

Apocryphal Passions of the Apostles in Croatian Glagolitic Texts¹

Vesna Badurina Stipčević
vesna.stipcevic@stin.hr
<http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4632-2561>
Old Church Slavonic Institute
Demetrova 11
10000 Zagreb (Croatia)

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ABSTRACT: In the course of the Middle Ages, apocryphal and hagiographic texts of *The Acts of the Apostles* of various origins became part of the Croatian Glagolitic literature. *The Passion of Saint Andrew*, for example, is documented in the sanctorale of nineteen Croatian Glagolitic breviaries dating from the period between the 14th and mid-16th centuries. The Glagolitic Passion is an abbreviated translation of the Latin *Epistula presbyterorum et diaconorum Achaiae* (BHL 428) from the 6th century. The texts of the *Passion of James the Apostle* (*Jacobus Maior, apost., filius Zebedaei, frater Johannis, Passio*, BHL 4057) are found in two Glagolitic breviaries, namely the *Breviary of Vitus of Omišalj* (1396) and the *Second Breviary from Novi Vinodolski* (1495). The Glagolitic *Passion of Philip the Apostle* is part of the sanctorale in eighteen breviaries. The breviary texts translate a part of the apocryphal *Vita b. Philippi apostoli* (BHL 6816), describing Philip the Apostle's fight with the dragon.

KEYWORDS: passions of the Apostles — Croatian Glagolitic literature — Andrew the Apostle — James the Greater — Philip the Apostle

1. Introduction

Although canonical biblical writings preserve very scarce information about the disciples of Jesus, there are numerous apocryphal and hagiographic texts about the apostles. The oldest apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*, comprising both historical writings about the most important disciples of Jesus and descriptions of legends, date back to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. These apocryphal writings soon extended thematically and gained a wide audience of people who read, listened to and copied them. In the early Medieval period, every apostle had his own apocryphal or hagiographic story dedicated to his missionary work.

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A significant number of texts in Croatian medieval literature comprise apocryphal and hagiographic texts about the apostles, preserved either as complete texts or in fragmentary form. The oldest texts – *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*² and *The Acts of John* by Pseudo-Prochorus³ – are confirmed in a Glagolitic fragments from the 13th century. The Glagolitic *Pazin Fragments* from early 14th century and two Glagolitic miscellanies, *The Berčić Collection 5* from the 15th century and partly *The Tkon Miscellany* from the 16th century, include an apocryphal story about the adventures of apostles Andrew and Matthew among the cannibals.⁴ *The Acts of Peter and Andrew the Apostles*, an apostolic novel found in the Glagolitic *Žgombić Miscellany* from the 16th century, is read under the title *Čtenije svetago Andreje apustola*.⁵ Many other Glagolitic breviaries have preserved lessons from apostolic passions.⁶ In addition to the Glagolitic apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*, Croatian literature also includes Cyrillic *Acts of Thomas the Apostle* from a Dubrovnik collection titled *Libro od mnozijeh razloga* (1520).⁷

2. Croatian Glagolitic Passion of Andrew the Apostle

The text of the apostolic passion of Saint Andrew is found in the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries as part of the office for his feast day, celebrated on the 30th of November. Nineteen breviaries from the period between the 14th and the second half of the 16th centuries include the office with Andrew's passion, in the following chronological order: *The Oxford Breviary-Missal (Oxf)*, *The Vatican Breviary Illirico 6 (Vat₆)*, *The First Breviary of Beram (Ljubljana) (Ber₁)*, *The Pašman Breviary (Pm)*, *The Hum Breviary (Hum)*, *The Metropolitan Breviary (MR₁₆₁)*, *The Moscow Breviary (Mosc)*, *The First Breviary of Novi Vinodolski (N₁)*, *The Mavro's Breviary (Mavr)*, *The Vatican Breviary Vat. Slav. 19 (Vat₁₉)*, *The Bribir Breviary (Brib)*, *The Vatican Breviary Illirico 10 (Vat₁₀)*, *The Dabar Breviary (Dab)*, *The Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski (N₂)*, *The Breviary from the Archives of St. Peter in Rome (SP)*, *The Second Breviary of Beram (Ljubljana) (Ber₂)*, *The First Print of the Breviary (PtBr)*, *Baromić's Breviary (Bar)* and *Brozić's Breviary (Broz)*.⁸ The writings in the breviaries are not uniform; there are significant differences between those originating from the northern part of

² The text was textologically and critically analysed, and published by Grabar (1972).

