

FRAGMENTS OF PARCHMENT CODICES ON THE COVERS OF OLD BOOKS

ANICA VLAŠIĆ-ANIĆ

Old Church Slavonic Institute, Zagreb, Croatia

ABSTRACT

The Author will present her latest discoveries in the libraries of the Capuchin monasteries in Croatia: the *FgCapVla* collection, which was found in *Varaždin, Rijeka and Karlobag*. These are three remarkable collections of parchment fragments containing Croatian Glagolitic, Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew-Aramaic codices from the 13th to the 15th centuries – that have for hundreds of years served as protective covers for books, material for book-binding or patches for damaged leaves of printed books from the 15th to the 18th centuries. Starting with the enthusiasm, joy and inspiration that she experienced while conducting her research and scholarly work, she will pay special attention to (1) the cultural-historical aspects of avant-garde-pioneer ‘*jeans quest*’ for *Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries*, (2) the problems of restoration and conservation of all the parchments and the books they were discovered on, (3) the results of the palaeographic and linguistic analyses of some fragments analysed so far (Croatian Glagolitic and Hebrew-Aramaic), (4) the exhibition co-authored by Vlašić-Anić and Sabalić: “*The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia*” (Rijeka, 15 October – 25 December 2010).

KEYWORDS

Capuchin monastery, *glagolitsa*,
fragment of parchment codeces, cover of book

Preface

As a scholar from the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb I would like to tell you an interesting story about my latest findings, *fragments of parchment codices on the covers of old books*. It is a story with several fragmented happy ‘endings’ that is in fact still going on, as a happily unfinished adventure: an adventure almost like an *avant-garde – pioneer ‘jeans quest’ for Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries*.

The reference to the *Jeans prose*¹ of the legendary researcher of the Russian and West European avant-garde, Aleksandar FLAKER (24 July 1924 – 25 October 2010) is entirely accidental because:

1. All of my research has been conducted *literally: in jeans*. As you are surely aware, *jeans are inevitable* in several senses – *as a wholesome existential, intellectual and spiritual habitus of my generation*. So, ordinary blue jeans have become ‘my regular scholar’s and researcher’s uniform’ in which I have found a whole series of parchment fragments of medieval codices from the 13th to the 15th centuries on books from some of the oldest monastery book funds: Croatian Glagolitic, Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew. All of them had for centuries been used mostly as protective covers and spines for printed books from the 15th to the 18th centuries, as binding material, as patches for damaged leaves or as bookmarkers. Let us call these: *jeans parchments*. That way you may remember them when you start finding connections, perhaps in some other way, between your own future findings – and there are bound to be a lot of them, believe me – and the ethics and axiology of the existential, intellectual and spiritual habitus of *your* generation.

2. The reference to Flaker’s *Jeans prose* is an eternal source of inspiration and it is discreetly marked by experience in *avant-garde – ludist* artistic spirituality. These are also my experiences as a student and as a scholar in the *freedom of creative thought, the yearning to discover something new and the dignity and courage to critically construct questions and to question – absolutely all civilisational cannons*. Once it has been lived through – in the student theatre KUGLA-GLUMIŠTE² (ORB THEATRE) in Zagreb, from 1975 to 1985, and in my poetic research of HARMS AND DADAISM³ – this experience remains with you forever, with undiminished intensity (Figure 1).

1 Flaker, Aleksandar. Proza u trapericama : prilog izgradnji modela prozne formacije na građi suvremenih književnosti srednjo- i istočnoevropske regije. Zagreb : Biblioteka Razlog, 1976.

2 Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Kugla glumište, Zagreb. // Drugi hrvatski slavistički kongres, Osijek, 14-18. rujna 1999. : zbornik radova / uredile Dubravka Sesar, Ivana Vidović Bolt. Zagreb : Hrvatsko filološko društvo ; Filozofski fakultet, 2001. Pp. 659-665.; Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Kafka, Kugla, Harms : mimikrija lijepog na poprištu estetike mučnine. // Oko književnosti : osamdeset godina Aleksandra Flakera / uredio Josip Užarević. Zagreb : Disput, 2004. Pp. 121-136.; Marjanić, Suzana. Urbani rituali Kugla-glumišta ili estetizacija uličnoga svagdana : razgovor s Anicom Vlašić-Anić. // Zarez 191, VIII(2006), 38-40.; Marjanić, Suzana; Anica Vlašić-Anić. Narušavanje teatra kao kocke : razgovor sa Zlatkom Burićem-Kićom. // Zarez 210-211(2007), 48-49.

3 Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Harms i dadaizam. Zagreb : Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 1997.



FIGURE 1.

In the gallery of the Student Centre (Zagreb, Savska 25): Anica Vlašić.

Photo: Mladen Babić

3. The character of the *avant-garde – pioneer quest for Glagolitsa in the Capuchin monasteries* corresponds with the artistic ‘start’ “*на задворках укхысства*” (“*na zadvorkah iskusstva*”) – “*at the back of art*”⁴ – and the Russian avant-garde writer Daniil Ivanovic Harms and the STUDENT KUGLA-GLUMIŠTE (ORB THEATRE) from Zagreb. Paradoxically, this start is geometrically and progressively opposite to its later artistic status: the history of the Russian Avant-garde as well as the history of the Croatian theatre in the 20th century cannot be viewed without them.⁵ My quest for *Glagolitsa in the Capuchin monasteries* also began “*na zadvorkah*” – “*at the back*” of some hitherto unrecognised and unknown, ‘pre-accession-white’ zones of research. Before my research of

4 See “*быть на задворках <чего>*” – Rusko hrvatski ili srpski frazeološki rječnik / u redakciji Antice Menac. Zagreb : Školska knjiga, 1979. P. 366.; Deklaracija OBERIU, Afiši Doma Pečati №. 2, Leningrad 1928. // Harms, Daniil Ivanovič. Izbrannoe / edited and introduced by George Gibian. Würzburg : Jal-Verlag, 1974. Pp. 285-298.

5 Flaker, Aleksandar. *Ruska avangarda*. Zagreb : Sveučilišna naklada Liber ; Globus, 1984.; Foretić, Dalibor. *Hrid za slobodu : dubrovačke ljetne kronike 1971.-1996*. Dubrovnik : Matrica hrvatska, 1998.; *Repertoar hrvatskih kazališta : 1840-1860-1980*. Knj. 1. / priredio i uredio Branko Hećimović. Zagreb : Globus ; JAZU, 1990.

the Capuchins (*Order of Friars Minor Capuchin / Ordo Fratrum Minorum Cappuccinorum*),⁶ no one had drawn any serious connections between them and Glagolitsa and Glagolism. Today, however, although all of the newly-found fragments of *The Varaždin collection FgCapVla*, *The Karlobag collection FgCapVla* and *The Rijeka collection FgCapVla*, have not yet been restored and have even less been researched, *the Capuchins are part of the history of the research of the Croatian Glagolism, written not only in Glagolitic, but also Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew letters on parchment.*⁷

Cultural-historical aspects of the avant-garde – pioneer ‘jeans quest’ for Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries

VARAŽDIN, 1986: It all began after one unexpected and sudden question in the spring of 1986 in the library of the Capuchin monastery in Varaždin. Having visited the department that had been newly-adapted in the monastery and had thus become available for the public for the first time in its 300-year-old history,⁸ I suddenly asked: **“Friar Bono, is there any Glagolitsa here?”** Despite the fact that no self-respecting and experienced Glagolitsa researcher would ask such a *naïve question*,

