

**SYMBOLS: DECIPHERING THEIR SEMANTIC
AND LITERAL FUNCTION IN THE “LIFE OF THE SAINTS”
BY EUTHYMIUS OF TYRNOVO**

Dr. Polydoros Gkoranis

(National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece)

**СЕМАНТИКА И ЛИТЕРАРНА ФУНКЦИЈА “СИМБОЛА”
У ЖИТИЈАМА ЈЕВТИМИЈА ТРНОВСКОГ**

Д-р Полидорос Горанис

(Атински универзитет, Грција)

Abstract: Јевтимије Трновски је несумњиво имао знатан утицај у области књижевности свог времена, завештавши својим наследницима једну ревизију литургијских текстова општег значаја, која се заснивала на један веома озбиљан језички процес. У овом саопштењу даје се фокус у хагиографским делима, а нарочито у Житијама Светих које је написао Јевтимије: *Житије Јована рилског, Житије Хилариона Епископа Могленског, Житије свете Параскеве, Житије Филотеје Трновске*. Главни методолошки циљ је анализирање семантике и функције књижевних «симбола», у Житијама Јевтимија, која ћемо поделити у следећим категоријама: Животијски циклус: (дивљи сисари, кућни сисари, дивље птице, домаће птице, гмизавци, рибе, инсекти), Животијски циклус – митолошки: (аждаја, звер), Биљни циклус: (дрвеће, биљке, цвет), Земаљски – природни циклус: Земља, небо, ваздух, сунце, облаци, киша, град, олуја, снег), Минерали: (злато, сребро, гвожђе, бисери). Следећи корак је статистички приступ података који показују учесталост употребе разних симбола који интегришу књижевну структуру житија Јевтимија Трновског. Осим тога, испитиваће се како и зашто се бирају одговарајући симболи и њихова суштина у формирању литерарне структуре житија.

Keywords: Symbols, literary function, Lives of Saints, semantic analysis, Hagiography.

Euthymius Patriarch of Tyrnovo, undoubtedly, played an important role in defining the nature of the literary production of his era, by passing on to his ancestors an overview of liturgical texts which underwent a careful and elaborate linguistic process (Obolensky 1970, 434–435).

The literary integrity and purity of the Biblical writings, which were indissolubly linked to Orthodoxy constituted fundamental principles of his. His contribution to the

literal production enumerates four records of the “Lives of Saints” and four panegyric speeches, which, according to Podskalsky, there was a claim that they somehow blended into a mingled narrative genre. A common feature of his hagiographic work is the fact that only few Saints had a direct connection with the capital, the city Tyrnovo¹.

The main methodological tools to achieve our goal are:

- The conduct of a semantic analysis.
- The exploration of the literal function of Symbols in the Lives of Saints by Euthymius of Tyrnovo.

The analysis of the symbols will be classified into the following categories and subcategories²:

- Zoomorphic cycle (wild mammals, domestic animals, wild birds, domestic birds, reptiles, fish, insects).
- Zoomorphic cycle – mythological beings (dragon, beasts, demons).
- Earth – natural cycle based on the theory of the four elements of nature: (air, fire, water, and earth).
- Minerals (gold, silver, iron, pearls).

The first group of symbols from the zoomorphic cycle, which will be studied, is that of wild mammals: the fox, the wolf, the bear, the lion and the leopard. After thorough reading of the texts, we reached to the conclusion that there is no reference to the fox, the bear and the leopard, while there are four references to the wolf in the Life of St. Hilarion of Moglena: **НѢКОДА ЖЕ ИЖЕ СКВѢНЫЯ ЕРСИ МЛАНХЕЙСКИЯ ПОФѢНИЦИ, ЯКОЕ ВЛЫЦИ ОУЧЕЖ ОБЕЛЪКШЕ СЯ КОЕЖ (Kalužniacki 1971, 34) [...], БОИЙ ЖЕ ОУТОНИКЪ ЯКО ОУА НЕЗАОИВО ПО СЪДѢ ВЛЫКЪ НЕУЪСТІА ХОДАШЕ (Kalužniacki 1971, 42) [...], НѢКОДА ЖЕ, НА**

