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Key to Abbreviations used in *LHS*

AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych / Central Archive of Early Acts (Warsaw)
ap.	apyrašas / inventory
b.	byla / file
BS	Bendrasis skyrius / General Division/Department
CC	Central Committee
CPSU	the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
ct	centas / cent ($^1/_{100}$ of litas, *see also* lt)
d.	dalis / part
DS	Dokumentų skyrius / Document Department/Division
f.	fondas / holding, *fond*
ff.	following pages
fo.	folio/ lapas
fos.	folios/ lapai
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii / State Archive of the Russian Federation (Moscow)
GDL	the Grand Duchy of Lithuania
ITsNRI	Issledovatelskii Tsentr Noveishei Russkoi Istorii / Research Centre for Modern Russian History (Moscow)
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti / Committee for State Security
LAF	Lietuvių Aktyvistų Frontas / Lithuanian Activist Front
LC(B)P	*see* LKP(b)
LCVA	Lietuvos Centrinis Valstybinis Archyvas / Lithuanian Central State Archive (Vilnius)
LDP	Lietuvos demokratų partija / Lithuanian Democratic Party
LHS	Lithuanian Historical Studies
LII	Lietuvos istorijos institutas / Lithuanian Institute of History
LKP(b)	Lietuvos komunistų partija (bolševikų) / Lithuanian Communist (Bolshevik) Party, see LC(B)P
LM	Lietuvos Metrika / Lithuanian Metrica
LMA	Literatūros ir meno archyvas / Archive of Literature and Art
LMAB	Lietuvos Mokslų Akademijos Biblioteka / Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Vilnius)
LNMMB	Lietuvos nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka / Lithuanian National Martynas Mažvydas Library
LS	Lietuvos Statutas / Lithuanian Statute

LSDP	Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija / Lithuanian Social Democrat(ic) Party
LSM	Lietuvos statistikos metraštis / Lithuanian Statistical Year-Book
LSSR	Litovskaia Sovetskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika / Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic
Lt	litas, Lithuanian monetary unit (1 litas = 100 ct)
LTSR	Lietuvos Tarybų Socialistinė Respublika, *see also* LSSR
LVIA	Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas / Lithuanian State Historical Archive (Vilnius)
LVOA	Lietuvos visuomenės organizacijų archyvas / Archive of Lithuanian Public Organizations (Vilnius)
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas / Lithuanian Special Archive (Vilnius)
MADA	Lietuvos TSR Mokslų akademijos darbai, A serija /Lithuanian SSR Academy of Sciences' Works, Series A
MGB	Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti / Ministry of State Security
MVD	Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del / Ministry of Internal Affairs
NKGB	Narodnyi Komissariat Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti / People's Commissariat of State Security
NKVD	Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del / People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs
nr.	numeris / number
op.	opis' / inventory
p.	puslapis / page
pp.	puslapiai / pages
PS	Politinis skyrius / Political Division/Department
RGADA	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov / Russian State Archive of Early Acts
RGALI	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Literatury i Iskustva / Russian State Archive of Literature and Art
RGIA	Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv / Russian State Historical Archive (St Petersburg)
RS	Rankraščių skyrius, Rankraštynas / Manuscript Department
TsGADA	Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov / Central State Archive of Early Acts (Moscow)
VAA	Vilniaus apskrities archyvas / Vilnius County Archive
VRMA	Vidaus Reikalų Ministerijos Archyvas / Archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Vilnius)
VUB	Vilniaus Universiteto biblioteka / Vilnius University Library

VERNACULAR TRANSLATIONS OF SCRIPTURE IN ENGLAND AND LITHUANIA BEFORE THE 17TH CENTURY

S.C. Rowell

ABSTRACT This article gives a general survey of the development of a need among Lithuanian Catholics at the end of the fifteenth century for access to religious literature and especially Scripture in the vernacular (for sake of convenience, in Ruthenian translation). The work of Francis Skorina is examined in this context as a distant forerunner of Chylinski's first published translation of the Bible into Lithuanian. The development of vernacular translations of parts of Holy Writ into Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and English are presented in very broad outline, culminating in the Roman Catholic and Anglican versions of the English Bible in the late sixteenth century and 1610. A reminder is given that merely having a text in the vernacular does not mean that such a text is available to all and understood by all.

