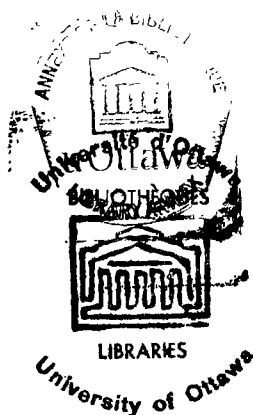


TRENDS IN STUDIES REGARDING THE TWO SLAVONIC ALPHABETS  
DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND  
GERMAN SCHOLARLY WORKS

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Thesis presented to the Department  
of Slavic Studies in the Faculty of  
Arts of the University of Ottawa as  
partial fulfillment of the require-  
ments for the degree of Master of Arts

Ottawa, Canada, 1966

*Degree granted  
May 20 1966  
Dr. S. A. ...  
Secretary*

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor Constantine Bida, Ph.D., Head of the Department of Slavic Studies in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa. My gratitude is hereby expressed for his helpful advice and recommendations.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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## INTRODUCTION

Almost two centuries have passed since the first serious attempts were made to solve the problem of the origin and the chronological priority of the two Slavonic alphabets. Among the many aspects - paleographical, linguistic, historical, and cultural - under which this problem has been studied, two opposing schools of thought emerged, one proclaiming the Glagolitic alphabet as the one created by Saint Cyril, and the other claiming that Saint Cyril devised the Cyrillic alphabet.

In trying to solve the problem, it might at first glance seem that there were as many solutions as there were studies made. This seems to be the case in regard with the interpretations given as to the origin of the Slavonic letters, and indeed no completely satisfactory or final conclusion has been brought about. Some publications concerned with the question of the Slavonic alphabets contain conjecture as well as facts. One must be aware that Slavonic studies developing parallel to the emergence of the spirit of nationalism, often let this spirit partake in the formation of new hypotheses to the detriment of objective truth.

Thus, we are not at all surprised at the Croatian claim that St. Jerome, one of the Church fathers, who supposedly invented the Glagolitic alphabet, came from

Dalmatia, or at the claim, that the original or oldest Slavonic literary language was Slovenian, or again, that the Slavs possessed their own writing system before St. Cyril devised a new one, or brought it from the Byzantine Empire.

Many of these contentions appear mainly because of the lack of definite proof, i.e., manuscripts written by St. Cyril and Methodius, or some of their immediate disciples, or any historical document indicating exactly which of the two alphabets was used by the Apostles of the Slavs. The question of the derivation of the Slavonic letters is still more complicated than that of their chronological priority.

In a relatively short study of Slavonic paleography only a few aspects of the problem can be considered. Although many solutions are suggested regarding the origin of the Slavonic scripts, only two alternatives seem to be reasonable in connection with their chronological priority. (The creation of both alphabets by the same person at the same time is rejected by most Slavists). The origin and chronological priority of the Slavonic alphabets are closely related questions. By limiting this study to twentieth century works in English, French, and German, certain trends in the solution to this problem can be established.

Although the present study can to a certain extent be considered a bibliographical review, it is nevertheless

presented under three aspects to preserve the continuity of thought. The first chapter will deal with the historical background of the studies concerning the problem of the Slavonic alphabets. In the second chapter the theories concerning the origin of the alphabets will be reviewed. In the third chapter the theories concerning the chronological priority of one of the two Slavonic alphabets will be discussed. A very short summary of the problem under discussion will be found in the conclusions.

## I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY  
OF THE SLAVONIC ALPHABETS

The duality of the Slavonic alphabet in itself poses a problem even before such questions can be asked as: Who are the authors if there is more than one of them? On what pattern or system did they base their script? Are the characters as we know them the original letters or were they changed from the time when the first word was written in Slavonic? The answers to these and many other questions will be sought by the student of Slavonic letters. It is not unusual to ask about the reason for the existence of the two writing systems, side by side. Such an apparent duplication seems of no practical use. The very fact of the existence of the two systems should, according to evolutionary laws, see the emergence of one of them as practically superior. This, indeed, has occurred with regard to the Cyrillic alphabet, due to its close relation to the Greek uncial writing, as well as the political expansion of the nations which made use of it.

The duality of the Slavonic writing system did not seem to arouse great curiosity among scholars for a great many centuries. It was only within the last two hundred years that this problem was seriously studied by researchers, and a certain school of thought was formed by Western European Slavists at the end of the nineteenth century.

Among the most interesting phases in the study of the chronological priority of the two alphabets was the slow but definite turnabout in favor of the older Glagolitic alphabet by the Slavist Šafařík. This change, of course, was due to the appearance of new factual monuments whose contents served as evidence of the priority of written Glagolitic.

The primary sources in the study of the Slavonic writing systems are the Papal documents dealing with the life and works of the Slavonic Apostles, the Saints Cyril and Methodius and their immediate disciples. Other sources are the biographies or lives of St. Clement, Naum, Angelarius, and the other disciples of Cyril and Methodius. The so-called legend of Pope Clement I, whose relics were brought to Rome by the Slavonic Apostles, can also be considered. In this group of sources must be classed the Apology or Defense of Slavonic Writing by the monk Chrabr, as well as the legend regarding St. Jerome as the author of the Glagolitic alphabet.

The oldest extant Slavonic manuscripts must be considered as another part of the basic sources for the study of Slavonic writing. It is the absence of any manuscript dating from the time of the Slavonic Apostles or their immediate successors which poses the greatest void in our knowledge about Slavonic letters. The oldest extant manuscripts date from one to two hundred years after the first translations were made by Cyril and Methodius. It

therefore requires a thorough linguistic study reinforced by historical facts to develop the most plausible answer regarding the origin of the Slavonic writing systems. The territorial or dialectal derivations have to be analysed through common linguistic features with the modern Slavonic languages. The results derived through linguistic comparisons must be seen in the light of such political aspects as the proximity of the given Slavonic nation to states of superior cultures.

These are a few of the facts which the first Slavists had to deal with, as Slavonic philology came to the attention of the researchers, and although much light has been shed on many of the problems involved, the question of the origin and chronological priority of the Slavonic alphabets is still debated in many scholarly works.

The biography of St. Cyril, or Constantine the Philosopher, is of primary importance in the study of the Slavonic alphabets. It is difficult to imagine a profound delving into Old Church Slavonic problems without coming up against the activities of Cyril and Methodius. As a preliminary step to the translation of the Gospel and other texts used in the Church service, St. Cyril invented an alphabet for the use of the Slavonic people among whom he was to serve as a missionary.

This information from the biographies is supplemented by a statement of the monk Chrabr, that the pagan Slavs used 'čerty' and 'rézy', i.e. strokes and carving,

and their baptized brethren first used Greek and Latin letters without any system; only after God sent them Constantine, were they provided with an alphabet of their own.<sup>1</sup> The fact of Cyril's authorship, systematization, or by whatever other name his deed is described, has now generally been accepted by most Slavists.

This agreement on Constantine's devising of the Slavonic alphabet, however, did not in itself mean concurrence as to which of the two alphabets this referred. The Missionary's previous journey to the Khazars in Crimea, according to the Pannonian legend, revealed his amazing ability to learn new languages, and not less than four of them are listed as proof of this capability. These were Hebrew, Samaritan, Khazar, and the language of Rus'. His knowledge of the last of the enumerated languages has led some scholars to infer that there existed, even before Constantine's mission to Moravia, a Slavonic writing system. This was supposed to be the alphabet used by St. Cyril, or if this was not the case, then certainly he was supposed to have based his new alphabet on this Rus' writing pattern. However much truth there is to such statements, no conclusive evidence regarding this Rus' alphabet has been presented.

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<sup>1</sup>V. Jagić, "Conversion of the Slavs", Cambridge Mediaeval History, New York, MacMillan & Co., 1923, Vol. IV, p. 222.

The question of a second clearer script first arises with the Vita of St. Clement, one of the disciples of St. Cyril and Methodius. The biography of St. Clement gives an account of the introduction of Slavonic writing in Bulgaria. The same difficulties encountered in connection with Constantine's alphabet also appear in the case of St. Clement. The biographies do not say whether he wrote in Cyrillic or Glagolitic, or if he used the same writing system which St. Cyril had invented.

According to a secondary edition of a short Vita s. Clementis in Greek, a different, clearer script than that invented by the wise Cyril was used by St. Clement. As to the trustworthiness of this passage in the Vita, the opinion of the Slavists was divided. Šafařík accepted it word for word explaining that since Cyril was the inventor of the Glagolitic script, St. Clement's letters must be taken as Cyrillic writing. On the other hand, Jagić, noting many historical inconsistencies in the shorter Vita, rejects its authenticity.<sup>1</sup> The main case against the trustworthiness of this Greek biography is the fact that nothing is mentioned about the clearer script in the longer versions of St. Clement's Life.

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<sup>1</sup>V. Jagić, Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache, 2-nd.ed., Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1913, p. 121.

In spite of disagreements among Slavists concerning the role played by Clement in connection with the Cyrillic script, the fact of the existence of the two alphabets at the beginning of the tenth century cannot be rejected. The alphabet used by Constantine the Presbyter, or John the Exarch, may have been either one of them. The powerful development of Cyrillic writing among the Eastern Slavs at the end of the tenth century, must be taken as proof of its use in Bulgaria. On the other hand, the use of Glagolitic writing in Dalmatian Croatia, Bosnia, Hum, and Diocletia, in the very distant past cannot be refuted either.

It is not known whether or not the disciples of Cyril and Methodius, upon their arrival in Bulgaria, found an alphabet in use there. It is quite possible that the Greek writing system, which must have been known in the higher court circles, might also have been adapted by clerks to the Slavonic language. On the other hand, no script seems to have existed in Bulgaria before St. Clement's arrival there. If we accept that Clement substituted the Cyrillic script for the Glagolitic, why then are most of the Glagolitic manuscripts dating around the tenth and eleventh centuries derived from this area? And again, how is the Cyrillic inscription of 993 A.D. of Tsar Samuel to be explained? Most likely both systems were used side by side.

The short version of St. Clement's Vita is the oldest indication of the double script, if one does not consider the postscript to a Gennadius Bible of 1449, made by a certain Upir Lixoj (Upyr Lixyj, Lichoij) in 1047, in which he thanks God for having been able to transcribe 'from the Cyrillic'. The generally accepted explanation of this remark is that the scribe regarded the alphabet from which he transcribed as the work of Cyril, and thus, he called the Glagolitic script Cyrillic.

Other evidence of the antiquity of the two scripts is found in the old Cyrillic manuscripts containing traces of Glagolitic writing. Thus, for example, the Glagolitic letters for v, u, and i are found in the so-called Eugenius Psalterium; in a text of thirteen sermons by Gregory of Nanzianus the letter for r is used; a fragment of the Prologue by John the Exarch, contains the letter for ju. Traces of Glagolitic writing are seen in the so-called Oxrida (Ochrida) Apostle, which at two points contains whole passages in Glagolitic. Many other palimpsestic manuscripts where the Cyrillic is written on top of the erased Glagolitic, if not considered as evidence of the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet, must be taken as proof of this writing system's great antiquity.

When we turn to Chrabr's treatise On Slavonic Writing, there is no mention of two different scripts, unless strokes and carvings are taken as such. The claim in the text that such people who knew Constantine and

Methodius personally were still alive, might indicate that at this early period only one alphabet existed. If there were two, we would expect Chrabr to express his preference for one of them. Furthermore, since there is no indication as to the geographic region where Chrabr wrote his work, it is difficult to establish a relation between the Apology and the alphabet in which he wrote it. It is generally accepted that in Western Bulgaria Glagolitic writing was prevalent, whereas in Eastern Bulgaria Cyrillic was used. Therefore, since Chrabr wrote his Apology against the Byzantines (Greeks), according to the view of Jagić,<sup>1</sup> it is likely that he lived in the eastern part where their influence was more felt.

The generally accepted view of the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet invented by St. Cyril did not always have the support of most of the scholars dealing with this problem. Most of the facts concerning the Slavonic alphabets were elucidated mainly during the nineteenth century. Before that, the relationship between the two writing systems was considered unimportant. From the thirteenth century almost up to the end of the eighteenth, credit for the invention of the Slavonic (Glagolitic) alphabet was given to St. Jerome, and others. Thus, for example, in 1248, in a letter to the Bishop of Zeng, Pope Innocent IV

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<sup>1</sup>V. Jagić, Entstehungsgeschichte..., p.128.

gives permission for the use of Glagolitic writing, the inventor of which he considers St. Jerome, the author of the Latin Vulgate. This view was widely held by the South-Western Slavs, some of whom even considered Jerome a Slav, and more precisely a Croatian. Although other inventors of the Glagolitic alphabet were sought (the Dalmatian Grubišić claimed it was invented by a Phrygian Fenisius)<sup>1</sup>, the Jerome legend became instrumental to the almost complete oblivion of the deeds of Constantine and Methodius.

Most sources of the history of Slavonic studies (Miklosich, Jagić, Vondrak, et al.)<sup>2</sup> regard Dobner and Dobrovsky as the initiators of Slavonic philology as a science. But even before their first works were published, in 1775 A.Voigt wrote his Untersuchung ueber die Einfuehrung, den Gebrauch, und die Abaenderung der Buchstaben und des Schreibens in Boehmen. Thus appeared the first of a long list of publications about the Slavonic alphabet.

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<sup>1</sup>V.Jagić, Entstehungsgeschichte..., p.132-133.

<sup>2</sup>Miklosich, F., "Glagolitisch", Allgemeine Encyklopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste in alphabetischer Folge von genannten Schriftstellern bearbeitet, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1858, Section I, part 68, p.403-422; V.Jagić, Entstehungsgeschichte...; Vondrak W., "Die slavischen Alphabete", Altkirchenslavische Grammatik, 2-nd. ed., Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912, p.49-73. These are three of the basic works concerning the history of Slavonic philology, with reference to palaeographical studies made prior to the twentieth century. Most of the information presented in this chapter is derived from

The Bohemian scholar G. Dobner published several articles dealing with the priority of the Glagolitic script under such titles as: Ueber das Alter der boemischen Bibeluebersetzung, Ob das heutzutage so genannte cyrillische Alphabet fuer eine wahre Erfindung des heiligen slawischen Apostels Cyrills zu halten sey, and others. He maintains that ever since the two alphabets were known, the Glagolitic system has always been regarded as the older; this was not due only because St. Jerome is said to have been its inventor, or because it was duly recognized in numerous Papal Bulls, but its rough features, which were so unlike any other script indicated an original alphabet.

Dobner does not perceive any originality in the Cyrillic alphabet. Anyone would notice its resemblance to the Greek letters of the ninth century. Only the Glagolitic alphabet stemming from the times of Pope John VIII and of Methodius displayed the real impression of antiquity such as novelty of form, and rawness in writing style which is found throughout the whole system. Dobner maintains that one looks in vain for all these traits of originality in the Cyrillic alphabet; yet there are other features favoring the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet. Its

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these basic or encyclopedic sources. Footnotes are given only where specific details, which transcend general data, are exposed.

name and the fact that Christianity came to the Cyrillic writing Russians a hundred years after its spread among Glagolitic writing Illyrians is also stated as evidence of its antiquity.

Dobner proceeds by mentioning an example of what is to him one of the oldest monuments of the Illyrians, a Psalter apparently dating 1222 and containing a reference to the original manuscript which was supposedly written in the time of an Archbishop Theodor of Salona and Pope John VIII during the ninth century. If the scribe of the extant manuscript, a certain Nicolas of Arbe is to be believed, his testimony would indicate that the Glagolitic alphabet stems from Methodius' time, i.e., it is the alphabet used by Cyril and Methodius.

The thought of a simultaneous invention of both alphabets seems impossible to Dobner. He maintains it would be unreasonable to invent the difficult and unknown Glagolitic alphabet if the easy and known Cyrillic existed.