³ The Croatian Glagolitic versions of the Acts of John were described by Petrović (2004).

⁴ Textologically and critically analysed, and published by Grabar (1967: 186-200). and Nazor (2010) The text from *The Tkon Miscellany* was published by Strohal (1917: 43-47) and Sambunjak (2001: 151-157). The edition of apocrypha from *The Berčić Collection 5* see in Štefanić et alii (1969: 133-137) and Vialova (2016).

⁵ The text was identified and published by Grabar (1967: 200-206). The text was also published in Štefanić et alii (1969: 138-141).

⁶ Fališevac (1980: 56); Hercigonja (1975: 349); Petrović (2004); Badurina Stipčević (2010); Badurina Stipčević (2015); Badurina Stipčević (2019).

⁷ The text was published in: Jagić (1873) and Rešetar (1926).

⁸ Texts of the passion are not preserved in the Glagolitic fragmentaries, kept in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Fragm. glag. 29/c* and *Fragm. glag. 38/a*), and which contain parts of Andrija's office; cf. Štefanić (1969: 127-130). This research of the Glagolitic breviaries was done according photocopies of sources, kept in the Library of the Old Church Slavonic Institute, and using of the modern editions of breviaries.

Croatian literary and those from the south, as well as variations in various texts belonging to the same geographical area, i.e. the southern Zadar and Krbava group.⁹

Andrew the Apostle, brother of Simon Peter, fisherman and native of Bethsaida in Galilee, was one of the first disciples of Jesus Christ. In the New Testament, Andrew is mentioned only in few occasions: namely, when he was the first one called to follow Jesus, than when he brought his brother Simon to Jesus, and finally in the story about the multiplication of the loaves, and when foreigners in Jerusalem wanted to see Jesus. Many other details relating to the apostle's life as well as descriptions of his martyrdom are preserved in various apocryphal writings. Tradition has it that when the disciples of Jesus were parting to set out to different parts of the world in order to preach the Gospel, Andrew was assigned the northern regions, all the way to Ukraine. Church historian Eusebius of Caesarea mentions Andrew's preaching in Scythia. As Andrew the Apostle had converted many people to Christianity, the Roman proconsul in the Greek city of Patras feared a rebellion and had him seized. Andrew was subjected to horrendous torture on a cross, to which he was tied to prolong his suffering. It is believed that Andrew was tied to an X-shaped cross, commonly known as "St. Andrew's cross", which subsequently became his hagiographic attribute.¹⁰

The passion in the Glagolitic breviaries is a translation of the Latin passion known under the title *Epistula presbyterorum et diaconorum Achaiae* (BHL 428).¹¹ This passion is one of the most popular Western apocryphal writings about Andrew the Apostle. It is written in the form of an epistle sent by the presbyters and deacons of the Achaean churches to Christians as a moral message and begins with a description of events they had personally witnessed. The passion is similar to the passions of early martyrs, containing a brief introduction, relatively long description of the martyr's questioning, followed by a narrative about the execution intertwined with the basic discourse and a brief account of various events taking place after the martyr's death.¹² The *Epistula* was written in Latin in the 6th century. It presents great value for the textual tradition of *The Acts of Andrew the Apostle*, and it also served as the basis for two Greek passions.¹³

According to Bonnet's edition, from the total of 15 chapters of the Latin passion, the following text has been confirmed in the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries: a complete translation of chapters 1, 2 and 3, chapters 4 and 5 are omitted, translation of the beginning of chapter 6, the beginning and the end of chapter 7, the beginning of chapter 8 and one segment of chapter 9, partially documented chapter 10, only the beginning of chapter 11, chapter 12 is omitted, the first sentence of chapter 13,

⁹ The Croatian Glagolitic versions of the *Acts of Andrew the Apostle* were described by Badurina Stipčević (2010).

