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JOB'S BESTIARY: FROM THE ZOOLEXICS OF THE CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC *BOOK OF JOB*

The basic premises of the Old Testament are presented both concretely and abstractly, as is also the case in the *Book of Job*. The philosophy of the early Orient was based on the relationship between those two concepts. The concrete was regularly marked with symbolism, while attempts were made to concretise the abstract by visualisation and a certain figurative quality. It is the animal world that is particularly interesting in the research of this issue, since, through its variety and unfamiliarity, it opened up many channels of literary expressiveness, which allow us to penetrate more deeply into the essential notions at the core of distant times.

The Croatian Glagolitic version was largely successful in solving the demanding literary interpretations, maintaining to the extent possible the abstract / concrete balance, by which it followed the Scriptural tradition of textual transmission. The major deviation from the original is seen when the mythological animals of the early Orient are in question, since they largely belong to an abstract category that, because of its notional elusiveness, is difficult to transpose to another environment. This is also one of the rare instances in which the biblical rule of the abstract and the concrete is not respected, since the laws of translation have not permitted this, back from the time of the Slavic Apostles. Interpretational licence and textual adaptations do not disrupt the meanings but merely confirm the finely honed skills as translators of the Mediaeval Croatian Glagolists (Zaradija Kiš 2003:129-142), and, particularly, their highly professional approach to the textual adaptation of the elements of early civilisations.

Keywords: Croatian Glagolitic breviaries, the *Book of Job*, animals, the concrete / the abstract

The abstract and concrete bestiary of the *Book of Job*

The basis of the study represents the Old Testament *Book of Job* and its unusual and diverse world of fauna, which we have tried to analyse as a specific and separate entity through two aspects: the concrete and the abstract.¹

The text upon which we have concentrated in researching the relationships in the *Book of Job* bestiary, a uniquely wise book from the Old Testament, can be read in Chapters: 1, 3, 4, 38, 40, 41, and 42. The world of fauna in the selected prose and verse excerpts from the cited chapters, as a part of Humankind's environment, is described complexly and in detail. The Croatian Mediaeval Glagolist writer fully understood the importance of presenting the biblical animalistic world and did his utmost to reflect the symbolics and significance of animals unknown in his own Slavic environment. The concrete aspect of each animal bore a more or less defined symbolical meaning, which was always more prominent among the wild animals (Voisenet 1994:109). This was undoubtedly contributed to by their physical elusiveness, bloodthirstiness, and also by the lack of knowledge about them but, even more, by their exotic nature. Observing systematically the entire Job Bestiary, we divided it into three groups:

1. tame animals: domestic (sheep, camels, oxen, asses, and cows!)
2. wild animals:
 - a) birds (ostriches, falcons, sparrow-hawks, eagles, ravens, griffins!)
 - b) Ungulates (hinds, wild asses, buffaloes, horses!)
 - c) wild animals (lions, leopards)
3. mythological animals (Leviathans, Behemoths?)

We get to know the first animal group largely in the Prologue and Epilogue² of the *Book of Job* and/or in the prose part. Those animals are grouped according to their most readily understood, that is, concrete concept that is visible in their tame character. They are an inescapable factor of Humankind's environment in which they are in constant communication and upon which they are dependent to a considerable extent.

¹ The study is based on the Croatian Glagolitic Breviary literary corpus. The transliterated Glagolitic text on which this paper relies is not cited since it would represent an additional textological and editorial burden in the English version. The transliterated and solved excerpts from the Croatian Glagolitic *Book of Job* can be found in the book *Knjiga o Jobu u hrvatskoglagoljskoj književnosti*, Zagreb 1997 and in the articles: "Levijatan i Behemot u hrvatskim glagoljskim brevijarima", *Bogoslovska smotra* (2001) 4, pp 485-496; "Levijtan i Behemot u hrvatskoglagoljskoj redakciji", *Medievistika i kulturna antropologia*, Sofia 1998, pp 186-194.

² The interesting nature of the Epilogue (Zaradija Kiš 1999:626-634) and its symbolics should be observed at several levels, including the fact that the manifestation of the animals belongs to the concrete aspect in which the symbolics of the numbers takes a special place.

³Job 1,3 His substance also was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, And five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses (...)

42,12 (...) for he had fourteen thousand sheep, and six thousand camels, And a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand she asses.

These animal groups relate exclusively to the material status of Job and his family prior to and following his temptation. Sheep, camels, oxen and asses as an entity most picturesquely demonstrate Job's wealth, but also his good fortune with his family and in life generally, creating a secure atmosphere as a precondition for human understanding and tolerance. Through the cited examples, animals are endowed with a symbolic aura of happiness and prosperity that is then transferred to his family, that is, to Job's descendants, the emphasis being on his three daughters (Zaradija Kiš 1999:631-634).

The Croatian Glagolitic translation⁴ of these verses in both the 1st and 42nd chapter requires no additional explanation since the animal species referred to are almost fully comprehensible. Understanding the noun "camel" presented the sole problem, since this was not a domestic animal among the Slavs and explanations were sought concerning this word. That is why the noun *vel'bludb*⁵ is sometimes accompanied⁶ by the then more recent synonym *kamelb* (Gk. κάμηλος, Lat. *camelus*), whose use is explained by the fact that synonyms among the Glagolists represented the manner in which literary expression was being perfected and style developed, as Vinogradov and Hercigonja have discussed in more detail (Vinogradov 1961; Hercigonja 1983:395-439)

Animals in the second and third group are located in the corresponding ecological context. Besides their concrete and also far more pronounced symbolic aspect, they make up a part of the abstract sphere of essential and existential concepts of Humankind's environment. The relationship between the abstract and concrete comprehension of these animals, that is, the relationship between animals that belong to diverse worlds relative to human

³ The verses in English are taken from the Standard Text Edition of the King James Version of the Bible (Cambridge University Press).

⁴ The study was done on the basis of the Croatian Glagolitic translation of the *Book of Job* in the Moscow Breviary, which was compiled in 1442/1443 and contains the complete text of the *Book of Job* in Fol. 195b-211a. The manuscript was discovered in 1864 by Vatroslav Jagić, during his stay in Moscow, where it is still kept today in the State Library under sig. F. 270, 51/1481.

⁵ The proto-Slavic nouns **vьlbōdь* > *vel'bludb* or *vel'budb* belong to the *velij*, *veliki* morphological group... Because of the suffix *el*, the noun is approximate to the Gk. ἐλέφας – elephant (Fasmer 1964:293).

⁶ In the first chapter of the Novljanski 2 (Novalja) Breviary (N2) dating from 1495 (Fol. 200d) one even finds the pair of synonyms: *velbludb* / *kamela*. The latter entered the Slavic vocabulary through biblical texts and/or their Greek and Latin translations, and were otherwise of Hebrew origin: *gāmāl*.

beings, are more frequently subject to alterations in translation in respect of the original biblical text. Strict and literal translations where texts from the Scriptures were in question, despite the high level of the scribe's godliness, could be incomprehensible, which would result in a message far from that of the biblical text. Such awareness of the problem on the part of the translator can be seen as early as in the oldest Early Slavic Cyrillic and Methodius biblical translations, about which St Methodius said:

... so it is not the words and expressions that we need but their sense. That is why, where the Greek and Slavic words corresponded, we expressed ourselves with the same word; where the expression was remote from us, or would blur the sense, we ventured to use another word (Bratulić 1985:21, 131-133).