¹ Regarding the Lives of Saints, according to various scholars, the most remarkable and distinct work was the Life of St. John of Rila and in particular the third (short) reviewing edition, which was closer to the original text of Euthymius, and functioned as a source for further editions, too. A screed writer of St. Hilarion of Moglena, who was a predecessor of his, because his relics were relocated to Tyrnovo before the enthronement of Tsar Kalogian (12th century). Correspondingly to the record of the life of Saint Paraskeva *Ἐπιβατινή* or New, it is attested that it was written during the rule of Tsar John Shishman (between 1376–1382) and it had already been printed in the first half of the 16th century. Finally, the initiative to record the life of Saint Philothea was taken by the monks of the titular Monastery of Saint Philothea of Temish. See **Podskalsky 2010**, 371–381; about biographical elements see also: **Диников 1980**, 3–21; **Иванова 1982**; **Hébert 1992**, 19–59; **Кенанов 1977**, 112–120; **Кенанов 1978**, 74–88; **Кенанов 1992**, 44–57; **Иванова 1985**, 145–161; **Nikolova 1986**, 253–266; **Петрова 1996**, 83–109.

² The specific categorization is based on certain studies in which the main methodological tool is the frequency of occurrence of the zoomorphic symbols in the Bible and other symbols in general. More specifically: **Houston 1993**; **Linzey, Yamamoto 1998**; **Gkoutzioudis 2013**. Concerning the meaning of symbols: **Roberts 1998**; **Biedermann 1992**; **Whittick 1960**; **Ferguson 1954**.

кѡца ѡтаѡ, ѡси бо иже ѡт влѣков бывшеи **ѡвца** (Kalužniacki 1971, 54) [...]. In the Life of Saint Paraskeva the flock appears once: Застѡпи его сѡщеници си хѡатиствы, ѡради **стадо** его (Kalužniacki 1971, 76) [...], while in Saint Filothea's Life the flock and shepherd was detected once: Вѣнидѡѣ ѡвѣ и всѣенѡ **стадо**. Вѣ немже вы потѣжи боѡ **пастыра** и ѡтиѣла (Kalužniacki 1971, 91) [...].

Efthymius used the motifs of the sheep and the deer in order to emphasize the contrast between good and evil, while the figure of the “good shepherd” in the records of the Lives of Saints functioned as a personification of the good guide of the faithful. In particular, the symbolic meaning of the sheep is directly related to a living being, which has absolutely no negative and evil power, and is perceived as harmless. The sheep were used as a narrative motif by the representatives of both the first Christian Church and the later Christian literature and presented as the most elaborate metaphoric trope of the various narratives enclosing a teaching purpose (Гkoutzioudis 2013, 325). The reference to the deer is also of particular interest due to its symbolic significance in the Life of John of Rila, because the deer is one of the animals in the Bible, which were known for their innocence, destined to get sacrificed (Гkoutzioudis 2013, 81).

