




ARTICLES

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Colophons in Cyrillic Codices as a Unique Socio-Cultural Phenomenon of Early Modern Times¹

Abstract: In this research, colophons are studied as an essential component of Cyrillic codices, which were created on the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of Poland (later the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth). To write the study, the author analysed more than seventy colophons preserved in manuscripts from the collections of libraries in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. The earliest colophon is contained in the “Lviv Gospel completed (full) aprakos” 1477, and the latest – the “Kotsuriv Gospel” 1600. The study of the text’s structure showed that these colophons belonged to six types with two subtypes, the classifying feature of which was the initial formula. A detailed analysis of the content of each colophon showed that the main components were the recording of the book’s title, the name of its copyist, its origin, time and place of publication, and mention of the customer or buyer. The analysis of the colophons illustrated the phenomenon of authorial statements of scribes, which consisted of explaining the motives of their work, an idea of their mission, instructions to readers, or a request to correct errors in the text. In the colophons 1594 and 1595 by Stepan Popovych, who was from Trushevychi village, the inadmissibility of stealing codices with an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, in particular the passage Hbr 10,31 with its author’s interpretation, was emphasised quite extensively.

Keywords: colophons, Cyrillic manuscripts, codicology, early modern times

Słowa kluczowe: kolofony, rękopisy cyrylickie, kodykologia, czasy wczesnonowożytne

¹ This study was made possible with the support of the Peck-Stacpoole Fellowship for Early Career Collections Professionals of the Bibliographical Society of America.

Introduction

A colophon is a unique and essential structural element of the codex, which contains basic information about its early history. The author of the colophon was always the book's scribe, who usually recorded its title, their name, social and geographical origin, and the time and place of manuscript creation. This text did not always contain information about the identity of the customer or buyer, the amount of reward for the scribe's work, or the church for which the codex was purchased. In addition to these factual data, the colophons contain the author's statements, which explain their motivation for producing the books and the motives of the customer/buyer, and tell about the purpose of the manuscript, its target audience, instructions to readers, and their attitude to God. The colophon did not have a fixed location within the book block: it was placed at the end of the codex, between chapters, on the upper or lower margins of pages. In the case of the "Lviv Didactic Gospel" 1585, its scribe, priest Andrii from Jarosław, placed it on the book's first page.

The chronological scope of the study extends from the last quarter of the 15th century to the end of the 16th century, according to the selected source materials. The date of the colophon is decisive for establishing the relevant restrictions of the article. The choice of the lower chronological limit of 1477 is delineated by the oldest manuscript that contains an undoubtedly dated colophon. The upper chronological limit – 1600 – is rather conditional since the book production of the seventeenth century requires a separate study. In this era, the printed book began to dominate, which affected the creation of the handwritten codices. For this study, 70 Cyrillic manuscripts with preserved colophons were selected. These sources were chosen by the informativeness of the colophons, in particular evidence about the scribe, the date, time, and place of writing of this or that book. This study, a priori, cannot include all manuscripts produced during the specified period. The research showed that the involvement of these materials is quite appropriate for revealing the problems of colophon and its phenomenon in the early modern period. The locations of the production and use of the manuscripts define the geographical limits of the article. The geography of this study is wide because it includes manuscripts produced on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of Poland, which were later united in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and functioned in the temples of the Kyiv Metropolitanate.

In this research, I have identified five important blocks: 1) typology of colophons; 2) visualisation; 3) the human in the context of the divine; 4) territory and time; 5) instructions. Identifying these issues allowed me to explore colophons as a unique socio-cultural phenomenon in the early modern period. The first block of research contributed to classifying the content of colophons, which

made it possible to distinguish six of their types with two subtypes. The second component of the study showed where the colophons were recorded within the book, what form they took, what type of writing they were notated in, what ink was used, and how they were decorated. The third aspect of the study gave an understanding of how the authors of the colophons identified themselves and their clients, that is, customers or buyers, and how they were viewed in the system of the divine. The fourth block of research allowed us to understand how, in early modern times, a scribe recorded and named the locations where they worked or where they came from and how they documented the codices' production date. The fifth part of the study made it possible to understand the attitude of the scribes toward their craft and what instructions they gave to the readers of their work.

The specificity of the stated research topic and the determination of these five thematic blocks required methodological tools of source studies, textual studies, marginal studies, archeography (historical editing), paleography, and codicology. In particular, using the methods of historicism and chronology, it was determined that the "Manasterzec Gospel" was created between 1501 and 1506², as the scribe indicated that the book was completed during the reign of King Alexander Jagiellon (1501–1506), the reign of Bishop Antonii Onyki from Przemyśl (1499–1520), and the Tatar invasion (1501?). The same principle was used when dating the "Sambir Gospel"³ (Illus. 1), which was copied by Yakiv in Sambir, as he indicated that the bishop at that time was Lavrentii Terletsykyi (1535–1549). The application of the methods of marginal studies allowed us to believe that the "Sanok Acts and Epistles" no. 2 could have been created in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, no later than June 6, 1551, because it was then that the brother-in-law of copyist Vlasii, priest Vasyi Volynets, restored this manuscript⁴ (Illus. 3). The "Euchologion"⁵ was produced in the second half of the sixteenth century by Mykhailo, the son of the late scribe Ivanko (sic!) from Rybotyche, but after 1555, as his father was still alive in that year and had just finished copying 12 volumes of the "Me-naion"⁶. Using the methods of textual criticism and paleography, I determined

2 National Library of Poland (abbreviated to NLP), collection (abbreviated to c.) Manuscripts (abbreviated to c. MS), number of the unit (abbreviated to n. u.) 11804 III, Manasterzec Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODYzNjgwMw/302/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

3 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III, Sambir Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,Nzk2NzU1NA/540/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

4 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11887 III, Sanok Acts and Epistles no. 2, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/apostol,Nzk5MTI4NQ/687/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

5 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11944 II, Rybotyche Euchologion, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/trebnik-klasztorny,MTAxNzE2NjE/421/#info:metadata> [accessed 14.01.2022].