It is no secret that at the court, probably the Lithuanian court of Casimir Jagiellończyk (1440–1492) there were discussions on at least two occasions of such theological questions as the meaning of the Holy Name and the Nature of Christ between Catholic clerics, a Jew and a Muslim Tatar.[1] Between 1453 and 1455 Casimir's Lithuanian-born mother, the Dowager Queen Sofija Alšėniškaitė supported the translation of a complete Bible text from Czech into Polish, the so-called *Biblia szaroszpatacka,* on which her personal chaplain Andrzej of Jaskowice laboured. In Lithuania certain learned texts appear to have been translated into Ruthenian for, or at least collected by Mikalojus Radvila.[2] Among the books of Albertas Goštautas, chancellor

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[1] S.C. Rowell, 'Fifteenth-century Poland-Lithuania in the light of an anonymous Kraków notebook', *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 8 (2003), pp. 301-49, esp. pp. 307-9, 322.

[2] Queen Sofia's Polish Old Testament – most recently B. Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce* (Warsaw, 2012), p. 88-9 and cited literature. T. Michałowska, *Średniowiecze* (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 569-73. Regarding the library of Mikalojus Radvila, here we have in mind Feofil Dederkin's account of earthquakes in Italy in 1456 interpreted

of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and palatine of Vilnius, one of the codifiers of Lithuanian law (in Ruthenian) in the First Lithuanian Statute, were several Bibles in Latin, Czech and Ruthenian. Generally speaking, in the fifteenth century the Grand Duchy was home to several social groups which experienced a zealous and fruitful, albeit for the most part exoteric religious life, be they Catholic or Orthodox Christians, Muslim Tatars or Rabbinical Jews and Karaites.[3] In mid-century a learned Jew at the court of the Olelkaitis princes of Kiev, Zachariah ben Aaron ho-Cohen translated selected books of the Bible out of Hebrew into Church Slavonic.[4]

Various written sources (Church endowment acts, gentry and burgher wills, the one surviving late-mediaeval Lithuanian [Podlasian] consistorial court book, supplications sent to the Roman Curia and the Apostolic Penitentiary, and various attempts to implement the Union of Churches agreed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence or summon pan-European crusades against the Turk in defence or liberation of Constantinople) reveal Christian life within the Grand Duchy to have been vibrant during the fifteenth century. Despite traditional Lutheran and Jesuit claims that the state of the Catholic Church in Lithuania was weak before the upheavals of the sixteenth century, it is well known that heretical movements only occur where Catholicism is rooted strongly in a society with time enough to devote to spiritual development (usually in urban milieux, given that in countries such as Lithuania the peasantry was virtually enslaved) and where the local ecclesiastical hierarchy is incapable of applying itself or unwilling to respond adequately to the growing spiritual needs of the Faithful. The textbook cases of this phenomenon are the inadequate reaction of bishops to the Cathars and the subsequent wise inclusive policy of Pope Innocent III towards the Franciscan and Dominican reform movements.

as punishment for Catholic heresy – N.A. Kazakova, *Zapadnaia Evropa v russkoi pis'mennosti XV–XVI vv. Iz istorii mezhdunarodnykh kul'turnykh sviazei Rossii* (Leningrad, 1980), pp. 158-63 and S. Temčinas, 'Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos rusėniškoji literatūra kaip kultūrinės integracijos modelis', *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos tradicija ir tautiniai naratyvai*, ed. A. Bumblauskas, G. Potašenko (Vilnius, 2009), p. 76.

[3] S.C. Rowell, 'Was Fifteenth-Century Lithuanian Catholicism as lukewarm as reformers and commentators would have us believe?', *Central Europe* 8:2 (2010), 86-106. This theme is developed at greater length in idem, *Felix saeculum Lithuaniae? Religious life in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the long fifteenth century (ca 1387–1528)* (forthcoming).

