ROMAN JAKOBSON SELECTED WRITINGS

VI

Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads

Edited, with a preface, by Stephen Rudy

PART ONE
COMPARATIVE SLAVIC
STUDIES
THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN
TRADITION

1985 MOUTON PUBLISHERS

BERLIN · NEW YORK · AMSTERDAM

Constantine (also known under his monastic name, Cyril), surnamed the Philosopher, and canonized by both the Eastern and Western Churches, was born around 826. He was the youngest son of Leo, a Byzantine nobleman and dignitary in the Macedonian city of Salonika, which at that time was bilingual — Greek and Slavic. After reading extensively at home, he was educated at the University of Constantinople under Leo the Mathematician and Photius, later the renowned patriarch and Constantine's friend and patron. The Old Church Slavonic Vita of the Saint, compiled soon after his death, lists the subjects studied by Constantine — grammar, Homer, geometry, dialectic, and all the philosophical disciplines, rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, along with "all other Hellenic arts". His mastery of Greek, Slavic, Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac is also attested by the hagiographic sources.

After brief service in the Patriarchal Library and successful disputations with the iconoclasts, Constantine was nominated Professor of Philosophy at the University of Constantinople. He defined philosophy as the cognition of divine and human things: the extent to which man could approximate God and be the image of the Creator.

The Philosopher was sent on several responsible missions: to the Arabs, Khazars, and finally to Moravia, whose reigning prince, Rastislav, had asked the Byzantine emperor for teachers and propagators of the Christian faith in the Slavic vernacular. Constantine worked in Moravia from 863 to 867, together with his eldest brother, Methodius. He composed the Slavic alphabet that was later called Glagolitic, and he fashioned the first literary language of the Slavs, now termed Old Church Slavonic. The philosopher first put into this language the *Evangeliarium* — a selection of texts from the Gospels for reading in Divine Services — and the liturgic prayers. Later, together with his brother, he translated the complete Gospels, the Psalter, and a selection from the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles.

After laying the foundations of the Slavic Church in Moravia and then

in Pannonia, he left Moravia in 868 with Methodius to plead for the Slavic Liturgy before the Bishop of Rome, to whose jurisdiction Moravia belonged. Constantine did not live to return to Moravia. Having fallen ill in Rome, he took monastic vows under the name of Cyril and died on February 14, 869.

THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITION

In his famous speech made in Venice en route to Rome, and concisely reproduced in the Old Church Slavonic Vita, the Liturgy in the vernacular is ardently defended with eloquently commented references to St. Paul's exhortation for the comprehensibility of prayers (I Corinthians 14) and allusions to the equality motif in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:45): "Tell me," Constantine said, "do you think that God is helpless and cannot bestow the equality of languages and peoples or that He is envious and will not give it?" The culmination of Constantine's lifework is depicted in the same way by the Vita of St. Clement, one of the paramount sources for the history of the Slavic Apostles: "Taking the translated books, Cyril placed them on the altar of God, offering them as a sacrifice to the Lord, thus showing that God rejoiced in such a sacrifice, for what is more gladsome to the Word than the word? The word that enables intelligent beings to vanquish unintelligibility! Thus an equal delights in an equal."

The significance of Slavicized Scripture and Liturgy as enabling "intelligent beings to vanquish unintelligibility" is precisely the subject of the remarkable poem which Constantine wrote as a prologue, Proglas, to the Slavic rendition of the Four Gospels, whereas his initial Slavic work, the Evangeliarium, was introduced by a prose preface discussing the principles and devices of translation. The followers of both Slavic Apostles admired Constantine as a writer, not only for his translation of Biblical books, his didactic and polemic sermons and treatises, but also — and equally — as the first Slavic poet, "the melodious nightingale", as the ancient prayers call him. Of Constantine's poems we still possess the highly original Prologue to the Gospels, his adaptation of Greek liturgic poetry, vestiges of an alphabetic acrostic prayer that presumably furnished the spelling names of the Slavic letters, and a few poetic fragments written by Constantine in Greek and transposed into Slavic verse, probably by the author himself. Quotations from these translations have been preserved in such Old Church Slavonic texts as Constantine's Vita and his History of Finding St. Clement's Relics.