6 A. Naumow et al., *Rękopisy cerkiewnosłowiańskie w Polsce. Katalog*, wyd. drugie zmienione, Kraków 2004, pp. 277, 387, 393.

that Stepan Popovych from Trushevychi copied another codex, the “Makowa Gospel” 1595⁷, at the request of Mykhailo and Tetiana Oliinyk from Dobromyl, in addition to the “Gospel” 1594⁸, where he indicated his name.

Typology of colophons

A study of the contents of the colophons of the manuscripts I used for this article showed that they were constructed similarly. In almost all colophons, the structure of the text was based on an introductory formula, the time and place of creation of the manuscript, the names of the ordering party and the scribe, the secular and ecclesiastical rulers of the time, the scribe’s self-deprecation, a call to correct possible errors in the main text of the codex, and the scribe’s statements. The colophons could additionally contain the motives of the customer and the scribe, explanations of the book’s content or its purpose, or historical events. They could also have been combined with records of a purchase or contribution to a church.

Given the similarity in the construction of the structural elements of the colophon text, I classified them according to the introductory formula, i.e., the typical first sentence, which in various ways contains the special merits of God (Type No. 1, 1.1), his glorification (Types No. 1.1, 2, 2.1), appeal to God (Type No. 4), gratitude to God (Type No. 6), or was started with the date (Type No. 3) or words about completion of work (Type No. 5).

Type No. 1

The first type of colophon is the most widespread, as it is represented in most of the manuscripts used for this study with nineteen codices (Table No. 1; Illus. 3).

It is characteristic for the earliest manuscript of 1477 and the latest one of 1600. This type is characterised by an initial formula indicating the special merits of God in his three persons: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. For example, in the colophon of the “Lviv Gospel completed aprakos” 1477, the scribe began the text with the following phrase: “Изволєнієм віцѣ вьсєд[р]житєлѣ. и съ поспѣшенієм снѣ. и съвршнїєм ст҃го дхѣ”, that is, he indicated that the manuscript arose due to the will of the Almighty Father,

7 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11837 III, Makowa Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwNzU0Ng/5/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

8 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11836 IV, Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwNzU0Mw/4/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022]; *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Kapituły Greckokatolickiej w Przemyślu*, oprac. A. Kaszlej, Warszawa 2011, s. 50.

Table No. 1. Type No. 1

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Lviv Gospel completed aprakos 1477, f. 286v	Kyiv Didactic Gospel 1514, f. 350r	Tridion 1521 (Svenickij 1908, 24)	Korzenica Gospel 1554, f. 8r	Sozan Liturgikon 1557, f. 206v	Potylicz Acts and Epistles 1559, f. 306r	Menation 1566 (Svenickij 1908, 20-21)	Przemysl Gospel 1571, ff. 2r-6r	Gospel 1576-1581 (Kol'juh et al. 2007, 71)	Babice Gospel 1590, ff. 13v-29r	Zhydachiv Gospel 1593, f. 415r	Gospel 1594, ff. 2r-24r, 257v-258r	Makowa Gospel 1595, ff. 1v-13v	Yavoriv Gospel 1595, f. 76v	Dovzhka Gospel 1596, ff. 65v-73v	Horodok Gospel 1597, f. 330v	Gospel 16th c. (Kol'juh et al. 2007, 107)	Acts and Epistles 16th-17th. c. (Kol'juh et al. 2007, 93)	Kotsurtiv Gospel 1600, ff. 282v-288v	Total	
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	19
2.	Customer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	5
3.	Place of creation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
4.	Scribe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	15
5.	The rulers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
6.	Creation time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	16
7.	Motives of the customer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	3
8.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13
9.	A call to correct errors	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
10.	With a purchase record	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
11.	With a deposit record	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9
12.	Sentences of the copyist	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	3

with the help of the Son and the completion of the Holy Spirit⁹. The exact beginning of the colophon was typical of the other fifteen codices. On the other hand, in the “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” 1514, the action of the Holy Spirit is used instead of the phrase completion of the Holy Spirit¹⁰. In the “Gospel” of the first quarter of the sixteenth century and the “Kotsuriv Gospel” 1600, the emphasis on the roles of the persons of the Trinity was changed, so that instead of the established expression about the help of the Son, the completion of the Son was used, and, accordingly, instead of the completion of the Holy Spirit, the help of the Holy Spirit was used¹¹. It is worth noting that in the colophon of the “Horodok Gospel” 1597, the classical formula ended with an additional fixation on the unique role of God the Son – the Grace of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ¹².

The structure of the text of the colophons Type No. 1 after the initial formula contained up to eleven elements (Table No. 1): information about the time of the manuscript's creation (16) and the scribe (15), their self-designation (13), the location of creation (12), the names of the scribes (12), calls for corrections (6), information about the customer (5) and their motivation for commissioning the codex (3), and the scribe's statements (3). Manuscripts assigned to Type No. 1 were characterised by a combination of the colophon text with a record of purchase (8) and donation to the church (9) (Table No. 1; Illus. 3).

Type No. 1.1

The next group of colophons, Type No. 1.1 includes three manuscripts (Table No. 2). The distinguishing feature of these colophons is that they begin with the words glorifying God and continue with the initial formula Type No. 1.

The scribe of the “Ostriv Gospel” 1527 began the text as follows: “Слава боу сщсемоу въ троици. давьшемъ. начало и конецъ”, that is, he expressed the glory to God, who exists in the Trinity, and gave the beginning and the end of his work. He then continued with the established phrase characteristic of Type No. 1: “Изволѣніемъ вѣца и с поспѣшеніемъ снѣ. и съврѣшен [...] сѣгаго дхѣ” – by the will of the Father, with the help of the Son and the completion of the Holy Spirit¹³. The scribe *Menaion* began the colophon 1556

9 Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv (abbreviated to SNSLU), c. 77 Anthonii Stepanovych Petrushevych (abbreviated to c. ASP), n. u. 21, Lviv Gospel completed aprakos.

