

Tadeusz Lewaszkiewicz

Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

ORCID: 0000-0003-0676-9841

Pre-Reformation and Reformation Influences on the Development of European Literary Languages

The subject of the article is notably broad, thereby necessitating a degree of interpretative simplification. I attribute a special role in the development of European languages to Protestant translations of the Bible. I examine their impact on European language standards in the Indo-European family (and its individual language groups) and among Ugro-Finnic languages. I consider it important to identify the confessional differences in communities that use the same national languages.

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There have been many splits in the Christian Church over the centuries. Their causes were mainly doctrinal disputes and failure to recognize the authority of the Pope. The first great schism, known as the East-West Schism, formally occurred in 1054. Then, the Orthodox Church – which had been emphasizing its separateness for several hundred years – finally broke away from Rome. Earlier rivalries included the bishops of Rome and Constantinople vying for primacy in the Christian world of the time and competing in missionary activities in Slavic and non-Slavic lands. Bishoprics (especially German ones) subject to Rome were highly active in missionary activities. The beginning of the Christianization of the Slavs in the 8th century, when Carinthia and Croatia adopted Christianity, is tied to the Salzburg-Aquileia mission. As a result of the mission, the Pannonian prince Pribina was baptized in 833. In 831, the Moravian prince Mojmir adopted Christianity through the Salzburg-Aquileia mission, and in 833

he extended it to the territory that is Slovakia today. Among the Polabian Slavs, the introduction of Christianity started in the mid-9th century, spearheaded by the Hamburg mission; among the Lusatian tribes it was introduced to a modest extent by the Mainz mission beginning in the 9th century, and more extensively by the Magdeburg mission in the late 10th century.

The first major Constantinopolitan (Byzantine) mission was that of Cyril and Methodius, who travelled to Moravia in 863. However, Christianity had already penetrated the Slavs living in Greece (as early as the 6th century) and Bulgaria. The mission of the Thessaloniki friars was special in that it was under Roman jurisdiction. The next missions in the 9th and 10th centuries (concerning Bulgaria, Serbia and Kievan Rus) were already under the jurisdiction of Constantinople.

One can venture to say that if Constantinople had not entered into a rivalry with Rome for influence among the Slavs (as well as the Romanians and partly Albanians) – as manifested by increased missionary activity and later the Eastern Schism – it is possible that all of Slavdom, as well as Romania and the Orthodox part of Albania, would have fallen under the influence of Roman culture. The dominance of Old Church Slavonic as a language of religious worship and writing (not only religious) in the Byzantine religious-cultural zone of Slavdom (i.e., in Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Ukraine, Belarus and Russia) and in Romania was not a favorable factor from the point of view of the history of languages in the area.¹ The Old Church Slavonic language, initially relatively homogeneous, has been influenced over time by the interference of Slavic dialects. Since the 12th century, we begin referring to it as the Church Slavic language, in actuality territorial versions of this language, in various writing genres. However, during the 17th and 18th centuries, a Uniform Church Slavic language based on the Rus variation (based on the 1618/1619 grammar of Meletius Smotrytsky) became widespread in the Orthodox Church of all Slavic nations.

Church Slavonic variants hindered the processes involved in the separation of national Slavic languages from Orthodox Church influence. Russian was not formed until the 18th century, Ukrainian in the second half of the 19th century, Belarusian in the late 19th/early 20th century (and fully in the 1920s), Serbian in the first half of the 19th century, New Bulgarian in the second half of the 19th century, Macedonian was written as early as the 19th century, but the language was only codified after World War II.

1 The Old Church Slavonic language in the Glagolitic script is still used today in the liturgy by Croatian Catholic parishes in the Lands of Promorje and on Istria.

The East-West Schism did not mark the end of the crisis in the Christian Church., Further schisms soon appeared in the Roman Christian Church. Pre-Reformation, socio-religious movements include the followers of Pierre Valdès (i.e., the Waldenses in France, more specifically in Provence), the followers of John Wycliffe² in England, Jan Hus (Hussites in Bohemia) and to some extent Erasmus of Rotterdam. The aforementioned religious reformers and adherents of the factions of Christianity created by them significantly influenced the history of languages in the countries where they were active. They criticized various manifestations of moral hypocrisy in the Christian Church, appealing primarily to the authority of Scripture.

