

THE LITERARY WORK OF THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN MISSION IN GREAT MORAVIA AND ITS TRANSMISSION AROUND OHRID DURING THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

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After Methodius' death on the 6th of April in 885, his successor Gorazd considered the continuation of the missionary work in Great Moravia as his sacred duty¹. Unfortunately, he had to face Methodius' fierce enemy, the German clergyman Wiching. This clergyman had persuaded the new Pope Stephen V (885-891) to prohibit the Slav Liturgy and accept the correctness of his teachings. He also succeeded in undertaking pastoral care of the Moravian Church². Meanwhile, the Moravian ruler Svatopluk wanted to settle once and for all this ecclesiastical quarrel and became an eager supporter of German clergy³. He asked Methodius' disciples to submit to papal direction. After their refusal he gave Wiching the freedom to take action against them. The Germans captured about two hundred of the disciples, who were first thrown into prison and soon expelled from the land. Some of them were sold as slaves to Jews and ended up in Venice's slave market. Those who were sold as slaves were bought by the Emperor Basileios I and brought to Constantinople. Those

1. Among the numerous earlier works devoted to the history of Cyrillo-methodian mission one may mention: F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method. Lehrer der Slaven*, Wiesbaden 1960, pp. 63-156; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Brunswick-New Jersey 1970, pp. 105-193; A.-E. Tachiaos, *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι θεμελιωτές της αρχαίας σλαβικής γραμματείας*, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 87-165; A. Delikari, «Η αποστολή των αγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου στη Μεγάλη Μοραβία», in: P. Sophoulis – A. Papageorgiou (ed.), *Μεσαιωνικός σλαβικός κόσμος*, Athens 2014, pp. 125-146.

2. See Theophylact, *Βίος Κλήμεντος* VI 23-VIII 25 [pp. 88, 321-89, 348 Iliev], and D. Bartoňková - L. Havlík - I. Hrbek - J. Ludvíkovský - R. Večerka (ed.), *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, vol. 3: *Diplomata, epistolae, textus historici varii* [Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis Facultas Philosophica 134], Brno 1969, Nr. 101, pp. 215-225.

3. See Theophylact, *Βίος Κλήμεντος* IX 30-X 32 [pp. 91, 433-92, 489 Iliev].

who were imprisoned were later exiled to the Danube area, where many of them died from hardship. Although Gorazd returned to Moravia, he soon left the country, while some of Methodius' disciples fled to Bohemia and others to Bulgaria⁴. This led to a complete submission to German requirements, and the gradual alienation of the Slavic character, together with any Byzantine ideas and models that have been infiltrating the state. Western Slavs lost the chance of an autonomous Slav Church.

In the newly established Bulgarian state the Cyrillo-methodian work found the best conditions for further development and in fact the "inglorious" end of the Cyrillo-methodian mission in Great Moravia would become in Bulgaria a triumph and would influence the life and development of written culture throughout the Slavic world⁵.

The Long Lives of Cyril and Methodius inform about the mission and the literary work in Great Moravia⁶. A Long Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid is also a very important source⁷. The latter was written undoubtedly in the area of Ohrid. This hagiographic text (in the form known today) was written by Theophylact, archbishop of Ohrid. However, it is generally accepted that it is based on other(s), previously unknown, slavic Vita(en), written by one or more of Clement's disciples soon after his death⁸. As for the Lives of Cyril and Methodius, I believe that there must have been two versions. The first (lost?) was the Moravic one and the second was composed

4. See Theophylact, *Βίος Κλήμεντος* XI 34-XV 43 [pp. 93, 499-95, 616 Iliev].

5. See I. Ševčenko, «Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission», *Slavic Review* 23/2 (1964) 220. See also D. Angelov, «Das Werk von Kyrill und Method und die literarische Tradition», in: E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Leben und Werk der byzantinischen Slavenapostel Methodios und Kyrillos. Beiträge eines Symposions der Griechisch-deutschen Initiative Würzburg im Wasserschloss Mitwitz vom 25.-27. Juli 1985 zum Gedenken an den 1100. Todestag des hl. Method*, Münsterschwarzach 1991, pp. 49-57; Sv. Nikolova, «The Moravian Mission – a successful and an unsuccessful result of the activity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius», in: A. Delikari (ed.), *Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs*, Thessaloniki 2015, pp. 69-85.

