

Early modern time in the Ukrainian and Polish histories of liturgical translation*

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ABSTRACT: The paper is dedicated to the issues of how Ukrainian and Polish liturgical translation progressed in the early modern time, what functions it performed in the social life of the two nations and which mutual influences might have occurred in the historical perspective. The choice of comparing and contrasting these two nations is defined by the very fact that during this period, they co-existed in the same state: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The main factors which determined the advancement of this translation field were the reactions to historical challenges (the expansion of neighbouring countries; the necessity to preserve one's own identity; the response to the Protestant movement) as well as the development of book-printing (the rise of new book types containing and popularising various texts for liturgical use). Despite the restrained use of the vernacular (Polish was not allowed according to the rulings of the Council of Trent and Ukrainian was overshadowed by Church Slavonic), liturgical translation took its place in the cultural life of the Commonwealth, though the Renaissance is the period of great expectations, experiments and attempts, while the Enlightenment look like the time of spiritual inertia with modest results. The material of the study covers all print types covering liturgical texts, even when they were not aimed at public use (e.g. primers and manuals).

Keywords: liturgical translation, Eastern Christianity, Western Christianity / Roman Catholicism, book-printing.

*Woman, you will survive!
It is dark before the dawn.
There is no other way.
It is a bit before the Victory.
Ukraine, you will survive
In the year 2022.*

When the Great Duchy of Lithuania rose to power in the mid-13th century, it occupied a large part of today's Eastern Europe. The larger part of Ukrainian territories became its constituent. The smaller part of Western Ukraine was annexed by the Kingdom of Poland after the fall of the Kingdom of Halychyna and Volyn. Two pow-

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ers – Poland and Lithuania – commenced drifting together by signing a series of unions. The 1569 Union of Lublin shaped a new formation – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which existed until 1795. These political movements impacted on the religious life of the local population. The most drastic changes were experienced by Lithuania which moved from paganism to Eastern Christianity (Orthodoxy) under the influence of the occupied highly-civilised Ukrainian territories, but later moved to Western Christianity (Roman Catholicism) under the influence of unions with Poland. The turbulent political life influenced the advance of liturgical praxis among institutions and believers who perceived their faith as part of their identity.

This article discusses liturgical translation in Central Eastern Europe in the Early Modern time on the grounds of a comparative setting. The progress of local literary cultures can be studied through the prism of comparative translation history in the literary milieus where different languages were employed for evangelization (Latin and Polish vs. Church Slavonic and Middle Ukrainian). The methodology of historiographical description is based on three fundamental principles: the survey of the academic climate, immanence and correspondence, which disclose and validate the historical dynamics and reception of translations and retranlations. The novelty of this paper is defined by the use of its results for composing the literary and cultural histories of Ukraine and Poland, which were constituents of one early modern state: the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The thesis of this study aims at elucidating the parallel evolution of the reception of liturgical translations in two neighbouring territories that represent distinct liturgical traditions of Roman and Byzantine Christianity. This objective requires the revelation of how the rite inspired the advance of liturgical translation and what reasons and outcomes of liturgical translations were the most decisive.

Texts and public recognition

In the hierarchy of religious texts, liturgical texts are secondary to the Bible, and it is clear that biblical translation initiated book printing in countries which followed this nice invention of the Renaissance. However, liturgical texts were among the first printed books as well, like in Poland and Ukraine.

In 1475, Wrocław (currently Poland, but then part of the Hungarian Crown) witnessed the publication of the Synodal Statutes, the first book printed in Poland by Caspar Elyan, a canon of Wrocław cathedral. It was published in Latin, but there were the prayers – the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Apostles' Creed – both in German and Polish¹. The publicizing of the German and Polish translations reflected the main languages Catholic believers used in Silesia.

As of 1491, in Kraków, the then capital of the Polish Crown which had incorporated a number of Ukrainian lands, the first books were published by Schweipolt Fiol, a Franconian expatriate, and they started the history of Ukrainian book printing: these were four Orthodox hymnals – the Lenten Triodion², the Pentecostarion³, the

¹ *Synodalia statuta episcoporum Wratislaviensium*. Wratislavia, 1475, f. 13 – 14.

² *Трьпѣснець*. [Триодъ пісна. Краків : Швайпольт Фіоль, бл. 1491].

³ [Триодъ цвѣтная. Краків : Швайпольт Фіоль, бл. 1491].

Horologion⁴ and the Octoechos⁵. These Church Slavonic editions used the Precarpathian manuscripts and contained a number of Ukrainian vernacular elements. They started a new era of Ukraine's liturgical translation.

One other liturgical edition was the first printed book of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and inaugurated Lithuanian and Belarusian book printing. In 1522 in Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had included most of the Ukrainian territories and all of the Belarusian lands, Frantsisk Skoryna published the so-called collection "Little Traveller's Book"⁶. It contains a number of liturgical texts written in Church Slavonic and is accompanied with his preface in Ruthenian (Bookish Middle Ukrainian) with a great number of Belarusian lingual features: the Psalter, the Horologion, eight akathists, ten canons (eight canons are paired with eight akathists), propers of daily offices for every weekday, and the calendar.

Printing overlapped various discussions about the use of vernacular under the influences of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Translation projects paralleled major events of ecclesiastical life in Ukraine and Poland which, after the 1569 Union of Lublin, coexisted in one state – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The first important project which failed was the creation of the Polish national church in the 1550s. One of the fundamental demands was the request for permitting the use of Polish in Mass, as it was allowed to the Bulgarians⁷. The Apostolic See rejected this request, and this stopped again the initiative of massive liturgical translation into Polish. In 1564, the archbishop of Lviv, Paweł Tarło, commissioned the Polish translation of the Agenda, and the Polish humanist Jan of Trzciana made a manuscript translation (surviving until now), but the implied ban of the Council of Trident interrupted its publication⁸. Even one of the then most educated Polish theologians, Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, protested against praying and worshiping in the vernacular, though his arguments were quite controversial and unfitting⁹. In 1577, Poland's church authorities accepted the Tridentine reformed liturgical books which were all in Latin, and the first Polish-language translation of the Mass was only published two centuries later.

The formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where Roman Catholicism dominated, started difficult times of persecuting Orthodox and Protestant believers and even making them cooperate. Difficulties also stimulated some promising results. In the early 16th century, Orthodox book printing was centred around two places: Vilnius and Kyiv. Their major products were liturgical books. Certainly, all these books were translations, and their language was Church Slavonic which

⁴ *Часословець*. Краків : Швайпольт Фіюль, 1491.

⁵ [Октоїх]. Краків : Швайпольт Фіюль, 1491.

⁶ [Мала подорожна книжка: у 22 ч.]. Вільнюс : Франциск Скорина, бл. 1522.

⁷ *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*: T. 1, cz. 2 / red. ks. B. Kumor i ks. Z. Obertyński. Poznań; Warszawa : Pallotinum 1974, s. 67.

⁸ *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*: T. 1, cz. 2 / red. ks. B. Kumor i ks. Z. Obertyński. Poznań; Warszawa : Pallotinum 1974, s. 119.

⁹ HOZJUSZ, Stanisław. *Ksyęgi o jasnym a szczyrym Słowie Bożym. ... Item, Rozmowa o tym, godzili sie laikom kielicha, ksyęzey żon dopuścić, a w kościelech służbę Bożą językiem przyrodzonym sprawować / łacińskim językiem napisane, a teraz na polski przełożone*. Kraków : Łazarz Łazarz Andrysowic, 1562, s. 131v-134v.

gradually got its local colouring, later called the Church Slavonic of Ukrainian Re-cension. Two Orthodox milieus of Vilnius and Kyiv had opposite views: Vilnius monks insisted on the domination of the Church Slavonic variant in all liturgical contexts, while Kyivan monks tried to experiment with engaging the Ukrainian vernacular into liturgical praxis (in biblical translations, homilies, some prayers and parts of the sacraments)¹⁰. This is why the large-scale project of revising and retranslating liturgical books in Kyiv from the 1610s to the 1640s had a rich outcome: the Horologion¹¹, the Hymnal¹², the Lenten Triodion¹³, the Liturgicon¹⁴, the Pentecostarion¹⁵, the Euchologion¹⁶. The translators and publishers – Yelysei Pletenetskyi, Zakhariya Kopystenskyi, Pamvo Berynda, Taras Zemka, St Petro Mohyla – addressed the Greek originals, edited the Church Slavonic versions and periodically applied Middle Ukrainian. These editions were so authoritative that they were later republished many times in various cities during the 17th and 18th centuries. After a series of fatal acts against the Kyivan Metropolitanate caused by its transfer from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the jurisdiction of the Muscovite Patriarchate in 1686, Ukraine's local liturgical praxis, including its translation activities, finally ceased in 1721 when it was only allowed to print books according to the Muscovite spelling and contents.