Both these pre-Reformation movements and later the Reformation movement in its various forms (mainly Lutheran and Calvinist) triggered translations of the Bible into national languages.³ Thanks to the supporters of the Reformation, prayer books, hymn books, catechisms, agendas, postilles, theological treatises, writings promoting new faiths and polemizing with representatives of other religious doctrines were also created. The dynamic development of pre-Reformation (mainly handwritten) and Reformation (mainly printed) writings contributed to the intellectualization of national languages, and thus to the improvement of their functional-linguistic efficiency and standardization [Lewaszkiwicz 1992a, 1992b, 2021; Lisowski 2018b].

The Waldenses' movement was founded around 1170 in Lyon. Clergymen spreading Valdès' ideas translated Bible passages into Provençal dialects and used them in sermons. Their translations and the poetic works of troubadours from the 11th to the 13th century were the main factors in the formation of medieval Provençal literary language. Wycliffe (1330–1384), who with the help of two associates, translated the entire Bible into English also played a major role in the history of the English language [Mroczkowski 1986: 90]. This increased the prestige of English, which gradually competed effectively with French.

Hus (1369–1415) was a religious reformer in Bohemia in the early 15th century; he followed the views of Wycliffe. The terms Hussites/Hussitism are derived from his name. Hus' contributions (as a theologian, preacher and writer) are immense in the history of the Czech language. Like the Waldenses, Wycliffe regarded the Bible as the most important authority on matters of faith. He introduced elements of the colloquial language of the citizens of Prague into

2 Other variations of his surname include Wyclif/Wikliffe.

3 In the Middle Ages, many national Catholic Churches agreed only to fragmentary translations of the Bible. The Eastern Orthodox Church refused to accept translations into Slavic national languages for a long time. The Greek Orthodox Church fought translations into demotic Greek.

his sermons and Czech texts. His main works include: *Výklad Viery, Desatera a Páteře* (1412, *Lecture on the Creed, Decalogue and Our Father*), *O poznání cesty pravé k spasení* (1412, *On Knowing the Right Way to Salvation*), *Knižky o svatokupectvé* (after 1412, *Books on Simony*). The famous *Postilla* (1413, *Postille*) was particularly popular with the readers. Thanks to the writings of Hus, the Czech language came to equal Latin in prestige. Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński was of the opinion that “to some extent he can be considered the creator of a proper Czech literary language” [Lehr-Spławiński 1954: 70]. Most likely, he was also the author of an orthographic treatise (*De ortographia bohémica*, c. 1440, *On Bohemian Orthography*), in which he simplified and normalized compound spelling through the use of diacritics. In medieval times, no other European country underwent such extensive spelling reforms. Soon after the death of Hus, the so-called Hussite Wars broke out in Bohemia; many polemical writings were published at that time, which resulted in the refinement of the linguistic prowess of the Czech language.

The Hussite movement penetrated Germany, Poland and Hungary. In Bohemia itself, it split into various groupings, including the Utravists and Taborites. However, it was the Unity of the Brethren that contributed most to the development of Czech culture and language [Magnuszewski 1973; Siatkowska 1992, 2004]. This Christian religious and social community was founded in 1457 in Kunvald. Jan Blahoslav (1523–1571) – a well-known philologist, historian, writer and translator came from this group. He published works on Czech history, polemical and moral writings, a book on Czech musicology and, above all, a stylistically excellent translation of the *New Testament* (1564). His hand-written grammar (*Gramatika česká*, 1571) is based on his biblical translation. Blahoslav’s *New Testament* was included, in a revised form, in the collective edition of the *Kralice Bible* (vol. 1–6, 1579–1593). This publication – a translation by the Unity of the Brethren – was considered a model of Czech literary language. It is worth mentioning that the Unity of the Brethren in the 16th century had good contacts with German and Swiss Protestants.

Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) relied heavily on the language of the *Kralice Bible* in his 1809 grammar of the Czech language, which became the basis for the resurgence of Czech literary language in the 19th century.⁴

The Czech language influenced the Polish language right from the beginning of the Polish state (Christian terminology, for example, was introduced mainly through Czech); a stronger influence was probably already marked in the 14th

4 Czech vocabulary was enriched with neologisms and borrowings from Slavic languages, mainly Polish and Russian. See Orłoś 1980, 2000.

century. From the 15th to the late 1590s and early 17th century (until the Battle of White Mountain) writings authored by Czech dissenters were the main influence.