In the next section, the group of zoomorphic symbols from the mythological cycle will be delineated, including beings such as the dragon, the beast and the demon. In contrast to the other groups, the presence of the beast and the demons are conspicuous in all records of the Lives of Saints by Efthymius, while there is no reference to the dragon. In addition, all references to the beast and to the demons are illustrated in the battles of the Saints against the forces of evil. For example, in the Life of St. John of Rila, where the beast appears twice: Ииножицеж бо, прѣѡбразѡжще ѡбе, бѣси прихѡждаахж, **сѣѡѣ** различных ѡбразы (Kalužniacki 1971, 9) [...] еже аще не, ѡ сѡѡ шед, ѡзмеши, **сѣѡѣ** тѣ сладкаа бждеть сѣнѣдѣ (Kalužniacki 1971, 10) [...], whereas the demon only once: Сице ѡбо тѡѡ поѡнившѡ сѡ, абѣ **бѣсъ** изыде ѡт чѡе-ка (Kalužniacki 1971, 15) [...], both evil creatures are used in the description of John's attempt to confront their attacks during his stay in the mountain, while in the Life of Hilarion of Moglena they are met in the discussions and argumentations with Bogomiles and Manichaeans: Разврашааще прѡложнѡ и расхышааще стадо такоѡ дивѣн нѣѡин **сѣѡѣ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 33) [...], Распыхаахж сѡ сѡдцы и такоѡ дивѣн **сѣѡѣ** сѡѡжетаахж на нь жѣбы (Kalužniacki 1971, 33) [...]. On the other hand, in the lives of Saint Paraskeva: Иетѣици же и привѣѣди ииножицею же и въ различныѣ **сѣѡѣ** ѡбе прѣтѣѡае (Kalužniacki 1971, 64) [...] and Saint Filothea: ѡвода же ѡ зѣмѣа, ѡода же ѡ **сѣѡѣ** ѡбе пѣѣтѣѡѣа (Kalužniacki 1971, 86) [...], the narration transfers us to a mountainous scenery or to the desert, where we witness their efforts to fight the evil. According to the Judaic tradition, the concept of *the beast* is used with its metaphorical meaning, in order to place emphasis to the enemy's opposing force⁴. It is also significant to

⁴ Out of the 49 references to the term “beast” in the Bible, 39 of them are found in John's Revelation (Гkoutzioudis 2013, 191).

stress that the notion of the “dragon” in the Biblical texts is associated with a beast of mythological origin which in most cases was a serpent (e.g. a snake) and not the common winged dragon known to the readership through the western medieval narratives (Γκουτζιούδης 2013, 69).

Birds, being distinguished into wild and domestic ones, are the next group that is used symbolically. The wild birds that are met in the texts are: the eagle, the crow and the tortoise. Respectively, the domestic ones involve: the rooster, the hen and the pigeon. As can be seen from the group of wild birds, the eagle is met once, in comparison with the pigeon which is prevailing since it is encountered five times in the Lives of Saints. The eagle in the respective literature was regarded as the king of all birds, and his flight caused a sensation of admiration. The appearance of the eagle in the majority of cases signified an attack and had a negative semantic background as opposed to the pigeon that appears frequently in the Bible as a narrative device, and in all cases, except for the baptism of Jesus, it was considered as a bird destined to get sacrificed for the sake of God (Γκουτζιούδης 2013, 197, 205). Thus, the eagle appears in the Life of St. Philothea: *Аще бо и нашеж жизни врагъ различнѣ сквѣрннѣ и нечистѣ раета* (Kalužniacki 1971, 50)⁵ [...] as the personification of the devil, who wishes to destroy the Orthodox faith. On the other hand, the pigeon appears in the Live of Hilarion of Moglena: *Видѣхъ духъ боѣи, ꙗко съхоташъ яко голубъ* (Kalužniacki 1971, 35) [...] as a personification of the Holy Spirit and the medium of divine conception. For instance, in the Life of Saint Paraskeva: *И чистую голубицу христѣ въ пошныхъ рожехъ* (Kalužniacki 1971, 62) [...] and Saint Philothea it stands for the purity of the spirit.

The last group of zoomorphic symbols includes the categories of: reptiles (snake, viper), insects (bee, mosquito, grasshopper, worm, scorpion, spider), amphibians (frog), fish (horses, cetacean). From the subcategories, the snake is enumerated three times: *Тоу бо яко идущу пѣль, змиа скнж ороа* (Kalužniacki 1971, 12) [...], *Въ златѣ хвалеша ѿ Слн змиа хрѣтъ низлагема* (Kalužniacki 1971, 64) [...], *Вода же ꙗко змиа, вода же ꙗко скѣръ ѿбе прѣтвѣла* (Kalužniacki 1971, 86) [...]. Concerning the bee, there are two references. The serpent motif appears with a profoundly negative tinge in the Biblical texts as the personification of evil. The theoretical semantic gravity of the serpent, according to Goutzioudis, has a wider dimension, especially in the ancient world, and is also characterized by dual meaning. On the one hand, it symbolizes the good and, in particular, *health*, *life*, and *recovery*, and on the other hand, there are instances where it symbolizes *death* and a sense of broader evil. Generally in the literature, it has a negative hue because it always represents a major risk for man (Γκουτζιούδης 2013, 213, 296)⁶. From the subgroup which encompasses the insects, the bee bears a striking semantic background. Bees as insects are highly

⁵ In Live of Hilarion of Moglena we have one more reference for a pigeon: *На нже духъ шеть ꙗко видѣ голубини сънде съ небесъ* [...] (Kalužniacki 1971, 50).

