

ROMAN JAKOBSON
SELECTED WRITINGS
VI

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Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads

*Edited, with a preface, by
Stephen Rudy*

PART ONE
COMPARATIVE SLAVIC
STUDIES
THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN
TRADITION

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PREFACE

Volume six of Roman Jakobson's *Selected Writings, Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads*, incorporates forty-five of the author's articles on comparative Slavic studies, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition and medieval Slavic literatures, written over a sixty-year period (1922–1982).¹ Of these, five articles are published here for the first time, and eight studies have been translated into English especially for this book. *Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads* complements *Slavic Epic Studies* (SW IV), which deals with the medieval Slavic oral tradition, in particular *The Igor' Tale*; together the two volumes contain Jakobson's major contributions to comparative Slavic studies in their medieval aspect.

The most striking feature of Jakobson's methodological stance as a medievalist is his repeated emphasis on the necessity of avoiding "aesthetic egocentrism" in studying the literary and visual art of past ages. As he puts it succinctly, "we are only now slowly breaking the habit of looking at the Middle Ages through the spectacles of an Erasmus of Rotterdam or a Boileau" (p. 589). Jakobson's break with past habits of viewing the Middle Ages is due to his unique position as both a twentieth-century Russian philologist and member of the Russian avant-garde. In his "Retrospect" to SW IV, Jakobson recounts

¹ Page numbers in parentheses directly after a quote refer to the present volume. In citing the other volumes of Jakobson's *Selected Writings*, the abbreviation SW is used, followed by volume and page number, in Roman and Arabic numerals respectively. The set as planned by the author consists of seven volumes: I. *Phonological Studies* (1962; 2nd expanded edn., 1971); II. *Word and Language* (1971); III. *Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry* (1981); IV. *Slavic Epic Studies* (1966); V. *On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers* (1979); VI. *Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads* (1984); VII. *Contributions to Comparative Mythology. Studies in Linguistics and Philology, 1972–1982* (1985). The publisher plans several completion volumes which will in effect transform SW into Jakobson's collected works. Of these, volume VIII, *Major Works, 1976–1980*, is scheduled to appear in 1985. Projected volumes IX and X will contain previously uncollected writings, as well as unpublished materials from Jakobson's archive, now part of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology Archives and Special Collections, Cambridge, Mass.

an indicative episode from his schooldays at Moscow University, the centennial celebration, in 1918, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of F. I. Buslaev, the great pioneer of Slavic antiquities. V. N. Ščepkin, whom Jakobson always admired as a teacher and scholar for his “inexorable frankness”, rose to extol Buslaev’s work, while at the same time criticizing the “aesthetic parochialism of the last two centuries and their alienation from the creative values of the Old Russian visual and verbal arts, a sectarian egocentric narrowness which the widened scope of modern thought and aesthetics was summoned to overcome” (SW IV: 653).

This scholarly sentiment was in the spirit of the times. Social relativism, the scientific theory of relativity, all were part of what Jakobson characterized as the “violent crisis that almost all branches of civilized creation have experienced in the last two decades” which made it possible “to look with new eyes at the heritage of the Middle Ages” (p. 590). More specifically, the turbulent avant-garde movement of the 1910’s and 1920’s, in which Jakobson participated both as a young poet and as a critic, entailed a radical questioning of nineteenth-century values, in particular of its naturalistic and rationalist biases. The reassessment of the aesthetic value of Byzantine and Old Russian icon painting is an excellent case in point. If, for a realistic painter like Repin, icon painters were mere “dabblers” (*bogomazy*), for a modern artist like Matisse their work was a revelation (see SW IV: 380). The Russian Formalists, whose reformulation of the tasks and goals of literary scholarship was largely sparked by the tumultuous artistic currents of the time, emphasized the relativity of all artistic schools and canons.² As Jakobson was to quip in 1936, “the borderline dividing what is a work of poetry from what is not is less stable than the frontiers of the Chinese empire’s territories” (SW III: 741). In keeping with the fluidity across space and time of the concept of “literature”, the Formalists, Jakobson among them, called for the discarding of critical absolutism and for an immanent and objective examination of the intrinsic fabric of a literary work.

Later in life, Jakobson did not hesitate to characterize himself, despite the many geographical displacements he experienced in the course of a long career, as a “Russian philologist” (*ruskij filolog*).³ During his

² See Krystyna Pomorska, *Russian Formalism and Its Poetic Ambiance* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1968).

³ See Elmar Holenstein, “‘Die russische ideologische Tradition’ und die deutsche Romantik”, in R. Jakobson, H.-G. Gadamer, and E. Holenstein, *Das Erbe Hegels II* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1984), p. 21. Jakobson’s self-characterization, from a 1976 interview, is inscribed on his gravestone in Cambridge, Mass.

Czech period (1920–1939), in which more than one-third of the articles in this volume were written, Jakobson became the adopted son of Czechoslovakia and a passionate participant in its cultural life, but he still retained the edge of an outsider. As František Svejkský notes in his fine survey of Jakobson's works on Old Czech literature, "his approach to Old Czech literature was truly 'from the other direction'. This was primarily due to the fact that he was a *foreigner* who had joined the ranks of native scholars. Furthermore, he chose a method *different* from those acceptable in this field of scholarship."⁴ Nevertheless, one should not inscribe Jakobson's distinctiveness in the sign of *difference* or *otherness* alone. The direction Jakobson came from, as he himself directly testifies, was that of "Russian scholarship, whose view of Slavic problems 'from the East, not from the West' has always been an important counterbalance to the dominant, one-sidedly Western-oriented tendencies in Czech scholarship" (p. 347).

In his work on the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition Jakobson followed the incentives of such Russian scholars as Lavrov, Nikol'skij and Šaxmatov, as opposed to Czech scholars who relegated Cyrillo-Methodianism to an "episodic" and insignificant status and even questioned the authenticity of its primary sources. (The Russian contribution to Bohemistics is outlined in detail in Jakobson's 1938 article "Význam ruské filologie pro bohemistiku", pp. 792–824.) Chief among Jakobson's Czech allies was Father F. Dvorník, who is to be credited with revitalizing the study of Cyrillo-Methodianism by placing it in the context of Byzantine history and politics. One of Jakobson's major contributions as a Russian scholar was to demonstrate the vestiges of Czech Cyrillo-Methodianism in the literature of Old Russia, which serve as direct evidence of the vitality of the Czech-Russian interchange prior to the Great Schism, as well as of the authenticity of the *Vitae* of Constantine and Methodius (see, in particular, "Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church", pp. 159–189; "Russkie otgoloski drevnečeskix pamjatnikov o Ljudmile", pp. 815–819; "Some Russian Echoes of the Czech Hagiography", pp. 820–845).

From a wider cultural perspective, the way in which Jakobson's Russian background affected his role as a scholar in the cultural life of the First Czechoslovak Republic is illuminating. Nineteenth-century Russia experienced the conflict of East and West on a larger scale than any other Slavic country (viz. the debates of the Westerners versus the

⁴ F. Svejkský, "Roman Jakobson and Old Czech Literature", in *Roman Jakobson: Echoes of His Scholarship*, ed. by D. Armstrong and C. H. van Schooneveld (Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press, 1977), p. 453.

Slavophiles, the question of *narodnost*, etc.). Prince Nikolaj Sergeevič Trubetzkoy, Jakobson's greatest friend and closest collaborator, attacked the problem of "true" and "false" nationalism as it related to the conflict of East and West in a series of works of the twenties and thirties, the most important of which were *Evropa i čelovečestvo* ("Europe and Humanity", 1920) and *K probleme ruskogo samopoznanija* ("On the Problem of Russian Self-Awareness", 1927).⁵ In a long and impassioned letter to Jakobson of March 17, 1921 about the problematics of the first of these works Trubetzkoy characterized cultural "excentrism", "the positing of a center outside oneself, [especially] in the West", as being as fatal to true national self-awareness as cultural "egocentrism". He saw his work as aimed at sparking a "revolution in consciousness" consisting of a "full over-coming of egocentrism and excentrism", with a subsequent "transition from absolutism to relativism". This, he believed, was the "only hope of putting an obstacle in the way of the aggressive urges of Romano-Germanic civilization".⁶ The rejection of the Eurocentric view of Slavic history was a central thesis of the Eurasian movement, whose active members included, besides Trubetzkoy, G. V. Florovskij, P. N. Savickij and P. P. Suvčinskij. Jakobson was not actively engaged in the movement's political aspect, but supported it from the linguistic side by developing Trubetzkoy's theory of *Sprachbünde*, unions of languages which transcend the confines of traditional "families" like Indo-European and serve to unify and unite geographically contiguous peoples (see SW I: 137–201).

Actually, it is the present volume which most testifies to the affinities between Jakobson and the Eurasians, in particular, the thoughts of Prince Trubetzkoy mentioned above. The resistance to "excentrism" is reflected here in Jakobson's general works on nationalism as a Slavic question and, in particular, on Slavism as a consequence of Cyrillo-Methodian ideology (see "Slavism as a Topic of Comparative Studies", pp. 65–85). In his popular survey of 1945, "The Beginning of National Self-Determination in Europe" (pp. 115–128), Jakobson argues that the

⁵ There can be no doubt that Trubetzkoy's ideas on "egocentrism" and "excentrism" influenced Jakobson profoundly. In his preface to the Italian translation of Trubetzkoy's "critique of Eurocentrism" Jakobson acknowledges as much: "Despite the fact that in 1921 both of our heads were filled with linguistic ideas, Trubetzkoy was correct when he sketched the mentioned problematics as 'what apparently interests you the most and what is also for me more important than anything else'" (quoted from the original Russian version in SW VII, 306; cf. N. Trubeckoj, *L'Europa e l'umanità*, ed. O. Strada [Turin: Einaudi, 1982], p. x).

⁶ *N. S. Trubetzkoy's Letters and Notes*, ed. R. Jakobson (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1975), p. 13.

“pan-European evolutionary scheme” is inadequate in dealing with the history of peoples like the Slavs who were at least temporarily influenced by the Byzantine cultural radiation. The Cyrillo-Methodian experiment was crucial, since it meant that the Slavs were indeed the first and only ethnic unit of Eastern Europe which enjoyed a national cultural language—and thus identity—in the early Middle Ages. In his works about the Czech Middle Ages, Jakobson repeatedly stressed that the period had been downgraded by native scholarship precisely because of the latter’s “excentric” dependence on German culture: “Czech scholarship, often without realizing it, involuntarily received from outside the bias that the medieval Czech region was a mere offshoot of the German empire which painstakingly attempted to imitate and catch up with its cultural metropolis. . . . Czech society of the nineteenth century subconsciously outlined its cultural past in agreement with its present situation.” (p. 129.)

Jakobson’s polemic with past views of the Middle Ages was sharp. Whether one speaks of the *Igor’ Tale*, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, or medieval Czech poetry, three ingrained attitudes, he thought, prevented nineteenth-century scholarship from escaping the bounds of its own “egocentrism”: over-zealous romanticizing, narrow Victorianism, and finally, a modernizing view of the history of art based on the concept of “progress”. The Romantics, despite their excesses, benefit well in his appraisal. Their “naïve credulity”, reflected in the “conception of folk poetry as a miraculous shrine preserving survivals from a prehistoric age” (SW IV: 414), was their chief failing. But they are to be credited with “rehabilitating the Middle Ages in principle”, even if they “reshaped it in their own image” (p. 692). In examining the fate of the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage and the Slavic liturgy, they were prone to imagine its survival in the Western Slavic world in the form of a clandestine popular sect, whereas as Jakobson has shown, “the home of that tradition was not ‘hiding places and forests’ but, for example, the Library of the Prague Bishop and the Latin churches” (p. 717). After the disbanding of the Sázava Monastery at the end of the eleventh century, “it happens, paradoxically, that it is precisely in the Latin texts, translations, and echoes of Church Slavonic literature that the *Cyrillo-Methodian ideology* lived on, with the slogan of Slavic linguistic equality, with the demand for a liturgy ‘*in lingua mea slavonica*’ ” (p. 716; see also Jakobson’s analysis of the evidence of medieval Czech-Latin legends, pp. 166–178).

It was the historical role the Romantics were fated to play that proved most detrimental to future scholarship on the Middle Ages. The

forgeries of medieval epics — whether by Macpherson, Chatterton or Hanka — sparked a violent skepticism, equal to that which the study of the Slavic mythological tradition was to suffer because of Romantic excesses (see “Linguistic Evidence in Comparative Mythology”, SW VII: 12–32). When the forgeries were exposed, the next generation of positivist scholars, rather than appreciating the forgers’ context and motives (see Jakobson’s fine appraisal of Hanka in this respect, pp. 696–703), dismissed entirely the possibility of any medieval poetry of value. This attitude, almost a blind faith, typifies Mazon’s “raids against the *Igor’ Tale*”, to which Jakobson replied over a period of three decades,⁷ as well as Czech positivist scholarship on the abundant native medieval epics.

If the Romantics inflated certain aspects of medieval art for their own national or aesthetic purposes, Victorianism — with its innate conservatism — could only deplore as “tasteless” works whose multi-tiered symbolism they failed to grasp (pp. 695, 896) or whose ribald, carnivalesque or scatological humor they found offensive (see, in particular, pp. 680, 683). The exploration of the “unofficial” culture of the Middle Ages and of “carnival laughter” unites Jakobson’s work with that of Mixail Bakhtin, a scholar whose significance Jakobson was one of the first to recognize. As Bakhtin puts it, “a person of the Middle Ages lived, as it were, *two lives*: one was the *official* life, monolithically serious and gloomy, subjugated to a strict hierarchical order, full of terror, dogmatism, reverence, and piety; the other was the *life of the carnival square*, free and unrestricted, full of ambivalent laughter, blasphemy, the profanation of everything sacred, full of debasing obscenities, familiar contact with everyone and everything.”⁸ Jakobson’s most important contribution to this subject is his 1958 study “Medieval Mock Mystery” (pp. 666–690), which is devoted to the Old Czech *Unguentarius*, the Easter play whose thematics of mock resurrection, scatological humor, parodic mixing of scriptural and folkloric elements, and “compenetration of impetuous buffoonery and exalted mystery puzzled and repelled

⁷ See SW IV and Omeljan Pritsak’s survey of the Jakobson-Mazon polemic, “The Igor’ Tale”, *Roman Jakobson: What He Taught Us = International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 27: Supplement (1983), 30–37.

⁸ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*, ed. and tr. by C. Emerson (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1984), pp. 129–130. See also Bakhtin’s book on Rabelais. Bakhtin’s work in the 1930’s is related to that of Propp, whom Jakobson quotes in his essay: see Vladimir Propp, “Ritual’nyj smex v fol’klore”, *Učenyje zapiski Leningrad-skogo Gos. universitete* 46 (1939); cf. the English translation, “Ritual Laughter in Folklore”, in V. Propp, *Theory and History of Folklore*, ed. by A. Liberman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984).

scholars of Victorian spirit" (p. 680). In exploring the purpose of medieval humor, Jakobson concludes: "It is hilarity which enables the earthly everyman to reaffirm himself face to face with the Mysterious" (pp. 687–688). The "mixed style" of the Gothic mock mystery play finds parallels in many aspects of medieval life, including gastronomy, as Jakobson demonstrates in an article of 1965 on a medieval Polish recipe for pike, "Szszipak po polsku" (pp. 782–791). Also of importance for Jakobson's investigation of the "unofficial" culture of the Middle Ages is his article written in 1935 and published here in English for the first time, "A Silesian-Polish *cantilena inhonesta* from the Beginning of the Early Fifteenth Century" (pp. 738–772). In it Jakobson analyzes the oldest extant Polish secular song, "Żaloba na pannu" ("Complaint against the Maiden"), a ribald student song in the form of the complaint of a rejected suitor which depends heavily upon erotic and scatological folkloric humor.

Even more pernicious than such over-zealous elevation or dismissal is the "progressive" notion, which as Jakobson says, "arose partly under the influence of the universalized and oversimplified Darwinian scheme, and partly under the influence of a persistent and mistaken analogy with the development of technology" (p. 592). In this approach, all divergences from the modern, especially the naturalistic canon, were regarded as simple reflections of earlier artists' ignorance, primitivism, or childishness. Jakobson caustically compares the advocates of such a view to "the ducks in the Andersen fairy tale who declared the newborn swan to be an ugly duckling and took her differences from ducks to be mere deficiencies" (p. 592).

In discussing the focus of Jakobson's work on medieval Slavic cultures one cannot do better than to cite the self-characterization he gives in the crowning study of the Czech period, dated 1939, "Český podíl na církevněslovanské kultuře" ("The Czech Part in Church Slavonic Culture", published here in English for the first time, pp. 129–152). His work aimed at demonstrating "on the one hand, the individuality and powerful expanse of Czech Gothic culture and, on the other, the national and international consequence of the Great Moravian spiritual patrimony" (p. 129). This two-fold task was certainly at the heart of Jakobson's activities in Prague and Brno from 1920–1939, years almost coterminous with those of the First Czechoslovak Republic: the rehabilitation of the nation's cultural heritage of the Middle Ages and of its rightful claim to being the cradle of Slavic letters and spirituality, both born during the ninth-century missionary activities of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia. The essay, a

staunch defense of the national and cultural patrimony of Czechoslovakia, appeared in a volume edited by Vilém Mathesius, President of the Prague Linguistic Circle, *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu* ("What Our Lands Have Given to Europe and Mankind") that in many respects represents the swan song of Czech interwar scholarship. Jakobson's championship of the Czechoslovak Republic and his bitter polemics against the Nazi falsifiers of Czech and Slavic history — and, it should be added, of the Jewish role in both⁹ — necessitated publishing his essay under the Nordic pseudonym Olaf Jansen, ironically at the very moment that its author was fleeing to Scandinavia in the wake of the Nazi invasion.¹⁰

Jakobson's study of Czech literature of the Gothic period was an organic outgrowth of his work on comparative Slavic metrics. His first book of the Czech period, *O češskom stixu, preimuščestvenno v sopostavlenii s ruskim* ("On Czech Verse, Primarily in Comparison with Russian", 1923; see SW V: 3–130), was devoted to a typological comparison of Slavic verse systems using the phonological approach to establish their hierarchy of prosodic elements. In it Jakobson examined the central controversy in the history of Czech versification, the quarrel between the adherents of a prosody based on stress (the *přízvučníci*, from Cz. *přízvuk* 'stress') and those of a quantitative prosody based on differences of syllabic length (the *časoměrníci*). His treatment replaced the previous normative and prescriptive views of such nineteenth-century theoreticians as J. Král with an objective linguistic analysis of the factors that led Czech poets to favor one or the other system in

⁹ The philological question of Hebrew glosses in Old Czech writings, so important for the historical phonetics of Old Czech, was ignored because of racial biases. A central topic of Jakobson's research of the late 1930's, it is the subject of a long manuscript, including a full dictionary of the glosses, which remains intact in the Jakobson archive. Of the published parts, see, in the present volume, "Iz razyskanij nad staročeskými glossami v srevnevekovyx evrejskix pamjatnikax" (From Investigations into Old Czech Glosses in Medieval Jewish Texts), pp. 855–857, and "The Term *Canaan* in Medieval Hebrew", written in collaboration with Morris Halle, pp. 858–886. See also Jakobson's first article to appear in America: "The City of Learning: The Flourishing Period of the Jewish Culture in Medieval Prague", *American Hebrew*, Dec. 5, 1941.

¹⁰ The author chose not to include here his bitterest polemical articles of the time, namely "Usměrněné názory na staročeskou kulturu" [Revised Views of Old Czech Culture], *Slovo a slovesnost* 11 (1936), 207–222, and "Není pravda, že . . . Odpověď' na brožuru K. Bittnera 'Deutsche und Tschechen. Eine Erwiderung'" [It is not true that . . . Answer to K. Bittner's brochure "Deutsche und Tschechen. Eine Erwiderung"], *Slovo a slovesnost* 4 (1938), 117–123. Both are important documents which display Jakobson's keen consciousness of the moral responsibility of scholarship in a time of political intimidation and terror. Of equal interest is Jakobson's popular book of 1943, published in New York, *Moudrost starých Čechů* [Wisdom of the Old Czechs], which could not be included in the present volume because of its length.

the course of the evolution of Czech verse. Following the elaboration of the theoretical models underlying Czech verse, Jakobson turned to the analysis of its historical development from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries.¹¹ In 1922–1924 he wrote a lengthy manuscript intended as the second volume of *O češskom stixe, Několik kapitol z dějin staročeské básnické formy* (Several Chapters from the History of Old Czech Poetic Form), which remained unpublished for reasons of academic politics (see p. 527, 896). Three chapters from this manuscript, dealing with the oldest epic school of Czech verse and its evolution in the fourteenth century, are published here for the first time (pp. 466–527). Other parts, also included here, were either published as separate articles (pp. 538–583, 589–658) or were used in Jakobson's definitive encyclopedic survey of 1934, "Old Czech Verse", which has been translated into English for the present volume. Indeed, Jakobson's work on Old Czech literature collected here (pp. 417–695) remains the most exhaustive treatment of the subject to date and is of abiding interest from a methodological point of view. Following the statistical method developed by the Formalist investigation of verse, especially in the works of Boris Tomaševskij, Jakobson shows how the immanent approach may be used for the generic differentiation of medieval poetry, for its dating and chronology, for isolating the poetic norms of different periods, and finally, for tracing the overall evolution of the system.¹²

The notion of verse structure as a hierarchy of various elements in which the presence of one element as a dominant entails shifts in the functional roles of the other elements is an important one for literary evolution. In examining the development of Czech verse of the fourteenth century, Jakobson shows the dialectical reaction of different poets and poetic schools to the old norm, the canonic epic octosyllabic couplet, their shifting of certain elements at the expense of others. In the twenties and thirties of the fourteenth century, a revolutionary current, represented by the so-called "author of the Hradec manuscript", was clearly opposed to a conservative trend epitomized in the remarkable Legend of St. Catherine. The former attacked the canon head-on through a prosaization of the rhythmic, lexicon, style and thematics of his works, while the latter attempted to revivify the epic of high style by exaggerating its tendencies — by heightening the metrical articulation

¹¹ Jakobson's work on the verse of the Czech romantics, mostly importantly Mácha and Erben, are contained in SW V (see especially pp. 433–485, 486–504, 505–509, 510–537).

¹² See S. Rudy, "Jakobson's Inquiry into Verse and the Emergence of Structural Poetics", in *Sound, Sign and Meaning: Quinquagenary of the Prague Linguistic Circle*, ed. by L. Matejka (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Contributions, 1978), pp. 477–520.

and euphony of the verse and by using elaborate tropes and figures. These two opposite approaches necessarily entailed other shifts in the hierarchy of verse values. The author of the Hradec manuscript, who suppressed the rhythmicality of verse and the role of rhyme, had recourse to strict syntactic delineation of the line and especially of couplets, lest the verse cease to be sensed as verse. The poet of the St. Catherine Legend, on the contrary, was forced to use enjambement and, in particular, to elaborate the melodics of verse through a play on contrasting intonations. Ironically, the elaboration of melodics, which entailed an approximation of prosaic speech, was a significant departure from the epic norm, and the conservative poet became, in spite of himself, a contributor to the decline of the verse canon and to its prosaization. Thus, despite their completely antithetical artistic orientations, both poets proved to be forerunners on the path toward the development of Old Czech prose. Perhaps the most persuasive summary of this period in the evolution of Old Czech verse is Jakobson's introduction to "Two Old Czech Poems on Death" (1927; included here in English translation, pp. 589–614). Typically, in the same essay Jakobson also attempts to bring medieval works back into live aesthetic perception by offering reconstructions free of the "linguistic dust", to use F. de Saussure's expression, that made them previously inaccessible to modern readers (see p. 614).

Ever watchful of the distortions that one's own aesthetic credo impose on works of the past, Jakobson was astonished to discover, in 1936, that his long sojourn among Czech Gothic works had prejudiced him against the subsequent chapter in the history of Czech verse, the Hussite period: "I attempted an immanent analysis of Czech fourteenth-century poetry to determine its own specific missions and goals, and then automatically transferred the concerns of fourteenth-century poetry to that of the following century" (p. 704). This involuntary projection was brilliantly rectified in "Remarks on the Poetry of the Hussite Era" (published here in its first full English version, pp. 704–737), an essay that reflects the growing semiotic orientation of the Prague Linguistic Circle and that ranks among Jakobson's seminal contributions to the history of Czech literature and culture. Here Jakobson examined for the first time the verse of the Gothic and Hussite periods as reflections of their general attitude toward the sign. Poetry was viewed in its interrelation with its social basis and ideological background, and Hussitism was considered as a continuation, albeit in radically transformed guise, of Cyrillo-Methodianism. Hussite verse became in the author's view not a simple impoverishment of the previous canon but a system in which the

aesthetic criterion became secondary to its dominant social purposes. Its chief evolutionary significance for the history of Czech verse lay in its freeing of sung verse from the norms of spoken verse. In such a view, “even such a subordinate unit in the total system of cultural values of this historical stage [as verse] is the direct bearer of the system’s evolutionary thrust and eloquently testifies to its remarkably innovative, revolutionary nature. Even in this small and subordinate cultural sector we observe how the untamable destructive spirit of a revolutionary era is at the same time a creative spirit, necessarily carrying suggestions of a new order.” (p. 737.)

As mentioned above, Jakobson’s work on the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was directed toward proving its lasting consequences for the Slavic world (for an overview of current research on this problem, see “The Byzantine Mission to the Slavs”, pp. 101–114).¹³ In insisting on the importance of Old Church Slavonic literature for the further development of Czech and other Slavic literatures, Jakobson brought his philological expertise to bear on the oldest Slavic texts, solving many a seeming conundrum in an elegant and ingenious way. As he notes in his article on the Kievan Missal, “Czech Verse of a Thousand Years Ago” (pp. 347–354), “if we take into account the literary patrimony of the Czech Church Slavonic period, we enrich the history of Czech literary culture by almost four centuries” (p. 347). Among Jakobson’s favorite topics of investigation was the oldest Czech spiritual song, “Hospodine, pomiluj ny” (“Lord Have Mercy On Us”), which was the subject of a fourteenth-century treatise by the first specialist in the field of Slavic philology, Jan of Holešov. In a series of works included here, Jakobson subjected this song to minute scrutiny (see pp. 355–375, 376–380, 381–388), arriving in his study “An Old Church Slavonic Song in the Czech Tradition” (1972; translated into English for the present volume, pp. 389–401) at the conclusion that “in its original redaction it was an Old Church Slavonic song, which was close in its linguistic and poetic composition to the other monuments of church song which are preserved in the Cyrillo-Methodian patrimony” and which “probably survived in the Czech lands as a result of the fact that in the Slavic divine service it was appointed for singing by laymen” (p. 400). Jakobson subjects the oldest Polish song, “Bogurodzica”, to a similar analysis, and reaches the conclusion that it too is an Old Church Slavonic text of Czech recension (see pp. 351–352). In his

¹³ Jakobson’s role in contemporary studies of the Church Slavic tradition is discussed in Henryk Birnbaum’s essay “Toward a Comparative Study of Church Slavic Literature,” in his *On Medieval and Renaissance Slavic Writing: Selected Essays* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1974), 13–40.

discussion of the oldest West Slavic liturgical texts, Jakobson consistently seeks out their Great Moravian roots.

Unique in the twentieth-century re-evaluation of the heritage of the Thessalonian brethren, however, were Jakobson's contributions to the poetic heritage of the Slavic apostles. One of his earliest works on the poetics of Old Church Slavonic literature was a letter of 1919 written to his teacher at Moscow University, A. A. Šaxmatov, on the clear syllabic rhythm of the oldest Russian church songs, which was published in the *Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences* in 1923 (see p. 240). Jakobson's surmise about the existence of Old Church Slavonic poetic texts hidden in a prosaic context received considerable support when Prince Trubetzkoy, in 1933, glossed Constantine's encomium to St. Gregory the Theologian, cited in the *Vita Constantini*, as written in impeccable syllabic verse (see p. 208); this same text was analyzed by Jakobson in 1970 following his theory of "poetry of grammar and grammar of poetry". The results are an eloquent confirmation of the role of grammar in the organization of poetic texts as well as an illuminating perspective on Constantine the Philosopher's poetics (pp. 207–239). An avid student of the "Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry" (see pp. 240–259), Jakobson traced the roots of the Slavic written poetic tradition to Constantine's own poetic fragments (see "Stixotvornye citaty v velikomoravskoj agiografii" ["Verse Citations in the Hagiography of Great Moravia"], pp. 277–285), to his translation of the holy liturgy (see "'Tainaja služ'ba' Konstantina Filosa i dal'nejšaja razvitie staroslavjanskoj poëzii" ["The Divine Service of Constantine the Philosopher and the Further Development of Old Church Slavonic Poetry"], pp. 260–276), and to the extraordinary verse prologue Constantine wrote to accompany his translation of the Gospels, to which Jakobson returned again and again in the course of thirty years, most recently for the revised version of "Saint Constantine's Prologue to the Gospels" in the present volume (pp. 191–206). Perhaps the most remarkable of Jakobson's contributions to the poetics of Old Church Slavonic literature is his article on the oldest of the Slavic hymns, to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, which may be attributed to Methodius or his immediate circle. Written in 1981 and published here for the first time (pp. 286–346), "Sketches for the History of the Oldest Slavic Hymnody" is a detailed analysis of the hymn's poetic fabric, with insightful observations on the poetics of names and the biblical centon style in general. Like all of Jakobson's works on liturgical song, it opens up vast perspectives for the interdisciplinary study of the poetic and musical aspects of church song in their interrelation.

As should be clear from the above, Jakobson's work on medieval Slavic literatures bears the stamp of a deep comparative approach applied in both its synchronic and diachronic dimensions. The opening article in this volume, "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature" (pp. 1–64), which originally appeared in the maiden issue of *Harvard Slavic Studies* in 1953, remains the most concise and methodologically well-grounded introduction to the subject. In his survey of the Slavic oral and written tradition Jakobson characteristically focusses on the influence of linguistic material on poetic form— or, to put it more bluntly, "the pressure of verbal material on verbal art" (p. 1)— which was a question he addressed in a comparative framework from his earliest years. If, as Jakobson writes, "it is his mother tongue which reliably indicates that a man belongs to the Slavic world" (p. 3), then features common to the Slavic languages as a group will analogously serve as the identifying mark of a Slavic literature, especially poetry. This argument is eloquently summed up in a statement by Edward Sapir quoted below (p. 87): "Since every language has its distinctive peculiarities, the innate formal limitations — and possibilities — of one literature are never quite the same as those of another. The literature fashioned out of the form and substance of a language has the color and texture of its matrix."¹⁴

Several phenomena, highly characteristic of the grammar of the Slavic languages, differentiate them as a group and offer to the verbal art of the Slavs effective and unique poetic devices. Among these are: the importance and frequency of "subjectless" or "impersonal" constructions; the typically Slavic "free" word order; the vitality of morphology, especially of derivational affixes, which contribute to the "morphological embeddedness of the *word as such*", with the further consequence of the palpability of word boundaries and their importance for phrasing and rhythmicity. As Jakobson pursued his investigation of the "grammar of poetry" in the 1960's and 1970's (see SW III), the Slavic material proved particularly persuasive, especially as regards the "key role of impersonal constructions in the poetic context". The results of his inquiries were presented in his inaugural address to the Seventh International Congress of Slavists in Warsaw, August 21, 1973, with a wealth of diverse examples drawn from Slavic poetry testifying both to the erudition of Jakobson the reader as well as to the acumen of Jakobson the linguist. The abstract published here, "Iz jazykovedčeskix nabljudenij nad obščimi osobennostjami slavjanskoj poëzii" ("From Linguistic Observa-

¹⁴ Edward Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1922), p. 222.

tions on Common Peculiarities of Slavic Poetry”, pp. 86–94), is part of a much larger, as yet unpublished monograph, which included analyses from different Slavic literatures — Slovenian (Župančič), Ukrainian (Ševčenko), Russian (Puškin), Czech (Nezval), and Polish (Wierzyński). In many respects his crowning work in Slavic “contrastive poetics”, this monograph will be published in its entirety in volume IX of the *Selected Writings*.¹⁵

As one surveys the vast territory covered in the present volume, one feels the constant presence of two figures in Slavic history whose mark on Jakobson’s own thought was indelible: the ninth-century founder of Slavic literacy, Constantine-Cyril, and the seventeenth-century Czech champion of universal education, Johann Amos Comenius. Underlying all of Jakobson’s work on the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage and on medieval Slavic, especially Czech, literatures is the leitmotif of *continuity* which he emphasized in his 1942 tribute to the philosopher Comenius: “A strong feeling of continuity suffuses, unifies, and inspires the lifework of this great thinker. It is the same spirit of continuity which permeates and unifies all of Czech history. Some Czech investigators underestimate, minimize, and on occasion even deny this continuity. They resist that the revolutions, which for more than one thousand years shaped the Czech cultural and national past, deprived the nation of an unbroken tradition; and the spirit of continuity simply vanished. However, precisely the opposite is true: in reality, the historical cataclysms, the dramatic tremors, the violent changes in the Czech world evoked constructive thoughts of continuity, and provoked as well as strengthened a self-preserving sense of endurance.”¹⁶ He stresses that “the problem of continuity in its practical application is above all one of the transfer of spiritual values to succeeding generations”. No statement could be truer of Jakobson’s own work as a medievalist: he did not conceive the Slavic Middle Ages as the realm of an antiquarian but as a live storehouse of values of permanence and universal significance. As Constantine’s and Comenius’ successor, Jakobson believed that “true continuity unites the present not only with the past but also, and most importantly, with the future”.

¹⁵ For now, see three sections already published in SW III, on Župančič (577–581), Puškin (378–387) and Wierzyński (591–600).

¹⁶ See pp. 846–849. I quote the recent English translation, “The Czech Comenius”, *Cross Currents: A Yearbook of Central European Culture*, 1983, pp. 207–210.

The present volume has been in preparation for many years. The author established its table of contents and read through most of the first proofs before his death in July, 1982.¹⁷ Professor František Svejkský assisted the author in the initial selection and editing of texts, especially those in Czech. Susanne Fusso translated eight articles from Czech into English especially for the volume. The editor owes particular thanks to Dr. Brent Vine, who during his tenure as assistant to the Estate of Roman Jakobson read through final proofs of the entire volume and compiled the index of names, of peoples and languages, and the exemplary index of texts cited: without his keen eye and philological acumen the volume certainly would have suffered. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology contributed both indirectly and directly to the final preparation of this book by supporting the Jakobson Archives and Publication Project and by facilitating the editor's work there as a research associate in spring 1983. The editor's chief debt is to Professor Krystyna Pomorska Jakobson, whose knowledge, help and support were crucial in seeing the volume through to completion.

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¹⁷ The division into two parts, necessitated by publishing exigencies, and the titles assigned the parts are an editorial decision. A technical note on the transcription of Old Church Slavonic in the present volume: for the sake of clarity, the front and back yers are given in their Cyrillic form ѣ/ь, rather than in the conventional transcriptions (‘/’ or i/ü). In the Russian transcriptions of OCS script, ѣ is rendered as и. Cited texts are given in the orthography of the original, with only slight normalization in a few cases. Jakobson's *reconstructions* of OCS texts, on the other hand, whether in Cyrillic or Latin transcription, follow the spelling conventions established by N. S. Trubetzkoy: see his *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, 2nd edition, Vienna, 1968.

PART ONE

COMPARATIVE SLAVIC
STUDIES

THE CYRILLO-METHODIAN
TRADITION

THE KERNEL OF COMPARATIVE SLAVIC LITERATURE

I. THE COMMON PATRIMONY OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND ITS INFLUENCE ON POETIC FORM

1. Language as the basic Slavic communality. 2. The pressure of verbal material on verbal art, e.g., on alliteration. 3. On verse. 4. On rhyme. 5. On etymological figures: derivational (*paregmenon*). 6. And inflectional (*polyptoton*). 7. The poetic load of verb categories. 8. Inversion. 9. Paronomasia. 10. Genders and *prosopopoeia*. 11. Like responses to like formal problems.

I

The questions "What is comparative Slavic literature?", "What are its aims and tasks?" gave rise to a lively discussion among Slavic and foreign experts on Slavic languages and literatures during the period between the two World Wars.¹ The very possibility of a comparative study of Slavic literatures was reexamined. What, it was asked, are the specific common traits that unify Slavic literatures, enabling us to envisage them as a separate, integral domain which is set off from the literary activities of other peoples? Doubts were expressed as to the very existence of a common denominator which unifies the various Slavic literatures and distinguishes them from other literatures.

¹ Here are a few representative contributions: J. Bąbała, *Zagadnienie łącznego badania literatur słowiańskich* (Warsaw, 1938); A. Brückner, *Zarys dziejów literatur i języków literackich* (Lwów, 1929); "Eine slavische Literaturgeschichte?", *Prager Presse* (4 October 1931), and "Geschichte der slavischen Literaturen", *Slavische Rundschau*, IV, 1932; J. Gołąbek, "Zagadnienie łączności literatur słowiańskich", *Ruch Słowiański*, II, 1929, and "Literatury słowiańskie (Rozważania o metodzie)", *Marcholt*, IV, 1938; J. Horák, "Problémy srovnávacího studia literatur slovanských a lidového podání slovanského, jeho cíle a metody", *I^{er} Congrès des philologues slaves à Prague, 1929, Section I^{ère}, Propositions: 5*, and "Porównawcze studjum literatur słowiańskich", *Ruch Słowiański*, III, 1930; M. Hruševs'kyj, "Istorija slovjans'kyx literatur — fikcyja čy neobxidnyj naukovyj postuljat?", *Sveslavenski Zbornik* (Zagreb, 1930); W. Lednicki, "Existe-t-il un patrimoine commun d'études slaves?", *Le monde slave*, IV, 1926; A. Mazon, "Le patrimoine commun des études slaves", *Revue des études slaves*, IV, 1924; F. Wollman, *Slovesnost Slovanů* (Prague, 1928); "Vom Geiste des literarischen Schaffens bei den Slaven", *Slavische Rundschau*, IV, 1932; *K metodologii srovnávací slovesnosti slovanské* (Brno, 1936); and "Dvě polské polemiky o slovanských literaturách", *Slovo a slovesnost*, V, 1939.

Now that this stimulating discussion belongs to the past, we can and must separate this scholarly problem from the political considerations which have at times enveloped it and threatened loss of objectivity. One can only wonder at the naïveté with which political slogans were substituted for scholarly arguments, as when the relevance of comparative Slavic literature was dismissed with a maxim like "Versailles and Trianon have put an end to all 'Slavisms'". Neither Slavic comparative grammar nor comparative literature has the slightest legitimate connection with any struggle for or against any kind of Pan-Slavic political bias.²

Before we attack the problem of the controversial common denominator of the Slavic literatures, it is interesting to expose the common denominator of the diverse views expressed in the inter-war discussion. There were two clear-cut and opposed attitudes as to the historical extent and significance of the Slavic communality (*pospolitost*, in the technical term introduced by the Czech comparativists). Some scholars, especially linguists like A. Meillet, J. Baudouin de Courtenay, and N. Trubetzkoy,³ take the close kinship of the Slavic languages as the one objective, substantial sign of Slavic unity. "Language, and only language, binds the Slavs together", says Trubetzkoy. Advocates of this thesis point out the diverse anthropological antecedents of the Slavic peoples and the crucial differences in their political, cultural, and religious destinies. Other scholars, on the contrary, are prone to find manifold signs of Slavic unity, sometimes going so far as to speak of a specifically Slavic mind, likeness in mentality, behavior pattern, sentiments, temperament, philosophical credo, and religious feeling. In Slavic creative literature they (particularly Brückner) discover certain characteristics supposedly common to the Slavs and peculiar only to them, such as sensitivity, melancholy, reverie, volatile impressionability, the passage from one extreme to another, straightforwardness, candor: or, when the

² The purposeful campaign against independent and objective scholarship behind the Iron Curtain makes comparative Slavic studies impossible there. Problems of Slavic literary interrelations and common patrimony cannot be discussed where the seniority and preeminence of Russian culture is peremptorily postulated. In recent publications like the collective history of ancient Russian culture (*Istorija kul'tury drevnej Rusi*, II, 1951), the doctrine of national self-congratulation has simply smothered any hint of the mighty impact of the South and West Slavs on early Russian literature and its language. The oldest Slavic alphabet, elaborated by Saint Cyril for Great Moravia, is claimed to be an earlier Russian invention, and the oral tradition and mythology of Russia is presented as an independent, original creation.

³ A. Meillet, "De l'unité slave", *Revue des études slaves*, I (1921), 7-14; J. Baudouin de Courtenay, "Czy istnieje osobna kultura słowiańska?", *Przegląd Warszawski*, V (1925), 223-6; N. Trubetzkoy, *K probleme ruskogo samopoznanija* (Paris, 1927), p. 93f.

scholar is in a grimmer mood he finds such “old racial traits as anarchy and mutual hatred, ancient levity (*Sclavus saltans*), inconstancy — interpreted by foreigners as falseness — indifference (the *avos’* and *ničevo*), contempt for the *baba*, an adulation of hospitality such as is found in no other race, attachment to tradition, curiosity, an adaptability which approaches xenomania”. But regardless of whether linguistic propinquity is interpreted as the sole all-Slavic earmark, there is complete accord that it is the most distinct manifestation of Slavic unity. It is his mother tongue which reliably indicates that a man belongs to the Slavic world.

2

Those who insist that Slavic unity and comparative Slavic studies belong essentially to the linguistic domain cannot exclude from this domain the poetic language of the Slavic peoples and its comparative analysis: for language cannot be confined to only one of its functions, and its esthetic function is among the most vital and inseparable. Thus the most natural conclusion for the comparative study of Slavic literature would be to concentrate primarily on the elements of an artistic work that are most intimately linked with language. Paradoxically enough, questions of poetic form have been the very ones most neglected in the comparative history of Slavic literatures. They were nearly forgotten even in the inter-war discussion on the possibilities and tasks of this comparative discipline. Frank Wollman’s opportune but scanty reference to “la connexité des symboles linguistiques slaves comme moyens de formation dans la stylistique et la métrique” remained at that time unproductive and undeveloped.⁴

The influence of linguistic material on poetic form is undeniable. The stock of poetic devices available to verbal art is to a high degree determined by this material. The sound-form of poetic speech depends directly on the phonemic pattern of the given language. The predilection of certain languages, for example, for alliteration in poetry is not a matter of pure chance. The device is particularly favored in languages which signal the first syllable of the word by accent or other means, and at the same time avoid too complex or diversified consonantal clusters in *anlaut* — at the beginning of a word. The Czech linguist J. Zubatý has ascertained that of two closely related languages, Lithuanian and Latvian, only the latter has developed an extensive use of alliteration in

⁴ *K metodologii ...*, 146 and 93, cf. 70f.

folk songs.⁵ It is not difficult to find a reason for this innovation: of these two Baltic languages, only Latvian stabilized the accent on the first syllable of the word, thus bringing the anlaut into prominence.

In late Common Slavic, the word accent fell on the syllable which had rising pitch, or, in the absence of such a pitch, on the first syllable of the word. This prosodic pattern was lost toward the end of the period of Slavic unity, but was restored in most of the Serbo-Croatian dialects. In the majority of the Slavic languages, the opposition of rising and falling pitch was lost. Czech and nearly all the West Slavic area lost the rising pitch so that the word accent automatically became stabilized on the first syllable. East Slavic, toward the thirteenth century, generalized the rising pitch in accented syllables and thus obtained a free, phonemic word stress. Given these linguistic premises, we would predict a wider use of alliteration in oral poetry in Czech, with its unconditionally initial stress, or in Serbo-Croatian and Old Russian, where stress is conditionally linked to the initial syllable, than in Modern Russian, with its free accent. And indeed, in contemporary Russian folklore we find the iteration of whole consonantal configurations (the so-called *zvukovye povtory* in Brik's terminology) rather than of single initial consonants, whereas in certain genres of Serbo-Croatian oral poetry, particularly in the laments, the iteration of initial consonants is a frequent device: *Mětni Čětkā | stārōg svāta, | stāvna brāco; Ī tō Brāci | Dīka Bjěše | Brāte Dīko*.⁶ In Czech folk songs there is a noticeable penchant for alliteration: *Kdo ji má Přes Pole, Přesmutné Pachole!* or, *slunce stojí nade mlejnem: Kde pak my se spolu sejdem?* or, *rosička je pěkná bílá, roste na ní rosmarina*. Similarly, in Old Russian literature, narratives connected with the oral tradition frequently use alliteration: *malo medu vareno, a družiny mnogo; poidoša protivu sobě i pokryša pole*.⁷ In these cases the connection of poetics with linguistic prerequisites is beyond question.

3

The structure of any verse is indissolubly linked with the prosodic and syntactic features of the language in which it is written. How often

⁵ J. Zubatý, "O alliteraci v písniích lotyšských a litevských", *Věstník Král. české společnosti nauk*, Třída fil.-hist., 1894.

⁶ See B. Jarho, "Srok i aliteracija u tužbalicama dužega stiha", *Slavia* III, 75ff., 352ff.

⁷ See D. Čiževsky, "On Alliteration in Ancient Russian Epic Literature", *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, XLII (1949), 125ff. and *Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main, 1948), pp. 58ff., 405f., 408f., 410–416, 421.

Russians, with even a fair knowledge of Czech, complain of the “unbearable monotony” of Czech verse; and how often Czechs acquainted with Russian, among them even poets, make the same accusation against Russian verse! Neither evaluation is sound: the judges remain prisoners of rhythmical habits inculcated by their mother tongues.

In Czech verse, the alternation of long and short vowels is completely independent of the word accent, and provides Czech accentual verse with the possibility of multiple variations. In one fascinating ballad of Erben, “Vrba”, abrupt lines composed solely of shorts, like *Ani ruchu ani sluchu*, alternate with four-foot trochaic lines consisting again of four dissyllabic words, but burdened with long vowels: *V bōŕi lītē chrānī lodī*.⁸ It is in skillful quantitative variation that the amazing rhythmic wealth of Czech words is manifested. To the Russian language, however, this free distribution of long and short vowels is totally alien, and a Russian, unless he deliberately readapts his linguistic pattern to Czech, simply does not grasp these rhythmic variations, even when he accurately perceives or produces the Czech long and short vowels. The Russian accented syllables are as a rule longer, and the unstressed shorter, and therefore the Russian accentual verse impresses a Czech as a measure with a constant, regular alternation of longs and shorts, evoking a sensation of tiresome monotony. For example, to average Czech perception, these lines of Pasternak scan as quantitative anapestic pentameters:

Gal'vaničeskoj mglój vzbalamúčennyx túc neukljúže,
Vperválku, polzkóm, probirájutsja v gávan' sudá.
Sinénogie móln'i ljagúškami prýgajut v lúžu.
Golenástye snásti švyrjáet tudá i sjudá.

In Russian the position of the stress is independent of word boundaries, and may go with any syllable of the word, whereas in Czech the stress must fall on the initial syllable. Thus in Czech verse the distribution of word boundaries generally coincides with that of word stresses, while in Russian verse the distribution of word boundaries serves as a source of variation, subtly shading the poetic rhythm. In Russian a sequence of five syllables with stresses on both border syllables (x x x x x) offers four possible phrasing variants conditioned by the place of the word boundary: *júnošeskij pýl*, *júnoša sprosil*, *júnij komandir*, *jún kavalerist*. It is instructive to compare a trochaic stanza by Puškin with

⁸ We substitute here the international sign of length [ː] for the usual Czech diacritic [̣].

its Czech translation by Jung:

Nikogdá stal'nój rešetki	Místo šerpy purpurově
On s _~ licá ne _~ podymál	na _~ šij rūženec _~ si dal,
A _~ na _~ grúd' svjatýe četki	S _~ tvāři hledī ocelově
Vméstó šárfa navjazál.	Před _~ pranikým nezvedal.

All seven of the boundaries dividing the word units (stressed words plus any surrounding proclitics and enclitics)⁹ within the Czech lines fall before the odd syllables of the verse, whereas in the Russian lines the first four of the seven boundaries lie before the even syllables and only the last three before the odd ones. This suggests a rhythmic opposition between the caesura phrasing at the beginning of the stanza and the diaeresis phrasing at the end, to accompany the transition from the severely negative first clause to the ecstatic transfiguration evoked in the second. The absence of this variational element in Czech verse gives the Russian observer the impression of meagerness and monotony; whereas for the Czech reader the free variational function of word boundaries in Russian poetry is so alien that Russian verse seems to him totally lacking in variational elements and therefore of an intolerable sameness. The whole character of any verse and our very perception of it proves thus to be determined by the structure of its language pattern.¹⁰

If the Slavic languages diverge as to the relation between word accent and word boundary, and between word accent and vocalic quantity, these divergences are particularly revealing, for they can be analyzed and interpreted against the background of numerous fundamental likenesses which continue to unify the Slavic tongues. Most of these divergences serve simultaneously to split the structural unity of the Slavic languages as a whole and to unite them into a small number of typological groups. Thus the phenomenon of free stress unifies the East Slavic languages with Bulgarian and furnishes similar metrical foundations for poetry written in these languages. The free vocalic quantity which unites Czech and Slovak with Serbo-Croatian is of importance for the verse of these languages. Common metrical problems are faced by languages unified by the absence of both free stress and free quantity — Polish and Macedonian. On the other hand, general Slavic phenomena such as the strong autonomy of word units, their sharp delimitation and their clear-

⁹ To indicate to which word unit proclitics and enclitics belong, a curved line is used: e.g. u_~vás_~li.

¹⁰ Cf. R. Jakobson, *Základy českého verše* (Prague, 1926); cf. *Selected Writings*, V: "On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers" (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1979), 118ff., 122ff.

cut opposition to word groups, or the accentuation, division, and intonation of the sentence, are fundamental prerequisites for including the metrical patterns of diverse Slavic languages within the common framework of comparative Slavic metrics.¹¹

4

Rhyme clearly illustrates how essential the similarity of Slavic linguistic material is for the formal devices utilized in the poetry of diverse Slavic peoples. The great Polish linguist Kazimierz Nitsch discovered a striking feature relevant to all Slavic languages.¹² When Slavic written or oral poetry uses a kind of assonance where only the vowels must be identical, the quality of the consonants within this kind of loose rhyme is never totally a matter of indifference: the voiced consonants cannot be matched with the unvoiced. Slavic assonance permits the confrontation of words such as the Czech *boty – boky – stopy – kosy – sochy*. The different place of articulation (and corresponding acoustic contrasts) of the consonants *K, T, P*, or the difference of these stops from the spirants *S* and *X* (spelled *ch* in Czech) is tolerated in this kind of loose rhyme; but these words cannot rhyme with *body – doby – kozy – rohy*.

Here we are faced with an intricate question. Does this poetic phenomenon result directly from the sharp delimitation of two phonemic classes — voiced and unvoiced — which is still valid in the Slavic languages? And then, when using loose rhymes, does each poetic school or poet within each Slavic language rediscover the subconscious prohibition of pairing voiced and unvoiced consonants and react in the same way to the same demands of the verbal material? This prohibition may be a poetic canon inherited from the common Slavic past in the same way that the laws, likewise subconscious, of the common Slavic system of grammatical cases or of aspects were inherited. If this is so, the regular reappearance of the same prohibition whenever Slavic versification introduces assonance-like rhymes (as for instance in Gothic, baroque or

¹¹ The scale of oscillations between syllabic, “syllabo-tonic” and purely “tonic” (i.e. accentual) patterns particularly merits exploration on a comparative level after such controversial and stimulating monolingual inquiries as L. Timofeev, *Teorija stixa* (Moscow, 1939); M. Bakoš, *Vývin slovenského verša* (Turč. Sv. Martin, 1939); M. Dłuska, *Studia z historii i teorii wersyfikacji polskiej*, I–II = *Prace Komisji językowej Polskiej Akad. Umiejętności*, 33, 35 (Cracow, 1948–50); F. Siedlecki, *Studia z metryki polskiej*, I–II = *Z zagadnień poetyki*, 4–5 (Wilno, 1937); R. Košutić, *O tonskoj metrici u novoj srpskoj poeziji* (Belgrade, 1941), and K. Taranovski, “O tonskoj metrici prof. Košutića”, *Južnoslovenski filolog*, XVIII (1949–50), 173–196.

¹² K. Nitsch, *Z historii polskich rymów* (Warsaw, 1912), pp. 46ff. and 52.

modern poetry) can be explained only as a recurrent appropriation from native oral tradition, which in its turn had preserved a common Slavic pattern. Such a dilemma will confront us not infrequently, and the solution in every case can come only after a careful and systematic investigation. In a similar way Slavic philology, finding in Russian, Polish, Sorbian, and dialectical Czech the instrumental plural form *snopami* instead of the original *snopy* (from *snop* 'sheaf'), followed the necessary procedures which enabled it to reject the theory of the prehistoric origin of *snopami* and to recognize it as a parallel innovation in the separate lives of these Slavic languages, an innovation due to a convergent development and to common premises inherited from the primitive Slavic stock. Whatever the solution to the dilemma discussed above and to other similar problems may be, we are in any case concerned with a common Slavic patrimony. Either it is a response of more recent Slavic poetry to the still present stimuli of the common Slavic linguistic patrimony, or the response itself is part of a still present common Slavic patrimony of poetic forms.

The structure of Slavic rhyme is bound not only to the sound features of the Slavic languages, but also to the peculiarities of their inflection and derivation. The essential role played in the Slavic word by the derivational suffixes and paradigmatic desinences unavoidably affects Slavic rhyme. To a much higher degree than in the Romance and Germanic literatures, the problem of so-called grammatical rhyme is here decisive for the general structure of rhymes. The identical derivational and inflectional suffixes are the most current material available for rhymes in the Slavic languages, e.g. Bulgarian *dvoica – tšmnica*, *klonóve – dolóve*, *mečtájax – želájax*, *ubixa – izgnixa*. There are poetic schools and entire poetic epochs which deliberately avoid grammatical rhymes. Their rhymes may be labeled antigrammatical, since the point of departure is a consciousness of the banality of grammatical rhymes. This awareness produces an endeavor to overcome the pressure of linguistic material upon rhyme and to make the phonemic identity of the ends of words independent of their morphological identity, and the phonemic parallelism of the verse closes independent of any grammatical parallelism. Thus we observe in Slavic rhymed verse either a capitulation to grammatical rhyme or resistance to it: indifference toward the grammatical aspect of the rhyme is excluded.

The poetry of Slavic peoples reacts to the flexibility of Slavic words and their active capacity to produce a multitude of derivative words by an

intensive use of the so-called etymological figures, groupings of words with identical roots but different suffixes. In its semantic aspect such a device is functionally related to metonymy, since both are based on the association of images by contiguity. (E.g. *nosil'sčiki nósjat nóšu* "bearers bear a burden": the contiguity of the actors of carrying, the action of carrying, and the object carried is underlined by the use of one common root.)

A parallel phenomenon typical of Slavic poetry is homoeoptoton, the accumulation of words with different roots but identical suffixes. This figure corresponds in its semantic aspect to metaphor, since the identity of suffixes signals an identity of the grammatical meaning of the words and thus the same association by similarity works here as in metaphor. (E.g. *xáživali, pljásyvali*: "there often was, and there is no longer, strolling and dancing". The identical suffixes express the similar iterative occurrence of both actions in the past, their similar cessation, and the similar indefinite plurality of the actors.)

The relative frequency of etymological figures and homoeoptotons and in particular the predilection of the metaphoric style for the latter and the metonymic style for the former is a tempting problem in connection with the wide usage of both these constructions in Slavic poetry. Characteristic examples of etymological figures can be cited from the most ancient poetic monuments of Slavic literature, as in the so-called Kievan Missal, a Czech tenth-century copy of a text compiled in Great Moravia in the late ninth century: *čъstъnago Klimenta zakonъnika i mŕčenika čъsti čъstęce*. It is noteworthy that the Latin model of this Missal has no etymological figure in the corresponding passage.¹³ The same device occurs again and again in the poetry of different Slavic peoples through the centuries. For instance in the lines of the Czech baroque poet, Jan Kořinec:

LORýři v LORu LORuji dilo černé,
PREgíři po nich PREgují groše berné ***¹⁴

The etymological figure is reinforced by the homoeoptotons *lorýři – pregíři, loruji – pregují* and by the complete syntactic parallelism of the two lines. The fact that the initial root of the second line is repeated only twice, as compared to the triple repetition in the first line, is compensated for by the appearance of the phonemic sequences corresponding to the

¹³ C. Mohlberg, "Il Messale glagolitico", *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, serie III, Memorie*, II (1928), 311.

¹⁴ J. Vašica, *České literární baroko* (Prague, 1928), p. 21.

root *preg-* : *gr ... ber ...* In the famous verse of Kollár, a representative of late Czechoslovak classicism, we find: *SLAVme SLAVně SLÁVU SLÁVŮv SLAVných!* A similar line from the Dalmatian Renaissance poet Junije Palmotić (1606–1657) has been cited: *SLAVnijeh SLAVA capti SLAVA*. The rapprochement of *Slavi* with *slavni* (*gloriosi*) dates from Marignola, Charles the Fourth's court chronicler. Countless analogical examples could be adduced from both the old and the new poetry of the other Slavic peoples.

The etymological figure has found wide application in Russian folklore. In combination with the homoeoptoton it has given rise to a variety of neologisms, as in the folk tale: *xléby xlebisty *** pšenicy pšenisty, rží kolosisty*. A maximum load is carried by this device in the "Zakljatie smexom" ("Incantation by Laughter"), which employs and elaborates the poetics of folk spells and was written at the beginning of this century by V. Xlebnikov, one of the founders of Russian Futurism. This poem is a sort of test of the potential load of Russian derivational morphemes. The "Incantation" is composed only of derivatives, mostly neologisms, from the verb *smejat'sja* 'to laugh'. It ends thus:

Ó issméjsja rassmejál'no, sméx nadsméjnyx smejačej.
Sméevo, sméevo,
Usmėj, osmėj, směšiki, směšiki,
Smejúnčiki, smejúnčiki,
Ó rassméjtes', smexači.
Ó zasméjtes', smexači.¹⁵

¹⁵ Alexander Kaun's translation of these lines in *Soviet Poets and Poetry* (Berkeley, 1943, p. 24) is a skillful *tour de force*, but proves once again the distinctly greater fecundity of the so-called "word-nests" in Russian and the magnified role assigned to derivation in the Slavic lexicon and poetry:

Oh, forth laugh downright laughly, laugh of super-laughadors!
Laughery! Laughery!
Belaugh, uplaugh, laughikins, laughikins,
Laughulets, laughulets!
Oh, laugh forth, laugh laughadors!
Oh, laugh on, laugh laughadors!

Contrast the following lines from another Slavic poem, J. Tuwim's "Zielen: *Fantazja słowotwórcza*" (*Treść gorejąca*, Warsaw, 1937, p. 15):

Kto się pierwszy w cel zielisty wzięli,
Kto z zielinek i pozielców wzięli
Wydrze ślad najdrzewiejszego ZIELA,
Kto z ziołoci stawów i strumieni,
Zielorostek pierwszy wyzieleni,
Kto z zielistków, ziółek i przyziółków
ZIELA zerwie w podślownym zaułku,
I w zieliszczu, w szumnej zielbie świata,
Antenata znajdzie, Zielonata.

The abundance of derivatives from a single root (a “word-nest”, in the terminology of Russian lexicographers) lends to Slavic poetry an unusual richness of etymological figures, explicit or implied, so that each of its images has an aura of associated relations. In Puškin’s *Bronze Horseman*, the leitmotif is the barrier set by Peter the Great against the elements (*pobeždennaja stixija*), his miraculous founding of St. Petersburg “at the base of the sea” (*pod morem*), and the damming of the Neva’s waves. Edmund Wilson, a subtle connoisseur of Russian poetry, translates: “Splashing with loud waves against her handsome banks, Neva thrashed about, a sick man on his restless bed.”¹⁶ Puškin’s line *V krajá svoéj ogrády strojnoj* literally means “against the borders of her shapely barrier”. These two roots, the solemn Church Slavonic *grad-* (with its familiar, domestic alternant *gorod-*), which carries the semantic value of ‘enclosing’, and *stroj-*, signifying ‘orderly construction’, pervade the poem, repeatedly bringing out the leitmotif. This etymological figure extending throughout the epic is unavoidably lost in English so that the tie between the verbally cognate images — the fortified town (*górod*) planned by Peter, the city that arose (*grád*), its iron fences (*ogrády*), the river banks (*ográda*), the bound-off Neva (*peregraždennaja Nevá*), the Bronze Horseman over the barricaded rock (*nad ograždénnoju skalóju*) — this intimate tie is cut and the chain of Puškin’s symbols is broken.

The semantic integrity of the “nest” built on the root *stroj-*, which Puškin underlines by various means, is likewise inevitably disrupted. He portrays the young city as shapely bulks (*gromády strojnye*) of palaces and towers, then admires its general “severe and shapely aspect” (*strógi, strojnyj víd*), and here the root *stroj-* is underscored by the punlike juxtaposition with *strog-*. The poet condenses an etymological figure to glorify the warriors *v íx strojno zýblemom strojú* (“in ranks that sway in rhythm”, in Wilson’s translation). And in the culminating challenge of the mad adversary, Peter is apostrophized as *stroitel*, “the builder”.

A Slavic etymological figure is felt so intensely that the repetition of the root may be omitted. For instance, in modern Czech the common root of *něm-ý* ‘mute’ and *Něm-ec* ‘German’ remains palpable. Thus when the poet Vrchlický puts into the mouth of Saint Prokop the indignant words “Strážce jsem té země české, Jejíž jazyk rváti chcete Lidu z úst a poněmčit jej!” (1879), these lines are deliberately equivocal: “you want to tear the tongue out of the mouth of my people and make them mute”, and “you want to make the tongue of my people German”.

¹⁶ Edmund Wilson, *The Triple Thinkers*, New York (1938), pp. 72ff.

In one of the introductory sentences to Kollár's poem *Slávy dcera*, "Národu mého Aj, oněměl' už, byv k úrazu zášti jazyk" (1824), the words *oněměl jazyk* literally mean "the tongue became mute", with the connotation "the language became German", while the following sentence, "Už hlaholem zpěvná ústa umkla němým" ("singing lips have already fallen silent through mute speech") suggests an association with *hlaholem německým* "German speech" which serves to resolve the oxymoron, "mute speech". Xlebnikov's "Boevaja" ("Battle-Song", about 1906), proclaiming *napór slávy ednoj i cél'noj na něm'* follows Kollár in assigning a double sense to the word *sláva* ('glory' and 'Slavdom') and merging in the neologism *nem'* the inferences 'dumbness' and 'Germans'; compare also Tjutčev's line, "Téx obez"jazyčil némec", "Those were deprived of their tongue by the (mute) German" (1841).

Esenin's powerful "Pesn' o xlebe" ("Song of the Wheat", 1921) equates reaping or threshing with carnage, like the epic tradition which presents a fray as a harvest and the folk riddles which portray husbandry in battle terms.¹⁷ The central image of the poem — *Ljudoédke mėl'nice zubámi V rôt sujút te kósti obmolót'* — is substantiated by the etymological figure linking the verbs *žrat'* 'devour' and *žěrnov* 'millstone', although neither of the two words appears in this text.

6

Another widely used device, closely related to the word variations based on derivation (paregmenon) is polyptoton, a play of inflectional forms. For instance, in the remarkable poem of the Czech Romantic Mácha, *Máj* (*May*; 1835), the key word of its first lines *láska* 'love' keeps reappearing in different grammatical cases, just as one and the same object appears slightly differently in each of the successive "stills" of a moving picture: *BYL LÁSKY čas, hrdliččin zval ku LÁSCE hlas, o LÁSCE šeptal tichý mech; květoucí strom lhal LÁSKY žel; svou LÁSKU slavík růži pěl *** V čas LÁSKY — LÁSKOU každý tvor*. In the third song of the same poem a swift succession of "stills" delineates the wheel (*kolo*), the

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., *Ná pole na Árskom, Na porubežě tatárskom Ležát vsé pobity. Bórody pobity, A brjúxa raspóroty*. = Sheaves (D. Sadovnikov, *Zagadki russkogo naroda*, SPb. [1901], #1225). *Pridút rastopórščiki, Razlomájut moi kóstočki, Tělo v vál brósjat, A dúšu v ráj stáščat*. = Sheaves on the cart (#1235). *Na stúkovi, Na búkovi Ták stúkali, Ták júkali, Ležát dó smerti pobitye, Golóvuški pokrýtye **** = Sheaves on the threshing-floor (#1246). *Rěžut menjá, Vjážut menjá, B'júť neščádno, Kolesújut menjá; Projdú ogón' i vódu, I koněc mój — nóz i zuby*. = Wheat (#1275). *Brát bráta trjót, Bělaja króv' tečjót*. = Millstones (#1088).

instrument of execution:

*** tělo

U *kolo* vpleteno nad *kolem* v *kole* pnělo
I hlava nad *kolem* svůj obdržela stan.

Every movie-goer knows the effective device of montage technique: each successive “still”, although starting from the preceding “still”, is aimed at a new object; the old object is included in the new “still”, but is moved from the center of focus to the margin of the screen. Mácha achieves a similar dramatic tension in repeating a noun but transposing it from a direct to an oblique case.

Na břehu jezera malý páhorek stojí,
Na něm se dlouhý *kůl*, na *kůlu* kolo zdvíhá.
Blíž strmí kolmý *vrch*, na *vrchu* *vrchol* dvojí
Na vyšším *vrcholi* bílá se *kaple* mihá.
U volném průvodu ku *kapli* přišel sbor.

The alternation is strictly consistent: *kůl* – na *kůlu*, *vrch* – na *vrchu*, *vrchol* – na *vrcholi*, *kaple* – ku *kapli*. Only the word *kolo* is not repeated but is echoed in punlike form: the unusual epithet *kolmý vrch* ‘steep (literally, vertical) summit’ merges with the similar sound of *kolo* into a single paronomasia. A vivid parallel to Mácha’s poetic declension is the gradual constriction from wider to narrower targets typical of Russian folk songs:

Rěčen’ka býstraja, *krutý berežóčki*;
Kák na *krúten’kom berežóčke*;
Na něm *žóltye pesóčki*,
Na *žólten’kix na pesóckax*
Stoját trí *sadóčka*.
Kák vo *pěrvom vo sadóčke*
solóv’juško svíščet.¹⁸

¹⁸ B. Sokolov, “Ěkskursy v oblast’ poetiki russkogo fol’klora”, *Xudožestvennyj fol’klor*, I (1926), 38ff., especially p. 42. Cf. in spells similar constructions in conjunction with a “pervasive” (*skvoznof*) epithet, as N. Poznanskij (*Zagovory*, SPb., 1917) calls it; e.g., P. Rybnikov, *Pesni*, III (1909), #23:

Ěst’ <i>slávnoe sinee móre</i> ,	U <i>sinego čelovéka</i>
Ěst’ v <i>slávnom sinem móre</i>	<i>Sinij lúk bestetivnyj</i> ,
<i>Sinij óstrov</i> ,	<i>Sinjaja strelá bez pér’ja</i> ,
Na <i>sinem óstrove</i>	I <i>otstrélivaet sinij čelovék</i>
<i>Sinij kámen’</i> ,	<i>Sinim lúkom bestetivnym</i> ,
Na tom <i>sinem kámeni</i>	<i>Sinej strelój bez pér’ja</i>
Sidít <i>sinij čelovék</i> ,	Pritči i prizóry i uróki ***

And again in another style and genre, Majakovskij's humoristic poem of 1917, in mockingly portraying the hero from different angles, actually gives the whole paradigm of the noun *kadét* 'constitutional democrat'.

Žil da byl na svete *kadét*,
 V krásnuju šápočku *kadét* byl *odet*.
 Króme ètoj šápočki dostávšejsja *kadétu*,
 Ni čertá na něm krásnogo né bylo i nétu.
 Uslýšit *kadét* — revoljúcija *gdé-to*,
 Šápočka sejcás že na golové *kadéta*.
 Žili pripevájuči za *kadétom kadét*
 I otéc *kadéta* i *kadétov* déd.
 Podnjalsjá odnáždy prebol'suščij véter —
 V klóč'ja šapčěnku izodrál na *kadéte*,
 I ostálsja ón čěrnyj, a vídevsie èto
 Vólki revoljúcii scápali *kadéta* ***

Such devices are entirely alien to the Indo-European languages of the contemporary West, which have almost no inflectional declension.

7

It would be easy to continue this demonstration of the imprint which the uniquely Slavic system of verbal aspects, voices, and moods makes on poetic narration. The original artistic values which men like Puškin and Mickiewicz succeeded in deriving from this system are scarcely reproducible in the Romance and Germanic languages.

The potential dramatic force of the Russian morphological categories, particularly the verbal ones, and the symbolism imbedded in the Russian verbal aspects have hardly ever been brought out with such intensity and artistic wisdom as in Puškin's *Bronze Horseman* (1833). This "Petersburg Tale" is a confrontation of two irreconcilable heroes. The first, Peter the Great, need not be named; he is repeatedly introduced by a bare anaphoric *ON*: HE who "stood" and "gazed" and "thought". Then the *stixija* conquered by him is invoked to forget its ancient hate and bondage and not to vex with vain anger Peter's eternal sleep. However the "conquered element" refuses to resign itself and vexes the sleep not of Peter, but of the other hero. This hero must be given a name, albeit a fictitious one — Evgenij — to save him from anonymity, but his surname is "forgotten". The appearance and thoughts of this hero parody the exposition of the figure of Peter. The dream of a quiet existence with a wife and a pot of cabbage soup is contrasted to the commanding thoughts of Peter about the capital and empire to be erected.

Evgenij's dreams are destroyed by the roaring elements — the flood of the Neva, during which the poet again confronts Evgenij with Peter, now an idol on a steed of bronze, "steady on its height above the defiant Neva", in Edmund Wilson's translation. Once more Evgenij is parodically likened to his antagonist in the midst of the inundation. As if fettered, he is perched on a marble beast, *nedvižnyj* 'immobile', like the bronze Peter, but in contradistinction to him, poor, fearful, and desperate. The climax of the poem is the last meeting between Evgenij, who has gone mad, and the idol on the bronze steed.

The limitation implied by the Russian perfective aspect is inapplicable to the actions of Peter, either as emperor or idol. No declarative sentence portraying him uses a finite perfective form: *stojál, gładél, dúmal, stoit, sidél, vozvyšálsja, nesětsja, skakál*. The story of Evgenij's rebellion, however, is told entirely in a rush of shortbreathed perfectives: *prosnúlsja, vskočil, vspómnil, vstál, pošěl, ostanovílsja, stál, vzdrógnul, projasnílis' v něm strášno mysli, uznál, obošěl, navěl, stesnilas' grúd', čeló prilegló, glazá poděrnulis', po sěrdcu plámen' probežál, vskipéla króv', stál, šepnúl, pustílsja, pokazálos' emú*.

The growth of this rebellion is rendered with striking accuracy in Julian Tuwim's impressive Polish translation of the poem:¹⁹ *obudził się, zerwał się, stanęła zgroza, wstał, poszedł, zatrzymał, drgnął*, etc. The contrast with Peter, "*Co głową wznosił się miedzianą I w mroku nieruchomo trwał*", is sharply outlined by the two imperfectives. The encounter with the Czar could have been transposed into Polish with the same precision, but here Tuwim unfortunately lost all contact with the original, and instead of Puškin's epic we suddenly hear Tuwim's own lyric note.

"Cóż, budowniku mój miedziany?
Cóż cudotwórco?" — syknął zły.
"Już ja cię" ... I jak oszalały
Przed siebie pobiegl lotem strzały,
I zdało się, że Groźny Car
Zapłonął gniewem, wzrok weń wparł ***²⁰

¹⁹ *Jeździec miedziany*, translated by J. Tuwim and commented on by W. Lednicki (Warsaw, n.d.).

²⁰ Puškin never qualifies Peter, whereas Tuwim uses either the rhetorical oxymoron, *budowniku *** miedziany*, made still more emotional by the subject *mój* and by the recurrence of the apostrophe *cudotwórco*, or he changes Puškin's simple denotations into appositions: *ON — mocz z wyciągniętą dłonią, Bożyszcze na spizowym koniu *** ON, Jeździec goni go Miedziany*.

This is not Puškin's Evgenij, who does not question (cf. *cóz***? cóz***?*), use irony (cf. *budowniku mój miedziany*), intrude his ego (cf. *ja cię*), or leave anything unsaid:

“Dobró, stroitel' čudotvórnyj!”
 Šepnúl ón zlóbnó zadrožáv.
 “Užó tebé! ...” I vdrúg stremgláv
 Bežát' pustilsja. Pokazálos'
 Emú, čto gróznogo carjá,
 Mgnovénno gnévom vozgorjá,
 Licó tixón'ko obraščálos' ***

Evgenij's “protest” means simply, “All right, wonder-working builder! There'll be a finish to you yet! ...” Tuwim and those of Puškin's overimaginative readers who believe that a subsequent defiant monologue has been omitted here for fear of the censor attribute to Peter's antagonist more than the author intends. Evgenij says nothing about his own role in the retribution, nothing about retribution itself. He merely applies to the miraculous builder the exhaustive adverb *užo*. This impersonal construction with a zero copula posits a final term, which is in manifest contradiction to the permanently imperfective aspect marking the actions of the “lord of half the world” (*deržávca polumíra*). The attempt remains vain, however, and the permanency of the “terrible czar” is asserted by a new, subtle contrast of the two aspects, applying to the separate heroes, *pokazálos'* — *obraščálos'*, and the flight of the rebel results. The Polish translation arbitrarily wrenches this flight from its context and without justification transposes Peter's acts into the perfective aspect.

What interests us here is the potential poetic load of the Slavic aspects and the possibility of maintaining it in translations into other Slavic languages.

8

The Slavic languages have preserved many common traits in the structure of the sentence. Such syntactic features are of great significance for poetic form. The so-called free order of words in the Slavic languages is in reality a rich store of syntactic possibilities, each of which has a distinct function. Besides the neutral, unhighlighted word order that is purely declarative, there are many expressive variations and deliberate inversions, both subtle and abrupt. Utilizing these variations, poetic speech achieves diversified emotional coloring, unusual semantic perspectives, and rhythmic-melodic innovations.

It is startling to what degree the artistic devices involving word order coincide in the poetry of diverse Slavic peoples. The most individual of Polish, Czech, and Russian poets break up the customary word groups of the type *pán lesů* "master of the forests" or *tópot búntov* "tramp of mutinies" and convert them into the expressive constructions *lesů pán*, *búntov tópot*. In such an inversion both words acquire an equally strong stress and equal prominence, and the boundary between them is emphasized (optional pause); their individuality becomes more acute. Mácha's *Máj* and the verses of the Polish romantics are rich in such inversions. Here some scholars have suggested a Polish impact on Mácha's poetic art. The influence is plausible in this case, but similar inversions appear elsewhere among the Slavs, where such an influence is out of the question. For example, the first three quatrains of Majakovskij's *Náš mářš* (1918) contain, besides *búntov tópot*, six constructions of this kind: *górdyx golóv grjadá*, *miróv gorodá*, *dněj býk*, *lét arbá*, *púli osá*, *lét bystrolětnym konjám*. In Mácha's case, too, it is not the external impulse which is decisive, but the similarity both of the linguistic material and of the formal problems.

9

Comparative Slavic poetics must interpret not only the affinities in phonemic and grammatical structure, but also similarities in vocabulary and phraseology with reference to their poetic implications. The artist strives to juxtapose two words of different origin but similar in sound and to establish a semantic relationship between them. Such paronomasias are frequent in Slavic literatures, and many of them are common to the poetry of all Slavic peoples. Let us present two examples of widespread Slavic paronomasias: the rapprochement of the verbs *piti* 'drink' and *pěti* 'sing' or their derivatives; and, the juxtaposition of the words *sokol* 'falcon' and *vysoko* 'high' (adverb or neuter adjective).

1. Bulgarian: *piem*, *pěem bújni pěsni* (H. Botev).

Russian: *Gdě do útra slóvo PĚJ zaglušáet křiki PĚsen* (Puškin); *Rádosti PĚJ, PÓJ* (Majakovskij).

Czech: *A když pivko bumbávali — zpívávali* (Rubeš); *pivíčko dobré je *** jak je máme, tu zpíváme*, and, *Bratři, pijme *** pějme, bratři **** (popular songs).²¹

2. Russian: *Letál sokólik sokól vysokó* (folk song)²² — the paronomasia is

²¹ See Č. Zibrť, *Pivo v písniích lidových a znárodnělých* (Prague, 1909).

²² A. Potebnja, *Ob'jasnenija malorusskix i srodnyx narodnyx pesen*, II (Warsaw, 1887), 301.

supplemented by a paregmenon. *Poletí, mój SOKÓL, vYSOKÓ i dALEKÓ, I vYSÓKO i dalĚKO, na rodímu stóronu* (dance song “*Ax vy seni*”) — the paronomasia is supplemented by the homoeoptoton *vysokó – dalekó* and by its accentual variation *vysóko – dalěko*.²³ Or, in another variant of the same song, *Tý letí, letí, SOKÓLIK, vYSOKÓ i dALEKÓ* — the paronomasia is supplemented both by the homoeoptoton and by a secondary rapprochement of the last syllables of *sokólik* with the final syllables of *dalekó*. Compare in modern Russian poetry *zal’ětsja vYSÓKO vYSÓKO *** I oxóty poëta SÓKOL — gólos mjágko sojdět na nizý* (Majakovskij) with an iterated *vysóko* and with *sokol* followed by a similar but inverted sequence of phonemes, *gólos*. This paronomasia goes far back in Russian poetic tradition. A line in one of the songs written down for Richard James in 1619 or 1620 reads, *VysÓKO SÓKOL podnjálsja*,²⁴ and the proverb-like verse 118 of the Igor Tale says, *Koli SOKOLъ vъ mytexъ byvaetъ, vYSOKO pticъ vъzbivaetъ*, with a supplementary paronomasia *KOLI – sokOLъ* and a rich homoeoteleuton, *BYVAETъ – vъzbIVAETъ*.

Ukrainian: *SÓKOLE jásnij, Bráte mij ridnyj, Tý vYSÓKO litáješ* (duma “The Prisoner’s Lament”)²⁵ — the identity of the two sequences is completed (*SÓKOL – .. SÓKOL*); *Tónke vYSÓKE, v lýstu šyrÓKE, V lýstu šyrÓKE, v vérxu kudrjáve, A v tíx kudércix SYV SÓKIL sýdyt, SÝV SÓKIL sýdyt, dalĚKO výdyt* (a ritual Christmas song, *koljadka*)²⁶ — the paronomasia is supplemented by the usual homoeoptoton, *vysÓKE – šyrÓKE – dalĚKO*, and by a second paronomasia *vysÓke – sÝV* with consonantal metathesis, and by alliteration *sýv – sókil – sýdyt*.

Serbo-Croatian: *SòKŃ lĕti visòKO, Krila nŃsĭ širòKO* (folksong) — the paronomasia is supplemented by a homoeoptoton; *Lĕtnuo si bih visòKO, VisòKO SòKŃ pŃd oblāk, A pŃdnuo bih nizòKO, NizòKO SòKŃ na òrah* (Croatian song of the sixteenth century) with a supplementary homoeoptoton *visòKO – nizòKO*.²⁷

Slovak: *Hen ten vrch okrúhly, tá vYSOKÁ hola: Kto nezná zpod Štitu sivého sokola* (Janko Kral’) — the paronomasia is reinforced by corresponding phonemic sequences at the end of the second line and at the end of the two hemistiches in the first line: *ok .. hl . | .. vysok. hola || — siv.ho sokola*.

The paronomasia of the Czech proverb *VLK VLÁČI dotud až i VLKA povLEKou* (“The wolf drags until the wolf himself is dragged”) finds a correspondence in the Russian folk riddle *stráx tepló VOLOČĚt*, in which the verb *voločět* by its phonemic composition prompts the answer to the riddle — *vólk* ‘wolf’ (cf. *vólčij* ‘wolfish’). This rapprochement is not

²³ Such accentual variations are a current poetic device in Russian folk songs: *po_zel’jonyim, po zelénym, zeleným lugám*; *a i pó_mostu, po_móstu, po_širókomu mostú*.

²⁴ “Velikorusskie pesni, zapisannye v 1619–20 gg. dlja Richarda Jamesa na krajnem severe Moskovskogo carstva”, *Sbornik Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. Ak. Nauk*, LXXXII, No. 7, p. 20.

²⁵ V. Antonovič and M. Dragomanov, *Istoričeskie pesni malorusskogo naroda*, I (Kiev, 1874), p. 95.

²⁶ Potebnja, *Ob’jasnenija ...*, p. 299.

²⁷ F. Korš, *Vvedenie v nauku o slavjanskom stixosloženii* (SPb., 1907), p. 45.

confined to Slavic folklore, but appears in the cognate Latvian language as well; compare the proverb *pēci vilki vilku vilka* ("five wolves dragged a wolf"). The play upon the words **vьlkъ* and **velkъ* represents a special case, because this noun and verb are genetically related.²⁸ Therefore the question arises whether this particular paronomasia has accidentally resurrected a long-vanished connection between two cognate words, or whether a paregmenon going back to the time when this etymological connection was still felt has survived in Slavic or Baltic oral tradition. Aside from such intricate genetic questions, it is time that a comprehensive survey was made of the stock paronomasias in the Slavic oral traditions — an inviting task for comparative Slavic studies.

10

The assignment of words to different grammatical genders increases the possibility of personifying inanimate objects and thus becomes a stimulating source of poetic mythology. For the most part, the Slavic languages coincide here: 'fire' (**ognь*) is masculine and 'water' (**voda*) feminine. Correspondingly, in the folklore of the Slavs, fire and water are king and queen or brother and sister, as in the Russian riddle, *Sestrá sil'něj bráta*. 'Day' (*dьнь*) and 'night' (**noktь*) in Slavic proverbs are father and mother, or son and daughter, or groom and bride. Majakovskij, stimulated by the Slavic linguistic pattern, represents day as the ardent lover of night in his poem *Vojna i Mir*.²⁹ The semantic significance of genders has been repeatedly emphasized in Slavic literatures since the earliest Old Church Slavonic monument, St. Constantine's translation of the Evangelium; his preface points out the difficulties facing the translator, especially in the difference between Greek and Slavic genders; e.g. in the necessity of rendering the Greek masculines *ποταμός* and *ἀστὴρ* by the Slavic feminines *rěka* and *dzvězda*. According to the judicious observation of A. Vaillant, it was the weakening of the allegoric connotation of these nouns in some passages of the Gospels that made this discrepancy particularly palpable.³⁰ For a

²⁸ See F. Specht, "Sprachliches zur Urheimat der Indogermanen", *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, LXVI (1939), 25ff.

²⁹ I eščé ne uspéet/nóč', aráпка,
Léč', prodážnaja,/v ótdyx,/v ten', —
Na neé/raskalénnuju túšu/vskarábkal
Nóvyj golódnij dén'.

³⁰ A. Vaillant, "La préface de l'Évangéliste vieux-slave", *RÉSl*, XXIV (1948). Cf. the same complaint repeated with variations by the Old Bulgarian translator, Ioann Exarch: V. Jagić, "Rassuždenija južnoslavjanskoj i russkoj stariny o cerkovno-slavjanskom jazyke", *Issledovanija po russkomu jazyku*, I, 320ff.

Slavic poet 'sin' (**grěxъ*) is personified as a man. The Russian painter Repin was puzzled as to why the German painter Stuck represented sin as a woman. There would have been no question had he realized that *Sünde* is feminine in German. 'Death' (**sъmьrtь*, feminine) appears as a woman in Slavic folk songs, in an old Czech didactic poem (*Smrt jest velmi chytrá knieni*), and in the lyric drama *Balagančik* of the Russian symbolist Aleksandr Blok, whereas in German poetry it figures as a robber: *der Tod ist ein Räuber*. Of course a few discrepancies in the assignment of gender do occur among the Slavic languages. For instance, the Czech translator was in despair as to how to render into Czech the title of Boris Pasternak's book of lyric poems *Sestra moja žizn'* (*My Sister, Life*), since Czech *život* 'life' is masculine, in contrast to the equivalent Russian feminine *žizn'*.

11

Despite all the separate and divergent changes in sound pattern, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and phraseology which the diverse Slavic languages have undergone during their historical evolution, a substantial stock of unchanged, inherited, common properties remains on all linguistic levels. Furthermore, a number of the changes themselves are common and convergent, notwithstanding the fact that they took place in the Slavic languages after the dissolution of Slavic unity.³¹ Identical structural prerequisites are a sufficient explanation for these parallel lines of development. All the common features inherited from the ancestral language, either through preservation of the primordial pattern or through convergent modifications of it, constitute the common linguistic patrimony of the Slavic peoples.

For their poetry, this communality has led to a similar reaction by similar linguistic material to similar formal problems. We have tried to show with a few examples how this common patrimony, which is still alive in the Slavic languages, favors a certain set of artistic means at the disposal of Slavic poetry.

It is a matter of controversy whether international cultural trends like classicism, romanticism, realism, and symbolism have given rise to specifically Slavic variants in the field of artistic ideology and artistic form in those cases where form is not linked with language. It remains questionable whether, besides the national peculiarities of Polish, Czech or Russian romantic painting or music, it would be possible to detect

³¹ Cf. Meillet, *RÉS*, I, 9.

traits which distinguish Slavic romantic painting or music as a whole from the painting and music of non-Slavic peoples. It is, however, quite valid to deliberate on the properties of Slavic romantic poetics or, for example, on specific formal features of Slavic symbolism in lyric poetry. In such instances a verbal material endowed with common attributes is shaped along the same lines. This phenomenon of similar reaction to like international stimuli merits systematic investigation.

We may speak of Slavic "free verse", even though "vers libre" is an international phenomenon. The individual properties of the Slavic variety are determined by the specific marks of Slavic syntax and by the basically uniform sound-means used for the configuration of the sentence. The predilection of symbolist poetry for nominal constructions and abstract nouns induces the Czech Březina (1868–1929) and the Russian Bal'mont (1867–1943) to invent astonishingly similar novel forms of expression, which stem from the homogeneous nature of derivation in the Slavic languages.

For many of the structural features common to the Slavic world a mere reference to the sameness of the linguistic prerequisites may offer a sufficient solution. No Russian or Polish literary epoch, and no poetic school has cast a doubt on the equivalence of the front unrounded *i* and the back unrounded *y* for exact rhymes: *bil* — *byl*. Not a single artist, however refined his rhyming technique, has sought to avoid such rhymes. This equivalence is a natural result of the fact that the Polish and Russian *i* and *y* are nothing but contextual variants of one and the same phoneme — a high unrounded vowel, as Baudouin de Courtenay astutely observed.³² And when we find in the rich and sophisticated Czech poetry of the early fourteenth century that the same rule applies consistently, we will not repeat the methodological error made by Pastrnek,³³ who, in spite of the evidence to the contrary offered by every other kind of source, interpreted the equivalence of *i* and *y* in the oldest Czech rhymes as proof that the two vowels had merged in the Old Czech language. We are impelled to state that in Russian, Polish, and Old Czech the phonemic unity of the high unrounded vowel inevitably leads the poet to rhyme its variants, *i* and *y*.

There are, however, problems which can be solved equally well either by reference to linguistic phenomena which are still present or by a projection of the given features into the poetic pattern of the common

³² See, e.g., J. Baudouin de Courtenay, *Vvedenie v jazykovedenie*, fifth mimeographed edition (Petrograd, 1917), p. 111ff.

³³ F. Pastrnek, "Über den alttöchechischen Reim", *ASPh*, X (1887), 582ff.

Slavic epoch. Only the thorough development of comparative Slavic poetics will make possible a valid choice between these two solutions in each concrete case. Finally, there are obvious situations where the poetic feature cannot be conclusively deduced from the contemporary linguistic data. Yet in some of these cases the correspondence between the poetic patterns of the different Slavic peoples is so evident and eloquent that the hypothesis of a common ancestral prototype becomes imperative. This issue will be discussed next.

II. THE COMMON SLAVIC ORAL TRADITION

1. The comparison of Slavic folk meters. 2. The comparison of Slavic and other Indo-European meters. 3. The outlook for comparative Slavic poetics. 4. The metrical import of the Slavic oral patrimony for written poetry.

1

The comparative method in historical linguistics has indeed achieved a remarkable precision in the study of cognate languages. An improved technique permits us to distinguish correspondences deriving from a common patrimony from borrowings, convergent innovations, and accidental coincidences. If corresponding forms go back to a common prototype, then this prototype can be reconstructed with a still higher degree of probability. The methodological achievements of comparative linguistics can and must be extended to poetic language, especially to verse, as was pointed out by A. Meillet's pioneering work in comparative Indo-European metrics.³⁴

The rich oral tradition of the Slavic world provides a rewarding field for such studies. The comparativist is immediately struck by an array of peculiar similarities and a common archaic residue, despite all the divergent innovations and all the elements adopted from outside by the folklore of any single Slavic people. Three types of Slavic oral poetry should be distinguished on the basis of manner of delivery: sung, chanted, and spoken. Each type developed its own metrical pattern: song verse, recitative verse, and speech (or spoken) verse.

Starting the study of Slavic oral literatures with the intermediary and hence most complex type, the recitative, we observe three main Slavic areas of chanted poetry: (1) a Balkan Slavic area encompassing a large part of the Serbo-Croatian (especially Serbian), Macedonian, and

³⁴ A. Meillet, *Les origines indo-européennes des mètres grecs* (Paris, 1923).

Bulgarian domain; (2) a North Russian area around Lake Onega and the White Sea; and (3) a Ukrainian area. All these regions use two recitative genres: laments and epics. Comparison of Serbo-Croatian and North Russian recitatives, geographically distant enough to preclude borrowing, discloses the same fundamental difference between the meters of the laments and of the epics. In both languages the measures of the laments are symmetrical, that is, they consist of uniform cola. The measures of the epics are asymmetrical: the cola of the line are uneven. Both Serbo-Croatian and North Russian laments display two distinct styles, one more solemn and ornate and the other simple and unadorned. The solemn style uses longer lines. In the Serbo-Croatian laments (*tužbalice*), the line ends with a syntactic pause, contains a constant number of syllables, is divided by a mandatory break into a constant number of equal cola, and manifests a clear-cut trochaic tendency in the distribution of word boundaries and word accents. The long line consists of three tetrasyllabic cola (e.g. *Öbasjālo | žārkō sūnce, | sūnce kūme!*) and the short of two (e.g. *Rāne mnögē, | pā-me bōlē*).³⁵ Thus the long line numbers twelve and the short line eight syllables.

Before making a comparison with Russian folk verse, we must take into account some of its basic innovations. (1) It abolished the verse-building role of word boundaries, particularly the compulsory break. (2) Russian verse, especially recitative verse, widely generalized the “dactylic” accentual close (*ǎ x ǎ*) and tended to substitute it for the original trochaic close (*ǎ x*) by adding a supplementary syllable. (3) The Russian recitative verse pattern preserved the traditional alternation of downbeats and upbeats, but the external syllables of a line (the initial and final syllables) became unable to carry strong down beats. Consequently the first and last of the internal downbeats are the strongest: they contain a mandatory word stress. The intervening downbeats form a regressive undulatory curve; every odd downbeat, counting from the last mandatory stress, is weakened, and every even one is strengthened. If we consider these three typical innovations, linguistically quite accountable, we may conjecture that if the long line of the Russian laments (*plāči, pričitanija*) were of the same origin as the long line of the *tužbalice*, we might expect a syntactically closed trochaic line of thirteen (rather than twelve) syllables, with the three main stresses symmetrically distributed among the third, eleventh, and seventh syllables, that is, the first and last

³⁵ Vuk Karadžić, *Život i običaji naroda srpskoga* (Vienna, 1867), p. 197; N. Šaulić, *Srpske narodne tužbalice* (Belgrade, 1929) p. 17.

In these and later examples the word accents have been added by Prof. Gojko Ružičić of Columbia University, an expert in the prosody of Serbo-Croatian dialects.

internal downbeats and the second downbeat, counting back from this last internal downbeat.

Indeed, this is precisely the long line of the Russian *plači*: [x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ x̣ (x̣)]. The more usual form with a dactylic close (*Zadrožalosja retlivoe serdčuško*) appears in free alternation with the rarer dodecasyllabic variant (*Na sinēm mori volná da skolybálas'*). The short line of the *plači*, which is also trochaic, has only nine or, optionally, eight syllables and is divided into two cola by two main stresses symmetrically placed on the third and seventh syllable (*Al' po létušku po tēplomu, || Al' po óseni protjážnoj*).³⁶ The relation between the short and long line is identical in the two languages.

In the Serbo-Croatian epic, the asymmetric decasyllable is followed by a mandatory syntactic pause and is divided by a mandatory break into two cola, the first consisting of four syllables and the second of six:

Tô Alilu vřlo mŭčno bilo,
Pa Ājkuni tĭo progòvārā:***³⁷

The word boundaries come preferably before the odd syllables, and the word accents upon the latter, so that at least one boundary of any word unit precedes an odd syllable of the line. A word boundary before the last syllable of a colon and a word accent on this syllable are particularly avoided. Usually a line includes three main accents.³⁸ Close and regular correspondences to this meter are found not only in the Macedonian and Bulgarian epic decasyllable, but also in West Slavic (Moravian, Slovak, Polish, Sorbian) and adjacent East Slavic (Ukrainian, especially western, and Byelorussian) folk songs, which have a more or less epic or gnomic tinge. On the other hand, this asymmetric decasyllable is alien to the oral tradition of the Finno-Ugrian, Altaic, Greek, and Rumanian environment and its episodic occurrence in North Albanian epic poetry is definitely due to Serbian importation.

Nearly a century ago this series of similar decasyllabic verse forms in different Slavic languages and their frequent employment in the proverbs of various Slavic peoples (e.g. in a Czech medieval record: *Jeden nevie, | co druhého hñete*) startled the observant Sreznevskij and prompted him to consider this decasyllable an epic and paroemiac (proverbial) meter of

³⁶ *Russkie plači*, ed. G. Vinogradov (Leningrad, 1937), pp. 42, 32.

³⁷ Recorded from the Montenegrin *guslar* T. Vučić; cf. *Archives Néerlandaises de phonétique expérimentale*, VIII–IX (1933), 135–53.

³⁸ Cf. R. Jakobson, "Über den Versbau der serbokroatischen Volksepen", *Selected Writings*, IV: "Slavic Epic Studies" (The Hague–Paris: Mouton, 1966), 51–60.

Common Slavic origin.³⁹ This conjecture was undermined, however, by the fact that no form corresponding to the verse of the Serbo-Croatian *starinskē pjěsme*, “songs of the olden time” (actually recitatives) was found in the Russian *stárinny*, recitals “of the olden time”, although they bear a cognate generic name and embody an archaic epic tradition. Failure to detect the common form was due to the considerable syllabic oscillation of Russian epic verse. The fluctuation was particularly increased because most recordings were made from speech instead of from the actual chanting; moreover, insufficient discrimination was made between true masters of epic technique and the average inadequate narrator. This state of affairs was clearly delineated by Hilferding,⁴⁰ but was overlooked or discounted in the leading studies of Russian epic verse.

The drawing scansion and symmetrical pattern of the Russian laments preserved them from disruptive oscillations. In epics the conservation of the syllabic frame is much less compulsory. Nonetheless, the form which fully corresponds to the Serbo-Croatian asymmetric decasyllable recurs both in the Olonec and the Archangel regions, either in its original decasyllabic form (U_česnoj dový da u_Nenily),⁴¹ or with the “dactylic” close (Iz_togó_li góroda iz_Múromlja).⁴² Since the border syllables are incapable of carrying the strong downbeats, the latter fall not on the first and eleventh, but on the third and ninth syllables of the (hen)decasyllabic line. The undulatory regressive curve strengthens the second downbeat counting back from the ninth syllable, i.e. the fifth syllable of the line: [x x x x x x x x x x]. This asymmetric distribution of the strong downbeats and especially the short interval between the first two of them induces various deviations from the syllabic pattern, in particular the extension of this interval by one or two syllables (Iz_togó bylo góroda iz_Múromlja, or, Iz_togó_li bylo góroda iz_Múromlja).⁴³

The basic variant of the verse of the Russian *stárinny* stands in the same relation to the verse of the Serbo-Croatian *starinskē pjěsme* as either the long or the short line of the Russian *plači* stands in relation to the corresponding forms of the Serbo-Croatian *túžbalice*. The modifications

³⁹ I. Sreznevskij, “Neskol’ko zamečanij ob épičeskom razmere slavjanskix narodnyx pesen”, *Izvestija II Otdelenija Imp. Akad. Nauk*, IX (1860–61), 346ff.

⁴⁰ A. Gil’ferding, “Oloneckaja gubernija i ee narodnye rapsody”, *Onežskie byliny*, I.

⁴¹ See R. Jakobson, “Zur vergleichenden Forschung über die slavischen Zehnsilbler”, *Selected Writings*, IV (The Hague–Paris: Mouton, 1966), 19–37.

⁴² *Ėtnografičeskoe Obozrenie*, XXIII (1894), 146.

⁴³ Cf. N. Trubetzkoy, “W sprawie wiersza byliny rosyjskiej”, *Z zagadnień poetyki*, VI (Wilno, 1937), 100–110.

of Russian epic verse follow the same direction as those of its Bulgarian counterpart, since the prosodic mutation — the substitution of free stress for the original opposition of rising and falling accents, and the accompanying loss of free quantity — was substantially the same in Russian and Bulgarian.

The other Russian epic meter, the short line of the more sober and unadorned “historical songs” (Izvólil naš cár’ gosudár’ || Cár’ Iván da Vasíl’evič’)⁴⁴ finds a parallel cognate form in the South Slavic, particularly Bulgarian, epic asymmetric octosyllable with two cola — the first of five and the second of three syllables (Ti béše, máma, | bél červén).⁴⁵ A tendency to put the word accents on the even syllables of the line characterizes alike the Russian, the Bulgarian and the rarer Serbo-Croatian asymmetric octosyllable, as well as the corresponding balladic meter in Slovenian (Vam bô junáško pēsen pél),⁴⁶ Czech (Byla _ jest jedna matička)⁴⁷ and Polish (Cterysta rubli w posag dał).⁴⁸

Thus four Common Slavic recitative meters may be reconstructed: on the one hand the long and short line of the symmetric elegiac verse, the former adding one colon to the two cola of the latter; on the other, the long and short line of the asymmetric epic verse, both consisting of two uneven cola, with the long line exceeding the short by one dissyllabic foot. A colon of an asymmetric line is one syllable longer or shorter than half the number of syllables in the line. The asymmetric verse is based on a strict combination of even and odd values:

<i>Line</i>	<i>Short</i>	<i>Long</i>
Number of feet in the line	} Even	Odd
Prevailing accented verse-syllable		
Number of syllables in the colon	} Odd	Even
Longer colon		

When we compare the ritual songs of the different Slavic peoples, we again observe significant formal similarities, in particular the prevailing division of the line by a median break into two equal cola, e.g. [4|4], [5|5], [6|6]. Thus we may undertake a reconstruction of the basic Common Slavic song meters. The traditional wedding speeches of the best man (Russian *družkó*, Polish *družba*, Czech *družba*, etc.) exhibit a

⁴⁴ A. Gil’ferding, *Onežskie byliny*, III, no. 46.

⁴⁵ V. Stoin, *Narodni pesni ot Timok do Vita* (Sofia, 1928), no. 1420.

⁴⁶ See F. Korš, *Vvedenie v nauku o slavjanskom stixosloženii* (SPb., 1907), p. 45; A. Isačenko, *Slovenski verz* (Ljubljana, 1939), p. 36ff.

⁴⁷ See R. Jakobson, “Poznámky k dílu Erbenovu”, *Selected Writings*, V: “On Verse, Its Masters and Explorers” (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1979), 531f.

⁴⁸ J. Bystroń, *Polska pieśń ludowa* (Bibl. Narod. Ser. 1, 26; Cracow, 1925), p. 36.

striking inter-Slavic resemblance, since the syntactic structure of Slavic languages is particularly conservative and spoken verse in the entire Slavic oral tradition is based solely on syntactic prosody, as distinguished from the recitative and song forms, which utilize word prosody primarily. Here then is an intimation of a Common Slavic spoken verse, and a field for further exploration is opened before us.

Passing from Balkan Slavic and North Russian to the third living Slavic recitative tradition, the Ukrainian epics (*dúmy*) and laments (*holosinnja*), the observer notes the profound parallelism in the verse form of the two genres,⁴⁹ particularly their parallel shift toward spoken verse. Despite this considerable reshaping, the original kinship of these Ukrainian recitatives to the South Slavic and North Russian forms may still be traced.⁵⁰

2

The Serbo-Croatian prosodic pattern, especially in the Štokavian dialects, is structurally akin to the Common Slavic system. The quantitative close characteristic of Serbo-Croatian epic verse, particularly the decasyllable, may be conclusively explained as a survival of the Common Slavic metrical tradition. The penult of the Serbo-Croatian asymmetric decasyllable tends to be filled with a phonemically long vowel, and the two preceding syllables, the seventh and eighth, with shorts. This tendency becomes a rule under word accent.

All the basic features of the Common Slavic epic and paroemiac decasyllable — the constant number of syllables, the compulsory break, and the prefinal syllables of the line opposed to its initial part by a regular distribution of quantity — signally correspond to the fundamentals of primitive Indo-European metrics as reconstructed by Meillet. “Les traits principaux de la métrique indo-européenne” were brought to light by a comparison of certain Vedic measures with the corresponding ancient forms of Greek poetry — “vers lyriques de la chanson” (especially Sappho’s and Alcaeus’) and “vers déclamés”. In view of the archaic structure preserved by the Baltic and Slavic languages and of the long persistence of the Indo-European cultural pattern among these groups, Meillet foresaw the importance of the question, “en quelle

⁴⁹ F. Kolessa, “Rečytatyvni formy v ukrajins’kij narodnij poeziji”, *Pervisne hromadjan’stvo* (1927), p. 60ff.

⁵⁰ For a more comprehensive discussion of the questions broached in this and the next section, see my “Slavic Epic Verse: Studies in Comparative Metrics”, *Selected Writings*, IV (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1966), 414-463.

mesure les vers lituaniens, lettes, serbes, etc. continuent les types indo-européens”.

Lithuanian oral tradition indeed presents a manifest counterpart of the Slavic asymmetric decasyllable (*Aš girdėjau, | kû motûla kalba*).⁵¹ Had this Slavic meter preserved an Indo-European pattern ($\underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} | \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} \underline{\cup} - \underline{\cup}$) and were we to assume its persistence in ancient Greek poetry, then — guided by Meillet’s conclusion about Greek metrical innovations — we could predict what might have become of this meter, had it survived in Greek song on the one hand and in Greek “vers déclamés” on the other. We should expect a strictly decasyllabic song verse with a discarded break and with a slight tendency to expand the quantitative patterning somewhat more toward the beginning of the line. Among the *μέτρα αιολικά*, Sappho’s decasyllables actually correspond to this theoretical assumption.

If a form of identical origin were retained among the archaic measures of Greek declamatory verse, then, utilizing Meillet’s observations, we should expect a verse with a basic decasyllabic variant, with a final *anceps* preceded by one unchangeable anapestic foot and by two initial anapestic feet in free alternation with spondee or dactyl. A slightly moveable caesura would fall within the second foot. This hypothetical form coincides with the *παροιμακός* (“Ἐφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον”), which has been analyzed by Usener and Král,⁵² and adjudged to be the most archaic of attested Greek poetic forms.⁵³ Even its epic and proverb function fully concurs with its Slavic counterpart.

Thus the comparison with Greek corroborates the reconstructed Slavic metrical pattern and projects it far deeper into the prehistoric past.

3

Comparative Slavic metrics is only one chapter in comparative Slavic poetics, a vast domain yet to be explored. It is clear that the metrical form of the oral poetry of the diverse Slavic peoples can be traced back to Primitive Slavic, but the examination of the common patrimony cannot be restricted to meters. Even a tentative sampling shows that nearly every type of lore (epos, laments, ritual songs and formulae,

⁵¹ A. Vireliūnas, “Kupiškenu dainos”, *Tauta ir Žodis*, III (1925), 452.

⁵² H. Usener, *Altgriechischer Versbau* (Bonn, 1887), p. 43ff; J. Král, *Řecká a římská metrika*, I (Prague, 1906), 221ff.

⁵³ T. Bergk, “Über das älteste Versmass der Griechen”, *Opuscula philologica* (Halle a. S., 1886) p. 392ff; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Verskunst* (Berlin, 1921), p. 381f.

spells, riddles, proverbs) has a common set of Slavic tropes and figures, phonic and compositional devices, types of parallelism and traits of imagery. The common structural peculiarities of the Russian and the South Slavic epos which had long ago struck the inquisitive Miklošič,⁵⁴ clearly demonstrate two things: that there was a well developed epic technique among the Slavs before the dissolution of Slavic unity, and the subsequent thousand-year continuity of this tradition. The question arises whether there are plots inherited from a common repertory. Critics correctly condemned the romantic endeavor to reduce the epic tradition to a purely mythological substratum, but they exaggerated when they flatly denied the existence of such a substratum. Historical vestiges and survivals in Slavic mythology reveal an abundant and extremely ancient common patrimony.⁵⁵ A cautious inquiry into the mythological ingredient in Slavic folklore, particularly in the epos, is most inviting and promising.⁵⁶

4

The Common Slavic patrimony, still alive in the verse forms of contemporary Slavic folklore, continues to influence the metrical development of Slavic written literatures. New Russian poetry, from its first steps in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, has sought models in oral tradition. Several forms have arisen in imitation of folklore meters. Slackenings of the scholastic syllabic scheme appear initially as witty reshaping of folk poetry and of its metrical forms, written for entertainment at the imperial masquerades. Tred'jakovskij, in 1740, parodied the best man's speeches, imitating their verse:

Zdrávtvujte, ženívšis',	durák da dúra
Ešče bljadóčka,	tóta i figúra.
Tepér'-to prjámo vrémja	vám poveselít'sja,
Tepér'-to vsjáčeski	poežžánom dólžno besít'sja *** ⁵⁷

⁵⁴ F. Miklošič, "Izobrazitel'nye sredstva slavjanskogo èposa", *Trudy slav. komissii Mosk. Arxeolog. Obščestva*, I (1895), 202–39.

⁵⁵ Cf. R. Jakobson, "Slavic Mythology", *Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary for Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York, 1950).

⁵⁶ Cf. R. Jakobson and G. Ružičić, "The Serbian Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk and the Russian Vseslav Epos", in *RJ's Selected Writings*, IV (The Hague–Paris: Mouton, 1966), 369–379.

⁵⁷ Another variety of the same type — the buffoon verse (*balagannyj stix*) — appears in Tred'jakovskij's lampoon of Sumarokov's comedy (see A. Kunik, *Sbornik materialov dlja istorii Imp. Akademii Nauk v XVIII veke*, SPb., 1864, p. 497ff.):

Négde, nekogda, nékie	žili da býli dvá bráta,
Kák govorját,	s Arbáta,
A trétej durák,	da i úmer durakóm,
Da už i té óba	pokójniki světy.

Then Sumarokov, in 1763, attempted the oral epic verse in a bold satiric reshaping of a ludicrous *starinka* "Birds":

Priletéla ná bereg siníca,
 Íz-za polnóčnogo mórja,
 Íz-za xolódna okejána:
 Sprášivali góstejku priézzu,
 Zá morem kakie obrjády ***⁵⁸

Puškin picked up both of these forms in his pastiches of folk tales, the first in *Skazka o pope i o robotnike ego Balde* (1830) and the second in *Skazka o rybake i rybke* (1833), as well as in a few other poems of the same genre. Surprisingly enough, his experimentation with Russian epic verse was primarily suggested by Serbian epics. An interchange of folk poetry between Slavic peoples, advocated by the Polish writer Woronicz at the beginning of the nineteenth century,⁵⁹ soon after proved in at least three instances to be an important stimulus for the development of literary forms. Vostokov and Puškin adapted the Serbian epic verse, Čelakovský and Langer wrote "responses" (*ohlasy*) to Russian *stariny* and lyric songs, and Bohdan Zaleski, influenced by Ukrainian oral poetry, introduced new meters and strophes into Polish.⁶⁰ What seems to us revealing in all of these cases is the fact that the foreign Slavic model is re-evaluated in the light of the native folklore pattern. Thus the strictly syllabic *deseterac* prompts the Russian poets to loosen their habitual scholastic syllabic frame and to re-shape the Serbian epic meter in the same direction as its Common Slavic prototype was modified by Russian oral tradition. Freer syllabic intervals between the accents in Serbian verse are reinterpreted by Russian listeners as a repudiation of isosyllabism in general, and the obligatory break is omitted. Such are

⁵⁸ Cf., e.g., Gil'ferding, I, No. 62:
 Vyletála málaja ptica ***
 A náčali péti, župéti,
 Zamórskuju pticu pytáti.
 — Aj málaja ptica pevica! ***
 Któ u vás zá morem bol'shii? ***

Consult W. E. Harkins, *The Russian Folk Epos in Czech Literature, 1800–1900* (New York, 1951), p. 233ff.

⁵⁹ J. P. Woronicz, "Rozprawa o pieśniach narodowych", *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk*, II (Warsaw, 1803). For this reference and other valuable help, I am indebted to Dr. A. Berlstein, New York Public Library.

⁶⁰ Cf. N. Trubetzkoy, "K voprosu o stixie 'Pesen zapadnyx slavjan' Puškina", *Belgradskij Puškinskij Sbornik* (Belgrade, 1937), pp. 31–44; W. E. Harkins, *op. cit.*; A. Kolessa, *Ukraińska rytymika ludowa w poezjach Bohdana Zaleskiego*, Lwów, 1900; J. Łoś, *Wiersze polskie w ich dziejowym rozwoju* (Cracow, n.d.), p. 239ff.

Puškin's devices in translating Serbian [4|6]:

Puškin

V tú poru brát sestře povéřil.	[9]	Tô je bràtac séji vjěrovao,
Vót Pavlíxa pošlá v sád zelěnyj	[10]	Kad tô vīđe mláda Pávlovica, Òna òde nōću u grádinu
Sívogo sókola tám zakolóla	[11]	Te záklala sívōga sōkola,
I skazála svoemú gospodínu ***	[11]	Pa gòvorī svōme gospodáru *** ⁶¹

In the same way a narrator of *stariny*, Matrěna Men'shikova from Kenozero, when reciting her own *stariny*-like paraphrase of a Serbian epic, which had been reworded by the Russian poet Ščerbina, relaxes and diversifies the rigid decasyllables of the translator, ignoring his obligatory break:

Men'shikova

Ščerbina

Býli júnye Óvo i dévuška Mára,	[13]	Dvóe mílyx, ljubjás', vyrostáli:
Dvóe s trěx lét vyrostáli,	[8]	Júnij Íovo da dévuška Mára, S malolétstva ot trét'ego góda ***
Odnóju vodicej umyvális',	[10]	Umyvális' odnóju vodóju,
Odném polotěncem vytírális',	[9]	Utírális' odním polotěncem ***
Odin že són nōč'ju vidáli.	[9]	Těmnoj nōč'ju odin són vidáli *** ⁶²

Conversely, Čelakovský interpreted the lack of rigid isosyllabism in Russian folklore forms as an abolition of isosyllabic feet. Contrary to the current Czech literary norm, in some of his poems *à la russe* he turned to a freer distribution of stresses and a pure syllabism of the line as the basic constant; and this was in accord with Czech (and, let us add, Common Slavic) oral tradition. A few lines from Čelakovský's "Veliká panichida" are sufficient to demonstrate this latent tendency:

Ne krupobitím ani lijavcem	[10]
Na širém poli obili polehlo,	[11]
To zatopeno, to rozdrčeno: —	[10]
Ach! pode Moskvou, pode matičkou,	[10]
Tam na rovinách, smutných dolinách	[10]
Mnoho chrabrého vojska ruského,	[10]
Mnoho vojinstva i francouzského	[10]
Ku syrě zemi hlavou přilehlo,	[10]
To rozbodáno, to rozkotáno	[10]
Ostrými meči, hrotem bodáků,	[10]
I přivalem to kalených koulí.	[10]

⁶¹ V. Karadžić, *Srpske narodne pjesme*, II, no. 5.

⁶² See Gil'ferding, *op. cit.*, I, 20ff.

Both forms of Russian free verse continued to develop: the so-called *dol'nik*, which reduces the isosyllabism of the feet from a constant to a mere tendency, and the *skázovyy stix* in which isosyllabism is abolished. Even when there is some alien influence, it appears only as an incitement to realize a traditional form of the native lore, which is familiar to the modern poet both from earlier literary adaptations and from the oral tradition which still surrounds and inspires him, and which speaks the same language that he does. Thus "new rhythms" in Czech or Russian or other Slavic poetry of this century are structurally — and often also genetically — closer to certain forms of the native folklore than to the French *vers libre*.

When a Slavic literature is newly born or revives without vital ties with the local literary past, its first capital poetic productions rest upon native oral tradition. Such is the case with Janko Kral' (1829–1876) in Slovakia, Taras Ševčenko (1814–1861) in the Ukraine, and Hristo Botev (1849–1876) in Bulgaria.⁶³ Since they make wide usage of folklore forms, and since these forms still disclose a sensible common patrimony, there must obviously be a number of striking similarities linking the work of the three poets. For example, the survival of the [5 | 5] verse in the folk lyrics of diverse Slavic peoples suggested this meter to all three:

Večirne sónce | háj zolotylo,
 Dnipro i póle | zólotom krylo.
 Sobór Mazépyň | sjáje, bilije,
 Bát'ka Bohdána | mohýla mrije ***
 (Ševčenko, *Son*)

Báštino li sьm | propíl imáne,
 Tébe li pokrúh | s dьlbóki ráni,
 Ta mójta mládost, | mále, zeléna
 Sýchne i véhne | ljúto jazvéna?!
 (Botev, *Majce si*)

Šedivý celkom, | tajný, hlboký ***
 Dačo čudného | javí ten člověk ***
 Na druhom boku | sedí dievčička ***
 Mních je pokojný | prostosrdečný ***
 (Janko Kral', *Povest'*)

In all three literatures there develops a literary struggle, similar in

⁶³ M. Bakoš, *Vývin slovenského verša*; S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj, *Rytmika Ševčenkovoji poeziji* (Prague, 1925) and B. Jakubs'kyj, "Forma poeziji Ševčenska", *Taras Ševčenko*, ed. E. Hryhoruk and P. Fylypovyč (Kiev, 1921); A. Balabanov, "Bьlgarski stih", *Iz edin život* (Sofia, 1934), p. 298f., and B. Penev, "Hristo Botev", introduction to *Botev's Stihotvorenija* (Sofia, 1931).

course and consequence, between this radically democratic literary current which adheres to the folklore pattern and a younger opposing trend which tends to break with the popular forms and create a specifically urban and literary verse: P. Kuliš (1819–1897) in the Ukraine, Hurban-Vajanský (1847–1916) and Hviezdoslav (1849–1921) in Slovakia, and Ivan Vazov (1850–1921) in Bulgaria. It might be noted that their “new” meters may in turn be reduced to a common denominator: they were fashioned after the Russian model. The latter was especially pertinent for the Bulgarian and Ukrainian attempts, but was in competition with Czech models in setting the Slovak versification of the late nineteenth century.

The recurring contact of the *ars poetica* of the different Slavic nations with their oral tradition and thereby with the Common Slavic patrimony justifies the confession of Tred’jakovskij, one of the few initiators of modern Russian poetry. He realized acutely that even the famous reform of versification at the opening of the St. Petersburg period of Russian history owes its essence to the popular custom handed down from age to age, while the nomenclature and subsidiary particulars are due to alien influences:

Indeed, the whole essence of this new versification has been taken over by me from the intrinsic properties of our verse; and it must be acknowledged that the poetry of our common people led me there. Although its style is far from perfect, since the composers lack skill, the cadence of its various feet, at times more pleasant, harmonious and regular than in Greek and Latin, inevitably led me to introduce dissyllabic tonic feet into my new hexameters and pentameters *** It is true that almost all terms used for the verse have been borrowed by me from French versification, but the essence itself is from our most native and ancient folk poetry, and hence it is suitable to say that to French versification I owe the bag, and to the Russian poetic tradition its thousand-ruble contents.⁶⁴

This statement, *mutatis mutandis*, can be applied to most of the vital innovations in the history of Slavic verse.

⁶⁴ V. Tred’jakovskij, *Novyj i kratkij sposob k složeniju rossijskix stixov* (SPb., 1735). He insists on the force of folk verse in his later studies also, cites lines of popular songs, breaking them down into “tonic” (accentual) feet, and castigates the “ignorant and vainly obstreperous” among the highly placed people who disdain any recourse to folk song. He defends rhyme by referring to the inclination of Russian folklore, especially sayings, for rhymes as, for instance, “*ja, čelověk prostoj, ěm prjaniki nepisanye: xot’ by glatki, tol’ko by slatki*”. In 1765, in the preface to his *Telemaxida*, an epos in dactylo-trochaic hexameters, Tred’jakovskij relinquishes rhyme — “childish whistling” — and this time appeals to the blank verse of Russian folk songs: “*** our most natural and primordial versification was completely rhymeless and consisted of both dissyllabic and trisyllabic tonic feet”. His own use of these principles he considers just a “return from a strange, childish and irregular poetry to one which is our own, ancient, honorable, appropriate and thoroughly perfect”.

III. THE COMMON SLAVIC WRITTEN TRADITION

1. The Common Slavic frame of Old Church Slavonic literature. 2. Examples of inter-Slavic literary exchange in the early Middle Ages. 3. The subsequent fortunes of the Church Slavonic literary tradition. 4. Of the Cyrillo-Methodian ideological legacy.

1

When, more than a thousand years ago, the first Slavic written language came into use and spread, the linguistic differences within the Slavic world were insignificant compared to the radically diverse dialects within the present-day German or Italian territories. The relatively few local peculiarities in sounds, grammar, and vocabulary were subsidiary and incapable of impeding cultural intercourse between the various Slavic regions. There was a gradual transition rather than sharp lines of demarcation among Slavic dialects of that epoch. In the late ninth century, as Vaillant aptly puts it, the Slavs “were still conscious of speaking the same tongue”.⁶⁵ Therefore the Slavic apostles, Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, were able to use their native Macedonian dialect for missionary work in Moravia. Moreover, their teachings in this language were intended not only for Moravians but for all the Slavic lands, as was expressly stated at the beginning (*нѣ і всѣмъ странамъ тѣмъ словѣньскыимъ*).⁶⁶

The Moravian milieu in which Cyril and Methodius and their disciples worked naturally influenced the language in which they wrote. Hence in the basically southern dialect of these texts philologists discover western ingredients. At the turn of the tenth century, the Moravian birthplace of Slavic literature and liturgy was devastated, and their centers shifted to Bohemia and Bulgaria. In the literary language of Bohemia, the western admixture was reinforced, whereas in the Balkan area the southern (and specifically Bulgarian) traits prevailed. With the further expansion of the Slavic literary and liturgical language into the East Slavic lands and into Croatia and Serbia, new variants arose. Despite all local adaptations, however, the substantial unity of this cultural tongue was purposefully maintained during the tenth and eleventh centuries. It was a unique formation, distinct from all the spoken Slavic dialects of the period, and

⁶⁵ A. Vaillant, “Les traits communs des langues slaves”, *Conférences de l’Institut de Linguistique de l’Université de Paris*, VIII (1949), 29.

⁶⁶ *The Life of St. Methodius*, VIII, and the *Life of St. Constantine*, XIV: see P. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis’mennosti* (Leningrad, 1930), pp. 73 and 26.

this segregation was essential to set off the hieratic and cultivated tongue from the vulgar speech. At the same time, these two distinct linguistic styles did not interfere with the declared purpose of the Slavic Church — to make the Divine Word comprehensible to the simple folk (*prostaja čędb*) and attainable to every man. “Now hear with your understanding! Listen, Slavic people! Hear the Word, for it has come from the Lord”, proclaims Cyril’s verse preface to his translation of the Four Gospels.⁶⁷

The traditional name, Old Church Slavonic, is entirely appropriate to the language which was used by the overwhelming majority of Christianized Slavs from the time of the Moravian Mission to the First Crusade, for it emphasizes the specific task of the language and its essential interdialectal unity. Philologists have rightly designated the local variants of this standard tongue not separate languages but mere recensions (*izvody*) of Old Church Slavonic. Durnovo, in his stimulating studies on Old Church Slavonic, has pointed out the strong interaction between three powerful unifying factors in Slavic history at the end of the first millennium of the Christian era — the political, the purely linguistic, and the cultural.⁶⁸

Politically, there were recurrent expressions of a drive for unified intertribal power. The Great Moravian Empire encompassed, besides the entire Czechoslovak world, a significant percentage of the Sorbs, Poles, and the southern Slavs of Pannonia. Tsar Simeon’s Great Bulgaria took in Macedonians and Serbs, while Svjatoslav attempted to set up a Russian-Bulgarian state with Pręslav as capital. The Czechs endeavoured in the tenth century to govern — besides Bohemia and Moravia — Silesia, Slovakia, the Cracow area, and the Sorbian region of Milsko. Finally, the Polish king Bolesław I (992–1025) established a great inter-Slavic sovereignty which extended into the Polabian, the Czech, and the eastern Slavic domains.⁶⁹ Linguistic and cultural ties between the various Slavic tribes were fostered by such political unifications and, conversely, facilitated them.