The so-called Abecenarium (Abecedarium) Bulgaricum is another monument mentioned by Dobner as evidence of the antiquity of the Glagolitic alphabet. The document, held in the Paris Library, is cited as evidence that the Glagolitic alphabet was known not only in Moravia, Pannonia and Illyria, but also among the Bulgarians.

As far as the Jerome legend is concerned, Dobner treats it, especially the part about the authorship of the Glagolitic script, as pure conjecture. He explains the appearance of the legend as a means used by the Illyrian clergy to save itself from external persecution following a Papal prohibition of its use by Alexander II. In this manner St. Jerome became not only the author of the Glagolitic alphabet, but the translator of the Slavonic Bible as well.

Most of Dobner's views were strongly attacked by J. Dobrovsky in his publications Glagolitica, Institutiones linguae slavicae veteris dialecti, and in his correspondence with other Slavists such as Durich and later Kopitar. The inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet, according to Dobrovsky was an unknown Dalmatian, who wanted to shorten the Cyrillic script but kept the names of the letters of the original alphabet, and only changed the form. This new alphabet was then (at the beginning of the thirteenth century) called an invention of St. Jerome in order to gain recognition for its use in the Latin-Slavonic liturgy.

Dobrovsky's views regarding the Jerome legend were actually very close to those expressed by Dobner. In fact both of them considered the Church Council of Spalato (Split) 1061-72, at which Glagolitic letters were confused, and at which Methodius was called a heretic, as the starting point of the Jerome legend. Dobrovsky believes

that the authorities responsible for bringing about Glagolitic writing, had in mind also the political purpose of dividing the Latin and Byzantine rite Slavs. As the latter could claim St. Cyril as the inventor of their script, the Dalmatians made use of St. Jerome to boost their national pride.

Dobrovsky does not know of any Byzantine rite Slavs who would write in Glagolitic, but mentions the Papal Bull of 1248, in which Innocent IV permits Glagolitic writing for liturgical use. Actually, there were other instances of papal magnanimity in the thirteenth century as, when the so-called Red Russians were allowed to keep their Byzantine rite if they would come into union with Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The discussion about the 1222 Psalter is continued by Dobrovsky. The latter, commenting on the historical details of the Archdiocese of Salona, demonstrates that the time referred to by Nicolas of Arbe could very well be taken as the seventh century, a fact which would point to pre-Cyrillo-Methodian Slavonic liturgical translations. Even if the Psalter were copied from a previous text, there is no evidence pointing to a Cyrillic or Glagolitic original.

Dobrovsky also rejects the antiquity of the *Abecenarium Bulgaricum*, as appraised by French Benedictine

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<sup>1</sup>Miklosich F., Op. cit., p. 410, col. 2.

monks. The latter were not able, according to the Czech scholar, to establish the age of a Glagolitic manuscript; and as a firm supporter of the priority of the Cyrillic script, he places the Glagolitic Abecenarium somewhere in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. In his correspondence with Dobrovsky, Durich suggests that Glagolitic symbols could perhaps be derived from Germanic Runes, a hypothesis which later had quite a number of followers; Dobrovsky, however, does not believe this is the case.

A later correspondent of Dobrovsky, B. Kopitar at first shared the views of the Czech scholar. One of Kopitar's main interests was to find out how the Cyrillic script was introduced into Russia. Kopitar's letters also deal with the Abecenarium Bulgaricum, which he held as more antiquated than did Dobrovsky. As far as the Psalter of Nicolas of Arbe is concerned, Kopitar believes the author of this manuscript would certainly have mentioned it, if he had transcribed from the Cyrillic. Dobrovsky, however does not change his stand about the priority of the Cyrillic writing. (As Jagić has pointed out, the 1222 Psalter of Nicolas of Arbe is of no paleographical value since it is a falsification).<sup>1</sup>

The discovery of the Glagolitica Clozianus threw new light on the question regarding the priority of one of

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<sup>1</sup>Jagić V., Entstehungsgeschichte..., p.139.

the Slavonic alphabets. Kopitar now maintains that if the Glagolitic alphabet is not older than the Cyrillic, it is at least as old as the latter. But his stand on the question of the priority is not quite clear. On one hand, he presumes that the Glagolitic script was invented, not by St. Jerome, but still prior to St. Cyril, and on the other hand he states that probably Methodius invented the Glagolitic alphabet.

Kopitar spricht die Vermuthung aus, die glagolitische Schrift sei zwar nicht vom heiligen Hieronymus, jedoch schon vor dem heiligen Cyrill erfunden worden...vielleicht habe Methodius selbst die glagolitische Schrift erfunden ad vitandam graecizantis alphabeti cyrilliani inter Latinos invidiam.<sup>1</sup>

Kopitar's views come under discussion in the correspondence between Šafařík and the Russian scholar Vostokov. The latter, anticipating the publication of the Glagolitica Clozianus, writes that he would like to know the bases of Kopitar's claiming Glagolitic priority. Vostokov accepts the possibility of its existing as early as the tenth century but not earlier.<sup>2</sup>

Šafařík, however, strongly opposes the Glagolitic priority. He declares that as long as he had an understanding of history, he would never agree to Kopitar's

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<sup>1</sup>Miklosich F., op. cit., p.412, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafařika, Prague Czech academy of Arts and Sciences, 1928, Vol.II, p.953.

hypothesis, that the Glagolitic alphabet was as old or older than the Cyrillic, and that Methodius compiled the Cyrillic alphabet in Karantania and translated the liturgical books with the help of Latin monks after St. Cyril's death. Šafařík continues, saying that the Glagolitic alphabet may have been devised in the middle of the eleventh century in Dalmatia after the Cyrillic alphabet was condemned by three different Church Councils at Salona, but from the middle of the eleventh century to 855 is quite a difference in time.<sup>1</sup> In another letter Šafařík remarks that Kopitar's new view is that Glagolitic writing is directly derived from pagan old Slavonic Runes.<sup>2</sup>

Among Šafařík's many works was his study on Slavonic Antiquities, where he mentions the activities of Cyril and Methodius in several places. Commenting on the history of Moravia, he discusses the deeds of the two brothers among the Slavs in Byzantium and in Bulgaria. The year 855 is given as the date of the invention of the alphabet by Cyril; the baptism of Boris of Bulgaria is discussed, and the spreading of the Slavonic liturgy (between 855 and 862) to the borders of Moravia, which led to Rastislav's demand for missionaries, is also mentioned. Šafařík bases his views on the writing of Chrabr and Serbian chronicles. He stresses the Greek character of the Cyrillic script also

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<sup>1</sup>Korespondence..., p.954.

<sup>2</sup>ibid., p.956.

taking Armenian and Coptic influences into consideration (the front and back jers were supposed to be based on Armenian prototypes).

Šafařík's studies continue very intensively during the fourth and fifth decade of the nineteenth century. In one of his works, Rozkvět slovanské literatury v Bulhasrku, he concedes that the Glagolitic writing is older than he had believed, while being of Dobrovsky's opinion. In another one, Bhled na prvověk hlaholskeho pisemnictvi, he reviews the problem from the standpoints taken by Dobrovsky and Kopitar up to the newest discoveries (made by the Russian Grigorovič), and also comments on various old monuments. He also remarks with reference to the short version of the Vita Clementis, that perhaps the Glagolitic script is derived from the Bishop of Velica. In Pamatky hlaholskeho pisemnictvi, in his remarks to the reader, he writes that he would like to revise the whole Glagolitic question.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the above mentioned works Šafařík shows signs of having second thoughts about the age of the Glagolitic script, although he does not say so formally. In his search for new evidence, he comes upon the so-called Glagolitic Fragments of Prague. What amazes Šafařík is that the two folia contained clear traces of Bohemian influence,

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<sup>1</sup>Jagić V., Entstehungsgeschichte..., p.185.

i.e., that they must have been written somewhere in the Bohemian-Slovak linguistic area. They displayed old paleographic characteristics and in content were related to the liturgy of the Oriental rite.

This seemed to prove that the Glagolitic script, which had been considered to have spread only through the South-Western Balkan peninsula, was known in the sphere of Old Moravia. Since there was little possibility that the Fragments could have come from Russia through Poland, neither from the South, the conclusion had to be made that these remnants of Glagolitic writing dated from the times when it was still in use in Moravia. This could only have occurred during the days of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples, when their work was not yet completely suppressed.

The next step in Šafařík's study of the problem of the two Slavonic alphabets was the publication of his, Ueber den Ursprung und die Heimath des Glagolismus. This work clearly shows a rapprochement to the views of Kopitar. In the introduction, Šafařík remarks that his view about the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet corresponds to that held by Kopitar in 1833. He tells those who wonder why he opposed Kopitar for so long, that the latter came to the truth more through conjecture than by conclusions resulting from certain premises or proven with decisive facts. Šafařík formulates his own results in three points: I. The

Slavs had no script of their own to write books with.

2. The script invented by Cyril was a new one with new symbols and not those used in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin.

3. Since Cyril invented the Glagolitic alphabet the Cyrillic must be derived from Clement.<sup>1</sup>

In 1858, Miklosich wrote an article about the Glagolitic alphabet in the Ersch-Gruber Encyklopaedia. In this article, the Glagolitic alphabet is called the older of the two Slavonic alphabets, but the scholar adds:

Like all human discoveries, thus also the invention or better the arrangement of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabet is not the work of one man and of a single consideration but it is the solution brought about by many men through numerous trials and a great length of time.<sup>2</sup>

About the origin of the alphabet, Miklosich states that the inventor would not possible have robbed all the available alphabets for his own use. (Šafařík said that the Glagolitic alphabet was derived from the Phoenician, Hebrew, Samaritan, Aramaic, Palmiranic, Ethiopian and Gallic alphabets). More than is believable the explanation is to be found in the older Greek.

After retracing the ideas of Dobner, Dobrovsky, and Kopitar, Miklosich gathers all the evidence which stands for the greater age of the Glagolitic alphabet.

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<sup>1</sup>Šafařík P.J., Ueber den Ursprung und die Heimath des Glagolismus, Prague, S. Tempsky, 1858, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Miklosich, op. cit., p. 407.

This is stated very clearly in the ten following points:

1. Some Glagolitic letters seem original and serve as bases for their Cyrillic counterparts. The most striking are č, b, ž, and ju. 2. Several Glagolitic letters are open towards the left hand side, whereas the Cyrillic, Gothic, and Latin letters are turned towards the right; the left sided forms probably stem from the times when men wrote from the right side to the left (Glagolitic k, o, and e are given as examples). 3. The order of the Glagolitic letters is used for the numerical values, whereas the Cyrillic alphabet retains the Greek numerical values. This is possible only if one departs from the Glagolitic order. (The Glagolitic system did not require the special koppa and sampi signs to denote 90 and 900 respectively). One finds that Cyrillic scribes used Glagolitic values in the newer script, i.e., l instead of i for 50, i instead of o for 70, c instead of e for 900, č instead of a plus a diacritical sign for 1000. 4. The Coptic alphabet consists of Greek and Egyptian letters, as the Gothic alphabet consists of Greek and Runic letters; the non-Greek parts of these alphabets are taken from native alphabets which express the sounds of the new written language, which are not to be had in the Greek letters. The Cyrillic alphabet, like the Coptic and Gothic, supplemented the Greek symbols with the older native Glagolitic alphabet. 5. A great number of Cyrillic manuscripts which were transcribed from the Glagolitic, contain single

letters or whole passages in Glagolitic writing. 6. There exist palimpsests written in Cyrillic on top of the erased Glagolitic; cases with the opposite have not been found. 7. Glagolitic monuments have older words and grammatical forms than the Cyrillic ones. 8. Glagolitic monuments have quite a few words understandable only in the Slovenian-Pannonian language, i.e., Pannonisms. The same words are said to prove that the language of the oldest liturgical texts was originally the language of Pannonian Slovenes. 9. The disciples of Methodius travelled south-ward taking with them the Slovenian script. It is possible that, had they used the Cyrillic, they would later turn to the Glagolitic? Not likely. But in the lands of Haemus where the Greek influence was greatly felt, it was natural to change from the Glagolitic to the Cyrillic. This reform is ascribed to St. Clement. 10. In the Glagolitic monuments many mistakes in translation are found; these are seen less and less in later Cyrillic copies.<sup>1</sup>

Miklosich concludes that Cyril is the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet. His answer to the objection why Cyril did not prefer the simpler and better known Greek alphabet seems to contradict his earlier statements.

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<sup>1</sup>Miklosich F., op. cit., p.412-413.

That he did not do so, this certainly has a more valid base than the presupposed search for the unusual, which was not one of his characteristics. This base can hardly be sought in anything else except that the Slovenes themselves already possessed this alphabet.<sup>1</sup>

He further adds that one thinks about the semi-vowels and the nasal vowels, and one is amazed at the Grammarian Constantine, and one will find less strange the view regarding an old alphabet which was cultivated long ago by the Slovenes and which with the passing of time became more complete and less strange.<sup>2</sup>

As the question of the priority of the Slavonic alphabets became more and more crystallized, the attention of the scholars was focused on the question of the origin. Since the Greek uncial origin of the same letters in the Cyrillic alphabet have never been disputed, the greatest attention was given to the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet and those letters in the Cyrillic which were not taken from the Greek uncial.

Among the most important attempts made to explain the origin of the Glagolitic writing was I. Taylor's Ueber den Ursprung des glagolitischen Alphabets; the same theory is repeated in another work of his, the Alphabet. Taylor maintains that neither the Germanic Runes, nor the Phoenician alphabet give a satisfactory explanation about the

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<sup>1</sup>Miklosich F., op. cit., p.414.

<sup>2</sup>ibid., p.415.

origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, or the non-Greek uncial Slavonic letters. He notes the very close relation between the two Slavonic systems especially as to the "number order names, and powers of the characters"<sup>1</sup>, and finds that the chief difference is in their form. Thus, he comes to the conclusion that both alphabets must have developed during the same age and from the same sources.

As far as the priority of the two alphabets is concerned, Taylor believes the Glagolitic alphabet to be older, for the reason that the Slavs would never have used "such a clumsy script as the Glagolitic"<sup>2</sup>, had they been aware of the existence of the "superior" Cyrillic alphabet. He takes Chrabr's account of an unsystematized alphabet, used by the Slavs before Constantine, as being the Glagolitic alphabet. He also notes that certain letters, i.e., ŷ and Ź, were borrowed from one another. This last point makes it doubtful, that, were these letters borrowed from the Cyrillic, more of them would not also have been made use of. There is no argument against Cyril's borrowing them from the Glagolitic alphabet to represent the sounds not expressed by the Greek letters. Also the content of the Glagolitic manuscripts compared with that of the oldest Cyrillic manuscripts show older linguistic features.

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<sup>1</sup>Taylor I., The Alphabet, London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883, Vol. II, p.202.

<sup>2</sup> ibid.

Taylor states that they probably both derived from the Greek - the Cyrillic from the ninth century Greek uncial and the Glagolitic from a somewhat earlier cursive.<sup>1</sup> In a set of two tables he compares the Greek letters taken from manuscripts dated from the sixth and seventh centuries, with Glagolitic letters. Taylor attempts to overcome the difficulty that arises in comparing the Greek cursive with the Glagolitic characters by suggesting that, by 'squaring' and by 'uncializing' the cursive symbols, these would become prototypes for the Glagolitic characters.<sup>2</sup> The Glagolitic and ninth century Greek minuscule can then easily be taken as prototypes for the Cyrillic alphabet.

V.Jagić's interpretation of the origin and chronological priority of the Slavonic alphabets is often compared to that of Taylor. At least as far as the Glagolitic alphabet is concerned, they both derive it from the Greek. But when Taylor remarks that its prototypes are the Greek cursive letters from the sixth and seventh century, Jagić maintains that the Glagolitic letters are based on the Greek minuscule of the ninth and tenth century. As far as priority is concerned, they also differ, for Taylor considers the Glagolitic alphabet a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian

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<sup>1</sup>Taylor I., "Ueber den Ursprung des glagolitischen Alphabets", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1880, Vol. V, p.192.