The Union of the Roman (Catholic) and Kyivan (Orthodox) Churches, which was held in Berestia in 1596, but not accepted later by the whole Orthodox clergy, created a new separate entity: the Uniate Church which is known now as the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.¹⁷ This Church preserved and used the Orthodox liturgy and books. Some local or borrowed practices started being codified 150 years later. Being at first quite a political project aimed at further assimilating the Ukrainians, i.e. incorporating them into Polish culture and Roman Catholicism, this church was open to some Catholic influences, like the Office of the 'Read' Liturgy (Missa Lecta, Low Mass) which were borrowed from the Roman Missal and published in some Greek-Catholic Liturgicons¹⁸. However, these editions were never approved of officially and remained rather private editions¹⁹.

The great event in the life of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church was the Council of Zamostia in 1720 at which the Church debated on its local liturgical

¹⁰ ТИТОВЪ, Федоръ. *Типографія Києво-Печерської Лаври: Историческій очеркъ (1606-1616-1916 г.г.): Приложенія к Т. 1 (1606-1616-1721 г.г.)*. Київ, 1918, s. 10 – 12.

¹¹ *Часословъ*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, бл. 1616.

¹² *Анѳологiон*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1619.

¹³ *Триодiон сиестъ Трипѣснець С[вя]тiои Великои Четырѣдесатници*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1627.

¹⁴ *Лейтурѣгарiон си естѣ Служебникъ*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1629.

¹⁵ *Триодiон сиестъ Трипѣснець с[вя]тiои великои Пятѣдесатници. Пентикостарiон*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1631.

¹⁶ *Еухологiон albo Молитвословъ или Требникъ*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1646.

¹⁷ This is its official name, though a more accurate term for Anglophone speakers is the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite.

¹⁸ *Лейтоурѣгiкон си естѣ Служебникъ*. Унів : Успенська Лавра, 1733; *Лейтоурѣгарiонъ или Служебникъ*. Почаїв : Успенська Лавра, 1755.

¹⁹ СОЛОВИЙ, Мелетій М. о. *Божественна Літургія: історія – розвиток – пояснення*. Рим : ОО. Василянни, 1964, s. 77, 88.

practices and the necessity to revise liturgical texts according to the Greek originals. They decided to appeal to the Apostolic See in order to control and censor its liturgical books. In 1754, the new edition of the Greek Euchologion, supervised and promulgated by Pope Benedict XIV,²⁰ was published after revision according to the best Greek texts and became a standard edition for further Church Slavonic translations. It influenced two editions of the Euchologion, published in Pochayiv in 1778 and 1788²¹, and archbishop Herakliy Lisovskyi commissioned the Church Slavonic translation of the 1754 Greek Euchologion to his vicar general Yuriy Turkevych who did this during 1788 - 1790²², but it was never publicized due to new turbulent historical conditions.

Prayer books and their book types

In the history of book writing and printing, prayer books, which were to denote a collection of prayer forms for private devotion, could, too, be like service books containing liturgical formularies for public worship. Their varieties combined liturgical and paraliturgical texts, praying and poetry, verbal composition and singing art. Typologically, two main genres of Polish prayer books are usually selected: 'liber precum' was a collection of private prayers, and the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary was a central text in 'liber horarum'. Oriented at the laity, they tended towards using vernacular more widely. Various prayer books constituted real mass literature at that time, as every composed single collection of prayers was republished numerously. In general, they greatly contributed to devotional, meditative literature, as well. Gradually, they merged in editions well-known as 'hortuli'. The 'Hortulus' took its name from the publication "Hortulus animae": it was composed in the late 15th century in Latin, was quickly translated into German and other languages and republished fairly frequently for a couple of centuries. Its immense popularity was gained because it was the sum of mediaeval prayer books, containing the Hours and new offices along with a great number of prayers for various needs and those used during preparation for confession and the Eucharist²³.

The first Polish-language "Hortulus" (and the first Polish-language prayer book) was published in Lublin in 1513 by the efforts of Biernat of Lublin under the title "Raj duszny"²⁴. The source text for this edition was "Antidotarius animae" (1485 or a later edition) by Nicolaus Salicetus (pseudonym of Nicolaus Wydenbosch / Weydenbosch), but it was supplemented with other prayers popular in Poland. Supposedly, the first edition had 160 sheets, but during further reeditions, it was enlarged and readapted.

²⁰ *Εὐχολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ Ἀγίῳ νεωστὶ μεταπλωθέν, καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν*. Ρώμη, 1754.

²¹ СОЛОВІЙ, Мелетій М. о. *Божественна Літургія: історія - розвиток - пояснення*. Рим : ОО. Василянни, 1964, s. 91.

²² СОЛОВІЙ, Мелетій М. о. *Божественна Літургія: історія - розвиток - пояснення*. Рим : ОО. Василянни, 1964, s. 93.

²³ BORKOWSKA, Urszula. *Królewskie modlitewniki: Studium z kultury religijnej epoki Jagiellonów (XV i początek XVI wieku)*. Lublin : Wyd-wo KUL, 1988, s. 63.

²⁴ [*Raj duszny*]: *Hortulus animae polonice*. [Kraków, Florian Ungler i Wolfgang Lern, 1513] 8° / pod red. W. Wydry. Poznań : Wyd-wo Poznańskich Studiów Polonistycznych, 2006.

“Harfa duchowna” by Marcin Laterna (first edition in 1585) was another ‘best-seller’ among prayer books. Marcin Laterna, a Drohobych-native Jesuit, compiled a selection of prayers from the Bible, Holy Fathers, the Roman Missal, the Breviary and the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary as well as adding an expanded catechetical part and his own contemplations and meditations²⁵. It corresponded to the demands of the Council of Trent, but also incorporated some texts from previous hortuli. Laterna’s translations of churchly hymns and songs are considered to have been marked with great poetical gift. It is not surprising that it was republished actively (dozens of times) during the 16th and 17th centuries and replaced the popularity of “Raj duszny”.

Not so popular was the prayer book “Tarcza duchowna” (alternative Polish translation variant: “Szczyt duszny”), translated from the Latin collection “Clipeus spiritualis” and published in Kraków in 1533 or 1534²⁶. However, this prayer book had one more Polish translation, recorded in the 1528 manuscript known as Olbracht Gasztołd’s Prayer Book²⁷. Thus, the multiple translation of the same eucharistic collection was an incontrovertible fact in Polish translation history. Besides, it is necessary to acknowledge that the continuation of producing Polish-language manuscripts and translated prayer books in the 16th century was not a rare case²⁸.

The turn of the 17th century witnessed the formation of ‘thematic’ prayer books. Having gained experience from compiling the prayer book “Gospodarstwo domowe” (Kraków, 1601, 1606), Piotr Skarga (Pawęski) prepared a special prayer book for soldiers under the title “Żołnierskie nabożeństwo” (Kraków, 1606, 1618 and many other later editions). Writings by Jacob Pontanus (Spanmüller) were translated by Stanisław Grochowski (Kraków, 1608, 1615) and oriented at nuns²⁹. In the catalogues of Polish old and rare books, there are more references to books for praying to Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Blessed Virgin Mary, various saints and for various occasions.

In Ukrainian liturgical tradition, consistent prayer books appeared much later than in Poland. The major books of praying in monasteries and among the laity were the Psalter (with various prayers and offices) and the Horologion which were distributed in the forms of manuscripts and printed books: in the second half of the 16th century, these were the editions of the Psalter in Zabludiv (1570), Vilnius (1576, 1586, 1591 – 1592, 1593, 1595, 1596, ca. 1600), Ostroh (1598) as well as those of the Horologion in Zabludiv (1570), Vilnius (ca. 1574 – 1576, 1596, 1597), Ostroh (1598). The language of these translation editions was Church Slavonic which was more or less accepted as ‘our’ language for believers, though they did not understand it in

²⁵ CIEŚLAK, Stanisław. “Harfa duchowna” – Modlitewnikowy bestseller jezuita Marcina Laterny (1552-1598). In *Nasza Przeszłość*. Kraków, 2000, t. 93, s. 31 – 37.

²⁶ *Tarcza duchowna*, [Kraków, Florian Ungler, 1533 lub 1534] / pod red. W. Wydry. Poznań : Wyd-wo Poznańskich Studiów Polonistycznych, 2016.

²⁷ *Modlitewnik Olbrachta Gasztołda, kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego 1528 r.*: Facsimile / Wstęp/Introduction W. Wydra. Poznań : Wyd-wo Nauk. UAM, 2015, s. 16 ff.

²⁸ *Modlitewnik Olbrachta Gasztołda, kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego 1528 r.*: Facsimile / Wstęp/Introduction W. Wydra. Poznań : Wyd-wo Nauk. UAM, 2015, s. 39 – 40.

²⁹ BEDNARZ, Mieczysław. ks. Jezuci a religijność polska (1564 – 1964). In *Nasza przeszłość*. Kraków, 1964, t. 20, s. 206 ff.

full. Besides, it acquired local features in the areas of phonetics and semantics. Most editions were published in Vilnius, being the Capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania which had incorporated a large number of Ukrainian and Belarusian ethnic territories at that time. This is why it is not a surprising fact when the metropolis publishes books for the province.

