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THE BIBLE OF KRALICE

**A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Historical Theology**

**In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity**

**by
Jaroslav Ján Pelikán**

May 1946

Approved by:

George Dolak
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To my MOTHER and FATHER
who taught me to love the Kralická;
"and that from a child..."

I. Revelation of the Czech Bible.

"...I leave thee for thy brethren the Jews of God,
the Holy Bible, which my Lord translated from the original
languages (in which God had commanded it to be
written) into the Greek with the utmost diligence (in
which work a few learned men had spent fifteen years
of labor)."

- Jerome.

When, as is recorded in the Gospel according to Saint
Matthew, Christ raised wand'ring bands in blessing over His
apostles before He ascended to the Father, He gave the com-
mand to "teach all nations." When, as is recorded in the
Book of Acts, the promised Paraclete was sent upon the apostles,
they "began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit
gave them utterance."

Since that time, six centuries ago, men have taught all
nations in other tongues; and the history of the appearance
of the Word in the different languages of the human race is
at the same time the history of the mission and expansion

THE BIBLE OF KRALICE

I. Evolution of the Czech Bible.

"...I leave thee for thy heirloom the Book of God, the Holy Bible, which my sons translated from the original languages (in which God had commanded it to be written) into the Czech with the utmost diligence (on which work a few learned men had spent fifteen years of labor)."

- Comenius.

When, as is recorded in the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, Christ raised wounded hands in blessing over His apostles before He ascended to the Father, He gave the command to "teach all nations." When, as is recorded in the Book of Acts, the promised Paraclete was sent upon the apostles, they "began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance."

Since that time, dim centuries ago, men have taught all nations in other tongues; and the history of the appearance of the Word in the different languages of the human race is at the same time the history of the mission and expansion

of Christianity. When missionaries came to any new land, they translated the Bible into the language of the particular people among whom they intended to do their work.

This was the case among the Slavs, too. The missionaries to the Slavs were two brothers, Cyril (Constantinus) and Method.¹ There had been mission work among the Slavs even before this; but this was carried on by Germans, who too often made their missionary efforts the vehicle for political expansionistic policies.² As a consequence of this, the Christian Prince Rastislav (846-870) sent a petition late in the year 862 to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III the Drunkard (856-867) asking him to send missionaries who would preach the Gospel in the language of the people. It seems that Rastislav wanted to prevent a German-Bulgar alliance and used this method to carry out his plan.³

1. We discount, of course, the view advanced by "Nestor" and still met with in the romanticist press, that St. Paul was referring to Slav missions in Rom. 15:19, where he speaks of Illyricum, and 2 Tim. 4:10, where he speaks of Dalmatia. Cf. Albert Koppen, Die Kirchenordnung und Disciplin der alten Hussitischen Bruderkirche in Böhmen, Mähren und Polen (Leipzig, 1845), p. 8.

2. Germans themselves admit this fact today; one, at least, is quoted as saying: "mit dem deutschen Priester kam auch der deutsche Kolonist...so dasz von nun an Christianisierung und Germanisierung Hand in Hand gehen." Karl Schober, Die Deutschen in Nieder- und Ober-Oesterreich, Salzburg, Steiermark, Kärnthen und Krain, p. 15, quoted in Jozef Skultěty, Nehaňte Lud Měj!, (Turčiansky Svatý Martin, 1928), p. 2.

3. See the very thorough discussion by V. N. Zlatarski, "Velka Morava a Bulharsko v IX. storočí" in Jan Stanislav (ed.), Risa Velkomoravska (Second Edition; Praha, 1935), pp. 275-288, esp. pp. 282-83.

Be all of that as it may, the result of the negotiations was that the Emperor Michael sent missionaries, Cyril and Method. These men came to the Greater Moravian Empire in 863. It is difficult to determine just how much of the Bible the brothers translated. Some claim that Cyril and Method provided their converts with the entire Bible, which they translated either before they left their home or after they came to Moravia.⁴ On the basis of the meager existing evidence, however, it seems more reasonable to believe that their translation consisted merely of a lectionary, which was a necessary adjunct to the Slavonic liturgy, and probably a Psalter.⁵

Unfortunately, the translation by Cyril and Method has been lost. The only manuscripts which have come down to us, in the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic, are recensions, adaptations to the linguistic peculiarities of the particular Slavic land where they were preserved.⁶ Nevertheless, it may quite safely be said, taking into consideration the origin of the apostles, that the translation was based on the so-called

4. So, for example, P. J. Šafářik, Slovanské Starožitnosti (Praha, 1837), pp. 811-12, and others.

5. The entire question appears in Matthew Spinka, "Slavic Translations of the Scriptures", Journal of Religion, XIII, (1933), pp. 415-28; on the question of the extent of the translation, cf. especially pp. 427-28.

6. Ibid., p. 430.

Byzantine text ("Reichstext")---an assumption which subsequent religious history bears out. For in the years which followed, there was a close connection between Moravia and Byzantium in a religious as well as in a political way.

Further discussion of the translation by Cyril and Method would lead us too far afield. Their work is pertinent to the subject at hand only in that it was, as far as can be determined, the first translation of the Scriptures to be used on Czechoslovak soil. There is no lineal relation between it and the translations which followed; for it was based on the original Greek text of the New Testament and, most probably, on the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, while the later versions, like most medieval translations, follow the Vulgate.

From the Proto-Slavonic translation of the ninth century we must pass to the versions of the Bible which appeared during the fifteenth century. In Czechoslovakia, as in all of Europe, the intermittent period saw the reading of the Bible fall into disrepute; the people did not read the Bible because most of

7. Fr. Dvornik, "Byzancia a Velká Morava" in Stanislav, op. cit., pp. 101-61.

8. The interested reader may find additional material on the translation of Cyril and Method, as well as a discussion of the existing codices, in that enormous work, Caspar René Gregory, Prolegomena to Tischendorf's Novum Testamentum Graece (Leipzig, 1884), III, pp. 1112-24. Gregory's catalogue is, as he states, founded on the prodigious research of the Czech scholar, Jozef Dobrovský.

them did not read at all. Indeed, how could they read except some man should guide them? And there was none to guide them.

But toward the close of the fourteenth century a movement arose in Bohemia which was to change all of this. The movement was, of course, Hussitism. The Hussite revolt, like the other religious reformations of the time, placed great emphasis upon the Bible as the norm of faith and life. And when religious authority changed from the word of the Church and of the priest to the Word of God, an immediate necessity arose for versions of the Bible in the mother tongue.

As a result, by the last quarter of the fourteenth century the entire Bible had been translated into Czech, though by various men at various times and in various places. These different sections were combined by some unknown redactor--- Palacký claims it was Matthew of Janov---into more or less of a unit at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It seems true that this act stemmed from Matthew's intense biblicism, but establishing any direct participation in the putting together of the fragments is impossible. The translation, as found in the redaction, is stiff and mechanical; and the redactor did little to improve it.

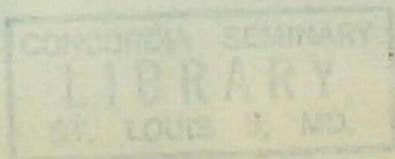
Subsequent Bible versions divide themselves more or less satisfactorily into two groups: those of the first recen-

9. Jan Jakubec, Dějiny Literatury České (Praha, 1929), I, p. 404.

sion and those of the second recension. This division, which we have taken over from Dobrovský, is not strictly chronological. It is, rather, a classification according to certain characteristics which set the one off from the other. Bibles of the first recension contain many Latinisms, which the editor did not remove in spite of the fact that some of the expressions are unintelligible. Throughout this class the influence of the Vulgate is apparent. Another quality which marks translations of the first recension is the appearance of an introduction before the Book of Genesis. The versions of the first recension, with the exception of the Leskovecká, the oldest member of the group, are arranged according to the Vulgate with regard to the sequence of the books.

Oldest among this first group, as we have already mentioned, is the Leskovecká, so called because it was preserved in the library of a wealthy family by that name. Because it later on found its way into the royal library at Dresden, it is also known as the Dresdensis. Dobrovský dates it between 1390 and 1410.¹⁰ What Dobrovský adjudged to be another part of the same manuscript---a translation of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel---he found in the public library of Praha, whither it had come from the Jesuits in Krumlov. It must be counted

10. Gregory, op. cit., p. 1127.



as one of the tragedies of what we once called the Great War that the Leskovecká was destroyed in the sack of Louvain, Belgium, in 1914. It had been taken there for copying, but only a third of it remains, even in photostatic copy.¹¹

Next in line comes a translation known variously as the Zmrzlikovská, Slavatovská, and Litoměřická. It takes its first name from the fact that John Hus' protector, Peter Zmrzlik, ordered it prepared for him, as the inscription at the close attests: "Per Matthiam scriptorem, filium Jacobi de Praga."¹² It takes its last name from the fact that two sections of it are---or, at least, were---in the episcopal library at Litoměřice; the middle section is in the archives at Třebon. Perhaps related to the Zmrzlikovská is a parchment manuscript which Canon Kittner found in Mikulova in 1857; it contains: the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, the Apocalypse; the Psalter (to Psalm 134), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs; the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus. At the close of the Apocalypse these words appear: "In the year one thousand four hundred and six after the birth of the Lord Jesus, on the Friday before the feast of the Lord's Baptism, this book of the life of the Lamb was completed."

11. Jakubec, loc. cit.

12. Karel Sabina, Dejiny literatury československé staré a střední doby (Praha, 1866), p. 390.



Among the Bibles of the first recension at least one more deserves mention. It is the Bible of Olomouc, completed in 1417, according to Dobrovský.¹³ It is interesting also because of the miniatures and illustrations which adorn it. Apparently there were artists in Bohemia who devoted themselves to the art of illumination, which had reached its summit in the Middle Ages; this is obvious from the fact that the instructions to the artists are still extant.¹⁴

So much for the Bibles of the first recension. It may be well to list the characteristics of the second group. As we have observed, the classification is on the basis of certain distinctive qualities. Whereas the Bibles of the first recension contain Latinisms and other archaic expressions, in the second group there are neologisms and some revisions. The introduction of new words is, of course, due to the fact that many new words and phrases replaced those in the old versions which had become obscure.¹⁵ The revisions, on the other hand, came about as the direct result of the Hussite movement. The versions of the first recension had been slavishly faithful to the Vulgate; and when controversy arose,

13. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 1127.

14. For an interesting discussion of Czech religious art in the service of polemics, see Hans Preusz, Die Vorstellungen vom Antichrist im späteren Mittelalter, bei Luther und in der konfessionellen Polemik (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 67-73, Plates 4-5.

15. For example, in place of "pop", the Russian word for priest", the more familiar "kněz" appears; "nepřítel" replaces the older "vrah" etc. Jakubec, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

the Hussites had to get at the true meaning of the passage in question. In addition, they wanted to make the Bible understandable to the common people.

And so versions of the second recension do not measure up to those of the first in importance: they are neither originals nor thorough revisions. Nevertheless, a few of them at least deserve notice. Significant from the standpoint of age is the Boskovická, which dates from c. 1420. Another member of this class is the Tábořská, a parchment manuscript which the Jesuit historian, Balbinus, in his Bohemia Docta attributed to a miller-woman of the Taborite party; there is little foundation for this view, and its origin probably lies in the reference by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) to the knowledge of the Bible among the Taborites, also among the women.¹⁶

Two other Bibles of the second recension are noteworthy more for their connection with Czech religious history than for any intrinsic merit. The first of these is the Paderovská, which owes its name to an inscription at the close of the New Testament: "This Bible was completed with the help of God and toward the spreading of His holy Law, through the order and publication of that erudite and solicitous man, Philip of Po-

16. Cf. the discussion of the literature on this as well as on the other versions in Jakubec, op. cit., pp. 408-12.

deřov, called Aliaps."¹⁷ Historically this version is significant and interesting because it later on belonged to Karl of Žerotín. He it was who protected the famous bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, John Amos Comenius, during the latter's exile in the 1620's.¹⁸ Also interesting, in a somewhat different way, is the Šafhauská, which, despite its apparently German name, is a transcription from an older Czech Bible originating c. 1450-70. Its significance lies in the claim, which even Dobrovský advanced at first, that it was put together by John Hus himself.¹⁹ Later research, however, has quite thoroughly established that Hus had no part in the translation of the Šafhauská, but that it was the work of a Hussite about a generation later.²⁰

17. Sabina, op. cit., pp. 745-46.

18. Comenius dedicated his great allegory, The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart "to the Illustrious and truly noble Lord, LORD CHARLES, BARON OF ŽEROTÍN" (Lützow Edition; New York, 1901), p. 53. On Comenius' stay at Karl's estate in Brandeis (Orlice), where he wrote the work, see Count Lützow's "Introduction", pp. 34-38.

19. Those who hold to this view derive it presumably from a statement by František Palacký, still the outstanding historian of the Hussite period. Palacký wrote: "The whole Bible had been translated into Czech already in the fourteenth century by an unnamed author, probably Matthew of Janov; Hus, however, assuming the revision of the entire work, corrected that translation, as is proven by examples from his age written in his method of rhetoric." Dejiny Národu Českého (Praha, 1921), Book XI, Article 3.

20. I base my views on the convincing argumentation of Jireček, "Rozbor prvotního českého překladu Starého zákona", Časopis Musea království českého, XIX (1872), pp. 385 ff.

