Kristina Rutkovska / Rajmund Pietkiewicz (eds.)

Contextuality of the Bible in Lithuania until the End of the Eighteenth Century

V&R

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Eastern and Central European Voices

Studies in Theology and Religion

Edited by
Rajmund Pietkiewicz and Piotr Burgoński

In co-operation with
Wojciech Gajewski (Poland), Cyril Hišem (Slovakia),
Mirosław Kiwka (Poland), Mihály Laurinyecz (Hungary),
Piotr Lorek (Poland), Dominik Opatrný (Czech Republic),
Adrian Podaru (Romania), Kristina Rutkovska (Lithuania),
Oleg Salamon (Ukraine), Sławomir Stasiak (Poland),
Jose M. Vegas (Russia)

Volume 8

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Kristina Rutkovska / Rajmund Pietkiewicz (eds.)

Contextuality of the Bible in Lithuania until the End of the Eighteenth Century

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

The book was cofinanced by the Lithuanian Scientific Council as part of the project 'Publication of the book "Contextuality of the Bible in Lithuania until the end of the 18th century", Lithuanian Studies Programme, No. P-LIP-24-29.'

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek:
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data available online: https://dnb.de.

© 2024 by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Robert-Bosch-Breite 10, 37079 Göttingen, Germany, an imprint of the Brill-Group (Koninklijke Brill BV, Leiden, The Netherlands; Brill USA Inc., Boston MA, USA; Brill Asia Pte Ltd, Singapore; Brill Deutschland GmbH, Paderborn, Germany; Brill Österreich GmbH, Vienna, Austria)
Koninklijke Brill BV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Cover design: SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen
Publishing reviews: Prof. Dr. Paulius Subačius (University of Vilnius), Dr. Hab. Adam Kubiś (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)
Proofreading: Monika Szela-Badzińska,Wrocław
Indexes: Rajmund Pietkiewicz, Monika Szela-Badzińska, Wrocław
Map: Krzysztof Grabowski
Typesetting: le-tex publishing services, Leipzig

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage | www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com
E-Mail: info@v-r.de

ISSN 2749-6279
ISBN 978-3-647-50084-3

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Table of contents

List of abbreviations 7

Kristina Rutkovska, Rajmund Pietkiewicz
Preface of the editors 9

Ona Aleknavičienė (Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius)
Bible readings in the Duchy of Prussia: sixteenth–seventeenth century Lithuanian translations 13

Mindaugas Šinkūnas (Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius)
Bible quotations in Vilentas' *Enchiridion* (1579): the influence of Mažvydas... 53

Birutė Triškaitė (Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius)
The first printed Lithuanian Bible (Königsberg 1735): the context of its appearance and its contributors 69

Jolanta Gelumbeckaitė (Institut für Empirische Sprachwissenschaft, Frankfurt/M.), C. Mortimer Drach (Institut für Empirische Sprachwissenschaft, Frankfurt/M.)
The Bible in the Old Lithuanian Lutheran postils – text use and re-use 135

Kristina Rutkovska (Vilnius University)
The Bible as a basis for deliberation and exhortation in Konstantin Sirvydas's Catholic postils *Sermon Points* (1629, 1640) 187

Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė (The Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania)
Interpreting the Word of God in funeral sermons: Andrzej Grądzki and Michał Franciszek Karpowicz 247

Jūratė Pajėdienė (The Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius)
Reflections of the tradition of Holy Scripture translations in Lithuanian books from 1547 to 1647 (comparing New Testament lines expressed with subordinate clauses of time) 271

Sergejus Temčinas (Institute of Lithuanian Language, Vilnius)
Cyrillic versions of biblical books in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland (the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries) 309

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Galina Miškinienė (Research Centre of Written Heritage of the Institute of Lithuanian Language)
Biblical texts as one of the sources used in Arabographic manuscripts of Lithuanian Tatars 343

List of figures 363

List of tables 365

Index of biblical citations 367

Index of Islamic sources 373

Index of person 375

Index of places 387

Index of topics 391

Notes on Contributors 397

Map 402

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

List of abbreviations

Archives and libraries

AFSt	Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen [The Archive of the Francke Foundation], Halle, Germany
BJ	Biblioteka Jagiellońska – Uniwersytet Jagielloński w Krakowie [The Jagiellonian Library at Jagiellonian University in Kraków], Poland
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek [The Bavarian State Library], München, Germany
BUT	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka w Toruniu [The Toruń University Library], Poland
GStA PK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz [The Secret State Archives Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation], Berlin, Germany
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek [The Herzog August Library], Wolfenbüttel, Germany
HIB	Herder-Institut für historische Ostmitteleuropaforschung [The Herder Institute for Historical Research on East Central Europe], Marburg, Germany
LLTIB	Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos instituto biblioteka [The Library of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore], Vilnius, Lithuania
LMAVB	Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka [The Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences], Vilnius, Lithuania
SBB PK	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz [The Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage], Germany
SUB Göttingen	Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen [The Göttingen State and University Library of Lower Saxony], Germany
VUB	Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka [The Vilnius University Library], Lithuania

Others

ESV	The English Standard Version
GDL	Grand Duchy of Lithuania
HB	Hebrew Bible
LXX	Septuagint
MS	manuscript

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
Vlg	Vulgate
WA	*D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritiſche Geſamtausgabe*, vol. 1–120, Weimar 1883–2009

The list of bibliographical abbreviations is provided separately in the bibliography of a given article.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Kristina Rutkovska, Rajmund Pietkiewicz

Preface of the editors

This publication offers an account of the ways in which the Bible functioned in the Lithuanian territory from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. The extensive research conducted by nine authors direct attention to the modes of religious communication, the dissemination of religious ideas in the works of theologians, the perception of biblical texts and the principles behind their reproducibility. The authors also explore the problems of Bible translation into Lithuanian and the Slavic languages spoken in Lithuania, consider the influence of other languages and cultures on the formation of the Lithuanian language at the beginning of its development, and discuss issues connected with editing and publishing religious writings. The book consists of nine studies that have one in common: the varied backgrounds against which the Bible functioned in multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Lithuania.

Ona Aleknavičienė's study, which opens the volume, enquires chronologically into the first translations of biblical pericopes used in the churches of the Duchy of Prussia in Lithuanian literature. These are two versions of Baltramiejus Vilentas' translation of biblical pericopes published in *Evangelija bei Epistolas* (1579, 182 biblical passages); the pericopes were selected by Jonas Bretkūnas and included in his original collection of sermons *Postilla* (1591, 68 biblical pericopes). The author also discusses a third version of the translation, released by Lazarus Zengstokas in *Euangelija bei Epistolas* (or *Evangelija bei Epistolas*) (1612, 188 biblical readings), and underscores the intertextuality of the Bible translations along with the cultural functionality of their different versions.

Mindaugas Šinkūnas seeks to trace the ways in which Martin Luther's Small Catechism, *Enchiridion* (1579), was translated into Lithuanian. A comparative analysis of 114 biblical verses quoted in *Enchiridion* addresses the question of whether they were translated by Vilentas himself, one of the first translators of biblical pericopes into Lithuanian, or whether he drew on existing fragments converted into Lithuanian by Mažvydas and other authors.

Birutė Triškaitė concerns herself with the history of the Bible first printed in Lithuanian, which occurred in Königsberg in 1735. It was translated by Evangelical Lutheran priests from Prussian Lithuania, with the translation process being managed by Johann Jacob Quandt, professor of theology at Königsberg University and chief preacher at the Prussian court. This study analyses the socio-cultural context

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

of the edition of this Bible and the history of its translation, giving pride of place to the contribution of Johann Jacob Quandt.

Jolanta Gelumbeckaitė and C. Mortimer Drach investigate the presence of the Bible in the old Lithuanian Lutheran postils. The study deals with several excerpts from biblical pericopes and proves that corpus data play a major role in the analyses of religious texts, as they: help reveal the strategies used to combine evangelical texts, show the methods used to construct translational sermons with adapted and original text fragments, and detect the influence of the author's language and confessional persuasion on the adaptation of canonical texts, selection of quotations from the Church Fathers or texts by other authors.

Kristina Rutkovska gives account of the ways in which the Holy Scripture was interpreted in the first original bilingual sermons in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: *Sermon Points* by Konstantinas Sirvydas (Konstanty Szyrwid) (1629, 1644). The study covers such issues as the structure of biblical quotations and their functions, the strategy of interpreting biblical terms and the role of biblical anthroponymy in the sermons. The analysis of the postils revealed important features of the stylistic mannerisms of the Lithuanian preacher.

Jūratė Pajėdienė familiarizes us with the ways in which the biblical text was used in early translations of Lithuanian literature. The author assumes that the comparison of recurrent divergences between certain translational constructions and those found in the original text leads to the identification of the reasons behind them: they may be put down to the translator's desire for clarity or consistency. Translations may also have undergone changes (including additions) stemming from cultural differences and the translator's or editor's desire to bring the text closer to the cultural environment of the target users. The author illustrates these manifestations of cultural distinctiveness, made manifest at the level of the syntactic structures occurring in both postils, with the translations of biblical pericopes from the first printed Lithuanian postils penned by Jonas Bretkūnas (1590) and Mikalojaus Daukša (1599).

Viktorija Vaitkevičiūtė discusses the interpretation of the Word of God in funeral service sermons; their popularity during the Baroque period in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was such that they ranked among occasional literature and lost nothing of their relevance even during the Enlightenment. The article draws on the example of two famous preachers: a Bernardine monk, Andrzej Grądzki (d. 1626) and Michał Franciszek Karpowicz (1744–1803). The study demonstrates which images, symbols and biblical themes the preachers chose, how they interpreted them in the light of changing rhetorical requirements and how they used the biblical quotations to construct the opening of their funeral sermons. Since Grądzki and Karpowicz represent different epochs, one of the research objectives was to compare their sermons, and in doing so, to highlight similarities and differences in

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

the interpretation of the Bible in order to also figure out how the use of the word of God reflected the epochal changes in the evolving worldview.

Sergejus Temčinas presents an overview of manuscripts and printed books of the Bible published by the Ruthenians living in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. To this end, he analysed texts composed in the two main written languages of this cultural region: the Old Church Slavonic, commonly used in southern and eastern Slavic countries, and the local Ruthenian language (along with a number of hybrid forms of these two). Particular attention is paid to two phenomena that merit more recognition: the manuscript of the Ostroh Bible, which was compiled before the publication of the printed 1581 Ostroh Bible, and the little-known seventeenth-century translations of biblical texts from Latin into Old Church Slavonic by Ukrainian booksellers who operated already under the control of Muscovite Russia.