10 Russian State Library (abbreviated to RSL), c. 256 Collection of Mykolai Petrovych Rumiantsev (abbreviated to c. Rum.), n. u. 209, Kyiv Didactic Gospel, [online] <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f-256-209/#image-350> [accessed 20.01.2022].

11 SNSLU, c. 6 Theological Academy (abbreviated to c. TA), n. u. 33, Kotsuriv Gospel; M.M. Kol'buh et al., *Kirilični rukopisni knigi u fondah L'vivs'koï naukovoï biblioteki im. V. Stefaniika NAN Ukraini. Katalog. T. 1: (11–16 st.)*, Lviv 2007, p. 107.

12 National Ossoliński Institute (abbreviated to NOI), c. MS, n. u. 37/II, Horodok Gospel.

13 SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 1, Ostriv Gospel.

similarly: “Слав съвршителью бѹ давшему по зачатѣ конѣц. Изволениѣм вѣа и поспѣшеніѣм снѣ и блсвеніѣм дѹх”, that is glory to the finisher, God, who brought the beginning to an end, by the will of the Father, the help of the Son, and the blessing of the Spirit¹⁴.

Table No. 2. Type No. 1.1

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Ostriv Gospel 1527, ff. 211v–212v	Menaion 1556, ff. 457v–458r	Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy... 1567, ff 495r–495v	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	3
2.	Customer	–	–	+	1
3.	Place of creation	+	–	–	1
4.	Scribe	+	+	+	3
5.	The rulers	+	–	+	2
6.	Creation time	+	+	+	3
7.	Motives of the customer	–	–	+	1
8.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	+	–	+	2
9.	A call to correct errors	+	+	–	2
10.	With a purchase record	–	+	–	1
11.	With a deposit record	–	–	+	1
12.	Sentences of the copyist	–	–	+	1
13.	Explanation of the content of the codex	–	–	+	1

“Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi” 1567 is noted for a slightly different construction of the initial formula from the two previous colophons. The scribe of this codex significantly changed the order of the elements and included additional phrases: “Слав съвршителью бѹ давшему зачло. по зачлѣ конѣц троце стѣа бжѣ ншѣ слав тебѣ. Вѣ има великаго гѣ ба и спаса ншѣго іс хѣ амин изволениѣм вѣа и съ поспѣшеніѣм снѣ и дѣством стго дхѣ”, i.e. Glory to the finisher, God, who brought the beginning to an end, Holy Trinity, our God, glory to You, in the name of our great Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ Amen, by the will of the Father, and with the help of the Son, and the completion of the Spirit¹⁵.

14 Scientific Library of Uzhhorod National University (abbreviated to UzNU), c. MS, n. u. 485, Menaion.

15 SNSLU, c. 3 Basilian Monastery (abbreviated to c. BM), n. u. 134 (23), Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi.

Filling the text with the central part of the colophons, Type No. 1.1 almost corresponds to the manuscripts of Type No. 1 (Table No. 2). An exception is “Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi” 1567, in which a new one was added among the existing elements of the colophons – an explanation of the content of the codex, is a mini–treatise on the religious situation, the importance of religious polemics, and the importance of preaching¹⁶.

Type No. 2

The second type of colophons unites thirteen manuscripts (Table No. 3; Illus. 4). Type No. 2 is characterised by an initial formula with an expression of praise to God: “Слава съврѣшителю б҃҃ѹ. и дашем҃҃ѹ по зачлѣ концеъ троце ст҃аа б҃҃е ншѣ слава тѡб҃”¹⁷.

The scribes of all the manuscripts attributed to Type No. 2 began their colophons with the proclamation of the glorification of God in the Trinity, the only One who gave the end to their work after the beginning.

With a slight modification of the beginning of the colophon, it is worth highlighting the text of Deacon Luke from Kulykiv, who copied the “Kulykiv Menaion” 1593. He began the colophon by glorifying God, whom he called the finisher and builder, the gracious helper of all crafts, and also thanked him for the blessing to begin the book and sent him his good help to finish it. The scribe concluded that God is kind and man-loving, he is the beginning, the end, and the builder of every work realised for the benefit of his creatures¹⁸.

The content of the main text of the colophon is similar to the previous two Type No. 1, 1.1 (Table No. 3). The “Manasterzec Gospel” 1501–1506 adds to the already typical set of structural elements of the colophon a reference to historical events of the time when Tatars and Turks attacked the territory of the Ruthenian Voivodeship as part of the Crown of Poland, which the scribe considered to be a persecution of the pagans against the Christians of the Ruthenian land¹⁹.

16 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

17 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

18 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 279, Kulykiv Menaion, [online] <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f-256-279/#image-399> [accessed 20.01.2022].

19 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

Table No. 3. Type No. 2

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Manasterzec Gospel 1501-1506, ff. 301v-302r	Sanok Acts and Epistles no. 1, f. 386r	Dubno Gospel 1539-1568, f. 302r	Gospel 1561, f. 251r	Anthologion 1563, f. 343v	Gospel 1570, ff. 284r-284v	Babice Gospel 1590, f. 291v	Kuljktiv Menation 1593, f. 391v	Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buha et al. 2007, 115-116)	Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buha et al. 2007, 136)	Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buha et al. 2007, 176)	Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 3)	Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 4)	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13
2.	Customer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	2
3.	Place of creation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	5
4.	Scribe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13
5.	The rulers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	3
6.	Creation time	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
7.	Motives of the customer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	2
8.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	12
9.	A call to correct errors	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7
10.	With a purchase record	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	1
11.	With a deposit record	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	2
12.	Sentences of the copyist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	3
13.	Historical events	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Type No. 2.1

The next group of colophons assigned to Type No. 2.1 are contained in six manuscripts (Table No. 4; Illus. 3).

