THE SLAVIC LETTERS OF
ST. JEROME

The History of the Legend and Its Legacy,

or,

How the Translator of the Vulgate Became an

Apostle of the Slavs

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1
Origins
Enigmatic Apostolate

In una fide nil officit sanctae ecclesiae consuetudo diversa.
(Where faith is one, difference in custom does no harm to the Holy Church.)
—Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistularum* 1.41

Когда же, кем и которые буквы первее изобретены, о том между учеными
распря неоконченная.
(When, by whom, and which letters were invented first is a matter of
an ongoing feud among scholars.)
—V. N. Tatishchev, *The History of Russia* 1.1

The "Mission"

The Croatian Glagolite tradition dates back to the very begin-
ning of Slavic writing, which remains more a matter of legend
than of established fact. The origins of the two Slavic alphabets—
Glagolitic and Cyrillic—seem to have provoked more scholarly re-
search and debate than any other subject in Slavic medieval stud-
ies, and yet there remains great uncertainty. The main difficulty
in resolving the questions of which alphabet appeared first and
who invented it lies in the very limited data and the scarcity of un-
ambiguous documented information. Although all scenarios that
have been suggested rely on various degrees of speculation, most
scholars agree that the letters now called Glagolitic were created
by the Byzantine scholar and philosopher Constantine-Cyril[1] for
the purpose of the Christian mission to establish the Slavonic lit-
urgy in Great Moravia, which he undertook with his elder brother
Methodius in the early 860s. It is also generally agreed that af-
ter Cyril's death in 869, Methodius, in his capacity as archbishop,

St. Cyril creates the
Glagolitic alphabet

continued to disseminate the Slavonic liturgy among the Slavs.[2]

The word "mission," although an accepted term in relation to the embassy of Cyril and Methodius, is somewhat misleading. By the 860s, having received Christianity from the Bavarian missionaries of Passau in the course of the ninth century, Moravia was already considered a Christian territory.[3] Therefore, the task of the holy brothers was delicate, going beyond mere evangelization. Interpreting available sources, historians reconstruct this affair in the following way. The Moravian ruler Rostislav (846–870), weary of Frankish supervision, sought ways to make his church (and state) more independent. Not long before 863, he turned first to Rome and then to Constantinople with a request for a bishop and teacher for his land, someone capable of instructing Moravians about the Christian faith in their own language.[4] Indeed, several previous attempts at the introduction of institutional Christianity in these territories had limited success. Governed by foreign bishops, the Christian church did not become fully incorporated into the state structure and possibly failed to attract many followers among the local Slavic population.[5] Rostislav felt a need to establish a local diocese and educate the local clergy. The rendition of Rostislav's letter to the Byzantine emperor Michael III in chapter 5 of the *Life of Methodius* reflects this concern:

> We have prospered through God's grace, and many Christian teachers have come to us from among the Italians, Greeks and Germans, teaching us in various ways. But the Slavs are a simple people, and have no one to instruct us in the truth, and explain wisely. Therefore, O kind lord, send the type of man who will direct us to the whole truth.[6]

While the pope does not seem to have acted on Rostislav's request, the Byzantine emperor evidently appreciated the chance to spread his influence to lands already claimed by Western clergy.

The choice of the emperor's ambassadors demonstrates the importance of the Moravian mission to Byzantium. Both Cyril and Methodius were experienced missionaries and celebrated holy men. Cyril (ca. 826–869), a teacher of philosophy (*didaskalos*) at the patriarchal academy, was one of the most distinguished scholars in Byzantium at that time. His brother Methodius (ca. 815–884), formerly a governor of a Slavic province (*theme*), spent several years at a monastery on Asia Minor's Mount Olympus as a monk before he was appointed abbot of the Monastery Polykhron

shortly before the mission to Great Moravia.[7] Both brothers had previously been entrusted with imperial Christian missions and, most important, both were proficient in a Slavic dialect spoken in their native city of Thessaloniki.

The brothers used their native East South Slavic dialect as the foundation for making Slavic translations of the liturgical and selected biblical books necessary for ministering and conducting services. In this important task, they were most likely helped by their disciples and assistants. In order to record these translations, Cyril devised a special script, which rendered the sounds of the Slavic tongue. A number of Slavic manuscripts dating from the tenth to twelfth centuries are thought to represent these original translations, made by Cyril, Methodius, and their followers for the Moravian mission (fig. 2). The language of these translations is usually termed "Old Church Slavonic."[8] The later regional varieties of this language, which developed in the literary production of diverse

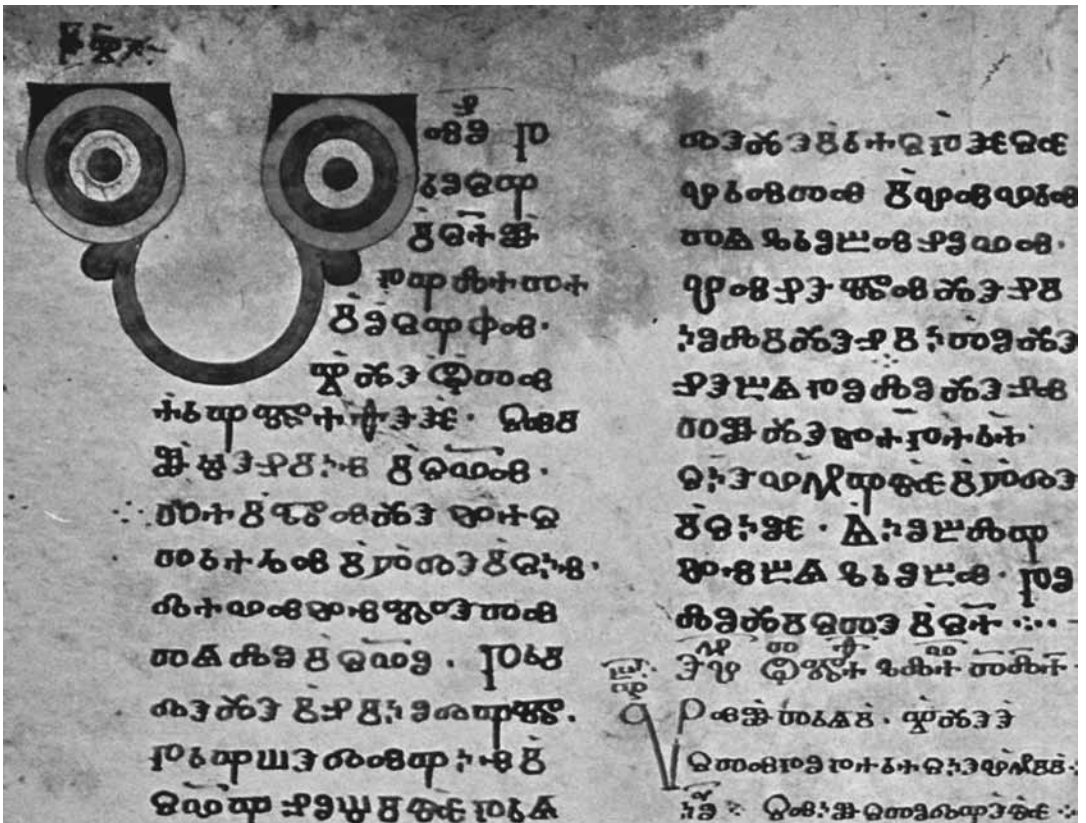Old Church Slavonic language & biblical translations

Figure 2. *Codex Assemanianus* (11th c.), Vatican Library (Cod. Vat. Slav. 3), fol. 106v, fragment

Slavic peoples who continued the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, are considered to be variants (also called "recensions" or "types") of Church Slavonic (e.g., the Croatian variant of Church Slavonic).⁹

"And every tongue shall confess to God"¹⁰

Thus, the key part of the Moravian project, unlike other evangelizing undertakings among the Slavs, was the introduction of the complete liturgy and biblical texts in a native tongue. Theologically speaking, the Moravian mission was conducted in the spirit of the Eastern patristic belief in the Pentecostal abrogation of Babel, identifying the emergence of the Slavonic liturgy and writing with the gift of tongues.¹¹ The right of understanding the word of God in a native language was associated with the feast of the universal Church commemorating the Descent of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles in the shape of "tongues as of fire," 50 days after the Resurrection of Christ, on the Jewish holiday called Shavu'ot (The Festival of Weeks) or Pentecost in Greek: "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance."¹²

The appearance of the Slavonic liturgy and books was, therefore, regarded as a fulfillment of the Pentecostal gift of tongues, which removed the divine curse of the confusion of languages at the Tower of Babel. The equality of languages in the eyes of God, presented in the New Testament and advocated by the early church fathers, was a theological premise.¹³ The creators of the Slavonic rite claimed that the Lord's message should be comprehensible and accurately understood. The *Prologue* (also known as *Proglas*), a poetic introduction to the Church Slavonic translation of the Gospels, most commonly ascribed to Constantine of Preslav, a disciple of Methodius, eloquently expresses the ideological foundations of the Byzantine mission in Moravia:

> [. . .] so that you, whose mind is not yet enlightened,
> hearing the Word [preached] in a foreign language,
> take it for the call of a copper bell.
> St. Paul, teaching, said this:
> "As I offer my prayer to God,
> I would rather utter five words
> which everyone will comprehend,

than a thousand words no one will understand."
[…] People without books are naked,
possessing no armor to fight against
the enemy of our souls,
ready for the imprisonment of the eternal sorrows.[14]

Unlike Western missionaries, whose aggressive preaching and for-
eign Latin rituals forced the Slavic converts to keep their distance,
the Greeks offered accessible instruction in the nuances of the
Christian doctrine, coupled with the Byzantine cultural authority
and sophistication, and—importantly—a vernacular rite.[15]

The most significant source, apart from Cyril's and Metho-
dius's vitae, that views the invention of the Slavic alphabet as
divinely inspired was written in Bulgaria at the end of the ninth
or the beginning of the tenth century. This treatise is often as-
cribed to the monk Khrabr after its title, *On the Letters of Monk
Khrabr* (сказаниѥ о писъменехъ чрьноризьца храбра).[16] Written
originally in Glagolitic as an apologia of Slavic writing, it analyzes
Cyril's invention of the Slavonic alphabet vis-à-vis Greek gram-
matical thought. The author refers to Cyril's holiness and to divine
Providence to argue the sacred origin of the Slavonic letters:

On the Letters of Monk Khrabr

> But then the lover of man, God, […] having pitied the Slavic race, sent
> them Constantine the Philosopher, who was named Cyril, a man righ-
> teous and sincere. [. . .] But the Slavic Scriptures, Constantine alone,
> named Cyril, both made the letters and translated the Scriptures in a few
> years […] Therefore, the Slavic letters are holier and more venerable, for
> a holy man has made them, while the Greek were made by the heathen
> Hellenes.[17]

Slavic alphabet is holy

The author not only considers the new Slavic script holy be-
cause it was created by a holy man and inspired by a divine spirit,
but also juxtaposes it to the Greek, which smacks of controversy.
While little is known about the ideological and historical context
of this treatise, it is usually viewed as an apologia of the Glagolitic
letters against those Bulgarian literati who favored using the
Greek (proto-Cyrillic) letters that they had been using "without
order" (*bez ustroia*, or *bez ustroeniia*) before Cyril's invention:
"Having been baptised, however, with the letters of Romans
and Greeks they [i.e., the Slavs] struggled to write Slavic speech
without order."[18]

The Alphabet

The graphic foundation of the Glagolitic alphabet, which is believed to be Cyril's invention, has not been definitively determined and remains an object of heated debate. It has been proposed, for example, that the captivating and mystic shapes of the Glagolitic letters were inspired by the Christian symbolism of the cross (Christ), circle (the infinity and supremacy of God), and triangle (the Holy Trinity).[19] The Glagolitic alphabet has also been linked to Greek minuscule and cursive scripts; zodiacal, medical, chemical, and shorthand signs; Merovingian Latin; Hebrew, Gothic, Armenian, Georgian, and Coptic letters; and Germanic runes.[20] Yet while at times one can see a certain degree of resemblance between individual Glagolitic letters and those of other alphabets, no single system of writing can be genetically connected to Glagolitic. Drawing numerous examples from the history of new alphabets, Dmitro Čyževs'kyj has convincingly argued that new systems of writing may display superficial similarity without any genetic relationship to existing systems.[21]

