



Citation:

Gagova, N. (2020). “Per me reges regnant...” (Prov. 8:15): Wisdom in the First Vita of St. Simeon of Serbia. *Slavia Meridionalis*, 20. <https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.2192>

Nina Gagova

Institute for Literature

Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6816-7937>

“Per me reges regnant...” (Prov. 8:15): Wisdom in the First Vita of St. Simeon of Serbia

“By me kings reign...”: these are words of Wisdom, according to Proverbs 8:15.¹ One can say that this biblical quotation truly conveys the Christian attitude to the hierarchy of earthly powers as a part of the Cosmic Order established by God through the Christ-Logos, the instrument of the Creation, which is an incarnation of Divine Wisdom. Although this quotation is not found in the Vita of St. Simeon by St. Sava, it rightly corresponds to the meaning of the text: it could elucidate the choice of Wisdom as the main

¹ Prov. 8:15–16: “By me kings reign, and superiors decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth”. The biblical quotations in the article are translated according to the Slavic text (original or Bulgarian, according to *Библия*, 1924) and do not strictly follow any English Bible translation.

This work was supported by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Competing interests: the author is one of the journal’s reviewers.

Publisher: Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 PL License (creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/pl/), which permits redistribution, commercial and non-commercial, provided that the article is properly cited. © The Author(s) 2020.

topic, which connects the historic and symbolic levels of the text and may even allude to the specific political circumstances that conditioned this choice. The present article aims to trace the interpretation of the theme of Wisdom in the Vita of St. Simeon by St. Sava, its connections with other biblical themes and motifs, and the references to various literary sources, models, and patterns that have not yet been addressed in the literature, especially that employed by the *earliest Slavic literary tradition*. By analyzing the biblical quotations in the text, I will try to answer the question of why Wisdom occupies such an important place in the first Vita of St. Simeon and what this circumstance alludes to the message of the text in its historical and cultural context.

The Vita of Saint Simeon by Saint Sava (hereinafter, VSN1 or the Vita) is found in the introduction to the *Studenska Typikon*. It was probably compiled ca. 1207, after the relics of the saint were transferred from Hilandar to Studenica (Богдановић, 1980, p. 150). Only one copy has survived in the so-called *Carostavnik of the Studenica Monastery* (*Цароставник манастира Студенице*), which is now kept at the National Museum Library in Prague, Šafarik Collection, IX H 8 (Š 10).² The text has many publications: within the *Studenska Typikon* and, separately, in the collected works of Saint Sava, in its original version and in translation into modern Serbian.³ It has been analyzed as a source of the biography of the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja and of the constitution of his cult as Saint Simeon, and also as the literary basis of two later vitae of the saint by King Stefan Nemanjić (Stefan the First-Crowned) and by the Hilandar Monk Dometian. Additionally, its connection to the Hilandar Founding Charter, issued by Stefan Nemanja in 1198/1199, and to the second Hilandar Charter, issued by Stefan the First-Crowned in 1207/1208, was discussed (Богдановић, 1980, pp. 150–152; Кемпфер, 1969;

² Vašica & Vajs, 1957, pp. 305–309 (N 144); Гроздановић-Пајић, 1968, pp. 453–454 (No. 22). The newest and most detailed manuscript description, with the earlier literature: Шпадијер et al., 2015, pp. 85–89. The manuscript is a convolute of two major parts: part 1, from 1618/1619, ff. 1r–74r and 79r–117r, and part 2, ff. 119r–171r from the last quarter of the sixteenth century; with addenda from the eighteenth century on ff. 11r–111r, Vr–XIV, 75v–78v. The Vita is found in part I (ff. 1r–71r), according to Sindik (Синдик, 1992) written by the famous copist Averkie from Hilandar (see also Шпадијер, 2014, pp. 23–24).

³ A phototype edition of the *Typikon: Студенички типик*, 1992; publication of the text with parallel translation in Serbian: *Студенички типик*, 1994. The newest edition of the Vita with parallel translation in Serbian: Свети Сава, 1998, pp. 148–191; and the bibliographical references to the earlier editions therein.

Маринковић, 1979; Поповић, 2000, 2006, pp. 27–73; Трифуновић, 1979, 1987; Ђоровић, 1936; Шпадијер, 2015). To the best of my knowledge, the biblical quotations in the Vita have not yet been the object of special scholarly attention.

First, I have to mention that the Vita of Saint Simeon by Saint Sava was written before the canonization of the Grand Zhupan and is a specific thematic variation of the ruler's biography rather than the hagiography: it is a vita of a *ktetor*, i.e. a founder of a monastery (cf. Томова 1979). Not accidentally is it found only in the *Studenica Typikon*, i.e. in the founding document of the monastery, which was the main foundation of Stefan Nemanja; for example, it is not found in hagiographic miscellanies. These circumstances signalize that the protagonist would be presented more as a ruler – the first ruler of the independent Serbian state and the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty – than as a saint. Thus, we might expect that the text would follow earlier Byzantine or/and Slavic *models and patterns* (text-samples and templates) which represent a wide range of genre implementations on the theme of Emperor/Orthodox Ruler. Since at that time the canonization of the Grand Zhupan had been obviously thought about and already prepared by his sons after his voluntary abdication and acceptance of monastic vows (Марјановић-Душанић, 1997, pp. 274–286; Поповић, 2000), the use of hagiographic models and patterns of various type (not only holy rulers but holy confessors, monks, etc.) is to be expected as well. In both cases, however, biblical and literary references were decisive for building the paradigm of the figure and conveying the *message of the text*, especially the recurrent references and those positioned in *key places* in the text⁴ and in the major episodes.

In the **preamble section** of the Vita, the author introduces the main character (the protagonist) with a formula based on biblical quotations

⁴ The methodology of the analysis of the biblical quotations adopted here is based on the ideas and analyses proposed by Picchio, Naumow, Garzaniti and their disciples (see Naumow, 1983, 2004; Picchio, 1977, 1982; Гардзанини, 2014; Пикио, 1993a). I consider the introduction, the conclusion, and the structural transitions between these parts and the exposition, as well as the rhetorical fragments in the biographical narrative to be "key places" in the composition of the text. According to Picchio, the most important biblical quotation – "biblical thematic key" – to the meaning of the text, connecting its "historical" and "symbolic" levels, in the early Orthodox Slavic hagiography is the quotation or quotations that are placed in the transition between the introduction and the exposition or at the very beginning of the text.

known also from the preamble sections of the Long Vita of St. Cyril and the Long Vita of St. Methodius (hereinafter, VC and VM):⁵ *God who "does not want the destruction of mankind" and who is working for the good of the mankind*, has sent "this autocratic ruler" to rule over the Serbian land (Свети Сава, 1998, p. 148). The theme of *God's Mercy* is also found in many texts associated with the creation of the Slavic alphabet and Slavic literary language, and with the establishment of the new Christian churches that were using them (cf. Picchio, 1977, 1982; Джамбелука-Коссова, 1985, 2007; Пикио 1993а; Гагова, 2016, pp. 275–279): *Eulogy on St. Cyril* by St. Clement of Ohrid (EC), *Eulogy on St. Cyril and St. Methodius* (ECM), *On the Letters* by Chernorizets Hrabar, the *Sermon against the Bogomil Heresy* by Cosmas the Priest, and in other texts from the same ideological circle (for detail, see ИБСЛ, 2008, pp. 38, 156–159, 248–251, 280–285). According to Picchio, the popular Christian theme was adapted in the earliest Slavic (Bulgarian) written tradition and was used in these and other early medieval Slavic literary works as a reference to the sending of St. Cyril and St. Methodius as *direct intervention of the Holy Spirit into the fate of the Slavs*. However, it was also used to consider their work as an extension of the apostolic mission and a turning point in the history of the salvation of the "Slavic people". Picchio claimed that we are talking about a well-considered and consistently developed **theological and political concept**; he named it "the concept of the *Unfailing Grace and Continuity of the Apostleship*" and analyzed it by drawing upon ten groups of selected quotations from the Old and the New Testament that were used in the introduction of the VC (Пикио, 1993а, pp. 391–392). The reference to the first Slavic saints as "instruments of Grace" means that *the new (newly baptized) people* had received their salvation "directly from God" in the same manner as those who had been baptized earlier; it shows that the former were not "inferior" to the latter and had every right to build their *own institutions of the Salvation*, e.g. "their own church hierarchy within the universal church" (Пикио, 1993а, pp. 399–400) or to have their own sacred language with an equal status to that of the Greek and Latin languages. In VSN1, this discourse undoubtedly supports *the right of the Serbs to have their own institution of secular authority*, whose representative was directly appointed by God without the mediation of the Byzantine emperor, to rule according to God's will and to be blessed with the help of God in

⁵ The texts were used according to the edition in Климент Охридски, 1973.

any of his endeavors.⁶ It is not a surprise that the same formulae were used in secular texts with legal, ideological and propaganda functions, such as charters issued by Stefan Nemanja and his son Stefan the First-Crowned for the Hilandar Monastery in 1198/1199 and 1207/1208.⁷

In the Charter of Stefan Nemanja of 1198/1199, which declared the independent authority of the Grand Zhupan and disposed him among the legitimate rulers of the neighboring nations, the theme of *Divine Mercy* received a much more thorough elaboration than in the VSN1 and reveals even more of its dependence on the concept of the Unfailing Grace and Continuity of the Apostleship:

Искони сътвори б(о)гъ н(е)бо и землю. и чл(о)в(ъ)кы на неи. и благослови њ и дас(ъ)ть нимъ власть на всѣи твари своен. и постави ѡви царє другие кнезе. ини владикы. [...] тѣмъже братиє б(о)гъ прѣмилостивы. оутверди гръке царми. а угре кралями. и когожде езика раздѣливъ. и законъ давъ. и прѣви оуставы и владикы над ними по правоу и по законуу. раставль своєю прѣмоудростию. тѣмъже по мнозѣи него и неизъмѣрѣви милости и чл(о)вѣколювию. дарова нашимъ прадѣдомъ и нашимъ дѣдомъ ѡбладати сиювъ земловь сръбьсковь. и всѣакоѣко б(о)гъ строе на оуныша чл(о)вѣкомъ не хоте чл(о)вѣчи гивѣли. и постави ме великагъ жупана [...]. (Трифуновић et al., 1986, p. 54)

⁶ The motif of direct election of the Christian emperor by God and of the Covenant between God and the emperor is the core of Byzantine imperial ideology. It can be traced back to Eusebius's works dedicated to Constantine the Great, and was propagated throughout the Byzantine and the Slavic traditions via texts associated with the cult to the first Christian emperor and his mother; in various later transformations this model was introduced into different genre interpretations on the theme of the emperor/sovereign in the Byzantine and the Slavic Orthodox literature. There is a vast array of works here of which I would mention only the seminal studies of Ewig, 1975; Karajanopoulos, 1975; Даргон, 2006, pp. 151–181. On the Byzantine emperor as the *Vicar* and *Imitator* of the Lord and the imperial ruling as manifestation of God's mercy, see also Хунгер, 2000, pp. 89–149. On the concept of power "by the Grace of God" in medieval Serbia – with the relevant sources and bibliography – Марјановић-Душанић, 1997, pp. 60–73. In her study, however, as well as in the literature she has cited, no connection between the charters and vitae of the Serbian rulers and the early Cyrillo-Methodian tradition is discussed; the hypothesis established in the scholarly literature maintains that this might have been an original concept of authority established by St. Sava (as the author of the charters of Stefan Nemanja and Stefan the First-Crowned and VSN1) – e.g. see in Pirivatrić, 2017, p. 481 and literature cited therein.

⁷ The texts are published along with translation in Modern Serbian in Стефан Првовенчани, 1999, pp. 2–13; Трифуновић et al., 1986, pp. 54–55. The latest and most correct edition of the first Hilandar Charter – Шпадијер, 2014, p. 193ff. The textological parallels between the charters of the medieval Serbian rulers and their vitae have been discussed by many scholars, see Богдановић, 1980, pp. 151; Марјановић-Душанић, 1997, pp. 100–110 and literature therein.

