

CZECH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

by

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This contribution about the translation of the Bible is divided into six parts. The first part (1) briefly mentions the first Slavonic Bible—the Old Church Slavonic translation by Cyril and Methodius. The second part (2) discusses the beginning of the Old Czech translation of the Bible in the 13th century (a), and its development in the 14th and 15th century, and its preservation in Old Czech manuscripts (b) and incunabula (c). The third part (3) is dedicated to Czech Bible editions from the 16th–18th centuries, which means the editions of the Utraquists (a), of the Czech Brothers (b) and of the Catholics (c). Special stress is put on two peaks of the Czech Bible translation—the *Kralická Bible* on the Evangelical side (Bible of Kralice), and the *Svatováclavská Bible* on the Catholic side (the Bible of St. Wenceslas). This view of the long history of the Czech translation of the Bible is completed with brief chapters on translations and editions of the Bible in the 19th (4) and 20th (5) centuries. At the end (6) there is an assessment of the influence of the Czech biblical translations on the origin of translations of the Bible in other European languages.

Prispevek o češkem prevodu Svetega pisma je razporejen v šest delov. Prvi uvodni del (1) kratko omeinja prvo slovansko Sveto pismo – starocerkvenoslovanski prevod Cirila in Metoda. Drugi del (2) obravnava začetke staročeškega prevoda Svetega pisma v 13. stoletju (a), njegov razvoj v 14. in 15. stoletju in njegovo ohranitev v staročeških rokopisih (b) in inkunabulah (c). Tretji del (3) je posvečen češkim svetopisemskim tiskom od 16. do 18. stoletja; to so utrakvistični tiski (a), »bratski« tiski (b) in katoliški tiski (c). Posebna pozornost je posvečena dvema vrhuncema češkega prevoda Svetega pisma, na protestantski strani je to Krališka Biblija, na katoliški strani pa Svetovenčeslavška Biblija. Pregled dolge zgodovine češkega prevoda Svetega pisma sklepajo zgoščena poglavja o prevodih in izdajah Svetega pisma v 19. (4) in 20. (5) stoletju. Na koncu (6) je ocenjen vpliv češkega prevoda na nastanek prevoda Svetega pisma v druge evropske jezike.

The Czech translation of the Bible belongs among the first in Europe, for its age and for the number of translations of the Bible. The Czech translation of the Bible, which first started in the 13th century, is one of the oldest translations into a European national language. Before that, only a French translation (in about 1250) and an Italian one (in about 1300) had appeared.

1. The Old Church Slavonic Translation of the Bible

Since we are dealing with the history of Czech biblical translation, we have to mention—at least briefly—the *Old Church Slavonic translation of the Bible* from the 9th century—in spite of the fact that the Old Church Slavonic language was an artificially created, liturgical and literary language, and it was therefore not a real national language. It was created by the Slavonic missionaries, Cyril and Methodius, who were asked in 863 by Prince Rostislav to come from Byzantium to Great Moravia to propagate Christianity there in a language intelligible to the people.

Cyril and Methodius had translated the basic liturgical and prayer books, and some parts of the Bible necessary for the liturgy, especially extracts from the Gospels, for the purposes of their mission, even before they came to Moravia. During their service in Great Moravia, they translated further parts of the Bible: all four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Book of Psalms. It is supposed that Methodius, during the last years of his life, summarized and completed the translated parts of the Bible, but it is not absolutely sure whether this was a complete translation of the Bible, because this work was lost soon after the death of Methodius, when his pupils were expelled from Great Moravia. There is also an opinion that Methodius translated only an anthology from the Old Testament texts, used for liturgical purposes: the so-called *Parimejnik*. In contradistinction to the Old Czech translations, which will be discussed later on, all the Old Church Slavonic translations were made from Greek, from Byzantine biblical codices.

The Old Church Slavonic translation of the Bible, and the Slavonic liturgy, got from Great Moravia to the other Slavonic countries, to the Eastern and Southern Slavs in Bulgaria, Kievan Rus and the Balkans. The Slavonic liturgy was used there, and the Old Church Slavonic literature there had some further development. The Old Church Slavonic translation of the Bible became the basis of the biblical translations of some other Eastern and Southern Slavs. We should mention here at least the *religious-Slavonic Bible*, compiled by the archbishop Gennadij Gonzov of Novgorod at the end of the 15th century.

The Old Church Slavonic translation of the Bible did not have any continuation in Bohemia. In the past, some scholars thought that the Old Czech translation of the Bible was linked to the Old Church Slavonic Bible, but this idea has now been disproved. We can find only very weak traces of the Old Church Slavonic biblical translation (just a few Old Church Slavonic expressions) in the oldest Old Czech biblical translations of the Psalms and Gospels. Otherwise, only the influence of the Old Church Slavonic language on the development of the Czech written language (especially as for the religious terminology) has been certainly demonstrated.

2. Old Czech Bible Translation

a) Origin of the Czech Translation of the Bible

The history of Czech Bible translation started in the 13th century.¹ First of all the Czech translation of the Book of Psalms originated in the middle of the century, and then, at the end of the century, a translation of the Gospels followed—which means that, as with the Old Church Slavonic translation, the parts of the Bible used most often for the liturgy were translated first. Translations of the Psalms and Gospels were earmarked for female convents and were used as a help for understanding the Latin texts which were sung and recited during liturgy. Preserved Latin manuscripts with Czech text written between the lines of the Latin text give evidence for this. Such a case is a manuscript of the oldest Czech Psalm Book, called the *Wittenberský* (of Wittenberg) *psalter*.

Nowadays we place the origin of the Czech translation of the complete Bible in the first half of the 14th century. It seems that after certain problems (different systems of dating giving dates varying from the 12th to 15th century), the problem of dating the Czech Bible translation has now been satisfactorily solved. The solution relies on reliable conclusions from paleographical as well as artistic and historical evidence.

The opinion expressed by Josef Dobrovský was preserved for a long time; he supposed that the Old Czech translation of the complete Bible was a complex of the separate biblical books, which originated gradually during two or three centuries—the oldest parts being placed even as far back as the 12th century. The compilation was supposed to have been made by one person some time at the beginning of the 15th century. Various conjectures were expressed about the authors of the translation and about the people who organized this compilation—and many names of famous personalities of the Czech culture were mentioned.² Anyway, none of these conjectures has been confirmed with sufficient material evidence.

Today we do not doubt the fact that the translation of the Bible into Czech could not have originated as an accidentally composed set of originally independent translations of separate parts of the Bible, which were done gradually, but as a well-thought-out unity. It was a large project, which could not have stayed outside the interests of the highest religious and state authorities, for its great theological and cultural import. It is very likely that this project could not be realized without the awareness and direct sup-

¹ The basic literature is in the Bibliography, and in the notes we mention just the sources for single matters.

² J. Dobrovský, *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (Praha: Melantrich, 1936), 345; J. Jireček, "Rozbor prvotního českého překladu starého zákona," *Časopis Musea království Českého* 38 (1864), 136–177, 288–301, 371–388; J. Vraštil, *Nejstarší bible česká* (unpublished), II 72/14.

port of the Prague archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice and of the monarch, Charles IV himself. The question of who initiated all this action and who did the translation remains.

Many scholars, from Dobrovský to our contemporaries, have tried to solve these questions. But it seems that the final solution has still not been found. The idea that the translation did not have one author, but was a result of the work of a whole group of translators, is already accepted without objections. Vladimír Kyas³ came, through linguistic analysis, to the conclusion that ten specialists participated in the translation, according to the language, style and technique of translation. He divided them, according to their use of some typical terms, into two groups, coming from different environments. He supposed that members of two orders belonged to these groups: 1. Benedictines, 2. Dominicans.

Both these orders could have been interested in a Czech Bible and both of them would have had the qualifications to provide it. They were orders with a good tradition of education, and they dedicated themselves to studies. The Benedictines besides paid attention to the development of culture and art, and the Dominicans to preaching. Besides this, both orders had important and rich female convents, where members of the highest aristocratic families lived. Vladimír Kyas—and in agreement with him other scholars—supposed that the Czech translation of the Bible was done for the nuns, who did not know Latin well, but needed to understand liturgical texts. The Dominicans could also have used the Czech Bible for their missionary and preaching activities.

Recently, attention from different sides has turned towards another order—the order of Augustinians-Canons,⁴ which were introduced from Pavia in Italy to Bohemia by the Prague bishop Jan IV of Dražice, probably on the initiative of Charles IV. The first Augustinian monastery in Bohemia was the monastery in Roudnice nad Labem, founded by Jan IV of Dražice in 1333. Soon after its foundation, it became one of the centres from where the “new piety” (*devotio moderna*) was spread—it was a movement consisting in a return to the Christian ideal and to the simplicity of apostolic religion, and a great stress was laid on reading the Bible. Apart from that, the monastery of Roudnice was founded as an exclusively Czech monastery, so the interest in the Czech Bible would be obvious in this environment. The foundation of their female convent in Prague, in Karlov, in 1351 could have been the direct reason for the origin of the Czech translation of the Bible for the Augustinians-Canons of Roudnice.

The community of the Order of Augustinian-Canons in Roudnice was connected with the cultural humanistic circle around Charles IV by two people: its founder, Jan IV of Dražice, and its admirer and supporter, archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice.

³ V. Kyas, *První český překlad bible* (Praha: Academia, 1971), 23–53.

⁴ J. Pečírková, “Z dějin českého překladu bible,” *Čeština doma a ve světě* 2 (1995), 85–87, 171–197.
J. Spěváček, “Devotio moderna, Čechy a roudnická reforma,” *Medievalia Historica Bohemica* 4 (1995).

Except for that, the fact that the Latin Bible of the Parisian edition was used for the first Old Czech translation of the Bible points to the monastery of Roudnice as the source of the Czech translation. The Prague bishop Jan IV of Dražice got this Latin version during his compulsory stay in the Papal court in Avignon. We know for sure about this manuscript that Jan IV of Dražice presented it to the monastery in Roudnice and that this Latin Bible was very famous among the Augustinians.

Pavel Spunar⁵ discussed the extraordinary importance of the translation of the Bible into Czech for cultural life. He supposed that it was a task too big for one monastery, especially a newly-founded one. He thinks that it is more likely that some prominent Czech theologians and preachers, no matter of which religion, took part in this translation. He also mentions some names which can be taken into consideration: the Dominican Jan Moravec, the Minorite Albert Bludův, the Augustinian-Emerit Mikuláš of Louny, and the reformation preacher Milíč of Kroměříž. He considers Master Bartoloměj of Chlumec, called Claretus, to have been the coordinator of the translation, with support from the archbishop of Prague, Arnošt of Pardubice and also King Charles IV. According to Spunar, another person with influence could have been Mikuláš Roudnický, a professor at the university of Prague and its vice-chancellor.