Because of this problem that had already been encountered by St Methodius, it is clear that certain, particularly mythological, concepts in the *Book of Job*, could not simply be transposed into the Slavic mythological system, unless they were adapted to the paradigms of European civilisation and culture. So it is not at all surprising that the Old Church Slavonic translation of Job's bestiary needed particular effort, broad knowledge, but also lexic resourcefulness on the part of the translator, since, in their complexity, these chapters had their place among the most involved parts of the Bible text of Cyrillic and Methodius provenance, and most clearly reflected Methodius' cited rules on translation (Vaillant 1948:5-14). These fragments attracted our attention and represent the core of future research, which is based on the Croatian redaction of the Old Church Slavonic translation of the selected chapters of the *Book of Job*.

From the perspective of today's knowledge, the seemingly simple approach to the animal world was far from being so when the Croatian Glagolitic translations were being done, while their first incomplete and later full versions have come down to us from the end of the 14th and from the 15th century. That period was "the Golden Age of Croatian Glagolism" in which liturgical and non-liturgical literature attained its peak in all literary aspects: graphics, translations and linguistics. That was the time when the stance towards the common man, for whom literature was intended in essence, particularly the biblical texts which resounded from the altar, took a special place in the context of the development of the Croatian trilingual and trigraphically written word. Therefore, the literature offered to the folk had to reflect high calibre translating skill, both in the sense of the text being comprehensible and of its aesthetic quality. While one studies the Glagolitic biblical translations, one is aware of the stance of the translator towards the populace and of the knowledge that the Glagolitic intellectual adapts to the audience for whom his work is intended. From that "tolerant" attitude, which was spontaneously established between the intellectual / the people, what we shall call "popular literature" emerged, in keeping with its intended utilisation. Its

source should be sought in the translating skills of Croatian Mediaeval intellectuals, with particular reference to the Glagolists (Zaradija Kiš 2004a:129-142).

The first chapter of the *Book of Job* contains all the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries with the preserved *temporalia* for the first week of the month of September, when extracts from Job⁷ are read from the pulpit. The last five chapters (38, 39, 40, 41 and 42) have been fully preserved to the present day only in two Croatian Glagolitic breviaries of a somewhat more recent group of texts from the 16th century, which also contain the most complete Old Church Slavonic translation in the Croatian redaction of that Book of Wisdom. They are: the Moscow Breviary (Mos) and the Vatican Breviary Illirico 5 (Vat5)⁸ dating from the mid-15th century, whose texts have served us in researching deviations in the translation of particular parts in Job's bestiary.

The vision of the heavens in Job's bestiary

Among the birds through which the vision of the heavens is seen in Job's bestiary, there are two obvious categories based on the concrete and/or abstract conception of birds. Birds of prey known to us today – such as the eagle, hawk, falcon and also *the ostrich*, incomprehensible to the Slavs – fall under concrete comprehension. It is just their rapacity that qualifies them as impossible to catch, through which they become rulers of the celestial heights. Only the mythical *ibis*, also incomprehensible to the Slavs, belongs to the abstract group of birds.

The falcon and the eagle – kings among birds and symbols of angels, intermediaries between God and the World and bearers of supernatural powers – are powerful birds that are not subject to any human influence whatsoever. In Job's eyes, these birds – symbols of resurrection in the New Testament – created a perfect view of the heavens, as can be seen in the following verses:

⁷ We presented a schematic review of a detailed list of the preserved chapters from the Old Testament Books of Wisdom that are made up of the Wise Sayings, the Book of Preachers, the Book of Wisdom, the Book of Sirah, and the Book of Job in the article *Mudrosne knjige hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja* (Zaradija Kiš 1997:632). It can be seen from the table that only 4 of the 17 Croatian Glagolitic breviaries up to the 16th century, in which we find lessons from the *Book of Job*, contain almost the entire integral text. They include the most complete texts, the Moscow and the Vatican 5, which we have taken as the fundamental source of the Glagolitic animalistic theme in the *Book of Job*.

⁸ The Vatican Breviary Illirico 5 (Vat5) is kept in the Vatican Apostolic Library. It is closely connected with the Mos and could have been the model for it, which can be seen in the textological dependence of the Mos *Book of Job* on the same text in Vat5 (Zaradija Kiš 1997:47-49).

- 39,26 Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, and stretch her wings toward
the south?
27 Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on
high?
28 She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock,
and the strong place.
29 From thence she seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold afar off.
30 Her young ones also suck up blood: and where the slain are,
there is she.

The concrete vision had superseded the celestial abstractness, breathing life into the bird, but also depicting its elusiveness, so that all that remains to the human being is an object of admiration.

The Ostrich

The ostrich had an important place in understanding order and justice in Egyptian mythology (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1994:433); that aspect was not shown in Job, but rather its intriguing life and survival, from which care for its young is absent. Lack of care for the young is rarely found in Nature. The small poem about the ostrich from the *Book of Job* bears expressions of amazement, on the one hand, but also emphasis on the importance of family, its mutual members and parental attentiveness, on the other. It is in this unusual opposition that emphasis is placed on parental care and its importance in the survival of the State and the compact family community, which is one of the insufficiently analysed and researched aspect of the biblical *Book of Job*.

Verses about the ostrich are lacking in the *Septuagint*, the Greek translation of the Bible, which is explained by the difficulties related to translation of the 13th verse in the original, which could have discouraged the translator (Lévêque 1970:503). It seems that this translation problem was also reflected in the Croatian Glagolitic literary sphere. This gives rise to lack of clarity at the very beginning of the Poem of the Ostrich (39,13-18) where the ostrich, as the main subject, remains an unknown factor and, because of the awkward translation, relinquishes its place to the falcon, so that the authentic sense of the poem is lost (Zaradija Kiš 1991/1993:152):

- 39,13 Gavest thou the goodly wings until the peacocks? or wings and
feathers unto the ostrich?⁹
14 Which leaveth her eggs in the earth, and warmeth them in dust.

⁹ The Croatian text makes no mention of the *peacock* in the first half of the verse.

- 15 And forgetteth that the foot may crush them, or that the wild best
may break them.
16 She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not
hers: her labour is in vain without fear;
17 Because God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath he
imparted to her understanding.
18 What time she lifteth up herself on high, she scorneth the horse
and his rider.

This could be explained by the fact that the Slavs had no knowledge of the ostrich so that, in unavoidable literary situations, efforts were sometimes made to describe it in comparison with the camel. Thus, for example, from the 16th century onwards one finds the expression *struthocamelus* or *struthio camelus*, which is translated as "bird" (Rječnik JAZU / JAZU Dictionary /16 1956:770; Miklosich 1963:893). It is interesting to note that the clarifications of what an ostrich is have been found in Jambrešić, that is, of *a large bird similar to a camel* (Jambrešić 1992:945), and in Sreznjevski, who used the noun *strusъ* or *strufokamilъ*, comparing it to the crane, except that he explained that the *strusъ* was much larger and had hooves like a buffalo and ate iron (Sreznjevskij 3 1956:561). It is obvious that 'ostrich' was also an incomprehensible term, even to the Mediaeval Glagolist. There are very few examples that could prove the existence of a term for the ostrich in Croatian Glagolitic literature as a whole.¹⁰ In our case, the manifestation of the ostrich with its symbolic feathers, which it would seem were noticed by the scribe but not understood, was compared with and replaced by the falcon, which was much more readily understandable. *Pero strucovo podob'no estъ peru erudievu* (The ostrich's feathers are similar to the falcon's) and that is how the image of the ostrich disappeared altogether.