Although prayers were known and even original prayers were composed much earlier, like those by St Cyril of Turiv, a new type of a prayer book appeared in the late 16th century. Stefan Zyzyaniy (Kukil-Tustanovskiy) compiled a prayer book whose contents were not known before: it covered the prayers of the daily cycle and of the weekly cycle (by St Cyril of Turiv) as well as prayers for confession and for the Eucharist³⁰. It was a ca. 240-folio codex entitled “Daily Prayers” and published several times (Vilnius, 1595, 1596, 1601; Vievis, 1611, 1615). The timing and contents of this prayer book discloses the fact that it was influenced and stimulated by the rich culture of publishing Polish prayer books in other parts of the same country – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Stefan Zyzyaniy’s initiative was fruitful, as not only a number of reeditions of his prayer book appeared, but gradually more books were published for monastic and private worshipping³¹. The ground-breaking editions were “Molytovnyk: Prayer Book” (Ostroh 1606; Kyiv, 1628 – 1632, 1634; Lviv, 1642), “Antholohion” (Vilnius, 1613; Kyiv, 1619, 1636; Lviv, 1632, 1638, 1643), “Poluustav” (Vilnius, 1613; Chorna, 1629; Kyiv, 1643), “Akathists” (Kyiv, 1625, 1929, Lviv, 1634) and many others. All these publications contributed to the mass literature of this period and helped shape readers’ religious mentality.

Musical culture and sources for liturgical translations

The collapse of the efforts of introducing vernacular languages into Roman Catholic liturgical praxis factually determined the cessation of similar large-scale attempts for two centuries. This aftermath of the Council of Trent, however, did not influence the advance of church singing in the vernacular among Polish believers. The tendencies of singing religious songs, including the translated ones, were enhanced by the Reformation and Protestants who published a number of hymnals³². Gradually, religious songs became part of printed prayer-books in 1585³³. When Baltazar Opec compiled, translated and published his literary and religious piece “Żywot Pana

³⁰ (ЮДИН), Далмат иером. Начальный этап бытования молитв утренних и вечерних по печатным источникам (1596 – 1622): возникновение, вариативность состава, пути передачи текста. In *Богословский вестник*, 2015, № 18/19, с. 319 – 321. <https://doi.org/10.31802/2500-1450-2015-18-19-289-341>

³¹ Cf. (ЮДИН), Далмат иером. Начальный этап бытования молитв утренних и вечерних по печатным источникам (1596 – 1622): возникновение, вариативность состава, пути передачи текста. In *Богословский вестник*, 2015, № 18/19, с. 289 – 340; (ЮДИН), Далмат иером. Молитвы утренние и вечерние в составе печатных сборников частного молитвенного обихода: возникновение и путь в московскую книжность. In *Сб. материалов науч.-богослов. конф. каф. филологии Московской духовной академии, посвящ. памяти проф. МДА М. М. Дунаева «Таинство слова и образа» (30 сентября 2016 года)*. Москва : Орфограф, 2017. С. 222 – 245.

³² SINKA, Tarsycjusz. ks. Polska pieśń w liturgii. In *Nasza Przeszłość*. Kraków, 1983, t. 60, s. 258.

³³ Ibidem.

Jezu Krysta" ("Life of Lord Jesus Christ", 1522), the second edition during the same year (but from a different printing shop: that of Jan Haller) contained 17 religious songs, and this supplement added the features of a prayer book and hymnal to the original work³⁴. Finally, the Synod of Wrocław decreed in 1592 that at Mass, a number of religious songs were permitted to be performed 'in vernacular lingua' either after the homily instead of the gradual or in other places³⁵. Some sequences were sung in both languages in alternating stanzas.

Poetic Polish developed greatly in the 16th century, and its 'golden age' is particularly subject to translations of biblical and liturgical texts. Jan Kochanowski translated the Psalms so successfully that they were sung and republished in Polish missals even 400 years after their publication. Also, there were the texts of Mikołaj Gomółka's comprising of his "Melodies for the Polish Psalter" (1580) where he used Gregorian and Protestant melodies for the four-part unaccompanied mixed choir³⁶.

Stanisław Grochowski was among those who contributed to enriching the literary standard and the repertoire of Polish religious songs. He translated a number of hymns from the Roman Breviary in 1598³⁷ and later republished them in the enlarged editions of 1599 and 1608. In total, he translated ca. 140 hymns which definitely shaped liturgical Polish as a specific type of Polish speech. His work was continued in the collection of his translations, "Rytmy łacińskie" ("Latin rhythms") published in 1606³⁸, and in "Himny o Męce Paskiej" ("Hymns of Christ's Passions", 1611). His contributions make it possible to speak about him as a translator of liturgical poetry.

Liturgical translations were an important component of hymnals. The first believers who introduced Polish-language songs into their public religious praxis were Protestants in Toruń in 1530 and in Kraków in 1540. Gradually, Protestant hymnals (like those for Evangelical Protestants, Czech Brothers, Calvinists) started coming out and containing translations from Latin, German and Czech³⁹:

1547 – compiled and translated by Jan Seklucjan;

1554 – by Walenty of Brzozów;

1559 – by Bartłomiej Groicki and by Ignacy Oliwiński;

1569 – by Maciej Wierzbęta;

1578 – by Piotr Artomiusz Krzesichleb;

1580 – by Stanisław Sudrowski;

1596 – by Krzysztof Kraiński;

³⁴ CHLEBOWSKI, Bronisław. Najdawniejsze kancjonały protestanckie z połowy XVI w.: przyczynek do dziejów polskiej liryki religijnej. In *Pamiętnik Literacki*. Lwów, 1905, t. 4, z. 4, s. 407.

³⁵ *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*: T. 1, cz. 2 / red. ks. B. Kumor i ks. Z. Obertyński. Poznań; Warszawa : Pallottinum 1974, s. 365.

³⁶ *Historia Kościoła w Polsce*: T. 1, cz. 2 / red. ks. B. Kumor i ks. Z. Obertyński. Poznań; Warszawa : Pallottinum 1974, s. 126.

³⁷ *Hymny kościelne: cokolwiek sie ich w breuiarzach terazniejszych znajduie y niektore insze* / przekł. Stanisława Grochowskiego. Kraków : Jak. Sibeneycher, 1598.

³⁸ WICHOWA, Maria. Stanisław Grochowski jako tłumacz hymnów kościelnych: na podstawie tomiku „Rytmy łacińskie, dziwnie sztuczne...”. In *Collectanea Philologica*, 2003, t. 6, s. 240 ff.

³⁹ CHLEBOWSKI, Najdawniejsze kancjonały protestanckie z połowy XVI..., s. 408 – 420; SINKA, Polska pieśń w liturgii, s. 258.

1598 – by Maciej Rybiński and many other editions.

The formation of Catholic hymnals as a separate book type dates back to the early 17th century. It contained main and supplemental hymns for Mass, and it also performed a kind of catechetical function among believers. Although the book entitled “Pieśni nabożne” (“Religious songs”) came out in 1621, its 1627 much extended edition is considered to be the first fully-fledged hymnal of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland⁴⁰. It was so popular that 25 editions appeared between 1621 and 1800. The hymnal contains Polish translations and some Latin originals which were divided into eight groups of songs – for Advent, Christmas, Christ’s Passions, Easter, the Holy Spirit, Corpus Christi, the Psalms of David and a group of various songs.

It may surprise, but translated hymnals offered some space for individual creativity of a litterateur as a translator and as an original author. This is the case of Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński who translated as well as compiled his own religious poetry⁴¹. His hymnal had two editions in 1638 and 1695 which testify to the good reception of his writings. When a new reform of the Roman Breviary and religious singing was undertaken by Pope Urban VIII in 1643, it caused a demand for new translations, and Jan Białobocki translated 140 hymns from the revised edition and published them in 1648⁴². The hymns were translated and ready in 1646, but published in 1648. Thus, this translation shows how great the wish to quickly render novel hymns to Polish people was and how important this type of translation was still seen for national progress.

In 1696, the earliest known booklet “Sposób spiewania polskiego na mszach świętych w kościołach katolickich” (“Way of Polish Singing at Holy Masses in Catholic Churches”) was published in Toruń (republished in 1700). Its content was not large: all the songs sung by believers at Mass as well as a short catechism⁴³. Its significance lies in the fact that this was the first official edition of the Polish-language Mass (at least, partly), as the reverse of the title page contains an approbation from the local bishop. This book shows how the Polish singing of the Mass was established in Silesia, and again, it was done for the reasons of resisting the power of the Protestant movement of praying in the vernacular.