Although the translation of the Bible is very complicated, due to the size of the text and the number and variety of its themes, the authors of first Czech translation managed it quite successfully—despite the fact that the Czech language of this period could hardly compete with a language of such a long tradition as Latin. Separate parts of the translation are not of the same quality, but it has certain unifying tendencies. It is quite a free translation, and it is possible to discern an effort to reach a good level of intelligibility in the method of translation, and in the addition of explanations and interpretations of unclear or hardly intelligible parts.

b) Old Czech Biblical Manuscripts

The Czech biblical translation originated for monasteries and in monasteries, and in the 14th century, it was probably limited just to that religious environment.⁶ We know only one manuscript of a complete Czech Bible from the 14th century—this was the *Drážďanská (Leskovecká) Bible* (of Dresden),⁷ written about 1360, probably

⁵ P. Spunar, "První staročeský překlad bible v kulturním kontextu 14. století," *Religio* 1 (1993), 39–45; P. Spunar, *The Bible in Cultural Context: The First Old Czech Translation of the Holy Spirit in the Cultural Relations of the 14th Century* (Brno: Czech Society for the Study of Religions, 1994), 321–326.

⁶ B. Ryba and V. Kyas, "Označení českých biblických rukopisů a tisků," *Věstník ČAVU* 63 (1952), 37–45; newer: V. Kyas, *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví: Seznam českých biblických rukopisů a tisků* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1997), 274–283.

⁷ V. Kyas and J. Pečirková, *Biblia Slavica* 1/1: *Die Dresdener oder Leskowitz Bibel* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1993), 385–409.

for the female convent of St. George at Prague Castle. The original of this was burnt in Belgium at the beginning of the First World War, and now we have only copies and photocopies. This Bible represents the *1st Redaction* of the Old Czech translation.

The situation in the 15th century is different. During the reign of Wenceslas IV, the book culture expanded. A famous German Bible, with rich decoration, was made for King Wenceslas IV, and some courtiers, from among the closest to the King's circle, ordered richly decorated Latin Bibles, the most valuable one of which, ordered by the King's master of the mint Konrád of Vechta, from 1402–1403, is kept in Antwerp. Czech aristocrats started to obtain illuminated Czech Bibles after the pattern of this. These include the *Litoměřicko-třeboňská (Zmrzlikovská) Bible* (of Litoměřice and Třeboň) from 1411–1414 (written for King's master of the mint Petr Zmrzlik of Svojšíň), the *Olomoucká Bible* (of Olomouc) from 1417 and the *Boskovická Bible* (of Boskovice) written some time around 1415.

Because it was now a long time since the 1st Redaction of the Czech Bible translation had been made, and the Czech language, and literature written in Czech, had expanded considerably, the text of the translation was felt to be out-of-date. Therefore some parts of the Old Testament and the whole New Testament were redone. This modification, which was made about 1410, is called the *2nd Redaction* of the Old Czech translation. We can say, concerning the character of this modification, that the 2nd Redaction had—in contrast to the first one—only one author. The first manuscripts with this modification are the above mentioned *Boskovická Bible* (of Boskovice) and then *Hlaholská Bible* (Glagolitic) from 1416, written in glagolitic writing in the monastery of Emauzy in Prague, in Slovany, which was founded by Charles IV in 1347 in an attempt to revive a Slavonic liturgy in Bohemia.

Manuscripts of Bibles belonging to the 2nd Redaction of the Old Czech translation are quite various and we can find a mixture of the new and old translation in them. It is like that because the translation was copied during a period of more than fifty years, up to the second half of the 15th century, and because there was probably no single unified bound model. Only component parts, with new and old texts together, were lent for copying. The documents of the 2nd Redaction comprise a varied mixture of the original version and different modifications, revisions and re-workings, and we can say that every single Bible of the 2nd Redaction is an original in its way—we could not find two identical Bibles there. The *Litoměřická Bible* (of Litoměřice) from 1429 is considered to be a typical Bible of the 2nd Redaction, which contains all the revised parts. It was a less expensive manuscript, written in straightforward characters, with simpler decoration—compared for instance with the above-mentioned Litoměřicko-třeboňská, Olomoucká and Boskovická Bibles. Today this Bible is preserved only in photocopies, since the manuscript, originally a possession of the

bishop's library in Litoměřice, has been missing since 1942.

Soon after the 2nd Redaction, the *3rd Redaction* of the Old Czech translation of the Bible originated at the beginning of the 15th century. Its author—also only one, as for the 2nd Redaction—had probably already started to work on it in 1410, when the 2nd Redaction was finished, but this is not a question of a whole new translation. The author of the 3rd Redaction first of all translated the Oktateuch, which had remained without modification in the 2nd Redaction, and then revised all the New Testament. He strictly followed the Latin text and attempted a unified translation and unified terminology, but to the detriment of the liveliness of the older translation.

Work on the new translation certainly took several years, and it was ready at the latest in 1413, when it appeared in the *Česká nedělní postila* (Czech Sunday Devotional Book) of Jan Hus. This is the oldest known use of the 3rd Redaction. But Hus knew and used the translation of the 2nd Redaction as well, and he was very often supposed to be the author of the 2nd or the 3rd Redaction. But nowadays we think that both authors were friends or colleagues of Hus. Considering the character of the work, we should look for the authors among university scholars more than among preachers, for working on the new translation needed profound study of works of textology and commentary.

In contradistinction to the 2nd Redaction, manuscripts of the 3rd Redaction have quite consistent texts, and therefore we suppose that its author made a model, which he quite possibly lent in a bound form for copying, and also for studying among his friends. The oldest known copy of the translation of the 3rd Redaction is the *Padeřovská Bible* (of Padeřov) from 1432–1435—an expensive manuscript made for the Captain of Tábor, Filip of Padeřov, and now kept in the National Library in Vienna.

The number of Czech biblical manuscripts preserved from the 15th century is unusually big, compared to other European countries. We have thirty preserved complete Bibles—or parts of Bibles which were originally complete—almost the same number of the Old Testaments, over thirty New Testaments, about twenty books of Psalms, almost the same number of Gospels, plus other smaller fragments of different biblical books. Some of these manuscripts are rich in illumination and they are excellent illustrations of Czech book production of the 15th century.⁸ The *Boskovická Bible* (of Boskovice) is considered to be the most valuable one, with its extraordinary rich decoration—one third of which stayed unfinished—presently kept in the Library of the

⁸ K. Stejskal, *Biblia Slavica* 1/1: *Die älteste tschechische Bibelhandschrift in kunsthistorischer Hinsicht* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1993), 411–425; *Biblia Slavica* 1/2: *Die tschechischen Bibelhandschriften in kunsthistorischer Hinsicht* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1989), 53–76; *Česká bible v dějinách evropské kultury: Iluminované bible v Čechách a jejich vztah k západoevropské knižní malbě* (Brno: Česká společnost pro studium náboženství, 1994), 97–116.

University in Olomouc. It does not carry a date, and we do not know who made it. But it is certain that it was a very rich aristocrat and that he was a follower of Hus. For Hus' interpretation of the Decalogue, written in new diacritic orthography, ascribed to Hus, was put at the beginning of the manuscript—it might be the first Czech manuscript using this orthography. The *Litoměřicko-třeboňská Bible* (of Litoměřice and Třeboň) is the next, very valuable manuscript; Josef Dobrovský declared, that even a king should not feel ashamed of it. It was made in 1411–1414 for Petr Zmrzlík of Svojšín, the master of the mint of Wenceslas IV. It consists of three volumes, two of them were originally in the bishop's library in Litoměřice and are today in the regional archives of Litoměřice, and the third one, which belonged to the Schwarzenbergs from the 19th century, is today in the regional archives of Třeboň.

c) Czech Biblical Incunabula

A new boom for the Czech Bible occurred in the second half of the 15th century, when the book production was made easier, quicker and cheaper thanks to the invention of the letter-press.⁹ Therefore the Bible became accessible for a wider audience. The Latin Bible was the most often published book among European incunabula, and Bibles in national languages were among the first European printed editions. Czech printed Bibles occupy a foremost position among European incunabula. Seven biblical editions were printed among the forty Czech incunabula to 1500 in Bohemia: three New Testaments (New Testament, the first printed, called also New Testament with a signet, published in Prague after 1476; New Testament of Dlabáč, published probably in Pilsen before 1487; New Testament of Prague of Kamp, called also the New Illustrated Testament, published by the printer Jan Kamp in the printing house of a shopkeeper, Severin (died about 1520) in Prague in 1497/98), two books of Psalms (the first printed Book of Psalms was published probably in Vysoké Mýto—before said to be Prague—in 1497/98; Psalm Book of Pilsen of Bakalář, published in Pilsen in 1499) and two complete Bibles (the Prague Bible, published in the printing house of Severin in Prague in 1488 and the Bible of Kutná Hora, published by Martin of Tišnov (died probably soon after 1489) in Kutná Hora in 1489). The New Testament is actually the first printed Czech biblical edition—therefore it is called the first printed New Testament or the New Testament with a signet, after the printer's mark placed at the end of the edition. It is the second Czech incunabulum—after the Chronicle of Troy from 1476. These Czech incunabula mostly did not have any impressum with a place or date of printing, or a printer's name, and that is why our ascriptions are often inaccurate.

The Old Czech biblical translation was worked over for the purpose of printing

⁹ E. Urbánková, *Soupis prvotisků českého původu* (Praha: Státní knihovna ČSR, 1986).

the Bible—this is called the *4th Redaction*, which was a product of a group of university scholars in the eighth decade of the 15th century. This translation is linked to the previous translations and has gathered a lot from them. It pays more attention to intelligibility than to accuracy, compared with the 3rd edition. It represented the basic version, which was constantly being adapted as for language and grammar and partly as for the text during the 16th century, but this version did not change remarkably before the origin of the Protestant Bible of Kralice, because the political and religious situation did not give a chance for any new creativity.

This translation of the 4th Redaction is contained in two complete Bibles, published in the 15th century—in the Prague Bible and in the Bible of Kutná Hora, which differ in text just a little. The *Pražská Bible* (of Prague) is a simple, one-colour edition, imitating the Old Czech biblical manuscripts in format (folio 2°), type (Czech Bastard) and in lay-out (two-column print, with initials at the beginning of biblical books and chapters filled in by hand). The *Kutnohorská Bible* (of Kutná Hora) has the same appearance and format, but it is printed in two colours, black and red—the initials are red—and the Bible is decorated with woodcuts of square and oblong shape: there are 116 of them in the Bible. These woodcuts were taken from the German Bible of Koberger, published in Nuremberg in 1483.

