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THE DISCOVERED BOOK *Das Hauß=3ucht= und Lehr=Buch Jefu Syrachs (1671)* BY GEORG MANCELIUS AND RELATIONS WITH ITS EARLIER PUBLICATIONS

Abstract. This article consists of two following parts: presentation of discovered book (section 2) and its analysis (section 3, 4 and 5). The third edition of the Book of Sirach by Mancelius published in 1671 was up to this day considered not to be extant but it was found in very good state stored in the Lund University Library (call number: lub.1356710). The discovery of the book made it possible to compare it with the previous ones and to examine the statement that it differed very little from the others, mostly in spelling. The comparison of the Sir₃ text with its earlier editions disclosed a relatively high number of various linguistic differences, differences in the verse structure and other peculiarities. The scope of this article only allowed to examine the following text modifications (44 cases): additions (35), omissions (6) and verse distribution (3). The largest number of the changes was identified in the first part of the translation, especially towards the middle of the text. A common trend that emerged in examining the changes was that they occurred as a result of a more conservative approach of the editors which manifested in the attempts to bring the translated text closer to Luthers Bible having chosen the strategy of more literal (word-for-word) translation. In order to determine the motivation of the changes, the article has also attempted at exploring the issue of the source of the translation. Analysis seems to suggest that the main source of the translation of Sir by Mancelius was the German text by Luther but it is also obvious that other texts were used as translation ancillary sources too.

Keywords: Latvian; 17th century; Georg Mancelius; the Book of Sirach; 3rd edition; additions; omissions.

1. Introduction

The third publication of the Book of Sirach (hereafter referred to as Sir₃) by Georg Mancelius published in 1671 was up to this day considered not to

be extant (SLV, 29). However, as early as the 3rd decade of the 20th century one of its copies involved into the convolute of seven books *Lettifch Vade mecum* (hereafter, LVM₃) was registered in the *Baltijas vēstures un senatnes biedrība* library in Latvia and briefly described in an article by Ludis Bērziņš (1928). Even so, it disappeared after the war. Together with the former one, other books incorporated into LVM₃ also disappeared (SLV, 29, 30, 31, 35, 37)¹, except for, most probably, only one book, i.e. a defective copy *Die Sprüche Salomonis* (SLV, 32)² published in 1672 which is currently stored in the Academic Library of the University of Latvia (bound together with SLV, 48, 52).³

Although scholarly works make no mention of the possibly available extant copies of LVM₃ or books included into it in the archives of other countries, when I ordered the German translation of the Book of Sirach of 1671 in the Lund University Library (hereafter, LUL), it was a surprising discovery since what I received was not the German copy but Mancelius' Book of Sirach in Latvian under the following title (see also Figure 1):

Das Hauß=Zucht= und | Lehr=Buch | Jefu Syrachs / | Wie es vormahls | Durch den Sel: Herrn | GEORGIUM MANCE-|LIUM, SS. Theol. Licent. wei=|land Fürftl. Curländifchen | Hoffprediger / | In Lettifcher Sprache | außgegeben. | Numehr aber mit Fleiß durch=|gefehen / und von den merklich=|lichften⁴ Fehlern gefäubert | worden. | Cum Grat. & Priv. S.R.M. Svec: | Zu Riga in Liefland | Drukts und verlegt Heinrich Beffe=|meffer / im Jahre 1671.

(Copy of the Lund University Library, call number: lub.1356710)⁵

¹ It is important to note that the information provided in SLV 37 that a defective copy of the third convolute of Mancelius' LVM (without the title page) is stored in the Academic library of the University of Latvia is erroneous. The copy that is actually stored is not the third but the fourth edition of the LVM published in 1685. This can be discovered by inspecting a note inserted before the passage on the Sunday after the New Year about the publication of the book in 1673.

² The uppermost line of most of the pages in the book is half-cut.

³ Based on the title page of the convolute (see Bērziņš 1928, 177), it has been conventional in previous scholarship to state that the third edition of LVM appeared in 1673, although its different sections were started to be published since 1671 (Augstkalns 1930, 110).

⁴ Proofreading error in Sir₃. Cf. Figure 1.

⁵ In the catalogue of the Lund University Library: <http://lubsearch.lub.lu.se/>. After collaboration with the librarians an electronic copy of the book has also been

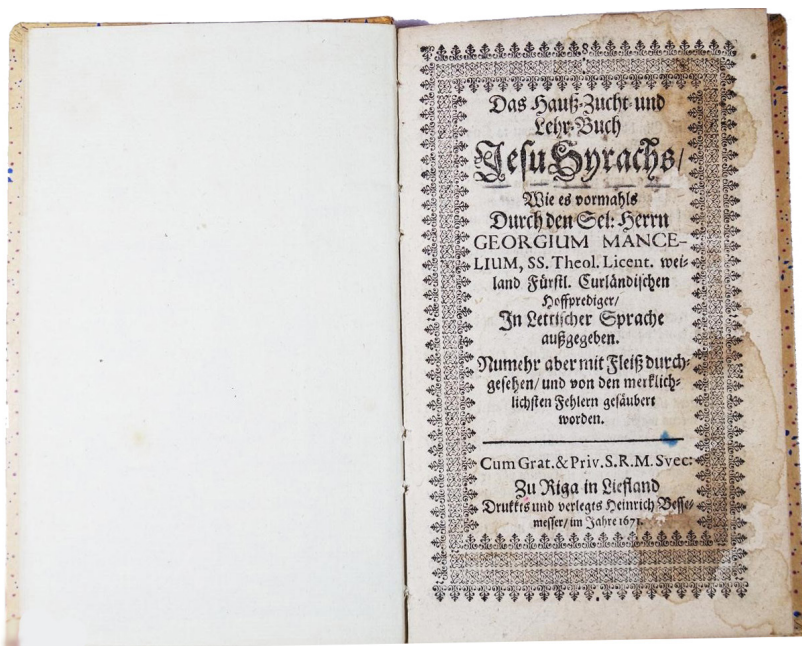


Figure 1. The title page of the third edition of the Book of Sirach by Georg Mancelius (copy at LUL, call number: lub.1356710)

Thus, as the title suggests, this is the 1671 copy of Mancelius' translation of *Das Hauß=Zucht= und Lehr=Buch Jesu Syrachs* which was considered to be non-extant. In the catalogue the book was most probably erroneously ascribed to the collection of German books due to the German language used on the title page, although the title clearly states "In Lettischer Sprache außgegeben" and the page indicates the author's name, i.e. Georg Mancelius. Knowing that Lund was a place where a prominent Latvian scholar Kārlis Draviņš lived and worked for more than fifty years, it is somewhat surprising that the book remained unnoticed, since the scholar had reviewed and described practically all other Latvian books stored in Lund or in nearby

available in ALVIN (Platform for digital collections and digitized cultural heritage) since the end of 2019: <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A266128&dswid=-8685>.

