Old Church Slavonic Heritage in Slavonic and Other Languages

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Palaeoslovenisms in the second translation of the Old Czech Psalter

Abstract. The paper discusses Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic influences on the creation of the first and second translations of the Old Czech Psalter. The main subject of interest is the second translation, which is represented by two preserved text sources: the Clementinum Psalter and the Chapter Psalter. Closer attention is also paid to the Poděbrady Psalter, which is based in part on the second translation. Upon performing a detailed study of both sources, the authors have attempted to add several new examples to the hitherto known examples of palaeoslovenisms contained in the examined manuscripts. They pay special attention, in particular, to the possible relationship between the manuscripts and the Slavonic (Emmaus) Monastery. **Keywords:** palaeoslovenisms, Old Czech, Old Church Slavonic, Croatian, Psalter.

For two hundred years, Czech philologists have been asking the question of whether the creation of the Czech biblical text was directly influenced by the Old Church Slavonic or Church Slavonic translation. The discussion focuses on the oldest translations of the biblical text into Old Czech, particularly the translation of the Book of Psalms from around the year 1300. The direct tradition of Old Church Slavonic vocabulary and figures of speech are considered. However, very few traces of palaeoslovenisms have been preserved in the first Old Czech translation of the Psalter. Even Václav Vondrák (1893: 33), the staunchest advocate of the direct influence of Old Church Slavonic translation, mentioned merely four palaeoslovenisms. One of them, the expression *psie múcha* used for the Latin *coenomyia* (Psalm 77:45, 104:31), has already been rejected by Josef Vintr (1986: 9; 1998: 219) as an obvious literal translation originating from the Latin commentary mentioning *musca canina*. The other three palaeoslovenisms found by Vondrák in the oldest translation of Psalms (*přimieňen /priměněnъ/* for *aestimatus* Psalm 87:5, *omirzala jest /omrъzě/* for *abominatus est* Psalm 105:40, *vzlúbila /vъzljubi/* for *concupivit* Psalm 118:20) are not regarded by J. Vintr to be the result of a direct influence of the Church Slavonic Psalter but are instead considered by him to be the last remnants of an ancient oral tradition (Vintr 1998: 219). A very distinct position on the oldest translation of the Psalter was taken by František Václav Mareš who deemed the Old Czech comments in the Museum Glossed Psalter, which represents the oldest stage of the first translation, to be the result of a comparison and contrast of the text with the Church Slavonic version, and, conversely, he views the absence of Church Slavonic words as evidence supporting his (albeit quite isolated) hypothesis that the author of the first translation had to be familiar with the Old Church Slavonic translation (Mareš 2000: 527–540).

We can observe similar or even increased efforts to search for Church Slavonic influences in the Old Czech Psalters in relation to the sources of the second translation of the Psalter. And it's not surprising. The second translation was being made at a time when King Charles IV's efforts to introduce Slavonic liturgy into Bohemia resulted in the establishment of the Benedictine monastery of the Roman Slavonic rite in Prague. Church Slavonic, thus, began to impact the Old Czech language, literature and culture with a new vigour.[1] We can find traces of this impact, for example, in the Latin-Czech dictionaries by Master Bartholomew of Chlumec also known as Claretus, specifically in loanwords such as *bog* 'God', *kipsen* 'heretic or a person with a dog's head', *svet* 'holy', *věca* 'synod', etc. (cf. Havránek 1936: 12; Němec 1975: 165; Michálek 1989: 38–45). These words are based in Old Croatian, which the Slavonic monks spoke. Lexicographer Claretus used them to translate a special word of Greek or Hebraic origin, which did not have an equivalent in the Czech language. These expressions appeared to be narrower in meaning and somewhat more ancient in comparison with their Latin counterparts, for which Claretus used the typical Czech words (e.g. *concilium – snem × synodus – věca*; *deus – bóh × el – bog*). This was facilitated by the fact that Croatian Church Slavonic was considered to be the oldest developmental stage of the Czech language at the time (cf. Němec 1975: 165; Vintr 1990: 269).[2] Claretus's loanwords are expressions derived from Old Croatian words (*božák* – Croatian *božjak*, cf. RJA 1: 569; Michálek 1989: 41) or are directly Old Croatian words with a different spelling structure corresponding to the older stage of the Czech language. For example, the phoneme *g* in the loanword *bog* was perceived in the Czech language to be an archaic element (i.e., no longer characteristic of the Czech language) and a distinct feature of Slavonic monk speech.[3]

