The Irish link to Croatia through the Glagolitic script.

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THE IRISH LINK TO CROATIA THROUGH THE GLAGOLITIC SCRIPT

by

© Barbara Széely

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of History
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
The University of Windsor

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ABSTRACT

THE IRISH LINK TO CROATIA THROUGH THE GLAGOLITIC SCRIPT

by

Barbara Sesely

With rare exceptions the universally upheld view is that the Glagolitic script and literacy was a "gift" to the Croats from the two Byzantine missionaries Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, as an outgrowth of their mission to Moravia in 863 A.D.

The fundamental problem in solving the mystery of the origin of the Glagolitic is the fact that all the sources name only one Slavic script as the invention of Constantine, while in fact two Slavic scripts have existed from the tenth century; the Cyrillic, adapted by the Orthodox Slavs, and the Glagolitic, retained by the Catholic Croats. The Cyrillic script is based on the Greek miniscule, the Glagolitic on the pre-Carolingian Latin.

Throughout the Middle Ages there existed a notion that St. Constantine-Cyril invented the Cyrillic, as its name implies, and St. Jerome created the Glagolitic, often referred to as the Hieronymic script.

This study has shown that deep-rooted antagonism has divided the Slavs, including the Croats, from their neighbours, and that during
the nineteenth century the Slavs, while searching for their common roots and striving for political independence, invented the myth that Constantine devised the Glagolitic and, with his brother Methodius, converted, educated, and civilized the entire world of the Slavs.

The great majority of previous scholarly works have given undue prominence to Constantine and Methodius at the expense of their predecessors, especially the Irish missionaries from the bishopric of Salzburg. Under the direction of an Irishman, Virgil, the abbot of St. Peter's monastery and then the bishop of Salzburg, the Irish were Christianizing the Croatians, Moravians, and Slovenes a century before the arrival of the Byzantine mission to Moravia. St. Virgil, the author of the Cosmographia, (under cover of the undeniable authority of Jerome), which includes some of the Hieronymous letters, is the St. Jerome of the Croatian centuries-old tradition.
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I would like to take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation to the members of my thesis committee; Dr. John O'Farrell, Dr. Anastasio Mouratides, and Dr. Ljubo Majhanovich.

Dr. O'Farrell introduced me to the rich and colourful Irish history. He patiently and expertly encouraged and directed my work, never doubting my abilities, and even after his retirement and re-location to London, Ontario, Dr. O'Farrell has remained as near as a telephone call, for which I am very grateful.

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After my return to university following nineteen years of absence Dr. Majhanovich painstakingly re-introduced me to the Russian language and literature. He patiently deciphered my early spelling errors, and if I have any proficiency in that language today it is largely due to his kind influence.

The Faculty and Staff of the both the Department of History and the Department of Classical and Modern Languages have been extremely helpful throughout the years.
To adequately acknowledge all those who assisted me in this effort would require more pages than this thesis contains. However, I would be remiss if I did not mention, even without naming, numerous friends, acquaintances, institutions, and even total strangers in Windsor, Toronto, Ottawa, Sudbury, Calgary, Vancouver, Zagreb, Odra, Split, Zadar, Salzburg, and Regensburg for books, periodicals, photocopies, and valuable suggestions.

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Most heartfelt thanks are for my husband, Turtko H. Sesely, and our son, Carl Domagoj Sesely, for their never-failing encouragement and practical assistance: to them both this thesis is dedicated with love.
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INTRODUCTION

Upon first glance, the possibility that a small country in southeastern Europe could in any way be linked to another small island situated at the far end of the continent, seems logically non-existent. Such a possibility becomes even more remote if we take into consideration that Ireland was at the peak of its cultural and religious revival during the time that the Croats, most likely pagans, began to settle in their new land.

This study explores and attempts to prove that the link between the two nations originated during the second half of the eighth century. The search for relevant material has been an extremely difficult one. The main sources on the invention of the Slavic script are The Vita of Constantine and The Vita of Methodius, also known as the "Pannonian Legends", and the Defense of Slavic Letters by the Monk Hrabr. All sources mention only one script—Slavic—however, from the tenth century two scripts were in existence: the Cyrillic, used by the Eastern Slavs, and the Glagolitic used by the Croatian Glagolitic clergy. It was taken for granted throughout the Middle Ages that St. Cyril invented the Cyrillic and St. Jerome invented the Glagolitic. In 1859 Pavel J. Safarik (1795-1861), one of the leading figures of the Czech national revival advanced the theory that the Glagolitic was the invention of Constantine and the Cyrillic was created by his disciple Clement.(1)

Thus from the nineteenth century onwards there has existed the impression that the Byzantine missionary Constantine, under Divine inspiration, invented the Glagolitic script and with his brother Methodius converted, educated, and civilized the entire world of the Slavs. Although the literature about the lives and achievements of the two Byzantine missionaries Constantine and Methodius has grown to an immense size in numerous languages, no agreement has been reached on the final solution to the puzzle of the origin of the scripts, and scholarly opinion has remained biased and contradictory. Although an attempt has just recently been made to explore and re-assess the contribution of the Irish to the enrichment of Western civilization, their role still remains an enigma outside of Ireland and a small scholarly community. The hypothesis that Constantine and Methodius or their disciples had ever had any contact with the Croatians has never been substantiated. On the other hand, after extensive research it became abundantly clear that the Irish missionaries from Salzburg were in direct contact with the Croatian and Slovenian tribes in Carinthia, preaching in the vernacular, and accordingly they created a link between Ireland and Croatia.

The most enduring link was the Glagolitic script: "The alphabet invented by Aethicus,² (St. Virgil) which is entered in the last chapter of the Cosmographia,..."(2) used and cherished by the Croatian Glagolitic clergy well into the twentieth century.

Of equal everlasting importance is the Christianity that the Irish missionaries (naturally, not only the Irish) spread among the Croatian tribes, the evidence of which is preserved in Glagolitic ecclesiastical literature; the veneration of St. Brigit (3), St. Gall (4), and St. Columbanus (5). In addition at least two legends of Irish origin were written: The Vision of Tantalus (6) and the Purgatory of St. Patrick (7).

Another probable nexus is the decorative interlace pattern found in early Irish Christian work (8), possibly brought from Ireland into central Europe by the Irish missionaries (9).

Furthermore, the medieval Bosnian church was distinctly set up in the system of the early Irish-tribal-church (10) and the Croatian Queen Jelena (d 975) bequeathed part of her estates to the special kind of clergy-vigilantes that existed in Ireland (11). The fact that there existed a link between Ireland and Croatia during the fourteenth century.

7. Ibid., 220.
is attested to by a list detailing the number of the houses of
Franciscan nuns of the Order of St. Clare existing in Ireland that was
drawn up by a Dalmatian Franciscan in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in
1384-1385. (12)

The question inevitably arises: Why have these links not been
explored by scholars? The answer is to be found in political
developments. From the beginning of the ninth century the Slavs,
including the Croats, have constantly been subjected to
Germanization, thus in the struggle for their independence and survival
they simply ignored or even denied any links to the Franks and later to
Austria, especially during the nineteenth century. Nineteenth century
scholarship, provoked by nationalism, was devoted to the idea of Slav
unity and to proving that Slavic culture and literary achievements were
as good and as old as that of the Germans, even more so, because it was
a gift of the two Greek scholars, the saints Constantine and Methodius.
Therefore the script brought to the Slavs from the unquestionably
superior Byzantine civilization was at least equal to Latin. "Among
intellectuals in eastern and south-eastern Europe, one of the forms
taken by the upsurge of nationalism in the nineteenth century was the
notion of a community of Slav peoples at once ethnically distinct from
the Anglo-Saxons, Teutons and Latins, and superior to all three." (13)

As to the origin of the Glagolitic script, there was no reason to

12. Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses
in Ireland: With an Appendix to Early Sites, with a Foreword by David
13. Roger Portal, The Slavs: a Cultural and Historical Survey of
look to Virgil or to anyone else as its creator, since, throughout the Middle Ages it was believed that St. Jerome invented it. It is ironic that Virgil himself—by attributing *Cosmographia* to Jerome—was responsible for this hypothesis.

Although it is generally agreed that the Croats invented the story of Jerome as a protection against Latinization, the fact remains that even Rome believed it to be accurate.

In ancient times, there were racial ties between the inhabitants of the regions later settled by the Croats and the inhabitants of Ireland. Both belonged to the Celts, who profoundly shaped the course of history. Of Indo-European origin, the Celts eventually occupied and settled in areas from the Black Sea, to most of Central Europe, the Iberian Peninsula, and Ireland.
CHAPTER ONE

THE IRISH MISSIONARIES AND SCHOLARS IN SCOTLAND, NORTHERN ENGLAND, AND ON THE CONTINENT

The Celts on the Continent became submerged by the Romans and later by the Barbarians, whereas the Celts of Ireland remained outside the Roman Empire, preserving and further developing their Celtic heritage. "And, ironically, this heritage from the fatally disunited Celts became the moving spirit of one of the world's most staunchly nationalist peoples: the Irish."(1)

Christianity, on a small scale, came to Ireland from Britain and Gaul, as a result of trade and/or raids. However, it was St. Patrick who has always been credited as the only true apostle of Ireland. This tradition and popular view of him is exaggerated. Nonetheless, his achievements cannot be over-looked.

Although many aspects of his life have not been explained to everyone's satisfaction, it is clear that St. Patrick devoted his life to organizing the Christian Church in the established pattern. However, in 457 A.D., Ireland was a unique country with numerous tribal states, no central government, and the new church differed from the established church in Europe. To a tribal, family-oriented society, the idea of the

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family of monks and nuns was quickly accepted: "... there seemed to be something in the Celtic temperament that responded with peculiar enthusiasm to the disciplined life of community and learning."(2)

For inspiration the founders looked to early Egyptian monasticism and lived in groups of beehive cells, but unlike Egyptians they bound themselves by formal vows.(3)

Thus, with a few exceptions, scholars generally agree "... that from the sixth century the Irish monasteries were seats of learning of a high order, both theological and secular, and that for three centuries they produced a series of remarkable men who exerted a profound influence on the thought and letters of Western Europe, ..."(4)

Monasteries were associated with local ruling families, and abbots, rather than bishops, were the real leaders of the church. Those new ecclesiastical institutions rapidly became the centres of writing, as well as learning, and craftsmanship. Ireland thus went through an intellectual and spiritual revolution as the monks transcribed centuries of oral poetry, laws, literature, history, and Gospels and other ecclesiastical works. While the rest of Western Europe was going through the darkness of the "Dark Ages," Irish monks were creating masterpieces in manuscripts, metal, and stone. Eventually, Irish monasteries became centres of learning, not only for the Irish, but for students from other countries. "The Scots welcomed them all

3. Ibid., p. xiii.
kindly, and without asking for any payment, provided them with daily food, books, and instruction." (5)

Only a century after Christianity was accepted in Ireland Irish missionaries began to preach in Scotland, Northern England, and on the Continent. (See Appendix, Illustration a.) One of the most influential of the early Irish missionaries beyond the borders of Ireland was St. Columcille (521-597). "Dowered with many gifts, he had gained fame as a poet, statesman, scholar, patriot, and missionary." (6)

St. Columcille, a member of the royal family, after establishing monasteries in Ireland, went to Iona where, "... he converted the people to the faith of Christ by his preaching and example, and was granted the island of Iona on which to found a monastery." (7) His reasons for leaving Ireland have been variously explained. The most popular explanation is that his motive was a voluntary exile for Christ, and as punishment for a dispute over a psalter, which he had copied and refused to give up. Whatever his reasons, "... his resolution to leave Ireland marked an epoch in monastic history, the first manifestation of the 'peregrinato propter nomen Domini.'" (8) Iona became a centre from which Scotland and northern England were evangelized.

Although the conversion of England is generally attributed to St. Augustine, "... who arrived in England before the end of the sixth

5. Bede, A History of the English Church and People, trans. with an Introduction by Leo Sherley-Price (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965), p. 191. Of course it is important to remember that during the Early Middle Ages the term "Scot" meant "Irish".
6. Ibid., p. 143.
7. Ibid.
8. V. Berardis, Italy and Ireland in the Middle Ages, (Dublin, 1950), p. 91.
century, Christianity made little headway in the provinces until Aidan, the Irish missionary from Iona, began his labors in Lindisfarne in 634."(9) Aidan (d.651), "... was sent, when he had been made bishop, to preach the Faith of Christ to the English people."(10)

Apparently the only flaw in Aidan's otherwise exemplary life was his observance of Easter: "... one cannot commend or approve his inadequate knowledge of the proper observance of Easter; ..."(11)

Aidan's successor at Lindisfarne was Finan. Educated at Iona, after becoming bishop and abbot (651-661) at Lindisfarne, Finan continued the policies set up by Aidan. He built a wooden church according to the Irish style, and defended the Irish date for the observance of Easter against Ronan, who convinced or persuaded many, "But he entirely failed to move Finan, a hot-tempered man whom reproof made more obstinate, and openly hostile to the truth. ..."(12)

The third bishop-abbot of Lindisfarne was another Irishman from Iona, Colman (d. 676). During his abbacy the conflicts between the Irish and the English concerning the date of Easter, the style of tonsure, and eventually the role of bishops reached the boiling point. When southern England accepted Christianity brought to them by the missionaries from Rome, the rudiments of a universal diocesan system, the form of tonsure and the calculation of the Easter date were accepted. Since each side stubbornly defended its own cause, the

11. Ibid., p. 165.
12. Ibid., pp. 182-183.
conflicts escalated. To resolve the dispute, Oswin, the king of Northumbria, convened and presided over the Synod of Whitby (663–664). Colman was defending old Irish traditions while his opponents justified the unification of religious matters. Although many members of the Synod were sympathetic to the Irish cause, the king, himself educated by the Irish, ruled in favour of the Roman calculation of Easter.

The zeal of the Irish missionaries did not stop in Scotland and Northern England, instead it spread all over Western and Central Europe. During the interval between the fall of the Roman Empire and the reign of Charlemagne, artistic and scholarly activities were almost non-existent and the arts almost vanished from continental Europe. However, they flourished in Ireland and in the Byzantine Empire, and Western Europe received renewed religious and intellectual stimulus from the monasteries of Ireland, while Byzantine civilization thrived on the Italian Peninsula.

One of the most venerated Irish missionaries in Europe was St. Columbanus (543 – 615). A member of a noble family, he was handsome, stubborn, well-educated, resourceful, and dedicated, so much so, that he became a monk against his mother’s wishes. "He was big and bluff, dedicated to an ideal, and single-minded in pursuing it, immensely stern and ostensive; with a very literal mind. He was an ox with a soul and a call to God." (13)

Columbanus spent some time in the two famous monasteries in
Ireland: Cluan Inis and Bangor, and in 590, with twelve companions, left
for Gaul.

On his way through Rowen, Noyon and Rheims,
Columbanus observed that "virtue is more or less
non-existent." As he travelled along the roads,
he noted that the country, devastated by the
scourge of the Frankish occupation, had lost the
last vestiges of its ancient civilization. When
he made contact with the mighty, it was in order
to learn whether they were mutually
exterminating one another, owing to cruelty or
ambition. When he met the bishops, he was
frequently scandalized, for men of God were few
among the heads of the churches, whilst many
were the princes of that century whose prestige
was due to their temporal powers rather than to
knowledge or virtue. Looking for monks, he
found only a few insignificant groups or else a
small number of hermits and recluse, lost in
the enormous forests of Gaul.(14)

His first contact on the Continent was Childebert II, King of
Burgundy and Austrasias. With the king's permission Columbanus founded
his first monastery at Anagrates. However, the site became too small as
followers gathered around him, and a second monastery at Luxeul was
established. Additional monks, penitents and scholars joined
Columbanus, and a third settlement was established at Fontaines.(15)

Here the community numbered sixty monks, while the total number of
disciples was two hundred and twenty. Some were sons of nobles who came
to be educated, others were passing visitors, and many were broken men
and penitents, who desired to make their peace.(16)

14. Jean Decarreaux, Monks and Civilization: From the Barbarian
Invasions to the Reign of Charlemagne, trans. Charlotte Haldane
15. Walker, p. xxiii.
16. Ibid., p. xxiv.
For his monasteries Columbanus wrote a set of rules: love of God and neighbour, peaceful silence of self-recollection, poor food, poverty, humility, chastity, discretion, and the mortification of self-will. In addition he wrote directions for the celebration of the Divine Office and the Penitentials. (17) "The monks of Columbanus might eat half as much as the monks of Benedict, but they were to sing twice as many psalms." (18)

In as much as Luxeuil and its daughter houses were a vital spark in Gaul, to the hierarchy their nonconformist abbot was a nuisance, and his obstinate refusal to follow the decrees of the church was not appreciated. "Columban, founding and governing his houses on the Irish model, was to break each one of these provisions." (19)

During the lifetime of Columbanus' protector and mentor Childerbert, the bishops could not attack him on the ground of insubordination, therefore they decided to charge him with heresy on account of the Irish date of celebrating Easter. Columbanus did not wait for the charges to be made public; instead he wrote a letter to Pope Gregory defending the Irish custom, and even questioning the Pope's wisdom, but expressing his loyalty to Rome. "Why then, with all your learning, when indeed the streams of your holy wisdom are, as of old, shed abroad over the earth with great brightness, do you favour a dark Easter?" (20)

Furthermore, Columbanus accused the Gaulish clergy of immorality

17. Ibid., p. xxiv.
20. Ibid., p. 5.
and simony, and asked: "Are we really to communicate with them?" (21)

Since Columbanus paid no attention to the charges brought against him by the hierarchy, the bishops requested his presence at the synod to defend himself. Instead of appearing Columbanus wrote another letter requesting that he and his monks be allowed to continue their work according to the monastic tradition of Ireland: "For these are our rules, . . . our weapons, shields and swords, these are our defence; . . ." (22)

His excuse for not attending the council was the fear of losing his temper, however his independence was at stake and that was most likely the real reason for his refusal to attend. "An out-and-out Celt, and considering himself as such to be independent of all episcopal jurisdiction, he could not agree to take orders from them. . . ." (23)

The turning point in the opposition to Columbanus came after the death of his protector King Childebert. Childebert was succeeded by his two sons, Theudebert and Theodoric, who ruled under the regency of Brunhild, their grandmother. Brunhild, an ambitious, meddling and manipulative woman, was thrown out of Theudebert’s court, after a stormy relationship with Theudebert and his wife. Consequently, his brother Theodoric welcomed her and let her rule. Brunhild preferred to have her grandson be surrounded by concubines rather than to be married, since a wife could replace her status. In the meantime, Theodoric became a friend of Columbanus, who advised him to give up his way of life and to

22. Ibid., pp. 17, 19.
get married. Theodoric married a Spanish princess, who was sent back to Spain as a result of Brunhild’s interference. With the young queen out of the way Brunhild requested that Columbanus baptize Theodoric’s illegitimate sons, which Columbanus promptly refused. Brunhild retaliated by expelling him. She had the power to make Columbanus a martyr: "But it was against her policy to take such a step in the case of a man who, already enjoying a halo of sanctity, would not have hesitated to accept ‘red martyrdom’."(24)

Although Brunhild is generally held responsible for Columbanus’ expulsion, the hostility which the Irish aroused by refusing to compromise with the upper clergy was also a strong contributing cause.(25)

After being expelled, Columbanus and a small number of monks continued wandering up the Rhine and settled at Lake Constance, preaching among the Alemanni. Three years later they were once again ordered to leave and Columbanus travelled to northern Italy, where he founded Bobbio, and died there in 615.