Because the division of the manuscript Bibles into these two classes came after rather than before their composition, not all the versions lend themselves entirely to what some people call "pigeon-holing." They fall into neither category of recensions. The outstanding Czech Bible of this unclassified class is the *Emmauzská*, truly an unicum.²¹ Its genesis is also quite unique; for it originated in the Yugoslav cloister of Emmaus which the Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378) had set aside in Prague. These monks held services in the Czech tongue even before the Hussite movement began, and after the first tumults of the revolt in 1409 they came over voluntarily to the Hussite camp.²²

With these versions, plus others which were largely copies of them, the people of Bohemia had to content themselves until the first printed Bible appeared. This happened in 1488, when several men in the old city of Praha published a Bible "to the honor and glory of God and to the good and honorable crown of the Czech nation."²³ In the introduction

21. "Codex Pragensis in monasterio Emmai anno 1416 litteris Glagoliticis scriptus medium inter utramque recensionem tenet." Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 1127.

22. Jakubec, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

23. Quoted from the note after the Book of Revelation in Jan Theophil Elsner, "Zpráva hystorycka o rozlicnych a rozdjl-ných wydaných jako celé Bibli swaté, tak tež y nowého zwasst Zakona Pane od času k času na swétlo wysslych" (Berlin, 1766), p. 4. The "Zpráva" is the historical introduction to a Bible which Elsner published while he was pastor of the Czech church in Berlin.

to the Psalter the writer states that he used Jerome's translation of the original, differing from the Vulgate.²⁴ The fourth book of Esdras and the third book of the Maccabees do not appear in this translation; but what is perhaps most noteworthy is the fact that the Psalms, in this edition as well as in all the subsequent ones until those published by the Unity,²⁵ are arranged according to the numbering of the Septuagint.

This was in 1488. The following year another edition of the Bible appeared, this time printed on Kutná hora, hence called the Kutnohorská. The format is small folio, and St. Jerome's preface is prefixed to it.²⁶ In 1506 the most important Bible of the pre-Kralická group came out in Venice. It was the Benatská, which was supposed by some to have been the first printed Czech Bible.²⁷ The reason for this misunderstanding is probably the fact that the 1613 edition of the

24. Quoted in Sabina, *op. cit.*, p. 746.

25. That is, from Psalm 9 to Psalm 147 this edition is one number behind the standard Hebrew text. This is due to certain variations in the manuscripts of the Hebrew and the LXX. The whole matter is pithily and adequately discussed by Henry Barton Swete in An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, revised by Richard Ridsden Ottley (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 239-40.

26. This material, as well as most of that which follows on the pre-Kralická printed Bibles, I have taken over from Elsner, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-8, as well as from his equally antiquated Ver-such einer böhmischen Bibel-Geschichte (Halle, 1765), pp. 18-36.

27. So Comenius in his Historia fratrum Bohemicorum, s. 69.

Kralická lists the Benatská as the first Czech Bible; this view is, however, controverted by a reference in the preface to the Benatská which mentions and criticizes the previous editions. Instrumental in the publication of this version were primarily three citizens of Praha, Jan Hlavsa, Václav Sova, and Buryan Lazar.

The next two editions of the Czech Bible were both published by Pavel Severýn cum gratia et priuilegio regiae majestatis. The first of these was put out in 1529. A section of the preface gives such a good picture of the conditions in the Czech nation at that time that we quote it in full:

Although the Scriptures of the Law of God have been made known to other nations, still by the gift of God Almighty and His special grace, they have been announced to the nation of the Czech tongue more abundantly and with a more perfect understanding of the truth, for frequent reading, hearing, discussion, and meditation in the Law of the Lord. And therefore old and faithful Czechs, learned in the Law of the Lord and gifted by the Lord God with a special understanding of His Word, have heroically defended the faith and the truth of God not only at home among their own people, but also in the midst of foreign nations.

Eight years later, in 1537, the same man printed another edition of the Bible, differing from that of 1529 in that it has summaries in the margin and in the illuminations of the Gospels and Epistles.

Practically every succeeding decade saw a new printing of the Bible. The city of Nürnberg produced the next one in

1540. The publisher was Melichar Roberger, a citizen of that city. Comenius maintains that two Bibles appeared in Nürnberg; and this is quite possible since the Pentateuch was published in the following year apparently intended as the first volume of a projected Bible.

Four Bibles were yet to see the light of day before the Kralická. All four of them owed their existence to a consecrated man, Jiří Melantrých Rožďalovský. On the Thursday before Palm Sunday in the year 1549, a large folio edition of the Czech Bible was dedicated to Maximilian II, who had not as yet, however, been crowned King of Bohemia. Appended to this edition is a description of Paul's missionary journeys with appropriate tables of the approximate years in which the journeys took place. Also appended is a concordance and outline of the Biblical books.

Maximilian II was the recipient of the dedication of the next Bible, which Jiří printed in 1556. In some copies of this edition his name is Jiří Melantrých z Aventyna, and so it appears in subsequent editions. His son-in-law, Samuel Adam of Veleslavin, was responsible for other editions of the Bible later on and may have taken part in the publication of some of these as well. Jiří dedicated his third Bible to Maximilian II, just as he had the other two; this Bible came out in 1570 and was adorned with illuminations.

In his last edition, that of 1577, Jiří pays tribute to his new ruler, Rudolph II; in some copies, the dedication is in Latin, in others in Czech. As Elsner says, "With his four editions of the Holy Bible Melantrich certainly helped his countrymen considerably, and I suppose he had no harm out of it himself. May his memory be blessed among the Czechs."

Such were, then, the translations of the Bible which preceded the Bible of Kralice. For the sake of completeness, it is probably in place at least to list the chief translations of the New Testament alone. The main manuscripts have already been mentioned in our discussion of manuscript Bibles; there remain only the printed New Testaments.²⁸

In the fifteenth century, as we have mentioned, there were two editions of the entire Bible; but the New Testament did not come out separately. In the sixteenth century, however, ten editions of the whole Bible and twenty-one of the New Testament were published. These were the New Testaments of: 1513, 1518, 1525, 1527, 1533 (translated from the Latin of Erasmus' text by Beneš Optat; the most significant of the group because of its later influence), 1534, 1538 (two editions were published this year, one in Nürnberg, one in Praha),

28. These are listed in Elsner, "Zpráva", pp. 12-13, and in his Versuch, pp. 74-81. There is room for an intensive study of the Czech New Testaments which appeared in the sixteenth century before 1564, the date of Blahoslav's great work.

1542 (also based on Erasmus), 1545, 1549, 1555, 1558 (put out by Jiří Melantrých), and 1563.

To one New Testament we should devote special attention, namely, to the translation by Jan Blahoslav in 1564; for not only was it an epochal work in the history of Czech literature, but at the same time it gave an impetus to the translation of the Bible known as the Bible of Kralice, forming essentially its last volume.

Jan Blahoslav was born in Přerov, Moravia, February 27, 1523. After a year at the Latin School of Trozendorf in Silesia, the Unity sent him in 1544 to Wittenberg. Here he attended Luther's lectures; and in later days he spoke of Luther, together with Jan Augusta, called "the Czech Luther", in a laudatory way, saying: "I have never heard two preachers who were so zealous and so much alike in those things." In 1550 he was consecrated, and the Synod of the Unity in 1557 made him bishop. Two years before this he had visited the great theologian, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who was Slavic in origin. In addition to his translation of the New

29. Grammatika, p. 288, quoted by Ján Drobný, "K jubileu Králickej" in Cirkevné Listy, XLIII (1929), p. 258. On Blahoslav and Augusta cf. Otakar Odložilík, "Two Reformation Leaders of the Unitas Fratrum", Church History, IX (1940), 253-63.

30. Jan V. Novák and Arne Novák, Prehledné Dejiny Literatury České (Olomouc, 1922), p. 59. See also Ján Kvačala, "Styky Jednoty Bratov Českých s Flaciom a Laským" in his Viera a Veda (Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, 1911), pp. 241-86. Strangely, W. Preger in his Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit (Erlangen, 1859-1861) does not seem to refer to the incident.

Testament, already mentioned, Blahoslav wrote a grammar of the Czech language as a guide to future translators of the Bible, a "Kancionál" (hymnal), and may have continued the archives of the Unity.

The translation of the New Testament into Czech by Jan Blahoslav is a landmark in Czech history. Previous translations could hardly have been termed adequate; and so, when the representatives of the Unity asked Blahoslav to prepare a new translation, he was willing to do so. It would have been hard to pick a more qualified man. In addition to Luther's translations of the New Testament, with which he no doubt became acquainted while at Wittenberg, Blahoslav knew the work of Erasmus, Beza, Castalio, and others. Castalio he held up as an example because he said "I do not understand this passage" when the meaning of some verse in Scripture was obscure to him.³¹ What Blahoslav liked most about Beza's translation was the latter's very discriminating use of synonyms.³² But probably the greatest single force operating on Blahoslav in his translation of the New Testament was the great Dutch humanist, Erasmus of Rotterdam. His Novum instru-

31. On Castalio (or Castellio) see Alexander Schweizer, Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen in ihrer Entwicklung innerhalb der reformierten Kirche (Zurich, 1854), I, pp. 309-56. From Castalio's Socinian views one should not conclude, however, that Blahoslav held a similar view in his doctrinal position; quite the opposite was in fact the case.

32. For Beza see Schweizer, op. cit., pp. 356-74, where his relation to Castalio's doctrine is taken up in detail.

mentum omne, diligenter ab Erasmo Rot. recognitum et emendatum, published in February of 1516, had created quite a stir in various circles. It influenced Blahoslav's translation of the New Testament; one example for the present: the famous "comma Johanneum" (1 John 5:7), rendered in the Authorized Version as "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one", was rejected in the first edition of Erasmus' text as an obvious later gloss or interpolation.³³ Blahoslav included the text in brackets and added the marginal comment: "This is not in the Greek manuscripts."³⁴

Blahoslav's translation of the New Testament is important for several reasons. For one thing, he introduced in it the versification of Theodore Beza and added succinct comments on the more difficult passages. For Blahoslav the most important book of the New Testament was Paul's Epistle to the Romans, as is evidenced by the fact that this book has the most beautiful illuminations. And, as we have already men-

33. For a discussion of this text see any of the standard editions of the Greek New Testament, such as Westcott-Hort, Nestle, Tischendorf, Weiss sub loco. Cf. also the somewhat negative, but interesting comments of Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Modern Library Edition), II, Ch. 34, notes 115-117.

34. These references by Blahoslav to earlier editors are collected in Josef Šmaha, "Kralická bible, vliv a důležitost její v literatuře české" in Časopis Musea kralovství českého, LII (1905), pp. 253-54.

tioned, the translation by Blahoslav was essentially incorporated into the Kralická as its New Testament.

Of this translation of the New Testament Karafiát says:

It has been maintained that Luther's translation of the Holy Scriptures is inspired, or, to put it in biblical language, that Luther was moved by the Holy Ghost when he translated the Scriptures. Be that as it may. We cannot think of a more qualified man for the translation of the New Testament into Czech in the sixteenth century than our own Blahoslav.³⁵

Blahoslav's New Testament gave the impulse to the Brethren for a complete Bible. But Blahoslav, as though knowing that he was soon to die, devoted his time rather to his grammar, which was to serve as a paragon for further work in the translation of the Bible. The men who finally did supervise and execute the translation of the entire Bible were men of no mean scholarly ability, known outside their native land, and most of them ranking officials of the Unity.

Ondřej (Andrew) Štefan succeeded Blahoslav as bishop of the Unity. At first the task of editing the New Bible fell upon him; but the removal of the Unity's printery from Ivančice, his station, to Kralice, and ultimately his death made others responsible for the task. He died on July 21, 1577, a year after the publication of his memorable Kancionál.

³⁵. Jan Karafiát, Rozbor Kralického Nového zákona co do řeči a překladu (Praha, 1878), p. 41.

After Štefan's death it became the duty of Jan Eneáš, who took his place, to supervise the publication of the Czech Scriptures. Eneáš had studied in Wittenberg 1565-1568 and was bishop of the Unity of Brethren throughout the publication of the Kralická. During his lifetime he also engaged in a controversy about the baptism of children.

In 1578 the Unity moved its printery from Ivančice to Kralice, and Isaiáš Cibulka (Caepolla) received the job of correcting the manuscript and proofs. He, too, had studied at the University of Wittenberg, it is claimed; at least, he had much to do with the publication of the Confessio Bohemica in Wittenberg 1572-1573.

A significant rôle in the translation of the Bible into Czech was taken by Jiří Strýc. He was one of the leaders of the Calvinistic party in the Unity; in keeping with this, he translated the Psalms into metric form suitable for use in the service. Because of the similarity between these Psalms and the translation of the Kralická, it is generally assumed that he was responsible for this as well. Strýc it was who translated into Czech John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, first published in Latin and later in French. Because some of the Brethren accused him of excessive Calvinistic tendencies, he did not append his name to the translation; instead, he merely gave the letter V ("Vetter", which

is the approximate German translation of the Czech word "strýc", meaning practically any male relative).

The influence of wide linguistic training was brought to bear upon the Kralická by Jan Effreim. He had studied at Heidelberg, and was the leading bishop of the Unity 1599-1600. He is said to have been of a very mild disposition, a typical quiet and unassuming scholar.

Also a product of Heidelberg was Jan Capito. He was prominent in the field of practical church work and published a book of sermons ("postilla") in 1586, reprinted in 1615. He died in Třebíč, where he had been pastor, in the year 1589.

Interesting from another point of view is Pavel Jesenský. He was a Slovak, probably some relative of the great rector of the University of Praha, Ján Jesenský. From 1588 he was bishop of the Unity, and he is remembered by contemporary writers as "a great man, powerful in word and in deed, learned, pious, quick to answer, and very eloquent."

