

# **The Case Study of the Serbian Copyist Ioan. On the Development of a Scientific Method for South Slavonic Palaeography**

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**Abstract.** The present research aims to address the case study about the Serbian copyist anagnost Ioan through the use of the web-based repository. The same scribe's signature is observed in the manuscripts Dečani № 127 and № 119, which are also connected by the typology and a similar dating. The goal is to compare the distinctive features of both manuscripts and the handwriting of the 14th century scribes who contributed to the copying. In conducting this research, we will use a new descriptive scientific model, created and tested by the research project team.

**Keywords:** South Slavonic Palaeography, Serbian Copyists, Database, Descriptive Model.

## **1 Introduction**

The development of a web-based *repertorium* that would serve not only as an online organised collection of information on manuscripts, but more importantly as a comprehensive environment for storing, extracting, and intelligently curating their metadata was the main goal of the research project “Fourteenth Century South Slavonic Scribes and Scriptoria (Palaeographical Attribution and Online Repertorium)” № KP-06-N50/4 30.11.2020. In this direction, the creation of a descriptive model of the mediaeval fourteenth-century South Slavonic written heritage was completed to enable the automatic processing of metadata for the internal and external description of manuscripts (Scarpa, et al., 2022).

The database (<https://kopisti.kmnc.bg/en>) presents itself to the visitor in three main sections dedicated to manuscripts, copyists, and the bibliography used to create the various “objects”. The content of these sections undergoes a process of review, data correction and final approval by the team over time to ensure greater accuracy of the information provided. There is also an advanced search feature on the site that allows users to narrow down the results of complex searches. Each code, also called “manuscript object”, is described according to the model mentioned above, which occurs on

the three levels. The first level is the “identification” level, which contains general information about a ms. such as location, shelfmark, typology, and dating. The “description” level contains data about the material (paper, parchment), orthography, codex, number of folia, and bibliography. The “palaeography” level presents both a general description of the handwriting and the analysis of individual letters, starting with the canon of the Old Church Slavonic alphabet, reconstructing the specific characteristics of the copyist's handwriting (Čobit'ko, 2008). Indeed, consideration will be given to the external elements of letters, i.e., punctuation, superscripted marks and titles, the internal elements of letters such as dots and dashes, and the alterations of letters such as ligatures or special characters (Panева-Mаринова, et al., 2022).

The structured implementation of data within the online repository leads to the following case study. In the site section of the database dedicated to copyists, the presence of two “copyist objects” with the same name, namely Ioan, was detected. According to the primary sources used, Ioan turned out to be the name of the copyist of the manuscript Dečani 119 (1391–1400), since his signature appears on the prayer text on f. 51v (ll. 11–13) — *помени г(оспод)и раба своєго анагноста юана*, translated *pray God for your servant anagnost Ioan*.

As per the second copyist object, Ioan was also the name of the copyist considered by scholars to be the main writer of the following manuscripts: (1) Commentated Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 184 (1350–1360); (2) Four Gospels, Berlin, State Library, Ms. Slav. Wuk. 3 (1350–1360); (3) Horologion, Plovdiv, “Ivan Vazov” National Library, 48 (1355–1360); (4) Miscellany, Holy Mount Athos, Hilandar Monastery, 472 (1355–1365), ff. 1r–4v (ll. 1–10), 149v–150r, 247v (ll. 8–14), 251v (ll. 8–20), 262r (ll. 2–20) to 262v; (5) De fide Orthodoxa of John of Damascus, Holy Mount Athos, Hilandar Monastery, 393 (1355–1360), ff. 81r–167v; (6) The Tale of Barlaam and Josaphat, Wien, Austrian National Library (ÖNB), Cod. slav. 35 (1355–1365); (7) Lenten Triodion, Belgrade, National Library of Serbia, Dečani 63 (1360–1370), ff. 86r–164v, 172r–187v, 267v–359v; (8) Apostolos, Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Pech 21 + Belgrade, National Library of Serbia, 709 (1360–1370), ff. 1r–77v; (9) Pentecostarion, Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Pech 111 (1360–1370), ff. 1r–18v; (10) Liturgicon, Belgrade, National Library of Serbia, Dečani 127 (1380–1390), ff. 1r–46v (Mano-Zisi, 1995). Only the latter manuscript is the one in the list, in which the copyist's signature is found on f. 30v (ll. 12–13) — *помени г(оспод)и раба своєго анагноста юана*, translated: *pray God for your servant anagnost Ioan*. As it can be read, the signature text is identical and the period of production of these Dečani mss. by anagnost Ioan is very closely connected.

