

The Work of St. Clement of Ohrid

A Crucial Factor in the Occurrence and Development of the Medieval Literary and Educational Centres in Macedonia

Aleksandar Krstanovski

1. Introduction

The Moravian Mission is the most renowned mission of the holy brothers Constantine (known as Cyril in monastic life) and Methodius, as well as their disciples, among whom Saint Clement and Saint Nahum stand out the most. The goal of this mission was to provide the Slavs of Moravia with church books in their native Slavic language and to enable them to perform their liturgies and preachings in that language. To that end, prior to the mission, Saint Cyril created the Glagolitic alphabet, which was a suitable script for the Slavic language, and together with his collaborators, translated the essential liturgical books, beginning, of course, with the biblical texts.

After the Moravian Mission, a large number of their disciples returned to the Balkans, among the South Slavs, where they continued their work. Saint Clement of Ohrid settled in the region of Kutmicheva, in south-western Macedonia, and while working and preaching in the city of Ohrid, he devoted himself to the Christian education of the Macedonian Slavs and actively contributed to the construction of sacred buildings. From this activity arose the Ohrid Literary School, which later became the foundation for the establishment of other spiritual and educational institutions throughout the territory of Macedonia. Chief among them was the Bregalnica Literary and Spiritual School, located in the eastern part of Macedonia. From these two literary schools, a great number of

scriptoriums later emerged throughout Macedonia, and these became the basis for the development of education in the region.

The work of these schools and scriptoriums is evidenced by a series of medieval Slavic manuscripts preserved in Macedonian libraries, sacred centers, and even in foreign libraries. These manuscripts attest to the rich spiritual and literary activity that flourished in Macedonia throughout the Middle Ages.

There is hardly a Slavist engaged in early Slavic literature and linguistics who has not touched upon this topic. This is no coincidence. The work of Saint Clement, the most prominent disciple of Saints Cyril and Methodius, serves as the foundation from which scholarly research in the field of historical Slavic literature begins.

2. The work of Saint Clement of Ohrid

Saint Clement of Ohrid, together with Saint Nahum of Ohrid, was one of the most prominent disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Throughout their entire ministry, they remained faithful and consistent to the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, working tirelessly to strengthen and preserve it.¹ There are no direct sources preserved from the time when Saint Clement lived and worked. All existing sources are indirect and were written in Old Church Slavonic and Byzantine Greek.²

The primary sources for the life of Saint Clement of Ohrid are his two hagiographies: the *Extended Life of Saint Clement of Ohrid*, written in Greek by Archbishop Theophylact of Ohrid at the end of the 11th century, and the *Short Life of Saint Clement*, written by Demetrios Chomatenos in the early 13th century.³ It is generally assumed that his veneration as a saint began and started to spread immediately after his death in 916, when the oldest Slavic hagiography about him was composed by his disciples and followers. Unfortunately, no form of this early hagiographic

¹ Јован Белчовски, *Црковна историја на македонскиот народ (книга прва), Охридската архиепископија од основањето до забраната на нејзината дејност – 1767 година*, Православен Богословски Факултет “Свети Климент Охридски”, Скопје 2006, 21.

² Илија Велев, *Историја на македонската книжевност, средновековна книжевност, том I*, Гирланда, Скопје 2014, 137.

³ Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци и дела*, Филолошки факултет “Блаже Конески”, Скопје 2000, 35.

text has been preserved, but the prevailing opinion remains that the lost text served as a direct source for the later hagiographic and hymnographic compositions dedicated to Saint Clement.⁴

The exact date of Saint Clement's birth is unknown, but it is assumed that he joined Saints Cyril and Methodius around the year 840 and later took part in the Moravian Mission. After the death of Saint Methodius, Saint Clement, along with Saint Nahum and Saint Angelarius, journeyed south and crossed the Danube near Belgrade. They then headed to Preslav, knowing that work on Slavic church books was already underway there under Prince Boris of Bulgaria. Saint Clement was soon recognized as a gifted individual fluent in both Greek and Slavic. After a brief time in Preslav, he left for the region of Kutmichevica (in southwestern Macedonia), where he became a teacher in the truest sense of the word.