The influence of Hussitism and the Unity of the Brethren reached Slovakia as early as the 15th century, while in the 16th century ideas of the Reformation were also spreading there from Bohemia. After the Battle of White Mountain many persecuted supporters of the Reformation travelled from Bohemia to Slovakia. By the 17th century, quite a few Slovaks were Protestants. They used the *Kralice Bible* and spoke Czech, partially adjusted to Slovak pronunciation. The language was called bibličtina.

At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, Slovak Protestants were opposed to the codification of the Slovak national language. They believed that Slovaks should speak Czech, and also advocated the use of the *Kralice Bible* in the religious life of Slovak Protestants. Catholics, meanwhile, favored a reform of the Slovak literary language, which Anton Bernolák carried out on the basis of the West Slavic dialect, but failed – in part due to resistance from Protestants – to convince the majority of his compatriots. It was not until the mid-19th century that codification based on the Central Slovak dialect was successful; it was carried out by Ľudovít Štúr, a Protestant.

Pre-Reformation thinkers often include (as I mentioned earlier) Erasmus of Rotterdam because of his critical attitude toward many dignitaries in the Catholic Church, his social views, his emphasis on the authority of the Bible and his preparation of a Greek edition of the *New Testament* for printing. However, the prominent Dutch scholar not only refused to support the Reformation, but also polemized with Martin Luther.

After Luther's anti-papal speech in 1517, the socio-religious movement he initiated spread rapidly in Germany [Noll 2017]. The protest of Lutherans from 6 principalities and 14 cities of the Reich against German Catholics in 1529 was the reason for calling the new denomination Protestantism. Soon, the Reformation movement spread to other European countries – Switzerland, the Netherlands, all of the Scandinavian countries (where Protestantism became a universal religion),⁵ France, England and Scotland, Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. The main historical varieties of Protestantism are Lutheranism, Calvinism, Zwinglianism and Anglicanism.

Calvinism functioned mainly in Switzerland and France (Huguenots), but it also permeated into other states, such as the Netherlands, England, Scotland, Poland and Hungary. The followers of Zwinglianism in Switzerland mostly

5 In the 9th to 10th centuries, German missions Christianized the Scandinavian countries. In the 16th century, they adopted Protestantism from Germany.

conformed to the Calvinists. The founder of Anglicanism, the state denomination of the Church of England, was King Henry VIII in 1534. From the historical factions of Protestantism (mainly Anglicanism), numerous religious groups (sects) emerged, such as the Adventists, Anabaptists, Baptists, Quakers, Pietists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Unitarians.

All Protestant churches and denominations share common or similar elements (e.g., the abandonment of the worship of Mary and the saints), but the key common feature is treatment of the Bible as the main source of religiosity. This fact is of particular importance in the history of the languages spoken by adherents of the various denominations of Protestantism since they were required to read the Bible frequently at home and during common meetings. The Reformation in many European countries contributed to the development of culture (including writing in national languages) and education. Within Protestant culture, between the 16th and 20th centuries, illiteracy was a much less common phenomenon (even among peasants) than in Catholic and Orthodox cultures.

Luther was not only a religious reformer, but also an outstanding writer (translator of the *Scriptures* from 1522–1534, author of the *Large Catechism* and *Small Catechism*, and of various theological and propaganda-polemical writings), which contributed to the unification of the German literary language. There was already a rich literature in Germany before Luther, including Catholic biblical translations; several regional literary languages already existed. Luther relied on East Central German in his Bible translation and in his other texts; it was used in particular by the Meissen chancellery [Szulc 1998: 808]. This language – which functioned in a territory inhabited in the past exclusively by Slavic (“Lusatian”) tribes – was particularly suited to serve as an all-German language, as it was relatively poorly differentiated in terms of its formal linguistic features. This was due to the fact that colonists from different parts of Germany had long settled in the area, resulting in processes of integration and linguistic unification. Luther's codification was quickly adopted in the eastern territory of central Germany and, after some time, in the lands where Protestantism spread. Catholic southern Germany (due to denominational differences) did not immediately accept Luther's language. Eventually, a unified German literary language became widespread in the 18th century thanks to prominent writers, such as Friedrich G. Klopstock, Friedrich Schiller, Johann G. Goethe.

A dozen or so years after Luther's Bible was published, the German *New Testament* and the entire Bible were translated into several Germanic languages. These translations had increased functional proficiency and accelerated the normalization of the Dutch and Scandinavian languages. As early as 1526, the Dutch translation of the *New Testament*, the Danish *New Testament* (1524) and

Christian III's Bible (1550) were printed [Kaszyński, Krzysztofiak 1985], as were the Swedish *New Testament* (1526) and *Gustav Vasa Bible* (1541) [Ciesielski 1990], and the Icelandic *New Testament* (1540) and *Bible* (1584). In the Netherlands, Catholics – struggling to maintain their religion – also made an effort to publish the Bible (1584).

