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Bishop Strossmayer and Glagolitic Liturgy

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Review Article

Abstract: Cyrillomethodian idea stands at the basis of the linguistic, literary and cultural history of the Slavic people. However, Cyrillomethodian legacy has been preserved in its millennial continuity solely on the Croatian national territory – from the second half of the 9th century until the end of the 19th century. Socio-political circumstances that fell upon all Slavic people in the Austrian Empire as well as in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the 19th century will encourage them to strengthen Slavic reciprocity and bring them closer to finding solutions in common legacy – life and work of holy brothers SS. Cyril and Methodius. These values have prompted the process of restoration of the liturgical books (printed in the Glagolitic Script and (Croatian) New Church Slavonic Language). Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, historian Franjo Rački, philologists Ivan Berčić and Dragutin Antun Parčić took the initiative in ‘renewal’ process of Glagolitic liturgical books. This paper therefore considers: 1) the socio-political context and elements of Cyrillomethodian restoration in the 19th century; 2) language policy and practice associated with bishop Strossmayer and members of The Committee for liturgical books restoration in the second half of the 19th century (results of which are Glagolitic Missal and Latin Ritual printed in 1893).

Key words: 1. Cyrillomethodian idea; 2. 19th century; 3. Bishop J. J. Strossmayer; 4. Glagolitic Liturgy.

Introduction

The issue of the Glagolitic liturgy in the nineteenth century is a crucial part of a much broader topic – restoration of the heritage of Cyril and Methodius on Croatian territory (and among other Slavs), and cannot be viewed outside of that context. Therefore, it is my goal in this paper to indicate the basic coordinates of that context in order to clarify the reasons for return of the Old Church Slavonic language to liturgical use. The presentation is philological in nature and is based on the so-called external history of language.

1. Bishop Strossmayer – Restorer of Heritage of Cyril and Methodius

In the nineteenth century, especially its second half, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy within the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy) aimed to

suppress any movement of the Slavic spirit on Croatian territory, one could simplify things and say that the destiny of Cyrillo-Methodian work ten centuries later became largely similar to that after the death of the Slavic apostles, missionaries Constantine Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. Old Slavonic liturgy was once again on the verge of the law in the eyes of the governing structures and of the Roman Curia, which in both cases weakened Croatian national identity. In such circumstances, a serious initiative appeared to resolve this issue by the appointment of Josip Juraj Strossmayer as the bishop of Đakovo and Srijem in 1849.

It is undisputed in modern science (philology and historiography) that this particular bishop was the initiator of the restoration of heritage of St. Cyril and Methodius in the Croatian national territory (but also among the Slavs).¹ His mandate as a bishop was marked by great Cyrillo-Methodian anniversaries: in 1863 one thousand years after the Moravian Mission, in 1869 one thousand years after the death of St. Cyril, in 1880, a thousand years after the Encyclical of Pope John the Eighth *Industriae tuae*, and in 1885, one thousand years after the death of St. Methodius.² These anniversaries, to be celebrated among all Slavs, would become an additional incentive to Strossmayer's efforts in the field of Cyrillomethodiana. Bishop Strossmayer viewed advocating for the restoration of Cyrillo-Methodian heritage in the Croatian national territory as his natural right. Proving that right, he called upon the historically grounded reasons supported by the science of his time: 1. a thousand-year's continuity of Old Slavonic liturgy of the Western Rite among the Croatian people; 2. almost romanticist belief that «the providence of God» tasked Croats with being a bridge between the «separated brothers», i.e. the Eastern and the Western church³; 3. The existence of the cult of St. Cyril and Methodius in the Đakovo and Srijem Dio-

¹ Cfr. S. DAMJANOVIĆ, *Čirilometodska baština u prepisci Rački-Strossmayer*. – In: *Jedanaest stoljeća nezaborava*. Osijek – Zagreb: IC Revija i Međunarodni slavistički centar, 1991, p. 155–172; M. CEPELIĆ, M. PAVIĆ, Biskup i papa Lav XIII, in: *Biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer, reprint*. Đakovo: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1994, p. 298–317; M. CEPELIĆ, M. PAVIĆ, Biskup i papa Lav XIII, in: *Biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer, reprint*. Đakovo: Biskupski ordinarijat, 1994, p. 298–317.