[4] S.Yu. Temchin, 'Skharia i Skorina: ob istochnikakh vilenskogo vetkhozavetnogo svoda (F 19-262)', *Senoji Lietuvos Literatūra,* 21 (2006), pp. 289-314.

The vibrant Catholicism of fifteenth-century Lithuania was an exoteric sacrament-based religion concentrating first and foremost on practical expressions of devotion – Blessed Sacrament processions, pilgrimages (to visit holy relics or sacred images) and membership of church fraternities (in their parishes or in select religious houses, belonging mainly to the Conventual and Observant Franciscans). We encounter attempts to 'privatise' religious life and practice and efforts to avoid (deliberately or otherwise) the controlling hand of the local ordinary. Burghers and boyars sought indulgences from Rome, Vilnius and visiting bishops for their parish churches; from Rome they sought and obtained indults allowing them to select their own confessor or make use of portable altars (which in effect mean access to private churches and the employment of personal chaplains, freedom from the requirement to make use of the services of the local parish priest). At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Bishop Albert Tabor of Vilnius appears to have set about reforming his province along Gregorian lines. He was disquieted by landowners who used personal indults to employ their own clergy and have Masses said publicly (rather than in their own homes) and sermons preached for large numbers of believers.[5]

The predominance of external forms of devotion is hardly surprising in a society where levels of literacy were not high. However, during the century Catholic devotional texts were translated (usually from Polish) into Ruthenian, the language of record within the Grand Duchy. We find manuscripts of such translated works as the Tale of the Three Kings, the Passion of Christ, the Life of the Man of God Aleksei (translated from James of Vorragine's Legend) or Master Polycarp's Dialogue with Death.[6] Such religious literature, based primarily on Biblical themes had been popular in England since the early days of conversion and was particularly popular throughout fifteenth-century Europe.[7] Literacy in Lithuania was restricted largely to the clergy (before 1522 the parish priest at Ukmergė, resident or absent we know not, had a collection of 53 unspecified theological and canon-law texts, and he is probably a very rare exception to the rule), the nobility (the earliest book list

[5] S.C. Rowell, 'Kaip šaukė, taip ir atsiliepė: XV a. lietuvių katalikų gyvenimas ir pagonybės liekanų mitas'(forthcoming).

[6] For a general survey, see Temčinas, 'Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės rusėniškoji literatūra', pp. 53-85.

[7] *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. M. Godden, M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1991); E. Duffy, *The stripping of the altars. Traditional religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven-London, 2nd ed., 2005), pp. 68-87.

from 1510, probably connected with Albertas Goštautas), and state servants (chancery scribes). There were parish schools in Lithuania and the Lutsk diocesan court records make several mentions of pupils at such establishments; the evidence is official and narrative, not merely the hortative requirement of canon law or church foundations. Indulgence texts would be pinned to church doors and boyars and burghers at least made written wills. It is unlikely that peasants, even later Protestant ones were literate; bound men rarely have the leisure to learn.

Such then is part of the distant and long prehistory of Chylinski's Lithuanian Bible and it is relevant for it provides evidence of the base on which a local need for accessible Scripture developed in the sixteenth century. This need sought devotional and Biblical texts in a widely understood language. In the Lithuanian case Ruthenian translations would be the easiest means to provide such texts, just as two decades ago Lithuanian historians read Arnold Toynbee in Russian translation. The ethnically and politically Lithuanian Goštautai owned versions of Scripture in Latin, Czech and Church Slavonic; the Radvilos and Olelkaičiai also commissioned translations into Ruthenian in the fifteenth century. In Vilnius in 1514 the Unionist bishop of Smolensk, Iosif initiated the translation of the Penateuch into Ruthenian. Within a decade Catholic burghers in the capital sponsored the publication of books of the Bible (again in Ruthenian-influenced Church Slavonic translation) at foreign and local presses. In this case they were not deliberately ignoring the Lithuanian language (which in most cases they spoke no less than the gentry or now idolised peasants) but taking the easiest route to book production available. Ruthenian (or at least Church Slavonic) translations already existed, they were comprehensible and there were sufficient learned translators in action to make the proposal feasible. Goštautas had Czech and Ruthenian translations of all or part of Holy Writ at home. He also owned learned tomes on Jewish and Russian Orthodox 'errors'.[8] The members of the Confraternity of St John at Vilnius parish church also used Ruthenian in their business (such as the settling of the return of a loan made by them to a gentry member) as well as Latin (the case of out-servicing chantry services to the Franciscan friary); ecclesiastical endowments were also recorded on occasion in Slavonic rather than Latin.[9] We know of texts of the Latin Mass and the chief Latin foundations of the Faith

