two key terms: what is meant with *pre-standardized* and what is *Balkan Slavic*. The latter has been already discussed in detail in the technical description of the corpus, which has been added to the first release in November 2020 ([link](#)). In short, the term shows the linguistic and geographic classification of the texts: on the one hand, the Bulgarian and Macedonian dialectal area; on the other hand, the Slavic varieties showing features typical for the Balkan *sprachbund*. From the synchronic point of view, these categories are roughly overlapping. From the diachronic view, the picture is somewhat more complicated due to presence of Church Slavonic, a language of literature, in which the Balkan features are not developed and reflected in the same way as in vernaculars.

The *pre-standardized* category is a temporal one. It is not a very exclusive club: standardization is a process, whose finish date is hard to determine with certainty. Changing territorial borders reflect themselves on the status of official and minority languages. They provide incentives for levelling of dialectal differences or distancing from the standardized variety in a neighboring state. In the Balkan area, the process of standardization is still a matter of heated discussion, concerning not only peripheral dialects of minorities¹, but also the two varieties enjoying the status of an official language of sovereign state, Bulgarian and Macedonian. For this reason, the latest possible date for a text to be considered relevant for the corpus should still remain open.

However, for practical reasons we have chosen the emergence of authoritative grammars like those

¹ E.g. Pomak in the southern slopes of Rhodope Mountains in Greece.

of Ivan Bogorov (Andreev 1844), Momčilov (1868) and Koneski (1952) as the milestones of standardization. The corpus includes some texts written after these dates, as they belonged to an area, which was likely isolated from the influence of the Bulgarian language reforms in the second half of the 19th century: *Rai.d.* from Rhodopes and maybe also *NBKM 728* from Macedonia. Church Slavonic texts included in the sample - the folklorized tale of Trojan War from *Vel.d.*, the translation of a Modern Greek text in *Kiev d.*, and a "portable" edition of an originally liturgical text from Vuković 1536 - represent the transitional, "post-standardized" stage, in which the archaic norms of the Resava and Tarnovo schools were giving way to new expressions, typical for the vernacular.

The majority of the included texts belong to the so-called *damaskini* tradition, which has finished this step. These texts can hardly be ignored in any serious analysis concerning the development of the Balkan Slavic dialects in the period of 16th to 19th centuries. However, texts from other manuscript traditions were included too: either if their language was arguably close to the vernacular of the given period too, or if they were important from textological reasons.

The oldest of these documents are Church Slavonic translations of the book *Thēsauros* by Damascēnus Stouditēs in the 16th century. *Thēsauros* was a revolutionary work for the Greek literature. The author considered the archaic literary language of that time too alien for uneducated people. They were thus barred from the corpus of Christian lore and values, which the literature was supposed to convey to them. The matter of bolstering Christian identity among broader populace was the more pressing among Orthodox clergy in his time. The Greek lands were now subject to the Ottoman Empire, stipulating conversion to Islam by taxes and career opportunities. Influence of Reformation and Catholic missions was slowly taking shape as well. Thus Stouditēs retold famous lives of saints and homilies into the contemporary Greek, the "common" (*koinē*) language of the simple folk. Furthermore, he wrote in a dynamic narrative style, with numerous stories and explanations, refreshed by (of course, rhetorical) questions towards the audience. The book became very popular, with over fifty reprints in the following centuries².

The first translations did not adopt the idea of popularizing the lore by using a dialect. The earliest representative of this tradition in our corpus (*Kiev d.*) is still just a translation into Church Slavonic, following the rules of the Resava orthography. This was, of course, also a kind of common language, which served mutual communication - at least on the level of literature - between the Slavic clergy of various lands. It was, however, not as accessible to the lay audience as the early Modern Greek of Stouditēs. The first translations into the vernacular followed in the early 17th century. The classification of this language is difficult. Stouditēs included in the titles of many chapters the phrase *metaphrasteis eis tēn koinēn glōssan* 'retold in the common language', and its translations provide clues about the self-designation. Most Church Slavonic sources, as well as later sources like *Sv.d.*, translate the adjective *koinēn* directly with *obšt* 'common'³. Early vernacular *damaskini* like *Tixon.d.*, *Trojan d.*, but also the later Church Slavonic *Adžar d.* translate it with *prosti* 'simple'⁴, *novi* 'new'⁵, *bl̆garski* 'Bulgarian'⁶ etc., emphasizing the accessibility of the text to broader audience. To distinguish

² According to the official *Synaxarion* of the Greek Orthodox Church (available online - [link](#)).

³ E.g. *na obštije iazyky* in *Sv.d.* (Miletič 1923:126), *obštīm' iazykom'* (191, 259).

⁴ E.g. *prostym skazuvaniem* in chapter 1 of *Trojan d.* (*za desetěxъ nauky movseovy*, 1r; beginning missing in *Tixon.d.*). It is also found in CS *Adžar d.* in various chapters (Demina 1968:86, 149, 177). Phrase *prostim jazikom* is attested in *Berl.d.* in the chapter on John the Evangelist (Demina 1968:94) too.

⁵ E.g. *izvádi se na novy ezyko* 'translated to a new language' in chapter 9 of *Tixon.d.* (*mčenie stgo Dimitria*, 60v). This translation occurs also in *Trojan d.* and *Berl.d.* (Demina 1968:119) in the same chapter. In CS *Adžar d.* we find *novago ezyka* in the title of the chapter about St. Eustatius (Demina 1968:82) too. The term *new Bulgarian* (*novobolgarskij*) is also used by Demina.

⁶ E.g. *bl̆gar'skym ezykom* in chapter 4 of *Tixon.d.* (*vъzdviženie čstnago krsta*, 21v; also attested in other sources of this chapter, cf. Demina 1968:160), chapter 7 of *Trojan d.* (*slovo apsla Tomy*, 57r).

it from Church Slavonic, as well as later *Slavenobulgarian* and present-day *standard Bulgarian*, we prefer the term *simple Bulgarian* for this variety⁷.

Another aspect common to both *Thēsauros* and its translations in Bulgaria were its eclectic contents. The first edition, published first in Venice in 1558 (Demina 1968:42), contained 36 chapters. The 1568 edition added further short 6 chapters by Albertos Marinos. Later editions contained chapters by Ioakinnios Kartanos instead (ibid.). Because of the differences in contents between the earliest Slavonic *damaskini*, it is likely that the printed *Thēsauros* circulated along with manuscript variants containing other chapters too (Demina 1968:50). Among the Church Slavonic editions, full translations of the *Thēsauros* are rare. Demina (1968:44) identified two exemplars holding the full translation by Gregory of Prilep: one (manuscript No. 318) was lost in Belgrade during the bombardment of the city in 1941, and the other was divided into two tomes, now preserved in Skopje (*Krnino d.*) and Kiev (*Kiev d.* of our corpus).

At the end of the 16th century, another translation has been produced in the Rila Monastery or in the Sredna Gora area, which is only partially preserved (Demina 1968:45). This translation was widely copied in the Balkan Mt. and Danube Basin area, where it was translated into *simple Bulgarian* varieties. These translations were likely partial - likely based on partial Church Slavonic transcripts. Known sources from these areas - both Church Slavonic and *simple Bulgarian* ones - are already transcripts from multiple sources. For example, *Tixon.d.* includes only 12 chapters (out of 41) taken from *Thēsauros* (Demina 1968:55). For this reason they are also unsuitable for a parallel comparison from the linguistic point of view. Instead, it is preferable to focus on individual chapters. These can be traced to two classes:

text	contents	translator
<i>Tixon.d.</i> - <i>Life of St. Petka</i>	I	<i>togazi</i>
<i>Ljub.d.</i> - <i>Life of St. Petka</i>	II	<i>togiva</i>
<i>Lov.d.</i> - <i>Homily against Drinking</i>	III	<i>togiva</i>
<i>Sv.d.</i> - <i>Life of St. Mary of Egypt</i>	IV	<i>togizi</i>

The first classification denotes hypothetical original collections, whose contents and order of chapters was partly preserved in transcripts. Three such content-based types were reconstructed for *simple Bulgarian damaskini*; the fourth was posited rather on the basis of historical and linguistic data (Demina 1968:56-60). Hypothetical sources of the types I, II and IV included works by different translators (or editors), showing different dialectal features, which are usually distinguished by the relative temporal pronoun ('then') they were using (Velčeva 1964; Demina 1968:220; Mladenova 2014:521). Only the type III *damaskini* (represented by *Lov.d.* in our corpus) includes works from only one translator (*togiva*). Translations by the *togizi* translator are newer, and they occur in the type IV *damaskini* (like *Berl.d.* and *Sv.d.*) only. It is possible the two older translators (*togazi* and *togiva*) were separated more by the time than by the area (cf. Demina 1985:260). Many differences between the older (*togazi* and *togiva*) and newer (*togizi*-texts) sources also reflect rather orthographic (e.g. preference for <ъ>, use of <А> for /ja/, reflection of unaccented vowel shifts) than dialectal or diachronic differences. It makes sense to choose only relevant examples for the corpus from these categories, to prevent redundant amassing of practically the same data. In our choice of relevant examples we have preferred historically oldest available sources, as well as those, which were available to us as scans.

In our corpus we have also included texts from manuscripts, which are not directly related to the

⁷ The glottonym "Bulgarian" is used for historical reasons - the included sources do not use "Macedonian" or "Serbian", even if such names were more geographically appropriate for some of them.

damaskini tradition proper: *NBKM 1069* from Belovo⁸, *Temski rukopis* from Eastern Serbia, the Catholic collection *NBKM 1423*, as well as the miscellany of pop Punčo (*PPS*). Some of them contain texts authored by Stouditēs or included in damaskini collections of one of the four types described by Demina, but they were likely assembled by their respective writers from various sources. These sources reflect the general trends in literature in the broad Balkan Slavic area, which can be observed on a smaller scale of the damaskini tradition itself (especially late 18th/early 19th c. sources like *Berl.d.*, *NBKM 728*, *1064*) too: contents become more eclectic and the editors dare to adapt the language of the texts more and more towards their own preferences.

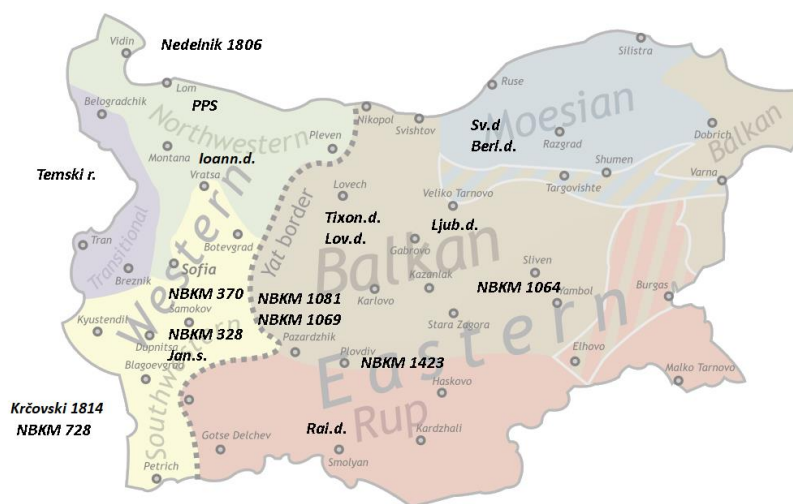


Figure 1: Approximate localization of the dialectal basis of our sources on the map of Bulgaria ([src](#))

Another group of texts included in our corpus were written by Josif Bradati (*NBKM 328*) and his students (*Jan.s.*, *Ioann.d.*). These are new translations from Greek sources, not unlike the 16th century damaskini. The spread of their language, classed as *Slavenobulgarian*, remained mostly contained to the West (Velčeva 1966:120). From these circles came also the famous *Chronicle* of Paisius, from which we have included the introduction (*NBKM 370*). Although it is written in Eastern Bulgaria (Elena), its scribe tries to preserve - rather than reproduce or adapt - the specific language of the source. It is possible that the texts in *NBKM 1069* and *PPS* are also based on Bradati's translation, but their language is more adapted to local (or author's) dialects. Sophronius is another curious case: the author was schooled in the East, but his later works, like the *Nedělnik 1806* in our corpus, reflect the *Slavenobulgarian* of the West.

For a better overview, we can classify our sources according to following criteria:

1. **Origin:** classification according to major dialectal areas (mostly following Stojkov 1993), which is indicated by the origin of the source or text. These are Macedonia (*Vel.s.*, *Kiev d.*, *Krčovski 1814*, *NBKM 728*), Rhodopes (*NBKM 1423*, *Rai.d.*), Serbia or Torlak area (Vuković 1536, *Temski r.*), West Bulgaria (*NBKM 328*, *Jan.s.*, *Ioann.d.*, *PPS*, *Nedělnik 1806*) and East Bulgaria (*Lov.d.*, *Tixon.d.*, *Ljub.d.*, *Sv.d.*, *NBKM 1069*, *Berl.d.*, *NBKM 1064*, *1081*, *Nedělnik 1856*). Variety may further specify the underlying dialect.

⁸ The scribe of the damaskin *NBKM 345*, the likely source of *NBKM 1069*, has also translated some homilies from the *Thēsauros* (Petkanova-Toteva 1965:93), thus we could designate him as a *togava*-translator. Bradati preferred the Church Slavonic temporal pronoun *egda*, which is not used in the Bulgarian dialects now (only *ega* is attested in the Rhodopean area; cf. *BAN* I:476).

2. **Norm:** hypothetical linguistic norm used by the editor/scribe. The most of our sources are of the *simple* Bulgarian type, the attempts to closely reflect the vernacular, not based on any codified grammar (*Lov.d.*, *Tixon.d.*, *Ljub.d.*, *Sv.d.*, *Temski r.*, *NBKM 1069, 1423, PPS, Berl.d.*, Krčovski 1814, *NBKM 1064, 1081, 728, Rai.d.*). *Simple* language contrasts with a) Church Slavonic (*Vel.s.*, Vuković 1536, *Kiev d.*), following rules of specific redactions (Kratovo, Resava), with b) *Slavenobulgarian* (*NBKM 328, Jan.s.*, *NBKM 370, Ioann.d.*, *Nedělnik 1806*), which did not develop into a stable norm, and c) standard Bulgarian (*Nedělnik 1856*), based on codified grammars. Variety can indicate a closer description of this norm too.
3. **Date:** text or (in a limited way) also source date indicate the time, when the text was translated or edited according to contemporary language. Major groups are 15th-16th century sources (*Vel.s.*, Vuković 1536, *Kiev d.*), which are all Church Slavonic, with more variety in the 17th (*Lov.d.*, *Tixon.d.*, perhaps *Ljub.d.*), 18th (*NBKM 328, Sv.d.*, *Jan.s.*, *Temski r.*, *NBKM 1069, 370, Ioann.d.*, *NBKM 1423, PPS, Berl.d.*) and 19th (*Nedělnik 1806, Krčovski 1814, NBKM 1064, 1081, 728, Rai.d.*, *Nedělnik 1856*) centuries.

The corpus is composed of separate files, each containing texts from one source. Technical aspects of the structure of the data is described elsewhere. Here we describe only the philological information of the texts and their sources, as well as their relevance for the study of Balkan features in Bulgarian and Macedonian. In the following paragraphs we will introduce the individual sources included in this corpus.

To each entry we have attached statistical information concerning morphosyntactic features relevant for Balkan Slavic studies - changes in marking of definiteness, case relations, future tense and others. These enable us to make a simple quantitative comparison between the sources. The first number represents the total number of examples in the text, the second is the percentual frequency relative to the size of the text in tokens. The following filters in Excel were used for counting the data:

nominal articles	UD_ext: P_NOM	<i>kov'čeg'+ t'+ sí</i>
nominal MASC.GEN/ACC endings	PoS_tag: begins with NM?G ⁹	<i>sъs'+ bráta+ sí</i>
adjectival articles	UD_ext: P_ADJ	<i>múdry+ te děvíci</i>
extended demonstratives	UD_ext: EXT	<i>wnózi pústynja</i>
dative possessive pronouns	PoS_tag: P????D UD_ext: POSS	<i>kov'čeg'+ t'+ sí</i>
future particle <i>šte</i>	diplomatic: <i>šte</i> UD_ext: FUT	<i>šte da+ se přestávi</i>
long-form adjectives	PoS_tag: A????Y	<i>staa i+ prpodóbná pét'ka</i>
synthetic infinitives	PoS_tag: begins with VMN	<i>ne+ děi+ se gnusi</i>
2/3.PL.AOR endings	PoS_tag: begins with V?IA?P	<i>i+ položíše+ jü</i>
non-nominative articles	PoS_tag: ends not in N UD_ext: begins with P_	<i>na stárca+ tokъ</i>

2.1. *Vel.s.* - *Veleško sborniče*

Veleško sborniče (cf. Conev II 1923:178), also called *Pop Slavkova knižica* (Karanov 1896:266; Mazon 1942:14), is a collection of handwritten texts by various people in 15th and 16th century. The contents

⁹ These instances were not counted, if the following token was an article in nominative (PoS_tag: PD-M?N, UD_ext: P_NOM), e.g. *děto sí ugáždášъ na uma+ tъ* 'what do you put on (your) mind' (*Sv.d.*). In this case, the -a ending likely represents the hiatus vowel between the article and the stem of the noun. If the status is ambiguous because the pronominal root falls out from the article (e.g. *támo pominúvasi živóta+ sí angelski tzin* 'and an angelic host lived there'; *NBKM 1064*), the token is included.

are eclectic, containing Christian, folklore and historical topics - prayers, hagiographies, a calendar, a *gromovnik* (an astrological interpretation of storms), chapters on Trojan War and kingdoms of the world. The texts are written in Church Slavonic using a simplified orthography¹⁰. According to a sidenote on the title page, the collection was bound together in 1722 in Veles by the priest Slavko. Later it passed to the National Museum in Sofia, which passed it to the National Library of Bulgaria "St. St. Kirill i Metodii" in Sofia, where it is preserved under the signature НБКМ 667 (45). A partial critical edition has been published by Karanov (1896:266-282). The final two chapters concerning geography (titled *O velikie petoki* 'on Good Fridays') have also been digitalized by the University of Sofia "Kliment Oxridski" and are available at its website ([link](#)).

Our corpus contains the chapter called *Tale of the Trojan War (Razkaz za Trojanskata vojna)* by Conev (II 1923:179), *Tale of Alexander the Elder (Slovo větxago Aležandra)* in other sources (Petriceicu-Hasdeu 1879:183, Močuľskij 1899:371, Mirčev 1978:26, Tvorogov 1988:145). The text can be found on folia 109r-112v, which belong to a part dated by Conev to the 15th century. The text is different from the *Legend of Troy (Trojanska pritča)* common in the Middle Bulgarian literature¹¹: it is considerably shorter, and the names of protagonists are different. At least three other versions of the *Tale* are attested in different manuscripts. A longer version is preserved in the manuscript *NBKM 326* in Sofia, an 18th century manuscript from Adžar (Conev I 1910:319). An older, well studied version can be found at the National Scientific Library of Odessa, in the collection of V.I. Grigorovič (sign. 1/112¹²) on folia 13v-19v. A critical edition of this version was published by A.I. Kirpičnikov (1891) and V. Močuľskij (1899:371-380). Another version was attested in a manuscript held at the State Archive in Bucharest (sign. Ms slav. 740). The source was first described by B. Petriceicu-Hasdeu (1879:181f.) and the Trojan War story was published soon afterwards by P.A. Syrku (1884:78-88). Miltenova (2018:59) mentions also two other sources: one in the manuscript *CIAI 1161* of the Church Archive in Sofia, another in a manuscript in the collection of Jacimirskij at the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (sign. 13.2.25). Both of these are similar to the Bucharest edition of the story.

The majority of the story is formed by the myth of the Trojan War with some amendments. Paris, named here by his epithet *Aležandrъ*, by the help of his sorcerers meets Helen, called at most places *Igulida*, in their shared dreams. The name of Helen in this story - *Igulida*, *Iuglida*, *Golida* - has also sparked curiosity of the scholars. According to Močuľskij (1899:376), in whose version the most common form is *Giluda*, the name was likely taken over from the folk stories about fever curses, denoting an evil spirit behind this curse¹³. Paris-Alexander escapes the destruction of Troy and, with

¹⁰ The majority of the texts are written in a one-yer (preferring ъ) orthography without accentuation, which is identified with the Kratovo school (e.g. Conev II 1923: vii). Our text was written likely on a basis of a text following Resava rules, as ъ comes twice in prepositions.

¹¹ Arguably the most famous edition of the story is the richly illustrated *Manasses Chronicle* belonging to King John Alexander and its Vatican transcript (sign. Vat.Slav.2, p.84-102, available online - [link](#)). A digital edition of this edition with a dictionary has been published as an MA-Thesis by D. Ruseva in 2011. It has also been published online within the project *Evoljucija na gramatičeskija stroež na bālgarskija i ruskija ezik v šāpostavitelen plan* (at SU Kliment Oxridski and State University of St. Petersburg, 2017-2018, [link](#)) with partial publication by A. Bojadžiev and C. Dimitrova ([link](#)).

¹² The manuscript was earlier held at the Library of the University of Odessa under the signature 12[38] (e.g. Mazon 1942:14), later 113/11 (Kopylenko & Rapoport 1960:550).

¹³ The etymology, the original form, as well as the reason for choosing this name for Helen is unclear. Miklosich (1865: [link](#)) has an entry for *gilouda*, a 'type of a sorceress' (*magae genus*), which "kills children by sucking their blood" (cit. a Serbian manuscript *Cod.Slav. 183* at Austrian National Library). Already Kirpičnikov (1891:4) considered the name *Igulida* to be of Greek origin. Vasmer (I:405) translates *giluda* as 'tainted' (*nečist*), considering it a borrowing from Middle Greek (citing the Odessa version). Mazon (1942:27) identified *giluda* with *Gellous* mentioned by Sappho.

the help of Saracens, leads a war of revenge, in which 14 kings with their armies and 230 cities including Jerusalem are destroyed; an allusion to the adventures of the "younger" Alexander of Macedon (cf. Mazon 1942:30), but also showing parallels to biblical conquest of Canaan by Hebrews¹⁴.

Such a remarkable synthesis of folklore elements with various literary traditions is scarce among the available texts. For this reason, as well as the mentioned distance from the literary standards of the late Middle Bulgarian period, the text has been included in our corpus. Our text was included in the Karanov's (1896:273-274), as well as in the Conev's (II 1923:180-181) description of the manuscript. Our text was first based on Conev's edition, corrected by using facsimiles of the original manuscript. Omitted passages, which render the text incomprehensible, as well as the lost beginning have been reconstructed on the basis of Odessa edition, adding in total 527 tokens in 78 sentences.

Text title	<i>Razkaz za Trojanskata vojna</i>	
Tokens	794 (+527)	
Sentences	104 (+78)	
Source date	15th century	
Source origin	Veles	
Text date	15th century	
Text origin	Macedonia	
Norm	Church Slavonic	
Variety	Kratovo orthography	
Source contents ¹⁵	(section I, folio 1r) [katavasii], (13r) <i>Slavě stym izbrannymъ prazdnikom</i> , (section II, 46r) [tropari, kondaci molitvi], (62r) <i>mesecoslov</i> , (67v) <i>pravilo stgo Vasilia</i> , (section III, 75v) [gromovnik], (87r) <i>o mscъxъ koliko koi drъžitъ</i> , (section IV, 89v) [Xoždenie Bogorodicę po mukax], (104r) [razkaz za sv. Agapija], (109r) [razkaz za Trojanskata vojna], (112v) <i>O velikie petoky</i> , (113r) <i>Vъprosi i otgovori</i> [za carie i carstva] (Conev 1923 II:178-181) ¹⁶	
nominal articles ¹⁷	-	-
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	26	3.2746%
adjectival articles	-	-
ext. demonstratives	2	0.2519%
DAT.POSS pronouns	1	0.1259%
future particle <i>šte</i>	-	-
long-form adjectives	38	4.7859%
synthetic infinitives	4	0.5038%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	22	2.7708%

There are also other hints at an unknown Middle Greek basis or original of the story. The Trojan Horse is made of copper (or bronze?) instead of wood and seems to move on its own. It is led (*i povele Aležandrъ vъvesti mednog kona*), not simply brought into the city. The text includes an incomprehensible adverb to describe the "walking" of the horse: *a medni konъ imantsky xoždaše* 'the horse walked by the means of *imant*', in Odessa edition *maəataskii*, in Bucharest (as well as CIAI 1161 and RAN 13.2.25) *matatokyi*. Syrku (1884:86) translates it as *automatus*. Also Kirpičnikov (1891:2) considers it an erroneous reading of *automaeōs*. Jagić in a sidenote mentions the suggestion of Destunis, that the word may reflect Gr. *metatopizómenos* 'changing place'.

¹⁴ The title of other versions (e.g. in CIAI 1161: *Slovo stgo aležandra, kako oubi sionaa cra amoreiska i oga cra i *vi* crei xannaonskyxъ*) includes the reference to 12 (or 14) kings of Canaan, similarly to Ps 135:11. Names of Alexander's enemies - *Sion* for Menelaus and *Og* or *Jug* for Agamemnon - are actually taken from biblical kings of Amorites and Bashan (cf. e.g. Num 21), as already recognized by Veselovskij (1884:77).

¹⁵ Titles are diplomatized (accents and spirits are removed, *w > o*, *ŭ/i > i*). Titles in brackets are reconstructions by the editor.

¹⁶ Text in brackets represents titles reconstructed in the cited secondary literature or critical edition (in this case Conev 1923 II). According to personal communication with Dr. Uzunova of NBKM, the order of chapters was recently changed due to an accident, and the folios have received new numbers.

¹⁷ Cf. below §3 for the description of statistical data included to description. The parts reconstructed on the basis of Odessa edition were excluded from the analysis.

2.2. Vuković 1536

So far the oldest part of our sample with a clear date, this Church Slavonic source presents an early example of Cyrillic printing, produced in the publishing house of Božidar Vuković in Venice. Published in a small format, the book was meant for travels. It contains various prayers and homilies, as well as hagiographies of St. Petka of Tarnovo and St. George. A scan of the 1536 edition is available in the Library of Matica Srpska in Novi Sad under signature PCp I 3.1, as well as online ([link](#)). The book, titled by librarians as *Zbornik za putnike* ("Traveller's collection") has 636 pages, the beginning is missing.

Our corpus includes the *Life of St. Petka* from this source, available on folia 191r-200v, with an illustration on 190v. It is a shortened version of the panegyric hagiography of St. Petka composed by Patriarch Euthymius in the 14th century. It was edited and adapted to Resava standard by monk Moses, whose name we know from the afterword. A critical edition of the text, based on an earlier edition by Vuković from 1520, was published by S. Novaković (1877). The same edition, following a different orthography (preferring ѣ), is also preserved in the manuscript *NBKM 665* in Sofia (f. 182r-193r), which also contains other elements of the liturgy in honor of the saint¹⁸. Conev (1923:177) dates this manuscript already to the 15th century. The passages added to the Euthymius' work by Gregory Tsamblak during his stay in Serbia (ca. 1402-1409) were not reflected in the Moses' edition. It is thus likely, that the protograph of the editions in *NBKM 665* and Vuković 1536 was much older than the copy used in our corpus.

Although the text is an example of Middle Bulgarian literature, it has been added into the corpus for textological reasons. The text is very close to the damaskini editions (Demina 1980:186). Among Church Slavonic damaskini, it is preserved only in the damaskin of Adžar from 1686 (Sreznevskij 1874:227)¹⁹. Final part of the text is also included in the 17th century manuscript *NBKM 709* from Sliven - the rest is *simple* Bulgarian. The protograph of the *simple* Bulgarian edition, whose copies can be seen in *Tixon.d.*, *Ljub.d.*, *NBKM 709* and similar sources, was likely based on the Moses' (or Vuković's) edition too, although an intermediary Church Slavonic edition may have existed. The translation attested in *Berl.d.* is directly based on the Moses' edition.

Damaged parts of the scan were reconstructed basing on the critical edition by Novaković (1877), as well as manuscripts *NBKM 665* and *NBKM 709*. The songs for the praise following the hagiography in the original were not included. The text has been also published as a browser-capable digital edition ([link](#)), reflecting the structure of the manuscript, sentence-based translation and morphological

¹⁸ Both prints by Vuković and manuscripts with the full service of the *NBKM 665* type seem to have been widespread. The panegyric *Life*, based on a 1547 edition of *Zbornik* of Vuković, was translated into Latin by Raphael Levakovich (1597-1649), a Franciscan friar of Croatian origin. It was published in print first in 1875 addenda to *Acta Sanctorum* (Rigollot 1875). A short Latin-Slavonic index based on this edition was made by Ilievski (2013). The shorter synaxar *Life*, which we can find in the *NBKM 665*, served likely as a basis for the later Church Slavonic version by Demetrius of Rostov, which was later translated by Sophronius of Vratsa in *Nedělnik* 1806 (cf. its entry), and likely also by Punčo. The synaxar *Life* was also likely the basis of the Arabic translation by Patriarch Makarios az-Zā'im of Aleppo in 1650s (Feodorov 2006:16).