Galina Miškinienė discusses the place of biblical texts in Tatar manuscripts in the Arabic script that were created in Lithuania. Among the many genres of Tatar manuscript heritage in Lithuania – *Qurans*, *hamails*, *tafsirs*, *tajwids*, *semi-kitabs* – it is *kitabs* that occupy a special place. This article explores excerpts from biblical texts contained in the *kitabs* of Lithuanian Tatars. The scrutinized texts originate from the *Kitab of Ivan Lutskevich* (the first half of the eighteenth century), the *Kazan Kitab* (1645) and the *Leipzig Hamail* (the second half of the seventeenth century).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Ona Aleknavičienė (Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius)

Bible readings in the Duchy of Prussia: sixteenth–seventeenth century Lithuanian translations

Translated by Jūras Barauskas

As the Evangelical Lutheran Church was taking shape in the Duchy of Prussia, an important role in that process was played by Bible readings, also known as pericopes. Since they formed the backbone of sermons, they were read out loud and interpreted in churches and, consequently, they had an impact on all societal strata. The general public of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century was largely illiterate: only about 5% of the population of Prussia could read; this figure was slightly higher in Königsberg but lower in towns and villages.[1] The attempt of Evangelical Lutherans to proliferate their faith and have it accepted both by the higher and the lower classes, enhanced the importance of national languages. The replacement of Latin by German, Lithuanian, Polish, and Prussian in church use, activated the faithful in their attendance of masses, thus reinforcing the Evangelical Lutheran faith.

The solidification of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was in the interests of Prussian Duke Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1490–1568), who had ruled as the Grand Master of the German Order since 1511; in 1525, he together with the rest of the brethren secularized the Duchy of Prussia and adopted the creed of Evangelical Lutherans. The Duke pursued a language policy that favoured the national tongues, which also came to be a forward-looking part of the general policy of the state.

Efforts were made to build a tertiary education system for priests, with the University of Königsberg (established 1544) awarding, as early as in 1546, 24 scholarships for young men from Lithuania, Poland, Prussia, and Sudovia, so they could study theology and become Evangelical Lutheran priests.[2] Young men who could speak Lithuanian were invited from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Prussia, a programme for book publication was devised, and new churches were built in

1 E.-B. Körber, *Öffentlichkeit im Herzogtum Preußen im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Kulturgeschichte Ostpreußens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. K. Garber, M. Komarowski, A.E. Walter, Tübingen 2001, p. 233; cf. H. Waltz, *Deutsche Literatur der Reformationszeit*, Darmstadt 1988, p. 4.

2 I. Lukšaitė, *Die Reformation im Großfürstentum Litauen und in Preußisch-Litauen* (*1520er Jahre bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*), Leipzig 2017, p. 165–250.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

locations populated by Lithuanians between the 1540's and 1570's.[3] Between 1570 and the 1620's, steps were taken to further consolidate the network of churches and to improve the system of primary education.[4]

Emphasis was put on verbal communication between clergy and laymen, based on Bible readings and the sermons interpreting them. This process solicited both the religious world-view and the lifestyle grounded in it. Bible readings as an integrated part of the Liturgy of the Word were made up of texts that would have served the purpose of conveying to the religious communities the fundamental Evangelical Lutheran principles, which are encapsulated in the Latin phrases of *sola scriptura* 'the [Holy] Scripture only', *sola fide* 'only through faith', *sola gratia* 'only by grace', *solus Christus* 'Christ only', and *soli Deo gloria* 'glory to God alone'. The indoctrination of the congregations with these principles was the major factor behind the success of the new Christian teaching. The priests relied on Bible readings to introduce the public to religious concepts and symbols, help them understand their meaning, and in doing so shape the semantic code needed to understand the contents of the Bible.

Similarly to many other nations in Western and Northern Europe, Bible translations incentivized Lithuanians to devise their written language and to raise literacy. Bible translations into the Lithuanian language were sparked by Martin Luther's (1483–1546) postulate that every believer must be able to read the Scripture in order to learn how to live by it. With this in mind, it became to be understood in the Duchy of Prussia that the text of the Bible must be made accessible to every believer. Priests with a good theological and linguistic background felt a professional and moral obligation to translate biblical texts into their native languages.

Translations of the Bible texts into the national languages began to proliferate in the sixteenth century, which led to the standardisation and emancipation of these tongues. Having existed as a *lingua vulgaris*, or the 'language of the people', until mid-sixteenth century, the Lithuanian language gradually attained the status of the public language, as demonstrated by its use in churches and the publication of religious books in Lithuanian. The spoken language variety developed concurrently with its written counterpart. The process was largely affected by books published in other languages and utilized as sources for Lithuanian books.

The first Lithuanian translations of Bible readings would have been translations, handwritten by priests, of the Bible or postils that Evangelical Lutheran theologians would spread in the Western European countries where the ideas of the Reformation had been embraced. Priests that worked in the Lithuanian parishes of Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century were

3 Ibid., p. 195–250.

4 Ibid., p. 346–369.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

already taking advantage of the possibilities offered by printed word with a high degree of success. Publications that were printed in Königsberg printing houses spread Biblical knowledge and its interpretation over a much broader territory and to a much wider readership. Equally important is the fact that the second half of the sixteenth century saw the emergence of a group of like-minded people who were concerned with bringing the Reformation ideas to life by drafting the essential religious books. This paved a way for the Lithuanian language to become a language of liturgical rituals.[5]

In the second half of the sixteenth century and in the early seventeenth century, outlining and publishing Bible readings in Lithuanian was the product of the creative work of a handful of people. The books that appeared in that time have a strong intertextual bond, pointing to the interceptability and continuity of work. This topic is the focal point of section 1, in which the drafting and publication of readings is juxtaposed with the state policy on culture and language. The cultural functionality of the different versions of Bible readings – the applied function that catered to the needs of the Prussian Evangelical Lutheran Church – at different times varied as a result of a number of factors and shifting political, economic, and cultural circumstances. Functionality determined by the above-mentioned circumstances and by the accessibility of publications, is discussed in section 2.

1. Lithuanian translations of Bible readings

1.1 Handwritten translations

The entire text of the Bible was first translated into the Lithuanian language at the end of the sixteenth century. Compared to other European nations, the translation happened at a rather late stage, at the time when the Reformation was already gaining a firm foothold in the Prussian Duchy.[6] The man behind the translation of the Bible was Jonas Bretkūnas (Johann Bretke, Johannes Bretkius, ca. 1536–1602), an Evangelical Lutheran priest from Friedland, part of the Bartenstein County in

5 Ibid., p. 216–250, 370–395; D. Petkūnas, *Liturgija kaip veiksnys lietuvių ir prūsų tautinei tapatybei išsaugoti Prūsijos kunigaikštystėje XVI amžiuje*, "Senoji Lietuvos literatūra" 45 (2018), p. 11–38; Id., *Prussian Liturgies: from the Reformation to the Prussian Union*, vol. 1, Klaipėda 2020, p. 183–299.

6 As for translations of the Bible into national languages, see P.H. Vogel, *Europäische Bibeldrucke des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts in den Volkssprachen. Ein Beitrag zur Bibliographie des Bibeldrucks*, Baden-Baden 1962; K. Unterburger, *Volkssprachliche Übersetzungen der Bibel im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Die Entstehung von Interpretationsvarianten der Heiligen Schrift und die Frage des Auslegungsmonopols der Kirche*, [in:] *Wahrheit – Geschwindigkeit – Pluralität. Chancen und Herausforderungen durch den Buchdruck im Zeitalter der Reformation*, ed. J.M. Lies, Göttingen 2021, p. 163–180.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

the Duchy of Prussia. His entry in the matriculas of the University of Königsberg, dated 14 June 1555, reads "Johannes Bretke of Friedland, born in the neighbouring village of Bamlen, a pauper, orphan, 5 groschen" ["Johannes Bretke, Friedlandensis, natus in pago vicino Bamlen, pauper, pupillus 5 gr."],[7] and in the matriculas of the University of Wittenberg, dated 16 January 1557, "Johannes Brecke (sic) of Friedland" ["Johannes Brecke (sic) Fridlandensis"].[8]

During his time as a priest in Labguva (Labiau, a position he assumed in 1563), Bretkūnas first translated the New Testament (BNT, 1579–1580)[9] and the Psalms (1580); his translations of the other books of the Bible were completed in 1590, when he was already in Königsberg, where he had been relocated in 1587, following the death of resident Lithuanian priest Baltramiejus Vilentas (for more on him, see sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2).[10] Bretkūnas was a priest at St Michael's Church in Steindamm and served the entire Lithuanian community of Königsberg. His Bible translations were based on the 1546 edition of Luther's Bible (LB) and the subsequent editions, with the exception of the Gospel of Luke. The main source for the translation of this Gospel was the Latin Vulgate.[11] Bretkūnas would highlight Bible readings by underscoring their beginning and end in red and including an inscription as to which Sunday or church holiday it was dedicated. For instance, in Mark 8:1, BNT bears a Latin inscription of "Euang: Dom: Septima poſt Trin:" in the margins; John 10:12–16, "Euang: Dom: Miſericord. Domini"; Acts 8:14–17, "Epist. Fer: 3. Pentecostes"; Gal 3:23–29, "Epist: Die Circumcision: Chriſti"; and so on.

Though the Bible, which Evangelical Lutherans considered and still consider to be the principal guide of their faith and a source of theological ideals, had been translated into the Lithuanian language, it remained unprinted. Bretkūnas had pleaded for it to be published on numerous occasions: his correspondence with Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach (1539–1603), the Prussian Duke who had ruled since 1577, regarding the evaluation of the manuscript and the possibilities to have it published, continued until 1602 – right up to Bretkūnas's death. This is evident in six letters by Bretkūnas pertaining to the translation of the Bible (1593, 1595, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1602), and a letter from the Consistory of Sambia to the

7 G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, vol. 1, Leipzig 1910, p. 18.

8 C.E. Foerstemann, *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab a. Ch. MDII usque ad a. MDLX*, Lipsiae 1841, p. 324.

9 The bibliographical description, place of storage of the abbreviated sources of the Bible as well as references to critical and online editions are given in *Bibliography* (p. 46–47).

10 V. Falkenhahn, *Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Kirchengeschichte Altpreußens*, Königsberg–Berlin 1941, p. 86–97, 431.

11 For sources of BNT translation, see J.D. Range, *Bausteine zur Bretke-Forschung. Kommentarband zur Bretke-Edition* (*NT*), Paderborn–München–Wien–Zürich 1992, p. 76–140.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Duke dated 1592.[12] In 1600, the manuscript was eventually delivered to the library of the Königsberg, and the translator was paid 400 marks and commissioned to revise and finalise the translation.[13] As the Bible was kept at the library in the form of a one-of-a-kind manuscript, its readings were not accessible to priests from the more remote Lithuanian parishes in Prussia, and had limited use in the Liturgy of the Word.

