

WORD SPACING IN THE EARLY PRINTED GLAGOLITIC TEXTS

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The article describes the development of the typographical practice of placing spaces between words in the early printed Glagolitic books and the swift decline in the 16th century of the use of so-called word-blocks in favour of full word separation. Little studied but significant for our understanding of a host of writing and reading practices, ranging from the rhetorical and compositional features of the medieval Croatian Church Slavonic texts to the linguistic norms of early modern works, the use of the white space consistently increases over time as modern typographical practices take hold. In the context of widespread changes in mechanical printing practices in the 15th–17th centuries, the paper looks at the increasing use of white space between all words, primarily in the CrCS printed liturgical books and on the parallel decrease in the use of *word-blocks* (*združenice*). Given the larger movement toward regularization of liturgical texts in the 16th century and the growing awareness of linguistic science our examination of typesetting practices offers some insights into the implementation of regularized linguistic norms for the Glagolitic liturgical books and makes it possible to conclude that the more widespread typesetting practices of the secular presses quickly gained a foothold in the ecclesiastical printeries. There was, moreover, a rapid conformity to the Western typographical practice of separating words as the smallest units of independent meaning; *i.e.* in accordance with our own contemporary practices.

Key words: breviary, Glagolitic liturgical books, Croatian incunabula, early printed books, Glagolitic Roman Missal, typography, word-blocks, word spacing

The present article offers a brief look at changes in the typographical practice of word spacing found in the early Glagolitic printed books, examines how those practices change over a short period of time in the Catholic Glagolitic books by gradually conforming to the more common Western practice of extensive word spacing, and raises questions for further investigation into graphemic practices in the late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Modern era. Little studied but significant for our understanding of a host of

writing and reading practices, ranging from the rhetorical and compositional features of the medieval Croatian Church Slavonic (CrCS) texts to the linguistic norms of early modern works, the use of the white space increases and becomes more consistent over time as modern typographical practices take hold. The immediate goal, then, is to present our findings on the increase in the use of white space between all words, primarily in the CrCS printed liturgical books of the 15th–17th centuries and on the parallel decrease in the use of *word-blocks*, that is, of short and usually unstressed words presented on the page as a single visual unit tied to a stressed »host-word«. When situated in larger context, changes in printing practices or, more precisely, in the practices of the typesetter and composer, offer some insight into the development and implementation of regularized linguistic norms for the liturgical books printed for use by Glagolitic clergy. The process of codifying and regularizing the language of the CrCS liturgical texts was as lengthy as it was laborious, resulting in the imposition of an Eastern Church Slavonic linguistic model on the CrCS liturgies in the 17th century. Although the present article can not address the complex and controversial issues surrounding this process, it is hoped that our examination of typesetting practices, seen in light of the larger movement toward regularization of liturgical norms generated by the resolutions of the Council of Trent and the growing awareness of linguistic science, will contribute to a greater understanding of the Glagolitic heritage.¹

Our major research focus has been on the configuration and frequency of use of white space between words in the early printed CrCS books. The

¹ From the 16th to the 18th centuries the terminology used in the Balkans to describe the various languages and dialects used in liturgical and religious texts and Biblical translations, as well as the terminology describing vernacular texts was exceedingly dynamic. For convenience we use Croatian Church Slavonic (CrCS) in reference to texts, mainly liturgical and religious, that clearly exhibit strong affinities with the Church Slavonic language and its various recensions. The language norms of CrCS underwent serious revision in the early modern era as Church officials determined the most dignified medium for expressing »higher« religious, liturgical and theological truths and then established the linguistic norms. Eventually a highly Russified version of CrCS emerged. (See IOVINE 1984, BABIĆ 1999.) On the other hand, the Glagolitic printed texts of the Protestant books are virtually all written in a vernacular Croatian of the time and were thus highly accessible to the public at large. The term *diglossia* is often applied by modern scholars to describe the various layers of language available for communication in differing cultural, religious and social contexts. See CORIN 1991–1993.

expression »spaces between words« denotes the division of words or groups of words with white space, an effect achieved in the letterpress printing era by placing thin metal spacing material less than the height of the printing type at chosen word boundaries. Exactly what constitutes a word boundary, which varies with time and geographical area, is the topic of the current research. Indeed, only in recent years has the phenomenon of delineating word boundaries been systematically studied. In his path breaking study on word spacing in the medieval manuscript, *Space between Words*, Paul Saenger underscores the importance that the presence or absence of the separating spacer had for the act of reading (SAENGER 1997). Likewise, Mateo Žagar has traced the use of the white space in the Croatian Glagolitic manuscript tradition (ŽAGAR 2000: 164–174), while our own studies of the medieval Slavic isocolon have shown that the use of word spacing in various configurations played a signature role in guiding the reading aloud of isocolically structured texts. These important studies notwithstanding, few scholars have looked into the evolutionary usage of space between words in the early printed books. The current paper is a modest attempt to provide preliminary information on this aspect of Slavonic literary history by tracking the increase in the use of the interverbal white space in the Croatian Glagolitic printed texts of the 15th and 16th centuries. As such, this overview does not claim to be more than an introductory exposition of certain CrCS typographical practices carried out in European print shops during the late 15th and 16th centuries. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the introductory nature of the information presented here may serve as a point of departure for further studies on the confluence of typography and literary forms of the early modern period in the Slavic lands.²

² The current research has also been motivated by our previous investigations into the correspondence of the isocolic structures in the medieval and early modern CrCS texts and the graphic representations that enhanced the lector's understanding of the underlying rhythmical structures of the prose that the isocola represent. Indeed, these earlier studies led us to ask how the visual aspects of the Glagolitic medieval manuscripts and the orthographic traditions of the late Middle Ages are reflected in the earliest printed texts. As is known, the rhythmical patterning of medieval Roman and Orthodox Slavic texts was governed by a prosodic principle based on the medieval isocolon, or segments of equal and/or alternating stress. The long-lived and widespread use of the isocolon has been and continues to be well researched. It is sufficient here to note that the confluence of reading aloud practices and the rhetorical artistry of the isocolic texts in many ways supports and is supported by the

