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MEDICO-HISTORICAL READING OF THE NON-LITURGICAL EDITIONS OF THE SENJ PRINTING HOUSE

POVIJESNOMEDICINSKO ČITANJE NELITURGIJSKIH IZDANJA SENJSKE TISKARE

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SUMMARY

The Senj Printing House was one of the first printing houses to operate in Croatia. At the turn from the 15th to the 16th century, it printed religious books in the angular Glagolitic script. Books with non-liturgical content predominate among the surviving copies.
In this paper, we have analyzed selected editions published by the Senj Printing House: Naručnik plebanušev (Senj, 1507), Korizmenjak (Senj, 1508), Meštrija dobra umrtija s ritualom (Senj, 1507/1508), and Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije (Senj, 1508). These are books that were used by medieval priests and were useful to them across all segments of pastoral care. It should be emphasized that these are not actual medical texts, but rather manuals covering a broad range of priestly activities. This analysis includes, on the one hand, an examination of the medical terminology represented in them, while, on the other hand, a content analysis of selected texts primarily focused on understanding various diseases and their treatment.

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Although, in a medico-historical sense, the texts of the analyzed editions do not differ in content from the Glagolitic manuscript texts analyzed so far, their value stems from the fact that, in addition to their basic purpose, they can be regarded as the beginnings of medical terminology in the Croatian language in printed form.

Keywords: *Croatian language, Glagolitic script, printing house, Senj, history, healthcare, 16th century*

Introduction[1]

Glagolitic written monuments preserved within the Croatian territory represent a valuable resource for research and medical historiography. Groundbreaking research on these resources from a historical and medical perspective was initiated three decades ago by Marija-Ana Dürrigl and Stella Fatović-Ferenčić. In a series of published works, they presented Glagolitic records of folk medicine, known as *ljekaruše* – namely, "medical instructions for treating various 'diseases'" (Dürrigl & Fatović-Ferenčić, 1995, p. 152). Primarily, these are Glagolitic manuscripts originating from the coastal regions of Croatia – specifically Istria, the Croatian Littoral, and the northern part of Dalmatia – produced between the 14th and 19th centuries.

Special attention was also given to medical marginalia—texts found outside the main content and intended purpose of certain manuscripts, yet invaluable for understanding medical thought and conception of disease at the time of their creation (Dürrigl & Fatović-Ferenčić, 1997). Within the analysed marginalia, belonging to a corpus of manuscripts dating from the 15th to the 18th century, researchers documented recipes, prayers, and amulets against illnesses, notes on epidemics of infectious diseases (Požar & Botica, 2022; Zaradija Kiš & Fatović-Ferenčić, 2003), as well as *signa agonie* – descriptions of the signs of impending death from the Vranić Miscellany, which stands as the only preserved composition of its kind among such medico-historical sources (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 2000a).

Research on the earliest Glagolitic medical texts from the Vinodol region has primarily focused on the use of medicinal herbs for treating common illnesses and injuries. The authors concluded that although the recipe collection was primarily written by monks for the purpose of treating members of their monastic communities, it was also used to treat the local population (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 1997a; Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 2004a).

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Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts from the medieval and early modern periods were also subjected to medico-historical analysis from an odontological perspective. Notably, a reference to St. Apollonia – protector against toothache and today the patron saint of the dental profession – was identified in the Žgombić Miscellany of 1528 (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 1997b). Additionally, medieval Glagolitic manuscripts contained recipes for treating eye (Dürrigl & Fatović-Ferenčić, 1999) and skin diseases (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 2000b).

An interdisciplinary approach to Croatian Glagolitic texts in previous research has yielded insights that extend beyond the knowledge of contemporary medical practices, conceptions of health, disease, and treatment, offering instead a medieval perspective on life and death (Dürrigl & Fatović-Ferenčić, 2001). Moreover, they provide information on medieval morality and perception of sexuality, including the associated taboos (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 2004b). Additionally, animals mentioned in Glagolitic *ljekaruše* as components of remedies or therapeutic procedures should also be considered. Dürrigl and Fatović-Ferenčić conclude that animals therein "persist as a synecdoche of these *ljekaruše* – as a fusion of memory and action, incantation/prayer and healing, the abstract and the concrete" (Dürrigl & Fatović-Ferenčić, 2012, p. 385).

The books of the Senj printing house as a medico-historical source

Through a medico-historical analysis of the editions of the so-called Senj Printing House, we aim to enhance the understanding of Croatian medical terminology and the concepts of health and disease in Croatian territories at the turn of the 16th century. The Senj Printing House was the very first Croatian printing press known with certainty to have operated within Croatian territory. Its books were printed in the Croatian angular Glagolitic script. The press was active between 1494 and 1508, and its production can be divided into two phases: the first, from 1494 to 1496, and the second, from 1507 to 1508.

In its first phase, the press produced two incunabula (books printed during the earliest period of printing, i.e., before 1500): the *Senj Missal* (1494), a liturgical incunabulum, and the *Spovid općena* (1496), the only Croatian Glagolitic non-liturgical incunabulum which, for the first time in the Croatian print culture, featured a printer's mark. All the other books from the Senj press were printed during its second phase and are non-liturgical in content: *Naručnik plebanušev* (*Manipulus curatorum*, 1507), *Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije* (*Miracoli della gloriosa Vergine Maria*, 1508), *Korizmenjak* (1508), *Transit sv. Jerolima* (*Vita et Transitus*

s. Hieronymi, 1508), and *Meštrija dobra umrtija s ritualom* (*Ars bene moriendi*, 1507/1508). The press was directed by Blaž Baromić, while other printers whose names are recorded in the books include Silvestar Bedričić, Gašpar Turčić, Grgur Senjanin, and Petar Jakovčić.

The books printed by the Senj Printing House contain valuable information on medical terminology, such as names of body parts (organs and bodily fluids), diseases, and treatment methods. Since this was the earliest press on Croatian soil, we can assert that these books preserve the earliest printed Croatian terms relating to the medical sciences.

The following editions of the Senj Printing House were analysed in this study: *Naručnik plebanušev* (Eterović & Kovač, 2023), *Korizmenjak* (Nazor, 2019), *Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije* (Crnić Novosel & Eterović, 2023), and *Meštrija od dobra umrtija s ritualom* (Eterović & Kovač, 2024).[2]

Naručnik plebanušev was a popular handbook originally written in the 14th century by the Spanish author Guido de Monte Rocherii, entitled *Manipulus curatorum*. It is a pre-Tridentine catechism that occupied an important place in Catholic ecclesiastical practice – the existence of approximately 250 manuscript copies and around 120 printed editions prior to 1500 supports that claim. Six copies of this book have been preserved: two in the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), two in the library of the Franciscans of the Third Order at Ksaver in Zagreb, one in the Austrian National Library in Vienna, and one in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.

Korizmenjak contains 49 translated Lent sermons by the Italian preacher Roberto Caracciolo, who delivered them at the court of Ferdinand I of Aragon, King of Naples. Italian chroniclers report that tens of thousands of captivated listeners followed Caracciolo in processions from place to place, enduring both heat and frost. Furthermore, they report that his sermons often lasted three to four hours. Ten copies of this book have been preserved: four in the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, two in the library of the Franciscans of the Third Order at Ksaver in Zagreb, one in the National and University Library in Zagreb, two in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, and one in the National and University Library in Ljubljana. Of these, only a single copy, kept in the HAZU Library, is complete; all others are fragmentary.

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[2] The following abbreviations are used throughout the remainder of the paper for the editions discussed: *Np – Naručnik plebanušev*; *Kz – Korizmenjak*, *MdusR – Meštrija dobra umrtija s ritualom*; *MsdM – Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije*.

Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije is a collection of 61 miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary. One complete copy is preserved in the British Library in London, while four incomplete copies are kept in the HAZU Library in Zagreb (three copies) and in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (one copy).

Meštrija dobra umrtija s ritualom is a ritual manual detailing the administration of Communion to the sick, Extreme Unction, the commendation of the soul, funeral rites, and various blessings. Two incomplete copies survive: one is held by the National and University Library in Zagreb and the other by the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.

The analysis of the selected editions of the Senj Printing House was conducted on two levels: (a) an analysis of the medical terminology contained within, and (b) a content-oriented analysis focused primarily on documented therapeutic procedures.

Etymology of medical terminology, body parts, and diseases

In the description of the excerpted terms presented in the table, the first column lists the form as recorded in the analysed texts. The second column provides the reconstructed Proto-Slavic form, which is, in most cases, identical to the Old Church Slavonic form. Where the Old Church Slavonic word differs from the Proto-Slavic form, it is indicated in the third column. This column also includes lexemes from other languages (Italian, Old High German, Turkish, Greek, and Latin) that reveal the etymological origin of the reconstructed word in the first column. Phonological changes leading to the individual forms are not specified. The fourth column presents the contemporary meaning of the reconstructed lexeme.

A) Medical terminology

Medical terminology is divided into several categories: 1. *Telo* (body), which includes anatomical terminology and terminology related to human physiology; 2. Disease (and health), which includes health conditions and impairments, symptoms, signs of illness, and disease nomenclature; 3. *Miscelanea*, which includes, among other elements, terms for individuals who provided health care to those in need.