¹⁰ Cfr. Gordini (1961); Aurenhammer (1959).

¹¹ Mombritius (1476) was the first who published the text. The new critical edition was prepared by Bonnet (1898¹, 1959), and was based on twelve manuscripts, dating from the 8th to 12th century, including also one printed edition from 1531.

¹² Bonnet (1894: 459).

¹³ Bonnet (1894); Most researchers are convinced that the original *Epistula* was written in Latin language, while Vinogradov (2005: 27-28) thinks that the problem of the original language still needs to be resolved. The original Greek *Acts* are similar to the second part of the Passion (ch. 10-15), and according to Prieur (1989: 13, 53) both first part of the text (ch. 2.-6), which contains Andreas and Egatons dialogue, are in fact parts of the original *Acta*. Cfr. Santos Otero (1992: 126).

and almost complete chapters 14 and 15.¹⁴ The Croatian Glagolitic text contains an introductory part, in which presbyters and deacons of Achaean churches testify that they had witnessed the martyrdom of St. Andrew with their own eyes and that they would describe it and send it out to all Christians as a moral lesson. The introduction is followed by a description of a verbal conflict between Aegeas, proconsul of Patras, and Apostle Andrew over the fact that Aegeas forced Christians to worship pagan gods, while Andrew gave precedence to the only God over the Roman gods. Aegeas objected that Jews had nailed Jesus to the cross and Andrew replied that God had willingly suffered the torture for the sake of mankind, knowing that He would be nailed to the cross. Aegeas threatened Andrew with crucifixion if he would not renounce his faith in Jesus Christ, but Andrew was persistent in his faith. Infuriated Aegeas ordered Andrew's incarceration in a cell. The crowd gathered and called for Andrew's liberation and Aegeas's imprisonment, but Andrew appeased them by speaking about the hope of eternal life. The next morning, Aegeas brought Andrew before the tribunal, sentenced him to be executed on a cross and ordered executioners to nail him to the cross. The text continues with Andrew's prayer to the cross (*Salve crux*). A crowd of 20 000 people prayed for Andrew's liberation after two days of crucifixion. Agitated Aegeas tried to calm down the crowd, but the executioners failed in their attempt to remove Andrew from the cross and Andrew committed his spirit to the Lord and died. Aegeas fled in fear and died on the way, and his brother Stratoklis removed the apostle's body. Maximilla, a very pious woman, buried his body with honours. The Croatian Glagolitic passion contains the main parts of the plot, describing Andrew's torture while omitting longer passages of the dialogue between Andrew and Aegeas.

The Epistle became a liturgical text whose lessons were read in the Roman Breviary on the 30th of November, the day of Saint Andrew the Apostle's passing. In "this expurgated version of the apostle's martyrdom" (Whatley 2004: 2), certain parts from the original tradition of *The Acts of Andrew* were most probably omitted or modified. The role of Aegeas's wife Maximilla, who fell in love with Andrew, was almost entirely left out and her name is only mentioned as an honourable woman who embalmed and buried Andrew's body in a grave. Nonetheless, the apostle's decisiveness to follow Christ's path on the cross and Andrew's followers' wholehearted support point to the original parts of the apocryphal writing.

3. Croatian Glagolitic apocryphal *Passion of James the Greater*

According to the Gospels, apostle James the Greater, son of Zebedee and brother of John the Evangelist, had an especially close relationship with Jesus. Together with Peter, James and John, he was selected by Jesus to witness his transfiguration and the agony in Gethsemane. However, canonical texts contain very little information about his life. After Christ's Ascension, it is only mentioned that King Herod had him beheaded by sword. However, hagiographic and apocryphal texts

¹⁴ More on relationships between the Latin passion of Andrew the Apostle and texts in Croatian Glagolitic breviaries cfr. Badurina Stipčević (2010: 47-48; 52-67).

recount many events and episodes from the apostle's life, and describe numerous miracles occurring after his death. Legend has it that James the Greater laid the foundations of Christianity in Compostela, Spain. Upon his return to Judea, Herod Agrippa sentenced him to a martyr's death by beheading. His relics were later moved to Compostela, a renowned pilgrimage site, and he became patron saint of Spain.¹⁵ There are three iconographic representations of James the Greater: an apostle with the martyr's sword, a pilgrim with a broad-trimmed hat, a cloak and a wallet, with the addition of his special attribute, the scallop shell (*Pecten Jacobaeus*), or as a knight and Spanish saint, riding a horse, holding a standard and wearing armour.¹⁶

