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**Cyril and Methodius: Greek Missionaries carrying Slavic translations in service of
Byzantine and Rome**

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Introduction

The Slavs were the last Indo-European community to come out of pre-history. Initially supported by Byzantine, they sent two missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, to establish an autonomous church in Moravia, as an attempt to liberate them from Frankish suzerainty. To establish this Moravian church, Cyril devised the Glagolitic alphabet, and translated the Scriptures using this script so that the Moravians could practice Christianity in their indigenous tongue. These translations became the first Slavic texts and would later on be recognized as official Slavic liturgy. However, despite Byzantine's support, they fell short in installing this church, and were called upon by Rome to explain their mission in greater detail. Their arguments were heard by Rome and they subsequently accepted Slavic liturgy within Roman churches. Rome's acceptance was synonymous with the recognition and legitimization of the Slavic Scriptures, and they encouraged Cyril and Methodius to make a secondary run in Moravia. Unfortunately, Cyril would pass away just before the embarkment and ultimately, Methodius' return would also fall short as after his passing, the Franks would imprison and expel all his disciples. Nevertheless, it would be those same expelled disciples who continued on with Slavic translations in Bulgaria.

Historical Context

It was at the turn of the 6th century that the Slavs, pushing southward into the Balkans, would reach Byzantine's doorsteps. Busy fighting the Persians, Byzantine's northern frontier was weak and could not withstand Slavic raids that were ongoing throughout the 500s. Thus, by the end of the century, the Slavs conquered the Balkan peninsula, as well as having seized Macedonia.¹ Byzantine would not recover their former territory, as they would only reclaim

¹ R.P. Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus*, Syriac Studies Library (Gorgias Press, LLC, 2010), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=is5XSAAACAAJ>. 432-433; Procopius, *The Wars*

coastal cities such as Athens and Thessalonica a century later (Figure 1). Adding insult to injury, the Slavs claimed sovereignty over the Balkan peninsula after the Bulgarian Empire declared its independence in 681.² From this point onwards, the Bulgarian Empire would ensconce the Slavs, allowing their ethnicity and culture to mature; ultimately allowing them to house Slavic disciples from Cyril and Methodius and uplift the Slavs from obscurity.

At around the same time that the Slavs advanced into the Balkans and faced Byzantium, the Slavic tribes heading west encountered the Frankish empire in similar fashion. Initially, Slavic-Frankish relations were cordial since they had a common Avarian enemy, but this dynamic changed once the Avars were defeated in 796.³ Afterwards, the Slavs inhabiting Pannonia and Moravia (formerly under Avarian occupation) would be subjected to Frankish suzerainty, with Moravia being mostly independent starting in the 9th century (Figure 2).⁴ However, its autonomy came at a price. Moravia was surrounded by two politically and religiously incompatible empires – Byzantine and Frankish – and one that was wrestling with its religiosity, Bulgaria (Figure 3 & 4).⁵ By consequence of being proximal to the Franks, the Moravians would be subjected to Frankish religious influence, but would ultimately side with Byzantium's approach to religion as the century progressed.⁶

7.14.2; Jordanes, *Getica* 34.; Wood, "Why Were the Sclavenes Never Roman Allies? A Study of Late Antique Roman Frontier Policy and a Barbarian Society." 35.

² Alexander M. Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology*, Yale Language Series (New Haven; Yale University Press, 1996). 18.

³ S. Pronk-Tiethoff, *The Germanic Loanwords in Proto-Slavic*, Leiden Studies in Indo-European (Editions Rodopi, 2013), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=0iWLAGAAQBAJ>. 67-69.; P.M. Barford, *The Early Slavs: Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe* (British Museum Press, 2001), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=iZOxQgAACAAJ>. 107-109.; F. Dvornik, *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization*, Survey of Slavic Civilization (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1959), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=aKEaAAAAIAAJ>. 72.

⁴ F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, Rutgers Byzantine Series (Rutgers University Press, 1970), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=OwHZAAAAMAAJ>. 74-75; Barford, *The Early Slavs: Culture and Society*, 107-110.

⁵ Barford, *The Early Slavs*. 93.

⁶ Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology*. 25.

Moravia's Call for Ecclesiastical Independence

By the 9th century's second half, Frankish pressure forced Moravia's Duke to seek Byzantine aid in establishing an autonomous Moravian church. Due to Frankish subjugation, Moravia's ruling elite was Christian because of Bavarian presence within their clergy.⁷ Further complicating matters, the Franko-Bavarian clergy could not instruct Moravia's majority Slavic population in the traditional Christian languages of Greek, Latin or Hebrew.⁸ In effect, the local Moravians were deeply alienated by Franko-Bavarian religious influence. These isolating factors drove Moravia's Duke Rastislav to reach out to Byzantine's emperor, Michael III, in 860 and request for a "man who will direct us to the whole truth"⁹ because "we do not have a teacher who can [teach] to us in our language the true Christian faith".¹⁰ Thus, Rastislav's demand for a knowledgeable, Slavic-Christian instructor was not simply a call for religious instruction, but also a means to kick out the Franko-Bavarian clergy in one move. All that was needed now was for Constantinople to deliver the supply.

Constantinople's response

After receiving Rastislav's letters, Michael III selected Cyril and Methodius to fulfill Moravia's theological request. He chose the Thessalonian brothers because they spoke Slavic, held esteemed positions in Byzantium,¹¹ and had already completed a minor translation mission in Khazaria. In short, the Jewish Khazars were seeking elucidation on Christian theology and their Kagan demanded that Byzantine send an envoy to explicate the religion.¹² Responding

⁷ Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic*. 25.

⁸ *Vita Methodii*, 5. <https://cmuntz.hosted.uark.edu/classes/byzantine-empire/life-of-methodius.pdf>

⁹ *VM*, 5.

¹⁰ *Vita Constantini*, 14. <https://cmuntz.hosted.uark.edu/classes/byzantine-empire/life-of-constantine-cyril.pdf>

¹¹ *VM*. 2 & 3.; *VC*. 4 and Schenker, *The Dawn*. 29. Cyril was the chair of philosophy at the University of Constantinople by 850, and presumably, Methodius was working in government service as an archon of a Slavic archontate.

¹² Schenker, *The Dawn*. 29-30.; Douglas M Dunlop, "The History of the Jewish Khazars," *Princeton Oriental Studies* 16 (1954). 195

accordingly, Michael III asked Cyril* to “preach [...] the Holy Trinity [...] for no one else is capable of doing this properly.”¹³ Cyril accepted Michael III’s proposition and tagged Methodius along with him for their first translation mission. According to Cyril’s *Vita*, he learned and translated Hebrew grammar in less than a year while preparing for his trip.¹⁴ Once ready, he spent most of his time in Sammander debating Jewish and Muslim scholars about Christianity’s central claims, such as the Holy Trinity and Jesus. His *Vita* states that Cyril defeated his opponents, which convinced the Kagan that Christianity’s doctrine was superior, and he “urged all [Khazarians] to be baptized voluntarily.”¹⁵ Despite the Kagan’s strong wording, only about two hundred of them were baptized after Cyril’s visit, and Christianity never became the state’s religion.¹⁶ Despite this, it would be wrong to categorize Cyril’s mission as a failure. Cyril’s missionary activities forged a Byzantine-Khazarian alliance, which greatly impressed Michael III and ultimately cemented Cyril and Methodius’ religious reputation within Byzantine.¹⁷ Had there been no Khazarian conversions, and allyship formation, it would be doubtful that Michael III would have selected Cyril or Methodius for the mission in Moravia.

Cyril and Methodius’ First Mission to Moravia, The Constantinian Period

Byzantine accepted Rastislav’s request without hesitation, and in 862 Michael III, along with Bardas and Photius, approved of Cyril and Methodius’ mission into Moravia.¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, Rastislav reached out to Byzantine for religious aid as a means to gain total

* While it is true that prior to his death, Cyril was referred to as “Constantine” and scholars usually refer to him as “Constantine-Cyril”, I will simply refer to him as “Cyril” throughout this essay. The reason behind this decision is to save up on space. Considering that it is only a 15-page essay, and I will continuously have to refer to the brothers as “Cyril and Methodius” throughout the paper, it would be wise to save up on as much as space as possible, when applicable.

¹³ VC. 8.

¹⁴ Ibid, 8.

¹⁵ Ibid, 11.

¹⁶ Ibid, 11.; Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*. 195.

¹⁷ Melanie Quintos, “Mission and Conversion In The Lives Of Constantine-Cyril And Methodius,” 2010. 17 & 24.

¹⁸ VC. 14.; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions Among the Slavs*. 308; M. Lacko, *Saints Cyril and Methodius* (Slovak Editions “Sts. Cyril and Methodius,” 1963), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=8WEmAQAIAAJ>. 61.

independence from the Franks. Indeed, Moravia was mostly autonomous by 855, but Rastislav's desire for Moravia to remain Christian made it difficult to remove the Franko-Bavarian clergy operating within Moravian ranks.¹⁹ Moreover, Moravia was a majority Slavic-speaking state, and Rastislav knew that to achieve *full* political and ecclesiastical independence, installing a Slavic church that holds Slavic liturgy would be his only option.²⁰ Additionally, for years there had been Italian, Greek and Germanic missionaries present in Moravia, attempting to Christianize the local populous to no avail; this compounded the pressure for Moravia to teach Christianity in its indigenous language.²¹ Hence, Rastislav wanting a Slavic instructor facilitated Slavic Christianization, and simultaneously, rejected external Frankish influence on Moravian affairs.

To meet Rastislav's goals, Cyril invented a Slavic alphabet and translated the Scriptures into this Slavic script for the purpose of theological instruction. These tasks put a lot of pressure onto Cyril. Firstly, Rastislav's desire for Christianity to be taught in Moravia's Slavic vernacular would place Cyril in direct opposition from Franko-Bavarian clergy.²² Secondly, the Moravians had no systematic form of writing.²³ For the Slavs, their writing consisted of Greek and Latin transliterations into Slavic – it was extremely dysfunctional.²⁴ Therefore, Cyril had to start from scratch and make an alphabet that would be practical for the Slavs to use, translate parts of the Bible in Slavic, and have the alphabet and his translations withstand clerical offense.²⁵ If his mission was successful, he would secure and legitimize Christianity in Slavic vernacular, but also expand Constantinople's ecclesiastical influence into Central Europe.