- 6 Šagi-Bunić, Tomislav Janko. Redovnička zajednica kojoj je pripadao sluga Božji o. Leopold Bogdan Mandić : (Kratak pregled povijesti franjevac kapucina u Hrvatskoj). // Da Valdirporro, Pietro. Blaženi Leopold kapucin iz Herceg-Novog. Zagreb : Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1976. Pp. 373-403.; Tenšek, Zdenko Tomislav. Kapucini : katolički red u svijetu i kod nas = I Cappuccini : un ordine cattolico nel mondo e tradi noi. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13, (2001), 105-114.
- 7 Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. // Glagoljica i hrvatski glagolizam : zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa povodom 100. obljetnice Staroslavenske akademije i 50. obljetnice Staroslavenskoga instituta (Zagreb-Krk, 2.-6. listopada 2002.) / uredili Marija-Ana Dürrigl, Milan Mihaljević, Franjo Velčić. Zagreb : Staroslavenski institut ; Krk : Krčka biskupija, 2004. Pp. 341-354.; Mihaljević, Milan; Anica Vlašić-Anić. Novootkriveni glagoljski fragmenti u riječkoj kapucinskoj knjižnici. // Sprache und Leben der frühmittelalterlichen Slaven : Festschrift für Radoslav Katičić zum 80. Geburtstag / Herausgegeben von Elena Stadnik-Holzer und Georg Holzer. Wien : Peter Lang, 2010. Pp. 95-124.; Vlašić-Anić, Anica; Darko Tepert. Hebrejsko-aramijski fragmenti *Knjige Izlaska* (FgCap VlaTep) novootkriveni u riječkoj kapucinskoj knjižnici. // Zbornik međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 400 godina kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj, Rijeka 13.-16. listopada 2010. / urednik Goran Crnković. Rijeka : Matica hrvatska, Ogranak u Rijeci. (In press)
- 8 Kemiveš, Mirko. Dolazak kapucina u Varaždin i znameniti kapucini tijekom 300 godina varaždinskog samostana = La venuta dei cappuccini a Varaždin e i cappuccini celebri del convento durante 300 anni di presenza. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001), 23-146.; Šagi, Bono Zvonimir. Pastoralna djelatnost kapucina u Varaždinu = L'attività pastorale dei frati cappuccini a Varaždin. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001), 165-174.; Šarčević, Jure. Dolazak kapucina u Varaždin = L'arrivo dei cappuccini nelle regioni della Croazia. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001), 115-121.

the answer was astonishing. Friar Bono Zvonimir Šagi, at the time a Provincial of the Croatian Capuchin Province and a researcher in the library of the Capuchin monastery in Varaždin,⁹ showed me two books from a department that was not available for the laymen, with the following call numbers: “IX c. 5” and “IX c. 6”, printed in 1705 and 1712. Both of them were wrapped in beautiful parchment written in Croatian Square Glagolitsa in two different handwriting styles! Thus, the first two fragments of Croatian Glagolitic handwritten missals on parchment were found in the *Capuchin monastery in Varaždin*, dating from the 14th and 15th centuries. These are: *The First Varaždin Fragment*, two leaves of the Croatian Glagolitic missal *FgVar1* and the *Second Varaždin Fragment*, a leaf from the Croatian Glagolitic missal *FgVar2*.¹⁰

According to our arrangement, friar Bono personally delivered the books containing these parchments to the Old Church Slavonic Institute, and its Principal at the time, Anica Nazor, initiated the procedure of their restoration and conservation at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb (which was carried out by Tatjana Ribkin).

The First Varaždin Fragment (FgVar 1), two leaves of the Glagolitic parchment, 37,5 x 28 cm in size, served for almost three centuries as a precious protective cover for the book with the call number “IX c. 5” and printed in 1712:

“PREDICHE QVARESIMALI DEL P. F. ALESSANDRO TOMASO ARCVDI, DE’ PREDICATORI. / DEDICATE ALL’EMINENTISSIMO, E REVERENDISSIMO SIGNORE GI- OSEPPE RENATO, CARDINAL IMPERIALE / IN LECCE Dalla stamperia del Mazzei 1712. Con Licenza de’ Superiori”.

The Second Varaždin fragment (FgVar 2) is a large leaf, 35 x 25 cm,¹¹ taken from the covers of the book with the call number “IX c. 6” and printed in Salzburg in 1705:

“DOMINICALE / CONCIONUM / PASTORALIUM. / *Das iſt: / Soñtag=Predigen / Für / Die Seelforger auf das ganze Jahr von nothwendiger / Wiſſenſchafft denen Chriſtlichen Schäften / abſonderlich von / denen zur Sacramentaliſchen –Beicht gehörigen Stucken / durch alle Sonntag / der Faſten / von einem jeden*

9 Šagi, Bono Zvonimir. Kapucinska knjižnica u Varaždinu. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 8-9(1996), 103–109.

10 Vlašić-Anić, A. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. Op. cit., pp. 341–354.

11 See Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Varaždinski list hrvatskoglagoljskoga misala (FgVar2). // Slovo 61(2011), 123-167.

*Stuck absonderlich. Wie auch von den andern / h. Sacramenten der Christlich=Catholischen Kirchen; von den sieben / Worten Christi am Kreuz; und von den neun frem= / den Sünden / rc. / **Alles auf die Sonntägliche Evangelia gerichtet/und auf / unterschiedlichen Pfarr=Kanzlen in Städt/ und Dörffern / mit grossen Nutzen der Seelen geprediget / Durch / P. F. HERIBERTUM, von Salurn / Capuciner / und Ordinari Prediger in der Zurolischen Pro= / vinz. / Cum triplici Indice, I.Conceptuum. II.Materiarum & Verborum. / III. Historiarum. / Erster Theil. / Cum Gratia & Privilegio Sac. Cæsar. Majest. & Permissu Superiorum. / Salzburg / Gedruckt und derlegt den Melchior Haan / einer Löbl. Landschaft=und Stadt / Buchbruckern und Handlern. An. 1705.***"¹²

The restored originals of both *Varaždin fragments of a Croatian Glagolitic missal FgVar 1 and FgVar 2* were exhibited for the first time in the Capuchin monastery in Varaždin on 29 October 1999 within the programme for the conference *300 Years of the Capuchins' Arrival in Varaždin – 1699 – 1999*.¹³

KARLOBAG 1994: Shortly after these findings, friar Mirko Kemiveš pointed me to the Capuchin monastery in Karlobag where "during novitiate he leafed through some Glagolitic books". Together with friar Bono Z. Šagi, he personally arranged with the guardian, friar Krsto Hrženjak, *my first field research in the library of the Capuchin monastery in Karlobag* in 1994. The result was spectacular: the finding of an *actual miniature library of Congregatio de Propaganda Fide's issues of Glagolitic missals – Levaković's* from 1631, 3 copies of *Paštrić's* from 1706, *Karaman's* from 1741, *Parčić's* from 1893 and *Vajs's*, from 1927.¹⁴

LONDON and LEEDS (ENGLAND) 1995: What followed was a breath-taking scene at the British Museum in London in 1995: numerous exhibited codices and fragments of all types of ancient manuscripts, especially those on *papyrus and parchment*. The eternal impressions from the Museum were stored in my memory owing to my participation at the second *International Medieval Congress (450-1500)* in Leeds in July 1995. I held a presentation there, entitled *Die Kapuziner und die kroatisch-glagolitische Tradition (The Capuchins and the*

12 Ibid, pp. 125-126.

13 See articles from this conference: Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu (12-13) / Zagreb ; Varaždin : HAZU 2001.

14 Vlašić-Anić, A. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. Op. cit., pp. 346–350.

Croatian Glagolitic Tradition).¹⁵ That was the moment when my wish for the construction of a similar scene in Croatia, one that we could be proud of, was born; naturally with respect to the three *letters* and *three languages* of our medieval culture.¹⁶ It is known that Croatian medieval period is characterised by constant interweaving of “*three letters* – Latin, Glagolitsa, Croatian Cyrillic (Bosančica) – *and three languages* – Croatian, Latin, Old Church Slavonic (until the end of the 11th century) / Church Slavonic (from the beginning of the 12th until the middle of the 16th century)”.¹⁷ This wish, as you will later see, came true to a large extent last year, at the exhibition *The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia* (Rijeka, 15 October – 25 December 2010) by Vlašić-Anić and Sabalić.

ŠKOFJA LOKA (SLOVENIA) 2002: After a brief presentation on the finding of the Varaždin Glagolitic fragments *FgVar 1* and *FgVar 2* at the conference *300 Years of the Capuchins’ Arrival in Varaždin – 1699-1999* – friar Angel Kralj pointed me to the ‘books wrapped in Glagolitic parchment’ in the library of the Capuchin monastery in Škofja Loka, Slovenia. The result of my research in this library was the finding of *three fragments and about 14 clippings of Croatian Glagolitic liturgical codices on parchment*.¹⁸ That one-day visit, on 29 September 2002, was also arranged with the help of friars Bono Z. Šagi and M. Kemiveš.