The Diocese of Bobbio survived until 1803, when it was secularized by Napoleon’s army. It was re-established by Pope Pius VII and it now consists of seventy parishes. Although the monastery became Benedictine shortly after its establishment it remained under the Rule of Columbanus until the tenth century. Its library contained an impressive number of manuscripts, the best known being Antiphonary of Bangor and the Bobbio Missal. At the present, some books from Bobbio are preserved in the

24. Ibid., p. 199.
Vatican, Milan, and Turin libraries. The monastery is now used as a school, the basilica is the parish church, and the crypt chapel contains the remains of St. Columbanus. (26)

The principal source of information on Columbanus was authored by Jonas who, three years after Columbanus' death, entered the Monastery of Bobbio and was appointed by the abbot to compile Columbanus' biography. In order to gather information additional to what he found at Bobbio, Jonas went to Gaul in 640 and completed his book in 643. "Though written in a barbarous Latinity, and over-credulous in the matter of miracle, this production has a historical value unusual in the literature of hagiography." (27)

Columbanus' stay in Gaul was short, nonetheless, the tie between the Irish monks and Frankish nobility was formed. For example, Chagnoald, the son of a nobleman, was educated at Luxeuil. (28) Columbanus' pupil ended his days as Bishop of Laon. (29) Richarius, another Frank, in response to the preaching of two Irishmen, Fichori and Chaidor, renounced the world and founded a monastery which still bears his name, St. Riguiier. (30) Dado, a high officer at the court, who was blessed by Columbanus as a child, established a monastery on the Irish model at Rebais (c. 635) and later became Bishop of Rouen. (31) In 657 Queen Bathild invited the monks from Luxeuil to establish Corbie, a monastery that became an intellectual centre, producing manuscripts and developing a series of writing styles. "Literary activity is

29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
attested there from the seventh century, and, ... it was at Corbie
that the earliest example of Caroline miniscule was written."(32)

Columbanus' mission was extremely successful as well as extremely
stormy. "It has been calculated that before the end of the seventh
century, there were ninety-four monasteries on the continent that owed
their foundation directly or indirectly to Columbanus himself."(33)
Nevertheless, he was forever at odds with the bishops, the kings, and
even the popes. He stubbornly persisted in old Irish traditions,
keeping the Irish date of Easter, ignoring the authority of bishops, and
practising and demanding strict discipline. The ways of the Irish were
far too drastic for the decaying Frankish society in Gaul and friction
was inevitable. The Irish missionaries were worlds apart from the
established Frankish church in Gaul, and even from the Benedictine
order.

The Irish lost tempers and risked lives, climbed
mountains, interfered, found joy in nature, and
depression in sin, took subtlety too far, and
were led by blatancy into error. They strained
every nerve for perfection's sake and fell far
shorter of paper perfection than those who knew
a mean. It was in them, and it was them, and it
could not be otherwise... Columbanus'
disciplines trained men to be saints, Benedict's
how to live soberly, farm well, and die
content.(34)

There were, it seems, some efforts by Columbanus, or at least some
of the estimated "... six hundred missionaries, who went from Luxeuil,

32. Rosamund McKitterick, The Frankish Kingdoms Under the
33. Lehane, p. 184.
34. Ibid., pp. 180-181.
the headquarters of Columbanus’ missionary work . . . "(35) to preach among the Slavic tribes in Carinthia. According to the Croatian scholar Stejepan Gunjaca, "St. Columban tried to convert the Slovenes at the beginning of the seventh century."(36) However, the systematic conversion of the Slavic tribes in Carinthia was done under the direction of another Irishman, St. Virgil of Salzburg, during the second half of the eighth century.(37)

St. Gall was not the founder of the monastery which bears his name, but he was a principal pioneer of Christianity in Switzerland, and is considered the apostle of that country. Born and educated in Ireland, he was one of the twelve companions of Columbanus on the mission to Gaul c. 590. He followed Columbanus into exile in the region around Lake Constance and in the area near Bregenz. Once again they were ordered to leave by the pagan princess of the area. Columbanus left for Italy, while Gall, against the wishes of Columbanus, remained. "Columban left in anger, forbidding his truant disciple to say Mass as long as he himself should live."(38)

The reason for Gall’s disobedience was illness. After recovery, he first lived as a hermit, and later became in charge of a small colony of monks. The abbey founded on the site of Gall’s hermitage emerged and remained as a centre for the teaching of grammar, rhetoric, dialectic,

and music. "Like Reichenau and Trier, St. Gall was crucial not only in preserving the achievements of the ninth century into the tenth and eleventh centuries, but also in transmitting them to the newly emerging centers of Ottonian Germany." (39) Although St. Gall had been governed by the Benedictine Rule, throughout its history the monastery numbered Irishmen among its brethren: "... the impact of the Irish 'colony' at St. Gall upon the community or the intellectual life of the surrounding region, like the Irish contribution to European culture from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, has not yet been adequately assessed." (40)

In 818 St. Gall became a royal monastery and began to produce scribes, scholars, and books, and eventually became famous for its learning. In addition to a school it contained a scriptorium and a library. "The oldest book list is dated between 850 and 860..." and furthermore, the library "... had a particularly fine collection of classical authors--Terence, Lucretius, Salust, Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Vitruvius, Persius, Lucan, Quintilian, Statius, Juvenal." (41)

Among the saints venerated on the continent and in Ireland was "Fursey... of noble Irish blood..." (42) Fursey became known for his visions of the next world. "St. Fursey's visions entered medieval literature and are believed to have been models, if not literally

40. Ibid., p. 298.
41. Ibid., pp. 203-204.
42. Bede, p. 168.
followed, at least reflected in Dante's Divine Comedy."(43) His tomb at Peronne became an attraction for numerous Irish pilgrims. The monastery preserved its Irish character, and became an important link between Ireland and the Continent in the field of literature.(44).

Ever since 1536, the inhabitants of Peronne celebrate a thanksgiving on January 16 to St. Fursey for saving their city from capture. "Only Peronne is remembered for the members of a foreign race, not conquerors but apostles, not hated intruders but revered visitors, who for two centuries gave the town its universally accepted name, Peronna Scotorum, 'Peronne of the Irish.'"(45)

Another saint whose life forged a link between Ireland and the Continent was St. Killian, who preached in Germany, suffered martyrdom (c.689), and remains the patron Saint of Wurzburg. Wurzburg was originally under Anglo-Saxon influence, but as devotion to St. Killian spread, numerous Irish pilgrims visited his tomb and ties to Ireland increased. "It is now generally believed that some of the Irish manuscripts at Wurzburg... were brought to the famous shrine by Irish visitors during the ninth century."(46)

St. Pirmin (d.754), best known as the founder of the famous island monastery of Reichenau, is another possible link. The question of his nationality is still being disputed, however, from the ninth century the monastery of Reichenau had many Irish monks, and the library had a large

44. Bieler, p. 99.
45. Marenell, pp. 129-130.
number of manuscripts in Irish print and the Irish language. (47)

It should be pointed out that the Irish were not alone in the missionary field. When they arrived on the Continent the Irish found Frankish, Roman, and Greek missionaries, and were themselves followed by the Anglo-Saxons from England. The Greeks converted most of southern and eastern Slavs but a large number of Slovenes, Croatians, and Moravians were Christianized by the Irish during the second half of the eighth century, directed by St. Virgil of Salzburg. Archaeological excavation in Prague has unearthed the remains of ancient churches which were similar to the Irish churches. (48) However, according to Dvornik the theory of the Irish origin of the earliest churches in Moravia "... has been rejected by almost all specialists." (49) "Modra has something in common with certain Irish foundations in the Rhineland. ... But the weight of the evidence is against its Irishness." (50)

There are other indications which suggest the presence of the Irish missionaries in Moravia. According to J.G. Cincik the Gospel of Cuthbert originated in the territory inhabited by the Moravians and the Avars. It was written in Irish script and illuminated "... on the basis of the relationship between Virgil-Alcuin-Arno..." (51) Dvornik rejects the notion that the Irish missionaries played any noticeable

47. Ibid.
49. Ibid., p. 82.
role in the Christianization of the Moravian Slavs: "The principal missionaries in Moravia were Frankish priests, . . ." (52) Nevertheless, Michael Lacko, who in most instances accepted Dvorník's theories, disagreed in this case, and wrote: "The first Christian missionaries in Moravia and present-day Slovakia were almost all Irish or Scottish monks." (53)

The world that the Irish missionaries discovered in Western and Central Europe was brutal and bloody. There exist numerous contemporary records of the barbaric ways which the Franks used to subjugate the "barbarians" in order to receive tribute and to subordinate them to their spiritual and political jurisdiction. Since the Roman church officially acknowledged the Carolingian dynasty as "Defender of the Church," the wars of Frankish expansion and forceful conversion by the "sword and fire" were considered to be justified battles against the barbarians. However, the pagan outsiders, although no less barbaric than the Franks that slaughtered them, remained barbarians, while the Franks at least according to western history, were regarded as the holy agents of civilization.

Einhard, Charlemagne's biographer, described the ways the Franks treated their opponents: "The utter depopulation of Pannonia and the site of the Khan's palace, now a desert, where not a trace of human habitation is visible, bear witness of how many battles were fought in those years, and how much blood was shed." (54) Charlemagne's son.

52. Dvorník, Byzantine Missions, p. 79.
Charles led an army against the Bohemians. "Charles raided their native land from one end to the other and killed their chief Lecho." (55)

Consequently, the opposition to the Franks was intense and the arrival of the Irish was welcomed by the population of the countries in which they preached. "The conquered tribes did not willingly accept baptism from priests who appeared to be sheltering behind their warrior's shields... The Celts, however, came to them with no protection save that of their holy relics." (56)

In comparison with the Saxons the conversion of the Slavic tribes in Carinthia was relatively free of violence. According to Charlemagne's Edict in regard to the Saxons: "Death was the penalty prescribed for burning a Christian church;... for wilfully eating meat in Lent;... for celebrating pagan ritual; for refusing Christian baptism;... for disloyalty toward the Lord King." (57)

The war against the Saxons was described by Einhard: "No war ever undertaken by the Frank nation was carried on with such persistane and bitterness, on cost so much labor,..." (58)

Charlemagne's way of punishing his opponents was extremely harsh and ruthless. During the uprising of 782 "Charles had 4,500 Saxons beheaded in one day..." (59) Even after the victory over all-of

59. Ibid., p. 70 fn. 16.
those who offered resistance, Charlemagne re-settled ten thousand Saxons and their families in Gaul and Germany. (60) Banishing the traitors, "... some of them without mutilation, others after their eyes had been put out..." (61), Charlemagne: "All the rest of his life... was regarded by everyone with the utmost love and affection,..." (62) The Saxons surrendered after thirty years of massacre and bloodshed. Meanwhile:

... we must admit that Karantania was much more easily won for the faith than the people of Saxony. Historians attribute it, and rightly, to the milder missionary methods of the Irish, who, and this cannot be too strongly emphasized, continued to work throughout Karantania in spite of S. Boniface's reforms, because the See of Salzburg, during the forty decisive years, was in the hands of an Irish bishop, who, at the same time, presided as abbot over an Irish monastic "familia";... (63)

Indeed it was this "mild" way that greatly contributed to their acceptance by the majority of the people. Moreover, the virtue of the Irish missionaries was the total absence of any political implications, and the fact that they never tried to attach the converted to any political centre. The emphasis was on saving of the soul. For that purpose they wisely combined some elements of pagan ritual with Christian practice. This unique fusion and the zeal and enthusiasm of the Irish were the main reasons for their success.

60. Ibid., p. 32.
61. Ibid., p. 49.
62. Ibid.
Recent studies of the conversion of the Slavic tribes have stressed the crucial role the Irish missionaries played during the second half of the eighth century. "The methods employed in the mission fields remained for a long time those of the Irish tradition: ardent in preaching, but mild in dealing with the people; no interference with their mother tongue; a high standard of learning and ascetical life." (64)

The Merovingian Gaul had a large number of Irish missionaries. Their contribution to the revival of Christianity notwithstanding, it was during the Carolingian period that the scholars from Ireland reached Gaul, and played an important role in the establishment of France as a centre of learning.

From 795 Irish monasteries, where art, literature, and learning had reached their zenith, were raided by the Vikings, the treasures taken, and the monks often killed. Monastic schools, scriptoria, and books were destroyed, hence the scattering of monks and scholars was a natural outcome of the raids. Meanwhile:

The situation on the Continent had changed, however, and no longer could great Columban monasteries grow up around the hermits' cells to become centres of religion in pagan or half/Christian lands, as in the seventh century. Now the church was organized on the continent on diocesan and territorial lines and into this system the Irish monks, to whom such organization was foreign, fitted with difficulty, if at all. Thus they often came into conflict with continental bishops who found

64. Ibid., p. 51.
it necessary to legislate for the control of "wandering Irish bishops," and sometimes accused them of heresy. (65)

Irrefutable evidence of Irish involvement on the Continent was provided by the charter of Charlemagne to Honau, which states that the king has granted freedom to all Irish pilgrims and forbids anyone to take their property or to occupy their churches. (66)

Nonetheless, the Irish also experienced numerous expulsions and accusations of heresy, mostly because of their conservativism and stubbornness. "Suspicion of unorthodox Irish ways was voiced as early as the Council of Soissons (744), ..." (67) and, in 813 during the Reform Council of Chalon, an order was issued against Irish wandering bishops. (68)

Additional changes in Gaul came about due to the reforms of Charlemagne. "The visits paid by Charlemagne, nomadic and illiterate prince as he was, to Italy, where he came in contact with Byzantine civilization at Ravenna and Beneventum, and Rome. . . at once convinced him that he should create a culture worthy of his conquests, and suggested to him where the elements of this culture were to be found." (69)

After expanding the borders of his empire across Western and Central Europe Charlemagne aimed at the reorganization of the Church and the state and his court became a haven for scholars from his vast empire.

67. Vlasto, p. 22 fn b.
68. McKitterick, p. 299.
as well as Irish, Greeks from Italy and Byzantium, Lombards, Syrians, Goths from Spain, and Anglo-Saxons.

A mere list of the number of Irish scholars in Europe is striking. One scholar, Clemens, was in charge of Charlemagne's palace school, and was perhaps Alcuin's immediate successor. (70)

Another scholar, Dungal; a monk and poet, was teaching astronomy and philosophy at St. Denis. Among his accomplishments are a treatise on the eclipse of the sun, a defence of the cult of the saints and their images, and several Latin poems. In addition, he was most likely the same Dungal placed in charge of learned studies in Northern Italy by Lothar in 825. (71) Dungal retired to Columbanus' monastery, Bobbio, donating forty books to its library. (72)

Another of the numerous Irish scholars who left an imprint on the revival of learning in Gaul was Dicuil, a grammarian, astronomer, geographer, and geometrician. Except for his own writings, very little is known about him. There is some indication that he was the head of the palace school after leaving Ireland. He was not an original thinker, and did not aim at originality, but his work the Liber de Mensibus Orbis Terrae is the best geographical work of the early Middle Ages, and it provides evidence of the survival of classical geographic literature. (73)

70. Bieler, p. 118.  
71. Ibid., pp. 118-119.  
73. Bieler, p. 119.
The accomplished poet, philosopher and theologian Sedulius Scottus arrived in Gaul in 848 and, with a group of wandering scholars, Fergus, Blandus, and Marenus, settled at Liege where they wrote on varied subjects. In addition to being a Latin scholar, Sedulius "... I was one of the first to reintroduce on the Continent the lost knowledge of Greek." (74)

The ninth century manuscript preserved in the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia contains a poem "The Scholar and his Cat," supposedly written by Sedulius. "The whole of the scholar's life is reflected in its gentle, meditative humour, ..." (75)

Bishop Donatus of Fiesole (826-877) was the author of the "... Life of St. Brigit, written in well constructed Latin hexameters and in fluent and vivid language." (76) In addition he wrote a poem in praise of Ireland, and founded a hospice for Irish pilgrims. (77)

Very little is known about John Scottus Eriugena, however, it is generally agreed that he was one of the most prominent scholars of the period. During Eriugena's time, in addition to ecclesiastical studies, the study of philosophy and logic were being re-emphasized, and in the process Aristotle and other ancient immortals were re-discovered.