In the beginning, God created heaven and earth and the men upon it, and blessed them, and gave them domination over all His creations. And He appointed between them some to be emperors and others to be princes, others to be lords [...]. So, my brethren, God the Merciful assigned to the Greeks emperors, and to the Hungarians kings; and He distributed all the nations, and gave them Law, and established their customs, and placed lords over them according to custom and to the law, **having disposed all this through His Wisdom**. And thus, in His boundless Mercy and Love to mankind, He granted our great-grandfathers and our grandfathers to rule over this Serbian land, and **having always arranged everything for the good of the men, because He does not want their Fall**, appointed me as Grand Zhupan [...].

Along with the theme of the *Divine Mercy*, this important ideological text contains a biblical motif which seems to be a key to the ideological formulae associated with the legitimation of the new Christian institutions: as evident in the quotation above, this motif concerns *Divine Wisdom*, which created the cosmos and organized it in a certain order (*taxis*). The motif was used in the Charter of Stefan Nemanja from 1198/1199 to emphasize that the whole earthly hierarchy of powers, laws and customs is part of the *Divine Order*, and to include in this order the Serbian State after its recent independence from Byzantium. In the text about the ascension of Stefan Nemanja to the Serbian throne, two biblical motifs are at play: the ascension is declared an element of the Divine strategy for maintaining Order and also an obstacle to the “falling” out of Grace of the Serbian kin, or in other words, a prerequisite for their *Salvation*. The text further states that the primary tool for the successful accomplishment of Stefan Nemanja’s mission (apart from God’s help) was “*his Wisdom*” as a personal quality “given to him by God” (Трифунувић et al., 1986, p. 54: Б(о)ЖИУОВЬ ПОМОКНЮ И СВОЮ МОУДРОСТИНЮ ДАНОВЬ МИ УТ Б(о)ГА).

The same pattern is also found at a key place at the beginning of the pre-ample of VSN1: shortly after the introduction of the protagonist as a *Messenger of Grace*, it is claimed that he had achieved all his success “*with God’s help and the wisdom he had received from God*” (Свети Сава, 1998, p. 148). Thus, (Divine) Wisdom is directly associated with the *paradigm of the ideal rule(r)*, which is represented further in text through the brief summary of the reign of Stefan Nemanja (Свети Сава, 1998, pp. 148–152); it covers all the expected aspects and exploits the *topoi* usually used in the Byzantine-Slavic tradition:⁸ the Grand Zhupan had “renewed and expanded the territory inherited by his

⁸ The main aspects of the Serbian ruler’s ideology were discussed in their relations to the medieval Christian models and patterns in Марјановић-Душанић, 1997, esp., pp. 187–286.

father and grandfather”;⁹ he cared for the church (“He sanctified churches, built monasteries, enjoyed obedience to the prelates, worshipped the priests, and showed great humility and love for the monks”);¹⁰ he showed compassion (he was “a [source of] hope for the hopeless, an advocate for the poor, a breadwinner for the begging [...] [he] brought up orphans, protected the widows, he was like a mother for the blind, the lame and the weak, the deaf and the dumb”); he achieved “*peace and quietness everywhere*”, he was “wonderful and fearful to those around”; God rewarded him with “a name that is above every name” (cf. Philippians 2:9); all peoples worshipped his “name”. Among the *topoi* associated with the paradigm of the ideal rule, the *topos* of “*peace and quiet*” (мирь и тишина) that closes the section deserves special attention; it may be described as consistently used in charters and vitae of the Serbian rulers. The exact correspondent of this *topos* among the Byzantine (emperor’s) models has not yet been found, but it is obvious that it conveys the Byzantine idea of *taxis* (good order, good rule).¹¹ It seems to me that the proper sense of this *topos* can be understood only in the light of the theme of Wisdom, namely the Christian idea of Wisdom as the Creator of the Divine Order in the Universe. Thus, its presence in the phrase concluding the description of the rule of Stefan Nemanja suggests *the final establishment of the Divine Order* on the territory of the state that the Grand Zhupan accomplished through the Wisdom “he had received from God”. In other words, “*peace and quiet*” (мирь и тишина) can be defined as a *topos* – an emblem of the ideal Christian rule accomplished through the ruler’s Wisdom and understood as an aspect of the Divine Order. Using this *topos*, the author follows the Byzantine idea of the emperor as an *imitator* of God: he underlines that the ruler’s wisdom is a *reflection* of the Divine Wisdom, but he also declares that it is an instrument of Divine Order on earth.

Wisdom as a theme and Wisdom as the main quality of the protagonist, both of which are marked by repeated biblical quotations, are found in the vitae and homilies dedicated to the Slavic apostles St. Cyril and St. Methodius, especially in the texts dedicated to St. Cyril, which were entirely built on the motif of Wisdom – giving enlightenment and renewal to humankind through Baptism,

⁹ The conquests of Stefan Nemanja expanding his territory are listed here.

¹⁰ Monasteries built by him are also mentioned hereafter.

¹¹ Цветковић, 2000, p. 7 and notes 99–101. About “*peace and quiet*” (мирь и тишина) as an emblem of the ideal rule (but without any allusion to Wisdom or *taxis*) see Hafner, 1964, pp. 89–93; Хафнер, 1974, pp. 174–176; Томин & Половина, 2013.

the Word (слово) and the Book.¹² This fact confirms the observation about an association between this biblical theme and the theological and political concept of *legitimizing the independent Christian institutions of Salvation* (as discussed by Picchio). This concept originated in Bulgaria after Christianization and was later used in Russia and Serbia.¹³ Further development of the theme of *Wisdom* in VSN1 may serve as additional proof of Picchio’s hypothesis that there was a repertoire of biblical quotations and interpretations that “many Orthodox Slavic writers might have used over the centuries” and that this repertoire might have been organized around specialized *topoi* and contained “biblical formulae to be readily used for a number of established thematic motifs” (Пикио, 1993а, pp. 410–411).¹⁴

¹² On the relation between the theme of Wisdom and the veneration of St. Cyril and St. Methodius as saints, see Чешмеджиев, 1999, with the earlier literature. What needs to be mentioned here is the comparison of Methodius to King Solomon at ECM and the claims (at ECM) that the Wisdom was “a sister” of St. Cyril and St. Methodius and they were “vessels of God’s Wisdom”; they “flourish with Wisdom all the time” (Св. Климент Охридски, 1970, pp. 116–117). It is hardly a coincidence that in the Eulogies by St. Clement of Ohrid the motif of the *saint’s wisdom* appears only in texts dedicated to persons related to St. Cyril and St. Methodius biographically or serving as models for the Slavic apostles and teachers, i.e. in texts from the Cyrillo-Methodian thematic and ideological cycle: in *Eulogy on St. Dimitar of Thessaloniki* (Св. Климент Охридски, 1970, p. 67), the patron saint of the birthplace of the two brothers; in *Eulogy on St. Clement of Rome* (Св. Климент Охридски, 1970, p. 77, cf. also pp. 78 and 79), the saint whose relics were discovered and translated to Rome by them; in *Eulogy on St. Peter and St. Paul* (Св. Климент Охридски, 1970, pp. 221, 222, 224); in *Eulogy on St. Nicholas* (Св. Климент Охридски, 1970, pp. 145, 146). In *Eulogy on St. Clement of Rome* most and best of the parallels to the VC and VM can be found, for he is at the same time a model for the saint brothers – like the first Roman pope after St. Peter, and is linked to them biographically (about the biblical quotations functioning as *topoi* also at VSN1 see notes 21, 23). *St. Clement of Rome* is called “the inexplicable treasure of God’s Wisdom” (Colossians 2:3); here we also find the phrase from VSN1 mentioned above: “no one can be compared to him” (Св. Климент Охридски, 1970, p. 79).

¹³ About Old Bulgarian Literature as not only “mediator” between Byzantine Literature and other literatures of Slavia Orthodoxa, but also as “paradigmatic” ones with respect to the latter, see Picchio, 1958, 1984; Пикио, 1981, 1993b. When commenting on Picchio’s conclusions, Henrik Birnbaum accepted as a fact that along with the translations from Greek into the Slavic language there was “a no less important function fulfilled by Old Bulgarian literature” – “that of providing a viable literary standard for Orthodox Slavdom, including recently converted Rus’, and in this capacity of serving as a pattern-setting, ‘classical’ model for the literary culture of that multinational, linguistically and religiously coherent community as a whole” (Birnbaum, 1984–1985, p. 9).

¹⁴ Part of this theological and political concept is the motif (also studied by Picchio) of the *Blessed Kin of the Righteous*, which was used to legitimize the dynastic traditions characteristic of the medieval Orthodox states (Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia), but not found in the official

The aforementioned paradigm of the ideal governance of Stefan Nemanja was enriched with an element which is of particular interest as it can be interpreted as manifestation of his Wisdom: the Grand Zhupan was said to have been not only a ruler but "a teacher more" to his people, as he "made sensible the hearts of all" and taught them how (being orthodox Christians) to rightly profess true faith, "firstly showing in their own behavior the good faith, and then teaching it to others" (Свети Сава, 1998, p. 150).

Scholars have already discussed the existence of "confessor's" nominations (*apostle, teacher, mentor*) in the vitae of St. Simeon; the depiction of St. Simeon with a scroll in his hand – an arrangement "booked" only for prophets, apostles and the Fathers of the Church – has been also noted in the literature (see Тодић, 2000).¹⁵ Researchers have commented that these nominations corresponded to the duty of the Christian ruler to be "protector of the faith" and "teacher of piety" to his subjects (see Поповић, 2000, esp. p. 357). It should be mentioned, however, that the nominations of "apostles" distinguish a *certain category of Orthodox rulers* – those in whom the worldly and the spiritual powers unite. The Old Testament prototype of this double-faced leadership is Moses, while in the New Testament it is Christ himself who was a high priest (*Iereus*) and a ruler (*Basileus*) at the same time. In the Orthodox tradition, Constantine the Great was simultaneously called "the new Moses"¹⁶ and "an external bishop", and the cult to him as being the "thirteenth apostle"¹⁷ indicated that

Byzantine political doctrine. The author mentions examples from the anonymous Russian work entitled *Tale and Passion and Encomium of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb*, the *Sermon on Law and Grace* by Metropolitan Hilarion of Kiev, and the *Vita of St. Simeon the Serbian* by Dometian (Пикио, 1993а, pp. 402–416). Here, the *Service for the Bulgarian Tzar St. Peter* – the ruler who had the earliest commemoration – has to be added; it is also important to notice that the biblical motif of the *Blessed Kin of the Righteous* was first used in the *Eulogy on St. Cyril and St. Methodius* (Гарова, 2016, p. 288).

¹⁵ Saint Simeon is depicted with a scroll in his hand for the first time in Studenica, in the exonarthex of the main church, which was built by King Radoslav, the grandson of Stefan Nemanja, ca. 1233, but the text on the scroll is illegible. In Arilje, a foundation of King Dragutin (1296), a quotation from Psalm 34 (Slav. 33): 11 is found on the scroll: "Come, my children, listen to me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord". This quotation was attested for the first time in the vitae of St. Sava and St. Simeon by Dometian (although there are very similar expressions in VSN1) and it would be the most common one on later images (Тодић, 2000, pp. 297–300).

¹⁶ The interpretation is built upon Eusebius's Vita (encomium) of Constantine the Great – see Rapp, 1998, 2010, pp. 182–183 and literature therein.

¹⁷ Eusebius compared Constantine with Apostle Paul – as the propagator of the Gospel among the pagans (Ewig, 1975, p. 137).

the characteristics of the saint apostles and confessors were to be expected mainly by the veneration of baptizing (Christianizing) rulers who inevitably interfered with the constitution of the Christian church as a state institution and took the commitment, in one way or another, to propagate Christianity among the secular elite. The oldest Slavic tradition here was associated with the Christianization of Bulgaria and, accordingly, with the reign of the Bulgarian ruler and baptizer Knyaz Boris and his successors, Tzar Simeon and Tzar Peter. There are enough text witnesses which attest that *“teaching” was a part of the paradigm of the ideal ruler in Bulgaria*, especially during the reign of the “king-philosopher” Tzar Simeon and the “teacher of Orthodoxy” Tzar Peter (cf. Shepard, 2003; Билярски, 2004; Николов, 2006, pp. 214–230, 245–269, with the earlier bibliography).