These were the first ‘*Varaždin Overtures into the “Capuchin ‘Glagolitic Bolero’*’,¹⁹ a rhythmic *crescendo* of repeating a “simple form”:²⁰ the core structure of the events surrounding the first findings in Varaždin, *FgVar1* and *FgVar2*. Having asked my (un)expected question, “*Is there any Glagolitsa here?*”, several more times in Karlobag (in 2005, 2006 and 2009), Varaždin (in 2007) and Rijeka (in 2007 and 2008), I

15 Vlašić-Anić, Anica. International Medieval Congress (450-1500), Leeds 10-13 July 1995. // Slovo 47-49(1999), 345-347.

16 Hercigonja, Eduard. Tropsmena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja. Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1994.; Drei Schriften – Drei Sprachen : Kroatische Schriftdenkmäler und Drucke durch Jahrhunderte / Die Autoren der Ausstellung Anica Nazor, Josip Bratulić, Mirko Tomasović. Zagreb : Erasmus naklada, 2002.; Pelc, Milan. Pismo – knjiga – slika : uvod u povijest informacijske kulture. Zagreb : Golden marketing, 2002.

17 Hercigonja, E. Op. cit., p. 6.

18 Vlašić-Anić, A. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. Op. cit., pp. 350–351.

19 Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Varaždinske uvertire u “Kapucinski ‘glagoljički Bolero’”. // Četvrti hrvatski slavistički kongres, Varaždin – Čakovec, 5. – 8. rujna 2006. : zbornik sažetaka / uređio Marko Samardžija. Zagreb: Hrvatski slavistički odbor Hrvatskoga filološkog društva, 2006. Pp. 126–127.

20 Jolles, André. Jednostavni oblici. Zagreb : Studentski centar Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1978.

repeatedly got even more unexpected *findings* as the *answer*. My *jeans quest for Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries* was turning into a rich collection **FgCapVla (Fragmenta Cappuccinorum Vlašić): The Varaždin collection FgCapVla,, The Karlobag collection FgCapVla and The Rijeka collection FgCapVla**. Today, these are three respectable collections of newly-found fragments and clippings of medieval liturgical codices from the 13th to the 15th centuries, not only *Croatian Glagolitic*, but also *Latin, Ancient Greek* and even *Hebrew-Aramaic*.

Scientific research

Scientific research connected with the newly-found Varaždin fragments on parchment, *FgVar1* and *FgVar2*, from the 14th and 15th centuries began to outline a thematic complex, pioneer in its essence, entitled *Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries*.²¹

The problem of the *provenance of the books* on which the *Varaždin fragments* were found had immediately brought up a few interesting cultural-historical aspects, not only of the *development of Capuchin libraries*, but also the *connections between the Capuchins and the Croatian Glagolitic tradition*.

On the preliminary page of the book *Prediche quaresimali dal P. F. Alessandro Tomaso Arcvdi, de' predicatori* (1712) from which *FgVar1* was taken, there is a (partly scribbled) **handwritten note in black ink "Liber donatus p Casimiro a r(everen)d(issi)mo d(o)m(in)o Petro Czuetkj"**. As it is known, the strict *Constitutions* from 1643 authorised by Pope Urban VIII allowed the Capuchins to support themselves exclusively by means of their own labour and through charity. They expressly forbade the use of money (for any intents or purposes) – *so not even books could be bought with money, or even owned as personal property*. The libraries in Capuchin monasteries therefore developed exclusively through donations: from the emperors, kings or high Croatian aristocracy (Erdödy, Drašković, Kukuljević); but also from the Jesuits, Paulines, certain local parish priests and the Capuchins themselves. Owing precisely to those donations, ***the very rule that forbade the Capuchins money became the foundation of the process of a sensational enrichment of their library funds with rare books, often wrapped in precious parchment***.

On the preliminary page of the book by P. F. Heribertum from Salurn (Christoph Anton Mayr; Salurn, Tirol 1637–1700, Merano)

21 Vlašić-Anić, A. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. Op. cit.

DOMINICALE CONCIONUM PASTORALIUM (Salzburg 1705) from whose covers the *Varaždin leaf from a Croatian Glagolitic Missal, FgVar2*, was taken, a handwritten note in faded black ink was preserved: “*Loci Capucinatorum Zagrabiae*”. The book, therefore, undoubtedly belonged to the former Capuchin monastery in Zagreb (established in 1618 in the Upper Town) that was dismissed in 1788, immediately after the dismissal of the Capuchin Order in Zagreb by a decree from the emperor Joseph II “*that the Royal Regent Council issued to Ban Count Franjo Balassa on 12 July of the same year under the number 3212*”.²² Its rich library was evacuated in dramatic circumstances “in a single day”²³ and the book fund was divided up and taken to the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb and to the Capuchin libraries in Varaždin and in Rijeka. A reconstruction of the Zagreb book fund (albeit incomplete) is still possible because of the archival documents preserved in the Capuchin monastery in Varaždin.²⁴ The knowledge of the strong mutual connections between the Capuchin libraries is of vital importance for the continuation of all our research, both field and the cultural-historical.

The problem of the *provenance of the Glagolitic parchments, the Varaždin fragments of Croatian Glagolitic missals FgVar 1 and FgVar2* on the covers of printed books from 1705 and 1712 has brought up:

1. Similar findings by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, who found several fragments of Croatian missals and breviaries (psalters), also on the covers of printed books in the Capuchin library in Rijeka in 1841;²⁵
2. A wide cultural-historical complex of the destiny, or rather wast- ing away, of the parchment liturgical codices that became obsolete after the invention of the printing machine (Gutenberg’s printing

22 Laszowski, Emil. Dokinuće Reda kapucina u Zagrebu g. 1788. // Emil Laszowski. Stari i novi Zagreb. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994. Pp. 166–171.

23 “... illo die, quo unico totum monasterium cum sacristia evacuare debuimus fuerit maior confusio et inundatio populi, quod si Turcae Zagrabiam intrassent ...” In: Šagi, B. Z. Kapucinska knjižnica u Varaždinu. Op. cit., p. 103–109.

24 Ibid.

25 Štefanić, Vjekoslav. Glagoljica u Rijeci. // Zbornik “Rijeka” Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1953. Pp. 393-434.; Štefanić, Vjekoslav. Glagoljski rukopisi jugoslavenske akademije. I dio: Uvod, Biblija, apokrifi i legende, liturgijski tekstovi, egzorcizmi i zapisi, molitvenici, teologija, crkveni govori (homiletika), pjesme. Zagreb : JAZU, 1969.; Blažeković, Tatjana. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski i Rijeka. // Vjesnik Povijesnog arhiva Rijeka 35-36(1994), 205-219.; Benčić, Branko. O knjižnici oo. kapucina u Rijeci (pismena radnja za stručni bibliotekarski ispit). Akad. godina: 1997/98, mentor: Aleksandar Stipčević. Rijeka : Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Teologija u Rijeci – Područni studij, 1998.; Vlašić-Anić, A. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. Op. cit., pp. 345-346.

machine in 1463), since their leaves were used as protective covers and quality book-binding for printed books.

As for the Glagolitic codices, which were “*put down the moment that printed liturgical books sprang up (the end of the 15th century)*”,²⁶ there are three key factors of their wasting away:

1. The history of the printed Glagolitic liturgical books that started already in 1483 with the *First Print of a Croatian Glagolitic Missal*, which is also the first printed book in the Slavic part of the world;
2. The reform (Russification) of the Glagolitic liturgical texts in the first half of the 17th century, which may be verified in the Propaganda's issues of Glagolitic missals found in Karlobag;
3. The introduction of either the “*šćavet*” or the *Latin language into churches*. In Karlobag and in Rijeka several issues in “*šćavet*” have been found.

It is worth, for example, to note in the work of V. Štefanić *Glagolitisa in Rijeka* from 1953: *New codices were no longer written by hand, while the old ones were seldom stored in the places of their origin (as in Novi or Vrbnik) or in public libraries (in Zagreb, Rome, Vienna, London etc.), so to a large extent they wasted away. Their parchment was readily used as covers for other books, so the majority of today's Glagolitic fragments of codices that are kept in public libraries come from the covers or spines of older books from which they were taken by either librarians or apprentice workers.*²⁷ *Even the remnants of old Glagolitic codices from Rijeka have to be sought in the covers and spines of books that were bound in the 17th and 18th centuries when Glagolitic handwritten books were put out of use.*²⁸

The findings in Karlobag stirred up my interest in the historical context of the Capuchins' missions in Lika and Krbava as areas under direct jurisdiction of Propaganda after they had been liberated from the Turks in 1689.²⁹ The monastery in Karlobag was established in

26 Štefanić, Vj. *Glagoljica u Rijeci*. Op. cit., p. 425.