6. B. St. Angelov – Chr. Kodov, «Prostranno žitie na Konstantin-Kiril Filosof», in: B. St. Angelov – Chr. Kodov (ed.), *Kliment Ochridski. Săbrani săčinenija*, vol. 3, Sofija 1973, pp. 89-109; B. St. Angelov – Chr. Kodov, «Prostranno žitie na Metodij», in: Angelov – Kodov (ed.), *Kliment Ochridski. Săbrani săčinenija*, vol. 3, pp. 185-192, and A.-E. Tachiaos, *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι αρχαιότερες βιογραφίες των Θεσσαλονικέων εκπολιτιστών των Σλάβων*, Thessaloniki 2008, pp. 47-166 and 191-262 (translated in Greek). See also Kl. Steinke, «Die Methodios-Vita als Apologie der Slavenmission», in: Konstantinou (ed.), *Leben und Werk der byzantinischen Slavenapostel Methodios und Kyrillos*, pp. 43-48.

7. See I. G. Iliev, «The Long Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid. A Critical Edition», *Byzantinobulgaria* 9 (1995) 62-120.

8. See M. Jugie, «L'auteur de la vie de saint Clément de Bulgarie», *EO* 23 (1924) [= 1971] 5-8; A. Milev, *Grăckite žitija na Kliment Ochridski. Uvod, tekst, prevod i objansnitelni beležki*, Sofija 1966, pp. 31-34 and 68 (the discussion about the authorship of the Vita pp. 34-71); D. Obolensky, «Theophylaktos of Ohrid and the Authorship of the Vita Clementis», in: *Βυζάντιον. Αφιέρωμα στον Ανδρέα Ν. Σπράτο*, vol. 2: *Θεολογία και Φιλολογία*, Athens 1986, pp. 611-612; I. Iliev, «The Manuscript Tradition and the Autorship of the Long Life of St. Clement of Ohrid», *Byzantinoslavica* 53 (1992) 68-73; V. Velinova, *Kliment Ochridski učiteljat i tvorecăt*, Sofija 1995, p. 9; G. Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien 865-1459*, München 2000, p. 285; G. Popov, «Chimnografskoto nasledstvo na Sv. Kliment Ochridski», in: *Kliment Ochridski - Život i delo [Kirilo-Methodievski Studii 13]*, Sofija 2000, pp. 47-48.

later in Ohrid. The identity of the author(s) of Cyril's and Methodius' Vita was and still remains a debatable issue among scholars⁹. I think that it is almost certain that both Lives were written immediately after their death (i.e. 869 Cyril's death and 885 Methodius' death). The original text of Cyril's Vita was written either by his brother Methodius or by an unknown disciple, while the author of Methodius' Vita belonged certainly to the circle of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission¹⁰. The first texts of these Vita were composed in terms of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in Great Moravia in Slavic (it has been suggested that the Life of Cyril was composed soon after his funeral in Rome). Even if the author of Cyril's Vita were Methodius¹¹, this doesn't mean that he wrote it in Greek, since he knew and apparently used Slavic with the same fluency as Greek. Besides, together with his brother Cyril, he was the strongest defender of the Slavic script. Passages or words from the Vita, which according to some scholars recall a Greek prototype¹², may be explained on the basis of the author's nationality (if the author was Methodius, he probably wrote in Slavic, but mentally translated from Greek hagiographic patterns and current stereotypes, which he naturally had in mind¹³). Methodius was archbishop of a Slavic archdiocese, the first Slavic archdiocese in the world¹⁴ and his flock, for whom he wrote the Life of his brother and colleague, was Slavic in origin. We assume that he wanted to proclaim Cyril's glory

9. For this discussion, see I. Dujčev, «Kām tālkuvaneto na prostrannite žitija na Kirila i Metodija», in: *Čiljada i sto godini slavjanska pismenost 863-1963. Sbornik v čest na Kiril i Metodij*, Sofija 1963, pp. 93-117; V. P. Vasilev, «Kliment Ochridski i avtorstvoto na "Panonskite legendi"», *Balgarski ezik* 19/3 (1969) 229-240; Angelov – Kodov (ed.), *Kliment Ochridski. Săbrani săčinenija*, vol. 3, pp. 5-9; D. Petkanova, «Zur Frage der Autorenschaft der Vita Methodii», in: K. Trost et al. (ed.), *Symposium Methodianum. Beiträge der Internationalen Tagung in Regensburg (17. bis 24. April 1985) zum Gedenken an den 1100. Todestag des hl. Method* [Selecta Slavica 13], Neuried 1988, pp. 485-490; Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters*, pp. 274-275.