In the fragment which functions as a **transition from the introduction to the biographical part**, the author wrote about the concern of Stefan Nemanja of how to find a suitable heir because he had a desire to become a monk and on the Day of the Last Judgment enter the group of people who had pleased God. Thus, the monastic endeavor was considered a manifestation of Wisdom and the biblical quotations signifying love for God and willingness to “leave this world” are added to the markers of this theme (Matt. 11:29–30; Matt. 10:37–38; Matt. 19:29; Mark 10:29–30). This development of the theme is in line with the Christian concept of *Wisdom as the major quality of the true Christian*, whose supreme role model should be the *monk*. By integrating the monastic *topoi* into the ruler’s paradigm at this most important *key place* in the hagiographical structure, the author suggests Stefan Nemanja was a monk even *before his abdication*.¹⁸ Following this line, the “monastic” fragment is placed in a “frame” of the ruler’s *topoi*, ending with a summary of the *ideal governance* which was already presented in detail in the first part of the introduction: the Grand Zhupan was “a sovereign and a teacher” who possessed “the wisdom of Solomon,

¹⁸ Traditional interpretation of the monastic qualities of the protagonist in all vitae of Stefan Nemanja and the earliest Serbian charters, as proposed by Marjanović-Dušanić and widely accepted (Марјановић-Душанић, 1997, pp. 274–286) is different. According to it, *the ruler, the monk, and the saint* are three separate “levels” in the presentation of the Grand Zhupan corresponding to the “steps” of the constitution of his cult as St. Simeon. The monastic level (preceded by voluntary abdication) is intended to justify the canonization of Stefan Nemanja and, at the same time, to give an example to his heirs for a worthy ending to the life of the ruler which would become part of the Serbian ruler’s ideology.

the meekness of David, the benevolence of Joseph", who was "astonishing and fearful, the sovereign of sovereigns and the ruler of rulers", "in brief, no one can compare to him". The summary emphasizes the theme of Wisdom again through the biblical figures of Solomon, David, and Joseph, symbolizing different incarnations of the *ruler's wisdom*. The Old Testament patterns of the righteous king are added to the *topoi* of the "monastic" wisdom from the first part of this (most important, according to the methodology of Picchio) fragment to present together the *wisdom of the ideal Christian ruler – the ruler-monk*.

The **biographical part** of the Vita covers the time from Stefan Nemanja's voluntary abdication after 37 years of reign and his retirement to his main foundation Studenica until his death as a monk at the Hilandar Monastery at Mount Athos, whose *ktetor* and founder he was as well. This section is focused on the *Law* of Stefan Nemanja, which he bequeathed to his sons.

The first episode is dedicated to the abdication of the Grand Zhupan by which he would find salvation by the Grace of God (Свети Сава, 1998, p. 154; cf. 1 Tim. 2:4). He had shown his discernment/wisdom¹⁹ in understanding the *vanity of the world* and rejecting it (this is marked by a new series of corresponding *topoi*), while the burning love in his heart had turned him into a "ready-made house" and "a purified vessel of the Holy Spirit".²⁰ The main part of the episode is dedicated to the speeches of Stefan Nemanja that addressed his sons and boyars. When announcing his impending retirement, the Grand Zhupan reminded them that he had been ordained by God and with God's help he had restored and expanded the territory of the country and *taught them how to profess the true faith*; he also urged them not to forget

¹⁹ Here Stefan Nemanja is called "смотръливый" (*astute, wise*), a relatively rare word which is found in texts of the earlier Orthodox Slavic tradition associated with St. Cyril and St. Methodius: see ЕСМ (Климент Охридски, 1970, p. 473) or the *Sermon against the Bogomil Heresy* by Cosmas the Priest (Бегунов, 1973, p. 344).

²⁰ The motif of the saint's body as a "vessel"/"house" of the Lord (Grace, Wisdom, Holy Spirit), see John 14:21; 14:23 ("The one who loves me, and I will love him, and I will make myself a house in him"), is among the central motifs in the *Eulogy on Saint Cyril* and the *Eulogy on St. Cyril and St. Methodius* by St. Clement of Ohrid – Климент Охридски, 1970, pp. 426, 468, 473; see Велковска, 1982, 1984; Джамбелука-Коссова, 1985). See ЕС: "The Divine Wisdom built a temple in his heart, and the Holy Spirit rested on his tongue like on a cherub" (Климент Охридски, 1970, p. 426). Trifunović brings the presentation of St. Cyril as a "vessel of the Holy Spirit" together with the theological motivation of the equality of the languages and the legitimacy of the Slavic Liturgy (Трифуновић, 1985).

what they had learned and to obey the Orthodox *Law* (Законъ)²¹ established by him, in order to be under God's protection like he was (Свети Сава, 1998, p. 156). The biblical theme of the (Divine) *Law* (acceptance of which means also Covenant with God) is directly associated here with the institutional aspect of the symbolic (Christian) interpretation of Wisdom: The Law of Stefan Nemanja projects the Divine Cosmic Order and embodies the Law of the earthly power given by God to the nations as discussed in the aforementioned Charter of Hilandar of Stefan Nemanja ("and He distributed all the nations, and gave them Law"). The biblical motif about the *vanity of the world* which reappears here, marked with new quotations-*topoi* (Eccl. 1–2; Luke 2:29–31, 2:25) that support the decision of the Grand Zhupan to step down and become a monk, is also associated with the Wisdom, but this time as a personal (monastic) quality.

Stefan Nemanja's second speech was a sermon addressed to his sons Stefan and Vukan, after having nominated and blessed them, the first as Grand Zhupan and the second as Grand Prince. The second speech contains his *Law* and is entirely made up of biblical and literary quotations and reminiscences related to the theme of Wisdom (Свети Сава, 1998, pp. 158–162, "My sons, do not forget my laws..."). At the beginning, there is an extended quote from the Book of Proverbs (1–18) that is constructed around the idea of the happiness of finding and following Wisdom ("Blessed is the man who has found Wisdom and the mortal who has seen reason [...] long life is in her right hand, in her left – riches and glory. *Out of her mouth comes Justice; Law and Mercy are on her tongue*").²² The same large quotation (Prov. 3:1–18) contains important Wisdom *topoi* associated with the didactic aspect of the theme: to find wisdom one has "to trust God with all your heart [...] not to be wise

²¹ In medieval Slavic texts, "Законъ" is also used to refer to the two major parts of the Bible: the Old and the New Testament (*Речник на църковнославянския език*, 2002, p. 186; *Старобългарски речник*, 1999, p. 520).

²² Almost identical quotations-*topoi* are found in the *Eulogy on St. Clement of Rome* by St. Clement of Ohrid: "Justice and Judgment came from his mouth (acc. to Ps. 36:30, Isaiah 45:23; Ezekiel. 33:14), *Mercy and Truth wore on his tongue* (acc. to Ps. 24:10; Prov. 3:3; 8:7), upon which the Holy Ghost rested as if on a cherub". See also in EC "That is why the Grace of God poured itself into his mouth, as the wise Solomon told: Knowledge is on the lips of the wise, *Law and Mercy are on his tongue*" (Климент Охридски, 1970, p. 426; see Ps. 44:2; Prov. 3:16). The quote is found in a *key place* in the text (at the beginning of the biographical section) and is one of the most important quotations in EC from the point of view of its message.

in yourself²³ but to avoid all evil"; it is "better to buy wisdom than gold and silver", etc.

Stefan Nemanja's sermon to his sons ends with a second paragraph of biblical quotations and paraphrases devoted to the *theme of Christian Love*: the father bequeaths his sons to love and revere each other.²⁴ The introduction of this theme can be interpreted as a confirmation of the author's attempt to present the theme of Wisdom in a way combining its "institutional" and "personal" aspects, the meanings associated with the notion of Order (*taxis*) and with the image of the *true Christian* (we will subsequently discuss this in more detail). At the very end of the speech, there is a biblical quotation that summarizes the benefit of obeying the Father's Law, the core of which is *the attainment of Wisdom* as a guarantee of a blessed (successful) rule: "And the Spirit of Lord will rest on you [cf. Isaiah 11:2], to support and protect you from all the visible and invisible enemies and to lead you to the path of peace" (СВЕТИ САВА, 1998, p. 162).

After a brief edification by the Grand Zhupan to his nobles, to once again emphasize its importance, a relatively **short encomiastic fragment** containing *nominations* is included before the final part of the episode about the abdication and the nullification. The nominations of the protagonist correspond to the paradigm of the ideal ruler in the introduction but only develop the apostolic/teacher's aspect in the context of the theme of Wisdom. The fragment starts with an exclamation, "What should I call it, I am really perplexed" (СВЕТИ САВА, 1998, p. 162), and the Grand Zhupan was called "Orthodox teacher", "shepherd", "church enlightener" (!), "teacher in benevolence", "mentor in true faith", "teacher of good faith and purity", "universal light", full of faith, and "image of meekness", "mentor in wisdom, giver of meaning, clarifier of the unclear/meaningless, wise respondent to all around him". The fragment (СВЕТИ САВА, 1998, p. 164) ends with a biblical quotation which once again summarizes the topic, "Because he was full of wisdom and reason, and the Grace of God was on him" (cf. Luke 2:40). Thus, the net of quotations related to Wisdom in the episode about the abdication suggests that the search for and acceptance of Wis-

²³ This expression means that one should "not seek wisdom in their own mind", nor place their capacity of attainment of the truth above the Truth set forth in the Scripture and other authoritative Christian books.

²⁴ Compare 1 John 4:20; Matt. 22:40; Is. 1: 19–20; the key quotation is from 1 John 4:20 ("For whoever does not love their brother, whom they have seen, cannot love God, whom they have not seen. Therefore, whoever loves God, should love his brother").

dom – the “filling up” with Wisdom (which turned the body into a “vessel” of Wisdom / the Holy Spirit; see footnote 21) – is *the basic and only natural behavior of a sovereign*. This trend in the interpretation of Wisdom in VSN1 is an important sign to place the Wisdom of the ruler in a paradigm which should be different from the pattern in Byzantine political ideology, where the emperor’s striving for personal wisdom (understood as part of the ideal Christian’s behavior) never became the norm.

After the episode of Stefan Nemanja’s abdication and retirement to the monastic life, the author goes on to narrate his monastic exploits in Serbia and at Mount Athos. The first fragment is dedicated to the residence of the monk Simeon in the monastic society in Studenica, where he “taught them about spiritual pursuits”. The text is almost entirely made up of biblical quotations that function as *topoi* reflecting the *denial of the world* as the *Imitatio Christi* in the vitae of monks and ascetics (Matt. 11:29–30; Matt. 13:46; the parable of the pearl; Matt. 19:21). After a brief autobiographical note with references to the story about the Prodigal Son (Luke 15), the author Saint Sava recounts the departure of his father to Mount Athos “in search of the lost sheep”,²⁵ and their settlement in the Monastery of Vatoped and “the labors and strives” of Simeon, who had evoked the astonishment of the monks at Mount Athos with his humility, meekness and self-denial.²⁶ Particular attention is paid to the building of the Hilandar Monastery – here the author chooses to note the spiritual significance of the place, which is sacred for the Serbs and describes it with the *topoi* of the Garden of Eden (cf. Шпадијер, 2015).