<sup>2</sup>Taylor, I., The Alphabet, p.205.

script, whereas Jagić believes that Cyril invented the Glagolitic alphabet.

The two basic works of Jagić concerning Slavonic paleography are written in Russian, i.e., Četyre kritiko-paleografičeskie stat'bi of 1884, and the third volume of the Encyclopedia of Slavonic Philology, published in St. Petersburg, 1911. In the latter work, under the title Glagoličeskoe Pismo, he writes about the research, the manuscripts, and the paleographical development of the Glagolitic writing. On thirty-six tables all the possible variants of Glagolitic symbols are given.

The above mentioned two works are the ones where Jagić specifically studies the problems of Slavonic paleography. Many other aspects of Old Church Slavonic writing have been described in his voluminous works found in the Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, and other publications. The Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache (2-nd. ed.) which reviews the studies made both of the script and of the language, stresses the research made by Šafařík in which that scholar gradually accepted the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet.

The theory of Jagić regarding Slavonic paleography is strongly connected to the question of the origin of the language spoken by Cyril and Methodius and their immediate disciples. On the bases of the oldest extant manuscripts, it was found that this language was replete

with Bulgaro-Macedonian features. Although many linguistic changes may have occurred from the times of the first Slavonic writing to that of the extant manuscripts, the Bulgaro-Macedonian features are now taken as a criterion for the earliest written Slavonic language.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, most of the Western European Slavists adhered to the final conclusions of Šafařík referring to Constantine as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet. This position was greatly strengthened by further research and publications. The great authority of Jagić, as well as the appearance of new monumental discoveries were instrumental in the founding of a strong school of thought, known under the names of Taylor-Jagić, to which such men as A. Leskien and P. Diels belonged.

## II

MAIN THEORIES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE SLAVONIC  
ALPHABETS DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN ENGLISH,  
FRENCH, AND GERMAN SCHOLARLY WORKS.

The two problems of the origin and chronological priority of the two Slavonic alphabets are so closely inter-related that they can not really be divided from one another; for, any discussion about the origin will sooner or later touch on the chronological priority and vice versa. The study of the origin will contain more statements of facts, whereas in the next section more time will be spent in analysing these facts.

This chapter will deal first of all with the inventor or inventors of the Slavonic alphabets, and then with a study of the main sources favoring the Greek and the Latin origin of the Slavonic (Glagolitic) alphabet. This will be followed by a review of the hypotheses favoring other sources but mainly the Slavonic origin of the alphabets, and of the hypotheses regarding the Glagolitic alphabet as an alphabet without a past. Finally, the hypotheses regarding the origin of the Cyrillic alphabet will be discussed.

As has been seen in the previous chapter, the origin of the Slavonic alphabets has been sought in many sources. The Hebrew, Armenian, Albanian, Latin, Phoenician, and Greek alphabets even the Runes and many other writing systems, have been suggested with more or less supporting

evidence. Many of these hypotheses have been refuted, but not all of them have been forgotten completely. Thus, during the twentieth century, we see their reappearance in scholarly literature with new evidence and arguments and sometimes under a different aspect.

Even the theory proposed by the noted Slavist Jagić which dominated the field at the turn of the century and which to a certain extent is still dominant today, did not remain unopposed. Some even considered it useless to discuss the development of the Glagolitic alphabet through a greater period of time, if St. Cyril is accepted as its inventor. Others, again, suggested that since there are no irregular jumps in nature, therefore alphabets were always the result of the work of many generations and credit for their invention can not be given to one man alone. However, the fact of Constantine's missionary work cannot be rejected.

As has been mentioned in the first chapter, Constantine-Cyril will always be the central figure in any study about the Slavonic alphabet. Although most scholars (considered in this paper) agree that Constantine's invention was, what today is known as the Glagolitic alphabet, the agreement is by no means unanimous. It might also be mentioned at this point that the authors reviewed in this study are not all paleographers, but also linguists, specialists in the study of writing systems, historians, and

scholars concerned with Slavonic philology in general.

For instance the historian Dvornik states;

Constantine-Cyril...set to work to invent a specific alphabet to express all the significant features of the Slavic language and he brought this alphabet, - known as Glagolitic - to the Moravians....<sup>1</sup>

or in a footnote,

the specialists are now almost unanimous in accepting the thesis that the alphabet invented by Cyril was Glagolitic and not the alphabet used today by Orthodox Slavs, which is called Cyrillic.<sup>2</sup>

Lunt says, "in 863 Constantine the Philosopher worked out a new alphabet",<sup>3</sup> as well as,

the dispute about the alphabet invented by Constantine continues, with nothing really new to invalidate the very strong arguments in favor of Glagolitic.<sup>4</sup>

According to Auty, "before his departure Constantine composed an alphabet (složī pismena) and began to translate the Gospel into Slavonic,"<sup>5</sup> and further on,

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<sup>1</sup> Dvornik F., The Slavs Their Early History And Civilization, Boston, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1959, p.84.

<sup>2</sup> Dvornik F., "The Significance of the Missions of Cyril and Methodius, Slavic Review, Seattle, University of Washington Press, June, 1964, Vol. XXIII, no.2, p.197.

<sup>3</sup> Lunt H.G., The Orthography of 11th Century Russian Manuscripts, Ann Arbor, University Microfilms Inc., 1962, p.1.

<sup>4</sup> Lunt H.G., "Beginnings of Written Slavic", Slavic Review, Seattle, University of Washington Press, June, 1964, Vol. XXIII, no.2, p.216.

<sup>5</sup> Auty R., Handbook of Old Church Slavonic II, London, University of London, The Athlone Press, 1960, p.2.

the statement in the Vita Constantini that St. Cyril composed an alphabet is confirmed and supplemented by a number of other early testimonies....Although there is much that remains obscure in the study of these questions, there is widespread agreement that the alphabet invented by St. Cyril to take to the Moravian Slavs was the now called Glagolitic.<sup>1</sup>

Matejka is of similar opinion:

The oldest documents of the Slavic literary culture indicate that the erudite philosopher Constantine-Cyril was both the creator of the Glagolitic alphabet and the first codifier of Old Church Slavonic.<sup>2</sup>

Ševčenko, although not mentioning St. Cyril by name, gives him credit for inventing the Glagolitic alphabet:

Provided we do not quibble too much over defining the terms 'invention' and 'creation' the view which at present has most to recommend it is that the Glagolitic alphabet was the invention of a single individual...<sup>3</sup>

A prominent French Slavist, A. Vaillant states:

"The most ancient alphabet is the Glagolitic alphabet invented by Constantine,"<sup>4</sup> and in another article, "it would seem that one should never have doubted...that the

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<sup>1</sup> Auty R., op. cit., p.5.

<sup>2</sup> Matejka L., "The Beginnings of Slavic Literacy", Études Slaves et Est-Européennes, Montréal, Université de Montréal, 1963, Vol. VIII, p.161.

<sup>3</sup> Ševčenko I., "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission", Slavic Review, Seattle, University of Washington Press, June 1964, Vol. XXIII, no. 2, p.236.

<sup>4</sup> Vaillant A., Manuel du Vieux Slave, Paris, Institut d'Études Slaves, 1948, p.11.

Glagolitic alphabet was a personal invention of Cyril-Constantine."<sup>1</sup> Février, although not a Slavist, is of the same opinion:

In spite of the names which tradition attached to the ancient Slavonic alphabets, it well seems that the alphabet elaborated by Cyril has been that which is called Glagolitic and not that qualified as Cyrillic.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the German scholarly works also favor Cyril's authorship of the Glagolitic alphabet. Leskien, for example writes:

About him/Constantine/the sources only generally say that he set up a script for the Slavonic language, not which script for certain.<sup>3</sup>

However in his article, Zur glagolitischen Schrift, Leskien states quite precisely, "the creator of this script was Constantine (Cyril)..."<sup>4</sup> Trubetzkoy also expresses no doubt, "that the invention of an original alphabet (the Glagolitic) is really a work of St. Constantine-Cyril."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'Alphabet Vieux Slave", Revue des Etudes Slaves, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves 1955, Vol. XXXII, p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Février J.G., Histoire de l'écriture, Paris, Payot, 1948, p.430.

<sup>3</sup> Leskien A., "Zur glagolitischen Schrift", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1905, Vol. XXVII, p.161.

<sup>4</sup> Leskien, A., Grammatik der altbulgarischen Sprache, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1919, p.xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> Trubetzkoy N.S., "Altkirchenslavische Grammatik" Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 228, Vienna, 1954, Vol. IV, p.13.

According to Diels,

the description of Constantine's Life, chapter fourteen, speaks about his invention of the Slavonic script. Which script he invented is not mentioned. There was no need for mentioning it, for the author of the Vita may have known only one.<sup>1</sup>

Van Wijk remarks that he, "as is generally done nowadays, regards Cyril as inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet."<sup>2</sup>

Grivec interprets the invention of the alphabet as an achievement of several people, Constantine, Methodius and others:

Of decisive importance is the remark in the Vita Methodii that they/Constantine and Methodius/ while constructing the Slavonic letters and the Slavonic literary language, worked and prayed together with others of the same mind.<sup>3</sup>

The view regarding Cyril's invention of an alphabet has few opponents of any importance. (Hocij's interpretation of the question is seen further on). However, when we come to the question as to which of the two known Slavonic alphabets this referred, the agreement is no longer unanimous. The main trend makes the Glagolitic the alphabet of St. Cyril. Some say he invented both, while

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<sup>1</sup> Diels P., Altkirchenslavische Grammatik, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1932, p.20.

<sup>2</sup> Van Wijk N., Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache, Berlin und Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1931, Vol. I, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> Grivec F., Konstantin und Method, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1960, pp.58-59.

others stress the Cyrillic as his invention. Among the other names mentioned in connection with the creation of the Slavonic alphabets are St. Jerome the Church Father, a supposed inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet, St. Clement the Bulgarian Bishop of Ochrida, who is said to have adapted the Cyrillic alphabet, and Constantine the Presbyter, a contemporary of St. Clement.

Dvornik, passing over some of the historical events which led to the creation of the so-called Jerome legend, remarks, "whether he was willing or not Saint Jerome became the patron saint of the Slavonic liturgy."<sup>1</sup> Lettenbauer attempts to see the Jerome tradition under two aspects - one which makes the Church Father "the inventor and expander of the Glagolitic alphabet among the Southern Slavs",<sup>2</sup> which he rejects, and another, which on the basis of this tradition seeks only to prove that the Glagolitic alphabet existed already before the missionary work of the Thessalonican brothers and was used by a certain Bishop Virgil of Salzburg.<sup>3</sup> Lunt, speaking of a second Slavonic alphabet devised at the beginning of the tenth century, believes that

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<sup>1</sup> Dvornik, The Slavs..., p.176.

<sup>2</sup> Lettenbauer W., "Zur Entstehung des glagolitischen Alphabets", Slovo, Zagreb, Casopis Staroslavenskog Instituta, 1953, Vol. III, p.47.

<sup>3</sup> ibid., p.48.

its "inventor may well have been St. Climent a pupil of Cyril and Methodius."<sup>1</sup>

In recent works the name of Constantine the Presbyter has appeared in connection with the invention or adaptation of the Cyrillic alphabet. The Slovene scholar Grivec, discussing the so-called translations of the books in Bulgaria which took place around 893-894, mentions that Constantine the Presbyter based the Cyrillic alphabet on the Greek uncial and adapted the sound system of the Glagolitic alphabet.

He partly took over the symbols for Slavonic sounds which are absent in the Greek alphabet from the Glagolitic script, partly also imitated them in more or less changed form<sup>2</sup>

Tkadlečik also believes that it was Constantine the Presbyter who elaborated the Cyrillic alphabet.

It was probably Constantine of Bulgaria who was instructed to elaborate the new alphabet, strictly speaking the complementary letters.<sup>3</sup>

For those Slavists who are satisfied in attributing the creation of the Slavonic alphabet, at least the Glagolitic, to one man without recourse to some earlier

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<sup>1</sup> Lunt H.G., Old Church Slavonic Grammar, 2-nd. ed. the Hague, Mouton & Co., 1959, p.14.

<sup>2</sup> Grivec F., op. cit., p.170.

<sup>3</sup> Tkadlečik V., "Le Moine Chrabr et l'Origine de l'Écriture Slave", Byzantinoslavica, Prague, Institut Slave, 1964, Vol. XXV, p.89.

prototype, the search for the origin of the Slavonic alphabet ends with the names of Cyril, Jerome, Clement, or Constantine the Presbyter, and possibly some of their associates. However, quite a few scholars have expressed various views regarding the origin of the Slavonic alphabet, insofar as its derivation from one or more previously existing writing systems is concerned. One of the strongest schools of thought with regard to the origin of Slavonic writing, based both alphabets on the Greek script. It was proposed as we saw by I. Taylor and V. Jagić at the close of the nineteenth century.

Leskien discussing the Glagolitic script, maintains that it "is based on the Greek minuscule script of the ninth century, and this refers to all its component parts."<sup>1</sup> He elaborates on this view stating:

The whole system of the Glagolitic script and its correspondence with the Cyrillic makes it probable that both alphabets have the same origin. This can only mean that the Glagolitic is also derived from the Greek script.<sup>2</sup>

Leskien notes that two Greek scripts, the majuscule and the minuscule existed in the ninth century, the former being used for ornamental purposes, whereas the latter was employed in books, letters, and other manuscripts used in

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<sup>1</sup> Leskien A., "Zur glagolitischen Schrift", p.61.

<sup>2</sup> Leskien A., Grammatik der altbulgarischen Sprache, p.xxvii.

daily life. The difficulty, raised by the fact that some Glagolitic letters seemingly are not taken from Greek characters, is overcome by an explanation that this difference is due to certain changes in style of writing, and to combinations to which they have been subjected. The letters which pose the same problem in the Cyrillic script have in their turn been taken from the older Glagolitic alphabet.<sup>1</sup>

Jensen, writing about the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, states that the hypothesis deriving this alphabet from the Greek minuscule of the ninth-tenth century is the most probable. He repeats Leskien's views that the difficulty of recognizing the minuscule as the prototype of the Glagolitic alphabet lies in the fact that the minuscule was a cursive system, whereas the Glagolitic was uncialized and its characters were divided in the written form, contrary to the minuscule which was joined.<sup>2</sup>

Diels also believes that the Glagolica was borrowed from the Greek minuscule alphabet, at least he calls this view the prevailing one since it is rarely seriously contradicted. As for the weakness of this theory (the difficulty of finding a resemblance between some Glagolitic letters

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<sup>1</sup> Leskien A., Grammatik..., p.xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Jensen H., Geschichte der Schrift, Hannover, Orient Buchhandlung, Heinz Lafire, 1925, pp.188-189.

and their prototypes, as well as the explanation of simple letters derived from minuscule ligatures), he agrees that "such would then have been produced through a strong and intentional restyling."<sup>1</sup>

Trubetzkoy, again, maintains that Cyril based his Glagolitic alphabet on the Greek minuscule, which was used for ordinary writing purposes in his day. But, the creation of his alphabet can in no way be called a borrowing of the exact prototypes for the new alphabet he was devising, and his knowledge of many alphabets, enabled him to chose from several of them. However,

most obvious is the supposition that the script pattern, which must have been the most familiar alphabet to Constantine was the Greek minuscule of the ninth century.<sup>2</sup>

Even Minns still agrees to the Greek origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, but only with qualifications. He quotes Bruekner's theories that

Cyril first made Cyrillic using the natural basis of uncial Greek...and intending his creation for the benefit of the Slavs about Salonica. Afterwards when sent on a mission into a land where Greek influence was struggling with Latin he transformed the Greek letters to make them less suspect in Latin eyes.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Diels P., op. cit., p.19.

<sup>2</sup> Trubetzkoy N.S., op. cit., p.32.

