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## FROM THE LITTLE CHAPTERS TO THE BIG QUESTION: HOW WERE THE CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC BRIEFARIES AND MISSALS COMPILED?

This paper deals with textual transmission in pre-Tridentine Croatian Glagolitic missals and breviaries. Previous research has demonstrated that northern (Krk-Istria) codices follow earlier translations from Greek, whereas southern (Zadar-Krbava) codices have been adjusted to Latin exemplars. However, this differentiation is not clear-cut – certain codices are recognised as a combination of the northern and southern group. The paper addresses the inability to establish a *stemma codicum*, explaining this through both the high loss rate of Croatian Glagolitic codices and horizontal textual transmission (the usage of more than one exemplar). Further insight into the given topic is provided through discussion of the types of Glagolitic scribes (simple scribe, scholar-scribe, redactor-like scribe, and redactor-scribe) and the determinants of their work, the most prominent of which is the absence of authorial authority. The core of the paper is the study of little chapters as texts shared between breviaries and missals. Data analysis suggests the two liturgical books share a common origin, and that each was likely used as a source for the other. Moreover, data analysis also broadens the notion of the polygenetic origin of Croatian Glagolitic books, which should be understood not only in terms of successive contaminations, but simultaneous contaminations as well. Both types of contamination are sometimes extra-stemmatic, which means that different kinds of sources were used by Glagolitic scribes during copying (including older Glagolitic missals and breviaries, other Church Slavonic books such as the *Prophetologion* or *Apostolos*, and personal memory). The paper offers an explanation as to why it is unlikely that a Glagolitic Bible and Latin exemplars were (commonly) used as sources.

**Key words:** Croatian Glagolitic literacy, Glagolitic liturgy, Bible translations, Croatian Church Slavonic, textual transmission, scribe, attitudes towards copying, contamination, eclectic edition

## 1. INTRODUCTION

According to Vjekoslav Štefanić, the creation of the basic Croatian Glagolitic (liturgical)<sup>1</sup> books is the key issue in the evolution of Croatian Glagolitism.<sup>2</sup> Štefanić grounds his opinion on the 13<sup>th</sup>-century socio-historical context of Croatian Glagolitism defined as a process of gaining legitimacy within the Roman Catholic Church. As is well known, long before the Second Vatican Council when Rome allowed the use of vernacular languages in liturgy (1962–1965), the Croats used a non-Latin language (Croatian Church Slavonic)<sup>3</sup> and a non-Latin script (so called angular or Croatian Glagolitic script) – both continuations of the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage – in liturgy. However, this unique privilege was not granted without resistance. The conclusions of the First Church Council of Split (925) reveal that Glagolites were no longer allowed to be ordained as priests. Those who had already been ordained were obliged to join a monastery if they wished to continue to practice Slavonic liturgy. Outside of monasteries, Slavonic liturgy was allowed only if the bishop found it necessary and if special papal approval was granted.<sup>4</sup> The Third Church Council of Split (1060) discussed the Glagolites once again, as confirmed by pope Alexander II's notion that it was prohibited to ordain them as priests unless they learned Latin.<sup>5</sup>

No further historical source concerning Croatian Glagolitism is known before 1248. This year, however, saw the appearance of a novel attitude towards the Glagolites at the Holy See. Pope Innocent IV granted the diocese of Senj (1248) and Benedictines from the island of Krk (1252) the right to practice Slavonic (Glagolitic) liturgy (TANDARIĆ 1993: 36; BOGOVIĆ 2019: 79–80). This was the starting point of the period later known as the Golden Age of Croatian Glagolitism, covering the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (VAJS 1910: VIII; TANDARIĆ 1993: 36, 72; MIHALJEVIĆ 2014: 15). Apart from this papal approval of Glagolitic liturgy, the 13<sup>th</sup>-century socio-historical context of the

<sup>1</sup> The realm of liturgy was the starting point for the overall Glagolitic literature. See TANDARIĆ 1993: 291.

<sup>2</sup> See ŠTEFANIĆ 1971: 25.

<sup>3</sup> Croatian Church Slavonic or the Croatian redaction of Church Slavonic is a specific form of Church Slavonic influenced by the Croatian Chakavian vernacular. See more in MIHALJEVIĆ; REINHART 2005, and MIHALJEVIĆ 2014.

<sup>4</sup> For the Latin version of the conclusion, see KLAJČ 1965: 243. For more on the First Church Council of Split and Glagolitism, see also KATIČIĆ 1986; KATIČIĆ 1988: 379–418, and PETROVIĆ 1988: 31–33.

<sup>5</sup> For the Latin version, see KLAJČ 1965: 258.

overall Roman Catholic world includes the reform of liturgical books undertaken by the Franciscans, who introduced new texts (ŠTEFANIĆ 1971: 25; TANDARIĆ 1993: 72). This context is reflected in the fact that no complete pre-14<sup>th</sup>-century Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books have survived – the older ones were discarded as useless. Consequently, the period prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> century is known as the “fragments period” (HERCIGONJA 2006: 67) because of the small number of surviving Croatian Glagolitic texts, which are preserved in roughly 30 fragments (MIHALJEVIĆ 2014: 14–15). However, it must be emphasized that the earlier Cyrillo-Methodian translations from Greek are preserved in reformed Croatian liturgical books from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Considering the aforementioned circumstances, Štefanić defines the 13<sup>th</sup>-century creation of Glagolitic liturgical books as the primary task of the Croatian Glagolites, as well as the key issue in the evolution of Croatian Glagolism.<sup>6</sup> The aim of this paper is to address the creation of Croatian Glagolitic breviaries and missals, primarily in terms of text transmission, on the basis of an analysis of little chapters.

## 2. LITTLE CHAPTERS

A discussion of little chapters (Lat. *capitula*, sometimes referred to as short readings) inevitably leads to the issue of the Bible in liturgy. Although missals and breviaries cannot include the entire Bible, they are known to provide “the concentrated essence or spirit of Scripture” (WATKIN 1946–1965: 368; cf. KNIEWALD 1937: 52). Moreover, both of them function as a “prayer in the words of Scripture” (WATKIN 1946–1965: 365), especially breviaries. There is a difference concerning the Scripture as regards the two capital Catholic liturgical books, the missal and the breviary: the missal is founded in the New Testament, while the Old Testament is the essence of the breviary.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In Tandarić’s words, 13<sup>th</sup> century could have been fatal for the Glagolites, see TANDARIĆ 1993: 72, 74, 88. They were on their own. Due to the confessional differences they could no longer rely on the liturgical texts from the East, with whom they shared common Cyrillo-Methodian legacy of non-Latin script and close-vernacular language in liturgy. On the other hand, although they were Roman Catholics relying on Latin texts was a huge effort due to the obvious language differences. A silver lining was the fact that up to the Council of Trent (1545–1563) Roman rite was not unified, see TANDARIĆ 1993: 319. That allowed a certain amount of improvisation and arbitrariness in the compilation of liturgical books.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. WATKIN 1964–1965: 365–366; BAKMAZ 2004: 139; BAKMAZ 2010: 74; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ 2010b: 386.

The Bible enters the breviary through psalms and canticles, antiphons, responsories, readings, versicles, and little chapters, which leaves hymns and collects (prayers) as the only non-scriptural components of the Office.<sup>8</sup> Little chapters contain small portions of biblical readings, usually only a verse or two. There is a restriction, however, regarding biblical books and little chapters. The gospels are excluded from the little chapters, “since a certain amplitude and solemnity should mark the reading of the gospel.” (MARTIMORT; DALMAIS; JOUNEL 1986: 222). The biblical verses in the little chapters are actually non-Gospel verses taken from the Mass Lectionary for the day. Thus, they are a scriptural connection between two capital liturgical books, the missal and the breviary.

According to Watkin, little chapters embody two important features of the liturgical use of Scripture: isolated texts and repetition. As they are repeated several times in the breviary, they isolate certain verses from their primal biblical context, “place them in the light of their liturgical context and so expose them to the gaze of the liturgical worshipper who prays them.” (WATKIN 1946–1965: 372).

Although it may seem to some that little chapters are unimportant parts of the Office (BREVIARY 1913), they are of significant value to the research presented in this paper for several reasons. The first has already been mentioned: they connect the missal and breviary, i.e. they contain biblical texts that appear in both liturgical books. This feature makes them suitable to address the issue of how these books were created.

In comparison, longer biblical readings are not as suitable for the given research simply because the same readings are rarely shared between Croatian Glagolitic breviaries and missals.<sup>9</sup> As previously stated, missals and breviaries use a different selection of biblical readings. What is more, when they do both contain readings from the same biblical book, they most often differ in both the scope of the reading and in the choice of chapter and verses.

The brevity and prevalence of little chapters are two more reasons to use them in researching the issue of how liturgical books were created; their brevity allows a relatively quick, broad overview of the liturgical books and their content, while their prevalence offers more opportunities to gain relevant insight.

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<sup>8</sup> See BREVIARY 1913 for the component parts of the Office.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BAKMAZ 2010: 75.

Finally, the fact that little chapters provide biblical content means they are useful in determining the kind of exemplars that were used to create Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books. In particular, it is interesting to know if little chapters can tell us anything about the existence of a Croatian Glagolitic Bible. No such Bible has survived, however some historical sources mention one (BADURINA STIPČEVIĆ 2010b: 384–385), while others deny its existence (ETEROVIĆ 2018: 74).

### 3. ON THE CREATION OF CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC BREVIAIRES AND MISSALS

The issue of the creation of Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books has been primarily – yet indirectly – tackled through textological research on Croatian Glagolitic literature and literacy that addressed the issue of the filial relations between them.

Among the first research to do so was that concerning Bible texts. Josip Vajs identifies two groups of biblical translations in Croatian Glagolitic breviaries: older translations of Cyrillo-Methodian provenance and Greek origin, and more recent translations that are linguistically and textologically close to the Vulgate, i.e. Latin exemplars.<sup>10</sup>

Following Vajs' lead regarding biblical translations, Marija Pantelić introduced a filial division between the southern and northern matrix, i.e. southern and northern Croatian Glagolitic missals.<sup>11</sup> The northern group (from the island of Krk and Istria) contains older biblical translations from the Septuagint, while the southern one reflects the Vulgate. However, there is no strict border between these two groups, as some missals lie 'in between'. The northern-southern division was also later proven valid for rituals and breviaries regarding both their biblical translations and other texts.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, researchers have acknowledged the fact that this proposed division does not fully describe the filial relations between surviving Croatian Glagolitic liturgical manuscripts and books.<sup>13</sup> Jozo Vela concludes that the surviving manuscripts and books represent only a minor part of the total

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<sup>10</sup> See VAJS 1910: 39.

<sup>11</sup> See PANTELIĆ 1967: 71.

<sup>12</sup> On the north-south division see more in VELA 2018: 13–15.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. BADURINA STIPČEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2016: 110.

quantity that once existed; in spite of the division recognised among them, they differ in various ways, thus making it impossible to establish a reliable interpretation of their filial relations.<sup>14</sup>

Apart from the issue of filiation, research on scribal performance also addresses the production of Croatian Glagolitic breviaries and missals. A great deal of research papers on Croatian Glagolitic texts note some scribal features or peculiarities, however these are only rarely treated as the primary subject of interest. Two papers of Milan Mihaljević are examples of this.<sup>15</sup> The author analyses rare, peculiar language forms found in Croatian Glagolitic books and interprets them in relation to corrupted exemplars or misinterpretations, misreadings, and misspellings by the translator or scribe.

One exemplary paper on the topic of scribal performance in Croatian Glagolitic texts is HAMM 1952. Josip Hamm dismisses the practice of (over) interpreting variations within Croatian Glagolitic biblical texts as compared to their exemplars, pointing out that most variations originate from the individual who copied the texts, and thus say nothing about filial relations. Analysing two versions of the *Book of Job* in Croatian Glagolitic breviaries (the one which follows Septuagint and the other that follows Vulgate), Hamm argues that Glagolitic translators/scribes had fairly liberal attitudes towards the texts they translated or copied. Furthermore, he introduces a differentiation between general and special varieties, with the latter originating from the exemplar (matrix) and the former originating from the translator or a scribe.<sup>16</sup> Describing any average Glagolitic text as a mixture of various other texts and recensions, Hamm concludes that no Glagolitic translation can ever fully correspond to a Greek or Latin exemplar.

The Croatian Glagolites' liberal attitudes towards the texts they translated and copied can be seen in the least expected places – in biblical texts. As shown by Tandarić, parts of some Croatian Church Slavonic (in further text: CCS) biblical translations have no equivalent in Greek or Latin exemplars, not even in Old Church Slavonic translations. Tandarić recognises that some biblical verses in some Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books contain additions from other similar, synoptic texts.<sup>17</sup> In an example from Corinthians – (*Gospod*

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<sup>14</sup> See VELA 2018: 16.

<sup>15</sup> See MIHALJEVIĆ 1988; MIHALJEVIĆ 1995–1996.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. word omissions, differently dissolved abbreviations, word order changes, changes in word form and even some bigger differences that follow from the similarities of the copied text with some other text known to the scribe. The latter can be referred to as assimilations.

<sup>17</sup> See TANDARIĆ 1993: 314.

*Isusъ*) ... *prêlomi i da učenikomъ svoimъ glagole* (1 Cor 11:24) ‘Lord Jesus ... broke it (sc. the bread) and gave it to his disciples, saying’ – the part *i da učenikomъ svoimъ glagole* is actually from Matt 26:26, as the Latin and Greek versions of 1 Cor 11:24 make no mention of the disciples. However, Tandarić emphasises that these additions (i.e. scribal assimilations) are only ‘borrowed’ from other similar biblical texts and are not signs of serious interventions into Biblical canon. Due to the sanctity of the Bible, the Glagolites would not dare to add anything from outside the biblical or liturgical context (TANDARIĆ 1993: 308).