Copenhagen (Draviņš 1951; 1955; 1961; 1965; 1971 etc.). This raises a question: how and when did this book appear in the Lund University Library? Due to the lack of attributes of belonging it is currently difficult to determine the possible owner of the book. However, there are some questions about the book that could be answered. Thus, the **aim** of the first part of this article (section 2) is the presentation of the discovered book. Nevertheless, the main focus is on its analysis which is provided in the second, larger part of this article. It consists of tracing the sources of the Latvian edition of the Book of Sirach (section 3 and 4) and textual analysis of several differences between Mancelius' Sir₂ and Sir₃ (section 5).

2. The state of the *Sir* copy

The only currently known copy of the book consists of 125 pages (124 of them are numbered) of text (*in octavo*) (including the title page) and 3 pages (pp. 126, 127, 128) of figures at the end of the book (wood carving) with a quotation from the German Bible placed above the figures (Gen. 4, Ex. 3 and John 4, 10). The book is in a very good condition, although several pages contain darkish stains from moisture (similar to that shown in Figure 1); it is bound in hardcover with endpapers, its pages are not crumpled, folded or torn. There are no handwritten remarks on any of the pages except for a pencil-underlined segment in the title page (see Figure 1). The book does not contain stamp or any other markings that would indicate its place of belonging, except for the stamped library markings which are placed on a paper pasted on the inner side of the front hardcover – „14(?)“, „Th.(???)“, „A. 351“. There is no doubt that the current binding of the book was carried out much later, most probably in the previous century; however, the librarians have preserved several fragments of the earlier binding, i.e. some inscriptions in German which were retained by pasting them on the inner surface of the back hardcover (See Figure 2). Perhaps the specific style of writing on these fragments will help identify the owner of the book and thereby trace the 'path' of the book to Lund but its comparison with the inscriptions of other Latvian books stored in LUL shows that the writing style is different from other books. With no other attributes in the book which could indicate the ownership, it is currently impossible to answer the majority of the questions regarding the history of the book such as who it belonged to and when and how it arrived to LUL. Nonetheless, some details can be specified. The copy found is a physically separate book and it does not seem to have been

removed from the great convolute of LVM₃. This allows to corroborate the statements made by Augstkalns (1930, 110) and Napiersky (1831, 28) that before they were added to the convolute in 1673, several books had been published and perhaps also started to be disseminated individually.

3. Sir₃ preparation and relations with its earlier publications

The Book of Sirach published in 1671 and stored in LUL is the third edition of this book of The Old Testament in Latvian. All the three publications are translations by the same author, i.e. Mancelius. The first two editions published in 1631 and 1643 were translated and edited by the same person; however, the publishing works of the third edition which emerged a considerable time after Mancelius' death⁶, were carried out by other persons.

According to Straubergs (1936, 628–629), the history of the preparation of LVM₃ is relatively clear. Reports have it that printer Heinrich Bessemesser⁷ who wanted to republish Latvian songs, expressed his wish to Melchior Fuchs who then was the Burgomaster of Riga and who passed the request to the pastors on the 25th of July of 1670 during one of the meetings of the city's consistory. This matter was discussed again in the meeting that took place on the 10th of November, 1670 which included the presentation of the same printer's request to reprint not only the songs but also the handbook of late Mancelius with corrections and additions. A decision was made to

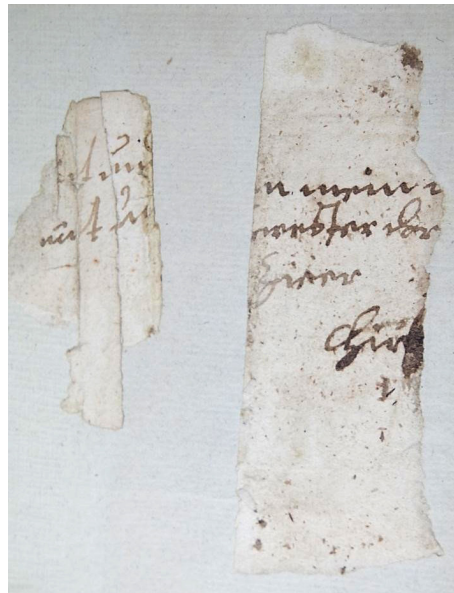


Figure 2. **The inner side of the back cover of the third edition of Mancelius' Book of Sirach** (copy at LUL, call number: lub.1356710).

⁶ Georg Mancelius born June 24, 1593 in Mežmuiža (Augstkalne Parish), died March 17, 1654 in Jelgava (Ozols 1965, 158–159).

⁷ A famous printer who worked in Riga in 1660–1683 and who mostly published books in the German language (Apinis 1977, 51).

refer to pastors Heinrich Lademacher, Peter Stahl and Heinrich Kleinschmidt regarding this request and proceed with the matter only after receiving their response. This is reported to have occurred on the 23rd of November 1670 in a meeting at St. Peter's Church in Riga the outcome of which was the decision that publishing works of Mancelius' LVM would have to be conducted by Bruno Hanenfeld, Georg Ulrich and Johann Wedemeier. Straubergs (1936, 629) holds that apart from the aforementioned persons, the book was also actively edited by Lademacher but the scholar also notes that it is unclear how much each of the pastors contributed to the publication. Subsequent scholarly works state that there is a possibility that other pastors who are not mentioned by Straubergs were also involved in the editing of the publication (SLV, 37).

Regardless of the fact that it is difficult to conclusively state which of the mentioned or non-mentioned pastors were the ones to edit the publication of the Book of Sirach or how it was carried out, the fact that the book was edited is unquestionable since only by inspecting the title it is clear that Sir₃ was edited ("von den merklich=lichften Fehlern gefäubert | worden", see Fig. 1), therefore it should differ from the earlier two editions of the same text prepared by Mancelius. However, knowing that serious discussions about the third edition of LVM only emerged at the very end of 1670 and thus presuming that the texts were started to be reviewed in 1671, it is possible to conclude that relatively little time was allocated to the editing of Sir₃. Its printing started as early as 1671, although the preface of the whole convolute, as it is revealed in the article by Augstkalns (1933, 54; also SLV, 37), was only signed on the 6th of January 1673⁸. Perhaps this is the main reason why it had been routinely stated (SLV, 37) that in comparison to earlier editions, LVM₃ only contains insignificant orthographical changes irrespective of the fact that such claims do not seem to have valid support since no information about the copy had been retrieved and available.

After the Sir₃ copy was discovered, there occurred a possibility to compare and contrast the texts and to determine the actual number and types of editorial modifications made in the text alongside their possible motivation. In fact, this is the **aim** of the second part of the article. However, the article is limited to the analysis of the changes detected in Sir₃ which include

⁸ It should be mentioned that a preface by Riga's clergy which was bound after that, signed even earlier on the 25th of October 1672.

additions (5.3), omissions (5.2) and division of verses (5.1). Orthographic, morphological, derivational, lexical and syntactic changes are not discussed in this article since a large number⁹ and specificity of such changes requires a separate study.

