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Slavic alphabets and languages in publications by the *Propaganda Fide* during the 17th and 18th centuries

Abstract

The paper discusses the Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin orthographies of the Slavic books published by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Through a comparison of eight versions of the Slavic text of the Apostles' Creed, the specific features of the respective orthographies are analysed in a chronological perspective. In addition, cross-scriptal comparisons of three editions of Robert Bellarmine's *Nauk karstjanski kratak* (published in the Glagolitic alphabet in 1628, in the Cyrillic alphabet in 1629, and in the Latin alphabet in 1633) and of the parallel Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts of Matej Karaman's biscriptal *Bukvar* (1753) are made. As the analysis shows, all texts exhibit a clear development from orthographies reflecting Central South Slavonic linguistic features to orthographies that show influence of East Slavic orthographic models. These tendencies are most pronounced in the Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts, whereas the orthography of the Latin-script texts seems to be more stable.

The article includes as an appendix a preliminary check-list of Slavonic books published by the Propaganda Fide during the period 1627–1791.

Keywords: Propaganda Fide, Glagolitic, Cyrillic and Latin alphabets; intrascript studies; Robert Bellarmine; Matej Karaman

1. Introduction

The publishing by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide of works in Slavic languages is well known.¹ Starting in the 1620:s, the publishing of Slavic books expanded, and during the period 1627–1791 approximately forty Slavic titles in both Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin² letters were published. Books printed in different scripts were intended for

¹ The Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide was founded in 1622, and printed both religious works and grammars, dictionaries, and primers in Latin, Greek, Arabic, Armenian, Japanese, and other languages, see Henkel (1971: 335, 346f; 1977: 9–35).

² Following Bunčić et al. (2016: 24), I will use the term Latin script, letters, alphabet, etc., for what is sometimes also called the “Roman” alphabet.

different audiences within the Slavic-speaking world, and there are several cases where a more or less identical text is printed in more than one script, either in separate titles published in separate years, or in the same title.³

Among the Propaganda Fide Slavic books, the Cyrillic-script titles constitute the smallest group: the 1629 *Nauk karstjanski kratak* by Robert Bellarmine (C1629),⁴ the 1630 *Ispoviedaonik* by Girolamo da Palermo (C1630), the 1648 *Ispovedanie pravoslavnoe very* (C1648), and Filip Stanislavov's 1651 *Abagar* (C1651). A second edition of Bellarmine's *Nauk karstjanski kratak* was published in 1661 (C1661). Cyrillic letters were also used in the two editions of Matej Karaman's biscriptal Glagolitic and Cyrillic *Bukvar slavenskij* (C1739 and C1753).⁵

Of the approximately forty Slavic Propaganda Fide titles published during the 17th and 18th centuries, almost half, at least eighteen titles, were printed with Glagolitic letters. Between 1628 and 1648, six Glagolitic books were published by Rafael Levaković (c. 1590–1650): the 1628 edition of Bellarmine's *Nauk karstjanski kratak* (G1628), the 1629 *Azbukividnĕk slovinskij* (G1629),⁶ the 1631 *Missal rimskij* (G1631), the 1635 edition of Juan de Polanco's *Ispravnik za erei ispovidnici* (G1635), the 1637 *Ordo missæ* (G1637), and the 1648 *Časoslov rimskij* (G1648). At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, four Glagolitic titles were published: the 1688 *Časoslov rimskij* (G1688), a new edition of the *Azbukividnĕk slovinskij* (G1693), a 1706 *Missal rimskij*

³ Worth mentioning is also the multiscriptal book that was presented to the Swedish king Gustav III at his visit to the Propaganda Fide in Rome in 1784 (D1784, see appendix 1). Together with texts in many different languages and scripts, the book includes seven Slavic versions of a poem in honour of the king, printed in Glagolitic ("Illyrice/Characterere Hieronymiano"), Latin ("Dalmatice", "Polonice"), and Cyrillic ("Bulgarice", "Russice", "Ruthenice", "Serviane") letters. For more details on this title, see Ambrosiani (2012).

⁴ For bibliographical details on the Propaganda Fide titles, see Appendix 1, below, where all titles mentioned in the text are listed.

⁵ The abbreviations C1739 and C1753 refer to the Cyrillic pages, G1739 and G1753 to the parallel Glagolitic pages in the respective editions.

⁶ In the *Azbukividnĕk* (G1629), the Slavonic text is printed with Glagolitic letters. However, at the end of the book there is a Latin language prayer in three script versions: in the original Latin, and in two versions where the Latin text is transcribed with Glagolitic and Cyrillic letters, respectively (cf. Cleminson et al. 2000, no. 81; König 2003).

(G1706), and the 1707 *Misse za umervšie* (G1707). Later during the same century, a new *Missal rimskij* was published (G1741), and in 1767 a new edition of the 1707 *Misse za umervšie* (G1767) appeared. The Glagolitic script was also used in the two editions of Matej Karaman's biscriptal *Bukvar slavenskij* (G1739 and G1753, cf. above). After Karaman's death in 1771 four more Glagolitic titles were published. In 1789 the belated second appendix to the 1741 *Missal rimskij* came out (G1789), and in 1791 three separate titles were published: a *Čini svêtih* (G1791a), and a *Časoslov rimskij* in two parts (winter, G1791b, and summer, G1791c).

The Propaganda Fide Slavic Latin-script publications include at least fifteen titles, of which approximately half were published between 1627 and 1640, that is, at the very beginning of the publishing activities of the Propaganda Fide. These titles include the 1627 *Istvmacenge navka karstyanskoga* by Robert Bellarmine (L1627), a Latin-script version of Bellarmine's *Nauk karstjanski kratak* (L1633), a Latin-script version of Juan de Polanco's *Ispravnik* (L1636), Saint Bonaventure's 1638 *Razmiscglianya* (L1638a), Bartol Kašič's *Xivot gospodina nascega Isvkarsta* (L1638b), a 1640 *Kalendar iz missala rimskoga* (L1640a), and a 1640 *Ritual rimski* (L1640b).

In 1657 Juan de Jesús María's *Način za dobro vmriti* (L1657) appeared, and in 1661 and 1662 two works by Robert Bellarmine were published: the longer version of the *Nauk karstyanski* (L1661), and his *Istvmacenye symbola apostolskoga* (L1662). In 1708 a new edition of Bellarmine's *Istvmacenge obilnie Navka Karstyanskoga* (L1708) was published, and the next year a new edition of the *Način za dobro vmriti* (L1709) appeared. Finally, in 1789 the *Ispovidagne Viere za Garczi promisgliagne Verhu Najposlidnih* (L1789) was published.

As the overview above shows, Slavic translations of works by several well-known theologians were published by the Propaganda Fide during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The most popular was Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), who is represented by no less than eight titles printed in both Cyrillic (C1629, C1661), Glagolitic (G1628), and Latin characters (L1627, L1633, L1661, L1662, L1708). Other authors include for example Juan de Polanco (1510–1576 [G1635, L1636]), Juan de Jesús

María (1564–1615 [L1657, L1709]), and Girolamo da Palermo (d. 1595 [C1630]).⁷

2. Orthographic characteristics of the Slavic Propaganda Fide titles

In the following, a more detailed picture of the orthographic characteristics of the Cyrillic, Glagolitic, and Latin-script titles published by the Propaganda Fide will be presented. The discussion will be limited to an analysis of eight different versions – two Cyrillic, three Glagolitic, and three Latin-script – of the Slavic text of the Apostles' Creed.