The ostrich – the *strusъ* – and the wild ass – the *onagrъ*,¹¹ represent typical inhabitants of the desert (Keel 1993:53), a region that is as flat as the sea and has the role of an immeasurable backdrop in visualisation of the concept of speed (Salonen 1973:85-165). The opposition between the wilderness, that is, an uninhabited area, and the populated agglomeration, permits understanding of the symbolic meaning of the ostrich and its abstract conception, which is an unknown factor in the Croatian Glagolitic literary context.

¹⁰ Only four examples from the Old Testament (Mi 1,8; Is 13,21; Job 30,29 and 39,13) have been found in the *Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije* (*Dictionary of the Church Slavonic Language in the Croatian Redaction*), in which the ostrich is translated by the noun *strukъ* (Vat5 197b, Mos 206a), with the variant *strusъ* (N2 215d; Bar 91a) and the form *strukovъ* in the adjectival structure (N2 257a) or *strucovъ* (Vat5 200d; Mos 209d).

¹¹ The noun *onagrъ* Gk. *οναγρος*, Lat. *onagrus* = wild ass, appears in Job 6,5; 11,12; 24,5; 39,5-8, and symbolises the hermit and eremite (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1983:455). The *onagrъ* is the opposite of human beings who live in an ordered social community.

The Ibis

The Croatian Glagolitic perception of the Old Testament texts sometimes exudes a strong New Testament aura, moving away in the process from earlier sources in which there is a pronounced reflection of mythological Eastern elements. The reason for this should often be looked for in the translator's discoveries and his efforts to explain the unknown. Thus, Chapter 38, Verses 34 to 38, which speak of God's creative wisdom, demonstrate the translator's difficulties in Verse 36 of the Croatian version, in which the main personage is the ibis, whose comprehension is difficult without broader knowledge, even today.

38,36 Who hath put wisdom in the inward parts? or who hath given understanding to the heart?¹²

This verse has always represented a translating problem, not just because of the ibis concept but also because of the entire environment in which it appears. The problem became especially pronounced at the end of the 19th century when J.G.E. Hoffman's commentary on the *Book of Job* was published (Keel 1993:46-47). There the term *tuhõt* was opposed by *Thõthu*, the name of the Egyptian divinity linked by Dhorme with the sacred Egyptian bird, the ibis (Dhorme 1926:541),¹³ since Thõth, the Egyptian Moon God (Albright 1968:212-214; Pope 1965:255; Keel 1993:43) was regularly depicted with the head of the sacred bird.¹⁴

The Croatian Glagolitic version faithfully followed the *Vulgate*,¹⁵ since all biblical texts were revised in keeping with it from the 13th century onwards. For its part, the *Vulgate* does not correspond with the Hebrew original but instead offers a freer interpretation of the very complex concepts related to the ibis, whose regular migrations are linked with the rainy season of the year, with floods and with water in general (Keel 1993:47). That important link between the ibis¹⁶ manifestation in the role of herald of the

¹² The translation into English of the Croatian text of Ch. 38,36 would read: *Who made the gift of wisdom to the ibis? who poured good sense into the cock's head?*

¹³ The Egyptian term for "ibis" is *hby*, *hbt* that does not, in fact, correspond with the name of the divinity *Thõth*, but it is picturesquely depicted through hieroglyphs as an "ibis", and, because of that fact, Dhorme established the link between the sacred bird and God, this idea being supported by other exegetes (Keel 1993:47.)

¹⁴ Otherwise, *Thoth* was Osiris' sacred scribe and symbol of secret knowledge. He was called the "Lord of the Sacred Words", and a book of spells called the *Book of Thoth* was attributed to him, this, according to legend, having been buried in a grave near Memphis (Storm 2002:78-79).

¹⁵ 38,36 *quis posuit in visceribus hominis sapientiam?*
vel quis dedit gallo intelligentiam?

¹⁶ The *Ibis* (Lat. *Ibis religiosa*), similarly to the egret, is a swamp or marsh bird with a long sickle-shaped bill. It is a non-migratory bird in tropical regions, but is migratory in regions

rainy season with all its accompanying phenomena such as clouds, sudden showers, lightning etc. are not at all evident in the Latin, and thus also not in the Croatian Glagolitic translation. Climatic conditions and changes in weather in the Slavic regions do not correspond at all with those in the Middle East, and, for that reason, the deep symbolism of the 36th verse is completely lost, even the more so since the name of the bird is omitted because of the impossibility of making a meaningful translation, so that Man becomes the main subject, and not the ibis. The abstract and symbolic meaning of the verse whose message is concealed in the importance and necessity of water in Humankind's existence has been lost, but not completely, since it is still evident to an extent in the manifestation of the cock.¹⁷ While the ibis was to remain forever something completely unknown to the Slavs, the cock (Lat. *gallus*), which was regarded as an announcer of coming rain in Palestinian folklore, assumed the symbolic meaning, but, on this occasion, also a messianic character where the Slavic regions were in question. With his early crowing, the cock announces the day and light, so that his symbolism is of solar character; he is a symbol of light, an essential factor of life, but also of birth and resurrection, that is, of reason – God's gift (Durand 1963:155; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1983:503), as Verse 36 states at the end. The symbolic manifestation of the cock, as indicated by the Old Testament examples, is in a special relationship towards the New Testament, which is also reflected in the Croatian Glagolitic variant of the translation.¹⁸

In Chapter 39,1, the ibis appears once again and is inevitably encountered also in the Croatian Glagolitic translation. Although he follows the Latin model, the Glagolist does not accept the transcribed Latin term, but rather, it seems, tries to find something more comprehensible and chooses *ragulь*¹⁹ – the falcon. The proto-Slavic **kragujь* – the Russian *kraguj*, Czech *krahuj*, Polish *krogulec*, Bulgarian *kraguj*, *karguj*, Hungarian *karvoly*, and

with a moderate climate. As such, the ibis is essential in the life of Man. In October, at the beginning of the rainy season, ibises move south, returning north in May. They stay in Egypt at the beginning of the rainy season, which their arrival thus forecasts. The *Ibis* was a sacred bird in the Old Testament, and to kill one lead to a sentence of death (Herodot, Hist. II. 65) (Gardiner 1969: 470).

¹⁷ Another bird – *sèqwi* in the original – is translated as cock, and was known in the Orient as early as in the first half of the millennium before Christ. It was regarded as a predictor and announcer of rain (Jaussen 1924:574-582; Keel 1981:220-224).

¹⁸ The noun *petelь* was confirmed thirty times in the material for the *Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije* (*Dictionary of the Church Slavonic Language of the Croatian Redaction*), but only twice after that in the Old Testament. It is used independently twice in Job 38,36, while it is found the second time in the syntagm *petehovь petiê* = the cock's crow in Tob 8,11 (Croatian Version).