⁶ See also Farber 2007, 21–22.

valued because they belong to a class of highly socialized beings which have special organizational abilities, while at the same time they can be dangerous for humans because of their sting. They produce honey, which is something that is extremely nutritious for humans. It is also noteworthy that St. John of Rila and St. Philothea are metaphorically linked to bees, a characterization that clearly carries a positive connotation: **СЛАДАА ЯКОЕ ЛЮБОУАНАА ПЧЕЛА МЕДЪВНЫА** (Kalužniacki 1971, 9) [...], **И ПО СЪ, ЯКОЕ ЛЮБОУАНАА ПЧЕЛА ВЪСЪ ПРОФЪТНЫЕ ЦВЪТЫ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 65) [...]. The next group of symbols is the cycle of the four elements of nature. These are: the air, the water, the earth and the fire and their subcategories, meaning phenomena that relate to these elements. In the analysis of the Lives of Saints, we encounter references to symbols coming from all the subcategories of this cycle of the four basic constituents of nature. In particular, regarding the motif of the air element, the authors talk about clouds and storms. Similarly, for the motif of the earth, they provide descriptions of trees, forests, the desert, plants and the moon. Lastly, they connect the element of fire to the sun; there is no report of another geographical feature or formation, or natural phenomenon.

More specifically, within the category of air symbols, the cloud appears in the Lives of Saints by Eftymius, reaching a frequency of five references. More analytically, it is reported twice in the Life of John of Rila: **И ГНЪВНЫИ ОБЕЛЕТЪ ЕГО ОБЛАКЪ, ЧТО НЕ ГАЛОА** (Kalužniacki 1971, 11) [...], **ЯКОЕ БОУДЕЦЪ ИНОДА НА СЪНИСКЪА, СЪХОТЪ СЪ НЕВЪХОУИИ ДЪАКЪ БОУДЕНІА** (Kalužniacki 1971, 16) [...], once in the Life of Hilarion of Moglena: **О ЧУДО, НАПРАСНО ЖИТНИЦА СЪ ЖИТА И БРАТІАМ НАЛЕЖАЩІХ ПЕЧАЛИ ОТГНА ОБЛАКЪ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 30) [...] and twice in the Life of Saint Paraskeva: **СЪБЪРЪ ПОЛУСЪАЮЩИА ДЪШАА И ПЕЧАЛИ ОБЛАКЪ ВЪСЪ ОДОУВЪ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 60) [...], **СЪТОУІА И ПЕЧАЛИ ТЪХ ПРИКРЫВААШЕ ОБЛАКЪ И ИТКОЕ ОТ НЪХЪ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 69) [...]. In all cases, it is linked to sorrow. On a pragmatic level, the cloud can be considered as an obstacle that prevents vision and creates a dark atmosphere. In addition to the previous, the celestial gods of Ancient Greece, Romans and Jews lived in the clouds, something that leads us to the conclusion that the clouds, in general, can trigger the sense of the unknown and the covert or the mysterious (Farber 2007, 44–45).

