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# Glagoljica i ćirilica plodovi su dviju odvojenih bizantskih misija među Slavenima

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**Sažetak:** Obično se govori i piše da su glagoljica i ćirilica u svojim početcima vezane uz Moravsku misiju čiji su glavni protagonisti bili Konstantin-Ćiril i njegov brat Metod. Autor ovog teksta smatra da je svako od tih dvaju pisama vezano uz jednu od dvije različite misije u različite prostore i u različito vrijeme. Glagoljica je nastala u početcima pokrštavanja Slavena u Hrvatskoj (Bizantskoj Dalmaciji) i krajevima oko Soluna (Makedoniji), a ćirilica je vezana uz djelovanje Svete braće Ćirila i Metoda u vrijeme Moravske misije (863. – 885.). Oba pisma djelo su iste bizantske misionarske škole, ali je glagoljica nastala ranije i to iz čisto misijskih potreba, a ćirilica je nastala u vrijeme jake državno-političke ekspanzije Bizanta među Slavenima u vrijeme "velikog bizantskog decenija" (870. – 880.). U vrijeme velikog Raskola (1054.) Rim će tražiti od glagoljaša na području svoje jurisdikcije u Hrvatskoj da prihvate rimski ili latinski obred. U Makedoniji je glagoljica izgubila svaku podršku i svuda je uzmicala pred ćirilicom te je u 12. stoljeću sasvim nestala u bizantskom obredu. Budući da su oba pisma nastala za isti (slavenski) jezik, pod jezičnim vidom nastavljene su među njima veze, što se primijeti u glagoljičkim i ćiriličkim tekstovima.

**Ključne riječi:** ćirilometodska teorija o postanku glagoljice, bizantski i rimski obred, dvije misionarske misije među Slavenima: glagoljska i ćirilička, veliki raskol na katoličanstvo i pravoslavlje

# The Glagolitic and Cyrillic Scripts Are the Fruits of Two Separate Byzantine Missions amongst the Slavs

**Abstract:** It is usually said and written that the Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts were, in their origins, connected with the Moravian mission whose main protagonists were Constantine-Cyril and his brother Methodius. The author of this text considers that each of these two alphabets is related to one of two different missions in different areas and at different times. The Glagolitic script originated at the beginning of the Christianisation of the Slavs in Croatia

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(Byzantine Dalmatia) and the areas around Thessaloniki (Macedonia), whilst the Cyrillic script is associated with the activities of the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius during the Moravian Mission (863-885). Both alphabets are the work of the same Byzantine missionary school; however, the Glagolitic script originated earlier to meet purely missionary needs, whilst the Cyrillic script originated during the vigorous expansion of Byzantium's political power amongst the Slavs during the "Great Byzantine Decade" (870-880). At the time of the East–West Schism (1054), Rome would require the Glagolitic clergy under its jurisdiction in Croatia to accept the Roman or Latin rite. In Macedonia, the Glagolitic script lost all support and retreated everywhere before the Cyrillic script, and in the 12th century, it completely disappeared from the Byzantine rite. Since both scripts were created for the same (Slavic) language, linguistic links between them continued, as can be seen in Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts.

**Keywords:** Cyrillo-Methodian theory of the origin of the Glagolitic script, Byzantine and Roman rites, two missions among the Slavs: the Glagolitic and Cyrillic missions, the East–West Schism between the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches

## INTRODUCTION

The very existence of numerous theories about the origin, development and spread of the Glagolitic script and the Church Slavonic liturgy indicates that not all the "pieces" have yet fallen into place in any of them, so attempts to rearrange them continue. In this paper, I argue that the central problem is that the most widespread theory, the Cyrillo-Methodian theory, insists at all costs on associating the emergence of both the script and the liturgy with the same people and the same period. The emphasis here is on the script, although the liturgy is always kept in view. Much does indeed connect the two scripts, Glagolitic and Cyrillic: both originated within the Byzantine rite and were created by missionaries sent from Byzantium. The difference is that this did not happen at the same time or in the same regions. It is therefore important to clarify the concept of a rite and the working methods of missionaries of the two rites, Byzantine and Roman.

As long as relations between Eastern and Western Christianity were good, the two rites coexisted in the same territory. When the two sides broke apart, however, this also affected relations between the rites. The East–West Schism between the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Churches in 1054 also affected the fate of the two scripts, Glagolitic and Cyrillic. In what follows, I shall explain what happened and how it came about. My conclusions are based on my own research, which brings together the religious and historical aspects of the subject in an interdisciplinary approach that is otherwise rare in its study.

## THE BYZANTINE OR GREEK RITE AND THE ROMAN OR LATIN RITE

As already noted, both scripts, Glagolitic and Cyrillic, originated within the same Byzantine rite, but Glagolitic survived only in the Latin rite and Cyrillic only in the Byzantine rite.

A rite is the manner in which divine worship and official prayer are conducted in Christian churches: in the Eucharist (Mass), the sacraments and the Divine Office. Liturgical language and script play an important role in rites. Rites are the most visible sign and expression of the inculturation of Christianity into different cultures and civilisations, which means that they encompass both customs and artistic expression. This also applies to liturgical singing. Since rites are celebrated in particular spaces, namely churches, they shape the architecture and interior arrangement of these buildings. Priestly celibacy is also associated with the Roman

rite, whereas in the Eastern rites celibacy is obligatory only for members of religious communities, that is, monastics. Other customs, too, are associated with particular rites.

The early Church embraced multiple rites and cultures, and each local Church in the Eastern Mediterranean expressed the Gospel and the faith of the Apostles in its rites in its own way, according to the distinctive character of its culture. No rite may, of course, alter the scriptural texts, but the liturgy contains various prayers and hymns that can be adapted to the time and culture. In Western Christianity, only the Roman or Latin rite has survived, although several rites existed before the Schism of 1054. Eastern Christianity has preserved several rites: Byzantine, Antiochene, Maronite, Armenian, Chaldean, Coptic and Ethiopian. There were more developed cultures and languages in the East, and this was reflected in the emergence of a greater number of rites. The most widespread is the Byzantine or Greek rite. Here we shall discuss only the Roman or Latin and the Byzantine or Greek rites, since Glagolitic initially belonged to the Byzantine rite before the Schism and subsequently passed into the Roman rite after the Schism of 1054.[1]

The Byzantine or Greek rite spread to all the Orthodox Slavs. In converting the Slavs to Christianity, Byzantine missionaries introduced the vernacular and a special script suited to Slavic sounds. In the first mission, to Macedonia and Croatia (Byzantine Dalmatia), the script was Glagolitic; in the second, which set out for Moravia in 863 under Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, it was Cyrillic.[2] The Byzantine rite permits married priests. It is accompanied by the Byzantine style in art, with the distinctive use of mosaics and flat icons rather than three-dimensional statues. Since the faithful can hear the entire liturgy, congregational participation through singing did not develop in as varied a form as in the Roman rite.