Table 1. Telo (body)			
Reconstructed form	Proto-Slavic form	Old Church Slavonic (OCS) / Latin / Greek forms	Meaning in English
telo	*tělo		body
plt	*plъtь		body
glava	*golva	OCS: glava	head
moždani	*moždžěnъ		brain
vlas	*volsь	OCS: vlasъ	hair
lice	*lice		face
čelo	*čelo		forehead
oko, oči	*oko		eye, eyes
zinica oka	*zěnica		eye pupil
uho, uši, ušesa	*uho		ear, ears
nos	*nosъ		nose
nozdrve	*nozdryь		nostrils, nostril
obraz	*obrazь		cheek
usta	*usta		mouth
usne	*ustьna		lips
zubi	*zǫbъ		teeth
jezik	*ęzykъ		tongue
brada	*borda	OCS: brada	chin
grlo	*gъrdlo	OCS: grlo	throat
prsa	*pьrsь		chest
sasac	*sisati		breast
rebra	*rebro		ribs
srce	*sьrdьce		heart
pleča	*pletje	OCS: pleče	shoulders
njedra	*nědra	OCS: ědro, ědra	bosom
pas	*pojasъ		waist
bok	*bokъ		hip
črevo	*červo	OCS: črěvo	intestine
utroba	*ǫtroba		womb
štumik		Lat. Stomachus, Greek. stómakhos ≃ stóma: usta	stomach

ĵaĵci	*(j)aję	OCS: ajьce	testicles
ud, udovi	*udъ, udo		extremity, extremities
kostь,	*kostь,		bone
mišice	*myšьka, *myšьca		muscle, muscles
meso	*męso		flesh
ruka	*rǫka		hand / arm
lakat	*olkъtъ	OCS: lakьtъ	elbow
noga	*noga		leg
črêsla	*bedro	OCS: črěslo,	femur
koleno, goleni	*koléno		knee
nožni potplat	-	-	foot
peta	*pęta		heel
prst	*prьstъ		finger
nohat	*nogъtь		nail
koža	*koža		skin
krv	*kry	OCS: krъvь	blood
pamet	*pamętь		intellect
glas	*golsъ	OCS: glasъ	voice
suze, slze	*sъlza,		tears
slina	*slina		saliva
pot	*potь		sweat
žlč	*žьlčь		bile
sjeme (sime)	*sěmę		semen
porod	po + psl. *rodъ		labour

Medical terminology referring to body parts – whether organs or bodily fluids – in the analyzed texts is mainly of Proto-Slavic origin (e.g., *lice* (face), *čelo* (forehead), and most other terms). A smaller number of terms belong to the Old Church Slavonic language; these also derive from Proto-Slavic roots but have been shaped by phonological changes (e.g., *črêslo, (j)ajьce, črêvo, pleča*…). One term does not belong to the Slavic language (e.g., *štumik*). The third column provides meanings of Indo-European words embedded in certain words (e.g., *čelo* < IE. **kel-*, meaning: 'to rise,' refers to the part of the head above the eyes, i.e., the forehead). This terminology will be discussed further in the Discussion chapter.

Table 2. Diseases (and health)			
Reconstructed form	Proto-Slavic form	Other forms: IE, OCS, Ital., Germ. dial. (Bavarian)	Meaning in English
boljezan	*bolь	OCS: bolêzьnь	disease
nemoĉ	*nemotjь	OCS: nemoĉь	disease, weakness
zdrav, zdravlje	*sъdorvъ	OCS: sъdravъ	healthy, health
sljepoća (slip)	*slěpъ		blindness
gluh	*gluhъ		deafness
nijem	*němъ		aphasia
hrom	*hromъ		lameness
manen		Tur. Muannit	frantic
furioz		Lat. Furia	furious
paralitik		Germ. Paralyse ← Lat. paralysis ← Greek parálysis ≃ para- + -liza	paralysis
febra		Ital. febbre	fever
kašalj	*kašlъ		cough
jad	*(j)ědъ	OCS: jadъ	poison
mlednostь telesna	-	-	physical weakness
mlednostь duhovna	-	-	mental weakness
telesna bolezanь	-	-	physical illness
nezdravь vnutrnaê	-	-	internal illness
rana	*rana	IE: *wer-	wound
guba: gubavac	*gǫba		leprosy
kuga		Germ. dial. (Bavarian) Koge	plague
koler		Lat. cholera, Greek: kholéra	cholera
griža	*gryža, od: *gryzti		dysentery
tisika		Ital. f'tisi > tisi	phthisis
guta		Lat. gutta	gout

Table 3. Miscelanea			
Reconstructed form	Proto-Slavic form	Other forms: OCS – Old Church Slavonic IE Indo-European form	Meaning in English
likariê	*lěkъ	IE *leykw-	remedy
remedij		Lat. remedium Ital. rimendis	remedy
špitalir		Germ. Spital (hospital) ← Medieval Latin: hospital(e)	paramedic
baba	*baba		midwife

It can be concluded that among the terms for symptoms and diseases, there are regionalisms, i.e., words drawn from the Chakavian lexicon (*tisika*, *mlednost telesna,* and *mlednost duhovna*) and several derived from foreign languages (*febra, furioz, paraliza, kuga, kolera,* and *melankolija*). Only a few meanings cover different bases. In other words, there are only a few synonyms for the same meanings, one of Slavic origin and the other of Latin origin: *lijek* (medicine) = *likarija* and *rimedij; vrućica* (fever) = *vrućost* and *febra*. Synonyms of the same language are also used, such as *telo* and *plt,* both meaning *tijelo* (body), and *utroba* and *črevo,* both meaning *utroba* (womb).

B) Medico-historical reading

In the *Naručnik plebanušev,* the author provides instructions for future novices and priests. Among other things, it offers instructions on treating certain diseases (physical wounds), using bloodletting as a remedy, and treating painful extremities. Pharmacotherapy is predominant among the therapeutic procedures, although specific instructions, i.e., recipes, are missing: "Likariê ima biti suprotivna nemoĉi" (*Np*, 50r) [The medicine must oppose the disease] and "Likariê kakovi godi nêmoĉi ima se d(a)ti. Ne ozdravlûe bo oko ča ozdravlûe pêtu" *(Np*, 93r) [The medicine for any disease must be administered. The eye is not healed by what heals the heel]. A further distinction appears to be made between treatment for acute illnesses and that of chronic conditions:

> A v telesnoi bolezni tako estь budisi da gdo bude zdravь od bolezni oĉe v nemь nika mlednostь telesna ostane ka ishaê od prve bolizni zato potribue dvoe likarie. Edna ka čini zdravu bolezanь a druga ka popravi bolь ka e ostala. *(Np*, 57v)
>
> [And in physical disease, it is the following case: if someone recovers from the disease, a certain weakness, arising from the first disease, remains in

them, so two medicines should be administered. One medicine to cure the disease, and the other to deal with the remaining pain.]

The subsequent description of a therapeutic procedure indicates phlebotomy: "…likari ki davaû likarie ili krvь vzimali ali ina k tomu potribna obsluževali. va dni i vrimena ti takovi ne osuûû se" (*Np,* 112r) [Doctors who administer medicines or draw blood, or otherwise help the needy during days and at times, are not condemned].

Naručnik plebanušev was intended for the clergy. Particular attention is devoted to the sacrament of marriage, especially to the question of procreation and sexual relations in general. According to Church teaching, sexual intercourse not directed toward procreation is considered sinful: "začь t(a)kovo činenʹe ne čini mišanʹê ni krvi ni simena ni edinstva pltênoga" (*Np,* 68v) [for such an act results neither in the mixing of blood, nor semen, nor in bodily union]. In this context, reference is also made to individuals engaging in homosexual acts: "ki bi oskvrnili cr(i)k(a)vь. od sodomiti. krivoprisežn(i)k(o)vь" (*Np*, 76r) [who would desecrate the church from sodomites, perjurers]. Sinful sexual act is mentioned in other resources as well: "pltênim zakonomь sagrišiše meû sobom'" (*Msdm*, 21r) [they sinned with each other by the bodily act].

Marriage shall not be permitted to one suffering from mental illness or infertility. However, if a mental disease or infertility arises after the conclusion of marriage, they cannot constitute grounds for annulment:

> Edanь furiozь ali prêz pamêti nê morê sê ožêniti po zakonu. da ako bi pokle sê e ožênilь izgubilь pamêtь nê razvala sê zato matrimonii. Oščê ako bi sê prigodalo da bi sê ki koli našalь ki bi imêlь obi dvi ĵaĵci suhi a to estь zdola nê morê sê ožêniti. a ako li bi po ožênênʹi usahli. tada ne razval(a) se matrimonii. (*Np*, 62r)
>
> [A furious man or one without reason may not marry according to the law; but if, after marrying, he loses his reason, the marriage is not dissolved. Likewise, if someone should be found with both testicles shrivelled, he may not marry; but if they wither after the marriage, the marriage is not dissolved.]