The sequences were so popular that the Council of Trent had to intervene into the musical creativity of this type and harshly minimized the number of officially sung sequences to four (the fifth was added later). The majority of sequences in Poland’s church were of foreign origin but all written in Latin (only approximately one fifth of five hundred sequences is recognized as of Polish origin), and this dominance stimulated their translations into Polish. Certainly, the official use

⁴⁰ WYDRA, Wiesław. *Pieśni nabożne... z krakowskiej oficyny Antoniego Wosińskiego (1627)*. In *Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne. Seria Literacka*, 2012, nr. 19 (39), s. 330. <https://doi.org/10.14746/pspsl.2012.19.24>

⁴¹ GARNCZARSKI, Stanisław. *Polskie śpiewy na Boże Ciało w kancjonale S. S. Jagodyńskiego (wyd. 1638, 1695)*. In *Roczniki teologiczne*, 2018, t. 65, z. 13, s. 95 – 113. <https://doi.org/10.18290/rt.2018.65.13-7>

⁴² GRUCHAŁA, Janusz, S. „*Psalmy, hymny, pieśni pełne ducha*”: *Studia o staropolskich tekstach religijnych*. Kraków : UNUM, 2013, s. 71 – 75. <https://doi.org/10.21906/9788376431642>

⁴³ MAŃKOWSKI, A. *Najdawniejszy polski śpiewnik kościelny i katechizm diecezji chełmińskiej*. Pelplin: SP. Z. O. P., 1932.

of sequences motivated a higher frequency of their translation into Polish. This is why the statistics of translating sequences looks like this [acc. to Strawa-Iracka⁴⁴]:

Sequences approved for use by the Council of Trent:

Dies irae	A lot of translations from the 15th century on
Lauda Sion Salvatorem	Three translations in the 16th and 17th centuries
Veni Sancte Spiritus	Five translations in the 15th-17th centuries and the sixth one in the 20th century
Victime paschali laudes	Four translations in the 16th and 17th centuries and the fifth one in the 20th century

Sequences disused after the Council of Trent:

Benedicta semper sancta sit Trinitas	One translation from the 16th century
Congaudet Angelorum chori	One translation from the 16th century
Festa Christi omnis christianitas	A popular sequence, but never translated into Polish
Grates nunc omnes	Six translations in the 16th-18th centuries
Mittit ad Virginem	A lot of translations from the 15th century on
Psallat Ecclesia	One translation from the 16th century
Rex omnipotens	One translation from the 16th century

Although the sequences were not in official use, they were republished in numerous editions long after their first publications. A great contribution in translating sequences should be credited to S. Grochowski who rendered several hymns for the first and last time. The Roman Catholic sequences influenced Eastern Christians as well via the Greek Catholic Church: "Dies irae" was translated into Church Slavonic and recorded in 17th-century manuscripts.

From the perspective of liturgical and paraliturgical singing, Orthodox books are not numerous. The nature of this scarcity lies deeper in the history of the Byzantine and Roman Liturgies. When Ukraine was converted to Christianity in the late 10th century, the Byzantine Liturgy had reached the peak of its development⁴⁵: that is why all translation solutions had been offered, debated and stabilized by the 16th century in the form of traditional Kyivan and Halych chants. The Roman Liturgy started developing actively during the period which overlapped the time after Poland accepted Christianity in the 10th century. All musical forms and texts, which were composed in other Roman Catholic countries, but in Latin, were immediately transferred to Poland where they were to be accepted and acquired. This state of matters made Polish musical culture very dynamic. Besides, a great spur was later received from Protestants who propagated singing at Mass in the vernacular. Al-

⁴⁴ STRAWA-IRACKA, Małgorzata. Repertuar sekwencyjny w graduałach piotrkowskich. In *Annales Lublinenses pro Musica Sacra*, 2011, r. 2, nr. 2, s. 106 - 115.

⁴⁵ SZCZANIECKI, Paweł. *Ślužba Boża w dawnej Polsce: Studia o Mszy św.* Poznań; Warszawa; Lublin: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1962, s. 5.

though Protestants were present in Ukraine's religious scene as well, their influence did not antagonize the traditional Orthodox culture.

It is true, too, that book printing reached this domain rather late: the first Irmologion was published in Lviv in 1700⁴⁶. It was the first musical book among Slavs of the Byzantine Rite. However, the Kyivan Metropolitanate succeeded in shaping its musical school: in the late 16th century, it introduced an original musical notation (Kyivan notation) and formed a single type of the book of churchly singing. It was typically entitled the Irmologion, but it was different from similar Byzantine and mediaeval Ukrainian books with the same title. "Earlier" Irmologions contained only the irmoi which were arranged according to the eight tones of the Byzantine chant. The Ukrainian Irmologions of the late 16th to mid-19th centuries had more elaborated structures, incorporating the regular canticles of the All-Night Vigil and the Divine Service; the Sunday tones from the Octoechos, the Prosomoion Stichera and hymns from the Festal Menaion.

Liturgical editions

The period of the 16th to 18th centuries is not so brilliant for liturgical translation if we mean that existing translations should have become part of liturgical praxis. This never happened in Poland; this partially happened in Ukraine when an eye was kept on the revising reforms of Church Slavonic texts in Orthodox liturgical praxis, but still, it was local Church Slavonic instead of Middle Ukrainian. The most fruitful achievements were connected with book printing, where the well-revised texts were needed and supplied, and where the demand for liturgical and paraliturgical hymnals shaped the supply.

During this time, some translations still existed in manuscripts. This is the fate of the Office for the Dead, some part of which were written in the 1520 manuscript⁴⁷. This text was based on some earlier translations, but its scribe did introduce some revisions.

The only significant achievement of Polish liturgical translation can be considered the Polish-language act of the Holy Communion during the Mass. It appeared in the 1564 manuscript translation from Lviv, but the practice of using the native language became accepted afterwards and spread at the turn of the 17th century⁴⁸.

This success is not quite considerable. The first Agenda, along with some Polish and German formulae, was published in 1514: it felicitated the process of performing a ceremony of sacraments (baptism and matrimony) for laypeople who did not know Latin⁴⁹. This edition also contained two versions of the so-called "Story of Pope Urban" (in Polish and in German). It describes the death of the sinned pope and contains three prayers which are translations in the Polish-German jux-

⁴⁶ *Ирмолой, си ссть Єдсмогласникъ*. Львів : Собор св. Юра, 1700.

⁴⁷ BRÜCKNER, Aleksander. *Literatura religijna w Polsce średnowiecznej*. Warszawa, 1904, t. 3, s. 98 - 99.

⁴⁸ SZCZANIECKI, Paweł. *Msza po staremu się odprawia*. Tyniec; Kraków : Wyd-wo benedyktyńów, 2009, s. 83 - 84.

⁴⁹ *Agenda latino et vulgari sermone Polonico videlicet et Alemanico illuminata incipit feliciter*. [Kraków : Jan Haller, 1514].

taposition, but they might have had some common Latin original like the popular editions of the 14th-century piece "Ars moriendi". The 1591 edition of the Agenda compiled by Hieronim Powodowski, which became a standard edition for a couple of decades,⁵⁰ followed the same patterns of including native-language formulae which were to be pronounced by believers.

The Roman Missal was promulgated in 1570 and accepted at the Provincial Synod of Gniezno held in Piotrków in 1577. It was not translated into Polish, but instead, the explanatory editions performed this function. The archpresbyter of Kraków, Hieronim Powodowski, published a description of the Liturgy which can be viewed as a substitution of its translation⁵¹: the Mass is explained in all details, and the priest's Latin phrases are cited along with Polish translations. Nevertheless, it was supplemented by another book "Churchly Prayers" which contained prayers for the yearly cycle of worshiping, those for venerating saints on their feast days and various votives⁵². These prayers are constituent and changing parts of the Mass, so this edition was really a significant contribution to receiving the euchographic texts from the Mass in Polish.

In 1614, Pope Paul V promulgated the official Roman Ritual which was to serve as the standard edition for other local rituals. The Polish Ritual was accepted by the Synod in Piotrków in 1621 and finally published in 1631⁵³. The scope of translations is rather limited: phrases when believers are involved to proclaim their statements are provided in Latin, Polish and German. In later editions, like those in Vilnius, Lithuanian is cited, too.

Jakub Wujek, a major figure in Polish biblical translation, also contributed to the growth of theological and liturgical translation. Having translated some catechetical writings, he participated in elaborating the Polish religious poetic style as well. The chief text is the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary⁵⁴ which served both as a euchographical and poetical piece of literature. Researchers hypothesized that Wujek could also have contributed to another similar edition, i.e. the Hours of Holy

⁵⁰ *Agenda Sev Ritvs Cæremoniarvm Ecclesiasticarvm: ad uniformem Ecclesiarum per vniuersas Prouincias Regni Poloniae vsu, officio Romano conformati: Ex decreto Synodi Prouincialis Petricouiensis denuo conscripti & editi* / Hieronim Powodowski. Cracovia : Officina Architypographica Regia & Ecclesiastica Lazari, 1591. And later reeditions.

⁵¹ POWODOWSKI, H. *Liturgia Abo Opisanie Mszey Świętej, y Obrzędów iey: Wybrane z Postille Łacińskiey nowej, Chrystologia nazwanej / polskim ięzykiem wydane*. Kraków : Lazarz; Bazyl Skalski, 1604.

⁵² *Modlitwy koscielne, ktorych przy mszach świętych y inszey chwale Bozey y wszelakim nabozenstwie przez rok Kosciol uzywa / nigdy przed tym, dopiero teraz prządnie według biegu rocznego zebrane y polskim ięzykiem wydane przez X. Hieronima Powodowskiego*. Kraków : Mikołaj Scharffenberger, 1606.

⁵³ *Ritvale sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiae caeremoniarum: ex decreto Synodi Prouinc. Petricouien. ad uniformem ecclesiarum regni Polon. vsu recens editum*. Cracovia : Andreas Petricovius, 1631. P. 1-2. And later reeditions.