"... The work of the Carolingians was rather in the acquisition and divulging of ancient knowledge and literature than in any original contributions to thought. Only John Eriugena the Scott (ob. c. 877) was

74. Scherman, p. 292.
76. Bieler, p. 120.
Eriugena was commissioned by Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, to refute Gottschalk's radical doctrine on predestination. The refutation, on philosophical grounds, led to a charge of heresy against Eriugena. "His Frankish colleagues... thought indeed that his tract smelt of heresy and the work was condemned at the councils of Valence and Langres in 856." (79)

Eriugena taught at Laon and did translation from Greek. "Eriugena's translations, though not without blemish, were a distinct success and were incontrovertible evidence of his intellectual ability, his knowledge of Greek and sympathy with the world of Greek theology and philosophy." (80) Indeed his knowledge of Greek philosophy and language was so profound and unusual in the Frankish Empire, that some scholars believed Eriugena to be a Greek native, or at least educated in Greece. (81)

Except for the members of his circle Eriugena's philosophy had little influence during the ninth century, "... but he was the only scholar in the dark age to produce a complete philosophical synthesis, the De Divisione Nature, the first great work of its kind in western Europe." (82) His thought was understood only centuries later. His work was condemned in 1225 by Pope Honorius III and was placed on the Index in 1585 by Pope Gregory XIII. (83)

80. O'Meara, p. 21.
81. Ibid., p. 3.
82. De Paor, p. 142.
83. Scherman, p. 296.
During the tenth century the Irish influence on the continent declined. "This decline resulted as much from the growing secular spirit within the monasteries as from the destruction wrought by the Vikings."(84) However, there were numerous pilgrims visiting Rome, the Holy Land, and the shrines of Irish missionaries that were spread all over the Continent.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a new wave of Irish monks travelled to the Continent, especially Central Europe. Marianus (d.1080), a member of the O'Donnel family, with two companions on return from a pilgrimage to Rome stopped at Michaelsberg, and then at Rastibon. At Rastibon they were given a church, and Marianus became leader of a small group of monks. In addition to being a missionary, Marianus was a writer. Two of his manuscripts survived: "... the text of the latter breaks off in the middle of a sentence--Marianus died over his work."(85)

The monastery of St. James in Rastibon was founded by the monks of Marianus' community. Two of Marianus' monks travelled as far East as Kiev, with the intention of establishing a monastery. Their mission was unsuccessful, however, the gifts of furs they brought back were used to pay for the building of St. James Church. Other missionaries followed the example of Marianus' monks and established an Irish monastery at Kiev, which was "... destroyed by the Mongol invasion of the 13th century."(86) One of Marianus' companions was John, who

84. Bieler, p. 137.
85. Ibíd., p. 138.
"... worked among the Slavonians at the request of Prince
Gothescale—and was martyred by them."(87) Furthermore, there was at
least one Irish abbot in Bulgaria,(88) while, "An Irish Colman became
the patron saint of Hungary; others preached in Poland; and Brandenburg
in Prussia perhaps owes its name to an Irish Brendan."(89)

In 1135 an Irish monastery was founded near Wurzburg. Duke Henry
of Austria established an Irish monastery in Vienna in 1155: "... the
Vienna Schottenkloster still exists as a Benedictine monastery with a
famous Gymnasium."(90) Additional monasteries at Nuremberg, Erfurt,
Konstanz, Eichstadt and elsewhere followed.(91) Until the end of the
Middle Ages most of these establishments, known as "Schottenkloster"
retained their Irish character, however, as the recruiting of novices in
Ireland became difficult, the monasteries were taken over by the Rule of
St. Benedict.

88. Ibid., p. 250.
89. Morris, p. 402.
91. Ibid.
CHAPTER TWO

THE BYZANTINE MISSIONARIES ST. CONSTANTINE AND ST. METHODIUS IN MORAVIA

The main source of information about the life and work of the "Apostles of the Slavs" are The Vita of Constantine and The Vita of Methodius (1), hereinafter referred to variously as the Vita, the VC and VM, or the Lives. According to the VC and VM the brothers were born in Thessalonica into a prominent and wealthy family. Their father had a high military rank in the city. Constantine (826-869) was invited to come to Constantinople to be educated in the Imperial school, where he excelled in all topics. Upon the completion of his education he became a librarian and a teacher of philosophy at the same school. During 851 Constantine was sent on his first mission to the Arabs. After successfully completing his task Constantine returned to Constantinople where he rejected all offers of position and entered the monastery. In 860, together with Methodius, Constantine was sent on a mission to the Khazars. As during the first mission, Constantine successfully debated with his opponents the superiority of the Christian religion and Byzantine civilization. In addition, Constantine learned the Hebrew language and translated eight parts of the grammar, learned Samaritan, survived an attack of Hungarians, freed two hundred captives, and discovered the relics of St. Clement.

During 862 Rastislav, the Prince of Moravia, sent an invitation to the Emperor Michael III requesting a teacher and a bishop for his people who rejected paganism but had no teacher of their own. The Emperor requested that Constantine undertake the task. In order to be able to teach, Constantine had invented, under the inspiration of God, a Slavic script, translated the basic ecclesiastical works and by 863, with Methodius and other disciples, reached Moravia. They were received with honor and began teaching immediately. However, the Latin-speaking clergy accused them of introducing the Slavic language, but "Constantine defeated them with the words of the Scriptures."(2) After forty successful months they left Moravia. On the way they stopped at the court of Pannonian Prince Kocel who studied the Slavic script, entrusted Constantine to teach to a group of fifty students, and on the request of Constantine released nine hundred captives. While in Venice Constantine was involved in long disputations with the supporters of the view that the worship of God be done only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In Rome Constantine became a respected theologian. On February 14, 869, fifty days after taking monastic vows and choosing the name Cyril, Constantine died in Rome.

Methodius (815-885) became the governor of a Slavic province, then after a few years rejected the secular world and entered a monastery on Mt. Olympus. After the mission to the Khazars Methodius became the permanent assistant and companion of Constantine. Upon arrival in Rome Pope Nicholas ordained Methodius into the priesthood and sent him as legate to Kocel on Kocel's request (869). During 870 Kocel sent

2. Ibid., p. 47.
Methodius back to Rome requesting that Methodius be consecrated Bishop of Pannonia. After his return from Rome Methodius encountered the opposition of the Bavarian clergy, who claimed control of the same territory. The result of the quarrel was Methodius' imprisonment from 871-873 somewhere in Bavaria. Methodius was released on an ultimatum issued by Pope John VIII. Shortly thereafter the Moravians requested the pope to consecrate Methodius an archbishop of Moravia. During 879 Methodius was summoned to Rome to explain the charge of heresy brought against him by the Frankish clergy. The charges against Methodius were dismissed, and he returned to Moravia. In 881 Methodius travelled to Constantinople where he remained until 882. Upon his return from Constantinople, Methodius, with the assistance of two scribes, translated all the Scriptures, except for the Maccabees, from Greek into Slavic in eight months. Having accomplished what he set out to do, Methodius died on April 6, 885, loved and honored by the people.

Most Cyrillic-Methodian scholars accept the VC and WM at face value, and concern themselves very little with some of the very real problems concerning their accuracy and authenticity. Although the literature on the topic is extensive, no agreement has been reached as to the authenticity and the authorship of the Lives. The form in which they are preserved dates from the 13th and 14th centuries, which is several times removed from the supposed original text. Thus, diverse views have been advanced, ranging from complete rejection (as was done by the Polish scholar A. Bruckner (1856-1939) who stated that the books belonged in the rubbish heap (3)), to acceptance. The view presented by Bruckner

3. Ibid., p. vi.
now belongs completely to the past, while the second view, that in these lives we have excellent historical sources in every detail, is now generally acknowledged and newly validated.\(^{(4)}\)(5)

F. Dvornik agrees that the authenticity of the so-called Pannonian Legends "... has been definitely established, ..."\(^{(6)}\)

The author of the *Vita of Constantine* was, according to a number of Slavists, Constantine's brother Methodius. St. Methodius himself is today credited with having written it some time before 870.\(^{(7)}\)

Other authorities on the Cyrillic-Methodian topic have adduced that the VC was written under the inspiration of Methodius.\(^{(8)}\)

Those assertions cannot be accepted. There is no evidence to suggest the possibility of Methodius as the author or even the source for the VC. Furthermore, numerous historical inaccuracies prove, without any doubt, that those allegations are invalid. Constantine's

\(^{4}\) Ibid.

\(^{5}\) During 1963 numerous international Jubilees were staged in both Slavic and non-Slavic countries commemorating the 1100th anniversary of the Moravian mission. Conferences, symposia, scholarly discussions, exhibitions, and religious manifestations were organized, monuments were erected, stamps and memorial posters were issued, and movies were shown. In addition a great number of scholarly and popular publications were issued by universities, academies, scientific institutions, and various societies, including monographs, anthologies, and proceedings from the symposia, in which the Slavists, historians, archaeologists, ethnographers, musicologists, and others, contributed to research on the Cyrillic-Methodian theme.

The detailed bibliography of the results of these literary activities was compiled by I. Petrovic. See "Literatura o Cirilu i Metodu prilikom 1100. godisnjice jubileja slavenske pismenosti," *Slovo* 17 (1967): 137-188 and *Slovo* 18-19 (1969): 233-382.


\(^{8}\) Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*, p. 182.
brother, and close associate of many years would certainly have known that Constantine was not invited to Constantinople "... to study with the Emperor"(9) since the Emperor Michael III was between two and three years old in 842. Even Dvornik rejected the possibility of a sixteen-year-old Constantine and a child Michael being educated together. As Dvornik puts it: "We can, however, hardly accept the biographer's note that Constantine was to be educated together with the young Emperor Michel III. Even if Michael's birth could be dated not from 840 but from 836, which is now disproved, he would have been only six years old in 842."(10)

Furthermore, Methodius as a governor of a Slavic province and later a monk would most certainly have known that the iconoclastic controversy did not start with Patriarch John, as stated in The Vita of Constantine: "At that time John, who was Patriarch of Constantinople, started the iconoclastic heresy in the Imperial City,"(11) and that the Emperor sent Constantine to John to carry on a discussion concerning the iconoclastic controversy. Constantine was successful in the debate, while "... the old man fell silent and was shamed."(12) Although Dvornik wrote that it is quite possible for Constantine to have had a discussion with the deposed Patriarch John he does have reservations. "This is, however, once again an imaginative presentation of a private disputation, with details added by the biographer in order to glorify his hero."(13)

10. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions, p. 56.
12. Ibid., p. 13.
The iconoclastic controversy was begun during the first half of the eighth century by the Emperor Leo III (14) and from 842-856 it was Empress Theodora who ruled in place of her young son Michael, born in January of 840 (15), consequently it could not have been the Emperor who sent Constantine to John.  

Constantine’s mission to the Arabs—when he was only twenty-four years old—to carry on a religious discussion is the invention of the author for the purpose of glorification. (16) 

First of all, it is unlikely that the Arabs would have requested the emperor to arrange a dispute on the subject of Islam and Christianity. Also, the biographer’s affirmation that Constantine headed the embassy sent to the caliph is unacceptable and his pretension that the Arabs intended to poison Constantine when the council ended, during which he had shown his superiority over the Arab theologians, is hardly tenable. (17) 

Chapter 8 of VC describes the invitation the Byzantine Emperor received from the Khazars by which the Khazars admitted to their keeping of shameful customs, and of the Jewish exhortion to accept their faith. Therefore, the Khazars requested a learned man be sent to them to help them decide what religion they should choose. The Emperor appointed Constantine for the mission, "For no one else is capable of doing this properly." (18) 

As concerns Constantine’s missionary work, no historical corroboration of his mission to 

15. Ibid., p. 56. 
17. Ibid. 
Khazaria has been found. Nevertheless, there is little reason to doubt the possibility of such a trip even though the epistle from the Khazars to Michael III can hardly be considered authentic. It is most unlikely that the Khazars would admit to having "shameful ways," or that the Jews would be engaged in converting the Khazars at that particular time (ca. 860), since Judaism had been accepted already.(19)

Dvornik too expressed doubt about the authenticity of the mission:

"The sending of a Khazar embassy could be an invention of the biographer, although an exchange of embassies is not impossible. The aim of the supposed Khazar embassy was, however, certainly an invention of the biographer."(20)

The author of the Lives states that the emissaries from the Khazars expressed their high opinion of the Byzantines, saying: "For you are a great people and your empire is from God, . . ."(21) This is obviously an exaggeration. The words ". . . would hardly have been spoken by the Khazars. But they reveal the Byzantine patriotism of the hagiographer and the main thesis of Byzantine political philosophy."(22)

A very similar request was sent to Constantinople by the Moravian Prince Rastislav two years later (862). The Moravians have accepted the faith: "But we Slavs are a simple people, and have none to instruct us in the truth, and explain wisely."(23) The English translation of "prost narod" to "simple people" in the context of the petition is too simplified. The meaning of "prost" in most of the Slavic languages is insulting: prost = rude, uncivil; prost narod = populace, mob.

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22. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions, p. 343, fn 34.
23. Vita, p. 75.
Therefore, it could hardly be possible for the Prince of Moravia to
describe his people in such a derogatory way.

According to the VM all the bishops of Moravia were turning against
Methodius.(24) If there existed a number of bishops presumably there
were a large number of clergy, thus, it can only be assumed that the
Moravians knew Latin and were not "simple people", or that the clergy
spoke Slavic. The main support for the argument that the Frankish
clergy understood Slavic languages are the "Freising Fragments." The
Freising text consists of a confessional formula, a homily, and a
prayer. They were written in early Slovenian and in the Latin alphabet
between 972 and 1039.(25) (See Appendix, Illustration b.)

Furthermore the statement of the Emperor that "all Thessalonians
speak pure Slavic"(26) is misleading. Assuming that all of the Slavic
peoples had a common origin, the Macedonian tribes had been separated
from the Moravians for over two centuries and the two dialects would,
during the course of time, grow different from one another.

According to Chapter 3 in VC Constantine, while still in
Thessalonica, composed a eulogy to St. Gregory of Nazianzus
(330-395).(27)

This information is important, since in my own
opinion it may be evidence that Constantine was
acquainted with the Slavic text of the Lord's
Prayer; for the structure and rhythm of this
song recall the structure of the Slavic text of
the Lord's Prayer and not that of the Greek

(24. Ibid., p. 81.
25. T.A. Lysaght, A Selection of Ancient Slav Literary Monuments,
( Vienna, 1982), p. 103.
26. Vita, p. 75.
27. Ibid., p. 7.)
text. There would seem to be little doubt that a Slavic text of this most important of Christian prayers already existed during Constantine's childhood, for in Salonika and its environs a Slavic text would have been urgently needed for the Slavic population.(28)

And yet, on the very same page Dostal contradicts himself. Dismissing Dvornik's assumption that the Slavs had writing or that there have been attempts to establish it, Dostal states: "... but it would be difficult to prove anything of the kind. This piece of information, if accepted, would completely contradict the assumption that the invention of the Slavic alphabet was at the sole initiative of Constantine."

After forty months in Moravia Constantine and his disciples left. Their destination is the subject of numerous debates. One group of scholars assert that having accomplished their mission they intended to return to Byzantium,(29) while others maintain that they intended to go to Rome to have their disciples ordained.(30) In any event, on their way they stopped at the court of the Pannonian Prince Kocel, where: "The two brothers and their companions, must have spent several months..."(31)

From about 840 Upper Pannonia was ruled by Kocel's father Pribina, a loyal supporter of the Franks, a devoted Christian, and builder of

28. Ibid., p. ix.
31. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions, p. 98.
many new churches. (32) After Pribina’s death Kocel succeeded him and continued his father’s policies. Upon the arrival of the Byzantine missionaries, Kocel learned the Slavic letters and gave to Constantine fifty students to be trained. (33)

Like the Moravians, some of the subjects of Kocel’s principality had been converted by the Irish and Frankish missionaries, who translated the basic prayers into Slavic.