3. Czech Biblical Prints in the 16th–18th Centuries

The Czech Bible developed in three lines in the period of the 16th–18th centuries: the Bibles for Utraquists, for the Union of the Czech Brothers and for the Roman Catholic church. Each of these lines had different approaches to the pattern of translation: Utraquist Bibles are based on traditional Latin Vulgate, Bibles of the Union of the Czech Brothers are new translations from the original biblical languages, and Catholic Bibles come from the Tridentine Sixt-Clementine text.

a) Utraquist Biblical Editions

Nine Utraquist Bibles altogether were published during the 16th century. The first one is the *Benátská Bible* (of Venice), published in 1506 in Venice, by the printing office of Pavel Liechtenstein, and paid for by three citizens of Old Prague, the Calixtins Jan Hlavsa, Václav Sova and Burian Lazar. It is the first Czech Bible published abroad and in the 18th century it was wrongly considered to be the first printed Czech Bible. We can only speculate about why the Calixtins turned abroad. It was probably because our biggest printing house, that of Severin in Prague, was not well-developed enough to produce a book with a good type and illustrations. The Bible of Venice is rich in illustrations (109 woodcuts) and it is the first Czech Bible with a title page,

where there is an inscription *Bibli česká v Benátkách tištěná* (Czech Bible printed in Venice) and a coloured emblem of Prague. The inscription *Bibli česká* (Czech Bible) is also in the other Utraquist Bibles, and in the first edition of the six-volume Bible of Kralice. In the following one-volume edition of this Bible we can find an inscription *Bibli svatá* (Holy Bible), which remained—sometimes in the modified form *Písmo svaté* (Holy Writ)—until the 20th century.

As for the text, the Bible of Venice is similar to the Bible of Kutná Hora, only it has a newer form of verbs, conforming to the spoken language. Advance—compared with the previous editions—is visible especially in orthography—the Bible of Venice is the first edition which indicates the quantity of vowels, and therefore it is a good source for studying the Old Czech quantity. Chapters of biblical texts are here—as in the incunabula of the Prague Bible and Bible of Kudná Hora—printed in a piece, without division into paragraphs, but certain sections are marked here for the first time: with a capital letter of the alphabet, written in the margins, and brief summaries stand in the beginning of each chapter; this was taken up by following Czech printed Bibles.

A Czech Bible was printed abroad once more later on—in Nuremberg in 1540. This Bible, like the Bible of Venice, is named after the place where it was printed—it is called the *Norimberská Bible* (of Nuremberg). It is printed in two colours, and it contains woodcuts of artists of Nuremberg, especially of Erhard Schön and his school. As for the text, it is identical with the second Severin's Bible (see below).

The Czech Bible was then next published forty years after the Bible of Kutná Hora, in 1529, by an excellent Czech printer Pavel Severin of Kapí Hora (died 1554), who had studied in Nuremberg. This *Severinova Bible* (of Severin) started a series of Prague Bibles, which were then published every decade and represented an official edition, granted by the King. Therefore on the title page, there is an inscription *Cum gratia et privilegio Regiae Maiestatis*, after the title *Bibli česká v Starém Městě Pražském vytištěná* (Czech Bible printed in the Old Town of Prague). Also, the Bible of Severin is illustrated: it contains 87 illustrations all together, which came partly from Erhard Schön and partly from an unknown artist of his school. In this Bible the chapters are divided into paragraphs—for the first time in Czech printed Bibles.

The text of Severin's Bible is based on the Bible of Venice, and it is a revision of the 4th Redaction of the Old Czech biblical translation. This new translation tried to get rid of archaism and to comprehend better the sense of Latin words. Its language was getting closer to the spoken language, something we have already mentioned with the Bible of Venice. Severin's Bible has a double translation in many places, the second translation being situated in the margin. From these variants we can easily observe the character of the adaptations of the text.

Pavel Severin of Kapí Hora published Czech Bible again in 1537. For this sec-

ond edition he provided a new collection of pictures, which were taken from the German Bible of Luther, published in Wittenberg in 1534. The text for the second edition was revised again and there were no variant readings in the margin—these readings were taken into the text, and in some places dropped out.

Jiřík Melantrich Rožd'alovský of Aventin (1511–1580) was the next publisher of Bibles in Bohemia. He also studied in Nuremberg, and in 1547 he united with the only licensed printer of that time, Bartoloměj Netolický (died 1552). Together they published a Czech Bible in 1549. Melantrich did the next editions—in 1556/57, 1560/61, 1570 and 1577—on his own, when he had bought the printing house of Netolický in 1552. Every edition by him, beautifully got up, is a new, independent printing creation, not just a reprint of the previous one. The content of *Melantrich's Bibles* is enriched with the 3rd Book of Maccabees, translated by the humanist Sixtus of Ottersdorf. Short entries giving contents of paragraphs were newly established, printed on the outer margins of the pages. Melantrich supplied the last two editions with new illustrations, made by two foreign painters living in Prague, the German Florian Abel and the Italian Francesco Terzio. With his five editions of the Czech Bible, Melantrich perfectly controlled the book trade not only in Bohemia, but also in the neighbouring countries. Thanks to Melantrich, the Czech Bible reached wide circles of people, and it was read in families during many generations. Melantrich's Bibles survived also in the whole period after the Battle of White Mountain.

The 16th century was very rich for Czech biblical prints. Apart from nine complete Bibles, the New Testament was published several times. The first time it was in 1513, in the printing house of Jan Severin, where the illustrated *Nový zákon pražský (Severinův)* (the New Testament of Prague, of Severin) was published. This New Testament came from the Bible of Venice and it also accepted its language and orthographical peculiarities.

A citizen of Pilsen, Jan Pekk (died 1531), published the New Testament in 1527, in Pilsen. This New Testament is, as opposed to other biblical editions of the 16th century, a Catholic one (the next Catholic edition—the Bible of St. Wenceslas—would follow in 150 years (see below) financed by an individual, and not by a church as normally. The text of *plzeňský Nový zákon* (the New Testament of Pilsen) originated in a revision of brother Lukáš's version, but it often leaves neologisms of Lukáš and returns to the Bible of Venice and partly to the New Testament of Klaudián (see below).

Nový zákon (the New Testament) by a Calixtin priest Václav Beneš Optát (died 1559) is definitely the most interesting biblical edition before Jan Blahoslav (see below). It was published in 1533 in Moravia, in Náměšť nad Oslavou, where an original cultural environment originated in the third decade of the 16th century, away from the Prague centre. Optát came from Telč and studied in Vienna. To Náměšť he came as a

tutor of the sons of the owner of the Náměšť' estates, Václav Meziříčský of Lomnice (died 1536), some time before 1530. It was the time, when the Czech Lands were involved in the stormy German Reformation, which influenced all our non-Catholic movements. The Reformation brought us new translations of the Bible, which did not come from the Latin Vulgate as it had been till this time, but from the original biblical texts. The Latin translation of the New Testament was one of these new translations, made from the Greek by the well-known humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467–1536),¹⁰ working in Basle, the remarkable Reformation and humanist centre.

In Náměšť', Optát found some efforts towards publishing the Czech translation of the New Testament of Erasmus. Because no-one better was found, he started to translate it himself, but he was not sure enough of his knowledge of Czech—he was of German origin—and therefore he chose a helper: a priest, Petr Gzel, from Prague. Their translation of the New Testament is completely new as for the choice of a model—it is the first departure from the Vulgate here—and as for the method of realization, it did not have any analogue among the older Czech translations of the New Testament. As their pattern, Optát and Gzel chose the style and language of the Bible of Severin, and the New Testament of Lukáš was their direct model (see below)—they tried to improve it in every way. Their translation stands in the middle between the two variants of the Czech translation of the New Testament of that time.

The *first Czech Grammar* originated in connection with the new translation of the New Testament. Optát and Gzel suggested the best way for Czech orthography in its first volume *Ortographia*. They used this in their translation because they found a lack of uniformity in the orthography of the older biblical prints. The priest Václav Filomates from Jindřichův Hradec (born about 1490) was also an author of the second part of this grammar, called *Etymologia*. It discussed the most important problems of translation into Czech, and especially of the New Testament. The Czech Grammar of Beneš Optát, Petr Gzel and Václav Filomates played an important role in the translation of the New Testament, which was done in the second half of the 16th century by a bishop of the Union of Czech Brothers, Jan Blahoslav (see below).

The number of Bibles and the New Testaments tripled during the 16th century and the Bible became the most wide-spread Czech book. None of the New Testaments of this period is especially remarkable, or interesting for the development of the Czech biblical translation. Therefore we will just summarize them briefly: the New Testament was twice published in Nuremberg (1534, 1538), in Prague it was published by Jan Had (died 1543) in 1538, by Kantor Had (died 1572) in 1545 and 1563, and by Melantrich six times (1545, 1558, 1564, 1570, 1576, 1582) and after him by

¹⁰ *Novum instrumentum omne* (Basileae, 1516).

Daniel Adam of Veleslavín (1546–1599) in 1597; in Moravia it was published by Jan Günther (died 1567) in 1549 in Prostějov and in 1555 in Olomouc.

b) **Biblical Editions of the Brotherhood**

aa) **The First New Testaments**

A new and important factor—*The Union of the Czech Brothers*—appeared in the Czech culture of the second decade of the 16th century, and later took an eminent position in Czech biblical scholarship and history. The Union first intervened in the history of the Czech biblical translation with two New Testaments, printed in the printing house of the Czech Brothers in Mladá Boleslav. The first one was the *Nový zákon Klaudiánův* (the New Testament of Klaudián), printed in 1518 by the printer Mikuláš Klaudián (died 1521). It is an edition of a modified manuscript of Lupáč from the end of the 15th century, which was the first state of the 4th Redaction of the Old Czech Bible (see above).

The second New Testament of the Brotherhood is *Nový zákon Lukášův* (the New Testament of Lukáš), published in 1525 by a successor of Mikuláš, Jiřík Štyrsa. The text was probably composed—the author is not mentioned anywhere in the print—by an eminent theologian of the Brotherhood, Lukáš Pražský (about 1460–1528) and it came from a version of the first printed New Testament, as well as from the New Testament of Klaudián, but it had many original solutions. It is an attempt at a new translation, and therefore it has the most important position, before Optát (see above), in the development of the Czech translations of the New Testament. The establishment of variant readings on the margins, which was taken up in further translations (especially Severin and Blahoslav) was a big contribution of the edition of Lukáš. The model for both of these New Testaments was—as opposed to other Brotherhood translations—still the Latin Vulgate.

A remarkable change in the translation of the Bible took place, under the influence of the Reformation and Humanism, in the second half of the 16th century. Its foreshadowing was the translation of Beneš Optát and Petr Gzel from 1533—an endeavour at the best and faithful translation led to the study of the original biblical texts. New editions of the Bible were the results of this text criticism, the so-called polyglots, which contained in parallel the original biblical text in the original language and its Greek (Septuagint) and Latin (Vulgate) translation, eventually with a new Greek or Latin translation. These editions made possible new translations of the Bible into national languages, which did not come any more from the Vulgate, but from the original biblical languages: from Hebrew (the Old Testament) and from Greek (the New Testament).