¹⁹ Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 88; Lacko, *Saints Cyril and Methodius*. 77.

²⁰ VM. 5; VC. 14.

²¹ VM. 5.

²² Schenker, *The Dawn of Slavic*. 14 & 31.

²³ Chernorizets Khrabur, *Of The Alphabet*. 157-159. This was not specific to the Moravians, as no Slavic tribe or state had their own form of writing.

²⁴ Schenker, *The Dawn*. 174; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 102-103 & 308.

²⁵ VC. 14.

The Moravian mission began in Byzantine before heading to Moravia. Cyril's newly invented alphabet was called Glagolitic (*Glagolica*; Figure 5-7), and it is presumed to be based off cursive Greek.²⁶ Unfortunately, no originals or copies of his translations of the Holy Gospel exist, so their quality and translational techniques cannot be verified.²⁷ Although, it is likely that they were of high quality for two reasons. The first one being that Cyril established himself as a masterful polyglot in Khazar by learning and translating Hebrew in a year and having two hundred Khazarian's convert to Christianity; this highlighted that he had no linguistic difficulties communicating to the Jewish Khazars. As such, it would not be a stretch to say that he would take the same amount of time creating the Glagolitic alphabet from his knowledge of Greek. Second, Methodius was aiding Cyril's teachings in Moravia which heavily implies that both the Glagolitic alphabet *and* translations were intelligible. If not, Methodius would have rejected them given his expertise in Christianity.²⁸ This does not mean that the Glagolitic translations of the Gospels were perfect, but they were sufficient to be used for their Moravian mission. All things considered, Cyril's translation mission technically began in Byzantium, and would continue in Moravia.

²⁶ B. Comrie and G.G. Corbett, *The Slavonic Languages*, Routledge Language Family Descriptions (Routledge, 2002), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=Oyn8nQEACAAJ>. 26; Schenker, *The Dawn*. 166-167. These sources are rather exhaustive in their research regarding the genealogy of the Glagolitic alphabet. Unfortunately, their conclusions will likely remain a presumption for the foreseeable future. Schenker notes that many philologists, Slavists, and paleographers agree that cursive Greek is the best explanation for Glagolitic's origin; and Comrie & Corbett also echo this point, while also noting the fact that given Cyril's Thessalonian origins, it would be unlikely that he would be able to do so from another language. To add to the confusion, many primary sources (*Of The Alphabet*; *Vita Constantini*; *The Italian Legend*) all contradict each other when discussing the inspiration behind the Glagolitic alphabet. Firstly, they never use the term "Glagolitic" (indicating that it is a term of late coinage), they always refer to it as a "Slavic script" or "Slavic Alphabet"; hinting at its originality, but not firmly establishing a consensus on what its name is. Secondly, Khrabur's *Of The Alphabet* confidently stated that Cyril created the Slavic alphabet using a mixture of Greek letters and adjusted it to the sounds of Slavic speech, and that even the order of the Glagolitic alphabet follows a Greek model. Therefore, at best, we can conclude that Cyril's alphabet *is* an original alphabet that was distinct enough from other alphabets that none of his clerical adversaries were able to spot any similarities between Glagolitic and any other language.

²⁷ VC 14; Kliment Okhridski, *The Italian Legend*. 7.

²⁸ VM. 4 & 5.

First stop in Moravia

Once all liturgical books were translated, Cyril and Methodius appeared in Moravia by the Fall of 863. Upon arrival, they were well received by Rastislav, his selected students and the Slavic population, but not by the Franko-Bavarian clergy. They opposed Cyril's translations and his instruction of Christianity in a vernacular language because it constituted a "Trilingual" or "Pilatian" heresy.²⁹ This theological roadblock did put a halt to Cyril's efforts. In his *Vita* it is stated that he "defeated them with words from the Scriptures" where it is permitted and justified to use multiple languages for liturgical purposes. One verse he specifically cited was the one from John: "neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in Me through *their* world, that they all may be one".³⁰ It is impossible to know how persuasive these arguments really were for Cyril's clerical adversaries. Neither of the brothers' *Vita*'s give any details as to what the outcomes of those theological debates were. What can be assumed however, is that Cyril's arguments, while sophisticated, fell on deaf ears since Moravia's clergy was not Slavic, and therefore, had no incentive in adopting Slavic liturgy.³¹ Additionally, it is possible that the Franko-Bavarian clergy knew that Cyril and Methodius' were backed by a religious authority, and had they forfeited their clerical authority, they would lose all influence in Moravia – something they possessed for nearly a century.³²

Despite their best efforts, Cyril and Methodius' translation mission was largely unsuccessful. They were in Moravia for forty months and their largest influence on the empire

²⁹ VC. 15.

³⁰ Ibid. 15 & 16.; John 17:20-21. Italics added.

³¹ Ibid. 15.; M. Betti, *The Making of Christian Moravia (858-882): Papal Power and Political Reality*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450 (Brill, 2013), <https://books.google.ca/books?id=MdLYAQAQBAJ>, 140. It is also likely that the debates were held in Greek as opposed to Slavic, which would further add to the difficulties in justifying the addition of another language in the practice of Christianity.

³² Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 152. Additionally, the *Vita*'s of both Cyril and Methodius never state that the Franko-Bavarian clergy know of who is backing up their mission.

was rounding up a few disciples. However, besides recruitment, they made no advances in establishing an autonomous Moravian church.³³ Yet, their relentless pursuit in trying to legitimize the Slavs and their language did not go unnoticed. Their missionary activities in Central Europe captured Rome's attention and they would soon be asked to defend their linguistic theology in the West.

Heading to Rome

Failure in Moravia did not mean their mission had ended. Following their departure from Moravia in the spring of 866, Cyril and Methodius headed to Pannonia to ordain Methodius' disciples. Here, the brothers were universally welcomed, and taught the "Slavic letters" to fifty students, with the Duke Kocel, even learning them personally.³⁴ Their short stay engendered minor translation efforts, as the instruction of a newly invented script by definition necessitates a translational process, especially given Kocel's German background.³⁵ The details as to how successful their stay was is unclear, but given that they faced no opposition, a deduction can be made that their translation efforts were successful.

After leaving Pannonia in the Fall of 866, Cyril and Methodius wound up in Venice, explaining their efforts to bishops, priests, and monks. Here, they were asked to defend their Pilatian heresy, and Cyril invoked the same arguments as he did in Moravia. He cited the Scriptures' linguistic-egalitarianism, along with noting that various, non-Greek, Latin, or Hebrew speaking countries practiced Christianity in their own languages.³⁶ Cyril's *Vita* ends the chapter by claiming that he shamed them and walked away. While certainly possible, it distracts from the

³³ VC. 15.

³⁴ Ibid. 15. Slavic letters refer to Glagolitic. Discussions about the late coinage of Glagolitic will be found later in this essay.

³⁵ Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 128. Kocel was a subject of Louis the German.

³⁶ VC. 16. The languages he cited were the "Armenians, Persians, Abkhazians, Iberians, Sogdians, Goths, Avars, Turks, Khazars, Arabs, Egyptians and many others."

greater significance of their visit. What this chapter showcases is that religious authorities of the highest order have recognized the Slavic script and its validity. Indeed, by virtue of the brothers being called to *discuss* the rationale behind the Slavic translations and theological propositions, as opposed to being reprimanded for it, opens the door for Roman legitimacy of Slavic liturgy. This now means that the originally Byzantine (Eastern) mission is enroute to receiving support from the West (Rome).

Summoned by Pope Nicholas I, the brothers arrived to Rome under Hadrian II's authority. The timing of Nicholas' death worked in their favour, since he carried deep hostility towards Photius, and Cyril and Methodius were his protégés representing Constantinople; had they met up with Nicholas instead of Hadrian, it is probable that the events following their entry to Rome would differ greatly.³⁷ Nonetheless, they showed up at Rome's doorsteps circa 868 and without any hesitation, Rome consecrated Cyril and Methodius. Afterwards, Hadrian blessed the Slavic scriptures and deposited them in the Church of St. Mary. Subsequently, the "Slavic language" was celebrated in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Petronilla, and this celebration culminated in the "glorification of God in Slavic [...] in the Church of the Apostle Paul".³⁸ To say that Rome approved of the Slavic translations would be an understatement. Furthermore, their approval enhanced the prestige of both the Slavic language and Biblical translations by Cyril and Methodius.³⁹ By this point, the brothers received support from both Byzantine and Rome, but now Rome would take a much firmer stance on defending their mission, and as a second-order consequence, expand their religious influence into Central Europe. Hence, if Methodius successfully inaugurated an independent Moravian church, it would be a Roman church and not a Byzantine church.

³⁷ Schenker, *The Dawn*. 33.; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 136-137.

³⁸ VC. 17.

³⁹ Schenker, *The Dawn*. 11.

The Constantinian Period ends, and The Methodian Period Begins

The same year that Rome recognized Slavic liturgy was the same year that Cyril would pass away, thus ending the Constantinian period. Cyril's final wish to his brother would be that he continued onward with his missionary activities, and Methodius followed suit.⁴⁰ This time, Cyril would no longer be by his side, but Rome would be, and the Apostolic Father encouraged Methodius to teach "to all the Slavic lands".⁴¹ To facilitate Methodius' efforts, Hadrian II invoked an old Roman law that subjected Pannonia to the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Rome, making Pannonia governable by a bishop who had an episcopal see in Sirmium. Using this legislation, Hadrian II raised Sirmium to the rank of archbishopric and consecrated Methodius as first incumbent, giving him authority over Pannonia.⁴² This drastic change in status directly challenged the Franko-Bavarian clergy by raising Methodius' status above theirs. Moreover, these changes came in *after* Kocel dispatched an embassy to the Apostolic Father, asking him to delegate Methodius in Pannonia; making the support for Methodius both local and international.⁴³ Now, Methodius' status and momentum when returning to Pannonia and Moravia would grant him equal punching power towards his clerical opponents.