² Cfr. M. LUKIĆ, Crtica o sveslavenskom hodočašću u Rim 1881. (Prilog za noviju povijest glagolizma), in: *Zavičajnik: zbornik Stanislava Marijanovića: povodom sedamdesetogodišnjice života i četrdesetpetogodišnjice znanstvenoga rada*. Milovan Tatarin (ed.). Osijek: Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera, Filozofski fakultet, 2005, p. 233–250; M. LUKIĆ, Popularizacija čirilometodske ideje u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća na hrvatskome nacionalnom prostoru. – *Lingua Montenegrina* 2/2(2009)4, p. 85–124; M. LUKIĆ, Strossmayerov projekt obnove čirilometodske baštine. – *Anali Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku* 27(2011), p. 67–96; M. LUKIĆ, Biskup Strossmayer – obnovitelj čirilometodske baštine. – *Vjesnik Đakovačko-osječke nadbiskupije i Srijemske biskupije* 141(2013)9-10, p. 707–720; M. LUKIĆ, Cyrillomethodiana oživljena ili O Strossmayerovu projektu obnove čirilometodske baštine, in: *Divanimo, dakle postojimo. Književnojezične i jezičnopovijesne studije*. Josip Cvenić (ed.). Osijek: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Osijeku, 2014, p. 210–241.

³ J. J. STROSSMAYER, Korizmena okružnica 1. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 11(1883)2, p. 9–41.

cese even before his time⁴; 4. The belief that he was a legitimate successor of St. Methodius in the ancient position of Srijem bishop that dates back to the time of St. Andronicus and is located in Srijemska Mitrovica today (when it comes to the question of Methodius' Bishop's chair, bishop Strossmayer takes the view of German scientist Friedrich Blumberger, shaped and popular in Slavic scientific circles of the time)⁵.

Adhering to this «natural right», Bishop Strossmayer tried to win over the Roman Curia for the idea that all Catholic Slavs ought to be able to perform liturgy in the Old Slavonic language. In this regard, in 1859, he sent a promemoria to Pope Pius IX in which he, among other things, requested the printing of new Glagolitic liturgical books.⁶ In addition, he introduced the study of Old Slavonic language into Đakovo's Seminary in 1860. Already in 1861, he publicly and solemnly celebrated the day of St. Cyril and Methodius. At the request of Bishop Strossmayer, in 1862, Pope Pius the Ninth moved the holiday of St. Brothers from the 14th of February to 5th July. In 1863, in Rome, Bishop Strossmayer managed to open the College of St. Cyril and Methodius for young clerics for a brief period of time. Under his auspices, in 1865, one of the most important Old Slavic canonical monuments – *Assemani's or Vatican Gospels* was revealed, while Pope Leo IX used the initiative of Bishop Strossmayer and encyclical *Grande Munus* to spread the cult of St. Cyril and Methodius on the entire Catholic Church in 1880. Bishop Strossmayer also led a Slavic pilgrimage to Rome in 1881, as a thanksgiving for *Grande Munus*, and in 1882 he completed the construction of the cathedral in Đakovo⁷. This cathedral would become a symbol of his Cyrillo-Methodian com-

⁴ B. GRABAR, Kult Ćirila i Metodija u Hrvata. – *Slovo* 36(1986), p. 141–145.

⁵ J. J. STROSSMAYER, Govor preuzvišenog g. biskupa J. J. Strossmayera, kojim je dne 5. srpnja t.g. u ime svih katoličkih Slavena pozdravio u Vatikanu sv. Otca Lava XIII. predočujući mu slavenske hodočaštnike a zahvaljujuć mu na kazanjoj ljubavi našim apoštolima, a po njima i nama (latinski original i prijevod na hrvatski jezik). – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 9(1881)13, p. 131–135; Okružnica br. 457 u povodu sveslavenskog hodočašća. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 9(1881)9, p. 99–101; Okružnica br. 772 po povratku s rimskog hodočašća. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 9(1881)16, p. 155–158. Cfr. M. LUKIĆ, Cyrillomethodiana oživljena ili O Strossmayerovu projektu obnove ćirilometodske baštine, in: *Divanimo, dakle postojimo. Književnojezične i jezičnopovijesne studije*. Josip Cvenić (ed.). Osijek: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Osijeku, 2014, p. 210–241; A. DEVIĆ, Imre Boba i njegovo mišljenje o središtu djelovanja Sv. Metoda. – *Vjesnik Đakovačko-osječke nadbiskupije i Srijemske biskupije* 141(2013)9–10, p. 681–685.