Based on these assumptions, it was decided in the present study to examine in detail the manuscripts Dečani 127 and Dečani 119, which bear the name of the copyist. We will gradually proceed with a general description of both manuscripts. Next, we will deal with the palaeographic analysis of the copyists who actually participated in the editing of the two codices in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, using the new scientific method. Finally, we will present the results of palaeographic analysis and comparison, with the aim of highlighting the distinctive features of the texts in order to emphasize the similarities but especially the differences found in the handwritings.

## 2 The Manuscript Dečani 127

The manuscript Dečani 127 is a liturgicon written on paper. It has been restored and currently contains ff. I, 60, I (270 x 180 mm), which can be divided into different sections, as they belong to several periods. Based on a watermark analysis (Grozdanović-Pajić & Stanković, 1995), it can be determined that the folio section ff. 1r–46v was written by anagnost Ioan in the ninth decade of the 14th century (1380–1390), while the sections of the anonymous № 1 with f. 46v (ll. 9–21), anonymous № 2 with ff. 47r–51r, 51v (ll. 1–12) and anonymous № 3 with ff. 51v (ll. 13–25), 52r–60v can be dated to the seventh decade of the 15th century (1460–1470). The written area of the main section measures 215 x 125 mm and the writing line range is 25 ll./p. while for the last sections the written area is 200 x 135 mm, with 24 ll./p. for each folios.

The manuscript has features belonging to the Rashka orthography with rare elements of the Resava one and the handwriting typology is uncial (Mano-Zisi, 1995), with letter size of 4 mm for the 14th century section, and 3 mm and 2.2–2.5 mm for the last two sections.

Regarding the dating of the 14th century section, a fundamental element that needs to be mentioned is the name of Archbishop Sim(e)on (1383–1388), the likely commissioner of the codex, in the part dedicated to prayers on f. 30v (ll. 2): *помени г(оспољи)и архиеп(и)ску симона*. As mentioned before, on the same folios the copyist signature was placed, after the mention of the Archbishop. Ioan with “anagnost” as his title, a synonym for *dyak*, used to explain that the copyist was a cleric in the first of the minor orders who was in charge of reading lessons aloud in the liturgy.

### 2.1 Anagnost Ioan

The palaeographic analysis of the copyist's handwriting is conducted on the first 25 manuscript folia, recto and verso, for the calculation of the frequency of certain features. A total of 1304 punctuation marks can be found out of 1250 writing lines and this implies that there are 1.04 marks on average per line. The dot is almost exclusively used in the manuscript (84.20%), interspersed with the comma (10.51%). Interpuncts (0.84%), colons (1.15%), semicolons (0.15%), three vertical dots (0.15%), three dots (1.07%) and four dots (1.92%) are present to a limited extent. The use of superscripts is generally infrequent but we observed the presence of double grave accent.

As for the additional elements to the canonical form of the letter, such as dots and dashes, the results of the frequency calculation show that their total number is 227. The use of a dot in the horizontal conjunction stroke of the letter *и* is very frequent (61.67%), followed then by the use of the broad on (O) with an interpunct (16.30%). There are only four *ф* with a dash in the middle, two monocular O (O) and one binocular O (Θ).

Alterations of the standard form letters are not present and the ligatures are also relatively few, finding only *а+в*, *т+в*, *т+и*. The *ѡ* (*w+v*) ligature is done according to the geometric type, with a titlo composed by a horizontal stroke, two serifs, and an extension dash on the left of it. In the same way, a long straight titlo with two serifs is found

for word abbreviation and numbers, while if there is a letter below the titlo, its shape can be in both the arc-shaped and wave-shaped variants.