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[8] K. Gudmantas, 'Alberto Goštauto biblioteka ir Lietuvos metraščiai', *Knygotyra,* 43 (2003), pp. 1-16.

[9] LMAB RS F4-33 (20 Sept. 1505); Kraków, Biblioteka PAU i PAN, Ms 1243.

(the Our Father, Hail Mary, Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments) transliterated into Cyrillic characters and/or translated into Ruthenian in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the fifteenth century. [10] Until the late nineteenth century language use was *not* predominantly a sign of ethnic or political allegiance in Lithuania. There is no evidence that the fifteenth-century Lithuanian gentry did not speak Lithuanian. Use of a language of record depends on political tradition and cultural aspiration. This of course does not mean that sixteenth-century Lithuanians did not lament the absence of Lithuanian-language education, as Michalo Lituanus makes clear in his account of Tatar, Lithuanian and Muscovite Customs: 'we lack *gymnasia litteraria*; we learn the Muscovite art of writing, which has no ancient roots, … the Ruthenian language is alien to us Lithuanians, that is to say, Italians, born of Italic blood'. [11] The famous Brest Bible sponsored by the Protestant Radvila also took the easy route to publication, using Polish, which gradually was superseding Ruthenian as the language of culture among educated Lithuanians.

In this context we should turn our attention to the publishing work of Francis Skorina which is separated often from Lithuanian Catholic consideration (in the mistaken view that Skorina is not 'Lithuanian' and that only Protestants read the Bible in the vernacular). Skorina was born ca 1490 in Polotsk, where his father was a merchant. From his Christian name it is obvious that he was not Orthodox (for whom there are no Saint Francises, he of Assisi being born long after the Schism of 1054) but a Catholic in either the Latin or Unionist rite. His son too would have a typically Catholic name (Martin). In 1498 Grand Duke Alexander founded a Bernardine friary with a small wooden church in Polotsk. [12] Skorina studied in Kraków, where he matriculated in 1504 as Franciscus Luce de Ploczko, proceeding to B.A. in 1506. [13] Six years later in Padua he took the degree of doctor of medicine. While continuing his travels

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[10] Yu.V. Verkholantseva, 'Kirilllicheskaia zapis' latinskikh molitv i otryvka china Messy iz rukopisi Sinodal'nogo sobrania GIM No. 558', *Drevniaia Rus', Voprosy medievistiki* 2010:2, pp. 74-90.

[11] Mykolas Lietuvis, *Apie totorių, lietuvių ir maskvėnų papročius. Dešimt įvairiaus istorinio turinio fragmentų*, tr. I. Jonynas (Vilnius, 1966), p. 49.

[12] *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji wileńskiej*, ed. W. Semkowicz, J. Fijałek (Kraków, 1948), p. 537.