Tandarić notes another scribal peculiarity concerning biblical texts: a specific combination of verses from different biblical books. The blessing of the wedding ring contains a unique reading that combines 1 Cor 3:16–17, 1 Cor 6:15–19, 1 Cor 6:16–18, Eph 5:23–25, and 1 Cor 6:20 (TANDARIĆ 1993: 272). The purpose of the reading is to remind the couple of the dignity of marriage and necessary respect for the human body (TANDARIĆ 1993: 314).

It was not until after the year 2000 that another researcher besides Josip Hamm focused solely on scribal performance in Croatian Glagolitic book production. Catherine Mary MacRobert provided a thorough reading of a single Glagolitic manuscript – *MS Canon. liturg. 172* (BrOxf). Interpreting the textual peculiarities of its psalter (including corrections and uncorrected errors), MacRobert offers interesting insight into the context from which the codex may have emerged, specifically that surrounding the scribe and the user of the book (MACROBERT 2019).

#### 4. NOTE ON THE *STEMMA*

Although a great deal of textological research on Glagolitic literature discusses filiation and genealogy, there has been no success in creating a *stemma codicum*.

One of the possible causes for this has already been mentioned: the surviving codices represent only a minor part of the overall quantity that once existed. It is impossible to determine how many Glagolitic liturgical manuscripts, missals and breviaries, ever existed. To date, a total of fifty-three surviving handwritten codices have been discovered, all dating to the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> Of these,

<sup>18</sup> The following overview of CCS missals and breviaries is based on PANTELIĆ; NAZOR 1977: 9–36, as well as ŠIMIĆ 2014b and the bibliography provided there.

seventeen are manuscripts of plenary missals (with each manuscript comprising one missal), although three of them are incomplete: MKop, MBer<sub>2</sub>, and MMet.

The situation with the manuscripts of plenary breviaries is more complicated. Three manuscripts are full breviaries with longer lessons – BrN<sub>1</sub>, BrVat<sub>10</sub>, and BrN<sub>2</sub> (without a psalter; lacking c. 23 ff.); in the case of BrMosk, the same type of breviary is divided into two codices. If taken together, the manuscripts BrVat<sub>5</sub> (proper of seasons), and BrVat<sub>6</sub> (psalter, common of saints, proper of saints) also form a full breviary with longer lessons, and they are sometimes considered as one breviary.<sup>19</sup> Similar to BrMosk, BrBer<sub>2</sub> is also divided into two codices, however it is missing a psalter and a common of saints. Hence, there are only six (almost) complete plenary breviaries with longer lessons.

The manuscript BrBrib was once a full breviary; today, it lacks more than 150 ff. from the proper of seasons and proper of saints. BrVin, which likely never had a psalter, is lacking more than 160 ff. from the proper of seasons and proper of saints. Codex BrDab also lacks more than 100 ff. from the proper of seasons and proper of saints.

In addition to these breviaries with longer lessons, five manuscripts comprise a full breviary – BrPm, BrMet (without the psalter and common of saints), BrMav, BrVat<sub>19</sub>, and BrRom (without the common of saints) – however these are portable breviaries with shorter lessons.

The following are codices with one part of a breviary only. The proper of seasons survives in seven manuscripts – BrVb<sub>1</sub>, BrVb<sub>2</sub> (incomplete), BrPad (lacking a few ff.), BrVO, BrDrag (lacking ca. 16ff.), BrVb<sub>3</sub> (incomplete), and BrBrit (incomplete); the proper of saints survives in two manuscripts – BrBer<sub>1</sub> and BrHum.

The manuscript marked as *Cod. Slav. 121* held at ÖNB in Vienna (BrVind<sub>121</sub>) consists of 22 ff. of the remainder of another 15<sup>th</sup>-century proper of saints (BIRKFELLNER 1975: 64). The manuscript BrVb<sub>4</sub> comprises an incomplete proper of saints and incomplete common of saints, while PsFr is a psalter with commentary.

Three other manuscripts are portable liturgical compendia containing a breviary, missal and ritual. Of these, BrOxf comprises a full breviary, while CodKop and PsPar have only a psalter and common of saints. In all three manuscripts, the missal is limited to the Order of Mass and the Canon of the Mass, along with some selected votive masses. The manuscript BrMed is also

<sup>19</sup> Cf. PANTELIĆ; NAZOR 1977: 12; IBLER 2009.



a liturgical compendium of some sort, without a missal. In addition to the ritual, it consists of a psalter and common of saints.

Finally, three manuscripts are *liber horarum*, which were used by the laity: PsLob, CPar, and BrAc. These consist of a psalter and common of saints, along with some offices of selected feasts from the breviary and some selected masses.

Besides these fifty-three manuscripts, there are also three printed Glagolitic breviaries (BrPt, BrBar, BrBroz) and four printed missals (MPt, MSegn, MMod, MKož), which were published in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries as a continuance of earlier manuscript tradition.

This corpus of fifty-three manuscripts and seven printed missals and breviaries basically<sup>20</sup> represents all surviving Glagolitic liturgical books. These codices carry on the textual tradition written in the Croatian Church Slavonic language and are the fundamental basis of textological approaches to Croatian Church Slavonic literary heritage.

However, numerous surviving fragments serve as direct evidence of the existence of a large number of handwritten Glagolitic missals and breviaries that were previously in use, but have since been lost. To this end, it will be sufficient to note the two largest collections of Glagolitic fragments known today: the archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, which contains fragments of forty-nine missals and sixty-seven breviaries,<sup>21</sup> and the Berčić collection at the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, which holds fragments of fifty-five missals and seventy-two breviaries (VJALOVA 2000: XVII).<sup>22</sup>

Fragments of CCS missals (sacramentaries) and breviaries dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century also exist in various collections worldwide.<sup>23</sup> Some of them, like the *Vienna folios*, *Missal fragment from Split*, *Fragment of Missale festi-uum*, and the *Breviary fragment from Güssing*, indicate an older textual (and liturgical) tradition of CCS liturgical books that must have been superseded by the Franciscan type of plenary missal and breviary (PANTELJIĆ 1972; PANTELJIĆ 1993).

<sup>20</sup> From this overview of the surviving Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books the Ritual was omitted, because as a separate book it is documented only exceptionally and rather late. Cf. TANDARIĆ 1993: 224.

<sup>21</sup> Our counting is based on ŠTEFANIĆ 1969.

<sup>22</sup> Counting shows somewhat different numbers.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. lists of fragments given in MIHALJEVIĆ; REINHART 2005: 39–40; ŠIMIĆ 2014b: 23–30; MIHALJEVIĆ 2018: 7–11.

Notarial contracts, wills, church inventories, and documents of apostolic visitations provide some additional indirect evidence as to the number of missals and breviaries.<sup>24</sup> These historical documents (dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onward and mentioning many liturgical books that have not survived) reveal that it was not unusual for a priest to have more than one missal and breviary, even despite their great price. Moreover, in addition to monasteries, parish churches and chapels also sought to have (several) missals and breviaries of their own.

Finally, any estimate of how many Glagolitic missals and breviaries once existed should rely on common sense: being a Glagolitic monk or priest meant praying out of breviary and/or missal. Therefore, any Glagolitic monk or a priest needed to have at least one (of each) of these books at his disposal, either borrowed or his own.<sup>25</sup> Given that (1) the island of Krk alone had 300 priests in 1527,<sup>26</sup> (2) that “[b]y the sixteenth century the Glagolitic liturgy was in use in two patriarchates: firstly, in that of Aquileia in the see of Trieste but above all in Istria in the sees of Koper, Poreč, Pula, Pićan and Novigrad, but also in Carniola in the see of Ljubljana; secondly in the patriarchate of Venice in the archdiocese of Zadar and its suffragan sees of Osor, Rab and Krk[; i]t was also used in three metropolitan archdioceses, viz. Split with its suffragan sees of Senj, Hvar, Knin, Modruš, Makarska, Nin, Skradin, Šibenik and Trogir, the archdiocese of Bar in the diocesan see of Kotor and the archdiocese of Kolocsa in the see of Zagreb” (THOMSON 2004: 296), and (3) that Glagolitic liturgy had been practiced for several centuries in the central Glagolitic territory of Istria, Kvarner, and the Zadar area, it can be estimated that Glagolitic missals and breviaries once numbered not in the hundreds, but in the thousands.

The number of codices of which only fragments survive, alongside the approximation of their former abundance, implies a *high loss rate* of witnesses in the process of textual transmission. A high loss rate combined with time elapsed usually means the inability to produce a valid *stemma* due to too many missing pieces (GUIDI; TROVATO 2004; TROVATO 2014). It is with good reason, therefore, that textological approaches to CCS literary heritage have been reluctant to address the question of a *stemma* for the remaining codices.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. ŠTEFANIĆ 1960: 21–27; RUNJE 1998; RUNJE 2007.

<sup>25</sup> In 1457 Mikula, bishop of Krk, ordered every monk of capitulary parish of Omišalj to have his own breviary. See ŠTEFANIĆ 1960: 21.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ŠTEFANIĆ 1960: 12.

As far as the authors of this research are aware, no research into any text has claimed that a stemma is possible, although attempts have been made.<sup>27</sup> In fact, with a loss rate this high, it would be somewhat of a miracle if one managed to produce a *stemma*.

All that researchers have been able to accomplish in this matter is to determine that missals and breviaries can be grouped into two groups of witnesses. As previously stated, older codices (from the Krk-Istria area) have (Old) Church Slavonic biblical translations from Greek that are only slightly adapted to Latin exemplars (usually at the beginning and the end of pericopes), and their language is generally more archaic. When it comes to texts translated from Latin, these codices in some cases have older translations. For the purposes of this paper, it should be noted that missals MVat<sub>4</sub>, MKop, MRoč, MBer<sub>1</sub>, MBer<sub>2</sub>, and breviaries BrVb<sub>1</sub>, BrVb<sub>2</sub>, BrPad, BrVO, and *BrMet* are usually denoted as older in the textological sense (TANDARIĆ 1993: 266; ŠIMIĆ 2000: 116; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; MIHALJEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2012: 262).

Younger codices (from the Zadar-Krbava area) seem to be better accommodated to Latin as a result of the text recension undertaken in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

## 5. TYPES OF SCRIBES AND THE ISSUE OF SCRIPTORIA

Given the difficulties in addressing the issue of the creation of Glagolitic liturgical books (i.e. text transmission from a broader point of view including filiation and/or genealogy), we have chosen to address it from a narrower point of view.

We shall begin with the question of how a particular missal or breviary was made.<sup>28</sup> In other words, if a scribe wanted to produce a new missal or breviary, what would he do?

<sup>27</sup> See e. g. HAMM 1958; REINHART 2001; REINHART 2020.

<sup>28</sup> Few papers deal with Mediaeval scribes' attitudes towards writing; those that explore textual transmission similar to Croatian Church Slavonic transmission are especially rare. A work dealing with the terms and conditions of textual transmission in Jewish Mediaeval manuscripts showed to be applicable to the Croatian Glagolitic situation, and therefore very helpful for this research is BEIT-ARIE 1993. As far as stemmatological terminology is concerned, we found the following work to be of use, as it is systematic and concise (ROELLI; MACÉ 2015).

He could have simply taken an existing manuscript he considered suitable and copied it from beginning to end. This type of textual tradition would be *vertical*.<sup>29</sup> The final result would be a combination of the exemplar used and the unconscious errors/variants the scribe would introduce by his misreading the exemplar or becoming distracted while repeatedly moving his eyes from the exemplar to the copy and back.

Types of scribal innovations in text, such as *omission*, *haplography*, *dit-tography*, *transposition*, *homeoarcton*, *homeoteleuton*, etc. have been well explored in the case of Greek and Latin ancient and Mediaeval textual transmission;<sup>30</sup> of course, the same types of innovations are present in all Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts.

As copying an existing manuscript from beginning to end would be the easiest way of producing a new missal or breviary, it can be assumed that the vertical textual transmission of CCS missals and breviaries actually occurred more than once. However, of the corpus of preserved CCS missal and breviary codices, no pair can be described in terms of exemplar and copy.<sup>31</sup>

If a scribe wanted to add text that was lacking from the exemplar he chose or was for any reason dissatisfied with a version of a text from the exemplar, he could have copied texts from another manuscript with additional or (in his opinion) more appropriate readings. The text tradition of this type would no longer be only vertical, but *horizontal* as well.<sup>32</sup> The final result would be a combination of his exemplar, involuntary errors/variants, and *contaminations* in places where he made use of an additional source or sources.

If a scribe were to simply replace or add a text or parts of texts, the contamination would be *successive*.<sup>33</sup> Although contamination would be moderate, the textual transmission would no longer be *closed*. In other words, it would be an example of the *open tradition*.

<sup>29</sup> As an uncontaminated tradition, the vertical text tradition is easily analysed from the stemmatological point of view.

<sup>30</sup> For a basic survey, see WEST 1973; REYNOLDS; WILSON 1991.

<sup>31</sup> The closest in this regard are the breviaries BrVat<sub>5</sub>/BrVat<sub>6</sub> and BrMosk. The same has been confirmed for the printed breviaries BrBar and BrBroz. BrBroz is considered a reprint edition of BrBar with some additions at the end. See ŠIMIC 2014b: 43.

<sup>32</sup> The horizontal text tradition is contaminated and much more difficult for stemmatological analysis than the vertical text tradition.

<sup>33</sup> Successive contamination occurs when a scribe uses a different exemplar from a certain point onwards. If not detected, it makes it difficult to produce a stemma.