The still considerable linguistic unity of the Slavs favored cultural

⁶⁷ R. Nahtigal, *Rekonstrukcija treh starocerkovnoslovanskih izvornih pesnitev = Razprave Akademije Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filoz.-filol.-hist. razred*, I (1943), 41–156; R. Jakobson, “The Beginning of National Self-Determination in Europe”, *infra*, pp. 115–128, and “St. Constantine’s Prologue to the Gospel”, *infra*, pp. 191–206.

⁶⁸ See especially N. Durnovo, “K voprosu o vremeni raspadenija obęčeslavjanskogo jazyka”, *Recueil des travaux du I^{er} Congręs des philologues slaves à Praha en 1929*, II (Prague, 1932), pp. 514–26.

⁶⁹ See V. Chaloupecký, “Počátky statu českého a polského”, in *Dějiny lidstva od pravěku k dnešku*, ed. J. Šusta, III (Prague, 1937); F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London, 1949).

relations and rendered possible the creation of the Slavic literary language, the most significant cultural factor which for a time integrated all Slavdom. Christianity, with services in the vernacular, contributed in its turn to prolonging Slavic unity. Nearly the whole of the Slavic world which was baptized before the First Crusade made use, in varying degrees and for varying periods of time, of Old Church Slavonic. Thus the famous Silesian writer of the thirteenth century, Martin of Opava, is not far from the truth when in his *Chronicle of Popes and Emperors*, 1268, he calls Saint Cyril “the apostle of nearly all the Slavs”.

As Durnovo says, “at the end of the tenth and in the eleventh century, people read, preached and worshipped in this language in Novgorod and Kiev, in Prěslav and Ochrid, in Velehrad and on the Sázava”. Moreover, Old Church Slavonic texts from Great Moravia lived on, even if in Latinized script and in a local linguistic re-adaptation, among the Slovenians of the tenth century.⁷⁰ Throughout the eleventh century, the Croatians struggled to retain the Slavic liturgy, using the same means as the Czechs and passing through the same stages, but achieving more favorable final results. In the late tenth century, Czech missionaries brought the Church Slavonic rites to Poland. Mieszko II used to worship both in this language (*in propria*) and in Latin. The Slavic liturgy in Polish and Bohemian monasteries seems to have run the same course and ended similarly. The first exile of the Slavic monks immediately after the schism (*zъlo veliko sьdѣja sja vъ Ljasěxъ*, in the words of the Kievan Paterikon) was later followed by the definitive banishment of the “heretical” abbot and his followers from the Benedictine monastery in Tyniec, near Cracow, at the beginning of the First Crusade.⁷¹ Finally, according to the still unpublished findings of W. Fritz, there is an indication that Slavic books were burned by order of the Bishop of Merseburg in the eleventh century — a testimony that Old Church Slavonic penetrated even to the Sorbs.

If we are thus justified in speaking of a Common Slavic literary language, we admit the possibility of viewing the literature in Old Church Slavonic as a Common Slavic written tradition. Sometimes it is difficult to localize either the language of an Old Church Slavonic text or the work itself, for the unity of the Old Church Slavonic linguistic and

⁷⁰ F. Grivec, *Zarja stare slovenske književnosti: Frisiški spomeniki v zarji Sv. Cirila in Metoda* (Ljubljana, 1942); A. Isačenko, *Jazyk a pôvod Frizinských pamiatok* (Bratislava, 1943).

⁷¹ Cf. O. Jansen (R. Jakobson), “Český podíl na církevněslovanské kultuře”, *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*, I (Prague, 1939) — cf. the English translation, *infra*, pp. 129–152; A. Sobolevskij, “K xronologii drevnejšix cerkovno-slavjanskix pamjatnikov”, *Izvestija Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. Akad. Nauk*, XI-2 (1906), 17f.

literary pattern often gained the upper hand over regional peculiarities. The efforts of some Russian scribes in the eleventh century to maintain what they observed to be the pure canon of Old Church Slavonic language and spelling, avoiding any Russianisms, were so successful that the problem of the origin of some of their manuscripts (e.g. Kuprijanov's leaflets) is a hard nut for students to crack.⁷²

Frequently the formal devices and the literary ideology of the works themselves are so uniform as to give rise to discussions about which Slavic country a given opus was written in. Even when the topic of the work is clearly connected with a definite country, doubts may remain, as evidenced, for instance, by the bitter discussion whether the mass to St. Wenceslaus, preserved in an eleventh-century Novgorod manuscript, was composed in Russia, in Bulgaria, or in Bohemia.⁷³ Texts can acquire a markedly inter-Slavic character through migrations from one country to another, or they can have it from the start. For instance, the staff of translators of the Hamartolos Chronicle seems to have included Russians, Bulgarians, and Czechs.⁷⁴ At that time Old Church Slavonic writings were regarded as the common property of all Slavs who used this standard language.⁷⁵ The literary production of the Moravian Mission was kept up by Bulgarian and Bohemian disciples and followers and carried over to the whole Slavic East and South.

2

The splendid harvest of the Golden Age of Bulgarian literature under Tsar Simeon (893–927) was fully absorbed by Russia after its Baptism.

⁷² See F. Kaminskij, "Otryvki evangel'skix čtenij XI v., imenuemye Kuprijanovskimi (Novgorodskimi)", *Izvestija Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. Akad. Nauk*, XXVIII (1923), 273–319; cf. N. Durnovo, "Russkie rukopisi XI i XII vv., kak pamjatniki staroslavjanskogo jazyka", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, IV–VI (1924–27) and H. G. Lunt, "The Orthography of Eleventh-Century Russian Manuscripts", *Microfilm Abstracts*, X, 3 (Ann Arbor, 1950) 131f.

⁷³ See I. Sreznevskij, "Izvestie o drevnem kanone v čest' sv. Vjačeslava Češkogo", *Izvestija II Otd. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, V (1856), 191f., 275ff.; K. Nevostruev, "Pogled na historiju istočne crkve u Češkoj i stara istočna služba sv. Večeslava", *Rad jugosl. akad.*, XXXI (1872); V. Jagić, *Služebnye minei za sentjabr', oktjabr', i nojabr' v cerkovno-slavjanskom perevode po russkim rukopisjam 1095–1097 g.* (SPb., 1886) p. 213ff.; J. Vajs, "Kanon ke cti sv. Václava", *Sbornik staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile* (Prague, 1929), p. 137ff. (cf. G. Il'inskij's review, *Slavia*, XI, 359); J. Pekař, "Svatý Václav", *Svatováclavský sborník*, I (1934), 89; J. Vašica, "Staroslovanské liturgické zpěvy a kanon na svátek sv. Václava složené v Čechách v X. století", *Na úsvitu křesťanství* (Prague, 1942).

⁷⁴ See the discussion by P. Lavrov and N. Durnovo about Hamartolos' *Chronicle* as edited and commented on by V. Istrin, *Slavia*, IV (1925–26), 446–84, 657–83, and X (1931), 801–15.

⁷⁵ Cf. A. Sobolevskij, *Drevnjaja cerkovno-slavjanskaja literatura i ee značenie* (Kharkov, 1908).

The encyclopedia compiled in Bulgaria, impressive in its sophistication and in the skilled transposition of the rich, refined Greek theological, philosophical, and scientific terminology into Slavic, suited Russian intellectual needs. When it was copied in 1073 for the Kievan Prince Svjatoslav, the only essential change made was the substitution of his name for that of Tsar Simeon in the introductory verse panegyric.

Equally at home in Kievan Russia were the Old Church Slavonic writings of the Bohemian recension. Similarly, from both Bulgaria and Bohemia came the sources of the Old Church Slavonic literature of the second of the younger provinces, Croatia.⁷⁶ It is almost exclusively to the Russian and Croatian copies that we owe our knowledge of the Old Church Slavonic monuments of Bohemian origin. In their homeland all these texts were “*deleti omnino et disperditi*”, as the Sázava Chronicle says, at the start of the First Crusade, because of the prohibition of the *lingua Sclavonica* in the Czech church by the Bull of Gregory VII, issued despite the supplication of King Vratislav and contrary to the desires of the Bohemian people. Although the works of Czech origin that entered the Russian literary tradition were fully assimilated, a careful analysis in accord with the acute suggestions of A. Sobolevskij and N. Nikol'skij may reveal their Czech provenience. The criteria are chiefly lexical and phraseological Bohemisms. Further, there are common peculiarities of translation technique, and as a rule, Latin rather than Greek originals are typical for Czech translated literature. In Bohemia's original writings, one finds Czech topics and views and some influence from Western models.

Translations, especially translated legends, also betray by their selection of subjects a specifically Czech historical background. From the time Saint Cyril took the relics of Saint Clement to Rome, along with the Slavic translation of the Gospel, the worship of the “martyr-pope” remained deeply rooted in Moravian and Bohemian tradition. Cyril's Greek “history” of his discovery of the relics, with a prose panegyric and a verse hymn to the saint, were condensed, perhaps by Cyril himself, into a single Slavonic work including all three items in abbreviated form and alternating prose with verse.⁷⁷ The Old Church Slavonic Missal, which is

⁷⁶ J. Vajs, *Najstariji hrvatskoglagoljski misal* (Zagreb, 1948); K. Horálek, “Kořeny charvátsko-hlaholského písemnictví”, *Slavia*, XIX (1950).

⁷⁷ Cf. J. Vašica, “Slovo na prenesenie moštem preslavnago Klimenta neboli legenda Chersonská”, *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIX (1948); J. Trifonov, “Dve sčinenija na Konstantina Filosofa (sv. Kirila) za moštite na sv. Klimenta Rimski”, *Spisanie na Bolg. Akad. na nauk.*, XLVIII (1934); N. van Wijk, “O jazyke Slova na prenesenie mošče sv. Klimenta”, *Byzantinoslavica*, I (1929).

a free, rhythmic adaptation of an old Latin model and was preserved in a tenth century Bohemian manuscript, begins with a prayer to Saint Clement.⁷⁸ One of the two newly discovered churches built at the time of Methodius in the capital of Great Moravia seems to have been dedicated to Clement,⁷⁹ as were some of the oldest churches in Bohemia, beginning with Bořivoj's in Levý Hradec. Clement's name in its Old Church Slavonic form (*Kliment, Klim*) early found wide usage in Czech. Thus it is quite natural that among Church Slavonic works of Bohemian origin we find a translation of the Latin life of Saint Clement.⁸⁰

A similar translation of the Latin life of Saint George is preserved in Russian manuscripts. It is obviously connected with the church erected in the Prague castle by Prince Vratislav (died ca. 920) to the "victorious warrior, the holy martyr George".⁸¹ The Moravian life of Saint Methodius, which most likely came to Russia through a Bohemian medium, appears in a Kievan manuscript of the twelfth century next to the legend of Saint Vitus.⁸² This must have originated in Prague when the monumental church was dedicated to Saint Vitus by Vratislav's son, Saint Wenceslaus (921–929). As J. Vašica discovered, this Old Church Slavonic legend, translating the local Bohemian version of the Latin life of Saint Vitus, was incorporated in abbreviated form into the Glagolitic breviary of the Emmaus monastery in Prague, created by Charles IV (1346–1378) to reinstate the Slavic liturgy.⁸³

Connected with the activity of the Benedictine monasteries in the Czech Principality of the tenth and eleventh centuries is the Church Slavonic adaptation of the Latin legend of Saint Benedict, which has come down to us in a Croatian copy.⁸⁴ Saint Boniface is one of the patrons of the Břevnov monastery in Prague, and the Church Slavonic

⁷⁸ Cf. J. Vašica, "Slovanská liturgie nově osvětlená Kijevskými listy", *Slovo a slovesnost*, VI (1940).

⁷⁹ J. Poulik, "Objev druhého kostela ve Starém Městě", *Archeologické rozhledy*, II (1950) 12–22, esp. p. 18.

⁸⁰ A. Sobolevskij, "Glagoličeskoe žitie sv. papy Klimenta", *Izvestija Otd. rus. jaz. i slov. Akad. Nauk.* XVII, 3 (1912), 215ff.

⁸¹ N. Tixonravov, *Pamjatniki otrečennoj russkoj literatury*, II (Moscow, 1863), 100ff.; A. Veselovskij, *Razyskanija v oblasti duxovnyx stixov*, II (SPb., 1880), 163ff.; cf. A. Sobolevskij, *Izvestija ...*, X, 1 (1905), 113ff., and *Žitija svjatyx v drevnem perevode na cerkovno-slavjanskij s latinskogo jazyka* (SPb., 1904).

⁸² A. Sobolevskij, "Mučenie sv. Vita v drevnem cerkovnoslavjanskom perevode", *Izvestija ...*, VIII, 1 (1901), 278ff., and *Žitija svjatyx ...*

⁸³ J. Vašica, "Staroslovanská legenda o sv. Vitu", *Slovanské studie*, ed. J. Kurz, M. Murko, J. Vašica (Prague, 1948), pp. 159ff.

⁸⁴ A. Sobolevskij, "Žitie prep. Benedikta Nursijskogo po serbskomu spisku XVI v.", *Izvestija ...*, VIII, 2 (1903), 121ff.; *Žitija svjatyx ...*

translation of his Rule, known from a Russian manuscript, has been acknowledged to be of Czech origin.⁸⁵

Another of the Church Slavonic legends translated from Latin in Bohemia and preserved in Russian manuscripts is that of the proto-martyr Saint Stephen.⁸⁶ It reminds us of the altar to him in Břevnov and the churches dedicated to him in the eleventh century, the cathedral in Litoměřice and particularly the Moravian monastery in Hradiště. This monastery was founded in 1078 under King Vratislav, the champion of the Slavic liturgy, by his brother Otto of Olomouc and the latter's wife, Euphemia, granddaughter of Jaroslav the Wise, with the participation of the Abbot Vitus of the Slavic Sázava monastery. Saint Apollinarius, also honored by a Bohemian translation of the Latin legend about him into Church Slavonic, was the patron of Bořivoj II, Vratislav's son, who built a church in Sadská in his name.⁸⁷ Finally, the worship of Saint Methodius as Bishop of Sirmium, which came to Bohemia as a part of the Moravian tradition, prompted a Church Slavonic version of the life of Saint Anastasia, the Sirmium martyr, particularly popular in Dalmatia.⁸⁸

The Church Slavonic lives of the Czech saints which were compiled in Bohemia survived either as a part of Russian and Croatian literary heritage or in the form of Bohemian reworkings into Latin. The priest Paul (whose name recalls the Apostle taken by Cyrillo-Methodian tradition to be the first teacher of the Slavs) served as the *presbyter maior* of the oldest Prague Church, the court chapel of the Virgin Mary, recently excavated. He stood particularly close to Princess Ludmila (d. 920 or 921) and her grandson, Prince Wenceslaus. It is most likely he who composed the Church Slavonic lives of these two ruler-martyrs, both written in the second quarter of the tenth century. The first of them is known only from two digests, one in the Russian Prolog, the other a Latin version made in Bohemia and found, in its oldest variant, in the same manuscript as the Sázava Chronicle.⁸⁹ The life of Saint Wenceslaus

⁸⁵ N. Nikol'skij, "K voprosu o zapadnom vlijanii na drevne-russkoe cerkovnoe pravo", *Bibliografičeskaja letopis'*, III (1917).

⁸⁶ A. Sobolevskij, "Mučenie papy Stefana po russkomu spisku XV v.", *Izvestija* ..., X, 1 (1905), 105ff.

⁸⁷ A. Sobolevskij, "Mučenie sv. Apollinarija Ravenskogo po russkomu spisku XVI v.", *Izvestija* ..., VIII, 4 (1903), 320ff. For stimulating remarks on Bořivoj's connections with the Sázava abbot Božetěch, see R. Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána ve vývoji předhusitských legend ludmilských i václavských a její autor*, I (Prague, 1947–8), 157, 446.

⁸⁸ A. Sobolevskij, "Mučenie sv. Anastasii Rimljaniki i Krisogona po russkomu spisku XV v.", *Izvestija* ..., VIII.

⁸⁹ *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile*, ed. J. Vajs (Prague, 1929); V. Chaloupecký, "Prameny X. století" = *Svatováclavský sborník*, II, sv. 2.

came early to Russia in two variants, one of which is known from the Prolog extract while the other is preserved fully and, despite a slight Russification, much more faithfully than in the Croatian redaction.⁹⁰ The somewhat later Wenceslaus legend, translated from Latin into Church Slavonic in Bohemia, early became popular in Russia and was therefore saved for posterity.⁹¹

The legend of Saint Prokop, founder of the Sázava monastery, which was written there in the sixties of the eleventh century and modeled after the Church Slavonic legend of Saint Benedict, however, has come down to us only in a Latin redaction made in the same monastery in the following century.⁹²

Further, Croatian prayer books acquaint us with Bohemian hymns to the Slavic Apostles,⁹³ while Russian tradition preserved the devotion to Saint Wenceslaus (see footnote 73 above), and a prayer to the Holy Trinity which mentions exclusively Western saints and such intercessors for Bohemia as Clement, Demetrius, Wenceslaus, Vojtěch, Prokop, and Stephen.⁹⁴

Close to hagiographic literature is the apology for the Slavic Church written in Moravia by a pupil of Methodius's Mission late in the ninth century. The chronicler Cosmas (1045–1125) testifies that it was retold there in Latin also, under the title *Privilegium ecclesiae moraviensis*. The Church Slavonic version is cited extensively in Nestor's Chronicle, while the Latin version is reflected in the Czech Latin legend *Passio Sancte Ludmille*.⁹⁵ Nestor, one of the outstanding writers of Kievan Russian in

⁹⁰ R. Jakobson, "Some Russian echoes of Czech Hagiography: I. The Translation of St. Venceslav's Relics", *infra*, pp. 820–832.

⁹¹ N. Nikol'skij, *Legenda mantuanskogo episkopa Gumpol'da o sv. Vjačeslave Češskom v slavjanorusskom izloženíi* (SPb., 1909); J. Vašica, "Druhá staroslovanská legenda o sv. Václavu", *Sbornik staroslov. pam.*, p. 71ff.

⁹² V. Chaloupecký, "Slovanská bohoslužba v Čechách", *Věstník České akademie věd a umění*, LIX (1950), 65–80.

⁹³ See P. Lavrov, *Kyrylo ta Metodij v davn'o-slovjans'komu pys'menstvi* (Kiev, 1928), and *Materialy po istorii drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (= *Trudy slavjanskoj komm. AN USSR*, I, 1930).

⁹⁴ Cf. F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London, 1949), p. 242ff.; A. Sobolevskij, "Materialy i issledovanija v oblasti slavjanskoj filologii i arxeologii" = *Sbornik Otd. rus. jaz. i slov.*, LXXXVIII, 3 (1910), 36ff.; M. Weingart, *Československý typ cirkevnej slovančiny* (Bratislava, 1949), p. 63ff.; see also Sobolevskij, pp. 54ff. and 81ff., Weingart, pp. 60–63 on two more Czech translations from Latin into Church Slavonic: sermons by Saint Gregory the Great and the Gospel of Nicodemus.

⁹⁵ See particularly N. Nikol'skij, *Povest' vremennyx let, kak istočnik dlja istorii načal'nogo perioda russkoj pis'mennosti i kul'tury* (Leningrad, 1930), and "K voprosu o sledax moravo-češskogo vlijanija na literaturnyx pamjatnikax drevne-mongol'skoj ěpoxi", *Vestník Akad. Nauk* (1933); A. Šaxmatov, "Povest' vremennyx let i ee istočniki", *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj lit. AN SSSR*, IV (1940); R. Jakobson, *infra*, p. 142f.; V. Chaloupecký, "Prameny X. století"; R. Urbánek, *Legenda t. zv. Kristiána, I–II* (Prague, 1947).

the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, shows dependence on Czech sources not only in this work. The historical parallelism between the two Russian ruler-saints, grandmother and grandson, and the Czech pair is so striking that the Czech "Homelia in festo Ludmile, patrone Bohemorum", composed at the end of the eleventh century, or rather its presumed Church Slavonic prototype, was a natural model for the imagery of the Eulogy to Saint Olga inserted into the Primary Chronicle under the year 969:

She was the forerunner of the Christian land, even as the morning star precedes the sun and the dawn the day. For she shone like the moon by night and she was radiant among the infidels like a pearl in the mire, since the people were soiled by sin, and not cleansed by holy baptism. *** She was the first from Rus' to enter the kingdom of God, and the sons of Rus' thus praise her as their leader, for since her death she has been praying to God for Rus'.⁹⁶

The corresponding passage of the Homily reads:

Hec in terra Bohemie oritur, ut stella matutina, que solis iusticie, qui est Christus, quasi prenuncia fidei lumine tenebras erroris effugabat. Hec est primula veri veris, id est gracie, nam hec prima inter sanctos terre iam dicte sanctificata esse non ignoratur. Ipsa namque et aurora potest dici, nam luce sanctitatis diem cultus divini subducebat. *** Quoniam autem beata Ludmila sicut prima fidelium mater in terra sepe dicta sic et in celo interventrix exstitit, exigunt eius merita, ut ei debitus honor a fidelibus impendatur.⁹⁷

The other works of Nestor, the lives of Theodosius and of Boris and Gleb, also show incontrovertible evidence of borrowings from Church Slavonic Lives of the Bohemian recension, particularly from the Church Slavonic version of Gumpold's Legend of Saint Wenceslaus.⁹⁸

D. Čiževsky even surmises that Nestor had visited Bohemia to bring to the Sázava Monastery a part of the relics of Boris and Gleb. We learn from the chronicle of the Sázava monk that in 1093, two years before the expulsion of the Slavic monks from this monastery, there was a solemn consecration of the two altars, where reposed the relics of these Russian prince-martyrs, canonized as recently as 1072. Resting together with

⁹⁶ Cf. S. H. Cross, "The Russian Primary Chronicle", *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XII (1930), 173.

⁹⁷ V. Chaloupecký "Prameny", p. 546; cf. his remarks on this homily, *Na úsvitu křesťanství*, p. 161.

⁹⁸ D. Čiževsky, "Anklänge an die Gumpoldslegende des hl. Václav in der altruss. Legende des hl. Feodosij und das Problem der 'Originalität' der slavischen mittelalterlichen Werke", *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, I (1950).

them were relics of several other saints revered by the Slavic Church: Martin the patron of Saint Vojtěch and of the monastery Vojtěch erected on a Pannonian hill, giving rise to an early legend that he was a native of Pannonia; the five hermit brethren of Břevnov who suffered martyrs' deaths in Poland in 1004; Nicholas the Wonder-Worker, particularly popular at that time in Russia; Andrew, patron of Salonika and believed to be the apostle to Kievan Russia;⁹⁹ Clement the martyr-pope and Stephen (cf. above); finally Pantaleon, very popular in Eastern Christianity, who figured in the prayer to the Holy Trinity mentioned above and who gave his name to the eleventh-century Hungarian monastery of the Eastern Rite, *Pentele*, and later to the Russian monastery on Mount Athos.¹⁰⁰

In Old Russian *lectiones* from the thirteenth century on, we find a *Life and Martyrdom* of Boris and Gleb which sharply differs from the rest of the readings and discloses, as Sobolevskij observed, a distinctly Western approach and a pattern quite unusual in Russian hagiography, indicative of Czech origin.¹⁰¹ It is amazing that these Russian saints were sufficiently popular in the Sázava monastery to prompt a local literary treatment of them just before the definitive end of the Slavic liturgy in Bohemia. Equally significant is the fact that this Czech work could penetrate into Russia and find admission into Russian readings in a period particularly distrustful of spiritual imports from the West. The veneration of Saint Olga, too, must have spread to Bohemia, as the adoption of her name in its specifically Russian form among the Czechs of the early Middle Ages testifies.¹⁰² Thus the worship of Russian saints — Boris and Gleb and Olga — is taken over by the Czechs; in Russia, on the other hand, it appears to be influenced by Czech hagiography.

All these details have been necessary in order to illustrate the extent of literary exchange among the Slavs during the Old Church Slavonic epoch. We see particularly how the indigenous production of the Czechs was completely absorbed into the Russian and Croatian literary stocks. If Russian literature begins by a wide assimilation of the Bulgarian influx, later on, as Speranskij demonstrates, the main body of the religious literature of Kievan Russia comes to enrich the South Slavic

⁹⁹ Cf. N. Nikol'skij, "K voprosu o sočinenijax, pripisyvaemyx Kirillu Filozofu", *Izvestija po russkomu jaz. i slov.* AN SSSR, I (1928), 414; A. Pogodin, "Povest' o choždenii apostola Andreja v Rusi", *Byzantinoslavica*, VII (1938).

¹⁰⁰ *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, II (Prague, 1874), 251f.; J. Vašica, "Význam svatého Borise a Glěba v tradici svatováclavské", *Svatováclavský sborník Akordu* (Prague, 1929).

¹⁰¹ D. Abramovič, *Žitija svjatyx mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. XVIIIff. and 113ff.; cf. A. Sobolevskij, *Izvestija* ..., XVII, 3 (1912), 222.

¹⁰² R. Jakobson, "Český podíl"; v. *infra*, p. 140.

literary repertory.¹⁰³ There were no inter-Slavic literary barriers during the Old Church Slavonic period, and there existed one single standard language and one literature with regional shadings, precisely the “Slavische Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten”, in the definition of Dobrovský (1806) and Šafařík (1826).

Thus, at the late date of the final dissolution of their linguistic unity, the Slavs were in possession of a highly elaborated standard language, which served the church with its many-sided literature and reflected a growing and progressive culture, benefited by the Byzantine tradition and by the favorable economic situation of Eastern Europe in the early Middle Ages.

3

Beginning with the First Crusade the situation gradually changes. The Slavic Church and the Church Slavonic literature disappear in the Slavic West. The dissolution of Slavic linguistic unity is completed, and former dialects become clear-cut separate languages. Old Church Slavonic yields to the innovations of the local vernaculars and cedes its place to the less traditional and far less unified Middle Church Slavonic. Various political and cultural changes begin to hamper inter-Slavic relations. Nevertheless, it would be an incautious exaggeration to underestimate the unifying role of the Church Slavonic tradition. Constantine the Grammarian, a Bulgarian bookman at the Serbian court in the early fifteenth century, grasped perfectly the international nature of this tongue which could not be identified with either the Bulgarian or Serbian vernaculars.¹⁰⁴ The Greek-Orthodox Slavs remained for many centuries linked by the Church Slavonic literary language, and the increasing differences between the recensions were counterbalanced by mutual influences. For instance, the Bulgarian type was extended to the Serbs during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, while the flow of Bulgarian and Serbian refugees after the Turkish invasion of the Balkans introduced a strong South Slavic strain into the language and orthography in Russia.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, the Church Slavonic standard in Serbia, from the time of Saint Sava (d. 1235), received a constant

¹⁰³ M. Speranskij, “K istorii vzaimootnošenij ruskij i jugoslavjanskix literatur”, *Izvestija ...*, XXVI (1921).

¹⁰⁴ I. Jagić, “Rassuždenija južnoslavjanskoj i ruskij stariny o cerkovnoslavjanskom jazyke”, *Issledovanija po ruskomu jazyku Akad. Nauk*, I (1893), pp. 376f., 296ff. and 491f.

¹⁰⁵ A. Sobolevskij, *Južno-slavjanskoe vlijanie na ruskiju pis'mennost' v XIV–XV vekax* (SPb., 1894).

stimulus from the Russian norm. Constantine the Grammarian insists on the intimate bond between Church Slavonic and Russian. Since the seventeenth century, the Glagolitic books of the Croatians have been adapted to the Russian pattern, and Serbian literature used a strongly Russified language throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁶

The discrepancy between the Moscow and Kievan recensions was reduced by the radical Ukrainization of the former under Nikon (Patriarch in Moscow from 1652 to 1658). The secularization of Russian literature in the seventeenth century elevated the native Russian stratum in the literary tongue and created a definite hybrid structure with varying ratios of Church Slavonic and vernacular constituents, depending on the style. Russian has essentially preserved this deliberately hybrid character down to the present, while romanticism has deprived Serbian and Ukrainian of the Church Slavonic stratum.¹⁰⁷

As long as Church Slavonic dominated the literatures of the Greek-Orthodox Slavs, the ties linking these literatures to each other and to their common past remained very strong. Even when a gradual secularization circumscribed the Church Slavonic element in literary Russian, the traditional repertory of stylistic means remained still valid and productive. The tension between the Church Slavonic and vernacular components harks far back into the past and connects the devices of Modern Russian verbal art with those of Archpriest Avvakum¹⁰⁸ and, still farther back, with Old Russian chronicles and narratives.¹⁰⁹ The forms of Russian eighteenth-century poetry, whose "High Style" demands a preponderance of Church Slavonic, are in some respects more akin in structure to the church poetry rooted in the medieval tradition than to the classicism which they formally profess. The treatise

¹⁰⁶ A. Belić, "Učešće sv. Save i njegove škole u stvaranju nove redakcije srpskih ćirilskih spomenika", *Svetosavski zbornik*, I = *Posebna izdanja Srp. Kr. Akad.*, CXIV (Belgrade, 1936); A. Sobolevskij, "Iz perevodčeskoj dejatel'nosti sv. Savvy Serbskogo", *Sbornik Otd. rus. jaz.*, LXXXVIII, kn. 3; B. Unbegaun, *Les débuts de la langue littéraire chez les Serbes* (Paris, 1935); P. Kulakovskij, "Načalo ruskoj školy u serbov v XVIII v.", *Izvestija ...*, XIII, kn. 2 (1903).

¹⁰⁷ N. Trubetzkoy, "Obščeslavjanskij element v ruskoj kul'ture", *K probleme russkogo samopoznanija* (Paris, 1927).

¹⁰⁸ V. Vinogradov, "Nabljudenija nad stilem Žitija pr. Avvakuma", *Russkaja Reč'* (Petersburg, 1922) — cf. the English trans. appended to Archpriest Avvakum's *Life*, tr. K. Brostrom (Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, 1979), 117ff.; cf. E. Čerkasova, "O vzaimodejstvii russkix narodnyx i cerkovnoslavjanskix elementov reči v russkom literaturnom jazyke dolomonosovskogo perioda", *Materialy i issledovanija po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka AN SSSR*, II (1951).

¹⁰⁹ A. Paschen, *Die semasiologische und stilistische Funktion der trat/torot- Alternationen in der altrussischen Literatursprache* (Heidelberg, 1933); L. Jakubinskij, "O jazyke Slova o polku Igoreve", *Doklady i soobščeniya Instituta rus. jazyka AN SSSR*, II (1948).

with the eloquent title *O pol'ze knig cerkovnyx* by such a legislator of the Russian eighteenth-century poetic canon as Lomonosov (1711–1765) says literally:

Having weighed the benefit of Slavonic church books for the Russian language, I dispassionately address all lovers of their native literature and offer the well-meant advice, out of conviction gained through my own experience in art, to peruse with industry all the church books. *** The Russian language will consolidate itself in full force, beauty and richness and will not be subject to decline as long as the Russian Church continues to be adorned by praises to the Lord in the Slavonic tongue.¹¹⁰

His older contemporary Tred'jakovskij (1703–1769) criticized Sumarokov (1718–1777), the last of the big three, for “not having read enough from our church books in his youth and therefore lacking both a wealth of choice words and a habit of orderly composition”. A stanza usually cited as one of Tred'jakovskij's best is nothing but a close paraphrase of Church Slavonic biblical verses:

Tred'jakovskij
 Vonmi, O! Nébo, i rekú,
 Zemljá da slýšit úst glagóly:
 Kak dóžd' ja slóvom potekú;
 I snidut, kak rosá k cvetkú,
 Moí veščánija na dóly.

Deuteronomy 23: 1, 2
 Vonmi Nebo, i vozglagolju,
 i da slyšit zemlja glagoly ust moix.
 Da čaetsja jako dožd' veščanie moe,
 i da snidut jako rosa
 glagoly moi, jako tuča na troskot.

Later poetry also finds it inviting to paraphrase the old church devotions more or less closely.

Puškin
 Vladyko dněj moix! dúx prázdnosti unýloj,
 Ljubonačáljija, zmeí sokrýtoj séj,
 I prazdnoslóvija ne dáj dušé moěj;
 No dáj mne zrét' moi, o Bóže, pregrešén'ja,
 Da brát moj ot menjá ne prímet osuždn'ja,
 I dúx smirénjija, terpénjija, ljubvi
 I celomúdrjija mne v sárdce oživí. (1836).

Lenten prayer by Ephraem Syrus
 1. Gospodi i Vladyko života moego, dux prazdnosti, unynija,
 ljubonačalija
 i prazdnoslovija ne dažd' mi.

¹¹⁰ About the influence of the church books on Lomonosov's poetry, see I. Solosin, “Otraženie jazyka obrazov Sv. Pisanija i knig bogoslužebnyx v stixotvorenijax Lomonosova”, *Izvestija ...*, XVIII, kn. 2 (1913).

3. Ej, Gospodi Carju, daruj mi zrěti moja pregrešenija
i ne osuždati brata moego ***
2. Dux že celomudrija, smirenomudrija, terpěnija i ljubve
daruj mi rabu tvoemu.

The phraseology and imagery of the Church Slavonic literary tradition, especially of liturgic poetry, is still a vital stimulus for the Russian literary art of the twentieth century, to mention only Blok, Belyj, Kljuev, Esenin, and Majakovskij, however far from piety the last may appear to be. His most personal poem, *Čelovek* (1917), literally cites prayers at the beginning (“Nýne otpuščaěši”) and in the final line (“So svjatými upokój”),¹¹¹ and is, moreover, introduced by a variation on liturgical motifs:

Svjaščennoslužitelja mira, otpustitelja vsěx grexóv, —
sólncá ladón' na golové moěj.
Blagočestivejšej iz monášestvujuščix — nóči oblačěnie
na plečáx moix.
Dněj ljubví moěj tysjačelistoe evángelie celúju.¹¹²

4

The Cyrillo-Methodian tradition signifies not only the perpetuation of the Old Church Slavonic patrimony in language and style and of the inter-Slavic connections based on adherence to this patrimony, but also an ideological legacy closely connected to the language problem. The Moravian Mission professed the equal rights of all peoples and the equal worth of their languages, demanding above all the recognition of the sovereignty of their own Slavic nation and tongue. Since the liturgy symbolized the summit in the medieval hierarchy of values, the right to conduct the divine services in the national language symbolized the right to all other values as well. The whole culture, especially the literary output, became nationalized.

This ideology, which rejected the concept of any privileged nations or languages, fully dominated the Old Church Slavonic period in Moravia, Bohemia, and Bulgaria, and in Russia it retained such vitality that Saint

¹¹¹ One of Blok's pivotal poems, “Ty v poljá otošlá bez vozvráta”, contains the same citation in its final stanza and likewise a prayer sentence in the first stanza: *Da svjatítsja Ímja Tvoé*.

¹¹² Cf. the “blizzard ectenes” in Belyj's “Kúbok metélej”; for instance:
Se grjadět nevésta, oblečěnnaja sněgom i vétrom revúčim.
Se metél' grjadět sněgom, nenevéstnaja.
V'júge pomólimsja.

Stephen of Perm' (1340–1396) deliberately followed the example of the Slavic Apostles when he invented a completely new alphabet for the Zyrians and translated the Gospel and liturgy into their language. His younger contemporary and biographer, Epiphanius the Most Wise (d. 1420), grasped this connection perfectly and compared Stephen with Saint Cyril, taking over the five-century-old argument of the so-called Monk Xrabr, who praised the Slavic alphabet for being “created by a single holy man”, whereas the Greek alphabet was the work of many heathen men. Epiphanius values Stephen’s accomplishment even more highly, since Cyril was assisted by his brother Methodius, while Stephen had no help but God.¹¹³

Stephen’s undertaking indeed developed most promisingly, until it was forcibly stopped by the new imperious ideology of the Third Rome: the Moscow of Ivan the Terrible denied the rights and claims of vernaculars, and the Zyrian church books were condemned and destroyed. For comparative Slavic literature it is of great interest that, whereas in the Russian case the Cyrillo-Methodian claim of a full franchise for every national language was abandoned, while the Cyrillo-Methodian linguistic and literary tradition remained in florescence, in the Czech case the process was reversed. There, it was the Church Slavonic language that capitulated toward the beginning of the twelfth century, with only meager literary survivals,¹¹⁴ while the Cyrillo-Methodian ideology, transmitted by the Latin reshaping of the lost Old Church Slavonic apologetic and hagiographic literature, persisted in the favorable historical circumstances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and waged a new successful combat for the use of the national Czech language in every field of literary and cultural endeavor: and the language indeed met the highest exigencies of philosophy and religion.¹¹⁵

This combat not only utilized the Church Slavonic precedent efficiently and referred to it repeatedly, but attempted even to revive the Slavic liturgy. To this end, Charles IV, in 1344, summoned Croatian monks faithful to the Glagolitic tradition and settled them in the Prague Emmaus Monastery, which was dedicated to the blessed patrons of the

¹¹³ See *Žitie sv. Stefana episkopa Permskogo*, by Epiphanius the Wise, ed. Arxeografičeskaja komisija (SPb., 1897).

¹¹⁴ R. Jakobson, “O stixotvornyx reliktax rannego srednevekov’ja v češskoj literaturnoj tradicii”, *infra*, pp. 381–388; J. Vraštil, “Význam nejstarších staročeských souvislých textů evangelijních pro otázku o vlivu bible staroslověnské na staročeskou”, *Slovanské studie*, ed. J. Kurz, M. Murko, J. Vašica (Prague, 1948).

¹¹⁵ Cf. R. Jakobson, *Moudrost starých Čechů* (New York, 1943).

Czech kingdom, Prokop, Vojtěch, Cyril, and Methodius. The undertaking had a many-sided cultural influence. In Bohemia it fostered the translation of the church books into the Czech vernacular, equipped the dawning Hussite movement with arguments for the nationalization of the Church, and gave to Jan Hus a model for his great orthographic reform. The ties with the Old Church Slavonic tradition and the sense of Slavic linguistic community were strengthened. Slavic self-consciousness was stimulated not among the Czechs alone, but, as Jan Długosz's *Historia polonica* (1480) testifies, also among the Poles, when with the opening of new sister communities of the Emmaus Monastery the liturgy "nobilis slavici idiomatis" was brought into the vicinity of Wrocław (1380) and Cracow (1390). The activities connected with the monastery thus favored an inter-Slavic literary exchange by importing Czech literature to Croatia, and Croatian Church Slavonic texts into Poland and Western Russia.¹¹⁶

When in the seventeenth century the loss of Czech political independence put the national culture and cultural language into acute danger, appeals to the ever vital Cyrillo-Methodian precedent became particularly forceful. Both Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius), the paramount thinker among the Czech Reformers (1592–1670), and the Jesuit Bohuslav Balbín, the chief learned exponent of the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia (1621–1688), effectively evoked the inspiring lesson of the past. In his *Ecclesiae slavonicae *** brevis historiola* (1660), Comenius points out that among modern European peoples "the Slavs were the first to be entrusted with the Word of God in their vernacular" and that subsequently the Czechs "refused to tolerate the Divine Service in a strange language" and successfully strove for the familiar liturgy in the mother tongue. Balbín's renowned *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua slavonica, praecipue bohemica* (1673) views the grant to the Czechs and to all Slavs to administer the sacraments in the native tongue as the special merit of the Moravian apostles and as a sanctification of their language, "for in this tongue the Son of God is daily called to earth, and these few sacred words have such a boundless power that they far surpass the 'fiat' which brought the world into being".

¹¹⁶ P. Syrku, "Zur Geschichte des Glagolismus in Böhmen", *Archiv f. slav. Philologie*, XXI (1899); L. Helmling, *Emaus* (Prague, 1903); L. Helmling and A. Horcicka, *Das vollständige Registrum Slavorum* (Prague, 1904); B. Havránek, "Staročeská literatura v hlaholském písemnictví charvátském", *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*, I; S. Ivšič, "Dosad nepoznati hrvatski glagoljski prijevodi iz staročeskoga jezika", *Slavia*, I (1922), 297ff. and VI (1927), 40ff.; J. Vašica, "Krakovské zlomky hlaholské", *Slavia*, XVIII (1947), 112ff.; M. Paulová, "L'idée cyrillo-méthodienne dans la politique de Charles IV et la fondation du monastère slave de Prague", *Byzantinoslavica*, XI (1950), 174ff.

IV. SOME IMPLICATIONS

1. *Linguistic propinquity favors diffusion.* 2. *Simultaneous nearness and distance.* 3. *Subjective inferences from objective premises.* 4. *Conclusion.*

1

Old Church Slavonic shaped its vocabulary, phraseology, style, and even some grammatical devices after the model of Greek. In standard Russian even now the effects of this patterning have remained so significant that a scholar and polyglot of the stature of Henri Grégoire can declare that it is sometimes easier to translate a passage of Leskov or Dostoevskij into Greek than into French or English. The Christian offshoot of Greek classical culture penetrated deeply into the Slavic world by means of Church Slavonic. It is characteristic that when in Bohemia (and already to some extent in Moravia) Latin rather than Greek originals were rendered into Old Church Slavonic, many of the Latin terms were Hellenized, Latin proper names were regularly remodeled in the Greek manner, certain Byzantine stylistic devices were smuggled in, and at times even Greek excerpts were inserted.

The Christian offshoot of the other classical culture, the medieval Latin tradition, was brought into Slavic language and literature through another channel, late medieval Czech. The enormous task of adapting the Slavic vernacular to western civilization and of fitting this culture into a Slavic framework was fulfilled and climaxed by the resplendent Czech literature of the fourteenth century and the Hussite Reformation. The transmission into Czech of the opulent cultural terminology of late medieval Latin, of its literary forms and its philosophical subtleties, was the great achievement of the Czech kingdom under Charles IV. Such masterpieces of the late fourteenth century as Klaret's extensive Latin-Czech terminological dictionary, the exquisite poem about Saint Catherine, and Tomáš of Štítný's faithful replica of the Scholastic philosophical system in the Czech vernacular are eloquent evidence of this.¹¹⁷ The Czech literary language and literature of the Luxemburg and Hussite periods were completely adopted by the Poles. Until the sixteenth century all forms of bilingualism were found in Polish cultivated circles, as modern Polish philologists have pointed out, from

¹¹⁷ See V. Flajšhans, *Klaret a jeho družina*, I-II (Prague, 1926); R. Jakobson, "O cestách k české poesii gotické", *Život*, XIV (1936) — cf. the English translation *infra*, pp. 691-695; *Legenda o sv. Kateřině*, ed. and commented on by J. Vilikovsky (Prague, 1941); D. Číževsky's statement on the lamentable meagerness of studies about Štítný (*Slavische Rundschau*, VIII, 15f.) is still pertinent.

the use of Czech as the language of culture and fine manners to the renowned Czech-Polish hybrid (“*gmatwanina dwujęzykowa*”) used by the elite in literature and conversation.

An interesting example is quoted by Lehr-Spławiński: Jan Małecki, the translator of Luther’s catechism (1547), in defending his translation, went so far as to declare, “No one ignorant of Czech can speak good Polish”, and he recommended that men of letters follow Czech models and use Czech terms. Małecki’s son, Hieronim, in a preface to his translation of Luther’s *Postil* (1574), justified his use of many Czech words by asserting that Czech and Polish are substantially “one and the same language”, and that the Czechs have a richer terminology and wider translating experience. The writer Łukasz Górnicki, in his famous book *Dworzanin polski* (1566), notes that Czech is the primary source from which a Polish gentleman draws words lacking in his mother tongue. The influence of Czech literature on the Poles starts with the wholesale importation and copying of Czech works, moves on to a slight adaptation to the local language and restructuring along Polish lines (*na polski lad*), and results in an imitation of Czech literary models in a language and style rich in variegated Bohemisms. This prolonged grafting process was, as Urbańczyk and other Polonists have demonstrated,¹¹⁸ of great consequence for the Polish literary language and verbal art. The Czech strain was still apparent in the work of the first prominent and original Polish poet, Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), and despite subsequent purist tendencies, considerable portions of this Czech import have remained an inalienable component of standard Polish. It may even be claimed that this lengthy Czech schooling of the Polish literary tongue and of the literature itself was an essential prerequisite for the appearance of such wonders as the poetry of Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584). Observing, on the other hand, the impoverishment of Czech poetry after its Gothic heights, one might cite Viktor Šklovskij’s ingenious pronouncement that the line of literary inheritance is from

¹¹⁸ On Czech-Polish linguistic relations, see: T. Lehr-Spławiński, K. Piwarski, and Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska Czechy* (Katowice-Wrocław, 1947); T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Język polski* (Warsaw, 1947); S. Urbańczyk, “Z dawnych stosunków językowych polsko-czeskich” = *Rozprawy Wydziału Filologicznego*, Polska Akad., LXVII, no. 2 (1946); A. Brückner, *Walka o język* (Lwów, 1917); B. Havránek, “Expanse spisovné češtiny od 14. do 16. století”, *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*, I (Prague, 1939); R. Jakobson, “Český vliv na středověkou literaturu polskou”, *ibid.* — cf. *infra*, pp. 773–781; and “Slezsko-polská cantilena inhonesta ze začátku XV. století”, *Národopisný věstník československý*, XXVII–XXVIII (1934–1935) — cf. the English translation *infra*, pp. 738–772; J. Hrabák, *Staropolský verš ve srovnání se staročeským* (= *Studie Pražského lingvistického kroužku*, I), and *Smilova škola* (Prague, 1941); W. Taszycki, “Czechizmy w języku Reja”, *Prace Filologiczne*, XII.

uncle to nephew, and thus view Polish sixteenth-century poetry as the continuation and culmination of old Czech poetry.

The westernization of Slavic literary languages gathers momentum and a new hybrid formation appears in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as Ukrainian literary activity and language undergo strong Polish influence. It is worthy of note that among the Polish elements which infiltrated into Ukrainian were many of Czech origin, since Polish loans to Ukrainian carried the same cultural function as had Czech loans to Polish. Again the same gamut is run: Ukrainian authors write in Polish; Ukrainian texts are translated from Polish, or rather somewhat adapted to the Ukrainian pattern; works are composed in Ukrainian, but with an upper stratum of Polonisms.¹¹⁹

The Russian recension of Church Slavonic which served as the literary language of Muscovy was, as we have mentioned, brought closer to the Kievan recension in the seventeenth century. A number of Polonisms, including many of Czech origin, came into Russian at that time, either through Ukrainian or directly from Polish. For Moscow's upper and progressive circles, Polish became the fashionable language, the vehicle of Western culture, especially toward the close of the century. According to Lazar Baranovič's testimony, the entourage of Czar Aleksej (1645–76) "did not shun the Polish language and enjoyed Polish literature". At that time Polonisms became so widespread in Russian, as V. Vinogradov points out, that the monk Avraamij complained of his compatriots who eschewed the homebred literary language in favor of Polish, exactly as Górnicki a century earlier had observed that his countrymen were avoiding their mother tongue, preferring Czech.¹²⁰

Ukrainian elements had started to infiltrate into standard Russian at the turn of the seventeenth century as vehicles of westernization and secularization. For example, the French-Russian vocabulary compiled in the Archangel region in 1584 renders "good night" as *dobra niche*. Boyer correctly interpreted *nič* as a Ukrainianism, whereas Larin is inclined to see here merely a slip of the pen.¹²¹ The same form turns up, however, in

¹¹⁹ A. Martel, *La langue polonaise dans les pays ruthènes* (Lille, 1938); D. Čiževsky, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, II (Prague, 1942); A. Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej*, II (Cracow, 1931).

¹²⁰ V. Vinogradov, *Očerki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka XVII–XIX vv.* (Leyden, 1949), p. 32f.; Cf. L. Bulaxovskij, "K istorii vzaimootnošenij slavjanskix literaturnyx jazykov", *Izvestija Otd. lit. i jaz. AN SSSR*, X (1951).

¹²¹ P. Boyer, "Un vocabulaire français-russe de la fin du XVI-me siècle", *Recueil de mémoires orientaux. Textes et traductions publiés par les professeurs de l'Ecole spéciale des langues orientales vivantes à l'occasion du XIV. Congrès International des orientalistes* (Paris, 1905), p. 461; B. Larin, "Parižskij slovar' russkogo jazyka 1586 goda", *Sovetskoe jazykoznanie*, II (1936), 87.

a manuscript textbook of colloquial Russian written in Pskov by a Lübeck German, Tönnies Fenne: *Dobra nitz*, “*Guden nacht*”¹²² In the same place, “*Guden dach*” is translated by a Ukrainian form, *Dobri den*, although except in this locution this adjective exhibits only the Great Russian ending *-oj*. Ukrainian secular greetings tend here to supplant the old Russian pious formulas *Pomozi Bog*, *Bog bljudi tebe*, etc., quoted on the same page.

After the Ukrainian-Russian union (1654), the influx of Ukrainian intellectuals into Russian cultural centers increased during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. According to Sumarokov, “all schools were overflowing with Little Russians, so that their provincial pronunciation took root, and the clergy in particular blindly imitated their incorrect speech”.¹²³ Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Russian literature too undergoes strong Ukrainization and thus, indirectly, Polonization. The equivalence of *i* (or *y*) and *ě* (*lixu* — *utěxu*, *jazyki* — *věki*) and of consonants followed by *i* and *y* (*kupiti* — *bity*, *kúdri* — *púdry*, *sily* — *prel'stili*) in the rhymes of such Russian poets as Simeon Polockij (1629–1680) and his pupil Sil'vestr Medvedev (1641–1691) is borrowed from Ukrainian poetic usage. It persists in the poetry of Kantemir (1709–1744), and isolated survivals (like *žizni* — *otčizny*) appear even in some eminent verses of the nineteenth century.¹²⁴ Polockij, a Byelorussian who came to Moscow already trained in the Ukrainian school, carried many Polish habits over into Russian poetry.¹²⁵ His lexicographic manual for translating Polish words into Church Slavonic, which the Swedish scholar J. G. Sparwenfelt took from Moscow to Uppsala in manuscript in the 1680's, symbolizes his cultural tendencies.

Avoidance of masculine rhymes, long observed in the Russian *virši*, was taken over by Polockij and his contemporaries from Ukrainian poetry, where versifiers had more or less confined themselves to feminine rhymes. In this they were following the Polish canon, valid until the early

¹²² See Tönnies Fenne's *Low German Manual of Spoken Russian, Pskov 1607*, eds. L. L. Hammerich, R. Jakobson, E. van Schooneveld, T. Starck, and Ad. Stender-Petersen (Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, 1961; vol. II, 1970).

¹²³ Cf. P. Žiteckij, “K istorii literaturnoj ruskoj reči v XVIII v.”, *Izvestija Otd. rus. jaz. i slov.*, VIII, kn. 2 (1903).

¹²⁴ Phonetically [-n'i -ny], phonemically /-n'i -ni/. — See V. Žirmunskij, *Rifma, ee istorija i teorija* (Petersburg, 1923), p. 132; V. Peretc, *Istoriko-literaturnye issledovanija i materialy*, I (SPb., 1900), 189, 266.

¹²⁵ See *Virši. Sillabičeskaja poezija XVII–XVIII vv.*, ed., with an introduction, I. Rozanov (Moscow, 1935); N. Glokke, “Rifmotvornaja Psaltyr' Simeona Polockogo v ee otnošenii k pol'skoj Psaltyri Jana Kochanowskogo”, *Izvestija Kievskogo universiteta* (1896), no. 4; I. Šljapkin, *Sv. Dimitrij Rostovskij i ego vremena* (SPb., 1891).

nineteenth century, which was based on the fact that in Polish all words (except monosyllables) stress the penult. Although this limitation in rhyming was accurately sensed as a Polonism unwarrantable in Russian and Ukrainian poetry, the rule persisted. Sometimes it even forced an arbitrary shift of the stress to the penult — compare Simeon's rhymes *ostávi—jávi* (< *jávi*), *tělo—zělo* (< *zěló*). Even Tred'jakovskij's pioneering treatise on Russian versification (1735) admits masculine rhymes only as an exception, for comic use; and only in such use do they appear, occasionally, in Tred'jakovskij's early verses.¹²⁶ It took Lomonosov's intervention, in his *Pis'mo o pravilax rossijskogo stixotvorstva* (1739), to put an end to the Polish prohibition of masculine rhymes, and this prompted Hryhoryj Skovoroda (1722–94) to a similar reform in Ukrainian verse some two decades later.¹²⁷

Among more recent examples, a similar grafting with linguistic and literary forms may be noted in the creation of a new Bulgarian literature during the second half of the nineteenth century, under the dominant influence of Russian models. Thousands of words from standard Russian entered literary Bulgarian.¹²⁸ Similarly the Czech lexical, phraseological, and stylistic pattern was important for modern Slovak literature.¹²⁹

All these inter-Slavic verbal diffusions transmit the two powerful civilizing currents: Greek, embodied in Church Slavonic, and Latin, first imbedded in Old Czech. The two streams may merge, as when Russian imparted a Church Slavonic strain to Bulgarian, endowing it at the same time with the contributions of the Western current. The total result is that most — or even all — Slavic literary languages have a number of common cultural terms. If, for instance, we leaf through Miklošič's dictionary of six Slavic languages,¹³⁰ we find many all-Slavic words: a part goes back to the Common Slavic stock, while the others are attributable to the Old Church Slavonic or, later, to Old Czech propagation. Such are the earlier loan-translations from Greek (e.g. the

¹²⁶ Vesná katit,
Zimú valit,
I už listik s drévom šumit.

¹²⁷ See Žirmunskij, *Rijma*, p. 30f.; D. Čiževsky, *Ukrajins'kyj literaturnyj barok*, II (Prague, 1941), 17ff., and "Skovorodas Reime", *ZfslPh*, XIV (1937) 331ff.; K. Wóycicki, *Forma dźwiękowa prozy polskiej i wiersza polskiego* (Warsaw, 1912), p. 127f.

¹²⁸ I. Šišmanov, "Načeenki ot rusko vlijanie v bŭlgarskata knižnina", *Bŭlgarski pregled*, V (1899); B. Penev, "Pŕvi stixotvorci" = Chap. XXIII, *Istorija na novata bŭlgarska literatura*, III (Sofia, 1933); B. Conev, "Rusko-bŭlgarski paraleli", *Slavjanski glas*, I (1902).

¹²⁹ Cf. R. Jakobson, "L'histoire du tchèque et du slovaque littéraires", *Le Monde Slave*, IV (1937), 363ff.

¹³⁰ F. Miklošič, *Dictionnaire des six langues slaves* (Vienna, 1885).

Old Church Slavonic *prorokъ* ‘prophet’ and its replicas in all South, West, and East Slavic languages) and the somewhat later loan-translations from Western models (Old Czech *předmět* ‘object’, *právo* ‘right’ were reproduced by nearly all the literary languages of the Slavs). What has been said about this twofold lexical radiation can be extended, *mutatis mutandis*, to the diffusion of literary forms.

2

The mutual propinquity of the diverse Slavic languages substantially facilitates linguistic, and hence cultural, intercourse — learning, translating, borrowing. The formation of hybrid structures has played a vast part in the history of Slavic languages and literatures, both on a social and individual level. Gogol’, whose Russian was notoriously incorrect, became the founder of classical Russian prose and an immortal teacher of Russian artistic style; whereas in the Ukrainian translations of his work, the fascinating tension between the two linguistic layers is lost and the artistry collapses. Maksim Bagdanovič (1891–1917), whose mother tongue was Russian, was the initiator and has remained the leading master of Byelorussian poetry, endowing it with his Russian linguistic and literary experience.

When confronted with another Slavic language, a Slav is primarily aware of the common essence, and he either underestimates the differences and reinterprets the cognate tongue egocentrically, or he perceives the divergences and is attracted or repulsed by them. Let us, to take two of the most distant Slavic languages, recite to a Czech who knows no Russian, the first sentence of Puškin’s *Bronze Horseman*: *Na beregú pustýnnyx vóln Stojál on, dúm velikix póln, i vdál’ gljaděl*. He will easily transpose them into Czech, word for word: *Na břehu pustých vln stál on, dum velikých pln, i v dál hleděl*.¹³¹ The Russian vocables will appear to him to be, in a way, alternants of his own: *beregú — břehu, vóln — vln, stojál — stál*, etc. Similarly, when a Russian reads the initial lines of Mácha’s *Máj* (*Byl pozdní večer — první máj — Večerní máj — byl lásky čas. Hrdliččin zval ku lásce hlas —*), he will, without particular difficulty, slavishly substitute the Russian alternants: *Býl pózdnij večer — pėrvyj máj — Večėrnij máj — býl láski čas. Górlėcyn zvál k láske glás (or gólos)*. Of course *láski čas* in Russian means ‘the hour of caress’, while in Czech *lásky čas* denotes ‘the time of love’, so that an “etymological”

¹³¹ B. Mathesius translates:

Na břehu pustých vod ON stál —
Dum velkých pln — a hleděl v dál.

translation causes a semantic shift, lending a peculiar tinge to the usual vernal image; but even for the Russian who knows that *lásky čas* should be rendered by *ljubvi porá*, the connotation 'hour of caress' remains valid, because of the obvious etymological equivalence of the Czech and Russian words.¹³²

There must be both an actual distance to render such shifts feasible, and at the same time a manifest nearness in order to make them perceptible. Before the last World War, Boris Pasternak stated that at a moment when his artistic past had begun to weigh heavily upon him, and yet at the same time he knew that any further creativeness was ineluctably bound to it, he came upon the Czech translation of his prose and poems. Through it his own past assumed a surprisingly new, yet kindred, shape, and he found in this transfigured past a new impetus to resume his creative path.

3

The linguistic kinship of the Slavs in its various facets has continued to prove an important factor in the literary life and interrelations of the Slavic peoples. The speech criterion is the only indispensable, objective sign of Slavdom. In the prologue to his renowned poem, *Slávy Dcera* (1824), Jan Kollár, the outstanding Czechoslovak advocate of Slavic reciprocity, declares that he fancies he sees Slavic kinsmen (*zrak mu lže Slovana*), but once he hears a strange language from their lips and their mother tongue is mute, the kinship disappears. Only Slavic-speaking people are Slavs, or to be more exact, only people determined to speak Slavic. The author of a Polabian vocabulary, Pastor Hennig (1649–1719), wrote about his Polabian parishioners: "At present only a few old men here speak Wendish [Slavic]; and they can scarcely do so with their children and other young people, as they would be laughed at for it: the youth has such a revulsion toward their mother tongue that they don't even want to hear it, much less learn it. Thus unquestionably in at most twenty to thirty years, when the older people are gone, the language also will disappear."¹³³ The theme of the loss of the mother tongue by the Polabian and Baltic Slavs, a warning to the rest of the Slavs to cherish their language, has been treated variously, since Kollár,

¹³² Cf. G. Maver, "Lo studio delle traduzioni come mezzo d'indagine linguistica e letteraria", *Recueil des Travaux du I^{er} Congrès des philologues slaves à Praha en 1929*, II (Prague, 1932), 177–84.

¹³³ P. Rost, *Die Sprachreste der Draväno-Polaben im Hannöverschen* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 10.

in Czech and other Slavic poetry. It goes much farther back than Kollár, however — to the leading writers of the Czech Enlightenment (F. M. Pelcl, 1775), Counter-Reformation (Balbín, 1673), and Reformation (P. Stránský, 1618, and P. Ješín, 1620), and to the Hussite propaganda leaflets of 1420 and 1438, which accused the Germans of having denationalized “our tongue” in Lusatia and beyond, “and of threatening us with a like fate”.¹³⁴

In human speech Ferdinand de Saussure has discovered two ever-active factors — a particularistic drive or “parochial spirit” on the one hand, and a unifying “force of intercourse” on the other.¹³⁵ It is of great historical importance on which of these two opposed stimuli the attention of the speech community is focused. Clearly such a fact as the emphasis on linguistic solidarity, recurrent in Slavic literatures from the early Middle Ages to our own time, cannot be disregarded. The linguistic homogeneity among the Slavs, repeatedly noted by foreign observers throughout the Middle Ages,¹³⁶ was rigorously affirmed by Slavic writers from the time of the Russian Primary Chronicle, with its insistence on the linguistic unity of the Slavic world, and the legends of the Czech and Polish medieval chronicles about the eponymous Slavic forefathers, with additional remarks on the immense territory covered by their descendants (e.g. in Přebík Pulkava’s compilation of 1374). *Eiusdem nobilis slavici idiomatis participatio, eiusdem generosae linguae sublimitas* appears as a weighty diplomatic argument in a letter (1355) in which Charles IV seeks to win the Serbian King Dušan the Strong over to the Union of the Churches. Apparently from the Emperor’s favorite Emmaus Monastery came the alleged *Privilegium* of Alexander the Great, launched in the early fifteenth century by Hussite propaganda, which assigns forever to the Slavic and Czech tongue a vast area, *ab Aquilone ad Meridiem*. At the same time, Jerome of Prague was teaching the Poles that all Slavic lands, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia, Albania, Dalmatia, and Croatia were united by the *Bohemorum lingua*. Similarly, the abbot of the Emmaus Monastery, Matouš Benešovský, declared, in the first attempt at a Slavic etymologi-

¹³⁴ The Manifesto of 1420 is reproduced in *Archiv Český*, III, 213, and the pamphlet of 1437, “Krátké sebrání z kronik českých k výstraze věrných Čechův”, in *Věstník Král. České spol. nauk* (1904), III.

¹³⁵ F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, ch. IV, §1.

¹³⁶ *Vita Karoli Imperatoris ab Einhardo dictata* (between 814 and 821), ed. H. W. Garrod and R. B. Mowat (Oxford, 1915): “lingua quidem paene similes, moribus vero atque habitu valde dissimiles” (Ch. 15). *Anonymi Descriptio Europae orientalis anno MCCCVIII exarata*, ed. O. Gôrka (Cracow, 1916): “Notandum autem hic quod ruchenii, bulgari, rasenses, sclauoi, bohemii, poloni et pruzeni locuntur unam et eandem linguam scilicet sclauonicam, ex quo patet quod lingua slavica maior est et diffusior omnibus mundi”.

cal dictionary (1587),¹³⁷ that “the Czech language has its place not only in the Czech land but in more than one hundred lands in which our Slavic language is spoken”, and appended a long list of West, East, and South Slavic provinces. This identification of all Slavic vernaculars as variants of one and the same Slavic language, designated by the name of the author’s own native tongue, has been a recurrent feature in various Slavic literatures for centuries.¹³⁸

Among Czech humanists, Veleslavin (1590) considers it opportune for Czechs to know that the Slavic language covers nearly half of Europe and Asia, while Melantrich (1562) visualizes Czech books as destined not only for Czechs but for all peoples “who use our noble and widespread Slavic tongue”. Similar slogans are propagated with particular persistence in Poland: in Kochanowski’s verses — *Bo od zmarzłego morza po brzeg Adriański, Wszystko był opanował cny naród Słowiański* (“Omen”); in M. Bielski’s prose — *wszędzie Słowiański język, począwszy od morza lodowatego *** aż do morza Weneckiego ktore zowiemy Adriaticum* (1551); in the Latin formulations of the Calvinist historian Stanisław Sarnicki, to whom all Slavic peoples are *unius linguae nationes*, spread *ab Oceano glaciali *** ad mare usque Adriaticum* (1587); and in many other writings of the Polish sixteenth century (e.g., S. Orzechowski, Gwagnin).

There is, moreover, the leitmotif of the so-called humanist and later baroque Slavism in the South.¹³⁹ The Slovenian writers, Sigmund Herberstein (1549) and Adam Bohorič (1584), point out the close affinity and vast extent of the Slavic languages. These are again described as stretching *a mari Adriatico in Asiam ad incognita septentrionis usque littora* by the outstanding Croatian lexicographer, Vrančić (1595), and, in the seventeenth century and later by M. Orbini, B. Kašić, Marin Držić, Pastrić, I. Đorđić, I. Lučić, N. Bunić, J. V. Valvasor, P. R. Vitezović and others. Junije Palmotić (1606–57) of the Dubrovnik school seconds the lines of Kochanowski we have quoted: *Slovinski jezik, koji Od Adrije mora redom Svu koliku zemlju svoji Do pučine mrazne ledom* (*Christijada*). The same keynotes are sounded, with impressive perseverance, by numerous Czech and Slovak writers of the baroque epoch, from T. Pešina z Čechorodu (1663), M. B. Bolelucky (1668), J. V.

¹³⁷ *Knížka slov českých, odkud svůj počátek mají a jaký jejich jest rozum.*

¹³⁸ See Weingart, *Slovanská vzájemnost* (Bratislava, 1926); *Slovanství v českém národním životě* (Brno, 1947); T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja — Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w.* (Cracow, 1950).

¹³⁹ See particularly R. Brtáň, *Barokový slavizmus*, Lipt. Sv. Mikuláš (1939).

Rosa (1672), B. Balbín (1673), D. S. Hořička (1678), J. Fischer (1697), A. Frozín (1704) and D. Krman (1704) to the first manifestations of the Czechoslovak Awakening at the turn of the nineteenth century. If the Slovak Jesuit M. Szentiványj (1695) preached that *nullum magis idioma per orbem diffusum sit*, the spokesman of the Protestant Slovaks, J. Palkovič (1803), echoes that *nullius omnino linguae tam late patet, quam Slavicae, quippe eius, quae ipsa latissime diffusa est*. His countryman Jan Hrdlička (1786) is aware that there are differences in the speech of various Slavic peoples and that they may impede mutual understanding, but he believes that with enough attentiveness a Slav can travel from South to North and communicate with all the Slavic peoples.¹⁴⁰

The tenacity and uniformity of this centuries-old attitude throughout all the Slavic regions is amazing. The traditional pattern is manifest in the Slavophile verses of Stanisław Trembecki (1735–1812)¹⁴¹ and in the notice of the great Polish philologist, Samuel Linde (1807): “From Kamčatka to the Elbe and from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic shore there extends one and the same language, although it branches off into many diverse speech variants”.¹⁴² The same “monoglot”, geographic emphasis runs through the precepts of František Palacký (1798–1876), the foremost Czech historian and ideologist of the last century: “Our native land is wherever resounds our tongue, the Slavic language, and thus it is not only between the Giant Sudetes and the Bohemian Forest but also between the Tatra and Balkan Mountains, the Caucasus and the Urals”. Or, according to Janko Kral’ (1847), *Od Labe až do Kamčatky, z Kamčatky do Ameriky*. Or in the terms of Tjutčev’s “Russian Geography”, *Ot Nila do Nevý, ot Ěl’by do Kitája — Ot Vólgi po Evfrát, ot Gánga do Dunája*, where both the hyperbole (definition of the borders) and the *pars pro toto* (Russian for Slavic) belong to the traditional imagery.

As Frank Wollman sagaciously indicates, “baroque Slavism” not only can be shown to be an ancestor of Czechoslovak Kollárisism and the Illyrian movement in the South Slavic world, but its first and direct heir is the Slavic messianism professed in the circles close to the Polish Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk in Warsaw (Woronicz, Brodziński, Staszic, Linde, and others) and later reflected both in Mickiewicz’s views

¹⁴⁰ See A. Pražák, *Národ se bránil* (Prague, 1945).

¹⁴¹ C. Backvis, *Un grand poète polonais du XVIII^e siècle, Stanislas Trembecki* (Paris, 1937), ch. VI: “Le slavophilisme polonais”.

¹⁴² R. Brtáň, *Barokový slavizmus*, p. 146.

and in Russian Slavophilism.¹⁴³ Kollár's idea of "Slavic reciprocity" (*vzájemnost*) is inspired by this Polish trend, as is the term itself, borrowed (1830) from Linde's *wzajemność*. Throughout the nineteenth century, literary traditions and mutual influences nourished the Slavic currents in the cultural ideology of diverse peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. For instance, Gaj's Illyrism is, in Wollman's convincing presentation, bound not only to the appeal of Kollár's ideas, but primarily to the South Slavic literary legacy of the three preceding centuries with its emphasis on a united and Slavic Illyricum. In tracing this tradition back, we may recall that the ever-Slavic Illyricum was a prominent Cyrillo-Methodian slogan, which found its way through a late ninth-century Moravian source into the Russian Primary Chronicle.¹⁴⁴

If the South Slavic languages were mere variants of one tongue, as Illyrism held, the problem arose of raising one to the position of standard "Illyrian", an aim partly achieved by the common Serbo-Croatian literary language. Another inference, the "Illyrian" political unification, was realized on a larger scale by unifying all the South Slavs, except the Bulgarians.

Nikon's Ukrainization of the Muscovite literary language disarmed Ukrainian linguistic separatism for a long time. In this case, the international character of Church Slavonic favored Nikon's compromise, whereas the endeavors of Slovak and Moravian intellectuals in the early nineteenth century to adapt standard Czech to Slovak habits failed. Czechoslovak unity, although defended by generations of Slovak and Czech writers, was not realized on the cultural level.

Czech-Polish solidarity as a corollary of linguistic identity or close kinship has been advocated in the writings of both peoples again and again since the pact concluded by Přemysl Otakar II with Bolesław the Shy in 1277. A few years earlier the so-called Manifesto of Přemysl Otakar had bulwarked the appeal to the Poles for a military alliance with

¹⁴³ Cf. F. Wollman, "Duch a celistvost slovanské slovesnosti", *Obrisy Slovanstva*, ed. A. St. Mágr and Wollman (Prague, 1948) and "Slovanská myšlenka od Dobrovského a Kollára k Masarykovi", *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu*, II (Prague, 1940); *Slovanská vzájemnost 1836–1936*, Slovanský Ústav (Prague, 1938); J. Ujejski, *Dzieje polskiego mesjanizmu do powstania listopadowego włącznie* (Lwów, 1931); Z. Klarnerówna, "Słowianofilstwo w literaturze polskiej lat 1800 do 1848", *Studia z zakresu historii literatury polskiej*, IV (Warsaw, 1926); M. Murko, "O předchůdcích illyrismu", *Nové Atheneum*, II (1921); P. Kulakovskij, *Illirizm* (Warsaw, 1894); J. Pogonowski, *Iliryzm i słowiańszczyzna* (Lwów, 1924).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. F. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de St. Constantin et Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), ch. VII; and R. Jakobson, "Český podíl", p. 16 — cf. the English translation *infra*, p. 143.

the following argument: "By the same tongue, adjoining frontiers, consanguinity, is your people linked to ours. Your sons and we are of the same origin."¹⁴⁵ Among the Polish elite in the fifteenth century it was repeatedly asserted that *Polonis et Bohemis unam esse linguam*, and in succeeding centuries, writers of both nations held that they spoke the same language with but slight variations. No unification has been achieved, however, on either a cultural or political level.

On the all-Slavic scale, the traditional statements of linguistic unity were at times accompanied by proposals either for employing one of the Slavic languages (e.g. Russian, as Comenius suggested) for inter-Slavic cultural intercourse, or for creating a *lingua communis*. J. Križanić (1618–83) tried the latter, and was followed, in the eighteenth century, by the Slovene B. Kumezdej (1738–1805) and in the early nineteenth century by the Croat J. Voltiggi and the Slovak J. Herkel, who aimed for *Unio in Litteratura inter omnes Slavos, sive verus Panславismus*.¹⁴⁶ Political inferences, too, were frequently drawn by poets like Gundulić (1588–1633) — more eloquently, one must add, than by scholars. As the Pole Baudouin de Courtenay, world pioneer in modern linguistics, soberly stated, the linguistic unity of the Slavic world "generates a sense of kinship from which rises a feeling of tribal brotherhood and the recognition by writers and thinkers of a common origin and ethnic solidarity".¹⁴⁷ Similar deductions made on the basis of the common patrimony of two or more Slavic languages and subsequent political conclusions based on them can be traced through the long continuity of Slavic literatures. In dealing with the literary output of the diverse Slavic peoples from the Middle Ages to our own day, the student of comparative Slavic literature must take due consideration of these subjective responses to the objective patrimony, even though this self-determination may be voiced only intermittently, and regardless of his own personal agreement or disagreement with these responses.

4

The objection applied to comparative Slavic grammar in its early stages — "It would be comparative only insofar as the bookbinder fastened

¹⁴⁵ A. Petrov, *Genrixa Ital'janca sbornik form pisem i gramot iz kanceljarii Ottokara II Premysla, kak istoričeskij istočnik* (SPb., 1906–7), I, 63–5; II, 84–9.

¹⁴⁶ Jose Voltiggi, *Ricoslovník (Vocabolario-Wörterbuch) Illirickoga, Italienskoga i Nimačskoga jezika* (Vienna, 1803); Ján Herkel, *Elementa universalis linguae slavicae e vivis dialectis eruta et sanis logicae principiis suffulta* (Budapest, 1826). Cf. V. Clementis, *Slováci a Slovanstvo* (London, 1944).

¹⁴⁷ J. Baudouin de Courtenay, "Czy istnieje osobna kultura słowiańska?" *Przegląd Warszawski*, V, 223–6.

diverse Slavic languages together”¹⁴⁸ — is more suited to the first attempts in comparative Slavic literature. Here the literatures of the individual peoples “are boxed one in the other” (*ineinander geschachtelt sind*), in Brückner’s witty terms. The maxim that each autonomous field of research demands its own “hero” must be applied also to comparative Slavic literature. Its hero is the Common Slavic patrimony and its effects on all Slavic literatures. There are several aspects:

— The imprint of the Common Slavic linguistic heritage and of its further modifications — convergent as well as divergent — on the verbal form of the various Slavic literatures; common formal devices due to these linguistic prerequisites, especially similarities and differences in the adaptation by Slavic literatures of international artistic styles.

— The Common Slavic poetic forms inherited and modified by the oral traditions of the various Slavic peoples.

— The Common Slavic written literature and its relevance for the further development of Slavic literatures and literary languages.

— The implications of these three common patrimonies (1. the close and still palpable kinship of the Slavic languages, 2. the Common Slavic oral tradition and 3. the Old Church Slavonic language and literature); the inter-Slavic diffusion of literary languages and literatures and two underlying forces of this diffusion — Greek and Latin cultures; the pertinent role of hybrid formations in the history of Slavic literary languages and literatures; tendencies toward inter-Slavic and Pan-Slavic integration in Slavic literatures since the early Middle Ages and reactions against such proclivities.

Comparative Slavic grammar cannot replace the grammar of individual Slavic languages, but the former is a suitable frame for the latter. The relation between comparative Slavic literature and the history of single Slavic literatures is similar. The comparative method gives a retrospect of Slavic oral traditions which in turn permits an insight into an even more remote past. In place of the usual artificial regional dismemberment of early medieval Slavic literature, a more integral view is obtained. Finally, the relation between form and verbal material can be more completely and consistently elucidated. The adversaries of comparative Slavic literature have refused to see the forest for the trees: it would be equally unjust to neglect the individuality of the trees in the name of the whole forest. Both problems, in this instance the individual Slavic literatures and the Common Slavic patrimony, must be studied in close interrelation.

We follow Aleksander Brückner, the eminent Polish Slavist, in his wise

¹⁴⁸ *Listy filologické*, XXI (1904), 442.

warning that *völlig Disparates lässt sich eben nicht vergleichen*. The close linguistic affinity, with its manifold corollaries, offers a reliable point of comparison, and we would neither neglect it in favor of a sterile agnosticism nor replace this objective criterion by such imaginary signs of Slavic community as the “propensity for ethical realism” which some Czech champions of Comparative Literature have chosen to consider “the paramount trait of the Slavic character”. Without giving the various controversial definitions of realism,¹⁴⁹ we submit that each one is applicable only to a part of Slavic writers and literary schools and, on the other hand, can apply equally well to many individuals and schools which have nothing to do with the Slavs. Whatever our definition of realism may be, it remains obvious that the Czech literary trend bearing this name, and all other currents in the nineteenth century which could somehow be called “realist”, belong to the weakest products of Czech literature — a literature most brilliant in the movements which deliberately surmount and transform reality, as do Gothic and baroque poetry and, later, romanticism and modernism. By this standard, Russian literature would be almost exclusively confined to the nineteenth century, for it is vain to look for realism in Russian letters or icons from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries or in present-day Russia, as Eremin, the keenest Soviet Russian student in this field, recently stated.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, since the revisionistic essays on Gogol’, the alleged founder of the Russian Realist School,¹⁵¹ justifiable doubts have arisen whether the label “realist” may be applied unreservedly even to the Russian nineteenth century.

Should we then, with Jiří Horák,¹⁵² accept as the “highest representatives of Slavic literatures” only those who were in his opinion “ethical realists”, that is, those who “by their art influenced the moral, religious and national-political views of their time”? If so, the Slavic

¹⁴⁹ Cf. R. Jakobson, “O xudožestvennom realizme”, *Selected Writings*, III: “Poetry of Grammar and Grammar of Poetry” (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1981), p. 723ff.

¹⁵⁰ I. Eremin, *Povest' vremennyx let* (Leningrad, 1947), p. 91f.

¹⁵¹ D. Merežkovskij, *Gogol' i čort* (Moscow, 1906); I. Annenskij, *Kniga otrazhenij* (SPb., 1906); V. Brjusov, *Ispepeleennyj* (Moscow, 1909); A. Belyj, *Lug zelenyj* (Moscow, 1910), and *Masterstvo Gogolja* (Leningrad, 1934); B. Eichenbaum, “Kak sdelana ‘Šinel’”, *Poëtika*, I-II (Petrograd, 1919) — cf. the English translation in *Dostoevsky and Gogol: Texts and Criticism*, ed. P. Meyer and S. Rudy (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Ardis, 1979), pp. 119ff.; D. Čiževsky, “Zur Komposition von Gogol's ‘Mantel’”, *ZfslPh.*, XIV (1937) — cf. the English translation in the above-cited anthology, pp. 137ff., and “Neizvestnyj Gogol’”, *Novyj Žurnal*, XXVII (1951); V. Nabokov, *Nikolai Gogol* (Norfolk, Conn., 1944).

¹⁵² J. Horák, “Problémy ...” (see note 1 to §1, above). A still more arbitrary attempt to define the common denominator of Slavic literature (F. Wollman, “Duch a celistvost”, p. 221f.) says it is “usually tendentious; it serves life, defending it and its national and social development as well. *L'art pour l'art* occurs [here] only seldom and restrictedly.”

literary pantheon would undergo a thorough “purge”, while, at the same time, numerous foreign authors would virtually become Slavic. Therefore for us the problem of Slavic realism, apart from the question of diffusion,¹⁵³ makes sense only in terms of the interaction of international “realist” poetics and Slavic verbal material. For example, there was a literary tendency to draw closer to popular speech. Bulaxovskij, in discussing the gradual liberation of the syntax, especially the word order, in different Slavic literatures from various foreign features, observed: “The reversion to native deposits in syntactic construction drew Slavic literary languages closer to popular forms of expression *** and proved to be a spontaneous means of mutually attracting the Slavic languages. *** Returned to its native pattern, the sentence in Slavic literary languages actually proved to be, in its structural peculiarities, close to the forms of expression common, if not to all, at least to the majority of Slavs.”¹⁵⁴

Since the expressions “Slavs” and “people with a Slavic mother tongue” are synonymous, the primary Slavic property to be explored is language and all that it implies: in other words, verbal behavior, particularly the most self-focused verbal behavior — verbal art. As Edward Sapir said, “the literature fashioned out of the form and substance of a language has the color and texture of its matrix”.¹⁵⁵

Written in Cambridge, Mass. and Hunter, N.Y., 1950–51, and first published in *Harvard Slavic Studies*, I (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 1–71.

¹⁵³ See, e.g., J. Heidenreich, *Ruské základy srbského realismu* (Prague, 1933).

¹⁵⁴ L. Bulaxovskij, “K istorii vzaimootnošenij slavjanskix literaturnyx jazykov”, *Izv. AN SSSR, Otd. lit. i jaz.*, X (1951), 47.

¹⁵⁵ E. Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1939), p. 237.

SLAVISM AS A TOPIC OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES

I. AIMS OF COMPARATIVE SLAVIC LINGUISTICS

“Slavic Studies” — the very expression implies their comparative aspect and raises the question: what enables us to refer to Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Lusatian Sorbs, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Russians by the single all-encompassing term, the “Slavic” peoples? What is their common denominator?

It is indisputable that the *Slavic* peoples are to be defined basically as Slavic-speaking peoples. If speech is the point of departure, the problem becomes primarily a linguistic one. Since the pioneering work of the Czech Abbé Dobrovský (1753–1829), comparative linguistics has proved the existence of a common ancestral language for all the living Slavic languages and has largely reconstructed the sound pattern, grammatical framework and lexical stock of this Common (or Primitive) Slavic language. The problem of where and by whom this Common Slavic language was spoken is being gradually solved by persistent efforts to synchronize the findings of comparative linguistics, toponymy, and archaeology. The archaeologists' data are like a motion picture without its sound track, whereas the linguists have the sound track without the film. Thus, interdepartmental teamwork becomes indispensable.

Before the dissolution of Common Slavic into separate Slavic tongues, it had passed through a long evolution. This Slavic linguistic prehistory, covering at least two millenniums, can to a certain extent be traced: the comparative study of Slavic languages reveals the relative chronology of some Common Slavic phonological and grammatical changes; and, moreover, a few of them may be dated by the evidence of lexical borrowings from and by Common Slavic. As the late Meillet, the great French linguist, repeatedly stressed, comparative historical studies must surmount, once and for all, the traditional over-simplified approach which postulated an original unity and subsequent differentiation. In reality, the two forces, centripetal and centrifugal, may also work in reverse order and bring about a secondary unification, or act simul-

taneously with the result that a group of dialects undergoes divergent developments in one respect and convergent developments in another. When this concept was applied to the Slavic field, mainly by Trubetzkoy and Durnovo, it became evident that up to the beginning of our millennium, dialectal differentiation within Common Slavic did not impede the diffusion of certain innovations throughout the whole Slavic territory. It would be incorrect, therefore, to project the dissolution of Common Slavic to a more remote date.

With the gradual development and expansion of comparative linguistics, the comparative method can no longer limit itself to the problems of the ancestral language and stop at the stage of its dissolution. The question of elements of unity and differentiation is extended to include the period of independent Slavic languages that followed the dissolution of Common Slavic. The investigation is faced with new tasks: what part of the common patrimony was preserved by all the Slavic languages and, on the other hand, what convergent or divergent innovations did they undergo in their separate histories? Are convergent innovations predetermined by similar premises of the common patrimony, or are they induced by the geographical propinquity of any two given Slavic languages? Verbal behavior on its various levels is conceived by the modern science of language as a continuous tension between two opposite tendencies: integration, conformism, solidarity on the one hand, and differentiation, particularism, individualization on the other. Both these movements in their interaction require probing study.

The modern inquiry is not confined to the genetic, or as the linguists say, the *diachronic* aspect of language. What does the notion of Slavic-speaking peoples mean from the *synchronic* vantage point? Any exchange of verbal messages requires a common code between the addresser and the addressee. The degree of communality may vary. People belonging to the same circle, social group, locality, share the most homogeneous linguistic code. Verbal intercourse between speakers of different dialects is less fluid in proportion as the difference between the two codes in sounds, forms and vocables increases. Confusion ensues when speech communities involved in verbal intercourse use, not two dialects of one and the same language, but two different languages, although cognate and similar. If a Dane, Norwegian and Swede, inexperienced in inter-Scandinavian relations, meet and converse, they are at first strongly handicapped by considerable differences in sounds, forms and vocabulary. For such a listener these differences represent what communication engineers call "semantic noise". After some training, however, the listener learns the main differences and, in order

to grasp what is being said, performs what the engineers have aptly labeled "code switchings".

This important phenomenon of verbal behavior, most carefully studied in the Scandinavian field, is of equal importance in Slavic intercommunication. "Mountain", in Czech, is *hora*, with initial stress, and *gará*, with final stress, in spoken Russian. After a brief experience in code switching, a Czech listener learns to substitute *h* for the Russian's *g*, an initial stress for the Russian final accent, and, consciously or subconsciously, realizes that the Russian unstressed *a* corresponds to both *a* and *o* in Czech. The code switching, which in general plays a considerable role in human verbal relations, becomes decisive in such inter-lingual communications as between diverse Scandinavian or Slavic speakers. Thus, Scandinavian or Slavic in its synchronic aspect is a code with numerous variables. The "Czechoslovak language" of the Constitution of the first Czechoslovak Republic was a legally recognized example of such a mobile code with two variants — Czech and Slovak.

II. COMPARATIVE SLAVIC LITERATURE

Since verbal behavior is the basic element of Slavic communality, verbal art, as the most self-focused verbal behavior, is a pivotal component of comparative Slavic studies. I have tried to outline the most essential aspects of this problem in two recently published essays.¹ In the various Slavic literatures the impact of the partly similar, partly different verbal material on poetic form produces, correspondingly, partly convergent, partly divergent results. These convergences and divergences constitute very favorable material for comparative investigation. The observer is struck by similar responses of the different Slavic languages to cognate formal problems, for instance, by the remarkable structural similarities in the Romantic poetry of different Slavic peoples. The free inter-Slavic diffusion of poetic devices is a by-product of this communality.

Furthermore, the folklore of the Slavic peoples, in spite of innovations and borrowings from outside, reveals great conservatism and enables us to ascertain the Common Slavic prototype of present poetic forms, the meters in particular. We are thus able to reconstruct four Common Slavic recitative meters — the long and short variety of epic on the one hand and of elegiac verse on the other. Just as revealing are the structural similarities between the ritual songs of different Slavic peoples; the

¹ See "The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature", *supra*, pp. 1-64, and "Slavic Epic Verse", *Selected Writings*, IV (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1966), 414-463.

rhythmical pattern of the spoken verse, in its turn, hints at a Common Slavic patrimony. Poetic forms, inherited by the lore of Southern, Eastern and Western Slavs from the Common Slavic oral tradition, kept penetrating into their written literatures and affecting their development. A comparative study of three Slavic literatures, Slovak, Ukrainian and Bulgarian — all three of which emerged in the last century without any vital ties with the local literary past — discloses a striking similarity in poetic forms. This similarity is due to the orientation toward the native oral traditions which in all three cases stem from the same common roots.

III. CHURCH SLAVONIC TRADITION

Besides the oral tradition, another powerful factor — the Common Slavic written tradition — comes to the fore — an increasingly fruitful field for the student of Slavdom. The first Slavonic literary language, labeled by philologists Old Church Slavonic, was fashioned by the eminent Byzantine scholar and professor in the University of Constantinople, Constantine the Philosopher, or according to his later, monastic name, Cyril (827–869), and by his elder brother Methodius for their missionary work in Moravia and the adjacent regions. From the end of the ninth century until the First Crusade, Old Church Slavonic gradually embraced all the Christianized Slavic lands. In Bulgaria, Serbia and Kievan Russia, it was the sole language of the Liturgy and of hieratic literature, while in the West Slavic lands and in Croatia it was the peer of Latin, a position it soon lost in the Slovenian region. The differences in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary between the diverse Slavic dialects of that epoch were negligible, and a uniform standard language, with only slight local variations, easily expanded. Literary works in this language migrated freely throughout the area where it was used, and its integrating features prevailed against regional particularities. Although later historical developments reduced the Church Slavonic area, the progressing vernacular differentiation would have destroyed the unity of this literary and liturgic tongue were it not for the persistent efforts made toward reunification and literary intercourse.

In the Slavic East, Church Slavonic was preserved in the Divine Service, but the gradual secularization of literature brought about either a partial rapprochement of the literary language and the vernacular, as in the case of Russian, or a complete vernacularization of the literary language, of which Ukrainian is a striking example. The Russian, and to

some extent the modern Bulgarian literary language and literature, retain a considerable Church Slavonic imprint. The Russian attitude towards the Church Slavonic heritage is comparable to the role of Danish elements in Norwegian *Riksmaal*, while the recent — mainly nineteenth century — tendency of Serbian and especially Ukrainian to discard the Church Slavonic verbal tradition, may be compared to the rejection of the Danish model by *Landsmaal*, another variety of standard Norwegian. Identical literary trends governed both these shifts.

In the Slavic West, Church Slavonic has been confined to ecclesiastical use in a small — and diminishing — section of Croatia, with temporary radiation into a few Czech and Polish monasteries. But the legacy of the Slavic Apostles is by no means limited to the Church Slavonic language and literature. Their emphasis upon the equality of languages and peoples, upon the *sacred* rights and duties of the national language and its unifying power remained a vital impulse especially in those countries where Church Slavonic was supplanted by Latin. In this connection the early and intensive development of Czech vernacular literature and national ideology is indeed most eloquent. The study of verbal behavior includes not only speech, not only language as it is used by the speech community, but also the attitude of the speakers to their own language, to other languages with which they come in contact, and to language in general. The development of a language and of the society integrated by it may largely depend upon such attitudes.

IV. SOME IMPEDIMENTS TO SLAVIC STUDIES

The scope of comparative Slavic studies has greatly broadened and new, responsible tasks face the investigator. They can scarcely be accomplished in countries dominated by totalitarian doctrines, where scholarship is biased and where discussion is not permitted. Slavic studies are not possible under a racial obscurantism that treats the Slavs as inferior nations, nor can this inquiry be achieved under a Stalinist dogma. The structural approach to languages and to their mutual relations, which forms the natural basis of comparative Slavic studies, is decried there as “the most refined among the pernicious tools of Western imperialists”. A device as indispensable to the study of comparative Slavic literature as formal analysis is strictly prohibited. The vital problem of diffusion, particularly the so-called “unproductive search for foreign sources” has been banished from Soviet scholarship, which during the post-war years has insisted ever more dogmatically on the absolute self-sufficiency of

Russian culture. Hence, studies on early Russian paganism or oral poetry ignore their Common Slavic sources, and Soviet histories of Russian Christian culture conceal its Moravian, Bohemian and Bulgarian models. Even the Glagolitic alphabet, created by St. Cyril, has been proclaimed an earlier Russian invention. Furthermore, in Slavic history, the origin and development of the literary language and of national self-determination is indissolubly linked with the history of the Church. As long as the religious aspect is disregarded, no study of these problems can be at all meaningful. This elimination of the Church from intellectual history, reduced *ad absurdum* in present-day Russia, harks back to a vulgar secularism that haunted many Slavic scholars at the close of the last century and blinded them to the influence exerted by the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.

Under totalitarianism, research is rigorously censored, scientific conclusions are determined in advance, and there are more denunciations than studies, since it is easier — and more profitable — to denounce than to learn. This literary genre of slanderous denunciation has recently been insidiously penetrating from the authoritarian areas to America. Meanwhile, Slavic studies, which until recently occupied a subsidiary, marginal position in this country, have grown into a prominent and responsible domain of American scholarship. This rapid development naturally provoked some malevolence and envy and gave rise to a number of denunciations, written mainly by those who not long ago had been praising either the “dynamic development” of present-day Eastern Europe or, as in the case exposed by Dr. Michael Pap in the *Review of Politics*,² Nazi racial science. In the choice of their targets these writers, as a general rule, imitate the professional slanderers who vociferate behind the iron curtain. In their denunciations, both published and unpublished, stupidity and illiteracy compete with baseness. They do not stop at denouncing even a quotation from the most famous of Turgenev’s *Poems in Prose* as an “example of Russian communist jargon”. One can only agree with Eric Hula in *America*³ that the irresponsibility of these attacks “is truly shocking and must be rebuked most strongly”.

To counter one variety of propagandistic scholarship by another would be a shameful capitulation. The strength of American Slavic studies lies in the possibility of responsible, fearless, objective discussion of all, even the most burning and controversial, questions in the field,

² XIV (October 1952), p. 523.

³ Jan. 31, 1953, p. 489.

discussion *sine ira et studio*, using every tool that modern linguistic and literary analysis, as well as the methodological achievements in the adjacent disciplines, have placed at our disposal.

V. COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN SLAVIC IDEOLOGY

The personal leanings of the student either toward the centrifugal or the centripetal force in the cultural and political history of the Slavs are irrelevant. But what he must keep in mind is the thoughtful statement of the eminent French specialist, A. Vaillant: "Comme les membres d'une famille divisée, les Slaves, entre eux, peuvent s'aimer, ils peuvent aussi, s'ils sont trop voisins, se détester, ils ne sont pas indifférents les uns aux autres."⁴ In other words, both forces are to be studied in their continuous interaction through history. They are to be examined in all their complexity with a judicious wariness of totalitarian historical recipes that tend to present any conflict of opposing forces as a fight between good and evil.

In a "diversified group" the members' attention and sympathies may be drawn to the diversity of the group or, on the contrary, may focus primarily on its "entirety" in order "to imply a common bond or union". In the first case it is particularism, while among the examples illustrating the second proclivity, Webster's *Dictionary* (1950, p. 1762) cites Pan-Slavism. Jan Kollár (1793–1852), the outstanding Czechoslovak writer who coined this term, defined it precisely in this sense. Since, however, the polemics of the last century have given it a somewhat derogatory connotation, implying a tendency to amalgamate all the Slavic peoples into one empire, with one common language and polity, I shall, in this paper — to avoid any ambiguity — use rather the term *Slavism*, which is commonly used in Czech studies, to designate any trend which highlights any factors of communality among all or at least some of the Slavic-speaking peoples.

The origin of this tendency, which represents Slavic unity as an "intentional object" (to use Husserl's appropriate phrase), is often ascribed either to the Romantics, and especially to the influence of Herder (1744–1803), or to the imperialism of the Romanovs. But besides the fact that Herder himself, in his Riga surroundings, was notably influenced by the wave of nationalism and ruralism emanating from the Russia of Catherine II, there is nothing in his Slavophile writings that had not been long familiar in the centuries-old tradition of Slavic national consciousness.

⁴ *Conférences de l'Institut de linguistique*, VIII, (Paris, 1949), p. 31.

VI. CYRILLO-METHODIAN SLAVISM

The all-Slavic slogans are as ancient as Slavic literature itself. One of the earliest original Slavic works, the Old Church Slavonic *Vita* of St. Methodius, written in Great Moravia (the historical prototype of Czechoslovakia) shortly after his death (885), declares that his mission was authorized by Pope Hadrian II (869) "for all the Slavic lands" and attributes to John VIII the declaration (880) that "all the Slavic lands are turned over by God and the Apostolic See to our brother Methodius, saintly and orthodox". The ninth-century idea of unifying the Slavic world under the direct jurisdiction of Rome, in line with the revived tradition of ancient Illyricum, has been only recently uncovered and elucidated through the investigations of Fathers Dvorník, Grivec, and Vašica. One of the aims of the restored Illyricum in international affairs was to counterbalance German pressure. On the other hand, the attempt to reincorporate Bulgaria into the Illyric province frightened Constantinople. At the time of the Bulgars' entrance into the Slavic Church (893), its ties with Rome had been severed; nonetheless a latent or patent clash of its interests with Constantinople still existed, as the oldest Church Slavonic writings (for example, the Monk Xrabr's Treatise) suggest. Although the spiritual and political background of the Salonika Brothers and their activities is definitely Byzantine, the later strategy of their Moravian Mission, and particularly their idea of a Slavic bloc bears not a Byzantine but a distinctly Roman imprint. With all due insistence on this Roman framework, we are far from denying the tremendous novelty and originality of the Cyrillo-Methodian doctrine⁵ and the prevailing Byzantine influence on the Church Slavonic language, literature and culture.

VII. SLAVISM IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

A new extension of Rome's interest in the Slavs coincides with the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders and the ensuing Latin Empire (1204–1261). The Holy See sanctioned the Czech king and kingdom and canonized Prokop, the Czech champion of the Slavic Liturgy (1204); it crowned the kings of Bulgaria (1205) and Serbia (1217) and achieved transitory success for Church Union in these Balkan lands. In the forties, with the mediation of the Czech clergy, the Galician Ukrainians were involved in negotiations for the Union of Churches and

⁵ See "The Beginning of National Self-Determination in Europe", *infra*, p. 115ff.

the royal crown was bestowed upon their ruler Daniel. These Union plans for the Slavic East provoked a further significant step: Innocent VI's recognition (1248) of the Slavic Liturgy in those Croatian bishoprics where it still subsisted.

Přemysl Otakar II (1253–1278), the able ruler of the expanding Czech kingdom, strove to play a leading part in the religious reunification of the Slavs. He deliberately restored and fostered devotion to the Slavic Apostles and countered the German *Drang* by appeals to the Poles that laid particular stress on unity of language and origin. Later, all these slogans assume ever-increasing importance, and the erudite historian Urbánek is right in describing the fourteenth century as the epoch of "early Czech Messianism". The Czech kingdom was considered by the native writers of that time the successor to the Great Moravian realm and church. This realm is said to have included Poland and Russia, and a prominent Czech poet of the early fourteenth century longs for a national king of the stature of Alexander the Great, who would again subdue and convert the schismatic (or, as he says, "unsanctioned") Russians. Old legends are copied, retouched and embellished and new ones are added to foster the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.

At the very beginning of his reign, Charles IV (1346–1378) solicited the authorization of the Slavic Liturgy in Bohemia. Receiving Papal approval (1346), he founded the Prague Slavonic monastery with Croatian preceptors of the Glagolitic script and Divine Service (1347); at the same time the Holy See (1346, 1347, 1354) and subsequently the Czech king (1355) tried to win the Serbian ruler Stephen Dušan over to the Union of Churches. Charles' main argument, recurring again and again, was the linguistic unity of the Slavs (*eiusdem Slavici idiomatis participatio*) and the same liturgic language. Common forms of verbal communication were conceived by the Emperor as the main inducement to participation in Communion. In Allen Tate's congenial wording, "communication that is not also communion is incomplete". If common verbal forms are used not only for intercommunication but also for partaking of the Sacrament, the religious solidarity corroborates the linguistic cohesion and *vice versa*.

True to the self-confident spirit of the early nineteenth century, Kollár was convinced — and convinced others — that it happened only "*in den letzten Zeiten*" that the Slavic peoples had conceived themselves, for the first time, as a single nation with one language: after taking stock of their numbers and finding themselves to be the most numerous nation in Europe, they had come to a realization of their strength (1837). In point of fact, all these conclusions are to be found as early as Pulkava's

Chronicle (1374). The idea of Poland as a part of an integral Slavic world (Slavonia) was familiar to the earliest Polish analysts, and the "Great Poland's Chronicle", amplified under Kazimierz (1333–1370), resumes, with a reference to the "oldest codices", the Cyrillo-Methodian thesis "*quod Pannonia sit mater et origo omnium slavonicarum nationum*". In Czech writings, these Slavic motifs were, perhaps, reinforced by the inter-Slavic character of the *Regnum Bohemiae* that alternately incorporated the western section of the South Slavs (under Přemysl Otakar II), Poland (under Wenceslas II), Lusatia and Polish Silesia (under Charles IV). The annexation of Branibory (Brandenburg) under this ruler revealed to the Czechs the obliteration of their fellow Slavs under German domination. Since that time the misfortunes of Northwestern Slavs, solicitously cited already by Vincenc, the Prague chronicler of the twelfth century, have remained an ever-present warning motif in Czech and Polish literature.

VIII. SLAVISM DURING THE CZECH REFORMATION

By equating Czech (*Bohemorum lingua*) and Slavic (*Slavorum lingua*), and emphasizing the unity of the Slavic language and nationality, Czech writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries could assert themselves as one of the most numerous and powerful nations in Europe — at least potentially. Hence, according to the Abbot of the Slavonic monastery, M. Benešovský (1587), "Czech, that is Slavic, is so widely diffused that it has no equal in the world, and German is scarce in comparison". Accordingly, Czech Renaissance writers intended their books not for their countrymen alone but for all peoples "who use our noble and widespread Slavic tongue". The Czech tradition was taken over and developed by Polish, Slovenian and Croatian scholars who, in their turn, taught that Slavs are "*unius linguae nationes*". Czech and Polish humanists tried assiduously to provide a historical, geographical and philological foundation for these tenets: to prove the original unity of the various Slavic peoples. A Polish theory, renowned for a long time, traced them directly to the ancient Sarmatians.

Despite the continuity of many old slogans, the Slavic ideology of the Czechs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries differs essentially from the earlier, pre-Hussite creed. But references to the Cyrillo-Methodian precedent continue to play a significant role throughout the whole period of the Czech Reformation, from Hussite leaders such as Jakoubek of Stříbro (1417) and Rokycana (1433) to Comenius, the last and greatest representative of the Bohemian Brethren's movement and thought

(1660). It is startling how many motifs of this Great Moravian tradition (even the reference to St. Paul as the alleged illuminator of the Slavs) were familiar to the Hussite preachers. The idea of the Czech nation as a "*rectrix nationum aliarum*", promoted by Charles and his Bohemian retainers, burst out anew under the militant Hussites. They exploited linguistic propinquity in order to penetrate such Slavic lands as Poland and Croatia and they repeatedly sought allies in the Slavic East, as manifested by the journeys to Russia of Jerome (1412), Kokovec (1491), and Rokyta (1570). These leanings are also echoed in the radical camp of the Polish Reform movement. The traditional slogan of the adherents of the Union, "with the Slavic East for Rome", was countered by the Hussites with its direct inverse: "with the Slavic East against Rome".

Both Roman and anti-Roman Slavism have a cardinal point in common: both trends may be regarded as religious Slavism — communication is climaxed by Communion. The other characteristic feature of these two movements is that they arose and developed in the Slavic West; no similar variety of Slavism is to be found at that time among the Slavs of the Eastern Church, especially the Russians. Although Kiev and Novgorod, throughout the eleventh century, maintained close cultural relations with the Southern and Western Slavs and although the literary interchange and spiritual ties with the Greek-Orthodox South Slavs were actually never interrupted, there cannot be found in the literatures of Kievan Rus' and Muscovy any traces of an actual native concern for Slavdom as a whole. Quotations from a Moravian apologetic writing of the very end of the ninth century, insisting on the aboriginal Slavic character of Illyricum and tracing a continuity between the Pannonian-Moravian Church of the Slavic Apostles and St. Paul's missionary activity, entered into the Russian Primary Chronicle (1111), which appends Russia to this alleged continuity. But the Metropolitan Iларion's proud emphasis on the spontaneous rise of Kievan Christianity, independent of any examples or influences from without, is indeed much more typical of the self-confident, world power spirit of Kievan Russia. Since the late Middle Ages any expression of Slavic solidarity was, for the Orthodox Slavs, confined to the region under the Eastern Church. It is from Poland that all-Slavic themes permeated seventeenth-century Ukrainian literature and wove themselves into the sturdy Kievan Church Slavonic tradition.

Rokyta's experience in Moscow is particularly illustrative of the official, autarchic ideology "*totius Russiae*" (*vseja Rusi*). "*Unum me consolatur*", wrote the Bohemian Brother, "*quod gens illa Slavonica lingua utatur*". He hoped to find a common language with Ivan the

Terrible, to draw him and his people closer to the Czechs and their religious movement. Jan Rokyta was peremptorily turned down and chastized by the Moscow Czar as a "subversive heretic" who undermined authority with his fallacious reasoning.

IX. SLAVISM OF THE POLISH GOLDEN AGE

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Poland was the state that possessed the largest Slavic population, comprised, moreover, of more than one Slavic nationality. In its splendid literature, Renaissance Poland was the worthy heir of Gothic Bohemia. As modern native philologists convincingly demonstrate, the Polish language had for centuries shown a true inter-Slavic spirit — it maintained an open-door policy both toward the extensive Czech importations and the Ukrainian and Byelorussian contributions. The greatest Slavic poet of that time, the Pole Kochanowski (1530–1584), in his poems "Banner" (*Proporzec*) and "Omen" extolled the might and diffusion of the "honorable Slavic nation" and its valiant resistance to the Germans. In the second half of the sixteenth century Slavic problems were animatedly discussed and abundantly commented upon in Polish historical literature, which played a large part in the formation of public opinion. The popular historian Marcin Bielski (ca. 1495–1575) maintained: "Not one of us would be so stupid as to consider Ukrainian, Russian, Serbian, or Czech as a language different from ours. *** Poles, Czechs, Silesians, Kaszubs, Ruthenians, Muscovites, Bulgars, Rascians, Serbs, Dalmatians, Illyrians, Croats, Istrians, all of us belong to one people. *** Unity of language in itself betrays that we and the Muscovites are one people and must therefore be the sons of one common father." *Gens Polona* was viewed as the flower *totius Slavoniae* (*Annales* by Stanislaw Orzechowski, 1513–1566), the paramount people of the Slavic nation, called upon to protect and defend all the Slavs (Sarnicki, 1587), while, at the same time, Czech authors claimed for their own people, king, and language the supremacy over the whole "Slavic nation" (Benešovský, 1577).

The discord between the two strongest Slavic states, Poland and Muscovy, was to Kochanowski a tragic sequel to the Schism, as he said in his Latin "Epinicion", lauding King Stephen Batory's victory over the Russians (1583):

Moschis genus atque Polonis est idem
 Slavicum; dispar scidit uniter aptos
 religio, unanimes
 quod scindit et fratres malum.

These views buttressed the campaign for unity between the two powers, to be achieved through personal union: both were to be ruled by Ivan upon the extinction of the Jagiellons (1572) or by his son following Batory's death (1586) or, finally, by the Polish king Zygmunt or his son Władysław, upon the extinction of Rjurik's dynasty in Russia. In support of Ivan's candidacy, the Primate of all Poland, the Archbishop of Gniezno Jakub Uchański, argued that since Poles and Russians belong to the same Slavic or Sarmatian race they are brothers and must share a common ruler. "*Totius Sarmatiae rex*" was the rallying cry: one language, one nation (*jedna nacja*), one sovereign. Polish intervention in Russia in the Time of the Troubles appeared to the poet S. Twardowski a noble fight for national unification. These fruitless efforts were closely linked to the Uniat cause: political union was to be crowned by the Union of Churches, toward which the Brest agreement of 1596 was envisaged as the first step.

In Muscovy, Ivan's political environment caught up the slogan of "one sovereign", and the official historiographic outline, called "The Book of Ranks" (*Stepennaja kniga*), concocted a fitting diplomatic theory: under Saint Vladimir all the Slavs — Bulgars, Czechs along with the various Polish and East Slavic tribes — were subject to the "unitary Russian power", and since Ivan is the faithful follower of his saintly ancestor, Moscow as "the second Kiev" is the rightful heir of the ancient glory of Vladimir's Russia. This contrivance vanished, leaving no trace. As a rule Moscow's unificationist plans and dreams did not extend beyond the limits of Eastern Slavdom (*vseja Rusi*). With respect to the Eastern Slavs (Great Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians), Muscovy's intentions were strongly uniformist. Nikon (1605–1681), the Patriarch of Moscow at the time of the annexation of the Ukraine, endeavored to accomplish the unification of the Czardom's ecclesiastical and literary language at the price of its Ukrainization, while Petersburg potentates persistently imposed the secularized Standard Russian upon all the East Slavic subjects of the Empire. The unceasing persecution of the Ukrainian Uniat trend by Russia's authorities is another expression of the same centralist bias.

X. SLAVISM UNDER TURKISH EXPANSION

Roman strategy of the time of St. Methodius planned to use the Slavic citadel centered upon Illyricum not only to counterbalance German pressure but also to halt the expansion of Constantinople. These two objectives reappear in Kochanowski's poetry, with the substantial

difference that Constantinople had changed masters. Rome's appeal for a common effort against the Turkish menace found a ready response in Polish Messianic aspirations. In 1633 the Warsaw Franciscan, Wojciech Dębołęcki, prophesied the defeat of the Turks and world supremacy for the Slavs, with Poland the elect at their head. His book was dedicated "to the Worthiest and Oldest Peoples of the Polish Realm and to all other Slavs, *** to relieve their suffering at the weakening which has temporarily overtaken the Polish Realm".

The Turkish theme likewise inspires many literary works of the Southern Slavs. Slovenian and Dalmatian literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is replete with eulogies of Slavic unity, splendor, might and extent. Abbot Maurus Orbini of Ragusa, in his famous attempt to compile the history of the Slavs in its entirety, represented them as a single nation — the largest in the world both numerically and geographically (*Il regno degli Slavi*, 1601). Croatian writers assign all-Slavic leadership to those Slavs who are powerful enough to crush the Turks and ensure the strongest possible international position for Slavdom as a whole. Ivan Gundulić, the most prominent of the poets of the famous Ragusa school (1588–1638), in commemorating the Polish victory over the Turks in 1621, sees in the Polish prince Władysław the future liberator of the Bulgars and Serbs, the crowned ruler of Muscovy, and the unifier of all the Slavs. The blows dealt the Turks by Sobieski, culminating in the liberation of Vienna (1683), fired another Croatian poet: Petar Kanavelović (1637–1712) predicts the political and religious union of the Slavs under Polish primacy. In Croatian thought, stronger than anywhere else, Uniat goals and Slavic yearnings merge in their attitude toward their close neighbors and kinsmen, the Serbs.

At other times it is Russia that takes precedence in Croatian hopes and expectations. The growth of Moscow, its "gathering of the Russian lands" and successful struggle with the Tatars fascinates the historian Crijević Tubero (1459–1527), who regards all the Slavic peoples as descendants of the Russians, the alleged colonizers of the Illyrian land and founders of the Czech and Polish kingdoms. When the Turks overran the Balkans, Russia became the chief stronghold of the Church Slavonic tradition and the asylum of Serbian and Bulgarian refugees. Against this background, it is easy to explain the tendency of some fifteenth-century Balkan Slavic bookmen to identify, or at least connect, Church Slavonic, considered the primary language of the Slavs, with Russian — a theory which in its later development made Russia and the Russians not only the protector, but the source of the other Slavic languages and peoples. This theory spread, reached even Poland, as

Górnicki testifies (1566), and at the start of the seventeenth century was taught in the University of Prague by Jan Matyáš of Sudets. The same concept can be detected in Križanić's writings.

In the 1590's, under Ivan's son Fëdor, the last of Rjurik's line, an enterprising though futile activity was developed in Moscow by the Croatian Jesuit, Aleksandar Komulić, the Apostolic delegate to the Slavs. Instructed by the Roman Curia "to maintain in his negotiations an open door in the question of Union with the Catholic Church" and banking on unity of language, he tried to win the Muscovites to an anti-Turkish crusade, tempting them with the conquest of Constantinople, to which they had "*antiche pretensioni*" as successors of the Byzantine Empire. Toward the middle of the seventeenth century Poland underwent a prolonged crisis simultaneous with Muscovy's restoration and expansion. The Croats are a sensitive barometer: Gundulić's successor, Junije Palmotić (1606–1657), raised by the Jesuits, dreamed of Slavic unity as the foundation for the Union of Churches, and hailed Russia as Slavdom's good genius of the North. Juraj Križanić (1618–1683), the learned Croatian Franciscan, having prepared for his missionary work at the *Collegium graecum* in Rome, went to Moscow in 1659, after a short visit in 1647, with the ambitious aim of inducing Czar Alexis to adopt his plan: the Russian-Polish personal union under the Czar, and then the unification of the "whole Slavic people" under a United Church with the Slavonic Liturgy, and under the Russian-Polish aegis, primarily to halt German and Turkish expansion. Far from being an isolated episode Križanić's design is a typical manifestation of Croatian ideological development during the Counter-Reformation. At that time the pristine Cyrillo-Methodian formula connecting Illyricum with Slavdom flared up among the Southern Slavs: from the fourteenth century Illyric was again glossed as Slavic and the legend of Paul's preaching in Slavic Illyricum was revived.

The Croatian movement for the union of churches had important linguistic consequences. Pope Urban VIII took a remarkable step in appointing Rafael Levaković to correct the church books in the "Illyric language", whereupon this learned Dalmatian Franciscan, with the help of the Ukrainian Uniat Bishop Methodius Terlec'kyj, deliberately adjusted them to the East Slavic, especially Kievan, recension of Church Slavonic, since he believed the speediest way of achieving the union of Churches was to unify the church language. Two Croatian Jesuits, on the other hand, laid the foundation of a secular literary language, unified at least on the Serbo-Croatian level: B. Kašić's *Institutiones linguae illyricae* (1604) and J. Micalia's *Thesaurus linguae illyricae* (1646). Križanić had

close personal ties with Levaković and was influenced by the work of this “*reformatore librorum ecclesiasticorum linguae illyricae*”. He was anxious to crown the edifice by creating not only a uniform ecclesiastical language, but also a unified, all-Slavic secular literary tongue.

Having paid for his dreams by fifteen years of Siberian exile, Križanić ended his life in Sobieski’s army fighting the Turks. Croatian hopes were once again centered upon Poland until the appearance of Peter the Great, who to Gundulić’s imitators — Kavanjin (1711) and Rusić (1717) — was the long-awaited hero come to fulfill Slavic expectations and liberate the Christians from the Turks.

After the loss of political independence and national freedom (1620), only the religious aspect of the Slavic problem was actually meaningful to the Czechs. Pešina z Čechorodu, one of the prominent writers of the Czech Counter-Reformation (1629–1680) summoned Poland and Russia to a joint fight against the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time (1675) a Polish poem of the Ukrainian Archbishop Lazar Baranóvyč conjures the Muscovite and Polish eagles to fall upon the Turk in joint effort. Czech writers of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were acutely aware of the Cyrillo-Methodian roots of the Czech and Slavic spiritual tradition. Scarcely anything written on the subject is more stirring than what Bohuslav Balbin, a Czech Jesuit trained by Polish advocates of the Union, expatiates in his *Dissertatio apologetica* (1673) on the consequences which the use of Slavic in the Communion Service had *pro lingua (et gente) Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica*. The propinquity of Slavic languages was strongly accentuated and utilized by the Czech Jesuits of the late seventeenth century for their missionary work in Russia.

XI. SLAVISM IN THE MODERN PERIOD

The age of western secular revolutions, which started with the American Revolutionary War, engendered a totally novel Slavic line of reasoning and policy: for the first time in history, the problem of Slavic solidarity was approached without any underlying religious idea. This *secularized Slavism* arose and spread in Poland during its period of severe political depression. The Belgian scholar C. Backvis has ably presented a great Polish poet of the Age of Enlightenment as the chief exponent of this trend: Stanisław Trembecki (1735–1812) affirmed that the common blood, language and mentality of the Slavs, primarily of the Poles and Russians, entitles them to unification. Under Russian leadership, they were to hurl back the Germans and occupy their rightful place in the world.

These slogans, rapturously caught up by the Russian odist V. Petrov (1793), were both developed and defied in Polish literary and political discussions of the early nineteenth century, and a profound interest in the heritage of the Slavic past was stimulated by the lively competition between Warsaw and Prague in Slavic studies and inter-Slavic intellectual relations. The majority of the Czech writers of that time actually repeat or develop Trembecki's tenets, and as late as in 1884 the Russian philosopher Vladimir Solov'ev can still reprove the Czechs for the religious indifferentism typical of their Slavic ideology.

It is not always easy to draw a sharp line between this purely secular idealization of Slavdom and mystical Messianism. One is struck by the sudden transitions from the one to the other in the pronouncements of the Warsaw Association of Friends of the Sciences, and not only the Polish Archbishop Woronicz, an enthusiastic folklorist and poet (1757–1829), but even such a sober, critical and rationalistic scholar as Dobrovský, the Czech pioneer of Slavic philology, sometimes indulges in Messianic prophecies akin to the poem of the Polish visionary Białobolski (1661): "In the coming era, the Slavic people, spread widely over the earth, shall, indeed, take their name from Glory [*slava*, a fictitious etymology coined at the court of Charles IV and readily repeated in the Slavic literatures of later centuries]. The Lord will reveal great things to the world for the sake of the Slavs and through the Slavs" (1795). Here the boundary between scientific analysis and poetic dream vanishes, as it did half a century later in Mickiewicz's lectures at the Collège de France — "*Tous les peuples ont prononcé leur dernier mot: maintenant, Slaves, c'est à notre tour de parler*".

In the period between Alexander's triumph over Napoleon and the Polish uprising of 1830, both previous Polish trends — the traditional Western-oriented religious Slavism of the Gentry Republic and the secularized Eastern-oriented Slavism — intermingle and produce two mutually-opposed combinations. On the one hand, the Western-oriented secular Slavism of Joachim Lelewel (1786–1861) developed out of the radical wing of Polish freemasonry and advocated a common Slavic revolt led by the Poles under the catchword "For our freedom and yours". On the other hand there was a revival of religious Slavism, but now inspired by Trembecki's vision of Russia heading a united Slavdom. Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826), along with Josef Jaroszewicz, another ardent advocate of this conception (1793–1860), affirmed that whereas the idea of Slavic unification had been revealed and developed by Poland, its realization was to be primarily the mission of Russia. The combination of a pro-Russian orientation with an effort to provide a

religious foundation for Slavic unity necessarily implies a predilection for the Eastern Church. Thus, for the first time, the question arose of the westward expansion of Slavic Orthodoxy, in place of the traditional striving to westernize the Orthodox Slavs. This Polish trend notably anticipates and inspires the basic ideas of the Russian Slavophile movement.

In its development after 1830, the eastern orientation degenerated into a sterile conformism, which in Polish textbooks was given the uncomplimentary label of "national apostasy": the "corrupt" Occident was condemned, the Romanov autocracy acclaimed, and Russian religiosity invoked as the spiritual force that would convert the Slavic West to Eastern Orthodoxy (Count Adam Gurowski, seconded by the outstanding Slovak writer and philosopher, L'udevít Štúr and his followers in the late nineteenth century, the Slovak poet, Hurban Vajanský, and the Czech novelist, Josef Holeček) or at least safeguard the piety of Catholic Slavs (W. Jablonowski and Count Henryk Rzewuski). The right wing of the later Russian Slavophiles revived many slogans of these Polish conformists of the forties and fifties.

This Messianic image of a Slavdom cut off from the godless Occident and politically headed by Russia was likewise envisaged by the whimsical Polish philosopher Hoene-Wroński (1776–1853). In his vision, however, it is Poland that is predestined to bestow upon Russia and the whole of Slavdom the grace of an unprecedented "Absolute Union". Here the Parisian Pole's conception approximates the Slavic program shared by the leading spirits of the Great Emigration. Poland's Messianic task was believed to be the spiritual unification of the Slavs. Roman Slavism, once familiar to Renaissance Poland, is resuscitated in a peculiar Romantic adaptation: a Mystical Union is the culmination of political unity and initiates a Slavic era in the cultural history of the world. In Adam Mickiewicz's (1798–1856) prediction, Russia, once it is morally reborn, will join the united Slavic family; the two other leading spirits of Polish Romantic poetry, Juliusz Słowacki (1809–1849) and Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–1859), reject Russia forever as the "Slavic Judas". The same excommunication is pronounced upon Poland by the late group of Russian Slavophiles, particularly by Danilevskij (1822–1885), while Mickiewicz's attitude toward Russia was adopted toward Poland by such early Slavophiles as Samarin (1819–1876).

Roman Illyrism found a zealous continuer in the bishop Juraj Strossmayer, a chief representative of Croatian cultural and political life (1815–1905). In a secularized aspect this trend swept through the Orthodox South Slavs, and there brought about a definitive standardization of the common Serbo-Croatian literary language, thus providing

the prerequisites for the political union of the South Slavic peoples, later attained by all of them except the Bulgars.

Ever inspired by the Pentecostal miracle, which had transformed the Babelic multiplicity of the world's languages from the punishing Confusion of Tongues into a grace-bestowing Gift of Tongues, the Czechs, in their pleas for Slavic solidarity, always insisted with fervor on the political, cultural and religious individuality of each Slavic nation and on the sanctity of these individual rights and values. As pointed out by the greatest thinker of the Czech Revival, F. Palacký (1798–1876), and his lieutenant, the prominent political leader, F. L. Rieger (1818–1903), “a variety of parts does not exclude unity, and unity is to be sought in the harmony of the parts: undifferentiated unity may lead to one-sidedness and lifelessness, while particularization, unguided by a unifying spirit, brings weakness and ruin”. The revolutionary overtones of this appeal for equality, fraternity and liberty were understood by the conservative Moscow audience of Rieger's speech at the Slavic Congress of 1867, and a few months later Alexander II was to declare, “All these demonstrations disgust me. I'm sorry they took place.”

It is noteworthy that the Slavic movement in the Russian Empire arose only at the beginning of the last century and as a revolutionary force. It received its first impetus from the Poles, and its early organizations were formed in the Ukraine. The oldest of them, the Secret Society of United Slavs, which participated in the Decembrist conspiracy, aimed at “a federal union of Slavs retaining, at the same time, their individual independence”. Similar aspirations stirred the Kievan Circle with the significant name of the Cyrillo-Methodian Fraternity, created in the forties by three famous Ukrainian writers, Ševčenko (1814–1861), Kostomarov (1817–1885), and Kuliš (1819–1897).

Again, it is Western Slavic ideas, especially Lelewel's theses, that lie behind both Odoevskij's revolutionary poem of 1831, and Bakunin's (1814–1876) belligerent Slavism of the forties, which survives in Russian revolutionary appeals at least until the seventies. In 1852 Bakunin from his prison cell attempts to win the Tsar's sympathy for his insurgent propaganda among the Slavs: “Were your Majesty to raise the Slavic banner, the Poles and all the Slavic-speaking people in Austrian and Prussian territories would unite unconditionally, and without any preliminary negotiations, *** and, under the broad wings of the Russian eagle, would fling themselves joyfully and enthusiastically not only against the Germans, the target of their hate, but against the whole of Western Europe.” Even this “Confession” harks back to a Polish source, the “Political Storm Imminent” by the noted philosopher Bronisław

Trentowski (1848): "Today, if I were Tsar, I should create a free and happy Pan-Slavic Empire. I would arouse an enthusiasm unprecedented among the Slavs. *** I would raise the flag of liberty everywhere, and I could easily destroy the Turkish and Austrian empires for, in answer to my call, the masses of Slavs, fired with patriotic fervor, would fling themselves into battle and fight like lions. *** It is the Slavs who will shape the future. ***"

Nicholas I wrote on the margin of Bakunin's appeal: "In other words, I should be at the head of the revolt. *** No thanks!" Commenting upon the police investigation of the alleged subversive activities of the Slavophiles, the Emperor condemned any instigation of Slavic peoples against the legal authority of the governments to which they were subjected: "If force of circumstances brings about the unification of the Slavs, this will lead to the downfall of the Russian Empire". He abhorred all the variants of Pan-Slavism — both the version implied in Puškin's poem ("will the Slavic streams merge in the Russian sea?") and that of Ševčenko's more egalitarian poetic reply ("the Slavic rivers all flow into one sea"). This negative attitude was inherited by Nicholas' successors, in particular by Alexander III and his chief adviser Pobedonoscev (1827–1907), who fully understood that any form of Slavism contradicted and menaced the imperial dogma of legitimacy, centralization and authority. This reasoning retained its force even under the unusual conditions of the First World War, when the Czarist bureaucracy hampered the formation of the Czech legion.

