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ORALITY AND MEANING IN THE CLOZIANUS METHODIAN SERMON

The paper examines how the Methodian Sermon found in the *Codex Clozianus* might have been preached in a manner that used rhythmically regular prose to convey its messages with great rhetorical and artistic effect. As one of the earliest examples of the Old Church Slavic corpus, the sermon offers evidence of how oral presentation might have been effectively used to convey the newly introduced doctrinal teachings of the Moravian missionaries. The graphemic features of the text as it appears in the codex, as well as other rhetorical devices, often indicate an arrangement of phrasing that is consistent with an isocolic arrangement of the prose in accord with the isocolic principle that was a widespread feature of the medieval Slavic literary tradition. This rhythmical patterning, when seen as integral to any oral performance of the text, helps reveal the sermon's message, an admonition to the listener to abide by the Christian doctrines concerning restrictions on consanguineous marriage between natural and spiritual kin. These admonitions are directed in a forceful way to those of high political status, and likely echo events that occurred during St Methodius' Moravian mission and which are mentioned in the saint's *vita*. Rulers, moreover, who have received their leadership roles by the will of God, are admonished to be staunch exemplars of the Christian way of life. An examination of the text's rhetorical structures in view of the features of the isocolic principle reveals a consistent use of graphemic and rhetorical markers that help the preacher – or even the silent reader – to grasp these strict doctrinal messages.

Keywords: *Codex Clozianus*, St. Methodius, Methodian sermon, orality, isocolic principle, Old Church Slavic language, medieval Slavic rhetoric

1. INTRODUCTION

The *Codex Clozianus* (Cloz), one of the earliest Old Church Slavic (OCS) manuscripts and containing various sermons translated from the Greek fa-

thers and one likely original Slavic sermon, offers excellent material for our studies into the nature and practice of oral literary performance in the Slavic medieval era. It is quite possible that the OCS sermon preserved here is an original composition by Methodius himself: historical, stylistic, and linguistic comparisons with Methodius' other works¹ lead to the likely conclusion that the sermon was written by him in OCS, and that the version that is preserved in the Cloz represents a south Slavic redaction – perhaps Bulgaro-Macedonian in origin – that was later copied in Croatia. I have accepted the conclusion that the sermon was composed by Methodius – or at the very least by one of his close cohorts – and will hereafter refer to the work as the *Sermon of Methodius*, abbreviated SM (*Sermo Methodii*).²

Given the antiquity of the Clozianus texts, and especially the presence of an antique ninth-century OCS sermon, we have a unique opportunity to examine the rhetorical rhythmo-syntactical structures of one of the oldest OCS products designed to be performed aloud. In particular, the sermon may offer evidence of how oral presentation was effectively used to convey the newly introduced doctrinal teachings of the missionaries to Moravia. Given also that our previous research into the verbal rhythmical patterns of OCS prose texts has shown a persistent presence of what has been called an »isocolic principle« governing both the composition and performance of many medieval Slavic texts, we have looked into how the Methodian sermon might reveal insights into the medieval Slavic isocolon and its presence in the most ancient OCS texts. To this end, we have scrutinized digital versions of the Cloz man-

¹ On the authorship and origin of the SM see VONDRÁK 1893: 197; GRIVEC 1942; VAILLANT 1947: 34–37; ŠTEFANIĆ 1953: 67–74; VAŠICA 1956; FUČIĆ 1997. Most scholars suggest an ultimate Moravian origin of the work. Vondrák (VONDRÁK 1893: 197) posits a Macedonian source for the manuscript, while others posit a Moravian origin for the prototype of our current manuscript and a Macedonian or Bulgarian source for the Cloz, which itself was copied down in Croatian linguistic territory. Fučić (FUČIĆ 1997:102) conjectures an origin on the southern Croatian coast, while Grivec (GRIVEC 1942: 349) and others (e.g. VAŠICA 1956) are more or less in agreement on the Moravian → Bulgarian/Macedonian → Croatian journey of the text.

² Vaillant's opinion notwithstanding (VAILLANT 1947: 44), it is difficult to prove that there was an »original« version of this sermon written in Greek. No Greek antecedent has been found, nor is there any concrete evidence to show that this sermon is even loosely based on Patristic or other homilies. What's more, Vaillant's assertion that the Greek-like syntax of the text points to a Greek origin is tenuous proof, even if some of the OCS constructions reflect a sensibility for Greek syntax, usage, and style.

uscripts, examining in particular punctuation, the use of white spacing, and other markers of the isocolic structures.³

The issue of how medieval Slavic prose texts might have been presented orally is a lesser studied but compelling topic, since the oral aspects of performing a text offer hints as to how the presenter viewed the text at hand. In an article on the performative aspects of the medieval Croatian »Legend of St John Chrysostom«, M.-A. Dürriegl offers some clear insight into the possible oral performance of texts in the Croatian Glagolitic tradition:

»Although there is no clear evidence that Croatian medieval religious prose was performed, it can be safely assumed that the texts contained in Croatian Glagolitic miscellanies bear some indications of (albeit sometimes rudimentary) performance. Under the term performance a whole range of deliveries has to be understood, from a detached ‘clerical’ performance with little or no physical expressions, to a more moving and dramatic one, including not only changes in the teller’s voice, but also facial expressions and even gestures. Performance was an additive, a complement, and almost an illustration of what was being said, but it was not allowed to overshadow or obscure the meaning and message of a given work.« (DÜRRIGL 2014: 48)

Dürriegl’s consideration concerning the available range of performative »actions«, from vocal modulation to emotive gestures, can be applied to other areas of research, and especially to the rhythmical structures of the medieval Slavic texts.

»Linguistic analyses of Croatian Glagolitic texts have shown that orality played a role in the choice of linguistic features. Texts had to be understood and accessible – they were made accessible by or through translation, and also by ‘writing down’ and public reading/performance. It can be generally stated that Croatian Glagolitic literary production was to a high degree intended for auditory, aural reception,

³ Kopitar published a Cyrillic transcription of the Cloz in 1836 and in 1860 Miklosich published his revised version which included the two folios he had discovered at Innsbruck. Vondrák published an edition in Cyrillic in 1893 along with equivalents of the Greek sermons. Vaillant includes various corrections in a Cyrillic transliteration. A facsimile edition of the Cloz was published by Dostál (DOSTÁL 1959: 18–22). A digital photo version is available on line at <https://glagoljica.hr/?pr=i&id=19268> (August 2024), and a digitized UTF font version can be had at <https://web.archive.org/web/20141104001554/http://verob.hu/clozianus/> (August 2024). Štefanić offers a comprehensive study of the manuscript’s peregrinations in the 15th to the 20th centuries (ŠTEAFANIĆ 1953).

By isocolic markers we mean various prose features that indicate the isocolic-rhythmical structures of the texts, e.g. verbal repetitions, alliterations, homoeoteleuta, chiasmus, and so forth. See below for a fuller description.

which is clearly reflected in stylistic and other linguistic traits. (...) Stylistic devices such as parallelisms, repetitions, formulae, etc. also serve to indicate oral communication.« (DÜRRIGL 2014: 49)

In fact, her emphasis on the role that orality played in the transmission of texts (and thus on the ideas therein) corresponds well with other avenues of research undertaken in the past few decades. In particular, scholarly findings regarding the rhythmical regularity of medieval Slavic prose texts reveal some interesting correlations between the graphic and graphematic aspects of the text on the page and rhythmical textual structures, which in turn hint at the text's oral presentation and at connexions between the rhythmical structures and presentation of the text's »meaning« to the listeners. One possible way of studying the oral presentation of texts is to look at how the written page might offer clues to interpreting the text for the reader/lector/presenter. In this regard, punctuation, word and/or phrase spacing, and other visual markers can help the modern researcher to discern at least broad outlines of how the early readers of these texts might have interpreted them for oral presentations.