27 Štefanić, Vj. Ibid.; Štefanić, Vj. *Glagoljski rukopisi jugoslavenske akademije*. Op. cit.; Vialova, Svetlana. *Glagoljski fragmenti Ivana Berčića u Ruskoj nacionalnoj biblioteci : faksimili*. Zagreb : Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti ; Ruska nacionalna biblioteka ; Staroslavenski institut, 2000.; Вялова, Светлана Олеговна. *Глаголические фрагменты Ивана Берчица в Российской национальной библиотеке : описание фрагментов*. Zagreb : Хорватская академия наук и искусств ; Русская национальная библиотека ; Старославянский институт, 2000.

28 Štefanić, Vj. *Glagoljica u Rijeci*. Op. cit., p. 425.

29 Bašnec, Nikola. *Dolazak kapucina i njihova misijska djelatnost u Lici i Krbavi nakon oslobođenja od Turaka 1689. godine*. // *Riječki teološki časopis / Ephemerides theologicae Fluminenses* 7, 2(1999), 251-294.

1710 and built in 1712 at the request of and according to the idea of the Senj-Modruš bishop Benedikt Bedeković, which were accepted by the Austrian emperor Joseph I and finalised by Charles VI. The monastery was established owing to the great challenges and significance of the Capuchins' missionary work, which, in the context of "ethnic and confessional divisions",³⁰ proved to be extremely successful, especially through the *Lent sermons in the Croatian language*.³¹

Each of these scientific insights became a challenging inspiration for even more extensive research into the connections between the Capuchins and Glagolitsa and Glagolism. The assumption that there are more books bound in precious parchment in the Capuchin monasteries was not only logical, but also strongly inspirational as a serious motive for further research in every Capuchin library where it would be made possible.

Outstanding cooperation with the guardians of the Capuchin monasteries was therefore crucial. It has been going on to this very day: in Karlobag (in 1994, 2005, 2006 and 2009), in Varaždin (in 2007) and in Rijeka (in 2007 and 2008).

The restoration and conservation of all parchments and books in which they were found

The enthusiasm for my "*jeans*" quest' for the fragments from the "life" of the Capuchins' on parchment has been paralleled by my personal engagement in the initiation of the process of their much needed restoration and conservation together with the books they were found in. The goals were quite clear:

1. to make them shine permanently in their eternal beauty and to preserve for centuries to come the invaluable traces of medieval liturgical spirituality, written on parchment by a hand of an artistic writer;
2. to enable a thorough scientific research that would expand the knowledge not only of Glagolitsa and Croatian Glagolism, but also of every aspect of the Europesque multiculturalism of the Croatian medieval period.

30 Pešut, Damjan. Etnička i konfesionalna podjela nakon oslobađanja Like od Turaka. // Senjski zbornik 24(1997), 85-130.; Bogović, Mirko. Sadržaj izvješća senjsko-modruških biskupa u Rim od 1620. do 1919. godine. // Senjski zbornik 23(1996), 161-196.

31 Bašnec, N. Op. cit., p. 278.

This was an engagement in the initiation and above all successful realisation of a continued cooperation: (1) above all with the (then) Provincial of the Croatian Capuchin Province, friar Bono Zvonimir ŠAGI and the guardians of the Capuchin monasteries: Mirko KEMIVEŠ in Varaždin; Krsto HRŽENJAK, Ante LOGARA, Josip GRIVIĆ and Stjepan BERGOVEC in Karlobag, and Stanko DODIG and Anto PERVAN in Rijeka, (2) with the central Laboratory for conservation and restoration of the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, where under the supervision of Advisor Tatjana MUŠNJAK all the conservation and restoration works have been conducted so far on the parchments and books, (3) with the Conservation Departments of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in Varaždin, Gospić and Rijeka, (4) with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb, which, after launching several annual tenders for the financing of the programmes for the protection and preservation of cultural goods, approved the funding of the restoration and conservation works, (5) with the Departments of Culture of the cities of Rijeka and Varaždin, which also approved the funding, also after launching tenders.

Particular attention was drawn by the restoration of the book *Decretales D. Gregorii papæ* (Rome, 1582) from the library of the Capuchin monastery in Rijeka, because it is in itself a rarity in terms of the printed material. It was restored because of THREE CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC PARCHMENT FRAGMENTS FROM THE 13th and 14th CENTURIES that were found on its preliminary leaf (Figure 2). During its restoration at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, two more fragments were found, *Hebrew-Aramaic fragments of the Book of Exodus from the 13th and 14th centuries* on parchment.

The book is a copy of “DECRETALES / D. GREGORII PAPÆ IX. / SVÆ INTEGRITATI / VNA CVM GLOSSIS RESTITVTÆ . / *Cum priuilegio GREGORII XIII. pont. Max. / & aliorum Principum.* / DE LICENTIA SVPERIORVM. / ROMÆ / In ædibus Populi Romani M. D. LXXXII.”³² *Decretales* or *Liber Extra* of Pope Gregory IX from 1234 is the second tom (of three toms) of the Roman issue of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* from 1582. It was entered into this renowned medieval collection of three fundamental documents that represent the very essence of the historical Canon law together with Vol. I, a work of a Benedictine

32 UCLA Library: Digital Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. Corpus Juris Canonici (1582) [cited: 2010-11-15]. Available at: <http://digidev.library.ucla.edu/canonlaw/>

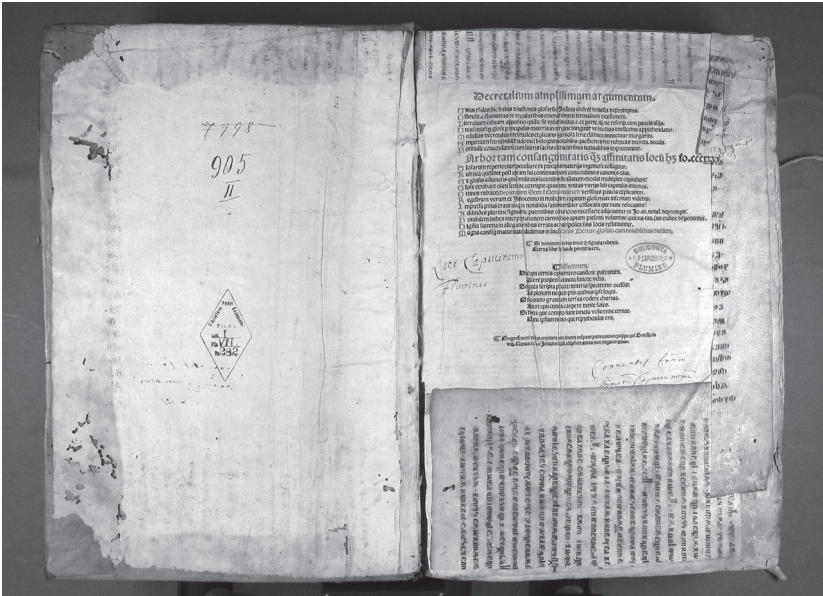


FIGURE 2.
 Three Croatian Glagolitic Parchment Fragments from the 13th and 14th Centuries on the preliminary leaf of the book *Decretales D. Gregorii papae* (Rome, 1582) from the library of the Capuchin monastery in Rijeka. Photo: Croatian State Archives, Zagreb

monk (Camaldolese) and a professor from Bologna, Gratian's *Decretum Gratiani*, or *Concordia Discordantium Canonum* (about 1140) and Vol. III, *Liber Sextus* by Boniface VIII from 1298.³³ *Corpus Juris Canonici*, an elaboration of Ordinary Glosses (unchangeable elaborations with added comments on the law), whose significance by far exceeds the margins of its pages, was no longer printed after the 17th century and its copies are therefore quite rare. Owing to a project of its digitisa-

33 Gilles, Henri. Glosses, Legal. // Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages I A-J / edited by Andre Vauchez in conjunction with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge (England) : J. Clarke, 2000. Pp. 611-612.; Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino. Gregory IX, Pope (c. 1170-1241). // Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages I A-J. Op. cit., p. 639.; Gaudemet, Jean. Decretals, False. // Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages I A-J. Op. cit., p. 419.



FIGURE 3.