Though hostile to the goals of Slavism, the Russian authorities were not loath to take advantage of its program whenever Russia's rivalry with the Great Powers of Europe favored such use or abuse. Let us recall the short-lived attempt of Russian propaganda to turn to account the Slavophile tradition of the Southern and South-Western Slavs during Alexander's clash with Napoleon or at the end of the Second World War. A recent and striking instance of such self-interested application of earlier West and South Slavic ideals, but with a complete inversion of their actual meaning, is the present western boundary of Russia and the Russian-controlled states, which corresponds closely to the project of an all-Slavic empire with satellites, presented on the eve of the First World War to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sazonov, by Karel Kramář (1860–1937), the leader of the Czech conservatives and renowned advocate of a "Slavic political program". (This map, which anticipates even the incorporation of Königsberg and its outlying regions into Russia and the bipartition of a truncated Germany, is reprinted in the Nazi Book *Die Tschechen* by R. Jung [Berlin, 1937]).

XII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Slavs under the Catholic or Protestant Churches were much more concerned with the Slavic Idea than the Orthodox Slavs; in fact, nearly all the essential elements of this idea were created by Catholic and Protestant Slavs and only later taken over, in part, by the Slavs of the Eastern Church.

Among the Slavs of the Western Church, it was the Czechs and the Poles, both of whom had at one time or another been a Great Power, who were the most active and creative in promoting Slavic ideology. The Poles, who in their foreign and domestic policy were faced with vital East Slavic problems, manifested, along with the Czechs, the most persistent preoccupation with Slavdom. Now and then, spokesmen for the minor Slavic groups — Croats, Slovenes, Slovaks, Sorbs — implored the assistance or alliance of the major Slavic peoples.

In the history of the Slavic peoples, religious Slavism has been incomparably more extended in time and more potent in consequences than its secularized versions.

Among the Russians, all-Slavic slogans arose under the influence of the Slavic West, partly through Ukrainian mediation, and they did not develop before the last century. But for the Moscow and St. Petersburg rulers even a Russian-oriented variety of Slavdom was hardly acceptable.

Studies of Slavism must consider both the linguistic premises and the intellectual, religious and political responses to them, and must treat all these factors both in their centripetal and centrifugal aspect (integration sought and counteracted).

All three kinds of responses act reciprocally upon each other so as to modify the effect of each, augmenting, diminishing or nullifying it; they influence, moreover, the linguistic basis of Slavdom. Hence all the factors involved must be analyzed in their interrelation.

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ИЗ ЯЗЫКОВЕДЧЕСКИХ РАЗДУМИЙ НАД ОБЩИМИ
ОСОБЕННОСТЯМИ ПОЭЗИИ СЛАВЯНСКИХ
НАРОДОВ

*** Co musi umieć człowiek
lecaący na księżyc?
*** Czy badania Jakobsona zmieniają
strukturę Pana Tadeusza?
Co znaczy okrzyk Galilae vicisti?
*** Niech będzie cicha plaża i zupełny brak
pytań
żadnych pytań
Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, "Fontane
di Roma" (1972)

Неслучайно весь этот волнующий и взволнованный лирический цикл, замкнутый усталым приговором — *żadnych pytań* — испещрен шестнадцатью вопросительными знаками, почти единственными знаками препинания во всех пятнадцати частях. Ироническое согласие автора с праздным отзывом заокеанских туристок о римском форуме в конце тринадцатой части цикла —

powiemy jak te Amerykanki
nothing but a view --

— позволяет призадуматься над ее начальным семантическим контрастом между двумя поочередными безличными глагольными формами одинакового корня и времени, но различных видов и залогов —

Z początku szło powoli
potem coraz prędej
aż przyszło się do widoku
jakoby z wysokiej góry,

где дательный лица, факультативно опущенный в первом предложении, оказывается недопустим во втором.

Опять безличная, но на этот раз страдательная конструкция с прямым дополнением красноречиво открывает дальнейшее, четырнадцатое стихотворение того же цикла —

Na brzegu tarasu
posadzono tuberozy

Отрыв выделенного, неодушевленного объекта деятельности от подлинного деятеля повторно подчеркнут заключительным, своего рода вопросо-ответным диалогом перед переходом к цепи тринадцати вопросов, из которых слагается последнее, пятнадцатое стихотворение:

czy kwiaty tylko po to są
aby przypomniały?
Nie, nie. Także po to
aby odprowadzały.

Действенные сдвиги перспективы, созданные разнородными безличными построениями на пороге обоих смежных стихотворений, XIII и XIV, побуждают поднять вопрос о сущности и значимости (*Jaka jest podstawowa zasada*) этого многообразного класса синтаксических структур в словесном творчестве.

Размышлением о роли языка в художественной литературе, Edward Sapir, лингвист и он же поэт, открывает одиннадцатую, заключительную главу своего вводного труда *Language* (1921): “Языки для нас нечто большее, чем системы передачи мыслей. Это невидимые покровы, драпирующиеся вокруг нашего духа и придающие predetermined форму его любому символическому выражению. Когда выражение приобретает необычную знаменательность, мы его называем литературой.” Оспаривая иллюзорное представление об абсолютной свободе индивидуального художественного выражения, автор напоминает формальные ограничения, налагаемые непосредственно материалом высказывания: “Language is the medium of literature подобно тому, как мрамор, бронза или глина служат материалом скульптору. Поскольку каждый язык располагает своими отличительными особенностями, постольку и врожденные формальные ограничения и — с другой стороны — возможности, присущие данной литературе, никогда не совпадают вполне с особенностями прочих литератур. Претворяя форму и субстанцию своего языка, литература сохраняет лад и склад его матрицы. Художник слова может

совершенно не отдавать себе отчета, в чем именно эта самая матрица препятствует или же способствует и дает направление его творчеству, но как только встает вопрос о переводе его произведений на иной язык, тут немедленно и непосредственно сказывается природа матрицы, лежащей в основе подлинника. Всё словесное искусство автора либо заведомо, либо интуитивно соотносено с формо-образовательным гением его родного языка и не поддается иноязычной передаче без ущерба и перелицовки.” (Приведенная цитата передает текст Сапира в русской версии А. М. Сухотина, здесь подвергнутой редакционному пересмотру).

Наличие целого ряда поражающе близких черт в грамматическом строе всего славянского языкового мира, частью непосредственно восходящих к общему праязыковому фонду, частью обусловленных конвергентным развитием в позднейшем, историческом бытии уже обособившихся славянских языков, естественно находит себе многогранное отражение в поэтической речи всех этих народов. В предварительном очерке задач сравнительного изучения славянских литератур¹ нами были приведены примеры общих славянским языкам фонологических, синтаксических и словарных черт, использованных в поэзии славянских стран. Этот круг вопросов требует дальнейшей, пристальной разработки.

Обилие, живучесть и внутреннее богатство словообразовательных гнезд и флективных парадигм ярко отличает славянские языки от морфологического состава романских и германских языков запада. В беседе на эту тему, в дни второго, женеvского съезда лингвистов (1931), А. Meillet дошел до парадоксального утверждения, что в противоположность русским речевым навыкам, побуждающим яблоки падать недалеко от яблони, для французского, в частности, для его личного языкового мышления слова *romme* и *rommier* глубоко раздельны и размежvаны. В славянском словесном укладе исследователи² отмечают изобилие аффиксов относительно синонимичных, многоплановость их семантических противопоставлений, широкую контекстуальную вариацию словообразовательных значений и тесное сцепление суффиксов с основой.

Знаменитое хлебниковское “Заключение смехом”, построенное на “сопряжении” одинаковых корней с разнообразными аффиксами и обильное производными неологизмами (*Смейво, смейво, / Усмей,*

¹ “The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature”, *Harvard Slavic Studies* I (1953); ср. настоящий том, стр. Iff.

² Ср. типологические выводы О. Т. Ревзиной: *Структура словообразовательных полей* (Москва, 1969).

осмей, смешики, смешики, / Смеюнчики, смеюнчики, / О, рассмейтесь, смехачи! / О, засмейтесь, смехачи!) было, по всей вероятности, ответом на лирический цикл “Заклятие огнем и мраком”, написанный Блоком в 1907 г. без словоновществ, но с широким применением заклинательно повторных префиксов (*Заверти, замчи, / Сердце, замолчи, / Замети девичий след — / Смерти нет!*) и словообразовательных суффиксов (*И словно мечтанье, и словно круженье, / Земля убегает, вскрывается твердь, / И словно безумье, и словно мученье, / Забвенье и удаль, смятенье и смерть*). Отвечая на метафорическое тождество аффиксов, повторяется один и тот же корень с вариацией флексий, ориентированной на метонимическую смежность: *С другим будет сладко, / Другой твои песни споёт, / С другими лихая солдатка / *** / Ты знай про себя, что не хуже / Другого плясал бы — вон как! / *** / Что ростом и станом ты вышел / Статнее и краше других, Что та молодица повыше / Других молодиц удалых* (с противопоставлением субстантивированного прилагательного тому же прилагательному в атрибутивной и здесь впервые женской роли). Пользуясь формулой русских заклинаний, отметим особую “лепкость слов” в седьмом, заключительном четверостишии седьмой части названного цикла, сопоставляющей два паронимических корня (vol’) и (bol’), вслед за третьим паронимом (pol’), к которому отсылает анафорическое наречие (там):

Там воля всех вольнее воля
 Не приневолит вольного,
 И болей всех больнее боль
 Вернет с пути окольного.

Строфа, спаянная дюжиной губных в начале корневых морфем, разнообразит аффиксами грамматические категории обоих паронимов, отводя каждому из них по такому двустипию, где в нечетных строках сходство в репертуаре морфологических чередований (существительное в именительном падеже единственного и в родительном множественного числа и сравнительная степень производного прилагательного) сочетается с перемещением словопорядка и с соответственной переменной синтаксической фразировки: *воля всех вольнее воля — болей всех больнее боль*. В четных строках параллелизм рифмующих прилагательных *вольного* и *окольного* в свою очередь подчеркивает их синтаксическое расхождение: отыменное и субстантивированное прилагательное личного “подрода” в роли непосредственного и семантически неподвла-

стного глаголу дополнения — *не приневолит вольного* — противостоит иерархически низшему атрибуту при обстоятельстве места в аблативной предложной конструкции — *вернет с пути окольного*.

И для обсуждаемого “Заклятия”, и для его автора характерны сопоставления противоположных примеров порядка слов: *С ума сойду, сойду с ума*. В “Двенадцати” лозунг второй главы — *Революционный держите шаг! / Неугомонный не дремлет враг!* — вслед затем возвращает повелительной форме ее непосредственное, вещественное значение — *Товарищ, винтовку держи, не трусь! / Пальнем-ка пулей*. Ниже четырьмя разделами, т. е. в заключении шестой главы, тот же девиз повторен, на этот раз следуя за смертоносным выстрелом Петрухи в Катюку — *Трах-тарарах-тах-тах-тах-тах!* — и вновь четырьмя разделами дальше, “за четыре за шага”, десятая глава подхватывает прежний клич с существенной инверсией в порядке слов — *Шаг держи революционный! / Близок враг неугомонный!* — и с припевом из “Варшавянки” — *Вперед, вперед, вперед, / Рабочий народ!* Эта антепозиция прямого дополнения в первом предложении и предикативного прилагательного во втором связана с эмфатическими оборотами спора и увещевания, отличающими эту главу от нарочитого единогласия в первом варианте того же лозунга с его троекратным мажорным аккомпанементом — *Эх, эх, без креста!* В десятой главе сотоварищи предостерегают и обвиняют в недостатке сознательности Петьку, взывающего к Спасу, и напоминают Петрухе о его кровопролитной расправе с Катюхой. Наконец, в последней, двенадцатой главе поэмы “Двенадцать” за знакомой ономастической стрельбой — *Трах-тах-тах! / Трах-тах-тах ...* — следует отголосок неотступного лозунга с переходом от строевого императива *держите шаг* к непосредственно, наглядно повествовательному — *... Так идут* — и к торжественному, неслучайно церковнославянскому слогу речи — *державным шагом*. Конечный, маршевый рефрен двух предыдущих глав с его направляющим наречием — *Вперед, вперед* — сменяется чисто локативной разновидностью того же наречия в заключительном стихе всей поэмы *Впереди* — *Исус Христос*, как бы отвечающем на повторную бравадную приговорку выкинувшей лозунг второй главы: *Эх, эх, без креста / Тра-та-та!*

Так называемый свободный порядок слов в славянских языках на деле означает емкую шкалу ходовых, семантически мотивированных отступлений от базового, беспризнакового, нейтрального стиля речи. Флективное всеоружие славянских языков благоприят-

префикса, выдвинутого к тому же сближением с производным прилагательным *разные*:

Рас-стояние: версты, мили ...
 Нас *рас*-ставили, *рас*-садили,
 Чтобы тихо себя вели,
 По двум *разным* концам земли.

Рас-стояние: версты, дали ...
 Нас *рас*клеили, *рас*паяли,
 В две руки *раз*вели, *рас*пяв,
 И не знали, что это — сплав

Вдохновений и сухожилий ...
 Не *рас*сори́ли — *рас*со́ри́ли,
*Рас*слоили ...
 Стена да ров.
*Рас*селили нас, как орлов-

Заговорщиков: версты, дали ...
 Не *рас*строили — *рас*терjali.
 По тpущобам земных широт
*Рас*совали нас, как сирот.

Который уж — ну который — март?
*Раз*били нас — как колоду карт!

Любопытно в позднейшей заметке Цветаевой “огорчительное сознание несоответствия образа” в последней строке, т. е. ощущение катахрезы, которую она, тем не менее, оставила “за выразительностью”: здесь *разбили* выступает одновременно в двух контекстуальных значениях: “разломали” каждого и “разрознили” совокупность. Мастерство расстановки и сопоставления шестнадцати особей одного и того же префикса вскрывает и обостряет, наделяя трагизмом, его общее значение, оглашающее распад целого и дезинтеграцию частей.

Благодаря крепости и стойкости взаимной связи между сочленами каждого словарного, особенно глагольного гнезда в славянских языках, даже совокупность различных форм глагола *идти* со всеми его префиксальными разновидностями, супплетивными образованиями и отчасти словопроизводными, отчасти фразеологическими отступлениями от первичного, основного значения осмысливается как жизненное единство, и эти внутренние узы дают ход увлекательным поэтическим ассоциациям. “Сказка о дожде” в

Уроках музыки Беллы Ахмадулиной (1969), основанная на речении “дождь идет”, строит на этом мотиве своего рода парадигму глагола *идти* со всей системой семантических вариантов, преобразованной поэтом в ткань причудливых словесных тропов и отважного мифотворчества:

Со мной с утра не расставался Дождь.
 — О, отвяжись! — я говорила грубо.
 Он отступал, но преданно и грустно,
 вновь *шел* за мной как маленькая дочь.
 Дождь как крыло, прирос к моей спине.
 Его корила я:
 — Стыдись, негодник!
 К тебе в слезах взывает огородник,
Иди к цветам!
 Что ты *нашел* во мне?
 *** Я с хитростью в душе *вошла* в кафе.
 *** [Дождь] сквозь стекло желал *придти* ко мне.
 Я *вышла*.
 *** *Всходила* люстры чистая луна.
 Я думала: что делать мне с Дождем?
 Ведь он со мной расстаться не захочет
 *** Тебе *ходить* со мною неприлично. —
 *** — Ну, черт с тобой, — решила я, — *иди*!
 *** Мой мальчик, Дождь! Скорей *иди* сюда!
Прошел по спинам быстрый холодок.
 *** Хозяин дома прошептал: — Учти,
 еще ответишь ты за эту встречу! —
 Я засмеялась: — Знаю, что отвечу.
 Вы безобразны. Дайте мне *пройти*.
 Пугал *прохожих* вид моей беды.
 Я говорила: — Ничего. Оставьте.
Пройдет и это. — На сухом асфальте
 я целовала пятнышко воды.

В схожем сопоставлении идущего дождя и поэта (вспомним школьный каламбур: Шел дождь и два студента) в стихах Маяковского одному и тому же глаголу так же придано двойное значение “пройти мимо” и “кончиться”: *пройду стороной, / как проходит косой дождь*. Ср. в его разговоре с солнцем *Чем так, без дела заходить, / ко мне на чай зашло бы!* — Гнездо соотнесенных глаголов видовой пары *идти-ходить* с колебанием их лексических и грамматических значений глубоко срослось у Ахмадулиной с *Уроками музыки*. На увертюру — *По улице моей который год / звучат шаги — мои друзья уходят* — поэтесса отвечает смиренным

зовом к одиночеству: *Дай стать на цыпочки в твоём лесу / *** / найти листву и поднести к лицу / и ощутить сиротство, как блаженство.* А в её же “Тоске по Лермонтову” схож глагольный материал переключки между зачинами двух смежных строф: *Стой на горе! Не уходи туда / — Стой на горе! Я по твоим следам / найду тебя.*

Значимость категории грамматических видов, охватывающей всю славянскую глагольную систему и противопоставляющей друг другу сродные глаголы соответственно их видовой принадлежности, глубоко отобразилась в поэтическом языке славянских литератур, с его обширным применением красочных семантических контрастов между перфективными и имперфективными глаголами. Метаязыковое показание поэта непререкаемо прозвучало в строках Ахматовой: *Между “помнить” и “вспомнить”, други, / Расстояние, как от Луги / До страны атласных баут.*

Written in Cambridge, Mass., 1973, as a part of a report for the Seventh International Congress of Slavists in Warsaw. First published in the Festschrift for Vladimir Georgiev: *Ezikovedski proučvanija v čest na akad. V. I. Georgiev* (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1980).

ВЕЛИКАЯ МОРАВИЯ ИЛИ ВЕЛИКАЯ НАД МОРАВОЙ?

Книга Константина Багрянородного *Об управлении государством*, трактующая о моравской державе, пользуется четырьмя наименованиями, и все они вполне совпадают с моравской номенклатурой в славянской письменности. Источник наших греческих ссылок — Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, Greek Text Edited by Gy. Moravcsik, English Translation by R. J. H. Jenkins (Будапешт, 1949), а в славянских примерах мы отсылаем к труду П. А. Лаврова *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности* (Ленинград, 1930).

1) *Μοραβία* (гл. 41/2-ая строка) — *Моравя* (Пространное житие Константина, гл. XV; Пространное житие Мефодия, гл. V; Проложное житие Мефодия, стр. 103; Летописный рассказ о Константине и Мефодии, 104; Глаголическая служба Кириллу и Мефодию, 134; Успение Кирилла, 156; Охридское житие Климента, 194).

2) *εἰς τὴν τῆς Μοραβίας γῆν*, 42/19, — *въ земли Моравьстѣи* (Проложное житие Константина и Мефодия, 100), *земѣ Моравьскаа* (Служба Мефодию, 126/стих 28 и 127/стих 36), *Моравьскаа земля* (Зографское житие Наума).

3) *περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Μοραβίας*, 41/1, — *Моравьскаа страна* (Служба Кириллу и Мефодию, 113/стих 28); *въ *** Моравьскаѣхъ странаѣхъ*, *въ страны Моравьскы* (Похвальное слово Кириллу и Мефодию, 84 и 85). Ср. Пространное житие Мефодия, гл. X: и *Моравьскаа область пространити начатъ въса страны* (с расподоблением слов область и страны).

4) *ἡ μεγάλη Μοραβία*, 13/5 и 40/33; *τὴν μεγάλην Μοραβίαν*, 38/58, — *епископѣ великѣ Моравы* (Славословие Кириллу и Мефодию и их ученикам в Болгарском Синодике царя Бориса, 161); *ѿ Растислава княза великыѣ Моравы* (Успение Кирилла, 156); *шѣдшѣ до великыѣ Моравы* (там же; ср. вариант с более архаичным синтаксическим строем — *дошѣдшѣ емѣ великѣ Моравы*: Йордан Иванов, *Български старини из Македония*, София, 1931, стр. 287).

Любопытно, что и Славословие, и Успение — памятники болгарского происхождения, и что оба примера из Успения явно подновляют соответствующие пассажи Пространного жития Константина: *Растислав во, моравскийи князь* (стр. 60) и *дошъдшоу же ему Морави* (стр. 61).

Возможно, что термин *великата Морава* противопоставлен двум более узким обозначениям — *вышнята*, правобережная, и *долната*, левобережная Моравы, и охватывает оба округа. Как отметил Václav Chaloupecký, “ještě v XVI. století nazývá se Nitransko ‘Dolní Moravou’ na rozdíl od ‘Moravy Horní’” (*Svatováclavský sborník*, II, 2, Прага 1939, стр. 201); с другой стороны, Мефодий именуется архиепископом *вышняма Моравъи* и в святцах Ассеманова Евангелия (J. Kurz, *Evangeliař Assemanův*, II, Прага 1955, стр. 292), и в Проложном житии Константина и Мефодия (Лавров, стр. 100; ср. *Harvard Slavic Studies* II, 1954, стр. 63).

Но даже если в некоторых случаях, например в титуле Растислава *къназь великыма Моравы*, это речение может быть переведено словами *totius Moraviae*, все же возникает вопрос, можно ли считать такое значение первоначальным и единственным. По словам Константина Багрянородного, “Турки [Мадьяры], прогнанные Печенегами, поселились в той земле, где они обитают поныне. В этих местах есть некоторые древние достопримечательности: во-первых, здесь находится на рубеже Турции мост императора Траяна, потом, в трех днях пути от этого моста, Белград с башней святого и великого императора Константина. Далее, по течению реки, в двух днях от Белграда, расположен знаменитый Сирмий, а затем великая Моравия, некрещеная, разоренная Турками, а раньше управлявшаяся Святополком. Таковы достопримечательности и памятные имена [*ἡνωρίσματα τε καὶ ἐπωνυμῖαι*] по реке Истру” (40/25–36). F. Robenek, пытливый историк моравских древностей, естественно поставил вопрос, не означает ли *μεγάλη Μοραβία* в этом перечне памятников и памятных имен былую столицу, исчезнувшего государства, которую Турки лишили прежнего благолепия и благочестия (“*Morava, metropole sv. Methoděje*”, *Hlidka*, 1927–1928).

Новейшие раскопки в юго-восточной Моравии явственно показывают, что правобережье р. Моравы было в течение девятого века и богатым и людным средоточием славянской державы.¹ На

Чешские исследователи — Jaroslav Böhm, Josef Cibulka, Vilém Hrubý, Josef Poulik — подробно ознакомили меня осенью 1957 г. с новейшими результатами раскопок. Приношу им глубокую признательность за их щедрую, дружескую, авторитетную помощь, а Чехословацкой Академии Наук за радушное гостеприимство в дни моего последнего, незабвенного посещения Чехии и Моравии.

расстоянии 45 километров друг от друга открыты два значительных прибрежных поселения, оба с каменными церквями и обширными кладбищами, одно на территории так называемого Старого Места (*Antiqua civitas* чешско-латинских документов) возле Угорского Градища, другое возле деревни Микулчице неподалеку от г. Годонина. Обнаруженные фундаменты церквей большей частью принадлежат к эпохе моравской деятельности Кирилла и Мефодия. Но, в то время как художественно-промышленные и нумизматические находки в обоих городищах свидетельствуют о тесной связи с Византией, остатки церквей, как доказывают J. Cibulka и другие исследователи (ср. J. Poulík, “Nález kostela z doby Říše velkomoravské v trati ‘špitálky’ ve Starém městě”, *Památky archeologické* XLVI, 1955, стр. 345), восходят к придунайскому, иллирийскому зодчеству, характерному и для Болгарии, и для Сремского округа, и для восточного Норика. Этот вывод интересно сопоставить с основной стратегической позицией славянских первоучителей, т. е. с лозунгом борьбы за преемственность и обновление Иллирика — *παντός τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ* (ср. Н. Никольский, “Повесть временных лет, как источник для истории начального периода русской письменности и культуры”, *Сборник по рус. языку и словесности*, АН СССР, II, вып. 1, 1930, гл. VI; F. Dvorník, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Прага 1933, гл. VII). Традиционная своеобычность иллирийской провинции должна была найти себе осязательное выражение и в самостоятельной архитектурной традиции. Это позволяло одновременно избежать и одиозных для Рима уз с византийскими формами, и неприемлемой для греков зависимости от римских образцов. Точно так же несхожесть глаголицы и с латинским, и с греческим алфавитом обращала ее в наглядный символ суверенных прав славянского языка в церковной и общекультурной деятельности моравской миссии.

Которая из двух прибрежных общин, открытых чешскими археологами, была главной резиденцией Ростислава и солунских братьев в шестидесятых годах? В котором из этих двух пунктов, в том же, что служил столицей Ростиславу, или в другом из них, царил Святополк, и развил основную деятельность вернувшийся в Моравию Мефодий? Где ни искать столицу — в Старом Месте или близ Микулчиц, имя ее могло быть *Великага (вьсь) надъ Моравоѡ.* *Veliká (ves)* — имя общин, издавна ходовое в чешской и моравской номенклатуре. На юго-востоке современной Моравии поныне существует *Velká nad Veličkou*, т. е. та самая *Veliká*, которая всплывает в грамотах Велеградского монастыря с 1228 года (ср. K. Klusák, *Hornácké město*, Брно 1957, стр. 8).

Если таково было имя поселения, лежащего под нынешним Старым Местом, то особый интерес приобретают документальные данные, которые напомнил J. Poulik в своем труде *Jižní Morava, země dávných Slovanů* (Брно 1948–1950): “Uvádí se též v místech dnešního Starého Města u Uherského Hradiště na pravém břehu řeky Moravy k roku 1131 *villa Veligrad* jako majetek biskupství olomouckého. Roku 1220 se již Veligrad nazývá *trhovou vsí* nebo *městyssem*.” Велиград и Великая весь, топонимически сродные, по всей вероятности, были частями одного и того же целого.

В дискуссионном порядке может быть предложена рабочая гипотеза о смежной с Велиградом Великой (веси) над Моравою. Имя Великой над Моравою легко могло превратиться в Великую Моравскую весь либо просто в Великую Мораву, и значение последнего имени естественно поддавалось раздвоению: с одной стороны, это столица всей моравской державы, с другой — вся держава, подвластная этой столице.

Если имя столицы действительно было **Великага**, получает объяснение загадочный титул Климента Охридского — **επισκοπѣ величскѣми**. Этот титул, обычный в заголовках сочинений Климента (ср. Н. Туницкий, *Св. Климент, епископ словенский*, Сергиев посад 1913, стр. 199), засвидетельствован уже в тексте XI века. В святцах при Ассемановом Евангелии под 27-ым июля значится: **ε(вѣ)ταγο ε(вѣ)τ(ιτє)лѣ о(тѣ)ца наш(ε)г(о) Климента еп(и)ск(о)па величскаго** (Kuriz, стр. 306). Согласно Пространному житию Климента, дошедшему в греческой обработке Феофилакта (т. н. Болгарская легенда), Климент был поставлен епископом **Βελίτζας**, т. е. **Велицѣ** — беспредложная форма местного или дательного падежа (см. Теофилакт, *Климент Охридски* — греческий текст с переводом и комментариями А. Милева, София 1955, стр. 74–79). Он же, как отметил Туницкий (стр. 102), именуется епископом **Βελίκας**, т. е. **Великы** (родительный падеж), в греческом каталоге первых болгарских архиепископов, который Голубинский датирует двенадцатым веком.

“Все попытки найти соответствующие епархиальные города” на балкано-славянской территории, согласно справедливому отзыву Туницкого, “оказались тщетными” (стр. 212), и его собственные поиски тоже не дали удовлетворительного решения. Новейшие биографы Климента приходят к тому же отрицательному выводу: “Jej lokalizáciou sa zaoberali viacerí, ale doteraz bez úspechu” (Jan Stanislav, *Osudy Cyrila a Metoda a ich učeníkov v živote Klimentovom*, Братислава 1950, стр. 112). “Местонахождение е предмет все още на

търсене” (Милев, стр. 97). Но уже М. Дринов, не находя этого имени ни “в дошедших до нас весьма подробных списках болгарских епархий и городов X века”, ни “в имеющихся у нас весьма подробных списках населенных мест этих областей”, сопоставил звание епископъ величьскѣи с вариантом, обнаруженным в Славословии Кириллу и Мефодию и их ученикам: Климентъ *** епископъ великиѣ Морави и усмотрел во всех этих загадочных обозначениях отголосок первоначальной деятельности Климента в Моравии (“Новый церковно-славянский памятник с упоминанием о славянских первоучителях”, *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения*, СХХХVIII, 1885, стр. 191–196, или *Съчинения на М. С. Дринова*, II, София 1911, стр. 348–353).

По мнению Дринова, Мефодий под конец своей деятельности видимо возвел в епископский сан не только Горазда, но и Климента: согласно Пространному житию, еще до того, как Климент стал *Βουλγάρω γλώττη πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος*, он уже “назначал чтецов, иподиаконов, диаконов и пресвитеров”, т. е. брал на себя правомочия епископа (см. Милев, 72 и 74); Краткое (Охридское) житие Климента прямо утверждает, что *ὑπὸ Μεθοδίου ἐπίσκοπος καταστάς*, — по славянскому проложному тексту, *шт Мефодѣа еп(и)скопъ постави се* (Иванов, 318). Вопрос о посвящении викарных епископов Мефодием затронут в послании папы Иоанна VIII Святополку в 880 году. Chaloupecký отмечает в нескольких латинских источниках X века любопытные известия о моравских суффраганах подвластных Мефодию (стр. 89, 160–165, 196–198).

Как ни убедительны исторические выкладки Дринова, его попытка связать определение величьскѣи непосредственно с именем Великоморавской державы грешит, Туницкий прав, “крайней искусственностью” (197). Если же имя столицы было *Великата надъ Моравоѣ* или *Великата (Морава)*, термин величьскѣи сам собою получает объяснение.

Проложное житие Константина и Мефодия (стр. 100–101), несмотря на свою краткость, богато оригинальными и поучительными подробностями. Заключительное известие о месте погребения Мефодия озадачивало комментаторов: *лежить же въ велицѣи църкви Моравьстѣи о лѣвѣж странѣ въ стѣнѣ за олтаремъ сватѣж Богородицѣ. Где была эта церковь? Йордан Иванов хочет думать, что в Велеграде, “чието местонахождение обаче още не е определено задоволително”. Далее ему остается неясным, “да ли съборната църква е била посветена въ честь на св. Богородица или пък в нея е имало особен параклис Св. Богородица” (стр. 288). Но в свете*

нашей догадки об имени моравской столицы **Беликата** можно попытаться восстановить первоначальный текст вышеприведенной фразы: **лежитъ же въ Белицѣ Моравьстѣи, цркъви сватыа Богородица, о лѣвѣи странѣ въ стѣнѣ за олтарьмь**. Как и в Первом житии Вячеслава, искажению текста способствовала утрата понимания беспредложной конструкции с местным падежом **цркъви** (ср. ниже, стр. 824).

Поставленный вопрос об имени резиденции Святополка и Мефодия ждет окончательного разрешения.

Written in Cambridge, Mass., 1959, and published in *Ezikovedsko-etnografski izsledvanija*, in Memory of S. Romanski (Sofia, 1960).

THE BYZANTINE MISSION TO THE SLAVS

Both Thessalonian brothers are presented by two quite diverse Latin sources of their epoch in nearly identical terms. *Quirillus quidam, nacione Grecus* is praised in the oldest version of the Czech Latin Christian's legend. *Quidam Graecus, Methodius nomine* is scorned in the Frankish document *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*. Both brothers were Greek by origin, education, cultural background, and inclination; both rendered important services to the Byzantine Empire and Church, and both were sent by the Emperor and apparently also (*takože i*) by the Patriarch on a responsible mission to Moravia. Father Dvornik's momentous volume — *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933) — and his lifelong inquiry into the activities of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius among the Slavs showed that their manifold work must be studied and interpreted in the light of Byzantine cultural, ecclesiastic, and political problems, as the title of his book suggests. It was the idea of the indissoluble connection between the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy and its Eastern Roman fountainhead which inspired the *Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on the Byzantine Mission to the Slavs*.¹

Doubts had been cast on the Old Church Slavonic *Vitae* of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius as to the age of these two legends, or at least of their Slavic texts, and as to the trustworthiness of their factual data. In the *Analecta Bollandiana* of 1955, P. Meyvaert and P. Devos demonstrated that the end of 882 is the *terminus ante quem* the *Vita* of Constantine the Philosopher had been composed *Sclavorum litteris*, and that the supplementary *Vita* of his brother and successor Methodius must also have been written in Moravia and only a few years later. Equally definitive is the following rejoinder to the skeptics.

¹ Held in 1964. The present paper is a report on the activities of the Symposium, which are represented in printed form in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* XIX (1966). It also contains concluding remarks about crucial problems that face current Cyrillo-Methodian studies.

Francis Dvornik's introductory lecture "Ninth-Century Moravia and the Byzantine Mission" summed up and substantially reinforced his argumentation for the high reliability and value of the various historical testimonies preserved in both *Vitae*. Their reports about the intercourse of the mission with Constantinople and Rome find convincing foundation and motivation in the light of the evolving relations between the papacy and Byzantium. The organic connection between the religious, cultural, and political purposes of the Byzantine mission, and the tenacious fight of Moravian Slavs for total independence from Frankish pressure and infiltration becomes ever more evident. The Byzantine mission differs radically in its scope, cultural background, and intentions from the rudimentary ecclesiastic organization under the patronage of the Passau bishopric; the former agency cannot be regarded as a continuation of the latter, and the *Vita Methodii* could therefore praise his and his brother's Moravian activities *nostri populi gratia, cuius nemo unquam curam gessit*. Cyril's first aim on arriving in Moravia was to supply the young Church with liturgical books in the Slavic language. The brothers were not of the Roman but of the Byzantine obedience; hence, there is nothing dubious in the circumstantial and rapturous report of the *Vita Constantini* about the Slavic liturgy long before their visit to Rome and the papal approval of this daring innovation.

"The Byzantine Background of the Moravian Mission" was the topic of the paper sent by George Ostrogorsky from Belgrade. The mission to Moravia was an impressive manifestation of Byzantine religious and cultural expansion and belongs to the same great decade as Constantinople's efforts to cement contacts with the Slavic South and East. In the gradual process of regaining *Sclavinias*, the organization of the Thessalonian region as a Byzantine theme in the early ninth century was a significant achievement. Thessalonica, with its bilingual population, was the principal gate leading from the Empire to the Slavic world. The highest aspirations of the Byzantine State and Church found in Constantine of Thessalonica a most remarkable intellectual exponent, who helped to further the awakening of self-awareness among the Slavs and who assisted them in their defense against German encroachment.

George C. Soulis surveyed "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs". After its collapse in Moravia, the work of the Slavic apostles was saved for the Slavs and Europe by Bulgaria when its ruler Boris, in his endeavor to establish a national church, protected and encouraged the Slavic missionaries who sought refuge in his land. Thus, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition was preserved and further cultivated in Ochrid and Preslav, two great and dissimilar centers which created a rich

literature and culture Byzantine in inspiration, yet Slavic in language and ideology. This trend, inaugurated in Moravia, developed in Bulgaria, and further transmitted to the Serbs and Russians, succeeded in converting its Byzantine premises into a program of national self-determination and universal equality, with particular emphasis on the sovereign rights of Slavic, as well as any other vernacular, in ecclesia and in all branches of spiritual life.

In his lecture on "The Heritage of Cyril and Methodius in Russia", Dimitri Obolensky was able to trace, despite the paucity of direct evidence, the initial stages of Christianity in Russia and the penetration of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition into the Kievan state. It is beyond doubt that St. Vladimir's baptism, largely patronized by Byzantine authorities, was followed by the rapid establishment of Slavic liturgy in Russia. Apparently these authorities realized that the Church of the Slavic apostles was the only one that could be successfully imposed upon the numerous population of that powerful and distant country. By the eleventh century priests of Slavic tongue, both natives and newcomers from abroad, mainly from Bulgaria, must have been active in Kievan Russia. The Russian *Primary Chronicle* cherished the memory of the Slavic apostles and recognized their fundamental contribution to the enlightenment of the Russian people. The Cyrillo-Methodian literature of Moravia took over the eastern patristic belief in the Pentecostal abrogation of Babel and identified the emergence of the Slavic liturgy with the gift of tongues, and this idea was echoed by the *Primary Chronicle*. The same composite quotation from Isaiah which was used in Moravian writings, especially in the *Vita Constantini*, was reproduced by the *Primary Chronicle* to glorify Vladimir's educational efforts, which were in this way equated with Rastislav's and Constantine's joint work in Moravia; and what particularly exemplified the vitality of this tradition in Russia was that St. Stephen of Perm, enlightener of the Zyrians and translator of the Scripture into their vernacular in the late fourteenth century, was praised in his *Vita* by a repetition of the same quotation, and that, in general, Epiphanius the Wise, the author of this *Vita*, modeled it upon the early Cyrillo-Methodian literature.

The lecture of Horace G. Lunt was devoted to "Greek Influences in Early Slavonic". From the beginning the language of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission was fashioned upon Greek; direct borrowings and especially translations from Greek built a substantial layer of the Church Slavonic vocabulary, complemented by the strong influence of Greek upon word derivation and composition, phraseology and syntax, and style. The radiation of calques from Greek in Christian terminology

widely oversteps the limits of Church Slavonic proper, encompasses the entire Slavic territory, and continues despite the later restriction in the number of countries adhering to Slavic liturgy. The expansion of Old Church Slavonic in the ninth to eleventh centuries was facilitated by the lasting lexical, grammatical, and phonologic proximity of all Slavic vernaculars. Old Church Slavonic assumed the role of a common Slavic literary language, intended from the beginning to fulfill all spiritual tasks and at the time of its maximal inter-Slavic expansion, in the eleventh century, used by Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Russians, Czechs, and Poles. In countries that clung to Slavic liturgy, regional recensions of Church Slavonic served for ecclesiastic writings, while literature of a more secular character resorted to various hybrid combinations of this language with the native vernacular. The basic unity of the Church Slavonic language was preserved and supported by repeated efforts to eliminate divergences: e.g., the dependence of the Serbian recension on the Russian one in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the second South Slavic influence upon Russian from the end of the fourteenth century; the mutual adaptations of the Moscow and Kievan recensions, with orientation toward the former in the sixteenth and toward the latter in the seventeenth century; likewise in the seventeenth century an adherence of the Croatian recension to the Kievan model; the Russian recension adopted by the Serbs in the eighteenth, and by the Bulgarians in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, no history of Church Slavonic in its different regional variants and their interaction has yet been written. These conservative and expansive tendencies furthered literary and cultural exchange between countries of Slavic liturgy. Serial translations which at different moments in different Slavic regions vacillated between a creative adaptation and a slavish, mechanistic literalism secured the ties between Church Slavonic and Greek, and the history of this translational technique and of the Greek imprint borne by Church Slavonic and by those literary languages which preserved a Church Slavonic substratum still awaits detailed investigation.

Antonín Dostál discussed "The Origins of the Slavonic Liturgy". According to the *Vita Methodii*, both Greek and Latin missionaries must have worked in Moravia before the arrival of the Thessalonian brothers. The Old Church Slavonic liturgic texts have to be interpreted rather as free adjustments than as literal translations of foreign models. The surmise that Constantine-Cyril introduced a Slavic adaptation of Latin liturgy is based on the *Kievan leaflets*, but they differ in language from his authentic writings and apparently the text of these leaflets was translated at a later date; perhaps it belongs even to the Bohemian period of

Church Slavonic worship, although Bohemia of the tenth century also maintains vestiges of the Byzantine rite. The question whether or not the liturgy of St. Peter was translated and used by the brothers can hardly be answered affirmatively. As to the *Prague fragments*, their text is translated from Greek, but both the source of their composition and the origin of their protograph remain unclear, and we still face the urgent task of applying the modern techniques for making the underlayer of this palimpsest available. Presumably the Byzantine mission in Moravia first introduced a Slavonic version of John Chrysostom's liturgy, as a fragment of this translation in the *Sinai leaflets* testifies. The coexistence of Slavonic with Greek or Latin in the Cyrillo-Methodian mass remains undetermined. The question whether Church Slavonic penetrated into Poland from the Cyrillo-Methodian mission or only later from Bohemia also remains controversial.

"Old Church Slavonic Poetry" was approached by Roman Jakobson. This poetry, hitherto usually overlooked in mediaeval studies, belongs to the most abundant and remarkable products of the powerful Byzantine impact upon the Slavic civilization. It was deeply rooted in the wide creative activities of the two truly bilingual brothers and endowed the Moravian literature of the 860's to the 880's with magnificent masterpieces of both hymnody and paraenesis. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, in all the regional variants of Old Church Slavonic language and culture, poetic art continued the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The late Middle Ages witnessed the further evolution of this poetry in those countries which still used Church Slavonic as their ecclesiastic language. Finally, the formation of modern Russian poetry in the eighteenth century and its subsequent drift were much influenced by the liturgical tradition of ecclesiastic chants. Thanks to progress in the comparative investigation of Byzantine and Church Slavonic chants, students of the song books copied in Russia in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries can detect and reconstruct their prototypes, which prove to be at least two to three centuries older. In particular, the analysis of the early Slavic original canons enables us to ascribe to the Moravian mission of the 870's and 880's, and to its leader Methodius, not only the canon for St. Demetrius of Thessalonica but also, beyond any doubt, the Church Slavonic Hirmologion, and to throw new light upon the vexing question of the divine service practiced by this mission. The intimate connection of this canon with the Cyrillo-Methodian mission is attested by the final ode, a poignant yearning, in the struggle against "the cruel trilinguals and heretics", for a return from wanderings over strange lands to the native Thessalonica, while the close textual and metrical

coherence between the canon's troparia and hirmoi proves the anterior Slavic translation of the Hirmologion.²

Oliver Strunk analyzed "Two Chilandari Choir Books", the *Triodion Chilandari* 307 and the *Hirmologion Chilandari* 308, both published in 1957 as a part of the series *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. These two choir books, like other ancient monuments of Slavic chant, preserve vestiges of archaic musical and liturgical practices; they can shed new light on the early history of Byzantine music, and the *Triodion* in particular might even be said to constitute a compensating replacement for a type of Byzantine manuscript that must once have existed but is no longer extant. Professor Strunk concluded that (1) the archaic Slavic notation is of Byzantine origin; (2) it must have been introduced well before the year 1000, perhaps as early as 950; (3) at some time after the year 1000, perhaps as late as 1050, it was modified in certain respects and these modifications were again of Byzantine origin; and (4) in certain other respects it is an original creation because it restricts the use of some of its borrowed signs in ways quite unfamiliar to Byzantium and because it has invented at least one sign of its own. Even with these modifications, however, the Slavic notation continues to retain its archaic character, for the revisions to which it was subjected were minor ones, affecting only isolated details. However intimately one may come to understand the workings of an archaic notation like this one, to think in terms of a positive transcription on the five-line staff is simply to deceive oneself. Under favorable conditions, and with the help of unambiguous, unimpeachable controls, in particular of a Byzantine control, one can as a rule work out a sort of reconstruction, but the result is highly tentative. As such an experiment, a musical reconstruction of a Slavic translated hirmos is proposed.

Kenneth J. Levy dealt with "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants"; he analyzed an Old Russian kontakarion, and concluded that the origins of the Slavic melismatic chants are firmly rooted in Byzantium. The enigma of the kontakarion notation is finally opened to solution. This notation enables the musicologist to explore the structure of the asmatic melodies. Their centonate-formulaic design underlies the compositional process for many, if not most, early liturgies, and the Slavic chants, preserving the earliest state of the Byzantine melismatic traditions, have a unique contribution to make toward the understanding of this process. The notation of these Slavic chants shows not only archaisms related to the early characters of Byzantine notation, but also points of contact

² Cf. *infra*, pp. 240–259, 260–276, 277–285 and 285–346.

with Greek developments of the eleventh century. The question whether these chants were taken over from Byzantium during the same ninth-century wave of musical and liturgical activity that witnessed the borrowing of the syllabic chants or somewhat later must be left open.

In his second lecture, on "Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Territories of Great Moravia", F. Dvornik gave a condensed account of the Moravian and Slovak excavations conducted on a large scale since 1948. Remnants of sixteen or seventeen stone churches of the ninth century have so far been discovered, whereas until recently it was thought that there were no stone churches in the state of Rastislav and Sventopluk. The main finds are concentrated around two neighboring Moravian settlements — Staré Město, presumably the seat of Archbishop Methodius and his disciples, and Mikulčice, the probable stronghold of Prince Rastislav, with remains of stone walls, a stone palace, and mansions of nobles. Among the churches found in these centers, several were built after the advent of the Byzantine mission, e.g., the third church unearthed in Mikulčice, the largest discovered so far in Moravia, and other churches with an elongated apse. Similar church architecture is found at a later period in Southern Russia, where Byzantine missionaries were active. Most probably this style was brought to Moravia by the Byzantine mission. Yet, since this type of construction was dominant in Pannonia, Noricum, and Istria during the early Christian period, it could have been revived in Moravia as well by missionaries from Istria and Dalmatia. As to the churches belonging to the first half of the ninth century, Professor Dvornik rejects the controversial hypothesis of their connection with the Irish-Scottish style and with the unlikely activities of Irish missionaries in Moravia. He raises the question of possible links with the Byzantine cities on the Adriatic. Among the examples of minor arts, only a few objects so far discovered could be positively regarded as imported from Byzantium, but local workshops of native and immigrant artisans in Moravia must have adopted Byzantine patterns.

The Symposium, as was stated in the concluding remarks, illustrated the far-reaching role of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in space and time, and the wide range of religious, cultural, and political problems which were brought forward and bequeathed to Slavdom by the brothers' venture. The Byzantine roots of their work and legacy were carefully traced, whereas all the incessant, yet groundless, conjectures about some pre-Cyrillian Slavic alphabet (despite the clear statement of the *Vita Constantini* XIV: *Ne spt̃ togo obr̃eli*, "it has not been found"),

and attempts to attribute an exaggerated cultural significance to earlier missions in Moravia or to the faint rudiments of Slavic translations before Constantine's Evangeliary, and to deny to the Byzantine mission any role in the erection of Moravian and Pannonian churches, were explicitly disproved. In the discussion of the Byzantine impact on the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, it was made clear that these cultural impulses came not only from Constantinople but also from Thessalonica and from Adriatic coastal cities.

The most important feature of the mission was the vernacularization of the Scripture and divine service, as both Constantine's poetic Prologue (*Proglasъ*) to the translated Gospels, and the two *Vitae* eloquently confirm. According to the *Vita Constantini XIV*, Rastislav asked the Emperor to send a teacher who would translate the true Christian faith "into our own language" (the formula *vъ svoi ny językъ* with the predictable anteposition of the enclitic dative *ny* obviously cannot be regarded as an interpolation), and in his answer the Emperor refers to the letters revealed to Constantine by the Lord "for your language" (*vъ vašъ językъ*) as an extraordinary privilege which will "rank you among the great nations that praise God in their own language" (*svoimъ językomъ*). This tolerance toward a "barbarian" vernacular, acknowledged in the *Vita* itself as unusual, is strategically explicable by the remoteness and borderline position of the Moravian and Pannonian area between the East and the West, circumstances which subsequently called forth a similar, though temporary, compliance on the part of Rome. Such a concession was more easily made by Byzantium, with its practice of laissez-faire than by the West with its inveterate tenet *tres sunt autem linguae sacrae, his enim tribus linguis super crucem Domini a Pilato fuit causa eius scripta*. One must also remember F. Dvornik's suggestion that, of the two powerful parties fighting for control of the Byzantine Church and state in the mid-ninth century, the more liberal, democratic, and flexible faction — originating in the Greens of the Hippodrome — was apparently favored by Constantine.

The ideological foundations for the basic Cyrillo-Methodian principle — the equality of all languages and peoples and the sacred right of any vernacular tongue to be used for all spiritual tasks up to the Holy Communion — were drawn from the Bible and Eastern Patristic literature. All right of seniority was denied to languages, since all of them originated simultaneously at Babel. The reference to the division of tongues emerges in the early Cyrillo-Methodian apologetic literature and serves as an introduction to the Old Russian *letopisi*; the persistent usage of beginning Czech mediaeval chronicles with a narrative about the

Tower of Babel was ironically countered by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. The idea of the Pentecostal miracle, which changed the multiplicity of languages from the original punishment into a divine gift of tongues and impelled all languages to glorify the Lord, runs throughout Slavic literatures of Cyrillo-Methodian inspiration, from the Moravian writings to the Russian *Primary Chronicle* and to the Latin Pentecost sequence of the twelfth century, which praised *omnigenarum beatissima munera linguarum* predestined to teach *omnes nationes*, and which entered into the missals of the Prague archdiocese (*Analecta Hymnica*, LIII, 72). This Pentecostal image of every man hearing the apostles speak in his own language and understanding the divine words had been developed in the Eastern Patristic literature, and later, as A. Borst points out, became much more popular in the marginal areas of the Empire than in its metropolis.

Scripture and liturgy in the people's own language was interpreted by the mission to the Slavs as indispensable to comprehension. Particularly significant are the favorite references to the Scripture adduced to consecrate this doctrine. The claim for the comprehension of all the prayers by "all the brethren" was supported in Constantine's *Proglasъ*, and in his Venetian disputation with the preachers of the "trilingual heresy", by quotations from the First Epistle to the Corinthians; and in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition the Slavic apostles are constantly represented as the true heirs of St. Paul. The introductions to the *Vitae* (*Const.* I and *Meth.* II) and the alleged letter of the Emperor Michael to Rastislav (*Const.* XIV) paraphrase the verses of I Tim. 2:4 and 7; God "will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth", whereunto He ordained a teacher — namely, Paul, according to the Epistle, or, in the two *Vitae*, Constantine and Methodius, respectively. Later Stephen, the teacher of the Zyrians, was to be similarly introduced in his *Vita*.

The metaphors of Isaiah's verses (29:18; 32:3, 4; 35:5, 6) about the ears of the deaf and the eyes of the blind being opened to apprehend the words of the book, and the tongue of the stammerers (*gognivyiixъ*) being ready to speak plainly were utilized in order to describe the effect of the sacred Scriptures and mass in the native language. This imagery is paraphrased in the *Proglasъ*, the *Vita Constantini*, the Moravian *Panegyric to Both Teachers of the Slavic People*, and, praising Vladimir's extension of the brothers' work to Russia, in Ilarion's *Discourse of Law and Grace* and in the *Primary Chronicle*. After the schism this imagery inspired a rancorous tract against the Western Church, which was accused of having abandoned Peter the Apostle in favor of an imaginary

imposter, Peter the Stammerer (*gugnivyi*), the adversary of vernacular liturgy.

In both the Venetian disputation of Constantine and the *Primary Chronicle*, Isaiah's images are followed by quotations from the Psalms, especially 95 — "O sing unto the Lord a new song; sing unto the Lord, all the earth". Against the "trilinguals" Constantine brings forward the concluding chapter of Mark — 16:17 "In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues". The idea that the greater the variety of languages that sing the glory of the Lord, the greater the joy of the heavens, runs through the entire tradition. The multiformity of languages and, in Vladimir Monomax's formulation, the uniqueness of each human creature, the *principium individuationis*, is considered the greatest of the Creator's miracles. The notion of new tongues is highly important in the further development of the Cyrillo-Methodian trend. Thus, Ilarion recalls the precept of Matthew 9:17, to put new wine not into old bottles but into new ones, and concludes that new teaching demands new peoples and new languages: *novoe učenie, novy měxy, novy jazky, novoe i sbljudet'sja, jakože i jestь*. In this connection the *Panegyric to Both Teachers*, composed in Moravia shortly after the death of Methodius, is particularly revealing: "as two new apostles, they did not build their work on an alien foundation, but having invented letters anew, they carried them out for a new tongue" (*nova apostola ne na tuždemь osnovanii svoe dělo položьša nъ iznova pismena vъobražьša i sьvrъšista vъ jězykъ novъ*).

The alphabet was a visual symbol of a liturgic and literary language enjoying equal rights with all other tongues that exalt the Lord. Therefore, the Glagolitic letters were not supposed to resemble the Greek model, and this goal was partly achieved by recourse to Oriental patterns, partly perhaps by reshaping Byzantine cryptography. The puzzling Slavic changes in the Greek musical notation are possibly due to a similar intention. The requirement of a new form for a new content underlies the treatise of the monk Xrabr, compiled in Bulgaria at the beginning of the tenth century: it proclaims the superiority of the Slavic alphabet over the Greek, since the former is a Christian creation for pious purposes, while the latter is rooted in heathenism.

From time to time certain questions are asked — whether the Latin mass would not have been in closer agreement with the people's belief in the magic power of the incomprehensible word; whether the emphasis on liturgic vernacular was not a blunder which caused the downfall of the work of the Slavic apostles, first in Moravia and later in Bohemia. Yet the Slavic people is said to have met the work of both teachers with joy

(*съ радостіа*), as, almost five centuries earlier, Armenians reacted to the similar innovation of Nesrop, and we have no contrary evidence. Again, for the conjecture that the substitution of Slavic worship modeled upon Greek for a liturgy of Latin language and rite might have produced discontent, no proof can be furnished. The political background of the suppression of the Cyrillo-Methodian activities in both Moravia and Bohemia gives us no reason to suspect that without a vernacular liturgy they would have been able to survive. Above all, Constantine's warning, reported in his *Vita XVI* and based on Luke 11:52 — "Woe unto you, bookmen! for ye have taken away the key of comprehension" — indicates unambiguously that his entire ideology excluded any concession in the principle of common and total intelligibility and equality; there was really no place for an admission that among all the languages of the world declared to be equal, a few traditionally liturgic languages were, in the terms of modern satire, "more equal".

Partial defeats were unavoidable. Yet from the beginning, the work of the Byzantine mission had a wider destiny. In the four copies of Constantine's *Proglasъ* "all the Slavs" (*Slověne vsi*) are summoned to listen to the Gospels translated into their language, and the three Serbian manuscripts preserve perfectly the syllabic pattern of the dodecasyllable: *Těmъ že uslyšite | Slověne vsi* ("Therefore hearken, all ye Slavs!"); so the arbitrary emendation — *Slověne si* ("hearken, ye Slavs, to this!") is not only clumsy but completely superfluous. Toward the end of the poem the Slavic exhortation grows into a world-wide appeal, "ye nations", modeled upon Isaiah 34:1. The Slavic and the ecumenical scope of the mission alternate in the *Vitae*. According to the *Vita Methodii VIII*, the Pope said to the Pannonian ruler that Methodius was assigned "not only to thee but also to all those Slavic countries", while in the *Vita Constantini XIV*, Rastislav asks the Emperor to send a teacher who could translate the true Christian doctrine into the vernacular, "so that the other countries, on seeing that, would imitate us". Correspondingly, the *Panegyric to Both Teachers of the Slavic People* glorifies Constantine-Cyril for having taught the people to praise the Lord in their own language (*въ свои języкъ*), thus "admonishing the whole world to sing in native tongues".

If "all ye Slavs" were addressed, the question arises whether the message had been actually received and the legacy accepted. At the end of the first millennium Slavic dialects, to use Edward Sapir's formulation, were "homogeneous enough to secure the common feeling and purpose needed to create a norm". Throughout the early centuries of Slavic Christianity, according to the concept persuasively vindicated by

R. Picchio, the *comunità linguistica Slava ecclesiastica* essentially transcended the differences among the regional recensions of the Slavic written language and among the spiritual literary creations of the individual Slavic nations. Among the most significant manifestations of this supranational unity, one may cite first the intensive inter-Slavic circulation of the ecclesiastical works, both translated and original, then the repeatedly centripetal tendencies in the development of Church Slavonic, and finally a remarkable diffusion of new literary models. The inter-Slavic growth of favorite literary genres could be exemplified by the Bohemian, Russian, and Serbian princely *vitae*, which reach one of their supreme achievements in the *Life of St. Sava*. When the international Church Slavonic community is taken into account, it appears quite natural that numerous texts of the Bulgarian Golden Age and Czech writings of the tenth and eleventh centuries entered into the Russian literary repository; the various reflections of Czech hagiography in the early Russian *Vitae* and *Eulogies* are a corollary of this radiation. Prokop's Monastery on Sázava, the Bohemian center of Slavic liturgy in the eleventh century, must have maintained a lively intercourse with Kievan Russia; and even a Czech Church Slavonic *Life and Martyrdom* of Boris and Gleb, the most popular Russian saints, composed in Latin style and apparently imported from this monastery, entered into an Old Russian lectionary.

Attempts of some students to place one of the local variants above all other Slavic literatures of the Middle Ages bear the stamp of biased subjectivism. The assertion that Old Russian literature, allegedly the only one endowed with chronicles and epics, excels in this regard the Old Bulgarian and early Czech letters forms a vicious circle, because Church Slavonic literature of Czech and Old Bulgarian recensions has been preserved almost exclusively through Russian copies and because original works of a secular tinge, e.g., the Russian *letopisi* and *voinskie povesti*, did not enter into inter-Slavic circulation. Old Bulgarian or Czech creations of secular content could hardly, therefore, be expected to have survived, and the original scope of these literatures simply remains unknown to us.

Each ancient center of Church Slavonic literature — the Moravian seat of the Byzantine mission, Ochrid, Preslav, Prague, Kiev, Novgorod — leaves its own typical mark on the local production. Comparative evaluation of the technique of translation sometimes discloses a doctrinaire preconception of the critic himself. Approaches to the translator's task differ radically in Moravia, Bulgaria, Kievan Russia, the Turnovo school of Euthymius, or Muscovy. For example, the

detached Moravian attitude toward Greek models, which is manifested both in translations and in the Glagolitic letters, should not serve to belittle the literalism of Preslav, which found equally striking expression both in the reformed, Cyrillic alphabet and in the mass production of word-for-word translations. This encyclopedic activity enabled the First Bulgarian Czarism to provide the whole *communità* with a native version of manifold patristic and Byzantine works and with an amazingly expert, fecund, and lasting Slavic terminology for all the branches of contemporaneous erudition.

While in Constantine's and Methodius' lifetime the Slavic translations were apparently made from Greek only, the following two centuries in Bohemia (and perhaps the very end of the ninth century in Moravia) witnessed many translations into Old Church Slavonic from Latin and vice versa, complementing thereby the Greek imprint upon Slavic literature and literary language by a Western impetus. However, the tradition of Slavized Greek worship had not been lost in the Czech state of the tenth and eleventh centuries, to judge from several vestiges detected by Czech philologists (J. Frček, J. Vašica, F. V. Mareš), and furthermore the Church Slavonic translations from Latin betray the Greek training of their Bohemian authors.

It is true that the time of the first crusade puts an end to Slavic liturgy in Bohemia, but the strength of the historical precedents and the vitality of the Cyrillo-Methodian ideology continued for centuries to stimulate Czech spiritual development; these factors awakened national self-awareness and encouraged the rise and growth of literature and scholarship in the native language; the same tradition underlay the effort of Charles IV to reinstate *vulgare slavonicum* as the liturgic language in his Prague *Monasterium Slavorum* in order to unify all Slavs in the Catholic faith, and, on the other hand, inspired the Hussite struggle for vernacular liturgy; the latter example was followed by Luther. In the seventeenth century both Comenius, in the name of the Czech Reformation, and Bohuslav Balbin, the outstanding Czech spokesman of the Counter Reformation, referred emphatically to the unalterable significance of the Moravian mission and to its *sacratissima missa* in the Slavic language, understandable to all the parishioners. The relationship of Church Slavonic culture in Moravia and Bohemia with the age-old Croatian Glagolitic tradition and with the temporary expansion of these Czech stimuli to Poland still demands a more systematic and objective exploration.

The discussion whether the prolonged faithfulness of the Orthodox Slavic peoples to the Byzantine tradition was a benefit or a cultural

handicap is futile. Who is greater and more original — the Bohemian Master of Třeboň and the skillful responses to Latin models in Czech trecento poetry, or the coeval Russian Hesychasts — in painting, Andrej Rublev and in letters Epifanij the Sage with the other artists of the florid style? In any case, no attentive and unprejudiced observer of Russian literature from the eleventh century onward could consider its wide range in the nineteenth century startling and unpredictable. The various stages and forms of symbiosis between Church Slavonic and the native colloquial speech gradually prepared the rich and multifarious constitution of the modern literary language; and with all its far-flung innovations the literature of the St. Petersburg Empire is one bone and one flesh with the written and oral tradition of many centuries. The late Henri Grégoire tersely characterized this continuity when he confessed that, in order to gain a true insight into Leskov's prose, he found Byzantine Greek to be a more adequate medium than modern French. It is the liturgic chant that stands behind modern poetry, and if word of mouth proves to be a particularly important factor in the formation of new Russian literature, it is because the Church Slavonic tradition was oriented primarily toward the Church, so that the secular genres became the chief dominion of folklore, and hence the latter took an extraordinary place in Russian verbal art as well as in that of other Greco-Orthodox Slavs.

The inquiry into the different temporal and local variants of such fields as the Cyrillo-Methodian ideology, the Church Slavonic language and literature, in particular liturgic poetry with its music, or the corresponding chapters of art history runs the risk of being curtailed and distorted when Slavic responses are treated without regard to Byzantine stimuli, or if, conversely, these responses are viewed as mere slavish replicas of foreign models. When, for instance, in the history of the Church Slavonic chant or of the Digenis epic in its Russian versions, the Slavic traditionalism which often surpasses the conservatism of the Greek forms, and the creative deviations from the Greek patterns, are both consistently taken into account, then Byzantino-Slavic studies substantially enrich both Slavic and Greek philology, poetics, metrics, and musicology. This reciprocal instruction was convincingly illustrated during the Symposium of 1964.

Report on the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantino-Slavic Symposium of 1964 and Concluding Remarks about Crucial Problems of Cyrillo-Methodian Studies. First published in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX (1966), 257–265.

THE BEGINNING OF NATIONAL SELF- DETERMINATION IN EUROPE

The origins and the development of the national idea in Europe have been in recent years, particularly since the first World War, a favorite topic of culturo-historical studies. These studies have traced the gradual movement of European peoples toward national self-determination, and have described as normal the development from a vague feeling of warring tribal solidarity to a more conscious patriotism which customarily crystallizes around the prince, the king, in brief, the sovereign. According to these studies, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries national culture was more and more emphasized; the claims of national language increased and finally reached a culmination in the Reformation.

This historical schema is usually considered as the common European pattern for the birth and growth of the national idea. But, in reality, such a Pan-European evolutionary scheme is a pure fiction, a hasty generalization which is in accord with the facts only in the history of those European peoples who belong entirely to the occidental political and cultural world. This one-sided schema has to be substantially revised in dealing with the history of the peoples who were at least temporarily influenced by the Greek Empire, by the Byzantine cultural radiation.

Only by taking account of such cardinal differences between these western and eastern European influences, can we understand the dynamics of European national and linguistic problems and their historical consequences. National and linguistic problems have been among the most pertinent and vital motive forces of European history, and it is necessary to understand their roots if we are to comprehend the foundation of the old and the new Europe. In this connection we have to grasp and to keep in mind the peculiarity of the eastern European culturo-historical development. We must do this not merely for the comprehension of this branch in itself but because the east of Europe is far from being a unit hermetically sealed and isolated; it is an integral part of the whole European continent. There were and are many

interrelations and interpenetrations between the east and west which are of great consequence for both. A clear knowledge of each with its distinctive features is really indispensable for a serious, capable approach to the history of Europe in general.

It is a difficult task to fix exactly the boundaries of two related cultural areas. Generally they are tied by intermediate links. After the beginning of the Middle Ages we may envisage all the European peoples east of Charlemagne's empire as peoples of eastern Europe. Thus the eastern European area comprises all the Slavic and Baltic peoples, all the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Europe, and, besides the southern Slavs, the other peoples of the Balkan peninsula as well.¹

Among the new peoples who did not participate in the ancient culture and who still are on the historical scene, the Slavs were the first in eastern Europe to join the Christian culture and to create a written literature in the vernacular. In eastern Europe the Slavs were the first and the only ethnic unit to start a new national cultural language in the early Middle Ages.

In this respect the Slavic case is so peculiar and so different from the usual occidental pattern of cultural history that it really merits a special, unprejudiced examination, the more so as until recently there persisted a tendency artificially to fit the Slavic case into the western scheme. Let us recall certain cardinal facts, which for the most part remain undervalued or misunderstood.

In the ninth century, when with the downfall of Charlemagne's supranational empire the first outlines of the later national states loomed in Europe, there arose also the first historical Slavic empire governed by Slavs, the first Czechoslovak state known under the name of Great Moravia. Toward the second half of the ninth century this empire attained a period of high political, economical and cultural prosperity. Great Moravia embraced not only the domain of modern Czechoslovakia, that is Moravia proper, Bohemia and Slovakia, but also a considerable part of modern Austria and Hungary, which then also were inhabited by Slavs. To the southeast Great Moravia reached to the boundaries of Bulgaria, at that time a large Turco-Slavic state; to the north she dominated some Polish and Sorbian regions. Great Moravia proper and particularly the borderland between modern Moravia and Slovakia was the scene where, for the first time in Czechoslovak and in all Slavic history, there arose in the sixties of the ninth century a prose and poetry and even a liturgy using the national language. The sixties of

¹ As to medieval Scandinavia, its cultural position and its peculiar attitude in relation to the Roman and the Byzantine world would demand quite a special study.

the ninth century brought not only the birth of Slavic literature, but also the first formulation of the national idea in Czechoslovak and in all Slavic history.

About 863 Saint Constantine-Cyril and his brother Methodius began their apostolic work in Great Moravia. First of all, Constantine made a Slavonic translation of liturgic texts and of the Gospel for the use of his Moravian parish. To this he appended a poetic foreword, also in Slavonic. Besides some fragments, this foreword of about a hundred verses is the only remnant of Constantine's poetic work. Thus the history of Slavic and particularly Czechoslovak literature is initiated with an exalted eulogy glorifying national letters:

Then hear now with your own mind,
 Since your hearing has opened, Slavic people,
 Hear the Word, for it came from God,
 The Word nourishing human souls,
 The Word strengthening heart and mind,
 The Word preparing all to know God.
 As without light there can be no joy —
 For while the eye sees all of God's creation,
 Still what is seen without light lacks beauty —
 So it is with every soul lacking letters,
 And ignorant even of God's law,
 Of the law scriptural and spiritual,
 The law that reveals God's paradise.
 For what ear having heard
 The sound of thunder, is not gripped with the fear of God?
 Or how can nostrils which smell no flower
 Sense the Divine miracle?
 And the mouth which tastes no sweetness
 Makes of man a stone;
 Even more, the soul lacking letters
 Grows dead in human beings.
 Thus, considering all this, brethren,
 We speak fitting counsel
 Which will separate all men
 From brutish existence and carnality,
 So that ye will not have reason without intelligence,
 While listening to the Word in a foreign tongue,
 As if you would hear only the voice of a copper bell.
 Therefore St. Paul has taught:
 "In offering my prayer to God,
 I had rather speak five words ***
 So that all the brethren could also understand
 Than ten thousand incomprehensible words."

The great Slavic poet, Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril), develops his subject further. He says that people without books in their own language are naked; he compares them to a body which, deprived of its proper food, rots and infects everything about it. In a subtle play on words, the poet deplores the inexpressible misery of peoples who, speaking with the Lord in a tongue meaningless to them, cannot tell Him of their distress.

We look in vain for a similar work in western mediaeval literatures. This poem, by eloquently asserting the leading role of comprehension in the spiritual life of every people, would directly impose its vernacular upon every people as a sacred right and duty. It contains in brief the pivotal ideology of Czechoslovak and even all Slavic mediaeval literature; it is a striking expression of the spirit of this literature. Particularly in the first, the Old Church Slavonic, period of Czechoslovak culture — from the ninth to the eleventh century — are the views mentioned by Constantine-Cyril thoroughly developed.

How is it that this beautiful and original poem, preserved in several old manuscripts and printed in some philological publications, has nevertheless remained almost unknown even to students of Slavic history and literature? How is it that neither this poem nor other similar Slavic documents of the Early Middle Ages have been utilized for the study of mediaeval ideology? It is a strange case, but unfortunately such paradoxical instances are frequent enough in Slavic historiography; foreign schemes were borrowed to interpret the Slavs' own past. If the facts of this past did not fit into the scheme, so much the worse for the facts: discordant facts often were kept in the shadow. Thus, in particular, the ninth-century declarations of the rights of peoples contradicted sharply the conventional history of nationalism and were so treated. Moreover, it was inadmissible to suppose Slavic initiative in cultural advance because, according to the unvarying German viewpoint, the historic role of the Slavs was merely to strive to imitate their western neighbors and to be completely in their tow. For instance, only some fifteen years ago, even a Czech philosopher, E. Rádl, wrote: "I cannot believe that Constantine and Methodius advanced the revolutionary principle that it is necessary to understand the liturgy. *** Thus they would be Luther's forerunners", — the philosopher remarks ironically.² But such unfounded and tendentious reasonings do not stand against the authentic historical sources. It is sufficient to recall, for instance, Constantine's

² "It is not easy to comprehend the psychology of this *Don Quixote of Czech philosophy*", the eminent Belgian mediaevalist, H. Grégoire, truthfully observes: "Would it be a Protestant mysticism which does not dare to take something away from the glory of Luther as an original innovator?" (*Renaissance I* [New York, 1943], p. 666.)

diatribe against the revilers of Slavic worship which was reproduced in his reliable *Life*, written in Great Moravia shortly after his death — probably by his brother Methodius.

Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril) reasoned thus: “Does not the rain sent by the Lord fall equally on everyone? Does not the sun shine equally for the whole world? Do we not all equally breathe the air? Do you not feel shame at authorizing only three languages and condemning other peoples to blindness and deafness? Tell me, do you think that God is helpless and cannot bestow equality, or that he is envious and will not give it?” But there are those who do not want to understand this simple truth, Constantine argues, and for them he adds numerous quotations from the Holy Scripture, particularly from Saint Paul, who became the mainstay for the doctrine of the Slavic apostles and their followers. Constantine was the first to recognize with acute penetration the vital importance of the first Epistle to the Corinthians for the idea of equality.

Equal rights — both of nations and of languages — is the leading principle of the Great Moravian spiritual heritage. As a Czech legend of the tenth century relates, Constantine posed the polemic question to the western adversaries of the Slavic liturgy: “If everybody has to glorify the Lord, why do you, select fathers, prevent me from saying mass in Slavic, whereas God created this language perfect alike as the other tongues?” And because the Mass and the Church were considered as most sacred in the mediaeval hierarchy of values, so the national language, too, became consecrated by entering into the Mass — and the nation unified by this language was consecrated in its turn. Liturgy and church became national — not in a way opposing the Universal Church — and nation was raised to a sublime sacred value; and the struggle for a national liturgical language naturally became a struggle for national culture in general, and for national rights in general.

In this movement initiated by the Moravian Apostles, equal rights to the highest of values, namely the Divine Word, was claimed for every nation and for all people. Thus the *national* trend here is bound up with a *democratic* trend. And according to another Czech legend of the tenth century, Constantine defended the national language as the most effective means of abolishing people’s ignorance. On the other hand, the adversaries of the Czech fighters for the heritage of Constantine and Methodius sharply rejected all concessions to the lower strata (*mediocribus*) on the grounds that comprehension of the Sacrament by them meant its profanation.

The idea of nation and national language as high cultural values, the equality of all languages — all this ideology, typical of the Slavic and

particularly the Czech Middle Ages from first to last, evidently was ahead of its time; and historians of occidental thought are inclined to assign the period of such ideas to the decline of feudalism and to the Reformation. Two problems suggest themselves: first, the reason for the early advent of these innovative ideas in the Slavic world, and secondly, the consequences of this early advent.

The Old Church Slavonic *Lives of Constantine and Methodius*, written in Great Moravia in the seventies and eighties of the ninth century, clearly relates what had happened there at the beginning of the sixties:

Rastislav, the Moravian prince, moved by God, took counsel with his elders and the Moravian people and sent to the Byzantine emperor Michael (III) the following message: Our people have rejected paganism and they observe the Christian law, but we Slavs are simple folk and have no teacher who can explain to us in our own language the right Christian faith so that other countries too may see it and imitate us. So send us, sovereign, such a bishop and teacher, for the good law always proceeds from thee to all lands.

The Emperor sent Constantine the Philosopher (Cyril), professor of the Constantinople University and expert missionary, with his brother Methodius. "You are Salonikian natives", said the Emperor, "and all Salonikians speak the pure Slavonic language".

It is worthy of note that in the ninth century the linguistic differentiation in the Slavic world was still very slight. For instance, the difference between the Moravian and the Macedonian dialects was much less than the difference today between British and American English. Constantine adapted his vernacular dialect to the literary and liturgical use of the Moravians and devised a special alphabet. Thus the first literary language in the Slavic world, known in philology as Old Church Slavonic, came into being. It was modeled on Greek; it was carefully patterned after the language of a great and ancient culture; and both Old Church Slavonic and its inheritors, particularly standard Russian, derived great advantage from this high model.

But not only the internal form, not only the style of the first Slavic cultural language was borrowed from Byzantium, but also the idea itself of one's own spiritual, lofty language was a Byzantine suggestion. This idea could hardly be embodied in the sphere of occidental Europe, but the foreign policy of the Byzantine church did not *a priori* forbid so-called barbarian peoples to glorify the Lord in their vernacular — *voce publica*.

The newest historical and archaeological researches reveal a great Byzantine influence in the Czech lands during the early Middle Ages.

Byzantine imports prevailed in Moravia and Bohemia until the end of the tenth century. In the eleventh century German industry began to compete little by little: earlier, only the German manufacture of arms had penetrated. The cultural, economical, and political gravitation of Great Moravia to Byzantium is indisputable.

Of course, had the Czechoslovak country belonged completely to the Byzantine cultural world, it would have been merely a new satellite, a new province of that splendid culture. But the Czechoslovak lands, situated on the great watershed, on the crossroads of Europe, were face to face not only with the Byzantine, but likewise with the western world. The Great Moravian empire and subsequently the Czech principality — or later Czech kingdom — were interested in their western neighbors, and, above all, these neighbors were interested in the Czech country. These neighbors, the Germans, were interested in taking possession of this prosperous domain. The message of the Great Moravian sovereign, Rastislav, to the Byzantine emperor cannot be considered a simple and casual episode. Moravia looked for Byzantine good-will and assistance against the danger of aggression from Louis the German. Recent historical works have proved there were two great coalitions: the German empire gaining the support of Bulgaria and seeking to be upheld by Rome, found on the other hand its counterpoise in the collaboration of Byzantium and Great Moravia.

The German clergy, infiltrating into Great Moravia through various ways, attempted to seize the commanding positions in the land. Fighting against this fifth column was an important task of Saint Constantine and Saint Methodius. The latter's *Life* narrates: "Moravians recognized that the German priests, who lived among them, did not wish them well, but plotted against them, and the Moravians banished them all. *** And the Moravian country began to grow in all directions and fight its enemies successfully." Nevertheless, the German clergy continued by hook or crook to intrude; and, when both apostles were no longer alive, the German priests and their mercenaries resorted to bloody reprisals against the partisans of the Slavic church whom they then imprisoned, robbed, tortured, humiliated in every possible way, enslaved and exiled. A Slavic eyewitness's report, preserved in a Greek version, adds that "these mercenaries were barbarous for they were Germans, cruel by nature and still more so when acting under orders".

Amid conditions of vigilant defense against the constant menace of aggression, the question of national rights came to the fore in an entirely different manner. The country was too much tied up with the occident to be in a position to content itself with assistance from Byzantium, and the

German danger was too immediate to allow unconcern about the attitude of Rome. The leaders of the Moravian mission as well as their followers had continually to maneuver between East and West. There was a deep divergence of interests and tendencies between the Holy See and the Germans.³ The latter endeavored slyly to substitute their selfish policy of predatory rule for Papal universalism. Essentially this German imperialistic tradition was beyond comparison further removed from a truly universalistic ideology than the Moravian bent toward the universal equipollence of nations and languages. The Slavic Apostles were quite aware of this latent conflict, and they curried the favor of Rome by suggesting the possibilities of expanding the influence of Rome to the Slavic world. Rome reciprocally supported Saint Constantine's bold initiative and then helped Methodius in establishing the historic claim of the Slavic church.

This church became legally linked with the Apostolic Church. Thus, it was said that the Apostle Paul had preached in Illyricum, the ancient region to the east of the Adriatic. According to this legendary conception, Paul preached in the vicinity of Great Moravia; he nominated Saint Andronicus as his successor; and the latter incorporated Moravia into his mission. Thus Methodius appears as the legal inheritor of Andronicus; and, the Great Moravian propaganda adds that already in St. Paul's time, Illyricum was Slavic, and consequently the Slavic church has an ancient Apostolic continuity.

This historic (or quasi-historic) right, however, was too shaky as a base for persuading the adversaries of the Slavic party. And if it were only a simple question of historic privilege, the whole problem would be devoid of general interest. But in Great Moravia the assertion of a Slavic national right met an implacable German opposition, and in this stubborn struggle a new, militant ideology arose and transformed the Byzantine model. While Constantine, as a diplomat of the Byzantine school, skillfully juggled with the historic and juridical privileges of the Slavic church, of the Slavic language and of the Slavic nation, the same Constantine, as philosopher and representative of the new-born Slavic ideology, rejected any idea of privileged nations or languages. With an unprecedented sharpness he proclaimed the sacred principle of equality

³ This cardinal and chronic tension has been judiciously elucidated in historical literature from the appearance of the pioneer monograph of A. Lapôte, S.J., *L'Europe et le Saint-Siège à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1895), to the basic book of Abbé Fr. Dvornik, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* (Prague, 1933), and the instructive study of P. J. Alexander, "The Papacy, the Bavarian Clergy, and the Slavonic Apostles", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XX (1941), 266-293.

for all nations and all national languages and equal title to the supreme spiritual goods. The corollary of this principle was the imprescriptible sovereignty of one's own nation, language, and church. And the defense of these three goods became an indivisible and sacred task involving resistance against the enemy and even against one's own sovereign if he proved untrue to the nation, to its language and to its church.⁴

The significance of these ideas for the development of Slavic cultures was decisive. When, at the end of the ninth century, the Slavic church in Great Moravia was crushed under German pressure, the tradition survived in the western province of this state, Bohemia, which after the downfall of Great Moravia remained as an autonomous principality and continued to cultivate the Slavic church and literature during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Moreover, when at the end of the ninth century the Slavic church in Great Moravia was abolished, the vast diffusion of this church and culture began. The significance of this diffusion has led us to examine more closely the Moravian chapter in the international history of the national idea.

Some leading representatives of the Moravian Church took refuge in Bulgaria and this country preserved and developed the legacy of the Slavic Apostles and, from the end of the tenth century, made Russia a beneficiary of this legacy. This Church Slavonic culture penetrated early from the Czechs to Croatia and later from the Bulgarians to Serbia.

Particularly in Bulgaria, Bohemia and Russia the Church Slavonic culture quickly reached a high degree of development. The use of a national language and the close connection with Byzantine culture, which took supreme place in the European and Near-Eastern world of the Early Middle Ages, were both factors having here a salutary effect. We could, for instance, mention the high level of education received by some of the sovereigns in the enumerated countries in comparison with many of their compeers in the German empire at that time: the Bulgarian czar Simeon studied in the Constantinople University at the end of the ninth century; Saint Wenceslas, the Czech sovereign who was killed in 929, read Slavonic, Greek and Latin. Of various Russian princes in the eleventh century mentioned in a contemporaneous Russian chronicle, one spoke six languages, another founded many schools — even a special school for translators — and a public library at the Kiev cathedral, a

⁴ This fidelity to the sacred national idea, often in direct opposition to the opportunism and the prevarications of the sovereign's policy, is especially emphasized in the various legends about Prokop, the great Czech saint of the eleventh century, and this feature sharply contrasts with the court allegiance of the mediaeval national trends in western Europe.

third in 1086 opened the first school for girls. A Russian princess, married to the French king Henry the First, wrote French in Slavonic letters. There was a Russian princess known as a capable scribe of religious literature and another had studied philosophy, rhetoric, grammar, and geometry.

In one of the oldest monuments of Slavic painting, the Novgorod icon of Sophia-Wisdom, the Bible is placed on the top above the image of Christ. From the time of the Slavic Apostles the Bible has been highly venerated in Church Slavonic tradition, and according to the same tradition, the Bible must use the national language in order to be understood.

What an outlook for the development of national culture! Nevertheless, it seems almost miraculous to us that already in the first decades of its penetration into Bulgaria on the threshold of the tenth century, this culture gave birth to a genuine golden age of Bulgarian literature: many Greek theological, philosophical, grammatical and rhetorical treatises were translated or imitated, and the whole terminology of these sciences was carefully transposed into the Slavonic language. All this activity was brilliantly developed in Russia, where a literature rich in original values sprang up in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The ideological trends of the Slavonic culture, trends already engendered in Great Moravia, continued.

As has been mentioned, Byzantium considered the supreme rights of a national language as a magnificent privilege. This privilege could be granted to a great nation. But it was not a matter of necessity, and the Byzantine imperialistic tendency to thrust out Slavonic from the Church and replace it by Greek repeatedly manifests itself in the history of Slavic peoples. The Slavic world changed this Byzantine conception of the select few into a negation of privileged nations and privileged languages. In the case of Bulgaria, the conflict between the two conceptions was clearly brought out. Byzantium considered Bulgaria a sphere of direct influence and endeavored to spread there the Greek church with Greek worship and Greek clergy, but the Church Slavonic ideology helped Bulgaria to preserve its national individuality. The means of defense used by Great Moravia against the western onsets was also employed by Bulgaria against the East. As early as the beginning of the tenth century, a prominent Bulgarian writer of Moravian tradition, the monk Xrabr, insists that the Slavic language is the equal of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, because all languages arose at the same time, the time of the Tower of Babel. And if Slavic has no ancient letters, it is all the better because its creators were Christian saints while Greek and Latin letters were

invented by unknown pagans. The great Russian author of the eleventh century, Metropolitan Ilarion, goes still further in defending unhistoric languages: the new faith demands new words and letters just as new wines require new skins.

In the particular Russian situation, that of a nation spread over a large area, the united ideas of national church, national language and national culture nurtured a conscious patriotism which finds its eloquent expression in the oldest Russian literature, an expression without parallel in mediaeval western literatures.⁵

The dynamism of this tradition did not stop with the ethnic and linguistic limits of the Russian people. The contagion went further. Thus, in the fourteenth century, a North-Russian learned monk, Stefan of Perm, following, as his contemporary biographer set forth, in the steps of the Slavic Apostles, put forward the maxim that new languages have to be cultivated for the glorification of God. He invented letters for the Zyrian language, translated church books into this tongue and successfully Christianized the Zyrians (Komi) people by preaching and teaching in their vernacular. Thus, this tribe, dwelling in the north-eastern corner of European Russia near the Arctic Ocean and today numbering around four hundred thousand persons, was the first of the numerous Finno-Ugrian peoples to possess a vernacular translation of the Gospel. The Finns in Finland made their first modest attempts to write in their mother tongue only in the middle of the sixteenth century, almost two centuries later than the Arctic tribe which had been stimulated by the mighty Church Slavonic tradition.

But what befell the Czechoslovak world, which was the starting point of this tradition? North and south of the Czechs their ancient Slavic neighbors had been enslaved and Germanized if they accepted German clergy or exterminated if they defended their paganism. Neither a Christian capitulation to German invaders, nor a pagan defense against them, but a Christian defense was the Czech solution — the way of a national Christian culture based on national language, on national clergy, and on the sacred idea of national equality.

It is true that repeated pressure from without destroyed the Slavic church in the Czech state toward the end of the eleventh century, but some of its effects persisted, such as the power of historical precedent and several Czech propaganda manuscripts in Latin defending the

⁵ On the far-reaching significance of the Byzantine ferment for the vitality and power of the Russian state and culture, see the excellent study of S. H. Cross, "The Results of the Conversion of the Slavs from Byzantium", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, VII (New York, 1944).

national church, the national language and national equality. Without these reminders, without these traditional and still effective slogans, we should be unable to explain the mighty Czech national renaissance, with its national language, in artistic and scientific literature in the thirteenth and especially in the fourteenth century. For the Latin-Czech dictionary compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century, including about seven thousand words and rendering into the vernacular the whole terminology of contemporaneous Latin culture, or for the remarkable Czech attempts of that time to give the whole system of scholastic philosophy and theology, not in Latin but in the national language, there is no parallel in western mediaeval history. Linked with the ancient Moravian and Czech precedents there naturally arose also in Prague of the fourteenth century new tenacious strivings for a liturgy in the vernacular.

The fifteenth century, the Hussite epoch, which represents both the first steps of the Reformation in Europe and the first modern social movement in Europe, is the culmination of old Czech history; and the native Church Slavonic reminiscences find a new and striking expression in the ideology of the Hussite movement. Such leading representatives of this movement as Jerome of Prague frankly acknowledge their tie with the old tradition. The pivotal, contagious problems of Hussite ideology — equality, self-determination, the right of every nation to the supreme goods, the sovereign rights of the vernacular, national and linguistic diversity considered as a splendid and blessed treasure — all these ideas seize upon, strengthen and deepen the traditional views we have examined.

The radiation of Hussite ideas was especially widespread. One may mention here only the effect of their creative initiative on the emancipation of national languages. The intensive influence of Czech culture, language, and ideology over neighboring Poland began with the Christianization of that country in the tenth century. In the fifteenth century, as Polish investigators have shown, we find particularly numerous and striking traces of the Czech model in every field of Poland's cultural and social life. The first translations of the Gospel or the rudiments of Polish poetry in the fifteenth century offer merely a retouching of Czech originals. The Hussite ferment appears in Poland, and all these impulses, particularly the idea of a national language with full rights, favor the extraordinarily energetic development and flowering of Polish culture in the sixteenth century and particularly the sudden and world-famous achievements of Polish poetry.

The Church Slavonic culture doubtless touched the Hungarian people,

as historic data and Church Slavonic elements in the Hungarian vocabulary testify, and here we discover ancient Czech and perhaps still older Great Moravian traces. It was Czech missionaries inspired by the Church Slavonic tradition who founded and organized the Hungarian diocese. Likewise the Hussite epoch influenced Hungarian cultural growth. Apart from the scanty and unimportant fragments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the history of the written vernacular begins here with the Hungarian translation of the Gospel made in the fifteenth century in Transylvania under the influence of the Czech-Hussite emigration. In the same region, at the same time and under the same influence, parts of the Gospel and Psalms were translated into Rumanian in a Hussite surrounding, possibly even by a Czech; these translations were the first and, for a long while, they remained the only texts written in Rumanian.

Already in the ninth century one of the oldest German authors, Otfried von Weissenburg, had turned the attention of his countrymen to the instructive example of the Moravians who glorified the Lord in the vernacular. But the Latin idea of privileged languages had taken root so deeply among the Germans, that many centuries and the advance of the Reformation were required to make them recognize the sovereign rights of a national language. Moreover, we know Luther's initial hesitations, his previous criticism of the Czech Hussites on this question, and then his conversion to their viewpoint. The new investigation of the roots of Luther's reform essentially confirms the old statement of Pietists who saw a sinuous thread of continuity from the Eastern Church tradition to the work of Luther. Thus, the new European literary languages which the Reformation stirred into life in the sixteenth century, for instance, the Finnish, the Lithuanian, the Lettish and the Slovenian, are a late reflex to the same current which had its source in Byzantium and which in the ninth century had awakened the self-consciousness and national movement of the Slavs.

It is true that the idea of national self-determination and of the full-valued national language comes intensively to the fore during the epoch of the Czech Reformation and was one of its keynotes. This idea, however, has neither arisen nor become extinct with the epoch in question, but passed through the whole of Czech history: it was rooted deeply in the ninth century in the stirring times of the Great Moravian empire, and it did not lose its vitality and fertility with the downfall of the Czech Reformation (1621). The legacy of the Slavic Apostles still persisted and was realized both by Comenius, the great spiritual leader of the Czech Protestant emigration, and by Balbín, the outstanding writer

of the Czech Counter-Reformation. Balbín asked: what could raise our language higher than the vernacular liturgy of the Slavic Apostles, for the few words of the priest which accompany the Holy Sacrament “have such an infinite power that they go far beyond the words ‘*let there be*’ by which the world was created” (1672).

Thus the sacramental character of national language and, hence, of the national idea has remained from century to century an unyielding ground for the ideology of Czechs and most of the Slavic peoples in spite of the great spatial and temporal variations in their life and faith. Finally, these tenets could not help leaving their imprint on the other nations of Europe.

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THE CZECH PART IN CHURCH SLAVONIC CULTURE

In the nineteenth century the Czech world was permeated by a vehement endeavor to throw off the lasting foreign yoke and to overcome its detrimental effects: the loss of national character of the leading cultural and social stratum, the provincialization of domestic public life and the suppression of a centuries-old cultural tradition. It was precisely in this period that Czech national scholarship began to grow and become strong in opposition to official Austrian doctrine and its imperious inclinations. Despite this resistance, however, Czech scholarship, often without realizing it, involuntarily received from outside the bias that the medieval Czech region was a mere offshoot of the German empire which painstakingly attempted to imitate and catch up with its cultural metropolis. The penetration of this fiction into the domestic ideology was possible only because Czech society of the nineteenth century subconsciously outlined its cultural past in agreement with its present situation. This nineteenth-century myth long and tenaciously defied historical reality, and only in recent times did it begin to yield, step by step, before the impact of the eloquent facts which today gradually reveal, on the one hand, the individuality and powerful expanse of Czech Gothic culture, and on the other, the national and international consequence of the Great Moravian spiritual patrimony.

According to the so-called Moravo-Pannonian life of St. Cyril-Constantine, recorded at the end of the tenth century, "Rastislav, the Ruler of Moravia, through God's inspiration, after taking counsel with his princes and with the Moravian people, sent a message to the Emperor Michael, saying: 'Our people have rejected paganism and abide by Christian law. We lack, however, a teacher who could explain to us in our language the true Christian faith, so that other lands also, seeing this, might imitate us. So send us, Lord, such a bishop and teacher. From you always the good law surely goes out to all lands.'" This account in the legend of the events around the year 862 most fully captures the popular components of the Moravian Mission. The impetus and model

for the national implanting of the Church and its language was the foreign cultural policy of Byzantium, which tolerated, *voce publica*, the accessibility of the highest spiritual values to the barbarian peoples and their popular strata. The Moravians and, above all, their ruling class, mindful of the interests of the state, demanded Christian instruction in the native language. Great Moravia was also the first and the immediate addressee of this instruction, but not its sole recipient. From the outset its further purpose ("so that other lands also, seeing this, might imitate us") had been taken into account; in addition to its primary Czechoslovak audience, the Moravian Mission encompassed a broader, Slavic milieu, which, from the standpoint of its secular authors, was meant to serve the expansion in power of the Great Moravian Empire, and which opened to the apostles an unbounded field of promising activity. The Moravian Mission gave to Rastislav's empire its own ecclesiastical and literary language, Old Church Slavonic, as it is termed, which in the tenth and eleventh centuries was the sole indigenous literary language of the Slavic stock. At that time it encompassed the entire territory of the Slavic world and proved to be a powerful agent of pan-Slavic cultural unity and of Slavic national consciousness. An auspicious precondition for such unity was the negligible differentiation of the Slavic linguistic world at the end of the millennium. Old Church Slavonic was more an interrelationship of dialects than of independent languages, and, as a result, the Macedonian dialectal base which characterized the language of the apostles in no way hindered it in its role as an indigenous literary language, either among the Slavs of Great Moravia or later among the other Slavic peoples.

For Slavic studies of the recent past, however, questions of origin outweighed problems of functional determination to such a degree that the discovery of Macedonian linguistic traits in Glagolitic, the Slavonic script invented by Cyril, focused scholarly interest completely on the Bulgarian part of Church Slavonic culture. Moreover, this quest for historical origin led to the frequent and erroneous identification of original Old Church Slavonic with its tenth-century Bulgarian codification and diverted the attention of scholars from the Czechoslovak milieu, for which the Old Church Slavonic literary language had been created in the first place and in which it first prevailed and produced significant literary monuments — both translated and original, prosaic and poetic, discursive and codificational, dogmatic and hagiographic.

It is difficult to ascertain to what degree the Macedonian dialect brought by the Thessalonian brothers was altered and adapted on Great Moravian soil to the local linguistic situation. The literary remains of

Great Moravia are known to us only in copies that are at least one or even several centuries younger, with not even one monument of indisputably Great Moravian origin having been preserved in a native manuscript. There exist only two Old Church Slavonic manuscripts of Czech provenance — the *Kiev Leaflets* from the tenth century and the *Prague Fragments* from the eleventh, and it is impossible to say with certainty whether even one of these is based on a model from the Great Moravian era or whether it is a work which appeared only in the state of the Přemyslide dynasty. Be this as it may, the manuscripts are only from this dynasty, and therefore we do not know whether their striking orthographic Bohemisms (especially the Czech reflexes for the proto-Slavic clusters *dj, *tj, *kt; for example, *podazь, pomocь* in contrast to the forms *podazьbь, pomošťь* in Old Church Slavonic of the Bulgarian recension) were already a sign of Great Moravian orthography or only a Czech innovation of the Přemyslide era. Even if we were to consider the model for the *Kiev Leaflets* to be a Great Moravian work, a manuscript of the tenth century could alter its orthography according to a new accepted norm. The spelling in the Old Church Slavonic manuscripts of Bulgarian and Croatian redactions indicate that the orthography of the *Kiev Leaflets* was hardly the common Great Moravian norm. If Great Moravian literature had done away with the letter Ψ of Cyril's Glagolitic, as is the case in the *Kiev Leaflets* and the *Prague Fragments*, it would hardly have taken hold again in South Slavic script, which was an offshoot of Great Moravian script.

Although isolated examples of the reflex *z* for the cluster *dj* in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts of Bulgarian redaction are adduced as putative traces of a Great Moravian model, the form *rozьstvo* and another variation as well, *rozьbьstvo*, which appears besides it and besides the proper *rozьdbьstvo*, can best be explained as the simplification of the five-consonant cluster formed by the loss of the weak *jer*, which was thenceforth written only in accordance with tradition. It is also utterly improbable that the form *vizьbь*, which is attested once in the *Codex Marianus* besides the usual *vižьbь*, had arisen through the blending of the Moravian *vizь* with the Bulgarian *vižьbь*. We can easily explain this unique *lapsus calami* if we recall that for such a Bulgarian scribe the etymological group *zž* was always realized as *žd* (*iz + žiti = ižditi*, *iz + žešti = iždešti*, etc.), and that he thus equated the two clusters and could easily write *zž* instead of *žd* by mistake, especially in the combination *ižd*, which he most often resolved etymologically into the components *iz + ž*.

For the present, we are not in a position to delineate precisely the extent of the Czechoslovak contribution to the lexical stock of Great

Moravian literature. Slavic lexical geography and its historical development are still too little known for individual lexical elements to be placed reliably according to their origin. Nor has there yet been carried out, from a lexical standpoint, a systematic comparative analysis of the works which the Moravo-Pannonian legends report as having been recorded by Cyril before his arrival in Moravia, by the holy brothers while in Moravia and by Methodius after Cyril's death, nor of the works written during the Great Moravian period by the disciples of the apostles. The task is considerably impeded by two factors. On the one hand, these lexical Moravianisms remained even in the writings produced by direct and indirect disciples of the Moravian Mission who continued its work on Bulgarian soil; indeed, part of these "Moravianisms", one may presume, were accepted into the common Church Slavonic lexical stock and were even used in works of South Slavic and Russian origin. On the other hand and conversely, South Slavic (especially East Bulgarian) copyists of the Great Moravian monuments obviously attempted to remove the latter's striking local coloration. It is certain that this coloration penetrated into Cyrillo-Methodian literature in the Great Moravian Empire. Jagić cites individual words from several Old Church Slavonic monuments which have an analogue only in the Czechoslovak vocabulary (*zapęť* — *v zápětí*, *praxněň* — *práchnivý*, *sanь* — *saň*, *malomošť* — *malomoc*, etc.): likewise, attention has been called to the Old Church Slavonic *ašutь* — Old Czech *jěšut*, *bratrъ* — *bratr*, *godina* — *hodina*, *kъmotrъ* — *kmotr*, *prěluždati* — *přelud*. Of course, if a word is not known in the South Slavic languages today, this does not always and necessarily mean that it was also unknown a thousand years ago. Two works from the Great Moravian literary patrimony written by disciples of the Thessalonian brothers, the so-called Moravo-Pannonian legends, the oldest documents of original Slavonic hagiography, are marked by the most abundant and distinct Czechoslovak elements. P. Lavrov notes for example: *radъ idu* — *rád jdu*, *čъstivъ* — *čstivý*, *prikladъ* — *příklad*, *dějati* — *dieti* ('to say'), *oblübiti* — *oblubiti*, *kragui* — *krahujec*, *unuditi* — *unuditi*, etc.

What did Rastislav's "Easternizing" deviation give to the Czechoslovak and to the whole Slavic world? The aggressive initiative of the Great Moravian sovereign cannot be considered as an episodic, passing, as it were fortuitous departure from the age-old Czechoslovak orientation toward the West, as it has been characterized until recently. Historians and archaeologists have in recent times vividly demonstrated that the Czechoslovak territory, especially that part which lies along the

Danube basin, from the beginning belonged to the sphere of Byzantine economic and cultural influence. As the latest excavations attest, in the second half of the first millennium A.D. the most customary commercial routes led from there precisely in the direction of Byzantium, and it was precisely from Byzantium that innovations in material culture and artisanship came. Historical research, especially the comprehensive works of Fr. Dvorník, has demonstrated that the ninth-century Moravian Empire was joined to Byzantium by common defensive efforts against German political and military expansionism and, in part, also against the expansionist tendencies of Rome. Scholars of a one-sidedly Western orientation presume that Cyrillo-Methodianism threatened the Slavs with paralysis and alienation from world culture. Historical truth, however, completely refutes this opinion. It was just this bridge to Byzantium — the supreme worldwide focus of spiritual activity in the early Middle Ages — which afforded early possibilities for consistent cultural development to Great Moravia and its spiritual heirs. At the beginning of the tenth century, as J. Pekař rightly stresses, it was only in the zone of Byzantine civilization that the ideal of an enlightened Christian sovereign, as embodied in St. Václav (Wenceslas) and in his Church Slavonic Life, could arise.

The Moravian Mission, summoned by Rastislav and fostered by Byzantine culture, brought to the Slavs a consciousness of the equality of peoples and the equal value of their languages, and above all a consciousness of the sovereignty of their own people and language. The right to a liturgy in the national language means the right of the people to the highest domain in the medieval hierarchy of cultural values and thus to all other domains as well: all culture, and in particular all literary work, becomes nationalized. From the beginning, a certain democratic element is inseparably linked in Cyrillo-Methodianism with the national element. The right to the highest spiritual values is accorded to each people and to the entire people. Access to Church doctrine should be completely open to the simple people so that they not remain “obstinate and ignorant of God’s ways”. The opponents of the Slavonic liturgy, on the contrary, denounced the complaisance of Cyrillo-Methodianism towards the lower strata (*mediocribus*), and equated the accessibility of liturgical texts with profanation. A liturgy in the popular language necessarily required that a native clergy replace the foreign clergy, and thus called to life a new spiritual elite. The motto of the nationalized church supplied the ideological base for the struggle of the endangered nation against all the aggressive designs of its neighbors, and elevated the national revolt to a holy defense of the highest values against the crafty

designs of “the age-old enemy, envious of good and defiant of truth”.

This Great Moravian ideology, destined, according to the expression of the Old Church Slavonic legend of St. Methodius, “also for all those Slavic lands” that nourished the idea of a Slavic community and cemented their linguistic congruence through the unity of the Cyrillo-Methodian church, must surely have had an uncommon power of attraction for the surrounding Slavic peoples, if even in the camp of Louis the German the inspiring work of the Moravian Mission met with a significant response. As early as the end of the 860’s, in the period of Cyril’s successes in Rome, the renowned Otfried von Weissenburg, in the introduction to his Frankish adaptation of the Gospel, refers, according to G. Schröder’s interpretation, precisely to the Moravian Mission: “Nowadays many a man makes the attempt, writes in his own language and hastens to elevate his people; why should the Franks shrink from the task and not begin to extol God’s glory in the Frankish tongue?”

The Pannonian Slovenes soon entered the sphere of Methodius’ activity. The Freising texts from the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries are today the only survival of Slovenian literature from the early Middle Ages, and the intricate question of their connection with Church Slavonic writings and with the Czech cultural sphere remains open, despite the skeptical remarks of recent German critics. The Latin script of the Freising texts and the script of the oldest Czech texts manifest remarkable correspondences in their spelling.

Methodius successfully sought to exploit the centuries-old struggle between the Roman See and the Byzantine church over Illyricum and to gain Roman support for the restoration of the Sirmium diocese, in reality for an independent Slavic diocese on the middle Danube, including Pannonia and aspiring to Noricum. Tradition has placed within the sphere of interest of this diocese also the southern, Croatian extremity of western Illyricum and, of eastern Illyricum, Bulgaria, the arena of keenest conflict. The influence of the Moravian Mission surely had already begun to penetrate into these two South Slavic lands during Methodius’ lifetime. There exists a supposition (unsupported, however, by any direct proof) that Methodius directly intervened here — in Croatia perhaps in 880 during the victorious return from Rome to Moravia, in Bulgaria in 881–882, when, during the trip to Constantinople, he is said to have met with Prince Boris. Only after the death of Methodius, however, after the prohibition and persecution of the Slavic liturgy in the Moravian state and after the emigration of its prominent zealots to the South Slavic lands, did the Slavic church begin to flourish among the Bulgarians and the Croats. Thus with the

destruction of the original center of Cyrillo-Methodianism comes the expansion of its range of activity. As the Bulgarian and Greek hagiographic sources testify, the emigrants found in Boris' land, and especially in its ruler, a prepared ground and an appreciative reception, and developed there a broad program. A great part of the literary legacy of the Moravian Mission also passed to the Bulgarians.

Both tenth-century Bulgarian literature (especially the legend of St. Naum) and Czech literature of that time (in particular, Christian's legend) emphatically support the view that the extinction of the work of the Moravian Mission had as an inevitable consequence the destruction of Svętopřk's realm. The instruction to cultivate and develop the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition followed naturally from this view. The empire of Boris' son Simeon on the one hand, and the contemporaneous state of the Přemyslides, on the other, considered themselves the chosen defenders of that legacy and the legitimate continuators of the Great Moravian tradition. And, in fact, the history of the tenth century and, partly, of the eleventh as well, contains two basic focal points of Church Slavonic culture, the Bulgarian and the Czech lands, both of which not only preserve Old Church Slavonic as a liturgical language, but also enrich the Great Moravian literary patrimony with ever new and valuable contributions. In the Czech Přemyslide state the Cyrillo-Methodian ideology serves as a defense against the German onslaught, as it had earlier in the Moravian Empire; in Bulgaria it nourishes the resistance against Greek expansionism. The apology for the Old Church Slavonic language and script against the Greeks in the treatise of the Bulgarian monk Xrabr modifies the charges that the Moravo-Pannonian legends brought against the German Latinizers. Both in Bohemia and in Bulgaria Church Slavonic literature reaches its full bloom in the tenth century. In the eleventh century the cultural continuity gradually slackens in both lands, and in the twelfth century Church Slavonic is suppressed in Bohemia by Latin and in Bulgaria by the supremacy of the Greek hierarchy. National rebirth, both political and cultural, dominates the thirteenth century, especially its second half, and in both lands the slogans of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition assume a new virulence. In Bulgaria this rebirth leads to a revival of literary production in Church Slavonic of the Middle Bulgarian recension, which thoroughly approximates the further development of Bulgarian, while in Bohemia it is the local dialect that comes to the foreground.

The wealth of Old Bulgarian literary production has long been known, while in Bohemia many factors were responsible for the eradication of the local Church Slavonic literary patrimony: the spiteful raging of the

Czech and German Latinizers at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries; the Church schism, which just at this time blocked the path of religious literature from Bohemia to Russia; the lack of interest shown by later Czech generations in the preservation of manuscripts written in an unintelligible script, whether Glagolitic or Cyrillic: the destructive whirlwind of the Hussite period and later of the Thirty Years War. Despite all this, the remnants and traces of Church Slavonic culture in tenth- and eleventh-century Bohemia are so numerous and diverse that present-day scholarship is justified in assuming the existence of an extensive, lasting, and creative Church Slavonic tradition in the Czech Přemyslide state. The older scholarly conception that obstinately disclaimed this tradition and, in Pekař's winged words, "depopulated entire centuries", was forced to laboriously gather artificial proof against the numerous remnants of Czech Church Slavonic culture and sought to refute first their Old Slavonic roots, then their connection with Czech cultural development, indeed their very Czech origin or, finally, even their authenticity. Such skepticism, however, proved to be unfounded. In Bohemia, as in Bulgaria, there existed two Slavonic scripts — Glagolitic and Cyrillic. This is attested by, on the one hand, preserved remnants (the Glagolitic of the *Kiev Leaflets* and of the *Prague Fragments* and the Cyrillic insertions in the *Rajhrad Manuscript*) and, on the other hand, mistakes in numerals, characteristic for Russian copies of Czech Church Slavonic texts and brought about by the transposition from the Glagolitic system into the Cyrillic, and an analogous phenomenon in Czech-Latin legends which reveals that their models were Czech Cyrillic copies of Czech Glagolitic monuments. Despite the meagreness of the remnants, we find a distinctive and coherent development of Czech Glagolitic graphics and orthography. Church Slavonic translated literature in Bohemia differs from the Bulgarian translation technique both in its lexical Bohemisms and in its sources. In Bohemia, as opposed to Bulgaria, an affinity with Latin culture is manifested even in the Church Slavonic tradition, and the Greek rite is pervaded by the Latin rite. In contrast to the Greek sources of Bulgarian literature, here translating is done primarily from Latin, but at the same time the Greek roots of the tradition are clearly noticeable: the Latin terms in the model are often rendered with terms borrowed from Greek (*praecursor* — *prodromъ*, *domus* — *kelija*, *arca* — *kivotъ*, *consul* — *ipatъ*, etc.); a text based on a Latin model is penetrated more than once by an insertion of Greek origin; foreign biblical and hagiographic names for the most part imitate, independently of their origin, the contemporary Greek pronunciation, as opposed to the Latin form

found in the model (*Felix – Filikъ, Menna – Mina, Lucilla – Lukila, Bonus – Vonъ, Abraham – Avramъ*). In names linked with Cyrillo-Methodian hagiography, this tradition is long echoed in the Czech Middle Ages (Kliment, Dimitr or Dmitr, Quirillus). Great Moravian spiritual poetry in the Church Slavonic language finds a continuation both in Bulgaria and in Bohemia, and original hagiographic literature, which has its beginnings in the Moravo-Pannonian legends, also produces further fruits in both lands, but Czech literature introduces certain innovations lacking in both the Moravian Empire and Bulgaria. These include the two legends from the first half of the tenth century (that of St. Wenceslas and the probably somewhat older legend of St. Ludmila, known today only according to the abridged Russian redaction) and the lives of princes, a special genre which then found its dissemination and continuation in Russia, and which in the oldest of the original Russian legends of this genre, the narrative about the holy princes Boris and Gleb composed some time around the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is directly tied to the life of St. Wenceslas.

Thus, despite indubitable differences, it is also possible to ascertain numerous striking correspondences between the two sister Church Slavonic cultures, the Bulgarian and the Czech. Several facts are particularly worthy of attention in this respect. One may find parallels to the liturgical *Prague Fragments* in Bulgarian monuments, but the filiation of the texts is not yet clear. In Czech-Latin writings, Bulgaria is sometimes cited as Cyril's and Methodius' first place of missionary work, but this version, unknown to the Moravo-Pannonian legends, appeared first in Bulgaria and apparently only from there did it reach Bohemia. In Czech-Latin legends of Cyrillo-Methodian orientation we find, in addition to statements about the antiquity of the Slavic liturgy in Bulgaria, emphatic references to its continuous and intensive existence in Bohemia which reveal a certain knowledge of the situation. On the other hand, even in the camp of the opponents, the Slavic liturgy was primarily associated with "the sect of the Bulgarian or Russian nation", as the spurious bull of Pope John XIII, included in the Chronicle of Cosmas, attests. All of this would seem to indicate a Czech interest in Bulgaria, but traces of Czech literary penetration in Bulgarian literature prove to be insignificant, which is especially striking in comparison with the numerous Czech elements to be found in the Russian literary patrimony. No Czech influence is present in original Bulgarian writings: we find among Bulgarian monuments neither copies nor echoes of Czech texts. (Only the Russian manuscripts of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, a Czech translation from Latin into Church Slavonic,

betray, according to A. Sobolevskij's observation, a Middle Bulgarian model as a mediating link; this monument probably also reached Serbia from Bulgaria.) While we have several Church Slavonic hagiographic monuments of Czech recension, both translated from Latin and original, that have been preserved in Russian copies and compilations, the legends that trace their origin to Bohemia remain foreign to Bulgarian literature. A reference to the adverse historical circumstances that destroyed a greater percentage of the old monuments in Bulgaria than in Russia is not a sufficient explanation. After all, a great part of the known writings of Great Moravian literature, at least of those which arose before the death of Methodius, were preserved in Bulgarian copies. Perhaps the importation of later works slackened. While the Moravo-Pannonian legend of St. Cyril, probably written during the lifetime of his brother, is well known among the Balkan Slavs, the legend of St. Methodius, written shortly after his death, is not attested there. Not only are Czech hagiographic monuments lacking in the South Slavic Orthodox area, but also any trace whatsoever of the cult of the Czech saints, while in Russia we find, besides the legend of St. Ludmila, several versions of the legend of St. Wenceslas, a liturgy for St. Wenceslas, and, in the calendars, feasts dedicated to both saints. In addition, the Moravo-Pannonian legend of St. Methodius is preserved there in eight manuscripts; it probably arrived through Bohemia, and its oldest record in a twelfth-century Russian collection adjoins a legend of St. Vitus which is indisputably of Přemyslide Czech origin. How then can one explain this much stronger influence of the Church Slavonic culture of the Přemyslide state in Russia than in Bulgaria?

With the wedging in of the Hungarian state, the Czechoslovak region lost its direct border with Bulgaria, while in the tenth century, during the period of the flowering of the Přemyslide state, the Kievan principality directly adjoined it, maintained friendly and perhaps, as historians conclude, even allied relations, was linked with it by common interests as regarded Poland, and played for the Czech principality, to a certain degree, the same role as Byzantium had for Great Moravia in the preceding century — it was a powerful support from the East. A lasting tradition of reciprocal relations was created. Indeed, even in the field of material culture, after the fall of Great Moravia Russia partially took over the role of Byzantium. Byzantino-Eastern influences also remained a decisive component for the Czech lands in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as Schráníl's archaeological analysis of artifacts and handicrafts attests, but it was Russia which began to be used as the mediator of these influences, either through the supply of Byzantine artifacts or through its

own production. On the other hand, in the field of Christian religious culture, tenth-century Russia still had to rely on importation from outside.

Bulgaria, which neighbored on Byzantium and was penetrated by its cultural influence, adopted Christian culture earlier than the Russian land, which was farther from its main centers. Bulgaria had already experienced an impressive literary and artistic upsurge, and felt itself to be more religiously self-sufficient and secure than Russia of that time, which only in the late tenth century gradually entered upon the path of Church Slavonic culture, did not yet have experts in Greek or Latin, and sought access to the Slavic literary stock. Russian enlightenment especially spread during the reign of Jaroslav the Wise (1019–1054); original and translated books were acquired and accumulated from the Slavic lands; local translating work was zealously organized, and, since there were still few trained indigenous translators, not only finished translations but even translators were imported from time to time. Thus, for example, N. Durnovo explains the striking Bohemisms and *Bulgarisms* in the Church Slavonic translation of the Greek Chronicle of Hamartolos, produced in Russia some time around the middle of the eleventh century, by the participation of Czechs and Bulgarians in the translation of this extensive monument.

Finally, there is yet another, perhaps more important difference: Bulgaria in the tenth and eleventh centuries was exclusively subject to Byzantine cultural influence, and this dissociated it from the Czech state, which oscillated between the Western and the Eastern rite, with a gradual predominance of Western influences. Meanwhile Russia, which like the Czechoslovak region belonged simultaneously to two opposite basins, the northwestern and the southeastern, was also the arena for a complex interplay of the two influences. This lasted until the definitive Church schism, which by the end of the eleventh century determined the unambiguously Greek inclination of ecclesiastical Russia and, simultaneously, the Latin orientation of Czech spiritual life. Only then did a deep cultural breach begin to form between the two lands; while Cosmas, Dean of the Prague Chapter, attempted through his Chronicle to efface everything in the Czech past which deviated from the narrowly Latin course, the contemporary chronicler from the Kievan Cave Monastery, the central focus of the uncompromisingly Greek orientation, sought to eradicate from the Russian chronicle the traces of intensive Czech participation in the older stages of Russian culture, and within the framework of the anti-Roman pamphlet literature that flourished in Russia after the schism, there even appeared a grotesque

slander against Vojtěch (Adalbert), the most Western-oriented of all the Czech saints. Russia's links with the West were not, however, broken overnight, and the momentum of Czech-Russian relations proved to be so strong even following the Schism (1054) that sometime after the 1080's — this dating is attested by the names of new saints which appear in the text — the prayer to the Holy Trinity reached Russia from Bohemia and gained there a significant popularity; in this prayer there appear several names of exclusively Western saints, and besides the older saints especially venerated by the Czechs (Clement, Dmitrij, Vitus, Cyril and Methodius, Wenceslas) one finds Vojtěch, a questionable figure from the point of view of Eastern Orthodoxy, mentioned. Vice versa, in 1095, two years before the expulsion of the Slavic monks from the Sázava monastery, we learn from the chronicle of the Sázava monk that particles of the relics of the holy princes Boris and Gleb, the Russian martyrs not canonized until 1072, were kept in one of the monastery altars.

That Boris and Gleb were not the only Russian saints known to the Czechs at least by name is attested by the name *Ol'ga*, which, according to the data of the monuments, was used in Bohemia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in this indisputably Russian sound shape. Nor did Russian names come to Bohemia by the ecclesiastical route alone. Thus, for example, the personal name *Dněpr* (or *Dněpro*) occurs nowhere but in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Czech monuments, which in this new guise reproduce the name of the major artery of Kievan Russia in both its East Slavic variants. The exchange of names and of venerated saints is the sole attested manifestation of actual reciprocity in Czech-Russian relations of the early Middle Ages in the field of religious culture. It is not out of the question, of course, that the Cyrillic alphabet appeared in Bohemia, alongside the traditional Glagolitic, through Russian influence. It is entirely possible that Cyrillic manuscripts came to Bohemia from Russia in the eleventh century and that the Cyrillic part of the Gospel of Reims, a fragment of a Russian monument from the mid-eleventh century given by Charles IV to the Slavic Emmaus Monastery as the patrimony of St. Prokop, is actually a remnant of them. In the second half of the eleventh century, when Russian religious literature attained a high level of excellence and began to have an influence in the South Slavic world (especially in the new Serbian cultural terrain), in this final period of the long-dying Czech-Russian literary relationship, perhaps not only the relics of Boris and Gleb reached Bohemia, but at the same time the Kievan prayer to the two martyrs betrays its Czech origin. Vondrák finds in Old Czech biblical texts traces of the influence of

Church Slavonic monuments of Russian recension, apparently imported at the close of the eleventh century. But these are all still mere conjectures, whereas the reverse current, extending from the Czech principality to the East, is variously attested in Russian religious culture and was indisputably much more intensive. It ran, as historical (Mil'jukov) and philological (Obnorskij) research has indicated, not only to Kievan Russia, but also directly to Novgorod, the most Western-oriented commercial and cultural center in medieval Russia. Indeed, the daring question has even been posed as to whether or not Kievan literary Russian, saturated by Bulgarian elements, was not preceded by the Novgorod literary language, oriented toward the West Slavs and reflected in, for example, the *Russkaja Pravda*, the oldest Russian legal monument.

The notion of Russia as a field for cultural penetration was certainly alive in Czech Cyrillo-Methodianism, and in its later echoes and resonances changed into a unionistic longing to win over these "unconfirmed" (schismatic) Slavs to the true faith and to enlightenment. It is worth mentioning that the chronicle of the Sázava monk is the sole Czech work of the twelfth century that recalls the Slavonic liturgy with sympathy, while at the same time manifesting an interest in the one-time attempt of Otto the Great to win Russia over to the Catholic faith. Moreover, in the following century the politics of Přemysl Otakar II combine slogans for a struggle against the Russian schism with a revival of the Great Moravian ideology.

The investigation of the Czech layer in Old Russian literature has only just begun, but already today one may say that we are obliged solely to Russian copies for our knowledge of the majority of the preserved Church Slavonic monuments of Czech origin. The Czech contribution proves to be richest in the realm of translated literature. The models for the Church Slavonic translations produced in the Czech principality are Latin, as opposed to Greek sources for the majority of the remaining Church Slavonic translations written or copied in Russia. The so-called second Old Church Slavonic legend of St. Wenceslas, which originated in Bohemia at the end of the millennium and was discovered by N. Nikol'skij in two Russian manuscripts of the sixteenth century, is a reworking based on Latin sources. Sobolevskij found, in Russian copies, several literary monuments translated from Latin into Church Slavonic on Czech soil, especially the Martyrdom of St. Vitus and the Homilies on the Gospels by Pope Gregory the Great. The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, whose Latin model, translating technique and lexical Bohemisms make it similar to the above-mentioned Homilies, came to

Russia only through Bulgaria. Nikol'skij also considers the Church Slavonic translation of the Latin Rule of Archbishop Boniface, known from Russian manuscripts, to be a Czech monument of the eleventh century. The question raised by A. Kolessa concerning Bohemisms in the *Thirteen Words* of St. Gregory the Theologian, translated from the Greek into Church Slavonic and preserved in a Russian manuscript of the eleventh century, remains open.

The first Old Church Slavonic legend of St Wenceslas from the 930's is the sole original Přemyslide-Czech work that has been fully preserved in Russian literature, but with Russifying retouches of form and content. In Russia this legend and the somewhat older legend of Ludmila soon experienced an abridged reworking intended for a Prolog, i.e. brief lives of the saints, ordered according to the calendar. The original life of St. Ludmila, no longer extant, the oldest of the legends recorded in Bohemia, left behind, besides a Latin echo, only this Russian abridgment. Whether the Canon in praise of St. Wenceslas arose in Bohemia, as for example Pekař and Iljinskij claim, or only on Russian soil, it is characteristic of the intensity of this Czech saint's cult in Russia that in the eleventh century this composition was inserted into a liturgical Minei for church use in Novgorod.

Scholars like Šaxmatov, Lavrov, Nikol'skij, Istrin, and Il'inskij acknowledge the Czech components in the oldest Russian chronicle. It is harder to define this layer more precisely, and up to now opinions diverge on the questions of when and to what extent Czech elements penetrated the *letopis'*. While Šaxmatov presumed the parts of an unpreserved Czech document were first inserted in a new redaction of the *letopis'* produced at the beginning of the twelfth century. Nikol'skij concludes with greater justification that the *letopis'* contained a Czech stratum from the beginning, and that it must have been more extensive and systematic in the older redaction; indeed, this penetrating medievalist presumes that the lexical Bohemisms and formal, especially compositional, features which distinguish the Russian *letopis'* from Byzantine chronicles directly attest to Czech Church Slavonic models for the oldest Russian chronicle tradition. Certainly a Czech model is betrayed by, on the one hand, the chronicle's introductory entries concerning the settlement of the Slavic tribes, and on the other the narration about the work of the apostles. The chronicle here draws upon some Great Moravian document. This document indisputably belonged to the apologetic literature in defense of the *privilegium ecclesiae moraviensis*, whether the framework of the apology was an expressly historical or hagiographic work. The Czech-Latin legends in the Cyrillo-

Methodian spirit are a later echo of this literature. Although the chronicle narration about the apostles is related to the Moravo-Pannonian legend of St. Methodius, it is marked by a much more emphatic Moravian standpoint. According to the narration, the Slavonic script arose in Moravia and all the church books were translated in Moravia and for Moravia. The ideology of the Moravian mission is also indicated unambiguously by the basic thesis of both the cited passages concerning the long-standing Slavic nature of Illyricum and especially of Noricum, and of the antiquity of the Moravo-Pannonian Slavic church. According to the chronicle narration, the first teacher of the Slavs was the Apostle Paul: he preached in Illyricum which had always been Slavic, and he ordained the Apostle Andrew bishop and named him as his successor. The latter also included Moravia in his preaching activity, and Methodius is said to be his heir. The cited document could only have appeared within the sphere of Methodius' activity, since it ideologically supports and strengthens his pretensions to Illyricum. The question of Noricum, above all, could not have occupied anyone in the Slavic world anywhere else or at any time afterwards, and it is characteristic that, for the most part, the manuscripts of the Russian *letopis'* corrupt this unintelligible name (instead of the proper *norici*, they write *norci*, *narci*, *inorici*, *inověrci*). The path of this apologetic work to Russia could only have been through the Přemyslide state. In the list of the offshoots of "the one Slavic language" are named "Moravia and the Czechs", but not, however, the Balkan Slavs. The position which placed the origin of the Slavonic script and literature exclusively in Moravia flatly contradicted the Bulgarian conception, and thus the monument could hardly have been transmitted through that land. The narrative's report that Cyril left Moravia to instruct the Bulgarian people probably first arose in Russia, so that the Saint's Roman epilogue would be dampened, as, in general, the Russian redactor obviously toned down the evidence of the Pope's active participation in the mission of the Thessalonian brothers (indeed, the chronicle narrative does not even concede to Rome the nomination of St. Methodius as Bishop of Pannonia, declaring instead that the nominator was the local prince, Kocel). The Russian redactor supplements the West Slavic source's thesis concerning the connection of the Moravo-Pannonian Slavic church with the apostolic church by a repeated, emphatic linking of his homeland with Slavic unity: "Paul is teacher to the Slavic *jazyk* [*język* in the Old Church Slavonic terminology designates both 'language' and 'people'], for he preached to the Slavic people [*jazyk*] and appointed Andrew bishop and his successor for the Slavic people [*jazyk*] after him.