Hereinafter, a selection of letters is presented and described in detail. The letter **B** is composed of 5 strokes. It has a horizontal stroke that is shorter than the general body of the letter, from which the first inclined stroke starts, which is sometimes curved and sometimes straight. This causes this stroke to sometimes end in a 2\5 position of the vertical stroke or in the exact middle. The second inclined stroke, which always starts from the first inclined stroke, is curved. **K** is composed of 5 strokes. It has the right curved first stroke starting from a 2\5 position of the vertical stroke, while the left curved stroke starts from a 1\5 position. This means that the upper part of the letter is reduced. The upper strokes are diagonal and no serifs are present. **Z** is composed of 4 strokes. It consists of four strokes, namely the first long horizontal stroke that has a serif, a diagonal stroke that ends curved on the baseline and a long curved tail. **M** is composed of 5 strokes. It has the curved section below the baseline and only the first vertical stroke presents a serif on its upper part. **Y** is composed of 2 strokes. It presents an inclined main stroke and a diagonal stroke that starts from a 2\5 position. **T** is composed of 7 strokes. The vertical stroke of the letter is an ascender, so it's above the mean line, and it has a serif. The first inclined stroke is curved and starts at the middle. The horizontal stroke is straight with two triangular serifs.

### 3 The Manuscript Dečani 119

The manuscript Dečani 119 is a liturgicon written at the end of the 14th century (1391–1400) on rough parchment. It contains a total of 99 folia (207 x 145 mm), of which ff. 94r (ll. 14–22), 94v–99v can be dated not earlier than the 15th century (Bogdanović, et al., 2011). The written area of the main part (ff. 1r–93v, 94r from ll. 1–13) measures 157 x 90 mm, but if for ff. 1r–72v the writing line range is 20 ll./p., for ff. 73r–93v it's 23 ll./p. By contrast, in the last, later section, the writing area and the range of writing lines vary according to the different copyists who interfered in adding parts of the text. The codex has a wooden binding, bound with canvas and leather, which are quite damaged. In its present state, the manuscript is missing the first quire, and the upper margin and part of the text on the first 6 folia have been gnawed by mice.

The text of Dečani 119 has orthographic features belonging to the Rashka type with elements of Resava as well, placing the general orthography within a classification that can be called “transitional”, peculiar to the last decades of the 14th century. The handwriting typology is defined as uncial, with letter sizes varying between 3 mm (ff. 1r–72v) to 2.2 mm (ff. 73r–93v). According to the catalogue of Dečani manuscript collection, anagnost Ioan wrote the whole text, except for ff. 87v–88v that has been written by a different hand (Bogdanović, et al., 2011). As already mentioned, it is a fact that his name is written on f. 51v (ll. 11–13), but an important piece of information that should not be underestimated is that right next to the name a cross-shaped sign was written with the same ink, thus in the same period.

Our current palaeographic research allows us to state that there were eight scribes who contributed to the copying of the entire manuscript, i.e., anonymous № 1 (Ioan?)

with ff. 1r–19r, 20r–21v, 22r (ll. 13–20), 22v–24v, 26v–87r, 89r–93v, 94r (ll. 1–13); anonymous № 2 with ff. 19v, 22r (ll. 1–12), 25r–26r; anonymous № 3 with ff. 87v–88v; anonymous № 4 with f. 94r (ll. 14–21); anonymous № 5 with ff. 94r (l. 22), 94v–95v, 96r (ll. 1–8); anonymous № 6 with ff. 96r (ll. 9–25), 96v–98v; anonymous № 7 with ff. 99r (ll. 1–17), 99v; anonymous № 8 with f. 99r (ll. 18–23). For the purpose of the present study, we will focus on the first three anonymous copyists, since they were contemporaneous with the century we are interested in.

### 3.1 Anonymous № 1

The main copyist of the manuscript, who is considered by scholars to be Ioan, is identified in the present study as the anonymous № 1. He copied ff. ff. 1r–19r, 20r–21v, 22r (ll. 13–20), 22v–24v, 26v–87r, 89r–94r (ll. 1–13). The application of the project descriptive method for the manuscript folia attributed to him was done on the first 25 folia, recto and verso. Starting with the results of the analysis of the non-characteristic letter elements, the results of the frequency calculation of the punctuation marks show that 777 marks are found per 1000 lines, i.e. an average of 0.77 marks per line. The interpunct is almost exclusively used in the manuscript (71.81%), interspersed then with the comma (19.05%). There is a limited presence of dots (1.80%), colons (0.90%) and three dots (6.44%). As for the elements found in the top two lines of the four-line system of the writing line, a long straight titlo with two serifs is found for word abbreviation, alternated with the use of the curved titlo. If there is a letter below it, the titlo becomes arch-shaped. The use of superscripts is generally infrequent but we observed the presence of double grave accent, paerok, kamora, and the combination of spiritus lenis and acute accent.