⁵⁴ *Officium abo Godziny błogosławionej Panny Mariety: nie dawno reformowane y z rozkazania Piusa papeża piątego wydane / przez d. Iakuba Wvika [Jakuba Wujka] przełożone*. Kraków: Andrzej Piotrkowczyk, 1598. And later reeditions.

Feasts⁵⁵, but this statement is not reasonable⁵⁶. In any case, the personality of Wujek genuinely unites all branches of religious translations, and this testify to the realized need of having all texts in a native language for churchly purposes.

Wujek's translation was part of popularizing the Marian cult. It should not surprise that "The Little Office of the Immaculate Conception", which was composed in the late 15th century, but promulgated only in 1615, was translated into Polish very quickly by a Jesuit priest in 1616 or 1617⁵⁷. However, the general impression is that the creatively fruitful 16th and early 17th centuries created a matrix for book-production which printed the known texts, but did not generate new translation enterprises.

Orthodox liturgical printing which was developing in Vilnius, was proud of some serious publications like the Octoechos (1582) and the Euchologion (ca. 1598). A lot changed in the 17th century due to the efforts of eminent personalities – Hedeon Balaban, Bishop of Lviv, and St Petro Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kyiv.

The clergy had observed discrepancies and deviation in the existing texts, and Metropolitan Mykhailo Rohoza decreed the necessity of correcting liturgical books. Hedeon Balaban implemented the main initiative: he contacted St Meletius Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria and locum tenens of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, who sent the Greek Liturgicon and Euchologion and blessed them for publishing. The two editions which appeared as the fruit of this cooperation were the 1604 Liturgicon⁵⁸ and the 1606 Euchologion⁵⁹, published in the Ukrainian Recension of Church Slavonic in the town of Striatyn.

These two editions defined the principles of further editing and translating activities⁶⁰: 1) the *textus receptus* was Greek, especially in high-quality Venetian editions; 2) this text was compared with the extant old Slavonic manuscripts which reflected the liturgical praxis of Ukraine. Hence, if certain Ukrainian rites and prayers were not found in the Greek liturgical books (i.e. they were not translations, but actual originals), but they did not contradict the praxis of the Greek Church, they remained in the liturgical praxis of the Ukrainian Church. This approach demanded a lot of endeavour from Ukrainian translators and editors, but it secured the stable progress and preservation of the Ukrainian liturgical tradition.

The new standards were followed by republishing and patterning in printing shops of Kyiv, Lviv, Ostroh and other Ukrainian cities. The printing shop of the Kyiv Caves Monastery developed gradually into the most important centre of Ukrainian

⁵⁵ *Godzinki na wroczyście święta, to jest Iutrznie, Prima, Tertia, Sexta, Nona, Nieszpory y Kompletty, których Kościół powszechny Apostolski Rzymski na cześć y na chwałę Panu Bogu wszechmogącemu w Trócyu iedynemu używa.* Kraków : Lazarz, 1582.

⁵⁶ KUŹMIŃNA, Dariusz. *Jakub Wujek (1541 – 1597) – pisarz, tłumacz i misjonarz.* Warszawa : Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, 2004, s. 204.

⁵⁷ BEDNARZ, Jezuici a religijność polska (1564 – 1964), s. 204.

⁵⁸ [Служебник]. СТЯТИН, 1604.

⁵⁹ [Требник]. СТЯТИН, 1606.

⁶⁰ ВЛАСОВСЬКИЙ, Іван. *Нарис історії Української Православної Церкви:* у 4 т., 5 кн. Київ : УПЦ КП, 1998, т. 2, s. 232.

intellectual and religious life. The first vital editions of this printing shop were the Horologion⁶¹ and the Mineon⁶².

All these positive and promising enterprises were undertaken, when Ukraine's Orthodox hierarchy was discriminated against and stayed on the verge of ceasing its existence due to the aggressive and delegitimizing acts of the Polish Government. In 1620, Theophanes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, helped restore the full-fledged hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, which could continue its existence as an independent institution. It is visible how liturgical translations appeared as dissident acts of self-preservation and legitimization not only for the Ukrainian Church, but also for the Ukrainian nation.

The interim achievements of Orthodox clergy in political and societal matters intensified their work in publishing new – or newly edited and corrected – translations of liturgical books. This is when the Ukrainian Recension of Church Slavonic was set up and codified by Meletiy Smotrytskyi. Actually, it remained conserved in this shape to the present day, as the historical events of the 18th and later centuries restrained the popularity and use of this lingual variant.

The Kyivan circle of theologians and translators united such bright personalities as Yelysei Pletenetskyi, Zakhariya Kopystenskyi, Pamvo Berynda and some others. The key figure was Petro Mohyla, a Moldova-native Ukrainian religious leader, excellent writer and preminent theologian. In the sphere of liturgical translation, his major contributions are the 1629 and 1639 editions of the Liturgicon⁶³ as well as the 1646 edition of the Euchologion⁶⁴. The Euchologion is indeed a voluminous edition of about 1500 pages containing 129 offices and rubrics of Orthodox liturgical praxis. Nevertheless, 17 offices were translated from the Roman Ritual⁶⁵. This fact indicates how the Ukrainian Church comprehended its place in the world of rivalry between Eastern and Western Christianity: it remembered its baptism from 'one holy universal Apostolic Church' and decided to stay open to all the constructive achievements of both branches of Christianity.

The bridge between Orthodoxy and Polish society passed through the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church and the Order of Saint Basil the Great. The Superior General of the Order, Rev. Dr. Pakhomiy Ohilevych, prepared a fundamental description of the Orthodox Liturgy for Roman Catholic readers⁶⁶. The book contained two parts. The textual part – entitled "Ecphonemata" – consisted of the Liturgies of St John Chrysostom and of St Basil the Great which were published in Church Slavonic (but in Latin characters) and in Polish translation. The second part – entitled "Harmonia" – was academic and discussed differences between the Byzantine and Roman Liturgies. The book became such an important asset of the Church that

⁶¹ Часословъ. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, бл. 1616.

⁶² Анфологон. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1619.

⁶³ Литургиаріон си сѣть Служебникъ. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1629.

⁶⁴ Euchologion albo Молитвословъ или Требникъ. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1646. Ч. 1 – 3.

⁶⁵ ВЛАСОВСЬКИЙ, Нарис історії Української..., s. 236.

⁶⁶ *Ecphonemata liturgię greckiey. Harmonia albo krótkie pogodzenie różnic w obrzędach między mszą s. rzymską, a liturgią grecką* / przez X. Pachomiusa Ohilewicza. Wilno : Monastyr S. Troycy O. O. Bazylianow, 1671.

the very “Eophonemata” was reprinted several times during two centuries (Kraków 1685, Pochayiv 1784, Peremyshl 1831, 1842).

Non-liturgical books with liturgical texts

Liturgical texts appeared in editions which do not directly belong to the genre of liturgical writings. Catechisms better fit the paradigm of theological writings, as not only was their main focus on theological thinking, but their main tool was theological terminology which enriched the conceptual matrix of a national language and shaped its academic style in an epoch when Latin overpoweringly prevailed in all academic domains.

The earliest Polish texts which contained catechism prayers (Lord’s Prayer, Hail Mary, Apostles’ Creed as well as Decalogue and other commandments) in Polish-language translation are dated back to the 15th century and survived in manuscripts⁶⁷. The first Polish-language catechisms – in today’s appreciation of this term – appeared in the 1540s in the Protestant milieu. Mikołaj Rej translated and adapted the Catechism by Urbanus Rhegius and published it twice in 1543 and 1549⁶⁸. This catechism uses the divided articles of the Polish translation of the Apostle’s Creed as titles-quotations for further explaining. Meanwhile, Jan Seklucjan published the whole texts of the Apostle’s Creed and the Lord’s Prayer in Polish translations⁶⁹.

The first Catholic catechism was written and published by Benedykt Herbst⁷⁰. His catechism had a question-answer form in chapters which corresponded to the articles of the Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Hail Mary. For this reason, the articles of these prayers were cited in Polish and then explained. This approach was followed by numerous later editions⁷¹, even those following the 1566 official Roman edition (like the Catechism of 1568⁷²). Another Catholic catechism was published a year later by Marcin Białobrzeski who, in his preface, publicized the Polish translations of eight symbols of faith – by St Hilarius, St Basil, St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Jerome, St Gregory Nazianzen, St Gregory the Great and the Nicean Creed⁷³.

⁶⁷ E.g. BERNACKI, Ludwik. Najdawniejszy pomnik katechizmu polskiego. In *Pamiętnik Literacki*, Lwów, 1910, t. 9, z. 1/4, s. 317 – 319.

⁶⁸ *Catechismus: to jest nauka barzo pożyteczna każdemu wiernemu krześcijaninowi, jako sie ma w zakonie Bożym a w wierze i w dobrych uczynkach sprawować, 1543 r.* / Urbanus Rhegius; tłum. Mikołaj Rej; wyd. F. J. Pułaski. Kraków : Akademia Umiejętności, 1910; Kuźmina, Darius. *Katechizmy w Rzeczypospolitej XVI i początku XVII wieku*. Warszawa : Stowarzyszenie Bibliotekarzy Polskich, 2002, s. 74 – 75.