1   F. V. Mareš (2000: 531) says that the cultural environment of the Emmaus Monastery represented a "Slavonic novelty, which not only enjoyed the favour of Emperor and King Charles IV but was also highly attractive for certain groups of intellectuals".

2   Cf. the Latin tractate by Jan of Holešov about the song *Hospodine, pomiluj ny*: *sciendum est, primo quod nos Bohemi et genere et lingua originaliter processimus a Charvatis* [...] *Et ideo in principio omnes Bohemi in hac terra loquebantur precisse ut modo loquuntur Charvati* "It should be known, first, that we, Bohemians, by origin and language initially descend from the Croats, [...] And this is why all Czechs in this land initially spoke exactly as Croats now do" – Nejedlý (1904: 319), cf. Verkholantsev (2014: 68).

3   Cf. the Latin tractate about orthography titled Orthographia Bohemica from the first half of the 15th century: *Similiter si volunt cum suis patribus Slawis in locucione conmunicare, dicent gus gubi guby {gus gubí gúby/guby}, id est hus hubi huby {hus hubí húby/huby}; Boemi enim sic olim loquebantur.* [...] *Et olim Bohemi dicebant bog, unde dictus fuit Bogemus. Sed iam dicunt boh {bóh} et inde dicitur Bohemus.* "Similarly, if they want to have something in common in speech with their Slav fathers, they say gus gubi guby {gus gubí gúby/guby}, i.e., hus hubi huby {hus hubí húby/huby}; for this is the way the Bohemians used

However, researchers have been discovering less direct, similar evidence in the second translation of the Psalter. Individual words were particularly being found in the more recent revised Chapter Psalter and in the Poděbrady Psalter, which was based in part on the second translation. However, the situation seemed to be more complicated with the oldest Clementinum Psalter. The Slavic studies scholar F. V. Mareš (2000: 527–540) was particularly convinced of a strong influence of the Slavonic (Emmaus) Monastery on this text. However, he saw this influence only in what he referred to as "positional palaeoslovenisms", i.e., in Church Slavonic words that had been borrowed into the Old Czech language or had been newly revived. However, as Mareš himself admits, all the examples mentioned by him can also be viewed as purely Czech expressions. J. Vintr (1990: 269–274) also did not find any direct evidence of any influence of the Emmaus Monastery on the creation of the second translation in the Clementinum Psalter, and he also partially revised Mareš's hypothesis in this respect. He admitted that Mareš's conclusions cannot be completely rejected but he leaned more towards the opinion that the expressions concerned in the Clementinum Psalter were more likely to be expressions passed down from the old pan-Slavonic vocabulary base.

Our current research into the Psalters from the second translation builds on the aforementioned conclusions. However, in terms of the oldest preserved representative, the Clementinum Psalter, not even our current research has so far indicated any direct link between this text and the Emmaus Monastery (after all, the Clementinum Psalter was most likely created in the very early stages of the monastery's existence), but in spite of this we are at least able to expand the number of possible palaeoslovenisms in this source by adding several examples evidencing, at the very least, a surviving Church Slavonic tradition. To give a general idea, we have intentionally chosen only those words, which were unusual and only very rarely documented in Old Czech, and therefore in their case, it is possible to consider their potential link to the specific Psalter text with greater probability.