The covers of another, yet unidentified book with the unusual mirror ‘portrait’ of Hebrew-Aramaic fragments of the *Exodus FgCap VlaTep* from the 13th and 14th centuries – ‘Hebrew call number’ of the Rijeka copy of *Decretales D. Gregorii papæ IX*. (Rome 1582). Photo: Croatian State Archives, Zagreb

tion,³⁴ the texts of all three volumes have been available online and in full since 2006.³⁵ The “pearl,” *Decretales D. Gregorii papæ IX*. – index *Margarita Decretalium*,³⁶ is believed to have originated at the end of the 13th century, before Boniface’s *Liber Sextus* from 1298.

34 UCLA Library: Digital Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. Op. cit.

35 “The complete text of all three volumes of the *Corpus Juris Canonici* is online at this site. Also included here are corrected and expanded (and searchable) versions of the two indexes of vol. 2 (*Liber Extra*); one index, the *Margarita*, is to the decretals, and the other, called *Materiae Singulares*, is to the Gloss. Various ways of searching the Gloss topics are being added.” Ibid.

36 “Most of the references to the legislation of Innocent IV (1243-54) and Gregory X (1272-76) are to their *Novellae*, even when specifying decretals that were incorporated into the *Sext* (their position in the *Sext* is indicated in the expanded edition of the *Margarita* below). Occasionally one does see a reference to the *Sext* (for instance in the entry, ‘*Accusatio contra inopem*’, referring to Innocent IV’s decretal *Frequens* from the Second Council of Lyons, *Sext* 2.5.1, but this is undoubtedly the work of later editors).” Ibid.

Undoubtedly, the restored copy from the library of the Capuchin monastery in Rijeka is in itself a printed rarity, a permanent cultural good whose exceptional value belongs not only to the national, Croatian, but also European cultural heritage. The mirror outlines of the Glagolitic letters of *the Fragment of the Book of Proverbs* (FgCap VlaPr), of *the Clipping from the Book of Genesis* (FgCap VlaGn) and of *the Clipping of a Glagolitic breviary* (FgCap VlaDec) that are visible on the back of its left cover look like a striking ‘Croatian Glagolitic call number’ of this book, unique in the history of Croatian Glagolism. In the binding of the covers of the same book, the covers of another, yet unidentified book were found, with the mysterious and for centuries invisible outlines, the *Hebrew-Aramaic fragments of the Book of Exodus* (FgCap VlaTep) (Figure 3). This unusual mirror ‘portrait’ of *Hebrew-Aramaic fragments of the Exodus* was imprinted as a ‘Hebrew call number’ of the Rijeka copy of *Decretales D. Gregorii papa IX*. (Rome 1582), in a complex cultural linguistic symbiosis with the ‘Croatian Glagolitic’ one, puts it into the category of rarities of world cultural heritage.

The Results of Paleographic-Linguistic Analyses of some fragments researched so far (Croatian Glagolitic and Hebrew-Aramaic)

So far, FOUR CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC AND TWO HEBREW-ARAMAIC FRAGMENTS HAVE BEEN RESEARCHED:

1. The leaf from the Croatian Glagolitic missal *FgVar2* from the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century;³⁷
2. THREE Croatian Glagolitic fragments from Rijeka from three different breviaries from the 13th century, *the Fragment of the Book of Proverbs* *FgCap VlaPr*, from the beginning of the second half of the 13th century; *the Clipping from the Book of Genesis* *FgCap VlaGn* from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century; and *the Clipping of a Glagolitic breviary* *FgCap VlaDec*, also from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century;³⁸
3. TWO *Hebrew-Aramaic fragments of the Book of Exodus from the 13 or 14th century*.³⁹

37 Vlašić-Anić, A. Varaždinski list hrvatskoglagoljskoga misala (FgVar2). Op. cit.

38 Mihaljević, M.; A. Vlašić-Anić. Op. cit.

39 Vlašić-Anić, A.; D. Tepert. Op. cit.

The three Croatian Glagolitic fragments from three different breviaries from the 13th century, *the Fragment of The Book of Proverbs FgCap VlaPr*, *the Clipping of the Book of Genesis FgCap VlaGn* and *the Clipping of a Glagolitic breviary FgCap VlaDec*, found on 25 August 2007 on the first leaf of the book *Decretales D. Gregorii papæ* (Rome, 1582), are extremely important, especially within the context of the phenomenon of “Glagolitsa in Rijeka.”⁴⁰ The first analyses confirmed that all of them date in the transitional period of Croatian Glagolism from which only about thirty fragments have been found. Also, *the Fragment of the Book of Proverbs FgCap VlaPr*, dated *in the beginning of the second half of the 13th century, is the oldest copy of a Croatian Glagolitic translation of this biblical book found so far, and it is at the same time the oldest Glagolitic manuscript found in Rijeka.*⁴¹

The research on the *Hebrew-Aramaic fragment of the Book of Exodus from the 13th or 14th century* has shown that both folios belong to the Ashkenazi Bible-copying tradition and that both of them are part of a larger codex that could have contained either the Book of Exodus or *the entire Torah*.⁴² The finding of each of these 5 fragments dated in the second half of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century bears a lot of significance. The fact that the *finding of 5 parchment fragments is linked to a single book from the library of the Capuchin monastery in Rijeka*, the three Croatian Glagolitic ones on the preliminary leaf and the two Hebrew-Aramaic in the covers of the book *Decretales D. Gregorii papæ* (Roma, 1582), is sensational, unrecorded in the history, not only of the Capuchin monastery in Rijeka, or the City of Rijeka, but also (to my knowledge) of the whole Croatia. These findings suggest that more clippings or fragments could be expected to be found in other books that have been singled out as containing parchment covers, but still await their ‘turn’ for restoration. Especially so if we take into consideration the *mysteries in the covers* of several books restored at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb (certainly not *exclusively*) from Capuchin libraries.

40 Štefanić, Vj. Glagoljica u Rijeci. Op. cit.; Deković, Darko. Glagoljica i glagoljaštvo u gradu Rijeci : istraživanja o riječkom glagoljaškom krugu. Zagreb, 2008. (Ocijenjena, ali zbog smrti autora neobranjena doktorska disertacija u rukopisu.); Mihaljević, M.; A. Vlašić-Anić. Op. cit.

41 Mihaljević, M.; A. Vlašić-Anić. Op. cit. p. 118.

42 Vlašić-Anić, A.; D. Tepert. Op. cit.

The exhibition Vlašić-Anić–Sabalić *The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia*, Rijeka, 15 October – 25 December 2010

“One tiny”⁴³ exhibition, *The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia* (*Od bitija*⁴⁴ *kapucinskoga fragmenti: povodom 400. obljetnice Kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj*) authored by Anica Vlašić-Anić and Damir Sabalić was dedicated to the jubilee of the Capuchin monastery in Rijeka and to the entire Croatian Capuchin Province of St. Leopold Bogdan Mandić: 400th anniversary of the arrival of the *Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Ordo fratrum minorum Capuccinorum)* in Rijeka and in Croatia (Figure 4).

The main organisers of the Exhibition were the Croatian Capuchin Province of St. Leopold Bogdan Mandić together with the Provincial, friar Ivica PETANJAK, PhD, and the Capuchin Monastery of Our Lady of Lourdes in Rijeka and its guardian, friar Anto PERVAN. The exhibition was co-organised by academic and cultural institutions, whose contribution was indispensable: (1) the Academy of Applied Arts in Rijeka with the dean Anto Tonči VLADISLAVIĆ; (2) Croatian State Archives in Zagreb with the director Stjepan ĆOSIĆ; (3) Maritime and Historical Museum of Coastal Croatia in Rijeka with the director Margita CVIJETINOVIĆ STARAC and (4) the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb with the director Marica ČUNČIĆ.

As part of a series of events to mark the 400th anniversary of the arrival of the Capuchins in Rijeka and in Croatia, the exhibition was opened on 15 October 2010 in the Gallery of the Maritime and Historical Museum of Coastal Croatia in Rijeka.⁴⁵

43 About *tiny* = *malahna*. See Stjepan Konzul Istranin: *Tabla za dicu: edne malahne knjižice ... V Tubingi 1561* (facsimile: Zagreb 1986 and 2007) and *Katehizmus. Edna malahna knjiga ... U Tubingi 1561 and 1564* (facsimile: Pazin-Buzet-Željezno, 1991; Pazin, 1994).; Jembrih, Alojz. Konzul Istranin, Stjepan. // Hrvatski biografski leksikon. Zagreb : Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2009.

