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Cyrillic Manuscripts

From Medieval to Digital



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*We dedicate this volume to the memory of
our dear colleague and friend, Yavor Miltenov,
whose scholarship inspired many!*

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On the Subject of Publishing Cyrillic Sources in Slovakia:
The Source as a Basis for Research into Intercultural
Communication¹

Abstract

The paper provides a systematic view on the issue of making available the Byzantine-Slavic written culture, which – also thanks to the Slovak space – intensively participated in the creation of the European civilization and its cultural values. The Cyrillic written heritage in Slovakia, combining the Great Moravian tradition and the Slavic spiritual culture, represents such a legacy, which was created precisely thanks to the cultural communication and integration of the communities coming to Slovakia, as well as thanks to the economically motivated migration, whose roots are to be seen in the Wallachian colonization and its Byzantine religiosity. The paper emphasizes the importance of the Slovak space in the enculturation of the Cyrillic written heritage, which is thus also fully associated with the development of the European occidental civilization.

Introduction

Cultural communication between Slavic East and West can be understood especially in the context of comprehensive examination of older as well as more recent written records. The sources of ideas for these writings are linked with history and the development of European cultural thinking, and they provide plenty of information on the cultural evolution of the Slavs thanks to philological, but also cultural and historical research. A particularly interesting component of research into the writings is the axiological system, consisting of diverse linguistic documents related to the developmental stages of collective cultural thinking.

Written sources document the dynamic of everyday economic, legal, and political life, while capturing the cultural and religious discourse, as well as the synergistic nature of the relationship between the ecclesiastical and ethnic identity.

1 The article was created within the project APVV-22-0088 ‘What do Slovak archives hold? The Spiritual Legacy of the East in the West’.

Current References Used in the Research into the Sources of Slovak and Slavic Culture

As a rule, the written heritage of Slavs is based on Latin and Byzantine Christian tradition. Therefore, it is an extremely important source of learning about European culture. At the same time, Slavic written records confirm the symbiosis of two European Christian and cultural traditions (Latin and Greek Byzantine), which influenced the development of Slavic culture.

Cultural communication between the Latin West and Byzantine East has also been reflected for centuries in Slovak culture, which is why the main goal of the research into written records in Slovakia is to understand the processes connected with the shaping of Slovak cultural identity. Among the sources of research into the cultural processes in Slovakia are liturgical, biblical, apocryphal, apologetic, historical, sermonic, and literary writings. They are not only written in the Latin alphabet, but also in Slovak, Slovakized Czech, German, or Hungarian. However, there is a number of texts written in Cyrillic. All these writings have preserved evidence of everyday life of a multilaterally functioning Slovak culture, and they document the intensity of linguistic and cultural relationships, as well as the synergy of interfaith communication.

The interfaith model of the history of Slovak culture was already emphasized by Anton A. Baník, who elucidated the evolution of that culture against the background of active involvement of Slovaks in individual stages of economic, social, and political life in the Hungarian society. In this way, he highlighted the indelible imprint of Slovaks on the history of Hungarian statehood, as well as on the actual development of cultivated variants of Slovak until the nationally codified form of Slovak language was adopted. This entire difficult period in the development of Slovak culture and language can be associated with denominational streams. The language of the church and the ecclesiastical tradition are a significant, determining factor behind the identity of Slovaks.² Mutually overlapping elements of diverse denominational streams of Christian culture, continually determining each other, found themselves next to one another in the Slovak milieu. All ecclesiastical environments in Slovakia rest on the belief that their church tradition has the highest cultural value. This also corresponds to the ways of a priori thinking about Slovak confessionalism, according to which selected facts from the cultural history of Slovaks can prove the diversity of authenticity or orthodoxy, and thus the contribution of a particular denomination to the development of the entire Slovak culture. A specific level of such a picture

2 Anton Augustín Baník, *O dialektickej podstate slovenského konfesionalizmu* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2000).

of Slovak culture is also represented by its national component, which in turn, through selected historical arguments, seeks to point out the most significant merits of a particular church tradition for the development of the national community. This search for the contribution of denominational environments to Slovak culture is connected with the national identity of Slovaks.³ The discourse of national identity has to take into account the plurality of denominational identities, which have been translated into collective thinking (*sensus communis*). Common cultural and linguistic awareness is built not only in the context of shared Christian values, but also Slovak linguistic convergence, which has cemented the idea of development of cultural thinking of the nation since the earliest Great Moravian times.

It can thus be said that the religiously diversified written records document this multifaceted picture of cultural and ecclesiastical life of Slovak society. They contain several *loci communes*, which indicate such common Slovak thinking, a unified historical and linguistic basis and the development of national identity and cultural life. Linguistically diverse writings as well as the lore document this fundamental convergent direction of Slovak cultural and social evolution.