The first of these examples is the verb *pozinúti*, which appears in Psalm 123:4 in place of the Latin *absorbuisset*. It is the only known documentary evidence of the existence of this verb in Czech (StčS, s.v. *pozinúti*). In light of the form and meaning 'to devour, to engulf someone', it can be presumed that the Czech version is based on the Old Church Slavonic *zinǫti* meaning 'to open one's mouth, to yawn' (SJS 1: 673). However, it is not entirely clear what source

to speak once. [...] And once the Bohemians used to say bog, and in accordance with this Bogemus was named. They now say, however, boh {bóh} which is why they say Bohemus." Voleková (2019: 58–59).

the translator at the time drew his inspiration from for this translation. The other Old Czech Psalters have the derivatives of common Czech verbs (*pozřieti, sstřěbati, pohltiti, pohřížiti*) in this passage, and even the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Psalter could not have been the source the translator used because it contained the verb *potopiti* in the given passage.

> Example 1
> *lehko* **by** *voda* **pozinula** *ny* ŽaltKlem⁴ Psalm 123:4 (*bi potopila* PsSin, PsFra, PsLobk, PsPar, *by* […] *pozřěla* ŽaltWittb, BiblOl, *sstřěbala byla by* ŽaltKap, *by* […] *byla pozřela* ŽaltPod, *by byla* […] *pozřěla* BiblBosk, *by byly* […] *pohltily* BiblLit, *pohřížila by* ŽaltTisk) *absorbuisset*

The use of the verb *otstáti* is similarly rare in Old Czech. It appears in the Clementinum Psalter in Psalm 102:12 with the meaning 'to be distant, to be far away.' In this case, too, it is a unique piece of documentary evidence that does not reappear in any other Psalter and has a direct correlation to the Old Church Slavonic *otъstojati* (StčS, s.v. *otstáti*; SJS 2: 618). Consistency with the text of the Sinai Psalter representing the Constantine-Methodius translation, and Fraščić Psalter, Lobkovice Psalter, and Paris Psalter with the Croatian Glagolitic text, might point directly to the setting of the Emmaus Monastery.

> Example 2
> *jelikož* **otstojí** *vzchod ot západa, tak daleky učinil* [Bůh] *zlosti našě ot nás* ŽaltKlem Psalm 102:12 (*otъstojętъ* PsSin, *ot(ъ)stoet'* PsFra, PsPar, *ot'stoetъ* PsLobk, *dalek* ŽaltWittb, *dalek jest* ŽaltKap, *jest dalek* ŽaltPod, *stojí* BiblOl, *zdálen jest* BiblBosk, *vzdálen jest* ŽaltTisk) *distat* Vulg, *longe est* PsHebr

With the verb *navodniti*, there is also potential to consider the possibility of its Old Church Slavonic origin. This verb, too, appears in Czech rarely, specifically in the verse Psalm 77:15 in the Clementinum Psalter and in the Book of Psalms of the Olomouc Bible based on the former. The verb appears here with the meaning 'to provide enough water, to make someone damp' and it can be traced to the Old Church Slavonic *navodъniti sę* meaning 'to flood' (StčS, s.v. *navodniti*; SJS 2: 283), which is documented even for Old Church Slavonic, particularly from the Psalter (Psalm 73:15 and 77:20). However, in this case, any interpretation must be taken with a grain of salt as it cannot be ruled out

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4   Old Czech sources, their abbreviations and evidence are cited in accordance with StčS 1968.

that the translator merely literally translated the Latin verb *adaquavit*. Similar literal translations are nothing unusual in the Clementinum Psalter.[5] In this case, too, the form used is not consistent with the text of the Old Church Slavonic Psalter (although the verb *navodъniti sę* is used in the Sinai Psalter as early as in verse 77:20). The other Old Czech Psalters are much closer to the Old Church Slavonic version in comparison (i.e., the 1st and the 3rd translations use the verb *napojiti sě,* the 4th translation uses the imperfect verb *napájěti sě*). However, due to the rich number of sources documenting the use of both lexemes in the Old Czech vocabulary, a direct Old Church Slavonic influence on the selection of the given expression for the translation is highly improbable.