¹⁹ Vaillant believes that this form was created in analogy with *petelь* which derives from the Turkish *qaragu / qyrgu* "a bird for hunting" and is onomatopoeic in origin (Fasmer 2 1966:363; RJAŽU 5 1898-1903:432; Skok 2 1972:175-176).

Croatian *kraguj* or *kragulj* (HER 2002:622) – is the earlier form of the noun (SJS 1973:58), which we find rejuvenated in the 15th century as *kragulb*, which is confirmed by examples from Vat5 200c and Mos 209c. The *kravuj* variant has been noted down in the region of the Quarnero Bay: in Vinodol (*kravujac*, *kravuljac*), Grobnik (*kravulj*), and Krk (*kravuj*).

Numquid nosti tempus partus (h)ibicum in
petris, vel parturientes cervas observasti?

The translation adheres to the *Vulgate* to the extent that it maintains the presence of the bird as an animal species, but not the symbolic meaning that would be conveyed by the ibis. Thus, the symbolism of the falcon does not correspond with the symbolism of the ibis, since, first of all, the falcon is not a sacred bird among the Slavs. However, its so-called solar and ascending general symbolism is evident on all existential levels: physical, rational and moral. In the abstract context, the falcon would express superiority and supreme power, and victory in the present but also in the future, displaying in that way the mystery which brings the falcon closer to the ibis. The symbolic meaning of the falcon as a King of Birds and the celestial principle is once again connected with Egypt whence it could have reached Slavic territory in a roundabout way (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1994:616). Thus the *kragulb* takes a marginal position between the world of myth and everyday life, where the mythological factor is obviously the dominant one when so demanded by the text. We have placed it in the group of wild animals for that reason, but with a warning (!) which leaves open the possibility of its transposition into the third category, that of mythological animals.

In the *Septuagint* and the *Itala*, old biblical translations which adhered to the model more strictly and were, consequently, the nearest to the Hebrew text, they were specific in this verse. They mention a mythological animal similar to a male goat (Ziegler 19982:390) and a deer or hind, Gk. *τραγέλαφος*, Lat. *tragelaphos*, which made its way into the majority of the Slavic translations, most frequently as a wild goat (chamois):

39,1 Knowest thou the time when the wild goats of the rock bring
forth? or cant thou mark when the hinds do calve?

The propagation of wild goats always unfolds far from human eyes, it takes place among the rocks, just as birds like eagles build their nests on rocky crags. This verse is near to the original only in the context of elusiveness and concealment.

The Horse – an apologia for obedience

Chapter 39, Verses 19-25 are an authentic small Poem of the Horse (Zaradija Kiš 1993:149). The verses are not based on determinative principles of speed

and the wilderness, that is, in opposition between the wild and the tame, would could perhaps be expected. The verses about the horse in the *Book of Job* are the most realistic description in general of the horse in the Bible, and that in the profane, war-like sense (cf. 2Mak 3,25). The horse was usually shown in just that context in the ancient Orient (Šporčić 1996:128). At the beginning of Verse 18 of the Croatian Glagolitic version of the Poem of the Horse, the second part is missing, where a new subject appears after the ostrich – the horse.

- 39,19 Hast thou given the horse strength? hast thou clothed his neck
with thunder?
20 Canst thou make him afraid as a grasshopper? the glory of his
nostrils is terrible.
21 He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength: he goeth
on to meet the armed men.
22 He mocketh at fear, and is not afrighted; neither turneth he back
from the sword.
23 The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering spear and the
shield.
24 He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage: neither
believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.
25 He saith among the trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the battle
afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the shouting

The horse is a symbol of tameness and obedience and is therefore always with a rider, never alone.²⁰ Consequently, he is not entered in the domestic animals category in the *Book of Job* and in no way represents Job's material wealth, similarly to the cow that appears in Job's bestiary only once in Chapter 21, Verse 10:

- 21,10 Their bull gendereth, and faileth not; their cow calveth, and
casteth not her calf.

The cow's place here is not among domestic animals, which are an indication of material power, but is rather the most expressive symbol of fertility and progeny, which is why we have marked the cow with an exclamation mark in our categorisation.

The terrible Lion and the Lynx

In Job's bestiary, the presence of wild, blood-thirsty animals is reduced to the lion and the lynx in Chapter 4, Verses 10 and 11:

²⁰ This conception of the horse has been transferred into Christian symbolism, in which the horse is a constant companion to the saints and their inseparable attribute (St George, St Martin) (Zaradija Kiš 2004:46-47).

4,10 The roaring of the lion, and the voice of the fierce lion, and the teeth of the young lions, are broken.

11 The old lion perisheth for lack of prey, and the stout lion's whelps are scattered abroad, and,

38,39 Wilt thou hunt the prey for the lion? or fill the appetite of the young lions,

The Slavs had no direct knowledge of the lion whose habitat belonged to another clime, but the long inherited tradition of Antiquity transformed the animal into the comprehensible concept of a wild beast, which everyone dreaded. However, that was not the case with the tiger,²¹ a noun we find in the *Vulgate* translation which differs from the Greek:

Tigris periiit, eo quod non haberet praedam,
et catuli leonis dissipati sunt (Job 4,11).

The Latin translation is only partly adapted to the Greek (Ziegler 1982:228) *hapakslegomenonu μωρηκολείον*.²² Namely, this is a completely unknown animal in the European regions, but familiar to people living on other continents, especially Africa. Because of its lack of physical definition it is understood in the Latin translation as something terrible and blood-thirsty, particularly because of the second part of the compound word which refers to the lion. For that very reason, the *Vulgate* refers to two known animals in order more clearly to conjure up the strength and power of the incomprehensible "mravolava", using the nouns *leonis* and *tigris*. Although the Latin translation lacks the conception of a solitary and nocturnal life, this translation opened the way to the possibility of diverse variations in translation, which are based on expressing bloodthirstiness. Thus, in the same place in the French translation we read *lion* and *léopard*, while the English translation used only the term lion.

In its adapted translation, the Croatian Glagolitic redaction choose the wild beast which was known in the Croatian Mediaeval regions, and that was *ryśb*, Gk. λύγξ, Lat. *lynx* (Fasmer 3 1971:530-531; Sreznevskij 3 1956:958; Miklosich 1963:810). The concept of destruction and fear was associated with the term lynx. Because of its bloodthirsty and ravenous nature, the concepts of ravaging and fear were associated with the term lynx, due to the penetrating power of its stare, which was attributed the power of being able to smash through ramparts and/or any obstacles whatsoever (Tervarent

²¹ The explanation is given in Fasmer's etymological dictionary on pp 530-531. We find only one mention of it in the Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts and that in erroneous orthography as *vig'ry* instead of *tig'ry* (V instead of T) in the 11th century *Vienna Leaves*.

²² What is in question here is the termite-eater and/or the anteater (Lat. *myrmecophagidae*), which is a solitary nocturnal animal. Because of its unusual appearance and roving nature, the anteater could have been associated with something bloodthirsty and frightening.

1959:256). Although the Slavic noun *ris* is primarily connected to the adjective *riđi* meaning reddish-brown, the Greek and Latin terms are linked with the concept of light,²³ while the denomination derives from the cutting glare of the lynx's eyes (Zaradija Kiš 1993:150).