44 Like Šimun Kožičić-Benja. *Od bitija redovničkoga knjižice, 1531* (facsimile: Nazor, 2009). See “bitie ... 1. *bit, bitak, postojanje*; essence, Being, existence; – τὸ εἶναι; esse, essentia, genus ... 2. *postanak, nastanak, podrijetlo, rođenje*; generation, emergence, origin, birth; – γένεσις; genesis, generatio”. Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije = Lexicon linguae slavonicae redactionis croatiae = Slovesa knjig³ slovĀnskix³ ezikom³ xr³vatskim³ angliiskim³ gr³čskim³ i latinskim³ skazaema / urednici Biserka Grabar, Zoe Hauptová, Franjo Većeslav Mareš. Zagreb : Staroslavenski institut, 2000. Pp. 160-161.

45 Grce, Mirjana. Izložci koji graniče sa senzacijom. // Novi list, Rijeka, 16. listopada 2010, 67.; Šimić, Marinka. Izložba “Od bitija kapucinskoga fragmenti : povodom 400. obljetnice Kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj” (Rijeka, 15. 10. – 25. 12. 2010). // Slovo 61(2011), 407-410.



FIGURE 4.

The exhibition VLAŠIĆ-ANIĆ – SABALIĆ: “*The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia*”. Photo: Anica Vlašić-Anić

The (para)citational name *The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia* together with being in line with the theme and the anniversary marked the several senses of intertextual correspondence of the authors’ notion of the exhibition with the last publication of the Šimun Kožičić-Benja’s Glagolitic printing house: *The book on the Life of Monks (Od bitija redovničkoga knjižice, 1531)*. This publication, whose facsimile of the single copy is preserved in the National Library of Russia in Saint-Petersburg,⁴⁶ which was prepared for printing in 2009 by the member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts Anica Nazor⁴⁷

46 Круминг, Андрей. Ранние глаголические издания в библиотеках СССР. // Slovo 34(1984), 225-255.

47 Kožičić, Šimun. *Od bitija redovničkoga knjižice*. Rijeka, 1531. Knjiga 1: Faksimil; Knjiga 2: Latinična transkripcija glagoljskog teksta (s uvodom, rječnikom i literaturom) / priredila Anica Nazor. Rijeka : Državni arhiv u Rijeci ; Družba braće hrvatskoga zmaja, 2009.

had just been promoted in Rijeka in 2010, the year of the Capuchins' anniversary.⁴⁸

At the exhibition it was possible for the first time to see *all the original fragments "from the life" of the Capuchins' that had been restored until then*, just freshly arrived from the restoration workshop. They were presented as part of my latest scientific findings in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries: about 40 fragments of Croatian Glagolitic, Latin and Hebrew-Aramaic liturgical codices on parchment, from the 13th to the 15th centuries from the *Varaždin* (V₁-V₂₃), *Karlobag* (K₁-K₅) and *Rijeka collections FgCapVla* (R₁-R₁₃). They were exhibited together with about thirty printed books from the 16th to the 18th century in whose covers, spines or leaves they had been found.

The visual appearance of the *Varaždin Glagolitic parchments* was accentuated by the details (even mirror images of Glagolitic letters with the *verso*-side of *FgVar2*) that inspired the professor at the Academy of Applied Arts in Rijeka, Jakov ŽAPER, PhD, for the designer-artistic design of the *Invitation, Flyer the Poster and the Banner* (Figures 5 and 6) and the *Posters* for the exhibition.

The exhibition was indeed "*tiny*" and modest, taking into consideration the potential, i.e. the exhibition we are planning after the last newly-found parchment fragment has been restored together with the book it was found in. It is amazing that it was made possible by precisely the *invaluable freedom of not being attached to any goods or places on this Earth* that the Capuchins have so persistently promoted in the original Franciscan spirit, the "*littleness*" of poverty. Poverty, as a *phenomenon of simple* and yet at the same time *fascinatingly complex spiritual category*, inevitable in the postulates of the primary guidelines of the life of the Franciscan monks: the "*Rules*" of *St. Francis*.

48 Promoted – as Kožičić's work that "in every little bit entirely reflects Kožičić's spirit and the attempt to capture by all means the physical, biological, and in printed words the spiritual and cultural being of his own, Croatian, people. Šimun Kožičić, a patrician from Zadar, a descendant of an old Croatian family, the Bishop of Modruš and a refugee in the city of Rijeka under Caesar's protection, a learned Latinist, a respected prelate of the Catholic Church, an apt and respected diplomat, a man of European culture and globalised ecumene, and at the same time a member of the Croatian Glagolitic microcosm who, along with the mother-culture, Latin, of the Venetian nobleman tradition, carries Contarini in his soul, knows that only a people guided by virtuous leaders, among whom a distinguished place is held by the priests, carriers of the holy order (monks), can survive and thrive. Therefore, Kožičić issues short and clear instructions as important tools for the survival of the people and its priest-leaders (monks); he talks about the obstacles (enemies) that represent true barriers to a life in harmony and virtue and he talks about the virtues that are necessary for them and that they have to live, keep and to others give." (Crnković, Goran; Juraj Lokmer. Predgovor. // Kožičić, Š. Op. cit., pp. 7-10.)



FIGURE 6.

The banner of the exhibition VLAŠIĆ-ANIĆ – SABALIĆ: “*The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia*”. Photo: Sanjin Anić

It was precisely with this exhibition that the authors tried to express their *open enthusiasm over the greatness of the Capuchin Franciscan littleness* by which the Capuchins have been recognised even as the radical reformers of the Catholic Church who, like Michelangelo, “at least occasionally make Rome face with the Absolute”.⁴⁹ The exhibited *fragments “from the life” of the Capuchins*, much like the “one tiny” treasury of the preciousness of the received gifts of littleness, reflected this littleness in keeping with the Kožičić’s *spirit*. It is the spirit of the caring and the four-hundred-year-long *attempt* of the Capuchins, who were like Kožičić *learned Latinists, apt and respected diplomats* of the wide *European culture and globalised ecumene* and at the same time members of the *Croatian Glagolitic microcosm*, and who like him preserve the complex *spiritual, cultural being of their own, Croatian people*.⁵⁰

49 Hocke, Gustav René. *Svijet kao labirint*. Zagreb : “August Cesarec”, 1991.; Hocke, Gustav René. *Svijet kao labirint*. Zagreb : “August Cesarec”, 1991. P. 80.

50 Crnković, G.; J. Lokmer. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

We may proudly point out that at the exhibition *The fragments from the Life of the Capuchins: for the 400th anniversary of the OFM Capuccinorum in Rijeka and Croatia*, the phenomenon of several types of letters and several languages used in the Croatian medieval culture was especially emphasised. The exhibited newly-found fragments of the medieval codices on parchment pushed this phenomenon a significant step closer to the zone of the inevitable *multiculturality*. Or rather, a step closer to the complex deliberation of the *cohabitation* and the *interweaving of the three letters – Latin, Glagolitsa and Hebrew – and even five languages: Latin, Old Church Slavonic of the Croatian redaction, Hebrew, Aramaic and German*. After the restoration of all the newly-found fragments and clippings in the Capuchin libraries, the modification of these combinations will be continued with the introduction of at least one more language and letter: Ancient Greek (the Greek fragments are still waiting for their ‘turn’ for the restoration). A more close palaeographic-linguistic identification and results of the planned scientific research should confirm the (un)justifiability of our optimistic presumptions that this introduction will not be the only one, at least as far as languages are concerned.

With a critical mind and with responsibility we dare to say that we may expect not-so-little surprises precisely in the gathering of the results of the upcoming scientific research of the *Varaždin, Karlobag and Rijeka collection FgCapVla*. The claim is based on the experiences gathered so far in the revealing of the secrets during the *quest for Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries*. It is already apparent that each of the three collections is in its significance an invaluable and permanent cultural good whose exceptional value is proudly added not only to the national, Croatian, but also European cultural heritage.

The contribution of the artists from the Academy of Applied Arts in Rijeka was the discreet outlines that gave to each exhibited rarity a special and silent additional glow. The exhibition was aimed at the visitors’ EYES THAT OBSERVE/SEE/RECOGNIZE the discreet game of the calligraphic labyrinths of pen, ink and colour. They are bound to remember it as the glow of a mysterious transparency of the in/visible perspectives “*le plaisir du texte*”⁵¹ on parchment from “one tiny” treasury of fragments from the 400 years of the “life” of the Capuchins.