The main **material** of the analysis consists of texts of the Book of Sirach published in 1643 and 1671. They were digitalised and compared manually applying the contrastive method. The analysis is performed by not only contrasting the excerpts from Sir₂ and Sir₃ that are quoted in the article but all the cases examined in Sir₁ (1631)¹⁰ and those published in the two Latvian editions of the Book of Sirach in 1685, namely, in the fourth edition of Mancelius' LVM¹¹ and in the handbook prepared by Heinrich Adolphi (1685)¹² the basis of which was the translation by Mancelius.

4. Studies and sources of the Latvian edition of the Book of Sirach

The Latvian translation of the Book of Sirach received very scarce attention from researchers¹³, irrespective of the fact that in the Lutheran tradition it was a significant part of the teaching process while its plentiful publishing as a separate book in the context of the Baltic States is to a certain extent phenomenal.¹⁴ Given the scarcity of scientific works, it is not surprising that the sources of the book's translation have not been consistently examined. Nevertheless, this issue has been crucial in pursuing the motivation of the changes that are discussed in the subsequent sections of this article (it is normal for part of the changes to appear in text as a result of different editors comparing the translation with the original); thus, it is worth to at least review it briefly.

⁹ Cf.: there are approximately 70 derivational changes, up to 90 lexical changes and well above a hundred morphological changes.

¹⁰ Electronic version of the text can be found in the Corpus of Early written Latvian (http://senie.korpuss.lv/source.jsp?codificator=Manc1631_Syr).

¹¹ See SLV, 48, 55.

¹² See SLV, 47. Electronic version of the text can be found in the Corpus of Early written Latvian (http://senie.korpuss.lv/source.jsp?codificator=VLH1685_Syr).

¹³ Perhaps the only scholarship on the topic is Beitiņa's (1997; 2003) research on nominal sentences of the Book of Sirach.

¹⁴ Although in Germany it appeared before the translation of the whole Bible and it received widespread popularity (in 1533–1545 12 volumes were published (WA DB 12, xv), it was not published and used in all the territories with a Lutheran tradition. Cf. Lutheran publications in Lithuania Minor.

The potential sources of the translation are mentioned by Beitiņa (1997, 53) who maintains that, given Mancelius' erudition, it is impossible to assert that the basis of Sir was the German translation. She proposes that all the texts that were then available to the translators (The Vulgate and the sources in Hebrew and, possibly other languages) could be used as possible translation sources. However, this statement is subject to questioning, since even a preliminary inspection of the text suggests that it is the German source (any of the translations by Luther¹⁵) that could have been the basis of Sir alongside other sources, i.e., fragments in other languages that are also present in the text cast no doubt on the fact that the translator also referred to other sources such as Greek and Latin texts (perhaps a parallel text or a polyglot that were conventionally used at that time). The considerable influence of Luther's translation of the Book of Sirach on Mancelius' translation can be demonstrated by providing numerous examples. Below are several of them:

Sir. 12:2

- Sir**₃ | Darri Labbam labb / tad kluhft tōw tas Baggatige attmaxahtz / ja nhe no winju
tad teeß teefcham notix no to Kungu. (Debbefšies.)
- LB** | Thu dem Fromen guts / So wird dirs reichlich vergolten / Wo nicht von jm /
so geschichts gewislich vom HERRN.
- V** | Benefac justo, et invenies retributionem magnam: et si non ab ipso, certe a
Domino.
- SP** | “εὖ ποιήσον εὐσεβεῖ καὶ εὐρήσεις ἀνταπόδομα καὶ εἰ μὴ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ
παρὰ τοῦ ὑψίστου”

Sir. 2:3

- Sir**₃ | Turrees tōw py Deewu / und nhe attkahp / Ka tu al=lafch ftipprāhx kluhfti.
- LB** | Halt dich an Gott / vnd weiche nicht / auff das du jmer stercker werdest.
- V** | conjungere Deo, et sustine, ut crescat in novissimo vita tua.
- SP** | κολληθητι αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἀποστῆς ἵνα ἀξηθῆς ἐπ’ ἐσχάτων σου

¹⁵ Admittedly, it is usually considered that the Book of Sirach present in the LB was translated from The Vulgate and The Septuagint (Rösel 2017, 293), although other opinions also exist, cf. Sauer (2013, 129) claims that it was only translated from The Vulgate.

Sir. 17:5

Sir₃ Wings dewwa teem Prahtu / Runnafchanu / Atzis / Aufsis / und Šaprafchanu / und Adfifchanu.

LB Er gab jnen vernunft / sprache / augen / ohren vnd verstand / vnd erkenntnis /
V consilium, et linguam, et oculos, et aures, et cor dedit ad cogitandum illis.

SP διαβούλιον καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ ὀφθαλμούς ὧτα καὶ καρδίαν ἔδωκεν διανοεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς

Sir. 1:2–3

Sir₃ Kas gir pirmahk mehroyis / zeek auxtam Deb=bešim / zeek plattam Señei / zeek dfillam Juhrai by buht? Kas gir Deewu pirmahk mahziys / ko tam by darryt?

LB Wer hat zuuor gemessen / wie hohe der Himel / wie breit die Erden / wie tieff das Meer sein solte? Wer hat Gott je geleret / was er machen solt?

V altitudinem caeli, et latitudinem terrae, et profundum abyssi, quis dimensus est? sapientiam Dei praecedentem omnia, quis investigavit?

SP ὕψος οὐρανοῦ καὶ πλάτος γῆς καὶ ἄβυσσον καὶ σοφίαν τίς ἐξιχνιάσει

Although Mancelius' following of Luther cannot be denied in the subsequent example of Sir. 22:19–20 (cf. lexical (Lv. *Nams*, Germ. *Haus* ‚house‘, but Lat. *lignum*, Gr. ξύλινος ‚tree‘; Lv. *lietus*, Germ. *Regen* ‚rain‘, but Lat. *ventus*, Gr. ἄνεμος ‚wind‘) and structural overlaps determined, most probably, by the goal to maintain effective intercultural communication), the insertions reflect the comparison of the text of the translation with the Greek and Latin sources:

Sir₃ 19. Ka kahds Namms / kas ftippe eedarrietz gir / nhe šak=kriet no Auku / (Wähtru) ta arridfan kahda Širrds / kat=tra šawas leetas patteefše finn / nhe bieftahs (Gr. nullō timore perterrebitur) baidita.

20. Jht ka tas krahßniß (thas krahfas) Mahlß pi (Gr. ἔυχος, i. scalptus.) notähftu Šeenu / pretti leetu.

LB 19 GLeich wie ein Haus / das fest in einander verbunden ist / nicht zufellt / vom Sturmwind / Also auch ein hertz das seiner Sachen gewis ist / das fürcht sich fur keinem schrecken.