In the Czech Lands the Union of Czech Brothers reacted to this new approach

to the Bible and to the new trends in humanistic philology, and started to prepare a new biblical translation, which would respond to the requirements of that time. We can observe the preparation in three lines—the first one took care of improving and extending the education system of the Brotherhood and systematic sending of young people to the universities in Germany and Switzerland, which were the centres of the Reformation (and humanism as well); the second one concentrated on the creation of a specialized library, and the third one sought to establish a printing house of a good quality. The schools, library and printing house were situated in the seat of the body of the Union, first in Ivančice near Brno and then in Kralice near Náměšť.

bb) Jan Blahoslav

Jan Blahoslav (1523–1571), a later Moravian bishop of the Union, was one of the young members of the Union, well educated in the schools of the Brotherhood in Moravia and in universities abroad. He initiated the new translation of the Bible. He also started to work on it. His *Gramatika česká* (Czech Grammar)¹¹ should be taken as a preparation for the translation work of the Brotherhood. Actually it is a detailed commentary on the first Czech Grammar by Beneš Optát, Petr Gzel and Václav Filomates, where Blahoslav formulated the language and stylistic principles of the correct translation. The authors of Kralice would never be able to reach such an excellent result without this profound theoretical preparation.

Blahoslav entirely rejected the conception of the authors of the first grammar, who made an effort for general intelligibility and accessibility of the written language for all the nation, and therefore they looked for a standard of written language in spoken language and often accepted elements of popular speech. Blahoslav thought that the written language, especially the liturgic language, had its standard stabilized in the older literature. He knew this standard very well and his aim was a written language rich in forms and expressions, which should be able to express even very subtle stylistic nuances; a language which could be compared with the classical languages, Latin and Greek.

In the spirit of these principles and in correspondence with the needs of the biblical researches of his time, Blahoslav translated the New Testament. He used Beza's (1519–1605) Greek-Latin edition of the New Testament, published by the printer Barbiarius in Basle and in Zurich in 1559/60.¹² It has been proved that his translation was based more on the Latin translation of Beza than on the Greek original; his knowledge of Greek was not probably as good as it is sometimes assumed. The translation of Blahoslav is rather a profound revision of the older translations, above all of Melantrich's

¹¹ *Gramatika česká Jana Blahoslava* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1991).

¹² *Novum D. N. Jesu Christi Testamentum, a Theodoro Beza versum* (Basileae, 1559/60).

Bible from 1556/57, which Blahoslav corrected according to the new edition of the Greek text. It is an intensive revision, the greatest that the Czech traditional text of the New Testament went through during the 15th and 16th century. Blahoslav linked his work to the tradition of the older Czech biblical translations, where a special biblical language and style were created; he did not continue in the tendency of Beneš Optát, who brought the language of the Bible nearer to the contemporary spoken language. His translation created a pattern, which was followed in the Bible of Kralice.

The *Nový zákon* (the New Testament) of Blahoslav was published twice, for the first time in a small format 12°—it was the smallest format of all the Czech editions of the New Testament—as one of the first editions of the new printing house of the Brotherhood in Ivančice in 1564, and for the second time also in Ivančice in 1568, in a new, very nice graphic form, format 8°. Both editions of Blahoslav's have one column and the summaries of each chapters are placed—in contradistinction to the previous printed Czech Bibles—after the number of the chapter; paragraphs of chapters are indicated with capital letters on the inner margin, not on the outer one as in the older prints. The use of commentaries is new. Apparatus containing references to the parallel biblical places (concordances) are printed on the inner margins of the text of the second edition, and alternatives of the text model and variants of translations, which were not accepted by the translator, are on the outer margins, where there are also exegetical notes. Sentential and verbal supplements taken from other translations are in the text, in square brackets.

cc) The Bible of Kralice

The *Kralická Bible* (of Kralice) is a culmination point of the biblical translation of the whole older period, for the language, style and professional skill. Its publication was preceded by large and profound preparations which we have already mentioned. We have also said that Jan Blahoslav had been an initiator of this great project and that he had started work on it with his translation of the New Testament. His work was interrupted by his death.

As a model, the authors used the four-language edition of the Bible by Benedikt Arius (Montanus), published in Antwerp in 1569–1572 by the printer Plantin (so-called polyglot of Antwerp), containing Hebrew, Syriac, Aramaic and Greek texts, and also the Latin translation of the Old Testament by Franciscus Junius (1589–1677) and Immanuel Tremellius (1510–1580), published in Heidelberg in 1576–1579.¹³ They took

¹³ *Testamenti veteris biblia sacra, sive Libri canonici, priscae Judaeorum ecclesiae a Deo traditi, Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti brevibusque scholiis illustrati ab Immanuele Tremellio et Francisco Junio. Accesserunt libri, qui vulgo dicuntur apocryphi, Latine redditi et notis quibusdam aucti a Francisco Junio (Francofurti ad Moenum, 1576–1579).*

the formal conception of their translation from the Heidelberg Bible: the division of the Old Testament into five volumes, the placing of the Apocrypha in a fifth volume, the sequence and classification of the books of Maccabees, the summaries of the biblical books and chapters, and in the commentary especially the factual, historical, geographical and language notes (see below).

Work on the translation of the Old Testament was started in 1577 in Ivančice, under the leadership of Blahoslav's pupil Ondřej Štefan (1528–1577). The team of translators consisted of the Hebrew specialists Mikuláš Albert of Kamének (died 1617), originally from Silesia, Lukáš Helic (died 1613), a baptized Jew from Poznan, educated by the Union of Czech Brothers, the senior of the Union Jan Eneáš (1537–1594), consenior and administrator of the Catholic body Izaiáš Cibulka (Caepola, born before 1550–1582), consenior Jiří Strejc (Georgius Vetterus, 1536–1599) and their university-educated helpers Jan Efraim (died 1600), Pavel Jessen (died 1594) and Jan Hlaváč (Capito, died 1589). Senior Jan Němčanský (1552–1598) was in a charge of the revision of Blahoslav's New Testament and Zachariáš Ariston (died 1606) of its second edition. They were philologists and theologians who could probably watch over each other—they all had both required qualifications, philologists had the status of priests of the Brotherhood, and theologians knew Latin or even Greek or Hebrew.

The Old Testament in this translation was divided into five volumes. The first volume contains the five books of Moses (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), published in 1579. The second one was published in 1580 and contains these books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the four books of Kings (from which the 1st and the 2nd books are called the 1st and the 2nd book of Samuel, and the 3rd and 4th are called the 1st and 2nd book of Kings), two books Paralipomenon, two books of Ezra (from which the 2nd is called of Nehemiah) and the book of Esther. The third volume was published in 1582 and it contains the books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs. The fourth volume, published in 1587, contains the prophetic books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. The fifth volume, called the Apocrypha, from 1588, contains the books of Tobit, Oratio Manassae, Judith, Baruch, additions to the prophecy of Daniel, 1 and 2 Esdras (= 3 Ezra and 4 Ezra), additions to the book of Esther, 1, 2 and 3 Maccabees (= 3 Macc, 1 Macc and 2 Macc), Wisdom and Sirach (Ecclesiasticus).

The sixth volume, the New Testament, was added after six years as a revised translation of Blahoslav, with extended interpretations in the margins. There is a date, 1593, on its title page, but at the end it is 1594. The New Testament was soon out of print, so the Union provided a second edition in 1601, Zachariáš Ariston being in charge of this new edition. The New Testament consists of these books: the Gospels

according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, Acts of the Apostles, the letters of Paul to the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3 John, Jude, Revelation.

Some of the translators did not live to see the end of their work. Ondřej Štefan, who originally led the work, did not even live to see the first volume, because he died already in the summer of 1577. Izaiáš Cibulka died in 1582, when the third volume was published. Hlavač, Eneáš and Jessen did not live long after the fifth volume came out—Jan Hlavač died in 1589, Jan Eneáš in February 1594 and Pavel Jesen in May of the same year. Lukáš Helic had left Moravia before the translation was finished, so only Jiří Strejc, Jan Efraim and Mikuláš of Kamének, who left the Union after 1598, experienced the complete work, with the New Testament.

The Bible of Kralice is an annotated translation, its commentary is done more deeply and widely than in the New Testament by Jan Blahoslav. The authors used smaller type for words, which were added or taken from previous translations for better understanding, instead of using square brackets. The upper margins were reserved for titles of the biblical books, and their first chapters started with a big ornamental initial letter. The commentary of the editor was placed in both margins and it was separated with a thin line from the basic text. Every biblical book and chapter started with a well-arranged summary, which was written on the ridge margins, linked up with more detailed summaries of the sections of a chapter, distinguished with a capital letter of an alphabet, as was typical for Czech printed Bibles. The new thing was that the chapters of the biblical books were divided into verses, after the French printer Robert Stephan (1503–1559) from 1551. References to the parallel and close biblical texts, in the basic text signalled with stars, different crosses and arrow-heads, were written on the same ridge margins. Other small indexes, in small letters, referred to the actual interpretation of the publishers, which was printed on the outer margins, or below the text. The graphical image of the printing of the Bible of Kralice was very well-thought-out, with a variety of type—biggest for the text, smaller for the ridge system, and even smaller for the actual commentary, where there were two sizes of type, distinguishing its content. It was necessary to create a special graphical architecture for each page of the Bible.

The interpretative commentary of the Bible of Kralice created one premeditated unit, together with the text. It contains above all the critical apparatus, which means translation variants of single words, which were found in the Hebrew or Greek or other, unspecified text, or the Czech synonyms or explanations of some expressions. Apart from that, this commentary contained also exegetical notes, facts from biblical archeology, history, geography, biology, medicine, ethnography, mythology,

philosophy—and not only in a teaching but also in an evaluating way. Through these interpretations we can judge the connection and the depth of the education of the Brotherhood, and observe their opinions on life and their attitude to that time and its problems. The Bible of Kralice was suppose to stand as a complete theological bibliotheque, and therefore the Brothers put a summary of their religious attitudes and an apologetic into their interpretations as well as a substantial general dogmatic teaching (*loci communes*). The general appearance of the Bible of Kralice as well as the character of its note apparatus witnesses that the Bible was supposed to work especially for the needs of the priests and bodies of the Brotherhood.

The authors published a more accessible and cheaper version for a wider audience in 1596, in one volume without the interpretation apparatus, but with large indexes—with the index of the quotations from the Old Testament, contained in the New Testament, with the explanations of foreign names, especially Hebrew and Aramaic ones, and with the index of pericops for all the religious year. Members of a narrow committee, Samuel Sušický (died 1599) and Adam Kocourek (Felin, about 1560–1598) together with Mikuláš Albert of Kamének, were in charge of revision of the text, and Jiří Strejc had the religious supervision after the death of Eneáš. Indices, compiled by Jan Aquin, who died in 1621, were checked by Samuel Sušický and Jan Albín. A pocket New Testament was published separately in Kralice the same year. The authors constantly worked on the translation, revised it and tried to improve it, to find better expressions, so that single editions are not completely identical.