The biographical story of Stefan Nemanja / monk Simeon ends with two independent episodes about the protagonist’s departure from life; they are constructed symmetrically to the two parts of the first episode (featuring his abdication and retirement from the world). The first episode contains the *Covenant* of Saint Simeon to the author of VSN1, who was also his youngest son, Saint Sava, and is once again constructed entirely on biblical quotations connected to Wisdom (mainly Prov. 4:20–25; Prov. 1:8; Prov. 8:32–34; 9:6–11) – it corresponds to the *Law* that the Grand Zhupan had left to his sons Stefan and Vukan. Here, we once again find didactic motifs for the benefit of seeking and following Wis-

²⁵ Here the author refers to himself: contrary to his parents’ will, after secretly leaving their home Saint Sava became a monk on Mount Athos.

²⁶ Here the author again uses mainly quotations that are *topoi* to refer to the heroic deeds of the protagonist and to emphasize that *earthly sufferings will be compensated for in heaven*; Mark 9:35; Matt. 18:3; Matt. 5:3; Luke 6:21; Matt. 5:3–8.

dom (with further development: “do not reprove the wicked to not hate you; but rebuke the wise as they would love you”). Importantly, this fragment contains a quote that unambiguously reveals the sense given by the Christian tradition to the concept of (human) Wisdom: “*The beginning/source of Wisdom is fear of God*” (Prov. 9:10). We will discuss this quote again below. The second episode is focused on the last days in the life of Saint Simeon and his death in the presence of chosen elders from Mount Athos: he was wrapped in a monastic robe, laid on a mat with a stone under his head, “like some low stranger”, “bowing to all and begging all for forgiveness and blessing”. This episode is full of monastic-ascetic *topoi* which clearly indicate its association with his canonization-in-preparation (cf. Поповић, 2000, 2006, pp. 27–73). After describing his funeral and burial, the author proceeds with a story about how his remains were unearthed after eight years in order to be transported to Serbia at the request of the brothers Stefan and Vukan; how they were found “whole and untouched” and about their transfer and funeral in Studenica.

The **concluding section of the Vita** is symmetrical to the introduction; it contains a brief chronology of the life of “our blessed father and *ktetor*, our master Simeon, from his birth to his death”, with a focus on the “doubling” of the most important events: the baptism of the child Stefan according to both the Catholic and the Orthodox rites, the acceptance of the first and the second degree of the monastic *skhima* by the monk Simeon, and the double funeral, at Hilandar and in Studenica. Parallel to the address in the beginning, the text ends with a brief sermon to the monks at the Studenica Monastery. The main theme of this sermon – the Last Judgment and the fate of the souls after the resurrection of the dead that it is appropriate for the monks to constantly think about – corresponds to the motivation of the protagonist of the Vita and the *ktetor* of the monastery, Stefan Nemanja, to abdicate and become a monk. Thus, Wisdom as a theme also ends the Vita, albeit indirectly – insofar as monasticism is an ultimate denial of one’s own will and, therefore, a complete submission to God’s will – which is the real meaning of “*the fear of God*”.

Summarizing the way in which the theme of Wisdom in VSN1 was developed by the author, one may conclude as follows.

The author has chosen to focus on *two main aspects in the theological interpretation of the topic*: institutional, related to the idea of the Divine Order, and personal, related to the notion of ideal Christian behavior. The first aspect covers the rule of Stefan Nemanja as Grand Zhupan, where his institutional wisdom is manifested; the second refers to his mind of a monk not only after but also

before the abdication. Both aspects are united in the transitional fragment between the introduction and the biographical section, defined by Picchio as a "thematic key" to the meaning of the text, where Stefan Nemanja is presented as the ideal *ruler-monk*. In the biographical part, the theme is signified and developed through compact groups of *biblical quotations-topoi*, of which the *Law* of Stefan Nemanja and his *teachings* addressed to his sons, the secular elite and the monastic brotherhoods in his main foundations Studenica and Hilendar are compiled. Here, the protagonist manifests himself as a *secular and spiritual leader* with underlined characteristics of an apostle and a teacher, and finally as an ascetic and a monk in the specific sense of the word. In the concluding section of the Vita, the motive for the *doubling* of all the most important events in the life of Stefan Nemanja-St. Simeon emerges, which can be interpreted as an allusion to his "*double*" nature as ruler and monk who has manifested himself *twice* in different ways: in one common image of the ruler-monk before the abdication and as two separate and consecutive roles of the ruler and of the monk, before and after the abdication.

Why did the author of VSN1 choose exactly these solutions and where (except in the hagiography dedicated to the first Slavic saints) should we look for the models and patterns he used?

The reasons must be found in the theological interpretation of Wisdom in the Orthodox tradition, where its association with the idea of the cosmic Order and Byzantine imperial ideology are clearly articulated together with the conviction that Wisdom is the foundation for proper profession and practise of the faith and the core of the ethos of the true Christian, whose supreme role model is the monk. As Christ-Logos is at the same time the embodied Divine Wisdom and the King of Kings, and the Byzantine emperor and every Christian ruler is His *vicar* and *imitator*, the king's Wisdom is an expected expression of the king's *divinity*.²⁷ This means that the Christian ruler is *wise by definition* as he embodies the institution which is instrumental of Divine Wisdom (Prov. 8:15–16: "By me kings reign, and superiors decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth"). As stated above, the Byzantine political ideology *did not oblige* an emperor who was

²⁷ These issues deserve special attention and cannot be discussed in this article. We will mention here some of the seminal works on (Divine) Wisdom as a theological concept in the Orthodox tradition (Brzozowska, 2015; Meyendorff, 1987; Флоровский, 1932) and its relation to the theme of the ruler (Nicol, 1991; Runciman, 1977; Shepard, 2003; Даргон, 2006; Хунгер, 2000, pp. 89–149).

“institutionally wise” to also be wise as an individual, though it recommended it occasionally in suitable historical circumstances. This interpretation may seem contradictory and even confusing when it had to be adapted by *dynastic ruling traditions* during Christianization because in the dynastic traditions the ruler embodied the institution in a different way and his personal qualities were perceived as *being guaranteed* by his origin but also *being a guarantee* of good governance.

Drawing upon the central position of *Wisdom* in Christian theology and its polyvalence, it has its interpretation by the most influential Fathers of the Eastern Church. The interpretations were well known in the Byzantine and Slavic repertory (most of them in excerpts) because they had been translated very early in the Slavic written tradition.²⁸ The correspondence between these writings and the associated biblical quotations from VSN1 is undoubtedly important in revealing the literary references of the Vita that may shed additional light on its message.

Fragments of the exegetical interpretations on Wisdom are included in the earliest Slavic repertory, most often in sermons and question-answers found in miscellanies (*izborniki*) addressed to the secular elite, translated or compiled in Bulgaria in the ninth and tenth centuries in different codices such as the so-called *Menaion Miscellany*, the *Izbornik of 1073*, and the *Izbornik of 1076*.²⁹ In his study of Bulgarian political ideology in the period between the ninth and tenth centuries, Angel Nikolov (Николов, 2006) analyzed the *Izbornik of 1073*, the *Izbornik of 1076*, and *Zlatoust* and *Zlatostruy*³⁰ as books – instruments of political propaganda which spread ideas about the figure and status of the Orthodox ruler, and about his rights and obligations during the reign of Tzar Simeon. He notably observed that in these

²⁸ This issue will be discussed later in the article.

²⁹ For more details about the early Slavic *Izborniki*, their editions and studies, see ИБСЛ, 2008, pp. 288–292 and literature cited therein; see also Miltenov, 2017; Miltenov & Dimitrova, 2018; Thomson, 2009, 2014; Димитрова, 2016; Милтенов, 2013а, 2013b, 2014а, 2014b; Федер, 2005, 2008. These same miscellanies contain the *Advice to the Emperor* of Agapetus and different variants of these texts, other royal “mirrors” and similar royal advice, monastic rules and fragments from *paterica*.

³⁰ *Zlatoust* and *Zlatostruy* (*Chrysostomos* and *Chrysorrhoeas*) are collections of sermons and homilies written by or assigned to St. John Chrysostom, the most famous Church Father in the Orthodox Slavic tradition. The collections were compiled in the ninth and tenth centuries from Old Bulgarian translations of the Greek texts, some of them abridged, edited or reworked, and were spread in diverse variants through miscellanies of different kinds.

miscellanies the Byzantine concept of institutional Wisdom and the piety of the emperor was reworked and replaced by the notion that *only a perfect Christian (i.e. monk) could be the perfect ruler*. According to him, the change can be found first in the *Zlatostruy* (Николов, 2006, pp. 172–185, and esp. 181–183), which was claimed to be compiled by Tzar Simeon himself (ИБСЛ, 2008, p. 290) and which conveys the idea that the Christian church had the right and obligation to monitor the personal piety of the ruler and to publicly criticize him. Later, however, this concept was replaced (again by Tzar Simeon) with the much more radical concept of the *ruler-philosopher* (i.e. monk), whose model had liberated the ruler and his authority from the guardianship of the church.

The following quote from Prov. 9:10 is considered central to VSN1: “*The beginning/source of Wisdom is fear of God*”. This quote was usually interpreted in the scholarly tradition as a reference to the monastic character of the cult of St. Simeon, and parallels were found in the *Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph* (see Ђорђевић, 2008 and references therein; Поповић, 2006, pp. 56–57). It should be noted, however, that in early Orthodox Slavic hagiography, which apparently functioned as a model for VSN1, “fear of God” was perceived much more widely as the basic quality of *every* Old Testament righteous and Christian saint. The final passage from the introduction of the VM is an indicative example as it states that *Methodius* was likened to *all* the righteous and the saints, displaying their most important qualities, the first of which is “*fear of God*” (Климент Охридски, 1973, p. 187). It is even more important to keep in mind that the same interpretation of human Wisdom and the same quotation were used in the earliest and widest spread example of Byzantine “Mirror of Princes” literature – the famous *Advice (kefalia parenetika) of Agapetus*, addressed to Emperor Justinian the Great (in chapter 17) – which had been translated in Bulgaria during the reign of Tzar Simeon as the central text in his political concept of the *king-philosopher* (Николов, 1999, 2000, 2006, pp. 214–230, with earlier literature). In this text, “philosophy” is translated literally as “love for Wisdom” (ЛЮБОМЪДРИЕ) (i.e. love for God), which was emphasized as a major quality of the *ideal ruler* (philosopher = monk); it is further noted that if a ruler had to be a true Christian, he had to not only honor God but also *teach* people how to worship Him (ch. 1, ch. 42). The Slavic translation of Agapetus was known in various revisions and redactions which attest to its popularity, including among Serbs, probably not later than the thirteenth century (Марјановић-

Душанић, 2002; Николов, 2000, 2006, pp. 255–256 and note 66).³¹ In his study, Nikolov comes to the important conclusion that the figure of the king philosopher (= monk) embodies *the most appropriate ideal of the ruler*, considering the specific situation in Bulgaria after Christianization, where the entire mind-changing process was organized and led by the ruler himself, especially before the recognition of the independent Bulgarian church, in a period when the sovereign officially preceded over church affairs (Николов, 2006, p. 224). In addition, this ruler's ideal not only had a symbolic expression but also "produced" the relevant palace and cult *practises*, which most likely influenced the Serbian ruling theory and practise during the thirteenth century: it is hardly a coincidence that Knyaz Boris and his grandson Tzar Peter ended their lives as monks after voluntary abdication and were canonized as saints (as in the case of Stefan Nemanja), while Tzar Simeon was an ex-monk who, according to the testimony of Nikolaos Mysticos, continued to adhere to an ascetic life even after ascending to the throne (Билярски, 2004; Николов, 2006, p. 224, 2007, 2018).