<sup>3</sup> Minns E., "St. Cyril Really Knew Hebrew", Melanges Publies En L'Honneur De M. Paul Boyer, Paris, Institut D'Etudes Slaves, 1925, p.96.

Minns stresses the distinction between the terms 'transformation' and 'adaptation' in explaining the manner in which Cyril devised the Glagolitic alphabet.

The transformation is complete as regards general effect, but if one looks into individual letters the original often shows through: this is a very different thing from adapting a Greek writing already in use among the Slavs.<sup>1</sup>

But he does not agree that the Glagolitic script is derived from the Greek cursive or minuscule as proposed by Taylor and Jagić, saying that he finds the Glagolitic "unlike any sort of cursive Greek."<sup>2</sup> He also feels that "it is absurd to try and derive Glagolitic from the formal minuscule which was just coming in about the time of Cyril's youth."<sup>3</sup>

The theory of the Greek origin of the Slavonic Glagolitic alphabet is with certain modifications still supported by a great number of scholars. There is, however, a growing school of Slavists who sees the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet in the Latin writing system. The first indication of the usage of Latin letters is given in

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<sup>1</sup> ibid.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., pp.95-96.

<sup>3</sup> ibid., p.96.

Chrabr's treatise On Writing, where the author states that the Slavs at first had to write with Greek and Roman characters in an unsystematic fashion.

A very serious attempt to derive the Glagolitic alphabet from the Latin was made by Hocij who in his own way does not deny any connection between the Greek and Glagolitic alphabets, but agrees to this only insofar the Greek letters are similar to the Latin. He maintains that the difference between the Glagolitic and the Greek scripts is much greater than between the Glagolitic and the pre-Carolinian Latin letters. Even the symbol closest to the Greek delta, has a still closer relation to its Latin counterpart. Similarly as in the case of deriving the Glagolitic alphabet from the Greek, there are also difficulties in deriving it from the Latin. But Greek cursive characters do not provide an easier solution to the question of the origin of the Glagolitic system than do Latin letters.

Hocij maintains that Wessely, who previously attempted to derive the Glagolitic from the fourth-fifth century Latin, was misled by "certain similarities between Glagolitic and Roman cursive characters at the ebb of the Classical Age."<sup>1</sup> The old Latin forms presented by Wessely

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<sup>1</sup> Hocij M., "Die westlichen Grundlagen des glagolitischen Alphabets, Suedostdeutsche Forschungen, Muenchen, 1940, Vol. IV, #3-4, p.513.

are, according to Hocij, often inadequate in comparison with the Greek origin theories, and occasionally his opinion, that certain letters had to be derived from Latin prototypes, often seemed incoherent with regard to the other things he has to say.<sup>1</sup> Such authoritarian statements often impeded the studies in the same or similar direction.

Hocij studies the question not only paleographically but also takes the historical and cultural aspects under consideration. First of all after examining the form of each letter of the Latin alphabet, he takes special interest in the ornamental analysis of the script, and comes to the conclusion that the Glagolitic characters were derived from artistically designed forms. Taking care to differentiate between paleographical and ornamental aspects of the problem, Hocij delves into the historical background of the development of the script as well as its geographical territory. In the area where the Germano-Roman influences met with the Slavonic world, many attempts to Christianize the latter by the former are known to have been made for about two hundred and fifty years before the times of Cyril and Methodius.

Hocij does not accept the view that St. Cyril invented the Glagolitic alphabet, but states that Constantine found books in this writing and made use of it. Special attention is given to the facts which suggest the Latin

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, p.513.

bases of Glagolitic writing, as well as liturgical questions, such as excerpts from the Latin Vulgate, Germanic lexical elements, rules of confession as known in Carolinian times, and other kinds of prayer formulae dating back to the second half of the eighth century. The closest connection between the Glagolitic letter b is seen in a Latin uncial manuscript found in a monastery of Lorsch dated from the eighth century.<sup>1</sup>

Although Hocij has no absolute proof for it, he suggests that the possibility of the existence of pre-Carolinian Glagolitic liturgical material cannot be discounted, not if Chrabr's comment on the unsystematized use of Latin letters is taken into consideration. He reminds us of the fact that the theory of the Greek origin of the Glagolitic script did not come about at once, but its establishment took several decades.<sup>2</sup>

The accumulation of evidence in favor of Hocij's hypothesis is quite impressive. Such facts as the contents of the Kievan Folia which are based on a Latin Missal from the time of Gregory the Great, the translation of the Lord's Prayer from the Latin version, as well as the documented missionary work of the Latin Church among the Slavs, makes it difficult to deny altogether the possibility of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hocij M., op. cit., p.520.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.521.

existence of Latin prototypes of the Glagolitic alphabet. Hocij's comparison of Glagolitic letters with their supposed Latin prototypes is a most painstaking and conscientious work of nearly a hundred pages. It is a pity, however, that it is limited to twenty two letters, although as has been pointed out by Lettenbauer, Hocij also possesses in manuscript form a comparison of the Glagolitic letters which do not correspond to their Latin counterparts, but which are still explainable through Latin elements of writing.<sup>1</sup>

Hocij's hypothesis is continued under a different aspect by Lettenbauer. It is based on a cosmography, which contains an alphabet at the end, written by a certain Ethicus, but is also connected with St. Jerome who translated it into Latin. The edition containing the alphabet is ascribed to a Bishop Virgil of Salzburg, who lived in the middle of the eighth century. Many of the letters of this alphabet are said to be similar to the Glagolitic at least in its earlier form.<sup>2</sup> The cosmography, thus, gives further evidence in favor of Hocij's hypothesis.

Taking the above mentioned hypothesis in which the territorial base of the Glagolitic alphabet is said to be

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<sup>1</sup> Lettenbauer W., op. cit., p.47.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., pp.44-45.

the area where Franco-Roman influences met with the Balkan Slavs, i.e., Venetia, Istria, Lettenbauer sees no reason why Virgil of Salzburg should not have known and used the Glagolitic alphabet. Of course not all of the characters are recognizable due to the many processes of recopying through which the manuscript passed, but many of them are very similar. Calligraphic studies have shown that the most ancient known form of the Glagolitic alphabet was adapted to a cursive writing style. But here again, just as in the Greek origin theories, there arise difficulties in recognizing the similarity of some Glagolitic letters with their prototypes in the Latin alphabet. The solution suggested by Lettenbauer is that the derivation be sought in free invention and not in diverse alphabets, as taking š from Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

The Latin influence in the development of liturgical texts and other necessary church books among the Western and South-Western Slavs has really never been disputed, since the missionary works of Cyril and Methodius was to a certain extent a counteraction against those influences. Numerous studies have been made about the Franco-Roman Western Christian missions among the Slavs.<sup>2</sup> All of these

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<sup>1</sup> Lettenbauer, op. cit., pp.46-47.

<sup>2</sup> See bibliography in Zagiba F., "Die abendlaendischlateinischen Grundlagen der slavischen literarischen Bildungen vor und waehrend der Kyrillo-Methodianischen Zeit", Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch, Graz-Koeln, Institut fuer slavische Philologie an der Universitaet Wien, 1963, Vol. X, pp.86-108.

can only support the view favoring the Latin origin of the Slavonic Glagolitic alphabet. In the light of these facts, Zagiba interprets the Slavonic Apostles' main merit as being that of raising the Slavonic language from a barbaric to a liturgical language.<sup>1</sup>

In opposition to those scholars who held theories maintaining the origin of the Slavonic letters as deriving either from Greek or Latin symbols, there are others who claim that some native Slavonic alphabet served as prototype for the Glagolitic or Cyrillic alphabets. Just as the 'certy' and 'rézy' of the monk Chrabr gave food for thought regarding a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian alphabet, so the part of the Vita Constantini, chapter eight, in which Constantine's mission to the Khazars is discussed, led many Eastern European scholars to believe that here was a proto-Slavonic alphabet. But since this dissertation deals mainly with West European trends, it would seem that this is not the views outside the scope of this work. On the other hand, since a great number of articles appearing in French, English, and German reviews comment on the works written by supporters of a proto-Slavonic alphabet, the views of the latter are included here.

According to Tschernych, one first hears about the existence of a writing system among the Eastern Slavs in the

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<sup>1</sup> Zagiba F., op. cit., p.100.

middle of the ninth century. He interprets the passage dealing with Constantine's mission to the Khazars in the following manner: St. Cyril who became famous for the invention of the Old Slavonic alphabet travelled to the Khazars in Korsun in 860, where many Eastern Slavs who lived there had become Christians. It was there that he found two liturgical books, a Gospel and a Psalter, written in a Russian alphabet; these were probably written according to the old Russian language. It is also in Korsun that he met a man who could read these books and Constantine himself quickly learned to read the books written in Russian letters.<sup>1</sup>

Tschernych does not see anything unusual about Constantine's feat, since Cyril and Methodius knew the old Bulgarian language and because they were born Slavs. Although he cannot be more specific about the Korsun books, he maintains that the Gospel and Psalter texts which were copied in Russia in later years, must have been based not only on texts from the Balkans, but such texts must also have originated among the Eastern Slavs themselves.<sup>2</sup>

It must be stressed at this point that in regard to the passage in chapter eight of the Vita Constantini which

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<sup>1</sup> Tschernych P.J., Historische Grammatik der russischen Sprache, Halle, VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1957, p.25.

<sup>2</sup> ibid.

mentions the letters of Rust, a great number of scholars commenting on those letters describe them by a misnomer - Russian. Although such descriptions are incorrect in the light of historical facts, the faulty term Russian is used in this dissertation only in quotations or in paraphrasing of the expressions of scholars whose works are reviewed.

The Ukrainian scholar Ohienko spent much time in seeking to prove the Slavonic origin of the Glagolitic alphabet. Lettenbauer only mentions two of his works, i.e., Hlaholycja ne povstala z hrećkoho minuscul'noho piśma, and Povstannja azbuky j literaturnoji movy v Slov'jan. Lettenbauer calls the latter work (which states that the Gospel and Psalter mentioned in the eighth chapter of the Vita Constantini are said to form the base for Old Church Slavonic as well as the Glagolitic alphabet) a systematic presentation of a Russian theory about the origin of the Slavonic alphabet, and of the Church Slavonic language. Povstannja lays the bases which prove the existence of a script used by the Eastern Slavs prior to the Glagolitic alphabet, and this very script was instrumental to the formation of the latter. The references to the history of religion, culture, and ethnography made by Ohienko shed much light on the problem of the script, but his theories did not gain the support of Western Slavists.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lettenbauer W., op. cit., p.37.

Horalek, reviewing the work of Georgiev, Kiril i Metodij osnovopoložnici na slavjanskite literaturi, considers its author a follower of such scholars as Ohienko, who sought to establish evidence of a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian script, to be found in Bulgaria or in the Crimea. In both cases there were instances of Byzantine missionary activity necessarily connected with liturgical and therefore also literary work. Here again is mentioned the well-known part in the Vita Constantini where the Gospel and Psalter in 'Russian' letters is discussed.<sup>1</sup>

Georgiev believes that such an East Slavonic liturgical literature must have been written with Greek letters some of which were especially adapted for the needs of Slavonic sounds. These characters formed a certain proto-Cyrillic script, the majority of whose symbols were later made use of by St. Cyril when he established the Glagolitic alphabet. This latter script made by Cyril formed, according to Georgiev, an original and distinct alphabet.<sup>2</sup>

Horalek, however is not in favor of a proto-Cyrillo-Methodian alphabet, be it based on Latin or Greek letters. Neither does he share Georgiev's certainty, that

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<sup>1</sup> Horalek K., "Zum Verhaeltniss der Kyrillica und Glagolica", Die Welt der Slaven, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, Vol. III, p.232.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.233.

the future would see the discovery of new proto-Cyrillo-Methodian monuments written in a proto-Cyrillic alphabet.

The interpretation of the so-called Russian letters (which more precisely should be termed letters of Rus<sup>6</sup>) in the Vita Constantini has been given by a number of Western European scholars. One of the first to comment on this part of the Vita was Vaillant, who in his short article, Les "lettres russes" de la vie de Constantine, remarks that the "letters" were definitely of a sacred language and used by a Christian nation. By eliminating the people of Rus<sup>6</sup>, Slavs, Scandinavians, Goths, and Franks, he concludes that this sacred language must have belonged to the Syrians. It is explained as a scribal mistake where the letters in the first syllable have been exchanged from sur<sup>6</sup>-skymi to rus<sup>6</sup>-skymi.<sup>1</sup>

Although Vaillant disclaims the possibility of the so-called Russian letters being Gothic, because they would have been mentioned in chapter sixteen of the Vita Constantini, there were some scholars who believed the 'letters' were in fact Gothic. For example, Liewehr maintains that rus<sup>6</sup>k<sup>6</sup> originally meant belonging to the Ruotsi, in other words denoting the term Varangian, Viking, or Norman in the adjectival sense. These letters existed at the time of Constantine's mission, and since the only Germanic Gospel

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "Les 'lettres russes' de la vie de Constantine," Revue des Etudes Slaves, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1935, Vol. XV, pp.75-76.

and Psalter were those based on Ulfilas' translation, these then must have been the so-called Russian texts.<sup>1</sup>

One of the richest bibliographical sources on the subject is found in a review by Gerhardt. Among several possibilities regarding the meaning of the so-called Russian letters, the author lists the following: 1. Germanic, 2. Russian, and 3. a scribal interpolation of later years, but he chooses a fourth one, namely the suggestion of Vaillant, as the most plausible explanation of this much debated part in chapter eight of the *Vita Constantini*.<sup>2</sup>

A somewhat different interpretation of the so-called Russian letters is taken by N.A. Konstantinov, who, according to H. Humbach, attempts to prove the so-called Black Sea enigmatic symbols to be the prototypes of the Glagolitic script. Humbach rejects Konstantinov's hypothesis because of the lack of conformity between the symbols and the assumed corresponding sounds.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Liewehr F., "Wie Konstantin-Kyrill mit Wulfilas Bibeluebersetzung Bekannt wurde", Beitraege zur Namenforschung, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsverlag, 1952, Vol. III, p.290.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhardt D., "Slaven oder Syrer im alten Cherson", Beitraege zur Namenforschung, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsverlag, 1953, Vol. IV, pp.78-88.

<sup>3</sup> Humbach H., "Die sogenannte sarmatische Schrift", Die Welt der Slaven, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1961, Vol. IV, p.226.

Eckhardt also is highly critical of Konstantinov's hypothesis. He cannot comprehend how a vast number of un-systematized symbols can, without any intermediary stage, be simplified through mass reduction to the later Glagolitic characters.<sup>1</sup> Neither can he perceive the "inscriptions of several lines in which the symbols are repeated."<sup>2</sup> Since, according to Eckhardt, no deciphering of these symbols has occurred up to the present date, the first necessary step to come to an explanation of the so-called Black sea enigmatic symbols is an orderly classification, which then will provide ground for further study.<sup>3</sup>

As we have seen, three of the main trends in regard to the origin of the Slavonic Glagolitic alphabet are directed to Greek, Latin, and proto-Slavonic background. But there are still a number of scholars who cannot totally, if they can at all, agree with any of the above mentioned views. Minns, who regards the creation of the Slavonic alphabet as a process whereby St. Cyril established the Cyrillic script from the uncial Greek, and later transformed it into the Glagolitic alphabet, very strongly attacks the 'evolutionary alphabetics' of Jagić, Taylor, and their

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<sup>1</sup> Eckhardt T., "Theorien ueber den Ursprung der Glagolica", Slovo, Zagreb, Casopis Straroslavenskog Instituta, Vol.XIII, p.106.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., quote from Konstantinov.