The reason he came to Ohrid lies in his refusal to work with the new script – the Cyrillic – preferring instead to remain faithful to the Glagolitic script, the original script created by his teachers, Saints Cyril and Methodius. In 893, Saint Clement was appointed Bishop of Velika (a region in southwestern Macedonia that included the city of Ohrid), and on the shore of Lake Ohrid, he built the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon, along with two other churches. There, he continued his educational and pastoral work. He fell asleep in the Lord in the year 916.⁵

Saint Clement authored a large number of hagiographic, rhetorical-prose, and hymnographic works. He is also credited with the authorship of the *Pannonian Legends*, that is, the extended Lives of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Other works attributed to him include the *Service to Saint Constantine (Cyril)* and the *Joint Service to Saints Cyril and Methodius*. He particularly excelled as an author of rhetorical and homiletic prose (praise and instructional homilies), which can be compared and considered equal to those of Byzantine authors, especially the homilies of Saint John Chrysostom.

Many later manuscript copies of his works bear the signature “Bishop Clement.” In recent times, previously unknown hymnographic compositions by Saint Clement have been continually discovered in medieval manuscripts. Dozens of such works have already been identified, most of which are attributed to him through an acrostic signature containing the name Clement or Klim. Copies of his hymnographic works are found

⁴ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 137.

⁵ Добрила Милоvsка, *Книжевни дејци*, 35.

in almost all liturgical collections: the *Triodion*, the *Octoechos*, the *Menaeon*, the *Euchologion*, and others.⁶

3. The work of Constantine the Presbyter

Constantine the Presbyter was one of the immediate disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Most likely, he was among the group of ransomed disciples of Saint Methodius, some of whom traveled from Constantinople to Bulgaria, where they were well received. Constantine arrived in Pliska as a presbyter and created his first literary works there. It is known that in the year 906, when he translated the writings of Saint Athanasius of Alexandria at the request of Prince Simeon, Constantine was already a bishop. From that time onward, he worked in Preslav in close association with Prince Simeon.⁷

However, recent research provides solid evidence for connecting Constantine the Presbyter with the revival of the Ohrid Spiritual and Literary School, whose ecclesiastical diocese included the renewed Slavic Diocese of Bregalnica, where Saint Clement appointed Constantine as bishop. These conclusions are directly supported by his work *Instructive Gospel*, which was certainly written in 864 – one year after the Synod of Preslav, following which the disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius retreated to Macedonia and revitalized the Ohrid School of literature and spirituality. These insights are further confirmed by his direct collaboration with Saints Clement and Nahum in their joint literary efforts.

Several arguments support the claim that *Instructive Gospel* was not written in the literary center of Preslav:

- The prologue of the *Instructive Gospel* states that the initiative for writing it came personally from Saint Nahum. Constantine is also reliably confirmed as the author of the *Alphabetical Prayer*, which is an integral part of the *Instructive Gospel*.
- The order of the letters in the acrostic of this poetic prayer follows the Glagolitic script rather than the Cyrillic. Newly discovered manuscripts of original hymnographic works with acrostics by Saints Clement and Constantine the Presbyter clearly demonstrate their coordination in literary creation.

⁶ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 143.

⁷ Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци*, 57.

- Constantine's *Service to Saint Methodius of Thessaloniki*, confirmed by an acrostic signature, was most likely composed in the Diocese of Bregalnica. Given the political context, it was far more plausible for the cult of Saint Methodius to develop in this region rather than in Preslav. It is known that the Moravian Mission of the two brothers served the interests of Byzantium and at times Rome, which, at the time, was indirectly contrary to Bulgarian political goals. The cult of Saint Methodius could naturally flourish in the Bregalnica region, where his memory had been preserved, since he governed this area from 845 to 855.⁸

Therefore, this spiritual and literary figure is known not only as Constantine the Presbyter or Constantine of Preslav but also as Constantine of Bregalnica.

There is no information about the later work of Constantine the Presbyter. His most renowned work is the aforementioned *Instructive Gospel*, which includes:

- the *Alphabetical Prayer*,
- a brief foreword or proclamation (stating that he began writing at the request of Saint Nahum),
- a *Prologue to the Gospel*,
- fifty-one homilies,
- a *Church Account* (a legal work related to canon law),
- the *Historiki* (a brief first Slavic chronicle from Adam to Constantine, based on Byzantine sources).

After this collection, Constantine the Presbyter compiled another work – *Four Discourses Against the Arians* (a heresy named after the Alexandrian presbyter Arius, who promoted it in the 4th century).⁹

The literary activity of these two authors – Saint Clement of Ohrid, as the founder of educational work in Macedonia, and Constantine the Presbyter – along with the functioning of the two episcopates – Clement's and the Bregalnica Diocese – led to the early emergence of two literary centers: the Ohrid and Bregalnica schools, which later became the foundation for the development of numerous spiritual, literary, and scribal centers throughout medieval Macedonia and beyond.