In 870, Methodius arrived in Pannonia as archbishop and was received with honour. Like last time, his stay was short, and it is presumed that Methodius assumed the ecclesiastical administration of Pannonia without opposition.⁴⁴ The same situation would not arise when Methodius made his way to Moravia. This time, the Franko-Bavarian clergy would put up a fight against Methodius' and Rome's religious authority. In addition to Franko-Bavarian defense, Moravia's leader was now Svatpoluk, who was a pro-Bavarian leader, and therefore, had a deep-

⁴⁰ VM. 7.

⁴¹ Ibid. 8.

⁴² Ibid. 8 & 9.; Schenker, *The Dawn*. 34-35; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 144-151.

⁴³ Ibid. 8.

⁴⁴ VM. 8; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 151; Schenker, *The Dawn*. 34-35.

seated interest in preserving the clergy's status in Moravia.⁴⁵ Ultimately, Methodius' authority was overwhelmed by the Franko-Bavarian clergy, and his return to Moravia amounted to very little. His punishment for "teaching on our [Franko-Bavarian] territory" was nearly three years of punishment in a Swabian monastery.⁴⁶

Released from prison in 874, Methodius gained even more support from the Holy See to continue his missionary efforts. In 873, Pope John VIII wrote letters to Louis the German defending Methodius, while also lamenting over the actions of the Franko-Bavarian clergy.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, not all actions were reversible, and the Franks still had suzerainty over Moravia and ignored most of Rome's backlash. Any compensation that occurred was on Svatpoluk's behest; he managed to maintain significant cultural independence from the Franks, and as such, allowed for a small Slavic diocese to operate in Moravia. This church was not linguistically free like the eastern churches, but it was able to "preach and give sermons in vernacular because [of] the Psalmist calls".⁴⁸ On the surface it may seem like a small victory for Methodius, Rome, and Slavic liturgy, but it was the foot in the door they needed to further the practice of Christianity in Slavic. Indeed, this small advancement cemented the likelihood that this church – and other Moravian churches – would practice Christianity in their vernacular sometime in the future.

Continuing with this forward momentum, Methodius convinced John VIII to further legitimize using the Slavic language in church. In the Papal Correspondence John VIII states:

"We duly praise the Slavic letters invented by one Constantine the Philosopher [...] and it does not go counter to sound faith or teaching to sing the mass in that Slavic language or to read the holy Gospel as well as lections from the Old and New Testament, well

⁴⁵ Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 152.

⁴⁶ VM. 9.

⁴⁷ John VIII, *Papal Correspondence*. 67-70.

⁴⁸ Schenker, *The Dawn*. 38; John VIII, *Papal correspondence*. 72.

translated and explicated, or to chant all the offices of the hours, for he who created the three principal languages, to wit, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, created also all other [languages] for his praise and glory.”⁴⁹

Despite this support, it amounted to nothing in the end. Methodius’ time in Moravia as archbishop was largely spent playing defense against the Bavarian bishops until his death in 885.⁵⁰ After his passing, Slavic liturgy in Moravia was under assault since it no longer held its legitimacy through Methodius’ prestige, and Svatopluk’s decision to re-power the Bavarian’s over the Slavs resulted in total imprisonment and expulsion of all Methodian disciples.⁵¹ This, however, was not the end of the Slavic expansion – far from it – it was simply the conclusion of Cyril and Methodius’ missionary activities (Figure 8). Their disciples would continue their linguistic activities in the coming centuries.

The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius’ missionary activities

The missionary efforts of the two brothers continued posthumously. After Methodius’ disciples were expelled from Moravia, they would carry on the Glagolitic tradition in Bulgaria, by circa 886. By this time, Bulgaria was in serious demand for knowledgeable Greek-Slavic translators, because the empire was undergoing Christianization after Boris’ baptism in 865. As a result, they welcomed Methodius’ disciples with open arms.⁵² In the coming years, they created two literary schools in Ochrida and Preslav, which trained thousands of students in Slavic

⁴⁹ John VIII, *Papal correspondence*. 73.

⁵⁰ VM 15; Schenker, *The Dawn*. 39. He was able to squeeze in a few translations (VM 15), but with Svatpoluk siding with Bavaria, it was only essentially a waiting game for Methodius to pass away, and along with his passing, so too would the Slavic liturgies legitimacy.

⁵¹ Theophilact Okhridski, *Life and Toils, Confession and Exposition of One part of the Miracles Worked by Our Holy Father Kliment, Bulgarian Bishop, Written by The Most Saintly and Laudable Archbishop of the First Justiniana and the Whole of Bulgaria Theophilact, Who Had the Title Master of Orators in Constantinople*. 108.

⁵² Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 127; Schenker, *The Dawn*. 42; George C Soulis, “The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 19. Boris also assumed the name of Michael and was now in an alliance with Byzantine as a result of his baptism; which would ultimately influence the Bulgarian empire for centuries to come (See Chapter 6 of Dvornik’s *Byzantine Missions* for further reading).

literature and, by consequence, catapulted Bulgaria's cultural "golden age" in 893. Eventually, this led to the creation and adoption of the Cyrillic alphabet. It is based off uncial Greek and it replaced Glagolitic as the written language for both the Bulgarian church, and future literary translations.⁵³ In the coming centuries, similar developments would occur in Bohemia, Croatia, Serbia, and Kievan Russia, essentially making Glagolitic and Cyrillic the literary *lingua franca* of all Orthodox Slavs.

Why Glagolitic over Cyrillic?

It is never explained why the Glagolitic alphabet differed significantly from any other language. While speculative, the most likely answer is that Cyril wanted Glagolitic to be distinct enough from Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, so that his clerical adversaries could not invoke an argument of linguistic similarity to de-legitimize his Slavic translations of the Bible. If this were to be case, the Moravian mission would have simply failed, and Rome would never have recognized Slavic liturgy. As such, Cyril must have known the type of opposition he would face from the Franko-Bavarian clergy and deliberately chose to make Glagolitic as idiosyncratic as possible to ensure its success. His deliberation becomes more evident when we compare Glagolitic to Cyrillic.

It is no secret that Cyrillic even more closely resembles Greek than Glagolitic.⁵⁴ There are many reasons for this, and the first one is that Cyrillic was invented within a heavily Greek environment: the Bulgarian clergy in the second-half of the 9th century was primarily Greek, on

⁵³ Schenker, *The Dawn*. 188; Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 248-253.; Comrie and Corbett, *The Slavonic Languages*. 28.

⁵⁴ Comrie and Corbett, *The Slavonic Languages*. 29. The differences between Cyrillic and Glagolitic are minute, but important. Firstly, it is assumed that Glagolitic is rooted in cursive Greek, where as Cyrillic is based off of uncial Greek. Secondly, Cyrillic was invented to appeal to the Greek clergy within Bulgaria (even if by then the Slavic ethnicity was the majority by this point), hinting at Glagolitic's inconvenience for the clergy, and thus necessitating a more familiar script.

top of Cyrillic being invented by Greek-Slavic translators in Macedonia.⁵⁵ The second reason for Cyrillic's Greek heritage is that it needed to be familiar to the Bulgarian clergy, thereby increasing its similarity to its root language. As a result, this makes Cyrillic more representative of a Greek-Slavic script/alphabet, than a purely Slavic one. On the contrary, the same cannot be said for Glagolitic. It can be inferred that Glagolitic is a more authentic Slavic alphabet because Cyril's Greek background and influences are minimally present when analyzing his alphabet, signaling its purity over Cyrillic's; its authenticity is by design and not mishap. Furthermore, as a direct consequence of making an original Slavic alphabet, Cyril secured the linguistic credibility of the Slavs, and as a second-order consequence, laid the foundation of their religious and canonical future (Figure 9).⁵⁶

Statehood Based Off Translation

Despite Cyril's best efforts at making Glagolitic as original as possible, it remains the case that his alphabet is rooted in Greek, and no translation is an original. To begin, even the primary sources openly acknowledge that the Glagolitic scriptures were translations, and that the "Slavic script" was created because Greek could not capture "the sounds of Slavic".⁵⁷ Therefore, confirming that the Slavs could not properly communicate themselves in writing with Greek, and that this incompatibility was a motivator to create a Slavic alphabet. Conversely, had Cyril possessed a Latin background, and if Latin was mismatched language instead of Greek, then it would be likely that Glagolitic, and Slavic liturgy would have Latin origins. However, given the constant emphasis on the Greek background of the translation and alphabet, it can be deduced with confidence that Greek is the main language of influence for the Slavic alphabet. Now, given that Glagolitic possesses its own authenticity, the question becomes: can the Glagolitic

⁵⁵ Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions*. 250-251.

⁵⁶ Schenker, *The Dawn*. 178.

⁵⁷ VC. 14; Chernorizets Khrabur, *Of The Alphabet*, 157-159.; Kliment Okhridski, *The Italian Legend*. 7.

translations of the Scriptures be deemed original? While a fully fleshed out answer is beyond the scope of this paper, the short answer is that the translations are highly identical to their Greek counterparts. For starters, later Glagolitic translations possess a Greek syntax and are filled with Greek loanwords and loan translations, so it can be inferred that Cyril's initial translations possessed similar traits.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the *first* Slavic texts were Biblical translations, and original only came afterwards. Ergo, it would be fair to assume that given the novelty of the Glagolitic script, future authors would also come to learn and familiarize themselves with Glagolitic through these translations – further diluting any originality that may be found in these texts.

