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THE *GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW* IN CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC TEXTS*

1. “CHILDHOOD GOSPELS” IN CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC LITERATURE

In classical antiquity, and especially in the Middle Ages, apocryphal gospels were particularly popular, as they provided vivid descriptions of numerous events and circumstances from Jesus’s life, which were not treated in detail in canonical gospels. These apocryphal texts started appearing in the 2nd century primarily in Greek, but numerous translations and adaptations into Oriental languages and Latin also ensued. Particularly interesting, widely read, and listened to were apocryphal gospels about Mary’s and Jesus’s childhood and youth: *The Protevangelium of James*, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*, the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, *Liber de infantia Salvatoris*, and *De nativitate Mariae* (Lobrichon 2000: 82).

Of the apocryphal works relating to the birth and childhood of Mary and Jesus, the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas* were introduced to Old Church Slavonic literature under Greek and Byzantine influence, and the *Protevangelium of James (Jakovlja povêst)* in its various versions became the most popular Slavonic apocryphal text (Santos Otero 1981: 1–32, 49–54). Croatian Glagolitic literature also came into contact with Eastern and Western apocrypha of Mary’s and Jesus’s birth and childhood (Grabar 1970: 21–22; Grabar 1981: 122–123). Many Glagolitic monuments, both liturgical and non-liturgical, preserve fragments or entire stories based on Greek and Latin apocryphal texts which deal with Mary’s parents, Joachim and Anne, Jesus’s birth and childhood, the flight to Egypt, Jesus’s miracles.

1.1. *The Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*

The Glagolitic fragment of the *Gospel of Thomas* or *Pseudo-Thomas* from the 15th century contains an amusing episode about the boy Jesus and his teacher

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Zacchaeus, who was embarrassed by his pupil's knowledge. In her research, Biserka Grabar found that this fragment was the only representative of the Croatian Glagolitic tradition, and that its significance lies in the fact that it is "a link connecting all Slavonic texts of the *Gospel of Thomas* into a single sequence" (Grabar 1969: 213).

1.2. *The Protevangelium of James*

Texts from the *Protevangelium of James* appear in several Glagolitic sources (Cf. Santos Otero 1981: nr. 151, 163, 164, 165; Reinhart 2009). A literal translation of two paragraphs from the Greek *Protevangelium*, which are closely aligned with Cyrillic transcripts, is found in Croatian Glagolitic liturgical books. The first three chapters and the beginning of the fourth chapter of this apocryphal text are found among the readings prescribed for 8th December, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, in the manuscript *Breviary of the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb MR161* from 1442 as well as in printed breviaries, *Baromić's Breviary* from 1493 and *Brozić's Breviary* from 1561¹. A slightly shorter version of the same text has been preserved in the Glagolitic fragment *Fragm. glag. 81*, a double-leaf breviary from the 15th century (Štefanić 1969: 134–135), with a significantly more recent version contained in M. Puhov's notebook from the 19th century (Štefanić 1970: 234). The second paragraph of the *Protevangelium of James*, which deals with Jesus's birth, appears as part of Christmas lessons in the *Second Beram Breviary* from the 15th century and in the *British Library Breviary Add. 31.951* from the 15th century². A paraphrase of the entire text of the *Protevangelium of James* can be found in the *Oxford Miscellany Ms. Canon. lit. 414* from the 15th century³.

1.3. Apocryphal lessons *De conceptione Mariae*

In two Glagolitic breviaries, the *First Beram Breviary* from the end of the 14th century and the *First Breviary of Novi Vinodolski* from 1459, apocryphal lessons about Mary's birth are found among readings prescribed for the Eve of St. Anne. The texts largely correspond to the lessons that J. A. de Aldama published as *De conceptione Mariae*, which come from a Latin breviary dated to the 15th century and originating from Mainz, now held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in

¹ The text from the *Breviary of the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb MR161* was published in Latin transliteration by Štefanić et al. 1969: 142–144. The same text was also published in Latin transliteration with variants from the *Fragm. glag. 81*, the *Baromić Breviary* and the *Brozić Breviary* by Badurina Stipčević 2006.

² The text from the *Second Beram Breviary* was published by Jagić 1903; Štefanić et alii 1969: 144–145; Radovich 1969; Badurina Stipčević et alii 2018. The text from the *British Library Breviary Add. 31.951* was textologically and critically analysed and published by Badurina Stipčević 2009.

³ The text from the *Oxford Miscellany Ms. Canon. lit. 414* was described by Tadin 1954: 139–145, textologically and critically analysed and published by Reinhart 2009.

Paris (Bibl. Nat. Lat. 1062)⁴. Aldama found that *De conceptione Mariae* was a very successful compilation of the Latin *Protevangelium Jacobi* (chapter I, 2-V, 1) and the Latin apocryphal text *De nativitate Mariae* (chapter II, 1-V, 2). *De conceptione Mariae* describes the suffering of the unfortunate spouses Joachim and Anne because they had no offspring. The shepherd Joachim left home after the priest Isachar had insulted him by saying that he was unworthy to make offerings. Anne too fell into great sorrow and prayed for God's mercy. After her prayer, an angel appeared to her and announced that she would conceive and bear a daughter, Mary, who would humbly serve God in the Church after spending three years in her parental home. The angel brought the same news to Joachim. Overjoyed, the parents met at the Golden Gate in Jerusalem and returned home together.

2. THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW

In the critical literature, the Latin apocryphal text *Liber de ortu beatae Mariae et infantia Salvatoris* is known as *Evangelium Pseudo Matthaei*. The publisher, C. Tischendorf, selected this title for the apocryphal text because the prologue contained a letter addressed to St. Jerome mentioning the Evangelist Matthew's text about Mary's and Jesus's childhood (Tischendorf 1852: 51–111). The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* was also described in the literature as Jerome's translation of The Gospel of Matthew from Hebrew, which is unlikely (Moraldi 1991: 19). Some manuscripts ascribed the pseudo-gospel to John the Evangelist. This apocryphal work was accepted by the Manichaeans and Priscilians, but the Catholic Church did not consider it canonical, as indicated by St. Jerome, Pope Innocent I and Pope Gelasius (Santos Otero 1963: 177; Moraldi 1991: 195–196). However, apocryphal lessons from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* could later be found in breviaries among the readings prescribed for the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (Aldama 1962: 58). Researchers believe that parts of this apocryphal text must have been well-known and widespread as early as the 4th century, whereas the whole composition of the work originated between about 550 and 800, likely in the 7th century (Hawk 2019: 26). The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* presents a compilation of the very popular early Greek apocryphal texts *Protevangelium of James* and the *Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*, with substantial changes (Moraldi 1991: 197; Hawk 2019: 13–20). The first 17 chapters, which indirectly correspond to the *Protevangelium of James*, describe Mary's parents, Joachim and Anne, Mary's birth and childhood, Mary as Joseph's fiancée, Jesus's birth on the journey to Bethlehem and the worship of the

⁴ Aldama 1962: 63–74; Usp. BHL 1986: 5345s; Stegmüller 1976: 141, 5.4; 141, 5.8 ; 160, 6. Lessons from Glagolitic breviaries were textologically and critically analysed and published by Badurina Stipčević 2008.