Protestant religious texts played a key role in the formation of Finno-Ugric languages. The emergence of printed Finnish literature is closely linked to the Reformation [Laitinen, Apo 1991]. The Swedes, who ruled Finland, quickly cracked down on the Catholic Church, and did their best to develop Protestant writing. Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557) – a former student of Luther and Philipp Melancthon in Wittenberg – published the *New Testament* (1548), a *Prayer Book* (1544) and other religious booklets. He also translated *Psalms* and other *Old Testament* passages into Finnish. The *ABC-kirja* (circa 1540), i.e., the *ABC*, was also an important publication, as the booklet made it possible to learn how to read and write and thus use biblical and other religious texts.

In territorially and linguistically close Estonia, only Protestant biblical translations were published in the 17th–18th centuries. It is noteworthy that Estonian writing in the 16th–17th centuries developed into two dialects: northern (including the *New Testament* of 1632) and southern (including the *New Testament* of 1686). The complete *Bible* (1739) in the northern Estonian dialect would contribute in the future to the adoption of this dialect as the basis of the literary language.

The Hussite Bible was translated into Hungarian as early as the end of the first half of the 15th century. The Hungarian biblical translation (*Epistles of Paul the Apostle*) was first printed in Kraków in 1533. And the first book published in Hungary was the Protestant *New Testament* (1541) by János Sylvester. The complete Bible (1590) was translated by Gáspár Károlyi, a Hungarian Calvinist pastor. The Catholic Bible was published in 1626 by G. Káldi. The influence of the Reformation (especially Calvinism) was strong in Hungary in the 16th century; later, the Counter-Reformation greatly restricted Protestant denominations.

When it comes to the Baltic countries and languages, Protestantism as a common denomination persisted in Latvia. The Latvian literary language was formed in the 17th and 18th centuries, mainly under the influence of two works: Mancelius' *Postille* from 1654 (he also systematized Latvian spelling and published the first German-Latvian dictionary in 1638) and Glück's *Bible* (1689).

In the 16th–18th centuries, Reformation religious writing dominated in the Lithuanian lands [Stoberski 1986]. The following publications are worth mentioning: *Catechism* (1547) by Martynas Mažvydas, *Songs* (1589) and *Postilla* (1591) by Jonas Bretkūnas, *Psalter* (1625) prepared by Jonas Rhesa, a Lithuanian translation of *Postilla* (1600) by Mikołaj Rej, the *New Testament* (1701), and the

Old Testament (1729). Catholic publications, such as translations by Nikolai Daukša, were published less frequently, among them Wujek's *Postille* (1599) and *The Catechism* (1595). A number of protestant translations of the *Bible* survived as handwritten manuscripts, including Bretkūnas' *Bible* (1579–1590) and Samuel B. Chyliński's *New Testament* from the mid-17th century; there probably also existed a complete translation by him of the *Old Testament*. The *Danzig Bible* (1632) was the basis for Chyliński's translation [Kot 1958: XXXI].

An Old Prussian translation of Luther's *Catechism* was published three times in the 16th century. Perhaps because of this – despite the unfavorable historical situation – the Old Prussian language survived until at least the end of the 17th century.

In the 16th century, the development of French was influenced by Protestant translations of the *Bible*: including the *New Testament* (1523), the *Old Testament* (1528), the *Bible* (1530) and several other biblical publications (including one prepared by John Calvin in 1546). Since the 17th century, the model for beautiful language and linguistic prowess was primarily literary fiction.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the English language normalized and improved functionally not only under the influence of the works of prominent writers, but also thanks to Protestant biblical translations: Tyndal's *New Testament* (1525), Coverdale's *Bible* (1535), the *Geneva Bible* (1560), and the *Bishop's Bible* (1568). But the language of the so-called *King James Bible/Authorized Version* (1611) was the most admired edition in the 17th and following centuries. Entire generations of English society have marveled at the choice of vocabulary, phraseology and style found in this biblical rendition. As Przemysław Mroczkowski observes:

The pursuit of the best translation was over for a while. [...] It is difficult to succinctly characterize the multifaceted impact of the Great Book on the English society. [...] In any case, the influence must have been very great, if the custom (and therefore not just the recommendation from the pulpit) of regular Bible reading in the average family was to be established. [Mroczkowski 1986: 195]

We should add that William Tyndale (a Luther sympathizer) published his *New Testament* in Cologne, as he was persecuted in Catholic England at the time. Only ten years later, King Henry VIII gave his full support for the translation (by Miles Coverdale.) and publication of the entire Bible. However, during the reign of Mary Tudor, a group of Calvinist biblical scholars had to leave the country and decided to print their Bible (1560) in Geneva. Catholics did not have a chance to publish a translation of the Bible from the *Vulgate* in England; it only appeared in France in 1582 and 1609.