The research into the influence of denominational identity on Slovak culture, therefore, cannot be limited to the examination of a specific group of writings. A synergistic, historical, philological, and comparative approach is the most important for comprehensive knowledge of cultural development, as it is the only reliable method of learning about society. Therefore, it is crucial to know all linguistic, cultural, and denominational layers that influence the cultural development of Slovak society. The primary source of this knowledge are writings in Old Slovak, which was used in cultural variants of Slovak literary language and in Latin as the official language of Hungarian statehood. Latin was the language of the church of Latin rite. It is vital to know the Church Slavonic language, characteristic of the Byzantine-Slavic ecclesiastical tradition, which evolves in the Slovak environment in unity with the Roman Church as an element, shaping the Slovak cultural development. Last, but not least, Czech was the language of written and liturgical tradition of Slovak Protestants.⁴ Thus, Slovak language existed for several centuries in direct contact with Latin, German, Hungarian,

3 Róbert Letz, 'Anton Augustín Baník a jeho Dialektická podstata slovenského konfesionalizmu', *Culturologica Slovaca* 2 (2017), 42.

4 Ján Doruľa, *Slováci v dejinách jazykových vzťahov* (Bratislava: Veda, 1977), 34–46. Ján Doruľa, 'Bibličtina', in Peter Žeňuch, ed., *Liturgické jazyky v duchovnej kultúre Slovanov* (Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV & Slovenský komitét slavistov), 13–20.

Czech, and Polish, so its development cannot be characterized by isolation.⁵ As for Slovak, all these cultural influences led to a denominationally differentiated yet linguistically unified thinking of the Slovak ethnic group. The national language constitutes a living organism, which quite naturally adopts, and with time absorbs, not only new words, but also various stylistic modalities and rules influenced by other languages. Its sound, vocabulary, and grammar are constantly changing. Undoubtedly, the Slovak language maintained the continuity of interlingual and intercultural contacts throughout all historical periods from the tenth century to the codification of Slovak in the nineteenth century.⁶ One can notice a certain exclusivity of Latin or German, or view the influence of Czech as a consequence of the cultural, religious, and commercial contacts of the Slovak ethnic group, but it is also possible to perceive long-standing contacts of Slovaks with the Hungarian-speaking population in the common state.⁷ A clear and critical understanding of the seemingly diversified cultural horizons of Slovak culture can only be gained through the complementarity of philological and historical approaches to the interpretation of written sources.

For such research into written records, it is necessary to learn about the spectrum of writings, which are gradually being made available in several projects aimed at their search and publication. We may well mention the editions of Latin texts *Codex diplomaticus episcopatus Nitriensis*, *Monumenta Vaticana Slovaciae*, *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* and written sources, published in Slovak language of the pre-standard period, which inevitably include the edition of the *Camaldolese Bible*⁸ and the publication of Slovak writings of diverse nature in the edition series *Monumenta linguae Slovacae*. From the Byzantine rite in Slovakia, there are texts of Cyrillic writings, made available in the edition *Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae*. Translations or selections of source texts are also made available to the professional and lay public.

5 Katarína Karabová, 'Vernakulárny charakter lexikografických súčastí po latinsky písaných diel slovenskej proveniencie v 18. storočí', *Slavica Slovaca* 56/2 (2021), 182–4.

6 Ján Kačala and Rudolf Krajčovič, *Prehľad dejín spisovnej slovenčiny* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2011).

7 Ján Kačala, *Slovenčina pri míľnikoch slovenských dejín* (Trnava: Univerzita sv. Cyrila a Metoda, 2002), 47.

8 Ján Doruľa, 'O jazyku Kamaldulskej Biblie a Kamaldulského slovníka', in Ján Doruľa, ed., *Slovenská, latinská a cirkevnoslovanská náboženská tvorba 15.–19. storočia* (Bratislava: Slavistický kabinet SAV), 9–72; *Swaté Biblia Slowénské aneb Pisma Swatého částka I., II. Slovakische Bibel der Kamaldulenser. Band I–II*, Biblia Slavica, ed. Hans Rothe and Friedrich Scholz in collaboration with Ján Doruľa (Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002).

Cyrillic Written Culture in the Context of Historical Eparchy of Mukachevo

Despite the denominational diversity and the related linguistic diversity of written sources, no discourses can be registered that would be the source of tension or the cause of intolerance, unless this diversity is artificially maintained. It is unthinkable that all church communities in Slovakia would live in isolation and would not influence each other culturally. We can rather notice an opposite trend, which from the outside appears to be relatively conflicting, yet in its complexity it constitutes a balanced whole, based on intercultural and interfaith mobility and communication.