The Frankish missionaries who worked in his lands must also have spoken the Slavic language and had certainly educated a considerable number of native clerics. The fifty disciples entrusted to the brothers were without doubt Slavs. The first attempts at the translation of some liturgical prayers into Slavic were done in Pannonia by the Frankish, or perhaps also the Irish missionaries, before the arrival of the Byzantine missionaries. (34)

Furthermore, towards the end of the eighth century two famous schools, Chiemsee and Mondsee, were organized by the Bishop of Salzburg, Virgil, who took "... vigilant care for literary education and the training of youth, ..." (35) The school in Chiemsee was under the direction of another Irishman, Virgil’s friend Dobdan. Numerous Slavs were among the students who were educated at the Bavarian schools, including Kocel. "Young Kocel gained high respect for books and learning, aided by master Dobdan’s traditions and the influence of Alcuin’s pedagogical associates." (36)

32. Ibid.
33. Vita, pp. 48-49.
34. Duornik, Byzantine Missions, p. 129.
36. Ibid., p. 71.
Alcuin's pupil and friend, Maurus Hrabanus, (776-856), Abbot of Fulda, Archbishop of Mainz, wrote "De inventione linguarum". (37) (See Appendix, Illustration C.) Some of Hrabanus' letters are similar to letters in the Glagolitic script, were obviously known in Bavaria, and Kocel could have become familiar with them from his days as a student at Chiemsee. That could be the reason why, after receiving Constantine, he "... took great liking to the Slavic letters." (38) Kocel learned the script himself, and gave Constantine about fifty students to be taught them. (39) Like his father before him, Kocel was a Frankish vassal, and it is hard to accept the assumption that he would welcome the unknown script by the Byzantine missionaries, who were following, at best, the eastern and the western rights. (40)

According to the VC, while the brothers were in Venice Pope Hadrian learned about them, and he invited them to Rome. In the VM the

38. Vita, p. 49.
39. Ibid.
40. The question as to which liturgy—the Byzantine or the Roman—was brought to Moravia by Constantine and Methodius has not been settled. Some scholars argue that while still in Constantinople Constantine was informed by Rastislav's messengers that the Roman liturgy existed in Moravia, therefore Constantine made preparations to worship in that rite. See, for example, Michael Lacko in Saints Cyril and Methodius, p. 102. Others allege that the two brothers brought with them the Byzantine rite, but when they discovered that the Latin rite already existed, they accepted it. "Thus the Byzantine liturgy was celebrated in Moravia from 863 to the year 865," according to DuVornik in Byzantine Missions, p. 115. DuVornik further states that since the Latin liturgy was used in Moravia prior to the arrival of the Greeks, Constantine, to prevent confusion, translated the Roman Mass and abandoned the Byzantine liturgy. There are, of course, many problems with DuVornik's opinion. Not only was there not sufficient time for Constantine to make yet another translation from Latin into Slavic but, as Vlasto aptly puts it on p. 61, footnote a, "It is nowhere specifically stated that either Constantine or Methodius knew Latin (or mastered it in Moravia)."
Pope was Nicholas, but this discrepancy ... is certainly a lapse of memory on the part of the biographer. *(41)* The Pope accepted the Slavic Scriptures, placing them in the Church of St. Mary (in VM the church was St. Peter the Apostle), and had the disciples ordained. After the ordination they went from one church to another to sing in the Slavic language. Moreover, the pope defended the use of the Slavic language and called its critics the disciples of Pilate, "... this is certainly an addition by the biographer. ..." *(42)*

The allegation that the pope immediately accepted and blessed the Slavic sacred books is invalid. The pope would not accept any translation without checking its orthodoxy first. It should be stressed that Photius' schism was in progress (Photius excommunicated Pope Nicholas I in 867) and for the pope to bless any translation from the Greek into an unknown Slavic script is impossible to accept. Throughout its history the church was besieged by numerous heresies and the sacred duty of its leaders was to prevent any unorthodox doctrine from finding its way into the sacred books. This reasoning is supported by the strong reaction of Pope Nicholas I concerning the new translation of the pseudo-Dionysius manuscript. The manuscript, dealing with various topics of natural science and natural history, was sent in 827 by the Byzantine Emperor Michael to Louis the Pious. *(43)* Apparently the manuscript had been translated into Latin by an unknown scholar by the year 835.

Charles the Bald commissioned an Irish scholar, John Scotus Eriugena

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42. Ibid.

to provide a new translation which he completed in 859. In 859 Pope Nicholas I (the same pope who, according to the VM consecrated the teaching of Constantine and Methodius and placed the Slavic Gospels on the altar of the Church of St. Peter) wrote to Charles the Bald, reprehending him for not having sent to him the manuscript for inspection and requesting that it be done immediately. (45)

According to the VM, Chapter 15, Methodius completed the translation of the whole Bible, with the exception of Maccabees. With the assistance of two scribes, his translation took eight months.

At first, there was considerable doubt about this story in VM, because the Old Testament texts have not been preserved in the oldest manuscripts, but later studies, especially those of Vajls, have proven the veracity of this account. The fact that he was able to call together two scribes is evidence that the copying of Slavic texts was already widespread and that a genuine literary school was taking shape in Great Moravia. (46)

The fact that none of the works by either Constantine or Methodius have survived has created scepticism in some scholars, however, the majority of Slavists assert that Methodius in fact did translate the Bible. Vlasto came to the conclusion that: "... we can scarcely take the liberty of doubting the explicit statement in Vita Methodii." (47)

Dvornik states: "The skepticism of the older generation of specialists concerning Methodius' translation of all the books of the Old Testament is not shared by modern scholars. ... Most

44. *Vita*, p. 77.
45. Laistner, p. 199.
47. Vlasto, p. 78.
modern scholars accept the veracity of the biographer's report contained in chapter fifteen." (48)

Other scholars found a possible solution in asserting that certain sections of the Bible were translated earlier. "St. Methodius now supplied what had been lacking. Certainly, even with the best shorthand secretaries in the world, he could hardly have translated the entire Old Testament and several additional books in eight months." (49)

Even apart from the complicated questions of what was translated and by whom, the conjecture that even a small portion of the Bible was translated into a script that was only invented two decades before the supposed translation took place is impossible to accept. The first and most obvious point to make is that no less of a genius than either St. Methodius or St. Constantine-Cyril, the Church Father, St. Jerome (342-420), who spent most of his life studying, copying, learning, writing, mastering biblical Hebrew and Greek and studying in Constantinople under the leading theologians, spent twenty-two years in translating the Bible. As Frank says, in speaking of St. Jerome: "He soon gained a reputation as a biblical scholar and in 382, with the official patronage of Pope Damascus, began to produce his Latin translations of the sacred writings of the church. Twenty-two years later, in Bethlehem of Judea, his task was finally completed." (50)

The translation of the Bible was not an easy task, and the acceptance of any translation was not done quickly. Even Jerome's

49. Lacko, p. 200.
translation took almost two centuries, until Gregory the Great (590-604) to be accepted; and its accuracy and excellence recognized by the Church. Furthermore, Jerome did not translate the Bible by himself, but instead was assisted by others. "The most reliable manuscripts of the version suggest that more than one hand was at work. It is not uniformly accurate in its rendering of the Greek and Hebrew, and is often uneven in style."(51)

Further indication that the translation of the Bible was not an easy matter is provided by the fact that the most learned man in England, the Venerable Bede, translated only the Gospel of John.(52) And centuries later: "In 1522 Luther published a German translation of the New Testament from Erasmus' Greek text. He then labored for almost twelve years over a translation of the Old Testament, publishing it in sections as he finished them."(53)

The cost of producing the Bible was another obstacle that should be considered. Even as late as the thirteenth century: "... a copy of the Bible cost more to produce than did the building of two arches for London Bridge. A folio of parchment pages numbering two hundred probably required the skins of about twenty-five sheep..."(54)

In the introduction to the English translation of The Vita of Constantine and Methodius A.Dostal wrote: "No one before Constantine had ever thought, first, to give the Slavs an alphabet and a literary (standard) language, and then to give them the first translation of the

51. Ibid., p. 138.
52. Ibid., p. 150.
53. Ibid., pp. 191-192.
54. Ibid., p. 149.
Bible and teach them to write as did Constantine the Philosopher." (55)

It is a historical fact that for at least two and a half centuries the Slavs lived on the borders of the Greek and the Latin civilizations, and yet according to Dostal have done nothing. They existed in a vacuum and patiently waited for one man to lead them out from the total darkness.

In the foreword to his Sts. Cyril and Methodius, M. Lacko wrote:

All are agreed that the arrival of Sts. Cyril and Methodius is of the greatest significance for the Slav peoples, not only for their religious history, as having introduced to them the Christian faith, but also for their general culture, and for their political and national history. . . . They (the Slavs) arose from the darkness of almost prehistorical life to the level of a cultured people. (56)

Lacko further notes: "We can imagine the joy of Rastislav and his subjects when for the first time they beheld books written in their own language." (57) What possible "joy" could the illiterate, primitive, "almost prehistorical" hordes of Slavs have felt on seeing a strange complicated script?

The fact that the Christianization of the Moravians came from the West was not denied by early historians. (58) However, from the nineteenth century scholars have focused their attention on the hagiographic sources concerning Constantine and Methodius, while ignoring the period prior to their arrival. That period " . . . came to be looked upon as a mere introduction to the glorious mission of the

55. Vita, p. x.
56. Lacko, p. 7.
57. Ibid., p. 93.
Holy Brothers. Consequently the work of the earlier Western missionaries there was systematically neglected as an insignificant episode and just disappeared gradually from the minds of the historians."(59)

The first missionaries in Moravia were Irish: "... defenceless monks who spread the new creed without any political implications. ... Directly or indirectly this work had lasting results, on which future missions, Western as well as Byzantine, were to be based."(60)

60. Ibid., p. 52.
CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN OF THE GLAGOLITIC SCRIPT

The origin of the Glagolitic script is one of numerous historical mysteries, and a popular bone of contention among scholars. The term "Glagolitic"—"Glagoljica" in Croatian—became current during the nineteenth century. It derives from the words "glagol", meaning "word" and "glagoljati", meaning "to speak", and the monks and priests who used the script became known as Glagoljasi or Glagolits. (See Appendix, Illustration d).

In Croatia the Glagolitic became the national script that flourished and survived from the eleventh to the twentieth century, in a parallel evolution with the Latin, as is attested to inter alia by the Tablet of Valun. (See Appendix, Illustration e.)

This grave-stone inscription was recently discovered on the Island of Cres in the vicinity of Valun, and is one of the oldest known Glagolitic monuments, dating from the eleventh century. The most significant feature of the Tablet is that the names of three generations: the grandmother Teha, her son Bratohna, and her grandson Juna were written in two languages, Croatian and Latin, and two scripts, Glagolitic and Carolingian Latin. (1)

Meanwhile an inscription, the Preslav Cross Fragment, (2)


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in two languages, Old Bulgarian and Greek, and two scripts, the Cyrillic and Greek, was discovered in 1965 in Bulgaria. (See Appendix, Illustration f.) The two monuments point to the close ethnic and linguistic symbiosis between the Croatians and Latins in the West, as well as to the Bulgarians and Greeks in the East.

In Croatia the Glagolitic script was used for liturgical works, public documents, and literature. Most surviving manuscripts are from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, hence that period became known as the "Golden Age" of Glagolitism. Of the seventeen surviving Glagolitic missals the most noteworthy is the Missal of Duke Novak, written in 1368. This missal was used for the printing of the first Croatian printed missal in 1483. (3) "Being among the first in Europe to accept printing, the Croatian Glagolism has once more proved its maturity, adaptability, and foresight. The Glagolites were open to all positive cultural and literary stimulations from the outside (and at the same time uncompromising in cherishing their Slavic script, their national language and the tradition of their liturgical language)." (4) The Missal of Duke Hrvoje, written at the beginning of the fifteenth century is one of the most beautiful illuminated manuscripts. (5)

By the fourteenth century the reputation of the achievements of the Croatian Glagolits began to grow outside of Croatia, as attested to by

5. Štefanic, p. 18.
the invitation of the Czeck King Charles IV who, in 1347, invited them to his newly established Abbey of Emaus in Prague. (6) Towards the end of the sixteenth century Latin replaced the Glagolitic in secular works, but the Glagolitic survived in liturgy until the twentieth century.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were critical for the survival of Glagolitic literacy in Croatia. Although a large number of prominent scholars; inter alia Biondo Flavio, Dubravius, Angelo Rocca, Adam Bohoric, M. Marulic, F. Vrancic, R. Levakovic, I. T. Mrnavic, and F. Glavinic (7) were of the opinion that the Glagolitic script was the invention of St. Jerome, there was a movement supported by J. Krizanovic and M. Karamian, who believed that the language used by the Orthodox Slavs was the authentic Old Church Slavonic. In an attempt to gain control over the Orthodox Slavs Rome endorsed the view of J. Krizanovic about the unity of the Slavs under the secular power of the Russian Tsar and the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. (8) Hence new editions of liturgical books in the Russian recensions were published in Rome to be used by the Croatian Glagolitic clergy. "It caused the attachment of the priests for the Glagolitic liturgy to wane, because even its language was less known to them. Thus it happened that some of them reverted to the Latin rite." (9)

8. Ibid., p. 118.
Another obstacle to the existence of the Glagolitic was the strong opposition of the Austro-Hungarian government, who considered the Glagolitic rite the nucleus of Pan-Slavism. "The government was interfering in the training of priests in order to form them according to its own policy."(10)

The oldest known references to the Glagolitic in Croatia are the two letters written by Pope John X (914-928) to the Croatian King Tomislav (910-928) and to the bishops expressing his concern that the Slavic language was used instead of Latin, and the tenth canon of the Synod of Split in 925. According to the canon the bishops were forbidden to ordain priests who did not know Latin, while the clergy already ordained could continue to use the Slavic language in the liturgy with the approval of the pope if there was a shortage of Latin priests.(11)

The origin of the Glagolitic has been discussed in numerous scholarly works from the early nineteenth century. During the Middle Ages there existed the conviction that the Glagolitic script was invented by St. Jerome, who was born in Dalmatia (c 341-420), and the Cyrillic was created by St. Cyril, as the name itself implies.

The fact that Rome accepted the theory that St. Jerome created the Glagolitic is substantiated by the permission given by Pope Innocent IV to Bishop Philip in Senj to use the Glagolitic liturgy, because the clergy had inherited it from St. Jerome.(12) In addition during 1252 the

10. Ibid., pp. 114-115.
12. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions, p. 244.
Benedictines in Omisalj on the Island of Krk were granted permission to use the Glagolitic liturgy.\(^{(13)}\)

The nineteenth century changes in Croatia are depicted by Stefanic:

In the XIXth century the new Slavistic science rehabilitated Cyril and Methodius, . . . At the same time the nationalistic romanticism . . . caught hold of the clergy whose passion for nationalism had been rejuvenated . . . The Cyrillo-Methodian idea served as the inspiration for Slavic unity to a whole generation of middle class society, . . . and in the year 1880 Pope Leo XIII, under the influence of J.J. Strossmayer and in accordance with his own slavophile politics . . . proclaimed Cyril and Methodius the saints of the entire Roman Church, . . . The middle class intelligentsia hoped that in this new atmosphere the Slavic (Glagolitic) liturgy would freely spread within all Catholic countries, . . . Instead, the matter of the Slavic liturgy with reference to the Cyrillo-Methodian idea became the object of conflict of very diverse aspects, nationalistic-political, diplomatic, and religious-ecclesiastical, because the opponents saw in it the spectre of "Pan-Slavism."\(^{(14)}\)

The new Slavistic science abandoned the opinion that the Croatians were the original inhabitants of the Croatian lands, and advanced the theory that they settled the regions during the beginning of the seventh century. Hence the Czech scholar Joseph Dobrovsky (1753-1829) rejected Jerome as the creator of the Glagolitic. "Dobrovsky, while admitting the Cyrillic origin of the Cyrillic, held that the Glagolica was formed in Croatia not before the 13th century, . . .\(^{(15)}\)

Dobrovsky's assertion about the Glagolitic origin during the thirteenth century has been repudiated by most scholars because numerous

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13. Smrzik, p. 112.
15. Smrzik, p. 17.
Glagolitic inscriptions have been discovered in Croatia that are positively dated from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (16)

By 1934 there existed seventy-eight titles discussing the origin of the Glagolitic script. Contained within those seventy-eight titles were thirty-eight different opinions. (17)

The theory ascribing the origin of the script to the invention of Constantine based on the Greek miniscule was advanced by Isaack Taylor (18) and the Croatian Slavist Jagic (19), and accepted by the majority of Slavists. "Jagic's assertion was accepted more because of his prestige than on actual evidence." (20) Nevertheless, despite all its deficiencies and with all the changes which it has undergone, Jagic's theory is still recognized as valid by a large number of scholars, Croatian and foreign alike.

16. Detailed research about Glagolitic inscriptions on stone in Croatia was carried out by B. Fucic, the foremost expert on the subject. In Glagoljski natpisi, (Zagreb: JAZU, 1982), he brought together a large number of Glagolitic inscriptions, photographed, described, and transliterated. Among the oldest Glagolitic inscriptions are: the inscription from Plomin in Istria; an inscription from the Island of Krk; and the inscription of Valun on the Island of Cres, from the eleventh century; a tablet from Senj, dating from the beginning of the twelfth century; a fragment from Gudoselo from the twelfth century; and the famous Tablet of Baska from the end of eleventh century.


