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The Creed for the Ukrainians and Poles: linguocultural histories of texts ¹

The paper is dedicated to the retranslations of the Creed which, in the textual perspective, have to deal with two branches of religious translation: liturgical and biblical. The Creed is the fundamental text of Eastern and Western Christianity, that is why it has a long history of retranslations in Ukraine and Poland. The scope of the analysis covers two variants of the Creed: the Apostles' Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed which share some phrasing. The novelty of the paper lies in the astonishing fact that these texts have been studied scrupulously by theologians, but no translation critic and historian have ever considered these texts seriously from the viewpoints of societal history and textual criticism. The methodology of historiographical description and textual analysis is applied to elucidate and validate the historical dynamics and reception of retranslated texts. Historiographical analysis involves the interpretive study of vocabulary from the point of view of semantics, language history and sociolinguistics, which allow to characterize the reasons and effects of textual and lexical diversity. The theoretical significance of this academic enterprise lies in the application of its outcome for the literary and cultural histories of Ukraine and Poland, especially for the situation when religious texts were the best tools of nation-shaping and state-building. Typologically, the conditions of supporting the search for a new text in the target language can be grouped in four clusters: political reasons, social motives, cultural life and historical background. The history of translation shows how important the preservation and elaboration of cultural codes is for the perception of believers and for the education and evangelization of the nation. The prospects of this study include the ecclesiastical values and societal ideals of other prayers for private, public and monastic worshipping. Besides, a motivating topic is the acceptable limits of a translator's licence and lingual experimenting which are usually feared because of possible misinterpretations and heresies, though they can offer more successful equivalents for overcoming numerous linguistic pitfalls in religious discourse.

Key words: religious translation, liturgical translation, retranslations, Creed, cultural code.

Dedicated to the Ukrainian Soldiers who unshakably believe in Our Victory and will bring freedom to Ukraine.

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Introduction

The Creed is one among three most recited prayers along with the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary. The Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary are formed on the basis of biblical texts and can be considered the domain of biblical translation; the Creed which exists in two main variants – the Apostles' Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, is a product of Christian theology and part of the Liturgy. The Byzantine Rite uses only the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, while the Roman Rite peruses both variants: the most popular version is the Apostles' Creed, and the text used during the Mass is the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Apostles' Creed has some common phrases with the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, so it may look that the Apostles' Creed is incorporated the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with slight modification, though these texts have different histories.

The paper is dedicated to the retranslations of the Creed which, in the textual perspective, have to deal with two branches of religious translation: liturgical and biblical. Researchers (theologians) have mainly paid attention to the historical circumstances and dogmatic interpretation of these texts, but they have not been explored from the viewpoint of the societal significance of these texts as well as from that of the translation quality assessment of religious texts.

Methodology

The methodology of historiographical description and textual translation studies involves the application of three key principles: the study of the academic climate, immanence and correspondence. They make it possible to explain and substantiate the historical dynamics and reception of retranslated texts. Historiographical analysis involves the interpretive study of vocabulary from the point of view of semantics, language history and sociolinguistics, which allow to characterize the reasons and effects of textual and lexical diversity.

The theoretical novelty of this academic search lies in the probable application of its outcome for writing the literary and cultural histories of Ukraine and Poland, as the both nations experience situations when texts were the best actors of nation-shaping and state-building.

Statement regarding the basic material of the research

Liturgical texts between politics and people. The texts of the Creed were popular and authoritative in Ukraine and Poland. In 1248, the synod of Wrocław even decreed to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in

Polish during the Mass (Średniowieczna pieśń, 1980:xiii): this official recognition of Polish liturgical translation was a reaction to the German expansion which endangered Poland's Church and nation. The earliest extant Polish texts circulating in manuscripts are 14th- and 15th-century translations of the Apostles' Creed (Bystroń, 1886:352-353). The German and Polish translations were published in the first book printed in Poland (1475), the Synodal Statutes, which were published in Latin, but also contained the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary and the Apostles' Creed both in German and Polish that designated the main languages of believers in Silesia (Synodalia statute, 1475:f. 13-14). In 1577, the Roman Church in Poland shifted to the Tridentine Mass which included the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed as part of the Mass. This opened way for receiving it in Polish translations at first in the form of catechisms and finally in the first Polish complete translations of the Mass (Ceremonie, 1780: 2:198-199).

