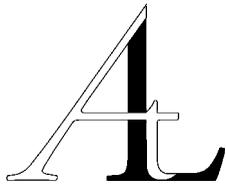


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Lithvanicâ Linguâ donatum a Samuele Boguslao
Chylinski. Manuscripti Lithuanici imagines digitales*
ed. Gina Kavaliūnaitė

Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas,
2019, cxc, 429 pp. ISBN 978-609-07-0188-1

The first volume of the Chylinski's Bible series edited by Gina Kavaliūnaitė was published in 2008. It comprised a facsimile of the first printed edition of the translation of the Old Testament into Lithuanian by Samuel Boguslav Chylinski (Samuelis Boguslavas Chylinskis, Samuel Bogusław Chyliński, 1633–1666). Seven years later, in 2015, the third volume¹ was released, containing historical sources related to the origin of the work and the author's private life.² Twelve years after the publication of the first volume, I have a great pleasure of reviewing the second and the last volume which contains a facsimile of the manuscript of the New Testament—the volume that could be called the crowning achievement of Kavaliūnaitė's many years of hard work and research.

1 Kavaliūnaitė 2015.

2 Reviews written by Ingė Lukšaitė (2008,

219–224) and Robert Frost (2017, 339–348)
appeared in the pages of this journal.

The order in which the volumes were released may seem puzzling, but as the editor herself says, it was determined by many factors. I admit that however mysterious these explanations may sound, the order itself seems justified. Volumes 1 and 3 give the reader a chance to get acquainted with Chylinski's life and work. Thanks to Kavaliūnaitė's detailed research, we are able to thoroughly understand all aspects related to Chylinski's endeavour: his early life, circumstances accompanying the creation of his translation, and all the difficulties he struggled with in his work. Thanks to the series editor, we get more insight into Chylinski's mind, and thus into the psychological aspect of his work on the Bible translation. Discovering the personal history of this man, who lived 350 years ago, feels like reading about a long-lost relative. To some extent, these volumes offer a prelude to the finale, in the form of the second volume reviewed in this paper.

On the second page of the manuscript, Chylinski states, "I began my translation in the name of the Lord on October 22, 1657 old style in Oxford" ("translacię zacząłem w imieniu Panskim d[ie] 22. [Octo]bris 1657. w Oxforcie stylo veteri", p. ciii). In 1660, despite financial problems but with the help of English Protestants and the Privy Council, Chylinski managed to publish about 3,000 copies of his translation of the Old Testament. Hope that the printing would continue returned when John Christopher Krainski (Jan Krzysztof Kraiński, Krainsky de Kraino, 1630–1685), a representative of the Vilnius Provincial Synod, came to London to request the English Protestants to help revive the Reformed Church in Lithuania, which was ruined after the Swedish Deluge³. All influential people in England who showed interest in Krainski's actions made it a condition that part of the funds should be allocated to Chylinski's work. The delegate agreed, however he obliged Chylinski to return to Lithuania and stated that the commencement of printing should be approved by the Synod. In the same year (1660), Chylinski left England and returned to Lithuania after many years of absence. This period seems to be crucial in the context of the reviewed volume because it determined the shape and ultimately, the fate of the manuscript.

In 1661, Chylinski participated in a meeting of the Vilnius Synod. During his visit, he presented the first printed copy of the beginning of the Old Testament and the manuscripts of the New Testament. The warm welcome and numerous praises that Chylinski received at the beginning soon were replaced by unfavorable reviews of his translation. The Synod stated that the translation must be checked and edited, and entrusted this task to two famous experts of the Lithuanian language: Jan Borzymowski the Elder (1610–1673) and Teodor Skrocki (?–?). After the Synod ended, Chylinski quickly returned to England to continue his work on the translation, the publication of which was delayed due to his stay in Lithuania.⁴

³ Kot 1958, xxv; Kavaliūnaitė 2008b, lxxxv.

⁴ Kot 1958, XXVIII; Kavaliūnaitė 2008b, lxxxvij.