⁶⁹ SEKLUCJAN, I. *Catechismus to jest Krotka a prosta starej wiary chrześcijańskiej nauka powtore wydana...* Krolewec Pruski : Ian Weinreych, 1549, s. 8 – 9v.

⁷⁰ HERBEST, B. *Nauka prawego chrześcijanina*. Kraków : Mateusz Siebeneicher, 1566.

⁷¹ For the analysis of catechisms published in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see: Kuźmina, *Katechizmy w Rzeczypospolitej XVI i początku XVII wieku*, 2002.

⁷² *Katechizm albo nauka wiary y pobożności Krześcijańskiej / według uchwały S. Tridentskiego Concilium [...] przez [...] Walentego Kucborskiego [...] z Łacińskiego na Polskie wyłożony*. Kraków : Mikołaj Scharffenberg, 1568.

⁷³ BIAŁOBRZESKI, M. *Katechizm albo Wizerunek prawej wiary chrześcijańskiej wedle nauki Pana Jezusa Chrystusa, apostołów jego y Kościoła jego Świętego przeciwko wszystkim obłądliwościom tych czasów barzo pożyteczny*. [Kraków: Łazarz Andrysowicz], 1567, s. [6v – 9v].

In the Orthodox cultural space, the situation was very similar.⁷⁴ Besides, Orthodox catechisms were influenced by Protestant and Catholic editions. Lavrentiy Zyzaniy, a native of Lviv Region, published his Large Catechism in Moscow in circa 1627 where he cited the Church Slavonic translations of both the Apostles' Creed⁷⁵ and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed⁷⁶. The publication of the Apostles' Creed shows that the text, which is considered mainly Roman Catholic, circulated among the Orthodox theologians who shared the common Early Christian heritage.⁷⁷ The 1645 Middle Ukrainian edition of the Catechism by St Petro Mohyla⁷⁸ followed the principle of divided presentation: the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is divided into articles, and each article is cited in Church-Slavonic and then explained in Middle Ukrainian. Thus, the explanations in a way serve the function of translation as well, because they provide the necessary terms at least.

Polemical literature, being located between academic and political writings, provided some samples of liturgical translation as well. The translation of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed into Middle Ukrainian was published back in 1620 in Zakhariya Kopystenskyi's polemically theological treatise "Book on the True Faith and the Holy Apostolic Church"⁷⁹. An incomplete Polish-language paraphrase of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed appeared in Chapter 10 "Catechism of the Eastern Church" of Meletiy Smotrytskyi's "Threnos", a Ukrainian Orthodox polemical piece, written in Polish and published in 1610⁸⁰.

Jan Seclucjan's Catechism devotes its first chapter to the teaching of reading and writing⁸¹. This strange amalgamation discloses a profounder riddle: mediaeval primers were first of all prayer books. Their functions of a first reading book for children are explained by the fact that every child learned to read in Latin or Church Slavonic, because their ambition of becoming a clerk also required them to know and recite the Office and the Psalms by heart. Such a practical approach

⁷⁴ For the study of all the catechisms published in this area, see: Корзо, Маргарита. *Українська і белоруська катехетическа традиція кінця XVI-XVIII вв.: становлення, еволюція і проблема заимствований*. Москва: «Канон+» РООИ «Реабілітація», 2007, 671 с.

⁷⁵ [ЗИЗАНІЙ, Лаврентій]. [Катихисисъ великий]. Москва, [бл. 1627], s. 30 – 30v.

⁷⁶ [ЗИЗАНІЙ, Лаврентій]. [Катихисисъ великий]. Москва, [бл. 1627], s. 31v – 32.

⁷⁷ Kyivan Metropolitanate recognized the Apostles' Creed and used it in its catechetical practices, while Moscow Metropolitanate rejected it completely: Корзо, Маргарита А. Апостольский символ веры и исповедание Афанасия в православной книжности Киевской митрополии (XVI-XVII вв.). In *Вестник ПСТГУ. Серия II: История. История Русской Православной Церкви*, 2016, вып. 1 (68), с. 21 – 26. <https://doi.org/10.15382/sturii201668.20-31>

⁷⁸ [МОГИЛА, Петро]. *Събраніе короткои науки о артикулах вѣры Православнокаволическои хрїстіянскои ведлугъ възнания и науки Ц(е)ркве св(ятой) Восто(ч)нои соборнои ап(осто)лскои / Первьй языкомъ полски(м), а теперь діалектомъ руским з другу выданое*. Київ : Києво-Печерська Лавра, 1645.

⁷⁹ КОПИСТЕНСЬКИЙ, Захарія. *Книга о вірі єдиної, святої апостолської церкви*. Київ: Друкарня Києво-Печерської лаври, 1620, s. 165 – 167.

⁸⁰ СМОТРИЦЬКИЙ, Мелегій. *Тренос, або Плач Єдиної Святої Помісної Апостольської Східної Церкви з поясненням догматів віри... = ΘΡΗΝΟΣ το jest Lament jedyniej św. Powszechnej Apostolskiej Wschodniej Cerkwi, z objaśnieniem Dogmatów Wiary...* / пер. із старопол., слов. та передм. Р. Радішевського. Київ : Талком, 2015, s. 498, 500, 516.

⁸¹ SEKLUCIAN, I. *Catechismus to iest Krotka a prosta starey wiary chrzescianskiej nauka powtore wydana...* Krolewec Pruski : Ian Weinreich, 1549, s. 4 – 5v.

was characteristic of similar editions in a wider European context. Some Polish primers stayed under the influence of Protestant catechetical tradition⁸². The prayers republished were both biblical (the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, some psalms) and liturgical (the Creed, prayers to the Holy Spirit). The first known edition is Stanisław Zaborowski's rules of writing and reading in 1514 or 1515, where the basic prayers were published as well⁸³. The same inclusion of biblical and liturgical prayers is observed in Ukrainian editions of the late 16th century: Ivan Fedorovych published one edition of Primers in Lviv⁸⁴ and two in Ostroh⁸⁵, and Lavrentiy Zyzaniy composed his very abridged Primer in Vilnius⁸⁶. Like in Catholic and Orthodox churches, Kyivan Metropolitanate also accepted the Creed by St Athanasius which was repeatedly republished in primers and horologions⁸⁷. The first primer publication of the Creed by St Athanasius is the 1618 edition in Vievis⁸⁸ which also contains the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed⁸⁹ [Букварь 1618:] and the Creeds by St Ambrose and St Augustine⁹⁰. Hypothetically, Rev. Meletiy Smotrytskyi, the author of the first textbook of the Church Slavonic language (in the Ukrainian Recension, 1619), participated in preparing this primer.

Interestingly, prayers were also published in Polish-German phrasebooks and other textbooks for learning foreign languages⁹¹ which were rather popular publications, and the first one appeared in 1522 or 1523. All these educational editions, with a set of religious texts, were keenly republished and recomposed during the 17th and 18th centuries.

18th century: Epoch of (Non)-Enlightenment

In liturgical life, the Age of Enlightenment is not characterized with bright events or reforms. It was quite inertial after the waves of the Renaissance, Reformation and Counter-Reformation brought a series of innovations which were to be challenged and accepted. Finally, when the new balance was found, it was book printing that disseminated the knowledge more, and new translations appeared in response to new demands.

Book printers republished older texts and supplied a great deal of prayer books and hymnals. The typical Polish reader had access to prayer books, hymnals and catechisms, and sometimes these editions had such a hybrid nature that it is prob-

⁸² See the detailed analysis in: KORZO, Margarita A. O tekstach religijnych w XVI-wiecznych elementarzach Polskich. In *Pamiętnik Literacki*, 2015, t. 106, z. 1, s. 169 – 182. <https://doi.org/10.18318/pl.2015.1.9>

⁸³ ZABOROWSKI, S. *Orthographia seu modus recte scribendi et legendi Polonicum idioma quam utilissimum*. Kraków : [Florian Ungier, 1514 – 1515], s. 19 – 20.

⁸⁴ [ФЕДОРОВИЧ, Иван]. [Азбука]. Львів, [1574].

⁸⁵ [ФЕДОРОВИЧ, Иван]. [Азбука]. Острог, [1578]; [Федорович, Иван]. *Начало ученїа дѣтемь*. Острог, [1578].

⁸⁶ [ЗИЗАНІЙ, Лаврентій]. *Наука ку читаню*. Вільнюс, [1596].

⁸⁷ КОРЗО, Маргарита А. Апостольский символ веры и исповедание Афанасия в православной книжности Киевской митрополии (XVI-XVII вв.). In *Вестник ПСТГУ. Серия II: История. История Русской Православной Церкви*, 2016, вып. 1 (68), с. 27.

⁸⁸ *Букварь Языка Славенска*. Єв'є, 1618, s. 33v – 38.

⁸⁹ *Букварь Языка Славенска*. Єв'є, 1618, s. 32 – 33v.

⁹⁰ *Букварь Языка Славенска*. Єв'є, 1618, s. 38 – 40.