10. See H. Birnbaum, «Zur Sprache der Methodvita», in: M. Hellmann et al. (ed.), *Cyrillo-Methodiana. Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven 863-1963*, Köln – Graz 1964, p. 332.

11. See Podskalsky, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters*, p. 274 (rich bibliography); Tachiaos, *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι αρχαιότερες βιογραφίες*, pp. 12-14.

12. See for instance the Greek terms in the IV. capital of Cyril's Life: γραμματικῆν, γλωσσηρικῆν, ἀριθμητικῆν, ἀστρονομικῆν etc. See also V. Vavřínek, «Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje a panegyriky Řehoře z Nazianzu», *Listy filologické* 85 (1962) 96-122; A. Vaillant, «Quelques notes sur la Vie de Méthode», *Byzantinoslavica* 24 (1963) 229-235; A. Vaillant, *Textes vieux-slaves*, vol. 2: *Traductions et notes* [Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves 8/2], Paris 1968, p. 25; H. Birnbaum, «The Lives of SS Constantine-Cyril and Methodius», *Cyrillomethodianum* 17-18 (1993-1994) 7 and 10-11.

13. See Birnbaum, «Zur Sprache der Methodvita», p. 360.

14. According to his biographer, Methodius was appointed to the episcopal see of St. Andronicus (i.e. Sirmium) northwest to Belgrade. For a discussion of the place of his see and his missionary field see, for instance, I. Boba, «The Episcopacy of St. Methodius», *Slavic Review* 26/1 (1967) 85-93; M. Eggers, *Das Erzbistum des Method. Lage, Wirkung und Nachleben der kyrillomethodianischen Mission* [Slavistische Beiträge 339], München 1996; H. Birnbaum, «Where was the Missionary Field of SS. Cyril and Methodius?», in: *Thessaloniki Magna Moravia. Proceedings of the International Conference. Thessaloniki 16-19 October 1997*, Thessaloniki 1999, pp. 47-52; H. Lunt, «Cyril and Methodius with Rastislav Prince of Moravia: Where were they?», in: *Thessaloniki Magna Moravia*, pp. 87-112; Tachiaos, *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι αρχαιότερες βιογραφίες*, pp. 237-238, note 19.

in Great Moravia and Pannonia. After all, the texts written in Great Moravia during the Cyrillo-Methodian mission were only in Slavic. The main purpose was probably the acceptance and the establishment of the Slavic language. Up to Cyril's death the Slavs in Great Moravia knew only the Lives of the most popular saints of the Western Church¹⁵, as well as those who were venerated by the Eastern Church, and their Lives were translated into Slavic during the Cyrillo-Methodian mission¹⁶. The Life of Cyril consequently was giving them information on a saint who acted in their region for the cultural advancement and welfare of the Moravian people. He was contemporary figure and contributed to the intellectual independence of the region from the German influence (even if only temporarily). In other words I think that Cyril's Vita commenced the real Moravic hagiography¹⁷. After all, in this Vita, the extensive narration

15. Clement of Rome must also have been one of those saints. See S. Bärleiva, «Kliment Rimski, Kliment Ochridski i Kirilo-metodievskata tradicija», in: *Kliment Ochridski – Život i delo*, pp. 159-166.