Jagic's authority notwithstanding, as early as 1932 P. Diels came to
the conclusion that the Greek miniscule was not the basis for the
Glagolitic script. (21)

J.Hamm had certain reservations regarding the Greek miniscule
theory. (22)

The controversy regarding the precedence of the Glagolitic over the
Cyrillic was, at least for a period during the first decades of the
twentieth century, settled by Vatroslav Jagic. (23) Based on
palaeographic research, Jagic concluded that the Glagolitic was older
than the Cyrillic, thus the Glagolitic was the script invented by
St.Cyril. Following Jagic the majority of scholars have accepted the
notion that the Glagolitic is older than the Cyrillic, however, there
are still theories that contradict this. V.A.Istrin asserts that the
Cyrillic was invented in 863 by Cyril, while the Glagolitic was invented
in Moravia after the death of Methodius and the expulsion of his
disciples in 886 by Gorazd, one of Methodius' disciples. The purpose of
the invention was to get away from Cyrillic, which was based on the
Greek, of which the Germanic clergy was suspicious. (24)

Emil Georgiev asserts that there was a gradual development of the
Cyrillic script in Bulgaria before the Moravian mission. (25)

22. See J. Hamm, Gramatika starocrkvenoslavenskog jezika, (Zagreb,
1947), and also J. Hamm, "Postanak glagoljskog pisma u svijetu
23. Vatroslav Jagic, "Glagoliceskoje pis'mo," Enciklopedija
slavjanskoj filologii 3/III (1911).
24. Viktor A. Istrin, 1100 let slavyanskoy Azbouki, (Moscow, 1963),
p. 128.
25. Emil Georgiev, "Kiril i Metodij i razvitieto na bulgarskata
Minko Genov was also of the opinion that the origin of the Slavic script preceded the mission of the two brothers to Moravia. (26)

According to the VC, Constantine found a gospel written in Russian letters with a Psalter. "And there Constantine found the Gospels and the Psalter written in Russian letters. And he found a man who spoke that language and, having conversed with him, acquired the force of his speech." (27) This passage was the source of the so-called Russian origin of the Glagolitic script.

I. Ohienko asserts that the Gospel and the Psalter text mentioned in the VC is the foundation of the old Church Slavonic, and he believed that the eastern Slavs had a script earlier than the Glagolitic. (28)

F. Duornik, a recognized scholar on Cyrillic–Methodian history, is of the opinion that St. Cyril invented the Glagolitic, while the Cyrillic was created in Bulgaria by the disciples of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

Before the arrival of Methodius' disciples in Bulgaria, Greek was the official language at court and the church. . . . Greek letters were, however, inadequate to express all the sounds of the Slavic language. The Glagolitic alphabet expressed all the particularities of the Slavic spoken language, but its letters were unfamiliar to the Bulgarian Slavs. So it came about that the Greek uncial letters were used by some Slavic writers, and the adapted Greek alphabet was augmented by new letters in order to express all the Slavic sounds, under the inspiration of the Glagolitic alphabet. This transformation was worked out in the school of Preslav and

found wide reception in the center of the Bulgarian Empire. It can be assumed that it was also favored by the Greeks because it presented a kind of compromise in the revolutionary development which was going on in Bulgaria. (29)

Monk Hrabr wrote the *Defense of Slavic Letters*. According to Hrabr, the Slavs used scratches and cuts before becoming Christians and after the conversion they used the Greek and Latin characters, and it was St. Cyril who invented the first Slavic alphabet consisting of thirty-eight letters, some based on the Greek script, others according to the Slavic sounds. Hrabr then names all of the twenty-four letters based on the Greek, and fourteen signs for the Slavic sounds. (30) The basic problem in solving the question of the origin of the Glagolitic script is that Hrabr, as well as the other sources that mention Constantine as the creator of the Slavic letters, did not specify what script was invented by Constantine. Cyrillic is based on Greek, and consists of thirty-eight letters, while Glagolitic has no similarity to the Greek and "...consisted of thirty-six letters..." (31) (See Appendix, Illustration g.)

In addition to *The Vita of Constantine* and the *Vita of Methodius* the supporters of the theory that Cyril invented the Glagolitic script list the *Defense* as irrefutable evidence. Considering the fact that all of the surviving copies of Hrabar’s *Defense* were written in the

Cyrillic script, the oldest being from 1348 (32) and the fact that Hrabr specifically wrote that Cyril’s alphabet was based on Greek, which does not resemble the Glagolitic, his work can hardly be accepted as evidence that Hrabr was defending the Glagolitic script.

Nevertheless it has been taken for granted that "... that script could have been only the Glagolitic. The Glagolitic script did not develop through evolution from another script, instead it began as the individual creation of one man." (33)

The conjecture that Hrabr was defending the Glagolitic script is supported by a large number of Slavists. "The ‘Defense of Slavic Letters’ composed in Clement’s school should therefore be regarded as a defense of the glagolitic alphabet against the new alphabet which is called Cyrillic, although Constantine-Cyril had nothing to do with its composition." (34)

A different view of Hrabr’s explanations was advanced by W. Lettenbauer:

If one transfers Hrabr’s Roman script to the historical time of western Christianization of the Slavs before the incorporation of the southwestern area into Charlemagne’s empire, one encounters the Latin world whose characters furnish the evidence for the comparison with the Glagolica. And especially in the Croatian countries with a Latin church tradition the Glagolitic characters have been in use into the most recent time. (35)

33. Ibid., p. 13.
34. Dvornik, Byzantine Missions, p. 251.
35. Lettenbauer, pp. 41-42.
Vjekoslav Stefanic, a prolific author on the subject of Glagolitism, and generally recognized as one of the most eminent authorities on the subject, remained a staunch supporter of the Cyrillo-Methodian theory. In his well-known and often-quoted article "Prvobitno slavensko pismo i najstarija glagoljska epigrafika," Stefanic, after presenting the various views on the origin of the Glagolitic, states: "First, Cyril really invented one new script. All evidence agrees with this. The Praise to Cyril and Methodius even explicitly states: "svoje djelo nisu postavili na tudi temelj, nego su iznova sastavili pismo i uredili ga za novi jezik." (36) [They did not set their work on someone else’s foundation, instead they anew composed a script and arranged it for the new language.]

Numerous historians are in accord with Stefanic’s statements. Thus, as Vlasto puts it, "Nothing in the make-up of the Glagolitic alphabet contradicts Constantine’s authorship. All is in favour of it:"

Stefanic’s assertion is also supported by Dvornik: "the task which awaited him in Moravia prompted Constantine to invent the first Slavic alphabet, called glagolitic. It was a new creation, different from all other alphabets known at that time."(38)

Nonetheless, Stefanic contradicts himself; first, by underlaying the new, since at least some of the letters were known prior to the time of Constantine, and second, by using the sentence that attributes the invention of the alphabet to both brothers, as evidence that Cyril,

38. Dvornik, Byzantine-Missions, p. 103.
alone, invented the script.

Stefanic further asserted that two other sources, the *Life of Constantine* and the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* agree that Cyril invented a new script. *(39)* According to the *Vita* Constantine, after being asked to go to Moravia, gave himself to prayer. "Hearing the prayer of His servants, God soon appeared to him. And right away Constantine composed the letters and began to write the language of the Gospel. . . ." *(40)*

Notwithstanding Constantine’s genius and his creative abilities, the impossibility of his composing the letters is revealed by the fact that there was nobody for whom to invent them. If it was a new script, never seen by another person, then how long would Constantine need to teach his brother and their followers this extremely complicated new script? Furthermore, the *Vita* does not offer an explanation as to what letters Constantine invented. As F. Dvornik pointed out, Greek was the official language in Bulgaria, and Greek letters were used in the transcription of Slavic names, therefore it stands to reason that Constantine re-arranged the Greek letters which were familiar to the Slavs living on the border of the Byzantine Empire.

Furthermore the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* does not support Stefanic’s assertion. The manuscript does not mention Constantine, only his brother Methodius: "... a certain Greek,

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*40.* *Vita*, p. 45.
Methodius by name, who by using the recently devised Slavonic script...

"... dum guidam Graecus Methodius nomine noviter inventis Sclavinus litteris..." (41) This is hardly evidence enough to support Stefanić's claim.

Stefanić correctly points out that the conversion in Moravia and Pannonia was carried out by the Irish-Scottish missionaries during the eighth century and the Bavarian missionaries during the first half of the ninth century. The population found by Sts. Cyril and Methodius was not the "tabula rasa" that would need to be taught everything from the beginning. The brothers were welcomed by the prince who let them use the existing churches, and let them take care of the education of a group of young men. (42) However, the majority of Cyrillo-Methodian scholars prefer to ignore those facts.

It is interesting to compare the views of the older, scholar-priests S.K. Sakac and F. Grivec, with a contemporary Croatian expert B. Fucic. According to Sakac, "The Glagolitic was the fruit of saintly prayers, an unusually knowledgable philologist, and the apostolic eagerness of the 'first Teacher of the Slavic nations...'" (43) Furthermore, Sakac argues:

... We will comprehend all the magnitude of this gift when we realize that without a script, there is no culture and without the Glagolitic script countless Croatian generations would have remained illiterate and uncultured. ... Due to the invention of the Glagolitic script and

42. Stefanić, "Tisucu...", pp. 9-10.
its spread, St. Constantine entered together with his great brother Method into Croatian history and both of them earned the most honorable place there. (44)

Grivec wrote: "The founders of other national literary languages only laid the foundation for the development of national literatures. Constantine-Cyril with the co-operation of his brother formed the Slavic literary language and style to such a perfection that the Old Slavic written word already during the first decades of its invention was elevated to such heights as the other national literatures reached only through a century of evolution." (45)

And B. Fucic states: "In a relatively short time Constantine-Cyril accomplished large preparations: he formed new letters, the Glagolitic, adequate to the Slavic phonological system; made the Slavic theological-liturgical terminology; systematized a new Slavic literary language, so-called Church Slavonic whose foundation was the South Macedonian dialect spoken in the environs of his native city, Salonica; and into that language translated religious books." (46)

This was a remarkable achievement to be accomplished during the winter of 862-863, taking into consideration the fact that under the best of conditions in an established scriptorium and using a well-known script and language, "A manuscript of average size on sheets of the

44. Ibid., p. 271.
46. Fucic, p. 3.
normal format took three or four months, whilst a Bible required a whole year. A luxurious work might take several years to finish."(47)

Students of the Cyrillo-Methodian period are familiar with the notion of the Slavists who assert that the Slavs accepted the culture and civilization from Constantine and Methodius and that this uncritical theory is being taken at face value by other historians and simply repeated as a proven fact. R. Portal, for example, states: "By creating for the Slavs a written language for literary and liturgical use, a language which had its own alphabet and was based on the Slavonic idiom of Thessalonica, and into which they translated the Gospels, Cyril and Methodius provided them at once with a common instrument of civilization and a weapon of defence against Germanic influence."(48) In O. Halecki's words: "The two Greeks, in particular Constantine, ... not only laid the foundations for the development of the language, which under the name of Old Slavonic or Church Slavonic was to remain until the present the liturgical language of the Orthodox Slavs, but they also invented a special alphabet, more suitable than the Greek, for expressing Slavic sounds."(49) C. W. Prentice-Orton puts it very succinctly: "He (Cyril) devised the new script and began the translation of liturgy and scripture."(50) R. McKitterick says: "The missionaries translated the

Bible and the Roman liturgy into Slavonic and created for the purpose of the Glagolitic script based on Greek minuscule."(51) In Haussig’s version we have: "They took with them a Slavonic liturgy and part of the Gospels in the Slavonic language. For this purpose they had invented a Slavonic alphabet, the Glagolitic, which was partly written in the Greek cursive script."(52) And finally, Kuhar asserts: "... the two Brothers gave them what no other missionary is known to have given to the people of his missionary field: the Christian faith, a grammar of their language, a new script, a translation of the New Testament and parts of the Old, a Mass and a Missal in their own tongue and a literature composed of original and translated works."(53)

However, while the Cyrillo-Methodians obstinately insist that the Glagolitic was the invention of Constantine, the opponents of their assertion have mounted a serious challenge to their views.

Among the scholars who do not accept the Cyrillo-Methodian origin of the Glagolitic script and liturgy was Kerubin Segvic. According to Segvic, the Croats were Christianized during the seventh century, and the script and the liturgy did not originate during the ninth, but during the seventh century.(54) Furthermore, Segvic tried to discover the Glagolitic letters in the work of Hrabanus Maurus, "De inventione

linguarum" (55) and concluded that "Hrabanus' letters contain obvious traces of the Glagolitic." (56)

According to Hrabanus the letters were not invented by St. Jerome, but by Aethicus Easter, from whom St. Jerome had derived and passed them on. For Segvic it is irrefutable evidence that the Glagolitic letters were known decades before the Greek missionaries went to Moravia and "the Hieronymic tradition existed before they were born." (57)

The supporters of the Cyrillo-Methodian theory reject the possibility of any similarity between the letters written by Hrabanus Maurus and the Glagolitic: "... those symbols have very little similarity with the Glagolitic, less than we can find in the runes and some eastern alphabets." (58)

The Gothic theory of the invention of the Glagolitic was presented by Clement Grubissich (1733-1773). According to Grubissich the Goths settled in Dalmatia where some of them remained, while others moved to Italy. Consequently the Glagolitic script originated from Gothic runes, and as evidence Grubissich produced a tablet comparing the Glagolitic, the runes, and the Greek alphabet. (59) Grubissich's tablet is reproduced in the Appendix, Illustration h.

In 1940 Mihail Hocij wrote "Die westlichen Grundlagen des glagolitischen Alphabets," (60) in which he connects the structure of

56. Segvic, p. 194.
57. Ibid., p. 190.
60. Südostlliche Forschungen 3-4, pp. 509-600.
some Glagolitic letters with the ornamentation of the early Middle Ages, and concluded that some ornamental pre-Carolingian Latin letters became Glagolitic characters during the eighth century in the Venetian-Istrian area. (See Appendix, Illustration 1.)

Since Hocij's research has proven that there exists a close relationship between the Glagolitic signs and the northern Italian script development in the eighth century and since the origin of the Glagolitic can be situated in the Venetian-Istrian area, there should not be any doubt left that Virgil knew the Glagolitic and used it for his alphabet, especially since the area of origin lies in the area in which the Salzburg mission work among the Carinthian Slavs took place. (61)

Although Hocij's work has been ignored by the great majority of the Slavists, there exist a growing number of scholars who assert that the Croats knew the Glagolitic prior to Constantine, that "Constantine used the existing script as a base for his version," (62) and that "... [the] Glagolitic alphabet and script is not related to the Cyrillic alphabet and writing devised by the Byzantine missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, for the use of the Moravian Slavs." (63)

The contemporary Croatian scholar Tomislav Heres wrote a number of articles pertaining to the origin of the Glagolitic script, and is one of the growing number of intellectuals who are re-examining the established pattern.

61. Lettenbauer, p. 46.
Regardless of the linguistic genius of St. Cyril, he could not have invented in such a short time such a perfect script as is the Glagotic script, nor could he have converted the language of primitive peasants and harbour laborers into a flawless literary language with all of the theological concepts, if he did not have an example of the existing script and a developed Slavic literary language and resolved theological concepts. And such a script and such a language he could have, during that period, found only from the Croatians. Since it was proven that the Glagolitic script by no means could have been constructed on the example of the Greek alphabet, the whole already-fragile structure of Cyrillo-Methodian science is entirely shaken in its foundation. *(64)*

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE ORIGIN OF THE CROATIANS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE GLAGOLITIC TRADITION IN CROATIA

There is no contemporary evidence on the origin and on the arrival of the Croatian tribes in the lands occupied by their present-day descendants. In the absence of reliable records numerous hypotheses have been advanced, _inter alia_ the Gothic, Iranian, and Avaro-Turkish. The earliest and now almost rejected theory was that the Croats were the original inhabitants in the regions they occupy at the present. The fact that this view was shared by the early Roman church is attested to by the letter to the first Croatian King Tomislav (925). In the letter Pope John X wrote that the Slavs (Croats) were Christianized during the apostolic period.\(^{(1)}\)\(^{(2)}\)\(^{(3)}\)

According to tradition, possibly based on the writings of Byzantine

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2. In the soon-to-be-published book _The Origin of Croatia_ its author Jakov Bacic will try to prove that "the Croats are an ancient European people who were known to Greek and Latin writers by such names as Illyrians, Liburni, Istri, Dalmati, Carni, Pannonians." These peoples, according to Bacic, are the ancestors of the Modern Croats. Jakov Bacic, "New Books _The Origin of Croatia_" _Zajednica_ (March 23, 1988): 22.
3. A somewhat surprising hypothesis that the Croats are autochthonous inhabitants of the lands they occupy at the present was advanced by Nada Kliač, a prominent Croatian medievalist. It is true that some of her numerous books and articles were controversial and the subject of numerous scholarly debates, but she has, up until the publication of the article referred to, followed the generally accepted theory that the Croats are Slavs. See Nada Kliač, "Sjever i jug u Hrvata i Srba." _Oko_ 397 and 388 (1987).
Emperor Porphyrogenitus,(4) there existed, north of the Carpathian
Mountains (present-day Poland), a country called White Croatia. Among
the numerous supporters of this theory are Dvornik and Vlasto. "The
existence of a Croat State north of the Carpathians is thus placed
beyond any possible doubt, . . . " according to Dvornik.(5) Vlasto says:
"The centre of dispersion of the Croats was a 'White Croatia'
. . . ."(6) One tribe under the leadership of five brothers and two
sisters detached themselves and moved into Dalmatia during the first
half of the seventh century, and from there some Croats occupied
Illyricum and Pannonia. "Finally they absorbed the remnants of the
Avars, Celts, Goths, and some Slavic tribes already found there, and
began to build their nation on the conquered soil."(7)

The ultimate fate of the Croatian tribes that remained in White
Croatia is not clear, however, the reigning dynasty of Bohemia, the
Slavniks, were of Croatian origin. "The Slavniks were originally Croats
who imposed their leadership on Slavonic tribes settled in the eastern
Bohemia."(8)

During the nineteenth century one of the most widespread and still
generally accepted assertions was that the Croats are Slavs.

4. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus VII, De administrando
imperio, ed. Moraucsi-Jenkins, (Budapest, 1949) (Chapter 30)
5. Francis Dvornik, The making of Central and Eastern Europe, The
Central and East European Series. 2nd ed. (Gulf Breeze, Florida:
6. A.P.Vlasto, The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom,
7. Ivan Babic, "Military history," in Croatia: Land, People,
Spalatin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Editorial Board,
Nevertheless, J. Peisker was of the opinion that the Croats were of Avar and Turkish origin. (9) The Gothic theory of the origin of the Croats was advanced by Joze Rus. (10) The assertion of F. Dvornik that "... the Croats were originally an Iranian tribe..." (11) is supported by Karlo Jurisic, Tomislav Heres, Nikola Zupancic, and Stanko Guldescu among others. (12)

As Guldescu puts it: "In any case, it appears evident that the ancestors of the modern Croats were a mixed ethnic group. Iranian-Gothic blood must have thinned out progressively with the passage of time." (13) The settlements of the Croatian tribes in the south are described by Guldescu:

There is much evidence to indicate that by the end of the seventh century the Croatian ethnographic boundaries reached along the coast from Rasa River in Istria to deep into what is now Albania. Inland, the Croatian tribes occupied what we know in our own time as Upper Croatia, the land between the Sava and Drava Rivers, and part of what later became southern Hungary, most or all of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and sections of eastern Slovenia and Carinthia. (14)

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14. Ibid., p. 86.
The frequency of Croatian topographical names is unmistakable evidence that Croatian tribes inhabited regions of Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia.

In middle Styria we find the Croatian names, Krowot near Weiz, Kraubrat near Stainz, Krabrat, Krabrenberg and Krabersdorf near Straden. In Slovenian Styria there was Chrowate. In Carniola we have Charwacsach and in Carinthia Kraut (Chrouvat), north of Spital. Southwest of Leoben in Styria is the modern village Kraubrat, and Chrowat is known near Lobming. This region was called "pagus Chrouvat." The county (Grafschaft) Freibach, from Treffen to Villach in Carinthia, has been known as such only since 1016; before, it was called "pagus Chrouuati," and in it were located Kroatenberg and Krobraten.(15)

That some of the Croatian tribes settled in Carinthia is accepted by the majority of scholars. The dispute about their role as emancipators arose from the assertion that the Slovene tribes of Carinthia were liberated from the Avars by the Croatians, who then settled among them as masters and aristocrats.(16)

It is not clear when and from where the Croatians first reached Carinthia and other regions in the Alpine areas. They could have come from White Croatia during the first wave of Slavic migration, or they could have come later from Dalmatia, as reported by Porphyrogenitus, but in that case Illyricum should be identified as Noricum.(17)

According to the prominent Slovenian historian Bogo Grafenauer the Croatians did not migrate to Carinthia from the south but from the

northwest during the first wave of migrations of the Slavs into the Alpine areas. (18) The emergence of the Carnithian state cannot be explained by the subjugation of one tribe by the other. (19) With the exception of the question as to whether the Croats became masters of the Slovenians in Carnithia, the scholars have paid little attention to the history of the Croats who settled among the Slovenes. The main reason for this oversight is obviously the fact that Carnithia, except partially during the uprising of Ljudevit, also known as Ljudovit, had no connection with the further historical development of Croats after the settlements on the shores of the Adriatic. (20)

There is no agreement among scholars as to the time when the Croats accepted Christianity, or the source from which Christianity came. Opinion about the time period stretches over two centuries, and arguments about the source vary as much. One group of scholars insists that the Croats were Arians upon their arrival, thus were only Catholicized (21); others believe that the Croats were converted shortly after they settled in Dalmatia by the missionaries from Rome in the middle of the seventh century. (22)

19. Ibid., p. 411.
According to Dvornik, "... certain Croatian words from the realm of Christian terminology indicate that Christianity came to the Croats at an early stage from the coastal cities... or Rome itself." (23)

The majority of scholars assert that Christianity was introduced by the Aguileias and the Frankish missionaries at the beginning of the ninth century. (24) Others claim that Christianity was introduced by Rome, but only towards the middle of the ninth century. (25) All of these scholars ignore the fact that in addition to others the Irish missionaries were evangelizing the Croats.

There is no contemporary evidence that the missionary activities from Aguileia existed among the Slavs prior to the victory of Charlemagne over Lombardy, Istria, and the Avars. Aguileia's Patriarch Paulinus, on the request of Alcuin, began missionary activities among the Slavic tribes, but his success remains unknown. Only after Charlemagne had determined the border between Salzburg and Aguileia in 811, did Aguileia appear to be interested in missions among the Slovenes. "This seems to suggest that Aguileia could only have manifested an interest in Croatia after 803, when Charlemagne, at war with the Byzantines, had forced the Dalmatian Croats to accept Frankish supremacy." (26)

In addition to the Croatian tribes that settled in Carinthia and

24. Klaic, Povijest Hrvata.
were converted by the Irish missionaries from Salzburg, the Croats in Pannonia were Christianized most probably also from Salzburg. Vojnomir, the ruler of Pannonian Croatia accepted Christianity c 795.(27) "His successor Ljudevit was also a Christian."(28)

That Croatian tribes in Dalmatia had been converted by the beginning of the ninth century is attested to by inscriptions and a number of churches. From c 800-852 AD there is the font of Duke Viseslav, the basilicas of St. Barbara in Trogir and St. Platon on the Island of Cres, and possibly the "smallest cathedral" of St. Cross in Nin; the churches of St. Juraj in Putalj and St. Marta in Bijaci (850); and St. Peter in Rizinica with the inscription of Duke Trpimir.(29) Under Trpimir (845-864) the Croatian state was strong enough to offer protection to one of the most learned men of his time, the Benedictine monk Gottschalk, whose doctrine of predestination was opposed by the church. Although Gottschalk's stay at the court of Trpimir was only two years long, it is possible that he influenced Trpimir to remodel the early Christian church into the first known Croatian monasteries and to invite the Benedictine order.(30)

The fundamental question of the circumstances under which the Croats accepted the Glagolitic script and liturgy remains a matter of speculation and dispute. It is believed that both originated with Constantine, however, because of the lack of contemporary evidence that

27. Vlasto, p. 189.
Constantine, Methodius, or any of their disciples had any contacts with the Croatians, numerous hypotheses, without convincing evidence, have been advanced:

1. Constantine and Methodius on their way to Moravia in 863 travelled through the Adriatic and stopped at some islands, thus beginning the spread of the Glagolitic;

2. The Glagolitic spread outwards from the court of Kocel;

3. Constantine and Methodius passed through Croatia on their way to Rome in 867;

4. Methodius travelled through Croatia on one of his trips to Rome;

5. Methodius met the Croatian Bishop of Nin, Theodosius, in Rome in 880;

6. Methodius brought the Glagolitic to Croatia on his way to Constantinople in 881 or on his return journey to Moravia;

7. Expelled disciples of Constantine and Methodius settled on the Island of Krk in 886. (31)

31. Most of these hypotheses were advanced by Franjo Racki over a century ago. See F. Racki, Vjek i djelovanje sv. Cirila i Methodija svojih apostolov, (Zagreb, 1892), pp. 212-420. Racki's followers were all staunch supporters of the idea of the unity of the South Slavs. Vatroslav Jagic, Ferdo Sisic, and Svetozar Rittig accepted Racki's views, although his assertions are in fact completely unsubstantiated. See Vatroslav Jagic, "Hrvatska glagoljska knjizevnost," in Povijest hrvatske knjizevnosti, ed. B. Vodnik (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1913), pp. 9-64; Ferdo Sisic, Pregled povijesti Hrvatskoga Naroda, (Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1975); Svetozar Rittig, Povijest i pravo slovenstine u crkvenom bogoslužju, sa osobitim obzirom na Hrvatsku I (Zagreb, 1917). In spite of this the majority of contemporary Croatian and foreign scholars, including Vjekoslav Stefanić, Nada Klaić, Branko Fucić; I. Petrović, and others accept most of Racki's hypotheses. See Vjekoslav Stefanić, "Tisuću i sto godina od moravske misije," Slovo 13 (1963): 5-42; Nada Klaić, "Historijska.
Among the questions left unanswered by Cyrillic-Methodian studies is: by which route did Constantine and Methodius reach Moravia in 863, through Macedonia and Pannonia, or by sea to Venice and then via the old Amber Road to Moravia? The supporters of the journey by sea have stressed the possibility that by 863 Dalmatian Croatia had already been introduced to the Glagolitic tradition and "... the first seed of the Cyrillic-Methodian Slavic culture among the Croats might have been sown by the Cyrillic-Methodian mission in 863 as it passed through Dalmatia on its way to Moravia." (32)

The idea of Kocel's principality as a source of Croatian Glagolitic literacy is supported by many historians: "Some of the fifty young men who had been instructed by the two brothers in Slavic letters may have reached Pannonian Croatia. ..." (33)

A number of scholars assert that the several journeys of Methodius to and from Rome in 868, 870, 880, and in 882 to Constantinople were responsible for the acceptance and the spread of the Glagolitic script and the liturgy. "These journeys were probably instrumental in spreading the Glagolitic liturgy through more normal channels than could have been done by a group of hunted clerics after S. Methodius' death." (34)

Stefanic disagrees. He argues that theoretically it is possible that during the life of Methodius the Slavic liturgy reached Croatia,

32. Petrovic, p. 54.
33. Dvojnik, Byzantine Missions, p. 231.
but the eventual journey of the Salonic brothers through a part of the Croatian territory in 867 or a later Methodius' journey to Moravia or to Constantinople cannot be accepted as adequate for such an achievement, and finally there is no evidence that any of Methodius' journeys were through the Croatian regions. (35)

After Methodius' supposed meeting with the Croatian Bishop Theodosius in Rome, "The Roman-Slavonic liturgy was at once adopted in Croatian lands. It then spread rapidly even into the interior as far as Bosna and the valley between the Sava and Drava rivers." (36).

Methodius with his disciples on their way back to Moravia from Constantinople "... continued their journey through Pannonian Croatia, ..." (37) "In the summer of 880 he left Rome, and avoiding Bavarian territory, traveled by the longer route across the sea to Croatia and through Pannonia." (38)

After the collapse of Methodius' mission in Moravia some of his disciples were sold to the Jewish slave merchants in Venice. They were then bought by a Byzantine Imperial officer and some of them were taken by him to Constantinople. (39) As to the fate of the rest of the disciples, Dvornik says: "It is probable that some of them went to Dalmatian Croatia and continued to exercise their clerical functions there, celebrating the Office in Slavonic." (40) Dvornik's hypothesis is supported by Stefaníc, who commented that a very favourable time for

35. Stefaníc, "Tisucu...," p. 32.
40. Ibid.
the bringing of Slavic literacy by Methodius' disciples into Croatia was the year 886, when the disciples fled from Moravia and when some of them were freed from slavery in Venice and—due to the fact that all of them did not start for Constantinople—could acclimatize themselves in the Byzantine possessions on the Kvarner Islands and Dalmatia. (41)

The question of how much influence could a few scattered refugees have had upon the spread of the Glagolitic tradition in Croatia has divided the scholars into opposing camps. J. Hamm, a Croatian scholar of international repute, argued that the possibility of the Glagolitic script being introduced into Dalmatian Croatia by the disciples of St. Methodius after 885 "... nije dovoljno vjerojatno" (42) [is not sufficiently plausible]. Fugitives and exiles usually do not have the necessary reputation among the natives for their teaching to take deep root in a relatively large and developed land. Furthermore, as Hamm correctly points out, that was the period of the Croatian Duke Branimir (879-892) and the Bishop Theodosius of Nin, both of whom showed their loyalty to Rome and accepted the Roman-Latin liturgy. (43) "All the Slavs were forced to opt for either the Western (Latin) or the Eastern (Greek) church. Only the greater tolerance of the East towards liturgical languages other than Greek introduced an added contrast: Cyril's liturgical language prospered, extended itself and is still cultivated as a precious inheritance in the Slav Orthodox churches." (44)

43. Ibid.
44. Vlasto, p. 80.
The notion that Constantinople permitted the use of the vernacular while Rome insisted on the exclusive use of Latin cannot be substantiated. This misconception presents an overly-emotional and false view of a struggling Slavic-Croatian liturgy deliberately suppressed by the intolerant Western church. It is understandable that Rome attempted to bring some form of uniformity to its church, however, not to such an extent that other languages would be completely excluded.

In point of fact the Synod of Frankfurt in 794 proclaimed that every language was suitable for praising God, but even without the official proclamation, the missionaries had to use the vernacular in order to be understood. The Western church became less lenient after the Schism of 1054, when strict reforms were introduced and the unification of liturgies and rights and Latinization was demanded.

During the last few decades the traditional hypothesis that Constantine-Cyril was the source of the Glagolitic tradition in Croatia has been seriously challenged. Among the first Croatian scholars to attempt a comprehensive history of the Glagolitic traditions in Croatia, and to reject the established opinions of the Cyrillo-Methodian supporters was O. Marko Japundžić.

The assertion that the disciples of the Holy Brothers brought the Slavonic liturgy into Croatia should be absolutely ruled out. First of all, we don’t have any certain historical evidence. And then the conditions of that time were such that the idea is not conceivable.

46. Ibid., p. 192.
That was the time (from the 9th century on) of large scale reforms in Rome. Old liturgies and privileges were cancelled. On the other hand that was the period of Photius’ schism. It is hardly conceivable that Rome would watch unruffled while in the territory of the Western patriarchy was introduced something coming from the “schismatic” Byzantium.”(47)

It should be noted that Japundzic is not alone. Further indication that the Glagolitic tradition existed in Croatia prior to the period of Constantine and Methodius was offered by Benedikta Zelic-Bucan, a Croatian historian from Split. She wrote: "It has been established that the Glagolitic liturgical books existed in the bishopric of Krk before the saint brothers."(48)

This view is further supported by the report that Theodosius, Bishop of Nin (879-886) and Bishop of Split (886-892) ordered a psalter in the Glagolitic at his own expense.(49)

Furthermore "...Croatians actually had some of the biblical and liturgical texts translated into Croatian prior to Cyril and Methodius' cultural activities among the Slavic nations."(50)

From the earliest contacts with the Byzantine and the Frankish powers, whatever accomplishments the Croats may have acquired, there would be no doubt that in the eyes of the Greeks, the Franks, and others

they would remain savages and barbarians. The writings of Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, a nineteenth century English architect-turned-historian, provide an excellent example of this attitude. Jackson wrote: "It is to the Latins of Dalmatia that we must look for evidence of culture and intellectual progress, and not to the Slavs." (51) He continues; "Slavonic (Croatian) literature there is next to none; it is a matter of the future; it consists at present of little more than one epic and a mass of lyric poems and national songs, and is inferior in interest to the ancient literature of Wales." (52)

Jackson's authority is William of Tyre, who went through Dalmatia with the crusaders (1095-1096). "He (William) distinguishes the civilized Latin inhabitants of the maritime cities from the Croats, who, he says, are a most ferocious people, accustomed to robbery and murder, clad like barbarians, living by their flocks and herds, and little given to agriculture." (53)

After long centuries of these accusations the Croats became convinced that the opinions of their neighbours were valid, they reacted by blaming themselves, and a deep sense of inferiority penetrated the scholarly community. Thus the great majority of Croatian and foreign scholars: Jagic, Kombol, Cronia, and others have neglected and undervalued the phenomenal achievements of the Croatian Glagolitic

52. Ibid., pp. 190-191.
53. Ibid., p. 37.
clergy. (54) Everything written after Jagic has been almost
word-for-word repetition of his opinion of the social and material
inferiority, illiteracy, and backwardness of the Glagolits.

This attitude... is obviously the result of
the unhistorical and distorted notion of
Croatian Glagolites as an illiterate, poor, and
socially inferior class of our medieval society.
By inertia, this notion prevailed in our science
for about a hundred years without any attempts
at critical study and investigation of the
sources. (55)

The Croatian Glagolitic tradition has been mostly ignored by the
scholars of the Eastern Slavs. The recent trend has been to treat the
old Slavic literature as more or less united, however the emphasis is on
the Bulgarian, Macedonian, Russian, and Serbian literatures: all of them
germinated from the Cyrillo-Methodian foundation, and were united by the
Cyrillic alphabet, the Church Slavonic language and the Orthodox
Christianity that spread first from Byzantium—the second Rome—and then
from Moscow—the third Rome. (56)

The fact that the Glagolitic antedates and bears no similarity to
the Cyrillic, and that the Croats remained under the spiritual and
secular influence of the West indicates that the scholars of the
Orthodox Slavs are correct in accepting the view that the
Cyrillic and the Glagolitic scripts have very little in common.

