

some form of standardization for these records, embracing not only the structure of the records themselves, but also of the electronic medium in which they are preserved. Consensus has been reached that SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language) provides the best means of achieving this goal; considerable advances have already been made in the application of SGML to manuscripts and archival materials in the non-Slavonic field (for example, TEI, EAD, and various software applications), and their application in recent years to Cyrillic material is discussed.

In conclusion, an attempt is made to summarize the potential and limitations of the various means of information storage and retrieval currently available in the field. Comments regarding perspectives and *desiderata* for the future are invited.

Early Textual Transmission from Bulgaria to Northern Dalmatia: A Source for Reconstructing the Pre-Hilandar Serbian "Library"?

Andrew R. Corin

In his well-known 1905 essay A. V. Mikhal'ov noted that:

In the early period of Serbo-Croatian literature of the 10th-12th centuries, ... between the Serbs, who had inherited the entire wealth of Bulgarian literature of the era of Symeon, and Croats there was no Great Wall of China, and the Croatian Glagolite ... could relate with equal respect and trust at that time both to that which was preserved in Croatia from the Cyrillic-Methodian period, and to that which reached him by way of his relatives [i.e., the Serbs, A.C.] from Bulgaria.¹

Yet nearly a century after Mikhal'ov's pioneering research (as well as that of several of his contemporaries) the contacts and mutual influences that must have existed between these two distinct, yet geographically associated, Slavonic literary cultures² remain one of

¹"В древний период сербо-хорватской литературы X-XII вв., точнее – до падения политической независимости хорватов, между сербами, унаследовавшими все богатство болгарской письменности симеоновской эпохи, и хорватами какой-либо китайской стены не существовало, и хорватский поп-Глаголит, этот поборник своей народной церкви, с одинаковым уважением и доверием мог тогда относиться к тому, что сохранилось в Хорватии от времён св. Первоучителей, и к тому, что через его родичей доходило до него из Болгарии." (Mikhal'ov 1905:442)

²This characterization of a dichotomy between precisely two distinct literacies – Serbian Orthodox Slavonic literacy, on the one hand, and the Croatian Catholic Slavonic (Croat-Glagolitic, Croatian Church Slavonic, henceforth CCS) literacy of the northern Adriatic (Istria, Kvarner, Lika, Krbava, Zadar, Šibenik, etc.), on the other – is, of course, oversimplified. To begin with, it leaves out of account the complex – and just as poorly understood – development of literacy in early Bosnia, which lay between northern Dalmatia and the Serbian principalities and thus represented an intermediate territory capable of mediating contacts between Serbs and Croatian Glagolites. It also disregards the – again poorly understood – interaction between Roman Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox, between Latin and Slavonic,

the most obscure and elusive chapters in the cultural history of the western Balkans. For reasons I will elaborate just below, a conference devoted to the 800th anniversary of Hilandar Monastery is an especially appropriate occasion to return to this issue. Of course, at this gathering we are concerned not – as was Mixajlov – with the question of how the study of early Serbian-Croatian literary contacts can elucidate Croatian literary developments, but rather with the significance of these contacts for the historiography of Serbian culture.

The cultural wealth that began to accumulate at and emanate from Hilandar Monastery immediately following its founding in 1198-1199 contrasts sharply with the fragmentary traces of Serbian Slavonic literary culture from the period preceding this event. Of extant monuments that came into existence prior to the founding of Hilandar we have one *evangelistary* (*Miroslav Gospel* – circa 1185-1195), one legal document (issued by the Bosnian ban Kuljin – 1189), the signature of Stephan Nemanja and his brother Miroslav on a treaty with Dubrovnik from the year 1186, and Miroslav's signature on a similar treaty from the year 1190. From perhaps the first half of the 12th century we have the so-called Gršković and Mihanović fragments of the *Apostolus* that may well belong within the proper boundaries of Serbian literacy. Several stone inscriptions date from the late 12th century (see Dordić 1971 and Tomović 1974). Some scholars (see, for example, Stojanović 1926, Radojičić 1965:237, and Dordić 1971:45) have suggested a very early date of origin – perhaps the 10th or 11th century – for the Temnić inscription, though this cannot be considered

literacy in Serbia during the first centuries following Christianization. Finally, it ignores the analogous possibility of interaction between the texts of the Roman Catholic and Byzantine liturgies – in both their translated, Slavonic, and “original,” Greek and Latin, versions – in northern Dalmatia itself. R. Zlatanova (1998) notes the possibility that extant CCS versions of the Minor Prophets may reflect the influence of *various* versions of a Greek original. Should this turn out to be true, we would have to admit either the importation into northern Dalmatia of various Slavonic versions of these books, or the revision of the Slavonic texts *within* the CCS *milieu* in accordance with Greek versions that were different from those representing sources for the original translations. Nevertheless, the simple formulation referring to the medieval Serbian and Croatian Slavonic literary cultures as discrete entities undoubtedly encapsulates the single most important principle of their inter-relationship, as well as the single most important dichotomy that emerges in the South Slavonic literacies of the 13th-16th centuries.

proven. Finally, there are a number of strong arguments that link the *Codex Marianus* with territory that at least bordered that of Serbia.

The starkness of this contrast – between the wealth of Serbian Slavonic literature attested already in the 13th century and the apparent void that seems to precede the establishment of Hilandar – brings out clearly the fundamental role of that institution in the cultural history of Serbia. Not only was the founding and early history of Hilandar directly or indirectly related to several of the earliest works of Serbian literature to have come down to us, but if its library had never existed or had been destroyed, the period of Serbian literary history that is represented by only fragmentary documentation would have been much longer indeed.

Yet, the preserved Serbian literature of the end of the 12th and of the 13th centuries was not written on a *tabula rasa*. It unambiguously reflects the existence of a preceding literary tradition. However, what is most important is that the reflection is that of a literary tradition that could have laid well the groundwork for the already polished achievements of, for example, Rasko (Sava) Nemanjić. Specifically, it is beyond reasonable doubt that a Serbian recension characterized by relatively stable lexical, syntactic, morphological, phonological, orthographic, and stylistic norms had existed for an extended period of time, albeit within a more circumscribed cultural and geographic setting, prior to the emergence of the Nemanjić dynasty and its cultural energy. The bases for certainty in this regard are several and, taken together, may be considered irrefutable.³

³The proof of this thesis lies not in demonstrating the existence of Slavonic literacy on Serbian soil during the preceding period, as that is not in dispute. For recent discussions of the evidence for Slavonic literacy within Serbia (loosely defined) during the pre-Hilandar period, see Bogdanović (1981) and Trifunović (1995: especially 31-35 and 102-110). For two distinct linguistically based hypotheses concerning the time and place of origin of the Serbian recension, see Belić (1936) and Grickat (1975:27-39); the linguistic arguments offered by these authors for their respective localizations are, however, not fully convincing. On Belić's view see especially Nedeljković 1979.

Rather, the conclusion that the Serbian recension of Church Slavonic must have been founded long before the end of the 12th century derives from the inevitability that three centuries after the founding of Slavonic literacy, the emergence of a new Serbian recension would have manifested itself in a period of turmoil as older (pre-Serbian-recension) features clashed with those of the newly promulgated standard. The most succinct formulation of this principle is that articulated already in 1862 by

Since we possess so few extant literary monuments from Serbia of the pre-Hilandar period, we must have recourse to indirect approaches in reconstructing the form and content of this culture – what Dimitrije Bogdanović (1971:406) referred to as the *medieval Serbian library* – in these earliest centuries. In research to date two, superficially similar, methodological approaches have been applied in this search: the speculative and the inferential.

Early scholarship (inevitably, if nevertheless unfortunately) was far from restrained in its application of the speculative approach. Leading scholars of the 19th–early 20th century composed accounts of the origin of Serbian Slavonic literacy framed around one or several isolated items of historical evidence, and drew upon their personal judgment of the relative likelihood of certain events in the absence of counterevidence. For example, there are those who, like Jagić (1867:64) and Mixajlov (1905:442, quoted in note 1), have assumed that works (or versions of works) that arose in Symeon's Bulgaria would have necessarily crossed over almost immediately into Serbia. Another school of thought, supported by Novaković (1893), and later also by Radojičić (1965:237) and Bogdanović (1981:213-216), holds that Serbia received Slavonic literacy directly from Pannonia even before its introduction into Bulgaria and Macedonia. This school goes so far as to suggest precisely what the earliest imported works must have been. Yet, there is nothing at all certain or even likely in either of these positions.

The Jagić-Mixajlov insistence on the immediate introduction of the so-called Preslav or Symeon literature into Serbia appears to rest (though, to the best of my knowledge, nowhere is this articulated) on the neighboring geographic position of the Serbian and Bulgarian

Daničić: "...a dva jezika složiiti, i za ono, u čemu se slože, postaviti pravila, i njih se postojano držati, – to je još mnogo teže nego postaviti pravila za pisane *jedini jezikom*" (1925:311-312). Were the rise of the Serbian recension a recent event, the situation in late 12th-century Serbia would thus have been analogous (in part, to be sure!) to that which arose in Russia, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, in Serbia in the 18th and 19th centuries, and, albeit to a lesser extent, in Croatia, especially during the mid-19th century. Yet, despite the presence of two orthographic norms and certain, especially orthographic, inconsistencies in the earliest extant Serbian literary monuments, the over-all linguistic situation observable in these manuscripts can hardly be compared to the turmoil evident in the latter milieus.

states, on the fact of periodic Bulgarian domination in Serbia, and on analogy to the intense cultural interaction that developed between Bulgaria and Rus' from the late 10th century onward.