Table No. 4. Type No. 2.1

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Zhydychyn Gospel 1491 (Zapasko 1995, 299–300)	Gospel 15 th c. (Kol’buh et al. 2007, 33)	Sanok Acts and Epistles no. 2, f. 342v	New Testament translated by Valen- tyn Nehalevskiy 1581, ff. 111v, 261v	Stryi Gospel 1594, f. 295r	Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 2)	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
2.	Customer	+	–	–	–	–	–	1
3.	Place of creation	–	–	+	+	+	–	3
4.	Scribe	+	–	+	+	+	+	5
5.	The rulers	+	–	–	–	+	–	2
6.	Creation time	+	–	–	+	+	–	3
7.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	+	–	–	–	–	+	2
8.	A call to correct errors	+	–	+	–	–	–	2
9.	Sentences of the copyist	+	–	–	+	–	–	2

The initial formula of the colophons of this subtype is similar to Type No. 2. However, it is characterised by the arbitrary glorification of God, not always mentioning the merits of the persons of the Holy Trinity. The oldest colophon Type No. 2.1 is in the “Gospel” of the last third of the fifteenth century²⁰. It is quite short, as it consists of only one sentence in which the scribe expresses his gratitude to Jesus Christ: “Слав хҀу бҀҀу спасҀу наишҀу сътворившомҀу вьсҀчьскаа. давшҀу началу и кончаніе: аминь”, that is, glory to Christ God, our Saviour, who created all things and also brought the end to the beginning. In the colophon of the “Zhydychyn Gospel” 1491, Ihnatii, the scribe, glorified God in his way in the following way: “To the all-seeing and good God be glory, power and majesty in all times, who has given every good work its beginning

20 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 33.

and end, Lord, be praised”²¹. The scribe Vlasii glorified Jesus Christ as God the saviour because he helped him start “Sanok Acts and Epistles” No. 2²² (Illus. 3). Valentyn Negalevskyi, the translator and scribe of the “New Testament” 1581, expressed special reverence for God, whom he addressed as the immortal God, who dwells in the unapproachable, invisible, wise, good, and Father of our Lord and redeemer Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and praise forever and ever, amen²³. Ioan Berezych began the colophon of the “Stryi Gospel” 1594 with an appeal to Jesus Christ: “О хѣ бѣ нашъ слава тебѣ”, every good work has its beginning and its end²⁴. As an exception, the scribe Vasylii praised God in general, without specifying any person of the Trinity as such – glory to God, who gave after the beginning and the end, Holy Trinity, our God, glory to you²⁵.

The structure of the text of the colophons Type No. 2.1 after the initial formula contained up to eight elements (Table No. 4): information about the scribe (5), time (3) and place of creation (3), self-dedication (2), and scribe’s statements (2), names of rulers (2), calls to correct mistakes (2), information about the customer (1).

Type No. 3

The initial formula of the other nine colophons, which I classified under Type No. 3 (Table No. 5; Illus. 5) is quite different.

These colophons are characterised by the fact that they all begin with the completion date of the work on the codices. For example, the “Nobel Gospel” 1520 colophon begins with the phrase: “В лѣт. 73. кѣ индик. ѿ. написана быс кнѣга сѣа”, in other words, this book was written in the year 7028 of the eighth indiction²⁶.

The structure of the text of the colophons Type No. 3 after the initial formula contained up to nine elements (Table No. 5): information about the time (8) and location (8) of the manuscript’s creation, information about the scribe

21 Â.P. Zapasko, *Pam’atki knižkovogo mistectva: ukrains’ka rukopisna kniga*, Lviv 1995, p. 299.

22 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11887 III.

23 Institute of Manuscript of V. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (abbreviated to IM VNLU), c. 307 Kyiv Michael’s Golden-Domed Monastery, n. u. 421, New Testament translated by Valentyn Nehalevskyi.

24 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26, Stryi Gospel.

25 S.A. Voloshchenko, *Jerusalem Typikon of the last third of the 15th – the second third of the 17th Centuries. Codicological Research of Cyrillic Handwritten Copies in the Ukrainian Collections. Monograph*, Kyiv 2021, p. 222.

26 Wroblewski Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (abbreviated to WLLAS), c. 19 Foundation of Ruthenian Manuscripts, n. u. 35 (6), Nobel Gospel, [online] <https://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/8770> [accessed 22.01.2022].

(8) and their self-designation (6), names of rulers (4), calls for corrections (2), information about the customer (2), and the purpose of the book (2). Type No. 3 was characterised by combining a colophon with a record of a donation to the church, which was recorded in seven cases (Table No. 5; Illus. 5).

Table No. 5. Type No. 3

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Nobel Gospel 1520, ff. 346v–347r	Khyshevychi Gospel 1546 (Zapasko 1995, 336–337)	Menaion 1548 (Svencickij 1908, 19–20)	Manasterzec Menaion 1554, f. 398v	Univ Gospel 1557, f. 345v	Gospel 1563 (Svencickij 1908, 2)	Pawlokoma Gospel 1571, f. 230v	Univ Studit 1577, ff 13v–16v	Acts and Epistles 1596, ff. 227v–237r	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	9
2.	Customer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
3.	Place of creation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	8
4.	Scribe	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	8
5.	The rulers	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	4
6.	Creation time	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	8
7.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	6
8.	A call to correct errors	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	2
9.	With a deposit record	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	7
10.	Purpose	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	2

Type No. 4

The fourth type of colophons was found in six manuscripts (Table No. 6; Illus. 1).

A distinctive feature of these texts was the beginning with an appeal to the name of God in three persons. For example, the colophon of the “Sambir Gospel” 1535–1549 began with the words: “+ ВЪ ИМѦ ВЦА И СНА И СТГО ДХА ИСПИСАСА СІА СГАА КНИГА СГОЕ ЕВГЛІЕ”, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, this holy book, the “Gospel”, was copied²⁷ (Illus. 1).

In addition to the common introductory formula, colophons of this type contained information about the place (6) and time (4) of the scribe’s copying.