Written sources in Slovakia were created in the context of various ecclesiastical discourses. They include written records from the Byzantine-Slavic church tradition to the south of the Carpathians from the Slovak linguistic and cultural milieu. The church members of the Byzantine-Slavic rite were present together with other denominational traditions in Slovakia in all historic moments of society's development. There was not a single social, economic or religious movement, not one peasant rebellion, nor other organized or spontaneous movement, in which all denominations present in Slovakia would not be involved.⁹

Cyrillic manuscripts originated especially in the historical eparchy of Mukachevo represent a meeting point between the Byzantine and Latin tradition and culture, and this is reflected, for example, in the religious everyday life.¹⁰ In addition to the reflection of continuity of Christian spiritual thinking, the principles of shared cultural and educational thinking can also be found in written records. Sources of this thinking are based on the principles of value communication with ethnic groups and cultures, living to the south of the Carpathians. It is this communication that provided Slovaks of the Byzantine-Slavic rite with a uniquely balanced symbiosis between Latin and Byzantine cultural influences. In the context of cultural and ecclesiastical communication, it was in the Mukachevo church that the conditions were created for communication through its own Cyrillic written tradition. The linguistically and ethnically diverse community of church members of the Byzantine tradition to the south of the Carpathians (Slovaks, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Hungarians, and Poles) was formed as a unique phenomenon of church and religion, which at the same time is internally, especially linguistically and ethnically, divided.

9 Ľudovít Haraksim, *Z dejín Ukrajincov na východnom Slovensku* (Martin: Osveta, 1957), 3–5; Sedlák, Imrich, *Východné Slovensko v letokruhoch národa* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 2012), 466.

10 Peter Zubko, 'Tangenty latinsko-byzantského spolužitia pod Karpatmi ako príležitosť pre revitalizáciu hodnôt', *Slavica Slovaca* 56/3 (2021), 403–8.

In individual Cyrillic written records, linguistic and ethnic diversity of this local Cyrillic written heritage can be clearly identified. Apart from linguistic phenomena, clearly differentiating ethnic groups to the south of the Carpathians that are connected in this area by the Byzantine-Slavic tradition, rite and church affiliation, the phenomenon of relative uniqueness is the Cyrillic writing and the Church Slavonic language. It is the Church Slavonic and the Cyrillic graphic system that serve as a unique identifier of this linguistically and ethnically diverse community of the Byzantine-Slavic tradition to the south of the Carpathians.¹¹

The main culturally identifying feature of the community that is part of the Byzantine-Slavic culture and tradition to the south of the Carpathians has been the affiliation of the representatives of this tradition to the Mukachevo church as a mother who unites the present Greek Catholics in the eparchies of the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania on the spiritual and cultural level. The parental (historical) eparchy of Mukachevo lays on the territory of north-east Hungary in the counties of Spiš, Šariš, Ung, Abov, Zemplín, Bereg, and Maramureş. The division into counties respects the geographical segmentation and at the same time mirrors the dialectal areas.¹² From the aspect of ecclesiastical law, the counties mentioned were under the administration of the Eger bishopric. This historical eparchy of Mukachevo has preserved its ecclesial independence along with the administrative and jurisdictional identity. The Mukachevo bishopric constituted a separate and completely independent church unit, so its ecclesiological orientation also arose from its own needs and roots. Although, admittedly, this may seem to be a seemingly insignificant fact, the independence of one's own ecclesiastical identity is of special importance for the argumentation regarding the reproach of proselytism, directed at the Greek Catholics of Mukachevo (Uniates).¹³ The cultural and religious component of the identity in this area has prevailed to this day despite the different convergent and divergent ethno-identifying processes (Slovak, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Hungarian, and Rumanian).

11 Kamil Dwornik, 'First Subcarpathian Episode of Ruthenian Alphabet War in 1873–1874', *Slavica Slovaca* 55/3 (2020), 198–210; Peter Žeňuch, 'Kultúrne stereotypy v byzantsko-slovanskom konfesionálnom prostredí na Slovensku', *Slavica Slovaca* 49/2 (2014), 121–137; Peter Žeňuch, 'Byzantsko-slovanská tradícia v staršom období vývinu slovenskej kultúry', *Konštantínove listy* 13/1 (2020), 112–125.

12 Not only Byzantine believers in north-east Hungary, but also people resettling in the Lowlands, in the first half of the eighteenth century were subject to the jurisdiction of the Byzantine-Slavic eparchy of Mukachevo in 1777.

13 Peter Žeňuch and Cyril Vasil', *Cyrillic Manuscripts from East Slovakia. Slovak Greek Catholics: Defining Factors and Historical Milieu. Monumenta Byzantino-Slavica et Latina Slovaciae. Vol. I* (Roma – Bratislava – Košice: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2023), 254.

The processes of linguistic and ethnic identification of communities, shaping the Byzantine-Slavic identity and tradition to the south of the Carpathians, took place fully in line with the conditions of emancipation of national communities. Thus, the Cyrillic manuscripts to the south of Carpathians became the heritage of the Subcarpathian cultural area and all the national communities that helped create those writings.