¹⁹ Presently in Petersburg, at the Library of Russian Academy of Sciences, No. 79 of the collection of I.I. Sreznevskij (old signature БАИ 24.4.32). Sreznevskij transcribes the year in the sidenote in the damaskin as "1636", but this does not match the given Cyrillic form (ѧѧиѧ). The given *anno mundi* dating (ѧѧрѧѧ, i.e. 7194 ~ 1685 AD by the Alexandrian counting) approximates a later date too. Russian scholars (including Demina 1968:45) prefer the form *ханджарский*, as the village is called in the damaskin (actually *хан'ѧаръ*), while Bulgarians (e.g. Petkanova-Toteva 1965, Dončeva-Panajotova 1993) prefer the modern form (in fact, the village was renamed to Svežen in 1934).

annotation.

Text title	<i>Žitie i žizнь přepodobnyje matere naše Petky</i>	
Tokens	2247	
Sentences	150	
Source date	1536	
Source origin	Venice	
Text date	15th century	
Text origin	Serbia	
Norm	Church Slavonic	
Variety	Resava orthography	
Source contents	(1r-25v) empty lists, (26r) prayers (pagination missing, handwritten), (32v) some handwritten notes concerning the year 1716, (34r) <i>molitvenikъ</i> (<i>časoslov?</i>) without beginning, (110v) <i>sloužba akaθistou Prěstyje Bce</i> , (130r) <i>kanonъ molb'nyъ kъ svoemou agglu xranitelju</i> , (136r) <i>čstnii paraklisъ stomu i+ slavnomu prrokou Krstlju Ioannu</i> , (146r) <i>Čestnii paraklisъ přestěi vlčci našei Bci</i> (handwritten), (148r) continuing of other prayers (printed), (154v) <i>Čestnii paraklisъ přestěi vlčci našei Bci</i> , (182v) <i>Čestnii paraklisъ stomou i+ slavnomu prrokou Ilie</i> , (190v) <i>Žitie i žizнь přepodobnye (mtr) naše Petky</i> , (202r) <i>Mučenie Stgo i+ slavnago mčnika Georgia</i> , (225r) some handwritten notes, (225v) picture of the Cross, (227r) continuing of a text about Cross, (229r) <i>Epistolia Av'gara cra</i> , (232r) <i>Čjudo o stěmъ oubrouse Gny</i> , (233r-240v) empty lists, (241r) <i>Katavasie</i> , (281r) <i>Otpélo po+ grbč'skómu ezýkou</i> , (289r) <i>Pripěla prazdnikomъ izbran'nym</i> , (297r) <i>Pasxalia sь+ lounov'nikom i+ sinažaromъ</i> , (309r) <i>O šivotě i+ dlbgota zemli</i> , (311r) afterword by hierodeacon Moses (<i>Movsi</i>), (312r-316v) empty lists	
nominal articles	7	0.3115%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	43	1.9137%
adjectival articles	7	0.3115%
ext. demonstratives	-	-
DAT.POSS pronouns	3	0.1335%
future particle <i>šte</i>	-	-
long-form adjectives	240	10.681%
synthetic infinitives	40	1.7802%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	17	0.7566%
non-NOM articles	7	0.3115%

2.3. Kiev d. - Kievski damaskin

Kievski damaskin is held in the National Library of Ukraine "V.I. Vernadsky" in Kiev under the signature IP Ф.301 № 290. It is basically a Church Slavonic translation of *Thēsauros*, preserving both the contents and the order of chapters. According to Ilijevski (& Ilijevka 2015:21f.), the damaskin was written in the Kičevo Monastery, which was a very productive literary center after its reconstruction in 1560s. As already mentioned above, the text is based on the earliest Slavic translation of *Thēsauros* by Gregory of Prilep (e.g. Demina 1968:42), most likely before he was elevated to the rank of a metropolite in the 1580s (Ilijevski & Ilijevka 2015:18). Due to its size, the translation was bound in two tomes already in the beginning, preserving the contents and order of chapters. The first tome (20 chapters) is held in Skopje; a facsimile with a detailed description was published by Ilijevski (1972). The second tome (chapters 21-36) was brought to Kiev by the archimandrite Antonin Kapustin (1817-1894) likely during his visit to Macedonia in 1865 (Ilijevski & Ilijevka 2015:23).

For the corpus, we have selected the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, chapter 27 of *Thēsauros*. This is actually the only text by Stouditēs included in this corpus. We have used the facsimile provided by Ilijevski (& Ilijevka 2015:564-583, or pp. 226-246 by the pagination of the source). As it is the case with other

hagiographies in the *Thēsauros*, Stouditēs used an authoritative Greek version, here attributed to St. Sophronius of Jerusalem (†638), which he edited to a "common language" with minimal changes in the content (Ilievski & Ilievska 2015:41). Stouditēs authored only an *Afterword on Penance* (*Epilogos symbeleutikos peri Metanoias*), the rest reflects the Sophronius' text. There were actually more parallel translations of the *Life* circulating among the 17th century damaskinars: some of them were based on *Thēsauros* (Kiev d., NBKM 327 and Sv.d.), others on an older Church Slavonic translation (e.g. *Tixon.d.*; cf. Velčeva 1996), which, of course, lack the afterword by Stouditēs (Demina 1968:169).

The translation is done on a strict word-by-word basis. While the Stouditēs' edition switches between Modern and Koine Greek in Bible citations, the difference is not reflected in the Slavonic text. However, as Stouditēs' edition is mostly in Modern Greek, some Balkan features can be observed on the text well. Sometimes, the Balkan features are overtly avoided. Subjunctive constructions are often translated with Slavonic synthetic infinitives, even if a conditional or subjunctive marker would be more suitable, as it can be observed in the translation of (Ruthenian-born) Samuil Bakačič from the manuscript NBKM 327:

Kiev d.: *edà wbrěštet se ktô éže poučiti me ně'koe dělo inoč' skoe.*
 NBKM 327: *Oúbo est' li póne edín' ně'kto, íže da mē naoúčit ně'koego dě'la kalúgerskago.*
 Stouditēs 1751: *taxates einai kanenas hopu na me didažēi tipotes ergon kalogerikēes;*
 'is there anyone, who would teach me something about hermitry?'

Of course, some Balkan features surface because of the language shift in the native dialect of the translator. This can be well seen in the choice of case endings. The set of available options differs between Modern Greek, Balkan Slavic and Church Slavonic. In the following example, the Macedonian translator used a locative case instead of instrumental (used by Bakačič²⁰), unsure how to render the ambiguous Greek dative:

Kiev d.: *jako t' polóži v' nbsa na wbláč'x.*
 NBKM 327: *jáko t' wděváet' nbo w'blaki*
 Stouditēs 1751: *hoti autos periballei ton uranon en nefelais*
 '[because] He covers the sky with clouds' (Ps 147:8 NIV)

For our purposes, we have used a manual transcript based on the facsimiles provided in the edition by Ilievski. Similarly as *Vel.s.* and Vuković 1536, also *Kiev d.* is a source more typical for Church Slavonic or Middle Bulgarian literature. However, there are multiple reasons for its inclusion in the corpus. One is the Modern Greek original of the text, which interacts with both Church Slavonic and the supposed dialect of the translator/scribe. Another reason is the general lack of comparable sources from the Macedonian area, and especially its western part.

Text title	<i>Žitie i žizn' přepodobnyje Marie Egipťěnnini</i>
Tokens	4270
Sentences	599
Source date	1570s
Source origin	Kičevo
Text date	1570s
Text origin	Macedonia
Norm	Church Slavonic
Variety	Resava orthography
Source contents	(page 1) <i>Slovo o pritči mitara i farisea</i> , (54) <i>V' pritči bludnago</i> , (88) <i>O vtorem priš'bstvi</i> , (135) <i>Slovo ob izgnanii Adama</i> , (160) <i>Radi stye ikony</i> , (211) <i>Na poklonenie čstnomu i životvoreštomu krstu</i> , (226) <i>Žitie i žizn' prp'dbnye</i>

²⁰ Actually, the Slavic words used to translate *periballei* require different cases in Church Slavonic: *oděvati* could be used with both accusative (requiring a preposition: *oděvati se v' svoju krasotou* 'to clothe oneself with his beauty) and instrumental, while *položiti* expects an accusative.

Marie Egipcenini, (246) *Vъ nedlę θominu*, (276) *Vъ nedlę mvrnosicam*, (306) *Vъ nedlju raslablenago*, (336) *Vъ nedlju samaranini*, (365) *Vъ nedlę o roždeny slepago*, (397) *Vъ nedlę styix *tii* bgonosnixь otcъ* [318 otci od Nikejskiot sobor], (429) *Slovo vъ nedlę vъsěx styx*, (445) *Mčnie stgo i slavnag velikomčnika Dimitria Mvrotoca*, (475-493) *Vъ pгъvoju subotu postъ* [za Teodor Tiron] (Ilievski & Ilievska 2015:40f.)

nominal articles	17	0.3981%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	71	1.6628%
adjectival articles	1	0.0234%
ext. demonstratives	1	0.0234%
DAT.POSS pronouns	3	0.0703%
future particle <i>šte</i>	-	-
long-form adjectives	253	5.9251%
synthetic infinitives	121	2.8337%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	11	0.2576%
non-NOM articles	7	0.1639%

2.4. *Lov.d.* - *Loveški damaskin*

Loveški damaskin is a manuscript in the Regional Museum of Loveč, designated *L5*, currently displayed at the office of Georgi Terzijski ([link](#)). As with other 17th century damaskini, it does not contain explicit information about its scribe or origin. Watermarks (three crescents; Mladenova & Velčeva 2013:10; [link](#)) are not conclusive, as they were used throughout the 17th century. On the analysis of the script, Mladenova and Velčeva (2013:11) suppose that it was written by four or five scribes, although they wrote very similarly to each other. The script is also similar to that of Avram Dimitrievič (†1710), the scribe of *Trojan d.* and other manuscripts from 1660-1670s, who was schooled at the monastery "Varovitets" in Etropol and later became very active in the Karlovo-Kuklen school (Ivanova 2016). It is possible that *Lov.d.* also comes from this period. Mladenova and Velčeva (2013:20) argue that the order of chapters and ornaments in the *togiva*-part of *Tixon.d.* seems to reflect a later edition than that of *Lov.d.*, and for this reason, they consider *Lov.d.* to be older.

The damaskin belonged to a private collection until 1944, when it was donated to a *čitalište* "Nauka" in Loveč, which passed it to the Museum in 1980s (Mladenova & Velčeva 2013:9). The document escaped the attention of modern linguists until very recently. In 2013, a critical edition by Mladenova and Velčeva was published, alongside with an online edition, available at the website of the University of Sofia ([link](#)). From the point of view of the mentioned typology of damaskini, it is the first damaskin published of the type III described by Demina (1968:59), characteristic by containing only the texts of the *togiva*-translator, and by beginning with the *Homily on the Second Coming of Christ* by Damaskēnos Stouditēs. This completed the quest for having published all of the major damaskini types (I - *Kopr.d.* in 1908, *Trojan d.* in 1967, *Tixon.d.* in 1972; II - *Ljub.d.* in 1895; IV - *Sv.d.* in 1923). Until the discovery of the *Lov.d.*, the preserved examples of this type were too different from each other to determine the contents and structure of the original collection²¹.

The damaskin contains only seven homilies, missing pages at the beginning and the end. Also multiple chapters are missing beginnings. For our corpus, we have selected the last chapter, the *Homily against*

²¹ The specific position of the Demina's type III of *simple* Bulgarian damaskini is also apparent in the typology, proposed by Radoslavova (2013:344). Some of the damaskini (e.g. *NBKM 721* and *1073* of the Demina's type I, *NBKM 1067* of the type IV) preserve the calendar setting of *Thēsauros* in the titles of the chapters, others only partially (other of the types I and IV, all of the type II). Damaskini of the Demina's type III show no date. Instead of being based on the annual cycle of this world, they are collections of homilies on various topics of moral instruction - a "guide for eternity", as dubbed by Mladenova and Velčeva (2013:28).

Drinking, in full title *Teaching for kings and counts and priests and all Christians about not getting drunk by wine* (cf. below), which can be found on folia 85r-87r. The topic was common already in Old Bulgarian literature. Mladenova and Velčeva (2013:88) mention a homily *On drinking (O pianstvě)* in a late 12th or early 13th century *Sbornik* from the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius²² as the earliest attested example. They consider the text to be an original work in Church Slavonic, despite its attribution to John Chrysostomus.

The *togiva*-translator used likely a Church Slavonic source, which was similar to the edition included in the damaskin CIAI 134 from Lukovit (Sprostranov 1900:211f.; Demina 1968; Mladenova & Velčeva 2013:90) dated to the end of the 17th century (Mladenova 2018:183). This edition has been included in the corpus file for reference. There are only minor differences in content. Translated are both the body text and Bible quotations, which are usually left in Church Slavonic in the *togazi*-texts:

CIAI 134: *rěče bō velíky apsl̆ pāvľ. jako piānici ne naslě'det̆ crstvo nbsnoe*

Lov.d.: *Katō rčē i+ apsl̆ pável̆. oti piānici crstvo nbsnoe ne+mógat̆ namě'ri.*

'as Paul the Apostle says, the drunkards cannot find the Kingdom of Heaven' (1 Cor 6:10)

The *simple* Bulgarian version of the *Lov.d.* can also be found in *Tixon.d.* (chapter 20, cf. below) and in *Sv.d.* with only very minor differences. We have used the online edition of the damaskin as the basis of our corpus, with missing end (6 sentences, 106 tokens) complemented on the basis of the *Tixon.d.* edition.

Text title	<i>Poučenie ne opivati se vinom</i>	
Tokens	810	
Sentences	105	
Source date	1650-1670s	
Source origin	Etropol?	
Text date	early 17th c.	
Text origin	Trojan area	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	early <i>togiva</i> type	
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1r) [Za vtoro prišestvie], (2, 42r) [Reči izbrani ot drevni mъže], (3, 46v) <i>Čto sout̆ Vražy člku domašnego</i> , (4, 47v) [Zlatoust: Za pokajanie duševno], (5, 58v) <i>Slovo o ženax dobryx i mľčalivyx</i> , (6, 59r) [Videnie Pavlovo], (7, 85r-87v) <i>Slovo poučenie kъ crem i voevodam i vldkam i popovom i vsěm xrstianom ne opivati se vinom</i> (based on online edition, link)	
nominal articles	16	1.9753%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	13	1.6049%
adjectival articles	1	0.1235%
ext. demonstratives	10	1.2346%
DAT.POSS pronouns	7	0.8642%
future particle <i>šte</i>	2	0.2469%
long-form adjectives	30	3.7037%
synthetic infinitives	2	0.2469%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.5. *Tixon.d.* - *Tixonravovski damaskin*

The manuscript of the Russian State Library in Moscow with signature OP Ф.299 №702 (collection of N.S. Tixonravov) is one of the earliest known manuscripts containing longer passages of an early variety

²² Preserved in the Russian State Library in Moscow, sign. OP Ф.304/I №12 ([link](#)).

of *simple Bulgarian*. The scribe, the date and also the location of its composition are so far unknown. On the basis of watermarks, Lavrov established the earliest date at 1604 (Demina 1972:38). Miletič (1908:xxi) placed its origin to Sopot in the first half of the 17th century. But it was actually only bought by the church in Sopot from a certain priest Georgi. A priest Georgi sold a similar damaskin (*NBKM 708*) to the village of Protopopinci in 1689 (Demina 1968:10); but they do not have to be the same person. He would likely not be one of the scribes himself, but rather a "salesman" in service of the scriptorium (Mladenova & Velčeva 2013:22).

Demina (1972:33) identified three different scribes on the basis of the script, the first of which likely wrote a menaion from 1642 in the monastery "Varovitets". The watermarks on the paper are common in other damaskini discussed (three crescents; a crown, a star, a crescent) too. The particular designs used on the paper of *Tixon.d.* were dated to 1658-1678 by Demina (1972:38). As the relative dating of *Lov.d.* and *Tixon.d.* (see above) is not fully clear, we may place the origin of the manuscript roughly to 1650s-1670s in Etropol too.

According to a side note from 1829, it was given by priest Cvjatko from Sopot to a certain Xristo, who brought it to Kishinev to print it. Although Xristo writes in the note of his intention to send it back to Sopot, the book somehow remained in Russia. It is possible, that it was returned only to be taken by Jurij Venelin (+1839) during his journey in Bulgaria in 1830s (Kuev 2019), who even used the *Life of St. Petka* from this source as a model for orthography for modern Bulgarian, which he was working on (Demina 1998:96). Nikolai S. Tixonravov (1832-1893) received the manuscript from Mixail Pogodin, a fellow Slavist. In this time it was also studied by Lavrov (1899). His collection was given to the Rumyantsev Museum in 1912 (Kuev 2019). The repository was later to become the State Library of the USSR "V.I. Lenin", the predecessor of the present-day Russian State Library in Moscow. A full critical edition with a detailed study reaching far beyond the scope of this single damaskin has been published by Evgenia I. Demina (1972). She also led the publication of a dictionary based on the source (Demina et al. 2011).

The manuscript contains a partial translation of *Thēsauros*, as well as other texts in both Church Slavonic and *simple Bulgarian*. With its 41 chapters it is likely the best-preserved example of the early damaskini collections (Demina 1968:64). As already mentioned above, the *simple Bulgarian* part of the damaskin contains transcripts from at least two translators, distinguished by the pronouns *togazi* and *togiva*. According to Demina (1972:75f.), they were separated more by the time than by the place. The texts containing *togiva* (which also fully replaces *togazi* in the later *Trojan d.*) pronoun were based on a later translation, but the both translators show features typical for the Lukovit and Teteven dialects in the western part of the Balkan Mountain area (Demina 1985:260). However, both the dating and the localization is not uncontested. Later studies by Mladenova on the basis of the dialectal atlas (*BDA*) showed, that the area with the same features also includes the dialects of the Bela Slatina-Pleven group (Mladenova 2007), as well as Central Balkan dialects around Trojan (Mladenova & Velčeva 2013). This would bring the *togazi* and *togiva* translators closer to the third one, responsible for the *togizi* texts, but also to the newer editions from the East, represented in our corpus by *Ljub.d.* and *NBKM 1064*.

The corpus contains the eighth chapter of the manuscript, Euthymius' *Life of St Petka*, which can be found on folia 55r-60r²³. The text is based on the edition by Vuković (Demina 1980:185) and it belongs to the *togazi*-section. The text can also be found in many other related damaskini (e.g. *Kopr.d.*, *NBKM 709*, *CIAI 225*; also as a new *togiva*-redaction in *Trojan d.*) from the 17th century, as well as in later editions, represented in our corpus by *Ljub.d.* and *NBKM 1064*. The main difference from the version in Vuković 1536 is, of course, the language. While the script and orthography does not differ much

²³ The source has two paginations: smaller numbers are likely older, used in Demina 1972 and in our index. The new, larger numbers are decremented by one, e.g. 54r-59r for *Life of St. Petka*.

between the Church Slavonic and *simple* Bulgarian sources from the given region and time, the differences are well-apparent in morphology, syntax and also style. Some of the forms were not understood by the editor, like the synthetic comparative in the very beginning:

Vuković 1536: *Svě'tlě'išia slnca (prěpodw' bnyje) páméť pětky.*

'The remembrance of Reverend Petka is brighter than the sun.'

Tixon.d.: Slnce kól'koto ima svě'tb i+ svě'ti tól'kozi i+ na prpodóbnaa pét'ka páméť (...)

'As the world has Sun to shine, so much (shines) the remembrance of our Reverend Petka (...)'

A typical stylistic difference is the use of subordinated clauses with verbal participles in Church Slavonic, reflected as multiple sentences separated by a coordinating conjunction in *simple* Bulgarian:

Vuković 1536: *pouštynjù w'stávlší kь wtčb'stvoù vьzvratí+ se,*

Tixon.d.: da+ wstávišb púštynja+ta, i+ idi+ sí pákь nazádь na+ tvoè wtčbstvo.

'Leave the desert and go back to your homeland!'

From the aspect of the textual tradition, the difference in contents is minimal between Vuković and damaskini editions. Already Demina (1980:186) remarked the addition of the author's name in the introduction (*napísax azь ev'tímie...*), which is also absent in the Euthymius' original. An intriguing passage, where Petka threatens Georgi with divine fire, if he fails to meet her demands (cf. Kažužniacki 1901:68), is also found only in this damaskini edition. The contents have been preserved in transcripts up to the 19th century, including those of *Ljub.d.*, *Ioann d.* and *NBKM 1064*, included in our corpus.

For the purposes of our corpus, we have used first an automated transcript of the critical edition by Demina (1972:94-98), which reflects the original word boundaries and accentuation. Later we have corrected it using a scan of the original manuscript, available at the website of the library ([link](#)). Generally, the text was well preserved and did not require to consult other sources for reconstruction. The text has also been published online as a browser-capable edition ([link](#)).

Text title	<i>Žitie prěpodobnye matere našee Petky Trьnovskye</i>
Tokens	2486
Sentences	278
Source date	1650-1670s
Source origin	Etropol?
Text date	early 17th c.
Text origin	Lukovit-Teteven area
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	early <i>togazi</i> type
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 3r in original, p.47 in Demina 1972, <i>togiva</i> type) [Slovo za desetěxь nauky Movseovy], (2, 9r, p.53, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Pametь prpodobnago oca našego Svmeona Stlьpnika</i> , (3, 16r, p.59, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Slovo na roždstvo prěstye vldčce našee Bce i prsnodvy Marie</i> , (4, 21v, p.64, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Vьzdviženie čstnago krsta</i> , (5, 27r, p.69, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Mčnie stogo velikomčnika Evstaēia novago iova i žena ego Θεοπίστα i čeda ego Agapie i Θεοπίστb</i> , (6, 41r, p.81, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Prěstavljenje stgo apsla i evglista Ioanna Bgoslova</i> , (7, 49r, p.89, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Slovo na stgo apsla Θομy</i> , (8, 55r, p.94, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Žitie prpdbnye matere našee Petky Trьnov'skye</i> , (9, 60v, p.99, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Mčnie stgo i slavnago velikomčnika Dimitria Mvrotočivago</i> , (10, 76r, p.113, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Pamet sty bez'srebrьnikь Koz'ma i Damianь</i> , (11, 81r, p.117, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Skazanie o čjudesex čto e bylo o prěvelikyx činonačelnikь Mixaila i Gavriila</i> , (12, 108v, p.141, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Oca našego Ioanna Zlatooustago patriarxa Crigrada</i> , (13, 121r, p.151, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Vь crkovь vьvedenie prstye vldčce naše Bce i prsnodvy Mrie</i> , (14, 126r, p.156, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Žitie prpdbnago oca našego Savvy osštennago</i> , (15, 131r, p.161, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Žitie i žiz'нь počь styx iže čjudesь iže vь styx oca našego ierar'xa i čjudotvor'ca Nikolae Mirilikiiskye</i> , (16, 157r, p.183, <i>togazi</i>) <i>Slovo na poklonjenje čstnago i životvoreštago krsta</i> , (17, 163v, p.189,

togazi) *Žitie i žizнь prpdbname Marii Egvptěniny*, (18, 177r, p.201, *togiva*) *Slovo za vtoro prišbŕstvie*, (19, 207v, p.226, *togiva*) *Slovo ot glavъ stgo Nila o osmi pomyslěx'*, (20, 208r, p.227, *togiva*) *Slovo poučenie kъ cremъ i voevodatъ i vldka i popovom i vъsěm xrstianom neopivati se vinom*, (21, 210r, p.229, *togiva*) *Slovo loanna Zlatustago o zlyxъ ženax*, (22, 211r, p.231, Church Slavonic) *Pravilo styx apslъ i bgonosnyx ocъ*, (23, 211v, p.232, Church Slavonic) *Iny zapovědy iereom*, (24, 211v, p.233, Church Slavonic) *Slovo ot star'čbъskago*, (25, 212r, p.234, Church Slavonic) *Slovo loanna Zlatustago o sštennikoxъ*, (26, 213r, p.235, Church Slavonic) *Slovo o Daniilě mnisě iže oblyganъ bys ljuboděaniem*, (27, 213r, p.236, Church Slavonic) *Slovo o nekršteněmъ dētišti i o vlasti iereistěi*, (28, 213v, p.237, Church Slavonic) *Slovo ot bēsēdъ stgo Grigoria*, (29, 214v, p.238, Church Slavonic) *Slovo o posēštati boleštixъ*, (30, 214v, p.239, Church Slavonic) *Slovo Iona Zlatustago o poxvalě mlstivym*, (31, 215r, p.240, *togiva*) *Slovo loanna Zlatoustago o pokaanii dševněmъ*, (32, 223r, p.248, *togiva*) *Slovo stgo aspla Pavla obxoždenie raji i muky*, (33, 232r, p.256, *togazi*) *Slovo na roždbŕstvo Ga našego Iv Xa*, (34, 248r, p.270, *togazi*) *Slovo na cvětonosie Gnje eže jest srětenie Xvo sъ Vaiemъ*, (35, 256r, p.277, *togazi*) *Slovo na pogrebenie Ga ba i spsa nšego Iv Xa*, (36, 267r, p.286, *togazi*) *Stgo apsla Filippa slovo*, (37, 273v, p.291, *togazi*) *Pamet stgo apsla i evglista Mateea*, (38, 281v, p.297, *togazi*) *Slovo na vъzne[se]nie Ga našego Iv Xa*, (39, 295r, p.307, *togiva*) *Mčnie stago i slavnago velika mčnika Georgia*, (40, 320r, p.326, *togazi*) *Slovo stgo Aležia bžia člka*, (41, 325r-341r, p.330-342, Church Slavonic) *Slovo na srětenie Ga našego Iv Xa* (Demina 1972:47-342)

nominal articles	34	1.3677%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	32	1.2872%
adjectival articles	11	0.4425%
ext. demonstratives	37	1.4883%
DAT.POSS pronouns	15	0.6034%
future particle <i>šte</i>	5	0.2011%
long-form adjectives	104	4.1834%
synthetic infinitives	5	0.2011%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	1	0.0402%
non-NOM articles	1	0.0402%

2.6. *Ljub.d.* - *Ljubljanski damaskin*

This damaskin is held under the signature NUK Cod. Kop. 21 in the National and University Library of Slovenia in Ljubljana. The original whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown. Some indices are provided by the already mentioned damaskin *NBKM 708*, sold to Protopopinci (later Pirdop) in 1689. While its structure and contents reflect *Tixon.d.*, the script is very similar to *Ljub.d.* and Conev (II 1923:340) considers the two to be written by the same hand²⁴. Covers were made of a firman by Sultan Mehmed IV from 1682. Watermarks were dated by librarians to 1696 and 1703 ([link](#)), the design (a crown, a star and a crescent) is common for the 17th century. On the other hand, the contents reflect the order of chapters in the damaskini of Drjanovo (*NBKM 711*) and Trjavna (*NBKM 710*). Although *Ljub.d.* contains only a part of their chapters, Demina (1968:57) classed it with them as an example of a second type damaskin. A similar text from the Kotel-Elena area could have served its scribe as a protograph. The available information thus hints at an origin in the beginning of the 18th century.

How the manuscript made its way to the present-day Slovenia remains a question. A side note mentions the town of Karlovo, where it was possibly held in the past. In any case, it was part of the

²⁴ Although the author would not agree with that, the both sources show a similar alternation between a neat *poluustav* font used for titles and cursive for the main text.

collection donated by Kopitar (†1844) to the gymnasium in Ljubljana. It was referenced by Miklosich in his dictionary (1865) and studied by Lamanskij and Grigorovič in 1869 (Argirov 1895:463). A critical edition of the whole collection - a first of its kind in the field of damaskini studies - was published by Argirov (1895:466-560).

For our purposes, we have selected from this source the Euthymius' *Life of St Petka*, which can be found on folia 96v-103r (or pages 550-556 in the Argirov's edition). The text is very close to the edition available in *Tixon.d.*, sharing mostly the same structure and contents. One of the minor differences can be seen in occasional omissions or extensions on a phrase level. The same omissions can be seen in the related sources too:

Tixon.d.: *ιωάννης ασέ'νju. snь stárimu bl'gar'skymu cáru asé'nju. krě'p'ko drbžáše togázi cárstvo*

Ljub.d.: *ióαννης ασέ'νju, krě'pko držáše togázi crstvo*

Kotel d.: *i iwánь asé'нь, krě'pko drbžáše togázi crstvo to si*

'the King John Asěn, son of Asěn, the old King of Bulgaria, held (his) kingdom fast'

There are also small differences in the vocabulary. In comparison to *Tixon.d.*, the editor of *Ljub.d.* seems to have been more apt to replace archaisms taken over from the Church Slavonic edition. Also this feature is common to the related sources, although not always reflecting the damaskini typology by Demina²⁵:

Tixon.d.: *I+ slučí+ se tà umrě`ně'koi korábnikь*

Ljub.d.: *I+ slučí+ se tà umrě`ně'koi gemeμi^a*

'and so it came to pass, a sailor died'

The language of *Ljub.d.* also seems to be more innovative from the perspective of the general trends in Bulgarian dialects. This can be observed, for example, on the removal of certain archaic (or Church Slavonic) case forms both for pronouns and nouns. It is unclear, which of these were still productive in the early 17th century, as not all of them were simply copied from Church Slavonic²⁶. The orthography of *Ljub.d.* seems to prefer jers to reflect the middle vowel /ǎ/ (marked red). The sources related to *Tixon.d.* are less consequent with the choice:

Tixon.d.: *i+ srě'stnьxa+ ju" (...) i+ p(o)klóni+ se cárь do+ zemlje, i+ cělovà jéi rúce*

Ljub.d.: *i+ srěštnь'xa+ jǎ (...) i+ pokloni+ se crь dó+ zemlja, i+ cěluvà ì rь'cě*

'and they met her (...) and the king bowed to the ground and kissed her hands'

Of course, it is unclear what is the cause of these difference: whether they reflect deliberate attempts to make the language closer to the Kotel-Elena dialects of the given period, or a diachronic change between the editions, or a more innovative tendency of the editors behind the *Ljub.d.* edition. It is plausible to expect any and all of these three factors at work.