In Ukraine, the sacred Church Slavonic version was dominant for a much longer time, but it was also much more understandable among the Ukrainians than the Latin sacred text among the Poles. The text of the Creed was fundamental not only for religious praxis but also for primary education: it was included in primers for teaching reading, e.g. Ivan Fedorovych's Primers of 1574 and 1578 (Федорович, 1574:52-54; Федорович, 1578a:11-14; Федорович, 1578b:52-55) and Lavrentiy Zyzaniy's Primer of 1596 (Зизаній, 1596:7-8). Some excerpts of the translated Creed are found in catechisms.

The allegedly first translation into Middle Ukrainian appeared in 1620 during the peak of theological polemics between the Catholics and the Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The translation of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed was published in Zakhariya Kopystenskyi's 'Book on the True Faith and the Holy Apostolic Church' (Копистенський, 1620:165-167), and this fact is one of many that characterize the flourishing translation activities of early 17th-century Kyiv Orthodox Metropolitanate whose translation heritage has not enjoyed much attention from translation experts. Zakhariya Kopystenskyi was a notable figure in the Ukrainian polemical literature of the early 17th century. Besides, he was a connoisseur of Greek and Latin and translated several Greek religious books, including the 'Horologion' (1617), 'Nomocanon' (1625), and the writings of St John Chrysostom. This is why

the translation of the Creed was not an occasional translation but a powerful tool in the Orthodox-Catholic polemics.

The 19th century brought more bright liturgical translations in both countries. The four-volume Missal was published in Berlin, the capital of Prussia (Roczne Nabożeństwo, 1844-1845). It was a mostly bilingual Latin-Polish edition whose function was both liturgical (the Latin part) and educational for Poles (the Polish part). It contains the Latin and Polish texts of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (Roczne Nabożeństwo, 1844:1:vii-viii). Latin was still the dominant language of liturgical praxis, and this bilingual edition helped to follow the Mass in full detail. It was not the only edition in the 19th century: in 1874, the bilingual edition for believers was already called the Roman Missal (Mszał Rzymski, 1874). Meanwhile, the authority of Latin as a sacred language was also supported in other ways. For example, a number of Polish-language prayer-books offered meditative adaptations of the Creed which was to be prayed by a believer during the priest's praying the Latin Creed at Mass (e.g. Książka modlitw, 1830:28-33; Aniół Stróż, 189-?:53). The fact of publishing this type of prayer-books testify that Polish believers did not comprehend the Latin Mess well and often opted for an alternative way of praying and following the Mass. Another bilingual Missal was published in the 20th century: in 1920, it was prepared by Rev. Gaspar Lefebvre with the French translation by Rev. Louis-Claude Fillion as a version for France and Belgium which was translated into Polish and published in 1932 (Mszał Rzymski, 1932). It was later revised and translated again in 1949 (republished in 1956) (Mszał Rzymski, 1956). The texts of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed are different (Mszał Rzymski, 1932:109-111; Mszał Rzymski, 1956:872-873). The events of the 1960s – the last revision of the Tridentine Mass and the introduction of the Mass of Paul VI (Novus Ordo Missae) – made a large-scale project of translating liturgical books happen. The 'typical editions', resulted from the Second Vatican Council, shaped new standards which also influenced the text of the Creed, later used in wide public and published in numerous prayer-books (e.g. Spotkanie z Bogiem, 1983:55-57).

In Ukraine, a wave of polemics between the supporters of the exclusive usage of Church Slavonic as a liturgical language and those of the introduction of New Ukrainian into liturgical praxis occurred at the turn of the 1870s. In 1869, the eminent Ukrainian physicist (by trade) as well as theologian (by education), Ivan Puliui, published a very abridged

edition of a prayer-book (Молитвослов, 1869). Two years later, he the first full-fledged prayer-book in New Ukrainian published (Молитовник, 1871) which started a new period of the history of publishing prayer-books in Ukraine. The emergence of the independent state - the Ukrainian National Republic -influenced the restoration of Ukraine's ecclesiastical independence. The new efforts started with the Ukrainian-language Liturgy and prayerbooks, which continued after priests had to emigrate and work in the Diaspora. Thus, the Creed was translated by Rev. A. Herashchenko (Молитовник, 1917:12-13), by exiled minister I. Ohiyenko (Свята, 1922:59-60), by the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church in Canada (Добрий пастор 1952:12-14) or by the Ukrainian Catholic (Greek-Catholic) Church in exile (Священна, 1988:50-51). In 2021, two years after the proclamation of the autocephaly of Ukraine's Orthodox Church (2019), its Synod adopted a new version of the Creed with some 'minor' changes (Офіційне, 2021). This fact signifies the importance to maintain the high authority of this text.