20 GLeich wie der schöne Tüñch / an der schlechten Wand / wider den Regen /

V 19 Loramentum ligneum colligatum in fundamento aedificii non dissolvetur, sic et cor confirmatum in cogitatione consilii.

20 Cogitatus sensati in omni tempore metu non depravabitur.

21 Sicut pali in excelsis, et caementa sine impensa posita contra faciem venti non permanebunt:

SP 16 ἰμάντωσις ξυλίνη ἐνδεδεμένη εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐν συσσεισμοῦ οὐ διαλυθήσεται
οὕτως καρδία ἐστηριγμένη ἐπὶ διανοήματος βουλήs ἐν καιρῷ οὐ δειλιάσει
17 καρδία ἠδρασμένη ἐπὶ διανοίας συνέσεως ὡς κόσμος ψαμμωτὸς τοίχου
ξυστοῦ
18 χάρακες ἐπὶ μετέωρου κείμενοι κατέναντι ἀνέμου οὐ μὴ ὑπομείνωσιν οὕτως
καρδία δειλὴ ἐπὶ διανοήματος μωροῦ κατέναντι παντὸς φόβου οὐ μὴ ὑπομείνη

As can be expected from a text which is targeted at religious practice rather than specialised studies, the main source was not followed word for word but considerable attention was also paid to a more fluent language of the translation which results in a number of differences, e.g. morphological (a.) or lexical differences (b.), differences in the number of words in a sentence (c.), differences in the sentence's the word order (d.) and other changes. Consider the following examples:

a. Sir. 19:8

Sir₃ | Tõw buhs to nei **labbam** nei **launam** šatziet / und nhe ißftahfti / ja tu to beß
ghruhtu Širrdi / darriet warr.
LB | Du solts weder **Freund** noch **Feinde** sagen / Vnd offenbars nicht / wo du es
on **böse** gewissen thun kanst /

b. Sir. 38:3

Sir₃ | Ta Sinnafchana ta Ahrfta pa=auxtēna winju / und darra to leelu **py leeleem**
Kungeem.
LB | Die kunst des Artzts erhöhēt jn / vnd macht jn gros bey Fürsten vnd Herrn.

c. Sir. 20:10

Sir₃ | Daffch dohd / kohlab kas tõw nhe pallieds / turr pret=tie **atkal** daffch dohd kam
ohter teek kļuhft attmaxahtz.
LB | ES gibt offt einer etwas / Das ers vbel anlegt / Dagegen / gibt einer / da ers seer
wol anlegt.

d. Sir. 38:27

Sir₃ | Tam buhs dohmaht / ka tam ja=ařř / und buhs **Rietohs Wackarohs** Ghoweem
ehft dohd.
LB | Er mus denken / wie er ackern sol / vnd mus **spat** vnd **früe** den Kūen futter
geben.

These several examples illustrate that the German text can be considered the main source of the translation, while all the others are ancillary sources. However, although such an observation allows to narrow down the question of the main source of the translation, it does not fully resolve the issue since there were numerous editions of the Book of Sirach by Luther and, in addition, they were also different from one another.

5. Several differences between Mancelius' Sir₂ and Sir₃

The article examines 44 modifications of Sir₃ which include 35 additions (5.3), 6 omissions (5.2) and 3 cases of different verse division (5.1) with the following distribution in the translation:

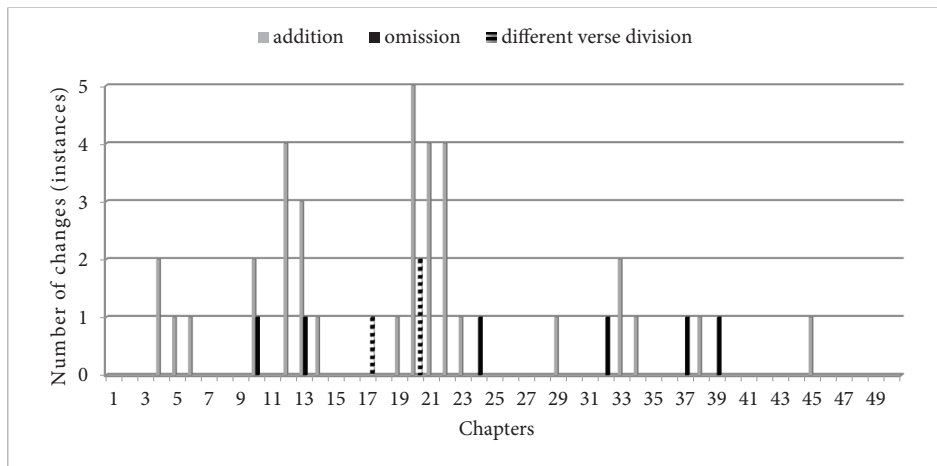


Chart 1. **The distribution of the changes in Sir₃ according to the chapters**

The chart reflects the general quantitative tendency of the changes examined in Sir₃ which shows that the first half (especially towards the middle) of the translation was edited much more extensively in comparison to the second half. Chapter 20 contains the highest number of changes made by the editors alongside adjacent chapters, i.e. 21 and 22 as well as chapter 12 which also contain a relatively high number of changes. All of the chapters are similar in terms of topic, they all deal with such topics as the behaviour of a clever and a silly person, didactic remarks on how not to be lazy and foolish, how to do good deeds and avoid sinful behaviour.

5.1. Verse divisions

The comparison of Sir₂ and Sir₃ has revealed that there are three cases in the first half of the translation of Sir₃ where the division into verses or their numbering differs.¹⁶ The first difference was detected in chapter 17:

- (1) *7. Vnd gir tohs par wifšeem zitteem Lohpeem vβluhkoyis / ka wings teem rahditu šawu leelu Ghodu. 8. Wings gir tohs mahziyis → 7. Und gir tohs par wifšeem zitteem Lohpeem uhβluhkoyis. 8. Ka wings teem rahditu šawu leelu Ghodu. 9. Wings gir tohs mahziyis [...] (17⁷⁻⁸₃₆₋₃₇)*¹⁷.

Like in Sir₁, the 17th chapter of Sir₂ is divided into 30 verses; however, Sir₃ is divided into 31 verses which is the same number of verses that is present in Luther Bible. As a result, all the remaining verses of chapter 17 (8–30) in the third edition include a one-verse difference.