Magi from the East. The second part of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (chapters 18–42) contains a description of the flight to Egypt and of the miracles that Jesus performed as a very small child, with most of the text being based on the *Gospel of Pseudo-Thomas*. It also deals with Jesus's childhood, particularly the miracles he performed after his return to Judea.

Although the content of *The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* is not original, its motifs and topics had a considerable influence on medieval literature and art. As pointed out by one of its researchers: “La reale importanza dello Pseudo-Matteo sta non tanto nelle storie che contiene, quanto nel fatto che esso fu il principale veicolo per cui quelle furono conosciute dal Medio Evo, e la principale fonte di ispirazione per gli artisti e poeti dal XII al XV secolo.” (The real importance of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew does not lie in the stories it contains, but in the fact that it was the primary means which made them familiar in the Middle Ages, and the main source of inspiration for artists and poets from the 12th to the 15th century) (Cf. James 1927: 79; cf. Bonaccorsi 1961: XXXVII). The popularity of this apocryphal text is also evident from the fact that it was preserved in over 190 medieval manuscripts, and that translations into many European languages exist (Rädle 1999: 760; Hawk 2019: 3–4). The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* was the source for a shorter apocryphal text, *De nativitate Mariae*, dating back to Carolingian times. This text, in turn, became part of two well-known and widely read medieval works, *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine and *Speculum historiale* by Vincenzo de Beauvais (Moraldi 1991: 95–96; Gijssel, Beyers 1997). The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* was also the basis for two Latin medieval writings, known as *Liber de nativitate Salvatoris* (Hawk 2019: 6–8). This apocryphal gospel was very popular in the Middle Ages (particularly in the 12th and 13th century); it was translated into vernaculars and spread across Europe in different versions, which included textual additions and extensions. One of the most famous iconographic motifs, which is associated with Christmas even today – Jesus's birth in a manger – comes from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (Lobrichon 2000: 82; Bozóky 1984: 440). Other episodes, too, inspired many works of art: the meeting of Joseph and Anne, Mary's presentation in the temple, the flight to Egypt, etc. (Moraldi 1991: 197–198; Hennecke-Schneemelcher 1959: 274–276; Hawk 2019: 35–37)

3. THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW IN CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC TEXTS

Texts from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* can be found in several Croatian Glagolitic monuments. Two Glagolitic sources from the 14th and 15th century contain apocryphal fragments from the pseudo-gospel in the Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, and a Glagolitic source from the 15th century contains a periphrasis of the gospel.

3.1. Fragments of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* in the *Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God*

Celebrating the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary has a long history, and was recorded in the East as early as the 8th century, spreading to southern Italy (Naples) under Byzantine influence. The Normans brought the feast north, to Ireland and England, and it spread to other European countries from there (Eisenhofer 1932: 38–39; Davies 1982: 253). Following longstanding controversies surrounding the *Immaculate Conception* dogma, the feast was introduced to the Franciscan order by St. Bonaventura in 1263, but it was not until 1477 that Pope Sixtus IV brought about its more general introduction into the Church (Štefanić 1969: 111). Readings of lessons from Pseudo-Anselm's speech *De conceptione beatae Mariae* (PL 159: 319–324) are prescribed in most Latin breviaries for the feast of Mary's conception, whereas certain breviaries prescribe apocryphal lessons from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, the apocryphal text *De nativitate Mariae* or the *Protevangelium of James* (Aldama 1962: 58–59; Bozóky 1984: 433–434). In most Croatian Glagolitic breviaries from the 14th to the 16th century, the Office of the Immaculate Conception also prescribes readings from Pseudo-Anselm's speech including the legend of Abbot Elsin and Mary's miracles. However, several Croatian Glagolitic breviaries contain apocryphal readings for the feast. This includes lessons from the *Protevangelium of James* in the *Metropolitan MR161 Breviary*, *Baromić's Breviary*, *Brozić's Breviary* and the double-leaf breviary *Fragm. glag. 81*. Prescribed readings in the *Bribir Breviary (Brib)* from 1470 and in the *Paris Miscellany (Slave 73) (Par)* from 1375 are lessons from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*.

The oldest Croatian Glagolitic writing which contains a text of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* has been preserved in the *Paris Miscellany (Slave 73)*, an important Croatian Glagolitic monument kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The miscellany was intended for the nuns of the Monastery of St. Julian in Šibenik and consists of 296 leaves of parchment (15x11.5 cm in size). The literature lists it as the oldest Croatian Glagolitic miscellany, a rare example of a book of hours in the Glagolitic script, and significantly different from other miscellanies (Tadin 1954; Tandarić 1993; Badurina Stipčević 2019). It contains both liturgical and non-liturgical texts, and its order and canon of the Mass are “the first redaction of a Glagolitic sacramentary in Croatia” (Tandarić 1993: 118). The texts of the psalter, the canticles and Christ's Passions differ from corresponding Glagolitic texts, because they were consistently adapted to the *Vulgate* translation. The Offices of Mary in the miscellany also exhibit peculiarities in relation to the liturgies for corresponding feasts in the breviaries, suggesting different sources (Tandarić 1993: 288–289). The fragment of *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* is found in the office entitled *V počēt'i b(la)ž(e)nie M(a)rie d(ê)vi* located on f. 145v–148r. The Glagolitic text, divided into six lessons, contains the transla-

tion of the first two chapters of the apocryphal gospel (according to the 1852 Tischendorf edition)⁵.

Paris Miscellany Slave 73 (1375), f. 145v–148r⁶:

(f. 145v) *Čt(enie) prvo* · **[I.1]** Bê muž' v' Iz(drai)li imenem' Ioahimъ : ot (f. 146r) kolêne D(avi)d(o)va · i bêše pastir' ovac' svojih' boe se b(og)a v' nezlobi i v dobroti · komu pečal' niedna bêše ina razve stad' svojih' · Ot kih' ploda pitaše v'se boeče se b(og)a : i prekrotkie dari prinose sim' ki služahu g(ospod)u v' strahu b(o)ži · *A ti g(ospod)i p(o)m(i)lui n(a)sъ ... Čt(enie) .b.* Potribuûčimъ v' nauči trudečim' se ili velim' ili malim' · ili v' m(o)l(it)vah' riči svojih' · ke lûbu vidêše se obladati · Tri česti tvoraše · ed'nu čest' daêše sirotam' vdovicamъ strannim' i ubozim' · Druguû vistinu čest' b(og)a čtuûčim' · tret(u)û čest' sebi i domu svoemu shranevaše · *Rêš(ponъ) ... (f. 146v) Čte(nie) [.v.] [I.2]* I siê emu tvoreču množaše b(og)ъ stada egova : tako da ne bêše emu podoban' v pl'cê Iz(drai)lscêem' · I sie počet' tvoriti · ot petoga na dešte vrêmene lêta : gda bi trideseti lêtъ : v'ze An'nu h'čer' Agarovu v ženu ot kolene svoego : to e(stъ) ot roda D(avi)d(o)va · *Rêš(ponъ) ... (f. 147r) Čte(nie) .g.* Eg'da prebil' biše za lêt' dvadeseti · i s(i)nov' i h'čeri iz' nee ne rodi : **[II.1]** I stvoreno bi v d(a)ni prazd'nične meû onêmi ki prinošahu tam'ênъ g(ospodo)vê · staše Ioahim' dari svoe nerodit(e)l' stave v' zracê g(ospoda)ni · I pristupiv' k' nemu erêi imenem' Rubenъ · reče k' nemu · Ne podobact' tebi meû s(ve)totvoriê b(o)žiê činečimi s'tati : *Rêš(ponъ) ... Čte(nie) .d.* Zane tebe ne bl(agoslo)vi b(og)ъ da dal' bi tebi darъ svoi · Umučenъ tako va činoû prêd' lûd'mi · otide ot cr(ъ)kve g(ospod)ъ ne plače · i ne vrati se k' domu · na ide k' stadom' s'voimъ vodeč' v gorah' sъ soboû pastirov' v' daleč'nuû z(e)mlû · tako da za pet' miseci nied'noga posla imêti v'zmore An'na žena ego · **[II.2]** gda plakaše se v' m(o)l(i)tvi svoei i g(o)v(o)raše : G(ospod)i kralû Iz(drai)l(e)въ prekrêp'ki · siko zač' dêti ne dal' esi mnê · *Rêš(ponъ) ... (f. 148r) Čte(nie) .e.* Da č'rêvo moe zač' zaklopil' si · se ûre petъ miseci sut' da muža moego ne vidih' · ni vimъ gdi ako mrt(a)v' est' · gdi uznam' grobъ ego · I gda vele plaka vlize v' ovočnik' domu s'voego prostiraûči se v' m(o)l(i)tvi · i v'zdvigši oči svoi k' g(ospod)u s' vzdihaniem' · i reče · G(ospod)i b(o)že vsemogi · v'sakoi tvari dal' esi čeda · zvêretom' · skotetom' · z'miêmъ · i pticam' · V'si o čedêh' raduût' se · i mene samu ot' bl(a)gosti dara iz'nel' esi : ti z'nal' esi g(ospod)i sr(ъd)ce moe ·

⁵ The text was described and published by Badurina Stipčević 2005.

⁶ In this edition the Glagolitic text is rendered in Latin transliteration according to standard methodological principles. The letter ПП is transliterated as j, Ъ as ê, Ѡ as û, ѡ corresponds to a ê, baton (I) is transliterated as ь and apostrophe as '. Abbreviations are placed in parentheses. Punctuation marks and capital letters follow the Glagolitic original. The transliterated text is divided into chapters according to the edition Gijssels, Breyers 1997.

A textually close apocryphal text is found in the *Bribir Breviary* at f. 183r–184v. This incompletely preserved codex from 1470, made up of 199 parchment leaves (26x19 cm; the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb, sign. *III b 6*), once contained the complete Roman Breviary, but now most of the temporale and the calendar are missing (Cf. Milčetić 1911: 38–40; Štefanić 1969: 141–145). The codex was written using a more recent Croatian Glagolitic script in two columns, and the linguistic characteristics of the breviary also point to a more recent version of Church Slavonic of the Croatian redaction. It is interesting to note that the book mentions the village of Bribir and surnames from Bribir in several places. What follows is the text of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* from *Brib* in three lessons.

Bribir Breviary (1470), f. 183c–184a:

(f. 183c) [Čt(enie).a.] [I.1] Bê m(u)žь v' Iz(drai)li imênem' Ioahimь ot kolênê D(a)vidova i b(ê)še pas'tirь ovacь s'voihь boe se b(og)a v' nez'lobê · i v' dobrote tomu pečalь nied'na ina b(ê)še raz've stad' s'voihь ot kihь ploda piteaše v'se boeče se b(og)a i prekrot'kie prnese dari simь · iže s'lužahu b(og)u v' strahu b(o)ži : (f. 183d) Potrebuûcimь v nauce trudêcimь se ili veliemь ili malimь · ili v' m(o)l(it)vaň reči svoihь · ke lûbo vidêše se ob'ladati · tri čes'ti t'voraše · ednu čes'tь daêše sirotamь i v'dovicamь strannimь i vdovicamь · druguû v(i)st(i)nu čes'tь b(og)a č'tuûcimь · trêtuû čes'tь s(e)bê i d(o)mu svoemu shranevaše · *Rêš(ponь)* ... Čt(enie) [.b.] [I.2] I siê emu t'voreću m'nožaše b(og)ь s'tada ego t(a)ko i da ne b(ê)še emu podobanь v' pľcê Iz(drai)lsceemь · I sie poče t'voriti ot petogo nь des'te vr(ê)m(e)nê lêta · Eg'da bê .j. (=30) l(ê)ťь v'zetь An'nu dêčerь Agarova v' ženu ot kolênê svoego i ot roda D(avi)d(o)va · I eg'da prebilь biše za lêtь .i. (=20) i s(i)n(o)vь i dečerь iz' nee ne rodi · [II.1] I st'voreno b(i)si da v' d(a)ni pr(a)zdn(i)ki meû on(ê)mi iže prinošahu tam'êň g(ospodo)vê · Staše Ioahimь neroditelj · dari sьvoe s'tave v' zracê g(ospod)ni · I pris'tupalь k n(e)mu erêi im(e)n(e)m' Robenь i r(e)če k n(e)mu · Ne podobaet' tebê meû s(ve)tot'voriê b(o)žie činečimi s'tati · *Rêš(ponь)* ... (f. 184a) [Čt(enie).v.] Da ne t(e)be ne bl(agoslo)vi b(og)ь da dal' bi t(e)bê darь s'voi · I mučenь t(a)ko va činoû pred' lûd'mi otidê ot cr(ь)kve g(ospod)ne plače i ne vrati se k domu nь ide kь s'tadomь svoimь vodê sь soboû pa'stiroňь v' daleč'nuû z(e)mlû · T(a)ko da za petь m(ê)s(e)ci niedinogo posla imeti v'zmože · An'na žena ego [II.2] eg'da p'lakaše se v' m(o)l(i)tvi s'voei i g(lago)laše · G(ospod)i c(êsa)ru Iz(drai)l(e)vь pre'krep'ki · Siko začь dêti ne dalь esi m'nê i da č'revo moe zak'lopil' bi · Se ûre .d. (=5) m(ê)seci sut' da muža moego ne vidêhь · ni vemь kadê e(stь) ače mrt(a)vь e(stь) g'dê uz'naemь u grobь ego · I eg'da vele p'laka v'leze vь ovoč'nikь d(o)mu s'voego pros'tiraûci se v' m(o)l(i)tvi · i vz'dvig'ši oči svoi kь g(ospod)u sь vz'dihaniem' · i r(e)če · G(ospod)i b(o)že vs(e)m(o)gi vs(a)k(o)go t'vari dalь esi čeda z'veretemь s'kotetemь z'miêemь i pticamь · v'si o čedih' raduût' se · i mene samu ot bl(a)gos'ti dara iz'nel' si · ti z'nalь esi · g(ospod)i sr(ьd)ce moe ·