A canon. "To the Two Teachers of the Slavic Nation", composed by a disciple of Constantine and Methodius, extols both brothers, for despite adversities they taught the Moravian land to glorify God in the native tongue and thereby set an example to the whole world. According to this Canon, the illuminator of Moravia was himself illuminated by the Holy Spirit, from Whom he received "a grace like the apostles". He was thus embraced in the Pentecostal miracle, which transmuted the confusion of languages — the punishment at Babel — into a blessed gift of tongues. In the words of the Greek service for Whitsunday, "that this grace might be most clearly known to Thy disciples and Apostles Thou didst today send down and open their lips with tongues of fire, so that by them we and the whole race of mankind received the knowledge of God in our own language, according to the hearing of the ear; and by the light of the Spirit we have been enlightened ***". Constantine himself points out the world-wide mission of the Moravian Church in his inspired Prologue, where the inaugural apostrophe, 9. "Therefore hearken, all ye Slavs!" is replaced first by the unifying summons, 23. f. "Then hear now, *** Slavic people!" Then the Slavic exhortation becomes universal, first with an individualized addressee, 67. "ye men", and finally with a collective appeal, 85. "ye nations", which intimately relates Constantine's mission to the initial, Biblical image of the Prologue, 3. "Christ comes to gather the nations and tongues".

In the following text of the *Proglas* our earlier English translation (Jakobson 1959) has been slightly revised and supplemented by a tentative reconstruction of the original Old Church Slavonic wording.

There also exist translations of this poem into German (Franko 1915, 213f.), French (Vaillant 1956, 21-23), Ukrainian (Lavrov 1928, 192f.), Czech (Vašica 1942-3, 218-221), Slovak (Pauliny 1964, 130-133), Polish (Urbańczyk 1972, 355-358), and Bulgarian (Georgiev 1933, 12-17). Two comprehensive contributions to textual criticism, but unaccompanied by translations, are of particular importance, namely, the earliest approach to this task undertaken and summed up by Sobolevskij in 1910 and its most detailed treatment by Nahtigal in 1942 (76–122 and 141–149). To my predecessors in the philological treatment of the poem I owe a number of felicitous suggestions (see overleaf).

The meter of the Proglas, apparently the most usual variety of the Old Church Slavonic spoken verse, goes back to the Byzantine dodecasyllable (cf. Maas 1975, Orsolya Kirsaj 1976), regularly maintains the latter's syllabic measure, and shares the main rules of this model's phrasing: first, the uniform constant requirement of the so-called "bridge" (zeugma) precisely in the middle of the line, after its sixth syllable; and secondly, a compulsory word (and preferably phrase) boundary at a distance of one syllable from the bridge, viz., after the fifth or seventh syllable $(\frac{12}{2} \pm 1)$. Hence, as a rule the line consists of two groups of syllables, one pentasyllabic, and the other heptasyllabic, with a

- 1. I am the Prologue to the Holy Gospels:
- 2. As the prophets prophesied of old —
- 3. "Christ comes to gather the nations and tongues,
- 4. Since He is the light of this whole world"—
- 5. So it has come to pass in this seventh millennium.
- 6. Since they have said, "The blind shall see,
- 7. The deaf shall hear the Word of the Book,
- 8. For it is proper that God be known."
- 9. Therefore hearken, all ye Slavs!
- 10. For this gift is given by God,
- 11. The gift on God's right hand,
- 12. The incorruptible gift to souls,
- 13. To those souls that will accept it.
- 14. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John
- 15. Teach all the people, saying:
- 16. "Since it is the beauty and splendor
- 17. Of your souls that you love to see,
- 18. Rejoice at their striving
- 19. To dispel the darkness of sin,
- 20. And to repel the corruptness of this world,
- 21. Thus to win life in paradise
- 22. And to escape the flaming fire."
- 23. Then hear now with your own mind,
- 24. Since your hearing has opened, Slavic people,
- 25. Hear the Word, for it came from God,
- 26. The Word nourishing human souls,
- 27. The Word strengthening heart and mind,
- 28. The Word preparing all to know God.
- 29. As without light there can be no joy —
- 30. For while the eye sees all of God's creation,
- 31. Still what is seen without light lacks beauty —
- 32. So it is with every soul lacking letters,
- 33. And ignorant even of God's law,
- 34. Of the law scriptural and spiritual,
- 35. The law that reveals God's paradise.
- 36. For what ear, having heard
- 37. The sound of thunder, is not gripped with the fear of God?
- 38. Or how can nostrils which smell no flower
- 39. Sense the Divine miracle?
- 40. And the mouth which tastes no sweetness
- 41. Makes of man a stone;