The liturgical books of the Byzantine rite are the Typikon (directions for conducting services), the Hieratikon (for the priest and deacon), the Octoechos (for the singers), the Horologion (Book of Hours), the Menaion (celebrations arranged by day), the Apostolos (the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles) and the Gospel Book.

[1] This judgement need not be absolute, since Glagolitic may have spread from Byzantine Dalmatia into the Croatian principality and kingdom. This has not yet been investigated, however, so what happened and how remain matters of conjecture.

[2] I discussed this in my book: Bogović, 2019, pp. 30–37. Here I also correct and supplement what the book says about the route by which Glagolitic reached Croatia. Given its Slavic settlement, the area around Thessaloniki was clearly in a situation similar to that of Byzantine Dalmatia, so the two regions could have been Christianised as part of the same mission that reached Dalmatia. I initially thought that Glagolitic books came to Macedonia after certain Croatian monks had to leave Dalmatia following 1054. This may be true of some books, but others certainly existed there earlier.

The Roman rite was the most widespread Christian rite in the West, but there were others. After the Schism of 1054, almost all of them disappeared, although distinct rites survived in the cathedrals of Toledo (the Mozarabic or Spanish rite) and Milan (the Ambrosian rite). Not only monks but all priests are obliged to remain unmarried, that is, celibate. Many provincial synods in the West mandated celibacy, and the reforming papacy of the eleventh century prescribed it for the universal Church and strictly insisted upon it. This would become one of the principal reasons for prohibiting the Byzantine rite. Before the Schism, the clergy were divided into diocesan priests and monks in monasteries. The East continued this practice, whereas religious life in the Roman rite developed into both male and female branches. Church architecture has its own distinctive character, while painting and sculpture, especially after the Renaissance, followed styles that were widespread throughout the West. As society has increasingly lost its sense of sacred time in recent times, architects, too, have ceased to strive to create sacred space. Until the Second Vatican Council, the language of the Roman rite was Latin and its script was the Latin alphabet. In the first millennium, the foremost promoters of Latin were Benedictine missionaries. Only in Croatia were the Church Slavonic language and the Glagolitic script preserved. This remained the case in the Mass for almost a millennium, from the Schism of 1054 until the publication in 1927 of a Church Slavonic missal in Latin transcription.[3] A ritual book had already been published in vernacular Croatian in the Latin script in 1640, while the last breviary in Glagolitic was printed in 1791. Thereafter, the Office was recited from editions in the Latin script.

The principal liturgical books of the Roman rite are the Missal, the Lectionary (the Epistles and Gospels), the Divine Office (Breviary), the Pontifical (for the bishop) and the Ritual (for blessings), together with rituals for individual sacraments. Since much of the liturgy was read quietly because its language was not understood, a rich musical culture developed, encompassing both music of the highest artistic quality and singing in which the entire congregation participated.[4]

[3] Until 1248, the Roman Church merely tolerated Glagolitic and the Church Slavonic liturgy. The use of Glagolitic was permitted only to the lower clergy. Only then did the Church recognise that Glagolitic and the Church Slavonic liturgy might be suitable instruments for bringing the Orthodox Slavs into union with the Catholic Church. From that time onwards, it supported Glagolitic and the training of Glagolitic clergy. In a letter from Pope Innocent IV in 1248, Philip, Bishop of Senj, received permission to celebrate the liturgy in Church Slavonic wherever this custom already existed. After 1248, the celebration of sung Mass entirely in Church Slavonic was a unique case within the Catholic Church. For a fuller discussion, see Bogović, 2019, pp. 76–84.
[4] Laus, 1998, p. 670.

After the Church council held in Lyon in 1215, Eastern rites and languages were no longer prohibited in the West. If an ecclesial community entered into communion with the Catholic Church, it retained both its rite and its language.[5] When a community from Orthodoxy or the Eastern Churches entered into communion with the Pope and the Catholic Church, it continued to retain its previous rite.

## DIFFERENT METHODS OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IN THE EAST AND WEST

To make the missionary process as a whole easier to understand, something must be said about the differences between missionary methods or schools in the West and the East.

It is important to understand the practice of Byzantine missionaries of introducing the languages of large peoples into the liturgy. This was an established practice in the Christian East. A Byzantine missionary knew that the Slavs had settled across the territory from the Adriatic to the Urals and that this had to be taken into account from the very beginning of missionary work. Missionary activity among the Slavs did not begin in the second half of the ninth century, in the time of Cyril and Methodius, but much earlier. By the seventh century, Slavs were already living in certain regions where the structures of the Roman Empire and the Church had survived. These were mainly areas where the Slavs had reached the sea and, in some places, crossed to the islands, as on the eastern Adriatic coast. As already noted, the East had a greater number of developed cultures and languages, so Byzantine missionaries readily accepted the use of these languages in the liturgy. Such languages also had their own written traditions and scripts. This practice also applied to newly encountered larger peoples whose languages had not yet been developed in this way and who had no scripts of their own. Elements of grammar, dictionaries and new letters were created and formulated for them. Byzantine missionaries readily understood the need to create new letters appropriate to an existing language, since not all languages have the same sounds (phonemes) and therefore cannot have the same letters (graphemes).[6]

[5] This followed the crusaders' establishment of the Latin Empire on the Bosporus in 1204. Pope Innocent IV's letter of 1248 permitting Philip, Bishop of Senj, to celebrate the liturgy in Church Slavonic wherever this custom existed should also be viewed in this context. Bogović, 2019, pp. 59–67.

[6] The Western missionary, too, was the first teacher of the new peoples who entered the territory of the Empire. Significantly, it did not occur to these missionaries to create new signs (letters) for sounds not represented in the Latin alphabet. As a result, even today we have the extraordinary confusion whereby several Latin letters are

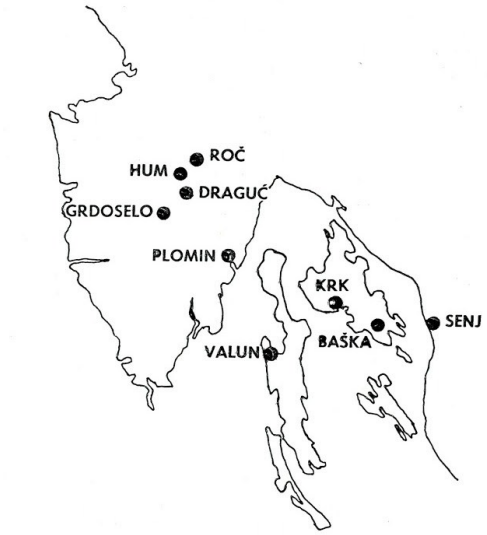


Figure 1. Glagolitic inscriptions in the territory of the Rijeka ecclesiastical province from the eleventh to the thirteenth century[7]