As pre-Tridentine liturgical books, CCS missals and breviaries were anything but books with closed content. It is enough to glance at the bibliographic descriptions of the remaining codices to see the variety in their content and structure (CORIN 1997: 537). Furthermore, anyone well versed in comparing existing CCS manuscripts and prints knows that they are grouped differently in different texts; this could be the case only if different exemplars were used to copy different texts.

It can therefore be concluded that *successive contamination* occurred more than once in the process of the textual transmission of CCS missals and breviaries, although only a single example has yet been confirmed – the last two lessons of the sermon of St. Thomas Aquinas in the *Office of Corpus Christi* (KOVAČEVIĆ; MIHALJEVIĆ; SUDEC 2010: 377–398). Unlike the rest of the codices, which only have either the earlier or the later version of the translation, BrMet and BrVb<sub>3</sub> feature both written one after the other, probably one from each exemplar.

However, other cases in which successive contamination is a plausible solution (or the most plausible solution) have sporadically been noted. The first two chapters of *I Corinthians* in BrN<sub>2</sub> are quite consistently adjusted to Latin, but an older translation from Greek is recognisable from the beginning of the third chapter onwards. Tandarić claims a possible explanation for this is that the scribe or translator got tired and gave up on his task of adjusting the text to Latin.<sup>34</sup> Another possibility, however, is that the scribe switched to a different exemplar. A second example is the *Book of Judith* in BrN<sub>1</sub>, for which Hamm is convinced that two different exemplars were used.<sup>35</sup>

Everything said so far about the process of copying CCS liturgical books easily pertains to scribes who were not necessarily well educated. These can be referred to as *simple scribes*. They were only required to be able to read and write. With a little extra effort, simple scribes may have even produced shortened portable versions of missals and breviaries, liturgical compendia that combining missals and breviaries, and *liber horarum*. As they were not well educated, simple scribes would remain true to their exemplar(s). They would faithfully copy even text that they did not understand. On the other hand, they would be prone to involuntary errors.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See TANDARIĆ 1993: 324.

<sup>35</sup> See HAMM 1958: 122.

<sup>36</sup> There is an interesting marginal note in BrBer<sub>2</sub> (68v): *piši pravo ne laži* “write correctly, don’t lie”, see RADOŠEVIĆ; DÜRRIGL 2020: 202. It seems that it was intended as a warning to a simple scribe not to make errors in copying.

However, similar to Mediaeval Latin texts, CCS missals and breviaries were not only copied by simple scribes, but also by *scholar-scribes* – those who were well educated, experienced in the field of CCS literary heritage, and well versed in the norms of the CCS language. A scholar-scribe would make fewer involuntary errors, but he might feel free to intentionally interfere in the transmission. Depending on his attitude towards copying, his interventions would range from emending and reconstructing corrupted text to revising his exemplar on the phonological, morphological, and lexical level, adding to the text and modifying it according to his knowledge or memory.

If a scribe encountered a corruption in the text he was copying, he could have emended it by conjecture<sup>37</sup> or by relying on his memory and/or other exemplar(s). As a result of memorizing large series of words before writing them down, scholar-scribes were more prone to making changes in word order or introducing changes by *assimilation*.<sup>38</sup> A scholar-scribe who understood the text was more likely to introduce a synonym instead of the word found in the exemplar. In addition, he could choose to revise his exemplar on the phonological, morphological and even syntactical level more thoroughly in order for it to correspond to his native grammar, unlike the simple scribe, who would introduce phonological and morphological changes sporadically through errors.

If a scholar-scribe were to revise his exemplar in the described manner, he would be acting as a redactor, but he would not be a true redactor. It can be assumed that there were many of these *redactor-like scribes* among the ranks of Croatian Glagolitic monks and priests who copied a missal or breviary for their own use, or for the use of the small community they belonged to, such as capitulary parish churches or small monasteries. A scribe copying a book for someone else's purposes would have avoided deliberate interventions into the exemplar in order not to dissatisfy whoever commissioned the work.

Finally, involved in the textual transmission process of CCS missals and breviaries were also *redactor-scribes*. This title relates only to those scribes who translated or corrected texts using one or more Latin exemplar. Redactor-scribes had two options: they could translate text without using any other pre-existing translation (in which case they would be the authors of the translation), or they could use an earlier translation known to them and make

<sup>37</sup> Scribal conjecture occurs when a scribe deliberately makes corrections of his own in the copied text because it is corrupted or he considers it so.

<sup>38</sup> As previously mentioned, the assimilation or incorporation of wording from a parallel narrative greatly intrigued Tandarić. Cf. TANDARIĆ 1993: 33, 268–271, 304–305, 308–309, 314, 322.

changes in order to enhance the translation, in which case they would make a *recension* of the text. In neither case were they the actual authors of the text (which was written in other languages, usually Greek or Latin). In the process of textual transmission, their interventions can be compared to the changes an author might make during his lifetime (*recensions*). All redactorial interventions into a given text had the *same* authorial authority.<sup>39</sup> As none of the versions was the author's original, each of them became equally valid as of the moment they were detached from the non-Slavonic exemplar. Furthermore, all of the redactor-like-scribes' textual innovations – if not compared with the non-Slavonic exemplar – also had the very same authority. This is an important characteristic of CCS literature, one that distinguishes its textual transmission from the transmission of Latin texts in the West.

While texts in Latin liturgical books were mostly closed to later redactorial interventions after the death of their author (with the exception of chants, hagiographic texts, and apocrypha), *all* CCS liturgical texts were constantly open to having not only their translations improved, but also altered by will of any of redactor-like scribes. So far, researchers have been able to identify three recensions in which CCS translations were accommodated to Latin exemplars; these took place in the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> The last to attempt to create a CCS missal that was a faithful translation of a Latin missal was Šimun Kožičić Benja in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (CEKOVIĆ; SANKOVIĆ; ŽAGAR 2010; ŽAGAR 2012; ETEROVIĆ 2014: 47–52).

Benja's complaint that his predecessors undertook the same task as he, albeit poorly, indicates that the missals available to him had texts that were much different from their Latin exemplars; this required him to make changes to texts in many places or even to re-translate some of them. His complaint actually reflects the currently attested state of surviving CCS missals and breviaries, which are described in the literature as having older translations (from Greek) that were adjusted to their Latin exemplars "unequally and progressively", but "not thoroughly" (TANDARIĆ 1993: 17, 311–313; ŠIMIĆ 2000: 81, 94; ŠIMIĆ 2008: 534; ŠIMIĆ 2016: 523).

However, the aforementioned nature of these adjustments to Latin exemplars raise important questions, such as: how did redactor-scribes work, what were

<sup>39</sup> Who was there to say that one translation was more *original* (better expressing the author's original) than the other?

<sup>40</sup> Cf. VELA 2018: 13.

their goals, what was the scope of their interventions, and what else can be learned about their work? We shall return to these questions later in this paper.

One essential aspect of CCS textual transmission must be emphasised – the nature of the production of CCS liturgical books. Some of the surviving missals and breviaries were written by scribes who also signed their names in them. We know of hired (professional) scribes such as *Vid of Omišalj*, *Bartol of Krbava*, *Fabijan*, *Juraj*, and *Butko*; we also know the names of deacons *Kirin* and *Blaž Baromić* and priests *Tomas*, *Pavao*, *Mihovil*, *Petar Fraščić*, who either copied manuscripts for themselves, or were employed by some other priest or church community (ŠIMIĆ 2014b: 31–33, 37, 39, 41, 43–44). Some surviving manuscripts, such as MNew, MKop, BrPad, BrVb<sub>2</sub>, BrN<sub>1</sub>, BrDrag, and BrBer<sub>2</sub>, show multiple hands; one can thus assume that these were written in scriptoria, where multiple scribes took turns copying text (ŠIMIĆ 2014b: 31, 34, 36–39, 42).

The issue of Glagolitic scriptoria is still greatly unexplored. However, it is unlikely that any of the possible Croatian Glagolitic scriptoria were institutional mass copying centres, which would largely have produced and disseminated liturgical books for the needs of individuals across a broader territory. Glagolitic liturgical books had value, they were sold, re-sold, and moved from place to place, and yet nothing in the surviving manuscripts or the historical evidence about them indicates that the production of CCS liturgical books ever exceeded the terms of *privately* or *individually contracted* production.<sup>41</sup> This is important because, if the production of Glagolitic liturgical books was not institutionalized and centralized, we cannot expect the books produced to be unified or their texts standardised.

Given the account of the universal and special conditions of CCS textual transmission, let us expand upon the question of how a particular missal or breviary was made: what (re)sources were used? Was a CCS Bible one of the (re)sources? Were missals used as sources for breviaries, and vice versa? What kind of sources were the Latin exemplars? Was any editorial control exercised, and if so, how did it function?

We are not the first to introduce these ‘big’ questions, nor do we intend to offer final answers to them. Rather, we hope to contribute to resolving these issues and to a better understanding of CCS textual transmission. In order to do so, we have focused on the little chapters in the Croatian Church Slavonic

<sup>41</sup> According to Tandarić, Glagolitic liturgy was practised in villages by village clergy for the most part. See TANDARIĆ 1993: 71. In other words, it was limited to peripheral and provincial regions.



*Second Beram breviary* (BrBer<sub>2</sub>), particularly those found in its first and second part – the proper of seasons and the proper of saints.

## 6. DATA COLLECTION

There are currently only two transliterated editions of the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries: BrAc (ŠIMIĆ 2014a) and BrBer<sub>2</sub> (MIHALJEVIĆ 2018; MIHALJEVIĆ 2019). As mentioned above, BrAc is a shortened type of breviary (Lat. *liber horarum*), while the longer BrBer<sub>2</sub> (divided into two codices, the proper of seasons and proper of saints), is lacking a psalter and common of saints. BrBer<sub>2</sub> is used as the primary source of little chapters for the current research, despite the fact that it lacks those little chapters one might expect in the common of saints.

As in other Croatian Glagolitic breviaries, the Latin loan word *kapitulъ* in BrBer<sub>2</sub> stands for ‘little chapter’. It is usually abbreviated (*k̇ṗt*). The abbreviation is easily noticed due to its red colouring and it is rarely omitted (e.g. BrBer<sub>2/I</sub> 26c/1 and BrBer<sub>2/II</sub> 14b/10).

The first step in data collection was to collect all the little chapters in BrBer<sub>2</sub> on the basis of the transliterated edition (MIHALJEVIĆ 2018; MIHALJEVIĆ 2019). As they appear in both full and shortened form (with one to a few words), the shortened forms were excluded from further analysis. The shortened forms are a welcome confirmation of the importance of scribes’ reliance on their own memory in Medieval book usage, however they offer no relevant input for the current research. *Table 1* provides quantitative data on the little chapters in full and shortened form.

Table 1: Little chapters in BrBer<sub>2</sub>  
Tablica 1: Kapituli u BrBer<sub>2</sub>

BrBer <sub>2</sub>	Little chapters in full <sup>42</sup>	Shortened little chapters
PROPER OF SEASONS (BrBer <sub>2/I</sub> )	128	113
PROPER OF SAINTS (BrBer <sub>2/II</sub> )	41	83

The second step was identifying the biblical verses in the little chapters; this was done solely on the basis of the biblical knowledge of one of the authors of the current research.

<sup>42</sup> See also *Appendix I* and *Appendix II*.

The following step in data collection included the use of a digital bibliography of biblical readings in Croatian Glagolitic breviaries and missals.<sup>43</sup> The biblical verses identified were run through the database in order to determine where exactly (i.e. on which folio) they can be found in two missals: MVat<sub>4</sub>, as a representative of the older translation according to the Septuagint, and MNew, as a representative of a translation according to the Vulgate.

During this step, it emerged that a verse found in BrBer<sub>2</sub> is absent from the given database: 2 Thess 3:5,<sup>44</sup> which is a confirmation of the relevance of the little chapters. One may presume that further studies will add to the bibliography of biblical readings identified in Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books.

The next step was a comparison of the verse in BrBer<sub>2</sub> with the same verse in MVat<sub>4</sub> and MNew in order to extract those with differences that can be more readily ascribed to a different redaction or even translation. Nearly all of the analysed texts show some such differences, but those with significant differences (HAMM 1958: 116) provide good material for textological analysis.

Furthermore, we searched for and compared all extracted examples featuring a large set of differences in all known Croatian Glagolitic missals and breviaries (in both little chapters and readings). The last two steps in data collection were carried out on the basis of a facsimile collection of Croatian Glagolitic books held at the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb.<sup>45</sup>

The final step was including Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic Church Slavonic versions in the comparison as well. Cyrillic Church Slavonic versions were chosen due to their reflecting the earliest Slavonic translations from the Septuagint.

## 7. DATA ANALYSIS

### 7. 1. One and the same version of the Bible

A comparison of the biblical text in the 169 full little chapters written in BrBer<sub>2</sub> with their counterparts in missals and other breviaries leads to the impression that,

<sup>43</sup> The bibliography is available at the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb. For more on the database, see RADOŠEVIĆ; MAGDIĆ 2009: 259–275; ČUNČIĆ 2010: 167–170. However, relevant information on the biblical books, readings, and verses found in Croatian Glagolitic breviaries and missals can be found in BAKMAZ 2004; BAKMAZ 2010, and ČUNČIĆ 2010.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. BAKMAZ 2010: 97; ČUNČIĆ 2010: 188.

<sup>45</sup> Most of the collection is available in digital form, i.e. as a digital database that can be assessed at the Old Church Slavonic Institute.

in general terms, the texts are identical, i.e. that the same translation of the Bible is found in the substrate of both the plenary missal and the plenary breviary.

The text is the same in most instances; the differences can mostly be labelled as changes made by simple scribes, scholar-scribes and redactor-like scribes. There are fewer changes made by redactor-scribes; in most cases, these pertain to a more recent 14<sup>th</sup>-century redaction.