- 1. Proglasъ jesmь / svetu // evang'eliju:
- 2. Jako proroci / prorekli sǫtъ prěžde,
- 3. Xrьstъ grędetъ / sъbьrati języky,
- 4. Světъ bo jestъ / vьsemu miru semu.
- 5. Se sę sъbystъ / vъ sedmyi věkъ sь.
- 6. Rěšę bo oni: / "slěpii prozьrętь,
- 7. Glusi slyšętъ / slovo // bukъvьnoje,
- 8. Bogъ že ubo / poznati dostoitъ.
- 9. Togo děl'ja slyšite, // slověne vьsi,
- 10. Darъ bo jestъ / otъ boga sь danъ,
- 11. Darъ božii / jestъ // desnyję čęsti,
- 12. Darъ dušamъ, / nikoli že tьlěję,
- 13. Dušamъ těmъ, / jęže // i priimǫtъ.
- 14. Matθei, markъ, // luka [i] ioanъ
- 15. Učętъ vьsь / narodъ glagol'jǫšte:
- 16. Jeliko ubo / krasoto i lěpoto
- 17. Svoixъ dušь / vidite i ljubite,
- 18. Raduite sę, / jeliko že хоtętъ
- 19. Grěxovьnojo / tьmo // otъgъnati
- 20. I mira sego / tьljo // otъložiti,
- 21. I raiskoje / žitije [si] obrěsti
- 22. I izběžati / otъ ogn'ja gorǫšta."
- 23. Slyšite nyně / otъ svojego uma,
- 24. Slyšaste ubo, / slověnьskъ narode,
- 25. Slyšite slovo, / отъ boga bo pride,
- 26. Slovo že krъmę / člověčьskyje duše,
- 27. Slovo že krěpe, / i srьdьса i umy,
- 28. Slovo gotovę / vьsę // boga poznati.
- 29. Jako bez světa / radostь ne bodetь,
- 30. Oku vidęštju / božijo tvarь vьsjo,
- 31. Nъ bez lěpoty / vьse // vidimo jestъ,
- 32. Tako i duša / vьsěka bez bukъvъ,
- 33. Ne sъvědošti / [ni] zakona božija,
- 34. Zakona kъn'ižьna // [i] duxovьna,
- 35. Zakona rai / božii javljajoštja.
- 36. Kyi bo sluxъ, / gromьnyi tǫtьпъ
- 37. Slyšę, možetъ / boga ne bojati sę?
- 38. Nozdri že paky, / cvěta // ne oxajošte,
- 39. Kako božije / čudo // razumějotъ?
- 40. Usta bo, jaže / sladъka ne čujǫtъ,41. Jako kamenь / tvorętъ [iz] člověka,

- 42. Even more, the soul lacking letters
- 43. Grows dead in human beings.
- 44. Thus, considering all this, brethren,
- 45. We speak fitting counsel
- 46. Which will separate all men
- 47. From brutish existence and carnality,
- 48. So that ye will not have reason without understanding,
- 49. While listening to the Word in a foreign tongue,
- 50. As if you would hear only the voice of a copper bell.
- 51. Therefore Saint Paul has taught:
- 52. "In offering my prayer to God,
- 53. I had rather speak five words,
- 54. [To say them] with full comprehension,
- 55. So that all the brethren could also understand,
- 56. Than ten thousand incomprehensible words."
- 57. What man will not understand this?
- 58. Who will not apply the wise parable,
- 59. Interpreting to us the true message?
- 60. As corruption threatens the flesh,
- 61. Decaying and cankering everything worse than canker,
- 62. If one has not his proper nourishment,
- 63. So each soul living wanes
- 64. When not partaking of Divine Life,
- 65. Hearing not the Divine Word.
- 66. Let another very wise parable
- 67. Be told, ye men that love each other
- 68. And wish to grow toward God!
- 69. Who does not know this true doctrine?
- 70. As the seed falls on the field.
- 71. So it is upon human hearts
- 72. Craving the Divine shower of letters
- 73. That the fruit of God may increase.
- 74. Who can tell all the parables
- 75. Denouncing nations without their own books
- 76. Who do not resort to a sense-making voice?
- 77. Even one potent in all tongues
- 78. Would lack power to tell their impotence.
- 79. Yet I would add a parable of my own
- 80. Condensing much sense into few words:
- 81. Naked indeed are all those nations without their own books
- 82. Who being without arms cannot fight