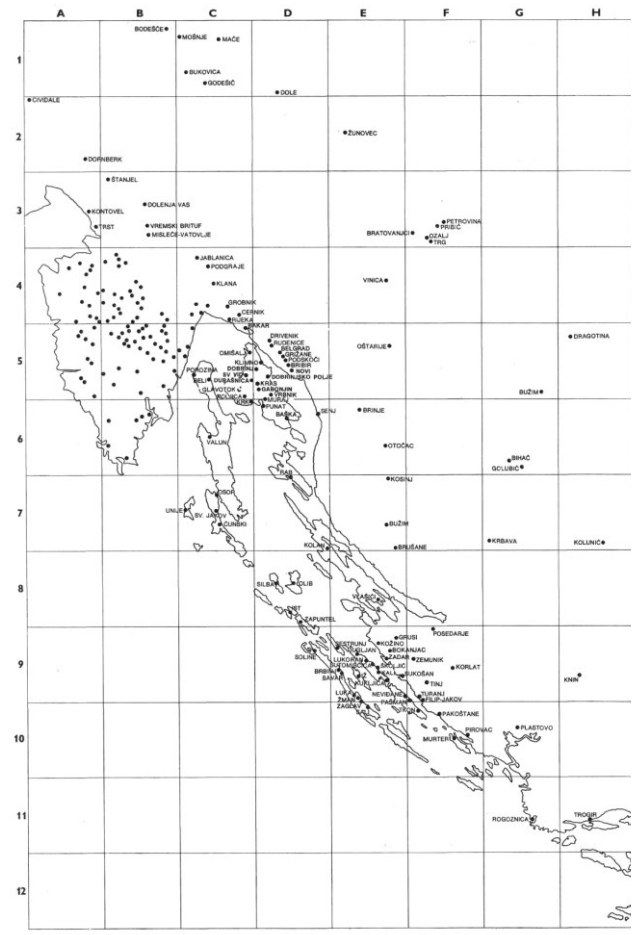


Figure 2. Glagolitic inscriptions in Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina[8]

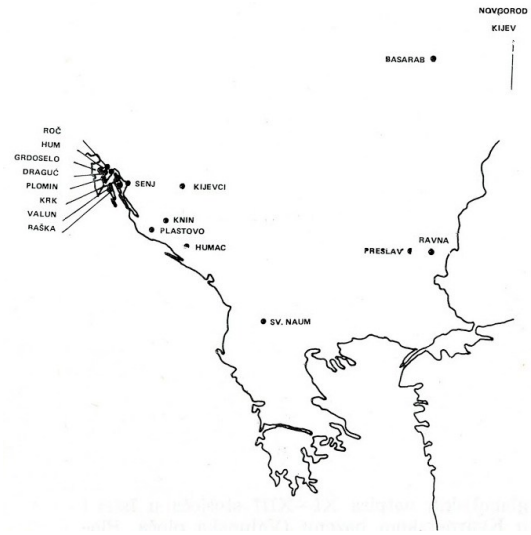


Figure 3. Topography of Glagolitic inscriptions from the tenth to the thirteenth century[9]

used for a single sound (sch-š, tsch-č, and the like). The Byzantine missionary school had richer experience, so such combinations were unnecessary.

[7] Fučić, 1982, p. 2.

[8] Fučić, 1982, p. 4.

[9] Fučić, 1982, p. 2. Further Glagolitic inscriptions have been discovered and published since Fučić's book appeared, but this does not alter the assessment presented here.

Within the Byzantine missionary school,[10] the need to send missionaries to Byzantine Dalmatia and the surroundings of Thessaloniki was recognised as soon as the Slavs arrived there in the seventh century. Certainly, Byzantium began considering the Christianisation of the Slavs long before the second half of the ninth century, when the mission to Moravia set out. We may say that opportunities for missionary activity opened up in these regions soon after the Slavs settled there. When a people accepted Christianity, it immediately assumed the task of spreading it to neighbouring peoples. All the more, the Church in these regions, where Christianity had never disappeared, felt obliged to Christianise the non-Christian Slavs in its neighbourhood. This Christianisation did not proceed according to the wishes of individual missionaries. All had instructions on how to carry it out. It is entirely understandable that priests emerged among the Christianised Slavs who went to Slavs outside these regions. This Christianisation followed the spirit of the Byzantine missionary school, according to which every people should be given the liturgy in its own language and script.

These beginnings of Christianisation long predated Cyril and Methodius. Moreover, there is no evidence that Cyril and Methodius ever stayed in Croatia, nor that the expelled disciples of Methodius came here. We can, however, say that all existing Glagolitic inscriptions carved in stone and fixed in place are found in Croatia. They are the most reliable witnesses to the script's long-standing presence here. Looking at Fučić's map of these immovable Glagolitic inscriptions, one cannot help wondering how anyone thought of tracing a route by which Glagolitic came from Moravia to Croatia, when there is not a single Glagolitic inscription in Moravia.[11] (See Figures 1 and 2.)

Where inscriptions do exist outside Croatia, they are graffiti, or scratchings, rather than letters carved in stone. Graffiti may indicate that Glagolitic passed through a place, carried by builders, painters or travellers, without necessarily indicating that it had an established presence there. The accompanying map (Figure 3) shows the locations of Glagolitic inscriptions in Croatian regions and beyond. Yet not a single Glagolitic letter carved in stone has been found outside Croatia.

[10] Here, "school" does not mean a permanent institution but an enduring practice of the Byzantine Church. Missionaries did not act without guidance from the ecclesiastical centre. The working methods of Byzantine missionaries in different regions show that the Byzantine Church had formulated a common practice.

[11] Branko Fučić recounted that he had been invited to Prague to examine a stone bearing a certain sign. It was hoped that it was a Glagolitic letter. He said that he had had to disappoint his hosts, since the sign bore no resemblance to any Glagolitic letter. Fučić knew every letter and every variation of it well.

The West followed a different missionary practice from Byzantium. It had only one developed language, Latin, and one generally accepted script, the Latin alphabet. (There were also several similar initiatives in the West, but they were suppressed after the Schism of 1054.)

## THE FIRST MISSION AMONG THE SLAVS WAS GLAGOLITIC AND THE MORAVIAN MISSION WAS CYRILLIC — BOTH FOLLOWED THE BYZANTINE RITE

The territory settled by the Croats lay west of the River Drina, in western Illyricum, where ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged to the Western patriarch, that is, the Bishop of Rome. On that basis, all the Croats should have adopted the Roman rite. This was largely what happened, especially after the establishment of Frankish rule and the development of the Croatian principality and kingdom.