Various linguistic and ethnic communities helped shape the Cyrillic written tradition of Mukachevo.¹⁴ Their involvement in the creation of Cyrillic written culture in this milieu is reflected in different types of writings, for example, historical, liturgical, legal, apologetic, or educational documents, sermonic and apocryphal literature, legends, explanatory and didactic texts, a variety of administrative writings, diverse spiritual songs, and occasional texts.

Although no Old Church Slavonic or Church Slavonic protographs have been preserved within this linguistically and ethnically diversified community to the south of the Carpathians, their copies connect the local spiritual and religious culture with the oldest Slavic Christian layer and written tradition, which was created in the Great Moravian milieu. The research and interpretation of examined sources that originated in the area to the south of the Carpathians point to the significant contribution of the Church Slavonic and Latin literary traditions to the development of the value system and cultural thinking of this local community. This is, for instance, highlighted by the Mukachevo historian Michal Bradač (1749–1815), who was also the vicar of Košice. He was the brother of the bishop of Mukachevo Ján Bradač (1732–1772). Michal Bradač is the author of the historical compendium created in 1790, i.e., shortly before the publication of the Latin treatise by J. J. Bazilovič, *Brevis notitia foundationis Theodori Koriathovits...* (Košice 1799–1804), and before the creation of another work, written in Latin *Historia Carpato-Ruthenorum* by Michal Lučkaj (1789–1843). In his compendium, called *Handbook of Church History*, M. Bradač views the Byzantine-Slavic church tradition to the south of the Carpathians in connection with the Western Latin cultural horizon and Rome, while considering the Greek rite in this local Slavic milieu, the liturgical language, and the Cyrillic writing to be a continuum from the times of the Cyrillo-Methodian

14 The Carpathian area is inhabited by communities of Slovaks, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Poles, Romanians, and other ethnic groups that identify themselves and their neighbours by means of specific linguistic, historical, cultural, social, and political attributes. The identification with this region, which is often referred to as Carpathian, is therefore, not used as the common denominator. It is an artificial term, because each inhabitant of this area declares their identity on the basis of their mother tongue. The mother tongue is still a valid criterion of ethnic identification.

mission. Since Michal Bradač interprets the Christianization of Hungary as the Pannonian continuum, emphasizing the Great Moravian church tradition, it is this interpretation of his that contributed to the polemical and theological discussion of the origins of Christianity in Hungary. Thus, he not only opposed Gottfried Schwartz (1707–1786, an evangelical theologian and historian, who covered the history of Hungary, sympathising with the Enlightenment)¹⁵ and his idea of Christianization of Hungary by the Magyars at the time of their arrival to Pannonia. M. Bradač strenuously defended the ideas of cultural ancientness of Christianity among the Slavs with the emphasis on the relationship with the Roman patriarchate. He sees the origin of this ecclesiastical tradition in the Great Moravian Kingdom, which he presents in line with some of the ideas of Slovak Jesuit scholars of the eighteenth century.

It should also be noted that especially the works of Samuel Timon (1675–1736) were very well known to the Mukachevo church intellectuals. Slovak Jesuit and polymath of Slovak origin, teacher and founder of critical historiography, Timon was active in Košicie and Uzhhorod. In particular, his work *Imago antiquae Hungariae* (*Portrayal of Old Hungary*) from 1733 adopts the names of Slavic tribes, inspired by the idea of autochthony of the Slavs in the central Danube region and the idea of Slavs helping shape the Hungarian Kingdom. It is the Timon's work and the information in the Kyivan Cave Patericon and the Tale of Bygone Years that influenced the interpretations of the autochthony of Slavs in the central Danube region and their important role in shaping the Christian Hungarian Kingdom. According to M. Bradač, the mission of Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia ushered in an era of Christian formation of the inhabitants to the south of the Carpathians.¹⁶

Interpretations of the autochthony of Slavs in the central Danube region and of the beginnings of Slavic Christianity helped the then scholars prove the originality of the Byzantine-Slavic church in the context of the synergy with

15 He published the paper *Initia religionis christianae inter Hungaros Ecclesiae orientalis adserta* (Halle 1739, Leipzig: 1740). In Leipzig he published it under the pseudonym Gabriele de juxta Hornad. The paper provoked a discussion because it challenged the papal origin of the Hungarian crown. As one of the additional arguments, G. Schwartz used the Byzantine origin of Christianity among the Slavs, who Christianized Magyars. Thus, Schwartz touched a sensitive spot of the Magyar Catholics' identity. Cf. Svorad Zavorský, 'K latinským pamiatkam spätým so zjednotenou cirkvou byzantsko-slovanského obradu na Slovensku (17. a 18. storočie) – prehľad výskumu', in Peter Žeňuch, ed., *Pohľady do problematiky cyrilskej písomnej tradície na Slovensku* (Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2019), 122.