The Croatian Glagolitic fragments in *Par* and *Brib* describe Mary's parents, Joachim and Anne, a wealthy and generous couple, who are unhappy because they have no children. After the priest Ruben insulted the shepherd Joachim by referring to him as childless (*neroditelj*, lit. "a non-parent"), Joachim left with his herds of cattle to a faraway land. Anne lamented to God and asked for his mercy, because he gave the ability to bear children to all living beings. Anne's sorrowful and earnest words conclude the Croatian Glagolitic fragments, and the subsequent Latin text talks about Anne's conception, Mary, Jesus's birth, etc. The Croatian Glagolitic texts are a verbatim translation of the Latin source text, viz.:

Par, f. 145v/146r: Bê muž' v' Iz(drai)li imenem' Ioahimъ : ot kolêne D(avi)d(o)va · i bêše pastir' ovac' svoih' boe se b(og)a v' nezlobi i v dobroti · komu pečal' niedna bêše ina razvê stad' svoih'. Cap. I, 1: *Erat vir in Israhel (Jerusalem) nomine Ioachim ex tribu Juda. Et hic erat pastor ovium suarum, timens Deum in simplicitate et in bonitate sua. Cui cura nulla erat alia nisi gregum suorum.*;

Brib, f. 183d: I st'voreno b(i)si da v' d(a)ni pr(a)zdn(i)ki meû on(ê)mi iže prinošahu tam'êň g(ospodo)vê · Staše Ioahimъ neroditelj · dari s'voe s'tave v' zracê g(ospod)ni · I pris'tupaľ k n(e)mu erêi im(e)n(e)m' Robeň i r(e)če k n(e)mu · Ne podobaet' tebê meû s(ve)tot'voriê b(o)žîê činečimi s'tati : Cap. II, 1: *Factum est autem ut in diebus festis inter eos qui offerebant incensum domino staret Ioachim munera sua parans in conspectu domini. Et accedens ad eum sacerdos nomine Ruben dixit: Non tibi licet inter sacrificia dei agentes consistere.*

Latin constructions are translated by corresponding constructions, the Latin ablative absolute is translated by the dative absolute, Latin verbal participles are translated by participles (Cf. Badurina Stipčević 2005). Lexically, Croatian Glagolitic texts are characterized by such features as the use of the Graecism *erêi* for Latin *sacerdos*, the calque *svêtotvorie* for *sacrificium* as well as the use of *neroditelj* (no parallel in Latin) and *ovočnikъ* (Lat. *viridarium*), two *hapax legomena* in the corpus for the compilation of the *Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic*⁷.

3.2. Periphrasis of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*

The *Ljubljana Miscellany* (henceforth: *CLab*; National and University Library, Ljubljana, sign. *Slav. Sammlung, futurale 3/368*) from the second half of the 15th century has the text (with no title) on fol. 15a–17b with the incipit: *B(la)ž(e)na An'na ime tri muži...* This paper codex, consisting of 20 folios (di-

⁷ The corpus for the *Dictionary of the Croatian Redaction of Church Slavonic* is kept at the Old Church Slavonic Institute in Zagreb.

mensions: 20.5 x 14.4 cm), was written in a cursive transitional Glagolitic script by two hands: one writing the first half, and the other, more skilled, beginning at folio 11 to the end of the manuscript. The note at fol. 4a mentions the author as being “Klarić djak pod novim gradom” (lit. scholar Klarić at Novi Grad) (Strohal 1915: 142–143), which means that the miscellany was composed in the vicinity of Novigrad na Dobri (formerly Crikveno selo). The miscellany was written in Čakavian-Kajkavian with Štokavian characteristics (Milčetić 1894: 94–95). The text *B(la)ž(e)na An’na ime tri muži...* has thus far been published by R. Strohal (1917: 6–11) in Latin transliteration in the chrestomathy of Croatian Glagolitic apocrypha and legends entitled *O blaženoj djevici Mariji* (On the Blessed Virgin Mary) without identifying the source or providing a text analysis.

By comparing the text with the Latin sources, I concluded that the text in the *Ljubljana Miscellany* is a paraphrase of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* with abridgments and omissions⁸. The first part of the Glagolitic manuscript contains the so-called *Trinubium Annae*, according to which St. Anne had three husbands and three daughters named Mary mentioned in the Gospel: Anne had Virgin Mary with her first husband, Joachim; after his death she had Mary of Cleophas with her husband Cleophas, and had Mary Salome with her third husband, Salome. This anonymous medieval text became an obligatory part of the later versions of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Golden Legend*, and had a significant influence on the hagiography of Saint Anne⁹. It also appears in two other Croatian Glagolitic miscellanies, the *Petris Miscellany* (1468) (Štefanić 1960: 362) and the *Berčić Collection 5* (the 15th century) (Vialova 2016: 169–170).

After this introduction, the Croatian Glagolitic text of *CLab* follows the first 20 chapters of the Latin apocryphal text of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, with the omission of chapters 5, 12, 14, 15 and 19, the remaining chapters being paraphrases with significant abridgments and omissions. A description of the chapters follows. The pious Joachim and Anne prayed to God to grant them a child (chapter 1). Joachim left Nazareth for Jerusalem together with his neighbours for a feast, but the priest Abiathar insulted him and drove him away as he was unworthy to make offerings because he was childless. Joachim did not return home, but retreated into the mountains among the shepherds and stayed there for seven months. Anne was also sad because she did not know where her husband was (chapter 2). An angel first comforted Joachim and told him that Anne would bear a daughter, Mary, who would give birth to a son, the God, the saviour of the world. He told him to meet Anne by the Golden Gate of Jerusalem. The angel gave Anne the same message. Joyful and happy, they met by the Golden Gate

⁸ The Glagolitic text was compared with editions by Tischendorf 1852; Santos Otero 1963; Santos Otero 2005; Gijssels, Beyers 1997; Hawk 2019.