It is not entirely clear whether the term *tjesnost* refers to female infertility that needs to be treated if possible: "Od tesnosti ka e v ženi tako rci začь ako se more k ne pomoči priti likariû" (*Np*, 68v) [for tightness in a woman, it should be said: why if medicine can help her]. Efforts are surely made to prevent consanguinity: "k(a)ko nigda vsaka priêzanь krvna svrševaše se na sedmomʹ koleni tako danas svrševa se na 4mь. Is t(o)ga se zna da priêzan krvna krati matr(i)m(o)nii do 4ga

kolena a ne mimo" (*Np*, 64r) [bloodline ties used to end in the seventh generation, and today they end in the fourth. Consequently, marriage cannot be concluded up to the fourth generation; beyond that, it is allowed]. Breech *childbirth* (Indo-European word **wrodh* means 'to grow', and Old Slavonic form is related to bloodline tie: *po+rod*) is also described, accompanied with instructions for the priest in case of such delivery:

> Vistinu e(stь) krĉeno i ako se potomь toga porodi nim<a> se vêĉь krstitь. I računь tomu estь Da onь delь ki se pokaže ako e ini udь n(e)go gl(a) va tako gov(o)re niki dokturi da o<v> udь im(a) se okr(o)piti v(o)du i h(rs)titь. (*Np*, 10v)
>
> [On baptism at birth: if at birth a part other than the head emerges first, doctors say that the part must be sprinkled with water and baptized.]

The phenomenon of infant and small children mortality due to bed-sharing with parents is reflected in the obligation to impose penance in such cases: "Da ako bi se zgodalo neznanemь kako da bi nêpomnivo dite post<a>vil poli sebê i našal e v ûtro mrtvo pokoru čini 3 l(e)ta." (*Np*, 99v) [If it should happen unknowingly that a person would place a child beside them and find them dead in the morning, that person should do penance for three years].

The Hippocratic–Galenic medical tradition is closely linked to the theurgical understanding of disease, which is particularly confirmed in the text of the *Korizmenjak*. There, based on Hippocrates' typology, four types of personality are described. Interestingly, the description of the choleric type emphasizes that this is precisely how physicians characterize the type: "To govore likari da človik, ki se gusto razsrjuje, od toga prihodi da mu raste žlč. I koliko mu veće raste žlč toliko je veće podložan srditosti i za ništar se brzo razsrdi ali smuti." (*Kz*, 48v) [This is what doctors say: an increase in bile is common in a man who often gets mad. The more his bile increases, the more prone he is to anger, and he becomes quickly enraged or disturbed over nothing]. Then, there is the phlegmatic type: "Oni su tako flegmatici, od kuda očito vidimo mnozih da ne takmo sami s ljudi, da sami s sobu se smute pišući, razbijajući pero i zamićući tja kalimar." (*Kz*, 48v) [Such are the phlegmatic, among whom we clearly see many who become disturbed not only when with others but even when alone, breaking their pens and knocking over the inkwell while writing]. The typology further distinguishes the sanguine and melancholic types:

> Niki od nature jesu ljubeznivi i dobrostivi, a niki nature krvne, a niki malenkoniki, koliko ih stoji veliko rassrditi se da jesu različni i pogibeljni i niki jesu kolerici, i ti silu od nature vred i gusto se smute i rasrde se i kriče. (*Kz*, 48r)

> [Some are kind and benevolent by nature; others have a sanguine nature, while some are melancholic, who are easily provoked to anger, making them naturally violent and potentially dangerous. Additionally, some are choleric, immediately violent by nature; they are prone to frequent agitation, anger, and outbursts.]

In the *Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije* book, some miracles concern healing from certain states or diseases. Most frequently, this involves the restoration of body parts that an individual had lost, e.g., the restoration of the eyes, that is, the recovery of certain senses (restoration of sight to the blind):

> Dokle d(e)va mariê ne povrati očiû onoi divoiki (…) i vzamši oni oči svoima vlaĉima rukama i post(a)vi e svršene na svoe mesto. tako da rečêna divoika tudie bi zdrava k(a)ko ei prvo bila. (*Msdm*, 20r)
>
> [Until Virgin Mary restores eyes to that girl (...) by taking eyes with her own hands and putting them in their place so that the girl was immediately healthy as she had been before.]

The embalming of severed limbs is also mentioned: "i usikši ruku učini û shraniti namazavši û muromь i balsamomь" (*Msdm*, 47v) [having cut off the hand, he had it preserved by anointing it with ointment and balm].

The presence of religious elements in these sources as part of the healing process is evident not only in the miracles directly attributed to the Virgin Mary (*Msdm*), but also through the metaphor of Christ as *Christus medicus*, which was immensely popular in late medieval Europe (Arbesman, 1954; Dürrigl & Fatović-Ferenčić, 2012). References to Jesus as a healer are explicit in the following lines: "Šesta dobrota je ozdravljen'je vsake nemoći. Ni jednom plku ni dal gospodin Bog ni oće dati nigdar na sviti tolike likarije i tolika providenija kolika je dal krstjanom." (*Kz*, 41v) [The sixth goodness is the healing of every illness. To no other people has the Lord given, nor will He ever give in this world, as many remedies and as much providence as He has given to Christians]. Despite Jesus being described as the 'good doctor' (*Kz*, 14r), by creating a doctor, He entrusted the doctor with the skills of diagnosis and the application of therapeutic procedures: "Ali Bog ni zadovoljan tebe ozdraviti (…) Učinil jest likara da v potribah tvojih spomeneš se od njega." (*Kz,* 14r) [For God is not satisfied with healing you Himself. (…) He made the doctor so that in your needs you would turn to him]. These lines suggest that, according to the 'author of the text,' God Himself created the doctor.

Alongside Jesus Christ, the intercession of other saints is also believed to aid in healing or preserving health. Thus, in the *Naručnik plebanušev*, patron saints are explicitly invoked as protectors against specific systemic or organ-related diseases:

"Kako svetomu Šebestjanu zaščićenije od kuge, svetoj Apoloniji izbavljenije od bolezni zub, svetoj Luciji od bolezni očiju i druzim svetim" (*Kz*, 6v) [Saint Sebastian for protection against the plague, Saint Apollonia for relief from toothache, Saint Lucia for protection against eye disease, and other saints].

According to the ritual manual *Meštrija dobra umrtija s ritualom,* a Christian was supposed to learn about the trials awaiting him at the hour of his death; that is, a believer was to be prepared for an easier passage from this world.

Among those providing help to the sick and infirm are the *špitaliri*: "zač su služili nemoćnim i špitaliri služe po navlašćej volji" (*Kz*, 34v) [since they served the sick and paramedics serve by their own will]. It can be assumed that these individuals were members of the local clergy, particularly monks, as they were the primary practitioners of medieval medicine, caring for both the faithful and their monastic brethren.

Discussion

Body

When referring to the human body, the sources more frequently use the term *telo* (body): "staše u veliki bolezni tela" (*Msdm*, 7v) [their body was greatly ill] and less frequently *plt*, *kipъ*: "kada vze plt' človičasku" (*Msdm*, 32r) [when he took human body] and "est bo potrib(a)nь kipь od onoga ki krsti se" (*Np*, 6v) [the body of the person getting baptised is needed]. The texts provide a description of the body: "Bog je dal človiku dvi oči, dvi uši, dvi ruci, a samo jedna usta" (*Kz*, 2v) [God has given a man two eyes, two ears, two arms, and only one mouth]. On the one hand, the description is realistic; on the other, it metaphorically refers to the fact that having only one mouth means less talk and more work. The following example also describes the body: "Ote mučeni biti k telu, a štumik gladom, uši ote trpiti muku od kričan'ja vražja, a nos oće trpit smrad od teles mrtvih" (*Kz*, 26v) [Their body will be tormented, the stomach by hunger, the ears by demonic cries, and the nose by the stench of dead bodies]. Here, the description focuses less on anatomical structures and more on the sensations of hunger, noise, and stench.

Head

The Indo-European root **ghel-* carries the meaning of 'rounded protuberance,' from which the word *glava* (head) is derived. The texts contain both the terms for the head itself and its parts. The term for the head is found in its literal meaning in the following examples: "erь glava e(stь) prvi dêlь têla i v noi se vzdrže vsi udi t(e)la" (*Np*, 10v) [The head is the first part of the body, and upon it rest all the

limbs]. The head can also suffer injury, for example, by decapitation: "Ijudit kada usiče glavu onomu velikomu kapitanu Olofernu" (*Kz*, 36r) [Judith when she cut off the head of the great commander Holofernes]. The phrase "od glave do nog" (*Kz*, 52v) [from head to toe] demonstrates the figurative meaning 'from beginning to end,' still commonly used today. In addition to its literal meaning, the term *glava* signifies a 'chapter': "na drugoi glavi" (*Np*, 2r) [in the second chapter] and the 'leader': "Hrst je glava naša" (*Kz*, 51r) [Christ is our leader]. Various parts of the head are also recorded in the texts, including the forehead, cheek, face, mouth, lips, teeth, tongue, eyes, pupils, ears, nose, nostrils, beard, brain, throat, voice, and hair. The word *čelo* (forehead) derives from Indo-European **kel-* meaning 'to rise' or 'part of the head above the eyes', which is forehead: "na čeli se naiprvo pokazue sramь i kada se. koli č(lovi)kь sramue na čeli se vazda naiprvo začrleni" (*Np*, 16v) [The forehead is the first to signal shame; when a man is ashamed, it is his forehead that blushes first]. The word *obraz* (cheek) literally denotes a part of the face: "kada se č(lovi)kь boi tudьe čelo i obrazь negovь počne blediti" (*Np*, 16v) [When a man is afraid, his forehead and cheek immediately become pale]. Metaphorically, it refers to honour or dignity, often expressed also by the word *lice* (face): "lice je tvoje očrnjeno" (*Kz*, 55v) [Your face has been blackened.] The lexeme *poličnica* is also interesting. It conveys the meaning of a 'blow to the face': "pogledaj ti njegovu bolizan krvavu: poličnice" (…) (*Kz*, 86v) [Look at his bloody wound: a blow to the face]. The word *obraz* can also be found in the following example: "ručnikom′ prebelimь utiraše imь obr(a)zь" (*Msdm*, 38r) [Their cheek has been wiped with a pure white towel]. There is also a description of a certain disease. The description depicts a frog that attaches itself to a boy's cheek and causes leprosy:

> "Skoči jedna žaba velika i strašna i prija se obraza tomu sinu. Vsi likari i likarije nisu mu je mogli nigdare odneti od obraza i izila mu je vas obraz. I bi vas gubav toliko da ne mogaše živiti meji ljudi" (*Kz*, 43v-44r)
>
> [A large and scary frog leapt and attached itself to the boy's face. Neither doctors nor remedies could ever remove it, and it consumed his entire face, causing him to become so leprous he could no longer live among people.]