16 Peter Žeňuch and Peter Zubko, *Michal Bradač – Rukoväť cirkevných dejín, Мухаилъ Брадачъ – Енхтомъ Историѣ Церковныѣ*, Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae. Vol. VIII (Bratislava: Veda, 2021), 26–29.

the Latin church tradition. This synergy is confirmed by already widely known studies of various sources of the historical church tradition of Mukachevo.¹⁷

The development of the cultural and religious identity of the community to the south of the Carpathians allows to bridge religious and non-religious everyday life. To separate these two spheres of everyday life is impossible even for a modern man.

Cyrillic texts of both religious and non-religious character contain interpretations focused on the interconnection of profane and sacral thinking. These interpretations allow us not only to understand the origin of traditional value principles, but also the relationship of a person to various historical actions, societal processes, and events in the local and wider European milieu. The spiritual and cultural resources in the Cyrillic written tradition to the south of the Carpathians are thus fundamental evidence of the synergy of linguistically and culturally diversified ethnic communities.

From the Sources of the Byzantine-Slavic Written Tradition

The research into sources, aimed at the history of the Byzantine rite, focuses mainly on finding the answer with regard to the continuity or discontinuity of the Byzantine tradition from the Great Moravian milieu. The fact is that Church Slavonic as a language of literature has its continuation especially among the southern and eastern Slavs, where it was fully applied in the liturgical environment and developed in a rich written tradition. It should be added, however, that the Byzantine-Slavic tradition and the Cyrillic written culture associated with it were and still are in close contact with the cultural and ecclesiastical history of the Slovaks.¹⁸

A special role in this process was played by its revitalization, which was caused in Slovakia by colonization based on Wallachian law, and thus strengthened the Byzantine rite in the north-eastern part of Hungary. The influence of Wallachian colonization can be seen, for example, in the presence of linguistic Carpathianisms, which in Slovakia have a connection with the pastoral culture.

The Byzantine-Slavic tradition in Slovakia is reflected in a number of written records. We have highlighted many of them in single volumes of our edition *Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae* (since 2003) and in the edition series of the supplement to the *Slavica Slovaca* journal (since 2011).

17 Peter Zubko, 'O dokumente Užhorodskej únie z 24. apríla 1646', *Slavica Slovaca* 51/1 (2016), 3–9.

18 Žeňuch, 'Byzantsko-slovanská tradícia v staršom období vývinu slovenskej', 112–25.

The research into Cyrillic and Latin written sources of the Byzantine tradition in Slovakia is carried out from digitized documents, which are also used to prepare the diplomatic editions. The electronic database of written sources was not created as a targeted digitization project as the researchers who conducted the research did not have appropriate digitization technology. However, this electronically documented base enables the research into written sources. The documentary material serves mainly as evidence of a source's existence. Descriptions and inventories provide information about the sources stored in memory institutions (e.g., in the Transcarpathian Ethnographic Museum in Uzhhorod or in the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Uzhhorod National University, in the National Library, Slavic Library, and the National Museum in Prague). Some sources published by us are stored in the Archive of the Greek Catholic Archeparchy in Prešov, the Metropolitan Bishop's Office in Prešov and in other institutions in Slovakia and abroad.

Educational Writings of the Byzantine-Slavic Rite

Christian education was also emphasized by Cyrillic records, which include, for example, De Kamelis's (1641–1706)¹⁹ *Catechism for the Education of the People of the Eastern Church in Hungary* (КАТЕХИСИСЬ ДЛѦ НАОУКИ ОУГРОРОУСКИМЪ ЛЮДЕМЪ ЗЛОЖЕННІЙ ѿ превелебнѣи Гдѣна Іосифа ДеКамель...). It is an old Cyrillic printing of the University of Trnava from 1698, which provides the methods of how to explain not only the church doctrine, but also the differences between Latin and Byzantine believers, schismatics and heretics to common people. The catechism contains the justification for the need to protect the rite from foreign influences. It describes the correct Lent discipline, the origin of the Julian and Gregorian calendar, to which the differences in the determination of the feast of the Passover are also related. According to this catechism, the introduction of the new calendar among the members of the Latin Church caused dissension and outrage among the united people of the Byzantine rite to the south of the Carpathians. The catechism refutes suspicions of the spread of another faith as a result of the changes in the calendar. The crucial part of that catechism, however, is the justification that the use of the old and new calendars does not affect the belief in God. The catechism also offers an explanation of why the believers of the Byzantine rite in Hungary, who learned their faith and rites from

19 Two years after his appointment to the episcopal see in Mukachevo (De Kamelis had been bishop of the Mukachevo eparchy since 1690), as suffragan bishop, he justified in a report to the Latin Cardinal Leopold Kolonič (1631–1707) the necessity of establishing a teaching institute for his believers.

the Greeks, should be steadfast in matters of church affiliation.²⁰ The catechism's explanatory method in the form of questions and answers is an excellent means of reliably educating the believers.