In regard to the first of these factors, the neighboring position of the Serbian and Bulgarian states was, throughout most of the early centuries, more relative than absolute, with Byzantine control over the Morava River Valley and as far to the east as the fortress of Ras a recurring motif (see, for example, the several contributions covering this period in Cirković 1981:141 ff.).

As for Bulgarian domination over the Serbs, this was of an episodic nature, the Serbian (Zagorje) dynasty apparently was still able to maintain its position and, presumably, state organization throughout these centuries, even during the periods of Bulgarian overlordship. Furthermore, periodic military conquests are not sufficient, in and of themselves, to ensure the flow of cultural goods from a ruling state to those that it has subdued, nor even is the establishment of a vassal relationship over an extended period.

The extension of the newly founded archdiocese of Ohrid to encompass the territory of some Serbian principalities (including, for example, the diocese of Ras, but not that of Dioclea), presumably in 1018, indeed might have affected Serbia's receptiveness to the Byzantine, as opposed to the Catholic, liturgy subsequent to that event. However, it does not follow that this would have led to a greater Bulgarian Slavonic influence within Serbia. On the one hand, it is unclear whether any Serbian principality remained under the jurisdiction of the Ohrid archdiocese in 1025 following the death of Basil II (see Kalit 1979). On the other hand, given the circumstances and motivation for the founding of that archdiocese, it is far more likely that subjugation to it would have inclined Serbia toward a Greek, rather than a Bulgarian Slavonic, version of the Orthodox liturgy.

Finally, the relationships between Bulgaria and Rus', on the one hand, and between Bulgaria and Serbia, on the other, were basically different. In the former situation, Bulgarian literary culture and the Bulgarian Slavonic liturgy served as the primary models and sources for the Christianization of Rus'. They thus gained at the outset an authoritative status that ensured continual traffic in literary goods between these two areas in subsequent generations. It is far from

obvious that, in fact, there was an analogous component in the relationship between Bulgaria and Serbia.

Indeed, the flow of literary goods from Bulgaria to Serbia, either in Symeon's time or later, would have been expected under one or more of several specific circumstances. First and foremost, this would have been most likely if Slavonic literacy had been practiced over an extended period of time in genuinely neighboring areas of Serbia and Bulgaria, providing the possibility for: a) frequent contact and communication between *literati* on both sides; b) a resulting acquaintance, on the part of Serbs, with literary goods circulating among the neighboring Bulgarians; and c) the resulting possibility of borrowing, purchasing or copying from one another. There is no strong evidence that such a situation existed in the 10th century. The so-called Kosovo-Rila literary activity (see Radojčić 1965, Bogdanović 1981:227-228, Trifunović 1995:34), carried out on territory straddling the modern Serbian-Bulgarian ethnic and national border, was indeed considered by Bogdanović to have been active already in the 10th century. Yet, in regard to the *Life of John of Rila* (10th century), he was able to state only that it began prior to 1183. Other authors associate this literature primarily with the 11th and 12th centuries, though Radojčić asserted that *Codex Martianus* originated within it. The Kosovo-Rila literature arose in an area outside – and probably not contiguous at that time – to any Serbian state. By the same token, neither does this preclude the possibility that participants in this literary milieu interacted with readers or authors in existing Serbian states.

Second, importation of books from the First Bulgarian Empire to Serbia during or immediately after the time of Symeon might have resulted from the ecclesiastic subjugation of Serbia to an archdiocese in Bulgaria, leading to the mandated importation of liturgical books and compilations of ecclesiastic ordinances from the latter state, or at least to an increase in the prestige enjoyed by works of Bulgarian origin. However, based on the scanty historical sources, it appears that in the first years following Christianization Serbia's choice lay between the archdiocese of Split⁴ and that of Pannonia (see below).

⁴That Basil I intended for Serbia to fall under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Split, or that this is the archdiocese through which the Christianization of Serbia was actually carried out and which then continued to become the archdiocese of

between the archdiocese of Split⁴ and that of Pannonia (see below). It is not clear to what extent Ohrid in later centuries might have served as a conduit for the importation of literary goods originating in Bulgaria. As noted above, Serbia's subjugation to the archdiocese of Ohrid was connected with the re-establishment of Byzantine, rather than Bulgarian, domination. Moreover, while the Byzantine conquests of Serbian lands in the 11th and 12th centuries may well have led to an obligation on the part of the Serbian princes to (re)introduce the Greek liturgy and perhaps suppress the Slavonic, it is not obvious why earlier Bulgarian conquests would have had any analogous component.

Third, a likely conduit for the transmission of Bulgarian texts to Serbia during the pre-Hilandar period would be presented by any Serbian monks at the Russian and Bulgarian monasteries on Mount Athos, in particular Zograph, which was founded in the 10th century (Bogdanović 1981:217). While we may consider this to be highly probable, it remains nevertheless in the realm of speculation until evidence is adduced to support both the presence of Serbian monks at these monasteries coupled with an interest and/or involvement on their part with literature.⁵

The Novaković/Radojčić and Bogdanović view – that Serbia received Slavonic literacy even before Bulgaria – is supported by no positive evidence, but rests rather on the presumed likelihood of several related events. First, it assumes that the bull issued by Pope John VIII in 873 to a Slavic prince addressed as "Montemero duci" (*MGH Epist.* 7:282) was indeed directed to the then Serbian prince Mutimir. Second, while assuming the correctness of the previous hypothesis, it assumes that Mutimir could not (or would not) have passed up the opportunity to at the least investigate the possibility

⁴That Basil I intended for Serbia to fall under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Split, or that this is the archdiocese through which the Christianization of Serbia was actually carried out and which then continued to become the archdiocese of the new Serbian Christians, is inferred by Jireček 1911:179, Čirković 1981:152, and Radojčić 1955:124. Some years before, Rački (1881:115 ff.) had argued that the "Montemero duci" to whom the fragmentary letter of Pope John VIII was addressed could not have been, in fact, the contemporary Serbian prince of that name precisely because the Serbian lands fall under the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Split, rather than that of Pannonia.

⁵Editors' note: On this issue please see Francis J. Thomson (Thomson 1996).

assumes a diplomatic enterprise could not have ended in anything other than Serbia's acceding to the Pope's request. Fourth, assuming the correctness of all three previous hypotheses, it further assumes that Serbia's association with the Pannonian archdiocese would soon have led inevitably to an influx of Slavonic books into Serbia from Pannonia.

Leaving aside the lack of evidence that such a Serbian mission to Pannonia ever occurred, or questions concerning the likelihood of the putative mission's success, it must be borne in mind that such a mission would have taken place shortly after the low ebb of Methodius' power and prestige, following years of imprisonment. We must therefore entertain at least the possibility that the prestige of the Slavonic liturgy may also have reached a low point at about the same time. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that even in the Pannonian archdiocese of Methodius the Slavonic liturgy ever achieved universal acceptance or became the sole liturgy practiced within its boundaries. It is thus far from obvious that the putative affiliation of Serbia with this archdiocese necessarily would have implied the introduction into Serbia of the Slavonic liturgy.

Furthermore, as is well known, it is far from certain that it was the Serbian (Zagorje) prince Mutimir to whom the papal bull was even addressed.⁶ Admitting that this interpretation seems at the present time to be the most likely one (see Dvornik 1926:260), the opposing views – especially that of Rački (see Rački 1881:115-116), which was accepted also by Jireček (1911:179) – cannot be dismissed. One other contemporary prince bearing the name Mutimir is known from Dalmatian Croatia, and so we can conclude that this name was not unique, rare, or narrowly limited geographically at that time; and we clearly do not know the names of all of the Slavic princes of that time in the western and northwestern Balkans.

Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine why the pope would have requested the Serbs attach themselves to the Pannonian archdiocese, when he surely would have been aware of the traditional affiliation of the region that they occupied with the archdiocese of Salona (Split). In fact, contrary to Dvornik's conjecture (Dvornik 1926:269), it seems far more likely that the pope's reference to adherence to

the archdiocese of Pannonia as "following the example of your forefathers" (...*ut progenitorum tuorum secutus morem*...) would have been addressed to some group that the pope assumed to have been traditionally subject to the Syrmium archdiocese.

Finally, despite rancorous recent debates concerning the precise location of the Moravian state and the Pannonian archdiocese, it remains unlikely that the seat of the latter was located close enough to the Serbs for it to have had any hope of exercising influence over them (see Birnbaum 1998). In all likelihood, the seat of the Pannonian archdiocese was located in Moravia – specifically the *northern* Moravia that has traditionally been viewed as Methodius' missionary field.

Overall, a scenario in which the Pope would have exhorted the Serbs to accept the oversight of the Pannonian archbishop, who fostered a Slavonic, Byzantine-inspired liturgy, while the Byzantine emperor would have preferred that they accept the supervision of the Archbishop of Split (Salona), under Byzantine temporal control but Roman ecclesiastic authority, appears perplexing and quite unlikely. It is not surprising, therefore, that even among historians who accept the premise that the letter of Pope John VIII was meant for the Serbian (Zagorje) prince Mutimir, there appears to be a consensus that the Pope's desire was not fulfilled (Kalić 1979:29).

