VILNIUS UNIVERSITY
THE INSTITUTE OF LITHUANIAN LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE

Ernesta
KAZAKĖNAITĖ

Connections between fragments of the 16th-17th century Lutheran Bible in Latvian and Glück's translation of the Bible into Latvian (1685–1694)

SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Humanities,
Philology 04H

VILNIUS 2019

This dissertation was written between 2014 and 2018 at Vilnius University

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VILNIAUS UNIVERSITETAS
LIETUVIŲ LITERATŪROS IR TAUTOSAKOS INSTITUTAS

Ernesta
KAZAKĖNAITĖ

XVI–XVII a. liuteronų latviškųjų Biblijos fragmentų sąsajos su Glücko Biblijos vertimu (1685–1694)

DAKTARO DISERTACIJOS SANTRAUKA

Humanitariniai mokslai,
filologija 04H

VILNIUS 2019

Disertacija rengta 2014–2018 metais Vilniaus universitete

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SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

The problem of the research

Numerous cultural factors determined the fact that having the Bible translated into Latvian was not an easy and quickly implementable undertaking. The entire text of the Bible in Latvian emerged at the end of the 17th century. Although publications of the New Testament occurred as early as 1685 and those of the Old Testament emerged in 1689, the distribution of the Bible (la. *Ta Śwehta Grahmata*) only started in 1694. Until then, ecclesiastical practices involved active use of shorter fragments of Biblical translations. Before the full text of the Bible was published, numerous translations of fragments of the Bible had been issued including collections of pericopes (1587, 1615, 1631, 1640, 1644, 1673, 1685 etc.), books of songs (1587, 1615 etc.), the book of Sirach and the book of Proverbs (1631, 1637 etc.), the postil (1654), translations of short excerpts of the Bible (1675), etc. Naturally, one may raise a question about the relationship between the first Bible in Latvian and its earlier translations and whether the translator (re)used pre-existing works in the process of completing the translation of the entire Bible into Latvian. Information found in correspondence related to the translation seems to suggest that Ernst Glück did not have access to and did not use earlier translations of the Bible. In one of his remaining letters (1699) Glück claimed that he had been translating the Bible from the original sources every day for eight years only with the assistance of a single person. No mention was made in his correspondence of any earlier translations of Biblical fragments into Latvian he might have used. However, a brief examination of the text reveals the problem as it becomes evident that Glück's translation contains numerous cases of verbatim text matches with some of the previous translations (see Lk. 21:28 example given in section 2.5).

The review of earlier research and the aim of the research

Due to its considerable historical, cultural and linguistic significance, the first Bible in Latvian has received attention from numerous researchers. However, despite the fact that at least several scholars have mentioned the connections between *Ta Śwehta Grahmata* (1685–1694) translated by Ernst Glück and the earlier translations of the Bible, no extensive analyses of such connections have been carried out. The most comprehensive work on this topic which was further cited by other scholars is an article by Ludis Bērziņš (1928) on Christophor Fürecker. Although the article only devotes several pages to discuss the above-presented issue in which most attention is paid to four specific examples and the comparison of three sources (i.e. those of Mancelius, Fürecker and Glück), Bērziņš's observations are particularly significant. Bērziņš (1928: 175) argues that the translator of the first Bible must have relied on Fürecker's translations of pericopes since in some passages both texts match word for word; however, he further adds that it is difficult to estimate the extent of the influence of Fürecker's texts on Glück's translation (Bērziņš 1939: 152). The connections between Glück's Bible and other Biblical texts published earlier were discussed briefly, usually in one or two sentences which would argue that the influence on his translations was made by everybody, including Mancelius and Fürecker (Bērziņš 1939: 152) or by Reuter (Ozols 1965: 270). However, there have been no comprehensive or detailed studies of such connections. A considerably more extensive analysis of such connections is conducted in the present research the **aim** of which is to identify and evaluate the connections between earlier fragments of the Bible in Latvian and relative passages of the first translation of the Bible into Latvian (1685–1694).

The development of the methodology for the comparison of relevant texts determined the choice of the **object** of the study which is lexical text matches, i.e. the study provides a quantitative and

qualitative evaluation of matching words of an earlier source (hereafter, ES[1]) and Glück's Bible (hereafter, GB).

To reach the aim of the research, the following **objectives** have been set:

1) to compile a database of excerpts from the Lutheran Bible published until 1685 and their relative fragments from the first Bible in Latvian;
2) to offer and validate a methodology for analysing textual matches of Biblical translations;
3) to code the database in order to identify matches;
4) to detect textual matches between earlier sources under examination and GB and to measure the index of textual overlap;
5) to evaluate the influence of the excerpts from the published Lutheran Bible in Latvian on Glück's translation *Ta Śwehta Grahmata*.

The material

The material of the research consists of the fragmentary Lutheran translations of the Bible into Latvian (mostly parts of the New Testament):

1) first published book of pericopes in Latvian *Euangelia vnd Epiſteln* (1587; further – EE);

2) two editions of the *Lettiſch Vade mecum* (further – LVM) by Georg Mancelius: the first published in 1631 (further – LVM_1) and the second in 1644 (further – LVM_2);

[1] Which in the formulas is referred to by letter A, which stands for *ankstesnis* in Lithuanian (meaning "earlier").

3) Georg Mancelius *Lang=gewůnſchte Lettiſche Poſtill* (1654; further – LLP);

4) Johann Reuter *Eine Ůberſetzungs Probe* (1675; further – UP);

5) translation of the pericopes by Christophor Fürecker published in *Vermehretes Lettiſches Hand=Buch* (1685; further – VLH);

6) Ernst Glück *Ta Śwehta Grahmata* (1685–1694; further – GB).

Following sources may also be included: Greek New Testament (further – GR), Hebrew Old Testament (further – HB) and the Greek translation of the Old Testament Septuagint (further – SP), Vulgata (further – V), the Luther Bible in High German (further – LB) and Low German (further – LBž).

It is important to note that there are more translations of biblical books into Latvian, e.g. Book of Sirach which was printed five times before publishing the entire text of the Bible. However, due to their extent and specificity, such texts require separate investigation.

The relevance and orginality of the research

The sources used in translating or editing the first Lutheran Bible in Latvian have not been researched extensively. Neither have there been comprehensive studies of the interconnections between the first Biblical texts in Latvian. In some sources (e.g. Bērziņš 1939: 152; Ozols 1965: 270, etc.) possible influence of the texts by Mancelius, Reuter or Fürecker on Glück's translation is mentioned; however, previous scholarship is confined to merely providing several individual examples rather than researching this matter more extensively. This dissertation is the first systematic attempt to locate the connections between translations of earlier fragments of the Bible and the first translation of the entire Bible into Latvian. Indisputably, the first Bible in the national language was a significant event in the process of codification of any language (cf. Lithuanian, Latvian), thus it is critical to determine the contribution of the translator to the

first entire Bible and the extent to which this text was affected by prior translations. In other words, it is important to thereby reveal the potential multi-layered nature or the (in)direct collectivity of the translation of the Bible.

Such a study is relevant since scholars constantly return to the matter of the translation of the Bible into Latvian and the identification of the connections between the different texts is crucial in order to evaluate the linguistic factual data pertaining to the translation and its potential origin. The present research is relevant not only to philologists but also historians of culture and the Church since the analysis of the connections between different Biblical translations inevitably required investigation of the authors' cultural and social environment and, thereby, some biographical data of the authors examined were revised and specified in this work.

The following theses are to be defended:

1. Earlier fragments of the Lutheran Bible in Latvian influenced the translation of the Bible by Ernst Glück (1685–1694), since there was a tradition of translating gospel texts which relied on Luther's Bible. Fragments from other (non-gospel) books of the Bible reveal an opposite trend, i.e. although the collections of pericopes analysed show that reuse of previous texts is obvious, in Glück's translation they are not chosen as the basis of translation.

2. Glück's translation was mostly dependent on Christophor Fürecker's translation of the gospel extracts. Overlapping vocabulary in it constitutes 92.15% of all lexis, whereas the extent of textual overlap with other Latvian texts is lower, i.e. 80.75% in LMV2, 80.52% in LLP and 72.30% in EE, respectively.

3. 85 out of 87 gospel pericopes translated by Fürecker were reused in Glück's Bible to a greater or lesser extent. The remaining two, namely Mt. 25: 1–13 and Mt. 24: 37–51 devoted to the 27th Sunday after Trinity were not used as translation sources in GB.

4. Of the 85 pericopes translated by Fürecker which are considered to have been reused in GB, excerpts from the Gospel of Luke contain most textual matches. Although this sample was the most extensive, complete lexical matches in the pericopes constitute 86.85%, whereas in the extracts of the Gospel of John they make up 84.82%, in the Gospel of Matthew they constitute 80.82%, and in the Gospel of Mark they make up 77.83%.

5. One of the additional sources of the first Bible in Latvian was Georg Mancelius' translations of pericopes *Lettiſch Vade mecum*; however, they were used selectively.

6. Glück's translation of the Bible did not rely on such prior texts as *Euangelia vnd Epiſteln* (1587), Mancelius' pericopes in *Lang=gewünſchte Lettiſche Poſtill* (1654) and Johann Reuter's translation *Eine Überſetzungs Probe* (1675).

The structure of dissertation

The dissertation consists of introduction, five chapters, the conclusions, prospects of the study and the two-part appendix.

- Introduction identifies the problem and object of the research, defines its aim, objectives and novelty.
- First two chapters are theoretical: chapter 1 discusses the history of the first translation of the Bible into Latvian by Ernst Glück, chapter 2 gives a brief overview of the history and specificities of the research on similarity of texts.
- Chapter 3 introduces the methodology: the collection of data, methodology chosen, criteria and index of textual matches.
- Chapter 4 consists of five subchapters in which results are discussed in chronological order (EE, LVM, LLP, UP, and VLH).
- Chapter 5 provides a general overview of the sources surveyed and results of index of textual matches.

2. DATASET AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

2.1 Database of text fragments from the 16–17th century Bible in Latvian

As has been indicated above, the aim of the present study is to determine the influence of earlier Latvian biblical texts on the first translation of the Bible into Latvian. To reach the aim, the method of induction was applied, i.e. first, the data was collected, then it was analysed and only then conclusions were drawn (Kardelis 2002: 18, 51–52). First, a multilingual database of parallel texts was compiled on the basis of resources listed in the *Corpus of Old Latvian Texts*[2]. The database was set up in the *Microsoft Word 2010* format; the size of the corpus is 300,273 words of which 202,728 are Latvian. The corpus was parallel aligned at the verse level. The corpus can be considered complete since it includes all the texts of the translations under investigation.

The next stage of the study was coding words in order to identify textual matches and differences. This stage was closely linked with the development of research methodology which emerged as a result of the empirical investigation, i.e. by reading and contrasting the sources.

2.2 Criteria for evaluating words

The main unit of research in this study is a word, i.e. a word form used in a specific context. Four criteria for evaluating words were distinguished empirically, i.e. 1) presence (*present / absent*); 2) match (*same / different*); 3) extent of match (words match *completely / partially*); 4) place in text (*same/different*). All the criteria relate to different levels, namely, structural, lexical, grammatical, and

[2] *Latviešu valodas seno tekstu korpuss* (http://www.korpuss.lv/senie/toc.jsp).

syntactic. After the manual analysis and evaluation of words on the basis of the previously listed criteria, nine types of word matches were established. They encompass words present in texts against which Glück's Bible was compared and they stand in relation of strict disjunction. The types of word matches can be illustrated in the following dendrogram of binary features[3]:

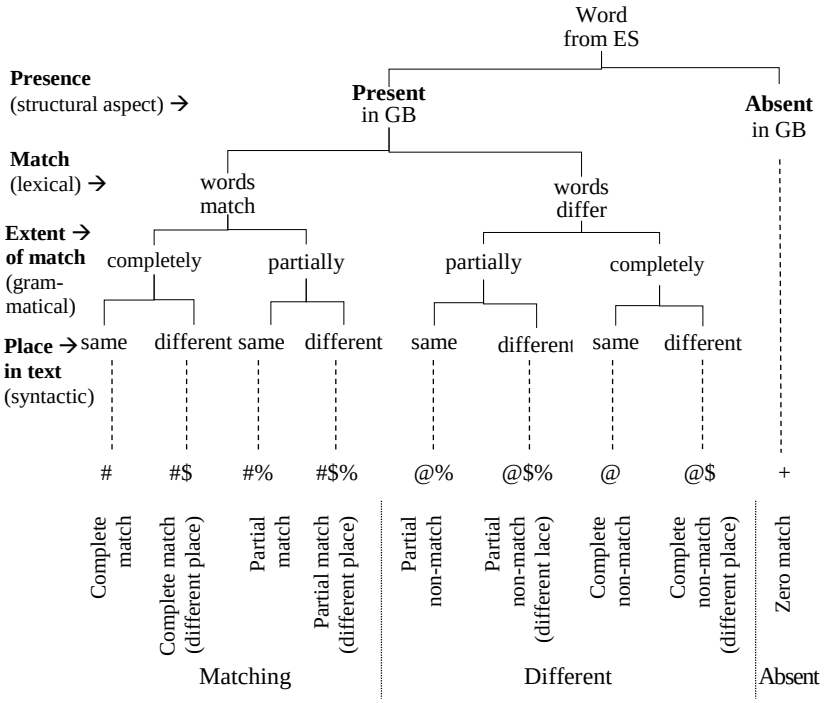

Figure 1. Criteria of evaluating words and types of word match

[3] Any other symbols or their combinations can be used instead of those chosen in this study (#, @, $, %, +) as their choice does not affect the research. Having considered the research materials, such symbols were chosen in order to prevent errors in the automatic processing of the research results. In the final stage of the compilation of the database these symbols were replaced with numbers from 1 to 9, which were assigned different colours.