After the meeting of the Vilnius Synod, Krainski, who seemed to be not very enthusiastic about Chylinski's work, in 1662, partially paid for the paper and for the printer. However, the collection of funds was slow and the already collected funds were not enough to pay for the printer. In May 1662, Krainski presented the terms of cooperation to Chylinski. He obliged him to send the translation of the Old Testament, ending with the Book of Psalms (it was probably the so-called Vilnius copy), to Lithuania and to continue sending the next parts of the corrected New Testament translation.

Full of hope, Chylinski returned to his work. Unfortunately, his enthusiasm was not shared by Krainski. In 1662, both the translator and the printer had to settle accounts with the supervisors of the collection and representatives of the Privy Council. Unfortunately, Krainski's unflattering comments and the Synod's decisions on the uncertain future of the translation must have reached the Privy Council. Krainski, who probably did not intend to finance the project, stated in a conciliatory tone that such a translation would make more sense in Prussia, but not among Lithuanians.⁵ The unfavorable opinions of the editors helped him convince everyone about the poor quality of Chylinski's work, which resulted in the Synod's devastating decision to discontinue the printing of the Bible. In 1666, abandoned and forgotten, Chylinski died in London.

The preserved books of the Old Testament, now stored at the British Library in London (the so-called London copy)⁶, are published as high-quality facsimiles in the first volume of the Chylinski's Bible series. It is the shortest known version and it ends with chapter 15 of the Book of Joshua. However, the editor of the study must have been born under a lucky star because in 2007 photocopies of the Berlin copy (ending with the Book of Psalms), which had been lost after the war, were found in the notes of the Professor Jan Otrębski (1889–1971). The first tome was supplemented by two short fragments of the Book of Job, quoted in the Quandt Bible, and several verses of Psalm 40, reconstructed by Eduards Volters (1856–1941), which constitute the legacy of the longest Vilnius copy, lost after World War II. In addition to fragments of the Old Testament, Volume 1 includes photocopies of two brochures written by Chylinski in order to raise funds for the translation: *An account of the translation of the Bible into the Lithuanian tongue* (London, 1659)⁷ and *Ratio Institutae Translationis Bibliorum in Linguam Lithuanicam* (Oxford, ~1660)⁸. The facsimiles are accompanied with a rich commentary on the author's life, the history of the work, the premises accompanying its creation and the alleged sources that he used in the process of translation.

5 Kot 1958, XXVIII; Kavaliūnaitė 2008b, lxxxvij.

6 In the collections of the British Library, with the shelfmark: General Reference Collection C.51.b.13.

7 In the collections of the British Library, with the shelfmark: General Reference Collection 1214.a5.

8 In the collections of the Copenhagen University Library, with the shelfmark: 20, 45 00588.

Volume 3 of the Chylinski's Bible series serves as a supplement and confirms the history included in the introduction to Volume 1. It contains source materials (documents, letters, correspondence, bills) related to Chylinski and his lifework. As Kavaliūnaitė herself admits, she was surprised by the amount of valuable, previously unknown documents that were found during the research (p. lxxxvii). Many of them shed new light on the history of Chylinski and his work, thus supplementing the available knowledge about the topic. The collected documents are not only a testimony to the efforts of the author of the Bible, but also allow the reader to formulate an opinion on Chylinski's history and life, and on some controversial elements of his biography related to the discontinuation of the printing of the Bible.

The fate of the manuscript of the New Testament was different. Despite the fact that it was fully completed, it was never published and disappeared after the author's death. It is believed that after Chylinski's death, his book collections and numerous manuscripts were sold to cover his debts. How long and difficult the path of the New Testament manuscript must have been until it was rediscovered! In December 1925, antiquarian Arthur Rogers showed up at the British Museum and offered to sell two books, one of which was the lost manuscript (p. xcvi)! The museum acquired the book for two pounds and two shillings, a considerable sum at the time, and the text of Chylinski's New Testament once again reappeared on the pages of history. The manuscript is currently stored at the British Library (shelfmark: MS 41301).

It is worth mentioning that the Chylinski's Bible series, edited by Kavaliūnaitė, is not the first attempt of reintroducing this masterpiece back to the world. In the years 1958–1984, a three-volume series dedicated to the New Testament was published. The series included photocopies⁹, the text¹⁰, and the word index of the manuscript¹¹. We owe this edition to Polish researchers Czesław Kudzinowski (1908–1988) and Jan Otrębski, who started their work in the 1930s but were interrupted by the nightmare of World War II.