No other handwritten translations of the Bible or individual texts of the readings have survived to this day, but there is some information that a few Evangelical Lutheran priests in Prussia commenced work on a Lithuanian translation of the New Testament or had at least some translations of the readings available. Friedrich Pastenaci's tract entitled *Kurzgefaßte Historische Nachrichten von allen im Königreiche Preußen befindlichen Kirchen und Predigern* [*Concise Historical News from all Churches and Preachers in the Kingdom of Prussia*] (1757) contains reference to the fact that Augustinas Jomantas (Augustinus Jamundus, ca. 1525–1576), the priest of Ragainė (Ragnit) had some of the Gospels. On 3 January 1576, he received an official letter urging him to proceed quicker with the translation of the New Testament, so that it could promptly be printed.[14] Unfortunately, Jomantas died soon after without finishing his translation (what happened to the manuscript is not known). He had come from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and had been matriculated to the University of Königsberg in 1544 as "Augustinus Jamantouitz 1 gr.",[15] and was posted to Ragainė in 1563.

There is one surviving anonymous handwritten postil, which was translated into the Lithuanian language in the second half of the sixteenth century on the basis of postils by celebrated Lutheran theologians and was passed around as a duplicate.[16] It is kept at the Library of Duke August in Wolfenbüttel and, as such, is usually referred to as the *Wolfenbüttel Postil* (see WP) dated 1573–1574, the duplicate was made by Jonas Bylaukis (Johannes Bielauk, ca. 1540–1603) of Vėluva (Wehlau), who,

12 V. Falkenhahn, *Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer*, p. 433–444.

13 E. Kuhnert, *Geschichte der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek zu Königsberg. Von ihrer Begründung bis zum Jahre 1810*, Leipzig 1926, p. 88.

14 F. Pastenaci, *Kurzgefaßte Hiſtoriſche Nachrichten von allen im Königreiche Preußen befindlichen Kirchen und Predigern bei denſelben, außerhalb Königsberg, von der Reformation Lutheri an biß auf unſere Zeiten. Herausgegeben von Friedrich Paſtenaci, Hoſpit. Pred. und Rect. zu Gumbinnen, auch Mitglied der Königl. Deutſch. Geſellſch. zu Königsb. in Preußen. Erſtes Stück vom Inſterburgſchen Erzprieſterthum*, Königsberg, I.F. Drieſt, 1757, p. 7; V. Biržiška, *Aleksandrynas. Senųjų lietuvių rašytojų, rašiusių prieš 1865 m., biografijos, bibliografijos ir biobibliografijos*, vol. 1, Čikaga 1960, p. 101–105.

15 G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, p. 4.

16 J. Gelumbeckaitė, *Einleitung zur Edition der litauischen Wolfenbütteler Postille von 1573*, [in:] *Die litauische Wolfenbütteler Postille von 1573*, vol. 2, ed. J. Gelumbeckaitė, Wiesbaden 2008, p. XXXVI–XLIII.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

since 1567, had served as a priest in Jurbarkas (Georgenburg)[17], part of the Įsrutis (Insterburg) ecclesiastical province. This postil does not present the Bible reading in its entirety: instead, only the first line or the very beginning of a given reading is given before the sermon. This proves that priests either had their own handwritten readings, or employed interpreters who would translate them and the sermon into the Lithuanian language. The 1568 Church Regulations, *Kirchen Ordnung und Ceremonien* [*Church Order and Ceremonies*], contained a chapter on interpreters entitled *Von Tolken* [*On translators*], which suggested abandoning the practice of delivering sermons via an interpreter, and issued a reminder that the Prussian Duke had awarded at the University of Königsberg six scholarships for Lithuanians, Poles, Prussians, and Sudovians each, so that they could become priests and serve the national communities.[18] The long list of sources of the *Wolfenbüttel Postil* indicates that Prussian priests were aware of the postils published in Europe, especially those that had been written in Latin. Even though they would translate their fragments – both readings and sermons – into Lithuanian and make copies thereof, this method of usage of handwritten texts might only have existed at a local level.

1.2 Published translations

1.2.1 Bible readings in Martynas Mažvydas's hymnal *Gesmes Chriksczoniskas* (1570)

Two separate Bible readings were first published in 1570 in *Gesmes Chriksczoniskas* [*Christian Hymns*] (MžG), the hymnal by Martynas Mažvydas (Martinus Mosvidius, ca. 1520–1563), which was released by Georg Osterberger's printing house in Königsberg. These were Luke 1:46–55 (*Magnificat*, MžG 484–489) and Luke 1:68–79 (*Benedictus*, MžG 541–544). Mažvydas hailed from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He had come to Königsberg to study theology on the invitation from Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, the Duke of Prussia: Mažvydas was entered in the matriculas of the University between 1 August 1546 and 8 September 1547 as "Martinus Moswidius, 1 gr."[19] and studied in 1546–1548.

The University of Königsberg played an exceptional role in the origin and further development of Lithuanian writings. While he was a student at this university, Mažvydas wrote and published the first Lithuanian book, *Catechismvsa Prasty Szadei* [*The Simple Words of the Catechism*] (1547). After he graduated, he was

17 V. Falkenhahn, *Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer*, p. 367–374.

18 *Kirchen Ordnūng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts / vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament / in den Kirchen des Herʒogthumbs Preußen ſoll gehalten werden*, Königsberg 1568, fol. 31v–32r (shelf mark: BSB Res/4 H. ref. 834 m-1/2).

19 G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, p. 6.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

posted as an Evangelical Lutheran priest to the parish of Ragainė, and later became superintendent of Ragainė County.[20] He published two more books and compiled a hymnal for the whole ecclesiastical year, but was unable to have it published. This hymnal was only released in two parts (one in 1566 and the other, in 1570) after the author's death by his cousin and another graduate of the university, Baltramiejus Vilentas (for more on him, see section 1.2.2).

Magnificat and *Benedictus* were not just Bible readings; these were hymns and were published together with their musical notations. These hymns had been translated from the Latin Psalmodia (1553) of Lucas Lossius, but were edited under LB, and *Benedictus* in particular.[21] Considering the reference in the title of the hymn, "drafted by Tamošius Gedkantas for all tones" ["ant wiſſu tonu prietaiſitas nůgi Thamoſchiaus Gedkanta"] (MžG 484), the translation of *Magnificat* is attributable to Tomas Gedkantas (ca. 1525–1566), also of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a theological alumnus of the University of Königsberg. Gedkantas was matriculated on 17 July 1550 as „Thomas Georgius Giedkonti Lituanus",[22] predating Mažvydas and later than Vilentas. Eventually Gedkantas became an Evangelical Lutheran priest in Širvinta (Schirwindt), which was part of the ecclesiastical district of Pilkalnis (Pillkallen).[23]

1.2.2 *Euangelias bei Epistolas*, the book of Bible readings by Baltramiejus Vilentas (1579)

The Bible readings in the Lithuanian language that the Prussian churches so needed were first published as a separate volume by Georg Osterberger's printing house in Königsberg in 1579. It was *Euangelias bei Epistolas* [*Gospels and Epistles*] (VEE), a book drafted by Baltramiejus Vilentas (see Fig. I.1). The author released it together with the Lithuanian translation of Luther's *Enchiridion* (VE). The 1579 publication was the second edition of this translation. Judging by Vilentas's letter to Albrecht Friedrich (1553–1618), the Duke of Prussia, dated 1 August 1572, the first edition of *Enchiridion* had been issued in or before 1572 with a run of 500 copies (none of the copies are extant).[24]

---

20 O. Aleknavičienė, *Ar Martynas Mažvydas buvo vyskupas?*, "Archivum Lithuanicum" 16 (2014), p. 59–71.

21 Cf. G. Michelini, *Martyno Mažvydo raštai ir jų šaltiniai*, Vilnius 2000, p. 546–551, 603–606.

22 G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, p. 11.

23 F. Moeller, *Altpreußisches evangelisches Pfarrerbuch von der Reformation bis zur Vertreibung im Jahre 1945* (Sonderschriften des Vereins für Familienforschung in Ost- und Westpreußen e. V. 11), vol. 1: *Die Kirchspiele und ihre Stellenbesetzungen*, Hamburg 1968, p. 134.

24 B. Willent, *Brief an Herzog von Preußen Albrecht Friedrich* (MS), Königsberg 01.08.1572 (shelf mark: GStA PK XX EM 72 f Nr. 51, fol. 7r–8v); O. Aleknavičienė, *Pirmasis Baltramiejaus Vilento Enchiridiono leidimas: terminus ad quem – 1572-ieji*, "Archivum Lithuanicum" 11 (2009), p. 129–131.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Fig. I.1. Baltramiejus Vilentas, *Euangelias bei Epistolas*, 1579, the title page (shelf mark: VUB L_R 1387).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Baltramiejus Vilentas (Bartholomaeus Willenthus, ca. 1525–1587) was a priest at St Michael's Church in Königsberg, where he had worked since 1553 until his death, serving the Lithuanian population of the entire town and its surrounding areas.[25] He also came from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was matriculated at the University of Königsberg at roughly the same time as Mažvydas (between 1 August 1546 and 8 September 1547), his entry reading "Bartolomeus Villentatius, 5 gr."[26]

During his time at St Michael's Church, Vilentas worked with Jan Seklucjan (Johannes Seclucianus, ca. 1510–1578), a Polish priest and religious refugee from Poland whom Duke Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach had taken under his wing.[27] Vilentas and Seklucjan were both confessional and literary peers. Before Vilentas assumed his post in Königsberg, Seklucjan had been drafting books in the Polish language for ten years already, including the profession of the Christian faith entitled *Wyznanie wiary chrześcijańskiej* [*The Confession of the Christian Faith*] (1544), the little catechism entitled *Katechismu text prosti dla prostego ludu* [*A Simple Text of Catechism for the Common People*] (1545), the catechism entitled *Catechismus, to jest nauka naprzedniejsza i potrzebniejsza ku zbawieniu, o wierze krześciańskiej* [*Catechism, or the Most Important and Necessary Teaching for Salvation about the Christian Faith*] (1547), the hymnal called *Pieśni duchowne a nabożeństwa* [*Spiritual Songs and Services*] (1547), the *New Testament* (1551–1555, in collaboration with Stanisław Murzynowski), and other volumes.[28] Seklucjan's 1545 catechism provided a frame of reference for Mažvydas in his effort to draft the main section of his own catechism,[29] while Seklucjan's hymnal was the original source of some of the hymns retrieved from Mažvydas's translations contained in the latter's hymnal of MžG, as published in Königsberg by Vilentas.[30]

VEE consists of Bible readings arranged throughout the ecclesiastical year, beginning with the first Sunday of Advent. This book opens with readings for Sundays and Church holidays (VEE 1–135), while the subsequent separate chapter contains

---

The first edition was previously believed to have been published in 1575 and have had a run of 25 copies, see *Lietuvos TSR bibliografija. Serija A. Knygos lietuvių kalba 1547–1961*, vol. 1, Vilnius 1960, p. 450.