Bearing in mind Dürrigl's conclusions, one can ask if there is evidence of a connexion between orality in the earliest Slavic Glagolitic literary tradition and the isocolic constructions characteristic of many early and later Slavic texts. In this regard, V. Valiavitcharska's study of rhythm in the rhetorical traditions of Byzantium and especially her study of rhythmical structures in the Bulgarian Church Slavic translated sermons found in the *Codex Suprasliensis* offers a valuable view of the rhythmical structures of the medieval Slavic sermon (VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013: 142–181). Basing her conclusions on the similarities between the Greek source texts of the Church Slavic translations, she shows that the sermons in the *Suprasliensis* quite closely follow the syllabo-tonic patterns of the Greek originals. A determining factor in her conclusion is that the punctuating »dot« (*punctus*) in the *Suprasliensis* marks rhythmical clauses and that these clauses show a certain uniformity with the syllable and stress counts of the clauses of the Greek texts. Based on Valiavitcharska's conclusions, one can thus reasonably conclude that the Slavic rhythmical structures of the translated sermons in the *Suprasliensis* are purposefully consonant with the rhythmical structures of the Greek originals albeit in a way that reflects the nature of OCS rhythmical prose (VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013: 157–181).⁴

⁴ Certainly the texts of these very early OCS versions of Greek sermons offer opportunities for future scholars to follow up on Valiavitcharska's insights into how one might have »performed« these texts in the medieval Slavic lands.

Such an analogy is not possible with the SM, of course, given that it is an original OCS composition. Since Methodius' native knowledge of ninth-century Greek and of Greek rhetoric had no small influence on his work in codifying a written language for the Moravian Slavs, it is likely that he chose to write the sermon in the Slavic liturgical-linguistic »style« that Methodius, his brother Cyril and others employed in their translations of ecclesiastical works during the Moravian mission.⁵ It is likewise logical to look into the possibility that a rhythmical principle based on an orderly arrangement of stresses in the cola – regardless of the number of syllables – underlies the prose text of the SM. And although Valiavitcharska affirms the likely existence of a medieval Slavic »isocolic principle«, her study necessarily excludes the discussion of any isocolic regularity based on strictly isotonic and not syllabo-tonic rhythms in native OCS texts.

Her assessment of early OCS texts points to an isotonicity that is not dependent on the number of stresses in the *cola* or *commata*, even if the number of syllables is an imitation or very close approximation of the number of syllables in the Greek originals. What's more, the stresses in the OCS cola are often of equal or alternating numbers and, on closer look, at times exhibit patterns that are consonant with the principle that a regular arrangement of the number of stresses is the major underlying factor in the rhythmical regularity of the medieval Slavic prose texts, even though the number of syllables is variable (VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013: 56–89; 142–181). Given the Slavic linguistic origins of the SM, however, the question can rightly be asked: Is it possible to find consistent rhythmical regularities in the Methodian sermon that might be seen as enforcing performative actions in its oral delivery?

Our working principles for studying these aspects of the Cloz are based on the solid research produced up until now. As noted above, the linguistic features of the manuscript that has come down to us indicate that it was most likely produced in what is currently Croatia, but copied from an earlier version written out in the Macedonian lands. As we have noted, scholars generally accept that palaeographic, linguistic and other evidence indicate that the codex was produced in the eleventh century in the south Slavic lands and copied

⁵ It has been fairly well shown that a sacral style is the feature of most religious oriented language and OCS was, of course, no exception. One can easily agree with Valiavitcharska that it »is not far-fetched to suppose that they [Ss. Cyril and Methodius, add. D. C.] borrowed patterns from the Greek literary tradition (in which they had received an extensive education) – as did their students, most of whom carried out intense translation work and probably followed closely the models set up by their teachers« (VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013: 144–145).

in the Croatian lands from an earlier manuscript. The textual content of the codex has been well accounted for: four sermons translated from the Greek Patristic corpus, and the original OCS SM. While, as we have noted, the origin and authorship of the latter sermon is of great importance, our interests here centre on how the palaeographic and especially graphematic signals on the manuscript page might indicate clues to how the sermon was delivered orally. As such, our investigations begin with the assumption that the graphic »look of the page« would provide clues to the reader or lector that would help him to deliver the sermon in the most effective manner. The lector would most likely have been a cleric of some degree or other: a priest or deacon delivering a homily at Mass, a reader at the refectory table in a monastery or, less dramatically but equally important, a private reader, perusing the sermon for scholarly, spiritually edifying, personal, or other reasons. Whatever the reader's/lector's goal, the sermon's messages would be more easily grasped given a »correct« reading, that is, not only a proper grammatical and syntactical reading, but one that also aided in grasping the didactic nuances of the messages. The latter would in fact be enhanced by any number of suprasegmental aspects of the text: emphasis and denouement, effective juxtapositions of contrasts and similarities, dramatic contrasts, and myriad other turns of speech. Not least of these stylistic forms are the rhythmical speech patterns that a preacher might employ when delivering this sermon to an attentive audience.

A fair amount has been written about the features of the isocolic regularity throughout the medieval Slavic literary world. The Slavic isocolon as a rhetorical prose device and its features have been widely described in the scholarly literature. Indeed, it has been shown that the earliest pieces of the Old Church Slavic literary corpus (e.g. *Vita Methodii*, *Vita Constantini*) are remarkably consistent in following an isocolic principle and that this method of composition held sway throughout the Slavic Middle Ages.⁶ It is not within the scope of the present paper to repeat the evidence for the preceding conclusion. In brief, however, the medieval Slavic isocolon may be defined as a regular series of words – or at times »stress units«, word combinations that share a single stress – whose arrangement is based on the number of stresses in a logical syntactical unit (the *colon*). The orderly structure of these series is set up in regular rhythmical patterns that correspond to larger syntactical units

⁶ See PICCHIO 1970–1972; PICCHIO 1972; PICCHIO 1973.a; PICCHIO 1973.b; PICCHIO 1978; PICCHIO 1980; PICCHIO 1984; KOSTOVA 1985; KOSTOVA 1998; VALIAVITCHARSKA 2013 among others.

which roughly align with the modern »sentence«. Thus, each rhythmical line constitutes a colon, or occasionally a semi-colon, which in turn may constitute larger units or compound cola. The isocolic structures occur in series in which parallel lines consist of equal or alternate numbers of stress units.⁷ Series composed of compound cola may include ideas subordinate to the series' main proposition that are rhythmically marked as parenthetical asides. These passages may be of an explanatory, hortatory, or even admonishing nature and often stand out rhythmically in their contexts. It must be remembered, however, that an overall rhythmically regular flow of the text is the main supporting feature of the medieval Slavic isocolon and as such might or might not strictly correspond to acoustical stress features in any given phrase, especially where phrasal intonation and similar oral features are paramount.

In discussing the types of rhythmical forms that appear in the isocolic structures we have followed the established convention of referring to complete syntactical units of isocolic structures as *cola* and to smaller divisions of these cola as *semicola*. The colon may correspond roughly to the modern definition of a clause, phrase or short sentence. A semicolon in our usage is a constituent part of that clause, corresponding mainly to the *comma* of classical definition. The larger isocolic series often compare to the *periodus*, that is, a sentence, or two or more sentences with a logical coherence.⁸

2. THE MESSAGE OF THE METHODIAN SERMON AND THE ISOCOLIC PRINCIPLE

Given the antiquity and ubiquity of isocolic structures as one feature of the oral discipline in the medieval Slavic literary milieu, it is worthwhile determining if the texts found in some of our most antique manuscripts show any evidence of being composed according to this isocolic principle. In this regard, the Cloz, and in particular the SM, offers good ground for our research. We hope to

⁷ For more details on the presence of isocolic structures in the Croatian Glagolitic tradition, see HERCIGONJA 1975: 115–116 and 142–156; and previous discussions in CRNKOVIĆ 2006; CRNKOVIĆ 2008; CRNKOVIĆ 2011; CRNKOVIĆ 2022.

⁸ We have referenced the formula *cola et commata* here as a shorthand to refer to »phrasing« that delineates the smaller and larger rhythmically regular passages of the text which often correspond to the regular isocolic/isotonic textual patterns, called cola, semicola, and isocolic series. It is hoped that our discussion of *cola* and *commata* here may help to place the understanding of isocolic divisions into a more traditional way of naming syntactical divisions.

show here that the visual aspect of the SM presents an exemplary, indeed obvious, choice for examining the oral presentation features of the very earliest Old Church Slavic codices. What is more, the availability of a very early manuscript offers a unique opportunity to look into the primal aspects of the correlation between oral presentation and the graphical features of the manuscript.