The current investigations centre on a body of CrCS and, to a lesser extent, Croatian vernacular texts printed in the Glagolitic alphabet between 1483 – the year of the Glagolitic and CrCS *editio princeps* (E. PRINCEPS) – and approximately 1600, when a more modern consistency of white space usage had been definitively established. Word spacing, or the lack thereof, is encountered in varying forms at various times from the early through the late Middle Ages. While the relationship of white space usage to linguistic and rhetorical structures has not been the object of exhaustive study, some scholars have carefully described the increasing use of white space over time to delineate individual units of meaning, i.e. what modern grammar sees as words. Since this is not the proper place to engage in a long discourse on what constitutes a word, we accept *a priori* the common and current acceptance of the term *word* as the smallest unit of speech that has meaning when taken by itself. Since the current paper is concerned with the movement from the early practice of attaching smaller units to host-words to the modern convention of separating liberally the smallest units of meaning we have, for consistency and convenience, adopted Mateo Žagar's definition of the *word-block* (which he calls *združnica*) as an »accentual whole«, that is, an accented word or an accented host-word with unaccented prepositions, conjunctions or other particles attached to it (ŽAGAR 2000: 169).³ Thus, any given word-block might show a preposition connected to the word it governs, an emphatic particle attached to the following or preceding emphasized word or a pronominal particle connected to a host-word (e.g. the reflexive particle *se* to its governing verb). Similarly, one can conveniently use the term *word units* in reference to words understood either in the modern sense or to the word-blocks themselves. Thus a word unit is any word or combination of words separated from other word units by white spaces.

Western European handwritten and later printed usage reflecting the developing understanding of the individuality of the word appeared slowly

graphic representations of »word spacing« on the page, whether handwritten or, in later years, mechanically printed (see PICCHIO 1973; CRNKOVIĆ 2006, 2008). It is hoped that the current article will be followed by further investigations into the conjunction of the rhetorical isocolon and the graphic features of the texts composed according to the isocolic principle.

³ For example, a stressed host word like *nebesi* having the preposition *na* precede it and attached to it, would constitute the word-block *nanebesi*.

over the centuries and was codified only in the later years of the Middle Ages. Intermediary, so-called aerated texts, showing widely ranging degrees of intertextual space, made appearances in most sectors of western Europe from the 7th to the 13th centuries, albeit with more consistency of usage in some areas than others (SAENGER 2000: 32–40). As Saenger notes, the development of aerated texts marks attempts in various locations and in various eras to explore ways of efficiently exploiting the natural abilities of human vision to quickly discriminate unique shapes. Aerated texts notwithstanding, the widespread use of intertextual markers of various types was most consistent first in Ireland and the British Isles (from the 7th century); the practice then spread gradually over the continent and eventually reached France, Germany and, somewhat belatedly, Italy at the end of the 11th century, coming into full flower there in the mid-13th century (SAENGER 2000: 255). By the end of the same century word separation had established itself as the norm in Romance and Germanic Europe.

Early in the printed book era typographical practice in the West supported a broadly varying application of the white space between all words (understood in the modern sense), including separation of smaller words like prepositions, articles, particles, etc. In Italy and Germany in particular the custom of separating words into the smallest units of meaning was widespread from the very beginnings of mechanical printing; nor did the language being printed influence the typesetter's word spacing practices. Even the earliest printed books, works in Latin and Greek, show a clear separation of smaller words from larger word-blocks or from host-words.⁴ Doubtless the typographer's and typesetter's practices were a simple continuation of the accepted word spacing practices of the scribal traditions.

The situation in the Slavic world was somewhat different. In the Orthodox Slavic lands the prevailing conservative ethos retained the *scripta continua* conventions well into the early modern era and full word separation becomes normative for Cyrillic scripts only in the 17th century (SAENGER 2000: 13). In the Croatia lands, however, a mixed cultural tradition held sway,

⁴ Thus, for example, Gutenberg's 42-line Bible treats the Latin prepositions, conjunctions and the like as separate words, as does Plantin's celebrated Polyglot Bible of 1555 in both the Greek and the Latin texts. Manutius' 1470 (Venice) edition of Petrarch's sonnets likewise delineates smaller words in Italian. The very earliest German language books follow the same (*v. Auslegung der heiligen Messe*, Augsburg 1484).

allowing for word separation based on a more localized understanding of the unity of graphically conjoined combinations of words into word-blocks. In the medieval Croatian Glagolitic tradition one observes a typographical pattern in which these short words, such as particles, prepositions and the like are attached to a stressed host-word into a single unit word-block.⁵ Yet it must not be overlooked that, as the most south-easterly extension of central European Catholic culture in Europe, Croatia participated in the social, political, religious and technological upheavals of the Renaissance and early modern era. In the printing fields, as Mathiesen's informative article has shown, printers of Slavonic languages participated in the earliest stages of European printed book production. Indeed, one of the earliest alphabets cast in metal type and printed on the hand press was the Glagolitic, used for Catholic and Protestant ecclesiastical texts in the incunabular, post-incunabular and early printed book periods (MATHIESEN 1992: 9–12). Thus, the practice of combining certain word units into word-blocks that held sway in the Croatian lands throughout the high Middle Ages and continued in the 16th century printed texts is a significant feature of CrCS liturgical texts of the early printing era. As the stylistic norms of mechanical printing became ever more regularized the practice of representing word-blocks diminishes and this typographical feature definitively disappears in the Glagolitic texts by the 17th century.

Investigating how medieval manuscript practices of presenting word separation and word-blocks were carried over into the age of printing, we have looked at a number of works of the Croatian Glagolitic printing tradition and compared the data with our previous observations on word spacing in a sample of Glagolitic CrCS manuscripts (CRNKOVIĆ 2006, 2008). Accordingly, we looked at similar textual materials, comparing corresponding liturgical prayers from the Glagolitic missals and breviaries, as well as Biblical passages and equivalent texts, like colophons and early title pages. We divided the examined texts into three chronologically determined categories based on the divisions accepted by book historians: the incunabula (1483–c.1500),

⁵ Žagar provides detailed descriptions of the use of the word-block (*združenica*) in medieval Croatian texts. My own articles note the importance of the word-block in representing the rhythmical prose structures of the texts found in the CrCS liturgical books (CRNKOVIĆ 2006, 2008).

post-incunables (1500–1540) and books printed after 1540.⁶ We examined texts ranging from the CrCS versions of the missals of the Roman rite from the E. PRINCEPS and the texts of the earliest printed breviaries to the publications of the Protestant reformers and, because of its status as one of the last printed Glagolitic service books, the last completely revised Glagolitic Missal of 1893 (PARČIĆ). Within these books we examined a specific set of texts that included certain orations, the opening of the Gospel of St John, the colophons and/or title pages, the Lord's Prayer, among others.⁷