Theory and text. One of the views of retranslations is that it helps to build "a gradual move from an initial rejection of the foreign, via a tentative but nevertheless appropriating foray into the source culture, culminating in an idealized move which privileges the source text and all its alterity" (Deane-Cox, 2014:3). Religious texts hold a separate place among other texts: their high status is unquestioned. The authoritative power is sealed by the emotionality of worshippers who treat prayers as a dialogue with God, thus, these texts cannot be foreign. To understand Christianity and God was a very successful motto for the most recent liturgical reforms.

A stimulus claimed for new retranslations is ageing. In religious translation, it is reversed. Tradition is sanctified by time. The Greek and Latin texts were shaped in the early 1st millennium, and the Church Slavonic ones were written in the late 1st millennium. At the turn of the 3rd millennium, they are still practiced that gives them such a particular sense of life and power.

Translating the texts of power should turn a translation analyst's attention from the spectrum of gradually approximation to the complicated nexus of social, cultural and theological visions. Can we consider the adding of the Filioque as a unique fact of translation from Orthodox into Catholic? Nevertheless, "the most recent retranslation strives towards a reconfiguration of the field by asserting the value of the source text"

(Deane-Cox, 2014:78), but this happens only when the whole translation program is realized.

Multiple retranslations were the consequence of complicated real-life conditions and attitudes. These conditions always aimed at resolving problems of the domination and legitimization of a nation and its institutions like the Church and the language. Typologically, the conditions of supporting the search for a new text in the target language can be grouped in the following way:

first, political reasons show how a military invasion (Poland, the 13th century) or the defence of a 'national' church (Ukraine, the early 17th century) can stimulate the necessity to refer to the Creed as a text being fundamental both for the Church and a nation:

second, social motives reveal that a nation survives different boons and crises, but when a necessity of search for national self-identity arises, main efforts initially focus on religious text as the reflections of a nation's worldview (the 19th century when Poland was divided between Prussia, Russia and Austria, and Ukraine was divided between Russia and Austria);

third, cultural life pushes new challenges when the Church has to introduce some religious revisions of its fundamentals both for the better perception and reception of Christian dogmas (esp. Poland after the 1960s and the Second Vatican Council) and for the additional legitimization of its authority (esp. Ukraine after 2019 and the proclamation of the autocephaly of Ukraine's Orthodox Church);

fourth, historical background cannot be avoided as every language develops and deviates from its older standards, and this objective mutability is not usually radical (see Polish texts from the 19th and 20th centuries), but chaotic existence do create space for lingual experimenting (see Ukrainian texts during and after the 1917-1920 Ukrainian Revolution).

Christian and cultural dogmas. Although dogmas definitely belong to theology, some theologians ignore the fact that any language is a system of codes, and their believing in very peculiar – dogmatic – senses of a word does not mean that this belief is shared by the whole community. This actually has raised a lot of heresies in ecclesiastical history. This is why the connection between dogmatics and culture is no sheer occasion, but a tight and mutually dependent influence.

The biblical vocabulary is a core issue for liturgical translation. In general perspective, the discrepancies between biblical and liturgical texts

are not permissible because they do not only change the codes of religious communication (allowing space for additional and unnecessary interpretation), but may cause some dogmatic turmoil. The verse "φῶς ἐκ $\phi\omega\tau\delta\zeta$ " is rendered "свътлость з свътлости" (1620) which is contradictory to today's "світло від світла" (1871 and all later translations). In the Polish texts of the Creed this formula sounds in the version "światłość ze światłości" which correlates with the biblical statement: "Bóg jest Światłością i nie ma w Nim żadnej ciemności" (1 J 1, 5). The 1581 Ostroh Bible fixes the lexeme "свътъ" which could have been used in the Creed's translation as well. The question is open if any pre-1620 Polish text (e.g. the Polish translations of the Bible or the translation of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed) influenced the Middle Ukrainian text, as neither the Early Polish dictionary (Słownik staropolski, 1982: t. 9, z. 1:51-54) nor the Early Ukrainian dictionary (Тимченко, 2003:313) substantiates the advantage of the lexeme 'światłość / світлість' over the lexeme 'światło / світло', though the first variant was much more widely used. In New Ukrainian, the lexemes 'світло' (light) and 'світлість' (lightness) are clearly differentiated in use.