As can be seen in dendrogram[4], the words in the database were evaluated by analysing the following aspects:

1) **Structural** aspect: the first step was checking if the word used in ES is present in GB. If it was not present in GB, such a word was marked using symbol +; if the word was present, the second aspect was examined.

2) **Lexical** aspect**:** if the word is present, the next step is to check whether its lexical counterpart in GB is: a) the same lexeme (#) or b) a different lexeme (@).

3) **Grammatical** aspect:

a) if the lexeme is the same, the next step is to examine if the words match completely (*#_Kungs – Kungs*) or partially (*#%_Meegh**u*** (Accusative case) – *Meeg**a*** (Genitive case));

b) if the lexemes in ES and GB do not match, the next step was to check if the lexeme is a complete non-match (*@_aesto – jo*) or a partial non-match (i.e. if it is derivationally related to the word in GB and has the same root; *@%_ puwiß – **is**puis*).

4) **Syntactic** aspect: the word's place in the verse was also relevant in this study, therefore all the words of ES which have a (non-)match in GB (all words except for those marked +) were evaluated according to their place in the verse and considered as either words that match or those that differ in terms of their place in the verse (marked $). The latter were labelled as a match (different place).

[4] The characters in the diagram are arranged from the closest match (on the left) to the furthest match (on the right), therefore in the evaluation of words based on their extent of match (*complete or partial*) the cases of matching words are arranged from those that match *completely* to those that match *partially*, while those words that differ in ES and GB are arranged from those that differ *partially* to those that differ *completely*.

The evaluation of words according to the above-described criteria resulted in distinguishing nine types of word match[5] which for the purposes of automatic data retrieval and processing were coded using symbols (see Figure 1). An example of coded texts is provided in 2.5.

It is important to note that the list of the types of word matches provided in this work is not exhaustive. For the purposes of presenting optimal results, a decision was made to limit the list to the nine types presented above; however, the types coded with a combination of two symbols could be further subdivided into more specific categories, e.g. a particularly broad category is the one coded #% (partial matches). This type could further subsume categories of dialectal forms, variants of morphological forms, etc. Similarly, the category coded @% (partial non-matches) could further distinguish suffixal, affixal and other types of derivatives. Taking into consideration the semantic criterion, lexemes that differ in ES and in GB (coded @) could be specified since some of them are related more closely to one another than others.

2.3 Problematic cases in the analysis

The analysis of the 16th–17th century biblical texts posed some challenges related to different aspects. They were mostly: 1) **orthographical** problems related to the procedure of demarcating word boundaries; and 2) **structural** problems.

[5] Lexicography and translation studies distinguish translation counterparts broadly known as *equivalents* which can also range in degree, e.g. absolute, partial, surrogate and null equivalents (Jakaitienė 2005: 24). This study consciously abstains from the use of the term *equivalent* since what is researched is not the relation between the original and the translation but rather the potential reuse of a pre-existing text.

1) Almost every 16th–17th Latvian writer, translator, editor, etc. used a certain system which at least in some way differed from that of other authors. However, this aspect was not taken into account in the present study since marking differences in orthography would have distorted the results of the analysis, especially bearing in mind that the procedure of drafting and producing GB introduced practically new principles and standards of orthography. Likewise, distinct marking of word boundaries was also conditional in the analysis since there were numerous cases when distinguishing whether a text segment is one word or two words was very difficult or impossible because what is written in text separately is not always a case of two words and, on the contrary, what is written as one stretch with no delimiters such as space does not always indicate a single word. Latvian linguists have long held lengthy debates on the question of what makes a phrasal unit and what makes a compound. However, without any attempts to resolve the question of what makes a phrasal unit and what makes a compound in the 17th century written Latvian, in the present analysis the formal treatment of words was the following: if the components in a stretch of text in GB had a full morphological form, they were treated as two words irrespective of the fact whether they were written as one word or as two words, e.g., *Leel=Kundſibe* is one word, but *Leel-**s**=Kungs* are two words. The same applied to *Namm-**a**turreſchanas* and *Namm-**a**=turre-ſchanas*, which were treated as two words. Similarly, cases of words with the negative prefix *ne* which was often written separately from the verb, were treated as cases of a single word.

2) In the process of contrasting sources, numerous **structural** differences of the examined texts were identified. They included the following: omissions (deliberate and non-deliberate), additions (explicit and implicit), modifications handwritten in printed text, and different divisions of strings of text into verses. All of them are discussed in section 3.4.2 of the dissertation.

Despite the problematic cases listed above, comparing and contrasting the texts under examination seems feasible and meaningful. Nevertheless, in some places marking of word boundaries was conditional due to specific orthographic conventions, especially in the analysis of the oldest texts. Attempt was made to take into account the dubious nature of all such cases and make relevant comments in describing the results of the study.

2.4 Database and materials of research

Following methodological advice provided by Dr Mindaugas Šinkūnas[6], the coded database set up in the format of *Microsoft Word 2010* was processed by converting the data using the *Consistent changes 8.1.6*[7] software. The data was retrieved in the following way: first, the file of the coded database was converted into a text file; next, in order to retrieve data of each of the verses in a certain sequence, a set of algorithms written by Šinkūnas specifically for the present study were applied[8]. Finally, the results obtained in the form of a text document were exported into the *Microsoft Excel 2010* programme in which the main database was established and updated on the basis of numerous criteria. This format made it convenient for the data to be processed by other programmes, for instance, to analyse n-grams by applying algorithms written in the Pyhton programming language, to conduct statistical calculations or to measure the index of textual matches.

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[6] I sincerely thank dr. Mindaugas Šinkūnas for the precious time.

[7] http://www-01.sil.org/computing/catalog/show_software.asp?id=4.

[8] The set of algorithms is not universal. However, if the structure and codes of a corpus are maintained, the algorithm can also be applied in the analysis of other texts in different languages.

2.5 Index of textual matches[9]

The evaluation of words according to the four criteria presented above and their attribution to one of the nine types (see section 2.2) provided the means to measure the index of textual matches[10] which in this analysis is equal to the relative frequency of the matching words between Glück's Bible and ES (max=1, min=0; see 3.2). It is derived according to the following general formula:

$$(1)\ p_k = \frac{m_k}{n}$$

p_k stands for the relative frequency; m_k – number of matchig words; n – total number of words.

Often the number of the elements in a specific sample (n) in GB and in the relative fragment of ES are different; thus, based on the assumption that it affects the measured index, the general formula (1) in the *Microsoft Excel 2010* version of the database was modified into the following one:

$$(2)\ =S/MAX(GB_{ž},A_{ž}),$$

whereby *S* stands for the frequency of matching words, $GB_{ž}$ stands for the number of words in Glück's Bible, and $A_{ž}$ refers to the number of words in ES. The same could verbally be expressed in the following way:

1) the first step in the procedure is measuring the number of the elements in a sample which is the **maximum number of possible pairs**, i.e. number of words in a fragment (MAX () function in *Microsoft Excel* was applied);

2) after the number of maximum possible pairs is determined, it is then possible to measure the **relative frequency** of matching words

[9] I sincerely thank dr. Petras Skirmantas for the comprehensive consultation on this subject.

[10] A decision was made to opt for the concept of text *match* rather than *similarity* since the index reflects the relative frequency of matching rather than similar words.

in a specific fragment, which is exactly how the index of textual matches is measured.

To illustrate the calculation, a coded example (Lk. 21:28) is provided below:

LVM$_1$	#_Bett #_kad #_tas #_eeśahx #_notickt / #_tad #$_ſkattaitees #$%_aukſcham / +_vnd #$%_pazelleeta #$%_juhſšus #$%_Ghallwus / #_tapehts / #_ka #%_juhſša #_Peßtiſchana @_tuwake #_nahk.
VLH	#_Bet #_kad #_tas #_eeśahks #_notikt; #_Tad #_paʒeldami #_juhśas #_Galwas/ #_śkataitees #%_us #_Augśchu/ #_tapehʒ #_ka #%_juhśa #_Peſtiśchana #_jo #_klahtu #_nahk.
GB	Bet kad tas eeśahks notikt/ tad pazeldami juhśas Galwas/ śkattajtees uhs augśchu/ tapehz/ ka juhśo Peſtiśchana jo klahtu nahk.

As can be seen, the LVM line of the verse of Lk. 21:28 contains 18 words, whereas the same verse in GB consists of 19 words. Therefore, by applying the above-presented function MAX($GB_{ż}$,$A_{ż}$), the result obtained is 19. This is the number of the elements in the sample (*n*). The next step requires to measure the absolute frequency of matching words, i.e. the frequency of the *k* element in the sample (m_k) which in this case is (4+1+11). Having thereby obtained the relevant variables, the calculation shows that the index of textual matches of Lk. 21:28 in LVM is 0.84 ($= \frac{16}{19}$).

A different case is observed in the VLH source in which the number of words is the same as that in GB, therefore *n* equals 19 (MAX(19,19)) and so does m_k (2+17) since all the words in the verse match. Thus, the index of textual matches of the Lk. 21:28 verse in VLH is maximum, i.e. 1 ($= \frac{19}{19}$).

The analysis has revealed that is important to discuss complete matches (#) and other types of matches (when there is difference in form and / or place: #$, #%, #$%) separately; therefore, the index of **overall** and **complete** textual matches was measured and

distinguished. The index of overall textual overlap is measured by calculating all lexical matches and thus it can also be considered as an indicator of similarity; whereas measuring complete textual overlap included the calculation of only complete word matches[11]. For instance, the Lk. 21:28 verse in GB and VLH consists of 19 words of which all 19 match but only 17 match completely (#) (the remaining two, i.e. #%_*us* and #%_*juhśa* are partial matches). Therefore, in the first case, when measuring overall textual overlap, the index of textual matches is 1 ($= \frac{19}{19}$); however, the index equals 0.89 ($= \frac{17}{19}$), when calculating only complete word matches.

It is important to note that the index of textual matches differs from the relative frequency of matching words in the verse, although sometimes both indices can be the same (since the index of textual matches is based on the number maximum matching pairs in both sources).

2.5.1 Threshold of the index of textual matches

The practice of measuring indices or indicators of text reuse is not new; it has often been applied in studies of text similarity. However, since the character of data collected in different studies might be different, there is no universal method of such analysis and neither are there universally accepted boundaries / thresholds of textual overlap which would suggest a strong non-coincidental relation between the texts.

[11] The decision to calculate the index according to two aspects was made due to the different quality of the sources examined. In analysing EE data, more reliable results are obtained by calculating all the words that match rather than considering only complete matches. In contrast, examining reuse in the pericopes of VLH, representative data turned out to be obtained by only considering complete matches.

Turell (2014: 557) who researched plagiarism in Spanish translations suggests treating two translations as suspiciously closely related when matching words in them reach the threshold of 70%. However, an *a priori* reliance on the threshold proposed by her would not be objective for the following reasons. First, in the process of contrasting texts using the *CopyCatch* software, she ignored function words, patronyms, and toponyms which would inevitably slightly increase the index of text reuse[12]. Secondly, she compared translated works of fiction the translation of which relies on standards different from those applied when translating biblical texts.

The analysis has revealed that in contrasting the translations of biblical fragments of the 16th–17th century, an approximate threshold which allows suspecting reuse of primary source texts should be ~80% or ~0.8 of matching lexemes (disregarding differences in form or place). However, even when the 80% or a similar extent of reuse is detected, researchers should seek to find additional evidence (linguistic or otherwise) pointing at potential text reuse. But if the extent of lexical overlap exceeds the established threshold, e.g. if it reaches 90% or 0.9 and the length of the fragment is adequate, it can definitely be considered an instance of text reuse. Evaluation of only complete word matches which do not differ in either form or place in the two texts, ~60% or ~0.6[13] can be considered a threshold which allows suspecting reuse of pre-existing texts. However, both empirically determined thresholds are approximate which means that

[12] This decision made by Turell can be criticised taking into account an opposite assumption made in studies of text authorship attribution which state that functional words which are often falsely assumed to be "empty" are in fact used in text unconsciously and thus they are key indicators and allow identification of the authorship of a text (Chung & Pennebaker 2007; Kestemont 2014, etc.).