The examined texts represent works produced in the late medieval Catholic tradition, and the revolutionary texts of the Protestant reformation as well as texts of the Catholic Tridentine and counter-reformation eras. As such, they reflect the long-standing and diverse norms of book production in the late manuscript and early book eras, and the vernacular works of the Protestant reformers. The former were grounded in the trilingual cultural norms of the Glagolitic tradition⁸ while the latter were based on the northern European literary norms that quickly took hold in the era of Protestantism. While it is not within the scope of this short paper to make definitive conclusions of the influence of one or more patrimonies on the use of typographical practices, a clear distinction can be made between the more conservative Catholic practices and the reforming moves of the Protestant writers and printers. Indeed, as the Protestants moved toward universal use of the vernacular, the introduction of the more liberal typographical practices of the vernacularising press eventually migrate from the secular language texts into the official CrCS (and then the Russified Church Slavonic Glagolitic) texts over the 17th and 18th centuries.

The most widespread text examined, handwritten and printed, is that of the collect of the tenth Sunday after Pentecost, one of the sacerdotal prayers recited near the beginning of the Roman Mass. Because of its presence in

⁶ See, for example, the classifications presented in CARTER 2004. We have also used the term *early printed books* to refer to productions dated 1540 to c.1620. The division into time spans is a practical one, but one that our data support. Indeed, the generally recognized periods of early printing correspond neatly to our findings on the decline of word-block typography in the Croatian Glagolitic books. The manuscripts and printed books examined are listed at the end of this article.

⁷ For detailed bibliographical information on the items that follow, see KRUMING 1998.

⁸ For the most thorough discussion on the importance of the tri-lingual and tri-alphabetic Croatian culture see HERCIGONJA 2006.

most of the liturgical books under consideration, we have used it here as a primary example for describing the types of data we have been able to collect. The 14th and 15th century manuscript versions of this prayer show an approximate 17% usage of word-blocks as part of the overall number of word units graphically separated by the white space. The CrCS version found in the NOVAK exhibits the anticipated word-block combinations, indicated by the under linings:

*Āe iže vsu močъ tvoû počedae vel'mi i|milue êvlaeši umnoži n|nšb mlštъ
tvoû da k'|tvoimъ obečaniemъ tekuče nbskih' blg' stvoriši|ni biti pričst'niki⁹*
(NOVAK 138d)

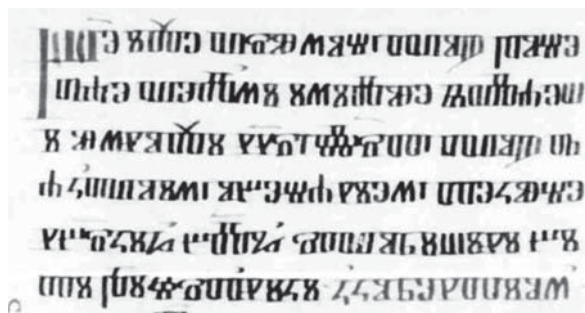


Figure 1. NOVAK 138d

Slika 1. NOVAK 138d

Four instances of word-block usage occur here; *i + milue* ('and having mercy'), *n + nasъ* ('upon us'), *k + tvoimъ* ('to thy') and *stvoriši + ni* ('make us'). Three of these word-blocks are composed of a host-word plus one proclitic, while one is made up of a host plus one enclitic. As Table 1 shows

⁹ We have reproduced here in Latin transcription the word spacing found in the original manuscript. We will continue this graphical representation throughout this paper. The expanded version reads:

*B(ož)e iže vsu močъ tvoû počedae vel'mi i milue êvlaeši umnoži na n(a)sъ m(i)l(o)stъ tvoû
da k' tvoimъ obečaniemъ tekuče n(e)b(e)skih' blag' da stvoriši ni biti pričst'niki.*

The CrCS version is a close translation of the Latin collect traditionally prayed on the 10th Sunday after Pentecost. As found in the Missals of the late Middle Ages, the collect is a variation of a prayer appearing originally in the 8th century *Gelasian Sacramentary*. The Latin text from the *Roman Missal* reads:

*Deus, qui omnipotentiam tuam parcendo maxime et miserando manifestas, gratiam tuam
super nos indesinenter infunde, ut, ad tua promissa currentes, caelestium bonorum facias
esse consortes.*

the texts of this prayer in the Hrvoje's Missal (19% HRVOJEV, 1404), New York Missal (14% NYM, c.1405), and Roč Missal (18% ROČ, 1420), though showing textual variations, have essentially the same word-block configurations as the NOVAK version (18%).¹⁰ Nor do the textual variants reflect significant deviations from the overall usage of word-blocks. Thus, where the NOVAK and ROČ have *stvorishi*, the NYM lacks the enclitic pronoun *ni* and seems to yield a statistically significant difference, while, in fact, the absence of the enclitic *ni* seems to represent a lacuna and not a change in word-block usage. Likewise the use of the stressed pronoun *nasъ* following *stvorishi* in the HRVOJEV represents a textual variant rather than a significantly different approach to word spacing. The manuscript tradition as reflected in the texts of these missals clearly conforms to the late medieval traditions of spacing most words while retaining the word-block usage for smaller words and their attendant hosts. ROČ shows similar word-blocks:

Āe iže vsu močъ tvoū počēdaē velmi imilue ēvlaeši • umnoži nanšъ mļstъ tvoū • da kaobečaniemъ tvoimъ tekuče nbskihъ blgъ dastvorišini biti pričest'niki • (ROČ 117b).

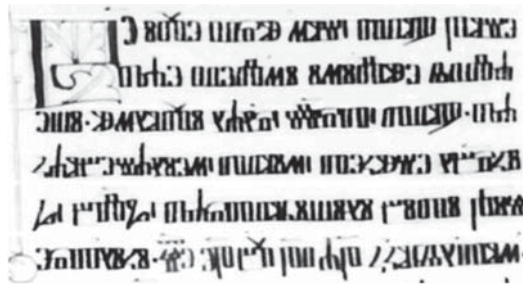


Figure 2. ROČ 117b

Slika 2. ROČ 117b

¹⁰ In addition, in ROČ full stops are indicated at strategic points in the text. Nor do the minor differences between these two versions and this collect as it appears in the NYM indicate significantly different usage of the word-block:

Āe iže vsu močъ tvoū počēdaē velmi imilue ēvlaeši • umnoži nanšъ mļstъ tvoū • da ktvoimъ obečaniemъ tekuče • nbskihъ blgъ stvoriši biti pričestniki • (NYM 156a).

and in the HRVOJEV:

Āe ki vsu moč' tvoū počēdaē vel'mi imilue ēvlaeši umnoži nanšъ mļst' tvoū dak'tvoimъ obečaniemъ tekuče nbskihъ blgihъ stvoriši nšъ biti pričest'niki (HRVOJEV 124a).

