

MONUMENTA BULGARICA

A BILINGUAL ANTHOLOGY OF BULGARIAN TEXTS
FROM THE 9th TO THE 19th CENTURIES

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MICHIGAN SLAVIC PUBLICATIONS

THE MONK HRABŮR'S TREATISE ON LETTERS

The monk "Hrabŭr" ("Brave")¹ is an unidentified writer, whose single known work is a poetic and emotional treatise on the invention of the first Slavonic alphabet (glagolitic) by Constantine-Cyril. Hrabŭr also provides detailed information on the various stages in the development of the Greek alphabet, in order to support his contention that Cyril's invention of the Slavonic was divinely inspired.

We don't know when Hrabŭr wrote his exposition, but some scholars believe it dates from as early as the tenth century,² perhaps from the reign of Tsar Symeon (893-927). The aggressive, prideful tone of the piece led Zlatarski to see in it the hallmark of Symeon himself, as evinced in his correspondence with the Byzantine Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.³ If Zlatarski is correct, then Symeon's choice of *nom de plume* may indicate how the ruler saw his role in the contest with Byzantium. Whether or not Symeon was its author, this polemical work must have been composed during a period when Bulgarian fortunes were on the rise and it was less dangerous to take a belligerent stance vis à vis Byzantium. Thus it would have been written before the collapse of the eastern half of the First Bulgarian Kingdom in 970-71 A.D.

In a real sense Hrabŭr is a direct follower of the Cyrillo-Methodian doctrine of the equality of all languages. He expands Constantine-Cyril's argument to include the ideas of Byzantine theorists whom he doesn't name,⁴ such as Pseudo Theodosius, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and the historian George Hamartolus. Hrabŭr claims that Syriac was the first language, spoken by Adam and Eve and their descendants until the time of the tower of Babel. He thus rejects the notion of the primacy of Hebrew as "God's language." Hrabŭr renews Constantine-Cyril's assault on the "trilingual heresy." He also contends that the Slavonic alphabet is superior to the Greek, because it was created by a single holy man, in a few years, whereas the Greek letters were devised by a group of pagans over a period of centuries.

It was the genius of Tsar Symeon to have understood the challenge of Byzantine Greek cultural hegemony, and to have adopted the weapons forged in Great Moravia during the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, using them against his Byzantine opponents. But at the same time Symeon and his collaborators – some of whom had been educated in Constantinople – took what they considered the important works of Byzantine culture and assimilated them into Slavonic, as demonstrated by Hrabūr's use of Greek sources. This would also indicate that he was writing from a vital cultural center, with a good library, such as would be found in the capital of Preslav.

Although he is not an original scholar, Hrabūr is an accomplished polemicist, who marshals his facts, presenting them cogently and with a simplicity and directness that sometimes approaches folk narrative in style. His *Skazanie o pismeněhū* has survived in some eighty manuscripts, the majority of which are from the seventeenth century. The oldest dated text is to be found in the "Laurentian Compendium" of 1348, copied by the scribe Laurence for Tsar John Alexander (1331-1371).⁵ This is the only fourteenth-century copy, and although there are a few fifteenth and sixteenth-century manuscripts, it isn't until the following century that one finds a large number, mainly from Old Believer areas.⁶

Kul'bakin believed that certain features of the 1348 copy – for example, the presence of the dative *česomu* and the aorist third plural *rešę* – indicate that the original was written in early Old Church Slavonic. He also surmised, on the basis of certain phonological features, that its author was from Northeast Bulgaria, perhaps from the area of Preslav. There are other, *non-linguistic* clues to its age – for example, the fervor with which Hrabūr rebuts Greek claims to language supremacy may show that he was writing during a period of struggle between pro-Byzantine and pro-Slavonic elements in Bulgaria, such as would have existed in the late ninth and early tenth century. Finally, his mention of Greek criticism that the Slavonic alphabet had not yet been stabilized and was still being modified would indicate one of two closely-related possibilities: either *O pismeněhū* was written not long after the disciples of Methodius had come to

Preslav and were in the process of adapting their Moravian-influenced orthography to the Bulgaro-Macedonian dialects – or this was precisely the period when the Bulgaro-Macedonian Slavs, under the leadership of Clement of Ohrid and Naum, were shifting from glagolitic to the new "cyrillic" alphabet promoted by Clement.