Buffalo - the Destroyer

In Chapter 39, Verses 9-12 there is an obvious lack of clarity where the buffalo is the embodiment of force and masculinity (Tolstoy 2002:58), symbolising vital strength of disconcerting dimensions, over-emphasised in this context. His destructive and demonic character (Barucq, Daumas 1980:82; Pope 1965:268-270; Couroyer 1975:418-443) is stressed in the *Septuagint* by the noun *μονόκερος*, and in the *Vulgate* by *rinoceros*.

- 39,9 Will the unicorn²⁴ be willing to serve thee, or abide by thy crib?
10 Canst thou bind the unicorn with his band in the furrow? or will he harrow the valleys after thee.
11 Wilt thou trust him, because his strength is great? or wilt thou leave thy labour to him?
12 Wilt thou believe him, that he will bring home thy seed, and gather it into thy barn?

The 14th century Croatian Glagolitic version rejects the initial Old Slavic form *byvolb* or *buvolb*,²⁵ the Gk. *βούβαλος*, and Lat. *bubalus* (Skok 1 1973:164), retained only among the Eastern Slavs, and replaces it with the more recent *volb*, a proper noun which transferred from the proper noun category to that of common nouns (Zaradija Kiš 1993:149). The etymology of the noun *volb* is linked to the adjective *veli*, *velikb* (Zaradija Kiš 1993:149), deriving from the unconfirmed basis of **uol-* / **uel-*. It implies a tame animal that takes a particular position in the environment of human beings, symbolising goodness, and calm and peace-time strength. That is why the demonic and destructive force of the original verses is in opposition with the effect achieved in the Croatian version, which otherwise corresponds with the words of the Pseudo-Dionysus, Areopagite: "the buffalo represents power and strength, the capability of ploughing intellectual furrows that will accept the

²³ The Indo-European root **leuq-* = to cast light, light; Old Prussian *luyis*; Lithuanian *lūšis*; Old German *luhs* (Skok 3 1973:146; Mihaljević 2002:91) correlates to the Slavic *ris* and is a variant of the form *rus* (Indo-Eur. **rūdh-* = crven). Interference of the liquids *l* / *r* (cf. *lis(ica)* / *ris*) solves the problem of the homonymic.

²⁴ As shown above, the translators of the King James Version opted in these verses for the mythological unicorn. The Croatian translators have chosen the buffalo, less exotic perhaps but certainly more practical where ploughing is in question.

²⁵ The form *bivol* was also used somewhat later by early Croatian writers such as Marulić and Zoranić. The more recent form *bivo* has been noted only among certain 17th century writers (Gundulić) and somewhat later (RJAZU I 1880-1882:374).

life-giving rain that comes from the heavens, while his horns symbolise protective force". The reflection of Christian spirituality through the symbolic elements of devotion and calm dominate again in the Croatian Glagolitic translation, despite the rhythmic and associative effects that are encountered in the original.

The Mystery of the Behemoth and the Leviathan

Chapter 40, Verses 15-24; Verses; and 41 are an exception in the entire *Book of Job*, since they contain a detailed description of two Ancient Egyptian personages (Guirand 1965:110; Lang 1980:360), exclusively mythological, and irreplaceable in their meaning and aspect. They are the Behemoth and the Leviathan, which represent a reflection of old civilisation and times past in the *Book of Job*. These are figures with the force of chaos and enemies of God (Zaradija Kiš 1998:186-194). Their symbolics were transposed by cultural transmission and became rooted in other cultures over a prolonged period. According to many exegetes, the *Book of Job* represents a real "collection of diverse problems", but it is the one and only source that gives an integral and very clear picture of both monsters (Keel 1993:105-130). The scholarly identification of these two mythological creatures that entered into the system of the Bible appeared for the first time in London in 1663 in an unsurpassed and capital work, *Hierozoicon sive bipartitum opus de animalibus Sacrae Scripturae* (Zaradija Kiš 2001:486) by Samuel Bochartus (1599-1667), a French Protestant and consummate expert on biblical textology. Proceeding from the claim that the Leviathan was a "crocodile" (*crocodilus niloticus*), Bochartus tried to shape the identification of the problematic Behemoth as a "hippopotamus" (*hippopotamus amphibius*), opposing it to the "bull", defending and proving to the smallest detail his view, which no-one has managed to refute for a full three centuries now.²⁶ Through rhetorical questions, the identification of the Behemoth (40,10-19) and the Leviathan (40,20-41, 25) and the invincibility of the hippopotamus and the crocodile are described in detail and explained. This becomes understandable only under the assumption that one is familiar to some extent with the manner and tradition of hunting in ancient Egypt, which is testified to by several preserved murals and reliefs with depictions from the life of the pharaoh (Keel 1993:108-111).

Through the sagacious literature in general, the act of hunting the hippopotamus and the crocodile was not viewed through the eyes of the aboriginal hunters, nor was it motivated by hunger. It represented an interest in action and the way of hunting, but not in the animals being hunted. For that

²⁶ A translation and summary of Bochart's argumentation has been published more recently by Couroyer 1975:418-443, Kinnier-Wilson 1975:1-14, Keel 1993:105-130.

reason, it is inconceivable in the *Book of Job* that a man like Job could use weapons against such a huge and strange animal as the hippopotamus,²⁷ pierce its nostrils and loop rope through them, even if it had fallen into a trap. The hippopotamus is not shown in the Bible as a particular animal, a herbivorous animal from the Ungulate family, so that comprehending it removes it from the concrete ancient Egyptian visions, and it is exclusively a **symbol of Evil** (Pope 1965:268). This explanation is the *fundamental* backdrop without which it is not possible to explain the name **Behemoth**, which had a mythological and abstract interpretation from the earliest times. So what is in question is not some concrete hippopotamus, but a symbol of the all-encompassing human Evil that Humankind encounters, which surrounds it, and which it is incapable of overcoming, much less exterminating (Fohrer 1963:524).

The **Behemoth** is a completely unknown creature among the Slavs, it is not mentioned anywhere and cannot be found in any dictionary of the Old Church Slavonic language. Generally, it is a rare biblical motif, and is usually translated in Croatia as "an ox" and/or "bull". However, in Chapter 40, Verses 15-24 contained in the Mos, Vat5 and N2, its role is obviously mythological and abstract in nature, with the features of a herd of animals of terrifying strength and pronounced sexuality. Because of the absence of several of the introductory verses to this chapter, we read the description of the Behemoth, whose name is omitted because of the impossibility of finding an adequate comparison, in Verses 10 to 19. In them, the Behemoth is a *volb* (ox), whose description creates a particular atmosphere that no longer appertains to the known domestic animal which we encountered in the first and last chapter of the *Book of Job*.

- 40,15 Behold now Behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass
as an ox.
- 16 Lo now, his strength is in his loins, and his force is in his loins,
and his force is in the navel of his belly.
- 17 He moveth his tail like a cedar: the sinews of his stones are
wrapped together.
- 18 His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of
iron.
- 19 He is the chief of the ways of God: he that made him can make
his sword to approach unto him.
- 20 Surely the mountains bring him forth food, where all the beasts
of the field play.
- 21 He lieth under the shady trees, in the covert of the reed, and fens

²⁷ Throughout all the duration of all the Kingdoms of Ancient Egypt, this activity was exclusively reserved for the God-King Horus and represented a constitutive royal custom, as can be clearly seen in the preserved reliefs and paintings, which successively display the head of the hippopotamus (Fairman 1974; Keel 1993:108-115).