An overall view of the rhythmo-syntactical structures of the SM shows a picture of rhythmical regularity that corresponds to the descriptions of the medieval Slavic isocolic principle. While the current article does not undertake a complete analysis of the rhythmical isocolic features of the Cloz, it can be noted that overall there are in the SM thirty-two isocolic series of varying lengths and types, composed of simple and compound cola. Twenty-one series are comprised of mainly simple cola, nine of compound cola, and two of generative cola.⁹ The series themselves are of four types: simple (15), alternating (7), framed (8), and generative (2). For the most part the cola and their series follow anticipated rhythmo-syntactical patterns, although there are some anomalous passages. In spite of these latter, the overall structure of the text shows a notable isocolic regularity.

Since by definition the isocolic structures are based on logical syntactical units, one easily expects the *puncti*, which also generally mark syntactical units, to coincide regularly with the isocola. This is often the case. There are, however, some instances in the SM where the dots seem more arbitrarily placed. Of these, we shall give particular examples below.

The SM, as A. Vaillant cogently argues, is a »personal« sermon, that is, one that has a very specific purpose and theme, as well as a narrow target audience, falling within the broad realm of a sermonizing admonition rather than as Biblical exegesis. It is, Vaillant asserts, an indictment with a summation to the prince to apply the law.¹⁰ He further explains that there is serious evidence indicating that Methodius could have written the piece, given the text's content and theme, and given the circumstances in which the bishop would have had cause to preach so forcefully about the duties of Christian rulers to be paragons

⁹ As defined in the literature, a simple series consists of cola of equal length (e.g. four cola of three stresses each [3,3,3,3]), an alternating series of cola in a rotating pattern (e.g. 3,4,3,4), a framed series of equal central cola enclosed by equal length cola (e.g. 4,3,3,3,4). Generated series are more complex consisting of an introductory semi-colon that initiates a new series (e.g. 5-stress semicolon with 3-stress *cauda* generates a series of 3-stress cola [5+3 → 3,3,3,3]). On these types of series and other forms of the isocolon see PICCHIO 1973.b; COLUCCI-DANTI 1977; CRNKOVIĆ 1985; KOSTOVA 1998.

¹⁰ »... un réquisitoire, avec sommation au prince de faire appliquer la loi.« (VAILLANT 1947: 42).

of righteous behaviour before their subjects. Indeed the admonitions here repeat the doctrinal regulations of the Church in the ninth century, doctrines that Methodius would have been pressed to uphold among the semi-pagan Slavs of Central Europe at the time. The thematic content of the sermon, in large part an admonition to political leaders not to marry anyone related by spiritual kinship, such as a fellow godparent, is so narrow a topic that it likely had a specific person as its target. Vaillant points out that just such a case of an impeded marriage is reported in Chapter XI of the *Vita Methodii* and that the sermon could very well have been an urgent appeal to the prince to put a stop to the illicit union.¹¹ The main admonition is that a secular leader must rule wisely and morally as a Christian prince, admonishing those who commit offences against the Church's teachings. Special attention is paid to condemning offences against the Church's marriage restrictions between natural and spiritual kin. A major question before us then is: Does the text as presented on the page indicate how the oral presentation of the sermon might highlight these key admonitions?

As for connexions between punctuation and oral performance, it is significant that the overriding punctuating sign in the SM is the *punctus* in conjunction with white space surrounding it on either side. On the other hand, punctuating markers common to the era in various places and various languages (especially in Latin and Greek manuscripts) are not in evidence. Thus, we do not see paragraph headings (the K or *caput*), the pilcrow, or the indentations of the *cola* and *commata* (arrangement of phrases). Yet even this minimal presence of marking features – commonly used since Jerome's time so that sermons might be more easily presented aloud and understood – might nevertheless serve as a key to understanding the significance of the *punctus* and white space in relation to any oral presentation. The markings in the SM are clearly not added at random: even a cursory reading shows that they consistently delineate both shorter phrases (*comma*, or *semicola*) and longer sense units (*colon* and *periodus*, arranged in isocolic series).¹² Bearing in mind the

¹¹ »... appel impérieux à l'autorité du prince pour le faire cesser« (VAILLANT 1947: 41). Although referring to it as »une homélie« Zástěrová's analysis agrees in the main with the idea that this is a pointed sermon aimed at presenting the requirements of Byzantine canon and secular law to Svjatopolk's court (ZÁSTĚROVÁ 1983: 698–699). The assertion that a sermon is written for a specific audience at a specific time does not, of course, exclude it from being incorporated into a collection that includes universal teachings and constant doctrines.

¹² The fourth century Latin grammarian Donatus made distinctions among the high, middle, and low *punctus* in his *Ars Grammatica* (PARKES 1993: 13), as did Isidore of Seville's similar system (*De positurus*) (PARKES 1993: 21). Late antique and Byzantine Greek gram-

SM author's high level of literary competence, he would have been aware of the principles underlying the rhythmical dynamics of the *cola* and *commata*. What's more, any scribe or copyist would have been familiar with the long-standing tradition of marking off larger or smaller logical syntactic units in order to facilitate reading aloud (although we do not wish to suggest that any one copyist was consciously modifying the *cola* and *commata* solely for his own purpose). Assuredly, both author and scribe understood that an effective oral performance of the text would help both reader and listener to understand the text's messages.

3. ISOCOLIC RHYTHMICAL STRUCTURES IN THE SM

Are the features of the medieval Slavic isocolon discernible in the Cloz SM? If so, are these features reflected in any way by the punctuating marks or other indicators in the manuscript? An equally important question arises concerning the interpunctuation between phrases: What do these white spaces/*puncti* indicate? Obviously they mark out certain kinds of phraseological structures, but are they consonant with any possible oral performance of the text? In his thorough study of punctuation, B. Parkes avers that the use of the *punctus* was an obvious indicator of »breath marks« in medieval manuscripts, although the *punctus* does not indicate the length of breath nor how much of a pause may be taken (PARKES 1993). Nor does it indicate any specific dynamic force that the recitation might affect at any given place in the narrative. Bearing this in mind, however, we can ask whether or not the rhythmical patterning we are discussing here is in any way indicated by the *punctus* and white spaces in the Cloz. Assuredly, the scribe's choice of where to use the white space and *punctus* was not arbitrary since there is a correlation between the punctuation and the *sensus* of the phrases thus demarcated. The markings that correspond to the grammatical and syntactical features of the text help the reader to read the text more easily and provide at least a modest guide to a lector's oral performance.

The Cloz text is a descendant of the original sermon, of course, so that any interpretation of its-rhythmical features associated with the punctuation could be the result of a number of transmission factors: a stable or unstable

marians also recognised the three height distinction of the »dots« (στιγμαί, see Dionysius Thrax, 1st cent. B.C. Τέχνη Γραμματική in: DIONYSSIUS THRAX). The *puncti* in the Cloz all occur at medial height.

tradition of punctuation usage handed down from earlier manuscripts, a more or less faithful retention of punctuation use by any one copyist, a purposeful or accidental reworking of the *puncti* by any one scribe, a reinterpretation of the phrasing by any one or more scribes, and so forth. It is not within the scope of the current paper to try to posit »original« punctuation, nor is it necessarily helpful to do so. What concerns us here is how the *puncti* might function in an overall discernibly isocolic rhythmical structure.

It will be useful, then, to see if the *punctus* in the Cloz offers indications of logical arrangements into clauses and phrases functionally equivalent to the line breaks of graphical practices that distinguish clauses and phrases (in divisions *per cola et commata*) to determine if these clauses and phrases are consistent with the medieval Slavic isocolic structures, especially in view of the other rhetorical markers of the isocolon. If indeed the scribe of the SM wrote down the sermon according to principles similar to the *per cola et commata*, then one might expect to find some correspondence with the principles of isocolic regularity that have been heretofore described. In particular, divisions of the text into *commata* would easily fit with the larger divisions of the cola. One might expect to find divisions that correspond to the longer rhythmical cola and, if indeed the SM is composed along the lines of an isocolic regularity, one would also expect to find other rhythmical markers, such as repetitions, alliterations, grammatical, syntactical, and other parallels that indicate the divisions into rhythmical units based on the clauses, phrases, and longer syntactical units (the *periodus*). In fact, our investigation shows that such seems to be the case with much of the text of the SM.