Of particular interest is the symbolic meaning of the tree and the forest, which pertain to the subcategory “earth”. In Eftymius texts, different kinds of trees are presented, such as the Lebanese Cedar and the oak tree. In terms of instances, in the Life of John of Rila the tree is mentioned three times: **ЯКОЕ ДЪВО НАСАЖДЕНО** (Kalužniacki 1971, 8) [...], **ЯКОЕ НЪКЫИ КЕДЪ ИЖЕ СЪ ЛНЕАТЪ МНОЖЖАЩ СЪА** (Kalužniacki 1971, 10) [...], **РАСТОУІЕ НЕ МАЛО ИАЩЕ, И ТАМО ДЖБЪ СЪАИ ПО ДОВНЕМОУ ОУОУ ЯВРААМОУ ОУТЪ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 12) [...], while in the Life of Hilarion of Moglena three times: **И ВЪ ЯКО ЦАСИИНА ПЛОУИТАА СЪ ДОУ БОІИ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 29) [...], **И ЕЩЕ ЖЕ СЪ СЪЛОУЕЧЕНІЕ ХРОСТОУ И СЪ ЖИВКОУРАЩЕ ДЪВО** (Kalužniacki 1971, 32) [...] **И ВЪ ПРОЧЕЕ ЯКО ДЪВО САЖДЕНО ПРИ ИСХОДИЩИХЪ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 53) [...] and in Saint Philothea once: **ОНИ БО ИАА БОУСТВА СЪ ТЪАЪ СЪДОУША, СЪ ЧЛОУЪКЫ, О НЕЧЪСТІА, И ДЪСА И КАМЕНІЕ** (Kalužniacki 1971, 90) [...]. The

tree can be a personification of man, and it can also reveal traits of his personality in general. Apart from this personal level, the tree is connected to the notions of family and nation. In the Holy Bible, people are often presented as tree personifications in order to emphasize the distinction between the faithful and the infidel. The Lebanese cedar is really a large tree with equally large branches and in the Bible, it was used as a symbol of pride and arrogance at the same time (Farber 2007, 41). Conversely, the oak tree was considered to be the largest and loftiest tree, a depiction that awakens the respective semantic implications (Farber 2007, 143–145).

Concerning the subcategory of “water”, the source where the water springs from plays a central role and this centrality is evident since a total of five instances is recorded in the Lives of Saints by Efhymius. It is remarkable that in all cases, the water has a positive effect. More specifically, in the Life of John of Rila two references are noted: *ѡкоѡ дѣво, насаждено при источникѡх водныхъ* (Kalužniacki 1971, 8) [...], *въ срѣдци поляа, съзныа истѣкаж источники и наааа* (Kalužniacki 1971, 13) [...], one in the Life of Hilarion of Moglena: *И въ прочее ѡко дѣво саждено при исходниихъ* (Kalužniacki 1971, 53) [...] and, lastly, two in the Life of Saint Paraskeva: *Кто бо ток иже тогда спѡѡсть съзныи источникъ, ѡнѡя же честаа* (Kalužniacki 1971, 63) [...], *Починѡ и сшѡшеные твоѡ ракы нескѡдныи источникъ, не ѡаи чюдно бѡдетъ иже* (Kalužniacki 1971, 75) [...]. Even back in the Classical period, the springs that spurt were considered both as sacred places and a source of literary inspiration (Farber 2007, 80–81).

The thematic of the four elements of nature and their interpretation is completed with the delineation of the subcategory “fire” and the relative features, namely, the symbolism of the sun. In the relevant texts, the sun is mentioned three times in the Life of Saint Paraskeva: *ѡкоѡ бо слънцѡ, въ прѡѣтние часы лѡче по вѡи прѡтѣвшѡ земли* (Kalužniacki 1971, 59) [...], *слънца же свѣтавшиа грѣпѡныи бѡдетъ память Петкы* (Kalužniacki 1971, 60) [...], *ѡще видѣнїель высотѡше тѣхъ, и сїо смѡ виднии ѡкрашенѡ, въсѡдѡ ѡкоѡ слънце лѡче испѡшѡиеть* (Kalužniacki 1971, 61) [...] and it is associated with the brightness of the Saint, which is claimed to be a prominent trait of her personality. The sun is a fundamental element with dynamic attributes for life on earth. Not only is the most conspicuous element in our universe, but it is also indispensable for our existence. All in all, it has a dual semantic gravity: it combines the light (life itself) and vision together (Farber 2007, 209–211).