⁶ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Korespondencija Rački – Strossmayer, Knjiga prva (od 6. okt. 1860. do 28. dec. 1875)*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1928; A. ŠULJAK, Biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer i ćirilometodsko-glagoljska baština, in: *Lik i djelo Josipa Jurja Strossmayera, Zbornik radova međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa*. Stanislav Marijanović (ed.). Osijek: Filozofski fakultet u Osijeku, 2008, p. 245–266.

⁷ J. J. STROSSMAYER, Okružnica br. 558 – uspomena na sveslavensko hodočašće. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 10(1882)11, p. 188; Okružnica o svertkovini sv. Ćirila i Metoda. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 10(1882)11, p. 115; Okružnica br. 474 – hodočašće u Rim u povodu pedesete obljetnice svećeništva Lava XIII. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 16(1888)10, p. 117–145;

mitment, especially given the fact that its dedication was marked with Glagolitic liturgy. However, the highlight of the entire Croatian Cyrillomethodiana in the nineteenth century is certainly the disclosure of Glagolitic Missal in 1893⁸, which was compiled and edited by a Franciscan Tertiary and later Roman canon Dragutin Antun Parčić.

A contribution to the success of Strossmayer's work on the restoration of Cyrillo-Methodian heritage was also made by his life-long friendship and professional / scientific cooperation with one of the leading Croatian historians and philologists of the second half of the nineteenth century, Franjo Rački, who is deemed the founder of Croatian Cyrillomethodiana in scientific circles⁹. It is under the supervision of Franjo Rački that a number of Strossmayer's circular letters dedicated to St. Brothers and Cyrillo-Methodian heritage among the Slavs were created. He published them in *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske*, a periodical he founded in 1873.¹⁰ Strossmayer addressed the issues of Cyril and Methodius in his extensive correspondence with many contemporaries as well. Especially important in this regard is his correspondence with Franjo Rački¹¹, Vrhbosnian Archbishop Josip Stadler¹², Split Bishop Marko Kalogjera, Viennese Nuncio

Svetkovina sv. Cyrila i Methoda. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 25(1897)13, p. 126. Cfr. F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Korespondencija Rački – Strossmayer, Knjiga druga (od 6. jan. 1876. do 31. dec. 1881)*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1929; *Korespondencija Rački – Strossmayer, Knjiga treća (od 5. jan. do 27. jun. 1888)*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1930; *Korespondencija Rački – Strossmayer, Knjiga četvrta (od 2. jula 1888. do 15. februara 1894)*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1931; M. LUKIĆ, *Crtice o sveslavenskom hodočašću u Rim 1881*. etc.

⁸ J. J. STROSSMAYER, Staroslavenski misal. – *Glasnik Biskupija Bosanske i Srijemske* 21(1893)18, p. 182. Cfr. K. K. BONEFAČIĆ, *Dragutin A. Parčić*. Krk: Kurykta, 1903; M. BOLONIĆ, O životu i radu Dragutina A. Parčića. – *Bogoslovska smotra*, 42(1972)4, p. 418–438; T. MRKONJIĆ, J. J. Strossmayer i glagoljski misal iz 1893. – *Slovo* 56-57(2006-2007), p. 379-389.

⁹ I. PETROVIĆ, Franjo Rački – otac hrvatske Cyrillo-Methodiane. – In: *Zbornik zavoda za povijesne znanosti Istraživačkog centra JAZU* 9(1979), p. 47–99.

¹⁰ J. J. STROSSMAYER, *Govor preuzvišenog g. biskupa J. J. Strossmayera, kojim je dne 5. srpnja t.g. u ime svih katoličkih Slavena pozdravio u Vatikanu sv. Otca Lava XIII*, p. 131-135; *Okružnica br. 457 u povodu sveslavenskog hodočašća*, p. 99–101; *Okružnica br. 772 po povratku s rimskog hodočašća* p. 155–158; *Okružnica br. 558 – uspomena na sveslavensko hodočašće*, p. 188; *Okružnica o svetkovini sv. Ćirila i Metoda*, p. 115; *Korizmena okružnica I*, p. 9–41; *Okružnica br. 474 – hodočašće u Rim u povodu pedesete obljetnice svećeništva Lava XIII*, p. 117–145; *Svetkovina sv. Cyrila i Methoda*, p. 126. etc.

¹¹ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Korespondencija Rački – Strossmayer*, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931.

¹² M. LUKIĆ, *Korespondencija đakovačkoga biskupa Josipa Jurja Strossmayera i sarajevskog nadbiskupa Josipa Stadlera*, in: *Zbornik radova VI. međunarodnog znanstvenog simpozija Muka kao nepresušno nadahnuće kulture*. Jozo Čikeš (ed.). Zagreb: Udruga Pasijska baština, 2012, p. 382–402.