25 O. Aleknavičienė, *Baltramiejus Vilentas, Šteindamo Šv. Mikalojaus bažnyčia, Karaliaučius, 1553–1587*, "Archivum Lithuanicum" 17 (2015), p. 53–80.

26 G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i. Pr.*, p. 6.

27 A. Grzybowski, *Geſchichte der evangeliſchen Steindammer Kirche zu Königsberg i. Pr. aus Anlaß ihres 650jährigen Jubiläums verfaßt von Aug. Grzybowski, Pfarrer der Steindammer Gemeinde*, Königsberg 1905.

28 J. Małłek, *Seklucjan* (*Seclucianus, Sekluczian*) *Jan*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 36, Warszawa–Kraków 1995–1996, p. 182–186.

29 Ch.S. Stang, *Die Sprache des litauischen Katechismus von Mažvydas*, Oslo 1929.

30 G. Michelini, *Martyno Mažvydo raštai ir jų šaltiniai*, Vilnius 2000, p. 8–18.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

those that are dedicated to the days of the saints and other feasts, such as the days of St Andrew, St John Baptist, St Catherine, the Conversion of St Paul the Apostle, the Annunciation, All Saints' Day, and suchlike (VEE 136–187, 214–216). The book ends with a *Passio* dedicated to the week of Easter, consisting of a text written on the basis of the four Gospels, entitled *Hiſtoria apie Muka ir Smerti Pona muſu Ieſaus Chriſtaus / pagal keturiu Euangeliſtu* [*The Story of the Suffering and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ According to Four Evangelists*] (VEE 188–214), and a reading from the Book of Isaiah (Isa 52:13–15, 53:1–12), not attributed to any Sunday or Church holiday (VEE 214–216).

Vilentas presented two readings for every Sunday and Church holiday: one from the Gospels, and one from the letters of Paul the Apostle, the works of the Apostles, and the books of the Old Testament (cf. Fig. I.2). VEE features a total of 182 readings, of which 172 are from the New Testament, and 10 from the Old Testament.

In his outline of the book, Vilentas virtually kept the order of the Bible readings that had been devised for the Lutheran churches by Luther himself. Luther first published *Register zu finden die Episteln vnd Euangelien an Sontagen vnd namhafftigen Festen* [*Register of the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Notable Holidays*], or the list of the readings in the New Testament that was released by Johannes Lufft's printing house in Wittenberg in 1526.[31] As he himself used the list to mark the readings in the editions of the Bible published between 1539 and 1546, the same order later became widely prevalent and was adopted with regard to the Evangelical Lutheran postils as well. In his description of the order of the masses and other kinds of service in *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts* [*German Masses and Order of Worship*] (1526), Luther pointed that churches must observe the order of readings as it appears in the postils and priests were not to choose the topics of their sermons at their discretion.[32] The same was required by the decrees of the Prussian church. The resolutions of the visitors inspecting different parishes in the 1580's and the 1590's show that priests were enjoined to celebrate the holidays listed in the 1568 *Kirchen Ordnung und Ceremonien* in the manner prescribed by the authorities.[33] The established order of readings – both for the main service and for other occasions – was to be accepted by Prussian priests in order for them to uphold a structured Evangelical teaching.[34]

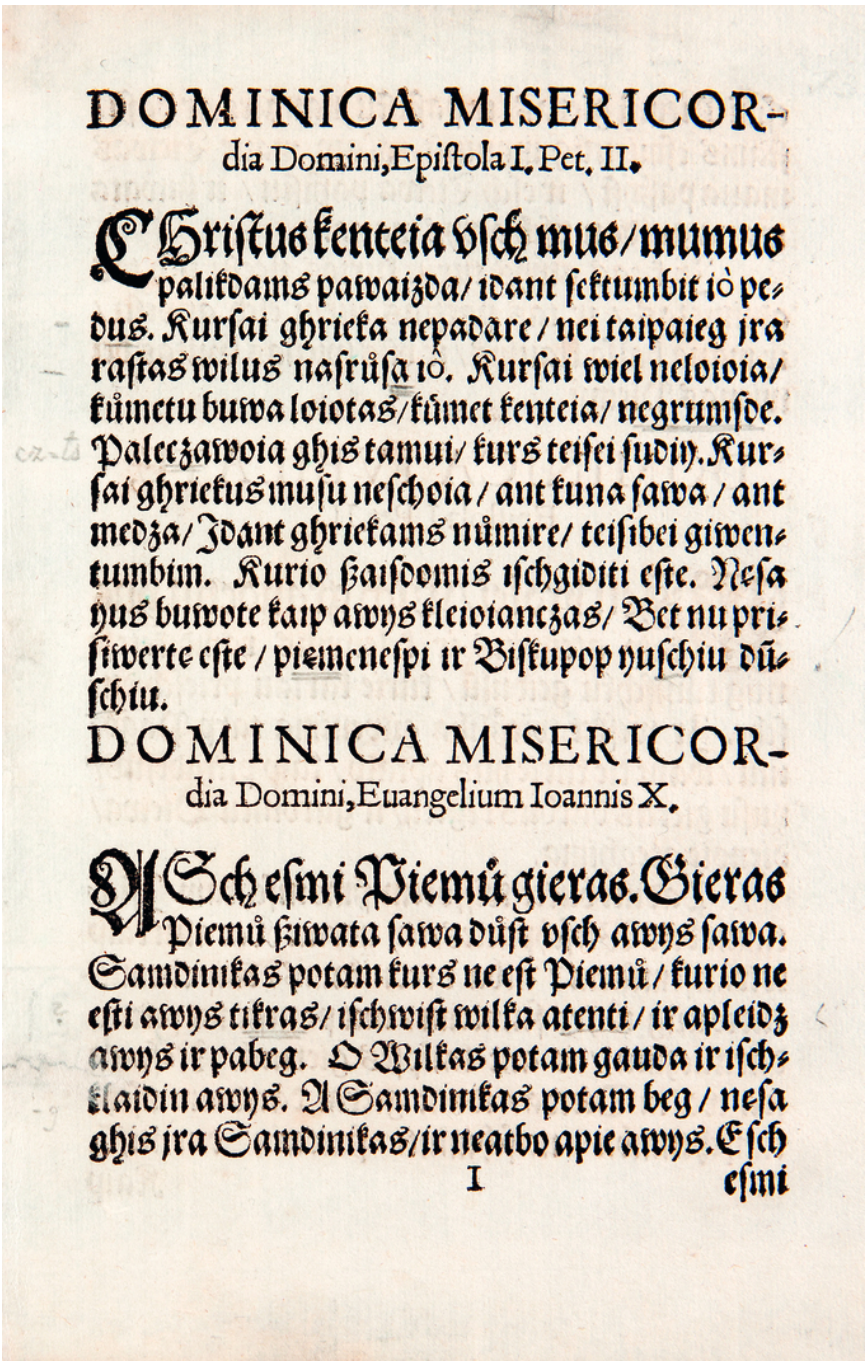
31 F. Cohrs, *Register der Episteln und Evangelien*, WA 7, p. 529–544.

32 M. Luther, *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottesdiensts zu Wittemberg fürgenommen, M.D.XXVI*, WA 19, p. 44–113.

33 A. Zieger, *Das religiöse und kirchliche Leben in Preussen und Kurland im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Köln–Graz 1967, p. 104.

34 For the impact of the sequence of pericopes on the system and quality of sermons, see H.P. Jürgens, *Predigt und Buchdruck in der Reformationszeit*, [in:] *Wahrheit – Geschwindigkeit – Pluralität. Chancen*

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843



DOMINICA MISERICOR-
dia Domini, Epiſtola I. Pet. II.

CHriſtus kenteia vſch mus/mumus
palikdams pawaizda/ idant ſektumbit iò pe-
dus. Kurſai ghrieka nepadare / nei taipaieg jra
raſtas wilus naſrůſa iô. Kurſai wiel neloioia/
kůmetu buwa loiotas/kůmet kenteia/ negrumſde.
Palecz awoia ghis tamui/ kurs teiſei ſudiy. Kur-
ſai ghriekus muſu neſchoia / ant kuna ſawa / ant
medza/ Idant ghriekams nůmire/ teiſibei giwen-
tumbim. Kurio ßaiſdomis iſchgiditi eſte. Neſa
yus buwote kaip awys kleioianczas/ Bet nu pri-
ſiwerte eſte / piemeneſpi ir Biſkupop yuſchiu dů-
ſchiu.

DOMINICA MISERICOR-
dia Domini, Euangelium Ioannis X.

ASch eſmi Piemů gieras. Gieras
Piemů ßiwata ſawa důſt vſch awys ſawa.
Samdinkas potam kurs ne eſt Piemů / kurio ne
eſti awys tikras/ iſchwiſt wilka atenti / ir apleidz
awys ir pabeg. O Wilkas potam gauda ir iſch-
klaidin awys. A Samdinkas potam beg / neſa
ghis jra Samdinkas/ir neatbo apie awys. Eſch

I eſmi

Fig. I.2. Baltramiejus Vilentas, *Euangelias bei Epistolas*, 1579, 65: an epistolary and evangelical reading of the Bible (shelf mark: VUB L_R 1387).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Vilentas adopted the *Hymnal*'s text of *Magnificat* almost verbatim (Luke 1:46–55, VEE 158–159), with the exception of Luke 1:54, which corresponds to LB rather than to Psalmodia by Lossius. Vilentas wanted to preserve the Lithuanian text intact for all practical purposes, considering that it was also the text of a hymn to be learned by heart (any radical revisions were unwelcome in cases like that). The reading featured in VEE is a bit longer than the typical *Benedictus*: the text in the MžG only covers Luke 1:68–79, and that of o VEE, Luke 1:57–79; ergo, *Benedictus* here is but a second part of this reading (VEE 153–154). The *Hymnal*'s own text was adopted with a rather high degree of accuracy, with some units exclusively mirroring its text and matching the sources of its translation. Hence, Vilentas tried to maintain the Lithuanian variant that had been published in 1570 here as well. Both texts were adopted from the MžG implicitly, with no source provided. The texts of the rest of the readings published in VEE virtually correspond to LB, yet they contain units of translation which point to reliance on the Vulgate or the Greek New Testament.