These issues are troubling as it is hard to find *any* purities to initial Glagolitic translations. The first issue is that all translations are always trying to chase the meaning of the originals they are based upon.⁵⁹ The second one is that the Glagolitic translations are texts that are translated from languages that they are rooted in, which reduces the genuity of the languages they are being translated into. In the end, this makes Glagolitic and Greek appear more similar than dissimilar and begs the question as to how Greek are the first Glagolitic translations? The answer is that they were very Greek, especially when Glagolitic's invention was followed by Greek-Glagolitic translations which were completed in no more than a year. However, this distinction did not matter for the target audience of these translations – the Moravian and Pannonian Slavs. To them, all they desired was a systematic form of writing through which they could properly express themselves and practice Christianity. Cyril and Methodius delivered on that end.

⁵⁸ Schenker 194; Comrie 164. It is important to note that Greek is not the only language that the Slavs loaned words from. Germanic words are also seen in Slavic texts. Consult *Germanic Loanwords* for further reading.

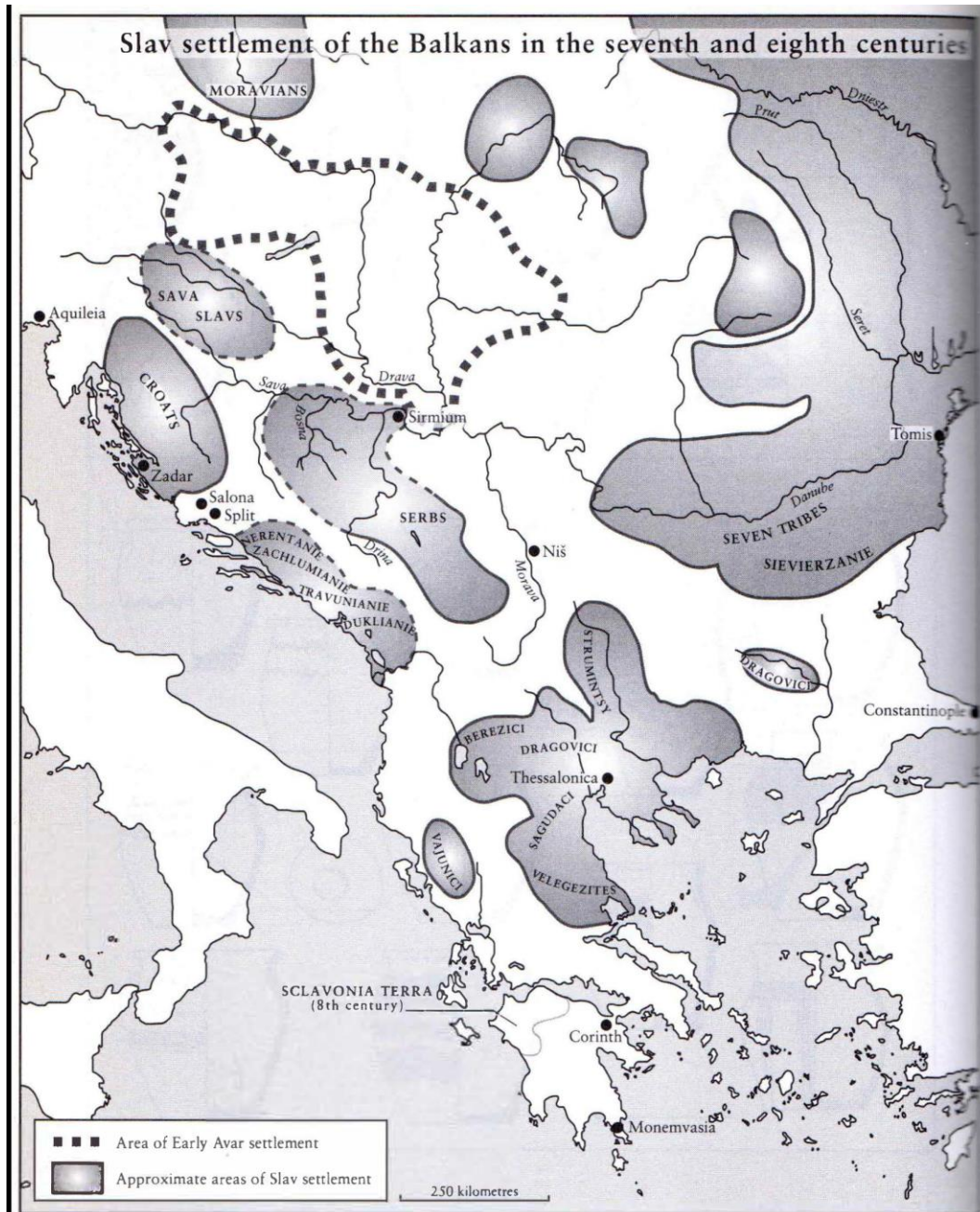
⁵⁹ Thomas E Burman, "The Spacious Ironies of Translation," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 16, no. 1 (2016): 87–92.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is undeniable, if not downright miraculous, that Cyril and Methodius' missionary efforts in Great Moravia lifted the Slavs from pre-history. With Byzantine's initial push in 863, their translational activities were launched and the birth of a Slavic alphabet, along with its translation of the Scriptures, officially brought the Moravians their first texts. After Cyril's death, the Romans would aid Methodius' translation mission, and his efforts proved to be equally valid as Cyril's. Since it would be his disciples that would continue his tradition in Bulgaria, and it would ultimately spread throughout the Slavdom. The important thing to note and perhaps ponder, is how *Slavic* are these translations and alphabets really? Not only are their origins heavily Greek, but their inventors were not local Moravians, but Thessalonians coming from Constantinople and who completed their mission through the roads of Rome. With this many influencing factors, it can be deduced that Slavic writing, and any sentiment of identity that may arise from it, is in fact a Byzantine-Roman invention. Without their support, the Moravian mission would have never come to fruition, and it is anyone's guess as to when the Slavs would have created their own writing.

Appendix A.

FIGURES

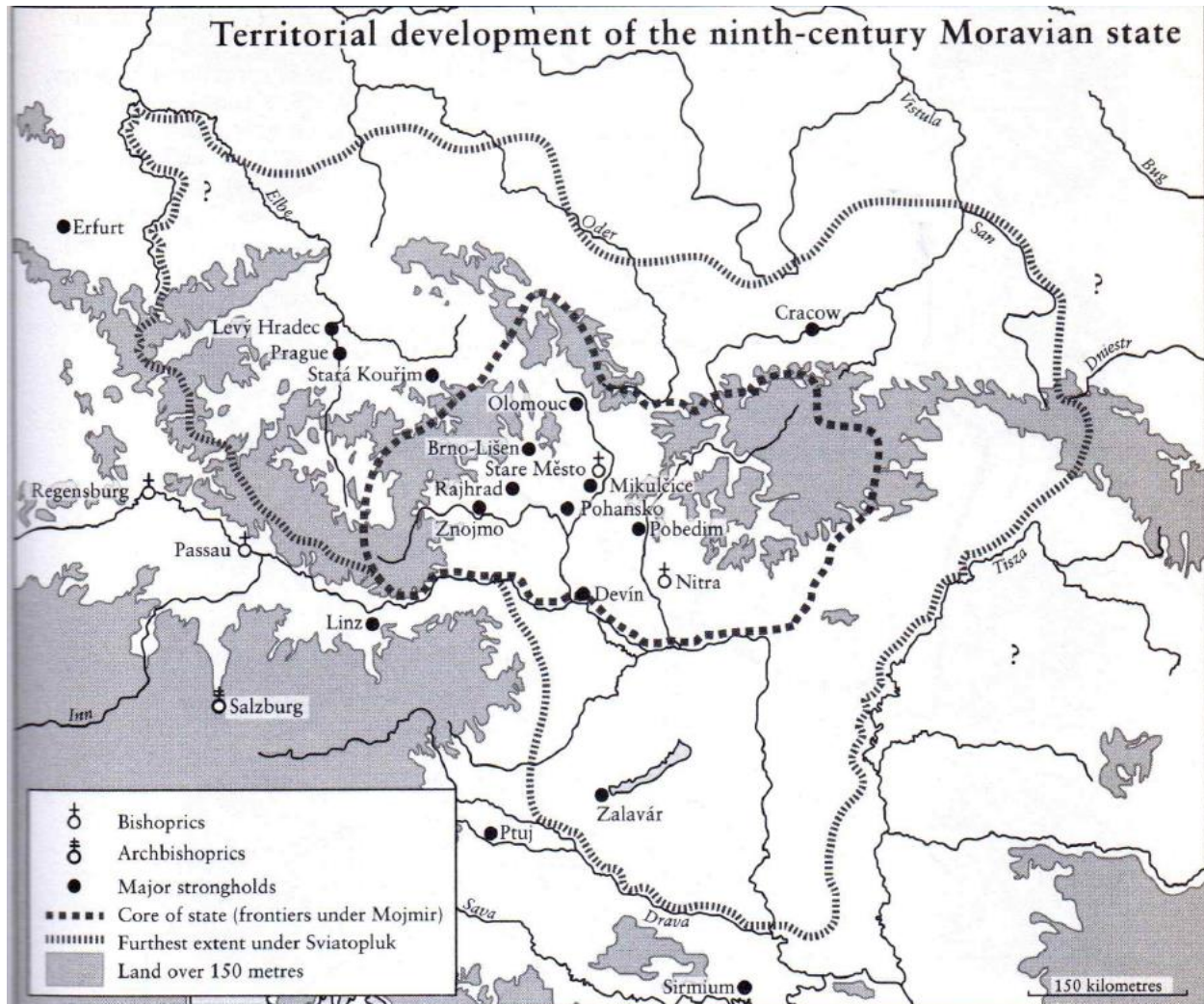
Figure 1. Map of 6 & 7th century Central Europe.

Barford, *The Early Slavs: Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe*.