Seraphinus Vannutelli¹³, compiler of Glagolitic Missal Dragutin Antun Parčić¹⁴, Montenegrin Prince Nikola I Petrović Njegoš and his Chancellor Jovan Sundečić¹⁵ and many others.

2. Strossmayer and Language Policy

It is primarily language and script that underpin the Cyrillo-Methodian ideas.¹⁶ Developing nations in the Central, Eastern and South-eastern Europe in the nineteenth century relied primarily on language as a key integrative element. Language is what connects all members of the same ethnic group or nation. After all, a nation was perceived and defined as a community of people speaking the same language back in the Middle Ages. Cyrillo-Methodian ideas likewise fits (fit) into the vision of the Slavistics of the time, led by Šafařík and Kollar, which rapidly developed with the aim of connecting the Slavs, because it was Cyril and Methodius who brought language and alphabet to the Slavs. Thus, a ten-century old idea of St. Brothers defended the language of the Slavs once again, but this time it was in terms of the right to survival among other languages and nations. In his article entitled *Cyril and Methodius – a new approach to evangelization*, Croatian theologian and paleoslavist Josip Tandarić¹⁷ emphasizes that the Slavs began to feel like a people only when they «started to speak their word in liturgy before God» and that the «St. brothers helped establish a new equal people – the Slavs on a historical stage of already formed Western world, or in what presented a pretty clear division of Europe into East and West.» Similarly, Croatian philologist Josip Bratulić relies on the interpretation that the Slavic peoples are recognized in their unity of language through a Proto-Slavic / Old Slavic word *jezykō*, meaning both, (both) language and the people. «They speak *letters*, and understand each other and gather through their spoken language, becoming an *ethnos*, a people»,

¹³J. BALABANIĆ, J. KOLANOVIĆ, *Korespondencija Josip Juraj Strossmayer – Serafin Vannutelli. Correspondentia Josephi Georgii Strossmayer cum Seraphino Vannutelli, 1881-1887*, text editors Josip Balabanić, Croatian translation and Josip Kolanović, latin text and comment, Hrvatski državni arhiv, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Dom i svijet, Zagreb 1999. (Monumenta Vaticana Croatica, Special edition), (Croatia Christiana, Fontes, 14).

¹⁴M. LUKIĆ, Dragutin Antun Parčić i njegov Rimski misal slavenskim jezikom (Rim, 1893.) – (u povodu 100. obljetnice Parčićeve smrti i pretiska njegova glagoljskog Misala u Crnoj Gori). – *Lingua Montenegrina* 5/2(2012)10, p. 317–337.

¹⁵M. NIKČEVIĆ, *Josip Juraj Strossmayer i Nikola I. Petrović Njegoš u korespondenciji i dokumentima. U duhovnim prostorima Crne Gore/Boke kotorske*. Osijek: HCDP Croatica-Montenegrina, CKD M-M, 2009.

¹⁶G. van DARTEL, *Ćirilometodska ideja i svetosavlje*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1984.

¹⁷J. L. TANDARIĆ, Sveti Ćiril i Metodije – novi pristup evangelizaciji. – *Bogoslovska smotra* 55(1985)3-4, p. 369–375.

says Bratulić.¹⁸ Cyrillo-Methodian ideas helped the Slavs in the ninth century to stand side by side with other European peoples, and its task ten centuries later was to help them to be constituted as modern nations in resisting pressure from neighbouring, ruling nations. However, in the nineteenth century, the Slavic world was no longer as united as it was in the ninth century – it was divided ever since the church split in 1054. The idea of the church reconciliation occurred repeatedly throughout history. The reformer of this idea now was Strossmayer, who always kept in mind primarily the overcoming of the «wall» between the Catholic and Orthodox Slavs, stressing in this respect the idea that the Slavs did not cause the split, but that it cost them the most. Since the Old Slavonic language codified by Constantine Cyril and Methodius was a literary language (and this means liturgical as well) of all Slavic peoples at some point in their history, Bishop Strossmayer saw it as the largest integrative force. This would become a force that was capable of rebuilding a bridge between the East and West a thousand years later.