- 42. Pače že sego / duša bezbukъvьna
- 43. Javljajetъ sę / vъ člověcěхъ mrьtva.
- 44. Se že vьse my, / bratije, sъmyslęšte,
- 45. Glagol'emъ vy / sъvětъ podobьпъ,
- 46. Iže člověky / vьsę // отъlocitъ
- 47. Otъ žitija / skotьska i poxoti,
- 48. Da ne imǫšte / umъ // nerazumьnъ,
- 49. Tuždemь językomь / slyšęšte slovo,
- 50. Jako mědьna / zvona // glasъ slyšite —
- 51. Se bo svętyi / pavыь učę reče:
- 52. "Molitvo svojo / vъzdaję prěžde bogu,
- 53. Jako slovesъ / pętь // xošto izdrešti,
- 54. Sъ razumomь / [svoimь glagolati,]
- 55. Da i bratija / vьsě // razumějotъ,
- 56. Neže tьmo slovesъ // nerazumьnъ."
- 57. Kyi člověkъ / neporazumějetъ?
- 58. Kyi ne priložitъ // pritъčę modry,
- 59. Sъkazajoštę / besědy pravy namъ?
- 60. Jako bo tыja / plъtьхъ nastoitъ,
- 61. Vьse tьlęšti, / pače // gnoja gnojęšti,
- 62. Jegda svojego / brašьna ne imatъ,
- 63. Tako vьsěka / duša // отъраdetъ
- 64. Žizni, božija / ne imošti života,
- 65. Egda slovese / božija ne slyšitъ
- 66. Ino že paky / pritъčo modro zělo
- 67. Da glagol'emъ, / člověci, ljubęšte sę,
- 68. Xotęšte rasti / božijemь rastomь,
- 69. Kъto bo věry / seję // ne věstъ pravy?
- 70. Jako sěmení / padajoštju na n'ivě,
- 71. Na srьdьcixъ / tako // člověčьscexъ,
- 72. Dъžda božii / bukъvъ trěbujošte,
- 73. Da vъzdrastetъ / plodъ // božii pače.
- 74. Kъto možetъ / pritъčę vьsę [rešti]
- 75. Obličajǫštę / bez kъn'igъ języky
- 76. Vъ sъmyslьně / glasě ne glagol'joštę?
- 77. Ni, ašte vьsę / języky umějetъ,
- 78. Možetъ sъkazati // nemoštь sixъ.
- 79. Obače svojo / pritačo da pristavljo,
- 80. Мъподъ umъ / vъ malě rěči kažę.
- 81. Nazi bo vьsi / bez kъn'igъ języci,82. Ne mogošte sę / brati // bez orožija

- 83. The Adversary of our souls
- 84. And are ripe for the dungeon of eternal torments.
- 85. Therefore, ye nations whose love is not for the Enemy
- 86. And who truly mean to fight Him:
- 87. Open eagerly the doors of your reason
- 88. You who have now taken up the sturdy arms
- 89. That are forged through the Lord's Books
- 90. And who truly crush the head of the Enemy.
- 91. Whoever accepts these letters,
- 92. To him Christ speaks wisdom,
- 93. Feeds and strengthens your souls,
- 94. Jointly with all the Apostles and Prophets.
- 95. Whoever speaks their words
- 96. Will be fit to slay the Foe,
- 97. Bringing God good victory,
- 98. Escaping the cankerous corruption of flesh —
- 99. Flesh whose life is like a sleep;
- 100. These will not fall but hold fast,
- 101. And come forth before God as men of valor,
- 102. Standing on the right hand of God's throne,
- 103. When He judges the nations with fire,
- 104. And rejoicing throughout the ages with the angels,
- 105. Eternally praising God the merciful,
- 106. Always with songs from the holy books,
- 107. Singing to God who loves man:
- 108. To Him befits all glory,
- 109. Honor and praise to the Son of God forever,
- 110. With the Father and with the Holy Ghost,
- 111. From all creatures, unto the ages of ages!
- 112. Amen:

- 83. Sъ protivьnikomь // dušь našixъ,
- 84. Gotovi moky / věčьnyje vъ plěnъ.
- 85. Iže bo vraga, / języci, ne ljubite,
- 86. Sъ n'imь že sę / brati // myslęšte zělo,
- 87. Otvrbzěte priležbno umu dvbri,
- 88. Orožije priimъše tvrьdo nyně,
- 89. Ježe kovotъ / kъn'igy gospodъn'ę,
- 90. Glavo tarošte / neprijazni velami.
- 91. Iže bo siję / bukъvy priimetъ,
- 92. Modrostь [těmъ] / xristosъ glagol'etъ
- 93. I dušę vašę / [krъmitъ i] krěpitъ
- 94. Sъ apostoly / i proroky vьsěmi.
- 95. Iže bo sixъ / slovesa glagol'jošte.
- 96. Vraga ubiti / podobьni bodotъ
- 97. Pobědo prinosęšte // kъ bogu dobro,
- 98. Plъti běžęšte / tьlję // gnojevьnyję,
- 99. Plъti jejęže / životъ jako sъпъ;
- 100. Ne padajošte, / krěpъko že stoješte
- 101. Jako xrabъri / kъ bogu javl'ъšе sę,
- 102. Božija stola / stoješte o desnojo,
- 103. Jegda ogn'emь / sǫditъ językomъ,
- 104. Radujošte sę / sъ ang'ely vъ věky,
- 105. Prisno slavęšte / boga // [prě]milostiva,
- 106. Kъn'ižьnami / vьsegda [že] pěsnьmi,
- 107. Bogu pojošte / člověky milujoštju.
- 108. Тоти vьsěka / podobajetъ slava,
- 109. Čьstь i xvala / [synu //] božiju vyno
- 110. Sъ otьcemь / i svętomь duxomь
- 111. Отъ vьseję / tvari // vъ věky věkъ.
- 112. Aminь.:

2(5+2+5):

- 19. Grěxovьnojo / tьто // otъgъnati
- 20. I mira sego / tbljo // otbložiti,

where the symmetry of the two central dissyllabic accusatives (5+2+5) underscores their grammatical, semantic, and phonic similarity, and creates a harmonious prelude to the conversion of human intelligence (umb) into the Lord's Wisdom (92. mqdrostb) and to the final apotheosis of the heroes (xrabbri).

The endeavor to reconstruct the original text of the Proglas, based on

201

its metrical structure and on a philological comparison of the four extant manuscripts of the poem, presents us with a considerable number of retouches introduced into the original text by its successive copyists. While most of their alterations are easily detectable and removable, there remain a few arguable cases. In the three preserved records of the entire Proglas, all three of which actually preface the Slavic Tetraevangelium, the text pertains to the Serbian version of the poem. We find the latter's initial part (43 lines) preserved, moreover, in a Russian manuscript of the sixteenth century. In spite of its late date, in a few passages this fragment proves to be more conservative and reliable than the three Serbian manuscripts written in the XII-XIV centuries.

THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN TRADITION

One distich of the Proglas ostensively differs in its meter from other lines of the poem. It is the conclusive, expressly militant call, and the two breaks, in this case both of them compulsory, are signally shifted one syllable farther from the bridge 2(4+4+4):

- 87. Otvrbzěte priležbno umu dvbri,
- 88. Orožije priimъše tvrbdo nyně.

Each of the six segments carries an r; moreover, the segments display a correspondence in their word-beginning sounds, or sound groups, with the parallel constituents of the second line: OtvRbzětE — ORQžijE, PRIležbno — PRIimbše, DVbRi —tVRbDo. The deliberate conciseness and comparability of all the segments in the structure of this distich may be brought into connection with the latter's summit position in the only avowedly subjective passage of the poem: 79. "Yet I would add a parable of my own; 80. Condensing much sense into few words". This parable announces the imperative necessity for Books in the nation's proper language in order to "crush the head of the Enemy" (90. glavo neprijazni) and "to slay the Foe" (96. vraga ubiti). In the whole Proglas it is the sole reference to the author himself (79. svojo da pritačo pristavljo). The literature of the Moravian mission depicts its two leaders as implacable warriors against the Enemy and their miraculous battle using comprehensible words as sturdy arms.

The fighting spirit of the poet is reflected in the manifest insertion of his own parable, with its bellicose imagery, into the text of the Proglas. It is also noteworthy that the only parable characterized by the author as his personal contribution focuses on the misfortune of whole peoples who lack the Sacred Scripture in their mother tongue. To the individual tragedy of "every soul lacking letters" (32., 42.) which was mourned in the antecedent parables, this one supplement manifestly signed by the author superimposes the image of decay as an inevitable menace to "all nations without their own books" (81.): "as corruption threatens the