The date of the mapping is not precise, as it is *extremely* difficult to accurately assess the geographic dispersion of the Slavs given that the documentation available to us at this time was primarily archaeological and only correlationally mapped with accounts written by the Romans/Byzantines.⁶⁰ Given that, we can see a tribal diaspora taking place, but that the Slavs occupy large portions of Central and Eastern Europe. Most importantly to our topic of discussion, we see that the Slavs settled all across Macedonia, and were approximating Constantinople as well. In addition, the Slavic divisions are becoming evident, with the Western Slavs already settling in areas such as Moravia, and the Southern Slavs settling in the Balkans. Once they would become unified under legitimate states, these territorial settings would be further consolidated.

⁶⁰ For further readings on how the territorial claims that might be ascribed to the Slavs, see Barford's "*The Early Slavs*" and Curta's "*The Making of the Slavs*". Both Barford and Curta's research go deep into the available archaeological evidence, mixed in with the writing accounts of Byzantine to essentially triangulate the location of the Slavs with the highest estimates possible. Barford's niche element is his deep dive into the pottery that was left behind in Slavic and *non*-Slavic territory that he was able to paint these maps. Curta has a more convincing argument as she traced and located where Byzantine coins were found along the Danube River and was able to draw several maps this way: further reinforcing the geographic claims of the Slavs.

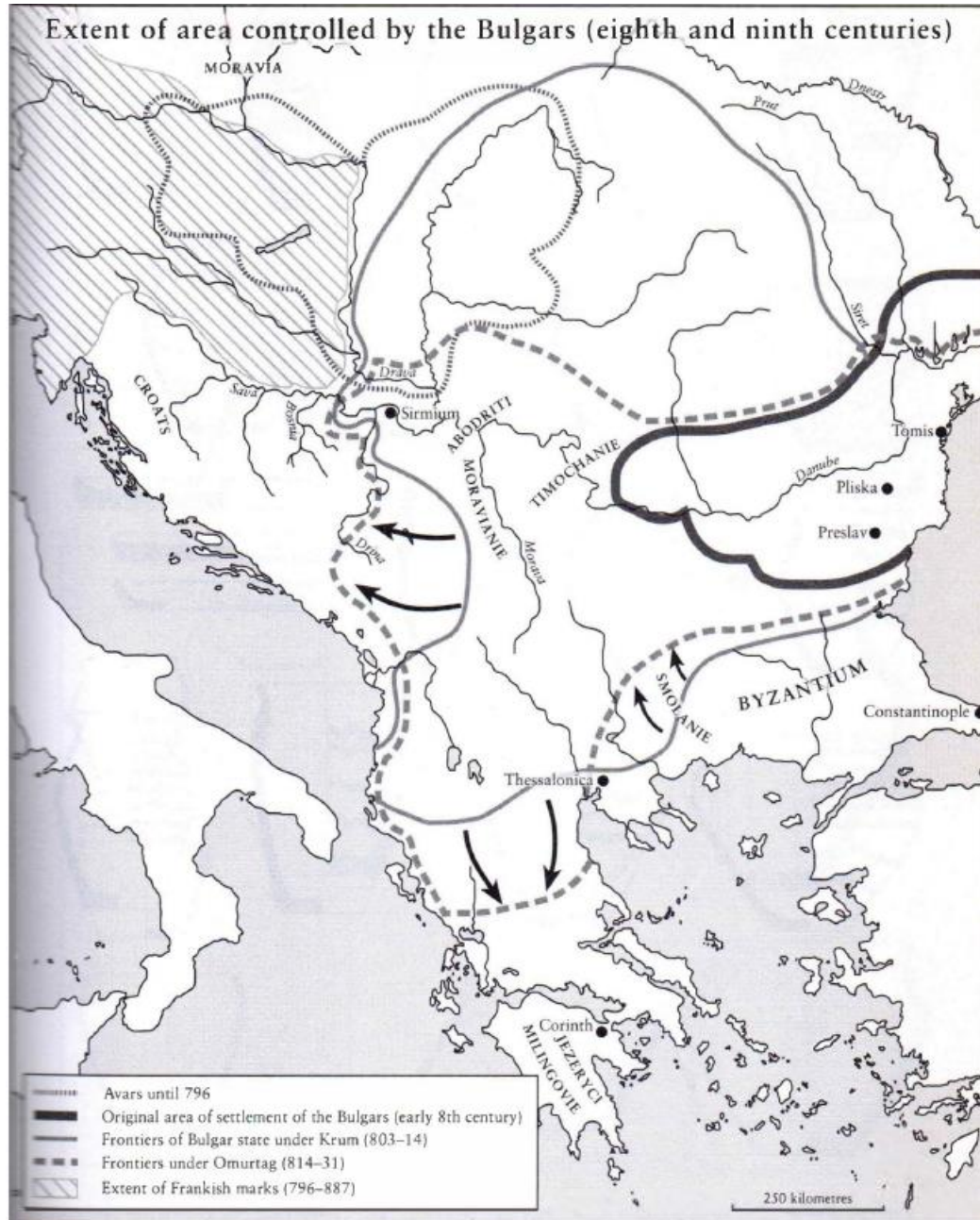
Figure 2. Map of 9th century Moravia



Map taken from Barford.

What is of note in this instance is Moravia's geographic position. To their West is Bavaria/Franks, and to their South & East is Bulgaria (South & East) & Byzantine (South). Additionally, Pannonia's city of Sirmium, is just below the state; a city that will become important later in the essay.

Figure 3. Map of the Bulgarian Empire during the 8th and 9th century.

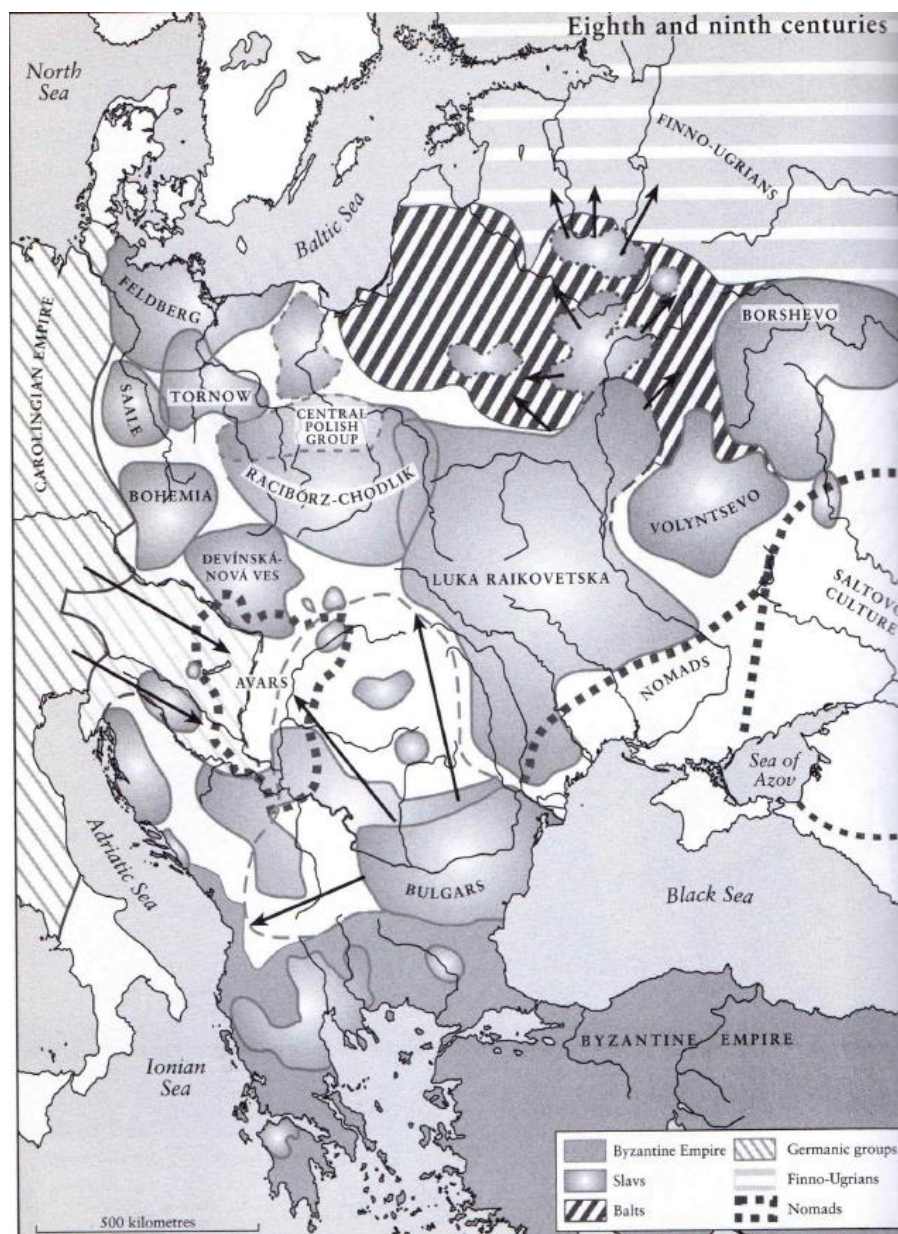


Map taken from Barford.

A few things are of worthy to nice. Firstly, the sheer size of the empire is incredible. Its most southern point is essentially Thessalonica, with its northern tip extending past north Moravia. Secondly, notice the sheer religious vacuum that is Central Europe at this time. Evidently,

Moravia is without an official religion, as it is being subjected to Franko-Bavarian influence to no avail, as well as Bulgaria becoming Christian in the second half of the century but without a means to Christianize its populous. From this top-down perspective it becomes clearer as to why both Byzantine and Rome would want to sponsor missionaries that would establish their churches within these territories that are ripe for religious development. Thirdly, it is also quite clear that Thessalonica would be a deeply bilingual area given its sheer proximity with the Bulgarians, on top of its previous Slavic occupation.

Figure 4. Bulgarian and Germanic Expansion



Map taken from Barford.

This figure is simply meant to provide a context to Figure 2 & 3, as it showcases both Germanic and Bulgarian expansion within the 8th and 9th centuries that would lead to the encircling of Moravia.