The apocryphal *Acts of James the Greater* (*Acta Iacobi Zebedaei*) were very popular, frequently copied and read, with two different redactions, one with Latin, Armenian and Hispanic translations, and the other with Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopian versions.¹⁷ Greek apocrypha about James the Apostle have a later provenance. Latin apocryphal writings about the apostles, also known as *Passiones apostolorum* or *Virtutes apostolorum*, were very popular in Medieval western Europe.¹⁸ The Latin version of the Passion of James the Apostle was a part of the collection of biographies and passions of the twelve apostles named *Virtutes apostolorum*. The collection is attributed to Abdias (Pseudo-Abdias), bishop of Babylon, and it was most probably compiled in the Frankish clerical and literary circles during the late 6th century.¹⁹ The Passion of James was based on the writings by Clement of Alexandria. It includes the story of the miraculous conversion of a sorcerer named Hermogenes in Jerusalem.²⁰ The miracle describes in great detail how Hermogenes had sent his disciple Philetus to destroy James with his spells. Instead, Philetus returned and told his teacher about James's miraculous powers and healings of the sick and the blind. Hermogenes was furious. He threw Philetus in chains and set out to confront James himself. However, James defeated the sorcerer in theological debates and Hermogenes humbly begged him to be converted and baptised. The miraculous conversion of Hermogenes the Sorcerer is one of the most popular James's miracles, and a frequent motif in art.²¹

Croatian Glagolitic texts on the Passion of James follow the tradition of Latin texts on the same topic. In Croatian Glagolitic breviaries, the text of the Passion of James the Apostle follows the Epistle of James, which is read on the 3rd or 4th Sunday after the Passover octave. Although the lessons from the Epistle of James appear in various versions in the Temporale of many Glagolitic breviaries, only

¹⁵ Cfr. Plotino (1961: 363-364); Plötz (1999: 254).

¹⁶ Cfr. Plötz (1999: 253-254).

¹⁷ Cfr. Geerard (1992: 253-254).

¹⁸ Cfr. Petrović (2004: 216).

¹⁹ Cfr. Moraldi (1971: 1433-1439).

²⁰ Cfr. *Acta Sanctorum, Julii*, 5: „In codicibus nostris Mss. multa de Jacobi Actis narrantur, ac praesertim ea, quae contra Hermogenem magum (alii haereticum appellant) sanctus Apostolus gessit. Verum cum illa ex Pseudo-Abdiae Habytonii officina prodeant, nobis non parum de fictione suspecta sunt: homini quippe mendaci, ut vulgaris habet paroemia, etiam verum dicenti credere non solemus“.

²¹ Cfr. Réau (1958: 698).

two of them, *The Breviary of Vitus of Omišalj (BrVO)* (1396) and *The Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski* (1495), include the reading of the Passion of James the Apostle.²²

In my textological comparison of the Latin and Glagolitic legends, I have identified a correspondence between the Croatian Glagolitic breviary texts and the Passion of James from *Biblioteca Hagiographica Latina* titled *Jacobus Maior, apost., filius Zebedaei, frater Johannis, Passio, BHL 4057*. In the Fabricius edition of *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* (1719, II; 516-531), the passion is part of *Apostolicae Historiae: Liber quartus. De historia ac rebus gestis Jacobi majoris Apostoli* by Pseudo-Abdias.²³ The Glagolitic *Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski* contains the first two from a total of nine chapters that comprise the Latin version of the passion (according to the Fabricius edition), while the text in *The Breviary of Vitus from Omišalj* is briefer. The Glagolitic texts recount that James the Apostle, brother of John the Apostle, preached the Gospel across Judea and Samaria. This is followed by a description of the miracle with Hermogenes: the sorcerer sent his disciple Philetus to debate with James and argue that Jesus Christ was not the Son of God, but only an apostle. However, miracle of Saint James inspired Philetus to convert. As he fervently described his conversion to his teacher, Hermogenes grew furious, threw him in chains and told him to call James to free him. Indeed, James did miraculously free him by sending him a kerchief. This is where the Glagolitic text dedicated to the story about Hermogenes the Sorcerer ends, adding only that James the Apostle performed many more miracles and good deeds before he died by King Herod Agrippa's sword.