<sup>3</sup> Eckhardt T., op. cit., p.109.

supporters. By the 'evolutionary alphabets' he must mean the hypothesis of the derivation of the Glagolitic alphabet from the Greek cursive or minuscule, and especially the use of ligatures in explaining the pattern on which the Slavonic (non-Greek uncial) letters are based. By emphasizing that 'St. Cyril really knew Hebrew', Minns does not come out with something really new; his difference with the school of Taylor-Jagić is, that the Slavonic alphabet was based not only on the Greek but also on others, that is, in this case on the Hebrew letters, particularly ע, צ, and ש.<sup>1</sup>

But Minns is not the only one who sees difficulties in the attempts by Taylor and Jagić to derive the Slavonic alphabet from the Greek letters. Even the authors of the Greek origin theories were aware of the difficulties, and their supporters placed more and more stress on the transformation process in explaining the Glagolitic characters. This is done by Leskien; it is also repeated by Diels who states that the Taylor-Jagić theory of the Glagolitic origin is generally accepted, but other views should not be totally discarded.

Diels maintains that the origin of the letter š is explained much easier through Oriental alphabets than by the Greek minuscule. Not only is there no resemblance between some Glagolitic letters and their Greek counterparts,

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<sup>1</sup> Minns E., op. cit., p.97.

but the principle of Greek ligatures, which are supposed to be the prototypes of simple Glagolitic letters, is also hard to accept.<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking, Diels sees quite a difference between the Glagolitic and the Greek writing systems, and though he still repeats the well known phrase about a strong and purposeful transformation, according to Vaillant,<sup>2</sup> he is more skeptical about it.

A diversified view of the origin of the Slavonic writing can usually be found in textbooks dealing with the Slavonic languages such as the one by Entwistle and Morison.<sup>3</sup> Reviewing the problems of the Slavonic alphabets, the question is asked whether the author of the Slavonic script took hints from other alphabets besides the Greek one. Since Constantine was familiar with Biblical books, it is suggested that he therefore was familiar with the Hebrew alphabet. The Armenian and Syrian languages heard on the streets of Constantinople must also have been useful when it came to develop a new Slavonic writing system. It is possible that the letters ś and ć came from the Hebrew, that the Armenian alphabet had such letters as dz, ž, and je/e, and that such ligatures as št, and šč or the nasal vowel a could be found

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<sup>1</sup> Diels P., op. cit., p.19.

<sup>2</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.9.

<sup>3</sup> Entwistle W.J., and Morison W.A., Russian and the Slavonic Languages, London, Faber and Faber, 1949, pp.60-70.

in the Avestic alphabet. Even though no one is certain what letters were borrowed from which alphabets, it is obvious that the Slavonic alphabet is remarkably different from the Greek.<sup>1</sup>

To Rahlfs, the difficulties are not sufficiently explained by stylistic transformation. In a short article about the origin of the Glagolitic script, he found fault with a quotation by Leskien, where the latter supports the Taylor-Jagić theory on the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, specifically with the tables on which the Glagolitic characters are compared with their supposed Greek cursive or minuscule counterparts. He points out that a distinction must be made between the sixth-seventh century cursive and the ninth-tenth century minuscule. The distinction is lacking or not sufficiently stressed in most explanations of the Greek origin of the Slavonic alphabet.

Taylor's tables are totally unreliable as examples of prototype bases for the Glagolitic alphabet, according to Rahlfs. The supposedly sixth-seventh century Greek cursives are symbols used either in different centuries or previously (before Taylor invented them) non-existent. ("Man kan Taylor den Vorwurf nicht ersparen, dass, er sie/the symbols/sich fuer seinen Zweck konstruiert hat.")<sup>2</sup> He later calls

<sup>1</sup> ibid., p.66.

<sup>2</sup> Rahlfs A., "Zur Frage nach der Herkunft des glagolitischen Alphabets", Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Sprachforschung, Goettingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1912-

Jagić's tables somewhat more reliable but nevertheless not exact reproductions, which at times display added features not found in original manuscripts. These tables also show no similarity between the Greek minuscule and the Glagolitic, with the exception of the letter delta, but a single similarity in an alphabet consisting of several letters is meaningless and a theory based on such evidence must be considered invalid.

This strong attack against the Taylor-Jagić theory regarding the origin of the Slavonic letters, seems to have the support of the French scholar A. Vaillant and the American Slavist H. Lunt. The opinions of both can be considered as the starting point of a certain trend in the study of the origin of the Slavonic alphabets. According to this hypothesis, the invention of the Glagolitic alphabet was a deed attributed to St. Cyril alone, or with the aid of his immediate companions.

Thus, Vaillant after declaring that the Glagolitic alphabet was the invention of St. Cyril, states, that since it was created in its entirety for a new and sacred purpose, it therefore cannot resemble any previous alphabet, except, perhaps, that some inspiration was derived from Hebrew from which the letter š was borrowed.<sup>1</sup> He contends that the scholars of the nineteenth century were too busy seeking the

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Vol. XLV, p.286.

<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., Manuel du vieux slave, p.21.

origin of the Slavs to be able to be satisfied with "a simple alphabet without a past."<sup>1</sup> This search for the past of the Glagolitic alphabet, says Vaillant, led to a variety of hypotheses, none of which were satisfactory.

Lunt repeats Vaillant's ideas about the Glagolitic writing system being an alphabet without a past. He consents that perhaps Methodius helped Cyril in his invention of the Glagolitic letters. He indicates, however, that even though it may display similarities to the different forms of Greek, Coptic, and other scripts, it is nevertheless "different from all extant alphabets," and is an alphabet created by one man. Lunt sees no sense in trying "to trace the gradual development of various letters from other symbols in other alphabets."<sup>2</sup>

The originality of the Glagolitic alphabet is also stressed by the Slovenian scholar Grivec. He states that the similarity of the Glagolitic writing symbols with various alphabets is vastly exaggerated, otherwise it were impossible to present such a number of differing hypotheses. Accepting the existence of some similarities, he points out that this relation is only coincidental. He also mentions the admirable phonetical system and the artistic graphic features of the Glagolitic alphabet, and compares the refinement of this

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Lunt H.G., Old Church Slavonic Grammar, p.14.

writing system to the unsuccessful search for its origin for more than a century by scholars of great stature, who sought to prove its dependence on various other alphabets.<sup>1</sup>

Eckhardt also sees no sense in attempting to derive Glagolitic letters from any existing alphabet, but for those who still seek its origin in such a manner, he suggests that the prototypes of eight Glagolitic letters can be recognized in the Cretan Minoan script (turned sideways).<sup>2</sup> Eckhardt is more inclined to trust the reports of the biographies which point to Constantine's authorship of the Slavonic letters.<sup>2</sup>

The derivation of the Cyrillic letters, unlike those of the Glagolitic, is limited to those absent from the Greek uncial. For the scholars who maintain that the non-Greek uncial letters of the Cyrillic alphabet are derived from the Glagolitic script, the question of the origin of the former becomes one of time and manner. To those, who like Bruekner and Minns claim that the alphabet first created by Constantine was the Cyrillic one, the problem of the non-Greek uncial letters becomes as real as that of the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, and again, with perhaps the exception of the letter š, the possibilities are numerous. However, most of the works explored within this study display a definite trend in favor of the non-Greek

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<sup>1</sup> Grivec F., op. cit., pp.177-178.

<sup>2</sup> Eckhardt T., op. cit., p.102.

uncial letters' origin being found in the Glagolitic alphabet.

Thus, Jensen calls the Cyrillic letters a new alphabet taken from the Greek minuscule script together with borrowings from Glagolitic symbols, and ligatures.<sup>1</sup> According to Diels, there was never much doubt about the Cyrillic script's origin from the Greek uncial, however, a number of letters expressing sounds not found in the Greek uncial but similar to Cyrillic characters, are part of this alphabet of which some, especially ѣ, ѝ, and џ, are most similar to their Glagolitic counterparts, and therefore are most likely to be explained as derived from the Glagolitic alphabet.<sup>2</sup>

Trubetzkoy also believes that the non-Greek letters of the Cyrillic alphabet can be derived from the Glagolitic script.<sup>3</sup> As a specialist in phonology, he takes note of the fact that the values of the letters have undergone changes since the time of their original use; and he also believes that it is quite possible that some changes could have occurred in the form of the letters. Since no Cyrillic manuscripts have been found which could be dated earlier than the inscription of 993 on a tombstone by Tsar Samuel, there could be no certainty as to the forms of the first Cyrillic alphabet, or the number, or value of its letters.

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<sup>1</sup> Jensen H., op. cit., pp.190-191.

<sup>2</sup> Diels P., op. cit., p.20.

<sup>3</sup> Trubetzkoy N.S., op. cit., p.13.

For example, the letter derv, which is not found in early Cyrillic manuscripts, but which is seen in the later ones, and is a letter of the Glagolitic alphabet, may or may not have been part of the original Cyrillic alphabet.

Trubetzkoy presents his own theory on how the non-Greek Cyrillic letters were derived from their Glagolitic counterparts. This transformation he divides into two classes: the first, which changed without turning the letters around, consisted of the symbols š, št, č, ž, and ju, the second class, consisting of letters turned around, was divided into two subsections, one where the letters were fully turned as is b, and c, and the other where the letters were turned only halfway and then simplified as the letters z, l, e, o, and jo.<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the ě is not clear to Trubetzkoy. He sees some similarities with the Glagolitic letter a but can not explain the loop at the bottom. The above is just part of Trubetzkoy's explanation of the derivation of the non-Greek Cyrillic letters from the Glagolitic alphabet. Though it does not fully explain all features of the letters discussed, it certainly is one of the more novel interpretations of the problem.

In our study of the origin of the Slavonic alphabets a number of trends have been established. This fact in

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<sup>1</sup> Trubetzkoy, op. cit., p.39.

itself signifies that the origin of the Slavonic alphabet is still a problem to be solved, unless one is satisfied to make the Glagolitic alphabet an alphabet without a past. In that case most of the credit for its invention will go to St. Cyril and his associates.

On the other hand, it is very difficult to dismiss altogether the cultural influence of a superior civilization on neighbouring tribes or nations. Constantine and Methodius, as is known from their biographies, ranked high in the intellectual and administrative circles of the Byzantine Empire. It would be unreasonable to say, that they would ignore their cultural heritage in their missionary work among the Slavs. Though it is difficult to accept Kulbakin's claim that "a nation does not invent an alphabet but borrows it from another nation in whose area of civilization it finds itself",<sup>1</sup> one cannot dismiss the views of such scholars as Matejka who maintains that,

the general cultural theories which neglect the available evidence in the preserved records cannot seriously challenge the conclusion about the beginnings of Slavic literacy as they were formulated by the rigorous school of Jagić and re-interpreted by the school of Trubetzkoy.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.25, quote.

<sup>2</sup> Matejka L., op. cit., p.161.

Even the view of Vaillant is not totally unreconcilable to Jagić's theories. It acknowledges that the letters may have been taken from Oriental prototypes, "la glagolite était l'oeuvre d'un orientaliste qui connaissait au moins l'alphabet hébreu."<sup>1</sup> This does not exclude the Greek alphabet. But as Eckhardt states, the search for Glagolitic prototypes is almost unlimited as far as alphabets are concerned.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.8.

<sup>2</sup> Eckhardt T., op. cit., p.102.

## III

MAIN THEORIES CONCERNING THE CHRONOLOGICAL PRIORITY OF THE  
SLAVONIC ALPHABETS DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN ENGLISH,  
FRENCH, AND GERMAN SCHOLARLY WORKS

This chapter, reviewing the difficulties involved in the question of the priority, will deal with the numerical symbols as a factor in the solution of the problem. It will then provide an attempt to shed some light on the meaning of Constantine's authorship of an alphabet. Then, the treatise of Chrabr will be studied in connection with the question of priority; and later, the opinions of Slavists who propose a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian<sup>script</sup> will be reviewed. Finally, the problem of the so-called clearer script insofar as the time of its establishment is concerned, will be considered.

As we have seen from the previous chapter, the two Slavonic alphabets are very closely related. In fact they have so much in common that some Slavists call them, the conscious creation of the same mind, while others: "deux écritures, mais un seul alphabet."<sup>1</sup> If we accept Brueckner's view that the whole Moravian mission was a Byzantine plot of camouflaged infiltration into what was at that time the Latin sphere of influence, it is difficult to explain that after only about twenty five years' use the Glagolitic

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave," p.7.

alphabet flourished in Bulgaria where there was no need to disguise it, and where the Cyrillic letters (at least the Greek ones) were known among the educated classes.

It is very unlikely that anyone familiar with the relatively simpler Cyrillic script would use the cumbersome Glagolitic system. The calligraphical superiority of Cyrillic writing over Glagolitic is an historical fact which would suggest that the latter system (in order to have entrenched itself firmly to compete with a simpler script) must have been in use for quite some time before the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced.

Anyone studying the Slavonic alphabets cannot but wonder at the interdependence of the two writing systems and the many similar features (phonetic value, names, and order of letters) they possess. Leskien and many of the so-called Taylor-Jagić school hold that both alphabets are derived from the Greek script.

Brueckner, who is rather critical of Constantine's work, believes in the possible priority of the Cyrillic alphabet and takes the Glagolitic system only as a temporary measure. He also maintains that Methodius on his death bed spoke of the Glagolitic alphabet as superfluous.<sup>1</sup> Minns, who

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<sup>1</sup> Brueckner A., "Thesen zur Cyrillo-Methodianischen Frage", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906, Vol. XXVII, p.97.

supports Brueckner's view, is not quite certain whether on the failure of the Pannonian mission the Cyrillic had already been used in the Balkans or whether it was resurrected by someone.<sup>1</sup>

The attempts to point out a certain person as the inventor of the Cyrillic script have not really been successful, as far as Jagić, Leskien, or Diels are concerned. In later works, however, there is a tendency of giving Constantine the Presbyter credit for elaborating the Cyrillic alphabet. Whoever the person or persons may have been, the new writing soon displayed much more vitality than the Glagolitic.

In determining the chronological priority of one of the Slavonic alphabets, the system of numerical values used in written texts and its misuse is of great importance. In general, it can be said that the Cyrillic alphabet follows exactly its Greek counterpart. On the other hand, the Glagolitic seems to be quite independent in its numerical values. Not only have the Cyrillic letters the same numerical values as the corresponding letters as the Greek alphabet, but the non-Greek letters are expressly omitted as numerical functions. This is certainly not the case with the Glagolitic numerical system, where the order of the letters corresponds to the order of the numbers, at least

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<sup>1</sup> Minns E., op. cit., p.97.

insofar as the units, tens, and hundreds are concerned.

One of the first articles considering the Slavonic numerical system in relation to the chronological priority of one of the two alphabets was written by Jagić just at the turn of the century. Commenting on the differences between the two alphabets, in connection with the numerical order, Jagić considers the hypothetical case in which the Cyrillic alphabet is said to be formed prior to the Glagolitic. Since the Cyrillic alphabet followed its Greek pattern so closely that it even adopted the letter dz, and th, in the units, without any phonetical need whatsoever, but only to equalize them with the Greek, Jagić asks, what could have caused the author of the Glagolitic alphabet later to depart from the Greek numerical system. Such a course of action seems irrational to the scholar, both because the Glagolitic alphabet derives from the Greek and also because both Slavonic alphabets follow the same order of characters. But, Jagić maintains, it is much more logical to consider the Glagolitic alphabet the older, and that the Cyrillic was the one that changed not only the original forms but also the numerical values.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jagić V., "Einige Streitfragen #5, Welcher von den zwei slavischen Schriften soll die Prioritaet zuerkannt werden?", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901, Vol. XXIII, pp.114-115.