2.1. Cyrillic-script versions of the Slavic text of the Apostles' Creed

Cyrillic-script versions of the Apostles' Creed can be found in the 1629 *Nauk karstjanski kratak* (C1629) and in the Cyrillic part of Matej Karman's *Bukvar*, published in 1753 (C1753), see Tables 1a and 1b.⁸

	C1629 (pp. 7–8)	C1753 (pp. 37, 39)
1	Вѣрѹемъ Ѹ Бога Ѡца всемогѹщаго, Створителя Неба, и землиѣ.	Вѣрѹю въ Бѹга Отца всемогѹщаго Творца небѹ и землиѣ.
2	И Ѹ Исѹкарста Сина нѣгѹва ѣдинога Г҃А нашего.	И во Исѹса Хрѣста, Сына Г҃ѹ Єдинаго, Г҃спода нашего.
3	Кои зачѣть іестъ ѹ Дѹха Светога, рѹиень ѹ Маріе Дѣвѣ.	Зачѣта ѹ Дѹха свѣта, рождѣна изъ Маріа Дѣвы.
4	Мѹчень под Пѹнцием Пилатомъ, пропеть, мартав, и погребень бы.	Страдавша при Понтіѣстѹмъ Пѣлатѹ, распѣта, оумерша и погребѣна.
5	Снѣиде над пакаль, третій дань ѹскарснѹ ѹ мартвицѹ.	Сошѣдшаго во адъ въ третій дѣнь воскресшаго ѹ мѣртвѹцѹ.
6	Ѣзиде на небеса, сѣди на деснѹ Бѹга Ѡца всемогѹщаго.	Возшѣдшаго на небеса, сѣдѣщаго ѹдеснѹ Бѹга Отца всемогѹщаго.
7	Ѡдъ тѣда има прити сѣдѣти живе, и мартѣ.	Ѡдѣ тѣдѣ же градѣщаго сѣдѣти живѹмъ, и мѣртвѹмъ.
8	Вѣрѹемъ Ѹ Дѹха светога.	Вѣрѹю въ Дѹха свѣтаго.

⁷ For a recent discussion of Girolamo's *Confessionario*, which also mentions the translation into Slavic published by the Propaganda Fide in 1630, see Borraccini (2016: 297).

⁸ Here and in the following, Cyrillic letters are transliterated according to a specially designed system intended to capture all relevant orthographic distinctions, see Appendix 2, below. The use of double underlining indicates that the second letter is placed above the first, as, for example, in ѣт.

9	СВѢТЪ ЦРКВѢЪ КАТОЛИЧАСКЪ: СВѢТИХЪ ОПЛНИД.	СВАТЉЮ ЦЕРКОВЬ КАДОЛІЧЕСКЮ, СВАТЫХЪ ВЪЩЕНІЕ.
10	Въпѣщеніе грѣхѡвъ.	Вѣтавленіе грѣхѡвъ.
11	Пѣлти ѡскрешеніе.	Плѡти воскрешеніе.
12	Животъ вѣчнїи.	Жизнь вѣчнѣю.
13	Амень.	Аминь.

Table 1a. Two Cyrillic-script Slavic texts of the Apostles' Creed

	C1629 (pp. 7–8)	C1753 (pp. 37, 39)
1	Věruěmъ u Boga Ōtca svemogu-čega, Stvoritelâ Neba, i zemlě.	Vě' ruŭ vъ Bōga Otca vsemoguŭša-go Tvorcâ nebu i zemli.
2	Ī u Īsukarsta Sina nĕgōva ědino-ga GñA našega.	Ī vo Iisusa Hrista, Sýna Ēgō`Ēdínago, Góspoda nášego.
3	Koi začetъ ěstъ ōt duha Svetoga, rôěň ōt Marie Dĕve.	Záčata ōt` Dúha svâta, roždĕna izъ Mariâ Dĕ' vy.
4	Mučěň pod Pōnciem Pilatomъ, propetъ, martav, i pogreběň bŭi.	Stradávša pri Pontŭistĕmъ Pilátĕ, raspâ' ta, ŭmĕrša i pogrebĕna.
5	Snĭide nad pakalъ, tretĭi danъ uskarsnu ōt martviň.	Sošĕdšago vo adъ vъ tretĭi dĕň vóskresšago ōt mĕrtvyň.
6	Uzĭide na nebesa, sĕdi na desnu Bōga Ōtca svemoguega.	Vozšĕdšago na nebesâ, sĕdâ' šago ôdesnuô Bōga Otca vsemoguŭšago.
7	Ōd tuda ima priti suditi žive, i martve.	Ōttúdu že grâdŭšago suditi žívŭmъ, i mĕrtvŭmъ.
8	Věruemъ u Duha svetoga.	Vě' ruŭ vъ Dúha svâtágo.
9	Svetu Crikvu katoličasku: Svetih općinu.	Svâtúu Cerkovъ Kaťoličeskuú, svâtŭň ōbšĕniĕ.
10	Ōtpušenĕ grĕhōvъ.	Ōstavlenĕ grĕhō' vъ.
11	Pulti uskrešenĕ.	Plŏti vóskresĕniĕ.
12	Životъ věčnĭi.	Žízň vě' čnuú.
13	Амень.	Аминь.

Table 1b. Two Cyrillic-script Slavic texts of the Apostles' Creed (transliterated)

The main characteristic of the letter inventory of C1629 is the presence of the letter **ѣ** (č), which is used to indicate the sound [č] in words such as, for example, **вѣдѣши**, **рѣши**, etc. This letter is usually considered characteristic of the Bosančica variety of the Cyrillic script.⁹ In C1629, **ѣ** (č) is

⁹ This Cyrillic variety is also known as “Western Cyrillic” or “Croatian Cyrillic”, cf., for example, Nazor (2014: 18). The letter **ѣ** is used also in C1630, but not in the later Cyrillic editions C1648 or C1651.

used to spell the reflex of Common Slavic *tj in words such as *svemogučega* (1) and *općinu* (9), whereas C1753 in the corresponding instances exhibits the standard late Russian Church Slavonic spelling with the letter ψ (š): *vsemogúšago* (1), *óbšeniē* (9).

In C1629, the reflex of the Common Slavic front nasal *ę is, as expected, spelled with the letter *e*: *začety* (3), *propety* (4), *Svetu*, *Svetih* (9). C1753, however, following the Russian Church Slavonic standard retains the “nasal” letter \aleph (ã) (or, after *č*, *a*): *Začata* (3), *raspã'ta* (4), *Svātúû*, *svātyhъ* (9).

In C1629, the reflexes of Common Slavic *i and *y have merged and are both spelled with the letter *i*: *suditi* (7), *Sina* (2), *Svetih* (9), etc. In C1753, on the other hand, the reflexes of *i and *y are kept distinct and spelled with the letters *i* and *y*, respectively: *sudíti* (7), *Sýna* (2), *svātyhъ* (9).

In C1629, the reflex of Common Slavic *ī in strong position is spelled *a*: *danъ* (5), whereas C1753 in the same position uses the letter *e*: *dénъ* (5).

In C1629, the reflexes of Common Slavic syllabic *r̥ and *l̥ and the reflexes of the sequences *r̥b/rb and *l̥b/lb both are spelled with the vowel letter before the liquid: *martav* (4), *Pulti* (11). In C1753, the two are kept distinct, with the vowel preceding the liquid in the first case and following it in the second case: *ūmerša* (4), *Plóti* (11).

In C1629, the preposition *vъ is written *u* (*u Boga* [1], *u Isukarsta* [2], *u Duha* [8]), whereas C1753 shows the spelling *vъ* (*vъ Bóga*, *vъ Dúha*) or *vo* (*vo Iisusa*, *vo adъ* [5]). Similarly, in C1629, the verbal prefix *vъz- is written *uz-* or *us-* (*uskarsnu* [5], *Uzīide* [6], *uskrešenē* [11]), whereas C1753 spells this prefix *voz-/vos-* (*voskressago*, *Vozšédšago*, *voskreseniē*).

Additional differences include the presence of metathesis of word-initial *vs in C1629 *svemogučega* (1) and *svemoguega* (6), whereas C1753 exhibits the original sequence: *vsemogúšago* (1, 6).

When it comes to the spelling of certain endings, C1629 shows the ending *-mъ* in the 1 sg present tense (*Věruēmъ* [1], *Věruetъ* [8]), while C1753 at the corresponding places shows the ending *-u* (*Vě'ruû*, *Vě'ruû*). In the genitive singular, C1629 shows the ending *-ě* (*zemlě* [1]) and C1753 the ending *-i* (*zemli*). The gen./acc. masculine adjectival ending is *-oga/-ega* in C1629 (*svemoguega* [6], *svetoga* [8]), and *-ago* in C1753 (*vsemogúšago*, *svātágo*).