The Middle Ages in the history of the Celtic languages saw only fragmentary biblical translations (mainly pericopes). The role of Bible translations in the development of these languages stemmed from the Reformation; writings promoting the new religion were also published. There were two Irish translations: the Protestant *New Testament* (1603) and the Catholic Bible (1685); several Scottish translations: The Bible of 1690 (basically a Scottish transliteration of the Irish Bible)⁶, the Protestant *New Testament* (1767) and *Old Testament* (1801), and the entire Protestant Bible (1826), which is considered the basis of the modern Scottish language; and two Welsh translations: the Protestant *New Testament* (1576) and the Protestant Bible (1588), symbolizing the beginning of the Welsh literary language. The translations into Cornish/Cornish (preserved in fragments) and Manx (1819 Bible) were also Protestant; they probably delayed the extinction of these languages. No information is available on the denominational nature of the Breton *Gospels* (1827) translated by Le Gonidec.

I have already mentioned the extensive influence of dissenter movements on the history of the Czech language and the obstruction by Slovak evangelicals of the codification of the Slovak language based on native linguistic material. Even more radical was the impact of the Reformation on the formation of Lower Lusatian, Upper Lusatian and Slovenian language standards. It is worth mentioning, however, that there was already a rich Czech literature before Husitism, including Catholic religious and biblical writings and numerous handwritten secular manuscripts. In contrast, in Lusatia [Lewaszkiwicz 1995, 2017a; Jenč 1954–1960] and Slovenia, national writing did not emerge until the Reformation times⁷ [Krašovec 1998; Orožen 1996; Todorović 2011].

The Reformation penetrated Lusatia gradually. In Lower Lusatia, feoffors in the Gubin state were in favor of the movement as early as 1519. However, Lutheranism was not adopted in Chociebuż until after 1555, i.e., after the Peace of Augsburg, which sanctioned the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*. Protestantism had completely superseded Catholicism in Lower Lusatia. By 1580, the Reformation movement had engulfed almost all of Upper Lusatia; the Bautzen chapter managed to maintain a Catholic enclave northwest of Bautzen (Budziszyn) – the area around Kamjenc, Radwor (Radibor), Kulow and the estates of several monasteries. This part of Lusatia (currently encompassing an area smaller than in the 16th century) is referred to today as Catholic Upper Lusatia. In some 60 villages, the majority of residents are Lusatians – about 6,000 people speak

6 It is likely that the Irish Catholic Bible was linguistically adapted to serve Protestant Scots.

7 Only few Slovenian texts and glosses from the period before Primož Trubar's work have survived. When it comes to the Lusatian languages, we only have snippets of pre-16th century writing.

Upper Lusatian to varying degrees. A total of several hundred Lusatians of Protestant and Catholic faiths live in Bautzen. In the Protestant part of Upper Lusatia, Upper Lusatian is spoken well by a thousand people at the very most.

The first Protestant translator of the *New Testament* (1548) into Lower Lusatian was Mikławš Jakubica, probably a former Augustinian from Žagań. The language of translation included Eastern Lower Lusatian, Western Lower Lusatian, Upper Lusatian, Czech and Polish elements. When it comes to the linguistic features of Polish origin, the matter is not that clear. Until now, researchers have been of the opinion that they originated from a border dialect between the Lower Lusatian and Polish linguistic areas, but it cannot be ruled out that east of the Lusatian Neisse there was a mixing of the Polish and Lower Lusatian populations in the Middle Ages. Polish linguistic features in the Eastern Lower Lusatian dialect may thus have been substrate elements. The language of Jakubica's *New Testament* is very artificial, and this was probably the reason why the translation was not printed [Lewaszkiewicz 2007].