[13] He paid a fee of 2 groats [1504h/328] – *Metryka Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego z lat 1400–1508*, I, ed. A. Gasiorowski, T. Jurek, I. Skierska, R. Grzesik (Kraków, 2004), 612. For his BA, see W. Urban, S. Lūžys, *Cracovia Lithuanorum saeculis XIV–XVI. Lietuvių Krokuva XIV–XVI amžiais* (Vilnius, 1999), p. 94, II. 29.

abroad, he learned the art of printing in Prague where he published a Ruthenian psalter in 1517. Between 1517 and 1519 he printed 23 separate books of the Old Testament, beginning with the Book of Job. He made use of existing Czech and Church Slavonic translations which he adapted in Ruthenian.[14] Book specialists note that the size of his publications (in octavo) is smaller than that of books used during the liturgy and that they are suitable for private use.[15] The quality of paper used by Skorina is also poor but this does not mean that the cost of acquiring such a volume would be slight. We also know nothing of the size of the print run. This means that we have no idea about how easily available such publications may have been or what the size of the readership of these private books may have been. However, we do know one important circumstance surrounding their production, namely that they were commissioned by two members of the Vilnius City Council: the councillor Bogdan Onkovich (Jonkovich?) and the burgermaster Jakub Babich.[16] Personal names cannot establish without a doubt the confessional allegiance of these men, although it can be stated with confidence that Catholic Bogdans were no rarity in late-mediaeval Lithuania and Jakub is the Catholic version of St James' name (as opposed to the Russian form, Iakov). Three decades ago E. Gecauskas argued convincingly that these men may have been Catholics. The man who was the second mayor of Vilnius along with Jakub Babich, was most likely an Orthodox Christian (according to tradition Vilnius would have a Catholic and an Orthodox burgermaster concurrently to reflect the two main merchant communities within the city).[17] The known descendants of both Onkovich and Babich had Catholic-style names (viz. Martin and Simon). Babich and the former Vilnius *voigt*, Mikolaj Ostitski were witnesses over a disputed inheritance

[14] In general, see Anon., 'Velikii belorusskii prosvetitel' Frantsisk Skorina i nachalo knigopechatania v Belorussii i Litve', *Belorusskii prosvetitel' Frantsisk Skorina i nachalo knigopechatania v Belorussii i Litve* [*Fedorovskie chtenia 1977*] (Minsk, 1979), pp. 5-23; S. Temčinas, 'Bažnytinės knygos rusėnų kalba ir religiniai identitetai slaviškose Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos žemėse XIV–XVIII a.: Stačiatikių tradicija', *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos tradicija ir paveldo "dalybos"*, ed. A. Bumblauskas, Š. Liekis, G. Potašenko (Vilnius, 2008), pp. 150-153 and cited literature.

[15] Anon., 'Velikii belorusskii prosvetitel'', p. 16: "v vos'mushku – v udobnom karmannom formate".

[16] As can be seen from the frontispiece to his Prague 1517 edition of Ecclesiasticus (Wisdom of Sirach), ibid. p. 15.

[17] E. Giachiauskas, 'Frantsisk Skorina – sekretar' Vil'biusskogo episkopa Ioanna iz Kniazei Litovskikh', *Fedorovskie chtenia 1982* (Minsk, 1987), pp. 62-3.

involving the city goldsmith Vincent's widow. Both Vincent and Mikolaj were members of St John's Fraternity.[18] It seems that we may state with some confidence that during the first quarter of the sixteenth century Vilnius burghers who founded fraternities at the parish church and the Franciscan friary, took an active part in the city's religious life and sought to develop their faith in various ways from participation in extra-missal devotions to the building of a hospice and the promotion of vernacular translations of Holy Writ. In 1525 Skorina published the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles in Ruthenian translation.[19] His name is associated also with such active Unionists as the Slutsk princes and the Suprasl Unionist monastery (founded by the Chodkevičiai in the Diocese of Lutsk), where the translation of the Bible from Hebrew made by the Jew Zachariah at the court of the Lithuanian princes of Kiev was bound in the same volume with Skorina's Prague Psalter.[20]

Given the accidental connections between the first printed Lithuanian Bible and England and the general misconception that the wide literary use of the vernacular is somehow a Protestant invention (in Lithuania wider literacy, published Lithuanian religious texts and Protestantism coincided in the sixteenth century) it may be of some use to survey the experience of Scripture in the vernacular among the English, the first European pagans who had not been subjects of the Roman Empire to convert to Christianity; the Lithuanians, of course, were the last.