Providing inferential (as opposed to speculative) evidence for the presence of specific texts or their known versions in pre-Hilandar Serbia, whether narrowly or broadly defined, is in most cases a far from simple matter. The types of evidence that would be desirable and those that are available differ considerably from one work or type of work to another.

One of the simplest cases is that of texts that could only have originated in or around Serbia in that early time. Such is true of the hagiographic/epic portion of the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea* (Duklja), assuming that it was composed indeed in Slavonic, rather than in Latin. Both the time and location of its origin have been determined to within a relatively narrow range.

Somewhat less straightforward is the discussion of works that originated outside the borders of the Serbian principalities, but are cited or reflected already in the earliest extant works of Serbian

⁶Editors' note: see footnote No. 4.

literature. Such is the biography of Constantine-Cyril, which was certainly known to Stephan the First-Crowned (see Radojičić 1955: 125). This work was apparently present in Serbia *sensu stricto* in pre-Hilandar times.⁷ However, we lack more precise evidence as to when it became known there.

Usually, though, in the case of works that did not originate in Serbia, another approach will be necessary. It is insufficient merely to establish that a text was present in neighboring Slavonic milieus and to assume that the same work *must* therefore have been known in Serbia. By the same token, if a given Slavonic text is known to have been present in Serbia decades or centuries subsequent to the founding of Hilandar and the Nemanjić dynasty, we cannot assume an early date for its introduction into Serbia in the absence of evidence. The easiest such case is that of texts that were designed (or adapted) for use in the Slavonic liturgy, or that were otherwise necessary for its performance.

The evidence that is most straightforward is found in the longer *evangelistary*. The *Miroslav* and *Vukan* gospels reveal the presence at the end of the 12th century of two distinct orthographic schools (or at least tendencies; regarding the basis for this distinction see Nedeljković 1979). Both may have existed side-by-side, perhaps one primarily in Zeta and Hum, the other in Raška. More likely, though, the orthography of the *Miroslav Gospel*, reflecting an earlier transition from Glagolitic to Cyrillic script,⁸ represented an older norm soon

⁷Actually, the *terminus ante quem* would be 1208-1216, the period during which the first-crowned king's *Life of Stephan Nemanja* was written (see Kašanin 1975: 136). Concerning the *likelihood* that the work was known even earlier in Serbia, see the description by Kašanin (1975:132-133) of the extensive readings to which Stephan the First-Crowned was exposed, and which appear to have represented part of the inherited literary culture of his family.

⁸We may be tempted to date this transition to the 12th century on the basis of the *Gršković* and *Mihanović* fragments. The tradition within Bosnia of Cyrillic script *in vernacular usage* already in the late 12th century suggests that a transition there from Glagolitic to Cyrillic script (or, at least the initial stage of this transition) must considerably predate the end of Serbian rule, which could be no later than 1136 (the year that Hungary gained control over Bosnia). This conclusion derives from the assumptions that: 1) the change of script would have taken place under some external influence, and 2) vernacular secular literacy in the Cyrillic script presupposes the previous existence, over an extended period of time, of Church Slavonic

to be replaced by the new Raška orthography as part of a conscious process of reform.⁹ In either case, it is beyond all doubt that Serbia, even under the narrowest definition, had a tradition of fostering the Slavonic text of the longer *evangelistary* already during the pre-Hilandar period.

The evidence concerning the *Apostolus* is more ambiguous. The *Gršković* and *Mihanović* fragments in Glagolitic script apparently originated just before the transition to Cyrillic, or perhaps during a period in which both scripts were utilized side-by-side. However, the relationship of these two fragments to Serbia is analogous to that of the products of the Kosovo-Rila literacy. While they *probably* originated in some area at least peripherally related to Serbia, it is unclear whether this took place within or contiguous to one of the Serbian principalities.

Serbian *parimjniks* and *psalters* are preserved only from a later period; among the most notable codices are those of or from the Hilandar library. However, it is quite inconceivable that the requisite New Testament books, adapted for liturgical use, could have existed during any earlier period in the absence of the corresponding Old Testament lectionaries.¹⁰

The evidence concerning the various individual liturgical books thus varies considerably. Nevertheless, the presence of any one text implies the simultaneous presence of all of the other texts required by the participants in the liturgy, as well as necessary compilations of regulations governing ecclesiastic activity. To the extent that we can reach a single firm conclusion in regard to one of these texts, the same conclusion applies to all. It is clear, then, that Serbia had a tradition of transmitting all of these types of texts during the pre-Hilandar period.

literacy in that same script. This line of reasoning, then, allows us to refine our estimate of the time of transition within Serbia itself.

⁹For a detailed analysis see Belić 1936, but also the critique and revision of this theory in Nedeljković 1979.

¹⁰Editor's note: Hilandar Slavic Manuscript No. 313, a *parimjnik* that is dated to the first half of the 13th century, is thought to have been brought to Hilandar Monastery at the time of or shortly after its founding in 1198; the manuscript is clearly based on a Glagolitic proto-graph.

However, we can have no such certainty regarding biblical texts that were not used in the liturgy. Moreover, some of those used in the liturgy also existed in a nonliturgical version within the Slavonic textual traditions. For example, the book of *Jona*, one of the most popular of the *parimejnik* texts, existed also in a so-called Preslav, Symeon, or *tolkovy* (henceforth, Preslav) translation (for this see, in particular, Tunickij 1918 and Zlatanova 1998). Just when the latter version became known in Serbia is not obvious (Zlatanova 1998: 40-41 lists a single 16th-century Serbian manuscript, though for more complete inventories of codices with Slavonic translations of the prophets she refers back to Evseev 1921 and Mathiesen 1983¹¹).

One basis for inferring the presence in pre-Hilandar Serbia of nonliturgical biblical books, or at least of nonliturgical versions of these books, is afforded by the assumption that texts of non-Serbian origin that can be shown to have crossed Serbian territory, either more broadly or narrowly defined, during the pre-Hilandar era must *ipso facto* have been known in Serbia during this same period. Specifically, texts that originated in Bulgaria during the late 9th and 10th centuries and that can be shown to have been introduced into the CCS literacy during the pre-Hilandar period, therefore must have been transmitted to Dalmatia: a) through Serbia, broadly defined (including Bosnia, bearing in mind that from at least the 11th century onward it diverged progressively, both politically and culturally, from the principalities out of which the later Nemanjić state would be formed); and b) during the pre-Hilandar period.

Evidence of transmission during the pre-Hilandar period might take several forms. Such texts that appear in CCS sources with no trace of Middle Bulgarian linguistic innovations would probably have been transmitted either through the Serbian lands to northern Dalmatia no later than the 11th century, or transmitted to Serbian lands during this early period, and later passed from Serbia (or Bosnia) to the region of CCS literacy.¹²

¹¹In fact, Mathiesen cites a total of five South Slavic Cyrillic manuscripts from the period through 1600 that contain one or more of the books of the prophets.

¹²Vajlavec (1889-1890 [Rad 100]:45) notes one apparent instance of a Middle Bulgarian *н > њ* (*vadovice* for expected *vadovica*, Psalm 132 [131]:15) already in the *Sinai Psalter*. If this reflected a genuine Middle Bulgarian innovation, it would affect the status of such features as evidence for the relatively late introduction of

More useful than such linguistic evidence (which is, after all, of a negative type and can mislead us if Middle Bulgarian features have been eliminated over the course of adaptation and copying within Serbia and/or Croatia) is historical or textual (redactional) evidence concerning the date of the appearance of some originally Bulgarian text in Croatia. Combining these types of evidence, we may conclude that any such text that can be shown to have surfaced in CCS manuscripts early in the 13th century in a form thoroughly Croitized was *very probably* transmitted at least from Bulgaria to Serbia during the pre-Hilandar period.

Inferences of the type just sketched rest not on a proof *sensu stricto*, but rather on the degree of likelihood that applies to each of the individual assumptions in which the basic thesis is grounded. One of these assumptions concerns the likelihood of transmission through any of the available routes. Bulgaria controlled much of the northern Balkan Peninsula as far west as the later Vojvodina into the 10th century, at a time in which the Preslav translations of the biblical books may be assumed to have already been in existence. One might thus posit a direct route of transmission from Bulgaria through Croatia during that period, with no Serbian mediation. Yet, there is no historical or philological evidence for Slavonic literacy at this time in those areas controlled by Tomislav or his immediate predecessors, including Slavonia. In fact, it cannot be established firmly that Slavonia (much less western Slavonia) came under Croatian control at this time.¹³ Thus, despite the single Bulgarian-Croatian military confrontation, it would appear that the region of Glagolitic literacy remained physically distant from areas under Bulgarian control, much less areas in which Bulgaria is likely to have established a cultural, as well as military, presence. In contrast, even if we should exclude the possibility of transmission mediated by the inland territories intervening between northern Dalmatia and Bosnia, the conclusion is inescapable that the trade routes and ecclesiastic

a text into Croatia. However, this location shows not only corruption of the underlying Greek text (reflecting *χ* instead of the proper *θ*), but also a neighboring present active participle in -ε, which might have confused the scribe. Nothing, therefore, can be concluded on the basis of this example.