Both editions of the Bible of Kralice were printed by the printer Zachariáš Solín (died 1596), administrator of the printing house and the body of Kralice. The one-volume Bible was his last work. The beautiful graphic set-up of the six-volume Bible of Kralice is the work of the graphic artist from Kralice Václav Elam (died 1622). Elam led the printing house and the body after the death of Solín's successor Samuel Silvestr (died 1605). He introduced a decoration on the European graphic level to the second edition of the sixth volume and to the one-volume Bible, which became a thorn in side of the enemies of the Union of the Czech Brothers, because decoration of such character in a book with a purely religious text was something unusual in Czech book production, especially using narrative illustrations.

The third, again revised edition in a big format 4° was published in 1613. We do not know who was in charge of it, but from the original team of authors there survived only Jan Albín and in Prague Mikuláš Albert of Kamének, who meanwhile had left the Union. It was again a Bible in one volume, without notes. It was published because there was no copies of the second edition and because there was a need to have a bigger format in a more readable type. This social regard proves that the Union laid emphasis on the individual reading of the Bible.

Because the authors from Kralice constantly worked on their translation and took pains to reach better and more precise expressions, they were criticised for their inconstancy and instability. Analysis of their methods of translation shows that above all their models were changed (which means improved), and that textual criticism was the main reason for the changes and corrections. The authors from Kralice wanted to be in step with newly-published biblical editions and they used new, better models. The Bible of Kralice is a culmination of the biblical translation of the older period not only for its professional skill but also for its sense of the language and style. The language of this Bible, rich in lexis, formally strict, syntactically exact and stylistically inventive, became a pattern for the written Czech, and it strongly influenced the Czech literature for a long time.

dd) The Bibles of the Brotherhood in Exile

Exile Bibles, published abroad by the Brotherhood exiles, linked up with the Bible of Kralice almost after a hundred years, at the beginning of the 18th century, to mediate the Bible of Kralice to next generations of the Czech exiles and secret evangelicals in the old mother land. But these Bibles were not—for comprehensible reasons—perfect in the sense of language: the editions were made in detachment from the Czech language environment. The largest number of exile Bibles was published in Germany, in Halle (complete Bibles 1722, 1745, 1766, New Testaments 1709, 1722, 1744, 1764, 1782), in Zittau (the New Testament 1720 and 1721), in Loubno (the New Testament 1730) and in Berlin (the New Testament 1752). The next place of publishing the exile Bibles was Pressburg (now Bratislava) in Hungary, where the non-Catholics were more free. The complete Bible was published here in 1787 and 1808, the New testament in 1775, 1781, 1783 and 1787.

The first exile re-edition was the New Testament, published in 1709 in Halle. Johan Kogler, who studied in Halle at that time, revised the text of the New testament of the six-volume Bible of Kralice from 1593/94, with the help of the Czech preacher from Dresden, Francisc Ruhr. The edition had a format of a narrow little log (it looked really like a little wooden log) and therefore it was easy to hide it. A circle of colleagues (called Collegium biblicum) originated in Halle, the seat of the Pietists, thanks to an excellent organizer, professor of theology at the University of Halle, August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). After the New Testament had been published, this circle started to do their best to publish the whole Bible.

The Czech exile Václav Klejch (1678–1737) did two editions of the New Testament in Zittau. Klejch was a peasant from Lažany near Litomyšl, and in exile he studied German and Latin. He published the New Testament in format 12° in 1720, at his own expense. Only a year later, in 1721 he published a second edition. In the fore-

word of the New Testament in 1720 he gave a summary of all printed Czech Bibles and New Testaments.

Another exile, Jan Liberda (1700/01–1742), born in Těšín, who was a pastor in Grosshennersdorf in exile and during his theological studies in Halle belonged to the local biblical circle, published the New Testament together with the Book of Psalms in 1730. The text for this edition was taken from the first edition of the Bible of Halle.

The first, longed for edition of the complete Bible was published in Halle in format 8^o in 1722. The quite revised edition of the Bible of Kralice from 1613 was the basis for the text, modifications were done by a vicar from Pressburg, Matěj Běl (1684–1749) and a Slovak superintendent Daniel Krman (1663–1740). Because 5000 copies of the first Bible of Halle was out of print quite soon, the Bible was published again in 1745. This re-edition was not successful—it was not on good paper, and there were a lot of mistakes because of a bad corrector.

The third edition of the Bible of Halle was published in 1766. It was made by the senior of the Union of the Czech Brothers and a pastor of the Czech Brotherhood body in Berlin, Jan Theofil Elsner (1717–1782). Mistakes of the first edition were corrected here, but it diverged from the Bible of Kralice more than the previous editions, and it was influenced by the Bible of Luther. It has a big 8^o format and it is superior to previous editions in its lay-out. It was printed on three kinds of paper: on white printing, nice writing and Holland papers. Instead of the usual forewords, this edition is provided with a large treatise from the publisher about the history of the Czech printed Bibles, which came from the older summary of Václav Klejch from 1722.

In Pressburg (now Bratislava), the Czech Bible was published for the first time in 1787 by the Czech printer František Augustin Patzko (died 1799). The text was taken from the third Bible of Halle from 1766, with some modifications and small improvements, mentioned in the foreword. The introduction about the Czech Bibles by Elsner is also reprinted here. The Bible of Pressburg is a remarkable edition: it was published (also after Elsner's text) in 1808 by the famous revivalist, and secretary of the Institute of the Slavonic Literature Jiří Palkovič (1769–1850). He gave reasons for his changes and additions in his foreword, and placed them in the notes.

c) Catholic Bibles. The Bible of St. Wenceslas

The *Svatováclavská Bible* (of St. Wenceslas) was a second peak of the Czech Bible research—a Catholic counterpart to the Protestant Bible of Kralice. It is our first Catholic Bible, which made the whole Bible available for Catholics, including lay ones, for the first time in Czech history.

Prague archbishop Matouš Ferdinand Sobek of Bílenberk (1618–1675) was the author of the project of the new edition of the Czech Bible. This project was aimed to

replace wide-spread, favourite non-Catholic biblical prints with a translation, which would correspond with a Latin model, accepted by the Council of Trent in 1546, and which was interpreted in harmony with the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church. The new translation of the Bible was part of an extensive programme of exchange of basic religious help (homilies, hymn books, prayer books, etc.), in which the Protestant books, violently taken away, should be replaced with the Catholic books. This aim of the Bible of St. Wenceslas is obvious from its forewords, commentaries, and from the entries in its dogmatic indices.

The Jesuits realized this programme. Three Jesuitical scholars were chosen for the translation of the Bible: Jiří Konstanc (1607–1673), Matěj Václav Šteyer (1630–1692) and Jan Barner (1643–1708), but they are not mentioned anywhere in the Bible. Konstanc and Šteyer started the work in 1670 with a translation of the New Testament, for which the necessity of cleaning the biblical text from heresy was felt most intensively. Jan Barner was asked for assistance a bit later by Matěj Václav Šteyer, and he took part only in the translation of the Old Testament.

Konstanc and Šteyer prepared for the translation by studying the grammatical and lexical system of the Czech language. Both wrote Czech language manuals, as well as Beneš Optát with Petr Gzel and Jan Blahoslav. Konstanc published *Lima linguae bohemicae, tj. Brus jazyka českého* (Purist of the Czech language) in 1677, where he deals critically with foreign influences on the Czech syntax, phraseology and lexicon, and tries to establish written forms. Šteyer attempted the same thing in orthography in his manual *Výborně dobrý způsob, jak se má dobře po česku psáti nebo tisknouti* (A good way how to write and print correctly in Czech), well-known under the shortened title *Žáček* (A little pupil). They knowingly tried to preserve the language continuity of the Czech biblical translation. They both also studied exegetical literature—their interpretations, added to the chapters of the New Testament and compounded by quotations from the religious Fathers and polemics directed against Lutherans, witness this.

The Jesuitical translators created this new translation after the so-called *Sixt-Clementine* text, declared by the Council of Trent (on the initiation of the Pope Sixtus V) to be the authentic Latin version of the Bible. In their translation, they did not overlook the earlier tradition of Czech biblical translation. The Bible of Venice from 1506 was their initial text, but they got rid of everything what was not in harmony with Sixt-Clementine. Then they got out the Bible of Melantrich and took account even of the “heretical” Bible of Kralice. We presume that they also knew the 3rd Redaction of the Old Czech Bible.

The Bible of St. Wenceslas was published three times altogether, always in an untypical order: the New Testament in the first volume (we have already mentioned why), and the Old Testament from the Prophets to the end in the second volume, the Old Tes-

tament from the beginning to the Prophets in the third one. The first edition was realized at the expense of *Dědictví svatováclavské* (the Inheritance of St. Wenceslas) in 1677-1715; all the translators died during this period, and Konstanc did not even live to see the first volume. The first volume with the New Testament was published in 1677, and the two volumes of the Old Testament in 1712 and 1715. Materials from the banned publishing house of Melantrich, which were now given to the Jesuits, were used for the illustrations of the first edition. Even the title page to the whole Bible is a replica of the title page of Melantrich's Bible from 1570. Only for the New Testament, six new (anonymous) whole-page copper-engravings were made. The first one for the title page, another four for the beginning of the single Gospels and a last one for the Acts of the Apostles. (We can see that the New Testament was preferred also in decoration.)

The second edition, unchanged, but with a new type face, was published at the expense of *Dědictví svatováclavské* (the Inheritance of St. Wenceslas) in 1769-1771 (in 1769 the New Testament, in 1771 both volumes of the Old Testament). It differed from the first one in some orthographical variations, punctuation and graphics (capital letters) and also in some grammatical forms of some words. Some new vignettes and signets of the new printer, Jan Karel Hraba, were used in the decoration of this edition.

The third edition of the Bible of St. Wenceslas is called *Katolická Bible* (the Catholic Bible) or more often *Císařská Bible* (of the Emperor), because it was initiated and financed by the Empress Marie Terezie. It was a cheaper edition of two volumes in a smaller format 4° with no illustrations. Also the commentary of the publishers were left out and the publisher's forewords were shortened, because this edition was aimed for simple people; 1000 copies was given out for nothing on the mandate of Marie Terezie. It was published after the banning of the Jesuitical order in 1778-1780 (the New Testament in 1778, the Old Testament in 1780). The text of the Bible was adapted for this edition by two Paulans, Václav Fortunát Durych (1735-1802), a specialist in Slavonic studies, and František Faustín Procházka (1749-1809), a classical philologist and orientalist, who again took account of the Bible of Venice and especially of the Bible of Kralice, more than had been usual up to this time.