The Croats also settled the islands and coastal areas. In the early Middle Ages, this territory was called Byzantine Dalmatia because it was under Byzantine rule. In Dalmatia, we know that the old Roman population withdrew behind the city walls, while Slavs (Croats) settled the abandoned areas. Gradually, a strong Slavic (Croatian) village society and rural community developed independently of the city. The situation was similar in the Slavic part of Macedonia. These were regions where Byzantine institutions survived the arrival of new inhabitants; independent tenant farmers on estates were replaced by independent peasants, mostly of Slavic origin.[12] In the early Middle Ages, a pilgrimage route connected these regions from Constantinople to Istria, as shown in the atlas of Church history.[13] A Byzantine sea route ran along the outer edge of the northern Adriatic islands as far as Istria. Fortifications along these routes served both as lookout posts and as refuges where ships in danger could find shelter and supplies. “On the basis of construction techniques, we can date the building of all these fortifications to the sixth and seventh centuries, although some sites also contain remains of earlier structures.”[14] It is highly probable that the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Constantinople felt secure along these routes.

[12] Ostrogorski, 1970, pp. 45–58.
[13] Jedin et al., 1987, map 18.
[14] Badurina, 1992, pp. 7–9.

In these areas, alongside the old institutions of the Empire, some institutions and legal forms brought by the new population could also survive, since the cities were too weak to impose their own legal system upon them. The Croats (Slavs) had their own customs and a certain order of life that they brought with them. They certainly did not arrive as a wholly disorganised mass.[15] This applies to the surroundings of Thessaloniki (Macedonia) and, of course, to Byzantine Dalmatia, particularly the northern Adriatic islands and Istria, where the clearest traces of their routes have survived.

In the more southerly parts of Dalmatia, there was less room for the development of Croatian village society and independent rural communities than on the northern Adriatic islands and in Istria.[16]

## THE "PIECES" NEED TO BE REARRANGED

The existence of numerous theories about the origin of Glagolitic, with new ones still emerging, indicates that we must start again and rearrange the "pieces" of these theories differently. In other words, nowhere, in any individual theory, have all the pieces yet been put in their proper places. It is said that the same mosaic pieces can form an image of the devil or an angel. Yet the result is two entirely different images. This paper, too, contains many familiar "pieces", but they have been arranged differently to produce a new picture.

Although it is now generally accepted in scholarship that Glagolitic came from Byzantium, many still hesitate over whether it spread from the mainland to the coast and islands or in the opposite direction. These uncertainties arise because all missionary activity in the Christianisation of the Slavs, and their literacy, are associated with Cyril and Methodius. As long as this view persists, new theories will emerge, since the currently dominant Cyrillo-Methodian theory contains too many uncertainties and gaps. This is neither the first nor the last time that someone has been credited with work that was not their own.[17]

[15] These customs would later also find written expression, for example in the Vinodol Law, and probably in the law that preceded it throughout the Frankopan territories, on Krk and in Istria, where village society was strong and organised.
[16] Budak and Raukar, 2006, pp. 122–123.
[17] One historian wrote a biography of Jeronim Paštrić but also attributed to him much that belonged to his brother Ivan. He was confused by their identical initials in Italian: G(irolamo) and G(iovanni). Ivan Golub and Tomislav Mrkonjić subsequently clarified the distinction, assigning to Jeronim what was his and to Ivan what

Thus, in the nineteenth century, the Holy Brothers were credited with most of what various Byzantine missionaries had accomplished among the Slavs before them. Matters become much clearer if the entire missionary activity of Byzantine missionaries is divided into at least two missions and the contribution of each is identified.

As early as the second half of the eighteenth century, the foremost experts on Glagolitic and the language of Church Slavonic liturgical books, Mate Karaman, Archbishop of Zadar, and his pupil Matej Sović, clearly stated that Glagolitic predated the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius. The above-mentioned pan-Slavic movement subsequently emerged and became an ideology.

The Cyrillo-Methodian theory of the origin of the Glagolitic script emerged within the framework of the Cyrillo-Methodian idea, which offered the Slavs solutions to religious, political and cultural questions. It arose when the movement for pan-Slavic unity and solidarity was taking shape. Advocates of this outlook maintained that the beginnings of Slavic culture could be traced to Cyril and Methodius. Once the Slavs began using their own language in the liturgy, they began to see themselves as a new people, equal to other great peoples. Pan-Slavic ideology created the context into which the origin of the oldest Slavic script, Glagolitic, also had to be fitted.[18] Such interpretations often received political support. Departing from this ideological bandwagon was sometimes politically dangerous, even punishable. The theory established itself as a rational framework and a code within which the standards for scholarly research on the subject were also set, while anything outside it was regarded as dilettantism. There is no doubt that outstanding scholarly works were produced within this framework and according to this code, and that they will retain their value in the future. The error, however, concerns the time and place of the emergence of Glagolitic and Cyrillic.

According to the Cyrillo-Methodian theory, when the Byzantine Emperor Michael III received a request from Prince Rastislav of Moravia to send missionaries, he instructed the learned Constantine (Cyril) to create letters appropriate to the Moravian (Slavic) language. According to tradition, Constantine prayed to God and created a new script that would later be called Glagolitic. In 863, Constantine, his brother Methodius and their disciples set out for

was his. They were brothers, certainly, but two different people. See Golub, 1988, p. 9, and Mrkonjić, 1989, pp. 37–38.

[18] Cf. Dartel, 1984, pp. 58–59, and Tandarić, 1985, pp. 369–375.

Moravia with this Glagolitic script and liturgical books of the Byzantine rite. In Moravia, the brothers adopted the Roman rite.[19] Pope Adrian II approved Constantine's script in 869. After Cyril's death, Methodius continued the mission in Moravia and the surrounding regions, but after his death in 885, the disciples were expelled, bringing the mission begun in 863 to an end in Moravia. According to this theory, the expelled disciples continued it in Bulgaria and Croatia. In Bulgaria, however, Cyrillic was introduced shortly afterwards as the official Bulgarian script at the Synod of Preslav in 893. In the western parts of the Bulgarian Empire (Macedonia), Glagolitic survived for a time, while in Croatia it continued in use until the end of the nineteenth century. This is what the theory maintains.

Almost everyone agrees that Glagolitic is older than Cyrillic, and linguists have also established that Cyrillic adopted certain elements from Glagolitic, thereby gaining an advantage.