As Vilentas himself said in the foreword to the book, he had dedicated almost a decade to this work: "I gave nearly ten years of diligent work to this tract, the so-called Sunday Gospel and Epistles" ["opere quo Euangelia & Epiſtolæ quas ‖ Dominicales uocant, continentur, propemodum decen=‖nium elaboraui"] (VEE 3r). In the foreword, he stressed that his translation had been approved by priests and theological specialists who could speak Lithuanian: "this translation has been approved by the most experienced scholars of that language and specialists of our true doctrine" ["à peri=‖tißimis quibusq; eius linguæ, & intelligentibus do=‖ctrinam noſtram ſaniorem, approbata eſt"] (VEE 3r). This shows that his own translations of Bible readings had the seal of approval as fit to be read at Prussia's Evangelical Lutheran churches.

A book of Bible readings was an essential aid for those priests of the Duchy of Prussia who while ministering in Lithuanian parishes had a poor command of Lithuanian. Even though in 1546, Duke Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach awarded six scholarships for young Lithuanian, Polish, Prussian, and Sudovian students of theology at the University of Königsberg,[35] research into the history of the Prussian Evangelical Lutheran Church indicates that Lithuanians pursuing this type of studies in the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century were few, with some of the scholarships even remaining unclaimed. The first priests who could speak Lithuanian had fled from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where they had been unable to spread the Evangelical Lutheran faith freely. These were religious

und Herausforderungen durch den Buchdruck im Zeitalter der Reformation, ed. J.M. Lies, Göttingen 2021, p. 115–121.

35 I. Lukšaitė, *Die Reformation im Großfürstentum Litauen und in Preußisch-Litauen* (*1520er Jahre bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*), p. 201–215.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

refugees that found shelter in Prussia, obtained a theological education, a post, and support to engage in literary endeavours.[36]

Nonetheless, this book of Vilentas had not been commissioned by the Prussian authorities, as had been the case with the previous Lithuanian books published under Duke Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach. Vilentas's letter to Prussia's Duke Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg dated 25 December 1581 testifies that, two years after the publication of his VEE, he still had not paid to Georg Osterberger's printing house for the paper and the work, and was hence asking the Duke for his assistance, reminding him that the foreword was dedicated to him.[37] Vilentas's letter to Duke Albrecht Friedrich dated 1 August 1572 testifies that he had not been paid for the publication of the first edition of VE either.[38] Vilentas's appeal was finally taken into consideration as late as in 1582, with the Duke issuing an order to pay him, since his work with Lithuanians and on book translations had made this priest very meritorious: he "served us loyally with the Lithuanian language and with the translations of *Euangelias bei Epistolas*, the *Catechism* and the *Postil* in particular".[39] Advisers to the Duke instructed him that he be paid 20 Polish guldens and be given 12 German bushels of grain every year for his service in the entire Königsberg and its surrounding areas. A similar fate befell Jan Seklucjan, the Polish priest: on 18 June 1575, he approached the Duke with a letter asking him for a premium for he had gotten himself into debt while printing Polish books.[40] All of which shows that authors who took the initiative to draft and publish their books were not certain whether they would have the money to pay the printing house or be able to later plead with the authorities for financial compensation.

These facts indicate that, following the death of Duke Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, the Prussian authorities ceased to support religious literature written in national languages. Albrecht Friedrich, who succeeded his father in 1568, was

36 Ibid., p. 216–228; 370–395.

37 B. Willent, *Brief an Herzog von Preußen Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg* (MS), Königsberg 25.12.1581 (shelf mark: GStA PK XX EM 72 f Nr. 51, fol. 9r–10v); see O. Aleknavičienė, *Pirmasis Baltramiejaus Vilento Enchiridiono leidimas: terminus ad quem – 1572-ieji*, p. 135–140.

38 B. Willent, *Brief an Herzog von Preußen Albrecht Friedrich* (MS), Königsberg 01.08.1572 (shelf mark: GStA PK XX EM 72 f Nr. 51, fol. 7r–8v); O. Aleknavičienė, *Pirmasis Baltramiejaus Vilento Enchiridiono leidimas: terminus ad quem – 1572-ieji*, p. 129–135.

39 "mitt der ‖ Littiſchen ſprach vnd ſonderlich In versione ‖ der *Euangelien vnd Epiſtelen, Cathechiſmi* ‖ vnd *Poſtillen* treulich gedinet" (*Schreiben der Räte von Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg, Herzog von Preußen, betreffend die Zahlung an Bartholomaeus Willent* [MS], Königsberg 22.01.1582 [shelf mark: GStA PK XX EM 72 f Nr. 51, fol. 11r–12v]); see O. Aleknavičienė, *Pirmasis Baltramiejaus Vilento Enchiridiono leidimas: terminus ad quem – 1572-ieji*, p. 138–140.

40 D. H. Arnoldt, *Zuſätze zu ſeiner Hiſtorie der Königsbergſchen Univerſität, nebſt einigen Verbeſſerungen derſelben, auch zweyhundert und funfzig Lebensbeſchreibungen Preußiſcher Gelehrten*, Königsberg, Verlag Iohann Heinrich Hartungs Witwe, 1756, p. 107–108.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

unable to rule due to illness; as a result, Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg, son of Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach's brother Georg, was appointed regent in 1577.[41] Universally adopted in 1578, the *Formula Concordiae*, which had been signed by a vast majority of the Prussian clergy, led to an abatement of theological disputes and a cessation of competition on the confessional front;[42] as a result, continued pursuit of the policy on language that had been launched in mid-sixteenth century was no longer at the centre of political and cultural ideology: the fight over the faithful had been won, Luther's religious doctrine consolidated; all that was left was to maintain the *status quo*.

Vilentas translated and published both books (VE and VEE) on his own initiative, for he understood the urgent demand for this kind of literature, and how big an impact the printed word had on society. Between 1581 and 1587, he also worked on a Lithuanian translation of the postil by Veit Dietrich (1506–1549), the famous German theologian, which was left unfinished (what happened to the manuscript is not known).[43] In his own words, written in the foreword to VEE, he served the Duke and the Prussian Evangelical Lutheran Church driven by the idea that it should become stronger and the word of God spoken in the mother tongue should be spread nationwide:

> After all, it was not that I had just been educated and schooled at the Academy since my young days – later, in my service to His Excellency, I taught at this church for nearly 27 years, and all of my strength went to make the budding Church stronger amidst my people and on these lands that the Duke ruled, and to have the word of God, spoken in my mother tongue, spread far and wide across the land (VEE 2v).[44]

The immense need for Bible readings in Lithuanian is confirmed by the fact that a second edition of Vilentas's *Euangelias bei Epistolas* was published in Königsberg in 1612, this one drafted by Lozorius Zengštokas, an Evangelical Lutheran priest who was invited to work in Königsberg after the death of Jonas Bretkūnas (for more on this, see section 1.2.4).

41 W. Hubatsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche Ostpreussens*, vol. 1, Göttingen 1968, p. 115.

42 Ibid., p. 115–122.

43 B. Willent, *Brief an Herzog von Preußen Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg* (MS), Königsberg 25.12.1581 (shelf mark: GStA PK XX EM 72 f Nr. 51, fol. 9r–10v); O. Aleknavičienė, *Pirmasis Baltramiejaus Vilento Enchiridiono leidimas: terminus ad quem – 1572-ieji*, p. 140–142.

44 "Et enim non ſolum à tene=‖ris annis in hac Academia educatus ſum et inſtitutus, ‖ ſed poſtea eius Celſîtudini ſeruiui, & in Eccleſia hac ‖ docui annis propemodum 27. quibus in eo totus fui, ut ‖ Eccleſia, cuius uix prima fundamenta erant iacta, in ‖ mea gente, & hac Principis ditione, adoleſceret, con=‖ſtitueretur, & uerbum Dei patria lingua longe lateq; ‖ propagaretur" (VEE 2v).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Fig. I.3. Jonas Bretkūnas, *Postilla*, 1591 (BP II 330): the beginning of the reading Luke 19:41–48 (shelf mark: LMAVB LK-16/1).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

1.2.3 Bible readings in *Postilla* by Jonas Bretkūnas (1591)

Postilla [*Postil*] by Jonas Bretkūnas (BP I, BP II) was published in Königsberg in 1591. This two-volume edition contained a collection of sermons consisting of 70 Bible readings and sermons arranged for the entire Church year (see Fig. I.3). Volume one of the BP includes a *Passio* titled *PASSIO Tatai eſti Muka POno muſu Ieſaus Chriſtaus / iſch keturu Euangeliſtu, Lietuwiſchkai iſchraſchita Per Iana Bretkuna Anno 1591* [*Passion, which is the Suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ According to the four Evangelists, Written in Lithuanian by Jonas Bretkūnas in 1591*] (BP I 355–396), dedicated to the week of Easter, and Pentecost *Priſſikielimas ir Dangu ßengimas Pono muſu IEſaus Chriſtaus / iſch keturu Euangeliſtu* [*The Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Ascension According to the four Evangelists*] (BP I 397–416), which is also grounded in a synthesis of the four Gospels that describe the resurrection and Ascension of Christ.

It is the first Lithuanian postil to come out in print, its two volumes consisting of 968 pages. As the main emphasis since the beginning of the Reformation had been on the preaching of the Gospel and its interpretation through sermon, there was a large pent-up need for compendia of both Bible readings and sermons in Prussia at the time. With that in mind, the BP had a big run (see section 2) so that priests in the more remote regional communities would be able to have this book as a tool to preach the Gospel and interpret it. In Prussia, priests were ordered to rely on the published sermons and to prepare for the masses by giving consideration to the community's ability to understand them.[45] Neither in his foreword nor in his letters did Bretkūnas provide any information as to whether he had relied on any Lithuanian sources in his preparation of the book.

Most of the readings came not from the New Testament (which Bretkūnas had translated himself in 1579–1580), but from Vilentas's *Euangelias bei Epistolas*. There were but two exceptions: one reading was copied from his *Enchiridion*, whereas an excerpt from the Gospel of Mathew (Matt 3:13–17) was actually a fresh translation.[46] Neither was present in VEE. The two extra readings were dedicated to two sacraments: the first one, to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, the second, to that of Baptism. These were the only two sacraments (out of the seven recognised by the Roman Catholic Church) that Luther had upheld.[47] The Sacrament of the Eucharist (also known as the Holy Sacrament, the Sacrament of the Altar) had been the subject of a great many disputes since the beginning of the Reformation:

45 A. Zieger, *Das religiöse und kirchliche Leben in Preussen und Kurland im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Köln–Graz 1967, p. 52.