The whole or parts of the Bible were translated into vernaculars dominant in England, including English during the Middle Ages. Like the Lithuanians, the Anglo-Saxons had literate Christian neighbours with an established tradition of writing in their own Celtic languages. The first Old English poetry (at the end of the seventh century) took Genesis and Exodus as their inspiration.[21] The Anglo-Saxons reinvented their own migrations from Germany and Denmark according to the Exodus model.[22] By the end of

[18] LMAB RS F4-33. *Lietuvos Metrika (1522–1530). 4-oji Teismų bylų knyga,* ed. S. Lazutka, I. Valikonytė, G. Kirkienė, E. Gudavičius et al. (Vilnius, 1997) Nos 4, 167, 240; *Lietuvos Metrika (1524–1528). Užrašymų knyga 14,* ed. L. Karalius, D. Antanavičius (Vilnius, 2008), No. 624, pp. 255-6.

[19] Anon., 'Velikii belorusskii prosvetitel', p. 16-17.

[20] See above, n. 4.

[21] M. Godden, 'Biblical literature: the Old Testament', Godden, Lapidge (eds), *Cambridge Companion*, pp. 206-26, here p. 207.

[22] N. Howe, *Migration and mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven-London, 1989), pp. 71-107.

the seventh century St Bede began a translation of the Bible into
Anglo-Saxon with the Gospel of St John. The Book of Psalms and
other texts were translated by Aldhelm (639–709). The Lindisfarne
Gospels were translated in the tenth century and a century later
Abbot Aelfric produced a vernacular version of much of the Old
Testament.[23] It was common for individual parts of Scripture to
be translated and read separately in Anglo-Saxon England (such as
Genesis, Exodus, Judith). The first complete translation into Middle
English was made in the fourteenth century by John Wycliffe, who
completed his version of the New Testament in 1380; later came his
Middle English Old Testament. The Wycliffe Bible was translated
twice. The first version copied the grammar and style of the Latin
text so closely that it was very difficult to read.[24] Here we should
note three characteristics of vernacular translations: they appeared
first long before Martin Luther; translation into the vernacular does
not necessarily mean that a translation is understandable easily; and
translations were often made by persons considered eventually to be
heretical because of the doctrines they developed, not for translating
Scripture *per se* (Wycliffe's translation was doctrinally Catholic and
was used by sixteenth-century anti-Protestant thinkers such as St
Thomas More). Several decades before Wycliffe's text, the complete
Bible was translated in London into the French dialect of Anglo-
Norman (1337–40), the language used by the English ruling class.
This version was also the first picture Bible. Two centuries later
Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall of London, who worked with Erasmus on
the Greek New Testament, was approached by one William Tyndale
(c.1494–1536) for support in producing an English translation. The
bishop was suspicious of Tyndale's theological views and scholarly
ability and declined to assist the young man. Tyndale moved to the
Continent where he published his New Testament at Cologne in
1525 and the following year at Worms.

The publication and distribution of the text of Holy Scripture in
English would become one of the main aims of the new Church
of England. Henry VIII, who had ordered the burning of Tyndale's
translations, later authorised the propagation of the *Great Bible*, while
an 'improved' translation was promulgated by Queen Elizabeth I in
1568, the *Bishops' Bible*. For Roman Catholics the Douay-Rheims

[23] *The Old English version of the Heptateuch*, [Early English Text Society. Old
Series 160] ed. S.J. Crawford (London [Oxford], 1922).

[24] A basic up-to-date account of English Bible translations is given by D. Daniell,
The Bible in English: History and Influence (New Haven, 2003).