16. We assume that such a text would be the Life of Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki. His cult was propagated among the Slavs by Cyril and Methodius (the canon for Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki is ascribed to Methodius), and later on by Clement of Ohrid. See D. Obolensky, «The Cult of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki in the History of Byzantine-Slav Relations», *Balkan Studies* 15/1 (1974) 13 [= D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* [Variorum Reprints], London 1982, p. 13; St. Kožucharov, «Metodievijat kanon za Dimităr Solunski (novi danija za istorijata na teksta)», in: *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, vol. 3, Sofija 1986, pp. 72-78; St. Kožucharov, «Kanon za Dimităr Solunski», στο: *Kirilo-Metodievaska Enciklopedija*, vol. 2: I-O, Sofija 1995, pp. 215-217 (with rich bibliography); T. Butler, «Methodius's Kanon to Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki», *Palaeobulgarica* 11/2 (1987) 3-8; T. Bătlăr, «Metodievijat kanon v čest na Dimităr Solunski», in: *Chiljada i sto godini ot smărta na Metodij [Kirilo-Metodievski Studii 4]*, Sofija 1987, pp. 259-264; L. Matejko, «The Cult of St. Demetrius of Thessalonica in the Church Slavonic Literary Tradition», in: *Thessaloniki – Magna Moravia*, pp. 217-224; K. Nichoritis, «Der hl. Methodios und sein altslavischer Kanon auf den hl. Demetrios», in: Konstantinou (ed.), *Leben und Werk der byzantinischen Slavenapostel Methodios und Kyrillos*, pp. 59-64; K. Nichoritis, «Unknown Sticherava to St. Demetrius by St. Methodius», in: *The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow*, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 79-85. See also V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, «Les légendes de Saint Démétrius dans les textes byzantins et slaves», in: V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Byzance et les Balkans à partir du VI^e siècle. Le mouvements ethniques et les Etats*. [Variorum Reprints], London 1979, p. 162; V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, «Tekstovete za sv. Dimităr Solunski v Makarievija sbornik», in: *Rusko-balkanski kulturni vrăzki prez srednovekovieto*, Sofija 1982, p. 153; V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, «Sveti-Klimentovite slova za sv. Dimităr i vizantijskata knižovna tradicija», in: *Kliment Ochridski – Život i delo*, pp. 145-151. Among these saints one3 could also include St. Panteleimon who was venerated especially in Ohrid by Clement and Naum. See K. Paskaleva, «Sveti Pantelejmon v starobălgarskata tradicija», in: *Problemi na kirilo-metodievoto delo i na bălgarskata kultura prez IX-X vek [Kirilo-Metodievski studii 17]*, Sofija 2007, pp. 553-568. As to the hagiographic texts that could be known or written in Great Moravia from the 9th, 10th century onwards see D. Bartoňkova - L. Havlík - J. Ludvíkovský - Z. Masařík - R. Večerka (ed.), *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, vol. 2: *Textus biographici, Hagiographici, Liturgici* [Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis Facultas Philosophica 118], Brno 1967, and D. Atanasova, «2.8.2. Moravskata misija i staročeskata literatura», in: A. Miltenova (ed.), *Istorija na bălgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, Sofija 2008, pp. 312-317.

17. Virtually nothing is known about a cult of Cyril in Moravia. There is no available evidence (churches, etc.). There may be a chance that his cult became first popular in Bulgaria, after the expulsion of Cyrill's and Methodius's disciples from Great Moravia. As far as a revival of Cyrillo-methodian legacy in Slovakia from the 15th century onwards is concerned, see R. Marsina, «La tradition des Saints Cyrille et Méthode en Slovaquie», in: *Thessaloniki – Magna Moravia*, pp. 113-

of Cyril's high intellectuality, the offices he gained, the confidence shown on him by prominent Byzantines, such as the emperor and the patriarch as well as foreign rulers, assigning him with important missions (to the Arabs, Khazars and Great Moravia), apparently tried to emphasize his personality¹⁸. This man, this saint was destined to change the future of Slavic peoples just before the end of his life.

Another issue regarding the established form of these Viten is the following: it raises few doubts, if after the unsuccessful fate of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, the imprisoned or exiled disciples of Cyril and Methodius were able to bring with them the manuscripts of the literary works written or translated more than two decades ago in Great Moravia, together with Cyril's and Methodius Viten. That is confirmed also by Clement's Vita, in which his biographer describes in gloomy details the conditions of their arrest. The most prominent disciples, such as Gorazd, Clement, Laurentius, Naum and Angelarius and many others, were imprisoned¹⁹. So, according to the Vita of Clement, it would be practically impossible for the disciples of Cyril and Methodius to carry any book with them. Their release and arrival in Bulgaria was accompanied by many hardships²⁰. The mission of Clement und Naum in Ohrid, directed by the Bulgarian ruler, Boris I, marks the beginning of the second phase —if I may use such a distinction— of the cultural activity of the Cyrillo-methodian mission among the Slavs. Clement and Naum tried to preserve, safe keep and transplant the Slavic culture

119; Jo. Benevski, «Kirillo-mefodievske tradicii v Slovaki», in: *Problemi na kirilo-metodievoto delo*, pp. 61-66.