As M. Žagar has observed, the punctuating markers of the earliest Glagolitic manuscripts may serve as much of a »performance« function as a syntactical one, so that the *punctus* (*točka*) often marks syntactical units and equally often these punctuating markers correspond to ways in which the text might be read aloud during an oral presentation. Thus, the syntactico-rhythmical aspects of the language may coincide with the grammatical structures of the text. These textual features and divisions are marked by the *puncti*, often times together with the white space (ŽAGAR 2013: 287–288).¹³ In our current in-

¹³ »Tomu [i.e. *izgovaranju*] svakako moramo dodati i stilistički višak, individualiziran i toliko očigledan u našim tekstovima. Pismovna se sredstva u tu svrhu mogu uporabiti, uz stanovite posebnosti i uz nešto reduciranija sredstva, baš kao i u usmenoj realizaciji mogu upotrijebiti visina tona, pauza, ritam i sl. Posrijedi je ponajprije označivanje ritmičke pulsacije/ tonski izokolon/, koja je dakako opet povezana s logičko-sintaktičkom raščlambom teksta.« (ŽAGAR 2013: 288, footnote 455).

quiry, then, we have asked if the punctuating features indicate any regular rhythmical patterning that might be consonant with the »isocolic principle« that governs the rhythmical structure of other medieval Slavic texts. Indeed, some of the more prominent passages indicate a rhythmical regularity of the phrase based on the precepts that have been determined for the isocolic principle. In many instances the *puncti* + white spaces indicate pauses – whether of long or short duration – that fall consistently within the isocolic »types« that have been described in the literature to date.

We have discussed elsewhere how the use of the white space in medieval Glagolitic manuscripts and in early printed works offers clues to the stress patterns of the texts (CRNKOVIĆ 2006; CRNKOVIĆ 2011). Word units (in Croatian *združenice*), usually amalgams of a host word with attendant prepositions, enclitics, proclitics, or particles often help our understanding of how the isocolic structures of a given text are arranged, and by extension, how they might have been read aloud. Not surprisingly, since the Clozianus texts represent one of the earliest of Glagolitic manuscripts, the use of white space is minimal and represents what is generally called an »aerated text«, that is, a text with white spacing strategically placed to help the reader more easily discern the sense of the text.¹⁴ In the sermon under consideration the white space is often used to delineate what may loosely be called phrases, although it is also seen separating individual word units. It is interesting to note that the white space is used most often in conjunction with the full stop. As we hope to show here, this use of the *punctus* along with white spacing often indicates the rhythmically isocolic phrasing of the text. Of course, the white spacing is not the sole or perfect marker of the colonic divisions, other indicators being used, i.e. parallel constructions, ending homoeoteleuton, repetitions, and the like. What's more, the messages of the sermon are often consonant with the rhythmical patterning, the isocolic structures with their various verbal rhetorical devices often lending an emphasis to the rhetorical devices of sense.¹⁵

At this point it is worthwhile to examine some example passages from the SM that may add to our understanding of how the graphic features of the text indicate any possible oral presentation, and how the text's rhythmical features might have been used to help the lector/reader to underscore the sermon's messages.

¹⁴ A good overview of the history of interverbal separation is found in SAENGER 1997.

¹⁵ That is, the *figurae verborum* that constitute the isocolic structure often carry the messages presented by the text and its frequent *figurae sententiae*. On types of *figurae verborum* and *sententiae* see LAUSBERG 1973.

The very first few lines of the SM constitute a rhythmical set based on rhythmically regular lines of three and six stresses, ending with a 5-stress couplet.

- 6 *ašte ubo lúbīti pravъdŏ vladykatъ zemlę ·*
 3 *b(o)žie slovo velītъ ·*
 6 *ī paky pon` <pokonъ ?> pŏtu blagu tvorīti <ti> pravedъnaa ·*
 6 *ībo otъ pravedъnyhъ déanii začīnaemъ blaženoe žitie ·*
 6 3/3 *da vīdīmъ sъ strahomъ · čъto semu īstълénъe ·*
 3 *b(o)žī(i) zakonъ sъkazaetъ ·*
 5 *ī se êko vъsêkogo plamene plamenⁱ nêe ·*
 4 *ī êdovitu uêdenъū êdovītêe da otъbêžīmъ · (f. 1b/21–28)¹⁶*

Although there is an unstable transmission of the second line here,¹⁷ the regularity of the rhythm is apparent and clearly punctuated as an alternating series 6,3,6,6,6,3 wherein the citations to Scripture are introduced with 3-stress phrases. This series is followed by a concluding couplet that forcefully exhorts the listener to avoid the fiery consequences of unjust and sinful actions. Even without the punctuating markers, the first stress units of the series are marked by the phonic repetitions of *bo – ī – o*: *b(o)žīe – ī – ībo – čъto – b(o)žī(i)*.

As for the meaning here, the short 3-stress lines emphasize God's commandments and the fear one need have if they are transgressed. The series

¹⁶ I have used Dostál's folio and line numbering throughout. Since the Cloz employs graphemes from the earliest era of Glagolitic writing, I have chosen to follow ŽAGAR (2013: 132–133) in transliterating passages of the text. In particular, I have used the following Latin letter equivalents to represent certain early-use Glagolitic graphemes:

ī for ѿ to distinguish from ѿ [i]

ê for ѡ to distinguish from ѡ [č]

ь for ѣ [jer]

ъ for ѥ [jor]

y for the digraph ѣѿ, which represents the *jery*, that is, the back vowel [i] (see ŽAGAR 2013:135, footnote 15)

ę for ѣ [front jus]

q for ѥ [back jus].

¹⁷ Vaillant reconstructs *pon`* to *n<ačqtъkъ>* »beginning« based on Proverbs XVI:7 (VAILLANT 1947: 35). Grivec simply reads *po pŏtu* (GRIVEC 1942: 353). Dostál thinks it likely that the word *pon`* is a mis-script for an abbreviation missing the *titlo*, accepting Vašica's conjecture that *pon`* is an abbreviation for the more ancient OCS *pokonъ* attested in Psalm CX:10 in the *Codex Sinaiticus* (DOSTÁL 1959: 128–129 and 366). Unlike Grivec's reading, both Vaillant's and Dostál's conjecture better fit the rhythmical structure here, providing a full stress, while *pokonъ* fits well here in a phrase marked by the alliterative *p*.

is a terse and logically constructed admonition to »listen up« to the divine commandments, singling out rulers in particular to watch their actions so they can follow the righteous path out of fear of the Lord. The alternation of short, almost clipped 3-stress cola and semi-cola stand out amidst the longer 6-stress lines, and easily lend themselves to a rather dramatic emphasis of the divine commands and of how fearsome one should be of breaking them.

The colourful ending cola here are forceful in both their *figurae verborum* and their *figurae sententiae*. The cola are marked by both the *puncti* and other standard isocolic markers: the repeated *ī* in the initial position, and the lexical play of *plamene plamen¹nēe* and *édovitu (...) édovitēe*, enhancing the phonic rhythmical patterns of the closing couplet. These two straightforward cola (a 5-stress + 4-stress *cauda*) contrast rhythmically with the preceding more complex structure, while neatly summing up the exhortation to the rulers to act justly. In addition, the ending contains two forceful metaphors that recall the Biblical imagery of fiery punishment and the venomous origin and nature of sin.

It need be noted here that punctuation, that is, the *puncti* in tandem with the white space do not reflect exactly our isocolic reading. This does not, however, negate the fact that the rhythmical structures of the sermon's text are organized along logical phrases (*commata*) of equal or near equal length based on the number of acoustical stresses. Thus the *sensus* and the composition intermix in a way that is at once clear in meaning and pleasing in its oral form.

We have noted that the *puncti* serve as markers of both syntactical phrases and by logical extension as markers of isocolic structures. On occasion the dots mark shorter verbal units that do not easily correspond to an isocolic interpretation of the texts, but that may indicate pauses of lesser intensity within the larger rhythmical form of a given passage. Thus, in the passage immediately following the one just discussed, in which preacher begins to set forth his admonishment against unlawful relationships among kin, the middle 6-stress colon seems sundered by three separate *puncti*.