The digital text used in the corpus was originally acquired by automatic recognition of Argirov's critical edition. In this way, the text was used in the first comparative study (Šimko 2020). The text was later corrected according to the scan of the original available at the website of the National Library of Slovenia ([link](#)), and in this form it was added to the corpus.

Text title

Žitie přepodobnye matere naše Petky Trьnovskye

²⁵ Word *korabnikь* is found e.g. in *Kopr.d.*, NBKM 709 and NBKM 721. Word *gemeμia* (or *gemiμia*) in *Trojan d.* (although otherwise more akin to *Tixon.d.*), NBKM 711, *Kotel d.* and also NBKM 1064. *Ioann.d.* uses *korabčia*.

²⁶ The phrase *do zemlje* 'to the ground' from the example was likely added by the *togazi*-translator. It is not found in the NBKM 721 edition (*jú+ že svoíma čьstně` izbьém'se rukáma. dše jú+ že i+ vьsě'ть cremь ljúbьzno lobizáxu*), nor in Vuković 1536. Of course, it is unlikely the genitive was still productive (e.g. *pàk'+ sí přěkloni glavâ+ ta do+ zemlja* 'and he again bowed down his head to the ground' in *Tixon.d.*; Demina 1972:62), but the phrase could have been lexicalized.

Tokens	2500	
Sentences	277	
Source date	1690-1700s	
Source origin	Karlovo?	
Text date	17th c.	
Text origin	Kotel-Elena area	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	later <i>togazi</i> type	
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1r in original, p.447 in Argirov 1895) [Slovo za vtoro prišbŕstvie], (2, 46r, p.505) [Mučenie svętago Georgia], (75r, p.532) <i>lže vъ styxъ oca našego Nikolae Mvrilikiiskago čjudotvorca</i> , (3, 96v, p.550) Žitie prprodobnye mtre naše Pet'ky Trъnov'skye , (4, 103v, p.556) <i>Slovo stgo oca našego Ioanna Zlatustago o dševno pokaanie</i> , (5, 108r-108v, p.559-560) <i>Slovo stgo lo Zlatustago o zlyx' ženax</i> (Argirov 1895:447-560)	
nominal articles	36	1.44%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	37	1.48%
adjectival articles	16	0.64%
ext. demonstratives	51	2.04%
DAT.POSS pronouns	15	0.6%
future particle <i>šte</i>	5	0.2%
long-form adjectives	113	4.52%
synthetic infinitives	5	0.2%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.7. NBKM 328

This manuscript is held in the National Library in Sofia under signature НБКМ 328 (62). According to a sidenote at the end, it was written in 1749-1750 in Samokov and Vratsa (Conev I 1910:324f.) by Josif Bradati (ca. 1714-1789). Although the source was known to the scholars already since the 19th century, it was attributed to Bradati only after the discovery of the manuscript No. 4/7 (26) of the Rila Monastery, which included his own signature. Signatures in *NBKM 328* itself (Conev mentions two: on folio 153v and 271v) were long considered to be mere transcripts. First after the discovery of RM 4/7 (26), *NBKM 328* was identified as one of his autographs too (Angelov I 1963:42).

Although their works are often classed as damaskini, works of Bradati and his students represent a new tradition of literature. They are no products of professional scriptoria, meant to be sold to churches, like in the case of *Tixon.d.* and priest Georgi. *NBKM 328* is not a "representative" manuscript like the above mentioned damaskini, written calligraphically and rich in ornaments. Its texts were written on a small format paper, using a radically simplified orthography, discarding most accents as well as archaic letters. Nor the contained texts seem to follow any existing collections. *NBKM 328* was one of his *knižici* (Angelov I 1963:55), working notebooks, carried during the travels as a monk in service of the Rila Monastery. During these travels he both collected and spread the texts, teaching them to his students in the visited towns.

The dynamic origin of the Bradati's collections was reflected on the language too. While explicitly trying to write in a language close to the common people (Angelov I 1963:32f.), Bradati did not adopt the language of the 17th century damaskini, although it is unlikely they did not reach him²⁷. The reason

²⁷ Angelov (I 1963:51-56) compared the texts by Stouditēs in Bradati's works and various 17-18th century damaskini, acknowledging he translated the *Thēsauros* anew. However, Angelov argues the total amount of translations done by Bradati is hard to determine, as he paraphrases the texts much more freely than earlier translators. Nevertheless, the *Life of St. Petka* in *Ioann.d.* is based on a damaskin similar to *NBKM 709*.

could have been their apocryphal contents. It is not clear, what was the language of the apocryphal collections accused by him of spreading falsehoods (*karǎtanovi knigi*), but only two of the stories mentioned by Bradati (e.g. visions of St. Paul and of the Mother of God, cf. Angelov I 1963:157) are attested in *simple* Bulgarian damaskini.

As his travels were mostly limited to Western Bulgaria (especially Samokov and Vratsa) and East Macedonia (Orizare), he adapted the language to some of the local phonetics, replacing jats with /e/ (e.g. *grex* 'sin'), strong jers (and often back nasals too) with /a/ (*staracъ* 'old man', *maka* 'torment'), although not always consistently (Xristova 1990:67f.). The Church Slavonic influence is strong too. He adapts a lot from the Church Slavonic vocabulary including function words (e.g. *ašte* 'if', temporal relative pronoun *egda* 'then'), but also morphosyntactic features, although does not employ them consistently. The old synthetic infinitive (blue) appear along forms typical for Modern Bulgarian (red) within a single sentence:

ne+ trebu_ etъ da+ se sramueme wt+ ljudie, ašte li+ se wt+ boga boiši. to+ nigde ne možeši da+ se sakrie. ašte+ 'i+ podъ zemli ne+ možeši+ se sakriti da+ te ne+ vidit' bgъ

'We do not need to feel shame in front of people. If you fear God, you cannot hide anywhere. You cannot hide even beneath the earth, so that God does not see you.'

Double conditionals are, of course, complex syntactic constructions. The parallel sentence in *PPS* shows inconsistent employment of verbal forms (PRS + conditional) and conjunction (first *ili + i*, then *ili + to*):

'ili se wt lúge srámu_ vašъ 'i tuka da ležíme nikoi ni ne vídi 'ilí se wt bĝa bóišъ to kako bí se skril 'i pod zemlju 'i támo bĝъ vídi (PPS 195r)

'Either you feel shame from people, so we can lay here, nobody sees us; or you fear God, then even if you hide beneath the earth, God sees you there too.'

As it is unlikely, that such instances can be interpreted as deliberate archaisms, and not rather habits, acquired during his school years in Elena or Rila Monastery. It is possible, that some of the archaic forms were still productive in the West Bulgarian dialects or at least comprehensible due to contact with Serbian (cf. section on *Temski r.*). Bradati's own language was not fixed: it developed in course of his travels and writings, especially on the lexical and syntactic level, slowly discarding archaic terms (Angelov I 1963:51). The analysis of linguistic features of the included text showed similarity with the texts by Punčo and Sophronius' *Nedělnik* 1806 (Šimko 2021). For this reason, at least the language of *NBKM 328* can be seen as a predecessor of *Slavenobulgarian*.

Many of the Bradati's works are new translations, including texts unknown to older damaskini. This may also be the case of the *Legend of Thaïs the Harlot* (folia 43v-47r), which we have included in the corpus. The text was translated to Church Slavonic and it is attested in the *Bdinski zbornik* from the 14th century²⁸. It was also widespread in Russian manuscripts of the 15th-16th century as a part of the appendix of the short *Zlatostrui* (Miltenov 2013:51)²⁹. Bradati's edition seems closer to the Russian editions³⁰. The comparison of currently available texts (both Church Slavonic and Greek) is inconclusive from the aspect of the question, which edition served as the source for the author.

The text was later transcribed by some of Bradati's students, including Todor and Ioann of Vratsa. It is also attested in *PPS*, although this edition shows, characteristically of Punčo, more changes. In this way

²⁸ Held at the University of Ghent, sign. Ms. slav 402, f. 106v-110v ([link](#)).

²⁹ E.g. manuscript *GIM Sin.988* of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, f. 758r-759r (Arabic pagination; [link](#)). A similar version can be found in the *Menaion* of Demetrius of Rostov (Rostovski 1689:152r-153v).

³⁰ E.g. the cited passage *ašte+ 'i+ podъ zemli ne+ možeši+ se sakriti da+ te ne+ vidit' bgъ* is found only in the *Menaion* of Demetrius: *ášte by sokrýl' sę esì i pod' zemléi, i támo Bgъ víditъ*. However, this edition lacks other parts attested in *GIM Sin.988* and *Bdinski zbornik*.

it can be compared with works of authors usually not considered a part of the circle of his students. For our purposes, we have used scans of the original manuscript provided by the National Library in Sofia.

Text title	<i>Radi blaženoju Taisiju</i>	
Tokens	896	
Sentences	136	
Source/Text date	1749-1750	
Source/Text origin	Samokov or Vratsa	
Norm	early <i>Slavenobulgarian</i>	
Source contents	(folio 1r) <i>Zlatousta slovo na vtorata nedělja otъ posta: za pokajanie i za Kaina, Iroda, Avela, pror. Daniila, i za caretě Axava i Davida i za apostola Pavla</i> , (12r) <i>Въ среду *e*-ju nedlju Kirila Monaxa</i> , (16r) <i>Zlatousta radi dvore, i zmiju, i radi žitie věka sego suetnago</i> , (27r) [отъ соштија slovo na cvetonosie], (27v) <i>Slovo stgo Vьrlama radi suetnago věka sego</i> , (29r) <i>Slovo boitъ se vragъ ot smerenie</i> , (30r) <i>Slovo za tretii vьselenski sьborъ</i> , (32v) <i>Sti mičenici Minodori, Mitrodori, Ninfodori</i> , (34r) <i>Pavelъ monovьsiski episkupъ skazana namъ kako tri ženi naidoxa na edna pusta gora vь edna propastъ</i> , (37r) <i>Poučenie Θεodora studita</i> , (38v) <i>Slovo radi nekoja bludnica</i> , (39v) <i>Slovo stgo anъdioxa ot obъjade</i> , (42r) <i>Slovo radi pīanstvo stgo anъdioxa</i> , (43v) <i>Radi blaženoju Taisiju</i> , (47r) <i>Slovo radi onia ko iskatъ da se sprasutъ</i> ³¹ , (56r) <i>Въ sti vьliki ropъdelъnikъ otъ I. Zlatousta slovo kako iskaxu smokovnicu</i> , (58v) <i>Slovo kako nestъ podobno i ne e pri(li)čno da besedu sьsъ ra(z)vraštена žena koito se kitatъ i premenuvatъ</i> , (61v) <i>Radi desetъ devi</i> , (63v) <i>Въ sti vьliki vtorъnikъ otъ I. Zlatousta. Slovo iže reče oče moi ašte vьzmožno budetъ da mimo idetъ taja čaša ot mene</i> , (66v) <i>Stgo i vьlikago cara i ravno apsla Kostъdina</i> , (86r) <i>Oca našego Silivestra, papa rimъskago</i> , (104r) <i>Stago slavnago prroka Iliа tezvъvitenipa</i> , (130r) <i>Oca našego Amъvrosia Mediolъskago</i> , (154r) sidenotes by the scribe (<i>napisax tova žitie ou Vraca vь domъ Dimo Nikolovi sinъ vь leto *#aψn* [1750] azъ Iosifъ</i>), (154v) <i>prěprodobnago i bogonosnago oca našego Θεodosia obъštežitela</i> , (176v) <i>Oca našego Ioana Zlatousta Ništoljubiva</i> , (271r) sidenotes, (271v) <i>Prestavlenie stimi apslomъ Petra i Pavla</i> , (301v) <i>Stomu i vsevxaъnomu i vьxovnomu Andreja Prъvozvanago Petrova sarodnika</i> , (325r) <i>Stago apostola Θoma</i> , (327r) <i>Zlatousta slovo poučitelno vь sti vьliki četvrtakъ</i> , (341r) sidenotes (Conev 1910 I:322-325)	
nominal articles	1	0.1116%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	17	1.8973%
adjectival articles	1	0.1116%
ext. demonstratives	10	1.1161%
DAT.POSS pronouns	-	-
future particle <i>šte</i>	-	-
long-form adjectives	27	3.0134%
synthetic infinitives	6	0.6696%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	2	0.2232%
non-NOM articles	2	0.2232%

2.8. Sv.d. - Svištovski damaskin

The manuscript is currently held in the *čitalište* "Elena i Kiril D. Abramovi" in Svištov ([link](#)) under the signature 556 (Miltenova 1980:103). It was published as a critical edition by Ljubomir Miletič in 1923. According to a note on folio 159v, after the chapter 7, it was written by a certain Georgie pop Peter in

³¹ A title *Slovo radi milostina* precedes the chapter, but the text contains only one line, telling us the source was "taken" (*ouzeše+ mī izvotъ*) by the author.

1753. However, the document continues after the note for next 12 chapters. Miletič (1901:62) at first considered Georgi to be the scribe of the whole manuscript. Later he admitted it was written by more hands with different orthographies, but yet all showing characteristic features of the same dialect (Miletič 1923:5)³².

The damaskin is one of the oldest among those including newer translations, classified above as the *togizi* group. Demina (1968:62) mentions also other sources containing works by the *togizi*-translator from the area: the damaskin *NBKM 713* comes from Belene, *Berl.d.*, *CIAI 133* and *NBKM 1067* from Pleven, *NBKM 1083* from Svištov³³. Among them, *NBKM 713* was originally considered to be the oldest among them, but the watermarks were recently dated to 1760-1770s (Mladenova et al. 2016:441). All of these sources known to Demina, classified as type IV by her, included sources from older translations too³⁴ and are very heterogenous in content. It is likely the scribes behind these sources worked on a similar basis as the school of Josif Bradati: more a circle of independent teachers, text collectors and students, than a professional scriptorium.

The focus of the study of Miletič was on the linguistic features of the damaskin, namely of the texts attributed to the *togizi*-translator. Miletič (1923:3) considered them to be close to the Moesian dialects of the Šumen-Provadija-Popovo-Razgrad area; similar dialects were likely spoken in the Svištov area too in the time of the *togizi*-translator. Some of these were new editions of texts, which were already known in older damaskini. Unlike the new *togiva* editions from *Trojan d.*, these were not based on previous damaskini translations. This is the case of the two *togizi* texts included in our corpus, the *Life of St. Petka* in *Berl.d.* and *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* in the currently described source.

As already mentioned, there were multiple versions of the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* in the damaskini tradition. The version available in earlier sources like *Tixon.d.* and *NBKM 1073* was based on an older, Church Slavonic edition, attested also in the damaskin *CIAI 1570*³⁵. *Sv.d.* includes a newer edition by the *togizi*-translator, which can also be found in *Berl.d.* and in another related damaskin held in the National Scientific Library of Odessa, designated *Grig. 39(65)*³⁶. The texts of this *Life* in *Kiev d.* and *Sv.d.* are both based on the edition of Stouditēs, but otherwise they are not related to each other (Demina

³² The pictures at the end of the 1923 edition show, that the damaskin was likely a collection written by at least two or three different scribes. First hand, Georgi's, uses a slightly cursive script, putting e.g. hooks on subscript parts of letters and the three-legged <m> for lowercase /t/. This hand wrote the most of the given examples, although the size of the letters varies too (e.g. 20 lines on 42r, 23 on 130r). The example of the folio 256r, showing a part of the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*, is written in a *poluustav* font similar to older damaskini sources, curiously using one-legged <т> for lowercase /t/ on the whole page. This scribe also prefers ъ as the word-final jer (Georgi prefers ѣ). The ъ is preferred also by a third scribe, responsible for the folio 303r. Unfortunately, Miletič and Miltenova did not provide a detailed description of watermarks, which could help to determine the date of the respective parts of the collection.

³³ Another damaskin usually designated *Svištovski* is actually a collection of Sunday homilies with some lives of saints (including that of St. Petka, *Tixon.d.* edition) without any texts from Stouditēs, bound by *daskal* Stefan in 1797 in Kilifarevo, which is also held in the *čitalište* of Svištov (Miltenova 1980:94-102; sign. 145a and 145b).

³⁴ Mladenova, Petkanova and Uzunova (2016:452) have identified a damaskin in the Regional Museum of Loveč (designated *L4*) which is written with the *poluustav* of the Karlovo-Kuklen school on a paper from 1690s (carrying watermark designs familiar from earlier damaskini like three crescents). The damaskin already includes chapters of all three translators (with majority being of the *togizi*-type; some of those are not found in other known sources). However, new *togizi* translations were still appearing in that time - *Berl.d.* contains homilies of Elias Mēniatēs, which were published first in 1716 (Mladenova et al. 2016:441).

³⁵ This source is likely identical with the *Boboševski damaskin* mentioned by Demina (1968:170).

³⁶ The present signature is unknown. Previous designations were 39(65) by Grigorovič (Demina 1968:62) and 124(14) by Kopylenko & Rapoport (1960:551). According to Demina (1968:171), the scribe of the *Grig. 39(65)* seems to have edited the text with more common words (e.g. *golěmo* instead of *veliko* in the very beginning), while that of *Berl.d.* only transcribed it.

1968:170). *Sv.d.* is also less of an exact word-by-word translation like *Kiev d.*, focusing more on the meaning of the whole phrase. The 'humans' (ACC.PL. *anērōpus*) are clearly marked as recipients in *Sv.d.* with preposition *na* (or dative in *NBKM 327*):

Kiev d.: *nb^+ bь iděze+ poda_vaetь+ razúmь+ vb+ člcěx, wnb`+ me+ nauči sía+ slovesà.*

NBKM 327: *Nb" Bь íže dáetь rázum člkomь, tь" mì pokázuetь sía slovesà.*

Sv.d.: *amí bogь, déto dáva rázum na čelověci+te, ónzi mi gi pokázuva tézi dúmi.*

Stouditēs 1751: *amē ho Θεος hopu didei tēn gnōsin eis tus anērōpus, ekeinos me ta³⁷ deixnei auta ta logia*
'but God, who gives reason to humans, He taught me these words'

It is possible that the *Sv.d.* is based on the translation of Samuil Bakačič, as *NBKM 327* leaves out the doubled citations from Gospel in a similar way. On the other hand, *NBKM 327* seems to omit the Modern Greek passages, while *Sv.d.* prefers them:

Kiev d.: *ištéte+ přēzde crstvīa bži'a i+ právdy egò i+ sí'a vьsà priložit+ se+ vám. sy"reč pročē ne+ pomýšljaite+ gljušte štò+ jámi ili čtò+ přémь, ili+ čímь+ wděždím+ se. zanè+ sí'a+ vьsà ęzýci ištut. zanè+ bь+ wtcь+ vášь+ í+že es(t) na+ nbsěxь vě'stь trěbovanīa sí'a+ vьsà. ségo+ radí ištéte prь've crstvye bži'e i+ právdy egò.. pročē i+ imy" ljúbymici, ne pomýšljaimь+ tákovaa.*

NBKM 327: *Ištíte+ že přēzde vьsegò Crьstvīa Bžīa i právdy egó, a sía vьsà prilóžat+se vam. Próčee Blsvénii Xristiáne da+ ne mýslim takóvyx.*

Sv.d.: *Rádí túí ištet'ti, pr'vo carstvo božīę i právda i tězi síčki+te ot góřě vi sa zda(dá)tь i tězi síčki+te ot góřě vi sa zda(dá)tь. Rádí túí i nýř, blagoslovéni xristiáni, dá ni sa enjásovami za tézi*

Stouditēs 1751: *zēteite de prōton tēn basileian tu Θεου, kai tēn dikaiosynēn autu, kai tauta panta prosteēsetai hymin. ēgoun, to loipon mēn ennoiasēte, legontes, ti na famen, ē ti na piōmen: ē ti na endyōumen, dioti auta hola, ta eonē ta zētoun, dioti ho Θεος ho Pateras sas, hopu einai eis tus uranus, ēžeurei pōs ta xreiazesee auta, dia tuto zētate prōton tēn basileian tu Θεου, kai tēn dikaiosynēn tu, kai auta hola sas ap' anō didountai. to loipon kai hēmeis, eulogēmenoi xristianoī, as mēn ennoiazōmesēn ta toiauta*

'Seek first His Kingdom and His truth, and this all will be included. [Lk 12:22] That is: do not worry, saying, 'what we eat' or 'what we drink' or 'what to put on', for this is what all the heathens want and your Father knows that you need them. Thus seek first His Kingdom and His truth, and this all will be given to you from above. Let us too, my blessed Christians, not think about this.'

The *togizi*-translator usually does not adapt complex constructions involving participles with additional conjunctions, breaking them to separate sentences. Like in *Kiev d.*, this results sometimes in the loss of original meaning, because the conjunctions are translated very rigidly too:

Kiev d.: *sí'a+ vьspominaše, vidě stuju i+ prispě*

NBKM 327: *Sía+že pomyslě'e, vidě` stúju jáko přiide.*

Sv.d.: *Ть'ї sí mīslěši, vidę svetáę i stígna*

Stouditēs 1751: *auta enōymumenos, eide tēn hagian kai efōase*

'as he was thinking about that, he saw the saint as she came'

The inflection of articles in *Sv.d.* is a feature, which caught already the attention of Miletič (1901:20). Although this phenomenon can be seen in older damaskini sources, *Sv.d.* employs them with a high consistency on MASC.SG animate nouns in various non-subject positions. Unlike in *Kiev d.* and *NBKM 327*, the occurrence of Bulgarian articles is not bound to the presence of Greek demonstratives *ekeinos* and *autos*:

Kiev d.: *i+ da+ rčēši i+ avvā iwánnū igúmenu+ monastirskomu*

NBKM 327: *I da rečēši i Ávvě Iwánnu Igúmenu monastyrà vášego.*

Sv.d.: *i da rečēšь na Avá Joána, na igumená+tokь na manastírju+ть vy*

³⁷ Speaking of word-to-word translation, *Sv.d.* reflects the object doubling (*gi... tézi dúmi*) in the original, unlike both CS sources. It is open to a question, whether such constructions were already productive in the dialect of the *togizi*-translator - as well as why it was not included in the text from Macedonia, which otherwise often preserves such doubling (Ilievski & Ilievska 2015:140).

Stouditēs 1751: *kai na eipēs kai ton Abba Iōannēn ton hēgumenon tu monastēriu sas*
'and tell to Father John, the abbot of your monastery'

There are also other arguments, which speak for a direct translation from Greek. *Sv.d.* sometimes borrows Greek words instead of translating them, like 1PL.PRS *енѣјасовами* 'we think' in the given example, but also e.g. *навлунъ* 'fare' (*wtkúрь* in *Kiev d.*; *наѣтъ* in *NBKM 327*). The *Sv.d.* translates Greek *plēn* with *ami* or *ala* 'but' and *to loipon* with *radi tui* or *legomi* 'thus', while *Kiev d.* and *NBKM 327* use *proče* 'igitur' for both. It is thus more likely the *togizi*-translator worked with the Greek text. Together with the text selected from *Berl.d.*, these texts enable us not only to see the interaction between Modern Greek, Bulgarian and Church Slavonic, but also provide us access to a dialect, which can be considered peripheral from the point of view of Balkan Slavic studies (Friedman 2008:142).

Because the author was not yet able to access the original manuscript, we have used a text based on the critical edition for our corpus (Miletič 1923:259-268). The critical edition does not specify which chapters were written by which scribes, only some repeated passages (as given in our list of contents). A sample of the original text can be seen on page 325 of this edition.

Text title	<i>Žitie i žiznъ prepodobnyja Marii Egyptenicy</i>	
Tokens	4614	
Sentences	544	
Source date	1753	
Source origin	Svištov	
Text date	early 18th c.	
Text origin	Moesian area	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	<i>togizi</i> type	
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1 according to Miletič's pagination of the original, page 75 of the critical edition) [O rožděstvě Xristově], (f.36-41, 42-47) repeated text by another hand, omitted in Miletič's edition, (2, f.51, p.90) <i>Slovo na svetoe Bogojavlenie Gospoda našego Isusa Xrista</i> , (f.83-94) repeated text by another hand, (3, f.115, p.109) <i>Slovo na srětenie Gospodne</i> , (4, f.163, p.126) <i>Mučenie svetago Ťeodora Tirona</i> , (5, f.189, p.135) <i>Slovo v nedelě II-nuju na Sašestvie přěsvetago i prosvětitelnago duxa</i> , (6, f.221, p.148) <i>Slovo o čudesěxъ přěsvetię vladčice i naši bogorodice i prisno děvi Marię</i> , (7, f.263, p.168) <i>Slovo na svetoe blagoveštenie preblagoslovenie vladičici naše bogorodici i prisnoděvi Marii</i> , (8, f.294, p.181) <i>Čjudotvorenje ot presvetye vladičici našye bogorodice i prisno děvy Marii</i> , (f.317) sidenote by Georgi otecъ Petръ from 1753, (9, f.318, p.191) <i>Uspenie presvetye vladčice našye</i> , (10, f.335, p.197) <i>Skazanie o čjudesexъ ot přěvelikyxъ činonačelnikъ Mixailъ i Gavriilъ</i> , (11, f.402, p.221) <i>Žitie otca našego Savvy</i> , (12, f.417, p.226) <i>Mučenie svetymъ i slavnymъ velikomučenikom' Xristovimъ četiredesetimъ</i> , (13, f.455, p.240) <i>Poučenie o životě iže vъ svetyxъ otecъ našixъ Nikolae Čudotvorecъ, arxierei Mvrilikiiskyxъ</i> , (14, f.503, p.259) <i>Žitie i žiznъ prepodobnyja Marii Egyptenicy</i> , (15, f.531, p.268) <i>Joanna Zlatoustago slova poučitelny vъ svetyi veliki četvrtakъ</i> , (16, f.535, p.270) <i>Slovo na svetuju pasxu</i> , (17, f.540, p.271) <i>O svetago slavnago velikomučenika Georgia</i> , (18, f.589, p.287) [Na vъzdviženie čestnago krъsta], (19, f.601, p.292) <i>Slovoroučenie kъ caremъ i voivodam' i vladika(m) i popom i vsěm xristianom ne opivati se vinom</i> , (20, f.605, p.294) <i>Žitie i čjudesa svetomu i slavnomu proroku Iliju Ťezvitěnynu</i> (Miletič 1923:75-308)	
nominal articles	223	4.8331%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	47	1.0186%
adjectival articles	42	0.9103%
ext. demonstratives	49	1.062%
DAT.POSS pronouns	45	0.9753%

future particle <i>šte</i>	9	0.1951%
long-form adjectives	142	3.0776%
synthetic infinitives	19	0.4118%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	16	0.3468%

2.9. *Jan.s.* - *Jankulov sbornik*

This voluminous manuscript containing mostly homilies for Sundays and other feasts is held at the National Library in Sofia under signature НБКМ 689 (272). As written on the folio 697, it was written in 1755 by Jankul, a student of Josif Bradati, who is also the author (or, rather, translator) of the text (Conev II 1923:249). The tome is also an important historical source. It contains a note about the destruction of a "house for reading in Samokov" by Turks in 1745, which is curious from two aspects: on the one hand, it presents a very early instance of a kind of *čitalište*, a public library typical for the later National Revival era (Angelov I 1963:83); on the other hand, it also shows, that, back then, the business of literature could become dangerous.

Jankul himself is an obscure person, known only from the scarce sidenotes. He lived in Xrelovo (today Reljovo) close to Samokov. The manuscript *NBKM 690* is likely written by his hand too (Conev II 1923:269). He adopted various aspects of Bradati's writing. He follows his simplified orthography with a single jer, no jats (some where added by a second hand), and no juses. Similarly to Bradati, he tends to paraphrase his source, instead of just copying it (Angelov I 1963:112). He mostly preserves the archaic features typical for Bradati's texts - the use of old PL.AOR endings, synthetic infinitives, Church Slavonic vocabulary (like e.g. *ašte* 'if', *že* 'and', *glagolati* 'speak'). Still, there are also innovations to observe. It is currently the earliest source attesting an *l*-participle based on an imperfect stem (*Edinb wt naši bratia znajalb nixni ezikb* 'one of our brothers knew their language'), an important component of the development of the narrative mood (Mirčev 1978:232).

We have selected the *Story of the Fathers slain at Sinai and Raithu* (*Kako izbieni biša otci na Sinai i Raiəu*). The story concerns St. Nilus of Sinai (ca. †450), a student of John Chrysostomus, telling of his and his son Theodulos' fate during the Arab raids on Sinaite monasteries. It can be found on f. 457r-464r. The text is not known in the earlier damaskini³⁸. It is a summary of a larger work by Nilus himself, which has been published in Russia in 1856 (Ovsjannikov 2000), our text was likely composed later after his death. As the original was not yet available to the author, the transcript by Conev (II 1923:259-264) was used for the corpus text. Due to its size, the list of contents, based on Conev's description, is given with numbers.