	ՌԿԵՄՈՍՈՒՑՆԵՆ.	ՄՅԵՄՈՍՈՒՑՆԵՆԻ.	ՄՅԵՄՈՍՈՒՑՆԵՆԻ.
6	ՄԹՈՑՈՒՆՅ ԲԻ ԲՅԵՅՉՈՒԿ, ճՅՈՒՑ ԲԻ ՈՆՅՈՒՄ ԸՅՅԿՈՒ ՁՄԿՈՒ ՍՈՑՈՄՅԿՆՄՅՅՈՒՆ.	ՍԹՈՑՈՒՆՅ ԲԻ ԲՅԵՅՉՈՒԿ, ճՅՈՒՑՍՈՒ Յ ՈՆՅՈՒՄՅՈՒ ԸՅՅԿՈՒ ՁՄՄԿՈՒ ՍՈՑՈՄՅԿՆՄՅՅՈՒՆ.	ՍՄՅԹՈՍՅՈՒՄՅԻԿՅԻ ԲԻ ԲՅԵՅՉՈՒԿ, ճԵՒՆԵՄԿՅԻ Յ ՈՆՅՈՒՄՅՈՒ ԸՅՅԿՈՒ ՁՄՄԿՈՒ ՍՈՑՈՄՅԿՆՄՅՅՈՒՆ.
7	ՁՆՍՈՄՅՈՒՆ ԶՄԿ ՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ճՅՅՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ, Զ ՄՅԵՄՈՍՈՒՑ.	ՁՆՍ ՍՈՄՅՈՒՑ ՈՒՑՍՈՒՑՍՈՒ ճՅՅՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ, Զ ՄՅԵՄՈՍՈՒՑ.	ՁՍՈՒ ՍՈՒՑՈՒՑ ՈՒՑ ՅԵՒՆԵՄՄԿՅԻ ճՅՅՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ՈՒՑՍՈՒՑՄԻ, Զ ՄՅԵՄՈՍՈՒՑՄԻ.
8	ՍՍՃՆՅՅՅ Մ ՍԵՅԿՈՒ ԸՍՍՅՈՒՄՅԿՈՒ.	ՍՍՅՆՅՈՒ ՍՈՒ ՍԵՅԿՈՒ ԸՍՍՅՈՒՄՅԿՅ.	ՍՍԵՅՅՈՒ ՍՈՒ ՍԵՅԿՈՒ ԸՍՍՅՈՒՄՅԿՅ.
9	ԸՍՍՅՈՒՄՅ ՎԵՅՄՈՄ ՚ԿՆՍՅՈՒՄՅՅԿՈՒՑՅԿ: ԸՍՍՅՈՒՑՆԻ ՁՄՄՃՅՄ.	ԸՍՍՅ ՎՅԵՄՍՍ ՚ԿՆՍՅՈՒՄՅՅԿՈՒՑՅԿ, ԸՍՍՅՈՒՑՆԻ ՁՄՄՃՅՄ.	ԸՍՍՅՍՅՅՈՒՄՅՈՒ ՎՅԵՄՍՍՈՒ ՚ԿՆՍՅՈՒՄՅՅԿՅՅՅՅՈՒՑՅԿ, ԸՍՍՅՍՅՅՈՒՑՆԻ ՁՄՄՃՅՄ.
10	ՁՆՍՈՒՄՅՄՅՅՅՅՅ ՅԵՅՅՅՅՍՍ.	ՁՍՍՈՒՄՅՄՅՅՅՅՅ ՅԵՅՅՅՅՍՍ.	ՁՍՍՈՒՄՅՈՒՄՅՅՅՅՅ ՅԵՒԵՅՅՍՍ.
11	ԸՄՅՈՒՍՅ ՍՍՃՅՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.	ԸՄՅՈՒՍՅ ՍՍՅՃՅՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.	ԸՄՅՈՒՍՅ ՍՍՅՃՅՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.
12	ՍՍՅՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ՍՍՅՅՄ.	ՍՍՅՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ՍՍՅՅՄՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.	ՍՍՅՈՒՑՍՈՒՑ ՍՍՅՅՄՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.
13	ՈՒՄՅՅ.	ՈՒՄՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.	ՈՒՄՅՅՅՅՅՅՅ.

Table 2a. Three Glagolitic-script Slavic texts of the Apostles' Creed

	G1628 (pp. [7]–[9])	G1629 (pp. [12]–[13])	G1753 (pp. 36, 38)
1	Viruem u Boga Otca vsemogučega, Stjoritelê neba, i zemlé.	Veruú vь Boga Otca vsemogučago, tvorca neba i zemlé.	Vêruú vь Bóga Otca vsemogučago, tvorca nébu, i zemli.
2	I u Isukarsta Sina nêgova edinoga Gospodina našega.	I va Isusa Hrista sina ego edinago Gospoda našego.	I vo Iisúsa Hrijstà, Sina egò edinago, Góspoda nášego.
3	Koi začet est ot Duha svetoga, rojen ot Marie Dive.	Iže začety estь ot Duha sveta, roen iz Marie Devi.	Začáta ot Duha svêta, roždéna izь Mariê Dê´vi.
4	Mučen pod Ponciem Pilatom, propet, martav, i pogreben bi.	Mučen pod Pontsciem Pilatomь, raspet, mertav, i pogrebenny.	Stradávsa pri Pontístěmь Pílátě, raspé´ta umérša, i pogrebéna.
5	Snide nad pakal, treti dan uskarsnu ot martvih.	Snide vь ad, treti danь voskresе ot mertvihь.	Sošédšago vo ádv: vь trétij deň voskrésšago ot mertvihь.
6	Uzide na nebesa, sidi	Vzijde na nebesa,	Vozšédšago na nebesà,

	na desnu Boga Oca vsemogučega.	seditъ o desnuû Boga otca vsemogučago.	sêdê´čago ô desnúû Boga Otca vsemogučagô.
7	Odtuda ima priti suditi žive, i martve.	Od tudu pridet suditi živie, i mertvie.	Отъ туду же грêdúčago sudíti živímь, i mértvímь.
8	Viruem u Duha svetoga.	Veruû vъ Duha svetago.	Vêruû vъ Dúha Svêtago.
9	Svetu Crikvu Katoličasku: Svetih Opčinu.	Sťu Cerkav Katoličasku, Svetihъ opščinu.	Svêtuú Cêrkov´ь Kaťoličeskuú, Svêtihъ ôbčênje.
10	Odpušćenje grihov.	Otpušćenje grehovъ.	Ostavlênje grêhóvъ.
11	Pulti uskresenje.	Pulti voskresenie.	Ploti voskresenje.
12	Život večni.	I život večniъ.	Žízniъ věčnuú.
13	Amen.	Амень.	Amíniъ.

Table 2b. Three Glagolitic-script Slavic texts of the Apostles' Creed (transliterated)

As illustrated in Tables 2a and 2b, the seventeenth-century titles (G1628 and G1629) use fewer different letters (or at least fewer letter variants) than G1753. For example, G1628 and G1629 both have only one *i* letter and one *o* letter, whereas G1753 offers at least four different *i* letters (*i*, *ï*, *ĩ*, *î*), and two letters for *o* (*o*, *ô*). In addition, G1753 presents a systematic use of accent marks, where the only accent mark attested in the G1628 and G1629 text excerpts appears in the word *zemlé* (1). However, this difference in the number of letters and letter variants is partially compensated for by the use of ligatures: in the short text excerpt, G1628 includes as many as seven different ligatures (*go*, *pa*, *po*, *pr*, *to*, *tr*, *tv*), G1629 includes five ligatures (*go*, *mo*, *tv*, *tvo*, *za*), where the G1753 text has no ligatures at all. However, in both G1628 and G1753 the digraph *ot* is represented (G1629 *ot Duha*, *ot Marie Dive* [3], *ot martvih* [5]; G1753 *ot Duha* [3], *ot mértvihъ* [5]).

When it comes to orthography, the text excerpts show a clear opposition between G1628 and G1753. Where the former appears to represent Central South Slavonic morphology and pronunciation, the latter seems to present a Glagolitic "mirror" of the Cyrillic Russian Church Slavonic orthography of the parallel Cyrillic pages (C1753, cf. above). The 1629 *Azbukividnêk* (G1629), at least as far as the short excerpt indicates, seems to occupy a compromise position between G1628 and G1753. The G1629 text exhibits several typical East Slavic spellings such as, for example, *Veruû* (1), *edinago* (2), *našego* (2), but there are also several spellings that

connect G1629 with the more South Slavic G1628, see, for example, *zemlé* (1), *začety* (3), *danь* (5), *Pulti* (11).¹¹

In all three sources, the reflex of Common Slavic *tj is spelled with the letter *č*: G1628 *vsemogučega* (1, 6), G1629 *vsemogučago* (1), *vsemogučago* (6); G1753 *vsemogučago* (1), *vsemogučagō* (6); G1628 *Opčinu* (9), G1753 *ōbčēnię*. However, in the latter word G1629 shows a spelling with *šč* (*opščinu*).