The lexeme *usta* has literal (anatomical) meaning, for example, "stavi mu solь v usta" (*Np*, 13r) [put salt in his mouth] and metaphorical meaning denoting a person who speaks wisely, for example, "razumna usta" (*Np*, 2v) [a mouth of reason]. The parts of the mouth are also listed, such as lips, teeth, tongue: "kim su odpale usne i zubi" (*Np*, 33r) [whose lips and teeth had fallen out]. A well-known example describes hell, i.e., 'eternal punishment': "Tu budet plač i skržat zubom" (*Kz*, 25r) [There will be weeping and gnashing of teeth]. Another interesting example is the word *jezik* (tongue). In our texts, it has anatomical meaning, denoting a movable

muscle in the oral cavity of humans and animals, an organ for tasting and eating, one of the organs of speech in humans: "i držaše êzik′ vani iz' ust′" (*Msdm*, 22r) [And he held his tongue out of his mouth]. However, it also denotes a 'nation'. The most notable example for the second meaning can be found in *Zapis popa Martinca* (*Chronicles of Priest Martin*) from 1493: "Turci nalegoše na jazik hrvatski" [*Turci napadoše na narod hrvatski* / The Turks attacked Croatian people]. There are many such examples in the analysed texts, indicating that such meaning was common at the beginning of the 16th century: "č(lovi)kъ ki e drugoga êzika" (*Np*, 81r) [a man from another nation / of a different language], "pride suditi vsim jazikom" (*Kz*, 15v) [He came to judge all nations]. The word *jezik* also signifies the system of phonemes, grammar, i.e., the system of communication. Here is an example from the analysed texts: "Imamo znati da se misa trimi êzici služi to e židovski grčki latinski" (*Np*, 35v) [We must know that Mass is served in three languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin]. The word *jezik* is often used metonymically in the analysed texts. For example: "jazikov jadovitih" (*Kz*, 52v) [toxic tongues], "jazika lastiva" (*Kz*, 52v) [lying, deceitful tongue], and "zali jazik" (*Kz*, 52v) [mean tongue]. Like other organs, the tongue can also be amputated: "odgrize mu jazik" (*Kz*, 44r) [his tongue was bitten off]. The words *oko* and pl. form *oči* (eye/eyes) refer to an anatomical organ: "mažemь oči tvoi" (*Np*, 57r) [I anoint your eyes.] A human can lose their eyes, i.e., become blind: "hoću izgubiti oči" (*Msdm*, 64v) [I want to lose my eyes.] Furthermore, eyes can be amputated /taken out: "ê ga dobro znamь ere nima nego edno oko" (*Msdm*, 66r) [I know him well, for he has but one eye.] and "jamihu ih i urezahu im uši i oči" (*Kz*, 46r) [They seized them, cut their ears off and took their eyes out.] The term *zjenica* (pupil) as part of the eye is mentioned metaphorically as something precious to guard: "Zinica od oka je vele mala, kako ništar, ništar ne manje ona vzdrži v sebi jednu kuću, jedan grad, jedan velik vrh" (*Kz*, 82v–83r) [The pupil of an eye is very small, like nothing; nonetheless, it holds within itself a house, a city, a great peak.] The term *uši* (ears) refers to an anatomical organ: "s navlašćima ušima prijati glas" (*Kz*, 1r) [to hear a voice with one's own ears]. Ears can also be amputated: "jamihu ih i urezahu im uši i oči" (*Kz,* 46r) [They seized them, cut their ears off and took their eyes out.] The term *nos* refers to the organ of smell, as shown by the following example: "Uši slišahu psosti, nos obonanije smrada, jazik žlkkost" (*Kz*, 86v) [The ears heard curses, the nose smelled stench, the tongue tasted bitterness.] *Nozdrve*, i.e., *nosnice* (nostrils) are part of the nose: "koli si sagrišil nozdromь obonaněmь" (*Np*, 57v–58r) [what you have sinned by smelling with the nostrils]. The word *brada* (beard; chin) can be found only as the root in the adjective *golobrad* denoting a young man, one who is still without a beard: "golobradihь k(a)p(itu)lь" (*Np*, 60r) [a chapter for young men without a beard]. The lexeme *moždina* also relates to the head, and it means

mozak (brain): "v rukahь možẑ̂ene ke mu ispadoše iz glave" (*Msdm*, 72v) [holding with hands the brain that had fallen from the head] and "ki trni mu minovahu do možjan" (*Kz*, 95v) [the thorns reached into his brain]. Both examples refer to intense pain. The word *grlo* (throat) is also a part of the head. In the following example, the term is used in its anatomical meaning: "Stanovito po petь načini grlo êducêga pogubla kada zaliho ji kadь prie vrimena kada oče raskoše. kada pripravla jistvine raskošne. ali kada ji lakomo ča ni bilo raskošno" (*Np*, 88v) [There are five ways in which the throat of the eater is harmed: when he eats excessively, when he eats before time, when he eats luxuriously, when he prepares sumptuous foods, or when he greedily consumes food that is not sumptuous]. Although literal as it describes the cause of diseases related to the throat, the example above can be interpreted as a sin of gluttony that causes medical issues in the throat. The following example: "rana od' grla krvav'laše" (*Msdm*, 61r) [the wound on the throat was bleeding] refers to throat haemorrhage, while the example: "staviše mu u jedan konopac na grlo" (*Kz*, 93r) [they placed a rope on his throat] indicates an attempted hanging. *Glas* (voice) is produced in the throat: "vap'ûči v aeri strašnim′ glasom′" (*Msdm*, 9r) [crying out in the air in a terrible voice]. At the top of the head there is *kosa* (hair), expressed as *vlasi* in literal meaning: "ureza samь svoe vlasi" (*Msdm*, 42r) [I cut off my hair] and "i oni vlasi zlati" (*Kz*, 100r) [and those golden locks].

Limbs

The word *ud* (limb) literally refers to arms and legs: "*e*rь glava e(stь) prvi dêlь têla i v noi se vzdrže vsi udi t(e)la" (*Np*, 10v) [The head is the first part of the body upon which all other limbs depend]. However, the word *ud* also has a metaphorical meaning. In this sense, the limbs take care that the entire body functions well, the head being the foundational element: "Hrist je glava naša, a mi udi njega. Da ako 1 ud slab jest, vsi ini udi imaju bolizan" (*Kz*, 51r) [Christ is our head, and we are his limbs. If one limb is weak, all other limbs are ill]. Another interesting example mentiones limbs other than the arms and legs without specifying them: "ali ruka ali noga ali ki koli drugi ud" (*Kz*, 86v) [Either a hand or a foot, or some other limb]. The texts also address limbs individually, i.e., the arms/hands and legs are mentioned. People are described as having hands or arms: "ê držim′ moga sina na moih′ rukah′" (*Msdm*, 7r) [I am holding my son in my arms]. Additionally, supernatural beings, such as angels and the devil are also described as having hands: "i vzide dimь aromatь pred' boga od ruku anj<e>la" (*Np*, 109r) [And the fragrant smoke rose before God from the hands of an angel] and "osloboen′ od ruk′ d'ẽvla" (*Msdm*, 8r) [Freed from the hands of the devil]. The latter usage