> Example 3
> *rozčesl* [Bůh] *skálu na púšči i* **navodnil** *jě* [Židy] *jako u propasti mnohéj*
> ŽaltKlem Psalm 77:15 (*napoi* PsSin, PsLobk, PsPar, PsFra, *napojil* ŽaltWittb,
> ŽaltKap, ŽaltPod, BiblBosk, **navodnil** BiblOl, *napájel* ŽaltTisk) *adaquavit*

Another of the selected examples is the verb *prostiti* in the perfect tense. Once again, this is a verb that is very rarely documented in a Czech context[6] and has a direct relation to the Old Church Slavonic perfective verb *prostiti* meaning 'to release, to relieve, to liberate' (StčS, s.v. *prostiti*; SJS 3: 378). In the Clementinum Psalter, this word appears in the verse 85:13 with the identical meaning 'to liberate, to extricate'. However, in this case, too, the version of the Old Church Slavonic Psalter is not consistent with the translation of the Clementinum Psalter.

> Example 4
> **prostil si** *dušu mú z pekla* ŽaltKlem Psalm 85:13 (*izbavilъ* PsSin, *iz'(b)avil'*
> *esi* PsFra, *izb(a)vilъ esi* PsLobk, *iz'b(a)v(i)l' esi* PsPar, *vypravil jsi* ŽaltWittb,
> *vyňals* ŽaltKap, *vyprostil si* ŽaltPod, *vytrhl si* BiblBosk, ŽaltTisk) *eruisti*

The last example, but not so much a rare one, is the Old Czech noun *obida* mentioned in the Clementinum Psalter in verse 87:9. It is used in place of the Latin expression *abominationem* and it can be interpreted as 'disgrace, defamation,

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5   Cf. the verb *prozvěstovati* for the Latin *pronuntiabit* (Psalm 118:172) or *hlasonošě* for the Latin *vociferatio* (Psalm 32:3).
6   As opposed to the previous examples, it is documented for the Czech environment in another text, specifically in the Lviv Codex containing a collection of Old Czech prayers and legends, written in the second half of the 15th century.

insult'. Besides the Clementinum Psalter, this lexeme also appears in several other text sources, some of which, however, use the garbled form of the word, which might suggest that the scribes had difficulty interpreting this word (StčS, s.v. *obida*).[7] Claretus's Latin-Czech Glossary also states this word as the equivalent of the Latin word *obprobrium*. The fact that this word was more common in a Czech context at the given time is also confirmed by the preservation of the verb *obiděti* in the Old Czech Passion of the Christ from Rajhrad manuscript dating back to the mid-15th century (StčS, s.v. *obiděti*).

> Example 5
> *položili sú mě **v obidu** sobě* ŽaltKlem Psalm 87:9 (*vъ mrъzostь* PsSin, *mr'zosti* PsFra, *v mr'zosti* PsLobk, *v' mr'zosti* PsPar, *u mirzkost* ŽaltGlosMuz, ŽaltWittb, *v mrzkost* ŽaltPod, ŽaltTisk, *u břidkost* ŽaltKap, *v ohavenstvie* BiblOl, *v ohyzdu* BiblBosk) *abominationem*

The two more recent Old Czech Psalters, the Poděbrady Psalter and the Chapter Psalter, show a much stronger link to the Slavonic Monastery, which is recognised by scholars. The Poděbrady Psalter from the year 1396 was directly associated with the cult of St. Jerome, which was closely connected to the Emmaus Monastery.[8] Igor Němec (1975: 165–166) pointed out this possible connection. He saw it in the graphic design of the manuscript (the illuminated initial of the first psalm depicted St. Jerome[9]), as well as in the Czech text with the loaned lexeme *krevník* meaning 'murderer' (Psalm 50:16; 105:38). However, it is not a loanword from the liturgical language of Slavonic monks because the Old Church Slavonic Psalters do not contain such an equivalent in the passages concerned. The editor of the Psalter used this word based on their own knowledge of this expression from the oral Old Croatian spoken by Emmaus monks (cf. the Old Croatian *krvnik*, RJA 5: 706). Josef Vintr (1990: 270) includes among them another two possible palaeocroatisms: *úkorník* meaning 'violator' (*exprobrans* Psalm 43:17; cf. the Croatian *ukornik*, RJA 19: 455) and *robyně* meaning 'handmaid' (*ancilla* Psalm 122:2; cf. Old Croatian *robińa*, RJA 14: 63–65). Unlike the word *úkorník*, the preservation of the lexeme *robyně* in the Psalter is not

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7   Cf.: *dadieť jej* [Krista] *na obidu* (*obyedu* ms.) *a na bičovánie a na křižovánie* EvRajhr 110v (Matthew 20:19) *ad illudendum; ad illudendum na posmievanie, na smiech, na obidu* (*obiedu* ms.) MamUKF 86r.