27 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

They also contained information about the scribe (4) with self-deprecation (4), references to rulers (4), calls to correct errors (3), information about the customer (2), and the scribe's statement. (1). In addition, the colophon was combined with records of purchase (3) and donation (2), and in the "Dubno Gospel" 1539–1568, the copyist indicated his motivation for copying the books²⁸ (Table No. 6).

Table No. 6. Type No. 4

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Sambir Gospel 1535–1549, f. 271r	Dubno Gospel 1539–1568, f. 289v	Wilcze Gospel 1544, ff. 14r–24r	Kormchaia Book 1565 (Svencickij 1908, 36–37)	Gospel 1591 (Zapasko 1995, 373)	Humenets Gospel 1598, f. 154r	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
2.	Customer	–	–	–	+	–	+	2
3.	Place of creation	+	+	+	+	+	+	6
4.	Scribe	+	+	–	+	+	–	4
5.	The rulers	+	+	+	+	+	–	5
6.	Creation time	–	+	+	+	–	+	4
7.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	–	+	–	+	+	+	4
8.	A call to correct errors	+	–	–	+	–	+	3
9.	With a purchase record	+	–	+	–	+	–	3
10.	With a deposit record	–	+	–	–	–	+	2
11.	Sentences of the copyist	–	–	–	+	–	–	1
12.	Motivation of the copyist	–	+	–	–	–	–	1

Type No. 5

I included 13 manuscripts in the fifth type of colophons (Table No. 7; Illus. 6). They were characterised by the fact that the initial formula consisted of a message that the book, often followed by its title, was completed by a particular scribe at a specific time and place.

²⁸ RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131, Dubno Gospel, [online] <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f-256-131/#image-301> [accessed 20.01.2022].

Table No. 7. Type No. 5

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Menaion 15 th c. (Gnatenko 2003, 144)	Menaion 1543 (Svenckij 1908, 19)	Ulazów Gospel 1548, f. 5v	Gospel 1564 (Svenckij 1908, 3)	Kamianka Strumyl'ova Gospel 1567, f. 267v	Radyyiv Acts and Epistles 1568, ff. 394r–395v	Strashevychi Menaion 1570–1573, ff. 2r–13r	Lviv Didactic Gospel 1585, f. 1r	Sanok Gospel 1586, f. 302v	Jerusalem Typikon 1594 (Voloshchenko 2021, 223, no. 6)	Didactic Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 215)	Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 191)	Rybolytze Euchologion 16 th c., f. 210v	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	13
2.	Customer	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
3.	Place of creation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	11
4.	Scribe	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11
5.	The rulers	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8
6.	Creation time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	11
7.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6
8.	A call to correct errors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5
9.	With a purchase record	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
10.	With a deposit record	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
11.	Explanation of the content of the codex	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
12.	Historical events	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2

As an example, the “Menaion” of the last quarter of the fifteenth century: “А псал. сїю книгоу. нѣхто ес. березка. з нова городка”, the book compiled by Berezko from Novogradok²⁹. The copyist of the “Ułazów Gospel” 1548 similarly began the colophon. He wrote that this book called the “Tetraevangelion”, was written by a servant of God named Phylimon³⁰ (Illus. 6).

In addition to the introduction, the main part of the contents of the colophons Type No. 5 consisted of the time (11) and location (11) of the manuscripts’ creation, information about the scribe (11), their self-deprecation (6), names of government officials of the time (8), calls for correcting mistakes (5), information about the customer (4), explanations of the content of the codices (3) and historical events (2). Besides, the colophons were combined with notes on the circumstances of the purchase of manuscripts (2) and their donation to churches (3) (Table No. 7; Illus. 6).

Type No. 6

The last, sixth type of colophon is represented in this study by only two manuscripts (Table No. 8). The opening phrase of these two colophons was based on the fact that God helped the scribe complete the codex.

Table No. 8. Type No. 6

No.	Structural elements of colophons	Peresopnytsia Gospel 1556–1561, ff. 481v–482v	Skaryna’s Bible 1575, ff 151r	Total
1.	The introductory formula	+	+	2
2.	Customer	+	–	1
3.	Place of creation	+	–	1
4.	Scribe	+	+	2
5.	The rulers	+	–	1
6.	Creation time	+	+	2
7.	Self-humiliation of the copyist	+	–	1
8.	A call to correct errors	+	–	1
9.	Sentences of the copyist	+	–	1
10.	Explanation of the content of the codex	+	–	1
11.	Purpose	+	–	1

Mykhailo Vasylevych, the scribe of the parchment “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561, began the text as follows: “Юж за помочоу Бжїєю маешь Всѣ

29 L. Gnatenko, *Slov’âns’ka kirilična rukopisna kniga 15 st. z fondiv Ìnstitutu rukopisu nacional’noï biblioteki Ukraïni imeni V. Ì. Vernads’kogo. Katalog*, Kyiv 2003, p. 144.

30 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III, Ułazów Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODYzNjgyNw/12/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

зоупльна Выписаныи Книгы Четырех е҃в҃листовь”³¹. In other words, the scribe noted that the reader now has all four books of the Evangelists with the help of the Almighty. Another scribe, Dmytro from Zinov, similarly stated that with the help of God, after the incarnation of the word of God, that is, Jesus Christ from the Virgin Mary, “Бжїєю Помощїю По выплощєнїи Слова Бжїа С. прчстои Двїци Марїи” in the year 1575, on the 19th day of November, he completed the work of copying the “Skaryna’s Bible”³².

Colophons Type No. 6, after the initial formula, contained similar elements, which were discussed in other groups of manuscripts above: information about the date (2) and place (1) of the production of the manuscripts, the copyist (2) and his self-abasement (1), the names of the rulers (1), requests to correct possible errors (1), customer data (1), scribe’s sentences (1), as well as the assignment of a specific book (1) (Table No. 8).