And the Slavonic and the Russian language [*jazyk*] are one; for they began to call themselves Russians from the Varangians, but first they were Slavs. They were also called *Poljane*, but their language was Slavonic; they were named *Poljane* because they lived in the *pole* ['plain'], but the Slavonic tongue [*jazyk*] was also a single one for them." For the Russian chronicler, the significance of the borrowed passages lay precisely in their making possible the conclusion that the Slavic church was a direct heir of the original church.

Newly-baptized Russia was an auspicious and convenient outlet for Czech cultural production, and the Czechs were linked to Bulgaria by the early creative élan of Church Slavonic culture based directly on the Great Moravian tradition, whereas the Czech land felt connected to Croatia through the coexistence of the Slavic and Latin liturgy, and by the same lengthy contention with Rome over the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy. Almost in the same period (the end of the 1050's) the Slavic-disposed clergy in both lands were accused of heresy and vehemently persecuted. As the Sázava monk narrates, the Latinizers opposed the pupils of Prokop, *dicentes per sclavonicas litteras haeresis secta ypochrisisque esse aperte irretitos ac omnino perversos*; similarly in Croatia at the same time, according to Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, *dicebant enim gothicas litteras a quodam Methodio haeretico fuisse repertas, qui multa contra catholicae fidei normam in eadem sclavonica lingua mentiando conscripsit*. After the spiteful measures of the Czech Prince Spytihněv and the Croatian King Peter Kresimir IV, under their successors comes concurrently, here and there, a new tenacious struggle for a national liturgy. Pope Gregory VII authoritatively offered resistance, and at the end of the century the Slavic liturgy in Bohemia succumbed, while in Croatia it was maintained fairly well through the union with Hungary, where the Western onslaught was still outweighed by Byzantine influences. Perhaps the proximity to Orthodox Serbia also broke the edge of the Roman campaign against the Croatian "glagolitians" [*glagolaši*]. Glagolitic culture gained a new impetus in Croatia only in the thirteenth century, i.e. simultaneously with the Czech and Bulgarian spiritual and political revival.

The Church Slavonic culture of independent Croatia (tenth to eleventh centuries) was receptive. To the basic Great Moravian fund, inherited at least in part through the intermediary of Bulgaria, was added a literary importation from Bohemia. The numerous, indeed preponderant Western elements of Czech Church Slavonic culture made it acceptable to the Croats, as opposed to the Eastern-oriented Bulgarian culture. The *Kiev Leaflets*, a Czech manuscript of the tenth century

which contains a fragment of a translation of a Latin missal into Church Slavonic of Czech recension, has a Croatian supplement from the eleventh century which completes the first side of the Leaflets and which, according to Weingart's conclusions, is, like the somewhat younger *Vienna Leaflets*, a Croatian copy from the same work. From this it follows that the Czech manuscript of which the *Kiev Leaflets* are a fragment reached Croatia and, at the same time, that the Croats copied a monument of Czech origin. The first Church Slavonic legend of St. Wenceslas, although it is preserved in Croatian Glagolitic manuscripts only from the end of the fourteenth and from the fifteenth centuries, was probably also brought from Bohemia to Croatia during the oldest period of Croatian literature. The cult of St. Wenceslas and, at the same time, that of Ludmila are also attested by their names in the oldest Croatian calendars. The services for Cyril and Methodius, which are contained in Glagolitic breviaries, also came to the Croats from Bohemia and attracted the attention of scholars not only through their lexical Bohemisms, but also through the emphatic connection of the apostles with the Czech people and the Czech land. We read there that with Cyril "a light shone to the Czech people", that Cyril came "to the Czech land" and that he worked "in the Czech land". Conjectures about a Croatian influence on Czech Church Slavonic monuments, on their language and orthography, have proved to be groundless. Croatian elements were especially sought in the *Vienna Glosses*. The latter are words in Church Slavonic of Czech recension inserted in Latin characters between the lines of a Latin manuscript sometime at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. What was considered a Croatian overlay in their orthography, however, is in reality an archaic linguistic feature of Czech in the inaccurate formulation of Latin script. Croatian Church Slavonic culture was too weak in comparison to the Czech to have been able to act on it regressively. After all, even later in the so-called Golden Age of Croatian Glagolitic literature, when Charles IV settled Croatian monks in the Emmaus Monastery, although these monks made Church Slavonic and Glagolitic accessible to the Prague intellectuals, revived among Czechs the idea of Slavic interconnectedness and gave a new stimulus to the Bohemization of the Scripture and liturgy, it is more correct to say that they strengthened the traditional Czech opinions and native longings founded in Cyrillo-Methodianism, rather than Croatian literature becoming accepted in Bohemia. On the other hand, several Czech literary works came in translation to Croatia through the mediation of that Prague monastery.

Czech-Polish cultural relations were formed even more unam-

biguously. Throughout the entire Middle Ages, the Czech state was for Polish religious culture the constant and foremost supplier of models and incentives, ideas and artistic values, new conceptions and new terms. From Czechs, as A. Brückner, the patriarch of modern Polish philology, sums up, everything was taken, from coins to orthography. The paths of this Czech cultural penetration into Poland were numerous. The main gate for intensive cultural importation from the Czech land was Polish Silesia, which Polish historians rightly designate as the intellectual vanguard of medieval Poland. Nor must one forget the extreme fluidity of the national border during the early Middle Ages. The tenth-century Czech state included Silesia and the area of Cracow, while at the dawn of the eleventh century the Polish sovereign Bolesław the Brave seized all the Czechoslovak lands. This variability of boundaries surely favored a fluctuation of spiritual values. The sources for the oldest cultural history of Poland are meagre and full of gaps. There are few reliable data for solving the question of the extent and period in which Church Slavonic culture penetrated from the Czechs to the Poles. We know from the Moravo-Pannonian legend that there were some sort of relations between the Moravian Mission and Little Poland, and that Methodius strove, without great success, it seems, from the wording of the account, for the Christianization of some Polish principality on the Vistula. It is likely that this interest was connected with the expansionist policy of the Moravian Empire. The tenth and eleventh centuries, the period of Church Slavonic culture in the Přemyslide state and simultaneously the period of the intense interaction of Czech and Polish history, provide eloquent if fragmentary data concerning the infiltration of Cyrillo-Methodianism into Poland. The name of the first Bishop of Cracow, Prohor (Prochor), and probably also the name of his successor, Prokulf (Proklus), belong to the Byzantine world. The ancient little church on the Wawel in Cracow repeats the characteristic features of contemporaneous Czech rotundas, which are obviously linked with the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The churches of Little Poland in the early Middle Ages continue the Czech cult of St. Clement, who occupies such a significant place in the life of Cyril. The propagator of Christianity in Poland, Mieszko I, oriented Polish ecclesiastical life toward Bohemia, prompted partly by the influence of his spouse, the Přemyslide Dubravka, niece of St. Wenceslas and sister or cousin of Christian, partly by the necessity of resisting a great dependence on the Western neighbor, and partly by the propaganda and expansionist capability of the liturgy in the Slavonic language, cultivated in Bohemia. Czech missionaries and priests went to Poland and worked effectively for the

organization and promotion of its church and culture, indeed as the example of Vojtěch witnesses, even for its upsurge in power. Modern scholars, both Czech and Polish, consider St. Vojtěch an advocate of the Slavonic liturgy; perhaps he also strengthened its position in Poland.

Certainly the rise of Polish religious terminology goes back precisely to the period when Christianity spread in the land. Its basic source, as especially the works of E. Klich and B. Havránek have shown, was Church Slavonic of Czech recension. "The fact that this Old Church Slavonic stratum of Polish religious terminology passed through Czech mediation", says Havránek, "is attested by its adaptation conforming to Czech, as in *gospodzin* (OCS *gospodb*), *smilować* (OCS *milovati*, *po-*) or especially the striking etymological recombinations similar to Czech: for the OCS *blagosloviti* there is in Polish *blogosławić*, like the Czech *blahoslaviti*; for the OCS *raz(d)rěšiti* there is *rozgrzeszyć*, like the Czech *rozhrěšiti*, through a connection with *grzech*, *hřiech*." The names and the veneration of Czech national saints (churches consecrated to St. Wenceslas, his name in Czech form, Strachota — the Bohemized name of Methodius) also quickly penetrated to Poland.

If, as Polish numismatics has concluded, the dinars with the Cyrillic inscription *Boleslavъ* refer to Bolesław the Brave, the son of Mieszko and Dubravka, and not to the Czech Boleslas II or III, then this is a documentation of the penetration of Czech Cyrillic script to Poland. The supposition that these dinars were intended for the Russian subjects of Bolesław the Brave and that, therefore, they are connected with the Russian Cyrillic script, is entirely groundless. For anyone who is acquainted with Czech-Latin monuments of the early Middle Ages and with their terminology, it is indisputable that by the words *latinorum et slavorum*, *quotquot estis incolae*, which the Polish chronicler from the beginning of the twelfth century, the so-called Gallus Anonymus, uses in describing how everyone mourned the passing of Bolesław the Brave, are meant the Latinizers and the adherents of the Slavonic movement; and similarly, in Mathilda of Swabia's words about Bolesław's successor, Mieszko II, that he is accustomed "*in propria et latina Deum digne venerari*", *propria* can only designate Church Slavonic, for there was no other local liturgical language among the Slavs at that period. Russian sources refer with condemnation to some sort of expulsion of monks from Poland, approximately contemporaneous with Spytihněv's first expulsion of Slavonic monks from the Benedictine Sázava Monastery and with their flight to Hungary. Also, the analogous papal measures against the Polish Benedictine monastery in Tyniec near Cracow,

probably founded by Bolesław the Brave, correspond chronologically to the second, definitive disaster that befell Prokop's spiritual flock. The abbot of the Tyniec Monastery was at that time accused of heresy and deposed, and some of the monks were banished. One may assume that in Poland these reprisals were also connected with Rome's campaign against the Methodian "heresy".

Not even with the extinction of the Slavonic liturgy did the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition perish among the Czechs. It finds expression in Latin writings which ardently propagate the work of the pioneers of the Slavonic liturgy, in the renewal of the struggle for the right *in propria Deum venerari*, and in the reverently preserved spiritual song from the Church Slavonic patrimony. This period of prompting references to the Cyrillo-Methodian precedent and model also finds a response in neighboring Poland. The legend of the genealogy of the Slavic nations, taken over from the Czechs and elaborated by the Polish-Latin chronicles (*Scribitur enim in vetustissimis codicibus, quod Pannonia sit mater et origo omnium slavonicarum nationum*, etc.) has its source, as N. Nikol'skij concludes, in the Moravo-Pannonian tradition. The Czech-Latin services in praise of Cyril and Methodius also penetrate to Poland. The attempts of Charles IV to establish anew the Slavonic liturgy in Bohemia also spread to Poland. The ancient spiritual song, linked by tradition with the name of Vojtěch, also lives a full life in Poland throughout entire centuries. The instructive variants of the Czech prayer "*Hospodine, pomiluj ny*" make it possible to ascertain the original, purely Church Slavonic version from the preserved text, with its occasional Bohemisms. The philological criticism of the Polish song "*Bogarodzica dziewica*", known only from later, relatively standardized copies, presents us with more difficult tasks. One may, however, ascertain three linguistic strata — Church Slavonic of the Czech stamp (cf. especially *Bogarodzica*, *Bogiem sławiena* in place of *blogosławiena*, *Gospodzina*), Czech (*matko*, *zwolena*, *twego*, *spuści*, cf. OCz *spustiti* = *odpustiti*, *zbożny*) and Polish — and one may also determine their chronological succession with considerable plausibility: an originally Church Slavonic composition was first Bohemized, and only Polonized afterwards. We find here, for example, the words "*U twego syna*". The form *twego* in place of the Polish *twojego* is an indisputable Bohemism. Only later did it enter into standard Polish: in the song, however, only the reading of the preceding, Czech redaction is preserved. The translation into Polish, "*U twojego syna*", would have violated the syllabic scheme. This Czech reading, however, is not original. The preposition *u* is an obvious addition which mars the sense. It was most likely introduced in order

to preserve the syllabic scheme, which otherwise would have been threatened with the loss of one syllable through the Bohemization of the Church Slavonic version. In this way we arrive at the original Church Slavonic reading, "*Tvojego syna*".

The effectiveness of the Church Slavonic period of Czech culture is not limited to the Slavic states. Chaloupecký rightly sees the influence of the Czech model in the fact that the first Bishop of Merseburg, Bavor Boso, preached to the Sorbs in Slavonic at the end of the tenth century. The question of the oldest Hungarian cultural and ecclesiastical history certainly awaits a careful and multi-faceted revision. It is already beyond doubt, however, that an outstanding part in that history belongs to the Czechoslovaks, and above all to the Cyrillo-Methodian current. The Moravo-Pannonian legend already speaks of Methodius' relations with the Hungarian sovereign, and a memorandum of the Bavarian bishops from the year 900 directly accuses the rebellious Moravians of siding with the Magyars. When the Hungarian state came to encompass a significant portion of the former Great Moravian Empire, the adherents of the Slavonic liturgy in that region could hardly have become extinct. Indeed, the Hungarian state took over certain traditions of Great Moravia and, above all, maintained political and cultural relations with Byzantium. The monasteries of the Eastern rite which arose in the Hungarian region in the tenth century probably gave sanctuary to the Slavonic liturgy. When Spytihněv expelled the Slavic monks from the Sázava monastery, it was in Hungary that they took refuge. While the German missions of the 970's and 980's failed, perhaps because the Hungarians, like the Poles at that time, feared the excessive influence of the Empire, the Czechs met with complete success on the same field. After St. Vojtěch, who had already been involved in Hungarian ecclesiastical-political life during the reign of Prince Géza and then had a great influence on his son St. Stephen, in Hungary Vojtěch's noted collaborator, the Břevnov Abbot Radla-Anastasius asserted himself. With ten Slavic monks he developed a successful missionary activity, exacted for Stephen from the emperor Otto III the crown and the establishment of dioceses, was named the first Hungarian archbishop, and distinguished himself by organizing the Hungarian church on a large scale.

This multiform penetration of the Czech Church Slavonic tradition among the Magyars, as among the Poles, is manifested partly in the cult of St. Vojtěch, St. Wenceslas and St. Clement, the latter closely linked with the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, and of St. Vitus, the patron saint of the Czech land, also accepted into Czech hagiography in the Church Slavonic language; partly in the early diffusion of Czech Christian

names; and partly in Hungarian church terminology. Not long ago a Slovak scholar still posed the bewildered question, how is it possible that the apostles of the Magyars were Czechs, when an Old Slavonic origin is attributed to many Hungarian words of Christian faith and life? Today we know that there is no discrepancy between these two sets of facts. On the contrary, it is natural that Czech missionaries brought to Hungary Old Slavonic of the Czech recension. Nor does the possibility seem to be excluded that in this stratum of Hungarian vocabulary also occur archaic Slovak phonological traits, but this matter requires a new and more detailed analysis.

We find that the work of the Moravian Mission had an extensive range of influence, and that the direct heir of Great Moravia, the Přemyslide state, expanded this range still more substantially. One may say in summary that the decisive contribution of this cultural expansion to the development of the Slavic peoples was the idea of the Church Slavonic language. Both Moravia and Přemyslide Bohemia, of course, also contributed directly to its concrete construction, but its foundations were laid elsewhere, and after the destruction of Rastislav's realm, it attained elsewhere those canonical forms which became the point of departure for its further international development. The idea of the Church Slavonic language, however, was first and fully realized in the Great Moravian Empire. It was already contained *in nuce* in the above-cited message of Rastislav, and it was in Moravia, in the struggles against the too powerful Germans and the "tri-lingual heresy", that it crystallized and won recognition. Bohemia's Cyrillo-Methodianism also continued these struggles and, similarly, the generations of Christian and "Dalimil", of Pulkava and Rokycana, of Bilejovský and Balbín, continued to claim this recognition. Thus the idea persisted among Czechs and remained there a moving force, even when its material basis, their own use of Church Slavonic, already belonged to the past. Among the Southern and especially the Eastern Slavs, this language and its ideological content lived on in harmonious unity. The term "Church Slavonic language" actually does justice to the essence of the idea. The Slavic national language, and the national idea in general, are from the beginning recognized and sanctified by the Church and given into its service. The nation, its language and church, are bound together in an indissoluble whole. Likewise, the defense of these three values merges into a unified, sacred task. It is eloquently embodied in Prokop, the last Czech saint of the Cyrillo-Methodian epoch. As opposed to Latin, Greek, and German, Church Slavonic is a national language; but as opposed to the vernacular of each Slavic people, it is a supra-

national language — Slavic, according to its mission, without any narrower limitation. In the concept of the Church Slavonic language, therefore, a hierarchy of values is established. As the religious idea was considered to be placed above all human properties, so the Slavic idea is placed above tribal consciousness, and of course, Church Slavonic above common speech. These three hierarchical stimuli, mutually supporting each other, had an immense importance for the ideological development of Slavic nations, and the languages which made use of Church Slavonic developed a varied scale of transitional and hybrid formations between the summit and common speech, thus obtaining an uncommon wealth of semantic and stylistic variations.

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SAINT CONSTANTIN ET LA LANGUE SYRIAQUE

En se rendant en 860 chez les Khazars pour leur prêcher le Christianisme, Constantin le Philosophe s'était arrêté pour quelques mois à Cherson, et la Vie slavonne de ce Saint, écrite en Grande Moravie, peu de temps après sa mort (869), nous raconte qu'à Cherson "il avait appris le langage et l'écriture hébraïques, et, ayant traduit huit parties de la grammaire, il en avait acquis une science encore plus grande. Là vivait aussi un certain Samaritain qui venait le voir, discutait avec lui et lui montra l'écriture samaritaine qu'il avait apportée. Le Philosophe obtint (le manuscrit) par ses sollicitations, s'enferma chez lui, se mit à prier et, ayant reçu de Dieu l'intelligence, il commença à lire l'écriture sans aucune faute *** Il trouva là également l'Évangile et le Psautier écrits en lettres russes (*rus'skymi pis'meny*) et un homme parlant cet idiome. À force de causer avec lui, il s'appropriâ la possession de la langue, et parvint à discerner les lettres voyelles et consonnes en les comparant avec sa parole orale. Ayant adressé à Dieu une prière il commença à lire et à interpréter (la lecture), et de nombreuses personnes l'admirent en louant Dieu" (Chap. VIII).¹

Ce témoignage n'a pas cessé d'intriguer les savants, d'autant plus que la Vie slavonne de St. Constantin-Cyrille, comme l'ont démontré des recherches attentives, est une source historique d'ordinaire assez véridique et en tout cas précieuse. L'étrange passage a provoqué des tentatives d'explication variées et non moins étranges.²

On aurait tort d'admettre une interpolation, car notre légende n'en présente guère. Plusieurs philologues se sont ingénies à attribuer les livres dits "russes" soit aux Russes normands, soit aux Goths de Crimée. Mais pourquoi, dans ce dernier cas, l'hagiographe, au lieu de parler des lettres

¹ Nous citons la légende d'après la traduction de Fr. Dvorník (*Les légendes de Constantin et Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague, 1933), en la rapprochant du texte original.

² On trouvera l'histoire de la question chez G. Il'inskij (*Slavia* 3, 55 sqq.), N. Nikol'skij et P. Lavrov (*Izvestija po russkomu jazyku i slovesnosti*, Académie russe, I, 1928, 1 sqq., 38 sqq.) et I. Ohijenko (*Istorija cerkovno-slovjanskoj movy*, I, 1927, 94-122).

gothiques, désigne-t-il ces lettres comme “russes”, bien qu’il connaisse les Goths? On a supposé qu’il a simplement confondu les noms de deux peuples germaniques, tandis que G. Il’inskij hasarde une nouvelle hypothèse, non moins aventureuse et non moins artificielle que les anciennes: le copiste aurait substitué *rusьskymi* à *prozьskymi* (lettres franques), terme dû à son tour à la confusion des Francs et des Goths. D’autres, se rendant compte que ces théories germanisantes manquaient complètement de base, étaient tentés d’attribuer les livres en question aux Russes slaves: il aurait donc existé en Crimée, avant la mission slave de Constantin-Cyrille et de son frère Méthode, des Slaves chrétiens nommés Russes, et possédant déjà l’Évangile et le Psautier en leur propre langue, dans leur propre écriture; de sorte que la légende, tout en glorifiant Constantin en tant que premier apôtre des Slaves, auteur du premier alphabet slave et de la première traduction slave des livres sacrés, refuserait au Philosophe le mérite d’avoir inventé le premier alphabet slave, et d’avoir fait la première traduction slave de l’Évangélaire et du Psautier! Les difficultés s’accumulaient et l’énigme paraissait insoluble.

Or, en 1885 déjà, A. Sobolevskij³ confronta la mention des lettres russes avec un autre endroit de la même légende (chap. XV): à savoir, une liste des peuples “qui louent Dieu, chacun dans sa propre langue”, où l’on trouve dans la plupart des manuscrits *Suri* (Syriens), que deux copies altèrent en *Rusi* (Russes). Le grand slavisant russe vit bien que, dans les deux passages de la légende, il s’agissait du même peuple. Mais il adopta à tort la leçon des deux manuscrits, et d’après eux, introduisit dans le texte *Rusi* au lieu de *Suri*. C’est l’inverse qu’on aurait dû faire. Mais pour cela il fallut attendre cinquante ans encore. Nous devons à A. Vaillant l’ingénieuse idée que c’est *rus-* qu’il faut corriger en *sur-*, “et toutes les difficultés tombent”.⁴ H. Grégoire a immédiatement reconnu la grande vraisemblance de cette brillante trouvaille.⁵ Si néanmoins elle n’est pas encore généralement acceptée,⁶ cela s’explique uniquement par le fait que Vaillant n’a pas consulté, pour prouver son hypothèse, d’autres documents que la légende citée.

Parmi ces preuves supplémentaires qui changent la probabilité en certitude c’est la Vie abrégée de St. Cyrille insérée dans le *Prolog* qui nous apporte la confirmation la plus manifeste de la conjecture discutée: cette Vie, connue par plusieurs manuscrits du XIV^e siècle, nous dit que le

³ Kiev Univ., *Izvestija*, 9, 301.

⁴ *Revue des Études Slaves* 15 (1935), 75–77.

⁵ *Byzantion* 10 (1935), 776.

⁶ Cf. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), 347 sqq.

Saint possédait quatre langues — le grec, le latin, le syriaque (*surьsky*) et l'hébreu.⁷ Donc, l'apprentissage du syriaque par Constantin se trouve être attesté dans la tradition hagiographique deux fois: dans le récit de l'hagiographe du IX^e siècle sur le séjour du Philosophe à Cherson, et dans le *Prolog*.

D'autre part, nous avons des preuves que la désignation des Syriens évoquait aisément chez les scribes slaves le nom des Russes, composé des mêmes phonèmes et mieux connu, cela va sans dire, dans le monde slave. Ainsi, au commencement du X^e siècle, le moine Xrabr raconte dans son traité sur les lettres slaves que Dieu a donné aux Assyriens l'art astrologique,⁸ mais dans une version bulgare du XIII–XIV^es.⁹ *asur-* (Assyrien) facilement confondu avec *sur-* (Syrien) est remplacé par *rus-* (Russe).¹⁰ Ou bien l'un des deux noms entraîne l'autre: dans un manuscrit du Zlatostrui cité par Miklosich,¹¹ nous lisons *skufe, frake, inde, mavre, kapadoke, suri i rusь*. ... Quant au fait que l'adjectif *surьskymi* se trouve dans toutes les variantes de la Vie slavonne de Constantin, tandis que le nom propre *Suri* n'est altéré en *Rusi* que dans deux de ces nombreux manuscrits, il s'explique naturellement par l'expansion relativement restreinte des formes *rus, rusi* dans le monde slave.

Finalement, Vaillant affaiblit la démonstration de sa propre découverte en refusant d'ajouter foi à ce que la Vie de Constantin nous dit de ses études englobant, à côté de l'hébreu, le samaritain et le syriaque: le slavisant va jusqu'à prétendre que l'hagiographe, en attribuant au Saint toutes ces études de sémitique sacré, invente, "sans se soucier de la vraisemblance". Cependant la création fondamentale de Constantin, l'alphabet glagolitique, comprend maints caractères d'origine hébraïque et surtout samaritaine¹² et par conséquent il confirme les données de la légende sur les études sémitiques du Philosophe — au moins en ce qui concerne la connaissance de l'écriture hébraïque et samaritaine. Si l'on a posé (Vondrák, Vajs) la question des éléments samaritains dans l'alphabet slave de Constantin, c'est qu'on a su qu'il s'était occupé, à ce que nous dit sa biographie, de l'écriture samaritaine. Mais on ne s'était

⁷ V. P. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknovenija drevnej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti* (Leningrad, 1930), 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 163.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 165.

¹⁰ Cf. la substitution inverse dans la Vie de Cyrille de Turov que N. Nikol'skij édita d'après le manuscrit de Vologda XIV–XV^e siècle: le Saint russe en question aurait éclairé *surьskija l'udi* (*Sbornik Otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti*, Académie russe, 82, No. 4 [1907], 64).

¹¹ *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum* (Wien, 1862–65), 806.

¹² V. J. Vajs, *Manuel de paléographie glagolitique* (Prague, 1932), 50 sqq.

pas aperçu que, selon la même source, le Philosophe avait également étudié l'écriture syriaque, et désormais la question des traces syriaques dans l'alphabet glagolitique devrait être examinée à son tour. En particulier, si la lettre k, dans les anciens textes glagolitiques, ressemble à quelque chose de connu, c'est surtout au "kaph" de l'alphabet syriaque.

Rien de plus naturel que d'admettre qu'à la veille de ses disputes contre le judaïsme, Constantin se soit consacré pour quelques mois à l'étude de l'hébreu. Or, l'affinité entre les langues cananéennes est très nette, et l'intelligence de la langue et de l'écriture samaritaine ne présente vraiment aucune difficulté pour celui qui a appris l'hébreu. Il est également assez facile, en étudiant l'hébreu et en sachant bien la sainte Écriture, de s'orienter rapidement dans la Bible syriaque. D'autre part, on peut supposer qu'auparavant déjà, pendant sa mission arabe, Constantin avait pris une certaine connaissance des langues cananéennes et particulièrement du syriaque. Et de plus, si l'on prend en considération le témoignage authentique du docte Anastase le Bibliothécaire sur les talents surprenants du Philosophe et sur sa brillante érudition, les succès miraculeux de Constantin, tout en émerveillant son entourage à Cherson, n'avaient, à vrai dire, rien de surnaturel.

Peu de temps après la mort des deux apôtres moraves, le moine Xrabr, leur adepte zélé, nous renseigne sur l'invention des lettres slaves et sur les idées directrices de cette grande innovation. Les adversaires opposaient au slave l'hébreu, le latin et le grec en tant que langues primordiales, et pour réfuter cette opinion Xrabr rappelle que c'est le syriaque qui fut créé par le Seigneur avant toutes les autres langues et "qui fut parlé par Adam et depuis Adam jusqu'au déluge et depuis le déluge jusqu'à la division divine des langues au temps de la tour de Babel". Cette théorie remontant à Origène et à Théodoret de Cyr¹³ pouvait certainement renforcer l'inclination pour le syriaque chez Constantin hostile à la doctrine "pilatienne" des trois langues privilégiées.

Ni la facilité avec laquelle Constantin apprit le syriaque, ni l'intérêt du Philosophe pour cette langue ne sauraient donc passer pour invraisemblables. Il n'est pas non plus impossible que ce soit véritablement à Cherson que le Saint trouva des livres en lettres syriaques et un homme parlant cette langue. La présence de Syriens sur le littoral de la Mer Noire est attestée dès une date ancienne.¹⁴ Aux débuts du Moyen Âge les marchands syriens, réputés pour leur ubiquité, leur génie commercial,

¹³ Cf. V. Jagić, *Issledovanija po rusckomu jazyku* I (1895), 313 et V. Istrin, *Xronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode* I (1920), 58.

¹⁴ Cf. le livre russe de N. Pigulevskaja, *Les sources syriennes sur l'histoire des peuples de l'URSS* (Leningrad, 1941).

leur esprit d'entreprise, se sont implantés dans maints centres économiques du monde méditerranéen; il est plus que probable que ces gens trouvaient à s'occuper dans un riche port byzantin tel que Cherson, et non sans raison Constantin Porphyrogénète note le trafic commercial entre les Russes et la Syrie.

La Chronique de Nikon ainsi que la "Stepennaja kniga" affirment que le prince Vladimir reçut à Cherson le métropolitain Michel, Syrien d'origine, envoyé par le patriarche de Constantinople,¹⁵ et la Pečerskaja Lavra de Kiev garde les reliques de St. Michel, premier métropolitain russe. D'après certains manuscrits du Statut de St. Vladimir, celui-ci affirme avoir reçu du patriarche Photius, "le premier métropolitain pour Kiev, Michel".¹⁶ Plus d'une centaine d'années sépare la conversion de Vladimir du patriarcat de Photius, et Michel n'a donc pu être le contemporain des deux. Déjà Karamzin dans son *Histoire de l'état russe*¹⁷ a émis l'hypothèse que lors du règne d'Askold à Kiev Michel fut envoyé en Crimée par le patriarche Photius désireux de convertir les Russes.¹⁸ Dans ce cas, les deux épisodes syriens, l'apprentissage de Constantin et l'arrivée de Michel, appartiendraient à peu près à la même époque. Plus tard, le fait des relations entre la Russie Kievienne et la Syrie est plus d'une fois attesté. Ainsi, à la limite du XI^e et du XII^e siècles, le prince de Kiev, Svjatoslav, fils de David, avait, comme nous l'apprend le Paterik de Kiev, un habile médecin syrien venu, à ce qu'on suppose, par la principauté de Tmutorokan', gouvernée par Oleg, l'oncle de Svjatoslav.¹⁹ L'ancienne chronique russe rapporte sous 1065 un grand tremblement de terre en Syrie.²⁰ Enfin l'histoire d'Akir le Sage, apparue dans l'état de Kiev au cours du XI^e ou du XII^e siècle a été probablement traduite en slavon russe directement de l'original syriaque, comme cherche à le démontrer A. Grigor'ev dans sa monographie fondamentale sur cette oeuvre.²¹

Etant donnés ces rapports séculaires entre la Syrie et le voisinage septentrional de la Mer Noire, la rencontre de Constantin avec un Syrien et avec des textes syriaques précisément à Cherson ne saurait nous surprendre. Mais cette dernière question est secondaire. Ce qui importe,

¹⁵ *Polnoe sobranie russkij letopisej* 9, 57; 21, 102.

¹⁶ *Édition de la Commission Archéologique*, Petrograd, 1915, 4.

¹⁷ Tome I, note 474.

¹⁸ Cf. G. Vernadsky, *Byzantion* 15, 74.

¹⁹ *Édition de l'Académie Ukrainienne*, Kiev, 1931, 114 sqq.

²⁰ *V. Polnoe sobranie russkij letopisej* 1, 165; 2, 154.

²¹ A. Grigor'ev, *Povest' ob Akire Premudrom* (Moscou, 1913), chap. 8; cf. A. Orlov, *Perevodnye povesti feodal'noj Rusi i Moskovskogo gosudarstva* (Leningrad, 1934), 60 sq.

c'est que des textes dignes de foi nous attestent que Constantin apprit l'alphabet syriaque, et non des "lettres russes" alors inexistantes.

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MINOR NATIVE SOURCES FOR THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SLAVIC CHURCH

I. THE SLAVIC MISSION IN THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE

1. Dvornik's studies on the long Vitae of the Slavic Apostles. 2. The data in the Primary Chronicle compared with the long Vitae. 3. Illyricum and its parts: Noricum and Pannonia. 4. The Moravian source reflected in the Chronicle.

1

Francis Dvornik's fundamental books — *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle* and especially *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance* — convincingly demonstrated the vast historical value of the long Old Church Slavonic *Vitae* of the two Thessalonian brothers compiled in Great Moravia, the first (*Vita Constantini*, hereafter VC) soon after Constantine-Cyril's death in 869, and the second (*Vita Methodii*, hereafter VM) upon the death of Methodius in 885. The overall documentary validity of these writings, which are closely linked to the Byzantine biographical literature of the ninth century (cf. Alexander),¹ does not, however, mean that there cannot be certain gaps, omissions, and even instances of deliberate reticence or retouching. On more than one occasion Dvornik ingeniously fills in what had been left unsaid in the two *Vitae*. Realizing that the two legends “are the most important documents on the history of Constantine and Methodius” (b, 348), the investigator confines his interpretation solely to these two texts, without any recourse to the other remainders of Slavic Cyrillo-Methodian hagiography. His surmises supplementing the long *Vitae* are the more impressive as they prove to be supported precisely by those few short legends of the same saints which the scholar had not taken into consideration.

The seventh chapter, one of the most absorbing in Dvornik's *Légendes*, deals with “Methodius' diocese and the struggle over Illyricum”. It portrays the fight of the Popes Nicholas I (858–867),

¹ A complete list of references will be found at the end of this paper, pp. 186–189.

Hadrian II (867–872), and John VIII (872–882) to restore the old province of Illyricum or at least a substantial part of it, and to bind this territory directly to Rome without the intermediacy of the German bishopric, “qui commençait à devenir quelquefois encombrant” (268). The fact that the Sirmium diocese was revived under Methodius acquires its full meaning in this historical context. As VM VIII states, he was ordained *na episkopŭstvo vŭ Panonii, na stolŭ svętaego Andronika apostola*. The report is indeed “trop court malheureusement” (270), but a more detailed account of Methodius’ task in the framework of the Illyric problem is preserved by the Russian *Primary Chronicle*.

2

Under the year 6406 (898 A.D.), in connection with the appearance of an Ugrian horde in the vicinity of Kiev, the *Chronicle* inserts a brief note about the Ugrian onslaught against Moravia and furthermore about the Moravian activities of the Slavic Apostles. This story of the Slavic Apostles, cited by Russian scholars as *Skazanie o preloženii knig*, contains four quotations from VM: chapter VI — the attack of the detractors (labelled *něcii* in the *Chronicle*, *etera mŭnoga čędb* in VM)² against Slavic letters; chapter VIII — Hadrian’s reply, and the nomination of Methodius, chapter XV — the translations which he made. These quotations were interlinked by a loose narration of the rest of the same chapters and preceded by a summary of chapter V, with additions from VC: data about the father of the two saints are borrowed from VC II; the affirmation of a previous conversion of the Moravians and the mention of an assembly convoked by the Emperor were taken from VC XIV.³

There are, however, a few deviations from both *Vitae*. Not only Constantine but also Methodius is called Philosopher in the *Skazanie*, and their father is said to be still alive at the time of Rastislavŭ’s appeal. According to VC, Rastislavŭ, after conferring with unnamed *kŭnędzi svoimi i sŭ Moravljany*, sent his message to Michael III. VM attributes

² In quoting VC and VM we use Pastrnek’s reconstructed spelling form (154–238), with a few corrections. The chapter numbers are given in roman numerals. Our quotations from the Russian *Primary Chronicle* are based primarily on the critical edition by Šaxmatov, a, 5f., 11, 25–29.

³ An intimation of a previous conversion is contained also in VM X. Contrary to Vajs’ statement (135), nothing in the *Chronicle* is taken over from VC XV. Also wordings deviating from VM and VC show a thorough acquaintance with the Cyrillo-Methodian vocabulary. According to the *Skazanie*, the Slavs longed to understand the vigor (*sila*) and sense (*razumŭ*) of the written word: both terms together, with the same meaning — *silę i razumu* — appear in Constantine’s preface to the *Evangelium* where they translate the Areopagite’s *τῆ δυνάμει τοῦ σκόπου* as opposed to the “plain sounds” (Vaillant b, 10f.).

this message to Rastislavъ (Rostislav) and Svętopľkъ (Sventopulc, Svatopluk). Besides these two princes, the *Skazanie* names Косьль (Kozil, Kocel), the Pannonian ruler — in other words, all three of the addressees of Hadrian's later Bull, which is quoted in VM, and affirms that to all three of them Constantine and Methodius were sent by the Byzantine Emperor. In VC, Rastislavъ foresees that the mission awaited by the Moravians will affect the neighboring countries (*iny strany*) as well. The *Skazanie* stresses that the Slavic alphabet was composed by the brothers for Moravia and in Moravia itself, while both of the *Vitae* state that Constantine had invented the characters before his journey. The *Skazanie* follows VM in emphasizing the favorable attitude of the Pope (Hadrian) toward Slavic letters but deviates from the *Vitae* in ignoring any connection of the brothers with Rome. In particular the visits of the brothers to Rome are deliberately effaced in the *Skazanie*, and this may be considered Russian censorship posterior to the Schism. Utilizing the ambiguous sentence about the brothers in VM V, *vъzvratiste sę iz Moravy*, the *Skazanie* states that Constantine *vъzvrati sę vъspęti* "returned", and adds that "he went to teach the Bulgarian people, while Methodius remained in Moravia; afterwards, Prince Косьль promoted [in VM, asked the Pope to promote] Methodius bishop in Pannonia, in the see of St. Andronicus the Apostle, one of the Seventy, and [which VM leaves unsaid] a disciple of the holy Apostle Paul".

3

The *Skazanie*, reverting to VM, ends in an account of how Methodius completed the translation of the Bible: "Having finished, he rendered fitting praise and honor to God, who bestows such grace. ***" So far this is a literal quotation from VM XV, but then the text decisively emancipates itself from the *Vitae*:

(such grace) to the Bishop Methodius, the heir of Andronicus. Hence the teacher of the Slavic people is Andronicus the Apostle, who had reached Moravia (*Moravy bo doxodilъ*). The Apostle Paul, too, had taught there, for Illyricum (*Iljuriкъ*) is there, which Paul had reached and where the Slavs have lived from the very beginning. [In the enumeration of Japhet's tribes at the commencement of the *Chronicle* the name "Illyricum" is correspondingly glossed "Slavs": *Iljuriкъ-Slovęne*.] Hence the Slavic people also had Paul for teacher [the Russian compiler of the *Chronicle* added: "and also we Rus' are from this people, therefore also we Rus' have Paul for teacher"], since he taught the Slavic people, and for the Slavic people, he ordained Andronicus bishop and successor to himself. [The Russian *letopiseц* adds again: "And the Slavic people and the Russian are one

and the same, since from the Varangians they came to be called *Rus̆*, though originally they were Slavs. While they were also called *Poljane*, the language was still Slavic. They were called *Poljane* because they lived on the plain. But the Slavic people is one.”]

The slogan of the ethno-linguistic unity of the Slavs, applied by the compiler of the *Chronicle* to Russians, was taken over by him from the introduction to the story of the Slavic apostles. This introduction appears in the *Chronicle* in scattered fragments, a part immediately before the story of Constantine and Methodius, another still earlier, in the initial part of the *Chronicle*, dispersed among other entries. The topic of these fragments is the diffusion of the Slavs and their clashes with various invaders — the Avars who “harassed (*primučišę*) the Du[d]lębs” (s. Presnjakov, 19; Čiževsky, 102), the Bulgars “who settled on the Danube and oppressed the Slavs (*nasilbnici Slověnomъ byšę*)”, the controversial Voloxs (cf. Gyóni) “who did violence (*nasiljašče*) to the Danubian Slavs”, and the Ugrians who “expelled the Voloxs” and in their turn “reduced the Slavs to submission” (*pokorivъsę je podъ sę*). The emphasis is placed upon the original unity and primeval homeland of the Slavs:

after the fall of the Tower [of Babel] and the division of tongues, the sons of Shem were allotted the eastern lands, and the sons of Ham the southern lands, while those of Japhet were allotted the west and the northern lands. Among these seventy-two tongues was the Slavic tongue and people [in the Slavic texts of the early Middle Ages *językъ* signifies simultaneously tongue and people], belonging to Japhet’s tribe, namely the natives of Noricum (*Norici*), i.e. Slavs. Long afterwards the Slavs settled along the Danube where the Ugrian and Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs, people spread throughout the land and they were called by the names appropriate to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava and were called Moravians, while others were named Czechs.

A prolonged survey of the Slavic peoples, their names and their historical foes, leads to stressing once more the fact that there was only one Slavic tongue and people: “the Slavs (*Slovęne*) who settled along the Danube and were subjugated by the Ugrians, as well as the Moravians, the Czechs, the Ljaks and the *Poljane* who are now called *Rus̆*. It was for the Moravians that the Scriptures were first translated and this was called Slavic writing; *Rus̆* and the Danubian Bulgars have this same writing.”

For the bookmen of Kievan Rus’, Noricum was *terra incognita* (*zemplja neznaema*) and it is not surprising that most Russian scribes distorted *norici* into *norci*, *narci*, *inorici*, *inovęrci*. Illyricum was likewise a remote

geographic expression signifying little to the compilers and readers of the Russian Chronicles. In the Slavic West, however, in the region of Methodius' mission, the terms denoted these vitally relevant problems: the incorporation of the Pannonian bishopric into the broader compass of historical Illyricum, in accordance with papal aspirations; the affirmation of the traditional relationship between Moravia and Pannonia; the insistence upon the aboriginal Slavic character of all Illyricum, in particular of its Western sector, Noricum, and upon the legitimate succession of the Moravo-Pannonian Slavic church to the legendary Illyric Apostolate of Paul and Andronicus.

The worship of Paul dominates the whole Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. Each of the two brothers was extolled as his faithful pupil and follower, *novyi Pavľb*, in hagiography (e.g., VC I; VM XIV), in eulogies and in church services (Lavrov *b*, 93, 96, 111ff.). The First Epistle to the Corinthians, regarded as the Magna Charta of the Moravian apostolate, was cited at length in Constantine's plea for the Slavic liturgy (VC XVI) and referred to in his remarkable prefaces to the translation of the Evangelium (Vaillant *b*, 10f.) and Tetraevangelium (Nahtigal, 95; Jakobson *b*, 31 — cf. *infra*, 191f.). Dionysius the Areopagite, the Philosopher's favorite thinker, is seen by him as "the great pupil of Paul" (Vaillant *b*, 10). The triumph of the Slavic liturgy in Rome under Hadrian culminates in the glorification of St. Paul: *вѣ великаго учителя језыцьскаго Павла апостола црѣкви вѣсѣ ношѣ пѣшѣ, славословѣте Словѣнскы, і на утрѣи пакы литургіѣ надѣ свѣтыиѣ гробомѣ его* (VC XVII). VM begins (II) and ends (XVII) the life story of the saint by applying to him the same verse from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, 9:22. Also the so-called Bulgarian Legend, a *Vita* of Klimentъ (Clement), the brothers' disciple, written in Church Slavonic by his pupil in the second quarter of the tenth century, but preserved only in a Greek adaptation, probably of the late eleventh century, conceives the whole life of the Slavic Apostles as an imitation of Paul. According to this legend, Cyril *μιμεῖται Παῦλον*, and the last words of Methodius, who followed Paul until the end, are: "Thus Paul enjoins you through me."⁴

If special emphasis is set in the *Skazanie* upon the close kinship of the Slavic peoples and their linguistic unity in order to motivate the unity of their church and letters, this again points to the militant Moravo-Pannonian Church and is in full accord with the thesis attributed by VM to Pope Hadrian: "Not only to thee (*Косѣб*) but to all the Slavic lands I

⁴ FRB, 78–80 and 84. The critical edition of the Bulgarian Legend by Tunickij (*b*) is at present unavailable to me.

sent him (Methodius) as a teacher from God and the Holy Apostle Peter." Methodius' dignity as papal legate to the Slavic peoples was confirmed by John VIII (s. Dvornik *b*, 273).

4

Šaxmatov argued repeatedly that both the story under 898 and the related introductory entries hark back to a common Western Slavic literary source. According to the views most completely formulated in his posthumous study on the sources of the Russian *Primary Chronicle* (*b*), this Church Slavonic discourse, focussed on the problems of the Moravian mission, arose among the followers of the Slavic rite, either in Moravia or in Bohemia. The *terminus a quo* is 898. As the author remarks, the discourse knows nothing of the Magyar subjugation of Moravia, which occurred in the early tenth century, but it mentions that the Ugrians "had taken the offensive against Moravia and Bohemia". Šaxmatov's surmise that there followed a story of Moravia's fall and even of the destruction of the Slavic Church and letters in Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland, is arbitrary. Lavrov (*a*, 129ff.) assumes that the *Skazanie* goes back to a similar story from a vanished Moravian chronicle which had utilized VM and which reached Kievan Russia through Bohemia. Even the much more skeptical Istrin cannot avoid acknowledging a West Slavic source for the *Skazanie*.

The most novel and illuminating view of the Western Slavic ingredient in the Russian *Primary Chronicle* was given by Nikol'skij. Although Šaxmatov had grasped the Czech provenience of the *Skazanie* and its preamble, the references to Noricum and Illyricum were nevertheless inexplicable for him (75, 87). Lixačev, while accepting the West Slavic origin of the *Skazanie*, fails to understand these references and attributes the identification of the *Norici* with Slavs to "some Russian author" (II, 50, 209, 213).⁵ Nikol'skij, however, clearly perceived that claims to Noricum became particularly persistent in the struggle which arose under Pope Hadrian II between Methodius and the German clergy over the limits of the Salzburg diocese and the newly founded Moravo-Pannonian archbishopric. This scholar realized that German pretensions could hardly meet with sympathy on the part of John VIII, who dreamed of a Slavic *ecclesia* directly dependent upon the Roman See.

⁵ Now he goes so far as to ascribe the mention of the Slavic Noricum in the Chronicle to an oral popular tradition of the eleventh century (*b*, 35). Completely fantastic is the Marris research of Tolstov on the historical basis of the Slavic *Narci* (he uses this distorted form!) of the *Primary Chronicle*.

The *Skazanie's* statement with respect to Illyricum — *tu bo běše Slověne p̄rvoe* — is usually interpreted as a theory of the Balkan provenience of the Slavs. Nikol'skij showed, however, that what was meant here is Illyricum in the wider sense of the term, and, mainly, the northwestern parts *totius Illyrici* — both Pannonia, bordering on Moravia, and Noricum with its still Slavic population of Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia. One might say that the originator of the *Skazanie*, in his polemics with the circles promoting the aggressive *Libellus de conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (s. M. Kos), places the cradle of the Slavs precisely in their western outpost, Noricum, and only *po množěxъ že vremeněxъ* are they said to have settled along the Danube from Pannonia to Bulgaria and subsequently spread farther *po zemli*, to be mentioned first in Moravia and Bohemia. Il'inskij states, in reviewing Nikol'skij's monograph, that its most brilliant pages are devoted to the analysis of the data in the *Chronicle* on Paul's activity in Illyricum, on the primeval home of the Slavs, on the Slavic *Norici* and on the leading role of the Moravians: "After his investigation, every doubt that all these data came to Russia from the Slavic West must vanish."

Nicol'skij's monograph and the first draft of Dvornik's Illyricum chapter (*d*) appeared simultaneously and they complement each other magnificently. The papal aspect of the Illyric problem has been amply documented and interpreted by Dvornik, while Nikol'skij's insight into the *Skazanie* reveals the attitude of Methodius' faction. However close the collaboration of the Pope and Methodius in the restitution of Illyricum, the differences in conception must not be underestimated. It is true that from the vantage point of Rome this undertaking would hardly include "les territoires où existait une organisation ecclésiastique", in particular the ancient province of Noricum where Salzburg had long been active (Dvornik *b*, 274); nonetheless, the Pannonian archbishopric apparently did not lose sight of the Noricum Slovenes and ostentatiously opposed the recent Carolingian origin of the Salzburg jurisdiction to the alleged Apostolic antiquity of the Slavic Church in Illyricum. The Freisingen Leaflets of the tenth century bear witness to the expansion of the Cyrillo-Methodian work into Noricum (cf. Isačenko).

Even the particular emphasis of the *Skazanie* upon the Thessalonian origin of Methodius and Constantine (the Emperor sends to their native town for them) may be connected with the renovation of Illyricum: the memory of Thessalonica as the original capital of this church province was still alive.

In short, the entries of the *Primary Chronicle* that refer to the Slavic West up to the end of the ninth century go back to an apologetic

work supplementing the *Vita* of Methodius and summarizing his church policy; apparently it was compiled in Moravia by one of the zealots of the Slavic Church at the very end of the ninth century when the Magyars had already settled in the Danube region (cf. VM XVI) and started their raids against Moravia and Bohemia. Thus it is one of the numerous literary works which in the eleventh century were imported from the Czech state into Kievan Russia.

The western version *totius Illyrici* backed by Great Moravia yields after its downfall to the eastern version *παντὸς τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ* backed by Simeon's Great Bulgaria, as revealed by the title which the so-called Ochrid Legend, in the name of Methodius, attributes to his disciple Klimentъ: "bishop of all Illyricum and of the Bulgarian people ruling that land" (Ivanov, 318).

II. THE BEGINNINGS OF MORAVIAN AND BOHEMIAN CHRISTIANITY IN CZECH-LATIN LEGENDS

1. Bulgarian conversion in the Czech-Latin legends and their filiation. 2. Alleged anachronisms in these legends. 3. Coincidences with the Russian Primary Chronicle. 4. The original version of the Privilegium moraviensis ecclesie. 5. The original version of the Epilogus Terre Moravie atque Bohemie. 6. The Moravian and Bohemian historical legends of the ninth and early tenth century and their Latinization.

1

In his research on Rastislavъ's embassy to Michael III and the subsequent delegation of the Thessalonian brothers to Moravia, Dvornik succeeded capitially in educing the international background of these historic steps and, particularly, their connection with Bulgarian affairs:

Among these events the conversion of the Bulgars is of primary importance. It was not accomplished as suddenly as it might appear, but had had a slow and lengthy preparation. The numerous contacts of the Bulgarian princes with the Byzantine Empire on the one hand, and the Frankish on the other, had inured them to the Christian idea. *** Boris, fearing opposition from the pagan camp, and aware that the conversion of the Bulgars was impending, was disposed to resort to the Franks for this purpose, and opened negotiations with Louis the German. In 862 he concluded an agreement with him. *** It is possible that the conditions fixed by the Bulgarian prince for practicing the Christian faith in his domains date from that time, since as early as in 863 Louis informed Pope Nicholas I of the intention expressed by Boris to be baptized. The Pope, in his reply to Louis, congratulated himself on this score. *** (a, 184ff.)

Briefly, “Bulgaria was on the point of rejecting paganism”, and “disquieting rumors circulated in Byzantium”. Although a certain number of Bulgar nobles had been baptized in Constantinople in 863, “Boris was said to be predisposed toward the Franks and toward Latin missionaries. Since it was for the moment impossible to work upon Boris directly, the opportunity offered in Moravia was seized with alacrity.” (a, 164f., 186f.) The reports revealing the danger that threatened the Byzantine Empire from Bulgarian quarters “accelerated the encirclement manoeuvre which Byzantium had been planning against Bulgaria. It was then that the embassy sent by Rastislav (862), the Moravian prince, proposing an alliance against the Bulgarians, came in the nick of time” (c, 102f.).

The only Slavic source indicating the connection between the Christian longings of Bulgaria and the arrival of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in Moravia is the oldest Czech-Latin legend about the Slavic Apostles. In the earliest version preserved, which is labeled *Legenda Bodecensis* and published by Chaloupecký (a, 521–36), the first sentence states that Cyril came to Moravia *postquam Bulgri vel Bulgarii fidem Christi perceperunt*. In the Olomouc breviary of the fourteenth century, this legend (published by the Bollandists in 1688) starts with the same sentence and finishes with the curse of Methodius (Pekař b, 85f., 89). The close relation between the Bulgarian acceptance of Christianity and the beginning of the Moravian mission found adequate expression in this introductory phrase, irrespective of whether the official baptism, now assigned by most scholars to 864,⁶ preceded or immediately followed the beginning of the apostolate in Great Moravia, which falls either in 863 or 864. It was not before the very last days of 867 that the Thessalonian brothers, after brief sojourns in Pannonia and in Venice, arrived in Rome from Moravia, where they had stayed for three years according to VM, or for forty months, if VC is more trustworthy. Hence it is most probable that they arrived in Moravia early in 864 or late in 863.⁷

This perfectly sensible beginning of the legend was, however, distorted in its later adaptations. An incoherent preamble was added, relegating

⁶ See Vaillant and Lascaris; Grégoire; Ostrogorsky, 186.

⁷ According to the Italian legend, they stayed in Moravia for four and one half years. Either this is one of the inaccuracies of this source or else, one might argue, the three years and four months counted by VC (or in round numbers the three years of VM) are due to a trivial mistake in ascribing the Cyrillic numeric value to Glagolitic ciphers: in this case the Cyrillic copyist of the originally Glagolitic VC would have substituted three years and four months for the four years and five months of the prototype, a span rounded off to four and one half years by the Italian legend. Then the date of arrival would be early in 863. There is a similar substitution of six for eight in VM XV, as Sreznevskij and Rešetar detected.

the Christianization of Moravia to the times *Augustini, magnifici doctoris*, and that of the Bulgars even much farther back. Another version made Cyril Augustine's contemporary, who came to Moravia *postquam Bulgariam ad fidem Jhesu Christi convertisset*. The first of the two cited variants appears in the *Vita et Passio Wenceslai et Ludmile*, attributed in its *Prologus* to Christian (edited by Pekař, *b*, 88–125), the other in the legend *De S. Quirillo et conversione Moravie et Bohemie* (edited by Chaloupecký, *a*, 481–93).

The first opus, which we will quote under the conventional label *Legenda Christiani* (LC), is divided by Pekař into ten chapters, of which the first five correspond, with some deviations, to the *Legenda Bodecensis* (LB). We are here concerned uniquely with the introductory sections devoted to Cyril, Methodius, and his Bohemian proselyte, Borivoi (Bořivoj).⁸ The second opus, usually cited by its two initial words *Diffundente sole*, is but an abbreviated rearrangement of these sections.

LB is a painstaking copy made in the early fifteenth century in the monastery of Böddecke from a manuscript of the eleventh/twelfth centuries and preserves many of the archaic features of the latter. When the same text reappears as a part of LC, known in copies of the fourteenth century, it presents some considerable alterations, although in places it retains more ancient readings than LB (cf. Urbánek, II, 67f.). Hence the archetype of the story (*L) may be reconstructed only through a comparison of LB with LC. As to *Diffundente sole*, we are led to agree with Pekař who, following the Bollandists, took it for a simple, often literal, extraction from LC (*b*, 72). Vilikovský, the chief expert in Czech-Latin medieval literature, convincingly demonstrated that the script was most probably compiled as late as the fourteenth century to preface an old homily on St. Ludmila.⁹

2

LB and LC are two recensions representing the oldest extant Czech-Latin Chronicle of the Moravian mission and its repercussions in Bohemia. To obtain the original version, we must purge the text of all

⁸ These sections cover the first two chapters in Pekař's edition of LC and in Chaloupecký's edition of LB plus the first lines of the third chapter until the death of Borivoi (LB: Boriwoi) in 891 or rather of his son and continuator, *Spytigněvъ* (LB: *Zpitigneu*) in 905: p. 95, l. 14 of Pekař's text.

⁹ This homily, beginning with the words *Factum est*, is edited by Chaloupecký *a*, 538–56, and assigned by him to the end of the eleventh century. The homily, or rather its probable Church Slavonic prototype, inspired the eulogy to Olga in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*: see Jakobson *c*, 46f. — cf. *supra*, 42. Therefore, Urbánek's assignment of this work to the thirteenth century is unacceptable.

later interpolations, such as the whimsical digression into the Augustinian epoch mentioned above.¹⁰ Instead of cleansing the text from such admixtures, the commentators either used them, like Kalousek (*a*, *b*), to cast doubt upon the whole legend, or endeavored, like Pekař, to contrive some motivation for these “obtuse” passages (*b*, 183ff.), or, finally, they exploited these clumsy “anachronisms” in order to assign the text to an epoch sufficiently distant from Great Moravian history: those are the grounds on which Chaloupecký’s dating of this Czech apology for the Slavic liturgy to the end of the tenth century is rejected by Urbánek in favor of the late eleventh (I, 125, 146).

The alleged anachronisms are picked up from altered versions and ascribed to the original or, in numerous instances, the violation of historical reality is arbitrarily postulated by commentators. According to Urbánek, the form *Quirillo*, used in LB, in lieu of the denominations “Constantine” or “Philosopher” current in VM and VC, “testifies to the late origin” of the Czech-Latin legend (I, 132, 147). This monastic name, which Constantine assumed on his deathbed, is applied to him in Old Church Slavonic literature as early as in the Panegyric to St. Cyril by one of his first disciples in the Moravian Mission, Klimentъ. The tendency to preserve the Greek sound-form of the name is a typical feature of the earliest Czech Cyrillo-Methodian tradition (s. Jansen, 13 — cf. *supra*, 136f.). The apposition “Philosopher” is absent from most of the Church Slavonic texts on Cyril.

Urbánek points out that the great struggle over the Slavic liturgy

¹⁰ A thorough analysis and textual criticism of this chronicle seems to us a much more important task for Czech history and literary scholarship than the minor question voluminously discussed by Urbánek versus Pekař and Chaloupecký, on whether the parts of LC missing in LB (the bulk of the *Passio Wenceslai* and the Foreword, *Prologus*, to the legend) may be assigned to *L or considered an appendix posterior to LB. One must agree with Chaloupecký’s (*d*) review of Urbánek’s thousand-page monograph that despite the large amount of valuable documentary data, the reader is rather disappointed by the monograph’s methodological feebleness, by Urbánek’s insufficient acquaintance with the Church Slavonic chapter of Czech literature and culture and by his quite arbitrary attribution of various Czech-Latin writings to one or another historical figure of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Urbánek succeeded, however, in refuting some exaggerations of Chaloupecký’s reconnaissance work, particularly the unwarranted antedating of the late legends *Beatus Cyrillus* and *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris*. But he failed to disclose the main blunder in Chaloupecký’s study, its radical and groundless over-estimation of the antiquity of *Diffundente sole*, assigned by both historians to the Old Church Slavonic period of Czech cultural history: the late tenth century by Chaloupecký (*a*, Ch. III) and the end of the eleventh by Urbánek. With the former’s important discovery of the complete independence of the two works, the legend *Diffundente sole* and the homily *Factum est*, both conjoined in fifteenth-century manuscripts, Urbánek is in complete accord, but he erroneously postdates the homily.

actually occurred in Venice and not “in Rome before the Pope”, as affirmed by the Czech-Latin legend (I, pp. 126, 152). Pekař, too, accuses LC of erroneously ascribing to the Pope and his entourage the objections to the Slavic liturgy. He tries to explain this mistake by assuming that the author’s knowledge of later papal resistance involuntarily confused the picture (b, 186). It would be, however, a *petitio principii* to identify, without preliminary questioning, the assertions and reticences of VC and VM with the actual state of affairs and to call any deviation from these legends an infringement of historical reality. Had there even been a discussion with Pope Hadrian, we could not expect VC or VM to take cognizance of it, since the consistent policy of these two *Vitae* is painstakingly to avoid any intimation of an inimical attitude on the part of the Popes, Byzantine authorities, or Slavic rulers to the Moravian mission, as well as the slightest allusion to subversions of régime in both Byzantium and Moravia. These potentates are either benevolently inclined or they simply do not appear on the scene. The negative roles are confined exclusively to the Ancient Enemy and to the Germans. The opponents closest to the Holy See who voiced objections to the Slavic liturgy on the eve of its approval by Hadrian are relegated by VC (XVI) to Venice, while VM (VI) recognizes the presence of such calumniators in Rome, but only to announce that they were condemned by the Apostolicus. The Pope himself, however, fleetingly acknowledges in his epistle, reproduced in VM (VIII), that the delegation of Methodius had been contingent upon a preliminary test (*umyslixomъ ispytavъše posъlati*). This allusion is so isolated in the context of the *Vitae* that in some of the scholarly translations of VM the gerund *ispytavъše* had been disregarded.¹¹

As Dvornik insists,

the activities of Constantine and Methodius must have appeared suspect to quite a few in Rome. *** The great prestige carried by the relics of St. Clement did not suffice to facilitate the decision of the Holy See with respect to the two brothers because of involvements that demanded the greatest circumspection. *** The Pope was certainly aware that the two missionaries had introduced the Slavic tongue into the liturgy. *** Constantine and Methodius arrived to set forth the reasons for this innovation. A decision was necessary. The situation was grave, since it made an issue of a practice that had begun to acquire the force of tradition. *** First of all it was necessary to overcome the opposition which had arisen in Rome itself. The opposition was apparently led by none other than the notorious Formosus of Porto who had always manifested himself as the implacable foe of the Greeks (a, pp. 174, 196f.).

¹¹ E.g., by Lavrov in his Ukrainian translation (a, 304): *uxvalyly nadislaty*.

What can we learn from VC and VM about this opposition? Only that a bishop infected with animosity to Slavic letters (*tojo že jędzejo bolъnъ*) was deliberately appointed by the Pope to ordain the Slavic disciples (VM VI) and that it was Formosus (VC XVII). The Czech-Latin legend (*L), with its report on Cyril, “accused by the Supreme Pontiff and other princes and dignitaries of the Church of having dared, despite canon law, to ordain that Mass be celebrated and sung in the Slavic tongue” and on his meek justification and final clearing, is much more revealing than the conciliatory and diplomatic VC.

3

All the remaining distinctions of the Czech-Latin legend from VC and VM indicated by Pekař and Urbánek closely coincide with other Church Slavonic sources, and especially with the Russian *Skazanie* for the time-span covered by the latter.

According to this legend, *Quirillus quidam, natione Grecus, tam latinis, quam ipsis Grecorum apicibus instructus*, after the Bulgars accepted Christ’s faith, *aggressus est in nomine sancte trinitatis et individue unitatis regionem quandam Sclavorum, que Morava nuncupatur, quatinus in ea verbum domini constanter et intrepide predicaret* (LB).¹² It is possible that *quidam* and *quandam* are subsequent insertions for foreign consumption: compare such variants as *Beatus Cyrillus* and *Moravia, regio Sclavorum* (s. Pekař, b, 89). This twofold designation of Moravia, which puzzled Urbánek (I, 98), is alien to VC and VM, where only *Morava* occurs, but is evidenced in the *Skazanie*, where the Moravian state is alternately termed *Morava* and *Slověňska zemlja* ‘Slavic land’. The same double designation — *Terra Sclavorum, qui Moraui dicuntur* — appears in the letter to the Pope written by the Bavarian bishops in 900 (CDB, #30). Cyril’s mastery of both Greek and Latin, overlooked in VC, is emphasized in the Prolog Vita of Cyril: *naučivšę i elinъsky i rimъsky* (Lavrov b, 101). Finally, the *doctrina Trinitaria* to which the quoted sentence of the Czech-Latin legend refers, is persistently associated by VC with the work of the Philosopher, *svętyje troiceę sluga i učeníkъ*, “servant and disciple of the Holy Trinity” (s. S. Kos, 152ff.).

According to LB and LC, the Slavic letters were invented and the main Church books translated after Cyril’s arrival in Moravia, whereas Urbánek is convinced that these things were accomplished before his

¹² This beginning of the Czech-Latin legend served as model for the introductory sentence of the Latin recension of St. Prokop’s legend, compiled in the late eleventh century. Cf. Chaloupecký c, 283; Urbánek, II, 111.

journey. Even VC and VM state, however, that, at most, only the first samples of this translation were achieved before the two brothers settled in Moravia: VC XVI says that the Philosopher, after having composed the letters, began to translate the Evangelium and that once in Moravia he translated all the church books (*всѣ цръкѣвныи цѣни*). As reported by VM V the Philosopher set out after having formed the alphabet and composed a sermon (*besědq s̄stavlb*).¹³ The *Skazanie*, in the same way as *L, connects the invention of the Slavic alphabet with Moravia: *Quirillus *** agressus est *** et *** apices vel caracteres novos invenit* (LB; LC; *comperit*) — *sima že přišbdšema, načesta s̄stavlivati pismena azbukovnaja Slověnskы* (*Skazanie*). *L, along with the *Skazanie*, identifies the author of the alphabet and of the translation: *L ascribes this double merit to Cyril alone, while the *Skazanie* attributes it to both brothers. The *Skazanie* is thereby in closer accord with VM, which states that the Psalter, Gospels, Apostles, and selected church services were translated by Methodius in conjunction with the Philosopher (XV) and which represents the revelation of the Slavic letters to the Philosopher as a fulfillment of the prayer of both brothers (V). VC, written perhaps by Methodius, does not mention him either in connection with the alphabet or with the translation. Like the *Skazanie*, also the so-called Bulgarian Legend, a *Vita* of Clement (†916) composed, I repeat, in Church Slavonic by a contemporary, but known only in a Greek readaptation of the very late eleventh century (cf. Dvornik *a*, 312f.), extols, together with the *Skazanie*, both Κύριλλος and Μεθόδιος as the inventors of the Σθλοβενικὰ γράμματα and translators of the Scriptures (FRB, 77f.).

The account of the translated books ends in the *Skazanie* with the words, *i pročeję k̄nigy* “and other books”. The corresponding account in the Czech-Latin legend has a similar conclusion: *pluraque alia documenta sacre scripture* (LB), or merely *pluraque alia* (LC).

The reference to the establishment of the Slavic way of worship was followed in *L by the remark: *quod et usque hodie in partibus Sclavorum a pluribus agitur, maximeque in Bulgariis*. Dobrovský surmised that *Bulgarii* had been substituted by the compiler for *Bulgaria* (p. 43), but, correspondingly, we read in the *Skazanie*: *jaže gramota estъ vъ Rusi i vъ Bъlgarěxъ Dunaiskыxъ* (i.e., *in Bulgariis*).

In noting the Philosopher’s departure from Moravia, neither *L nor the *Skazanie* mentions that he was accompanied by Methodius, as it is stated in VM. As for VC, it acknowledges the presence of Methodius in

¹³ *Sermone composito*, in the excellent translation by Grivec *a*, 111.

Rome only subsequent to the death of his brother. According to *L, Cyril died, *relinquens supramemoratis in partibus *** Methudium*; we read a corresponding passage in the *Skazanie: a Mefodii osta vь Moravě*, “and Methodius stayed in Moravia”. In both sources it is but a more laconic formulation of what in VM VII is presented as the Philosopher’s legacy: *ne mozi *** ostaviti učenija svoego*, “do not leave thy mission”. Although the genetic connection between *L and the *Skazanie* had been signaled,¹⁴ Urbánek ignores these coincidences and persists in listing the passages quoted as “flagrant anachronisms” of *L (I, pp. 106, 125f., 146) which allegedly point to the late origin of the Czech-Latin source, namely the time of Vratislav II (1061–1092).

Pekař (b, 165, 181) signals an instructive “mistake” on the part of *L, its assertion that Methodius was ordained archbishop (*statuitur summus pontifex*) by a Slavic ruler (*a principe*) whereas according to VM this was performed by the Pope himself. Similarly, in the *Skazanie* (see above), *кѣнезь постави Мefodija episkopa*. Косѣль’s requests for the papal investiture of Methodius, first as legate and then as bishop (VM VIII), and the similar request of the Moravians — “*daždь namъ Mefodija arxiepiskopa i učitelja*” (VM X) — are presented in the *Skazanie* and in *L as a nomination of Methodius by the Slavic ruler himself.¹⁵

4

Obviously, both texts go back to a common prototype, a Church Slavonic apologetic document, which, we presume, originated in Moravia at the very end of the ninth century. Its Czech-Latin recension, incorporated into *L, is seemingly identical with the *Privilegium moraviensis ecclesie* referred to in Chapter XV of Cosmas’ (1045–1125)

¹⁴ Jansen, p. 15f., *supra*, p. 142f.: “The [Primary] *Chronicle* draws on some Great Moravian document. This text indubitably belonged to the apologetic literature defending the *privilegium ecclesiae moraviensis*; it is immaterial whether the framework of this apology was patently historical or hagiographic in composition. Later reflections of this literature are the Czech-Latin legends of a Cyrillo-Methodian tinge.”

¹⁵ According to *L, Methodius became *summus pontifex, habens sub se eiusdem sanctitatis pontifices*, while the *Skazanie*, following VM, stresses only that Methodius hereby became the successor of one of the seventy apostles. The prominent role of the sacred number “seven” in Cyrillo-Methodian hagiography (cf. Vašica, 243) is manifest in both variants. Methodius occupied the seat *edinogo ot 70* and, himself, was one of the seven *eiusdem sanctitatis pontifices* — *οἱ ἄγιοι ἑπτάρημοι* in Greek ritual nomenclature. Was this the original formula which *L reshaped into *habens sub se*? Or perhaps the six disciples of Methodius enumerated in hagiographic literature — Angelarii, Gorazdъ, Lavrentiі, Naumъ, Sava — are, together with Wiching, considered his seven suffragans. Finally, the seven bishops of Pannonia and Moravia are a legendary tradition reflected also in a text of the 970’s, the so-called “letters of the Passau bishop Pilgrim”: cf. Chaloupecký a, p. 160f.

Chronicle (s. Bretholz). This version was no longer concerned with the Byzantine and Pannonian aspect of the Slavic mission. Therefore it omitted all the references to Byzantium, Macedonia, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Noricum, and moreover replaced the Pannonian Косьль, figuring in the Church Slavonic original as the promoter of Methodius, by the Moravian ruler, uncle and predecessor of Svętopлѣкъ, in a word — by Rastislavъ: *L extolls him without, however, adducing the name *principis vel regis religiosi, qui institutor et rector tocius christianitatis seu religionis benignus exstiterat*.

On the other hand, the *Skazanie* preserves the references to all these regions but ignores any allusion to the relations of the Slavic Apostles with the Latin clergy. The *Skazanie*, therefore, omits the Philosopher's discussion with the adversaries of the Slavic liturgy which in *L reflects the Venice dispute of VC XVI. In the Czech-Latin legend, Constantine-Cyril likewise begins with a reference to the Psalter, quoting in particular Psalm 150:6, and climaxes with an appeal to Chapter 14 of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; he especially emphasizes the role of the vernacular in illuminating *ydiotas et ignaros viarum Dei* (the *nerazumivi* of 14:23–24 cited in VC XVI) and he ends with a quotation from 14:39.

Apparently, the original Church Slavonic version of the *Privilegium* was compiled in connection with the efforts deployed by Svętopлѣкъ's (894) son Moimirъ (Mojmir) II in 898–900 to restore under Rome's auspices the autonomous organization of the Moravian church, which was vehemently opposed by the German clergy. Bidlo is of the opinion (403) that he had originally intended, despite his younger brother Svętopлѣкъ, to reinstate the Slavic liturgy. This apology acquires even greater significance when confronted with the Bavarian complaint against Moimirъ's activities (s. above). *Theotmarus, archiepiscopus Juvaviensis, eiusque suffraganes episcopi Bavariae*, in reviewing Moravia's recent past, recollect only the nomination of Wiching but pass over in silence the Slavic mission and the support accorded to it by Rome. Conversely, the Moravian text knows only the Slavic mission and its final approval by the Holy See as if this approval and the mission itself had never been canceled. One side teaches us that *universus clerus populusque christianus per totam Noricam*, in indissoluble solidarity with all of Germany, condemn the recalcitrance and apostasy of the Moravians, who ought to be subdued: *Communis gemitus et generalis dolor angustat, quos Germania et tota tenet Norica, quod unitas ecclesie dividitur scissura*. At the same time, the other side declares Noricum aboriginally Slavic, Pannonia, which in the document of the Bavarian bishops is claimed as *nostra maxima provintia*, is the very land that for

Moravians symbolizes the apostolic foundation and consecration of an autonomous Slavic church.

5

The continuation of *L, which finds no correspondence in the *Skazanie*, namely the history of the dissolution of the Slavic Church in Moravia, as opposed to its development in Bohemia, is apparently taken over from another Czech-Latin text, *Epilogus terre Moravie atque Bohemie*, which Cosmas cites, together with the *Privilegium*, as the cardinal source for the early history of the Czech *religio catholice fidei*. This *Epilogus* too is most probably derived from a Church Slavonic work written in Bohemia in the early tenth century, in origin and character close to the two somewhat younger Church Slavonic original legends of Czech recension — the *Vita* of St. Ludmila (†921), preserved only in a Prolog extract and in the Latin reshaping “*Fuit*”, and the first *Vita* of St. Wenceslas (†929). All three apparently issue from the clerical entourage of Ludmila and Wenceslas.

As Chaloupecký (*a*) aptly observed, the Church Slavonic *Vitae* of Ludmila and Wenceslas are bound to each other as two consecutive chapters by a single author. He may be identified, with signal probability, as Paul, the *presbiter maior* of the Prague castle, confessor to Ludmila and Wenceslas, who appears discreetly in both legends as a constant witness. The *Epilogus* may be considered as the anterior chapter of this historical trilogy written by the same pen. This introductory chapter banks upon the somewhat older opus — the Church Slavonic prototype of the later Latin *Privilegium*. Together with this opus the three legends compose the “oldest Czech Chronicle”, in Pekař’s (*a*) famous expression. They are particularly important, since there are no native charters or annals of that time and the few contemporary German testimonies are fragmentary and vague (Krofta, 82).

The *Epilogus* contains the only native account of Svętopľъкъ’s seizure of power, followed by a bluntly negative portrayal of the usurper and of his increasingly hostile attitude to the Slavic church. He is similarly depicted by the Bulgarian Legend, which utilizes the same quotation from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 6:14: “what communion hath light with darkness?”. This passage appears both in LB (Chaloupecký, *a*) and, with direct reference to the apostle, in the Bulgarian Legend (FRB, 89).

Methodius, according to VM XI, was even endowed with the gift of prophecy: “For many of his prophecies came to be fulfilled, of which we

will report one or two" (*bě že i proročьska blagoděť vь nemь, jako se sьotě sьbyvala mьnoga proricanija ego, otě nixъ že li edino li dьně sьkažemь*). The *Prologus* is focussed upon two contrasting prophecies of Methodius: the anathematization of Svętorlъkъ's Moravia and a prophetic blessing of Borivoi's Bohemia.

In the wording of LB,

Zuentepulk, having usurped power, and consumed with arrogance, scorned, together with his courtiers, the mellifluous preaching of Archbishop Methodius [cf. the Eulogy of Cyril and Methodius: *sъty medovъnyi slovesa vaju*], nor did he heed his revered warnings [*monitaque sacratissima non pleniter recepit*, or, in the corresponding passage of the Bulgarian Legend, *τοῖς Μεθοδίου λόγοις ἐλάχιστα προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν*]. He permitted both his folk and the subject people to serve partly Christ and partly the devil.

This is a clear allusion to the dualism imprinted upon Moravia's church by Svętorlъkъ (cf. Novotný, 376). The German Wiching, an inveterate and crafty adversary of Methodius and of the Slavic church, became bishop in Nitra, the original stronghold of Svętorlъkъ, and from June 880 this ruler was authorized by the Pope to have masses celebrated in Latin for him and those of his *iudices* who preferred it.

LB concludes: *Quapropter a pontifice beate memorie Methudio pars illa, que diabolo potius elegit servire quam Christo, anathemate percussa, cum sulcis suis et fructibus diversis cladibus attrita* [LC: *usque in hodiernum diem deflet* — this phrase, missing in LB, probably belongs to the original text]. *Data est in direpcionem et captivitatem et predam et derisum ac desolacionem atque in sibulum universe carni gradienti per eam, quoniam nulla societas luci ad tenebras nec convencio Christi cum Belial* [2 Cor. 6:14–15]. *Quorum exempla nos quoque videmur respicere, qui eisdem passibus conamur incedere, quoniam qui domum vicini sui conspicit concremari, suspectus debet esse de sua.*

Tunickij (a) collected all the references to Methodius' ban. There must be a historical basis to this story since Pope Stephen V in his epistle *Zuentopolco regi Sclavorum* of 885 refers to Methodius' anathema which *in caput redundabit eius* (CDB, #26). The diplomatic VM does not directly mention the ban but actually supports it by inserting into John VIII's letter of 881 to Methodius (XII) the words "whomever he [Methodius] curses will be cursed". On the other hand, this anathema and its disastrous consequences for Moravia are, as one may expect, heatedly recounted by Methodius' "dispersed flock" (*razgnanoe stado tvoe*). The report in the Bohemian *Epilogus* is close to the story we find in the Bulgarian Legend and in the Church Slavonic *Vita* of Naum, which

was compiled in Bulgaria in the second quarter of the tenth century and closely connected with the Church Slavonic prototype of the Bulgarian Legend. According to Naum's *Vita*,

the Moravian land [*Moravskaa zemlja; terra Moravia* in the heading of the *Epilogus*], as St. Methodius, the archbishop, had prophesied, was shortly after chastized by God, because of the people's lawless deeds and heresies and for the expulsion of the holy fathers and for the sufferings they experienced at the hands of heretics in whom the people had placed their faith. A few years after, the Ugrians overwhelmed the Pannonian people¹⁶ and subjugated their land and devastated it [*ne po mnozěxъ že lětěxъ priidoše Ugri *** i poplěniše zemlju — Skazanie: po semь pridošę Ugři *** i poplěnišę zemlju*]. Those who were not enslaved by the Ugrians escaped to the Bulgars. And their land remained a desert under the Ugrians' power (Ivanov, 307).

As we learn from the Bulgarian Legend, Vichnik (Wiching) with his impious congregation was anathematized by Methodius (FRB, 85) and Sfantoplik was warned by him that if he were to cling to the heretics, both he and all his subjects would be ruined and become an easy prey for enemies, and "it actually happened, according to the Saint's prophecy" (83). The Bulgarian Legend puts into Gorazdъ's and Klimentъ's mouths an indignant reproof of Wiching's illicit rise and of his insistence on the *filioque*. Without naming Stephen V, it actually attacks, point by point, his two simultaneous messages, the epistle to Svętoplъkъ and the instruction to the legates (CDB, ##26, 27). Methodius' curse, turned by the Pope upon the head of the curser, boomeranged once again and was cunningly used against the preachers of the *filioque*: Ἀλλ' εἰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τὸ βλάσφημον τράποιτο (87), "the blasphemy shall fall upon your heads". Thus Rome's arguments were under fire without the objective ever being named: like VC and VM, the work of Klimentъ's pupil mentions the Pope only if he blesses the Slavic Church. Then the μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς is shown with reverence. But while VC and VM entitle him *apostolicus*, the Bulgarian Legend pretends that it was the Pope himself who conferred this title on the brothers (Ἀποστολικούς *** ἐκήρυξε), since their deed was equal to Paul's (79). The Legend attributes the connivance at Svętoplъkъ's passions, the repudiation of the successor designated by Methodius, the promotion of Wiching, and the defence of *filioque* solely to the Franks.

The first part of the literary diptych whose Latin version is so

¹⁶ *Реоњскии*, literally, "Paionian": Ivanov (311) indicates that this confusion is frequent in Byzantine literature and interprets "Pannonian people" as an apposition to "Ugrians". It may, however, designate the object of the intransitive verb *priidoše* (cf. Miklosich, 391).

eloquently entitled *Epilogus terre Moravie atque Bohemie* is intimately linked with the literary leanings of the Slavic clergy shortly after the fall of Great Moravia. It is a theme common to the Methodian diaspora. The fate of the *Sclavi Boemi* was represented in the *Epilogus* as a counterpart to the Moravian tragedy: Borivoi's obedience to Methodius, his conversion, pious activity, final victory under Methodius' spiritual guidance over the pagan reaction, and, *ut ei Methodius pontifex prophetico ore predixerat, cotidianis incrementis cum omni gente sua regnoque augmentabatur* (LB). This fulfilled prophecy is the proper *epilogus terre Bohemie*. The story found no response in the Balkans and interest in it was confined within the limits of the Přemyslides' state. There is, however, no reason to question the early origin of the second part of the Bohemian Church Slavonic diptych, adequately reflected in LB. Of course, as Pekař has already suggested (*b*, 199), we must carefully keep all later interpolations of LC aside, such as, for instance, the pronoun *tuorum* inserted into Methodius' promise to Borivoi: "*dominorum dominus [gospodь gospodьmъ] efficieris*" (intact in LB). Then, all surmises that Methodius' prophecy had intimated Moravia's incorporation into the Czech principality lose any justification along with all subsequent conclusions on the date both of Moravia's incorporation and of the imputed prophecy. This prediction refers uniquely to the increasing power of Borivoi and his most immediate posterity within the confines of Bohemia. Hence this *vaticinatio ex eventu* does not go beyond the early tenth century.

6

The inquiry into the oldest Czech historical legends must bring to light, primarily, the early original Church Slavonic works against their cultural background. The filiation of their Latin alterations from the tenth or eleventh through the fourteenth centuries is an interesting but subsidiary problem and it is strange that Czech historians have allowed it to overshadow the fundamental question of the primary sources, whose existence has, however, not been denied by any of the recent students. Thus Pekař (*a*) lists among the sources of BC a "vanished (Slavonic?) legend on Cyril and Methodius, probably of the first half of the tenth century" and a "vanished (Slavonic?) legend about St. Ludmila from the middle of the tenth century"; Chaloupecký (*a*) traces the Latin *Privilegium* to a Church Slavonic work on the persecution of the Moravian Church composed around the end of the ninth century, and further, he attempts to reconstruct St. Ludmila's *Vita*, "written, pro-

bably, in the last years of St. Wenceslas' reign in the Old Church Slavonic tongue"; Urbánek holds that the Latin *Privilegium* revives a Cyrillo-Methodian legend, more recent and shorter than VC and VM and "apparently Slavonic"; moreover, he derives the Latin legends of Ludmila from an earlier Slavonic *Vita*. But, with the exception of Chaloupecký's research on this *Vita*, the Church Slavonic cycle of Czech legends, and particularly the Slavonic sources of the Latin *Privilegium* and *Epilogus*, unfortunately remained on the very margin of Czech historical investigation.

In sum, from the first century of Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the Czech lands, we possess three local legends in their original form. On the one hand, two Moravian monuments, VC and VM, written, one in the early seventies, the other in the middle eighties of the ninth century, and on the other, the First Legend of St. Wenceslas (Вѣсславъ, Václav) written in Bohemia under Boleslav I, probably in the 930's. The intermediate period produced three local legends, but all of them have reached us only in extracts and in altered form: the Church Slavonic *Privilegium* written in Moravia in the 890's and reflected in the *Skazanie* of the Russian *Primary Chronicle* and in the Czech Latin *Privilegium*; the Church Slavonic *Epilogus* written in Bohemia, most probably in the 910's, and reflected in the Latin *Epilogus*; the Church Slavonic **Žitie* of Ludmila written in Bohemia in the late twenties of the tenth century and reflected both in the Russian *Prolog* and in her oldest Czech-Latin *Vita et Passio*. The *Privilegium*, the *Epilogus*, and the *Vita et Passio* in their Latin version were adapted and incorporated into *L, the common prototype of LB and LC. The chronology of these various Latin adaptations of the original Church Slavonic legends that inspired the Chaloupecký-Urbánek controversy is beyond the scope of our study.

III. THE PROLOG LEGENDS OF THE SLAVIC APOSTLES

1. *Vita of Cyril and Methodius*. 2. *Zambrii and Zdeslav*. 3. *The Philosopher's Interest in Syriac*.

I

A collection of short calendar lives of saints, *συναξάριον* in Greek, is deceptively labeled *prolog* in Church Slavonic (cf. Grivec *b*, 28). Brief *Vitae* of Cyril and Methodius, contained in the Prologs, as Ohijenko (II, 291) justly stresses, are rather neglected by scholarship, although they offer interesting details, reverting to some ancient and unknown

source. A somewhat greater attention has been paid to the *Vita* devoted to both Cyril and Methodius, discovered in a few South Slavic *Prologs* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (s. Lavrov *b*, 100f., Popruženko, 44). Several West Slavic archaisms were detected in this text by Sobolevskij and Lavrov (*c* and *a*, 121ff.): *srpřčьskъ* 'Frankish', *zakonъ* 'testament', *izblōdenie* 'fallacy'. Methodius' completion of the Bible translation is dated precisely and the contemporary rulers of Moravia, Byzantium, Bulgaria and Germany are named; in particular, Charles the Bald's name is Slavicized to *Kralъ*.¹⁷ The opposition of the Frankish bishops and presbyters to orthodoxy is attributed to the fallacy of Gregory [I] the Dialog, the very one to whom the Latin priests refer in VC XVI, in their polemics against the Slavic liturgy. Ivanov (288f.) pointed out the valuable particulars of this legend concerning the burial place of Methodius; they gain a special significance in connection with the recent excavations of the foundations of Methodius' church near Staré Město in southeastern Moravia and the discovery of the solitary skeleton buried there.

One more detail is worth noting. After marking the sixth of April (Methodius' memorial day) as a great church holiday, the legend introduces "our most reverend father Methodius, the archbishop of Upper Moravia, brother of the most reverend Cyril the Philosopher" (*prěpodobnyi otъcъ našъ metodie, arxiepiscope vyšneq moravy, bratъ sqštъ prěpodobnaago kirila filosofa*). This formula finds its literal correspondence in the Saints' Calendar of the *Evangeliarium Assemani* (145^v) under April 6: *I pa(mę)t(b) usъpeniě pr(ěpo)d(obъ)naag(o) o(tъ)ca naš(e)go methodia arx(iepiscope)pa vyšneje moravy, br(a)ta pr(ěpo)d(obъnaa)go kurila filosofa*. As late as in the sixteenth century, the Nitra region of Slovakia was still termed in documents "Lower Moravia" in contradistinction to Moravia proper, called "Upper Moravia". If we apply this revealing observation of Chaloupecký (*b*) to the formula quoted, we uncover a title of Methodius which, surprisingly enough, excludes the Nitra bishopric from his dominion, in agreement with the cherished program of Wiching, *episcopus sanctae ecclesiae nitrensis*. What remains a mystery is how this restriction, confuted by the

¹⁷ In a short and peculiar commemoration to Cyril, discovered by Jacimirskij in a Moldavian manuscript of the seventeenth century (Lavrov *a*, 127f.; *b*, 103f.), the saint is said to have ably composed a hitherto unknown alphabet (*azъbukvy neznaemi*) and to have translated from the Greek, together with Methodius, "the first Moravian and Bohemian (*Češъskii*) archbishop", at the time of Michael, Photius, Boris and Rastic, "the God-inspired Moravian prince". This enumeration of rulers, with the "Russian prince Rurik" at the end, includes Косъль, cited as *Kostelъ — knęzъ Blatskii i Lěsskii*, "prince of the Balaton (*blatъnъ*) and Lesence (*lěšъnica*) region" (cf. Kniesza, 162f.; Stanislav, II, 25f., 312).

Pope's letters of 880 and 881, succeeded in penetrating into Church Slavonic tradition. Is it perhaps a trace of some coercion on Methodius connected with the growth of his ultimate conflict with Svętoplъkъ? Whatever it may be, all the details we have reviewed reveal the author of the source utilized by the *Prolog* legend to be thoroughly cognizant of Moravian words and deeds. Since these data are manifestly alien to VC and VM and could hardly belong to the archetype of the *Privilegium*, one must conclude that the Moravian hagiographic tradition connected with the Slavic apostles was scarcely confined to the three monuments discussed.

2

Two other *Prolog Vitae* — one of Cyril (Lavrov *b*, 101–2) and one of Methodius (*ibidem*, 102–3), both known from several copies of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (cf. Popruženko, 40–3) — are fanciful compilations which, however, include isolated ancient survivals.

VM XII compares the offensive against Methodius by Wiching's brood "sick with the hyiopateric heresy" to the sedition of Dathan and Abiram against Moses (Num. 16); the challenge to the Slavic Apostle, his final triumph and the rout of the blasphemers are presented in this chapter of VM as a variation of the biblical motifs (16:2–3, 34). The Book of Numbers with its stirring stories about Moses' arduous struggle with mutterings, rebellions, false witnesses and fallacies provides a most appropriate pattern for depicting the similar experiences of Methodius. The papal encyclical, appearing at the critical moment to exonerate the Slavic Apostle, states, according to VM XII, that "our brother Methodius is saintly, orthodox and is doing apostolic work. And God and the Apostolic See have given into his hands all the Slavic regions." Correspondingly in Num. 16:5, 28, the congregation waits to hear "who is holy" and whom "the Lord hath sent *** to do all these works". The concluding words on Methodius, imputed by VM to the papal message — "whomever he curses will be cursed and whomever he blesses will be blessed" is an arresting reproduction of Num. 22:6 concerned with the clairvoyant Balaam, "he whom thou blessest is blessed, and whom thou cursest is cursed".

This recourse to Numbers, appearing nowhere else in VM and VC, prompted other writings when recounting the struggles of the Slavic Apostles and especially the activities of Methodius around the end of the seventies. Balaam's prophecy for Israel, its fertility, its king "who shall be higher than Agag" and its triumphs over enemies (24:6,7) was utilized

for Methodius' prophecy on Borivoi's power: *dominorum dominus efficieris, cunctique hostes tui subicientur dicioni tue et progenies tua augmentabitur velut fluvius maximus* *** (LB). The *Prolog Vita* of Cyril connects the struggle against the Slavic church with Zimri, another transgressor chastized by Moses (Num. 25): (Cyril) went to Moravia and taught many to believe in Christ and by prayer he destroyed Zimri the heretic (*Zambrija eretika*), who had plotted to kill the saint. The canon in honor of St. Cyril associates Zimri with an older adversary of the Philosopher, the iconoclast Patriarch Jannes (VC V): "With the javelin of thy words hast thou pierced him who rejected the corporal image of Jesus the Hebraic, made visible in the flesh, as Zimri was pierced when he had lain to his ruin with the Midianitish heresy" (Lavrov *b*, 109).

In the *Prolog Vita* of Methodius, both chapters of Numbers were blended and the outlandish-sounding name of Zambrii, as well as the reference in Numbers to the children of Israel, evoked associations with the Jewish-Khazar chapter of the brothers' missionary activities. We read that the Constantinople Patriarch (whom the Old Russian anti-Catholic censorship substituted for the Pope) consecrated Methodius bishop, sent him to Moravia and that there he worked many miracles:

a certain Zambrii, a Khazar by origin and a heretic in belief, began to oppose Methodius, blaspheming the Christian faith, and the Moravian Duke convoked an assembly and there gathered Jews with Zambrii, two thousand men (cf. Num. 16:2). But Methodius appeared alone among them and when they turned upon the true faith with blasphemies, Methodius as an agile fighter, armed with the words of the prophets and apostles, shot, like a glorious warrior, at both sides — the Jews and the heretics — not missing once. And when they were out-argued by Methodius, there was worked a great miracle: Zambrii clave asunder (*rasěde se*) and the earth swallowed up (Num. 16:32) Sedislavъ [variants Sьdislavъ, Sdeslavъ, Sudislavъ: FRB, 75; Lavrov *b*, p. XXXIV], and a fire burnt among the other men (*vъ pročixъ že vъzgorě se ognъ* — Num. 11:1, *i razgorě se vъ nixъ ognъ*; cf. 16:35) and the people fled (16:34).

The "concubinate" of Zimri with the "Midianitish heresy" is obviously aligned with the Frankish weakness for the hyiopateric "heresy". The Zimri motif, however, is interpolated here into the cognate biblical story of Dathan and Abiram. In the Bible, the passage *zemlja* *** *požbre* "the earth *** swallowed up" (16:32) is preceded by verse 31, *** *rasěde se zemlja* *** "the earth clave asunder". The interpolator replaced *zemlja* (or maybe the usual abbreviation "z") with the alliterative *zambrii*: *Zambrii ubo rasěde se, a Sedislava požre zemlja*.

But who was the Sedislavъ substituted for Dathan and Abiram in the

unlike association with *rasēde se*? This name occurs, though rather seldom, in the Slavic onomastics of the early Middle Ages. One possessor of this relatively rare name is glimpsed in both of Dvornik's monographs dealing with the Slavic Mission. This is Zdeslav, the *Sedesclavus gloriosus comes Sclavorum* of John VIII's letter of May 8, 879 (see Šišić, 361),¹⁸ a Croatian refugee in Byzantium during the last years of Ignatius' patriarchate. The descendant of a dethroned dynasty, he was supported by the Byzantine authorities with whose aid he seized power in Dalmatian Croatia toward 878. In Dvornik's opinion, he could have long maintained his position and resisted his adversaries had he been vigorously supported by Constantinople: "**** il semble que Basil l'ait abandonné à son destin. *** Cette attitude décida le sort de Zdeslav. Elle fut le signal de la révolte en Croatie. Le chef des conjurés, Branimir, put agir sans craindre l'intervention des troupes Byzantines. Zdeslav fut tué, et Branimir prit sa place et son titre de prince des Croates" (a, 230f.). This occurred in 879, and it is not by chance that Byzantium's sudden loss of interest in the fate of its recent Croatian protégé coincides with the beginning of a great move on the part of the reinstated Photius for an appeasement of Rome. At this time Byzantium assumed a more conciliatory attitude not only toward the more remote Croatian field but even in the thornier Bulgarian question. Methodius could not but sense that Zdeslav's sudden vanishing from the face of the earth was a miraculous piece of good luck.

After the climax of the tension between Rome and the Byzantium of Michael III and Photius, neither Constantine, the Emperor's envoy and the Patriarch's "fortissimus amicus" (Pastrnek, 245), nor his brother and associate Methodius, could feel secure in such a western outpost as Moravia. This is the political background of their departure for Venice and then to Rome in 867, with the magnificent gift of St. Clement's relics. The only way of saving the Moravian Mission was to venture playing Rome's game. The Byzantine coup d'état of September, 867, with the murder of Michael, the downfall of Photius, and the subsequent installation of Ignatius, foreshadowing the persecution of Photius' protégés, closed the way home to them. VC XVIII symbolically depicts the situation by having the Pope prohibit Methodius from taking Constantine's body to Byzantium despite the exhortation of their mother.

¹⁸ He appears as *Sedesclavus* also in the Venetian chronicle of John the Deacon (Monticolo, 125f.), and the initial fragment of this name, *Sed.* is found on the remains of his tombstone (Šišić, 363). We shall not discuss the original sound-shape of the name but accept the spelling form *Zdeslav*, conventionally used by historians.

Revealingly enough, both this sojourn of Methodius in Rome and his last appearance there roughly coincide in time with important reverses in international church policy, evidenced in the Council of 869–70 and in the Synod of 879–80 respectively (cf. Dvornik *c*). In the struggle for the restitution of Illyricum under direct Roman jurisdiction, a common cause was found for the successors of Peter, on one hand, and Methodius, henceforth the successor of Paul, on the other. They were allies in strategy, despite the substantial difference not only in *sermo rei* but in *res sermonis*, to utilize the winged terms of Innocent IV. The common cause of the Apostolic See and the Slavic Apostles alarmed not only the Franks but also the followers of Ignatius, a fact which may be confirmed if we believe Honigmann's interesting suggestion that Ignatius' bishop Agathon was delegated to Moravia instead of Methodius, who was incarcerated in Suabia (s. Ziegler). Methodius had indeed "to shoot at both sides".

The Byzantine infiltration into Croatia fostered the Roman distrust of Slavic problems. Owing to Frankish denunciations to which Svętopľkъ lent an ear, Methodius was summoned to the Holy See. He would have perhaps been in a dangerous position, had the timely isolation and downfall of Zdeslav not opened entirely new perspectives.¹⁹ Prince Branimir and his chief supporter Theodosius, the bishop-elect of Nin, flung wide the door for direct Roman jurisdiction over Croatia, and John the Presbyter, presumably the same Roman expert in Slavic affairs who mediated between Svętopľkъ and the Pope in the question of the Moravian church, acted as the go-between for the Holy See and Branimir. Theodosius, moreover, apparently through personal contact with Methodius, is said to have laid the cornerstone for Slavic worship in Croatia, first in Nin and then again in Split. Thus, comments Šišić, at the very beginning of Branimir's reign, a question important for Slavic history was solved (386, cf. 388, and Perojević, 26f.). It is not by chance that the same Theodosius, after he had been consecrated bishop by the Pope in 880, was charged by him with a mission to the Bulgarian ruler, Boris. He obtained from Boris a promise to send ambassadors to Rome. The Pope persevered in his exhortation to Bulgaria, and it is most probable that Methodius' journey to Constantinople in 881 is also connected with the sore subject of this southeast outpost of Illyricum. It is noteworthy that during this journey a most benevolent papal letter was sent to Methodius (CDB, #25) and that according to VM XIII the

¹⁹ It is possible that the isolation of Zdeslav, foreshadowing his downfall, already gave a free hand to Rome. At any rate, on the eve of Zdeslav's ruin the Pope was ready to force his participation in Rome's diplomatic offensive against Bulgaria (Šišić, 362).

malicious predictions of Methodius' enemies proved to be groundless: both Emperor and Patriarch received him with honor. This is not surprising since the Patriarch was now Photius, who had been enthroned again, and since the relations with Rome had temporarily improved. It seems that Theodosius, too, had some connection with Photius, at least through Walbert of Aquileia. The new policy of Stephen V brought about not only the prohibition of Methodius' church in Moravia but also the disgrace of Theodosius.

Zdeslav's downfall, which offered new possibilities for the expansion of the Slavic church and strengthened Methodius' position in Rome, indeed merited mention in the *Prolog Legend* and its conclusion: "thus the Christians rejoiced and named him (Methodius) 'the lips of Christ'".

3

There is in the *Prolog Vita* of Cyril still another indication worth attention, namely that Cyril had mastered four languages: "both Greek and Latin, Syriac and Hebrew" (*i elinьsky i rimьsky, surьsky, židovьsky*: s. Teodorov-Balan, II, 36). This testimony was used (Jakobson *a* — cf. *supra*, 153ff.) to reinforce Vaillant's instructive surmise "that the Evangelium and Psalter written in Russian [*rusьskymi*] letters which the Philosopher had seen in Cherson and had learned to read, according to VC VIII, is merely a misspelling for Syriac [*surьskymi*] letters" (*a*).²⁰ This communication of VC directly follows the data about the Philosopher's Hebrew and Samaritan studies during his sojourn in Cherson on the eve of his disputations with the Khazars against Judaism. His acquaintance with these Caananite scripts later helped him also in the elaboration of the Glagolitic alphabet. The belief that Syriac was the only tongue spoken before the confusion of languages is well attested in old Christian, Rabbinic, and Islamic tradition and was early utilized by Cyrillo-Methodian tenets as an argument against the privileged position and revered antiquity of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, labeled the "Pilatian heresy" by the Slavic Apostles (s. Jakobson *a*, 184 — cf. *supra*, 156f.; Wolfson, 614f.).

As Gerhardt soberly states in his well-documented survey of the question, Constantine with his missionary zeal for textual criticism would have studied the Syriac version of the Scriptures exactly as Charlemagne on the very last day of his life corrected the Gospels *cum Graecis et Siris* (85). This supposition gains in probability if we confront

²⁰ The presence of Syrians in the rich Greek commercial harbor city is beyond doubt.

it with a second no less brilliant discovery of Vaillant (*b*), his identification of the Old Church Slavonic Macedonian Leaflet as a fragment of Constantine's *Preface* to his translation of the Evangelium and a masterful exegesis of this remarkable document. Constantine declares here that the translations made by heretics need not be rejected: "even if their teaching is not orthodox, they still could interpret well". The Philosopher quotes Cyril of Alexandria's defense of the Harmony of the Gospels, the Syriac *Diatessaron* by the heretic Tatian.

This apology for a heretic's translation of the Scriptures at the beginning of the *Preface* to Constantine's own translation must have some connection with the concrete problems of his translating work, as the rest of the *Preface* obviously has. The question then arises whether Constantine had not looked into the Syriac *Diatessaron*, which had a wide diffusion in the early Middle Ages (cf. Peters; Metzger). One concrete example of Constantine's deviation from the Greek biblical text in favor of the *Diatessaron* was shown by Van Wijk. In the Old Church Slavonic translation of Matthew 13:48, we find *izbъraše*, corresponding to the Greek *συνέλεξαν*, while the correct translation would be *sъbъraše*. This Slavic deviation reflects a typical Tatianism signaled and studied by Plooy. Van Wijk could not envisage Constantine's direct contact with the *Diatessaron* and questioned whether this Tatianism did not penetrate into the Slavic translation through the *elegerunt* of the Vulgate. He nonetheless suggests that further inquiry into the basis of the Slavic Evangelium translation should take into account also the studies of the *Diatessaron*. The later discoveries of Constantine's interest in Syriac, on the one hand, and in Tatian's translational work on the other, make this task still more imperative.

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ST. CONSTANTINE'S PROLOGUE TO THE GOSPELS

Constantine (also known under his monastic name, Cyril), surnamed the Philosopher, and canonized by both the Eastern and Western Churches, was born around 826. He was the youngest son of Leo, a Byzantine nobleman and dignitary in the Macedonian city of Salonika, which at that time was bilingual — Greek and Slavic. After reading extensively at home, he was educated at the University of Constantinople under Leo the Mathematician and Photius, later the renowned patriarch and Constantine's friend and patron. The Old Church Slavonic *Vita* of the Saint, compiled soon after his death, lists the subjects studied by Constantine — grammar, Homer, geometry, dialectic, and all the philosophical disciplines, rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy, and music, along with "all other Hellenic arts". His mastery of Greek, Slavic, Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac is also attested by the hagiographic sources.

After brief service in the Patriarchal Library and successful disputations with the iconoclasts, Constantine was nominated Professor of Philosophy at the University of Constantinople. He defined philosophy as the cognition of divine and human things: the extent to which man could approximate God and be the image of the Creator.

The Philosopher was sent on several responsible missions: to the Arabs, Khazars, and finally to Moravia, whose reigning prince, Rastislav, had asked the Byzantine emperor for teachers and propagators of the Christian faith in the Slavic vernacular. Constantine worked in Moravia from 863 to 867, together with his eldest brother, Methodius. He composed the Slavic alphabet that was later called Glagolitic, and he fashioned the first literary language of the Slavs, now termed Old Church Slavonic. The philosopher first put into this language the *Evangeliarium* — a selection of texts from the Gospels for reading in Divine Services — and the liturgic prayers. Later, together with his brother, he translated the complete Gospels, the Psalter, and a selection from the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles.

After laying the foundations of the Slavic Church in Moravia and then

in Pannonia, he left Moravia in 868 with Methodius to plead for the Slavic Liturgy before the Bishop of Rome, to whose jurisdiction Moravia belonged. Constantine did not live to return to Moravia. Having fallen ill in Rome, he took monastic vows under the name of Cyril and died on February 14, 869.

In his famous speech made in Venice en route to Rome, and concisely reproduced in the Old Church Slavonic *Vita*, the Liturgy in the vernacular is ardently defended with eloquently commented references to St. Paul's exhortation for the comprehensibility of prayers (I Corinthians 14) and allusions to the equality motif in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5:45): "Tell me," Constantine said, "do you think that God is helpless and cannot bestow the equality of languages and peoples or that He is envious and will not give it?" The culmination of Constantine's lifework is depicted in the same way by the *Vita* of St. Clement, one of the paramount sources for the history of the Slavic Apostles: "Taking the translated books, Cyril placed them on the altar of God, offering them as a sacrifice to the Lord, thus showing that God rejoiced in such a sacrifice, for what is more gladsome to the Word than the word? The word that enables intelligent beings to vanquish unintelligibility! Thus an equal delights in an equal."

The significance of Slavicized Scripture and Liturgy as enabling "intelligent beings to vanquish unintelligibility" is precisely the subject of the remarkable poem which Constantine wrote as a prologue, *Proglas*, to the Slavic rendition of the Four Gospels, whereas his initial Slavic work, the *Evangeliarium*, was introduced by a prose preface discussing the principles and devices of translation. The followers of both Slavic Apostles admired Constantine as a writer, not only for his translation of Biblical books, his didactic and polemic sermons and treatises, but also — and equally — as the first Slavic poet, "the melodious nightingale", as the ancient prayers call him. Of Constantine's poems we still possess the highly original Prologue to the Gospels, his adaptation of Greek liturgic poetry, vestiges of an alphabetic acrostic prayer that presumably furnished the spelling names of the Slavic letters, and a few poetic fragments written by Constantine in Greek and transposed into Slavic verse, probably by the author himself. Quotations from these translations have been preserved in such Old Church Slavonic texts as Constantine's *Vita* and his History of Finding St. Clement's Relics.

A canon, "To the Two Teachers of the Slavic Nation", composed by a disciple of Constantine and Methodius, extols both brothers, for despite adversities they taught the Moravian land to glorify God in the native tongue and thereby set an example to the whole world. According to this

Canon, the illuminator of Moravia was himself illuminated by the Holy Spirit, from Whom he received "a grace like the apostles". He was thus embraced in the Pentecostal miracle, which transmuted the confusion of languages — the punishment at Babel — into a blessed gift of tongues. In the words of the Greek service for Whitsunday, "that this grace might be most clearly known to Thy disciples and Apostles Thou didst today send down and open their lips with tongues of fire, so that by them we and the whole race of mankind received the knowledge of God in our own language, according to the hearing of the ear; and by the light of the Spirit we have been enlightened ****". Constantine himself points out the world-wide mission of the Moravian Church in his inspired Prologue, where the inaugural apostrophe, 9. "Therefore hearken, all ye Slavs!" is replaced first by the unifying summons, 23. f. "Then hear now, *** Slavic people!" Then the Slavic exhortation becomes universal, first with an individualized addressee, 67. "ye men", and finally with a collective appeal, 85. "ye nations", which intimately relates Constantine's mission to the initial, Biblical image of the Prologue, 3. "Christ comes to gather the nations and tongues".

In the following text of the *Proglas* our earlier English translation (Jakobson 1959) has been slightly revised and supplemented by a tentative reconstruction of the original Old Church Slavonic wording.

There also exist translations of this poem into German (Franko 1915, 213f.), French (Vaillant 1956, 21–23), Ukrainian (Lavrov 1928, 192f.), Czech (Vašica 1942–3, 218–221), Slovak (Pauliny 1964, 130–133), Polish (Urbańczyk 1972, 355–358), and Bulgarian (Georgiev 1933, 12–17). Two comprehensive contributions to textual criticism, but unaccompanied by translations, are of particular importance, namely, the earliest approach to this task undertaken and summed up by Sobolevskij in 1910 and its most detailed treatment by Nahtigal in 1942 (76–122 and 141–149). To my predecessors in the philological treatment of the poem I owe a number of felicitous suggestions (see overleaf).

The meter of the *Proglas*, apparently the most usual variety of the Old Church Slavonic spoken verse, goes back to the Byzantine dodecasyllable (cf. Maas 1975, Orsolya Kirsaj 1976), regularly maintains the latter's syllabic measure, and shares the main rules of this model's phrasing: first, the uniform constant requirement of the so-called "bridge" (*zeugma*) precisely in the middle of the line, after its sixth syllable; and secondly, a compulsory word (and preferably phrase) boundary at a distance of one syllable from the bridge, viz., after the fifth or seventh syllable ($\frac{1}{2} \pm 1$). Hence, as a rule the line consists of two groups of syllables, one pentasyllabic, and the other heptasyllabic, with a

1. I am the Prologue to the Holy Gospels:
2. As the prophets prophesied of old —
3. “Christ comes to gather the nations and tongues,
4. Since He is the light of this whole world” —
5. So it has come to pass in this seventh millennium.
6. Since they have said, “The blind shall see,
7. The deaf shall hear the Word of the Book,
8. For it is proper that God be known.”
9. Therefore hearken, all ye Slavs!
10. For this gift is given by God,
11. The gift on God’s right hand,
12. The incorruptible gift to souls,
13. To those souls that will accept it.
14. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John
15. Teach all the people, saying:
16. “Since it is the beauty and splendor
17. Of your souls that you love to see,
18. Rejoice at their striving
19. To dispel the darkness of sin,
20. And to repel the corruptness of this world,
21. Thus to win life in paradise
22. And to escape the flaming fire.”
23. Then hear now with your own mind,
24. Since your hearing has opened, Slavic people,
25. Hear the Word, for it came from God,
26. The Word nourishing human souls,
27. The Word strengthening heart and mind,
28. The Word preparing all to know God.
29. As without light there can be no joy —
30. For while the eye sees all of God’s creation,
31. Still what is seen without light lacks beauty —
32. So it is with every soul lacking letters,
33. And ignorant even of God’s law,
34. Of the law scriptural and spiritual,
35. The law that reveals God’s paradise.
36. For what ear, having heard
37. The sound of thunder, is not gripped with the fear of God?
38. Or how can nostrils which smell no flower
39. Sense the Divine miracle?
40. And the mouth which tastes no sweetness
41. Makes of man a stone;

1. Proglasъ jesmъ / světu // evang'eliju:
2. Jako proroci / prorekli sōtъ přēzde,
3. Хгъstъ grēdetъ / sъbъrati języky,
4. Světъ bo jestъ / vъsemu miru semu.
5. Se sę sъbystъ / vъ sedmyi vĕkъ sъ.
6. Rěšę bo oni: / "slĕpii prozъrĕtъ,
7. Glusi slyšętъ / slovo // bukъvъnoje,
8. Bogъ že ubo / poznati dostoitъ.
9. Togo dĕl'ja slyšite, // slovĕne vъsi,
10. Darъ bo jestъ / otъ boga sъ danъ,
11. Darъ božii / jestъ // desnyję čęsti,
12. Darъ dušamъ, / nikoli že tълĕję,
13. Dušamъ tĕmъ, / jęže // i priimōtъ.
14. Matθei, markъ, // luka [i] ioanъ
15. Učętъ vъsъ / narodъ glagol'jōšte:
16. Jeliko ubo / krasotō i lĕpotō
17. Svoixъ dušъ / vidite i ljubite,
18. Raduite sę, / jeliko že хотĕtъ
19. Grĕxovъnojq / tъmō // otъgъnati
20. I mira sego / tълjq // otъložitъ,
21. I raiskoje / žitije [si] obrĕsti
22. I izbĕžati / otъ ogn'ja gorōšta."
23. Slyšite nynĕ / otъ svojego uma,
24. Slyšaste ubo, / slovĕnъskъ narode,
25. Slyšite slovo, / otъ boga bo pride,
26. Slovo že krъmę / človĕčъskyję dušę,
27. Slovo že krĕpę, / i sгъdъca i umy,
28. Slovo gotovę / vъsę // boga poznati.
29. Jako bez svĕta / radostъ ne bōdetъ,
30. Oku vidĕštju / božijō tvarъ vъsjō,
31. Nъ bez lĕpoty / vъse // vidimo jestъ,
32. Tako i duša / vъsĕka bez bukъvъ,
33. Ne sъvĕdōšti / [ni] zakona božija,
34. Zakona kъn'izъna // [i] duhovъna,
35. Zakona gai / božii javljajōštja.
36. Kyi bo sluxъ, / gromъnyi tōtъnъ
37. Slyšę, možetъ / boga ne bojati sę?
38. Nozdri že paky, / cvĕta // ne oхajōšte,
39. Kako božije / čudo // razumĕjōtъ?
40. Usta bo, jaže / sladъka ne čujōtъ,
41. Jako kamenъ / tvorĕtъ [iz] človĕka,

42. Even more, the soul lacking letters
43. Grows dead in human beings.
44. Thus, considering all this, brethren,
45. We speak fitting counsel
46. Which will separate all men
47. From brutish existence and carnality,
48. So that ye will not have reason without understanding,
49. While listening to the Word in a foreign tongue,
50. As if you would hear only the voice of a copper bell.
51. Therefore Saint Paul has taught:
52. "In offering my prayer to God,
53. I had rather speak five words,
54. [To say them] with full comprehension,
55. So that all the brethren could also understand,
56. Than ten thousand incomprehensible words."
57. What man will not understand this?
58. Who will not apply the wise parable,
59. Interpreting to us the true message?
60. As corruption threatens the flesh,
61. Decaying and cankering everything worse than canker,
62. If one has not his proper nourishment,
63. So each soul living wanes
64. When not partaking of Divine Life,
65. Hearing not the Divine Word.
66. Let another very wise parable
67. Be told, ye men that love each other
68. And wish to grow toward God!
69. Who does not know this true doctrine?
70. As the seed falls on the field,
71. So it is upon human hearts
72. Craving the Divine shower of letters
73. That the fruit of God may increase.
74. Who can tell all the parables
75. Denouncing nations without their own books
76. Who do not resort to a sense-making voice?
77. Even one potent in all tongues
78. Would lack power to tell their impotence.
79. Yet I would add a parable of my own
80. Condensing much sense into few words:
81. Naked indeed are all those nations without their own books
82. Who being without arms cannot fight

42. Pače že sego / duša bezbukъvъna
43. Javljajetъ se / vъ člověcěxъ mŕgtva.
44. Se že vъse my, / bratije, sъmyslěšte,
45. Glagol'emъ vy / sъvětъ podobъnъ,
46. Iže člověky / vъse // otъlōcitъ
47. Otъ žitija / skotъska i roxoti,
48. Da ne imōšte / umъ // nerazumъnъ,
49. Tuždemъ językomъ / slyšěšte slovo,
50. Jako měďna / zvona // glasъ slyšite —
51. Se bo svętyi / ravъlъ učę reče:
52. “Molitvō svojō / vъzdaјę prěžde bogu,
53. Jako slovesъ / pęť // xoštō izdrešti,
54. Sъ razumomъ / [svoimъ glagolati,]
55. Da i bratija / vъsě // razumějōtъ,
56. Neže tьmō slovesъ // nerazumъnъ.”
57. Kyi člověkъ / nerogazumějjetъ?
58. Kyi ne priložitъ // pritъčę mōdry,
59. Sъkazajōštę / besědy pravу namъ?
60. Jako bo tьlja / plъtъxъ nastoitъ,
61. Vъse tьlěšti, / pače // gnoja gnojěšti,
62. Jegda svojego / brašъna ne imatъ,
63. Tako vъsěka / duša // otъpadetъ
64. Žizni, božija / ne imōšti života,
65. Egda slovese / božija ne slyšitъ
66. Inō že paky / pritъčō mōdrō žělo
67. Da glagol'emъ, / člověci, ljuběšte se,
68. Xotěšte rasti / božijemъ rastomъ,
69. Kъto bo věry / seјę // ne vēstъ pravу?
70. Jako sěmeni / padajōštju na n'ivě,
71. Na sŕďьsixъ / tako // člověčъsceхъ,
72. Dъžda božii / bukъvъ trěbujōšte,
73. Da vъzdrastetъ / plodъ // božii pače.
74. Kъto možetъ / pritъčę vъse [rešti]
75. Obličajōštę / bez kъn'igъ języky
76. Vъ sъmyslně / glasě ne glagol'jōštę?
77. Ni, ašte vъse / języky umějjetъ,
78. Možetъ sъkazati // nemoštъ sixъ.
79. Obače svojō / pritъčō da pristavlјō,
80. Mъnogъ umъ / vъ malě rěči kažę.
81. Naži bo vъsi / bez kъn'igъ języci,
82. Ne mogōšte se / brati // bez orōžija

83. The Adversary of our souls
84. And are ripe for the dungeon of eternal torments.
85. Therefore, ye nations whose love is not for the Enemy
86. And who truly mean to fight Him:
87. Open eagerly the doors of your reason
88. You who have now taken up the sturdy arms
89. That are forged through the Lord's Books
90. And who truly crush the head of the Enemy.
91. Whoever accepts these letters,
92. To him Christ speaks wisdom,
93. Feeds and strengthens your souls,
94. Jointly with all the Apostles and Prophets.
95. Whoever speaks their words
96. Will be fit to slay the Foe,
97. Bringing God good victory,
98. Escaping the cankerous corruption of flesh —
99. Flesh whose life is like a sleep;
100. These will not fall but hold fast,
101. And come forth before God as men of valor,
102. Standing on the right hand of God's throne,
103. When He judges the nations with fire,
104. And rejoicing throughout the ages with the angels,
105. Eternally praising God the merciful,
106. Always with songs from the holy books,
107. Singing to God who loves man:
108. To Him befits all glory,
109. Honor and praise to the Son of God forever,
110. With the Father and with the Holy Ghost,
111. From all creatures, unto the ages of ages!
112. Amen. ∴

certain prevalence of syllabically ascending constructions (5+7) over falling ones (7+5). Not only phrase units, but also divisions of phrases into word units serve as breaks. Verse boundaries may also, apparently, bisect a phrase by separating the subsequent subordinate word from the preceding superposed member of the same phrase (63. *отъпадеть*, 64. *Žizni*). We follow Nahtigal in marking word boundaries after the fifth syllable by a single slant (/) and after the seventh syllable by a double one (//). In the lines combining these two word boundaries each of them is marked, the first by a single, and the second by a double slant, e.g.,

83. Съ противникомъ // душь нашихъ,
 84. Gotovi moky / věčnyje vь plěny.
 85. Iže bo vraga, / języci, ne ljubite,
 86. Съ n'imbъ že se / brati // myslešte želo,
 87. Otvъzēte priležyno umu dvъri,
 88. Orožije priimъše tvrъdo nyně,
 89. Ježe kovъtъ / kъn'igy gospodъn'ę,
 90. Glavъ tъrošte / neprijazni velъmi.
 91. Iže bo siję / bukъvy priimetъ,
 92. Mъdrostъ [těmъ] / xristosъ glagol'etъ
 93. I duše vaše / [krъmitъ i] krěpitъ
 94. Съ apostoly / i proroky vьsěmi.
 95. Iže bo sixъ / slovesa glagol'jošte,
 96. Vraga ubiti / podobъni bōdъtъ
 97. Pobēdъ prinosēšte // kъ bogu dobrъ,
 98. Plъti bēžēšte / tълję // gnojevъnyje,
 99. Plъti jeježe / životъ jako съпъ;
 100. Ne padajōšte, / krěpъko že stojēšte
 101. Jako xrabъri / kъ bogu javl'ъše se,
 102. Božija stola / stojēšte o desnojъ,
 103. Jegda ogn'emъ / sōditъ językomъ,
 104. Radujōšte se / съ ang'ely vь věky,
 105. Priso slavēšte / boga // [prě]milostiva,
 106. Kъn'izъnami / vьsegda [že] pēsъnmi,
 107. Bogu pojošte / člověky milujōštju.
 108. Tomu vьsěka / podobajetъ slava,
 109. Čъstъ i xvala / [synu //] božiju vynъ
 110. Съ oтъсемъ / i svętomъ duxomъ
 111. Oтъ vьseje / tvari // vь věky věkъ.
 112. Aminъ .:

2(5 + 2 + 5):

19. *Grěxovъnъjъ / tьmъ // oтbъgnati*

20. *I mira sego / tълjъ // oтbložiti,*

where the symmetry of the two central dissyllabic accusatives (5 + 2 + 5) underscores their grammatical, semantic, and phonic similarity, and creates a harmonious prelude to the conversion of human intelligence (*umъ*) into the Lord's Wisdom (92. *mъdrostъ*) and to the final apotheosis of the heroes (*xrabъri*).

The endeavor to reconstruct the original text of the *Proglas*, based on

its metrical structure and on a philological comparison of the four extant manuscripts of the poem, presents us with a considerable number of retouches introduced into the original text by its successive copyists. While most of their alterations are easily detectable and removable, there remain a few arguable cases. In the three preserved records of the entire *Proglas*, all three of which actually preface the Slavic Tetraevangelium, the text pertains to the Serbian version of the poem. We find the latter's initial part (43 lines) preserved, moreover, in a Russian manuscript of the sixteenth century. In spite of its late date, in a few passages this fragment proves to be more conservative and reliable than the three Serbian manuscripts written in the XII–XIV centuries.

One distich of the *Proglas* ostensibly differs in its meter from other lines of the poem. It is the conclusive, expressly militant call, and the two breaks, in this case both of them compulsory, are signally shifted one syllable farther from the bridge 2(4+4+4):

87. *Otvrbzěte priležbno umu dvbri,*
 88. *Orqžije priimše tvrbdo nyně.*

Each of the six segments carries an *r*; moreover, the segments display a correspondence in their word-beginning sounds, or sound groups, with the parallel constituents of the second line: *OTVRBZĚTE* — *ORQŽIJE*, *PRILEŽBNO* — *PRIIMŠE*, *DVBRI* — *TVRBDŌ*. The deliberate conciseness and comparability of all the segments in the structure of this distich may be brought into connection with the latter's summit position in the only avowedly subjective passage of the poem: 79. "Yet I would add a parable of my own; 80. Condensing much sense into few words". This parable announces the imperative necessity for Books in the nation's proper language in order to "crush the head of the Enemy" (90. *glavq neprijazni*) and "to slay the Foe" (96. *vraga ubiti*). In the whole *Proglas* it is the sole reference to the author himself (79. *svojq da pritěčq pristavljq*). The literature of the Moravian mission depicts its two leaders as implacable warriors against the Enemy and their miraculous battle using comprehensible words as sturdy arms.