The extent to which Strossmayer was aware of the fact that the vernacular literary languages of the Slavs came to life with the help of the Old Slavonic language is shown in the fact that he requested the printing of Glagolitic liturgical books already during his first Episcopal visit to Rome in 1859. We already mentioned an extensive document – promemoria – which he compiled together with Franjo Rački.¹⁹ In this document, Strossmayer requests from Pope Pius IX restoration of liturgical books, particularly the Missal as the fundamental liturgical book, as well as the re-establishment of studies of Old Slavonic language at Croatian seminaries. Strossmayer viewed both as the most necessary conditions for church unity and strengthening of the Croatian national identity. He also justified his requests in this document by a real lack of church books that were not printed for over a hundred years at the time. At the same time, Strossmayer was aware that Dalmatian bishops had more right to talk about the problem than he did, given that Slavic liturgy was historically guaranteed in their dioceses, but he did not want to miss an opportunity to do something for all the Slavs, especially for the South Slavs. He therefore uses the promemoria to ask Pope Pius IX to stand up for their fate, given that a historic moment has come for it: the Turkish slavery was at an end. Furthermore, Strossmayer advocates for expanding Old Slavonic language in liturgy to all Croatian dioceses, in particular to the Zagreb and Bosnian-Đako-

¹⁸ J. BRATULIĆ, *Leksikon hrvatske glagoljice*. Zagreb: Minerva, 1995, p. 10.

¹⁹ S. DAMJANOVIĆ, *Ćirilometodska baština u prepisci Rački-Strossmayer*. – In: *Jedanaest stoljeća nezaborava*. Osijek – Zagreb: IC Revija i Međunarodni slavistički centar, 1991, p. 155–172; Strossmayerova nastojanja oko glagoljskih liturgijskih knjiga, in: *Lik i djelo Josipa Jurja Strossmayera, Zbornik radova međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa*. Stjepan Marijanović (ed.). Osijek: Filozofski fakultet u Osijeku, 2008, p. 365–372; M. LUKIĆ, *Dragutin Antun Parčić i njegov Rimski misal slavenskim jezikom*.

vo and Srijem Diocese, referring to the historical confirmations of John the Eighth and Innocent the Fourth; he also advocates for opening of a special seminary in which Glagolitic script would be learnt and where future priests would be educated in the spirit of Cyril and Methodius and the Glagolitic heritage. Since there was no specific response to Strossmayer's promemoria of 1859, he repeated the same request in 1864, motivated by, among other things, the millennial anniversary of the Moravian Mission, which was celebrated a year earlier. This time he had more success: in 1867 the Holy See entrusted him with the care of the preparation of liturgical books. Still, when Strossmayer accepted this responsible task it was hard to imagine that it would take almost three decades for its realization.

Although the preparation of new liturgical books included the social and political aspect, it primarily concerned philologists. Namely, the Croatian recension of the Old Church Slavonic language needed to be re-introduced in liturgical books, even though its natural development had been interrupted through eastern-slavization of Glagolitic liturgical books in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. This recension had the highest reputation in the Middle Ages among all recensions of the Old Church Slavonic language, and Glagolitic heritage was maintained on Croatian soil the longest – so it was logical that the restored liturgical books would re-introduce this particular language. Accordingly, in 1868 and 1869, the main preoccupation of Strossmayer and his assistant Franjo Rački was to assemble an expert team or board, whose task would be to deal with concerns about the language and script of the liturgical books. The board would eventually include Glagolitic promoter Ivan Brčić (1824–1870), placed by Slavic science of his time side by side to Šafařík, Miklošič, Sreznjevski and Dobrovski, the Dalmatian national reformer Mihovil Pavlinović, historian and philologist Franjo Rački and philologists Vatroslav Jagić and Đuro Daničić, and after death of Ivan Brčić in 1870, Franciscan Tertiary Dragutin Antun Parčić.²⁰ The board decided that the Missal, as the fundamental liturgical book, should be printed first and that special attention should be paid to issues of language and script in which it is to be printed. Given the traditional trilateracy of Croatian culture in the previous periods²¹, all three scripts were considered: the Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin²². The question of liturgical books was again raised at the First Vatican Council of 1869–1870,

²⁰ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Korespondencija Rački – Strossmayer, Knjiga prva (od 6. okt. 1860. do 28. dec. 1875)*, p. 56, 65; Cfr. M. LUKIĆ, *Cyrrilometodianiana oživljena ili O Strossmayerovu projektu obnove ćirilometodske baštine*, p. 210–241.

²¹ E. HERCIGONJA, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2006.