- 6 *priemlō prēzde eliko otъ b(og)a vlastъ priemъše ·*
 6 2 *dobro izvêdōštei ·*
 1 *obrêtaōštihъ sę ·*
 3 *vъ svoě imъ lūdi ·*
 6 2 *tęže sъ trъpělъstvom ·*
 4 *īspytanъemъ na vъsêkъ denъ razdrêšaōšte*
 6 *dlъžni sōtъ ni edīnogo č(lovê)ka podъ nīmī sōštago*
 4 *sulêe imêti b(o)žīū zakonu*

- 6 2 *nī bratra* ·
 2 *nī čędo* ·
 2 *nī druga* ·
 3 *nī inogo nikoegože* · (f. 1b/34 – f. 2a/14)

The overall 6-stress pattern of this series is more easily seen when they semicola are represented horizontally:

- 6 *priemlę pręžde eliko otъ b(og)a vlastъ priemъše* ·
 6 {2+1+3} *dobro izvędęštei · obrętaęštihъ sę · vъ svoę imъ lůdi* ·
 6 {2+4} *tęže sъ trъpęlstvom · ispytanъemъ na vъsękъ denъ razdręšaęšte*
 6 *dlъžni sętъ nī edinogo č(love)ka podъ nimī sęštago*
 4 *sulęe imęti b(o)žiu zakonu*
 6 {2+2+2} *nī bratra · nī čędo · nī druga* ·
 3 *nī inogo nikoegože* ·

At first glance the *puncti* of the second 6-stress colon here (*dobro izvędęštei · obrętaęštihъ sę · vъ svoę imъ lůdi* ·) appear to interrupt the overall 6-stress pattern of this series. Moreover, the syntax of the passage seems somewhat strained and the punctuating dots correspond more closely to word separation than to the more pervasive practice of phrase separation. If, however, the *puncti* in this passage serve as markers for an oral presentation then it is worthwhile to see if the dots fit within any larger rhythmically regular pattern. Our vertical reading of the semicola does show an adherence to the anticipated isocolic markers: five of the first eight semicola end in participial forms (*priemъše* – *izvędęštei* – *obrętaęštihъ sę* – *razdręšaęšte* – *sęštago*) and the semicola in the final series are clearly marked by both the *puncti* and the repeated negative particle *nī*. The second colon of the series can be reconciled with the overall 6-stress pattern if it is treated as an aside to the main clauses. The latter, in fact, stand on their own as a logical whole: *priemlę pręžde eliko otъ b(og)a vlastъ priemъše* · (...) *tęže sъ trъpęlstvom · ispytanъemъ na vъsękъ denъ razdręšaęšte, dlъžni sętъ nī edinogo č(love)ka podъ nimī sęštago sulęe imęti b(o)žiu zakonu*. Given this coherence, the second colon presents itself as an »aside« to the main idea, and as such elicits the listeners' attention. This is especially so when considering that each of the phrases of the aside are marked off by a *punctus* and thus may be marked for a pause. Each pause may be short, even minimal, but each adds an emphasis to the adjoining phrase. In this way, special mention is made of those petitioning the princes (*obrętaęštihъ sę ... imъ*), whose positions and circumstances the princes know well

(*dobrê izvêdōštei*), and who are thus given special mention within the framing cola that demand fair and unbiased treatment for all the rulers' subjects.

The more dramatic final two cola of this series might be read in two ways, either of which, with their staccato-like rhythm, serves as an effective contrast to the preceding 6-stress cola:

6 2 *nī bratra* ·
 2 *nī čędo* ·
 2 *nī druga* ·
 3 *nī inogo nīkoegože* ·

or as:

3 1 *nī bratra* ·
 1 *nī čędo* ·
 1 *nī druga* ·
 2 *nī inogo nīkoegože* ·

In an ironic turn, this overall series ends with this clipped listing of those very petitioners who must not be held above the law (*nī bratra · nī čędo · nī druga* ·) and ends with a definitive exception for no one whatsoever (*nī inogo nīkoegože* ·). Whether one reads the particle *nī* with a dramatic phrasal emphasis or maintains the conventional word stress on only the nouns *bratra*, *čędo*, and *druga*, either reading provides a *cauda* that terminates the speaker's affirmation that no one is above the divine law while the passage's staccato-like rhythm serves as an effective rhythmical contrast to the preceding 6-stress cola. At the same time, the shorter stress patterns of the semicola (2,2,2 or 1,1,1,) help maintain a continuity with the previous compound 6-stress passages. The *puncti* here especially mark the emphatic pauses that »interrupt« the normal arrangement of syntactical parallels. In a performance sense, however, the pause need not be long to be effective and as such does not undermine the underlying 3- or 6-stress pattern of the overall series. Thus, the phrase *nī druga* stands out for special mention in the short list of those that a corrupt ruler might favour in judgments. The preacher must include, of course, 'brother' and 'child' in this list, but 'associate/friend' constitutes an especially defined category in light of the sermon's more specific emphasis on the application of the Church's consanguinity restrictions between God-siblings and the apparent infraction of the Church's commandment by a colleague of Prince Svjatopolk.

Further on in the sermon, a pivotal passage calls upon the authoritative words of Saint Paul to exhort the listeners to avoid sins of the flesh, reiterating

The use of the *puncti* here corresponds well to a regular rhythmical arrangement of the phrases and cola. The pauses hinted by the punctuation highlight the phonic and lexical repetitions found in the unital stress units of the cola: the repeated phonemes at the front of the cola *i nĭkĭto – ne – nĭ*; the repetition of the unstressed particle *že* in the first two cola (*lŭbodĕanĕ že – ěko že*); the alliterative *s* in the third colon *i nĭkĭto vasĕ da ne slyšĭtĭ tĕštĭmi slovesy*; the phonic interplay in the phrases (...šĭtĭ tĕšt...) and *slyšĭtĭ tĕštĭmi*; may all be seen as features of the isocolic cohesiveness of the series.

This new series reflects a reworking of verses from St Paul's epistle to the Ephesians (Eph 5:3–6). A complex set of compound cola sets out the duty of each baptized Christian to be chaste in order to avoid God's wrath. The pause indicated by the punctuation between the phrases *nĭ klevetĕnĭcĭ* and *nĭ obĭdĕlĭvi* ('nor slanderers, nor the unrighteous') presumes an emphasis on the word *nĭ*, highlighting the loss of a heavenly reward for these sinners. The condemnation of the unfaithful is carried into the final colon here where 'children of disobedience' (*na s(y)ny protĭvĕnyĕ*) are especially singled out for God's wrath in a two-stress rhythmical *cauda* that comes after the full stop. If Vaillant's conjecture about the intended audience of the SM is correct, then these are indeed forceful and harsh warnings to the influential Bohemian ruling class.

A rhythmical interplay of 3-stress and 4-stress phrases, that is of rhythmical semicola making up 7-stress compound cola, continues the exhortations to chastity, echoing passages of the St Paul's first letter to the Corinthians:

- 4 *dlĕženĕ estĭ vsĕkĕ křĕšteny ·*
 4 *samĕ sebe čĭsta hranĭti ·*
 4 *ěko cr(ĕ)k(ĕ)ve b(o)gu s(vĕ)tĕjĕ ·*
 3 *ĭ o svoeĭ ženĕ dovĕlĕti sĕ ·*
 4 *nĭčĕže ĭno dalĕnee sĕmyslĕtĭ ·*
 4 *nĭ vĕ skota mĕsto vĕ slĕdĕ*
 3 *nesĕmyslĕnĕ pohotymĕ hodĭtĭ · (f. 2a/39 – 2b/4)*

Again, the *puncti* mark relatively short phrases (the semicola) that guide the lector in his oral presentation. Thus the first two cola here divide to emphasize how each Christian is personally responsible for preserving his or her own chastity (*samĕ sebe čĭsta hranĭti*).

The next colon (*ěko cr(ĕ)k(ĕ)ve b(o)gu s(vĕ)tĕjĕ*) places the admonition to chastity in a Biblical context echoing the Pauline teaching that sees the spiritual underpinnings of the human body as a »temple of the Holy Ghost« (I Cor 6:19). Thus, the sermon emphasizes the theological reasoning behind

the personal responsibility for maintaining the purity of one's body. Using this same context, the next cola reiterate the Christian ideals of the sanctity of marriage (*i o svoei ženē dovъlēti sę*), here addressed to the potential wayward husband or, in the context suggested by Vaillant (VAILLANT 1947), to the very real adulterous situation at hand. The colon sums up with an exhortation to keep even a pure mind (*nīčъže ino dalъnee sъmyslētī*), 'lusting in one's heart', being soundly condemned in the Gospel by Matthew 5:28. Although not punctuated strictly as such, the overall isocolic pattern here suggests that the final couplet in the series can be construed as 4- and 3-stress cola. A frank condemnation of what would have been understood as unnatural sexual practices among the author's intended audience, this colon shows the same overall pattern as the previous, continuing the use of a negative at the front end of the semicola (*nīčъže – nī – nesъmyslnъ*) and an infinitive at the end of the colon or semicolon (*hraniti – dovъlēti sę – sъmyslētī – hodīti*).