46 O. Aleknavičienė, *Jono Bretkūno Postilės* (*1591*) *teksto istorija: perikopių redagavimo šaltiniai*, p. 29–60.

47 K. Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, Tübingen 1991, p. 284.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

first between Swiss theologian Huldrych Zwingli and Martin Luther, later between their supporters and opponents.[48] Luther followed the stance of Christ's actual and bodily existence in Eucharist: he laid down his views that the existence of Christ resurrected in bread and wine was "true, actual, and substantial" [*vere, realiter et substantialiter*] in his 1528 tract *Vom abendmal Christi, Bekendnis Mart. Luther* [*About the Last Supper of Christ, a Confession Mart. Luther*].[49] Since these were the only two sacraments to have remained in the Evangelical Lutheran Church,[50] they were the ones that became a distinguishing trait of the confessions.[51] To reveal the essence of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, Bretkūnas devised a sermon in which he conveyed an interpretation that mirrored Luther's understanding (BP I 63–69). For the Sacrament of Baptism, he additionally translated and included, in volume one, a reading from the Gospel of Mathew (Matt 3:13–17), which tells the story of Christ's baptism near the Jordan. This reading is also accompanied by an extensive sermon about "The fruits, or benefits of baptism" ["Waiſius alba nauda apſikrikſchtijmo"] (BP I 137–147).

The text of the institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist is not a typical read: it is made of Bible verses from the Gospels of three synoptic evangelists, Mathew, Mark, and Luke, and Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians. The text adopted from VE was included by Bretkūnas in volume one of the *Postilla* to be read at evening masses on Christmas day (BP I 62). In VE, this text appeared in two chapters, but Bretkūnas took it from the chapter entitled *Sacramentas Altoriaus / kaip ‖ tô Hukinikas ſcheimina ſawa ‖ praſchczіauſei tur ‖ mokinti* [*The Sacrament of the Altar, How the Man of the House Ought to Simply Teach his Family*] (VE 33). Vilentas's *Enchiridion* had been translated from Luther's catechism of *Enchiridion Der Kleine Catechismus. Fur die gemeine Pfarherr vnd Prediger. D. Mart. Luther* [*Enchiridion, the Small Catechism. For the Common Pastor and Preacher. D. Mart. Luther*], which was published in Leipzig in 1543,[52] and therefore the original source for the translation of the text of the institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist is the relevant German text of this edition of Luther's catechism.

As it was already mentioned, VEE featured 182 Bible readings: 172 from the New Testament, 10 from the Old Testament. For the purposes of his BP, Bretkūnas had adopted 68 of them – just over a third. For every Sunday and holiday, Vilentas had

48 Ibid., p. 296–297; J. Lenzenweger, P. Stockmeier, K. Amon et al., *Katalikų bažnyčios istorija*, vol. 2, Vilnius 1997, p. 25–30.

49 M. Luther, *Vom abendmal Christi, Bekendnis*, WA 26, p. 261–509.

50 A. Zieger, *Das religiöse und kirchliche Leben in Preussen und Kurland im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 107–108.

51 J. Lenzenweger, P. Stockmeier, K. Amon et al., *Katalikų bažnyčios istorija*, p. 71.

52 R. Trautmann, *Die Quellen der drei altpreussischen Katechismen und des Enchiridions von Bartholomaeus Willent*, "Altpreussiche Monatsschrift" 46 (1909), p. 478–479.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

presented two readings: one from the Gospels, and another one, from the New and Old Testament books, while only one of each pair made its way into the BP. This book largely consists of readings taken from the New Testament – the Gospels in particular, while readings adopted from the other books of the Bible are but three: 1 Thess 4:13–18 (BP II 515–516), Acts 2:1–13 (BP II 132–134), and Isa 52:13–15, 53:1–12 (BP I 417–418). The 1570 church regulations for the Courland entitled *Kirchenordnung* indicate that reading Epistles in non-German churches served no purpose. Instead, priests were advised to read and interpret extracts from the catechism.[53] This suggests that Bretkūnas chose evangelical readings from VEE, so that he could spend more time interpreting the catechism and teaching the basics of faith during his service.[54]

Typically, the adoption of texts from VEE followed one of these strategies: (1) the adoption can be precise and verbatim (with some adjustments for spelling, phonetics, morphology, and word order); (2) the adoption can be partial with revisions against LB made to those parts that Vilentas had translated from the Vulgate or the Greek New Testament; (3) the adoption can be partial, with revisions made to the parts Vilentas had translated incorrectly; (4) the adoption can be made through translation and addition of the fragments that Vilentas had omitted; and (5) pragmatic adaptation of the beginning of pericopes.

A comparison of the readings of the BP and VEE shows that some of them were adopted by Bretkūnas with a rather high degree of precision. While many fragments amount to direct citations, there are places where he made quite a few revisions to the text so adopted, changing both the spelling, phonetics, morphology, lexis, and major fragments of the text. The revisions to these major textual elements show that, despite the fact that the readings drafted by Vilentas were printed liturgical texts, Bretkūnas regarded his translation as criticism of the Biblical text. Before adopting a text, he would mainly compare the translation with LB – the 1546 edition and the subsequent publications – and in doing so actually performed a philological analysis of Vilentas's translation.[55]

No arguments have been found to prove that Bretkūnas, in an effort to revise the texts he adopted from VEE, would have relied on his own translation of the BNT.[56] He did a new translation of Matt 3:13–17, and of the verses of the Bible that Vilentas

53 A. Zieger, *Das religiöse und kirchliche Leben in Preussen und Kurland im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, p. 66.

54 For the teaching of catechism, see I. Lukšaitė, *Die Reformation im Großfürstentum Litauen und in Preußisch Litauen* (*1520er Jahre bis zum beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*), p. 374–375.

55 O. Aleknavičienė, *Jono Bretkūno Postilės* (*1591*) *teksto istorija: perikopių redagavimo šaltiniai*, p. 29–60.

56 Ibid., p. 43–44.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

had omitted, with LB as the source in both cases.[57] Bretkūnas relied on VEE both in his drafting of the BP and in his translation of the BNT. The intertextual connections between his BNT and VEE are varied in their extent, ranging from whole fragments to parts of them; nonetheless, the reliance on VEE in the translation of the texts that fall in the category of Bible readings is very all too obvious.[58]

As Bretkūnas carried out an analysis of Vilentas's translation and incorporated in his books texts that had been revised, these are to be considered as a new wording of Vilentas's texts. Even though having an invariable or slightly varied text of the Bible is critical for the purposes of liturgical practice, Bretkūnas provided yet another version of readings. This version should be construed as the result of the creative work of two authors: Vilentas as translator and Bretkūnas as editor of the translation. The BP was also a book that had been reviewed and approved by the clergy. This has proof both in the reference to the good reviews by other priests and fitness for use in churches made in the foreword (BP I A4r) and in the document, drawn by Sebastian Artomed, Counsellor of the Consistory of Sambia, and signed in 1590 by six priests who had examined his manuscript (date of registration with the Duke's Chancellery: June 1),[59] who also accorded the readings and sermons published in the BP the status of an official liturgical book.

When it comes to addressing the authorship of the translation of Bible readings in the sixteenth century and later on, it has to be emphasised that when he published the Bible readings in 1579, Vilentas identified himself as the translator on the title page of VEE, yet Bretkūnas made no reference to these VEE as the source of his readings. In his foreword, he introduced the BP as his Lithuanian sermons aimed at interpreting the Gospels:

> For the word of Christ to thrive fruitfully among the Lithuanians, whose salvation is my duty by commission of this Church, having given it much reflection, I have written an interpretation of the Gospel that is usually given in church on Sundays before the sermon. Because I can see that for want of books, the word of Christ lives among the Lithuanians not in the way that the Apostle has intended (BP I A3v).[60]

57 O. Aleknavičienė, *Pridėtos ir praleistos Biblijos eilutės Jono Bretkūno Postilės perikopėse*, "Archivum Lithuanicum" 1 (1999), p. 67–84.

58 J.D. Range, *Bausteine zur Bretke-Forschung. Kommentarband zur Bretke-Edition* (*NT*), p. 118–122.

59 *Brief von Priestern über die Qualität von Jonas Bretkūnas Postile* (MS), Königsberg 01.06.1590 (shelf mark: GStA PK XX. HA Hist. StA Königsberg, HBA J 2, 1590 Juni 1 [K. 1013]); V. Falkenhahn, *Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer*, p. 103–104.

60 "Quod ‖ cum mecum altius perpenderem, ut inter Lithuanos, quorum ‖ ſalutis cura in hac Eccleſia mihi demandata est, ſermo Chriſti ‖ abunde habitaret, explicationem Euangeliorum, quæ diebus ‖ Dominicis pro concione in Eccleſia proponi ſolent, conſignaui, ‖ video enim ſermonem Chriſti non eò modo, ut Apoſtolus vult, ‖ propter librorum inopiam inter Lithuanos habitare" (BP I A3v).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

It is probable that Bretkūnas indeed devised his sermons in reliance on the most popular postils of Evangelical Lutheran theologians. He said it in the foreword: "I have presented for the judgement of others an interpretation of the Gospel that I have adopted from the comments of the most prominent theologians"[61] (BP I A4r), even though those theologians were not identified as such.

1.2.4 *Evangelias bei Epistolas*, a book of Bible readings by Lozorius Zengštokas (1612)

The second edition of Vilentas's Bible readings was published in 1612 by Evangelical Lutheran priest Lozorius Zengštokas (Lazarus Sengstock, 1562–1621) and was printed by the Jonas Fabricijus printing house in Königsberg. Zengštokas was born in Lübeck, but later on moved with his parents to live in Rīga.[62] Since 1588, he worked as a priest in several Lithuanian parishes of the Duchy of Prussia: first in Verdainė (Werden), Rusnė (Ruß), and Klaipėda (Memel), and as of 1604, in the Königsberg Church of St Elisabeth, which had been given to Lithuanians as a replacement of St Michael's Church (which had been left to the Polish religious community).[63] In 1612, Zengštokas published two more books: the third edition of Vilentas's *Enchiridion* and a hymnal entitled *Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos* [*Christian and Spiritual Hymns*].

The title page of the book of Bible readings features the same title of *Evangelias bei Epistolas* [*Gospels and Epistles*] (ZEE), says who the editor of the first and the second editions is, and describes the edition as revised and updated (see Fig. I.4). In his re-issue of *Euangelias*, Zengštokas did not make any major changes to the text of the readings; on the contrary, he thought Vilentas's translation to be of decent quality and took wilful effort not to depart from it: "lest I depart from the previous edition, so simple and correct, even so much as by the breadth of a hair" ["ut à verſione priore, ut ſimplici & vera ‖ ne latum vnguem diſceſſerim"] (ZEE XII).[64] He also included the foreword by Vilentas from the 1579 edition (ZEE I–VI).

---

61 "Euangeliorum ex-‖plicatonem ex clariſsimorum Theologorum commentariis de-‖ſumptam aliorum judicio ſubijcerem" (BP I A4r).