The Bible of St. Wenceslas, like the six-volume edition of the Bible of Kralice, has commentaries, but its commentary has a different character. It does not contain textual criticism, nor exegetic or factual notes, but information how to understand properly the biblical text. The commentary of the Bible of St. Wenceslas turns to the church audience, which should be redeemed by means of passive trust and obedience to the infallible holy church. The publisher's commentary, printed out in two columns in a smaller type, is added to every chapter and it is called *Poznamenání* (Annotation). Summaries of the chapters, the relevant biblical concordances, references to quoted patristic literature, and sometimes also supplements or variants for

better understanding are placed in the margins. Czech quotations are printed out in a different type and they are linked up with margin references by index letters of the alphabet, placed in brackets. Publisher's forewords for each biblical book contain dogmatic information and they are shorter or longer, as required, some of them being only summaries, with extracts from the biblical books.

The third edition had a type matter of two columns, without margin references; summaries were placed under the titles of chapters. Interpretative commentaries behind the chapters are left out and from time to time there were translation variants also printed for better understanding or interpretation, in smaller type. Also here there are, especially in the New Testament, longer dogmatic passages.

4. The Czech Bible in the 19th Century

The *Jubilejní Bible* (Jubilee Bible) is a certain epilogue to efforts to revive the Bible of Kralice. It was published in Prague in 1863 for the celebration of the thousandth anniversary of the turning of the Slavs to Christian belief, by a publisher Josef Růžička (1808–1872), sacred administrator of the German evangelical body in Prague. He left aside Elsner's version of the Bible of Kralice and returned to its original Czech editions. The first edition of the six-volume Bible of Kralice was his model for some biblical books and for the others it was the one-volume edition from 1613, so that the text of his edition is a special mix of two various editions of the Bible of Kralice.

The illustrated edition from 1892 is a representative edition of the Bible of Kralice, for which the evangelical vicar Ludvík Bohumil Kašpar (1837–1901) adapted the text of the one-volume Bible of Kralice from 1613 with an account of the six-volume one and the one of Elsner from 1766. This edition, with illustrations by the French painter Gustave Doré (1833–1883) and column ornaments by the French illustrator Hector Giacomelli (born 1822) is the evangelical variant of the Catholic Bible of Václav Štulc and Antonín Lenz from 1888–1894 (see below).

As for the biblical revivalist translations, we should mention above all the stylistically excellent translation of Paulans František Faustin Procházka (1749–1809), who decided for a new translation, because the work on the previous Bible of the Emperor was done in time pressure. First he published the New Testament in 1786 and then, in 1804, the translation of the complete Bible in two volumes. The author took account not only of the original Hebrew and Greek text of the Bible, but also of the older Czech translations. He equipped his translation with explanations, placed in brackets, and with interpretative notes, often polemical, which were met with criticism for being too revivalist. Nevertheless, his translation was used for many years; it was published in a new edition, called *Bible Konsistorní* (Consistorial Bible), prepared by Jan Evangelista Krbec (1791–

1857), chancellor of St. George on the Prague Castle. It was published in 1851 and then again in 1857 at the expense of *Dědictví sv. Jana Nepomuckého* (the Inheritance of St. Jan Nepomuk), and for the third time in 1888/89 in the edition of František Srdínek (1830–1912), headmaster of the archbishop Gymnasium in Prague, and Klement Borový (1838–1897), professor of the theology faculty in Prague. Account was taken of a German translation by the theologian Joseph Franz Allioli (1793–1873), which was published in Nuremberg in 1830–1834 and was accredited by the Apostolic See. Apart from necessary orthographic changes, the explanations in brackets were left out though this sometimes complicated the understanding the text, and problematic interpretations were shortened and sometimes replaced with new ones.

A Gymnasium teacher of religion, Innocenc Frencl (1818–1862) resolved to make larger changes in the Bible of Procházka. He wanted to publish a new Czech Bible for the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the arrival of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia. This Bible was published from 1860, and after the death of Frencl it was finished by the Premonstrat Jan František Desolda (1811–1885) in 1864. It is the first Czech Bible printed in Roman characters. The previous Bibles since the first Bible of Severin from 1529 were printed in German type taken from the German printers, and the oldest printed Bibles had a special Czech type, which imitated the writing of the old manuscripts (see above).

At the same time as this Bible, the Bible of František Bezděka (1798–1864), priest and official of the Prague university library, was published in a private edition, without Church approval. Though a Catholic, Bezděka reprinted the text of the six-volume Bible of Kralice almost without changes. The famous Czech painter Josef Mánes (1820–1871) was the author of the title page and drawn initial letters.

The translation of vicar Tomáš Draský (1791–1843) had only a small significance for the history of the Czech Bible, although it is the first translation from the original biblical languages since the Bible of Kralice. It has a untypical title *Výklad český, ne obšírný, však bezpečný všech Písem svatých* (The Czech Interpretation of all Holy Writs, not extensive, but sure). It was published in five volumes in 1821–1832. Draský translated in a way that no explanations and commentary were necessary, but his language was quite archaic and rough in some places, so that his translation did not take up.

The eight-volume translation and interpretation of the New Testament by František Sušil (1804–1868), professor of studies of the New Testament of the theology school in Brno, was also not very popular. Done after the Vulgate, it was published in 1864–1872. Sušil's work was of pioneer quality in its systematic interpretation of the New Testament, but peculiarities of his language (archaisms, neologisms, loans from others Slavonic languages, and formal divergences) prevented his work from becoming popular. However, his interpretation was, until recently, the only

complete commentary of the New Testament.

Two illustrated Bibles from the end of the 19th century, a two-volume *Písmo svaté* (Holy Writ), published by the priest and poet Václav Štulc (1814–1887) and by the professor of the theology school in České Budějovice Antonín Lenz (1829–1901) in 1888–1894 with illustrations by the French painter Gustave Doré, and a two-volume *Zlatá Bible* (Golden Bible), published by professors Klement Borový (1838–1897), Jan Drozd (1837–1910) and Josef Kyselka (1846–1911) in 1884–1894, with illustrations by remarkable painters of all times, are only impressive editions, as for the Czech biblical text, they do not have a special significance in the history of Czech biblical translation. Besides, Golden Bible is not a biblical text, but an extensive biblical history.

5. The Czech Bible in the 20th Century

The Bible of Kralice is constantly used in Evangelical circles, published since the 19th century by the British and Foreign Bible Society and since the middle of the 20th century by the Synodical Council of the Church of Czech Brothers, and now it is published by the Czech Bible Society. All these modern editions of the Bible of Kralice come from its last authentic edition from 1613, but these editions did not contain the apocryphal texts, because the Bible Society adhered to the decree from 1827 that these books should not be published. The Apocrypha after the fifth volume of the Bible of Kralice from 1588 were published separately by Pavel Josef Chráska in 1952 at the expense of the Council of the Union of the Czech Brothers in Prague. They were published once more in the same year in a complete edition of the Bible of Kralice in a series called *Blahoslav*, prepared also by Pavel Josef Chráska and Miloslav Kaňák (1917–1985), professor of the Hus' theology faculty, and other colleagues.

The Bible of Kralice had been actually used until the seventies, when the new ecumenical translation was published (see below). Only the New Testament was translated again, by evangelicals. The author of this translation, the theologian and historian František Žilka (1871–1944) left out, quite knowingly, all the earlier tradition of Czech biblical translation. As a model he used the newest critical edition of the Greek New Testament, which brought the Greek text closer to the original version of the New Testament than had the older translation. With lively Czech, he attempted to create a precise and exact translation, but also one that was well intelligible and accessible to a normal reader. The remarkable Czech linguist, a student of Jan Gebauer, and professor of the Charles University, Emil Smetánka (1875–1949) participated in linguistic modification of the translation, and its accuracy and faithfulness was checked by the best Czech translator from classical languages, professor of the Masaryk University in Brno, Ferdinand Stiebitz (1894–1961). Žilka's translation was published in 1933 for the first time, and it

was published many times after that (at least seven, for the last time in 1970.)

Many new biblical translations were published by Catholics. *Česká Bible s výkladem* (the Czech Bible with interpretation) is an important work from the beginning of the century, published thanks to the patriot and historian of art Antonín Podlaha (1865–1932), at the expense of *Dědictví sv. Jana Nepomuckého* (the Inheritance of St. Jan Nepomuk). This Czech Bible started to come out before the end of the First World War, in 1917. The Old Testament of the biblical scholar Jan Hejčl from Olomouc was published in three volumes in 1917–1925. The translation of the New Testament by Jan Ladislav Sýkora, professor of the theology faculty in Prague—the Gospels from 1909 and Apostles from 1914—was modified and published in 1922. In 1934, Hejčl did the revision of the translation of the New Testament of Sýkora. The Vulgate was the basis for both these translations, but the translators carefully took account of the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek texts as well as the Old Czech translations. The Bible is equipped with many large notes with the interpretations of the results of both older and newer biblical researches. Because this edition was too expensive for a wide audience, a popular edition, with the notes shortened as much as possible started to come out in 1930, but it was not finished.

The interest in Holy Writ was revived after the Second World War, in liberated Czechoslovakia. The professor of Old Testament science of the Faculty of Theology in Prague, Josef Heger (1885–1952) prepared a new translation of the Old Testament. He had already published partial translations of the Old Testament since 1931, not from the Vulgate, but from the original languages. In the new translation, Heger applied his poetic gift and therefore created an atypical, poetic translation which respected the religious values of this text. The translation was published three years after Heger's death in 1955–1958, in a handy three-volume edition.

Some Catholic translations of the New Testament originated after the war. The translation of Rudolf Col was the most widespread of these, up until recently—it was published in 1947 for the first time, in 1961 for the second time, and then again in 1970. Col's translation, like the evangelical translation of Žilka, comes from the critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. Pavel Škrabal, in cooperation with Ondřej Petrů, also translated the New Testament from Greek—in 1948. Petrů later linked his own to Škrabal's work with a new three-volume edition in 1951–1955. He followed Škrabal's edition in the first volume, containing the Gospels, only correcting misprints and replacing some words with better expressions: the other parts were independent translations. The second, corrected edition of the translation by Ondřej Petrů was published in 1969.

The last Czech translation of the Bible is an ecumenical translation, originating in the cooperation of specialists from the different churches working in Czechoslovakia. An impulse for this came from the Czech Brotherhood Evangelical Church, which

published a big *Biblical Concordance*, based on the Bible of Kralice, in 1961–1967. This concordance became at the same time a preparation for the new translation project, because all the work done on it made possible to resolve some translation and linguistic problems as well as problems in the theory of translation, and specified some lexical problems, especially regarding the terminology of religion and theology.

Work on the new translation started in 1961 under the leadership of the professors of the evangelical theological faculty in Prague—Miloš Bič (born 1910) for the Old Testament, and Josef Bohumil Souček (1902–1972) for the New Testament. The translation groups were, from the beginning, drafted as ecumenical ones. They were above all made up from the evangelical biblical experts from the Czech Brotherhood Evangelical Church, Brotherhood Church and Evangelical Methodist Church, and then from the experts from the Czechoslovakian Hussites Church and the Orthodox Church. They were soon joined by Roman Catholic scholars. After the death of professor Souček in 1972, Jindřich Mánek (1912–1977) from the Hus' (today Hussites) theological faculty, became the chairman of the New Testament group, and after his death in 1977 it was Petr Pokorný (born 1933) from the Evangelical theological faculty (from 1977). Bishop Antonín Liška was the leader of the Catholic members of the group. The translators closely cooperated with the United Bible Societies, which also provided financial support. Translations were done from the original biblical languages—Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek—but the old translations from the Septuagint and Vulgate were also taken into consideration.