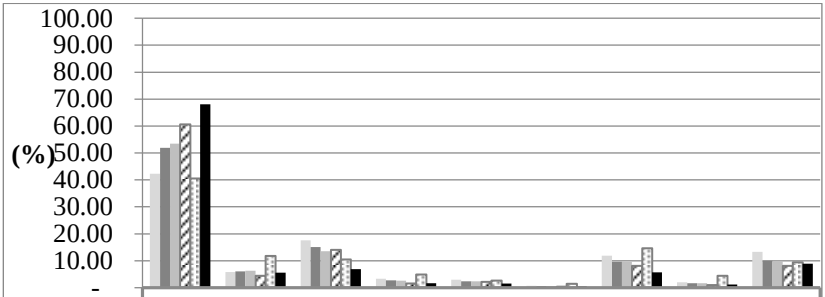
[13] The thresholds are determined by way of empirical analysis considering textual matches of the gospel pericopes.

consideration of the length and context of the fragment under examination is required (e.g. considering whether there could have been an intermediary source text involved in the process of translation). In addition, the results can also be affected by the method of translation: it is likely that two individual translations from the same source by way of word-for-word rendering will exhibit a high degree of textual overlap.

3. CONNECTIONS BETWEEN *TA ŚWEHTA GRAHMATA* AND THE LATVIAN TRANSLATIONS OF FRAGMENTS OF THE 16TH–17TH CENTURY LUTHERAN BIBLE

3.1 Distribution of the types of word matches in EE, LVM_1, LVM_2, LLP, UP, and VLH

The evaluation of all words examined on the basis of the four criteria described in section 2.2 resulted in measuring their frequency:



	#	#$	#%	#$%	@%	@$%	@	@$	+
EE	42.2	5.87	17.5	3.36	3.00	0.73	11.9	2.01	13.2
LVM1	51.8	6.09	15.0	2.71	2.39	0.61	9.61	1.63	10.0
LVM2	53.5	6.29	13.5	2.55	2.36	0.61	9.61	1.65	9.94
LLP	60.6	4.33	14.0	1.53	2.08	0.32	8.09	0.89	8.09
UP	40.4	11.7	10.4	4.88	2.60	1.41	14.6	4.44	9.39
VLH	68.0	5.52	6.85	1.67	1.58	0.45	5.71	1.22	8.96

Figure 2. Distribution of the types of word matches in the sources

3.1.1. The study showed that all of the sources examined contain the greatest number of words that **match** those in GB (#, #$, #%, #$%) which is reasonable since the same text is translated into the same language. However, the frequency of the types of matching words is different in them. As can be seen in Figure 2, the highest number of complete matches (#) is found in Fürecker's translation (68.02%) and LLP (60.60%), a considerably lower number of complete matches occurs in other texts, namely: LVM_2 (53.50%), LVM_1 (51.88%), EE (42.24%) and the lowest number is detected in UP (40.50%). The latter can be distinguished from all other sources not only by the proportions of the types of word matches but also by extra-linguistic aspects, i.e. structure, intention of the translation, etc. The choice of the translation source and method (namely, word-for-word rendering) has determined that this text contains the highest number of complete matches (occurring in a different place) (#$) (11.70%), since other translations were mostly from Luther's Bible and their translation was more free. In the collections of pericopes complete matches (occurring in a different place) constitute a rather similar share, i.e. the greatest number of this type of matches is found in Mancelius' LVM_2 (6.29%), and the lowest number occurs in VLH (5.52%).

A rather large group of matching words are partial matches (#%, #$%). The analysis shows that their number in the sources tends to decrease chronologically, i.e. the highest number occurs in EE (20.95%[14]), slightly fewer partial matches occur in Mancelius' translations: LVM_1 (17.79%), LVM_2 (16.06%), LLP (15.60%) and in Reuter's UP (15.35%). However, the lowest number was found in Fürecker's VLH (8.52%). Indisputably, such results were influenced by the fact that, as was also observed by Strauberg (1943: 199), the

[14] The percentage is not reflected in Figure 2, which indicates the total sum of partial matches (#%) and partial matches (different place) (#$%).

translation of the first Bible into Latvian was based on the principles of Fürecker's "school", i.e. relying on his linguistic works. The evaluation of partial matches based on the syntactic criterion (i.e. determining whether the place of the matching word in the sentence is also the same) shows that Reuter's translation stands out again (4.88%), while the number of word matches (occurring in a different place) in the pericopes decreased chronologically. Namely, the numbers of this class of word matches distributed in the following way: EE (3.36%), LVM_1 (2.71%), LVM_2 (2.55%), VLH (1.67%). Such a change was determined by the overall decrease in partial matches.

3.1.2. All the sources contain a considerably lower number of words which **differ** from those in GB (@%, @$%, @, @$). Here the absolute majority is made up of complete non-matches (@, @$). Their frequency is inversely proportional to the frequency of complete matches: the highest result is found in UP (19.10%[15]), whereas in the other sources the number of complete non-matches is considerably lower, namely, 13.93% in EE, 11.25% in LVM_2, 11.24% in LVM_1, 8.98% in LLP and 6.93% in VLH. The distinctive result of UP was determined by a different method of translation. Reuter's translation is a closer, word-for-word rendering of the original, while Glück tended to search for the closest natural correspondences in his translation. Since attempt was made in UP to maintain the word order of the original text, this translation contains the highest number of complete non-matches (different place) (4.44%). In contrast, Glück's text features greater variation in word order. Other Latvian translations contain considerably fewer non-matches (occurring in a different place), namely: 2.01% in EE, 1.65% in LVM_2, 1.63% in LVM_1, 1.22% in VLH and 0.9% in LLP.

[15] The percentage is not reflected in Figure 2, which indicates the total sum of complete non-matches (@) and complete non-matches (different place) (@$).

The lowest result detected in Mancelius' postil was determined by its structure, i.e. it includes only the gospel pericopes which, as has been reported above, exhibit substantial textual overlap with GB.

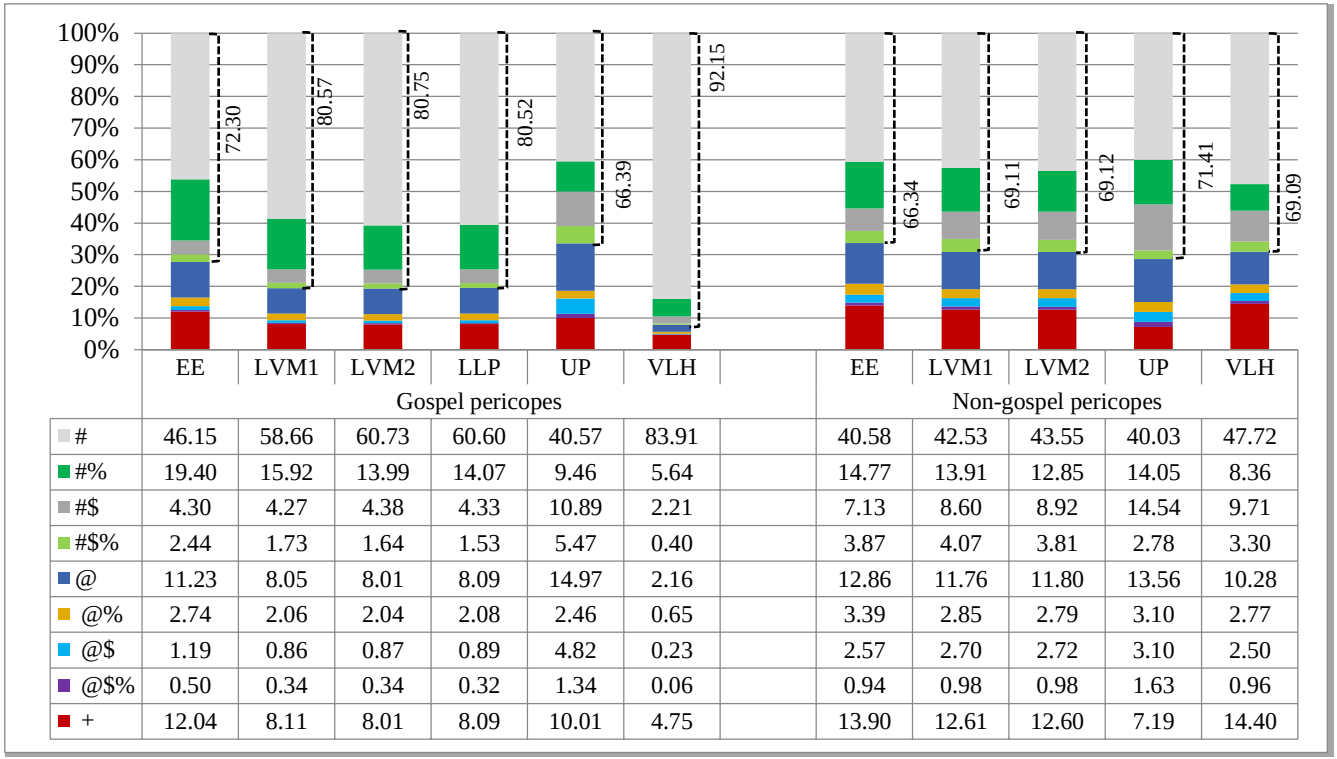
The type of word matches that had the lowest number of examples in all the sources are partial non-matches (@%, @$%). The highest number of such words which are derivationally related but treated as different lexemes is found in UP (4.01%), slightly fewer are found in EE (3.74%) and in Mancelius' translations (LVM_1 – 3%, LVM_2 – 2.96%, LLP – 2.41%), while the lowest number is identified in VLH (2.03%). Most often lexemes assigned to this type are different in the respective sources because they have a different suffix or do not have a suffix at all. In less frequent cases, the matching lexemes may have a different affix (or its lack thereof).

3.1.3. It is interesting to note that words which do not have an equivalent in Glück's Bible – **zero matches** (+) – distribute in the previous Latvian translations rather evenly. The practice of translating Luther's Bible word-for-word (which is similar to interlinear translation) determine that the greatest number of zero matches is found in EE (13.26%), whereas in other texts they constitute approximately one tenth, namely: 10.0% in LVM_1, 9.94% in LVM_2, and 8.96% in VLH. With regard to this aspect, neither Mancelius' postil (8.09%) which only contains gospel pericopes nor Reuter's UP (9.39%) stand out from the other texts. In all of the sources, zero matches consist of various non-autonomous parts of speech or pronouns that serve the function of an article.

3.1.4. Figure 2 illustrates overall data from all the sources examined; however, since the study traced striking differences between fragments of gospel pericopes and those of non-gospel pericopes, it is also important to present the results of the two types of pericopes separately. As can be seen in Figure 3, fragments of gospel pericopes in almost all Latvian translations contain considerably more matches than those of non-gospel pericopes. This provides grounds to validate the fact of the continuity of 16th–17th

Lutheran gospel texts. Although the examination of all matching words shows that in Reuter's UP the sections that match the most derive from other Bible books (71.41%) rather than from gospels (66.39%), this does not disprove the earlier statement but, rather, corroborates it. The study reveals that Reuter did not rely on earlier translations (he even provided an edited translation of the Decalogue) but, on the contrary, he was translating directly from the original sources. However, the Latvian texts which influenced Glück's Bible had mostly been translated from Luther's Bible, therefore relative passages in those texts and UP have more differences.

The division of the data into two sets on the basis of the types of pericopes (gospel and non-gospel) has shown that they differ significantly. The greatest extent of textual overlap was detected in VLH, the **gospel** fragments of which contain even 92.15% of words that match those in GB. Such a high number is surprising and suggests that no doubts should be expressed that GB contains reuse of Fürecker's translation, since the extent of matching words of the gospel passages from the other sources is substantially lower. Nevertheless, the analysis of the **non-gospel** fragments has provided results which, interestingly, reveal an opposite trend to the one pertaining to the gospel pericopes. Here all the sources show a similarly low extent of words that match those in GB, i.e. it does not exceed the threshold of 80% which could imply potential text reuse. These results thus lead to a conclusion that although the non-gospel passages in prior works had been translated in a very similar way, Glück did not reuse them, which means that their translation tradition was weaker than that of the gospel passages. Potentially, this can also be substantiated by the fact that in church readings pastors could have possibly omitted non-gospel excerpts and substituted them with passages from the Catechism.



	Gospel pericopes							Non-gospel pericopes				
	EE	LVM1	LVM2	LLP	UP	VLH		EE	LVM1	LVM2	UP	VLH
#	46.15	58.66	60.73	60.60	40.57	83.91		40.58	42.53	43.55	40.03	47.72
#%	19.40	15.92	13.99	14.07	9.46	5.64		14.77	13.91	12.85	14.05	8.36
#$	4.30	4.27	4.38	4.33	10.89	2.21		7.13	8.60	8.92	14.54	9.71
#$%	2.44	1.73	1.64	1.53	5.47	0.40		3.87	4.07	3.81	2.78	3.30
@	11.23	8.05	8.01	8.09	14.97	2.16		12.86	11.76	11.80	13.56	10.28
@%	2.74	2.06	2.04	2.08	2.46	0.65		3.39	2.85	2.79	3.10	2.77
@$	1.19	0.86	0.87	0.89	4.82	0.23		2.57	2.70	2.72	3.10	2.50
@$%	0.50	0.34	0.34	0.32	1.34	0.06		0.94	0.98	0.98	1.63	0.96
+	12.04	8.11	8.01	8.09	10.01	4.75		13.90	12.61	12.60	7.19	14.40

Figure 3. Distribution of the types of word matches in the different sources (the dashed line marks the overall percentage share of matching words: #, #$, #%, #$%)

3.2 Index of textual matches

The number of pericopes contained in the sources analysed is different, namely: 147 in EE (74 gospel pericopes and 73 non-gospel pericopes), 155 (78 gospel pericopes and 77 non-gospel pericopes) in LVM_1, 158 (79 gospel pericopes and 79 non-gospel pericopes) in LVM_2, 68 in LLP, 16 (2 gospel pericopes and 14 non-gospel pericopes) in UP, and 180 (87 gospel pericopes and 93 non-gospel pericopes) in VLH. Genre-related peculiarities make the sources which are the shortest (UP and LLP) stand out; however, the absolute majority of passages in the collections of pericopes match. In other words, all the sources contain the same pericopes as the ones in the earlier collection with new pericopes added to the previous ones. However, the pericopes in the different collections were edited by each author, therefore the index of textual matches in them is different (see Figure 4).