is entirely figurative and refers to the devil's deed. People can feel pain in their limbs: "ako človika boli glava ali ruka ali noga ali ki koli drugi ud" (*Kz*, 86v) [If a man's head, or arm, or leg, or any other limb aches]. Hands can heal even without medicine through their own miraculous power: "ako ča smrtno ispiûtь ne bude imь škoditi. svrhu nemoĉnihь rukê stave i zdravi budu" (*Np*, 109r) [If they drink anything deadly, it will not harm them. They will lay hands on the sick and they shall recover]. Specific parts of the arm, such as *mišica* (upper arm) and *lakat* (elbow), are also mentioned in the texts: "staviše joi na mišce one nê sinke" (*Msdm*, 14r) [they placed her sons upon her upper arms] and "ki usiče lakat" (*Kz*, 81v) [who cuts off the elbow]. The word *lakat* (elbow) is of Indo-European origin and is related to the *elei-*, meaning 'to bend'; it refers to the flexible part of the arm. When referring to parts of the hand mentioned in the texts, *prsti* (fingers) should be mentioned: "i n(a) vsakoi misi ima priêti s(ve)to telo i krvь. i na naiposlidnei ima prieti oprañe od prstovь k(a)ko se opĉeno inda priima" (*Np*, 29v) [during the celebration of the Holy Mass: at every Mass one must receive the Holy Body and Blood, and at the last one, the ritual of the washing of the fingers must be received, as is customary elsewhere]. The word *noga* (leg or foot) is used both literally, as in "dvigši se na noge" (*Msdm*, 15v) [rising to one's feet], and figuratively, as in the expression *teških nogu* ('with heavy feet'), which is still used today: "a Bog mlči i podnaša s nogami olovnimi" (*Kz*, 16r) [and God is silent and endures with leaden feet]. Just as parts of the hand/arm are recorded, so are parts of the leg: *bedro* (thigh), *koljeno* (knee), *stopalo (nožni potplat;* foot), *peta* (heel), and *nokat* (nail). The meaning of the word 'thigh' is expressed by the Old Church Slavonic word *črêslo*, while the Proto-Slavic form is **bedro*. However, only *črêslo* can be found in the texts: "v tomь sakramentu imaû sê mazati Oči Ušesa Usta Nozdrve Noge Ruke Črêsla" (*Np*, 58r) [in this sacrament, the eyes, ears, mouth, nostrils, legs, arms, and thighs must be anointed]. The Indo-European root **qel-* means 'to rise' or 'to grow', and it underlies the word 'knee', which means *zglob noge* (leg joint): "i na kolenih′ golih′ pozdravlaše s(ve)tu d(e)vu mariû" (*Msdm*, 33v) [and on bare knees he greeted the Holy Virgin Mary], "učiniše njim prebiti goleni" (*Kz*, 97v) [they broke their knees], but it also means *rod* (lineage): "ali od kolene Abraamova" (*Kz*, 99r) [or from the lineage of Abraham]. The phrase *potplat nožni* (sole) denotes *stopalo* ('the sole of the foot'): "pride velika kuga (…) ka pogubi oko 4ti delь lûdi. I ka kuga žgaše lûdi od potplatь nožnihь dari gori do sr(d)ca" (*Msdm*, 76r) [the great plague came (…) which destroyed about a fortieth of the people. And the plague burned them from the soles of the feet up to the heart]. Other parts include the terms *peta* (heel): "Od pet nožnih dari do vrha glave" (*Kz*, 86v) [From the heels to the top of the head], and *nokti* (nails): "krv shajaše za nohti" (*Kz*, 93v) [blood was flowing from the nails]. Painful, sick limbs have also been recorded: "ako človika boli glava

ali ruka ali noga ali ki koli drugi ud" (*Kz*, 86v) [if a man's head, arm, foot, or any other limb aches]. These could be treated, but with the note that the same remedies could not be applied indiscriminately to all body parts, from the eye to the foot: "Likariê kakovi godi nêmoĉi ima se d(a)ti. ne ozdravlûe bo oko ča ozdravlûe pêtu" (*Np*, 93r) [Medicine for a certain disease must be given, for the remedy that heals the eye does not heal the foot].

Torso

The torso includes *rebra* (ribs), *pleća* (shoulders), *prsa* (chest), *dojke* (breasts), *njedra* (bosom), *pojas* (waist), and *bok* (hip). The Indo-European term **rebh*- means *pokriti* ('to cover the body's interior'). The term *rebra* (ribs) occurs, for example, in the following example: "kopjem Isuhrstu rebra probode i tudije izide krv i voda" (*Kz*, 97v) [with a spear they pierced Christ's rib, and immediately there came out blood and water]. Other examples mention p*rsa* (chest): "bijući se v prsi" (*Kz*, 6v) [beating their chest]; "tudije ga učini usnuti na prseh svoih" (*Kz*, 92r) [immediately made him fall asleep upon his chest]; "razdriše prsi Isuhrstu" (*Kz*, 97r) [tore apart the chest of Christ]. *Pleĉa* (shoulders): "zvrhu pleĉь negovihь" (*Np*, 74r) [above his shoulders]; "čini križь od uliê na prsihь i meû pleĉema" (*Np*, 13r) [make the sign of the cross with oil upon the chest and between the shoulders]. According to A. Gluhak, the meaning is connected with words denoting 'broad' (Gluhak, 1993, p. 486). The meaning of the word *dojke* (breasts) is expressed in the word *sasac*: "kada mati oće odneti ditetu mlika, postavi na sasac ku koli stvar žulku" (*Kz*, 46v) [when a mother wishes to wean her child from milk, she places upon the breast some bitter substance]. The word *njedra* (bosom) originates from the phrase **vьn êdra*-, *u njedra* (meaning 'into the bosom') (Gluhak, 1993, p. 444), and in the following example it is used to mean *krilo* (lap): "učini postaviti (…) ruku v nedra" (*Msdm*, 36r) [caused (…) the hand to be placed into the bosom/lap]. The word *pas*, i.e., *pojas* (waist) has the following anatomical meaning: the narrowest part of the body between the thorax and the abdomen. It is found in the following example: "goraše do pasa" (*Msdm*, 22r) [and was burning up to the waist]. The word *bok* (hip) has the following anatomical meaning: the part of the body from the ribs to the hip, as attested in the following example: "Od kuda se čte da biše 1 sveti otac obnemoćal veće 5 let, vazda v postelji za teške bolezni od boka i gut" (*Kz*, 19r) [From which it reads that one holy father was infirm for more than five years, always confined to bed on account of a grievous illness of the flank and gout].

Internal organs

Among the internal organs, the texts record the following terms: *srce* (heart), *utroba* (womb), *želudac* (stomach), *trbuh* (abdomen), and *testisi* (testicles). The word *srce* (heart) does not appear in its anatomical meaning as the muscular organ in the chest that serves as the principal organ of blood circulation. Instead, it occurs exclusively in figurative senses, as in the following examples: "v srce moem odlučih" (*Np*, 80v) [in my heart I decided], "i z dobrimь sr(d)cemь pozdravlal" (*Msdm*, 4v) [and with a good heart he greeted], and "srce skrušeno" (*Kz*, 5r) [a humbled heart]. The meaning *utroba* (womb) is expressed by the lexemes *utroba* (womb): "da e sinь bož(i)i začêtь v' utrobi b(la)ž(e)ne d(e)ve marie" (*Np*, 105r) [that the Son of God was conceived in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary] and *črevo*: "blagoslovljen plod čreva tvojego" (*Kz*, 88v) [blessed is the fruit of thy womb]. The meaning of the word *želudac* (stomach) is expressed by the word *štumik*: "Ne bih otil ni slišati zač sam tamna štumika, da čini me malo obonjati" (*Kz*, 26r) [I do not even want to listen to why my stomach aches if it was not for a bit of odour]. It is about a spoiled stomach and the unpleasant breath emanating from the speaker. The word *trbuh* (stomach) denotes both the anatomical part of the torso between the chest and the pelvis as well as the digestive organ. Both meanings are possible in the cited examples: "Ojme, boli me trbuh" (*Kz*, 63r) [Ouch, my stomach hurts] and "igrci, o žrlci, o otlstitelji trbuhov vaših" (*Kz*, 101v) [you dancers, you gluttons, you fatteners of your bellies]. The word *testisi* (testicles) is expressed as *ĵaĵci*: "ki bi imêlь obi dvi ĵaĵci suhi" (*Np*, 62r) [if anyone should have both testicles shrivelled].

Other organs, tissues, and bodily fluids

The following can be found in the analysed texts*: kost* (bone)*, meso* (flesh)*,* and *koža* (skin). The word *kosti* (bones) is noted in the following examples: "kostь od kosti moihь i pl'tь od plti moee" (*Np*, 61r) [bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh] and "ne razbija se zato kost ni telo Isuhrstovo" (*Kz*, 83r) [thus no bone nor body of Jesus is broken]. The word m*eso* (flesh) aapears in the following example: "od ĵednoga mesa i od jedne krvi" (*Kz*, 72v) [of one flesh and of one blood]. *Koža* (skin): "Da eretici pod kožu čistoĉê zlobu svoû oboč(i)tili b(i)" (*Np*, 71r) [that the heretics conceal their malice beneath the skin of purity].