- 22 The shady trees cover him with their shadow; the willows of the
brook compass him about.
23 Behold, he drinketh up a river, and hasteth not: he trusteth that
he can draw up Jordan into his mouth.
24 He taketh it with his eyes: his nose pierceth through snares.

In the semantic sense, the noun Behemoth underwent change, transferring from one grammatical form to another. Behemoth in the Hebrew language is the plural form of a masculine noun: sg. *b'hemā* → pl. *behemot* = herd. Thus, this relates to a group of animals whose description has been singularised and finally refers to an animal which, as time passed, it became impossible to identify, so that it assumed the characteristics of an unusual and undefined animal with certain bovine features (ZPEB 1976:511; Talmud 1982:459, 642; HSOT 1972:1021, 1152).

The three Croatian Glagolitic Breviaries mentioned offer various interpretations of the first verse: in N2 218c that place is translated by the noun *zvêrb* orienting in that way to the Greek model (Ziegler 1982:398), while Mos 210a and Vat5 201a simply omit the name Behemoth from the first part of the verse and commence the description with the second part, in which «vol» is the centre of the description that follows.

After detailed study of the "Behomethic" issue, it was established that the form of the personal name of the unknown animal appeared for the first time in the *Vulgate*. Namely, this is a transliterated plural form of the lexem 'behemot', which was interpreted as the personal name of a mythological animal. In this aspect, the *Vulgate* departs from the Hebrew and/or Syrian version of the text, creating the undefined concept of an exotic animal. A different solution of this problem - which is not only lexic but also cognitive in nature - is found in the very oldest redactions: *θηρία* in the *Septuagint*, and *bestia* in the *Itala*.²⁸ Did insistence on the transcribed lexem solve the problem of the translator or intensify it even more, particularly in relation to the Slavic version of the biblical text? Transcription of the name Behemoth is nonsensical if we take into account the plurality and hermaphroditism of the imaginary animal, even more so in the Croatian translation because of its comparison with an ox. Comparison of the Behemoth, which is a personification of the abstract concept of Evil in general, with an ox - the personification of many virtues among the Slavs - profanes the notion of

²⁸ Similar problems are found during several centuries through diverse translations of the Bible in the Croatian lands. In order to retain the sought expressivity, the majority of Croatian translations transcribe the term *Behemot* (the first Croatian Bible of P. Katančić printed in 1831, then all the editions of the Bible published by *Kršćanska sadašnjost*, including the last Jerusalem Bible from 1994). For the sake of comparison, we can mention I. Šarić's translation, *konj nilski* (hippopotamus) (Sveto Pismo Staroga i Novoga Zavjeta, Sarajevo 1941), and then *ston* (elephant) in Daničić-Karadžić's translation (Biblija ili Sveto pismo Staroga i Novoga zavjeta, Zagreb 1940) (Zaradija Kiš 1994:203-209).

goodness and prosperity contained in the Old Slavic noun *volb*.²⁹ For its part, the Old Slavic form, *byvolb* or *buvolb*, was abandoned, as has been said, from the 14th century onwards and was utilised almost exclusively among the Eastern Slavs (Sreznevskij 1 1955:86; Daničić 1863:93; Miklosich 1963:50), and that is why it is found neither in the Croatian nor in the Czech redaction of the Church Slavonic language. Initially, *volb* was a proper noun among the Western Slavs and was related to the earlier, common noun, ox. With time, frequent use of this proper noun displaced the borrowed Greek and/or Latin words *byvolb* / *βούβαλος* / *bubalus* and it became a common noun. So what is the conception of the Behemoth in the Croatian Glagolitic translation? The Behemoth was an unknown, as was the hippopotamus. However, *bik* (bull) was a noun with the most highly clarified etymology and it entered into the Croatian redaction of the Church Slavonic language during the 14th century, most probably from the East,³⁰ referring to a wild animal, unknown in the Croatian lands. That is why the use of this noun was very rare in the Croatian Glagolitic Mediaeval corpus, and it is used only once in the *Book of Sirah* (6, 2) and in Vid of Omišalj Breviary (VO) dating from 1396 on Fol. 375d and in the Vrbnik 1 Breviary (Vb1) dating from the 13th to the 14th century, on Fol. 238d (RCJHR I 2000:152).

The problem the Croatian Glagolist writer faced as to how to translate the concept of Behemoth is clear from the above, since he must have been bearing in mind the conception of the recipient and the effect that would be left upon him after reading that excerpt. So it is not strange that the scribe N2 chose the noun *zvêrb* (wild beast), which assumes a neutral cognitive form, and became a general term that related only to a wild animal, unknown and elusive, with a pronounced lack of the individual expressiveness so necessary in just that verse, but also of the abstract quality that is especially characteristic to mythological animals.

In the entire poem about the Behemoth in the Croatian Glagolitic redaction, what is missing is that powerful expressiveness, that abstract and elusive quality that is essential for all mythological creatures, which, as has been explained above, it was impossible to achieve. Fear and destruction are the basic messages of the verses about the Behemoth, and these are completely missing in the Croatian Glagolitic version, in which, through the visualisation of the ox in the Mos and Vat5, strength and size are in the forefront but they

²⁹ It is necessary to mention here that the *vol* (*ox*) in the New Testament is a symbol of patience and strength, which is evident in Christological iconography, particularly in the scenes of Christ's birth (Réau 3 1958:827-829; LIZK 1979:586).

³⁰ The noun was known among the Eastern Slavs during the Middle Ages, while it is almost completely unknown among those to the West. The Greek and Russian redaction for the Gk. ταῦρος, Lat. *taurus* has been confirmed (Miklosich 1963:50; Fasmer 1964:258; RJAZU 1 1880/82:300; Sreznevskij 1955:202).

are not at all terrifying, and instead, to the contrary, the ox fascinates and soothes and represents an inalienable part of the human environment.

The Leviathan³¹ has a completely different stance towards Man and is not directly connected with him, although it influences him. Its primary meaning is "snake" – an embodied abstraction. It is "a cold, slimy Underworld obscurity of primordial times» a primeval something" (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1994:796), and that is the very deepest stratum of life, the Alpha and Omega of each phenomenon, whence its eschatological meaning also derives. It is the fundamental archetype of the source of life. The snake exists in all civilisations, and in some is even older than the gods themselves, as in the case of the Old Icelandic Midgardormom from Edda (Sturluson 1997:45-48, 53-54; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1994:797). It is the *materia prima* – the primeval substance! It has been the personification of all Evil through numerous civilisations,³² and it balances the World with its powerful influence. It is the obstacle that has to be overcome in order to attain the level of the Sublime Being, this being particularly pronounced in Mediaeval civilisation, and thus also among the Slavs.