The fact that the Cyrillic numbers are those of the Greek numerical system is of importance only in relation to the Glagolitic values, and insofar this relationship provides an indication as to the priority of one of the alphabets. As Vaillant states, the best evidence for the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet, taking both Slavonic numerical systems into consideration, is the fact that both in the lectionaries and in the menologies the Glagolitic numerical system has been retained in Cyrillic transcriptions.<sup>1</sup>

In an article about the Hexameron of John the Exarch, H. Jaksche points to at least two places where the Glagolitic numerical system has been used, by writing the Cyrillic letter corresponding to the numerical value of the Glagolitic symbol, within a Cyrillic text. In one case the Cyrillic e whose numerical value is five is used for the Glagolitic e whose value is six; and the Cyrillic m whose value is forty is used for the Glagolitic m, whose value is sixty.<sup>2</sup> Since it seems unlikely that the Hexameron was first written in Cyrillic, later transcribed into Glagolitic, and still later into Cyrillic again, Jaksche's findings must be considered evidence of the priority of Glagolitic writing.

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.18.

<sup>2</sup> Jaksche H., "Glagolitische Spuren im Sestodnev des Exarchen Johannes", Die Welt der Slaven, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, Vol. III, pp.139-140.

Tkadlčik, however, has a different interpretation of the changes that occurred within the numerical system, as the scribes began to use the clearer script. He maintains, it is quite possible that the Glagolitic numerical system was still used at the beginning of Cyrillic writing. He considers this theory, which had previously been proposed by Karsky, quite feasible because of the many so-called scribal mistakes. At least the first generation of scribes writing in the new script faithfully continued to use the Glagolitic numerical system within the Cyrillic script. This is the only way, he believes, that one can explain the Glagolitic numerical system used in the works of the great writers of the Preslav school as John the Exarch's Hexameron.<sup>1</sup>

Both the numerical values and the sequence of the Slavonic letters are noted in the so-called abecenaria (abecedaria) and acrostic prayers.<sup>2</sup> Of the two oldest extant abecenaria, the abecenarium of Bulgaria is dated between the tenth and twelfth century and contains a series of Glagolitic letters with Latin names, the abecenarium of Munich shows both alphabets, the Glagolitic on top of the Cyrillic and dates from between the eleventh and twelfth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Tkadlčik V., op. cit., pp.90-91, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> Trubetzkoy N.S., op. cit., p.16.

The oldest and most important alphabetical poem was written by Constantine the Presbyter in the last decade of the ninth century. It is an imitation of a famous Greek acrostic by Gregory of Nanzianus written in twelve syllable verses of which there are thirty six, one for each letter and a four line address to the Holy Trinity. Although the poem has been found only in Cyrillic manuscripts, "it preserves the same sequence of numerical values attached to the Glagolitic alphabet."<sup>1</sup> Grivec, commenting on the acrostic, agrees that Constantine the Presbyter was its author, even though he was also responsible for elaborating the Cyrillic writing system.<sup>2</sup>

A study of the initial letters in the verses of the acrostic show the expected double i and o corresponding to the Greek iota, ita, omicron, and omega, but the doubling extends even to such letters as l, p, š, and x; a third i also appears.<sup>3</sup> The normal interpretation of this fact can either be, that the redundant letters must have been inserted by scribes who were not familiar with the words they were transcribing from the Glagolitic, or that the letters stood for the names of other letters never used in initial positions of Slavonic words, or that such letters were

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<sup>1</sup> Matejka L., op. cit., p.162.

<sup>2</sup> Grivec F., op. cit., p.169.

<sup>3</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.12.

completely unknown to the scribe.

According to Vaillant, the letter l stands for the Glagolitic letter deru. The redundant initial letters š and i, following immediately after, are said to be the letters standing for the two jers (š širokž, and i malž), represented respectively by the initial letter in šestvuju and the second letter in imeni. As for the letters x, and p, they cannot satisfactorily be identified with the Glagolitic alphabet as their value in the Bulgarian and Munich abecenaria do not coincide.<sup>1</sup>

In the previous chapter, the invention of the Slavonic system of writing was attributed mainly to St. Cyril. But, when the alphabet was devised is not exactly clear. For instance Lamanskij, who calls the data in the Pannonian Legend, that the script was established in 863, a later insertion in the Vita Constantini by a patriotic scribe from Moravia or Pannonia, tries to prove that Constantine invented his alphabet in 855.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", pp.14-18. The interpretation of Trubetzkoy, op. cit., p.16, onward, is not elaborated here. It suffices for the purpose of this research, that both Vaillant and Trubetzkoy agree that the acrostic was originally written in Glagolitic by Constantine the Presbyter.

<sup>2</sup> Lamanskij V., "Vita Cyrilli" (Kritische Bemerkungen), in abbreviated form, Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905, Vol. XXVIII, pp.167-168.

Brueckner also criticizes the supporters of a sudden appearance or invention of an alphabet, and maintains that Cyril used his script long before the arrival of the Moravian embassy at the court of the Byzantine emperor. He would like to know how an alphabet, whose symbols expressed the finest distinctions and nuances of the Slavonic sound system, and which was at the same time quite distinct from those of all other languages, could be termed the result of a few days' work, and not what it really was, the work of centuries. He maintains that, had the alphabet been established as a consequence of Moravian demands, the linguistic features present in the Moravian dialects would have been taken into consideration. However, the oldest extant manuscripts are replete with Bulgarian linguistic features.

In a later statement, which is quoted by Minns, Brueckner seems to contradict himself: "er hat auch vielleicht das cyrillische Alphabet zuerst erfunden."<sup>1</sup> If he really first invented the Cyrillic alphabet and only disguised or transformed it into the Glagolitic, it is difficult to explain Brueckner's earlier statement, that the alphabet developed during a long period of time, i.e., it took centuries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Brueckner A., op. cit., p.219.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.198.

But Brueckner's theory of the priority of the Cyrillic alphabet (if it can be interpreted this way) is not the prevailing viewpoint about Constantine's alphabet. The school of Jagić, Leskien, Diels, and Trubetzkoy definitely attributes the invention of the Glagolitic alphabet to Constantine, but does not maintain that both alphabets were created by one and the same person. However, this does not mean that they are blind to Brueckner's describing an alphabet created overnight or within a few days, an absurdity. In fact, Leskien finds it impossible for Cyril to have created it on being notified of his future mission to Moravia. Like Brueckner, he regards the invention of the alphabet as a refined piece of work in which the Slavonic sounds are well represented, and which provides means by which fine differentiations can be made within the Slavonic phonetic system. In the light of this evidence, Leskien considers Cyril's invention a work which consumed a relatively long period of time.<sup>1</sup>

The problem in regard with the priority of one of the two Slavonic alphabets is that the sources mention only one of them. Diels suggests, it is possible that the author of the Vita was not aware of a second writing system. The fact that Glagolitic Slavonic writing was known not only among the Southern Slavs who were directly under Byzantine

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<sup>1</sup> Leskien A., Grammatik der altbulgarischen Sprache, p.xx.

influence, but also among Slavs familiar with the Latin rite leads Diels to conclude that this was the script of Constantine, Methodius, and their disciples. The fact that Cyrillic writing is found among those Slavs who came into the Byzantine sphere of influence makes this writing younger than the Glagolitic.<sup>1</sup>

Diels does not share the view of Brueckner and Leskien about the enormity of the task of creating an alphabet so well adapted to the expression of Slavonic sounds. Instead of finding the task unequal to one man, he seems to find the style or form of the Glagolitic letters peculiarly similar, that one would suspect this to be the work of one man, i.e., of Constantine. And if there were earlier attempts to write in Slavonic (the use of the Greek minuscule is considered immaterial), no evidence of such writing has been produced.<sup>2</sup>

Vaillant also ascribes the invention of the Glagolitic alphabet to Constantine alone. He maintains that no one among the Orthodox Slavs has ever attempted to dispute this, even though Cyrillic came to substitute Glagolitic, and he proposes his theory of an alphabet without a past. This was the Glagolitic, the primitive alphabet of Cyril-

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<sup>1</sup> Diels P., op. cit., p.20.

<sup>2</sup> ibid.

Constantine, the Apostle of the Slavs.<sup>1</sup>

Since Cyril created the symbols of the Glagolitic alphabet, he therefore did not borrow them from a previously existing alphabet. Vaillant denies all possibility of historical or paleographical continuity, as proposed by the school of Jagić. Admitting however, that the human mind does not create from nothing, Vaillant states that Constantine must have made use of his considerable education when creating his new alphabet.<sup>2</sup>

In the solution of the question of the priority of one of the Slavonic alphabets, the polemics of Chrabr must be taken into consideration. Jagić is quoted to have said, that on the base of Chrabr's article he cannot decide about which writing the monk speaks.<sup>3</sup> Lamanskij attempts to fix the date (given by Chrabr) of Cyril's invention of the Slavonic alphabet as 855 (calculated according to the Byzantine system by subtracting 5508 from 6363).<sup>4</sup> Under this system of calculation, Constantine would have had about eight years time during which he could test his writing system (Lamanskij also implies that Cyril brought

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.8.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.25. Grivec's view regarding the originality of the Glagolitic alphabet was given in the previous chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Abicht R., "Das Alphabet Chrabrs", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910, Vol. XXXI, p.210.

<sup>4</sup> Lamanskij V., op.cit., p.168.

Slavonic books with him on his Khazar mission), and improve on it before leaving on his important Moravian mission. This longer period of time in the devising of the Slavonic alphabet has been accepted by Abicht and those scholars who deemed the traditional reports, about Constantine's achievement somewhat exaggerated.<sup>1</sup>

This was a part of the biographies with which Brueckner found fault, although he was speaking about the Cyrillic alphabet which he considered the earlier one. His interpretation of Chrabr's Defense, is that the monk's polemics were directed at those who tried to force his own (Glagolitic writing) party to use the Cyrillic alphabet. The Greeks, who many scholars believed were the target of Chrabr's writing, according to Brueckner were not involved at all in this purely Slavonic dispute.<sup>2</sup>

According to Abicht, Chrabr was the spokesman for the pro-Glagolitic party in Bulgaria, who had to defend the superiority of their script saying that neither 'bog' nor 'život' could be written correctly with Greek letters. To this the opposing party is said to have replied that the Glagolitic alphabet contained superfluous letters such as derv, and št. And since Chrabr could not really deny this, he answered that the Glagolitic had as many letters as the

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<sup>1</sup> Abicht R., op. cit., p.217.

<sup>2</sup> Brueckner A., op. cit., p.220.

Greek alphabet. Abicht believes that at this point, someone saw the possibility of finding a solution which would be a compromise between the Greek and the Glagolitic alphabets, by leaving out the derv and making use of the ŷt, and by transforming the necessary letters from the Glagolitic alphabet. This person made a new alphabet similar to the Greek uncial and fulfilling the requirements of the Bulgarian dialect.<sup>1</sup>

Tkadlečik generally repeats Abicht's interpretation of Chrabr's dispute but his views are presented much more precisely. He states that the party opposing Chrabr wanted to use Greek uncial letters without the symbols needed to express Slavonic sounds. This party is said to be headed by the monarch, Symeon and his court officials and nobles.<sup>2</sup>

Another aspect in regard to Chrabr's treatise is the dating of his work. Most of the comments are based on the remark - 'because those who have seen them are still alive.' To Abicht, this phrase refers back to the authors of the alphabet.<sup>3</sup> Lamanskij illustrates the same point by referring to a Viennese manuscript of Russian origin dated 1549 in which Constantine is called holy, whereas Methodius is only named bishop of Moravia. The Russian scholar

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<sup>1</sup> Abicht R., op. cit., p.217.

<sup>2</sup> Tkadlečik V., op. cit., pp.83-88.

<sup>3</sup> Abicht R., op. cit., p.210.

concludes that this statement can only mean that Methodius was still alive at the time Chrabr was writing, or that the monk was not yet aware of the Bishop's death.<sup>1</sup> Vaillant takes Chrabr's phrase literally and calculates the date of the treatise between 910-920 at the latest.<sup>2</sup> Tkadlčik maintains Chrabr's polemics were written at the latest in 893, immediately before the elaboration of the Cyrillic alphabet, and that this elaboration was due mainly to the monk's writing.<sup>3</sup>

As far as the identity of Chrabr is concerned both Grivec and Tkadlčik are of the same opinion that it was Naum, a disciple of Cyril and Methodius and a close collaborator of Clement of Ochrida.<sup>4</sup> Of the three most important disciples of Cyril and Methodius, Naum has the greatest claim to the authorship of the anonymous treatise On Slavonic Letters, for he remained a simple monk, whereas Clement and Constantine the Presbyter became archbishops.<sup>5</sup>

Still another passage in Chrabr's apology is his mentioning of a possible pre-Cyrillo-Methodian writing of Greek and Latin letters without any system. This allusion

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<sup>1</sup> Lamanskij V., op. cit., p.168.

<sup>2</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.13.

<sup>3</sup> Tkadlčik V., op. cit., p.89.

<sup>4</sup> Grivec F., op. cit., pp.171-172.

<sup>5</sup> Tkadlčik V., op. cit., p.89.

to Greek and Latin alphabets has long been a stimulus to those scholars who seek to find the origin of the Slavonic alphabet in the writing systems used by the two most prominent cultures adjacent to the Slavonic nations.

The usage of Latin letters is an interpretation that merits some attention, but the main difficulty of this hypothesis is the lack of evidence of such writing. As was mentioned above, Hocij does not believe that Constantine invented the Glagolitic alphabet, and accordingly he maintains that the passage in the biography of Constantine which is usually interpreted that God appeared to Constantine, should in fact be read that God revealed some Glagolitic books to him. The existence of Glagolitic literature at that time could then be taken as evidence of a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian Glagolitic script.

In order to prove his hypothesis, Hocij takes the phrase, 'sę jemu Bog javi', in the fourteenth chapter of the Vita Constantini, and states that if in the text the term 'se' appeared instead of 'sę', the whole phrase would have an altogether different meaning. Instead of meaning, 'then God appeared to him', it would read 'God revealed this to him'. And furthermore, since according to Hocij, 'books' were mentioned previously in the passage, the object of God's revelation must have been the 'books' of which Cyril was in great need. Since the term 'se' is found in many manuscripts, Hocij wonders why nobody interpreted it as a

demonstrative pronoun.<sup>1</sup>

As further evidence for his theory, Hocij quotes from the *Vita Methodii* (chapter five), which states that God revealed books to Cyril ("and God then revealed to the Philosopher Slavonic books, and soon having constructed the script and composed a sermon, he set out...")<sup>2</sup>, but which the scholars like to translate as 'letters'.

The Latin origin of the Glagolitic script is at least possible in the light of the massive missionary work, by Latin churchmen among the Western Slavs, which took place two to three hundred years before the activities of Constantine and Methodius in Moravia. If Hocij's hypothesis is to be accepted, some further explanation about the 'books', their authors, readers, appearance, and territory of origin is desirable.

Since the time of I. Taylor, a great amount has been written, about a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian Cyrillic alphabet, by E. Georgiev, a follower of Karskij. In his works on the beginning of Slavonic writing in Bulgaria, and on Slavonic writing before Cyril and Methodius, Georgiev attempts to prove the priority of the Cyrillic script, which developed gradually from the Greek alphabet, in Bulgaria. Georgiev regards the Glagolitic alphabet an invention of Constantine,

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<sup>1</sup> Hocij M., op. cit., pp.515-516.