Alternatively, several theories date Slavic writing to the period before Cyril and Methodius. For example, Wilhelm Lettenbauer, developing Michael Hocij's thesis, has argued that the Glagolitic alphabet developed in the eighth century from the Merovingian Latin cursive used among the Slovenes in the territories of Istria and Venice.[22] The evidence of the *Legend of Saloniki* and the stylistic similarity of the Glagolitic letters to other missionary alphabets inspired the hypothesis that the Glagolitic alphabet was invented or discovered by the seventh-century missionary-Monophysite Cyril of Cappadocia.[23] The Croatian scholar Marko Japundžić has argued that the Slavic Glagolitic liturgy and writing originated in Croatia at the time of its conversion at the end of the seventh and early eighth centuries.[24] However, none of the attempts to date the Glagolitic alphabet before the Cyrillo-Methodian mission have been widely accepted.[25]

The prevailing view on the emergence of the Cyrillic alphabet is that it arose from the Byzantine Greek uncial alphabet in Bulgaria in the late ninth to early tenth century, following the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. Horace Lunt has offered another explanation, suggesting that Cyril created both Cyrillic and Glagolitic. Lunt has hypothesized that before Cyril arrived in Moravia, he created a special writing system to note Slavic sounds based on

Greek letters—what is now known as Cyrillic or "Constantinic," as Lunt terms it. However, in Moravia, having met with great resistance from the Frankish Latinate clergy on account of its "Greekness," he devised new—Glagolitic—letters for the already established system, different from either Latin or Greek writing.[26] Although merely a speculation, Lunt's hypothesis addresses some important questions that usually puzzle scholars of early Slavic writing. It explains the existence of two competing systems of Slavic writing at a time when the emergence of even one Slavic alphabet would have been an extraordinary event. If the Cyrillic letters were not devised by Cyril but developed from the Greek in Bulgaria by Cyril's and Methodius's disciples (Clement?), why was the invention of Cyrillic ascribed to Cyril? Lunt's hypothesis accounts for the belief in the Bulgarian religious historiography that Cyril is the creator of Cyrillic.

Moreover, the fact that in the Slavic territories under Roman and Frankish jurisdiction (i.e., Slovenia, Croatia, and Bohemia) we find the use of Glagolitic and in the Slavic territories under Byzantine jurisdiction we find Cyrillic, suggests that Lunt's hypothesis is consistent with historical circumstances. There were no Latinate clergy in Bulgaria to find the use of Cyrillic in Slavic Scriptures offensive. This also explains why Croatian monks used Glagolitic and not Cyrillic, as did Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Serbs.

However, Lunt's assumption does not take into consideration particular semiotic sensibilities that existed in the classical and medieval periods concerning the relationship between alphabets and the languages they represent. According to the principles of ninth-century graphic culture, the Greek alphabet was reserved for Greek, just as the Roman alphabet was the property of Latin.[27] As a Greek scholar, Cyril should have respected this tradition, especially because all missionary alphabets were usually invented from scratch.[28] If a new Church Slavonic ecclesiastical tradition was to compete with these languages, it had to acquire a distinct alphabet, one that would exist in its own right. Indeed, none of the sources describing the creation of the Slavic letters by Cyril mentions his intention of using the Greek letters. Bulgarian literati, on the other hand, had no scruples regarding the use of the Greek letters, which they had been previously using "without order." Lunt is convinced that the treatise *On the Letters* was directed precisely against such improper use of the Greek letters. Were Cyril also the author of Cyrillic, his deed would not have been as sacred as

semiotics of medieval writing

claimed. Like other hypotheses about the beginnings of the early Slavic letters, this is an informed deduction. However, Lunt's hypothesis that Cyril most likely did not apply and disseminate Cyrillic himself is consistent with Andrzej Poppe's observation that in pre-sixteenth-century documents and devotional texts Cyril is more often referred to as Constantine than as Cyril and that the Cyrillic alphabet is not known as "Cyrillic" (i.e., an alphabet named in honor of Cyril) until several centuries after his death, suggesting that the attribution of the Greek-based Slavic alphabet to Cyril is of a later date.[29]

Regardless of whether Cyril is or is not a creator of the Cyrillic alphabet, the association of Cyrillic letters with his name became so entrenched that on the majority of icons depicting the Slavic apostles the scroll in his hand shows Cyrillic characters.[30] Conversely, the link between Cyril's philological pursuits in Moravia and the emergence of Glagolitic had been obscured.

The Liturgy

There is an ongoing dispute in scholarship about the number and identity of texts that Cyril and Methodius, and later Methodius and his assistants and disciples, translated and used.[31] By studying the oldest preserved liturgical texts, scholars have tried to determine which type of rite and liturgy, Eastern or Western, the missionaries chose.[32] For example, Josef Vašica pointed to the *Liturgy of St. Peter* as the original model that Cyril and Methodius used for the Slavonic liturgy.[33] In this Greek version of the Roman Mass that contained a number of Byzantine elements, he saw a compromise between the Byzantine and Roman liturgies. Vašica's assumptions were favorably received by Dmitro Čyževs'kyj, cautiously approached by Antonín Dostál and Vojtěch Tkadlčík, and challenged by Josef Laurenčík, until František Mareš found another copy of the *Liturgy of St. Peter* and convincingly contested its dating, placing its origin in a Slavonic Athonite monastery at the end of the fourteenth century.[34] The subsequent discovery at the St. Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai of two eleventh-century Glagolitic manuscripts that have parallels to other early Glagolitic texts (the *Kiev* and *Vienna Folia*) allowed scholars to trace the original Slavonic liturgy to the Byzantine *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*.[35] Most likely, the brothers complemented this Byzantine formula by

Liturgy of St. Peter

Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom

translating from Latin liturgical texts that were already known in Moravia. Whether Cyril and Methodius used one or the other formula as a base for their Slavonic liturgy, many scholars agree that the resulting rite combined both Byzantine and Roman (Frankish) elements.[36]

Although the question of which biblical texts were translated into Old Church Slavonic during the Cyrillo-Methodian mission remains open, it has been established that the original Slavonic translations were most likely made from both Greek and Latin versions of the Bible.[37] The mention of the "Slavonic books" (*knigy slověn'skyę*) and "Slavonic Gospel" (*slověn'skoie evangeliie*) in the hagiographic accounts of Cyril and Methodius's mission in Moravia, and the reference to the "Holy Gospel and readings from the New and Old Testaments" (sacrum evangelium vel lectiones divinas novi et veteris testamenti) in the papal letter, suggest that at least some necessary readings for the Slavonic liturgy had already been translated by the end of the 870s.[38]

It is unknown how much of the original Slavonic translations survived the devastation of the Slavonic rite in Great Moravia in 886, when Wiching, the Frankish bishop of Nitra, succeeded in undermining the Slavonic clergy in the eyes of Pope Stephen V (885–891). After Stephen officially prohibited the Slavonic rite in Moravia and Wiching received full support of Prince Svatopluk (871–894) to restore the Latin rite, the Slavonic clergy were expelled from the country and found refuge in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bohemia, and Croatia.

biblical translations

The Controversy

The main consideration that made first Cyril and then Methodius insist on the Slavonic liturgy was most likely practical and not ideological. They believed that only by educating and ordaining local clergy could they create a lasting Christian tradition in Moravia. The linguistic aspect of the Byzantine mission, however, stood in contrast with the established practice of the Frankish Church, which then claimed jurisdiction over the Moravians, and created uncertainty about the orthodoxy of the new Slavonic liturgy. The Frankish clergy had been apprehensive of the vernacular liturgy from its very beginning and continually challenged it. As early as 867, Cyril and Methodius traveled to Rome to obtain the Roman

Frankish Church vis-à-vis the Slavonic rite

curia's approval of the Slavonic liturgy and ordination for their disciples. At that time, Pope Hadrian II blessed the Slavonic books, and the liturgy in Slavonic was celebrated at the Papal Basilica of St. Peter and other churches.[39] Subsequently, popes alternately forbade and allowed the use of the Slavonic liturgy depending on the state of affairs in their rivalries with Constantinople and the Frankish Church for the Slavic flock in central and southern Europe.[40] When Pope John VIII forbade the Slavonic liturgy in 879, Methodius again traveled to Rome to validate the legitimacy of the Slavonic liturgy, which the pope, having had a change of heart, reconfirmed in his bulla of 880. Following the death of Methodius, in 885, Pope Stephen V once again forbade the Slavonic liturgy, allowing the vernacular only in sermons and clarifications of the biblical texts.[41] Methodius's death became a turning point for the Slavonic rite in Moravia. Unchecked by the authoritative personality of Methodius, the Frankish clergy, supported by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, eradicated Slavonic from the communal worship in Moravia and restored the exclusive use of the Latin liturgy.

Attested historical sources do not answer all the questions historians might have about the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, but from what is known about the turmoil around the Slavonic liturgy in Moravia and Pannonia at the end of the ninth century it becomes clear that the new liturgy in a local language was as much a political tool as it was a religious ritual. Why did the Slavonic letters' legitimacy become such a point of contention at the end of the ninth century? Did Christian doctrine view the establishment of a new liturgical language as heresy? Or was its legitimacy a question of politics rather than dogma?

The *Life of Constantine*, a devotional account of St. Constantine-Cyril's life that relates the details about the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, records objections made by the Frankish and Latin clergy against the Slavonic liturgy first in Moravia and later in Venice. As befits the genre of the vita, the opposition to the Slavonic liturgy is ascribed to the devil's instigation:

> The Devil, not bearing this good, entered into his devices and began to arouse many, saying to them: God is not worshiped by this. For if this pleased Him would He not have established it so that from the very beginning [the Slavs] would worship God by writing their own language with letters?[42] But he chose only three languages: Hebrew, Greek, and

Latin, which are appropriate for giving glory to God. And so spoke the Latin and Frankish archpriests, priests, and their disciples.[43]

In 867 in Venice, where, according to a hypothesis advanced by a number of scholars, Cyril and Methodius arrived to seek the Grado Patriarch's official approval of their mission,[44] Cyril is reproached for the lack of authority of his new writings:

> When he [i.e., Constantine] was in Venice, the Latin bishops, priests, and monks gathered against him like ravens against a falcon. And they advanced the trilingual heresy, saying: "Tell us, O man, how is it that you now teach books [letters] that you yourself created for the Slavs, which none else have invented before, neither the Apostle, nor the pope of Rome, nor Gregory the Theologian, nor Jerome, nor Augustine? We know of only three languages worthy of praising God in books, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin."[45]

The Church Slavonic word that indicates Cyril's creation is *kъnigy*, "the books, writings, Holy Scripture, letters." Traditionally, translators of the *Life of Constantine* use the meaning "the letters" to match it with the translation of the Church Slavonic *pismeny*, "the letters," in the passage describing the Frankish clergy's allegations quoted above.[46] However, there is a reason why the Latin clergy in Venice should also have been concerned with Cyril's invention of the *kъnigy* in its primary meaning—"the books, the Scriptures." Indeed, the controversy was not so much over the Slavonic letters per se, but rather over their application, that is, that they were used not simply for catechization and preaching but that the new letters were used to translate holy canonical books into a language in which no previous authoritative Christian Father had written. The Latin clergy themselves recorded texts in Slavic using the Latin letters. But these were sermons, prayers, and confessional formulae utilized for catechetical purposes, not for canonical books.[47] Therefore, the concern about the "Slavic letters" addresses the issue of using a language different from Latin, whereas the concern about the "Slavic books" addresses the use of theologically problematic liturgical books that contain texts from the Scriptures. In this way, one can see different aspects of anxiety that the Slavonic letters aroused among the Frankish and Latin clergy: the Frankish clergy were disturbed by the competition created by the Slavic clergy and their new letters, whereas the Venice Synodal clergy

books & letters

could have been seriously alarmed by the potential doctrinal un-orthodoxy and inaccuracy of the newly translated liturgical and biblical books.