There is no doubt that the characteristics of the crocodile³³ are much suited to the enraged biblical Leviathan, whose very appearance carries none of the features of an animal at all linked with the concept of goodness. Research into the mythological role of the crocodile, a voracious reptile, has confirmed that it had always been regarded as a sacred animal, but was, nonetheless, hunted and killed. The crocodile represented a conflict between sublimity, repulsion and fear, which lead to the development of the particular cult of the crocodile in ancient civilisations, particularly the Egyptian (Bonnet 1952:392; Kees 1959:161-164). This is underscored in Psalm 104, Verse 26: *There go the ships: there is that leviathan, whom thou has made to play therein;* and in Psalm 74, Verse 14: *Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness;* (the second part of the verse in the Croatian version translates into English as:..., *and gave him as food to the monsters of the deep*); and in Isaiah Chapter 27, Verse 1: *In that day the LORD with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea,* where the *Septuagint* uses the noun *δράκων* meaning "snake" and/or "dragon". This seems more explicative than the name *Leviathan*, and it is also taken as such in Job. The *Vulgate* rests

³¹ The root of the word should be sought in the Ugarite legend about Lotan who kills Baal (ZPEB 3 1976:912).

³² The Illyrian cult (in southern regions) knows the Snake as the guardian of the home, where it is a symbol of fertility, a chthonic deity and an apotropaic animal (Stipčević 1989:149).

³³ This is especially confirmed by the description of a crocodile hunt, the possibility of taming it or even using it in trade (Job 40,25-31) (Ruprecht 1971:209-231; Keel 1993:117).

on the Hebrew model, taking the term Leviathan³⁴ and using it consistently in all examples, as it is also used in Job.

Where the "dragon" is in question, the Old Slavonic text follows the Latin, despite the possible objective lack of clarity in the term Leviathan.³⁵ Reading the Croatian Glagolitic text, one cannot but wonder whether the concept of the Leviathan was at all clear to the Glagolists. It seems that it was in the case of Job, primarily because its description was not disrupted by any contradictory comparison, as was the case with the Behemoth and the ox; and, secondly, the description of the Leviathan fully corresponds with the Slavic vision of a "dragon" (Hirtz 1928:179-180), a mythological monster, whose concept was consistent with the zoological crocodile, despite its not being known to the Slavs.

When speaking of the "dragon", there is no doubt about the multiple meanings of that motif that we find in the pagan Illyrian religion, and then also in the Slavic (Belaj 1998:44), where the Snake was the Supreme Deity that was later embodied in the Dragon of St George. The theme of the battle in the legend of St George³⁶ and the Dragon has found its way in continuity through all beliefs, among which one should bear in mind particularly Indo-European legends in the collection of ancient ritual verses known as the *Veda*. They reveal the significance of the Snake and the cosmic struggle between Good and Evil, that is, that which is above and that which is below (Belaj 1998:67-87). The culmination of the motif was obvious in Christianity and, thus, also in the Croatian lands, where it took an important place from the very earliest times. The act of killing the Dragon has the symbolic meaning of baptising a particular settlement³⁷ and the rejection of pagan symbols (Stipčević 1989:149-151), and represents only a variant of the scene of the Egyptian god Horus, who pierces the crocodile with his spear (Réau 3

³⁴ The Hebrew basis *hwh*, contained in the noun *lwytn* denotes something that twists and spins, and thus corresponds with the crocodile when it is attacked (Keel 1993:117).

³⁵ The Croatian Glagolitic variant is *leviatarъ* in all three examples, while it is *leviafanъ* in the Czech (SJS 2 1973:110).

³⁶ This speaks only of St George and the Dragon, while the "Green" St George belongs to another source, that is, he is the successor to the Roman god Silvan, and, as such, is particularly revered in Istria and on the Quarnero Bay islands (Fučić 1962:129-151). There are legends about other saints who slew dragons, apart from the legend of St George and the Dragon. The best known is St Hilarion the Hermit (October 21), celebrated in the Dubrovnik Diocese. According to a legend, he liberated the population of today's Cavtat from a large dragon. St Hilario the Bishop (January 13) is depicted trampling on a snake and is a protector against snakes (LIZK 1979:253-254; Hercigonja 1975:170-172; Bošković-Stulli 1978:81-83; *ibid.* 1968:315; Fališevac 1996:97-109).

³⁷ Sites dedicated to St George are most numerous in the Dubrovnik and Dalmatian regions, and are as a rule almost always located on hills and in elevated places. The shrines were usually built on the sites of former Illyrian shrines dedicated to the Snake.

1958:571-578), or, for his part, the Greek Perseus who kills the Medusa with the snakes on her head.³⁸

The concrete zoological aspect of the crocodile is actually completely lost in the lively dynamics of verses 1-26 in Chapter 41. The Leviathan becomes that very monster known to the Glagolists through the already mentioned primeval legends, which were especially current during the Middle Ages. Therefore, there was a possibility of identifying the Leviathan, the untameable and indestructible monster (Talmud 1982:458-461), the initiator of chaos and evil, with the Slavic dragon. For that very reason, the use of the unusual biblical name for a concept well known to the Slavs was not disputable in the Croatian Glagolitic version. The transcribed name, *leviatarb*,³⁹ despite the fact of how known or unknown it was, emphasised primarily the acceptance of foreign mythological terminology, but also the God-fearing attitude of the Glagolists towards the biblical text.

The Leviathan is mentioned twice in Job under two completely different circumstances. In Chapter 3, Verse 8, its meaning is exclusively abstract, and its symbolism does not belong at all to the mythological world of the Slavic peoples:

Prokleli je oni što no dan proklinju	Maledicant ei qui maledicunt diei
Levijatana probudit su kadri!	qui parati sunt suscitare Leviathan.

3,8 Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning⁴⁰

Here, the Leviathan is a symbol of sadness, pain, and the moral fall and psychic instability of Humankind (Zaradija Kiš 1990:127-130). In the very oldest and unedited Croatian Glagolitic translations, whose model was the *Septuagint*, Leviathan is translated as *vethostb*, *vetb*, *vet'hie*⁴¹ meaning "old age". In this verse, the Moon's first phase is personified in the sense of decline, loss of power and disappearance, which was shown in mythology in

³⁸ The story of the Greek mythical hero, Perseus, is one of the rare ones that shows a hero without negative character traits. His battle with the Gorgon Medusa, which leads him to the lovely Andromeda, has been preserved to the present day (Zamarovsky 1985:267-270).

³⁹ The Croatian Glagolitic variant presents another problem of a graphic nature. In the name of the monster, the ending *-rb* instead of the expected *-nb* is confirmed by being used three times. We have not managed to find a suitable solution for this to date, because of the very small number of noun confirmations in the Croatian Glagolitic Mediaeval manuscript corpus. The solution could perhaps be found if we knew the original model of the Croatian breviary, or it could be that the solution lies in an orthographic error, that is, in the substitution of the letter **R** by **N**, which otherwise occurs often among similar letters.

⁴⁰ The King James Version does not mention the Leviathan, but the Croatian version in English reads *Let those be damned who damn the day and are prepared to awaken the Leviathan*.