Visualisation of colophons

A critical component of this study is the analysis of the technical element of colophons. It is based on the characterisation of the colophon’s location in the codex’s space as beginning, middle, end, or beginning and end. It is equally important to trace how it is written in a particular part of the book: on a separate page, in a place free of text, or on the margins. Within the framework of the stated problem, the interest is also directed to the peculiarities of writing colophons and their decoration, which includes, on the one hand, elements of decoration (backgrounds, initials, endings) and on the other, the design of the text itself. The study of the visualisation of colophons allows us to look at them as a material component of the codices, which had a different appearance, shape, and decoration from the main text. Through the prism of the technical element of colophons, it is possible to analyse the scribes better: where they wrote about themselves, how much space they allocated for this, what type of writing they used, and how they visually shaped the text and decorated it.

Location within the manuscript

The study of colophons indicated that they did not have a stable location in the codices. Based on the materials of the manuscripts that I selected for this article, I recorded that the largest number of colophons was at the end of the book block – 47 cases, in the middle – 12, at the beginning – 8 (Table No. 9).

31 IM VNLU, c. 1 Literary materials (abbreviated to c. LM), n. u. 15512, Peresopnytsia Gospel.

32 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 1290, Skaryna’s Bible.

Table No. 9. Location of colophons within the codex

Manuscript	Part of the codex				
	At the beginning	In the middle / between sections	At the end	At the beginning and the end	In the middle and at the end
Lviv Gospel completed aprakos 1477	–	–	+	–	–
Zhydychn Gospel 1491 (Zapasko 1995, 299)	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 15 th c. (Kol'buch et al. 2007, 33)	–	–	+	–	–
Menaion 15 th c. (Gnatenko 2003, 144)	–	+	–	–	–
Manasterzec Gospel 1501–1506	–	–	+	–	–
Sanok Acts and Epistles No. 1	–	–	+	–	–
Kyiv Didactic Gospel 1514	–	–	+	–	–
Nobel Gospel 1520	–	–	+	–	–
Triodion 1521 (Svencickij 1908, 24)	–	–	+	–	–
Ostriv Gospel 1527	–	–	+	–	–
Sanok Acts and Epistles no. 2	–	–	+	–	–
Sambir Gospel 1535–1549	–	–	+	–	–
Dubno Gospel 1539–1568	–	+	+	–	–
Menaion 1543 (Svencickij 1908, 19)	–	–	+	–	–
Wilcze Gospel 1544	–	+	–	–	–
Khyshevychi Gospel 1546 (Zapasko 1995, 336–337)	+	–	–	–	–
Menaion 1548 (Svencickij 1908, 19–20)	–	–	+	–	–
Ułazów Gospel 1548	–	+	–	–	–
Korzenica Gospel 1554	–	+	–	–	–
Manasterzec Menaion 1554	–	–	+	–	–
Menaion 1556	–	–	+	–	–
Peresopnytsia Gospel 1556–1561	–	–	+	–	–
Sozan Liturgikon 1557	–	–	+	–	–

Manuscript	Part of the codex				
	At the beginning	In the middle / between sections	At the end	At the beginning and the end	In the middle and at the end
Univ Gospel 1557	–	–	+	–	–
Potylicz Acts and Epistles 1559	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 1561	–	–	+	–	–
Anthologion 1563	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 1563 (Svencickij 1908, 2)	+	–	–	–	–
Gospel 1564 (Svencickij 1908, 3)	+	–	–	–	–
Kormchaia Book 1565 (Svencickij 1908, 36–37)	–	–	–	+	–
Menaion 1566 (Svencickij 1908, 20–21)	–	–	+	–	–
Kamianka Strumyl'ova Gospel 1567	–	–	+	–	–
Studyt iz dodatkovykh stattiamy... 1567	–	–	+	–	+
Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles 1568	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 1570	–	–	+	–	–
Pawłokoma Gospel 1571	–	–	+	–	–
Przemyśl Gospel 1571	+	–	–	–	–
Strashevychi Menaion 1570–1573	+	–	–	–	–
Skaryna's Bible 1575	–	+	–	–	–
Gospel 1576–1581 (Kol'buch et al. 2007, 171)	–	+	–	–	–
Univ Studit 1577	–	+	–	–	–
New Testament translated by Valentyn Nehalevskyi 1581	–	+	–	–	–
Lviv Didactic Gospel 1585	+	–	–	–	–
Sanok Gospel 1586	–	–	+	–	–
Babice Gospel 1590	–	–	–	–	+
Gospel 1591 (Zapasko 1995, 373)	–	–	+	–	–
Kulykiv Menaion 1593	–	–	+	–	–
Zhydachiv Gospel 1593	–	–	+	–	–

Manuscript	Part of the codex				
	At the beginning	In the middle / between sections	At the end	At the beginning and the end	In the middle and at the end
Gospel 1594	–	–	–	+	–
Jerusalem Typikon 1594 (Voloshchenko 2021, 223, no. 6)	–	–	+	–	–
Stryi Gospel 1594	–	–	+	–	–
Makowa Gospel 1595	+	–	–	–	–
Yavoriv Gospel 1595	–	+	–	–	–
Acts and Epistles 1596	–	–	+	–	–
Dovzhka Gospel 1596	–	+	–	–	–
Horodok Gospel 1597	–	–	+	–	–
Humenets Gospel 1598	–	+	–	–	–
Didactic Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 215)	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 107)	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 115–116)	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 136)	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 176)	–	–	+	–	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 191)	–	–	+	–	–
Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 2)	–	–	+	–	–
Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 3)	–	–	+	–	–
Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 4)	–	–	+	–	–
Rybotycze Euchologion 16 th c.	–	–	+	–	–
Acts and Epistles 16 th –17 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 93)	+	–	–	–	–
Kotsuriv Gospel 1600	–	–	+	–	–
Total	8	12	47	2	2

While the situation with the location of colophons at the end (last pages) or beginning (first or first few opening pages) of manuscripts is more understandable, the location of a colophon in the middle of a book, which I will call a so-called middle part, requires more careful study. This refers to colophons located between the structural elements of the main content of the codices. For example, they were recorded between The Fifth Book of Moses of Deuteronomy and the Book of Joshua³³, the preface to the Gospel of Matthew and direct textual narratives³⁴ (Illus. 3), between the list of chapters of the Gospel of Matthew and the text³⁵ (Illus. 6), at the end of the text of the Gospel of Matthew³⁶, on the page preceding the miniature of the evangelist Luke³⁷, at the end of the Gospel of John³⁸.