Figure 5. The Glagolitic Alphabet next to Cyrillic and corresponding Latin Transliterations

GLAGOLITIC (ROUNDED)	GLAGOLITIC (ANGULAR)	CYRILLIC	APPROXIMATE TRANSLITERATION
Ɱ	Ɱ	А	a
Ɱ	Ɱ	Б	b
Ɱ	Ɱ	В	v
Ɱ	Ɱ	Г	g
Ɱ	Ɱ	Д	d
Ɱ	Ɱ	Е	e
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ж	ž, zh
Ɱ	Ɱ	С	dz
Ɱ	Ɱ	З	z
Ɱ	Ɱ	И	i, ij, ili, j
Ɱ	Ɱ	Н	i, ji, ili, j
Ɱ	Ɱ	—	j, ð, ġ
Ɱ	Ɱ	К	k
Ɱ	Ɱ	Л	l
Ɱ	Ɱ	М	m
Ɱ	Ɱ	Н	n
Ɱ	Ɱ	О	o
Ɱ	Ɱ	П	p
Ɱ	Ɱ	Р	r
Ɱ	Ɱ	С	s
Ɱ	Ɱ	Т	t
Ɱ	Ɱ	У	u
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ф	f
Ɱ	Ɱ	Х	h, kh
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѡ	o
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѱ	št, šć
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѱ	c, ts
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѳ	č
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѳ	š
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѵ	šč
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѵ	(hard)
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѷ	i
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѷ	‘
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѹ	ye, ya
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѹ	ya, ye
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѻ	io
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѻ	ę (nasal)
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѽ	o (nasal)
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѽ	ye
Ɱ	Ɱ	Ѿ	th
Ɱ	Ɱ	ѿ	ps

Alphabet acquired from Barford.

On the two most of left columns we see the Glagolitic alphabet in both its Rounded and Angular shapes (it is unknown which shape Cyril used for his translations. The third column showcases the Cyrillic alphabet, and there are indeed many Cyrillic letters that are identical to their

Glagolitic precursors. For example, the letter “š” is “Ш” in Cyrillic, and in Glagolitic it appears as “Ш”, and another letter that did not change its shape is Glagolitic’s “Ф”, as it appears in Cyrillic as “ф”. Conversely the Cyrillic letters “И” and “У” do not resemble their Glagolitic origins of “Ѣ” and “Ѧ”. Letters in this paragraph (not the figure above) were acquired from the website “Lexilogos.com” and has been deemed as an accurate lexical website according to Biesaga & Dubose.⁶¹

⁶¹ Monika Biesaga, “What Can a Social Network Profile Be Used for in Monolingual Lexicography? Examples, Strategies, Desiderata,” *Electronic Lexicography in the 21st Century: Linking Lexical Data in the Digital Age*, Trojina, Institute for Applied Slovene Studies/Lexical Computing Ltd, Ljubljana/Brighton, 2015, 105–21.; Joy DuBose, “Russian, Japanese, and Latin Oh My! Using Technology to Catalog Non-English Language Titles,” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly* 57, no. 7–8 (2019): 496–506, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01639374.2019.1671929>.

Figure 6. Glagolitic next to Cursive Greek
















ORIGIN OF THE GLAGOLITIC ALPHABET.									
GLAGOLITIC.				GREEK CURSIVE.	GLAGOLITIC.				GREEK CURSIVE.
Names.	Values.	Late.	Early.		Names.	Values.	Late.	Early.	
Az	a	ⲁⲂ	ⲛⲛ	ⲛⲛⲛⲛ	Uk	u	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Buki	b	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Fert	f	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ
Vedi	v	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Kher	x	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ
Glagol	g	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	O	o	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ
Dobro	d	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Sha	sh	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Est	e	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Shta	sht	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Zhivête	zh	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Tsi	ts	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Zelo	dz	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Tsherv	tsh	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Zemlya	z	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Djerv	dj	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Izhe	ê	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yet	ye	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
I	y	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yu	yu	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Kako	k	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yer	o/e	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Iyudi	l	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yery	y	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Muislite	m	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yerek	e/i	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Nash	n	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Es	eng	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
On	o	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yes	yeng	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Pokoy	p	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	As	ong	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Reci	r	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Yas	yong	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ
Slovo	s	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Thita	θ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ
Tverdo	t	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	Izica	u	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ	ⲱⲲ - ⲱⲲ










Alphabet obtained from Taylor.




















In this figure we can note that various similarities between Cursive Greek (presumed origin of Glagolitic) and Early Glagolitic. Unfortunately, I cannot find a quality Cursive Greek keyboard, so I will refer to the letters based off their “Names” on the most lefthand column. So, to begin, some of the Cursive Greek letters that look most similar to Early Glagolitic are “Az”, “Vedi”,


















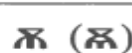




“Tverdo”, “Fert”, “Sha” and “Thita”. Interestingly enough, there are some partial similarities, such as “Kako”, “Zemlya”, “Buki”, “Uk”, and “Tsherv”. Even in comparison, the alphabets differ significantly, with Glagolitic’s thick font being one notable difference. A visual comparison between a Cyrillic and Glagolitic text is found in Appendix B.

Figure 7. In-Depth Philological Analysis of the Genealogy of Glagolitic and Cyrillic

Name	Transliteration	Glagolitic	Cyrillic
<i>azъ</i>	a	(1)  From Hebrew א <i>aleph</i> or the image of the cross	(1) А From Greek α <i>álpha</i> ; in later texts iotated α was written Ѧ or Ѩ
<i>buky</i>	b	(2)  Source unknown. Samaritan /m/ is מ , a mirror image of 	Б Origin uncertain. Perhaps a variant of Greek Β <i>bêta</i>
<i>vědě</i>	v	(3)  Perhaps from Latin V	(2) В From Greek Β <i>bêta</i>
<i>glagoli</i>	g	(4)  Perhaps from cursive Greek γ <i>gámma</i>	(3) Г From Greek Γ <i>gámma</i>
<i>dobro</i>	d	(5)  From Greek Δ <i>délta</i> ; cf.  /v/, i.e., inverted 	(4) Д From Greek Δ <i>délta</i>
<i>estъ</i>	e	(6)  Perhaps from Samaritan א /he/ or Greek numeral σάμψι α (900)	(5) Е Е Е From Greek Ε <i>epsilón</i> ; in later texts iotated Ѣ was written Ѭ
<i>živěte</i>	ž	(7)  Source unknown	Ж Perhaps from Glagolitic 
<i>zělo</i>	z	(8)  Source unknown	(6) З С З З From Greek ζ <i>digámma</i> or Latin S; for the variant Ѵ from Greek ζ <i>zêta</i> , see below
<i>zemplja</i>	z	(9)  Possibly a variant of Greek θ <i>thêta</i>	(7) З З From Greek ζ <i>zêta</i>
<i>iže</i>	i	(10)  Possibly from Greek ι <i>iôta</i> with dieresis	(8) И И Ch. Sl. <i>i osmeričьno</i> ; from Greek Η <i>êta</i>
	ı ı	(10)  Possibly from Greek ι <i>iôta</i> with dieresis	(10) ı (ı) ĭ Ch.Sl. <i>i desęteričьno</i> ; from Greek ι <i>iôta</i>

Name	Transliteration	Glagolitic	Cyrillic
	i	(20)  Source unknown; the inclusion in Glagolitic of the letters $\text{Ѣ}/\text{ѣ}$ and Ѥ with the same sound value was probably intended to imitate Byzantine Greek orthography where both η <i>ēta</i> and ι <i>iōta</i> were pronounced as /i/; it is possible that in the oldest texts Ѥ rendered the <i>i</i> which alternated with ѥ (2.34)	
<i>ǵervъ</i> <i>d'ervъ</i>	$\text{Ǧ}/\text{ǧ}/\text{d}'$	(30)  Source unknown; since the original sound value of $\text{Ǧ}/\text{ǧ}/\text{d}'$ approximated /ǵ/, it was used to render the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of palatalized g' in such borrowings as <i>g'eona</i> $\text{Ǧ} \text{Э} \text{Ѣ} \text{Ѥ}$ 'hell' from Greek $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\alpha$, as well as the reflexes of PSI. <i>d'</i> in Western South Slavic medieval texts (2.36)	
<i>kako</i>	k	(40)  From Hebrew ק <i>koph</i>	(20) К From Greek Κ <i>káppa</i>
<i>ljudie</i>	l	(50)  Perhaps from cursive Greek λ <i>lámdba</i>	(30) Λ From Greek Λ <i>lámdba</i>
<i>myslite</i>	m	(60)  From cursive Greek μ <i>mū</i>	(40) Μ Μ From Greek Μ <i>mū</i>
<i>našъ</i>	n	(70)  Source unknown	(50) Ν From Greek Ν <i>nū</i>
<i>onъ</i>	o	(80)  Source unknown	(70)  From Greek Ο <i>omikrón</i>
<i>pokoī</i>	p	(90)  Perhaps a variant of early Greek Π <i>pī</i>	(80) Π From Greek Π <i>pī</i>