The figure of Saint Clement of Ohrid remains significant to this day, especially during key periods of Macedonian history. In the time of the

⁸ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 188–190.

⁹ Добрила Милоvsка, *Книжевни дејци*, 57–58.

Macedonian cultural revival, when many figures undertook the task of reviving Slavic enlightenment and discarding foreign influences, figures such as the Miladinov Brothers, Rajko Žinzifov, and Grigor Prličev remembered the great teacher and founder of Slavic enlightenment. During this period, both Žinzifov and Prličev, along with other Macedonian revivalists, wrote in honor of Saint Clement.¹⁰

4. The Ohrid spiritual and literary center

The primary role of the medieval literary centers in Macedonia, as well as later scriptoriums and monastic and church schools in general, was spiritual enlightenment, and thus literacy and cultural growth. One of the main purposes of establishing monasteries was first to achieve personal spiritual enlightenment, and then for the enlightened to enlighten others. The meaning of the word “enlightenment” from the 17th century onwards differs from its meaning in the early centuries of Christianity and the Middle Ages. In early Christian and medieval terms, enlightenment meant baptism and a high level of spiritual perfection.¹¹ Namely, because man is a psycho-physical being created according to the image of God, he has the need to strive toward another kind of light – mystical, spiritual, and uncreated.¹²

In Slavic studies, it is acknowledged that two literary schools existed in Macedonia, which served as centers where literary activity in the Church Slavonic language was developed and from which it spread. These two schools are the Ohrid and the Kratovo literary schools. The existence of these schools in scholarship is established based on their common historical and primarily literary-linguistic characteristics.¹³

Medieval literature in Macedonia originated from the work of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius, and its creative continuity developed un-

¹⁰ Харалампие Поленаковиќ, *Во мугрите на словенската писменост*, Македонска книга, Скопје 1988, 276–277.

¹¹ Петар Хр. Илиевски, “Просветната улога на манастирот Света Пречиста (со особен осврт кон дамаскинарската книжнина)”, *Манастир Света Пречиста Кичевска (монографија)*, Дебарско-кичевска епархија, Републички завод за заштита на културните споменици, Скопје 1990, 21.

¹² Јован Таковски, *Просветението во теологијата на свети Климент Охридски*, авторско издание, Скопје 2006, 11.

¹³ Добрила Милоvsка, *Книжевни дејци*, 131.

der the literary activity of Saints Clement and Naum of Ohrid, as the founders of the Ohrid spiritual and literary school. The affirmation of the Ohrid literary school creatively activated the process of the Cyril and Methodius tradition and the continuity of Macedonian literary development. However, the spiritual and cultural influences that arose during the formation and further development of the Ohrid literary school were not isolated only to the Macedonian medieval space, but in the historical context, it aligned with the unity of spiritual and cultural life between Byzantium and other South Slavic regions, as well as the Russian tradition.¹⁴

The Ohrid literary school was founded towards the end of the 9th century by the medieval writer Saint Clement of Ohrid. Literary activity there was maintained not only by Saint Clement and Saint Naum of Ohrid but also by a large number of their collaborators, students, and followers. Its location and influence covered the southwestern part of Macedonia.¹⁵

More precisely, the Ohrid literary school was established in the Kutmichevitsa region, in Devol, initially with active participation of Saint Clement, and later also of Saint Naum, after his arrival from Pliska. Their main goal was to affirm the fundamental ideas of the Moravian mission for the spread of Slavic liturgy and literacy. The historical foundation of its role occurred within the first seven years after Saint Clement's return from Moravia to Macedonia (885/886–893). His educational activity in Kutmichevitsa resulted in the preparation of about 3,500 students for priesthood, teaching, or literary activity. While this figure may be somewhat exaggerated from cultic sources, it still testifies to Saint Clement's active educational work in laying the foundations of the Ohrid literary school. Later, with the arrival of Saint Naum to Kutmichevitsa and Ohrid, together with his fellow student and spiritual brother in 893, they established the tradition of this spiritual and literary school, which in paleoslavistics is regarded as a kind of Saint Clement University. This created favorable conditions for organizing church life, building new Christian temples, the expansion of monastic life, and the emergence of literary and scriptorium centers.¹⁶ Places where Saint Clement especially worked and created include Glavenitsa and the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon in Ohrid.¹⁷

¹⁴ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 126.