62 V. Biržiška, *Aleksandrynas. Senųjų lietuvių rašytojų, rašiusių prieš 1865 m., biografijos, bibliografijos ir biobibliografijos*, p. 220–223; J.J. Quandt, *Preußische Presbyterologie* (MS), vol. 1, Königsberg vor 1772, fol. 108v (shelf mark: GStA PK XX. HA Hist. StA Königsberg, Hs. 2).

63 F. Moeller, *Altpreußisches evangelisches Pfarrerbuch von der Reformation bis zur Vertreibung im Jahre 1945*, p. 148, 124, 94, 75; V. Falkenhahn, *Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer*, p. 138, 176, 294, 298, 312, 448.

64 For Zengštokas's revisions, see F. Bechtel, *Bartholomäus Willent's litauische Uebersetzung des Luther'schen Enchiridions und der Episteln und Evangelien, nebst den Varianten der von Lazarus Sengstock besorgten Ausgabe dieser Schriften*, Göttingen 1882.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

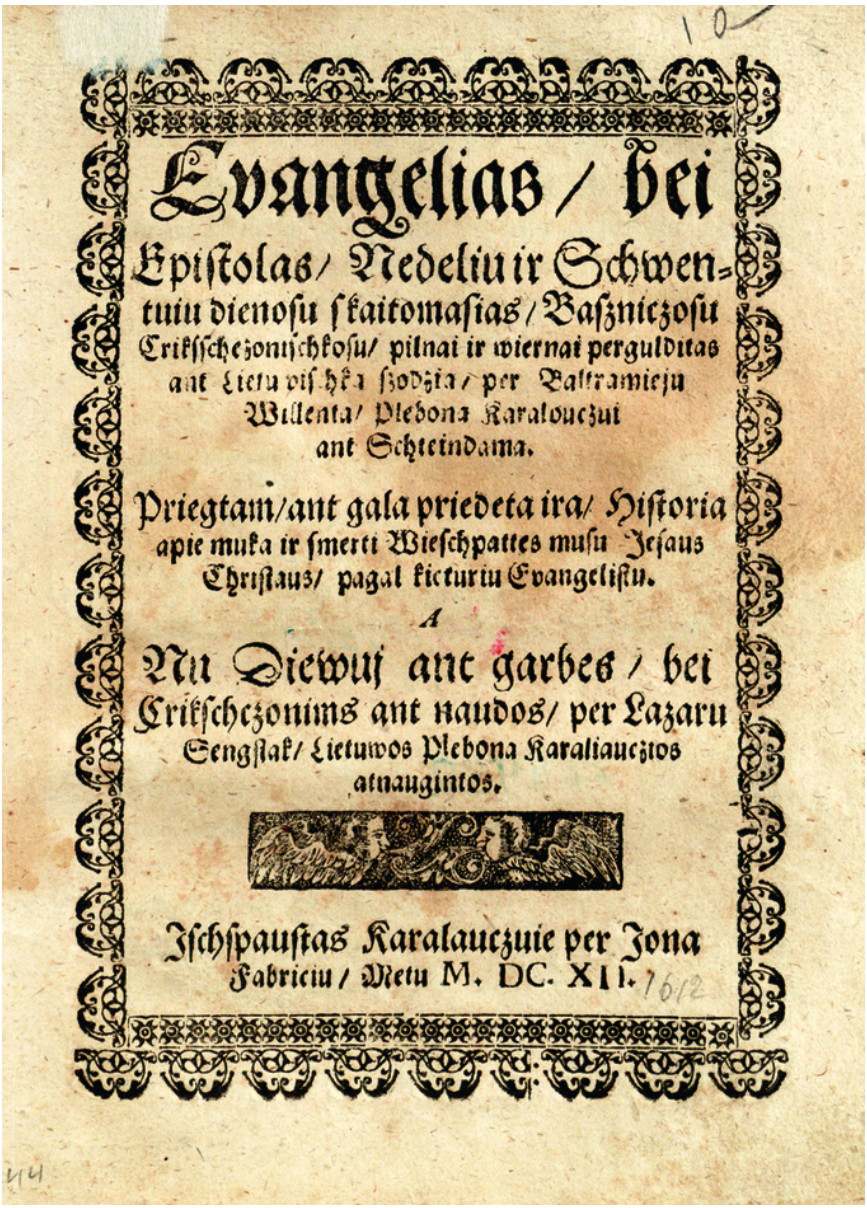

Evangelias / bei
Epistolas / Nedeliu ir Schwen-
tuiu dienosu skaitomasias / Baznyczosu
Crikschczonyschkosu / pilnai ir wiernai perguldytas
ant Lietu wisch kka szodzia / per Baltramieju
Willenta / Plebona Karalouczui
ant Schteindama.
Priegtam / ant gala priedeta ira / Historia
apie muka ir smerti Wieschpattes musu Jesaus
Christaus / pagal kicturiu Evangelistu.
A
Nu Diewus ant garbes / bei
Crikschczonims ant naudos / per Lazaru
Sengstak / Lietuwos Plebona Karaliauczios
atnaugintos.
Ischspaustas Karalauczuie per Jona
Fabriciu / Metu M. DC. XII.
1612

Fig. I.4. Lozorius Zengštokas, *Evangelias bei Epistolas*, 1612, the title page (shelf mark: LMAVB LK-17/7).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

In 1882, Fritz Bechtel published a critical edition of the 1579 editions of both of Vilentas's books, referencing Zengštokas's revisions made in the 1612 re-issue in the footnotes, and lengthily described the volume and quality of the differences, as well as the language of both editions in the introductory study to the book. Bechtel was sceptical about Zengštokas's contribution: this editor did not want to produce a new version and only wanted to re-issue the old one with revisions for print errors without analysing them and correcting them in a structured manner and without paying any attention to spelling and grammar mistakes, and was but "a very mediocre corrector" ["ein recht mittelmässiger corrector"],[65] therefore, this copy of *Euangelias bei Epistolas* was only an impression rather than a stand-alone source.[66]

Even though Zengštokas clearly indicated that his sole task was to correct printing errors, he had indeed added something to the edition, without, however, mentioning it in the foreword. This edition contains more readings than the first one. ZEE features a total of 188 readings, of which 179 are from the New Testament, and 9 from the Old Testament. Zengštokas added 7 more readings from the New Testament, one of them as a replacement for an Old Testament reading featured in VEE. Bechtel noted the texts dedicated to particular occasions but did not investigate their sources.[67]

A comparative analysis has shown ZEE to contain the following extra readings: (1) Gal 3:23–29 (ZEE 20); (2) Matt 3:13–17 (ZEE 21–22); (3) Matt 2:13–23 (ZEE 22–23); (4) 2 Pet 1:19–21 (ZEE 35); (5) Matt 17:1–9 (ZEE 36); (6) 1 Tim 1:15–16 (ZEE 167); (7) Luke 15:11–32 (ZEE 94–97). This last mentioned reading was the product of adding 22 more lines to Luke 15:1–10 (VEE 87–88), which became Luke 15:1–32 (ZEE 93–97) as a result. The new Luke 15:11–32 is a story of the prodigal son and a semantic continuation of similar comparisons about the lost groschen and the wayward sheep. As some postils feature this story as a separate reading, it should be considered as an extra reading number seven.

Zengštokas added two Bible readings dedicated to the Sunday after Christ's circumcision ("Dominica à Circumciſione Do-‖mini"): Matt 3:13–17 and Matt 2:13–23. Vilentas's book did not have reference to this Sunday (it only contained readings dedicated to the day when Christ was circumcised). Zengštokas had adopted both of those readings from Bretkūnas's *Postilla*: the first was copied from BP I 137–138, the second, from BP I 102–104. It should be noted that the reading of Matt 2:13–23 appears twice in Zengštokas's book: its second appearance is dedicated to the Feast of the Holy Innocents ("IN DIE INNOCENTVM ‖

65 Ibid., p. CVI.

66 Ibid., p. C, CVI–CX.

67 Ibid., p. C–CII.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Puerorum" ZEE 148–149). These readings differ in his book, as they have different sources: the first one was taken from BP I 102–104, the second one, from VEE 140–141, where it was also dedicated to that day.

Zengštokas added yet another, third reading – Gal 3:23–29 – dedicated to the Feast of the Circumcision of Christ. It matches the text of the New Testament as translated by Bretkūnas and as dedicated to that day. That day is evident from the Latin inscription "Epist. Die Curcum-‖ciſion. Chriſti" in a margin of the BNT. This reading is not present in the BP.

Two Bible readings, 2 Pet 1:19–21 and Matt 17:1–9, were added for the sixth Sunday after Epiphany ("Dominica VI poſt Epiphania-‖rum"), for in VEE this period ended with the fifth Sunday. These readings are not present in the BP. Both 2 Pet 1:19–21 and Matt 17:1–9 had been adopted by Zengštokas from BNT.

1 Tim 1:15–16, another new addition, is dedicated to the Feast of Mary Magdalene ("IN DIE MARIÆ MAGDA-‖lenæ"). This reading had been recommended by the 1568 *Kirchen Ordnung und Ceremonien*,[68] but neither Vilentas nor Bretkūnas had given any consideration to this recommendation. This reading was added as a replacement of Prov 31:10–31 (it appeared in VEE 159–161). This one, too, had been adopted by Zengštokas from BNT.

In his efforts to adopt readings from the New Testament by Bretkūnas, Zengštokas would pick the version of the text that had been revised by Bretkūnas and would copy it with a rather high degree of accuracy (there are but a few spelling, punctuation, phonetical, morphological differences, or cases where auxiliary words and synonyms were used).

The 22 lines, Luke 15:11–32 (the story of the prodigal son) that Zengštokas had added to the ZEE reading Luke 15:1–10, were to be read on the third Sunday after Holy Trinity ("Dominica III. Poſt Trini-‖tatis" ZEE 94–97). This reading is not present in the BP. It was not adopted from BNT. As it was already mentioned, the source for Bretkūnas's translation of the Gospel of Luke was Vulgate, and Zengštokas's own translation matches LB. It should be added in this context that, with reference to the prodigal son, Zengštokas's hymnal *Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos* from 1612 features a hymn entitled *Gieſme ape pameſtaghi Sunu* / Luc. 15. Cap. [*A Hymn of the Lost Son*]), which had never been published in any prior hymnal (its author is unknown and it is believed to have no precise match in any hymnal published in any other language).[69]

Zengštokas was the first to publish several readings from the manuscript of the New Testament by Bretkūnas and his *Postilla*. By contrast to the main body of text,

68 *Kirchen Ordnūng vnd Ceremonien. Wie es in vbung Gottes Worts / vnd reichung der Hochwirdigen Sacrament / in den Kirchen des Herʒogthumbs Preuſſen ſoll gehalten werden*, fol. 31r.