The word *krv* (blood) was recorded as *kry* in Proto-Slavic. The form *krv* is an accusative that has assumed the nominative function. The primary, Indo-European root meaning was "blood from a wound or blood outside the body" (cf. Latin) (Matasović, 2016, p. 515). In the analysed texts, the word *krv* rarely appears in its literal sense as a bodily fluid: "utoči svoe krvi i učini pismo krviû" (*Msdm*, 8r)

[shed his blood and signed with blood] and "krviju od glave" (*Kz*, 95v) [the blood from the head]. More frequently, however, the lexeme is used metaphorically: to denote 'blood kinship': "brat od jednoga mesa i jedne krvi" (*Kz*, 72v) [a brother of one flesh and one blood]; to signify 'killing': "proliťě krvi č(lovi)č(a)ske" (*Np*, 114r) [the shedding of human blood] or to indicate a 'righteous person': "sagriših predav' krvь pravadnu" (*Np*, 81r) [I have sinned by betraying righteous blood]. Regarding the blood in the Bible, D. Kraljik observes that "blood is undeniably an anatomical element of our life, but it also seems to be an essential part of our everyday existence in other ways. It is striking how humans long ago recognized that blood is vital for life, long before science was able to demonstrate and prove it." (Kraljik, 2022, p. 8). Other bodily fluids recorded in the analyzed texts include: *suze* (tears), *slina* (saliva), *znoj* (sweat), and *sjeme* (semen). The word *suze* (tears) stems from the Indo-European root **selg-*, meaning 'to flow out'. In the analyzed texts, it occurs both in the literal sense of 'tangible fluid': "suzami moimi postelû moû omoču" (*Np*, 52r) [I shall drench my bed with my tears], and in the metaphorical sense, tears as an expression of 'sorrow': "i ne mogaše se ustaviti od slzь" (*Np*, 52v) [and he could not restrain himself from tears]. The example: "Dim od ognja čini slze z očiju" (*Kz*, 24r) [smoke from fire produces tears from the eyes] illustrates a physiological cause. The word *slina* (saliva) is derived from the Indo-European root **slei-*, meaning mucous. In the following example, it was recorded in its meaning of *pljuvačka* (spit): "da po priêtû s(veta)go tela nimaû plûvati v mesti nečistu ali kadi bi se mogla slina potlačit nogami" (*Np*, 35v) [that upon receiving the holy body one should not spit in an unclean place where saliva might be stepped on]. The word *pot* (*znoj*; sweat) is not recorded in its literal meaning, but metaphorically, denoting great exertion or labour: "V potu l(i)ca tvoga" (*Np*, 110r) [in the sweat of thy face] and "v poti obraza tvojego" (*Kz*, 9v) [in the sweat of thy brow], "od tvojega pota i fatige" (*Kz*, 9v) [from your sweat and labour]. The lexeme *sjemena tekućina* (*sime;* seminal fluid, semen) is recorded in the meaning of creating a new life: "mišanĕ ni krvi ni simena ni edinstva pltênoga" (*Np*, 68v) [a mixing not of blood, nor of semen, nor of bodily union]. The word *žlč* (*žuč*; bile) is recorded in the metaphorical meaning of *gorčina* (bitterness) stemming from anger: "da srditost je jedno obujatje krvi okolu srdca i za važgan'je koler ali žlči" (*Kz*, 47v) [Anger is an encompassing of blood around the heart and a kindling of choler or bile].

Diseases and medical conditions

The meaning of the lexeme *bolest* (disease) is expressed by the words *bolêzan* (sickness) and *nemoć* (weakness), with the word *nemoć* also denoting *slabost*

(frailty): "kadi estь moĉь bolêzni" (*Np*, 73r) [where lies the power of illness] and "nêmoĉь telêsna" (*Np,* 72v) [bodily weakness]. The opposite to disease is *zdravlje* (health), most often expressed by the adjective *zdrav* (healthy): "Živь i zdrav spovii se" (*Np*, 73r) [Alive and healthy, one should confess], and less frequently by the noun *zdravlje* (health): "ako ti g(ospo)d(i)nь b(og)ь dopusti životь i zdravьe" (*Np* 34v) [should the Lord grant you life and health] and the verb *ozdravljati* (to heal): "ap(usto)le posla pomazivati i ozdravlati nemoĉnike" (*Np*, 3v) [he sent the apostles to anoint and to heal the infirm]. Disease and health occur in a literal sense: "Kada nemoć'û esi ob'ětь" (*Np*, 73r) [when the disease overcomes you] and "tudje se zdvignu zdrav i čist od svake nemoći" (*Kz*, 27r) [immediately he arose, healthy and free from all infirmity].

Diseases are most often neither named nor described, yet the texts still contain a considerable number of references to specific ailments: "različne nemoći v telesa človičaska: gute, bol od boka, febre, katarine, (…), nere od velika ĵiden'ja i vele ohola" (*Kz*, 2v) [various diseases arise in human bodies: gout, pain of the hip, fevers, catarrh, (…) but from excessive eating and great arrogance], "vse muke ke su ovdi ali febre, ali bol glavna, ali zub, ali gute, ali bol od boka" (*Kz*, 19r) [all afflictions that are here, whether fever, headache, toothache, gout, or hip pain]. In reading of these texts, the following diseases may be found: *guba* (leprosy), *kuga* (plague), *paraliza* (paralysis), *kolera* (cholera), *griža* (dysentery), *tisika* (*phthisis*; consumption), *unutarnja bolest* (internal disease), *mlednost telesna* (bodily frailty), *mlednost duhovna* (spiritual frailty), *guta* (gout), *hromost* (lameness), and *gubitak osjeta sluha, govora i vida* ('loss of hearing, speech, and sight') – alongside certain modes of treatment associated with them.

Guba (leprosy) is the disease most frequently mentioned in the analyzed texts. This may be explained by the fact that those who suffered from it were under the authority of both the Church and the commune (Fatović-Ferenčić & Buklijaš, 2002). The word *guba* has several meanings: (a) 'sponge' (*spongia*), (b) the disease 'leprosy,' and (c) 'a mushroom growing on a tree' (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 2000b). The adjective *gubav* (leprous) means 'covered in wounds'. In analyzed texts, the term means: "a disease affecting the skin, mucous membranes, and nervous system, most commonly transmitted through direct contagion (via skin contact) or indirectly (through droplets of saliva or nasal secretions), although transmission may also occur via contaminated soil and through carriers of infectious germs" (Strepellone, 2020, p. 129). Also noteworthy is the secondary literal meaning of 'the mushroom growing on a tree,' which evolves into a figurative sense, describing a man disfigured by protuberances, and in an extended sense, a

sinful man. The description of leprosy given in the *Naručnik plebanušev* is quite detailed, distinguishing between different degrees of the disease:

> Gubavcemь takoe nim(a) se dati ta sakram(e)ntь ali razumii gubavcemь ki bi toliko gubavi da bi ne mogli prieti telo g(ospo)dne i cičь nemoči da b(o)ga zblûvali k(ako) su m'nozi kim su odpale usne i zubi i tolikoi da su izgrizeni dari do grla k(a)ko s(e) čte od nik<o>ga koludra s(ve)t(o)ga brnarda reda v ž(i)voti s(ve)t(o)ga lodovika krala franačkoga komu kada se davaše založiti v usta spadiše mu z ustь i tomu takovu. gubavcu nima se dati s(ve)to telo a inim gubavcem' more se dati. Pop' gubavь nima pred pukom' služiti da ima nikamo poiti na stranu ali va otaino mesto i ondi služiti I tako razum(i)mь v k(a)p(itu)l(i) vanka v dekretalu od redovnika nemoćna v k(a)p(itu)li od vladavacь. Et tua nosь ugocio toe govori da porь gubavь more druzim' gubavcem' služiti. (*Np*, 33r)
>
> [A leper cannot be given the sacrament, lepers who are so afflicted that they cannot receive the Body of the Lord because, due to their infirmity, they would spit out God, as has occurred with many whose lips and teeth have fallen away, and whose flesh has been eaten away up to the throat. Thus, it is read in a certain monk of St. Bernard on the life of St. Louis, king of the Franks, who, when food was given to him, it fell from his mouth; and to such a leper the holy body cannot be administered, although it may be given to other lepers. A leprous priest may not serve publicly before the congregation but must withdraw to the side or to a secluded place to perform the service. This is understood from the chapter in the decretal of the infirm monk in the chapter on rulers. The text also states that a leprous priest may serve other lepers.]

Leprosy was most commonly considered the consequence of sin in medieval man's worldview, with different stages of leprosy corresponding to different sins:

> Da popi (…) ki ne umiû mnogo od zakona crikv(e)noga v s(ve)toi teoloǰii nisu vele učeni nikoliko bi nauka imeli um(i)ti po kom bi mog'li razlučiti meû gubu i gubu i tako pokoru od spasenẽ naiti. (*Np*, 46v)
>
> [Priests who do not know much of the church laws and are not greatly learned in holy theology may nonetheless possess some knowledge by which they might distinguish between one form of leprosy and another, and thus find penance leading to salvation.]