The general impression that the same translation was used is particularly supported where the CCS translation shows peculiarities not found elsewhere, as demonstrated in the following example.

### 7.1.1. Acts 9:9

a) <i>bê tri dni ne vide i ne rače êsti ni piti</i> – čMVat <sub>4</sub> <sup>46</sup> 174c čMRoč čMBer <sub>1</sub> čBrHum kBrHum kBrMav	CYR: <sup>47</sup> <i>bě .3. d(ь)ni ne vide, ni êstь že ni pietь</i> – Christ
b) <i>i ne rači êsti ni piti</i> – čMNew čMberl čMBrib čMber <sub>2</sub> čM-Vat <sub>8</sub> čMVb <sub>1</sub> čMVb <sub>2</sub> čMOxf <sub>1</sub> čBrBar kBrBar čBrDab kBrDab čBrBer <sub>1</sub> 25c kBrBer <sub>1</sub> kBrBer <sub>2</sub> čBrMav čBr-Mosk kBrMosk čBrN <sub>1</sub> kBrN <sub>1</sub> kBrN <sub>2</sub> 402a kBrRom čBr-Vat <sub>19</sub> kBrVat <sub>19</sub> čBrMet kBrMet kBrPm čBrVat <sub>6</sub> kBrVat <sub>6</sub>	<i>καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲ ἔπιεν</i> – Acts 9:9  <i>et non manducavit neque bibit</i> <sup>48</sup> – Acts 9:9
c) <i>i ne hotê êsti ni piti</i> – čMNov čMMod čMPt čMSegn čMhrv čBrBer <sub>2</sub>	d) <i>bê tri dni ne vide ni êdъi že ni pie</i> – FgGrš

Acts 9:9 *Here for three days he remained without sight, and neither ate nor drank.*

After St. Paul saw Jesus on his way to Damascus and was blinded, he remained in Damascus without sight for three days and *neither ate nor drank*. This is an expression upon which Greek, Latin, and other early Church Slavonic versions written in Cyrillic (CYR) agree. Only the CCS variant states that St. Paul refrained from eating and drinking, literally ‘was not willing to eat or

<sup>46</sup> The full identification (sheet and column) is provided only for manuscripts that were excerpted for the corpus of the *Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of the Church Slavonic Language*. In order to differentiate on sight whether a given text is from a *reading* or a *chapter*, the following abbreviations are used: č (= *čtenie*) denotes a *reading (lectio)*, and k (= *kapitulъ*) denotes a *little chapter (capitulum)*.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. BLAHOVA; HAUPTOVA 1990: 46–47; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *ni* (II. volume: 422).

<sup>48</sup> The Greek and English versions of the Bible used were online editions available at <https://www.newadvent.org/bible>. We relied on Lippe’s edition of the Latin missal (LIPPE 1899) for the Latin version due to the fact that CCS translations often follow modifications of biblical verses made for Latin liturgical books, cf. BARBARIĆ 2017: 127–129.

drink'. This innovation can be explained as the banalisation of a scribe who found it important to emphasize that St. Paul was willingly fasting.

The CCS variant a) *bê ... ne rače êsti ni piti* saw two more later banalisations (b, c).<sup>49</sup> It is, therefore, obvious that the variant 'not willing to eat or drink' only present in CCS is the substrate text to both the missal readings and the breviary readings.

The variant from the 12<sup>th</sup>-century CCS fragment – FgGrš (d) – which is in accordance with the Greek, Latin, and other Church Slavonic Cyrillic variants, speaks in favour of the Croatian Glagolites having a version different from that used for the plenary missal and breviary.

### 7.1.2. *Philippians 4:5*

The similarity between the missals and the breviaries is also indicative in cases where adjustments to the Latin variant were made early.<sup>50</sup> The relevant adjustments are those present in the oldest manuscripts. Since the oldest manuscripts (MVat<sub>4</sub>, BrVb<sub>1</sub>) are dated before the 14<sup>th</sup>-century reform, adjustments found in these witnesses were made either (1) before the creation of plenary (Franciscan) type liturgical books,<sup>51</sup> or (2) during the process of their creation.<sup>52</sup> The comparison demonstrates that the new variant is preserved in both plenary liturgical books.

krotost' <i>vaša da razumna budet'</i> – čMVat <sub>4</sub> 2d čM-Berl čMHrv čMBer <sub>1</sub> čMMod čMNNov čMOxf <sub>1</sub> čMOxf <sub>2</sub> čMPt čMRoč čMSegn čMVat <sub>8</sub> čM-Vb <sub>1</sub> čMVb <sub>2</sub> kBrBar kBrDrag kBrBer <sub>2</sub> kBr-Mav kBrMet kBrMosk kBrN <sub>1</sub> kBrN <sub>2</sub> kBrOxf kBrPm kBrRom kBrVat <sub>5</sub> kBrVat <sub>10</sub> kBrVat <sub>19</sub> kBrVb <sub>1</sub> kBrVin kBrVO 24a	CYR: <sup>53</sup> съмотръливное <i>vaše da razum-no budet'</i> – Christ
<i>modestia vestra nota sit</i> – Phil 4:5	τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω – Phil 4:5
Phil 4:5 <i>Give proof to all of your courtesy</i>	

<sup>49</sup> In b), the verb *račiti* – previously in the present participle form *rače* with predicative function – was turned into an independent predicate by introducing the aorist form *rači*. In c), the synonym *hotěti* was used instead of *račiti*.

<sup>50</sup> Glagolites used earlier translations from Greek and adjusted them to Latin. For early adjustments to Latin in CCS Bible verses cf. REINHART 1990.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. REINHART 1990.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. CORIN 1997.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. REINHART 1990: 219; BLAHOVA; HAUPTOVA 1990: 242–243; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *съмотръливнь* (IV. volume: 295).

In Phil 4:5, the substantivized adjective *smotrblivnoe*, a translation of the Greek substantivized adjective τὸ ἐπεικέες, was replaced with the noun *krotostb*,<sup>54</sup> which better suits the Latin *modestia*.

### 7.1.3. Titus 3:4

<p>a) <i>évi se blagodět<sup>b)</sup> i člověčstvo spasitela našego boga</i> – čMVat<sub>4</sub> 9c čMberl čMBrib čMber<sub>1</sub> čM-Mod čMNov čMOxf<sub>1</sub> čMOxf<sub>2</sub> čMPt čMRoč čMSegn čMVat<sub>8</sub> čMVb<sub>1</sub> čMVb<sub>2</sub> 11b čMVb<sub>2</sub> 254a čBrOxf čCodKop kBrBar kBrDrag kBrMavr kBrMet kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub> 21a kBrPm kBrRom kBrVat<sub>5</sub> kBrVat<sub>10</sub> kBrVat<sub>19</sub> kBrVb<sub>1</sub> kBrVin <i>apparuit benignitas et humanitas salvatoris nostri dei</i> – Tit 3:4</p>	<p>CYR:<sup>55</sup> (<i>egda že</i>) <i>blagodět<sup>b)</sup> i člověkoljubie prosvětiti se spasitelě našego boga</i> – Ochr</p> <p>ὅτε δὲ ἡ χρηστότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ – Tit 3:4</p>
<p>b) <i>milost i člověčstvo</i> – čMRoč</p>	

Tit 3:4 *Then the kindness of God, our Saviour, dawned on us*

In Titus 3:4, the text was modified twice. The noun *člověkoljubie* used to translate the Greek φιλανθρωπία was replaced with *člověčstvo*, as it reflects the same root meaning as the Latin *humanitas*.

Another innovation is that the verb *éviti se* was used instead of *prosvětiti se* as a translation of the verb *apparere*/ἐπιφαίνεσθαι. A version with these early innovations was used for both missals and breviaries.

<sup>54</sup> It is interesting to note that *Matica's apostolos* (a 13<sup>th</sup>-century Serbian Church Slavonic manuscript) adds *krotostb vaša* after *smotrblivnoje vamb*, cf. KOVAČEVIĆ; STEFANOVIĆ 1979: 279. This may represent a contamination from the CCS variant.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. REINHART 1990: 211, 213; BLAHOVA; HAUPTOVA 1990: 318–319; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *blagodět<sup>b)</sup>* (I. volume: 98), s. v. *prosvětiti* (III. volume: 372), s. v. *člověkoljubije* (IV. volume: 876).

7.1.4. *Titus 2:11–12*

- a) *évi se milost<sup>b)</sup> spasitela našego boga vsém' člověkom' nakazuŕiči<sup>c)</sup> ni da otvr'gše nečistotu i mirskie<sup>d)</sup> pohoti trězveně i pravdně i milostivě<sup>e)</sup> živěm' vь věcě semь* – čMVat<sub>4</sub> 8c

*apparuit gratia dei salvatoris nostri omnibus hominibus erudiens nos ut abnegantes impietatem et saecularia desideria sobrie et iuste et pie vivamus in hoc saeculo* – Tit 2:11-12

- b) *milost' i člověčastvo spasitela* – kBrBer<sub>2</sub> kBrMav kBrMet kBrPad kBrRom kBrVat<sub>19</sub> kBrVb<sub>1</sub> kBrVO 63a

- c) *učeči nasъ da ... živemъ* – čMBer1 čMNew čMNov čMROč čMVat<sub>8</sub> čMVb<sub>1</sub> čMVb<sub>2</sub> kBrBar kBrDrag kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub> kBrOxf kBrPm kBrVat<sub>5</sub> kBrVat<sub>10</sub> kBrVin

*nakazaŕičiē ni učeči nasъ da ... živemъ* – čMHrv čMOxf<sub>2</sub>

*učečimъ nasъ* – čMSegn čMMod čMPt

- d) *sk'vrn'nie pohoti* – čMNov čMMod čMPt čMVat<sub>8</sub> kBrBar kBrDrag kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub> kBrOxf kBrPm kBrVat<sub>5</sub> kBrVat<sub>10</sub> kBrVin

*světovne pohoti* – čMSegn čMKož

- e) *om. i milostivě* – čMOxf<sub>2</sub> kBrBar kBrDrag kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub> kBrPm kBrVat<sub>5</sub> kBrVat<sub>10</sub> kBrVin

CYR:<sup>56</sup> *javi se blagoděť božija sъrasъna vsěmъ člověkomъ nakazaŕšti (skazaŕštimъ<sub>Mak</sub>) ny da otnręgše se nečestija i pľtъskyhъ pohotei cělomōdrъno i pravedno i blagověrnō roživemъ vь niěžnimъ věcě* – Ochr

*ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς ἵνα ἀρνησάμενοι τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι* – Tit 2:11–12

*Tit 2:11–12 The grace of God, our Saviour, has dawned on all men alike, schooling us to forgo irreverent thoughts and worldly appetites, and to live, in this present world, a life of order, of justice, and of holiness.*

<sup>56</sup> Cf. REINHART 1990: 220–221, 232, 235, 241; BLANOVA; HAUPTOVA 1990: 318–319; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *aviti* (Volume I: 6), s. v. *nečystije* (Volume II: 420), s. v. *nynežny* (Volume II: 449), s. v. *pravdybno* (Volume III: 246), s. v. *prosvyťeti* (Volume III: 371), s. v. *sъkazati* (Volume IV: 271), s. v. *sъrasenije* (Volume IV: 319), s. v. *cělomōdrъno* (Volume IV: 835).

There are several early innovations in the text of Titus 2:11–12. Some of these are most probably the result of adjusting the translation to the Latin exemplar: *mirskie* – *saecularia*; *trêzvenê* – *sobrie*; *milostivê* – *pie*; *vъ ... semъ* – *in hoc*.

Other early innovations were not necessarily induced through the Latin exemplar, but may have been the intervention of a scholar-scribe who used the synonyms *milostъ* – *blagoděťъ*, *nečistota* – *nečъstije*, *žiti* – *požiti*. There are also other later innovations in the text (b, c, d, e).<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, it seems evident that the same version was used in both missals and breviaries.

It is worth noting here that both liturgical books also share some of the *later* innovations (*učēci(ê)* – *nakazuûci(ê)*; *skvrъnnie* – *mirskie*; om. *milostivê*). These confirm that the missals and breviaries are interconnected on many levels.