8   In the Middle Ages, St. Jerome was considered to be a Slav; he was attributed with having translated the Bible into Church Slavonic and with having created the first Slavonic script, the Glagolitic alphabet; cf. Michálek (1989: 11), Verkholantsev (2014: 6).

9   The folio with the beginning of the Psalter has not been preserved; the illumination is only known from literature; cf. Patera in ŽaltPod: VIII.

unique; it is also contained in the Dresden Bible, which is the representative of the first translation of the entire Bible into Czech and dates back to the mid-14th century. J. Vintr (1990: 271) gives similar consideration to another word, *přěstupník,* from the Poděbrady Psalter (*praevaricans* Psalm 118:119, 118:158; cf. the Old Croatian *prěstupnik*, RJA 11: 731), which is also particularly documented in the texts from the second half of the 14th century (StčS, s.v. *přěstupník*).

> Example 6
> *vyprosť mě z **krevníkóv*** ŽaltPod Psalm 50:16 (*otъ krъvi* PsSin, *ot(ъ) kr'vi*
> PsFra, *ot(ъ) kr'v'* PsPar, *ot' krvъ* PsLobk, *hřiechóv* ŽaltWittb, *krví* ŽaltKlem,
> *ze krví* ŽaltKap, ŽaltTisk, *ot krve* BiblBosk) *de sanguinibus*
> *zabita jest země v **krevníciech*** ŽaltPod Psalm 105:38 (*krъvъmi* PsSin,
> *kr'v'mi* PsFra, PsPar, *krvmi* PsLobk, *v kirviech* ŽaltWittb, *v krvech* ŽaltKlem,
> *ve krvích* ŽaltKap, *ve krvi* BiblBosk, *v mnohé krvi* ŽaltTisk) *de sanguinibus*

Similarly, the version of the older Chapter Psalter from the 1380s contains loanwords from the Croatian Glagolites of the Emmaus Monastery. In the text of the psalms, Vladimír Kyas (1962: 15; 1999: 34) found a total of three unique Old Czech expressions, which can be traced back to Church Slavonic and Old Croatian words: *holet* 'hoarfrost' (*pruina* Psalm 77:47; cf. the Old Church Slavonic *golotъ* and the Croatian *golot*, ESJS 3: 187; RJA 3: 258), *hradobit* 'hailstorm' (*grando* Psalm 104:32, 148:8; cf. the Church Slavonic *gradobitъnъ* and the Croatian *gradobit*, Miklosich 1862–1865: 140; RJA 3: 372) and *hramotina* 'education, erudition' (*literatura* Psalm 70:15; cf. the Church Slavonic *gramota* and the Croatian *gramata*, ESJS 4: 200; RJA 3: 383). Josef Vintr (1990: 271–273) continued his work by finding other striking parallels with the Sinai Psalter, such as the verbal adjective *zatykující* 'covering (ears)' (Psalm 57:5 *zatykajǫštę* PsSin, *obdurantis* Vulg), the interjection *blazě* 'good!, wow!' (Psalm 34:25 *blago že blago* PsSin, *euge, euge* Vulg) and the often-repeated phrase *veš den* meaning 'the entire day' (e.g. Psalm 36:26 *vesь denь* PsSin, *tota die* Vulg).

Other passages in the Chapter Psalter, which we have discovered during our research, also show a striking consistency with the Old Church Slavonic version of the Psalter. The equivalent of the Latin word *semita* in Czech Psalters is usually *stezka* 'path, trail', but it is translated as *stzě* in six instances in the Chapter Psalter (Psalm 43:19, 77:50, 118:35, 118:105, 138:3, 141:4). This rare lexeme has its parallel in the Old Church Slavonic word *stьdza* with the same meaning (SJS 4: 194; ESJS 15: 898), and possibly in the Old Croatian *staza* (RJA 16: 502).