¹⁵ Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци*, 131–132.

¹⁶ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 132.

¹⁷ Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци*, 133.

The oldest manuscripts belonging to the Macedonian recension of the Church Slavonic language belong to the Ohrid literary school. A manuscript marking the lower boundary of this recension is the Dobromir Gospel from the 12th century, which originated in southern Macedonia.¹⁸ This is an important fact in defining the Macedonian variant of the Church Slavonic language and thus the history of the Macedonian language and culture in general. For context, the recensions of Church Slavonic appeared at the beginning of the 12th century, when local linguistic features began to appear in manuscripts, and Old Slavonic transitioned into the Church Slavonic phase.¹⁹ Although Macedonian dialects began to differentiate as separate already in the 10th century, as evidenced by Old Slavonic manuscripts,²⁰ later philologists, including Leonhard Gotthilf Mazing, separated the Macedonian language as distinct based on all these differences.²¹

The Ohrid literary school was connected to: the Bigorski Monastery, the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Slepche, the Treskavec Monastery, the Monastery of Saint Athanasius in the village of Premka – Kichevo region, and other smaller monasteries where spiritual life was vibrant.²² Numerous church literary figures and works emerged from these centers.

The spiritual and cultural life in Ohrid has much earlier roots, when Saint Erasmus came from Antioch to then Lihnid (Ohrid) to activate the original biblical Christianity during Roman rule, i.e., in the 3rd century. With the establishment of the Ohrid literary school, intensive processes of communicative interaction between the early cultural and literary activity in Macedonia and the newly revived forms of Slavic civilizational consciousness were activated. As a continuation, the Bregalnica literary center was also founded upon the early Christian tradition of the Bregalnica bishopric, established in the 5th century, which actively influenced the establishment of Christian tradition until the end of the 6th century.²³

¹⁸ Емилија Црвенковска, “Првобитниот словенски комплекс на богослужбени книги по византиски обред (‘корпусот на свети Климент’) и формирањето на македонската редакција на црковнословенскиот”, *Slověne, International Journal of Slavic Studies*, Moscow, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2016), 202.

¹⁹ Емилија Црвенковска, *Старословенска граматика*, УКИМ, Филолошки факултет “Блаже Конески”, Скопје 2021, 41.

²⁰ Блаже Конески, *Историја на македонскиот јазик*, Култура, Македонска книга, Мисла, Наша книга, Скопје 1981, 12.

²¹ Димитар Пандев, *Вовед во македонистиката*, Македонска реч, Скопје 2009, 84.

²² Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци*, 134–137.

²³ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 133.

The influence of the Ohrid literary school is so great that it extends to texts from the Croatian area, for example: the Klocevic collection, the Grskovic and Mihanovic Apostles, the Frascic Psalter, and others.²⁴

5. The Bregalnica spiritual and literary center (Kratovo School)

The Bregalnica spiritual and literary center operated in the territory of northeastern Macedonia. It is also called the Kratovo School, after the town of Kratovo. This school was especially active during the period from the 12th to the 14th century.²⁵

The Bregalnica region is one of the older spiritual and cultural centers in Macedonia, where a rich early Christian and medieval spiritual tradition developed. As early as the 5th century, the early Christian Bargala bishopric was established, which functioned until the 6th century. At the end of the 6th century, during the global process of the great migration of peoples, the city of Bargala was destroyed by the invasion of Slavic tribes.²⁶

The reformation of the Bregalnica literary center about four decades later is closely connected to the return of the disciples of Saints Cyril and Methodius to the Balkans. However, intensified spiritual and literary activity in the Bregalnica center developed particularly after the Preslav Council in 893, organized by the Bulgarian ruler Simeon. In fact, regarding the council's decision on the implementation of the new Slavic alphabet reform – replacing the already established Glagolitic with the newly created Cyrillic – there was no agreement from Saint Clement and Saint Naum because such a reform contradicted the ideas of the Moravian mission and the work of Saint Cyril. Saint Clement opposed this decision, resigned from the Bulgarian ruler, but retained his episcopal rank by making certain compromises regarding the treatment and possible autonomous status of his diocese. At that time, Saints Clement and Naum retreated to Macedonia and elevated the Ohrid literary center. In this situation, the Preslav center began to take directions different from the Cyril and Methodius ideas, with Con-

²⁴ Лилјана Макаријоска, “Климентовата традиција во македонската средновековна писменост”, *Croatica et Slavica ladertina*, Vol. 13/2, Sveučilište u Zadru, Zadar 2017, 322.