54. In addition to Jagic cited above, see Mihovil Kombol, Povijest
Hrvatske Knizevnosti: Do Narodne Praporeda, 2d ed. (Zagreb: Matica
Hrvatska, 1961); and Arturo Cronia, "Della cosi detta letteratura
glagolitica e del periodo della sua maggiore floridezza," Ricerche
slavistiche 3 (1954).
55. Eduard Hercigonja, "Povijesni, društveni i kulturnoambi-
jentalni uvjeti nastanka i razvoja hrvatskoga glagoljskog tiska (u
Meanwhile the majority of the Croatian scholars appear to be eager to connect the origins of the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic-Methodian foundation, as pointed out by Hercigonja. "In spite of the different alphabets (Glagolitic-Cyrillic) and confessional spheres (Catholic-Orthodox), Glagolitic medieval writing was an integral part of a unified linguistic, literary, and cultural Slav community, which grew out of the Cyrillic-Methodian tradition."(57)

Constantine and Methodius became the Apostles of the Slavs, and they were and remain the symbols of Slav unity and pride. However, the notion that they alone were responsible for the conversion, education, and civilization of the Slavic peoples is exaggerated, extremely naive, and unrealistic. There is no reason or intention to detract from the fame of the two Byzantine missionaries, whose contribution to the Slavs is everlasting, but to credit them with the exclusive Christianization and civilization of the Slavs is an overstatement.

It is important to refute Vlasto's bald statement that: "No pagan Slav people had as yet created an alphabet for itself."(58)

By the year 862 only the Eastern Slavs remained pagans. The Slavs of central and southern Europe were at least partly Christianized. Rastislav's petition clearly states that the Moravians accepted Christianity. That the Croats were Christianized by the end of the eighth century is attested to by the inscription of the Zupan Godeslav

(780–800) and the font of Viseslav (c800). Pannonian Croatian Ljudevit was a Christian, and must have had a strong, well-organized army to be able to carry on a war with the mighty Frankish Empire that lasted four years.

From the year 800 AD there have been preserved a number of Latin inscriptions concerning Croatian rulers; many epitaphs of ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries; letters of Popes; a number of cartularies; kings' deeds of donations; statues; chronicles; and the lives of saints. The oldest preserved example of the Croatian language in the Latin alphabet is a group of Croatian glosses in the Latin _Radon's Bible_. The _Bible_ was written at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century in France, while the Croatian glosses from the eleventh century were added in Zagreb. (59)

The oldest texts in the Croatian language and in Latin script are _Red i zachon_ (1343), and _Sibenska molitna_ (1347). (60)

In northern Croatia, where since the eighteenth century Germanization and Magyarization were being forced on the people, the Latin played an indirect part in the protection of the vernacular. When in the political assemblies they were forbidden, due to the foreign domination, to use their own language, the Croats consciously retained the Latin which posed no threats of danger, rather than German or

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60. Concerning Croatian literacy and literature in the Latin language, see the two volume _Hrvatski Latinisti_, ed. V. Gortan and V. Vratovic, _Pet Stolkeca Hrvatske Knjizevnosti._ (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska Zora, 1969–70).
Hungarian. Therefore Latin remained the official language of the
Croatian Parliament until 1847. (61)

As evidence of the tolerant symbiosis of the two languages and two
scripts, there exist from the eleventh century a number of inscriptions
in the Glagolitic script as well as numerous missals, breviaries,
hagiographies, secular works, charters, lyrics, and diplomas from the
following centuries. The obvious conclusion has to be that the Croats
had their script prior to the arrival of the Byzantine mission to
Moravia in 863 AD, and that throughout the Middle Ages they created
their works in the Latin and the Croatian languages and the Latin and
the Glagolitic scripts. Hence it becomes obvious that the Croats as
well as other Western Slavs arose above the prehistorical darkness at
least decades before the arrival of Constantine and Methodius.

In the booklet Glagoljska Epigrafi ka Branko Fucic correctly states
that the manuscripts are easy to dislocate, consequently it is hard to
establish the exact location of their origin, whereas on the contrary
the epigraphic monuments are immovable. Of all of the Slavic countries
the largest number of the old epigraphic Glagolitic monuments were
discovered in Croatia. (62) However, in spite of the fact that the
stone monuments are stationary, and that the largest number of them were
discovered in Croatian territories, Fucic asserts that the Glagolitic
tradition came to Croatia from the Moravian-Pannonian areas and from the
Macedonian-Bulgarian regions. (63) See Fucic’s map in the Appendix,
Illustration j. In Macedonia only one monument has been discovered up

62. Fucic, p. 5.
63. Ibid., p. 4.
to the present day, the Glagolitic-Cyrillic graphic in the church of St. Naum, which dates from the twelfth century. In Bulgaria Fucic names only the ninth century inscription in the wall of the Simeon's church in Preslav. (64) There are no existing Glagolitic monuments at all in the Moravian-Pannonian regions, a fact which is supported by A. Dostal, who says: "To date, the Moravian excavations have not uncovered any important traces of Cyrilomethodian activity, neither the least scrap of writing, nor the tomb of Methodius." (65)

The fact that the Glagolitic tradition survived and flourished only in Croatia provides strong evidence that it could not have been planted there by a casual, unproven visit of the Byzantine missionaries, nor by an equally unproven landing of a few scattered disciples. Thus the assertion of M. Japundzic that the Glagolitic survived in the regions where it originated while it quickly disappeared in places where it was only a "guest" appears to be reasonable. (66)

Concurrent with the approach of the established view is another group of scholars who are convinced that the veneration Constantine and Methodius received is justified, but that it should be limited to what they actually accomplished.

Vinko Grubisic wrote that observing the holy brothers in an accurate light by no means diminishes their significance to the Croats and the Slavs in general. "Even if they did not light the torch of literacy among the Slavs, they have intensified the flames of

64. Ibid., p. 5.
the torch, and they have helped—maybe more than anybody else—the entry of the Slavs into the Byzantine-Roman cultural orbit. (67)

As Heres explains, we do not intend to completely throw out Cyril and Methodius from Croatian history, because they did have a certain part in it, but not such a part that they should be portrayed as divine as is done by their uncritical worshippers. Their part should be assessed on a realistic scale, because that is the only way we can show the amount of appreciation that they really deserve. "They did not invent the Glagolitic script, nor could they have. Their contribution is in spreading that script among the Slavs who did not have their own." (68)

Furthermore, according to Heres, the fragments and transcription of the VL originated during the final break between the East and West on the Balkan Peninsula and the short-lived invasion of the East. Understandably, the East forced their values and their heroes on the Croatians, especially the cult of Cyril and Methodius. That cult should have displaced St. Jerome's tradition in Croatia. However, the Jerome's tradition was pressed only during the nineteenth century when it was taught that Cyril and Methodius were natives of Solin in Dalmatia. (69)

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CROATIANS AND THE BISHOPRICS OF SALZBURG

During the reign of the Bavarian Duke Odilo (738-748) the Croatian and Slovenian tribes of Carinthia began to lose their independence, as a result of a request sent by the Carinthian Duke Borut (743) asking Odilo for assistance against the Avars. The Avars were driven off but the Bavarians subjugated Carinthia and demanded a number of hostages. Among the hostages taken to Bavaria were Borut's son Cacatius (Gorazd) and his nephew Cheitmaro (Hotimir). (1) Consequently, Borut accepted Christianity for his people and the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishopric of Salzburg.

Borut was succeeded by Gorazd (749-751) who was educated and Christianized together with his cousin Hotimir at Chiemsee. Although the conversion of the Slavs began under Borut it was continued on a much wider scale under Hotimir (751-769). On Hotimir's invitation Virgil sent into Carinthia (c.757) a large mission composed of Chorepiscopus Modesto, priests Wattmem, Reginbertum, Latinum, Cozharium, and Ekihardum, and other clerics. (2) The missionaries formed a complete Irish "familia." (3) Modestus founded three churches, carried out the

2. Ibid., pp. 32-33.
conversion of the Slavs according to the Irish methods, and laid the foundations of an ecclesiastical organization. After Modestus' death (c. 765) there were two uprisings of the local population, however, Hotimir crushed both of them. After Hotimir's death, a third and wider revolt broke out, and in 772 Bavarian Duke Tassilo ended the uprisings and conquered Carinthia. "The revolt was directed primarily against the national dynasty which brought the Bavarians into the land and caused the loss of independence." (4) Tassilo founded monasteries and the systematic conversion continued, aided by additional missionaries sent by Virgil. The Innichen monastery was founded in 769 and the Kremsmunster in 777.

The immediate result of the foundation of Kremsmunster was the colonization of the Traun-Enns territory by Bavarians to the detriment of the Slovene settlers there. This area became twenty years later the great reservoir of German colonists who under the Carolingians pushed further east and colonised and converted the whole Riverside Noricum down to the Mons Comagenus (Wienerwald). Colonisation and conversion followed the military occupation. (5)

Thus, there existed three main fronts from which the conversion was carried out: the central from Salzburg into Carinthia; the southern from Innichen down the Drava river, and crossing the Alps into Friuli; and the northern from Kremsmunster into Riverside Noricum. (6) Hence the ground was well prepared for Charlemagne's armies who crushed Bavarian independence in 788, destroyed the Avars in 796, and eventually occupied large sections of Pannonia and Dalmatia.

4. Ibid., p. 42.
5. Ibid., p. 48.
6. Ibid.
The conversion of the Bavarians and the Slavic tribes in Carinthia and Pannonia is described in the "Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum". This document was written in Salzburg in 871 with the intention to prove the jurisdiction of the Salzburg bishopric in Pannonia. The oldest preserved manuscript dates from the eleventh century and it was first published in the sixteenth century. In 1935 in Ljubljana a Slovenian scholar, M. Kos, prepared a critical edition with comments in Slovene. The most recent edition was prepared by B. Grafenauer and published inter alia in Acta Ecclesiastica Sloveniae (Ljubljana 1985). According to the summary in English: "Considering the purpose of the document and the different sources used (particularly the excerpts from Salzburg scripts) it is possible to state that the detailed data contained in the documents are fairly reliable, but that their selection and maybe also the implied tendencies are somewhat questionable."(7)

Dvornik considered the "Conversio" biased but of great value. Its intentions were to substantiate the pretensions of Salzburg over Pannonia, and to justify the action taken against Methodius. "The main purpose of the document, is to defend the ecclesiastical and material interests of the Bavarian hierarchy."(8)

In spite of the fact that the "Conversio" could be considered questionable as to the rights of the Salzburg jurisdiction over the churches in Pannonia, it nonetheless offers irrefutable evidence as to the nationality of St. Virgil. There is no logical explanation as to why

the Frankish clergy would invent the story of Virgil's Irishness if he was not Irish. (9)

The Celtic tribes of Salzburg were incorporated into the Roman Empire in 15 BC. The Romans called the Celtic settlement Juuvavum and the district Noricum: "After the Romans withdrew and the Bavarians took over the province in 530, there followed a century and a half of Germanic paganism with at the most a flicker of Christianity left from Roman days." (10) Towards the end of the seventh century a Bavarian duke Theodo (680-716) accepted Christianity and invited Rupert, the Bishop of Worms (c700) to convert the town and the regions around it. Rupert was a member of the Frankish Royal family, and known as a learned man and a teacher of Christian values. (11) Upon arrival in Salzburg Rupert requested and received the territory of Salzburg from Duke Theodo, founded the church and the monastery of St. Peter, the convent of Nonnberg for his niece Erindrudam, and a number of churches. (12) In addition, according to tradition Rupert encouraged mining for salt.

The church and the monastery of St. Peter and the convent of Nonnberg still exist, although they have undergone several renovations and rebuildings over the centuries. They are popular shrines in the city, and St. Rupert's tomb is in the right aisle of St. Peter's church. Some scholars are of the opinion that Rupert could have recruited monks from Luxeuil, Peronne, Honau, or from a number of other Irish

12. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
monasteries.(13) Eventually the monastery of St. Peter became Benedictine, as was the case with other ecclesiastical institutions. Nonetheless, "In the Irish manner Rupert was both abbot and bishop."(14)

Rupert's most famous and controversial successor was St. Virgil. St. Virgil was born in Ireland, c. 710 and died in 784. His Irish name, Fergal or Ferghal, was Latinized into Virgilius, and in Salzburg it became Virgil.(15) Virgil was "... the son of a man named Moeliduim and a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages."(16) Educated in Ireland, possibly by St. Samathan, Abbess of Colbroney, Virgil became "... abbot of the monastery of Achad Bo, the foundation of St. Caimmech near Dublin, ..."(17). Sometime during 742 Virgil reached the court of Pepin, the major of the palace for King Childeric III. Pepin soon recognized the extraordinary abilities of the Irish monk and sent him to Duke Odilo of Bavaria to take over the vacant Bishopric of Salzburg.(18)

The reasons why Pepin sent Virgil to Odilo to take over the bishopric are not clear. Perhaps Pepin, who defeated Odilo, intended to install Virgil in Salzburg to act as an observer.(19) Another possibility is that Virgil was invited by the monks of St. Peter who followed Irish monastic observances.(20) Upon arrival in Salzburg Virgil was appointed abbot of St. Peter, but was not consecrated until 767, after the death of Archbishop Boniface, possibly because of the

13. Marnell, p. 177.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 175.
16. Ibid., p. 176.
17. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
disputes that arose between the two missionaries and continued during Boniface's lifetime. The bishop's duties of confirming and ordaining were done for Virgil by Dobdagrescus, another Irishman who was appointed abbot-bishop of Chiemsee.

One of Virgil's first undertakings in Salzburg was the building of the cathedral. The magnificent building was completed in 774 and dedicated to St. Rupert. After numerous fires, Virgil's Carolingian cathedral was rebuilt during the twelfth century in the Romanesque style. A fire in 1598 devastated the cathedral, and during the reconstruction large portions of the building collapsed. Following the collapse the structure was rebuilt as a Baroque cathedral, with an axial change to accommodate the Residenz and the Residenzplatz. (21) The cathedral as it exists today was completed in 1628, and it "... has an axis 10 degrees to the south of the axis of Virgil's cathedral and the Romanesque cathedral." (22)

The cathedral that Virgil built must have been a most extraordinary building to have been erected in the eighth century by a people new to civilization and with nothing of the architectural tradition of the classical world to guide them, and one might add with nothing in Virgil's Irish background to serve him as a model. ... Virgil the Geometer, with his mad notions of a round world and antipodean inhabitants, and with his ability to construct a church with dimensions by no means dwarfed by the magnificent edifice that is one of Salzburg's prime glories today, and to do it in the Dark Ages with no tradition to instruct him nor model to guide him, is one of the most intriguing and even exciting figures Ireland has

21. Ibid., p. 183.
22. Ibid.
ever sent to bring the Word to peoples who had forgotten it or had never known it. (23)

During excavations from 1957-59 the remains of Virgil's original cathedral were unearthed and the astonishing size (66x33 metres) was discovered. Virgil's cathedral was one of the largest churches built during the eighth century. The foundations of the original cathedral under the present-day church are open to the public, and the magnitude of these remains is astonishing. On the wall facing the entrance is a portrait of Virgil. On the floor of the modern crypt is a mosaic which shows the floor plan of Virgil's structure in relation to the plan of the modern cathedral. In front of the cathedral there are four monumental sculptures elevated on high pedestals. They portray, along with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Rupert with a salt box carried by figures in the base of the pedestal, and Virgil holding his cathedral. It is only fitting that these statues are placed on this spot of prominence, since "... much of what Salzburg became rests on what they did." (24)

The extraordinary capabilities of Virgil have been explored by the German historian Heinz Lowe. (25) The Cosmographia of Aethicus Ister, the romanesque description of the world, was widely known during the Middle Ages. According to the work itself, it was written in Greek by Aethicus Ister, and the father of the church, St. Jerome, made an abbreviated translation. The work lost its popularity towards the end of the Middle Ages, however, from 821 AD it was named in the catalogues

23. Ibid., 184.
24. Ibid.
of numerous libraries, including St. Riquier, St. Gallen, Fulda, Lorsch, Reichenau, Regensburg, Bobbio, Cluny, Limoges, Salzburg, and Canterbury. (26) The Cosmographia was edited for the first time in 1852 by d'Avezac in Paris; (27) In 1853 it was published again by Heinrich Wuttke. (28) During the same year Karl Pertz (29) put together many medieval manuscripts. In examining the information that St. Jerome was the translator, Pertz became convinced that the Cosmographia was in fact written by Jerome between 396 and 409. In the opinion of Pertz, Aethicus, the alleged author, was a Slav, and the alphabet reproduced at the end of the book was a Slavic script, the older form of the Glagolitic ascribed by legend to Jerome. However, further studies by other scholars have put the date of the origin to the later centuries, as a part of the "fake literature" common in the centuries of transition.

In spite of the efforts of Wuttke to uphold this attribution and to identify the places and peoples who are mentioned, it is not possible to regard Aethicus as anything but a romancer or to put him earlier than the seventh century. His wild Latin, ... elaborate alliteration and short assonant clauses, his fables about countries, tribes, and creatures, ... and his display of absurd learning (exemplified by the bogus Scythian alphabet with which he ends his book), all stamp him as a charlatan. (30)

29. Karl Pertz, De cosmographia Ethici libri tres, (Berlin, 1853).
The supposed Greek original was never discovered. The Latin of Aethicus shows the general mix-up of sounds characteristic of Merovingian Latin, with traits of Irish orthography, and it has to be inserted into the body of Irish travel literature. Through a systematic analysis of the sources, Lowe concluded that the year 768 was the *Terminus post quem*. (32)

The alphabet of Aethicus found in the last chapter of the *Cosmographia* was noticed and copied by Hrabanus Maurus, (33) and the fact that single characters of this alphabet are very similar to the Glagolitic alphabet was noticed quite early by Peritz.