The Wolfenbüttel *Psalter* from the second half of the 16th century has survived only as a handwritten manuscript. In 1574, the first Lusatian book, the Lower Lusatian *Wendisches Gesangbuch [...] Auch der kleine Catechismus* by Albin Moller was published in Bautzen (Budziszyn). The 17th century produced quite a few handwritten manuscripts of biblical passages; a manuscript of the *New Testament* has also survived [Schuster-Šewc 1996]. It was used (with some modifications) by John B. Fabricius, who published the *New Testament* (1709). Thanks to this, the Chociebuż dialect became a model for the norms of the emerging literary language. In 1796, John B. Fryco published the *Old Testament*. Secular writing (press and literary fiction) influenced the development of literary language only from the second half of the 19th century. Currently, only a few hundred people speak the Lower Lusatian language proficiently.

Two variants of the written language first formed in Upper Lusatia – a Protestant variant and a Catholic variant. The origins of the Protestant variant (based on the Bautzen dialect) are linked to the translation activities of Michał Frencl. Among other things, he published the *Gospel of Matthew and Mark* (1670) and *New Testament* (1706), before which three important publications by several translators appeared: *Catechism* (1693), *Pericopes* (1695) and *Agenda* (1696). In 1728, the entire Protestant Bible in Miles Coverdale's translation came out in print. It became a major force in the development of Protestant literary language; it was published 11 times between 1728 and 1905.

Catholics in their religious and biblical writings first used the Kulov dialect and later the dialect of the Chrósćicy area. Jakub Ticin used the Kulov dialect in his Upper Lusatian grammar (1679) and in his translation of *Catechism of*

Canisius (1685). The purpose of codifying the Kulov dialect was to create a literary language, which the Jesuits intended to use as a tool to recatholize Upper Lusatia. The main contributor to the development of the Catholic Upper Lusatian variant was Jurij H. Světlik, the publisher of *Pericopes* (1690, 1696), *Religious Songs* (1696) and *The Latin-Upper Lusatian Dictionary* (1721). He also translated the entire Bible (1688–1707/11) from the *Vulgate* but did not publish it. In the mid-19th century – thanks to an initiative by Maćica Serbska – a common (non-denominational) literary language was codified but reflected mainly the linguistic characteristics of the Protestant variant. From the mid-19th century, religious and biblical writings had less influence on the development of the Upper Lusatian region – its functional efficiency was increasingly determined by the press, fiction and scientific writing.

In the 15th century, the ideas of Hussitism and the Unity of the Brethren permeated from Bohemia to Poland. As early as the 1620s, many Germans in Royal Prussia, Greater Poland and Silesia were adherents of Lutheranism. From the mid-16th century, a portion of the nobility in Poland (about 15–20%), mostly educated people, converted to Calvinism. Polish Protestantism had a positive impact on the development of national culture and writing [Górski 1960; Klemensiewicz 1960; Kossowska 1968–1969; Tazbir 1993; Wojak 1970], including literature (e.g., the works of Mikołaj Rej, Jan A. and Zbigniew Morsztyn, Waclaw Potocki). Many polemical publications were printed. The history of the Polish language was enriched by various biblical translations: *Murzynowski's New Testament* (1551–1553), *Budny's New Testament* (1574), *Czechowic's New Testament* (1577), *Budny/Nesvizh Bible* (1572), *Brest/Radziwiłł Bible* (1563), and the *Gdansk Bible* (1632) – the canonical text for Polish Protestants (Lisowski 2010, 2018). In general, it can be said that the Reformation contributed to the enrichment of Polish writing and the development of publishing, but above all it shaped translation strategies, influenced the evolution of vocabulary and phraseology, and improved the linguistic and stylistic efficiency of Polish writing. The issue of the formation of the Slovenian literary language was brilliantly captured by Franciszek Sławski:

The origins of Slovenian literary language date back to the mid-16th century. It owes its emergence to the Reformation. [...]

It was not until the Reformation, like everywhere else, that for propaganda purposes the people's language, understood by the entire population, was exploited. The creator of the literary language was Primož Trubar, a promoter of Lutheranism; he was the first to write in Slovenian. Trubar's language is based on his native dialect from central Lower Carniola. The Slovenian

literary language is shaped and purified by other Protestant writers of the 17th century, of whom the most noteworthy are S. Krelj, who writes in perhaps the purest language (translation of the *Postilla*), J. Dalmatin (translation of the Bible, 1584), and A. Bohorič, creator of the first Slovenian grammar (1584). [Sławski 1988: 998–999]

It should be added that Trubar published the *New Testament* between 1555 and 1577 (in full in 1582), and the *Abcedarium* (1551) before that. The period of the Counter-Reformation takes an unfortunate toll on the development of the Slovenian language. It is only at the end of the 18th century that an intellectual movement is born, which during the first half of the 19th century determines the emergence of a New Slovenian literature and the codification of a New Slovenian language. Some of the most distinguished personalities of the period include: Janez Japelj and Blaž Kumerdej (translators of the Catholic Bible from 1784–1802), Jernej Kopitar (author of the first scientific grammar of the Slovenian language from 1808–1809, among other things), and the prominent poets Valentin Vodnik and France Prešeren.