²⁵ Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци*, 131.

²⁶ Илија Велев, *Историја*, 176.

stantine the Presbyter leaving the Bulgarian capital in 893/894 and joining his fellow students in Macedonia. Immediately upon his arrival, Saint Clement ordained him as bishop of the renewed Bregalnica bishopric. The further development of the Bregalnica spiritual and literary center came into the hands of Constantine the Presbyter.²⁷

The best-known spiritual centers of this school are: the Monastery of Saint Prohor Pchinski, the Monastery of Saint Joachim Osogovski, the Monastery of Saint Gabriel Lesnovski, the Karpino Monastery, the monastery in the village of Matejche, Staro Nagorichino, and others. Some researchers also call this school the Zletovo or Kratovo-Zletovo school.²⁸

It should be emphasized that a characteristic feature of the copying centers from this region is their contact with the Serbian recension of the Church Slavonic language. This is a result of the social-political changes in Macedonia at the end of the 13th century with the expansion of the medieval Serbian state into Macedonia. The imposition of the Serbian Church influenced the Macedonian manuscripts to adopt characteristics of the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic, first through the Raška and later through the Resava orthography.²⁹

These centers formed the foundation for the development of the entire spiritual and educational life in Macedonia. Thus, during the Macedonian National Revival, as heirs of the medieval scriptoria and monastic cell schools, church-school communities emerged. It is no coincidence that the first church-school community was founded in 1758 in Ohrid – the cradle of Macedonian enlightenment and the center of the Ohrid Archbishopric.³⁰

6. Manuscripts

The most famous manuscripts from the Ohrid spiritual and literary school are:

- *The Asseman Gospel* (Illustration 1; see end of this contribution). Written in Glagolitic at the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th

²⁷ Ibid., 178–181.

²⁸ Добрила Миловска, *Книжевни дејци*, 139.

²⁹ Кита Бицевска, *Правописни и фонетски особености во ракописите од северна Македонија од 13. и 14. век*, Менора, Скопје 2001, 10.

³⁰ Славко Димевски, *Историја на Македонската Православна Црква*, Македонска книга, Скопје 1989, 323.

century, containing 158 parchment leaves. It was found by Assemani in Jerusalem in 1736. It is kept in the Vatican Library in Rome, Cod. Vat. Slav. 3 glag.³¹

- *The Sinai Psalter* (Illustration 2). Originates from the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century. Written in Glagolitic. Contains 209 parchment leaves. The main part of the manuscript (177 leaves) was discovered by Porphyrius Uspensky in 1850 in the library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai, while a smaller fragment (32 leaves) was found in 1975 by Israeli paleoslavist Moshe Altbauer in the crypt of the Church of Saint George in the same monastery. It is kept in the library of the Sinai Monastery under the signature Cod. slav. 38 (117 leaves) and No 2/N (32 leaves).³²
- *The Sinai Euchologion*. Dates to the 11th century, written in Glagolitic, and contains 106 + 3 parchment leaves. Found in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai in 1800. Part is kept in the monastery itself, part in Saint Petersburg, RNB, Glag. 3 and AN 24,4/15.³³
- *The Dobromir Gospel* (Illustration 3). Originates from the second half of the 11th century. Written in Cyrillic but based on a Glagolitic prototype. The main part is kept in the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg under signature Q.Π.I 55, part in the library of the Sinai Monastery under signature No 43, and part in the National Library in Paris under Slav. 62.³⁴
- *The Bitola Triodion*. Dates from the 11th–12th century. Written by the grammarian Georgi in Cyrillic. Contains 101 parchment leaves. Kept in Sofia, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, no. 38.³⁵
- *The Ohrid Apostle*. From the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century. Contains 112 parchment leaves. Written in Cyrillic but with parts preserved in Glagolitic. Kept in the Russian State Library in

³¹ Илија Велев / Лилјана Макаријоска / Емилија Црвенковска, *Македонски споменици со глаголско и со кирилско писмо*, Институт за македонски јазик “Крсте Мисирков”, Скопје 2008, 14.

³² Ѓорѓи Поп-Атанасов, *Словенски ракописи од Македонија во странски ракописни збирки (10.–19. век)*, Македонска академија на науките и уметностите, Скопје 2017, 28.

³³ Илија Велев / Лилјана Макаријоска / Емилија Црвенковска, *Македонски споменици*, 22.