Due to obvious reuse of texts, in almost all the sources the index of word matches of the gospel pericopes is statistically significantly different from that of the non-gospel pericopes (p<0.05) with a single exception of Reuter's translation in which p=0.267:

Source	**EE**	**LVM_2**	**VLH**	**UP**
t Stat	-9.66	-14.51	-24.29	1.12
P(T<=t) two-tail)	**0.000000000 00000003614**	**0.000000000 0000000000**	**0.00000000 000000000000**	0.266851
t Critical two-tail	1.977303542	1.977178	1.974358	2.003241

Table 1. The significance of the differences between the gospel and the non-gospel pericopes according to Stjudent's criterion

One of the major and most significant observations emerging from Figure 4 is the following: no matter how great the extent of textual overlap between the pericopes in ES and Glück's Bible, the index of textual matches in none of the pericopes reaches the maximum value. This applies even when measuring overall textual matches, i.e. when the matching words may differ in place of

occurrence and/or form. The same result emerges even when examining the shortest pericope, i.e. Lk. 2:21 which contains a single Bible verse. Thus it means that there is not a single pericope in the sources examined which could be considered to have been completely reused in GB. Nevertheless, as reported in the empirical study of the dissertation, in his translation of specific biblical passages, Glück relied on prior Latvian texts. This is accurately reflected in the Lk. 21:28 given in section 2.5 in which the passages from VLH and GB match completely word for word. Although there are numerous matches like the one above, they are detected only in the gospel fragments.

3.2.1 Gospel pericopes

The index value of word matches in the gospel pericopes is high (see Figure 4, section A) while its variation is relatively low, except for two VLH pericopes from The Gospel of Matthew (Mt. 25:1–13 and Mt. 24:37–51). The highest result in the entire dataset was found in **Fürecker's** translation. Namely, the highest value of textual overlap is found in the pericope of Lk. 18:31–43 in which the index of overall text matches reaches 0.98; thus Fürecker's text can clearly be considered to have been reused in GB. In fact, the textual overlap of all the gospel pericopes of VLH is pronounced; namely, the lowest value in it equals 0.84 (Mt. 5:1–12), while the average reaches as much as 0.92. Therefore, as has additionally been corroborated by the results of the linguistic analysis of relative fragments, these pericopes are considered to have been reused in Glück's translation, except for the two pericopes mentioned above (Mt. 25:1–13 and Mt. 24:37–51), the indices of word matches of which are 0.74 and 0.63, respectively and thus they do not reach the minimum threshold which could indicate potential text reuse (0.8).

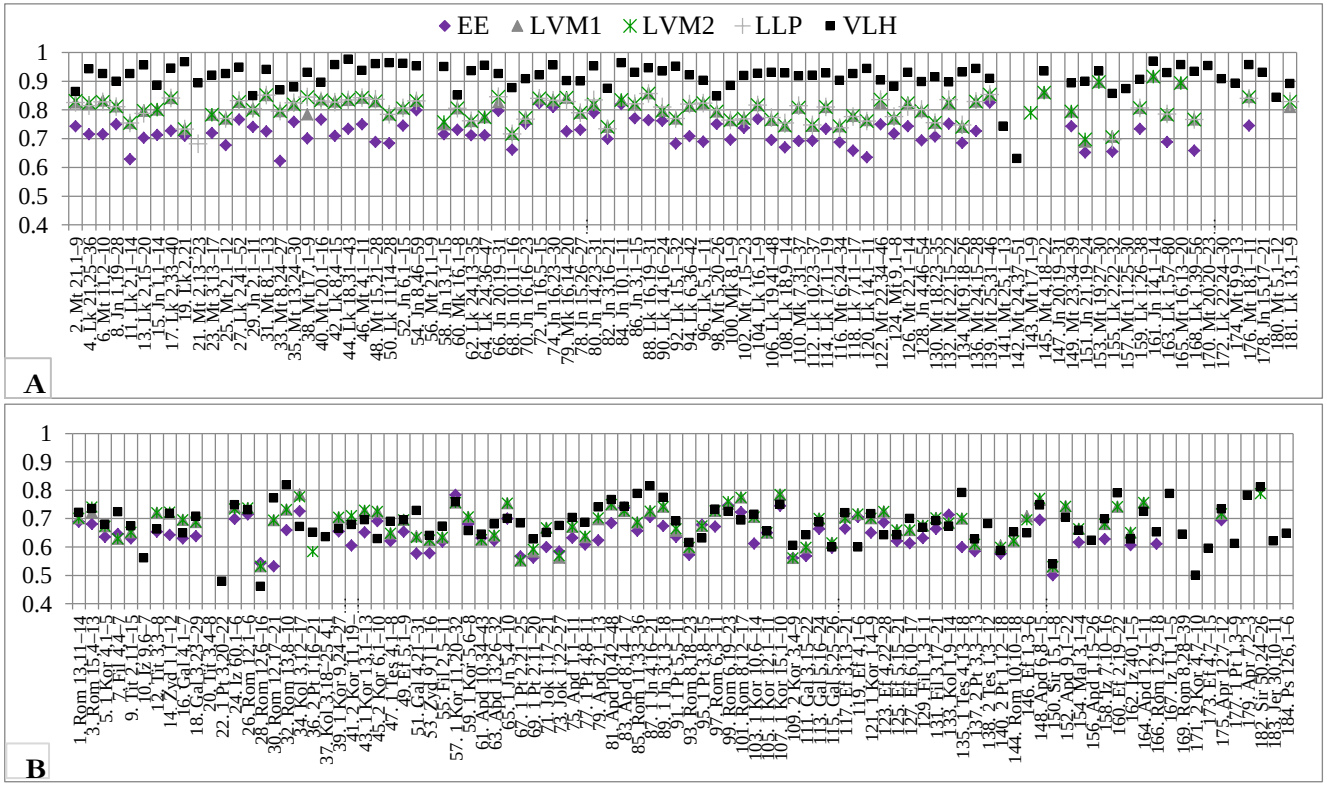


Figure 4. Index of overall text matches in pericopes (A – gospel pericopes; B – non-gospel pericopes)

Such conclusions make it clear that none of the other translations under examination can be considered the basis of respective gospel passages in Glück's Bible. However, the textual matches identified in the gospel pericopes are substantial (see Figure 4, section A). The highest index of overall textual overlap in **Mancelius'** collections of pericopes was measured in the pericope of Jhn. 14:1–14 (0.92), while the lowest one was detected in Jhn. 21:19–24 (LVM_1 – 0.69; LVM_2 – 0.70). The index values in the postil were the following: Lk. 16:19–31 (0.86) and Mt. 2:13–23 (0.68). The highest result in the first collection of pericopes in EE was observed in Mt. 25:31–46 (0.825), but other fragments feature similar results with the difference of only several hundredth parts in Jhn. 16:5–15 (0.823) and Jhn. 10:1–11 (0.82), while the lowest number was detected in Mt. 8:24–27 (0.62). Such high results indirectly suggest that the first Bible in Latvian was affected not only by Fürecker's translations of the gospel pericopes but they also indicate that VLH was affected by the earlier translations as well. In other words, the tradition of producing gospel texts was prevalent at that time.

3.2.2 Non-gospel pericopes

In contrast to the gospel pericopes, the index of textual matches in the non-gospel pericopes distributed completely differently (see Figure 4, Section B). The index of overall textual matches in EE ranges from 0.5 to 0.78. More precisely, in LVM_1 it ranges from 0.53 to 0.78; in LVM_2 – from 0.53 to 0.79. while in VLH – from 0.46 to 0.82. As can be observed, such results distribute chronologically as the lowest degree of textual overlap is identified in EE and the highest is detected in VLH. In addition, it is important to note that some of the results presented above derive from the same pericopes of different sources (see Figure 4, Section B), which reveals that the fragments of the non-gospel books of the Bible also contained passages which in the Latvian sources prior to GB had been translated with considerable similarity; however, they were not reused by Glück.

Having found that Fürecker's translations of the gospel pericopes were reused in GB, the low results in the extent of lexical overlap in the fragments from other Bible books might be surprising, since one may expect at least similar degree of textual overlap to that observed in the gospel pericopes. The results have revealed variation in the degree of textual overlap in the gospel pericopes since some passages in them contain numerous text matches while others have very few. In addition, there are numerous pericopes (34 out of the 80 shared pericopes) which in other translations match GB more than VLH. Nevertheless, such evidence does not confirm the fact of reuse since the textual overlap in these pericopes is not very extensive or statistically significant (it ranges from 0.004 to 0.12). Rather, these findings reveal the overall textual matches of the translations which have been determined by the source of translation / editing as well as the method of translation.

In fact, the trends of textual overlap that have emerged from the analysis only confirm the argument that the VLH gospel pericopes were reused since the findings allow to reject the assumption that such word matches in the gospel fragments and in GB co-occur by chance.

The question of why the pericopes from other Bible books have more textual matches with other sources than with VLH cannot be answered unequivocally. First, this could have been determined by the fact that Glück did not have access to the manuscript of the translations of all pericopes published in VLH (cf. Mt. 25:1–13 and Mt. 24:37–51). Therefore, in translating specific passages he might have used both the original sources and prior Latvian translations. Second, even if he had had access to Fürecker's translations, Glück could have decided not to base his translation on them. Third, this could have been determined by other unknown reasons. Nevertheless, the data analysed seems to suggest that the first hypothesis is the most likely, since not all VLH pericopes were available for Glück's disposal. Nonetheless, it is difficult to firmly

state that he did not have access to all the non-gospel pericopes of VLH, since the index of textual matches in some of them is indeed high, namely, Rom. 13:8–10 (0.82), 1 Jhn. 4:16–21 (0.82) or Sir. 50:24–26 (0.81) and they exceed the threshold (0.8) of the index value which allows suspicion that the matches are not coincidental. But the examination of not only the index but also linguistic features of the relevant fragments shows that they contain no cases of unique duplicates between VLH and GB. By contrast, such matches are found in EE or LVM. Thus, a tentative hypothesis can be raised that when producing the translation of the New Testament, Glück did not have access to the majority of the non-gospel pericopes of VLH and the matches of his text with some of the VLH pericopes could have more likely been determined by the shared source of translation or editing.

3.2.3 UP (1675)

Reuter's translation in this context should be discussed separately since none of the 16 fragments in UP were found to formally match those in the collections of pericopes in GB. Nevertheless, four of them are similar to the pericopes, namely, Mt. 5:1–12; Mt. 5:20–26; Mt. 6:24–34 and Mt. 7:15–23. But the consideration of potential reuse of these pericopes in GB is only tentative since sections 5, 6, and 7 of the Gospel of Matthew in UP are not divided into the same fragments as those in GB.

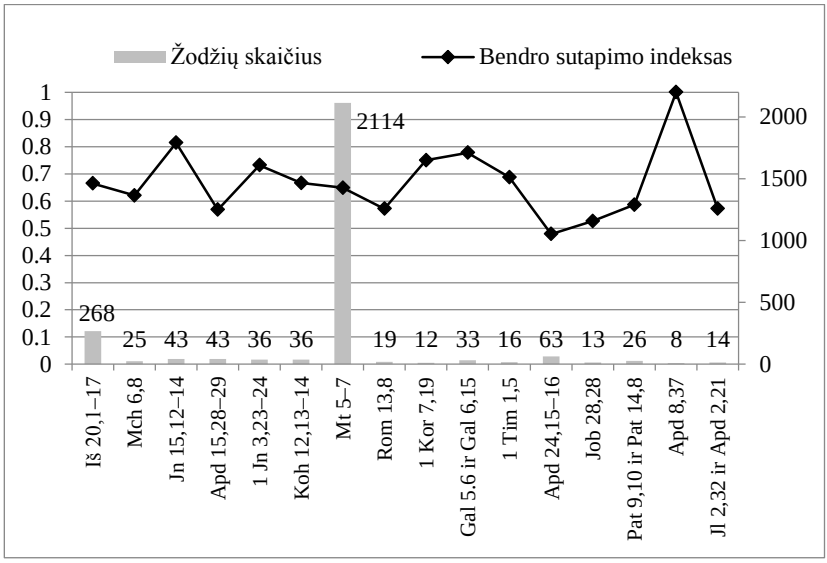


Figure 5. Index of overall textual matches between UP and GB

The index of overall matches between GB and UP ranges from 0.48 to 1. However, the unique match occurs in the shortest fragment of UP, i.e. the verse of Acts 8:37 which consists of only 8 words and which in UP was in fact shortened (in fact, the verse of Acts 8:37 in GB consists of 24 words). As a result, such textual overlap cannot be considered an unequivocal instance of text reuse. The examination of lengthier pericopes from the Book of Exodus and the Gospel of Matthew shows that the overlap is quite moderate. Namely, the index of overall textual matches in the Gospel of Matthew is 0.65 and in the Book of Exodus it is 0.66. Thus none of them reach the threshold of 0.8 which could indicate text reuse.