The last group of symbols subject to analysis consists of substances extracted from the earth, that is, metals such as: gold, silver, pearls and iron. A significant point, here, is that all the instances of this category are found in the Life of St. John of Rila, and in particular, the diamond is mentioned twice: *ѡкоѡ ааааа не бывааше никакѡѡль жѣтѣзѡбъ* (Kalužniacki 1971, 9) [...], *Иж ааааа дѡшеж, ѡањ, никакѡѡ ааааа бывааше тѡѡ кѣзныи* (Kalužniacki 1971, 12) [...] and the pearl once: *Радѡти ѡбо цњгыа испѡн са и ѡѡа дѡхѡнаѡ свѣтъ свѣща аааа* (Kalužniacki 1971, 23) [...] In general, the rocks in the texts are mainly used to highlight the distinct positive characteristics of

Saint John's personality. The diamond originates from the Greek word *ἀδάμας* which means invincible (Montanari 2014, 73) and Eftymius consciously uses this symbolic meaning to emphasize that John's character cannot in any way be engraved, comparing him to a diamond since the diamond has this unique property. In addition, the term gold plays an important role in the texts in terms of metaphoricity because it is used as an opposing motif between ascetic life and wealth (Farber 2007, 87). At the same time, diamonds are presented as a personification of the beauty of Eftymius rare personality. The diamonds motif was already well known in biblical texts, for example, in the parable of the diamonds' dealer in the Gospel of Matthew, especially because of its didactic nature (Farber 2007, 152–153).

Taking into account the aforementioned aspects of the recurrent motifs of symbols and their function in the Lives of Saints by Eftymius of Tyrnovo, certain conclusions can be drawn:

Depending on the frequency of occurrence in the Lives of Saints and the variety of motifs in all groups, the ranking is as follows:

- Life of St. John Rila twenty-nine motifs (29),
- Life of Hilarion of Moglena twenty-seven motifs (27),
- Life of St. Paraskeva twenty-seven motifs (27),
- Life of St. Philothea eleven motifs (11) (table 1).

The living beings that appear quite frequently in the Lives of Saints are the domestic mammals, which belong to the super ordinate group of zoomorphic cycle, such as the sheep and the lamb. However, the reader also comes across herds and shepherds. Next, the living beings of the zoomorphic mythological circle follow. Consequently, it can be said that the specific motifs due to their periodic occurrence are at the same time structural narrative motifs in the texts of Eftymius of Tyrnovo, while on a semantic level they are inextricably linked to the theological purpose that they serve (table 2).

The fact that the motifs of the symbols used from the Bible, to a great extent, confirms the preaching character of the narrative. The usage of these groups of symbols makes the narrative extremely imagistic and activates all the senses of the reader.

Moreover, the narrative focuses on the recurrent motifs of symbols where there is an intention to defend the orthodox ideas, for instance, such are two specific points where the motifs of the *demon* and the *beast* are employed in the Life of Hilarion of Moglena. The first takes place when Hilarion opposes to the heretics, and the second, when he wishes to outline the characteristics of the Saints, for example when he metaphorically compares St. John of Rila with a diamond that cannot be engraved.