### 7.1.5. *Isaiah 58:7*

a) *prêlomi* lačučumu hlěbъ tvoi i ničee i stran'nie<sup>b)</sup> vъvedi v dom' tvoi egda vidiši naga oblěci ego i pьti tvoee ne oskvr'ni<sup>c)</sup> – čMVat<sub>4</sub> 27d čMHrv čM-Ber, čMOxf<sub>2</sub> čMROč čMVb<sub>2</sub> kBrBer<sub>2</sub> kBrOxf kBrPad kBrVat<sub>10</sub> kBrVat<sub>19</sub> kBrVb<sub>1</sub> kBrVb<sub>2</sub> kBrVb<sub>3</sub> kBrVO 160d

Isa 58:7 *frange esurienti panem tuum et egenos vagosque induc in domum tuam cum videris nudum operi eum et carnem tuam ne despexeris*

CYR:<sup>58</sup> *razъdrablja* alčōštīmъ hlěbъ svoi i ništōę *ne imōštōę krova* vъvedi vъ domъ svoi ašte vidiši naga ođeždi i i oť bližnihъ sēmene svoego ne prēzri – Grig

διάθρυπτε πεινῶντι τὸν ἄρτον σου καὶ πτωχοὺς ἀστέγους εἰσαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου ἐὰν ἴδῃς γυμνὸν περιβάλε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ σπέρματός σου οὐχ ὑπερόψη – Isa 58:7

<sup>57</sup> These innovations are:

- b) in the older breviaries, the noun *člověčstvo* was added after the noun *milostъ*, a result of assimilation to the similar text from the previous example (Tit 3:4). It is, however, unclear whether this assimilation was already present in the Latin exemplar or if it was the intervention of a Glagolitic scribe;
- c) lexical banalisations: in the printed missals, p.pr. of the verb *učiti* (*učētimъ*) is not congruent with the noun *milostъ* as in the other witnesses (*učēci*), but with the noun *člověkomъ*. If this is not a coincident variation (homoplasy), it is possible that this form was influenced by a similar variation found in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century Macedonian Church Slavonic *Strumica apostolos* (Mak), which would suggest that the Glagolites did have other versions of this verse at their disposal;
- d) lexical banalisations: it is possible that *skvrъnnъ* is used as synonym to *pьtъskъ*, which would support the likelihood of the Croatian Glagolites having access to or knowledge of other versions of the Bible;
- e) an omission: this is noteworthy as it spread to a considerable number of manuscripts.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. RIBAROVA; HAUPTOVA 1998: 234–237; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *alъkati* (I. volume: 27), s. v. *oděti* (II. volume: 520), s. v. *ozъrěti* (II. volume: 526), s. v. *razъdrabljati* (III. volume: 567), s. v. *ulomiti* (IV. volume: 635).

b) ničee i bednie v'vedi – kBrMav kBrBar  
kBrMet kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrPm kBrRom kBr-  
Vat<sub>5</sub>

c) ne uničiži – čMBerl čMBe<sub>2</sub> čMNov čM-  
Mod čMPt čMVat<sub>8</sub>

ne vznenavijъ – čMNew čMOxf<sub>1</sub> čM-  
Vb<sub>1</sub> kBrBar kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub>  
kBrPm kBrRom kBrVat<sub>5</sub>

ne pogrdi – čMSegn čMKož

Bes XVI,84aa:<sup>59</sup> ulomi (var. *prelomi*) alč-  
*juštju* hlěba svojego (var. hlěbъ svoi) i ništaja  
i *strannyja* vъvedi vъ domъ tvoi *jegda* vi-  
diši naga odeži i i *plъti tvojeja* da ne ozriši  
(var. prezriši)

Isa 58:7 *Share thy bread with the hungry, give the poor and the vagrant a welcome to thy house; meet thou the naked, clothe him; from thy own flesh and blood turn not away*

Isa 58:7 adheres to the Latin version. In the missals, it is located in the middle of the pericope Isa 58:1-9, which was possibly translated from Latin in the first place. In the verse in question, there are several variations due to the Latin exemplar: *strannie – vagos; egda – cum; plъti tvoee – carnem tuam*.

Other differences emerging from the comparison with the *Prophetologion* (Cyrillic) versions are those where the Greek and Latin versions express the same meaning: *prêlomi – razъdrablja; oblêci – odeždi; ne oskvrъni – ne prъžri*. There are also later innovations in the text (b, c),<sup>60</sup> but nonetheless, it is clear that this (new) translation from Latin was also used for the little chapter in the breviaries.

It is interesting to note that some of the CCS variants (*prêlomi, lačućumu, strannie, egda, plъti tvoee*) are also present in the Czech Church Slavonic version of this same biblical verse in *Besědy na evangelije papy Grigorija Velikago* (Bes), which were translated from Latin.

We must also note that the missals and breviaries share the variant *ne vznenaviždb*.

Verses in which CCS (Phil 4:5, Tit 3:4, Tit 2:11–12, Isa 58:7) exhibits early innovations present in both missals and breviaries suggest that the same version of biblical text was used for the plenary missal and breviary. This could

<sup>59</sup> KONZAL 2005: 376.

<sup>60</sup> These innovations are lexical banalizations. In b), the scribe likely felt invoking a strange person into one's home to be dangerous, so he replaced *strannie* 'strangers' with *bědnie* 'poor ones', thus using a synonym to expand upon the idea expressed by the previous word *ničee* 'wretches'. In c), variants show the full range of the moral implications of the Fifth Commandment – *thou shalt not kill*.



only be the case if the same source was used. Was this source a CCS Bible? This may have been the case.

However, given the account of the universal and special conditions of CCS textual transmission discussed earlier, it is highly unlikely that the Glagolites had a new CCS Bible (one with innovations and adjustments to Latin) as *textus receptus* in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This would require an authoritative, ‘official’ version of the Bible to have been pre-established as *textus receptus* before being used during the creation of the plenary missal and breviary.

We do not believe the Glagolites had an institution willing or capable of undertaking such a task.<sup>61</sup> It is thus more probable that textual congruences between the plenary missal and the plenary breviary occurred because both of them were composed by the same group of experts in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> These experts (redactor-scribes) who undertook the task of altering the missal and the breviary relied on the *same* sources (Bible?) for both liturgical books and the same solutions (some of which were probably their own) for both books. This is how congruencies in parts of texts with early innovations can be explained.

However, the *genesis* of the CCS missal and CCS breviary proves neither as straightforward nor as simple; the CCS translations of some biblical verses indicate that more than one version was used.

## 7. 2. Different versions of the Bible

### 7.2.1. 2 Corinthians 11:25

a) ... trikrat' isprovr'že<sup>b)</sup> se korabl' <sup>c)</sup> sь mnoū  
noč' i dьnъ v glubinê mora bēhъ –  
čMVat<sub>4</sub> 22b čMBrib čMKop čMBer<sub>1</sub>  
čMOxf<sub>2</sub> kBrBer<sub>2</sub> kBrMav kBrVb<sub>1</sub>  
kBrVb<sub>2</sub>

... *ter naufragium feci nocte et die in profundum maris fui* – 2 Cor 11:25

CYR:<sup>63</sup> tri kraty lodija isprovъrže sь  
mъnoju noštъ i dьnъ vъ glubinê sьtvorihъ –  
Christ

τρὶς ἐνανάγησα νυκθήμερον ἐν τῷ βυθῷ  
πεποίηκα – 2 Cor 11:25

<sup>61</sup> Cf. TANDARIĆ 1993: 71.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. STANKOVSKA 2015: 460.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. REINHART 1990: 212, 218; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *globina* (Volume I: 405), s. v. *dьnъ* (Volume I: 541), s. v. *isprovřěsti* (Volume I: 810), s. v. *ladii* (Volume II: 103), s. v. *noštъ* (Volume II: 441), s. v. *trišьdy* (Volume IV: 487).

<p>b) pod'vrati se – čMNov čMberl čMhrv čM- Mod čMNew čMOxf<sub>1</sub> čMPt čMRoč čMSegn čMVat<sub>8</sub> čMVb<sub>1</sub> čMVb<sub>2</sub> kBr- Bar kBrDrag kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub> kBrOxf kBrPm kBrVat<sub>5</sub> kBrVat<sub>10</sub> kBr- Vat<sub>19</sub> kBrVb<sub>3</sub></p> <p>podvraćenie priêt' – kBrMet</p> <p>pod' mnoû – čMOxf<sub>1</sub> kBrVat<sub>19</sub></p> <p>c) ladi – kBrVO 139c kBrRom kBrVb<sub>3</sub> kBr- Pad</p>	<p>ant. ... trikrat' isprovrže se ladi s mnoû nočъ i dьнь v glubinê stvoriъь putnaê š stiê mnoga – aBrMav 199b</p> <p>ant. ... <i>ter naufragium pertuli pro Christi no- mine</i></p>
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2 Cor 11:25 *three times I was beaten with rods, once I was stoned; I have been shipwrecked three times, I have spent a night and a day as a castaway at sea*

The CCS translation contains two early changes in 2 Cor 11:25, and as in previous cases, one version with these variations was used in both the plenary missal and plenary breviary. The first variation uses the synonym *korablъ* instead of the noun *ladii*. The second variation is true to the Latin exemplar: the verb *biti* is more suitable to the Latin *esse*. This version was later modified through lexical banalisations and likely even through contamination with the similar text of the antiphon (b).<sup>64</sup>

However, some of the older Krk breviaries echo the earlier variant with *ladii* instead of *korablъ* (c). That indicates that Croatian Glagolites had another version which was similar to the Cyrillic one and which partly contaminated the newly established CCS version.

Even more, in the antiphon on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul in *BrMav* there is almost the exact Cyrillic version of this verse. The text of the antiphon is in no way similar to the one found in other breviaries. It comes in the raw form, not cut to shape the Latin antiphon and it seems as though it was simply copied and pasted from some additional source, such as *Apostolos*.

Apart from that, we shall note that the later innovation *podvrati se* is shared between missals and breviaries. Moreover, one of the missals (MOxf<sub>1</sub>) and one of the breviaries (BrVat<sub>19</sub>) are connected with the solution *podvrati se pod mnoû*.

<sup>64</sup> The Latin antiphon created according to this biblical verse contains *naufragium pertuli* in place of *naufragium feci*. It was likely translated with *podvrbъženie priêhъь*, which is attested in the CCS antiphon of the Office of St. Peter and Paul in BrVat<sub>6</sub> 132b. However, upon contamination with the version *korablъ podvrati se*, a new version emerged from a combination of the two previous ones – *korablъ podvraćenie priêt'* (kBrMet).

## 7.2.2. 1 Corinthians 9:25

- a) vsakъ ubo iže v brani spěšitъ ot vsěh' trězvit se oni že ubo da istlětelni vĕnc' priěli bi<sup>65</sup> mi že neistlětelni<sup>6b</sup> vĕnc' –  
 čMVat<sub>4</sub> 21a čMBrib čMber<sub>1</sub> čMOxf<sub>2</sub>  
 čBrVO 109b kBrMav kBrPad kBrVb<sub>1</sub>  
 kBrVb<sub>2</sub> kBrVb<sub>3</sub> kBrVO 130b

*omnis enim qui in agone contendit ab omnibus se abstinet et illi quidem ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant nos autem incorruptam* – 1 Cor 9:25

- b) is'tlĕn'ni ... neis'tlĕn'ni – čMber<sub>1</sub> čMhrv  
 čMmod čMnew čMnov čMOxf<sub>1</sub>  
 čMPt čMroč čMsegn čMVat<sub>8</sub> čMVb<sub>1</sub>  
 čMVb<sub>2</sub> kBrBar kBrDrag kBrBer<sub>2</sub> kBr-  
 Met kBrMosk kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrN<sub>2</sub> kBrOxf  
 kBrPm kBrRom kBrVat<sub>3</sub> kBrVat<sub>10</sub>  
 kBrVat<sub>19</sub>

- c) da ... primutъ – čMKož čMnew kBrBar  
 kBrDrag kBrN<sub>1</sub> kBrOxf kBrPm kBr-  
 Vat<sub>3</sub>

CYR:<sup>65</sup> vsakъ že podvizaje se oť vьsego trězvitъ se oni že ubo da istlĕnъnъ vĕncъ primutъ my že neistlĕnъnъ – Šiš

πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἵνα φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄφθαρτον – 1 Cor 9:25

1 Cor 9:25 *Every athlete must keep all his appetites under control; and he does it to win a crown that fades, whereas ours is imperishable*

1 Cor 9:25 is noteworthy as it shows traces of the old Cyrillic version to some extent in witnesses that belong to the more recent group, while the older missals and breviaries use the version with the early innovations. In this line, the early adjustment *iže v brani spěšitъ* was adjusted to the Latin version *qui in agone contendit*. It also contains other innovations that were not necessarily made with regard to the Latin version: *istlĕtelni* – *istlĕnъnъ*; *da priěli bi* – *da primutъ*; *neistlĕtelni* – *neistlĕnъnъ*.<sup>66</sup> The version with the early innovations was then used for both older missals and older breviaries. However, judging by the contaminated CCS versions in variants b) and c), it seems plausible that

<sup>65</sup> Cf. REINHART 1990: 234; BLAHOVA; HAUPTOVA 1990: 316–317; SLOVNÍK 1959–1997, s. v. *vъzdrъžati* (Volume I: 269), s. v. *netlĕnъnъ* (Volume II: 413), s. v. *podvizati* (Volume III: 95), s. v. *trězviti sę* (Volume IV: 513).

<sup>66</sup> The change in the root morpheme and the synonymous verb in a different form can also be ascribed to scribal intervention.

Croatian Glagolites possessed a *Prophetologion* version and used it for their purposes.<sup>67</sup>

## 8. DISCUSSION OF THE DATA

The given examples, i.e. shared translational choices and contaminated variants suggest that the CCS plenary missal and breviary share a common origin. As previously presumed, they may have been made by the same group of experts. In addition, this manner of Glagolitic liturgical book production must have been supported by the production of a large number of copies. This high production was the necessary precondition for the older books to be replaced. From the perspective of liturgical book production, it seems even more plausible that the 13<sup>th</sup>-century reform was not carried out by the Glagolites alone, but with the support of the Latinate clergy (VERKHOLANTSEV 2014: 53–60).

However, the origin of the CCS missal and breviary is not to be seen as *monogenesis*, but rather as *polygenesis*. Many other books written in Church Slavonic continued to exist, older liturgical books among them, and these eventually contaminated new liturgical books through the unceasing process of copying.

The contamination occurred on the macro level as *successive contamination*, wherein larger text passages were copied from sources other than the primal exemplar. However, it also occurred on the micro level as *simultaneous contamination*, wherein multiple sources were used for a single line of text. The examples provided above show how later innovations in the text are shared between younger missals and breviaries. Examples of this sort suggest that both missals and breviaries were sometimes *used as sources for one another*. Other sources such as the *Apostolos*, the Bible, other Church Slavonic codices, etc. were also potentially used.