In G1628, the reflex of Common Slavic *dj is spelled with the letter *j*: G1628 *rojen*, whereas G1753 shows the Russian Church Slavonic spelling *žd*: *roždēna* (3).

In G1628 and G1629, the reflex of the Common Slavic front nasal *ǰ is spelled with the letter *e*: G1628/G1629 *začet/záčety*, *svetoga/sveta* (3), *Svetih/Svetihь* (9), whereas G1753 exhibits spellings with *a* or *ê*: *Začāta*, *svēta* (3), *raspê ta* (4), *Svêtúû*, *Svêtihь* (9).

In G1628 and G1629, the reflexes of *i and *y have merged and are both spelled with the letter *i*: *suditi* (7) etc., vs. *Sina/sina* (2), *Svetih/Svetihь* (9). In G1753, on the other hand, the reflexes of Common Slavic *i and *y are kept distinct: *suditi* (7) etc., vs. *Sīna* (2), *Svêtihь* (9).

In G1628 and G1629, the reflex of Common Slavic *ī in strong position is spelled *a*: *dan/danь* (5), whereas G1753 has *e*: *deñь*.

In G1628 and G1629, the reflexes of syllabic *r̥ and *l̥ and the reflexes of the sequences *rь/rь and *lь/lь, respectively, have both merged: *martav/mertav* (4) vs. *Pulti* (11). In G1753, though, they are kept distinct, with the vowel preceding the liquid in the first case and following it in the second case: *umérša* (4) vs. *Ploti* (11).

The reflex of Common Slavic *ě (*jat'*) shows a three-way distinction: G1628 generally uses *i*: *Viruem* (1, 8), *Dive* (3), *grihov* (10), but *večni* (12); G1629 uses *e*: *Veruû* (1, 8), *grehovь* (10), *večniъь* (12); finally, G1753 uses *ê*: *Vêruû* (1, 8), *Dê ví* (3), *grêhóvь* (10), *vêčnuû* (12).

¹¹ Cf. König (2003: 3), who notes that the 1629 *Azbukividnêk* (G1629) shows an increased number of “Kirchenslavismen” compared with the 1628 *Nauk karstjanski kratak* (G1628). Babič (1999), concentrating on Levaković’s two editions G1631 and G1648, analyses the development of the orthographic “eastslavicisation” in Croatian printed books during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a few examples also from G1688, G1706, G1741, and G1791bc.

In G1628, the preposition *въ is written *u* (*u Boga* [1], *u Isukarsta* [2], *u Duha* [8]), where G1629 and G1753 show the spellings *vb*, *va*, or *vo* (G1629 *vb Boga*, *va Isusa*, *vb Duha*, *vb ad* [5]; G1753 *vb Bóga*, *vo Iisúsa*, *vb Dúha*, *vo ádb*). Similarly, in G1628, the verbal prefix *въз- is written *uz-* or *us-* (*uskarsnu* [5], *Uzide* [6], *uskrešenje* [11]), whereas G1629 and G1753 spell this prefix *voz-*, *vos-*, or *vz-* (G1629 *voskrese*, *Vzijde*, *voskresenie*; G1753 *voskrésšago*, *Vozšédšago*, *voskresénje*).

Word-initial *vs is preserved (i.e., has not undergone metathesis, cf. above) in all three texts: G1628 *vsemogučega* (1, 6); G1629 *vsemogučago* (1, 6); G1753 *vsemogučago* (1), *vsemogučagō* (6).

In the 1 sg present tense forms, G1628 has the ending *-m* (*Viruem* [1], [8]), whereas G1629 and G1753 in both places have the ending *-û* (G1629 *Veruû*, G1753 *Vêruû*). The genitive singular nominal ending is in both G1628 and G1629 *-e* (*zemlé* [1]), while G1753 has the ending *-i* (*zemli*). In the gen./acc. masculine adjectival ending, G1628 has *-oga/-ega* (*vsemogučega* [1, 6], *edinoga* [2], *svetoga* [8]), whereas both G1629 and G1753 consistently show the ending *-ago* (G1629 *vsemogučago* [1, 6], *edinago*, *svetago*; G1753 *vsemogučago* [1], *vsemogučagō* [6], *edinago*, *Svétágo*).

2.3. Latin-script versions of the Slavic text of the Apostles' Creed

The Latin-script versions of the Apostles' Creed are quoted from three works by Robert Bellarmine: *Nauk karstjanski kratak* (L1633), *Istvmacenyne symbola apostolskoga* (L1662), and the 1708 edition of the *Istvmacenge obilnie Navka Karstyanskoga* (L1708), see Table 3.

	L1633 (p. 19)	L1662 (pp. 7–113) ¹²	L1708 (pp. 10–11)
1	Vierruyem ù Bogga Oça sfemogúchiega, f̄tvoritteglia od neba, ï od zemgliā.	Virruyu / V Boga / V Otčza / Svemoguchiega / Stuuriteglia Nebba, i Zemglie.	Viruyu ù Boga Otca fuemoguchega, ftuoritelya nebba i zemgle.
2	I ù Ifukarf̄ta Sijna gnogova yedijnoga,	V Iffufa Karf̄ta Sina gnegova yedinoga	I' ù Ifukarf̄ta fina gnegona [sic] gedino-

¹² In L1662, the different parts of the Apostles' Creed are quoted from the headings on pp. 7, 10, 14, 16, 19, 26 (V Iffufa Karf̄ta Sina gnegova yedinoga Gofpodina nafcega), 27 (V Iffufa), 30 (V Karf̄ta), 32 (Sina gnegova yedinoga), 35 (Gofpodina nafcega), 36 (Ki bi začet od Duha Sveta, royen od Marie Dive), 42 (Rodyen od Marie Dive), 47, 57, 65, 73, 82, 93, 100, 109, 113.

	Gospodinna nafcega.	Gospodina nafcega. [V Iffufa / V Karfta / Sina gnegova yedinoga / Gospodina nafcega]	ga Gospodina naffe-ga.
3	Koyi bij zaccet pò Duhusfétomu, poroyhèn od Dieviççæ Mariæ.	Ki bi zaçet od Duha Sveta, royen od Marie Dive. [Rodyen od Marie Dive]	Koi bi zaçet od Duha fuetoga, i rodgen od Marie diue.
4	Muccen pod Ponçi-om Pilatom, prop-pet, vmro, i po-koppän.	Muçen pod Pontion Pilatom, propet, martav, i pogreben.	Muçen pod Pontiem Pilatom, propet, martau, i pokoppän.
5	Siide nad pakao . trecchi dan vskarfnù od martvìeh.	Sayde nad Pakal, illiti na dolgna mifta, trechi dan uskarfnu od martvih.	Sayde nad pakal, treti dā vskarfnu od martuih.
6	Vzijde nà nebefa ; fìedij ob defnu Bogga Oça sfemogú-chiega.	Vzayde na Nebeffa, fidi na Defnu Boga Otcza fuemoguchiega.	Vzayde na Nebesa, fidi na desnu Boga Otca fuemoguchega.
7	Od tuda imma dóycchi súditi xíve, i martvè.	Od kuda yema priti fuditi xive, i martve.	Od tuda imma priti fuditi xiuih i martuih.
8	Viérruyem ù Dúhas-fétoga.	Virruyù ù Duha Svetoga.	Viruyù ù Duha fueto-ga.
9	Sfétu çærquv Katolicansku ; od Sfétieh Opçchinu.	Svetu Criquu Katoliçansku, Svetih opchinu.	Suetu Criquu Katoliçasku ; Suetih opchinu.
10	Odpufçtenye od grieha.	Odpufchienye grihov.	Odpufchenge grihou.
11	Vskarfnùtye od putti.	Putti uskrifçenye.	Putti vskarfenge.
12	Xivòt viecni.	Xivot viççgni.	Xiuot viççgni.
13	Amen.		Amen

Table 3. Three Latin-script Slavic texts of the Apostles' Creed

As the excerpts in table 3 show, the Latin-script texts of the Apostles' Creed include several letter variants that have no immediate correspondence in the Propaganda Fide Cyrillic and Glagolitic orthography. All three Latin-script texts distinguish between the two “s-letters” *s* and *f*, and between the “c-letters” *c* and *ç*. In addition, L1633 makes a distinction between non-italic “v” and italic “v” (see, for example, “Dieviç-

çæ” [3] with non-italic “v”, and “gnogova” [2], with italic “v”).¹³ L1633 also uses the letter æ in certain words (*zemgliæ* [1], *Dieviççæ* [3], *çærqvυ* [9]). All three texts employ a considerable number of digraphs (L1633 *ch, gl, gn, nγ, fc*; L1662 *ch, çz, gl, gn, nγ*; L1708 *ch, dg, gl, gn, ng*)¹⁴ and ligatures (L1633 *ct, fi, ft*; L1662 *ft*; L1708 *ft*).