4. CONCLUSIONS

1. Extant correspondence concerning the translation of the first Bible into Latvian contains no information which could suggest that prior Latvian texts were (re)used in translating the Bible. However, the methodology of analysing connections between EE, LVM, LLP, UP, VLH and Glück's Bible applied in this dissertation allows to confirm the observation made by Ludis Bērziņš that some pre-existing Latvian fragments of the Lutheran Bible influenced Glück's translation of the Bible into Latvian. But not all prior texts can be considered the Latvian sources of GB.

2. Of the examined texts, the strongest influence on GB was made by Fürecker's translations of pericopes which were later published in ***Vermehretes Lettiſches Hand=Buch*** (1685). The extensive analysis of VLH and GB texts suggests that of 31,264 words in VLH, 25,659 (82.07%) match with those of GB, only 2,803 (8.97%) differ, whereas 2,802 (8.96%) do not have an equivalent in GB. However, a clear distinction must be made between the gospel and non-gospel pericopes since their textual overlap with GB is statistically significantly different (p=0.000). The proportions of word matches in them distribute in the following way: in the gospel pericopes 92.15% of words match, 3.08% of them differ, 4.75% do not have an equivalent; while in the non-gospel passages 69.09% of the words match, 16.51% differ, and 14.40% do not have an equivalent. Thus the textual overlap of the gospel fragments (which exceeded the established threshold of 80%) is clearly not coincidental; however, in other Bible books the index does not reach this threshold.

2.1. The methodology applied in the dissertation provides reliable evidence to argue that **of 87 gospel pericopes** published in VLH, **85 were reused** in GB. Complete word matches between VLH and GB constitute as much as 83.89% of all the

words of the gospel pericopes and substantially exceed the established threshold of 60%. Therefore, Fürecker's translation is considered to be the main translation source of relative fragments of GB. Two pericopes of VLH were not reused in GB, namely, Mt. 25:1–13 and Mt. 24:37–51 devoted to the 27th Sunday after Trinity. It is very likely that they were absent in the manuscript which Glück had access to when conducting his translation. Mt. 25:1–13 and Mt. 24:37–51 were most probably added later into VLH and these pericopes had most probably been translated by Adophis, the editor of the book (or by another person in his environment) rather than by Fürecker. However, to verify this hypothesis, an additional study is required.

The examination of the distribution of complete word matches in VLH and GB revealed that the first gospels of the New Testament in VLH and GB overlap less than they do in its subsequent gospels. Complete matches in the pericopes of different books distribute in the following way: in the Gospel of Mark they constitute 77.83%, in the Gospel of Matthew they make up 80.82%, in the Gospel of John they constitute 84.82%, and in Gospel of Luke they make 86.85%.

One difference was identified in the verse of Lk. 17:14, i.e. la. *ais*=*eijoht* (VLH): *ahs eijoht* (GB) ('as they went'). This difference raises a hypothesis that the extent of textual overlap between GB and Fürecker's manuscript which Glück had at his disposal could have been even greater than revealed by the comparing and contrasting VLH and GB. The modification reveals that **Adolphis,** the editor of the book, in fact **edited Fürecker's translation**. However, there is currently no evidence which could provide more specific information on the extent, exact places and the types of other editorial modifications Adolphis could have possibly made in the text.

2.2. Other pericopes from 22 books in the Bible published in VLH **were not reused** in GB. Matches identified in those

pericopes are either coincidental or predetermined by overlaps with earlier translations (mostly by Mancelius) rather than evidence of direct use of Fürecker's pericopes. However, there are individual cases, e.g. Eph. 5:15, when lexical matches found in the texts make it difficult to reject GB's reliance on Fürecker's translations. Thus it is possible to consider that Glück might have had several translations of non-gospel texts translated by Fürecker and could have relied on them as supplementary sources in order to find more suitable correspondences.

A more extensive analysis of the 93 non-gospel pericopes of VLH demonstrates that complete matches in them constitute less than half of all the words, i.e. 47.68% and they do not reach the threshold of 60% which would allow suspicion of possible text reuse. The greatest extent of complete matches in VLH and GB was detected in 1 Jhn. (62.40%) and the lowest degree of overlap was found in Mal. (32.50%). However, there is no clear distinction between excerpts from NT (non-gospel texts) and those of OT, since the greatest relative share of complete matches in VLH and GB occur in the pericopes of Sir. 50:24–26 (0.75) and Rom. 13:8–10 (0.74). But since these passages also match in other texts under examination, there is no evidence to suggest that they were adopted only from VLH. The smallest relative share of complete matches occurs in the following pericopes which are only present in VLH: 1 Pet. 3:20–22 (0.25) and 2 Cor. 4:7–10. This finding substantiates the conclusion that textual overlap in the non-gospel pericopes between VLH and GB were most likely determined by the overall overlap found between all the sources. This is supported by an observation that, contrary to the non-gospel passages, numerous other non-gospel excerpts which are only present in VLH show insignificant overlap with GB.

2.3. However, irrespective of the fact that some pericopes in VLH and their relative sections in GB exhibit substantial textual

overlap (cf. Luk. 2:33–40 (0.94)), none of the 180 pericopes in VLH have a complete match in GB. All of the pericopes show at least minimal differences, thus there is no evidence to suggest that the fragments could have been blindly rewritten by Glück. Evidently, they had been customarily compared with the original New Testament in Greek since passages that deviated from the original text were often revised.

3. The differences identified in Georg Mancelius' collections of pericopes ***Lettiſch Vade mecum*** published in **1631** and 1644 show that the 1631 edition of the LVM **did not serve** as the basis of translation in GB. However, this does not mean that the text published 1644 was certainly used as a supplementary text since at the moment there is no evidence to suggest the presence of the third edition of LVM pericopes published in 1673 which Glück could have used as the latest version at that time.

4. The analysis carried out provides evidence to claim that the 1644 issue of Mancelius' ***Lettiſch Vade mecum*** (or a very similar later edition of LVM_3) **was a supplementary Latvian source** in Glück's Bible, but it was used selectively. A more detailed examination of the texts from LVM_2 and GB demonstrates that of 27,714 words in LVM_2, 21,021 (75.85%) match those in Glück's Bible, 3,393 (14.21%) differ, whereas 2,754 (9.94%) do not have an equivalent in GB. However, similarly to VLH, LVM_2 also exhibits clear statistically significant (p=0.00000) differentiation between the gospel texts and other excerpts of the Bible in which the proportions of word matches distribute in the following way: in the gospel excerpts 80.75% of the words match; 11.26% of them differ, 8.01% have no equivalents; while in the non-gospel texts 69.12% of the words match, 18.29% differ, and 12.60% have no equivalents. Thus it is only the textual match of the fragments from gospel texts that

allows suspicion of non-coincidental overlap between the translations as it exceeds the threshold of 80%.

4.1. The qualitative evaluation of matching words in the 79 gospel pericopes of LVM_2 and GB shows that of 16,061 words in LVM_2, 9,753 (60.73%) have a complete match in GB. Unlike in VLH, the passages from the first gospel of the NT exhibit more textual overlap with GB than do its subsequent gospels. Namely, complete matches in VLH and GB in the pericopes of the Gospel of Matthew constitute 62.07%, in the Gospel of John they make up 60.81%, in the Gospel of Mark – 60.06%, and in the Gospel of Luke – 59.56%. Correspondingly, the analysis of the examples revealed that complete matches between LVM_2 and GB only occur in the pericopes of the Gospel of Matthew, while the examined matches in the passages from other gospel texts were most likely determined by the reuse of Mancelius' LVM in VLH.

4.2. The analysis of 79 **non-gospel pericopes** from 19 Bible books in LVM_2 reveals that Mancelius' **translation served as translation source in GB**, especially in the pericopes of the Epistle to the Romans and Epistle to Corinthians. However, it is important to note that none of the pericopes were completely reused in GB but, rather, they were used as supplementary sources. This observation is also corroborated by the more detailed analysis of matching words in LVM_2 and GB, which demonstrated that of 11,654 words in the non-gospel excerpts, 5,074 (43.54%) have complete matches in GB. The greatest relative share of complete matches between LVM_2 and GB in non-gospel fragments occurs in the First Epistle of John (0.56) which undoubtedly was used in writing GB; whereas the lowest share of complete matches is detected in the Second Epistle of Peter (0.34) which was translated by Glück anew from the New Testament in Ancient Greek. The evaluation of textual overlap at the level of pericopes shows that the fragments which possess

the greatest extent of textual overlap are those of Rom. 13: 8–10 (0.71), Rom. 11: 33–36 and Sir. 50: 24–26 (0.64), while those that have the fewest matches are Rom. 12: 6–16 (0.16). All the fragments show a similar extent of textual overlap in all the collections of pericopes under examination.

5. Of all the collections of pericopes examined, the lowest extent of overlap with GB is detected in the earliest work, i.e. in ***Euangelia vnd Epiſteln*** (1587) which Glück **did not use as a source** of translation. Of the 26,524 words in EE, 18,319 (69.07%) match, 4,687 (17.67%) differ and 3,517 (13.26%) do not have an equivalent in GB. Although the difference between the gospel and the non-gospel excerpts of the Bible is not as prominent in this text in comparison to the later collections, it is also statistically significant (p=0.00000000000000003614). The proportions of word matches are the following, respectively: in the gospel pericopes 72.30% of the words match, 15.66% differ, and 12.04% have no equivalents; whereas in the non-gospel pericopes 66.34% match, 19.76% differ, and 13.90% do not have an equivalent. A substantial number of words that have no equivalents in GB was determined by the fact that EE had been translated from Luther's Bible word-for-word.

5.1. Lexical **matches** between EE and GB **in the 73 gospel fragments are indirect**; they co-occurred as a result of the influence of other sources on the first translation of the Bible. The extensive analysis of the texts of EE and GB shows that of 15,637 words present in EE fragments, 7,257 (46%) have a complete match in GB. The largest proportion of such matches is found in the fragments of the Gospel of John (49.13%), and the Gospel of Matthew (47.71%), whereas the proportions are slightly lower in the Gospel of Luke (43.99%) and the Gospel of Mark (43.71%). The results distribute in the same way when evaluating them at the level of pericopes: the greatest relative share of complete matches between EE and GB is identified in

Jhn. 16: 5–15 (0.61), while the smallest relative share is found in Lk. 2: 1–14 (0.33). The examination of the reasons of the occurrence of (non-)matches in the above–mentioned sections of EE and GB has revealed the following tendency: the gospel fragments in EE and GB usually (but not always) match in those passages which also exhibit substantial overlap with another Latvian translation from LB and vice versa, i.e. when EE differs greatly from those sections of other translations from LB, these sections usually also have numerous differences between EE and GB. Thus, when accounting for the textual matches detected in EE and GB, it is more appropriate to consider that they occur as a result of tradition and conclude that those passages of EE and GB which overlap the most tend to reveal that when translating the Scripture, Glück was following Luther's Bible or other Latvian texts.

5.2. The **textual matches of the 73 non-gospel pericopes** from 18 books of the Bible **are also indirect** and do not show any connections between EE and GB. Of the 10,894 words in the pericopes, merely 3,953 (36.31%) have a complete match in GB. The largest relative share of complete matches is detected in the fragments of the First Epistle of John (0.48), while the smallest share occurs in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Hebrews (0.31). Of all the pericopes, the Epistle to the Romans stands out as the index of textual overlap in it reaches the limit values, namely, Rom. 11: 33–36 (0.56) and Rom. 12: 4–15 (0.18). The trend detected in the gospel fragments was also observed here: those passages of the text which exhibit substantial textual overlap between EE and GB are also very similar in other Latvian translations, while those that show many differences are also substantially different in either all the other translations or only in Glück's Bible.

6. The analysis of word matches between Mancelius' pericopes ***Lang=gewůnſchte Lettiſche Poſtill*** (1654) and GB revealed a rather substantial overlap between the two texts. Of the 13,966 words in LLP, 11,126 (80.52%) match, 1,590 (11.38%) differ and 1,130 (8.09%) do not have an equivalent in GB. Irrespective of the fact that the extent of lexical overlap exceeds the threshold of 80%, the contrastive analysis of the fragments (especially of Mt. 2: 13–15) shows that **Glück did not rely on** the translations of the gospel pericopes present in Mancelius' postil and that the substantial extent of textual overlap was determined by the use of LVM_2 pericopes in LLP.

7. The examination of textual matches between Johann Reuter's ***Eine Ůberſetzungs Probe*** (1675) and GB **provides no evidence** to support the hypothesis **that Glück reused** Reuter's fragments in his translation. This corroborates the same conclusions drawn by Jēgers and Karulis and disproves the statements made by other authors (Ozols, Terings) about the reuse of Reuter's texts in GB. A more extensive analysis of UP and GB demonstrates that the proportions of word matches in UP are the most distinctive in comparison to all the the sources examined in this study. Of the 2,769 words, 1,873 (67.68%) match, 638 (23.04%) differ and 260 (9.39%) do not have an equivalent in GB. Complete word matches in UP and GB constitute only 40.63% of the overall sample. It was observed that due to the use of different sources of translation in those instances when GB matched earlier translations of biblical fragments into Latvian which had mostly been translated from LB, Glück's Bible showed the most differences from UP. Thus a conclusion can be drawn that rather than implying text reuse, textual matches in GB and UP reveal the use of the same translation source.