From the perspective of the copying process itself, if an exemplar of one type was used to write a codex of a different type, they are then extra-stemmatic sources, regardless of the fact that the same text (biblical verse) is being copied. The contaminations were thus *extra-stemmatic contaminations*. However, regardless how many times extra-stemmatic contamination occurred,

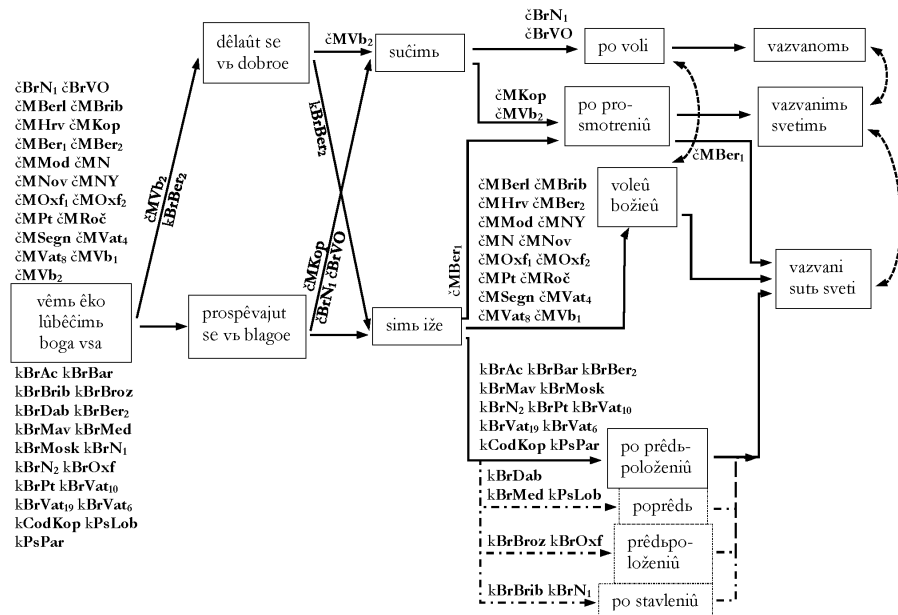
<sup>67</sup> Mihaljević also suggests that Glagolites possessed a *Prophetologion* brought from Macedonia, cf. MIHALJEVIĆ 2016: 70.

this kind of contamination was not common, and this is not what is meant by ‘simultaneous contamination’.

*Simultaneous contamination* occurs when a scribe uses two or more exemplars at the same time to write his book. The question thus arises: did simultaneous contamination occur during the copying process of Glagolitic liturgical books? This can be proved nor disproved due to the fact that there are no records of direct witnesses to this process. Nevertheless, simultaneous contamination is something we assume to be probable.

This assumption is supported by the alignment graphs (1–3) demonstrating how witnesses group, ungroup, and regroup within a single biblical verse.

Rom 8:28 Meanwhile, we are well assured that everything helps to secure the good of those who love God, those whom he has called in fulfilment of his design.  
 οἴδομεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν τὸν θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν  
 scimus quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum his qui secundum propositum vocati sunt sancti

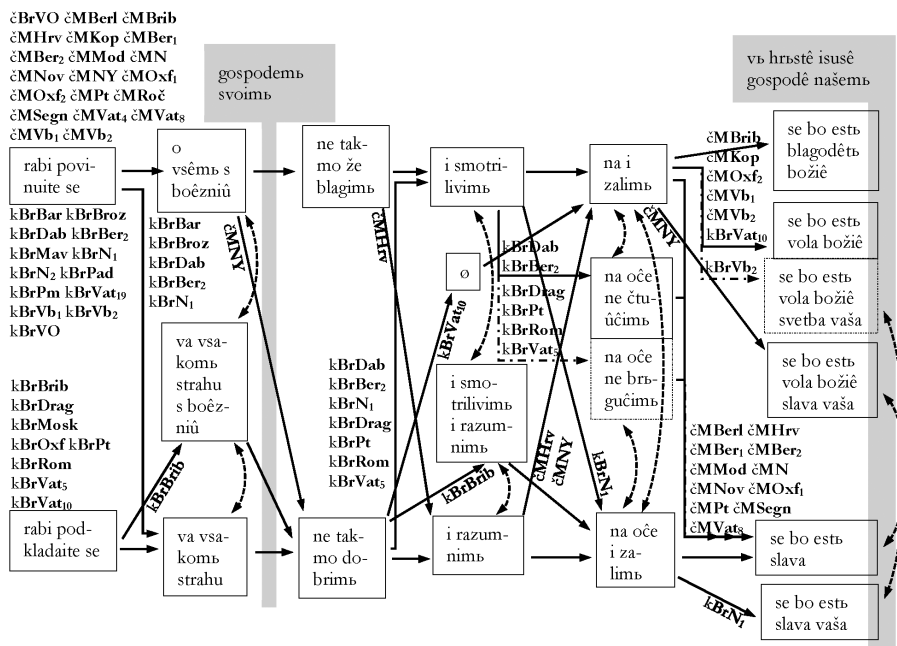


Alignment graph 1: Romans 8:28

1 Pet 2:18 You who are slaves must be submissive to your masters, and shew all respect, not only to those who are kind and considerate, but to those who are hard to please.

οἱ οἰκέται ὑποτασσόμενοι ἐν παντί φόβῳ τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐπιεικεῖσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς σκολιοῖς

servi subditi estote in omni timore dominis non tantum bonis et modestis sed etiam discolis haec est enim gratia in Christo Iesu domino nostro



Alignment graph 2: 1 Peter 2:18

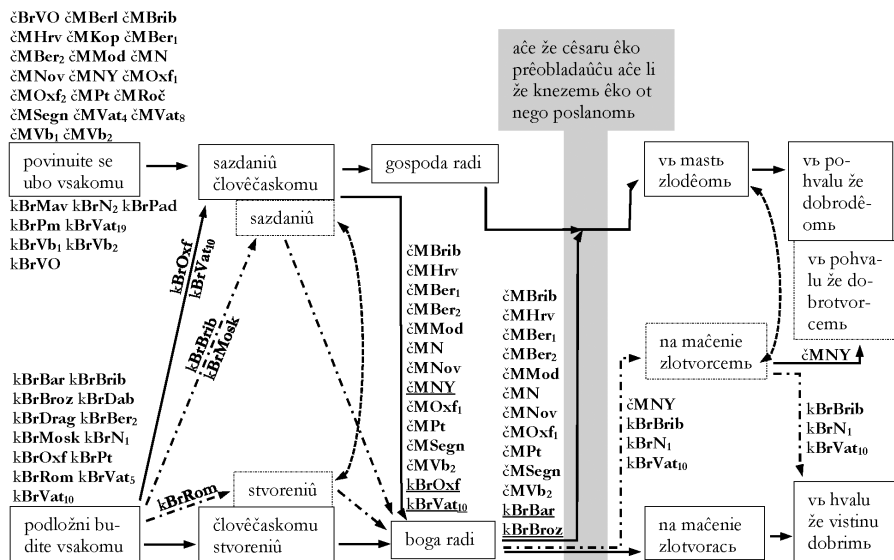
The visual alignment offered here makes it easier to visualise our assumption regarding how scribes chose between the different text variants they had at their disposal. The horizontal arrows demonstrate how witnesses prefer one variant over another, while the curved arrows demonstrate possible influences of one variant over another.

The graphs illustrate that some witnesses share identical text, while others that contain novelties as compared to these form small groups, which are unstable. These are apparent in one example (graph), but they are absent in the next, where we find some other groups. Finally, witnesses sometimes deviate

1 Pet 2: 13-14 For love of the Lord, then, bow to every kind of human authority; to the king, who enjoys the chief power, and to the magistrates who hold his commission to punish criminals and encourage honest men

ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀνθρώπινῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν κύριον εἴτε βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι εἴτε ἡγεμόσιν ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις εἰς ἐκδίκησιν κακοποιῶν ἔπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν

subiecti estote omni humanae creaturae propter Deum sive regi quasi praecellenti sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis ad vindictam malefactorum laudem vero bonorum



Alignment graph 3: 1 Peter 2:13-14

from their group in a single variant; some contain two variants written one after another.<sup>68</sup>

The fact that CCS witnesses contain texts that combine variants has been well documented. Almost every CCS textological study undertaken so far has concluded that there exists a group of documents that can only be labelled as documents that “oscillate in between both groups” (PANTELIC 1967: 71).<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See kBrBrib and ěMNY in 1 Peter 2:18 and also ěMOxf<sub>1</sub> and ěMHrv in previous example Titus 2:11–12.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. also BAUEROVÁ 1991: 20–22; TANDARIĆ 1993: 266; ŠIMIĆ 2000: 116; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ 2006: 31–32; STANKOVSKA 2008: 202–203; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ 2009: 11–12; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ 2010a: 49; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ 2012: 57–58; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; MIHALJEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2012: 262; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2016: 107–110.

The question one should ask is: why would scribes choose between variants? What were their attitudes and their intentions in doing so? It stands to reason that they were acting as Mediaeval redactors. They used multiple exemplars in order to establish a text variant that is *right* – not the authentic one, but the *right* one.<sup>70</sup> The Glagolites must have been aware of the fact that manuscripts accumulate more and more mistakes over time with each new copy. Hence, they used multiple exemplars to correct as many mistakes as possible. Each additional exemplar provided a better chance of finding and correcting these mistakes. If their exemplars had different versions of a particular text, they took from each version that which suited the purpose of compiling the text with the *right* meaning, or at least what they believed to be the right meaning.

In other words, they were engaged in a kind of *constitutio textus*. However, they did so not in modern terms and not as present-day redactors do. Their interest was not in finding the *original* text as the author/translator first wrote it; their ongoing intention was to establish variants that would be right, without mistakes.

Consequently, an unexpected turn of events occurred. A reform was implemented in the 14<sup>th</sup> century to adjust the new CCS liturgical books to Latin exemplars, however this was unsuccessful, as books with texts fully adjusted and true to Latin exemplars were not accepted as *textus receptus*. When used in the further process of the *constitutio textus*, they were possibly contaminated where scribes reached for older books to consult the previous translation.

Described in geographical terms, the more remote they were from the centre of reforms, the more likely scholar-scribes establishing the *constitutio textus* were to use exemplars with earlier variants as one of their primary exemplars, along with the reformed exemplar as the second. Consequently, the witnesses ‘in between’ the older (Krk-Istria area) and the more recent (Zadar-Krbava area) group appeared.<sup>71</sup>

The process that we have just described as *constitutio textus* seems an appropriate model to explain textual differences in CCS documents. Judging from the variety of text-types exhibited by the witnesses and from the intertwined variants, we may say that the described *constitutio textus* must have taken place many times. Given that the comparison of different manuscripts

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<sup>70</sup> On the difference between *leçon vraie* (right reading) and *leçon authentique* (authentic reading), see HAVET 1911: 425–427.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; MIHALJEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2012: 262.



to obtain a text as accurate as possible is an ancient scribal technique,<sup>72</sup> there is no obvious reason why the Glagolites would not have used it. This technique is most recognisable in the eclectic editions of missals and breviaries described as witnesses that “oscillate in between”. If the Glagolitic scribes applied it in these codices, it may have been because it was something they relied on regularly or occasionally in order to eliminate mistakes.

Returning to the issue of the creation of the Glagolitic missals and breviaries, it can be presumed they were sometimes made by simple scribes or scholar-scribes copying a particular exemplar. In other cases, scribes sometimes used additional texts from other exemplars or other sources, therefore producing manuscripts with successive contamination and extra-stemmatic contamination. Finally, CCS liturgical books were sometimes made by redactor-like scribes, who used multiple exemplars simultaneously, but also reached for some extra-stemmatic sources, their memory, etc. in order to obtain a text that is as accurate as possible.

It is evident that the described book creation process required certain resources. It was probably undertaken in monastic libraries or capitulary church libraries, where scribes had more books at their disposal.

## 9. LATIN EXEMPLARS

Regarding the textual transmission of CCS missals and breviaries, one issue is still to be addressed – the issue of Latin exemplars. Did scholar-scribes use Latin missals and breviaries as one of their resources? CCS textual adjustments to Latin exemplars are usually described as being made “unequally and progressively”, but “not thoroughly” (TANDARIĆ 1993: 17, 311–313; ŠIMIĆ 2000: 81, 94; ŠIMIĆ 2008: 534; ŠIMIĆ 2016: 523). This would suggest that the scholar-scribes *did* use Latin exemplars as auxiliary sources.

Recent textological studies concluding that there existed “many matrices which intersected with one another” imply this as well.<sup>73</sup> As it concerns CCS literature, the term *matrix* refers to text connected with non-Slavonic exem-

<sup>72</sup> Scholar-scribes used it for their editions in the Great Library of Alexandria in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, cf. ROELLI; MACÉ 2015: 47.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; MIHALJEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2012; BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2016.

plars, as is duly explained by Hamm.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, “many matrices” implies a non-Slavonic text being used many times to render a text.

However, if viewed from the perspective of textual transmission in liturgical books, there are several reasons to presume that Latin exemplars were not involved as a regular auxiliary source. First, this would require bilingual scribes (versed in CCS as well as Latin) familiar with both Latin and Church Slavonic liturgy. Although there were Glagolites who *were familiar with or proficient in Latin*, historical facts do not support the likelihood that they *usually* practiced Latin liturgy alongside CCS liturgy.<sup>75</sup> Practicing both kinds of liturgy was likely reserved for individuals in exceptional cases.<sup>76</sup>

Second, if scholar-scribes used Latin exemplars frequently, one would expect Latin glosses to be present in some of the preserved CCS manuscripts. The only known Glagolitic manuscript with Latin glosses is BrVat<sub>19</sub>. However, these glosses were made in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Rafael Levaković (JAPUNDŽIĆ 1955: 159–160).

Finally, if Latin exemplars were used regularly, one would expect scribes to have eliminated most discrepancies through comparison with Latin exemplars – not only uncorrected copying errors, but also traces of older translations from Greek exemplars that did not correspond to the Latin texts.