⁹ Reames 2003: <https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/reames-middle-english-legends-of-women-saints-legends-of-st-anne-mother-of-the-virgin-mary-introduction>; Hawk 2019: 30–32.

and returned to Nazareth (chapter 3). Anne gave birth to Mary, who was taken to the “House of the Lord” when she was three, where girls were raised until the age of 14 or 16 (chapter 4). Mary studied well and thrived, she was well liked, and her friends considered her “a queen”; which is also how the priests referred to her (chapter 6). When she was thirteen, Abiathar told her and her peers that they should get married and have children. Mary readily replied that this was not for her to decide, because her body and soul had been promised to God (chapter 7). Abiathar consulted the elders, and they sought advice from God on what to do with Mary. An angel of the Lord told Abiathar to call all unmarried men from the lineage of David to leave their rod on the altar and wait for a sign. At the time, Joseph was an elderly man, and did not want to leave his rod, but an angel persuaded him to do so. When Joseph put down his rod, it grew leaves and flowers, and thus Mary became his fiancée. Joseph returned to Bethlehem to prepare his household for Mary, and Mary went to her mother’s house in Nazareth accompanied by seven girls (chapter 8). The archangel Gabriel announced to Mary that she would conceive and bear the Son of God. She was surprised, but accepted the news and woke up pregnant, and her pregnancy was noticed by her companions (chapter 9). When Joseph was given the news that his fiancée was pregnant, he said that the child was not his, but that he would not stone and kill her as the law required but would secretly abandon her (chapter 10). An angel announced to Joseph that Mary was pregnant with the Son of God, to whom he would be a father and a nurturer (chapter 11). Joseph accepted Mary and they lived together in Nazareth, and before the birth of the child they were supposed to go to Bethlehem, but since there were so many people there, they could not find lodgings in the town, but spent the night in an inn on the outskirts. That night Mary gave birth to Jesus Christ, whom she had conceived without sin, carried with no difficulty and to whom she gave birth without pain (“*kogo poče bêt’ vrejêniê i nosi bêt’ tegoti · i porodi prêz’ bolêzni*”). She wrapped him in swaddling clothes, laid him in a manger, and shepherds came to see him (chapter 13). From the East the Kings (Magi) came to adore the small child and brought him gold, frankincense, and myrrh (“*zlato i livan i muro*”). When Herod heard from the Magi that the King of the Jews had been born, he ordered all infants who were two years old and under to be slain. 144 000 children were killed, and all the children were holy (chapter 16). An angel appeared to Joseph and told him to take the child and Mary to Egypt to save the child from Herod’s violence (chapter 17). At night, Joseph and Mary fled to Egypt on a donkey (chapter 18). Tired from their travels they stopped by a well, where Mary washed Jesus’s swaddling clothes and hanged them to dry on withered trees. The trees grew high at once and they could barely reach the dry swaddling clothes, and the trees bore fruit, a balm (“*predragi balsam*”), from the liquid that came from Jesus’s swaddling clothes. When they continued, they came upon palm trees full of dates, which Mary could not reach because they were too high up. Joseph told her that she had

upon her elbow him who was omnipotent, and Mary asked Jesus, and he lowered the high branches of the palm (chapter 20)¹⁰.

This is followed by a description of Jesus's miracles. One miracle concerned a man who met Jesus, Mary and Joseph on their way, asked them where they were going, and offered to carry Jesus. When he heard about their flight to Egypt from Herod's persecution, he concluded that Jesus was the true God, because he started feeling happy and full of strength after carrying Jesus, and he had been tired and sad before. In the second miracle, somewhere on their way in the desert, their donkey was stolen. They were close to Babel, and there were no inns to spend the night, so they asked a woman with a gravely ill son to let them stay at her house. She was afraid of her husband but let them stay. When the woman was going to wash her son, she offered Mary that she might wash Jesus first; and after the woman had washed the sick boy in the same water, he was immediately healed, he could speak and walk. Her husband returned home and was going to banish the guests, but when he saw that his son had been restored to health, he thanked them and returned their donkey, for he was the one who had stolen it. They stayed there for 60 days. The moral at the end is that the boy who was healed later became the man to whom crucified Jesus said: "*budeš samnom u raju*" (you will be with me in Paradise).

Ljubljana Miscellany (15. st.), f. 15a–17b¹¹:

(f. 15a) [*Trinubium Annae*] B(la)ž(e)na An'na ime t'ri muži · P'rvi bê logamъ o(t) toga ime b(la)ž(e)nu d(ê)vu Mariû êže nosi g(ospod)a n(a)šego Is(u)h(r̥st)a · sp(a)s(i)tela miru · Drugi mužъ bê Kalêopa ot negože ime dečer' koi nareče ime Mariê i siê bê Mariê · Dana v ženu Alfeo i o(t) togo Alfoê ime .g. (=4) sini (f. 15b) Êkova maloga Simuna i Tadeê ili Iûdu tako drugim' imenem' naricaet' se i Osipa prav(a)dnika i si tri bratiê bêše ap(usto)li h(r̥sto)vi sut' Êkov' Simunъ i Ūda ili Tadei i bratiê g(ospod)i na naricaû se i narêč(e)ni sutъ umrvšu že Kalêopa · B(la)ž(e)na An'na tretogo muža priêt' · nar(i)caemago Solomuna ot negože ime tretu h'čer' koi nareče takoi ime¹² Mariê i sa Mariê dana bê v ženu Zavedeû ot neže ime .b. (=2) sina Ivana ev(an)j(e)l(i)sta i Êkova maloga i siê oba bista · Bratiê Is(u)h(r̥sto)va i narečeno bista ibo tagda · [1.] I b(la)ž(e)na An'na sa Ioahimomъ prvim' mužem' svojim' ne imihota čedi m(o)l(i)sta · b(og)a i obečasta dati b(og)' dal' bi ima dečerъ ili sina da stai i prinestai b(og)u v crkav' vse vrime života svoego · [2.] Bist' že egda ideše poiti Ioahim' ot Nazarata · Kadî sobitaše · ide v' Er(u)s(o)lim' sa susedi svoimi v crkav' g(ospod)nu p(o)m(o)liti se i prinesti žrtvu g(ospode)vê · Abitar' ubo iže bê tagda erei v domu g(ospod)ni

¹⁰ More on the episode of the palm tree cf. Hawk 2019: 16.

¹¹ Transliterated text is divided into chapters according to the edition Tischendorf 1852 and Gijssels, Beyers 1997.