Feeling themselves inadequately prepared for so large and responsible a task as translating the Bible, these men called in for consultation and assistance two able scholars. Prominent among them was Mikuláš Albrecht z Kaménka. He was not a member of the Unity, but a Lutheran, having received his degree in theology in 1571 at Wittenberg. He was a historian, an educator, the author of a book of sermons and of

a Kancionál. He did not live to see the publication of the Kralická, for he passed to his reward on July 21, 1577. Of his daughter it is said that she spoke Czech, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew so well that it was difficult to determine which language she knew best; so at least Balbin reports.

The other man whom the Unity called in was Lukáš Helic. He was a Jew and well versed in the language of the Old Testament. He said of himself: "according to the body, a Jew of Jews, but by the grace of God according to faith a Christian through Christ, the Messiah, whom God anointed; brought up in the Unity from the year 1564." Unfortunately, personal difficulties and controversies forced his resignation in 1594.

These men undertook the translation of the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, into Czech. In their translations they naturally employed the work of those who had gone before them, not only the translations into Czech, but the standard versions in other languages as well. They frequently commented on the difference between their rendition of a particular passage and the translation in one or another of the versions.³⁶

What text formed the basis for the translation? For the New Testament, as has already been mentioned, Erasmus' edition

36. The variations are noted and some of them are listed in Šmaha, op. cit., pp. 258-59. It was from Šmaha's article, pp. 255-57, as well as from Drobny, op. cit., pp. 259-60, that I collected the biographical material assembled above.

of the New Testament in Greek with an interlinear Latin translation served as the original; this was, for its time, the best available edition of the Greek New Testament. In the Old Testament, too, a valuable and authoritative edition of the Hebrew was taken as a guide. This was the Antwerp Polyglot, the so-called Biblia regia, which was prepared by Benedict Arius Montanus and other scholars with the support of King Philip II of Spain. It appeared in eight folio volumes from 1569 to 1572. The first four volumes contained the original Hebrew Old Testament, the Vulgate, the Septuagint with a Latin translation, the Chaldean Targums for the entire Old Testament excepting Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. The fifth volume had the New Testament, the Syriac Peshito with a Latin translation, and the Greek text. In the next two volumes there were the Hebrew lexicon of Santes Pagninus, the Syrian-Chaldean lexicon of La Fèvre de la Bodeire, a Syriac grammar by Masisus, a Greek lexicon and grammar, archaeological studies, and much philological and critical material. The Hebrew and Greek originals (not the Apocrypha) with an interlinear Latin version follow. Of this monumental and magnificent work there are still some copies extant, one parchment in the Vatican library, one parchment in the British Museum ³⁷, and one copy in the

37. This material is neatly collected by Eberhard Nestle in the second part of his article "Polyglottenbibeln" in A. Hauck's Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und

Swift Hall library of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, where I had an opportunity to examine it.

Certainly a wealth of material and scholarship! And, as a study of the Kralická shows, the translators used this material to very good advantage in their rendition of the Scriptures. The first volume of the Kralická, containing the Pentateuch, came out in 1579. In spite of the fact that Rudolph II forbade the printing of any more Bibles, the Brethren put out Volume II (Joshua to Esther) the following year. A year later, in 1581, the third volume appeared; in it were the so-called poetical books, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastices, and the Song of Songs. Because of Cibulka's premature death on August 24, 1582, the fourth volume, which completed the Old Testament, did not see the light of day until 1587. The Apocrypha appeared as the fifth volume in 1588. ³⁸ With the publication of the New Testament in 1593, the Šestidílka (šest, six; dílo, volume) was completed.

Kirche (Leipzig, 1904), XV, pp. 531-32. See also his Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament (Göttingen, 1897), pp. 10-11, as well as Gregory, op. cit., III, pp. 215-16.

38. The Apocrypha have always been held in high regard among the Czechs, as indeed wherever the conservative Reformation held sway. With Luther, the Brethren regarded the Apocrypha as "books which are not to be regarded as equal to the Holy Scriptures, but which are still useful and good reading." It was only the Council of Trent which in its Fourth Session on April 18, 1546, declared them to be equal with the canonical books.

This monument of pious devotion and theological scholarship was the climax of the evolution of the Czech Bible. It was a great distance away from the slavish renderings of the Vulgate which had begun that evolution. But one thing was the same: the love of the Scriptures and the desire for as clear an understanding of them as possible which motivated all the translations.

Much more could be said about the Kralická; some little will yet be said. But here we would quote the preface to the Šestidílka, for the sake of completeness as well as to illustrate the spirit of the men to whose zeal the Czechoslovak nation owes such a debt for the Bible of Kralice. This is a
39
part of the preface:

To the priests and principals of the people of God, to those who serve God among His people in the Czech tongue, Greetings.

Since all the activity of faithful servants of the Church, of the Brethren, and of the Lord's servants should be governed by the certain will of God revealed in His Word, there is a necessity for a text of the Holy Scriptures so interpreted and translated that it is understandable. This has been the concern of many for a long time, to translate and publish the books of the Law of God for universal use in our Czech tongue as well as possible; at this task one after another has worked, as God has granted His gifts.

39. Quoted by Josef Růžička in the "Předmluva" to the 1863 edition of the Czech Bible, pp. xiii-xiv. The same "Předmluva" was reprinted in Církevní Listy, I (1864).

But when God called us to the pastoral office and placed us in His Church, the desire was often expressed that we do what we can; considering it a matter obligatory for us and useful to others, we addressed ourselves to the task and, selecting capable men from our midst, we committed the translation of the Holy Scriptures to them. Taking this upon themselves for the glory of God and the betterment of their neighbor, they have worked faithfully and to the best of their ability; and God has blessed their work....

And we dedicate this work of ours first of all to the glory and honor of the wise and eternal God Himself, who has selected us as His servants and has committed unto us His Word of reconciliation....

The blessing of God be upon all things---this we wish you and all pious people who may come to use this our work. And thus we commit ourselves and you and all creation to the continued grace and protection of God.

II. With Other Translations Diligently Compared.

"There are but few nations which may hear the holy prophets and apostles speak so truly, pitifully, and clearly in their own language."

- Comenius.

An entirely adequate translation of any piece of literature is probably impossible. "Traduttori traditori"---translators are traitors---says an Italian proverb. And to some extent this is true. More and more people are finding this out today as they are forced to work in two or more tongues.

Especially does this axiom apply to any masterpiece; for in a work like Faust or Hamlet, charged with emotion and with thought content, difficulties present themselves which do not in the same degree confront a person who wants to translate Caesar's De Bello Gallico. Determining the meaning of a passage in Goethe's Faust and then rendering it in English is no easy task, as anyone who has tried it can testify.

But the most difficult book of all to translate is the Bible. There are various reasons for this. The faith that the Bible mediates God's revelation to men will prompt a person, on the one hand, to expend every effort toward ascertaining the real meaning of the sacred text and toward rendering that meaning as faithfully as possible in his own language.

On the other hand, however, his own religious ideas will play a greater part in his work than if he were translating Homer or Hesiod.

Yet another factor comes into consideration; it was expressed by the apostle in the words, "we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." In other words, the truths expressed in the Word are transcendent; and as a result, any attempt to express them in the terms of human speech must of necessity fall short of perfection.

Nevertheless, men have tried to translate the Bible, with varying degrees of success. The degree of success is proportionate to the extent to which the translators overcame the difficulties of Bible translation. And so a presentation of these difficulties, with illustrations from the standard translations and from the Kralická, should serve to bring out the character and quality of the Bible of Kralice.

For the purposes of this study I have compared the Kralická with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, Luther's translation,¹ and the Authorized Version.

1. I am fortunate in having at my disposal the Polyglotten-bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch, edited by R. Stier and K. G. W. Theile (Leipzig, 1875-1893). It contains the original text of the whole Bible (in the New Testament the Textus Receptus of Erasmus), plus the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and Luther's translation in parallel columns.

What difficulties confront a prospective translator of the Bible? The first is the problem of determining the text of the original; this is the textual or lower criticism of the Bible. For the translators of the Kralická, this problem was virtually non-existent, since they by and large adopted the readings given in Erasmus' editions of the New Testament.

But even when one has what he thinks is the true original text, he is still far from a translation. A translation of the Bible from the original presents essentially two difficulties, or, rather, two groups of difficulties: determining the meaning of the original, and rendering that meaning as adequately as possible.

It is not at all simple to determine the true meaning of a Hebrew or Greek passage. First, one must find out for himself what the individual words mean, a task in itself. It is, of course, an easy matter to go to a lexicon or dictionary and to find there the "meaning" of a word; but this is only the meaning as a particular authority sees it, and authorities are noted for their variations.

Some words in the Bible simply defy the lexicographer. One outstanding example is the famous פִּזְזוּ ; it occurs 73 times in the Psalms, and also in Habakkuk 3:3,9,13. Still it is virtually impossible to fix its real meaning. The LXX translated it $\Delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$, "a variation of the voice"; Jerome

did not even bother to do anything with it. The Kralická, with Luther and the A. V., simply transliterates "Selah."

More serious and significant are the words לִינְשׁוּ and $\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$. The Hebrew לִינְשׁוּ has always been a puzzle to translators, and no two of them render it alike. In the LXX, לִינְשׁוּ is generally translated $\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$, "the abode of the dead." The Vulgate, too, is rather consistent in rendering "inferni", the only variation being that sometimes the singular "infernus" appears. But apparently the translators of the Authorized Version did not interpret לִינְשׁוּ in the same way that Luther did in each case; and the Kralická disagrees with both of them. The word occurs 65 times in the Old Testament; and Luther translated it "Hölle" in all but four places: Gen. 37:35; 42:38; 44:29, 31, where the translation "Grube" occurs. The translators of our English Bible, whether for theological or grammatical reasons, translate לִינְשׁוּ as "hell" in 31 passages² and as "grave" in 31 passages³, the remaining three instances being rendered as "pit".⁴

2. Deut. 32:22; 2 Sam. 22:6; Job 11:8; 26:6; Ps. 9:17; 16:10; 18:5; 55:15; 86:13; 116:3; 139:8; Prov. 5:5; 7:27; 9:18; 15:11; 15:24; 23:14; 27:20; Is. 5:14; 14:9; 14:15; 28:15; 57:9; Eze. 31:16; 31:17; 32:21; 32:27; Amos 9:2; Jon. 2:2; Hab. 2:5.

3. Gen. 37:35; 42:38; 44:29; 44:31; 1 Sam. 2:6; 1 Kings 2:6; 2:9; Job 7:9; 14:13; 17:13; 21:13; 24:19; Ps. 6:5; 30:3; 31:17; 49:14 (twice); 49:15; 88:3; 89:48; 141:7; Pro. 1:12; 30:16; Ecc. 9:10; Song of Songs 8:6; Is. 14:11; 38:10; 38:18; Eze. 31:15; Hos. 13:14 (twice).

4. Num. 16:30; 16:33; Job 17:16.

And the Kralická presents an interesting set of variations from any of the other translations. ⁵ לִינְשׁ is translated "hrob" ("grave") in 45 instances; it appears as "peklo" ("hell") in 17 passages. ⁶ The remaining three are divided between "jáma" ("pit") ⁷ and "propast", a word translated best as "abyss". ⁸ Even a cursory examination of these lists reveals that the translators of the A. V. and the translators of the Bible of Kralice disagree on the meaning of לִינְשׁ in many passages; it is not easy---in fact, our own study would tend to regard it as impossible---to determine what principles the various translators followed in laying down the signification of the Hebrew word לִינְשׁ. Two generalizations may, however, be drawn. For one thing, both versions translate the word לִינְשׁ as either "grave" or "hell" in all but three instances; but the instances are entirely different. Again, while the A. V. varies between "hell" and "grave" in that beautiful and crucial

5. Gen. 37:35; 42:38; 44:29; 44:31; 1 Sam. 2:6; 2 Sam. 22:6; 1 Kings 2:6; 2:9; Job 7:9; 14:13; 17:6; 17:13; 21:13; 24:19; Ps. 6:5; 18:5; 31:17; 49:14 (twice); 49:15; 55:15; 88:3; 89:48; 116:3; 139:8; 141:7; Prov. 1:12; 5:5; 7:27; 9:18; 23:14; Ecc. 9:10; Song of Songs 8:6; Is. 38:10; 38:18; 57:9; Eze. 31:15; 31:16; 31:17; 32:21; 32:27; Hos. 13:14 (twice); Amos 9:2; Jon. 2:2.

6. Num. 16:30; 16:33; Deut. 32:22; Job 11:8; Ps. 9:17; 16:10; 30:3; Prov. 15:11; 15:24; 30:16; Is. 5:14; 14:9; 14:11; 14:15; 28:15; 28:18; Hab. 2:5.

7. Ps. 86:13.

8. Job 26:6; Prov. 27:20. It is interesting to note that the word "propast" is used in Gen. 1:2 to translate the Hebrew word ¹ תְּהוֹמֹת.

passage, Ezekiel 31:15-17, the Kralická consistently renders "hrob" throughout the Book of Ezekiel.