Regarding additional elements to the canonic form of the letters, such as dots and dashes, the results coming from the frequency calculation show that their total number is 309. The use of a dot in the middle of the yeri (**и**) dotless i is the most frequent (79.94%), followed then by the single i with a dot in the middle (9.39%) and the dot on the left stroke of the letter **ș** (8.09%) when standing at the end of the writing line. There is a small presence of **ia** with a dot in the horizontal stroke of conjunction (0.97%), two cases of monocular O (**О**) and of binocular O (**Ѡ**) and one case of **€** with a dot in the middle stroke.

Alterations of the standard form letters are present and it's possible to find at the end of the writing line, in the right margin, the "Greek" form of the letter **a** with the main diagonal stroke as an ascender stroke. Several two-letter ligatures are present, including the most frequent ones **ț+ă** and **ț+ă**, but also **ă+ă**, **ă+ă**, **ă+ă**, **ă+ă**. The **ă** (**w+t**) ligature is written according to the arch-shaped type, with a titlo composed by a curved horizontal stroke and a vertical stroke in the middle of it.

Hereinafter, a selection of letters is presented and described in detail. The letter **B** is composed of 5 strokes. It has a shorter horizontal stroke, from which a first inclined straight stroke starts, ending in a position of 1\2 of the vertical stroke. The second inclined stroke, which always starts from the first inclined stroke, is curved. **K** is composed of 5 strokes. It has both the right and the left curved strokes starting from a 1\5

position of the vertical stroke. The upper right stroke is always diagonal, while the upper left stroke can be either horizontal or diagonal. No serifs are present. **Z** is composed of 1 stroke. It is written in one movement, that is, with both the first long horizontal stroke, the diagonal stroke and the long straight tail all written together. **M** is composed of 4 strokes. It has the curved section written on the baseline and it has no serifs. **Ψ** is composed of 2 strokes. It presents an inclined main stroke and a diagonal stroke that starts from a 1\2 position. **Γ** is composed of 7 strokes. The vertical stroke of the letter is an ascender, so it's above the mean line, and it has a serif. The first inclined stroke is curved and starts from a 2\3 position. The horizontal stroke has two triangular serifs.

### 3.2 Anonymous № 2

The second anonymous scribe is responsible for copying ff. 19v, 22r (ll. 1–12), 25r–26r (attribution M. Riparante). As for the frequency analysis of the presence of punctuation, there are a total of 63 punctuation marks in 100 lines, i.e. an average of 0.63 marks per line. The interpunct is almost exclusively used in the manuscript (71.43%), interspersed then with the comma (23.81%) and there is also a limited presence of five dots at the end of the paragraphs (4.76%). As for word abbreviation, a curved titlo is found, while if there is a letter below the titlo, it can be wavy or arch-shaped. The most frequently used superscripted marks are the double grave accent, spiritus lenis, and kamma.

Regarding additional elements to the letter, the results coming from the frequency calculation on the only five manuscript folia show that the total number of letters that has additional elements is 37. The use of a dot in the middle of the yeri (ы) i is the most frequent (81.08%), followed by the dot on the left stroke of the letter ѕ (10.81%) when standing at the end of the writing line.

In these five folia, it's possible to notice the use of the “Greek” form of the letter а with the main diagonal stroke as an ascender stroke, and a particular form of the Ѡ (ѡ+ѡ). This ligature, in fact, cannot be categorized according to the use of a geometric, arc-shaped or wavy titlo, but has an extended stroke connecting the Greek letter omega to the Greek letter tau.

Hereinafter, a selection of letters is presented and described in detail. The letter **B** is composed of 5 strokes. It has a shorter horizontal stroke, from which a first inclined straight stroke starts, ending in a position of 4\5 of the vertical stroke. The second inclined stroke, which always starts from the first inclined stroke, is angular. **X** is composed of 5 strokes. It has the right curved first stroke starting from a 1\5 position of the vertical stroke, while the left curved stroke starts from mean line or 1\5 position. The upper strokes are horizontal and no serifs are present. **Z** is composed of 1 stroke, so in one movement, that is, with both the first short horizontal stroke, the diagonal stroke and the long curved tail all written together. **M** is composed of 7 strokes. It has the curved section below the baseline. The first vertical stroke presents a serif on its upper part, while the second vertical stroke has a serif both on the upper part and on the lower part. **Ψ** is composed of 2 strokes. It presents a vertical main stroke and a diagonal stroke

that starts from a 1\5 position. **H** is composed of 5 strokes. The vertical stroke of the letter is an ascender, so it's above the mean line, and sometimes it has a serif. The first inclined stroke is angular and it starts at 2\3 of the vertical section. The horizontal stroke has no triangular serifs. It's noted the presence of the letter **v** not only in its canonical form but also in the “three-legged” form, that is, with three parallel vertical strokes.