A conclusion based on the *Eulogy on Tzar Simeon*³² contained in the *Izbornik of 1073*, may claim that the texts in the miscellany are part of the "teaching strategy" of the Tzar, who had to constantly "enlighten" the minds of his boyars (Николов, 2006, p. 226). It is not a surprise that the important theme

³¹ Currently, two Serbian copies of one of the early revisions of *Agapetus* found in the *Izbornik of 1076* ("Наказание богатим" [Sermon to the Rich], ff. 24v–28v) are known: in a miscellany from the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, НБКМ 1037, late 14th c., ff. 230v–233r, and in a miscellany from the National Library in Belgrade, Рс 26, 3rd quarter of the 14th c., ff. 354r–356r (about the texts from the *Izborniki* in Рс 26 see Јелесијевић, 2011–2012). The first one is published in Буланин, 1990 – in parallel with the text from the *Izbornik of 1076* and with a Russian copy from the sixteenth century, as well as in Марјановић-Душанић, 2002, with facsimile from the manuscript НБКМ 1037 (Николов, 2006, pp. 255–256). According to Nikolov, the Serbian copies contain a variant of this early revision (entitled "Слово към власт-ващите на земята" [Sermon to the Rulers on the Earth]) which is earlier than the one found in the *Izbornik of 1076* and probably comes directly from the original included in a reconstructed miscellany which Veder called *Княжий Изборник* [Prince's Miscellany] (he claims that it was compiled during the reign of Tzar Peter and was intended for the education of the Bulgarian heir – Николов, 2006, p. 267; see also Федер, 2008).

³² On the Eulogy, see ИБСЛ, 2008, p. 289; on the personal participation of Tzar Simeon in the construction of the literary repertorium – ИБСЛ, 2008, pp. 83–88. It should be noted that unlike the other aforementioned miscellanies, the *Izbornik of 1073* is based on the translation of a version of a ready-made Greek collection of texts, most probably named *Sotirios* [Savior]; see Sieswerda, 2001.

of Wisdom is not omitted in the book; however, it is found in the *Questions and Answers* of Anastasius Sinaita, as well as in a short anonymous florilegium entitled "On Saint Trinity and the Faith", which appears immediately before the *Questions and Answers* of Anastasius (cf. Симеонов сборник, 1991). In accordance with the purpose of the *Izbornik*, the topic is built around its central theological points (identification of Wisdom with Christ-Logos, interpretations of the most important biblical quotations which mention Wisdom, among others), but the focus is on Wisdom as fundamental of the ethos of the true Christian (what it means to be wise, why God wants it from us, how wisdom is expressed and how it is attained, etc.). The anonymous florilegium mentions that Christ came to give people reason/wisdom, to understand the true God (Симеонов сборник, 1991, p. 208); it further reminds one that He, himself, is the Power of God and the *Wisdom of God* (Симеонов сборник, 1991, p. 209), which is identical to Wisdom, which "created everything". In the *Questions and Answers* of Anastasius, the answer to the important question of "What distinguishes a perfect Christian?" is of particular interest as it explains, using biblical and patristic quotations, how one should think and behave if one rightly understands what God wants from one (Симеонов сборник, 1991, pp. 249–261). Although Wisdom is hardly mentioned directly in this extensive response (except in the last excerpt), the text contains all the basic motifs associated with it, including a motif about the relation between *Wisdom as the incarnate Word of God*, and the *wise human behavior* that is inherently expected from the perfect Christian. The answer begins with the claim that the perfect Christian is distinguished by "true faith and godly deeds" because he is the "true house of Christ", of Divine Wisdom (Симеонов сборник, 1991, pp. 249–250); furthermore (Симеонов сборник, 1991, p. 250), the *motif of the righteous as the "spiritual house" of God* is supplemented by references to John 14:21 ("The one who loves me, and I will love him, and I will make myself a house in him"), and Zech. 2:10 ("I will dwell in them and walk in them"). Christians are required "to fear the Lord, their God, and to walk in his ways", and "he who loves God, hates evil" and "through fear of God turns away from all evil" (Симеонов сборник, 1991, pp. 251–252). This fragment directly corresponds to the famous quotations from the Book of Proverbs: "*The fear of the Lord is the beginning (i.e. source) of Wisdom*" (Prov. 1:7; Prov. 9:10), and "*To fear the Lord means to hate evil*" (Prov. 8:13). The answer ends with excerpt 34 "from Maxim the Monk" (Симеонов сборник, 1991, p. 261), which states: "In these three,

Christians manifest their love for Wisdom: in the commandments (of God), in the doctrine and in faith. Because through commandments it separates the mind from passions, through the doctrine it 'brings the mind into reason', and through faith it leads to 'the vision of the Holy Trinity'. In the next question, "Who are the true worshipers who truly worship God in spirit?", we rediscover the motifs of the true Christian as the "house of God" and *fear of God* as the condition he should strive for. Excerpt 37 "from Diadoch" discusses the special effort needed to feel "the fear of God". In other answers, biblical quotations related to the topic are discussed, such as in answers to the questions "What is the Wisdom that made your house?" (*Симеонов сборник*, 1991, p. 504) and "Why does He once say, 'Do not be foolish', but on another occasion says 'Do not be wise in yourself'" (*Симеонов сборник*, 1991, pp. 543–544). Wisdom is a central topic in the *Book of the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach*, which was also translated in this earliest period; extensive fragments are included in *Izbornik of 1076*. Among them, there is a quote which is closely associated with the figure of Stefan Nemanja in VSN1: "The beginning/source of Wisdom is fear of God" (Prov. 9:10; *Изборник*, 1965, p. 311), along with its modifications (e.g. "The Crown of Wisdom is to Be Afraid of God", *Изборник*, 1965, p. 312). The discussed texts clearly correspond to VSN1; we may – with a certain degree of confidence – assume that these and similar works were well known to the author of VSN1. In all likelihood, codices such as the two miscellanies of Tzar Simeon (*Izbornik of 1073* and *Izbornik of 1076*) were used in the education of the Serbian princes, one of whom was St. Sava.³³

By choosing *Wisdom* as the primary quality of the Grand Zhupan, the author of VSN1, St. Sava, presented Stefan Nemanja as a *legitimate and independent ruler*, emphasizing his role as "founder and renovator" (i.e. as the *first* Serbian ruler – which he was not), and at the same time as a *perfect Christian and a monk* preparing his canonization. In his work, St. Sava is evidently influenced by the concept of the *Unfailing Grace* and *Continuity of the Apostleship* and most probably followed earlier ideological models and patterns created in Slavic (Old Church Slavonic / Old Bulgarian) language in Bulgaria in the ninth and tenth

³³ Three complete Serbian copies of the *Izbornik of 1073* are known, all dated between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and connected to the Hilandar Monastery at Mount Athos (*Симеонов сборник*, 1991, pp. 39–43, 70–71. No. 2, 3, 14). On the Serbian copies of the medieval Bulgarian literary repertorium of the ninth and tenth centuries, see Трифунова, 1994; Турилов, 1999; Станкова, 2005 and literature therein.

centuries and transferred via the Slavic literary tradition of the Ohrid Church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries – in particular those presenting the first Slavic saints as “instruments of Grace” (St. Spirit, Divine Wisdom, etc.) and the ideal ruler as a *wise ruler*, i.e. the *ruler-monk*.

Emphasizing Stefan Nemanja’s wisdom in his *ktetor’s Vita*, the author suggested that *new, graceful times* were coming under his rule; according to Agapetus’s *Advice*, this “happens *when Philosophy reigns*, or when kings become philosophers” (ch. 13). In developing the apostle’s and teaching’s manifestation of Wisdom in the figure of Stefan Nemanja, Saint Sava likened his father to the most authoritative and popular Slavic saints – the *Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius* – an association which was surely part of the preparations for his canonization. Of particular interest here are the references to EC because the text was probably used in the liturgy on the Day of Saint Cyril (14 February), while the commemoration of Saint Simeon is on the previous day (13 February). Through this exploitation of the theme of Wisdom, the Grand Zhupan Stefan Nemanja was represented in VSN1 as both a *secular and spiritual/ecclesiastical authority* and the focus and symbol of the two institutions. This situation corresponds to the historical moment when the Serbs already had an independent state but did not yet have their independent church, which undoubtedly influenced the choice of the model associated with the figure of Stefan Nemanja and the texts corresponding with VSN1. The reference to the *Law/Covenant of Saint Simeon* in his Vita, however, clearly points to the later separation of the duties/powers between his sons – the future *symphony and diarchy* in the rule of Serbia, whose adherent Saint Sava was.

The corresponding image – Stefan Nemanja – Saint Simeon as the *ideal ruler*, an incarnation of “institutional” and personal Wisdom (= *ruler-monk*), being at the same time a *teacher of Faith/Church*, can be found in one unique portrait of the Grand Zhupan from the narthex of King Radoslav in Studenica, where he is painted in monastic clothing with a royal *stemma* over the cowl (*kukulion*) and a scroll in his hand, i.e. with the iconographic characteristics of a monk, a ruler, and a teacher of the faith. The erased inscription is probably a quotation from Psalm 34 (Slav. 33): 11: “Come, my children, listen to me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord” (see note 15). This correspondence is hardly accidental, given that the iconography in this part of the church was presumably a deed of Saint Sava (cf. Војводић, 2007; Цветковић, 1998).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Birnbaum, H. (1984–1985). Old Rus' and the Orthodox Balkans: Differences in kind: Extent, and significance of the earlier and the later cultural impact. *Cyrrillomethodianum*, 8–9, 1–15.
- Brzozowska, Z. (2015). *Sofia – upersonifikowana Mądrość Boża: Dzieje wyobrażeń w kręgu kultury bizantyńsko-słowiańskiej*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Ewig, E. (1975). Das Bild Constantins des Großen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters. In H. Hunger (Ed.), *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild* (pp. 133–192). Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Hafner, S. (1964). *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie*. Oldenbourg.
- Karajanopoulos, J. (1975). Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult. In H. Hunger (Ed.), *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild* (pp. 109–132). Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Meyendorff, J. (1987). Wisdom–Sophia: Contrasting approaches to a complex theme. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41, 391–401. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1291575>
- Miltenov, Y. (2017). A note on the adoption of the Byzantine models in medieval Bulgaria (9th–10th centuries): The case of Chrysorrhoea's collection. *Studia Ceranea*, 7, 161–167. <https://doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.07.11>
- Miltenov, Y., & Dimitrova, A. (2018). The *Versione Slavica* database and the Old Church Slavonic translations of John Chrysostom's homilies. In L. Sels, J. Fuchsbauer, V. Tomelleri, & I. de Vos (Eds.), *Editing medieval texts from a different angle: Slavonic and multilingual traditions: Together with Francis J. Thomson's bibliography and checklist of Slavonic translations* (pp. 213–224). Peeters Publishers.
- Naumow, A. (1983). *Biblia w strukturze artystycznej utworów cerkiewnosłowiańskich*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Naumow, A. (2004). *Idea – imagine – testo: Studi sulla letteratura slavo-ecclesiastica* (K. Stantchev, Ed.). Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Nicol, D. (1991). Byzantine political thought. In J. H. Burns (Ed.), *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought c. 350–1450* (pp. 51–79). Cambridge University Press.
- Picchio, R. (1958). Prerinascimento esteuropeo e Rinascita Slavia Orthodoxa: A proposito di una tesi di D. S. Lichačev. *Ricerche Slavistiche*, 4, 185–199.
- Picchio, R. (1977). The function of biblical thematic clues in the literary code of "Slavia Orthodoxa". *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1–31.
- Picchio, R. (1982). VC and VM's Pauline connotations of Cyril and Methodius' Apostleship. *Palaeobulgarica*, 6(3), 112–118.
- Picchio, R. (1984). The impact of ecclesiastic culture on Old Russian literary techniques. In H. Birnbaum & M. S. Flier (Eds.), *Medieval Russian culture* (pp. 247–279). University of California Press.
- Pirivatrić, S. (2017). The alliance of Stefan Nemanja and his brothers with Peter and Asen. *Bulgaria Medievalis*, 8(1), 473–481.