Was "trilinguism" a doctrine?

Cyril's dispute in Venice with the Frankish and Latin clergy is de-scribed in the sources as a controversy with "heretical trilinguists," in which Cyril refutes the idea that only three languages may be used in worship. The idea of the three sacred languages is a well-documented concept. It appears in the Gospel of John (19:20), which says that Pilate placed a sign saying "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews" in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek over the crucified Christ. It is not clear, however, whether this idea evolved into a doctrine.

John 19:20

To oppose a popular view that takes the vita's account at face value, Francis Thomson has argued that there was no doctrine of "three liturgical languages" either in the Western or in the Eastern churches.[48] He proposes a distinction between the idea of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as the three sacred languages (as a symbolic *trinitas linguarum*) and the doctrine prescribing the use of only Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in the liturgy. Thomson's arguments are as fol-lows. Only Slavic sources refer to the controversy over the Slavonic rite as a dispute of St. Cyril with trilinguists-Pilatists. Moreover, in the sources, this is not a self-identifying term, as it is Constantine who calls them "trilinguists." While all Latin sources acknowledge the opposition to liturgical innovation by the papacy, nowhere in the Latin sources is a mention of trilinguism in liturgy recorded. With no reference to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, "trilingu-ism" seems to be a Byzantine definition of one of the errors of the Western Church found in especially compiled catalogues of Latin errors. However, this "error" did not seem to concern the language of liturgy.

language of liturgy vs. language of the Bible

Furthermore, Thomson argues that there never existed a doc-trine of "three liturgical languages," but that the idea of three sacred languages was inspired by the presence of the Greek and Hebrew words in the Latin Mass, constituting a symbol of *trinitas lin-guarum*. This symbolic unity of three sacred languages in one Mass is not tantamount to a doctrine of liturgical trilinguism, given that nobody celebrated the Divine Office in Hebrew or Greek in the Western Roman and Frankish Empires. Thomson also maintains that Isidore of Seville and others before and after him, who called these languages sacred, only referred to Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as languages of the Bible and advocated the knowledge of these languages for accurate interpretation. Importantly, during the first

centuries of Christianity, the Roman Church was eager to elevate Latin, which was not a language of the original Holy Scriptures, to the same status as Greek and Hebrew. Finally, Thomson points out, both Roman and Byzantine ecclesiastical authorities insisted that their subjects use Latin and Greek languages respectively in the services. However, this was primarily due to considerations of religious unity and cultural homogeneity in imperial provinces.

It should be noted that the argument that the Slavic language does not belong among the three sacred languages is made only by the Frankish and Latin clergy in Moravia and Venice and is not supported by the Byzantine patriarch and the Apostolic Pontiff in Rome. From the Byzantine perspective, there seemed to be no doctrinal concern about creating a new alphabet for the Slavs. According to the *Life of Constantine*, when Emperor Michael charged Constantine with a mission to the Slavs, the latter responded that he would accept the commission if the Slavs had their own letters. The lack of literacy among the Slavs (whether in Greek or in Slavic) seemed to trouble Byzantine emperors for generations: Michael replied that his father and grandfather had been looking in vain for the Slavic letters and now he thought that the time had come to create them.[49]

Byzantine perspective

Roman popes, too, sanctioned the Slavonic liturgy several times. When Cyril and Methodius arrived in Rome in the winter of 868, Pope Hadrian II blessed the Slavonic books, ordered the Slavonic liturgy to be celebrated in principal Roman churches, and ordained Cyril and Methodius's disciples, as well as Methodius himself, as priests.[50] Again, in 880, Pope John VIII, after having questioned Methodius on the tenets of his faith, bestowed on him all duties and privileges of the archbishop of Moravia. John's letter to Prince Svatopluk of Moravia demonstrates that considerations of Methodius's adherence to the teachings of the Roman Church were his primary concern:

perspective of Rome

John VIII commends Methodius to Svatopluk

> Accordingly, we questioned this Methodius, your venerable archbishop, in the presence of our brother bishops, whether he adheres to the creed of faith [*fidei symbolum*] in the orthodox way and during the sacred liturgical rites sings as is held by the Holy Roman Church and as was announced and established by holy six universal councils of holy fathers according to the evangelical authority of our Lord Christ. He thus declared that he believes and sings [the Psalms] according to the evangelical and apostolic teaching, as the Holy Roman Church teaches and as

was established by the fathers. Moreover, we, having learned that he is orthodox and useful in all ecclesiastical teachings and matters send him back to you again to govern God's church.[51]

Noteworthy in this passage is the mention of the *fidei symbolum*, which refers to a later doctrinal dispute between the Western and Eastern Churches over the addition of the word *filioque* to the Nicene Creed.[52]

Apparently, Methodius's loyalty to the Apostolic See so much pleased the pope that in his letter he expressed his warmest approval of Methodius, referring to him as *confrater noster* (our brother) and *reverentissimus* (most venerable) and lavishing on him the highest praise. The letter clearly shows that the pope did not consider the use of Slavonic in the liturgy to be a breach of doctrine; on the contrary, he thought that a Slavic translation following the Latin liturgy (Latin being necessary "for the greater glorification") was desirable and faithful to the teachings of the Bible:

> Finally, we rightly commend the Slavonic writing, invented by a certain Constantine the Philosopher so that God's praise may duly sound in it, and we decree that in this language the glory and acts of our Lord Christ be interpreted. Indeed, by sacred authority we exhort to praise God not only in three but in all languages, as is taught saying: *Praise the Lord, all you Gentiles! Laud Him, all you peoples!*[53] [. . .] And nothing in the faith or doctrine inhibits either to sing masses or to read the Holy Gospel or divine lectures from New and Old Testaments in this Slavonic language, [if they are] well translated and interpreted, or to sing all other offices of the hour: for He who made the three principal languages, that is, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, also created all others for His praise and glory. Still we decree that in all churches of your land the Gospel be read in Latin for the greater glorification and afterward preached in Slavic translation for the ears of those who do not understand Latin words, as it seems to be done in some churches.[54]

Psalm 116:1 *(margin note)*

question of orthodoxy *(margin note)*

Indeed, the use of the Slavic language per se was not the central issue. Teaching in the vernacular, in the form of preaching, was a long-established practice of Roman and Frankish missionaries. However, the theological differences between the Eastern and Western Churches, such as the dispute on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, had already become a matter of serious disagreement. These were expressed in the liturgical and biblical texts that

Methodius and his followers disseminated in Slavonic. The linguistic barrier, which did not allow for easy investigation of the translated texts used by the Slavs in religious rites, caused understandable uneasiness in Rome and among the Frankish clergy. This is why, from the very beginning of the Moravian mission, the leaders of the Slavonic rite were repeatedly summoned to Rome to testify personally (and, most likely, in Latin) to their doctrinal orthodoxy and allegiance to the Roman curia. Even Pope Stephen V, who appeared to be a severe critic of Methodius's leadership of the Moravian Church, was apparently ready to negotiate with Methodius's successor. In the letter of instruction that Stephen V addressed to his legates to Moravia, Bishop Dominic and Presbyters John and Stephen, in which he accuses Methodius of self-government and charges his messengers to eradicate the Slavonic rite in Moravia, he indicates that he could prove more lenient, were Methodius's successor to come directly to Rome and profess his creed: "By our apostolic authority forbid the successor, whom Methodius against the decisions of all Holy Fathers himself dared to ordain, to perform his service until he comes to us and explains his position personally [literally, 'in live voice']."[55] However, Methodius's successor, Gorazd, never went to Rome to defend his faith. Instead, the proponents of the Slavonic rite were forced to leave Moravia, and some of them were even imprisoned and sold at the slave market in Venice. Despite this crisis, the Slavonic rite did not die but soon flourished again in Bulgaria, where Cyril and Methodius's disciples received cordial welcome.

If the creation of the new alphabet and the establishment of the liturgy in a new tongue was not a doctrinal issue (or at least one not clearly defined), then the case of the Slavonic liturgy depended largely on politics.[56] Cyril, and after Cyril's death, Methodius, skillfully negotiated with the authorities and traveled to Rome and Constantinople when it was necessary, expanding the corpus of Slavonic translations and training clergy. The role of Methodius was especially decisive in the expansion and preservation of the Slavonic liturgy. His contribution to the cause of disseminating the Slavonic liturgy was invaluable during the years subsequent to Cyril's death, and his remarkable diplomatic skills allowed the Slavonic liturgy to take deep root and persevere through the years to come despite numerous obstacles.[57]

One of the paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission is that, although the mission itself failed, its impact on Slavic civilization

was immense.[58] The Slavonic rite first introduced by the holy brothers in Moravia came to be a powerful tool in the cause of Christian conversions and led to the creation of the Slavic national churches. Driven by the practical purpose of expanding Christianity by all possible means, Cyril and Methodius created an idiosyncratic ecclesiastic culture that formed a link between the Eastern and Western Christian traditions.

The Slavonic Rite in Bohemia

The Slavonic rite disappeared from Great Moravia in 885, when Gorazd failed to take Methodius's place and was overthrown by his rival Wiching. The Slavic clergy were chased away and sold into slavery. Many of them managed to escape to Bulgaria, where they developed new centers of Slavonic literary and religious culture. It is also believed that some of them found refuge in Bohemia under the protection of the Přemyslid rulers who, according to legend, were baptized in 884 in Great Moravia by St. Methodius. The introduction of Christianity in Bohemia is documented in a number of sources, most of them belonging to hagiographical literature.[59]

The earliest attested local source that talks about the Slavonic liturgy, the Moravian mission, and its impact on Bohemia is the late tenth-century composition, *Legenda Christiani*, named for its author Brother Christianus, a monk who is believed to be a member of the Přemyslid family.[60] This text, fully titled the *Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius* (*The Life and Passion of St. Wenceslas and His Grandmother St. Ludmila*)**,** attributes the conversion of the Přemyslid Prince Bořivoj (872–889) and his wife Ludmila (874–921) to the bishop of Moravia, St. Methodius**.** According to the legend, when Bořivoj attended a feast of the Moravian ruler Rostislav, he was not allowed to sit together with the Christian princes at the table but instead made to join Rostislav's heathen subjects on the floor. Feeling compassion for Bořivoj,

Bishop Methodius convinced him to accept baptism. Following Bořivoj's example, his wife Ludmila also became Christian.[61] The legend thus traces the origin of Bohemian Christianity and polity to Great Moravia and gives full credit to the Slavic apostles, and not to the Bavarian Church.