Not surprisingly, the earliest of printed texts of this collect do not reflect any serious differences in word spacing and word-block presentation from the manuscript tradition.¹¹ Thus, in the first printed version of this text, found in the E. PRINCEPS, we find the following:

[B]e iže vsu moč tvoú počedae velmi i|milue êvlaeši umnoži n|nsb mlst' tvoú da|k|tvoim' obečaniem' tekuće nbskihь blg' stvoriši|ni biti pričstniki. (211b)

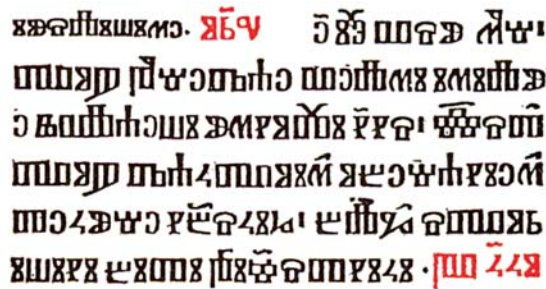


Figure 3. E. PRINCEPS (p. 211 of the reprint)

Slika 3. E. PRINCEPS (str. 211 u reprintu)

The graphic configurations here are as anticipated, not the least since it has been shown that the texts of the E. PRINCEPS are based largely on those of the NOVAK (PANTELIC 1967). Subsequent printed versions of our example text show retention of word-block usage through the mid-sixteenth century, followed by a marked decline in this practice. Thus, the Senj Missal (SENJ) shows an 18% ratio of word-blocks to words:

Be iže vsu močъ tvoú počedae velmi i|milue êvlaeši • umnoži na|nsb milostъ tvoú • da|k|tvoimъ obečnietъ tekuće • nebeskhъ blagъ stvoriši nsb biti pričestniki • (n. p.)

¹¹ Since pagination numbering was not a feature of the earliest printed books, referencing page or folio numbers can at times be confusing. We have given page numbers where they are easily retrieved. Note, e.g. the lack of page numbering for the SENJ missal and that the pagination for the E. PRINCEPS is a later editorial addition. Otherwise, the texts of these collects occur in all instances where anticipated in the *Proprium de tempore* or the *Proprium de sanctis* of the missals and breviaries.

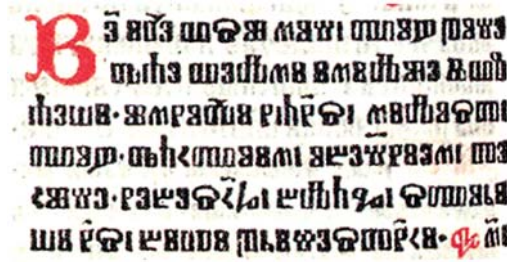


Fig. 4: SENJ n. p.
Sl. 4: SENJ nema označene paginacije

and Modrušanin’s Missal (MODRUŠANIN) has a 25% ratio:

*Be iže vsu močъ tvoju počēdae velmi i|milue êvlaeši umnoži na|nsъ mlstb
tvoû. da|k|tvoimъ obečaniemъ tekuče nbskihъ blagъ stvoriši|ni biti pričestni-
ki. (116b)¹²*

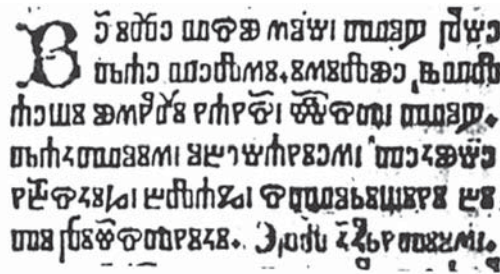


Figure 5. MODRUŠANIN 108b (F 255)
Slika 5. MODRUŠANIN 108b (F 255)

Already by 1531, however, Kožičić’s linguistically innovative MISAL HRUACKI shows a marked tendency to eschew word-blocks in favour of a more liberal use of the white space:

*Be ki vsemogučstvo tvoe praščaući naivečē i miluûći êvlaeši:umnoži na
nsъ pomlvanie tvoe:da k|tvoimъ obetom tekuče nbskihъ blgъ stvoriši" biti
pričestniki (130b).*

¹² Although it is known that MODRUŠANIN is a very close copy of the E. PRINCEPS that BROŽIĆ’s breviary (cited in the data in Table 1) is closely based on Baromic’s Breviary of 1493 (BAROMIĆ), the type for the newer editions was obviously reset and reprinted from scratch, thus requiring the typesetters and/or editors to make conscious choices about the practice of word spacing. Indeed, the typography of these particular prayers reveals at the least the possibility of adjusting word spacing to a new norm.

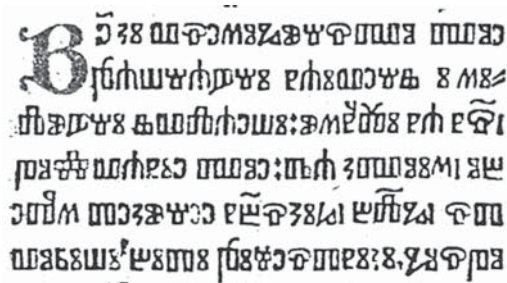


Fig. 6. MISAL HRUACKI 118b or 130b (F 251)

Sl. 6. MISAL HRUACKI 118b ili 130b (F 251)

Unlike earlier texts of this prayer, Kožičić's version contains only one clearly attached clitic, the preposition *k* to the host term *tvoimь*, while the shorter forms *i*, *na*, and *da* are separated from the surrounding words by white spaces.¹³ The percentage of word-blocks to total words is thus less than 1%, a precipitous decline from the average 20–29% encountered in the incunabula and early printed books.