- Rapp, C. (1998). Imperial ideology in the making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as "bishop". *Journal of Theological Studies*, 49(2), 685–695. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/49.2.685>
- Rapp, C. (2010). Old Testament models for emperors in early Byzantium. In P. Magdalino & R. Nelson (Eds.), *Old Testament in Byzantium* (pp. 175–198). Dumbarton Oaks Research Library & Collection.
- Runciman, S. (1977). *The Byzantine theocracy*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511562334>
- Shepard, J. (2003). The ruler as instructor, pastor and wise: Leo VI of Byzantium and Symeon of Bulgaria. In T. Reuter (Ed.), *Alfred the Great: Papers from the eleventh-century conferences* (pp. 339–358). Ashgate.
- Sieswerda, D. T. (2001). The Σοτήριος, the original of the Izbornik of 1073. *Sacris Erudiri: A Journal of the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity*, 40, 293–327. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.SE.2.300573>
- Thomson, F. (2009). The Symeon florilegium: An analysis of its relation to the Greek textual tradition and its association with Tsar Symeon, together with an excursus on the Old Believers and the Codex of 1073. *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, 18, 248–308.
- Thomson, F. (2014). Byzantine erotapocritic literature in Slavonic translation with special attention to the important role played by Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones* in the conversion of the Slavs. *Byzantion*, 84, 385–432.
- Vašica, J., & Vajs, J. (1957). *Soupis staroslovanskych rukopisů Narodního musea v Praze*. Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.
- Архимандрит Атанасий Бончев. (2002). *Речник на църковнославянския език [Речник на църковнославянския език]* (Vol. 1). Народна библиотека "Св. Св. Кирил и Методий".
- Бегунов, Ю. (1973). *Козма Пресвитер в славянских литературах*. Издательство Болгарской академии наук.
- Библия или Свещеното Писание на Стария и Новия Завет: Вярно и точно преведено от оригинала*. (1924). Придворна печатница.
- Биярски, И. (2004). *Покровители на Царството: Св. цар Петър и св. Параскева-Петка*. Вулкан-4.
- Богдановић, Д. (1980). *Историја старе српске књижевности*. Српска књижевна задруга.
- Буланин, Д. (1990). Неизвестный источник Изборника 1076 г. *Труды Отдела Древнерусской Литературы*, 44, 161–178.
- Велковска, Е. (1982). Бележки върху библейските цитати в Похвалното слово за Кирил от Климент Охридски. *Старобългарска литература*, 1982(12), 64–69.
- Велковска, Е. (1984). Наблюдения върху строежа на "Похвално слово за Кирил" от Климент Охридски. *Кирило-Методиевски студии*, 1, 159–184.
- Војводић, Д. (2007). Од хоризонталне ка вертикалној генеаложкој слици Немањића. *Зборник радова Византолошког института*, 44, 295–312. <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZRVI0744295V>

- Гагова, Н. (2016). Св. Симеон – вечният владетел на сърбите. *Slavia Meridionalis*, 16, 262–310. <https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.2016.015>
- Гардзанити, М. (2014). *Библейские цитаты в церковнославянской книжности*. “Индрик”.
- Гольщенко, В. С., Дубровина, В. Ф., Демьянов, В. Г., & Нефедов, Г. Ф. (Eds.). (1965). *Изборник 1076 г. [Изборник]*. Наука.
- Гроздановић-Пајић, М. (1968). Ново датирање српских ћирилских рукописа Шафарикове збирке у Прагу. *Библиотекар*, 20(5), 449–460.
- Дагрон, Ж. (2006). *Императорът и Свещеникът: Етюд върху византийския “цезаропапизъм”*. АГАТА-А.
- Джамбелука-Коссова, А. (1985). Законът и Благодатта в Похвално слово за Кирил и Методий. *Полата књигописњая*, 1985(14–15), 109–121.
- Джамбелука-Коссова, А. (2007). Един изряден старобългарски катехизис: Прологът на *Паметъ и житие блаженана отца нашего и учителя Методия, архиепископа Моравьска*. In *Проблеми на Кирило-Методиевото дело и на българската култура през IX–X век* (pp. 408–424). “Проф. Марин Дринов”.
- Димитрова, А. (2016). *Златоструят в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*. Авалон.
- Ђорђевић, И. (2008). Свети Симеон Немања као нови Јоасаф. In И. Ђорђевић, *Студије српске средњовековне уметности* (pp. 425–435). Завод за уџбенике.
- Јелесијевић, С. (2011–2012). У Народној библиотеци Србије целовит препис састава делимично сачуваног у Изборнику из 1076. *Археографски прилози*, 33, 61–78.
- Јовановић, Т. (Ed.). (1994). *Студенички типик: Цароставник манастира Студенице [Студенички типик]*. Народна библиотека Србије; Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства.
- Кемпфер, Ф. (1969). О неким особеностима старосрпске хагиографије: Осврт на прва житија Симеона Немање. *Историјски гласник*, 1969(2), 29–52.
- Климент Охридски. (1970). *Събрани съчинения: Vol. 1. Поучения и слова* (Б. Ангелов, К. Кувев, & Х. Кодов, Eds.). Българската академия на науките.
- Климент Охридски. (1973). *Събрани съчинения: Vol. 3. Пространни жития на Кирил и Методий* (Б. Ангелов & Х. Кодов, Eds.). Българската академия на науките.
- Маринковић, Р. (1979). Историја настанка Живота господина Симеона од светога Саве. In *Сава Немањић – Свети Сава: Историја и предање: Зборник радова научног скупа САНУ* (pp. 201–213). Српска академија наука и уметности.
- Марјановић-Душанић, С. (1997). *Владарска идеологија Неманића: Дипломатичка студија*. Српска књижевна задруга.
- Марјановић-Душанић, С. (2002). Rex imago Dei: О српској преради Агапитовог владарског огледала. In *Трећа југословенска конференција византолога, Крушевац, 10–13. мај 2000* (pp. 135–148). Византолошки институт САНУ; Народни Музеј Крушевац.
- Милтенов, Ј. (2013а). *Златоструј: Старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по иницијатива на българския цар Симеон: Текстологично и извороведско изследване*. Авалон.

- Милтенов, Я. (2013b). Слова от колекцията Златоструй в състава на други ранни сборници. In *Софийската Мала Света Гора като културен и книжовен феномен: Изследвания, посветени на 1100 годишнината от рождението на чл.-кор. проф. Кирил Мирчев: Приложение към сп. Български език* (pp. 110–124). ИБЕ.
- Милтенов, Я. (2014a). Общите пасажии между колекцията Златоструй и Княжеския Изборник. *Старобългарска литература*, 2014(49–50), 28–45.
- Милтенов, Я. (2014b). Особенности на рецепцията на византийското книжовно наследство в старобългарската преводна литература от IX–X век. In *145 години Българско книжовно дружество: Приложение към сп. Български език* (pp. 173–188). ИБЕ.
- Милтенова, А. (Ed.). (2008). *История на българската средновековна литература* [ИБСЛ]. Изток-Запад.
- Николов, А. (1999). Към въпроса за разпространението на някои византийски “княжески огледала” в старобългарската литература (края на IX – началото на X век). In *Средновековните Балкани: Политика, религия, култура* (pp. 74–88). Българската академия на науките.
- Николов, А. (2000). Старобългарският превод на *Изложение на поучителни глави към император Юстиниан* от дякон Агапит и развитието на идеята за достойнството на българския владетел в края на IX – началото на X в. *Palaeobulgarica*, 24(3), 76–105.
- Николов, А. (2006). *Политическа мисъл в ранносредновековна България (средата на IX – края на X век)*. Парадигма.
- Николов, А. (2007). Идея о благочестии и мудрости правителя в политической идеологии и публичной пропаганде болгарских государей в первое столетие после принятия христианства в Болгарии (864–971). In *XVII ежегодная богословская конференция Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета* (Vol. 1, pp. 124–130). Издательство ПСТГУ.
- Николов, А. (2018). Проблемът за канонизацията на княз Борис-Михаил. In А. Николов & Н. Кънев (Eds.), *Симеонова България в историята на европейския Югоизток: 1100 години от битката при Ахелой* (Vol. 1, pp. 214–221). Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”.
- Пикио, Р. (1981). Мястото на старата българска литература в културата на средновековна Европа. *Литературна мисъл*, 25(8), 19–36.
- Пикио, Р. (1993a). Функцията на библейските тематични ключове в литературния код на православното славянство. In Р. Пикио, *Православното славянство и старобългарската културна традиция* (pp. 385–435). Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”.
- Пикио, Р. (1993b). Мястото на старата българска литература в културата на средновековна Европа. In Р. Пикио, *Православното славянство и старобългарската културна традиция* (pp. 137–190). Университетско издателство “Св. Климент Охридски”.
- Поповић, Д. (2000). О настанку култа светог Симеона. In Ј. Калић (Ed.), *Стефан Немања – свети Симеон Мироточиви: Историја и предање* (pp. 347–368). Српска академија наука и уметности.

- Поповић, Д. (2006). *Под окриљем светости: Култ светих владара и реликвија у средњовековној Србији*. Балканолошки институт САНУ.
- Св. Климент Охридски. (1970). *Слова и поучения* (Архимандрит Атанасиј Бончев, Trans.). Синодално издаваштво.
- Свети Сава. (1998). *Сабрана дела* (Т. Јовановић, Ed.). Српска књижевна задруга.
- Симеонов сборник (по Светославовија препис от 1073 г.): Vol. 1. *Иследване и текст [Симеонов сборник]*. (1991). Българската академия на науките.
- Синдик, Н. (Ed.). (1992). *Студенички типик: Цароставник манастира Студенице [Студенички типик]*. Народна библиотека Србије; Завод за уџбенике и наставна средства.
- Станкова, Р. (2005). Старобългарското книжно наследство в сръбски преписи от XIII и началото на XIV в. In *България и Сърбия в контекста на византийската цивилизация: Сборник статии от българо-сръбски симпозиум 14–16 септември 2003, София* (pp. 423–447). Академично издаваштво "Марин Дринов".
- Старобългарски речник: Vol. 1. А–Н*. (1999). "Валентин Трајанов".
- Стефан Првовенчани. (1999). *Сабрана дела* (Љ. Јухас-Георгиевска & Т. Јовановић, Eds.). Српска књижевна задруга.
- Тодић, Б. (2000). Представе св. Симеона Немање, наставника праве вере и добре владе, у средњовековном сликарству. In Ј. Калић (Ed.), *Стефан Немања – свети Симеон Мироточиви: Историја и предање* (pp. 295–304). Српска академија наука и уметности.
- Томин, С., & Половина, Н. (2013). Мир и тишина из Хиландарске повеље: Прилог познавању једног топоса. In *Зборник у част Марији Клеут* (pp. 319–339). Филозофски факултет, Нови Сад.
- Томова, Е. (1979). Славјанские жития основателей монастырей как тематическая разновидность типа пространного жития. *Palaeobulgarica*, 3(2), 55–68.
- Трифонова, Р. (1994). Българската традиција при формирането на общия јужнославјански книжовен фонд и неговото усвојаване по сръбските земи. *Старобългарска литература, 1994*(28–29), 56–61.
- Трифуновић, Ђ. (1979). Удвајање и понављање као начело књижевног дела светога Саве. In *Сава Немањић – Свети Сава: Историја и предање: Зборник радова научног скупа* (pp. 189–199). Српска академија наука и уметности.
- Трифуновић, Ђ. (1985). Дар Светога Духа и словенски језици. *Зборник Матице Српске за књижевност и језик*, 33(3), 545–550.
- Трифуновић, Ђ. (1987). О настанку списка светога Саве у светлости неких агиолошких појединости. *Богословље*, 31/45(1), 65–70.
- Трифуновић, Ђ., Бјелогрић, В., & Брајовић, И. (1986). Хиландарска оснивачка повеља светога Симеона и светога Саве. In *Осам векова Студенице: Зборник радова* (pp. 49–61). Српска православна црква.
- Турилов, А. (1999). Роль сербской рукописной традиции в сохранении древнейших памятников славянской литературы. *Славянский альманах, 1998*, 17–29.