Text title	<i>Prepodobnago i bgonosnago oca naše Θεodula sinb ocu Nilu iže pisa koliki i kako izbieni biša oci na Sinai i Raiəu</i>
Tokens	1954
Sentences	293
Source/Text date	1755
Source/Text origin	Samokov
Norm	early <i>Slavenobulgarian</i>
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1r) <i>Slovo kako Ioanb Bgoslovb nauči člka da pišetb ikonı. (2, f. 31v) Slovo radi blgopodanie ot Luki *iii*, (3, 51v) Slovo nakazanie vlastilinomb, (4, 61r) Slovo nekoi sveštenikb egda krbštavaše ženi sablaznavaše se, (5, 71r-91r) list of the following chapters, (6, 1r) <i>Tlbkovanje evlsko načinaet ot Mitara i Fariseja, (7, 6r) Nedelja vtora bljudnago sna, (8,</i></i>

³⁸ A Church Slavonic edition is attested for example in the 15th century manuscript *Ms slav 150* of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (Panaitescu 1959:196). The author was not able to retrieve this version yet, but by the number pages it seems to be twice as long as the *Jan.s.* edition.

16v) *Nedela mesopousnaa*, (9, 22v) *Nedela siropoustna*, (10, 28r) *Prva nedela posta*, (11, 36r) *Nedela vtora posta*, (12, 44v) *Nedela tretta posta*, (13, 49r) *Nedela četvrtaa posta*, (14, 57r) *Nedela petaja posta*, (15, 63r) *Nedela šestaa posta*, (16, 70v) *Vъ velikoju nedelju vъskrsenie Gdu našemu Isousu Xristou*, (17, 74r) *Nedela θomina*, (18, 81v) *Nedela Mironosicatъ*, (19, 86v) *Nedela četvrta raslablenago*, (20, 93v) *Nedela petaa sъmaranini*, (21, 102r) *Nedela šestaa slepago*, (22, 108r) *Nedela sedmago sabora*, (23, 113r) *Nedela osma petdesetnica*, (24, 119v) *Nedela vaseмъ stimъ*, (25, 128v) *Nedela predъ vazdviženie časnago krsta*, (26, 136r) *Nedela do vazdviženie časnago krsta*, (27, 143v) *Nedela predъ roždества Xva*, (28, 153r) *Vъ nedelju po roždество Xvo*, (29, 160v) *Nedela predъ prosveštenie*, (30, 167r) *Nedela po prosveštenie*, (31, 177v) *iže vъ svetago oca našego čudotvorьca Nikolae*, (32, 191v) *Slovo na roždество Xristovo*, (33, 203r) *Tъkovane na prosti ezikъ na Bgojavlenie Gdu našemu Isusu Xristu*, (34, 219v) *Aležia bži člvkъ*, (35, 226v) *Žitie i bitie pravednago Iosifa prekrasnago*, (36, 239v) [Pláč Eremiev], (37, 246r) *Slovo tъkuvano na prostomъ ezikomъ na Preobraženie Gda Bga našego Isa Xa*, (38, 260r) *Slovo na vaznesenie Gu našemu Isu Xu*, (39, 269r) *Slovo na prostomъ ezikomъ na sašastvie Stago Dxa*, (40, 278v) *Kako podobaetъ da se ugotovlaem egda xoštem da se pričeštaem ili da služimъ*, (41, 283r) *Slovo kako podobaetъ tvoriti pametъ prestavlenimъ*, (42, 283v) *Sretenie Ga našego Isusa Xrista*, (43, 294r) *Blgoveštenie prestei vldьcei naši i Bci prisnodevii Marii*, (44, 299r) *Na uspenie prestei Bci*, (45, 304r) *bespl'tni Arxagelъ Mixaila Gavriila*, (46, 328r) *iže sъtvori arxangel Mixailъ va Xonesъ i va Frigiju*, (47, 332r) *Slovo na prostomъ eziko' na vavedenie Bci*, (48, 339v) *Položenie časnie rizi sveti vladьčici našei i bogorodici*, (49, 343r) *Položenie časnago pojasa*, (50, 346r) *Subota *e* velikago posta naricaetse sedalno*, (51, 352v) *Stago apostola θoma*, (52, 359r) *Svetago loana mlstivago ot vasakie drugi dobrodeteli*, (53, 362v) *Na obrezanie Gdou našemu Isu Xu i velikomu Vasiliju žitie*, (54, 393v) *Žitie i bitie prepodobnago oca našego pustinožitela loana Rilьskago - Slovo radi prenesenie mošti*, (55, 402r) *Skazanie radi oca našego Elisea*, (56, 407r) *Slovo koito se naricajutъ učitele i pastire nadъ stado Xvo*, (57, 408v) *Slovo dušepolazno [egda prinesoša sti mošti loana Zlatousta...]*, (58, 409v) *Slovo loana Zlatousta radi pokaanie*, (59, 411r) *Stago mučenika Mina*, (60, 420v) *Stovo stago lo Zlatoustago kako ne podobaetъ drъžati gnev*, (61, 422v) *Slovo dšepolazno radi milostina*, (62, 424v) *Slovo dušepolazno iže vide Irodovi Andrea*, (63, 430v) *Materi našei Marii [Egypťeniny]*, (64, 436r) *Roždество prestei vldca naša Bca*, (65, 439r) *Vazdviženie časnago krsta*, (66, 442r) *Oca našego θeodora Studita radi mirjane napisax go ot Mitara i Farisea*, (67, 446r) *Vъ nedlju mespusna kako xošetъ da pridъtъ strašnoe prišastvie Xristovo*, (448r) a sidenote by Jankul, copied from Bradati's original, (68, 448v) *Prepodobnago i mučenika Zotika Siropitatela*, (69, 452r) *Grigoria papa Rimski egda beše egumenъ*, (70, 455r) *Radi ljubovъ člvkoljubie* (71, 457r) ***Prepodobnago i bgonosnago oca naše θeodula sinъ ocu Nilu iže pisa koliki i kako izbieni biša oci na Sinai i Raiou***, (72, 464r) *Žitie stomu Filaretu milostivomu*, (73, 476v) *Slovo svetago Efrema*, (74, 479r) *Tъkuvanie ot Mateja*, (75, 480v) *Vъ petakъ cvetni*, (76, 483r) *Ndlju cvetonosnoju*, (77, 485v) *Sredu strasnoju radi strasti Xvi i smerenomudrie*, (78, 488r) *Vъ sti veliki petakъ*, (79, 491r) *θeodora Studita predislovie vъ oglasitelnoe slovo iže vъ sti oca našego loana Zlatoustago vъ svetuju nedelju pasxu*, (80, 493v) *Na vaznesenie Gu našemu Isusu Xristu*, (81, 496r) *Va nedlju pedsetnuju sašastvie stago dxa*, (82, 498v) *Vъ predъpraznstvo preobraženie Gda našego Isusa Xrista*, (83, 501v) *Blgoveštenie prestei Bci kako izvoli i vъplъti se vъ nei Gdъ Is Xs i kako podobaetъ dxovno da praznuem*, (84, 504r) *Kirila monaxa*, (85, 506r) *Prestavlenje stim apostolom Petra i Pavla*, (86, 530r) *Stomu i vasevalnomu i vъxovnomu apstla Andreja pъvozvanago Petrova sarodnika*, (87, 546r) *Stago cara Kostandina*, (88, 559r) *Oca našeg Silivestria papa rimskago*, (89, 574v) *Prepodbnago i*

bgonosnago oca našeg Θεodosia obšti i žitelja, (90, 592r) Stago slavnago proroka Ilija Tezvitena, (91, 610r) Čto xoštetъ da rečety radi i devy, (92, 611r) Ioana Zlatousta arxiepiskupa Kostandina grada slovo iže reče oče moi ašte vazmožno budetъ da mimoidetъ taja čaša ot mene, (93, 614r) Ioana Zlatoustago slovo isaxnu smokovnicu, (94, 616r) Slovo svetago Anѣtioxa obъjade, (95, 619r) Slovo radi pianъstvo stago Antioxa, (96, 620v) Zlatoustago slovo poučitelno va sti veliki četvrъtъkъ, (97, 626v) Oca našego Ioana Zlatousta i ništoljubiva, (697r) notes in text written by Jankul, copied from Bradati's original, (98, 698r) Treti vasselenski saborъ sabra se vъ Efesъ, (99, 700v) Sti mučenici Minodori i Mitrodori i Nimfodori, (100, 701r) Beše nekoja žena imenemъ Sofia, (101, 702r) Stago oca našego Amvrosia Mediolskago, (102, 720v) Ioana Zlatousta radi dvore i zmiinu i radi žitie veka sego suetnago, (103, 728v only³⁹) Slovo stago Varъlama radi suetnago veka sego (Conev 1923 II:250-269)

nominal articles	3	0.1536%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	51	2.6114%
adjectival articles	3	0.1536%
ext. demonstratives	7	0.3584%
DAT.POSS pronouns	1	0.0512%
future particle <i>šte</i>	-	-
long-form adjectives	79	4.0451%
synthetic infinitives	4	0.2048%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	61	3.1234%
non-NOM articles	1	0.0512%

2.10. *Temski r.* - *Temski rǎkopis*

Temski rǎkopis was the designation used by Vasil P. Vasilev in his study of the manuscript *PP 169* of the Library of *Matica Srpska* in Novi Sad. The manuscript was titled *Iz' duševnogo obrěda v' nedelnyxъ dnexъ slova izbranna* (*Selected homilies of the Sunday liturgy*) and it was written by two hands (Vasilev 1986:55). In a sidenote on the f. 232v, one of the scribes identifies himself as the hieromonk Kiril. This was likely Kiril Živković (1730-1807), at the time the abbot of Temska Monastery "St. Georgi", where the manuscript itself was discovered who later became the Bishop of Pakrac. Kiril also specifies the date of completion of his book as 13th of July, 1764 (Vasilev 2001:280). The other hand wrote folios 205r-206v and 207v-209r.

The manuscript has also a curious subtitle: *na prosti jazykъ bolgarskii*, that is, *in simple Bulgarian language*. Kiril was born in Pirot, not far away from the monastery itself, in an area of Torlak dialects, which today studied for their transitional character between Bulgarian and Serbian. However, he lived since youth in Vojvodina and studied at the (Bulgarian) Zograph Monastery on Mount Athos before coming to Temska. In that time, he started to "ferently follow the traditions of Bulgarian literature" (Vasilev 1986:61), although he also adopted some practices (e.g. writing of <h>, lack of both juses) more typical for the literature of Serbia. According to the description by Vasilev (1986), his orthography is otherwise quite conservative, using all traditional accent markers, both jers (mostly ь as the phonetic one, ѣ as the orthographic one), jats and Greek letters (ϑ, ψ, ξ) on traditional positions. In this respect, however, *Temski r.* is not very different from the *damaskini* of the same era. As in case of the *damaskini*, this does not seem to affect his the grammar.

For our corpus, we have selected the fourth homily *On punishment of the children* (*Slovo o nakazanii*

³⁹ According to Angelov (I 1963: 112) the index includes two more homilies (*Slovo *e* radi smerenie* and *Stago slavnago velikomčnika Georgia*), which are lost.

dětei, f.21v-28r), written for the Sunday of the Prodigal son (Lk 15:12), which is transcribed in the article by Vasilev (1986:67-72). The choice is not based on philological knowledge, as the text is not attested in the damaskini sources⁴⁰. As we did not have an access to the original manuscript yet, this is so far the only 18th century text related to the Torlak area available to us.

Text title	<i>Slovo o nakazanii dětei</i>	
Tokens	2143	
Sentences	227	
Source/Text date	1764	
Source/Text origin	Temska	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	Torlak	
Source contents	(folio 1r) <i>Slovo obštee v' den' nedelnyi</i> , (14v) <i>Slovo Izvēštenija pošto se nedelni den' uzakoni namesto subboti prazdnovati</i> , (16r) <i>O poučenii slova bžija slovo</i> , (21v) <i>Slovo o nakazanii dětei</i> , (28v) <i>Na voskresenie, slovo</i> (33v) [Slovo o ljubvi bžiei], (38v) <i>Slovo o ljubvy bližnjago</i> , (44r) <i>Slovo o iskanii lisa Xrsta</i> , (47v) <i>Slovo o stei cerkvi Xrstovoi</i> , (55v) <i>Slovo v' načalē stago posta</i> , (60v) <i>Slovo o dxovnomu razslableniju</i> , (65v) [Slovo o pokajanii], (70r) <i>Slovo v' ndlju 2. po krštenii o ljubvy lisa</i> , (76r) <i>Slovo v' ndlju mitara i farisea</i> [Slovo o gordosti], (82v) <i>Slovo v' ndlju o bludnet' sinu</i> , (85v) <i>Slovo v' ndlju mesopustnuju o strašnet' sudē</i> , (91v) [Slovo o veri], (98v) [Slovo o rai], (103v) [Slovo o zavisti], (110r) [Slovo o ljubvi], (117v) <i>O nošenii kresta svoego</i> , (124v) [Slovo o podražanii Xrsta], (129v) [Slovo o grese], (137v) [Slovo o mltve], (145r) [Slovo o lestnoi nadei život], (151r) <i>O volnosti našei voli</i> , (158v) [Slovo o žaždi bga], (164r) [Slovo o sudbax bžii], (172v) <i>O poslednem punkte člčskago života</i> , (178v) <i>O osužden</i> , (185v) <i>Slovo na voznesenie Gda našego lisa Xrsta</i> , (189v) <i>Slovo na velikii pet'k' za strasti Xrstovi</i> , (198r) <i>Slovo 2. vo sti i velikii pjatok'</i> , (207r) <i>Slovo o vlastex' i carstvax zem'lskix'</i> , (215r) <i>Stago Dimitria novago čudotvorca rostovskago</i> , (227r) <i>Voprosi o knigi</i> , (230v) <i>Prpdbnago Amona učenje</i> (Vasilev 1986:50-56)	
nominal articles	1	0.0467%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	29	1.3532%
adjectival articles	-	-
ext. demonstratives	16	0.7466%
DAT.POSS pronouns	2	0.0933%
future particle <i>šte</i>	-	-
long-form adjectives	99	4.6197%
synthetic infinitives	30	1.3999%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	10	0.4666%
non-NOM articles	1	0.0467%

2.11. NBKM 1069 - Beljovski damaskin

The manuscript is held at the National Library of Sofia under the signature НБКМ 1069. According to a sidenote on the f. 172v, it was written by a certain Dimitri in 1776 likely in Belovo. Other sidenotes mention events in adjacent towns Klisura and Pazardžik, including a solar eclipse in 1788. The last note is from 1836, later it belonged to the collection of the renowned philologist, writer and politician Naiden Gerov (1823-1900; Kodov & Stojanov III 1964:372f.).

There is not much explicit information provided about the scribe, but Pazardžik and Belovo are known

⁴⁰ *Sbornic BAR 765* has a *Slovo o nakazanii čad'* on f.159v-160v (Panaitescu & Mihail 2018:302), but we were not yet able to compare it with the *Temski r.* edition. Texts on the same topic can be found in later sources like *NBKM 436* by Nikifor of Rila (Angelov I 1963:176-179) and in *Nastavlenija* by Krčovski (1819:61) included, but these are both based different text traditions.

for literature. A priest from Belovo bound the Bradati's manuscript, which served as one of the protographs of *Jan.s.* (Conev II 1923:269). Teofan of Vratsa, a monk from the Rila Monastery and a student of Josif Bradati, was active in both towns in 1770-1790s with many followers⁴¹. However, at least half of the 22 texts in *NBKM 1069* are taken from an earlier damaskin *NBKM 345*, written in 1753 in Pazardžik (cf. Conev I 1910:362-370). The both are similar in other aspects too. The script alternates between cursive Cyrillic and Greek - the difference is only in non-Greek letters. *NBKM 1069* rarely uses even Latin letters. Both use Arabic numerals in pagination. Bible citations and titles are often in the Greek language. Juses are absent, jat and ѱ only rarely, and only one jer (ѣ in both) is used (Kail 2013:48). The accentuation is rich, but not consistent, alternating between acute, gravis and dots. The both are written in a language reflecting the local dialects of the Panagjurište area, with some influence of Rhodopean dialects (Kail 2013:77; Kodov & Stojanov III 1964:372; [link](#)).

We have selected the *Homily on divination (Slovo radi orisanie)*, which can be found on folia 137r-140r. The text is likely copied from *NBKM 345* (f. 69r-71v), where it uses the Greek title *Peri proorismou*. In both it ends abruptly, likely missing the end. The topic of divination (and the fight against it) was a common topic around the middle of the 18th century. It is discussed in various texts translated by Josif Bradati (Anguševa-Tixanova & Dimitrova 2013), but this *Slovo radi orisanie* is not among them. It comes likely from a Greek source, translated by the author of *NBKM 345*. The text in the corpus is based on the scan of the original, provided by the library.

Text title	<i>Slovo radi orisanie</i>	
Tokens	1168	
Sentences	112	
Source date	1778	
Source origin	Belovo	
Text date	1752	
Text origin	Pazardžik	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	Panagjurište	
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1r) <i>Slovo překrasnomu losifu kьgu sa prodale bratiata mu</i> , (2, 24v) <i>Kyriakē *i* Louka</i> , (3, 30v) <i>Kyriaki *iz* tu matæou tēs Xananeas</i> , (4, 38v) <i>Kyriaki *e* Louka</i> , (5, 42v) <i>Slovo na sveta Bca</i> , (6, 52r) <i>Nedelja *z* Luka</i> , (7, 56v) <i>Pablon ton anegnōzma</i> [1 Kor 1:1-8], (8, 57r) <i>Slovo veľikomu Vasiliou</i> , (9, 71v) <i>Nedelja samaranina</i> , (10, 86r) <i>U petakъ po Velikdenъ</i> , (11, 88v) <i>Slovo za vъ nedělja na razslablenija</i> , (12, 94v) <i>Nedelja *ž* Luka</i> , (13, 97r) <i>Nedelia vtora posta</i> (title in Latin letters), (14, 104v) <i>Nedelja *g* posta</i> , (15, 111v) <i>Slovo na opokoini dšy</i> , (16, 116v) <i>Slovo radi pokajanie</i> , (17, 122r) <i>Slovo na siropusna nedelja</i> , (18, 137r) <i>Slovo radi orisanie</i> , (140v) list of contents of folios 1r-140r in Greek, (19, 141r) <i>Nedelja *ia* Luka</i> , (20, 147r) <i>Nedelja *v* posta</i> , (21, 154r) <i>Nedelja *e* postu</i> , (22, 154r) <i>Slovo svetomu Anastasia patriarхъ Анѣtioiskago</i> (Kodov & Stojanov III 1964:370-372)	
nominal articles	27	2.3116%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	22	1.8836%
adjectival articles	11	0.9418%
ext. demonstratives	34	2.911%
DAT.POSS pronouns	6	0.5137%
future particle <i>šte</i>	18	1.5411%
long-form adjectives	26	2.226%
synthetic infinitives	3	0.2568%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

⁴¹ In a manuscript from 1791, written in Belovo, Teofan gives the names of his collaborators or students, but a Dimitri is not among them (Angelov I 1963:126).

2.12. NBKM 370

The manuscript is held at the National Library in Sofia under the signature НБКМ 370 (431). One of the title pages contains the name of the scribe - Doino Gramatik of Elena (†1810), as well as the year of transcription (1784). It contains also the name of the author of the text, Paisius (1722-1773), hieromonk of Hilendar monastery on the Mt. Athos, born in the Samokov eparchy. Besides the *Istoria Slavėnobolgarskaa*, the manuscript also contains two historical poems from the cycle *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovenskoga* by A. Kašić-Miošić (Conev I 1910:413).

It is out of scope of this article to provide an exhaustive description of *Istoria Slavėnobolgarskaa* or even the critical editions and secondary literature concerning it (e.g. Ivanov 1914, Radev et al. 2013, Peev 2020, other articles - [link](#)). The text is one of the first modern works on the history of Bulgaria. Its composition and spread among the intellectuals is one of the pivotal moments in the very beginning of the process of Bulgarian national awakening. But while these facts are nearly (e.g. Trendafilov 1996) unanimously accepted, the language of the Paisius' chronicle has opened many questions. Despite the author's own explicitly stated intention to write in a *simple* language, many, especially earlier, philologists considered his language to be (at least based on) Church Slavonic. Andrejčin (1986) considered Church Slavonic (with both Middle Bulgarian and Russian redactions) to be a mere influence on a dialectal basis. According to Minčeva (1984:40), Paisius based his language on the *simple* Bulgarian literature, what can be seen on the syntax of his work.

The controversy points to the fact, that the language of Paisius cannot be described only as a deliberate archaizing variant of the dialect, or vice-versa, a partial modernization of Church Slavonic. It is more an mixture of habits inherited from the vernacular and from the literature. Thus I would prefer the position attributed by Andrejčin to A. Teodor-Balan, who called the language *Slavenobulgarian*. This is, of course, a mere label, which has only weak support by empirical research, which points rather to a distinct literary standard, emerging in contact with the school of Josif Bradati (Šimko 2021). But this is exactly the reason for including a part of the *Istoria* in this corpus - to compare the text with those of damaskini and other sources of the period, and thus to determine the influence of the dialects and its role in the development of the literary language. For the sake of such studies we have included the Paisius' original *Introduction*, where the interference of the languages of the sources of the chronicle should be minimal.

The text is based on the facsimile of the Doino's transcript provided by the library.

Text title	<i>Istoria Slavėnobolgarskaa - Predislovie</i>	
Tokens	1214	
Sentences	111	
Source date	1784	
Source origin	Elena	
Text date	1762	
Text origin	Mount Athos	
Norm	<i>Slavenobulgarian</i>	
Source contents	(folia 1r-100v) <i>Istoria Slavėnobolgarskaa</i> , (30r) added two songs about Khan Krum and King Samuil by A. Kašić-Miošić, (101r-112r) empty folios	
nominal articles	7	0.5766%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	21	1.7298%
adjectival articles	9	0.7414%
ext. demonstratives	4	0.3295%
DAT.POSS pronouns	-	-
future particle <i>šte</i>	1	0.0824%

long-form adjectives	81	6.6722%
synthetic infinitives	9	0.7414%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	4	0.3295%

2.13. *Ioann.d. - Pop Ioannov damaskin*

The manuscript is held at the Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN) under signature 3312. Its scribe was pop Ioann of Vratsa. He became a priest in 1777 as a student of pop Todor of Vratsa, himself a very productive scribe and likely a student of Josif Bradati (cf. Angelov II 1964:98; Petkanova-Toteva 1965:251). According to sidenotes, this damaskin was written in Vratsa in 1788 and for a certain time it belonged to a convent in Teteven. It was first described by Angelov, who also clarified the relations between Ioann's manuscript and works of pop Todor and Nikifor of Rila (II 1964:140-148). Although sometimes called "damaskin" (e.g. Petkanova-Toteva 1965:251), it does not include any chapters from *Thēsauros*⁴².

In our corpus we have included Ioann's transcript of the *Life of St. Petka*, which, too, has been published as a critical edition by Angelov (1958:100-104). The digital text in our corpus was based on the Angelov's edition, corrected by consulting the facsimile provided by the library⁴³. This edition is curious from the aspect of being a certain re-archaization of the damaskini edition. Also our mutual comparison of sources puts it close to the edition by Vuković. Although Angelov (I 1963:61 n.1) attributes this edition to Bradati, it could have been translated by pop Todor or Ioann himself. It finishes with a passage written in outright Church Slavonic, very similar to the mixed edition preserved in *NBKM 709*. The contrast is not so apparent for obvious reasons. Still, Ioann seems, for example, to prefer generalized forms or MASC obliques for Church Slavonic instrumentals, like the older damaskini, elsewhere in the text:

Vuk. 1536: *w'stávlъše pétkoù, съ+ brátomъ eŭthímĭemъ*
Tixon.d.: i+ wstà staa pet'ka, съs'+ bráta+ sí ev'tímĭa
Ioann.d.: i ostana staę съs' brata svoego Eftimia

The text was already used in author's previous studies concerning *Life* for qualitative comparison with other sources, but it was not included in the first corpus release due to the lack of access to the original. Now, it is being included anyway, as it is a rare instance of literary contact between the Bradati's and damaskini circles.

Text title	<i>Žitie prepodobnię materi našei Petki</i>
Tokens	1400
Sentences	183
Source date	1788
Source origin	Vratsa
Text date	2nd half of the 18th c.
Text origin	Vratsa?
Norm	<i>Slavenobulgarian</i>
Source contents	(page 2) [Žitie na Varvara], (6) [Žitie na Filaret], (8-20) missing pages (21) [Žitie na Spiridon], (28) [Žitie na máčenic Ignatii], (32) [Žitie na máčenica Domna], (42) [Žitie na máčenica Evgenija], (51) [Žitie na máčenica Tekla], (59) [Žitie na máčenic Trifon], (61) [Slovo ot Dorotei za velikija post], (64)

⁴² *Slovo za svetite petozarni máčenici* is attributed to Stouditēs, but the text is likely based on an edition by Agapios of Crete.

⁴³ The pages are marked with two page numbers. Angelov followed Ioann's own Cyrillic pagination, but without marking of the side, e.g. *Life of St. Petka* is on folia 268v-270v. Following Arabic numbers, written by a pencil, the same chapter is on f. 255v-257v.

[Žitie na Ksenofon], (69) [Žitie na velikomáččenica Agatija], (71) [Žitie na Ekaterina], (83) [Žitie na apostol Andrei], (97) [Žitie na apostol Toma], (101) [Slovo ot Ioan Zlatoust za veliki četvřrtřk], (106) [Slovo ot Varlaam za suetnija svjat], (108) [Slovo za tova, kak vragřt (djavolřt) se boi ot smirenieto], (108) [Za tretija vselenski sřbor], (110) [Razkaz za sestrite Minodora, Mitrodora i Nimfodora], (111) [Razkaz za Sofija], (112) [Razkaz na Pavel Monovski za trite řeni], (115) [Razkaz za njakoja bludnica], (116) [Razkaz za devicata Taisija], (118) [Slovo ot Dorotei za onezi, koito iskat da se spasjat], (126) [t.nar. Narodno řitie na Ivan Rilski], (133) [Razkaz za preprostija Pavel], (133) [Razkaz za milostinjata], (134) [Poućenie ot Vasilii Veliki], (134) [Slovo za onija, koito se naričat učiteli i pastiri Xristovi], (136) [Slovo ot Evgar za slavoljubieto], (136) [Razkaz za otec Makarii], (137) [Poućenie na uspenie Bogorodično], (138) [Povest za Ioasaf i Varlaam], (197) [Pláč na prorok Eremija], (204) [Povest za četiridesete sevastiiski mřčenicu], (219) [Žitie na mřčenic Nikifor], (228) [Slovo za svetite petozarni mřčenicu], (245) [Slovo ot Ioan Zlatoust kak ne podxořda da se uniřava cřrkvata], (258) [Slovo ot Ioan Zlatoust za pokajanie i izpovedta], (268) **Žitie prepodobnię materi nařei Petki**, (270) [Žitie na Sava Osveřtenni], (273-284) [Žitie na Ivan Rilski ot monax Daniil Rilski] (Angelov II 1964:140-142)

nominal articles	1	0.0714%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	28	2%
adjectival articles	-	-
ext. demonstratives	12	0.8571%
DAT.POSS pronouns	2	0.1429%
future particle řte	-	-
long-form adjectives	89	6.3571%
synthetic infinitives	5	0.3571%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	2	0.1429%
non-NOM articles	1	0.0714%

2.14. NBKM 1423

The manuscript is held at the National Library in Sofia under the signature HБKM 1423. It is one of the many sources written by Petřr Kovačev-Carski (or "Petar Fabri Imperiali"; ca. 1745-1794), who after his studies in Italy acted as the vicar of the Catholic mission in Plovdiv, from the 1770s until his death (Miletič 1903:161). Although Miletič considered him a foreign missionary, he was likely born in Plovdiv too. *NBKM 1423* was written in 1793 (Xristova et al 1996 V:162).

Bulgarian scholars usually classify Kovačev's works as an example of *Paulician* literature. While the ethnogenesis and religious history of Paulicians in Bulgaria (e.g. Miletič 1903; Legurska & Zlatanov 2014; Radeva 2018), as well as their specific relations with the Bulgarian Orthodox majority (Sampimon 2006) have been studied well, their literature was rather at the fringe of attention of modern scholarship until only recently (e.g. Abadžieva 2014; Graham 2018). There are also other manuscripts by Kovačev available to modern scholars - *NBKM 778* from 1773 and *NBKM 779* from 1780 in Sofia, both studied in detail by Abadžieva (2014, 2017, 2018), and another one from 1779 in Bucharest (sign. Ms slav 747), studied by Aleksova and Mihail (2016). Other notable writers of this tradition are Pavel Gaidadžiiski-Duvanlijata (1734-1804) and Maurizio da Castellazzo, author of a Bulgarian-Italian dictionary from 1845 (Abadžieva 2020:33).

Within our corpus, this manuscript is unique from many aspects. It is so far the only source written with Latin characters. The diplomatized variant of the text thus required more invasive processing (e.g. recognizing difference between c and č) than the Cyrillic texts. *NBKM 1423* contains short stories about miracles of (Catholic) saints. These are generally shorter than those, found in the "Orthodox" sources

in our corpus. For this reason, we have selected eight such chapters concerning St. Nicholas of Tolentino (f. 83v-86v) and St. Anthony of Padua (134r-137v) as a sample. Of these texts, there is one with content comparable to a damaskini source - the Miracle 5 of St. Anthony *On a baby, who said, who was its father*⁴⁴. A similar miracle was attributed to an earlier saint from Padua, the martyr St. Daniel (†168), and a Church Slavonic edition of the story can be found in *Tixon.d.*, titled *Homily of Daniel the Monk, falsely accused of adultery (Slávo o Daniile mnísě, iže obľgáně bys ljuboděaniem; f. 213r)*. From the point of view of dialectology, Kovačev's language was classified as belonging to Paulician subgroup of Rhodopean area, yet before the difference between the northern and the southern subgroup emerged (Abadžieva 2017:18). Nevertheless, it is an important source for us, as otherwise the Rhodopean area is underrepresented in the corpus.