³⁴ Ѓорѓи Поп-Атанасов, *Словенски ракописи*, 52–53.

³⁵ Илија Велев / Лилјана Макаријоска / Емилија Црвенковска, *Македонски споменици*, 30.

Moscow in the Grigorovich collection, under signature Grig. 13/M. 1695.³⁶

- *The Bologna Psalter*. From the period between 1230 and 1241. Written in Cyrillic, containing 264 parchment leaves. In places, individual letters, words, even entire phrases are written in Glagolitic. Kept in the University Library in Bologna, 2499.Ex.Bib.S. Slav.583.³⁷

The most prominent manuscripts from the Bregalnica spiritual and literary school are:

- *The Strumica Apostle*. Originates from the second half of the 13th century. Written in Cyrillic. Contains 88 parchment leaves of poor quality. At the end, there is a calendar with Slavic names of the months. Kept in Prague, HM, IX E 25, Šafárik collection.³⁸
- *The Radomir Gospel*. Dates from the middle of the 13th century. Contains 182 parchment leaves. Kept in the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Zagreb, III v 24 (Muhanović).³⁹
- *The Dobrejševo Gospel* (Illustration 4). From the first half of the 13th century. Written in Cyrillic. Contains 127 parchment leaves. Notable for its decorations with miniatures of the evangelists Luke and John. Kept in Sofia, National Library of Bulgaria, 17 (79 leaves), and Belgrade, National Library, old collection, no. 214 (48 leaves).⁴⁰

Of course, these are only part of the manuscripts belonging to these schools. Over time, a rich manuscript collection was formed in Macedonia, but unfortunately, for various reasons, many were naturally lost, and some were destroyed – intentionally or unintentionally due to lack of awareness of their importance. For example, many were destroyed with the fall of the Samuel Empire by Byzantine church authorities under the pretext of heresy; some during wars – especially after Macedonia fell under Ottoman rule; others in fires; some after the abolition of the Ohrid Archbishopric by Greek bishops and abbots, aiming to impose their assimilatory propaganda, etc. Nevertheless, despite the continuous destruction of Macedonian manuscripts, in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Macedonian churches and monasteries still possessed rich manuscript

³⁶ Ѓорѓи Поп-Атанасов, *Словенски ракописи*, 57.

³⁷ Илија Велев / Лилјана Макаријоска / Емилија Црвенковска, *Македонски споменици*, 44.

³⁸ Ibid., 56.

³⁹ Ѓорѓи Поп-Атанасов, *Словенски ракописи*, 89.

⁴⁰ Илија Велев / Лилјана Макаријоска / Емилија Црвенковска, *Македонски споменици*, 46.

collections.⁴¹ This attracted the attention of foreign researchers and collectors. Hence, many Macedonian Slavic manuscripts are now found in foreign libraries and collections.

7. Conclusion

Saints Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius successfully completed the Moravian mission. The success of this epochal medieval endeavor was passed on to their disciples, especially Saint Clement of Ohrid, who continued the spiritual and educational work among the southern Slavs. Their work was neither spontaneous nor unorganized but structured, reaching its peak with the emergence of spiritual and literary schools – first the Ohrid School as the foundation, and then the Bregalnica School. The success of these schools is reflected in the numerous scriptoria that gravitated around them and continued their activity later. Their productivity is evidenced by the many preserved manuscripts.

The significance of the Ohrid School was not limited to the Middle Ages but also extended into the period of the Macedonian National Revival. When the Macedonian people began building their modern identity like neighboring nations, they always referred to the work of Saint Clement and the literary richness of the Middle Ages.

The work of Saint Clement and the activity of the spiritual and literary schools have been studied from many aspects. Yet, it remains a field that offers inexhaustible data for study by various scientific disciplines and interdisciplinary research.

⁴¹ Ѓорѓи Поп-Атанасов, *Словенски ракописи*, 5–7.