The word *kuga* (plague) derives from the Middle High German *koge*. The word is not attested with the same meaning in other Slavic languages (Matasović, 2016, p. 519). Unlike leprosy, plague is not described in detail but is mentioned primarily as causing literal mortality: "pride velika kuga (…) ka pogubi oko 4ti delь lûdi. I ka kuga žgaše lûdi od potplatь nožnihь dari gori do sr(d)ca" (*Msdm*, 76r) [a great plague came, which killed a fortieth part of the people. And the plague

afflicted people from the soles of their feet upward to the heart]. In a figurative sense, plague denotes 'evil': "Postom se zličuû kuge telesne. molitvu zličuû se kuge misli" (*Np*, 97v) [Through fasting, bodily plagues are healed; through prayer, the plagues of thought are healed]. That example shows that, according to contemporary belief, a real disease could be cured by *fasting* (abstinence from food). *Kolera* (*cholera*) is described in the chapter *Historical and medical reading*. The phrase *kuga i kolera* (plague and cholera) signifies horror and dread. This phrase does not appear in our text. A paralytic is a person afflicted with *paralysis*. An exact description of the condition is found in the *Naručnik plebanušev*: "paralitikъ a to e ki se trese" (*Np*, 60r) [a paralytic is the one shaking]. *Griža* (dysentery*)* means *srdobolja*, which is a vernacular term for dysentery ("*dizenterija*", 2013–2025): "ako vi imate v gradu kugu, grižu" (*Kz*, 4v) [if you have plague and dysentery in the town]. The cited dictionary entry notes that the term *griža* applies to animal disease, while *srdobolja* – i.e. dysentery – refers to the human condition ("*griža*," 2013–2025). In our text, the term *griža* clearly designates a human disease. *Tisika* (phthisis) – Skok translated it as consumption (*sušica*) (Skok, 1973, p. 473), stomach pain (*bol u želucu*) or tuberculosis (*tuberkuloza*): "Druge nemoĉi esu dugê. kašalь. febra. tisika" (*Np*, 58r) [Other diseases last a long time: cough, temperature, consumption]. That term is attested in Dalmatia, the Croatian Littoral, and Vrbnik. The phrase *nezdravь vnutrnaê* (internal disease) does not specify the type of disease: "Da tako vsa nezdravь vnutrnaê da izrenet se" (*Np*, 81r) [That all internal disease may be removed]. The expression expresses both bodily diseases (*telesna bolezan*), and spiritual weakness (*mlednost telesna*, *mlednost duhovna*, *mledan = slab*). The word is commonly used by Dubrovnik's writers. Apart from Croatian, this word is found only in Slovenian. It is not found in any other Indo-European language, so its etymology remains uncertain (JAZU, 1904–1910, p. 887). Držić uses the word *mledan* in the sense of 'thin' (*mršav*). It is also used in a passage explaining how physical illness is treated:

> A v telesnoi bolezni tako estь budisi da gdo bude zdravь od bolezni oĉe v nemь nika mlednostь telesna ostane ka ishaê od prve bolizni zato potribue dvoe likarie. Edna ka čini zdravu bolezanь a druga ka popravi bolь ka e ostala. (*Np*, 57v)
>
> [In bodily illness, it is as follows: when one recovers from a disease, some bodily weakness often remains, originating from the initial disease. Therefore, two remedies are necessary: one to restore health by curing the disease, and another to alleviate the lingering pain.]

The expression "nika mlednost duhovna" (*Np*, 57v) [a certain spiritual weakness] is also indicated. The word *guta* (gout) derives from the Latin *gutta,* and it

denotes several diseases: *kostobolja* (gout), *reuma* (rheuma), *giht* (gouty arthritis), and *moždani* (stroke) or *srčani udar* (heart attack). However, in our case, it refers only to *kostobolja* (gout): "Od kuda se čte da biše 1 sveti otac obnemoćal veće 5 let, vazda v postelji za teške bolezni od boka i gut" (*Kz*, 19r) [From this, we learn that one holy father was infirm for more than five years, confined to bed due to severe hip pain and bone disease]. A remedy for gout, i.e., joint pain, is also mentioned – specifically, cooling the feet: "1 kus leda v mrižah i prnesoše ga k biskupu, ki budući gutav, postvi ga pod noge za ohlajen'je" (*Kz*, 22r) [a piece of ice in a net was brought to the bishop, who, being gouty, placed it under his feet to cool them]. In this example, we also observe the adjectival form *gutav* (gouty). Semantically, gout is associated with lameness, which is expressed in the texts by the adjective *hrom* (lame). Originally, its meaning extended not only to the legs but also to other parts of the body (Gluhak, 1993, p. 266); a lame (*hrom*) person is "the one whose limb has been cut off." An example where the leg is impaired is found in the text: "ki je hrom v svojem hojen'ji, tribi je da gre hramajuć" (*Kz,* 57v) [he who is lame in his walking should limp]. The text also mentions conditions resulting from the loss of particular senses. Thus, there are references to the deaf, mute, and blind (*gluhe, nijeme i slijepe*): "gluhi. slipi nimi i ki su večnimь betegom zaueti" (*Np*, 94v) [the deaf, the blind, the mute, and those afflicted with eternal weight]. *Gluhoća* (deafness) is found in a literal sense: "od gluhoga ki ni sagrišilь slišan'em'" (*Np*, 58r) [from the deaf man who did not sin by hearing]. The adjective *nijem* (mute) means to 'speak indistinctly' or 'unclearly,' i.e., it denotes an individual lacking the capacity of speech. In the following example, only divide help can heal the mute: "uf<a>ûći se va noga pomoć ki usta nimihь otvaraetь i ezike mladen(a)-cь čini razlučne" (*Np*, 2v) [hoping in the help of him who opens the mouths of the mute]. *Sljepoća* (blindness) appears in the literal sense: "ča e od slipoga poroena" (*Np*, 58r) [he who is blind from the birth], "prozri onomь okomь kimь biše slip" (*Msdm*, 66v) [he saw again with the eye which had been blind] or in figurative sense: "videći da ta sudacь ne biše tako slipь" (*Msdm*, 66v) [realising that the judge was not so blind], "dobro oslipleni i zasineni od d'ĕvla" (*Msdm*, 21r) [well blinded and shaded by the devil]. *Sljepoća* (blindness) is also mentioned proverbially: "Slip slipa vodi i oba se v jamu upaduta" (*Kz*, 60r) [the blind is leading the blind, both of the falling into the pit]. Elevated body temperature is expressed by the lexeme *febra*: "To se kaže po prilici telesnoj ovako: Febra ali ina nemoć ozlobi i slabi toliko naturu človičasku" (*Kz*, 56r) [This is said with regard to the body like this: fever or another infirmity that is malign to human nature or that weakens human nature]. *Kašalj* (cough) is mentioned as one of the illnesses, although no further details are provided: "Druge nemoći esu dugê. kašalь. febra. tisika" (*Np*, 58r) [Other illnesses last long: cough, fever, and consumption]. The word *rana* (wound) derives from

the Indo-European root **wer-*, meaning 'to tear', 'to open,' and 'to tear up'. Numerous examples are found referring to physical injury: "zada sebi mnoge rane po glavi" (*Msdm*, 53v) [he inflicted himself many wounds upon the head] and "rana od' grla krvav'laše" (*Msdm*, 61r) [the wound of the throat was bleeding], "pokaza im rane ke bihu od čaval" (*Kz*, 103v) [he showed them the wounds caused by the nails], and "cesar rimski i imijući mnoge rane na sebi s bolezni velikimi ležaše v postelji" (*Kz*, 27r) [the Roman emperor, bearing many wounds, lay in bed, suffering in great pain]. The word *rana* (wound) is also used in a figurative meaning of 'something difficult': "papa bi ranenь lûbav'û te žene" (*Msdm*, 47r) [the Pope was wounded by love for that woman]. The word *rana* can be found in the proverbial use as well: "Rana zatvorena kašne se oz'dr(a)vla" (*Np*, 79v) [a closed wound heals more slowly]. Diseases may arise from poisoning, expressed by the noun *jad* meaning poison: "Človik ubijca more dati jad s slatkimi riči smišan" (*Kz*, 52v) [a murderer may give poison mixed with sweet words] or by the adjective *otrovan* (poisonous): "a nikoga otrovana" (*Kz*, 76r) [and someone poisoned]. Various amputation can be observed under discussed diseases: of hands, legs, eyes, and head. These are addressed in the chapters dedicated to the respective organs. In addition to physical diseases, the texts also discuss the loss of reason (*gubitak pameti*): "slipota pameti" (*Kz*, 64v) [blindness of the mind] and "da ako su bili bespametьni od poroenьê svoga nimaû se krst(i)ti" (*Np*, 11r) [if they were without reason from birth, they must not be baptized]. Such states of madness (*ludost*) and mental frenzy (*bjesnoća uma*) are expressed by the words *manen* (mad) and *furioz* (furious): "on ki e manenь ali furiozь govori tê besêdê" (*Np*, 61r) [he who is mad or furious speaks those words] and "doklê koli ĵe va onoi furiĵi" (*Np*, 61r) [as long as he is in that state of frenzy]. The signs of imminent death (*znakovi bliske smrti*) are also mentioned in the analyzed texts:

> Kada mi vidimo nemoćnika da ne more ĵisti ni probaviti piće ali da je zgubil plnim zakonom sram od otajnih udov svojih ali gda se smije i šali budući nemoćan, gda ga se plaču bližike i prijatelji, ti govoriš: Ta oće umriti, to su zla zlamen'ja. (*Kz*, 73v)
>
> [When we see a sick person who cannot eat or digest food, who has completely lost the sense of shame regarding his private parts, or when he laughs and jokes despite his infirmity, and when his relatives and friends weep for him, then you say: He will die; these are evil signs.]