The texts of the Glagolitic breviaries are rendered verbatim from the Latin template, thus adhering to the tradition of Glagolitic translations from Latin. Both breviary copies belong to the same translation of the text, as it is shown by this example:²⁴

The Breviary of Vitus of Omišalj, f. 284c/d: Êkovъ vistinu rabъ b(og)a i g(ospod)a n(a)šego sp(a)sa i a(pusto)lъ ego . brat' že b(la)ž(e)n(a)go iv(a)na ap(usto)la i e(van)j(e)lista . V'su ijudêju i samariju prop(o)v(ê)daše hode po s'nmičeh' . Po s(ve)tomъ pisaniem' êvlaše vsa imъ êže prêžde . Priključi iže se eteru vl'svu imenemъ ermojenu uč(e)n(i)ka svoego k nemu poslati . naricaemago pilipa;

Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski, f. 144d: Êkovъ vistinu rabъ b(og)a i g(ospod)a n(a)šego is(u)h(rst)a i a(pusto)lъ ego . brat' že b(la)ž(e)n(a)go iv(a)na ap(usto)la i e(van)j(e)lista . V'su ijudêju i samariju prop(o)v(ê)daše hode po sanmičemъ . Po s(ve)tomъ pisaniem' êvlaše vsa imъ êže prêžde r(e)čena b(ê)še pr(o)r(o)ki o g(ospod)ê n(a)šemъ is(u)h(rst)ê . v tom'ž' de bivša ispln'ena. Priključi iže se et(e)ru vls'vu . imenemъ ermojenu učenika svoego k nemu poslati naricaemago pilita.²⁵

Croatian Glagolitic medieval literature, although in a relatively limited textual scope, preserved the western, Latin tradition of apocryphal writings about James the Apostle in liturgical Glagolitic books.

²² The textological research and edition in latinic transliteration of the Passion of James the Apostle from *The Breviary of Vitus of Omišalj* and *The Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski* cfr. Badurina Stipčević (2019).

²³ Geerard (1992: 166).

²⁴ The Glagolitic text is rendered in Latinic transliteration according to standard methodological principles. The letter „đerv“ is transliterated as j, „jat“ as ê, baton is transliterated as ь and apostrophe as '. Abbreviations are placed in parentheses. Punctuation marks and capital letters are following the Glagolitic original.

²⁵ For more details cfr. Badurina Stipčević (2019: 78-79).

4. Croatian Glagolitic apocryphal *Passion of Philip the Apostle*

Philip the Apostle appears relatively rarely in evangelistic writings. It is mostly related to the miraculous multiplication of loaves of bread (John 6,5), and also mentioned as one of Christ's disciples who gathered after the Ascension (Acts 1,13). However, the apocryphal *Acts of Philip*, written in Greek in the 4th century, describe numerous events from the apostle's life filled with fantastic episodes and give account of his martyrdom. Philip travelled together with Bartholomew and Marian, and spent a long time preaching the Gospel among the Scythians and the Phrygians. On one occasion, he noticed the people in the city of Hierapolis worshipping a statue of Mars and an enormous dragon (snake) at its base. Philip approached the beast, showed it a small cross and commended it to flee. The dragon emitted a hideous stench that made many of the bystanders ill. The dragon also killed the king's son, whom Philip brought back to life in the name of the cross. The priests, who encouraged the cult of the dragon, had him seized and nailed to the cross.²⁶ In iconography, St. Philip is usually depicted bearing a Latin cross fastened to the top of a staff or reed. He often appears with the dragon to evoke the miracle in Hierapolis.²⁷