The linguistic features deserving mention are numerous. Phonetic and lexical peculiarities were already well described by Abadžieva (2014, 2017). Among morphosyntactic features, it includes *l*-participles built on imperfective stems (e.g. *zasčtò besce tolčova zaslepel od kaskangilak* 'because he had been so blinded by jealousy'; cf. *Jan.s.*). Possession is often expressed by the preposition *od*, lit. 'from', instead of *na*, usual in other sources (e.g. *zarad Krau+ttà od Sina+ si Jasussa* 'for the blood of His Son, Jesus')⁴⁵. MASC/FEM.PL is marked by both *-i* and *-e* endings (both *sas Missi+te* and *sas Misse* 'with liturgies'). Similarly as in damaskini, simplified case inflection of the nouns is limited to MASC proper names and theonyms (e.g. *Maci+se Sveti Antun* 'St. Anthony tortured himself'; the title *Ciudessa od Sveti Antuna* 'miracles of St. Anthony'); elsewhere, old nominatives are generalized, but for the originally SG.GEN form of the *s*-stem in *ciudesse* 'miracle'. The language also shows many loanwords, even conjunctions like *angjak* 'but', *zere* 'how' and others (cf. also Abadžieva 2014:237).

The texts in the corpus are based on scans of the original provided by the library. Already Conev (II 1923:479) was recommending the literature of "our Paulicians" of the 18th century (two Kovačev's manuscripts among them) for study of Bulgarian linguistics. The documents stand mostly outside of the text traditions inherited from Church Slavonic, making a good example of the democratization of the language (Abadžieva 2017:9). Any study, however, has to be aware of possible interferences by the source languages of the texts, like Italian or Croatian.

Text title	various
Tokens	3203
Sentences	266
Source/Text date	1791
Source/Text origin	Plovdiv
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	Paulician
Source contents	(folio 1r) <i>Iedin, deto sviri na horo, ubi go jedna strela od nebe, i dusciata mu u Pacalat. Jurnek 1. (1v) Jedna moma cato igra vez den jedin den, prez noscta se prinesi, ta utidi u Pacalat, i se tu e promena xivot. Jurnek 2. (2r) Ghiaulat pod prilika od cileka, igrai sas jednogo, i navi mu, i pres noscta zavlece go u pacalat. Jurnek 3. (3r) Sled smart javeva se na sveti Cirillo jedin negov ounuka, i kazova mu, ci besce u Pacalat zarad igrata. Jurnek 4. (3v) Dvamina cato igrajeha i pzuvaaha, i kalneha, umreha zaklani, ama nicoi ni vide, coi ghi zakla. Jurnek 5. (4r) Jedno momce cato igrajesce sas bascta si, ze da kalne cacoto si imasce adet, i ghiavlete i zavlekoha uskore u pakal. Jurnek 6. (4v) Jedin momak zascto zagubi, rasardi se, i farli jedna strela cade nebe, sas nei ghiore da udari Boga, i cato vide, ci strelata padna karvava,</i>

⁴⁴ Titled *NaKarova jednò maninco detè, da Kaxi coi besce Basctà mu* '[Anthony] compels a small child to tell, who was its father'.

⁴⁵ This construction is also seen in *NBKM 1081* (cf. the title *Slòvo wt+ stagò prroka danaila* 'Homily of/by the holy prophet Daniel') and in Krčovski 1814 (*sládki ra-bóti wt ovóí vĕ'kĕ* 'sweetness of this world'). The expression seems to be productive in Rhodopes and in Macedonia (Lunt 1952:60).

pokaja se od greha si. Jurnek 7. (5r) Jedna boxia xena se priuase, i vidi ci utiscla u Pakalat jedna golema Cadana zarad hodulskolo priprauvane. Jurnek 8. (5v) Jedna xena umre, i utade u Pakalat, zascto jaco nastajesce da si vodi teloto. Jurnek 9. (6r) Anhelete Boxi zemet comcata od razete od jedin domin, da ni comca jedna xena nidostoina, zascto jaco priprauva se. Jurnek 10. (6r) Jedna cadana se moli Bogu, aco pripravite, deto nossesce, beha zararilir na dusciata i, da i ghi zemi. Jurnek 11. (7r) Jedin cilek prigrascava bludno, i xenata mu sanuva, ci naramovat maxia i na smart. Jurnek 12. (8v) Jedin kiomiurgia mlogo pati vide, u jedin bludnik macesce u negovata xizniza onazi xena, sas cojato besce prigrascaval. Jurnek 13. (10r) Jedin nemiz, zascto prigrasci bludno, promena mu se lizeto, i cato se pokaja, i ispoveda, pak mu dode parvoto lize. Jurnek 14. (11r) Jedna xena, deto besce bila jatak na drughi, da gresciat bludno, prikazova se sled smart na maxiat i, i ubaxde mu, ci besce namerila spassenie, zascto se besce hubave ispovedala. Jurnek 15. (12r) Jedna xena se uplakova na Blax. d. Maria od druga xena, deto hodesce sas neiniet max, i moli i se da ja pedepsa. Jurnek 16. (13r) Jedin bascta pridadi sickata si maka na sina si, i toi go gleda zle, ama setne cato vide, ci zle pravesce, ze da go gleda dobre. Jurnek 17. (14r) Jedna xena odsadina da umre od glada, izgledova ja dasctera i sas mlekoto od svojete si gradi. Jurnek 18. (14v) Jedin bascta na smartni cas ostave sickata si maka na troizja svoje sinove, deto mu se obricaha mlogo da storat za negovata duscia, ama cato mu dade akal po maniskiet mu sin, ostavi sicko na siromassi. Jurnek 19. (16r) Jedin bascta umire, i ostave sickata si maka na sina si, i naraciova mu da izvarsci jedni rabote za negovata duscia, ama toi niscto ni izvarsciova. Jurnek 20. (17r) Dvamina sinova pokleha ghi basctite im, ta i dvaminata zle umreha. Jurnek 21. (18r) Jedin sin, zascto navredi maike si, ubiva se samsi, za pedepsa Boxia. Jurnek 22. (19r) Jedin bascta, cato dode na smart, vide, ci sinovete mu se karaha zarad makata, i toi razdadi sicko na siromassi. Jurnek 23. (20r) Jedin sin jaco ruscesce bascta si, i maika si, ta od kahar i xialba umreha pred vreme, i bascta mu se javeva sled smart, i ubiva go. Jurnek 24. (20v) Jedin Boxi cilek vide, ci sin i bascta se hapeha u pacalat, zarad losciet jurnek, deto besce dal basctata na sinat. Jurnek 25. (21r) Zarad losciet jurnek od jedin bascta jedin sin i odsadin na vessilo, i se moli da u dovedat bascta mu da go zaluni, i odkasnova mu nossat sas zabi. Jurnek 26. (21v) Jedna xena, zascto od sram ni ispoveda jedin greh, ghiaulat ja udauva. Jurnek 27. (23r) Jedna kralaska desctere, izmamova ja ghiaulat, ta storova jedin golem greh, i zatova staje calugherca, ama se ni ispovedova od grehat, i umire zagubena. Jurnek 28. (25r) Jedna calugherca, zascto se ni ispoveda od jedin greh, utade u pacal. Jurnek 29. (25v) Jedin redovnik vidi ghiaulat na ramenata od jedna xena, deto placesce jedin svoj greh, ama smejejsce da go ispoveda. Jurnek 30. (27r) Ghiaulat kazova, ci nema druga rabota na sveta cierqua, deto tolcova da go maci, colcoto go maci pravo, i dobro ispovedilo. Jurnek 31. (28r) Jedin boxi pustignak namerova u gorata tri ghiaula, i pita ghi cak ghi vikaha. Jurnek 32. (28v) Jedin pustignak vide, ci mlogo se ispovedovat, coi zle, i coi dobre, i vrascte jedin, da se ispoveda po hubave. Jurnek 33. (29v) Cato patuvaha mlogo hora po more, dighna se jedna golema fortuna, i sicki zeha jedin drughi da se ispovedovat. Jurnek 34. (30v) Ghiaulat se javeva na jedin cilek, deto pocitasce Blax. D. Maria, i pod prilika od pop ispovedova go od jedin golem greh, deto besce storil. Jurnek 35. (32r) Jedin grescnik pridava se sas sam na ghiaulat, i sloguva mu triset godini, i setne se ispoveda, i ghiaulat ni go paznava. Jurnek 36. (33r) Jssukrase prikazova na jedin momak, deto utadesce da gresci, i ghiaulat go ciakasce da go ubii. Jurnek 37. (34r) Jedna loscia xena, ama skriscna, cato scetesce da umre, jedin calugherin vide mlogo ghiaule, deto ciakaha da i zemat dusciata, ama cato i ubadiha ta se ispoveda. Jurnek 38. (35r) Jedin golem cilek cato besce na umiralo, sin mu vidi mlogo ghiaule, zascto niscetesce da prosti na karezliata si, ama cato mu kaza sin mu, ispoveda se, i prosti im. Jurnek 39. (36r) Jedna

calugherca, zascto mlogo vreme ima na sarze da stori jedin greh, i nicoga se ni ispoveda od tova promislene, utade u pacal. Jurnek 40. (37r) Jedin momak sas ciudesse go dava Blax. D. Maria, ama setne stana piscman ta se uxeni, i Blax. d. Maria jaco mu se zakanova, zatova toi staje calugherin. Jurnek 41. (38v) Jedin selanin obrice na sveti Mihaela jedna krava sas teleto, ako go utarvesce od moreto, i zascto ni izvarsciova obrokat, udauva se u moreto i toi, i kravata sas teleto. Jurnek 42. (39r) Tiberio II Imperator davasce golemi sadaki, i cato mu se suvrsciova parite, namerova mlogo imane. Jurnek 43. (39v) Sveti Germano gospodin zapovedova na diakat si da dade tri groschia na jedni siromassi, ama toi dava toco dva, i setne dvesta dadoha na sveti Germano. Jurnek 44. (40r) Jedna xena pribire u doma si jedin siromah, i ostave go na diuscekat od maxia si, i toi cato vide, iska da go ubii. Jurnek 45. (41r) Jedin Bahcivamin davasce na siromassi sickiet si kiar, ama setne, zascto stana nekezin, razbole se, ta ci pak pozna kabahatat si. Jurnek 46. (43r) Ciudna rabota dokarova zarad sadakata od jedin poganin, deto besce dal ponasahar od xenata si kristianca. Jurnek 47. (45v) Jedin Begh utade da pah(t?)uva dalece, i zatova se priraciova na molitvite od jedin siromah, i toi mu se obrice da moli za nego, aco go prigledova. Jurnek 48. (46v) Zarad molitvata od jedin siromah, kurtolissova se od smart jedin zenghinin. Jurnek 49. (48r) Jedin domin zasctoto pravi sveta Missa na Velikden, sas ciudese si utade na viljat. Jurnek 50. (49r) Jedin cilek, zascto begasce od sveta Missa, ghiaulat go sassipova u jedin trap. Jurnek 51. (49v) Jedin pop zascto pravi Missa sas greh na dusciata, dode jedin galab, ta mu zeme comcata, i ispiva kravta od caliscet. Jurnek 52. (51r) Jedin Anghel ubaxde na jedna duscia od Pargatorio, ci i se besce rodil jedin ounuka, deto scstesce da stani domin, i ci na negovata parva Missa scstesce ta da se utarve od onezi maki, i da idi u Rai. Jurnek 53. (51v) Jedin calugherin pop sas missa utarve jedna duscia od pargatorio. Jurnek 54. (53v) Dvamina hora cato si varvaha na pat, dode jedna golema fortuna, ta jedinat ubi jedna strela, a drughiet ni pokatna, zascto besce sluscial missa u zaranta. Jurnek 55. (54r) Jedin calugherin zascto ni moxe da idi da sluscia missa, sas ciudesse vidi coga se digasce telo Jssukrastovo. Jurnek 56. (55r) Cato se conca jedin sas greh, pukna mu se garloto, ta umre, i utidi u pacal. Jurnek 57. (55r) Jedno kuce se pokloneva na posvetena conca. Jurnek 58. (55r) Jedna ursus xena ostave jedna posvetena conca u svickiet postav, i svignete i se poklonevat. Jurnek 59. (56r) Golemo ciudesse od sveto pricistene srescta jedni eretizi. Jurnek 60. (56v) Jedin soldatin, da stori ikram na telo Jssussovo, kleknova u kalta, ama hic mu se ni ukalovat drehite. Jurnek 61. (57v) Jedna xena cristianca dadi na jedin evrein jedna posvetena conca, i cato utidi druga xena cristianca, concata i skokna u polata. Jurnek 62. (58v) Jedin maghiosnik eretik farlet u ogan, ama ghiaulat go ugassova osahat, i cato donessoha telo Jssussovo, ghiaulat pobeghnova, i eretikat izgore. Jurnek 63. (59r) Jedno momce vidi u kesjata od maika si concata cato jedno dete, deto taja besce skrila, da pravi jedni ghiaulsctini. Jurnek 64. (59r) Jedin evrein na kascmer utade sas cristianete da se conca, i osahat scto ze concata, Gospod go pedepsa. Jurnek 65. (60r) Jedin ucenik se javeva sled smart na drugaret si, ta mu kazova colco golema slava mu besce dal Gospod, zasctoto se cesto concovasce. Jurnek 66. (60v) Jedna xena storova laxiovni barasciar sas druga xena, ta ci se concova, i concata i izleze iz ustata, i umre. Jurnek 67. (61r) Ghiaulat na prilika od jedna grapava xiaba donase jedin altan na ustata od jedin Nekezin, zascto niscstesce da se conca. Jurnek 68. (61v) Jedna xena ni moxi bir tiurliu da zemi Sveta Conca, zasctoto nisctese da prosti na cojeto ja beha navredili. Jurnek 69. (62v) Sveti Lorenzo, cato pravesce sveta Missa, prinasese i utade ta concova jedna calugherca, ama pak se ni mahova od Oltaret. Jurnek 70. (63r) Issu Kras sas ciudesse concova jedin Calugherin. Jurnek 71. (64r) Na Liduvina divoica zascto ni davat conca, prikazova i se Issu Kras, ta se priubrascte na Conca, i sas neja ja concova domin. Jurnek 72. (65r) Jedin domin niscete da conca jedna xena, i Isu Kras i se prikazova, ta ja concova. Jurnek 73. (65v) Xenata na jedin

memalegia, moli se Bogu da pedepsa maxia i na teloto, ta dusciata mu da nameri spassene. *Jurnek 74. (66v) Jedin Gospodin tembih besce storil jedni da se ni concat, i zascto jedin utidi da se conca, Gospod mu dava golema pedepsa. Jurnek 75. (67v) Sveti Bernardo vodi, ci Anghel Boxi pissovaha seki na bascka hesap, sicko deto calugherete dumaha na svetod Offizio. Jurnek 76. (68v) Jedin calugherin, cato kazovasce Offizio dremliv, ghiaulat go udarova. Jurnek 77. (68v) Jedin teghli golemi maki u purgatorio, zasctoto besce kazoval zle sveto offizio. Jurnek 78. (69v) Jedin gospodin teghli golemi maki u Pargatorio, zascto besce kazoval zle offizio. Jurnek 79. (70v) Ghiaulat plesnova jedin cilek, zascto se ni pokloni na Missa, no onezi dumi od Vervaneto: i stana cilek. Jurnek 80. (71r) Da tarpi cilek sas dobra voghlia makite od tozi svet, nai draga i rabota na Boga. Jurnek 81. (71v) Jedna xena se moli na Issu Krasta, da i dade da umre onzi den, i onzi sahat, cogato toi umre, i toi bi. Jurnek 82. (72v) Jedin Boxi calugherin se prinase, i vidi strascene rabote od maki od pargatorio. Jurnek 83. (75v) Hortuva se od makite od pargatorio, i od pacalat, deto vide jedin, deto go vikaha Jandolo. Jurnek 84. (77r) Cako isteghli Sveta krastena divoica, zasctoto vide makite od one svet. Jurnek 85. (79r) Zapovedova Sveti Macario na jedna rocaliza cillestka, i ta mu kazova, cakvi maki teghlila anatemnizite u pacalat. Jurnek 86. (79v) Dvoiza martvi saxivili se kazovat ciudne rabote od makite od onzi svet. Jurnek 87. (80v) Jedin soltatin umire, i pak, sas Boxi povilene se saxiveva, i pravi golema pocora, zascto besce videl makite od one svet. Jurnek 88. (81r) Jedin jagumin umire, i zaraciova na calugherete da storat jagumin na negovo mesto jedin negov ounuka, i setne se javeva, ta kazova colco teghli zatova. Jurnek 89. (82r) Jedin calugherin umrel u rasctese na xivot, da go prosti negovat jagumin, i toi mu dava za pocora da sedi u pargatorio, dor mu zacopajaha teloto, i toi go vika duscmanin. Jurnek 90. (82v) Jedin calugherin izbira po napret da guri jedin den u pargatorio nexili jedna godina da lexi bolin, ama cato denedissa onezi maki, kail staje od bolesta. Jurnek 91. (83v) **Javeva se jedna duscia od pargatorio na sveti Nicola od Dolentino, i ghiosterdissova mu golemite maki od pargatorio. Jurnek 92. (85r) Jedin soltatin, cata coga minesce prez grobiscta, kazovasce jedin occe nach, i jedna zdrava Maria za onezi mrtvi, i cato go goneha jednasc negovite duscmane da go ubiat, izlezoha martvite, ta go utarvaha. Jurnek 93. (85v) Jedin beg, vardat go od smart martvi dusci, zascto se smislovasce od teh. Jurnek 94. (87r) Dvamina, deto imaha ghiaul u teloto, kazovat ciudne rabote od slava nebesca. Jurnek 95. (87v) Jedna calugherica umrela javeva se na jedna neina drugarca, i kazova i ciudne rabote od Rai Boxi. Jurnek 96. (89v) Jedin calugherin se prinase na pesenta od jedna gadinca, i mlogo godini sedi tei prinesen. Jurnek 97. (91r) Jedin jagumin prikazova na jedin laxiovin manastir pal(n?)i sas ghiaule pod prilika od calughere, i cato ze da hortuva, cak besce prigrescil Luciferu, osahat lipsa i manastirat, i sickite calughere. Jurnek 98. (92r) Jedin cilek niscitel nicoga da hodi da sluscia prikazovane, i cato umre, i iskaha da mu pejat offizi od martvi za dusciana, jedin kras zaplasctesi uscite sas razete. Jurnek 99. (93r) Cato ciu jedno hubavo prikazovane jedin turcin, priubarna mu se sarzeto, i rece: jani na misirsko da ciujat tacova prikazovane, sicki biha se ubarnali na vera Cristiansca. Jurnek 100. (93v) Jedin cilek iska da stori zor na jedna moma, deto utadesce da sluscia дума Boxia, i Gospod go ubiva, ama pak, zarad molitvite od onazi moma, saxiveva go. Jurnek 101. (94r) Jedna grehovita, cato ciu jedno prikazovane, padna martva na zemeta, ama Gospod pak ja saxivi, ta pravi golema pocora. Jurnek 102. (95r) Dvamina calughere, zarad sluscianeto, namerovat se na golem zor, da umrat od glade, ama Gospod ghi sas ciudesse prigledova. Jurnek 103. (96v) Sas covet od sveto slusciane, jedin calugherin umrel, uxiveva. Jurnek 104. (97r) Jedin calugherin, sas covet od sveto slusciane, dovaxde na jaguminat jedna aslamte varga um. Jurnek 105. (98r) Jedin calugherin ulize u edna furna upalina, i izlize xiv, i zdrav zarad sluscianeto. Jurnek 106. (98v) Jedin***

*calugherin, cato tocesce taman vino, vika go jaguminat, i toi osahat utidi, i ni zaplati kamilkata, i cato se napalni pukalat sas vino, samo se zapre, i ni tece veke. Jurnek 107. (98v) Jedin calugherin zapovedova na jedna mecka, da mu donese darva, i ta osahat go poslusciova. Jurnek 108. (99r) Jedno hubavo ciudesse, deto stori Gospod zarad sluscianeto od jedin calugherin. Jurnek 109. (99v) Jedin nov calugherin se prinase, i vidi Rajat, i Pacalat, i cakvi maki teghli prokletiet Juda. Jurnek 110. (105r) Colco ubice Blaxena Deviza Maria hairatat. Jurnek 111. (106r) Cak jedin calugherin golem strah isteghli od ghiaulete, ta ci mu se javi Blax. D. M. ta go zaradova. Jurnek 112. (107v) Jedin calugherin dobiva za jedna nosc tri venza od slava na nebe, zascto navi tri pati na jedno loscio promiscelene. Jurnek 113. (109r) Jedni calugherin vidi na trapezata Blax. D. Maria deto darxesce Issussa. Jurnek 114. (110r) Cak umreha hubave jedno mlado calugherce sas jaguminat si barabar. Jurnek 115. (111v) Cak jedin calugherin, zascto izlazi is Manastirat ta se uxeni, biha go jaco zle dvamina svetzi Boxi. Jurnek 116. (113r) Colco golema milos, i tarpene imasce jedin calugherin, i caco iskaza Gospod sled negovata smart. Jurnek 117. (115v) Cak prigleda Gospod dvamina calughere, deto pahuvaha na ciuxdi viliat. Jurnek 118. (117r) Cak se izmami jedin calugherin Laico, sas nadevane da ima da xivei oscti mlogo godini. Jurnek 119. (118r) Jedin calugherin Laico hodulin, sakasce ci sctesce da stani Gospodin, i umre ubesin cato haidutin. Jurnek 120. (121r) Cak jedin calugherin pobeghna od manastirat, i stana basc haidutin, i setne cak se svarsci. Jurnek 121. (124v) Dvamina calughere javevat se sled smart na one, deto ghi gleda na bolesta. Jurnek 122. (126r) Caco se dokare na jedin nov calugherin, zascto se sevindissa, ci se besce ispovedal od sickite grehove od sickiet xivot. Jurnek 123. (128r) Cak se svarsci jedin calugherin, deto iska pomosc na ghiaulat. Jurnek 124. (129r) Colco ubice Blax. D. Maria, da se taciati neinite jucuni. Jurnek 125. (129v) Colco ghiaulat ni ubice, da tacimi jucunata od Blax. D. Maria. Jurnek 126. (130v) Blaxena D. Maria vrascte jedin cilek na xivot, da pravi pocor od negovite grehove. Jurnek 127. (130v) I drughi saxiveva Blax. D. Maria, da pravi pocora. Jurnek 128. (131r) Jedin haidutin possacet, ama ni moxi da umre bes ispovedilo. Jurnek 129. (131v) Na jednogo ni moxi da mu se oddeli dusciata od teloto, macar da besce sassem izglinelo, dor se ni ispoveda. Jurnek 130. (132v) Jedin cilek udavi se, i lexia tri dni u vodata, ta ci pak izlezi xiv, i zdrav. Jurnek 131. (133r) Jedin cilek uxiveva da se ispoveda, i cato se ispoveda, pak umre. Jurnek 132. (133r) Jedno dete rodilo se martvo. Jurnek 133. (134r) **Ciudessa od Sveti Antuna od Padua** [42 miracles - 5 of them included in our sample]. (153r) *Xivot od Sveti Clemente Gospodin od Enghiur* [Ancyra], (173r) list of contents, (175v-179r) empty lists (Xristova et al 1996 V:162-169)*

nominal articles	113	3.5279%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	41	1.28%
adjectival articles	53	1.6547%
ext. demonstratives	85	2.6538%
DAT.POSS pronouns	22	0.6869%
future particle <i>šte</i>	1	0.0312%
long-form adjectives	75	2.3416%
synthetic infinitives	3	0.0937%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.15. PPS - Pop Punčov Sbornik

The manuscript is held at the National Library of Sofia under the signature H5KM 693 (95). Its scribe, editor and, at least for a part of the texts, author was the pop Punčo of Mokreš. For this reason, Conev

(II 1923:284) coined the name, which is now used in most works concerning the manuscript, which is remarkable both for its eclectic contents (e.g. Angelov II 1964:149f.; Petkanova-Toteva 1965:99f.), as well as for the language, being a rare example of a 18th century Northwestern dialect of the Vidin-Lom area (Šaur 1970:61), a transitional variety between Bulgarian and Serbian. The scans of the original are also available online at the websites of the library and of the Europeana project ([link](#)).

Punčo began writing by his own words (f. iii-v) in 1796. Šaur (1970:5) believes it was finished in the same year; in 1797 the region was affected by a war between the Sultan and the Vidin warlord Osman Pazvantoğlu, which is not mentioned. Furthermore, the Punčo's words are part of an introduction, which may have been placed originally at the end of the book, among the historical chapters taken from the *Istoria Slavěnobolgarskaa*. The fate of Punčo and his manuscript in the next years are unknown. A school was founded in Mokreš in 1796, it was active in 1800, and it is likely Punčo was involved there as a teacher (Šaur 1970:14). The only sidenotes, both written by other hands, mention consecration of a Church in the village Dälgoševci, today Zamfir in 1814 (Šaur 1970:17) and the book's later (1878) proprietor, Todor Bono Aleksov of Progorelec (f. vii-v at the end).

Even if the total size of the manuscript is smaller in comparison to *Jan.s.* or *Nedělnik* 1806, the contents of the manuscript are very rich. Some of the texts were, according to Punčo's own words, translated directly from Greek (f. i-v), but this may have been merely transcribed from his source. One of the sources were likely the damaskini, although it is not sure, if Punčo worked with *simple* Bulgarian ones. Petkanova-Toteva (1964:99) identified three texts (lives of St. George and St. Demetrius, as well as some parts of the *Miracles of Archangels Michael and Gabriel*) authored by Stouditēs. As with all chapters, Punčo paraphrased and shortened his sources heavily, so it is not clear, whether he used a Slavic or Greek text for them. The *Life of St. Parascheva* (i.e. Petka of Tarnovo) reflects more the synaxar edition (attested e.g. in *NBKM 665*) than that of the damaskini⁴⁶, but, again, it is drastically shortened. Another source were apocryphal miscellanies, from which he took, for example, the story of the fight of archangel Michael and Satanail (Miltenova 2018:99), as well as some of the chapters concerning Adam and Eve (Petkanova-Toteva 1965:100). The *Legend of St. Thais* likely reflects the translation by Josif Bradati, attested in *NBKM 328*. Punčo also used sources of Russian redaction of Church Slavonic, which show influence in the *Tale of Joseph, son of Rachel* (e.g. 3PL.AOR *prodadóša* 'they sold'⁴⁷). Traces of Middle Bulgarian secular literature, like the anecdote about Socrates and his wife (f. 323r of Arabic pagination) can be found too. Punčo also included an introduction and four chapters of the *Istoria Slavěnobolgarskaa*, although he did not mention the name of its author.

In short, similar miscellanies were being composed in the time with an increasing variety of contents, but none of the known ones has managed to collect pieces from all of these topics in such an encyclopaedical way. Punčo's manuscript is like an anthology, reflecting at least parts of a large proportion of non-liturgical Bulgarian literature as we know it in the 18th century - damaskini, apocrypha, homilies of Church Fathers (often pseudoepigraphic), Bradati's school, anecdotes on ancients, *Istoria*. The tome was also used as a source of at least two other damaskini identified by Conev (II 1923:284), *NBKM 722* and *726*. A third manuscript based on *PPS* is *NBKM 1005*, written by

⁴⁶ It is puzzling, why Punčo did not use the panegyric edition, which includes the exploits of King John Asen, given his interest in historical (or national) topics - it seems his access to the damaskini tradition, which conveyed this edition, was very limited, if any. This supports the claim of Šaur (1970:18) that Punčo did not know Sophronius of Vratsa, who wrote at least two versions based on this edition, nor used his works as a source.

⁴⁷ PL.AOR endings are in most dialects the same as for the imperfect tense already in early damaskini, e.g. *rodíxa* 'they gave birth' (*Tixon.d.*), although occasionally old endings appear with the Resava reflect of the old nasal, e.g. *položíše+ju* 'they placed her' (< **položíšę*). It is possible the old endings were still productive in some western dialects by then. *NBKM 328* uses both reflexes (e.g. *satvoriša* 'they did', *pominuše* 'they passed'), Punčo too, but in different texts (Šaur 1970:49).

daskal Pärvan in 1847 in the village Banja in the vicinity of Montana, which copies even Punčo's illustrations (Angelov II 1964:167; Kodov & Stojanov III 1964:162).