8. The contrastive analysis of the biblical fragments shows that irrespective of the fact that **GB** (more specifically, the NT) is a very

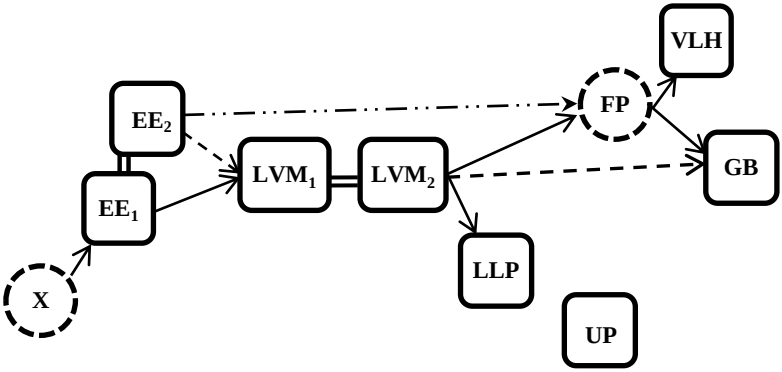
heterogeneous translation as it contains translations from the Bible in the original languages, from Luther's Bible as well as reuse of previous Latvian translations, a clear distinction must be made between the gospel fragments and the non-gospel fragments of other books of the Bible. The latter were mostly translated by Glück independently by referring to previous Latvian translations only as supplementary materials; however, the influence of the gospel fragments on his translation is enormous, therefore it would be more accurate to consider Glück's translation of certain sections of the Bible as a result of using a specific translation method, i.e. blending of other texts and therefore Glück should be considered the editor rather than the translator of those passages.

9. The influence of the gospel fragments on GB can be accounted for by **the tradition of translating gospel texts** that was prevalent at the time. In all the collections of pericopes they are considerably closer to GB in comparison to the passages from other books of the Bible. The latter were mostly translated in GB from the original, therefore it can be presumed that if Glück had translated the gospel excerpts absolutely independently, the original of the NT would have been selected as the major textual source in translating the gospels. This intention is substantiated by the common correction of the reused fragments (which had been translated from LB) in accordance with the original of the NT in Ancient Greek.

10. The analysis of the examples also revealed the different styles of translation applied by the different authors of translations examined in this study. The greatest difference in the style of translation was observed in EE and UP as compared to LVM, VLH and GB. EE and Reuter's texts both exhibit the tendency to rather strictly retain the word order of the translation source and they can therefore be considered translations of the *ad verbum* character. In contrast, the biblical fragments were translated by Glück, Fürecker

and in part by Mancelius's more freely and they can therefore be considered instances of mixed or the *ad sensum* type of translations.

11. Having conducted the extensive analysis of textual matches between EE, LVM_1, LVM_2, LLP, UP, VLH and GB and having combined its results with other scholars' observations on the matter (namely, Vanags' remarks regarding EE; Jēgers' and Karulis' insight regarding UP, and Bērzinš's comments regarding VLH), the established textual connections can be illustrated by the following diagram[16]:



Explanations:
– hypothetical manuscript
– printed translation
– revised edition
– direct source
– supplementary source
– presumed supplementary source

X – unknown manuscript translation of pericopes
FP – non-extant manuscript of Fürecker's pericopes or its copy

[16] It is important to note that if the 1673 LVM publication of the collection of pericopes is found, the diagram can be modified. It is possible that Glück's Bible and (less likely) Fürecker's pericopes could have directly been influenced by LVM_3 rather than LVM_2.

12. This study has yielded additional useful information concerning the texts and authors examined:

12.1. The 1671 publication of Georg Mancelius' *Das Hauß, Zucht- und LehrBuch Jeſu Syrachs*, which had been considered non-extant, was found in the library of Lund University (pressmark BDL Si 091);

12.2. The date of Fürecker's birth was revised: the correct year of his birth is 1612 rather than 1615 which was estimated earlier;

12.3. Numerous differences were identified between reprints of EE and LVM publications (up to 1685).

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2015, Iespraudumi oriģinālajos *Vermehretes Lettisches Handbuch* perikopju pantos, *Baltistica* 50(1), 129–149.

2. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2016, Glaustai apie pirmosios Biblijos latvių kalba vertimo istoriją, *Archivum Lithuanicum* 18, 451–468.

3. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2017, Izmaiņas Georga Manceļa 1631. g. un 1644. g. *Lettisch Vade mecum* perikopju daļā, *Baltu filoloģija* 26, 5–36.

4. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2018, Remark on Fürecker‘s studies at Leiden University and the date of his birth, *Baltu filoloģija* 27, 5–11.

BRIEF INFORMATION ABOUT THE CANDIDATE

Ernesta Kazakėnaitė (1989) graduated from Vilnius University and obtained her BA degree in Lithuanian Philology (*Cum laude*; 2012) and her MA degree in General Linguistics (*Magna cum laude*; 2014). From 2014 to 2018 she was a doctoral student in the field of humanities at Vilnius University. During her doctoral studies she published four articles, gave more than ten talks at international conferences and seminars and actively participated in scientific research projects. She spent part of her studies (the academic year of 2016–2017 and the spring term of the 2017–2018 academic year) at the University of Latvia. To complete her thesis, she had numerous library visits in Tallinn, Tartu, Greifswald, Uppsala, Stockholm, Lund, Copenhagen, Helsinki and Krakow on the basis of Vilnius University mobility support for doctoral students.

XVI–XVII A. LIUTERONŲ LATVIŠKŲJŲ BIBLIJOS FRAGMENTŲ SĄSAJOS SU GLÜCKO BIBLIJOS VERTIMU (1685–1694)

SANTRAUKA

Problema ir tyrimų apžvalga

Dėl įvairių kultūrinių veiksnių plačiąja prasme Biblija latvių kalba nebuvo paprasta ir greitai įgyvendinama idėja. Visa Biblija latvių kalba pasirodė XVII a. pabaigoje – nors NT pradėtas spausdinti jau 1685 m., o ST – 1689, Biblija pavadinimu *Ta Śwehta Grahmata* pradėta platinti tik 1694 m. Iki to bažnytiniame gyvenime aktyviai naudotasi mažesnės apimties Biblijos fragmentų vertimais, kurių iki pirmosios Biblijos pasirodė palyginti nemažai – perikopių rinkinių (1587, 1615, 1631, 1640, 1644, 1673, 1685 ir t. t.), giesmių knygų (1587, 1615 ir t. t.), Siracido ir patarlių knygos vertimų (1631, 1637 ir t. t.), taip pat postilė (1654), nedideli Biblijos fragmentų vertimai (1675) ir kt. Todėl natūraliai gali kilti klausimas, koks pirmosios Biblijos santykis su ankstesniais vertimais, ar vertėjas jais nesinaudojo? Iš su vertimu ir vertėju susijusios medžiagos gali susidaryti įspūdis, kad ne. Viename išlikusių laiškų (1699) vertėjas Ernstas Glückas teigė[17] vertęs kiekvieną dieną aštuonerius metus iš originalių šaltinių tik vienam pagalbininkui padedant ir apie kitus iki jo atliktus fragmentų vertimus į latvių kalbą neužsiminė. Vis dėlto **problema** išryškėja vos žvilgterėjus į tekstą – galima rasti daug pavyzdžių, kuriuose Glücko Biblija žodis žodin sutampa su kuriuo iš ankstesnių vertimų.

Nors pirmoji latvių Biblija dėl ypatingos istorinės, kultūrinės ir lingvistinės reikšmės sulaukė ne vieno tyrėjo dėmesio, Ernsto Glücko verstõs *Ta Śwehta Grahmata* (1685–1694) sąsajos su ankstesniais vertimais mokslininkų plačiau nėra analizuotos, tačiau ne vieno apie jas

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[17] „<...> und geschahe, daß innerhalb 8 Jahren durch tag- und nachtlichen fleiß (außer waß zu meinen anderen amts-gechäfften abbrechen muste) mit beyhülffe eines nur einzigen Amanuensis dermaligen studiosi, izzigen Lenwardischen Pastoris Witten <...>.“ (Cituota iš Dunsdorfo (1979: 143).

užsiminta. Išsamiausia pastaba šia tema, kurią percituoja visi tolesni autoriai, laikytinas Ludžio Bērzinio (1928) straipsnis apie Christoforą Füreckerį. Nors jame minėtai problemai skirta vos keletas puslapių, kuriuose daugiausia vietos užima teikiami keturi pavyzdžiai, ir gretinami trys šaltiniai (Mancelio, Füreckerio ir Glücko), autoriaus pastebėjimai yra labai reikšmingi. Bērzinio (1928: 175) nuomone, pirmosios Biblijos vertėjas rėmėsi Füreckerio perikopių vertimais, nes vietomis abu tekstai sutampa žodis žodin, tačiau vėliau priduria, kad esą sunku pasakyti, kokio masto buvo ši įtaka (Bērziņš 1939: 152). Dėl sąsajų su kitais prieš GB pasirodžiusiais bibliniais tekstais svarstyta mažiau ir dažniausiai bendrai sakiniu ar dviem paminint, kad įtaką darė visi, arba – Mancelis su Füreckeriu (Bērziņš 1939: 152) ar Reuteris (Ozols 1965: 270). Vis dėlto nėra tyrimų, kuriuose tekstų sąsajos būtų tirtos nuosekliai. Gerokai plačiau jos analizuojamos šiame darbe, kurio **tikslas** – nustatyti ir įvertinti ankstesnių latviškųjų Biblijos fragmentų sąsajas su atitinkamomis vietomis pirmojoje Biblijoje latvių kalba (1685–1694), t. y. atskleisti jos latviškuosius šaltinius.

Kuriant specialių tekstų palyginimo metodiką tyrimo **objektu** pasirinkti leksiniai tekstų sutapimai, t. y. sutampančių A šaltinio[18] ir GB žodžių kiekybinis bei kokybinis įvertinimas.

Tikslui pasiekti formuluojami tokie **uždaviniai**:

1) sudaryti iki 1685 m. imtinai išspausdintų liuteronų Biblijos ištraukų ir jų atitinkamų fragmentų pirmojoje Biblijoje latvių kalba tekstų bazę;
2) pasiūlyti ir pagrįsti biblinių vertimų sutapimų tyrimo metodiką;
3) koduoti tekstų bazę sutapimams identifikuoti;
4) nustatyti tiriamų šaltinių sutapimus su GB ir jų sutapimo indeksą;
5) įvertinti spausdintų liuteronų Biblijos ištraukų latvių kalba įtaką Glücko *Ta Śwehta Grahmata* vertimui.

[18] A – t. y. ankstesnis; taip vadinami visi tiriami tekstai, pasirodę prie GB.

Tyrimo medžiagą sudaro liuteronų Biblijos knygų (daugiausia Naujojo Testamento) fragmentų vertimai į latvių kalbą:

1) pirmasis spausdintas perikopių rinkinys latvių kalba *Euangelia vnd Epiſteln* (1587; toliau – EE);
2) du Georgo Mancelio *Lettiſch Vade mecum* leidimai (toliau – LVM): pirmasis 1631 m. (toliau – LVM_1) ir antrasis 1644 m. (toliau – LVM_2);
3) Georgo Mancelio *Lang=gewůnſchte Lettiſche Poſtill* (1654; toliau – LLP);
4) Johanno Reuterio *Eine Ůberſetzungs Probe* (1675; toliau – UP);
5) Christophoro Füreckerio perikopės, išspausdintos knygoje *Vermehretes Lettiſches Hand=Buch* (1685; toliau – VLH);
6) Ernsto Glücko *Ta Śwehta Grahmata* (1685–1694; toliau – GB).

Prie darbo medžiagos priskirtini ir pagalbiniai šaltiniai: Naujasis Testamentas senąja graikų kalba (toliau – GR), Senasis Testamentas hebrajų kalba (toliau – HB) ir atitinkamos vietos Septuagintoje (toliau – SP), Vulgata (toliau – V) ir Martino Lutherio *Biblija* ankstyvąja naująja vokiečių aukštaičių (toliau – LB) bei ankstyvąja naująja vokiečių žemaičių (toliau – LBž) tarmėmis.

Svarbu paminėti, kad Biblijos knygų vertimų į latvių kalbą yra ir daugiau, pvz., Siracido knyga, kuri atskiru leidimu iki Biblijos išleista penkis kartus. Dėl apimties ir specifikos joms būtinas atskiras tyrimas.