The fighting spirit of the poet is reflected in the manifest insertion of his own parable, with its bellicose imagery, into the text of the *Proglas*. It is also noteworthy that the only parable characterized by the author as his personal contribution focuses on the misfortune of whole peoples who lack the Sacred Scripture in their mother tongue. To the individual tragedy of "every soul lacking letters" (32., 42.) which was mourned in the antecedent parables, this one supplement manifestly signed by the author superimposes the image of decay as an inevitable menace to "all nations without their own books" (81.): "as corruption threatens the

flesh" (60.) of one who is deprived of his proper nourishment (62. *svojego brašbna*), so these impotent, armless nations (82.–84.) "cannot fight (*se brati*) against the Adversary of our souls And are ripe for the dungeon of eternal torments". The paronomastic rapprochement *BRAŠbna* — *BRATI* enhances the comparison between the metaphoric images of lacking food and arms. Apart from this single allusion to the reputed militancy of the two Moravian teachers there is no other reference in the poem to any missionary deed. The vernacular Script and Mass are viewed as a direct "gift by God" (10.) "to those souls that will accept it" (13.). The fruitful care of the two Salonika brothers and their mission for the Slavic flock is deliberately impersonalized in the *Proglas* and almost hidden behind the brief appeal: 23. "Then hear now with your proper mind, 24. Since your hearing has opened (literally; since you have heard — *slyšaste*), Slavic people, 25. Hear the Word, for it came from God ***". It is the *Proglas* itself which proves to be personalized: 1. "I am the Prologue to the Holy Gospels", an early example of the Church Slavonic custom of presenting the title word of the narration as its first person hero. Cf. the introductory sentence of the foreword to the Slavic version of the dialectical treatise by John of Damascus — *azъ jesmъ dialektika, otъ boga svobodъnaja mъdrostъ* — or in the foreword to a grammatical treatise — *jesmъ bo otъ sedmi načelъnaja i svobodъnaja mъdrostъ grammatika* (see Jagić 39 and 328). The preface is presented as a prologue anticipating and predicting the subsequent content. The Prologue is the preface and the speaker of the preface. Through its initial cluster, as well as the latter's prefixal function, the word *proglasъ* is tied to the subsequent sentence 2. *PROROCI PROREkli sptъ PRĚžde*. This unusual word used as the title of the poem introduces a consecutive set of prognostic announcements: 2. the prophets prophesied; 3. Christ comes to gather; 5. so it has come to pass; 15. [the four evangelists] teach saying; 51. St. Paul has said in teaching; and to sum up the whole suite, 91. "Whoever accepts these letters, 92. to him Christ speaks wisdom, *** 94. Jointly with all apostles and prophets."

The whole prologue is built on a system of etymological and paronomastic ligaments. The first person verb *jesmъ* is closely knit with the two final verses of the thematically inaugural "quintet" of the poem through the four combinations of the consonants /s/ and /m/ with the vowel /e/: 1. *JESMъ* — 4. *ŮSEMŮ* — *** *SEMŮ* — 5. *SEDMŮ*. The fifth verse differs distinctly from all other lines of the poem in its six-fold accumulation of the sibilant /s/ and in assigning to this consonant the two extreme syllables of the verse (5. *se* *** *sъ*), both pertaining to the same grammatical paradigm. This line is, moreover, the only one in the

Proglas which confirms that the miracle prophesied of old has been accomplished in the seventh millennium (*se se s̃byst̃ ṽ sedmyi věk̃ s̃b*) which, according to medieval eschatology, will lead humanity to the Last Judgment.

It is with the representation of the miracles accomplished that the *Proglas* begins to display its characteristic chains of alliterations, starting with: 6. *SLěpii* — 7. *SLyšet̃ SLOvo* — 9. *SLyšite SLOvěne*.

Key words repeated (mostly thrice) serve to enhance serial alliterations: 8. *Dostoit̃* — 10. *Dar̃ *** Dañ* — 11. *Dar̃ *** Desnyje* — 12. *Dar̃ Dušam̃* — 13. *Dušam̃* — 17. *Duš̃b*. The *sl* chain of 6.–9. reappears with the same familiarized and semantically motivated set of constituents: 23. *SLyšite* — 24. *SLyšaste *** SLOvěñsk̃b* — 25. *SLyšite SLOvo* — 26. *SLOvo* — 27. *SLOvo* — 28. *SLOvo*.

The words *slovo* and *bog̃b* are the most frequent nouns of this hymn to the Divine Word, each of them numbering ten occurrences in the poem, and the intimate bonds between these two nouns are revealed by their direct confrontation in the lines 25. *slovo, / ot̃b boga* and 28. *slovo gotove / ṽs̃e boga // poznati*. The verb *slyšati* in most of its occurrences has the accusative *slovo* as its object. The interplay of these verbs and nouns is enhanced by beginning three lines (23.–25.) with the same verb, and three further lines (26.–28.) with the noun *slovo*. The ethnonymic stem *slověn* — felt to be derived from *slovo* — emerges twice, and solely with reference to the hearing of the word. Cf. especially the sequence 24. *slověñsk̃b narode*, 25. *slyšite slovo* and the paronomastic transition from the nationally limited *SLOVĚÑSK̃B narode* to the universally oriented 26. *ČLOVĚČ̃BSK̃YJE duš̃e*.

Among those original Old Church Slavonic writings for which one may assume Constantine's authorship, three pieces reveal striking affinities. In the first of these texts, the Preface to the Evangelium, the earliest of his translations, the Philosopher discusses the tasks and difficulties of transposing the Greek original into Slavic (cf. Vaillant 1948); the *Proglas* was meant to introduce Constantine's further achievement, the entire Slaviced Tetraevangelium, and to elucidate the significance of the labor spent; finally, a tirade inserted into the Old Church Slavonic *Vita* of Constantine, the polemic reply allegedly given by the teacher in Venice, autumn 867, to the "ravens" who defied the Slavic liturgy, sums up the doctrine of the Moravian mission. The treatise, the poem, and the argument, — all three pieces are consecrated to the Divine Word. Full of yearning for its universal comprehension, all three of them hail the translation of the Holy Writ and Songs into the vernacular, particularly into Slavic, and all three directly refer to the

same Epistle of St. Paul (I Corinthians) asking for commonly comprehensible words in the church prayers.

In the oldest of the three documents, the treatise which prefaced the Slavic Evangelium, the Philosopher added a quotation from St. Paul's allegedly "great disciple" Dionysius the Areopagite, which condemns the unreasonable attachment to empty, incomprehensible words and phrases and the foolish disregard of meaning. This legacy learned from Dionysius and some further impulses due to his treatise, *The Divine Names*, seem to flash across Constantine's *Proglas*.

According to C. E. Rolt's conclusive observations (145f.), in the view of the author of the treatise ascribed to Dionysius "the Supra-Vital and Primal Life is the cause of all Life, and produces and fulfills it and individualizes it" in any mode whatsoever: intelligence (*Proglas: razumъ*), reason (*umъ*), sensation (*viděti, slyšati, qxati, čuti*), nutrition (*brašbno*), growth (68. *Xotęšte rasti božijemъ rastomъ *** 73. Da vьzdrastetъ plodъ božii pače*). That "ascending scale between Nothingness and the Super-Essence" which proves to underlie the system of values outlined by Dionysius (p. 19) finds a salient set of correspondences in the Old Church Slavonic poem. The twilight substituted for light still enables the eye to see all of God's creation, yet all "what is seen without (full) light lacks beauty" (31.). As an example of a decadence into nothingness the poem uses the metaphoric petrification of those ones whose mouth "Tastes no sweetness" (40.). As it was explained by Dionysius, here lies the difference between the aboriginal lifelessness of a stone and "the failure of the thing's proper virtues". The endowment of the mouth and nostrils with a natural capacity for feeling the divine miracle (*čudo*) leads to a paronomastic fastening of the tie between the organs of sense and their attainment (39. *čudo* — 40. *čujotъ* within the intrusive frame of six velars: 39. *КАКО* 40. *sladъКА*, 41. *ЈАКО КАМЕНЬ *** člověКА*).

The poet's attention is attracted by chasms between the presence and loss of a sense-perception, for instance between eyesight or hearing and blindness or deafness. But much deeper (*pače sego*) is his response to the tragic gulf which separates the intelligent power of the human soul from the latter's sufferings through the incomprehensibility of words heard and of letters learned and seen: 42. "the illiterate soul (*duša bezbukъvьna*) 43. grows dead in human beings" (cf. also 32.). 63. "So each soul living wanes *** 65. Hearing not the Divine Word." One's own proper comprehension is the miracle glorified by the poem and pointed out by a set of cognate terms (*umъ, razumъ, razuměti*) and by an insistent recourse to the possessive adjectival form of the reflexive pronoun (*svoi*). The

meaningful vernacular heard and uttered with one's own understanding (*otъ svoego uma: sъ razumomъ svoimъ*) carries the Word from God (*otъ boga bo pride*) and is consistently opposed in the poem to the defied oxymoron “reason without understanding” (*umъ nerazumъnъ*) of those who are listening to the Word in a foreign tongue (*tuždemъ jezыkomъ*) as if hearing the voice of a copper bell (*měďna zvona glasъ*).

The deployed and multiplied call to the Slavic people to listen to the Divine Word with their own mind (23.–25.) is surrounded by references first to the listeners' souls which save their beauty and splendor by striving to escape the fire of the nether world (18.–22.) and then to the same human souls when they receive their blessing from the Divine Word (26.–28.) These two framing passages display a predilection for pairs of alliterative, both morphologically and semantically resemblant, words parallelistically applied in correlated lines. They are, on the one hand, the distich 26. *slovo že KRЪME / člověčьskьję duše*, 27. *slovo že KRĚPE / i srьdьca i umy*, and on the opposite side, the semantically negative pair *тъma* — *тъlja* (with an identical syllable *тъ* followed by two different sonorants). The full use of this pair is made in the lines devoted to the striving of our souls (19.–20.) “to dispel (*otъgъnati*) the darkness of sin, and to repel the corruptness (*tbljъ otъložitъ*) of this world”. A phonic correspondence between the latter accusative and infinitive furthers the imagery, while the will of our souls 22. “to escape the flaming fire”, invoked at the end of the same compound sentence, confronts the religious proximity of the fire and darkness with their sensual contrast and signals the interconnection between the initial goal of the depicted strivings and the final one with an impressive paronomasia: 19. *OTЪGЪNati* — 22. *OTЪ OGN'ja*. At the second appearance of the noun *tblja*, namely in the paronomastic context — 60. *Jako bo TЪLja / pLЪTьxъ nastoitъ* (“As corruption threatens the flesh”) — once more nearby we detect its partner word *тъma*, this time in the meaning “multitude, ten thousand”: 56. *Neže тъmъ slovesъ nerazumъnъ* (“Than ten thousand incomprehensible words”). Both for the inquirer into “the Divine Names” and for the author of the *Proglas* the darkness of sin and the multitudes of incomprehensible, unreasonable, alien words were but two pernicious displays of Nothingness, and the Old Church Slavonic *тъma* must have been felt as one single word with two shades of meaning, whatever the still discussed historical relation between the two lexical units may be.

From the initial to the final lines of the *Proglas* the poet remains faithful to the masterful architectonics of sound and sound sequence, morpheme and word, repetition and variation. Constantine's power in the literary language he created is indeed amazing; it embraces the whole

diversity of functions assigned to the new tool, and despite all the valuable studies done, one is still in need of a new, comprehensive and unflinchingly objective evaluation. In particular, the uncommon wealth and range of Constantine's poetic means still requires a broad systematic analysis. His Prologue to the Holy Gospels is an unmatched classic of Slavic homiletic poetry. The philosopher deploys the brightest poetic figures of the Byzantine world in order to affirm and deepen the sovereignty and equality that are bestowed on every nation and on everyone within each nation as soon as the native word has found its access to the Holy Communion, which, by the Middle Ages, was conceived as the acme of attainable communication.

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ПОХВАЛА КОНСТАНТИНА ФИЛОСОФА ГРИГОРИЮ БОГОСЛОВУ

I. ТЕКСТ

Яркий образец высокого словесного мастерства, унаследованного новорожденной славянской письменностью от Византии, "Похвала Григорию Богослову" включена в старославянское житие Константина Философа (ЖК, гл. III, 18–20), составленное согласно убедительным доводам болландистов, между 869 и 882 годом.¹ В разнообразной деятельности Кирилла-Константина поэтическое творчество — греческое, а затем и славянское — занимает выдающееся место.² Похвала написана, по словам агиографа, еще в школьные годы (ЖК III, 17). Житийная датировка, зачастую условная, в данном случае особенно сомнительна. Славянское стихотворение, конечно, не могло быть написано Константином до 863 года, т. е. до изобретения славянских письмен. Если же предположить, что стихи в честь Григория Назианского были сложены Константином ранее этой даты, то их языком мог быть только греческий,³ и с греческого оригинала был позднее сделан славянский перевод, по всей вероятности, самим сочинителем, которому, вне сомнения, оба языка были одинаково близки,⁴ или же

¹ P. Meyvaert, P. Devos, "Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la 'Légende italique' résolues grâce à un document inédit", *Analecta Bollandiana* 73/III-IV (1955), 433–440, 454; — P. Devos, "Les saints Cyrille et Méthode", *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 79 (1957), 171.

² Ср. P. Якобсон, "Стихотворные цитаты в великоморавской агиографии", *Slavistična Revija* 10 (1957), 111–118; — "St. Constantine's Prologue to the Gospels", *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 7 (New York, 1963), 14–19; — "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry", *XII^e Congrès Internationale des Études Byzantines, Ochride 1961*, Beograd, 1963, 249–265; — "Тайна служебна Константина Философа и дальнейшее развитие старославянской поэзии", *Зборник радова Византолошког института VIII* Beograd, 1963, 161–166. Ср. переиздание этих статей в настоящем томе, стр. 277–285, 191–206, 240–259, и 260–276.

³ Так полагает И. Дуйчев. см. его содержательные статьи — "Zur literarischen Tätigkeit Konstantins des Philosophen", *Byzantinische Zf.* 44 (1951), 109 сл., и "Constantino Filosofo nella storia della letteratura bizantina", *Studi in onore di Ettore Lo Gatto e Giovanni Maver*, Rome, 1962, 211–214.

⁴ *Житие Мефодия*, V, 8: *вѣ въ вѣста сѣлоуѣнѣнна, да сѣлоуѣнѣ вѣси чисто словѣньскы вѣсѣдоуѣтъ*. Ср. F. Grivce. *Konstantin und Method*, Wiesbaden 1960, 221; — J. Vašica, *Literární památky epochy velkomoravské* Praha, 1966, 10. В цитатах из старославянских

одним из его сотрудников по моравской миссии. В последнем случае славянская версия, скорее всего, созданная непосредственно для Жития, быть может, принадлежит Мефодию, опытному в переводах писаний Константина с греческого на славянский (см. ЖК X,96) и, по всей вероятности, искусному в стихотворстве,⁵ или же Клименту Величскому, в свою очередь перелавшему церковные песнопения, по свидетельству Охридской легенды (гл. XIV).⁶

Писания Григория Назианского, которые Константин смолodu знал изъоустъ (ЖК III, 17), были ему и соучастникам его моравской миссии излюбленным источником для извлечений, подражаний и переводов. Неудивительно появление стихов Константина, прославляющих Григория и навеянных его поэтическим творчеством, в частности художественной формой его семистиший.⁷

В основу нижеследующей критической редакции стихов Похвалы св. Григорию положен, с легкими отступлениями в строках 1, 5 и 7, текст Н. С. Трубецкого:⁸

1. Ѡ григоре, тѣломь | чловѣче, а доушенъ | анѣле!||
2. ты бо, тѣломь | чловѣкъ сын, | анѣлъ ѣви са,||
3. оуста во твоѣ, | ѣко единъ | отъ серафимъ,||
4. вога прославѣжтъ | и весь миръ | просвѣщажтъ||

житий Константина-Кирилла и Мефодия мы пользуемся нумерацией глав и абзацев, принятой в загребском издании обоих житий: F. Grivec, F. Tomšič: *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis, Fontes = Radovi Staroslovenskog Instituta IV* (1960). При восстановлении первоначального текста житий мы в значительной степени руководились трудом: T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Żywoty Konstantina i Metodego (obszerne)*, Poznań, 1959. К вопросу о фонах кирилломефодьевской редакции старославянского языка см. N. S. Trubetzkoy, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, Wien 1968², 60–86, особенно примечание о иотированных гласных на стр. 62.

⁵ См. R. Jakobson, "Methodius' Canon to Demetrius of Thessalonica and the Old Church Slavonic Hirmoi". *Sbornik praci filosofické fakulty Brněnské university F IX* (1965), 132–141 [cf. the revised version, *infra*, 286–346].

⁶ *Magnae Moraviae fontes historici II*, Brno 1967, 272. Ср. Р. Якобсон, "Великая Моравия или Великая над Моравою", *Езиковедско этнографски наследования в памет на ак. Ст. Романски*, София 1960, 485 сл. [cf. *supra*, 95–100].

⁷ Ср. F. Grivec, "Viri Ciril-Methodove teologije", *Slavia* 2 (1923–1924), 46–47; — тот же, "Biblične zgodbe sv. Cirila in Metoda", *Bogoslovni Vestnik* 15 (1935), 1–32; — тот же, "Vitae Constantini et Methodii", *Acta Academiae Velehradensis* 17 (1941), 54; — Е. Георгиев, "Две произведения на св. Кирила", *Studia Historico-philologica Serdicensia*, suppl. vol. II (София, 1938), 110, 125–128; — F. Gnidovec, *Vpliv sv. Gregorija Nazianskega na sv. Cirila in Metodija ter na njuni Žitji*, Ljubljana 1942; — V. Vavřínek, "Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje a panegyriky Rehoře z Nazianzu", *LF* 85 (1962), 135–151; — P. Colaclides, "Ho Roman Jakobson kai tò Egkómio tou Grégoriou tou Theológou", *Hekébólos* 12–13 (1982).

⁸ N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Ein altkirchenslavisches Gedicht", *ZfSIPh* 11 (1934), 52–54. [Cf. *N. S. Trubetzkoy's Letters and Notes* (The Hague–Paris, 1975), 289 сл.]

5. правѣѣ вѣрѣ | казаннѣмь, | тѣмь же и мене, ||
6. припадаѣщѣ | къ тебѣ любѣвнѣж | и вѣроѣж, ||
7. прими и вѣди ми | просвѣтитель | и оучитель! ||⁹

Гениальная интуиция Николая Сергеевича Трубецкого в отношении к языку и особенно к поэтическому слову подсказала ему: “Когда читаешь это место [т. е. Похвалу] в общем контексте жития, оно бросается в глаза, точнее в уши, своей явной стихотворностью, точнее: непрозаичностью” (из письма, написанного в Вене 28. X. 1933). Исходя из южнославянской редакции жития, изданной П. Шафариком в 1851 и вторично в 1873 г. по Рыльскому панегирику Владислава Грамматика в списке 1479 г., Трубецкой, глубоко изощренный в сравнительном метрическом анализе, без труда восстановил первоначальный стихотворный облик Похвалы, внося в текст, по словам того же письма, “лишь небольшие изменения”. — “Der Text dieser Lobpreisung”, как отметил исследователь, публикуя его реконструкцию, “unterscheidet sich rhythmisch und stilistisch von der übrigen, in nüchtern-sachlichem Tone gehaltenen Erzählung so stark, daß man diese Lobpreisung unbedingt als ein in die Prosaerzählung eingeschaltetes Gedicht zu betrachten hat. Bei näherer Untersuchung läßt sich die metrische Form dieses Gedichts tatsächlich wiederherstellen.”

Восстановление стихотворной формы старославянского семистишия, собственно говоря, даже не требует конъектур, а только критического сравнения разночтений. Трубецкой, располагавший во время работы над реконструкцией всего одним списком жития, тем не менее безошибочно опознал, что в этом варианте вторая строка Похвалы утратила словечко во: “При переписке оно легко могло выпасть по графической диссимилиации со следующей строкой” (28. X. 1933). И действительно, чтение древнейшего русского списка — ты вѣ тѣломъ¹⁰ — всецело подтверждает предположение Трубецкого. В пятой строке по списку Владислава излишняя и искажающая стих приставка в слове съказаниѣмь заставила исследователя прибегнуть к конъектуре; между тем, не менее поучительный львовский список южнославянской редакции и большинство рукописей русской редакции сохраняют первичную, лишенную

⁹ ЖК III,18–20. Обозначаю границы колонов вертикалью (|), границы строк двойной вертикалью (||).

¹⁰ См. А. Лавров, *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности*, Ленинград 1930, 3. Photomechanic Reprint. Mouton & Co., The Hague–Paris, 1966.

префикса форму казаниѣмь (а отдельные русские списки вносят иное подновление — наказаниѣмь).¹¹

В четвертой строке Похвалы Трубецкой подставил взамен слова въсѣленѣжъ, фигурирующего в южнославянском тексте жития, речение въсь миръ, принадлежащее, как он справедливо отметил, “zur älteren Schicht des altkirchenslavischen Wortschatzes”, так что позднейшие переписчики заменили этот архаизм термином “более для них привычным и к тому же более по ученому звучащим”.¹² Слово сочетание въсю въсѣленюю, подставленное в списках русской редакции жития, говорит в пользу догадки Трубецкого. Но сильнейшую поддержку его проницательному соображению приносит *Похвальное слово Кириллу Философу*, сложенное еще в Моравии Климентом Величьским и поныне далеко необследованное. В этот панегирик вошло несколько слегка парафразированных цитат из Похвалы Григорию. Похвала Константина: 2. *** анѣлъ ꙗви сѧ, || 3. оуста бо твоѣ, | ꙗко единъ отъ серафимъ, || 4. бога прославлѣхътъ *** , || 5. *** тѣмъ же и мене, || — Похвальное слово Климента в болгарском списке XIII века:¹³ Та бо ѡста чьст’наа. явишѣ сѧ яко единъ ѡт серафимъ. в[о]га прославлѣхъши *** тѣмъ же вл[а]жж твои оуст’нѣ. Константин: 4. *** и въсь миръ | просвѣщахътъ || 5. правыа вѣры казаниѣмь, | *** — Климент: въснѧ на земли яко сл[ъ]нце *** зарѣми всего мира просвѣщахъ; прѣлетааше всѧ страны *** наоучахъ правовѣрию; ѡбтече яко сл[ъ]нце всего мира. просвѣщахъ. в[о]г[о]дъхновеннымъ оучениемъ. Константин: припадахъщъ | къ тебѣ любѣвнижъ | и вѣрохъ, || — Климент: приложи сѧ житиемъ и вѣрохъ къ в’сѣмъ с[в]ѣтымъ отцемъ. Константин: 7. прими и вѣди ми | просвѣтитель | и оучитель! || — Климент: м[о]ли сѧ за ны. прѣпод[о]вны оучителю.¹⁴ Употребление речения въсь миръ в восходящих к Похвале Константина сочетаниях, несомненно, показательно. Следует отметить, что в службе Кириллу и Мефодию, составленной с отголосками из Похвального слова Климента Кириллу, вероятно, в Чехии X века и дошедшей до нас в люблянском глаголическом бревиарии XV столетия, речение въсь миръ заменено “вселенною” в

¹¹ См. Лавров, 3 и 41.

¹² Trubetzkoy, указ. соч., 53. Ср. V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, Berlin, 1913, 285: “въсь миръ für κόσμος ist in den ältesten Texten vorherrschend”.

¹³ Й. Иванов, *Български старини из Македония*, София, 1931, 327–333: *Похвално слово на Кирила философа от Климента Охридски*.

¹⁴ Ср. там же в рассказе о кончине Кирилла — въ лѣто ѡт твари (вариант: ѡт създавни) в’сего мира (Иванов, указ. соч., 333) и соответственно в старославянском житии Константина — отъ твари въсего мира въ лѣто, а также в Слове похвальном Кириллу и Мефодию — въ лѣт[о] ѡт твари въсего мира (Лавров, указ. соч., 35 и 86).

формулах, заимствованных у Климента, — 1. К вечерни: обходе вселенюю, насиѣ землю глаголи славнаго учениѣ; 2. К ютрни: ѣко сл'нце оптече вселенюю, христа проповѣдае.¹⁵

Междометие ш, с которого начинается Похвала Константина Григорию, было похерено Трубецким, как отсебятина писца начетчика. Конечно, в контексте жития оно могло играть роль начальных кавычек. Однако, по существу, нет нужды в пропуске словесной единицы наличной во всех списках Похвалы. Если взамен звательной формы григорие подставить вариант григоре, знакомый старославянским памятникам (ср. род. григора, дат. григороу),¹⁶ то остается в сохранности не только семнадцатисложный состав строки и семисложный размер ее первого колона, но также красочный звуковой повтор О григоре (огр — гор) привычного типа ABC–BAC.¹⁷

Сравнительный разбор вариантов позволяет с небольшими модификациями принять редакцию Похвалы, установленную Трубецким, и несколько уточнив, продолжить его метрический анализ. Согласно вескому выводу Лаврова, текст жития Константина по рукописи Владислава Грамматика “уступает русско-славянским текстам, потому что в нем мы находим много перемен сравнительно со старшим текстом” (стр. XIX). Следственно, сопоставив конец семистишия в русской редакции — просвѣтитель и оучитель и в южнославянской — оучитель и просвѣтитель, мы сохраняем чтение первого из двух вариантов, поскольку именно этот порядок слов показывает закономерность метрического членения стихов Похвалы и поскольку обратной разверстке обоих существительных в южнославянской редакции дают ясное объяснение разыскания Маретича о стилистической склонности к расстановке двух однородных членов предложения в силлабически возрастающем порядке.¹⁸

II. СТИХ И ЗВУКОВЫЕ ПОВТОРЫ

Еукѡμιον Константина Григорию состоит из семи строк, сложенных двумя размерами. Три полных строки — обе крайних (1., 7.) и

¹⁵ R. Večerka, “Velkomoravská literatura v přemyslovských Čechách”, *Slavia* 32 (1964) 407; — J. Vašica, ук. соч., 256, 259; — П. Лавров, указ. соч. 128 сл.

¹⁶ P. Diels, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik* I, Heidelberg, 1932, 184; — *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* I, Praha 1966, 434 сл.

¹⁷ Ср. О. Брик, *Звуковые повторы*, Michigan Slavic Materials V, Ann Arbor, 1964, 10 сл.; — J. Starobinski, “Les anagrammes de Ferdinand de Saussure”, *Mercure de France* (1964), 254 сл.

¹⁸ Т. Maretić, *Metrika narodnih naših pjesama*, Zagreb, 1907.

центральная (4.) — противопоставлены по размеру остальным, усеченным строкам (2., 3. и 5., 6.). Полные, нечетносложные строки содержат по семнадцати, а усеченные, четносложные — по шестнадцати слогов.¹⁹

Каждая строка содержит три колона, из них первый и второй всегда наделены нечетным числом слогов, а в третьем колоне число слогов нечетно при нечетном и четно при четном числе слогов во всей строке. Иначе говоря, третий колон в полных строках наделен нечетным, а в усеченных четным числом слогов. Как в первом, так и во втором колоне число слогов = 6 ± 1 . Полные, т. е. семнадцатисложные строки начинаются с полного, семисложного колона, а усеченные, шестнадцатисложные строки с усеченного, т. е. пятисложного колона. Второй колон семисложен в первой из полных и в последней из усеченных строк (1. и 6.), пятисложен в пяти остальных строках (2.–5. и 7.). В семнадцатисложных строках число слогов третьего колона = 4 ± 1 , а в шестнадцатисложных строках 5 ± 1 . Здесь плюс имеет место при минусе во втором колоне, а минус в третьем при плюсе во втором. Таким образом после пятисложного второго колона третий колон насчитывает пять слогов в семнадцатисложных строках, шесть в шестнадцатисложных, а после семисложного второго колона на третий приходится три слога в семнадцатисложной строке, четыре в шестнадцатисложной. Приведем силлабическую схему всего стихотворения:

1.		$7+7+3=17$
	2.	$5+5+6=16$
	3.	$5+5+6=16$
4.		$7+5+5=17$
	5.	$5+5+6=16$
	6.	$5+7+4=16$
7.		$7+5+5=17$

Из общего числа колонов (21) больше половины (11) составляют пятисложные отрезки. В пяти строках, наделенных средним колоном из пяти слогов, он соседит в свою очередь с пятисложным колоном — с начальным в трех усеченных строках, с конечным в двух полных строках. Вообще во всех строках стихотворения, кроме

¹⁹ Образцом могли послужить семнадцати- и шестнадцатисложные строки византийских гекзаметров: см. I. Ševčenko, "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission", *Slavic Review* 23 (1964), 265; — ср. R. Burgi, *A History of the Russian Hexameter*, Hamden, Conn., 1954, 5–9.

шестой, проявляется склонность к силлабической симметрии смежных колонов, среднего с начальным в четырех, а с конечным в двух строках, тогда как между внешними колонами симметрии нет ни в одной строке. Только между четвертой и пятой строкой наблюдается непосредственное сочетание двух пар пятисложных колонов, — сцепление четырех силлабически однородных колонов служит как бы ритмическим противовесом “переносу” (enjambement), разверставшему предложение между концом одной и началом другой строки: | и всѣхъ мирѣ | просвѣщаѣтъ || правъа вѣрѣ | казаниѣмъ |. Последняя из усеченных строк (6.) в отличие от всех прочих строк лишена внутренней силлабической симметрии, но зато ее связывает с последней полной строкой (7.) силлабический хиазм первых двух колонов: 5 + 7 слогов в шестой, 7 + 5 в седьмой строке.

Оба внешних колона кончаются пропарокситонами во всех строках, кроме двух смежных с центральной строкой (т. е. кроме строк 3. и 5., которые, видимо, вовсе лишены пропарокситонов).²⁰ В двух последних строках Похвалы внутренний колон в свою очередь кончается пропарокситоном. Таблица разверстки заключительных пропарокситонов:

1. тѣломъ		ánĕle
2. тѣломъ		ѣви сѧ
3.		
4. прославлѣѣтъ		просвѣщаѣтъ
5.		
6. припадѣѣщѣ	любѣвиѣ	вѣроѣ
7. бѣди ми	просвѣтитѣль	оучитѣль

Связь между строками Похвалы скреплена несколькими цепочками сквозных звуковых повторов, отчасти опирающихся на тождество морфем или целых слов:

4. прославлѣѣтъ | (прос) — | просвѣщаѣтъ (прос) — 5. || правъа (пр) — 6. припадѣѣщѣ | (при) — 7. || прими (при) — | просвѣтитѣль | (прос); 1. | чловѣче (овѣ) — 2. | чловѣкъ (овѣ) — ѣви сѧ || (ѣв) — 3. твоѣ | (воѣ) — 4. | просвѣщаѣтъ || (росвѣ) — 5. вѣрѣ | (вѣр) — вѣроѣ || (вѣро) — 7.

²⁰ Впрочем, не исключена возможность, как указал мне Владимир Антонович Дыбо, пропарокситона *сѣрафимъ* в конце третьей строки, подобно среднеболгарскому род. множ. *вѣдѣвицѣ* от *вѣдѣвица*. Ср. акцентовку *штѣ сѣрафимъ* в этом стихе по русскому списку XV века, но, с другой стороны, *шт сѣрафимъ* у Владислава Грамматика в рукописи 1469 г. (Лавров, указ. соч., 3 и 41).

| просвѣтитель | (росвѣ); 1. тѣломь | (тѣ) — 2. || ты (т) — тѣломь | (тѣ) — 3. твоѣ (т..ѣ) — 5. тѣмь (тѣ) — 6. къ тѣвѣ (т..ѣ) — 7. | просвѣтитель | (ѣт). Все эти повторы находят себе завершение в ключевом слове просвѣтитель и совместно с грамматической рифмой 7. просвѣтитель — оучитель || (-итель) окружают именное ядро императивной авторской мольбы своеобразной анаграммой: просвѣ-т-итель. Любопытно, что и самый императив в свою очередь подготовлен звуковыми повторами: 2. || ты во (бо) — 3. || оуста во (бо) — 4. || бога (бо) — 7. вѣди ми | (боN); 3. серафимъ || (им) — 4. | и всь миръ | (и ми) — 5. | казаньемь | (ием) — и мене || (име) — 7. || прими (ими) и вѣди ми | (и ми).

III. ПОСТРОЧНЫЙ КОММЕНТАРИЙ

Какова бы ни была дата Похвалы, нельзя не признать ее органическую связь с тем неуклонным “желаниемь срьдца своего”, о котором вслед за приведенными стихами непосредственно повествует житие Константина: Страннь же нѣкон вѣ'тоу, оумѣа граматикнѣ, и къ нему шѣдъ молѣаше и, на ногоу его падаа и вѣдаа сѣ емоу: добрѣ дѣа, наоучи мѣ хъдожьствоу граматичьскоуемоу (ЖК III, 22–23).²¹ Проникнувшись значимостью грамматического искусства, силъ рѣчи примъ, по выражению ЖК (VIII, 15), поэт сумел въ малѣхъ словесъхъ чеканного семистишия велии оумъ сѣказати, как его же слова парафразирует агиограф (ЖК IV, 10).

В первой строке морфологический параллелизм трех вокативов, принадлежащих всем трем колонам стиха — григоре, чловѣче и анѣле — сочетается с синтаксическим параллелизмом обоих нарицательных имен: за звательной формой собственного имени следуют два вокативных приложения, и каждому сопутствует отдельный границей колонов творительный отношения, явно придающий приложению предикативный оттенок.²² Скопление пяти имен существительных в одной строке еще более подчеркнуто трехсложным составом, надо полагать, каждого из них и

²¹ О занятиях Константина “восемью частями грамматики” житие повествует и дальше (VIII, 10). Е. Георгиев, *Кирилл и Методий основоположники на славянские литературы*, София, 1956, гл. VII, предполагает, что к грамматическим разысканиям Константина восходит трактат *О осмихъ частехъ слова*, известный в нескольких церковнославянских списках.

²² Ср. А. Потеня, *Из записок по русской грамматике*, I-II, Москва, 1958, 462 сл., — М. Бауэрова, “Беспредложный творительный падеж в старославянском языке”, в сборнике *Исследования по синтаксису старославянского языка* под ред. И. Курца, Прага, 1963, 298 сл.

регулярным чередованием: voc.-instr.-voc.-instr.-voc. В то же время оба сочетания вокатива с инструменталом, прилагаемые к одному и тому же герою, создают две резко контрастирующих пары: “тело — душа” и “человек — ангел”, причем союз заостряет противоречие, а созвучие начальных гласных привлекает внимание и к противительному *а*, и к последнему из двух противопоставляемых членов — *ан҃еле*, между тем как одинаковый ударный гласный связывает обе части первого члена: *тѣломь чловѣче*.

Во второй строке повторен конец первого колона, и в начале колонов, вместо звательных форм предыдущей строки подставлен номинатив (*григоре — ты*) и двойной полиптотон (*чловѣче — чловѣкъ, ан҃еле — ан҃елъ*), а взамен простого сопоставления антитетических образов введена синтаксическая и семантическая иерархия. Над зависимой, причастной конструкцией *тѣломь чловѣкъ сын берет* верх финитная форма *ан҃елъ ѣви сѧ*, т. е. “будучи телом человек, ты оказался ангел”.²³ Путем реализованной метафоры поэт приобщает человека *ан҃ельскимъ чиномъ* и *бесплѣтнымъ силамъ*. Здесь аорист совершенного вида во втором лице единственного числа перекликается с императивом того же вида, лица и числа в начале последней полной строки: *7. прими*. Вторая строка Похвалы повторяет ассонанс ударных гласных — *тѣломь чловѣкъ* — и связывает слова заключительного колона корреляцией двух начальных ударных компактных гласных: *ан҃елъ ѣви сѧ*. Энклитика *во* в первом колона второй и третьей строк вводит два причинных придаточных предложения, за которыми с третьего колона пятой строки следует главное, независимое предложение с ответным приступом — *тѣмъ же*: “так как” ..., “то” ...

Из двух смежных придаточных предложений последнее (3.–4.) служит объяснением ангелоподобной сущности воспеваемого праведника вопреки его телесной природе. В первом колона третьей строки *тѣло* начальных строк уступает место синекдохе *оуста*, в то

²³ Или же “проявил себя ангелом”, “явился ангелом”, но отнюдь не “казался ангелом”, “*zdál ses andělem*”, как эти слова издавна передаются чешскими переводчиками в противоречии не только с видовым и словарным значением глагола, но также с поэтикой и мировоззрением Константина Философа. Ср., напр., в Слове похвальном Кириллу и Мефодию такие фразы, как *ѣви сѧ проповѣдникъ* и *апостоля новъ* или ниже *поганьствоу же вѣскомоу раздроушьяника ѣвиста сѧ* (Лавров, указ. соч., 86); в Службе Кириллу и Мефодию по древнерусскому минейному тексту: *Нина дроугын рьвени[и]мъ яви сѧ на земли, Меодии свѣте: избранъ воинъ яви сѧ Христа бога, Меодии: Ангельская чины преспѣлъ яси, моудре, на земли тако бесплѣтнъ яви сѧ; Нескоудно съкровище яви сѧ, Коуриле, пресвѣтоуоумоу доухоу: Из дѣвичь ложеснъ въплъщъ сѧ, яви сѧ на съпасение наше* (Лавров, указ. соч., 112 сл.); ЖК VIII,8: и по семь *ѣвиша сѧ свѣтыя моши*.

время как анѣлъ первых двух строк сменяется уточненным и еще более возвышенным образом — единъ отъ серафимъ. Но на этот раз, в отличие от предыдущего, именно бесплотный образ попадает в синтаксически побочное положение, формально низводится подчинительным союзом ꙗко на уровень, казалось бы, простого сравнения, а телесный орган — оуста — одухотворяется тою творческой деятельностью, которой может чловѣкъ приблизити съ возѣ, согласно ответу Константина на вопрос, что есть философия.²⁴ Недаром старославянская служба Кириллу прилагает к его проповеди христологический образ — слово въплъщшее сѧ.²⁵ По словам Похвалы, уста Богослова, ꙗко единъ отъ серафимъ, вога прославиѣжтъ, т. е. уста святого славят Господа, так же как славят его серафим. Это характерное для византийской поэтики превращение синекдохи в автономного деятеля, возведение человеческого фрагмента в сан человека, пародированное, к слову сказать, Федором Павловичем Карамазовым,²⁶ даже смутило своей отвагой авторитетных интерпретаторов старославянского жития Константина. “*Pageille à celle d'un séraphin votre bouche glorifie Dieu*”, передает Дворник,²⁷ и соответственно в переводе Лера Сплавиньского сказано: “usta bowiem twoje, jakby *jednego* z serafimów” (стр. 8). Между тем, как подтверждает повесть ЖК о прении Константина с иконоборцами (V, 18), он ясно осознавал своезаконность художественной синекдохи, и Климент Величский в своем Похвальном слове подхватывает тот же прием телесного образа, дематериализованного синекдохой. Он не только перенимает из стихов своего учителя сравнение уст с серафимом, но от первичной синекдохи переходит к вторичной, более дробной, играя при этом двойственным — конкретным и отвлеченным — значением слова: вл[а]жъ многог[а]сны твои ѡзыкъ им'же моемоу ѡзыкоу. трѣвзначнааго в[о]ж[ь]ства зарѣ вснаив'ши. мракъ грѣховны отгна. Климент и дальше пользуется такими же двухступенчатыми или даже трехступенчатыми синекдохами: лицо — очи — зеницы, руки — персты, ноги — стопы.

Третья строка Похвалы сплочена четырьмя начальными

²⁴ Ср. I. Ševčenko, “The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of Saint Constantine”, *For Roman Jakobson*, The Hague, 1965, 449–457.

²⁵ П. Лавров, указ. соч., 109 и 118.

²⁶ “Повествуется где-то о каком-то святом чудотворце, которого мучили за веру, и когда отрубили ему под конец голову, то он встал, поднял свою голову и долго шел, неся ее в руках и ‘любезно ее лобызаше’” (*Братья Карамазовы*, часть I, книга I, гл. II).

²⁷ F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Praha, 1933, 351

гласными (без превокальных словоразличительных элементов):
оуста *** | ѣко единъ | отъ ***.

Подобно начальной строке, центральная строка построена по принципу двучленного параллелизма: 4. бога прославлѣжтъ и всь миръ просвѣщаѣтъ с двумя равносложными именами и двумя равносложными глаголами. Оба сказуемых с их прямыми дополнениями сохраняют различие между горним и дольным планом: Богу слава, всему миру просвещение. Но, в отличие от противительного союза в первой строке и синтаксического подчинения двух начальных колонов во второй и двух конечных колонов в третьей строке, каждая из трех последующих строк (4.–6.) пользуется по одному разу, а заключительная (7). даже дважды, соединительным союзом и, снимающим первоначальные противоречия.

В пятой строке ссылка начальных колонов на вселенскую проповедь правды въры в Бога конденсирует и объединяет оба мотива центрального стиха. Это единственная строка без внутреннего грамматического параллелизма, если не считать бледного сходства в окончаниях инструментала казаниѣмъ и одинакового, но окостенелого падежа тѣмъ же. Внутри пятой строки проходит граница между придаточными, декларативными предложениями и главным, императивным, охватывающим последние семь колонов всего семистишия. Здесь союз и связывает аккузатив мене с аккузативом предшествующей строки — всь миръ. Смысл сочетания ясен: если твои уста просвещают весь мир, то и меня прими и просвети! Подобно тому, как местоименному субъекту второй строки, ты, пришел на смену именной субъект третьей строки, синекдоха оуста твоѣ, так в свою очередь именной объект четвертой строки всь миръ сменился в пятой строке местоименным объектом мене, т. е. синекдохой объекта всь миръ:

2. || ты во

4. | и всь миръ

3. || оуста во твоѣ

5. | тѣмъ же и мене ||

Таким образом синекдоха оуста открывает первый из двух прилегающих к центральному стихов, а синекдоха мене замыкает второй из них.

Второму лицу Похвалы, обозначенному в начале второй строки номинативом ты, в конце пятой строки отвечает партнер, первое лицо, аккузатив мене, причем обоим местоимениям симметрично сопутствуют определительные причастные конструкции; одна се-

мантически сближает второе лицо с авторским, т. е. первым, — ты во, тѣломъ чловѣкъ съи, другая приближает первое лицо ко второму — мене, припадающъ къ тебѣ. Расстановка местоимений ты и мене строго симметрична. Одним открывается первое придаточное, другим главное предложение Похвалы. Первое из двустихий усеченного размера заключает в начальной строке номинатив ты, а второе — аккузатив мене. Соответственно отметим, что из двух взаимно противоположных предлогов Похвалы первое названное двустихие содержит в конечной строке аблативный отъ, а второе — аллативный къ.

Две последних строки стихотворения устанавливают тесную взаимную связь между его адресантом и адресатом: два местоименных датива — полноударное тебѣ и энклитическое ми отвечают друг другу; семантическое и словообразовательное сходство объединяет причастие 6. || припадающъ | с императивом 7. || прими. Как имена, так и финитные формы глаголов выступают попарно: 6. | любѣвиѣ и вѣроѣ ||; 7. || прими и вѣди ми | просвѣтитель и оучитель!|. Все три полных строки семистишия в отличие от усеченных строк содержат по два параллельных слова, но в начальной и в центральной строке параллельны два парных сочетания (двух номинативов с инструменталами в первом случае, двух глаголов с аккузативами во втором), тогда как конечная строка распадается на две отдельных пары однородных членов (двух императивов в начале и двух номинативов в конце строки):

1. тѣломъ чловѣче	доушеѣ анѣле
2. чловѣкъ	анѣлъ
3. оуста	единъ
4. бога прославлѣѣтъ	всь миръ просвѣщаѣтъ
5. казаниемъ	тѣмъ
6. любѣвиѣ	вѣроѣ
7. прими и вѣди ми	просвѣтитель и оучитель

По возможности дословный перевод Похвалы, думается, поможет читателю уяснить себе ее композицию: 1. О Григорий, телом человек, а душою ангел! 2. так как ты, будучи телом человек, оказался ангел, 3. потому что уста твои, словно один из серафимов, 4. Бога прославляют и весь мир просвещают 5. проповедью правой веры, то и меня, 6. припадающего к тебе с любовью и верою, 7. прими и будь мне просветитель и учитель!

Обе разновидности конативных категорий — вокативы

начальной строки и императивы конечной строки — выразительно обрамляют Похвалу. Ее призывные, молебственные части наглядно выделяет не только грамматический, но и чисто звуковой строй, различна писмена гласна и съгласна, в особенности явное предпочтение высокотонального вокализма по сравнению с синтаксически подчиненными, декларативными предложениями с их преобладающе низкотональным вокализмом. В придаточных предложениях от слов ты во тѣломъ — казаніемъ высокотональные (передние) гласные охватывают 28 слогов, а низкотональные (задние) 31 слог.²⁸ Обратное первая, вокативная строка насчитывает десять высокотональных против семи низкотональных гласных, а заключительное, императивное предложение, начиная со слов тѣмъ же и мене содержит 37 высокотональных и только 8 низкотональных гласных. То же предложение в его чисто императивном составе, т. е. за вычетом придаточной конструкции, занимающей шестую строку, противопоставляет двадцать высокотональных гласных всего трем низкотональным. Характерен подбор гласных фонем, отличающийся от всего остального текста седьмую, заключительную строку с ее двумя императивами в первом колоне. Фонема /и/, высокотональная и диффузная, выступает в девяти из семнадцати слогов этой строки, а главное, в шести из семи слогов ее первого колона, между тем, как в шестой строке /и/ появляется только три раза, а в предыдущих пяти строках всего навсего по два раза. Соответственно та же седьмая строка избегает компактных гласных (/а/ не встречается ни разу, /ѣ/ один раз), тогда как в каждой из прочих строк эти обе фонемы представлены либо четырьмя, либо пятью примерами. Установка на /и/ в седьмой строке находит себе наиболее яркое выражение в двукратном сочетании смежных /и/: прими и, а затем в появлении фонемы /и/ между двумя непосредственно с нею соседящими гласными: просвѣтитель и оучитель (/ьиу/).

IV. МОРФОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ПРОФИЛЬ ПОХВАЛЫ

Замечательное по своей прозрачности и художественной значимости распределение морфологических категорий подчинено в семистишии Константина строгим композиционным законам

²⁸ О противопоставлениях гласных низкотональных высокотональным и диффузных компактным см. R. Jakobson & M. Halle, "Phonology in Relation to Phonetics", в книге *Manual of Phonetics*, ред. B. Malmberg, Amsterdam, 1968. [Ср. R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings I* (The Hague-Paris, 2nd ed., 1971).]

мерностям. Из восемнадцати имен существительных все девять одушевленных принадлежат к словам мужского рода, и обратно, за вычетом собирательного *всь миръ*, здесь равнозначного всему человечеству, имена мужского рода входят в класс одушевленных. Подытожив, следует сказать, что мужской род тут служит обозначению личных, мыслящих существ (*съмыслънии*) порознь и в совокупности. Похвала насчитывает также по четыре существительных женского и среднего рода; первые носят отвлеченный характер, вторые обозначают физические органы деятельности или непосредственно деятельность. Семантические требования к категории грамматического рода не должны удивлять в поэзии того самого Константина, который в предисловии к своему переводу Евангельских чтений обратил особое внимание на трудности при передаче слов, не совпадающих по грамматическому роду в греческом и славянском языках, потому что подобные расхождения нередко смазывают символику переводимого текста, как отлично показал Вайян в своем тщательном разборе этого предисловия.²⁹

Центральная строка, как обычно бывает в относительно кратких стихотворениях с нечетным числом строк, заметно отличается своим грамматическим составом от всех остальных стихов Похвалы, а именно она заключает две глагольных формы третьего лица множественного числа, между тем как глагольные формы прочих строк не знают ни третьего лица, ни множественного числа, ни настоящего времени. Та же центральная строка содержит две именных формы винительного падежа, тогда как имен существительных в винительном падеже больше нигде в Похвале не встречается. Эти две формы — личное одушевленное *вога* и собирательное *всь миръ* — явственно противопоставлены друг другу. Любопытно, что вне рассматриваемого предложения множественное число отсутствует, а в данном, по положению своему центральном предложении, наряду с двумя отмеченными глаголами четвертой строки, *прославѣхътъ* и *просвѣщахътъ*, в третьей строке выступают два существительных — номинатив *оуста* и генитив *отъ сераѣмъ*, — единственные склоняемые формы множественного числа в пределах всего семистишия. Множественное число, *plurale tantum оуста*, подчеркивающее совокупный, собирательный характер этого имени,³⁰ функционирует в данном

²⁹ A. Vaillant, "La préface de l'Évangélaire vieux-slave", *RES* 24 (1948), 5–20; — J. Vašica, ук. соч., 25 сл., 101 сл.

³⁰ Ср. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* III, Heidelberg, 1956, 191: "pl., nicht dual., weil hier zwei Teile [пожалуй, скоpee — alle Teile] ein Ganzes bilden".

случае как своего рода *plurale maiestatis*: здесь *pars pro toto*, дробь единицы, человеческой особи, подается как некая множественность, с которой назидательно сопоставляется единица во множестве, в сонме, *единъ отъ серафимъ*. Граница чисел множественного и единственного стерта в именах центрального предложения. Здесь не просто мир и вера, а *всь миръ* (*κόσμος*) и *правъ вѣра* (*ὀρθοδοξία*), т. е., говоря по-фортуновски, слитные речения, несомненные *singulatia tantum*; наконец тот единый богъ, которого прославляют уста Григория, и языческие вози представляются Константину Философу простыми омонимами.

Следует отметить, что в семистишии нет квалификации имен, эпитеты ему чужды; в речении *правъ вѣры* обнаруживается единственное в Похвале прилагательное имя, и вне двух названных слитных речений вообще отсутствуют препозитивные определения. Единичный пример постпозитивного определения — 3. || *уста во твоѣ* | — служит репликой на сочетание — 2. || *ты во* — с подстановкой синекдохи *уста* и соответственной заменой личного местоимения *ты* его притяжательным коррелятом *твоѣ*. Все три прилагательных местоимения Похвалы — 3. *твоѣ*, *единъ*, 4. *всь* — принадлежат ее центральному предложению, и все они красноречиво соотносены: твои уста, подобные одному из серафимов, охватывают проповедью весь мир. Неслучайно именно *всь миръ*, грамматический объект, занимающий центральный колон центральной строки, служит основным фокусом семистишия, и соответственно из восемнадцати имен всего стихотворения единственным грамматическим субъектом является форма *уста*, с которой начинается центральное предложение.

Четвертая строка с ее обоими аккузативами оцеплена единственными двумя генитивами Похвалы — с одной стороны 3. *отъ серафимъ*, || 4. *бога прославѣхъ* |, с другой 4. *всь миръ* | *просвѣщахъ* || 5. *правъ вѣры*. Таким образом возникают две тесные грамматические пары, первая — одушевленных, вторая — неодушевленных имен. Оба прямых дополнения, семантически охваченных управляющими глаголами, резко выделяются на фоне двух “ограничительных” генитивов,³¹ причем разница обострена зависимостью этих генитивов от склоняемых, а не от спрягаемых слов.

Все шесть существительных в последних трех строках в отличие

³¹ Ср. Р. Якобсон, “Морфологические наблюдения над славянским склонением”, *American Contributions to the IVth International Congress of Slavists*, The Hague, 1958, 129 сл. (Ср. *Selected Writings II*, The Hague-Paris, 1971, 156 сл.)

от всех двенадцати существительных предшествующего четверостишия принадлежат к разряду отглагольных имен. Другим выражением той же динамизации грамматического строя, в свою очередь отмежевывающим конечные три строки от первых четырех, является присутствие в этих трех строках и только в них личных местоимений в “направленных” падежах — винительном и дательном — взамен беспризнакового именительного.³² При этом гегемония второго лица сменяется его переключкой с местоимением первого лица: монолог превращается в потенциальную беседу. Третьим проявлением повышенной динамики конца по сравнению с началом стихотворения служит контраст между обращением в первой и молением в последней строке, т. е. именными вокативами и повелительными формами глаголов. Наконец, само собой напрашивается сопоставление глаголов первой усеченной и последней полной строки, а именно причастию 2. съи противостоит личная форма того же глагола 7. вѣди, а возвратному залогу 2. ꙗви сѧ переходный глагол 7. прими.

Стихи по обе стороны от центральной строки заключают по четыре существительных в косвенных падежах, а именно по три имени, из которых одно повторяется дважды — сперва 1, 2. тѣломь, а затем 5. вѣры, 6. вѣроу, — как бы подчеркивая переход от начального мотива людской плоти к обесплоченной тематике конца и соответственно от статики к динамике.

Инструментал несовместим в Похвале ни с мужским родом, ни с множественным числом. Семистишие заключает по три творительных формы среднего и женского рода. Начальная строка (1.), т. е. первая из полных строк, и последняя из усеченных строк (6.) насчитывают по две творительных формы, а примыкающие к этим строкам промежуточные строки — по одному инструменталу среднего рода:

1. тѣломь	доушеу
2. тѣломь	
5. казаннѣмь	
6. любѣвиу	вѣроу

Творительному отношения при двух аппозитивных и одном предикативном имени, характеризующему три первые формы, отвечает творительный образа действий в одном финитном (5.) и двух

³² R. Jakobson, указ. соч., 131 сл. (ср. *SW* II, 158 сл.).

причастных сочетаниях (6.). В обеих этих парах смежных стихов сказывается семантическое различие между формами среднего и женского рода, а именно различие между конкретным **тѣломъ** и отвлеченной **доушѣю** в начальных строках и между обозначением непосредственной деятельности — **казаниемъ** — и чувствований — **любвѣю** и **вѣрою** — в конечной части.

Все четыре именительные формы единственного числа принадлежат одушевленным именам мужского рода; все они выполняют сказуемостную функцию и распределяются поровну между первой из усеченных (2.) и последней из полных строк (7.):

2. чловѣкъ	ангелъ
7. просвѣтителъ	оучителъ

Отглагольные имена второй пары естественно обозначают деятелей. Конечную строку с центральной строкой связывает единственная в пределах стихотворения словообразовательная трансформация или, в терминах традиционной риторики, фигура “производства” (*παρηγμένον*), содействующая выделению лейтмотива Похвалы: 4. **просвѣщающъ** → 7. **просвѣтителъ**.

Троп **оуста** — единственный именной номинатив, которому поэтический синтаксис дал полное, независимое бытие субъекта переходных действий; всякий другой номинатив выступает здесь всего лишь в функции одного из возможных предикативных атрибутов.

Характерно, что в парадигме имен существительных стихотворение исключает наиболее сложные, двухпризнаковые падежи — датив и локатив, и что в начальном и конечном секторах Похвалы эта парадигма ограничивается беспризнаковым, т. е. единственным числом и сводится к противопоставлению двух падежей — “периферийного” инструментала и беспризнакового номинатива,³³ тогда как центральная строка вводит две аккузативные формы, контрастирующие с генитивами обоих окрестных колонов.

Морфологическая разверстка имен существительных в семантике примечательно симметрична. За каждым из трех вока-

³³ R. Jakobson, указ. соч., 130–132, 135 (ср. *SW* II, 157–158, 162). О беспризнаковости номинатива, которому противопоставлены все прочие, признаковые падежи (*πλάγισι*), в истории лингвистической мысли ср. P. Hadot, “La notion de ‘cas’ dans la logique stoïcienne” и Antoinette Virieux-Reymond, “Quelques remarques à propos de la théorie du langage chez les stoïciens”, *Langage* I, *Actes du XIII^e Congrès des Sociétés de philosophie de langue française*, Neuchâtel, 1966, 109–115.

тивов Похвалы, сосредоточенных в ее первой строке, и синтаксической паузой после каждого из них следует по одному инструменталу: 1. григорѣ, — тѣломь |; чловѣчѣ, — доушеѣ |; ан҃геле! || — 2. тѣломь |. Но вокатив, как известно, занимает совершенно особое положение среди именных категорий; особенно Фортунатов убедительно напоминал, что нельзя “рассматривать звательную форму вместе с падежами и даже называть ее звательным падежом”, так как вокатив по своему значению и синтаксическому применению не входит в падежную систему.³⁴ Собственно падежные формы центральной строки и двух непосредственно прилегающих к ней колонов образуют своего рода морфологический перевертень (*παλινδρομος*). По ту и другую сторону от этого ряда находится цепь трех инструменталов и вслед за ними два номинатива единственного числа одушевленных имен мужского рода в одинаковой синтаксической функции:

1. instr. - instr. — 2. instr. - nom. - nom.
3. gen. — 4. acc. - acc. — 5. gen.
5. instr. — 6. instr. - instr. — 7. nom. - nom.

За вторым номинативом первой серии следует третий номинатив, уравнивающий число обоих коррелятивных падежей внутри этой серии, но занимающий во всем стихотворении совершенно исключительное положение, как единственное подлежащее и единственная именительная форма 1) множественного числа, 2) среднего рода, 3) неодушевленного разряда.

Именно на фоне многообразного грамматического параллелизма между началом и концом Похвалы становится особенно ощутителен напряженный ход ее нарастающей лирической темы, живо противопоставляющий окончание началу семистишия.

V. ПОЭТИКА ФИЛОСОФА

В числе прочих “эллинских художеств” — так повествует пространное житие Константина — питомец Царьградской высшей школы усвоил сперва граматикѣ, затем Гомера, геометрию, риторику, арифметику, астрономию и музыку, а главное — под руководством знаменитых ученых, Льва Математика и Фотия —

³⁴ Ф. Ф. Фортунатов, *Избранные труды* I, Москва, 1956, 162 сл., и II, Москва, 1957, 319 сл.

все философские науки с диалектикой во главе (ЖК IV,1–2).³⁵ Вскоре и сам он занял кафедру философии: оумолиша и оучительным столъ приати и оучити философии тоземьца и страньных (IV,19).³⁶

Снятие противоречий между плотью и духом, человечеством и божеством, творением и творцом, съчетание противьнома, согласно старославянскому термину, т. е. слияние таких противоположностей, как личное и мировое, единица и множество, часть и целое, троп и сокровенная сущность, притча и деяние, – вот диалектическая канва поэзии Константина Философа.

Обаче своѣ | притъчѣ да приставлѣ,||
мъногъ оумъ | въ малѣ рѣчи кажѣ,||

писал он в стихах вдохновенного “Прогласа святому Евангелию”.³⁷ Формула — въ малѣ рѣчи — находит троякое применение в Похвале Константина. Размышления широкого охвата сгущены и введены поэтом в тесные пределы семистишия с высокой семантической нагрузкой его звукового, грамматического и словарного состава. Другим испытанным приемом сжатия и сокращения служит в поэтике Философа и его Похвалы синекдоха, являющаяся образъ и подовиѣ, егоже ради вѣдетъ писана (ЖК V,18): уста превращаются в ракурс св. Григория; авторское я олицетворяет весь миръ. Согласно наименованию и определению синекдохи в древнеболгарской версии трактата Георгия Херобоска “О образѣхъ”, съприятне же естъ слово раздѣлѣа, а другоє съ собѣ вѣлѣа.³⁸ Именно “соприятие” возведено в Похвале в движущую силу стихотворной фабулы.

Наконец, в том же стихотворении приточно-иносказательный стиль, облекая велии оумъ в метафорику, приобщает учителя и с ним ученика к серафическому чину. Непосредственно вслед за этими стихами житие Константина многозначительно присовокупляет: тако завѣщаваше (ЖК III,20), и строки старославянской Азбучной молитвы пересказывают, заново въ малѣхъ словесѣхъ, ту же

³⁵ Ср. L. Bréhier, “L’enseignement supérieur à Constantinople”, *Byzantion* 4 (1929): – E. E. Липшиц, “Византийский ученый Лев Математик”, *Византийский Временник* 2 (1949), 106–150; – I. Ševčenko, *о. с.*, 453–455.

³⁶ См. F. Dvornik, “La carrière universitaire de Constantin le Philosophe”, *Byzsl.* 1 (1931).

³⁷ R. Nahtigal, “Rekonstrukcija treh starocirkvenoslovanskih izvirnih pesnitev”, *Razprave Akademije znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani* I (1943), 96 сл.; ср. нашу реконструкцию выше, стр. 196–197.

³⁸ Ср. Justinia Besharov, *Imagery of the Igor’ Tale in the Light of Byzantino-Slavic Poetic Theory*, Leiden, 1956, 18 сл.

метаморфозу:

Шестъкрилатъ | силъ да възпримъ, ||
шествоуѣжъ нынѣ | по слѣдоу оучителю. ||³⁹

Подлинное искусство Похвалы проявляется не просто в конденсации высказывания, не в синекдохах и метафорах самих по себе, не в риторических приемах, действующих порознь, а в тех извитияхъ фрнтъчъныхъ, которые наделяют любой образ этих семи стихов воистину синтетической многогранностью.

Согласно проповеди Константина (ЖК VI,25), творецъ *** меѣю анѣлы и скоты естъ сътворилъ чловѣка, словесьмъ и съмыслоьмъ отължчивъ и отъ скота, а гнѣвомъ и похотнѣжъ отъ анѣлъ; и еиже сѣ къто части приближаетъ, паче тоѣ сѣ причащаетъ вышънихъ ли или нижънихъ. Пропадает различие между внутрисложным и внеположным, синекдохой и метонимией в собственном смысле слова. Исчезает граница смежности и сходства, метонимии и метафоры. Христосъ отъ низоу тѣжкое горѣ възводитъ (ЖК VI,24), человек становится сопричастен небожителям. Ангел — и антитеза, и составная часть человека. Тело и душа в религиозно-поэтическом мировосприятии Константина антитетичны, и в то же время тело угодника отображает его благодатную душу; достаточно вспомнить торжественное славословие Философа телу “преславного” Климента Римского, потерянного и вновь обретенному. Оуста, синтез тела и души в Похвале Константина Григорию, дали повод Клименту Величскому к прославлению одного за другим телесных атрибутов самого Константина до “светозарной утробы” включительно. Двустиише Похвалы оуста во твоѣ ѣко единъ отъ серафимъ || бога прославѣжтъ и весь миръ просвѣщаѣтъ || — непосредственно связано с двумя перипетиями видения пророка Исайи: во-первых, с рассказом в 6,3 о серафимах, прославляющих Бога (согласно тексту Григоровичева паримейника, серафимъ *** възпнѣжъ дрѣгъ къ дрѣгоу и гла[гол]ахъ, с[вѣ]тъ, с[вѣ]тъ, с[вѣ]тъ, с[вѣ]тъ, с[вѣ]тъ — исплнѣ възсѣ земѣ славы его). во вторых с 6,5–8 (и азъ шкаанон! ѣко оумилнхъ сѣ — ѣко чл[о]в[ѣ]къ съи и неч[ис]ты оустны имы *** и посланъ възс[т]къ мнѣ единъ от серафимъ и в рѣца сво[е]и имѣше аглъ жеравъ, *** и коснж сѣ встнѣ мои, и реч[е]: се коснж сѣ оустнахъ твоихъ, се от[ъ]еьметъ безаконнѣ твоѣ и грѣхы твоѣ оцѣститъ. и слышахъ глас[ъ] г[оспо]д[е]нъ гл[агол]ашъ: кого посла? кто

³⁹ R. Nahtigal, ук. соч., 57.

идеть к людям симъ? и рѣхъ: се азъ есмъ — послѣ ма).⁴⁰ По бросающейся в глаза ассоциации с этими библейскими стихами, словосочетание единъ отъ серафимъ, сопоставленное в Похвале — так же как в видении Исаяи — с “устаи” того, кто, чловѣкъ сын, приобщился к ангелам, несомненно приобретало побочный смысл очищения, дарованного свыше устам, призванным славить Бога и нести людям пророческую проповедь. Библейская метаморфоза контраста в сходство путем чудотворной смежности подсказала Константину смелую по сжатости фигуру уподобления вдохновенных уст одному отъ серафимъ.

Все те образы, которые так или иначе соотнесены в пределах семистихия, связаны внутренним родством, напр. чловѣкъ и богъ. Философ ставит перед человеком задачу по образу и по подобию быти сътворъшюемоу и (ЖК IV,8), а в прениях с хазарским каганом провозглашает: то како не сятъ трѣсновени, иже глаголютъ, ꙗко не можетъ сѧ вѣмѣстити въ чловѣкы богъ (ЖК IX,28). Одухотворенные уста, источающие слово во славу воплотившегося Слова, — поэтический охват многогранного символа, характерный для творчества Константина Философа и его преемников. Так в его “Слове на перенесение мощем преславного Климента”, въсь миръ творит хвалу, ꙗко отъ словесна естества съдѣтелеви его, словеси божию, словомъ воздаты надлежит.⁴¹ Взаимная внутрисложность объединяет образы вездесущего Бога и всеобъемлющей вселенной.

Наконец, теснейшая обоюдная смежность, связующая призываемого Григория с призывающим Константином, — припадающъ прими — по существу превращается в чаемое сходство: просвети и научи, т. е. вдохнови меня на учительский подвиг. Начальный и два заключительных колона всего произведения как бы складываются в обрамляющий стих и охватывают Похвалу

⁴⁰ См. Р. Ф. Брандт, “Григоровичев паримейник в сличении с другими паримейниками”. *Чтения в И. обществе истории и древностей российских*, CLXX (1894), 156–158; ср. И. Е. Евсеев, *Книга пророка Исаяи I–II*, СПб. 1897.

⁴¹ Лавров, указ. соч., 152. Ср. парафразу Сираха в греческой переработке утраченного старославянского жития Климента Величского: *τί γάρ τῷ λόγῳ λόγον τοῦς λογικοῦς ἀλογίαν λυτρομένον τερπνότερον εἶπερ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὁμοίον ἦδειται* — Теофилакт Охридски, *Житие на Климент Охридски*, под ред. А. Милева, София, 1955, 36. Слияние образов Логоса и человеческого слова ярко сказывается в притчах Константина, задающего во славу учения о Троице красноречивый вопрос: *ѡши кѣто твѣ чьсть творитъ, твоего же словесе и доуха не въ чьсти иматъ, дроугъи же пакы въсе твое въ чьсти иматъ, котодын оубо отъ обою естъ чьстивѣи?* (ЖК IX, 19). На этом отождествлении выросло своеобразное церковнославянское учение о языке: ср. J. Besharov, R. Jakobson & H. A. Wolfson, “An Old Russian Treatise on the Divine and Human Word”, *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 4 (1956), 236–238 [Р. Я., *Selected Writings* II, 369–374].

благоговейной мольбой: **Ω** григоре, вѣди ми | просвѣтителѣ | и оучителѣ !||.

Недаром в прологе к житию Константина обе глагольных основы применены к самому сочинителю семистишия — **въздвигъ намъ оучителѣ сего, иже просвѣти ѡзыкъ нашъ** (ЖК I,3) — и обе снова повторены в панегирике Климента Величьского, который в первом же предложении парафразирует Похвалу Константина и превозносит ее автора как **оучителѣ всѣмъ странамъ, иже благовѣрнемъ и красотою всиѣ на земли ꙗко слъннице тринпостаснаго вождства зарѣми всего мира просвѣщаа.**

Разумеется, любой из мотивов семистишия коренится в византийской церковной традиции, и нетрудно сыскать им убедительные литературные параллели,⁴² но монументальность их синтеза в **малѣ рѣчи**, видимо, отражает творческую индивидуальность поэта. Показательно, что в религиозных прениях с сарацинами аллегорической мишенью полемических выпадов юного Философа было море **жзъко и оудовьно, еже можетъ и прѣскочити всѣкъ, малъ и великъ**, тогда как с верой Христовой образное мышление Константина связывает искания пловцов, бесстрашно устремляющихся в морскую пучину: **сильнии оумомъ *** прѣплаважтъ и възрацажтъ сѧ, а слави *** истапажтъ**, согласно суровому суду творческого искателя (ЖК VI,17–20).⁴³

Стремительный драматизм последовательной поступи стихов навстречу чаемому будущему и строго замкнутый геометрический рисунок взаимно сопряженных слов и образов неразлучно сочетаются в Похвале Константина Философа Григорию Богослову, выграненной с подлинно мозаичной изощренностью и аскетической экономией художественных средств. Недаром стихотворные единицы (и только таковые) зовутся **гранеса** или **грани** (ед. **грано**, **гранъ**) в старославянской номенклатуре.⁴⁴

⁴² Ср. I. Dujčev, "Constantino Filosofo ...", 213.

⁴³ Ср. П. Лавров, ук. соч., 110 и 119.

⁴⁴ Ср. J. Gebauer, *Slovník staročeský* I, Praha 1903, 485: *hrana, hrano*; — V. Machek, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého a slovenského*, Praha, 1957, 143: *hraň, hrana*; — F. Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* I, Kraków, 1955, 339 сл.: *granica*; — С. Младенов, *Етимологически и правописен речник на българския книжовен език*, София, 1941, 109: *гранес, грано "стих", гранесие "стихове", гранесловие "стихосложение"*; — F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae, 1862–1865, 142; **гранесословити στιχολογεῖν; гранесословие στιχολογία; гранесъ, грано, гранъ στιχος** (ср. **омиръскын гранъ**), **граница terminus, гранъ κεφάλαιον, τίτλος**.

VI. ДАЛЬНЕЙШИЕ СТИХИ В ЖИТИИ КОНСТАНТИНА

Гривец отметил тесную связь и символическое значение двух основных мотивов в третьей главе старославянского жития, повествующей о юных годах Константина: “izvolitev Sofije-Modrosti za nevesto in izvolitev sv. Gregorija Nazianskega za zaščitnika”.⁴⁵ Этими двумя моментами ознаменовано начало оученичкѣ кънижьнаго и творческого развития, т. е. превращение солунского богатичица в Константина Философа. Оба названных мотива выдвинуты в житии стихотворными цитатами.⁴⁶ К библейским текстам, связанным с именем царя Соломона, восходят в начале третьей главы ЖК вышеотмеченные стихи о Софии, сложенные размером 2 (7+5) —

Ръци же прѣмъдрости: | сестра ми вѣди, ||
а мѣдрость знаемъ | себѣ сътвори! ||⁴⁷ —

а в конце той же главы соломонѣ молитва о даровании премудрости, произнесенная отроком Константином на радостном пути в Царьград, завершающем пролог к его научной деятельности, воспроизводит Sap. 9,1–2, 4–5 довольно близко, но все же со значительными отступлениями и от греческой, и от славянской Библии,⁴⁸ и при этом бережно укладывает свой перевод в рамки семистишия (ЖК III,30–31).

Каждая строка характеризуется пятнадцатисложным сочетанием двух колонов, а именно первого, большего колона, за которым следует меньший. Большой содержит минимальное из чисел, превышающих половину стиха — ($\frac{15}{2}$), либо четное, т. е. восемь, либо нечетное, т. е. девять. Сочетание обоих колонов в первых двух строках определяется формулой так наз. политического стиха 8+7, а в остальных строках 9+6. Последние три строки наделены, сверх

⁴⁵ F. Grivec, “Zaroka sv. Cirila s Sofijo-Modrostjo”, *Bogoslovni Vestnik* 15 (Ljubljana, 1935), 81.

⁴⁶ См. *Slavistična Revija* 10 (1957), 113.

⁴⁷ Гривец подчеркивает зависимость стихов о Софии от схожей парафразы того же библейского текста (Притчи 7.4) в стихотворении Григория Назианского *Θρηῶς περὶ τῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς παθῶν*.

⁴⁸ См. П. Лавров, *Кирило та Методиј в давньо-слов'янському письменстві*, Киев, 1928, 317 сл.; — I. Dujčev, “Note sulla Vita Constantini-Cyrilli”, *Cyrillo-Methodiana*, Köln, 1964, 72–76. Автор метко усмотрел в житийном пересказе библейской молитвы черты личного поэтического творчества и будучи убежден, что славянский текст восходит к греческому произведению del giovane di Salonicco, он даже попытался восстановить, basandosi sul testo slavo la forma primitiva di Costantino (75).

неуклонно пятнадцатисложной основы, “добавочным”, согласно выражению Ф. Е. Корша, колоном — четырехсложным в пятой и шестой строках, трехсложным в заключительной. Древнейшие рукописи ЖК, особенно Львовский список южнославянского извода, обнаруживают в общем сохранный метрический состав семистишия с четкими синтаксическими границами между всеми строками.

1. Боже отць нашихъ | и господи милости, ||
2. иже еси сътворилъ | всѣкаѣ словомъ,
3. и прѣмъдростиѣ своеѣ | зъдавъ чловѣка, ||
4. да владетъ сътворенами | твоѣѣ тварьми, ||
5. даѣ ли сѣщъѣ въскрси | твоихъ прѣстоля | прѣмъдрость ||
6. да разоумѣвъ, чьто естъ | оугодно тебѣ, | съпасѣ сѣ, ||
7. азъ во есмь рабъ твои | и сынъ рабынѣ | твоѣѣ. ||

Все три стихотворения третьей, солунской главы интимно связаны с мотивами следующей, царьградской главы: познание, отказ от житейских благ во имя мудрости и, в соответствии с Похвалой Григорию, настойчивый помысел, како бы земьными небеснаѣ прѣмъньшу излетѣти ис тѣлесѣ сего и съ богомъ жити (ЖК IV,5) — с броскою параномазией: излетѣти — ис тѣлесѣ.

Вершинное деяние Константина, его превращение в первоучителя славян, в свою очередь введено в житии стихотворной вставкой. Если предыдущие стихи вошли в ЖК с непосредственной ссылкой на Соломона (III,32) и с известием о прибытии Константина в Царьград — ѿгда же прииде къ цѣсарю градоу (IV,1), то и очередной стихотворный текст снова вводится извещением о приходе героя в столицу — Философъ же иде въ цѣсарь градъ (ЖК XIII,1) и опять связывается с именем того же ветхозаветного царя, а именно выдается за граны, начертанные на Соломоновом потире. Мнимая надпись, приведенная в ЖК (XIII,5–8) дошла до нас и в нескольких самостоятельных старорусских сообщениях апокрифических стихов и их толкований, начиная с рукописи XIII века,⁴⁹ а также в контексте противоиудейского сочинения “Словеса святыхъ пророкъ”.⁵⁰ Это

⁴⁹ См. особенно А. Н. Петров, “Апокрифическое пророчество царя Соломона о Христе по списку XIII века”, *Памятники древней письменности* CIV (1894). Ср. *Slavistična Revija* 10 (1957), 115.

⁵⁰ См. И. Е. Евсеев, “‘Словеса святыхъ пророкъ’, противоиудейский памятник по рукописи XV века”, *Древности, Труды Славянской комиссии Московского археологического общества* IV (1907), 153–200; — П. Лавров, *Кирило та Методий* ..., 35 сл. —

стихотворение, характерный пример энигматической поэзии, пограничный между таинственным эллипсисом (*detractio*) эзотерических пророчеств и намеренной невнятицей заумных вещаний, превосходно сохранило свою отчетливую силлабическую меру в наилучших русских списках ЖК, особенно в обеих записях XV века,⁵¹ так что оно даже не нуждается в реконструктивной работе. Как свидетельствуют прямые показания жития, надпись делится на три строфических единицы: *ѣсть же сице прѣвѣти гранѣ* (XIII.5); *по семь же друугѣти гранѣ* (XIII.6); и *по семь третии гранѣ* (XIII.7). Каждая из трех строф содержит по четыре синтаксически разграниченных стиха. Первое четверостишие — 2 (8 + 10) — близится по составу к старославянскому восемнадцатисложному размеру. Как второе, так и третье четверостишие одинаково следует схеме 10 + 9, 12 + 9 и по строю своего начального двустишия сходно, например, с молитвой при пострижении, дошедшей до нас в древнейшем житии св. Вячеслава:

Господи боже исоусе хрьсте, ||
 благослови отрока сего, ||
 ꙗкоже благословиа еси ||
 вса правдѣнникы твоа!⁵²

Воспроизвожу с разбитием на строфы и строки текст “стихов на Соломоновом потире”, которые Адольф Стендер-Петерсен, на редкость восприимчивый к словесному искусству средневековья, счел наиболее захватывающим (*besonders eindrucksvoll*) из всех поэтических образчиков, вкрапленных в житие Константина.⁵³

1. Чаша моѣ, чаша моѣ, ||
2. прорицаи, доньдеже звѣзда! ||
3. въ пиво вжди господи, ||

В. М. Истрин, “Древне-русские словари и ‘Пророчество Соломона’”, *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения*, 349 (1903) и А. А. Шахматов, “Новая хронологическая дата в истории русской литературы”, там же, 351 (1904), относят это произведение к первой половине XIII века.

⁵¹ См. П. Лавров, *Материалы ...*, стр. XIV.

⁵² J. Vajs (red.), *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile*, Praha, 1929, 14, 37; — ср. J. Frček, “Byl sv. Václav postřižen podle ritu východního či západního?”, *Slovanské studie*, Praha, 1948.

⁵³ A. Stender-Petersen, “Die Kyriilo-Methodianische Tradition bei den Polen”, *Cyriilo-Methodiana*, Köln, 1964, 457 сл. Анализируя первые два стиха Надписи, исследователь отмечает: “Trotz des verschiedenen Inhalts erinnert diese Strophe in ihrer Faktur und ihrem Stil auffallend an ein schönes Proömion bei Romanos Melodos: *Ψυχὴ μου, ψυχὴ μου, — ἀνάστα, τί καθεύδεις...*”

4. прѣвѣнъцю вѣдѣцю ношиѣ!||
5. На вѣкоушение господне||
6. сътворена дрѣва иного, — ||
7. пи и оупи сѧ веселнемъ||
8. и вѣзъпи аллоуѣ!||
9. И се кѣнѣзь, и оузьритъ||
10. вѣсь сѣньмъ славъ его,||
11. и давидъ цѣсарь посрѣдѣ ихъ:||
12. девѣть сѣтъ и девѣть.||

И се есть пророчество о христѣ, разгаданное Философом, заключает агиограф (ЖК XIII,10).

Неоднократно повторявшееся утверждение, будто этот текст и вообще рассказ о потире “не связан логически ни с предыдущим, ни с последующим содержанием пространного жития”,⁵⁴ свидетельствует только о невнимательном отношении к художественному строю, символике и мировоззрению, которым проникнуто Житие блаженнаго оучителѣ нашего константина философа, прѣваго наставника словѣнскоу азыкоу. Чтобы освоить этот памятник, необходимо понять, что перед нами образец великолепной литературной композиции⁵⁵ подстать монументальным произведениям византийского изобразительного искусства и зодчества той же эпохи.

Символ пути пронизывает весь состав легенды. Ее герой с ранних лет въ себѣ помышля житиѣ сего соуетѣ, окаѣше сѧ, глагола: таково ли есть житие се, да въ радости мѣсто печаль прѣвываетъ? Отъ сего дьне по инъ сѧ пѣтъ имъ (ЖК III,14–16). Жизнь Константина нарочито изображена агиографом в виде цепи странствий сперва во имя учения — съ радости пѣти сѧ мѣтъ (III,29), затем ради проповеди правого учения на западѣ и сѣверѣ и юзѣ.⁵⁶ Старославянский канон как бы подводит итог житийному повествованию: Күрилѣ блаженѣ! грады же и страны, уловлены вогомъ, свѣте, проидѣ, просвѣта благодатиѣ.⁵⁷ ЖК неотступно прослеживает путь Философа:

⁵⁴ А. Петров, указ. соч., 4.

⁵⁵ Ср. единичные попытки подхода к вопросам словесного мастерства в ЖК: N. van Wijk, “Zur sprachlichen und stilistischen Würdigung der altkirchenslavischen Vita Constantini”, *Südostforschungen* 6 (1941), 74–102; — Д. Петканова-Тотева, “Литературни особености на Пространното житие на Константин-Кирил”, *Хиляда и сто години славянска писменост*, София, 1963, 127–154; — G. Wytzens, “Zum Stil der Vita Constantini”, *Annales Instituti Slavici* I/4, Wiesbaden, 1968, 43–50.

⁵⁶ П. Лавров, *Материалы ...*, 118.

⁵⁷ Там же, 108, 116.

Съ радостнѣхъ идѣ за христѣнскѣхъ вѣрѣхъ (V,6). — Съ радостнѣхъ идѣ пѣшь и востъ (VIII,8). — Явнѣ же пѣти сѣ мѣтъ (VIII,10). — Пѣти сѣ мѣтъ козарьскаго (IX,1). — Видите, кѣи естѣ пѣть истовѣи, и ходите по нему (X,28). — И иде сѣ радоуѣхъ въ пѣть свои (XI,46). Основной, моравский этап в жизненном подвиге Константина в свою очередь открывается лозунгом: съ радостнѣхъ идѣ тамо (XIV,9). В тех же терминах путевой символики выдержан эпилог жития: въ домъ господнѣхъ вѣнидемъ (XVIII,2). История странствий заканчивается подготовкой к последнему пути (на пѣть) останков Константина в далекий братрѣнъ монастырь, приостановленному римскими епископами: по неже естѣ по мѣнозѣмъ землѣмъ хоѣша богъ привелѣ его сѣмо и сѣде доушѣхъ его приалѣ, сѣде емоу достонтѣ лежати (XVIII,17–18).

Последняя и важнейшая из трех экспедиций Философа, его славянская миссия введена в житии царьградскою увертюрой и увенчана римским апофеозом. Цесарь, поочередно посылавший Константина прѣпѣрѣти иконоборцев (V,4), сарацинов (VI,5–6) и хазарских иудеев (VIII,7), призвал того же мѣжа чѣстива и благовѣрѣна, кѣнижѣна зѣло и философа для просветительной деятельности среди моравлян, которая помогла бы им мѣти сѣ по истиннѣи пѣть (XIII,6–8, 17–19). Соответственно, по завершении славянской миссии Константина, римскѣи папѣхъ посла по нь и освятил кѣнигы словѣнскѣхъ (XVII,1,5).

Идеологическим ядром каждой из трех миссий являются прения с инаковерующими противниками; ср. главы VI, IX–XI и венецианский спор с проповедниками “триязычной ереси”, заканчивающийся тем же глаголом пограми (XVI,59), как и царьградский диспут юного Константина с иконоборческим ересиархом (V,24: старѣць оумлѣча, пограми сѣ).

Интервалы между тремя миссиями параллельно построены в ЖК. Возвращение в Царьград (VI,58: богъ милостивѣи *** на своѣхъ землѣхъ сѣдрава вѣзврати и пакты; XIII,1: философъ же иде въ цѣсарь градъ) сопровождается периодами аскезы (VII,1: отърекъ сѣ всего житиѣ сего, сѣде на единомъ мѣстѣхъ без мѣвѣы; XIII,2: живѣаше без мѣвѣы, бога молѣ, въ црѣкѣви свѣтѣи хъ апостолъ сѣдѣ). В обоих случаях возвращение обрамлено чудотворными деяниями подвижника. К лингвистическим чудесам на пути Константина к хазарам принадлежит боговдохновенное разумение книг, написанных самарѣнскѣи и роуьскѣи (т. е. соуьскѣи)⁵⁸ писменѣи

⁵⁸ Ср. A. Vaillant, “Les ‘lettres russes’ de la Vie de Constantin”, *RES* 15 (1935) 73–77; — R. Jakobson, “Saint Constantin et la langue syriaque”, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie*

(VIII,12, 15), а накануне путешествия в Моравию расшифровка и перевод надписи на потире (XIII,3–4) и, наконец, явленное свыше создание славянских письмен (XIV, 14).

Чудо, непосредственно следующее за сарацинской миссией: даша емоу ѣдѣ пити, однако аще и съмрътъно чѣто испиете, не иматѣ васѣ вѣрѣдити (VI,57–58). С утолением жажды связано и первое чудо вслед за хазарской миссией: в безводном краю изнемогающие солунские братья нашли въ слатинѣ водицѣхъ негодную для питья, вѣше во ѣко жальчѣ, но Константин провозгласил: Иже во прѣвѣхъ прѣложи издраилътомъ горькѣхъ водѣхъ въ сладькѣхъ, тѣи иматѣ и нама оутѣхѣхъ сътворити, и вода действительно превратилась в сладькѣхъ, ѣко и медовѣнѣхъ, и стоуденѣхъ, и пивѣша прослависта бога (XII,1–6). Соответственно стихи на потире, согласно ЖК, прочитанные Константином по возвращении в Царьград, гласят: пии и оупии сѣ веселнемъ || и възъпни алилоуѣ. Древнерусское “толкованье” этих стихов: “на кр[ъ]стѣ во питѣ очѣтѣ съ золчю смѣшенѣ. а еже и оупии сѣ погребенѣ выс[тъ]. и лежа оубо въ гробѣ. како пивѣ шюмѣнѣ отъ вина”. Смерть попрана, “и возопни алл[ило]уѣ *** что естъ то и похвалимѣ истиньнаго бога”.⁵⁹

Развивая тему безводнѣхъ мѣстѣхъ, ЖК повествует о дереве, которому население поклонялось, как волшебному избавителю от засухи. Философ сладькѣхъими словесы оуглаголавѣ ихѣ, повелѣ имѣ посѣщи дрѣво и съжечи (XII,20). Этому дрѣвоу, хоудѣи вещи, противопоставлена в Соломоновой надписи чаша, на вѣкоушение господне || сътворена дрѣва иного. Древнерусское толкование поясняло, что “древо иное естъ кр[ъ]стѣ. а вкушенѣ о распатѣи гл[агол]еть. како вкуси раны. еже копьем в ребро провоненѣ выс[тъ], и възпи убо слово”.

Вслед за сожжением почитавшегося древа и торжественным возвращением его суеверных поклонников в лоно церкви въ тѣ же ношѣ авне отъ бога дѣжѣхъ выстѣ, и съ радостнѣхъ величѣхъ похвалиша бога, и весели сѣ богѣ о семь зѣло (XII,23–24). С этим мотивом ошутительно ассоциируются вопросы Философа в венецианском споре: Не идетѣ ли дѣжѣхъ отъ бога на всѣхъ равнѣно? *** И како въи не стѣдите сѣ три азѣкѣхъ мѣнаше тѣчнѣхъ, а прочинѣхъ всѣмѣхъ азѣкомѣхъ

et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, VII (1944), 181–186 [cf. *supra*, 153–158], и “Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church”, *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954) 68–70 [cf. *supra*, 185 f.]; — D. Gerhardt, “Goten, Slaven oder Syrer im alten Cherson?”, *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 4 (1953) 78–88; — R. Auty, “The Gospel and Psalter of Cherson: Syriac or Russian?”, *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, I, The Hague–Paris, 1967, 114–117.

⁵⁹ П. Лавров, там же, стр. XLVI.

и племеньмъ слѣпомъ велаше и глуухомъ быти? (XVI,4–5). Согласно метафорике Константина, люди жаждут дѣжѣа возни воукъвъ (Проглас, 70), и моравским подвигом Философа был дан загодя ответ на эти жизненные вопросы: **И отъврѣзоша сѧ, по пророчьскоуемоу словеси (Исайя 35,5; 32,4), оуши глуухынѣхъ оуслышати кънижьнаѣ словеса, и азъикъ ѣсанъ вьстѣ гжгивынѣхъ. Богъ же сѧ възвесели о сѣмь (ЖК XV,3–4). Промежуточным звеном между обоими параллельными образами Бога, веселящегося о сѣмь (XII,24 и XV,4), является рассказ про Константина, сложившего славянские письма и начавшего вѣсѣдѣ пѣсати евангѣльскѣ: искони вѣ слово, и слово вѣ оу вога, и богъ вѣ слово, и прочѣ. Възвесели же сѧ цѣсарь и вога прослави (XIV,14–15). Образу болотной воды — не можаха отъ неѧ пити (XII,2) — вторят слова Философа — кѣто можетъ на вода вѣсѣдѣ напѣсати — и его молитва о ниспослании славянских букв (XIV,11, 13).**

Именно с глагола **веселити сѧ** начинается житийное повествование о славянской миссии Константина: **Веселашю сѧ о воуѣ философоу пакы друга рѣчь приспѣ и троудъ не мьнии прѣвтынѣхъ (XIV.1). Вѣмь тѧ троудна сѣща, философе, говорит ему император, нѣ достоинѣ тѣвѣ тамо ити (XIV,7). По завершении этой миссии те же веселне и троудъ выступают в обратной чередѣ: **И постигоша и мьнози троуди *** и трѣпашю емоу ѡзж мьногы дѣни, единомѣ видѣвѣ божие ѣвление начатѣ пѣти сице:****

О рекъшихъ мьнѣ — въ домѣ господнь вѣнидемъ — ||
възвесели сѧ доухъ мой и срьдце възрадова сѧ. || (XVIII,1–2.)⁶⁰

Соответственно слова Надписи на потире — оупни сѧ веселнемъ — справедливо истолкованы в цитированном древнерусском комментарии как радость грядущего воскресения.

Призыву той же Надписи — проорицаи доньдеже звѣзда — созвучно вечернее пророчество возвращающегося в Царьград Константина о предстоящей кончине корсунского архиепископа (XII,7–9), а слышавший христологическим стих Исайи (66,18), цитируемый в

⁶⁰ Этой стихотворной парафразой псалма 121.1 и последующим молитвенным четверостишием агиограф открывает последнюю главу своего рассказа. См. *Slavistična Revija* 10 (1957), 114; — K. Horálek, "Studie o slovanském verši", *Sborník filologický* 12 (1946), 270. Таким образом стихотворными вставками обозначены в житии три знаменательных кануна: Константина, посвятившего себя Софии премудрости, ждет призвание философа; Константину Философу предстоит подвиг прѣваго наставьника словѣнскоу азъикоу; подвижник Константин готовится принять схиму и иноческое имя Кирилла.

последующей проповеди Философа — *г҃радж азъ съвѣрати въсѣ племена и вса азъкы и приидѣтъ и оузвѣратъ славѣ моѣ* (XII,18) — находит себе разительное соответствие в последней строфе Надписи: *и оузвѣритъ всь сѣмѣмъ славѣ его*.

Цитата Константина из Исаяи, понятая как возвешение второго пришествия, создавала пророческую и мессианскую базу для признания и прославления моравославянской миссии. Философу был недвусмысленно ясен ответ на вопрос, который он же задал иудеям: *Не съвѣршила ли сѣ сѣтъ въсѣхъ пророкъ проречениѣ ѣвѣ реченаѣ о хрѣстѣ* (X,58). Поэтому одинаковая ссылка на предсказание Исаяи с присовокуплением пифической датировки открывает Проглас Константина к славянскому переводу Четвероевангелия.⁶¹

1. Прогласъ есмь | свѣтоу еванѣлию: ||
2. ѣко пророци | прорекли сѣтъ прѣѣе, ||
3. хрѣстъ г҃радетъ | азъкы съвѣрати, ||
4. свѣтъ во естъ | въсемоу мироу семоу. ||
5. Се сѣ съвѣстѣ | въ седмѣи вѣкѣ сѣ. ||

Другое многозначительное извлечение из пророчеств Исаяи (35,5) с той же датой возглавляет биографию славянских первоучителей в Слове похвальном Кириллу и Мефодию, составленном еще до разгрома славянской церкви в Моравии: *еже сѣ и съвѣстѣ въ седмѣи вѣкѣ нашѣ*,⁶² *рѣша во они* (т. е. пророки) — *сѣпни прозвѣратъ, глосни оуслышатъ слово кѣнижное, и (Апост. 2,4,11:) всь възглаголитъ различны азъкы величиѣ божиѣ*.⁶³ В ЖК рассказ о начале моравской деятельности Философа с первых же строк (XV,3), как было уже отмечено выше, объявляет осуществленным это самое “пророческое слово” в сочетании с дальнейшей, однородной цитатой из Исаяи (32,4).

К призыву Надписи на потире возвеселиться и возопить хвалу

⁶¹ См. R. Nahtigal, ук. соч. 53: — *Slavistična Revija* 10 (1957), 115. — Ср. ЖК X,36: *И всѣ сѣ естъ съвѣмо, еже сѣтъ пророци прорекли ****

⁶² Й. Вашица, указ. соч., 97, предполагает, что фраза о седьмом тысячелетии заимствована автором Слова похвального из Прогласа. В пользу изначальной принадлежности этой фразы стихотворению Константина говорит ее крепкая звукообразная связь с предыдущим стихом:

свѣтъ во естъ въсемоу мироу семоу, ||
се сѣ съвѣстѣ въ седмѣи вѣкѣ сѣ. ||

⁶³ П. Лавров, *Материалы ...*, 80, 88.

Господу совместно с царем Давидом, возглавляющим сонм провозвестников славы Христовой, близко примыкает венецианская аргументация Философа в защиту славянской литургии — Давидъ во въпнеть глагола: понте господи пѣснь новѣ *** понте и възвеселите сѧ и въспонте. *** хвалите бога, вси ѡзыци (XVI,10–13). Славянский перевод божьего и богослужебного слова въ свои ѡзыки *** да сѧ вишѧ и ны страны того зръща подобилы, т. е. взяли бы пример с моравского новшества (XIV,3), в глазах Константина и его единомышленников, не только осуществлял библейские пророчества, но давал ключ к разумению, открывал новые широкие возможности учить и пророчествовать (XVI,21–49).⁶⁴

Согласно композиционному плану ЖК, хронологические показания Соломоновой надписи, связанные с воплощением Слова, были разгаданы Философом непосредственно перед началом его славянской миссии, сочетающейся в мировоззрении Константина и его последователей с кануном второго пришествия, и он объяснил заключительное число этой Надписи, расчѣтъ же ѣ по тѣнькоу. Правда, “numerus aenigmaticus”⁶⁵ — девѧть сѣтъ и девѧть — не совпадает с традиционным летосчислением: на двенадцатом году, т. е. по истечении одиннадцати лет, цѣсарьства соломонѣ до Рождества Христова числилось 990 лет.⁶⁶ Однако вполне возможно, что первоначальным чтением было девѧть сѣтъ и десѧть, девѧть сотен и десятков, т. е. именно 990. Как бы то ни было, среди подробностей, сближающих житийный рассказ о пути Философа в Царьград с текстом Надписи на царьградском потире следует отметить любопытное сходство между счетом ударов — три десѧте и три краты, нанесенных топором Константина священному дубу древопоклонников (XII,22), и загадочным числом, 990 или 909, замыкающим стихи на потире, т. е. сходство двух троек и двух девяток.

Трудно было бы более красочно изобразить римский, кульминационный этап борьбы Константина за славянскую ли-

⁶⁴ Ср. T. Lehr-Splawiński. “Przyczynek do badań nad Żywotem Konstantyna-Cyryla (t. zw. Obszernym)”, *Сборник в чест на А. Теодоров-Балан*, София, 1955, 307–310. Однако едва ли правилен тезис этой статьи о неточности и сбивчивости славянских терминов и формулировок, рyzвивающих учение апостола Павла о пророчестве и глоссолатии. В венецианской речи Константина идея проповеди, дающей ключъ разоумѣннѣ, гармонически связана с откровением и пророчеством, и призыв оумомъ своимъ глаголати ясно и недвусмысленно противопоставлен осуждаемой склонности глаголати невразумительным ѡзыкамъ или чужими, непонятными пастве ѡзыки.

⁶⁵ F. Grivec, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicensis*, 199.

⁶⁶ Ср. I. Ševčenko, “The Greek Source of the Inscription on Solomon’s Chalice in the Vita Constantini”, *To Honor Roman Jakobson III*, The Hague–Paris, 1967, 1816–1817.

тургию: великаго оучителѣ азъчьскаго павла апостола црькѣви въсѣхъ ноцѣхъ пѣша, славословаще словѣньскы (XVII,9) — с великолепной словесной фигурой, одновременно роднящей славянство и со словом, и со славой. Любопытно, что в римском заключении, подобно тому как в царьградском вступлении, вторично встает вопрос о пришествии Христа по числоу лѣтъноуемоу, о немъже глаголютъ кѣнигы и пророци, и Константин снова сѣказа по тѣнькоу все сроки (XVII,12–15).

Игорь Шевченко, которому посчастливилось найти греческий текст, соответствующий первому из трех четверостиший и последним двум строкам второго четверостишия старославянской Надписи на потире, посвятил содержательную статью сравнительному разбору обеих версий.⁶⁷ Первая строка слово за словом отвечает греческому тексту. Конечное двустопное второй строфы прибавляет два союза и вместо греческого *τροφής* подставляет *веселиемь*. Греческую прозу сменяет неуклонно силлабический стих славянской версии с явственными синтаксическими границами между всеми строками. Словарная близость обеих версий, разумеется, не может служить доводом против стихотворности перевода. Незамысловатая фраза “the mean dog suddenly died” дает в дословном русском переводе варианты от четырех до четырнадцати слогов: “злой пес вдруг сдох” и “свирепая собака внезапно околела”; буквальная передача прозаической английской фразы может вылиться в пятистопный ямб с классической цезурой на второй стопе: “Свирепый пес внезапно околел”.

С другой стороны, *Ἐπίγραμμα εἰς τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Σολομῶντος*, согласно требованиям литературного жанра (*αἶνιγμα*), прибегает и в греческой, и в славянской версии к разным типам звуковых повторов. Таковы примеры 1) единоокончания: *κρατήρ* — *κρατήρ* — *ἀστήρ* (с опорными гласными *ου*. *ατήρ* — *οὐ ἀστήρ*), *πιν* — *οὔπιν* — *възъпин*; 2) единоначатия: *προφήτευσον* — *πόμα* — *πρωτοτόκου*, *ἕως* — *εἰς* — *ἔσω* — *ἐρηγορόντος* — *ἐν νυκτί*, *ἀναβόησον* — *ἀλληλοῦῖα*, *πρόφικαι* — *пиво* — *прѣвѣньцю*, *βῆδι* — *вѣдѣцю*, *въкоушени* — *веселиемь* — *възъпин*, *σε* — *сѣньмъ* — *славѣ*, *δαυидъ* — *девать* (десять?).

Во всяком случае, игнорировать творческие возможности близко примыкающего к подлиннику и тем не менее художественного перевода было бы так же ошибочно, как отрицать живописное

⁶⁷ См. вышеназванную работу, 1806–1817.

своеобразии древнерусских или южнославянских фресок и икон, внимательно следующих византийским образцам.

Поскольку греческий текст фрагментарен и покрывает всего половину славянского стихотворения, трудно делать окончательные выводы и в частности решить, была ли славянская версия изготовлена специально для жития или еще до возникновения ЖК и в последнем случае не самим ли Философом в связи с его живым интересом к христологическим пророчествам.⁶⁸ Одно несомненно: надпись на потире сызначала входила в житие Константина, памятник редкого мастерства в подборе, расстановке и прилаживании разнородных цитат; она крепко слита и органически связана с контекстом смежных глав и всего жития в его целом.

Address delivered September 17, 1969 in Prague at the Symposium on Constantine the Philosopher under the sponsorship of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and Charles University; published in *Slavia* XXXIX (1970).

⁶⁸ Cp. V. Vavřínek, "Staroslověnské životy Konstantina a Metoděje", *Rozpravy Československé akademie věd* LXXIII, No. 7 (1963), 75.

THE SLAVIC RESPONSE TO BYZANTINE POETRY

In 1917, while examining the oldest Russian records of church songs, I was amazed by their clear-cut rhythm in striking contradiction to the then current philological allegation that the Slavic translations of the Greek hymns were in prose, and that poetry was altogether neglected in Church Slavonic literature. Such divergence between historical facts and the traditional bias prompted me to share my cursory observations with A. A. Šaxmatov, and on his initiative my letter appeared in the *Izvestija* of the Second Section of the Russian Academy of Sciences for the year 1919 (XXIV, No. 2, published in 1923). Among the chief obstacles to the scrutiny of early Slavic musical poetry I singled out the lack of studies dealing with the content of the Old Russian hymnic manuscripts, our insufficient acquaintance with the history of Slavic accent, the want of a detailed inquiry into Byzantine versification, and finally, the rudimentary stage of research into Church Slavonic neumatic notation.

The starting point for my observations was the last Sticheron of the Easter Day Matins, *Angeli v̄zigr̄aite s̄ja* "Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε from the so-called Porfirij's Leaflet, which was taken in the middle of the last century from the Chilandari Monastery by the Archimandrite Porfirij Uspenskij and then acquired by the Public Library of St. Petersburg. The punctuation, which helped J. B. F. Pitra to discover that the Greek church songs are versified and to find their metrical composition, gave me a clue to the syllabic structure of the Church Slavonic chant, and, like Pitra, "nous nous demandions avec inquiétude, s'il était possible qu'un fait aussi palpable *** fût resté inconnu".

The song cited begins with seven spans of 18 syllables, each span separated from the next by a dot. Thereafter follow two spans of 17 syllables, likewise delimited by dots. Each of these nine verses is divided into two cola, which in seven cases out of nine are again marked by a dot. The whole stanza contains ten cola of 9 syllables, five of 8 syllables, and three of 10. At present we can add that on the final syllable almost every verse carries a lengthening neume composed of two parallel lines and termed *diple* (in Slavic nomenclature, *statija*).

While surveying the Slavic province of Byzantine poetry at a Dumbarton Oaks symposium in 1952, I had occasion to return to Porfirij's Leaflet, from the supposedly lost Chilandari Sticherarium. I emphasized then that the rediscovery of this manuscript would be of great benefit for the study of Slavic and Byzantine music and poetry in their mutual relationship. Both this Sticherarium of the twelfth century and another Russian codex from the same monastery — a fragmentary Hirmologium which seems to date from the early thirteenth century — were found, and they have been published in the facsimile series of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (V, A and V, B). To complete the gain, further parts of these codices have been detected: a fragment of the same Sticherarium, in the Národní Museum in Prague, has been recognized and published in *Slavia*, XXVII, by F. V. Mareš, while 102 leaves in the Grigorovič collection, in the Moscow Public Library, were identified by Đ. Sp. Radojičić as pertaining to the Chilandari Hirmologium (*Južnoslovenski Filolog*, XXII).

The two volumes of the *Fragmenta Chilandarica*, together with E. Koschmieder's critical edition of *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente* (Munich: I/1952, II/1955, III/1958) and the recent integral reproduction of the *Contacarium Palaeoslavicum Moscuense* by A. Bugge (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, VI), mark a turning-point in the study of early Slavic music and poetry. These publications with their thorough apparatus critici give to the international scholarly world the possibility of a close, many-sided investigation of a rich domain hitherto unexplored. The remarkable progress in deciphering Byzantine musical notation in its different stages opens certain prospects for a tentative interpretation of Church Slavonic neumes. M. M. Velimirović's monograph, *Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant*, in which the author attempts to elucidate some of the musical forms in the Hirmologium Chiliandaricum (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* — *Subsidia*, IV: the *Main Volume* and particularly useful, the *Comparative Charts of Neumatic Notation*), clearly shows both the potentialities and the limitations which face the present researcher in this field.

Carsten Høeg, one of those inquisitive searchers to whom we owe the discovery of Byzantine music, inspired and guided all the issues of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* which deal with early Slavic music. Among the new studies in this field his papers present the most effective program for further tests. I shall never forget our meetings in his hospitable home, where we discussed at length intricate problems interweaving the poetry and music of two conjugate worlds —

Byzantium and Slavdom. We planned a common inquiry into Church Slavonic verse in its relation to Greek models and to musical form; the starting point of these deliberations was again the Easter Day Sticheron. Here in Ochrid I had hoped to discuss with Carsten the Slavic offspring of Byzantine poetry; but suddenly this spring came a message: Carsten Høeg will be buried on April eight — Great and Holy Saturday by the Eastern calendar. Permit me then to dedicate the following observations to the memory of that scholar who keenly brought up the crucial questions which I shall try to approach here.

The obstinate disregard for the mosaics, frescoes, and icons of Byzantium and of the Slavic South and East is fortunately a thing of the past. The techniques of modern scholarship and restoration, together with the radical revisions of values achieved by modern art, have opened our eyes to the beauty, variety, and world importance of medieval Greek and Slavic painting. The church music of the Byzantines and of their Slavic disciples is about to receive similar appreciation. The conviction that Byzantium never had a genuine poetry was widespread in the textbooks, and from time to time we still witness iconoclastic reprobation of Byzantine poetry as being formal jugglery — pietistic, stilted, contentless, and deprived of individuality. If, however, one follows Krumbacher's ever opportune methodological warning — "*Wer den Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen*" — one can only agree with Wilhelm Meier when, in 1896, he recognized church poetry as "by far the most splendid and, along with historical writings, the most important part of Byzantine literature; it is, moreover, one of the prominent monuments in world literature and a significant link in the development of Near Eastern and European poetic forms". The Slavic variant of Byzantine ecclesiastical art holds in poetry and music a position similar to its rôle in painting: it masters and transforms the Greek models. The pressure of a different verbal material acts as a complementary incentive to further modifications. Neither in poetry nor in the fine arts, however, does the adherence to the Byzantine pattern prevent originality.

Both in Greek and in Slavic Hirmi each syllable carries one musical unit — *singuli motus cantilenaе singulas syllabas debent habere*. Thus to the repetition of a musical phrase (*μέλιη*) there corresponds the reiteration of an isosyllabic text (*ἔπη*). The relationship between the Slavic version and the Greek model varies.

The Church Slavonic Hirmus may be divided into syllabic sequences, equal to those of the Greek model. The Hirmus *Земьѣ кѣто сльѣа таконѣа* — *Τῶν γηγενῶν τίς ἤκουσε τοιοῦτον* — counts 69 syllables as

against the 70 syllables of the Greek version (see *Novg.* = Koschmieder I, p. 136, *Chil.* 59v), and both the Greek and the Slavic texts are divided by word boundaries into 12 members. Nearly each of these offers the same number of syllables in the original and in the translation:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.
Slavic:	5	6	8	8	6	5	7	7	4	5	3	5
Greek:	5	6	8	8	6	5	8	7	4	5	3	5

The first three members (followed by a dot both in *Novg.* and *Chil.*) build a figure of mirror symmetry with the three subsequent members: 5/6/8 — 8/6/5. In both the Greek and the Slavic these two nineteen-syllable groups are followed by the group, eighth through the eleventh member, which repeats for the third time the span of 19 syllables. The bipartition of these three groups is similar: from the first to the third member, 11 + 8 syllables; from the fourth to the sixth, 8 + 11; and from the eighth to the eleventh, again 11 + 8. The second and the third stretches are both metrically and syntactically concluded with a syllabically unpaired appendage — the seventh member with 7 syllables (followed by a dot both in *Novg.* and in *Chil.*) and the twelfth, final member with 5 syllables, which actually responds to the initial pentasyllable. It is noteworthy that uniquely in the seventh, verily unpaired member, the Slavic text displays a one-syllable deviation from the Greek frame (7 versus 8); otherwise the translation follows faithfully the syllabic pattern of the original. A patent demonstration of this zealous adaptation is the eighth member: *takovo ti je čjudo*: the rare monosyllabic variant *je* which struck Koschmieder's attention (II, 44) is there used instead of the current Old Church Slavonic dissyllable *jestъ* (Old Russian *jestъ*) in order to keep to the heptasyllabic measure of the original — *τοιούτων σοῦ τὸ θαῦμα*.

The Hirmus *Da utvrditъ sja sьrdьce moje* — *Στερεωθήτω ἡ καρδία μου* (*Novg.* 16, *Chil.* 1v; cf. *Comp. Charts.* IV–V) contains 53 syllables both in Greek and in Slavic. Both versions are divided into three parts (separated by dots in the Novgorod and Chilandari Hirmologia): a clause of 21 syllables is followed by two sixteen-syllable clauses. The first clause consists of three members (again marked by dots in both Russian manuscripts). In the Greek version their syllabic allotment is 5 + 5 + 11, so that the Hirmus exhibits three sixteen-syllable groups with a pentasyllabic preamble, whereas in the Slavic initial clause, subdivided into 6, 5, and 10 syllables, the syllabic correspondence between the first and the other two parts of the stanza is effaced.

There are also Hirmi which follow the syllabic measure of the Greek

prototype with slight deviations. Thus the Greek Hirmus *Στερέωσόν μου τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸν φόβον σου* forms three twelve-syllable verses with breaks after both the fifth and the seventh syllable. In the Slavic version — *Utvrđi moi umě vь straxě tvoi* (Novg. 18) — the initial line counts twelve (7 + 5) syllables and the last twelve (5 + 7) syllables, but in the middle line (7 + 6) the first heptasyllabic colon is followed by an hypermetric sequence of six syllables.

Sometimes the Slavic translation takes over from the Greek Hirmus only the total number of syllables, while their arrangement into constituent groups is made independently. Thus the Hirmus *Jako Ionu proroka* — *ὡς Ἰωνᾶν τὸν προφήτην* (Novg. 44, *Chil.* 14b; cf. *Comp. Charts* LVII–LVIII) contains 49 syllables both in Greek and in Slavic, but their distribution in the former text is 17 + 14 + 2 · 9, and in the latter 2 · 15 + 10 + 9. The Hirmus *Vьsь jesi želanije* — *Ὅλος ὑπάρχεις ἔφεσις* (Novg. 136, *Chil.* 59r.) displays an even more deliberate redistribution of the total number of syllables (53 in Greek, 54 in Slavic) among nine members:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Slavic:	8	5	5	5	8	8	5	5	5
Greek:	8	5	4	5	7	8	6	5	5

The Slavic version achieves a much more integrated and standardized strophic pattern than does the Greek text: the Slavic reduces the five syllabic varieties occurring in the model to two generalized types of members, six pentasyllables and three octosyllables, organized into a stanza: 8 + 3 · 5 + 2 · 8 + 3 · 5.

The translator's autonomy in versification goes even further; the nine members of the Hirmus *Čьto se tvoja velija* — *Τί τὸ περὶ σε μέγα* (Novg. 138) diverge considerably in the two versions:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Slavic:	8	8	6	8	6	10	10	4	8
Greek:	7	9	7	7	6	9	7	3	9

The Slavic text picks up the syllabic frame of the first two pairs of Greek members — 16 + 14 — and reiterates this scheme (with a dot at the end of each unit): 2(16 + 14) + 8, and the isolated final octosyllable actually responds to the initial eight-syllable member:

čьto se tvoja velija
 ძბღჳნო veličajemь

(In *Chil.* 57v, both fourteen-syllable sequences are omitted).

In the Christmas Hirmus *Xristosъ razajetъ sja slavite* — *Χριστὸς γεννᾶται δοξάσατε* (*Novg.* 4) the Greek pattern 2(9+11)+6+13 has been changed into 4·11+6+13 with a quatrain of isosyllabic verses, all of which, according to the Novgorod and Voskresensk Hirmologia, have a *diple* on the final syllable and terminate with a dot.

In the Hirmus *Prosvěščii · sijanijemъ prišbŕstviija tvojego Xriste* — *Ἡ φωτίσας τῆ ἐλλάμψει τῆς σῆς παρουσίας Χριστέ*. (*Novg.* 28, *Chil.* 8r), only the second of the four dicolic periods and the first, brief cola of the other three periods follow the Greek syllabic scheme:

Slavic: (4+14)+(4+11)+(6+12)+(5+6)

Greek: (4+12)+(4+11)+(6+ 9)+(5+4)

The substantial deviations from the syllabic framework of the original provide the translation with a much more symmetrical shape, namely, a regular eighteen-syllable measure. Both odd periods have acquired equally an eighteen-syllable measure, which is particularly effective against the background of their melodic contrast (pointed out by Velimirović, *Main Volume*, p. 76) and of their verbal parallelism: *Prosvěščii · sijanijemъ prišbŕstviija tvojego Xriste* — *Сръдѣца проsvěti-svĕtomъ tvojego bogorazumija*. As to both even lines, the Slavic version has achieved a syllabic identity and a fuller melodic equivalence (cf. *Comp. Charts.* XXIX) between the fourth, final eleven-syllable period — *pravonĕrĕno rojuščiiimъ tja* — and the last, equally hendecasyllabic colon of the second period — *krĕstomъ si mirĕskyja konĕca*.

All the numbers in the syllabic pattern may be changed by the translator, yet the rules underlying this pattern are preserved. The Hirmus *Otvĕrže tja vъ glubinu sŕdĕca morĕskaago* — *Ἀπέρριψάς με εἰς βάθη καρδίας θαλάσσης* (*Novg.* 44, *Chil.* 15r.; cf. *Comp. Charts.* LVIII–LIX) builds three lines, only one of which deviates slightly from isosyllabism. The numbers are 17+16+17 in the Slavic, 14+12+12 in the Greek.

Beside the number of syllables, the number of accented word units preoccupied the Slavic translators of Greek hymns. There are evident instances where the syllabic measure of the original was sacrificed to a symmetry in the distribution of accents among verses and cola. The Hirmus *Ἐφλεξε ρείθρω τῶν δρακόντων τὰς κάρας* consists of five dodecasyllables with a break after the fifth syllable. The Slavic version — *Ispali vodoju* (*Novg.* 110, *Chil.* 48v) abandons the Greek syllabic pattern (the same meter which is carefully reproduced in Old Church Slavonic

non-musical verses); the length of the five lines is here 12+13+16+12+14. There is definitely preserved from the Greek verses, however, a regular distribution of accented word units. Each of the even lines carries three independent accents, whereas each odd line is divided into two cola (separated by a dot, with particular consistency in *Chil.*), and two independent accents fall on each of these cola:

Ispali vodoju· zmijevyja glavy·
 Peščynaago vysokaago plamene·
 Unoša imušče· blagočystno utěšivyi·
 Zьlokъznъnju mьglu otъ grěxa·
 Vьsju že čistitъ· rosoju duхovъnoju·

What rôle belonged to the place of word accents in the Slavic chant? A tentative reconnaissance reveals a tendency to connect certain neumes with word accent, and perhaps also with vowel quantity. Only a close cooperation of experts in neumatic notation and in the historical study of Slavic languages can yield more precise data, able to throw new light both on the structure of Slavic and Byzantine chant and on early Slavic accentual patterns. The Slavic translator of the Hirmus Ἡ δημιουργικὴ καὶ συνεκτικὴ (*Sьdětelnaja i sьdbržaščija*) inverted the Greek word order θεοῦ σοφία καὶ δύναμις into *božija sila i mudrostь* (*Novg.* 14). This example, quoted by Høeg (“The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music”, *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXIX/1954, p. 47), proves that, the number of syllables in the colon being equal (nine, both in Greek and in Slavic), the translator was tempted to imitate the accentual profile of the model, supported by the musical phrase. Hence *sila* took the place of σοφία by reason of their common accent on the penult, while a stress on the antepenult tied *mudrostь* to δύναμις.

To support his provisional hypothesis — that the translation of the Hirmologium was “first made in the twelfth century” — Høeg refers to the “particularly important” cases where the Slavic perfect is used to translate the Greek aorist (*loc. cit.*, p. 48f.) and quotes the colon *otъ děvy prozjablъ jesi* — ἐκ τῆς παρθένου ἀνεβλάστησας from the Hirmus *Žьzlb is korene* — Ἔβδος ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης (*Novg.* 20, *Chil.* 4v; cf. *Comp. Charts.* XVI–XVII). With respect to the early Russian and Old Church Slavonic verbal system, the so-called perfect or more exactly the “retrospective past” is here a much more appropriate and accustomed form than the simple, historical narrative past (cf. C. H. van Schooneveld, *A Semantic Analysis of the Old Russian Finite Preterit System*, The Hague, 1959). Furthermore, the compound form fits the syllabic pattern of the colon. Together with the preceding colon it covers the same number of syllables

(eighteen) as does the corresponding Greek verse, and it exhibits the same isosyllabism of correlated cola as do the further pairs of cola in the Slavonic version:

I cvětъ otъ nego Xriste (9)	otъ děvy prozjablъ jesi (9)
Iz gory xvalъnyja (7)	prěsěnyja časty (7)
Prif[i]de vъrlъščьsja (7)	otъ bezmužnyja (7)
Besplъtnyi bogъ (7)	slava silě tvojei (7)

All of these cola except the last one with the postposed *Gospodi* carry a *diple* on the syllable. Our reading *priide* finds support in *Novg.* 178, where the uncontracted form fits the syllabic measure: 6 + 6 + 8 + 8 + 6. The same semantic and syllabic factors actually condition all the occurrences of the perfect in the Novgorod fragments.

The strikingly archaic language of the Hirmologium in its Russian records of the XII–XIII centuries impels us to conclude that the translation antecedes the XIIth century. Behind the orthographic innovations and mistakes of the scribes we may discern a considerably older prototype. The copyists of hymn books, especially of hymnals supplied with notation, display an unwavering intention (*istinorěčie*) to keep the number of syllables unchanged, so that no linguistic modifications of this number find access into such texts. Therefore the old musical manuscripts do not reflect the loss of the so-called weak yers. This substantial phonological change experienced by the Slavic linguistic world since the tenth century, and by the Eastern Slavs in particular throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, hardly affected the oldest Russian hymn books. Thus on the 74 extant leaves of the Novgorod Hirmologium, Koschmieder notes only two examples of missing weak yers and in addition the significant fact that, despite the omission of four further yers, the superscribed neumes have been preserved. As to the various confusions of either the weak or the strong yers with full vowels, /o/ and /e/, these changes do not infringe upon the number of syllables. May I mention only that the conventional pronunciation of yers as /o/ and /e/ in specifically Church Slavonic words is documented in the tradition of Russian bookmen since the eleventh century and was later, after the loss of weak yers in spoken Russian, generalized for centuries as an artificial implementation of all the yers in church songs. This habit has been widely known under the whimsical label of *xomonija*, derived from the aorist ending *-xomъ*, sung as *-xomo* in such Hirmi as *Sogrěšixomo i bezzakonovaxomo neopravdixomo predotoboju ni sobljudoxomo ni sotvorixomo* (s. Koschmieder, I, p. 201).

In addition to the unflinching maintenance of the weak yers, the other

archaic feature in the chant manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the scrupulous preservation of uncontracted forms for the compound adjectives and for the imperfect. This is a new and telling argument for a very early origin of such Slavic monuments of musical poetry as the Hirmologium. The adjectival desinences like *-aago*, *-uumu*, *-yimь*, *-yixь*, *-yimь*, *-yimi* and the corresponding forms of the soft declension, and the imperfect in *-aaše*, *aaXu* are preserved with great consistency in the Novgorod Hirmologium. In the exceptional cases, where *Novg.* has *svjatago* (20), *prečistago* (162), *Chil.* has retained the uncontracted forms *svjataago* (4r), *prečistaago* (69v). The solitary examples in *Novg.* — *vъpijaše* (178), *glagolaše* (186) — are outbalanced by the usual *vъpijaše*, *-jaaxu*, *glagolaše*, *-aaxu* (s. Koschmieder III, pp. 15, 18). In *Chil.* (52r) the older *xotjaaše* corresponds to *xotjaše* (*Novg.* 120). The locative masculine singular is the only form which appears rather in the contracted variant both in *Novg.* and in *Chil.* (*nedvižiměmь*, *molьbьněmь*). The only archaic instance is *služiměmь* (*Novg.* 108), replaced by *služiměmь* in *Chil.* (47r). Apparently the syllabic structure of the melody also favored the survival of a few syntactic turns, used by the archetype and thereafter outdated, e.g. the supine-genitive construction *vъsěxь sьrastь blagyxь tvoixь prišьbь* (*Novg.* 226), which was frequently replaced in the Russian manuscripts of that time by the infinitive-accusative pattern. A similar construction is retained, however, without metric inference, in *Chil.* 41v — *razdrěšitь osuženija* (κατάκριμα) *pride*, while in *Novg.* 92 we find the misreading — *osuženyja*.

The norm of Church Slavonic spelling has been substantially adapted to the early Russian phonemic pattern, with its lack of nasal vowels, of the cluster *žd*, and of the anlaut *ju-*, and with its strict delimitation of *ъ* and *ь* and of such groups as *tъrt*, *tьlt*, and *trъt*, *tlъt*. In grammar, vocabulary, and phraseology, however, the language of these manuscripts is a pure, neutral Old Church Slavonic, without any regional flavor or any hints to the recension (*izvod*) in which the archetype had been composed. Does the Slavic version of the *Εἱρμολόγιον* belong to the flourishing Kievan Russia of the eleventh century or to the Golden Age of the First Bulgarian Kingdom? We shall return to this question.

Wherever the individual texts may have originated, the early Slavic ecclesiastical writings, in particular the literary production of the IX–XI centuries, exceed the bounds of any single Slavic people, and to be precise, we are confronted with the Old Church Slavonic language and literature, simply, rather than with ethnically detached literatures and their presumably separate regional languages. On the borderline between the two millennia, the unity of Old Church Slavonic widely overshadows

the diversity of its local and temporal recensions. Likewise the purport and the destination of the various religious writings in this language are definitely intertribal.

Hence, the *Hirmologium*, and — may I add — the *Sticherarium*, in their Slavic version prove to be important monuments of Old Church Slavonic literature and particularly of musical poetry. As to their verse form, they are to be confronted with the early Slavic translations of the other ritual song books.

Among the few extant Old Church Slavonic manuscripts of the eleventh century, the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* brings us closest to the Moravian mission of Constantine and Methodius — its epoch and sphere of activities. The song texts of the *Euchologium* disclose conspicuous similarities with the syllabic structure of the Slavic *Hirmi*. This invaluable monument demands study from this angle, and the question, whether the superscripts attached to vowels have some musical purport, cannot be left unsettled. In the *Fragmentum Liturgiarii Sinaiticum*, which comes from the same manuscript (see R. Nahtigal's capital edition, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, I–II/1941–2), two prayers are composed of lines of 24 syllables, usually with a dot at the end of the line and of the colon.