The epithet 'Παντοκράτωρ' created a dogmatic difference in translation back in the time when it was translated into Latin. Power can be interpreted twofold: strength or sovereignty. Western Christianity followed the way of strength as it is in the Latin form 'omnipotens' which has been retranslated into Polish as 'wszechmogący' since the earliest manuscripts. The same tradition is recorded in the English-language Missal: 'almighty' (Roman Missal, 2011:527). However, the Patristic Greek speak more in the direction of authority and supremacy, which was literally rendered in Church Slavonic as 'вседержитель' (1574). The authority and tradition of Church Slavonic defined that the major translation variant in New Ukrainian was 'вседержитель' (1871, 1988, 2021). Meanwhile, in the revolutionary times influencing lingual matters, interesting translation variants also emerged. A. Herashchenko suggested 'Вседержавець' (1917) which elegantly renders the political tradition of presenting the authority: the supreme ruler. I. Ohienko initiated a translation tradition which tends more to powerfulness and, thus, is even more Catholic: 'Всемогучий' (1922, 1952). Slight lingual experimenting was observed in Polish Orthodox prayer-books from the 1930-1940s: 'Wszechdzierżyciel' (1931), 'Wszechwładca' (1937), 'Wszechdzierżący' (1944).

One more case of lingual experimenting is connected with the epithet 'Ζωοποιών' ('the giver of life') whose translations ranged from a very Church-Slavonic-like option ('Господь Животворящий' 1917) via rather a domesticated form ('Господь оживляючий' 1922, 1952) to a wellbalanced morphological solution ('Господь животворний' 1988; 'Господь Животворчий' 2021). A hard phrase was 'became man' which was rendered in Church Slavonic as one word 'въчеловъчшасм' (1574). The Ukrainian translations hesitated between a Church-Slavonic-like but artificial form 'стався' ('self-became': 'людиною стався', 1917; 'стався людиною' 1922, 'стався чоловіком', 1952) and a normative form 'став' ('became': 'став чоловіком', 1988; 'став людиною', 2021). Тhe hesitation between 'чоловік' ('man', 1952, 1988) and 'людина' ('human', 1917, 1922, 2021) overlaps with two tendencies: one is deliberate digression from Church Slavonic where 'чловъкъ' means both a man and a woman; another is an undeliberate pro-feminist trend of incorporating gender-free lexis. The Polish translation do not show similar ideological discrepancies, but some minor ones, like the semantic and grammatical rearrangements in the phrase 'things visible and invisible': 'widomych i niewidomych rzeczy' (1780), 'rzeczy widomych i niewidzialnych' (1932), 'rzeczy widomych i niewidomych' (1874), 'rzeczy widzialnych i niewidzialnych' (1956, 1983).

The Ukrainian text cannot exist independently from the Church Slavonic version. Some important dogmatic notions-terms had been incorporated into the vernacular and considered as typically Ukrainian back in the time of Middle Ukrainian: "Богъ Отецъ", "вседержитель", "въскресенїє", "грѣхъ". The 1620 text contains some evident Polish words or those changed under the influence of Polish: "кролевство", "збавеня", "правдивий", "вшистки". The origin of these words is – as of today – unknown and, thus, possibly remains between two options: firstly, the Ukrainian text could have been influenced by the existing - and unknown today - Polish translations; or, secondly, it was defined by the lingual praxis of the then Ukrainian speakers living in the polylingual society where Polish had an official status. Thus, the 1620 Ukrainian text emerged as a node of many lingual practices: Ukrainian vernacular which claimed for the necessity of translations into it; Church Slavonic which donated a number of dogmatic terms; Polish vernacular which influenced the choice of some lexemes (perhaps, motivated by the existing Polish and Czech translations or by common lingual practices).

The influence of the common lingual praxis is a reliable explanation of the use of some Polish words in the Middle Ukrainian text. The earliest texts, however, indicate a very essential terminological feature which can be considered antidogmatic in today's Polish Catholic texts: this is the usage of the word 'cerkiew'. According to the dictionaries of contemporary Polish, 'cerkiew' designates a number of notions ('group of people', 'institution', 'place for worship') connected with Orthodoxy. Meanwhile, the 'Early Polish Dictionary' does not register any specific sense connected with Orthodoxy (Słownik staropolski, 1954: t. 1, z. 4:218-219). While the Middle Polish translations were influenced by the Czech or – less probably – Church Slavonic translations, the standard term in newer Polish translations is only 'Koscioł'.

The choice for the lexeme 'cerkiew' claims for reconsidering some ideas about the New World Translation of the Bible (by Jehovah's Witnesses) which is criticized, for example, because of the substitution of the well-acquired 'Koscioł' for 'ogólne zgromadzenie' (Zając). Here one discrimination is to be borne in mind – between biblical and liturgical vocabulary. The patristic writings developed the new sense of the Christian institution for the Greek 'ἐκκλησία', but in the time of the New Testament, the sense 'assembly duly summoned' dominated.