⁹¹ KORZO, O tekstach religijnych w XVI-wiecznych elementarzach Polskich, s. 174.

lematic to strictly classify them: the most popular edition was a prayer book with religious songs. An average prayer book consisted of two parts: the first part included prayers from the liturgical year; the second one was aimed for private use and could be divided into three chapters covering prayers connected with sacraments (for successful matrimony and baptism, for a child), with every-day life (various occasions and even those for good weather) and with historical events (experienced by the whole national community)⁹². This book type satisfied all the needs of believers.

In comparison, Roman Catholic priests had few texts in Polish translations. The 1701 bilingual – Latin and Polish – edition of offices for Lent was a rare exception⁹³, though it was a bulky edition. Another interesting edition from the viewpoint of theology and translation is the collection by Jan Witkowski⁹⁴. The year 1780 is really a unique one which brought two serious books for academic reasons and laic co-celebrants: first, it was a translation of the Missal compiled by German Capuchin Martin of Cochem⁹⁵, comprising the Canon and alternating parts for feasts as well as other prayers; second, it was a two-volume manual of the Roman Liturgy and sacraments⁹⁶ which also incorporated the Byzantine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom. In the next year 1781, Warsaw's Holy Cross Parish Church published offices celebrated in this church along with a number of prayers of the daily, weekly and yearly cycles, as well as some religious songs⁹⁷. Republished many times, these editions constituted a vibrant part of liturgical translations, but they lacked the high status of official use and performed a purely educational function. Even in this capacity, they set up a new standard for translation which speeded up in the 19th century.

Interestingly, the Polish-language Orthodox translation was only formed as a separate branch of liturgical translation in the 18th century. After the first successful attempt with Ohilevych's "Ecphonemata", new enterprises were undertaken in the middle of the century and connected with the activities of the Basilians. In 1743, Supraśl monastery published the bilingual – Church Slavonic and Polish – edition of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom⁹⁸, which was republished several times in Supraśl and Lviv, mapping already important centres of Greek Catholicism in East-

⁹² MARCINKOWSKA-MALARA, Małgorzata. *Modlitwy przygodne w polskich drukach oświeceniowych*: Praca doktorska / Uniwersytet Śląski. Katowice, 2018, s. 8.

⁹³ *Officium na pierwszą szrodę qvadragezimy i Wielgo-Tygodniowe według mszala i brewiarza rzymskiego na rozkazanie Pivsa Piątego wydane, od Clemensa VIII i Urbana VIII przeyrzane*. Poznań : Drukarnia Collegium Societatis Jesu, 1701.

⁹⁴ WITKOWSKI, Jan. *Obserwacje święte czasu rocznego albo dni niektore w roku honorowi Jezusa, Matki najswiętszey y świętych Panskich poświęcone do chrześcianskiej obserwancji przez osobliwsze nabozenstwa podane*. Poznań: Drukarnia Collegium Societatis Jesu, 1730.

⁹⁵ *Mszal współkapłański świeckim osobom służący. 40 mszy albo modlitw podczas mszy św. pobożnych i skutecznych zamykający* / Pracą i Staraniem Ks. Marcina Kochemensa [Martin von Cochem], niemieckim językiem napisany, potem po łacinie, teraz na polski przetłum. Kraków : Drukarnia Seminarium Biskup. Akademickiego, 1780.

⁹⁶ *Ceremonie czyli obrzdky y zwyczaie ktore bywaią w Kościele Katolickim w przypadających rożnych okolicznościach zazywane*: w 2 t. Kalisz, 1780.

⁹⁷ *Nabożeństwo dzienne, tygodniowe i roczne, które się odprawuje w Kościele Farnym Warszawskim Świętego Krzyża dla wygody parafianów przedrukowane*. Warszawa : Drukarnia XX. Missionarżów, 1781.

⁹⁸ *Wykład Mszy Sw. Jana Chryzostoma według zwyczaju cerkwi Wschodniej / po słowiańsku i polsku*. Supraśl : Monaster Zwiastowania Przenajświętszej Bogurodzicy, 1743.

ern Europe. In 1762, Pochayiv monastery published the Akathist to the Theotokos in Church Slavonic (but in Roman characters) and in a Latin translation⁹⁹: this translation increased the reading community of this text, as it covered all who could read in Latin. In 1764, Vilnius monastery published the Polish translation of the Akathist and Paraklesis to the Theotokos¹⁰⁰, which was based on the translations by the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Durrës, Giuseppe Schirò, being an Arbëreshë (Italian Albanian) theologian and a translator of the Office for the Theotokos from Greek into Latin. Among other non-major but popular liturgical texts are the Latin translations of Church Slavonic pieces, like the Akathist to Jesus Christ¹⁰¹, or the Polish ones, like the Akathist of St Onuphrius¹⁰², and Ivan Yakiv Susha's Akathist to St Yosafat Kuntsevych (albeit translated from Latin)¹⁰³. The repertoire of Polish-language Orthodox literature was extending slowly. The bilingual – Church Slavonic and Polish – edition of "Różne nabożeństwo" ("Various prayers") was a prayer book consisting of five parts: morning and evening prayers, akathists to Jesus Christ and to the Annunciation, and Paraklesis¹⁰⁴. Its publication (and further republications) designates the appearance of the Polish-speaking Orthodox community on the religious scene of the Commonwealth, because this book was intended for private use, and, thus, the demand for this book type had already been rather high.

The 18th century in Ukrainian history cannot be called a period of Enlightenment, but it looks more like the path to a colonial existence, especially after a series of failed attempts of national struggle (the Poltava Catastrophe of 1709, the liquidation of the Cossack Hetmanate in 1764, the introduction of the Russian administrative-judicial system in 1782). The language and praxis of the Kyivan liturgical tradition was subjugated to the Russian Orthodox Church. Although the process of exterminating the Kyivan Christian heritage in the territories annexed by Russia lasted almost a century (1689 – 1800), and was implemented with censorial regulations for book printing and abrupt changes of local liturgical practices¹⁰⁵, it also aimed at the elimination of the Ukrainian national identity and resulted in the slowdown of liturgical translation activities.

On the other hand, the printing shops of Pochayiv and Univ monasteries, which remained part of the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, enlarged their capabilities, and during the 18th century, they published 103 and 13 editions of liturgical books respectively. They published books in Church Slavonic of Ukraini-

⁹⁹ *Нунн. Akathist do Przeczystey Bogarodzicy Panny Maryi*. Почаїв : Друкарня Успенського монастиря, 1762.

¹⁰⁰ *Akathist i Moleben, dwa sławne Kościoła Wschodniego do Matki Boskiej nabożeństwa* / tłum. pol. oparte na przekł. Giuseppe Schirò, arcybiskupa Durazzo. Wilno : Drukarnia XX. Bazylianów, 1764.

¹⁰¹ *Flos odorem devotionis spirans ad radios Basilii Magni columnae in avita Nereziorum rosa explicatus alias Hymnus acathistus Ad dulcissimum nomen Jesu Christi*. Львів : І. Филипович, 1756.

¹⁰² *Nabożeństwo do S. Onufrego Officium i Litanja z przyłożeniem Summariusza życia*. Почаїв : Друкарня Успенського монастиря, 1785.

¹⁰³ *Nabożeństwo do błogosławionego Jozafata M. arcybiskupa połockiego [...] z łacinskiego na polskie przełożone i Żywot tegoż b. męczennika* / Susza Jakub Jan. Wilno : Drukarnia XX. Bazylianów, 1783.

¹⁰⁴ *Różne nabożeństwo od świętych Oyców złożone* / na pol. ięzyk przetłum., też i posłowieńsku i popolsku wydruk. Почаїв : Друкарня Успенського монастиря, 1791.

¹⁰⁵ ВЛАСОВСЬКИЙ, Нарис історії Української..., s. 54 – 62.

an Recension, Polish and Latin, so their main function was to preserve the Kyivan identity in liturgical books. Actually, printing shops which functioned in the Commonwealth preserved the Kyivan printing tradition, which became the foundation for the Ukrainian Greek Catholic liturgical praxis.

Liturgical and paraliturgical singing continued to be an essential part of religious life in both areas. The collection of religious songs "Bohohlasnyk"¹⁰⁶ was the first printed edition of this type among the Ukrainians and all Eastern Slavs. It contained paraliturgical songs in three languages which were sometimes used during the Liturgy as well. The collection of religious songs by Franciszek Karpiński, who published a collection of religious songs (original and translated) in 1792,¹⁰⁷ was greatly appreciated: it corresponded to the demands of the Enlightenment by preserving a calm mode and dogmatic correctness¹⁰⁸. Although, these editions can be viewed as those ones summarizing the best poetical achievements as of the previous epoch, they also started a new stage of religious singing and – even wider – liturgical translation which had to function under new historical conditions, i.e. Romanticism, technological revolutions and imperial existence.