Example 7

uchýlils **stzě** *našě ot cěsty tvé* ŽaltKap Psalm 43:19 (*stъdzję* PsSin, *st(a)zi*
PsFra, *stazi* PsLobk, *s'tazi* PsPar, *stezek* ŽaltWittb, ŽaltTisk, *stezky* ŽaltKlem,
ŽaltPod, BiblBosk) *semitas*

In the text of the Chapter Psalter, the influence of the Church Slavonic language or Old Croatian is not limited to the lexical and word-forming aspects, but also impacts the spelling of words. This is manifested with the Old Czech word *třěnovník* 'bicuspid, molar' (ESSČ, s.v. *třěnovník*), which is known only from a single verse (Psalm 57:7) in the Chapter Psalter and the Poděbrady Psalter. In the older of these two texts, this word is spelled as *čřěnovník*.

Example 8

buoh zetře zuby jich v ustech jich, **čřěnovníky** *lvové zlámá hospodin* ŽaltKap
Psalm 57:7 (*čřěnovъnyję* PsSin, *čřěnovnie* PsFra, *čř'novnie* PsLobk, *čřěnov'lenie*
PsPar, *kly* ŽaltWittb, *čeľusti* ŽaltKlem, **třěnovníky** ŽaltPod, *žrnovy* BiblBosk,
čelisti ŽaltTisk, *zuby třěnové* VýklKruml, *střenovní zuby* BiblKral) *molas*

Several facts point to the potential or even highly probable transposition of this lexeme from the Slavonic Monastery. The single-word denomination derived from the Common Slavonic root **čern-* (ESJS 2: 111) for a bicuspid is rare in Old Czech. The combination of the noun *zub* with the qualitative and relational adjectives *třěnovní/třěnovný, stranovní/stranovný* and *stranní/stranný, střěnný*, are used commonly in Old Czech; the lexeme *kel* is also used in relation to an animal.[10] The lexeme *třěnovník* is derived with the suffix *-ník*, which is characteristic of these transpositions, as pointed out by I. Němec (1975: 166) and J. Vintr (1990: 271). But the most significant clue is the spelling *čřěnovník* from the Chapter Psalter with the beginning of the word consisting of *čř-,* which is archaic in the Czech language of the second half of the 14th century. The domestic forms of lexemes derived from the Common Slavonic root **čern-* have the phonemes *stř-* or *tř-* at the beginning of the word.

We see the influence of Church Slavonic on the Chapter Psalter most distinctly with the Christian terminology. Josef Vintr (1990: 271, 273) already

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10 Cf. the Old Czech equivalents for the Latin *mola* and *dens molaris* in biblical sources:
otevřě hospodin stranovný zub v čelisti oslové BiblOl Judges 15:19 (*třěnovní zub* BiblPad, cf.
Samsonovi otevřel se střenný zub v čelisti osličí TovHád 100r) *molarem dentem; klové jeho jako
lvíčěte* BiblOl Joel 1:6 (*třěnovní zubové* BiblPad, *třěnovní zubové vel stranovní, vulgaris habet
klové* VýklKruml) *molares; pokolenie, ješto miesto zubóv mečě jmá a žije strannými zuby* BiblOl
Proverbs 30:14 (*stranovními zuby* BiblPad) *molaribus.*

drew attention to the revival of the ancient Church Slavonic legacy in the words *pop* (Psalm 77:64, 98:6) and *spas*[11] (Psalm 43:5, 64:6, 70:15). To these, we have added two expressions, which have meanings in the Psalter that have not been captured in any other Old Czech sources. The first one is the word *milovatedlný*, where the terminological validity of 'merciful, compassionate' was revived. The adjective, which is motivated by the Old Czech verb *milovati* 'to love, to be fond of', commonly works as a verbal adjective with the meaning 'loving' but under the influence of the Old Church Slavonic *milovati* meaning 'to have mercy, compassion, to be merciful' (cf. Šarapatková 2012: 219–220) and the Church Slavonic *milovatelьnъ* meaning 'merciful' is presented in the Psalter in verse 110:4 as the equivalent of the Latin *miserator* and as a synonym to the Old Czech adjective *milostivý* meaning 'kind, benevolent; merciful'. In other passages, the editor preferred the form of this adjective that begins with *s-*: *smilovatedlný* (Psalm 111:4), which is closer to the Czech *smilovati* 'to have mercy, compassion, to be merciful', and also chose the noun *smilovatel* (Psalm 85:15, 102:8, 144:8).