I, too, believe that Glagolitic predates both Cyril and the Moravian mission.[20] Cyril created Cyrillic, as the name of the script itself suggests, and the Holy Brothers set out for Moravia with Cyrillic rather than Glagolitic. Their expelled disciples brought Cyrillic from Moravia to Bulgaria, which explains how this script could be proclaimed the official script of the Bulgarian state in 893, only eight years after Methodius's disciples were expelled from

[19]More recently, the liturgist Kristijan Kuhar has studied the beginnings of the Slavic liturgy. His entry into this field has enriched it with a new dimension essential to research in this area. His latest paper examines the earliest texts of the Slavic liturgy of the Roman rite. Kuhar, 2018. Despite his outstanding analyses, he remains firmly committed to the Cyrillo-Methodian theory, leaving the impression that the "pieces" do not fit securely into the mosaic. He has not demonstrated why he associates the selected texts (the Kiev Folia, the Vienna Folia, the Split Missal Fragment and the Vatican Missal Illirico 4) with the Moravian mission, nor why Cyril and Methodius should have changed rites in Moravia. He explains this by arguing that the Roman liturgy had already been introduced there and that the Holy Brothers had entered territory under papal jurisdiction. Numerous problems arise here, since several rites coexisted peacefully within papal jurisdiction at the time; even Rome had churches and communities of the Byzantine rite. Another weakness in this argument is that Cyril and Methodius presumably knew where they were going, so they might have been expected to prepare the Roman liturgy before their departure. His evidence that the translations in these books were influenced by sacramentaries from the Aquileian region lends greater support to the view that these liturgical books are connected with Croatian territory rather than the Moravian mission.

[20] I do not base my view on any previously known theory dating the origin of Glagolitic to before the mission to Moravia, although I believe that these theories, too, contain elements that merit examination in the search for a more secure explanation. Marko Japundžić, for example, argues that Frankish missionaries were responsible for Glagolitic. Analysing certain Old Church Slavonic biblical texts, he states that they were translated neither from the Greek original nor from the Vulgate, but from the so-called Vetus latine, which was in use until Charlemagne. This means that the translation certainly predates Cyril and Methodius. Japundžić, 1995, pp. 73–75.

Moravia![21] It is therefore unconvincing to suggest that Glagolitic emerged at the beginning of the Moravian mission and Cyrillic during it or at its end, as Figure 4 illustrates.

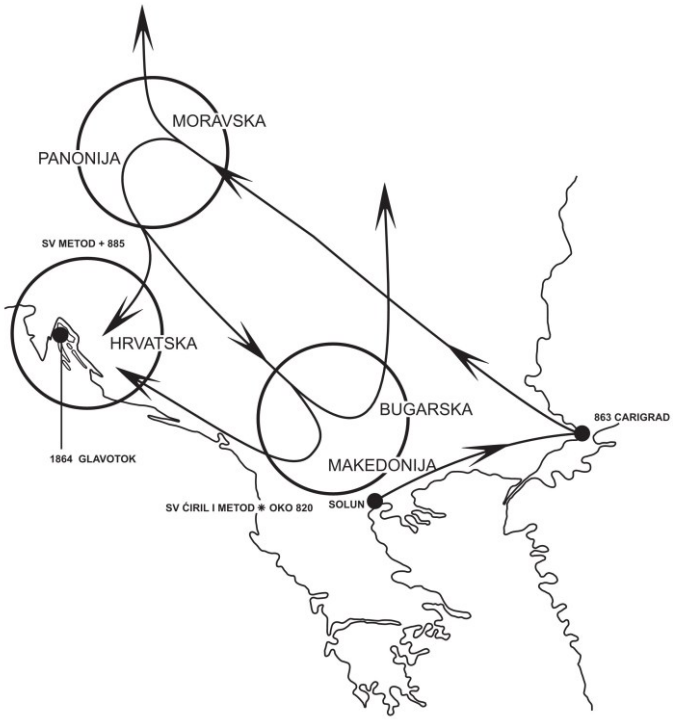


Figure 4. The Cyrillo-Methodian theory: one mission, two scripts

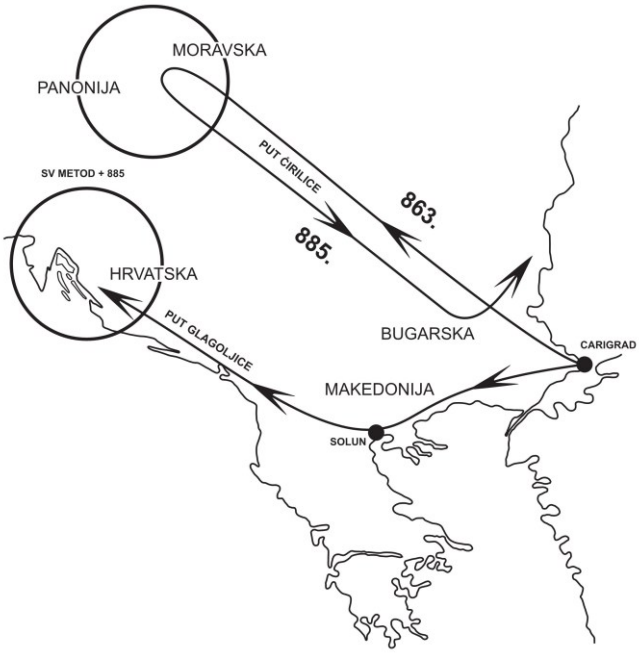


Figure 5. Two missions and two scripts

[21] Cf. Damjanović, 2002, pp. 50–52.

The Cyrillo-Methodian theory clearly makes an implausible leap here. How could the disciples arrive in Bulgaria with Glagolitic, a new script (Cyrillic) be created within eight years, and that script already be imposed as official in 893!? And why would Cyril and Methodius have created two scripts for the same purpose?

The Cyrillo-Methodian theory seeks to explain everything through a single mission, although several missions were sent from Byzantium to the Slavs. Two are the best known and the most important for us. The first, earlier mission is associated with both the Slavic language and the Slavic script, Glagolitic. It is logical to suppose that the mission set out from Constantinople for regions inhabited by Slavs who were in the closest contact with Christianity and under Byzantine rule. Its route led through Macedonia to Dalmatia and Istria. Systematic Christianisation of the Slavs therefore began in the surroundings of Thessaloniki, in Dalmatia and in Istria, as shown in Figure 5. Here, Slavs were permanent neighbours of Christianised peoples. Christianisation brought Glagolitic, a script created for that purpose.[22]

This mission followed a typically missionary logic, developing naturally and without fixed deadlines. The script therefore contains religious symbols expressing the eternal Logos and the wisdom of Christ's cross. The alphabet itself begins with a cross — the letter a is actually a cross — and some hold that all the letters derive from the Christogram.[23] We should recall that Emperor Constantine built his capital on the Bosporus from the ground up so that its very roots would be Christian, since old Rome had pagan roots. This idea also inspired Byzantine missionaries to embed the Christian Logos and Christian spirit in the beginnings of their work. They succeeded in doing so. They created Glagolitic for the purposes of Christianisation, but this was not recorded anywhere because it was the work of ordinary missionaries rather than prominent figures who would have received special mention.

The second mission, that of Constantine and Methodius, was not purely missionary but also cultural and political. Ostrogorski calls the decade from 860 to 870 the great Byzantine decade. After the Rus' attack on Constantinople in 860, Byzantine missionary activity began in the young Rus' state; in 863, the missionaries Cyril and Methodius set out on the Moravian mission. The very next year, Bulgaria officially accepted Christianity, and at the council of 869/70, after some hesitation, it finally entered Byzantium's religious and cultural sphere.