18. See V. Velčev, «Nedostatačno izpolzuvani izvori za karakteristika na Konstantin-Kiril Filosof kato čovek, mislitel, i istoričeski deec», in: *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, vol. 3, pp. 18-27. Cf. A. Danti, «L'itinerario spirituale di un santo: dalla saggezza alla sapienza. Note sul cap. III della Vita Constantini», in: *Konstantin-Kiril Filosof. Materiali ot naučnite konferencii po slučaj 1150-godišninata ot roždenieto mu – Veliko Tŕnovo, 10-11. XI. 1977 g., i Rim, 12-13 XII. 1977 g.*, Sofija 1981, pp. 37-58; D. Bulanin, «Neskolko paraleleij k glavam III-IV Žitija Konstantina-Kirila», in: *Kirilo-Metodievski studii*, vol. 3, pp. 91-107.

19. See Theophylact, *Bíos Klēmēntos* XI 34-XII 36 [pp. 93, 503-95, 536 Iliev]: Τοὺς μὲν ἀπανθρώπως ἤκίζοντο ... ἄλλους γυμνοὺς ἐπ' ἀκανθῶν ἔσυρον ... Ὅσοι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἦσαν νεώτεροι, τοὺτους τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπώλουν ... καὶ ἄλλους πλείους ὀνομαστοὺς σιδηροδέτους φυλακαῖς εἶχον ἐγκλείσαντες ... καὶ τῷ σιδήρῳ τῆς ἀλύσεως βαρυνόμενοι ... δεσμούμενοι; *Bíos Naóym* (Long Life) [p. 174, 157-161 Trapp]: παρὰ δὲ τῶν δημίῳν τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος, εἴτ' οὖν τοῦτου τοῦ ἔθνους, καθ' ὑπεροχὴν πικραῖς αὐτοὶ φυλακαῖς δέσμοι παρεπέμφθησαν δεινῶς μαστιγωθέντες πρότερον, ὕβρισθέντες, χαλεπαῖς αἰκίαις καταξανθέντες τὰς σάρκας καὶ ἀφόροις ποιναῖς ἀνηλεῶς καὶ κακῶσσει; [p. 174, 162 Trapp]: Ὑμνον καὶ δεδεμένοι οἱ ἄγιοι; [p. 174, 168-169 Trapp]: ἐξέπιπτον γοῦν παραρρήμα ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἁγίων αἱ ἀλύσεις ἅμα καὶ τὰ δεσμά; *Bíos Naóym* (Brief Life) [p. 184, 68-72 Trapp]: ἐκινήθησαν κατ' αὐτῶν οἱ βάρβαροι με̐ ξίφη καὶ με̐ ἄλλα πολεμικὰ ὄργανα, καὶ λαβόντες αὐτοὺς οἱ δῆμοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐκείνου τοὺς ἐμαστιγῶσαν δεινῶς καταξέοντες τὰς σάρκας τῶς (?) καὶ βασανίζόντες τοὺς ἀσπλάγχχνως με̐ ἄλλες διάφορες παίδευσεις, τοὺς ἔβαλαν ἔπειτα εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν, and [p. 184, 78-79 Trapp]: ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀλύσεις καὶ τὰ δεσμά ἀπὸ τὰς χειρῶν καὶ πόδας τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἠνοίχθησαν αἱ θύραι τῆς φυλακῆς.

20. See Theophylact, *Bíos Klēmēntos* XIII.41 [pp. 95, 587-597 Iliev]. See also I. Snegarov, «Černorizec Chrabăr», in: *Chiljada i sto godini slavjanska pismenost 863-1963*, p. 318; I. Tarnanidis, «Ἀντὶ ἐπιλόγου. Ἡ δικαίωση τῆς βυζαντινῆς πολιτικῆς ἐναντὶ τῶν Σλάβων», in: I. Tarnanidis – I. Evangelou, *Μεσαιωνικὴ γραμματεία τῶν Σλάβων. Ἱστορία καὶ διαχρονικὴ εξέλιξη*, Thessaloniki 2013, p. 485.