Examples could be multiplied almost without end, but this should suffice to demonstrate the difficulty which inheres in translating certain words about which so little can be determined. Also in this class are the ἅπαντα ἃ λεγόμενα. These cause special difficulty in the Old Testament, since its 39 books constitute practically the entire body of classical Hebrew literature, whereas for the New Testament we have the whole body of papyrus literature for lexicographical substantiation. But even in the New Testament the difficulty appears, as in the case of ἑπιούσιος, which appears only in the Fourth Petition of the Lord's Prayer. It has evoked an enormous literature, but the results of all investigation still tend to leave one unsatisfied. On its meaning two of our translations agree; Luther translates "täglich" and the A. V. "daily." Probably the most curious translation of all is Jerome's "supersubstantialem" in Matt. 6:11, a translation which someone has aptly termed a "metaphysical monstrosity." In the parallel passage, Luke 11:3, the Vulgate has "quotidia-

9. Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart, 1935), III, pp. 587-95, spends a great deal of paper, ink, and footnotes on ἑπιούσιος and still leaves the reader questioning. See also John Theodore Mueller, "Ho Artos ho Epiousios", Theological Quarterly, XXII (1918), pp. 25-43.

num", which is the approximate equivalent of Luther and the A. V. The Bible of Kralice translates ἑπιούσιος "vezdej-šf", which means "present", "of this place and time."

The difficulty of determining the meaning of a word is further complicated by other influences upon the New Testament vocabulary. Without entering upon the very moot question of how much the vocabulary of contemporary philosophy affected the words used in the New Testament, we may quite safely define two peculiarities of New Testament vocabulary, peculiarities which must be taken into consideration:

The Greeks became Christians on Hebrew ground. Now there are many peculiarities in every language, locally peculiar dialects in the broadest sense, chronologically peculiar periods of language. In each the language is different....When a spiritual development manifests itself in a people, there is also a linguistic development....But the new Christian spirit appears in the New Testament in a mixture of language, in which the Hebrew is the stem.... and the Greek is grafted on.¹⁰

These two peculiarities are the influence of the Hebrew upon the vocabulary of the New Testament, through the LXX and colloquial provincial Greek, and what Schleiermacher termed "die sprachbildende Kraft des Christentums."¹¹ But since these peculiarities bear more upon the exegesis of a word than upon its translation---though, as we shall see, the line is not

10. Friedrich Schleiermacher, Hermeneutik und Kritik mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Neue Testament, edited by F. Luecke (Berlin, 1838), pp. 27-28.

11. Ibid., p. 68.

clearly drawn---we need not discuss them at any length in this connection; we have listed them merely to emphasize the problems involved.

But even when one has determined what the words of a passage mean, even when he has arrived at what he believes is the meaning of the entire passage, he still has a great task ahead of him. He must now render that meaning in his own language so as to convey, as accurately as possible, the sense of the passage to his readers. It is here that the real crux of translating appears. Although a detailed analysis of the problem is impossible within the limits of this monograph, we would touch upon a few aspects of the question in order thereby to bring out the quality and character of the Kralická.¹²

One difficulty which the translator must face is the reproduction of the concept expressed by one word with a word in another language. It lies within the essential nature of every language that it is, to a greater or lesser degree, what Klopstock called "gesondert, ungemischt und nur sich selber gleich." This is seen both in vocabulary and in grammar.

12. Archbishop Trench has an excellent and illustrative essay on the subject, "On the Necessary Inferiority of Translations to their Originals" in his On the Authorized Version of the New Testament (New York, 1873), pp. 13-30. For examples, see also Flora Ross Amos, Early Theories of Translation (New York, 1920), II "The Translation of the Bible", pp. 49-78.

One who deals with words must avoid two extremes if he is to produce an accurate translation. On the one hand, he must avoid an absolutely literal translation which reproduces the letter or the etymology of the Greek or Hebrew word rather than its meaning. He must heed the warning of Horace: "Do not render word for word as a slavish translator."¹³ Examples of this border on the ridiculous. We have already mentioned Jerome's translation of ἑπιδουβλοῦν in Matt. 6:11, where the meaningless "supersubstantialem" appears. The story of the German school-boy who translated Cicero's "patres conscripti" as "zusammengeschriebene Väter" is another case in point.

Not as funny are literal translations of the Bible; for by obscuring the words, they obscure the Word of God. Of such literalisms the Kralická is remarkably free, while there are many passages in which the Kralická's translation is much more faithful to the original text than the other standard translations.

For example, the Czech Bible is as a rule more accurate in translating the tenses of a verb than the other versions. In all fairness it must be stated that this is usually due to the peculiarities of the language rather than to the inaccuracy of the other translators.

13. "Nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
interpres."

De Arte Poetica, lines 133-34.

It is nevertheless true that the language in which the Bible of Kralice is couched expresses more accurately and exactly the niceties and nuances of the original tenses. A few pertinent passages may illustrate this point. In Matt. 5:2, for instance, we read in the A.V. that Jesus "opened His mouth, and taught them...." Then follows the Sermon on the Mount. But this action of teaching was a continuous one, one that probably went on for several hours. This is brought out by the Greek imperfect used here, for the imperfect "throws linear action into the past."¹⁴ The Vulgate indeed has "docebat", an imperfect; but the A. V. renders simply "taught", and Luther "lehrete", though neither form does justice to the original. But the Kralická translates "učil", something like our English "was teaching."

We would touch briefly on four more passages in the New Testament in which the Kralická's rendition of the verb-forms corresponds more accurately to the original than do the other translations. Three of them can be grouped: Matt. 3:14; Luke 1:59; Acts 7:26. In each of these the Greek has an imperfect the loss of which in the A. V. detracts much from the color of the passage. But in each the Kralická translates: "was forbidding", "they were calling", "was reconciling them."

14. J. H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Prolegomena (London, 1908), p. 128.

In each of these three passages, however, the Vulgate, too, has to a certain extent captured the original sense with its imperfect. But in a passage like Luke 11:3, the Kralická stands alone among the versions. The sense of the passage is not "Give us day by day our daily bread", as our Authorized Version translates; but the $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$ in Greek means "continue to give, give over and over again." Here the Kralická has the form "dávej", as opposed to "dej" in Matt. 6:11, where the Greek $\delta\acute{o}\varsigma$ means "give." Jerome makes no distinction, in both cases translating "da."

How did the translators of the Kralická manage to get the sense of the original Greek so well? For one thing, as we mentioned in the previous chapter, Jan Blahoslav was an able Greek scholar. But there is another reason, namely, the language itself. In English, as in Latin and German, there are but six tenses. And although in each some distinction is made between imperfect and perfect, there simply is no way of showing the fine difference between aorist and imperfect which exists even in the Koiné Greek of the New Testament.

This difference exists in the language of the Kralická, but in a peculiar way. In addition to tenses, the Slavic languages, and particularly the Czechoslovak in which the Kralická is written, have so-called aspects ("vidy"). The

concept of "aspects" is extremely difficult to explain in a language which does not have them. Jopson has done as satisfactory a job as any:¹⁵

All verbs fall into two great divisions, imperfective, which express the continuance of an action, and perfective, which express the points of beginning or ending. The continuance of an action may be unbroken or may consist in a succession of like acts. Accordingly, imperfective verbs are divided into durative and iterative, and again the repeated acts expressed by the iterative can either, each of them, be momentaneous, or each have some continuance, or can even express the occasional repetition of groups of momentaneous actions.

These categories correspond as closely to the Greek imperfect tense as they could without having been drawn from them--- though that is not impossible, either. When one recalls Moulton's graph of the durative (_____) and the iterative (.....) in New Testament Greek, he will appreciate the degree of accuracy to which the Kralická could render the Greek imperfect.¹⁶

Conversely, too, the Czechoslovak language is suited for Bible translation. The converse of the Greek imperfect is the Greek aorist, which expresses a concept similar to

15. N. B. Jopson, "Slavonic Languages" in Encyclopedia Britannica (14th Ed.), XX, p. 788. For further discussion see Fr. Miklosich, Das Imperfect in den slavischen Sprachen (Vienna, 1874); and Wenzel Vondrák, Vergleichende slavische Grammatik, II (Göttingen, 1908), pp. 184-90, "Aktionsarten des slav. Verbuns."

16. Moulton, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

that suggested by the Slavonic perfective aspect, well defined
 17
 in Jopson's summary:

Among perfective verbs we have (1) momentaneous, expressing action which has no continuance, (2) finitive, expressing not the continuance of the action, though there has been that, but its end or completion, and (3) ingressive, expressing the moment of beginning an action.

And in Greek there are aorists which express approximately the same idea; for example, "βὰ λείν may mean 'throw' (con-
 18
 stative), 'let fly' (ingressive) or 'hit' (effective)."

A passage illustrative of this relationship and of the connection between the aorist and the imperfect is Mark 12: 41-44, a passage to which President Burton has already called
 19
 attention. Here Mark describes how many were throwing (he uses the imperfect εἶβον) money into the collection-box; appropriately the Kralická renders "metali", a verb in the past tense and imperfective aspect. But in the next verse, referring to the widow, Mark uses the aorist εἶβεν, and the Kralická uses the perfective verb "vrhla." Thus the full

17. Jopson, loc. cit.

18. A. T. Robertson, A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research (Fifth Ed.; New York, 1931), p. 834. In spite of his detailed argument about terms, one can understand from Robertson's discussion of the uses of the aorist (pp. 831-35) that the "constative" is equivalent to the "momentaneous" aspect of the Czech verb, the "effective" to the "finitive", and the "ingressive" to the "ingressive".

19. Ernest Dewitt Burton, Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in New Testament Greek (Third Ed.; Chicago, 1923), p. 30.

significance of the passage comes to light; for while the many were going to and fro making much of their giving, the widow very simply cast her mite into the box.

Thus far we have been speaking mainly of the New Testament. But the peculiar nature of the Czech tenses has a direct bearing on the Old Testament, too; in fact, it is here that the aspects really assert themselves. For, in reality, Hebrew has no tenses in the strict sense of the word. The so-called Hebrew "tenses", the perfect and the imperfect, are actually aspects. "The Hebrew (Semitic) Perfect indicates, in general, that which is completed, finished, and gone, that which has happened and become....The Imperfect, on the other hand, describes that which is in the process of happening, which is not completed and which continues, that which is going on...."²⁰ A rather striking parallel!

From all of this it is evident that the Kralická could be and was faithful in reproducing the tenses of the Scriptures without being literal. But in another respect the Kralická is of necessity a disappointment: it has no definite article. In the last few years a great deal of emphasis has been laid on the use of the definite article, particularly in

20. Wilhelm Gesenius, Hebräische Grammatik, edited by E. Rödiger, re-edited by E. Kautzsch (23rd Ed.; Leipzig, 1881), p. 103, note 1.

the New Testament; and there can be no denying that a thorough understanding of the article and of its implications lends much to a grasp of the text.

But the language in which the Kralická was written has no article, and so it loses much of the flavor in the original.²¹ And yet fairness demands that we examine the other versions before forming a definite opinion. Here a rather surprising and perplexing situation confronts us: Jerome was in the same predicament as the translators of the Kralická; and the other two versions of the New Testament involved in our study, the A. V. and Luther's translation, often failed to capture the significance of the Greek article.

A few examples. One of the most challenging passages in the New Testament as far as the use of the article in concerned is Romans 16:17. Prof. Robertson has pointed out how well the various articles "come in and illustrate the three uses of the article."²² And yet what do our versions reveal? Neither Luther's "die da Zertrennung und Aergernisz anrichten" nor the "which cause divisions and offenses" in the A. V. does justice to the force of the articles before "divisions" and before "offences." Thus in many places, the versions which

21. All the tremendous research of Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 754-96, would thus appear to be wasted in any analysis of the Bible of Kralice.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 758.

could have employed the article to good advantage failed to do so; in the case of the A. V., this situation was partially corrected by the revision of 1881.

From the evidence and examples presented, necessarily scanty though they were, it should be quite clear that although the translators of the Kralická were hampered in any attempt to reproduce the meaning of a word by a lack of the definite article, they made up for it with their accurate reproduction of the tenses. And, as has already been mentioned, there are few outstanding examples in the Kralická of the over-literal translations which mar and mark the LXX and Vulgate.

Luther is never too literal either. In fact, if he erred in any direction in translating the Bible, it was in the direction of over-paraphrasing. This is the other great danger in reproducing the meaning of a Scripture-passage. It is graphically demonstrated in the early Christian writers, who very often applied the words of Greek metaphysics to the concepts of Christian thought---a wholly understandable phenomenon in view of the fact that Christianity was very young and that Christians were, in a very literal way, at a loss for words.

But the translators of the Bible into Czech did not face this problem. In their country Christianity had completely established itself, and they had all the terminology they needed. On the other hand, they were still face to face with

the danger of over-paraphrasing entire passages in their translation. Of this Luther was accused even during his lifetime; and in his "Von Ursachen des Dolmetschens" he defends the principle that the words should serve the sense, not the sense the words. It is not for us here to discuss whether he was justified in inserting "allein" in Rom. 3:28.²³ We would merely compare the Kralická and Luther's translation, on the basis of several representative passages, in an effort to determine what principles the translators of the Kralická followed.

There are, first of all, notably two Old Testament passages in the translation of which Luther's theology played a great part.²⁴ They are Gen. 4:1 and 2 Sam. 7:19. The first of these is the famous expression of Eve's messianic consciousness: "I have gotten a man (from) the Lord." The word בְּ , which precedes the divine name in this passage, can be either a preposition meaning "with" or "by the help of", or it can be simply the sign of the definite object accusative. Luther took it as the latter and treated the passage as a direct reference to the deity of the Messiah. The translators of the

23. Cf. "Von Ursachen des Dolmetschens" in his Sämtliche Schriften (Saint Louis Edition), IV, 124-37; see also "Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen", XIX, 968-82.