In both L1633 and L1708, the preposition *vъ is written ù (L1633 ù *Bogga Oça* [1], ù *Ifukarf̄ta* [2], ù *Dúhasfétoga* [8]; L1708 ù *Boga Otca* [1], ù *Ifukarf̄ta* [2], ù *Duha fuetoga* [8]). In L1662 the same preposition is written either V (*V Boga / V Otçza, V Ifuſa Karf̄ta*) or, similarly to L1633 and L1708, ù (*ù Duha Svetoga*). In L1633 and L1708, the verbal prefix *vъz- is written either with the majuscule V or with the minuscule v (L1633 *vskarfnù* [5], *Vzijde* [6], *Vskarfnùtye* [11]; L1708 *vskarfnu, Vzayde, vskarfenge*), whereas L1662 shows spellings with either the majuscule V (*Vz-*) or the minuscule u (*us-*) (*uskarfnu, Vzayde, uskriſcenyē*). However, the analysis of these examples is complicated by the fact that historically u and v were considered variants of the same letter (cf. Marti 2012: 298). Spelling systems that use both the majuscule V and the minuscule u to express the vowel sound [u] are attested in other works also printed by the Propaganda Fide, such as, for example, L1638a and L1662 (cf. Maretić 1889: 93, 117). Thus, a comprehensive analysis of the development of the spelling of the preposition *vъ and the prefix *vъz- in the Latin-script titles of the Propaganda Fide needs to be based on a much broader material than what is possible here.

In all three texts, the reflex of Common Slavic *tj is spelled with *ch(i)*: L1633 *sfemogúchiega*, L1662 *Svemoguchiega*, L1708 *fuemoguchega* (1); L1633 *Opcchinu*, L1662 *opchinu*, L1708 *opchinu* (9). In L1633 and L1662 the reflex of Common Slavic *dj is spelled *yh* or *γ*: L1633 *poroyhèn*, L1662 *royen* (3), whereas L1708 possibly reflects a pronunciation with a soft [d’]: *rodgen* (3).¹⁵

¹³ Cf. Marti (2012: 290, 308) on the orthography employed by Rajmund Džamanjić in his *Nauk za Pisati dobro* (1639), with its use of italic and non-italic variants of letters as different characters.

¹⁴ Cf. Marti (2012: 279), who considers the consistent use the digraphs *gl* and *gn* in a fourteenth-century Croatian manuscript to be “most likely influenced by the Italian tradition”.

¹⁵ Examples of *dg-* with a similar function can be found for example in Ivan Tomko Mrnavić’s *Osmanschica*, printed in Rome in 1631, cf. Maretić (1889: 88).

In all three texts, the reflex of the front nasal *ę is spelled *e*: L1633 *zaccet, sfétomu* (3), *Sfétu, Sfétieh* (9), L1662 *zaçet, Sveta* (3), *Svetu, Svetih* (9), L1708 *zaçet, fuetoga* (3), *Suetu, Suetih* (9).

In all three texts, the reflexes of *i and *y have merged and are both spelled with the letter *i*: L1633 *súđiti* (7) etc. vs. *Sijna* (2); L1662 *fusiti* [sic] (7) etc. vs. *Sina* (2); L1708 *fuditi* (7) etc. vs. *řina* (2).

In all three texts, the reflex of Common Slavic *ř in strong position is spelled *a*: *dan/dan/dā* (5).

In all three texts, the reflex of *ІѢ is spelled *u*: *putti/Putti/Putti* (11).

In L1633, the reflex of Common Slavic *ě (*jat'*) is spelled *ie*: *Vierruyem/Vierruyem* (1, 8), *Dieviççæ* (3), *grieha* (10), *viecni* (12). However, both L1662 and L1708 show spellings with *i* in these words: L1662 *Virruyu* (1, 8), *grihov* (10), *viççni* (12); L1708 *Viruyu* (1, 8), *grihou* (10), *viççni* (12).

The palatalized consonant *l'* is spelled with the letters *gl(i)* or *ly*: L1633 *řivoritiegliā* (1), *zemgliā* (2); L1662 *Stuoritegliā* (1), *Zemgliē* (2); L1708 *řtuoritelyā* (1), *zemgle* (2).

The palatalized consonant *n'* is spelled with the digraphs *gn, ng, nř*: L1633 *gnogova* (2), *Ođpuřçtenye* (10); L1662 *gnegova* (2), *Ođpuřçhienye* (10); L1708 *gnegona* (2), *Ođpuřçhenge* (10).

L1633 shows the reflex *o* of final *l in *vmro* (4) and *pakao* (5), whereas both L1662 and L1708 show spellings with final *l*: L1662 *Pakal*, L1708 *pakal*.

In L1633, the consonant *č* is spelled with the digraph *cc* or with a single *c* (see L1663 *zaccet* [3], *Muccen* [4], *viecni* [12]). Both L1662 and L1708 use the letter *ç* in these words (L1662 *zaçet, Muçen, viççni*; L1708 *zaçet, Muçen, viççni*). Conversely, for the consonant sequence [ts] L1633 has *ç* (*Oçā* [1], *çærqvū* [9]), L1662 both *ç* and *c* (*Oçça, Criquū*), and L1708 *c* (*Oçca, Criquū*). As for the consonant *š*, L1633 and L1662 both use the digraph *řc* (L1633 *nāřcega* [2], L1662 *nāřcega*), whereas L1708 has *řř* (*nāřřega*).

In words beginning with the sequence *vs-, all three texts show metathesis: L1633 *řfemogúchiega* (1), *řfemogúchiega* (6); L1662 *Svemoguchiega, řuemoguchiega*; L1708 *řuemoguchega, řuemoguchega*.

In the 1 sg present tense forms, L1633 has the ending *-em* (L1633 *Vierruyem* [1], *Vierruyem* [8]), where both L1662 and L1708 have the ending *-u* (L1662 *Virruyu*, L1708 *Viruyu*). The genitive singular nominal ending in

all three texts is *-e (-æ)*: L1633 *zemgliaē* (2), L1662 *Zemglie*, L1708 *zemgle*. Similarly, in the gen./acc. masculine adjectival ending all three texts have *-oga/-ega*: L1633 *yedijnoga, nafcega* (2); L1662 *yedinoga, nafcega*; L1708 *gedinoga, naffega*.

As we can see, all three Latin-script texts are firmly Central South Slavonic (Croatian) and it does not seem possible to discern any clear chronological development between them, with the possible exception of the ending *-u* in the 1 sg present tense in L1662 and L1708. When it comes to the spelling of *ě*, *č*, and *c*, the early L1633 is opposed to the later L1662 and L1708. However, the spelling of *š* and *n'* unites L1633 and L1662 against L1708 (see table 4).

	L1633	L1662	L1708
ě	ie	i	i
č	c	ç	ç
c	ç	ç, c	c
š	fc	fc	ff
n'	gn, ny	gn, ny	gn, ng
1sg pres.	-em	-u	-u

Table 4. Spellings of certain sounds in L1633, L1662, and L1708

If we compare this with the four orthographic groups identified by Marti (2012: 283), based on the spelling of consonants, our three texts seem to fit best within the Dalmatian (Čakavian) group, but there are also traits connecting them with the Kajkavian group. As for the spelling of **ě*, the ikavian reflexes in L1662 and L1708 connect them with Dalmatia and other ikavian areas, whereas the L1633 spellings with *ie* indicates a possible connection with Dubrovnik and other jekavian areas.