developed in Great Moravia²¹. Without the original works and translations, they were obviously obliged to reproduce (write) them. Even if we accept the possibility that the translations of the basic Liturgical Books had arrived a little earlier in Bulgaria (either through Moravia or through Byzantium), it is rather impossible that the Lives of the two enlighteners of the Slavs were known in Bulgaria before the arrival of their disciples. The Lives of Cyril and Methodius, at least in their current form, probably stems from the Ohrid Literary School (many scholars ascribe both or Methodius' Vita only to Clement of Ohrid)²². In my opinion Clement was the best person to fulfill this task successfully. If Clement is not the author of these hagiographic texts, then perhaps another disciple of them is, or there was a collaboration between their pupils who were active in Ohrid with Clement²³. The oral tradition at that time was, as we know, highly developed. Clement, Naum and their disciples had certainly in mind the texts created in Moravia and could reconstruct them even reconstruct although partially or enriching them. The Lives of Cyril and Methodius are essentially an encomium to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, a tribute that should be known by the other Slavs, that should become a monument of the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy. The view that Clement was involved in the writing of works about Cyril and Methodius is also supported by the manuscript tradition which attributes to Clement two encomia, *Pochvala Kirila* and (less likely) *Pochval'noe slovo Kirilu i Mefodiju*²⁴. Although these are not historiographic texts, in both the author begins his narration with the history of the mission, as it is described in the Lives of Cyril and Methodius. The tribute and the praise of the protagonists occur only indirectly in the course of the historic plot²⁵.

21. For instance, see N. L. Tunickij, *Sv. Kliment episkop slovenskij. Ego žizn' i prosvetitel'naja dejatel'nost'*, Sergiev Posad 1913 (München 1970); V. Sl. Kiselkov, *Sveti Kliment Ochridski. Život, dejnost i žitija*, Sofija 1941; *Kliment Ochridski. Sbornik ot statii po slučaj 1050 godini ot smärtta mu*, Sofija 1966; E. Georgiev – P. Dinekov – K. Mirčev (ed.), *Kliment Ochridski. Materiali za negovoto čestvuvane po slučaj 1050 godini ot smärtta mu*, Sofija 1968; Kr. Stančev – G. Popov, *Kliment Ochridski. Život i tvorčestvo*, Sofija 1988; *Kliment Ochridski i ulogata na Ohridskata kniževna škola vo razvitokot na slovenskata prosveta. Materijali od naučen sobir održan vo Ohrid od 25 do 27 Septemvri 1986 godina*, Skopje 1989; *Čiljada i osemdeset godini ot smärtta na Sv. Naum Ochridski*, Sofija 1993; A. Delikari, «Ο ρόλος του αγίου Κλήμη και των μαθητών του στον εκπολιτισμό των σλαβικών λαών», in: *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικής Ημερίδας, Βέροια 9 Ιουνίου 2012. Άγιος Κλήμης Αχρίδος, συνεχιστής του έργου των αγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου*, Veroia 2014, pp. 103-122, and others.

22. For this discussion see Vasilev, «Kliment Ochridski i avtorstvoto na "Panonskite legendi"», pp. 229-240, and J. Rusek, «Värchu deloto na slavjanskija pärvoučitel Metodij», in: *Problemi na Kirilo-Methodievoto delo*, p. 615. Cf. Tachiaos, *Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Οι αρχαιότερες βιογραφίες*, p. 14.

23. See also M. Ivanova, «Prostranni žitija na Kiril i Metodij», in: *Kirilo-metodievaska Enciklopedija*, vol. 3: P-S, Sofija 2003, pp. 365-367; M. Jovčeva, «2.4.1. Kliment Ochridski», in: Miltenova (ed.), *Istorija na bälgarskata srednovekovna literatura*, p. 234.

24. See K. Mečev, «Kliment Ochridski i obštoto pochvalno slovo za Kiril i Metodij», in: *Kliment Ochridski. Sbornik ot statii po slučaj 1050 godini ot smärtta mu*, pp. 279-290. See also K. Nichoritis, «Νέα στοιχεία στην κυρίλλο-μεθοδιανή παράδοση», in: *Thessaloniki – Magna Moravia*, pp. 232-233; P. Gkoranis, «Ο Εγκωμιαστικός λόγος του Κλήμεντος Αχρίδος για τον Κύριλλο Φιλόσοφο», in: *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Επιστημονικής Ημερίδας, Βέροια 9 Ιουνίου 2012*, pp. 65-85.