Vernacular perception and translation praxis

Translations do not always appear to be in line with other intellectuals' theoretical judgements concerning the matter. One of the reasons was the peculiarities of writing about translation matters and spreading the written and printed books among translators. Another reason was the very level of theoretical observations and the need for their collection. Yet, in the 16th century, scholars from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth must have accessed Ancient and Renaissance sources like Horace's "De arte poetica liber", Cicero's "De optimo genere oratorum", St Jerome's "De optimo genere interpretandi" and Leonardo Bruno's "De interpretatione recta"¹⁰⁹. The profound understanding of translation matters did not mean translators' had sufficient freedom in lingual experimenting and searching for more successful tools of verbal expression.

It was Jan Kochanowski who established some standard for biblical poetic translation which impacted on liturgical texts as well. In line with Renaissance decoration techniques, he applied verbal means which might not have been favoured by many: he introduced numerous amplifications by extending semantic prosody and grammatical constructions, adding explicatory words and epithets¹¹⁰. All these features created a bridge to the emotional sphere of readers-believers, and this was how God became more 'humanized' and closer to the understanding and perception of the reading community.

One of the prolific Polish translators, Stanisław Grochowski, pointed to the strategy which had been known in Orthodox translation: a translator is to render a li-

¹⁰⁶ *Богогласникъ. Почаїв : Друкарня Успенського монастиря, 1790.*

¹⁰⁷ KARPİŃSKI, F. *Pieśni nabożne*. Supraśl : Drukarnia XX. Bazylianów, 1792.

¹⁰⁸ SINKA, *Polska pieśń w liturgii*, s. 266.

¹⁰⁹ WICHOWA, Stanisław Grochowski jako tłumacz hymnów kościelnych, s. 238 – 239.

¹¹⁰ WILKOŃ, Aleksander. *Dzieje języka artystycznego w Polsce: Renesans*. Katowice : Wyd-wo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2004, s. 133 – 135, 169.

turgical text according to a definite melody. The demands on a liturgical translator were quite complicated for every translator, as s/he had to preserve the meaning (read: theological dogmaticity and verbal expression) of the original and its isosyllabism for readers to use the very text for signing¹¹¹. Unfortunately, he did not dwell more upon this observation, and every new translator had to search for new unique solutions for minor textual discrepancies.

A typical addressee of Church Slavonic translations was everybody in the community: from laypeople to the metropolitan. The Ukrainian vernacular was slowly entering the solemn liturgical ceremony through laypeople's sacrament formulae and paraliturgical songs used during the Liturgy. This state of affairs remained the same in early modern times. A typical addressee of Polish translations changed. When Jan Białoński translated breviary hymns, he aimed them at nuns, knowing that priests would not need his translations for private use, and these texts would not be allowed in public ceremonies¹¹². This was true in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the reading community slowly transformed during the Enlightenment: at first, it was influenced by the well-accepted culture of religious singing, and later 'academic' translations contributed to the enlargement of the repertoire of religious texts in Polish.

During this period, Polish and Ukrainian communities experimented with languages. Polish liturgical translators contributed to the refinement of lexical stock and the idiomaticity, semantic and syntactic features of cultural Polish¹¹³. Ukrainian translators concentrated more on the formation of the Ukrainian Recension of the Church Slavonic language, which also involved the discussion of aesthetic values in text¹¹⁴. At any rate, all the theoretical debates and lingual inventions stimulated the further enlargement of the Polish and Ukrainian lingual mentality which defined the rise of these nations' poetry in the form of religious genres.

Conclusions

The period discussed covers over three centuries, most of which witnessed the existence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth integrating ethnic Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian and Lithuanian territories. The coexistence of these nations generated a number of political, societal and ecclesiastical projects which also had consequences for the progress of liturgical translation in Polish and Ukrainian churchly traditions.

It is evident that the coexistence of different denominational and ethnic communities in one state stimulates the exchange of cultural ideas and make them know about the other communities more. In the domain of liturgical life, it is easy to observe the non-penetrating existence of the communities during the 16th century. The love for using and compiling prayer-books is the only phenomenon that the Orthodox started applying after following the Roman Catholics' behaviour.

¹¹¹ WICHOWA, Stanisław Grochowski jako tłumacz hymnów kościelnych..., s. 239.

¹¹² GRUCHAŁA, „*Psalmy, hymny, pieśni pełne ducha*”, s. 76.

¹¹³ E.g. WILKOŃ, *Dzieje języka artystycznego w Polsce*, s. 169 ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. ШМИГЕР, Тарас. *Перекладознавчий аналіз – теоретичні та прикладні аспекти: давня українська література сучасними українською та англійською мовами*. Львів : ЛНУ імені Івана Франка, 2018, s. 41 – 44, 49 – 53.

The 18th century, which is usually credited as the Age of Enlightenment, was really the time when the Polish community started learning more about the Byzantine Rite in the Kyivan form via translations. Conversely, no Ukrainian or Church Slavonic translation of the Roman Catholic Liturgy has been traced in history. The Church Slavonic translation of the sequence "Dies irae" is an exception to the rule.

It looks as if the Reformation influenced Polish liturgical translation both positively and negatively: first, positively because Polish-language hymns and catechisms functioned very extensively; second, negatively because Latin started being seen as a language protecting against heresies, and this predisposition did not allow priests to administer the Liturgy in vernacular languages. Simultaneously, the Reformation seems to have had no direct influence on Orthodox liturgical translation.

The Orthodox / Greek Catholic community, which spoke Polish, was finally organized in the late 18th century, as the number of Polish-language translations of Byzantine liturgical texts increased. This fact shows how the religious and ethnic balance was changed: for most of the history of the Commonwealth, various religious communities followed their faith and language, and they did not intermix. The Polish-speaking Orthodox / Greek Catholic community became a blurred zone for ethnic assimilation, though the partitions of the Commonwealth redesigned the map of Eastern Europe drastically, and new historical conditions created new challenges and demands for liturgical translation.

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SUMMARY

Early modern time in the Ukrainian and Polish histories of liturgical translation

The study of early modern liturgical translations goes along the lines of the comparison of Polish and Ukrainian translation histories, the dynamics of liturgical prints and the repertoires of liturgical editions. The comparison is eloquent in revealing the similarities and dissimilarities of national evolutions in a multinational country, as the Polish and Ukrainian liturgical traditions coexisted in the same state – the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – from 1569 to 1795, but the history of really close cultural ties, cooperation and antagonism started two centuries earlier and lasts to the present day.

It is not surprising that the first published books in Polish and Ukrainian milieus were liturgical books in the late 15th century, as they craftly combined symbolical and practical usage, the intellectual and religious efforts for preserving their own identity in a politically unstable world. The Renaissance did not bring the desired use of vernaculars as liturgical languages: the Council of Trent did not sanction the deployment of the vernacular in the Liturgy, and the Polish translation of the Mass (albeit ready in 1564) was only published in the 18th century; the Orthodox centres of religious printing in Vilnius and Kyiv had to pay

more attention to the development of the local variant of the Church Slavonic language, and Middle Ukrainian translations were partial and rare.

Nevertheless, liturgical prints were an important part of Polish and Ukrainian social life: prayer books for private devotions were essential samples of meditative literature. Polish prayer books, whose usage of Polish contributed to the overall progress of Polish poetics, were true bestsellers of that time: the prayer collections by Biernat of Lublin and Marcin Larterna were republished many times, and this fact discloses readers' request for having such books in their native language. The rich culture of Polish prayer books, which were translations from Latin and occasionally German, influenced the Ukrainian culture of printing and applying prayer books. Similar in both cultures are the book type of primers that taught people how to read by providing prayers as texts for practicing. The texts were memorised gradually and recited during divine offices, so primers were the first books for ecclesiastical careers, too.

Songbooks, containing original and translated religious hymns, constituted another domain where liturgical translation could develop. Partially, it was caused by the Reformation which promoted evangelization via singing. In a way, Protestants instigated Roman Catholics to include more Polish-language songs into their hymnals. The Roman Catholic musical cultural was extremely vibrant before the Council of Trent, and the Council interfered and limited the number of official sequences sung during divine offices. The sequences, like "Dies irae", "Veni Sancte Spiritus", "Grates nunc omnes", "Mittit ad Virginem", were so popular that men of letters retranslated them gladly and persistently. The sequence "Dies irae" was known among Greek Catholics as well, and in the mid-17th century, it was translated into Church Slavonic.

The Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy did not contribute much to liturgical translations into Middle Ukrainian, instead they focused more on the sacred status of Church Slavonic and elaborated its new local standard (the Ukrainian Recension of Church Slavonic). The Ukrainian Orthodox Church witnessed two major liturgical translation projects under the auspices of Bishop of Lviv, Hedeon Balaban (at the turn of the 16th century), and Metropolitan of Kyiv, St Petro Mohyla, and other Kyivan writers (in the 1610s to 1640s). Although their main originals were the Greek Orthodox editions published in Venice, they incorporated local rites and even translated from the Roman Ritual (as in the case of the 1646 Euchologion).

In the 18th century, slight technological progress accelerated all the previous trends. More books were published, but these were reeditions of earlier publications or editions of prayer books and hymnals whose contents were stable and oriented at believers' private worship. The situation gradually changed in the late 18th century when academic-like editions came out with included translations. Other pioneering translations were infrequent, but it is during this time when Orthodox liturgical texts were translated more actively into Polish and started shaping Polish Orthodox translation.

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