The Reformation also affected the extremely complicated history of the Croatian language [Oczkova 2011]. In Croatia writing was created in three regional languages based on different dialectal foundations: in Chakavian, Shtokavian and Kajkavian. Additionally, the Croatian variant of Church Slavonic language was used in the Middle Ages and in the 16th century; its traces function today in the Catholic liturgy in a small area of Croatia, including the Lands of Pomorje and Istria. A rich medieval and 16th-century literature (including fiction) was based on the Chakavian dialect. In the 16th century, Shtokavian (often with Chakavian elements) comes to the fore, gradually superseding Chakavian over the course of the 17th century. Since the mid-18th century, it has only been a regional language.

In the 16th century – in connection with the Reformation – Kajkavian begins to make its mark. In the 17th century, a rich literature is produced in this language; in the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th century, Kajkavian competes with Shtokavian. After the so-called Vienna Literary Agreement (1850), Shtokavian gradually became the pan-Croatian language, based on a dialectal basis shared with Serbs. Thus, the proponents of the Illyrian ideology gave up their plan for the linguistic unification of the southern Slavs, but at least they achieved the goal of linguistic unification within Croatian and of Croats with Serbs [Oczkova 2011: 309].

I mentioned earlier that the origins of Kajkavian writing (which emerged in the 16th century in northern Croatia) were linked to the Reformation. The

Protestants wanted to create a language with a mixture of dialects (Chakavian-Shtokavian-Kajkavian with additional Church Slavonic elements), which would become a common South Slavic language, i. e., the language of Croats, Slovenes, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Serbs and Bulgarians.⁸ The rationale behind writing in this language was to spread Reformation ideas throughout the southern Slavic territories [Oczkova 2011: 301]. In the second half of the 16th century, in Urach, Germany, Protestant Croatians printed books in Glagolitic, Latin and Cyrillic to satisfy users of each alphabet, although the language was not dialectally homogeneous. The Protestants' plans worried the Catholic Church. The leaders of the Counter-Reformation concluded that an effective tool in the ideological struggle against the Reformation would be the choice of Shtokavian as the basis for the Croatian literary language. These actions determined the future victory of Shtokavian as the general Croatian language.

In the 16th century, only books with religious content were printed in Kajkavian, but in the 17th and 18th centuries fiction was also created in this regional language, and dictionaries and grammars were also published. Thus, the important influence of the Reformation on the history of the Croatian language also lies in the introduction of the Kajkavian language into regional writing.

In Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, Orthodoxy is clearly the dominant faith. Catholics, Uniates and Protestants make up a small number of adherents in these countries. The role of Protestants in the development of Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian is rarely even mentioned.⁹ Bulgarian Catholics, on the other hand,¹⁰ have to some extent enriched Bulgarian writing since the mid-18th century [Walczak-Mikołajczakowa 2004] – through various religious texts and literary works using religious themes.

The Eastern Orthodox Church (and therefore also in Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia) has long been using Ruthenian Church Slavonic. The Orthodox Church not only refrained from soliciting translations into Slavic literary languages, but also fought against any such initiatives, treating them as heresy. Vuk Karadžić worked on translating the *New Testament* into Serbian folk language and published the whole text in 1847 to show the functional proficiency of the language. The *Old Testament* was published in print in 1868 (along with Karadžić's *New Testament*) by Đuro Daničić, who continued Karadžić's language

8 In the future, the idea of a common South Slavic language (i.e., Shtokavian Croatian) was promoted by the Illyrians, but eventually they settled on linguistic unification with the Shtokavian Serbs.

9 Protestantism also had no influence on the East Slavic languages.

10 Catholics in Bulgaria currently make up about 0.6% of the population [Walczak-Mikołajczakowa 2004: 168].

reform. The Serbian Orthodox Church considered the translations of both parts of the Bible an act against the Orthodox religion, and so they were published in London by the Protestant British Bible Society/British and Foreign Bible Society. Slaveykov's translation of the Bulgarian Catholic Bible (1871)¹¹ was also published in London. It reflects the beauty of the New Bulgarian language. As can be seen, British Protestants contributed to enriching the history of Serbian and Bulgarian biblical writing.