The group of writings of educational character also includes the aforementioned four-volume manuscript document *Handbook of Church History* (*Єнѣтомъ Історіи Церковныхъ Новаго Завѣту*). This historical educational paper by Michal Bradač (1749–1815) describes the origin and history of the local Church of the Byzantine rite. This description reflects the contemporary historiographic thinking, but M. Bradač stresses the idea of the autochthony of the Slavic tradition of the Byzantine rite in the central Danube region, arguing for the irreplaceable role of the Slavic Church in the formation of the Kingdom of Hungary and highlighting the ancient synergy between the Byzantine and Latin Church traditions in Hungary. He not only deals with the mission of Cyril and Methodius and the Christianization of the Kyivan Rus, but also explains the role of Přemyslid Bohemia in the history of the Slavic churches, points out various pre-Reformation movements such as Hussitism and the Brothers movement, and describes the Evangelical Reformation and Calvinism, as well as their influence on the development of Christianity in Europe and especially in Hungary. He bases all his interpretations of church history, human society, and its cultural thinking on the diversity of the relationships of national Christian communities within the universal church.²¹

The picture of education in the area of the Mukachevo church is also completed by *A Short Interpretation of Teachings on the Conversion of Slavs to Christianity* (*Пам'ятное, ѿ обращеній къ вири Хвѣой Народа Слав'енскаго*), which represents a part of the handwritten catechism from Mukachevo from the 1740s. The catechism manuscript contains a lesson about the Theotokos, with an account of her life based on apocryphal sources. A special part of the catechism is a description of the five steps to the reception of baptism in the Kyivan Rus. This catechism also quotes from the chronicles of the bishops and archdeacons of Split. It is mentioned that the Slavic liturgy reached Croatia, where it gained great popularity, although at the very beginning, it was neither approved nor directly forbidden by the Roman Church. Therefore, a form of Western Christianity developed in Dalmatia that allowed the use of both Latin and Slavic languages

20 Peter Žeňuch, *Источники византийско-славянской традиции и культуры в Словакии. Pramene k byzantsko-slovanskej tradícii a kultúre na Slovensku*, Monumenta byzantino-slavica et Latina Slovaciae. Vol. IV (Bratislava: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2013), 131–144.

21 Žeňuch and Zubko, *Michal Bradač – Rukoväť cirkevných dejín, Мухаилъ Брадачъ – Єнѣтомъ Історіи Церковныхъ*.

for the observance of rites. After the reforming Lateran Synod in 1059 and later after the local synod in Split in 1060, it was decided that clerics had to know Latin before their ordination because those who did not know Latin could not be ordained as priests. This was also a necessary condition for priests in the eparchy of Mukachevo.²²

Another educational text is the *Cyrillic Manuscript Miscellany from Rakošino with Lucidarius*, which was created by compiling several Cyrillic manuscript texts at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²³ A substantial part of the Cyrillic manuscript is a translation of the Old Czech Lucidarius into the local language.²⁴ The miscellany also contains excerpts from the lesson on conjugal love, interpretations of the dreams of the Holy Prophet Daniel known in Latin medieval literature as *Somnia Danielis*, lessons about worldly life in the form of didactically, reflectively and aphoristically stylized questions and answers. It also contains an apocryphon widespread in the European medieval and early modern milieu, known as the *Second Letter from Heaven*, which is about the need to hold Sunday's liturgical celebration,²⁵ the apocryphon of fasting on bread and water known as the *Lesson about Twelve Fridays*²⁶ and St. Ambrose's prayer against the plague epidemic.

Educational handbooks include a record, describing the life of the monks according to the Basilian Rule known as *A Picture of Monastic Life (Imago Vitae Monasticae)* from 1802. The author J. J. Bazilovič (1742–1821) presents the ascetic tradition of Basilian monks, working in the Mukachevo eparchy. The Latin text was printed by the Ellinger Printing House in Košice.²⁷ J. J. Bazilovič also describes monastic life in a manuscript work dating from 1796.²⁸ A valuable source of knowledge about the liturgical tradition in the area of the Mukachevo church is J. J. Bazilovič's Latin-Church-Slavonic treatise *ТОЛКОВАНІЄ. Свѣтѣньна Лїтоургии Новаго Закона... / EXPLICATIO. Sacrae Liturgiae Novae Legis...* The written record is a proof of the symbiosis of Cyrillic

22 Žeňuch, *Источники византийско-славянской традиции*, 118–120.

23 Peter Žeňuch, 'Rakošínský cyrilský rukopisný zborník z konca 17. a zo začiatku 18. storočia', *Slavica Slovaca*, 56/4 (2021), 5–74.

24 Žeňuch, *Источники византийско-славянской традиции*, 292–301.

25 Žeňuch, *Источники византийско-славянской традиции*, 291–292.

26 Žeňuch, *Источники византийско-славянской традиции*, 292.