The "Treatise on Letters" of the monk Hrabūr has been venerated by Orthodox Slavs, from the monasteries of Mount Athos to the Dalmatian Coast (Savina Monastery), to the Arctic Sea (Soloveckij Monastery). It also directly influenced other medieval Slavic works, for example Epiphanius the Most Wise's "Life of Saint Stephen of Perm." In describing Stephen's creation of a new alphabet for the Zyrians (Komi) of the Far North, the Russian Epiphanius makes nearly literal borrowings from Hrabūr on the equality of languages and on Cyril's divinely-inspired invention of the Slavonic alphabet. The reverence with which Hrabūr's text was held by Orthodox Slavs is also reflected by its appearance in some of the earliest East Slavic printed books, for example as introductory matter in the Belorussian primers printed in Vilnius in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *O pismeněhū* was also included as front matter in the seventeenth-century Russian *azbukovniki*, which were encyclopaedic compendia of grammatical, literary and historical materials. Such publications helped keep the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition alive in the East Slavic lands.

Kujo Kuev's study (1967) gives valuable information on the manuscript tradition, plus the full texts of some seventy five mss. Kuev's remarks on the history of individual mss. are interesting – for example, he tells how the Russian scholar Sreznevskij copied the Dalmatian "Savina MS.," but published it in "corrected" form. Later the manuscript disappeared, so that we may never know how old "Savina" was or how close to the Old Bulgarian prototype. Besides Kuev, specialists will want to consult A. Giambelluca-Kossova's critical edition of the Laurentian text,⁷ as well as R. Piccio's "On the Textual Criticism of Xrabr's Treatise" (1969). The Slavonic version below is from Lavrov's *Materialy*.

Прѣжде оубо Словѣне не имѣху книгъ, нѣ чрътами и рѣзани чѣтѣхъ и гатахъ, погани сѣще. крѣстише же сѧ, римскими и грѣчьскими писмены иждадохса (писати) словѣнскоу рѣчь безъ оустроениа. нѣ како мѡжетъ сѧ писати добрѣ грѣчьскими писмены. бѣ, или живѡтъ, или зѣлау, или црковѣ, или чаанне, или ширѡта, или шадъ, или жаду, или юность, или жзыкъ и инаа пѡбнаа снмь? и тако вѣшж многа лѣта. по томъ же члѡколювецъ бѣ, строжи всѣ и не вставѣж члѡча рода безъ разоума, нѣ всѧ къ разоумоу привода и спсению, помиловавъ родъ словѣнскихъ: посла имъ стго Константина философа, нарицаемаго Кирила, мѣжа праведна и истинна. и сътвори имъ, л. писмена и ѡсмы. ѡва шву по чиноу грѣчьскихъ писменъ, ѡка же по словѣнстѣи рѣчи. ѡ прѣваго же наченъ по грѣчьскоу. ѡни оубо ѡлфа, а съ ѡзь. ѡ ѡза начать ѡвое. и ѡкоже ѡни, подобашеса жидовскимъ писменемъ, сътворишж, тако и съ грѣчьскимъ. Жидове бо прѣвое писма имать ѡлефъ, еже сѧ сказаетъ оучение съврѣшаще. въводиоу дѣтицоу и глѡще: ѡчнса, еже ёсть ѡлефъ. и Грѣци, подобашеса томоу ѡлфа рѣшж. и сподобнса речениа сказанна жидовска грѣчьскѡ жзыкѡу, да речеть дѣтицоу въ оучениа мѣсто: ици, ѡлфа бо ици сѧ речеть грѣчьскомъ жзыкѡмъ. тѣмъ бо пѡбаса, стын Кириль створи прѣвое писма ѡзь. нѣ ѡко и прѣвомоу сѣцоу писмени ѡзь, и ѡ ба даноу родоу Словѣнскомоу на ѡврѣстие оустъ, въ разоумъ оучащиса вѡквалъ великомъ раздѣженнемъ оустъ възгласитса. ѡ ѡна писмена малолѣ разѣвженнемъ оустъ възгласатса и исповѣдажтса. се же сѣтъ писмена словѣнскаа, сице а пѡбаеть писати и глати: а б в г. друзѣи же глатъ: почто ёсть, лн. писменъ створишь. ѡ мѡжетъ сѧ и меншимъ того писати, ѡкоже и Грѣци. бд, пишжт. и не вѣдаты, колицѣмъ пишжт Грѣци. ёсть бо шву, бд. писменъ. нѣ не наплѣнѣжтса тѣми книгы. нѣ приложниа сѣтъ двогласныхъ, дѣ. и въ численехъ же, г: ѡе и дѣ десатное и дѣ сътное. и съвиражтса ихъ, лн. тѣмъ же томоу пѡвно и въ тѣже ѡвразъ створи стын Кириль, лн. писменъ.