24. See M. Reu, Luther's German Bible (Columbus, 1934), p. 249. There is a summary of Luther's theory of translation in Georg Wilhelm Hopf, Würdigung der Luther'schen Bibelverdeutschung (Nurnberg, 1847), pp. 75-98, "Luther's Grundsätze vom Dolmetschen."

Kralická translate it with a preposition "na", meaning originally "upon", but here probably in a causative sense. With this interpretation and rendition the LXX (ἐπί), the Vulgate ("per"), and the A. V. ("from") agree.

In the same category belongs 2 Sam. 7:19: "Is that the manner of man, O Lord God?" From this translation the versions all dissent, each in a somewhat different way. Most literal of them is the Vulgate, which translates אָדָם with "lex Adam" and makes the clause declarative instead of interrogative as the A. V. does. The LXX, too, maintains the declarative form and the literal translation of אָדָם with νόμος. Again referring to the natures of the person of Christ, Luther translates the entire passage: "Das ist die Weise eines Menschen, der Gott der Herr ist." And, finally, the Kralická has: "...ješto jest to povaha lidská, Panovníče Hospodine." The word "povaha" means "nature" or "character"; and "Panovníče Hospodine" is vocative. Apparently, the translators of the Kralická in both passages preferred to retain a conservative interpretation.

So, too, in the famous Romans 3:28. Where Luther felt that the force of Paul's argumentation demanded the insertion of the word "allein", the Kralická, with the A. V., left the text as is. This does not mean at all that the Brethren did not accept the doctrine of justification by faith alone, with-

out the deeds of the law; they did. It was apparently only to keep peace that they preferred to leave the texts as they stood.

Such an observation would receive further corroboration from the way the translators handled passages of less import. A very interesting passage in this connection is Isaiah 9:6, where the names of the Messiah are listed. But how many names are there? Counting "Wonderful" as the first, the LXX, Luther, and the Kralická list six, while the Vulgate and the A. V. have only five. The latter combine לֵוִי and לֵוִי אֱלֹהֵי . Luther separates them and translates לֵוִי as "Kraft." But the Kralická translates לֵוִי as "Bůh silný", "the mighty God." This translation is in keeping with the original meaning of לֵוִי, namely, "one of strength." But then the Kralická adds "Rek udatný", "the valiant Hero." Of course, "udatný" is now in italics, indicating that it is not in the Hebrew text; and "Rek" is the approximate equivalent of לֵוִי אֱלֹהֵי.

25. They taught this doctrine throughout the century in which the Kralická was produced. Thus in the Confessio Bohemica of 1535 they had confessed: "They continue to teach that men are justified before God alone by faith or trust in Jesus Christ, without any efforts, merit or works of their own." And in the Confessio Bohemica of 1575, just four years before the Kralicka was begun, they stated that "our justification before God is thus placed solely in Christ the Lord and is accepted by faith alone." The Confessio Bohemica of 1535 and that of 1575 are found in H. A. Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum (Leipzig, 1840); these passages are on p. 794 and p. 831 respectively. Of the doctrinal content of the Kralická, particularly of the Lord's Supper, we shall have more to say in the next chapter.

Nevertheless, this passage serves to illustrate what appears to be a safe conclusion: that the Brethren who translated the Bible of Kralice clung to the original phrasing of the text when it seemed that a paraphrase might cause trouble; and that they paraphrased when the text seemed to demand it. Such a principle would also be in keeping with the irenic, evangelical spirit which characterized the Unity of Bohemian Brethren.

This has been an attempt to present a few salient facts and representative and interesting examples of the translation in the Bible of Kralice. It makes no claim to completeness. Because the translators of the Kralická left behind no abstract discussion of hermeneutical or lexicographical principles, it was necessary to formulate some such principles on the basis of their results, always a dangerous operation.

Still and all, it has been the purpose of this discussion to present the character of the translation in the Bible of Kralice as the human document which it is and to compare it with the translations familiar to most biblical scholars. Like the translation, the discussion is a product of men's research; perhaps the two will complement each other.

III. Theology in the Kralická.

"It contains a great many of those things which the learned coryphaei of exegesis of our time have offered the world as their own great discoveries and which the world praises with wonder and astonishment."

- Šafařík.

In the preceding chapter we have endeavored to bring out the fact that the translators of the Bible of Kralice preferred not to insert their theological views into the translation of the Bible. In any passage where they might be accused of eisegesis, they took a neutral stand.

But this does not mean that their theological views did not find expression in their translation. Quite the opposite is the case. But instead of translating the words to keep with their theology, they employed the time-honored method of glosses, or marginal notes.¹ In the annotated New Testament of the Bible of Kralice there is an interesting combination of theological views. For it appeared at a time when the Unitas Fratrum was seething with theological conflict,

1. The idea had already appeared among the Greeks, who worked up annotated texts of Homer, Aristophanes etc. The Jews, too, had an elaborate system of glosses on the Old Testament; and the patristic notes very often give us a deep insight into the theology of the Christian church fathers. Cf. Erich Klostermann's article, "Glossen, Glosseme, Glos-sarien, biblische und kirchliche" in Hauck's Realenzyklopädie (Leipzig, 1899), VI, pp. 709-15.

a time when the different trends in the theology of the Brethren were being subjected to critical re-examination. For a proper understanding of the theology in the Kralická, it will be necessary to recapitulate a bit at this point and to trace, in brief outline, the several movements in Czech religious thought which find expression in the Bible of Kralice.

We must, of course, begin with John Hus, who died on July 6, 1415. He was burned at the stake by the Council of Constance for holding and teaching "false doctrine." The circumstances surrounding his death, the part which Jerome of Prague played in the whole affair, the broken oath of Sigismund---these topics, interesting though they are, we shall not treat here. We would, however, call attention to two facts, so aptly put by Palacký:²

There is hardly any doubt that if Hus and Jerome had been condemned not to burning, but even only to life imprisonment, Hussitism in Bohemia would never have been of such great proportions; it would have, it seems to me, restricted itself to a part of the more educated populace, like Wycliffism in England, but it would have concerned the common people little. It is, of course, a certainty that the Czech nation took up arms later on not so much on account of its two executed masters as rather for other reasons; but it is none the less certain that war would never have resulted if it had retained its original respect for the congregation and the ecclesiastical authorities in general. But of this respect the common people rid themselves.

2. František Palacký, Dějiny Národu Českého, Book XI, Article 5.

Thus was precipitated the Hussite movement, which was to tear Bohemia for a century to come. For the country was not religiously united either during Hus' lifetime or after his death. There were, essentially, three important religious groups in Bohemia during the sixteenth century.

First of all there were the Roman Catholics---either such as had never embraced Hussitism or had, usually under pressure, forsaken it. They were, of course, supported by Emperor Sigismund and, in general, by the German populace.³ For although it must be admitted that the Czechs in too many cases came to regard "German" and "Roman Catholic" as synonymous and made the religious issue a national one, it is equally true that "Czech" were too often carelessly equated. The strongly pro-Catholic leanings of the Germans in Bohemia at that time are apparent also from the emigration of the German students from Charles University in Prague in the year 1409.⁴

3. This fact, usually forgotten or glossed over by German historians, is, interestingly enough, attested to by Luther himself: "And if it must happen to you, as it happened to us Germans, when we also began to break the peace against Saint John Hus, and waged war against the Bohemians..." He spoke these words in 1530 in his "Warnunge D. Martini Luther an seine lieben Deudschen", St. L. XVI, 1630.

4. This was the occasion for the founding of the University of Leipzig. Cf., among others, David S. Schaff, John Hus (New York, 1915), pp. 79-84. See Friedrich Zarncke, Die urkundlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität Leipzig (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 534, for a reference to the "Condemnatio articularum Wicief et Hus", written sometime in 1427.

Opposed to the Roman Catholics were the Hussites, but these were not united in their opposition. "All were, of course, agreed to fight the antichristian element in Catholicism, according to the pattern of Hus. But since after his death there was no capable, wise, and qualified leader who would have held the excited nation within certain bounds of order, it came about that parties arose which were not only different from one another, but also raged one against the other."⁵ Of these Hussites, only two groups are pertinent to our discussion:

The Utraquists. As their name indicates, this sect advocated the administration of the Lord's Supper sub utraque specie, both the bread and the wine, to the laity. They never denied the authority of the Roman Church; and when the so-called Compact of 1433 granted the chalice to the laity,⁶ they felt that a reconciliation had come about.

5. Johann Theophilus Elsner, Martyrologium Bohemicum (Berlin, 1766), p. 54.

6. Christian Adolph Peschek quotes an excerpt from a decree of the Council of Basel under the date, June 4, 1437, as follows: "Whereas such unity has been attained regarding the communion in both kinds, that the Bohemians and Moravians, who accept ecclesiastical unity and are really at one with the Church in all things, in faith, in usages, except communion in both kinds, be it resolved: that they may keep the use of communing in both kinds, with the permission of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Church, His true Bride." Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen (Leipzig, 1850), pp. 25-26. Cf. the entire "Compendiosa Enarratio quomodo Bohemi vocati productique sint ad Basileensem synodum oecumenicam, & quid illic egerint" in J. D. Mansi (ed.), Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio, XXVIII (Venice, 1785), 1173-86.

As a result of the unrest which this concession had caused, Pope Pius II---Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who had been in Bohemia for a while---in a two-hour oration revoked the decree of the Council of Basel, listing five reasons.⁷

But there were many among the Czechs who were dissatisfied with both Catholicism and Utraquism. Such a man was, for instance, Řehoř (Gregory), who is often called the founder of the Unitas Fratrum. In 1459 the Unity convened at Kunwald and accepted the following resolution as its charter: "Forsaking all other writings, let the Law of God suffice and believe it purely; if, however, some writing appears to someone to be close to the truth, it should not be read without the investigation and approval of the elders."⁸ A discussion of the primitive theology of the Unity would be interesting, but would lead us too far afield at this point; it will be alluded to in the subsequent discussion. Suffice to list at this point what Palacký considers the three chief characteristics of the Unity: that it always paid more attention to life than to Christian doctrine; that in it piety and reason always appeared in inseparable co-operation; and that from the very

7. Cf. the discussion of this whole matter by the Roman Catholic scholar, Ludwig Pastor: History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, Translated from the German by Dom Ernest Graf, O. S. B. (London and St. Louis, 1907-38), III, 228-29 and passim.

8. Palacký, op. cit., Book XIV, Article 7.

beginning there was accepted the possibility of change in its doctrinal views.⁸

All three of these characteristics come into consideration in the next influence upon the theology of the Unity, the work of Martin Luther. After coming to a realization at Leipzig in 1519 that he was defending many of the principles for which Hus had stood and died, Luther had many pleasant and some unpleasant contacts with the followers of Hus, both with the Utraquists and with the Unity.⁹ But his contacts with the Unity were somewhat embittered by their insistence upon a more rigid discipline than the Lutheran Church had at that time. Then, too, the place assigned to reason in Christian thought by the Unity did not meet with Luther's approval.¹⁰ And, finally, the willingness of the Unity to change its doctrinal stand found expression in later confes-

8. Ibidem.

9. In my doctoral dissertation on "Luther and the Confessio Bohemica of 1535" the first chapter is devoted to "Luther and Hus", and the second to "Luther and the Unity". Much of what follows is more thoroughly discussed there.

10. Already in 1518 Luther had spoken of "our confused neighbors, the Bohemians, that suffering and pitiable nation which has entered the Scriptures with its clear reason and sees all things except understanding." "Auslegung des 109. (110.) Psalms", Saint Louis V, 900. Later on, in his negotiations with the Unity, Luther touched on this principle again. Four centuries later T. G. Masaryk wrote: "Palacký agrees with Brother Lukáš, who defended (against Luther) the right of reason in the interpretation of Scripture, too." Světová Revoluce (Praha, 1925), p. 590.

sions of the Unity, notably the Confessio Bohemica of 1535. Of this confession, as well as of Luther's influence, more will be said in the latter part of this chapter.

One more influence upon the Unity's teachings must be reckoned with, namely, that of John Calvin and of the movement which he founded. The two points on which the Unity had disagreed with Luther---the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and the question of church discipline---found satisfaction at Calvin's hands. The results of this friendly relation are evident from the lists of translators mentioned in a previous connection. Stryč had translated Calvin's Institutes into Czech. Effreim had studied at Heidelberg, and so had Capito. Moreover, Capito had been a member of the party from the Unity which visited with Calvin in Strassburg in 1540.¹¹ John Augusta carried on a correspondence with Calvin, as did Matthew Červenka; these letters, too, indicate the degree of intimacy between them.¹² This intimacy with Calvinism was sealed by Budovec of Budova.¹³

As we have mentioned, all these theological movements---Romanism, Hussitism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism---meet in the

11. Georg Lösche, Luther, Melanchthon und Calvin in Oesterreich-Ungarn (Tübingen, 1909), p. 195. The whole relation of Calvin to the Unity is discussed on pp. 193-211.

12. See the letter sent by Augusta on June 29, 1541, in Corpus Reformatorum, XI, 244-48; and the letter sent by Červenka in 1549, ibid., XX, 395-97.

13. On his activity cf. Lösche, op. cit., pp. 211-17.

theology of the Kralická; each has left its mark on the glosses which the Kralická contains. And so it will be both interesting and instructive to review the interpretation of the New Testament as found in these glosses¹⁴ and to compare it with the teachings of other religious trends: with the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, as found in the decrees and canons of the Council of Trent;¹⁵ with the thought of Hus as well as with the Confessio Bohemica of 1535 and that of 1575;¹⁶ with Luther's own glosses on the New Testament from 1522, 1524, and 1546, plus the Concordia of the Lutheran Church from 1580;¹⁷ and, finally, with Calvin's Geneva Catechism¹⁸ and the Second Helvetic Confession of 1567.