I cite the initial prayer of the leaflet IIIa (in Latin transliteration of Nahtigal's Cyrillic reading):

Paky prinosimъ tebě slovesъnoјѡ sijo (15 syllables)
 i beskvrъnъnoјѡ služъboъ (+9)
 i molimъ ti sę i molъby dęemъ (13)
 i prosimъ i tebě sę molimъ (+11)
 posъli duхъ tvoi svętyi na ny (12)
 i na prędъležeštęję dary sije (+12)

The second of these two prayers — *Molitva sъvlačęšte sę* — on the leaflet IIa — has a regular break after the thirteenth syllable:

Priimi umalenојѡ našјѡ služъboъ (13 syllables)
 ёko rabi nedostoini sęšte (+11)
 eže ti bęxomъ dlъžъni sъtvoriti (13)
 sъtvorixomъ za nemoštъ našјѡ (+11)
 i za umъnoženie gręхъ našixъ (13)
 nikъtože bo estъ dostoinъ (+11)
 po lępotę tę vъsxvaliti [bože našъ] (13?)
 ty bo edinъ esi kromę gręxa (+11)

There is no doubt that in the beginnings of Slavic liturgy the neumatic notation was borrowed from the Greeks. The further comparative

history of Slavic and Byzantine chant discloses both gradual divergences and, on the other hand, a diffusion of progressive Greek innovations, as Høeg has pointed out (“Ein Buch altrussischer Kirchengesänge”, *Zeitschrift f. slav. Philol.* XXV/1956). Can we assert, however, that originally the Greek song notation was taken over by the Slavs “ohne Änderungen”? In the struggle for the imprescriptible right to use the native language in church, it was necessary, in accordance with contemporaneous ideology, to show to the international world and in particular to Rome and Byzantium that the Slavic liturgic word and song had its own, originally shaped letters and neumes — palpable visual symbols of spiritual independence and sovereignty.

The history of Church Slavonic poetry begins in the 860's with the Moravian mission of Constantine-Cyril. From his Slavic Vita, which was written soon after his death (most probably by his brother Methodius), we learn that Homer, rhetorics, and music were among the chief subjects of Constantine's graduate studies. We know too that Constantine the Philosopher was personally associated with the famous Byzantine hymnographers of his time. Various sources state that before his Slavic mission he composed Greek hymns. Thanks to the above-mentioned Vita, one of them is preserved in Slavic translation — an encomium to Gregory of Nazianzus. It is a magnificent heptastich, where three seventeen-syllable lines alternate with two couples of sixteen-syllable lines and each line is regularly divided into three cola (cf. above, p. 207ff., and N. Trubetzkoy, *Zeitschrift f. Slav. Philol.* XI, p. 52). This translation was obviously made by a member of the Moravian mission, if not by the Philosopher himself. Another Greek poem by Constantine, a hymn to St. Clement (whose relics the Philosopher claimed to have discovered), was combined by the Slavic translator with two other Greek writings of the same author, a eulogy to Clement and a report on the finding of the Martyr's remains. Most probably this Slavic compilation was elaborated by Constantine himself. The stanzas of the hymn preserve their syllabism, yet Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who translated the Philosopher's *brevem historiam* and *sermonem declamatorium* from Greek into Latin, declared that the hymn of the same author, *ad laudem Dei et beati Clementis*, defied translation: *quia, cum latine translatur, hic pauciores, illic plurales syllabas generatum esset nec aptam nec sonoram cantus harmoniam redderet*. Thus the Church Slavonic hagiographic sources connected with the Moravian mission include valuable specimens of the arising Church Slavonic poetry. Constantine's earliest Vita is full of gnomic, oracular, penitential verses attributed to the Philosopher himself (cf. below, p. 277ff.).

Selected liturgical offices were translated jointly by Constantine and Methodius, according to the *Vita* of Methodius. Which of the extant Church Slavonic texts go back to this translation remains an open question, but Constantine's Byzantine background and his own personal inclination permit us to conjecture that his translation was done in verse form (see below, p. 260ff.).

The Kievan Leaflets, the oldest of the existent manuscripts in the Old Church Slavonic language, belong to its Czech recension and contain an adaptation of the Latin Gregorian Sacramentary. This was made by a Slav schooled in the Greek tradition: Latin words mistaken by the translator for their Greek homophones have been interpolated (e.g., the confusion of *considero* with *σίδηρος*!); Greek hymnic passages were inserted into the Slavic version of the Sacramentary and have since been detected by its interpreters (Ušeničnik, Vašica). These facts indicate that the author was trained not in the Latin tradition but in the Greek. The noticeable, consistent syllabism of the Mass in this Slavic adaptation belongs to the Byzantine pattern; its Latin source (identified by Mohlberg) is in prose. Another contemporaneous instance of this tendency to give a syllabic rhythm to the Western prayer form under a Byzantine influence is seen in Notker's (†912) *sequentiae*, which had a wide influence on the further development of the Latin chant.

Syllabism is a salient feature of the Kievan Leaflets, and the interpunction helps to delimit the verses and to group them. According to K. J. W. Tillyard, in the early Byzantine neumatic tradition the sign ' (*ὀξεῖα*) figures on stressed syllables only and signals heightening, ` (*βαρεῖα*) notes lowering, and ∪ (*κλάσμα*) a rhythmical prolongation. Of these three neumes, the *oxeia*, (*srēla* in Church Slavonic loan-translation) appears in the Kievan Leaflets on vowels under word-accent, the *bareia* (*palbka* in Church Slavonic musical terminology) on unaccented final vowels, and the *klasma* (or Church Slavonic *čaška*) on long vowels (cf. below, p. 350f.). However, only a few of the accented, unaccented and long vowels are supplied with such marks, and the likely musical purpose of this selection requires further investigation. The first prayer of the Kievan Leaflets exemplifies the verse form of this unique monument. Each of the first two eleven-syllable cola is followed by a heptasyllable, and each of the further two by a pentasyllable:

Вогъ іже ны лѣта	ogrędqcę (11 syllables)
blaženago Klimenta (+7)	
mōčenika tvoego	i papeža (11)
čъstъjō veseliši: (+7)	

Podazъ milostivy	da egože (11)
čъstъ čъstimъ. (+5)	
silojъ ubo mōčeniē ego (11)	
naslěduemъ: (+5)	

There have been attempts to connect this work directly with the literary activities of Constantine and Methodius, but its linguistic properties are quite different. In particular, the consistent contraction of the compound adjectives in these prayers is at variance with the consistently uncontracted forms of all metrical texts and fragments pointing to Constantine's authorship.

Whether or not the composition rendered by the Kievan Leaflets belongs to the Moravian or to the Bohemian regional and temporal facet of the Czech Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, a further development of this tradition, and particularly of Church Slavonic literature, may be observed in Bohemia up to the time of the First Crusade. This literature also includes verse. The first Church Slavonic Vita of St. Wenceslaus, written toward the middle of the tenth century, cites a prayer connected with the Greek rite of tonsure; it contains two nineteen-syllable lines with a break after the tenth syllable:

Gospodi Isuse Xriste (10)	blagoslovi otroka sego (9)
ěkože blagosloviļ esi (10)	vъsę pravъdъniky tvoę (9)

A Wenceslaus Canon of Czech provenience, preserved in an eleventh-century Russian manuscript of Menaia, is closely linked to the Byzantine pattern by its composition, by its strikingly antithetic imagery rich in oxymora, and by its bent for syllabic rhythms:

Veselo likuetъ Pragъ	dъnъsъ (12)
prěslavъnyi ti gradъ (8)	
počitaję pamęť ti (8)	
i čjudesъ ti ozaręje	světъlo (12)
vъsę strany sъzyvaetъ	vъpiti (12)

The Czech spiritual, "Hospodine, pomiluj ny", — still sung — goes back to the time of Slavic liturgy in Bohemia, and its original form can be easily recognized beneath the vernacular and modernizing retouches. A comparison of the variants collected in the fourteenth century enables us to reconstruct the original Church Slavonic composition, *Gospodi pomilui ny* (Κύριε ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς), of seven octosyllabic lines (see below, p. 389ff.). The inquirers into the musical form of this song detect Byzantine traces in its notations of the XIV–XV centuries — whatever

explanation may be given for this influence (see D. Orel, "Hudební prvky svatováclavské", *Svatováclavský sborník* II, No. 3/1937). Due to its popularity among laymen, this song managed to survive the downfall of Slavic liturgy in Bohemia at the end of the eleventh century.

The oldest Polish spiritual, "Bogurodzica Dziewica, Bogiem slawiena Maria", — at least in its first stanza — seems also to descend from a song in Church Slavonic octosyllables: *Bogorodica děvica blagoslovena Mariě* (Θεοτόκος παρθένος εὐλογημένη Μαρία), which must have taken root in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition of the Czech principality (cf. below, p. 351ff.).

For clear historical reasons Church Slavonic literature in general and its poetry in particular proved incomparably more viable and productive in the Slavic South than in the Slavic West. We possess three Offices glorifying the Slavic apostles: one February Service for St. Cyril and two April Services — one dedicated to "both saint teachers of the Slavs" (*svętyma učiteľema slověňsku języku*) and one devoted to "holy father Methodius, brother of Cyril the Philosopher". (See especially P. Lavrov, *Materialy dlja istorii vozniknovenija drevnejšej slavjanskoj pis'mennosti*, AN SSSR, 1930). All three compositions, closely linked to the activities of the Moravian mission, are rich in historical allusions: this is particularly clear in the third Office, which refers directly to Methodius' "flock dispersed by heretics". It is indeed remarkable that the Service for Constantine-Cyril lays strong emphasis on the latter's poetic genius: "O fiery reason! O blaring trumpet! O melodious nightingale! O tongue, sweeter than honey in parables, wisest Cyril". The service "to both teachers of the Slavs" extols Cyril for having taught the people to praise the Lord in their own language (*vъ svoi językъ*), thus "admonishing the whole world to sing in native languages" (*nauči vъsъ mirъ języky vъspěvati*). These tributes to Constantine's songs and to his introduction of Slavic sacred chant into church are especially impressive when they arise in the church songs themselves, and, again, when these songs extolling poetry are themselves in verse. Dragutin Kostić was the first to discuss the metrical composition of all the three Offices (*Byzantinoslavica* VII/1937, p. 189ff.), and while it is hard to agree with some of his analytic devices, the fact that there is a verse form remains indubitable. These Offices, akin to Constantine-Cyril's initiatory steps in Slavic written poetry, are a masterly adaptation of the tropes and figures cultivated in Byzantine traditional chant to new, Slavic topics; there is an intimate symbolic interplay in the Odes between the original Slavic Troparia on the one hand and their model Hirmus and the concluding Theotokion (*bogorodičъnъ*) on the other.

A minute comparison of the Office for St. Cyril in the Russian Menaia (copied toward the end of the eleventh century) with the same composition in the Bulgarian records of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries gives us a clear insight into the primary shape of this work. The introductory Sticheron repeats — with an inversion — a combination of fifteen- and sixteen-syllable lines, while in each of the three Troparia of the subsequent Ode, there repeatedly appear both eighteen-syllable lines and verses of certain shorter measures, a grouping likewise reiterated. Thus the first of these Troparia begins and ends with a line of 18 syllables:

₁ Krasotŏ přěsvětlŏ dobrodětel' iměje ot'če·
₆ za milost' beštisl'nŏ i m'nogoe s'xoždenie ··

Of the seven lines in the next stanza, the first and the medial repeat this measure:

₁ Krotk'k' milostijŏ i božije mŏdrosti ispr'neņ'·
₄ grady že i strany ulovleny Bogom' svęte proide

Finally, in the third stanza, the first and the second lines again employ this same meter:

₁ Žitie tvoe bez poroka i život' dostohval'ņ'·
₂ i smrt' čyst'na přěd' bogom' v'sěč'skyim'·

In the other two Offices there are acrostics, detected by J. Pavić (*Bogoslovska smotra* XXIV/1926) and Kostić; the acrostic of the Service for Methodius names its author, Constantine — apparently identical with Bishop Constantine of Preslav, an eminent Slavic writer of the early tenth century. Not only this work but supposedly both other Services too belong to the empire and epoch of Tsar Simeon.

In all three offices the stanzas of the canons are patterned after standard Hirmi, quoted in full or by their Incipits. These Hirmi agree exactly with the texts we know from the Novgorod and Chilandari Hirmologia (insofar as these Hirmi enter into the fragments preserved); both the phraseology and the syllabic pattern of the Troparia for the Slavic apostles are more or less adjusted to the framework of these model stanzas. Thus, for instance, in the Office for “both saint teachers of the Slavs”, the Hirmus of the final Ode, *Vb istinu* — Τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν —, consists of three lines: 16 + 12 + 15. Of the four Troparia (36. through 39.) modeled on this Hirmus, the first reiterates the sixteen-syllable pattern of the first line of the Hirmus; then, after omitting the middle

line, it repeats the fifteen-syllable scheme of the last line of the Hirmus, as does also the final stanza of this Ode. In the Hirmus and in the third and fourth Troparia of this Ode there are twelve syllables for the middle line; in the second Troparium there are eleven. The total number of syllables is 43 in the Hirmus; in the last three Troparia it fluctuates between 45 and 41. The second Ode of the same Canon begins with the Hirmus of 38 syllables *Ty esi utvrždenie* — Σὸ εἶ τὸ στερέωμα (cf. *Novg.* 264); the subsequent Troparia (stanzas 6 through 9, according to Lavrov's edition) twice repeat the same number (38) — in the seventh and eighth stanzas, while once the ninth stanza adds one syllable; and the sixth stanza shortens the number to 34. The first two of three portions of the Hirmus are exactly reproduced in the syllabic pattern of this Troparium: 19+10+9 in the Hirmus; 19+10+5 in the sixth stanza of the Ode.

The close dependence of the Slavic *προσομοία* from the time of Tsar Simeon upon the Slavic version of the Hirmologium prompts the inference that this version — an archetype of the Russian texts of the XII–XIV centuries — originated in the Bulgarian Empire during the very late ninth or early tenth century. According to the Greek Vitae of St. Clement of Ochrid, which surely go back to Slavic sources of the tenth century, this prominent disciple of the holy brothers and alleged creator of the Cyrillic alphabet, together with his Macedonian school, contributed vitally to the development of Church Slavonic chant. In particular, he translated songbooks, himself composed new hymns, and instructed the clergymen in vocal music (for a summary of sources, see R. Palikarova Verdeil, *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia*, III, p. 55ff.). It is possible also to associate Clement and his pupils with the preparation of the Slavic Hirmologium.

Church Slavonic poetry, both translated and original, displays intense development in Bulgaria and Serbia throughout the Middle Ages. Fortunately, the examination and survey of this opulent heritage is progressing, and a thorough analysis of its outer and inner form, its prosodic and semantic means, promises to reveal a South Slavic verbal art, a match for the medieval fine arts of those countries, with the same wonderful synthesis of a steady Byzantine traditionalism and an inexhaustible, creative originality.

Among the tasks awaiting such research, an especially absorbing problem is the gradual yielding of Church Slavonic convention to more modern and vernacular elements and the appearance, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of novel and hybrid poetic forms still susceptible to new Byzantine stimuli. The literary art of the Serbian trecento contains filigreed poetic miniatures: namely, Siluan's fanciful

apostrophes to the national saints, Sava and Simeon, with intricate formal problems which I have discussed in my *Selected Writings*, III (1981), p. 193ff.; and an exalted apostrophe to Mount Sinai, simultaneously in Serbian and in Greek, by Jakov of Serres.

The Croatian Glagolitic tradition must also be considered in a historical survey of Church Slavonic poetry. In the breviaries of the XIV–XV centuries we find reshaped versions of older hymns which, as a rule, no longer assign syllabicity to the weak yers; on the other hand, they tend to keep the isosyllabism of rhythmic periods. Thus the two hymns to Cyril and Methodius in the Ljubljana Breviary conclude with the same period of 43 syllables, preceded in one hymn by six and in the other by four periods each of 40 syllables, with one-syllable fluctuations. The Croatian variant of Church Slavonic poetic tradition demands, however, a special inquiry.

The focal problem in Byzantino-Slavic literary studies, the history of Church Slavonic literature — especially church poetry — in diverse Slavic countries, may still abound in blanks, but the most neglected area in modern scholarship would seem to be the opulent field of Russian ecclesiastical poetry, fruitful from the eleventh to the late seventeenth century. An enormous number of these manuscripts have not yet been examined nor described. Most of the hymns remain unpublished, or else they have been issued for practical church use in a modernized and quite altered shape, similar to the distortions in the nineteenth-century “renovations” of old frescoes and icons. There are striking correspondences between Old Russian church poetry and painting: an impressive continuity, initiated and sustained, links this poetry with Byzantine artistic models, and simultaneously there appear early and continuous creative departures from former standards (whether foreign or native) and a variety of temporal and regional styles. The Balkan-Slavic influences and, through their mediation, new Byzantine impingements, have a much wider significance for the poetry and literature in general, however, than for the figurative art of Russia, both in the pre-Mongolian period and later, with the influx of Serbian and Bulgarian refugees after the Turkish invasion. The ornate style, which at that time dominated South Slavic verbal art and, in particular, the numerous canons composed in the fifteenth century by Pachomius the Serb (who was schooled on Mount Athos, then settled in Novgorod and Moscow) gave a strong and lasting impetus to Russian hymnody. Mere imitations were soon countered, in the mid-sixteenth century, by a genuinely creative reply: the canons of the Novgorodian Markell Bezborodj, whose keen poetic and musical gift and fancy have been rightfully

pointed out by F. Spasskij in his tentative, sketchy survey of Russian liturgic poetry (*Russkoe liturgičeskoe tvorčestvo*, Paris, 1951).

Russian poetry of the eighteenth century exhibits many stylistic features which deviate saliently from the classicism to which these authors supposedly adhere, and modern inquirers have detected a Baroque tinge in their poetics. Beside any Baroque infusion, however, the singularity of their art — actually *pseudoclassic* — is its church-poetic tradition, which, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the founders of modern Russian poetry themselves characterized as the true and necessary substratum of their work (cf. above, p. 45ff.). The ties of modern Russian poetry with this durable tradition are deep and multiform, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that in just this paradoxical fusion of very dissimilar ingredients lies a primary reason for the fascinating peculiarity of Russian verbal art. Nonetheless, the compendiums of Russian literary history have struck out seven centuries of Russian spiritual poetry. A corollary of this ostracism is the widespread superstitious belief in the miraculous self-generation of a magnificent poetic language with unlimited stylistic resources, which is said to have taken place in the St. Petersburg era of Russia's history. Yet let us not change Russian poetry into the notorious *Ivan, nepomnjaščij rodstva* ("Ivan forgetful of ancestry"): rather, its profound Byzantino-Slavic roots must be brought to light.

The decisive import of Greek in the formation and further development of Church Slavonic, modeled as this was upon the language of supreme classical tradition, and the fundamental rôle of Church Slavonic itself in the construction and progressive growth of literary Russian has been repeatedly put forth and interpreted, beginning in the Age of Enlightenment with the astute meditations of A. Schlözer, the erudite German student of Old Russian writings. These facts of Russian verbal culture prove true for the poetic culture as well. The Church Slavonic poetic language, patterned after John the Damascene, Romanos the Melodos — worshiped by the Slavs as the "sweet singer" — and the other creators of Greek hymnody, was imbibed by the Golden Age of new Russian poetry.

The outline which I have sketched is confined to musical poetry, because among the poetic genres cultivated in Byzantium this one had the widest expansion in space and time and played a vital part in the development of poetry and music throughout the Slavic world. I hope to discuss at another time the Slavic response to a different aspect of Byzantine verbal art, with verses oriented not toward music but toward speech. This genre seems to belong exclusively to the Moravian and Old

Bulgarian stages of Church Slavonic poetry, and even there is represented only by a few didactic, exhortatory poems and panegyrics. Except for a number of paraenetic alphabets, these pieces served as book prefaces. Thus in Bulgaria in the early tenth century, the 27 lines of praise for Tsar Simeon were a foreword to an encyclopedic volume compiled under his patronage. Translations from John the Damascene were introduced by verses in his honor. The poem entitled "Proglasъ" is a prologue to Constantine's translation of the four Gospels. Its copies assign this Prologue to Constantine the Philosopher (alias St. Cyril); its aims, ideas, vocabulary, phraseology, and imagery connect it indissolubly with Constantine's work, as scholarly commentaries of our century have convincingly demonstrated. Hence there are no grounds for questioning Constantine's authorship (see above, p. 191ff.).

If even so prominent a Slavic philologist of the late nineteenth century as Vatroslav Jagić could depreciate the "Proglasъ", declaring that the teacher of the Slavs "hätte kaum so undeutlich, so matt sprechen können" (*Archiv f. slav. Philol.* XXXVI/1915-16, p. 206), this serves only to show how alien and unintelligible were the poetic and cognitive values of Photian symbolism to the aesthetic and ideological conventions of the Victorian era. Constantine's Prologue is not only, to follow Nahtigal, a "classical work of Old Church Slavonic literature"; it is also a masterpiece of Byzantine poetics: in its monumental composition, its clear-cut and subtle rhythm, the variability and harmony of its syntactic figures, the intricate yet transparent and conjoint play of its manifold paronomasias and metaphors — intertwining sensual and spiritual experience — and, finally, its skill in manipulating parables, which Constantine's disciples so admired in his works.

The Prologue and most of the non-musical poems in the Church Slavonic literature of the ninth and tenth centuries follow the example of the Byzantine dodecasyllabic meter. "Proglasъ" is written in asymmetric lines of twelve syllables. The division of the line into two equal cola (6 + 6) is prohibited; the break falls one syllable from the middle ($\frac{12}{2} \pm 1$). Thus the cola contain either five or seven syllables, and the order of the two cola displays a rising tendency (5 + 7).

Its formal properties give "Proglasъ" a place of honor among Byzantine didactic poems of its time. These are still somewhat underestimated by literary historians, but in fact they represent the highest performance of Byzantium's poetic mastery. Constantine's Prologue is distinguished from the Greek compositions not only by its application of traditional devices to a totally new verbal material, but first and foremost by its purport. The keynote of this "Prologue to the Holy

Gospels" — and indeed of the whole Constantine mission in Moravia — is the sacred right and duty of the Slavs and of any other people to possess the Scriptures "in their own language", to "praise merciful God always with sage songs" and sermons in a tongue comprehensible to all (*vb s̄mystlně glasě*) and to hear the Divine Word "with proper understanding" (*ot̄ svoego uma*), instead of "meaningless listening to the Word in a foreign language, as to the hollow voice of a copper bell".

The disciples of Constantine and his brother took up this appeal to offer in native words "a worthy praise to the Divine Word which created the world through the Word".

The symbolic value behind Constantine's promotion of a mere vernacular to a liturgic language was grasped remarkably by the Czech Jesuit scholar Balbín in his *Dissertatio apologetica de lingua Slavonica* (1671): "What could raise our language higher than the vernacular liturgy of the Slavic Apostles, for the words of the priest which accompany the Holy Sacrament have such an infinite power that they go far beyond the word *fiat* by which the world was created". The propensity of Constantine's poetic tropes to spiritualize the sensuous world is linked to the miracle of transubstantiation. The Cyrillo-Methodian equation between a sanctified vernacular and the Logos is echoed by Theophylact in his compilation of Slavic legends about St. Clement of Macedonia and the Moravian Mission which trained him. This Greek Vita of the eleventh century relates that Cyril placed his translation of the Scriptures on the altar, "offering them as a sacrifice to the Lord and thus showing that God rejoiced in such a sacrifice, for what is more gladsome to the Word than the word? The word that enables intelligent beings to vanquish unintelligibility! Thus an equal delights in an equal."

As a rule, however, this ideology remains alien to Byzantine literature. Although the intent of the Pentecostal miracle to repeal the punitive confusion of languages at Babel is intimated in Byzantine hymnody, it appears that Old Church Slavonic was the first in Europe to join the ever-growing polyphony of new languages extolling the Lord and to offer an inspiring example to "all peoples without Books in their language, /who unarmed are unable to fight the Adversary of our souls/ and are ripe for the dungeon of eternal torments", as Constantine the Philosopher says in his Prologue.

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ТАИННА СЛОУЖЬБА КОНСТАНТИНА ФИЛОСОФА И ДАЛЬНЕЙШЕЕ РАЗВИТИЕ СТАРОСЛАВЯНСКОЙ ПОЭЗИИ

В византийском фоне церковнославянской культуры и письменности многое для нас впервые прояснилось благодаря проницательным трудам Г. А. Острогорского. Под его руководством двенадцатый международный съезд византинистов развернул в конгениальном охридском обрамлении увлекательную проблематику византийско-славянских культурных связей и расхождений. По инициативе и настоянию Георгия Александровича я решился вкратце поделиться с участниками съезда некоторыми из накопившихся у меня наблюдений над “славянским ответом на византийскую поэзию”,¹ который безусловно требует и заслуживает не менее пытливого внимания, чем славянская реплика на византийскую живопись и зодчество, подвергшаяся за последние десятилетия тщательному изучению. Как всегда бывает, уже после отсылки доклада в печать, а в особенности при его изложении и обсуждении в Охриде, всплыли у меня новые, уточняющие замечания и соображения, и я рад возможности посвятить нечто вроде заключительного слова тому, кто своими работами, беседами и расспросами побудил меня снова вернуться в заманчивый и почти непечатый для науки край византийского и церковнославянского поэтического творчества.

Старославянское житие пръвѣнаго наставѣника словѣньскоу ѡзъыкоу следующими словами начинает главу о деятельности Константина среди славянской паствы: Дошѣдъшоу же кмоу Моравѣ съ великою чьстью прѣнѣти его Растиславъ и оученикы съвѣравъ вѣдасть ѡ оучити. Бѣ скорѣ же весь цркъвънѣи чинъ прѣложъ наоучи ѡ оутрѣници и годинамъ, вечерънии, павечеръници и тинѣи слоужьбѣ (edocuit eos *** mysticam liturgiam, как правильно переводит Ф.

¹ “The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry”, XII^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Rapports VIII (Belgrade — Ochride, 1961), 249–265, ср. выше, стр. 240–259.

Гривец).² И отъврѣзоша сѧ по пророчьскоуемоу словеси оуши глухъихъ оуслышати кънижьната слова и ѧзъкъ ꙗзыкъ вѣстѣ гжгнивъихъ.³ Таким образом тесно связанному с Константином агиографу перевод Служебника представляется краугольным событием в истории моравской миссии, осуществленным пророчеством Исаяи.

Отрывки старославянской литургии уцелели в трех листках из утраченного Служебника, явно составлявшего единое целое с другим рукописным памятником одиннадцатого века, дошедшим до нас Синайским Требником. Как правильно подытожил Ян Фрчек, “nous nous trouvons donc en face d'un fragment du plus ancien služebnik slave comprenant le canon de la messe d'après le rite byzantin”.⁴ Нет никаких оснований для домысла о замене такого основоположного богослужебного текста, как евхаристические молитвы в переводе первоучителя, вторичным старославянским переводом тех же молитв. В свою очередь словарные и грамматические черты роднят Fragmentum liturgiarii Synaiticum с литературным наследством Константина Философа. В Синайских листках, вне сомненья, дошли до нас остатки *Тайной службы*, переведенной с греческого Константином.

Нам неоднократно приходилось останавливаться на существенной роли поэзии в жизни и деятельности Константина и на следах и обломках его стихотворных опытов.⁵ Приведем по русскому минейному списку конца XI века Службу Кириллу-Константину, сложенную на пороге десятого столетия, несомненно, участником моравской миссии, с характерными воззваниями к “премудрому Кириллу”, особенно превозносимому за его поэтический дар: О оумѣ огньнѣ. о гласна трѣуба. о славню пѣснивъи. о ластовице глаголива.⁶ Силлабический строй и sonora cantus harmonia в гимнологии Константина выразительно засвидетельствованы его образованным современником и почитателем, римским библиотекарем Анастасием.⁷

² F. Grivec-F. Tomšič, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses — Fontes = Radovi Staroslovenskog Instituta*, IV (Zagreb, 1960), 202.

³ T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego* (Poznań, 1959), 69.

⁴ J. Frček, *Euchologium Sinaiticum = Patrologia Orientalis*, XXV (1939), 613.

⁵ “St. Constantine’s Prologue to the Gospels”, *St. Vladimir’s Seminary Quarterly* (New York, Summer 1954), 19–23 — см. выше, 191–206; “Стихотворные цитаты в великоморавской агиографии”, *Slavistična Revija*, X (1957), 111–118 — см. ниже, 277–285.

⁶ См. П. Лавров, *Материалы по истории возникновения славянской письменности* (Ленинград, 1930), 109.

⁷ В. Жагић, *Вновь найденное свидетельство о деятельности Константина философа, первоучителя славян св. Кирилла* (СПб., 1893).

В 1672–73 г. чешский ученый иезуит Бальбин, отстаивая против неустанной немецкой агрессии культурные права и притязания славянской речи, ссылается на ее издревле признанную роль в таинстве евхаристии, как верховную среди всех мыслимых привилегий: “здесь в немногих словесных формулах сосредоточена такая безграничная сила, что несколько литургических слов священнослужителя далеко превосходят слово fiat, которым был создан свет”.⁸ Этот поздний отголосок кирилломефодьевской традиции, восемью веками отделенный от почина солунских братьев, тем не менее с изумительной точностью воспроизводит пафос их подвига. Миросозерцание средних веков почитало высочайшим уделом слова его чудодейственное участие в знаменательнейшем таинстве евхаристии. Если эта верховная роль открылась перед родною речью славян, и славянское слово становилось словом литургийным, оно тем самым неизбежно овладевало всеми многоступенчатыми ярусами средневекового духовного бытия.

От такого знатока и мастера слова, как Константин, евхаристические молитвы, представлявшие ему и его эпохе словами наивысшей, сверхъестественной мощи, разумеется, требовали полноценного художественного оформления. Установка Константина на стих естественно нашла себе выражение и в его трактовке литургических молитвословий. Таината слоужьба в Синайских листках отчетливо обнаруживает изощренный стихотворный склад.

“И наступает”, согласно торжественному описанию Гоголя, “верхнейшая минута всей литургии: пресуществление. В алтаре происходит троекратное призыванье Святого Духа на святые дары. *** И на престоле уже тело и кровь; пресуществленье совершилось! Словом вызвано Вечное Слово” (“Размышления о божественной литургии”). В иной связи ту же мистическую связь слова со Словом передает рассказ о славянском переводе Евангелия, возложенном на престол Константином, в греческой версии утраченного старославянского жития Климента Охридского: Бог возрадовался, *τί γάρ τῷ λόγῳ λόγου τοῦς λογικοῦς ἀλογίας λυτρομένον τερπνότερον, εἶπερ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὁμοίον ἦδεται*.⁹

Греческий подлинник совершительной евхаристической молитвы, переведенной Константином, слагается из трех двустиший, а каждый стих из двух полустиший. Все нечетные стихи начинаются с десятисложного, а все четные с четырехсложного полустишия. Из

⁸ См. Bohuslav Balbin. *Obrana jazyka slovanského, zvláště českého* (Praha, 1923), 67.

⁹ Теофилакт Охридски, *Житие на Климент Охридски* (София, 1955), 36.

шести стихов пятый кончается двенадцатисложным, а все остальные девятисложным полустихием:

10 9
4 9
10 9
4 9
10 12
4 9

Καὶ ποιήσον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον μεταβαλὼν	τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τῷ Πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.
Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ μεταβαλὼν	τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τῷ Πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.
Τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβαλὼν	σωτηρίας εἰς τὴν ζοὴν αἰώνιον, τῷ Πνεύματι σου τῷ ἁγίῳ. ¹⁰

Старославянская версия этой молитвы¹¹ в свою очередь делится на три двустихия, а каждый стих на два полустихия, кроме последнего, шестого стиха с опущенным начальным полустихием. Конечное полустихие во всех шести стихах насчитывает семь слогов. Начальное полустихие в нечетных стихах содержит одиннадцать, а в первых двух четных стихах шесть слогов:

11 7
6 7
11 7
6 7
11 7
— 7

СѢ-ТВО-РИ ОУ-ВО ХЛѢ-ВЪ СЪ·	ДРА-ГО-Е·	ТѢ-ЛО ХРЬ-СТА ТВО-Е-ГО·
ПРѢ-ЛО-ЖЬ ДОУ-ХО-МЬ		СВѦ-ТЪИ-И-МЬ ТВО-И-МЬ·
А Е-ЖЕ ВЪ ЧА-ШИ СЕ-И·	ДРА-ГЖ-ИЖ·	КРЪ-ВЬ ХРЬ-СТА ТВО-Е-ГО·
ПРѢ-ЛО-ЖЬ ДОУ-ХО-МЬ		СВѦ-ТЪИ-И-МЬ ТВО-И-МЬ·
Ѣ-ЖЕ ИЗ-ЛЪ-Ѣ СѦ МИ-РЬ-СКА-А-ГО		РА-ДИ СѢ-ПА-СЕ-НИ-Ѣ·
		ВЪ ЖИ-ЗНЬ ВѢ-ЧЬ-ИЖ-ИЖ·

Таким образом в греческом тексте единственно конец предпоследнего стиха, а в старославянском только начало последнего нарушают иначе неуклонную силлабическую схему.

¹⁰ См. М. Орлов, *Литургия святого Василия Великого* (СПб., 1909), 206, 208.

¹¹ R. Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, II (Ljubljana, 1942), 343–344.

Этой молитве непосредственно предшествует на той же странице Синайских листков (Fol. IIIr.) другой стихотворный текст, составляющий три строки — по двадцать четыре слога в каждой;¹² плеоназм, отмеченный исследователем во второй строке,¹³ явно вызван требованиями размера; сечение делит последнюю строку на два симметричных члена (12+12), вторая строка насчитывает тринадцать слогов в первом члене и одиннадцать во втором; возможна такая же фразировка первой строки, где, впрочем, синтаксический состав скорее говорит в пользу членения — 15+9.¹⁴

Пакѣ приносимъ тебѣ словесънѣжъ снѣжъ ꙗже бесквѣнънѣжъ слоужьвѣжъ
 ꙗже молимъ ти сѣ ꙗже мольбѣ дѣемъ ꙗже и просимъ ꙗже тебѣ сѣ молимъ
 посли Дѣхъ твои свѣтъи на ны ꙗже ꙗже на прѣдълежщѣмъ дарѣ снѣжъ .:

Если, по надежному свидетельству вышецитированного жития, моравская деятельность Константина началась с перевода греческой литургии, то синайские фрагменты следует признать остатком его первого славянского стихотворного опыта, между тем как его греческие стихи уже пользовались в то время высокой репутацией. Таким образом *Таннага слоужьва* является древнейшим памятником старославянской поэзии.

Многочисленные стихотворные цитаты в великоморавской агиографии по большей части восходят к греческим стихам Константина, которые, вероятней всего, сам автор перевел на славянский язык. Среди этих стихов есть церковно-певческие тексты, как напр. *Похвала Григорию Богослову* и *Молитвѣна пѣснь Клименту*, а также *гранеса* для чтения, как надпись на чаше царя Соломона.¹⁵ К последней категории относятся и оригинальные славянские стихотворения Константина: до нас полностью дошел с незначительными изъянами и подновлениями один из замечательнейших памятников европейской поэзии раннего средневековья, *Прогласъ* (или *Блаженнаго оучителя нашего Константина философа слово*) к Четвероевангелию, переведенному совместно с Мефодием,¹⁶ а также азбучный акростих, известный нам только по

¹² Nahtigal, 343.

¹³ Frček, 606.

¹⁴ Ср. "The Slavic Response ***", 257 — см. выше, стр. 249: *Пакѣ приносимъ тебѣ словесънѣжъ снѣжъ ꙗже бесквѣнънѣжъ слоужьвѣжъ.*

¹⁵ См. "Стихотворные цитаты ***", 113, 115 сл. — ср. ниже, стр. 279, 281 сл.

¹⁶ Ср. "St. Constantine's Prologue ***", см. выше, стр. 191 сл.; R. Nahtigal, "Rekonstrukcija treh starocerkvenoslovanskih izvernih pesnitev", *Razprave*, (Filozofsko-filološko-historični razred, Akademija znanosti i umetnosti v Ljubljani, 1943), 76–122.

поздним переделкам,¹⁷ но послуживший образцом нескольким славянским подражателям, начиная с Константина, епископа болгарского.¹⁸

Творческая инициатива Константина философа пустила глубокие корни в церковнославянской поэзии. Стих для чтения и декламации лег в основу дидактических стихотворений, предисловий и надписей в золотом веке болгарской письменности, а затем проявил наибольшую живучесть в литературе сербской, чему ярким примером в XIV веке служат стихотворные предисловия и надписи Силуана¹⁹ и Якова Серского с их словесным мастерством, высоко своеобразным и традиционным в одно и то же время.

Церковно-певческая поэзия Константина нашла себе даровитых и ревностных продолжателей в непосредственных учениках моравской миссии, Клименте Охридском и Константине, епископе болгарском, и в их школах — македонской и преславской. Если, по общеизвестным историческим причинам, списки древних молитвенных памятников сохранились почти исключительно на Руси, то это отнюдь не дает нам права на вывод о русском происхождении ни этих переводов с греческого, ни их музыкальной нотации.²⁰ Дошедшие до нас от двенадцатого и тринадцатого столетия русские списки Ирмолая и Стихираря проявляют немало русификаторских черт в своем правописании, но в то же время они строго консервативны в таких звуковых, грамматических и словарных особенностях, где малейшая ретушь грозила бы нарушением силлабической схемы и вообще искажением музыкально-ритмического строя первоначальной версии. Во всех этих случаях русский текст обнаруживает архаичный южнославянский извод

¹⁷ Е. Георгиев, “Имената на старобългарските букви”, *Сборник в памет на проф. П. Ников* (София, 1939); *Ivan Fedorov's Primer of 1574 — Facsimile Edition with Commentary* by R. Jakobson (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 22–25.

¹⁸ Nahtigal, “Rekonstrukcija ***”, 45–75.

¹⁹ Ср. наш опыт разбора в статье “Структура двеју српскохрватских песама”, *Зборник за филологију и лингвистику*, IX (Нови Сад, 1962), 131–135 — см. *Selected Writings*, III (The Hague–Paris: Mouton, 1981), стр. 193 сл.

²⁰ Из южнославянских литературных произведений X–XI вв. переводных и оригинальных лишь незначительный процент дошел до нас в местных рукописях по сравнению с внушительным числом южнославянских памятников, сохранившихся в русских списках. Необоснованы сомнения в южнославянском оригинале древнейших русских церковно-певческих рукописей и их знаменного распева: см. E. Koschmieder, “Zur Herkunft der slavischen Krjuki-Notation”, *Festschrift für D. Čyževs'kyj zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1954). Тезис о возникновении этих памятников поэзии на славянском юге остается в силе: см. R. Palikarova-Verdeil, *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes = Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia*, III (Copenhagen, 1953).

своего прототипа. Относительно Ирмолая о том же свидетельствуют ирмосы старославянских канонов Кириллу и Мефодию, как мы уже отметили в охридском докладе. Каноны солунским братьям, датируемые, скорей всего, началом десятого века, последовательно перенимают все ирмосы из того же Ирмолая, к которому восходят и Новгородские фрагменты, превосходно изданные Кошмидером,²¹ и Хиландарский Ирмолой.²² По порядку заимствуются ирмосы из всех од данного канона с традиционным пропуском песни второй. Так канон Мефодию, сложенный, по указанию заключенного в нем акростиха, епископом Константином,²³ начинается все восемь од с ирмосов гласа второго: песнь первая *a*, третья *g*, четвертая *f* (?), пятая *a*, шестая *a*, седьмая *a*, восьмая *a*, девятая *e*. Сохранившийся в русской Минее самого конца XI века Канон оучителема словѣньскоу ѡзъку с акростихом Коурила философа и влажена Методиа поуж²⁴ построен на ирмосах гласа восьмого: песнь первая *в*, третья *с*, четвертая *a*, пятая *в*, шестая *a*, седьмая *в*, восьмая *a*, девятая *a*.

Тропари каждой песни (ѡдѣ) тесно связаны с ее ирмосом. Так в шестой песне Канона оучителема ирмос (т. е. вторая строфа седьмой песни гласа восьмого в Новгородских фрагментах Ирмолая) состоит из четырех пятнадцатисложных стихов — $(8 + 7) + (7 + 8) + (7 + 8) + (8 + 7)$:

Иже шть Иудѣа	дошдѣше отроци
въ Бавилонѣ древле	вѣроу оутвържении. ²⁵
пламень пещьнѣи	пожраша глаголюще
штьць нашихъ Боже	благословенѣ нси: : .

Соответственно каждая дальнейшая строфа шестой песни Канона оучителема включает четыре стиха, из которых последний полностью воспроизводит заключительный стих ирмоса. Шестидесяти слогам ирмоса отвечает 57 слогов в первом, а также

²¹ E. Koschmieder, *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien - Fragmente = Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos. - hist Kl., NF, XXXV (1952), XXXVII (1955), XLV (1958).

²² *Hirmologium - Codex Monasterii Chilandarici 308 = Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, V B (Copenhagen, 1957); ср. Борђе Радочиѣи, "Григоровичева ирмологија", *Јужнословенски филолог*, XXII (1957–1958), 265–267.

²³ См. Лавров, 122–127; Д. Костиѣи, "Бугарски епископ Константин — писац службе св. Методију", *Byzantinoslavica*, VII (1937), 189–211.

²⁴ Лавров, 111–114.

²⁵ Согласно Вроцлавской хомонии XVI–XVII вв. — утверждению; в Новгородских фрагментах оутвържени: *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente*, I, 288–289.

четвертом тропаре, 58 во втором и третьем плюс четырехсложный привесок между третьим и четвертым стихом обоих четных тропарей (въспѣван; въспѣвати), а богородичнѣ (Θεοτοκίον) насчитывает 63 слога. В четырех тропарях половина из шестнадцати стихов содержит по четырнадцать слогов, а другая половина, за вычетом одного тринадцатисложника, состоит из семи пятнадцатисложных стихов. Пятнадцатисложный размер не встречается во внутренних стихах тропарей; он господствует в их внешних стихах, а четырнадцатисложный размер — во внутренних стихах. Кроме заключительной цитаты из ирмоса, стихи богородична характеризуются симметричным срединным сечением: 7+7, 8+8, 9+9.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Нескоудьно съкровище
Пресвѣтѣмуу Духоу
наоучи всь миръ
отъць нашихъ Боже | гави сѧ Коуриле
имъже просвѣща сѧ
язъикъ въспѣвати
благословленъ ѿси.°° |
| 2) Аврамъ дроугъин
отъче Коуриле
юже просвѣти словъмъ

отъць нашихъ Боже | преселениумъ гави сѧ
въ землю Ханаоньскоу
нова оученига

въспѣван
благословленъ ѿси.°° |
| 3) Моравьская страна
имѣющи къ Богоу
наоучи сѧ въспѣвати
отъць нашихъ Боже | вели застоупъ и стѣлпъ
твою просвѣщена
въ свои язъикъ
благословленъ ѿси.°° |
| 4) Єуангельскоу словеси
отъче Мефодие
наоучити конца

отъць нашихъ Боже | достоннъ гави сѧ
гасно исповѣдати
всѣми язъикъ

въспѣвати
благословленъ ѿси.°° |
| 5) Богородичнѣ:
Из дѣвичь ложестнъ
на съпасение наше
видѣвъше Богородицю
отъць нашихъ Боже | въплъща сѧ гави сѧ
тѣмъже матеръ твою
правовѣрно въпиемъ
благословленъ ѿси.°° |

Отчетлив грамматический параллелизм между ирмосом и первым тропарем: иже *** дошдѣше — имъже просвѣща сѧ. Все тропари тесно связаны друг с другом и с заключительной строфой: 1) Нескоудьно съкровище гави сѧ Коуриле — 2) Аврамъ дроугъин ***

гави сѧ отъче Коурилѧ — 4) *** достоинъ гави сѧ отъче Мефодие — 5) въплъщъ сѧ (ср. 1, просвѣщъ сѧ) гави сѧ. Этимологические фигуры (*πολύπτωτον* и *παρημένον*): 1) просвѣщъ сѧ наоучи въсь *** ѧзъикъ въспѣвати — 2) просвѣти словъмъ *** оучениа въспѣвати — 3) просвѣщена наоучи сѧ въспѣвати въ свои ѧзъикъ — 4) словеси *** наоучити *** въсьми ѧзъикъ въспѣвати.

Эта крепкая связь между строфами символически спланирует песнь о важнейшем подвиге первоучителей, которые, поправ вражьи происки (пламень пещинъ), научили Моравскую страну воспевать в церкви “Бога отцов наших” на отеческом языке и тем самым подали пример всем прочим народам, надоумили въсь миръ ѧзъикъ въспѣвати. Сам же просветитель Моравии просвещен был Пресвятым Духом, от которого он принял апостоламъ равноу благодать, т. е. приобщился к чуду Пятидесятницы, преобразившему многоязычие из вавилонской кары в благословенный дар языков. Мировую задачу моравской миссии выдвигает сам Константин в своем вдохновенном Прогласе, где первичное обращение словѣне въси (стих 9) сначала сменяется объединяющим призывом словѣнскъ народе (стих 24), затем проповедь славянская превращается в международную — сперва с индивидуализированным адресатом чловѣци (стих 67) и наконец снова с собирательным воззванием ѧзъици (стих 81), тесно связывающим миссию Константина с начальным, библейским образом Прогласа: Хръстъ гродетъ съвѣрати ѧзъикъ (стих 3).

Восхваляемые в тропарях Философ и брат его, дошедшие до западъ, искореняя идольскою лъсть възвожноую, сопоставляются с героями ирмоса — ветхозаветными противниками идола, отроками в печи, быть может, в связи с житийным рассказом об испытаниях Мефодия и вмешательстве моравского короля: не троуждаите мною Мефодыа, оуже во сѧ несть тако и при пещти оупотилъ. В последовавшем ответе страстотерпца Святополку это сравнение дьявольских напастей с пещью заостряется игрой омонимов — прѣти, пьрж “препираться” и прѣти, прѣж “потеть, печься”: ен, владъико, Философа потъна инъгда сърѣтъше людъи рѣшл и моу: чьто сѧ потиши? Дѣитъ онъ: съ грѣвож чадъж прѣхъ.²⁶

Наряду с Ирмолом, уже подвергнутым за последние годы предварительной рекогносцировке, другой кладезь старославянской поэзии, Стихирарь в свою очередь ждет музыкального и метрического разбора в сопоставлении с греческим оригиналом. В

²⁶ Lehr-Splawiński, 113.

стихирах, как и в тропарях, связь с формой образца не исключает значительной творческой самостоятельности. Примером может послужить стихира Иоанну Златоусту, воспроизведенная Н. Д. Успенским по русской рукописи XII века, принадлежащей Ленинградской Гос. Публ. Библиотеке, и сопоставленная в его интересном сообщении с греческим оригиналом по рукописи XI–XII века из той же библиотеки.²⁷

В семи стихах греческой стихире число слогов колеблется: 13, 8, 9, 11, 11, 12, 10. Только оба заключительных двестишия содержат в общей сложности одинаковое число слогов: 22 + 22. Силлабический состав славянских стихов: (11 + 4), 11, 11, 13, 12, 13, 12. Симметрия двух заключительных двестиший идет дальше греческого образца: распределение числа слогов между стихами тождественно в обоих двестишиях: 2 (13 + 12). С другой стороны, стихи второй и третий в славянской стихире равны, а в первом стихе наблюдается та же одиннадцатисложная схема, но с четырехсложным привеском: и пастыря. За вычетом такого же четырехсложного привеска к первому стиху греческой стихире — *καὶ ποιμένα*, силлабически схожи ее три начальных стиха: 9, 8, 9. Но в славянском тексте, сверх того, обнаруживается еще одно разительное соответствие. В стихотворениях с нечетным числом стихов, особенно в семистишиях, существенную роль играет средний стих и параллелизм между предшествующей и последующей группой стихов, в частности между начальным и конечным трехстишием в пределах семистишия. В славянской стихире три начальных стиха содержат тридцать семь слогов, и точно то же число слогов приходится на три конечных стиха, тогда как в греческом тексте тридцати слогам начального трехстишия соответствуют тридцать три слога конечного трехстишия:

Тѣ великааго архиреа и пастыря
незълбена и преподавна
покаанию проповѣдника

златообразнаа оуста благодати
въсхваляще любвню молимъ са
подажь намъ молитвы твоа отъче
въ отъдание доушамъ нашимъ.

²⁷ Н. Успенский, “Византийское пение в Киевской Руси”, *Akten des XI. Int. Byzantinisten Kongresses* (München, 1960), 643–654.

Неоднократно высказывавшееся мнение, что славянские переводчики были не в силах справиться с греческими силлабическими размерами, противоречит сравнительным показаниям греческого и славянского текста: переводчики нередко стремились не только догнать, но и перегнать греческий оригинал в его склонности к слоговой равномерности.

В то время как древнерусские списки Ирмолая и Стихираря явно восходят к южнославянским прототипам, пристального изучения требует подлинно русская духовная поэзия. Ее эволюция с одиннадцатого до семнадцатого века сложна и своеобразна, как особенно наглядно показывают службы отечественным святым, и новое русское словесное искусство от восемнадцатого века по сей день глубоко уходит корнями в традицию церковных молитвословий. «Важно то, что этот строй послужил образцом и для светской художественной речи», как недавно отметил Николай Асеев, неизменно чуткий и в творчестве, и в судах о творчестве;²⁸ знал об этом уже автор рассуждения «О пользе книг церковных» и другие основоположники русской классической поэзии, тогда как историки литературы долго и упорно «не помнили родства».

Киевские листки X века, старший из двух уцелевших старославянских памятников чешского извода и вообще древнейший литературный образчик славянского письма, сохранили текст Миссала, восходящего к латинскому источнику. Исследователи обнаружили в работе переводчика бесспорное влияние греческого языка и византийской гимнологии. Связь с византийской традицией и ее старославянским отражением сказывается и в четко силлабическом строе, резко отличающем переводные молитвы Киевского Миссала от сплошь прозаического латинского прототипа.²⁹ Внимательное сличение славянского текста с латинским привело оценщика к суровому выводу: «Der sogenannte Übersetzer ist des Lateins so wenig kundig oder um das genaue Verständnis so wenig bemüht, dass er sich auf ein paar Wörter beschränkt und ein Satzverständnis überhaupt nicht anstrebt, es also auch in den allergünstigsten Fällen kaum erreicht».³⁰ Такие курьёзы, как *circum* (*tegant*) и *circa* (*moralitatem*), переданные по

²⁸ Н. Асеев, *Зачем и кому нужна поэзия* (Москва, 1961), 98 сл.

²⁹ Исследование о стихе Киевского Миссала, переданное нами в 1925 г. Чешской Академии Наук вместе с дальнейшими главами истории чешского средневекового стихосложения, не включено в настоящем томе — см. его краткое резюме: «Český verš před tisíci lety», *Slovo a slovesnost*, I (1935), 50–53 и английский перевод, ниже, 347 сл. Ср. также F. Liewehr, «Zum Vers der Kiewer Blätter», *Zeitschrift für Slawistik*, I (1956), 35–48.

³⁰ M. Leumann, «Die altkirchenslavischen Kiewer Blätter und ihr lateinisches Original», *Festschrift Albert Debrunner* (Bern, 1954), 291–305 (см. стр. 300).

созвучию словами *цѣркънаѣ* (твордь) и *цѣркъъвѣ*, или повелительная форма *gege* “правь”, превратившаяся в локатив *цѣсарьствѣ* “gege-po”,³¹ действительно позволяют усомниться в степени знакомства переводчика с латинской речью, но одной лишь недостаточной сноровкой в латыни не объяснить ни личной импровизации, ни вариаций на греческие молитвенные темы или прямых заимствований из литургии Иоанна Златоуста и Василия Великого, видимо, по переводу Константина Философа.³²

Главная суть лежит в том, что собственно перед нами по существу не перевод, а скорей *nachschaffende Umschreibung*, согласно меткому определению Баумштарка.³³ “Радикальная византизация” латинских образцов, в которой Вашица зорко распознал характерную черту Киевского Миссала, проявляется, я сказал бы, прежде всего в творческой метаморфозе сухой и незатейливой формы латинского оригинала в высокохудожественные произведения греческой чеканки, “оснащенные и изукрашенные всеми цветами звучности и образности”, которыми любуется Асеев в древних славянских славословиях. Пожалуй, именно те молитвы, где комментаторы, особенно Вашица, усматривают наибольшие отступления от латинского подлинника, и отчасти, главным образом в *префациях*, уклоны в сторону греческой литургии, выделяются изысканной стихотворной отделкой. *Префация* третьей повседневной миссы (молитва No. 18) слагается из двух четверостиший: начальное включает три одиннадцатисложных стиха, а конечное три четырнадцатисложных стиха; перед последним стихом начального четверостишия и вслед за вступительным конечного четверостишия вклинено по одному семисложному стиху — (2·11 + 7 + 11) + (14 + 7 + 2·14):

Тъи еси животъ нашъ Господи
отъ невѣтитѣ во въ вѣтитѣ
сътворилъ нъи еси
і отъпадъшнъ въскрѣси пакъи

Да намъ недостоитъ тебѣ съгрѣшати:
твоѣже сътъ въскъ
(і) невесьскаѣ і земьскаѣ Господи
да [тъи] самъ отъ грѣхъ нашихъ избави нъи

³¹ J. Vašica, “Slovanská liturgie nově osvětlená Kijevskými listy”, *Slovo a slovesnost*, VI (1940), 65–78.

³² Vašica, 74–78; F. Ušenišnik, “Najstarejši glagolski spomenik in liturgija sv. Cirila in Metoda”, *Bogoslovni vestnik*, X, 235–253.

³³ A. Baumstark, *Missale Romanum, seine Entwicklung, ihre wichtigsten Urkunden und Probleme* (Nijmegen, 1929), 84.

В *орации* первой повседневной миссы (No. 8) чередуются пятнадцатисложные и одиннадцатисложные стихи, причем в начале молитвы пятнадцатисложный стих повторен дважды — $2 \cdot 15 + 11 + 15 + 11$. В первом из трех пятнадцатисложных стихов восьмисложное полустипение предшествует семисложному; обратно два остальных пятнадцатисложных стиха и оба одиннадцатисложных начинаются с семисложного полустипения:

Богъ иже тварь своѣж	вельми помилова*
і по гнѣвѣ своємь*	изволи вѣплътити съ
съпасениѣ ради	чловѣчьска*
і въсхотѣвъ намъ	оутвори сръдцѣ нашѣ*
[1] милостиѣ твоєѣж	просвѣти нѣи:

Префация той же миссы (No. 10) состоит из семи стихов: она открывается и замыкается девятисложным стихом, причем за начальным девятисложным следует семисложный стих, а затем за парой девятисложных стихов опять-таки пара семисложных — $9 + 7 + 2 \cdot 9 + 2 \cdot 7 + 9$:

Небескъниѣ твоѣѣ силѣи
 просимъ і молимъ*
 да съ вѣншнѣми твоимѣ
 достоинѣи сътвориши нѣи:
 і вѣчьнаѣ твоѣѣ
 ихъже жиддемъ
 пода съ намъ милостив[ън]о:³⁴

Оригинальная по составу *орация* второй повседневной миссы (No. 20) состоит из семи стихов — $2 \cdot 10 + 2 \cdot 6 + 19 + 10 + 19$:

Цѣсарствѣ	нашемъ	Господі
милостыѣж	твоєѣж	прізьри:
і не отъдазь		
нашего тоузимъ*		
і не обрати насъ въ плѣнъ народомъ поганьскымъ:		
Хръста ради	Господі	нашего*
іже цѣсаритъ съ Отцемъ і съ Святѣимъ (Доухъмъ):*		

Малоубедительны неоднократные попытки связать Киевский Миссал с литературной деятельностью Константина Философа:

³⁴ Или милост[ив]но?

язык молитв существенно разнится ото всего, что нам известно о словарном и грамматическом составе писаний Константина и его ближайших сотрудников; языку его, в частности, чужды чешские стяженные формы, засвидетельствованные нестолько орфографическими особенностями, которые легко мог привнести писец Киевских листков, сколько показаниями силлабического стиха, подтверждающими, что уже в работе составителя славянского Миссала было налицо стяжение даже таких форм, как прилагательные в именительном падеже единственного числа мужского рода (*милостивѣ, всемогѣ* и т. п.). Есть тут заметные отличия также в стилистике и формах стиха.

Возник ли этот Миссал еще в Моравии, где Горазд получил одобрительный отзыв от умирающего Мефодия, как *оученъ же добръ въ латинскѣхъ кънигахъ*?³⁵ Но вполне возможно, что Службник римского происхождения был сложен только въ Чесѣхъ на пороге десятого столетия, где не только духовенство, но и князь Вячеслав, по словам его первого жития, отлично читал и латинские, и греческие, и славянские книги.³⁶ В то время как переводная литература моравского периода всецело восходит к греческим источникам, в Чехии X века появляется немало переводов с латыни. Этот сдвиг в литературном импорте обусловлен радикальными переменами в культурно-политической обстановке. Однако живое наследие моравской миссии дает себя знать. Неизменно гибридный греко-латинский характер церковнославянской образованности в чешском княжестве подтверждается множеством примеров, и греческая выучка нередко сказывается в местных церковнославянских переводах латинских источников.

Как было отмечено в вышеупомянутом резюме нашей работы о стихе славянского Миссала, надстрочные знаки в Киевских листках выступают в двух различных функциях: во-первых, в знакомой старославянским памятникам роли графических сигналов (начальные гласные буквы условно отмечаются греческими знаками придыханий, а в сочетаниях двух самостоятельных гласных букв первая выделяется акутом). В прочих случаях акут падает на ударный гласный, гравис на конечный безударный, а опрокинутая дуга на долгий гласный, но в этой второй, просодической функции надстрочные знаки применяются “*jen v těch případech, kdy si toho vyžadovala rytmicko-melodická struktura skladby*”. Я спрашивал в

³⁵ Lehr-Splawiński, 119.

³⁶ См. J. Vajs, *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Lidmile* (Praha, 1929), 15.

данной связи, не нотные ли это знаки — *virga, punctum* и т. д.³⁷ Э. Кошмидер отвечает утвердительно и предполагает, что надстрочные знаки в Киевском Миссале и правила их употребления соответствуют “den Gepflogenheiten der lateinischen Neumen für die lectio solemnis der Sakramentarien”.³⁸ Между тем, в настоящее время, с новейшими международными успехами в анализе византийской и церковнославянской нотации, не следует упускать из виду куда более разительное сходство всех трех музыкально-просодических знаков Киевского Миссала с соответствующими по форме и функции ранними византийскими неумами и их отпрысками в славянских церковно-певческих рукописях.

Повторяю:³⁹ в ранней византийской традиции $\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (´) фигурирует только на ударных слогах и обозначает повышение, $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (̀) отмечает понижение, а $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$ (˘) — ритмическое продление. Из этих трех “знамен” $\kappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$ (по-церковнославянски чашька) появляется в Киевских листках именно на долгих гласных, $\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ только на ударяемых гласных (помимо сочетаний гласных букв, где этот знак теряет свою музыкально-просодическую функцию, приобретая роль чисто графического сигнала), и наконец $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ падает только на безударные конечные гласные. Церковнославянская музыкальная номенклатура перевела оба греческих адъективных термина субстантивным олицетворением качественных признаков: $\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ — стрѣла, $\beta\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ — палька.

Мы умышленно подчеркиваем двусторонний, музыкальный и просодический, характер этих знаков в Киевском Миссале, потому что они строго считаются с просодическими элементами речи — ударением, безударностью и долготой, но в то же время сигнализируют данное просодическое свойство лишь тогда, когда этого требует музыкально-ритмическая структура. В этом отношении надстрочные знаки Киевских листков особенно близки именно к византийским принципам. Исходный пункт разысканий Кошмидера — его неверие в просодическую обоснованность надстрочных знаков Киевского Миссала — решительно расходится с очевидными фактами. Стихотворный перевод и нотация, вероятно, генетически сопряжены, и ни в том, ни в другом случае греческий пример не подлежит сомнению. Для восприемника

³⁷ *Slovo a slovesnost*, I, 51 — ср. английский перевод, ниже, 350.

³⁸ E. Koschmieder, “Die vermeintlichen Akzentzeichen der Kiever Blätter”, *Slovo*, IV–V (Zagreb, 1955), 5–23.

³⁹ Ср. “The Slavic Response ***”, 258 — см. выше, 251.

византийского наследия *въспѣвати въ свои ѡзъкъ* само собой значило — петь в стихах.

Вопреки все усиливавшемуся латинскому нажиму на чешскую духовную жизнь, любой славянский молитвенный текст, связанный с Чехией десятого и одиннадцатого веков, несет на себе явно византийский отпечаток, и даже та церковнославянская песня, которая пережила разгром славянского богослужения, постигший чехов в конце одиннадцатого века, и осталась в мирском обиходе (*Господи помилюѣ ны*) связана и текстом, и напевом с греческой традицией.⁴⁰

Для церковнославянской поэзии, безразлично — переводной или же оригинальной, и все равно, с какого языка сделан перевод — с греческого либо с латинского, и к какому бы изводу ни принадлежал памятник, руководящим стимулом неизменно остается византийский художественный канон,⁴¹ и преуменьшать или вовсе отрицать значение этого импульса и в поэзии, и в церковной музыке, и в иконописи неменьший грех, чем обратные ошибочные представления о пассивной подражательности и рабской зависимости славянской письменности, в частности поэзии, от греческих образцов. Ярким примером, одновременно иллюстрирующим глубокую важность модели и ценность творческой вариации на заданную тему, может послужить византийский код в южнославянской или русской иконописи и притом ее бесспорная самобытность и мировая значимость. Отношение между византийским и средневековым славянским искусством хотелось бы сравнить с отношением между ирмосом и тропарями, стоящими и по своей внешней, и по внутренней форме в предписанной зависимости от ирмоса и как раз поэтому неизбежно взыскующими отличительной новизны. Именно в сложной игре сближений и отталкиваний между ирмосом и тропарями кроется великолепие искуснейших од, и в такой же игре коренится творческая автономия

⁴⁰ Ср. “О стихотворных реликтах раннего средневековья в чешской литературной традиции”, *Slavistična Revija*, III (1950), 267–273 — перепечатано ниже, 381 сл. К параллельному вопросу о церковнославянской песне в мирском обиходе Польши (см. *Slovo a slovesnost*, I, 52 сл. и 132 — ср. ниже, 351 сл.) я надеюсь вернуться в иной связи.

⁴¹ Ср. J. Vajs, *Mešni řád charvátsko-hlaholského Vatikánského misálu Illir. 4 a jeho poměr k moravsko-pannonskému sakramentáři stol. IX* (Praha, 1939), str. 3: “z překládu samého vane duch byzantsko-slovanský”.

и суверенное полноправие славянских провинций византийского искусства изобразительного и словесного.⁴²

Written in Cambridge, Mass., 1962, and first published in the *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Études byzantines*, VIII, dedicated to G. Ostrogorski (Belgrade, 1963), 153–166.

⁴² В вышеприведенных опытах метрической интерпретации церковнославянских стихотворных текстов задача сводилась к вскрытию силлабического размера, тогда как вопросы первоначального звучания стихов, не связанные с их силлабическим составом, были в этих опытах намеренно оставлены в стороне. Конечно, сущность стихосложения не ограничивалась одним изосиллабизмом, но для предварительной ориентировки в россыпях старославянской поэзии счет слогов служит наиболее надежным путеводным критерием.

СТИХОТВОРНЫЕ ЦИТАТЫ В ВЕЛИКОМОРАВСКОЙ АГИОГРАФИИ

Еще недавно среди ученых славистов были в ходу утверждения, что поэзия оставалась чужда старославянской да и позднейшей церковнославянской письменности. Точно так же в свое время зачастую отрицалось существование поэзии византийской. В ее сущность, напоминал Krumbacher, нельзя проникнуть с художественными критериями, унаследованными современностью от девятнадцатого века, “sei es nun vom romantischen oder vom realistischen Standpunkt: wer den Dichter will verstehen, muss in Dichters Lande gehen”.¹ Не только внутренняя форма византино-греческой и византино-славянской поэзии, но и самый стих ее долго оставался неопознанным.

Если в шестидесятых годах прошлого столетия кардинал Pitra с изумлением привел длинный список ученых, не приметивших ни строф, ни равносложных стихов в греческой церковной поэзии и считавших ее попросту прозой,² то та же оплошность значительно дольше и чаще повторялась в трудах по старославянской письменности. Богатейшая церковнославянская поэзия принималась за андерсеновского “гадкого утенка”, за диковинную, вычурную прозу. Не говоря уже о прочих просодических элементах, даже счет слогов упускался из виду, вопреки пунктуации древних рукописей, разоблачавшей метрическое членение текста.

Единичны были догадки филологов о стихотворном строе церковно-певческих текстов; первым привлек внимание исследователей книжный, декламационный метр дидактических и панегирических стихотворений — двенадцатисложный размер византийского образца, употреблявшийся в старославянской поэзии либо с обязательным словоразделом после пятого слога ($\frac{12}{2} - 1$), либо после пятого или седьмого слога ($\frac{12}{2} \pm 1$), либо вовсе без

¹ К. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur* (Мюнхен, 1897), стр. 690.

² J. V. Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'église grecque* (Рим, 1867), стр. 3 сл.

“цезуры”. Научной и художественной интуиции А. И. Соболевского мы обязаны за начальные наблюдения над этим размером и за первую смелую и плодотворную постановку вопроса о “церковно-славянских стихотворениях IX–X веков”.³ Почин Соболевского нашел даровитых и успешных продолжателей.

Среди исследований Райко Нахтигала, охватывающих разнообразнейшие области славянской филологии, одна из важнейших работ посвящена именно древнейшим образчикам двенадцатисложного стиха в старославянской письменности.⁴ Первое по времени место среди этих стихотворений занимает *Проглась*, художественное вступление к славянскому переводу Четвероевангелия, “klasičen proizvod starocerkvenoslovanske književnosti”, по справедливому отзыву исследователя, и один из замечательнейших памятников европейской дидактической поэзии раннего средневековья.

Затяжные споры об авторе *Прогласа* можно в настоящее время считать законченными.⁵ Языковой, стилистический и идеологический разбор этого стихотворения вскрывает его связь с литературной деятельностью Константина философа.⁶ Оно было сложено первоучителем по-славянски для его моравской паствы. В списках, дошедших до нас, как сербских, так и русских, оно служит предисловием к Четвероевангелию: надо полагать, что сызначала *Проглась* возглавлял славянский перевод Четвероевангелия, сделанный обоими солунскими братьями, как сообщает пространное Житие Мефодия (XV). Таким образом бывший профессор царьградского университета Константин был не только первым славянским вероучителем, проповедником, полемистом, богословом, философом, ученым основоположником славянского письма и письменности, но и первым писателем славянских стихов. Ученики моравской миссии отдавали себе в этом ясный отчет. Древнейшая служба св. Кириллу-Константину славит поэтическое

³ Первой из нескольких работ А. Соболевского по этим вопросам была статья “Стихотворения Константина Болгарского”, *Русский Филологический Вестник*. XII (1884), а его последний, сводный труд — “Древние церковно-славянские стихотворения IX–X веков”, *Сборник Отд. рус. яз. и слов. И. Ак. Наук*. LXXXVIII, No. 3 (1910).

⁴ R. Nahtigal. “Rekonstrukcija treh starocerkvenoslovanskih izvornih pesnitev”. *Razprave. Filoz.-filol.-hist. razred. Akademija znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani*, I (1943).

⁵ Ср. Е. Георгиев. Две произведения на св Кирила — *Studia historico-philologica Serdicensia*, suppl. II (1938); R. Jakobson. “St. Constantine’s Prologue to the Gospels”. *supra.*, pp. 191ff.

⁶ П. Лавров. *Материалы по истории возникновения древнейшей славянской письменности* (Ленинград. 1930). стр. 109.

дарование первоучителя. Цитирую ее севернорусский список XII века: “О оуме огньнь. о гласьна труба. о славию пѣснивыи. о ластовице глаголива. о языке слажи медоу въ притѣцахъ, Куриле премоудре.” Тесная связь Константина с греческой теорией и практикой поэзии литургической и книжной, его личная близость с выдающимися византийскими поэтами и его исключительная способность пересаживать эллинскую словесную культуру на славянскую почву были, без сомнения, благоприятными предпосылками для его моравских стихотворных опытов.

Старославянское пространное житие Константина философа приводит несколько цитат из его поэтического наследия. Если эти стихи действительно принадлежат Константину, то надо полагать, что по крайней мере те из них, которые возникли до его моравской миссии, были первоначально написаны по-гречески, а затем переведены на старославянский язык либо самим первоучителем либо автором жития. Как было недавно доказано, славянский текст жития был написан между 870 и 882 годом;⁷ следовательно славянские стихи, вкрапленные в житие Константина, являются подлинными образчиками великоморавской поэзии.

Согласно житию (III), юный Константин “похвалѣ написа свѣтому Григорию”. Н. С. Трубецкой⁸ определил стихотворную форму этой Похвалы. Она включает семь строк (сакральное число, играющее значительную роль в житии Константина).⁹ Начальная, средняя и конечная строки насчитывают по семнадцати (7 + 10), а остальные по шестнадцати (5 + 11) слогов: 17 + 2·16 + 17 + 2·16 + 17. Подобно первому полустушию — пятисложному или семисложному, первый член второго полустушия, в свою очередь, содержит нечетное число слогов: семь в первой и шестой строке, пять в остальных. Семисложные сегменты характерны и для греческих гимнов самого Григория Богослова.¹⁰

Сравнение русских и южнославянских списков жития позволяет точно восстановить первоначальный текст Похвалы:

Григоріе тѣломь / чловѣче а доушеѣж / ан҃геле
ты во тѣломь / чловѣкъ сын / ан҃гелъ ѣви са

⁷ P. Meyvaert et Paul Devos, “Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la *Légende Italique* résolues grâce à un document inédit”, *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXIII (1955).

⁸ N. S. Trubetzkoy, “Ein altkirchenslavisches Gedicht”, *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, XI (1934).

⁹ J. Vašica, “Život sv. Cyrila”, *Na úsvitu křest'anství* (Praha, 1942), стр. 243.

¹⁰ W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, II (Berlin, 1905), стр. 50.

оуста во твоѣ / ѣко единъ / отъ серафимъ
 бога прославлѣжтъ / и весь миръ / просвѣщажтъ
 правъа вѣрѣ / казаньемъ / тѣмъ же и мене
 припадающъ / къ тебѣ любѣвижъ / и вѣрожъ
 прими и вѣди ми / просвѣтитель / и оучитель.

Гривец указал на тесную связь и глубокое символическое значение двух мотивов в третьей главе пространного жития, повествующей о юных годах Константина: “izvolitev Sofije-Modrosti za nevesto in izvolitev sv. Gregorija Nazianškega za zaščitnika”.¹¹

Если избрание Григория Богослова нашло себе выражение в стихотворной цитате, то избрание Софии в свою очередь ознаменовано библейской притчей (7:4)¹² в вольной стихотворной парафразе, сложенной размером 2 (7+5):

Ръци же прѣмъдрости / сестра ми вѣди
 а мѣдрость знаемъ / себѣ сътвори.

Обе приведенные цитаты возглашают начало творческого пути Константина; конец этого пути, символизируемый предсмертным принятием иноческого имени Кирилл, снова побуждает автора жития выделить этот знаменательный этап двумя стихотворными фрагментами. Глава XVIII начинается с рассказа о том, как постигнутый смертельным недугом Константин “начать пѣти сице”: следует стихотворная парафраза псалма 121. 1:¹³

О рекъшихъ мнѣ внидемъ въ домъ господень
 възвесели сѧ доухъ мой и сръдце обрадова сѧ.

Эти восемнадцатисложные стихи находят себе немало параллелей в старославянской поэзии, как например:

Анѣли възигранте сѧ радоуите сѧ земляни
 и тръжьствоуите радостно ѣко Христосъ възскресе

(Пасхальный канон)¹⁴

¹¹ F. Grivec, “Zaroka sv. Cirila s Sofijo-Modrostjo”, *Bogoslovni Vestnik*, XV (Ljubljana, 1935), стр. 81.

¹² Ср. П. Лавров, *Кирило та Методій в давньо-словянському письменстві* = *Збірник історично-філол. відділу Укр. Акад. Наук*, LXXVIII (1928), стр. 319.

¹³ Ср. К. Horálek, “Studie o slovanském verši”, *Sbornik filologický*, XII (1946), стр. 270.

¹⁴ Р. Якобсон, “Заметка о древнеболгарском стихосложении”, *Известия Отд. рус. яз. и слов. Росс. Ак. Наук*, No. 2 (1922), стр. 352.

Источникъ еси по истинѣ отъче Иоане

(Стихи в честь Иоана Дамаскина)¹⁵

Пропев эти стихи, Константин, накануне превращения в инока Кирилла, “всела са” глаголет прощальную молитву, сложенную размером 4 (6 + 6):

Отъселѣ нѣсмь / азъ ни цѣсарю
 слоуга ни иномоу / комоуже на земли
 нъ тѣкѣмо богоу / вседръжителю
 и вѣхъ и есмь / въ вѣкы аминь.¹⁶

В пространным житии Константина заключительной главе о его кончине (XVIII) предшествуют главы о славянской деятельности первоучителя (XIV до XVII). Эти главы кончаются римским приением Константина с жидовином о древних пророчествах пришествия Иисусова. Характерно, что схожим мотивом кончается и первая, внеславянская часть жития (II–XIII). По рассказу тринадцатой главы, философ впервые прочел и перевел (“прочте и съказа”) стихи (они названы “грани”, а в древнерусской рукописи “стиси”), написанные еврейскими и самаританскими буквами на чаше царя Соломона, хранившейся в константинопольском храме св. Софии, а затем он разъяснил значение этой надписи — пророчество пришествия Иисусова.

Таким образом в житии Константина его славянская миссия получила то же знаменательное пророческо-мессианское обрамление, которое было дано им в начальных строках вступления к славянскому Четвероевангелию:

Прогласть есмь / свѣтоу евангелию
 чѣко пророци / прорекли сътъ прѣжде
 Христъ грядетъ / азъкы съвѣрати
 свѣтъ во естъ / всемоу мироу семоу
 се са съвѣстѣ / въ седмъи вѣкѣ съ.

¹⁵ В. Ягич, *Рассуждения южнославянской и русской старины о церковнославянском языке = Исследования по русскому языку. Отд. рус. яз. и слов. И. Ак. Наук, I* (1885–1895), стр. 972.

¹⁶ Так я читал последний стих в своих брненских лекциях о церковнославянской эпохе чешской литературы придерживаясь русской версии жития (ср. П. Лавров, *Материалы ...* стр. 34), тогда как К. Hořálek опирается на его южнославянскую версию и читает: не бѣхъ и быхъ / и есмь въ вѣкы (l. c.).

Житие приводит текст апокрифической надписи в несомненно стихотворной старославянской передаче греческого перевода, сделанного Константином. Силлабическая форма этой надписи особенно легко поддается восстановлению, так как ее текст сохранился не только в русских и южнославянских списках жития,¹⁷ но и отдельно в целом ряде русских вариантов, частью более древних, чем дошедшие до нас рукописи жития.¹⁸ Текст надписи неизменно разделен на три четверостишия; из них последние два силлабически тождественны: 2 (8 + 10) + 2(10 + 9 + 12 + 9). В каждой строфе игра параномасий, характерная для энigmatических стихов: *прорицан — пиво — пръвеньцоу; вѣди — вѣдѣцю; пини — вѣзъпини; Давидъ — девѣтъ.*

Чаша моѣ чаша моѣ
прорицан донѣдеже звѣзда
въ пиво вѣди господи
пръвеньцоу вѣдѣцю ноциѣ

На вѣкоушение господне
сътворена дрѣва иного
пини и оупини сѣ веселиемъ
и вѣзъпини алилоуѣ

И се кѣназь и оузъритъ
вѣсь сѣньмъ славѣ его
и Давидъ цѣсарь посрѣдѣ ихъ
девѣтъ сѣтъ и девѣтъ.

Итак стихами введены в житии три важнейших фазы в духовном пути Константина: начало его подвижничества, вершинное деяние — просвещение славян, и наконец освобождение от мирских тревог.

Вкратце сообщив о том, как Константин нашел мощи св. Климента, девятая глава пространного жития отсылает читателя к собственному рассказу философа об этом событии: “ѣкоже пишеть въ обрѣтении его” (IX). В свою очередь современник Константина,

¹⁷ Лавров, *Материалы* ..., стр. 26, 59.

¹⁸ А. Петров, *Апокрифическое пророчество царя Соломона о Христе, находящееся в пространном житии св. Константина, по списку XIII века* = *Памятники древней письменности*, CIV (1894); И. Срезневский, *Сведения и заметки о малоизвестных и неизвестных памятниках*, No. XL (СПб. 1867); И. Порфирьев, *Апокрифические сказания о ветхозаветных лицах и событиях по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки* = *Сборник Отд. рус. яз. и слов. И. Ак. Наук*, XVII, No. 1 (1877), стр. 240; В. Ламанский, “Славянское житие св. Кирилла как религиозно-эпическое произведение и как исторический памятник”, *Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения*, ССCLIII (1904), стр. 154 сл.

римский библиотекарь Анастасий, свидетельствует в письме епископу Гаудериху, что эту чудесную находку *philosophus in historica narratione descripsit*. Анастасий извещает епископа, что он перевел с греческого языка на латинский и *brevem historiam* (или *historiolam*), и второе произведение Константина, посвященное Клименту, — *sermonem declamatorium*, тогда как третий памятник того же цикла ему не удалось перевести: “Ceterum, quae idem mirabilis vere philosophus in huius honorabilium inventionem reliquiarum solemniter ad hymnologicon Dei omnipotentis edidit, Graecorum resonant scolae *** Sane rotulam hymni quae et ad laudem Dei et beati Clementis idem philosophus edidit, idcirco non transtuli, quia, cum latine translatur, hic pauciores, illic plurales syllabas generatum esset nec aptam nec sonoram cantus harmoniam redderet.”¹⁹

Ни одно из этих сочинений Константина не дошло до нас в греческом оригинале. Зато сохранилась в русских рукописях XVI века т. н. Корсунская легенда об обретении мощей св. Климента. Хотя она известна лишь в поздних списках, ее лексикальный, грамматический и стилистический разбор позволил исследователям с уверенностью отнести памятник к великоморавской эпохе церковнославянской письменности.²⁰ Писцы московской Руси сохранили даже заглавие легенды — “Слово на пренесение мощемь преславнаго Климента, историчьскую имуще бесѣду”. Иными словами, до нас дошло в старославянской переработке риторическое “слово” (*sermo*) Константина, к которому оказалось присовокуплено его же другое сочинение, *narratio historica* (“историчьская бесѣда”). Мало того, в старославянский памятник вошли, как отметил уже Франко, и цитаты из Константинова гимна св. Клименту. Полностью оправдалась догадка Брюкнера: “Dieser

¹⁹ П. Лавров, *Жития херсонских святых в греко-славянской письменности = Памятники христианского Херсонеса*, II (Москва, 1911), стр. 142. Ср. J. Friedrich, “Ein Brief des Anastasius Bibliothecarius an den Bischof Gaudericus von Velletri über die Abfassung der *Vita cum translatione s. Clementis Papae*. Eine neue Quelle zur Cyrillus- und Methodius-Frage”, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. hist. Cl. der k. b. Ak. d. Wiss. zu München* (1892), No. 3.

²⁰ Исследованию Корсунской легенды положил начало И. Франко в книге *Св. Климент у Корсуні* (Львов, 1905); ср. авторское резюме “Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der cyrillo-methodianischen Legenden”, *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, XXVIII (1906). Дальнейшие комментаторы успешно поработали над изучением словарного состава легенды и особенно над критикой и реконструкцией ее текста: П. Лавров, *Жития херсонских святых ...*; N. van Wijk, “О языке Слова на перенесение мощей св. Климента”, *Byzantinoslavica*, I (1929); Ю. Трифионов, “Две съчинения на Константина Философа (св. Кирила) за мощите на св. Климента Римски”, *Списание на Българската Академия на Науките*, XLVIII (1934); J. Vašica, “Slovo na prenesenie moštem preslavnago Klimenta neboli Legenda chersonská”, *Acta Academiae Velehradensis*, XIX (1948).

slavische Text enthält die historiola, den sermo declamatorius und Teile des Klemenshymnus Konstantins, die Bibliothekar Anastasius einzeln erwähnt, zusammen verarbeitet.”²¹

Трудно сказать, была ли выполнена славянская сводка греческой трилогии Константина самим автором или кем-либо из его моравских учеников. Во всяком случае, встает вопрос, как справился переводчик стихов гимна с греческого на славянский с тою задачей, которая заставила Анастасия вовсе отказаться от их латинского перевода из боязни поступиться силлабическим размером подлинника. Песнопения четко выделены в тексте Корсунской легенды. Повествование повторно и тщательно оговаривает “пѣсни начати”. “Молитвенна пѣснь” играет чуть ли не главную, чудодейственную роль в каждом этапе благочестивой экспедиции: воистину искатели мощей “идоша пѣсньными пѣнии”.

Наиболее благоприятными условиями обставлена реконструкция первого песнопения: оно дошло до нас в двух ранних македонских списках: 1. В календаре Охридского апостола (О), списанном в конце XII века с древнего глаголического оригинала и воспроизводящем тот календарь, который, “вероятно, сложился в моравской церкви в эпоху Кирилла и Мефодия”;²² 2. В составе службы св. Клименту и царю Петру (П), по рукописи XIII–XIV века.²³ При последовательном сравнении всех вариантов явственно выступает первоначальная стихотворная форма: из девяти стихов первые восемь следуют схеме 2 (2·16 + 2·15), а последний (девятый) повторяет шестнадцатисложный размер первого стиха. Невольно бросается в глаза сходство с Похвалой Константина Григорию Богослову. Сакральной девятке соответствует сакральная семерка, чередованию шестнадцати и пятнадцати слогов чередование семнадцати и шестнадцати, схеме 2 (2·16 + 2·15) + 16 эквивалентна схема 2 (17 + 2·16) + 17.

Не отврати насъ посрамленѣиныхъ Клименте
вѣроу припадающе къ твоему гробу свате
нѣ прими рабъ си сръдѣца пристѣпающе
раце сватѣи твоихъ мощи молаше са
ѣко да влаженѣиныхъ и щедрѣиныхъ твоихъ
оулоучимъ насладити са стадоу твоему хризмы

²¹ A. Brückner, *Die Wahrheit über die Slavenapostel* (Tübingen, 1913), стр. 8.

²² С. Кульбакин, *Охридская рукопись апостола конца XII века* (София, 1904), стр. 106 и СХХХХV.

²³ И. Иванов, *Български старини из Македония* (София, 1931), стр. 392.

БОГОУ ДАЖЦЮ ВЪРЪНЪИМЪ ИЦЪЛЕНИЕ
 И ГРЪХОМЪ²⁴ ОСТАВЛЕНИЕ И ОЧИЩЕНИЕ
 МОЛИТВАМИ ТВОИМИ СЛАВЬНЕ ВЕЛИЖЪ МИЛОСТЬ.

В прочих песнопениях труднее восстановить “гранеса” (как стихи именуются в этом памятнике), так как приходится пользоваться только поздними русскими чтениями. Тем не менее размер второй песни — четыре одиннадцатисложных стиха — не вызывает сомнений:

О ОТЬЧЕ ВЪСТЪ БОГЪ СЛАВНО
 ПРОСВѢТИТИ БЛАГОДѢТНЪ ДОУША
 ЖЕЛАЖШИИМЪ СЛАДЪКА СВѢТА
 МОЛИТВАМИ СВАТАГО КЛИМЕНТА.

Реконструкция дальнейших песнопений Корсунской легенды даст, надеемся, более положительные результаты, когда совместными усилиями музыкологов и филологов будет подвергнута систематическому обследованию история славянской литургической поэзии в свете новейших разысканий о музыкальном и словесном ритме византийских церковно-певческих форм.²⁵ Немало неожиданных находок и открытий ждет научных работников на этом пути. Стихосложение великоморавских памятников книжной и литургической поэзии, развитие обоих жанров в Болгарии X века, духовное песнопение в Чехии X и XI столетий, судьба старославянского стиха у сербов и хорватских глаголитов, наконец эволюция литургического творчества на Руси, таковы насущные вопросы, стоящие перед историком церковнославянского словесного искусства; и почти всё это — непочатый край для стиховеда.²⁶ Византийско-славянский мир искусств, открывший нам великолепие живописи, ваяния и зодчества, дает наконец ключи к тайникам своей музыки и поэзии.

Written in 1954, and published in *Slavistična Revija* X, dedicated to Rajko Nahtigal (Ljubljana, 1957).

²⁴ О: грѣхомъ; П: грѣхоу; возможно, что следует принять чтение русских списков: грѣховъ — ср. P. Diels, *Alt kirchenslavische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1932), стр. 156.

²⁵ Ср. С. Нøeg, “The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music”, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIX (1954).

²⁶ Предварительный обзор старославянской поэзии и ее дальнейших судеб был дан автором этих строк в докладе “Early Slavic Poetry and Its Byzantine Background” (Symposium on Byzantium and the Slavs at Dumbarton Oaks, 24 IV 1952); см. статью “The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry”, *выше*, стр. 240 сл.

SKETCHES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE OLDEST
SLAVIC HYMNODY: COMMEMORATION OF
CHRIST'S SAINT AND GREAT MARTYR DEMETRIUS

CANON

I.

1. From cruel mist of ignorance cleanse us by thy prayers, for thou art the lover of the fatherland, wise Demetrius! Allow us to glorify thy luminous festival on this day!

2. Thy marvelous miracles were told even in palaces, for thou hast destroyed the barbarians who intruded into the city of Amastris, the estate of Christ, the Sovereign: hence, He createth a church for thee.

3. Wisdom, having drawn from the heavenly beverage, did greatly enlighten thee and revealed thee as the image of beauty: O Demetrius, it gave thee, glorious lover of the fatherland, as a help to glorious Salonika. THEOTOKION: To Her, the divine chamber, which did bear Christ the bridegroom who called all the faithful to the heavenly chamber, let us render praise to Mary, begging entrance into the heavenly chamber!

III.

1. Having from infancy learned supreme wisdom, thou, in youth, O most wise one, hast alike gained the crown, thou also hast been pierced by a spear in brave likeness to Christ born from the Virgin.

2. As a citizen of the thrice-luminous Trinity, thou too appearedst threefold to us: glorious before thy Passions, complaisant in thy exploit, and after thy murder, pleasing by thy miracles, O most blessed one.

3. While pierced by the spear, Demetrius, thou wast joyously crying unto Christ: "For everything done, what shall I render unto Thee who wast pierced through the ribs for my sake, unless now by my own martyrdom I drink down the divine cup?"

THEOTOKION: Isaiah, the fiery mind, taught: Thou, the most Pure, art a rod of Jesse that for those of good faith hath bloomed the blossom which drives out all the stinking odor left from the original mother.

ПАМѦТЬ СВѦТААГО И ВЕЛИКААГО МЖЧЕНИКА ХРИСТОВА ДЪМИТРИЪ

КАНОНЪ

I.

1. Отъ мгылы лютыѧ и невѣждьствиѣ очисти ны, ѣко сый отъчстволюбыць, мѣдре дѣмитрие, молитвами си! Дажь въспѣвати свѣтлое твое трѣжество въ дньшньи днь!

2. Речена бышѧ дивна и въ варьхъ твоѣ чюдеса, варьвары бо погоуби пришьдшѧ на достоѣние христа твоего владыкы, на градъ амастридьскъ: тѣмъже ти цркъвь зиждеть.

3. Вельми просвѣтила естъ и красьнообразьно показа мѣдрость чръпавъши пива небесьнааго: тѧ, дѣмитрие, дасть помощьника, отъчстволюбыца славьна, селоуню славьноуоумоу.

ТНЕОТОКИОН: Чрътогъ божьствьныи, ѣко рожьдши жениха христа, призьвавъшааго всѧ вѣрныѧ къ чрътоагоу небесьноуоумоу, мариѣ въсхвалимъ, просѧще въхождениѣ въ чрътогъ небесьныи.

III.

1. Наоучь сѧ измлада прѣмѣдрости, подобьно сътвори, прѣмѣдре, въ юнотьствѣ вѣнць и копиемъ бодомъ, ѣко подобьникъ храбрь христу рожьдшюоумоу сѧ отъ дѣвы.

2. Троици трьсвѣтлѣи ѣко гражданинъ и трьгоубъ ѣви сѧ намъ: пръвѣе мѣкъ славнъ и въ подвижѣ оугодьникъ и по оумрътвии оугодьнъ твоими чюдеса, прѣблажене.

3. Копиемъ бодомъ ты, дѣмитрие, въпиѣаше веселѧ сѧ христу: “что за всѣ принесѧ ти прободеноуоумоу въ ребра мене ради, нъ мжчениемъ моимъ божиѣ чашѣ нынѣ испиѣ!”

ТНЕОТОКИОН: Огньныи оумъ исайѣ наоучи жьзль тѧ, прѣчистаѣ, иосѣовъ процвьтъшь цвѣтъ благовѣрнымъ, прогонащъ всѣхъ вонѣ смрадьнѣхъ и прабабьнѣхъ.

IV.

1. Thus, thou wast enlightened by the Spirit, as the blessed Isaiah writes, more luminous than untried stones and gold, both from Ophir: hence thy city revereth thee.

2. As Solomon cried while gloriously singing in the Canticles, thou, O saint, appearedst, having sucked the old doctrine and the new, O blessed one, as from the breasts of Christ.

3. That one who, like thee, while seeking the Lord, heard Him at the entrance, said, "My soul went out for His sake": hence, Demetrius, thou followedst Him in ardent love.

4. Knowing thee, O Christ's martyr, enamored as thou art, thy whole city praiseth thee now, celebrating this day the luminary of Thessalonica in thy luminous festival, O glorious one.

THEOTOKION: Thou, who didst bear in flesh all sweetness and beauty, O most Pure, sweeten the benighted who are now in the bitterness of cruel sins and enlighten them with Thy prayers!

V.

1. Thy land, knowing thee as a new Moses who hast struck the idolatrous perfidy and reverently introduceth thy people, O blessed one, to the eternal abodes, revereth thee today in worthy celebration.

2. O brave one, thou appearedst in commandment higher than Joshua of old, Moses' minister, since not only didst thou conquer in all battles like him, but also from above thou hast performed mighty miracles and guarded thy fatherland.

3. O Demetrius, thou appearedst greater than Samson and also than Gideon by thy courage, and youthful as thou wast in might, O wise one, delivering thy city from the swarm of foes and from the barbarian malice.

THEOTOKION: O Virgin, who didst bear the deliverance of the tongues, now give to those who call thee by their faith both deliverance from transgressions and cheerfulness, O Pure One, driving off barbarian horrors, O Undeiled One!

VI.

1. Standing about thy saintly temple, the faithful venerate thee, saying in compliance with Isaiah's precept of yore: "The abodes of the saints are on eternal foundations."

2. Knowing thee, O blessed one, to be a heavenly citizen, as the glorious

IV.

1. Се ты просвьтъ сѧ, ѣкоже пишеть блаженыи исаиѣ, доухомъ, паче свѣта сѧ камениѣ и отъ оуфира же злата неискоусяна; тѣмъже градъ твой чьтеть тѧ.

2. Ёкоже възьпи, свѣте, славнѣ поѧ солломонъ въ пѣниихъ, ты же ѣви сѧ ѣко съсѣцю христовоу ветъха и нова же, блажене, съсавъ оучениѣ.

3. Къто же, ѣко оуслыша ты възискаѧ въходомъ господа, рече: “изиде доуша моѣ его ради!”, тѣмъже теплоѧ, дьмитрие, томоу послѣдова любвиѧ.

4. Сиче възлюбльшь, мѣчениче христовъ, весь градъ твой свѣдѣи хвалить тѧ нынѣ, праздноу свѣтло еесалоникии дньсь въ свѣтлѣ ти тръжьствѣ, славне.

ТНЕОТОКИОН: Рождши плтьиѧ сладость весьѧ и красотѧ, прѣчистаѣ, сжщѧ въ горести нынѣ лютыхъ грѣхъ, омраченѧ оуследи и молитвами твоими просвѣти.

V.

1. Нова тѧ свѣдѣжши землѣ твоѣ ѣко мосеа, славне, поражьшь льсть идольскѧ и люди своѧ въ вѣчныѧ обитѣли, блажене, въводѧщъ, чьстьно дньсь чьтеть тѧ, достойно славащи.

2. Вышнѣи ѣви сѧ воеводствомъ, храбъре, древнѣаго исоуса, мосеова отрока, весьѧ брани не ѣко тѣ побѣждаѧ, чюдеса же паче сильна съвыше ѣвлѣѧ и хранѧ отъчьство си.

3. Велии ѣви сѧ паче сампсона, дьмитрие, еще же и гедсона мжжствомъ и сы юнѣ крѣпостиѧ, градъ си избавлѣѧ, мжде, роѣ противьныхъ и зьлобы варьварьскыѧ.

ТНЕОТОКИОН: Дѣво ѣко рождши ѧзыкомъ избавление, даждь вѣроѧ въпиѧщимъ прѣгрѣшении избавление нынѣ и радование, чиста, страсти отьгонѧщи варьварьскы, непорочнаѣ.

VI.

1. Храмъ твой свѣтыи обьстоѧще, въ памѣти исаиевѣ бывъши вѣрнѣи, глагольще — “въ вѣчныхъ основаниихъ домове свѣтыхъ” — тѧ почитаѧтъ.

2. Небесьнааго свѣдѣи тѧ гражданина, блажене, градъ твой

Paul teacheth, thy city luminously revereth thee and magnifieth this day thy glory, O glorious one.

3. Youthful as thou wast in grace, O blessed one, thou didst go in the footsteps of Christ, and as Solomon singeth of ointment, thou too appearedst, reverently offering fragrance unto thy city.

THEOTOKION: Knowing Thee to be the haven, O Virgin, all of us laboring cruelly in life's bitterness beg by our faith to attain calm from Thee, O Undeiled One!

VII.

1. Thy venerable lips drop wisdom like honey, as Solomon sang, for indeed thou hast learned to cry: Fathers' glorified Lord and God, blessed art Thou!

2. The Creator, in supreme glory, has tried thee like silver and like gold of Uphaz, and, thou glorious one, He revealed thee to be most luminous in thy martyrdom; hence, rejoicing, we sing: Fathers' glorified Lord and God, blessed art Thou!

3. As the Spirit cried in the Canticles, the mighty tower of David, thy majestic neck has been adorned with thousands of spiritual shields; hence thou appearedst a shielder of the worshipers and a guardian of thy city.

4. Now, on the glorious day, let us exult luminously, O lovers of the festival, reverently cleansing our minds and all singing unto Christ: Fathers' glorified Lord and God, blessed art Thou!

THEOTOKION: The whole world could not contain That One whom Thou, O most Pure, containedst in Thy womb, but revering Thy nativity by our firm faith, let us appear immune from worldly onslaught through Thy prayers, Eternal Virgin!

VIII.

1. Having armed Nestor with faith, thou hast sent him, O wise Demetrius, against the combative Lyaeus, who, vanquished, appeared to be the image of the invisible Serpent; hence, we faithfully sing: Exalt ye the deeds of the Lord and extol him unto the ages!

2. When thou heardst, O most blessed one, from the angel about the foreign devastation of thy fatherland, thou criedst unto thy Creator, saying; "If it is by saving it that thou savest me, I am joyous, O merciful one." Thus, O martyr, Christ gave thee thy city safe unto the ages.

3. We cry to thee, O blessed one: "Save us who glorify thy memory by our faith!", and thereupon we pray: "Save thy slaves, Demetrius, from

свѣтло чѣтетъ тѧ, ѣкоже оучить павѣль славньни, и величить дньсь славѧ твоѧ, славьне.

3. Юнь, блажене, сѣи благодатиѧ, въ слѣдъ христа ходилъ еси: ѣкоже солонь поеть масть, тѣмъже ѣви сѧ, благожхание да чѣстьно своему градуу.

ТНЕОТОКІОН: Пристанище тѧ свѣдѣще, дѣво, троуждаѣще сѧ лютѣ ѣко въ горести житиистѣи, вси тишины просимъ отъ тебе обрѣсти вѣроѧ, непорочнаѣ.

VII.

1. Истачаета ѣко медь чѣстьнѣи твои оустнѣи мѣдрость, ѣко солонь въспѣтъ, ѣвѣ бо наоучи сѧ въпити: прѣпѣтѣи иже отцемъ господь и богъ, благословленъ еси!

2. Искоуси тѧ зиждитель прѣславнѣи, ѣкоже сѣребро и ѣкоже злато оуфазьско, прѣсвѣтѣла тѧ ѣви въ мѣчении, славьне; тѣмъже веселѣще сѧ поемъ: прѣпѣтѣи иже отцемъ господь богъ, благословленъ еси!

3. Ёкоже възпи доухъ въ пѣниихъ, стлѣпъ давидовъ крѣпкъ, выѣ твоѣ дръжавьна тысѣщами оукраи сѧ шиты доуховьными; тѣмъже ѣви сѧ защитѣникъ поѣщимъ и хранитель градуу своему.

4. Въ славньни днь нынѣ, празднолюбѣи, свѣтло възиграимъ, оумы своѧ чѣстьно очищаѣще и поѣще вси христосоу: прѣпѣтѣи иже отцемъ господь и богъ, благословленъ еси!

ТНЕОТОКІОН: Не вѣмѣсти всь миръ, егоже вѣмѣсти въ чрѣвѣи своемъ, прѣчиста, нѣ чѣтѣщей рождѣство твое тврьдоѧ вѣроѧ, да ѣвимъ сѧ отъ напасти мирьныѧ неврѣдими молитвами твоими, приснодѣво!

VIII.

1. Нестора оуорѣжъ вѣроѧ, на люѣ борѣща сѧ посылалъ еси, егоже и побивъ, образъ ѣвлѣвъшь невидимааго змиѣ, мѣдре дѣмитрие; тѣмъже поемъ вѣрно: господа въспѣвайте дѣла и прѣвѣзносите его въ вѣкы!

2. Ты егда оуслыша, прѣблажене, отъ анѣла отъчѣствоу си разорение странно, възпи глагола къ зиждителю си: “аще съпасаемому съпасеши мѧ, радъ есмь, милостиве!” тѣмъже дасть мѣчениче цѣль градъ твои христосъ въ вѣкы.

3. Въпиемъ ти, блажене: съпаси ны вѣроѧ поѣща твоѧ памѣтъ!, еще же и молаще сѧ: съпаси рабы своѧ отъ напасти, дѣмитрие,

onslaughts now approaching!” — Exalt ye the deeds of the Lord and extol Him unto the ages!

4. Let us praise, crying praisingly, the luminary of Thessalonica, since this day the majestic horn of Demetrius lighted the luminous festival; and also let us dance, praising the Lord without rest and extolling Him unto the ages!

THEOTOKION: Thou, O Virgin, appearedst as the rod of Aaron, the high priest, lighting Thy hallowed offspring who is awesome to everyone and who most wisely introduceth into the Holy of Holies not only once — according to the law — the priest alone, but henceforth the multitude of the faithful, toward the divine perfection.

IX.

1. Standing luminously before the divine throne, O wise Demetrius, do not forget us, but now pray reverently, O saint, for our alien afflictions, while, glorifying thy magnificent deeds, we look in firm hope to thy prayers!

2. Hear, O glorious one, thy paupers and be moved, for we have been separated, staying far from thy luminous temple, and our hearts burn inside: we are longing, O saint, for thy church, and to worship there once again through thy prayers!

3. Why, O wise one, are we alone, thy beggarly slaves, deprived of thy beauty, we who for the sake of the Creator’s love wander through strange lands and towns, O blessed one, having become warriors for the humiliation of the cruel trilinguals and heretics?

4. Rush, O blessed one, and hasten this day to take thy commandment, trampling the perfidy of the trilinguals and, in the midst of barbarians, reverently guarding us who are of thy fatherland, O saint! — and swiftly show the way to the reverend, unswerving haven of Christ!

TRIADIKON: O Trinity without beginning, before whom the angels and the frightful seraphim tremble, give to us who praise Thee now by our faith both hope and love inseparable, thus showing the way to the kingdom of God, through the prayers of Thy martyr and our city’s firm intercessor!

градѣщихъ нынѣ! господа въспѣвайте дѣла и прѣвъзнесите его въ вѣкы!

4. Въсхвалимъ, въпиѣще похвально, свѣтло ѳесалоникии и ликоуимъ же ѣко въсиѣ рогъ дрѣжавнъ дѣмитриеви дньсь свѣтло празднѣство, господа хвалаще непрѣстаньно и прѣвъзносяще его въ вѣкы!

ТНЕОТОКИОН: Жьзль аронъ ты ѣви сѧ, дѣво, архиерѣа, въсиѣвъши въсѣмъ страшно сѧще порождение свѧщенно, въводащее въ свѧтаѣ свѧтыхъ прѣмѣдро не единомъ законно иерѣа единого, нъ множество вѣрныхъ на божие съврѣшение.

IX.

1. Прѣстолау божию свѣтло прѣдѣстоѧ, мѣдре дѣмитрие, не забѣди насъ, нъ чѣстьно моли сѧ о нашемъ окаѣнии страннѣемъ, свѧте, нынѣ помѣщимъ твоѣ величїѣ, ѣко възираемъ, надѣѣще сѧ тврѣдо на твоѣ мольбѣ!

2. Оуслыши, славне, нишаѧ твоѧ нынѣ и оумили сѧ, ѣко отѣлѣчихомъ сѧ, далече сѧще отъ свѣтла храма твоего, и горѧтъ вънѣтръ срдьца наша: желаемъ, свѧте, твоеѧ цркъве и поклонити сѧ къгда твоими молитвами!

3. По чѣто, мѣдре, нишии твои раби едни лишаемъ сѧ твоеѧ оубо красоты, любѣве ради зиждителѣ по тоуждимъ землѣмъ и градомъ ходаще, на посрамление, блажене, трѣѧзычникъ и еретикъ лють воины бываѣше?

4. Потѣши сѧ, блажене, вари дньсь воеводѣствомъ си, лѣсть попираѧ трѣѧзычникъ, чѣстьно ны сѧхранѣѧ въ варьварѣхъ, свѧте, сѧщаѧ отѣчѣства ти, и настави абие въ пристанище чѣстьное христосово невѣлаемое!

ТРИАДИКОН: Безначальнаѣ троїце, еѧже трепещѣтъ анѣли и страшнаѣ серафимъ, даждь хвалащимъ тѧ вѣрѣ, оупѣвание и любѣвь неразлѣчимѣѣ, къ цѣсарѣствоу божию наставлѣѣщи, мольбами нынѣ мѣченика ти и застѣпника тврѣда градуу нашему!

I. PREFATORY REMARKS

Among the few original canons in the bulk of numerous translations from Greek which fill the early Slavic *Menaia*, the so-called second canon to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, reproduced above in our tentative English translation, is unquestionably the senior one. Under October 26, the memorial day of the Greek martyr, the October *Minei*, copied in Novgorod, 1096, contain two different canons, both glorifying the same saint. The first of them (reproduced by Jagić, 1886, pp. 182–186) is a Church Slavonic translation of the corresponding canon in the Greek *Menaia*, whereas the second text has no Greek source: *Graece praesto non est*, as the editor states (see pp. 186 and 524). In his capital edition of the three dated codices which belong to the oldest Slavic set of *Menaia* manuscripts, Jagić (pp. 186–190) reprinted this obviously original Slavic canon from the Novgorod manuscript of 1096 (henceforth referred to under the abbreviation *J*); for paleographic data see p. IXff., and Pokrovskij (1916, p. 282) on this parchment volume as one of the earliest dated Novgorod writings. Also, the only two extant twelfth-century manuscripts of the Slavic October *Menaia*, both of them again of Novgorod origin (cf. Durnovo, 1927, p. 37f.), contain the same uncommon canon. Namely, this text occurs in the September–October *Menaia* from the Novgorod Cathedral of St. Sophia (further abbreviation *S*) and in the ten-month *Minei* which previously belonged — as observed by Pokrovskij (1916, p. 383) — to the Patriarch's library (abbreviation *P*). Jagić (1886) briefly describes these two manuscripts: *S* on p. XXXIVff. and *P* on p. XLIIff. The minute variants excerpted from *S* are cited in the editor's footnotes to *J*, while those from *P* are listed in the appendix to Jagić's volume (p. 259). The complete and exact text of this Demetrius canon in its *P* version appeared in Gorskij's posthumous bibliographic work (1917, pp. 21–25); the great advantage of this edition over Jagić's publication is the preservation of the authentic punctuation. The editorial footnotes to Durnovo (1927) indicate the later location of these three manuscripts: 1) *J* — Moscow, Central'nyj gosudarstvennyj arxiv drevnix aktov, Fond Sinodal'noj tipografii 381, No 121; 2) *S* — Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka im. Saltykova-Ščedrina; 3) *P* — Moscow, Istoričeskij muzej, No 435.

In addition to the Russian texts of this canon, at present we have at our disposal its Macedonian version (*M*), detected by Jordan Ivanov (1937) in the *Skopski minei*, a manuscript of the XIII century (on which see Conev, 1923, p. 52), later in Sophia, Državnata biblioteka Vasil Kolarov, No 522 (468). This variant, published by Angelov (1958*b*, pp. 26–33) is,

in turn, an important source for a painstaking textual criticism of all the existent variants and for a subsequent reconstruction of their common prototype.

Our tentative reconstruction published above, jointly with an English translation of the canon's original text, is based on a comparison of the extant variants, all of which are close to the common prototype. In this attempt and in all our quotations from the manuscript of this canon it is Trubetzkoy's principles (see 1968) that are applied in their main lines.

The striking difference between the two canons to the glory of Demetrius has been noticed by Slavic scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century. The first of these two texts (further on referred to as *FDC* — First Demetrius Canon) — like all the canons of the Slavic *Minei*, with very few exceptions — closely follows the model imposed by the Byzantine Menaia. Both the Greek eulogy of the Thessalonian martyr in the conventional canon by Theophanes nicknamed Graptos and its Church Slavonic rewording, *FDC*, lack local coloration and environmental traits, whereas the original Slavic canon to Demetrius (labeled *second canon* by Gorskij [1917, p. 21] and here referred to as *SDC* — Second Demetrius Canon) begins by applying to the extolled saint the quite uncommon compound *отъчъстволубьць*, a calque of the likewise unwonted *filopatris*, and by exalting him first and foremost as a zealous patriot (ode I. Тропаріон I. Ъко сѣи отъчъстволубьць), a mighty protector of his compatriot worshipers (see ode IX.4), and a glorious patriotic defender and guardian of his splendid home city: I.3 тѣ, дѣмитріе, дасть помощьника, отъчъстволубьца славьна, селоуню славьноуоумоу; VII.3 заштитникъ пощимъ и хранитель градоу своему. The name of “thy city” (IV.1. and 4; VI.2 градъ твои) is cited first (I.3) as селоунь, but further only in its Greek shape: IV.4 and VIII.4 свѣтло ѳесалоникии (dat.) “Thessalonica's light”. The entire canon finishes with the solemn recognition of “thy city” as “our city” under the sturdy defense of its patron saint — застѣпника тврѣда градоу нашему.

The designation of the city and the epithet of its savior are tied to each other by a paronomasia, Тврѣда градоу; cf. a similar figure in I.3 — Славьна Селоуню Славьноуоумоу. The Hellenistic variant of this urban name must also have arisen from paronomastic stimuli. As convincingly pointed out by Trubetzkoy (1954, p. 35f.), in the archaic Glagolitic spelling pattern, the graphic sign of the Slavic /t/ was used in borrowings from Greek to render both τ and θ, whereas the separate Glagolitic letter for the θ of Greek loanwords must have been introduced much later, “wahrscheinlich nach der Entstehung der Kyrillica” (cf. also

Diels, 1932, p. 45f.). Consequently, the nominal phrase of the jubilant Troparion in IV.4 (СВѢТЪЛО ТеСаЛЮНИККИ) forms a salient paronomasia with a further reinforcement in VIII.4: ТесаЛонИКИИ И ЛИКОуИмь.

II. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

A. V. Gorskij, an eminent professor of the Moscow Theological Academy and a keen expert in Church Slavonic writings, was the first to pay attention to *SDC*. His important paper of 1856 “On the Ancient Canons to Saints Cyril and Methodius”, better known to the scholarly world from the reprint in Pogodin’s *Sbornik* of 1865, devoted a few paragraphs (1856, p. 42f.; 1865a, p. 279f.) to *SDC*, stated its “complete difference” from *FDC*, and noted “the opportunity it gives us to heed the real voice of the Thessalonian preachers”.

In commenting on the striking paronomastic passage of the Canon to Cyril — СС III.1 Блажене СТРОУЪМИ ПРИТЪЧЪНЫИМИ ОУДАВИ ТРЪАЗЫЧЪНИКЫ, “blessed; by streams of parables thou suppressedst the trilinguals”, Gorskij adduced the appeal of *SDC* IX.3 to the blessed Demetrius — Блажене “blessed!” — against “the cruel trilinguals and heretics” (ТРЪАЗЫЧЪНИКЪ и еРЕТИКЪ лють). He quoted in extenso the second and third troparia of this final ode in their Church Slavonic text, translated them into modern Russian and concluded that not only the reference to the warfare with the “trilinguals”, but also the fact of being compelled by the love of the Creator to wander over strange lands and towns, and, finally, the poignant, nostalgic yearning for a return to the native city and for a new attendance of its splendid Demetrius temple — all these culminating motifs “fit as closely as can be to the state of the two Thessalonian brothers-missionaries and even, perhaps, to nobody else but to them”.

The entire text of *SDC* has been reproduced, as mentioned above (I), in the posthumous work of the same scholar with his introductory remark which once more underscores the biographic motifs of the final ode, but offers a somewhat tempered conclusion: “This canon in honor of Demetrius must have belonged to the time of activities developed either by the two Thessalonian natives, Cyril and Methodius, or by their disciples in Moravia or Bulgaria” (Gorskij, 1917, p. 21).

The invective against the “trilinguals” in *SDC*, first observed and pointed out by Gorskij (1856), actually does prove to be akin to the phraseology and ideology of ancient Cyrillo-Methodian sources. Thus, according to *Vita Constantini* XV.9, it was Cyril himself who applied the

derisive nicknames *трьязычници* and *пилатьни* to those who tolerated worship only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, those three “sacred” languages in which “Pilate had written the title of the Lord”. In *Vita Methodii* VI.3–4, with similar argumentation, the same two condemnatory sobriquets for the enemies of Slavic worship are even put into the pope’s mouth: *аже апостоликъ пилатьны и тръязычники нарекъ проклатъ*.

The noun *трьязычникъ* and the adjective *трьязычнь* hide a caustic ambiguity, since *язычникъ*, *язычнь* mean “pagan” and *трьязычникъ* may be apprehended as “thrice-pagan” like such compounds as *трьблаженъ* “thrice-blessed” and *трьсвятъ* “thrice-holy”. *VC* XV.8–9 compares Cyril’s feat with David’s triumph over foreign enemies and quotes the coinage *трьязычници* as a contemptuous designation launched by the Philosopher against the “Latin accomplices” (*латиньстии съпричастьници*) of the fiend: the devil himself, deliberately supplied with the attribute *трьклатый* “thrice-cursed”, is accused of inventing and spreading the trilingual fraud (XV.5–7).

As the subsequent chapter of *VC* (XVI.1) narrates, during Cyril’s stay in Venice, bishops, priests, and monks hostile to Slavic liturgy “assembled against him as ravens against the falcon and raised the trilingual heresy” *трьязычньжж ересь*; but he finished by humiliating them (XVI.59 *посрами*); cf. the allusion of *SDC* IX.3 to the fight for the humiliation of the trilinguals and heretics: *на посрамление тръязычникъ и еретикъ*. The phrase “trilingual heresy” is reiterated in Cyril’s parting prayer: (*VC* XVIII.7) *погоуби тръязычньжж ересь*.

The victorious Venetian discourse against the trilinguals and their forcible request for esoteric worship calls “barbarian” any ecclesiastical user or listener of unintelligible language (XVI.28): *аще не вѣмъ силы гласоу, бжѣдѣ глаголющюемоу ми варваръ и глаголаи мнѣ варваръ*. In a similar way, both terms and notions — “trilinguals” and “barbarians” — are confronted and juxtaposed in the concluding prayer to Demetrius (*SDC* IX.4): *лсть попираѣ тръязычникъ, чьстьно ны съхранѣа въ варварѣхъ, свѣте*.

Slogans reminiscent of Cyril’s and Methodius’ struggle against the trilingual heresy are found throughout the literary legacy of the Moravian mission. The panegyric — *Slovo pochval’no* — to the first teachers of Slavic people and language praises both of them, “всакоу мъглоу поганьскоую д[оу]ховьнымъ огньмъ попалающа и еретичьскоую *** тръязычникомъ зълбоу низложьша” (Lavrov, 1930, p. 84); *CC* III.1 *оудаи тръязычники* (*ibidem*, pp. 109, 118); cf. also *трьязычники правиши* (pp. 115, 118), VIII.3 *блѣди*

еретичьскыѧ роушитъ кънигами тръѧзычьники (p. 121). Finally, the fifth Friday service in the Slavic version of the Lent Triodion includes a stanza (*просѡмоіон, подоѡньнѧ*) which Tunickij (1913, p. 80) quotes from a twelfth-century Bulgarian manuscript of the Lent Triodion: “хотѧ свободити новозваныи ѧзыкъ, прогнавъ еретичьскѧѧ триѧзычьники. по землѣмъ и странамъ. сграсть приемлѧ оутѣш ны милостиве. Съхрани и оумножи возрасти ихже искоупи крѡвиѧ своеѧ честноѧ.”

In replying to A. D. Voronov's (1877) views of the allegedly original Old Church Slavonic writings as mere translations from Greek, I. I. Malyševskij (1877) resumed and developed Gorskij's interpretation of *SDC*. He declared that, for the history of the Thessalonian brothers, this original canon must be regarded as one of the primary sources and that, therefore, it calls for careful exploration (p. 798).

According to *VM* XV.1–3, on October 26th (apparently of the year 882; see Dvornik, 1933), after having completed the translation of the Bible from Greek into Slavic, Methodius with his clergy celebrated the memory of Demetrius, and this hagiographical account, interpreted by Malyševskij as a reference to the Slavic canon in honor of this saint, prompted this savant to raise the question whether *SDC* was composed toward or before this date, and to attribute the presumable authorship to Methodius.

Summing up the contributions of the first two scholars who approached this canon, Lavrov (1895, p. xvi) affirmed that *SDC*, a new proof of the martyr's fame in the Moravian mission, must have been composed by one of the Thessalonian brothers — either Cyril, as Gorskij reportedly surmised, or, according to Malyševskij, Methodius.

The latter's study provoked a detailed reply by A. D. Voronov (1878). The entire text of *SDC* was here published for the first time, and namely in the same version *P* which had been cited by Gorskij and Malyševskij. The most pertinent observations made by the learned editor (pp. 151, 153) concern the paraphrase of Solomon's Canticles in several troparia of *SDC*. The same unusual connections between a liturgical text and Canticles have been newly detected in *SDC* and interpreted by J. Vašica (1966*b*, p. 519*f.* and 1970), who was apparently unfamiliar with Voronov's paper of 1878. As to the latter's unfounded and violent surmises about the origin of *SDC*, they exerted no influence upon further inquiry into the same subject, and could hardly have been taken seriously. Voronov, p. 155*ff.*, resorted to a chain of arbitrary assumptions, mainly that this canon must have been translated from a totally unknown Greek original which might have been compiled at the

threshold of the ninth century by a Thessalonian native who supposedly was obliged to abandon his country under the threat of some heresy, etc. One must agree with Ohijenko (1928, p. 82) in his severe condemnation of Voronov's "chief argument", namely of the latter's whimsical effort to explain the term *трьѡзычьници* in *SDC* as a miscomprehension of the Greek *τρισεθνικοί* allegedly used in the imaginary Greek original to designate an utterly godless people.

Without entering into the question of where and when this Slavic canon had been composed, V. Jagić only asserted in his edition of the *Minei* that he was unable to find any Greek prototype of *SDC* (1886, pp. 186, 524).

All the numerous later notes and articles dealing with this song recognize its internal and chronological connection with the Cyrillo-Methodian background, but hesitations arise in assigning the creation of *SDC* to some stage of this trend. A. I. Sobolevskij (1900, p. 153) presumed that it had been compiled after Methodius' death by his persecuted disciples of apparently circum-Thessalonian origin (cf. also Tunickij, 1913, p. 79; Pavić, 1936, p. 82; Čyževs'kyj, 1955, p. 79; and Grivec & Tomšič, 1960, p. 234).

In a brief report on the previously unknown Middle-Macedonian text of *SDC* (see above, 1), Jordan Ivanov (1937) expressed his conviction that this canon must have been directly connected with the literary activities of the Thessalonian brothers, but he left open the puzzling question as to which of them the authorship could be attributed with certainty: on the one hand, the evidence of Cyril's strong connection with poetry speaks in his favor, but, on the other hand, the painful and stubborn struggle of Methodius with the enemies of his life work might be cited.

The celebration of Demetrius' memory reported in *VM* XV.3 was viewed by Malyševskij (see above) and later by Ivanov as the *terminus ante quem* of *SDC*'s composition. The inclusion of this canon within the range of Cyril's and Methodius' works was accepted by Ivanov's compatriot Conev (1937, p. 15f.), as well as in the responses from Czechoslovakia to Jordan Ivanov's discovery: in a Brno newspaper note of 1937, Jakobson cited it as one among several eloquent vestiges of Demetrius' popularity in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition of Moravia and Bohemia; Horálek (1939, p. 33, 1943, p. 118, and 1946, p. 266f.), supported Ivanov's attribution of *SDC* to the Moravian age and was prone to assign its authorship to one of the two Slavic apostles. The question as to whether it was Cyril or Methodius has come to the foreground in studies of recent decades.

As has been aptly underscored by Lavrov (1928, p. 111), stubborn

resistance against fierce aggressors is a motif associated in the Old Church Slavonic tradition primarily with Methodius. To sum up the story of wanderings, dangers, and sorrows (печали) undergone by the “Moravian archbishop”, *VM* XIV cites the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (XI.26–27) and thereupon right away announces Methodius’ abnegation of all worries (XV.1 печаль своѣ на бога възложь) and his miraculously rapid translation of the Bible (XV.1–2), crowned with a solemn commemorative service in honor of St. Demetrius (XV.3). In this connection, *SDC* might have been conceived as a solemn promise of the Thessalonian, in mission to the patron of his native town, to complete the arduous task which had been assigned to Methodius and to his younger brother (*VM* V.4–7) precisely in view of their Thessalonian origin: *VM* V.8 оба бо еста селоунѣнина (cf. Jakobson, 1943, p. 42). From the chronological frame of evidence procured by *VM* XV, E. Georgiev (1948, p. 89ff.; cf. 1956, p. 264f.; 1967, p. 279f.) infers that *SDC* must have been composed by Methodius apparently during the last two to three years of his life, and adduces the panegyric to the Slavic apostles which was written shortly after the death of Methodius (April 6, 885) by one of his disciples, who praised him for having adorned Moravian churches with songs and spiritual chants — цркъѣви пѣсньми оукраси и пѣнии доуховьными (see Lavrov, 1930, pp. 86 and 91).

Dinekov (1950, p. 45f.) and Angelov (1958, p. 22) also consider Methodius the most probable author of *SDC* (1950, p. 45f.), whereas Kiselkov (1946, p. 384, and 1956, p. 23) believes that this canon had been composed by Cyril during his sojourn in Moravia between 864 and 866. Constantine-Cyril’s authorship has been likewise assumed by Havránek (1963, p. 114), Večerka (1963, p. 183ff.), Štefanić (1963, p. 25), and Hejl (1965, p. 109).

Josef Vašica, the ardent and erudite inquirer into the literary legacy of the Moravian mission, states in his valuable study devoted to the “original Old Church Slavonic liturgical canon on St. Demetrius of Thessalonica”: “The spiritual substance of this hymnal composition and its connections with the Eastern patristic writings and with their symbolism, as well as the originality, expressive daring, and poetic form of many troparia testify with high probability to the authorship of Constantine-Cyril, although the cooperation of the latter’s disciples cannot be excluded. This composition displays a mighty scope of creativity and must have sprung from a powerful personality” (1966*b*, p. 521).

Indeed, Vašica is right in proposing “to rank *SDC* with the most remarkable Cyrillo-Methodian texts” (*ibidem*). The departed scholar has

opened the way to its better and fuller comprehension both by his study quoted (1966*b*) and by a Czech translation of *SDC* (1966*a*, pp. 120–124), instructive and impressive despite some textual slips and stylistic as well as conceptual deviations from the intricate Church Slavonic original.

Yet, now, the cardinal task we face is an intrinsic study of this canon in confrontation with the cognate Church Slavonic writings in order to date the former in relation to the latter literary works. Within this comparative frame, we have to point out the relevant structural features of the particular given canon, which for a hundred odd years has attracted the interest of specialists without being, however, subjected to such an indispensable analysis. At present some of these tasks, outlined in an earlier, tentative draft (Jakobson, 1965), demand to be revised, deepened, and broadened.