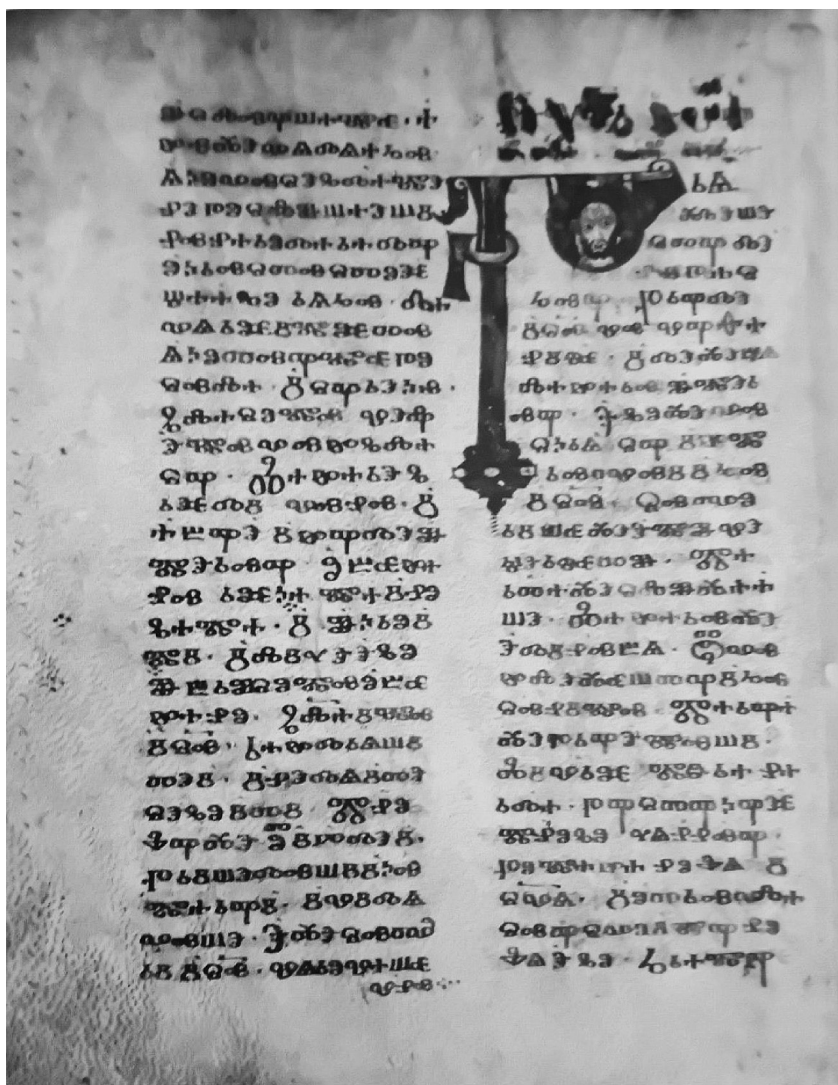


Illustration 1: Asseman Gospel; end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century; written in Glagolitic; Vatican Library, Rome.