In a previous passage the preacher had admonished his audience forcefully against divorce and more pointedly against consanguineous marriages, especially consanguinity incurred by spiritual and sacramental affiliation. These restrictions on marriage were spelled out by a number of Church decrees, notably by the Quinisext Council (692), which forbade marriages between first cousins. Subsequently, in the eighth century Emperors Leo and Constantine confirmed this decree and forbade alliances between persons up to the sixth degree of consanguinity according to the computation of the Roman civil law, i.e. between the grandchildren of brothers and sisters. In addition, the Church had long considered invalid the marriage of those related spiritually, that is, by the bond of sacramental unity, which included »god siblings«, i.e. godparents and godchildren established at baptism.¹⁸ These strictures against consanguineous relations are presented quite frankly in the Clozianus sermon in a straightforward isocolic series:

3 2+1 *i kъmotrami svoimī · i dъ//šterъmi ·*
 4 *īže otъ s(vę)tago krъštenъē ne sъmēšati sę ·*
 4 *vъse bo se s(vę)tī vъsemu miru*
 4 *obъšti sъ nъmī proklęlī sotъ · (f. 2a/20–23)*

Of course, the 'daughters' of which he speaks are not only biological daughters but god-daughters, spiritually related by baptism. This appears to have been the situation facing Prince Svjatospolk's allegedly rich and powerful friend

¹⁸ A concise description of these restrictions is found in BURTSELL 1908.

referenced by Vaillant.¹⁹ He cites chapter XI of the *Vita Methodii*²⁰ as evidence that this admonition against consanguineous relations is directly mentioned by the author of the *Vita* in a situation concerning one of Svjatopolk's close allies whom Methodius himself had condemned (VAILLANT 1947: 41–42).

The passage is punctuated as phrases of 3, 4 and 8 stresses, but I have allowed here for two semicola in the final lines, which fit the overall pattern of four stresses. The first two cola have the phonemic repetitions *i*, *ot*, and *sv* in their initial stress units (*ī kьmotrami svoimi*; *īže otъ s(vę)tago*), while the third colon is replete with alliterative and repeated phonemes: *vse, se, sv, vse* (*vse bo se s(vę)ti vsemu miru*), thus setting it off from the final colon (*obъsti sьnъmi prokleli sьtъ*). It is also interesting to note that three of the final stress units combine the essence of the preacher's admonition against spiritual incest (*дъ//šterъmi, ne sьmъšati se, prokleli sьtъ*) '[with] god-daughters – do not have relations – are condemned'. Standing as they do before a pause, these three phrases would easily ring out during any oral presentation. Here again there is some reason to see the *puncti* as possible indicators to the reader of how to present the sermon when reading it aloud even though they do not directly delineate the isocolic rhythm.

A final example again demonstrates how the confluence of oral presentation and rhythmical regularity converge with the work's messages. The sermon winds down with a forceful admonition directed primarily to the ruling prince and his cohorts to avoid the demonic temptations that power brings, since falling into sin and corruption leads to one's own condemnation. What's more, acts of hypocrisy endanger the sinful ruler with divine wrath.

4 *da nikyže ubo otъ vladykъ ·*
4 1+3 *otъ nepriēzni · obladanъ sъ ustъnama svoima ·*

¹⁹ »Mais pourquoi, à du respect du baptême (...), évoquer le cas très spécial prohibition de l'union entre parrain et marraine ou entre parrain et filleule, et y attacher assez d'importance pour menacer aussitôt après... les princes qui «toléreraient ces désordres» thème et d'excommunication? Il faut que le cas se présente fait, et que le sermon vise un scandale du moment, avec impérieux à l'autorité du prince pour le faire cesser.« (VAILLANT 1947: 41–42).

²⁰ *Етеръ другъ богатъ zelo и съветъникъ · wжениса коупетрою своєю · рекъше ятръвью · и много казавъ и оучивъ и оутъшавъ · не може юю развести · ини бо · Б(о)жию раби творщеся · таи разврацахоу я · ласкающе имъниа ради · да сьтънъге ѿлоучиши я ѿ ц(ь)-рк(ъ)ве · и рече · придетъ часъ югда не могутъ помощи ласкавници ти · а моя словеса поминати имата · нъ не боудеть чьто створиши · вънезапоу по Б(о)жию остоупленю · паде напасть на нею · и не обрѣтеса мѣсто юю · нъ яко и вихрь прахъ възьмъ расгя · и ина мога подобна симъ · яже притъчами явъ съказаше · (Житие Мефодия from the Успенский сборник, see KANTOR 1983: 120).*

- 4 *isprovědaję sebe vĕrna sr(ъ)d(ъ)cemъ ·*
 6 *daleče otъstoŭbъ b(og)a etero psanymъ simъ.*
 6 2 *otъ tъmy tъdlosti ·*
 4 *ilĭ eteru ĭnomu nevĕždъstvŭ.*
 4 *lĭ lŭbvŭi plъtъscĕi ne hranĭti pokušaję sę ·*
 5 *ne povĭnna sebe vĕčъnĭmu ognŭ osq̄zdenŭ ·*
 5 *nepřštŭietъ ĭ na semъ svĕtĕ b(o)žĭŭ gnĕvu ·*
 2 *krĕpъko pomyslĕję ·*
 5 4 *byvъše prъvĭmu c(ĕsa)revĭ ĭ(zdrai)l(e)vŭ ·*
 [1] *saulu ·*
 2 *ĭ ne za velъe prĕzъ(rъ)rĕnъe ·*
 2 *otъ proroka sa(m)u(i)la ·*
 4 *sego radi tręsy se ĭ trepeštę ·* (f. 2b/26–38)

Once again, the punctuation hints at the oral and rhythmical structure of the text, and although the *puncti* do not directly correspond to a clean isocolic patterning, as above they represent phrases that easily constitute parts of more regularly rhythmical divisions. Repetitions and parallels of various sorts are evident in both vertical and horizontal readings of the text. Among others, we find the phonic repetitions in many of the ending stress units: *svoĭma – sr(ъ)-d(ъ)cemъ – psanymъ simъ; ognŭ osq̄zdenŭ – b(o)žĭŭ gnĕvu – ĭ(zdrai)l(e)vŭ – saulu*. There are also phonemic and morphophonemic repetitions in the initial stress units of the cola: *otъ nepriĕzni – otъ tъmy – otъ proroka; ne povĭnna – nepřštŭietъ ĭ ne semъ – ĭ ne za velъe*. As with other isocolically ordered texts, these repetitions, in conjunction with the punctuation, help delineate the text's rhythmical flow and thus its oral presentation. The final series here can be read in two ways, either as a slightly »unbalanced« pattern (5{4+1},2,2,4) or as a more regular series (4,2,2,4) series.²¹ The former assigns a normative stress to the word *saulu*. This deviation of one stress does not greatly change the overall rhythmical pattern in its larger context. On the other hand it is interesting to note that the second pattern assumes that the word *saulu*

²¹ The alternate reading discounts the seemingly anomalous stress, treating *saulu*, as an explanatory rhythmical aside:

- 4 *byvъše prъvĭmu c(ĕsa)revĭ ĭ(zdrai)l(e)vŭ ·*
 [1] *saulu ·*
 2 *ĭ ne za velъe prĕzъ(rъ)rĕnъe ·*
 2 *otъ proroka sa(m)u(i)la ·*
 4 *sego radi tręsy se ĭ trepeštę ·*

is in a sense »extra-rhythmical«, standing as an aside to the main narration. Indeed, the punctuation here would indicate a pause on this word, as if to either explain or emphasize the phrase *prъvumu c(ěsa)revi i(zdrai)l(e)vu*. It is not necessary here to speculate why such an explanation might be necessary; whatever conjectures may be put forth, both readings present the rhythmical regularity consistent with an isocolic ordering of the text.