¹³On evidence (or paucity thereof) in this regard see, for example, Klaić 1990: 71-74 and the accompanying maps (in the inside front covers of the volume).

affiliations of the cities and communes of the Krainer region ensured regular communication between them and the very same southern Dalmatian cities that served as outlets for the inland regions of Bosnia and Serbia.¹⁴

It has also been proposed that texts of East Slavic origin may have reached the northern Dalmatian region through Galicia and Hungary (see Nedeljković 1979). Since there clearly was a lively exchange of literary goods between Bulgaria and Rus' during the period of the First Bulgarian Empire, one might hypothesize that Bulgarian texts or textual versions that are preserved in CCS manuscripts reached northern Dalmatia through an indirect route – from Bulgaria to Rus', then via Galicia and Hungary to Dalmatia. By the same token, however, one might just as well hypothesize that texts of East Slavic origin reached the northern Dalmatian region through Bulgaria (see in this regard the comments below on the versions of the Psalter preserved in CCS manuscripts). It need hardly be pointed out that the intermediate points in the proposed northern route of transmission possessed minimal conditions, at best, during the 10th-12th centuries to serve in this capacity. The obstacles to transmission from Bulgaria to northern Dalmatia via a more direct, southern, route were much smaller. Of course, if one accepts the premise that Slavonic literacy was virtually obliterated in areas under direct Byzantine administration in the 11th-12th centuries, the chronological "window of opportunity" for such a southern route of transmission is greatly reduced. However, judging from the subsequent "revival" of Bulgarian Slavonic literacy, this particular premise cannot reflect reality, at least in its simplest, most generalized, statement.

This paper is not the appropriate venue in which to seriously address fundamental questions regarding the continuity of Slavonic literacy in other entire national territories during the pre-Hilandar centuries. The purpose of the above paragraphs has been merely to make explicit some of the assumptions with which we will operate, and to assert their plausibility and *prima facie* likelihood. Under

these assumptions, it would appear likely that the transmission of Slavonic texts from east to west during the pre-Hilandar period followed a southerly route, through Serbian and/or Bosnian lands. This transmission probably resulted from one or both of two specific circumstances: 1) contact between neighboring, or at least relatively proximate, regions in which Slavonic literacy and liturgy were practiced and that thus possessed the basic condition for the sharing of literary products; 2) and contact at the Adriatic coastal junctions of the trade and communications routes of the Serbs, Bosnians, and the northern Dalmatian Glagolites.

A suitable initial object on which to focus the investigation of possible transmission between Bulgaria and northern Dalmatia, presumably through Serbia, is provided by Preslav translations of the scriptural books. These are thought to have originated in eastern Bulgaria during the late 9th-early 10th centuries, at a time following the collapse of the Moravian-Pannonian Mission. Though Nahitgal (1902:41-42) had noted already the presence of a number of these translations in the CCS manuscript corpus, both the extent of their presence, as well as date (even approximate) of their transmission to Dalmatia, have yet to be ascertained.

As we shall see below, the redaction of the CCS liturgical books in which traces of the Preslav translations are preserved originated probably in the second quarter of the 13th century. This provides a *terminus ante quem* for the transmission of these translations to Dalmatia and, *ipso facto*, for their presence in Serbia. However, had Preslav translations arrived in Serbia only recently from Bulgaria, and been transmitted even more recently to northern Dalmatia, the CCS versions could be expected to contain considerable evidence of Middle Bulgarian innovations. Lack of such features, therefore, would be indicative of transmission during a much earlier period.

This paper represents an initial essay in this field of inquiry. By describing: a) the complexity of the enterprise; b) the future effort that will therefore be required in order to ascertain through it a portion of the pre-Hilandar Monastery Serbian library; and c) the uncertainties that will inevitably remain unless the assumptions on which the effort rests can be proven to be correct. We will draw out yet again, through a new medium, the fundamental importance of

¹⁴This hypothesis thus addresses one aspect of the broader issue of the routes by which Slavonic literacy reached, and became established in, northern Dalmatia. For a discussion of this question (including the possible southern coastal route), which also contains references to the major literature, see Birnbaum 1996.

Hilandar as a preeminent institution of, and as a monument both of and to, early Serbian culture. The survey presented here of evidence suggesting the presence in northern Dalmatia of texts of Bulgarian origin does not, accordingly, purport to be exhaustive. It is to be hoped, though, that it will stimulate future investigations by demonstrating the likelihood that detailed analyses of the actual evidence in regard to individual texts will lead ultimately to more definitive affirmative conclusions.

In the following sections, I will first discuss factors that have slowed the investigation of the relationship between CCS texts and those of the Orthodox Slavonic literacies – though ninety years ago this field of inquiry appeared to be off to an energetic start with the promise of rapidly expanding insight. I will then outline progress in overcoming these obstacles. This will be followed by an overview of what little is currently known concerning the influence of Preslav translations on the CCS text of several biblical books. Finally, I will survey currently available evidence bearing on the time of the transmission of the originally Bulgarian translations to Croatia.

Three factors have impeded research into the interrelationship between CCS literary monuments and those of the Orthodox Slavs.

The first such circumstance hindering the earliest investigators was their lack of attention to, or indeed a clear conception of, the stemmatology and/or redactions of the Croatian manuscripts that contained the texts under investigation. As a result, while certain CCS textual comparisons with their eastern, Cyrillic, counterparts were based on the archaic *1st* and *2nd Vrbnik breviaries* (*BrVb1*, *BrVb2*), the *Breviary of Vid of Omšađi (VO)*, and the plenary missal *Illirico 4 (Ill4)* of the Vatican Library, others took as their Croatian source the linguistically anomalous *Hrvoje Missal (Hm)*, textually innovative *Novak Missal (N)*, or the temporally late and textually innovative *2nd Novi Breviary (BrN2)* and *1483 editio princeps (1483)* of the plenary missal.

Vajs' pioneering research at the beginning of the 19th century, for example, first indicated that some biblical readings in the CCS breviary exist in two versions, one of which he characterized as

"translated from the Greek," the other as "translated from the Latin" (see Vajs 1903:65). Yet his choice of a basic source for his edition of Job (viz., *BrN2*) was hardly the most felicitous for the purpose of elucidating the nature, origin, and degree of difference between the two versions, as well as between them and their counterparts in Cyrillic.¹⁵ Not only does this manuscript have the disadvantage of presenting the younger Latin-based translation, but it is in fact one of the youngest of the extant pre-Trent breviaries, in which features of the two original versions have begun to blend, and secondary features characteristic to neither have begun to infiltrate the text.

Further investigations by Vajs and his successors demonstrated that yet other biblical texts exist in two versions, similarly described as "from the Latin" and "from the Greek." Vajs demonstrated this, for example, in his editions of Joel (1908:34), Hosea (1910b:27), Habakkuk (1912:26-27), and others published by the Old Slavonic Academy in Krf.

Moreover, it soon became clear that this type of dichotomic characterization greatly oversimplifies the relationship between the two versions. In some cases a so-called "translation from the Latin" was, in fact, made originally from the Greek, but subsequently adapted so as to bring it into greater agreement with the Vulgate (for example, Hosea and Habakkuk, but also Jonah and Job; for recent editions of the latter books see, respectively, Ribarova 1987 and Zaradija-Kriš 1997). This is apparently the typical situation when the Latin-based version in one set of codices is paired with a Greek-based version in other manuscripts. In other instances, however, in which there is no such pairing of Greek- and Latin-based versions, a biblical text might indeed represent a translation originally made from the Vulgate (for example, the versions of 1 Samuel contained in the breviaries). Yet, even in the latter case there is occasionally evidence of possible Greek influence on the Latin-based translation (on 1 Samuel see Nahitgal 1902; according to Vajs, 1908:34, this may also apply to Joel, at least in certain parts, though a Greek-based version also existed).

¹⁵Vajs' choice of primary sources for his later editions (*BrVb1* and *VO*) was more appropriate. Both of these codices are among the oldest and most archaic, and contain texts of the "from the Greek" version.

While understanding of differing versions of certain individual biblical readings advanced greatly, attention remained focused on versions of the *texts* themselves, rather than on the stemmatology of the *codices* in which these texts are contained. Some manuscripts have, it is true, been known to contain primarily more archaic or innovative, more Greek-based or more Latin-based, translations. Yet, the *relationships between the manuscripts* themselves have not been adequately explored. Therefore, an entire dimension in the development of Slavonic biblical texts within the Croato-Glagolitic literacy – one of fundamental importance for our understanding how the earliest Slavonic translations were received into and transmitted within this milieu – has until recently gone largely unnoticed.

The second factor slowing the progress of this inquiry is closely related to the first and, indeed, can be considered its primary cause. As the early investigators themselves were painfully aware, their appraisals of the evidence for Greek-based translations among CCS scriptural texts were based on extremely fragmentary published textual data. The primary source for scholars working outside of Croatia proper was Berčić's (1864-1871) compilation of scriptural readings found in the CCS manuscripts. This collection represented a patchwork of segments excerpted from a variety of manuscripts, the primary goal of which was to find a representative of every possible biblical passage. There was thus no guarantee of either redactional or temporal uniformity among the segments, nor, for that matter, was there any indication as to the existence or nature of redactions within the Croatian Glagolitic books. None of these codices was available in published form.