¹² In the glagolitic text: *ili*.

izagna ni iz domu · **G**(ospod)na i ne hote ni ego ni žrtvi ego · priêti za ni ni hêri ni sina ne imeše · otnude že Ioahimъ ponošeniê radi i srama ki imê ne vrati se k Anne ženi svoei v Nazarat' na otide v goru k pastirom' svoim' ki bihu daleko i pasihu ov'ce i staše š nimi .ž. (=7) miseci · An'na že plakaše (f. 15c) i pečal'na b(ê)še o mužu s'voemъ zač' ga ne vijaše · i čь¹³ bi ot nego · **[3.] I** tag'da an'j(e)лъ g(ospoda)нъ êvi se Ioahimu · v' gorahъ g(lago)le emu · ne bo(и) se Ioahime uslišana e(stь) m(o)l(i)t(a)v' t'voê · An'na žena t'voê začetъ i poroditъ s(i)na dečer' · i narečeši ime ei Mariê · Siê bo imat' nositi i poroditi s(i)na · b(og)a viš'nago sp(a)sit(e)la miru · i se b(u)detъ t(e)bê zlamen'e · êko za ũtra · v' godinu tretuû d'ne · eg'da v'nideši v' Er(u)s(oli)mъ · i obrečeši An'nu t'vou ženu va v'ratehъ zlatihъ · êže vel'mi vesela i radost'na b(u)detъ o prišas'tii tvoemъ · i sьda idu povidati ei · siê ka v'zvestihъ t(e)bê · **I** t(a)ko v'zvečeniemъ an'j(e)la božie Ahimu i An'nê · **I** o(t) togo časa idê Akim' z' gor' i An'na ot Nazarata v' Er(u)s(oli)mъ i utak'nus'ta se va vratih' zlatihъ v' tretu godinu d'ne · êk(o)že b(ê)še rekal' an'j(e)лъ nima · **I** v'šad'sha v' d(o)mъ g(ospoda)нъ · i poklonis'ta se g(ospodo)vê s' hv(a)lou · i v'z(v)ratis'ta se v' domъ s'voi v' Nьzarat' s' rados'tiû · **[4.] B**(la)ž(e)na že An'na začetъ i porodit' dečer' · i nьresta ime ei · Mariê · kъ v' črevi mat(e)rini posvečena i s(ve)ta bê prie nego rožena · **B**(la)ž(e)na že d(ê)va Mariê v'zdoena bê · **I** kьda ime tri l(ê)ta Ioakimъ o(ta)сь ee · i An'na mati ee ponesosta ũ g(ospode)vê · Običai tagda bê êko otročeta ili divoike ke roêhu se · po obêtovaniû is'pitu se v' domu g(ospod)ni do .g̃i. (=14) ili .ei. (=16) l(ê)ti êk(o)že g(lago)le se · **[6.] I** t(a)ko b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va M(a)riê d(ê)voika prečis'ta v' domu g(ospod)ni · is'pitena os'ta · **I** d'ružena bê d(ê)voikami eže b(ê)hu v' ne vrime tu takoe ispitahu se · **R**odit(e)la že vratis'ta se v' domъ svoi · **B**(la)ž(e)na že d(ê)va (f. 15d) b(o)žjeû m(i)l(o)stiû res'tiše nьravomъ telês'nê · t(a)ko nьravomъ res'tiše d(u)hovnê s(ve)tinêû · i tolike sili · toli s'mêreniê · **I** tolike s(ve)tinê bê · da v'se d'ruge · ke š' nû bihu učaše e · is'pravlaše i k'replaše k' hv(a)li b(o)ži · ka ob' nemъ m(o)l(i)t(a)vъ n(e)b(e)skimъ v'nimaniemъ · i b(o)ž(a)stvenimъ utegaemъ · i t(a)ko b(ê)še imъ sviča i s(vê)tlos'tь · i obrazъ slat'kihъ mis'li glagolaniê · i sil'nihъ dêlъ · êko v'si divlahu se g(lago)lûcê · êk(o) b(og)ъ veliê i div'naê stvorit' ot see d(ê)vi · **I** ke d'ruge d(ê)voike b(ê)hu š' neû · **R**iše meû soboû · s'tvorimo c(êsa)r(i)cu ed'nu ot nъs' meû soboû · **I** t(a)ko st'voriše v'se ed'nod(u)šno Mariû d(ê)vu s'vou c(êsa)r(i)cu meû soboû · **I** ottoli v'si erei crkveni · êko d'ruzi nъčeše ũ z'vati c(êsa)r(i)ceû · **[7.] P**oneže b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va Mariê imi .ṽi. (=13) l(ê)тъ Abit(a)рь erei priz'va ũ i v'se ke ee vrimenê b(ê)hu i r(e)če imъ êk(o) imate se ugotovati i priêti m(u)ži i roditi čeda · kьko z(a)k(o)нъ b(o)ži g(lago)l(e)тъ · **V**'se že inie pris'taše t'voriti k(a)ko g(lago)l(a)še erei · a b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va M(a)riê · otv(ê)ča · aзь nis(a)mъ v'

¹³ In the text often appears a hypercorrective baton (т) instead of “a”.