flesh" (60.) of one who is deprived of his proper nourishment (62. svojego brašьпа), so these impotent, armless nations (82.–84.) "cannot fight (se brati) against the Adversary of our souls And are ripe for the dungeon of eternal torments". The paronomastic rapprochement BRAŠbna — BRAti enhances the comparison between the metaphoric images of lacking food and arms. Apart from this single allusion to the reputed militancy of the two Moravian teachers there is no other reference in the poem to any missionary deed. The vernacular Script and Mass are viewed as a direct "gift by God" (10.) "to those souls that will accept it" (13.). The fruitful care of the two Salonika brothers and their mission for the Slavic flock is deliberately impersonalized in the Proglas and almost hidden behind the brief appeal: 23. "Then hear now with your proper mind, 24. Since your hearing has opened (literally; since you have heard — slyšaste), Slavic people, 25. Hear the Word, for it came from God ***". It is the *Proglas* itself which proves to be personalized: 1. "I am the Prologue to the Holy Gospels", an early example of the Church Slavonic custom of presenting the title word of the narration as its first person hero. Cf. the introductory sentence of the forward to the Slavic version of the dialectical treatise by John of Damascus — azz jesmz dialektika, otz boga svobodьnaja modrostь — or in the foreword to a grammatical treatise jesmь bo otъ sedmi načęlьnaja i svobodьnaja modrostь grammatika (see Jagić 39 and 328). The preface is presented as a prologue anticipating and predicting the subsequent content. The Prologue is the preface and the speaker of the preface. Through its initial cluster, as well as the latter's prefixal function, the word proglast is tied to the subsequent sentence 2. PROroci PROrekli soto PRěžde. This unusual word used as the title of the poem introduces a consecutive set of prognostic announcements: 2. the prophets prophesied; 3. Christ comes to gather; 5. so it has come to pass; 15. [the four evangelists] teach saying; 51. St. Paul has said in teaching; and to sum up the whole suite, 91. "Whoever accepts these letters, 92, to him Christ speaks wisdom, *** 94. Jointly with all apostles and prophets."

The whole prologue is built on a system of etymological and paronomastic ligaments. The first person verb jesmb is closely knit with the two final verses of the thematically inaugural "quintet" of the poem through the four combinations of the consonants /s/ and /m/ with the vowel /e/: 1. jesmb — 4. vbsemu — *** semu — 5. sedmvi. The fifth verse differs distinctly from all other lines of the poem in its six-fold accumulation of the sibilant /s/ and in assigning to this consonant the two extreme syllables of the verse (5. se *** sb), both pertaining to the same grammatical paradigm. This line is, moreover, the only one in the

Proglas which confirms that the miracle prophesied of old has been accomplished in the seventh millennium (se se subystuvu sedmyi věku su) which, according to medieval eschatology, will lead humanity to the Last Judgment.

It is with the representation of the miracles accomplished that the *Proglas* begins to display its characteristic chains of alliterations, starting with: 6. SLěpii — 7. SLyšeto SLovo — 9. SLyšite SLověné.

Key words repeated (mostly thrice) serve to enhance serial alliterations: 8. Dostoito — 10. Darb *** Danb — 11. Darb *** Desnyję — 12. Darb Dušamb — 13. Dušamb — 17. Dušb. The sl chain of 6.—9. reappears with the same familiarized and semantically motivated set of constituents: 23. SLyšite — 24. SLyšaste *** SLověnbskb — 25. SLyšite SLovo — 26. SLovo — 27. SLovo — 28. SLovo.

The words slovo and bogo are the most frequent nouns of this hymn to the Divine Word, each of them numbering ten occurrences in the poem, and the intimate bonds between these two nouns are revealed by their direct confrontation in the lines 25. slovo, | oto boga and 28. slovo gotove | vbse boga || poznati. The verb slvšati in most of its occurrences has the accusative slovo as its object. The interplay of these verbs and nouns is enhanced by beginning three lines (23.–25.) with the same verb, and three further lines (26.–28.) with the noun slovo. The ethnonymic stem slověn — felt to be derived from slovo — emerges twice, and solely with reference to the hearing of the word. Cf. especially the sequence 24. slověnbsko narode, 25. slyšite slovo and the paronomastic transition from the nationally limited slověnbsko narode to the universally oriented 26. člověčbskyje duše.

Among those original Old Church Slavonic writings for which one may assume Constantine's authorship, three pieces reveal striking affinities. In the first of these texts, the Preface to the Evangeliarium, the earliest of his translations, the Philosopher discusses the tasks and difficulties of transposing the Greek original into Slavic (cf. Vaillant 1948); the *Proglas* was meant to introduce Constantine's further achievement, the entire Slavicized Tetraevangelium, and to elucidate the significance of the labor spent; finally, a tirade inserted into the Old Church Slavonic *Vita* of Constantine, the polemic reply allegedly given by the teacher in Venice, autumn 867, to the "ravens" who defied the Slavic liturgy, sums up the doctrine of the Moravian mission. The treatise, the poem, and the argument, — all three pieces are consecrated to the Divine Word. Full of yearning for its universal comprehension, all three of them hail the translation of the Holy Writ and Songs into the vernacular, particularly into Slavic, and all three directly refer to the

same Epistle of St. Paul (I Corinthians) asking for commonly comprehensible words in the church prayers.