Two conclusions made as early as 1856 by Gorskij, the first investigator of *SDC*, have never been called into question, excluding Voronov's lame and vain argument of 1878. Almost all the numerous scholars who have touched upon this text are aware that the canon discussed is an original Slavic creation and that it must have been composed in the late ninth century by a man of Thessalonian origin active in the Moravian mission. The close connection of the canon with this mission has since been repeatedly emphasized (cf., e.g., Hrabák, 1959, p. 38). But to which of the three stages of the Thessalonians' mission in the Moravian domain does the creation of *SDC* belong? Was it composed in the eight hundred sixties, at the time of Cyril's life and guidance, or under the archbishopric of Methodius, if not during the years of the downfall of the Moravian mission, after the latter's death?

Suppositions of a close chronological connection between *SDC* and the late, ominous years of the Moravian church were particularly prompted by the inveterate misreading of the troparion IX.3. In commentaries on this canon and especially on its final ode, one still detects the misplaced story of defeated and racked zealots, or at least vestiges of such a fallacious approach to the authentic text. As a matter of fact these wanderings go back to troparion IX.3 of *SDC* as cited and translated by Gorskij in 1856, popularized by Pogodin (1865, p. 279).

This troparion, with its anxious interrogative appeal to St. Demetrius by the composer of the canon and his associates, might be translated literally as follows: "Why, Oh wise one, have we, thy beggarly slaves, been alone deprived of thine aura of splendor, we, who, for the sake of the Creator's love, are wandering through strange lands and towns as warriors battling, Oh blessed, for the humiliation of the cruel trilinguals and heretics?". In Gorskij's translation, however, "beggarly slaves" are

depicted as “wandering through strange lands and towns and *suffering*. Oh blessed, *cruel attacks* from trilinguals and heretics”.

The only text used by Gorskij and other scholars before the appearance of Jagić’s (1886) edition was *P*, and in this otherwise very precious manuscript of *SDC* the final clause of IX.3 contains an obviously erroneous deviation from *J*, *S*, and *M*: “На пострада~~ниѣ~~ (instead of *J*, *S*, *B* ‘на посрамлениѣ’) блажене тръязычъникъ. И еретикъ лють во~~ни~~ бывающе.” The right vocable посрамление “humiliation” was supplanted solely in *P* by пострада~~ниѣ~~ “suffering endured”, most probably under the influence of a translated stichera — one of those which accompany the two Slavic canons honoring Demetrius: о како пострада~~лъ~~ естъ (Jagić, 1886, p. 181; Angelov, 1958*b*, p. 33; cf. Gorskij, 1917, p. 21). This substitution obscured the sense of IX.3 in *P* and forced Gorskij (1856) into a grammatical and lexical misinterpretation of this important passage.

Even after the original text of IX.3 had been established, the view of the vanquishing “trilinguals and heretics” has continued to influence the interpretation of this troparion, and a subjective function is still imposed by commentators and translators upon the obvious *genitivus obiectivus* in the phrase на посрамление тръязычъникъ и еретикъ лють, which is persistently misapprehended despite the fact that the subjective construction would have called for datives — тръязычъникомъ и еретикомъ. Cf. such current translations as “in terris urbibusque exteris peregrinantes atque inter trilingues haereticosque patientes” (Grivec & Tomšič, 1960, p. 234, or Grivec, 1960, p. 18); “mandrujučy po čužyx zemljax ta mistax i terpljačy, blažennyj, ljuti napady vid tryjazyčnykiv ta jeretykiv” (Ohijenko, 1927, p. 219); “da stradame ot surovite vojnici na ezičnicite i ereticite” (Georgiev, 1948, p. 89f.); “a chodíme po cizích zemích a městech na posměch, blažený, trojjazyčníků a kacírů” (Vašica, 1966*a*, p. 124), with the significant omission of the words во~~ни~~ бывающе, whereas Večerka’s correct translation of this passage proves to be a rare exception (1963, p. 184f.): “chodice po cizích zemích a městech a stávajíce se bojovníky, blažený, k potření trojjazyčníků a zavilých heretiků” (but the postpositive attribute лють refers both to еретикъ and to тръязычъникъ).

Humiliation (посрамление) is the current designation of the triumph of the Thessalonian brothers over the adversaries of their teaching: *VC* V.24 старьць оумльча посрамль сѡ; XVI.59 сими же словесы и инѣми большими посрами ѡ и отъиде; *СМС* I.3 брань лють посрамль отъче бѣсовьскъжъ “having humiliated, oh father, the devilish offensive”; *VM* IV.4 съ же молитвоуж а философъ словесы

прѣможетъ ѿ и посрамисте; XII.6 посрамльше сѧ разидошѧ сѧ
ѣко мъгла съ стоудомъ.

This sentence, directed against the “heretics” who dared to machinate against Methodius, but, “when having been exposed to humiliation and shame, vanished like mist”, approaches the diction of *SDC* which begins (I.1) with a prayer for purification “from the cruel mist — отъ мъглы лютыѧ — and ignorance”, and, in its final ode (IX.3), contains a war-cry for “the humiliation of the cruel trilinguals and heretics” — трѣязычникъ и еретикъ лють. The combative deeds of the Thessalonian patron (*SDC* V.2 вышьнии ѣви сѧ воеводѣствомъ, храбѣре) merge with the martial metaphor depicting the mission of the Thessalonian brothers (*SDC* IX.3 воини бывающе) and with Cyril’s poetic vision of the Lord’s Books transposed into Slavic as “firm arms” (оружие тврѣдо) which “mightily crush the head of the Enemy” (*Proglasъ*, see above, p. 199). In a similar way, the Prolog Vita of Methodius represents him “as a glorious warrior who shoots on two sides both at Jews and at heretics” (see Lavrov, 1930, p. 103) “as a valiant fighter”.

MC was undoubtedly composed at the time of the tragic contradictions which emerged soon after the death of Methodius, and his Vita praises the deceased teacher under whose leadership the Moravian land “defeats the heretics” (IV.1) and simultaneously (V.2) implores him to preserve his “flock dispersed by the heretics” — разгнаное еретики стадо — “in its orthodox faith” (въ вѣрѣ правовѣрнѣи). In contrast, *SDC* lacks any allusion to the oppression, rout, or dispersion of the Slavic clergy, and, thus, the canon concerning Thessalonian fighters summoned to humiliate the trilinguals and heretics undoubtedly points to the lifetime of Methodius, and, perhaps, even also of Cyril. As Vařica (1966a, p. 85) suggests, *SDC* “is most likely composed either by one of the Slavic apostles or by both of them jointly”.

If this canon arose before the death of Methodius and the dislocation of his mission, and apparently before the solemn commemoration of Demetrius reported in *VM* XV.3, we are in turn faced with the other chronological question: namely, we have to discover the nearest *terminus post quem*. The cited passage of *VM* XV.3 admits two different readings of the verb сътвори: Methodius either composed the canon for Demetrius at the latter’s feast announced by the legend or merely performed at the feast a canon known beforehand. In the first case Methodius’ authorship becomes indubitable, whereas the second reading leaves the question of Constantine’s authorship a possibility.

III. DIVISIONS OF THE CANON

Of the nine odes assigned to the original pattern of the Byzantine and Slavic canons the second one, according to the traditional reckoning, is in fact usually omitted, and the original Slavic Canon for Demetrius (*SDC*) as a matter of fact contains only eight odes, habitually designated as I and III–IX.

In *SDC*, four of the eight odes belong to the shorter variety, and four other ones to the longer. The shorter variety of the odes (I., III., V., and VI.) contains three and the longer variety (odes IV., VII., VIII., and IX.) four festal troparia. The festal troparia are devoted to the annual feast of the saint in question and are followed at the end of each ode by a similarly built composition worshipping the Virgin Mary (*theotokion*, богородичьнѣ). At the very end of the terminal (allegedly ninth, but factually eighth) ode, the *theotokion* is replaced by a song to the Trinity (*triadikon*, троицьнѣ) in a telling contrast to the strictly Marian theme of the *hirmoi* for the Assumption of the Virgin upon which this whole canon is modeled and in a conclusive correspondence with the last of its seven *theotokia* glorifying the Virgin “who most wisely introduceth into the Holy of Holies *** the multitude of the faithful, toward the divine perfection.”

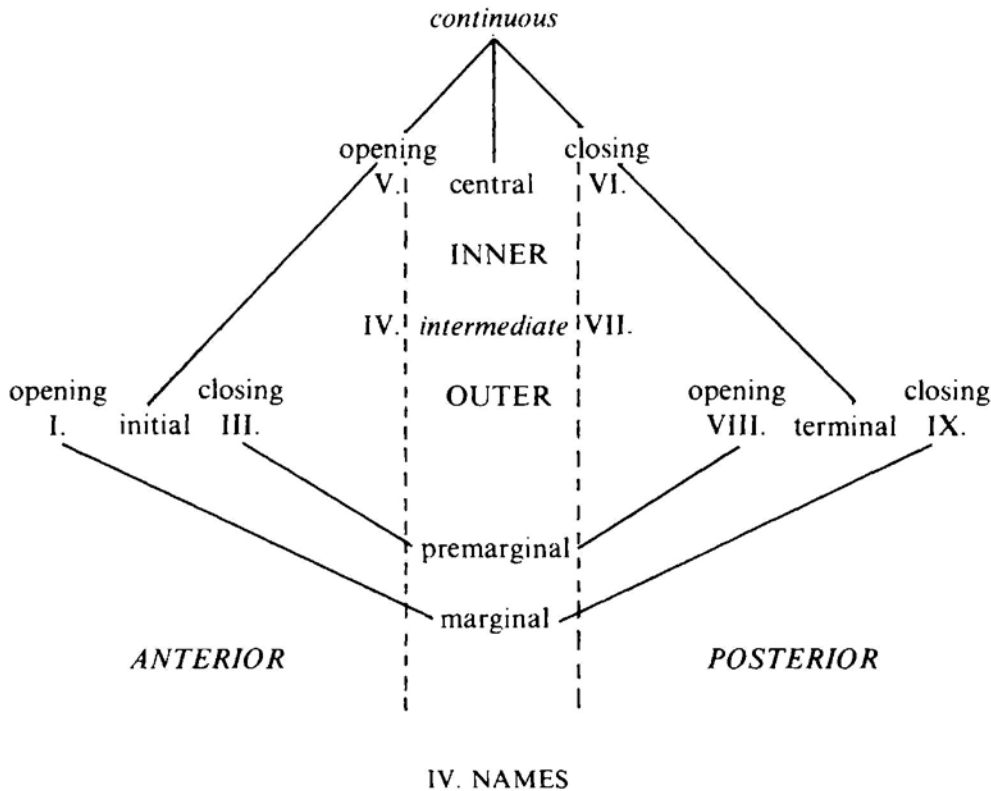
Each of the two *central* odes in the factually eightfold sequence, namely V. and VI., has three, and each of the adjacent, *intermediate* odes, namely IV. and VIII., four festal troparia. As to the four *outer* odes of this canon, each of the two *initial* odes, namely I. and III., comprises three, and each of the two *terminal* odes (VIII. and IX.), four festal troparia.

The two central and intermediate odes form together a group of four *inner* odes (IV.–VII.) differing from the four *outer* odes. On the other hand, the three — let us term them *continuous* — pairs of initial, central, and terminal odes, namely pairs with an equal number of stanzas in both contiguous lines, display common features which remain alien to the discontinuous pair of intermediate odes.

The first, *opening* odes of all three continuous pairs possess some common features distinct from those features which are proper to the second, *closing* odes of the same pairs. Meanwhile, a comparison of the two outer pairs reveals certain affinities between I. and IX., the two *marginal* odes of the canon, and, on the other hand affinities between the *pre-marginal* odes, namely the third one, which is next to the first, and the eighth one, which is next to the last ode.

Finally, the first four, *anterior* odes of the canon (I., III.–V.) differ as a

whole from all four *posterior* odes (VI.–IX.). The architectonic groundwork of this canon might be illustrated by the following table:



The four outer odes are the only ones to address Demetrius by his proper name, and specifically, to use its vocative form thrice in the two initial odes (I.1 мѣдре, дѣмитрие, 3. дѣмитрие; III.3 дѣмитрие) and likewise thrice in the two terminal odes (VIII.1 мѣдре дѣмитрие, 3. дѣмитрие; IX.1. мѣдре дѣмитрие); cf. also, aside from these invocations, VIII.4 дѣмитриеви and the names of two other dramatis personae VIII.1 нестора (acc.) and люѣ (acc.). The four inner odes designate the saint only by appellatives and adjectives. On the other hand, no human biblical names are mentioned in the festal troparia of the four outer odes, whereas the four inner odes fill their festal troparia with precisely such names. Namely, each of the two intermediate lines carries two biblical names (IV.1. Isaiah and 2. Solomon; VII.1. Solomon and 3. David); and a septet of them is cited in the contiguous central odes (V.1. Moses, 2. Joshua, 3. Samson, Gideon, and VI.1. Isaiah, 2. Paul, 3. Solomon). *Expressis verbis*, Solomon is named three times in *SDC*, and each time in a similar context: IV.2 Ёкоже възъпи *** славьнѣ поѣ соломонѣ; VI.3 Ёкоже соломонѣ поеть; VII.1 Ёко соломонѣ въспѣтъ.

In the final stanzas, all personal names are naturally drawn from the Scriptures, and, in comparison with the festal troparia, they show a different distribution. The final stanzas of the four inner odes are completely lacking in proper names, in contrast to the four outer odes. Both marginal odes name the evangelical addressees of their invocations: I.θ **Мариѣ** въсхвалимъ (while in the further six theotokia, Virgin Mary is designated by descriptive nouns and epithets only), and IX.Т **бездначальнаѣ** троице. In their turn, both premarginal odes refer to three persons of the Old Testament: III.θ **Исаиѣ** (which emerges thrice in the text of *SDC*), *ibid.* **Исее**, and VIII.θ **Ааронѣ**, with a clear-cut correspondence between these two theotokia. Two biblical images of the rod, applied to the Virgin and Her Son, are set in parallel grammatical contexts of a similar spiritual aura: III.θ **жъзль тѣ**, **прѣчистаѣ**, **иосѣовъ**, **процвѣтъшь цвѣтъ** **благовѣрными** **порогонѣще** **всѣмъ**; VIII.θ **жъзль арон** *** **дѣво** *** **всиѣвѣши** (cf. also the sound sequences .. **сѣовъ**- .. **сиѣвъ** ..) **всѣмъ** *** **порождение** *** **въводѣще** *** **множество** **вѣрныхъ**; both theotokia build triads of repeated preverbs together with the prior troparion: III.3 **прободеноуоумоу**, **θ** **процвѣтъшь**, **прогонѣще**; VIII.4 **въсхвалимъ** **всѣ**, **θ** **всиѣвѣши**.

In brief, the hymn to Demetrius proceeds with a continuous accompaniment of scriptural names. However, the celebrated saint is never named in immediate proximity with the human heroes of the Bible. If, and only if, Demetrius is named in the festal troparia are Biblical references to be sought out and found in the theotokion. The overt use of the saint's name removes any reference to his biblical precursors from the festal troparia of the whole ode. Such is the case of the two outer pairs of odes whose troparia are focused on the entreaty for aid and guidance from "Demetrius the Wise". It is noteworthy that in the premarginal odes of these two outer pairs which actually name Demetrius, the worshipers' call to him is bound up with the latter's call to Christ, who in turn is expressly named in the same troparion (III.3 **ты дѣмитрие** **въпиѣаше** **веселѣ** **сѣ** **христу**; VIII.2 **дасть** *** **цель** **градъ** **твой** **христосъ**).

The verbal (2 + 1) and pronominal (2 + 1) forms in the *oratio directa* of the martyr's message to Christ are the only occurrences of the first person singular in the entire *SDC* save IV.3. **доуша** **моѣ** in a quotation from the Canticles: III.3 **чѣто** **за** **всѣ** **ПРИНЕСѢ** **ти** **прободеноуоумоу** **въ** **ребра** **МЕНЕ** **ради** **нѣ** **мѣчениемъ** **МОИМЪ** **божиѣ** **чашѣ** **ИСПИИѢ**; VIII.2 **аще** **съпасаемоу** **съпасеши** **Мѣ**, **радъ** **ЕСМЪ**. In the initial odes, the worshipers' call precedes the quoted speech of Demetrius, whereas the terminal odes reverse this sequence.

V. KEY WORDS AND PARONOMASTICS

The figures of sound indissolubly tied to the semantic level of the canon, in accordance with the principle of analogy, are wrought with a sublime proficiency. The leitmotif of the entire song, *Demetrius* with his wisdom and devotion to his *fatherland* and to *Christ*, provides these three key words with a poignant paronomastic environment.

In the duplex vocative used as the first allocution of the canon, I.1 МѢДРЕ ДѢМИТРИЕ 'wise Demetrius!', the epithet shares all its three consonantal phonemes /m d r/ with the head word /d m t r/. The first three of the latter four phonemes are underscored by recurrent alliterations which also involve the identical internal consonants of some alliterating words: ДАЖДЬ — ДѢНЬШЬНИИ ДѢНЬ, МѢГЛЫ — МОЛИТВАМИ, ТВОЕ ТРѢЖЬСТВО. In I.1, the newly coined ОТЬЧЬСТВОЛЮБЬЦЕ prompts a chain of phonological and morphological correspondences: ОТЬ *** ЛЮТЫѦ и неВѢЖДЬСТВА ОЧИСТИ *** МОЛИТВАМИ *** СВѢТЛОЕ ТВОЕ ТРѢЖЬСТВО. In I.3, the recurrent vocative ДѢМИТРИЕ is again confronted with the same lexical entities but in other morphological variants: a paregmenon introduces the derivative noun МѢДРОСТЬ instead of the simple adjective МѢДРЕ, and a polyptoton replaces the nominative, zero case, by the accusative as a marked case, ОТЬЧЬСТВОЛЮБЬЦА, which appears flanked with two supporting sound sequences: ВЕЛѢМИ ПРОСВѢТИЛА ЕСТЬ *** МѢДРОСТЬ ЧРЪПАВЪШИ *** ДАСТЬ — and on the other side — СЛАВНА СЕЛОУНЮ СЛАВНОУОУМОУ.

The substantive отьчество, designating the saint's fatherland under his everlasting patronage, appears thrice in the odes of *SDC*, and, in a way similar to the quoted compound отьчестволюбьць, the simple noun отьчество displays a clearly anagrammatic context: V.2 ВОЕВОДЬСТВОМЪ *** МОСЪОВА ОТРОКА *** ЧЮДЕСА ЖЕ ПАЧЕ СИЛЬНА СЪВЫШЕ *** ОТЬЧЬСТВО СИ; VIII.2 ОТЬ АНѢЛА ОТЬЧЬСТВОУ СИ *** СТРАННО *** МИЛОСТИВЕ *** ДАСТЬ МѢЧЕНИЧЕ *** ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВЪСѦ; IX.4 ВОЕВОДЬСТВОМЪ СИ ЛЬСТЬ *** ЧЬСТНО *** СВѢТЕ *** ОТЬЧЬСТВА ТИ и НАСТАВИ ВЪ ПРИСТАНИЩЕ ЧЬСТНОЕ ХРИСТОВО.

By the paronomastic evocation of the "marvelous miracles" produced by the saint, the second troparion of the initial ode replies to the final paregmenon of the first troparion which proceeds from the derived adjective to the simple noun — ВЪ ДѢНЬШЬНИИ ДѢНЬ — and prepares another paregmenon, the transition from the simple adjective I.1 мѢДРЕ to the derived noun I.3 мѢДРОСТЬ by using a paronomastic reference to

the city Amastris which a posthumous miracle of the saint allegedly saved from barbarian invaders: I.2 гРадъ аМаСТриДЬСКЪ looks like a blend of I.2 КРЪСТа with I.3 МЖДРоСТЬ.

Drawing from a heavenly beverage — I.3 чръПаВъши ПиВа небесънаго (a paronomastic subordinate clause), wisdom revealed — показа — the enlightened Demetrius in God's splendid image, which is rendered by the paronomastic compound КРАСЪНОоБРАЗЪНО. A significant paronomasia associates the adjective НеБеСЪНаго with the majestic adverb красЪНОоБразЪНО and the entire gerundial clause ЧРЪпавъши пива НЕБЕСЪНаго with the subsequent triadikon, which, in the name of the bridegroom Christ, invites all the believers къ ЧРЪтогу НЕБЕСЪНоуоумоу "to the heavenly chamber", and then, in the name of the believers, begs for entrance въ НЕБЕСЪНии ЧРЪтогъ "into the heavenly chamber" (with a polyptoton ascending from the marginal to the immediate directional case, viz. from dative to accusative).

The next, third, ode follows the antecedent first one in assigning similar vocatives to the two odd troparia, but in III.1, the allocution is reduced to the adjective, and the reference to wisdom is transferred from III.3 to III.1. Thus, both members of the paregmenon — I.1 МЖдре and I.3 мждрость — reappear within the first troparion of the third ode in a reversed order and are provided with an augmentative prefix: прѣмждрости — прѣмждре. In agreement with the Biblical reference to the creation of man in God's image, and with the patristic dyad of image and likeness, two parallel adverbial constructions are associated with the appellation of wisdom: in I.3 красънообразъно показа мждрость and in III.1 подобъно сътвори прѣмждре. A paregmenon serves to develop the focal theme of mimesis: III.1 подобъно сътвори — ѣко подобъникъ храбрь христоу. (Cf., in terms of a translated stichera for Demetrius, *J* p. 181). This theme is embodied and varied in a set of paronomasias and synonymies: III.1 И КОПиемъ БОДОмъ ѣКО ПОДОБЪНИКЪ *** III.2 И ТРЪГОУбъ *** И въ ПОДвизѣ ОУГОДЪНИКЪ И ПО ОУМРЪТвии (with a remarkable alternation of repetitive sequences — коп/коп, под/под/од/по — and of complete or partial inversions — ѣбодо/одобъ, гоу/оуг, тръ/рът).

Both initial odes I and III share some common features in their second and third troparia. Cf. I.2 твоѣ чюдеса *** градъ and the reverse order of similar constituents in III.2 граждань *** твоими чюдесы with a paregmenon, changing градъ into the derivative граждань, and a polyptoton substituting a marked instrumental case твоими чюдесы for the unmarked nominative твоѣ чюдеса. In I.3, the expressive con-

struction тѣ дѣмитрие is akin to III.3 ты дѣмитрие. Finally, I.3 мѣдрость чрьПАВѣШИ ПИВА небесънааго prompts the valiant imitator of Christ — подобьникъ ХРАбѣрь ХРистоу — to proclaim: III.3 божиѣ чашѣ нынѣ испиѣ, and this paregmenon пива-испиѣ is heralded by the recurrent paronomastic syllable коПИемь — въПИѣаше — испиѣ.

Both expressive troparia which glorify the martyr's *Imitatio Christi*, III.1 and III.3, contain tautological passages — копиемь бодомь *** христоу — and paronomastic vocatives adjacent to the predicate: III.1 сътвори прѣМѣДРЕ and III.3 ДѣМитРиЕ въпиѣаше. Furthermore, the hero's name is anticipated by the suggestive sound sequences, III.2 оуМРѣТВИИ and III.3 боДоМѣ Ты.

In all three belligerent odes (I, V, VIII) and in the second part of the initial and final odic pairs (III and IX), the vocatives дѣмитрие and мѣдре appear in a manifest interplay. See V.3 ДѣМитРиЕ *** МѣДРЕ; VIII.1 and IX.1 МѣДРЕ ДѣМитРиЕ. The recurrent vocative name in VIII.3 parallels VIII.1 and is surrounded by a paronomastic context: ВъПиеМѣ Ти *** ТВоѣ ПаМѣТЬ *** СъПАСи Рабы Своѣ отъ наПАСТИи ДѣМитРие гРАДѣщихъ. The dative дѣмитриеви in the subsequent troparion, the only nonvocative form of this name in *SDC*, is accompanied by two adjacent alliterative words which are interwoven by striking paronomasias: VIII.4 ВъСиѣ рогъ Дръжавьнѣ Дѣмитриеви ДѣНѣСѣ СВѣТѣло празДѣНѣСТВО. The sole vocative дѣмитрие to occur outside of the three basic pairs of odes is inlaid in a dense and emotive paronomastic context: IV.3 въходоМѣ господа Рече изиде Доуша Моѣ его Ради ТѣМѣже Теплоѣ ДѣМитРие ТоМоу послѣДова любвьвиѣ.

Christ is the other name, alongside Demetrius, which usually finds a salient correspondence in its phonetic environment. Mostly, the initial consonant or cluster of this name is repeated by the initial or final consonants of a proximate root: I.θ жениХа Христа *** въсХвалимѣ; III.1 ХРАбѣрь ХРистоу; IV.2 Христовоу ВеТѣХа; IV.4 Христовѣ *** Хвалить; VI.3 въ слѣдѣ Христа Ходилѣ еси; VII.3 ХРанитель —4 Христосоу; VIII.2 милОСТИве *** ХриСТОсѣ —4 въсХвалимѣ *** поХвально *** Хвалѣше; IX.4 съХРАНѣѣ *** НАСТАви *** ПРИСТАНище *** ХРИСТОВО.

The reference to the saint's miracles (чюдеса) and his epithet "valiant" are taken over in V.2 from the third ode. The correspondence ХРАбѣре — ХРАНѣ apparently alludes here to the unnamed Христосѣ, the donor of the "sublime miracles from above" (съВЫШе) which transfigure Demetrius into a militant leader higher (ВЫШѣнии) than the Old

Testament Joshua, or, according to his Church Slavonic appellation, древнѣаго Исоуса, “Jesus the ancient” in contrast to Jesus Christ.

Troparia with quoted speech are particularly abundant with variable repetitions of word-and-sound sequences. See, for instance, in III.3, the grammatical figure бодомъ ты — ти прободеноуоумоу with a transition from the unmarked nominatives to the twice marked datives and with a change of the pronominal referent. The elaborate sound texture cannot be passed over: **КОПИЕМЪ БОДОМЪ ТЫ ДЪМИТРИЕ ВЪПИѢШЕ ВЕСЕЛА СѦ ХРИСТОУ: ЧЪТО ЗА ВЪСѢ ПРИНЕСѢ ТИ ПРОБОДЕНОУОУМОУ ВЪ РЕБРА МЕНЕ РАДИ НЪ МЖЧЕНИЕМЪ МОИМЪ БОЖИѢ ЧАШѢ НЫНѢ ИСПИѢ.**

A peculiar terse and lapidary style marks out those *figurae elocutionis* (cf. Lausberg, 1960, p. 310ff.) which underlie the theotokia of *SDC*.

IIIθ **огньный оумъ исайѢ ·
наоучи жьзль тѦ прѣчистаѢ ·
иосѣовъ процвьтъшь ·
цвѣтъ благовѣрънымъ ·
прогонѡще всѣж вонѣж ·
смраднѣж и прабабнѣж ·**

These three distichs, the initial one of 20 (= 2·10) syllables and the other two each of 18 (= 2·9 and 8 + 10) syllables, display an extraordinary accumulation of syllables beginning with a vowel in the first half of this stanza, and especially the solemn confrontation of two biblical names associated both in sound and in their ecclesiastical significance. The entire stanza consists of diverse binary correspondences, phonemic or grammatical: **ОГНЬНЫИ — проГОНѡще, наоУЧИ — прѣЧИСТАѢ, проЦВѢТЬШЬ — ЦВѢТЬ, ПРОЦВѢТЬШЬ — ПРОГОНѡще, цвѢТЬ — благоВѢрънымъ, ВЪСѢЖ — ВОНѢЖ, вОНѢЖ — прабабНѢЖ, смРАДНѢЖ — ПРАбабНѢЖ.**

In VIIθ, the primarily consonantal chain of the negative **НЕ ВЪМѢСТИ ВЪСѢ МИРЪ**, slightly amplified in the subsequent affirmative reply **ВЪМѢСТИ ВЪ ЧРѢВѢ СвоеМЪ ПРѢЧИСТА**, runs through the entire stanza: **НЪ ЧЪТѢЩЕИ РОЖДЪСТВО ТВОЕ ТВРЪДОЖ ВЪРОЖ да ѣВимъ СѦ отъ НаПаСТИ МИРЪНЫѦ НевРѢДИМИ МолиТВаМИ ТВОИМИ ПриСнодѣВО.** A firm paronomastic association ties together the words **чрѣвѣ / прѣчиста / вѣрож / неврѣдими**, which enunciate the salutary faith in the saving womb of the Virgin and contrapose her and her worshippers to the world — **миръ** — and worldly onslaught — **напастъ мирнаѢ**. The paregmenon proceeding from the

basic noun *миръ* to the derived adjective evokes the pervasive recurrence of Calvaries.

Beside repetitions confined to the text of the theotokia, the canon exhibits figures shared by the final stanza of an ode with other stanzas of the same and even of adjacent odes. Thus, in the first line of VI θ , the form *сѣвѣдѣше* is immediately followed by the vocative *дѣво* with a reversed order of the root phonemes; moreover, its accented syllable is echoed by the final noun *вѣроуѣ*. The same two morphological units appear in the festal troparia of the sixth ode, and each of them is supported by a further word with a sequence *вѣ* in its root: VI.1 *вѣрнии* — *вѣчныхъ*, VI.2 *сѣвѣды* — *свѣтло*. The stem *сѣвѣд* which occurs in three odes, IV–VI, is always accompanied by another vocable with the same sequence *вѣ* in its root: IV.4 (cf. VI.2) *сѣвѣды* — *свѣтло*; V.1 *сѣвѣдѣши* — *вѣчныѣ*. Such a sequential repetition emphatically marks out the participial stem *сѣвѣд* in view of its semantic significance, namely the alert recognition of Saint Demetrius in his threefold essence (love of Christ, miraculous leadership, heavenly citizenship) and of the Virgin as our supreme refuge.

The lexical roots repeated throughout the entire canon enforce the mutual cohesion of its odes. Thus, the family of words represented by the verbs *чисти*, *почитати* “to honor, venerate” and by the adjectival stem *чѣстьнъ* “honorable, venerable” serves from IV.1 *градъ твои чѣтетъ тѣ* until IX.4 *настави абие въ пристанище чѣстьное* to extol the spiritual communion with Heaven: worship and gifts bestowed by the Creator.

This flow of cognate words is expanded through paronomastic associations: VI.1 *тѣ почитѣѣтъ*; 2. *градъ твои свѣтло чѣтетъ тѣ*, *ѣкоже оучитъ *** и величитъ*. Demetrius’ heroic mimesis as answer to his own question — III.3 *чѣто за всѣ принесѣ ти* — “what can I bring for all to Thee” — results in his veneration: IV.1. *тѣмѣже твои градъ чѣтетъ тѣ*. In a similar way, the affective “why” (IX.3.) addressed to Demetrius by his “beggarly slaves” wandering in their hard mission “through strange lands and towns” finds a resolving answer in their wishful vision of the saint “venerably guarding” his compatriots “amid barbarians” — IX.4 *чѣстьно ны съхранѣѣ*. A systematic proximity with a “pseudo-etymological interplay” (see Lausberg, 1960, p. 232) links the word family of *чисти*, *чѣсть* etc. with *чистъ* “pure” and derivatives. The canon starts with the prayer to the wise Demetrius — I.1 “From the cruel mist and ignorance purify us” (*очисти ны*) — and the theotokia of the three subsequent odes alternately invoke Virgin Mary as “the pure” or “the most pure”: III. θ *чиста*, IV. θ *прѣчистѣѣ*, and V. θ *чиста* — just after a joint use of the adverb *чѣстьно* and the verb

ЧЪТеть (inf. чисти) in V.1. In contradistinction to the previous festal troparia, the verb of VII.4 uses the first person plural, and Demetrius is replaced by the lovers of his festival — празднолюбци — as the addressees of this stanza: “let us luminously exult, honorably purifying our minds — оумы своа ЧЪСТЪНО ОЧИЩающе” — in conformity with the initial prayer which implored Demetrius to purify his worshippers from ignorance and to approve their celebration of his luminous festival. Representatives of both word families are deliberately juxtaposed here and in the subsequent stanza, VIIθ прѣЧИСТА нѣ ЧРТѣщеи. In contrast, words of these two families do not reappear in the next, eighth ode. Of the two parallel hortative formulas — VII.4 “let us exult” and VII.θ “let us be safe”, the first implies a purification of minds, and the second a firm faith in the most pure Virgin with her Child. Thus, the theme of purity is concluded, while the theme of veneration comes to an end only in the last ode of the canon with its three honorific modifiers — a double occurrence of the adverb ЧЪСТЪНО (IX.1,4) and the neuter adjective ЧЪСТЪНОЕ (IX.4).

The substantival leitmotif of *SDC* — градъ “city” with its derivative гражданинъ “citizen” — builds an effective symmetrical array of polyptotons, paregmenons, and paronomastic figures. Nine singulars of the root word occur in the canon: three nominatives, which denote the agent of reverence to Demetrius; three accusatives as goal of miracles; and three datives as recipient of favors bestowed by the saint. In each of the three primary odic pairs, the opening ode carries such an accusative: I.2 на градъ, V.3 градъ си избавлѣа, VIII.2 дастъ *** цѣль градъ. The series of nominatives is followed by a series of datives, viz. unmarkedness is superseded by double markedness (cf. Jakobson, 1962), and the sixth ode is the only one to combine two diverse cases: VI.2 градъ твои свѣтло чѣтеть тѣ; VI.3 тѣмже ѣви саа благоухание даа чѣстѣно своему градуу. The central accusative is preceded by two nominatives — IV.1,4 градъ твои — and the final by two datives — VI.3 своему градуу, VII.3 градуу своему. The central accusative is followed by one nominative — VI.2 градъ твои — and the final by one dative — IX.Т градуу нашемуу. In its number and attribute the dative plural IX.3 по тоуждимъ землѣмъ и градомъ “through strange lands and towns” is opposed, on the one hand, to IX.Т градуу нашемуу “for our city” and, on the other hand, to the corresponding nominatives of the central odes — V.1 землѣ твоѣ “thy land” and VII.2 градъ твои “thy city”.

A kind of ingenious oxymoron unites the nominatives of the two contiguous odes — III.2 троици трѣсвѣтлѣи ѣко гражданинъ “as the citizen of the triply-luminous Trinity” and IV.2 градъ твои “thy city” —

and palpably compresses the seemingly same opposites into one single troparion of the sixth ode, so that the closure of the central odic pair returns to the theme of unearthly citizenship outlined in the closure (Ode III) of the initial pair: VI.2 небесьнаго съвѣды тѧ гражданина, блажене, градъ твои свѣтло чѣтетъ тѧ “knowing that Thou, Oh blessed, art a citizen of heaven, thy city luminously honors Thee”.

The central and terminal accusatives градъ attract the paronomastic root рад- “joyous”. In VIII.3, the saint’s allocution to the Creator with its concluding clause РАДЪ есмь “I am joyous” arouses Christ’s promise to keep the city — ГРАДЪ твои — “safe for ages everlasting”. In V.0 the supplication to the Virgin to grant the deliverance from trespasses — прѣгрѣшении избавление — and joyousness — РАДование — to those who call Her in faith, and to repel barbarians’ horrors — страсти варьварьскы — obviously parallels the antecedent troparion. V.3, which in similar words extols Demetrius for having delivered his city — ГРАДЪ си избавлѧ — from the barbarians’ malice — зѣлобы варьварьскыѧ.

The exalted preposition (more correctly speaking, postposition) “for the sake of”, which occurs thrice in *SDC* and is used there only with respect to God, enters each time into a paronomastic association with the root град-. The question posed by Demetrius to Christ — III.3 “What (ЧѢТо) can I bring for all to Thee, who was pierced through the ribs for the sake of mine (мене РАДи)?” — indispensably leads through the devotee’s martyrdom to his posthumous glory, and its account in IV.1 paronomastically echoes the last and then the initial word of his cited question: тѣмъже ГРАДЪ твои ЧѢТетъ тѧ. The intermediate theotokion, III.0, also responds to the memorable МеНе РАДи in an evocation of the flower engendered by the Virgin which expels the putrid smell (вонѧ смРАДЪНѧѧ) of the original sin.

According to IV.4, Demetrius followed Christ in ardent love for the seeker’s soul: like the bride of the Canticles, “went out for the sake of Him” — еГо РАДи, and, as the further troparion concludes in addressing the saint, “Thy whole city — IV.4 вѣсь ГРАДЪ — knowing thee thus enamored, glorifies thee now”.

Paronomastic ties also concatenate the sequence “we alone, thy beggarly slaves, (тВои РАби еДИни) for the sake of the Creator’s love (любѣе РАДи зиждигелѧ) are wandering through strange lands and towns (по тоуждимъ землѣмъ и ГРАДОмъ)”.

VI. THE CANON'S GRAMMATICAL PATTERN AND THE HERO'S DEEDS

Each pair labeled continuous is made up of two contiguous odes, both of which have the same number of stanzas: 4+4 or 5+5, and respectively 3+3 or 4+4 festal troparia. These three cardinal pairs (I. and III., V. and VI., VIII. and IX.) show a set of significant analogies both in their theme and in its treatment. The initial, opening odes of these three pairs relate to miraculous victories won by Demetrius over barbarous pagans with divine blessing. I.2 “Thy marvelous miracles were told even in palaces, for Thou destroyedst the barbarians (речена быша дивна и въ варьхъ твоѣ чудеса, варьвары бо погоуби — with a paronomastic confrontation of вари “palaces” and варьвари “barbarians”), who intruded into the sanctuary of Christ, thy sovereign, the city of Amastris: hence He erects (зидеть) a church for thee.” In V.2, Demetrius is extolled for “victories gained in all battles”, sublime miracles from above (чюдеса *** съвыше), performed in defence of his fatherland. The saint’s rescue of his city “from the swarm of foes and from the barbarians’ malice” is glorified in V.3. Finally, VIII cites and praises further renowned deeds from the *Passio* (Мъчение) and *Miracula* (Чюдеса) of Demetrius (cf. Barišić, 1953), in particular VIII.2, the salvation of his threatened city and fatherland “for ages everlasting” as a result of the martyr’s supplication to the Creator.

In exalting the patriotic feats of the Thessalonian patron, the canon resorts to the vocable отъчество “fatherland” — whether alone or within a compound — only in the opening odes of the continuous pairs (I.1 ѣко сии отъчестволюбыць, 3. отъчестволюбыца; V.2 хранѣ отъчество си; VIII.2 отъчествоу си разорение); it occurs as well in the closing ode of the terminal pair, the fourth troparion of which catches up and alters the theme of the opening odes. The same troparion of this closing ode takes up the catchword “barbarian” from the two earlier opening odes: I.2 варьвары бо погоуби; V.3 избавлѣ *** зьлобы варьварьскыѣ, and -θ страсти отъгонѣщи варьварьскы; IX.4 чьстьно ны съхранѣ въ варьварѣхъ, свѣте, сжщѣ отъчества ти (cf. V.2 and 3), with a рип ВАРи дньсь “hasten this day” — въ ВАРЪВАРѢхъ “amid the barbarians”, a paronomastic response to the cited play on the words I.2 въ ВАРьхъ — ВАРЪВАРы.

The closing odes of the three continuous pairs bring out as their salient motif the civic allegiance of Demetrius to Heaven and his determined following in the footsteps of Christ. III.2 declares: “As a citizen of the triply-luminous Trinity, threefold (τρισσῶς) thou, too, appearedst to us” (according to M) ТРОИЦИ ТРЪСВѢТЪЛѢИ ѣко гражданинъ и ТРЪгоубъ

ѢВИ СѦ НАМЪ (with a triple repetition of the same root), and the first and third troparia of the same ode portray the martyr as a deliberate and valiant imitator of Christ. VI.2 refers to the “glorious Paul’s” praise for fellow-citizens with the saints and members of God’s household (Eph. 2.19), and again declares Demetrius “a citizen of Heaven” who (VI.3) “went by grace in the footsteps of Christ”. Finally, IX.1 invokes the “wise Demetrius, luminously standing before the divine throne”, and IX.4 implores him to lead the worshipers “to the sacred, unswerving refuge of Christ”. The subsequent triadikon apostrophizes the Trinity, whose being is “without beginning and before whom the angels and the frightful seraphim tremble” (with a fanciful paronomastic triplet: ТРОИЦЕ — ТРЕПЕШѦТЪ — СТРАШНАѢ), and concludes the canon with the prayer: “Give to those who praise Thee (the third imperative *даждь* in *SDC* after I.1 *даждь нашъ* and V.0 *даждь вѣроу вѣпиѣщимъ*) faith, hope, and love inseparable, leading to the saintly kingdom, through the prayers of Thy martyr and firm intercessor for our city.”

The heroic and triumphant devotion of Demetrius to the welfare of his native city and country — the leitmotiv of the three opening odes (I, V, VIII) — is from the beginning brought into connection with unearthly wisdom, theology (I.3 *мѣдрость чръпавъши пива небеснааго*), and, with respect to his love for the fatherland, *patria*, the saint is addressed in the first sentence of *SDC* as “wise Demetrius” (I.1 *ѣко сѣи отъчѣстволюбѣць, мѣдре Дѣмитрие*). In a similar way, the keynote of the three closing odes (III, VI, IX), *imitatio Christi*, is introduced from the very outset as a sequel to the supreme wisdom — epignosis — which had been bestowed upon Demetrius; therefore, he is addressed as “the supremely wise” (III.1 *наоучь сѣ измлада прѣмѣдрости подобно сътвори, прѣмѣдре*).

The image of wisdom which unites both initial odes is reminiscent of the similar topic treated in the Proverbs of Solomon, 9.1–5: “Wisdom hath mingled her Wine; she hath also furnished her table. *** she crieth upon the highest places of the city (cf. *SDC* I.2 *въ варьхъ*). *** as for him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him: *** drink of the wine I have mingled.” Wisdom is shown as “drawing from the heavenly beverage”: *SDC* I.3 is the premise of the vow to drink the divine cup (III.3) which is associated with Christ’s words, “The cup that I drink you shall drink” (Mark 10.39). The twofold portrayal of man, made in the image and likeness of God (Gen. 1.26), is conceived in the initial pair of odes as two heavenly characters restored in Demetrius as inferences from this thirst for supreme wisdom. According to the first ode, wisdom enlightened and showed him in a splendid image (icon, образъ), endowing him with a

supreme love for his fellowmen, and especially for compatriots, which is but an earthly, narrowed, synecdochic expression of philanthropy as the proper attribute of God.

The subsequent ode depicts a different intervention of transcendent wisdom in the spiritual ascent of Demetrius, the original likeness to God which inflames his selfless love for Christ and assimilates his end to the death of the redeemer (cf. Balthasar, 114ff.): Научь сѧ измлада ПРЪМЪДРОСТИ, ПОДОБЪНО сътвори ПРЪМЪДРЕ *** и копиемъ бодомъ ѣко ПОДОБЪНИКЪ храбъръ христоу, or in terms of a translated stichera, страстиѣ страсти оуподобѧ сѧ — живоноснѣи христовѣ. The pair of cognate words подобъно — подобъникъ prompts the next, reverse paregmenon which develops the same theme of unification with God: III.2 и въ ПОДВИЗЪ ОУГОДЪНИКЪ и по оумрътвии ОУГОДЪНЪ.

With one exception (VIII.4 дѣмитриеви), *SDC* uses the name Demetrius solely in the vocative, and either alone, or accompanied by the vocative мѣдре, the only epithet considered suitable. This adjective, either alone or jointly with the saint's name, appears in *SDC* six times (once, in III.1, reinforced by the augmentative prefix прѣ-), and all these occurrences fall on the first or third troparion of the continuous odes which develop the theme of the initial pair. The vocative дѣмитрие, when standing by itself, is confined to the third troparion, where it usually shows up in continuous odes but also once in IV.3. The distribution of these two adjectival and nominal vocatives within the continuous odic pairs displays noticeable symmetries and variations:

	Opening Odes	
I.1 and VIII.1	мѣдре	дѣмитрие
I.3 and VIII.3		дѣмитрие
V.3	дѣмитрие ***	мѣдре
	Closing Odes	
III.1	прѣмѣдре	
III.3 (=I.3)		дѣмитрие
IX.1 (=VIII.1)	мѣдре	дѣмитрие
IX.3	мѣдре	

The question of why, in the central odic pair, the two vocatives examined are confined to one single troparion, V.3, will be approached later in connection with the particular features of the four inner odes.

The absence of those vocatives in the second troparia of the continuous odes is obviously connected with the specific topic of these troparia, miracles which render superfluous any certification of the thaumaturge:

I.2 речена быша *** твоѣ чудеса; III.2 оугодно твоими чудесы; V.2 чудеса же паче сильна съвыше ѣвлѣа; on VI.2 see below; VIII.2 the miraculous salvation of the martyr's city. The ninth ode, and particularly its second troparion, proceed from narrating the miracles of the worshiped martyr to portraying the torments of the worshipers. The rapt meditation of I.2 on the saint's miracles and the church erected to reward him is responded to by the moving lament of IX.2: "our hearts burn inside, and we long, O Saint, for thy church". The contrast between твоѣ чудеса and сръдъца наша is especially manifest, since, in the role of grammatical subject, both of these words are the only neuters and the only plural nouns in the troparia of the canon. Both polar, but similarly shaped and equally affective, references — one to the presence of God and the other to separation (отълѣчихомъ сѧ далече сѧще) transcend and remove the direct designation of the worshipers' addressee and of his wonted epithet.

The intimate ties between the odes of the central pair are underscored particularly by the parallelism of V.1 and VI.2: 1) нова тѧ съвѣдѣши — 2) небеснааго съвѣды тѧ; 1) землѣ твоѣ ѣко мосеа, славъне *** блажене, чьстьно дньсь чьтетъ тѧ, достойно славѣши — 2) гражданина, блажене, градъ твои свѣтло чьтетъ тѧ ѣкоже оучить павль славънии и величить дньсь славѣ твоѣ, славъне. Here the same grammatical categories change their order and syntactical functions, and identical roots appear in different morphological contexts. Thus, VI.2 reverses the order of the two vocatives and concludes the sentence with a triple repetition of the root слав- in diversified environments, while the following troparion deploys a similar triple response to the other vocative: блажене "O blessed" — благодатиѣ "by grace" — благоѣхание "fragrance".

The triply-affirmed glory of the wonder-working sufferer (страстотръпць) with the grace of God upon him finds its salient expression in the fragrant ointment poured forth from the relic of Demetrius, whom Greek and Church Slavonic tradition reveres as муроточьць (see Mirković, 1961, p. 75; *Čet'i Minei*, pp. 1901, 1912f.). In contradistinction to the vocatives мѣдре and дьмитрие, the honorifics блажене and славъне are preferably tied to the second troparion, and, in the premarginal odes, III.2 and VIII.2, the augmentative variant прѣблажене "O most blessed" precedes the two calls of the saint to Christ.

Each continuous pair of odes is provided with two alternating forms of the verb дати or даѣти "give", namely, an imperative imploring 1) Demetrius, 2) The Virgin, and 3) The Trinity for a favor to the worshipers, and the same verb within a declarative sentence announcing

a supernatural favor accorded through Demetrius to his city. Cf., on the one hand, I.1 “through thy prayers allow (даждь) us *** to glorify thy luminous festival”; V.θ “now give (даждь) to those who call thee in faith both redemption from trespasses and cheerfulness”; IX.θ “now give (даждь) to those who praise Thee in faith both hope and love inseparable through the prayers of Thy martyr and firm intercessor for our city”; and, on the other hand, I.3 “wisdom *** gave (дасть) thee *** as a help to glorious Salonika”; VI.3 “thou *** appearedst, offering (да) a venerable fragrance unto thy city”; VIII.2 “thus, O martyr, Christ gave thee thy city safe for ages everlasting”.

The course of events in each of the three continuous pairs involves one lifetime action, conceived retrospectively as the major precondition for further development, and the only three perfects of *SDC* are used to mark these points of departure: I.3 “wisdom did greatly enlighten (вельми просвѣтила естъ)”; VI.3 “thou didst go (ходилъ еси) by grace in the footsteps of Christ”; VIII.1 “Having armed Nestor with faith, thou sentst him (посълалъ еси) against the combative Lyaeus”.

Grace, which in III.θ overcomes the original sin, is contraposed in VIII.θ to the Law of Moses. This contrariety between the Old Law and triumphant, expanded grace (божие съвършение) is pointedly announced in the concluding stanza of the seven chiefly narrative odes (I, III–VIII) on Demetrius and his glory.

The progress of Demetrius’ soul from wisdom to love is extolled in the four inner odes which are singled out by the biblical seal of their similes and other salient features contributing to their glorious solemnity.

The ninth ode, which provides the hero of the canon with the most abundant epithets, endows him in sum seven times with the four adjectival vocatives which occur in the other odes. Namely, it uses thrice each of the forms мѣдре, блажене and свѣте, and once the vocative славъне — the most dramatic supplication upwards: IX.2 “Hear, O glorious one, thy paupers and be moved”.

Otherwise, each of the four inner odes makes use of the call “O glorious” (IV.4; V.1; VI.2; VII.2 славъне). The vocative мѣдре “O wise”, current in all four outer odes, is used only once throughout the inner odes and as part of the characteristic context V.3 сы юнъ крѣпостиѣ *** мѣдре, obviously contrasting with the superior level, VI.3 юнъ, блажене, сии благодатиѣ, the third and last reference to the youthful growth of the elect, first revealed in III.1: подобьно сътвори, прѣмѣдре, въ юнотъствѣ вѣнць. The Holy Spirit, the donor of Grace, is named twice in *SDC*, once at the beginning and once at the end of the inner odes: IV.1 “thou wast enlightened by the Spirit”; VII.3 “As the

Spirit cried ***, thy majestic neck has been adorned with thousands of spiritual shields". Anytime the vocative блажене emerges in the inner odes, it exalts Demetrius as being endowed with благодать "grace": IV.2 ты же ѣва сѧ ѣко съсъцю христовоу ветъха а нова же, блажене, съсавъ оучениѣ; V.1 люди своѧ въ вѣчныѧ обитѣли, блажене, въводѧщъ. Cf. the connection of the vocative прѣблажене "O most blessed" with the posthumous miracles of the saint in III.2 and VIII.2. The seven occurrences of славне and блажене among the nine adjectival vocatives of the inner odes pertain to their specific framework together with the repetitive picture of the city's and country's festival for Demetrius. The latter is designated by the third person singular present чѣтетъ (thrice: IV.1; V.1; VI.1) or хвалить (IV.4 хвалить) with the metonymic subject градъ твои (thrice: IV.1; IV.4; VI.1) or землѣ (V.1), whereas the accusative градъ figures thrice also, but is tied to the opening odes of the three continuous pairs (I.2; V.3; VIII.2), where it points to the city miraculously saved by Demetrius from the "swarm of foes".

Among the nine singulars of the noun градъ, the dative градоу, like the nominative and accusative forms, occurs three times in the text of *SDC*, namely, in those posterior odes which do not have the accusative градъ — VI.3 даѧ *** своему градоу; VII.3 хранитель градоу своему; IX.Т застѣпника *** градоу нашему. Whether in adverbial or in adnominal positions, it functions as *dativus commodi*: VI.3 даѧ *** своему градоу; VII.3 хранитель градоу своему; and IX.Т застѣпника градоу нашему, where this coda, bringing the entire canon to a proper close, exhibits contrastive parallelisms with the antecedent мѣченика ти and with the above-cited градоу своему (VI.3; VII.3). The possessive нашъ in its diverse cases occurs thrice in the ninth ode and nowhere else. The concluding vocable нашему, the only example of first person pronouns in the final stanzas of the odes, encompasses Demetrius and the worshipers, whereas in IX.1 о нашемъ окаѣнии and IX.2 сръдъца наша, the same pronoun designates only the worshipers and contrasts dramatically with the background of seven paradigmatic forms of the pronoun "thy": IX.1 твоѣ, твоѣѧ, 2 твоѧ, твоего, твоеѧ (duplicated in 3), твоими, 3 твои. Finally, in the mentioned phrase мѣченика ти, as compared to IX.4 отъчѣства ти, the dative ти shifts impressively from Demetrius to the Trinity.

The city motif, inaugurated by the salvation of градъ амастридскъ (I.2), continues throughout the canon with seven evocations of "thy city", and finishes with an ecstatic triadikon which recalls that the citizen of the thrice-luminous Trinity still has in common with his worshipers one and the same earthly city — градъ нашъ.

The grammatical oppositions underlying the Old Church Slavonic morphological pattern play a paramount role in the composition of *SDC*, and the category of person may be regarded as its keynote. The text is interlaced with sentences of quoted speech which, in their assignment of persons, differ from all the surrounding sentences. The addressee of the festal troparia is Demetrius; vocatives, second person singular verbs, and pronouns refer to him constantly, with the exception of quoted speech where the forms III.3 ти, and VII.1,2,4 благословленъ еси, VIII.2 съпасеши, and VIII.2 милостиве relate to the Lord. These shifts are deliberately pointed out: III.3 ТЫ, дѣмитрие, въпиѣаше *** христоу: “что за всѣ принесѣ ТИ”; VIII.2 ТЫ егда ОУСЛЫША, ПРѢБЛАЖЕНЕ *** ВЪЗЪПИ *** къ зиждителю си: “аще *** СЪПАСЕШИ МѦ *** МИЛОСТИВЕ”. All indicative finites which designate Demetrius as their agent stand in one of the past tenses: usually, it is an aorist: once an imperfect (III.3); and twice a perfect (VI.3 and VIII.1). Only once at the end of the seven narratively oriented odes, in the last festal troparion of the eighth ode, Demetrius is referred to as a third person: VIII.4 ѣко всиѣ рогъ дрѣжавънъ дѣмитриеви дньсь свѣтло праздньство.

Except for two quoted utterances of Demetrius (I.3 принесѣ испиѣ; VIII.2 радъ есмь), the first person is confined to the plural, and designates the worshipers, addressers of the canon. The pronouns of the first person plural in its oblique cases signal the dependence of the worshipers on the worshiped saint, and occur in the four outer odes as their specific feature: I.1 очисти ны; III.2 ѣви сѧ намъ; VIII.3 съпasi ны; IX.1 не забѣди насъ; 4 чьство ны съхранѣ. The personal pronoun “us” occurs in the four outer odes (I–III, VIII–IX), and solely there. The corresponding singular forms are found only in the pre-marginal odes — in the utterances of Demetrius: III.3 мене, VIII.3 мѧ.

The initial odes are devoid of finites referring to the worshipers, whereas the odes IV–VI repeatedly use verbs of reverence with the metonymic subjects градъ and землѣ. The sixth ode of *SDC* initiates the set of its four posterior odes. The canon contains thirty-six stanzas, and thus, its eighteenth and nineteenth stanzas, the first two troparia of the sixth ode, form the mean pair within the whole body of stanzas. These troparia present a turning point in the last of the metonymic constructions — VI.2 градъ твои *** чьтеть тѧ *** и величить, which appears side by side with the synonymous clause, VI.1 вѣрнии тѧ почитаютъ “the faithful venerate thee” — among all the explicit subjects of the canon, the only adjective, and above all, the only animate in the plural.

The posterior odes (VI–IX) differ from the anterior four (I–V) by the

appearance of plural finite forms of active voice in the festal troparia, all of which designate the worshipers. While the first of these finites — VI.1 *почитаѣтъ* — shares the root morpheme and the third person desinence with two preceding odes, all further plural finites pertain to the first person, so that henceforth the whole story is told in the name of the worshipers themselves. The call taken over by the troparia VIII.1 and 3 through VIII.θ from the Song of the Three Children in the Furnace uses an imperative form of the second person plural to address broader masses of virtual worshipers: *въспѣвайте *** и прѣвъзнесите *** !* Persons and numbers of indicative active finites stand in clearcut relations with verbal tenses. The past in *SDC* proves to be incompatible with the first person, both in singular and in plural, and, as a matter of fact, with plural in general (cf. also the dual in VII.1 *истачаета *** оустѣнѣ *** ѣко соломонѣ въспѣтъ*), whereas the present tense does not go with the second person singular.

The somewhat more diversified position of first person singular verbs in the festal troparia of the canon requires special examination. Whenever the third person singular acts as a metonymic substitute for the first person plural “we worshipers”, the present tense is used in full accord with the first person clauses of the canon: IV.1 *градѣ твои чѣтеть тѣ*, etc. In the other instances of third person singular finites, the present tense of imperfective verbs alternates with preterit forms of perfective verbs.

The overwhelming majority of third person verbs is found in the inner odes: clauses with 19 explicit subjects in IV–VIII, against 5 specimens in the four outer clauses (I.2 *чюдеса. 3 мѣдрость*; VIII.2 *христось, 4 роуѣ*; IX.2 *срѣдѣца*). Seventeen of these 19 subjects in the inner odes and three of five in the outer odes are singular forms. This compact set of third-person clauses creates a broad network of similarities and contiguities, used to exalt and depict the ecstatic wonder-worker, enlightened by the Holy Ghost and filled with the Grace of Christ.

A brief comparison of third person verbs with the second person forms assigned to Demetrius may contribute to this grammatical perusal of the inner odes.

	<i>Third Person forms</i>	<i>Second Person forms</i>
Total number:	19	9
Transitive:	15	–
Intransitive:	4	9
Reflexive:	1	7

Five of these seven reflexives are aorists of such a barely phenomenal, formalized verb as *ѣви сѣ* “appeared”. In contrast to the festal troparia

of the inner odes, those of the outer odes contain 18 second-person verbs referring to Demetrius, and 12 of them are transitive.

Two kinds of interventions upwards from below are directly expressed in each pair of outer odes and palpably determine their specific character. The premarginal odes offer the only two direct appeals of Demetrius to Christ, both of them bipartite, with a similar interplay of the first and second persons, and with the only instances of a passive participle in its dative singular form (III.3 прободеноуоумоу; VIII.2 съпасаемоу). The interrogative component is explicit in the first appeal (III.3 чьто за всѣ принесѣ ти) and implied in the second one; cf. the thorough account of the same miracle in *Čet'i Minei*, p. 1873: “како могу оставити я, в толицѣ бѣдѣ суца, како ли увижду пагубу града моего? но аще погубиши я, с ними и азъ погибну; аще спасеши я, с ними и азъ спасень буду.” The imperative and interrogative sentences addressed by the worshipers to Demetrius represent the other level of direct appeals sent upwards. The vehicles of these appeals are second person singular imperative forms which appear in twos in I.1, in VIII.3, in IX.1, and in IX.2. These two first, imperative troparia of the ninth ode are followed in IX.3 by another, interrogative variety of requisitive sentences, and then, in IX.4, by a triple imperative sentence. In the subsequent and final imperative sentence, IX.T, with the same даждь “give”, which concluded the initial troparion of the canon, both levels of appeals merge in the supplication of the worshipers to the Trinity through the intercession of Demetrius.

The biblical similes are a specific feature of the central odes, but, *mutatis mutandis*, they find a significant correspondence in the initial odes. The joyous call of Demetrius to Christ in the third and last festal troparion of the third ode — чьто за всѣ принесѣ ти прободеноуоумоу въ ребра мене ради, нъ мѣчениемъ моимъ божий чашѣ нынѣ испиѣ — proves to be an application to the Thessalonian оугодьникъ of the Psalm 115.12–13 “Чьто въздамъ г<оспод>оу за вса ѣже въздасть миѣ? Чашѣ с<ъ>п<ас>ениѣ приимѣ”, according to the Sinaitic Psalter (Sever'janov, 151^b). The gist of this psalm — 15 “Чьстна прѣдъ г<осподь>мъ съмрътъ прѣ<подо>б<ь>ныхъ его” (“Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints”) — turns into the idea of sharing the Lord's Passion. The *assimilation* of Demetrius to Christ is a *simile* changed from a figure of speech into a developmental part of the poetic plot. The renovation of the prototypical likeness, *ἡ ὁμοίωσις πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*, is the essential religious theme announced by the initial odes of the canon.

The introduction to the quoted pronouncement of Demetrius — III.3,

копиемъ бодомъ ты дьмитрие, въпиѣаше веселѧ сѧ христу — makes use of the solemn, prevalently ecclesiastic verb въпити “to cry”. The imperfect form въпиѣаше underlines the simultaneity of being pierced (бодомъ) by the spear and of crying joyously. In the subsequent ode, IV.2, and once again in VII.3, the third person aorist of the corresponding perfective verb възъпи is applied to the allegedly mystical saws of Solomon’s Canticle. The latter ode establishes a close connection between Demetrius and his biblical background: the miracles of the Thessalonian martyr merge with the Song of Songs. Cf. VII.1, “Thy venerable lips drop wisdom like honey, as Solomon sang, for indeed thou hast learned to cry (наоучи сѧ въпити)”. According to VII.θ, the children in the furnace refused to renounce the Creator and “manfully defying the fire torture, rejoiced singing: Fathers’ glorified Lord and God, blessed art Thou”. The “cry” learned by Demetrius repeats this song of the three children, who радоваахъ сѧ поужше just as he въпиѣаше веселѧ сѧ when tortured by the spear (III.3). The following troparion, VII.2, recounts how the Creator (зиждатель) revealed Demetrius as being most luminous in his martyrdom, and adds momentarily, “hence, rejoicing, we sing (тѣмъже веселѧше сѧ поемъ): Fathers’ glorified Lord *** blessed art Thou!”. Here, the worshipers contemplating the ordeal of the martyr participate in his song and joy, and appear, for the first time, as a direct subject of the action: поемъ. Both initial requests (I.1) addressed to the “wise Demetrius” — “from *** ignorance cleanse us (очисти ны)” and “grant us permission to sing (въспѣвати) thy luminous festival on this day!” — received their solution at the threshold of the terminal odes: VII.4 “Now, on the glorious day, let us exult luminously, O lovers of the festival, reverently cleansing (очищающе) and all singing (поужше) unto Christ: Fathers’ glorified Lord *** blessed art Thou!”

VII. BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS

The pair of intermediate odes displays a number of common features. With direct reference to “the blessed Isaiah”, IV.1 recalls and very freely alters Is. 13.12 as “a man more precious *** than the golden wedge of Ophir”, probably with complementary reminiscences of gold and precious stones brought from Ophir to Solomon, “who exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom” (I.[III]Kings 10.11, 24). VII.2 of *SDC*, without repeating the reference to the prophet, develops the theme of IV.1 and takes over its imagery and vocabulary: IV.1 се ты просвьтъ сѧ, *** доухомъ паче свѣта сѧ (VII.2 зиждитель ***

прѣсвѣтъла тѧ ѣви) камениѣ и отъ оуфира же злата неискоусна (VII.2 искоуси тѧ *** ѣкоже сѣребро и ѣкоже злато — the manuscripts continue — *J* “ωφαизъ”, *P* “ιφρακъсъ”, apparently a distorted reminiscence of Jeremiah 10.9 “silver spread into plates is brought from Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz — злато офазьско), тѣмъже градъ твои чѣтетъ тѧ (VII.2 тѣмъже веселѧще сѧ поемъ). The image of wisdom which, having enlightened Demetrius, led him to self-sacrifice, and thus made him superior to precious metals and stones, finds, perhaps, the nearest biblical parallel in Job’s parable about wisdom, which “cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir, with precious onyx, or the sapphire” (28.16).

Yet it is the Canticle of Canticles which is selected by the Canon to serve as a biblical source for systematic parallelistic quotations. Thus the first intermediate ode, IV.2 and 3, brings two paraphrases from the Canticles, and two other adoptions from the same work appear in the further intermediate ode VII.1 and 3. The first borrowing of the canon from the Canticles includes a reference to the work itself and to its assumed author (IV.2 ѣкоже възъпи *** славнѣ поѧ соломонѣ въ пѣниихъ), while the other quotation in the same ode merely identifies the renowned declaration made by the bride in Cant. 5.6 with the ecstasies of Demetrius: ode IV.3 “*That one* who, like thee, seeking the Lord, heard Him at the entrance, said ***” (cf. Cant. 5.2, 5.6, and 3.1). The seventh ode, in its first excerpt from Cant., names the assumed author: VII.1 ѣко соломонѣ възпѣтъ (cf. IV.2 поѧ). The way of referring to the source quoted is the same as in IV.2, but now this reference is adjoined to the second fragment of the Cant.: VII.3 ѣкоже възъпи доухъ въ пѣниихъ, where the florid laudation of the bride (Cant. 4.4) is viewed as the words of the Spirit. Demetrius has been enlightened by the Spirit, according to the ode IV.1 and, in an explicit association with the bride of the Canticles, is extolled by the Spirit in the ode VII.3. The close connection between *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, underscored by the kinship and grammatical correlation of their Slavic designations, masc. доухъ and fem. доуша, imparts a particular significance to the confession shared by Demetrius and the biblical bride, both in quest of the Lord: IV.3 изиде доуша моѣ его ради.

As Vašica (1966b, p. 519f.) has pointed out, resort and references to the Canticle of Canticles are quite unusual in both Greek and Slavic liturgical songs; its repeated reflection in *SDC* impels the scholar to assume an influence exerted (let us add, in a direct, or perhaps mediate way) by Gregory of Nyssa’s mystical *Commentary on the Canticle of Canticles* (see Langerbeck, 1960). Vašica is right when he states that *SDC* IV.3 quotes

Cant. 5.6 in its Septuagint version and that this canon adheres to Gregory's equation of the biblical bride with the human soul longing and looking for Christ the bridegroom. But Vašica's surmise that Logos (слово) could have been suppressed in *SDC* IV.3 for metrical reasons is hardly acceptable. The word of the Lord is quite naturally conceived by the composer of the canon as the divine Logos, identified with Christ, and therefore the expression *еро ради* "for his sake" appears to be an adequate translation when juxtaposed to Gregory's commentary on this verse (see Langerbeck, 1960, p. 351f. and Daniélou, 1961, p. 261): "Ah, what a blessed departure this is, when the soul goes out to follow her Lord!" This is the going out that the soul enjoys when she takes as her guide the Word, Who said: *I am the door* (John 10.9) and *The Way*; and again: *By me, if any man enter in, he shall go in and go out* (John 10.9). The second part of the same troparion develops the theme: "Hence, Demetrius, thou followedst him in ardent love", or, in terms of Gregory's commentary, *eros*, the fiery, ecstatic desire which is the summit of *agape*: "for love that is strained to intensity is called desire" (cf. Langerbeck, p. 383; Daniélou, 1961, pp. 44ff. and 272; Volker, 1955, p. 251ff.). The medial one of the three references proper to the city's cult of its patron borders on an account of his ardent love for Christ, and states explicitly that the homage has been rendered, just because "thy whole city knows thee enamored as thou art, O Christ's martyr" (IV.4). This homage, moreover, is particularly stressed by the use of a different, effusive and affective predicate *хвалить тѧ* "praiseth thee", as compared to IV.1 and VI.2 *чѣтеть тѧ* "revereth thee".

Ascent and salvation by way of love are the chief impulse of the canon in all its dramatic steps — from the initial praise for the glorious lover of the fatherland through the theme of his valiant likeness to and ardent love for Christ, to the relentless combat of wanderers suffering for the sake of the Creator's love. In each of the two intermediate odes, the Canticle is twice cited with the name of Solomon in the first of the two quotations. One brief borrowing from the Canticle appears, moreover, in the sixth ode, and is accompanied by Solomon's name (VI.3). The inner, and in particular, the intermediate odes, with their apotheosis of the amorous elect in his state of grace, find an inspiring source for the poetic treatment of *eros* in the imagery of the Song of Songs, reinterpreted by the patristic tradition and, in particular, by Gregory of Nyssa. The first of his sermons devoted to the "mystery of the Canticles" declares that by Solomon's art and wisdom "we are made to look to chastity by means of words which seem to suggest the opposite, and through sensuous expressions he reveals a meaning which is incorruptible". Words and

expressions “the obvious meaning of which would suggest carnal passion” are used in this sacred work of art to embody “the chaste concepts of mind”, for “there is a correspondence between the motions and movements of the soul and the sense organs of the body, as we learn from the words of the Spirit in our text” (Gregory’s text, see Langerbeck, pp. 29f., 34, is quoted here and below in Musurillo’s translation: Daniélou, 153–156). The first example from the Canticles adduced by the commentator to illustrate this statement on the “spiritual senses” is a formerly popular, but faulty, reading of the sentence which opens the initial prayer of the bride to the bridegroom: “thy breasts are sweeter than wine”. In Gregory’s deliberation, this comparison shows “how far superior is the milk we draw from the divine breast” to the “joy we derive from wine”, viz. “the childlike instruction we receive from the divine Word”, to worldly wisdom and joy. “Hence it is that the divine breasts are better than human wine” (Langerbeck, p. 34ff., Daniélou, p. 157). The same reading and a similar interpretation are reflected in the first reference to Solomon’s Song in *SDC*, where Demetrius is spiritually identified with the scriptural bride: IV.2 “As Solomon cried while gloriously singing in the Canticles, thou, O saint, appearedst, having sucked the old doctrine and the new. O blessed one, as from the breasts of Christ”. As mentioned above, in the subsequent troparion, IV.3, a sign of equality is drawn between Demetrius and the bride in Gregory’s interpretation. The three other references in *SDC* to Solomon’s scripture depict the martyr by applying to him the praises lavished on the bride by her bridegroom, viz. by the Spirit, according to Gregory’s conception echoed in *SDC* (VII.3 “As the Spirit cried in the Canticles”).

As to Cant. 4.10 “*** the sweet smell of thy ointments, above all aromatic spices”, Gregory teaches that “When we hear that the bride’s fragrance is *above all aromatical spices*, this is the lesson we are taught: the mystery of truth which was accomplished through the message of the Gospel is alone sweet to God, and it is judged to be superior to all the spices of the old Law, because it is no longer concealed by type and shadow but gives forth its fragrance in an open revelation of truth. *** So it is then that the soul *** becomes fragrant throughout her entire life, breathing the myrrh of holiness and incense variously mixed and compounded of all the virtues; and thus she comes to delight the nostrils of her Spouse in an odor of sweetness” (Langerbeck, p. 267f., Daniélou, p. 222f.). *SDC* VI.3 reads “Youthful as thou wast in grace, O blessed one, thou didst go in the footsteps of Christ, and as Solomon sang of ointment, thou too appearedst, reverently offering fragrance unto thy city”.

With reference to Cant. 4.11 “Thy lips, O my spouse, drop as a honeycomb”, Gregory states: “The text *** enhances the bride’s praise. *** Just like the bee whose honeycomb is sweet ***, we should constantly be busy in the important labor of our virtue. It busies itself indeed by exchanging the labors of this life for eternal blessings. *** In this way too, the soul attracts the Bridegroom, and is an object of admiration to the angels, perfecting her power in weakness by honoring wisdom” (Langerbeck, p. 268–270; Daniélou, 224f.). *SDC* VII.1 echoes here: “Thy venerable lips drop wisdom like honey, as Solomon sang, for indeed thou hast learned to cry: Fathers’ glorified Lord and God, blessed art Thou.”

From the same Chapter 4 of the Canticles, with its encomium praising the bride’s body, *SDC* VII.3 adopts and applies the comparison of “thy neck” (4.4) with the tower of David, while adding three epithets — дръжавна “majestic” to the neck, крѣпкъ “mighty” to the tower, and доуховными “spiritual” to the image of the shields hanging thereupon. The latter attribute enhances the dematerializing approach to the imagery of the Canticles, in harmony with Gregory’s dialectic belief in the divine wisdom which arises in Solomon’s “sacred book” through the union of opposites and reveals the invisible in the corporeal (cf. Langerbeck, p. 232ff.). In particular, the commentator mentions words which, “in their obvious meanings”, signify parts of the body, but in the Canticles are called to express heavenly blessedness and integrity (Langerbeck, p. 28). It is no mere chance that the seventh ode of *SDC*, after having responded to the bridegroom’s synecdochic tributes to the body of the bride, praising “thy lips” твои оустѣнѣ (VII.1) and “thy neck” выѣ твоѣ (VII.3), glorifies “Thy womb, O most pure” in VII.0 (cf. Cant. 5.14 and 7.2: “his belly” eulogized by the bride, and “thy belly” acclaimed by the bridegroom). Without being referred to, the Song of Songs, particularly its images of the bridegroom, seems to be echoed in several theotokia extolling Christ: I.0 “Christ, the bridegroom who called all the faithful to his heavenly chamber” — Cant. I.4 “the King hath brought me into his chambers”; IV.0 “Thou who hast given birth in flesh to all the sweetness and beauty” — Cant. V.16 “His mouth is most sweet: yea, he is altogether lovely” (cf. also I.16).

The pair of intermediate odes, jointly with the central pair, form a group of four inner odes tied together by several patent links.

A conspicuous repetition of pertinent words and roots connects the central odes with each other and with the intermediate odes, and hints at the manifold development of the poetic plot. Thus, the progressive superiority of Demetrius over material treasures and Old Testament heroes: IV.1 ПАЧЕ СВѢТА СѦ — V.3 ВЕЛИИ ЪВИ СѦ ПАЧЕ — VI.2

СВѢТЪЛО чѢтеть тѧ *** и ВЕЛичить. The text prompts a gentle association between the supremacy of the new guide and his filial affection toward the new doctrine: IV.2 и НОВА же, БЛАЖЕНЕ, съсавъ оучениѣ — V.1 НОВА *** Мосеа *** люди своѧ въ вѣчныѧ обитѣли, БЛАЖЕНЕ, въводащъ. The blessed soul, with its perpetual “going in and going out” which Gregory of Nyssa believes to be the innermost theme of the Canticles, and which he compares with Moses who “never stopped in his growth towards perfection” (see Langerbeck, p. 354; Daniélou, p. 261), finds a congenial treatment in the verbal chain which ties together the inner odes of *SDC*: IV.3 възискаѧ ВЪХОДОМЪ господа *** ИЗИде доуша *** томоу поСЛѢДова — VI.3 въ СЛѢДЪ христа ХОДИлъ еси. The praise to Demetrius, V.3, сы юнѣ КРѢПОСТИѢ градъ си избовлѧ, мѧдре “youthful as thou wast, in might, O wise one, redeeming thy city”, is superceded by the parallel construction VI.3 ЮНѢ, блажене, СЫИ БЛАГОДАТИѢ, въ слѣдъ христа ходилъ еси “youthful as thou wast, in grace, O blessed one, thou didst go in the footsteps of Christ”, and both might and grace approach their synthesis when, in VII.4, the Spirit (ДОУХЪ) exalts the neck of the martyr as a mighty (КРѢПЪКЪ) tower adorned with spiritual shields (ЩИТЫ ДОУХОВЪНЫМИ) which convert him into a shielder (заЩИТЪНИКЪ) of his people and his city.

The themes underlying these textual correspondences confront us with the cardinal and specific feature of all four inner odes. This is the appearance of biblical human names directly cited or alluded to in the first three stanzas within each of the four inner odes, viz. the patent or latent presence of such names in twelve festal troparia and their total absence in the rest of the festal troparia, i.e., in the fourth troparion of the two intermediate odes and in all fourteen festal troparia of the four outer odes.

The biblical persons cited in the twelve troparia of the inner odes are clearly divided into two groups. One embraces writers or preachers quoted: Isaiah (IV.1, VI.1, and, moreover, VII.2, without direct reference, but with an evident allusion to the quotation in IV.1), Solomon (IV.2, VI.3, VII.1, and two quotations with the omission of Solomon’s name, but VII.3 with a direct reference, and IV.3 with a mere allusion to the Canticles), and the apostle Paul (VI.2). The other group consists of Old Testament heroes compared to the celebrated saint. They are evoked in the fifth ode (Moses V.1, Joshua V.2, Samson and Gideon V.3), and in VII.3, David emerges in a quotation from the Canticle.

When the biblical names within the four inner stanzas occur in their primary, substantival form, and not as possessive adjectives (cf. VI.1 въ

памяти исаиевъ, VII.3 стлѣпь давидовъ), their grammatical application shows a clear-cut differentiation of the two sets outlined above, i.e., the names of all quoted authors function in the syntactic constructions as subjects denoted by the nominative case, whereas the names of the heroes compared in some way with Demetrius appear as governed modifiers: *genitivus comparationis* in V.2 исоуса, 3 сампсона, гедеона or a gen.-acc. form in V.1 моcea.

The two sets of biblical names in the inner odes of *SDC* represent two different kinds of similes. On the one hand, passages from Scriptures are quoted as applicable also to the qualities, acts, and fame of Demetrius, and, usually, the quotation is introduced by the identifier ъкоже, unknown in the outer odes (IV.1 ъкоже пишеть, VI.2 ъкоже оучить, 3 ъкоже *** поеть, IV.2 and VI.3 ъкоже възъпи оу же ъко — the latter when the addressed Demetrius is syntactically subordinated to the quoted anticipant: IV.3 кѣто же ъко ты “that one who like thee”).

The Canticle image of lips dropping honey is not merely transferred onto Demetrius in *SDC* VII.1 by similarity, but complemented by an internal and paronomastic simile, “lips drop wisdom (Мѣдрость) like honey (Медь)”, while the simile which likens Solomon’s picture of the bride to the worshipers’ portrayal of Demetrius is removed to the second place of the sentence, and adopts the conjunction of the first simile: ъко медь *** мѣдрость ъко солломонъ възпѣтъ. The next simile of the same ode — VII.2, borrowing, but substantially rephrasing Isaiah’s comparison between man and precious metals, introduces into the comparison a reiterated identifier ъкоже (тѣ *** ъкоже сѣребро и ъкоже злато), whereas the correspondence with the biblical prototype of this imagery may be inferred only from the parallel figure in IV.1: ъкоже пишеть блаженный исаиѣ.

Those similes which liken virtues shared by Demetrius with the Israelite leaders after the exodus have to show the preeminence of Christ’s martyr filled by Grace over the great men of pre-Christian times. On the other hand, similes applying paraphrastic quotations from the Scriptures to Demetrius follow the traditional exegesis in treating passages of Solomon’s Song and Isaiah’s Book as prefigurative images of supreme Christian values. When references to these two Scriptures are interlaced with a slight variation of Paul’s words on those men who by grace became heavenly citizens, such a selection of quoted biblical texts agrees perfectly with the patristic tradition, which approached the bride of the Canticles as the symbolic prototype, and the apostle Paul as the supreme achievement in *imitatio Christi* (cf. Volker, 1955, p. 271ff.).

The festal troparia of the four outer odes, in contrast to those of the

four inner odes, are devoid of biblical anthroponyms and of the particular similes that underlie those names.

In their distribution of Scriptural names, the final stanzas differ strikingly from the festal troparia. In contrast to the latter, the former are devoid of such names in the inner odes. As to the outer odes, the first theotokion is the only one in which Virgin Mary is patently named, without substitutive appellatives or attributes (I.θ *мариѣ възпоемъ*); correspondingly, the triadikon of the ninth ode names its addressee (IX.Т *бездначальнаѣ троице*). The theotokia of both premarginal odes contain biblical anthroponyms. Isaiah 11.1 is named and quoted as a messianic prophet — III.θ “Thou, the most Pure, art a rod [out of the stem] of Jesse that *** hath bloomed the blossom”. The introductory words to this paraphrase — *Огньныи оумъ исайѣ наоучи* — correspond to the incipit of the same ode, which evokes the supreme wisdom learned by Demetrius and inspires him (III.1 *Наоучъ сѧ измлада прѣмѣдрости, подобно сътвори, прѣмѣдре*). It is noteworthy that in Isaiah’s prophecy “rod *** of Jesse” appears in close association with the “spirit of wisdom” (11.2). On the other hand, the free quotation from Isaiah in *SDC* III.θ is followed by the second, adjacent reference to the same prophet — IV.1 *ѣкоже пишетъ блаженныи исайѣ*.

The theotokion of the third ode — *жъзль иосѣвовъ процвѣтъшь цвѣтъ* — blends Isaiah’s prediction of the Messiah’s birth — *изидеть жъзль ис корене иосѣова и цвѣтъ отъ корене изидеть* — with the image of the rod of Aaron, which “bloomed blossoms” (Numbers 17.8). The latter image is metaphorically applied to the Virgin in the theotokion of the other premarginal ode of *SDC*: VIII.θ *Жъзль аронъ ты ѣви сѧ, дѣво*. Here again, a certain formal parallelism links the glorious evangelical theme with the glorification of Demetrius: VIII.4 *всьиѣ рогъ дрѣжавнѣ дмитриеви *** праздыньство* — VIII.θ *жъзль *** всьиѣвши всѣмъ страшно сѣще порождение*.

Similar confrontations of festal troparia praising Demetrius with the subsequent theotokion take place in all the odes of *SDC*. Thus, the image of the “heavenly beverage” beneficial to Demetrius (I.3) finds a response in the supplication of the worshipers for entrance into the heavenly chamber (I.θ), and thus the adjective *небесьныи* occurs thrice in this ode, and each time in a different case. Corresponding to the praise of Demetrius, “enlightened by the Spirit” (IV.1), the final stanza (IV.θ) beseeches the Virgin to enlighten the sinners. While Demetrius is said to have redeemed his city from barbarian malice (V.3), the Virgin, who bore the redemption of the tongues, is implored to give to those who call her redemption from transgressions and barbarian horrors. The stem of the

verb *избавлѣти* emerges thrice in this ode and nowhere else. Three parallel formulae, motivating the glorification of Demetrius by the knowledge of his magnificence, terminate in the troparion with VI.2. “Knowing thee to be a heavenly citizen, O blessed one, *** thy city luminously revereth thee”; and in VI.θ, the same formulaic pattern is transposed into a supplication to the theotokos: “Knowing Thee to be the haven, O Virgin, all of us *** beg *** to attain calm from Thee”. The aorist *ѣви сѧ*, “thou appearedst”, with diverse complements, is the predicate chiefly used to depict Demetrius, and its sixth and last occurrence in the festal troparia is VII.3 *ѣви сѧ защитѣникъ поужшиимъ* “thou appearedst a defender (the etymological meaning “shielder” is reinforced by contiguity with “spiritual shields”) of the worshipers”. VII.θ endows with the same verb the worshipers praying to the Virgin: *да ѣвимъ сѧ отъ напасти мирьныѧ неврѣдими* “let us appear immune from worldly onslaught”. Finally, in VIII.θ, the last and most significant of all the theotokia, that focal verb which was used to portray Demetrius, in the same second person aorist, is transferred and assigned to the Eternal Virgin.

VIII. THE CANON'S HIRMOI

The centon style, which authorizes a new work to include passages of an alien text, enters in two ways into *SDC*. On the one hand, the troparia are richly supplemented with biblical quotations and especially with wide adaptations of the Canticle of Canticles. The original imagery of the erotic contests between the lad and beloved lass is rather enriched than replaced by the Christian and Judaic bookmen's efforts to assign to the text of the Canticles their view of the mystical relations between the divine bridegroom and the human soul. On the other hand, in the canons, and particularly in *SDC*, a regular use is made of hirmoi, both melodically and poetically model texts, preposed to all the festal troparia.

Like all other Church Slavonic canons, *SDC* in all its variants begins each ode by citing the incipit of its hirmoi. These hirmoi and their relation to the subsequent troparia still need a closer examination, which promises to lead us toward the solution of several questions concerning the Slavic hirmologia and liturgical canons. I touched upon these questions in my draft of 1965 (pp. 116–120) and turn to them at greater length in the present study, which permitted me to utilize Vařica's keen publications of 1966 and 1970, as well as the still unpublished manuscript of the Voskresensk Hirmologion, which belonged first to the “New Jerusalem” monastery and later to the Moscow Historical Museum.

The incipits of the hirmoi which introduce all the eight odes of *SDC* prove to be in close agreement with the reading of the Church Slavonic Hirmologion, with its canon for the Assumption of the Virgin, as attested particularly by the Russian Voskresensk (Voskr.) manuscript of the XII–XIII centuries.

SDC I J штврѣзоус.; *P* отъврѣзь оуста; *M* штврѣзѣ оуста моѣ и наплѣнѣть сѣ — *Voskr.* I.2 (88) отъврѣзь оуста моѣ. и наплѣнѣть сѣ доухомъ. и слово отъригноу цесарици матери. и ꙗвлю сѣ. свѣтло тѣржѣствоуѣ. и въспою радоуѣ сѣ сиѣ чюдеса:· Cf. the incipit of the same hirmos over the first ode of the Canon to Cyril (CC) in its Russian version (Lavrov, 1930, p. 108), отъврѣзь оу, Macedonian (*ibid.*, 117) штврѣзѣ уста моѣ и наплѣнѣтсѣ д[оу]хомъ.

SDC III J твоѣ пѣвѣца; *P* твоѣ пѣвѣца б[огороди]це; *M* твоѣ пѣвѣцѣ, б[огороди]це живыи нетлѣнныи источь — *Voskr.* III.2 (94) твоѣ пѣвѣца богородице. живыи нетлѣнныи источьниче. лики тебе съвькоуплыше. доуховно оутврѣди. и въ божѣствьную ти славою. вѣнѣцѣмъ славы съподоб[и].

SDC IV. J, P неислѣдноумоу — *Voskr.* IV.2 (98) неислѣдноуоумоу божию съвѣтоу. ꙗже шть дѣвы въплъщениѣ. тебе вышѣнаго. пророкъ амвакоумъ. дивѣ сѣ въпимаше. слава силѣ твоѣи. господи:· — *M* brings the incipit сѣдѣи въ славѣ на прѣ corresponding to *Voskr.* IV.3 (98–99) сѣдѣи въ славѣ. на прѣстоулѣ божѣствьнѣ. etc.

SDC V J оудивиша сѣ въ; *P* оудивиши сѣ всѣ; *M* оудивишѣ сѣ всѣчьскаѣ — *Voskr.* V.2 оудивиша сѣ всѣчьскаѣ ш божѣствьнѣи славѣ твоѣи. ты бо неискоусобрачѣнаѣ дѣвице. приѣть въ оутробѣ. надъ всѣми бога. и родила ꙗси безлѣтна сына. всѣмъ въспѣвающимъ. мира подаваючи.

SDC VI. J б[о]жѣ се и всечѣсть, *P* б[о]ж[ь]ствьноѣ се и в, *M* б[о]ж[ь]ствьноѣ и всесъборноѣ творѣще праздь — *Voskr.* VI.6 (109) (the order of the stanzas is here apparently altered) божѣствьноѣ се а всечѣстьноѣ. съвршающе праздьнѣство. богомыслѣнѣи божим матери. придѣте роуками въсплещемъ. шть неѣ рожѣшааго сѣ. вѣроу славѣше.

SDC VII J не послужиша; *P* не послужиша. *M* не послужишѣ твари — *Voskr.* VII.2 (112) не послужиша твари богомыслѣнни паче зижителѣ. нѣ шгньноѣ прѣшениѣ. моужьскы попьравѣше радоваахоу сѣ поуще. прѣпѣтыи име отьцѣмъ господь и богъ благословленъ ꙗси:· — Cf. CC VII, Russian version (Lavrov, 110) не послужити, Bulgarian (Lavrov, 121) не послужитѣ тва.

SDC VIII J отроки прѣч[и]сты; *P* отроки бл[а]гочѣсти; *M*

отроки бл[а]гочъстивыѣ въ печи рож[дъ]с[т]во с[ъ]п[а]сло ес[т]ь — *Voskr.* VIII.2 (116) отроки благочъстивыѣ въ печи. рождество богородице съпасло ѣсть. тѣгда образоуѣмь. нынѣ же съдѣваѣмь. въселеноушъ всю въздвиже поюшоу. господа възпѣвайте дѣла и превъзнесите ѣго въ вѣкы: — Cf. *CC VIII, Rus. (Lavrov, 110)* отроки бл[а]гоч; *Bulg. (ib. 121)* отроки бл[а]гоч[ъ]стивы.

SDC IX J въсѣкъ земьнѣ; *P* въсѣкъ земьнѣ, *M* въсѣкъ земьнѣ да възиграетъ сѣ д[о]ухомъ просвѣ — *Voskr.* IX.2 (122) Въсѣкъ земьнѣ. да възиграетъ сѣ доухомъ просвѣщаѣмь. да ликъствоуѣтъ же. бесплътныхъ оумовъ родъ почитатѣ. свѣтѣмъ тръжство божс[ъ]мъ матере. и да поѣтъ радоуи сѣ преблаженатѣ. богородице чиста приснодѣватѣ.

Diverse correspondences in words, word sequences, and in their grammatical shape, as well as in poetic imagery connect the festal troparia and theotokia of the odes with their chosen hirmoi (*H*).

The Ode I and its hirmos begin with the same morpheme used as preverb in the latter and as preposition in the former: *H* Отъврѣзѣ — I.1 Отъ мѣглы. The textual connection of the same ode with its hirmos is apparent: *H* свѣтло тръжствоуѣ и възпоѣ *** сѣ чюдеса — I. даждь възпѣвати свѣтлое твое тръжство *** 2. твоѣ чюдеса. III. *H* богородице *** въ божьствѣнѣти слава вѣнцемъ славы съподоби — I. подобно сътвори *** вѣнць *** ѣко подобникъ *** христу рождьшоумоу сѣ отъ дѣвы. 2. славьнѣ. Cf. the contrast between *H* нетѣлѣ and *θ* вонѣ смраднѣ. Cf. I *H* ѣвлѣ сѣ — II.2 ѣви сѣ. IV *H* пророкъ амвакоумъ дивѣ сѣ въпиѣше слава *** господ — 2. възъпи, свѣте, славьнѣ поѣ соломонѣ *** 3. възискаѣ въходомъ господи рече. Cf. also IV *H* отъ дѣвы възплъщение — *θ* рождьши плътиѣ *** прѣчистѣ. Cf. IV *H* въпиѣше — III 3 въпиѣше V *H* оудивишѣ сѣ въсѣчьскаѣ о божьствѣнѣти слава твоеи — I. тѣ съвѣдѣши твоѣ землѣ славьне *** чьтеть тѣ *** славаши. Cf. also V *H* дѣвице *** родила еси безлѣтна сына въсѣмъ възпѣваѣщимъ мира подаваѣши — *θ* дѣво ѣко рождьши ѣзыкомъ избавление даждь вѣроѣ възпиѣшимъ *** избавление *** и радование. VI *H* съврѣшаѣще праздньство славаше — I. храмъ твои свѣтѣи обѣстоѣще *** глагольще. Cf. also the endings of *H* възплещемъ отъ неѣ рождьшаго сѣ вѣроѣ славаше and of *θ* просимъ отъ тебе обрѣсти вѣроѣ непорочнаѣ. Cf. VI *H* съврѣшаѣще праздньство *** славаше — VII.4 въ славьнымъ днь нынѣ, праздньнолюбци *** очищаѣще и поѣще.

While in the two central odes, V and VI, with their troparia rich in biblical quotations and paraphrases, the textual ties to the hirmoi are

confined to vague parallelisms in phraseology and syntax, the two further odes, VII and VIII, widely expand their affinity with the guiding hirmoi. In addition to a few vocables with a common stem or root, as VII *H* паче зиждителѣ — 1. искоуси тѣ зиждитель, and VIII *H* образъ — 1. образуемъ от *H* съпасло естъ *** нынѣ — 2. съпасаемоу съпасеши, 3. съпаси *** нынѣ, от *H* рождество — 0 порождение, one observes that in each of these odes three of the four troparia use the final part of the preposed hirmos as their own burden. Like most of the hirmoi which treat the theme of the three lads in the Chaldean furnace, the hirmoi of *SDC* VII and VIII at their end use a traditional combination of a *dixit* formula (VII *H* радоваахъ сѧ поужше; VIII *H* въселенѣхъ всѣхъ въздвиже поужшѣ) with a subsequent hymnic *dictum* (VII *H* прѣпѣтѣи иже отъцемъ господь и богъ благословленъ еси; VIII *H* господа въспѣвайте дѣла и прѣвъзнесите его въ вѣкы.).

The troparia 1, 2, and 4 of VII slightly vary the grammatical construction of the *dixit* formula suggested by the hirmos — 1. въспѣтъ ѣвъ бо наоучь сѧ въпити; 2. тѣмъже веселѣще сѧ поемъ, свѣтло възиграимъ *** поужше всѣи христосоу — while the subsequent *dictum* of the given hirmos remains invariable in all three troparia. The Russian manuscripts of *SDC* quote only the incipit of this formula прѣпѣтѣи от, as *J* does at the end of VII.1, “прѣпѣтѣи ѱ[тъцемъ]”, whereas *M* cites the same eulogy in slightly different wording: 1. “бл[аго]с[лове]нъ б[ог]ъ от[ъ]це нашихъ”, 2. “бл[аго]с[лове]нъ ѳси г[оспод]и б[ож]е ѱт[ъ]ць нашихъ”, 4. “бл[аго]с[лове]нъ б[ог]ъ”. In *M*, the changed word order and the added possessive pronoun deviate both from the text of the hirmos as it sounds in the Voskresensk Hirmologion, and from the Greek prototype of this hirmos — ὑπερ ὑμνητὸς/ὁ τῶν πατέρων Κύριος/καὶ Θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἶ (Eustr. 141, Ode VII) — and is taken over from such hirmoi of the seventh song as “благословленъ ѳси господи боже отъчь нашихъ” (see Chil. I, 14^a and Koschmieder 1942, I, p. 54) with the Greek prototype εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν (Eustr. 21, Ode VII). Whenever this formula occurs in Slavic hirmoi without the possessive нашихъ, the adnominal genitive отъчь yields to the dative отъцемъ which seems to have been taken at an early time for the instrumental singular отъцемъ (Rus. отъцьмъ): cf. *Voskr.* 112 v. “прѣпѣтѣи иже отъцьмъ господь и богъ” reinterpreted as “Lord and God who has been glorified”; Koschmieder (1942, I p. 110) “прѣпѣтѣи отъцьмъ господь и бѣгъ”, p. 46 “въсхвалѣемъ отъцемъ богъ”, p. 50 “благословленъ отъчемъ богъ”, “отъцемъмъ (!) богъ благословленъ ѳси”.

The *dictum* at the end of the hirmos VIII is speech (*dictum*) in speech

(*dixit*), and, moreover, it is speech about speech. The first troparion follows the hirmos in a clear-cut delimitation of the two constituents: поемъ вѣрно (Н поѣщѣ): *** въспѣвайте *** и *** прѣвъзнесите ***. Between the *dixit* молаше сѧ and the *dictum* of the hirmos addressed to all the believers (*** въспѣвайте *** и прѣвъзнесите ***.), the third troparion inserts a supplication to the addressee of all the previous troparia of the canon: съпаси *** дѣмитрие ***! In contradistinction to this assignment of the terminal *dictum* to two different addressees, namely to the celestial one implored to save the slaves and to the terrestrial ones summoned to glorify the Lord, VIII.4 changes the *dictum* of the hirmos into subordinate clauses of the *dixit*: въсхвалимъ *** и ликоуимъ *** хвалаше *** и прѣвъзносаше ***.

In the eighth, next to last ode (VIII.2), as also in the third, next to first ode (III.3) the quoted speech changes the usual addressee of the troparia into an addresser, and among all the stanzas in the canon these two troparia are the only ones that introduce verbal forms of the first person singular (VIII.2 възъпи къ зиждителяю си: *** радъ есмь; III.3 ты, дѣмитрие, въпиѣшаше веселѣ сѧ христу: чѣто за въсѣ принесѣ ти прободенуоумоу въ ребра мене ради нѣ мѣчениемъ моимъ божиѣ чашѣ нынѣ испиѣ). Among the eight hirmoi prefixed to the odes only the initial one makes use of first person singular verbs: отъврѣзь, отъригнѣ, въспоѣ.

All the finites of the hirmos IX are singular imperatives: three forms of the third person — да възиграетъ сѧ, да ликѣствоуетъ же, да поетъ (cf. VIII.3 възиграимъ *** поѣше, ликоуимъ) — are followed by a *dictum* with one single second person form: радоуи сѧ прѣблаженаѣ богородице. To the requisitive constituents of this hirmos the ninth ode responds by the invariably requisitive character of all its independent clauses. The four festal troparia consist of three compositional units — a supplication which embraces the first couple of troparia, the third, interrogative troparion, and the fourth troparion which answers the preceding question by a new, enhanced supplication. Each of these two supplications counts, like the introductory part of VIII *H*, three imperatives which in the troparia are all addressed to Demetrius: IX.1 не забѣди *** моли сѧ; 2. оумили сѧ; 4. потѣши сѧ *** вари *** настави. In correspondence with the terminal *dictum* of the hirmos, the final stanza of the ode and of the entire canon, the *triadikon*, bears one imperative даждь in its main clause. It is noteworthy that before ode IX no singular imperative forms occur in the troparia except in the initial troparion of *SDC* with its two imperatives: I.1 очисти ны *** мѣдре дѣмитрие молитвами си! Даждь въспѣвати свѣтлое твое

тръжъство (cf. IX.1 мадре дѣмитрие не забѣди насъ нѣ чѣстно моли сѧ *** нынѣ помѣщимъ твоѣ величїѣ) and the twice repeated съпаси in VIII.3.

The preponderance of imperatives in ode IX is preluded by the use of imperative forms of the first person plural in the fourth troparion of odes VII (4. възиграимъ) and VIII (4. въсхвалимъ *** и лїкоуимъ). The quotations from the hirmos in ode VIII expand the use of imperatives to the second person plural as well (3. въспѣвайте *** и прѣвъзносїте); moreover, in this ode the first person plural is no longer confined to the imperative: VIII.3. въпїемъ.

The incipits of the hirmoi mostly differ in the number of syllables, which oscillates between 53 and 81, the latter a manifestly trinitarian symbol. Each of the canon's odes offers at the beginning of one of its troparia or of its theotokion an isosyllabic correspondence to the incipit of the antecedent hirmos. Most of these repetitions are doubled or even tripled: ode III.1,2: 58; IV.3 and θ : 53; V.1,2,3: 67; VI.1,2: 57; IX.1,2,3:81. The enhanced symmetry in the construction of the canon's final ode is reinforced by the isosyllabism of the fourth troparion and the triadikon: 91–92.

It is the musical structure that proves to be decisive in the ties between the canon's text and hirmoi, as is now being revealed by Miloš Velimirović (1981). This progressing research authorizes us to publish and analyze the inner text of the troparia and the corresponding hirmoi as one artistic whole, with two means of poetic condensation — one through an alternation of biblical images and the other through a concatenation of festal troparia with the corresponding hirmoi.

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CZECH VERSE OF A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

Only in the last few years have philological studies fully uncovered a significant period in the development of Czech culture — the Church Slavonic period, considered hitherto in Czech textbooks as a chance, fleeting, and fruitless episode. We shall return on another occasion to the inviting tangle of Cyrillo-Methodian problems as a vital and far-reaching chapter of Czech cultural history.¹ Meanwhile, however, it should be pointed out that the new discoveries in this field have given great satisfaction to Russian scholarship, whose view of Slavic problems “from the East, not from the West” has always been an important counterbalance to the dominant, one-sidedly Western-oriented tendencies in Czech scholarship; Russian scholarship has long placed particular emphasis on the significance of the Cyrillo-Methodian period for the Czech Middle Ages.

If we take into account the literary patrimony of the Czech Church Slavonic period, we enrich the history of Czech literary culture by almost four centuries, as M. Weingart correctly pointed out in his most recent work.² The Church Slavonic period sets numerous tasks for Czech scholarship. Besides questions about the fate of Church Slavonic thought in Czech cultural and political life, and about the development, against the Czech background, of the Church Slavonic liturgy, language, script, orthography, historiography, prose and prose style, one should add the question of Czech Church Slavonic verse. Today Flajšhans' assertion that Old Slavonic poetry “absolutely did not strike firm roots in our land” has been completely disproven. In particular, the connection of the song “Hospodine, pomiluj ny” with the Church Slavonic tradition has been essentially clarified, thanks to my booklet “The Oldest

¹ Cf. the author's 1939 article “Český podíl na církevněslovanské kultuře”, published in the present volume in English translation, *supra*, pp. 129–152.

² M. Weingart in *Byzantinoslavica* 5 (1934).

Czech Spiritual Songs”³ and the studies of M. Weingart and B. Havránek. A comparison of the variants of this song clearly shows that the form that has been preserved is not that of the original. Such a comparison also gives us data with which to attempt a reconstruction of the original text, an attempt that must take into account the then-current phraseological inventory of Old Church Slavonic prayers and psalms. Further work must exploit in particular the Rajhrad manuscript of the treatise of Jan of Břevnov, hitherto practically ignored by scholarship. In addition, the material on the important question of whether “Hospodine, pomiluj ny” is of Greek or Latin origin, presented by A. Wyrzykowski in his book *Geneza Bogarodzicy* (Sandomierz, 1922), must be carefully examined. The Czech Church Slavonic poetic patrimony does not, however, stop at this song.

Today the question of whether the so-called Kievan Missal is an Old Church Slavonic monument of Czech recension can definitely be answered in the affirmative. One can only marvel at what flimsy, even out-right fabricated arguments were introduced to prove the non-Czech origin of this precious monument, and to generally impoverish as much as possible the Czech part in Old Church Slavonic Culture. The Kievan Leaflets are, however, not only an Old Church Slavonic text of Czech recension, but also the oldest Czech document in verse. It was the renowned German phonetician and rhythmician Sievers who first noted that the Kievan Missal is an example of versified composition.⁴ While Sievers’ exceptional rhythmico-melodic sensitivity was sufficient for this general observation, he was naturally unable to make up for his inadequate preparation in Slavistics; the scholar failed as soon as he made an attempt at a closer determination of verse principles and at a metrical analysis. In the study which I presented in 1925 to the Third Class of the Czech Academy, I offered a detailed critique of this work by Sievers, drew attention to the syllabic tendency that is distinctly felt in the Kievan Missal, and divided its individual Masses into isosyllabic (i.e., equal in number of syllables) sections, using punctuation as an important aid. Punctuation plays above all a rhythmico-melodic role in the monument, as is usually also the case in contemporaneous Greek and Latin texts in verse. I also touched upon the phonic devices connected with this division. Weingart highly values the Kievan Missal from the point of view of phonic artistry; however, he considers that “in the

³ R. Jakobson, *Nejstarší české písně duchovní* (Prague, 1929); reprinted *infra*, pp. 355–375. Cf. our later study of 1972, “Staroslověnská kantiléna v dědictví českém”, published in the present volume in English translation, *infra*, pp. 389–401.

⁴ E. Sievers, *Die altslawischen Verstehte von Kiew und Freising* (Leipzig, 1925).

Kievan Leaflets we cannot expect to find verse with a strict meter, although we do indeed find rhythmicized prose *** in which the choice of words and of word order and the entire syntactic structure was subject to the sense of sound of the translator, who undoubtedly knew well both the Byzantine and Roman liturgical song".⁵ According to the well-known principle of such song, to which the Slavic poet adhered, there must be one syllable for each neume (*singuli motus cantilenae singulas syllabas debent habere*); identical musical periods were, thus, at the same time isosyllabic. If Weingart does not find here "verse" in the narrow sense of the word, he is correct insofar as the isosyllabic sections are in this case the mere result of the repetition of certain melodic periods, i.e., the musical structure indisputably takes precedence. Even medieval terminology, for example, considered such sequences to be written in "prose". However, one can hardly dispute the marked isosyllabic tendency of the Kievan Missal. In my study "Old Czech Verse",⁶ I introduced as an example the 31st Mass, which is divided by a colon (:) into two 17-syllable periods (*Langzeilen*), or "sound sequences" in Weingart's terminology, with a break after the thirteenth syllable. We observe an analogous repetition of 17-syllable periods (with almost the same cut), united with repetition of the melody, in the Hussite trope:

Hospodine, pro tvé svaté vzkriesenie, smiluj se nad námi!
 Jenžs prvně jaté k svobodě jsi navrátil, daj smilování!
 A svu světlosti temnosti jsi osvietil daj smilování!⁷

Let me add several more examples of metrical division of the Masses in the Kievan Missal, the majority of which are also sustained by punctuation. In Mass XI there is twice repeated a 19-syllable period, after whose eleventh syllable follows a break that is accentuated by rhyme: 2(11+8) — a dot follows, and after it is added a sentence that is outside of the verse structure and that, most interestingly, is missing in the Latin model; Mass V: 2(15+10); XXI: 4·16 (the metrical division is supported by alternating ornamental rhymes); IV: 2(3+10+14+4); XXXII: 2(10+12)+2·10; I: 2(11+4)+2(11+5), and so on.

After Mohlberg's recent discovery of the Latin model of the Kievan Missal,⁸ it is necessary to analyze in detail the content of the two texts. It seems that the Slavic translator, who, as Weingart correctly points out,

⁵ M. Weingart, *op. cit.*, 463 ff.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 418f.

⁷ Z. Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu II* (Prague, 1913), 434.

⁸ K. Mohlberg, *Il messale glagolitico di Kiev* (= *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia*, ser. 3, *memorie* vol. 2, pp. 207-320), Rome, 1928.

undoubtedly knew well Byzantine and Roman liturgical song, also had recourse in his work to contemporaneous rhythmico-melodic devices that his Latin model, which was two or three centuries older, could not have been acquainted with.

In connection with the melodic structure of the Kievan Missal, Sievers and Weingart mention the diacritical marks that are abundantly present in the manuscript, that is, they consider them, as earlier Fortunatov did, as neumes. I attempted a detailed analysis of these diacritics in the above-mentioned study on the Kievan Missal; here I shall limit myself to a few remarks on the question of the degree to which we may speak of their musical significance. So far, only Sievers has made an attempt at a concrete interpretation of the diacritics in the Kievan Leaflets as musical symbols, and this attempt was entirely unsuccessful.⁹ Weingart also rejects Sievers' interpretation as forced and subjective. Sievers asserts that he can read the melody of the text without heeding the diacritics, and that despite this fact, the melody exactly coincides with the musical curve indicated by the neumes. It is peculiar that this melody also coincides with the printing errors in the scheme of the diacritics that crept into Jagić's edition of the Missal! An analysis of the diacritics in connection both with the script and the language of the Kievan Leaflets, and with the diacritics in other Church Slavonic manuscripts, necessarily leads to the following conclusions:

1) Aspiration marks designate initial vowels, and are here purely graphic, and not prosodic, signs. 2) The circumflex likewise has no sound value and is used mainly for the distinction of homonymous forms. 3) The inverted arch (∩) is found as a rule over vowels which are long in Common Slavic. 4) Combinations of two vowels are often marked in Church Slavonic manuscripts by diacritics. In the Kievan Leaflets, the first vowel in such cases is marked by an acute sign. These are all vocalic combinations that are contracted in Czech, and therefore it is a rather likely supposition that the diacritics were intended to draw the Czech reader's attention to the distinction between the disyllabic Church Slavonic pronunciation and the monosyllabic Czech pronunciation. 5) In other positions the acute sign coincides (but for isolated exceptions) with the Common Slavic word accent. 6) The grave accent is placed on a final accentless vowel, and mainly on the vowel of monosyllabic enclitics.

⁹ Cf. my review of Sievers' work, "Ein neuer Beitrag zur slavischen Verslehre", *Prager Presse*, July 5, 1925. On the question of diacritical marks in the Kievan Leaflets and their musical significance, cf. also my article of 1963, "The Slavic Response to Byzantine Poetry", reprinted in the present volume, *supra*, p. 240f.

Thus, only markings of the types 3, 5, and 6 have any accentological value, and the question arises as to whether the scribe was concerned simply with an optional designation of length, accent, and non-accent, or whether he marked these prosodic elements only in those cases where the rhythmico-melodic structure of the composition demanded it: whether, for example, the acute sign acts here as a mere indication of word accent or as a “*virga*”, i.e., high note, whether a grave is only a signal of non-accent or a “*punctum*”, low note, etc. This question is closely connected with that posed by Weingart: “what is the relationship between the pitch of a marking on a certain word and the pitch of the word as a whole?” These new scholarly tasks call for the collaboration of the philologist with the expert in medieval song.

Do the Kievan Missal and the song “Hospodine, pomiluj ny” exhaust the entire corpus of preserved Czech Church Slavonic monuments in verse? Polish philology has recently called attention to the possible widening of this circle: in 1934 the Warsaw Byzantinist J. Birkenmajer published a series of engrossing studies on the oldest Polish religious song, “Bogurodzica”.¹⁰ Despite the abundant literature on this song, its origin remained a total mystery. Birkenmajer and his predecessor A. Wyrzykowski (in the above-mentioned study) succeeded in ascertaining Greek models, especially for the first version of “Bogurodzica”. The Byzantine model and the clearly Old Church Slavonic elements in the vocabulary of the Polish song made it necessary to revise its dating. The old tradition, which connected the origin of the song with the time of St. Vojtěch, proved to be more vital and justified than the recent philological skepticism that tried to bury this tradition and shift the origin of the song three or four centuries ahead. In other words, questions about the chronological placement of “Bogurodzica” and “Hospodine, pomiluj ny” have developed in Polish and Czech literary historiography almost simultaneously. Both Polish scholars arrive at the hypothesis that the “Bogurodzica” must have been composed either directly by St. Vojtěch or by someone in his mission, e.g., Radim. Through a detailed analysis of the biographical data, Birkenmajer proves that Vojtěch was in close personal association with the international poetic community of the tenth century, that he himself wrote poetry, that he knew Greek and was in close contact with Greek ecclesiastical circles. For confirmation of the saint’s attachment to the Church Slavic liturgy, Birkenmajer’s point of departure is the work of W. Brzeska,¹¹ who attempts to deny, as does

¹⁰ *Ruch literacki* 9, 1–6, 161–163; *Przegląd powszechny*, part 609, 250–267, part 610, 64–80, part 612, 327–346.

¹¹ W. Brzeska, *Sw. Wojciech* (Poznań, 1934).

Chaloupecký,¹² the veracity and antiquity of the Russian legend about Vojtěch's fight against the work of the Slavic missionaries.¹³

Whether the author of the song is the Czech Bishop Vojtěch Slavníkovec, or his brother Radim, or even some other of the West Slavic disciples of the Church Slavonic tradition, it is undeniable that the author composed it *in Old Church Slavonic of the Czech recension*. Scholars have often noted the resemblance of "Bogurodzica" to the song "Hospodine, pomiluj ny", a song connected with St. Vojtěch and attested by a tradition earlier than that of the Polish song. In the "Bogurodzica", especially in the first lines, typical Old Church Slavonicisms are preserved: *bogu rodzica (bogorodica), bogiem slawiena (blagoslavena), gospodzina, dziela (dělja)*. The latter word is not attested in Czech monuments, while the others were still preserved in Czech religious texts of the fourteenth century. One may assume that two redactions of the "Bogurodzica" were produced in succession, just as in the case of the song "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" — an older, more Church Slavonic version, which preserved the jers and did not contract vowel combinations, and a newer adaptation, rid of these phonetic archaisms and more Bohemized. Let us note such lexical Bohemisms as *zwolena, spuści* (in the sense of 'forgive'; cf. *O, aby böh spustil jich viny*, Hradec Ms.), *bożycze* (cf. *toho vrchnieho božičě*, Hradec Ms.), *zbożny*. Most of these words are not found at all in Polish texts. Endings in *-ena* are certainly phonetic Bohemisms. In this new form, uncomprehended Old Church Slavonicisms were apparently replaced by Czech words, but not always successfully. Cf. *zyszczy nam*, instead of *vъzišči*, which was probably the original form; perhaps not even the formulation *nosíme modlitbu* was present in the original version. In its further, third redaction the song apparently underwent a phonetic and morphological Polonization of the text. The influence of the Czech church in Poland was always strong enough for it to have contributed a religious song.

It is difficult to determine precisely the verse form of the first redaction, but in the second redaction there is an obvious attempt to preserve as far as possible the original syllabic scheme. For example, Weingart and Wyrzykowski observe that in the third line the reading *twego syna* would be syntactically and semantically more felicitous than the phrase *u twego syna*, which, however, is preserved in all variants of the song. Perhaps the original redaction had *tvoego*, and in the linguistic

¹² V. Chaloupecký in *Bratislava* 8 (1934), 37–47.

¹³ Of course, a detailed analysis of the arguments of Lavrov, Nikol'skij, Sobolevskij, Šaxmatov, and Zlatarski, who place the origin of this monument in the Pre-Mongol period, are necessary.

adaptation of the text the preposition was added so that the number of syllables would remain intact. It is peculiar how scrupulously the individual copies of the song preserve the same number of syllables, even though the lines of "Bogurodzica" do not have a uniform syllabic schema. The preserved melody, as Chybiński has already pointed out, takes no regard of the text of the song and is not originally connected with it; indeed, the musical and linguistic rhythm mutually subdue each other. Therefore we cannot use the melody as a starting point in the metrical and strophic analysis of "Bogurodzica". The first four lines of the song form a closed unit, with which the fifth line is not connected, even though the melody in some of the copies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (but not in the notated Czestochow text of the end of the fifteenth century) does connect it there. The strophic unit contains 33 syllables, divided as follows: $8(=5+3) + 8(=5+3) + 9(=5+4) + 8(=5+3)$. Before the Polish adaptation this strophe probably ran:

Bohorodica děvica,
 blahoslavena Maria,
 u tvého syna hospodina
 matko zvolená, Maria!

The last four lines of the song (of course, we leave aside later additions) also contain 33 syllables: $8(=4+4) + 9(=4+5) + 8(=4+4) + 8(=4+4)$. The division into lines corresponds here in number of syllables to the first strophe, but the order of lines is reversed and the internal break is found after the fourth, not the fifth, syllable. Between these two strophes are placed three lines totaling 32 syllables: $11(=3+3+5) + 10(=4+3+3) + 11(=4+4+3)$. One cannot rule out the possibility that in the second line the trisyllabic word *krzciciela* is a later substitution for some incomprehensible four-syllable Old Slavonic or Czech word (one of the variants of the sixteenth century has *zbawiciela* instead). In such a case, this line would have the same number of syllables as both neighboring lines, would be divided exactly the same way as the third line, and the whole triplet would contain 33 syllables, like both neighboring stanzas. Yet another hypothesis would replace the nine-syllable line of both these strophes by an eight-syllable line, so that the entire first or third strophe would contain 32 syllables, i.e., the same number as the second strophe in most of the variants. In both cases, all the strophes have the same number of syllables, a fact which perhaps was originally connected with the syllabism of the melody; the second strophe differs from the other two in number and length of lines, while the third

differs from the first merely in the internal division of lines.¹⁴

To summarize: the Czech church song of the Cyrillo-Methodian period (that is, the end of the first and beginning of the second millennium) is closely related to contemporaneous Greek and Latin songs and also takes over the latter's syllabism (which corresponds, moreover, in spite of Flajšhans' dissenting opinion, to the Slavic folk tradition) and ornamental phonic devices. One must carefully examine this connection further, as well as analyze in more detail Old Church Slavonic poetry among the Czechs and other Slavs. Especially attractive is the question of the Greek elements in the Western Slavic liturgy, confirmed not only by the Byzantine roots of the mission of the Thessalonian brothers, but also by the Greek sources of the Prague Fragments and the "Bogurodzica", the traces of the Eastern rite in the Vienna Glosses and perhaps also by the Latin-Greek song with which a Czech priest lamented the passing of Břetislav II. Cosmas has preserved for us these 7-syllable lines, dually grouped by symmetrical internal division and, in the first couplet, also by rhyme:

Anima Brecislai,
 sabaoth adonai,
 vivat expers thanatu,
 Brecislaus ischyros.

Written in Brno, 1934, and published in *Slovo a slovesnost* 1 (1935) as the second part of the study "K časovým otázkám nauky o českém verši". The English translation published here is by Susanne Fusso.

¹⁴ The striking stylistic, as well as lexical, dissimilarity of the third strophe, noted by Wyrzykowski, justifies the supposition that this strophe is of a different, perhaps more recent, origin.

NEJSTARŠÍ ČESKÉ PÍSNĚ DUCHOVNÍ

I. ÚVOD

Zachoval se nám nemalý počet děl českého básnictví XIV. století. A přece je to patrně jen malá část literární produkce doby, mimořádné v českých dějinách a v dějinách českého umění. Mohutný rozkvět českého epického básnictví hned na počátku XIV. stol. je nepochybný. Co však je nám známo z tohoto období? Zbyly skrovné úryvky, uchovávané celkem v několika stech verších, z velkolepého cyklu legend a apokryfů, který, soudě podle jeho latinského pramene a podle těchto zbytků, tvořil nejméně šest až osm tisíc veršů, a dále známe asi čtyři tisíce veršů Alexandreidy, což je jenom něco kolem dvou pětin památky. To je vše. Není tomu o mnoho lépe ani s dědictvím pozdějších českých básnických škol XIV. století. Četná básnická díla jsou nám známa jen v úryvcích, a tyto zlomky jsou tak kusé, že čtenáři nezbyvá než litovati ztráty celku, o jehož umělecké hodnotě, nebo historicko-kulturní zajímavosti můžeme souditi pouze dohadem. (Na př. legenda o sv. Alexiovi, hra Mastičkář, Veliká růžová zahrada, Život Adama a Evy, báseň o bitvě u Kreščaku.) I ty básně, které se zachovaly méně porušené, téměř nebo zcela bez mezer, jsou nám většinou známy jen v jediném opisu, často naprosto ne bezvadném. (Na př. většina básní Hradeckého rukopisu, tři Spory duše s tělem, Rajhradské a Roudnické Umučení, Podkoní a žák, velká Legenda o sv. Kateřině, Alan, Ezop a j.) Všechny úvahy nás nutí k domněnce, že český básnický repertoár byl ještě nesrovnatelně širší a bohatší, než je to, co z něho zbylo. Nemáme dokonce žádného důvodu, abychom směli tvrdit, že známe nejvýraznější a vrcholné výtvořiny českého básnictví XIV. stol. Vždyť tradice byla záhy násilně přerušena; to, co se neztratilo, jsou nahodilé zlomky, mimoděk ušetřené bouřlivými časy. Tak na př. jen šťastnou shodou okolností se dochovalo jedno z nejmistrnějších veleděl českého básnictví, Legenda o sv. Kateřině, zachráněná v bohaté rodinné knihovně Rožmberků, v XVII. století pak odvezená Švédů do Štokholmu, kde se dostala do knihovny učené královny Kristiny. A kolik takových nebo snad ještě skvělejších děl mohlo se beze stopy ztratit.

Ještě nepoměrně smutnější je to s českým básnictvím starších staletí. V literatuře, jako ostatně v celém českém umění XIV. století, byl tak silný pathos rostoucího sebevědomí, tak mnoho novotářských prvků, bylo uvedeno do života tak značné množství nových forem, že umělecké dědictví minulosti ztratilo aktualitu, pokládalo se za překonané. Starší literární památky se už nepřepisovaly a neschovávaly, právě tak, jako nebylo snahy zachovávat staré památky stavební a plastické. Stavby se bouraly, aby byly nahrazeny novými budovami, velkolepějšími a nových forem. Jsou praskrovné a nahodilé zbytky románského výtvarného umění v Čechách, ale chybou by bylo z toho vyvozovat chudost románské doby české umělecké tvorby. Víme právě opak, jak z vyprávění středověkých kronik, tak z novějších archeologických výzkumů. Totéž lze říci i o literatuře. Není důvodů pro tvrzení o básnické neplodnosti prvních staletí českého křesťanství. Bylo by nepřirozené domnívat se, že mistrná epická škola počátků XIV. stol. neměla předchůdců, neopírala se o tradice. To, co je nepochybné pro dějiny českého stavitelství, musíme rozšířit i na vývoj českého básnictví. Nikoli neplodnost doby, nýbrž krutá, ničivá práce příštích staletí způsobila mizivý počet památek, skutečně zachovaných.

Co z písně tradice uniklo záhubě? Jedna píseň XIII. století (Slovo do světa stvoření) se náhodou zachovala v latinském rukopisu toho století. Rukopis patřil klášteru Ostrovskému a téměř jediný z celé knihovny se nám dochoval. Ostatní písně, jež zde uveřejňujeme, známe jen v pozdních opisech. Básně ty byly nejen vzaty do literárního oběhu XIV. stol. a nejen se v tomto oběhu udržely, nýbrž zdědila je i další staletí. Navždy vešly do zásoby duchovních lidových písní. Nedosti na tom, tvoří základní fond této tradice.

Čtrnácté století. Rozkvět české gotiky. Pěstování velkých monumentálních forem. Architektonická veledíla. Katedrály, které jsou myšleny v tak obrovském měřítku, že práce zůstává nedokončena. Veliké malířské cykly. Rozsáhlé básně. Maximální funkční zatížení uměleckých forem, množství simultánních úkolů. Virtuosi propracování detailů soutěží se složitými problémy komposičními. (Nesčíslné příklady architektonické; bohatství písně strofiky.) Forma houževnatě přetváří materiál. Kamenu je přikázáno: býti ve vzduchu. Verš až hmatatelně deformuje sdělovací řeč. Zavrhuje její rytmicko-melodické šablony, vnucuje jí své vlastní stavby. Schválnost rýmu je vypjata. Forma je názorně odhalena s úmyslnou bezohledností — i v kostře gotické katedrály, i v důsledné neshodě metra a syntaxe v Legendě o Kateřině. Týž pathos slohový i ve Sporu duše s tělem, i v pružné próze Štítňeho, i v Svatovítském chrámě, i v pražské škole malířské, i v lejchových melodiích skladatelské školy Závášovy.