The rooting of Christianity in Bohemia is connected to the rule of Bořivoj and Ludmila's grandson, Wenceslas (Czech Václav, 923

or 924–929 or 935), whose tragic death at the hands of his brother Boleslav later elevated him to the status of patron saint of Bohemia and the Přemyslid dynasty.[62] Despite his fratricide, Boleslav I (935–972) greatly contributed to the strengthening of Bohemia as a Christian state. Moreover, he negotiated the baptism of the Polish prince Mieszko, to whom he gave his daughter Dubravka in marriage in 966. Above all, Boleslav strove for the establishment of Bohemia's own bishopric, which was not established until after his death, in 973, under the authority of the archbishop of Mainz.[63]

With church organization overseen by the Frankish clergy and Rome, evidence of the Slavonic rite's survival in Bohemia during the two centuries following the Cyrillo-Methodian mission is not abundant, but it is, nevertheless, definite. Unfortunately, disciplinary boundaries dividing historians and philologists have once more led to debates between the two scholarly factions regarding this question. The cause of this disagreement is a lack of direct information about the Slavonic rite in historical sources; most evidence comes from the analysis of literary sources and linguistic data. As a result, historians look cautiously upon the question of the Slavonic rite in Přemyslid Bohemia, while philologists speak confidently about its survival until the end of the eleventh century. There is no doubt that the Slavonic tradition existed in Přemyslid Bohemia, but whether its coexistence with the Latin rite was peaceful, and whether or not it was continuous and widespread, is a subject of dispute among scholars.[64]

The Slavic names of priests who found refuge in Bohemia after the collapse of Great Moravia in 906 suggest that they may have observed the Slavonic rite and some of the customs of the Moravian Church.[65] While little is known about specific locations and communities where the Slavonic rite might have been observed in Bohemia, a number of sources identify the Sázava Benedictine Monastery as a hub for the liturgy in Slavic. It was founded in 1032 by its distinguished abbot St. Procopius (ca. 970/980–1053, canonized in 1204), who is also believed to have instituted there the Benedictine rule.[66] The tenure of the Slavonic rite at the Sázava Monastery, however, was short. Initially under the generous patronage of Prince Oldřich (1012–1034) and Břetislav I (1035–1055), the Slavonic monks were expelled from the monastery by Spytihněv II (1055–1061), but then were brought back by Vratislav II (1061–1092). However, after the Schism of 1054 and the reforms of Pope Gregory the Great (1073–1085), the position of the Slavonic rite,

Boleslav I

historians & philologists disagree about the Slavonic rite in Bohemia

Sázava Monastery

which represented a link with the Eastern Church, was vulnerable in Bohemia. In 1079, Pope Gregory denied Vratislav's request to authorize the liturgy in Slavonic. In 1096, Vratislav's successor, Břetislav II (1092–1100), forced the monks observing the Slavonic rite out of the Sázava Monastery and handed it over to the Latinate Benedictines of Břevnov.

Linguists and philologists have done substantial work to identify those literary texts from the Moravian and Přemyslid periods that were written in the Czech variety of Church Slavonic.[67] These scholars dispute the opinion of historians that the Slavonic rite was imported to the Sázava Monastery from abroad, arguing that the linguistic analysis of these Slavonic texts reveals no linguistic mediation, such as that found, for example, in the Rus' manuscripts that were imported to Rus' from Bulgaria and which therefore retain visible South Slavic linguistic traits. On the contrary, these texts show consistent West Slavic (Czech) linguistic features characteristic of Moravia and Bohemia, and their content embodies the syncretism of Eastern and Western ecclesiastical elements.[68]

The Slavonic Rite in Poland?

The question of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in the territories of Poland draws from the same legendary well of information as that of the Slavonic rite in Bohemia and Great Moravia. There are two main interrelated questions: one concerns the spread and influence of the Slavonic liturgy in Poland, and the other concerns the existence of an institutionalized church organization with a

Slavic or Latin hierarchy. A spirited and voluminous scholarly debate has developed into two diametrically opposite trends in Polish historiography, which is even more polarized than that in Czech historiography, albeit not by discipline. Scholars advocating for the early existence of the Slavonic liturgy in Poland generally offer three hypotheses: (1) it arrived as part of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in southern Poland (Poland Minor) at the end of the ninth century, (2) it was brought to southern Poland and Silesia from Bohemia during the tenth century, and (3) it was received after 966 from Bohemia, along with the official Christianization. They refer to a number of historical sources and archeological finds with a generous dose of free interpretation, blaming later Latinization for intentionally obscuring the beginnings of the Slavonic rite or bish-

opric in Poland. Still, there are many scholars who remain unconvinced and dismiss all hypotheses that the arrival of the Slavonic rite in Poland was a consequence of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. The scale of the debate is colossal and a detailed analysis of the evidence brought up by both sides is beyond the scope of this study.[69] For the sake of our inquiry we note here only the central issues in this debate.

In the absence of explicit records, the advocates of the Slavonic rite refer to a number of indirect facts and sources that may be interpreted as indications of the Slavonic rite's existence in Poland.[70] The primary piece of evidence, which encourages scholars to hypothesize about the baptism of Poland Minor during the Moravian mission, comes from chapter 11 of the *Life of Methodius* (the *Pannonian Legend*), in which Methodius, demonstrating his gift of prophesy, predicts that an evil pagan prince from the Vistula River will soon be baptized:

> A very powerful pagan prince, settled on the Vistula, mocked the Christians and did nasty things to them. Having sent word to him, Methodius said, "My son, it would be better for you to be baptized of your own will in your own land, so that you will not have to be baptized against your will as a prisoner in a foreign land; and then you'll remember my words." And so it came to pass.[71]

The prince, who is sometimes said to have been from the area that would later become Cracow, was allegedly captured and baptized by force by Prince Svatopluk. Despite the obvious hagiographic character of the work and apparent ambiguity, it is often used as a proof that Methodius or his disciples proselytized to the Poles living in the Vistula region, and that there were already some Christians among them.

The arguments in favor of the Slavonic rite in Poland are largely grounded in a conceptual understanding of the political rivalry for jurisdiction over the Slavic lands between the three Christian powers—Rome, Byzantium, and the Frankish Empire—as well as Moravia's missionary expansion politics. With some degree of variation, the central historical premise is that from the time of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, the metropolitan see of Cracow was the center of the Slavonic rite in Poland with suffragan bishoprics that were faithful to Rome in Wiślica and Sandomierz. According to Karolina Lanckorońska, for example, the first metropolitan

<div style="text-align: right;">*Methodius prophesizes the baptism of a prince of the Vistulans*</div>

<div style="text-align: right;">*Gorazd as metropolitan of Cracow*</div>

appointed to Cracow at the end of the ninth century was none other than Gorazd himself, Methodius's favorite disciple and ill-fated successor as archbishop of Moravia. One of Lanckorońska's strongest arguments is the presence of St. Gorazd's name in the early fifteenth-century Polish Wiślica Calendar.[72] The proposed periods of the Slavonic rite's survival vary. The most common hypothesis is that the Latin and Slavonic rites existed side by side until the eleventh century "free from mutual antagonism," and that the Slavonic rite enjoyed the protection of Bolesław the Brave (992–1025).

The conjectures about, and even the plausibility of, the Cyrillo-Methodian Slavonic rite in Poland have been again and again criticized, mainly due to lack of direct or reliable contemporaneous historical evidence.[73] Critics point out that the *Life of Methodius*, even if taken at face value, says nothing about any mission conducted by Methodius or any of his followers in Poland. Nor does Methodius's prediction of baptism indicate that it was afterward received in the Slavonic rite. Even if the baptism was later carried out after Methodius's death by the efforts of his Frankish successor, Archbishop Wiching, the language of the rite would surely have been Latin.

The hypothesis of the early existence in Poland of the cult of St. Gorazd (Methodius's disciple), which would indicate the existence of the Slavonic rite, has also been dismissed. It has been proven that the cult of St. Gorazd migrated into the Wiślica Calendar from Czech breviaries, as did the prayers for Cyril and Methodius, at the end of the fourteenth century.[74]

Linguists and philologists have also applied their skills to verify the hypothesis that there was direct contact between Poland and the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. Their inquiry focused on uncovering a Church Slavonic lexical layer in Polish language and literary sources.[75] Although their examination has produced a list of lexemes that may be associated with Church Slavonic, from a methodological point of view these data cannot be used as definite proof of the Slavonic rite's direct influence on Polish because they are also found in Old Czech and can be explained by Czech mediation from the time when Poland received Christianity from Bohemia.[76]

The Polish song "Bogurodzica" ("Theotokos"), recorded in the fifteenth century but believed to be an autograph of St. Adalbert (St. Wojciech), has become an important document of the early poetic vernacular tradition among the Poles.[77] Its real author is

Margin notes:
Latin & Slavonic rites coexist in Poland

lack of direct evidence

Church Slavonic lexical layer in Polish

"Bogurodzica"

unknown and the song itself is variously dated from the eleventh (Lehr-Spławiński, Ostrowska) to the thirteenth (Woronczak) to the turn of the fourteenth (Urbańczyk) centuries.[78] Scholars hypothesize that several expressions in this old song (such as *Bogurodzica* and *bożycze*) are the result of the original Church Slavonic language's direct influence on Polish.[79] Yet the poetic structure and terminology in "Bogurodzica" show dependence on thirteenth-century Czech and Latin poetry, while its melody excludes the possibility of its emergence before the twelfth century.[80]

Archeologists joined historians and philologists in their efforts to discover material evidence of the spread of Christianity in Poland at the time of the Moravian mission. However, one by one, all archeological data have been discarded on the basis of recent excavations that show consistent signs of pagan cults until the end of the tenth century and date the first signs of Christianity in Poland to after the mission from Bohemia in 965–966, which the written sources firmly attest.[81]

Scholars who share a skeptical view regarding the existence of the Slavonic rite in Poland during or immediately following the Cyrillo-Methodian mission point to the fact that all historical, linguistic, and archeological sources are too ambiguous and subject to interpretation. The only methodologically sound conclusion, therefore, is that, despite some vague and indirect references that the southern Polish lands could have been touched by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, there is no proof of any church organization or even of any reliable missionary activity in Polish lands before Mieszko decided to marry Boleslav's daughter Dubravka and be baptized in 966.

Everywhere in the Slavic lands under Roman or Frankish jurisdiction that the Slavonic rite spread, we find evidence of tension between the Latinate and Slavonic clergy. In Pannonia, where Prince Kocel had showed great appreciation for the Slavonic rite, the claims of the Salzburg clergy had already put an end to the Slavonic rite by the 870s. In Moravia, this conflict resulted in the expulsion of Cyril and Methodius's followers in 885, some of whom escaped to Bulgaria and to Bohemia. In Bohemia, the Slavonic rite met with resistance, and eventually the Latinate German clergy managed to convince Prince Břetislav II in 1096 to evict the Slavonic monks from their last stronghold—the Sázava Monastery. In Croatia, this opposition led to a significant restriction of the Slavonic clergy by the decisions of the Councils of 925 and 1060. The

fact that we find no evidence of such conflict in Poland is an additional argument against the existence of the Cyrillo-Methodian Slavonic rite and church in pre-Piast Poland.

The Bifurcation of Slavic Writing: Glagolitic and Cyrillic

The dissemination of Slavic writing is directly related to the fate of the Slavonic liturgy. In the territories with Slavic-speaking populations that found themselves in the orbit of Byzantine jurisdiction, the Slavonic rite took root and flourished, as did literature in Church Slavonic. Above all, the Slavonic rite and writing found a second life in Bulgaria, where the disciples of Cyril and Methodius were warmly received.[82] Their arrival was particularly timely as the Bulgarian ruler Boris and, later, his son Symeon sought to replace the Greek liturgy of Byzantium-dominated Bulgaria with the native and, importantly, independent Slavonic rite. Two major educational centers of Slavonic literacy were established by Methodius's disciples, Clement, Nahum, Angelarius, and Constantine at Ohrid and Preslav, where clergy were trained and numerous biblical and patristic writings were translated into Church Slavonic. Gradually, the Greek-based and therefore more familiar Cyrillic letters rivaled and came to obscure the esoteric Glagolitic alphabet, first in the secular and then in the ecclesiastical sphere.[83] Under the leadership of Clement, who headed this ambitious Slavonic literary project, the Bulgarian literati expanded the initial Cyrillo-Methodian textual corpus to such an extent that they were able to oversee the Christianization and re-Christianization of the Serbs, Romanians, and Rus' over the course of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. As Ihor Ševčenko has aptly remarked, "What Methodius had been to Moravia and Pannonia, his follower St. Clement was to Bulgaria, only with more enduring effects."[84] By then Cyrillic had become the "mainstream" of the Slavonic writing in Bulgaria, although Glagolitic was used in Macedonian Ohrid until as late as the thirteenth century. It is even attested in Rus', where, at the dawn of its Christianity, Glagolitic writing, along with Cyrillic, was imported from Bulgaria. William Veder has recently shown that, rather than copying Bulgarian Cyrillic exemplars, the Rus' bookmen preferred to transcribe from the original Glagolitic and, in fact, produced multiple Cyrillic copies from a single Glagolitic source.[85] Thus Cyrillic became the script of the Orthodox churches

of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rus', while the Western Slavs observed the Roman Catholic rite and adopted the Latin language and script. However, as will be shown in the next chapter, in Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands the Slavonic rite continued to be recorded in the Glagolitic alphabet, which remained in use until as late as the eighteenth century.