25. See A. Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen. Zum Problem der Rezeption und Transformation (6. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, Wien – München 2000, p. 155.

The author of Clement's Vita follows a similar course. The narration of the action is not enough for him. He devotes the longest part of the Live to a recounting of events and achievements during the mission in Great Moravia and the beginning of the new mission in Bulgaria. His aim was, as we assume, to present this mission to the public and glorify it²⁶. Let us not forget that the Viten have always been the favorite texts of clergy and people (written for their soul-quenching effect).

Actually, Western Europe had already honored the two enlighteners of the Slavs. Cyril was buried with honors in Rome and canonized soon²⁷. Methodius was consecrated bishop of Moravia and Pannonia, i.e. parts of the Church of Rome. When he died, he was buried with great solemnity in the presence of a great multitude²⁸. In the Eastern Church the activity of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission was almost unknown and perhaps of no interest to the Byzantines²⁹. Clement and the other disciples undertook the spread of the Slavic written language and its defence as religious diction. This intensive promotion of the Cyrillo-methodian mission in Ohrid found no strong equivalent in Preslav³⁰. This is why clergy and laity in Ohrid were at that time closer to the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy and were thoroughly acquainted with the work done in Great Moravia through the hagiographic works of the Ohrid School³¹. Obviously, for the same reasons there are plenty of paintings regarding the individual saints of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission as well as the Seven Apostles of Bulgaria in Ohrid and the surrounding area (in Albania also)³². Clement and Naum worked hard to inform the

26. One can observe the same course in the hagiographic texts about St. Naum. See also E. Gergova, «Agiografските произведения za Naum – literaturni iztočnici i tekstovi vzaimootnošenija», in: *Kirilo-Metodievski Studii*, vol. 8, Sofija 1991, pp. 165-177.

27. See *Prostranno žitie na Konstantin-Kiril Filosof* 17 [p. 109 Angelov – Kodov]. About his tomb and the fate of his relics see for instance L. Boyle, «The Fate of the Remains of St Cyril», in: *Cirillo e Metodio i Santi Apostoli degli Slavi. Conferenze tenute nel Pontificio Istituto Orientale nei giorni 9-11 Maggio 1963 per commemorare l'undecimo Centenario della Missione dei SS. Fratelli nella Grande Moravia*, Roma 1964, pp. 159-193; L. Boyle, «The Site of the Tomb of St. Cyril in the Lower Basilica of San Clemente, Rome», in: E. G. Farrugia et al. (ed.), *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Acts of the International Congress held on the Eleventh Centenary of the Death of St. Methodius. Rome, October 8-11, 1985* [Orientalia Christiana Analecta 231], Roma 1988, pp. 75-82; J. Krüger, «Grab und Verehrung Kyrills in S. Clemente in Rom», in: Konstantinou (ed.), *Leben und Werk der byzantinischen Slavenapostel Methodios und Kyrillos*, pp. 105-126; A.-E. Tachiaos, *Κυρίλλος και Μεθόδιος*, Thessaloniki 1992, pp. 138-140.

28. See *Prostranno žitie na Metodij* 17 [p. 192 Angelov – Kodov].

29. See I. Dujčev, «Le testimonianze bizantine sui SS. Cirillo e Metodio», in: I. Dujčev, *Medioevo-bizantino-slavo*, vol. 2: *Saggi di storia letteraria* [Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di Studi e Testi 113], Roma 1968, pp. 29-41; V. Vavřínek, «Cyril and Methodius. Was there a byzantine missionary program for the Slavs?», in: Delikari (ed.), *Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs*, p. 26.

30. See Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen*, pp. 161-169. According to E. Stateva, the work of the Thessalonica brothers and the cult of Saint Cyril were officially announced by the Bulgarian rulers in the Preslaver Synod (893), when Symeon the Great ascended the throne; see E. Stateva, «Za kulta kām Sv. Kiril (v perioda 886-893)», *Problemi na Kirilo-Metodievoto delo*, pp. 702-708.

31. See Avenarius, *Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen*, pp. 154-161.

32. See D. Usta-Genčov, «Sv. Kliment i sv. Sedmočislenici v domašnata ni ikonografija», *Makedonski Pregled* 3/1 (1927) 75-104; Cv. Grozdanov, «Pojava i prodor portreta Klimenta Ohridskog u srednjovekovnoj umetnosti», *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 3 (1967) 49-72; Cv.