Overall, adopting an interpretive approach and performing a detailed analysis of the function of the symbols in the overall work of Eftymius of Tyrnovo show why symbols constitute a structural and vital component of his writing activity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Динеков 1980:** П. Динеков. Личността на Евтимий Търновски. – Старобългарска литература, 7, 1980, 3–21.
- Иванова 1982:** К. Иванова. Патриарх Евтимий. Sofia, 1982.
- Иванова 1985:** К. Иванова. Литературни и текстологически наблюдения върху житието на св. Иван Рилски от Патриарх Евтимий. – В: Известия на Църковно-исторически и архивен институт, т. 3. София, 1985, 145–161.
- Кенанов 1977:** Д. Кенанов. Патриарх Евтимий и неговото житие за Иван Рилски. – Литературна мисъл, 21/9, 1977, 112–120.
- Кенанов 1978:** Д. Кенанов. Патриарх Евтимий и агиографският цикъл за Иван Рилски. – Старобългаристика, 2, 1978, 1, 74–88.
- Кенанов 1992:** Д. Кенанов. Евтимиевото житие на св. Иван Рилски в агиографската традиция. – Старобългаристика, 16, 1992, 1, 44–57.
- Петрова 1996:** М. Петрова. Към въпроса за южнославянските преводи на житието на мъченица Параскева-Петка Римлянка. – Старобългаристика, 20, 1996, 2, 83–109.
- Biedermann 1992:** H. Biedermann. Dictionary of Symbolism: Cultural Icons and the Meaning behind Them. New York, 1992.
- Farber 2007:** M. Farber. A Dictionary of Literary Symbols. Cambridge, 2007.
- Ferguson 1954:** G. Ferguson. Sings and Symbols in Christian Art. New York/Oxford, 1954.
- Hébert 1992:** M. Hébert la Bauve. Hesychasm, Word. – In: Weaving, and Slavic Hagiography: The Literary School of Patr. Euthymius. München, 1992, 19–59.
- Houston 1993:** W. Houston. Purity and Monotheism: Clean and Unclean Animals in Biblical Law. Sheffield, 1993.
- Kalužniacki 1971:** E. Kalužniacki. Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius (1375–1393). London, 1971.
- Linzey, Yamamoto 1998:** A. Linzey, D. Yamamoto. Animals on the Agenda: Questions about Animals for Theology and Ethics. London, 1998.
- Nikolova 1986:** B.N. Nikolova. La vie d’Ilarion de Mŭglen par le patriarche Euthyme et le renseignement sur l’archevêque bulgare Eustache. – Byzantinobulgarica, 8, 1986, 253–266.
- Obolensky 1970:** D. Obolensky. The Byzantine Commonwealth Eastern Europe, 500–1453. London, 1970.
- Podkalsky 2013:** G. Podkalsky. Srednjovekovna teološka književnost u Bugarskoj i Srbiji (865–1459). Beograd, 2013.
- Roberts 1998:** H.E. Roberts. Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography. London, 1998.
- Whittick 1960:** A. Whittick. Symbols, Sings and Their Meanings. London, 1960.
- Γκουτζιούδης 2013:** Μ. Γκουτζιούδης. Φύσις θηρίων: Η χρήση της ζωικής ποικιλότητας στην Καινή Διαθήκη και στο περιβάλλον της. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2013.

Table 1

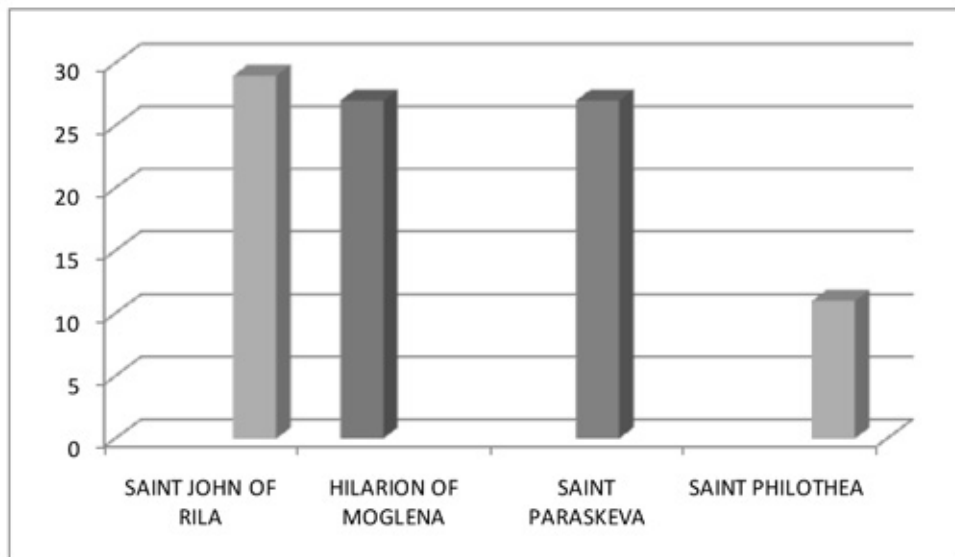


Table 2