<sup>2</sup> ibid., p.516, translation of Hocij's quote.

but an alphabet established on the base of the Greek uncial was already in use before Constantine invented his own alphabet, and it was from this pre-Cyrillo-Methodian alphabet that he derived the symbols necessary for Slavonic sounds. This proto-Cyrillic writing later co-existed with its Glagolitic counterpart and in the end replaced the latter almost completely.<sup>1</sup>

Vaillant, however, does not agree with Georgiev's views. He argues that literary men, if such existed among the Slavs before Constantine, must have written in a cultural and literary fashion. Thus the Bulgarians wrote in Greek, and the Moravians in Latin. And Chrabr's evidence, to which Georgiev refers to support his hypothesis, applies only to informal attempts 'without rules'. Chrabr definitely derides the use of the Greek alphabet in Slavonic, as there was in it no letter denoting the sound b, and so forth. But Georgiev infers that the Greek writing had served as prototype for the special Slavonic letters.<sup>2</sup>

On comparing the Cyrillic and Glagolitic alphabets, the same symbol for š definitely appears to be taken from the Hebrew, and this fact, according to Vaillant, is more likely to suggest as its author, the Orientalist Constantine, than some Bulgarian Slavs at an earlier time. Even among

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<sup>1</sup> Lettenbauer W., op. cit., p.38; Vaillant A., op. cit., pp.9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.10.

the newly discovered inscriptions (one from Dobrudja dated 943 and the seal of the Bulgarian ruler Peter) listed in Georgiev's works as proof of the Cyrillic writing's distant past, none is dated from pre-Cyrillo-Methodian time;<sup>1</sup> and in the view of Western Slavists none is likely to be discovered. A more plausible explanation of the attempts of Byzantine and Latin missionaries to translate part of the liturgy into Slavonic, is that these translations were spread by word of mouth rather than in writing.<sup>2</sup>

Georgiev's view, that the so-called Russian letters in the well known passage of Constantine's biography should be taken as evidence of proto-Cyrillic writing, is also rejected. This was discussed in the previous chapter. It has been seen that other Slavists such as Ohienko, Tschernych, Konstantinov interpret the Rus' letters literally and try to prove the existence of a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian alphabet. If, however, some concrete evidence could be produced, the solution to the whole question of the priority of one of the two Slavonic scripts would have to be sought quite some time before the Moravian mission of 863. According to Horalek, the existence of a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian alphabet is even more difficult to prove than a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian Slavonic literature. He points out that after both Cyrillic

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<sup>1</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.10.

<sup>2</sup> Horalek K., op. cit., pp.234-235.

and Glagolitic writing was used side by side among the Slavs, they also wrote in Latin, Greek, and Arabic alphabets even though no specific new letters were made up to accommodate Slavonic sounds.<sup>1</sup>

None of the proto-Slavonic interpretations of the letters of Rus' have gained any particular acceptance among Western Slavists. As these 'letters' are said to belong to a non-Slavonic literature, and the pre-Cyrillo-Methodian hypotheses are dismissed through lack of concrete evidence, the question of the chronological relationship of the Cyrillic alphabet to the Glagolitic is studied insofar as the date of the appearance of the 'clearer' script is concerned. The Cyrillic writing is said to have replaced the Glagolitic with the development of the Bulgarian literary school of Preslav. This has been acknowledged by Georgiev, ("Erst in der bulgarischen Preslaver Literaturschule bildete sich die erste slawische Literaturschule kyrillischer Charakters heraus"),<sup>2</sup> who otherwise maintains the priority of the Cyrillic alphabet. While some Slavists claim that St. Clement of Ochrida devised the simpler script, others maintain it was Constantine the Presbyter.

According to Abicht the author of the new compromise alphabet (between Glagolitic and Greek uncial writing), was Clement of Ochrida (Velica). The same Clement is also

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<sup>1</sup> Horalek K., op. cit., pp.234-235.

<sup>2</sup> Georgiev E., op. cit., p.25.

supposed to have called the new alphabet, Cyrillic, in honor of the first inventor of the Slavonic alphabet. The same name was probably used to describe the original alphabet of St. Cyril which is now called Glagolitic. Clement's motive for calling the new alphabet Cyrillic is said to be in deference to the first author of Slavonic writing, whose symbols, especially those representing the Slavonic sounds were taken over, though in another form.<sup>1</sup>

Diels, who believes the new writing system came into being during the reign of the Bulgarian monarch Symeon (893-927), places the appearance of the Cyrillic script around the year 900 or shortly thereafter. He states that nothing is known about its inventor, but whoever supplemented the Greek letters must have had a reason for doing so. As Diels considers Glagolitic writing older than Cyrillic, the latter alphabet is seen as a substitute for the former, and the most likely region where this change occurred is in Bulgaria which after 870 had very close connections with the Greek, i.e., the Byzantine Church.<sup>2</sup>

Lunt, again, gives St. Clement credit for the invention of a 'less essoteric' alphabet. He states the change was made

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<sup>1</sup> Abicht R., op. cit., p.217.

<sup>2</sup> Diels P., op. cit., pp.20-21.

to make it easier for persons who already knew Greek (i.e., any educated Slav in Bulgaria) to learn write Slavonic, and to symbolize the close connection of Slavic and Byzantine Christianity.<sup>1</sup>

Lunt also mentions the ambiguous suggestions of an un-systematized use of Greek letters, the ordering of which might have been the sole work of its so-called inventor; on the other hand it might only have been "one of adaption, systematization, and popularization."<sup>2</sup>

Vaillant stresses the ambiguity of the passage in the short version of the Vita of St. Clement, saying that its author who wrote in the thirteenth century was too distant in time to know the facts. If a reform had taken place at all, Vaillant believes it must have been a minor one. It is certain that changes occurred in the form of both alphabets.<sup>3</sup>

Trubetzkoy who places the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet between 885-893 maintains that the original Glagolitic alphabet underwent great changes. Since most of the Slavs using the Glagolitic alphabet lived within the Latin sphere of influence, it was natural for them to use the angular 'Gothic' forms to write down the Glagolitic letters. This difference of style is easily noticed while

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<sup>1</sup> Lunt H.G., Old Church Slavonic Grammar, p.14.

<sup>2</sup> ibid. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", p.11.

comparing the so-called Croatian Glagolitic alphabet with the original rounder alphabet.<sup>1</sup>

In the solution to the problem of the priority of one of the two Slavonic writing systems, the opposition of Ochrida versus Preslav, or Glagolitic versus Cyrillic has been suggested. Such opposition is denied by Jaksche, who claims that John the Exarch wrote the Hexameron in Glagolitic,<sup>2</sup> as well as by Grivec who maintains that the change-over to the new script took place without antagonism between the supporters of the two systems. The Slovenian scholar states that this change occurred around 894, and that Constantine the Presbyter was responsible for introducing the new system.<sup>3</sup> Tkadlčik agrees with Grivec as to the date and author of the new script. However, he disagrees about the lack of antagonism between the supporters of the two writing systems, and he suggests that the struggle ended in a compromise between the Glagolitic letters and the unsystematized use of the Greek uncial. The result of this compromise was the Cyrillic alphabet.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Trubetzkoy N.S., op. cit., pp.14-15.

<sup>2</sup> Jaksche H., op. cit., p.139.

<sup>3</sup> Grivec F., op. cit., pp.165-170.

<sup>4</sup> Tkadlčik V., op. cit., pp.88-89.

## CONCLUSIONS

If the works taken into consideration are classified according to the decades in which they were published, one might say that during the first decade of the twentieth century the theories of the school of Taylor-Jagić (which held Cyril the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet, and the same alphabet based either on the Greek cursive or minuscule, and which claimed that Cyrillic was the younger script), were taken as the most logical interpretation of the problem of the origin and chronological priority of the Slavonic alphabets. Probably the most important voice of dissent against the Taylor-Jagić theories was that of Brueckner, who claimed that St. Cyril first created the Cyrillic alphabet and later replaced it by the Glagolitic for purposes of political expediency.

During the second decade of this century the Taylor-Jagić theories more or less had the support of Leskien and Vondrak. However, these theories were now strongly attacked insofar as the origin was concerned by Rahlfs, who accused Taylor and Jagić of basing their conclusions on non-existent and insufficient evidence. In this decade there also appeared Wessely's attempt to derive the Glagolitic alphabet from the Latin.

During the twenties, Minns, who still adhered to the possibility of the Greek derivation of the Slavonic letters, followed Brueckner's views rather than those of

Taylor and Jagić. Minns maintained that the Cyrillic alphabet based on Greek uncial and Hebrew letters was the first Slavonic alphabet created by St. Cyril and it was on this alphabet that the same inventor later based the Glagolitic.

In the thirties the school of Taylor-Jagić gained an important supporter in Diels whose almost encyclopedic Old Church Slavonic grammar not only reaffirmed most of the findings of the founders of the school, but also took into consideration the many difficulties and weaknesses in the Taylor-Jagić theories. It is also in the thirties that Vaillant published his interpretation of the letters of Rus' mentioned in the Vita Constantini, saying that the problem should be regarded as a scribal mistake where the original meaning was 'Syrian'.

Among the most important paleographical works published during the forties was Hocij's study on the Western prototypes of the Glagolitic alphabet. This meticulous study, which must be considered the strongest antithesis to the Taylor-Jagić theory, maintains that the Glagolitic characters were based on Latin pre-Carolinian ornamental letters. If this were the case, the Glagolitic script would definitely be older than the Cyrillic but Constantine would not be the author of the first Slavonic alphabet.

Hocij's new paleographical interpretation to the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet was continued in the fifties by Lettenbauer who took the alphabet, contained at

the end of a Cosmography dating from 770, to be the prototype of the Glagolitic writing system. However, the Taylor-Jagić school still found a supporter in Trubetzkoy whose Old Church Slavonic grammar published posthumously reaffirmed the view that Cyril based his Glagolitic alphabet on the Greek minuscule of the ninth century, and which stated that the Cyrillic letters were introduced between 885 and 893.

It was in the fifties that Vaillant proposed his theory of an alphabet without a past, a view which was shared by the American Slavist Lunt. Although in the studies on the letters of Rus<sup>s</sup> Liewehr and Gerhardt differed in their conclusions, both authors agreed that these letters were definitely not Slavonic.

During the first half of the sixties Eckhardt and Grivec gave their support to the theory earlier proposed by Vaillant in which the French Slavist indicates the originality of the Glagolitic script. Among the recent works by Grivec and Tkadlčík the date of the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet by Constantine the Presbyter was placed around the year 893.

Thus, although the trends are by no means unified, the interest in the problem has not died. On the contrary, the last fifteen years have brought a number of new works whose reassessment and deeper study has led to a more precise knowledge of the problem.

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Diels P., "Die altkirchenslavische Schrift", in Altkirchenslavische Grammatik, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1932, pp.19-52.

This section is devoted to the two Slavonic scripts, their components, pronunciation, auxiliary signs and diacritical marks. Every problem discussed here is supplemented with the most important bibliography. The author accepts Constantine as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet as well as its priority in regard with the Cyrillic.

Eckhardt T., "Theorien ueber den Ursprung der Glagolica", Slovo, Zagreb, Casopis Staroslavenskog Instituta, Vol. XIII, 1963, pp.87-118.

The author discusses the origin of the Glagolitic script in the light of the development of other writing systems. He comes to the conclusion that all alphabets were originally based on the Semitic script, and rejects the theory that the 'enigmatic Black Sea signs' served as a pattern for the Glagolitic script.

Georgiev E., "Ueber die Entstehung und den Urheber der glagolitischen Schrift", Zeitschrift fuer Slawistik, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, Vol. II, pp.17-25.

An article in which the author goes to great lengths to show that Constantine invented the Glagolitic alphabet. From the many arguments upholding Constantine's invention of the first Slavonic writing, it seems somewhat odd that the same author in his other works maintains the existence of an earlier proto-Cyrillic alphabet.

Grivec F., Konstantin und Method, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1960, p.271.

A history of the life and works of the two Slavonic Apostles and their disciples. One chapter is devoted to the problem of the development of Slavonic writing. It reviews the recent interpretations and provides an important bibliography.

Hocij M., "Die westlichen Grundlagen des glagolitischen Alphabets", Suedostdeutsche Forschungen, Muenchen, 1940, Vol. IV, no. 3-4, pp. 509-600.

A very meticulous research into the possibilities of the Glagolitic alphabet being derived from the Latin pre-Carolinian ornamental letters. Hocij denies Constantine's authorship of the Glagolitic writing system, and admits only that Constantine discovered Glagolitic books.

Jagić V., "Einige Streitfragen #5 Welcher von den zwei slavischen Schriften soll die Prioritaet zuerkannt werden?", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1901, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-121.

This article is devoted to the question of the priority of one of the two Slavonic alphabets. The antiquated linguistic character of the oldest extant Glagolitic manuscripts, as well as the particular numerical order of the Glagolitic letters are given as arguments for the priority of the latter.

Jagić V., Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache, 2-nd ed., Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1913, xii-540p.

A most extensive and complete history of the origin of the Old Church Slavonic language. The author presents a background which includes political and church history, ethnography, and linguistic studies of Old Church Slavonic, as well as the opinions of Slavists regarding these issues.

Leskien A., "Einleitung", in Grammatik der altbulgarischen Sprache, 2-nd. and 3-rd. ed., Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1919, p. lxx.

In this introduction to his Old Church Slavonic grammar, Leskien presents a condensed review of the history of Old Church Slavonic writing, taking into consideration most of the more important studies made prior to the publication of his text. Leskien in general supports the theories of Jagić regarding the origin and chronological priority of Slavonic letters.

Lettenbauer W., "Zur Entstehung des glagolitischen Alphabets", Slovo, Zagreb, Casopis Staroslavenskog Instituta, 1953, Vol. III, pp. 35-50.

An article discussing Hocij's theory of the Latin bases of the Glagolitic alphabet. Lettenbauer generally supports Hocij and suggests that a Cosmography containing letters similar to the Glagolitic, and written by a certain Ethicus - an eighth century bishop of Salzburg, is further evidence of the Latin derivation of the Glagolitic letters.

Miklosich F. "Glagolitisch", Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Kuenste in alphabetischer Folge von genannten Schriftstellern bearbeitet, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1858, Section I, part 68, pp.403-422.

A recapitulation of the more important studies made regarding the Slavonic and especially the Glagolitic alphabets. Miklosich presents ten arguments in favor of the priority of the Glagolitic alphabet, most of them taken from Šafařík's work about the origin and homeland of Glagolitic letters.

Minns E., "St. Cyril Really Knew Hebrew", Mélanges publiés en l'honneur de M.P. Boyer, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1925, pp.94-97.

An article suggesting that St. Cyril created both the Cyrillic and the Glagolitic alphabets. The former was created for the Slavs of Salonika and the latter was a transformation of the former to disguise its origin in territory under Latin influence. Minns also criticises the 'evolutionary alphabets' of Taylor and Jagić.

Rahlf's A., "Zur Frage der Herkunft des glagolitischen Alphabets", Zeitschrift fuer vergleichende Sprachforschung, Goettingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1912-13, Vol.XLV, pp.285-287.

One of the strongest criticisms of the Taylor-Jagić theories regarding the Greek origin of the Glagolitic alphabet. Rahlfs accuses both scholars of using as examples of Glagolitic prototypes, symbols that were either non-existent, or were copies from manuscripts of periods different than claimed.

Šafařík P.J., Ueber den Ursprung und die Heimath des Glagolismus, Prague, Verlag Tempsky, 1858, viii-53p.

The final version of Šafařík's many studies on the origin and homeland of Glagolitic writing. Šafařík comes to the conclusion that it was St. Cyril who invented the Glagolitic alphabet by using the symbols of a great number of other alphabets. Cyrillic writing was introduced by Clement.

Taylor I., "Ueber den Ursprung des glagolitischen Alphabets", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1880, Vol. V, pp.191-192, plus tables.

The origin of the Glagolitic alphabet is clearly seen in the sixth to seventh century Greek cursive by Taylor. The Cyrillic alphabet is derived from the ninth century Greek uncial. Both writing systems must have developed within a very short difference of time.

Taylor I., "The Slavonic Alphabets", in The Alphabet, London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883, Vol. II, pp.195-207.

Taylor notes the very close relationship between the two Slavonic alphabets. He repeats his theory as to the origin of the Slavonic alphabets, noted in the preceding entry. The unsystematized alphabet mentioned by Chrabr is said to be the Glagolitic.

Tkadlčik V., "Le moine Chrabr et l'origine de l'écriture slave", Byzantinoslavica, Prague, Slav Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 1964, Vol. XXV, pp.75-92.

A study of the Slavonic writing system in the light of Chrabr's treatise. The author maintains that the Slavs used Greek letters without special symbols expressing the Slavonic sounds before St. Cyril created the Glagolitic alphabet. The fearless Naum attacked the renewed use of the old system, and later the Cyrillic alphabet was introduced as a compromise by Constantine the Presbyter.