The Acts of Philip the Apostle were a very popular and frequently read text, translated into oriental languages and Old Church Slavonic.²⁸ *Passiones apostolorum* and *Virtutes apostolorum*, Latin apocryphal texts about the apostles, were written in medieval Western Europe based on Greek apocrypha.²⁹ The Latin version of the Passion of Philip (*Passio Philippi*) exists in many copies, among which there are three different recensions: *Vita. a. Inc. Post ascensionem Dni et salvatoris b. Philippus per annos viginti...* (BHL 6814); *Vita. b. Inc. Cum igitur ss. Apostoli Dni et Salvatoris nostri... per singulas dividerentur provincias, Philippus apost. Dni I. C. post ascensionem Salvatoris...* (BHL 6816) and *Vita. c. Inc. Cum in ipsis initiis absque ullo obstaculo...* (BHL 6817).³⁰

In Croatian Glagolitic breviaries, the text of the Passion of Philip is read in the office for the saint's feast on the 1st of May (dedicated to two apostles, Philip and James). The oldest office of this kind is found in a short section of a 13th century breviary in the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, sign. *Fragm. glag. 46*, but the Passion of Philip has not been preserved³¹ (The Croatian Glagolitic version of the Passion of Philip is preserved in the sanctorale of 18 breviaries, dating from the period between the 14th and mid-16th centuries. In chronological order, they include: *The Oxford Breviary-Missal (Oxf)*, *The Vatican Breviary Illirico 6 (Vat6)*, *The First Breviary of Beram (Ljubljana) (Ber1)*, *The Pašman Breviary (Pm)*, *The Hum Breviary (Hum)*, *The Metropolitan Breviary (MR161)*, *The Moscow Breviary (Mosc)*, *The First Breviary of Novi Vinodolski (N1)*, *Mavro's*

²⁶ Cfr. Spadafora (1964).

²⁷ Cfr. Réau (1959).

²⁸ Cfr. Geerard (1992: 153-157).

²⁹ Cfr. Petrović (2004: 216).

³⁰ Lipsius (1883-1890¹, 1976, I: 146-147).

³¹ Štefanić (1969: 90-91).

Breviary (Mavr), *The Vatican Breviary Vat. Slav. 19 (Vat₁₉)*, *The Bribir Breviary (Brib)*, *The Vatican Breviary Illirico 10 (Vat₁₀)*, *The Dabar Breviary (Dab)*, *The Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski (N₂)*, *The Breviary from the Archives of St. Peter in Rome (SP)*, *The Second Breviary of Beram (Ljubljana) (Ber₂)*, *The First Print of the Breviary (PtBr)*, *Baromić's Breviary (Bar)* and *Brozić's Breviary (Broz)*.³²

In my textological comparison of the Latin and Glagolitic passions, I have established that the Croatian Glagolitic breviaries contain the translation of *Vita. b. Philippi apostoli (BHL 6816)*. In the Fabricius edition of *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti (1719, II)*, this particular “vita” can be found on pages 738,3 to 742, and the Glagolitic passion on pages 738.3 to 739.39. Glagolitic breviaries describe how the apostles travelled to different parts of the world to preach, and Philip preached in Scythia (Glagolitic texts refer to it as “*po Surii*”) for more than 20 years. On one occasion, Philip was taken to the temple of Mars, home to an enormous dragon (*drakunъ veli*). The dragon killed the priest's son and two tribunes. Many people were infected by the stench of the dragon's breath and they called for Philip to help them. The apostle promised to help and told them to drive the dragon out of the temple and install a cross, which they would worship. The people heeded his advice, forced the dragon out of the temple, and Philip commanded the dragon into the desert, where it could not harm anyone. The apostle brought the priest's son, the tribunes, and all others who had fallen ill back to life. The description of this miracle ends the Glagolitic passions. The Glagolitic texts also confirm the famous iconographic motif of St. Philip fighting the dragon.