Thus, we finally come to 2019, when, after many years of efforts and hardship, the second volume of the Samuel Boguslav Chylinski's Bible series, reviewed below, was published. This work can be called the crowning achievement on various grounds. Not only is it a revised and improved version of the Polish linguists' work but it is also an extensive philological study devoted to the characteristics of the translation. It includes high-quality facsimiles of the complete translation of the books of the New Testament as well as the notes from the opening and closing pages of the manuscript. Despite the fact that the latter constitute only a small percentage of the entire work, they say no less about the author and his life than the documents published in Volume 3. In addition to the photocopies of the manuscript, in the introduction we can find two in-depth studies devoted to the characteristics of the manuscript.

⁹ Kudzinowski 1984.

¹¹ Kudzinowski 1964.

¹⁰ Kudzinowski, Otrębski 1958.

The first of them, “Chylinski’s manuscript translation of the New Testament” (p. xcviij–cxxvij) (“Chylinskio Naujojo Testamento vertimo rankraštis”, p. xxiiij–lj) is a detailed philological description of the external features of the manuscript by Gina Kavaliūnaitė, containing the analysis of borrowings, alleged Lithuanian sources used by the author, as well as an extensive description of the metatext. The scale of the research is evidenced by the number of different fields of science involved in the study, such as the spectographic and paleographic analysis. The latter was used by Rūta Čapaitė in the second study “Chylinski’s New Testament in the context of the Latin cursive” (p. cxxxj–clx) (“Chylinskio Naujasis Testamentas lotiniškojo kursyvo kontekste”, p. lv–lxxxiiij) in which she examines Chylinski’s handwriting in the context of Latin cursive, which leads to groundbreaking findings regarding the nature of the manuscript and provides the evidence of the involvement of external manuscript correctors.

However, the volume is not only a treat for bibliophiles and researchers from various fields. The book design is also elegant and beautiful. The volume is full of breathtaking graphics by Šarūnas Leonavičius, who is responsible for the graphic design of all volumes. Furthermore, the book deserves praise for translations by Axel Holvoet, which are excellent and read well.

It is also worth mentioning that Volume 2 should be viewed as an integral part of the website www.chylinskibible.flf.vu.lt, published last year and reviewed in this journal¹². The platform contains the digital version of the New Testament together with an in-depth analysis, a transcription and all editorial layers of the text. The year 2019 will probably remain unforgettable for every researcher and enthusiast interested in Chylinski or old-writings. It is truly a step into the future, an invaluable help during research, and an example for all upcoming publications in the field.

Volume 2 opens with Kavaliūnaitė’s in-depth philological analysis divided into several parts, each dealing with a different aspect of the manuscript. In the section devoted to external features of the manuscript, we learn about all physical features related to the translation, such as the size of the manuscript, the number of pages, the color of ink used by the author, the structure of the manuscript, the page layout, the type of paper on which the manuscript was written, and finally, the mistakes and various defects (such as spilled ink on page 7). While Volume 1 allows us to learn about the author’s history and Volume 3—about his private life, the second volume allows us to get acquainted with Chylinski’s working regime.

The next part of the analysis raises an important question about dictionaries and Lithuanian books that Chylinski allegedly used in the course of his work. According to the author himself, the New Testament translation was completed in just two years, which, as Kavaliūnaitė rightly observes, is a very short time. She admits that she still has not been able to clearly establish whether Chylinski used Lithuanian dictionaries or books in the process of translation, although she managed to exclude some pub-

¹² Brudzyński 2019, 339–346.

lications with high probability. The question of sources is undoubtedly a matter of great importance. It has been known for a long time that the main source used by Chylinski is the so-called *Statenbijbel* (*States Bible*, Leyden, 1637) but so far, the issue of Lithuanian sources has not been a subject of an in-depth analysis. By the time Chylinski was about to start his translation, the third edition of Konstantinas Sirvydas's *Dictionarium trium linguarum* (Vilnius, 1642) had already appeared. However, lexemes included in the dictionary seem to contradict that Chylinski was using it in his work. The study puts forward a theory that the author of the translation used the so-called Morkūnas's *Postil* (Vilnius, 1600). It may be confirmed by the use of some less frequent words in the text of the translation but also by some entries in the glossary on the closing pages of the manuscript, which Chylinski prepared during his travels.