51 Barthes, Roland. *Le plaisir du texte*. Paris : Éditions du Seuil, 1975.

EPILOGUE: I hope that you too, while listening to this story in the first person singular about the avant-garde – pioneer ‘*jeans quest*’ (Flaker) for *Glagnolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries*, have become, in a way, part of its reality, part of this adventure in the world of science and research.

Translated by Boris Anić

References

- Barthes, Roland. *Le plaisir du texte*. Paris : Éditions du Seuil, 1975.
- Bašnec, Nikola. Dolazak kapucina i njihova misijska djelatnost u Lici i Krbavi nakon oslobođenja od Turaka 1689. godine. // *Riječki teološki časopis / Ephemerides theologiae Fluminenses* 7, 2(1999), 251-294.
- Benčić, Branko. O knjižnici oo. kapucina u Rijeci (pismena radnja za stručni bibliotekarski ispit). Akad. godina: 1997/98, mentor: Aleksandar Stipčević. Rijeka : Katolički bogoslovni fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Teologija u Rijeci – Područni studij, 1998.
- Blažeković, Tatjana. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski i Rijeka. // *Vjesnik Povijesnog arhiva Rijeka* 35-36(1994), 205-219.
- Bogović, Mirko. Sadržaj izvješća senjsko-modruških biskupa u Rim od 1620. do 1919. godine. // *Senjski zbornik* 23(1996), 161-196.
- Crnković, Goran; Juraj Lokmer. Predgovor. // Šimun Kožičić : *Od bitija redovničkoga knjižice. Rijeka 1531. Knjiga 2. Latinična transkripcija glagoljskog teksta (s uvodom, rječnikom i literaturom) / priredila Anica Nazor. Rijeka : Državni arhiv u Rijeci ; Družba braće hrvatskoga zmaja, 2009. Pp. 7-12.*
- Deković, Darko. *Glagoljica i glagoljaštvo u gradu Rijeci : istraživanja o riječkom glagoljaškom krugu*. Zagreb, 2008. (Ocijenjena, ali zbog smrti autora neobranjena doktorska disertacija u rukopisu.)
- Deklaracija OBERIU, Afiši Doma Pečati №. 2, Leningrad 1928. // Harms, Daniil Ivanovič. *Izbrannoe / edited and introduced by George Gibian. Würzburg : Jal-Verlag, 1974. Pp. 285-298.*
- Drei Schriften – Drei Sprachen : Kroatische Schriftdenkmäler und Drucke durch Jahrhunderte / Die Autoren der Ausstellung Anica Nazor, Josip Bratulić, Mirko Tomasović. Zagreb : Erasmus naklada, 2002.
- Flaker, Aleksandar. *Proza u trapericama : prilog izgradnji modela prozne formacije na građi suvremenih književnosti srednjo- i istočnoevropske regije*. Zagreb : Biblioteka Razlog, 1976.
- Flaker, Aleksandar. *Ruska avangarda*. Zagreb : Sveučilišna naklada Liber ; Globus, 1984.
- Foretić, Dalibor. *Hrid za slobodu : dubrovačke ljetne kronike 1971.-1996*. Dubrovnik : Matica hrvatska, 1998.
- Gaudemet, Jean. *Decretals, False*. // *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages I A-J / edited by Andre Vauchez in conjunction with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge (England) : J. Clarke, 2000. P. 419.*

- Gilles, Henri. *Glosses, Legal*. // *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages I A-J* / edited by Andre Vauchez in conjunction with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge (England) : J. Clarke, 2000. Pp. 611-612.
- Grce, Mirjana. *Izložci koji graniče sa senzacijom*. // *Novi list*, Rijeka, 16. listopada 2010, 67.
- Hercigonja, Eduard. *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja*. Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1994.
- Hocke, Gustav René. *Svijet kao labirint*. Zagreb : "August Cesarec", 1991.
- Jembrih, Alojz. *Konzul Istranin, Stjepan*. // *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*. Zagreb : Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2009.
- Jolles, André. *Jednostavni oblici*. Zagreb : Studentski centar Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1978.
- Kemiveš, Mirko. *Dolazak kapucina u Varaždin i znameniti kapucini tijekom 300 godina varaždinskog samostana = La venuta dei cappuccini a Varaždin e i cappuccini celebri del convento durante 300 anni di presenza*. // *Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001)*, 23-146.
- Kožičić, Šimun. *Od bitija redovničkoga knjižice*. Rijeka, 1531. Knjiga 1: Faksimil; Knjiga 2: Latinična transkripcija glagoljskog teksta (s uvodom, rječnikom i literaturom) / priredila Anica Nazor. Rijeka : Državni arhiv u Rijeci ; Družba braće hrvatskoga zrnja, 2009.
- Круминг, Андрей. *Ранние глаголические издания в библиотеках СССР*. // *Slovo* 34(1984), 225-255.
- Laszowski, Emil. *Dokinuće Reda kapucina u Zagrebu g. 1788*. // *Emil Laszowski. Stari i novi Zagreb*. Zagreb : Školska knjiga, 1994. Pp. 166-171.
- Marjanić, Suzana; Anica Vlašić-Anić. *Narušavanje teatra kao kocke : razgovor sa Zlatkom Burićem-Kićom*. // *Zarez* 210-211(2007), 48-49.
- Marjanić, Suzana. *Urbani rituali Kugla-glumišta ili estetizacija uličnoga svagdana : razgovor s Anicom Vlašić-Anić*. // *Zarez* 191, VIII(2006), 38-40.
- Mihaljević, Milan; Anica Vlašić-Anić. *Novootkriveni glagoljski fragmenti u riječkoj kapucinskoj knjižnici*. // *Sprache und Leben der frühmittelalterlichen Slaven : Festschrift für Radoslav Katičić zum 80. Geburtstag / Herausgegeben von Elena Stadnik-Holzer und Georg Holzer*. Wien : Peter Lang, 2010. Pp. 95-124.
- Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino. *Gregory IX, Pope (c. 1170-1241)*. // *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages I A-J*. / edited by Andre Vauchez in conjunction with Barrie Dobson and Michael Lapidge. Cambridge (England) : J. Clarke, 2000. P. 639.
- Pelc, Milan. *Pismo – knjiga – slika : uvod u povijest informacijske kulture*. Zagreb : Golden marketing, 2002.
- Pešut, Damjan. *Etnička i konfesionalna podjela nakon oslobođanja Like od Turaka*. // *Senjski zbornik* 24(1997), 85-130.
- Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu (12-13) / Zagreb ; Varaždin : HAZU 2001.
- Repertoar hrvatskih kazališta : 1840-1860-1980. Knj. 1. / priredio i uredio Branko Hećimović. Zagreb : Globus ; JAZU, 1990.
- Rječnik crkvenoslavenskoga jezika hrvatske redakcije = *Lexicon linguae slavonicae redactionis croatae* = *Словник црковнословјенског језика хрватске редакције* / urednici Biserka Grabar, Zoe Hauptová, Franjo Većeslav Mareš. Zagreb : Staroslavenski institut, 2000.