Samples of the new translation started to come out in 1962 and single volumes of the translation with interpretations were published by the publishing house Kalich since 1968—16 volumes altogether, the last of which was published in 1984. It was published in toto, but without the interpretation, in 1979, for the four hundredth anniversary of the publishing of the first volume of the six-volume Bible of Kralice, and since that time, it has been reprinted here several times, though the Kalich edition does not contain deuterocanonical books. The translation was revised, re-worked and completed with the translation of the Apocrypha in 1978–1984. It was published with the deuterocanonical books by the publishing house Charita in 1987 (dated 1985), and then again by the publishing house Zvon in 1991. The revised text without the deuterocanonical books has also, since 1985, been published by Kalich, who also published in the same year as a subsequent, 17th volume, an interpretative edition of the *Apocrypha*.

6. The Influence of Czech Translations of the Bible on the Origin of Biblical Translations of Other Nations

The import of the influence of the Czech Bible in the Middle Ages was not limited

just to the Czechs Lands. The Czech biblical translations quite soon reached neighbouring Poland, which had rich cultural and political contacts with the Czech kingdom. The Czech Bible served there, in the middle of the 15th century, as a direct model for the Polish Bible, which is just a transcription of the Czech text into Polish.¹⁴ Some parts of the manuscript of the Polish Bible, called the *Bible of the Queen Sophia* after the second wife of Vladislav Jagellonský, for who the text was made, were preserved in Hungary in Sharoshpatak. It is the longest work of the Old Polish language, and one of the three oldest of all Polish works. We can find some distinct traces of the Czech biblical translation also in both Polish manuscript books of Psalms, in the *Florian Psalm Book*, written at the end of the 14th century on the Czech territory in Kladsko for Vladislav's first wife Hedvika, and in *Pulava Psalm Book* from the second half of the 15th century.¹⁵

With Hussitism, the Czech Bible got to other lands of the Czech neighbourhood: first of all to Slovakia, where the Czech Bible was used up to the 19th century, and then to Hungary and even Romania. The first translations of the Bible into the Hungarian and Romanian languages originated in the borderlands of Moldavia and Transylvania, and they were influenced by the Hussite Reformation movement. Priests of Hungarian or German origin, coming from Transylvania, were their authors. They had studied in Prague and Bohemia, where they had first met the Hussite ideas. Apart from that, some Hussite emigrants came to Moldavia in the thirties, and they brought the Czech Bible with them. In this case too, the translation of the Bible is one of the first national literary documents, as well as the biggest one; in Romania it is absolutely the first work in their national language. But only fragments of both of these biblical translations are preserved.¹⁶

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Czech Bible translation was a model for the translation of the Bible in one of the East Slavonic languages—for the Byelorussian Bible. The Byelorussian translation originated directly in Prague and was printed partly in Prague and partly in Vilnius, in 1517–1525. The Byelorussian doctor Francisk Skoryna (Skaryna, born about 1490)¹⁷ was its author and publisher. He had studied and for some time also worked in Prague. With this translation, and with some other translations and

¹⁴ S. Urbańczyk and V. Kyas, *Biblia królowej Zofii (Szaroszpatacka) wraz ze staroczeskim przekładem biblii* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1965–1967).

¹⁵ V. Kyas, *Česká předloha staropolského žaltáře* (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1962), 72–85.

¹⁶ J. Flajšhansová, "Počátky rumunské literatury za vlivu husitského?" *Časopis pro moderní filologii a literatury* 8 (1922), 91–94; J. Jireček, "Duchovní styky Čechův a Maďarův za XIV a XV věku," *Časopis musea království Českého* 59 (1895), 387–394; T. Kardos, *A laikus mozgalom magyar bibliája* (Budapest, 1930); T. Kardos, *A Huszita Biblia kelepkezése* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1952); S. Károlyi, *Dějiny a národy: Husitské hnutí a první maďarský překlad bible* (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965), 43–54.

¹⁷ *Francisko Skoryna v díle českých slavistů* (Praha: Slovanská knihovna, 1992).

editions of Byelorussian books, Skoryna strongly influenced the development of the Byelorussian written language, and thanks to him, Byelorussians became one of the nations in Europe which had a printed Bible. His publishing work was remarkable not only for the Byelorussians but also for the other Slavonic parts of the Eastern Europe. His editions were spread to the territory of present-day Ukraine and Byelorussia in the 16th century, and later to the Russian Empire of Moscow. In the second half of the 16th century it was a pattern for the Slavonic Protestant Bibles, for instance for the Polish Bible of Šimon Budny from 1570–1572.¹⁸ Skoryna translated from the Vulgate, and the Czech Bible of Venice from 1506 was his main help—he imitated it also for the outward look of his edition. His Bible is a masterpiece of printing, as far as typography and graphic design is concerned. Like the Bible of Venice, it is decorated with Renaissance woodcuts. The print of Skoryna's Bible was probably financed by rich Vilnius citizens.

The Lusatian-Serbian translation of the New Testament by Mikławš Jakubica was made in 1548, also after the Czech Bible. Jakubica did the translation after the German text of Martin Luther, who had Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament, published in Basle by the printer Frobenius (1460–1527) in 1516, as a model.¹⁹ Václav Beneš Optát used the same model for his translation of the New Testament from 1533 (see above). In the period around the middle of the 16th century, the Czech biblical editions were widely dispersed in the lands of Central and Eastern Europe, so it is not surprising that Jakubica used, beside Luther's, also the Czech Bible translation.

Analysis shows that Jakubica used the second Bible of Severin from 1537²⁰ and the New Testament of Kantor Had from 1545,²¹ which used to be declared to be the second edition of Jan Had.²² The text of the New Testament of Jan Had and the text of the New Testament of Kantor Had from 1545 were taken from the Severin Bible only with a few orthographical changes. Jakubica took some Czech expressions, which did not exist in Lusatian Serbian, from the Czech model. Sometimes he also forgot that he wanted to write in Serbian, and just copied the Czech text. He often took the translation of the Vulgate text from the Czech version, which was different from Luther's translation after Erasmus.

Bohemia and Prague also occupied an important place in the development of German biblical translation. The second oldest German translation of the Bible originated in 1375–1390 directly in Prague—on the order of Martin Rotlew, an extraordinarily rich German citizen of the Old Town of Prague, and a member of the council of

¹⁸ *Biblia Slavica* II/3: *Simon Budny, Biblia 1572* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1994).

¹⁹ *Novum instrumentum omne* (Basileae, 1516.)

²⁰ H. Lotze, *Der Brief des Jakobus in wendischer Übersetzung aus der Berliner Handschrift vom Jahre 1548* (Leipzig, 1867).

²¹ V. Kyas, "Česká předloha nejstarší lužickosrbské jazykové památky," *Slavia* 33 (1964), 369–374.

²² V. Kyas, *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1997), 166.

King Wenceslas IV. This translation, whose popularity is proved by the many preserved manuscripts, is recorded in the famous Bible of Wenceslas IV, which was written and illuminated in Prague. This Bible, although its beautiful decoration is done only in less than half of it, contains over 600 drawings, and it is an absolutely extraordinary work of the medieval book production.²³ Opinions on the origin of the manuscript differ. Some suppose that the Bible was ordered by Rotlew as a wedding gift for Wenceslas IV for his wedding with Sophia of Bavaria in 1389.²⁴ Some German research workers think that the manuscript was ordered by Wenceslas IV himself, and Rotlew just initiated its German translation.²⁵ The German translation in the Bible of Wenceslas IV is a successful work; it is noted for its rich lexicon, and for the fluency and readability of the text, which does not contain any latinisms. It is one of the best medieval translations of the Bible. But we do not know its author.²⁶

During the Middle Ages the Bible became a rich source of education and national cultures. It usually influenced, directly or indirectly, the development of national literatures and national written languages. The translation of the Bible is, for many European nations, the first literary document in their national language, a monument which represents the beginning of the national literature. Also, the Czech translation of the Bible from the 14th century is one of the most significant Czech documents, although it is not the first one in the Czech language. It is a proof of the high level of Czech culture in the 14th century.

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²³ On decoration of the Bible in detail: J. Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV.* (Praha: Odeon, 2nd ed. 1974), in the chapter *Králova bible*, 130–192.

²⁴ F. M. Bartoš first produced this idea: F. M. Bartoš, *Počátky české bible* (Praha, 1941), 7, but later he left it and said that the Bible was dedicated to Wenceslas IV by Rotlew to express his thanks for not being punished for inappropriate behaviour in the court in 1381: "Tvůrce bible Rotlevovy," *Časopis pro moderní filologii* 36 (1954), 89.

²⁵ Literature mentioned in detail: J. Krása, *Rukopisy Václava IV.* (Praha: Odeon, 1974), 238, n. 61.

²⁶ Bartoš's attempts at identification were rejected for not being well-founded.

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Summary

Jaroslava PEČÍRKOVÁ CZECH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

The Czech translation of the Bible, as the first Slavonic translation – apart from the Old Church Slavonic one, which was not in fact a translation into a national language –, belongs among the oldest European biblical translations.

Its history is very old. It starts in the 13th century with translations of some parts of the Bible, which were the most important for the liturgy – books of Psalms and Gospels (as was the case for the Old Church Slavonic translation). The origin of the complete translation of the Bible is nowadays placed in the middle of the 14th century. The older opinion, that the Old Czech translation of the Bible was a complex of different translations of parts of the Bible, which originated gradually during the period from the 12th to 15th century, has now

been superseded. Today we suppose that the Old Czech translation of the Bible was a large project supported by the highest religious and state authorities. But the question, who initiated this translation and who actually did it, has not yet been resolved. The most common opinion is that the Czech translation of the Bible did not have one author, but was the work of a whole group of translators, who could have come from various religious environments. In particular, the religious orders come to mind: the Benedictines, Dominicans and Augustinians-Canons. Another opinion is that outstanding Czech theologians and preachers joined forces for this translation, no matter which order they belonged to.

We distinguish four Redactions of the Old Czech biblical translations: 1st Redaction—the Old Czech translation of the Bible from the 14th century, produced for the religious environment only, and represented by the Bible of Dresden; 2nd Redaction—a modification of this translation from the beginning of the 15th century, which aimed to get rid of the out-of-date language of the 1st Redaction, the Bible of Litoměřice being a typical example of the 2nd Redaction; 3rd Redaction—a new translation by an unknown author coming from the university circles at the beginning of the 15th century, represented by the Bible of Padeřov; 4th Redaction—a new translation by a group of university masters from the eighth decade of the 15th century, originated during the period of a new interest in the Czech Bible, after the invention of the letter-press, preserved in the Czech incubula—the Bibles of Prague and Kutná Hora.