Originalumas ir naujumas

Pirmosios liuteronų Biblijos latvių kalba vertimo ar redagavimo šaltiniai nėra tirti. Taip pat nėra ir išsamaus pirmųjų biblinių tekstų tarpusavio ryšių tyrimo. Vienur kitur (pvz., Bērziņš 1939: 152; Ozols 1965: 270 ir kt.) yra paminėta galima Mancelio, Reuterio ar Füreckerio tekstų įtaka Glücko vertimui, tačiau ši problema plačiau nėra analizuota, apsiribojama tik keliais pavieniais pavyzdžiais. Disertacijoje pirmą kartą sistemingai siekiama nustatyti ankstesnių Biblijos fragmentų ir pirmosios latvių Biblijos vertimų sąsajas. Nekyla abejonių, kad pirmoji Biblija tautine kalba buvo svarbus įvykis daugelio kalbų kodifikacijos procese (plg. lietuvių, latvių), todėl svarbu nustatyti vertėjo indėlį bei

tai, kiek jam įtakos galėjo daryti ankstesni autoriai, t. y. atskleisti Biblijos vertimo daugiasluoksniškumą ar (ne)tiesioginį kolektyviškumą, jei toks galėjo būti. Aprašomas tyrimas yra reikalingas, nes į Biblijos latvių kalba vertimą mokslininkų nuolat atsigręžiama, o tekstų sąsajų žinojimas būtinas norint tiksliau įvertinti kalbinius vertimo faktus ir galimą jų kilmę. Iš tiesų atliekamas tyrimas aktualus ne tik filologams, bet ir kultūros ar bažnyčios istorikams, nes tiriant vertimų sąsajas neišvengiamai buvo gilinamasi į autorių kultūrinę ir socialinę aplinką, patikslinti keli biografiniai duomenys.

Ginamieji teiginiai:

1. Egzistavo Lutherio Biblija besiremianti Naujojo Testamento fragmentų vertimo į latvių kalbą tradicija – tekstų perimamumas tirtuose perikopių rinkiniuose akivaizdus. Vis dėlto ankstesni tekstai darė įtaką tik Glücko Biblijos evangelijoms, verčiant kitas NT dalis jie nebuvo pasirinkti vertimo pagrindu.
2. Daugiausia buvo remiamasi Christophoro Füreckerio evangelinių ištraukų vertimu. Su Glücko Biblija sutampantys žodžiai jose sudaro 92.15% visų žodžių, o kituose latviškuose tekstuose – mažiau: LVM_2 – 80.75%, LLP – 80.52%, EE – 72.30%.
3. 85 iš 87 evangelinių Füreckerio verstų perikopių daugiau ar mažiau buvo pernaudotos Glücko Biblijoje. Likusiomis dviem – 27 sekmadieniui po Švč. Trejybės skirtomis Mt 25,1–13 ir Mt 24,37–51 – GB nebuvo remtasi.
4. Iš 85 perimtų Füreckerio perikopių daugiausia su GB sutampa Luko evangelijos ištraukos, kuriose sutampantys žodžiai siekia net 94%. Kiek mažiau jie sudaro Jono (93%), Mato (90%) ir Morkaus (89%) perikopėse.
5. Vienas iš pagalbinių pirmosios Biblijos latvių kalba šaltinių buvo Georgo Mancelio *Lettiſch Vade mecum* perikopių vertimai, tačiau jais naudotasi selektyviai.
6. Glücko Biblijoje nebuvo pernaudoti *Euangelia vnd Epiſteln* (1587) ir Mancelio *Lang=gewůnſchte Lettiſche Poſtill* (1654) perikopių ir Johanno Reuterio *Eine Überſetzungs Probe* (1675) ištraukų vertimai.

IŠVADOS

1. Išlikusiuose pirmosios Biblijos latvių kalba dokumentuose nuorodų, kad buvo remtasi ankstesniais latviškais tekstais, nėra. Tačiau disertacijoje taikoma EE, LVM, LLP, UP ir VLH tekstų sąsajų su Glücko Biblija tyrimo metodika leidžia patvirtinti Ludžio Bērzinio pastebėjimą, kad dalis latviškų liuteronų Biblijos fragmentų darė įtaką Glücko Biblijos vertimui. Vis dėlto ne visus ankstesnius tekstus būtų galima laikyti latviškaisiais GB šaltiniais.

2. Iš visų tirtų tekstų neabejotinai didžiausią įtaką GB darė Christophoro Füreckerio perikopių vertimai, kurie vėliau publikuoti ***Vermehretes Lettifches Hand=Buch*** (1685). Išsami VLH ir GB tekstų analizė leidžia teigti, kad iš 31 264 VLH žodžių 25 659 (82.07%) su GB sutampa, vos 2803 (8.97%) skiriasi, o 2802 (8.96%) neturi atitikmens GB. Vis dėlto perikopių rinkinyje darytina aiški skirtìs tarp evangelinių ir kitų ištraukų, kurių sutapimas su GB statistiškai reikšmingai skiriasi (p=0.000). Žodžių sutapimo proporcijos jose atitinkamai yra: evangelinėse perikopėse – 92.15% sutampa, 3.08% skiriasi, 4.75% neturi atitikmens, o neevangelinėse – 69.09% sutampa, 16.51% skiriasi, 14.40% neturi atitikmens. Taigi viršijantis nustatytą galimą pernaudojimą rodančią ribą – 80% – bendras evangelinių ištraukų sutapimas yra akivaizdžiai neatsitiktinis, tačiau ištraukose iš kitų Biblijos knygų prie šios ribos nepriartėta.

2.1. Disertacijoje taikyta metodika leidžia patikimai teigti, kad **iš 87** VLH publikuotų **evangelinių perikopių 85 yra pernaudotos GB**, todėl jose vartojamą kalbą tiksliau būtų laikyti Füreckerio, o ne Glücko vertimo kalbos pavyzdžiais, išskyrus tai, kas redaguojant pakeista. Visiški VLH ir GB atitikmenys sudaro net 83.89% visų evangelinių perikopių žodžių ir gerokai viršija nustatytą 60% ribą, todėl Füreckerio vertimas laikytinas pagrindiniu GB atitinkamų vietų šaltiniu. Išskyrus dvi VLH 27 sekmadieniui po Švč. Trejybės skirtas **Mt 25,1–13 ir Mt 24,37–51** perikopes, kuriomis GB **nesi-remta**. Labai tikėtina, kad Glücko turėtame rankraštyje jų nebuvo. Mt 25,1–13 ir Mt 24,37–51 VLH greičiausiai pridė-tos vėliau ir buvo verstos

ne Füreckerio, bet knygos sudaryto-jo Adolphio ar kito jo aplinkos žmogaus, tačiau tam patvirtinti būtinas papildomas tyrimas.

Ištyrus visiškų VLH ir GB atitikmenų pasiskirstymą nustatyta, kad pìrmosios NT evangelijos VLH ir GB sutampa mažiau nei einančios po jų: Morkaus evangelijos perikopėse visiški atitikmenys sudaro 77.83%, Mato – 80.82%, Jono – 84.82%, Luko – 86.85%.

Vienas Lk 17,14 versete užfiksuotas skirtumas – la. *ais*=*eijoht* (VLH) : *ahs eijoht* (GB) ‘nueinant’ – ragina kelti hipotezę, kad GB sutapimas su Glücko turimu Füreckerio rankraščiu iš tiesų galėjo būti dar didesnis nei yra nustatytas gretinant VLH ir GB. Jis rodo, kad knygos sudarytojas Adolphis redagavo Füreckerio vertimą, tačiau nėra žinoma ir negalima tiksliai pasakyti, kiek, kur ir kokių redakcinių pakeitimų dar galėjo atlikti.

2.2. Kitos (**neevangelinės**) VLH publikuotos **perikopės** iš 22-ių Biblijos knygų nebuvo pernaudotos GB – **sutapimai** jose veikiau **yra atsitiktiniai** ar nulemti sutapimų su ankstesniais latviškais (daugiausia Mancelio) vertimais, o ne tiesioginio naudojimosi Füreckerio perikopėmis. Vis dėlto yra keletas pavienių atvejų, pvz., Ef 5,15, kai dėl leksinių sutapimų rėmimąsi Füreckeriu paneigti sunku, todėl gali būti, kad Glückas galėjo turėti kelių neevangelinių Füreckerio ištraukų vertimus ir remtis jais kaip pagalbiniu šaltiniu, ieškodamas tinkamesnio žodžio.

Detalesnė 93-ių VLH neevangelinių perikopių analizė rodo, kad visiški atitikmenys jose sudaro mažiau kaip pusę žodžių – vos 47.68% – ir nesiekia nustatytos pernaudojimą leidžiančios įtarti ribos (60%). Didžiausia visiškų VLH ir GB atitikmenų dalis užfiksuota ištraukose iš Jono pirmojo laiško (62.40%), o mažiausia – ištraukose iš Malachijo knygos (32.5%). Tačiau aiškios skirties tarp NT (neevangelinių) ir ST ištraukų sutapimo nėra, nes didžiausią santykinę dalį visiški VLH ir GB atitikmenys sudaro Sir 50,24–26 (0.75) ir Rom 13,8–10 (0.74) perikopėse. Vis dėlto, nors sutapimas jose gerokai viršija 60% ribą, jų apimtis nedidelė ir jos daug kur sutampa su kitais tiriamais vertimais, todėl laikyti perimtomis tik iš VLH nėra pagrindo. Mažiausią santykinę dalį visiški atitikmenys

sudaro tik VLH esančiose 1 Pt 3,20–22 (0.25) ir 2 Kor 4,7–10 (0.27) perikopėse. Tai pagrindžia išvadą, kad VLH ir GB sutapimai neevangelinėse perikopėse veikiau nulemti bendrų sutapimų su visais tekstais, nes pastebėta, kad taip pat ir kitos **tik VLH esančios neevangelinės ištraukos**, priešingai nei evangelinės, **sutampa nedaug**.

2.3. Kad ir koks didelis būtų kai kurių VLH perikopių sutapimas su GB (plg. Lk 2,33–40 (0.94)), iš 180 nėra nė vienos, kuri VLH ir GB sutaptų visiškai – **visose perikopėse yra bent minimalių skirtumų**, todėl nėra pagrindo teigti, kad jos buvo aklai nurašytos. Fragmentai įprastai palyginti su NT originalu senąja graikų kalba, nes nuo jo nutolusios vietos neretai taisytos.

3. Nustatyti skirtumai tarp Georgo Mancelio *Lettiſch Vade mecum* 1631 ir 1644 m. perikopių rinkinių leidimų rodo, kad **1631 m. LVM** Glückas **nesirėmė**. Tačiau negalima teigti, jog tikrai remtasi analizuojamu 1644 m. tekstu, nes šiuo metu nežinomas nė vienas trečiojo 1673 m. LVM perikopių rinkinio egzempliorius, kuriuo kaip tuo metu naujausiu galėjo naudotis Glückas. Vis dėlto sugretinus 1644 (LVM_2) ir 1685 metų (LVM_4) leidimus esminių skirtumų nerasta, išskyrus daug LVM_4 dėl *parablepsio* atsiradusių praleidimų ir dvi pridėtas perikopes, kurių, kaip išaiškėjo iš pastabos prieš jas, nebuvo LVM_3, todėl ir LVM_2 laikytinas reprezentatyviu Mancelio perikopių tekstu.

4. Atlikta analizė leidžia teigti, kad Mancelio 1644 m. ***Lettiſch Vade mecum*** (arba labai panašus vėlesnis LVM_3 leidimas) **buvo pagalbinis** Glücko Biblijos **latviškasis šaltinis**, tačiau juo naudotasi selektyviai. Detalesnė LVM_2 ir GB tekstų analizė rodo, kad iš 27 714 LVM_2 žodžių 21 021 (75.85%) sutampa su Glücko Biblija, 3939 (14.21%) nuo jos skiriasi, o 2754 (9.94%) neturi atitikmens. Tačiau taip pat kaip ir VLH, LVM_2 aiški ir statistiškai reikšminga (p=0.00) evangelinių ir kitų Biblijos ištraukų diferenciacija, kuriose minėtos žodžių sutapimo proporcijos atitinkamai pasiskirsto taip: evange-linėse

ištraukose – 80.75% sutampa, 11.26% skiriasi, 8.01% neturi atitikmens, o neevangelinėse – 69.12% sutampa, 18.29% skiriasi, 12.60% neturi atitikmens. Taigi, tik evangelinių ištraukų sutapimas su GB leidžia įtarti galimą neatsitiktinį sutapimą, nes viršija 80% ribą.

4.1. Atlikus kokybinį LVM_2 ir GB sutampančių žodžių, esančių 79-iose evangelinėse perikopėse, vertinimą nustatyta, kad iš 16 061 LVM_2 žodžio 9753 (60.73%) turi visišką atitikmenį GB. Priešingai nei VLH, **pirmõsios NT evangelijos ištraukos** su GB **sutampa daugiau** nei einančių po jos: visiški LVM_2 ir GB atitikmenys Mato evangelijos perikopėse sudaro 62.07%, Jono – 60.81%, Morkaus – 60.06%, o Luko – 59.56%. Taip pat ir iš pavyzdžių analizės išryškėjo, kad tik Mato evangelijos perikopėse yra unikalių LVM_2 ir GB sutapimų, o tirti sutapimai kitų evangelijų ištraukose nėra tiesioginiai, jie veikiausiai nulemti VLH, kuriame pernaudotas Mancelio LVM.