10	ВѢДЦЕНІЕ ГРѢХОВЪ.	ԿԵՐԿՄԱԿՔԵՐՈՅ ԿԵՃԿՅՈՍ.	Odpufctenye od grieha.
11	ПСАТИ ДСКРЕШЕНІЕ.	ԲՅՈՒԹՈՅ ԶԿԿԵՅԱՔԵՐՈՅ.	Vskarfnŭtŭye od putti.
12	Животъ вѣчный.	ՄԻՋՈՅՈՍ ՍՈՅՔԻՅ.	Xivòt viečni.
13	Амень.	ԻՄՆԵՐ.	Amen.

Table 5a. The text of the Apostles' Creed in C1629, G1628 and L1633

	C1629 (pp. 7–8)	G1628 (pp. [7]–[9])	L1633 (p. 19)
1	Věruěmŭ u Boga Ųtca svemogučega, Stvoritelâ Neba, i zemlě.	Viruem u Boga Otca vsemogučega, Stvoritelē neba, i zemlě.	Vierruyem ù Bogga Oça sfemogúchiega, ftvoritteglia od neba, i od zemgliaē.
2	Ī u Isukarsta Sina nĕgōva ědinoga GnA našega.	I u Isukarsta Sina nĕgova edinoga Gospo- dina našega.	I ù Ifukarfta Sijna gnogova yedijnoga, Goġpodinna nafcega.
3	Koi začetŭ ěstŭ Ųt duha Svetoga, rōĕnŭ Ųt Marie Dĕve.	Koi začet est Ųt Duha svetoga, roġen ot Marie Dive.	Koyi bij zaccet pò Du- husfĕtomu, poroyhĕn od Dievičçæ Mariaē.
4	Mučĕnŭ pod Pōn- ciem Pilatomŭ, propetŭ, martav, i pogrebenŭ bŭi.	Mučĕn pod Ponciem Pilatom, propet, martav, i pogreben bi.	Muccen pod Ponçiom Pilatom, proppet, vmro, i pokoppān.
5	Snĭde nad pakalŭ, tretĭj danŭ us- karsnu Ųt martvihŭ.	Snide nad pakal, tretĭ dan uskarsnu ot mart- vih.	Siide nad pakao . trecchi dan vskarfnŭ od martvieh.
6	Uzĭde na nebesa, sĕdi na desnu Bōga Ųtca svemoguega.	Uzide na nebesa, sidi na desnu Boga Oca vsemo- gučega.	Vzijde nà nebefa ; fĭedij ob defnu Bogga Oça sfemogúchiega.
7	Ųd tuda ima priti suditi žive, i mart- ve.	Odtuda ima priti suditi žive, i martve.	Od tuda imma dōycchi sŭditi xive, i martve.
8	Věruemŭ u Duha svetoga.	Viruem u Duha svetoga.	Vierruyem ù Dúhas- fĕtoga.
9	Svetu Crikvu katoličasku: Svetih Općinu.	Svetu Crikvu Katoličas- ku: Svetih Općinu.	Sfĕtu çærqvū Katoli- cansku ; od Sfĕtieh Općinu.
10	Ųtprušenĕ grĕhōvŭ.	Odpuščenĭe grihov.	Odpufctenye od grieha.
11	Pulti uskřešenĕ.	Pulti uskřešenĭe.	Vskarfnŭtŭye od putti.
12	Životŭ věčnij.	Život večni.	Xivòt viečni.
13	Амень.	Amen.	Amen.

Table 5b. The text of the Apostles' Creed in C1629, G1628 and L1633 (transliterated)

As the tables show, the three editions present a remarkably similar text, even if, as we know, C1629 and G1628 were translated by Aleksandar Komulović, while L1633 was translated by Bartol Kašić (cf. Burić 1973: 836).¹⁶

However, even if all three texts show the presence of some typical Central South Slavonic linguistic features, there is a clear difference between on the one hand the ekavian or jekavian C1629 and L1633 (*Věruěť / Vierruyet* (1), *Věruеть / Viérruyet* (6), *Děve / Dievičæ* (3), *grě-hôv / grieha* (10)), and on the other hand the ikavian G1628 (*Viruem* (1, 8), *Dive* (3), *grihov* (10)).¹⁷ In L1633 there is also a reflex of the late -l > -o sound change (*pakaο* [5]). Finally, both C1629 and L1633 show metathesis of word-initial *vs- (C1629/L1633 *svemogučęga/sfemogúchiega* (1)), whereas G1628 preserves the original sequence (*vsemogučęga*).

3.2. Tables 6a and 6b show the text of the Apostles' Creed in the Glagolitic and Cyrillic biscriptal *Bukvar* by Matej Karaman (second edition, 1753: G1753, C1753).

	G1753 (pp. 36, 38)	C1753 (pp. 37, 39)
1	ВѢРОВАЮ ПОНЕ ДУХА СВѢТАГО И ОЦА ВСЕМОГЩЕГО ТВОРИТЕЛЯ НЕБА И ЗЕМЛИ.	ВѢРЮЮ ВЪ БОГА ОЦА ВСЕМОЩНАГО ТВОРИЦА НЕБЪ И ЗЕМЛИ.
2	И ПОНЕ ВЪСХОДИ СЪ НЕБА И СЪЗДАНА БЫ ОУ СЪ ОЦА И ДУХА СВѢТАГО ИЗЪ МАРИИ ДѢВЫ.	И ВО ИСКУСА ХРИСТА, СЫНА БОГА СОДѢНАГО, ГОСПОДА НАШЕГО.
3	СЪСЪЗДАНА БЫ ОУ СЪ ОЦА И ДУХА СВѢТАГО ИЗЪ МАРИИ ДѢВЫ.	ЗАЧАТА ѿ ДѢХА СВѢТА, РОЖДЕНА ИЗЪ МАРИА ДѢВЫ.
4	СЪСЪЗДАНА БЫ ОУ СЪ ОЦА И ДУХА СВѢТАГО ИЗЪ МАРИИ ДѢВЫ.	СТРАДАВША ПРИ ПОНТИЙСТВЪ ПЛАТѢ, РАСПЛАТА, ОУМЕРША И ПОГРЕБЕНА.
5	СЪСЪЗДАНА БЫ ОУ СЪ ОЦА И ДУХА СВѢТАГО ИЗЪ МАРИИ ДѢВЫ.	СОШЕДШАГО ВО АДЪ ВЪ ТРЕТЪИ ДЕНЬ

¹⁶ Textual differences concern lexicon and word formation (C1629/G1628 *Děve/Dive* vs. L1633 *Dievičæ* (3), C1629/G1628 *progrebenъ bŕi/progreben bi* vs. L1633 *pokoppān* (4), etc.), the choice of prepositions (C1629/G1628 *ot duha Svetoga/ot Duha svetoga* vs. L1633 *pò Duhusfétomu* (3), C1629/G1628 *na desnu/na desnu* vs. L1633 *ob defnu* (6)), as well as the use of the genitive with or without a preposition (C1629/G1628 *Stvoritelâ Neba, i zemlě/Stvoritelê neba, i zemlě* vs. L1633 *ŕivoritteglia od neba, i od zemglie* (1), C1629/G1628 *Pulti uskřešenje/Pulti uskřešenje* vs. L1633 *Vskarfnŕiute od putti* (11)).

¹⁷ Note, however, the presence of the jekavian reflex of *jat'* in L1633 *viečni*.

	воскресшаго ѿ мѣртвыхъ.
6	Возше́дшаго на небеса́, сѣдѣ́щаго ѿдесну́ю Бѣга Отца́ всемогúщаго.
7	Ѫтѣ́дъ же градúщаго сѣдѣ́ти живы́мъ, и мѣртвы́мъ.
8	Вѣ́рдио въ Дѣ́ха свѣта́го.
9	Свѣта́го Церковь Ка̀толи́ческю́ю, свѣта́хъ ѡбще́нїе.
10	Ѫставле́нїе грѣхѡвъ.
11	Плѡти́ воскресе́нїе.
12	Жи́знь вѣ́чнүю.
13	Ами́нь.