In the oldest of the three documents, the treatise which prefaced the Slavic Evangeliarium, the Philosopher added a quotation from St. Paul's allegedly "great disciple" Dionysius the Areopagite, which condemns the unreasonable attachment to empty, incomprehensible words and phrases and the foolish disregard of meaning. This legacy learned from Dionysius and some further impulses due to his treatise, *The Divine Names*, seem to flash across Constantine's *Proglas*.

According to C. E. Rolt's conclusive observations (145f.), in the view of the author of the treatise ascribed to Dionysius "the Supra-Vital and Primal Life is the cause of all Life, and produces and fulfills it and individualizes it" in any mode whatsoever: intelligence (Proglas: razumb), reason (umb), sensation (viděti, slyšati, oxati, čuti), nutrition (brašьno), growth (68. Xotęšte rasti božijemь rastomь *** 73. Da vozdrasteto plodo božii pače). That "ascending scale between Nothingness and the Super-Essence" which proves to underlie the system of values outlined by Dionysius (p. 19) finds a salient set of correspondences in the Old Church Slavonic poem. The twilight substituted for light still enables the eye to see all of God's creation, yet all "what is seen without (full) light lacks beauty" (31.). As an example of a decadence into nothingness the poem uses the metaphoric petrification of those ones whose mouth "Tastes no sweetness" (40.). As it was explained by Dionysius, here lies the difference between the aboriginal lifelessness of a stone and "the failure of the thing's proper virtues". The endowment of the mouth and nostrils with a natural capacity for feeling the divine miracle (čudo) leads to a paronomastic fastening of the tie between the organs of sense and their attainment (39. čudo — 40. čujoto within the intrusive frame of six velars: 39. KAKO 40. sladoKA, 41. Jako KAmeno *** člověKA).

The poet's attention is attracted by chasms between the presence and loss of a sense-perception, for instance between eyesight or hearing and blindness or deafness. But much deeper (pače sego) is his response to the tragic gulf which separates the intelligent power of the human soul from the latter's sufferings through the incomprehensibility of words heard and of letters learned and seen: 42. "the illiterate soul (duša bezbuktvbna) 43. grows dead in human beings" (cf. also 32.). 63. "So each soul living wanes *** 65. Hearing not the Divine Word." One's own proper comprehension is the miracle glorified by the poem and pointed out by a set of cognate terms (umb, razumb, razuměti) and by an insistent recourse to the possessive adjectival form of the reflexive pronoun (svoi). The

meaningful vernacular heard and uttered with one's own understanding (oto svoego uma: so razumomo svoimo) carries the Word from God (oto boga bo pride) and is consistently opposed in the poem to the defied oxymoron "reason without understanding" (umo nerazumono) of those who are listening to the Word in a foreign tongue (tuždemo językomo) as if hearing the voice of a copper bell (mědona zvona glaso).

The deployed and multiplied call to the Slavic people to listen to the Divine Word with their own mind (23.–25.) is surrounded by references first to the listeners' souls which save their beauty and splendor by striving to escape the fire of the nether world (18.-22.) and then to the same human souls when they receive their blessing from the Divine Word (26.–28.) These two framing passages display a predilection for pairs of alliterative, both morphologically and semantically resemblant, words parallelistically applied in correlated lines. They are, on the one hand, the distich 26. slovo že KRome / člověčoskyje duše, 27. slovo že KRěpe / i sruduca i umy, and on the opposite side, the semantically negative pair Tbma — Tblia (with an identical syllable tb followed by two different sonorants). The full use of this pair is made in the lines devoted to the striving of our souls (19.–20.) "to dispel (otaganati) the darkness of sin, and to repel the corruptness (tbljp otbložiti) of this world". A phonic correspondence between the latter accusative and infinitive furthers the imagery, while the will of our souls 22. "to escape the flaming fire", invoked at the end of the same compound sentence, confronts the religious proximity of the fire and darkness with their sensual contrast and signals the interconnection between the initial goal of the depicted strivings and the final one with an impressive paronomasia: 19. отъбъ*nati* — 22. отъ *o*Gn'*ja*. At the second appearance of the noun *tьlja*, namely in the paronomastic context — 60. Jako bo TbLja /pLbTbxb nastoito ("As corruption threatens the flesh") — once more nearby we detect its partner word toma, this time in the meaning "multitude, ten thousand": 56. Neže tьто slovesь nerazumьнь ("Than ten thousand incomprehensible words"). Both for the inquirer into "the Divine Names" and for the author of the Proglas the darkness of sin and the multitudes of incomprehensible, unreasonable, alien words were but two pernicious displays of Nothingness, and the Old Church Slavonic toma must have been felt as one single word with two shades of meaning, whatever the still discussed historical relation between the two lexical units may be.