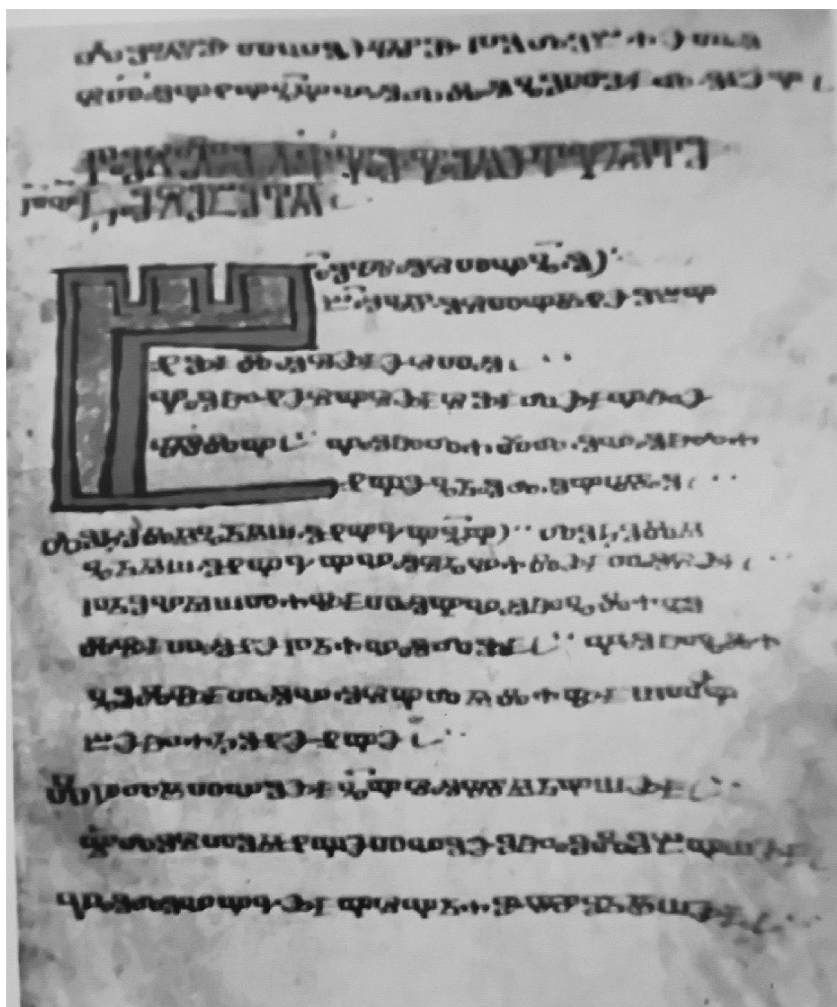


Illustration 2: Sinai Psalter; end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century; written in Glagolitic; Library of the Sinai Monastery.

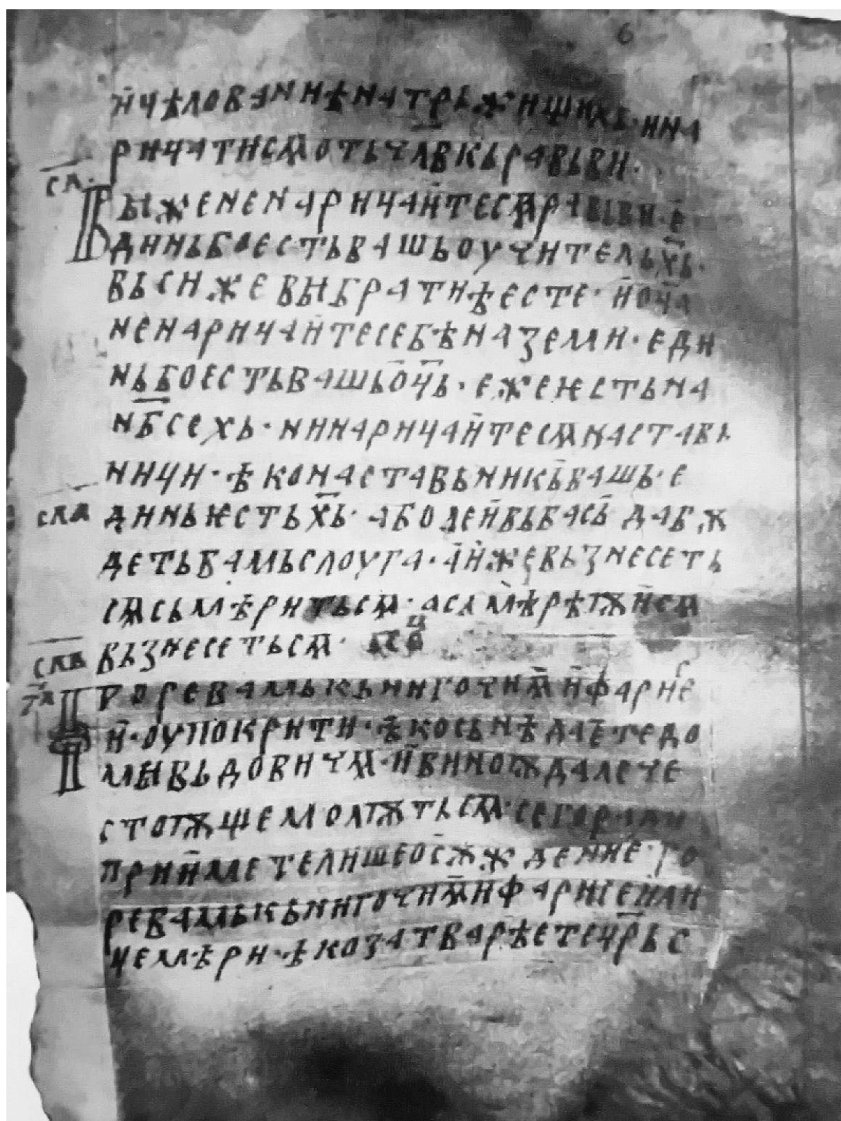


Illustration 3: Dobromir Gospel; second half of the 11th century; written in Cyrillic based on a Glagolitic prototype; Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg (main part), Library of the Sinai Monastery, and National Library in Paris.



Illustration 4: Dobrejševo Gospel; first half of the 13th century; written in Cyrillic; Sofia, National Library of Bulgaria, and Belgrade, National Library, old collection.