Table 6a. The text of the Apostles' Creed in G1753 and C1753

	G1753 (pp. 36, 38)	C1753 (pp. 37, 39)
1	Vĕruú vь Bóga Otca vsemogúča- go, tvorcà nébu, i zemli.	Vě' ruú vь Bóga Otca vsemo- gúšago Tvorcà nebu i zemli.
2	I vo Iisúsa Hrištà, Sina egò edínago, Góspoda nášego.	Ī vo Iisusa Hrišta, Sýna Ęgò` Ędínago, Góspoda nášego.
3	Začata <u>ot</u> Duha svĕta, roždĕna izь Mariĕ Dĕ' vĭ.	Začata <u>ot</u> Dúha svĕta, roždĕna izь Mariā Dĕ' vy.
4	Stradávša pri Pontústĕmь Pilátĕ, raspĕ' ta umĕrša, i pogrebĕna.	Stradávša pri Pontústĕmь Pilátĕ, raspā' ta, umĕrša i pogrebĕna.
5	Sošĕdšago vo adь: vь trĕtĭj denь voskresšago <u>ot</u> mértviň.	Sošĕdšago vo adь vь trĕtĭj denь voskresšago <u>ot</u> mértvyň.
6	Vozšĕdšago na nebesà, sĕdĕ' čago o desnúu Boga Otca vsemogučagò.	Vozšĕdšago na nebesà, sĕdā' šago òdesnúò Bóga Otca vsemogúšago.
7	Oť túdu že grĕdúčago sudĭti živímь, i mértvímь.	Ŗttúdu že grādúšago sudĭti živýmь, i mĕrtvímь.
8	Vĕruú vь Dúha Svĕtágo.	Vě' ruú vь Dúha svĕtágo.
9	Svĕtúú Cĕrkov' ь Kàtoľičeskuú, Svĕtíň občĕnĕ.	Svātúú Cerkovь Kàtoľičeskuú, svĕtyň obšĕnĕ.
10	Ostavlĕnĕ grĕhónvь.	Ŗstavlenĕ grĕhó' vь.
11	Ploti voskresĕnĕ.	Plóti voskresĕnĕ.
12	Žízň vĕčnuú.	Žízň vĕ' čnuú.
13	Amíň.	Amíň.

Table 6b. The text of the Apostles' Creed in G1753 and C1753 (transliterated)

Similarly as with the parallel editions of Bellarmine's *Nauk karstjanski kratak* that were discussed above, the Glagolitic and Cyrillic texts are remarkably similar when it comes to lexicon, word formation, syntax, morphology, and orthography: both versions show a number of typical East Slavic Church Slavonic features. However, as East Slavic Church Slavonic texts of this type were normally printed with Cyrillic letters, it can be assumed that the Glagolitic orthography here is secondary in relation to the orthography of the Cyrillic text. As we have seen (cf. above, section 2.2), the Glagolitic orthography in G1753 also differs considerably from the earlier Glagolitic texts, for example, by the absence of ligatures, the presence of variant letters and accent marks.¹⁸

4. Conclusions

The results of the analysis of some orthographical peculiarities in a small sample of Slavic texts printed by the Propaganda Fide in Rome during the seventeenth and eighteenth century show that the Cyrillic, Glagolitic, and Latin-script developments share certain similarities, but that the tendencies are more or less pronounced. In both the Cyrillic and Glagolitic texts we can observe a clear chronological development from orthographies reflecting Central South Slavonic linguistic features to orthographies that show influence of East Slavic orthographic models. In the Latin-script texts, on the other hand, the orthography seems to be more stable, even if certain East Slavic Church Slavonic traits can be observed, albeit in a very limited way.

The discussion indicates the necessity of complementing extant “intra-script” studies (such as, for example, Babič 1999, König 2003, and Trunte 2009 on Glagolitic, and Marti 2012 on the development of Latin-script orthography) with comparative “inter-script” studies of orthographical developments within all three script contexts of early Slavonic printing. The titles published by the Propaganda Fide present a unique material

¹⁸ Cf. Trunte (2009: 306–308), who discusses the differences between Levaković's 1631 Missal (G1631) and Karaman's 1741 Missal (G1741).

for such inter-script studies, and it is my hope that it will be used for both this and other types of studies even more actively in the future.

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Appendix 1: Editions of Slavonic books published by the Propaganda Fide during the period 1627–1791

A. Cyrillic-script editions¹⁹

- G1629** — Robert Bellarmine: НАУК КАРСТІАНСКИИ КРАТАКЪ... Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 107. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the British Library, see <http://books.google.co.uk/books?vid=BL:A0020264409>.
- G1630** — [Girolamo da Palermo:] ИСПОВѢДАВНИКЪ | СЪБРАНЪ | ИЗ ПРАВОСЛАВНѢХ НАДЧИТЕЛЪ | по П. Ѡ. МеццрѢ ИеронимѢ ПанормитанѢ | [...] Принесен оу ѣзик Босански | [...], Rome 1630. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 109; Henkel 1971: 347; Burić 1973: 839; Kjellberg 1951, no. 27. For a detailed description see Cleminson et al. 2000: 83–85 (no. 82). Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the Bavarian State Library, see http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10597415_00003.html.
- G1648** — PROFESSIO ORTHODOXAE FIDEI AB ORIENTALIBVS Facienda / ИСПОВѢДАНІЕ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЕ ВЕРЫ Ѡ Восточныхъ творимое, Rome, 1648. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 117; Kjellberg 1951, no. 56.
- G1651** — [Filip Stanislavov:] Abagar. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 119. For a detailed description see Rajkov 1979, Ambrosiani 2015, with further references.
- G1661** — Robert Bellarmine: Nauk karstianski kratak [new edition], Rome 1661.²⁰
- G1739** — (the Cyrillic parts of) Matej Karaman: Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny ... B. Ieronima ... / Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny prepodobnago Kyrilla ..., Rome 1739. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 129; Kempgen 2015a, 112–135 (cf. below, **G1739**).
- G1753** — (the Cyrillic parts of) Matej Karaman: Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny ... B. Ieronima ... / Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny prepodobnago Kyrilla ..., [new edition], Rome 1753. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 129; Kempgen 2015a, 112–135 (cf. below, **G1753**). Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at Umeå University Library.

B. Glagolitic-script editions

- G1628** — Robert Bellarmine: Крѣпкѣи Крѣпкѣи Крѣпкѣи [Naukъ karstěnski kratakъ], Rome 1628. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 106. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the Bavarian State Library, see <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn-resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10862379-2>.
- G1629** — Крѣпкѣи Крѣпкѣи Крѣпкѣи [Azbukividnĕk slovinskij], Rome 1629. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 108; Burić 1973: 839; Kjellberg 1951, nr 24; König 2003; Kempgen 2015b, 28–33. Quoted from the facsimile edition König 2003.

¹⁹ König (2003: 7) also mentions a 1636 Cyrillic edition of Juan de Polanco's *Ispravnik za erei ispovidnici* (cf. the Glagolitic version, below [G1635]). Except for in König 2003, I have been unable to find any mention of this title.

²⁰ A copy of this title is preserved at the British Library, see [http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlSearch.do?query=rid,exact,BLL01003115190&indx=1&dym=false&onCampus=false&group=ALL&institution=BL&ct=search&vl\(freeText0\)=BLL01003115190&vid=BLVU1](http://explore.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlSearch.do?query=rid,exact,BLL01003115190&indx=1&dym=false&onCampus=false&group=ALL&institution=BL&ct=search&vl(freeText0)=BLL01003115190&vid=BLVU1).