translation of the New Testament was produced by scholars of the English College in exile at the northern French university of Douai in 1582. This was based on the Latin Vulgate Bible and made use of the translation published by the persecuted Protestant William Tyndale in 1525. It contained commentaries and notes which provided explanations of Hebrew and Greek terminology and a Catholic interpretation of the text. It was imported illegally into England both for Catholics to use privately and also as a means of expounding Catholic doctrine to biblically-minded Protestants. A translation of the Old Testament was published nearly thirty years later (Genesis-Job, 1609; Psalms- II Maccabees and the Apocrypha, 1610). The Catholic New Testament was consulted by translators working on the King James Version of the Bible, which was more Latinate in its vocabulary than earlier Protestant editions. Via the King James version the Latinate neologisms of the Douay translation found their way into common English vocabulary (such words as acquisition, adulterate, advent, character, cooperate and holocaust). This recourse to a denominationally alien text is acknowledged in the early explanatory notes of the Authorised Version. In context it should also be noted that the translators also made use of Spanish, French, Italian and German translations while engaged on their labours

In 1604 King James I convened a conference of divines and counsellors at Hampton Court Palace to consider a new English translation of the Bible because the king found the most popular version, the Geneva Bible, to be unsatisfactory. Puritans within the Church of England had long considered the *Great Bible* and the *Bishops' Bible* to contain unacceptable errors. The king ordered his group of 47 translators (all members of the Church of England and all, except Sir Henry Savile, ordained ministers of the state church), to guide themselves by the *Bishops' Bible* and retain the familiar forms of Biblical names. The text was to be produced from the original Hebrew and Greek texts. Marginal notes were forbidden except where necessary to explain obscure vocabulary. King James did not want the official Bible to contain remarks which might cause embarrassment to his regime (as when one commentator had explained that an Israelite monarch had been wrong for not executing his grandmother. We recall that James' own mother, Mary Queen of Scots had been executed by his cousin and predecessor Queen Elizabeth in 1587). The vocabulary of the translation was to reflect established English political and ecclesiastical norms. Thus

the established term 'Church' was to be used in preference to 'Congregation', as favoured by non-Conformist Christians.[25]

In summary the main aim of this brief survey of biblical translations in Lithuania and England before the seventeenth century is to provide a basic prehistory of Chylinski's achievement and in effect consolidate Francis Skorina's place in the religious tradition of Lithuania and Lithuanians (for many people the two terms are not synonymous), illustrating the vibrant and confessionally interconnected religious life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, where translations into Church Slavonic effected by a Jew in Lithuanian-ruled Kiev could form the basis for devotional reading in Orthodox Novgorod (with Gennadiy's Bible of 1498) and Catholic Vilnius (with Skorina's Prague and Vilnius publications of 1517–25).

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ŠVENTOJO RAŠTO VERTIMAS ANGLIJOJE IR LIETUVOJE IKI XVII A.

Santrauka

S.C. ROWELL

Autorius apžvelgia katalikų gyvenimo Lietuvoje raidą pradedant XV a. religine praktika (dalyvavimas šv. Mišių aukojime, Dievo Kūno procesijose, narystė brolijose, siekimas gauti indulgencijas ir pan.) ir baigiant sąmoningomis pastangomis asmeniškai pažinti Dievo žodį, kai Vilniaus miestiečiai katalikai užsakė spausdinti dalinius Šventojo Rašto vertimus (į rusėnų kalbą) pas LDK katalikų/unitų spaustuvininką Pranciškų Skoriną. Kitaip tariant, norisi pabrėžti, kad Biblijos vertimai pasirodė Lietuvoje dar prieš Reformaciją. Galima kalbėti panašiai apie Šventojo Rašto vertimą į anglo-saksų, anglo-normanų ir anglų kalbas. Pradžioje išverstos atskiros Senojo Testamento knygos bei Evangelijos, po to per šimtmečius prieita prie pilno vertimo, kurį vainikavo 1610 m. karaliaus Jokūbo užsakytas vertimas, įkūnijęs viso šimtmečio protestantų ir katalikų teologų darbo patirtį. Vis dėlto tai, kad buvo vertimas į vietinę kalbą, toli gražu nereiškia, jog kiekvienas skaitytojas galėjo naują ir sunkų žodyną suprasti. Šitai savotiška S. B. Chylinskio Biblijos priešistorija.

[25] A general modern survey of the history of the King James Bible is provided by see A. Nicholson, *Power and Glory: Jacobean England and the Making of the King James Bible* (London, 2003).