As already mentioned, the language of the manuscript is also a remarkable one. There are not many other sources relevant for the study of Northwestern dialectal area of this time. Later works by Sophronius of Vratsa, like the *Vidin Miscellany* and also the *Nedělnik*, show an influence of these dialects (Vätov 2001), but their author was not a native to the region. Punčo uses many forms, which are rare or ambiguous already in earlier *damaskini*. For example, markers of definiteness are employed systematically alongside accusative marking in both MASC and FEM genders, as it is still attested in nearby Torlak dialects (Vuković 2021), both in nouns and adjectives (e.g. *ne+štejè bǃb da bǃgoslòvi negóvu+tu mǃtvu* 'God did not want to bless his prayer'; 101v). Dative marking alongside definiteness is attested too, but only rarely (e.g. *mladó+tomu čǃveku* 'to the young man'; 88v), the constructions with *na* preposition are more productive. These occur both with oblique (*reče na+svojù stopanicu* 'he said to his wife'; 62v) and generalized nominative (*dadè na+žená+ta žító* 'he gave crops to his wife'; 14r) endings. The MASC.SG definite ending is often written with an *-o*, which is not attested in the local dialect today (which has *-ǃ*). Šaur (1970:39) considers this writing an orthographic feature invented by Punčo, who writes the middle vowel /ǃ/ mostly with *ь* or *а* - he tried to escape the ambiguity, as these characters were used to mark other cases⁴⁸.

As the texts are generally shorter, we have selected two chapters for our corpus, which we have already mentioned above - *Life of St. Parascheva*, (f. 74v-77v of Arabic pagination) and the biblical *Story of Joseph, son of Rachel* (f. 79v-92r). Of course, given the rich contents of the manuscript, such a sample is hardly sufficient to represent the whole work. For this reason, a digital edition of the whole *Sbornik* is being prepared separately within another project.

Text title	various
Tokens	3725
Sentences	532
Source/Text date	1796
Source/Text origin	Mokreš
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	Vidin-Lom
Source contents	(folia I-VIIIv, .pdf-pages 1-17) ⁴⁹ empty pages, (chapter 1, 1r, p.18) Punčo's preface, (2, 2v, p.21) index of chapters, (3, 5r, p.26) introduction to Paisii's <i>Chronicle</i> , (4, 7v, p.31) introductory prayer with Punčo's autoportraits, (5, 9v, p.35) <i>Molitva angelu xranitelju</i> , (6, 11v, p.39) <i>Slovo bogatomu lovu</i> , (7, 15v, p.47) <i>Čudesà svetim bezsrebrenikom</i> [St. Cosmas and Damian], (8, 19v, p.55) <i>Slovo i pričta Avraamova</i> , (9, 22v, p.61) <i>Slovo Davidu caru</i> , (10, 24v, p.65) <i>Slovo proroku Danilu</i> , (11, 31v, p.79) <i>Pričta Neofitu</i> (12, 35v, p.87) <i>Čudesà arxangelu Mixailu</i> [I - <i>o rekax vodnix</i>], (13, 37v, p.91) <i>Čudesà arxangelu Mixailu</i> [II - <i>i Antixristu</i>], (14, 49r, p.114) <i>Kako osudi Marta Pilata</i> , (15, 53r, p.122) <i>Slovo Ioana Krǃstitelja</i> , (16, 56r, p.128) <i>Seknovenie glavu Ioanu</i> , (17, 57v, p.131) <i>Slovo za bezakonago Judu</i> , (18, 67v, p.151) <i>Slovo stago Iosifa</i> [of Arimathea], (19, 71v, p.159) <i>Slovo Ioana Prediteča</i> , (20, 74v, p.165) <i>Slovo Paraskevi</i> , (21, 77v, p.171) <i>Pričta mudrimǃ i jurodivimǃ</i> , (22, 79v, p.175) <i>Slovo Iosifa sina Raxilina</i> , (92v-93r, p.201-202) illustrations of

⁴⁸ A similar solution was later adopted by Neophyte of Rila in his grammar (Rilski 1836:86; Fielder 2019:46).

⁴⁹ *PPS* shows multiple paginations, which may be confusing for a reader. Punčo's own pagination uses Cyrillic numerals, starting with the prayer to the Guardian Angel (5). As other pages were later placed to the beginning, a new pagination by Arabic numerals was created likely by the librarians by a pencil. There are also traces of another Arabic pagination by a pen (e.g. p.180/f.82r), which was not fully implemented. Roman page numbers added by various hands appear at various places. For the sake of convenience, we give pencil-written Arabic numbers "folia" and page numbers of the .pdf edition ([link](#)) as "pages". The titles in our list correspond to page titles, which are sometimes different from those in the Punčo's index.

St. Cyricus and St. Gavedius, (23, 93v, p.203) *Poučenie va nedelju pervuju stago posta*, (24, 95v, p.207) *Slovo pradedu Adamu*, (25, 104r, p.224) *O potopa Noeva*, (26, 112r, p.240) *O Isaka i Iakova*, (27, 117r, p.250) *O Davida razboinika*, (28, 118v, p.253) [Što uči nasъ Gsdb i sti Stefan] *Nedrugui so čuždu ženu*, (29, 119v, p.255) *Čudesa - Kako živeexu tri ženi u goru*, (30, 123r, p.262) *Marię bludnica*, (31, 124v, p.265) *Mučenica Θεοδοτα*, (32, 127r, p.270) *Pričta Ioanu [Bogoslovu] i razboiniku*, (33, 130v, p.277) *Človekь nasadi lozie*, (34, 133r, p.282) *O device Riψimie*, (35, 135r, p.286) *Mučenie Gavedino*, (36, 140v, p.297) *Petrъ kamatarъ*, (37, 143r, p.302) *Človekь mlstivъ*, (38, 144r, p.304) *Ispitanie Xristovo*, (39, 146r, p.308) *Čudesa stomu Dimitriju*, (40, 149r, p.314) *Človekь trъgovець*, (41, 153r, p.322) *Žitie Ioanu Rilskomu*, (42, 157v, p.331) *O kako vazide dša na nbsi*, (43, 159v, p.335) *Čudesa stago Mini*, (44, 166v, p.349) *Zapovedъ stago Ioana Zlatoustago* (on repentance), (45, 169v, p.355) *Poučenie svešteniku [kako podobaetъ sšteniku deržati čstotu predъ stuju trapezu]*, (46, 171v, p.359) *Proęvlenie cru Kostandinu [čstnago krsta]*, (47, 177r, p.370) *Sudъ kъ nemlstimivъ knezеть*, (48, 179r, p.374) *Čudesa Θεοφανова*, (49, 181r, p.378) *Pokaęnie svešteniku [Slovo o prezvitere vapadšemъ vъ preljubodeęnie]*, (50, 184v, p.385) *Žitie stago Andreja [Kako ispitvaše sti Andrei diavola]*, (50a, 186r, p.388) *Pričta prosta kako osudi žena muža* [not listed in Punčo's index], (51, 186v, p.389) *Slovo o sudbi božii*, (52, 189v, p.395) *Slovo stago Ioana Bgoslova* [invention of iconography], (53, 192r, p.400) *[Slovo Evargia duxovnika] O vozdržanie wt besed ženskix*, (54, 194r, p.404) *Pričta Taisie bludnice*, (55, 197v, p.411) *Mučenie stago Prokopia*, (56, 215v, p.447) *Pričta prosta kalugerska [kako istezuetъ dijavola]*, (57, 218v, p.453) *Mučenie stago Pantaleimona*, (58, 235v, p.487) *Čudesa stago Samona, Guria i Aviva*, (59, 241v, p.499) *Mučenie stago Georgia*, (60, 255v, p.527) *Čudesa stago Georgia*, (61, 263v, p.544) *Slovo Θεοδора kupca*, (61a, 268r, p.552) *Grigoria ot Pilusa* [not listed in the index], (62, 269r, p.554) *[O] stago proroka Ilia*, (62a, 281r, p.578) *[Skazanie Illju i Enoxu - not listed in the index]*, (63, 282r, p.580) *Izgnanie Adamovo*, (64, 287r, p.590) *Pričta Lotova*, (65, 291r, p.598) *Zmię* [not listed in the index, but titled separately], (66, 291v, p.599) *Blgoveštenie prestei Bci*, (67, 293r, p.602) *O dlъznago člveka*, (68, 294v, p.605) *Roždestvo Xrstovo*, (69, 298v, p.613) *[Ioana Zlatoustago slovo] O večna muka*, (70, 304r, p.624) *O lъživago proroka*, (71, 310r, p.636) *[Slovo Ioana Zlatoustago] O suda pravednago*, (72, 315r, p.646) *[Zapoved Ioana Zlatoustago] O člveka tafraęia*, (73, 320r, p.656) *O kako da izberešъ sebe ženu*, (73a, 323r, p.662) *Edinъ člvekъ filosofъ* [on Socrates and Xanthippē? - not listed in the index], (74, 323v, p.663) *Ženska krasota* [on Sarah and Rebecca - not listed in the index, but titled separately], (75, 330r, p.676) *O Aležia člveka bžia*, (76, 342v, p.703) *Istoria bolgarskaja [I - Sъbranie istoričeskoe o narode i o cre bolgarstem]*, (77, 361r, p.738) *Istoria bolgarskaja [II - Ot koe vreme vosprijali blъgare stoe krъštenie]*, (77a, 363r, p.742) commentary to the *Chronicle* by Punčo, (78, 365r, p.746) *Istoria bolgarskaja [III - Povestъ radi cara Jasena Starago o kako prizvalъ ot Oxrit gradъ stago oca Θεοfila]*, (79, 369v, p.755) *Istoria bolgarskaja [IV - Povest radi cra Aležandriu]*, (80, 372v, p.761) *Istoria bolgarskaja [V - Povest radi moskovskago cra Petra, što go naricaјut moskale Buro]*, (81, 381v, p.779) *O kako umilenu mltvu vozisilaju bu* [afterword by Punčo], (383r-383v, p.782-783) sidenotes by later owners from 1814, (p.784-788, 790-796) empty pages, (p.789) sidenote by a librarian?, (p.797) sidenote from 1823

nominal articles	46	1.2349%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	62	1.6644%
adjectival articles	9	0.2416%
ext. demonstratives	67	1.7987%
DAT.POSS pronouns	18	0.4832%
future particle šte	5	0.1342%

long-form adjectives	82	2.2013%
synthetic infinitives	3	0.0805%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	4	0.1074%
non-NOM articles	5	0.1342%

2.16. *Berl.d.* - *Berlinski damaskin*

The manuscript is held at the library of the Jagellonian University in Cracow under the signature Slav. fol. 36. The origins of the damaskin are not clear. Demina (1968:61) classifies it as a type IV damaskin⁵⁰. It includes a sidenote the year 1791 by pop Georgi, who is considered to be the scribe (Conev 1937:3; Petkanova-Toteva 1965:241)⁵¹. However, a more recent analysis of the watermarks argued, that it could not have been written before 1803 (Ciaramella 1996:120). There is another sidenote from 1847 by Alexander Živkov from Pleven (1830-1856), author of one of the first etymological dictionaries of Bulgarian ([link](#)). Živkov was likely a student of Kesarii Popvasilev from Kazanlāk (1805-1862, [link](#)) at the time and likely transcribed a Church Slavonic text into it (Conev 1937:15). Due to similarity in contents with other type IV damaskini, the main text was likely written over more years (at least 1791-1803) in Pleven or in the area.

It is unclear, how the manuscript landed in Germany. Another sidenote shows the book was acquired by the State Library in Berlin from Otto Harassowitz in 1899 (Conev 1937:4). It was likely moved to the abbey of Grüssau in 1942 along with other manuscripts of the library due to the bombardement of the city. After the war, the collection was claimed by the restored Polish government, and since 1947 it is placed in the Library of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, being available to scholars, despite the dispute about its ownership between Poland and Germany (cf. Rutowska 2012). But let us not overshadow the importance of this source by politics - with its more than 40 chapters, *Berl.d.* is the largest among the surviving type IV damaskini. Similarly to other miscellanies from the late 18th century, its structure does not seem to follow any precedent: only the first three chapters remind us of the *Sv.d.*, but even from here not all chapters are included.

Our corpus includes the untitled⁵² *Life of St.Petka*, which can be found on f. 179r-185v (Arabic pagination) or 180r-186v (Cyrillic). This edition of the *Life* is unique from multiple aspects. It was composed by a *togizi* translator on the basis of the shortened Church Slavonic text anew. The structure is much closer to the CS edition than the *togazi* translation (Demina 1968:167). Furthermore, the text is extended by the story about the capture of relics by Turks, the miracles performed in the Sultan's palace and their final translation to Jassy, which is likely based on the menaion edition by Demetrius of Rostov. It also includes a homily on Petka's virtues, which is not found in other sources. This edition is not attested in other sources in the same extent. A fragment of this edition containing a part taken from Demetrius is attested in the damaskin *CIAI 133* from Pleven. The differences are minor; the texts had likely a common source, if *CIAI 133* was not the protograph of the *Berl.d.* itself. The surviving text in *CIAI 133* (cf. Sprostranov 1900:211) is too short to be clear.

From the linguistic point of view, Conev (1937:8) considered *Berl.d.* less interesting than *Sv.d.* due to certain "Russian" influences, like the *o* reflex of the old strong jer, mostly in prefixes (e.g. *vozlóžix* 'I laid'; Vuković 1536: *vzložix*) and the use of <А> for /ja/ (e.g. *toę'ga* 'baton'). Although the vowels are

⁵⁰ Her dating of the damaskin (second half of the 17th c.) is most likely wrong, as well as the signature (№ 35), which is not met among the manuscripts described by Conev (1937:2-15).

⁵¹ There is no apparent relation with the Georgi mentioned in *Sv.d.*, but it is possible it was the name of the translator or editor of the *togizi*-circle from the early 18th c., duly copied in transcripts.

⁵² Likely unfinished, manuscript has empty place instead of titles and capital letters, at least in the chapter available to us.

given mostly phonetically, *Berl.d.* mostly discards the \bar{a} -stem ending with a jer⁵³, which is attested in older damaskini, including *CIAI 133*:

Rostovski 1689: *togdà cār̄b tōi Selím̄b, wt gráda ternóvna rátiju vosxítiv̄b, s̄b 'inim' b̄lgolēpiem' cercóvnim' i cār̄skim oúkrašénim', i si'ē čéstnyē mw̄šti prp̄dbnyē paraskévii*
'then Selim, having conquered Tarnovo with his army, took these honorable relics of the Reverend Parascheve also with other church and royal ornaments'

CIAI 133: i toizi selim̄b mošti+te čstniē petki sas drugi xubavi premeni čerkovni i crski darove sas voisk̄b+ t̄b si ze Berl.d.: i+ togiz̄i selim̄b, čstni+te móšti stéi p̄tki, s̄b̄s drúgi xubav̄i primén̄i crkóvn̄ii, i+ crski'' darov̄e, s̄b̄s voisk̄ká+ ta+ ta+ si+ ḡi z̄e
'then Selim took the honorable relics of the St.Petka, together with other beautiful ornaments of the church and royal gifts, taking them with his army

Still, the \bar{a} -stem final jer is attested elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g. on f.53r: *štéšy da izlézy na voisk̄b^* 'he was going to war'; Conev 1937:5). It is likely the editor rather followed to orthography known from newer Church Slavonic sources, which is also indicated by the use of <ъ> as the MASC.SG.NOM σ -stem ending - older sources prefer <ь> on this position according to Resava rules. Generally, nominal inflection seems to be limited to MASC.SG animate nouns (*wstávixa stopána* 'they left [them] as landlords', *kam_to edínago bga* 'towards the only God', *ně'kogo mom'kà svě't'la* '[she saw] a shiny boy', *sín̄b na+ stárago crē' asě'na* 'son of the old king Asen', *pred' crē+tok̄b* 'before the king'). This includes the names (*Krtsitelē iwán'na oupr̄iličáva* '[she] likened [herself] to John the Baptist'), unless they end on *-ii* (*s̄b̄s bráta+ i'ev̄im̄ie*). FEM.SG inflections are rare, but inconsistent (e.g. *wtíde v' zém̄ljú* [ACC] *moldovsk̄iē* [GEN] '[she] went to the land of Moldova').

Another *togizi* edition can be found in the damaskin *NBKM 1083*, written in 1821 in Svištov. It is unclear, whether its scribe used an older *togizi* translation or the Church Slavonic text as a basis. The text has the same structure as Vuković 1536 edition: it ends at the placement of the Petka's relics in Tarnovo, with no trace of the "update" and the homily from the *CIAI 133/Berl.d.* edition. There are also some notable lexical differences:

Vuković 1536: *nikáko+že přestà loukavy" tou" ískoušajuštii, m̄b'čtan'mi+ že i+ prividěn'mi.*
'and the Evil one was not stopping to make her trials by visions and apparitions'

Berl.d.: a+ diávol̄b lukávii níkak̄b ne+ prestána da+ ē l̄b'st̄i, i+ da ē pláš"
'and the evil Devil was not stopping to deceive and scare her'

NBKM 1083: alá níkak̄b ne+pristána, lukávi diávol̄b, támu da+á ispítuva sás' nalúki i+ sanov̄e
'and the Evil one was not stopping to make her trials by wraiths and dragons'

We have used in our corpus a manual transcript based on the facsimile of the original. Both were provided by Prof. Barbara Sonnenhauser and Prof. Jürgen Fuchsbauer. The text was also been published online as a browser-capable edition ([link](#)).

Text title	<i>Slovo svētyē prepodobnyē matere našeē Petki</i>
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⁵³ This marking is common in older damaskini, but the reason behind it is not clear. Velčeva (1966:117) considered it an oblique case marker, but it was not very strictly employed. The variation between *a* and *ь* in \bar{a} -stem endings likely reflects conflicting tendencies for phonetic transcription of the ending and the preservation of the orthographic final jer, as in the case of Punčo's article form *-o* (cf. section on *PPS*). East Bulgarian dialects generalized the old FEM.SG.ACC ending *-ǎ* (< OCS *-ǫ*; Mirčev 1978:170; see also below the section on *Nedělnik* 1856). Due to the shift of unstressed vowels, the ending in many words with non-final stress was realized as /a/; under stress, the pronunciation remained an /ǎ/. In *Tixon.d.*, the marking is not consistent from any of these points of view (e.g. a jer under stress within a word: *da+ si ukrasi dš̄b+ta* 'to make her soul beautiful'; a word-final jer under stress: *na+ t'bz̄i stran̄b* 'into this land'; a word-final *a* under stress: *i+ v̄bkúsjuvaše tr̄ev̄à* 'and she ate grass'). *Trojan d.* employs often a jus, Cyrillic <ѣ>, on such positions, yet with no more consistency than the *Tixon.d.* edition (e.g. *i rodíxa t̄b'zy čist̄q i xva gólubica* 'and they gave birth to that pure dove of Christ'; Ivanova 1967:77).

Tokens	4866
Sentences	453
Source date	1791-1803
Source origin	Pleven
Text date	18th c.
Text origin	Moesian area
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	<i>togizi</i> type
Source contents	(folia 1r-5v ⁵⁴) lost, (chapter 1, 6r) [Roždestvo Xristovo], (16v) empty page, (2, 17r) Stouditēs' homily on the feast of St. Basil the Great, (27v) empty, (3, 28r) <i>Slovo prostimъ jazikomъ na stoe Bgojavlenie Gda našego lisa Xrsta</i> , (4, 42r) <i>Slovo na sretenie Gda našego lisa Xrsta</i> , (5, 53r) <i>Slovo prepisano prostimъ v' menšago i novago jazika na Blgoveštenie Prestyę vldčcy našeę Bcy i prsnodvy Mrii</i> , (6, 61r) <i>Slovo prepisano prostimъ jazykomъ Stgo prpdnago Aležia člka Bžieę</i> , (7, 68v) <i>Slovo o akaēistemъ prestyę vldčcy našei Bcy i prsnodvy Mrii</i> , (8, 76r) <i>Slovo stago slav'nago velikotčenika Θεοδoρα Tirona</i> , (9, 81r) <i>Μučenie styxъ slav'nimъ bgoizbranim voinom 40 mčenikomъ</i> , (10, 90r) <i>Slovo stago veliko mčenika Georgie Pobedonosca</i> , (11, 104v) <i>Slovo prostim jazikom stago slav'nago i vsexval'nago apsla i evlستا Ioan'na Bgoslova</i> , (12, 110r) [Karamanliisko evangelie], (13, 111r) <i>Na Preobraženie Gsda Bga i spsa našego lisa Xsa</i> , (14, 122v) [Slovo na uspenie presv. Bca], (15, 130r) [Slovo za sv. Simeona Stъlpnika], (16, 134v) [Slovo za Maria Egipťjanka], (17, 140v) [Slovo za sošestvie svetago duxa], (18, 147v) <i>Previdenie stago slavnago proroka Ilia Ťezvitenina</i> , (19, 157r) <i>Slovo na ržstvo prestyi vldčcy našei Bcy i prsno dvy Mrii</i> , (20, 162r) <i>Slovo na vozdvženie čstnago krsta Gsdne</i> , (21, 165v) Stouditēs' homily on St. Eustathius, (22, 175r) [Slovo za sv. apostolъ Toma], (23, 180r) <i>Slovo svętyę prepodobnyę matere našeę Petki</i> , (24, 187r) [Slovo za sv. Dimitrija], (25, 196r) [Slovo za sv. Kozma i Damiana], (26, 198r) <i>V'vedenie v' xram prestyę i slavnię vladčici Bci i prisnodvi Marii</i> , (27, 202r) [Slovo za sv. Sava Osveštenii], (28, 207r) [Slovo za sv. prorokъ Danaila], (29, 208r) [Slovo otъ I. Zlat. za duševno pokajanie], (30, 212r) <i>Slovo na svetitelę oca našego Nikolae Čudotvorcu</i> , (31, 246r) <i>Slovo iže vъ styx oca našego Spiridona Ťrimitun'skago čjudotvorca</i> , (32, 257r) [Slovo za vtoro prišestvie], (33, 283v) <i>Pamjatъ styxъ velikixъ mčnkъ Kirika i luliti Matere ego</i> , (34, 291r) [Slovo za sv. Mixaila i Gavrila], (35, 303r) [Pavlovo videnie], (36, 315r) [Za desetťxъ zapovedi], (37, 320r) [Slovo na pogrebenie Xristovo], (38, 328v) [Slovo za Teodora Stratilata], (39, 336r) [Prenasjane moštite na I. Zlatousta], (40, 341r) [Slovo pohvalno na sv. Bogorodica], (41, 342r) [Xoždenie Agapievo po raja], (42, 347v) [Xoždenie Bogorodično], (43, 350r) [Slovo-poučenie na vse praznici], (44, 353v-354r) <i>Reči iz'branny i različny ot rъvnite mъžie i filosofi</i> , by another hand, (355r-360v) empty pages, (45, 361r-363r) [Slovo za siropustna nedelja] (Conev 1937:4-15)

nominal articles	184	3.7813%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	62	1.2741%
adjectival articles	106	2.1784%
ext. demonstratives	51	1.0481%
DAT.POSS pronouns	40	0.822%
future particle <i>šte</i>	13	0.2672%
long-form adjectives	230	4.7267%
synthetic infinitives	5	0.1028%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	3	0.0617%

⁵⁴ Conev uses the Cyrillic pagination written by the scribe. Chapter numbers should match those given by Demina to the manuscript (1968:62-63).

2.17. *Nedělnik* 1806

Kyriakodromion sirečъ: Nedělnikъ - Poučenie is the title of the book of Sunday homilies by Sophronius, bishop of Vratsa (1739-1813), published in 1806 in Râmnic. It is often considered one of the first - if not the very first - printed book in the modern Bulgarian language, said to be more spread in the Revival period Bulgaria than the Bible itself (Stefanov 2008:61). The scans of the original edition are available at the World Digital Library, where it is titled as *Sunday Book* ([link](#)).

Together with Paisius of Hilandar, Sophronius is counted among the founders of modern Bulgarian literature. Born as Stoiko in Kotel in a family of a cattle merchant, he changed various trades after the death of his father in 1750. When he became a priest in 1762 he was already an active scribe. In 1765 he transcribed a damaskin on the basis of a type II source (Demina 1968:57), as well as the *Istoria Slavěnobolgarskaa*, using likely Paisius' own manuscript (cf. Romanski 1938:vi). Active in various parts of Bulgaria and on Athos, he became a bishop of Vratsa in 1794. During the rebellion of Osman Pazvantoğlu he abdicated from the episcopal seat and was interned by him in Vidin in 1800. During this time he wrote other two miscellanies, the first of which is sometimes considered an early variant of *Nedělnik* (Staneva 2013:122). In 1803 he left for Bucharest, where he wrote the *Nedělnik*, as well as *Žitie i stradanie grěšnago Sofronia*, likely the first autobiography written in modern Bulgarian (cf. Dylevskij & Robinson 1976).

Both *Nedělnik* and *Žitie i stradanie* can be considered his late works, planned and finished systematically. The both, however, differ widely from the point of view of their language. Sophronius himself writes that he translated texts from the "deep and wide Slavonic and Greek" into "simple and short Bulgarian" (266r), but, in fact, the *Nedělnik* is a typical example of a *Slavenobulgarian* text, adapting many elements from Church Slavonic of the Russian redaction like the expression of possession with genitive pronouns instead of dative forms or adjectives. In this respect, *Žitie i stradanie* is much closer to Bulgarian vernaculars:

Nedělnik 1806: *da+ se` nasladi na+ gledanie Krasoty egò*
'to enjoy the vision of His beauty'

Žitie i stradanie: lice+to mu kato og'ň zapalen
'his face (was) like a burning fire'

The difference was maybe due to prestigious reasons, due to sacral character of *Nedělnik*. They may also be caused by the interference of Church Slavonic: Sophronius may have perceived the differences between his originals and produced texts less exactly than we do. On the other hand, his autobiography was written anew. But still, there are also many features common for both texts, distinguishing them from works closer to the vernacular, especially in syntax. Constructions using periphrastic infinitives, like the future in past, are using the past (mostly imperfect) verbal root *xoču* as an auxiliary verb. This form is common in *PPS* (along shorter *šta*), but as it appears more frequently in biblical texts, it is more likely a Church Slavonic influence. Sophronius uses this auxiliary verb in both texts:

Nedělnik 1806: *xóčeše da wstávi ónyę stóplъ*
'he was going to leave the pillar'

Žitie i stradanie: xočexme ot studъ da izmrem
'we were going to die of cold'

We have selected the *Life of St. Petka* (called here *Parascheva of Tarnovo*) from the *Nedělnik* for our corpus, which can be found on folia 184v-187r. The text is based on the Russian edition by Demetrius of Rostov (Rostovski 1689), which has also been used by the *togizi* translator of the *CIAI 133/Berl.d.* edition. Sophronius has added his own prologue and epilogue to the text. The text was further spread

in handwritten damaskini. A transcript with Greek letters is available in *CIAI 369* and *NBKM 1064*, which however, lacks the prologue and is also influenced by the damaskini edition. The *NBKM 728* edition, included in our corpus, is also most likely based on *Nedělnik* or a transcript of it. The whole *Nedělnik* was edited into Bulgarian (Bogorov's) standard in 1856 by Todor Xrulev. This edition is also added into our corpus.

For our corpus, we have used a digital transkript based on facsimile of the original edition. The text has been used in both studies using the parallel corpus of *Life of St. Petka* editions.