> Example 9
> *pamět učinil divóv svých,* **milosrdný a milovatedlný** *hospodin* ŽaltKap Psalm 110:4 (*milostivъ i štedrъ* PsSin, *m(i)l(o)st(i)v' i šted'rъ* PsPar, *m(ilo)st(i)-vъ i štedar'* PsFra, *m(i)l(o)st(i)vъ i štedarъ* BiblLobk, *milosirdný a milostivý* ŽaltWittb, *milosrdný a milostivý* ŽaltKlem, BiblBosk, *milostivý a milosrdný* ŽaltPod, BiblKral, *milosrdný a lítostivý* ŽaltTisk) *misericors et miserator*

In the second example, the original meaning of the word was revived, which had already become extinct in the Czech language for this Christian expression. The Proto-Czech verb **rozřěšiti* corresponds to the Old Church Slavonic *razdrěšiti* with the meaning 'untangle', which, as a Christian expression, acquired the meaning 'to remove sins' (an equivalent of the Latin *absolvere*). Through strong secondary motivation, the verb in Czech leaned towards **grěch* 'sin' and *grěšiti* 'to sin' (*hřiech*, *hřěšiti* in Old Czech), and is documented almost exclusively[12] in the form of *rozhřěšiti* (cf. Rejzek 2009: 36, 67, 85). Based on the

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11   Mareš (2000: 403–476) covered the use of the expression *spas* in Old Czech text sources in greater detail. For a possible more recent presence of this expression in the *Clementine New Testament* (1426), cf. Kreisingerová (2015).

12   The only documentary evidence of the verb *rozřěšiti* in the original meaning 'untie, unshackle, release' in Czech is provided by what is referred to as St. Gregory Glosses in the Latin *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great from the early 12th century: *ut omnes civitatis meae captivos relaxes* (*rozřěšil by* interlin.) GlosŘeh 73r; cf. Schaeken (1989: 175, no. 91); ESSČ (s.v. *rozřěšiti*).

paronymy of *rěšiti – hřěšiti*, the meaning was re-interpreted and the new verb *rozhřěšiti* completely replaced the original form. The new verb *rozhřěšiti* is only used with the meaning 'to absolve, to grant absolution', which is a productive verb (the noun *rozhřěšenie*, the adjective *rozhřěšený*, and the imperfective verbs *rozhřiešěti, rozhřěšovati* are derived from it), and the original meaning 'untangle' became extinct. Although the reflexive verb *rozřěšiti sě* without inserted consonant *h* is documented in one of the oldest Old Czech text sources, it has a secondary meaning of 'to dissolve, to melt' (*když slunce k hoře spěší, opět sě voda rozřěší, tu jiej horkosti přibude* AlxV 2210).

Due to its limitation to the narrowly specific Christian expression, the verb *rozřěšiti* is not documented in most Old Czech Psalters of the 14th century if we disregard the use of the verbal noun *rozhřěšenie* in the first translation in the Wittenberg Psalter in the Canticle of Zechariah (*k* [...] *spaseňú osady jeho v rozhřešenie hřiechóv jich* ŽaltWittb Luke 1:77, *otpuščenie* ŽaltKlem). This is why the Chapter Psalter is exceptional in innovatively using the lexemes *rozhřěšiti* and *rozhřěšovati* (Psalm 101:21; 104:20; 145:7) for the Latin *solvere* in the context of the release of imprisoned and shackled persons. The revival of the extinct meaning can be simply explained by the influence of the Old Church Slavonic version of the Psalter, which has the verb *razdrěšiti* meaning 'unshackle' in the corresponding passages, and by the influence of the Croatian *razdriješiti* meaning 'untie, disentangle', for which the original meaning is also documented (cf. RJA 13: 516).