Therefore, it can be presumed that redactor-scribes were involved in the processes of CCS liturgical textual transmission only on special occasions. Three special occasions have already been hypothesized as reforms that took place in the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, there cannot have been many matrices. On the contrary, there can be (and usually are) numerous types of text. Text types that are the result of interventions of redactor-like scribes, not of redactor-scribes. Redactor-like scribes were eclectic in that they would use two texts to produce a third.

In explaining how CCS biblical texts were inconsistently and gradually adjusted to Latin exemplars, Tandarić states that changes were initially made at the beginnings and the ends of the pericopes, and only later sporadically with-

<sup>74</sup> See HAMM 1952: 34.

<sup>75</sup> On the Glagolites' knowledge of Latin cf. VERKHOLANTSEV 2014: 41–43.

<sup>76</sup> Such as an anonymous bishop mentioned by Georgius de Sclavonia (Juraj Slovinač) in a marginal note in his *Commentarii in Psalmos* as the first to celebrate mass in both languages (Latin and Croatian Church Slavonic): *Primus episcopus Chrawacie qui scit utrumque ydionia tam latinum quam crawaticum et celebrat missam in altero istorum ydiomatium quocumque sibi placet* (ŠANJEK; TANDARIĆ 1984: 6).

in them.<sup>77</sup> While it is understandable why the Glagolites would have adjusted the beginnings and ends,<sup>78</sup> it is counterintuitive that a redactor-scribe adjusting a text to Latin would have acted superficially by making only *some* adjustments and not others. Therefore, it seems more plausible that what might look like the sporadic intervention of a redactor-scribe should be explained as a contamination introduced by redactor-like scribe(s).

The presence of sporadic (parts of) texts with older translations from Greek or older variants in more recent CCS manuscripts may not necessarily be due to 14<sup>th</sup>-century reforms, which changed liturgical books “(almost) completely” (BADURINA-STIPČEVIĆ; MIHALJEVIĆ; ŠIMIĆ 2012: 262) – it may be because the preserved codices are contaminated. It is possible that, similar to Kožičić Benja, we simply do not possess a good exemplar of 14<sup>th</sup>-century reformed CCS liturgical books.

On the other hand, if 13<sup>th</sup>- and 14<sup>th</sup>-century reforms of liturgical books are compared, it seems that the former was more successful than the latter. While the 13<sup>th</sup>-century reform succeeded in superseding older liturgical books,<sup>79</sup> the 14<sup>th</sup>-century reform failed in its intent to impose new books as the “better” ones. Its influence faded more and more as the distance from the centre of reform (Zadar) increased.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> See TANDARIĆ 1993: 310–326.

<sup>78</sup> Bible texts (and other texts) used for liturgical books were cut out of their natural contexts, so they needed to be adjusted in the beginnings and in the ends to fit in the new context. Cf. DE ZAN 1997: 39–50.

<sup>79</sup> One of the major reasons why this happened is that in the books reformed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century were the books of the new (Franciscan) type. The other possible reason is that the reform itself had better institutional support (of the Latinate clergy).

<sup>80</sup> As one of the anonymous reviewers of this paper points out, the reasons why the 14<sup>th</sup>-century reform did not reach Krk and Istria might be that: 1) Istria was under the rule of both the Venice and the Habsburgs, 2) Counts of Krk as well as other islands of Kvarner and Zadar Archipelago were vassals of the Venice, 3) Venice and Kingdom of Croatia were in constant territorial conflicts during the reign of the Louis I of Anjou (1342–1382) who forced Venetians to sign the Peace Treaty of Zadar in 1358, which demanded their withdrawal from all their possessions from the middle of the Bay of Kvarner to Drač, and 4) boundaries of the Church jurisdiction over Croatian lands were set differently. For basic information see RAUKAR 2008. For the estimation when did the so-called southern 14<sup>th</sup>-century redaction reach Istria see REINHART 2011.

## 10. CONCLUSION

Liturgical books are the core books of Croatian Glagolitic literacy, not only because they embody the majority of Croatian Glagolitic literary heritage, but even more so because they are the bearers of unique liturgical distinctiveness within the pre-Second Vatican Council Catholic Church. In addition, their creation during the 13<sup>th</sup> century – the century that saw both papal approval for Glagolitic liturgy as well as Franciscan reform of liturgical books – is the key issue in the evolution of Croatian Glagolitic literacy.

To date, Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books (missals and breviaries) are mostly researched independently from each other. Researchers have focused on individual texts (mostly biblical and hagiographic texts) and their versions in surviving codices. The greatest insight arising from these studies is the filial distinction between northern (Krk-Istria) and southern (Krbava-Zadar) codices, the former of which follows older translations (the Septuagint for biblical texts) and the latter of which is better adjusted to Latin exemplars (the Vulgate for biblical texts). Additionally, some codices have been described as standing between the two major groups. In other words, they were recognised as a combination of both the northern and southern group.

No research to date has succeeded in establishing a *stemma codicum*. This can be attributed to the high loss rate of Croatian Glagolitic codices, as well as to horizontal textual transmission, which placed them in the open tradition. The use of several exemplars and sources in the copying process resulted in – and can therefore be proven by – the occurrence of successive contamination. An example of successive contamination is the case of the CCS version of Thomas Aquinas' *Sermon* in the *Office of Corpus Christi*.

Given the restraints in establishing reliable filiation and genealogy for surviving pre-Tridentine CCS manuscripts and printed books, we have chosen to shed further light on the process by which CCS liturgical books were created (in terms of textual transmission) by asking a question: how was a particular missal or breviary made?

With scribes being the primary makers of books before the invention of the printing press, we tackled this question by first discussing types of Glagolitic scribes (simple scribe, scholar-scribe, redactor-like scribe, and redactor-scribe) and the determinants of their work. One important characteristic of the creation and production of Glagolitic liturgical books – determined by a lack of institutionalisation or centralisation – is the absence of authorial authority. In other words, redactor-scribes and redactor-like scribes, however

many of them there may have been, all had the same authority. As a result, CCS liturgical books were constantly open to changes, variations, and corrections.

Secondly, relying on the assumption that the creation of CCS missals and CCS breviaries were not unrelated processes, we analysed little chapters as the bearers of biblical text that appears in both missals and breviaries. CCS translations were compared with Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic Church Slavonic versions, the last of which reflect the earliest Slavonic translations from the Septuagint.

The data analysis offered support for the given assumption on how the CCS missals and breviaries were created. Shared translational choices, innovations, and contaminations suggest not only that the two liturgical books share a common origin, but that both were also possibly used as sources for one another.

However, the 13<sup>th</sup>-century reform of liturgical books did not prevent older books from being regarded as valid in the process of text transmission. The analysis located some CCS biblical verses that were different among various CCS books not due to scribal innovation (in the same translation) but rather to the use of a different exemplar.

The overall data indicate Croatian Glagolitic books have a polygenetic origin. However, this notion is not to be understood only in terms of the aforementioned successive contamination, which resulted from the use of different exemplars for different texts or parts of texts within one book. Contaminations also occurred on the micro-level, even within single verses. These contaminations are considered simultaneous contaminations, as they relate to the usage of several exemplars/sources simultaneously for the same (part of) text. These contaminations are also regarded as extra-stemmatic due to the different kinds of sources used (older CCS liturgical books, bibles (?), other (Cyrillic) Church Slavonic sources such as the *Prophetologion* or *Apostolos*) as well as to the scribe's reliance on his own memory, especially when copying biblical verses and passages.

Regarding the exemplars used, the presented data do not offer reliable proof of the existence or non-existence of a CCS Bible. However, taking the given socio-historical context of Glagolitic literacy into account, we are prone to believe that no CCS Bible existed as *textus receptus* in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It seems more plausible that congruences between missals and breviaries originated from the same group of experts (redactor-scribes) who composed them in the 13<sup>th</sup> century in search of what they considered appropriate translations.

However, the versions they established were not considered *textus receptus*, nor were any other later recension that involved redactor-scribes. In any further copying processes, they were used as merely one of several possible sources for establishing a text with the (subjectively) ‘right’ meaning.

The subjectiveness of the concept of the ‘right’ meaning is particularly apparent with regard to the likelihood that Latin exemplars were not used to the extent suggested by some researchers. Although it has been regularly assumed that Glagolitic scribes had Latin exemplars at their disposal, both extratextual and intratextual features strongly suggest that this was mostly the case where redactor-scribes were involved.

Under such circumstances, simple scribes, scholar-scribes, and redactor-like scribes had relatively free hands and minds to interfere in the process of text transmission according to their abilities, duties, understanding, and intentions. The results of this free attitude towards copied text are preserved in the diversity and heterogeneity of CCS liturgical books, which continue to puzzle researchers even today.

APPENDIX I: Little chapters written in full in BrBer<sub>21</sub> (proper of seasons)

DODATAK I: Kapituli ispisani u cijelosti u BrBer<sub>21</sub> (temporal)

BrBer <sub>21</sub>	Bible verse(s)	BrBer <sub>21</sub>	Bible verse(s)	BrBer <sub>21</sub>	Bible verse(s)
1a/7	Rom 13:11	63b/14	Rom 12:1	134a/1	Isa 50:6–7
4c/31	1 Tim 1:17	64d/22	Rom 12:3	134a/13	Jer 17:13
5c/8	2 Thess 3:5	64d/29	Rom 12:4–5	134a/20	Jer 17:18
5d/25	Rom 13:12–13	68b/26	Rom 11:33	134a/28	Jer 18:20
6a/14	Rom 13:13	69b/24	Jer 14:9	134a/32	Jer 11:20
6d/21	Isa 2:3	73c/3	Rev 7:12	138d/33	Phil 2:5–6
7b/18	Zech 8:19	74a/25	1 John 4:16	142c/8	Phil 2:8–9
7d/24	Jer 23:5	74b/7	Gal 6:2	142c/16	Phil 2:10–11
7d/31	Jer 23:6	74b/21	1 Cor 6:20	161a/12	Col 3:1–2
8a/3	Isa 14:1	74c/22	2 Cor 1:3–4	164d/31	1 John 5:4
9b/33	Rom 15:4	76c/25	Zech 8:19 (cca.)	167a/31	1 John 5:5–6
12d/11	Rom 15:5–6	76d/3	Jer 17:14	167b/4	1 John 5:9

12d/18	Rom 15:13	91a/21	1 Cor 9:24	167c/24	Rom 6:9–10
14a/15	Phil 4:4–5	95b/17	1 Cor 9:25	168a/8	1 Cor 15:20–22
16b/24	Phil 4:6	95b/21	1 Cor 10:4	168a/13	1 Pet 3:18
16b/29	Phil 4:7	95c/15	2 Cor 11:19–20	169c/3	1 Pet 2:21–22
21a/27	1 Cor 4:1–2	97d/33	2 Cor 11:25	171b/10	1 Pet 2:23–24
23b/25	1 Cor 4:3	98a/5	2 Cor 12:9	171b/15	1 Pet 2:25
23b/29	1 Cor 4:5	98a/20	1 Cor 13:1	179d/30	1 Pet 2:11
25d/17	Rom 1:1–3	100d/30	1 Cor 13:8–9	180d/31	1 Pet 2:13–14
26a/28	Rom 1:4	101a/2	1 Cor 13:13	181a/3	1 Pet 2:18
26b/4	Rom 1:5–6	103a/2	2 Cor 6:1–2	182a/8	James 1:17
26c/1	Tit 3:4	105b/17	2 Cor 6:2–3	183c/32	James 1:19–20
33b/1	Heb 1:1–2	105b/24	2 Cor 6:9–10	183d/4	James 1:21
33c/20	Heb 1:10	106c/3	Isa 58:1	184c/12	James 1:22–23
33c/25	Heb 1:11–12	106c/15	Isa 55:6	185c/8	James 1:25
35d/8	Acts 6:8	106c/21	Joel 2:12–13	185c/14	James 1:27
35d/16	Acts 6:9–10	106c/29	Isa 55:7	186c/31	Acts 1:1
35d/20	Acts 7:59	106d/4	Isa 58:7	188c/8	Acts 1:4–5
40d/30	Sir 15:1–2	106d/8	Joel 2:17	188c/17	Acts 1:11b
41c/18	Sir 15:1–2	108c/30	1 Thess 4:1	190b/31	1 Pet 4:7–8
41d/32	Sir 15:3	111b/18	1 Thess 4:3–4	191b/25	1 Pet 4:9–10
42a/3	Sir 15:5	111b/26	1 Thess 4:7	191b/30	1 Pet 4:11
44d/26	Rev 14:1	114d/17	Eph 5:1	192a/4	Acts 1:1–2
45a/3	Rev 14:4	118a/20	Eph 5:5	194a/17	Acts 2:6
45a/9	Rev 14:4–5	118a/30	Eph 5:8	194a/23	Acts 2:11
47b/31	Gal 4:1–2	121d/19	Gal 4:22	197b/7	Rom 11:33
49a/7	Gal 4:4–5	124c/2	Gal 4:27	198d/19	2 Cor 13:13
49a/12	Gal 4:7	124c/10	Gal 4:31	198d/25	1 John 5:7
50c/19	Titus 2:11–12	128d/33	Heb 9:11	199c/14	1 Cor 11:23–24
55d/6	Isa 60:1	133a/1	Heb 9:12	202b/14	1 Cor 11:26

60b/6	Isa 60:4	133a/13	Heb 9:15	202b/18	1 Cor 11:27
60b/19	Isa 60:6	133d/20	Jer 11:19		

APPENDIX II: Little chapters written in full in BrBer<sub>2II</sub> (proper of saints)DODATAK II: Kapituli ispisani u cijelosti u BrBer<sub>2II</sub> (sanktoral)