27 Ľubomíra Wilšínská, 'Joannikij Juraj Bazilovič: Imago Vitae Monasticae / Obraz mníšskeho života: Štúdia a preklad', *Slavica Slovaca* 55/4 (2020), 3–226.

28 Milan Lach, *Il contributo di Giorgio Giovanniccio Bazilovič OSBM alla formazione monastica dei Basiliani dell'eparchia di Mukačevo* (Košice: Dobrá kniha, 2010).

and Latin culture in the Carpathian area. This valuable liturgical manuscript is written bilingually in Church Slavonic and Latin in parallel columns.²⁹

The group of legal documents is represented by texts in which the description of the history of the rite tradition and the ecclesiastical law of the local church are intertwined. They include for example the *Uzhhorod Pseudozonar Manuscript*, which contains the basic rules and provisions necessary for the functioning of a Christian society. The collection is also referred to as the *nomocanon*. It consists of a set of 151 canons and rules of ecclesiastical and civil life. The existence of this source of ecclesiastical law in the milieu of the Mukachevo particular church tradition documents its strong ties with the ancient Byzantine-Slavic written culture that developed in both Bulgaria and Russia. The very nature and content of the source point to the fact that the Slavic church of the Byzantine rite was vibrant in the north-eastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom and with its viability, it laid the foundations for a positive relationship with the church of the Latin rite. Although it was not itself a vehicle of unity, it represented Christian unity in a synergistic diversity of relationships with other denominations. It is the existence of this Cyrillic text of the Pseudozonar as a source of ecclesiastical law that proves the connection of the local Mukachevo church with the oldest layer of Slavic Christian culture, spread in the area of central Danube from the earliest times. Even the terminology, contained in the source text, reflects this ancient heritage and spiritual tradition, which is documented in the sources such as *Nomocanon*, *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, *Rules of the Holy Fathers* or *Kormčaja kniga*, etc.³⁰

The collections of rules, which were created for the needs of the local Mukachevo church, thus show the connection between spiritual and religious life and the everyday life of the common man. Even for the daily spiritual life of the believers outside the monastery walls, instructions and examples can be found in such rule texts. A special set of writings are guides and rules for priests, working in village churches, where simple villagers come to worship.

In addition to the instructions for the faithful people, a special part of these collections with rules for the local community of believers are the principles for the life in the monastic environment and for the bishops of the local church,

29 Svorad Zavarský and Peter Žeňuch, *Юанникій Базиловичъ: ТОЛКОВАНІЄ Священныя Літургіи Новаго Закона истинныя Безкровныя Жертвы. Joannicius Bazilovits: EXPLICATIO Sacrae Liturgiae Novae Legis veri Incruenti Sacrificii*. Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae III (Bratislava – Roma: Slavistický ústav Jána Stanislava SAV, 2009).

30 Peter Žeňuch, Elena V. Beljakova, Desislava Najdenova, et al., *Užhorodský rukopisný Pseudozonar. Pravidlá mníškeho a svetského života z prelomu 16.–17. storočia*, Monumenta Byzantino-Slavica et Latina Slovaciae. Vol. V (Bratislava – Košice: Veda, 2018).

who are also often exposed to the pitfalls of everyday life (various vices and passions, e.g., the sin of simony, usury, excessive drinking and eating, slander, etc.). The rules of secular and ecclesiastical life and their interpretations, the rules of epitimia and the penitential constitute an important document, describing the relationships between the secular social classes and the clergy.

Documents, indicating the administrative and legal situation in the Byzantine Church to the south of the Carpathians, include *The Scrutiny of the Uniate Priests* from 1749.³¹ It is a Latin manuscript, written after the canonical visitation of the Greek Catholic parishes in the counties of Zemplín, Ung and Šariš, which was carried out by František Barkóci (1710–1765), Bishop of Eger, on the territory of his Latin diocese, which largely overlapped with the eparchy of Mukachevo. He examined the theological, moral, and disciplinary level of the clergy of the Byzantine rite of the Slavic tradition.

Particularly valuable is a document of administrative and legal nature known as *The Statutes of the Mukachevo Bishop Michal Manuel Olšavský* from 1752–1758. It was created immediately after the canonical visitation of Bishop M. M. Olšavský (1700–1767). This source also refers to the sacramental disciplining of the clergy of the Byzantine-Slavic rite. It unified the sacramental practices within the church of the Byzantine rite to the south of the Carpathians. It exists in two language versions, Latin and Church Slavonic, which removed doubts about the correlation with the Latin clergy and the public Hungarian milieu. The Church Slavonic version served as a basic guide for archidiaconal practice.³²