However, even this very imperfect source allowed the early investigators to reach a number of important insights. The influence of the *parimejnik* on the formation of the one portion of the CCS biblical corpus emerged clearly. This influence was obvious from the choice and length of individual readings, as well as from the very language of the translations. Other passages were just as clearly translated originally from the Vulgate. As a rule, these latter passages were not found among the lections of the *parimejnik*.

Nevertheless, conclusions of this type remained generalized, and with many details in regard to the individual texts defying any

explanation. Moreover, there were cases in which the relationship of a CCS text to those of the Orthodox East remained unclear – though investigators had every reason to expect that access to many (all) of the Croatian codices would allow for a straightforward solution.

The third factor, which has hindered our understanding of early interaction between the Croatian Glagolitic milieu and that of the Orthodox Slavs, stems from certain shortcomings of 19th-century historiography. The propensity of the historians of that era to formulate and expound sweeping syntheses on the basis of scanty evidence, while under the influence of the Romantic nationalism of the day, had as its unfortunate consequence that early investigators of the interaction between the CCS and Eastern Orthodox literacies developed their assessments within the context of a fundamental misunderstanding of the social and political setting within which the former functioned and developed. The conception of CCS literacy in the time period preceding 1248 as a forbidden, clandestine, furtive enterprise, quietly copying its modest manuscripts whenever and however possible, but with no possibility for organized scholarly activity such as systematic revisions of its liturgical books, simply does not stand up to scrutiny, as it is not supported by any evidence that does not allow also for an opposite conclusion, and, in fact, is contradicted by other evidence (for a summary of this evidence see Corin 1997).

Only now is the resolution of these issues beginning to occur, but at an uneven pace. We are beginning to reach some, albeit very preliminary, understanding of the stemmatology of the codices. Very few manuscripts have been published and incunabula republished, though they have been selected because of their significance for the late medieval or early Renaissance cultural development in Croatia itself, rather than for their usefulness in elucidating the origins of Croato-Glagolitic literacy. Finally, while the old historical paradigm continues to be prevalent in popular (and some scholarly) circles, it is becoming ever clearer, indeed, that the process of development of CCS literacy was less fettered and more subject to competent scholarly control in the earliest centuries than had once been thought (on the nature of this control see Corin 1993 and 1997).

A change of perspective from that of *textology* (of individual texts) to that of *stematology* (of the books containing those texts)

has allowed for a clear recognition of two types of textual variation that were not distinguished, or at best only marginally so, in the early research. On the one hand, only recently has it become clear that a version characterized as “from the Greek” may itself contain multiple layers of adaptation toward the Vulgate, merely fewer than in the so-called “from the Latin” version. On the other hand, still more recently has come the realization that even a translation made originally from the Vulgate may appear in two versions, one more archaic, the other containing later corrections or emendations (for example, 1 Samuel). However, the deepening of these insights has proceeded at an uneven pace in regard to the two primary liturgical books – the missal and breviary.

It has long been known that all extant codices of the CCS missal, in fact, represent adaptations of the so-called “Franciscan” *Missale Romanae Curiae*, though the development of that Roman liturgy is itself only partly elucidated (see especially van Dijk and Walker 1960, van Dijk 1963). However, it was only in 1967 that M. Pantelić first noted, primarily based on phraseological and lexical correspondences, that the missals seem to group into two types (Pantelić 1967:68-71). She characterized one of these types as northern, the other as southern. It has since become clear that this duality reflects an original discrete divergence into two redactions (see Corin 1991:23-24; 1993:174; 1997, notes 1 and 2, as well as literature cited in the latter two works, especially by J. Reinhart). Moreover, the geographical designations have turned out to have only relative value and are best replaced by neutral designators such as A (rather than northern) and B (rather than southern).¹⁶

Some of the manuscripts attest to one or the other redaction more or less consistently, while others show various degrees of mixing. Clearly belonging to the A redaction are *M14*, *Mh*, and *Lj2*. A relatively consistent adherence to the B redaction is found in *N*, *M8*, *1483*, *Lj1*, and *Berlin*. Primarily of the A – but with elements of the B – redaction are *Ox2* and *R*, while the opposite relation is found in *Vb1*, *Vb2*, and *Novi*. Two manuscripts – *Ox1* and *Hm* – while related to

¹⁶This convention is in accordance with that employed by Hamm (1953b) to designate the “from the Greek” version of the book of Job (A) as opposed to the “from the Latin” version (B).

one or the other redaction, are nevertheless in some significant sense unique. Finally, at least two of the codices – *NYM* and *Hm* – actually jump from the A to the B redaction in at least one location.¹⁷

It is redaction A that is older, being reflected, for example, in the *Kakuljević Fragment*, the oldest extant textual fragment of the “Franciscan” missal (see Corin 1997). It is thus primarily *M14*, and secondarily also *Mh* and *Lj2*, that should form the basis of any comparisons with the texts found in the Orthodox East. Despite its linguistic innovations, the A portion of *Hm* provides many extremely archaic readings, and can be useful as a supplementary, but under no circumstances as a primary, basis for comparison. The same is true of the A portion of *NYM*, despite the carelessness of some of the scribes who worked on that portion of the manuscript.

Some of the changes encountered in the B redaction result from reconciliation with the Vulgate, while others apparently represent mere linguistic improvements. Clearly, texts of the B redaction (including *N*, which is either the second oldest or oldest¹⁸ of the extant missal codices) should not serve as a primary basis for comparison with texts of the Orthodox east. Yet, given this caveat, it is not certain that this secondary redaction (dated to circa 1300, Reinhart 1993) is without relevance for reconstruction of the earliest Greek-based Slavonic translations known in Croatia. Specifically, texts of the B redaction contain some innovations of a textual, rather than linguistic, nature that bear no relation at least to those versions of the Vulgate (and *LXX1*) that are readily available for comparison. The reading 2 (4) Kings 4:25-38, found in the *proprimum de tempore* of all of the plenary missals, contains several such examples, two (indicated by italic type below), for example, in verse 4:27 (for *пврѣнъ ѿвѣрѣаъ* and *ъааъ ѿвѣрѣаъ*, respectively):¹⁹

¹⁷For a survey of most manuscripts and incunabula of the missal, see Vajs 1948, as well as the literature cited in Corin 1991, especially 265.

¹⁸For arguments supporting the conclusion that *N* may actually be older see Reinhart 1993.

¹⁹Croatian-Glagolitic A and B redactions are given according to *M14* and *Berlin*, respectively. The reconstructed OCS text is taken from Dunkov 1996. *LXX* is cited according to Rahlf's, and the Vulgate according to the 1473 *editio princeps* (re-published as Lippe 1899). That agrees with the modern received version.

Cr.-Glag. A	Cf.-Glag. B	OCS	LXX	Vulgate
I prič' dšik e'isejin v gorn' etese za noze ego, i pristupni deozl otrhnutiju, Rečeže emu eliset ostavi ju, eko d(u)ša ee priskr' dna est', i g(ospod) utali ot'mene, i nevzvesti mme,	Eg dže pride k' m(u)ža b(0)žiju v gorn' pade na noze ego, Prs tupi eozu hote otrhnutiju, i r(e)že emu eliset, Ostavi ju eko d(u)ša ee priskr' rb na est'), eko g(ospod), oskr' begu otai mene, i ne evi m' ne,	I pritle vr Elisetu vr go' r'č, i e se za noze ego, I pridizli se Glezni otrhnuti jo I reče Eliseti: Ostavi ju eko duša ee priskr' bhna est', i Gospodh, utali o'ts mene, i ne vzbzvesti mshc.	καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς ἐαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ 9005 καὶ ἐπέλαβεν τὸν ροβὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦγγισεν τῷ ἐπιπέδι αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἐαυτῷ καὶ εἶπεν ἐαυτῷ ὅτι ἔλαβον τὸν κύβητον τῆς καρδίας μου καὶ ἤγγισον τῷ ἐπιπέδῳ καὶ εἶπα ἐαυτῷ καὶ εἶπα ἐαυτῷ ὅτι	Cumque venisset ad virum dei in montem, apprehendit pedes eius. Et accessit quasi ut amoveret eam. Et ait homo dei, dimittite manus animae tuae in amplexibus est. et dominus celevit hoc a me et non indicavit mihi.

Until the sources of such innovations are identified, it cannot be ruled out that some were introduced from Slavonic translations other than those known today. In this regard, we should note that the A redaction also contains readings of uncertain origin.

Only now is it coming to light that "from the Greek" versus "from the Latin" translations in the CCS breviaries also result, at least in part, from a discrete redactional divergence that probably occurred at or about the same time as that of the missal as the result of a single project of textual revision that encompassed both types of book. This is suggested by: 1) the existence of precisely two identifiable archetypes for the texts of the breviary, just as is the case with the missal; 2) the fact that even a text that is known *only* in translation from the Vulgate (for example, 1 Samuel) may appear in two distinct versions, albeit with fewer differences than in that of texts translated originally from the Greek; and 3) apparent parallels in the linguistic or stylistic features that differentiate the A and B redactions of both the missal and the breviary. Still, the actual study of *stemmatological* relations among the breviaries (as opposed to registering the presence of Greek-based vs. Latin-based translations of individual biblical)

The explanation of the first such location (*pade nanoze ego*) is superficially simple, as it is clearly taken over from verse 4:37, the end of the story of the Shunammite woman (B redaction: *Onaže pade nanoze ego, i pok'lonise emu do z(e)mlje, i poet. s(t)h. s' voi tidae*). Yet, it is still unclear how a straightforward error could have been accepted as a regular feature of the B redaction, appearing in all of its extant manuscripts. This version appears even in *Mh*, in most respects one of the most faithful adherents to the A redaction! Clearly, this "erroneous" version of verse 4:27 had some source of authority, which is not obvious today.

texts is only in its initial stage, and each of these three circumstances remains to be proven conclusively.