- Ђоровић, В. (1936). Међусобни одношај биографија Стевана Немање. In *Светосавски зборник: Vol. 1. Расправе* (pp. 3–40). Српска Краљевска Академија.
- Федер, У. (2005). *Хиљада години като един ден: Животът на текстовете в православното славянство*. Академично издателство "Марин Дринов".
- Федер, У. (2008). *Књажии изборњикъ за възпитание на канартикина* (Vols. 1–2). Универзитетско издателство "Св. св. Кирил и Методиј".
- Флоровский, Г. (1932). О почитании Софии, Премудрости Божией, в Византии и на Руси. In *Труды V съезда русских академических организаций за границей в Софии, 14–21 сентября 1930 г.* (Vol. 1, pp. 485–500). Русские академические организации.
- Хафнер, С. (1974). Топика средњовековне српске историографије као елеменат културне и политичке оријентације. *Прилози КЈИФ*, 40(3–4), 167–178.
- Хунгер, Х. (2000). *Империја на ново средище: Християнският дух на византийската култура*. ЛИК.
- Цветковић, Б. (1998). Студенички ексонартекс и краљ Радослав: Прилог датовања. *Зборник радова Византолошког института*, 37, 75–86.
- Цветковић, Б. (2000). Фреске у западном травеју цркве Св. Димитрија у Пећкој Патријаршији и култ краља Милутина. *Проблеми на изкуството*, 2000(4), 3–9.
- Чешмеджиев, Д. (1999). "София – Премъдрост Божия" в Кирило-Методиевския агиографски цикъл. *Palaeobulgarica*, 23(1), 67–79.
- Шпадијер, И. (2014). *Светогорска баштина: Манастир Хиландар и стара српска књижевност*. Чигоја штампа.
- Шпадијер, И. (2015). Алгоритија раја код светог Саве и Стефана Првовенчаног. *Зборник радова Византолошког института*, 44(1), 113–126.
- Шпадијер, И., Тријић, В., Ракић, З., & Ранковић, З. (2015). *Српске рукописне књиге у Чешкој*. Службени гласник, саиздаваштво са Библиотеком Српске патријаршије.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(TRANSLITERATION)

- Arkhimandrit Atanasii Bonchev. (2002). *Rechnik na tsürkovnoslavianskiia ezik [Rechnik na tsürkovnoslavianskiia ezik]* (Vol. 1). Narodna biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodii".
- Begunov, I. (1973). *Kozma Presviter v slavianskikh literaturakh*. Izdatel'stvo Bolgarskoj akademii nauk.
- Bibliia ili Sveshtenoto Pisanie na Stariia i Noviiia Zavet: Viarno i tochno prevedeno ot originala.* (1924). Pridvorna pechatnitsa.
- Biliarski, I. (2004). *Pokroviteli na TSarstvoto: Sv. tsar Petür i sv. Paraskeva-Petka*. Vulkan-4.

- Birnbaum, H. (1984–1985). Old Rus' and the Orthodox Balkans: Differences in kind: Extent, and significance of the earlier and the later cultural impact. *Cyrrillomethodianum*, 8–9, 1–15.
- Bogdanović, D. (1980). *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*. Srpska književna zadruga.
- Brzozowska, Z. (2015). *Sofia – upersonifikowana Mądrość Boża: Dzieje wyobrażeń w kręgu kultury bizantyńsko-słowiańskiej*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Bulanin, D. (1990). Neizvestnyĭ istochnik Izbornika 1076 r. *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoĭ Literatury*, 44, 161–178.
- Cheshmedzhiev, D. (1999). "Sofiiia – Premüdrost Bozhiiia" v Kirilo-Metodievskiiia agiografski tsikül. *Palaeobulgarica*, 23(1), 67–79.
- Ćorović, V. (1936). Međusobni odnošaj biografija Stevana Nemanje. In *Svetosavski zbornik: Vol. 1. Rasprave* (pp. 3–40). Srpska Kraljevska Akademija.
- Cvetković, B. (1998). Studenički eksonarteks i kralj Radoslav: Prilog datovanja. *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 37, 75–86
- Cvetković, B. (2000). Freske u zapadnom traveju crkve Sv. Dimitrija u Pečkoj Patrijaršiji i kult kralja Milutina. *Problemi na izkustvoto*, 2000(4), 3–9.
- Dagron, Z. (2006). *Imperatorüt i Sveshteniküt: Etiud vürkhu vizantiiskiia "tsezaropapizüm"*. AGATA-A.
- Dimitrova, A. (2016). *Zlatostruiat v prevodacheskata deĭnost na starobülgarskite knizhovnitsi*. Avalon.
- Đorđević, I. (2008). Sveti Simeon Nemanja kao novi Joasaf. In I. Đorđević, *Studije srpske srednjovekovne umetnosti* (pp. 425–435). Zavod za udžbenike.
- Dzhambeluka-Kossova, A. (1985). Zakonüt i Blagodatta v Pokhvalno slovo za Kiril i Metodii. *Polata küniapis'naia*, 1985(14–15), 109–121.
- Dzhambeluka-Kossova, A. (2007). Edin izriaden starobülgarski katekhizis: Prologüt na *Pamet" i zhitie blazhenago ottsa nashego i uchitelia Metodiiia, arkhiepiskopa Morav'ska*. In *Problemi na Kirilo-Metodievoto delo i na bülgarskata kultura prez IX–X vek* (pp. 408–424). "Prof. Marin Drinov".
- Ewig, E. (1975). Das Bild Constantins des Großen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters. In H. Hunger (Ed.), *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild* (pp. 133–192). Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Feder, U. (2005). *Khiliada godini kato edin den: Zhivotüt na tekstovete v pravoslavnoto slavianstvo*. Akademichno izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov".
- Feder, U. (2008). *Küniashii izbor'nik" za vüzpitanie na kanartikina* (Vols. 1–2). Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. sv. Kiril i Metodii".
- Florovskii, G. (1932). O pochitanii Sofii, Premudrosti Bozhieĭ, v Vizantii i na Rusi. In *Trudy V süezda russkikh akademicheskikh organizatsii za granitseĭ v Sofii, 14–21 sentiabria 1930 g.* (Vol. 1, pp. 485–500). Russkie akademicheskie organizatsii.
- Gagova, N. (2016). Sv. Simeon – vechniia vladetel na sürbite. *Slavia Meridionalis*, 16, 262–310. <https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.2016.015>
- Gardzaniti, M. (2014). *Bibleiskie tsitaty v tserkovnoslavianskoĭ knizhnosti*. "Indrik".
- Golyshenko, V. S., Dubrovina, V. F., Dem'ianov, V. G., & Nefedov, G. F. (Eds.). (1965). *Izbornik 1076 z.* [Izbornik]. Nauka.

- Grozdanović-Pajić, M. (1968). Novo datiranje srpskih ćirilskih rukopisa Šafarikove zbirke u Pragu. *Bibliotekar*, 20(5), 449–460.
- Hafner, S. (1964). *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie*. Oldenbourg.
- Hafner, S. (1974). Topika srednjovekovne srpske istoriografije kao elemenat kulturne i političke orijentacije. *Prilozi KJIF*, 40(3–4), 167–178.
- Jelesijević, S. (2011–2012). U Narodnoj biblioteci Srbije celovit prepis sastava delimično sačuvanog u Izborniku iz 1076. *Arheografski prilozi*, 33, 61–78.
- Jovanović, T. (Ed.). (1994). *Studenički tipik: Carostavnik manastira Studenice [Studenički tipik]*. Narodna biblioteka Srbije; Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
- Karajanopoulos, J. (1975). Konstantin der Große und der Kaiserkult. In H. Hunger (Ed.), *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild* (pp. 109–132). Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Kempfer, F. (1969). O nekim osobenostima starosrpske haliografije: Osvrt na prva žitija Simeona Nemanje. *Istorijski glasnik*, 1969(2), 29–52.
- Khunger, K. (2000). *Imperiia na novo sredishte: Khristiianskiiat dukh na vizantiiskata kultura*. LIK.
- Kliment Okhridski. (1970). *Sūbrani sūchineniia: Vol. 1. Poucheniia i slova* (B. Angelov, K. Kuev, & K. Kodov, Eds.). Būlgarskata akademiia na naukite.
- Kliment Okhridski. (1973). *Sūbrani sūchineniia: Vol. 3. Prostranni zhitii na Kiril i Metodii* (B. Angelov & K. Kodov, Eds.). Būlgarskata akademiia na naukite.
- Marinković, R. (1979). Istorija nastanka Života gospodina Simeona od svetoga Save. In *Sava Nemanjić – Sveti Sava: Istorija i predanje: Zbornik radova naučnog skupa SANU* (pp. 201–213). Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Marjanović-Dušanić, S. (1997). *Vladarska ideologija Nemanica: Diplomatička studija*. Srpska književna zadruga.
- Marjanović-Dušanić, S. (2002). Rex imago Dei: O srpskoj preradi Agapitovog vladarskog ogledala. In *Treća jugoslovenska konferencija vizantologa, Kruševac, 10–13. maj 2000* (pp. 135–148). Vizantološki institut SANU; Narodni Muzej Kruševac.
- Meyendorff, J. (1987). Wisdom–Sophia: Contrasting approaches to a complex theme. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41, 391–401. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1291575>
- Miltenov, I. (2013a). *Zlatostruī: Starobūlgarski khomiletichen svod, sūzdaten po initsiativa na būlgarskiia tsar Simeon: Tekstologichno i izvorovedsko izsledvane*. Avalon.
- Miltenov, I. (2013b). Slova ot kolektsiia Zlatostruī v sūstava na drugi ranni sbornitsi. In *Sofiiskata Mala Sveta Gora kato kulturen i knizhoven fenomen: Izsledvaniia, posveteni na 1100 godishninata ot rozhdenieto na chl.-kor. prof. Kiril Mirchev: Prilozhenie kŭm sp. Būlgarski ezik* (pp. 110–124). IBE.
- Miltenov, I. (2014a). Obshtite pasazhi mezhdu kolektsiia Zlatostruī i Kniazheskiia Izbornik. *Starobūlgarska literatura, 2014*(49–50), 28–45.
- Miltenov, I. (2014b). Osobenosti na retseptsiia na vizantiiskoto knizhovno nasledstvo v starobūlgarskata prevodna literatura ot IX–X vek. In *145 godini Būlgarsko knizhovno druzhestvo: Prilozhenie kŭm sp. Būlgarski ezik* (pp. 173–188). IBE.