Now formerly the Slavs didn't have letters, but they counted and prophesied with lines and notches, being pagans. And when they became Christians they had to write the Slavic language with Latin and Greek letters, without any system. But how can one write well with Greek letters: *bogŭ* or *životŭ* or *dzęlo* or *crŭkov'* or *čaanie* or *širota* or *jad'* or *odŭ* or *junost'* or *ozykŭ*⁸ and other such things? And it was that way for many years.

After that, God, who loves man, arranging⁹ everything and not leaving the human race without understanding, but bringing everyone to understanding and salvation, took pity on the Slavic people and sent them the holy Constantine the Philosopher, called Cyril, a just and truthful man. And he created for them thirty-eight letters, some on the model of Greek letters, others after the Slavic speech. At first he began with Greek, for they say "alfa" and he "az." Both begin with "a." And just as /the Greeks/ created /letters/ by imitating the Hebrew, so did he imitate the Greek. Now the Jews have as their first letter "alef" which means "study." The child who is first brought to school is told: "Study! This is alef." And the Greeks in imitation said "alfa." And the Jewish expression went well with the Greek language, for they say to a child in school: "Seek!" For *alfa* means "seek" in Greek.

And so in like manner Saint Cyril made the first letter *az'*. And as the first letter *az'* was given from God to the Slavs for opening the mouths of those learning letters for knowledge's sake, it is pronounced with a great opening of the mouth. And the other letters are pronounced and spoken with a small opening of the mouth. And these are the Slavonic letters and this is how one should write and say them: *a b v g*. And others say: "Why did he create thirty-eight letters, for one can write with less than that, like the Greeks — they write with twenty-four!" And they don't know with how many the Greeks write! There are twenty-four letters, but their books are not filled with them alone, for they have added eleven diphthongs and three numerical symbols: *dz* (6) and theta decimal (90) and theta centenary (900), and when these are added up they make thirty-eight. And so in a similar and like manner Saint Cyril created thirty-eight letters.

ДРОУЗИИ ЖЕ ГЛАТЬ.