Constructing a complete system of dogma out of the annotated New Testament in the Bible of Kralice would be easy

14. I have them in a beautifully made-up reprint of the 1601 New Testament, Nový Zákon Pána a Spasitele Nášeho Ježíše Krista s veskerými výklady pobožných a učených Bratří Českých (Praha, 1875). On most pages the notes, which are set in a smaller size of type than the text, nevertheless take up about half the space.

15. To be sure of accuracy, I have based my quotations of these upon the edition of Smets, Sacrosancti Oecumenici et Generalis Concilii Tridentini... Canones et Decreta (Bielefeld, 1868). It was printed with the "imprimi permittitur" of Vicar-General Boekamp.

16. The former is found in H. A. Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum (Leipzig, 1840), pp. 771-818; I also compared Procházka's Czech edition (Praha, 1869). The Confession of 1575 is also in Niemeyer, pp. 819-51.

17. The glosses are in the Saint Louis Edition, VIII, 1664-1887; I quote the Concordia Triglotta (Saint Louis, 1921).

18. For the Geneva Catechism see Niemeyer, op. cit., pp. 123-90; for the Helvetic Confession, ibid., pp. 462-536.

enough, but not very practical in this context. We have instead tried to bring light upon one doctrine in which the interesting combination of all the trends listed above stands out best; where pertinent, we have referred to the other writings listed above.

The one doctrine which probably brings out most graphically the variety of theological trends in the Unity at the close of the sixteenth century is the doctrine of the Lord's Supper or the Eucharist. It has been a core of conflict in the Christian Church for centuries; so it was in the Unity.¹⁹

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper as found in the Bible of Kralice may perhaps best be brought out simply by quoting the glosses on the pertinent passages.

Matt. 26:26: "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it (1), and brake it (2), and gave (3) it to the disciples and said: Take, eat; this is my body (4)."

(1) i.e., giving thanks to His Father for the redemption of the human race which was about to take place, in memory of which He was instituting the Sacrament of His body and blood; or setting aside this ordinary bread for a special purpose, i.e., to be the Sacrament of His body.

(2) that is, not so much for convenient distribution among His disciples, but especially as an indication and a testimony of both His being broken for our sins (Is. 53:5), that is, His crucifixion, and His offering of Himself and of His communion to all believers, 1 Cor. 10:16.

19. See Eberhard Peschke, Die Theologie der böhmischen Brüder in ihrer Frühzeit, I. Das Abendmahl, 1. Studien (Stuttgart, 1935) for a thorough and scholarly discussion of this doctrine in Czech thought till 1528.

(3) that is, as a sign and firm assurance of the fact that He is giving Himself as food to them in communion, with all His possessions, as the true bread of life. John 6:51. 1 Cor. 10:16.

(4) that is, the bread is consecrated, as was circumcision by God's covenant (Gen. 17:9-10) and as the rock was Christ (1 Cor. 10:4), yes, even now baptism is a washing of regeneration (Titus 3:5). As though He were to say: This bread which I am instituting is a powerful testimony and proof of the fact that my body will be given for you in death (Luke 22:19), crucified, and will be prepared as broken to be a delicious food for your souls, as it is given to die for the life of the world (John 6:51), yes, is put on the table to be used by faith.

Luke 22:20: "Likewise also the cup after supper, saying: This cup is the new testament (1) in my blood (2), which is shed for you."

(1) that is, a firm assurance, seal, and testimony of the new covenant foretold by the prophets (Jer. 31:31).

(2) that is, brought about and made sure by my blood.

1 Cor. 10:16-17: "The cup of blessing (1) which we bless, is it not (2) the communion (3) of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break (4), is it not the communion of the body of Christ (5)? For we being many are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread (6)."

(1) that is, the using of which calls to our mind with thanksgiving the constant blessings of God to the elect through the death of Christ (below 11:25) and we thank God for them; and which we change or consecrate, by the institution of Christ (Matt. 26:26) from common drink to a special usage with prayers and the explanation of the correct significance.

(2) that is, according to your own conception and confession.

(3) fellowship, association: that is, is not the common participation in the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ a certain sign of the fact that the

penitent and believing have a part and share in the merit of Christ which He accomplished with His blood and thus in His blood, and that they thus mutually increase their unity? yes, through that service they receive the grace of God offered them and so do not accept a mere sign, but they reassure themselves in the grace which they have received; and therefore they should not associate with idolaters.

(4) that is, according to Christ's example (Matt. 26:26), as a signification of His painful suffering and of the fact that His faithful and elect are made participants of that which they have committed unto Him. According to this, the apostle says of the bread in the Lord's Supper that it is the body of Christ which is broken for us (below 11:23), and Christ the Lord, as a testimony of His communion, wants the cup taken and shared by them among themselves. Luke 22:17.

(5) that is, a certain indication and testimony to the believing and penitent that they have communion in the body of Christ; therefore, Damascenus wrote of the Sacrament: It is called communion because through it we commune with Christ and mutually increase our unity. As though the apostle were to say: Is not the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper a powerful medium by which God offers and assures to the believing and penitent the forgiveness of sins won by the body of Christ? Similarly the Gospel, Rom. 1:16.

(6) that is, of that communion or of the fact that all we believers of various stations, ages, and vocations, and separated from each other by distance, are one body; and as from many grains one loaf of bread is formed, so we are united as one man and belong to this holy society (cf. below 12:12, Eph. 4:4, item 5:23). We have this proof, that we partake of one consecrated bread with thanksgiving, which does not only signify to us that life-giving bread (John 6:33.51), but also offers it to us. For just as it is a sign when a householder sits at the same table that it is the household of one lord: so, when the faithful go to the table of the Lord together, in that fact is assured that they are the servants of one Lord, that they are redeemed by His one body and bought with His only blood, and that they are members of one spiritual body, which is the holy Church.

1 Cor. 11:27: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily (1), shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord (2)."

(1) that is, not meditatively and not with the sort of seriousness and preparation that is proper.

(2) that is, he treats the body of the Lord insultingly or triflingly and deserves the wrath of God. But one dare not conclude from this that also the ungodly eat Christ's body and drink His blood; for that cannot be eaten by other mouths than those of faith, wherefore Christ the Lord calls one and the same thing sometimes believing in Him, sometimes the eating of His body, John 6:47.56. But the ungodly do not have the mouth which is true faith and so do not even receive Christ. In addition, the salutary body of Christ cannot be eaten except in a salutary way, that is, for the benefit of eternal life (John 6:51), but the ungodly do not have eternal life. From this it is plain that in their participation in the Sacrament, as St. Augustine says, they eat the bread of the Lord, but do not eat the bread which is the Lord.

The notes speak quite plainly for themselves. But a few facts are worthy of note. One characteristic which strikes one throughout is the constant reference to John 6. The interpretation of this passage was a crux in the relations between Zwingli and Luther; and Luther comments in his notes to this chapter: "This chapter does not speak of the Sacrament of the bread and wine, but of spiritual eating, that is, faith that Christ, God and man, shed His blood for us." It is perhaps significant that the Kralická makes no reference to the Lord's Supper in its glosses under John 6, in spite of the fact that this controverted chapter is referred to several times in the notes on the words of institution.

What do the glosses teach of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament? The answer is difficult, since the notes are couched in rather vague and somewhat ambiguous terms. Of course, this had long been the objection on the part of the Lutherans to the theology of the Unity. The Confessio Bohemica of 1535 had stated:

Similarly, and this they teach should be believed by the heart and confessed by the mouth, the bread of the Lord's Supper is the true body of Christ, which is given for us, and the cup is the true blood, which was shed for us for the remission of sins, as Christ the Lord clearly states: This is my body; this is my blood etc. They also teach that no one should add, mix, or detract anything of his own accord from these words of Christ, by which He pronounces that the bread is His body and that the wine is His blood; but let him simply believe these words of Christ, turning neither to the right nor to the left. (Art. XIII.)

The Neo-Utraquistic Confessio Bohemica, in which the Unity had also participated, defined the position of the Bohemian Brethren thus in 1575:

Of the venerable Sacrament of the Testament and last Supper, instituted by Christ the Lord Himself before His passion, we believe and confess that the bread in that Supper is the true Body of Christ the Lord given and given over for us, and that the wine in the chalice is the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ shed for us for the remission of sins; and eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ the Lord, those to whom it is offered and who accept it do this to commemorate and announce His innocent death until He comes. . . .

And this venerable Sacrament was instituted first for the arousing and confirming of our faith in the participation in Christ and all His benefits, so that, laying hold on the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Sacrament spiritually and substantially, by faith and by mouth, we do not doubt, but firmly

believe that we are truly---and through such a use of the Lord's Supper we become more and more---living members of Christ the Lord, who has so joined us to His holy body that we are like branches from His vine, we are His members of the same holy body.... (Art XV.)

Apparently, then, the Brethren preferred to leave the exact mode of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament undefined. On the one hand, they did not accept the Roman Catholic doctrine of transsubstantiation, as they state in a gloss on 1 Cor. 11:26:

Here he calls the sacrament bread as an indication of the fact that the bread remains bread after the consecration without changing the essence, just as in Paradise the tree of life was a real tree etc.

But the Roman Church had stated that "if anyone says that the substance of the bread remains in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist...let him be anathema."²⁰ It is also interesting to see that Hus had maintained the doctrine of transsubstantiation; "it is", says Betts, "an abiding witness to the essential practicality of the Bohemian reformers and to their basic sacramentalism, that though one or two of them toyed as realist logicians with Wyclif's doctrine of remanence, they ended by rejecting it and maintaining complete eucharistic²¹ orthodoxy." Nevertheless, it must be added that although

20. Concillii Tridentini Canones et Decreta, Sessio XIII, Canon 2 (Smets, p. 60).

21. Reginald Robert Betts, "English and Czech influences on the Hussite movement", a paper read on March 10, 1938, reprinted in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (London, 1939), Fourth Series, XXI, p. 100.

Hus did accept transubstantiation, he nevertheless vehemently defended the use of the term "bread" as applied to the Sacrament, though in a "supersubstantial" sense.²²

On the other hand, however, they did not formulate any distinct theses on the way Christ's body was present, like the "in, with, and under" of the Lutherans; rather they suggest that each person "simply believe these words of Christ, turning neither to the right nor to the left."

At the same time, it seems quite safe to conclude that the statements in the Kralická on the Lord's Supper demonstrate the influence of Calvinism. The Geneva Catechism said of the Lord's Supper that it is "so instituted by Christ that it teaches us by the communication of his body and blood to train our minds in the hope of eternal life, and offers this to us certainly." And in answer to the question: "What, then, do we have in the symbol of the bread?" this same document answers: "The body of Christ, as it was once sacrificed for us to reconcile us to God, so now is given to us again that we may know certainly that the reconciliation pertains to us."²³ The parallel, in some cases even verbal, suggests a relationship. If, in addition, we consider the fact that

22. "De corpore Christi", translated into Czech by Milan Svoboda in Mistra Jana Husa Sebrane Spisy (Praha, 1904), I, pp. 247-61. Also Vlastimír Kybal in Vaclav Novotný (ed.), M. Jan Hus Život a Učení (Praha, 1931), Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 235-58.

23. V, 32 and V, 39, Niemeyer, op. cit., pp. 164-65.

several of the Brethren who translated the Kralická had studied at Heidelberg; that by this time the Calvinizing influence was very strong in the Unity; and that, above all, Blahoslav was one of the leaders of the swing from Wittenberg to Geneva---if we consider all of this, the parallel is quite understandable.

One more aspect of this doctrine needs to be touched on. It is the question of reception: namely, do the unbelieving receive the body and blood of Christ? As may be seen from their gloss on 1 Cor. 11:27, the Brethren believed that only the faithful receive the true body and blood in the Sacrament. This was orthodox Hussitism; Hus had said substantially the same thing in 1408.²⁴ The Lutheran Formula of Concord had set itself in strong opposition to this view and had stated: "...also the unworthy and unbelievers receive the

24. But they did not come out with as clear a statement of this apparently implicit position as, let us say, the Second Helvetic Confession. This expressly stated that the "signs now in sacred usage assume the name of the things which they signify." (Art. XIX; Niemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 515.) Interestingly, Comenius took over these words in his edition of *Praxis pietatis*: "The word by which the signs are made sacred are the words of institution of Christ....Without this word, the bread and wine are no other thing than what they are, bread and wine; but when these words are added to these sacramental symbols, a sacrament is made....At first, they were called bread and wine; now they receive the name of that thing which they assimilate, so that they are called the body and blood of Christ." (Elsner edition; Brno, 1922), p. 173.

25. See his "De corpore Christi", *loc. cit.*

true body and blood of Christ; however, not for life and consolation, but for judgment and condemnation, if they are not converted and do not repent."²⁶

So much for the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as it is brought out in the notes to the Kralická. It needs to be said that the Brethren, together with most Christians of their day, saw the Bible as the medium of divine revelation. This dominated their whole approach to it. That is why they spent their time on it and that is why they suffered as they did for their faith.

One chapter of the Bible which has always confounded interpreters is Revelation 20. The Brethren have this comment sub loco:

...the most probable sense seems to be either that of those who count these years from Christ's birth and fix their conclusion at the age of Emperor Otto III, during whose time the devil was untied and, as they write, Antichrist, his son, for the first time assumed that power to crown the highest authority of the world, yes, Mohammed or the Turk arose; or of those who count those years from thirty-six after the suffering of Christ, and fix their conclusion at the time of Hildebrand, who was then called Gregory VII.