The second and the third differences occur in chapter 20. The first difference of this chapter (2) is only in numbering of verses (the fifth verse was combined with the fourth and then previous 5th verse became 6th etc.):

- (2) *4. Kas warru darra Šohdà / tas gir iht ka kads Pillesšaufcho Vs=raugs / katters kahdu Jumprawu nhegoh=dà darra / kattrra winjam šarghatina by. 5. Daffch tadehļ klufš zeeſch → 4. 5. Kas warru darra Šohdà / tas gir iht ka kads Pil=leššaufcho Usraugs / katters kahdu Jumprawu nhegoh=dà darra (abſchmei) kattrra winjam šarghatina by. 6. Daffch tadehļ klufš zeeſch [...] (20⁴⁻⁵₄₃).*

This one-verse difference continues until the 21st verse where the division is unified:

- (3) *19. Wings kriet nicknake zaur tadu Runnafchanu / nhe ka kaut wings no Behningi kriftu. 20. Tha noteek teem Nhelabbeem / ka teem tattſche pehtz peepeh=fche krift buht. 21. Mullkis nheticklis Zillwâhx → 20. Wings kriet nicknake zaur tadu Runnafchanu / nhe ka kaut wings no Behningi kriftu / ta noteek teem Nhelab=beem / ka teem tomâhr pehtz peepehſche krift buhs. 21. Mullkis nheticklis Zillwâhx [...] (20²⁰₄₄).*

¹⁶ In general, Mancelius' division of the Book of Sirach into verses is considerably different from the Lutheran division which later was established as a traditional division; however, the comparison was conducted in this section only between the different Latvian editions of Sir.

¹⁷ Hereafter, the number of the chapter, verse and page of Sir₃ are provided in parentheses following the example.

Both differences are interrelated since the division into (2) two verses instead of a single verse found in Sir₁ and Sir₂ results in the difference in the subsequent numbering of verses in a single number until the (3) 21st verse which, having combined verses 19 and 20 into a single one, again match the division of the previous editions.

Almost all the corrections of verse numbering in Sir₃ correspond to the last publication of the Bible edited by Luther¹⁸, but the numbering differs from the Vulgate and the Septuagint which may suggest that the differences were made in an attempt at unification in accordance with the Lutheran canon. However, having compared more chapters, it becomes apparent that the book contains more instances where the fragments that seemingly had not corresponded to LB were not corrected, e.g. Sir. 4:17–19, Sir. 38:37–39 and others. Nevertheless, no conclusive statements should be made regarding this issue since it is important to bear in mind that for a substantial period of time the editions of the Book of Sirach contained no verse numbering¹⁹ and the numbering of those editions that contained it, was different. The first edition of Luther's Bible that provided the verse numbering on the margins (including the Book of Sirach) appeared only in 1568 in Heidelberg; however, the German account holds that the "true", i.e. Wittenberg's edition emerged as late as 1585–1586 (long after Luther's death and the publication of the last edition in 1545) (Zwink 2007). Having reviewed a number of editions of Luther's Bible by different publishers²⁰ it becomes apparent that none of them contained an identical verse division which suggests that the differences observed between the different editions of Sir by Mancelius are not an uncommon phenomenon. The differences among the different

¹⁸ Except for the first change of chapter 20 which includes a different numbering of verses 4, 5 and 6 but afterwards matches the new verse division of Sir₃ (WA DB 12, 199).

¹⁹ In fact, for a long time there was no verse numbering in the entire Bible, not only in its smaller-volume editions. Although the first case of text division into chapters is recorded in the *Codex Vaticanus* whereas a newer system of numbering was proposed by Stephen Langton in the 13th century (Brown 1833, 94), the first edition of the New Testament which contained verse numbering only emerged in 1551 (Metzger 2005, 150).

²⁰ E.g. different editions of the full published Bibles: 1586, 1589 Wittenberg (Zacharias Lehmann), 1588 Newstadt an der Hardt (Mathias Harnisch), 1590 Wittenberg (Johann Krafft), 1599 Wittenberg (Lorentz Süberlich), 1622 Herborn (Christoph Corvinus Erben) etc.

editions of LB may seem promising in their ability to provide additional evidence which could enable the identification of the sources of Mancelius' translation; however, so far none of the numerous LB editions reviewed completely matched the numbering in Sir by Mancelius. Therefore, the question regarding the sources of the translation remains open.

5.2. Omissions

Comparing Sir₃ with Sir₂, six omissions of the later publication were detected. Of them all, five cases include the omission of only one word, whereas one case includes the omission of a longer fragment. The latter seems to be a clear case of parablepsis²¹, i.e. an error of miscopying text due to the identical fragments of the same sentence or line (see underlined fragment), whereby a scribe's glance jumps over to the subsequent fragment (which typically occurs when typing or copying text)²²:

- (4) [...] jeb no kahdu bailigu / ka karroht buhß / jeb no kahdu Pretzeneeku / zeek darge wings tawu Pretz prett sawu skeetahs turreht / jeb no kahdu Pirtzeyu → [...] jeb no kahdu Ø Pretzeneeku / zeek darge wings tawu Pretz prett sawu skeetahs turreht / jeb no kahdu Pirtzeyu [...] (37¹²₈₅)

The following single-word omission observed in Sir₃ is also considered to be a case of an obviously non-deliberate change, i.e. an omission of a non-editorial character:

- (5) 11. Und Nhelaimeh **nefsis**. → 10. Tapehtz peeluhko / ka tawa Weenteefsiba tów nhe pe=wills. 11. Und Nhelaimeh. Ø 12. Kad kahds Warráhns gribb tów py sów wilkt / tad leedfees / tad wings tów wehl wairahk py sów wilx. (13¹¹₂₉)

Although the sentence cited above (5) consists of only three words, it is an individual verse of chapter 13; therefore, having omitted the predicate *nefsis* 'she/he will bring,' it becomes absolutely unclear what the meaning of the sentence is. This omission does not recur in any of the later editions (cf. Sir₄ *Und Nhelaimeh nefsis* and VLH_{Sir} *In Nelaimê ne eeweddihs*).

The remaining four omissions also occur in the later edition of Sir₄, although their motivation is not that evident. Some of them can be considered random

²¹ See Subačius 2001, 300; or Metzger 2005, 253.

²² It is interesting to note that, contrary to part of other presumed proofreading errors that occurred in Sir₃, this omission is not corrected in Sir₄.

changes since the words that were omitted consist of only two or three letters but other cases are likely to be a result of conscious and deliberate change since the omitted lexemes are non-essential for the understanding of the meaning of those sentences and such modifications could have been made for editorial or stylistic purposes:

- (6) *ka tas* *Baggahtz warráhtu tapt* → *Daffch ghanna súhre strahda / und steidfahs / (Gr. laborans,) ka* ∅ *Baggahtz warráhtu tapt / und sów paf=fcham tickai ar to kawweh.* (11[10]¹¹₂₄);
- (7) *No mann skreen daudtz Uppiteß darfohs / ka tas* *Vdeni ewáddina* → *No mann skreen daudtz Uppiteß darfohs / ka* ∅ *Udens thop ewáddinahtz.* (24⁴⁰₅₆);²³
- (8) *Bett ey patteitz* → *Bett* ∅ *patteitz par to wijsu / tam / katters tów raddiyis / und ar saweem Dahwaneem pee=áhdenayis gir.* (32¹⁷₇₄);
- (9) [...] *apleezina to ar to* *Śwátu Ghramatu* → *apleezina to ar* ∅ *Śwátu Ghramatu* (39¹¹₉₂).