In this aspect, it is also worth noting a few more cases of colophon arrangement. If there are two authentic colophons within the same manuscript, they were recorded either at the beginning, middle, or end (Table No. 9). For example, the first could be placed at the beginning of the book, the second in the end³⁹, in the middle and the end⁴⁰, or at the end of the block right after a few pages⁴¹.

Arrangement on the page

In most cases, scribes specifically allocated space for writing a colophon, which indicates their special attitude to their work and the importance they attached to it. According to the materials of this study, 30 colophons are written down as separate structural parts of books (Table No. 10).

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that this is not an established one-page text that the scribe had to fit into. The colophon could consist of two⁴² (Illus. 6), three⁴³ or four⁴⁴ pages.

33 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 1290.

34 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III, Korzenica Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangeliatetr,ODgwNzUxNQ/9/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

35 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III.

36 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789, Yavoriv Gospel.

37 SNSLU, c. 2 People's House in Lviv, n. u. 57, Humenets Gospel.

38 IM VNLU, c. 307, n. u. 421.

39 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11836 IV; I.S. Svencickij, *Opis' Muzeâ Stavropigijjskago Instituta vo L'vove*, Lviv 1908, pp. 36–37.

40 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11835 III, Babice Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangeliatetr,ODgwNzUzOA/14/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022]; SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

41 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131.

42 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III, 11811 III; SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26; n. u. 81, Zhydachiv Gospel; c. TA, n. u. 1; UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570, Sozan Liturgikon; WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6); Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 373.

43 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

44 IM VNLU, c. 18 Lviv Greek Catholic Metropolitan Consistory, n. u. 766, Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles.

Table No. 10. Arrangement of the colophon on the page

Manuscript	Options for placing the colophon				
	On a separate page/ pages	In a place free of text	On the margins of pages (upper or lower)	Text in one or two columns	
				One	Two
Lviv Gospel completed aprakos 1477	+	–	–	+	–
Zhydychyn Gospel 1491 (Zapasko 1995, 299–300)	–	+	–	+	–
Gospel 15 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 33)	–	+	–	+	–
Menaion 15 th c. (Gnatenko 2003, 144)	–	+	–	+	–
Manasterzec Gospel 1501–1506	+	–	–	+	–
Sanok Acts and Epistles No. 1	–	+	–	+	–
Kyiv Didactic Gospel 1514	+	–	–	–	+
Nobel Gospel 1520	+	–	–	+	–
Triodion 1521 (Svencickij 1908, 24)	+	–	–	+	–
Ostriv Gospel 1527	+	–	–	+	–
Sanok Acts and Epistles no. 2	–	+	–	+	–
Sambir Gospel 1535–1549	+	–	–	+	–
Dubno Gospel 1539–1568	–	+	–	+	–
Menaion 1543 (Svencickij 1908, 19)	+	–	–	+	–
Wilcze Gospel 1544	–	–	+	+	–
Khyshevychi Gospel 1546 (Zapasko 1995, 336–337)	–	–	+	+	–
Menaion 1548 (Svencickij 1908, 19–20)	+	–	–	+	–
Ułazów Gospel 1548	+	–	–	+	–
Korzenica Gospel 1554	+	–	–	+	–
Manasterzec Menaion 1554	–	+	–	+	–
Menaion 1556	+	–	–	+	–
Peresopnytsia Gospel 1556–1561	–	+	–	+	–
Sozan Liturgikon 1557	+	–	–	+	–
Univ Gospel 1557	+	–	–	+	–
Potylicz Acts and Epistles 1559	+	–	–	+	–
Gospel 1561	–	+	–	+	–
Anthologion 1563	–	+	–	+	–
Gospel 1563 (Svencickij 1908, 2)	–	–	+	+	–

Manuscript	Options for placing the colophon				
	On a separate page/ pages	In a place free of text	On the margins of pages (upper or lower)	Text in one or two columns	
				One	Two
Gospel 1564 (Svencickij 1908, 3)	–	–	+	+	–
Kormchaia Book 1565 (Svencickij 1908, 36–37)	+	–	–	+	–
Menaion 1566 (Svencickij 1908, 20–21)	+	–	–	+	–
Kamianka Strumylova Gospel 1567	+	–	–	+	–
Studyt iz dodatkovomy stattiamy... 1567	–	+	+	+	–
Radyvylyiv Acts and Epistles 1568	+	–	–	+	–
Gospel 1570	+	–	–	+	–
Pawłokoma Gospel 1571	–	+	–	+	–
Przemyśl Gospel 1571	–	–	+	+	–
Strashevychi Menaion 1570–1573	–	+	–	+	–
Skaryna's Bible 1575	–	+	–	+	–
Gospel 1576–1581 (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 171)	–	–	+	+	–
Univ Studit 1577	–	–	+	+	–
New Testament translated by Valentyn Nehalevskyi 1581	–	+	–	+	–
Lviv Didactic Gospel 1585	+	–	–	+	–
Sanok Gospel 1586	–	+	–	+	–
Babice Gospel 1590	–	+	+	+	–
Gospel 1591 (Zapasko 1995, 373)	+	–	–	+	–
Kulykiv Menaion 1593	–	+	–	+	–
Zhydachiv Gospel 1593	+	–	–	+	–
Gospel 1594	–	–	+	+	–
Jerusalem Typikon 1594 (Voloshchenko 2021, 223, no. 6)	–	+	–	+	–
Stryi Gospel 1594	+	–	–	+	–
Makowa Gospel 1595	–	–	+	+	–
Yavoriv Gospel 1595	–	+	–	+	–
Acts and Epistles 1596	–	–	+	+	–
Dovzhka Gospel 1596	–	–	+	+	–
Horodok Gospel 1597	+	–	–	+	–
Humenets Gospel 1598	+	–	–	+	–
Didactic Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 215)	+	–	–	+	–