Name	Transliteration	Glagolitic	Cyrillic
<i>rbci</i>	r	(100)  Perhaps related to cursive Greek ρ <i>rhô</i>	(100)  From cursive Greek ρ <i>rhô</i>
<i>slovo</i>	s	(200)  Source unknown; <i>z</i> occurs frequently with its inversion (<i>ŝ</i>) in the abbreviation of the name of Jesus (<i>ŝz</i>)	(200)  From Greek C <i>sigma</i>
<i>tvr̥do</i>	t	(300)  Perhaps from the crossbar of Greek cursive τ <i>tau</i>	(300)  From Greek T <i>tau</i>
<i>ukъ</i>	u	(400)  A digraph composed of <i>o</i> <i>onъ</i> and <i>u</i> <i>ižica</i> ; its independent position in the alphabet suggests that it functioned as a single phoneme	(400)  A digraph composed of <i>o</i> and <i>u</i> side-by-side or <i>u</i> on top of <i>o</i> ; these Glagolitic and Cyrillic digraphs follow the Greek practice of rendering /u/ with <i>ou</i>
<i>fr̥bъ</i>	f	(500)  A variant of Greek Φ <i>phî</i> The letter <i>f</i> , which was found originally in borrowings only, was also rendered with Glagolitic and Cyrillic <i>fit</i>  derived from Greek Θ <i>thêta</i>	(500)  From cursive Greek φ <i>phî</i>
<i>xěrbъ</i>	x	(600)  Source unknown; compare /g/ <i>ga</i> and Latin <i>h</i>	(600)  From Greek X <i>khî</i>
<i>otъ</i>	ō	(700)  A digraph made up of <i>o</i> <i>onъ</i> and its mirror image	(800)  From Greek Ω <i>oméga</i>
<i>ŝta</i>	ŝt	(800)  A digraph made up of ŝ /s/ over <i>st</i> /t/; its independent position in the alphabet suggests that it functioned as a single phoneme	 From Glagolitic <i>ŝ</i>
<i>ci</i>	c	(900)  From Hebrew צ <i>tsade</i>	(900)  Adapted from Glagolitic <i>ci</i>

Name	Transliteration	Glagolitic	Cyrillic
<i>črěvь</i>	č	(1000)  Source unknown; cf. ѣ /ɛtʲ/	(90)  ѣ adapted from Glagolitic ѣ ч adapted from Cyrillic ч
<i>ša</i>	š	 From Hebrew ש <i>shin</i>	 From Glagolitic ш /ʃ/
<i>erъ</i>	ь	 , later  Perhaps from Glagolitic ѡ /o/	 Perhaps from Glagolitic ѡ /b/
<i>erъ</i>	ь	 , later  Perhaps from Glagolitic ѡ /o/	 Perhaps from Glagolitic ѡ /b/
<i>jatъ</i>	č	 Perhaps from epigraphic Greek Α <i>alpha</i>	 Perhaps a variant of Cyrillic ѣ
<i>ju</i>	ju	 Source unknown; its shape suggests that it functioned as a single phoneme /jü/	 From an iotated and truncated ѡ /u/ which suggests a biphonemic status as /ju/
Nasality	N	 Front nasal vowel from Greek Ε <i>epsilon</i> ; it functioned also as a marker of nasality in nasal vowels ѡЄ /qʲ/, ѡЄ /ɛʲ/, ѡЄ /ɔʲ/	 From epigraphic Greek Α <i>alpha</i>
Nasal o	q	 Back nasal vowel written as a digraph made up of ѡ <i>onъ</i> and Є (nasality)	 Variant of epigraphic Greek Α <i>alpha</i> ; it is known in Russian as <i>jus bol' šój</i>
Nasal e	ɕ	 Front nasal vowel written as a digraph made up of ѡ <i>estъ</i> and Є (nasality)	 From epigraphic Greek Α <i>alpha</i> ; it is known in Russian as <i>jus mályj</i> ; /ɛʲ/ iotated was written ѣ
Nasal ō	ö or jö	 A digraph made up of a letter of unknown origin and Є (nasality); its independent position in the alphabet suggests that it functioned as a single phoneme	 Iotated /qʲ/ whose shape suggests a biphonemic status as /jɔʲ/





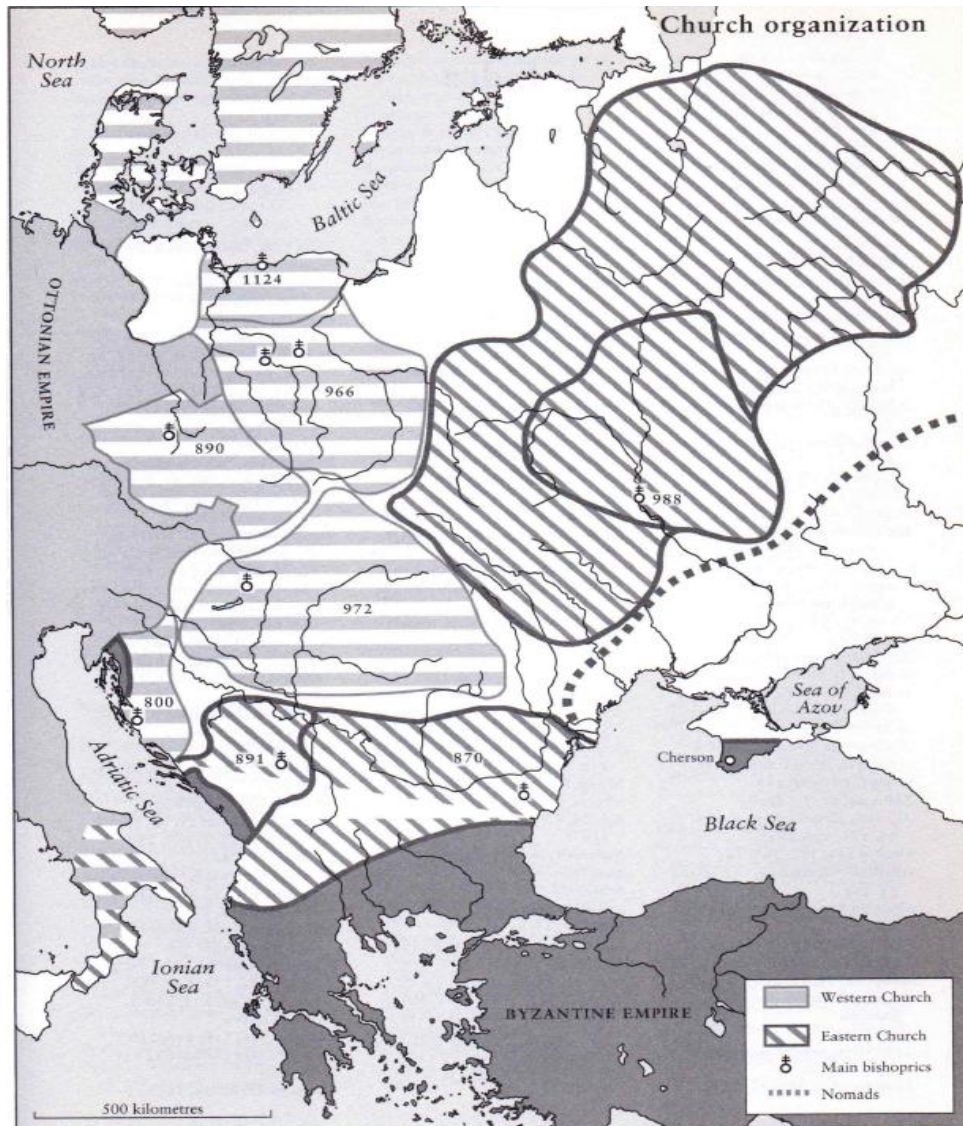
Name	Transliteration	Glagolitic	Cyrillic
<i>fita</i>	θ	 From Greek θ <i>thēta</i>	 From Greek Θ <i>thēta</i>
<i>ižica</i>	i (v)	 Source unknown	 From Greek uncial Y or cursive v; <i>ižica</i> was the regular second member of the Cyrillic digraph ѡѢ /u/; When used alone, in borrowings from Greek, its original sound value was probably /u/

Figure taken from Schenker.

In this beautiful philological and etymological analysis, Schenker attempts to trace the origins of Glagolitic and how those origins influence Cyrillic's invention. Evidently, there is *no* consensus for Glagolitic's etymology, which is why Schenker sometimes cites that a certain Glagolitic letter might have Latin or Hebrew origins. Regardless of the inconclusivity of his analysis, it is nonetheless incisive, comprehensive, and further adds to Cyril's creativity when devising Glagolitic.

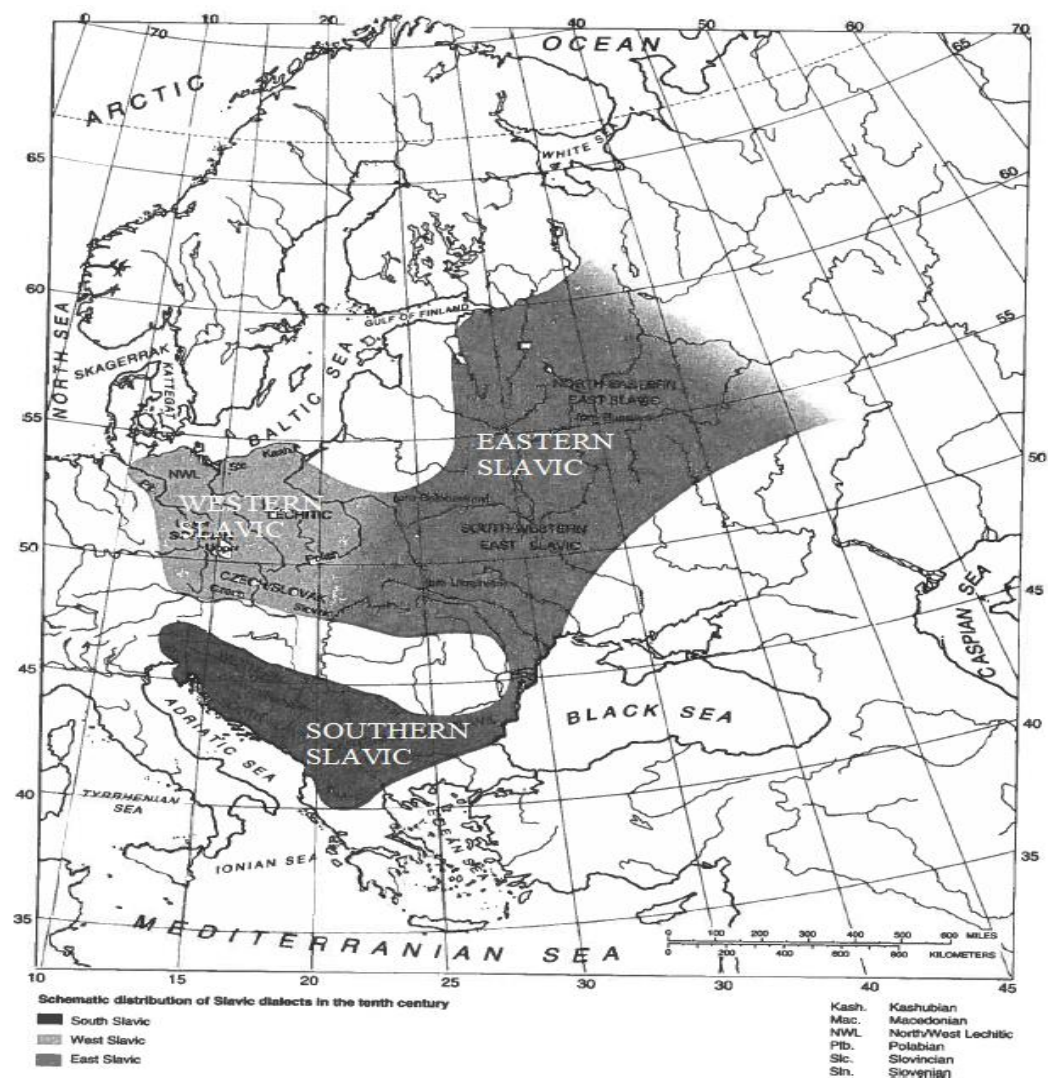
Figure 8. Separation of Eastern churches versus Western churches



Map taken from Barford.