By the early 17th century, as the printing of the Glagolitic usage liturgical books became centralised under the *Propaganda fidei*, the normalising affects of modern word spacing had become solidified. In fact, from Levaković's 1631 Glagolitic edition of the *Missale Romanum* (LEVAKOVIĆ), which itself shows a marked trend toward Russification, through PARČIĆ, the modern typographical norms for word separation are adhered to.¹⁴ As expected, the revised and Russified versions of the missals and breviaries of the 17th and 18th century follow modern word spacing practice. The LEVAKOVIĆ issued by the *Propaganda fidei*, reflects the influence that the *Propaganda's* Slavic scholars had on the language of the CrCS liturgical books and, in addition, shows no word-block usage:

Bože, iže vsemogućstvo tvoe pošćedae velmi i milue êvlěeši : umnoži na

¹³ The page reproduced here shows the addition of a superscript *n* (Ѣ) above and to the right of the word *stvorishi*. We have chosen not to consider this an attached enclitic, since it is not clear if the letter was added later in the typesetting process, or even if it is printed at all and not tipped in by hand. In any case the addition of a single enclitic to the data base would not affect the outcome of our observations.

¹⁴ See IOVINE 1984 for a thorough history of the Russification or »Ruthenianization« of the Glagolitic liturgical books under the influence of Slavonic scholars at the offices of the Vatican's Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

nas milost tvoû: da ka tvoim obećaniem tekuće, nebeskih blag sotvoriši biti pričestniki (357).

Nor does KARAMAN'S BREVIARY of 1791 reveal any word-block usage, and PARČIĆ – striving to be an accurate CrCS version of the Glagolitic Missal – shows only full word spacing:

Bože, iže praćae naipače i milue v̄semogućbstvo svoe êvlaeši: umnoži na nas̄ milost̄ svoû; da, kb̄ tvoim̄ obećaniem̄ tekuće, nebeskih̄ blaḡ s̄tvoriši biti pričest̄niki (307).

The same liturgical manuscripts and printed books produce similar statistics for the use and decline of word-block spacing for other orations. In the collects of the Masses for St Benedict, St Gregory the Great and the Forty Holy Martyrs and for the various requiem Masses, the anticipated prepositions, pronouns, particles and conjunctions are regularly attached to host-words and, as with the 10th Sunday after Pentecost collect, word-block usage diminishes beginning in the mid-16th century printed books. For these versions of the collects the average of word-block usage in relation to the total number of words + word-blocks in the era up to c. 1540 is 24% while in the period after 1540 the usage markedly declines to 4%. As also expected, the 17th-century books follow modern typographical practices, revealing less than 1% usage of word-blocks. Indeed, in the latter periods the linguistically innovative Kožičić's texts and the LEVAKOVIĆ and KARAMAN'S MISSAL offerings consistently attach only the reflexive pronoun *se/sê* to the host verb.

It is interesting to note that during this period of decline in word-block usage, both liturgical and extra-liturgical printed Biblical texts of the mid-sixteenth century exhibit typographical divergences between Catholic CrCS publications on the one hand and Protestant vernacular, on the other. The iconic *incipit* of the Gospel of St. John was traditionally read or chanted as the last element of the Western Mass before the celebrant descended from the altar. As such the text of John 1:1–14 is found in a number of the Glagolitic Missal, as well as in the Bible translations. As our previous research has shown (in a differing context, but relevant here for our word-spacing investigations), the graphic features of the CrCS manuscript texts of the 15th and 16th centuries reflect the anticipated word-block practices. In the ROČ and HRVOJEV we find similar combinations wherein the following short,

unstressed forms are consistently attached to host-words: the conjunctions *da* (3 occurrences in the HRVOJEV and 2 in the ROČ), *i* (12 and 11), and *na* (2 and 1); the prepositions *bez* (1 and 1), *o* (1 and 1), *ot* (4 and 5), *u* (1 and 2); *v/va* (8 and 7); the pronoun *se* (1 and 3); and the particles *ne* (3 and 2), *ni* (3 and 3) and *že* (1 and 1). The percentage of word-blocks to words amounts here to 33% for the HRVOJEV text and 29% for the ROČ text.

Likewise, in the very early printed books before c.1540, one finds a nearly identical treatment of word-blocks in the Johannine text (Table 1.), showing 38%, 36% and 37% of word-block usage for the E. PRINCEPS, SENJ and the BUKVAR respectively. Again, the usual short words are attached to host-words: the conjunctions *da* (3 occurrences in the E. PRINCEPS, 3 in the SENJ and 1 in the BUKVAR); *i* (13, 10 and 13), and *na* (3, 3 and 2); the prepositions *bez* (1 each), *o* (3, 2 and 2), *od/ot* (6, 6 and 5), *u* (1, 2 and 2); *v/va* (8, 7 and 7); the pronoun *se* (3 each); and the particles *ne* (4, 5 and 3), *ni* (3, 2 and 3) and *že* (2, 2 and 1). By contrast, Dalmatin's and Istranin's Protestant translation of the New Testament (1562) into the *hrvacki êzik* – albeit printed in the Glagolitic alphabet – shows a markedly diminished use of word-blocks to 8%: attached to host-words are the prepositions *po* (3 occurrences), and *u/va* (5); the pronouns *ga* (1) and *nega*(!) (1); and the particle *ne* (2). Written in the contemporary Croatian vernacular, the Protestant New Testament text presents a radically different set of attachments.

A similar trajectory is found in the manuscript and printed versions of the Lord's Prayer (*Otče naš*): The CrCS manuscripts and printed books through the appearance of the BUKVAR show an average of 28% word-block usage in this foundational Christian prayer, attaching conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns and particles as anticipated. On the other hand, the Protestant texts of the 16th century reveal a scant 5% word-block usage, attaching only the reflexive pronoun *se*, and the preposition *v/u* in the expressions *vnebesih*, *unebi* and *vnapast*. Equally interesting is MISAL HRUACKI which shows a marked tendency to adapting the more established principles of the Latinate practices, separating the word-blocks into individual word units.