Of all the omissions, the demonstrative pronoun *tas* ‘that’ was omitted three times. However, it is important to note that this word serves different syntactic functions in the sentences: the omitted pronoun *tas* in the subordinate clause in example (6) serves the function of a subject in Sir₂; in example (7) the omitted *tas* in Sir₂ serves the function of a subject, but its omission seems conscious and reasonable because it is not related to the change in the syntactic structure of the sentence (it was replaced with a passive-construction sentence); finally, in example (9), the omission is of the demonstrative pronoun *tas* which was in the position of an article. If the latter omission is conscious and deliberate, it could have been determined by the stylistic purposes of the sentence since the adjacent sentence also includes the use of the same form of the pronoun which serves a different function (*apleezina to* is a complement, *ar to Śwátu Ghramatu* serves the function of an article) and thereby hinders the comprehension of the sentence. The use of *ey* ‘you go’ that appears in Mancelius’ Sir₁ and Sir₂ displayed in example (8) is not found in any of the possible translation sources²⁴, nor in later translations of the Book of Sirach into Latvian. This could be the main reason to omit the lexeme *ey* in the translation which could have occurred in the source text due to stylistic composition in coordinating it with the previous verse. A more

²³ LB: *ES fließen von mir viel Bechlin in die Garten / wie man das wasser hinein leitet.*

²⁴ LB: *Sondern dancke fur das alles dem / der dich geschaffen / vnd mit seinen Gütern gesettiget hat.* (WA DB 12, 235).

improbable reason for it to have occurred in the source text is the typist's inaccurate insertion.²⁵

5.3. Additions

Amounting to 35 cases detected in total in Sir₃, the largest category of the changes under examination are additions. Formally, all insertions observed in Sir₃ are divided into the following two groups: 1) additions provided in parentheses (5.3.1.); and 2) additions incorporated into the text without any distinctive marks (5.3.2.).

5.3.1. The largest group of additions to Sir₃ (22 out of 35) is constituted of those provided in parentheses. Of those, 16 insertions are: (a.) single-word additions (8 nouns, 4 verbs, 2 adjectives and 2 adverbs) but the remaining part of six additions (b.) are insertions that consist of more than one word. All the insertions that belong to this group are incorporated into the Sir₃ text and occupy the position after the specifying word or phrase.

a) The motivation of the vast majority of single-word additions seems to be determined by language variation because the insertions can be considered to be synonyms or lexical variants of the words preceding them. Their abundance is not surprising as the use of variants was characteristic of early texts written for daily religious practice. According to Kruopas (1960, 223), different lexical parallelisms in such texts are determined by their wish to appeal to representatives of different dialects, the absence of consistent literary style of language, the influence of foreign languages and other circumstances. However, the occurrence of the majority of the additions in Sir₃ can also be explained by the direct influence of the source text on the translation which reflects the editors' more conservative approach. It seems that when Mancelius text was edited, it was compared and contrasted against LB and any fragments that had digressed from LB were edited in an attempt to find the closest equivalent which sometimes resulted in adding a practically literal equivalent (cf. translation segments 14, 16, or 18):

- (10) *Bett efši weenahdygs (paftawigs) tawohs Wahr=dohs / und palleetz py weenas Wallodas.* (5¹²₁₁) [LB: Sondern sey **bestendig** in deinem wort / vnd bleibe bey einerley rede.];

²⁵ Cf. previous verse: 16. *Bett ey tickufchu mayahs / und jackteh tur=patt / und darri ko tiekams. Tomähr ka tu ļaun nhe darri / und us nhe weenu ghräfcho.* LB: Sondern **gehe** eilend heim vnd spiel da selbst / vnd thu was du wilt. Doch das du nichts vbel thust / vnd niemand pochest.

- (11) [...] *beet starp tuhx=tofseeem ghruhte (knappe) weenam titzi.* (6⁶₁₂) [LB: HAIts mit jederman freundlich / Vertraue aber vnter tausent **kaum** einem.];
- (12) *Śawu Ghallwu wings kratties / Rohkas kulldams / (GR. manu plaudet,) tōw smeeffsees / und to Mut (Purnu) uhßmetties.* (12¹⁹₂₈) [LB: Seinen Kopff wird er schütteln / vnd in die faust lachen / dein spotten / vnd das **Maul** auffwerffen.];
- (13) *Ka tas Lauwis tohs Swâhrus Mehšcha (Šillohs) rhehge / ta rhehg tee Baggaty tohs Nabbagus.* (13²³₂₉) [LB: Wie der Lew das wild frisst in der **heide** / So fressen die Reichen die Armen.];
- (14) *Behds preekschan teem Ghrâkeem / ka preeksch paffchas Tfchuhßkas / aifto ja tu to aißkarfsi / tad winja tōw maitha. (durrß)* (21²₄₅) [LB: Fleuch fur der sünde / wie fur einer Schlange / Denn so du jr zu nahe komest / so **sticht** sie dich];
- (15) *Kas sawu Áhku darra ar zitto Laufcho Mantu / tas krauftahs (jackrahfie) Ackminnis šow par Beddri. (alii Dohb.)* (21⁹₄₆) [LB: WEr sein Haus bawet mit ander Leute gut / Der **samlet** steine jm zum Grabe.];
- (16) *Tee Wehftnefschi (aufschophteyi) darrahs šow paf=fchem Nhelaim [...]* (21³¹₄₈) [LB: DJe **Ohrenbleser** thun jnen selbs schaden / Vnd hat sie niemand gern vmb sich.];
- (17) *Und kad Širrde speefch (oifiem)²⁶ / tad to warr no=manniet.* (22²⁴₄₉) [LB: Vnd wenn man einem das Hertz **trifft** / so lesst er sich mercken.];
- (18) *Kaß Strahdeneekam sawu Allgu nhe dohd / taß gir Afsina Riyeis. (Aßina=Šuns)* (35[34]²⁷₈₀) [LB: WEr dem Erbeiter seinen Lohn nicht gibt / der ist ein **Bluthund**.].

But rather than boldly changing the lexemes deployed by Mancelius,²⁷ the editors left these suggestions in parentheses only as variants. The motivation of the remaining four (19)–(22) single-word synonym insertions is not as transparent. Most likely, they occurred due to the specificity of the language of translation and due to the variants of language use which were partly determined by the German source text (cf. (21) contains a German borrowing or (22) includes the use of a closer single-word equivalent):

- (19) *Weens Nhegauffcha (Plehfiags) muhfcham nhe lee=kahs ghanna affam [...]* (14⁹₃₁) [LB: E]n vorteilischer Mensch];
- (20) *Jecka Širrds gir ka kahds Škrittelis (Rittens) py Rattu [...]* (33⁵₇₅) [LB: ein Rad];

²⁶ It is not clear whether a dialectal variant (*ai* → *oi*; see Rudzite 2005, 132–133) is used in the insertion or whether the change is due to a proofreading error which often occurs in Sir₃.