[22] Bogović, 2019, pp. 30–37.
[23] Cf. Čunčić, 2003, pp. 94–107.

Ostrogorski adds that, at this time, Byzantium "compelled Bulgaria by force of arms to break its alliance with the Frankish state and accept Christianity from Constantinople".[24] In such circumstances, the emphasis was not on Christian symbolism. This was a period when missionary work itself became the most effective form of Byzantine cultural and political penetration.

The invitation from Moravia was strongly motivated by national and political considerations. The mission to Moravia was therefore also driven by powerful state interests. Indeed, these communications took place between heads of state. Official contacts using the Greek script, which is much simpler than Glagolitic, had already been established by this time. From the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–641), Byzantium adopted Greek as the official script of the Empire. In this broader vision of the Moravian mission, practicality and proximity to Greek letterforms prevailed over the rich religious symbolism of Glagolitic. For this reason, Cyrillic was created, and Constantine and Methodius took it with them to Moravia.

This, then, was the historical context of the mission to Moravia. It cannot accommodate the purely missionary script, Glagolitic, with which the first Byzantine missionaries had set out among the Slavs in Macedonia and Byzantine Dalmatia, perhaps as much as two centuries before Cyril and Methodius. The missionary school was the same, as was the Slavic language, but the nature of this mission led to the adoption of a different, simpler script, named Cyrillic after its creator, Constantine-Cyril.

The fact that the earlier Glagolitic mission was directed towards territories settled by Slavs in Macedonia and Byzantine Dalmatia does not mean that these missionaries, individually or in groups, did not work beyond those boundaries. This could explain certain Glagolitic graffiti outside the regions mentioned. We know that relations between Croatia and Bulgaria were very intensive at the time.[25]

Glagolitic predates Cyrillic by the same interval as the mission through Macedonia to Croatia predates the other mission.

[24] Ostrogorski, 1970, pp. 59–61.
[25] Dujčev, 1987.

## AFTER THE SCHISM OF 1054, GLAGOLITIC PASSES INTO THE ROMAN RITE, WHILE THE BYZANTINE RITE ABANDONS GLAGOLITIC

Under Byzantine rule in Dalmatia, the Croats adopted the Byzantine rite and, with it, Glagolitic. The Roman rite nevertheless continued to exist there unhindered, since Christian coexistence between different rites was normal at the time. Neither Rome nor Constantinople prohibited either rite within its jurisdiction. In Byzantine Dalmatia, Glagolitic could therefore have been used in both the Byzantine and Roman rites.

When this territory came under the Croatian king, it also came under papal authority. These were periods of crisis for Glagolitic, during the reign of King Tomislav and, in the eleventh century, under Kings Krešimir IV and Zvonimir. We know that the question of another language in the liturgy (Methodii doctrina) had already been raised at the Synod of Split in 925.[26] The question of rite was not yet being raised at that time. When the Pope complained to the Dalmatian bishops that "Methodii doctrina" was spreading in their dioceses, he was not referring to Glagolitic as an invention of Methodius, as advocates of the Cyrillo-Methodian theory would have it. Doctrine, or teaching, is one thing; letters are another. In this case, the doctrine was that God's message to humanity and humanity's message to God should be conveyed in an intelligible language. Methodius was then a well-known figure in Christianity and publicly advocated this idea, as did his brother Constantine-Cyril in the debate in Venice. This teaching was therefore also widespread in the Dalmatian dioceses. The issue here is not the script but the doctrine spread through it.

At that time, new opportunities opened up for the spread of Glagolitic. When Byzantine Dalmatia came under the Croatian king, the ecclesiastical organisation previously existing within the Croatian state, the Diocese of Nin, was abolished, and the jurisdiction of the bishops of Byzantine Dalmatia was extended inland. This also opened up a large area for the spread of Glagolitic. Naturally, this gave the Byzantine rite an opportunity as well, but it provided even greater scope for Glagolitic to enter the Roman rite, which had been introduced there during Christianisation. We do, indeed, have early Glagolitic texts of the Roman rite,

[26] Pope John X's letter (925) reproaches the Dalmatian bishops for supporting Methodius's doctrine (Methodii doctrinam), which is often cited as the first mention of Glagolitic in Croatian territory. Yet it appears that the letter concerns not the script (letters), but Methodius's teaching that vernacular languages may be used in the liturgy. Bogović, 2019, pp. 42–45.

such as the Kiev Folia and the Vienna Folia.[27] Thus, the attack on Glagolitic opened up new territories for its expansion.