Těmito rysy XIV. století v Čechách překonává daleko minulost. Ale tato minulost zná tajemství umělecké prostoty, ztracené v české gotice. Malé formy, těsně spjaté s materiálem. Jednoduché geometrické konstrukce románských rotund. K pražské kapli sv. Kříže, k portálu hrusického kostelíka se druží i nejstarší písně duchovní, kde verš je tak tak nastiněn a melodie je recitativ, podmíněný těsně textem. Tam, kde bylo potřebí prostých, standartních forem, básnických děl, vypočítaných na široký a trvalý oběh, co mohlo vyhovovati lépe? Proto právě tato starší doba dala budoucnosti základní legendy o českých světcích, a prostinké písně “ab olim cantari consuetae”, jež nemohla vytlačit bohatá písňová produkce století čtrnáctého.

II. HOSPODINE, POMILUJ NY!

Hospodine, | pomiluj ny!
 Jezu Kriste, | pomiluj ny!
 Ty, Spase | všeho mira,
 spasiž ny | i uslyšiž,
 Hospodine, | hlasy naše!
 Daj nám všem, | Hospodine,
 žizň | a mir v zemi!
 Krleš! | Krleš! Krleš!

Nejstarší nám známé opisy písně “Hospodine, pomiluj ny” (Hosp.)¹ jsou teprve ze XIV. století, ale její první verš je citován už r. 1249, a důvody historicko-kulturního, hudebního a jazykového rázu přiměly badatele, aby kladli píseň do doby ještě vzdálenější.

Odpověď na otázku o stáří písně hledala se hlavně v jejím slovníku, který přes malý rozsah písně obsahuje několik rázovitých církevně-slovanských prvků. Jsou to:

Hospodin. Jagić přesvědčivě tlumočí tento podivný vokativní tvar, který se čte ve třech zápisech první verše písně, patřících do XIII. stol. (pokračování Kroniky Kosmovy), jako částečné počestění církevně-slovanského *Gospodi*.² Úplné počestění by znešvařilo metrum. V rukopisech písně ze XIV. století je už *Hospodine*, ale ještě Jan z Holešova, autor traktátu o Hosp. z r. 1397, zná variant *Hospodin* a výslovně jej odsuzuje.³ Gebauer nalézá tvar *Hospodi* jen ve dvou staročeských

¹ Různé opisy Hosp. uveřejňují: K. Konrad, *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského I* (Praha, 1881), 27–31; V. Flajšhans, *Nejstarší památky jazyka i písemnictví českého* (Praha, 1903), 42; Z. Nejedlý, *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách* (Praha, 1904), 241.

² Sr. F. Kidrič, “Die slavische Liturgie in Polen”, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 28 (1906), 618–619.

³ Z. Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, 318.

církevních památkách: v jednom Mammotrektu (výkladu jednotlivých slov Písma) a dvakrát v Žaltáři Kapitulním, kde jsou ostatně připsány rubrikátorem počestující koncovky (-ne, -nu).⁴ Jak cizí bylo Čechům církevně-slovanské *Gospodi*, svědčí to, že už v církevně-slovanské památce české redakce, v Dialozích Řehoře Velikého, je užito v tomto významu slova *Gospodine*.⁵

Pomiluj. V českých památkách není dosvědčeno. Je to, jak poznamenal už Palacký, palaeoslovenismus, “česky bylo misereri = smilovati se, nikdy pomilovati”.⁶ Slovesa *milovati*, znamenajícího v staroslověnské “misereri”, bylo užito v českém významu “amare” už v legendě o sv. Václavu z X. stol., psané církevní slovanštinou české redakce.⁷

Spase. *Spas* ve významu “Spasitel” je dosvědčeno mimo písně Hosp. v českých památkách jenom jednou: uslys nas, boze, spasse nas (Žaltář Kapitulní 64, 6). Blizkost této věty žaltáře k shodné větě v Hosp. umožňovala reminiscenci. Mimo to jde o památku, prostoupenou stopami církevní slovanštiny (srv. na př. *hramotina*). Obyčejně *spas* v staročeských památkách znamená buď “spása” (srv. na př. Čtenie kněžě Benešově, Slovník Prešpurský, Radosti sv. Marie v Hrad. rukop., Sedmerá radost Panny Marie a Alan v Svatov. rukopisu, Klaretův slovník), nebo “hosanna” (srv. v Evang. zimního času: spass synu Dawidowu).⁸

Mira. *Mír* = svět, vedle *mir* = pokoj. V českých památkách se toto slovo vyskytuje jen v druhém významu, při čemž Vondrák předpokládá, že i ve významu “pokoj” je toto slovo palaeoslovenismem.⁹ O slovech *mira* i *spase* poznamenává už Jan z Holešova, že jsou to “vocabula charvatica”, současným Čechům neznámá a nesrozumitelná.¹⁰

Tyto zvláštnosti slovníku už dávno nutily badatele k závěru, že v základě písně tkví církevní slovanština. Tak na př. už Čelakovský prohlašuje, že “jazyk ve zpěvu tom ukazuje toliko na počestěnou

⁴ J. Gebauer, *Slovník staročeský*: I (Praha, 1903), 469; E. Rippl, *Der altschechische Kapitelsalter* (Prag, 1928), 146.

⁵ A. Sobolevskij, “Drevnie cerkovno-slavjanskije stixotvorenija IX–X vekov”, *Sbornik Otdelenija ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk* 88, 3 (1910), 59.

⁶ *Časopis Musea Království Českého* (ČČM), 1837, 413.

⁷ Fr. Pasternek, “Slovanská legenda o sv. Václavu”, *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk* 1903, 55.

⁸ Neotištěné materiály Gebauerovy k *Staročeskému slovníku*; E. Rippl, op. cit., 210; V. Flajšhans, *Klaret a jeho družina* I (Praha, 1926), 161; A. Petera, *Čtenie zimního času* (Praha, 1905), 72.

⁹ V. Vondrák, *Die Spuren der altkirchenslavischen Evangelienübersetzung in der altböh-mischen Literatur* (Wien, 1893), 18.

¹⁰ Z. Nejedlý, op. cit., 319.

staroslovanštinu".¹¹ Jazyka, jako svědectví ve prospěch cyrilského původu písně, se dovolávají rovněž Šafařík¹² a Palacký.¹³ Jireček, opíraje se o údaje lexikální, kloní se k domněnce, že píseň byla už v hotové formě přinesena věrozvěsty z jihu na Moravu.¹⁴

Vyskytly se i pokusy popřítí církevně-slovanský živel v slovníku Hosp. A. Kraus, který datuje píseň hypoteticky koncem X. stol., prohlašuje: "Známe češtinu teprve od konce století třináctého a jest těžko soudit o češtině desátého."¹⁵ Nejedlý, který zařazuje Hosp. do XII. stol., píše: "Co se pak týče staroslovanských archaismů, musili bychom znát jazyk X. a XI. století, abychom mohli říci, co archaismem tehdy bylo a co ne."¹⁶

Nepokládáme za přesvědčivou domněnku, podle níž uvedená církevně-slovanská slova nebyla ve skutečnosti přejata z církevní slovanštiny nýbrž tvořila vlastnost archaické fáze jazyka českého. Bylo by divné, že na rozsahu několika řádek byla by nahodile soustředěna celá řada slov, která jsou charakteristická pro církevní slovanštinu a v češtině prý existovala, ale již k začátku písemnictví zmizela, nebo nabyla naprosto jiného významu. Je pozoruhodno, že tato slova chybějí i v ostatních západoslovanských jazycích. Zbývají jenom dvě pravděpodobné možnosti: buď píseň skutečně přišla k Čechům ze slovanského jihu, nebo byla složena Čechem, který se snažil psát církevně-slovansky a řídil se patrně jihoslovanskými literárními vzory. Ani první hypotéza ani druhá neposkytují látky pro přesnější datování Hosp. Odhady učenců se v této otázce značně rozcházejí. Jedni spojují píseň s činností slovanských věrozvěstů nebo jejich žáků, druzí zařazují ji do konce X., začátku XI. století, konečně třetí datují stoletím dvanáctým.

Jihoslovanský literární vliv na české kraje (přímý a nepřímý) trval, počínaje činností Cyrila a Metoda na Moravě, aspoň do konce XI. století, totiž do zrušení slovanské liturgie v Sázavském klášteře. Tak na př. ne dříve než v druhé polovině XI. stol. dostává se do Čech staroslověnská památka ruské redakce — Remešské evangelium. Koncem XI. nebo snad dokonce v XII. století přepisuje český pisář jihoslovanský rukopis, při čemž poněkud počestňuje pravopis (Pražské zlomky.)¹⁷ Je-li tedy Hosp. básní importovanou, nemůžeme přesně

¹¹ *Čtení o počátcích dějin vzdělanosti a literatury národů slovanských* (Praha, 1877), 211–212.

¹² J. Šafařík, *Slovanské starožitnosti II* (Praha, 1837), 450.

¹³ F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách i v Moravě I* (Praha, 1848), 155.

¹⁴ J. Jireček, *Hymnologia Bohemica. Dějiny církevního básnictví českého* (Praha, 1878), § 1.

¹⁵ A. Kraus, "Christe ginádô a Hospodine pomiluj ny", *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk* 1897, No. XIII, str. 18.

¹⁶ Z. Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, 243.

¹⁷ V. Vondrák, *O původu Kijevských listů a Pražských zlomků* (Praha, 1904), 76.

datovati ani její složení, ani příchod. I to i ono mohlo se státi od IX. až do XI., ba XII. století.

S druhé strany je nepochybné, že během celé této doby existoval určitý kruh českých vzdělanců, obeznámených s církevní slovanštinou. At' se skončí tak či onak spor o církevně-slovanských prvcích v staročeském překladu evangelia, spor, který dosud nedal definitivních kladných výsledků, je přece už nyní jisto, že byl vliv jazyka staroslověnského na církevní staročestinu, ba i vliv překladu staroslověnského na staročeskou bibli nelze jen tak zholat popírat, jak správně uzavírá Weingart.¹⁸

Nesporně Češi v prvních staletích českého křesťanství ovládali jistou zásobu církevně-slovanských slov, kterých užívali hlavně ve spisech církevního rázu. Byl vysloven názor, že tato církevně-slovanská slova se stala obecným majetkem živé české řeči a nebyla už chápána jako něco cizorodého, totiž, nebyla už s hlediska statického prvky církevně-slovanskými.¹⁹ Avšak to, že jistá církevně-slovanská slova se vyskytují jenom v památkách přísně církevního rázu, svědčí, že byla v staročeském spisovném jazyku zřetelně vymezena stylisticky. I pro X., i pro XI. stol. lze mluvit o církevně-slovanském vlivu na jazyk vzdělaných Čechů ještě dalekosáhlejším, než byly ojedinělé případy lexikálního navrstvení. Právě církevně-slovanským jazykem s lehkým českým zabarvením v slovníku byly psány české legendy X. století a překlady z latiny — právě tak, jako v prvých dvou stol. ruského písemnictví psali Rusové církevně-slovansky, jen poněkud poruš'ující slovník a pravopis. "Glosy vídeňské", objevené a uveřejněné Jagičem²⁰ a "glosy svatořehořské", v rukopisu, který patřil klášteru Ostrovskému, uveřejněné Paterou,²¹ svědčí, že trvalo snažení českých vzdělanců psáti nikoli češtinou, nýbrž počestěnou církevní slovanštinou, jenže glagolice už vzala za své pod náporom latinky.²² Je pozoruhodno, že *palaeoslovenisace* jazyka postihuje v těchto glosách i hláskosloví. Glosy patří do konce XI. nebo do

¹⁸ M. Weingart, "V. Vondrák. Přehled jeho vědecké práce a zároveň revise několika sporných otázek ze staroslověštiny", *Nové Atheneum* 1921, 246–247; Sr. V. Vondrák, *op. cit.* a "K otázce o vlivu církevní slovanštiny na starou češtinu", *ČČM* 69 (1895), 301–314, "K námitkám stran vlivu církevní slovanštiny na starou češtinu", *ČČM* 69 (1895), 498–501; V. Flajšhans, "Vliv literatury staroslověšské na staročeskou", *Listy filologické* 21 (1894), 372–378, "K otázce o vlivu církevní slovanštiny na starou češtinu", *ČČM* 69 (1895), 487–498; J. Polívka, "Die Spuren der altkirchenslavischen Evangelienübersetzung ... von V. Vondrák", *ČČM* 68 (1894), 468–470, "Ještě slovo k otázce ...", *ČČM* 69 (1895), 501–502.

¹⁹ V. Flajšhans, "K otázce o vlivu ...", *ČČM* 69 (1895), 491.

²⁰ V. Jagič, *Kirchenslavisch-böhmische Glossen saec. XI–XII = Denkschr. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss.*, Bd. 50 (Wien, 1903).

²¹ A. Patera, "České a starobulharské glosy XII století v latinském rukopise kapitulní knihovny v Praze", *ČČM* 52 (1878), 536–557.

²² Sr. V. Jagič, *op. cit.*, 33 a násl.; Gebauer tamtéž, 40; Patera, *op. cit.*, 542.

XII. století; byly-li psány po pohromě Sázavského kláštera, jako církevně slovanského kulturního střediska, nezbyvá, než předpokládat souhlasně s Vondrákem, že “i v posázavské době pěstovalo se církevně-slovanské písemnictví v Čechách”.²³

Zkrátka, ani domněnka, že Hosp. je původu českého, neumožňuje přesnějšího datování písně. Není třeba zařazovati ji stůj co stůj do IX. století, jak to dělá na př. Vlček.²⁴ Píseň, nasycená slovy církevně-slovanskými, mohla vzniknouti na české půdě i značně později, do XI., ba možná i do XII. století.

Zdůraznili jsme již, že nelze z chudosti dochovaných dokumentů vyvozovati chudobu literární tvorby. Zejména nemáme žádný základ, který by opravňoval tvrzení, že v českých zemích církevní slovanština jen živořila, a kulturní vlna cyrilo-metodějská že byla pouhou pomíjivou epizodou.

Víme ze soudobných líčení, jak houževnatě a bezohledně ničili latiníci církevně-slovanské památky po svých vítězstvích nad směrem cyrilo-metodějským. “Libri linguae eorum deleti omnino et disperditi nequaquam ulterius in eodem loco recitabuntur”.²⁵ Za takových podmínek lze se jen diviti, jak mohlo aspoň něco přes úplné vyhubení církevně-slovanské tradice dochovati se až do naší doby. Už sama rozmanitost zachráněných textů svědčí o mnohotvárnosti církevně-slovanského písemnictví u Čechů za prvých staletí křesťanstva. Je zde i glagolský opis liturgické památky západního obřadu s pravopisem, přizpůsobeným potřebám českého čtenáře (Kijevské listy), i glagolský opis památky východního obřadu s počestující snahou v pravopise (Pražské zlomky), i stopy po českém pravopisu v staroslověnských památkách jihoslovanského původu, i původní, i přeložené v českých zemích díla, psaná církevní slovanštinou s bohemismy v slovníku, při čemž tato díla byla předmětem literárního exportu k jižním a východním Slovanům (překlady z řečtiny sv. Metoda a jeho žáků, originální legendy o věrozvěstech, o sv. Václavu a o sv. Ludmile, překlady z latiny: Dialogy sv. Řehoře papeže, Nikodemovo evangelium a j.);²⁶ jsou zde i zmíněné už české glosy k latinským textům se zřejmou tendencí po církevně-slovanském slovníku, tvarosloví i hláskosloví (bylo by zajímavé srovnati glosy k dialogům sv. Řehoře se zmíněným starším překladem téhož díla, který pochází rovněž od Čecha); jsou zde i stopy vlivu církevně-slovanského slovníku na český překlad žaltáře i evangeliáře; je zde

²³ V. Vondrák, “K námitkám stran vlivu ...”, *ČČM* 69 (1895), 304.

²⁴ J. Vlček, *Dějiny literatury české* (Praha, 1897), 5.

²⁵ *Fontes rerum bohemicarum* II, 250.

²⁶ Sr. A. Sobolevskij, *op. cit.*, stati 3 a 4.

konečně i církevně-slovanská píseň, která vešla do české národní tradice. Aby se taková píseň ujala v lidovém zpěvu a přežila církevně-slovanské písemnictví, ba nedosti na tom, aby se zakotvila i v kostele, musela tato píseň vzniknouti v prostředí, schopném kulturní expanse, ozbrojeném jistou autoritou. Proto je naprosto pochybné, že by Hosp. vznikla po definitivním vypuzení zastánců slovanské liturgie ze Sázavského kláštera. I kdyby zbývaly ještě nějakou dobu buňky ctitelů církevní slovanštiny v Čechách, musily kulturně působit téměř podloudně a v každém případě nebyly s to, aby hodily do širokého oběhu novou píseň. Domníváme se tedy, že tato píseň byla složena ne později konce XI. stol.²⁷

Nerýmování v písni Hosp. se už dávno uvádělo jako svědectví pro její stáří.²⁸ Skutečně, už koncem XI. stol. se rým stává závazným v latinském básnictví. Dokonalost rýmu se vyzdvihuje do popředí veršové techniky.²⁹ *Reimvers* vládne neomezeně i středoněmeckým básnictvím. Sotva vnikl rým do české církevní poesie značně opožděně proti závazné kanonisaci rýmu v latinském básnictví. V české literatuře konce XI., začátku XII. století, psané latinsky, rým je pečlivě pěstován nejen ve verších, nýbrž i v próze.³⁰

Veršová forma písně Hosp. byla různě tlumočena badateli. Fejfalík praví: "Z nikoli nepatrných důvodů, které zevrubněji vyložím jinde, lze vyvodit, že Češi, jako Slované vůbec, původně podobně Germánům, užívali aliterace." Tvrdí, že v Hosp. lze spatřiti stopy pravidelné aliterace "von je drei Stäben in mindestens zwei Verspaaren und Langzeilen oder in vier Halbversen".³¹

Bohužel, Fejfalík, pokud je nám známo, neuskutečnil svůj slib. Není docela jasné, z jakých akcentologických předpokladů badatel vycházel. Kdyby Fejfalík četl báseň podle zákonů nynějšího českého přízvuku, nenašel by dvojité aliterací. Snad předpokládal, že v základě básně ležel praslovanský systém přízvuků, a shledává v písni verš s čtyřmi zdvihy,³² četl asi tak:

²⁷ Jiné argumenty pro starší původ Hosp. viz. u F. Novotného, *České dějiny*, d. I, č. II (Praha, 1913), 333, a u Vondráka, "A Kraus, *Christe ginâdô a Hospodine pomiluj ny*", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 20 (1898), 467–468.

²⁸ J. Jungmann, *Historie literatury české*, 2. vyd. (Praha, 1849), 15.

²⁹ Sr. W. Meyer, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik* II (Berlin, 1905), 125.

³⁰ J. Fejfalík, *Über die Königihofer Handschrift* (Wien, 1860), 68; V. Flajšhans, *Nejstarší památky ...*, 44; B. Bretholz, *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag* (Berlin, 1923 = *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Nova series, tomus II), str. XXXVII.

³¹ Fejfalík, *op. cit.*, str. 63.

³² *Ibid.*, str. 64.

Hospodi, pomiluj ny! Jezu Kriste, pomiluj ny!
 Ty, Spase všeho míra, spasiž ny i uslyšiž,
 Hospodi, hlasy naše! Daj nám všem, Hospodi ...

Patrně měl Fejfalík na zřeteli v první řadě trojitě aliterace, protínající celý *Langvers*: *spase - spasiž — uslyšiž, Hospodi — hlasy — Hospodi*.

Zákonům starogermánského verše tyto aliterace neodpovídají: 1. Germánská aliterace se vyhýbá opakovati totožná slova nebo kořeny. 2. V druhé polovici *Langversu* téměř vždy aliteruje slabika pod prvním zdvihem (*Hauptstab*), slabika pod druhým zdvihem obyčejně nealiteruje.³³

Tyto neshody samy o sobě by ještě nesvědčily proti tvrzení Fejfalíkovu, ale celkem materiál nestačí, aby umožnil spolehlivý závěr o aliteraci jako o veršotvorném prvku v Hosp., tím méně, že jiných důvodů v prospěch pravidelné aliterace v staročeském verši nám známo není.

Tůma³⁴ tvrdí, že verš Hosp. obsahuje tři dvojslabičné stopy. První dvojslabičná stopa je částečně zaměňována trojslabičnou. Z rytmického rozboru Tůmova je názorná jen jedna konstanta: čtyři poslední slabiky každého verše Hosp. v té formě, v jaké ta báseň se nám dochovala, jsou odděleny od předcházejících slabik stálou mezislovní hranicí.

Předpokládáme-li, že v základě písně leží nynější český systém přízvukování, padá přízvuk na první slabiku po caesuře v šesti případech z osmi, na třetí slabiku ve čtyřech případech. Vnutíme-li písni praslovanský systém přízvuků, žádná symetrie se neukáže.

Druhé poloverší je tedy důsledně sylabické, je zakončeno důsledně syntaktickou pausou, jeho začátek je důsledně vytyčen slovní hranicí a většinou také přízvukem, je pozorovati lehkou tendenci k členění tohoto poloverší ve dvě trochejské stopy. První poloverší není rytmicky rozčleněno a počet slabik kolísá se od čtyř do jedné. Verš takového rázu, totiž nesylabický verš se sylabickým koncem, "se stálým úsekem koncovým", podle terminologie polských badatelů, je znám lidovému básnictví slovanských národů.³⁵

Je ten útvar písně původní, či je to přepracování starší a přísnější formy? Není údajů pro určité řešení této otázky, ale není vyloučeno, že píseň původně měla ráz přísně sylabický. Vyjdeme-li z předpokladu, že píseň byla složena církevně-slovansky, nevyžaduje si rekonstrukce

³³ Sr. A. Heusler, *Deutsche Versgeschichte I* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1925), str. 114, 128, 130, 131.

³⁴ Tůma, "O významu Alexandreidy české po stránce aestheticky-básnické a historicko-literární", *Program gymnasia v Domažlicích*, 1885, str. 40.

³⁵ Sr. na př. J. Łos, *Wiersze polskie w ich dziejowym rozwoju* (Kraków, s. a.), str. 35.

hypothetického původního textu velkých škrťů a dalekosáhlých konjektur.³⁶ Vedle zřetelných prvků církevně-slovanských nejsou v Hosp. žádná slova, která by z jazyka církevně-slovanského nemohla pocházet. Slovo *žizň* v sedmém verši lze chápat i v církevně-slovanském významu “život”³⁷ i v staročeském významu “úroda, hojnost”.³⁸

Pokusíme-li se o rekonstrukci, řídíce se současnými vědomostmi o církevně-slovanském jazyku a verši (a používající pravopisných zásad Kijevských listů), obdržíme tyto verše osmislabičné:

Gospodi, pomilui ny!
Isuse, pomilui ny!
Spase vsogo mira,
spasi ny i uslyši,
Gospodi, glagoly naše!
dazь vsěmь, Gospodi,
žiznь i mirь na zemli!

Když slabé jery přestaly být na české půdě pochopitelné, hrozila verši Hosp. zkáza. I byl podniknut pokus o obnovení textu, aby sylabická stavba písňe byla zachráněna. Z těch důvodů jsou uvedena slova: *Kriste, ty* (zájmeno bylo zde mimo to nutné i proto, že význam oslovení *Spase* byl už nejasný), *nám*.

Tradice vyslovování slabých jerů jako samohlásek v církevním zpěvu mohla existovati jistý čas i po zániku jerů, jak tomu bylo v dějinách ruského církevního zpěvu. V zmíněných glosách vídeňských pozorujeme tendenci k tomu, aby slabé jery, v češtině té doby už nepochybně ztracené, byly přece v písmu vyjádřeny — písmenou *i* (na př. *ziblizni, cito, zimotr, zininom* a p.).³⁹ Slovo *všeho* v třetím verši Hosp. mohlo býti napsáno v rukopisu takového orthografického rázu asi tak: *visego*. To Čech, se zmíněnou tradicí už neobeznámený, lehce mohl čísti jako *vyšieho*, tím spíše, že sylabismus písňe přál takovému čtení a smysl dvou ostatních slov verše nebyl Čechu, který ztratil církevně-slovanské školení, dosti jasný. Tak patrně vznikl variant *Ty spase vyšieho mira*, odsuzovaný Janem z Holešova.⁴⁰

Snahou zachovati sylabismus se vysvětlují také jiné opravy textu, tak

³⁶ Pokusy o rekonstrukci církevně-slovanského textu Hosp. už se podnikaly několikrát. Sr. *Výbor z literatury české I* (Praha, 1845), 27; Makušev, *Čtenija iz staročeskoj písmennosti*, 7.

³⁷ Tak M. Weingart, *Slovanská vzájemnost* (Bratislava, 1926), 37.

³⁸ Tak J. Gebauer, *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého III₁* (Praha, 1896), 371.

³⁹ Sr. Jagić, *op. cit.*, 34–35.

⁴⁰ Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, 320.

partikule *ž* po slovesech *spasi* a *uslyši* je včleněna, aby byly uchovány písní imperativní tvary na *-i*, jež verš žádá, ale které český jazyk ztratil již před dobou, kdy byly psány nejstarší ze známých nám opisů Hosp.⁴¹

Ježto po poklesu církevně-slovanské tradice tvar *Hospodi* nebyl srozumitelný a byl nahrazován tvarem *Hospodine*, bylo zapotřebí, aby bylo lze tento tvar umístit, zkrátit ostatní obsah pátého verše (v 1. a 6. verši místo bylo uvolněno zánikem jerů). Záměna slova *hlaholy* slovem *hlas* je velice přirozená. Tato slova se lehce spojují navzájem v jazykovém povědomí. Jsou to slova aliterující, jejich vzájemné seskupení je v církevní řeči obvyklé (Žaltář Kapitulní — “hlassa hlaholow jeho”), občas tato slova se vyskytují blízko u sebe téměř synonymicky. Tak v církevně-slovanském žaltáři “glagoly moĵe vь uši” a vedle “uslyši glasъ moi”.⁴² Anebo v staročeské památce: “bude hlas jeho sípavý a hlahol škaredý” (Chirurgie, rukop. z druhé pol. XV. stol.). Příklady podobného nahrazení slova *hlahol* slovem *hlas* jsou nám známy z jednoho opisu Dalimilovy kroniky a z Žaltáře Kapitulního.⁴³ Třeba poznamenati, že základním významem slova *hlahol* v češtině není *slovo*, nebo *výpověď*, jako v církevní slovanštině, nýbrž *jazyk*, *způsob řeči*.⁴⁴

Přes všechny probrané opravy nebylo dosaženo restaurace původní veršové stavby básně a byla přerytmována podle zásady, které jsme se již nahoře dotkli, a při tom dosáhla svého definitivního tvaru.

Církevně-slovanskému období musí být konečně vytčeno v dějinách české kultury, zejména literatury, příslušné místo. Jednostranně západnická koncepce, která se zhusta projevovala během posledních desetiletí v české vědě, nebyla s to, aby vysvětlila ani rozmanitost zbytků církevně-slovanské literární činnosti v českých zemích od IX. až do začátku XII. století (srv. *supra*, str. 361), ani množství historických svědectví o církevně-slovanské vzdělanosti u Čechů, ani prudkost politických bojů, které se vedly během více než dvou století o právo na slovanskou liturgii. Postulát o církevně-slovanské kultuře v Čechách jako “exotické květině, uměle vypěstované”, vyžadoval si velkého násilí na historickém materiálu. Bylo nutno projevovat skepsi o autentičnosti jednotlivých památek a historických svědectví (na příklad o autentičnosti svatořehořských glos, některých papežských bul a údajů legend o sv. Václavovi a sv. Prokopu o tom, že v Čechách se vyučovalo církevně-slovanskému písmu). Bylo nutno upíratí staroslověnským památkám českého původu

⁴¹ Sr. J. Gebauer, *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého III*₂ (Praha, 1909), 38.

⁴² Žaltář Sinajský, žalm 5.

⁴³ J. Gebauer, *Slovník staročeský I* (Praha, 1903), 120; Rippl, *op. cit.*, 26.

⁴⁴ Sr. Gebauer, *ibid.*, a P. N. Lavrov, “Georgij Amartol v izdании N. M. Istrina”, *Slavia* 4 (1925), str. 475.

bud' český původ (tak se zacházelo s Kijevským misálem a ostatními církevně-slovanskými překlady z latiny), nebo církevně-slovanské prvky. V tomto směru se braly, jak jsme viděli, pokusy vyložit píseň Hosp.

Ale stačí, abychom se pokusili podle zachovaných střepin rekonstruovati třeba v nejhrubších rysech dějiny staroslověnského písemnictví v českých zemích, a nezbytně nabudeme dojmu, že se zde tvořil a zakotvoval zvláštní variant církevně-slovanské tradice, že se zde vyhranovala osobitá redakce staroslověnského jazyka a pravopisu, osobitá technika překladatelská atd., stačí, abychom si nepředpojatě přečtli výmluvné papežské buly z let 885 a 1080, abychom se přesvědčili, že církevně-slovanská vrstva v dějinách staročeské kultury se nesmí podceňovati. Sotva bude přehnané, řekneme-li, že vyhubení církevně-slověnského písemnictví v Čechách bylo časově prvním násilným přetěm kulturní tradice, která se teprve vzámhala, jedním z těch tragických přerušení kontinuity, která jsou tak charakteristická pro celé dějiny české kultury. Tyto bolestné zásahy se zřetelně zrcadlí v dějinách spisovného jazyka českého. Přerušeni církevně-slovanské tradice bylo nepochybně tomuto jazyku na újmu. Dvojitost složení, charakteristická pro většinu význačných spisovných jazyků, široce umožňuje stále obohacování slovníku a jemné odstíňování stylistické. Vždyť právě sloučení s církevní slovanštinou způsobilo bohatství a pružnost spisovného jazyka ruského. A spisovná čeština, naočkována staroslověnsštinou, též slibovala se vyvinouti v nosnou stavbu hybridní.

Může vzniknouti otázka, proč v dějinách spisovné češtiny se zachovalo tak málo církevně-slovanských prvků. Ale je třeba pamatovat, že církevní slovanština postoupila úlohu spisovného jazyka v Čechách nikoli češtině, nýbrž latině. Není kontinuity mezi staroslověnsšými legendami a kronikou Dalimilovou, oddělují je latinici — Kosma a jeho pokračovatelé. Nároky češtiny na úlohu spisovného jazyka nezačínají se patrně dříve než v druhé polovině XII. stol. Tím je dán přibližný terminus post quem svatováclavské písně.

III. SVATÝ VÁCLAVE

Svatý Václave,
vévodo České
země, kněže náš,
pros za ny Boha,
Svatého Ducha!
Ky-ri-e-lei-son!

Nebesket' jest | dvorstvo krásné
blazě tomu, | ktož tam pójde:

v život věčný, | oheň jasný
Svatého Ducha!
Kyrieleison!

Pomoci tvé | žádámy:
smiluj se | nad námi,
utěš smutné, | otžeň vše zlé,
Svatý Václave!
Kyrieleison!

Píseň "Svatý Václave" dochovala se, rovněž jako Hosp., jen v pozdních opisech (2 opisy z druhé poloviny XIV. stol., ostatní teprv z XV. století).⁴⁵ Je zajímavé, že zatím co text Hosp. zůstával, počínaje nejstarším z dochovaných opisů, nezměněn až na nepatrná různočtení, svatováclavské písní (Václ.) stále přirůstaly nové slohy. Dvě slohy byly přiřčleněny k písní během XV. stol., další během XVII.–XVIII. stol.⁴⁶

Flajšhans vyslovil domněnku, že i to složení písně, které je zaznamenáno v opisech druhé pol. XIV. stol., není původní. Podle jeho názoru třetí sloha byla přibásněna k písní teprv v první pol. XIV. stol. Možná, praví, že ani druhé slohy píseň původně neobsahovala.⁴⁷ My se úplně připojujeme k tomuto Flajšhansovu dohadu. Původní text písně se omezoval na první slohu. Tato sloha se někdy vyskytuje samostatně. Tak na paveze z doby krále Vladislava.⁴⁸ Skládala se ze šesti pětislabičných veršů, seskupených ve dvě patnáctislabičné periody. Tento typ slohy vyskytuje se i v středověkém básnictví latinském. Taková je stavba několika hymen Abaelardových.⁴⁹ Na př.:

Salve, caelestis
Vexillum regis;
Salve, crux sancta;
Qua, spoliato
Praedone diro,
Praeda reducta ... atd.

První dva verše každého tříverší jsou spojeny jednoslabičným rýmem. Rozdil je jen v tom, že 1. v hymně Abaelardově jsou závěrečné verše

⁴⁵ Viz V. Flajšhans, *Pisemnictví české I* (Praha, 1901), 25; též *Nejstarší památky ...*, 85; J. Kalousek, *Obrana knížete Václava svatého* (Praha, 1901²), 107 a násl.

⁴⁶ Sr. V. Flajšhans, *Nejstarší památky ...*, 86; A. Kraus, "K písní svatováclavské", *Listy filologické* 31 (1904), 107–110.

⁴⁷ Flajšhans, *op. cit.*, 87.

⁴⁸ J. Kalousek, *op. cit.*, 111.

⁴⁹ *Hymny XLVIII–L* (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus* díl 178, str. 1796 a násl.).

tříverší spojeny vzájemně jednoslabičným rýmem, kdežto ve Václ. závěrečné verše tříverší se nerývují; 2. metrum, ke kterému gravitují obě básně, je pětislabičný verš s přízvuky na první a čtvrté slabice, ale zatím co předposlední slabika verše v hymně Abaelardově je důsledně vyplněna přízvučnou slabikou, ve Václ. je tomu tak jen ve většině veršů.⁵⁰ V jazyku autora Václ. přízvuk byl už pravděpodobně ustálen na prvé slabice slova; zejména tvar *pros* místo *prosi* svědčí pro ustálený přízvuk.⁵¹ Předposlední slabika verše “svatý Václave” byla tedy, lze předpokládati, slabikou, v mluvené řeči nepřízvučnou. V sousloví “kněže náš” byla slabika *že* nesporně v mluvené řeči nepřízvučná. Je tu rozpor mezi veršovým zdvihem a přízvukem prosaické řeči, či jsou to variace rytmu? Takové variace v pětislabičných verších latinských jsou známy. Na př.:

*et victor suis —
cor aperiens.*⁵²

Bylo-li by možno takové objasnění přijmouti pro verš “země, kněže náš”, je ve verši “svatý Václave” pravděpodobnější zdvih na předposlední slabice, tato slabika je zdůrazněna — na ni padá spřežka dvou not, a takové spřežky se nejspíše kladou na přízvučné slabiky: na první slabiku slov *svatý, vévodo*.⁵³

Veršová forma druhé a třetí slohy se zřetelně odlišuje od první. Vzájemný pořádek těchto sloh, mimochodem řečeno, v starších opisech se kolísá.⁵⁴ Každá z těchto sloh se rozpadá rytmicky na dvě části: 1. tři verše, blízké obyčejnému “čtyřstopému trocheji” písní XIV. stol. a 2. dvojici nerýmujících pětislabičných veršů, které reprodukují verše prvé slohy nejenom tvarově, nýbrž i textově. Druhá část druhé slohy přesně opakuje dva verše první, druhá část třetí slohy spojuje první a poslední verše první slohy. První část druhé slohy obsahuje tři osmislabičné verše, se stálým řezem (diaeresi) uprostřed. Třetí sloha má zvláštnost proti druhé: tři useknutá (katalektická) poloverší — druhá polovice prvního verše a obě polovice druhého verše. V obou slohách rývují se 1. první a druhý verš (krásné — pójde, žádámy — nad námi), 2. obě poloviny třetího verše (věčný — jasný, smutné — vše zlě).

⁵⁰ Pokus J. Letošníka o stanovení metra Václ. nedal kladných výsledků (*Časopis Matice Moravské*, XXX, 314).

⁵¹ Sr. J. Rozwadowski, “Historyczna fonetyka czyli glosownia języka polskiego”, *Encyklopedia Polska*, tom II (Kraków, 1915), 302.

⁵² K. Bartsch, *Die lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters in musikalischer und rhythmischer Beziehung* (Rostock, 1868), 83.

⁵³ Sr. Bartsch. *op. cit.*, 82.

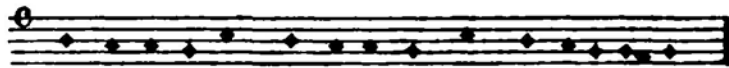
⁵⁴ V. Flajšhans, *op. cit.*, 86.

Není důvodů klást třetí slohu proti prvním dvěma, jak to dělá Flajšhans. Zaznamenává vyspělejší rým v třetí sloze, ale ve skutečnosti jsou zásady rýmování úplně totožné v druhé i v třetí sloze. Jen rýmování koncových samohlásek je závazné. Rozdíly v kvantitě rýmujících samohlásek a rýmování *y s i* jsou uzákoněny v celém staročeském básnictví. Rýmující oporové souhlásky jsou jevem episodickým který se vyskytuje jednou v každé z obou sloh; pravda, v třetí sloze se rýmuje v tomto případě i předcházející samohláska, ale za to rýmování souhlásek je jen přibližné (*m* tvrdé — *m* měkké), kdežto v zmíněném rýmu druhé slohy jsou oporové souhlásky zcela totožné.

Právě se stavbou prvé slohy naprosto souhlasí nápěv písně, zachovaný v jednom rukopisu XV. stol. (r. 1473):⁵⁵



Sva - tý Vá - cla - ve, vé - vo - do Če - ské ze - mě, kně - že náš,



pros za ny Bo - ha, Sva - té - ho Du - cha, Ky - ri - e - lei - son.

Melodie je složena ze dvou frází, což odpovídá dvěma metrickým periodám. Obě fráze se opakují dvakrát. Každá fráze zahrnuje první verš periody, a její opakování zahrnuje druhý verš periody, spojený jednoslabičným rýmem s prvním veršem. Po opakování fráze nastupuje dopěvek, který zahrnuje v obou periodách třetí — nerýmující se verš. Začátek obou ostatních sloh je delší než začátek prvé slohy, “proto si lid vypomáhal”, praví Nejedlý, “zcela po způsobu žalmu: opakoval první notu na tolik slabik, kolik jich bylo před posledními čtyřmi, na něž připadala žalmová figura melodická”. Tak byla přizpůsobena melodie, vypočítaná na čtyři pětislabičné verše prvé slohy, čtyřstopému trocheji první části obou pozdějších sloh. Jsou-li useknutá tři poloverší v první části třetí slohy, je to opačným projevem přizpůsobení čtyřstopého trocheje melodii. Tím je dosaženo, že dvaceti slabikám prvních čtyř veršů prvé slohy odpovídá v třetí sloze dvacet jedna slabika proti dvaceti čtyřem slabikám prvé části druhé slohy.

V opisu tři sloh z r. 1368 je zaznamenáno: “et debet ter cantari”. Podle Nejedlého, je tím asi myšleno, že se má zpívat podle této noty třikrát;

⁵⁵ Z. Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, 247.

“mělo-li tím být naznačeno, že se má celá píseň třikrát zpívat, což nemyslím, bylo by to bývalo dokonalé Kyrie”.⁵⁶

Patrně v první, jednoslohové fázi píseň se opakovala třikrát, a to posloužilo jako hlavní podnět při zbásnění nových dvou sloh, které zaměnily obě opakování první slohy. Už Pachta vyslovil domněnku, že právě “Kyrie eleison” bylo příčinou trojdílnosti písně.⁵⁷ Lze se domnívati, že i podnětem k veršové stavbě první slohy Václ. (perioda ze tří pětislabičných veršů) bylo třikrát opakované “kyrie eleison”. Mohla tedy ležeti v základě složení a růstu písně svatováclavské snaha po odstranění mechanického opakování při zpěvu “kyrie”.

Druhá a třetí sloha jsou přidány nejspíše v XIII. století, nebo snad na začátku XIV. století; stavba první slohy je však starobylejší. Původní rozsah písně je příliš malý a údaje jazyka i verše příliš neurčité, aby bylo lze Václ. přesně datovat. Není žádných důvodů pro tvrzení, že tato píseň není složena před XIII. stoletím. Mohla vzniknout koncem století XII. V každém případě je velice pochybné, že by píseň v svém původním tvaru byla vznikla teprv koncem XIII. nebo začátkem XIV. století.⁵⁸

Veršem, nikoli však seskupením veršů, je shodná s původní částí Václ., modlitba “Zdráva Maria” (Zdr.).⁵⁹ Poněvadž není to píseň, nýbrž báseň pro žalmovou recitaci, bylo by zde marné hledati vyvinuté slohy. Jsou tu jednoduše přiřazovány za sebou stejnoslabičné verše:

*Zdráva Maria,
milosti plná!
Hospodin s tobú!
Požehnaná ty
mezi ženami
i požehnaný
plod břücha tvého!*

Zdr. je překladem latinské modlitby Ave Maria v jejím původním tvaru, totiž bez přídavku “Jesus Christus Amen”, předepsaného v r. 1261 papežem Urbanem IV. Ave Maria se skládá ze dvou částí — 1. tři pětislabičných veršů, 2. dvakrát opakované skupiny: verš pětislabičný + šestislabičný. Český překladatel odstranil střídání různoslabičných veršů

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 248.

⁵⁷ J. Pachta, *Cyrill* (Praha, 1882), 20.

⁵⁸ Sr. Flajšhans, *op. cit.*, 86–87; Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, 246–247.

⁵⁹ Viz A. V. Šembera, *Dějiny řeči a literatury české* (Viedeň, 1869³), 491; A. Patera, “Staročeské glosy v latinském žaltáři muzejním XIII století”, *ČČM* 53 (1879), 401; K. J. Erben, *Tomáše ze Stitného knížky šestery: o obecných věcech křest'anských* (Praha, 1852), 287 a násl.; Výklad na “Zdráva Maria”.

a zevšeobecnil pětislabičné verše, které i v latinské předloze tvoří většinu. Staročeské básnictví připouští střídání různoslabičných veršů výhradně pro písně. Překladatelé latinských mluvních básní, složených z rozmanitých veršů (občas i rozmanitých sloh), zevšeobecňovali ten typ verše (resp. slohy), který nejvíc odpovídal běžné stavbě českého mluvního veršování.⁶⁰

Obě části modlitby jsou i v českém překladu rozhraničeny, ale zásada rozhraničení je jiná. Poslední verš každé části je osamocen (verše 3. a 7.), zatím co ostatní verše každé části jsou vzájemně spojeny asonancí. Tak verše 4., 5., 6. jsou sjednoceny dvouslabičnou asonancí *áy — ai — ay*. Pravděpodobně i asonance prvních dvou veršů byla myšlena jako dvouslabičná: *i* slova *Maria* odpovídá slabikotvornému *l* slova *plná*. Rýmování slabikotvorných *i* a *l* je zjevem, vlastním četným veršovaným památkám staročeským.

Nezachovalo se nám zápisů Zdr. starších XIV. stol. Ale sotva je její původní text o mnoho mladší než první sloha Václ. Kult mariánský se rozmáhal v Čechách už od XII. stol.

Už v opisech XIV. stol. objevují se varianty jednotlivých veršů, porušující sylabismus: ve 3. verši “Bóh” místo “Hospodin”, v 5. verši “v ženách” místo “mezi ženami”. Štítný uvádí každý z těchto veršů v obou variantech.⁶¹ Formule “mezi ženami” byla pojata do české modlitby snad z evangelského textu řeči sv. Alžběty (*inter mulieribus*). Táž formule byla dokonce pojata v českém překladu evangelia i do pozdravení andělského, kde latinsky zní “*in mulieribus*”.⁶² I do tohoto textu i do modlitby byla pak uvedena pro přiblížení k znění latinskému formule “v ženách”.

IV. SLOVO DO SVĚTA STVOŘENIE

Slovo do světa stvořenie
v božství schováno,
jez pro Evino zhřešenie
na svět posláno.

Dievcě dřeve porozenie
jest zvěstováno,
z Davidova pokolenie
božsky vzchováno,

⁶⁰ Sr. R. Jakobson, “Staročeskie stixotvorenija, složennye odnorifmennymi četverostišijami”, *Slavia* 3 (1924), str. 302, 279 [cf. *infra*, 568, 545].

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 292, 293 [cf. *infra*, 558, 559].

⁶² Viz V. Měrka, *Čtenie kněžě Benešovy* (Prostějov, s.a.), 53.

ot něhože naše kršćenie
jménem nazváno,
pro drahé naše spasenie
židóm prodáno

i pro naše vykúpenie
na smrt předáno,
jehož nám slavné vzkříšenie
vesele dáno.

Píseň "Slovo do světa stvoření", známá ve vědě pod názvem "Ostrovská píseň" (Ostr. p.), zachovala se v jediném opisu, který Patera klade do let 1260–1290.⁶³

Nejedlý se domnívá, že ani Ostr. p., ani druhá báseň, dochovaná v opisu z počátku XIV. století — Kunhutina píseň, ve skutečnosti písněmi nebyly. Co se Kunhutiny písně týče, je tato domněnka naprosto správná, už vzhledem k jejímu značnému rozsahu, ale Ostr. p. obsahuje jen šestnáct veršů a má nepochybné příznaky písňové formy: 1. rýmy se v Ostr. p. křížují. V staročeských písních rýmy takového druhu jsou běžné, kdežto v staročeském mluvním básnictví se vůbec nevyskytují. 2. V Ostr. p. se důsledně střídají osmislabičné a pětislabičné verše, zatím co staročeskému mluvnímu veršování je střídání různoslabičných veršů, jak jsme se už zmínili, docela cizí.

Velice zajímavou studii věnoval Ostr. písni Spina.⁶⁴ Domnívá se mezi jiným, že třináctislabičný kolon písně pochází z třináctislabičného verše latinské velikonoční hry "Ludus de adventu et interitu Antichristi", složené v Bavorsku (Tegernsee) v r. 1160. Bylo by však těžko vysvětlit, proč třináctislabičný verš, který se člení na poloverši 6 + 7 nebo 7 + 6, způsobil seskupení osmislabičného verše s pětislabičným. Lze si lehce představit lhostejnost českého básníka k rozvrhu přízvuků v latinském prototypu, ale rozvrh mezislovních hranic český básník na rozhraní XIII. a XIV. století, jak vidíme třeba na příkladu Kunh. p., jemně zachycoval.⁶⁵ Pochybujeme, že by křížové rýmy Ostr. p. vznikly vlivem křížových rýmů prvých sloh zmíněné hry, které jsou tvořeny střídajícími se osmi a sedmislabičnými verši. To by znamenalo, že veršová forma Ostr. byla kontaminací sylabického schématu a rýmového typu různých částí latinského vzoru. Verši, sloze a rýmu Ostr. p. je bližší jiná latinská

⁶³ Viz A. Patera, "Píseň staročeská ze XIII století: 'Slovo de světa stvorění'", *ČČM* 52 (1878), 289–294, 536; V. Flajšhans, *op. cit.*, 148. Sr. A. Patera a A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny Metropolitní Kapitoly Pražské I* (Praha, 1910), 86.

⁶⁴ F. Spina, "Über das alttschechische Ostrower Lied: Slovo do světa stvoření", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 37 (1920), 412 a násl.

⁶⁵ Sr. R. Jakobson, *op. cit.*, 280 [cf. *infra*, 546].

obdoba — písňové střídání trochejských veršů osmi a pětislabičných: 2 (8-∪a + 5∪-b). Na př.:

*In amoris haec chorea
cunctis praenitet,
cuius nomen a phaebea
luce renitet ... atd.*⁶⁶

anebo

*Auscultetur Jesu Christi,
haec traditio,
subdita sit verbo isti
omnis natio ... atd.*⁶⁷

Tato sloha žije v české lidové písni dosud. Srovnej

*Ještě se tam ta pšenička
v poli nemetá;
počkej na mě má panenka,
ještě tři léta.*⁶⁸

Je pozoruhodné, že oba křížové rýmy první slohy Ostr. p. se opakují až do konce písne, která tedy tvoří konstrukci 8 (8 a + 5 b).

Ostr. p. je nejstarší dochovanou českou básní s dvouslabičnými rýmy. Rýmy dvojslabičné, nezávisle na tom, padá-li zdvih na poslední nebo předposlední slabiku verše, reprodukuji vyhraněný typ latinského rýmování. "Dvojslabičný rým, nebo dvojslabičná asonance", píše Meyer, "zahrnuje i při jambickém konci verše obě poslední slabiky, přes to že takto vznikla naprosto jiná zásada ve srovnání s trochejským koncem, neboť v rýmech, jako *tonsa-sponsa*, je pojata přízvučná slabika slov, zatím co v rýmech jako *trucibus-flatibus* jen dvě koncové slabiky."⁶⁹ Tato zásada rýmová se zachovává v českém básnictví až do současné doby.⁷⁰

Mimo datování rukopisu (*terminus ante quem*) a dvojslabičnost rýmu v Ostr. p., která umožňuje vývod, že je tato píseň složena později než

⁶⁶ *Carmina Burana*, No. 131.

⁶⁷ Quido Maria Dreves, *Analecta hymnica II: Cantiones Vissehradenses*, No. 8.

⁶⁸ K. J. Erben, *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla* (Praha, 1864): Písně věku mládenec-kého a panenského, No. 486. Sr. rytmickou interpretaci Ostr. p. u F. Korše, *Vvedenie v nauku o slavjanskom stixosloženii* (= *Stat'i po slavjanovedeniju*, pod red. V. I. Lamanskogo, vyp. II, Peterburg, 1906), 348. Pochybený je názor Letošníkuv (*op. cit.*, 318), který vidí v sudých verších Ostr. p. daktylo-trocheje.

⁶⁹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, I, 91.

⁷⁰ Sr. R. Jakobson, *Základy českého verše*, 68 a násl. [cf. *Selected Writings V* (The Hague-Paris, 1979). 61f.].

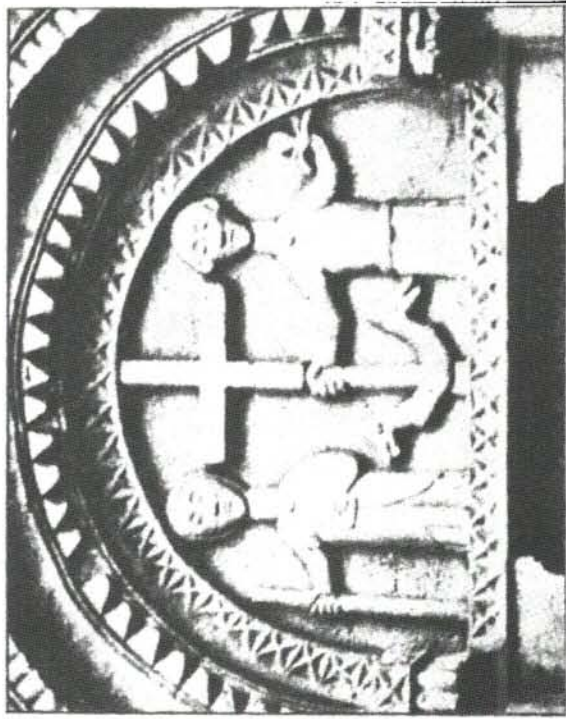
Hosp. a Václ., není žádného východiska pro datování písně, snad kromě rýmování tvaru prvního pádu podstatných jmen na *-enie* s tvary druhého pádu jmen téhož druhu, což svědčí o tom, že přehláska koncového *a* v jazyku autorově už byla provedena.

V. O ILUSTRACÍCH

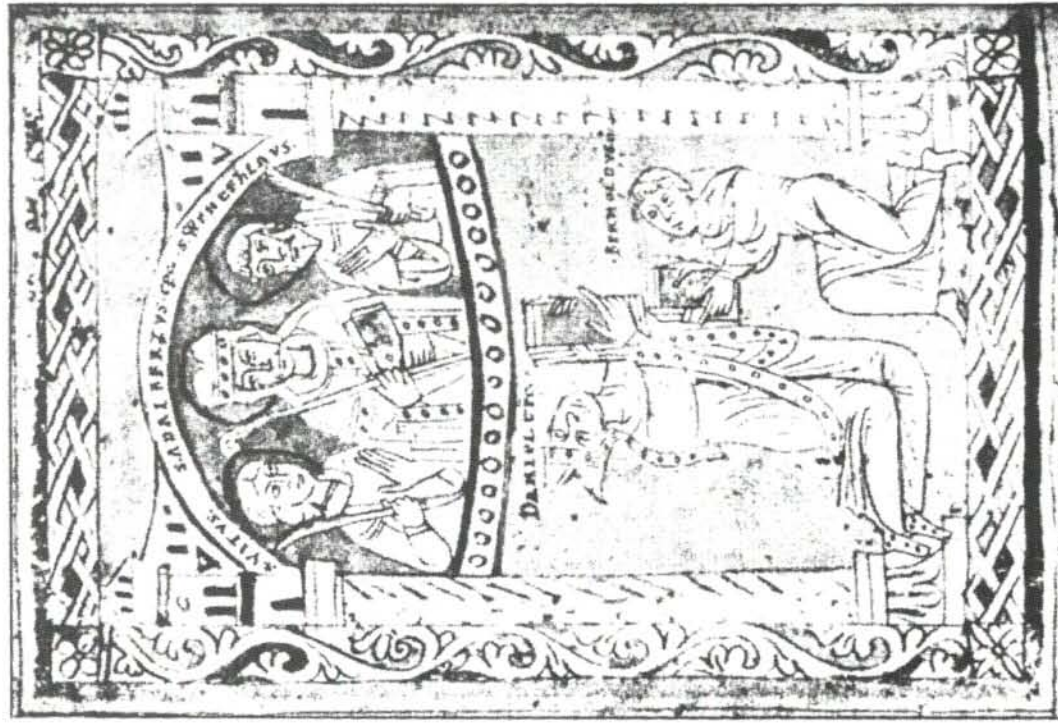
Vybírajíce ilustrace, hleděli jsme podle možnosti vyhověti zásadě jejich blízkosti — tématické, časové a slohové — k básním, zde uveřejněným.

1. *Tympanon portálu hrusického kostela*. Tento portál badatelé líčí, podobně Hosp., jako památku, která slohově zaujímá výjimečné postavení mezi staročeskými památkami. V postavách tympanonu jedni učenci (na př. Lehner) shledávají slovanské věrozvěsty, jiní (J. Pečírka) sv. Václava a sv. Vojtěcha. Je pozoruhodno, že Hosp. býval spojován částečně s tradicí cyrilometodějskou, částečně se svatovojtěšskou. Ať datujeme portál začátkem nebo koncem XII. stol., je přirozené předpokládati, že hrusický kostel, který je pouze několik kilometrů od Sázavského kláštera, rovněž jako kostel sv. Jakuba v sousední samotě Rovný, dosud zachovaný a patřící k téže době, nese na sobě stopy umělecké tradice Sázavského kláštera, o jejíž velkoleposti zevrubně vypravuje ještě ve XII. stol. mnich tohoto kláštera (v pokračování Kroniky Kosmovy). Tak jako tak, je spjat se Sázavským klášteřem, lze se domnívati, i Hosp. Neby-la-li tato píseň složena přímo v klášteři, je těžko předpokládati, že by aspoň nebyla zpívána v tomto středisku slovanské liturgie v Čechách.

Bylo-li za poslední dobu základním úkolem dějin staročeského umění zařaditi je do celkových dějin západního umění středověkého, byly-li při tom akcentovány v českém výtvarnictví nejstarších časů převážně západní prvky, je to pochopitelné, jako přirozená a nutná reakce proti nekritickým kombinacím doby předešlé, proti vlasteneckému bájení o panenském svérázu umění slovanského atd. Nyní však, kdy západní vlivy jsou už více méně vypátrány, doléhá víc a víc otázka právě o tom, co tvoří osobitost českého umění proti západním sousedům. Odkloňují-li se občas české umělecké dílo od západního kanonu, je nebezpečné vždy z toho vyvozovati “nepochopení a neumělé napodobení”, jak se psalo na př. o portálu hrusickém. I když základní tón všemu staročeskému umění a kultuře vůbec dával romanogermánský západ, mají být přece důsledně odhaleny i svrchní tóny — s jedné strany původní předrománské prvky, na jejichž význam upozornil Strzygowski, a s druhé strany vedlejší prameny vlivů. Česká země byla odedávna kolbištěm, kde se stýkaly a sváděly boj protichůdné vlivy a zájmy. Rozmanitost současně působících



1. Tympanon portálu kostela sv. Václava v Hrusicích



2. Titulní list rukopisu "Flores S. Bernardi"

vlivů je dána už geopolitickou polohou české země. Věda již vypátrala hodně byzantských stop v českém sochařství a architektuře románské doby (na př. Ostrovský klášter, reliefy z předhradí, četné krucifixy byzantského vzoru, konečně výsledky vykopávek velehradských). Zjednodušovali bychom dějiny, kdybychom tyto doklady jaksi omlouvali příčinami více méně nahodilými. Zrovna jako z toho, že církevně-slovanská kulturní tradice byla zatlačena, nadobro zapadla a zanechala po sobě jen roztráštěné stopy, nesmíme usuzovat, že byla pouhou povrchní a rozmarnou epizodou.

2. *Titulní list rukopisu "Flores S. Bernardi"*, psaného v druhé polovině XII. stol. pro pražského biskupa Daniela, s obrazem českých patronů, mezi nimi sv. Václava. Typická pro dobu románská miniatura. "Pro závislost malíře na cizích vzorech", poznamenává Matějček, "není nic tak příznačné, jako obecnost typu sv. Václava". Sv. Václav je nejoblíbenějším rekem staročeského výtvarného umění. Jeho postavu nalézáme i v miniaturách, počínaje začátkem XI. stol., i v sochařství, i na mincích.

3. *Obraz Madony s děckem z Žaltáře Ostrovského*. (Kolem roku 1200.) Tato miniatura je jedním z dokladů vzrůstu mariánského kultu v Čechách vedle skulpturního vyobrazení Madony ze začátku XIII. stol. s vyrytým na rámci textem "Ave Maria" v pražském klášteře Svatojiřském a vedle českého překladu této modlitby.

4. *Autograf Ostrovské písně*. Je vepsána v letech 1260–1290 do téhož Žaltáře kláštera Ostrovského, ve kterém jest i zmíněný obraz Panny Marie.

Drafted in Prague, 1922–1923, and reshaped for a separate booklet, volume VI in the series *Národní knihovna* (Prague, 1929).

Z DĚJIN STAROČESKÉHO ZPĚVNÉHO BÁSNICTVÍ

V obsáhlé a obsažné knize DOBROSLAVA ORLA "Hudební prvky svatováclavské" (*Svatováclavský sborník* II. 3, Praha 1937) je nejzávažnější pro dějiny českého slovesného umění část první, "Písň o sv. Václavu". Jemná musikologická rozprava Orlova výmluvně potvrzuje a prohlubuje závěry filologického bádání z poslední doby. Srovnávacím rozborem písní *Svatý Václave* (Václ.) a *Hospodine pomiluj ny* (Hosp.) dospívá k závěru o jejich dobové blízkosti a slohové příbuznosti: "Jejich společnou matkou je slovanská liturgie a otcem recitativ Kyrieleyson. Obě se zrodily v ovzduší románského umění."

Podle soudu badatelova "litanie v jazyku církevněslovanském při církevních hodinkách je v základě písní *Hospodine pomiluj ny*" (54), a "obě písně patří do oblasti písní vzniklých na základě invokací Kyrie-Christe eleyson" (63). To vše je velmi přesvědčivé, ale nesrovnává se, trvám, s tvrzením autorovým, že "řecké vlivy přešly *** do Čech nepřímou cestou prostřednictvím a podle předloh západní liturgie benediktinské a římské" a že "co má píseň (Hosp.) z řečtiny, to našla a přejala ze západu" (62 n.). Původní cyrilometodějská liturgie je přímým importem z Byzance. Východní ritus, jak dobře doložil Vašica, doléhal i na církevněslovanskou bohoslužbu v Čechách, zejména na Sázavský klášter. Pražské zlomky, Videňské glosy, existence české cyrilice a některé údaje Sázavského mnicha omezují platnost these o "obřadu západním s jazykem slovanským". Ozývají-li se v Hosp. melodické kadence latinské církve, je to charakteristický český přínos do církevněslovanského zpracování tradice řecké, a není tedy zapotřebí vykládat řecké jádro písně oklikou přes zpěv latinský, ba dokonce přes latinský zpěv misionářů z Německa (53). Tekst Hosp. se skládá, jak již upozornili polští posuzovatelé, z formulí příliš obecných a stereotypních, aby bylo lze rozhodnout, zda řecké nebo latinské paralely jsou přesvědčivější. Slova a fráze písně Hosp. se kryjí především s jazykovým materiálem Sinajských zlomků, vzácného zbytku po cyrilometodějském překladu řeckých liturgických textů: I. a 7 pomilui mę gospodi; I. b 23

Gospodi Isuse Christe, съррсе нашь; III. *b* 5 въсего mira; I. *a* 8 i daždi mi gospodi; II. *a* 16 Въ жизнь вѣчною (R. Nahtigal, *Razprave* 2, 1925, 272 nn.). A Orlovo zajímavé sblížení hudebních prvků Hosp. a Václ. s charvátskou tradicí církevního zpěvu (35 n.) volá po soustavném výzkumu církevněslovanského liturgického odkazu at' textového nebo hudebního v celém jeho zeměpisném rozsahu.

Úplností látky a bohatstvím nových postřehů zvláště imponuje v nové knize zpracování staročeské svatováclavské písně. Podle jemného musikologického rozboru Orlova a mých metrických pozorování (ve spisku *Nejstarší české písně duchovní*, 1929; *supra*, 355–375), která tento rozbor podporují, lze stanovit několik markantních vlastností první sloky písně Václ.:

1. Verš a nápěv první sloky je důsledně slabický.

2. První sloka a rovněž její nápěv se pŕlí na dvě periody zcela symetrické a ve svém celku slabicky stejnoměrné (15+15 slabik), kdežto druhá sloka se člení na periody o 20 a 14 slabikách, třetí — o 17 a 14.

V první sloce každá perioda a rovněž její nápěv se člení na tři slabicky stejnoměrné verše (5+5+5), kteréžto členění je nejpřesněji zaznamenáno v rukopisu olomouckém a chrudimském; verše v obou dalších slokách jsou však asymetrické: první perioda se v druhé sloce skládá z 8+8+4 slabik, v třetí z 7+6+4, a druhá perioda má v obou těchto slokách tvářnost 4+5+5, při čemž pětislabičné celky jsou vesměs opakovaním veršů ze sloky první.

4. Recitanta se ve všech verších první sloky zpívá pouze na jednu slabiku, kdežto ve verších dalších slok zpívají se na recitantu podle psalmodických pravidel celé skupiny nadbytečných slabik (všechny slabiky verše mimo 4 poslední).

5. První dva verše každé periody (totiž jednak verše 1. a 2., jednak 4. a 5.) jsou spojeny v první sloce jednoslabičným rýmem (Václave — české, Boha — Ducha), mimoto 3. verš má v koncové slabice stejnou samohlásku jako následující veršová dvojice (náš), a lze tedy mluvit o dvou jednoslabičných asonancích, z nichž jedna zahrnuje verše 1.—2. a druhá verše 3.—4.—5. Souběžně oba první verše jsou vyznačeny rýmem melodickým a stejně tři verše následující. V dvou dalších slokách jsou jednoslabičným rýmem opatřeny jen verše 1.—2., 3.—4., kdežto verš pátý, zahrnutý do melodického rýmu, zůstává mimo rým básnický.

Přes všechny tyto příznačné rozdíly mezi první slokou Václ. a oběma dalšími kloní se Orel k názoru, že všechny tři sloky vznikly současně (63). A to proto, že píseň vzešla na základě tradiční trojnásobné invokace Kyrie eleyson, a ta je tu rozložena jako refrén mezi tři sloky. Původně

však trojího *Kyrie eleyson* mohlo býti dosaženo prostým opakováním jedné jediné sloky, a teprv později mechanické opakování bylo vystřídáno textovými obměnami: píseň o třech slokách nahradila trojnásobný zpěv jedné sloky. Je ostatně pozoruhodné, že zvyk zpívati píseň třikrát za sebou platil nadál i pro její trojslokovou versi: *Et debet ter cantari*, podotýká nejstarší záznam Václ. (srov. Orel 4). I podruhé bylo prosté opakování vystřídáno textovými obměnami: tak místo trojslokové písně, třikrát zpívané, vznikla v XV. stol., ne-li již za Karla IV., nová její redakce — o devíti slokách (srov. 7 n., 11). Symbolická trojitost invokace *Kyrie eleyson* snad podněcovala nejen růst, ale i samý vznik písně. Perioda o třech pětislabičných verších nejspíše vznikla na základě trojnásobné řecké invokace podložením českých invokací rozličného významu, ale totožného věcného vztahu: *Václave *** vévodo *** kněže*; rozličnými významy a jednotným věcným vztahem se vyznačují i tři verše druhé periody: *Boha *** Svatého Ducha *** Kyrie* (nebo snad *Christe*, jak se čte ve většině starých rukopisů). V Hosp. je invokace třikrát opakována (jak upozornil již Jan z Holešova: “Sanctus Adalbertus tribus vicibus hoc nomen *Hospodine* posuit in isto cantico”) a stejně jako ve Václ. třikrát obměněna: *Hospodine *** Jezu Kriste *** Spase*.

Weingart v recenzi uvedeného mého spisku podrobil Hosp. a Václ. srovnávacímu stylistickému rozboru (*Byzantinoslavica* 2, 1930, 449) a chtěl tak prokázat rozdílnost jejich tvárných prostředků. Bezděky však prokázal podstatnou stylistickou odlišnost Hosp. a první sloky Václ. od dvou ostatních slok Václ.

1. Proti “poměrné hojnosti adjektiv, tedy členů rozvíjecích a odstíňujících” ve Václ. klade Weingart jejich nedostatek v Hosp., ale je to postup tuze mechanistický: determinační přídavná jména, tvořící složené výrazy, jako *Svatý Duch* nebo *česká země* v první sloce Václ., nevnášejí do básnické řeči žádnou novou stylistickou hodnotu; závažným přínosem jsou teprv přídavná jména (resp. adverbia) kvalifikační a ta se nevyskytují ani v Hosp. ani v první sloce Václ., uplatňují se však jako základní složka obou ostatních slok: *krásné, blazě, věčný, jasný, smutné, zlé*.

2. V Hosp. a v první sloce Václ. na rozdíl od slok dalších se vyskytují výhradně věty žádací a tedy slovesa jedině v imperativu, nikoli v indikativu, a jména ve vokativu, nikoli v nominativu. V druhé sloce Václ. jsou samé vypovídací věty a v třetí sloce přes její prosebný ráz pozorujeme vedle žádacích vět vypovídací indikativní větu, opisující žádost (*pomoci tvé žádám*).

3. Asymetrická souvětí z neparalelních vět, která vyplňují první dvojverší v druhé a třetí sloce Václ., nevyskytují se ani v první sloce ani v Hosp.

Upozorňuji rovněž na metaforické obrazy druhé sloky (*nebeské dvorstvo, oheň jasný Svatého ducha*) a ještě jednou zdůrazňuji, že Flajšhansova hypotéza, kterou jsem hájil v *Nejstarších českých písních duchovních*, zůstává výkladem nejpravděpodobnějším: první sloka Václ. je starší než obě další.

Kdy vznikla tato sloka? Nejspíš v XII. stol., ačkoli spolehlivá vodítka pro její bližší datování dosud nemáme. Mnohem zdobnější slovesné umění duchovních skladeb z konce XIII. stol. nesvědčí proti možnosti vzniku Václ. na jeho začátku, neboť je to století prudkého vývoje a pronikavého přerodu české země jak po stránce sociálně-politické a národohospodářské, tak kulturní, zejména umělecké. Stačí vzpomenout, jaké převratné novum je architektura z doby Václava II. proti památkám z let Přemysla Otakara I.

Důvtipná je hypotéza Orlova, kladoucí vznik Václ. v souvislost s vývojem českého uvědomění: z odporu proti zákazu slovanské liturgie zmohutnělo, došlo výrazu ve vlastenecké písni k zemskému patronu a dalo podnět k obnově velkomoravské tradice v XIII. a XIV. století (65 n.). Dodejme, že snad i stoupenci latinisace měli zájem na vzniku nové duchovní písně lidové v národním jazyce, jež se sice tvarově opírala o vzory z období církevněslovanského, ale nevybavovala přitom nežádoucí asociace s potíraným ritem, neboť ani mu nenáležela, ani nebyla prosáknuta církevní slovanštinou. Měla vystřídat lidovou složku cyrilometodějské tradice, stejně jako latinský církevní kult svatováclavský měl nahradit církevněslovanskou službu světců. V knize Orlově jsou pečlivě sneseny a podrobně probrány četné zajímavé doklady tohoto latinského kultu, kdežto otázka církevněslovanské služby svatováclavské v Čechách je jen letmo naznačena. Církevněslovanský kanon sv. Václavu, jehož český původ posledně hlásali Pekař a Il'inskij, čeká na Všestranný rozbor.

Z hojného mladšího materiálu, pečlivě zpracovaného a namnoze nově objeveného Orlem, zaznamenávám aspoň dvě sekvence Čecha dominikána Domaslava, "představitele české školy skladatelské z posledních let vlády Přemyslovců", hudebního skladatele a básníka (193 n.) — "Dulce melos", z básněnou legendu svatováclavskou, a latinskou sekvenci o Božím těle, která je pod vlivem skladby Tomáše Akvinského "Lauda Sion" a musí být prozkoumána ve svém vztahu k tak zvané Kunhutině písni, soudobému ohlasu sekvence Tomášovy, psanému česky. Ať se zjistí jakýkoli příbuzenský poměr, je pozoruhodné, jak rychle reagovalo české klášterní prostředí dvěma skladbami na dílo sv. Tomáše z r. 1264.

V poučné konfrontaci latinských liturgických textů svatováclavských

a jejich husitských překladů do češtiny zvláště upoutává sklon některých překladů, který postřehl Orel, přesunouti text do oblasti slabického zpěvu, takže někdy “skoro každé slabice odpovídá” slabika českého textu, jenž je delší a rozvláčnější latinského originálu” (89). Po této práci jedinečné erudice a obdivuhodné pile, ba sebeobětavosti, lze jen přát autorovi, aby dovršil co nejdříve další dva díly své trilogie — díly věnované hudebním prvkům svatovojtěšským a svatoprokopským.

Written for *Slovo a slovesnost* IV (1938).

О СТИХОТВОРНЫХ РЕЛИКТАХ РАННЕГО СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЯ В ЧЕШСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРНОЙ ТРАДИЦИИ

В полезной книге, недавно изданной не вполне точным заглавием — *Nejstarší česká duchovní lyrika* (Прага 1949), исследователь старочешской письменности Antonín Škarka собрал и комментировал те обрядовые тексты и немногие памятники чешской духовной поэзии, которые были сложены до конца тринадцатого века, и наконец, без достаточного основания, присовокупил две напевных молитвы первой половины четырнадцатого столетия.

Хотя не менее трех веков отделяет возникновение древнейшей песни, вошедшей в чешский литературный обиход, — *Hospodine, pomiluj ny!* (= НР) — от старших ее записей, известных нам с конца четырнадцатого столетия, нельзя не согласиться с предположением названного автора (стр. 21), что ее первичный вид мало чем отличался от показаний этих записей. Но критическая реконструкция первоначальной редакции требует сравнительного анализа вариантов. Именно поэтому Dobrovský проникновенно настаивал в письме 30-го августа 1828 г., чтобы Hanka “se chystal k většimu a lepšimu vydání staré písně Hospodine se všemi proměnami”. Уже в конце четырнадцатого века бржевовский монах Jan z Holešova, которого Brückner справедливо прозвал зачинателем славянской филологии, попытался установить путем выбора надлежащих разночтений каноническую версию НР, где бы были, по мнению ученого бенедиктинца, правильно и точно соблюдены именно *dicciones et syllabae*, которые внес в эту песнь сам ее сочинитель (Z. Nejedlý, *Dějiny předhusitského zpěvu v Čechách*, Прага 1904, стр. 324). Разумеется, текст, восстановленный бржевовским начетчиком, не удовлетворяет требованиям нынешней научной техники, но тщательно подобранные им варианты отдельных стихов, пополняя коллекцию разночтений в песенных списках того же времени и гуситской эпохи, существенно облегчают филологическую работу по реставрации памятника. Между тем Шкарка ограничивается нижеприведенной транскрипцией списка восьмидесятих

годов четырнадцатого столетия (стр. 67), по собственному заверению, “не принимая во внимание” свидетельства прочих рукописей и цитируя из них в примечаниях всего-на-всего три отступления (стр. 93):

1. Hospodine, pomiluj ny!
2. Jezukriste, pomiluj ny!
3. Ty, Spase všeho míra,
4. spasiž ny; i uslyšiž,
5. Hospodine, hlasy naše!
6. Daj nám všem, Hospodine,
7. žižň a mír v zemi!

Припев: Krleš! Krleš! [Krleš!]

Уже первое слово этой версии является, как и Шкарка (стр. 23, 93) признает, поздним подновлением: не только летописцы тринадцатого века, цитирующие первый стих НР, но и некоторые рукописи двух последующих столетий дают форму *Hospodin*, подставленную в свою очередь взамен старославянского *Господи*, как указал уже Jagić (*Arch. f. slav. Philol.* 1906, стр. 618 сл.). Последнюю форму следует предполагать также для пятого и шестого стиха. Этими заменами ретушь первоначального песенного текста не ограничивается.

В четвертом стихе каждая из двух императивных форм, согласно бржевовскому трактату, in *zz grossius* (= *ž*) *debet terminari* (Nejedlý, стр. 321): *spasiž *** uslyšiž*. Но и вариант без частицы *ž* засвидетельствован в старших записях: *uslyš* (Škarka, стр. 93; D. Orel, “Hudební prvky svatováclavské”, *Svatováclavský sborník* II, 3, Прага, 1937, стр. 29 сл.); в этом случае за глаголом может следовать местоимение: *uslyš ny* (Orel, стр. 31, 33). Сопоставление этих вариантов позволяет предполагать, что стих первоначально кончался простой формой *uslyši*, а когда конечное *-i* императива подлежало утрате в чешском языке, оно либо сохранялось в этом стихе путем присоединения частицы *ž*, либо наконец утраченный слог возмещался подстановкой тавтологического дополнения *iu*. Эта склонность не менять числа слогов позволяет предположить первоначальное наличие силлабизма в словесном и музыкальном метре песни.

В предыдущем стихе наряду с канонической формулой *všeho* вариант *vyšieho míra* засвидетельствован старыми списками (Škarka, стр. 93) и бржевовским трактатом. Последний решительно осуждает это словосочетание, подставляемое *per igno-*

anciam et ergorem, и отмечает локальную попытку его переосмысления — božieho míra (Nejedlý, стр. 320, 327). Как я имел уже случай отметить (*Nejstarší české písně duchovní*, стр. 24; ср. выше, стр. 364), вариант vyšieho легко объясняется как равносложный субститут формы **вышего**, введенный в угоду силлабизму стиха и напева, когда традиция произнесения слабых глухих стала отмирать уже не только в речи, но и в ритуальной пении. Такая подстановка особенно естественна при поддержке чешской графики, которая на рубеже одиннадцатого и двенадцатого века, как согласно свидетельствуют и Венские и Пражские глоссы, передавала оба слова одним и тем же написанием *visego*.

Чешские исследователи (Orel, стр. 55 сл.; Škarka, стр. 24 сл.) четко обосновали догадку, что именно песню НР имеет в виду ссылка летописца Козьмы на *Kyrieleyson cantilenam dulcem*, которую все, как высокие, так и малые представители *Voemicae gentis* пели в 1055-м г. при избрании Спытигнева князем после смерти его отца Бржетислава. Для первого засвидетельствованного появления славянской духовной песни в государственном церемониале чешского княжества нет более убедительных предпосылок, нежели только что завершенная деятельность двух руководящих поборников славянской литургии — князя Бржетислава и игумна Прокопа. Если таким образом песня возникла не позднее середины одиннадцатого века, то сохранение слабых глухих в ее первоначальном изводе вполне закономерно. Подставив соответственно слабые глухие в тексте НР, мы насчитываем по восьми слогов в первом, четвертом и седьмом стихе, и напрашивается гипотеза о восьмисложном размере всей песни.

В конце пятого стиха рукописи дают разночтения: *hlasy nášě* (Orel, стр. 29, 30), *hlas náš všěch* (Orel, стр. 31), а бржевновский трактат цитирует с порицанием вариант *hlasy nás všěch* (Nejedlý, стр. 321). Нетрудно восстановить общий первоисточник этих разночтений: [оуслыши,] **Господи, гласъ нашихъ** (8 слогов). Родительный падеж дополнения при *verba audiendi* — обычное явление в древних памятниках славянских литератур; труды Миклошича и других исследователей славянского синтаксиса приводят целый ряд примеров: **свѣтъи хъ словесъ да слышимъ**; **оуслышаше гласа сего**; **оуслыши, боже, молѣннѣ мноѣго**; **гласа мноѣго слоушанѣтъ**; **послоушанѣта солвесъ монхъ**; и т.д. Выход из употребления в этой синтаксической конструкции, и формы род. множ. **гласъ** повлек за собой либо переосмысление этой формы как вин. ед., либо подстановку вин. множ. вместо род. множ., заодно силлабически возместившую

утраченный ъ, а определение нашихъ было либо перелицовано в *nás všěch* с сохранением род. падежа, либо просто заменено винительной формой.

В начале третьего стиха бржевновский трактат насчитывает три альтернирующих односложных словечка — *tu, i, en* (Nejedlý, стр. 325), вставленных, надо думать, для заполнения силлабической схемы, расшатанной падением слабого глухого в *съпасѣ*. В шестой стих, растерявший слоги со слабыми глухими, было повидимому втиснуто односложное *pám* (ср. схожую словесную ассоциацию *nás všěch* в варианте пятого стиха). Наконец, во втором стихе силлабическая схема, пострадавшая от перехода четырехсложной формы *помилуѣи* в трехсложную *romiluj*, могла подставить четырехсложное *Jezukriste* взамен трехсложного **Исоусѣ** (или чешского эквивалента *Ježíšu*). Семь восьмисложных стихов первоначального песенного текста отчетливо выступают без рискованных конъектур:

1. Господи, помилуѣи ны!
2. Исоусѣ, помилуѣи ны!
3. Съпасѣ всего мира,
4. съпаси ны и оуслыши,
5. Господи, гласъ нашихъ!
6. Дазь всѣмъ, Господи,
7. жизнь и миръ въ (на?) земли!

Припев: Крѣлешъ! Крѣлешъ! Крѣлешъ!

Эта реконструкция всецело совпадает с мнением Шкарки, что первоначальная версия песни отличалась главным образом в звуковом и грамматическом отношении, тогда как ее словарный состав оказывается почти неизменным (стр. 21). Из лексических единиц, вошедших в НР, одни, как 1, 2 *romiluj*, 3 *spase*, 3 *všeho míra*, по всей вероятности — 7 *žizň* “жизнь, благосостояние” (ср. M. Weingart, *Československý typ církevní slovančiny*, Братислава, 1949, стр. 99) и 1, 5, 6 *Hospodí* (в древнейших записях первого стиха *Hospodin*, см. выше), бесспорно выдают свое церковнославянское происхождение и либо вовсе не встречаются в памятниках чешского языка, как напр. *mír* в значении “свет” и в частности *veš mír* “вселенная,” либо попадают туда только в явственных церковнославянских цитатах (*Hospodí, romilovati* “помиловать”, *spas* “спаситель”); остальные же слова песни одинаково бытуют и в церковнославянской, и в чешской лексике, но во всем стихотворении нет ни одного слова специфически чешского и неизвестного церковнославянскому словарю. Правда, в упомянутой работе Вейнгарта 7 *mír* “в чешском

значении рокој” противопоставляется старославянскому термину, *покон* (стр. 99 сл.), но это лишь одна из многочисленных неточностей названной книги, написанной в 1933 г., ныне совершенно устарелой, да и для своего времени полной некритических суждений, противоречий и пробелов. Слово *миръ* в значении *εἰρήνη* издревле знакомо церковнославянской письменности, которая нередко отмежевывает его от слова *покон* *ἀνάπαυσις*. Вовсе загадочно, что имеет в виду Шкарка под “обильными” лексикальными богемизмами в НР (стр. 21).

Во всем произведении нет ни одной грамматической формы, по разному трактуемой в церковнославянской и чешской речи X–XI веков. Что соответствовало в первоначальном тексте написанию *day* в рукописях конца XIV века — более архаичное *дазь* или раннее новообразование *даи*, решить абсолютно невозможно. Первая редакция НР была старославянским памятником чешского извода, как все нелатинские плоды духовного творчества в Чехии вплоть до упразднения славянской литургии. Степень чехизации правописания таких памятников с течением времени слегка повышалась, как показывает сопоставление Пражских отрывков с Киевскими листками, и вопрос остается открытым, писать ли в реконструкции *выс-* или *вѣш-* и *зѣми* или *зѣми*. Рукописи середины нашего тысячелетия, конечно, не в состоянии дать руководящих указаний. Но для восстановления стихотворной формы эти орфографические детали лишены всякого значения.

Реконструкция первоначального текста не только не является “насилом над материалом”, как хотят уверить Вейнгарт (стр. 100) и Шкарка (стр. 20), но к ней нас обязательно приводит филологическая критика текста наличных песенных вариантов.

Нет никаких оснований противопоставлять “церковнославянский язык чешского извода” “смешанному языку” первоначальной редакции НР и усматривать о последней “*prvé literárne dielo českého spisovného jazyka*” (Weingart, стр. 98, 106). Если признать церковнославянский язык чешского извода первым этапом в истории чешского литературного языка, то стихотворение НР должно рассматриваться как литературное произведение, написанное этим языком, но при этом произведение отнюдь не первое, поскольку церковнославянская литература X–XI веков насчитывает целый ряд памятников различного содержания, в том числе и другие стихотворные тексты, как например молитву при пострижении, сложенную строфой 2 (10 + 9) и дошедшую до нас в первом житии св. Вячеслава:

Господи Боже Исоусе Хрьсте,
 благословн отрока сего,
 ꙗкоже благословилъ еси
 вса правдынкы твои!

Лишь в одном отношении НР — воистину первое произведение: оно было единственным из церковнославянских памятников, подхваченным и сохраненным чешской литературной и музыкальной традицией.

Молитва НР возникла в Чехии в X в. или в первой половине XI в., если только она не была перенята из великоморавского наследия. В том, что нам от нее сохранилось, нет ни малейшего намека на более точную датировку, но согласимся с А. Шкаркой, что велик соблазн связать происхождение песни со временем и именем св. Войтеха, которому ее приписывает традиция, засвидетельствованная с 1260 года. В пользу этой традиции говорит не только вскрытая трудами Birkenmajer'a связь Войтеха с современными поэтическими школами, в особенности греческими, но и собственная литературная деятельность чешского подвижника, в частности *jubilus*, цитируемый в его житии и сложенный, подобно НР безрифменными восьмисложными стихами:

tibi, Virgo, maris stella,
 quae me, ut pia Domina,
 humillimum servum Tuum,
 respicere dignata es ...

Так называемый поздне-романский период чешской духовной жизни, отделяющий крушение церковнославянской культуры на пороге двенадцатого века от начала местной готики на склоне тринадцатого века, оставил по себе всего два кратких стихотворных текста, которые оба сложены одинаковым пятисложным размером. И здесь снова недостаток вдумчивой внимательности к художественной форме порой отрицательно сказывается на чтениях и выводах Шкарки. Первая строфа молитвы "Svatý Václave" (= SV) — $(2 \cdot 5a + 5) + (2 \cdot 5b + 5)$ —

- | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Svatý Václave, | 4. pros za ny Boha, |
| 2. vévodo České | 5. svatého Ducha! |
| 3. země, kněže náš, | 6. Kyrieleison! |

резко отличается строгим изосиллабизмом стиха и напева (ср. Orel, стр. 18 сл.), а также распределением словесных и мелодических

рифм от дальнейших строф: II) 2·8a + 2·4b + 2·5, III) (7a + 6a) + 2·4b + 2·5. Как я уже отмечал (*Slovo a slovesnost* IV, 1938, стр. 43; ср. *supra*, 378) не менее разительно выделяет первую строфу ее стилистика: простота синтаксического строя, отсутствие эпитетов и монополия вокативно-императивных фраз. Только к первой строфе полностью приложена первоначальная мелодия. Произвольно отождествляя конец второго стиха с синтаксической паузой (*vévodo české země*), Шкарка разрушает бесспорную силлабическую основу первой строфы (стр. 36, 68). На деле же первая строфа наделяет фразные паузы метрической функцией единственно в конце трехстиший. Из правильной предпосылки, что заключительное *Kyrieleison* требовало троекратного повторения, исследователь делает ошибочное заключение, что молитва искони состояла из трех строф, тогда как ее просто полагалось “петь трижды”, как свидетельствует примечание к древнейшему списку, так что и заключительная формула, естественно, исполнялась три раза. Лишь позднее, в начале готической эпохи, троекратное повторение одной строфы уступило место двум присочиненным строфам нового склада. Но традиция “*ter cantari*” продолжала оставаться в силе, пока троекратное исполнение всех трех строф не послужило в пятнадцатом веке стимулом к расширению текста песни до девяти строф.

По поводу молитвы “*Zdráva Maria*”, близкой по времени возникновения к первой архаической строфе SV, Шкарка утверждает, что лишь “в некоторых поздних формах” она расчленяется, да и то *spíš náhodně nežli úmyslně* на семь пятисложных стихов (стр. 13). Но это рискованное предположение не принимает во внимание ни ее напева, сохраненного гуситской традицией, ни старопольского текста этой молитвы, восходящего к чешскому прототипу и опубликованного по списку 1475 г. (J. Birkenmajer, *Pozdrowienie anielskie w narodzie polskim*, Варшава, 1935, стр. 9). Между тем, четвертый стих польской версии — *bogusławienas* — и шестой, *bogusławienu* — совпадают с древнейшей редакцией чешского евангельского текста (***blahoslavenás* ** a *blahoslavený*), которую Шкарка отклоняет в своем опыте реконструкции (стр. 62, 90). Именно из семи пятисложных стихов слагался первоначальный текст молитвы:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Zdráva, Maria, | 5. mezi ženami |
| 2. milosti plná, | 6. i blahoslaven |
| 3. Hospodin s tobú! | 7. plod břucha tvého! |
| 4. Blahoslavena | |

В дальнейшем церковнославянские реликты — *blahoslavena* *** i *blahoslaven* — были заменены обиходным словарным вариантом — *požehnána ty* *** i *požehnaný*.

Written in Hunter, N. Y., summer 1948, for *Slavistična Revija* III, presented to F. Ramovš (Ljubljana, 1950).

AN OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC *CANTILENA* IN THE CZECH PATRIMONY

Bohemi valido clamore in coelum exaltato canentes hymnum a sancto Adalberto editum, quod populus singulis diebus dominicis et aliis festivitibus ad processionem cantat (*Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, II, 319: the year 1260).

Überhaupt hat der Text dieses Liedes mehr Ähnlichkeit mit dem alten slawonischen Kirchendialekt, als irgend ein anderes böhmisches Denkmahl. Sollte es wirklich vom h. Adalbert herrühren, und nicht älter sein? (J. Dobrovský, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und ältern Literatur*, Prague, 1818, 78 n.).

It was again Dobrovský who, in a letter of August 30, 1828, justly urged Václav Hanka to prepare “for a larger and better edition of the old song ‘Hospodine’ with all the changes”. For a comparison of the song’s variants we have its incipit in several entries from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and the text of the whole monument in manuscripts from the close of the fourteenth century and from the Hussite era.¹ Moreover, in 1397, for the 400th anniversary of the death of St. Vojtěch [Adalbert], to whom a long tradition ascribed the composition of this song, a special Latin treatise by a learned monk of Břevnov was devoted to the song. The author, undoubtedly Jan of Holešov, recognized by Alexander Brückner as the oldest specialist in the field of Slavic philology,² compiled abundant variants of individual lines and attempted the presentation of the ancient work in a fixed and normalized reading:

Notandum est, quod huic expositioni prescripsi hoc canticum correcte et precise eisdem dictionibus et sillabis, quibus ipsum sanctus Adalbertus in principio eius

¹ See K. Konrád, *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského od nejstarší doby do husitských válek* (Prague, 1881), pp. 27–31; D. Orel, “Hudební prvky svatováclavské”, *Svatováclavský sborník* (Prague, 1937), II, No. 3, pp. 29–34; Z. Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu* (Prague, 1954), II, pp. 201–203.

² A. Brückner, “Largum Sero Jana Holeszowskiego”, *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętnosci*, Wydz. filol., LIV (1916), pp. 308–351.

composuit, ut homines inspicientes hec scripta per hunc textum correcte illud habeant et per expositionem intelligant. Et siquid in dictionibus vel in sillabis aut in ordine alicubi aliter quam in hoc textu invenerint, ut sciant, quod illud est corruptum et non est iam compositio sancti Adalberti et ex isto corrigant in monasterio Brewnowiensi.³

We are certainly indebted to the well-read monk for a rare abundance of collected variant readings; “however, who would dare to rely on the historical accuracy and textual and musical criticism of a monk of that time, even a learned one?”⁴ In the course of the six centuries that separate us from the Břevnov treatise, the methodological and documentary requirements of textual criticism have changed essentially, and the modern scholar is compelled to analyze comparatively and carefully interpret anew all the preserved variants, as well as to make a well-considered attempt at a reconstruction of the original version.⁵

A systematic collation of the variants reveals the essential motives which through centuries of the Czech Middle Ages led to the rearrangements of the older text: first of all, the attempt at a relative preservation of the Old Church Slavonic syllabic framework of the lines, effaced partly by the Czech disappearance of the weak jers, partly by the loss of final *-i* in imperative forms; and likewise the gradual decline in the Czech milieu of knowledge of Church Slavonic words and expressions (“*** non habent in usu in locucione et non intelligunt in significacione”). If we take note of the entirely obvious renovating interferences, the Old Church Slavonic foundation of the song text, and the original octosyllabic meter of all seven lines, clearly emerge.

Thus at the beginning of the third line, according to the instruction of Jan, “pro istis duabus dictionibus *ty spase* per ignoranciam aliqui dicunt *y spases*, aliqui *en spasezz*, aliqui *y spasazz*, aliqui *y spasal* et sic mirabiliter aliter”, and of all these variants the result is that the various

³ See Z. Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, vol. I² (Prague, 1954), pp. 409–433: “Jana z Holešova traktát o písni ‘Hospodine, pomiluj ny’”; F. Tichý, “Rajhradský rukopis o písni ‘Hospodine, pomiluj ny’ od Jana z Holěsova”, *Časopis pro moderní filologii a literaturu XXI* (1934–1935), pp. 260–263; *Hospodine, pomiluj ny* (*Cimelia Bohemica*, Pragopress, 1969).

⁴ Z. Nejedlý, *op. cit.*, vol. I (2nd ed.), p. 319.

⁵ I have pursued this goal since the beginning of the 1920’s, and after my first attempt at an analysis of the work in the booklet *Nejstarší české písně duchovní* (Prague, 1929), pp. 13–28 and 44–46 (reprinted in the present volume, *supra*, pp. 357–366), my later studies were: “Český verš před tisíci lety”, *Slovo a slovesnost I* (1936), pp. 50–53 (cf. the English translation in the present volume, *supra*, pp. 347ff.); “Z dějin staročeského zpěvného básnictví”, *Slovo a slovesnost IV* (1938), pp. 41–44 (reprinted in the present volume, *supra*, pp. 376ff.); “O stixotvornyx reliktax rannego srednevekov’ja v češskoj literaturnoj tradicii”, *Slavistična Revija III* (1950), pp. 267–273 (reprinted *supra*, pp. 381ff.).

monosyllabic additions — *ty, y, en* — are a mere substitute for the dropped jer in the originally trisyllabic *SĚPASE*.⁶

At the end of the same line Jan of Holešov justly defends the expression *wsseho mira* against the “corruptis dictionibus” *wyssieho mira* and *bozzieho mira*. Here it is a question not only of the lack of understanding of the Old Church Slavonic archaic term *VĚSĚ MIRŮ*, but above all the loss of the jers. I repeat, after some forty years (1929), that the tradition of pronouncing weak jers could have existed a certain time even after the factual disappearance of the jers, as was the case in the history of Russian church song:

For example in the *Vienna Glosses* “we note a tendency for the weak jers, at that time already undoubtedly lost in Czech, to be expressed in writing anyway — by the letter *i* (e.g. *ziblizni, cito, zimotr, zinimom* etc.). The word *všeho* in the third line of ‘Hospodine’ could be written in a manuscript of such an orthographical nature perhaps thus: *visego*”, and a Czech to whom the above-mentioned tradition was no longer familiar might possibly read it as *vyšieho*, “all the more since the syllabism of the song favored such a reading and the sense of the two other words in the line was not sufficiently clear to a Czech who had lost training in Church Slavonic.”

The variant *Ty spase vyšého mira* is already attested on the inside cover of a manuscript of the second half of the fourteenth century (Prague Univ. Library VI A4, see Nejedlý II, 202). All of the above-discussed layers are easily explicable and correspond to the original composition of the line: *SĚPASE VĚSEGO MIRA*.

In the fourth line the particle *-ž* is a later addition for the sake of the preservation of final *-i* in imperative forms; however, the Břevnov treatise rejects the primary variant *spasi* and recognizes only the duplicate *spasiž*. Meanwhile, in the neighboring imperative Jan vacillates between the form *uslyss* without the preserving particle *-ž* and the final *-i*, and the mutilated *uslyzz* “in *zz grossius*” instead of the required *uslyssyzz*. The form *uslyš* is also read on the inside cover of ms. VI A4, while in other contemporaneous entries of the *Cantilena* we observe the 3-syllable *uslyšiž* (see Orel, 30, 32n.) or *uslyš ny* (Orel, 31, 33). Originally the line must have read: *SĚPASI NY I USLYŠI*. Weingart’s assumption that the Old Church Slavonic form of this line contained ten syllables — *SĚPASIŽE NY I USLYŠIŽE* — and thus testified against the thesis of an

⁶ Throughout the present article transcriptions of Old Church Slavonic forms are printed in small roman capital letters to distinguish them from words in Old Czech, which are given in regular italics.

originally octosyllabic song meter, is a typical example of an old-fashioned miscomprehension of the principles and goals of textual criticism.⁷ A similarly forced metric violation, in the same attempt at an Old Slavonic rendering of the song, is the replacement in the seventh line of the appropriate MIRЪ by the synonymous POKOI, while its unchanged text faithfully preserves the originally octosyllabic framework, ŽIZNЬ I MIRЪ VЪ ZEMI, not to mention the fact that in Old Church Slavonic song the Greek εἰρήνη was, as a rule, translated precisely by the word MIRЪ.

In the fifth line the object of the imperative *uslyši* attracts the attention of Jan: “sciendum est, quod hic non debet dici *hlasy nas wssyech*, sed debet dici *hlasi nassye*, quia comodius est dicere secundum quam primum”, but just this condemned construction, *hlasy nas vŝech*, is offered by the Chrudim gradual of 1530–1545 (see Orel, 33), and we read the third variant, *hlas nās vŝech*, in a manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century (Prague Univ. Library X82, see Nejedlý II², 203). This variation has an evident origin in the word combination USLYŠI GLASЪ NAŠIXЪ with the archaic genitive after verbs of perception, common in Old Church Slavonic texts.⁸ *Verba audiendi* especially require the genitive for a plural object; cf. SLYŠATI GQSLEI GL[AGOL]JQŠTIIXЪ (*Sinai Euchologium* 88a 4). With the loss of understanding of this old syntactic construction, the original plural GLASЪ was reinterpreted as the accusative singular, and the congruent attribute NAŠIXЪ found a close phonic substitute in the attribute, this time not congruent, *nās vŝech*. Then, on partly semantic and partly syllabic grounds, the singular *hlas* gave way to the plural *hlasy*.

Three times, under the years 1249, 1279, 1283, Czech-Latin chronicles of the thirteenth century give only the first line, always in the same shape: *Hospodin pomiluy ny*; this incipit maintains the same wording in the coronation ceremonial of the Czech kings of 1347, while the form *hospodine*, first attested in 1358 in a charter of the Roudnice

⁷ M. Weingart, *Československý typ církevní slovančiny* (Bratislava, 1949), ch. 16: “Hospodine, pomiluj ny”, pp. 87–106. Cf. R. Jakobson, “The Translation of St. Venceslav’s Relics”, *Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, Université Libre de Bruxelles, VII (New York, 1944), pp. 155–168 [*infra*, p. 820ff.].

⁸ F. Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen*, vol. IV² (Heidelberg, 1926), p. 492 n.: “Der partitive Gen. steht bei verba transitiva, welche eine sinnliche oder geistige wahrnehmung ausdrücken.” Of the Old Church Slavonic examples that follow I cite: SVĚTYIXЪ SLOVESЪ DA SLYŠIMЪ — *sancta verba audiamus*; VЪSI USLYŠAŠE GLASA SEGO — *omnes audierunt hanc vocem*; USLYŠI, BOŽE, MOLENIĚ MOEGO — *exaudi preces*; SLUŠAĚI SLOVESE MOEGO — *ὁ τὸν λόγον μου ἀκούων*; OVĚČE MOĚ GLASA MOEGO SLUŠAJQTB; POSLUŠAJQ TVOEGO LASKANIĚ; etc.

monastery,⁹ then appears in all the entries of the whole song, but the Břevnov treatise of 1397 still harangues against contemporaries who “male et corrupte dicunt”: *hospodyn pomyluy ny*. We find the sole convincing interpretation to date in Jagić’s reasoning that the form *hospodin* “nicht eine Kürzung des Voc. *hospodine* ist, sondern ein *hospodi*, das nicht mehr geläufig war, voraussetzt”.¹⁰ With the extinction of the Old Church Slavonic liturgical tradition in the Czech lands, the comprehension of the isolated vocative GOSPODI faded, and the Old Slavonicism GOSPODЬ gradually merged with the Bohemism GOSPODINЪ. If, as Jan of Holešov remarks, a blend between the vocatives GOSPODI and GOSPODINE was retained “in principio huius cantici”, it was undoubtedly brought about by the influence of the fixed idiom GOSPODI POMILUI, while in later lines, the fifth and sixth, the vocative *hospodine* does not find any “mistaken” variant in the Břevnov survey.

The substitute for the loss of the fourth syllable of the imperative POMILUI was the final anchoring of the 4-syllable *hospodine* in the first line, as in the second line the similarly evident replacement of the usual Church Slavonic apostrophe ISUSE by the Czecho-Latin *Jezukriste*. We also note that this distich, inserted as a quotation, faultlessly fits into the context of the paired octosyllabic lines of the work *Vévoda Arnošt* from the end of the fourteenth century:

Pojedu preč zpievajice
a svým heslem volajice:
“Hospodine, pomiluj ny!
Jezukriste, pomiluj ny!”
Tut Bohu se poručichu
a pokoru učinichu.

(I will go awandering, singing
and calling my motto:
“Lord, have mercy on us!
Christ, have mercy on us!”
Thus I commend myself to God
and practice humility.)

⁹ *Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, II 308, 339, 366; J. Cibulka, “Korunovační řady středověké a Karla IV korunovační řád králů českých”, *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* LXXV (1934), p. 402; N. Emler, “Diplomatář kláštera augustinského v Roudnici”, *Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk* XVII (1893), p. 19.

¹⁰ See F. Kidrič, “Die slavische Liturgie in Polen”, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* XXVIII (1906), p. 618. Cf. B. Havránek, “Vývoj spisovného jazyka českého”, *Československá vlastivěda*, Řada II: *Spisovný jazyk český a slovenský* (Prague, 1936), p. 11.

In a suggestive article about the verse of the oldest song preserved in the Czech literary patrimony, F. V. Mareš acknowledges its original octosyllabic meter and the necessity of a careful reconstruction of its original text.¹¹ The sole difference of consequence between the two attitudes to this goal lies in Mareš' attempt to attribute to the proto-form of the song the lexical Bohemism GOSPODINE instead of the canonical Old Slavic form GOSPODI. Several cogent arguments, however, speak against this hypothesis.

The older variant of the first line — *Hospodin, pomiluj ny* — is explicable as an adaptation of the original GOSPODI under the influence of the stem GOSPODIN-, while for the change of the vocative GOSPODINE into *hospodin* one may hardly find satisfactory justification.

In Church Slavonic prayer and song texts connected one way or another with the Czech world, to the Greek forms *Κύριος, Κύριε*, or the Latin *Dominus, Domine* correspond exclusively the nominative GOSPODŮ and the vocative GOSPODI, as in, for example, the Kiev Missal, the Prague Fragments, the Václav Canon and the prayer for tonsures, inserted into the First Legend of St. Václav. Monuments of prose reading, however, such as the translation of the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, naturally permit a freer attitude to the Church Slavonic linguistic norm and deviations from the model forms, as for example the optional alternation of the traditional GOSPODŮ with the local GOSPODINŮ.

If Mareš attributes to the original song redaction the vocative GOSPODINE, it is necessary to strike out the accusative NY in the first line of his restoration design, although the Old Slavic prayer phraseology hangs on the combination of such imperatives as POMILUI precisely with the accusative of the first person pronouns; cf. POMILUI MĚ GOSPODI (*Sinai Leaflets*);¹² GOSPODI *** POMILUI NY (*Prague Fragments*). Especially instructive is the connection that binds the verbal and phraseological inventory of the Czech *Cantilena* and the *Hirmologion*, a book of models of church song, translated from Greek into Old Church

¹¹ F. V. Mareš, "Stix češko-cerkovnoslavjanskoj pesni 'Gospodine pomiluj ny'", *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. II (Paris–The Hague, 1967), pp. 1261–1263. Cf. his "Česká redakce církevní slovanštiny v světle Besěd Řehoře Velikého (Dvojeslova)", *Slavia* XXXII (1963), pp. 417–451, and "De lingua et versu et origine hymni Hospodine pomiluj ny", *Acta II Congressus internationalis historiae Slaviae Salisburgo-Ratisbonensis anno 1967 celebrati*, vol. II/2 (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 172–175.

¹² In my 1938 paper "Z dějin staročeského zpěvného básnictví" (see *supra*, p. 377); I called attention to further correspondences between the *Cantilena* and the linguistic material of the *Sinai Leaflets*: GOSPODI ISUSE KRISTE, ŠPASE NAŠĚ; VŠEGO MIRA, I DAŽDI MI, GOSPODI, VŠ ŽIZNĚ VĚČNŮJŮ.

Slavonic in the Cyrillo-Methodian Moravian mission and well preserved in Russian musically-notated (*neuma*) manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, where orthographical, phonological and superficially morphological Russifications destroy neither the composition, nor the lexicon and phraseology, nor the line structure of the Old Church Slavonic model.¹³ It is in connection with the first two lines of the Czech *Cantilena* that I introduce the following examples from the *Hirmologion*: POMILUI NY (172, 1. 11) — ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (110, 1. 21); ВЪСЕМОГЫИ СЪПАСЕ, POMILUI NASЪ (236, 1. 12f.) — παντοδύναμε σωτήρ, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (289, 1. 25f.).

The *Cantilena* also shares a further lexical model with the *Hirmologion*. Its compound sentence — СЪПАСЕ ВЪСЕГО МИРА, СЪПАСИ NY, I USLYŠI, GOSPODI, GLASЪ NAŠIXЪ! — corresponds to common idioms in the *Hirmologion* like ВЪSXVALJQ XPICTA, СЪПАСА ВЪСЕГО МИРА (222, 1.3 n.) — ἀναμνήσω Χριστόν, τὸν σωτήρα τοῦ κόσμου (289, 1. 6 n.); ЖИВОТЪ МОИ, ВЛАЖЕ, СВОБОДИ ИС ТЫЛЕ, I СЪПАСИ МЯ, СЪПАСЕ МИРА (38, 1. 7–9) — τὴν ζωὴν μου, ἀγαθέ, ἐλευθέρωσον φθορᾶς, καὶ σῶσον με, σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου (15, 1. 58–61);¹⁴ ПОСТАДИ ДУШЪ НАŠИХЪ, ХРИСТЕ БОЖЕ, I СЪПАСИ NY (1140, 1. 10–12) — φεῖσαι τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, Χριστέ ὁ Θεός, καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς (53, 1. 82–84).

In the reconstruction of the concluding distich of the Czech *Cantilena*, as concerns the elimination of one of the contiguous pronouns *nám všem*, we insist on the greater suitability and social weight of the second of them and thus we read: ДАЗЪ ВЪСЕМЪ, GOSPODI, ЖИЗНЬ I МИРЪ ВЪ ЗЕМИ; cf. ВЪСЕМЪ ЖИЗНЬ ВЪСИЕЖОСТИ (*Hirm.* 34, 1. 11) — πᾶσι ζωὴν ἀνατέλλοντα (6, 1. 26); ВЛАГОВѢСТВУЮШТЕ ВЪСЕМЪ МИРЪ (190, 1. 5 f.) — εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πᾶσιν εἰρήνην (229, 1, 56).¹⁵

The fifth ode in the sixth part of the Slavic *Hirmologion* evinces a

¹³ I cite here the pages and lines of the ample edition of Erwin Koschmieder, "Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente, I", *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl., NF, XXXV (1952). For the Greek model I refer to the canons and lines (1.) in the book by S. Eustratiadis, *Εἰρμολόγιον*, Chennevières-sur-Marne, 1932. On the old *Hirmologion* see R. Jakobson, "Methodius' Canon to Demetrius of Thessalonica and the Old Church Slavonic Hirmoi", *Sbornik praci fil. fak. Brněnské university*, 1965, F. 9, 115–121, cf. *supra*, p. 286ff.

¹⁴ Cf. the dual grammatical figure of this type in both compared texts: СЪПАСЕ – СЪПАСИ NY – НАŠИХЪ and analogously МОИ – СЪПАСИ МЯ – СЪПАСЕ.

¹⁵ Again a strophe earlier we read: МИРЪ МЪНОГЪ (εἰρήνη πολλή) ЛЮБЕŠТИМЪ ТЕ, ХРИСТЕ (188, 1. 1 n.). The Slavic *Hirmologion* readily juxtaposes words which have different meanings but the same root *mir-*: 28, 1. 11, МИРЪСКУЕ КОНЫЦЕ (τοῦ κόσμου τὰ πέρατα) – 1. 15, ТВОИ МИРЪ (τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην) ДАЗДЪ НАМЪ; 98, 1. 2–4, СЪСАРЈУ МИРЪНЫИ (βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης) ПРОСВѢТИ МЯ СІЕНІЕМЪ СИ – 1. 8–9, I СВѢТЪ МИРЪ ОСІЕ (τῷ κόσμῳ ἐπέλαμψε); 310, 1. 9–11, I НАПРАВИЛЪ NY ЕСТЬ НА РОТЪ МИРЪНЪ (εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης) – 1. 13–15, I ДУБРЪ СЪПАСЕНІЕ МИРОВИ (τῷ κόσμῳ) ВУСТЪ.

telling contrast between the idiom VBSĚMĚ MIRĚ and the preceding strophe but one: VBSIĚVYI SVĚTĚ VBSĚMU MIRU (τῶ κόσμῳ), PROSVĚTI SRĚDŮCE MOE, OTĚ NOŠTI VĚRIJŮŠTA, I SĚPASI MĚ (188, 1. 7–9). In the Czech *Cantilena* we find a close analogy to this complex verbal play: right after the combination VSEGO MIRA “to the universe”, appears the cluster of the direct with the indirect object: DAZĚ *** VBSĚMĚ *** MIRĚ “Give peace to all”. To the differences in case and syntactic function the pronoun adds a difference in number and the noun introduces a disjunction in lexical meaning.

If we replace our reading — VBSĚMĚ GOSPODI — with Mareš’ countersuggestion NAMĚ GOSPODINE, the composition loses an effective internal link; indeed in general the foundation of the reconstructed text on the three canonical apostrophes GOSPODI shows the stylistic unity and compactness of this poetic monument, as one may prove by a structural analysis of its original reading:

1. GOSPODI, POMILUI NY,
2. ISUSE, POMILUI NY!
3. SĚPASE VSEGO MIRA,
4. SĚPASI NY, I USLYŠI,
5. GOSPODI, GLASĚ NAŠIXĚ!
6. DAZĚ VBSĚMĚ, GOSPODI,
7. ŽIZNĚ I MIRĚ VĚ ZEMI!¹⁶

Miloš Weingart¹⁷ already noticed the “intentional and purposive” choice of grammatical and lexical devices in the *Cantilena*, but its structure still requires a more accurate and detailed investigation and interpretation. This symmetrical septet is composed of three independent petitioning statements; of these three sentence units, the central unit contains three lines and the two outer sections, the introductory and the concluding, have two lines apiece. Each section encompasses one apostrophe GOSPODI, which falls on the last or on the only odd line of the given section.

The original text of the *Cantilena* applies a rigorously economical set

¹⁶ We use the Old Glagolitic orthographic principles for this text and for the other Old Church Slavonic examples in this study. We conventionally designate the reflexes *dj and *tj by ŽD and ŠT, but in the given text, in accordance with the orthography of the Kiev Leaflets, we choose the variant DAZĚ. We write VĚ ZEMI in accordance with all variants of the song, because besides the form ZEMLI, ZEMI also appears in the locative of the oldest Church Slavonic monuments.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 100 ff.

of grammatical categories and in addition imposes precise limits to their compositional distribution and overall exploitation. It contains five transitive verbs in all, exclusively in the imperative singular, and five direct, accusative objects (NY three times, ŽIZNЬ, MIRЬ), five animate substantives, all in the vocative (GOSPODI three times, ISUSE, SЬPASE), and also five inanimates, always in one of the three marked cases, in other words *πλάγιαι* (accusative ŽIZNЬ and MIRЬ, genitive MIRA and GLASЬ, locative VЬ ZEMI). In connection with this quintuple basis, the five-times repeated syllable [mi] is worthy of mention: 1. POMILUI – 2. POMILUI – 3. MIRA – 7. MIRЬ – 7. VЬ ZEMI.

In contrast to all the other lines, the fourth, i.e. the central line of the whole *Cantilena*, is divided into two hemistichs of equal size (4+4): SЬPASИ NY, | I USLYŠИ. The first as well as the last line in the introductory and also in the central of the three sections of the work begins with a vocative and is divided into cola (3+5), while in its third, concluding, section both lines, the first as well as the last, are divided into cola (5+3):

3+5		3+5
3+5	4+4	3+5
5+3		5+3

The central line contains two imperatives, each in one of the 4-syllable hemistichs. These imperatives divide the whole work into two halves of the same syllabic scope (28 syllables) and the same total number of substantives and verbs (7 independent lexical units). To the grammatical composition of the first half — two different imperatives (1., 2. POMILUI, 4. SЬPASИ) and their thrice-repeated object (1., 2., 4. NY) — in the second half correspond two imperatives (4. USLYŠИ, 6. DAZЬ) with three different objects (5. gen. GLASЬ, 7. acc. ŽIZNЬ I MIRЬ). In the first half, the cluster of imperative plus its object regularly follows the vocative, while in the second half of the work the vocative is placed only after the imperative and before its nearest object.

As we already duly mentioned above, in the central triplet the derived forms bind both surrounding lines with the central one (*παρηγγέμενον*): 3. SЬPASE ← 4. SЬPASИ NY → 5. NAŠИXЬ. The connection of the last two units is particularly vivid, since all four examples of the nasal phoneme /n/ in the septet belong to a pronominal root.

We find striking structural correspondences between this *Cantilena* and the likewise seven-line *Encomium to Gregory the Theologian*, which is attributed to Constantine the Philosopher in his Old Church Slavonic *Vita* and originates either directly from Constantine or from one of his

collaborators and pupils.¹⁸ Both works are strikingly divided into three sections, one central triplet and two outer couplets. In the triplet of both texts, the central line with its pair of parallel transitive verbs (in the *Encomium* 4. PROSLAVLĚJŮTĚ – PROSVĚŠTAJŮTĚ; in the *Cantilena* 4. СЪПАСИ – УСЛЫШИ) is embraced by two lines which contain the sole genitives in the text, i.e. cases of an expressly restrictive nature (in the *Encomium* 3. pl. ОТЪ SERAFIMЪ – 5. sg. PRAVYĚ VĚRY; in the *Cantilena* 3. sg. VЪSEGO MIRA – 5. pl. GLASЪ NAŠIXЪ). In both works the second verb of the fourth line has its indirect object in the fifth line.

In the *Cantilena* the outer lines of the central section are composed of a vocative and a genitive with its pronominal attribute (3. СЪПАСЕ VЪSEGO MIRA – 5. GOSPODI, GLASЪ NAŠIXЪ), and this morphological parallelism of the two lines is especially conspicuous against the background of the syntactic contrast of their internominal relations. As has already been stressed, a complex grammatical figure connects the beginning of the central triplet – 3. VЪSEGO MIRA – with both lines of the concluding section – 6. *** VЪSĚMЪ*** 7. *** MIRЪ *** – and a remarkable paronomasia crowns this connection: 3. VЪSEGO MIR. – 6. VЪS.M.GO – 7. MIR.VЪZEMI.¹⁹

The anagrammatic highlighting of the third of the five vocatives, which opens the central triplet, is achieved by several means:

A. 13 [s] and 7 [p] form over 60% of the total number of noise consonants;

B. The cluster [s] and [p], either immediate or with an intervening vowel, appears once in each line with the exception of the last: 1. [SP] – 2. [SEP] – 3. [СЪP] – 4. [СЪP] – 5. [SP] – 6. [SP].

C. The syllable [SЪ] is repeated three times in the three lines of the central section (3. СЪПАСЕ – 4. СЪПАСИ – 5. GLASЪ) and the syllable [SE] in the second and third lines of the work (2. ISUSE – 3. СЪПАСЕ – VЪSEGO). Of the four nominal and verbal roots repeated in the song text either twice or three times, two chains of dominant paronomasias arise: 1. GOSPODI – 3. СЪПАСЕ – 4. СЪПАСИ – 5. GOSPODI – 6. GOSPODI; 1. POMILUI – 2. POMILUI – 3. MIRA – 7. MIRЪ.

All the components of the song septet are inseparably cemented

¹⁸ Cf. N. S. Trubetzkoy, "Ein altkirchenslavisches Gedicht," *Zeitschrift für slav. Philol.*, 1935, XI, 52–54; R. Jakobson, "Stixotvornye citaty v velikomoravskoj agiografii", *supra*, pp. 277–285 and "Poxvala Konstantina Filosafo Grigoriju Bogoslovu", *supra*, pp. 207–239.

¹⁹ One may perhaps also descry a certain paronomastic tendency in the analogous above-cited passage from the Slavic *Hirmologion*: VЪSIĚVYI (VЪS) SVĚTЪ (SVĚT) VЪSEMU (VЪS) MIRU (MIR) PROSVĚTI (SVĚT) – BLAGOVĚSTVUJŮŠTE (VĚST) VЪSĚMЪ (VЪS) MIRЪ (MIR).

together. The two introductory lines are mutually linked by tautological parallelism, while they are bound to the central line by a common object, repeated three times, which closes the first half of the work. Etymological figures join the central line with the other lines of the central section, which in turn are bound to each other by a strict morphological parallelism, while a similarity in rhythmic division unites both these lines with the introductory distich.

Compared to the two substantives of the introductory section, the next two, central and concluding, sections each contain four nouns; and in both these sections the verbless lines, provided with case forms (3., 5., 7.), regularly alternate with lines having verbs and without nouns in case forms (4., 6.).²⁰ The concluding distich, connected, we repeat, by an eloquent etymological figure and paronomasia with the beginning of the central tristich, is highlighted by a rhythmic inversion and, as was the literary custom in Cyrillo-Methodianism and its Byzantine milieu, the structure of this epilogue tends toward the realm of objective meanings.

The coordinate compound sentences of the two preceding sections are replaced here by a simple sentence; the conjunction *и*, twice admitted to the work, which served in the central line for the confrontation of coordinate sentences, in the concluding line joins the two direct objects *ЖИЗНЬ И МИРЪ*, and this is the sole pair of homogeneous cases; moreover, the most expressive, namely the so-called internal accusative, replaced here, on the one hand, the totally grammatical pronominal unit *НѢ* in the role of the outer accusative, and on the other, the genitive, that is the principally incomplete, partitive object. Here is also used for the first time the linking of a direct with an indirect object, and finally, after the accusative and genitive, the case system used in the poem admits the corresponding marginal cases, dative *ВЪСѢМЪ* and locative *ВЪ ЗЕМИ*; the latter closes the work with the sole instance of prepositional construction and the sole adverbial determination in the whole text.

The instructive study by Jan Racek on the genesis of the song "Hospodine, pomiluj ny"²¹ poses to scholars the pressing question of a comparative analysis of its verbal and musical structure. The oldest record of the text with musical notation, preserved in the Břevnov

²⁰ Of course, vocatives do not belong to the case system; cf. for example F. F. Fortunatov, *Izbrannye trudy* I (Moscow, 1956), p. 162 f. and II (Moscow, 1957), p. 319 f.

²¹ J. Racek, "Sur la question de la genèse du plus ancien chant liturgique tchèque 'Hospodine, pomiluj ny'", *Magna Moravia* (Prague, 1965), pp. 435-453. Cf. also two suggestive studies by Fr. Mužika, "'Hospodine pomiluj ny'", *Miscellanea musicologica* XVIII (Prague, 1965), pp. 7-30, and *Cimelia Bohemica* VII (Prague, 1969), pp. 3-7.

treatise of 1397, gives an archaic melody built on the pure tetrachord *re – do – si – la*. Indeed the basic scale is virtually limited to three tones, for only *re – do – la* appear autonomously, while *si* is found exclusively in melismata. As the scholar ascertained, the tripartite structure of the melody exactly corresponds to the three parts of the text: 2 + 3 + 2.

If we examine in the light of Racek's study the final hemistichs, which in all seven lines of the oldest manuscript of the *Cantilena* have a 4-syllable measure (1., 2. *pomiluj ny*, 3. *všeho míra*, 4. *i uslyšiž*, 5. *hlasy našě*, 6. *hospodine*, 7. *a mír v zemi*), we ascertain a falling tendency in the first line of both two-line sections — the introductory (*do – la*) and the concluding (*re – do*) — in comparison with the rising tendency in all other instances, *do – re* in the central line and *la – do* in the others (i.e. 2., 3., 5., 7.). Thus the melodic fall marks the purely imperative construction at the beginning of the statements (that is at the beginning of the introductory compound sentence and the concluding simple sentence). Whether a case of a melodic rise or fall, the highest tone *re* falls on the final hemistich solely in those two lines where the imperative is provided with an object only in the following line: 4. USLYŠI (5. GLASŮ); 6. DAZŮ (7. ŽIZNŮ I MÍRŮ). In general one may remark that the musical relationships among individual lines find vivid parallels in their grammatical architectonics.

In contrast to Weingart's view that "the song is mixed, Czech-Church Slavonic", and that "dissimilar Czech and Church Slavonic elements offset each other", we arrive through its analysis at the thesis that in its original redaction it was an Old Church Slavonic song, which was close in its linguistic and poetic composition to the other monuments of church song which are preserved in the Cyrillo-Methodian patrimony.²²

The song most probably survived the extinction of the Slavic liturgy in the Czech lands as a result of the fact that in the Slavic divine service it was appointed for singing by laymen. One may agree with the doubts of numerous scholars whether this *Cantilena* could have won such a deep and lasting influence and popularity if it had arisen only in the times of difficult, prolonged and fatal crisis which the Slavic church in Bohemia passed through in the eleventh century.²³ During the tenth century the Czech land indisputably knew the single stages of greater animation and upsurge of the tradition, closely linked with the remarkable achievements of the Moravian mission, but nevertheless the pinnacle of Church

²² "It is a likely hypothesis that the preserved text is a Bohemicized reading of an originally Old Church Slavonic song", as B. Havránek concludes in *Výbor z české literatury od počátku po dobu Husovu* (Prague, 1957), p. 108.

²³ Cf. for example O. Králik, *Od Radima ke Kosmovi* (Prague, 1968), the chapter "Píseň Hospodine pomiluj ny a Kosmas", pp. 70–87; J. Kadlec, *Svatý Prokop* (Rome, 1968).

Slavonic literature and especially of Byzantine-oriented poetic creation in the Czechoslovak world belongs precisely to the time of the activity of Constantine the Philosopher, Methodius, and their school.

Therefore the question raised in the footsteps of Dobrovský by the ingenious pioneers of Czech literary scholarship still preserves full validity: Jungmann found here “a remnant of the Slavic liturgy perhaps from the times of Bořivoj”; finally, according to Vlček’s keen assessment, it is “an ancient song, composed perhaps as early as the ninth century” and at least its “beginning (first three lines) certainly originates from the two missionaries”.²⁴

Written in Czech in La Jolla, Calif., 1968, and originally published under the title “Staroslověnská Kantiléna v dědictví českém” in *Ricerche Slavistiche* XVII–XIX, In Memory of Giovanni Maver (Rome, 1972). The English translation published here is by Susanne Fusso.

²⁴ J. Jungmann, *Historie literatury české* (Prague, 1825), p. 24; J. Vlček, *Dějiny literatury české*, vol. I (Prague, 1893), p. 5. On the powerful influence of the Great Moravian literary patrimony in the Czech principality, see R. Večerka, “Velkomoravská literatura v přemyslovských Čechách”, *Slavia* XXXII (1963), pp. 398–416; J. Vašica, “Původní staroslověnský liturgický kánon o sv. Dimitrijovi Soluňském”, *Slavia* XXXV (1966), pp. 513–524, and “Zur grossmährischen und altschechischen Hymnodie”, *Acta II Congressus int. hist. Slav. Salisburgo-Ratisbon*, II/2 (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 159–163.