69 G. Michelini, *1612 m. Giesmes Chriksczionischkos ir Duchaunischkos: renesansinio ciklo pabaiga = Gli Inni Cristiani e Spirituali del 1612: la fine del ciclo rinascimentale*, Vilnius 2010, p. 18, 214–215.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

which has a note to the effect of it having been adopted from VEE in the foreword to the book, all additional texts had been adopted with no reference to their sources.

Summarising the history of Lithuanian translations of Bible readings, it should be noted, once again, that their major authors shared the common denominator of theology and territory where they operated. They were priests that ministered in Königsberg and served the Lithuanian community one after another: first Vilentas, then his successor Bretkūnas, then Zengštokas. The first two worked at St Michael's Church in Steindamm, the third one, at St Elizabeth's Church in Sackheim; nonetheless, all three of them provided church services to the Lithuanians that were scattered across the entire Königsberg and did not constitute a compact parish, territory-wise. Later, a similar role was played by Jonas Rėza (Johann Rehsa, 1576–1629) of Tilžė (Tilsit), who took Zengštokas's place in 1621.[70] Rėza redacted and in 1625 published *Psalteras Dowido* [*Psalter of David*], a Bible book by Bretkūnas, matching Luther's text written in German against the revised Lithuanian translation by Bretkūnas.

The interceptability of office had an impact on the interceptability of endeavours on the literary front. As seen from the history of translation of Bible readings presented herein, the priests relied on each other's work to prepare the necessary liturgical publications just as they published their own books (both as first and second editions). This created a continuity of creative work that favoured the Prussian Evangelical Lutheran Church; furthermore, the publication of the books expanded the usage of the Lithuanian language in the Liturgy of the Word and in public life in general.

Since there were three printed versions of Bible readings in Lithuanian functioning in Prussia in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the first half of the seventeenth century, it has to be emphasised again that, regardless of the version used for the purposes of the Liturgy of the Word – be it VEE, ZEE or BP – most of the texts were drafted on the basis of texts that had been translated by Vilentas. There were few exceptions to this rule, with Bretkūnas adding one reading of his own translation to the BP, Zengštokas adding a few readings from BNT and one of his own translation to his ZEE. One reading, which he adopted from the BP, Bretkūnas had also been prepared on the basis of the readings that Vilentas had translated in 1579. With this in mind, the authorship of Vilentas's translations, and the contribution that he made by preparing liturgical texts of relevance to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, should not sink into oblivion. This is equally

70 F. Moeller, *Altpreußisches evangelisches Pfarrerbuch von der Reformation bis zur Vertreibung im Jahre 1945*, p. 75; J.J. Quandt, *Preußische Presbyterologie*, fol. 108v–109v; V. Falkenhahn, *Der Übersetzer der litauischen Bibel Johannes Bretke und seine Helfer*, p. 312–322.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

important when it comes to studying the heritage of Lithuanian writings from the old period of the written language.

2. The cultural functioning of the different versions of Bible readings

The functional value of any type of book is the product of its form and content first and foremost, followed by its availability (movement in space and time) and the public's ability to understand it (degree of literacy and needs). Speaking about the cultural functioning of the Lithuanian versions of Bible readings, i. e. their applied function, there are two aspects that matter: (1) which version was fit to function best, and at what time; (2) the way that it catered to the needs of the Prussian Evangelical Lutheran Church and society.

It was already mentioned here that the readings contained in the Bible handwritten by Bretkūnas were, for all practical purposes, inaccessible to the priests in the more remote parishes of the Prussian Duchy and could not be broadly used in the Liturgy of the Word. As of 1579, priests started using the book of readings published by Vilentas, and in 1591 Bretkūnas published a collection of sermons consisting of Bible readings and their interpretations. For his BP, he choose mainly evangelical readings; as a result, readings from other books of the Bible to be used for the purposes of the Liturgy of the Word were scarce. It became particularly evident when the run of VEE had been depleted. Filling this gap called for the publication of the second edition of Vilentas's book, a task that was undertaken by Zengštokas. This publication came out 33 years after the first edition. In the foreword to the book, Zengštokas wrote that all copies of the first edition of VEE and VE were gone and that even the rich library of the Duke of Prussia no longer had any:

> the editions of *Euangelias bei Epistolas*, published by the venerable and educated Baltramiejus Vilentas, former dean at the Lithuanian church of Königsberg, as well as those of the catechism have been scattered so far and wide that even the richest library of His Grace Duke of Prussia or book merchants now have none (ZEE XI).[71]

71 "Euangeliorum & Epiſtolarum ut & ‖ Catechiſmi exemplaria, à Reverendo ‖ Doctoq[ue] Viro, Domino Bartholomeo ‖ Willento, Lithvanicæ Eccleſiæ, Regiomonti quon-‖dam Paſtore, ex Germanica Lingua, in Lithva-‖nicam translata, adeò ſint diſtracta, vt nec vni-‖cum tam in Illuſtriß. Princip. Borußiæ Biblio-‖theca inſtructißima, quam apud Bibliopolas extet" (ZEE XI).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

Zengštokas claimed that churches should not experience any shortage of such books and he therefore felt duty-bound to prepare revised editions.[72] The size of the run of Vilentas's and Zengštokas's editions is unknown. In his presentation of the Lithuanian language and the first creative men of writing in the foreword to Jonas Rėza's *Psalteras Dowido* (1625), Jonas Bėmas (Johannes Behm, 1578–1648), a theology professor with the University of Königsberg mentioned Vilentas's translation as something that still existed (probably having the second edition in mind):

> Mažvydas was the first (to the best of our knowledge) to start fostering this language here in Prussia under the first duke of Prussia a while ago; he was followed in his endeavours by Vilentas, whose printed book is still out there.[73]

In 1638, a visitation of the Lithuanian churches in the Consistory of Sambia was taking place, and its results were published in *Recessus generalis* (1639). The declaration made in this publication was that the copies of *Evangelias bei Epistolas* had worn out and sold out and were generally unavailable.[74] No copies of the book published by Zengštokas most probably remained at the time either. It is obvious that beginning with the 1640's, the accessibility of these critical liturgical books was becoming severely limited. Further publications of VEE and ZEE were discontinued, and no complete edition of the Bible was published in the seventeenth century.

The visitors of churches in the Consistory of Sambia were aware of the Lithuanian translation of the Bible by Bretkūnas, which was kept at the Castle Library in Königsberg "as exceptional treasure". They were convinced that it had to be delivered for print first and foremost and as quickly as possible. The visitors presented the fact that Jonas Rėza, the Lithuanian priest in Königsberg, had copied Bretkūnas's New Testament before he died, and they therefore believed that this should be the starting point when it came to printing the Bible. In that case, the necessary Sunday readings of the Bible would be presented as well: "And so, the official gentlemen further resolved that the printing of the Bible should begin with this New Testament,

72 All three books drafted in 1612 had probably been devised as a publishing convolution: the two copies that are now known to exist are bound together, one of them currently kept in Vilnius, the other one, in Berlin.

73 "Dieſe Sprach haben vor etlichen Iahren all=‖hie in Preuſſen zu erſt (ſo viel vns wiſſend) anfan=‖gen zu *excoliren Moſvidius*, zu den zeiten des erſten ‖ Hertzogen in Preuſſen / darnach *Bartholomæus Wil-‖lenthus*, deſſen gedruckte Arbeit noch verhanden" (J. Behm, *Dem Chriſtlichen vnd andächtigen Leſer*, [in:] Johannes Rehsa, *Der Pſalter Davids Deutſch vnd Littawiſch. PSALTERAS DOWIDO VVOKISCHKAI BEI LIETUWISCHKAI*, Karaliaučius, Lorintz Segebad, 1625, fol. c1v [shelf mark: GStA PK XX. HA, StUB Kgb. 52]).

74 *Recessvs generalis Der Kirchen Viſitation Inſterburgiſchen und anderer Littawiſchen Embter im Hertzogthumb Preuſſen*, Königsberg, Lorentz Segebaden Erben, 1639, fol. D2v (shelf mark: HIB R/6 XI A, G8 0953).

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843

considering the Sunday Gospels and Epistles would also be outlined and presented here".[75]

The visitors of churches in the Consistory of Sambia presented the editors with just two conditions at the time: the translation had to be revised and approved, while the funding and the editors would be procured by the prince-elector.[76] Besides, the publication of *Recessus generalis* also contained an outline of a programme for the drafting of Lithuanian books, which covered the Bible, postils, hymnals, grammar books, and dictionaries. However, it was implemented in the seventeenth century only to a certain extent, and only a number of grammar books, hymnals, and prayer books were published. The failure to bring the programme to its completion was the product of several cultural and political circumstances. First of all, in the seventeenth century the Evangelical Lutheran Church was greatly affected by the fact that in 1613, Johann Sigismund von Brandenburg (1572–1620), the ruling prince-elect of the Duchy of Prussia, and his two brothers defected to the Evangelical Reformed faith, and his son, Georg Wilhelm (1595–1640), the prince-elect of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia who succeeded him, as well as the successors that followed were also members of the Evangelical Reformed Church.[77] The head of the state was also the patron of the church and had various duties related to its administration and supervision, and his confession no longer was the prevalent confession of Evangelical Lutherans. Another equally important circumstance was political in nature: in 1618, the Duchy of Prussia was united with the Electorate of Brandenburg, which diluted the relative weight of Lithuanians in the new state, resulting in a decrease in the amount of attention the state would give to the Lithuanian language and culture. The Evangelical Lutheran Church had to look for its own ways to boost its activity and strengthen its ties with the religious communities.[78]

The inter-confessional competition of the period did not benefit the culture or the language and the literature of the Lithuanians at all. The New Testament by Bretkūnas, which the visitors of churches in the Consistory of Sambia had so sought, was never published. Given this unfortunate turn of events, it was down to Bretkūnas's *Postilla* to carry out the functions of books of Bible readings. It was the only printed collection of Evangelical Lutheran sermons in Lithuanian to exist between the end of the sixteenth century and the middle of the seventeenth

75 "So iſt ‖ es weiter von den Herren *Commiſſariis* für gut und raht=‖ſam erachtet / daß der anfang ſolches Wercks vnd Bibel=‖drucks von demſelben Newen Teſtament eheſt gemachet ‖ würde; In betrachtung / das die Sontäglichen Evan=‖gelia vnd Epiſteln darinnen begrieffen vnd verfaſſet ſeyn" (ibid., fol. D2r–D2v).

76 Ibid., fol. D2v.

77 I. Lukšaitė, *Reformacija ir lietuviškų bažnyčių kunigai Mažojoje Lietuvoje XVII a. pirmojoje pusėje*, "Liaudies kultūra" 6 (2017), p. 2–3.

78 Ibid., p. 3–6.

© 2024 Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht | Brill Deutschland GmbH
ISBN Print: 9783525500842 — ISBN E-Book: 9783647500843