Various collections of correspondence or texts from court cases, circular letters, etc. also form part of the agenda of administrative law. The documents of administrative law form a picture of the ecclesiastical conditions, of the relations between the ecclesiastical and the secular environment, of the problems and the position of the church of the Byzantine rite in the context and in the relations with the church of the Latin rite. Particularly valuable are those writings that document pressing questions about rite disputes within the church to the south of the Carpathians, as they relate to the downgrading of the church of the Byzantine rite by the Latin Church. A separate group of documents consists of various records of a protocol nature, which offer the testimonies of the participants in various proceedings, such as the testimonies of witnesses and the complaints of ecclesiastical persons, simple believers, teachers, and cantors. They contain decisions and solutions at different levels, decided by the local hierarchy

31 Peter Zubko, 'Skrutíniá uniatskych presbyterov z roku 1749', *Slavica Slovaca* 50/3 (2015), 3–102.

32 Peter Zubko and Peter Žeňuch, 'Diecézne štatúty Michala Manuela Olšavského z rokov 1752–1758', *Slavica Slovaca* 54/3-4 (2019), 5–100.

of both rites. In addition to their historical and evidential value, documents of administrative law also contain various data about the cultural and linguistic milieu, in which the writings were produced. Of particular interest are also the writings, describing economic and financial conditions, and the construction and repair of churches, as well as documents of jurisdictional nature related to the appointment and dismissal of parish priests, the investigation of property transgressions, testimonies about personal misconduct of priests, and so on.

The written culture focused on literary writings and the song tradition, on sermons and interpretations is represented by Cyrillic manuscript texts of interpretations and lessons on Gospel pericopes. These include, for example, the seventeenth-century instructive Gospel of Lodomírová, Uglian manuscripts from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,³³ a didactical texts collection from Litmanová in Eastern Slovakia from the eighteenth century,³⁴ a handwritten book of interpretations by the priest Ihnatij from the middle of the seventeenth century, a collection of sermons by Kliment Bukovský from the eighteenth century, an instructive Gospel from Hrabské from the seventeenth century, an instructive Gospel with the addendum of legends and hagiographic texts from Nižný Mirošov from the middle of the eighteenth century, and many other manuscript texts, which, in addition to the interpretations, contain translations of Gospel readings for the feast days of the church year into the vernacular language.

Cyrillic texts written in the Šariš-Zemplín variant of Slovak also form a special group. The origin of such texts is tied to the academic environment of the Jesuit University of Trnava, where both priests of the Latin rite and clerics of the Byzantine-Slavic rite tradition studied. The West Slavic variant of the cultivated language was, therefore, well known to the clerics of the Byzantine rite. Such literary writings are represented, in particular, by a large collection of spiritual and paraliturgical songs, taken from the printed songbook *Cantus Catholici* (Levoča 1655 and Trnava 1700).³⁵ The paraliturgical songs are all non-liturgical spiritual chants and songs to Christ, the Mother of God and the saints, songs for annual feast days, songs dedicated to patron saints of local churches, songs to miraculous icons, and various occasional songs (penitential and supplicatory songs, songs for funerals, weddings, etc.). Their primary mission is to encourage,

33 Svetlana Šašerina, *Dva uglianske rukopisy ponaučení a exemplar zo 17. storočia*, Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae, Vol. VI (Bratislava: Veda, 2019).

34 Svetlana Šašerina, *Dva rukopisy Štefana Hlinku z Litmanovej na Spiši z 18. storočia*, Monumenta byzantino-slavica et latina Slovaciae, Vol. X (Bratislava: Veda, 2023).

35 Ladislav Kačic, ed., *Cantus Catholici a duchovná pieseň 17. storočia v strednej Európe* (Bratislava: Slavistický kabinet SAV, 2002).

instruct, exhort, explain, and point to God and the saints, to inform and explain the causes and origins of miracles, biblical events, revelations and feasts, and to worship and celebrate them. In this context, we can mention some songbooks that contain songs, written in Cyrillic in the West Slovak variant of the cultural Slovak language such as the Nižný Tvarožec Songbook and the Šariš Songbook, both from the beginning of the eighteenth century. In literature to date the Šariš Songbook is also referred to as the Moscow Songbook. This also includes the Kamienka Bohohlasník from 1734, five songbooks of Ján Juhasevič from 1761 to 1812, Peter Rudnov's Songbook from the eighteenth century from the village of Bukovce (today the Stropkov district) and many more.³⁶

Conclusion

A comprehensive view on the cultural shifts in the development of society through written sources is scientifically challenging but necessary. It allows a systematic and complementary approach that provides space for critical research into the development and cultivation of society.

Despite the dominant Latin culture, the Slovak cultural milieu was shaped in the context of diverse cultural and ecclesiastical traditions, including Byzantine-Slavic. This indicates the synergistic effect of the spiritual and cultural Christian tradition in Europe on Slovak cultural identity, which is permanently expressed in the categories of cultural communication. Thus, research and publishing of Cyrillic manuscript artifacts in Slovakia should focus not only on their comparison and description, but also on their valuable connections with European culture and identity.

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