²⁷ Although this article does not examine this phenomenon, it is worth mentioning that there are considerably more lexical substitutions (a word replaced with another one) than the use of synonymous variants provided in parentheses that are discussed in this section of the analysis (cf. footnote 9).

- (21) *Jht ta arridfan Kalleis / tam buß py sawu Lack=tu buht / und sawu Kallwu (Smeehde) sarraht [...] (39[38]²⁹₉₀) [LB: Schmitte];*
 (22) *[...] katters kahdu Jumprawu nhegoh=dâ darra (abfchmei) [...] (20⁴₄₃) [LB: der eine Jungfrau schendet].*

However, the one-word insertions written in parentheses three times are not synonyms but rather means of text explication, additions providing new information (23–24) or specifying the meanings of some words in the text (25). From the syntactic point of view, all these additions serve the function of manner:

- (23) *Darri Labbam labb / tad kluhft tów tas Baggatige attmaxahtz / ja nhe no winju tad teef teefcham notix no to Kungu. (Debbeßies.) (12²₂₆);*
 (24) *Es áßmu pehdige uhßmodiß / ka kahds kaß Rud=deny pehtz lafsa. (wahrpus) (33¹⁶₇₆);*
 (25) *Jecka Walloda speefch (gaufche) ka Naßta zeßlä [...] (21¹⁹₄₇).*

It is interesting to note that none of the additions have a direct equivalent in Luther's translation, the Vulgate or Septuagint and they are somewhat subjective translation suggestions that narrow down the interpretation of the verses.

b) Multi-word insertions of Sir₃ are also mostly synonymous variants of the preceding word or phrase rather than text additions, e.g.:

- (26) *[...] Nhe behds arridfan par leeku / ka tu waya=dfiba warráhtu pallidfeht (kam labba warr kalpoht). (13¹³₂₉) [LB: Fleuchs auch nicht zu seer / das man dich zur not brauchen künde.];*
 (27) *[...] bett weens Nherihfcha (Nelgha Jeg=kis) nhe war Laicku peghaidiht (20⁷₄₃) [LB: Aber ein jecher Narr / kan der zeit nicht erharren];*
 (28) *[...] und tehrfeh allafch proyam / ka tas tam eekriet / (prahtâ nahk) (20²¹₄₄) [LB: Vnd wesscht jmer fort / wie es jm einfelt];*
 (29) *[...] bett Jeckis buhtu ja apraudo / (nahkas wairahs²⁸ apraudoht) ka tam Prahts nhe gir. (22¹⁰₄₈) [LB: Aber vber einen Narren solt man trawren / das er keinen verstand hat.];*
 (30) *Jht ka tas krahßniß (thas krahfas) Mahlß pi (Gr. εὔχος, i. scalptus.) notáhftu Séenu / pretti leetu. (22²⁰₄₉) [LB: Gleich wie der schöne Tüñch / an der schlechten Wand / wider den Regen /];*

²⁸ Proofreading error in the Sir₃.

(31) *Und teem Deewabijatayem tadeh! ſchauſſchalas pareedt / (tee Deewabyatayi no tadas farrghaiar)*²⁹ [...] (23¹⁶₅₁) [LB: Vnd die Gottfürchtigen fliehen ſolches].

As can be seen from the above examples, the motivation of multi-word insertions is less regular than that of single-word insertions as it features the elements of both strategies of foreignization and domestication. Some sections reflect a more conservative approach of the editors manifested in a more literal translation strategy. As a result, some insertions are closer to Luther's translation rather than Mancelius' variant (e.g. 27, 29). On the other hand, some fragments (although to a lesser extent) exhibit an opposite approach, i.e. the proposed variant in such cases is more expressive and persuasive than the previous one (e.g. 28).

5.3.2. There are 13 additions of Sir₃ where the inserted text is not marked typographically. All of the insertions are minor and consist of single-word additions. In this case, the motivation of the insertions is also rather regular, i.e. it seems that the insertions are motivated by the attempt to make the text as similar to Luther's translation as possible by maintaining all the words used by Luther. Nine insertions contain either a complete or partial equivalent used in the German text:

- (32) *Aifto ta warr kaunehtees / ka ar to irr ghrákoht warr / und warr arridfan ta kaunehtees / ka weens Schláftibu und Ghodu no to dabbuit warr.* (4²⁵₁₀) [LB: das man gnade vnd ehre dauon hat];
- (33) *Deewa Rohkaks gir / kad kahdam Kungam laymeh=yahs / tas patz dohd / tam weenu taitzamu Cantzleru.* (10⁵₂₁) [LB: Es stehet in Gottes handen];
- (34) [...] *ka ween ka tee Deewu byftahs.* (10²⁵₂₂) [LB: denn das sie Gott fürchten];
- (35) *Kad kam labb klayahs / tad nhe war kahdu Draugu parreife attfiet [...]* (12⁸₂₇) [LB: Wens einem wolgehet, so kan man keinen Freund recht erkennen.];
- (36) *Und jeb wings ghan tawas Bâhdas ráds / tad leek wings tomehr tów tadahs nieckt (keppereht) / und Ghal=wu par tów kratta.* (13⁹₂₉) [LB: Vnd wenn er gleich deine Not sihet];³⁰
- (37) *Dfirdi tu nhe labbas leetas / tad tahs nhe ifſacki.* (19⁶₄₁) [LB: HOrestu was böses / das sage nicht nach];
- (38) *SLings Zillwâhx gir ka kades Ackmins / kas dubb=lohß ghull. 2. Kas to uhszeſſ / tam buhs sawas Rohkas at=kal noſlautziet* (22¹⁻²₄₈) [LB: Wer jn auffhebt, der mus die Hende wider wiſſſchen];

²⁹ Proofreading error in the Sir₃.

³⁰ In fact, this verse captures a much more complex change, cf. Sir₂ *Vnd jebſche wings tawas Bâhdas ráds / tattſche wings pehtz tów nhe ohla / vnd Ghalwu par tów kratta.*

- (39) *Labpraht pammēt tawu Naudu tawa Brahla / und Tuwaka deh! / und nhe rohtz to appackſcha kahdu Ack=mini / kurr ta tomâhr ſamaitayahs.* (29¹³₆₆) [LB: da es doch vmbkompt];
- (40) *Wings gir to arriđfan auxte ghodayis [...]* (45²₁₀₇) [LB: Er hat jn auch geehret].