moei ob'las'ti nъ raba b(o)žiče es(a)mъ · i ne mogu otvečati za me · êko
 o(ta)sъ moi i mati moê · prie nego začeta bihъ das'ta me b(og)u · **I** azъ ûre
 d(u)šu moû i t(ê)lo moe dahъ · i dev's'tvo t(ê)la moego obečahъ višn'emu
 b(o)gu · togo radi es(a)mъ raba ego · **I** on' otvečae't' i stvorit' m'nê po obêtu
 s'voee s(ve)tie volê · **[8.]** Slišav že sie Abitar' erei divi se · I r(e)če hoču se
 z'govoriti (*f. 16a*) s'tarišinami lûdais'kimi · i st'voriše svê't' · i postiše se i
 moliše b(og)a da êvitъ imъ č'to s'tvoril' bi · ot Marie d(ê)ve prês'lav'nie ·
I se an'j(e)lъ g(ospoda)nъ êvi se · Abitaru ereû · g(lago)le · idi i vse iz'beri
 č(lovê)ki ki sutъ ot domu D(a)v(i)dova · ki nimaû žen' · i ta položetъ čapi i
 očitô êvit' se z'namen'e i ta imat' d(ê)vu ob'ručenicu sebê · i prizva · v'se
 kako r(e)če anj(e)lъ · meû kimi pridê Osip' · ki bê m(u)žъ l(ê)ki st(a)rъ
 č(lovê)kъ · **I** kъda sliša êko z'vani b(ê)hu d(ê)ve te cič' · da obručit' û on' u
 koga z'namen'e êvit' se · i počudi se Osip' i idê odon'dê i skri se vani · **I**
 p(a)ki vas'pet' r(e)če anj(e)lъ · Osipъ ne v'shotê prnes'ti čapa · **I** priz'vaše
 vas'pêt' Os(i)pa · i položi čap' nъ oltari · i procvate čap' Osipov' zelênimъ
 list'emъ i cvet'etъ · i daše Osipu s'tarc'u va obarovan'e d(ê)vu M(a)riû · **I**
 timъ z(a)k(o)nomъ obruči Osip' M(a)riû prêslav'nu · Osip že vrati se va
 Vit'liomъ da ugotovit' kъdi Mariê prêbivala bi va obari ego · **B**(la)ž(e)nъ(!)
 že d(ê)va M(a)riê v'zvratil se v' Nazaratъ v' domъ m(a)t(e)re s'voee · i daše
 ei .ž. (=7) divoêkъ · ke pridu i s'taše š nêu tu · **[9.]** **I** tag'da pos'lan' bi
 a'rhan'j(e)lъ Gabriêlъ · k' nei ot b(og)a v' grad' Nazarat' · k' d(ê)vi obručeni
 Osipu · i pozd'ravi û g(lago)le · zd'rava M(a)rie m(i)l(o)sti pl'na g(ospod)ъ
 s t(obo)u · do k(o)nca · **I** užasi se d(ê)va M(a)r(iê) Anj(e)l' že r(e)če ei ne boi
 se M(a)rie · obrela esi m(i)l(o)stъ u b(og)a · **S**e imeti vač'neši s(i)nъ · i
 narečeši ime emu Is(us)ъ · **R**eče že M(a)riê k anj(e)lu · k(a)ko b(u)de(*f. 16b*)t'
 sie êk(o) m(u)ža telês'nê nikoliže imeti hoču · i dev's'tvo moe obečahъ
 višn'emu b(og)u · **R**(e)če že ei an'j(e)lъ · ti b(u)dêši m(a)ti s(i)nu b(o)žiču · i
 dêv's'tvo t'voe nig'dare b(u)dê vrejeno · **I** se b(u)dêts' dêènie d(u)ha s(veta)go ·
 ki va te pridêt' · i sila viš'nago osen'ni te · **R**(e)če že a(zъ) nis(a)mъ dostoina
 b(i)ti m(a)ti s(i)na b(o)žiče · nъ raba ego es(a)mъ da budi m'nê po riči t'voei ·
I tud'e uču s(i)na b(og)a živa Is(u)h(rъst)a v t(ê)li s'voemъ · i bi plna d(u)ha
 s(ve)ta · i b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va êvi se truh'la · i čuêhu se onih .ž. (=7) d(ê)vicъ
 d'ružbênicê ee · začъ ne vidiše č(lovê)ka š' nû g(lago)lûča · **[10.]** **I** v'zvêčeno
 bê Osipu · êk(o) M(a)riê obručenica ego noseča e(stъ) · **S**ъ že bê prav(a)danъ
 i b'lagъ ne hotê ob'ličiti ee · **Ê**k(o) kъmenovana i umorena imeše b(i)ti po
 zakonu · **I** g(lago)l(a)še ako truhla e(stъ) ni ot menê · ne hoču ubiti û · nъ
 hoču otai pustiti û · **[11.]** **I** to emu mislêču · êvi se emu an'j(e)lъ g(ospoda)nъ
 va s'ni g(lago)le · Osipê s(i)nê D(a)v(i)dovъ · ne boi se priêti Marie
 ob'ručenice t'voee zanê s(i)na b(o)žiče imatъ v' sebi · i ti imaš' b(i)ti obaritelъ
 i krmit(e)lъ s(i)na b(o)žiče · **[13.]** **I** t(a)ko priêt' û · i živihu v' Nazarati · i
 približauči se d'nevi roditi se s(i)nu b(o)žiču · **I** izidu od Nazarata va Vit'liomъ ·
 i v'sъkъ ideše v' s'voi g'radъ · da dadutъ dari Rimlanomъ · **I** kada pridoše k'
 Vit'liomu ne mogoše s'tana nъiti · množas'tva radi lûdi prihodêčih' i pridu k'

s'tanu vani g'rada kadi b(ê)še krov' is'to z'gora stran'nimъ idêže pl'нь bê · i tu va onu nočъ Mariê d(ê)va porodi Is(u)h(rъst)ja edinočedago (*f. 16c*) s(i)na b(o)žîê · kogo poče bêz' vrejenîê i nosi bêz' tegoti · i porodi prêz' bolêzni · **I** t(a)ko rožen' e(stъ) H(rъst)ъ g(ospod)ъ · B(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va Mariê povit' i plênami i položi ga v' êslêhъ · i pridu pas'tiri i vidiše ga tu k(a)ko r(e)če imъ an'j(e)l' · **[16.]** po tom že pridu · i v'l'svi ot vs'toka pokloniti se emu · Pos'lani že ot Iruda va Vitliomъ · i tu obret(o)še otroče i pokloniše se emu i dari prikazaše emu · zlato i livan' i muro · **I** k(a)ko Irudъ sliša ot vlhav' · k(a)ko g(ospod)ъ c(êsa)гъ iûdêis'ki roen' bê · is'kaše ga ubiti · **I** ego cič' ubi Irud' mnogo otročety otroče ko b(ê)še o(č) d'vi l(ê)ti i niže i ubi ih' s'to tisuč' i .k. (=40) tisuč' i .g. (=4) tisuča · I ti v'si otročiči s(ve)ti b(ê)še · **[17.]** **I** kьda poče Irud' iskati togo otročete · I tada r(e)če an'j(e)lъ Osipu v'stani i poimi otroče i mat(e)гъ ego i bêži v' Eûpatъ · zač' Irud' ičet' otročete da pogubit' i · **[18.]** **I** v'stav' Osip' nočiû · i b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va M(a)riê · i edna druga divoika · i poêm'se ed'noga os'la i pobigoše v' Eûpatъ · **[20.]** B(la)ž(e)na že d(ê)va M(a)riê nošaše otroče Isusa vinu нь lakt'u s'vou · i prêidu edan' d(a)нь k' mestu kadi bi edin' is'toč'nikъ velê lipъ · i b(ê)hu velê trud'ni · i počeše počivati · B(la)ž(e)na že d(ê)va M(a)riê poče p'lêne prati otročiča Is(us)ja нь istočnici · i razviša e na drivihъ malihъ kъ on'di b(ê)hu · **I** abie potom' doklê plênê usah'nuše · d'riva ta velê visoko zrestiše da ed'va plênê dosegoše · i ta d'riva stvoriše plod' mas't' pred'raguû bal'samъ kihъ prikosnu(*f. 16d*)še se plinice mokre Is(us)ja otroka · **I** p(a)ki pridu нь mes'to kьdi b(ê)hu pal'mi · ke pl'nê b(ê)hu dataľ · B(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va hotiše dataľ v'zeti palma že bi visoka · ona že ne možaše doseči ihъ · i r(e)čê k' M(a)rii [Osip] ti imaši togo нь lak'tu t'voeû · ki more v'sa s'tvoriti · R(e)če že d(ê)va k s(i)nu · z' božnei m(i)l(o)sti poz'ri ego · i abie visokie kite i pal'mê prikloniše se · i priêše ot ploda · Drugi že d(a)нь č(lovê)kъ eter' · ньidê e нь puti i r(e)če imъ otkuda g'res'te d(a)ньs' · **I** reše emu imenemъ mes'to · **I** ta počъ se čuditi · zač' velik' put' b(ê)hu učinili · veče nego on' · a sa b(ê)še velê trudanъ i um(u)čeny · k(a)ko ne mogaše hoditi · **I** kьda pog'lêdaše otročete tada velê radostanъ i veselъ b(u)diše · i p(a)ki ne možaše d'ružiti ihъ kьda poos'taniše i otroka ne viêše v' og'rnut'i materini · **I** p(a)ki ug'lêdav' ga lag'lê mu b(u)diše · i s velikim' trudomъ v'nimaše se k' nemu · **I** p(a)ki r(e)če k' b(la)ž(e)noi d(ê)vi · Gos'poe koliko hoču radъ pomagati t(e)bê nositi sina t'voego · A b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va da emu H(rъst)ja · **I** on' veselo priêt' i · i p(a)ki r(e)če veselimъ i visokimъ gl(a)somъ · m(o)lû v(a)sъ gdo es'te vi · i otkudu g'res'te · D(ê)va že otgovori · mi es'mo niki priš'lci ot Iûdêi ki bižimo ot lica nepriêt(e)la n(a)šego · progoneniê ego cič' · Otêše bo otroče sie ubiti · On' že r(e)če vis'tinu vi imate b(o)ga s' vami · Az' bo bihъ tru(*f. 17a*)dan' i s'lab' velê · **I** kьda otroka sego priêhъ bl(agoslo)vl(e)nago · i bihъ abie k'repak' · i utešen' es(a)mъ · az' i veselъ i rados'tan' · i bolê va mnê čuû moč' i lah'koču · nego nig'dare čuhъ · **I** p(a)ki da otroka b(la)ž(e)noi d(ê)vi M(a)rii · i idê v' put' s'voi · **I** g'reduče pridu blizъ Babilonie · dai .i. (=10) milъ · ostaše v'