- G1631** — MISSALE ROMANVM SLAVONICO IDIOMATE ... / **ՋԵՋԵՆԻՏԵ ԵՑՁԵԿՆԻՐ** [Missal rimskij] ... , Rome 1631. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 110; Babič 1999:262ff; Trunte 2009: 304ff.
- G1635** — [Juan de Polanco:] **ԻՍՊՐԱՎՆԻԿ ԴԵ ԵՐԵԻ ԻՍՊՈՎԻԴՆԻԿԻ** ... [Ispravnik za erei ispodivnici], Rome 1635. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 111; Burić 1973: 840; Kjellberg 1951, no. 31. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the Bavarian State Library, see http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10862010_00005.html.
- G1637** — [Ordo missæ]. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 113.
- G1648** — BREVIARIVM ROMANVM SLAVONICO IDIOMATE ... / **ՇԱՏՈՍԼՈՎ ԵՅԻԿՈՄԻ** [Časoslovy rimskij slavinskimъ ézikomъ] ... Rome,1648. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 118; Babič 1999: 270ff.
- G1688** — BREVIARIVM ROMANVM SLAVONICO IDIOMATE ... / **ՇԱՏՈՍԼՈՎ ԵՅԻԿՈՄԻ** [Časoslovy rimskij slavinskimъ ézikomъ] ... Rome 1688. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 123.
- G1693** — **ԱԶԲՈՒԿԱՆԵՔ ՍԼՈՎԻՆՍԿԻ** [Azbukividnêk slovinskij] ..., [new edition], Rome 1693. Lokmer 2008: 175; Runjak 2010.
- G1706** — MISSALE ROMANVM SLAVONICO IDIOMATE ... / **ՋԵՋԵՆԻՏԵ ԵՑՁԵԿՆԻՐ ԲԻՍՏՐԱՆՍԿԻ** [Missal rimskij na ezik slovenskij] ..., Rome 1706. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 124.
- G1707** — **ՄԻՍՏԵ ԶԱ ՄԵՐՎՅԷ** [Misse za umervšie] ... Rome 1707. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 125.
- G1739** — (the Glagolitic parts of) Matej Karaman: Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny ... B. Ieronima ... / Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny prepodobnago Kyrilla ..., Rome 1739. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 129; Kempgen 2015a, 112–135 (cf. above, C1739).
- G1741** — Missale romanum slavonico idiomate ... / **ՋԵՋԵՆԻՏԵ ԵՑՁԵԿՆԻՐ** [Missal rimskij] ... Rome 1741. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 128; Trunte 2009: 304ff.
- G1753** — (the Glagolitic parts of) Matej Karaman: Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny ... B. Ieronima ... / Bukvar' slavenskij pismeny prepodobnago Kyrilla ..., [new edition], Rome 1753. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 129; Kempgen 2015a, 112–135 (cf. above, C1753). Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at Umeå University Library.
- G1767** — **ՄԻՍՏԵ ԶԱ ՄԵՐՎՅԷ** [Misse za umervšie] [new edition], Rome 1767. Lokmer 2008: 181.
- G1789** — [second appendix to G1741]. Lokmer 2008:181.
- G1791a** — Officia sanctorum slavonico idiomate ... / **ՇԻՆԻ ՍՎԵՏԻՆ** [Čini svêtih] ... Rome 1791. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 131.
- G1791b** — Breviarium romanum slavonico idiomate ... pars hiemalis ... / **ՇԱՏՈՍԼՈՎ ԵՅԻԿՈՄԻ ԶԻՄՈՎԱԷ** ... **ՇԱՏՈՍ ԵՅԻԿՈՄԻ** ... [Časoslov rimskij slavenskim ézikom ... část zimovaê ...], Rome 1791. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 132.
- G1791c** — Breviarium romanum slavonico idiomate ... pars æstiva ... / **ՇԱՏՈՍԼՈՎ ԵՅԻԿՈՄԻ ԶԵՄՆԱԷ** ... **ՇԱՏՈՍ ԵՅԻԿՈՄԻ** ... [Časoslov rimskij slavenskim ézikom ... část létnaê ...], Rome 1791. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 133.

*C. Latin-script editions*²¹

- L1627** — Robert Bellarmine: Istvmacenge obilnie navka karstyanskoga ..., Rome 1627. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 105.
- L1633** — Robert Bellarmine: Navk karstyanski kratak. Sloxen pò naredbi S. Oca Papae Klementa Osmoga [...], Rome, 1633. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the National Library of France.
- L1636** — Juan de Polanco: Ispravnik za erei ispovidnici i za pokornici. Prenefen s'latinskoga yazika, v slovignski. Breve directorio, per Sacerdoti Confeffori, e per Penitenti, tradotto da lingua Latina, nella Illirica, Rome 1636. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 112. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the Austrian National Library, see http://digital.onb.ac.at/OnbViewer/viewer.faces?doc=ABO_%2BZ179357206.
- L1638a** — Meditationes S. Bonaenturae. To yest BOGOLIVBNA RAZMISGLIANYA Od Otaystva Odkupglienya Covičanskoga. S. BONAVENTVRUAE CARDINALA Prenesena V yezik Slovinski [...], Rome 1638. Tre alfabeti 1985: 164, no. *.
- L1638b** — [Bartol Kašič:] XIVOT GOSPODINA NASCEGA ISVKARSTA / VITA DEL SIGNOR NOSTRO GIESV CHRISTO, Rome 1638. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 114; Burić 1973: 840.
- L1640a** — Kalendar iz missala rimskoga i spovidanye pravae virrae ..., Rome 1640. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 115.
- L1640b** — Ritual rimski istomaccen slovinski ... Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 116.
- L1657** — Juan de Jesús María: Način za dobro vmriti ..., Rome 1657. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 120.
- L1661** — Robert Bellarmine: Nauk karstyanski sloxen po prisvitlomu gospodinu Robertu Bellarminu Kardinalu S.R.C. ..., Rome 1661. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 121.
- L1662** — Robert Bellarmine: Istvmacenyje symbola apostolskoga, to yest virrovanya ..., Rome 1662. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 122. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the National Library of the Czech Republic, see https://books.google.se/books?id=x81jAAAACAAJ&dq=Istvmacenyje+symbola+apostolskoga&hl=sv&source=gbs_navlinks_s.
- L1708** — Robert Bellarmine: Istvmacenge obilnie navka karstyanskoga, ... [new edition], Rome 1708. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 126. Quoted from a digital surrogate of a copy at the British Library, see https://books.google.se/books/about/Vberior_explicatio_doctrinae_Christianae.html?id=UdNSmgEACAAJ&redir_esc=y.
- L1709** — Juan de Jesús María: Način za dobro vmriti... [new edition], Rome 1709. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 127.
- L1789** — Ispovidagne Viere za Garczi promisgliegne Verhu Najposlidnih ..., Rome 1789. Tre alfabeti 1985, no. 130.

²¹ Burić (1973) also mentions a 1636 Latin-script edition of Girolamo da Palermo's *Ispoviedaonik* (p. 839, cf. C1630), a 1637 Latin-script edition of Robert Bellarmine's *Nauk krstjanski kratak* (p. 836, cf. C1629, G1628), and a 1774 Croatian Latin-script *Instructio de Sacramentis Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae* (p. 840).

D. Multiscriptal editions

D1784 — Specimen idiomatum et characterum exoticorum [...]. Polyglot edition, celebrating the visit of King Gustav III of Sweden to the Propaganda Fide in Rome. The edition includes texts in 46 languages including seven Slavic, printed with Cyrillic, Latin, and Glagolitic letters. Lindberg 1973: 78, no. 10; Ambrosiani 2012.

Appendix 2:

Transliteration of Cyrillic and Glagolitic letters used in the present article

A. Cyrillic

Letter	Transcription	Letter	Transcription
а	a	ѡ	ō
б	b	Ѣ	ô _t
в	v	п	p
г	g	р	r
д	d	с	s
е	e	т	t
ѣ	ě	Ѹ	u
є	ė	оу	u̇
ж	ž	Ѵ	f
з	z	х	h
з	z	ц	c
и	i	ч	č
ѣ	ī	Ѧ	ć
і	l	ш	š
і	ì	щ	ṧ
ї	ĩ	ъ	ъ
й	ĩ	ы	y
к	k	ь	ь
л	l	Ѣ	ě
м	m	ю	û
н	n	Ѧ	ã
о	o	Ѧ	â
w	ô	Ѧ	ṫ

B. Glagolitic

Letter	Transcription	Letter	Transcription
ⱦ	a	Ɱ	o
Ⱨ	b	Ɐ	ō
ⱨ	v	Ɒ	p
Ⱪ	g	ⱱ	r
ⱪ	d	Ⱳ	s
ⱬ	e	ⱳ	t
Ɑ	ž	ⱴ	ṭ
Ɱ	z	Ⱶ	u
Ɐ	i	ⱶ	û
Ɒ	ī	ⱷ	f
ⱱ	ī	ⱸ	h
Ⱳ	ī	ⱹ	c
ⱳ	ĵ	ⱺ	č
ⱴ	k	ⱻ	š
Ⱶ	l	ⱼ	ĉ
ⱶ	m	ⱽ	ɸ
ⱷ	n	Ȿ	ê
ⱸ	ñ	Ɀ	ê