Also of interest for our discussion is the treatment of word spacing in both the colophons of the *incunabula* and in the functionally equivalent extended title pages of the early and later printed books. Since they are uniquely original texts, neither translated nor transmitted from the liturgical traditions, and

are produced within the milieu of unchanging traditional religious formulaic texts, they offer an insight into the author's or editor's own approach to word spacing. As expected, the colophons of the manuscripts reveal a high percentage of word-block usage (on average about 20%) which is carried over into the incunabular era.¹⁵ Thus, in the colophon of SENJ one sees 24% word-blocks, while in the *Spovid općena* of 1496 (SPOVID) there is a less voluminous, but significant 12% usage of word-blocks. The use of word-blocks maintains a strong presence in the CrCS books until the mid-16th century (KORIZMENJAK – 27%, BUKVAR – 33%, MODRUŠANIN – 40%). Again, the data confirm the significant decline in word-block presence as the 16th century continues: *bona fide* title pages show an overall 8% word-block usage in Protestant texts and no significant usage of word-blocks in the Catholic liturgical books after 1600.

Obviously our discussion of the use and decline of word-block spacing could be extended to include an impracticable number of prayers, biblical passages, marginal notes and the like. Let it suffice here to note that all of the texts we have examined exhibit the same overall pattern of decline, as the information in Table 1 indicates. More specifically, the data in Table 1 and in Charts 1–3 show that in books printed before c.1540, approximately 20% to 30% of the word units were constituted of word-blocks, formed of host-word + enclitic or proclitic. The enclitics in turn were all either short forms of conjunctions or prepositions, while the reflexive particle *se* occurs as anticipated in the post-posed position, attached to the end of verbal forms.

More intriguing is the precipitous decline in the appearance of the word-block beginning in the second third of the 16th century, and the subsequent increase in the use of the white space to delineate words as they are typically now defined. A marked increase in the use of modern word spacing and a correlative decline in the use of word-blocks in the Glagolitic texts are seen in the middle of the 16th century, when an average of 8% of the texts is composed of word-blocks. The statistical decline is thereafter steep as the decades at the turn of the 17th century see the virtual disappearance of text set

¹⁵ The colophon of the CrCS E. PRINCEPS has no word-blocks since there are no enclitic or proclitic forms in the text. The text is a terse and strictly informative notice, giving only the stark facts of the Missal's production: *Lêtb gnhbč•u•o•vmca pe//rvara dni •i•b• ti misali biše // svršeni*. (In the year of our Lord 1483 in the month of February on the 22nd day these missals were completed).

Period	No.	Year	Text Source	Colophons	Lord's Prayer	10th Pent. collect	Requiem collect	40 Martyrs collect	St Gregory collect	St Benedict collect	Johannine Gospel	% for all prayers
Mss tradition	1	1368	<i>Novak</i>	21		18						20
	2	1396	<i>Breviary</i>	23								23
	3	c.1400	<i>Breviary fragment</i>					22	13	40		25
	4	1404	<i>Hrvojev</i>		28	19		22	17		33	24
	5	c.1405	<i>NYM</i>			14						14
	6	1420	<i>Roč</i>	17		18					29	21
	7	1495	<i>Nov II</i>	18								18
	8	17th ct	<i>Gregory Dialogues</i>	22								
Incunabula	9	1483	<i>E. Princeps Missal</i>		28	24	24	19	17	38	38	27
	10	1493	<i>Baromić Breviary</i>					16	16			16
	11	1494	<i>Senj Missal</i>	24		18	30	17	13		36	23
	12	1496	<i>Spovid općena</i>	12								12
Early 16th century	13	1508	<i>Senj Korizmenjak</i>	27								27
	14	1527	<i>Bukvar</i>	33	29						37	33
	15	1528	<i>Modrušanin Missal</i>	40		25	33	18	17	27		26
	16	1530	<i>Psaltir</i>		4							4
	17	1531	<i>Od bitie</i>	6								6
	18	1531	<i>Missal Hruacky</i>			1		1				1
Late 16th cent.	19	1561	<i>Brozić Breviary</i>			13		25	12			17
	20	1561	<i>Trubar Abecedarium</i>		5							5
	21	1561	<i>Mali katekizam</i>	8								8
	22	1562	<i>New Testament</i>								8	8
	23	1562	<i>Postila</i>	3								3
After 1631	24	1631	<i>Levaković Missal</i>			0	0	0	8			2
	25	1741	<i>Karaman Missal</i>							0		0
	26	1791	<i>Karaman Breviary</i>			0	0	0	8			2
	27	1862	<i>Bukvar</i>		0							0
	28	1893	<i>Parčić Missal</i>				0					0

Table 1. Word-blocks as a percentage of total (words + word-blocks)
 Tablica 1. Postotak združenica u ukupnome broju združenica i pojedinih riječi

in word-blocks. Moreover, it is clear from the accompanying data (Charts 1 and 2) that throughout the first half of the 16th century the typographical norm of separating all words with spacing material rather quickly took over the compositor's practice for setting the Glagolitic page. Although the late medieval Glagolitic custom of conjoining prepositions and particles with host-words into word-blocks was carried over into the era of incunabula and very early printed books, the practice of separating pro- and enclitics from their host-words – as was the more widespread pattern in Europe – quickly became the norm in Croatian Glagolitic texts as well.

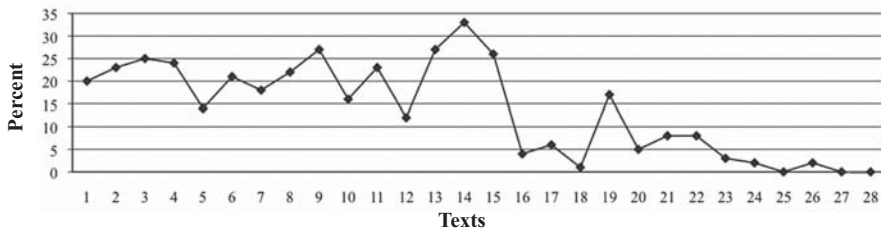


Chart 1. Word-blocks as a percentage of total (words blocks to word units). Numbers along left column shows percentage; numbers along the bottom line refer to the numbered texts in Table 1.

Grafikon 1. Postotak združenica u ukupnome broju (združenica i pojedinih riječi). Brojke uz okomitu os označuju postotke, a brojke ispod vodoravne osi odgovaraju brojkama uz tekstove kako su navedeni u Tablici 1.