pustini tu nočъ · Egda že bi zaûtra vs'taše i ne naidošē os'la s'voga · iskavši ga
 i idoše ne n(a)šadši ga · hv(a)lêci b(og)a i idoše k' Babilonii · i ta d(a)nъ k'
 Babilonii ne v'zmoĝu doseči i stana ne moĝu nъiti · **B**(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va M(a)riê
 vidi s'tanъ edan' vani g'rada · v' nemže bi ed'na žena ka imiše ed'noga s(i)na
 ot .g. (=4) l(ê)ta · nemoč'na · i obnažena rukami i nogami · i ne imuča govore-
 nê · ni sluha · **I** v'nide b(la)ž(e)na d(ê)va M(a)riê k' stanu i prosi govoreči ·
 dobraê ženo · dai n(a)mъ stan' · za lûbav' viš'nega b(og)a · **I** r(e)če žena o
 gos'poe velê bihъ vesela priêti te na s'tan' · da boû se muža moego · zač' e(stъ)
 č(lovê)kъ velê zalъ · boi se vas' s'- vačinu z'renet' da ako ga moremo kako
 uprositi dobrimi riči · ê sam' vele vesela · i primu v(a)sъ · i v'nidoše v' domъ
 s H(rъsto)mъ · **I** nemoč'ni otrok' kъda vidi niû · nъčet' radovati se i veseliti se ·
 žena že ta v'zet' vodu tep'lu · da okuplêt' s(i)na s'voga zlo nkaž'nogo · **D**êva
 že M(a)riê · ažъ r(e)če okuplû i ê moego s(i)na · **R**(e)če že žena domača ·
 Gos'poe nest' ugod'no b(o)gu (f. 17b) da v(a)s' s(i)nъ ki vidit' se c(êsa)r(e)v'
 s(i)nъ posliê okup'lêt se · **N**ъ prie gospoe vi toga kra'snago otroka okuplite ·
 potomъ oçu az' moego bed'nago · **B**(la)ž(e)na že d(ê)va M(a)riê umi H(rъst)a ·
Potom' žena ona po H(rъst)e umi s(i)na svoga nakaz'nago · i on' čъs' z'drav'
 bi s(i)nъ ne · i počē se s'miêti i veseliti i govoriti i hoditi i rukami priêmati · i
 službu činiti H(rъst)u · **Ž**ena že ona vesela bi o s(i)nu svoemъ · a užas'na o
 čudêsi · **I** r(e)če vi vistinu b(og)a nosite s' vami · **I** p(a)ki mužъ ee v' to doba
 pridê s' puta s'voego tad'bênago · i ta isti č(lovê)kъ b(ê)še ukral' nimъ os'la ·
I vidiv' Osipa prêd' vrati · i poča nъ n' srd'no vapiti · **I** kъrati ženu s'vouû · **O**na
 že teče i r(e)če · kъko is'tin'ni b(og)ъ e(stъ) u nas' · i s(i)na t'voga z'drava
 s'tvori · **I** r(e)če č(lovê)kъ zlo s'tvorihъ · zač' prog'nevah' se na v(a)s' · i
 ukradênago os'la vašego ê ukradoh' i vrati ga imъ s' rados'tiû · **I** s'povida s'voi
 g'rihъ ot prêgrešeniê · **I** tu prebi H(rъst)ъ .m. (=60) d'ni s' Mariû i Osipomъ ·
Sъ že otrok' ki scelên bê kupelom' H(rъsto)vomъ ono bi ki govorit' se s
 H(rъsto)mъ raspetъ komu H(rъst)ъ nъ križi raspetê r(e)če d(a)n(a)sъ b(u)dêši
 sъ mnoû v'rai · **B**(og)ъ s n(a)mi Am(e)nъ ·

4. CONCLUSION

Texts from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* appear in several Croatian Glagolitic monuments. Two Glagolitic sources from the 14th and 15th century contain apocryphal fragments of pseudo-gospels in the Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. The oldest Croatian Glagolitic text which contains the text of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* has been preserved in the *Paris Miscellany* (Slave 73) from 1375, and a textually close version can be found in the *Bribir Breviary* from 1470. These two Croatian Glagolitic texts contain verbatim translations from the Latin original, whereas the *Ljubljana Miscellany* (sign. Slav. Sammlung, futsal 3/368) from the second half of the 15th century contains a paraphrase of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* with abridgments and omissions of the original text. The surviving Croatian Glagolitic texts suggest the existence of many more Croatian Glagolitic transcripts and/or periphrases of these famous apocryphal "childhood gospels".

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THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW IN CROATIAN GLAGOLITIC TEXTS

(Summary)

Texts from the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* appear in several Croatian Glagolitic monuments. Two Glagolitic sources from the 14th and 15th century contain apocryphal fragments of pseudo-gospels in the *Office of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God*. The oldest Croatian Glagolitic text which contains the text of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* has been preserved in the *Paris Miscellany (Slave 73)* from 1375, and a textually close version can be found in the *Bribir Breviary* from 1470. These two Croatian Glagolitic texts contain verbatim translations from the Latin original, whereas the *Ljubljana Miscellany* (sign. *Slav. Sammlung, futural 3/368*) from the second half of the 15th century contains a paraphrase of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* with abridgments and omissions of the original text. The surviving Croatian Glagolitic texts suggest the existence of many more Croatian Glagolitic transcripts and/or periphrases of these famous apocryphal “childhood gospels”.

Keywords: Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew; Croatian Glagolitic literature; Croatian Glagolitic New Testament apocrypha; Paris Miscellany Slave 73; Bribir Breviary; Ljubljana Miscellany.

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