²² M. LUKIĆ, *Polemike oko jezika i pisma liturgijskih staroslavenskih knjiga u 19. st. (s osobitim obzirom na tekstove Dragutina A. Parčića i Ivana Milčetića)*. – In: *Knjige poštujući, knjigama poštovan. Zbornik o 70. rođendanu Josipa Bratulića*. Davor Dukić i Mateo Žagar (ed.) Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2010, p. 283–292.

but the work on the preparation of the Glagolitic Missal started only in 1878 due to political circumstances – the Italian occupation of Rome and the termination of the Papal State. At the initiative of the Zadar archbishop Petar Dujam Mau-pas, the Propagation of the Faith entrusted the preparation for print of Croatian Glagolitic Missal and Croatian ritual to Dragutin Parčić. At that time already the St. Jerome canon, who was originally from the old Glagolitic diocese – Vrbnik on the island Krk. Parčić was a student and collaborator of the mentioned Glagolitic promoter from Zadar Ivan Brčić, and it was therefore not surprising that the job of preparing the Missal and other liturgical books was entrusted to him. That same year, Leo the Thirteenth became the Pope (known as the Pope of the Slavs in history), creating a more favourable environment for the Old Slavic liturgy. He even established the department for Old Slavonic and other Slavic languages in Rome, which is also a confirmation of his great affection to the preparation of Croatian liturgical books.

The Glagolitic Missal was finally printed in 1893 in Rome. That Missal would come out in several editions: unchanged in 1896 and 1905, but now published by Josef Vajs, and at the end of 1927 in Latin transliteration. The entire unbiased Croatian cultural public, especially supporters of the Glagolitic script, enthusiastically welcomed Parčić's edition of the new Glagolitic Missal. Philologist Vatroslav Jagić called it «a triumph of Slavic philology». It is definitely the most important event in the recent history of Glagolitic script, as Croatian philologist Anica Nazor put it.²³ Professional circles have also largely approved the translation and layout of the Missal, which Parčić made leaning on the Old Slavonic and Old Croatian tradition, as well as the Russified text of printed Karaman's Missal of 1741.²⁴

Preparation of other liturgical books in the nineteenth century, the rituals, breviaries and lectionaries were overshadowed by the *Missal* of 1893, which is pretty understandable given that missal is a fundamental liturgical book, the one that church services must have. In 1893, the Croatian *Ritual* was printed, which was also prepared by Dragutin Antun Parčić, in Croatian literary language and the Latin alphabet. As for the Glagolitic Book of Hours, philological and other literatures mention only the fact that it was prepared by Dragutin Antun Parčić and nothing beyond that.²⁵

²³ A. NAZOR, Tragom Parčićeva glagoljskog «Misala», in: *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenoga skupa Život i djelo Dragutina A. Parčića (Zadar – Preko 18. i 19. listopada 1992)*. Julije Derossi (ed.). Zadar: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Zadar, 1993, p. 103–120.

²⁴ K. K. BONEFAČIĆ, *Dragutin A. Parčić*, p. 22.

²⁵ K. K. BONEFAČIĆ, *Dragutin A. Parčić*, p. 27; M. BOLONIĆ, *O životu i radu Dragutina A. Parčića*, p. 420.

If we consider the restoration of liturgical books from the point of view of the sociology of language, we can conclude that Old Slavonic as a liturgical language functions as an instrument of civilization of a particular human collective – in this case the Croatian people – in specific socio-historical circumstances which have special requirements in relation to the language. In the nineteenth century, the Old Slavonic language was seen as a stronghold that was expected to take over the role of political forces that could not be found in the internal social and political factors. This language would become the sign and instrument of unity, which was also the centuries-old role of the Latin language. The influence of the society (i.e. social and political circumstances) on the language selection, in a separate segment of functioning of national entities – in liturgy in this case – is evident; yet it is not an influence on the internal language structure but on the need for the authority of the ancient Slavic / Croatian liturgical language conditioned by the socio-political moment.

Macrosociolinguistics teaches us that the *language exerts certain points of view*. For example, it largely influences the shaping of philosophy of human equality and is often in a situation to equal something that is not equal in society, influencing it through the belief that things would improve. In this particular case, we could speak about the formation of the idea of equality of peoples through the matrix of the liturgical language that, although not as understandable and close to vernacular idioms as it was to the Slavs in the first centuries of its existence, had the power to connect the Slavic tribes struggling for their independence in the second half of the nineteenth century within the international dynastic state alliance of the Habsburg Monarchy.²⁶

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²⁶ O. JESPERSEN, Čovječanstvo, narod i pojedinac sa lingvističkog stanovišta, Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika, 1970, p. 1.

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