- Miltenov, Y. (2017). A note on the adoption of the Byzantine models in medieval Bulgaria (9th–10th centuries): The case of Chrysorrhoeas collection. *Studia Ceranea*, 7, 161–167. <https://doi.org/10.18778/2084-140X.07.11>
- Miltenov, Y., & Dimitrova, A. (2018). The *Versione Slavica* database and the Old Church Slavonic translations of John Chrysostom's homilies. In L. Sels, J. Fuchsbaauer, V. Tomelleri, & I. de Vos (Eds.), *Editing medieval texts from a different angle: Slavonic and multilingual traditions: Together with Francis J. Thomson's bibliography and checklist of Slavonic translations* (pp. 213–224). Peeters Publishers.
- Miltenova, A. (Ed.). (2008). *Istoriia na bŭlgarskata srednovekovna literatura* [IBSL]. Iztok-Zapad.
- Naumow, A. (1983). *Biblia w strukturze artystycznej utworów cerkiewnosłowiańskich*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Naumow, A. (2004). *Idea – immagine – testo: Studi sulla letteratura slavo-ecclesiastica* (K. Stantchev, Ed.). Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Nicol, D. (1991). Byzantine political thought. In J. H. Burns (Ed.), *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought c. 350–1450* (pp. 51–79). Cambridge University Press.
- Nikolov, A. (1999). Kŭm voprosa za razprostranienieto na niakoi vizantiiski "kniazheski ogedala" v starobŭlgarskata literatura (kraia na IX – nachaloto na X vek). In *Srednovekovnite Balkani: Politika, religia, kultura* (pp. 74–88). Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite.
- Nikolov, A. (2000). Starobŭlgarskiiat prevod na *Izlozhenie na pouchitelni glavi kŭm imperator Iustinian* ot diakon Agapit i razvitieto na idejata za dostoinstvoto na bŭlgarskiia vladetel v kraia na IX – nachaloto na X v. *Palaebulgarica*, 24(3), 76–105.
- Nikolov, A. (2006). *Politicheska misŭl v rannosrednovekovna Bŭlgariia (sredata na IX – kraia na X vek)*. Paradigma.
- Nikolov, A. (2007). Ideia o blagochestii i mudrosti pravitelia v politicheskoj ideologii i publicnoŭ propagande bolgarskikh gosudareŭ v pervoe stoletie posle priniatiia khristianstva v Bŭlgarii (864–971). In *XVII ezhegodnaia bogoslovskaiia konferentsiia Pravoslavnogo Sviato-Tikhonovskogo humanitarnogo universiteta* (Vol. 1, pp. 124–130). Izdatel'stvo PSTGU.
- Nikolov, A. (2018). Problemŭt za kanonizatsiata na kniaz Boris-Mikhail. In A. Nikolov & N. Kŭnev (Eds.), *Simeonova Bŭlgariia v istoriata na evropeŭskiiia IUGoiztok: 1100 godini ot bitkata pri Akheloŭ* (Vol. 1, pp. 214–221). Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski".
- Picchio, R. (1958). Prerinscimento esteuropeo e Rinascita Slavia Orthodoxa: A proposito di una tesi di D. S. Lichačev. *Ricerche Slavistiche*, 4, 185–199.
- Picchio, R. (1977). The function of biblical thematic clues in the literary code of "Slavia Orthodoxa". *Slavica Hierosolymitana*, 1, 1–31.
- Picchio, R. (1982). VC and VM's Pauline connotations of Cyril and Methodius' Apostleship. *Palaebulgarica*, 6(3), 112–118.
- Picchio, R. (1984). The impact of ecclesiastic culture on Old Russian literary techniques. In H. Birnbaum & M. S. Flier (Eds.), *Medieval Russian culture* (pp. 247–279). University of California Press.
- Pikio, R. (1981). Miasototo na starata bŭlgarska literatura v kulturata na srednovekovna Evropa. *Literaturna misŭl*, 25(8), 19–36.

- Pikio, R. (1993a). Funktsiia na bibleiskite tematicni ključove v literaturnii kod na pravoslavnoto slavianstvo. In R. Pikio, *Pravoslavnoto slavianstvo i starobŭlgarskata kulturna traditsiia* (pp. 385–435). Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski".
- Pikio, R. (1993b). Miastoto na starata bŭlgarska literatura v kulturata na srednovjekovna Evropa. In R. Pikio, *Pravoslavnoto slavianstvo i starobŭlgarskata kulturna traditsiia* (pp. 137–190). Universitetsko izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Okhridski".
- Pirivatrić, S. (2017). The alliance of Stefan Nemanja and his brothers with Peter and Asen. *Bulgaria Medievalis*, 8(1), 473–481.
- Popović, D. (2000). O nastanku kulta svetog Simeona. In J. Kalić (Ed.), *Stefan Nemanja – sveti Simeon Mirotočivi: Istorija i predanje* (pp. 347–368). Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Popović, D. (2006). *Pod okriljem svetosti: Kult svetih vladara i relikvija u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*. Balkanološki institut SANU.
- Rapp, C. (1998). Imperial ideology in the making: Eusebius of Caesarea on Constantine as "bishop". *Journal of Theological Studies*, 49(2), 685–695. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jts/49.2.685>
- Rapp, C. (2010). Old Testament models for emperors in early Byzantium. In P. Magdalino & R. Nelson (Eds.), *Old Testament in Byzantium* (pp. 175–198). Dumbarton Oaks Research Library & Collection.
- Runciman, S. (1977). *The Byzantine theocracy*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511562334>
- Shepard, J. (2003). The ruler as instructor, pastor and wise: Leo VI of Byzantium and Symeon of Bulgaria. In T. Reuter (Ed.), *Alfred the Great: Papers from the eleventh-century conferences* (pp. 339–358). Ashgate.
- Sieswerda, D. T. (2001). The Sotērios, the original of the Izbornik of 1073. *Sacris Erudiri: A Journal of the Inheritance of Early and Medieval Christianity*, 40, 293–327. <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.SE.2.300573>
- Simeonov sbornik (po Svetoslavovii prazepis ot 1073 g.): Vol. 1. Izsledvane i tekst [Simeonov sbornik]*. (1991). Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite.
- Sindik, N. (Ed.). (1992). *Studenički tipik: Carostavnik manastira Studenice [Studenički tipik]*. Narodna biblioteka Srbije; Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.
- Špadijer, I. (2014). *Svetogorska baština: Manastir Hilandar i stara srpska književnost*. Čigoja štampa.
- Špadijer, I. (2015). Alegorija raja kod svetog Save i Stefana Prvovenčanog. *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 44(1), 113–126.
- Špadijer, I., Trijić, V., Rakić, Z., & Ranković, Z. (2015). *Srpske rukopisne knjige u Češkoj*. Službeni glasnik, saizdavaštvo sa Bibliotekom Srpske patrijaršije.
- Stankova, R. (2005). Starobŭlgarskoto knizhovno nasledstvo v srŭbski prepisi ot XIII i nachaloto na XIV v. In *Bŭlgariia i Sŭrbiia v konteksta na vizantiiskata tsivilizatsiia: Sbornik statii ot bŭlgaro-srŭbski simpozium 14–16 septemvri 2003, Sofiia* (pp. 423–447). Akademichno izdatelstvo "Marin Drinov".
- Starobŭlgarski rechnik: Vol. 1. A–N*. (1999). "Valentin Traianov".
- Stefan Prvovenčani. (1999). *Sabrana dela* (L. Juhas-Georgievska & T. Jovanović, Eds.). Srpska književna zadruga.

- Sv. Kliment Okhridski. (1970). *Slova i poucheniia* (Arkhimandrit Atanasii Bonchev, Trans.). Sinodalno izdatelstvo.
- Sveti Sava. (1998). *Sabrana dela* (T. Jovanović, Ed.). Srpska književna zadruga.
- Thomson, F. (2009). The Symeon florilegium: An analysis of its relation to the Greek textual tradition and its association with Tsar Symeon, together with an excursus on the Old Believers and the Codex of 1073. *Kirilo-Methodievski studii*, 18, 248–308.
- Thomson, F. (2014). Byzantine erotapocritic literature in Slavonic translation with special attention to the important role played by Anastasius Sinaita's *Interrogationes et responsiones* in the conversion of the Slavs. *Byzantion*, 84, 385–432.
- Todić, B. (2000). Predstave sv. Simeona Nemanje, nastavnika prave vere i dobre vlade, u srednjovekovnom slikarstvu. In J. Kalić (Ed.), *Stefan Nemanja – sveti Simeon Mirotočivi: Istorija i predanje* (pp. 295–304). Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Tomin, S., & Polovina, N. (2013). Mir i tishina iz Hilendarske povelje: Prilog poznavanju jednog toposa. In *Zbornik u čast Mariji Kleut* (pp. 319–339). Filozofski fakultet, Novi Sad.
- Tomova, E. (1979). Slavianskie zhitii osnovatelei monastyrei kak tematicheskaiia raznovidnost' tipa prostrannogo zhitiiia. *Palaeobulgarica*, 3(2), 55–68.
- Trifonova, R. (1994). Bŭlgarskata traditsiia pri formiraneto na obshtiiia iuzhnoslavianski knizhoven fond i negovoto usvoivane po srŭbskite zemi. *Starobŭlgarska literatura*, 1994(28–29), 56–61.
- Trifunović, Đ. (1979). Udvajanje i ponavljanje kao načelo književnog dela svetoga Save. In *Sava Nemanjić-Sveti Sava: Istorija i predanje: Zbornik radova naučnog skupa SANU* (pp. 189–199). Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti.
- Trifunović, Đ. (1985). Dar Svetoga Duha i slovenski jezici. *Zbornik Matice Srpske za književnost i jezik*, 33(3), 545–550.
- Trifunović, Đ. (1987). O nastanku spisa svetoga Save u svetlosti nekih agioloških pojedinosti. *Bogoslovlje*, 31/45(1), 65–70.
- Trifunović, Đ., Bjelogrić, V., & Brajović, I. (1986). Hilendarska osnivačka povelja svetoga Simeona i svetoga Save. In *Osam vekova Studenice: Zbornik radova* (pp. 49–61). Srpska pravoslavna crkva.
- Turilov, A. (1999). Rol' serbskoj rukopisnoj traditsii v sokhraneni i drevneishikh pamiatnikov slavianskoj literatury. *Slavianskii al'manakh*, 1998, 17–29.
- Vašica, J., & Vajs, J. (1957). *Soupis staroslovanskykh rukopisŭ Narodniho musea v Praze*. Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.
- Velkovska, E. (1982). Belezhki vŭrkhu bibleiskite tsitati v Pokhvalnoto slovo za Kiril ot Kliment Okhridski. *Starobŭlgarska literatura*, 1982(12), 64–69.
- Velkovska, E. (1984). Nabliudeniia vŭrkhu stroezha na "Pokhvalno slovo za Kiril" ot Kliment Okhridski. *Kirilo-Methodievski studii*, 1, 159–184.
- Vojvodić, D. (2007). Od horizontalne ka vertikalnoj genealoškoj slici Nemanjića. *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 44, 295–312. <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZRVI0744295V>

"Per me reges regnant..." (Prz 8, 15).

Temat Mądrości w pierwszym Żywocie św. Symeona Serbskiego

Artykuł ma na celu przedstawić interpretację tematu Mądrości w Żywocie św. Symeona autorstwa św. Sawy, jego powiązań z innymi biblijnymi tematami i motywami, z odniesieniem do różnych źródeł literackich, modeli i wzorów wykorzystywanych przez najwcześniejszą słowiańską tradycję piśmienniczą. Analiza cytatów biblijnych w tekście służy odpowiedzi na pytanie, dlaczego temat Mądrości zajmuje tak ważne miejsce w pierwszym Żywocie św. Symeona i jak ten fakt nawiązuje do przesłania tekstu w jego kontekście historycznym i kulturowym.

Słowa kluczowe: średniowieczna ideologia władców, hagiografia władcy, św. Symeon Serbski, św. Sawa Serbski, cytaty biblijne, mądrość, *Izborniki*, św. św. Cyryl i Metody

"Per me reges regnant..." (Prov. 8:15):

Wisdom in the First Vita of St. Simeon of Serbia

This article aims to trace the interpretation of the theme of Wisdom in the Vita of St. Simeon by St. Sava, and its connections with other biblical themes and motifs, with references to various literary sources, models, and patterns employed by the earliest Slavic literary tradition. By analyzing the biblical quotations in the text, the study tries to show why *Wisdom* occupies such an important place in the first Vita of St. Simeon and what this reveals about the message of the text in its historical and cultural context.

Keywords: medieval rulers' ideology, rulers' hagiography, St. Simeon of Serbia, St. Sava of Serbia, biblical quotations, Wisdom, miscellanies (*Izborniki*), St. Cyril and St. Methodius

Notka o autorce

Nina Gagova (nina.gagova@yahoo.com) – mediewistka, historyczka literatury; profesor w Instytucie Literatury Bułgarskiej Akademii Nauk. Zainteresowania badawcze: średniowieczna literatura bułgarska i serbska w kontekście bizantyńskim; hagiografia; tekst biblijny i literatura średniowieczna; władca

prawosławny w ideologii politycznej; tradycja piśmiennicza i ikonografia chrześcijańska, produkcja i użycie książek; komputerowe opracowanie kodeksów średniowiecznych.

Nina Gagova (nina.gagova@yahoo.com) – medievalist, literary historian; Associated Professor at the Institute for Literature, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Research interests: Bulgarian and Serbian medieval literatures in the Byzantine context; hagiography; biblical texts and medieval literature; the Orthodox ruler in political ideology; literary tradition and Christian iconography; book production and book use; computer processing of medieval manuscripts.