Also worth mentioning is the role of the Reformation in the emergence and development of so-called Slavic literary micro-languages [Lewaszkiewicz 2017b]. Some researchers include here the Lusatian languages mentioned earlier into this category.

Thanks to the Reformation, Polish texts with quite a few Kashubian linguistic features were created in Pomerania. These include *Spiritual Songs* (1568) by Szymon Krofey and the *Small Catechism* (1643) by Michael Brüggemann/Mostnik/Pontanus, as well as the handwritten manuscript *Smoldzin Pericopes* from the late 17th and early 18th centuries. These texts can be seen as the prehistory of the Kashubian language [Treder 2002].

Much more important was the impact of the Reformation on the formation of the linguistic distinctiveness of East Slovak and Prekmurian (Prekmurje Slovene). From the mid-18th century, Slovak Calvinists published religious texts in the East Slavic dialect of the Zemplin area: *Catechism* (1750), *Psalter* (1752), prayer books and religious songs. Even today, the language is spoken by Slovak immigrants in the US [Siatkowska 1992: 235]. Both Štefan Küzmič's Evangelical translation of the *New Testament* (1771) and Mikloš Küzmič's Catholic selection of Gospel texts (1780) are considered to be the beginning of the formation of Prekmurian linguistic distinctiveness.

* * *

Pre-Reformation and Reformation social and religious movements contributed to the development of biblical-religious and journalistic-polemical writing, which had a significant and positive impact on both the functional efficiency of European languages and their standardization.

Translated by Magdalena Perdek

¹¹ When translating Petko Slaveykov benefited in part from the assistance of at least one collaborator.

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Tadeusz Lewaszkiwicz

Pre-Reformation and Reformation Influences on the Development of European Literary Languages

The pre-Reformation and Reformation social and religious movements contributed to the development of biblical and religious as well as journalistic and polemical writings, which had a significantly positive impact on the increase in functional efficiency and standardisation of European languages. Translations of *The Bible* played a special role in the development of European languages as texts with the highest linguistic prestige.

Not only did *Luther's Bible* (1522–1534) contribute to the unification of German literary language, but its 16th-century translations had an outstanding influence on the development of Dutch and the Scandinavian languages, i.e. Danish, Swedish and Icelandic. The language of Protestant translations of *The Bible* was regarded in the 16th–17th centuries in France and England as a model of stylistic excellence. Prior to the 16th century, there were fairly rich Celtic writings (Irish, Scottish, Welsh and Cornish), but they were undoubtedly greatly enriched between the second half of the 16th century and the first quarter of the 19th century by Protestant translations of *The Bible* and other religious texts. The translation work by the Czech brothers (ideological supporters of the Reformation) – Blahoslav's *New Testament* (1564) and the *Kralice Bible* (1579–1593) – is a symbol of the linguistic prowess of the 16th-century Czech language as well as the basis for its rebirth in the 19th century. The linguistic consciousness of the Slovaks was long influenced by the *Kralice Bible*. Hungarian and Polish Reformation translations of *The Bible* enriched the history of these languages considerably. A number of European languages owe their actual literary beginnings to the Reformation: Finnish and Estonian (Finnish languages), Latvian and Lithuanian (Baltic languages), Upper Lusatian, Lower Lusatian and Slovene (Slavonic languages). In Croatia, prints financed by Reformation supporters appeared in the 16th century. The Serbian Orthodox *New Testament* (1847) by Karadžić and *The Old Testament* (1868) by Daničić were published by the Protestant publishing house of the British Bible Society in London, which also published a translation of the Bulgarian Catholic *Slaveykov Bible* (1871).

KEYWORDS: pre-Reformation, Reformation, Bible translations into European languages, language contacts, intellectualisation and standardisation of languages

Tadeusz Lewaszkiwicz – retired professor at the Institute of Polish Philology, Adam Mickiewicz University. His academic specialty includes Slavic linguistics – Sorabistics, Polish studies, selected pan-Slavic issues. His research interests include the history of

the Polish language and Lusatian languages, the role of Bible translations in the development of Slavic languages, Polish and Lusatian lexicology, Lusatian word formation, Polish-German linguistic contacts, northern borderland Polish, the history of Slavonic linguistics and Slavic studies.