5. Conclusion

During the Middle Ages, the apocryphal and hagiographic texts of *The Acts of the Apostles* of diverse origin became part of the Croatian Glagolitic literature. *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, *Acts of John*, *Acts of Peter and Andrew*, *Acts of Andrew and Matthew*, and *Acts of Thomas* are preserved in several non-liturgical Glagolitic miscellanies, either in fragments or as whole texts, and apostolic passions are read in Glagolitic breviaries. During the period from the 14th until the second half of the 16th centuries, *The Passion of St. Andrew* is found in Croatian Glagolitic literature in the sanctorale of 19 Croatian Glagolitic breviaries which contain the offices for the month of November. The Glagolitic passion is an abbreviated translation of the Latin *Epistula presbyterorum et diaconorum Achaiae (BHL 428)* from the 6th century and includes the basic elements of the plot describing Andrew's torture. Two Glagolitic breviaries, *The Breviary of Vitus from Omišalj (1396)* and *The Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski (1495)*, contain the texts of *The Passion of James the Apostle (Jacobus Maior, apost., filius Zebedaei, frater Johannis, Passio, BHL 4057)*, which follow the readings from the Epistle of James. Glagolitic lessons describing the miraculous conversion of Hermogenes the Sorcerer correspond to the text in *Apostolicae Historiae: Liber quartus* by Pseudo-Abdias. *The*

³² The Croatian Glagolitic versions were described by Badurina Stipčević (2015).

Passion of Philip the Apostle is found in the office for the saint's feast day on the 1st of May in the sanctorale of 18 breviaries. The Croatian Glagolitic writings follow the Latin tradition of Philip's passions. A textological comparison of the Latin and Greek passions has established that the texts from the breviaries are translations of parts of the apocryphal *Vita b. Philippi apostoli* (BHL 6816), describing the apostle's fight with the dragon.

From its beginnings, Croatian literacy and culture were exposed to strong influences from both the East and the West, due to diverse geopolitical, historical and religious circumstances. In the early centuries, they were under a strong influence of Greek and Byzantine literature, while from the 13th century there was a growing influence of Western and Central European literature. The described Glagolitic writings demonstrate a significant influence of Western, more specifically Latin, apocryphal, legendary, literary and liturgical sources on the shaping of the Glagolitic passions of the apostles Andrew, James and Philip.

Sources

Bar – *Baromić's Breviary*, Venice 1493, Zagreb, National and University Library, *R I-16°-I*.

Ber₁ – *The First Breviary of Beram (Ljubljana)*, 14th c., Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, *Ms 161*.

Ber₂ – *The Second Breviary of Beram (Ljubljana)*, 15th c., Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, *Ms 163*.

Brib – *The Bribir Breviary*, 1470, Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, *III b 6*.

Broz – *Brozić's Breviary*, Venice 1561, Zagreb, Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, *R 783*.

BrVO – *The Breviary of Vitus of Omišalj*, 1396, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Cod. Slav. 3*.

Dab – *Dabar Breviary*, 1486, Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, *III c 21*.

Hum – *The Hum Breviary*, beginning of the 15th c., Zagreb, National and University Library, *R 4067*.

Mavr – *Mavro's Breviary*, 1460, Zagreb, National and University Library, *R 7822*.

Mosc – *The Moscow Breviary*, c. 1442-1443, Moscow, Rossijskaja gosudarstvennaja biblioteka, Collection Sevastyanov, *Fond 270, 51*.

MR₁₆₁ – *The Metropolitan Breviary 161*, 1442, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library, *MR 161*.

N₁ – *The First Breviary of Novi Vinodolski*, 1459, Novi Vinodolski, Parish Rectory.

N₂ – *The Second Breviary of Novi Vinodolski*, 1495, Novi Vinodolski, Parish Rectory.

Oxf – *The Oxford Breviary-Missal*, 14. st., Oxford, Bodleian Library, *MS. Canon. Lit. 172*.

Pm – *The Pašman Breviary*, 14-15th c., Zagreb, Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, *III b 10*.

PtBr – *The First Print of the Breviary*, 1491, Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, *Breviario glagolitico, Inc. 1235*.

SP – *The Breviary from the Archives of St. Peter in Rome*, 15th c., Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Cap. S. Pietro, D215*.

- Vat*₆ – *The Vatican Breviary Illirico 6*, sredina 14th c., Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Borg. illir. 6*.
*Vat*₁₀ – *The Vatican Breviary Illirico 10*, 1485, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Borg. illir. 10*.
*Vat*₁₉ – *The Vatican Breviary Vat. Slav. 19*, 1465, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. Slav. 19*.

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