Text title	<i>Skazanie o žitie prepodobnyę matere našeę Paraskevi Ternovskię</i>
Tokens	2215
Sentences	217
Source/Text date	1806
Source/Text origin	Râmnic
Norm	<i>Slavenobulgarian</i>
Source contents	(9 unnumbered pages) index and preface by Sophronius, (folio 1r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju mytari i farisei</i> , (3v) <i>Poučenie v nedělju bludnago syna</i> , (6v) <i>Poučenie v nedělju męsopustnuju</i> , (9r) <i>Poučenie v nedělju syropustnuju</i> , (12r) <i>Slovo vъ pętok pervyę nedli stgo Velikago posta</i> , (14v) <i>Slovo vъ subbotu pervyę nedli stgo Velikago Posta</i> , (17r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedlju pervuju stgo Velikago posta</i> , (20r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedlju vtoruju stgo Velikago posta</i> , (22r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedlju tretuju stgo Velikago posta</i> , (24r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedlju četvertuju stgo Velikago posta</i> , (27r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedlju pętuju stgo Velikago posta</i> , (30r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju Vlię</i> , (33r) <i>Slovo vъ styi Velikyi pondelnik</i> , (35r) <i>Slovo vъ styi Velikii vtornikъ</i> , (37r) <i>Slovo vъ stuju Velikuju srědu</i> , (39r) <i>Slovo vъ styi Velikii četvertokъ</i> , (41v) <i>Slovo vъ styi Velikii pętokъ</i> , (46r) <i>Slovo vъ styi Velikii pętokъ na šestom časě</i> , (52r) <i>Slovo za stuju Velikuju subbotu</i> , (57r) <i>Slovo za stuju Velikuju nedělju Pasxi</i> , (59v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju antipasxi, sireč Ťominu</i> , (62r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju styxъ Mvronosicъ</i> , (64r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju razslablennago</i> , (66v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju samaręnyni</i> , (68r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju o slępomъ</i> , (71r) <i>Slovo vъ den Vъznesenie Gsda nša lisa Xrsta</i> , (75v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju styxъ ocъ</i> , (78r) <i>Slovo vъ denъ pętdesętnyi</i> , (81r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju Vsěxъ styxъ</i> , (84r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju vtoruju</i> , (86v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju tretuju</i> , (89r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju četvertuju</i> , (92r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju pętuju</i> , (94v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju šestuju</i> , (97r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju sedmuju</i> , (100r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju osmuju</i> , (102r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju devętuju</i> , (105v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju desętuju</i> , (108r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju edinadesętuju</i> , (111r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvoenadesętuju</i> , (114r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju trinadesętuju</i> , (116v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju četyrinadesętuju</i> , (119r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju pętnadesętuju</i> , (121v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju šestnadesętuju</i> , (124r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju sedmadesętъ</i> , (127r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju osmadesętuju</i> , (129v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju devętnadesętuju</i> , (132r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesętuju</i> , (135r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt i pervuju</i> , (138r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt vtoruju</i> , (142r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt tretuju</i> , (144v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt četvertuju</i> , (147r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt pętuju</i> , (150v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt šestuju</i> , (153v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt sedmuju</i> , (156v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt osmuju</i> , (159r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju dvadesęt devętuju</i> , (162r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju tridesętuju</i> , (165r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju tridesęt i pervuju</i> , (167v) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju tridesęt vtoruju</i> , (171r) <i>Poučenie vъ načalě Indikta, sirečъ Novago lęta</i> , (173v) <i>Slovo na roždstvo Prestyi Bgrodicy</i> , (176r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju pred Vozdviženie Čstnago Krsta</i> , (179r) <i>Slovo na Vozdviženie Čstnago Krsta</i> , (182r) <i>Poučenie vъ nedělju po vozdviženie Čstnago Krsta</i> , (184v) <i>Skazanie o žitie prepodobnyę matere našeę Paraskevi Ternovskię</i> , (187v) <i>Slovo na pamęt stgo Mčnika Dimitria</i> , (190r) <i>Slovo na sobor Arxistratiga Mixaila</i> , (192v) <i>Slovo vъ denъ stgo Ioanna</i>

Zlatoustago, (197r) Slovo v den vxoda v Xram prestyi Bdcy, (200r) Slovo v pamet stle Xva Nikolae, (203v) Poučenie v nedelju pred Roždestvom Xvym, (206r) Poučenie na predpraznistva Roždstva Xva v den stgo sštenno Mučenika Ignatia, (207r) Poučenie na samoe predprazdenstvo Roždstva Xva dekemvrię v 24 den, (208r), Slovo v den Roždstvo Gsda nša lisa Xrsta, (211r) Poučenie v nedelju po Roždstvę Xvę, (214r) Slovo v den stgo Vasilia Velikago, (218r) Poučenie v nedelju pred Krštenie Gspdine, (220v) Poučenie na pred Prazdnstvo Bgoęvlenie Gsdine ianuarua v 5 den, (221v) Slovo na stoe Bgoęvlenie Gsda nša lisa Xrsta, (224r) Poučenie v nedelju po Krštenie Gsdne, (226v) Slovo na pamet stgo Ierarxa Aethanasia, (229r) Slovo v den srętenie Gsda nša lisa Xrsta, (232v) Slovo v subbotu mešopotnuju i zaousopšyx, i da ne plačem mnogo nad oumeršyx člvkov, (236r) Slovo v den Blgovęštenie Prestyi Bdcy, (238v) Slovo na pamet stgo Veliko Mčnika Georgia, (242r) Slovo na pamet styx Apstl Petra i Pavla, (245v) Slovo v den Preobraženie Gsdne, (249r) Slovo v den Ouspennie Prestyi Bdcy, (252v) Slovo v den Ousęknovne Glavy Ioanna Krstle, (256v) Slovo v pondelnik pervyi stago Velikago Posta, (258v) Slovo v vtornik pervyi stago Velikago Posta, (260v) Slovo v srędu pervyę stago Velikago Posta, (262v-264r) Slovo v četvertok pervyi stago Velikago Posta, (264v) Nastavlenie glagolemoę ot sštennika po stom Kreštenii Mladenca (not listed in the index), (265r) Nastavlenie novobračnym (not listed in the index), (266r) afterword by Sophronius

nominal articles	7	0.316%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	45	2.0316%
adjectival articles	3	0.3154%
ext. demonstratives	51	2.3025%
DAT.POSS pronouns	-	-
future particle šte	-	-
long-form adjectives	232	10.474%
synthetic infinitives	1	0.0451%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	1	0.0451%
non-NOM articles	1	0.0451%

2.18. Krčovski 1814

The book titled *Tale of the Terrible and Second Coming of Christ (Pověst rádi strážnago i vtorágo prišestvię Xristóva)* was written by *xadži* Joakim Krčovski (†1820), published as a printed book in Budapest in 1814. Its author is respected as one of the founding fathers of both modern Bulgarian and Macedonian literature. He was born around 1750 in Oslomej, a village next to Kičevo in today's North Macedonia, becoming a priest in 1780s. Later he worked as a teacher in Kratovo, in one of the first schools open both to male and female students in the area (Georgiev 1980:147). Krčovski published at least five books in print, containing both original works and translations. The *Tale* was republished at least three times with language corrections (Cojnska 1979:28).

Similarly as the scribes of damaskini, Krčovski adds to the title of this work the phrase *prevedénna na prostěišii jazyk Bolgarskii* 'translated into simple Bulgarian language'. At least from the point of view of features listed below, his language is truly closer to that of the damaskini and the local, West Macedonian vernacular than that of *Nedělnik* and similar works. As such, the publication was heartily welcomed already by slavists as a primary source for the studies of Bulgarian (Kopitar 1829:67). The content of his works included the genres typical for damaskini - apocryphal stories, homilies on specific topics and hagiographies, mostly without references to the liturgical year. His orthography is generally conservative, but his works are also among the first ones using predominantly Arabic numerals (Cojnska 1979:48).

From among the archaic features, Krčovski uses occasional nominal datives (e.g. *pákъ sè poklánęť diávolu* 'they bow to the Devil again'⁵⁵) and adjectival long forms, used as in Church Slavonic in subject phrases (e.g. *oumъ níxni sléřъ* 'their mind is blind'), both common in damaskini. Other oblique case forms are rare, used according to Church Slavonic norms (e.g. MASC.PL.INST in *sè učínile pustýnnikami* 'they became hermits'). According to Cojnska (1979:336), his choice subordinate clause markers also reflects the language of the damaskini. On the other hand, Krčovski expresses past tense mostly using *l*-participles, similarly to *Nedělnik*. However, he uses them without an auxilla and with the vernacular plural ending *-le* (e.g. *ne+ gò izéle* 'they did not eat him'), common otherwise (among the texts of our corpus) in *NBKM 728*. Future is expressed by the characteristic particle *ke* followed by a *da*-construction (e.g. *kě+ da+ ě posákamъ* 'I will search for her'). Another vernacular feature is the use of 3PL.PRS form *se* (e.g. *zašto sè dušmáni bgu* 'because they are enemies of God'), which has also been standardized in Macedonian (Lunt 1952:79). Abundant are also instances of double object marking, with a preference for 3rd person forms (e.g. *da+ gì nauči násъ* 'to teach us'). This construction is not always used clearly, causing some confusion in the later transcript in *Rai.d.*, which may be relevant for the study of its developments:

Krčovski 1814: *zatovà ne+vě' rni+te gì frǎlále ou oginъ*
'for that reason they were thrown to fire by the unbelievers'

Rai.d.: *zatová né+verní+te xi+ fárleli na+ ogan*
'for that reason they threw the believers to fire'

For the Rhodopean editor, the pronoun was perceived to mark the syntactic role of the preceding noun as an object - thus the negative particle had to be struck for logical congruence, as in the narrative the believers were the victims, not the perpetrators. This contrasts with the original text, where one would expect object double object marking to occur earlier, as in Macedonia we can observe the feature common also in non-Slavic languages (Friedman 2008:135f.).

For our corpus we have selected the second part of the book (p. 25-46) about the prophecy of Daniel (*Slovo vtoroe svętago proroka Daniila*). Our transcript is based on a facsimile provided by the National Library of Bulgaria ([link](#)). Similarly to the first part, which shows only very loose influences of the *Second Coming* by Stouditēs, the text may be considered Krčovski's own composition⁵⁶. A transcript of the text can also be found in the *Rai.d.*, which shows some intriguing differences between Macedonian and Rhodopean dialects. We have used a digital transcript based on a scan of the original edition.

Text title	<i>Slovo vtoroe svętago proroka Daniila</i>
Tokens	2306
Sentences	316
Source/Text date	1814
Source/Text origin	Budapest
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	Kičevo-Porečie
Source contents	(page 3) <i>Slovo zaradi strašenъ sudъ božii i vtoroe prišestvie Xristovo</i> , (p.25) <i>Slovo vtoroe svętago proroka Daniila</i>

⁵⁵ These appear along constructions with *na* and oblique case, e.g. *daváte na diávola* 'you give to the Devil'.

⁵⁶ We have found the same text in the manuscript *NBKM 724*, which is dated to the 18th century by Conev (1923 II:381). We were not able to analyze this source yet. The parts texts available at Obdurodon show, that it includes both chapters. The dating of the manuscript is questionable. Conev describes the language as a "western" dialect, but the text has future marker *šte* instead of Macedonian *ke* used by Krčovski. The passages provided by Obdurodon show some differences, which may have emerged due to misunderstanding of Krčovski's vocabulary (e.g. in Krčovski 1814:7 *ovde sme surgunъ* 'we are in an exile here' > *ovde sme sutrunъ* 'we are here in the morning [?]' in *NBKM 724*). The manuscript also lacks about a half of both texts. Page numbers show that three of the first pages were likely lost, but the second text ends abruptly. Still, this does not fully exclude the possibility Krčovski used an existing text tradition as his source.

nominal articles	12	0.52%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	41	1.778%
adjectival articles	15	0.65%
ext. demonstratives	45	1.951%
DAT.POSS pronouns	1	0.043%
future particle <i>šte</i>	11 ⁵⁷	0.477%
long-form adjectives	72	3.122%
synthetic infinitives	-	-
2/3.PL.AOR endings	1	0.043%
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.19. NBKM 1064

Modern scholars identified three manuscripts from Sliven, dated to early 19th century, which were written by the same person in an East Bulgarian dialect using Greek letters. The first of them, a collection of Sunday homilies roughly based on *Nedělnik*, was published as a critical edition already by Miletič (1920), and it is held in the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Bucharest under number 440 (Dimitrova 2015:124). Another one, which we have used for our corpus, is held in the National Library in Sofia with signature HBKM 1064. It was first described as a damaskin by Kodov & Stojanov (III 1964:358-361), who also identified the scribe with that of *Ms slav. 440*. The third manuscript, the largest one of them, is held in the Church Archive in Sofia under number 369, described first only briefly by Petkanova-Toteva (1965:250). *CIAI 369* contains some sidenotes (f. vi-r) about its origin: it was written in Sliven in 1827 and it belonged to *xadži* Gendo Vălkov.

Sliven was among important cultural and political centers of Bulgarians in the early 19th century. A Greek school existed here in early 19th century, which was likely visited by Gendo himself. He was a rich man and a collector of books, who left Sliven after the war in 1829 for newly liberated Wallachia, taking the *Ms slav. 440* with him (Dimitrova 2015:125). From Wallachia he sponsored the construction of a church in Sliven in 1834 ([link](#)). He could have sponsored a scribe to prepare the manuscripts for him, but also could have had the knowledge to produce them by himself.

In any case, the text is written phonetically - at least as far as the Greek script allows it. Its closeness to contemporary East Bulgarian dialects was noticed already by Miletič (1920:7). The text shows common features like the reduction of unstressed vowels (e.g. *mpiz+ postélka lizési* 'she laid without a bed'), but also less frequent changes like *l > r* (*istzirjávanie* 'healing'), which hint at the possibility that the scribe used Greek language more. Middle vowel /ǎ/ is usually written with an alpha (e.g. *sálzi* 'tears'). From the point of view of morphology, the text has the highest frequency of articles following adjectives. It contains some features, which are not met in other damaskini. One of them is frequent double marking of possession, especially in phrases containing datives in older texts:

Tixon.d.: *i+ támo pripáde na+ ikóna prstěi bci*

NBKM 1064: *támo pripádna na+ ikóna+ ta+ i na+ presfetáe mpogoróditza*
'there she bowed to the icon of the most holy Mother of God'

Our corpus contains the *Life of St. Petka* from this source, which we have also used in our study concerning standardization (Šimko 2021). The *Life* is contained in both *CIAI 369* and *NBKM 1064*. Both versions are very similar: they are close to the old (*Ljub.d.* type) damaskini edition, extended by the story of translation of Petka's relics to Jassy and Sophronius' epilogue taken from *Nedělnik*. However, the beginning in *CIAI 369* is closer to that of *Nedělnik* (typically locating Epibates in the "land of Serbia"),

⁵⁷ As mentioned in the previous note, Krčovski uses the form *kě*, which is (like *šte* in standard Bulgarian) not conjugated for person and number.

while that of *NBKM 1064* is close to older damaskini editions - for this reason we have chosen the latter for the corpus.

Our transcript is based on a facsimile provided by the library. Due to the peculiarities of the Greek script, the diplomatic transcription contained in the corpus file contains more changes than in sources using Cyrillic. These mostly include the transcription of consonants written with two letters (e.g. *gálampitsa* > *galabica*) and ambiguous sibilants (e.g. *dutzjákaxa* > *dučjakaxa* 'they suffered', but *tzarográzdeni* > *carograždeni* 'Tsarigradians'). In this way, a comparison with Cyrillic sources can be done more easily.

Text title	<i>Živeenitu i na sfetae prepodobnae maika našja Petka Tarnovskaja</i> ⁵⁸
Tokens	3705
Sentences	336
Source/Text date	1820s
Source/Text origin	Sliven
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	Subbalkan
Source contents	(folio 1r) recipe for a medicine, prayers, (chapter 1, 4r) <i>Na sfetago oca našego Simeona Stolpnika</i> , (2, 16r) <i>Rasdiganietou na čestnago i životvornago kresta Gospodnia</i> , (3, 26r) <i>Čjoudo deto sa e storilo f Carigrat na cerkova Vlaxernae</i> , (4, 31v) <i>Živeenitu i na sfetae prepodobnae maika našja Petka Tarnovskaja</i> , (5, 43r) <i>Mačenieto na sfetago slavnago velikomoučenika Dimitria</i> , (6, 53v) <i>Oumiraniето na sfetago apostola i evangelista Ioanna Bogoslova</i> , (7, 69v) <i>Slovo na sfetago apostola Θoma</i> , (8, 80r) <i>Na prepodobnago oca našego Savva Osfeštennago</i> , (9, 89r) <i>Mačenieto mou i čjudesata mou na sfetago slavnago i velikomoučenika Georgie Pobedonosca</i> , (10, 123r) <i>Slovo out sfetago Ioanna Zlatooustago zaradi douševnoe pokajanie</i> , (11, 138r) <i>Slovo u to out sfetago Ioanna Zlatooustago zaradi deto sa zli ženi</i> , (12, 139v) <i>Slovo tretiou i to out sfetago Ioanna Zlatooustago zaradi doubri ženi</i> , (13, 140r) <i>Slovo četvertoe out sfetago Ioanna Zlatoustago i to zarat pokajanie</i> , (14, 146v) <i>Mačenieto na sfetago velikomoučenika Eustatie novago Iova deto sa nareče i žina mou Θεοπίστα i decata mou sas tjax naidno Agapie i Θεοπίστ</i> , (15, 170r) <i>Mačenieto na sfetago velikomoučenika Θεοδώρα [Stratēlatēs]</i> , (16, 182r) <i>Slovo f sabota na Voskresniето na sfetago Lazara</i> , (17, 193r) <i>Žjuveenitou mou na sfetago oca našego arxiepiskopa Nikolae Čjoudotvorca Mirilikiiskago</i> , (17a, 195v) <i>Zarat triti moumi detou gi vazvarna i gi kourtoulisa out kourvovstvov sfetii Nikola</i> , (17b, 199r) <i>Zaradi katou xodi sfetii Nikolae da sa pokloni na Božii grop</i> , (17c, 202r), <i>Zarat takou štjaxa da gou storat vladika sfetago velikago Nikolae</i> , (17d, 205r) <i>Zaradi Oria eretika deto gou zasrami na saboura sfetii Nikolae pret sfetiti ocoi</i> , (17e, 208v) <i>Zaradi glad kogitou stana na sičkata mirlikieska starna iz okoulou</i> , (17f, 210r) <i>Zaradi trimata čeloveci kak gi kourtoulisal sfetii Nikolae out apansas oumirane na pravda detou štexa da gi pogoubat</i> , (17g, 215r) <i>Zaradi trimata vaivodi carski kak gi kourtoulisa i tjax out smart sfetii veliki Nikolae</i> , (17h, 224v) <i>Podir oumiranietou mou na sfetago Nikolae</i> , (17i, 229r) <i>Čjoudo zaradi kak kourtoulisa sfetii Nikolae out tourski race Agrikouva sin Vasilie</i> , (17j, 234v) <i>Čjoudo zaradi pop Xristofora kak gou kourtoulisa out poušičeni sfetii Nikolae</i> , (17k, 237r) <i>Čjoudo zaradi niakouisi tourčen kak gou izvadi sfetii Nikolae out temnicata</i> , (17l, 241r) <i>Čjoudo zaradi edno dite detou padna f ouda goulema a sfetii Nikolae gou zapazi da sa ni oudavi</i> , (17m, 244v) <i>Čjoudo zaradi niakouisi čelovek Dimitrie imitou mou kak gou kourtoulisa sfetii Nikolae out poutoupjavane i negou</i> , (18, 249r) <i>Mačenietou mou na sfetago slavnago sfeštennomoučenika Xaralampie</i> , (19, 261v) <i>Ouvoždaniетou f cerkova na presfetae vladičica našja Bogorodica</i> , (20,

⁵⁸ Titles in the description by Kodov and Stojanov are given in Greek letters, we transcribe them to the diplomatic Latin.

270v) *Skazvanjeto zaradi sfetii bezsrebarnici i čjudotvorci Kosma i Damian detou bjaxa xikimi*, (21, 278v) *Skazvanie zaradi presfetae Bogorodica kak xodi edno vreme ta oubikouli sičkiti maki detou sa mačet grečniti xora*, (22, 286v) *Poučjavanje*, (23, 299v) *Skazvanie zarat ftorie xaidouten deto sa naidno raspna sas Xrista out desna starna*, (24, 301r) *Na nebesata ognennoutou mou vazlazenie na sfetago slavnago proroka Ilie*, (25, 305r) *Prestavlenieto na presfetae vladičica našja Bogorodica*, (26, 315v) *Slovo f sabotata velikae na pogrebenieto Xristovo i zaradi nareždaniето i plakanitou na presfetae Bogorodica*, (333r) index of contents, (337r/v) *Čelovek detou sa vika štoutou e božie sazdanie* (Kodov & Stojanov 1964 III:358-361)

nominal articles	90	2.4291%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	53	1.4305%
adjectival articles	101	2.726%
ext. demonstratives	62	1.6734%
DAT.POSS pronouns	31	0.8367%
future particle <i>šte</i>	4	0.108%
long-form adjectives	150	4.0486%
synthetic infinitives	5	0.135%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.20. NBKM 1081

This collection of mostly moral teachings and apocryphal texts is held in the National Library of Sofia under the given signature. It was first described by Kodov & Stojanov (III 1964:396-398). The scribe identifies himself as Pavle Popovič on the folio 53v, following the *Homily on penance of the soul*. According to this sidenote, the manuscript was written in 1821. Popovič also gives here his sources: a text from 1805 by pop Dimitrič⁵⁹, who transcribed a text written by a certain pop Stoiko in 1769. Kodov & Stojanov (III 1964:398) identify this Stoiko with Sophronius of Vratsa. As an earlier sidenote (f. 20v) gives 1817 as the time of writing, it is likely it was written over a longer period. Later it belonged to Sava Filaretov (1825-1863), an archivist and founder of the first school for girls in Bulgaria, and then to Naiden Gerov. It is self-titled *domaskin*, but only the last chapter seems to be based on a text from *Thēsauros*⁶⁰.

The dialectal classification is not clear. Kodov & Stojanov (III 1964:398) localize the features to the Pirdop-Koprivštica area of the Balkan Mt. dialects. Relation to Sophronius and Filaretov would hint at an origin in the Kotel-Elena area⁶¹. The text shows full MASC.SG articles (e.g. *sŭta+tb* 'the world') and reduced vowels (e.g. *detu* 'which'), which are more in favor of Kotel-Elena (cf. Stojkov 1993:112-113). Other features typical for the Pirdop area are somewhat less clear to see due to Church Slavonic influences: for example dialectal sequence *rъ* is given with the Russian reflex (e.g. *tèrpim* 'I suffer'). On the other hand, many instances show the middle vowel /ǎ/ reflected with an *i* (e.g. *vlikъ* 'wolf', *sīs* 'with', *kàličъ* 'sword', cf. tr. *kılıç*). Such a feature is not known from either of the two areas. A variation between *ǎ* or *i* as reflexes of Old Bulgarian *y* according to accentuation can be found in Rhodopes, in the area of Široka lăka (Stojkov 1993:133), as well as in the area of Thessalonica (Stojkov 1993:185).

⁵⁹ There is no apparent connection to the scribe of NBKM 1069.

⁶⁰ The *Life of St. Eusthatius* is a similar edition to that of NBKM 1064. Petkanova-Toteva (1965:254) did not consider it Stouditēs edition.

⁶¹ From Žeravna, birthplace of Filaretov, also comes the teacher and translator Raino Popovič (1773-1858), the founder of a Greek schools in Kotel, Svištov and Karlovo. Other family of writers with the name Popovič was active earlier in Samokov (cf. Angelov I 1963:I:168 f.). Whether Pavle was related to any of them is unclear. However, the language of NBKM 1081 does not show influence of Bradati's school.

Another feature found in Rhodopoes is the use of preposition *ot* for possession (*edná stáva ut teló+tu* 'a bone of the body'; Miletič 1920:16; also in the title of the included text), as in *NBKM 1423*, but this is only rarely attested. The *y* is also found in the East, at some locations within the Shumen area (Stojkov 1993:105; *BDA* 2001:91). Thus the text likely represents a transitional variety between the Shumen and Central Balkan areas, where the old *y* was undergoing a similar development as in the Široka lăka dialect. From the point of view of compared features, *NBKM 1081* is also very similar to the Bulgarian standard of the *Nedělnik* 1856.

The corpus includes two texts from the manuscript. The first is titled *Homily of St. Prophet Daniel*, which can be found on folia 54r-56r. Similarly titled chapters can be found in Krčovski 1814 (and *Rai.d.*) and *PPS*, but these are based on a different text traditions. The former is likely Krčovski's own composition. Punčo's edition reflects the paraphrase of chapters 6 and 14 of the biblical Book of Daniel, which was widespread in apocryphal miscellanies like *NBKM 309* (Miltenova 2018:96). The story in *NBKM 1081* uses motives from the chapters 10-12 of the biblical story, but reformulates them as a prophecy of the destruction of Ottoman Empire. This is the topic of the following chapter too, *Homily of a certain hermit* (f. 56r-57v), which has also been included in the corpus. The text was identified already by Kodov & Stojanov (III 1964:397) as a transcript of the prophecies of Martin Zadek. These were first anonymously published in Basel in 1770 in German. They became popular in Russia, where they inspired various new texts, pioneering the fantastic genre here (e.g. Veľtman 1833). Likely one such text was used by Popovič too⁶².

The texts were manually transcribed on the basis of facsimiles provided by the library. Both texts represent well the trend of democratization of literature: religious themes are gradually replaced by secular, national ones, and the language moves further from norms typical for older Church Slavonic and damaskini literature. Although the contents hardly show any reference to precedent source, they likely show a language variety very close to the local vernacular.

Text title	various
Tokens	1962
Sentences	221
Source/Text date	1821
Source/Text origin	Žeravna?
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian
Variety	Kotel-Elena
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1r) <i>Ko' prestyę vldčcy naši Bdcy dvy Mrie</i> (Descent of St. Mary to Hell), (2, 11r) <i>Slovo za vsopši (?) pokoi</i> , (3, 12r) <i>Slovo stago velikomučenika Georgi Pobedonoxca</i> , (4, 21r) <i>Slovo stago velikago mčnika Dimtrь</i> , (5, 21v) <i>Slovo o nekoego kadię nemilostivь</i> , (6, 25r) <i>Slovo ot nekoego starca (i edna devica)</i> , (7, 25v) <i>Slovo poučenie xrstięnomu radi dša boleznuju i utečenie za stago apostola Pavla nekoie vreme, kakvo sa voznese do treto nbo</i> , (8, 43r) [Kamăk padna ot nebetu], (9, 48v) <i>Slovo stago Ioaana Zlatoustago o pokaęnie dševemь</i> , (10, 54r) <i>Slovo ot svętago proroka Danaila</i> , (11, 56a) <i>Slovo ot nekogo postnika</i> , (12, 57v) <i>O drevi, katori bile tisęštь letь</i> , (13, 59v) <i>Slovo stago Iioana Zlatooustago i stago prroka Nediię o posledno vreme za pokaęnie</i> , (14, 63r) <i>Poučenie stago Petra i Pavla</i> , (15, 65r) <i>Slovo ot posta anęixoiskago Iisa Xrsta</i> , (16, 67v-76v) <i>Slovo stago velikomučenika Evstaeia Plakidja i ženy ego Tatiany i čadъ ixъ</i> (Kodov & Stojanov 1964 III:396-398)

⁶² It is possible such texts could serve propaganda purposes during the wars between Russia and Turkey (the last before our damaskin in 1806-1812), as well as in the outbreak of national revolutions in Wallachia and Greece in 1820. The text really speaks of a war between Greeks and Turks, but starting first after the Constantinople is taken by Poles.

nominal articles	50	2.5484%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	22	1.1213%
adjectival articles	29	1.4781%
ext. demonstratives	21	1.0703%
DAT.POSS pronouns	6	0.3058%
future particle <i>šte</i>	76	3.8736 %
long-form adjectives	50	2.5484%
synthetic infinitives	2	0.1019%
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.21. NBKM 728

National Library in Sofia holds a short manuscript under signature НБКМ 728 (388), described by Conev (II 1923:383) as a "fragment of a folk damaskin". The booklet contains only 12 lists, which were originally bound with a copy of *Miracles of the Mother of God* by Joakim Krčovski published in 1817. The book was sent to Sofia from Thessalonica, and it used to belong to a certain pop Jakov "from Macedonia"⁶³, although it is not clear, whether he was also the scribe⁶⁴ or not. Unfortunately, there is no more precise information available about the place and date of origin of the booklet than 19th century (likely after 1817) in Macedonia in the broad sense.

The geographic and dialectal classification is the main reason behind including a text from this source. Similar handwritten sources are scarce in Macedonia and mostly written in Church Slavonic, like *Vel.s.* and *Kiev d.* included in our corpus. It is also the only known attested copy of the *Life of St. Petka* in a damaskin from the area. The text (titled *Žitie prepodobnaę Paraskeva*), available on folia 7r-9r, is a shortened version of the edition from the *Nedělnik* 1806. NBKM 728 shows well lexical (*tatkoīna* 'homeland', *kraľ* 'king'), phonetic and morphosyntactic characteristics of the area, examples for the both of which can be seen on the following sentence:

Nedělnik 1806: *Í katò kopáęli (...) toę` rónv̄ (...) naišlè edíno tě'lo člčskoe ne izgnílo*

NBKM 728: *kopaiki grobo naiđoa tělo ne+izgnieno*

'as they dug the grave, they found an unscathed body'

A typical Macedonian phonetic feature is the elision of *x* in 3PL.AOR *naiđoa* 'they found'. A morphosyntactic example is the use of the uninflected gerund form *kopaiki* 'digging'. Although it is today standardized in both Bulgarian and Macedonian (with the palatal marker as *-ki*), it is only rarely seen in other sources in our corpus, also with different endings (e.g. *plačiskomъ* 'crying' in *Sv.d.*). The ending *-ki* is also common in West Bulgaria (Mirčev 1978:243), and it shows a specific phonetic development of old PTCP.PRS.ACT.FEM.SG.NOM ending, attested in Church Slavonic as *-šti*. The scribe seems to prefer adjectival possessive pronouns instead of dative clitics (e.g. *sladki glasъ negovī* 'his sweet voice'; *Nedělnik* has *egò*), which are mostly used as indirect objects (e.g. *da+ e+⁶⁵ reča* 'to tell her'). Past tense is frequently expressed by *l*-participles without an auxiliary verb (e.g. *toku+ go stavile*

⁶³ There was a certain pop Jakov Sazdanov active as a priest in Tetovo, who tried to found here a school for girls in 1836 ([link](#)). However, the information on both Sazdanov and the booklet is too scarce. The scribe erroneously interpreted year of translation of Petka's relics to Jassy (given by Sophronius in Cyrillic numerals as ·Ѡаѡма·, i.e. 1641) as a word *naxama*, which would be unexpected from a priest. The day of the Petka's feast (14th of October) is reflected correctly, but in Arabic numerals.

⁶⁴ Or one of two scribes - the included text is written partly in a simplified *poluustav* and partly in cursive, switching approximately in the middle. Conev interprets this as two different scribes, but it is possible the scribe just was in a hurry. The language of both is the same, and orthographically they are very close too. One of them writes *i* as <й>, the other one with <ї>.

⁶⁵ This form of the FEM.SG.DAT personal pronoun is frequently attested in the folk songs collected in Macedonia by Miladinov brothers. They write it down as unaccented *ѣ*, to be read as /e/ (Miladinovi 1861:iv).