Glagolitic in Dalmatia

Notes

Abbreviations

Bible—*The Interpretation of the Bible*. Ed. Jože Krašovec.

BN—Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie (National Library of Poland)

CD 1—*Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1. Ed. Marko Kostrenčić.

CD 4—*Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 4. Ed. Tadija Smičkiklas.

CDEM—*Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Moraviae*

Croatia 1—*Croatia and Europe*, vol. 1, *Croatia in the Early Middle Ages: A Cultural Survey*. Ed. Ivan Supičić.

Croatia 2—*Croatia and Europe*, vol. 2, *Croatia in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaisssance: A Cultural Survey*. Ed. Ivan Supičić.

Emauzy—*Emauzy: Benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy*. Ed. Klára Benešovská and Kateřina Kubínová.

Fontes—*Fontes Historici Liturgiae Glagolito-Romanae a XIII ad XIX saeculum*. Ed. Lucas Jelić.

FRB—*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*. Ed. Josef Emler.

FRB s.n.—Jana Zachová, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, Series nova 1. Ed. Jana Zachová.

Glagolitica—*Glagolitica: Zum Ursprung der slavischen Schriftkultur*. Ed. Heinz Miklas, Sylvia Richter, and Velizar Sadovski.

HRR—*Husitství, Reformace, Renesance: Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*. Ed. Jaroslav Pánek, Miloslav Polívka, and Noemi Rejchrtová.

KMK—Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly pražské (Library of the Metropolitan Chapter in Prague)

KNM—Knihovna Národního muzea v Praze (National Museum Library in Prague)

MMFH—*Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*. Ed. Dagmar Bartoňková, Lubomír Havlík, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Zdeněk Masařík, and Radoslav Večerka.

MVB—*Monumenta Vaticana Res Gestas Bohemicas Illustrantia*. Ed. Ladislav Klicman.

NKČR—Národní knihovna České republiky (National Library of the Czech Republic)

NSK—Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu (National and University Library in Zagreb)

PL—*Patrologia Latina: Cursus Completus.* Ed. Jacques-Paul Migne.

RS—*Die Urkunden des königlichen Stiftes Emaus in Prag*, vol. 1, *Das vollständige Registrum Slavorum*. Ed. Leandr Helmling and Adalbert Horcicka.

SW—Roman Jakobson, *Selected Writings*.

Thessaloniki—Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies. *Thessaloniki Magna Moravia: Proceedings of the International Conference, Thessaloniki 16–19 October 1997*.

TODRL   *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*

Z tradic—*Z tradic slovanské kultury v Čechách: Sázava a Emauzy v dějinách české kultury*. Ed. Jan Petr and Sáva Šabouk.

Zeszyty—*Zeszyty Naukowe Wydziału Humanistycznego Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Slawistyka* 3 (1982).

Prologue

1. On the life and works of Jerome Eusebius Hieronymus (331 or 345 or 347–420), see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London, 1975); Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome* (London, 2002); Alfons Fürst, *Hieronymus: Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike* (Freiburg, 2003); Andrew Cain and Josef Lössl, eds., *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings and Legacy* (Farnham, UK, 2009).

2. Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1985), 33.

3. Bollandists, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis* (Brussels, 1898–1899), 1:579.

4. Rice, *Saint Jerome*, 55–63.

5. Bollandists, *Bibliotheca*, 1:577.

6. Rice, *Saint Jerome*, 64–68.

7. Ibid., 48.

8. "I, Jerome, son of Eusebius, of the city of Strido, which is on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia and was overthrown by the Goths" (Hieronymus patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis, quod a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit). Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 135.953, in *PL*, 23:755B. "… there is a sort of drink made of grain and water, and in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia it is called in the local barbarian idiom sabaia" (… genus est potionis ex frugibus aquaque confectum, et vulgo in Dalmatiae Pannoniaeque provinciis gentili barbaroque sermone appellatur sabaium). Jerome, *Commentariorum In Isaiam Prophetam* 7.19, in *PL*, 24:253A. See the examination of Jerome's regional identity in Danijel Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat: Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia* (Leiden, 2010), 71–73.

9. For example, there is no mention of this in Rice, *Saint Jerome*.

10. Today, both Orthodox and Catholic churches venerate Sts. Cyril and Methodius as the creators of the Slavonic letters and as the apostles to the Slavs. In an Apostolic letter, "Egregiae virtutis," dated 31 December 1980, Pope John Paul II announced Sts. Cyril and Methodius co-patrons of Europe (*compatroni Europae*), who since then have shared this honor with St. Benedict.

11. The legend of Jerome's Slavic alphabet is especially popular in "cyber historiography"—online history-themed discussion forums. For academic publications that consider Jerome to be the inventor of a Slavic alphabet, see, for example, E. V. Afanas'eva, "The Ancient Slavonic Translation of the Book of Job and Its Greek Original," in *Rezume soobshchenii = Summaries of Communications: XVIII Mezhdunarodnyi Kongress Vizantinistov = International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet im. M. V. Lomonosova, 8–15 avgusta 1991* (Moscow, 1991). The Croatian scholar Marko Japundžić, who has claimed that the Slavic Glagolitic liturgy and writing originated in Croatia at the time of its baptism at the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries, also comes very close to accepting the possibility of Jerome's authorship of the Glagolitic alphabet. See Marko Japundžić, *Hrvatska glagoljica* (Zagreb, 1998), 9–34.

Chapter 1

1. Shortly before his death in 869, Constantine took the name of Cyril at his tonsure. He is therefore usually referred to as St. Cyril.

2. This point of view is shared by most scholars of early Slavic history, although they may not agree on all the details. The literature on this topic is voluminous and in many languages. In English, some of the classic and fundamental studies include books by Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970); Alexis P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge, 1970); Dimitri Obolensky, *Byzantium and the Slavs* (Crestwood, NY, 1994); Ihor Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs in Letters and Culture* (Cambridge, MA, 1991); Henry R. Cooper, Jr., *Slavic Scriptures: The Formation of the Church Slavonic Version of the Holy Bible* (Madison, WI, 2003); as well as the English translation from the Greek of Anthony-Emil N. Tachiaos, *Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica: The Acculturation of the Slavs* (Crestwood, NY, 2001). Shorter studies may be found in the collection of papers assembled by the Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies, *Thessaloniki Magna Moravia: Proceedings of the International Conference, Thessaloniki 16–19 October 1997* (Thessaloniki, 1999); and in *Slavic Review* 23, to name only a few. Documents related to the mission in Moravia are published in several collections. The most recent and comprehensive is Dagmar Bartoňková, Lubomír Havlík, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Zdeněk Masařík, and Radoslav Večerka, eds., *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, 5 vols. (Prague, 1966–1977). The main sources of information about the holy brothers are their vitae. The Church Slavonic *Life of Constantine* was written in Moravia before 885 (earliest copies are from the fifteenth century). The Church Slavonic *Life of Methodius* dates from the late ninth or early tenth century (the earliest copy is from the twelfth century). Francis Dvornik's classic study of the legends as historical sources, which analyzes them in the context of ninth-

century Byzantium, is still one of the best resources. See Francis Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Byzantinoslavica Supplementa l (Prague, 1933). For a more recent discussion, see Harvey Goldblatt, "History and Hagiography: Recent Studies on the Text and Textual Traditions of the *Life of Constantine*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 19 (1995–1997): 158–79. An English translation, along with the Church Slavonic texts and commentaries, is in Marvin Kantor, ed., *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983). A Russian translation with an extensive and updated critical commentary is in B. N. Floria, *Skazaniia o nachale slavianskoi pis'mennosti* (St. Petersburg, 2004). In addition to Church Slavonic vitae, the Latin *Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum Translatione S. Clementis*, also known as the *Italian Legend*, provides additional evidence of Cyril's life. *MMFH*, 2:120–33.

3. Although the Franks claimed jurisdiction over Moravia, missionaries from Aquileia, Northern Italy, and possibly even Ireland also preached in these territories. On the history of conversions in this region, see Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík, and Josef Žemlička (with Zoë Opačić), "Bohemia and Moravia," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge, 2007), 214–62; Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow, UK, 2001), 145–206, esp. 173–74.

4. *MMFH*, 3:143–44.

5. Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," 221–23.

6. Kantor, *Lives*, 111; *MMFH*, 2:144.

7. Chapter 3 of the *Life of Methodius* informs us that Methodius, wearing a black robe, lived as a monk on Olympus. Discrepancies in sources have caused some confusion in scholarship regarding the geographical names and locations of the monasteries at which Methodius is thought to have been monk and abbot. For a recent critique of this issue, see Francis J. Thomson, "Saint Methodius, Apostle to the Slavs, as Abbot of the Greek Monastery of *Polikhron*," in *Iter philologicum: Festschrift für Helmut Keipert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Daniel Bunčić and Nikolaos Trunte (Munich, 2006), 223–42.

8. On the corpus and description of the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, see Alexander M. Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology* (New Haven, CT, 1995), 185–92; Miloš Weingart and Josef Kurz, *Texty ke studiu jazyka a písemnictví staroslověnského* (Prague, 1949). On the structure and grammar of Old Church Slavonic in English, see, for example, William R. Schmalstieg, *An Introduction to Old Church Slavic* (Columbus, OH, 1983); Boris Gasparov, *Old Church Slavonic* (Munich, 2001); Horace G. Lunt, *Old Church Slavonic Grammar* (Berlin, 2001).

9. On Church Slavonic variation, see Robert Mathiesen, "The Church Slavonic Language Question: An Overview (IX–XX Centuries)," in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. Ricardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt (New Haven, CT, 1984), 1:45–65.

10. Romans 14:11.

11. On the Pentecostal justification of the Slavonic liturgy, the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, and the beginning of national self-determination among the Slavs, see Roman Jakobson, "The Beginning of National Self-Determination in Europe," in *SW*, 115–28; Ševčenko, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, 3–15.

12. Acts 2:1–4.

13. Francis Thomson gives examples of the early church fathers who advocated comprehensibility of the language of worship and the equality of languages in the face of God. Thomson, "SS. Cyril and Methodius and a Mythical Western Heresy: Trilinguism; A Contribution to the Study of Patristic and Mediaeval Theories of Sacred Languages," *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992): 79.

14. Kiril Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh–Fifteenth Century: The Records of a Bygone Culture* (Leiden, 2008), 61–64. For the Church Slavonic edition, see Jordan Ivanov, *Balgarski starini iz Makedonija*, 2nd ed. (Sofia, 1970), 338–44. Some scholars ascribe this composition to St. Cyril himself. See Roman Jakobson, "St. Constantine's Prologue to the Gospels," in *SW*, 196–99.

15. On the differences between methods of Western and Eastern missionaries, see Richard Eugene Sullivan, "Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods," *Church History* 23 (1954): 17–35.

16. Opinions on how to interpret the title of this treatise and, therefore define its authorship vary. Some read the word храбръ (brave) as the personal name of the author. Others view it as an epithet of the word чрьноризьць (monk) that was given to the author by a later scribe to characterize his sharp polemical

style and argumentativeness as "courage." It has also been viewed as a pseudonym, and the text has been ascribed to Constantine-Cyril himself or to Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria, among others. The original composition is not preserved. William Veder provides a reconstruction of the treatise based on textological analysis of attested manuscript copies. He argues that the text that is presently known as the *Treatise on the Letters of Monk Khrabr* shows traces of two independent compositions: the treatise *On the Script* and the treatise *On the Letters*. Veder dates the original composition to before ca. 919 and believes it to be a work of anonymous writers. See William R. Veder, *Utrum in Alterum Abiturum Erat? A Study of the Beginnings of Text Transmission in Church Slavic* (Bloomington, IN, 1999). For an edition of the Church Slavonic *On the Letters*, see Kuio Markov Kuev, *Chernorizets Khrabŭr* (Sofia, 1967). For the Russian translation of the treatise with extensive commentary and bibliography, see Floria, *Skazaniia*, 196–201 and 339–69.