All together nine Utraquist Bibles were published in the 16th century, all of which were translated from the Latin Vulgate. Two of them were printed abroad—in Venice in 1506 The Bible of Venice, and in Nuremberg in 1540 the Bible of Nuremberg. In Bohemia, Pavel Severin of Kapi Hora published two Bibles—in 1529 and 1537. Jiřík Melantrich Rožd'alovský of Aventin was the biggest publisher of Czech Bibles—his Bibles (published in 1547, 1556/57, 1560/61, 1570 and 1577) completely dominated the book trade in Bohemia and in the neighbouring countries. The New Testament of Václav Beneš Optát from 1533 is a very interesting biblical edition, being the first one which did not come from the Vulgate.

The translations of the Czech Brothers make up the second line of Czech biblical translations: the New Testament of Klaudián from 1518, the New Testament of Lukáš from 1525, the New Testament of Blahoslav from 1564 and 1568 and finally the Bible of the Czech Reformation—the Bible of Kralice, published for the first time with rich commentaries in six volumes in 1579–1594, for the second time without commentary in one volume in 1596 and for the third time also in one volume in 1613. All the biblical translations of the Brotherhood, except for the two oldest New Testaments, are translated from the original biblical languages. From the beginning of the 18th century, the Bible of Kralice was published in Germany and in Hungary by Brotherhood exiles for their own needs, and for the needs of secret evangelicals in Bohemia (the Exile Bibles).

The Catholic Bible of St. Wenceslas represents the third line of Czech biblical translations in the 16th–18th century. It came from Sixt-Clementine and it is a Catholic counterpart of the Protestant Bible of Kralice. Like the first edition of the Bible of Kralice, it had a large commentary, even though it was of a quite different character. The Bible of St. Wenceslas originated in the Jesuitical order within the framework of a programme of exchange of basic religious help. It was published three times altogether, for the first time in 1677–1715, then in 1769–1771, and for the third time in a cheap edition without commentary in 1778–1780 (the so-called Bible of Kaiser).

The following Bibles of the 19th century should be mentioned here: two editions of the Bible of Kralice—the so-called Jubilee Bible published by Josef Růžička for the thousandth anniversary of the Slavs turning towards the Christianity, and the illustrated edition of Ludvík Bohumil Kašpar from 1892. As for the Catholic Bibles, especially the translation of František Faustin Procházka from 1804 is important, also published in 1851, and then again in 1857 as the so-called Consistorial Bible. Innocenc Frencl published a new translation of the Czech Bible in 1860–1864 for the thousandth anniversary of the arrival of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia.

The Evangelicals constantly used the Bible of Kralice in the 20th century. It had been made available since the 19th century in many editions by British and Foreign Bible Societies. Only the New Testament was translated newly—by František Žilka in 1933. But many new translations of the Bible were published by the Catholics. The Czech Bible with an interpretation from 1917–1925 by Jan Hejčl (the Old Testament) and Jan Ladislav Sýkora (the New Testament) was very significant. A new translation of the Old Testament by Josef Heger was published after the Second World War, as well as some new translations of the New Testament (the translations by Rudolf Col from 1947, by Pavel Škrabal from 1948 and by Ondřej Petřů from 1951–1955). The last Czech biblical translation is an ecumenical translation which originated in 1961–1984 and was published in two forms—with a commentary in 17 volumes in 1968–1985, and without a commentary in one volume. This edition was issued by the publishing house Kalich without the deuterocanonical books in 1979, and with them by the publishing house Charita in 1987.

The Czech translations of the Bible markedly influenced the beginning of biblical translations in other Slavonic (Poland, Byelorussia, Upper Lusatia) and even non-Slavonic (Romania, Hungary) countries of Europe.

Povzetek

Jaroslava PEČÍRKOVÁ ČEŠKI PREVODI SVETEGA PISMA

Češki prevod Svetega pisma kot prvi slovanski prevod – razen starocerkvenoslovanskega prevoda, ki pa ni prevod v narodni jezik – v Evropi spada med najstarejše svetopisemske prevode.

Njegova zgodovina je zelo dolga. Začenja se v 13. stoletju s prevodom tistih delov Svetega pisma, ki so bili najbolj potrebni za liturgijo – namreč psalter in evangelistar (enako je bilo tudi pri starocerkvenoslovanskem prevodu). Nastanek češkega prevoda popolnega Svetega pisma danes datiramo v sredino 14. stoletja. Danes je že popolnoma opuščeno mnenje, da je bil staročeški prevod Svetega pisma zbir različnih prevodov delov Svetega pisma, ki so nastajali postopoma od 12. do 15. stoletja. Danes sodimo, da je bil staročeški prevod Svetega pisma obsežen načrt, ki sta ga podpirale najvišje cerkvene in državne avtoritete. Še vedno ni dokončno rešeno vprašanje, kdo je bil pobudnik prevoda in kdo njegov avtor. Prevladuje mnenje, da češki prevod Svetega pisma ni imel enega samega avtorja, ampak da je šlo za delo cele skupine prevajalcev, ki so lahko izhajali iz različnih cerkvenih središč. V poštev prihajajo največ trije cerkveni redovi: benediktinci, dominikanci in avguštinci kanoniki. Drugačno mnenje je, da so se za prevod združili vodilni češki teologi in pridigarji ne glede na redovniško pripadnost.

Razlikujemo štiri redakcije staročeškega prevoda: 1. redakcija – staročeški prevod Svetega pisma v 14. stoletju, ki je omejen le na cerkveno središče in ga zastopa *Bible Drážd'anská*; 2. redakcija – ureditev prevoda na začetku 15. stoletja, ki ji je bil namen ukiniti jezikovno zastarelost 1. redakcije; tipično Sveto pismo te redakcije je *Bible Litoměřická*; 3. redakcija – nov prevod neznanega avtorja iz univerzitetnih krogov iz začetka 15. stoletja – predstavlja ga *Bible Padeřovská*; 4. redakcija – nov prevod skupine univerzitetnih magistrrov iz 80. let 15. stoletja, ki je nastal v času novega razmaha češkega Svetega pisma po iznajdbi knjigotiska in je ohranjen v čeških inkunabulah – to sta *Bible Pražská* in *Bible Kutnohorská*.

V 16. stoletju so izdali skupaj devet utrakvističnih Svetih pisem, ki so jih prevedli po latinski Vulgati. Dve sta bili tiskani v tujini – v Benetkah *Bible Benátská* iz 1506 in Nürnbergu *Bible Norimberská* iz 1540. Na Češkem je izdal dve Sveti pismi Pavel Severin s Kapí Hore leta 1529 in 1537. Največji založnik čeških Svetih pisem je bil Jiřík Melantrich Rožd'alovský iz Aventina, katerega Sveta pisma (izdal jih je 1547, 1556/57, 1560/61, 1570 in 1577) so popolnoma preplavila knjižno tržišče na Češkem in v sosednjih deželah. Zelo zanimiv svetopisemski tisk je Nova zaveza Václava Beneša Optáta iz 1533, prvi češki prevod, ki ne izhaja iz Vulgate.

Druga linija čeških svetopisemskih prevodov so »bratski« (protestantski) prevodi, *Nový zákon Klauidiánův* 1518, *Nový zákon Lukášův* 1525, *Nový zákon Blahoslavův* 1564 in 1568 in končno Sveto pismo češke reformacije *Bible Kralická* (Krališka Biblija), ki je prvič izšla z obsežnimi komentarji v šestih zvezkih 1579–1594, drugič brez komentarjev v enem zvezku 1596 in tretjič tudi v enem zvezku 1613. Vsi »bratski« svetopisemski prevodi razen dveh najstarejših novih zvezov so prevedeni iz izvirnih svetopisemskih jezikov. Od začetka 18. stoletja so Krališko Biblijo tiskali v Nemčiji deloma na Ogrskem »bratski« emigranti za svoje potrebe in za potrebe skrivnostnih evangeličanov na Češkem (Biblije iz pregnanstva).

Tretjo linijo čeških prevodov Svetega pisma v 16.–18. stoletju predstavlja *Svatováclavská Bible* (Svetovenčeslavska Biblija), ki izhaja iz tridentske Sixto-Klementine. Svetovenčeslavska Biblija je katoliški ustreznik protestantski Krališki Bibliji in enako kot prva izdaja Krališke Biblije vsebuje obsežen komentar, čeprav nekoliko drugačnega značaja. Svetovenčeslavska Biblija je nastala v jezuitskem redu v okviru programa zamenjave osnovnih verskih pripomočkov. Izdali so jo trikrat, prvič 1677–1715, drugič 1769–1771, tretjič v ceneni izdaji brez komentarjev 1778–1780 – t. i. *Císařská Bible*.

Iz Svetih pisem 19. stoletja sta vredni omembe dve izdaji Krališke Biblije – t. i. *Jubilejní Bible*, izdal jo je Josef Růžička ob tisočletnici spreobrnitve Slovanov v krščanstvo, in ilustrirana izdaja, ki jo je naredil Ludvík Bohumil Kašpar 1892. Izmed katoliških Svetih pisem je predvsem pomemben prevod, ki ga je naredil František Faustín Procházka 1804, ponovno 1851 in še 1857 kot t. i. *Bible Konsistorní*. Nove izdaje češkega Svetega pisma se je lotil Innocenc Frencl ob tisočletnici prihoda Cirila in Metoda na Moravsko 1860–1864.

V 20. stoletju so češki evangeličani uporabljali še vedno Krališko Biblijo, ki je bila že od 19. stoletja pri-

stopna v številnih izdajah Britanske biblične družbe. Le novi prevod Nove zaveze je pri evangeličanih naredil František Žilka 1933. Toda pri katoličanih je izšla cela vrsta novih prevodov Biblije. Pomembna je *Česká Bible s výkladem* (1917–1925), avtorja sta Jan Hejčl (Stara zaveza) in Jan Ladislav Sýkora (Nova zaveza). Po drugi svetovni vojni je izšel prevod Stare zaveze, katerega avtor je Josef Heger (1955–1958) in nekaj prevodov Nove zaveze (prevod Rudolf Col 1947, Pavel Škrabal 1948 in Ondřej Petřů 1951–1955). Zadnji češki prevod Svetega pisma predstavlja ekumenski prevod, ki je nastajal v letih 1961–1984 in je izšel deloma s komentarjem v 17 zvezkih v letih 1968–1985, deloma brez komentarja v enem zvezku pri založbi Kalich brez devterokanoničnih knjig 1979 in z devterokanoničnimi knjigami pri založbi Charita 1987.

Češki prevod Svetega pisma je pomembno vplival na nastanek svetopisemkega prevoda v drugih evropskih slovanskih (na Poljskem, v Belorusiji, v Gornji Lužici) in neslovanskih deželah (na Madžarskem, v Rumuniji in Nemčiji).