'they just left it'). Long-form adjectives seem to be preferred in MASC.SG too (as in *sladkī glasъ negovī*). Unlike other sources, the text does not show any accentuation. The scribe uses a unique cross-like graphem similar to older Cyrillic <ѣ>, likely reflecting the palatal /ǰ/ (given as ħ in our transcript, e.g. *ħorħiē* 'Georg').

For the purposes of our corpus, we have used the facsimile provided by the library as a basis for the transcript. The text was already used in the study concerning standardization.

Text title	<i>Žitie prepodobnaę Paraskeva</i>	
Tokens	686	
Sentences	97	
Source/Text date	1820s-1830s	
Source/Text origin	Thessalonica?	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	West Macedonian	
Source contents	(chapter 1, folio 1r) <i>Žitie sveti Ĥeorħi</i> , (2, 5r) <i>Žitie krstiteľju Iwanu</i> , (3, 7r) <i>Žitie prepodobnaę Paraskeva</i> , (4, 9v) <i>Žitie svetomu Dimitriju</i> , (11r) [tri evangelski četiva na makedonski], (12v) [propoved za pričestenie pred Roždestvo ot treta rāka] (Conev 1923 II:383-384)	
nominal articles	14	2.0408%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	17	2.4781%
adjectival articles	-	-
ext. demonstratives	14	2.0408%
DAT.POSS pronouns	1	0.1458%
future particle <i>šte</i>	1	0.1458%
long-form adjectives	43	6.2682%
synthetic infinitives	-	-
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.22. *Rai.d.* - *Raikovski damaskin*

Raikovski damaskin is a late collection containing both handwritten and printed texts, now preserved in the National Library in Plovdiv under signature НБИБ 160 (600). It was bound together around the year 1879 in Raikovo (today part of Smoljan) by Georgi Radev (†1910), whose family donated the book to the library in 1922. It consists of five parts: only the first, newest part was likely written by Radev. Sometimes only the third part, dated to 1859-1860, is considered the damaskin "proper". According to Stojanov (1972:230) this part was written by another hand, signed as *Voutzof* (Bučov?) or *Vasiliou*, who likely was a student of Kirjak Belkovski (1820-1892), a renowned local translator.

The works by Belkovski and his circle are characterized by the use of Greek letters. This phenomenon, not limited to a single scribe, is likely due to the isolation of the area from other circles of Bulgarian literature - both geographically and politically. The character set is very similar to that of *NBKM 1064*, although no clear contact between the Belkovski's circle and Sliven could be discovered so far. The main difference is in use of digraphs for the vowel /e/ (e.g. *štai+ da+ ni+ pusetzé* 'it will slice us'), actually written like a single letter (similar to *u*). Jotified vowels like *ia* are not underlined and the accentuation is also simplified. In any case, the manuscript includes works, which were known to other damaskini circles, like the *Martyrdom of St George*.

We have selected the *Homily of saint prophet Daniel about Lord's Judgement* (*slóvo ftóroe zaradi' góspodova+ta sadóviai sfetágw proróka daniíla*), which can be found on pages 147-155. The text is dated in the title to 1860. Although Stojanov considered the damaskin to be a translation of Greek works (e.g. Stojanov 1972:227), as the manuscript also includes translations of Stouditēs' works

produced by the Belkovski or his students (Mitrinov 2015:6), this chapter is more likely a transcript from Krčovski (1814). This is obvious from the title, which copies the ordinal of the "second chapter" in the original (*slóvo ftóroe*), although it is the tenth chapter in the damaskin. The scribe also preserves some traces of original's typically Macedonian features, like the 3^{PL}.PRS *se* 'they are' (e.g. *zaštò mí'sle+se pózii* 'because [such] thoughts are of God'; but also *zaštò sa+ dushmanè pógu*). Sometimes the scribe did not fully understand the text, simply copying the graphics, but with different word boundaries:

Krčovski 1814: *i komù mu xódi outъ támw i vámw po pómysli grě'sni*
Rai.d.: i+ kómu+ mu xódi támu i+ vám pópomu zlí grěsni
 'and whose thoughts wander about sinful ideas'

For the purposes of our corpus we have used a manual transcript of the facsimile, provided at the website of the library ([link](#)).

Text title	<i>Slovo ftoroe zaradi Gospodovata sadovie sfetago proroka Daniila</i>	
Tokens	2329	
Sentences	313	
Source/Text date	1860	
Source/Text origin	Raikovo	
Norm	<i>simple</i> Bulgarian	
Variety	Smoljan	
Source contents	(chapter 1, page 1 of the damaskin) <i>Slovu kazuva zaradi sfeti Georgi čudata mu</i> , (2, p.32) [V nedelja na Petdesetnica, samo načaloto], (3, p.39) [Māčenie na svetija slaven velikomāčenic Teodor Stratilat], (4, p.57) [Za sveti Xaralampi], (5, p.70) [Slovo v petata nedelja po Luka], (6, p.79) <i>Slovu zaradi prorok Ilie</i> , (7, p.105) <i>Na Karstovden didaksuvanie</i> , (8, p.131) <i>Slovu na sveta Nedele</i> , (9, p.146) [Nedelja Vrābnica. Za podgotovkata za priemane na božestvenoto pričastie, samo načaloto], (10, p.147) <i>Slovo ftoroe zaradi Gospodovata sadovie sfetago proroka Daniila</i> , (11, p.155) [Nedelja na Petdesetnica], (12, p.160) [Bāzxvala na Bogorodica], (13, p.170) [Nedelja XI, ot Miniāt], (14, p.179) [Na samarjankata], (15, p.187) [Nedelja na slepija, samo načaloto], (16, p.190) [Na nedele na malak Veliden zaradi verata], (17, p.194) [Tālkovanie na evangelieto ot Luka za tretata nedelja], (18, p.199) <i>Damaškino na čerkvata</i> , (19, p.222) [Nedelja na svetite otci na Damaskina monaxa], (20, p.239-285) <i>Patilutu i teglilutu na Gospoda našego Iisusa Xrista</i> (Stojanov 1972:225-227)	
nominal articles	49	2.103%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	41	1.7597%
adjectival articles	21	0.9013%
ext. demonstratives	39	1.6738%
DAT.POSS pronouns	4	0.1717%
future particle <i>šte</i>	6	0.2575%
long-form adjectives	61	2.618%
synthetic infinitives	-	-
2/3.PL.AOR endings	1	0.0429%
non-NOM articles	-	-

2.23. *Nedělnik* 1856

The last entry in our corpus is titled *Evangelie poučitelno*. This is a second edition of Sophronius's *Nedělnik*, heavily edited by the teacher, writer and politician Todor Xrulev (1821-1865), according to the norms of standardized language of the 1850s. Xrulev did not edit only the grammar, but also the contents of the book, which reflects the Church year more exactly. The book was published in Novi Sad in 1856. Xrulev himself contributed much to the standardization process himself - not only by his redaction of one of the most influential and widespread texts among literate Bulgarians, but also by

writing many schoolbooks, including a work on grammar (Xrulev 1859).

The process of standardization did not cease in this time: the theoretical works of Marin Drinov and the development of a system of mass education in Bulgaria after 1878 were yet to come. Still, after the publication of Bogorov's grammar in 1844, the course of the standardization was already set. One of the typical features of the Bogorov's grammar, which was later removed from the standard, was the specific marking of FEM.SG.ACC nouns with an ending -*q* (Cyrillic <ѣ>; Andreev 1844:20). This was not seen in the earlier grammar of Neophyte of Rila (cf. Rilski 1835:78), being basically an Old Church Slavonic ending⁶⁶. Although Xrulev reiterated the rule in his own grammar (Xrulev 1856:17), he was inconsistent in its use, often using the ACC marker only on one element of the noun phrase (e.g. *predadi blaženno+*tq* si duša* 'she gave her blessed soul') or not at all (e.g. *učexa svęta Paraskeva* 'they taught St. Parascheva').

The text of the *Life of St. Petka* (titled *Oktomvrię 14. za svętaę Paraskeva*, p. 256-258) has been digitalized earlier for our study of definiteness markers (Šimko 2020), but it was not included in the first release of the corpus yet. We have used a copy of the book in the National Library of Sofia (signature Ст 56.339). It has also been digitalized and it is available online at the website of the library ([link](#)).

Text title	<i>Oktomvrię 14. za svętaę Paraskeva</i>
Tokens	1641
Sentences	103
Source/Text date	1856
Source/Text origin	Novi Sad
Norm	standard Bulgarian
Variety	Andreev 1844
Source contents	(page 0) <i>Dokazatelstvo otъ svętago Ioanna Zlatousta</i> , (next 10 pages, all numbered with a "0") index of contents, preface by Sophronius, (p.1) <i>Nedęlę predъ roždество Xristovo</i> , (p.3) <i>Vъ navečerieto na roždество Xristovo</i> , (p.6) <i>Na roždество Xristovo</i> , (p.10) <i>Nedęlę podirъ roždество Xristovo</i> , (p.14) <i>Nedęlę predъ krъštenieto Xristovo</i> , (p.17) <i>Nedęlę podirъ krъštenieto Xristovo</i> , (p.21) <i>Nedęlę Mytarъ i Farisei za gordostъta</i> , (p.24) <i>Nedęlę na bludnago syna za pokaęnieto</i> , (p.28) <i>Nedęlę męsopustnaę za strašnyę sōdъ</i> (p.32) <i>Nedęlę syropustnaę za pametozlobieto</i> , (p.36) <i>Nedęlę 1- na velikia postъ za pravoslaviето</i> , (p.40) <i>Nedęlę 2- na velikia postъ za razslablennago</i> , (p.43) <i>Nedęlę 3- na velikia postъ za čestnyę krъstъ</i> , (p.47) <i>Nedęlę 4- na velikia postъ za bęsnyę</i> , (p.51) <i>Nedęlę 5- na velikia postъ za gordostъta na dvata apostoly</i> , (p.54) <i>Nedęlę 6- na velikia postъ za voskrъsvnęto Lazarevo</i> , (p.58) <i>Nedęlę 1- na voskrсение Xristovo za božestvoto mu</i> , (p.64) <i>Nedęlę 2- slędъ pasxata za Toma</i> , (p.67) <i>Nedęlę 3- slędъ pasxata za mironosicite</i> , (p.70) <i>Nedęlę 4- slędъ pasxata za razslablennago</i> , (p.73) <i>Nedęlę 5- slędъ pasxata za Samaręnkata</i> , (p.78) <i>Nedęlę 6- slędъ pasxata za slępago</i> , (p.82) <i>Nedęlę 7- slędъ pasxata za svętyte otci</i> , (p.87) <i>Nedęlę 1- za sičkite svętii</i> , (p.91) <i>Nedęlę 2- za izbraniето na apostolite</i> , (p.95) <i>Nedęlę 3- za</i>

⁶⁶ Although the specific FEM.SG oblique case marking of nouns was attested in some dialects and works (employed even with the same letter -*q* in *Trojan.d.*; see above the entries for *PPS* and *Berl.d.*), it was unknown to Central Balkan (the location of both Bogorov's and Xrulev's origin - the former being from Karlovo, the latter from Ljaskovec near today's Veliko Tărnovo) and Svištov (the location of most of their scientific activity) dialects. A similar practice, openly aimed at preservation of CS case semantics, can be seen in the grammar of Neophyte of Rila, who created his own MASC.SG paradigm based on different dialectal reflexes of the article, to ensure easier learning of languages with a complex paradigms of nominal inflection (cf. Rilski 1835:60). Bogorov's grammar was a prescriptive one too, but it did not aim at such didactic ends; the reasons were more likely phonetic. As mentioned above (*Berl.d.* section), the old accusative ending was generalized the FEM.SG paradigm and phonetically developed into the middle vowel /ǎ/ (written mostly with Cyrillic <ѣ> by Bogorov) under stress or the vowel /a/ when unstressed. Bogorov and Xrulev misinterpreted this phonetic variation as a paradigmatic one.

srebrljubieto i pravdata, (p.99) Neděle 4- za věrata i nadeždata, (p.103) Neděle 5- za dvata bēsny, (p.106) Neděle 6- za razslablennago, (p.109) Neděle 7- za dvamata slēpci, (p.112) Neděle 8- za petytēxh xlēba, (p.115) Neděle 9- za sumnēnieto Petrovo, (p.118) Neděle 10- za bēsnyę na novъ mesęcъ, (p.121) Neděle 11- za xilēdōta talanta, (p.125) Neděle 12- za srebrljubieto, (p.128) Neděle 13- za lozieto i zlytē rabotnici, (p.131) Neděle 14- za carskata svadba, (p.136) Neděle 15- za gordostъta na zakonnika, (p.139) Neděle 16- za talantyte, (p.143) Neděle 17- za ženata xananeiska, (p.147) Neděle 18- za mnogoulovennata ryba, (p.151) Neděle 19- za ljublēnieto na vrazite našy, (p.154) Neděle 20- za vъskrъsenieto na vdovicina synъ, (p.157) Neděle 21- četverovidnoto sēme na orača, (p.161) Neděle 22- za bogatyę i siromaxa, (p.166) Neděle 23- za bēsnyę, (p.170) Neděle 24- za krovotočivata žena, (p.173) Neděle 25- za gordelivyę zakonnikъ, (p.177) Neděle 26- za srebrljubieto, (p.181) Neděle 27- za zgrъčennata žena, (p.184) Neděle 28- za golēmata večerę, (p.187) Neděle 29- za desettēxh prokaženni, (p.191) Neděle 30- za srebrljubivyę knežъ, (p.195) Neděle 31- za Ierixonskia slēpecъ, (p.198) Neděle 32- za Zakhea, (p.201) Neděle predъ vъzdviženieto čestnago krъsta, (p.205) Neděle podirъ vъzdviženieto čestnago krъsta, (section PъRVA SEMICA NA VELKIA PSOTъ [sic] ZA SILATA NA POSTA: p.208) PONEĐĚLNIKъ, (p.210) VTORNIKъ za pokaņenieto, (p.212) SRĚDA za vъzdrъžanieto, (p.214) ČETVERTAKъ za dobrotvorenieto, (p.215) PETAKъ za ispovēdaniето (p.218) SŔBUTA za pričaštenieto, (section STRASTNA SEMICA: p.220) Velikii PONEĐĚLNIKъ za molenieto, (p.221) Velikii VTORNIKъ za desettēxh tomy, (p.223) Velika SRĚDA za grēšnata žena, (p.225) Velikii ČETVERTAKъ za tainata večerę, (p.227) Velikii PETAKъ za Iudovoto predatelstvo, (p.230) Velikii PETAKъ 6. ČASъ za raspētieto, (p.235) Velikata SŔBUTA za pogrebenieto Xristovo, (p.238) Na krъštenie, (p.239) Na vēnčanieto, (p.241) Na pogrebenie vērնago čelovēka, (p.245) Septemvrię 1. za novatō godyna, (p.247⁶⁷) Septemvrię 8. za roždenieto Bogorodično, (p.251) Septemvrię 14. za vъzdiganiето na čestnyę krъstъ, (p.256) **Oktomvrię 14. za svētaę Paraskeva**, (p.259) Oktomvrię 26. za svētago Dimitria, (p.262) Noemvrię 8. za Sъbora na angelite, (p.265) Dokazatelstvo za čudisata na Arxangela Mixaila i Gavriila, (p.267) Noemvrię 15. za svētago Ioanna Zlatousta, (p.271) Noemvrię 21. za vxoda na svēta Bogorodica, (p.275) Dekemvrię 20. za pokaņenieto i pričaštenieto, (p.279) Dekemvrię 24. za Xristovoto predpazdstvo, (p.281) Ianuarię 1. za čelovēčeskię životъ, (p.284) Ianuarię 5. za pokaņenieto, (p.285) Ianuarię 6 za Bogoēvlenie, (p.288) Ianuarię 18. za svētago Atanasa, (p.291) Fevruarię 2. za srētenieto Gospodne, (p.295) Martъ 25. za blagovēštenieto Bogorodično, (p.298) Aprilъ 23. za svētago Georgię, (p.302) Za vъznesenieto Xristovo na neboto, (p.306) Za sošestvieto na Svētago Duxa, (p.309) Iunię 23. za svētyte apostoli Petra i Pavla, (p.313) A[v]gustъ 6. za preobraženieto Xristovo, (p.317) Avgustъ 15. za uspēnieto Bogorodično, (p.321) Avgustъ 29. za usēknovenieto na Ioanna Krъstitelę, (p.327) Za žitie to na prepodobnago otca našęgo Ioanna Rylskago čudotvorca, (p.340-343) Slovo za svētago proroka Iliа, (p.344) empty, (p.345-347, 349) errata, (p.350-360) list of sponsors

nominal articles	43	2.6204%
MASC.GEN/ACC nouns	22	1.3406%
adjectival articles	52	3.1688%
ext. demonstratives	14	0.8531%
DAT.POSS pronouns	9	0.5484%
future particle <i>šte</i>	4	0.2438%
long-form adjectives	40	2.4375%

⁶⁷ "227" in the original index.

synthetic infinitives	-	-
2/3.PL.AOR endings	-	-
non-NOM articles	28	1.7063%

3. Linguistic features

The frequencies listed under each entry of a source included in the corpus were used in the author's study of standardization based on a comparative corpus of damaskini editions of *Life of St. Petka* and *Legend of Thais* by Josif Bradati (Šimko 2021). Using the same method, these frequencies allow us to compare the sources quantitatively. Differences between individual sources are reinterpreted as distances and thus can be visualized in a two-dimensional space as a map:

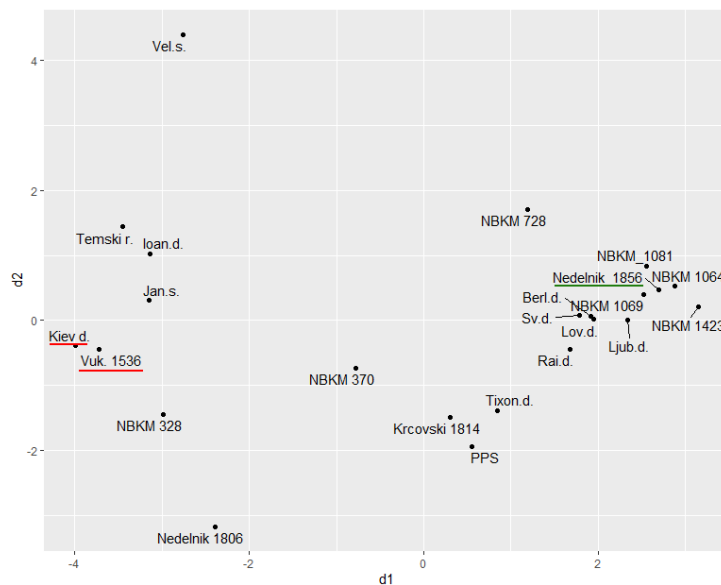


Figure 2: Canberra distances based on frequencies of given features

To interpret the diagram, two or three sources can be taken as guiding points. On the left side, Vuković 1536 and *Kiev d.* (with a red underline) represent the "archaic" varieties, based on Church Slavonic norm. This norm has had strong influence on works produced by the Bradati's students, as well as on Sophronius' *Nedělnik*. *Temski r.* from the Torlak area is relatively close to these works: thus we can expect a certain structural similarity (at least concerning the given features) between West Bulgarian and East Serbian dialects and Church Slavonic in the 18th century. The very distantly placed *Vel.s.* represents a case, in which this norm was likely not successfully followed, resulting in many inconsistencies.

On the right side, we can follow the 1856 edition of *Nedělnik* (green underline) as the representative of the "innovative" varieties. Although it is not the youngest text in our corpus, it is the first (and only) one, claiming to "correct" the language of its source into a standardized variety, as codified by Bogorov and Xrulev himself. This text is placed close to a number of texts from the damaskini tradition, as well as other sources (*NBKM 1069, 1081, 1423*), mostly from East Bulgaria. The only damaskin from this area (*Tixon.d.*) is placed close to *PPS* and *Krčovski 1814*, which is curious from the point of view of the debate concerning the dialectal classification of the *togizi* translator (e.g. Demina 1985, Mladenova 2007). Unlike the works by Bradati's students, these works converge despite their origin in different circles of literature. This could be interpreted as a kind of spontaneous standardization, preceding codification of the norm. Its influence seems to have encompassed Rhodopes (represented by *Rai.d.* and partly *NBKM 1423*), but it was limited in Macedonia (*Krčovski 1814, NBKM 728*) and West Bulgaria (Bradati's school, *NBKM 370, Nedel'nik 1806*).

This interpretation, of course, is suitable only for the mentioned features, according to the above mentioned criteria for their assessment. Still, this demonstrates the method of comparing grammatical features in texts written in different, dynamically changing language varieties.

4. Damaskini texts

As already mentioned above, many manuscript sources from the Balkan Slavic area are colloquially called "damaskini" even if they contain no texts based on the original *Thēsauros* by Damaskēnos Stouditēs - as is the case of *Life of St. Petka* frequent in our corpus too. Nevertheless, similarity with *Thēsauros* is important from the historical/philological point of view. For this reason we will provide also the contents of *Thēsauros* of the 1751 edition (with approximate English and Church Slavonic translations) with a list of above described manuscripts, which contain the text. Majority of the data in this overview is not new, but it should be mentioned, as there are sources not included in the previous analyses (cf. Petkanova-Toteva 1965:237-255, Demina 1968:42-64).

1. **Annunciation to the Mother of God** (*eis ton Evangelismon tēs Theotoku, Blagoveštenie B-čę*) - *Sv.d.* (7), *Jan.s.* (43), *Berl.d.* (5)
2. **Birth of Christ** (*eis tēn Xristu genēsin, Roždestvo Xristovo*) - *Tixon.d.* (33), *Sv.d.* (1), *Jan.s.* (32), *Berl.d.* (1)
3. **Epiphany** (*eis ta hagia Theofania, Bogojavljenje*) - *Sv.d.* (2), *Jan.s.* (33), *Berl.d.* (3)
4. **Presentation of the Lord** (*eis tēn Hypapantēn tu Sōtēros, Srętenie Gospodně*) - *Tixon.d.* (41), *Sv.d.* (3), *Jan.s.* (42), *Berl.d.* (4)
5. **Resurrection of Lazarus** (*eis tēn egersin tu Lazaru, Vьskresenie Lazarovo*)
6. **Palm Sunday** (*eis ta Baia, Na Cvętonosie*) - *Tixon.d.* (34)
7. **Burial of Christ** (*eis tēn Theosōmon Tafēn, Pogrebenie Xristovo*) - *Tixon.d.* (35), *Sv.d.* (6), *Berl.d.* (37)
8. **Resurrection of Christ** (*eis to Pasxa, Vьskresenie Xristovo*)
9. **Ascension of Christ** (*eis tēn Analēψin tu Sōtēros, Vьznesenie Xristovo*) - *Jan.s.* (38), *Tixon.d.* (38)
10. **Descent of the Holy Spirit** (*eis tēn Pentekostēn, Sьšьstvie s-tago Duxa*) - *Sv.d.* (5), *Jan.s.* (39), *Berl.d.* (17)
11. **Transfiguration of Christ** (*eis tēn Metamorfōsin, Preobraženie Xristovo*) - *Jan.s.* (37), *Berl.d.* (13)
12. **Dormition of the Mother of God** (*eis tēn Koimēsin tēs Theotoku, Uspenie B-čę*) - *Sv.d.* (9), *Jan.s.* (44), *Berl.d.* (14)
13. **Presentation of the Mother of God** (*eis ta Eisodia tēs Theotoku, Vьvedenie B-čę vь xramь*) - *Jan.s.* (47)
14. **Martyrdom of St. George** (*Martyrion tu hagiū Geōrgiu, M-čenie s-tago Georgia*) - *Tixon.d.* (39), *Ljub.d.* (2), *Berl.d.* (10), *PPS* (59-60), [NBKM 1064 (9)]⁶⁸, *NBKM* 728 (1), *Rai.d.* (1)
15. **Homily against mourning of the dead** (*peri tu mē sfodrōs erēnein tus teleutōntas, Protivь plača umrьvšixь radi*) -
16. **Homily on fasting and abstinency** (*peri Nēsteias, O vьzdržanii*) - *Berl.d.* (45)
17. **Martyrdom of Theodor Stratēlatēs** (*Martyrion tu Hagiū Theodōru tu stratēlatu, M-čenie Theodora*)

⁶⁸ Squared brackets are used, when the edition is not clear from the available data.

Stratilatā) - *Berl.d.* (38), *NBKM 1064* (15), *Rai.d.* (3)

18. **Miracles of Archangels Michael and Gabriel** (*Θαυματα τῶν Ταξίαρχῶν Μιχαὴλ καὶ Γαβριὴλ*, *Čjudesa činonačęlnikъ Mixaila i Gavriila*) - *Tixon.d.* (11), *Sv.d.* (10), *Jan.s.* (45), *Berl.d.* (34), *PPS* (8-13)
19. **Martyrdom of St. Eusthathius, the second Job** (*Martyrion tu hagiū Eustaēiū tu deuteru lōb, M-čenie Evsēatia novago Iova*) - *Tixon.d.* (5), *NBKM 1064* (14), *NBKM 1081* (16)
20. **Life of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker** (*Bios tu hagiū Nikolau tu Θaumaturgu, Žitie s-tago Nikolaę Čjudotvorca*) - *Tixon.d.* (15), *Ljub.d.* (3), *Sv.d.* (13), [*Jan.s.* (31) ?] *Berl.d.* (30), *NBKM 1064* (17)
21. **Sunday of Pharisee and the Tax Collector** (*tē; Kyriakē; tu Telōnu kai Farisaiū, Pričta o mytarē i fariseē*) - *Kiev d.* (1)
22. **Sunday of the Prodigal Son** (*tē; Kyriakē; tu Asōtu, Pričta o bludnom synē*) - *Kiev d.* (2)
23. **Second Coming of Christ** (*peri tēs deuterās parusias tu Kyriū hēmōn Iēsu Xristu*⁶⁹, *Vtoro prišbství Xvo*) - *Kiev d.* (3), *Lov.d.* (1), *Tixon.d.* (18), *Ljub.d.* (1), *Berl.d.* (32)
24. **Expulsion of Adam** (*eis tēn ežorian tu Adam, O izgnanii Adama*) - *Kiev d.* (4), *NBKM 1069* (17)
25. **Homily on Holy Icons** (*peri tōn hagiōn Eikonōn, Radi s-tyę ikony*) - *Kiev d.* (5)
26. **Veneration of the True Cross** (*eis tēn proskynēsīn tu timiū Stauru, Na poklonenie č-stnomu i životvoręštemu Kr-stu*) - *Kiev d.* (6), *Tixon.d.* (16)
27. **Life of St. Mary of Egypt** (*Bios kai politeia tēs hosias Marias tēs Aigyptias, Žitie i žiznъ Marię Egyptěniny*) - *Kiev d.* (7), *Sv.d.* (14), *Berl.d.* (16)
28. **Sunday of Apostle Thomas** (*tē; Kyriakē; tu Θōma, Slovo vъ nedelju Θominu*) - *Kiev d.* (8)
29. **Sunday of the Myrrhbearers** (*tē; Kyriakē; tōn Myroforōn, Slovo vъ nedelju Mvronosъcbъ*) - *Kiev d.* (9)
30. **Sunday of the Paralytic** (*tē; Kyriakē; tu Paralytu, Slovo vъ nedělju rasslablenago*) - *Kiev d.* (10), *NBKM 1069* (11)
31. **Sunday of the Samaritan Woman** (*tē; Kyriakē; tēs Samareitidos, Slovo vъ nedělju samaraniny*) - *Kiev d.* (11), *NBKM 1069* (9)
32. **Sunday of the Blind** (*tē; Kyriakē; tu Tyflu, Slovo vъ nedělju o roždenii slępago*) - *Kiev d.* (12)
33. **Sunday of the 318 Holy Fathers of the Niceaeen Council** (*tē; Kyriakē; tōn Hagiōn *tiē* Θεοφορῶν Paterōn, Slovo vъ nedělju s-tyxъ *tii* b-gonosnyxъ o-cъ*) - *Kiev d.* (13), *Rai.d.* (19)
34. **Sunday of the All Saints** (*tē; Kyriakē; tēn Hagiōn pantōn, Slovo vъ nedělju vsęxъ s-tyxъ*) - *Kiev d.* (14)
35. **Martyrdom of St. Demetrius the Myroblyte** (*Martyrion tu hagiū eudožu Megalomartyros Dēmētriu tu Myroblytu, M-čenie s-tago i slavnago velikom-čnika Dimitria Mvrotōčivago*) - *Kiev d.* (15), *Tixon.d.* (9), *Berl.d.* (24), *PPS* (39), *NBKM 1064* (5)
36. **Martyrdom of Theodore Tyron** (*Martyrion tu hagiū eudožu Megalomartyros Θεοδῶρου tu Tyrainos, M-čenie s-tago i slavnago velikom-čnika Θεοδora Tirona*) - *Kiev d.* (16), *Sv.d.* (4), *Berl.d.* (8)

⁶⁹ Some of the titles differ between the text and the table of contents in the 1751 edition. The chapter is titled here *tē; Kyriakē; tēs Apokreō* 'Sunday of the Shrovetide' (CS *mešopustъ*), which is neither reflected in the chapter title in the text, nor in most of the translations, but for example the next chapter (*Expulsion of Adam*) is titled *Slovo na siropusna nedelja* in *NBKM 1069*, as in the index (*tē; Kyriakē; tēs Apotyrosēōs*).

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