The issue of the opening and closing pages of the manuscript deserves a separate paragraph. The content of these supplementary pages includes not only the aforementioned glossary but also entries related to Chylinski's work and private life, such as the note concerning the translator's wedding. The manuscript opens with the epigraph by Andre Rivet (1572–1651) saying that the language of the Holy Writ is not for everyone to understand and must be studied with the help of a skilled translator. In support of this thesis, Chylinski provides an extensive list of literature including commentaries on the Bible by the most prominent theologians of the time. In addition to the notes written by the author's hand, mentioned above, there are also texts written undoubtedly by external editors, as postulated by Čapaitė (p. cxljx-clij). On the basis of all these entries one can create a kind of continuum describing the individual stages of the editing of the manuscript. Undoubtedly, the opening and closing pages of the manuscript could become the basis for numerous studies and scientific papers.

As has been already mentioned, apart from Chylinski's private notes the opening and closing pages of the manuscript include notes written by someone else. One of them has been mentioned before. It expresses doubts about the purposefulness of translating the Bible into Lithuanian and suggests that this effort would make more sense in Prussia: "Lithuanian Bible would be of little use in Lithuania itself, no small benefit and profit could accrue from it in Electoral Prussia" ("chodzby w Lithwie mało potrzebna była sic stantibus afflictis rebus biblia Litewska wprusiech jednak Kurfirsztowskich moze byc jey nie mały pozytek y zysk", p. 6). Although the paleographer Rūta Čapaitė doubts that the author of these words is John Krainski (p. clvij), most of the evidence points to him. Kavaliūnaitė suggests that even if the note was not written by his hand, it must be at least a copy of a letter written by Krainski (p. cvij). The delegate of the Vilnius Synod is presented as the main culprit behind the discontinuation of the printing of Chylinski's Bible. It is worth bearing in mind that his task was to raise funds for the Protestant Church in Lithuania, ruined after the Deluge. In light of the crisis faced by the Lithuanian Protestant community, the

publication of the Bible could actually be considered the issue of less importance. An exhaustive defense of Krainski's motives is presented by Robert Frost in his review of the third volume of the series¹³, in which he argues that the Vilnius Synod's delegate was only doing his job. As a response to this criticism, Volume 2 reveals new facts about the conflict between Krainski and Chylinski. One might get an impression that the men were not on very good terms and there might have been a major conflict of interests involved. If the note placed in the opening of the manuscript was written by Krainski, we might assume that he was trying to distance himself from the whole matter, even by supporting the efforts of translating the Bible in Prussia. However, new facts emerge in this case. During Chylinski's stay in Lithuania (1661), his translation was warmly received by the Synod. However, it seems obvious that before the New Testament was allowed to be printed, local reformers commissioned the revision of the manuscript. According to sources, experts appointed by the Synod included Teodor Skrocki and Jan Borzymowski the Elder. The editors gave a devastating opinion of the work, claiming it was full of errors. Kavaliūnaitė disagrees, however, with this view, arguing that, in general, the members of the Synod did not object to the need for publishing the Lithuanian Bible. The only problematic issue was the authorship of the translation. Kavaliūnaitė suggests that the reason for the unflattering opinions of Chylinski's translation may have been motivated by the private interest of Krainski and Borzymowski the Elder, who supposedly wanted to be the author of the new translation. The matter seemed to be purely political and financial because, as Krainski states in his report, by publishing the Bible in Königsberg one could count on significant profits. Moreover, he suggests that Chylinski's text should be reused as the basis for a new translation. Only fifteen years after the decision to discontinue the printing of Chylinski's Bible, the issue of translating the Holy Writ was raised again by the Synod, and in 1701 a translation of the New Testament by Samuel Bitneris (Bytnerus, Bythner, ~1632–1710), assisted by Jan Borzymowski's son, was published.