17. Veder, *Utrum*, 160 and 165.

18. Ibid., 159.

19. This theory has been proposed by Georg Tschernokhvostoff and endorsed by his mentor Valentin Kiparsky. See Georg Tschernochvostoff, "Zum Ursprung der Glagolica," *Studia Slavica Finlandensia* 12 (1995): 141–50; Valentin Kiparsky, "Tschernochvostoffs Theorie über den Ursprung des glagolitischen Alfabets," in *Cyrillo-Methodiana: Zur Frühgeschichte des Christentums bei den Slaven, 863–1963*, ed. Manfred Hellmann (Cologne, 1964), 393–400. It has recently been elaborated by Boris Uspenskii. See "O proiskhozhdenii glagolitsy," *Voprosy iazykoznaniia* 1 (2005): 63–77.

20. For some recent studies that summarize previous scholarship on this matter and offer new ideas, see Olga B. Strakhov, "The Adventure of the Dancing Men: Professor Ševčenko's Theory on the Origin of Glagolitic," *Palaeoslavica* 19 (2011): 1–45; T. A. Ivanova, "Glagolitsa: Novye gipotezy," *TODRL* 56 (2004): 78–93; Olivier Azam, "L'histoire controversée de la naissance du premier alphabet slave," *Slavica Occitania* 12 (2001): 49–91; Vojtěch Tkadlčík, "Über den Ursprung der Glagolica," in *Glagolitica*, 9–32; Horace Lunt, "Thoughts, Suggestions, and Questions about the Earliest Slavic Writing Systems," *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 46 (2000): 271–86.

21. Dmitro Čyževs'kyj, "K otázce v původu slovanského písma," in *Slovanské studie: Sbírka statí, věnovaných J. Vajsovi*, ed. Josef Kurz (Prague, 1948), 52–57.

22. Wilhelm Lettenbauer, "Zur Entstehung des glagolitischen Alphabets," *Slovo* 3 (1953): 35–50.

23. G. M. Prokhorov, "Glagolitsa sredi missionerskikh azbuk," *TODRL* 45 (1991): 178–99; V. M. Lur'e, "Okolo Solunskoi legendy: Iz istorii missionerstva v period monofelitskoi unii." *Slaviane i ikh sosedi* 6 (1996): 23–52.

24. Japundžić, *Hrvatska glagoljica*, 9–34.

25. For a critical analysis of these theories see Radoslav Katičić, "Uz pitanje o postanku i starosti glagoljice," *Croatica* 42–44 (1995–1996): 185–98.

26. Lunt, "Thoughts, Suggestions," esp. 275 and 284.

27. Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's 'Didascalicon'* (Chicago, 1993), 70–71.

28. Prokhorov, "Glagolitsa sredi missionerskikh azbuk."

29. Andrzej Poppe, "*Is kurilotsъ* i *is kurilovitsъ*," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 31–32 (1986): 324–25.

30. Apart from numerous medieval icons, the scrolls with Cyrillic letters may also be seen in contemporary sculpture monuments to Cyril and Methodius, such as a monument in front of the Saints Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia and a monument in Pazardjik (Bulgaria), a monument in Odessa (Ukraine), in the Kolomna Kremlin (Russia), and in Radhošt (Czech Republic), to name only a few.

31. See, for example, A. V. Mikhailov, *K voprosu o literaturnom nasledii Sv. Kirilla i Mefodiia v glagolicheskikh khorvatskikh missalakh i breviariiakh: Iz istorii izucheniia drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Bytiia proroka Moiseia* (Warsaw, 1904); Anatolii A. Alekseev, "K opredeleniiu ob"ema literaturnogo naslediia Mefodiia (Chetii perevod Pesni pesnei)," *TODRL* 37 (1983): 229–55; Alekseev, "Filologicheskie kriterii vyiavleniia bibleiskikh perevodov sv. Mefodiia," *Polata knigopisnaja* 14–15 (1985): 8–14; Francis J. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament," in *Bible*, 605–920, esp. 638–46; Thomson, "Has the Cyrillomethodian Translation of the Bible Survived?," in *Thessaloniki*, 149–64; Biserka Grabar, "Ćirilometodski i staroslavenski prijevodi u hrvatskoglagoljskim prijepisima," *Slovo* 36 (1986): 87–94;

Henry R. Cooper, "The Origins of the Church Slavonic Version of the Bible," in *Bible*, 959–72; Cooper, *Slavic Scriptures*, 24–79; Marcello Garzaniti*, Die altslavische Version der Evangelien: Forschungsgeschichte und zeitgenössische Forschung* (Cologne, 2001).

32. For an overview of the preserved liturgical texts and a discussion of key questions and challenges that scholars face, see Antonín Dostál, "Origins of the Slavonic Liturgy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 67–87.

33. Josef Vašica, "Slovanská liturgie sv. Petra," *Byzantinoslavica* 8 (1939–1940): 1–54; Vašica, "Slovanská liturgie nově osvětlená Kijevskými listy," *Slovo a slovesnost* 6 (1940): 65–77.

34. Dmitro Čyževs'kyj, "K voprosu o liturgii sv. Petra," *Slovo* (1953): 37–41; Dostál, "Origins," 77; Vojtěch Tkadlčík, "Byzantinischer und römischer Ritus in der slavischen Liturgie," in *Wegzeichen: Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Hermenegild M. Biedermann, OSA*, ed. Coelestin Patock and Ernst Christoph Suttner (Würzburg, 1971), 313–32. Josef Laurenčík, "*K otázce* slovanské liturgie sv. Petra," in *Studia palaeoslovenica*, ed. Bohuslav Havránek (Prague, 1971), 201–14; František Václav Mareš, "Slovanská liturgie sv. Petra," in *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague, 2000), 166–87.

35. František Václav Mareš, "Význam staroslověnských rukopisů nově objevených na hoře Sinaj," in *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague, 2000), 207–8. Dostál ("Origins," 80–84) has also hypothesized that the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom* was the first Slavonic liturgy introduced by Cyril and Methodius in Moravia.

36. See, for example, Henrik Birnbaum, "Eastern and Western Components in the Earliest Slavic Liturgy," in *Essays in Early Slavic Civilization* (Munich, 1981), 36–51; Tkadlčík, "Byzantinischer und römischer Ritus," 313–32 (Tkadlčík argues that the Slavic apostles brought the Byzantine rite to Moravia, and only there allowed Roman and Frankish elements to be incorporated gradually into their texts and rituals, especially after a visit to Rome in 869); Marija Pantelić, "O Kijevskim i Sinajskim listićima," *Slovo* 35 (1985): 5–56. Pantelić argues that the *Kiev Folia* represent the oldest Slavonic liturgical text, which records a part of the Gregorian Sacramentary and reveals terminology of the Eastern Church, while the *Sinai Folia* document the Eastern liturgy with interpolated Western prayers.

37. Thomson, "The Slavonic Translation"; Cooper, "The Origins," and *Slavic Scriptures*, 24–79; Grabar, "Ćirilometodski i staroslavenski prijevodi."

38. The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 17 (*MMFH*, 2:110); the *Life of Methodius*, chapter 6 (*MMFH*, 2:146); the letter "Industriae tuae" or "Dilecto filio Sfentopulcho glorioso comiti" (To beloved Svatopluk, glorious ruler), June 880 (*MMFH*, 3:207–8). Henry Cooper, however, has suggested that the references to the Slavonic biblical translations in the saints' vitae are literary topoi used to enhance the holiness of biblical translations that were completed later in Bulgaria. Cooper, "The Origins," 965–71.

39. The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 17, *MMFH*, 2:110–11.

40. On the politics of the papacy concerning Slavic dioceses, see a new analysis by Maddalena Betti, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858–882): Papal Power and Political Reality* (Leiden, 2014).

41. The letter "Commonitorium Dominico episcopo Iohanni et Stefano presbyteris euntibus ad Sclavos" (The reminder to Bishop Dominic and presbyters John and Stephen on their journey to the Slavs), *MMFH*, 3:226–29.

42. In about half of the attested copies of the *Life of Constantine*, a variant is *pisanię*, "writings." The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 15, *MMFH*, 2:102.

43. "дьꙗволъ, не терпѧ сего добра, нъ вшедъ въ своꙗ съсоуды, начатъ многы въздвизати, глаголѧ имъ: не славится богъ о семь. аще бо бы емоу сице оугодно было, не бы ли моглъ створити, да быша исперва писмены пишюще бесѣды своꙗ, славили бога? но три ꙗзыкы оубо есть токмо (избралъ) еврѣискъ, греческъ и латиньскыи, имиже достоить славоу богоу въздаꙗти. бѣша же се глаголюще латиньстии и фрѧжестии архиерѣи съ иерѣи и оученици." The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 15, *MMFH*, 2:102–3.

44. Analyzing the text of the *Life of Constantine*, Floria substantiates the assumption made by E. Golubinskii and I. Malyshevskii that the initial object of Cyril and Methodius's expedition was the consecration of their disciples by the patriarch of Grado, and that a special Synod met in Venice to decide this case. See Floria, *Skazaniia*, 256–58, 260–61. Other proposed destinations for Cyril and Methodius's expedition include Rome, Constantinople, and Aquilea. See *MMFH*, 2:104.

45. "Въ нꙗтцѣхъ же бꙑвьшоу емоу, собрашаса на нь латиньстии епископи и попове и черноризци ꙗко врани на соколъ, и въздвигоша триꙗзꙑчьноую ересь, глаголюще: (чловѣче), скажи намъ, како тꙑ еси нꙑнѣ створилъ словѣномъ книгꙑ, и оучиши ꙗ, ихъже нѣсть никтоже инъ первѣе обрѣлъ, ни апостолъ, ни римьскꙑи папежь, ни феологъ григории, ни иеронимъ, ни авгоустинъ? мꙑ же три ꙗзꙑкꙑ токмо вѣмъ, имиже достоить въ книгахъ славити бога, еврѣискꙑ, еллиньскꙑ, латиньскꙑ." *The Life of Constantine*, chapter 16, *MMFH*, 2:105–6.

46. The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 16, cf. *MMFH*, 2:105 (*písmena*), Kantor, *Lives*, 71 (letters), and Floria, *Skazaniia*, 170 (*pis'mena*).

47. The most famous example is the Freising Fragments, recently published again in France Bernik et al., eds., *Brižinski spomeniki: Monumenta Frisingensia; Znanstvenokritična izdaja* (Ljubljana, 2004).