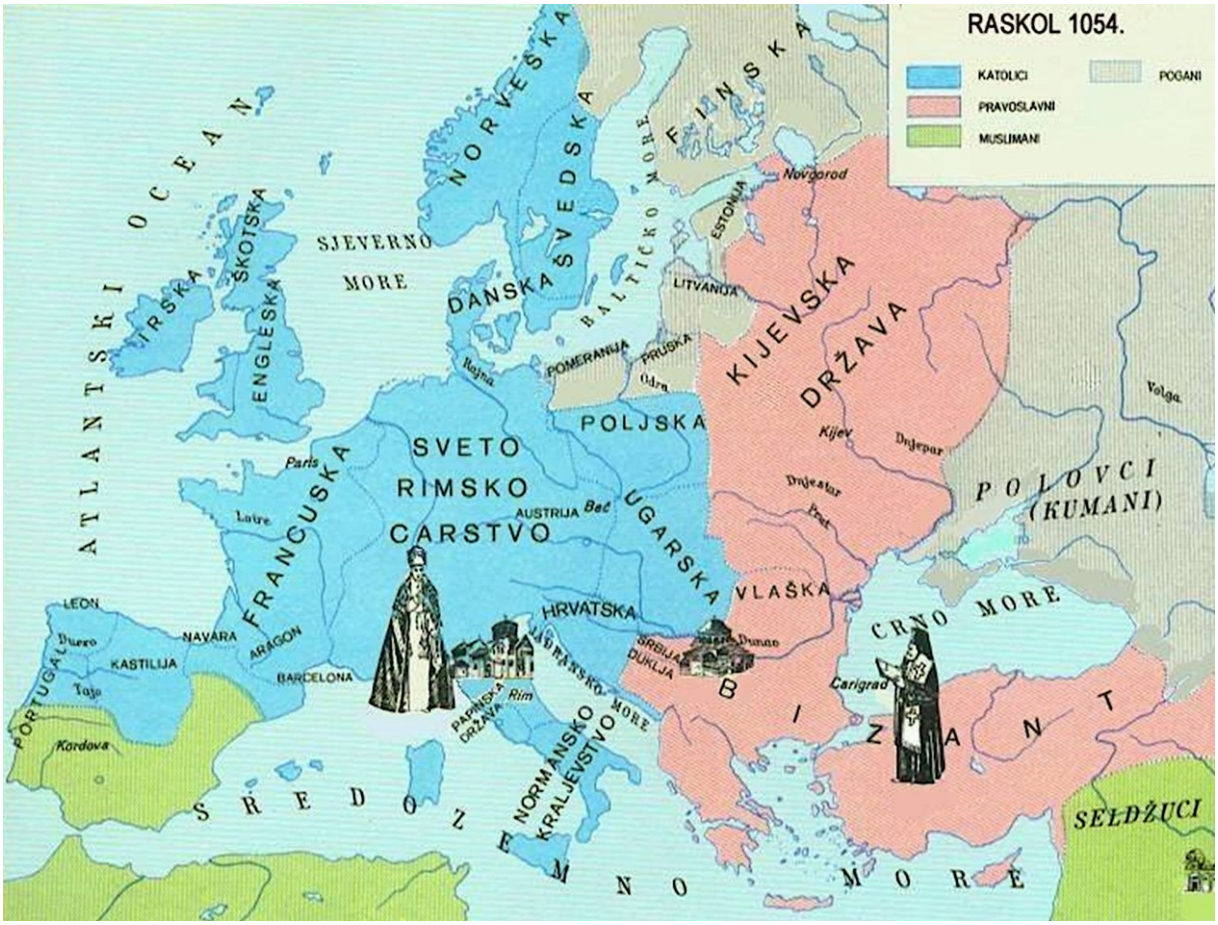

Figure 6. The East–West Schism between the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic Churches

When the Schism between the Eastern (Byzantine) and Western (Roman) Churches occurred in the eleventh century (1054), relations between East and West, patriarch and Pope, entered a period in which differences were emphasised and sought out to justify and explain the separation. This was precisely when the Croatian kings, with papal assistance, once again extended their rule over Dalmatia. The Glagolitic clergy lost the support previously provided by Byzantium. The Byzantine rite was no longer permitted in the Catholic Church. Faced with the danger that the Glagolitic clergy might simply join the schism, a compromise was found: the continued use of the Slavic language and Glagolitic script in the liturgy was permitted, but the Byzantine rite was not. On the question of rite, there was no compromise: everyone had to

[27] Kuhar, 2018.

adopt the Roman (Latin) rite.[28] Other customs were also associated with the Byzantine rite, the most important of which concerned priestly celibacy. As I have said, the popes particularly insisted upon obligatory priestly celibacy, and this was another reason why they objected to the Byzantine rite, in which celibacy was obligatory only for monks.

Thomas the Archdeacon writes that confusion and rebellion then arose among the clergy and the people.[29] No concessions were made regarding the rite. Monks unwilling to adopt the Roman rite gathered their books and left for various monasteries in the East, since monks were the strongest supporters of the Byzantine rite.[30] Those who accepted the Roman rite could remain. Diocesan priests had no alternative. Despite sometimes vociferous disapproval and opposition, evident also in Thomas the Archdeacon's account of Vuk, Zdeda and the Glagolitic Bishop of Krk,[31] they had to accept this compromise. As already noted, Glagolitic priests of the Roman rite had existed before, but now all had to adopt it. It seems very likely that, when the jurisdiction of the coastal and island dioceses was extended throughout the Croatian kingdom, Glagolitic had already entered the Roman rite in many places within the kingdom. This may have been one important reason why it was not suppressed.

After the Schism, the Croatian kings apparently supported the Glagolitic clergy because this made it easier for them to maintain their claim to the formerly Byzantine territory. King Zvonimir provides a good example: he came to Krk and supported the foundation of a Benedictine monastery at Jurandvor, as the Baška Tablet records. According to the charter of the illustrious Dragoslav, published by Velčić, Glagolitic was a widespread script among the people at the time of the Baška Tablet.[32]

At the time of the Schism, therefore, the Byzantine rite disappeared in Croatia and the Roman rite was introduced everywhere, although Byzantine traces would remain. Once all the Glagolitic clergy adopted the Roman rite after the Schism, the spread of Glagolitic throughout

[28] The Byzantine or Greek rite was preserved in the West, in Calabria and Sicily, by Eastern monks whom the Roman Curia called Basilians. The monks took refuge there, fleeing first the Saracens and later the Turks. There were several attempts to impose the Roman rite upon them, but the Byzantine rite nevertheless survived until the twentieth century. A small number of lay faithful of the same rite also settled in the area. Had the population been larger, the Byzantine rite would probably already have been suppressed in the eleventh century.
[29] Toma arhiđakon and Perić, 2003, pp. 72–77.
[30] In my book on Glagolitic cited above, I mentioned certain books preserved on Mount Athos and Sinai. Bogović, 2019, pp. 52–53. This is possible, but there is no positive evidence. An analysis of the calendar of the Assemani Gospel clearly shows that it did not come from Dalmatia.
[31] Toma arhiđakon and Perić, 2003, pp. 72–77. Cf. Margetić, 2000, pp. 179–197.
[32] Kirinčić and Velčić, 2000.

Croatian territory, where that rite had already been introduced, became easier. Its direction of expansion was certainly from the coast inland, rather than the reverse.[33]

Glagolitic successfully overcame both crises in Croatia: the one during the reign of King Tomislav and the one after the Schism. It did not, however, survive in the East (Macedonia), where its traces disappear. We may say that, with the Schism, Glagolitic abandoned the Byzantine rite in Croatia, while in Macedonia the Byzantine rite abandoned Glagolitic. The reasons why the Byzantine rite abandoned Glagolitic can only be conjectured. Amid the tensions and breakdown of relations between the patriarch in Constantinople and the Pope in Rome, we may suppose that the adoption of the Roman rite by the Croatian Glagolitic clergy was not well received in Constantinople, and that the patriarch therefore imposed Cyrillic wherever Glagolitic had been used. This, however, is only a surmise for which there is as yet no evidence. The disappearance of Glagolitic in the East may also be understood as the result of Constantinople issuing a similar instruction to that adopted for Bulgaria by the Synod of Preslav in 893: only one script, Cyrillic, was to be used in missionary work among the Slavs.

## DIFFICULTIES AND DILEMMAS REMAIN

We must also answer the question of why another script had to be created for the Moravian mission when Glagolitic had been created for the Slavs much earlier.

The invitation from the Moravian prince presented the Byzantine Empire with a major challenge and a new opportunity. It had to be presented as God's express will. We know that, as late as the end of the eleventh century, Pope Urban II rallied the entire West to a crusade with the words: *God wills it!* When God wills something, no preparatory work is needed, nor may it be mentioned. It must then be entirely His original work. In this case, too, God Himself therefore reveals the letters to Cyril (Constantine).[34] Mentioning what already existed, Glagolitic, would deprive Cyrillic of the power and prestige of a direct and original divine intervention. This accords with the thinking of the world at that time.