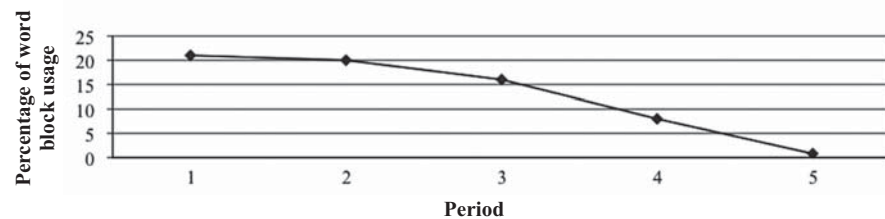


Chart 2. Word-blocks as a percentage of total (word-blocks to word units) presented by time periods. The left axis refers to percentage; numbers along the bottom refer to periods: 1 = Manuscript tradition (21%), 2 = incunabula (20%), 3 = post-incunables (16%), 4 = mid- and late 16th cent. (9%), 5= after 1600 (less than 1%).

Grafikon 2. Postotak združenica u ukupnome broju (združenica i pojedinih riječi) po vremenskim razdobljima. Uz okomitu su os obilježeni postotci, a vodoravna se os odnosi na razdoblja: 1 = Rukopisna tradicija (21%), 2 = inkunabule (20%), 3 = 1500.–1540. (16%), 4 = sredina i kasno 16. st. (9%), 5 = nakon 1600. (manje od 1%).

The data in Chart 2 show this change in practice quite clearly. The word-block is a consistent visual feature of the CrCS manuscripts, where overall 21% of the words or word-blocks in the examined texts consist of a host-word plus at least one attached clitic. When the mechanically printed text is first introduced into Croatia this visualization is carried on, so that in the incunabula 20% of the text comprises word-blocks. Nor is the slight uptick in the percentage of word-blocks to text (seen at items 13, 14 and 15 in Chart 1) in the first three decades of the 16th century surprising. Any spike in the appearance of the word-block was most certainly due to the greater precision allowed by the technology of cast type: the uniformity of the metal spacing material gave the typesetter the ability to produce a more uniform look on the printed page, a uniformity that would have eluded even the most skilled medieval calligrapher. Indeed it is quite possible that as the technology itself became more precise, so did the typographical practice of spacing into word-blocks.

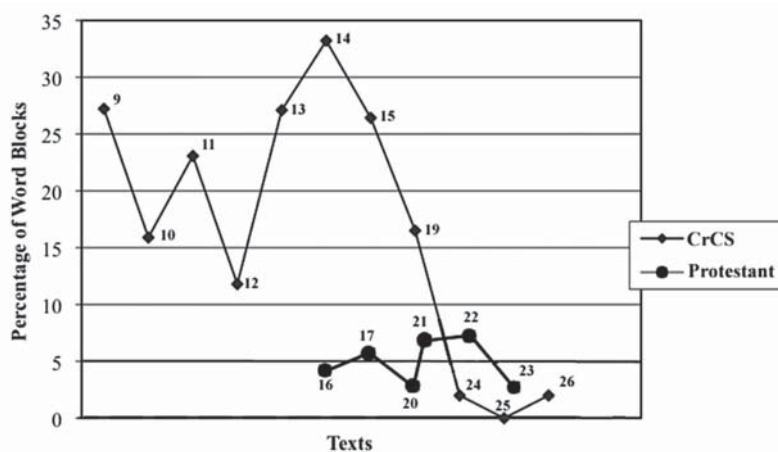


Chart 3. Word-block usage in CrCS texts compared to Protestant vernacular texts. The dotted line and round data points represent Protestant texts. The solid line and square data points represent texts written and printed in CrCS. Arabic numerals correspond to the numbered texts in Table 1.

Grafikon 3. Uporaba združnica u hrvatskim crkvenoslavenskim tekstovima u usporedbi s protestantskim vernakularnim tekstovima. Linija s kružićima odnosi se na protestantske tekstove. Linija s kvadratićima odnosi se na tekstove napisane i tiskane na hrvatskome crkvenoslavenskom. Arapske brojke odgovaraju brojkama koje se nalaze uz pojedine tekstove u Tablici 1.

It will be noted from the corpus that the practice of representing word-blocks typographically (vs. the practice of separating the discreet word) has a somewhat different expression in secular and sacred texts as well as in CrCS vs. Protestant publications.

Two distinct practices produce Croatian books as opposed to CrCS books printed in the Glagolitic alphabet: first, the Catholic production of a MISAL HRUACKI by Kožičić whose innovative linguistic norm has been described as a »living liturgical language« (BENVIN 1984: 214–215)¹⁶ and, second, Protestant texts introduced in the mid-16th century and written in the vernacular, in line with revolutionary Protestant practice of eschewing a separate liturgical language. As Chart 3 reveals, the CrCS manuscript and printed works reflect a consistent usage of word-blocks until the mid-15th century while printed Protestant vernacular texts (including translations of Biblical, religious and liturgical works) show a marked tendency toward modern word spacing usage from the outset. The round data points along the dotted line indicate the percentage of word-blocks found in the Protestant texts listed in Table 1 (at numbers 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23) which consistently ranges around 6%. It is interesting to note that the sharp decline in the use of word-blocks in the CrCS printed texts corresponds with the appearance of modern typographical spacing practices in the printed vernacular texts.

While the focus of this article is on analysing the decline in the normative use of word-blocks in the CrCS liturgical and other books, it is worthwhile here to discuss briefly possible parallel changes in linguistic norms and writing practices that accompanied the demise of medieval word-block usage, by way of suggesting further avenues of investigation. It will be noted from the corpus that the practice of representing word-blocks typographically has a different expression in secular and sacred texts, and in CrCS vs. Protestant publications. Chart 3 shows the relatively low use of word-blocks in the Protestant vernacular texts as opposed to the much higher usage in CrCS texts. Not surprisingly the Protestant texts represent the reforming ideals of both the Protestant Lutheran movement and, more intriguingly, the lingu-

¹⁶ Although Kruming (KRUMING 1998: 40) classifies the language of Kožičić's Missal as »slavianskii xorvatskoi redaktsii«, Benven argues that the dynamics of vernacularisation characterise the editor-bishop's language. See below for the continuing discussion of the linguistic nature of Kožičić's liturgical texts.

stic notions of some of the Croatian Catholic Glagolites, especially those of Šimun Kožičić. Kožičić, one of the first to discuss the issues of the dignity and norms for the liturgical language of the Glagolitic books, adhered to the idea that a liturgical language constitutes a dynamic medium that should be readily comprehended by the common faithful. Indeed, his tendency toward a popular liturgical language is reflected in his use and espousal of ikavian čakavian dialect as the most dignified form of »Illyrian« for liturgical purposes.¹⁷