Given their negative and strident Biblical admonitions, the passages we have examined here harshly condemn the prince who would not enforce the Church's moral codes. In the context of Svjatopolk's court this is not unanticipated. From a literary-historical perspective it is interesting to note that the sermonizer here echoes a major theme of the *Vita Methodii*, in which God is shown to raise up good and just men at the right time to bring all peoples and nations to salvation. While this thematic »clue« refers to Methodius and his mission as apostle to the Slavs, the author of the SM – possibly the saint himself – extends the obligations of carrying on the salvific mission of the Church to earthly Christian rulers (PICCHIO 1977: 8–17) by admonishing them, as »chosen« rulers, to set aside their iniquities and perform as faithful Christian leaders.

A major theme of SM spells out how the Sacrament of Baptism initiates the baptised person into spiritual relationships that not only provide the benefits of salvific grace, but that also demand certain behaviours of the baptised that are consonant with the Church's teachings on personal and social morality. Not surprisingly, these behaviours are applicable even to the socially privileged, and include the prohibitions against marriage unions between those of »spiritual« consanguinity, that is, persons whose sacramental relationship was considered by the Church to be equal to blood relationship. Many of these doctrinal teachings and admonitions are presented in the SM by clear and sometimes forceful rhythmical patterns that are often reflected by the punctuation (usually indicating pauses) and by an overall rhythmical arrangement of the cola. These »clues« to the oral presentation allow the reader of the sermon, whether reading aloud or silently to oneself, to comprehend most forcefully the ecclesiastical doctrines concerning what was considered to be illicit intermarriage.

4. CONCLUSION

The *Sermo Methodii* is in essence an oral presentation aimed at admonishing the elite of the Moravian political hierarchy to understand, accept, and faithfully execute the Christian doctrines that were newly imported into their

lands. That the sermon was designed to be either read or declaimed aloud is obvious by both its very nature and by the manner in which it was recorded in writing. In regard to the latter, the visual aspects of the Cloz reveal certain features that were likely designed to help the reader/lector to understand how an oral presentation of the sermon would underscore the textual meaning. Since the medieval Slavic tradition of oral performance of prose works often relied on a rhythmical patterning of the text, it is not surprising that graphical evidence shows that the rhetorical constructions of the SM are consistent in many ways with what has been described as the medieval Slavic isocolic principle. In conjunction with this, the graphic visual markers of the sermon on the manuscript page and attendant rhetorical structures (various types of parallels, disjunctions, alliterations, and numerous other *figurae verborum et sententiae*) often indicate an emphasis on particular phrasing that helps underscore the *sensus textus*, i.e. text's meaning. These isocolic/isotonic rhythmical patterns thus help underscore the doctrines set forth in Methodius' sermon.

The techniques of oral presentation hinted at in the visual aspects of the SM in Cloz reveal patternings that reflect a growing understanding of the rhetorico-rhythmical features of the medieval Slavic isocolon. Thus, the phrasing markers in the SM are intended to guide the reader/performer in his oral presentation of the text and its attendant messages. The punctuating markers complement the isocolic rhythm of many passages of the text, which correspond to the rhythmical features that fall within the isocolic/isotonic structural patterns found elsewhere in medieval Slavic prose. Although the *punctus* + white space combinations do not always mark the isocola as described in the scholarly literature, it must be born in mind that the isocolic »principle« is just that: an underlying principle in which the structure is based on the isotonic relationship among individual words, word units, and phrasal stresses. Nor does this principle insist on a lockstep set of rules based on the commonly understood linguistic rules of word stress, referring rather to a mode of verbal and oral expression in which a regular pattern of word stress together with phrasal emphasis enhances the oral presentation of the text in order to make clear any given message (*sensus*) – whether specific or general – within the text. Here, as anticipated, the division by the *punctus* of the text of the SM into phrases – assuredly marked for the oral delivery – quite often coincides with the rhythmical regularities of the cola and semi-cola. Since the *puncti* present themselves as likely aids to the lector/reader in performing the text aloud, it is logical to view them as markers of the rhythmical ordering of the text itself. Thus, the pauses that might be engendered by the points and white spacing

offer hints to the presentation of the *sensus*, of both the immediate and deeper meanings. The *Sermo Methodii*, a very early, and possibly the ultimately earliest text of the Cyril and Methodian era, provides us with invaluable insights into the compositional, rhetorical, and performative features that were available to the founders of the Slavic literary heritage.

ADDENDUM

Isocolic Interpretation of the *Sermo Methodii*

- 3 <...> емъ êko obrêtaetъ sę · f. 1/19–40
3 ne iŝkuŝaŝtīmъ ego êvlêetъ sę ·
3 ĩmoŝtīmъ vêrŕ emu ·
- 6 aŝte ubo lûbĭti pravъdŕ vladycamъ zemlę ·
3 b(o)ŝie slovo velĭtъ ·
6 ĭ raky ron` <rokony ?> rŕtu blagu tvorĭti <tĭ> pravedъnaa ·
6 ĭbo otъ pravedъnyhъ dĕanĭi zaĉĭnaemъ blaŝenoe ŝĭtie ·
3 da vĭdĭmъ sъ strahomъ ·
6 ĉto semu ĭstĭlĕnye · b(o)ŝ(i) zakonъ sъkazaetъ ·
- 5 ĭ se êko vsĕkogo plamene plamenĭ nĕe ·
4 ĭ êdovitu uĕdenĭu êdovitĕe da otъbĕŝĭmъ ·
- 7 4 prĭdetъ bo prorokъ mosĭ ·
3 otъ b(og)a nauĉenъ sy ·
7 3 ĭ kъ vla<l>dykamъ rŕvny gl(agol)ę ·
4 sluhъ bo suetĭnъ sętъ ·
7 ne prĭmeŝĭ ĉto sę gl(agol)ę sluhъ suetĭnъ sŕŝtъ ·
7 2 ĭ suetĭnъ ĭ besvĕdĕtelъ ·
5 ĭ kromĕ sŕrasĭnymъ ĭzvĕŝtĭnymъ ĭsŕypanĕemъ zakonĭ numъ ·
- 6 prĭemlŕ prĕŝde eliko otъ b(og)a vlastĭ prĭemĕŝe ·
6 2 dobro ĭzvĕdŕŝteĭ ·
1 obrĕtaŕŝtĭihъ sę ·
3 vъ svoĕ ĭmъ lûdĭ ·
6 2 tęŝe sъ trŕŕęlstvom ·

- 4 ĭspytaŋemъ na vьsĕkъ denъ razdrĕšaŋŝte
 6 dlъžnĭ sŏtъ nĭ edĭnogo č(lovĕ)ka podъ nĭmĭ sŏstago
 4 sulĕe ĭmĕti b(o)žĭū zakonu ||
 6 2 nĭ bratra · *f. 2a/1–40*
 2 nĭ čędo ·
 2 nĭ druga ·
 3 nĭ inogo nĭkoeogože ·
- 3 2 dobro vĕdŏŝte ·
 1 ĭ pomyslĕŋŝte ·
 5 eže e vь b(o)žĭ zakonъ · vьrsano <??>
 5 3 gl(agol)ęĭ o(tъ)cū svoemu ·
 2 ĭ m(a)terĭ svoeĭ ·
 5 2 ne vĕdĕhъ tę ·
 3 ĭ bratrĕ svoeĕ ne poznahъ ·
 3 ĭ s(y)ny svoĕ ne razumĕhъ ·
 5 zakona tvoego radĭ sьhranihъ pravъdy tvoĕ ·
 5 po tomъ že e vьrsano vь s(vę)ta evang(e)lĕ ·
 5 lŭbeĭ o(tъ)ca li materъ rače mene ·
 2 nĕstъ mĭ na podobŏ ·
- 7 za sego radĭ dlъženъ estъ vьsĕkъ knęzъ ne obĭnuĕ vьsĕhъ ·
 7 ĭže podъ vlastĕŋ emu b(o)žĭ s(vę)ty h(rĭstos)u zakonъ ·
 5 2 ĭ prorokomъ ĭ apo(stolo)mъ ·
 3 ĭ blaženymъ o(tъ)cemъ proučati ·
 7 3 ĭ vьsĕmъ na vьsĕkъ denъ ·
 2 zaprĕŝtati ne obĭdeĕti ·
 2 kogo ne moŝtnĕiŝihъ ·
 5 nĭ roganъskъ eterъ obyčai sьdĕati ·
 7 3 nĭ roganъskyę prĭsegy ·
 4 ĭlĭ ino čъto blŏdęŝte ·
- 6 4 nĭ edĭno bo prĭčęstĕ ·
 2 svĕtu kъ tьmĕ ·
 3 ĭ s(y)nomъ svĕtu krъstĕĕnomъ ·
 6 ĭ roganomъ s(vę)toe krъstenĕ vь čъstĕ velĕŋ ĭmĕti ·
 2 a ne ukorižnĕ tvorĭtĕ ·
- 3 ĭ kъmotramĭ svoĭmĭ ĭ dъ//ŝterĕmĭ ·