48. Thomson, "SS. Cyril and Methodius," 67–121.

49. The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 14, *MMFH*, 2:99–100.

50. The sources show some variation in the description of these events. The *Life of Constantine* relates that the pope put the Slavonic books in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore and sanctified them. Then he ordered bishops Formosus and Gauderic to ordain Cyril and Methodius's disciples. The ordination was accompanied by a service in Slavonic at St. Peter's. For several days afterward, the liturgy was celebrated in Slavonic in various churches of Rome. The *Life of Constantine*, chapter 17, *MMFH*, 2:110–11. One of the copies of the *Italian Legend* relates that Hadrian II consecrated Methodius as bishop, while others mention only a priestly office: *Vita Constantini-Cyrilli cum translatione S. Clementis*, *MMFH*, 2:130. In the *Life of Methodius*, the pope called Cyril's opponents "пилатѣнꙑ и трьꙗзꙑчьникꙑ" (Pilatists and trilinguists) and condemned them. He also put the Slavonic Gospel on the altar at St. Peter's and consecrated Methodius. Later, at the requests of Prince Kocel of Pannonia and Rostislav of Moravia, the pope consecrated Methodius as archbishop of Sirmium and Moravia. *Zhitie Mefodiia*, *MMFH*, 2:146–54. There is a dispute among scholars regarding the nature and geography of Methodius's office as archbishop. See Imre Boba, "The Episcopacy of St. Methodius," *Slavic Review* 26 (1967): 85–93; Henrik Birnbaum, "Where was the Missionary Field of SS. Cyril and Methodius?," in *Thessaloniki*, 47–52; Birnbaum, "Some Remaining Puzzles in Cyrillo-Methodian Studies," *Slovo* 47–49 (1997–1999): 15–23; Martin Eggers, "The Historical-Geographical Implications of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission among the Slavs," in *Thessaloniki*, 65–86; Eggers, *Das Erzbistum des Method: Lage, Wirkung und Nachleben der kyrillo-methodianischen Mission* (Munich, 1996); Horace G. Lunt, "Cyril and Methodius with Rastislav Prince of Moravia: Where Were They?," in *Thessaloniki*, 87–112.

51. "Igitur hunc Methodium venerabilem archiepiscopum vestrum interrogavimus corampositis fratribus nostris episcopis, si orthodoxę fidei symbolum ita crederet et inter sacra missarum sollempnia caneret, sicuti sanctam Romanam ecclesiam tenere et in sanctis sex universalibus synodis a sanctis patribus secundum evangelicam Christi Dei nostri auctoritatem promulgatum atque traditum constat. Ille autem professus est se iuxta evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam, sicuti sancta Romana ecclesia docet et a patribus traditum est, tenere et psallere. Nos autem illum in omnibus ecclesiasticis doctrinis et utilitatibus orthodoxum et proficuum esse repperientes vobis iterum ad regendam commissam sibi ecclesiam Dei remisimus." The letter "Industriae tuae," *MMFH*, 3:203–4.

52. The dispute concerned a disagreement regarding the Procession of the Holy Spirit. The Eastern Church refused to recognize the dogma of the double Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, believing that it proceeds only from the Father. This important theological difference was expressed in the Nicene Creed by adding *filioque*, "and from the Son," to the original phrase "*et in Spiritum Sanctum . . . qui ex Patre procedit*" (and in the Holy Spirit . . . , which proceeds from the Father). During the apostolate of John VIII, in the Roman practice, the *Symbolum fidei* did not yet contain the addition *filioque*. Methodius followed the same practice of not including the addition *filioque*, whereas the Frankish Church included it. See the letter of John VIII, "Industriae tuae," *MMFH*, 3:203. The theological dispute about the nature of the Holy Spirit is also apparent in Pope Stephen V's letters. See the letter "Stephanus episcopus servus servorum Dei Zventopolco regi Sclavorum" (Bishop Stephen, the Servant of God's Servants to Svatopluk, the King of the Slavs), *MMFH*, 3:220–21, and the letter "Commonitorium Dominico episcopo," 228.

53. New King James Bible, Ps 117:1; Vulgate Bible, Ps 116:1. This English translation keeps the distinction between the *populi* = Jews and the *gentes* = all other peoples, made by Jerome in his Latin translation from the Hebrew: "Alleluia laudate Dominum omnes gentes laudate eum omnes populi."

54. "Litteras denique Sclaviniscas a Costantino quondam philosopho reppertas, quibus Deo laudes debite resonent, iure laudamus et in eadem lingua Christi domini nostri preconia et opera enarrentur, iubemus. Neque enim tribus tantum, sed omnibus linguis Dominum laudare auctoritate sacra monemur, quę pręcipit dicens: 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes et collaudate eum omnes populi.' [. . .] Nec sane fidei vel doctrinę aliquid obstat sive missas in eadem Sclavinica lingua canere sive sacrum evangelium vel lectiones divinas novi et veteris testamenti bene translatas et interpretatas legere aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere, quoniam, qui fecit tres linguas principales, Hebream scilicet, Grecam et Latinam, ipse creavit et alias omnes ad laudem et gloriam suam. Iubemus tamen, ut in omnibus ecclesiis terrę vestrę propter maiorem honorificentiam evangelium Latine legatur et postmodum Sclavinica lingua translatum in auribus populi Latina verba non intellegentis adnuntietur, sicut in quibusdam ecclesiis fieri videtur." The letter "Dilecto filio Sfentopulcho glorioso comiti," *MMFH*, 3:207–8.

55. "Successorem, quem Methodius sibimet contra omnium sanctorum patrum statuta constituere praesumpsit, ne ministret, nostra apostolica auctoritate interdicite, donec suam nobis praesentiam exhibeat et causam suam viva voce exponat." The letter "Commonitorium Dominico episcopo," *MMFH*, 3:229.

56. Paul J. Alexander, "The Papacy, the Bavarian Clergy, and the Slavonic Apostles," *Slavonic Year-Book, American Series* 1 (1941): 266–93; Josip Bratulić, "Rimska Kurija i misija Konstantina-Ćirila i Methodija," *Slovo* 36 (1986): 45–50.

57. Dmitro Čyževs'kyj, "Der hl. Method—Organisator, Missionar, Politiker und Dichter," in *Methodiana: Beiträge zur Zeit und Persönlichkeit sowie zum Schicksal und Werk des hl. Method*, ed. Franz Zagiba, Annales Instituti Slavici Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis 9 (Vienna, 1976), 7–21.

58. Ihor Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission," *Slavic Review* 23 (1964): 220–36.

59. For an English translation of major sources, supplemented with commentary, see Marvin Kantor, ed., *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston, IL, 1990).

60. *MMFH*, 2:186–99. For a revised Latin edition, see Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, *Kristiánova legenda: Život a umučení svatého Václava a jeho báby svaté Ludmily* (Prague, 1978). Christian's composition is dated to 992–994 but its authenticity is still debated in Czech scholarship. Its dedicatory note is addressed to the second bishop of Prague St. Adalbert, hence the date. However, its peculiar chronicle-like narrative, which stands out among other documents from that period, as well as its idiosyncratic ideological agenda, make some scholars doubt the text's authenticity and suggest a later date. Some of the key works from an extensive list of publications on this issue are Josef Pekař, *Nejstarší kronika česká ku kritice legend o sv. Ludmile, sv. Václavu a sv. Prokopu* (Prague, 1903); Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmila-legenden und die Echtheit Christians* (Prague, 1906); Václav Chaloupecký, ed., *Svatováclavský sborník, vol. 2, part 2, Prameny 10. století: Legendy kristiánovy o Svatém Václavu a Svaté Ludmile* (Prague, 1939); Záviš Kalandra, České pohanství (Prague, 1947); Rudolf Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor* (Prague, 1947–1948); Zdeněk Fiala, *Hlavní pramen legendy Kristiánovy* (Prague, 1974); Dušan Třeštík, "Deset tezí o Kristiánově legendě," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 2 (1980): 7–38; Herman Kølln, *Die Wenzelslegende des Mönchs Christian*, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 73 (Copenhagen, 1996). Recent publications pro and contra the early dating provide a review of existing literature on the subject. Pro: David Kalhous, *Anatomy of a Duchy: The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures of Early Přemyslid Bohemia* (Leiden, 2012); Kalhous, "Christian und Grossmähren," in *Die frühmittelalterliche Elite bei den Völkern des östlichen Mitteleuropas,* ed. Pavel Kouřil (Brno, 2005), 25–33; Josef Šrámek, "Osobnost procházející dějinami, stále záhadný Kristián," *Studia Theologica* 1 (2008): 32–40. Contra: Petr Kubín, "Znovu o Kristiána," in *Od knížat ke králům: Sborník u příležitosti 60. narozenin Josefa Žemličky*, ed. Eva Doležalová and Robert Šimůnek (Prague, 2007), 63–72.

61. Ludvíkovský, *Kristiánova legenda*, 16–24. On the cult of St. Ludmila, see Petr Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů* (Prague, 2011), 81–123. For more information on the early period of Bohemian Christianity and its connection to Great Moravia, see Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia."

62. According to legend, St. Wenceslas—a devoted Christian—was murdered by his brother Boleslav on his way to church. The popularity of St. Wenceslas's cult in Bohemia is documented by a remarkable number of hagiographic works. Secondary literature is voluminous; see, for example, Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmila-legenden*; František Graus, "St. Adalbert und St. Wenzel: Zur Funktion der

mittelalterlichen Heiligenverehrung in Böhmen," in *Europa Slavica, Europa Orientalis: Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (Berlin, 1980), 205–31; Rudolf Turek, "Svatý Václav," in *Bohemia Sancta*, ed. Jaroslav Kadlec (Prague, 1989), 53–71; Kantor, *The Origins*, 1–47; Dušan Třeštík, "Translace a kanonizace svatého Václava Boleslavem I.," in *Světci a jejich kult ve středověku*, ed. Petr Kubín, Hana Pátková, and Tomáš Petráček (České Budějovice, 2006), 325–44; Marie Bláhová, "The Function of the Saints in Early Bohemian Historical Writing," in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen, 2006), 83–119; Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů*, 125–50; Kalhous, *Anatomy*, 237–62.

63. Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," 229–31.

64. František Graus, "Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách 10. století," *Československý časopis historický* 14 (1966): 473–95; Radoslav Večerka, "Velkomoravská literatura v přemyslovských Čechách," *Slavia* 32 (1963): 398–416; Večerka, "Jazykovědný příspěvek k problematice staroslověnského písemnictví v Čechách X. a XI. století," *Slavia* 36 (1967): 421–28; Václav Konzal, "Církevněslovanská literatura—slepá ulička na prahu české kultury," in *Speculum medii aevi: Zrcadlo středověku*, ed. Lenka Jiroušková (Prague, 1998), 150–62; Dušan Třeštík, "Slovanská liturgie a písemnictví v Čechách 10. století: Představy a skutečnost," in *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a Střední Evropa*, ed. Petr Sommer (Prague, 2006), 189–218; Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," 233–34; David Kalhous, "Slovanské písemnictví a liturgie 10. a 11. věku," *Český časopis historický* 108 (2010): 1–33; Kalhous, *Anatomy*, 208–37.

65. Sommer, Třeštík, and Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," 229.

66. On St. Procopius and the sources on the Sázava Monastery, see Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů*, 219–55; Petr Sommer, "Svatý Prokop a jeho kult ve středověku," in *Světci a jejich kult ve středověku*, ed. Petr Kubín, Hana Pátková, and Tomáš Petráček (České Budějovice, 2006), 261–81; Vladimír Ondáš, "Byl svatý Prokop basilián nebo benediktin?," in Kubín et al., *Světci a jejich kult ve středověku*, 211–19; Petr Sommer, *Svatý Prokop: Z počátků českého státu a církve* (Prague, 2007); Petr Sommer, ed., *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a Střední Evropa* (Prague, 2006); Jaroslav Kadlec and Horní Cerekev, "Das Kloster des hl. Prokop an der Sasau," and "Der heilige Prokop," in *Tausend Jahre Benediktiner in den Klöstern Břevnov, Braunau und Rohr*, ed. Johannes Hofmann (St. Ottilien, 1993), 297–307 and 309–24.