From all these comments it seems quite clear that the spirit of the theology of the Kralická was one of warm evangelical fervor combined with an irenic care not to offend without cause.

²⁶ Epitome, VII, 16; Triglotta, 813. See also the Canones et Decreta, Sessio XIII, Canon 4.

IV. The Kralická in Czechoslovak History.

"On my trip around the world the Bequest of Comenius, together with the Bible of Kralice, remained a daily national and political memento to me."

- Masaryk.

In 1593 the Bible of Kralice became history. It was a high point in the annals of the Czechoslovak nation. Even today the six-volume Bible of the Czech Brethren stands as a great monument in the history of Czechoslovak literature, and no work on that subject would dare omit it. Yes, the Kralická is history.

But the Kralická has also made history! It has played a significant rôle in Czechoslovak history. And in this chapter we would examine that rôle in history. We have already considered the Bible of Kralice in its origin; now we shall consider it in its influence.

As we have seen, the Brethren were yearning for a new translation of the Bible into their mother-tongue; it was to be expected that the Kralická would assume a prominent position in Czech life almost immediately. In fact, the reception which greeted the Kralická was so warm that a new, one-volume edition was published just three years later, in 1596. Few had been able to buy the entire Šestidílka; and this, too, made another edition necessary. Since only minor changes are

evident in this edition of 1596, Jan Karafiát judges that it was published under the supervision of the same men who had been responsible for the editio princeps three years before.¹

The year 1601 saw another edition of the New Testament, which, while differing in some ways from the original edition of 1593, was annotated in detail and was adorned with illuminations and imaginative pictures.² And in 1613 there appeared the version of the Kralická used as a standard even now by the British and Foreign Bible Society. In this edition there are numerous revisions, most of them with little import and many of them, for that matter, with little justification. This was the last edition which the Brethren published; for the succeeding years brought hardship, persecution, and eventual extirpation to the Unity.

True, at the meeting of the Czech estates on July 9, 1609, the famous "Letter of Majesty" of Emperor Rudolph II had granted an unexpected measure of religious freedom to the Protestants. This document placed the adherents of the

1. One of the few significant alterations was in the rendition of Phil. 1:21, "For me to live is Christ, to die is gain." In contradistinction to the Kralická, the 1596 edition renders: "For me Christ is gain in life and in death", a translation which fails to do justice to Paul's powerful contrast. This translation was dropped in subsequent editions. Cf. Elsner, "Zpráva", p. 9. As far as the arrangement of the Biblical books etc. was concerned, however, the 1596 Bible followed that of 1579-1593.

2. It was this edition which we used in our evaluation of the theology in the Kralická, Ch. III of this monograph.

Confessio Bohemica of 1575, where the almost Lutheran tenets of Neo-Utraquism had been presented to Maximilian, on an equal level with the Roman Catholics. The Utraquists, as they persisted in calling themselves, were granted the University of Praha and their own independent consistorium; they were permitted to retain all the churches they had at the time and to build whatever new ones they would need in the future.³ All in all, the prospect for religious toleration in Bohemia was good; and a later historian has properly observed that "the Letter of Majesty made Protestant Bohemia a kind of republic."⁴

But Rudolph died on January 20, 1612, and his place was taken by his younger brother Matthias. Like his brother, Matthias was a weak character; but he permitted himself to be dominated by the Spanish and Jesuit factions in Bohemia and not by the Protestant Estates. In 1617, Ferdinand II was

3. The original of the Letter of Majesty is said to be preserved in the archives of the Czech crown. A German version, translated from the Czech parchment manuscripts, is found in Christian Adolph Peschek, Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Böhmen (Leipzig, 1850), pp. 159-57.

4. The historian is the German poet, Friedrich Schiller, who, it is often forgotten, taught history at the University of Jena. His Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges, a series of lectures delivered from 1790 to 1792, is an historiographical classic; and his treatment of the rôle of the Czechs in the Thirty Years' War deserves attention. Werke (Berlin, 1927), VI, pp. 57-449; for the relation between the Czech situation and the rest of Europe, especially the latter half of the first book, pp. 82-137.

elected King of Bohemia; he is known in Czech history as the "Winter King." Under the reign of these two men and with their consent, an intensive counter-reformatory movement was inaugurated in Bohemia.

The crisis came when, contrary to the provisions of the Letter of Majesty, the Protestants were to be punished for building churches in the German villages of Brumov and Hrob. The break came on May 23, 1618, with the famous defenestration of the Imperial Guards in Praha. This event touched off the already smoldering wick of the Thirty Years' War. The Thirty Years' War was---or, more properly, contains---the greatest tragedy of Czech history: the Battle of White Mountain, November 8, 1620, which has been characterized by a contemporary chronicler as "the origin and the door of all the miseries and calamities that have befallen the Czech nation."⁵

With the Battle of White Mountain came the end of the Unity in Bohemia. Dispersed to Poland, to Slovakia, and to other parts of Europe, thousands of the Brethren were never to see their homeland again. Forced to travel light and

5. John Amos Comenius described White Mountain allegorically in 1623 in his Labyrinth of the World (translated by Count Lütow; New York, 1901), pp. 110-13. A terse description of the Battle of White Mountain may be found in A. W. Ward, "The Protestant Collapse", Cambridge Modern History, IV, pp. 64-67.

fast, they took with them only the essentials. And they
 sang:⁶

We have taken nothing with us,
 All into flames hurled
 Except the Bible of Kralice,
 The Labyrinth of the World.

This poem illustrates, for one thing, the fact that for these exiles life had been stripped to the essentials. But it also emphasizes that for them one of these essentials was the Bible of Kralice. It had already taken a firm hold on the minds and hearts of the people, and they wanted to carry it with them into exile.

And so they did. They carried the Kralická with them into the countries of Europe where they were scattered. But the eyes of the Jesuits were sharp, and the Šestidilka was large and cumbersome. Even the later editions were in clumsy format, and concealing them was difficult. In order to give the Word to the emigrants in a form which they could keep, John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), the last bishop of the Unity,⁷ published his Manuálník, the Bible in miniature.

6. This is a translation of the verse:

Nevzali jíme s sebou
 Nic, po všem věta,
 Jen bibli Kralickou,
 Labyrint světa.

Cf. František Kulhanek, Kronika Československá (Praha, 1924), III, p. 1511, for the entire poem.

7. I had the great fortune and pleasure of being able to examine a copy of this rare book in that treasure-house of the bibliophile, the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The book bears the full title: Manualnjc aneb Gádro cele Biblij Svate. Summa wsseho co Báh Lidom I. k Wěřenj wygawil. II. k Gziněnj poručil. III. k Očekawánj zasljbil. Plně a gasně obsahujcý. Mjsto nové swyce sedjcým gasstě v temnostech zpusstěnj swěho Cyrkwe České ostatkům podané. Léta M.DC.LVII.⁸

Measuring five and one-half inches long by three and one-fourth inches wide by two inches thick, this book contains the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocrypha and prayers added at the end. But its main feature is, of course, the fact that it condenses and abbreviates the Bible in order to fit it into this limited size. It must be remembered that the art of printing had not been developed at that time as it is now; and even now condensing the entire Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha into such a format would be quite an accomplishment!

An interesting means was employed to accomplish this. Whenever a word occurs for the first time, it is written out in full; but whenever it occurs again in an immediate context, it is abbreviated with a single initial. Thus, for example, the name for the Deity---"Báh" (God), "Hospodin"

8. "Manual, or the Kernel of the whole Holy Bible. The sum of everything which God has I. revealed for men's faith. II. handed down for their doing. III. promised for their expectation. contained herein. Given to the remnants of His Czech Church in place of a new light to them as they still sit in darkness. In the year 1657."

(Jehovah), "Pán" (Lord)---appear in full at the first instance in a Psalm; but each subsequent occurrence in the same Psalm appears as "B.", "H.", and "P." The text of the Bible is in paragraph form, but the numeration of the verses is retained as in the Kralická.

With this the Czech exiles had to content themselves. Those were hard days for the people of the Kralická; they were hard days for the language of the Kralická, too. With the occupation of Bohemia by the Society of Jesus---a state which prevailed until the disbanding of the Jesuits in 1773---a vigorous campaign was begun against Protestantism and all that it represented.

One of the targets of this campaign was, of course, the Bible of Kralice. Refusing to let a Protestant translation of the Bible serve as a paragon of their literary style, the Jesuits used either the German language or a Czech which fell short of the classical Czech in the Kralická. The zeal of the Jesuits in destroying the "heretical" Hussite books did a characteristically thorough job of destroying the language as well, and German replaced Czech as the common language. Even the dames of Czech society, who had previously doted on French language and literature, now discussed Wieland, Klopstock, Hagedorn, Rabener, Gleim, and Kleist.

9. František Martin Pelcl, Geschichte der Deutschen und ihrer Sprache in Böhmen (1790), quoted by Jakubec in Josef

Appropriate indeed is the name which this period bears in Czech history: "Témno", darkness. Religious intolerance and national trial went hand in hand; with the exit of Protestantism, the Czech language was also rapidly disappearing.

But in 1781 Joseph II issued the famous Edict of Toleration, which granted the Czechs permission to belong to Protestant denominations, although the Brethren and other Czech churches were still forbidden. So thorough had been the work of the Jesuits that only seventy thousand Protestants remained. Ten years later, in 1791, a chair of Czech language and literature was established at the University of Praha. Of this a prominent Czech scholar has said:

We may regard the establishment of a chair of Czech at the Charles University 150 years ago as a great transformation in Czechoslovak cultural history. Although there were many barriers and difficulties in the way, the Czechs and Slovaks went forward from the close of the eighteenth century to liberty and to unification in one state. Our dear and gracious mother-tongue, about whose fate Comenius had been worried, was saved from extirpation and ruin, and blossomed beautifully.

Hanuš, Jan Jakubec, Jan Machal, and Jaroslav Vlček, Literatura Česká Devatenáctého Století (Praha, 1911), Ch. IV, "Uvědomování Narodnosti", pp. 296-97. Pelcl attributes the Germanization to three causes: to the work of the Jesuits, who wrote in German; to the great progress of German literary work in that period; and to the schools, which, from the university down, used German as the official language.

10. Otakar Odložilík, Vzkříšení Materštiny (New York, 1941), pp. 17-18. This was a lecture which Prof. Odložilík delivered at Columbia University on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the event.

Joseph's action gave the impetus to a Czech renaissance, whose leader was Josef Dobrovský. He attempted a return to the Czech language and a gradual but certain purging of the German and Latin elements which had come in. As a substitute and antidote, he advocated a return to the other Slavonic "dialects", as he chose to call them, for words, phrases, and constructions. In Dobrovský's thought the Bible assumed a significant rôle. Although he himself was not exactly an orthodox Christian---in fact, if we are to believe some authorities, he was a deist---he had spent much time on the Bible in its various Slavonic versions; evidence for this are his extensive researches in this field, alluded to in a previous chapter. He therefore wanted the Czech people to buy Bibles, even from Berlin if necessary.

Thus since Dobrovský's day, too, the Bible of Kralice has been a symbol of the glory of another day and at the same time a promise that this language would one day have free course again. Many Czechs forsook Christianity; under the leadership of men like Vojta Naprstek, they left behind them the religion of their youth. But somehow they held on to the Kralická for national, if not for religious reasons. It remained for them, as for Thomas Masaryk, "a daily national and political memento."

11. Jan Jakubec in Hanuš and others, op. cit., p. 178.

Thus far we have spoken only of Bohemia and of the place which the Kralická has occupied in its history. Our study has not yet touched upon the other large component part of Czechoslovakia, Slovakia.

It may be said with all safety that the Kralická has been as important in the life of the Slovaks as it has in the history of their brethren on the other side of the Morava. Thus it has formed---and forms to this day---an important cultural link between these two branches of the Czechoslovak nation; and there is a close parallel between its prestige in Slovakia and the course of Czechoslovak cultural unity.

When were the first contacts between the Czechs and the Slovaks? The two had been united in Samo's kingdom of the seventh century and later on in Pannonia, the Great Moravian Empire; in the latter, Cyril and Method had been active. Their translation of the Bible had set the criterion for the so-called Church Slavonic. In this language there are numerous Czechoslovak elements, and it was the official language of the church in Czechoslovakia till some time before the
12
beginning of the "modern" period of European history.

12. More recent scholarship has begun to doubt the degree of Czechoslovak elements in the Church Slavonic. So Milos Weingart, "Pojem cirkevnej slovančiny a jej význam pre Slovanov, obzvláste pre Čechov a Slovákov" in Jan Stanislav (ed.), Ríša Veľkomoravska (Praha, 1935), pp. 453-71. Stanislav him-

The first independent contacts between the Czechs and Slovaks can be placed at the beginning of this "modern" period, which found one of its first expressions in the Hussite revolt. For the Hussite armies---as armies have almost inevitably, though often unwittingly done---formed a bridge between the two peoples. It is, of course, rather difficult to measure the impact of the Hussite movement upon Slovakia.

But an impact there was; of that we may be sure. One leader of the Hussite armies was, for instance, Jan Jiskra, described by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) as "a distinguished man and no little adornment to our age." From c. 1440 to c. 1462 Jiskra ruled in Slovakia as a national hero after he had successfully resisted the Turk. His warriors brought the teachings of Hus with them, and it was only natural for their emphasis on personal freedom in religious matters to have an influence upon the Slovaks. With a growth in their prestige came also a gradual, though unconscious infiltration of their views and eventually even of
13
their language into Slovak life.

self has collected much of the evidence on both sides of the question in his study, "Dnešný stav otázky československých prvkov v staroslovienských pamiatkach", ibid., pp. 491-532.