⁴¹ These are the breviaries: Vrbnički 1 (Vb1), 13th/14th century, Fol. 241c; Vrbnički 2 (Vb2), 14th century, Fol. 254a; Padua (Pad), 14th century, Fol. 286a.

the form of monstrous animals that devoured the Moon. The belief that the Moon is stricken by monsters as it passes through its phases is expressed in Nordic mythology in the presence of gigantic wolf from Edda – Mânagarmra or Moongarma (Sturluson 1997:15); in France⁴² it suffers attacks from dogs and wolves; in the Croatian lands, probably under the influence of Western mythology, the attacker is a werewolf (Nodilo 1981:135), while among the ancient Hindus, the attacker was a huge marine monster with the tail of a snake. A specificity of the translator in expressing the last phase of the Moon, which tries to solve the terminology of astral character in the Croatian lands, is the large *kitb* noted in the breviary of Vid of Omišalj (VO) dating from 1396 (Fol. 379d), which is a more lively, explicative, but completely incomprehensible translation, corresponding literally with the Greek *μέγα κητος*. In this interpretation, the Leviathan was intended to be understood as a monster which causes eclipses by devouring the Moon, which is evident in certain Eastern beliefs (Pirrot & Clamer 1952:723; Zaradija 1990:129). Therefore, the use of its name is particularly significant in this place in the *Book of Job*, but completely inapplicable in the Croatian context, since it is not part of the Slavic belief system (Zaradija 1990:128).

However, Chapter 40, Verses 25-32 – Chapter 41, Verses 1-26 of the Croatian version create the image of the Leviathan as an untameable and indestructible creature with a snake's tail, the author of chaos and overall Evil. The poem of the Leviathan in the final chapters of the *Book of Job*, which stresses the authority of God over the powers of Evil, is the only one of its kind in the Bible. In this poem, the Leviathan comes out of the abstract sphere and becomes a very concrete monster – a crocodile. In the Croatian Glagolitic description of the monster, the Leviathan has managed to integrate into the Croatian Church Slavonic linguistic system, retaining all its symbolism of Evil, and invoking Man's feeling of fear as he addresses him with the vocative *člověče* (Man!) already in the first verse, which was omitted in the contemporary Croatian translation:

- 41,1 Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook? or his tongue with a cord which thou lettest down?⁴³
- 2 Can't thou put an hook into his nose? or bore his jaw through with a thorn?
- 3 Will he make many supplications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee?

⁴² The French popular saying is still known today: *Garder la Lune des chiens ou des loups* (Guard the Moon from dogs and wolves).

⁴³ The numbering of the chapters and verses here differs between the Croatian version and the King James Version. Chapter 40 Verse 25-32 of the Croatian version are rendered in Chapter 41, Verses 1 to 8 of the King James Version.

- 4 Will he make a covenant with thee? wilt thou take him for a servant for ever?
- 5 Wilt thou play with him as with a bird? or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens?
- 6 Shall the companions make a banquet of him? shall they part him among the merchants?
- 7 Canst thou fill his skin with barbed irons? or his head with fish spears?
- 8 Lay thine hand upon him, remember the battle, do no more.
- 9 Behold, the hope of him is in vain : shall not one be cast down even at the sight of him?
- 10 None is so fierce that dare stir him up: who then is able to stand before me?
- 11 Who hath prevented me, that I should repay him? whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine.
- 12 I will not conceal his parts nor his power, nor his comely proportion.
- 13 Who can discover the face of his garment? or who can come to him with his double bridle.
- 14 Who can open the doors of his face? his teeth are terrible round about.
- 15 His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal.
- 16 One is so near to another, that no air can come between them.
- 17 They are joined one to another, they stick together, that they cannot be sundered.
- 18 By his neesings a light doth shine, and his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning.
- 19 Out of his mouth go burning lamps, and sparks of fire leap out.
- 20 Out of his nostrils goeth smoke as out of a seething pot or caldron.
- 21 His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth.
- 22 In his neck remaineth strength, and sorrow is turned into joy before him.
- 23 The flakes of his flesh are joined together: they are firm in themselves; they cannot be moved.
- 24 His heart is as firm as a stone; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone.
- 25 When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid: by reason of breakings they purify themselves.
- 26 The sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold: the spear, the dart, nor the habergeon.
- 27 He esteemeth iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood.
- 28 The arrow cannot make him flee: slingstones are turned with him into stubble.

- 29 Darts are counted as stubble: he laugheth at the shaking of a spear.
- 30 Sharp stones are under him: he spreadeth sharp pointed things upon the mire.
- 31 He maketh the deep to boil like a pot: he maketh the sea like a pot of ointment.
- 32 He maketh a path to shine after him; one would think the deep to be hoary.
- 33 Upon earth there is not his like, who is made without fear.
- 34 He beholdeth all high things: he is a king over all the children of pride.

Conclusion

Concrete and abstract presentation are the fundamental premises of the Old Testament and thus also of the *Book of Job*. The philosophy of the ancient Orient was based on the relationship between those two concepts. The concrete was regularly marked with symbolism, while efforts were made to concretise the abstract through visualisation and a certain figurativeness. It is the animal world that is particularly interesting in the research of this theme, because, with its diversity and unfamiliarity, it opens up many literally expressive paths, which make it possible for us to penetrate more deeply into the systematic comprehension of the essence of long ago.

On the whole, the demanding literary interpretation of the Croatian Glagolitic version is solved successfully, maintaining to the extent possible the balance between the abstract and the concrete, thus following the tradition of the textual transmission of the Scriptures. We notice the greatest deviation from the original when mythological animals of the ancient Orient are in question, belonging as they do to the abstract category, it is difficult to transplant them to another clime because of their conceptual elusiveness. This is also one of the rare places in which the biblical rule on the abstract and the concrete is not respected, since, as early as from the time of the ancient Apostles, the laws of translation have not allowed it. The translator's freedom and textological adaptations do not affect the meaning but only confirm the highly developed translating skills of the Mediaeval Croatian Glagolists (Zaradija Kiš 2004a:129-142), and particularly the meticulous and very learned approach to the textological adaptation of the elements of ancient civilisations.

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JOBOV BESTIJARIJ: IZ ZOOLEKSIKA HRVATSKOGLAGOLJSKE KNJIGE O JOBUI

SAŽETAK

Staroslavenski prijevodi biblijskih tekstova zauzimaju važno mjesto u razvoju srednjovjekovne zapadnoeuropske pismenosti uopće. Liturgijska književnost iziskuje uvijek nove poglede i nova tumačenja, a time i dublje analize koje omogućavaju jasniji uvid odnosa u književnom i civilizacijskom smislu. Jezična i povijesna bogatstva prijevoda i prilagodbi biblijskih tekstova omogućavaju dubinsko sagledavanje naslaga starijih civilizacija, često nedovoljno znanih, a time i nerazumljivih. Njihovo transmissijsko mjesto u europskoj kulturi razvidno je jedino analitičkim studijskim interdisciplinarnim pristupima. U tom kontekstu biblijska fauna zauzima zanimljivo mjesto i predmet je posebnih književnih, ali i religijskih istraživanja, koja u konačnici pomažu boljem sagledavanju kulturoloških i civilizacijskih prožimanja. U starozavjetnoj Knjizi o Jobu posebno je raskošno opisan životinjski svijet koji smo pod nazivom *Jobov bestijarij* izdvojili i na njega usredotočili ovu studiju.

Ključne riječi: hrvatskoglagoljski brevijari, Knjiga o Jobu, životinje, konkretno/apstraktno