It has further emerged that where a single biblical text is found in both the breviary and missal (for example, Jonah), the versions found in the two types of books may not be identical. In the case of Jonah, for which this phenomenon has been analyzed in detail (see Ribarova 1987), the A version that is found in the missal is clearly derived from that of the *parimejnik*, while the B version, though based on the same original translation, is adapted somewhat toward the Vulgate. However, even the A redaction of the missal already shows layers of adaptation toward the Vulgate. The A version found in the breviary lacks these adaptations, and remains as good a source for reconstructing the original *parimejnik* translation as that found in the *parimejniki* themselves.

This discovery is of twofold significance. First, in the relatively few instances in which a particular text is found in both the missal and breviary, the version found in the latter *may* provide a better comparison basis with those attested in the Orthodox east. Second, for texts that are found only in the missal, both the expectation of, and search for, early adaptations toward the Vulgate even in the A redaction is necessary.

The situation regarding the publication of manuscripts is more favorable than at the turn of the 19th century, but it is still far from satisfactory.

Two manuscripts of the plenary missal – *Hm* and *NYM* – have been published in both facsimile and transcription, while of the incunabula, the 1483 (*Privotisak*) and 1494 *Senj Missal* (see Mogaš and Nazor 1994) have been republished in facsimile. However, neither of the manuscripts is among the oldest, the most faithful in its adherence to one or the other redaction, or the most meticulous in the preparation of their text. Moreover, both have the disadvantage of switching from redaction A to B in (at least) one location, thus neither can be considered textually homogeneous. The two sections of *NYM*, indeed, though continuous, nevertheless give evidence of having been compiled at widely different times (see Corin 1991:55 ff.). Furthermore, *Hm*, while the most interesting of the CCS codices in regard to its illumination, is the single most *atypical* codex in terms

of its language, in that it has been consciously vernacularized in a manner unlike that encountered in any other missal codex or fragment.

Of the A and B redactions of the missal, neither their oldest (*M14* and *N*, respectively) nor other especially faithful exemplars (with the exception of *L483*, a consistent redaction B codex) have been published. J. Vrana excerpted the entire gospel text from *M14*, and presented it together with variant readings from several South Slavic Cyrillic manuscripts, as well as from *N*, *R*, and *Lj2* (Vrana 1975). Unfortunately, Vrana's asserted complete variant readings from the CCS manuscripts are actually far from complete, with lapses of just such a nature as to obscure the redactional distinctions among the manuscripts. Moreover, the text is presented in a modernized format and orthography that can obscure important features of the original manuscripts. Finally, Vrana's choice of CCS manuscripts from which to provide variant readings was not the most felicitous. Rather than *R*, another consistent redaction A or B codex would have been a more appropriate choice.

As for the two republished incunabula, they represent the two *latest* extant codices of the pre-Trent plenary missal. The *L483* was indeed prepared primarily on the basis of *N* (see Pantelić 1967), which is the earliest and one of the most faithful representatives of the B redaction. How much more useful it would be, though, from the point of view of reconstructing the relationship of CCS to the texts of the Orthodox east, to have *N* itself in published form! The *L494 Serij Missal* (Moguš and Nazor 1994), while interesting for a variety of reasons, is perhaps the very least helpful of the Glagolitic missals for reconstructing the earliest eastern influence on the CCS biblical texts.

The situation in regard to the CCS breviary is similar. Only one manuscript has been published – *B7N2* (see *Novi ID*). While this codex has the advantage of being one of the most extensive, it is also one of the very latest and textually (though not linguistically) innovative, so that it not only contains texts of the later, B redaction, but indeed the distinction between A and B redactions has begun to blur through mutual interaction. For purposes of comparison to texts of the Orthodox Slavonic traditions, *VO*, which a) was completed a century earlier, b) contains extensive versions of texts, and c) represents the archaic

A redaction, would be more useful.²⁰ One incunabulum, the *L491 editio princeps* of the CCS breviary, has also been published (Nazor 1991). The texts of this codex are in many respects linguistically vernacularized and textually innovative.

Though the publication of manuscripts has proceeded slowly, and in a manner better suited to other needs than those addressed here, two factors have greatly ameliorated the paucity of published manuscript texts: 1) the collection of photographic copies of most of the CCS manuscripts at the Old Slavonic Institute (Staroslavenski institut) in Zagreb; 2) the availability of microfilms of a number of the manuscripts housed at libraries in various countries.

As already noted above, the historiography of the political and ecclesiastic context of Croatian Glagolism has made great strides in recent years toward overcoming the myths that were created and fostered by 19th- and early 20th-century scholarship. The two most important works that helped to change prevailing attitudes are those of N. Klaić (1965) and E. Hercigonja (1971).

The presence in the CCS textual corpus of Preslav versions has been suggested to date for only a few Old Testament books. These include, first and foremost, Job and Daniel. Genesis contains some readings suggestive of the influence of a Preslav text; however, in the absence of detailed analyses they are not convincing. Finally, the Psalter presents a very complex situation that to date defies final resolution or characterization; nevertheless, the available evidence suggests at least the possibility that versions either originating in, or transmitted through Bulgaria found their way to northern Dalmatia and into the CCS manuscripts.

It is impossible to provide here a detailed analysis of the evidence from each of these books, much less enter into a discussion of books that were not analyzed by earlier researchers. It is my goal simply to note the nature of the evidence that suggests the presence, or influence, of Preslav translations in the CCS corpus. In each case, further detailed investigations are required before firm conclusions can be reached.

²⁰For a survey of most manuscripts and incunabula of the CCS breviary, see Vajs 1910a.

The book of Job (Vajs 1903, Mixajlov 1905:424 ff., Pechuška 1935, Hamm 1953b; for a new edition of the CCS Job see Zaradija Kiš 1997) presents a complex situation.

The translation of the *parimejnik* portions of this book (1:1-22; 2:1-10; 38:1-23; 42:1-5; 12-17) in the breviaries of both redactions clearly goes back to the same early Slavonic translation as that found in the *parimejnik* itself (though the adaptation of the B redaction toward the Vulgate is very significant; see, for example, Hamm 1953b). These sections are thus irrelevant to the discussion.

Within the non-*parimejnik* portions (2:11-13; 3:1-25; 4:1-9), the A and B redactions are once more clearly distinguished.²¹ Though the B redaction is, again, modified so as to bring it into accord with the Vulgate, both the redactions nevertheless derive from a single original translation from the Greek.

This Greek-based version found in the CCS breviaries is clearly, according to Mixajlov (1905:439 ff.), identical in origin to that found in the 1499 *Gennadij Bible*, which shows linguistic evidence of being copied at some earlier time from a Middle Bulgarian original. Moreover, the text in the *Gennadij Bible* is clearly excerpted from a version containing commentary. Middle Bulgarian features have not been noted, however, in the Croatian text. These facts, taken together, would by themselves seem to indicate that: 1) both the Gennadij and CCS versions derive from either an original Preslav translation or adaptation; and 2) that the Preslav version must have reached northern Dalmatia before the development of typical Middle Bulgarian features.

In fact, the choice of words in this translation presents a hybrid situation, which is similar to that encountered in the gospel texts of *Codex Marianus*: some words are characteristic of Methodius-type translations, others of the Preslav type. Mixajlov, nevertheless, felt that this apparent dual source of lexical material is more indicative of a Bulgarian than of a Pannonian origin, though he was unwilling to state categorically that the translation did originate indeed in Symeon's Bulgaria. Most likely, this translation should fall under the

category (discussed by Evseev 1905) of biblical books for which a new translation was prepared in Bulgaria, though drawing upon material from an earlier Methodius-type translation. Pechuška's more detailed analysis drew a similar conclusion, at least in regard to the Greek original from which this was a translation, *že původni srs. překlad knihy Job byl asi ponejvíce recenze Hesychiowské* (see Hamm 1953b: 35). Hamm's conclusion, expressed through his own addition to Pechuška's conclusion, *u kojem treba izostaviti samo jednu jedinu riječ ('ponejvíce')*, is even more definite. Yet even he felt that this issue remains far from completely elucidated. He also did not address the issue of the time and place in which the Slavonic translation originated.