We shall not, of course, claim that a complete grammar and dictionary of the Slavic language existed before Cyril and Methodius. Yet it is still more naive to imagine that, in the second

[33] Nada Klaić has provided the most thorough and extensive account of how Glagolitic spread in Croatia from the sea towards the mainland, rather than the reverse. Klaić, 1965.
[34] Turčinović and Bratulić, 1985, pp. 70–71.

half of the ninth century, the Slavic language was represented there only by "črte i reze", when the Slavs had already been living in their new homeland for three centuries.

Thus, two scripts emerged for the same language. I believe that the same language policy applied throughout the area in which the Byzantine missionary school operated. Cyril and Methodius emerged from this school, as did their unknown predecessors. The two brothers certainly left a strong mark on the Slavic missions, and one must ask how far the distinctive language and script in Byzantine Dalmatia and southern Macedonia would have survived had they not become involved in missionary activity. They communicated with popes, emperors, kings and princes, something few ordinary missionaries managed to do. The Glagolitic clergy also venerated St Cyril, as shown by the Glagolitic Assemani Gospel, which commemorates him on 14 February.[35]

I would add that Marica Čunčić has recently argued that triangular Glagolitic is the oldest form, alongside the rounded and angular forms, and that it is attested in Croatia in the Krk Inscription and the Baška Tablet.[36]

## CONCLUSION

There are numerous theories about the beginnings, spread and development of Glagolitic, the most widespread and widely accepted being the Cyrillo-Methodian theory. According to it, the origins of Glagolitic and Cyrillic are connected with the Moravian mission, whose principal figures were Constantine-Cyril and his brother Methodius. At the request of Prince Rastislav of Moravia, Emperor Michael III sent the two brothers to Moravia in 863. Beforehand, they had created the Glagolitic script and translated the most essential books into the Slavic language. After initial successes, the mission failed with Methodius's death in 885, and the disciples dispersed, thereby spreading Glagolitic to Croatia and Macedonia. An author whose identity remains unknown created Cyrillic for the Christianised Bulgarians, and it would become the heritage of the Orthodox Slavs.

In this paper, I present a different view: Cyrillic was created for the Moravian mission, whereas Glagolitic had been created earlier, at the beginning of the work of Byzantine

[35] "S(ve)tago našega otca Kyrilla Filosofa". Črnčić, 1878, p. 100.
[36] Čunčić, 2003, pp. 108–111.

missionaries among the Slavs in Croatia (Byzantine Dalmatia) and the surroundings of Thessaloniki (Macedonia). Cyrillic is associated with the activities of the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius during the Moravian mission. Both scripts were the work of the same Byzantine missionary school, but Glagolitic arose from purely missionary needs among pagan Slavs who had settled in regions where Christianity and its institutions had survived the devastation of the Migration Period. Cyrillic, by contrast, arose during a period of vigorous expansion of Byzantium's political power among the Slavs. At the time of the East–West Schism (1054), Rome would require the Glagolitic clergy in Croatia to adopt the Roman or Latin rite. In territories under Byzantine rule, however, Glagolitic lost all support and gave way everywhere to Cyrillic, disappearing entirely from the Byzantine rite in the twelfth century. Since both scripts were created for the same Slavic language and were used for several centuries within the same Byzantine rite, the producers of Cyrillic and Glagolitic texts were able to draw on the linguistic achievements of both traditions and transcribe texts from one script into the other, as abundant evidence attests.

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

This article by the bishop and historian Mile Bogović (1939–2020) was first published in Senjski zbornik, vol. 48, no. 1, DOI: https://doi.org/10.31953/sz.48.1.1, under the CC BY 4.0 licence. It had previously been submitted to the journal *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik* but was not accepted because two of the three reviews were negative. It was his last paper, whose publication he did not live to see. After his death, Professor Ante Bežen, PhD, the bishop's long-standing collaborator who had prepared several of his works for publication, submitted it to the editorial board of Senjski zbornik for inclusion in the issue published to mark the bishop's death. On that occasion, Professor Bežen also submitted an accompanying note, requesting its publication because of the particular circumstances in which the article was appearing, but the note was not printed. The editorial board of *Ban Dvor* is republishing the text primarily because of the exceptional importance of the bishop's research, which once again — this is not the first time — questions the highly controversial thesis that Cyril and Methodius created Glagolitic, a thesis that still dominates cultural and scholarly discourse. A further reason is to make its entirely original form publicly available as an integral part of the bishop's authentic legacy. In doing so, we wish to increase the visibility of an article that, despite the importance of its subject, has yet to receive authoritative critical consideration. With the permission of Professor Ante Bežen, PhD, we also publish his note on the circumstances of the posthumous publication of Mile Bogović's last article in Senjski zbornik.

*Bishop Mile Bogović's final text*

*As a collaborator of the late Bishop Mile Bogović in preparing his texts for publication, I wish to state that the article entitled Glagoljica i ćirilica plodovi su dviju odvojenih bizantskih misija među Slavenima, which I am submitting for this issue of Senjski zbornik, was his last text intended for publication in a scholarly journal that he completed during his lifetime. We made the final revisions and added new illustrations in mid-2020, and then sought a way to bring the article to the public, which did not happen before the author's death. The article supplements the bishop's interpretations of the origin of Glagolitic, which he set out at length in his book Glagoljica: bitna odrednica hrvatskog identiteta (Alfa, Zagreb, 2019). He was very keen to see the article published because it further clarified his theory of the separate origins of Glagolitic and Cyrillic, which should shed new light on the controversies surrounding existing theories of the origin of Glagolitic. The bishop considered the dominant Cyrillo-Methodian theory insufficiently substantiated and lacking historical contextualisation, contrary to certain obvious facts and subject to the ideology of pan-Slavism, which had also imposed it on the scholarly world. This article is therefore an important new contribution to the never-ending debate about the origin of Glagolitic, which the late bishop regarded as a distinctive feature of Croatian identity from its very inception. For the record, I should note that the publication of Glagoljica: bitna odrednica hrvatskog identiteta itself attracted considerable interest in cultural, scholarly and ecclesiastical circles. In 2019, it was presented at Matica hrvatska in Zagreb on 3 October, at the University of Rijeka on 10 October, at the adult education institution and grammar school in Senj on 29 October, at the diocesan chancery in Krk on 30 October, at the University of Zadar on 23 October, at the Dominican monastery in Split, in an event organised by Matica hrvatska, on 6 November, at the teacher education faculty and grammar school in Gospić and in the Diocese of Šibenik on 7 November, and at the adult education institution in Ogulin on 11 November.*

*In 2020, it was presented at the University of Pula on 20 January. Alongside the author, Mile Bogović, the regular presenters were Professor Ante Bežen, PhD, who prepared the book for publication; Božidar Petrač, MA, its editor; and the academician Stjepan Damjanović, an expert on Glagolitic, together with representatives of the host institutions.*