Most importantly, however, Lowe comes to the conclusion that Aethicus' alphabet serves to further affirm the thesis of Virgil's authorship. It has been known for quite some time, but has not been followed up by research with the necessary vigour, that certain letters of Aethicus' alphabet bear a striking resemblance to the Glagolitic script. As long as the date of creation of this script remained obscure, the recognition of these relationships did not mean much. However, since it is known that the Glagolitic script originated in close connection with the northern Italian script development in the Venice-Istria area, it has to be assumed that the author of the *Cosmographia* indeed used the Glagolitic script for the style of his alphabet. (34) Wuttke and Milkowitz were, with reason, against the

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31. Lowe, p. 79.
32. Ibid., p. 7.
33. Ibid., p. 69.
34. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
attempt of Pertz to prove that the alphabet of Aethicus was an older form of the Glagolitic script. However, certain correlations between the two alphabets are unmistakable, and the Croatian tradition with respect to the derivation of the Glagolitic alphabet from St. Hieronymus, which Pertz examined, cannot be easily discarded. (35)

Virgil's involvement with the conversion of the Slavic tribes has already been pointed out. Although Croatian scholars have ignored Virgil, the Irish missionaries, and the bishopric of Salzburg as having contributed any major part in the civilization and the conversion of the Croatian tribes, the majority of the Slovene scholars recognize the heritage that the Irish left in Carinthia.

Every second year prior to Virgil's death there arrived in Carinthia a new group of missionaries from Salzburg. Their work was characterized by the Irish missionary methods. They spread the faith in the vernacular, translating from Latin and German. There an Irish practice of individual confession found its expression in Slovenian folk poetry. (36)

With rare exceptions the Irish scholars have paid little attention to the work of the Irish missionaries among the Slavs. Only recently Marnell made a direct connection between the Irish and the Croatians. "The Slovenes of Virgil's day are most closely related to the modern Croats, . . . "(37) Furthermore; "Irish peregrini under the direction

35. Ibid., p. 70, fn 1.
37. Marnell, p. 186.
of Virgil planted the faith, and with it the pattern of writing, both of which survive there to the present day."(38)

In addition to the recognition he gained as an author, missionary, and master builder, Virgil also became known in history for his disputes with the Archbishop Boniface. In defence of St. Boniface, Francis Betten asserted that there were three Virgils in Bavaria at the same time:

Virgil the Baptist, Virgil the Pseudo-Astronomer, and Virgil the Saint.

The countless authors who advocate, or rather suppose, the identity of the two with Virgil the Saint, do so because they mean to bestow an honour upon the saint, by imagining erroneously that thereby they make him a better theologian than St. Boniface, and a champion of science in a dark age. They forget that they must take the transgressions of the other Virgils into the bargain. They must be prepared to allow that their saint, as Virgil the Baptist, for several years refused canonical obedience to his superiors; and that as Virgil the Pseudo-Astronomer he showed the greatest ignorance both in theology and science; ... (39)

"On the other hand St. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans, renowned for learning before he set out upon his missionary journey, and ever a lover of books and an ardent student cannot be accused of ignorance in either sacred or secular science."(40)

Winfrid-Boniface (673-754) was an Anglo-Saxon monk, archbishop of Mainz, and a martyr. After a successful career in England he went to Rome to receive permission to become a missionary. The pope, St. Gregory, ...

ordered Winfrid to remain in Rome, and had numerous conversations

38. Ibid., p. 188.
40. Ibid., 64.
with him during the succeeding winter. He imposed upon him the Roman name of "Boniface", officially declared him a papal and apostolic missionary, and in the following spring, on May 19, 719, dismissed him to the nation of which he was destined to become the Apostle. (41)

Boniface's success in the missionary field was recognized by the three successive popes, and he was consecrated bishop in 722, and in 732 made archbishop. Consequently Boniface founded a number of monasteries, created bishoprics, and presided over a series of reforming councils between 742-747, at which the abuses of the clergy were condemned and the rule of St. Benedict was adopted. However, this view has been challenged by some contemporary historians who question the belief that Benedictinism had been brought to England by Augustine of Canterbury, and that Anglo-Saxon monasticism in Wessex was fully fledged Benedictinism when Boniface set out for the Continent. (42)

According to Betten, Virgil the Pseudo-Astronomer had a personal dispute with Boniface. Virgil tried to predispose the Bavarian duke against Boniface, he aspired to become a bishop of the vacant bishoprics and furthermore he believed that there was another world and other men below the earth. (43) Boniface's accusation that Virgil was teaching a heretical belief in Antipodes is, according to some scholars, evidence that Virgil was too advanced in learning for the "theological and scientific ignorance" (44) of Boniface. "Indeed many of the authors

41. Ibid., 9.
43. Betten, p. 33-34.
44. Ibid., p. 42.
who wrote on this subject take it for granted that he possessed no
knowledge of the rotundity of the earth... was unable to grasp the
learned discourses of Virgil... was even rude and
uncultured...

Virgil the Pseudo-Astronomer, in an attempt to become a bishop,
tried to create antagonism between Boniface who, until Virgil's
interference, enjoyed "... the unlimited favor of Duke Otilo,..."
and Otilo.(46) Virgil the Pseudo-Astronomer was a liar, intriguer, and
"... an unscrupulous ecclesiastico-political wire puller,..."(47)
"By his intrigues he contributed his share to enhance that Byzantinism
which eventually grew into a veritable curse of the European courts, and
which it took all the energy and drastic measures of popes like
St. Gregory VII to eradicate."(48)

Boniface was suspicious of Virgil and other Irish missionaries who
stubbornly followed the Irish customs instead of obeying the strict
regulations enforced by the hierarchy. The Irish paid little attention
to rules, remained obstinate, and in too many instances ignored and even
openly disobeyed Boniface's attempts to reorganize the church.

The most famous dispute between Virgil and Boniface was over the
baptismal formula used by the priests unfamiliar with the Latin
language. Boniface insisted on rebaptizing the person over whom the
incorrect wording was said. Virgil refused to allow rebaptism on the

45. Ibid., p. 39.
46. Ibid., 41.
47. Ibid., p. 42.
48. Ibid.
assumption that the original baptism was valid, and wrote a letter to
the pope accusing Boniface of ordering the repetition of baptism. The
pope agreed with Virgil and reprimanded Boniface. In a letter to
Boniface (July 746) Pope Zacharias wrote: "If, then, the case is really
such as the report makes out, you must no longer issue instructions to
this effect. You must endeavor to conform to the teaching and preaching
of the Fathers of the church." (49)

The pope's action in Virgil's favor has been accepted by the
majority of scholars as evidence that Virgil was a far superior
theologian to Boniface. "Some writers even go further, and accuse
St. Boniface of having ordered rebaptism because he erroneously deemed
baptism administered by heretics to be invalid." (50)

Thus, according to Betten, Virgil the Pseudo-Astronomer and Virgil
the Baptizer were two selfish intrigues who subordinated the welfare of
the Church to their own personal interest. (51)

As to Virgil, the Bishop of Salzburg, this Irish
Saint (Fergal, Fergil) was indeed a
conspicuous figure in his time. He gave himself
up whole-heartedly to the duties of his exalted
office. He kept his diocese in perfect order,
and looked carefully after the welfare of its
religious institutions. He rebuilt the
cathedral of Salzburg, and transferred thereto
the remains of St. Rupert, a former bishop and
apostle of the region. A flourishing school
arose in connection with the cathedral. By

49. C.T. Talbot, ed. and trans., The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in
Germany: Being the Lives of SS. Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and
Lebuin, together with the "Hodeporicon" of St. Willibald and a
selection from the correspondence of St. Boniface, (London and New York:
50. Betten, p. 45.
51. Ibid., p. 63.
sending-out missionaries and directing their work, he was able to extend his activity to the neighbouring countries, and, though never leaving his diocese, to become the Apostle of Carinthia.(52)

Despite his enormous success Boniface, in addition to his quarrels with Virgil, was disturbed by the continued prevalence of paganism, the ignorance of the clergy, and the disunity of the church, "... conditions which embittered his life and retarded the progress of his work during the duration of the reigns of three successive popes."(53)

Boniface's depiction of the condition of the Frankish church is generally accepted as faithful. "Although there can be no doubt that the church was at a low ebb, Boniface's picture is limited, not only by his own prejudices and preoccupations, but also by the sphere of his own activities; he was simply not familiar with a large area of the Frankish Kingdom."(54)

In addition to Betten, Virgil has been criticized by other medievalists: "Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, has made a considerable figure in many a text-book in the capacity of an enlightened cosmographer; or of an early martyr of science, persecuted and silenced by clerical obscurantists because of his belief in the Antipodes."(55)

Furthermore, James connects Virgil's Antipodes to the Celtic and Scandinavian tales about the dwellers below the surface of the earth. "Were it not for the epithet Geometer, which does seem to imply an interest in science, I should be strongly inclined to give the

52. Ibid., p. 65.
53. Ibid., p. 58.
54. McKitterick, p. 54.
55. James, p. 512.
preference to this second explanation of Virgilius’s erroneous doctrine.”(56).

Virgil’s successor was Arno (785-821), a native Bavarian, probably of Italian descent. “In the scriptorium at Salzburg, it was said, more than one hundred and fifty books were copied under Arno, and young men were attracted there as students and teachers...”. But Arno’s energy found time also for political service to his secular leaders.”(57)

After Virgil’s death, under Arno’s leadership the missionary methods of the Salzburg archbishoprics changed drastically. By 796 Charlemagne had completely conquered the Avars. The result of that war, which lasted seven years, was the depopulation of Pannonia and an enormous wealth seized by the Franks. The first shipment of gold, silver, and other valuable items... took fifteen wagons, each drawn by four oxen, to bring the Avar’s treasure into Frankland.”(58)

The devastation of the area is further attested to by the “Conversio.” Arno was sent into Pannonia to preach among the survivors of the Avars and the Slavs, “... qui remansit de Hunis et Slavis...”(59) The “Conversio” further states that Arno continued the practice of Virgil in sending the priests into Carinthia and Pannonia.(60) However, Virgil’s missionaries did not require the protection of the military, whereas Arno’s mission was escorted by the army.(61)

56. Ibid., p. 513.
59. “Conversio”, p. 34.
60. Ibid.
Furthermore, during Arno's time began the so-called "grab and keep" policy of the Frankish church, (62) along with a massive colonization of the areas occupied by the Slavs. Thus the mission from Salzburg had double goals: conversion and colonization. "This is also the first time we officially hear that missionaries in these regions are also political agents of the King, fulfilling both political and religious missions, and that solely by the King's command; a situation which was unknown during the period of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions under the Merovingians." (63)

The ethnographical map of the Eastern Alpine region has not changed while Bavaria, and their Irish-Columbanic missionary personnel were officially in charge... The ethnical transformation of Karantania... began with the arrival of the Carolingians, their missionary staff, and their colonizing methods. (64)

The colonizing methods as well as the Christianity forced on the local tribes by sword and fire resulted in a number of revolts against the Franks. One of the best organized and the longest (818-822) was led by the Croatian duke Ljudevit, "... a schemer and agitator, who tried to accuse Count Cadolah, commander of the March of Friuli, of brutality and arrogance," (65) and started a revolt against the Franks in 818. (See Appendix, Illustration K.) His troops were soon joined by the

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62. Ibid., p. 62.
63. Ibid., p. 64, n.17.
64. Ibid., p. 52.
neighbouring tribes; the Croats and Slovenes from Carinthia and Styria, the Timocani, and the Guduscani. The first army against Ljudevit was sent from Italy in July, but returned defeated. In addition to the war with the Franks, Ljudevit fought a civil war with the ruler of Dalmatian Croatia, Duke Borna, who remained loyal to the Franks.

In the battle against Borna, Ljudevit suffered heavy losses. "Three thousand of Ljudevit's army were killed, more than three hundred horses were captured, and baggage and all sorts of spoils seized."(66) During the spring of 820 three armies were sent against Ljudevit. "One of them came from Italy by the way of the Noric Alps; the second through the province of Carinthia; the third by Bavaria and Upper Pannonia."(67) Ljudevit did not offer resistance during that military expedition, nonetheless, the Franks... ravaged almost the whole land with fire and sword... "(68)

During 821 another expedition was sent against Ljudevit, and although he had gained the support of Fortunatus, the patriarch of Grado, the Frankish army was victorious. "They had laid waste the entire territory of the renegades clinging to Ljudevit and then returned home since nobody met them with troops in battle."(69) Apparently Ljudevit's revolt continued, and it took another army sent from Italy in 822 to finally crush the uprising.(70) The immediate result of the Frankish victory was the surrender of Carinthia and Carniola.(71)

66. Ibid., p. 106.
67. Ibid., p. 107.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p. 109.
70. Ibid., p. 111.
71. Ibid., p. 107.
By far the worst consequence of the wars against Ljudovit was the destruction of the autonomy of Carinthia and Carniola. "The national princes disappeared. Frankish and Bavarian nobles took over the administration. Karantania definitely lost its autonomous existence as a vassal state, and became an integral part of the Frankish empire, . . ." (72)

72. Kuhar, p. 69.
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The idea of Slav unity did not originate with a Croatian priest, Juraj Krizanic, who in 1659 travelled to Moscow to propagate Pan-Slavism and the unification of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, instead it began with the writing of the Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius. The concept of Slav unity changed throughout different periods to serve various political or religious aims. When under pressure from the East, the West, and later from the Turks, even religious differences were over-looked. Along with other movements, the Pan-Slavism of the nineteenth century started among the Czech, Slovak, and Croatian intellectuals. Influenced by the French Revolution, their aim was to re-discover and restore their ancient glory and political independence. They demanded the transformation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a federation. Their hopes were shattered when the Habsburg Emperor gave concessions to Hungary, and the direct result was that the Slavs within the empire became subjected to ruthless Magyarization. Thus provoked by the extreme nationalism of Hungarians, for the Croatian intellectuals the only salvation was the unification of all Southern Slavs. In striving to attain a coalition they accepted ardently the assumption that Constantine-Cyril invented the Glagolitic script and dismissed centuries of the Croatian Hieronymic tradition. Furthermore, they ridiculed Jerome's tradition as well as any attempt that would dare
to dispute Cyril's authorship of the Glagolitic alphabet and the Slavic rite in the Catholic Church.(1)

From the beginning of the sixth century Irish missionaries, driven by asceticism and the ultimate sacrifice—permanent exile—preached, founded numerous monasteries, churches and hospices, and served as teachers in the best known European schools. It is possible that Columbanus, in his endless wanderings, reached the Slavic tribes, however, it is certain from the report in the "Conversio" that the later Irish missionaries from Salzburg evangelized the Croatian tribes in Carinthia and established the link between the two nations.(2)

Furthermore, if the invention of the Glagolitic script could be attributed to one individual exclusively, then that person could only have been Virgil, an Irishman, as manifested by: Virgil, the geometer, Virgil the builder, and Virgil the author of the Cosmographia, where his alphabet is a learned joke.(3)

An attempt has been made to prove that Constantine invented the Glagolitic by combining the Christian symbols: cross, triangle, and circle.(4) Although Constantine has been portrayed in the most flattering ways, there is no indication that he was interested in science. Meanwhile, the cross, the triangle, and the circle are the

basic elements of geometry, (5) and Virgil the geometer could have based his alphabet on those symbols.

An interesting comparison between the Glagolitic script and architecture was made by Eduard Hercignonja, who pointed out the similarity of the Romanesque architecture and the Glagolitic script. (6) The Romanesque was developed long after Virgil's time, but the earliest Croatian churches, from the beginnings of the ninth century, show a remarkable similarity to the Glagolitic, as depicted by Hercignonja. (See Appendix, Illustrations 1 to r.) Thus, Virgil the builder could have created the script.

Vlasto's opinion that Virgil's alphabet is a learned joke should be taken into serious consideration. Since Lowe has tried to prove that Virgil wrote the Cosmographia as a parody directed against Boniface, he could have invented the script not only out of necessity but even as a "joke."

It can at least be fairly assumed that the "Jerome" of Virgil of Salzburg, is the Jerome of the Croatian tradition. (7) Thus, it appears sufficiently convincing that an Irishman, St. Virgil of Salzburg became the cause of the tradition which attributed the invention of the Glagolitic to St. Jerome and the unbroken link between Ireland and Croatia.

Conversely, there is no evidence that Constantine invented the
Glagolitic script. All the sources that praise him as an inventor of
the Slavic script most likely refer to the Cyrillic, and it is quite
probable that Constantine adopted the Greek letters as the basis for the
Cyrillic alphabet. Unfortunately his uncritical worshippers, by
crediting him with far too many miraculous achievements, have prevented
the critical examination and acceptance of their assertions that he
created the Glagolitic alphabet.
APPENDIX
ILLUSTRATIONS

a. A map depicting Irish influences abroad.
b. A page from the Freising Fragments.
d. The Glagolitic script.
e. The bilingual inscription (Latin and Glagolitic) on the Tablet of Valun.

f. The Greek and Cyrillic inscription on the Preslav Cross Fragment.
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**Comparison of Latin, Runic, Greek, Cyrillic, and Glagolitic alphabets.**
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h. The Glagolitic, Runic, and Greek alphabets drawn by Cl. Grubissich.

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i. Summary presentation of the Glagolitic with the Pre-Carolingian Latin.
J. Ruic's map depicting the spread of the Glagolitic tradition.
1. The Glagolitic script compared with the Romanesque architecture.

m. An artist's view of the Glagolitic.
n. The floor plan of the St. Cross Church in Nin.

o. The profile of the Church of St. Cross.
p. The exterior of the Church of St. Cross.
q. The Church of the Holy Savior in Cetina.
The Church of St. Nikola near Nin.
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