Miscelanea

The final category includes words denoting medicine (*lijek*) as well as terms for staff *(osoblje)* engaged in healing practices. In the texts under consideration, the term medicine (*lijek*) is expressed by the Croatian word *likarija* – its root is

Proto-Slavic **lêkъ-*, meaning rest; reminder (*ostatak*). The Indo-European root **leykw-*, meaning 'to leave behind' (*ostaviti*), also reflects the notion of a remainder. According to Matasović, the meaning of the word medicine (*lijek*) označava *a* 'potion remaining in a vessel after boiling medicinal herbs' (*uvarak u posudi preostao od kuhanja ljekovitih trava*) (Matasović, 2016, p. 553). The term *likarija* (medicine) carries the literal meaning of medicine (*lijek*) or medicament (*medikament*): "od potribe e položiti likariû" (*Np*, 71r) [the medicine must be administered], "likariê ima biti suprotivna nemoĉi" (*Np*, 50r) [the medicine must counteract the disease], "…i dobra likariê ima biti da ozdr(a)vi nêm(o)ĉь" (*Np*, 93r) [the good medicine must be one that cures the disease], as well as the figurative meaning of 'spiritual healing' (*duševno ozdravljenje*): "Likariê tê nemoĉi ka ozdravla e(stь) pokora" (*Np*, 57v) [the remedy for that affliction is penance]. The Italian word *remedij* is used as a term for a 'spiritual remedy' (*duševni lijek*): "Da bi li se našal ki koli remedij da bismo shranjeni od zavidošći" (*Kz*, 37v) [if a remedy could be found that would protect us from envy], although the term *remedij* carries the meaning of the 'medicine in general'. In addition to the doctor already mentioned earlier in this paper, the medical lexicon also includes the terms *špitalir (*hospital attendant) and *baba* (midwife). The word *špitalir* derives from the German Spital (hospital) < Old Latin hospital(e) meaning 'hospital attendant' (*bolničar*): "špitaliri služe po navlašćej volji" (*Kz*, 34v) [hospital attendants serve by their own will]. The term *baba*, referring to a midwife, can be attested in the following example: "Faraon zapovidal vsim babam pod penu glave v Ejupti da kada koli bi se rodil ki ditić židovski da ga imaju umoriti" (*Kz*, 32r) [Pharaoh commanded all the midwives in Egypt, under penalty of death, that whenever a Jewish child was born, they were to kill it]. The Academy's dictionary records the use of the term *baba* in the sense of midwife (*obstetrix*) in texts dating back to the sixteenth century, as well as in the dictionaries of Vrančić, Mikalja, Belostenec, Jambrešić, and Stulić. (JAZU, 1880–1882, p. 129). The *Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic*, Book 1: *A–vrêdь* records this meaning in texts from 1396 (*Brevijar Vida Omišljanina* / *The Breviary of Vid of Omišalj*) and from the fifteenth century (*The Oxford Miscellany*) (Staroslavenski institut, 2000, p. 107)

Physicians

It is not entirely clear to whom the term *likari* refers, especially considering that, in addition to administering medicines, they also performed venesections, procedures likely described by the phrase 'to take blood'. Medieval medicine distinctly differentiated between barber-surgeons, who performed venesections, and formally trained physicians. Nevertheless, the following lines from the *Naručnik*

plebanušev suggest that the term *likar* may denote a physician who treats the body, as opposed to a spiritual healer caring for the soul: "Kakono likar têlesni ne more dati zdravu likariû ako ne zna nemoĉi. tako spovidnikъ ki e likar' duše nigdare ne more dati pokoru spasenu ako ne zna griha" (*Np*, 79r). [Just as the bodily physician cannot administer the correct medicine without understanding the disease, the confessor, who heals the soul, can never grant penance for salvation without knowing the sin.]

On the other hand, the term *doktur* primarily denotes a learned man or scholar, as evidenced by the reference to St. Thomas Aquinas, a Doctor of the Church: "svêti tomasъ anĵelski dokturъ" (*Np*, 94r) [St. Thomas, the Angelic Doctor]. The interpretation of the relationship between the terms *doctor* and *theologian* is ambivalent. While the author of the *Naručnik plebanušev* emphasizes a clear distinction between scholars and theologians: "veliko e razlučstvo mei dokturi i teologi" (*Np,* 74r) [there is a great distinction between doctors and theologians]. In the *Korizmenjak*, this distinction disappears in the expression: "dokturi teologi" (*Kz*, 15v) [doctor-theologians].

Given the nature and primary purpose of these editions, they also include references to specific saints invoked as protectors against diseases. Although the cult of St. Roch was established early in Kvarner and Istria (Muzur & Škrobonja, 1995; Doričić et al., 2016), the *Naručnik plebanušev* mentions only St. Sebastian as the patron saint invoked against the plague. In existing sources, the earliest Glagolitic mention of St. Apollonia as a protector against toothache in the Croatian territory has been associated with the *Žgombić Codex* (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 1997b), specifically its last (newest) section, compiled in Mošćenice around 1582 (Požar, 2017). However, thanks to the *Naručnik plebanušev*, the first Glagolitic reference to St. Apollonia in this role can be dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Regarding sexuality, as observed in other Glagolitic texts analyzed to date – whether legal (statutes, codes), religious, or philosophical in nature, such as the *Lucidar* (Fatović-Ferenčić & Dürrigl, 2004b), and as noted in texts analyzed in this paper – sexuality and sexual intercourse are observed strictly from the perspective of Christian theology. Sexual intercourse not oriented toward procreation was considered sinful and immoral. Furthermore, future priests (including parish priests) were cautioned about consanguinity as an impediment to the sacrament of marriage, with a pragmatic preventative aim: reducing the likelihood of offspring being born with physical and/or psychological impairments. The mandatory maintenance of parish registers, instituted after the Council of Trent, facilitated the clergy's enforcement of these rules. The *Naručnik plebanušev* also highlights another phenomenon documented in other sources on the history of everyday life

in Istria, as well as in other regions and later periods (Bertoša, 1995; Sarti, 2006). This phenomenon pertains to situations in which the death of a small child could occur while the child was sharing a bed with its parents.

Instead of the conclusion – an afterthought

Historical and medical studies of Glagolitic sources have, until now, focused primarily on manuscript materials. In this analysis of selected editions published by the Senj Printing House, we aim to contribute to the understanding of contemporary medical thought and its interpretation in the Croatian (Littoral) region at the beginning of the sixteenth century, specifically as approached by the translators and editors of these editions.

The terms surveyed in this study that designate parts of the body exhibit both literal (anatomical) and figurative meanings, many of which remain relevant today. Interestingly, words in the *Torso* category do not appear to have figurative meanings. A closer examination of their bodily functions reveals that they denote supporting parts essential to the external form of the body. In contrast, figurative meanings are attributed to parts associated with the head or located on the head—the organ without which cognitive activity cannot occur. Although the heart, alongside the head, is a vital organ, it is not mentioned in these texts as a bodily organ. By contrast, the head appears in both literal and figurative senses.

A philological analysis of the medical terminology in this corpus reveals that medieval individuals were familiar with bodily parts, bodily fluids, physical and mental illnesses, and methods of their treatment. However, these terms were not confined to their literal meanings; they also carried additional connotations that have persisted to the present day.

Considering the entire analysed corpus, we can conclude that the texts discussed here reflect the medieval understanding of disease (and health). The most effective and frequently described means of treatment were intercession with God and healing mediated by the Virgin Mary and the saints. Although the texts lack, from a modern perspective, detailed descriptions of specific symptoms, diseases, or therapeutic procedures – whether incantations, prayers, or remedies – this is ultimately a consequence of their primary purpose. Their significance lies in the fact that they represent the earliest stages of Croatian medical terminology in printed form.

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SAŽETAK

Senjska tiskara jedna je od prvih tiskara koje su djelovale na hrvatskom području. U njoj su na prijelazu iz 15. u 16. stoljeće uglatom glagoljicom otisnute knjige religioznog karaktera. Među sačuvanim primjercima dominiraju knjige neliturgijskog sadržaja.

U ovome smo radu pristupili analizi odabranih izdanja Senjske tiskare: Naručnik plebanušev (Senj, 1507.), Korizmenjak (Senj, 1508.), Meštrija dobra umrtija s ritualom (Senj, 1507./1508.), Mirakuli Slavne Deve Marije (Senj, 1508.). Riječ je o knjigama kojima su se koristili srednjovjekovni svećenici, a koje su im bile od koristi u svim segmentima pastoralne skrbi. Pritom valja naglasiti da nije riječ o stvarnoj medicinskoj literaturi nego priručnicima koji pokrivaju širok aspekt svećeničkog djelovanja. Ova raščlamba uključuje s jedne strane analizu u njima zastupljene medicinske terminologije, a s druge obuhvaća sadržajnu analizu odabranih tekstova primarno usmjerenu na poimanje različitih bolesti te njihova liječenja.

Iako u povijesnomedicinskom smislu tekstovi analiziranih izdanja sadržajem ne odstupaju od dosad analiziranih glagoljskih rukopisnih tekstova, njihova vrijednost proizlazi iz činjenice da se radi o tekstovima koje možemo smatrati, uz njihovu osnovnu namjenu, začecima medicinske terminologije na hrvatskom jeziku i to u tiskanom obliku.

Ključne riječi: *hrvatski jezik, glagoljica, tiskara, Senj, povijest, zdravstvo, XVI. stoljeće*