Nahitgal (1902:41-42) claimed that certain non-*parimejnik* texts from Daniel (Daniel 1:4-21 and Daniel 2) in *BrVb2* reflect a Preslav, rather than Methodius translation. In regard to the non-*parimejnik* readings from Daniel that are found in the missals, however, he felt that they had been revised toward the Vulgate to such an extent that it was impossible to determine the type of their proto Greco-Slavonic original. Evseev (1905:xlii-xliii) agreed with Nahitgal's conclusion concerning the non-*parimejnik* portions of Daniel in the breviaries. Surprisingly, however, Evseev also asserted that Preslav readings could be found even within the *parimejnik* portions of the second chapter. Unfortunately, neither author provided a detailed analysis in support of his conclusions and, thus, this task remains for future research. Jagić (1905), in his review of Evseev (1905), accepted Evseev's conclusion that the Croatian Glagolites utilized a Preslav text. He criticized him though, not only for his reluctance to concede definitively the existence of contact between the Croatian Glagolitic milieu and that of Bulgaria-Macedonia at a very early time, but for his failure to note also those instances of agreement between the CCS text of Daniel and the *parimejnik* or Methodius translations. Clearly, further investigation is in order.

Mixajlov (see 1904:53 ff.) concluded that the non-*parimejnik* portions of Genesis in the Cyrillic textual traditions appear in a Preslav translation. Most notably, the relation of the translation in the *parimejnik* portions to that in the non-*parimejnik* portions is similar to that of the relation that holds between the OCS Glagolitic

²¹Vajs presented the A version from *BrVb2*, with variant readings from *BrVb1*, *BrVb3* and *VO*. The B version was presented according to *BrN2*, with variants from *BrN1*, *BrVa5*, and the *Pašman Breviary*.

gospels (*Ass.*, *Zog.*, *Mar.*) and the group headed up by *Ostromir*. The translation of *parimejnik* readings found in the CCS breviaries is identical in origin to that found in the *parimejniki* themselves. However, the translation of the non-*parimejnik* portions in the breviaries is entirely independent of that found in Cyrillic codices, and is based entirely on the Vulgate (1904:118). Nevertheless (on page 134), Mixajlov notes that there are locations in which the Glagolitic text agrees better with the Greek than with the Vulgate. This would imply the possibility of influence by the only translation known to exist in the Cyrillic textual tradition – viz., the Preslav version. Mixajlov concedes (page 136) that it is not now possible to explain these apparent agreements with the *LXX*, but notes that they may result from contact with the Cyrillic texts. Still (page 138), he considers the similarities between the Glagolitic and Cyrillic translations so minor that it can safely be asserted that the Croatian translator neither used a Cyrillic model, nor had access to one, nor was he acquainted with one. So, the apparent examples of Greek influence in this text remain a riddle, but in Mixajlov's view are certainly not due to the original translator.

One might expect the clearest example of a Preslav translation in the CCS literature to be that of the *Psalter with commentary*, as one nearly complete codex of this type has come down to us in the *Fraščić* or *Vienna Psalter* (see Hamm 1967). In the case of other Old Testament books of which both commented and uncommented versions are present from a very early period, commented versions are regularly associated with a secondary, late 9th- or 10th-century redaction assumed to have been undertaken in eastern Bulgaria.

Regarding the *Psalter*, it is similarly possible that a commented version (with pseudo-Athanasius commentary) came into existence in connection with a minor early revision of the Cyrillo-Methodian translation. It is possible or even likely, though, that this secondary version, at least of the psalms themselves, arose already in Pannonia or Moravia (MacRobert 1993a). Others, however, including Jagić and Sivarov, apparently also Karačorova (for literature, Karačorova 1989: 131-132, but see also Hamm 1967:7) have assumed that the translation of the commentary originated in Bulgaria, while Hamm (1967:42-43) concluded that its translation arose subsequent to the version of the

psalm text to which it was joined. Until these issues can be resolved it remains possible that this particular commented version of the psalms was imported into Croatia from Bulgaria.

Another early revision of the psalms, which is also very restrained in scope, led to a more distinctly separate redaction (although this distinctness, when compared to the *parimejnik* and Preslav versions of some other books, for example, Jonah, appears to be very limited, with the differences in wording appearing only sporadically, and not constantly on virtually every line). This more distinct secondary redaction is linked primarily with Russia rather than Bulgaria, and is typically referred to as the Russian redaction, though one widespread school of thought considers it to have originated in Bulgaria. It is this second type of commented *Psalter* (containing the commentary of Theodoret of Cyrillus) that is more parallel in language, style, and the Greek text on which it is based to the other Preslav versions of the various biblical books.

The *Fraščić Psalter* clearly represents one subtype of the so-called archaic (presumably Cyrillo-Methodian) redaction, rather than of the so-called Russian redaction.²² Nevertheless, to make matters appear maximally enigmatic, the CCS commented *Psalter* codex shares a number of striking features with a small number of Russian codices witnessing a subtype of the *archaic* redaction (MacRobert 1993a)! One is tempted somehow to speculate whether a protograph with such features might have originated very early in Bulgaria, and spread from Bulgaria both to the east and the west. It is to be hoped that future investigations will elucidate this issue.

The CCS uncommented psalters such as the *Lobkowitz Psalter* and the *Paris Psalter* – all of which are contained within breviaries or missal-breviaries²³ – also follow the archaic redaction, though (at least in most instances) without the special features linking the *Fraščić codex* to the Russian manuscripts. The same may be true of individual verses from the psalms that are interspersed throughout

²²For an exploration of links between various subtypes of the archaic redaction, see MacRobert 1993a. For a more complete listing of codices according to redactional type, see MacRobert 1993b, 1996.

²³Vajs published both the *Lobkowitz* and *Paris* psalters in 1916. For surveys of a majority of the breviaries, see Vajs 1910a, 1916, while for a survey of the missal texts contained in the *Paris codex*, see Vajs 1948.

the missal, but for which detailed analysis is clearly called. It should be borne in mind that the CCS uncommented Psalter was shown already by Valjavec (1889-1890) to derive from the same original translation found in the *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, with the Croatian text reflecting in certain respects a more archaic version even than that found in the codex.

If, as was suggested by MacRobert as one possibility (1993a), the commented version represented by the *Frašćić codex* and (in some cases without the commentary) by the several related Russian codices originated already in Moravia or Pannonia and dispersed from there, on the one hand, directly to Croatia, and, on the other, to Russia through some route as yet unspecified (perhaps the Galicia-Hungary route, for example, suggested by Nedeljković; see above), then it is unclear that the Psalter can be of help in the current investigation. If, however, textual similarities noted by MacRobert were mediated by Bulgaria, then the *Frašćić Psalter*, in fact, is quite relevant to the discussion.

The preceding survey has been far from complete, indeed barely more than an outline of what might be said on this topic. It should nevertheless suffice to demonstrate that: 1) the currently available evidence for a presence of Preslav translations in northern Dalmatia is sufficient to justify further intensive investigations designed to ascertain the correctness of this hypothesis; and 2) the possibility should not be ignored that yet other CCS biblical texts may yield similar evidence suggesting the presence or influence of Preslav translations.

In striving to assess the time of reception of Preslav translations into the Croatian Glagolitic tradition, we must distinguish between those texts that, in their CCS version, were intended for the liturgy, and those that were not. In regard to the latter (this refers primarily to the commented Psalter, assuming of course that it originated in Bulgaria²⁴) we have no external (historical) criteria, and are thereby restricted to those that can be derived from an analysis of the text itself.

²⁴ Leave out here the significant question of the relationship between the vernacular lectionaries and those contained in the CCS liturgical books.

A great deal more can be said about those texts that form part of the liturgy. Two Slavonic liturgical books from which complete manuscript codices are preserved were used in Croatia during the period. The missal contained the liturgy of the mass, the breviary that of the office. Several manuscripts combine elements of both type of books. The codices that are extant today originated during the 14th and 15th centuries, though the earliest, *BrVb1*, may very well have been completed during the late 13th century (see Hamm 1953a).

All of the extant codices represent the so-called *Liturgy of the Papal Curia* (thus, missals or breviaries *romanae curiae, po zakonu rimskago dvora*), as are all of the fragments datable to this same period (the 14th and 15th centuries). This particular liturgy was prescribed by Pope Nicholas III for all churches of the diocese of Rome in 1277 (see van Dijk 1956, 1963, van Dijk and Walker 1960; on the Slavonic aspect of this development see Corin 1997), and soon became the norm almost throughout the whole of the Western church (exceptions in the vicinity of the Croats included Aquilea and Zagreb). However, the origins of this liturgy can be traced to the beginning of the 13th century and the reformist attitudes of Pope Innocent III. Its earliest versions, promulgated especially by the young Franciscan order and its energetic liturgist and, later, general, Haymo of Faversham, appear to have been composed circa 1225. There is every reason to believe that these preliminary, but already prestigious, versions were brought to Dalmatia by the first Franciscan friars early in the second quarter of the 13th century, and that the first Glagolitic versions were prepared at about the same time.

If this is true – that is, if the preparation of the first Slavonic (Glagolitic) missals and breviaries *po zakonu rimskago dvora* can be dated to approximately 1235 ± 10 years – then this same time frame represents a *terminus ante quem* for the reception of the obligatory constituent texts of the missal and breviary into Dalmatian Croatia.

Approximately such a date for the preparation of the first CCS missals and breviaries according to the Papal liturgy is suggested by at least one item of comparative evidence from the manuscripts themselves. Specifically, while the earliest extant manuscripts of the missal originated in the 14th century, the earliest fragment of the *Missal of the Papal Curia* – the so-called *Katujlević Fragment* –

presents a clearly more archaic situation, both paleographically and orthographically, than is found even in *BrVb1*, which probably originated in the last years of the 13th century (Hamm 1953a), but was itself probably copied from an earlier manuscript (Nahligal 1902: 31-32). This suggests that the *Kukuljević Fragment* dates from no later than approximately the middle of the 13th century.