4 iže otъ s(vę)tago kръštenъê ne sъmêšati sę ·
4 vse bo se s(vę)tĭ vъsemu miru
4 obъšti sъnъmi proklelĭ sŏtъ ·

6 nъ ĭ rozъręštęê ihъ kъnęzę takovъsęê beštĭnicę ·
6 3 ĭ ne êko podobaetъ pokazaŏštĭihъ ·
3 sъ dostoênu emu postu ·
6 4 vъ razlĭčenъe proklenъše vъ vêčъny oĝnъ ·
2 otъvгъgŏ sę ·

[1]0 bratъê ·

5 vъ s(vę)toe ĭ s(ъ)p(a)saŏštee kръštenъe dlъženъ estъ ·
5 3 vъsêkъ kръštenъ sъ strahomъ ·
2 ĭ trepetomъ hranĭti.
5 to že s(vę)tumu ĭ blaženumu ravъlu ap(o)s(to)lu
2 gl(agol)ŏštu kъ vêrъnъmъ ·

5 lûbodêanъe že ĭ vъsêka nečĭstota vъ vasъ da ne ĭmenuetъ sę ·
3 êko že podobaetъ s(vę)tymъ ·
5 ĭ nikъto vasъ da ne slyšĭtъ tъštĭmi slovesy ·
3 ne lûbodêi bo ni klevetъnicĭ ·
5 ni obĭdъlĭvi c(ê)s(a)r(ъ)stvie b(o)žĭe naslêdъstvuŏtъ ·
5 sĭihъ bo radĭ grędetъ gnêvъ b(o)žĭi ·
2 na s(y)ny protĭvъnyę ·

3 dlъženъ estъ kръšteny ·
4 samъ sebe čĭsta hranĭti ·
4 êko cr(ъ)k(ъ)ve b(o)gu s(vęt)ŏŏ · ||
3 ĭ o svoeĭ ženê dovъlêti sę ·
4 ničъže ĭno dalъnee sъmyslêti ·
3 ni vъ skota mêsto
4 vъ slêdъ nesъmyslъnъ pohotĭimъ hodĭti ·

f. 2b/1–40

4 iže ubo otъ selê kръštenъ sy ·
4 tvorę obrêtaetъ sę po božĭu zakonu ·

6 da osŏdĭtъ sę to že b(o)gu ĭ s(ъ)p(a)su našemu ĭs(u)h(rĭstos)u

- 3 obladaŋъ съ ustъnama svoïma ·
 4 ĭspovĕdaĕ sebe vĕrna sr(ъ)d(ъ)semъ ·
- 6 daleče otъstoĭтъ b(og)a etero psanymъ sĭmъ.
 6 2 otъ tъmy mъdlostĭ ·
 4 ĭĭ eteru ĭnomu nevĕždъstvъ ·
- 5 ĭĭ lûbvĭ rĭtъscĕĭ ne hranĭtĭ pokušaĕ se ·
 5 ne povĭnna sebe vĕčъnumu ognû osq̄zdenû ·
 5 perĕstûetъ ĭ ne semъ svĕtĕ b(o)žĭû gnĕvu ·
- 2 krĕpъko pomyslĕĕ ·
 4 byvъše rgъvumu c(ĕsa)revĭ ĭ(zdraĭ)l(e)vu ·
 [1] saulu ·
 4 2 ĭ ne za velъe prĕzъ(rъ)gĕnъe ·
 2 otъ proroка saula ·
- 4 sego radi tŕesy se ĭ tŕepeštĕ ·
 3 da b(o)žĭ hranĭtъ zakonъ ·
 4 reče bo kъ nemu b(og)ъ glasuĕ ·
- 5 ašte se trĕbĕ g(ospod)ĭ olokavъtomata ĭ dary || *f. 3a/1–23*
 3 ĕko uslyšatĭ g(ospod)ъnû ·
- 4 ĭ do poslušanъe unĕe dara blago
 4 ĕko prĕzъrĕ slovo g(ospod)ne ·
 5 ĭ ukorĭtъ tĕ g(ospod)ъ unebytĭvъ vladykq̄
 4 ĭ raky pravъda vъznosĭtъ ĕzykъ ·
 4 obnĭštaq̄tъ že grĕhъmĭ ĭ nepravъdami lûdъe ·
- 6 2 ĭ ino mnogo ·
 4 ĕlĭko s(vĕ)tyĕ knĭgy gl(agol)q̄tъ ·
 4 grozq̄ ĭ strahъ tvorĕšte vladykamъ ·
 4 nъ razumĕvъše mĭmo hodĕšte slavĕ seĭ ·
 4 vъ sъnu mĕsto da vъzъrĕq̄tъ ·
 6 vъ myslъ svoq̄ s(vĕ)tumu apo(sto)lu pravъlu gl(agol)q̄štû ·
- 5 kъto nasъ razlq̄čĭtъ otъ lûbvъe b(o)žĭ<ĕ> ·

- 2 ī s(vę)tumu zakonu ·
2 ni ognь
2 nī želêzo ·
2 īno nikoeže ·
- 4 3 ī sego radi utvrъždenъe ·
1 <vê>rê ·
3 ī neprêstōpnoe b(o)žīū zakonu ·
3 ī vladučьstvīe eže otъ nego ·
3 īzvēstnъno ī s(vę)to tvoręšte ·
3 da veselętъ sę vъ grędōštee žītъe ·
4 3 sъ blaženymъ glasomъ g(ospod)a slyšati ·
1 da upъvaōtъ ·
- 3 blagy rabe ī vêrne ·
3 vъ malê bystъ vērenъ ·
3 nadъ mnozēmī tę postavlō ·
4 vъnīdi vъ radostъ g(ospod)ê svoego ·
3 ī žel<ê>zu nī o<gnū> veselęšte sę ·
4 o rêk<š>ī <vъ vêkъ> vê<ko>mъ ·
[1] am<i>nъ ·

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Sažetak

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USMENOST I SMISAO U METODOVOJ PROPOVIJEDI U KLOČEVU GLAGOLJAŠU

Članak istražuje kako se tzv. *Metodova propovijed* u Kločevu glagoljašu mogla glasno čitati, tj. izvoditi na način koji je računao na ritam s ciljem da se poruke prenesu s istaknutim retoričkim i umjetničkim učinkom. Kao jedan od najranijih primjera starocrkvenoslavenskoga korpusa tekstova, propovijed nudi dokaz kako se usmena izvedba učinkovito koristila za prenošenje novouvedenih doktrina moravskih misionara. Grafemičke osobine teksta u kodeksu kao i druga retorička sredstva često ukazuju na raspored fraza koje su usklađene s izokoličkim rasporedom proze, tj. s ritmiziranom prozom, koja je bila raširena značajka srednjovjekovne slavenske književne tradicije. Promatraju li se kao sastavni dio usmene izvedbe teksta, ritmički obrasci pomažu naglasiti poruku propovijedi: upozorenje slušatelju da se pridržava kršćanskih doktrina

o ograničenjima sklapanja braka između prirodnih i duhovnih rođaka. Te su opomene snažno upućene onima visokoga političkog statusa i vjerojatno odražavaju događaj koji se zbio tijekom Moravske misije i koji se spominje u *Vita Methodii*. Štoviše, vladare se, budući da su primili svoju zemaljsku vlast voljom Božjom, opominje da budu nepokolebljivi uzori kršćanskoga života. Raščlamba retoričkih struktura teksta s obzirom na značajke izokoličke proze otkriva dosljednu upotrebu grafemskih i retoričkih figura koje pomažu propovjedniku – pa čak i tihom čitatelju – da bolje shvati te stroge doktrinarne poruke.

Ključne riječi: *Kločev glagoljaš*, sv. Metod, *Metodova propovijed*, usmenost, izokoličko načelo, starocrkvenoslavenski jezik, srednjovjekovna slavenska retorika

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