The issue of the discontinuation of the printing of Chylinski's Bible, Krainski's motives and the further history of Bible translations is full of shades of gray and undoubtedly deserves further research in the field of history, sociology, and perhaps even economics. In light of the copious evidence, I think it should be left for readers to judge.

In the introduction to the second study we can find an extensive overview of characteristics of the cursives dominating in several European countries. In the light of that information, Rūta Čapaitė analyzes Chylinski's handwriting and how it changed over the years. She characterizes his basic handwriting as "Italian humanistic bastarda" (p. cxlj). However, this description is only a prelude to the further analysis. Čapaitė raises two fundamental questions, namely: how many handwritings can be recognized on the pages of the manuscript and what was the primary purpose

¹³ Frost 2017, 340–345.

of the manuscript. In the past, due to the research of Polish linguists, it was believed that the manuscript was a draft or a rough copy¹⁴. This point of view could be justified given the numerous corrections that can be found in the manuscript. Čapaitė, however, makes groundbreaking conclusions about the nature of the New Testament copy. Like a detective, the paleographer checks manuscript line by line, revealing new facts and shedding more light on the knowledge of Chylinski's Bible.

Čapaitė points out that the numerous corrections may suggest that the manuscript was a rough version (p. cljv). However, the analysis of the very structure of the text is enough to realize that the amount of work involved contradicts this theory. For instance, on each page, there is a line that divides the text into two equal columns, drawn with red ink, unlike the dark brown ink which Chylinski used to write his translation. In addition, the chapter names and book openings are clearly distinguishable from the rest of the text. These and many other features may indicate that the manuscript was not a rough version, but a neat copy with already applied corrections.

The corrections themselves raise another question. A detailed analysis of Chylinski's handwriting, the thickness of the lines, the color of ink etc. may indicate that most of the corrections were not made by the author, but by external correctors! While excluding Chylinski, Čapaitė distinguishes as many as three different hands. The authorship of individual handwritings is difficult to establish but the historical knowledge allows us to assume that two of them may belong to Jan Borzymowski the Elder and Teodor Skrocki. These groundbreaking analyses lead us to the conclusion that this manuscript was probably a neat copy prepared by Chylinski for the Synod, including corrections suggested by the Synod and to some extent by Jonas Bretkūnas's (Johannes Bretke, 1536–1602) Bible (1579–1590), which was valued among Lithuanian reformates. It is almost certain that Chylinski did not use and did not even know about that translation. It is believed that the manuscripts of Bretkūnas's Bible were borrowed by the Synod to compare the two translations. The fact that Chylinski's manuscript could be influenced by that particular translation can be proved by the fact that individual fragments of the edited text show numerous archaic features of the Lithuanian language which are absent, for example, in the translation of the Old Testament. Interestingly, according to the paleographic analysis, the nature of the manuscript changed during the process of copying and even if it was initially intended to be a neat copy, with subsequent editorial layers it became less and less formal. Despite discussing such complex issues, Čapaitė's study reads well, almost like a good detective novel. However, more importantly it sheds new light on the current knowledge regarding the manuscript of Chylinski's New Testament and the author himself.

Just as has been stated a few times already, Volume 2 of the Chylinski's Bible series, edited by Kavaliūnaitė is truly a culmination of the entire series. It undoubt-

¹⁴ Kudzinowski 1958, xxxix.

edly shows the great progress that has been made since the publication of Chylinski's New Testament edited by the Polish linguists and the amount of hard work that was put into its creation. It should be remembered that the website www.chylinskibible.flf.vu.lt is an extension of the book edition of the New Testament. It is an invaluable help in the work with the text and I recommend trying it. Furthermore, I hope that the earlier volumes will also be digitized and will appear on the website in the near future. Volume 2 itself, however, can be an ornament for any household, library, or university. Thanks to the rich, detailed, and informative introductions by Kavaliūnaitė and Čapaitė, the scientific value of the publication can be appreciated. Apart from the meticulously prepared facsimiles, the introductory articles included in all three volumes form a complete study of the author of the Lithuanian translation of the Bible. They contain groundbreaking conclusions about Chylinski's life but also arouse emotions and, most importantly, open the discussion. Thanks to Gina Kavaliūnaitė, after 350 years, Chylinski, once abandoned and forgotten, received a monument more durable than bronze.

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