ЧЕСОМОУ ЖЕ СЯТЬ СЛОВѢНСКЫ КНИГЫ; НИ ТОГО БО ЁСТЬ БѢ СТВОРИТЬ, НИ ТО АГГЛ. НИ СЯТЬ ИЖЕКОННИ, ЯКО ЖИДОВСКЫ И РИМСКИ И ЕЛЛИНСКИ, ИЖДЕ Ѡ КОНА СЯТЬ И ПРИЖТЫ СЯ БМѢ. А ДРОУЗИИ МНАТЬ, ЯКО БѢ НАМЪ ЁСТЬ СТВОРИТЬ ПИСМЕНА. И НЕ ВѢДАТ СА ЧТО ГЛАЩЕ ѠКАННИИ. И ЯКО ТРИИ ЯЗЫКЫ ЁСТЬ БѢ ПОВЕЛѢТЬ КНИГАМЪ ВЫТИ. ЯКОЖЕ ВЪ ЕГЛН ПИШЕТЬ. И ВЪ ДЪСКА НАПИСАНА ЖИДОВСКИ И РИМСКИ И ЕЛЛИНСКИ. А СЛОВѢНСКИ НѢ ТОУ. ТѢМ ЖЕ НѢ СЯТЬ СЛОВѢНСКИЖ КНИГЫ Ѡ БА. КЪ ТѢМЪ ЧТО ГЛѢМЪ? ИЛИ ЧТО РѢМЪ КЪ ТАЦѢМЪ БЕЗОУМНЕМЪ? ѠБЪАЧЕ РЕЧЕМЪ Ѡ СТЪХЪ КНИГЪ, ЯКОЖЕ НАВЧИХУМСА, ЯКО ВСѢ ПО РАДОУ БЫВАЖТЬ Ѡ БА, А НЕ ИНОГДОЖ. НѢСТЬ ВО БѢ СТВОРИТЬ ЖИДОВСКА ЯЗЫКА ПРѢЖЕ, НИ РИМСКА, НИ ЕЛЛИНСКА, НЖ СИРСКИ, ИМЖЕ И АДАМЪ ГЛА. І Ѡ АДАМА ДО ПОТОПА. И Ѡ ПОТОПА, ДОНДЕЖЕ БѢ РАЗДѢЛН ЯЗЫКИ ПРИ СТАЛПОТВОРЕНІИ, ЯКОЖЕ ПИШЕТЬ. РАЗМѢШЕНОМ ЖЕ БЫВШЕМЪ ЯЗЫКМЪ. И ЯКОЖЕ СА ЯЗЫЦИ РАЗМѢСИШ, ТАКО И ПРАВИ И ОБЫЧАЕ И ОУСТАВН. И ЗАКОНИ. И ХУТРОСТИ НА ЯЗЫКИ. ЕГИПТѢНШУМ ЖЕ ЗЕМѢТРЕНІЕ, А ПЕРСУМЪ И ХАЛДЕУМЪ И АСИРЕУМЪ, ЗВѢЗДОЧТЕНІЕ, ВЪШВЕНІЕ, ВРАЧЕВАНІЕ, ЧАРОКАНИА, И ВСѢ ХУТРОСТЬ ЧЛѢА. ЖИДОВОМ ЖЕ СТЪХЪ КНИГЫ, ВЪ НИХЪЖЕ ЁСТЬ ПИСАНО, ЯКО БѢ НБѢ СТВОРИ И ЗЕМЛА И ВСѢ, ИЖЕ НА НЕИ, И ЧЛѢА, И ВСѢ ПО РАДОУ, ЯКОЖЕ ПИШЕТЬ. ЕЛЛИНШУМЪ ГРАМАТИКИА, РИТОРИКИА, ФИЛОСОФИИ. НЖ ПРѢЖЕ СЕГО ЕЛЛИНИИ НЕ ИМѢХЪ СВОИМЪ ЯЗЫКОМЪ ПИСМЕН. НЖ ФИНИЧЬСКИМИ ПИСМЕНЫ ПИСАХЪ СВОИ СИ РѢЧЬ. И ТАКО ВѢШЪ МНОГА ЛѢТА. ПАНАМИДЪ ЖЕ ПОСАТЪЖДЕ ПРИШЕДЪ, НАЧЕНЪ Ѡ АЛФЫ И ВИТЫ, СИ. ПИСМЕНЪ ТЪКМО ЕЛЛИНШУМЪ ѠВРѢТЕ. ПРѢЛОЖИИ ЖЕ ИМЪ КАДЕМЪ МИНАСИИ ПИСМЕНА, Г. ТѢМ ЖЕ МНОГА ЛѢТА, ДИ. ПИСМЕНЫ ПИСАХЪ. И ПОТОМЪ СИМОНИДЪ ѠВРѢТЪ, ПРИЛОЖИ ДВѢ ПИСМЕНИ, СПИХАРІИ ЖЕ СКАЗАТЕА, Г. ПИСМЕНА ѠВРѢТЕ. И СВЪРАСА ИХЪ, БА. ПО МНОЗѢХЪ ЖЕ ЛѢТѢХЪ ДИОНИСИ ГРАМАТИКЪ, С. ДВОГЛАСНЫХЪ ѠВРѢТЕ. ПОТОМ ЖЕ ДРОУГИИ, Е. И ДРОУГИИ Г. ЧИСМЕНИТАА. И ТАКО МНОЗИ МНОГИМИ ЛѢТЫ ЕДАКА СВЪРАШЪ, ЛН. ПИСМЕНЪ. ПОТОМ ЖЕ МНОГОМЪ ЛѢТШУМЪ МИНЖЕШЕМЪ, ВЪНЕМЪ ПОВЕЛѢНИЕМЪ ѠВРѢТЕСА, О. МЖЖЪ, ИЖЕ ПРѢЛОЖИШЪ Ѡ ЖИДОВСКАА НА ГРѢЧЬСКИИ ЯЗЫКЪ.

Now others say: "Of what use are Slavonic books? Neither God has created them, nor the angels. They are not from time immemorial, like the Hebrew and Roman and Greek, which are from the beginning and were instituted by God." While others think that God himself created letters for us, and they don't know what they are saying, the poor wretches! And /they say/ that God commanded that books be written in three languages, as it is written in the gospel: "And the sign /on the cross/ was written in Hebrew and Latin and Greek," but Slavonic was not there. Therefore the Slavonic letters are not from God.¹⁰ What can we say to these things? Or what shall we say to such stupidities? Shall we say that we learned from the scriptures that everything in its turn comes from God and nowhere else? For God did not create the Hebrew language first, nor Latin, nor Greek — but Syrian, which Adam talked, and from Adam to the Flood, and from the Flood until God divided the nations at the creation of the Tower of Babel. As it is written: "And the languages were confounded."