Trubetzkoy N.S., "Das Schriftsystem", in Altkirchen-slavische Grammatik, Vienna, Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1954, Philosophisch - historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 228, Band 4, pp.13-58.

An extensive study of the two Slavonic writing systems under the following headings: history of the alphabets, the Glagolitic alphabet (the symbols, use of the letters as sound signs, the origin of this alphabet, its style and development), the Cyrillic alphabet (symbols, diacritical marks and interpunctuation, graphical stress marks, and abbreviations, flow of graphic structure, and numeral symbols).

Vaillant A., "L'alphabet vieux slave", Revue des études slaves, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1955, Vol. XXXII, pp.7-31.

This article reviews the studies made on the two Slavonic alphabets. The author also gives his views on the abecenaria (abecedaria), the composition of the alphabet, the interpretation, form, and name of its letters.

Vondrak W., "Zur Frage der Herkunft des glagolitischen Alphabets", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1896, Vol. XVIII, pp.541-556; 1897, Vol. XIX, pp.167-188.

This article starts with a review of Abicht's, Ist die Aehnlichkeit des glagolitischen mit dem grusinischen Alphabet Zufall? After rejecting Abicht's hypothesis, Vondrak proceeds to enumerate the more important attempts at discovering the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet, and finally presents his own view regarding the problem. He stresses Samaritan and Hebrew influences.

Vondrak W., "Die slavischen Alphabete", in Altkirchenslavische Grammatik, 2-nd ed., Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912, pp.49-73.

Besides presenting an enumeration of the Slavonic letters, their numerical values, and their phonetic values, Vondrak recapitulates the studies of his predecessors regarding the origin and chronological priority of the two Slavonic alphabets.

II. Old Church Slavonic Grammars and other works with general reference to Slavonic paleography and allied studies.

Abicht R., "Das Alphabet Chrabrs", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910, Vol. XXXI, pp.210-217.

The author comments on the writing system used by the monk Chrabr in his treatise on Slavonic letters. The monk is said to be the spokesman of the pro-Glagolitic party defending his own system against a group trying to re-introduce the use of Greek letters alone.

Auty R., Handbook of Old Church Slavonic II, London, the Athlone press, 1960, x-148p.

In this introduction to Old Church Slavonic texts, Auty presents a historical background to Constantine's invention of the Slavonic alphabet. The editor enumerates some of the main arguments in favor of the priority of the Glagolitic script.

Entwistle W.J. and Morison W.A., "The Alphabet", in Russian and the Slavonic Languages, London, Faber and Faber, 1949, Vol. I, pp.60-70.

A study of the Slavonic writing systems - Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin - as well as a review of the origin, chronological priority, and phonetics is given. The authors, who accept Constantine's creation of the Glagolitic alphabet, try to suggest that its symbols were taken from a variety of oriental prototypes.

Février J.G., Histoire de l'Écriture, Paris, Payot, 1948, 608p.

A textbook on the history of writing. The Slavonic alphabets are discussed under the section describing alphabets derived from the Greek. The author of this text follows the school of thought which suggests Cyril as the inventor of the Glagolitic alphabet.

Gerhardt D., "Goten, Slaven oder Syrer im alten Cherson", Beitraege zur Namenforschung, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsverlag, 1953, Vol. IV, pp.78-88.

An article with rich bibliographical material. The author, discussing the question of the letters of Rus<sup>6</sup> in the *Vita Constantini*, takes Gothic, Slavonic, and Syrian writing into consideration as possible interpretations of the meaning of these letters. He finds the Syrian interpretation most plausible.

Horalek K., Zum Verhaeltniss der Kyrillica und Glagolica", Die Welt der Slaven, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, Vol. III, pp.232-235.

A review of Georgiev's Kiril i Metodij osnovopoložnici na slavjanskite literaturi; Horalek does not share Georgiev's optimism regarding the possibility of discovering new evidence of a proto-Cyrillic writing or epigraphy.

Humbach H., "Die sogenannte sarmatische Schrift", Die Welt der Slaven, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1961, Vol. VI, pp.225-231.

A review of Konstantinov's Černomorskie zagadočnye znaki i glagolica, whose author tries to link the enigmatic signs to the Glagolitic script. Humbach does not perceive these connections, claiming there is no evidence of sound nor of word symbols.

Jaksche H., "Glagolitische Spuren im Šestodnev des Exarchen Johannes", Die Welt der Slaven, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1958, Vol. III, pp.138-142.

In this article the priority of one of the Slavonic writing systems is studied on the basis of the Hexameron of John the Exarch. Pointing to Glagolitic traces in this manuscript, Jaksche comes to the conclusion that the Exarch must have written his original in Glagolitic.

Jensen H., Geschichte der Schrift, Hannover, Orient Buchhandlung, Heinz Lafaire, 1925, viii-231p.

A textbook on the history of writing. The author reviews most of the theories regarding the origin and chronological priority of the Slavonic alphabets and states that the majority of Slavists consider the Glagolitic alphabet the older of the two.

Leskien A., "Zur glagolitischen Schrift", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1905, Vol. XXVII, pp.161-168.

This article deals mainly with the phonetic values of the Glagolitic alphabet. In the introductory remarks, Leskien states that the Glagolitic alphabet was created by one man, i.e. Constantine, for the dialect into which he was to translate, and this alphabet is based on the ninth century Greek minuscule.

Liewehr F., "Wie Konstantin-Kyryl mit Wulfilas Bibeluebersetzung bekannt wurde", Beitraege zur Namenforschung, Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitaetsverlag, 1952, Vol. III, pp.287-290.

A short article about the letters of Rusŭ in the Vita Constantini; Liewehr attempts to derive the etymology of Rusŭ from the word 'Ruotsi', which would indicate a Nordic or Germanic origin, and refer back to the Gothic translation of the Gospel by Ulfilas.

Lunt H.G., "The Old Church Slavonic Writing System", in Old Church Slavonic Grammar, 2-nd. ed., The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1959, pp.14-23.

A very short account of the origin and chronological priority of the two Slavonic alphabets is given at the beginning of this chapter. Generally agreeing with the school of Jagić, Lunt nevertheless sees no point in tracing the 'gradual development' of the Glagolitic from earlier alphabets.

Lunt H.G., "The Beginning of Slavic Writing", in The Orthography of Eleventh Century Russian Manuscripts, Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms Inc., 1962, pp.1-9.

A historical background with regard to Slavonic literacy, which serves as introduction to a Ph.D. thesis. The biographical data about St. Cyril and Methodius and other historical sources referring to the introduction of writing among the Slavs are provided here.

Tchernych P.J., Historische Grammatik der russischen Sprache, Halle, VEB Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1957, 304p.

This is a translation from the Russian edition. Discussing the writing system of the Slavs, the author maintains that such a system existed in Russia before 988. He believes the letters of Rusŭ in the Vita Constantini attest to this; but he does not reveal which of the two Slavonic alphabets this pre-Cyrillo-Methodian writing was, nor whether it was an altogether different system.

Vaillant A., "Les 'lettres russes' de la Vie de Constantin," Revue des études slaves, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1935, Vol. XV. pp.75-77.

An interpretation of the letters of Rusŭ in the Vita Constantini. Vaillant believes that these letters must have belonged to some sacred language in order to have been used for the writing of the Gospel and other Church texts. After studying various possibilities he comes to the conclusion that the letters were Syrian, the first three letters being misspelled rus instead of sur.

Vaillant A., Manuel du vieux slave, Paris, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1948, 375p.

In the first chapter of this Old Church Slavonic text book, under 'orthographie', there is a section entitled 'alphabets', in which the author presents the basic notions about the two Slavonic writing systems. He mentions that the older, the Glagolitic alphabet was invented by Constantine.

Van Wijk N., Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache, Berlin und Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1931, Vol. I, xv-254p.

Although very little about Slavonic paleography is said in this history of the Old Church Slavonic language, this text has nevertheless been taken into consideration in establishing a consensus on the problem. Van Wijk takes Cyril as the inventor of the older Glagolitic alphabet.

### III. Miscellaneous studies referring to some phases of Slavonic paleography

Brueckner A., "Thesen zur Cyrillo-Methodianischer Frage", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906, Vol. XXVIII, pp.186-229.

The author takes the mission of the Apostles of the Slavs as a Photian plot to increase Byzantine influence in what he considers the sphere of the Latin Church, and describes the introduction of the Slavonic liturgy and script as disastrous for Slavdom. Although his arguments are at some places contradictory, he seems to imply that the Cyrillic alphabet was created before the Glagolitic.

Dvornik F., The Slavs, Their Early History And Civilization, 2-nd ed., Boston, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1959, 394p.

A history of the Slavs stressing the mediaeval period with sections devoted to the lives and works of St. Cyril and Methodius, and their disciples in Preslav and Velica. The author, a specialist in his field, has to his credit a number of works dealing with the historicity of the Lives (Vitae) of Cyril and Methodius.

Dvornik F., "The Significance of the Mission of Cyril and Methodius", Slavic Review, Seattle, University of Washington Press, June 1964, Vol. XXIII, no.2, pp.195-211.

Although this article is not devoted to the question of the origin or chronological priority of the Slavonic alphabets, Dvornik maintains that the alphabet which Constantine composed for the Slavs was the Glagolitic.

Jagić V., "Conversion of the Slavs", Cambridge Mediaeval History, New York, MacMillan & Co., 1923, Vol. IV, pp. 215-229.

The historical background to the development of Old Church Slavonic is given here. The missionary work of Cyril and Methodius, their most important biographical data, i.e., that leading to the invention of the Slavonic alphabet and the development of Slavonic literacy is discussed.

Lamanskij V., "Vita Cyrilli, Kritische Bemerkungen", Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1906, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 162-186.

A continuation of an article with the same title in Vol. XXV, 1903, of the Archiv fuer slavische Philologie, in abbreviated form. It displays a subjective patriotic Slavophile tendency. Lamansky tries to establish the Crimean origin of the first Slavonic writing.

Lunt H.G., "The Beginning of Written Slavic", Slavic Review, Seattle, University of Washington Press, June 1964, Vol. XXIII, no. 2, pp. 212-219.

An article discussing the missionary work of St. Cyril and Methodius with special regard to the development of Slavonic literacy. Lunt points out many disagreements which still exist among Slavists about many aspects regarding the works of Cyril and Methodius, as for example the letters of Rus'.  
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Matejka L., "The Beginnings of Slavic Literacy", Slavic and East European Studies, Montreal, University of Montreal, 1963, Vol. III, pp. 153-164.

This short article reviews some problems of Slavonic literacy, including the identity of Constantine's alphabet. The author agrees with the theories of Jagić that Constantine devised the Glagolitic alphabet, but he does not disregard the difficulties which remain as long as direct evidence is lacking.

Šafařík P.J., Korrespondence Pavla Josefa Šafaříka, Prague, Czech Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1928, Vol. II, 1089p.

A collection of Šafařík's correspondence among which a few letters to the Russian scholar Vostokov are of special interest, since they deal with Šafařík's concern about the publication of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts and also with the problem of the priority of one of the two Slavonic alphabets.

Ševčenko I., "Three Paradoxes of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission", Slavic Review, Seattle, University of Washington Press, June 1964, Vol. XXIII, no.2, pp.220-236.

The third of the three paradoxes discussed here is the excellence in quality of the literary achievements of St. Cyril and Methodius which casts doubts among some Slavists whether these were really the first steps in a new literature.

Zagiba F., "Die abendlaendisch-lateinischen Grundlagen der slavischen literarischen Bildungen vor und waehrend der Kyrillo-Methodianischen Zeit", Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch, Graz-Koeln, Institut fuer slavische Philologie an der Universitaet Wien, 1963, Vol. X, pp.86-108.

An enumeration of the possible Western or Latin rite selections of the liturgy which might have been known and used among the Western Slavs by missionaries before and during the time of St. Cyril and Methodius. It also contains further bibliography on the same question.

## ABSTRACT OF

Trends in studies regarding the two Slavonic alphabets during the twentieth century in English, French, and German scholarly works

The problem of the origin of the two Slavonic alphabets and the chronological priority of one of them over the other has been discussed in scholarly works for the past two hundred years. The main difficulties preventing its solution are the following: 1. Traditional sources speak of St. Cyril (Constantine) as the author of the Slavonic alphabet, but do not state precisely to which of the two they refer. 2. The origin of the Glagolitic alphabet and the Slavonic letters of the Cyrillic alphabet has been sought among the most diverse writing systems. 3. The origin of the Cyrillic alphabet and its chronological relation to the Glagolitic cannot be determined unless the origin and the date of introduction of the latter is known.

Although a great number of interpretations to these problems have been published, only English, French, and German scholarly works written during the twentieth century are considered here. In the studies concerned with the present problems before the twentieth century, one at first notices an opposition fluctuating between generations of Slavists as far as the chronological priority is concerned. Thus Dobner maintains the earlier alphabet of St. Cyril was the Glagolitic, Dobrovsky the Cyrillic, Kopitar again the

Glagolitic, and Šafařík at first the Cyrillic. Towards the end of his life, however, Šafařík changed his earlier views and came to the conclusion that the Glagolitic script was the earlier of the two Slavonic scripts.

The origin of the Slavonic alphabet has been sought in such sources as the Hebrew, Armenian, Albanian, Latin, Phoenician, and Greek alphabets, and even in Germanic Runes. By the end of the nineteenth century the interpretation of Taylor and Jagić gained the greatest authority. Both scholars derived the Glagolitic alphabet from the Greek. But whereas Taylor remarked that its prototypes were the Greek cursive letters from the sixth and seventh century, Jagić maintained that the Glagolitic letters were based on the Greek minuscule of the ninth and tenth century. Although both paleographers agreed that the Glagolitic was the earlier of the two Slavonic alphabets, Taylor considered this alphabet a pre-Cyrillo-Methodian script, whereas Jagić maintained that St. Cyril invented the Glagolitic alphabet.

In the studies concerning the origin of Slavonic letters during the twentieth century among Western Slavists, three main trends were observed. The first one, prevalent in the first three decades of this century, was the Greek origin theory proposed by Taylor and Jagić. Its supporters were Leskien, Vondrak, Diels, and somewhat later Trubetzkoy. During the forties and fifties there emerged a school of thought led by Hocij and Lettenbauer which maintained that

the Glagolitic alphabet was derived from pre-Carolinian Latin letters. In recent years a growing number of Slavists, confronted by the numerous possibilities of prototypes for the Glagolitic alphabet, have come to the conclusion that the Glagolitic letters invented by St. Cyril formed a new and original writing system and must therefore be considered an alphabet without a past. Among the supporters of this view were Vaillant, Lunt, Grivec, and Eckhardt.

As far as the chronological priority of one of the two Slavonic alphabets is concerned, the majority of Slavists consider the Glagolitic alphabet older than the Cyrillic. This is the case even with the school claiming the Glagolitic letters are of Latin origin, which also deprives Constantine of the authorship of the same alphabet. The other two schools of thought give Constantine and his immediate followers credit for inventing the Glagolitic alphabet. As far as the Cyrillic alphabet is concerned both of the latter groups of scholars (those who maintain the Greek origin of the Glagolitic alphabet and those who support its originality) place the time of the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet at the end of the ninth century in Bulgaria. Although, at the beginning of the century a number of scholars thought Clement of Ochrida introduced the Cyrillic alphabet, in recent years Grivec and Tkadlčik pointed out that it was Constantine the Presbyter, a

disciple of Cyril and Methodius, who was responsible for elaborating the new script.

The studies of the trends regarding the origin and chronological priority of one of the Slavonic alphabets have shown three strong schools of thought among Western Slavists. Although there is a lack of consensus as regards the origin of the Slavonic letters, the interpretations regarding the chronological priority, in the view of the majority of works under consideration, favors the Glagolitic alphabet.