4.2. **LVM_2** 79-ių **neevangelinių perikopių** iš 19 Biblijos knygų analizė rodo, kad Mancelio **vertimu buvo remtasi**, ypač Laiško romiečiams ir Laiško korintiečiams perikopėmis. Tiesa, nė viena perikopė nebuvo pernaudota GB – jomis remtasi kaip pagalbiniu šaltiniu. Tai, kad LVM_2 nebuvo pagrindinis šaltinis, rodo ir detalesnė LVM_2 ir GB sutampančių žodžių analizė – iš 11 654 neevangelinių ištraukų žodžių visišką atitikmenį GB turi 5074 (43.54%). Didžiausią santykinę dalį neevangelinėse ištraukose visiški LVM_2 ir GB atitikmenys sudaro Jono pirmajame laiške (0.56), kuriuo neabejotinai naudotasi rengiant GB, o mažiausiai – Petro antrajame laiške (0.34), kuris GB verstas iš NT senąja graikų kalba. Vertinant perikopių lygmenį kaip labiausiai sutampančios ištraukos išskirtinos Rom 13,8–10 (0.71), Rom 11,33–36 ir Sir 50,24–26 (0.64), o mažiausiai – Rom 12,6–16 (0.16). Visos minėtos perikopės labai panašiai sutampa ar skiriasi visuose tirtuose perikopių rinkiniuose.

5. Iš perikopių rinkinių mažiausias sutapimas su GB nustatytas anksčiausiame veikale – ***Euangelia vnd Epiſteln*** (1587), kuriuo Glücko **nesinaudota**. Jame iš 26 524 žodžių 18 319 (69.07%) yra sutampantys,

4687 (17.67%) – besiskiriantys ir 3517 (13.26%) – neturintys atitikmens GB. Nors skirtumas tarp evangelinių ir kitų Biblijos ištraukų nėra toks didelis kaip vėlesniuose rinkiniuose, jis yra bei taip pat statistiškai reikšmingas (p=0.00000000000000003614) – žodžių sutapimo proporcijos atitinkamai: evangelinėse perikopėse – 72.30% sutampa, 15.66% skiriasi, 12.04% neturi atitikmens, o neevangelinėse – 66.34% sutampa, 19.76% skiriasi, 13.90% neturi atitikmens. Didelis besiskiriančių ir GB neturinčių atitikmens žodžių skaičius yra nulemtas EE pažodinio vertimo iš LBž.

5.1. **EE ir GB sutapimai** 73-ose **evangelinėse ištraukose yra netiesioginiai**, atsiradę dėl vėlesnių latviškų šaltinių įtakos pirmajam Biblijos vertimui. Detalesnė EE ir GB tekstų analizė rodo, kad iš 15 637 evangelinėse EE ištraukose tirtų žodžių 7257 (46%) turi visišką atitikmenį GB. Didžiausią dalį jie sudaro Jono (49.13%) ir Mato (47.71%) evangelijos ištraukose, o Luko (43.99%) ir Morkaus (43.71%) yra mažiau. Taip pat rezultatai išsidėsto ir vertinant perikopių lygmenį: didžiausią santykinę dalį visiški EE ir GB atitikmenys sudaro Jn 16,5–15 (0.61), o mažiausią – Lk 2,1–14 (0.33). Tiriant minėtų EE dalių (ne)sutapimų priežastis nustatyta tendencija, kad EE ir GB evangelinės ištraukos daugiausia (bet ne visada) sutampa tada, kai jos daug sutampa su kitais latviškais vertimais, taip pat verstais iš LB, ir atvirkščiai – kai EE nuo jų skiriasi, dažniausiai skirtumų daug ir tarp EE bei GB. Taigi, kalbant apie EE ir GB sutapimus, tiksliau būtų vartoti tradicijos sąvoką bei labiausiai sutampančiose jų vietose kalbėti apie Glücko sekimą Lutherio Biblija ar kitais latviškais tekstais.

5.2. Taip pat ir 73-ių **neevangelinių perikopių** iš 19 Biblijos knygų **sutapimai yra netiesioginiai** ir nerodo jokių sąsajų su GB. Iš 10 894 jose esančių žodžių vos 3953 (36.31%) turi visišką atitikmenį Glücko Biblijoje. Didžiausią santykinę dalį jie sudaro Jono pirmojo laiško ištraukose (0.48), o mažiausią – Antrajame laiške korintiečiams ir Laiške žydams (0.31). Iš perikopių išsiskiria Laiškas romiečiams, kuriame fiksuojamos ribinės reikšmės – Rom 11,33–36 (0.56) ir Rom 12,4–16 (0.18). Nustatyta tokia pati tendencija kaip ir

evangelinėse ištraukose, kad EE ir GB labiausiai sutampančios vietos daug sutampa ir kituose latviškuose vertimuose, o besiskiriančios – daug skiriasi visuose arba tik Glücko Biblijoje.

6. Ištyrus Mancelio ***Lang=gewůnſchte Lettiſche Poſtill*** (1654) perikopių ir GB žodžių sutapimą nustatyta, kad jis yra palyginti didelis – iš 13 966 žodžių 11 246 (80.52%) yra sutampantys, 1590 (11.38%) – besiskiriantys ir 1130 (8.09%) – neturintys atitikmens GB. Nepaisant to, kad leksinis sutapimas viršija 80% ribą, gretinamoji fragmentų analizė (ypač Mt 2,13–15) rodo, kad **Glückas nesirėmė** Mancelio postilėje esančių evangelinių perikopių vertimu, todėl didelis sutapimas yra netiesioginis, nulemtas LVM_2 perikopių, kuriomis remtasi VLH ir GB, panaudojimu LLP.

7. Atlikus Johanno Reuterio ***Eine Ůberſetzungs Probe*** (1675) sutapimo su GB analizę nerasta įrodymų, kad Glückas pernaudojo Reuterio fragmentus savo vertime, todėl galima patvirtinti tokią pačią Karulio išvadą ir paneigti ankstesniųjų autorių (Ozolo, Teringo) teiginius dėl Reuterio vertimų pernaudojimo GB. Detalesnė UP ir GB analizė rodo, kad žodžių sutapimo proporcijos UP **skiriasi labiausiai** iš visų gretinamų šaltinių – iš 2769 žodžių 1869 (67.50%) sutampa, 640 (23.11%) skiriasi ir 260 (9.39%) neturi atitikmens GB. Visiški UP ir GB atitikmenys sudaro vos 40.63% visos imties. Pastebėta, kad dėl skirtingų vertimo šaltinių, tais atvejais, kai GB sutampa su ankstesniaisiais Biblijos dalių vertimais latvių kalba, kurie daugiausia versti iš LB, Glücko Biblija nuo UP labiausiai skiriasi. Tai leidžia daryti išvadą, kad GB sutapimai su UP rodo ne teksto pernaudojimą, o bendrą vertimo šaltinį.

8. Atliktas Biblijos fragmentų tyrimas rodo, kad nors **GB** (tiksliau – NT) **yra** labai **nevienalytis vertimas** – kartais versta iš Biblijos originaliomis kalbomis, kartais iš Lutherio Biblijos, o vietomis pernaudoti ankstesni latviški vertimai, – darytina aiški skirtis tarp evangelijų ir ištraukų iš kitų Biblijos knygų. Neevangelinės ištraukos

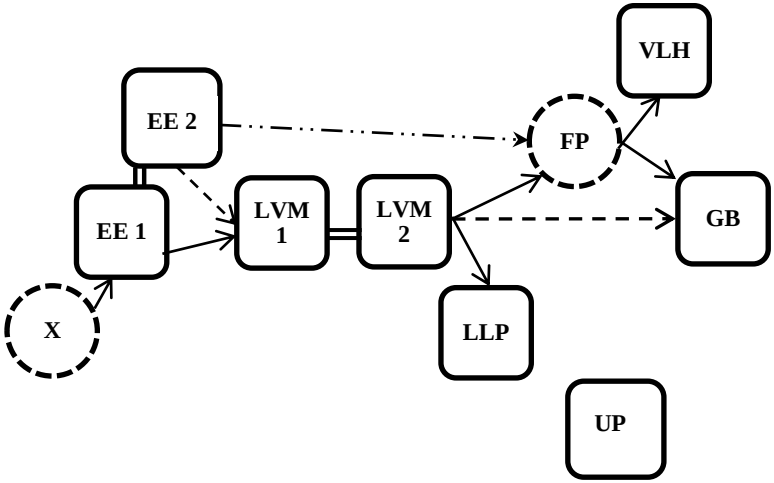
Glücko atrodo verstos daugiausia nepriklausomai, ankstesniu latvišku vertimu pasinaudojant tik kaip pagal-biniu. Tačiau evangelinių fragmentų įtaka yra labai didelė, todėl Glücko Biblijos atitinkamų vietų vertimą neretai būtų tiksliau laikyti kontaminaciniu, o Glücką – tų vietų redaktoriumi, o ne vertėju.

9. Evangelinių ištraukų įtaką pirmajam Biblijos vertimui galėtų pagrįsti vyravusi stipri **evangelinių tekstų vertimo tradicija**. Visuose perikopių rinkiniuose jos su GB sutampa gerokai daugiau nei ištraukos iš kitų Biblijos knygų. Kadangi pastarosios GB daugiausia verstos iš originalo, tikėtina, kad, jei Glückas būtų vertęs tirtas evangelines ištraukas visiškai savarankiškai, NT originalas būtų pasirinktas pagrindiniu jų vertimo šaltiniu. Tokią intenciją grindžia perimtų fragmentų, verstų iš LB, dažnas taisymas pagal NT originalą senąja graikų kalba.

10. Analizuojant pavyzdžius taip pat išryškėjo gretinamų autorių skirtingi vertimo stiliai, kurie labiausiai kontrastuoja EE ir UP su LVM, VLH ir GB. EE ir Reuterio tekste gana griežtai laikomasi vertimo šaltinio, net jame teiktõs žodžių tvarkos, todėl juos galima vadinti labiau *ad verbum* vertimais, o Glücko, Füreckerio ir iš dalies Mancelio tirti Biblijos fragmentai versti kiek laisviau, todėl jie mišresni, labiau *ad sensum* vertimai.

11. Taigi, ištyrus EE, LVM_1, LVM_2, LLP, UP ir VLH sutapimus su GB bei įtraukus kitų mokslininkų pastebėjimus (dėl EE – Vanago, dėl UP – Karulio, dėl VLH – Bērzinio), tekstų sąsajas galima pavaizduoti tokia schema[19]:

[19] Svarbu paminėti, kad radus LVM 1673 m. perikopių rinkinio egzempliorių schema gali pasikeisti. Gali būti, kad Glücko Biblijai ir, mažiau tikėtina, Füreckerio perikopėms, tiesioginės įtakos turėjo ne LVM_2, bet LVM_3.



Paaiškinimai:

– hipotetinis rankraštis

– tiesioginis šaltinis

– spausdintas vertimas

– pagalbinis šaltinis

– pakartotinis pataisytas leidimas

– spėjamas pagalbinis šaltinis

X – nežinomas rankraštinis perikopių vertimas

FP – neišlikęs Füreckerio perikopių rankraštis ar jo nuorašas

12. Atliekant disertacijos tyrimą nustatyta ir rasta dar keletas su tiriamais tekstais ir autoriais susijusių dalykų:

1.1. Lundo universiteto bibliotekoje rastas neišlikusiu laikytas Georgo Mancelio *Das Hauß-, Zucht- und LehrBuch Jeſu Syrachs* 1671 m. leidimas (signatūra BDL Si 091);

1.2. patikslinti Christophoro Füreckerio gimimo metai – ne 1615, bet 1612-ieji;

1.3. nustatyti skirtumai tarp pakartotinių EE ir LVM leidimų (iki 1685 m. imtinai).

PUBLIKACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2015, Iespraudumi oriģinālajos *Vermehretes Lettisches Handbuch* perikopju pantos, *Baltistica* 50(1), 129–149.

2. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2016, Glaustai apie pirmosios Biblijos latvių kalba vertimo istoriją, *Archivum Lithuanicum* 18, 451–468.

3. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2017, Izmaiņas Georga Manceļa 1631. g. un 1644. g. *Lettisch Vade mecum* perikopju daļā, *Baltu filoloģija* 26, 5–36.

4. Kazakėnaitė Ernesta 2018, Remark on Fürecker's studies at Leiden University and the date of his birth, *Baltu filoloģija* 27, 5–11.

TRUMPOS ŽINIOS APIE DISERTANTĄ

Ernesta Kazakėnaitė (g. 1989 m.) 2012 m. Vilniaus universitete baigė lietuvių filologijos (baltų kalbų šaka) studijas (*Cum laude*), 2014 m. ten pat įgijo bendrosios kalbotyros magistro laipsnį (*Magna cum laude*). 2014–2018 m. studijavo Vilniaus universiteto filologijos krypties doktorantūroje. Doktorantūros metu paskelbė keturis straipsnius lietuvių, latvių ir anglų kalbomis, skaitė pranešimus daugiau kaip dešimtyje tarptautinių konferencijų įvairiose Europos šalyse ir dalyvavo ne viename projekte. Dalį doktorantūros (2016–2017 akademinius metus ir 2018 m. pavasario semestrą) praleido Latvijos universitete. Taip pat gavusi VU doktorantų mobilumo paramą stažavosi įvairiose Talino, Tartu, Greifsvaldo, Upsalos, Stokholmo, Lundo, Kopenhagos, Helsinkio ir Krokuvos bibliotekose.

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