And just as the languages were confounded, so were the ways and customs and regulations and laws and skills among nations: surveying to the Egyptians, astronomy to the Persians, Chaldeans and Assyrians, as well as sorcery, medicine, magic and all the arts of man. To the Jews /He gave/ the sacred books in which it is written how God created heaven and earth and all that is in it, and man, and everything in its turn, as it is written. To the Greeks he gave grammar, rhetoric and philosophy; but before that the Hellenes did not have letters in their language. Instead they wrote their language in Phoenician letters, and it was that way for many years. Finally Panamid came along: beginning with *alfa* and *vita* he invented just sixteen letters for the Greeks. After that Caedmon of Miletus added three, and thus they wrote for many years with nineteen letters. And then Simonides invented and added two letters, and Epicharmus the writer invented three, and these added up to twenty-four. After many years Dionysius the Grammarian invented six diphthongs, and then another man five, and yet another three — for numbers — and so after many years had passed they barely put together thirty-eight letters. And then — many years having passed — by God's command seventy men were found who translated from Hebrew into Greek.¹¹

'А словѣнскыѣ книги едины стын Квстантинъ, нарицаемыи
 Кирялъ, и писмена створи и книги прѣложи. въ малѣхъ лѣтѣхъ. а
 ины мнози многы лѣты .ѣ. и хъ писмена оустри. а .ѳ. прѣложе-
 ние. тѣм же словѣнскаа писмена стѣнша сѣ и чьстнѣнша. стѣ въ
 мжжъ створиша и кѣ, а грѣчьскаа Ѣллини погани. ѣще ли кто речеть,
 ако нѣ оустриша добрѣ, понеже са пострашати и ѣще, ѡвѣтъ речемъ
 симъ. и грѣчьскы такоже. многади сжъ постраши Акилла и Симмахъ,
 и потомъ ины мнози. оудовѣе во ѣсть послѣже потворити, неже прѣвое
 створити. ѡще во въпрѣсиши книгъша грѣчьскыа глѣ. кто въ ѣсть
 писмена створиша, или книги прѣложиша, или въ кое врѣма, то рѣдѣи
 ѡ нихъ вѣдати. ѡще ли въпрѣсиши словѣнскыа боукара глѣ. кто въ
 писмена створиша ѣсть, или книги прѣложиша, то вси вѣдати. и ѡвѣ-
 щавше, рекжъ стын Квстантинъ философъ, нарицаемыи Кирялъ.
 тѣ намъ писмена створи и книги прѣложи. и Методие братъ его. и
 аще въпрѣсиши, въ кое врѣма, то вѣдати и рекжъ, ако въ врѣмена
 Михаила црѣ грѣчьскаго, и Бориса княза влѣгарскаго, и Растица
 княза моравьска, и Коцелѣ княза влѣтѣнска. въ лѣта же ѡ създа-
 нна въсего мира .ѣ. т .ѣ. г. сжъ же и ины ѡвѣти, аже и инде речемъ,
 а нинѣ нѣсть врѣма. такъ разоумъ, братне, вѣ ѣсть далъ Словѣншмъ.
 ёмоу же слава и чьсть и дрѣжава и покланѣние, нинѣ и присно и въ
 бесконечныа вѣкы, аминъ:

Now, for Slavonic writing Saint Constantine-Cyril alone
 created the letters and translated the books¹² in a few years, while
 those many men – seven of them – created their letters over
 many years, and seventy did the translation. Therefore the
 Slavonic letters are more holy and more venerable, because a
 holy man created them, whereas pagan Hellenes created the
 Greek. And moreover, if someone says that he didn't create them
 well, because they are still being modified, we shall answer them:
 "It's the same with the Greek letters: many times Akil and
 Symmachus worked at modifying them, and many others after
 that. For it is easier to change things later on than it is to create
 for the first time. And if you ask Greek scholars: "Who created
 your letters for you, or translated your scriptures, or at what
 time?" – rare is the person who will know. But if you ask a Slavic
 primary school pupil: "Who created your letters for you or
 translated your books?" – everyone will know. And they will
 answer you: "Saint Constantine the Philosopher, called Cyril. He
 created our letters and translated our books, and Methodius his
 brother."¹³ And if you ask: "At what time?" they will know and
 will say: "It was in the time of Michael the Greek Emperor, and
 Boris the Bulgarian Prince, and Rastislav¹⁴ the Moravian Prince,
 and Kocel the Prince of Balaton /Pannonia/, in the year 6363."¹⁵
 There are other answers, which I shall tell you at another time,
 but now there is no time. So, brothers, God gave understanding
 to the Slavs. To Him be the glory and honor and power and
 homage, now and forever, and in the infinite ages to come.
 Amen.