### 3.3 Anonymous № 3

The third anonymous scribe copied only ff. 87v-88v (attribution M. Riparante). As for the punctuation marks in the manuscript, the results come from the frequency calculation for the only three manuscript folia. On 69 lines, a total of 73 punctuation marks can be found, i.e. an average of 1.05 marks per line. The comma is used in the manuscript (54.79%), interspersed then with the dot (35.62%) and three dots (9.59%). The usage of superscripts is very frequent when it comes to the double grave accent, but a small presence of paerok and the combination of spiritus lenis and acute accent should be noted. As for word abbreviation, the only type of titlo that can be found is the wavy one, both with or without a letter below.

Regarding additional elements to the canonical form of the letter, the results coming from the frequency calculation on the only three manuscript folia show that the use of a dot in the horizontal stroke of conjunction of the iotated a (**ta**) is the most frequent (80%), with just one case of monocular O (**O**).

Several two-letter ligatures are present, including the most frequent ones **v+k**, **a+v**, and **v+n**. The **w** (**w+v**) ligature is written according to the arch-shaped type, with a titlo composed by a curved horizontal stroke and a vertical stroke in the middle of it.

Hereinafter, a selection of letters is presented and described in detail. The letter **B** is composed of 5 strokes. It has a shorter horizontal stroke, from which a first inclined straight stroke starts, ending on the baseline. The second inclined stroke, which always starts from the first inclined stroke, is angular. **K** is composed of 5 strokes. It has the right curved first stroke starting from a 2\5 position of the vertical stroke, while the left curved stroke starts from a 1\5 position. The upper strokes are horizontal and no serifs are present. **Z** is composed of 1 stroke, so in one movement, that is, with both the first short horizontal stroke, the diagonal stroke and the short curved tail all written together. **M** is composed of 4 stroke. It has the curved section below the baseline and it has not serifs. **Y** is composed of 2 stroke. It presents a vertical main stroke and a diagonal stroke that starts from a 1\5 position. **H** is composed of 5 stroke. The vertical stroke of the letter is an ascender, so it's above the mean line, and it has a serif. The first inclined stroke is angular and it starts both at the middle and at 2\3 of the vertical section. The horizontal stroke has no triangular serifs. It's noted the presence of the letter **v** not only in its canonical form but also in the “three-legged” form, that is, with three parallel vertical strokes.

## **4 Scientific Method**

The descriptive model of our research project Kopisti14 is based on the letter canon of the Old Church Slavonic alphabet, taken from what is described in detail in Čobit'ko's manual. The choice of this particular work can be explained by the fact that, from the very beginning, we considered it necessary to focus our attention on how each individual letter was written, in order to trace and describe the number of strokes that were written by each copyist and their sequence. This has allowed us to understand the peculiar characteristics of each individual copyist and to create terms of comparison between different handwritings.

Since one of the goals of our method is to be effective and easily usable by all scholars in the field of palaeography, we set necessary conditions accrued through experimentation and testing, such as using only 25 manuscript folia for the frequency calculation of specific marks, for example punctuation. This type of calculation is given not only to analyse the handwriting of the copyist, but also to understand whether or not the features found are frequent for that particular historical period in which the manuscript is dated as well as the scriptorium to which it belongs. Consequently, for example, comparing the data could provide an opportunity to more specifically categorize codices and re-date them, assign them a particular literary centre, or even just indicate whether the text is written in uncial or semi-uncial.

With regard to the terminology used in the method, it was decided to start from the terms used by typography and modify them for letters in medieval manuscripts. This is why, for example, we have often referred to concepts such as ascending and descending strokes, within a four-line system that is typical of old manuscripts.