Bulgarian people about the activity of Cyril and Methodius and to spread their cult all over Bulgaria³³. The Bulgarian rulers Boris I and Symeon fully supported the work carried out in the new-conquered northwestern areas of the First Bulgarian State³⁴. Thereby, they contributed decisively to the materialization of the Byzantine Slavic project³⁵. In the region of Ohrid the principles of the Cyrillo-Methodian spirit, which affected all aspects of the spiritual and material culture of the South, West and East Slavs, were revived.

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Grozdanov, «Najstarite portreti na Kliment Ohridski», in: *Kliment Ohridski. Studii*, Skopje 1986, pp. 238-253; S. Kissas, «Representations of Greek and Slav Saints from the Central and Western Balkan from the Ninth to the Eighteenth Century», *Cyrrilomethodianum* 9 (1987) 249-255; Cv. Grozdanov, «Sv. Kliment i sv. Naum vo umetnosta na Makedonija i na Ohridskata arhiepiskopija», in: *Svetite Kliment i Naum Ohridski i pridonesot na Ohridskiot duhoven centar za sloveskata prosveta i kultura. Prilozi od naučen sobir održan na 13-15 Septemvri 1993*, Skopje 1995, pp. 31-43; Cv. Grozdanov, «Saint Constantin-Cyrille et Saint Méthode dans la peinture byzantine des pays balkaniques», in: *Thessaloniki – Magna Moravia*, pp. 319-345; Cv. Grozdanov, «La composition des sept saints slaves (Sedmočislenici ἑπτάρημοι) dans la peinture de l'Archevêché d'Ohrid», in: *Kliment Ohridski - Život i delo*, pp. 21-41; E. Bakalova, «Sedmočislenicite v izobrazitelnoto izkustvo», in: *Kirilo-metodievska Enciklopedija*, vol. 3: P-S, Sofija 2003, pp. 580-583; K. Nichoritis, «Svetite Sedmočislenici v grčkata tradicija (Novi momenti)», in: *Problemi na Kirilo-Metodievoto delo*, pp. 543-552; R. Ruseva, «Novi danni za izobrazitelnija kult kām Svetite Sedmočislenici prez XVIII-XIX vek na teritorijata na sāvremenna Albanija», *Problemi na izkustvoto* 4 (2012) 20-27; R. Ruseva, «Kompozicijata na Svetite Sedmočislenici v pametnicite ot XVIII-XIX vek na teritorijata na sāvremenna Albanija», *Ongāl. Elektronno spisanie* 6/8 (2014) 83-106; K. Nichoritis, «Τα πρόσωπα των Αγίων Κυρίλλου και Μεθοδίου και των μαθητών τους στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη στους λαούς της Βαλκανικής – (Ιστορικό πλαίσιο)», in: Delikari (ed.), *Cyrril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs*, pp. 176-199. See also St. Rek, «Sled kul'ta sv. Klimenta Ochridskogo v dinastii Komitopulov», in: *Chiljada i sto godini ot smärtta na Metodij*, pp. 176-179.

33. See V. Sl. Kiselkov, «Kirilometodievs kijat kult v Bālgarija», in: *Chiljada i sto godini slavjanska pismenost 863-1963*, pp. 339-358; A.-E. N. Tachiaos, «The Cult of Saint Methodius in the Byzantino-Slavonic World», in: Farrugia et al. (ed.), *Christianity among the Slavs. The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius*, pp. 131-142; H.-D. Döpmann, «Kyrillos und Methodios in ihrer Bedeutung für die Bulgaren», in: E. Konstantinou (ed.), *Methodios und Kyrillos in ihrer europäischen Dimension* [Philhellenische Studien 10], Frankfurt a. Main 2005, pp. 313-327.

34. See Theophylact, *Bíos Kłēmēntos* XVII 53-XVIII 56 [p. 98, 727-763 Iliev], and XIX 60-XXI 63 [pp. 99, 790-100, 838 Iliev].

35. M. Garzaniti, «The Constantinopolitan Project of the Cyrillo-methodian Mission according to the Slavonic Lives of the Thessalonican Brothers», in: Delikari (ed.), *Cyrril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs*, pp. 51-67.