67. Miloš Weingart, *Československý typ cirkevnej slovančiny* (Bratislava, 1949); Josip Vrana, "Praški glagoljski odlomci kao svjedok neprekidne ćirilometodske tradicije u Češkoj do kraja XI stoljeća," *Slavia* 39 (1970): 238–49; Emilie Bláhová, Václav Konzal, and A. I. Rogov, *Staroslověnské legendy českého původu* (Prague, 1976); František Václav Mareš, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin: With an Outline of Czech-Church Slavonic Language and Literature and with a Selected Bibliography* (Munich, 1979); Mareš, "Místo českocírkevněslovanského písemnictví v dějinách literatur," in *Cyrilometodějská tradice a slavistika* (Prague, 2000), 268–327; Francis J. Thomson, "A Survey of the Vitae Allegedly Translated from Latin in Slavonic in Bohemia in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Atti del VIII Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1983), 331–48; Zoë Hauptová, "Církevněslovanské písemnictví v přemyslovských Čechách," in *Jazyk a literatura v historické perspektivě* (Ústí nad Labem, 1998), 5–42; Emilie Bláhová, "Literární vztahy Sázavy a Kyjevské Rusi," in *Svatý Prokop, Čechy a Střední Evropa*, ed. Petr Sommer (Prague, 2006), 219–34; Miroslav Vepřek, *Česká redakce církevní slovanštiny z hlediska lexikální analýzy* (Olomouc, 2006); František Čajka, *Církevněslovanská legenda o svaté Anastázii* (Prague, 2011).

68. Konzal, "Církevněslovanská literatura," 153–54.

69. For more or less recent synthetic analyses of this problem and reference to literature, see Przemysław Urbańczyk and Stanisław Rosik, "The Kingdom of Poland," in *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200*, ed. Nora Berend (Cambridge, 2007), 263–300; Andrzej Gil, *Prawosławna eparchia chełmska do 1596 roku* (Lublin, 1999), 47–48; Hanna Toby, "O źródłach tradycji cerkiewnosłowiańskiej w Polsce," in *Dutch Contributions to the Twelfth International Congress of Slavists, Cracow, August 26–September 3, 1988; Linguistics*, ed. A. A. Barentsen, Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics 24 (Amsterdam, 1998), 391–428; Stanisław Szczur, "Misja cyrylo-metodiańska w świetle najnowszych badań," in *Chrystianizacja Polski południowej: Materiały sesji naukowej odbytej 29 czerwca 1993 roku* (Cracow, 1994), 7–23; Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs*, 113–42.

70. For studies in English, see Karolina Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland* (Rome, 1961) and Henryk Paszkiewicz, "A Polish Metropolitan See of the Slavonic Rite," in *The Origin of Russia* (London, 1954), 381–404. Studies in Polish include Józef Umański, *Obrządek słowiański w Polsce IX–XI wieku i zagadnienie drugiej metropolii polskiej w czasach Bolesława Chrobrego*, Roczniki Humanistyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego 4 (Lublin, 1957), 1–44; Henryk Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, 6 vols. (Warsaw, 1963–1985), 4:299–532. The most recent attempt to prove the continuation of the Slavonic rite in Poland is a three-volume publication in Polish by Zbigniew Dobrzyński, *Obrządek słowiański w dawnej Polsce* (Warsaw, 1989). Among determined advocates of the Slavonic rite in Poland is A. V. Lipatov, whose views have been put forward in at least three publications that, in the most uncompromising fashion, claim the operation of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission and the Slavonic rite in Poland. See A. V. Lipatov, "Kirillo-mefodievskaia traditsiia, istoki pol'skoi literatury i problemy slavianskoi vzaimnosti (o vzaimodeistvii latinskogo Zapada i vizantiiskogo Vostoka," *Seriia literatury i iazyka* 45–46 (1995): 34–46; Lipatov, "Vzaimodeistvie latinskogo Zapada i vizantiiskogo Vostoka: Kirillo-mefodievskaia traditsiia, istoki pol'skoi literatury i problemy slavianskoi vzaimnosti," *Palaeobulgarica* 17 (1993): 67–80; Lipatov, "Kirillo-mefodievskaia traditsiia i istoki pol'skoi literatury. (Vzaimodeistvie latinskogo Zapada i vizantiiskogo Vostoka)," in *Bolgarskaia kul'tura v vekakh: Tezisy dokladov nauchnoi konferentsii, Moskva 26–27 maia 1992 g.*, ed. Evgeniia I. Demina (Moscow, 1992), 14–15.

71. "Поганьскъ кнѧзь, сильнъ вельми, сѣдѧ въ Вислѣ, роугашеⷭ крьⷭ(ти)ианомъ и пакасти дѣаше. посълавъ же къ немоу рече: добро ти сѧ кр(ь)сти(ти), с(ы)ноу, волею своею на своки земли, да не плѣненъ ноудьми крьщенъ боудеши на чюжеи земли, и поманеши мѧ, кже и быⷭ(ь)." *MMFH*, 2:156.

72. Lanckorońska, *Studies*, 18–20. Lanckorońska credits Fr. Stjepan Sakač for this idea.

73. Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński repeatedly dismissed all attempts to situate the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in the Polish lands in a number of publications, collected in his *Od piętnastu wieków (966–1966): Szkice z pradziejów i dziejów kultury polskiej* (Warsaw, 1961): "Przyczynki krytyczne do dziejów dawnych Wiślan," 35–41; "Czy są ślady istnienia liturgii cyrylo-metodejskiej w dawnej Polsce?," 42–50 (originally published in *Slavia* 25 [1956]: 290–99); "Nowa faza diskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce," 51–67 (originally published in 1958); "Pierwszy chrzest Polski," 68–75 (originally published in 1960); "Dookoła obrządku słowiańskiego w dawnej Polsce," 76–81 (originally published in 1961). See also Józef Szymański, "Czy w Polsce istniał obrządek rzymsko-słowiański," *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL* 6 (1963): 41–56; Andrzej Vincenz, "Krytyczna analiza dokumentów dotyczących kontaktów Polski z misją cyrylometodiańską," in *Zeszyty*, 69–78, and the English version, Vincenz, "The Moravian Mission in Poland Revisited," in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on His Sixtieth Birthday by His Colleagues and Students*, ed. Cyril A. Mango, Omeljian Pritsak, and Uliana M. Pasicznyk, Harvard Ukrainian Studies 7 (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 639–54. One of the most comprehensive critical analyses has been offered by Gerard Labuda, "O obrządku słowiańskim w Polsce południowej, czyli Kraków biskupi przed rokiem 1000," in *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, 2 vols. (Poznań, 1988), 2:83–166. Most recently, the theories about the Cyrillo-Methodian Slavonic rite in Poland were again critically examined by Toby, "O źródłach."

74. See Lehr-Spławiński, "Czy są ślady istnienia," 294; Toby, "O źródłach," 403. The Polish Wiślica Calendar of saints dates from before 1430, likely from the end of the fourteenth century. See Jerzy Zathey, "O kilku przepadłych zabytkach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie," in *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, ed. Henryk Barycz and Jan Hulewicz (Warsaw, 1949), 73–86.

75. See, for example, the works of Maria Karpluk, "Traces of the Slavonic Rite in Poland," in *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Cracow, August 21–25, 1978*, ed. Kazimierz Rymut (Wrocław, 1981), 1:593–98; Karpluk, "Imiona apostołów i ewangelistów jako świadectwo oddziaływania liturgii słowiańskiej w Polsce," in *Zeszyty*, 63–68; Karpluk, "Słownictwo cerkiewne w polszczyźnie XVI wieku: Wybór przykładów," in *Chrześcijański Wschód a kultura polska*, ed. Ryszard Łużny (Lublin, 1989), 127–47; Janusz Siatkowski, "O cerkiewizmach w naistarszej polskiej terminologii chrześcijańskiej," in *Zeszyty*, 97–105.

76. Lehr-Spławiński, "Dookoła obrządku słowiańskiego," 81; Stanisław Urbańczyk, "Rola Wielkich Moraw i Czech w kulturze Polski średniowiecznej," in *Prace z dziejów języka polskiego* (Wrocław, 1979), 63–74; Toby, "O źródłach," 417–18.

77. For a general survey of and literature about this song, see Teresa Michałowska, *Średniowiecze* (Warsaw, 2002), 278–93, 805–6.

78. Stanisław Urbańczyk, "*Bogurodzica*: Problemy czasu powstania i tła kulturalnego," in *Prace z dziejów języka polskiego* (Wrocław, 1979), 113–48; Jerzy Woronczak, ed., *Bogurodzica*, introd. by Ewa Ostrowska, music commentary by Hieronim Feicht, Biblioteka pisarzów polskich, Seria A. Liryka Średniowieczna 1 (Wrocław, 1962), 7–25; Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, "Uwagi o języku Bogurodzicy," in *Od piętnastu wieków*, 129–44.

79. Bohuslav Havránek, "Otázka existence církevní slovanštiny v Polsku," *Slavia* 25 (1956): 300–305.

80. Urbańczyk, "*Bogurodzica*," 127–48; Michałowska, *Średniowiecze*, 287–93.

81. Helena Zoll-Adamik, "Formy konwersji Słowiańszczyzny wczesnośredniowiecznej a problem przedpiastowskiej chrystianizacji Małopolski," *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji Naukowych PAN, Oddział w Krakowie* 37, no. 2 (1993): 1–3; and in *Chrystianizacja Polski południowej: Materiały z sesji naukowej odbytej 29 czerwca 1993 roku* (Cracow, 1994), 31–40; Toby, "O źródłach," 404–5.

82. The principal source of the events following the death of Methodius is the *Life of St. Clement*, which is usually ascribed to Archbishop Theophylactus of Ohrid (1050–1126) and which was likely based on an earlier version. See Aleksandŭr Milev, ed., *Teofilakt Ohridski: Zhitie na Kliment Ohridski; Tekst, prevod, uvod, i obiasneniia* (Sofia, 1955).

83. On different theories of the spread of Cyrillic and its initial coexistence with Glagolitic, see S. Iu. Temchin, "O razvitii pis'mennoi kul'tury Vostochnoi Bolgarii do 971 goda," in *Issledovaniia po kirillomefodievistike i paleoslavistike*, Krakowsko-Wileńskie Studia Slawistyczne 5 (Cracow, 2010): 53–70; Tatjana Slavova, "Glagolicheskata traditsiia i preslavskata knizhnina," *Palaeobulgarica* 23 (1999): 35–46; Peter Schreiner, "Grecheskii iazyk i kirillitsa na territorii Bolgarii," *Kirilo-Metodievski studii* 4 (1987): 274–82; George C. Soulis, "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 19–43; G. A. Il'inskii, "Gde, kogda, kem i s kakoiu tsel'iu glagolitsa byla zamenena 'kirillitsei'?" *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931): 79–88.

84. Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes," 224.

85. See William R. Veder, "Glagolitic Books in Rus'," in *Dubitando: Studies in History and Culture in Honor of Donald Ostrowski*, ed. Brian J. Boeck et al. (Bloomington, IN, 2012), 315–34.

Chapter 2

1. *Petrisov zbornik* (1468), NSK, R 4001, fol. 210v.

2. Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, vol. 1, *Opći povijesno-kulturni osvrt* (Split, 1963), 82; John V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983), 33–41; Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge, 2006), 70–110.

3. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs*, 187–207; Franjo Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata: Srednji vijek*, 2nd ed. (Zagreb, 1993), 46–53.

4. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, 116–46.

5. Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo*, 50–52; Šanjek, "Church and Christianity," in *Croatia*, 2:219.

6. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs*, 190.

7. Ivanka Petrović, "Prvi susreti Hrvata s ćirilometodskim izvorištem svoje srednjovjekovne kulture," *Slovo* 38 (1988): 5–54.

8. For a detailed discussion of the probable routes of Glagolitic to Croatia and a summary of literature on this subject, see Henrik Birnbaum, "How Did Glagolitic Writing Reach the Coastal Regions of Northwestern Croatia?" *Hercigonjin zbornik, Croatica* 42–44 (1996): 67–79.

9. Eduard Hercigonja, "Glagolists and Glagolism," in *Croatia*, 1:369–98, esp. 379–80.

10. Šanjek, "Church and Christianity," 221.

11. Vjekoslav Štefanić, "Nazivi glagoljskog pisma," *Slovo* 25–26 (1976): 17–76.

12. These and other sources on the Church Councils of 925, 928, and 1060 are preserved in the long version of Thomas of Split's *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split* (*Historia Salonitanorum atque*