> Example 10
> *hospodin s nebě v zemi přizřěl jest, aby uslyšal kvielenie spatých, aby **rozhřěšil** syny zahubených* ŽaltKap Psalm 101:20–21 (*razdrěšiti* PsSin, PsLobk, PsPar, *razdr(ě)š(i)ti* PsFra, *zprostil* ŽaltWittb, ŽaltPod, *rozvázal* ŽaltKlem, BiblBosk, BiblKral, *prosty učinil* ŽaltTisk) *solveret*
> *ponížili v pútiech nohy jeho* [Josefovy], [...] *poslal král i **rozhřěšil** jej* ŽaltKap Psalm 104:18–20 (*razdrěši* PsSin, PsFra, PsLobk, PsPar, *zprostil* ŽaltWittb, ŽaltPod, BiblBosk, ŽaltTisk, *rozvázal* ŽaltKlem, *propustiti* [...] *rozkázal* BiblKral) *solvit*
> *hospodin **rozhřěšije** pútem spaté* ŽaltKap Psalm 145:7 (*rěšitъ* PsSin, *rěšitъ* PsLobk, PsPar, *rěšit'* PsFra, *zproščije* ŽaltWittb, *zproščuje* ŽaltPod, *rozvazuje* ŽaltKlem, BiblBosk, *prosty činí* ŽaltTisk, *vysvobozuje* BiblKral) *solvit*

From among Christian expressions, it is also necessary to draw attention to the word *hospodi*, the vocative and dative of the singular word-stem noun *hospod*, which appears in the Chapter Psalter in two verses. Subsequently, these forms were modified into the relevant forms of the common Czech lexeme

hospodin (to the vocative singular *hospodine* and to the dative singular *hospodi-nu*). Although these are not indisputable (cf. Rippl in ŽaltKap: 146), they can be included among additional traces of influence from the Old Church Slavonic version of the Psalter.

> Example 11
> **hospodi** (-*ne* written additionally by the rubricator), *vysvoboď duši mú* ŽaltKap Psalm 119:2 (*g(ospod)i* PsSin, PsLobk, PsPar, — PsFra, *hospodine* ŽaltWittb, ŽaltKlem, ŽaltPod, BiblBosk, ŽaltTisk) *Domine*
> *přězpěvujte* **hospodi** (-*nu* written additionally) *ve zpovědi* ŽaltKap Psalm 146:7 (*g(ospod)jo* PsSin, *g(ospode)vě* PsFra, PsLobk, PsPar, *hospodinu* ŽaltWittb, ŽaltKlem, ŽaltPod, BiblBosk, ŽaltTisk) *Domino*

This is not an exhaustive list of possible palaeoslovenisms or palaeocroatisms in the Chapter Psalter; other rare words in this source such as *domoskyna*, *lúzati* or *snízati sě* etc. deserve a detailed analysis and comparison with the Old Church Slavonic version of the Psalter and Old Croatian lexemes to allow for assessing the extent and degree of influence on the Old Czech translation of the Book of Psalms and to determine in greater detail the motivation of the translator to choose newer expressions.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted to expand the existing discussion on Old Church Slavonic and Church Slavonic influences on the oldest Czech ecclesiastical text sources by adding several new suggestions. These are not summarising conclusions; these are merely the first observations resulting from work on new editions of the oldest Czech Psalters to be made accessible. For this reason, it is not possible to draw broader conclusions from them. However, the aforementioned examples as well as the literature published to date suggest that in terms of the oldest stage of the second Old Czech translation of the Psalter, a direct influence of the Slavonic Monastery does not appear to be very likely; the survival of the previous Church Slavonic oral tradition is more probable (but without any relation to the first translation of the Psalter). Conversely, in terms of both more recent versions, the Chapter Psalter and the Poděbrady Psalter, created at a time when the Emmaus Monastery was already more fully established in the Czech context, repeated findings of potential palaeocroatisms suggest that the Slavonic Monastery might have played an even more significant role in their creation than previously thought.

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