The motivation of the remaining four additions is less evident as none of them has a direct equivalent in LB or Synoptic fragments of the Bible:

- (41) *Und winja Paftary parreife ißdohſſeeß.* (4¹⁸₉)
[LB: Vnd seine Nachkomen werden gedeien];
- (42) *Und jeb wings ghan ilghe klannijahs und lohkahs.* (12¹¹₂₇)
[LB: Vnd ob er sich schon neiget vnd bûcket];
- (43) *Daffch dohd / kohlab kas tów nhe pallieds.* (20¹⁰₄₃)
[LB: ES gibt oft einer etwas / da ers vbel anleget];
- (44) [...] *tas darra ſawas labbibas Ghubbas leelas [...]* (20³⁰₄₅)
[LB: der macht seine Hauffen gros].

Nevertheless, these additions are not superfluous in the text, e.g. insertions (41), (42) and (44) specify and narrow down the meaning of the subsequent words, whereas the complement in example (43) facilitates the understanding of the meaning of the sentence. Several insertions can be considered to additions of compensatory character, especially the first one in which a two-word addition in the Latvian translation is used in order to maintain the semantics of the German word *gedeihen* ‘to thrive’.

6. Conclusions

1. The 1671 edition of Mancelius’ Book of Sirach which was considered non-extant is known and stored in the Lund University Library (call number: lub.1356710). The copy is in a very good state, except for several darkened pages. Since the book contains no attributes of belonging (except a pencil underlining in the title page) that could suggest its owner, the majority of the questions pertaining to the book’s history such as who it belonged to and how it reached LUL are currently difficult to answer and thus remain open.

2. The comparison of the Sir₃ text with its earlier editions disclosed a relatively high number of various linguistic differences, differences in the verse structure and other peculiarities. The scope of this article only allowed to examine the following text modifications: additions, omissions and verse distribution. Overall, there were 44 cases of such changes observed in the text. The largest number of the changes was identified in the first part of the

translation, especially towards the middle of the text, whereas the second part of the book contained fewer modifications (see Chart 1). A common trend that emerged in examining the changes was that they occurred as a result of a more conservative approach of the editors which manifested in the attempts to bring the translated text closer to Luther Bible having chosen the strategy of more literal (word-for-word) translation.

2.1. The largest group of the changes examined consist of **additions** with 35 cases of them detected in Sir₃. A larger segment of the additions consists of insertions provided in parentheses (22) rather than those that are incorporated into the text without any typographic marking (13). Additions typically include minor, single-word insertions whereas their motivation is relatively regular, i.e. have a complete or partial equivalent in Luther's translation. Multi-word insertions provided only in parentheses and their motivation is less regular since in some segments the text is brought closer to Luther's translation while several new insertions include more expressive variants.

2.2. Omissions contain a considerably lower number (6) of the modifications detected in Sir₃. Of all the above, two cases are clear proofreading errors, but the motivation of the remaining four one-word omissions is not clear. Although the omitted lexemes are minor, they seem to be a result of conscious modification since none of the omissions have an impact of the understanding of the meaning of the sentence.

2.3. Comparing and contrasting Sir₂ and Sir₃, three differences in the **numbering** of verses emerged in chapters 17 and 20 which most probably occurred as a result of comparing those sections with one of the editions of Luther's Bible. However, these changes are irregular since the whole text was not consistently structurally compared and edited as there are more places which remained the same.

3. In order to determine the motivation of the changes made in the text, the article has also attempted at exploring the issue of the source of the translation which was not examined previously. The comparison of Mancelius' Sir with LB, the Vulgate, the Septuagint and several other texts provided in the polyglots seems to suggest that the main source of the translation of Sir₃ was the German text by Luther but it is also obvious that other texts were used as translation sources too. However, although this observation narrows down the question of the source of the translation, it does not fully resolve the issue since there were numerous different translations and editions of the Book of Sirach by Luther and they differ considerably from each other.

RASTA GEORGO MANCELIO *Das Hauß=Zucht= und Lehr=Buch Jefu Syrachs* (1671) IR JOS SANTYKIS SU ANKSTESNIAIS LEIDIM AIS

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aprašoma iki šiol neišlikusia laikyta Georgo Mancelio 1671 m. Siracido knyga bei jos santykis su dviem ankstesniais knygos leidimais (1631 ir 1643 m.). Lundo universiteto bibliotekoje rasto egzemplioriaus būklė labai gera, išskyrus keletą patamsėjusių puslapių. Nesant priklausomybės atributų ar įrašų puslapiuose, daugelis knygos istorijos klausimų – kam ji galėjo priklausyti, kada bei kaip atsidūrė Lunde – šiuo metu sunkiai atsakomi ir lieka atviri. Gretinant Sir₃ tekstą su ankstesniais leidimais rasta palyginti daug įvairių kalbinių ir verseto sandaros skirtumų. Iš jų straipsnyje buvo analizuojami tik pastarieji keitimai, kurių užfiksuota 44, – pridėjimai (35), praleidimai (6) ir versetų skaidymas (3). Jų daugiausia vertimo pirmojoje pusėje, ypač vidurio link. Pastebėta bendra tirtų keitimų motyvacija – konservatyvesnis redaktorių požiūris, atsiskleidžiantis per siekį priartinti redaguojamą tekstą Lutherio vertimui, pasirenkant pažodiškesnio vertimo strategiją. Siekiant nustatyti atliktų keitimų motyvaciją, straipsnyje buvo paliestas ir iki šiol netirtas Mancelio Siracido knygos vertimo šaltinio klausimas. Prieta prie išvados, kad pagrindiniu vertimo šaltiniu laikytinas vokiškas Lutherio tekstas, tačiau neabejotina, kad greta naudotasi ir kitais. Vis dėlto vertimo šaltinio klausimo šis pastebėjimas iki galo neišsprendžia, nors jį ir susiaurina, nes Lutherio Siracido knygos vertimų ir leidimų buvo daug bei jie tarpusavyje skiriasi.

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Durch | GEORGIUM MANCELIUM | Semgallum, der H. Schrift Licentiatum, | und
jetziger Zeit Fürftlicher Churländischer | Hoff=Prediger. | Ad Zoilum: | Serviat omne DEO
studium, fremat Orbis & Orcus: | Rumpatur Momus: Sat placuisse DEO: | Cum Gratia &
Privileg. Seren. Reg. Maj. Svec. | Riga in Lieffland/ | Gedruckt vnd verlegt durch Gerhard
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Durch den Sel: Herrn | GEORGIUM MANCE-|LIUM, SS. Theol. Licent. wei=|land
Fürftl. Curländischen | Hoffprediger/ | In Lettischer Sprache | außgegeben. | Numehr aber
mit Fleiß durch=|gefehen / und von den merklich=|lichften Fehlern gefäubern | worden.
| Cum Grat. & Priv. S.R.M. Svec: | Zu Riga in Lieffland | Drukts und verlegts Heinrich
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