- Rusko hrvatski ili srpski frazeološki rječnik / u redakciji Antice Menac. Zagreb : Školska knjiga, 1979.
- Šagi, Bono Zvonimir. Kapucinska knjižnica u Varaždinu. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 8-9(1996), 103–109.
- Šagi, Bono Zvonimir. Pastoralna djelatnost kapucina u Varaždinu = L'attività pastorale dei frati cappuccini a Varaždin. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001), 165–174.
- Šagi-Bunić, Tomislav Janko. Redovnička zajednica kojoj je pripadao sluga Božji o. Leopold Bogdan Mandić : (Kratka pregled povijesti franjevac kapucina u Hrvatskoj). // Da Valdiporro, Pietro. Blaženi Leopold kapucin iz Hercegovog. Zagreb : Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1976. Pp. 373–403.
- Šarčević, Jure. Dolazak kapucina u Varaždin = L'arrivo dei cappuccini nelle regioni della Croazia. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001), 115–121.
- Šimić, Marinka. Izložba "Od bitija kapucinskoga fragmenti: povodom 400. obljetnice Kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj" (Rijeka, 15. 10. – 25. 12. 2010). // Slovo 61(2011), 407-410.
- Štefanić, Vjekoslav. Glagoljica u Rijeci. // Zbornik "Rijeka". Zagreb : Matica hrvatska, 1953. Pp. 393-434.
- Štefanić, Vjekoslav. Glagoljski rukopisi jugoslavenske akademije. I dio: Uvod, Biblija, apokrifi i legende, liturgijski tekstovi, egzorcizmi i zapisi, molitvenici, teologija, crkveni govori (homiletika), pjesme. Zagreb : JAZU, 1969.
- Tenšek, Zdenko Tomislav. Kapucini : katolički red u svijetu i kod nas = I Cappuccini : un ordine cattolico nel mondo e tradi noi. // Radovi zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU u Varaždinu 12-13(2001), 105–114.
- UCLA Library: Digital Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. Corpus Juris Canonici (1582) [cited: 2010-11-15]. Available at: <http://digidev.library.ucla.edu/canonlaw/>
- Vialova, Svetlana. Glagoljski fragmenti Ivana Berčića u Ruskoj nacionalnoj biblioteci : faksimili. Zagreb : Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti ; Ruska nacionalna biblioteka ; Staroslavenski institut, 2000.
- Вялова, Светлана Олеговна. Глаголические фрагменты Ивана Берчича в Российской национальной библиотеке : описание фрагментов. Загреб : Хорватская академия наук и искусств ; Русская национальная библиотека ; Старославянский институт, 2000.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Harms i dadaizam. Zagreb : Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 1997.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. International Medieval Congress (450-1500), Leeds 10-13 July 1995. // Slovo 47-49(1999), 345-347.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Glagoljica u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana. // Glagoljica i hrvatski glagolizam : zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa povodom 100. obljetnice Staroslavenske akademije i 50. obljetnice Staroslavenskoga instituta (Zagreb-Krk, 2.-6. listopada 2002.) / uredili Marija-Ana Dürriřl, Milan Mihaljević, Franjo Velčić. Zagreb : Staroslavenski institut ; Krk : Krčka biskupija, 2004. Pp. 341–354.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica; Darko Tepert. Hebrejsko-aramejski fragmenti *Knjige Izlaska* (FgCap VlaTep) novoootkriveni u riječkoj kapucinskoj knjižnici. // Zbornik međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 400 godina kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj, Rijeka 13.-16. listopada 2010. / urednik Goran Crnković. Rijeka: Matica hrvatska, Ogranak u Rijeci. (In press)

- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Kafka, Kugla, Harms : mimikrija lijepog na poprištu estetike mučnine. // *Oko književnosti : osamdeset godina Aleksandra Flakera / uredio Josip Užarević*. Zagreb : Disput, 2004. Pp. 121-136.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Kugla glumište, Zagreb. // *Drugi hrvatski slavistički kongres, Osijek, 14-18. rujna 1999. : zbornik radova / uredile Dubravka Sesar, Ivana Vidović Bolt*. Zagreb : Hrvatsko filološko društvo ; Filozofski fakultet, 2001. Pp. 659-665.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Varaždinske uvertire u “Kapucinski ‘glagoljički Bolero’”. // *Četvrti hrvatski slavistički kongres, Varaždin – Čakovec, 5. – 8. rujna 2006. : zbornik sažetaka / uredio Marko Samardžija*. Zagreb : Hrvatski slavistički odbor Hrvatskoga filološkog društva, 2006. Pp. 126–127.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Varaždinski list hrvatskoglagoljskoga misala (FgVar2). // *Slovo* 61(2011), 123-167.

Further reading

- Nazor, Anica. А. А. Круминг, Славянские старопечатные книги глаголического шрифта в библиотеках СССР : проблемы рукописной и печатной книги. // *Slovo* 30(1980), 132-137.
- Schmidt, Heinrich P. Heribert von Salurn O.M.C. (1637-1700) als Prediger, Phil. Diss. (Masch.) Innsbruck 1946. // *BIBLIX*. Bibliographie européenne des exempla. [cited: 2010-10-11] Available at: <http://www.bing.com/search?q=Schmidt>
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Izložba “Od bitija kapucinskoga fragmenti : povodom 400. obljetnice Kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj” : [deplijant]. Rijeka : Hrvatska kapucinska provincija sv. Leopolda Bogdana Mandića, Kapucinski samostan Gospe Lurdske u Rijeci, 2010.
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Izložba “Od bitija kapucinskoga fragmenti : povodom 400. obljetnice Kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj (Pomorski i povijesni muzej Hrvatskog primorja u Rijeci, 15. listopada do 25. prosinca 2010. g.)” // *400. godina kapucina u Hrvatskoj : Rijeka 1610.-2010. : zbornik međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 400 godina kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj, Rijeka 13.-16. listopada 2010. / urednik Goran Crnković*. Rijeka : Matica hrvatska, Ogranak u Rijeci. (In press)
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Najnovija otkrića glagoljice u knjižnici riječkoga Kapucinskoga samostana Gospe Lurdske. // *Zbornik međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 400 godina kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj, Rijeka 13.-16. listopada 2010. / urednik Goran Crnković*. Rijeka : Matica hrvatska, Ogranak u Rijeci. (In press)
- Vlašić-Anić, Anica. Riječki crescendo “Kapucinskoga ‘glagoljičkoga Bolera’”. // *Peti hrvatski slavistički kongres, Rijeka, 07.-10. rujna. 2010. : zbornik sažetaka / uredila Marija Turk*. Rijeka : Hrvatski slavistički odbor Hrvatskoga filološkog društva ; Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Rijeci, 2010. Pp. 36–37.

Biographical sketch

Dr. Anica Vlašić-Anić finished study of the Comparative Literature and the Russian language and literature at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, Croatia where she got Masters degree for *Harms and Dadaism* thesis in 1992, and PhD for *Harms and Kafka* in 2006 (under the mentorship of Ph. D. in Phil Aleksandar Flaker, full professor) in philology in the field of Slavic Studies. Since 1981 she is working at the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb on a project *Dictionary of the Church Slavonic Language of the Croatian Redaction*, while since 1993 she is working on the project *Zagreb glossary of culture in the 20th century*. She attended many domestic and international conferences (England, Switzerland, Russia, Slovenia, FYR Macedonia, Serbia). Along with a number of papers she published a book in 1997, *Harms and Dadaism (Harms i dadaizam, Hrvatsko filološko društvo)*.

Research Interests: 1. Dadaism, Harms, Vvedenskij, OBERIU, Franz Kafka. 2. *Glagolitsa in the libraries of Capuchin monasteries* in Croatia and Europe. 3. Three collections of parchment fragments containing Croatian Glagolitic, Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew-Aramaic codices – that have served as covers for printed books (the cultural-historical aspects; the problems of restoration and conservation; palaeographic and linguistic analyses of fragments; organisation the exhibition).

FRAGMENTI PERGAMENTNIH KODEKSA NA KORICAMA STARIH KNJIGA

Sažetak

Autorica predstavlja vlastita najnovija otkrića u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana u Hrvatskoj: *Varaždinsku*, *Riječku* i *Karlobašku* zbirku *FgCapVla* (*Fragmenta Cappuccinorum Vlašić*). To su tri respektabilne zbirke pergamentnih fragmenata hrvatskoglagoljskih, latinskih, grčkih i hebrejsko-aramejskih kodeksa 13.–15. st. koji su stoljećima služili kao zaštitni ovitci na koricama, materijal za uvez hrptova ili zakrpe oštećenih listova tiskanih knjiga iz 15.–18. st. S polazištem u proživljenom iskustvu znanstveno-istraživačke radosti, zanosu i neiscrpne inspiracije novootkrivenim rijetkostima, posebnu pozornost posvećuje: 1. kulturnopovijesnim aspektima avangardno-pionirskoga *'traganja u trapericama' za glagoljicom u knjižnicama kapucinskih samostana*; 2. problematici restauracije i konzervacije svih pergamena i knjiga na kojima su otkrivene; 3. rezultatima paleografsko-lingvističkih analiza nekih dosada istraženih fragmenata – hrvatskoglagoljskih i hebrejsko-aramejskih; 4. koautorskoj izložbi Vlašić-Anić–Sabalić: *"Od bitija kapucinskoga fragmenti: povodom 400. obljetnice Kapucina u Rijeci i Hrvatskoj"* (Rijeka, 15. X. – 25. XII. 2010.).

Ključne riječi: kapucinski samostan, glagoljica, fragment pergamentnih kodeksa, korice knjige