Since our historical and philological evidence are both in accord with the suggestion that the first missals and breviaries *po zakonu rimskago dvora* were prepared early in the second quarter of the 13th century, the next crucial issue for us would be: can we, and, if so, to what extent, push back even further the *terminus ante quem* for the reception of the various obligatory constituent texts? There are two reasons for suggesting that the answer to this question should be affirmative.

First, at the time when the "Franciscan" redaction arose, the coalescence of the older individual liturgical books (sacramentary, lectionary, etc.) into missals and breviaries appears to have been an event already some distance in the past. This conclusion is suggested – even in the absence of specific evidence – by the chronology of the development of liturgical books elsewhere in the Western church. It is supported, however, by the existence of fragments of what were probably several redactions of missals that were distinct from the *Liturgy of the Papal Curia*: the so-called *Split Fragment* (see Štefanić 1957), the *Krakow Fragment* (Vašica 1947), the fragment of the *Missale Festivum* (Pantelić 1972), and the *Birbini Fragment* (see Milčević 1955; Jagić 1911:147, 240, plate XIII; Bertić 1864:33-34). These fragments are usually dated to the 13th century, in particular, to the middle of that century. Since the Papal liturgy appears to have rapidly replaced all competing redactions following its introduction, it would seem far more likely that some or most of these fragments date from nearer to the beginning of that century. Moreover, while it cannot be proven for any of these fragments that they themselves represent copies of even earlier manuscripts, it is unlikely that all the fragments represent original compilations of their respective redactions. And, of course, to the extent that any one of them was indeed copied from an earlier manuscript of the same redaction, that pushes back the origin not only of the redaction itself, but also of the

presence in Croatia of the texts contained within it. Finally, the only fragment of an apparent CCS sacramentary is the *Vienna Fragment*, which clearly dates from no later than the 12th century (see Jagić 1890), and represents a qualitatively earlier state – both paleographically and textually – than is found in any Croato-Glagolitic missal manuscript or fragment (including the *Kukuljević Fragment*) or, for that matter, those of the breviary. Yet even this early fragment contains an apostolic reading (1 Corinthians 4:9-15, albeit in an entirely different translation than is found in later codices), which indicates that the coalescence of the missal had begun at this time. Taken together, these factors suggest strongly, though none individually proves, that the compilation of the first CCS missals took place during the pre-Hilandar period, and that the reception of all obligatory readings (especially those of the temporal cycle *proprium de tempore*) must therefore also have occurred in that period. It would be surprising if the same were not true also of the breviary.

Second, even if we lacked evidence for the existence of plenary missals and breviaries during the pre-Hilandar period, the *Vienna Folia* nevertheless would provide virtual proof of the presence already in these early centuries of all of the obligatory texts that ultimately became incorporated into these texts. The crucial fact is simply that this early 12th-century sacramentary represents proof of the practice of the Western (Roman) rite. It thus implies the availability of lectionaries, either as separate books or incorporated into missals or breviaries, with biblical readings obligatory for the performance of that rite and arranged according to it.

As we have seen, the primary source for Old Testament readings in those lectionaries was the Cyrillo-Methodian *parimejnik*. Those readings, however, that were utilized in the Roman Catholic (but not the Byzantine Orthodox) liturgy were not found in the *parimejnik*. These non-*parimejnik* portions of the lectionary must therefore have been supplied from one of three sources: 1) direct translation from the Vulgate; 2) Methodius-type translations brought to Croatia (presumably from Moravia or Pannonia); 3) Preslav translations presumably brought to Croatia through Serbia/Bosnia.

Apparently, all of these sources were utilized. The probable Preslav translations have been discussed above. Examples of missal

lections (or portions of lections) translated directly from the Vulgate include, for example, 1 (3) Kings 3:16-28 (see Nahitgal 1902.15ff. for a discussion of the books of Kings), while from the breviary we have, for example, Genesis 12:8-10, 13:1-7 (see Nahitgal 1902:8), Isaiah 44:21-26 (see Nahitgal 1902:13), and almost all of the texts from 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel found in the breviary (see Nahitgal 1902:15ff). Missal text deriving from Methodius-type translations includes, for example, several readings from the minor prophets (Nahitgal 1902:33 ff.), while from the breviary we have 1 Samuel 2:1-10 (see Nahitgal 31, especially note 2).

Of course, we cannot exclude *a priori* the possibility that a non-*parimejnik* reading, originally adopted in a Methodius-type translation or one made directly from the Vulgate, was only much later, during the compilation of the Franciscan redaction, replaced by an entirely new version based on a newly imported Preslav translation. However, the fact that Middle Bulgarian features have not been noted in any of the apparent Preslav translations identified to date speaks against this possibility.

We may draw, then, the following conclusions in regard to the date of reception of any Preslav translations found in the Croato-Glagolitic liturgical books.

First, it is highly likely that any Preslav translations found in the missals or breviaries were incorporated into the Croato-Glagolitic liturgical books *po zakonu rimskago dvora* at the time of their compilation early in the second quarter of the 13th century. This, then, would represent the *terminus ante quem* for their reception into northern Dalmatia. Such texts were *probably* received through Serbia during the pre-Hilandar period.

Second, any Preslav translations found among the obligatory readings of the missal or breviary were probably contained already in the first generation of liturgical codices (in all likelihood prior to the compilation of plenary missals and breviaries) by means of which the Roman Catholic liturgy was practiced by the Croatian Glagolites. Under this assumption the *terminus ante quem* for the reception of these texts depends on the date when the Slavonic Catholic rite became established in northern Dalmatia. This was certainly during the pre-

Hilandar period, in all likelihood during the first decades in which Slavonic literacy was known in Dalmatia.

Third, the previous two conclusions are strengthened by the apparent lack of Middle Bulgarian features among those CCS texts that have been identified as possible Preslav translations.

Conclusions

This investigation is clearly at an early stage in every important respect.

It has not been possible here to provide either a precise definition of what is meant by a Preslav version or redaction, or an inventory of such versions and their witnesses. Polemical discussions of this issue have led to a blurring of the distinction between redaction and dialect, as well as a blurring of the geographical relations Bulgaria-Moravia, Bulgaria-Pannonia, Bulgaria-Macedonia. Only a focused discussion of these issues can lead to their resolution.

Similarly, it has not been possible to define and demonstrate the adequacy of the types of evidence that would demonstrate the Preslav origin of a given CCS biblical text – for example, which, if any, of the lexical variants usually considered to be typical of the Preslav school have the same significance when they occur in CCS texts. Most notably, in this limited format I have been unable to do justice to the detailed analyses that in recent years have yielded a wealth of information concerning the origin and history of various Slavonic biblical texts, especially the Psalter.

Finally, in regard to this question a thorough investigation of the CCS codices themselves has yet to be undertaken. I have been able to do little more here than to restate the preliminary findings, especially of Nahitgal and Mixajlov, to define the limitations on research in their time and subsequently, and to describe the gradual amelioration of these conditions.

Nevertheless, the very limited evidence presented here should suffice to demonstrate the *likelihood*: 1) that at least some texts in the CCS corpus are of Preslav origin, or have been influenced by texts of Preslav origin; and 2) that these texts were *probably* transmitted to northern Dalmatia through Serbia (at least broadly defined) during the pre-Hilandar period. Systematic investigation of this question is therefore warranted. An important aspect of this research should be

a detailed analysis of the possible routes and means through which literary contacts might have occurred in the 9th through 12th centuries between the northern Dalmatian home of Croatian Glagolism and other milieus in which Slavonic literacy was practiced. For example, Margaret Dimitrova, in a more recent Central European University dissertation (1998) presents evidence of a greater degree of mutual textual influence between CCS and Bosnian Cyrillic texts than was previously known to exist. It would be useful to know at what time this interaction became possible.

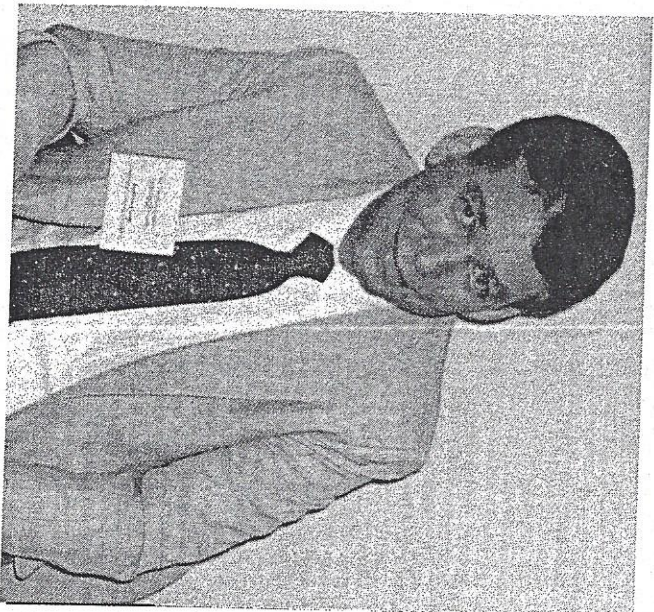
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Andrew R. Corin at the 4th International Hilandar Conference