Ultimately, this is how the divisions of the churches would play out after the Methodian period. Notice the influence of the Western (Roman) churches never reaching the Eastern (Byzantine) portions of Europe, and how the Bulgarians are firmly operating with Eastern churches, but Byzantine never pushed northward because that is where the Roman influence begins.

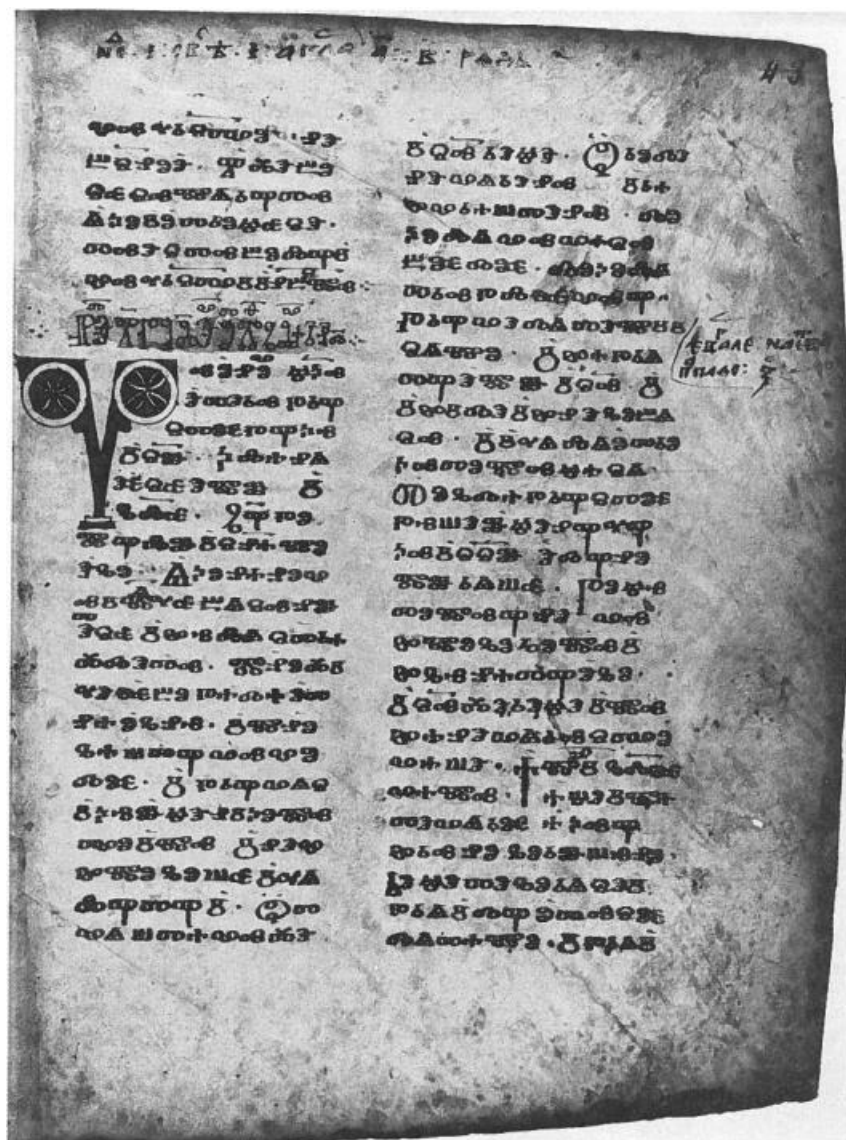
Figure 10. The Slavdom in the 10th Century.



Map taken from Schenker.

In short, this is the geographic dispersion of the Slavs (Slavdom) by the 10th century. It was the translations of Cyril and Methodius that secured the literary future of the Slavdom. While Glagolitic is no longer used (even in Slavic churches), Cyrillic is indeed still in use across various Slavic countries and puts into perspective as to how one translation mission affected millions of people, across empires.

Appendix B.

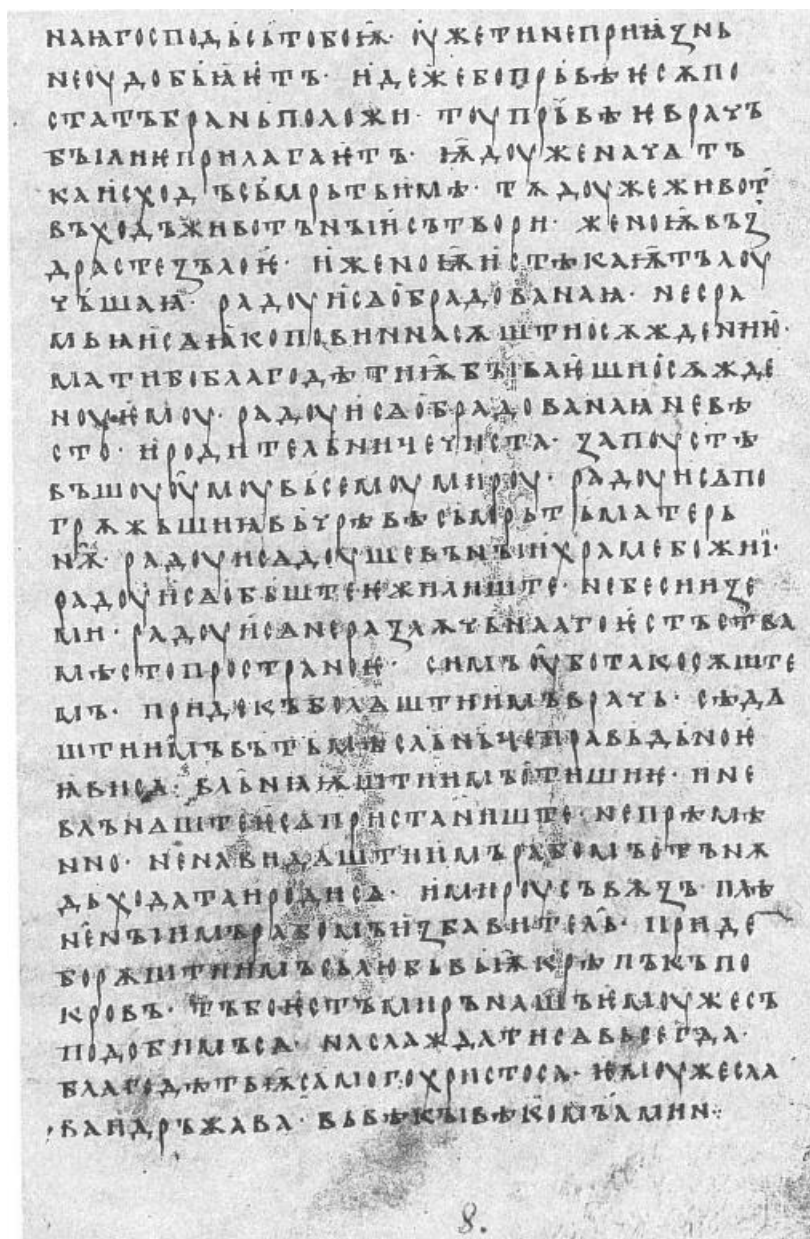
Figure 1. *Codex Assemanianus*, Rounded Glagolitic Letters (11th Century).

Scanned from Schenker's *Dawn of Slavic Philology* book, where he has various photographs of early Slavic writing.

This in particular is an evangeliary that was written in Macedonia, and has Cyrillic notes on the top of the page, as well as it's right hand side. What is to be taken away is the bulkiness and roundedness of the Glagolitic script in this instance. It sports no resemblance to the Pilatian

languages of Hebrew, Greek, and certainly not Latin. This text is in no way supposed to resemble or replicate what Cyril's initial translations would have looked like, but we can infer that his translations would have had a similar look to this one. What is to keep in mind is that this is what the Franko-Bavarian clergy would have seen, and had to argue against.

Figure 2. *Codex Suprasliensis*. East Bulgarian menaeum (11th century).



Scanned from Schenker's *Dawn of Slavic Philology*.

This is a Slavic translation from Greek into Cyrillic and was translated in East Bulgaria from the Preslav literary school. For our case, what is of importance is the *dissimilarity* between the Cyrillic script and the above's Glagolitic script. Its square shape most certainly gives it a distinct look but given the similarities it possesses to Greek (Figure 7), a skeptical Franko-Bavarian clergyman would have better time noticing Greek influence within the Cyrillic script compared to the Glagolitic script. Further information about the *Codex Suprasliensis* is found in the work of David Birnhaun.⁶²

⁶² Birnhaun, J. David, *Codex Suprasliensis*. <http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/>

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