On the one hand Kožičić's innovation in language has been viewed as a kind of vernacularisation of the liturgical texts, while on the other hand his renovation of the books has been seen as reflecting the diglossic nature of late medieval Croatian linguistic culture. The former conclusion adopts the principle that the move toward the use of the vernaculars in literature and liturgy (especially by the Protestant cults) reflects a growing acceptance of the vernacular tongue in the liturgies. The latter conclusion, on the other hand, looks toward a more recent theory that Kožičić was intent on renewing what he viewed as corrupt CrCS texts with a view toward retaining a perceived linguistic continuity with past norms while at the same time providing a text that was as comprehensible as possible to the common public (CEKOVIĆ; SANKOVIĆ; ŽAGAR 2010: 134). As CEKOVIĆ, SANKOVIĆ and ŽAGAR 2010 have proposed, Kožičić's startling linguistic forms might more readily reflect a desire to adhere to the spirit and letter of the Latin *Vulgate*. This inclination toward the Latinate practice indeed may help explain his leaning toward analogous Latinate printing-composition practices. From this point of view it is difficult to place Kožičić's typography into a particular camp based on composing room techniques. Nevertheless, the practices of his printing office and his printed books reflect the changing attitude toward the graphic representation of texts that were designed to be read aloud. Thus, Kožičić's MISAL HRUACKI, *Odbitiê redovničkoga knižice* (OD BITIÊ), as well as other editions are representative of a turning point in Croatian typography in the early book era. It has long been recognized that MISAL HRUACKI exhibits a renovated version of CrCS. Decidedly closer to the language of the people, it was ar-

¹⁷ In this regard both Benveniste and Iovine rightly emphasize the dynamic and ever-changing nature of the liturgical and ecclesiastical variants of CrCS.

gued during the 16th and 17th century debates on the dignity of the »Illyrian« language that the linguistic makeup of texts like Kožičić's were in a sense closer to the spirit of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission.

While the issues were contentious on both sides – one in favour of a Croatian form of Church Slavonic for the liturgy the other for a »pure« yet Eastern version of Church Slavonic – the ultimate victors at the *Propaganda fidei* those espousing a reversion to the »pure« Church Slavonic of the Cyrillo-Methodian era – clearly both sides eventually adopted the typographical practice of separating clitics from their word-hosts. In the case of Church Slavonic this is not without some irony, since on the one hand, the more conservative practice had always been to favour the use of word-blocks and on the other, the revision of CrCS resulted in a Russified hybrid version of Church Slavonic in the 17th and 18th century editions of the Glagolitic liturgical books. Indeed the latter, seen as a triumph for the dignity of Church Slavonic as a liturgical language over the dignity of any one dialect came with the establishment of a norm that featured linguistic forms that had always been alien to the Glagolitic CrCS texts.

It is not within the scope of this brief paper to make definitive connections between the typographical customs of the Protestant Glagolitic publications produced in Germany and the Catholic Glagolitic publications issued in Croatia and Italy; nor is it possible to say that there was an influence from one to the other. One can, however, conjecture that the typographic practices of the both the German Protestant and Italian Latinate presses quickly gained a foothold in the ecclesiastical printeries. This is not surprising since the expertise in typesetting and proof reading in Glagolitic was necessarily limited and the personnel moved from shop to shop.¹⁸ Add to this the peregrinatory nature of print shop workers in general in this era and the result is a widespread network of interconnected and international artisans whose particular skills, practices and preferences travelled with them.

The codification of CrCS liturgical linguistic norms was a gradual process that included not only grammatical, lexical, stylistic and other convergences with eastern Church Slavonic variants but also a swift adoption of typographical norms bound, somewhat anomalously, to Western printing

¹⁸ On the early Glagolitic print shops see HERCIGONJA 1984, JAKŠIĆ 2001 and NISETEO 1960.

practices. The information presented here lead to the assured conclusion that there was a rapid conformity to the Western typographical practice of separating words as the smallest units of independent meaning; i.e. in accordance with our own contemporary norms.

The present article has sought to bring to the fore a discussion of significant changes in typographical and compositional practices in an era when the book was being reformed in both graphic and substantive ways. It is hoped that future research trajectory will lead to analyses of these changes in light of the literary compositional practices of the age; in particular we plan to explore the correlation of the mechanical graphic look with the declining practice of composition according to the medieval isocolic principle. In this regard, future investigations will necessarily include a more extensive look at other graphic features of late medieval manuscripts and early printed books.

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Sažetak

BJELINE U FUNKCIJI RAZGRANIČENJA RIJEČI U STARIM TISKANIM GLAGOLJSKIM TEKSTOVIMA

U članku se opisuje razvoj tiskarske prakse postavljanja bjelina između riječi u starim tiskanim glagoljskim knjigama i brzo napuštanje korištenja tzv. združnica u korist potpunoga odvajanja riječi tijekom 16. stoljeća. Bjeline su slabo istraženo područje s obzirom na njihovu važnost, u razumijevanju kako prakse pisanja i čitanja tako i retoričke te kompozicijske strukture srednjovjekovnih hrvatskih crkvenoslavenskih tekstova i jezične norme ranonovovjekovnih književnih djela. Načelno, što su moderne tiskarske prakse razvijenije, to se bjeline dosljednije rabe. U kontekstu široko rasprostranjenih promjena u mehaničkom tiskanju od 15. do 17. stoljeća, u članku se, prije svega u hrvatskim crkvenoslavenskim tiskanim liturgijskim knjigama, raščlanjuje pojava sve češćega korištenja bjelina između svih riječi na račun združnica. Oslanjajući se na već poznato o relevantnim okolnostima 16. stoljeća, naime sve strožoj regulaciji liturgijskih tekstova i sve snažnijoj jezikoslovnoj svijesti, ovo istraživanje tipografskih praksa donosi neke uvide vezane za normiranje glagoljskih liturgijskih tekstova i dopušta zaključiti da su rasprostranjene svjetovne tipografske prakse lako nalazile svoje mjesto u crkvenim tiskarama. Tako su hrvatskoglagoljske knjige brzo, u skladu sa zapadnjačkom tipografskom praksom, preuzele dosljedno umetanje bjelina u svrhu odvajanja riječi kao najmanjih jedinica neovisnoga značenja.

Ključne riječi: bjelina, brevijar, hrvatske inkunabule, glagoljske liturgijske knjige, glagoljski rimski misal, rane tiskane knjige, rano tiskarstvo, tipografija, združenica

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