The interesting difference between the current Polish translations of the Apostles' Creed and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed refers to the Greek 'ἀνάστασις' or the Latin 'resurrectio' which sounds identically in both texts in the two languages. In the Polish translations of the Apostles' Creed and those of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed done from the earliest times to the mid-20th century, the resurrection of the dead is called 'zmartwychwstanie' which is a rather exact rendering of the Greek original lexeme connected first of all with 'rising up'. The very lexeme can be viewed a key to Jesus Christ's success story when after trouble and obstacles, i.e. falling down, He could 'rise up' to success and glory. The Ukrainian 'воскресіння' as well as other Slavonic terms of this root mean first of all 'returning to life': this word signifies God's mystical act where humans are not involved. This is why the aim of involving believers for repenting for sins and deserving an eternal life is better promised in the term 'zmartwychwstanie' which remind them that they should follow and appreciate Jesus Christ's path from sufferings to happiness. In the newer Polish translations of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed (1956, 1983), the idea of resurrecting is translated as 'wskrzeszenie' which limits the rich variety of means for obtaining life after death to the bare process of revivification.

Conclusions

Summarizing the lines of historical development in two superficially opposite Christian traditions, we face a lot of striking similarities. The texts of the Creed functioned as tokens of extreme authority sharing the same importance for the nations and the national churches: retranslation activities got active in the times of national and societal crises (foreign expansions and occupations). The major ecclesiastical reforms also coincide more or less in temporal periods: Ukraine's claim for its autocephalous church at the turn of the 1920s and Poland's reflections of the liturgical movement finalized during the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s. The historical changes of the target languages did not play a decisive role in stimulating new retranslations, but the results were sometimes bright and unusual from the viewpoint of lingual reception and interpretation.

The prospects of this study can be extrapolated on exploring the ecclesiastical values and societal ideals of other prayers for private, public and monastic worshipping. The especially thought-provoking part of research can be the conditions of how and why believers' and priests' mentality changed and requested a distinct attitude towards translation strategies of liturgical texts. A future topic is the possibly acceptable limits of a translator's licence and lingual experimenting in religious translations. In ecclesiastical milieus, lingual experiments are usually feared as they are believed to be sources of heresies and misinterpretations, though the very attempts can help find better equivalents for many linguistic pitfalls in religious texts.

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Тарас Шмігер. Символ віри серед українців і поляків: мовнокультурні історії текстів. Статтю присвячено множинності перекладів Символу віри, які в текстологічній перспективі об'єднують дві галузі релігійного перекладу: літургійну й біблійну. Символ віри ϵ основоположним текстом східного та

західного християнства, а тому має тривалу історію повторних перекладів ув Україні та Польщі. Аналіз уключає два варіянти Символу віри: Апостольський символ віри та Нікейсько-Константинопольський символ віри, які мають певні спільні формулювання. Новизну статті визначає той дивовижний факт, що ці тексти ретельно вивчали богослови, але жоден критик перекладу та історик ніколи не розглядав ці тексти серйозно з погляду суспільної історії й текстової Методологію історіографічного опису й текстового використано для з'ясування та перевірки історичної динаміки й рецепції текстів. Історіографічний повторно перекладених аналіз передбачає інтерпретаційне вивчення лексики з погляду семантики, історії мови й соціолінгвістики, що дає змогу охарактеризувати причини та наслідки текстової лексичної різноманітности. Теоретичне значення статті застосуванні її результатів до літературної й культурної історії України та Польщі, особливо у ситуації, коли релігійні тексти були найкращим знаряддям для формування нації та державотворення. З типологічного погляду умови для творення нового тексту цільовою мовою можна укласти в чотири групи: політичні причини, суспільні мотиви, культурне життя та історичне тло. Історія перекладу показує, наскільки важливе збереження та вироблення культурних кодів для сприйняття серед вірян та для освіти й євангелізації нації. Перспективи продовження цього дослідження охоплюють церковні цінності та суспільні ідеали інших молитов для приватного, публічного та чернечого богослужіння. Крім того, темою-стимулом є вивчення прийнятних меж свободи перекладача та мовних експериментів, яких зазвичай побоюються через можливі неправильні тлумачення і єресі, хоча саме вони можуть допомогти знайти вдаліші еквіваленти для подолання численних мовних пасток у релігійному дискурсі.

Ключові слова: релігійний переклад, літургійний переклад, множинні переклади, Символ віри, культурний код.

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