## **5 Conclusions**

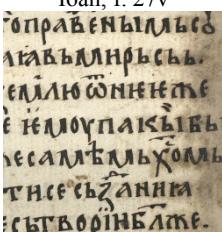
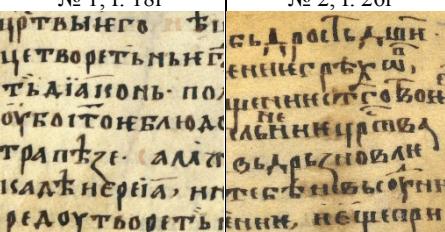
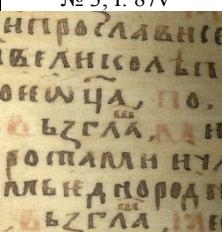
After tackling the individual manuscripts and their 14<sup>th</sup>-century copyists separately, the results of the palaeographic analysis need to be compared. With regard to external elements, we note that the dot is the most frequent punctuation mark for the copyist Ioan, in contrast to the two other anonymous copyists № 1 and № 2 who almost exclusively use the interpunct to indicate pauses. The situation appears different if we consider the three papers of the anonymous copyist manuscript № 3, since the comma is the most frequently used mark. If, on the other hand, we assume the use of letters with an added dot, it can be shown that for the copyist Ioan and the third anonymous copyist there is frequent use of a dot in the horizontal conjunction stroke of the letter *ia*, whereas for the first and second anonymous copyist of the manuscript Dečani 119 it's more used the dot in the middle of the *yeri* (*и*) dotless *i*. About the *ѡ* (*w+r*) ligature, the types are various: for the copyist Ioan, the ligature is done according to the geometric type, with a titlo composed by a horizontal stroke, two serifs, and an extension dash on the left of it. For the first anonymous, it is written according to the arch-shaped type, with a titlo composed by a curved horizontal stroke and a vertical stroke in the middle of it, while for the second anonymous the particular form of the *ѡ* cannot be properly categorised, but it has an extended stroke connecting the Greek letter omega to the Greek letter tau.

Lastly, the ſ ligature is written according to the arch-shaped type for the third anonymous copyist.

In an attempt to describe the comparison between the letters, we have decided to choose the letter ſ, as it is the most representative and peculiar in its variability in the length of the horizontal stroke and the shape of the tail. As we observe from the table below (Table. 1), the presence of a triangular serif in the horizontal stroke distinguishes it, making it shorter or longer. The tail shape could be long and curved, as in the case of anagnost Ioan and the second anonymous, but also long and straight as for the first anonymous or even short and curved for the last copyist. One of the major differences that we also have to examine is the way the stroke was actually traced to write the letter, and while for anagnost Ioan, the letter consists of four distinct strokes, the same cannot be said for the other copyists who traced the letter in a single movement.

**Table 1.** The letter ſ of the four copyists examined.

Source: Department of Archaeography, National Library of Serbia.

Ms. Dečani 127, Ioan, f. 27v	Ms. Dečani 119, Anon. № 1, f. 18r	Ms. Dečani 119, Anon. № 2, f. 26r	Ms. Dečani 119, Anon. № 3, f. 87v
			

Through a careful inspection of the handwriting, it is important to highlight the mannerism that the copyist Ioan assumes in writing a horizontal dash-shaped stroke at the top of the vertical stroke. This feature is not found in the other copyists, and the reason for this is that, in our opinion, it is evident that the Dečani 127 ms. was written using a handwriting with well-defined and loosely personalised strokes, unlike the rapid handwriting assumed by the three anonymous copyists of the Dečani 119 manuscript.

All these elements lead us to think that despite the same signature, typology and mss. collection, the copyist anagnost Ioan of the manuscript Dečani 127 is not the same main copyist, whom we have named first anonymous, of the manuscript Dečani 119. We have reason to believe this also because of a singular element that did not catch the attention of scholars who have dealt with the text, that is, the presence of a cross-shaped

sign next to Ioan's name in manuscript 119. This suggests the death of the copyist anagnost Ioan, a very likely event given the dating of codex № 127 (1380–1390) and № 119 (1391–1400). In addition, the fact that these two manuscripts belong to the same manuscript collection (Dečani Monastery) is a key element in the opinion that ms. Dečani 127 was not the main source, but certainly one of the sources for Dečani 119. The transcription of the deceased copyist's name was a way of commemorating him and that is why they chose not to delist it and to keep it within the prayer section.

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