BrBer <sub>2II</sub>	Bible verse(s)	BrBer <sub>2II</sub>	Bible verse(s)
1b/3	Rom 10:10–11	65d/11	Wis 7:11–13
2d/26	Rom 10:12–13	65d/25	Wis 7:15
2d/32	Rom 10:16–18	69c/18	Isa 49:1
11c/4	Sir 51:1–3	72b/17	Isa 49:5–6
14b/4	Sir 51:4–5	72b/27	Isa 49:7
14b/10	Sir 51:8.12	79d/20	Acts 12:5
15d/9	Acts 9:1–2	79d/24	Acts 12:11
19a/3	Acts 9:8–9	79d/33	2 Tim 4:7–8
19a/8	Acts 9:22	82a/14	2 Cor 12:7–9
20a/33	Mal 3:1a	82a/22	2 Cor 15:9–10
23a/20	Mal 3:1b	104c/14	2 Cor 9:6
23a/25	Mal 3:4	107c/21	2 Cor 9:7
26b/1	Sir 44:16–17	107c/26	2 Cor 9:8–9
39b/16	Wis 5:5	138c/28	Phil 2:5–7
39b/29	Rom 8:28	150a/30	Rev 1:3
39c/18	Phil 2:5–6	150b/3	Rev 12:7–8
42b/31	Gal 6:14	156c/28	Rev 7:2–3
42c/13	Phil 2:9–11	159a/9	Rev 7:9
46c/2	Rev 1:3	159a/15	Rev 7:12
46c/16	Rev 12:7–8	172a/28	Rev 12:1–2
60d/26	Wis 7:7–8		



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- BrAc = *Academy Breviary*, around 1384, Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *III c 12*
- BrBar = (printed) *Baromić's Breviary*, 1493, Zagreb, National and University Library, call number *RI-16°-1a*
- BrBer<sub>1</sub> = *The First Beram Breviary*, late 14<sup>th</sup> century, Ljubljana, National and University Library, call number *MS 161*
- BrBer<sub>2</sub> = *The Second Beram Breviary*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ljubljana, National and University Library, call number *MS 163*
- BrBrib = *Bribir Breviary*, 1470, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *III b 6 (Kuk 2)*
- BrBrit = *Breviary of the British Library*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, London, British Library, call number *Ms. Add. 31.951*
- BrBroz = *Brozić's Breviary*, 1561, Zagreb, Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *R 783*
- BrDab = *Dabar Breviary*, 1486, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *III c 21*
- BrDrag = *Draguč Breviary*, 1407, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *III b 25*
- BrHum = *Hum Breviary*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Zagreb, National and University Library, call number *R 4067*
- BrMav = *Mavro's Breviary*, 1460, Zagreb, National and University Library, call number *R 7822*
- BrMed = *Medici's Breviary*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Florence, Laurentian Library, call number *Plut 1.10.*
- BrMet = *Breviary of the Metropolitan Library*, 1442, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library, call number *MR<sub>161</sub>*
- BrMosk = *Moscow Breviary*, 1442–1443, Moscow, Russian State Library, call number *F. 270, 51/1481*
- BrN<sub>1</sub> = *The First Novi Breviary*, 1459, Novi Vinodolski, parish office in Novi Vinodolski
- BrN<sub>2</sub> = *The Second Novi Breviary*, 1495, Novi Vinodolski, parish office in Novi Vinodolski
- BrOxf = *Oxford Breviary*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Oxford, Bodleian Library, call number *Ms. Canon. Lit. 172*
- BrPad = *Padua Breviary*, mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, Padua, University Library of Padua, call number *MS 2282*
- BrPm = *Pašman Breviary*, 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *III b 10*
- BrPt = (*the first printed*) *Breviary*, 1491, Venezia, Marciana National Library, call number *Inc. 1235*, facsimile edition NAZOR 1991
- BrVat<sub>5</sub> = *Vatican Breviary Illirico 5*, early 14<sup>th</sup> century, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, call number *Borg. illir. 5*

- BrVat<sub>6</sub> = *Vatican Breviary Illirico 6*, mid- or third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, call number *Borg. illir. 6*
- BrVat<sub>10</sub> = *Vatican Breviary Illirico 10*, 1485, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, call number *Borg. Illir. 10*
- BrVat<sub>19</sub> = *Vatican Breviary Illirico 19*, 1465, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, call number *Vat. Slav. 19*
- BrVb<sub>1</sub> = *The First Vrbnik Breviary*, 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century, Vrbnik, parish office in Vrbnik
- BrVb<sub>2</sub> = *The Second Vrbnik Breviary*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Vrbnik, parish office in Vrbnik
- BrVb<sub>3</sub> = *The Third Vrbnik Breviary*, first half of 15<sup>th</sup> century, Vrbnik, parish office in Vrbnik
- BrVb<sub>4</sub> = *The Fourth Vrbnik Breviary*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Vrbnik, parish office in Vrbnik
- BrVin = *Vinodol Breviary*, 1485, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *I d 34 (Kuk 1)*
- BrVind<sub>121</sub> = *Vienna Breviary*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Vienna, Austrian National Library, call number *Cod. slav. 121*
- BrVO = *Breviary of Vid Omišljanin*, 1396, Vienna, Austrian National Library, call number *Cod. slav. 3*
- CodKop = *Ljubljana Missal* – Breviary of Kopitar's collection, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ljubljana, National and University Library, call number *Cod. Kop. 22*
- CPar = *Paris Miscellany*, 1375, Paris, National Library of France, call number *Slave 73*
- FgGrš = *Gršković's fragment*, 12<sup>th</sup> century, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, call number *Fragm. glag. 2*
- PsFr = *Fraščić's Psalter*, 1463, Vienna, Austrian National Library, call number *Cod. slav. 77*
- PsLob = *Lobkowitz's Psalter*, 1359, Prague, National Library of the Czech Republic, call number *XXIII. G 67*
- PsPar = *Psalter of the Paris codex*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Paris, National Library of France, call number *Slave 11*
- MBer<sub>1</sub> = *The First Beram Missal*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ljubljana, National and University Library, call number *Ms 162*
- MBer<sub>2</sub> = *The Second Beram Missal*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ljubljana, National and University Library, call number *Ms 164*
- MBerl = *Berlin Missal*, 1402, Berlin, Berlin State Library, call number *Ms. Ham. 444*
- MHrv = *Hrvoje's Missal*, 1404, Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum
- MKop = *Copenhagen Missal*, late 14<sup>th</sup> century, Copenhagen, Royal Library, call number *NY kongelig Samling 41 b, 2*
- MKož = (*printed*) *Kožičić's Missal*, 1531, Zagreb, National and University Library, call number *R II A-8°-8*, edition CEKOVIĆ ET AL. 2016, facsimile edition ŽAGAR 2015.
- MMet = *Missal of the Metropolitan Library of Zagreb*, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library, call number *MR 180*
- MMod = (*printed*) *Missal of Pavao Modrušanin*, 1528, Zagreb, National and University Library, call number *R 315a*
- MNew = *New York Missal*, middle 15<sup>th</sup> century, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, call number *M. 931*.

- MNov = *Missal of Duke Novak*, 1368, Vienna, Austrian National Library, call number *Cod. slav. 8*
- MPt = *(the first printed) Missal editio princeps*, 1483, facsimile edition FRANGEŠ ET AL. 1971
- MRoč = *Roč Missal*, around 1420, Vienna, Austrian National Library, call number *Cod. slav. 4*
- MSegn = *(printed) Senj Missal*, 1494, Budapest, National Széchényi Library, call number *Ink. 988*, facsimile edition MOGUŠ; NAZOR 1994
- MVat<sub>4</sub> = *Vatican Missal Illirico 4*, early 14<sup>th</sup> century, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, call number *Borg. illir. 4*
- MVat<sub>8</sub> = *Vatican Missal Illirico 8*, 1435, Rome, Vatican Apostolic Library, call number *Borg. illir. 8*
- MVb<sub>1</sub> = *First Vrbnik Missal*, 1456, Vrbnik, parish office in Vrbnik
- MVb<sub>2</sub> = *Second Vrbnik Missal*, 1462, Vrbnik, parish office in Vrbnik

#### OTHER CHURCH SLAVONIC SOURCES

- Bes = *Homilies on the Gospels by Pope Gregory I*, 13<sup>th</sup> century, edition KONZAL 2005.
- Christ = *Krystynopil' apostolos*, 12<sup>th</sup> century, edition KAŁUŻNIACKI 1896.
- Grig = *Grigorovič prophetologion*, late 12<sup>th</sup> century, edition RIBAROVA; HAUPTOVA 1998.
- Ochr = *Ohrid apostolos*, late 12<sup>th</sup> century, edition KUL'BAKIN 1907.
- Šiš = *Šišatovac apostolos*, 1324, edition MIKLOSICH 1853.

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## S a ž e t a k

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### OD KAPITULA DO VAŽNOGA PITANJA:

### KAKO SU NASTAJALI HRVATSKOGLAGOLJSKI BREVIJARI I MISALI?

Članak je posvećen pitanju nastanka hrvatskoglagoljskih liturgijskih knjiga, odnosno procesu uspostavljanja i prijepisa (transmisije) tekstova u predtridentinskim hrvatskoglagoljskim brevijarima i misalima. Dosadašnjim je pojedinačnim tekstološkim istraživanjima (najčešće različitih biblijskih i hagiografskih tekstova) uspostavljena filijacijska razlika između sjeverne (krčko-istarske) i južne (zadarsko-krbavske) skupine liturgijskih knjiga, pri čemu prvu karakteriziraju stariji prijevodi s grčkoga jezika, a drugu prilagođenost latinskim izvorima. No redovito su uočeni i oni tekstovi, tj. kodeksi koji se ne mogu svrstati ni u jednu od navedenih skupina zato što sadrže značajke obju. U članku se raspravlja zašto u dosadašnjim tekstološkim istraživanjima hrvatskoglagoljske pismenosti s obzirom na filijacijske odnose nije bilo mnogo pokušaja ni uspjeha da se uspostavi *stemma codicum*. Vjerojatni su razlozi ograničen broj sačuvanih kodeksa (tj. visoka stopa gubitka) te horizontalna tradicija hrvatskoglagoljskih kodeksa (upotreba više od jednoga izvora prilikom transmisije teksta). S obzirom na važnost pisara u produkciji srednjovjekovne knjige, u članku su promišljeni tipovi glagoljskih pisara (jedno-

stavan pisar, obrazovan pisar, pisar kao redaktor, pisar redaktor) i determinante njihova rada. Temeljnomo je izdvojena činjenica da u hrvatskoglagoljskoj pismenosti nije postojao autorski autoritet, a tako ni pojam originalnosti teksta. Drugim riječima, inačice tekstova uspostavljene od pisara kao redaktora i pisara redaktora imale su sve jednak autoritet. Osim toga, te su inačice poimane kao jedan od mogućih izvora u svakom sljedećem ispisivanju teksta. Središnji je dio rada posvećen kapitulima, relevantnima zato što sadrže biblijski tekst koji donose i brevijari i misali. Analiza kapitula provedena je međusobnom usporedbom zadanih biblijskih redaka u sačuvanim hrvatskoglagoljskim brevijarima i misalima kao i usporedbom s grčkim, latinskim i drugim crkvenoslavenskim (ćirilskim) inačicama tih redaka. Rezultati provedene analize govore u prilog tezi da obje liturgijske knjige imaju isti postanak (u smislu da su nastale istovremeno ili približno istovremeno djelovanjem iste grupe pojedinaca kojima je bila povjerena ta zadaća) i da su služile kao uzajamni izvori prilikom transmisije tekstova tijekom predtridentinskoga razdoblja. Analiza je još jednom potvrdila horizontalnost tradicije, odnosno poligenezu hrvatskoglagoljskih liturgijskih tekstova, vidljivu ne samo u otprije prepoznatim sukcesivnim kontaminacijama (služenje različitim izvorima za različite tekstove ili dijelove tekstova) nego i u simultanim kontaminacijama (služenje različitim izvorima za isti tekst, dio teksta ili redak). Oba tipa kontaminacije podrazumijevaju transmisiju teksta na temelju više raznovrsnih izvora (starije hrvatskoglagoljske liturgijske knjige, druge crkvenoslavenske knjige poput parimejnika ili apostola, ali i pisarevo pamćenje). Premda je zamislivo da je jedan od izvora bila i glagoljska Biblija, članak nudi objašnjenje zašto je to, s obzirom na zadane društveno-povijesne okolnosti, malo vjerojatno. Konačno, na temelju izvanktekstnih i unutartekstnih zadatosti, preispitana je općeprihvaćena pretpostavka o raspoloživosti latinskih predložaka (tzv. matica). Suprotno ranijim promišljanjima, zaključeno je da je zagledanje u latinske predloške bila rijetka povlastica koju su mogli uživati uglavnom pisari redaktori. Oni su i bili nositelji reforme glagoljskih liturgijskih knjiga u 13. stoljeću kao i triju poznatih revizija prema latinskim predlošcima (12., 13. i 14. st.). Nevezani za latinske inačice, ostali su pisari u priličnoj slobodi uspostavljali i prepisivali tekstove pomažući se pritom različitim nelatinskim (slavenskim) izvorima. Vođeni vlastitim subjektivim doživljajem ispravnoga značenja stvorili su knjige čiju višeslojnu i heterogenu genezu istraživači još uvijek nisu uspjeli dokraja dokučiti.

Ključne riječi: hrvatsko glagoljaštvo, glagoljska liturgija, biblijski prijevodi, hrvatski crkvenoslavenski jezik, transmisija teksta, pisar, odnos prema prepisivanju, kontaminacija, eklekticizam pisara

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