13. I have taken this material largely from the excellent article by Julius Botto, "Ján Jiskra na Slovensku", Slovenské Pohľady, XXI (1901), pp. 281-300, and have held to Botto's views despite Jozef Škultéty's negative critique, "Ján Jiskra a český jazyk na Slovensku", ibid., pp. 336-43.

Other factors must also come into consideration. In 1348 Charles IV founded the Czech University in Praha, and many Slovaks studied there as well as at other Czech schools, bringing Czech ideas and the Czech language home with them. The degree of contact between Czech and Slovak even before that time is apparent from yet another angle: the study of comparative folk-lore. And ancient records bear testimony to the early use of Czech as an official language in Slovakia. The Czech contained some Slovak elements, but it was a Czechoslovak language nevertheless. As much is this the case that some scholars feel bound to hold that the Czechoslovak had always been official in Slovakia. The only factor

14. The roster of students from Hungary (mostly Slovaks, since the Hungarians attended Heidelberg and similar Reformed institutions) in attendance at the University of Wittenberg 1537-1610 reveals that of them almost 100 had studied in Bohemia, either at the University or some other Czech school. The manual of the rectorate at the University of Praha contains the names of 54 Slovak students. Some of them remained in Praha as teachers, thus contributing to the mutual Czechoslovak culture. J. Novotný, Střední Slovensko. Kulturně-historické Kapitoly (Praha, 1937), I, pp. 150-56.

15. For instance, there is the very close relation between Czech and Slovak folk-songs, as pointed out by Prof. Jiří Horák: "Testimony to a deep internal Czechoslovak unity are, among other proofs, hundreds of songs which are the common property of both branches of our nation." Numerous examples follow. "Notes" to Výbor Slovenskej Poezie Ludovej (Turčiansky Svätý Martin, 1928), II, p. 147.

16. See the presentation of Samo Gzambel, Príspevky k dejinám jazyka slovenskeho (Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, 1887): an example from the city book of Rajca, dated 1485, in Štefan Króméry, Prehľad dejín slovenskej literatúry a vzdelanosti (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1920), p. 19. The latter view mentioned above is argued by Milan Hodža, Československý Rozkol (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1920), pp. 39-55.

which prevented still closer harmony between the Czechs and the Slovaks was the religious issue: practically all the Slovaks were still Catholics, and were bound by their faith to stand apart from the "unclean thing", viz., the Hussites.

All of this was changed by Luther's Reformation. Almost immediately Slovakia, too, accepted the messianic message from across the Rhine, and by the latter half of the sixteenth century the church of the Augsburg Confession had taken great strides forward in Slovakia.¹⁷ Hussite warriors had planted the seeds of individual freedom; Luther had watered with his doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers. And God gave the increase.

That increase was the Bible of Kralice. Of course, certain Czech translations of the Scriptures had taken hold even before 1593.¹⁸ But with the publication of the Kralická and with the emigration of the Czech exiles mentioned earlier in this chapter, all of Protestant Slovakia began to read and to use this masterpiece of their mutual literature. Had not Jesenský, one of the translators, been a Slovak?

17. Cf. on this period J. Borbis, Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche Ungarns (Nördlingen, 1861), pp. 3-30. Novotný offers supplementary material on the beginnings, op. cit., I, p. 131. See also Luther's letter of April 21, 1544, St. Louis, XXIIb, 2970-71, and Melancthon's pessimistic letter of May 25, 1550, Corpus Reformatorum, VII, 602.

18. Ľudovít Novák, "Čestina na Slovensku a vznik spisovnej slovenčiny", Slovenské Pohľady, LIV (1938), p. 169.

Coming as it did at this decisive time of Slovak history, the Bible of Kralice was bound to assume a commanding place in Slovakia very quickly. And a few years later another masterpiece appeared which firmly established the language of the Kralická in the Slovak Protestant mind, namely, the justly famous Cithara Sanctorum of Jiří Tranovský, published in 1636. This hymnal---still in use today, though in modified form---employed the language of the Bible of Kralice. And thus the two books, the Bible and the hymnal, cemented the Czechs and the Slovaks religiously and politically. Their political significance is apparent even today; Dr. Jozef Lukášek says: "Next to the Bible of Kralice, the Cithara became the most widely-spread book...." What does Tranovský mean for us today? There are three hundred years between us, but the divinely gifted poet speaks to us even today. Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia are united by our Tranovský.¹⁹

But all was not sweetness and light for the Kralická, for the faith it represented, and for the language whose criterion it had become. For not all of Slovakia had as yet become Protestant. Still very active in the Slovak lands was the Roman Catholic Church, especially the Jesuit order. Estab-

19. In his essay, "Jiří Tránovský na Moravě a československá církevní a kulturní vzájemnost" in Samuel Št. Osuský (ed.), Tranovského Sborník (Liptovský Sv. Mikuláš, 1936), p. 99.

lishing themselves in the city of Trnava (known later on as "the Slovak Rome"), the Jesuits began their counter-reformatory campaign. As always, one of their prime means was literature; and for their polemical material they went not to Bellarmin and other leaders in Germany, France, and Italy, but to the Czech Jesuits! They took the Czech books and practically reprinted them. One of the first books of this type was a Catholic confession printed in Trnava in 1677.²⁰

But in this book, and increasingly as the years went on, the transliteration was not complete; and almost from the beginning, Slovak dialect-sounds entered the publications of the Trnava Jesuits. And what else could be expected? The paragon of literary style at that time was the Bible of Kralice, a Protestant publication! Though they conformed at first to the style of the Kralická, the Jesuits gradually introduced Slovak elements into the language.

By this beginning was precipitated a movement whose end is not yet in sight. The revolt against the language of the Bible of Kralice has appeared in various forms among the Slovaks. Another manifestation, a full century after Trnava's

20. Still the most satisfying study on the whole question of the counter-reformation in Trnava is that of Jaroslav Vlček, "Stará katolícka literatúra trnavská", which originally appeared in the eighteenth volume of the Slovenské Pohľady. It was reprinted in a collection of Vlček's essays, entitled Slovensku (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1932), pp. 309-32.

inauguration of the movement, was the work of Father Anton Bernolák. Born in 1762, Bernolák was naturally caught up in the spirit of his time. In all the other sections of the Continent, nations were beginning to wake up to an awareness of their nationhood. To this trend in Western European thought Jozef Škultéty attributes Bernolák's revolt.²¹ And although it cannot be doubted that the awakening of nationalism all over Europe did have an influence upon Bernolák, the careful student of Bernolák's psychology and of contemporary Slovak movements cannot, we feel, help agreeing with Milan Hodža's analysis:²²

...the Counter-Reformation influenced us so much that Daniel Krman, Rákóczy's theoretician, or later on Palkovič and Tablic could not have saved the moral value of the Czechoslovak religious tradition of the sixteenth century. With this spiritual separation the Czechoslovak schism really began. Bernolák was only the formal instrument of this revolution.

Hodža's thesis is substantiated by the fact that the society which carried on Bernolák's tradition, the "Slovenské Učené Towaryšstvo" (Slovak Learned Society), was composed largely of Roman Catholics. This organization was

21. Sto Dvadsaťpäť Rokov zo Slovenského Života 1790-1914 (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1920), pp. 1-24.

22. Československý Rozkol, p. 74. The late Dr. Hodža's brilliant analytic and synthetic treatment of the Los-von-Prag-Bewegung in Slovak thought as a manifestation of the reactionary spirit in Slovakia has never been equalled, political developments to the contrary since that time notwithstanding. (Italics in the quotation are Dr. Hodža's.)

founded in 1793 as an antidote to the lodges, which were gaining strength in Slovakia during that period. It was composed of 31 Catholic priests, 43 other Catholic clerics, 19 Catholic laymen---and one Lutheran clergyman!²³ Taking all of these facts into consideration, one cannot resist a very natural conclusion: wishing to emancipate his people from the strongly Protestant tradition of Bohemia and from the literary domination of that country's bible-translation, Anton Bernolák codified a dialect of Slovakia in his Grammatica Slavica of 1790 and set it up as a written Slovak language.²⁴

Bernolák's magnum opus became a part of history not long after its publication, for he had made the mistake of choosing the wrong dialect as the basis of the written Slovak. But the effect remained. A few years later the Slovak Protestants took over the movement for a Slovak literary language; and under Ľudevít Štúr, M. M. Hodža, and J. M. Hurban, the central Slovak became the written language. We cannot go into their movement at this juncture; the ground has been thoroughly covered by Bishop Samuel Št. Osuský in his three-volume Filosofia Štúrovcov, though never in English.

23. Andrej Mráz, Matica Slovenská v Rokoch 1863-1875 (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1935), p. 6.

24. This thesis, elaborated in greater detail on the Towarzystwo and on Bernolák's schooling, was the burden of my essay "Ešte Jedno Výročie", which was published in various Slovak periodicals in the fall of 1943.

Nevertheless, a few facts about the new movement deserve consideration. Significant, for example, is the fact that one of the leaders, J. M. Hurban, continued to use the language of the Kralická; while editing Slovenské Pohľady, a national and cultural periodical in the New Slovak, he began the publication of Církevní Listy, a church journal, in the Czechoslovak language.

Hurban also continued to preach in the Czechoslovak, as sermons reprinted in Církevní Listy show. Another Slovak national leader, Ján Kollár, who had strongly resisted the change from the Czechoslovak to the Slovak language, expressed himself as follows in the preface to his sermons:

As far as the style and language of these sermons are concerned, the author has regarded it as a rule to use the Biblical language in church, being persuaded that among us Protestant Slovaks, Czechs and Moravians, only he preaches in an acceptable manner who uses the Biblical language; for our listeners, as zealous readers of the Holy Scriptures, not only understand the Biblical language perfectly, but often use it themselves.

And even in America the early Slovak Protestant clergymen preached in the language of the Bible of Kralice.

25. Jan Kollár, Kázně a Řeči (Budapest, 1831), I, p. iv.

26. With apologies for a personal note, I might comment that my own grandfather, the Rev. Jan Pelikan, preached in Czechoslovak. I have compared some of his sermons and have found that he preached Czechoslovak from 1894 to at least 1905, two years after coming to America. His Christmas sermon of 1906 is the first I have in Slovak, and his Easter sermon of 1905 the last in Czechoslovak.

In one place the Kralická has remained unchallenged in Slovakia, on the Protestant lectern. In America as well as on the Continent, the Slovak Protestants have continued to use the Bible of Kralice in the service. Attempts have been instituted to get rid of the Kralická and to substitute a Slovak translation.²⁷ One translation of the entire Bible and at least one of the New Testament have appeared in Slovak. But these never gained acceptance---partly because of gross mistranslations, partly for confessional reasons, partly because the sentiment of the people is still attached to the ancient Bible of Kralice.

One fact stands sure: even today the Bible of Kralice is a powerful symbol of Czechoslovak unity. Unwilling witness to this fact was the puppet Nazi government of "independent" Slovakia. News Flashes from Czechoslovakia under Nazi Domination brings the following report:

Late in January, 1942, the general synod of the Evangelical Church, in Slovakia, was forced by the Nazis to abolish the use of the Biblical Czech language as the liturgical tongue in the Protestant churches. The Nazis, who do not object to the use of Latin in the Catholic churches so long as Msgr.

27. So, for example, Michal Bodický, dean of the theological faculty of the University in Bratislava from 1920 to 1926, stated in his last official address that a translation of the Bible into Slovak "is my will and testament, which I recommend that you younger men bring into reality." He writes of it in his autobiography, Rozpomienky a Pamäti (Turčiansky Sv. Martin, 1933), p. 364.

Josef Tiso, president of the Nazi puppet government in Slovakia, is willing to cooperate with Hitler, nor to the use of the old Slavonic in the Orthodox churches, pointed out that the Czech language was unintelligible to the people....The real reason for this church reform was, of course, that the Czech language, which has been in use in Slovakian churches for centuries, since the Reformation, served as a highly important cultural link between the Slovak and the Czech people. (#129.)

This action was significant. For it showed the powerful hold which the Kralická and its language have upon the Slovak Protestant heart. No one knew this better than the puppets and their German masters; the eradication is the result of that knowledge, and at the same time a testimony to the Kralická's influence three and a half centuries
28
after its publication.

And what of the future? This is hidden in the mystery which has always shrouded the things to come in darkness and fortunate inscrutability. The Slovak Protestants may choose to use some Slovak version of the Scriptures; who can tell? But the impact of the Kralická upon the Slovak mind, heart, and tongue will never be forgotten.

One word more remains to be said. Now and again throughout this study we have touched on an aspect of the Kralická's influence which cannot be measured by graphs or charts. We have mentioned here and there that there are sublime truths

28. Cf. also the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs book, Four Fighting Years (London, 1943), p. 70.

behind the flowing periods and carefully turned phrases of the Bible of Kralice.

No treatment, however scholarly, can attempt to gauge that influence. It is not recorded in footnotes, but in the Book of Life.

Such is our faith. It was from that faith that this study was written, from the faith that any Bible, no matter what its translation, has a glory in its bosom that transfigures you and me.

This was the faith that moved the translators to publish the Kralická. This is the faith that has preserved the people of the Kralická through the dark centuries. The faith that the Bible is of God and that by contact with the word of the Bible men can gain knowledge of transcendent truth---in that faith is the spirit of the Kralická, the future of the people of the Kralická, and the last, best hope of earth.

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