Notes

1. There is no way of knowing whether *Hrabŭr* is a proper
 name or a *nom de plume*. Ivan Dujčev was convinced that it was
 the Bulgarian equivalent of the Greek *Andreios*, which also
 means "brave" (Dujčev 1974, 260), while Zlatarski (Dujčev's
 teacher) believed that the author was Tsar Symeon, who had
 once been a monk. K. Kuev, on the other hand, accepts *Hrabŭr*
 as a *bona fide* proper name.

2. On the dating of "On Letters," Vatroslav Jagić states in his *Rassuždenija*: "From the content and tendency of the article it is evident that he lived during the first flowering of Slavic writing among the Bulgarian Slavs, approximately in the tenth century." Roman Jakobson also perceives him as a representative of Bulgaria's Golden Age. He mentions Hrabūr in several places in his "Selected Writings," VI, 1 – for example, in "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature" (48), as well as in "Slavism as a Topic of Comparative Studies" (72), in "The Byzantine Mission to the Slavs" (110), and "The Czech Part in Slavonic Culture" (125), where he places Hrabūr in the tenth century and refers to him as "a prominent Bulgarian writer of Moravian tradition."

3. For examples of the arrogant and taunting letters of Symeon to the Byzantine Patriarch Nicholas, see Dujčev's *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina* (1943-44). For an English translation of Nicholas's letters to Symeon, see R. Jenkins and L. Westerlink: "Letters of Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, 2 (1973).

4. V. Jagić (*op. cit.*) was the first to trace Hrabūr's sources. In more recent times Ivan Dujčev (1944) has also checked them, corroborating that he was writing from a vital cultural center.

5. During this same period the Bulgarian version of Manasses' "Chronicle" and the "London Gospels" of 1355-56 were also copied. The illuminations of the "London Gospels" have been published by E. Dimitrova (the British Museum, 1994).

6. K. Kuev traces many copies to monasteries such as Soloveckij, where the Old Believers were strong (Kuev, 1967, 181-2).

7. A. Džambeluka-Kossova (1980).

8. The form *ozykŭ* for Late Common Slavic *jezykŭ* represents a typical development in the history of the Northeast Bulgarian dialects. This confusion of the front and back nasals is reflected in the Middle Bulgarian manuscripts, of which the Laurentian Compendium is an example.

9. The present gerund form *strojo* instead of *stroje* is another example of the confusion of the nasals (see note 8).

10. Hrabūr repeats the essence of the "three-language heresy," confronted by Cyril in Moravia and Venice. In doing so, he is following a favored rhetorical device: he gives the opponent's position first and then refutes it.

11. The seventy men referred to by Hrabūr (there were actually seventy-two) translated the O.T. "Septuagint" (Seventy) from Hebrew into Greek.

12. When Hrabūr implies that Cyril translated *all* the books he is exaggerating, for as he himself admits further on, Cyril was aided by his brother Methodius.

13. Lavrov omits here a very interesting line, believing it to be a later scribal intercalation: *Sot' bo ešte živi iže sot' viděli ihŭ* ("And those who saw them are still alive"). If authentic, this statement would help date the composition as late ninth or early tenth century.

14. Hrabūr uses the Old Czech hypocoristic *Rastic* for Rastislav (Rostislav), which may indicate that he was either a member of the Moravian Mission or a contemporary of someone who was. His mention of Kocel, who faded into oblivion along with his state, also helps place the author as a contemporary or near contemporary of the ruler.

15. According to a common method of dating used in the Orthodox world (the "Constantinople system"), Christ was born 5508 years after the Creation. So the date 6363 would indicate that Constantine-Cyril invented the alphabet in 855 A.D. But according to the "Alexandrian" system, also used at the time, the world was created 5500 years before Christ's birth, which would set the invention of the alphabet in 863 A.D., the commonly accepted date.