From the initial to the final lines of the *Proglas* the poet remains faithful to the masterful architectonics of sound and sound sequence, morpheme and word, repetition and variation. Constantine's power in the literary language he created is indeed amazing; it embraces the whole

diversity of functions assigned to the new tool, and despite all the valuable studies done, one is still in need of a new, comprehensive and unflinchingly objective evaluation. In particular, the uncommon wealth and range of Constantine's poetic means still requires a broad systematic analysis. His Prologue to the Holy Gospels is an unmatched classic of Slavic homiletic poetry. The philosopher deploys the brightest poetic figures of the Byzantine world in order to affirm and deepen the sovereignty and equality that are bestowed on every nation and on everyone within each nation as soon as the native word has found its access to the Holy Communion, which, by the Middle Ages, was conceived as the acme of attainable communication.

SAINT CONSTANTINE'S PROLOGUE TO THE GOSPELS

The first version of this paper was written in Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., and appeared in St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly, Summer, 1954; the revised version, which forms the basis of the present study, was published in the same periodical in 1963 (VII, No. 1). The reconstruction of Constantine's original text, hitherto unpublished, dates from a Harvard seminar. Justinia Besharov and E. P. Wiese are thanked for their assistance in the translation of the poem.

REFERENCES

Franko, I. (1913, 1915), "Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte der kirchenslavischen Literatur", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* XXXV, 150–179, and XXXVI, 209–219.

Georgiev, E. (1938), *Dve proizvedenija na sv. Kirila* = Studia historico-philologica Serdicensis, Supplementi vol. II, 12–17.

Jagić, I. V. (1895), Rassuždenija južnoslavjanskoj i russkoj stariny o cerkovnoslavjanskom jazyke (SPb.).

Jakobson, R. (1943), Moudrost starych Čechu (New York): "První československá báseň", pp. 14–18.

Jakobson, R. (1959), "St. Constantine, Prologue to the Gospels", St. Vladimir's Seiminary Quarterly (New York), a second reshaped edition of the paper published in the same Quarterly of 1954.

Kirsaj, O. (1976), Vergleichende Aspekte der byzantinischen Metrik (Doktorarbeit — Humboldt Univ. zu Berlin).

Lavrov, P. A. (1928), Kyrylo ta Metodij v davno-slovjans'komu pys'menstvi (Kiev).

Maas, P. (1975), "Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber", in his Kleinere Schriften (Munich).

Nahtigal, R. (1942), "Rekonstrukcija treh starocerkvenoslovanskih izvirnih pesnitev", Razprave I, Filoz.-filol.-hist. razred, Akad. Znan. in Umetn., I (Ljubljana), 63–156.

Pauliny, E. (1964), Slovesnost' a kulturný jazyk Veľkej Moravy, 130-133.

Rolt, C. E. (1951³), Dionysius the Areopagite on the Divine Names and the Mystical Theology (London, New York).

- Sobolevskij, A. I. (1910), "Drevnie cerkovno-slavjanskie stixotvorenija IX-X vekov", Sbornik Otd. rus. jaz. i slovesnosti, LXXXVIII, No. 3, Imp. Ak. Nauk.
- Urbańczyk, S. (1972), "Dwa zabytki staro-cerkiewno-słowiańskiej poezji: Proglas i Modlitwa abecadlowa", *Pamiętnik Słowiański* XXVII, 345–360.
- Vaillant, A. (1948), "La préface de l'Évangéliaire vieux-slave", Revue des Études Slaves XXIV, 5–20.
- Vaillant, A. (1956), "La poésie vieux-slave: La Préface de l'Évangile", Revue des Études Slaves XXXIII, 7–25.
- Vašica, J. (1942-43), "Básnická skladba sv. Konstantina-Cyrila", Akord X, No. 6, 215-221.
- Vašica, J. (1966), Literární památky epochy velkomoravské 863-885 (Prague).