Manuscript	Options for placing the colophon				
	On a separate page/ pages	In a place free of text	On the margins of pages (upper or lower)	Text in one or two columns	
				One	Two
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 107)	–	+	–	+	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 115–116)	+	–	–	+	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 136)	–	+	–	+	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 176)	–	+	–	+	–
Gospel 16 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 191)	–	–	+	+	–
Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 2)	–	+	–	+	–
Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 3)	–	+	–	+	–
Jerusalem Typikon 16 th c. (Voloshchenko 2021, 222, no. 4)	–	+	–	+	–
Rybotycze Euchologion	+	–	–	+	–
Acts and Epistles 16 th –17 th c. (Kol'buh et al. 2007, 93)	–	+	–	+	–
Kotsuriv Gospel 1600	–	–	+	+	–
Total	29	27	15	70	1

The practice was to write down the colophon in a space free of text within one page, usually below the main text, at the bottom. This case was recorded in 26 manuscripts (Table No. 10). This practice can be interpreted as saving space to convey the content and with a limited amount of paper to create a book. The placement of the colophon on the top or bottom of the page can also be considered economically feasible. I counted 15 such colophons (Table No. 10).

Almost all colophons were written as a single column if notated on a separate page or under the manuscript's main text. When the colophon was written on the margins and extended over several pages, its parts (phrases) were written in one line along the upper or lower margins. The only exception is the "Kyiv Didactic Gospel" 1514. The colophon of this manuscript was written in two columns, which could be because the main content was also reproduced in two columns⁴⁵.

45 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

Writing

The colophons of this study were written in three types of Cyrillic script: Uncial, Semi-Uncial, and skoropys (cursive). In most cases, the main text was written in one kind of writing, and its colophon in another. For example, M. Vasylevych copied the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561 with a new Uncial of the sixteenth century and the colophon with a Semi-Uncial⁴⁶. Similar analogies can be found in other codices, the texts of which are written in Semi-Uncial script and colophons in cursive script (Illus. 1, 2, 3, 6). However, the main text and colophon were written in the same type of script: new Uncial⁴⁷ and Semi-Uncial⁴⁸ (Illus. 4, 5) in a small number of manuscripts.

Scribes practised writing the text of colophons in brown ink and cinnabar. Colophons were usually written in brown ink. In many cases, their colour corresponded to the colour of the main text, which meant that the colophon was developed by the scribe at the moment of completion of the book’s creation⁴⁹ (Illus. 2, 3, 4). A lighter shade of ink than the ink of the main text may mean that the scribe made it later when he had a purchaser⁵⁰ (Illus. 1, 2, 6).

The scribes used a combination of brown ink and cinnabar to write colophons⁵¹. For example, the first letter of a colophon could be written in cinnabar, and the rest of the text in brown ink⁵². There were cases when the first letter of a colophon and its structurally important elements were written in cinnabar,

46 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

47 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

48 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512; Kharkiv Korolenko State Scientific Library (abbreviated to KKSSL), c. MS, n. u. 819081, Kamianka Strumylova Gospel; NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11944 II; RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209; SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5, Lviv Didactic Gospel, n. u. 21, 26; c. BM, n. u. 368, Dovzhka Gospel, n. u. 1290; c. TA, n. u. 1; WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6); M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 215; Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 299.

49 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512; c. 307, n. u. 421; KKSSL, c. MS, n. u. 819081; Kórnik Library (abbreviated to KL), c. MS, n. u. 11985, Sanok Gospel, [online] https://platforma.bk.pan.pl/pl/bib_records/208341 [accessed 14.06.2022]; NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III, 11944 II; RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209, 279; SNSLU, c. 1 Shevchenko Scientific Society, n. u. 241, Anthologion; c. ASP, n. u. 5, 21, 26, 81; UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 485.

50 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789; c. 301 Collection of historical documents and collection of Church Archeology Museum of Theology Academy of Kyiv, n. u. 39L, Gospel; NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11832 III, Pawłokoma Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwOTA0NA/463/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022], n. u. 11833 III, Przemyśl Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwNzUyOA/2/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022], n. u. 11834 III, Wileze Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwNzUzNA/15/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022], n. u. 11835 III, 11836 IV, 11837 III, n. u. 11889 III, Potylicz Acts and Epistles, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/apostol,OTYzNDQ4Ng/612/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022], n. u. 11892 III, Acts and Epistles, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/apostol,OTYzNDQ4Nw/459/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022]; RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131; SNSLU, c. 2, n. u. 57; UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570, n. u. 482, Manasterzec Menaion.

51 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766; SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 1.

52 KKSSL, c. MS, n. u. 819081; NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

while the rest were written in regular ink⁵³. “Nobel Gospel” 1520 is exceptional in this context. Its colophon is almost entirely written in cinnabar, with only the first letters of sentences in brown ink⁵⁴.

Decoration

The artistic design of colophons includes such elements as borders, initials, and endings. The only colophon with all three decoration components was found in the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561⁵⁵. At the beginning of the book, there is a three-colour border that separates the end of the main text and the beginning of the extensive colophon. It is drawn in a rectangular, narrow frame and comprises weaving elements. The colophon was decorated with two initials, the letters “Ю” and “П”, with small floral pieces. The bottom of the text is decorated with two large rosettes and two floral branches.

A few other colophons were decorated only with initials with floral elements: “В”⁵⁶ (Illus. 5), “Д”⁵⁷, “И”⁵⁸, “К”⁵⁹, and “С”⁶⁰ (Illus. 6). A small decorative graphic element was used under the text of some colophons, which can be considered an ending⁶¹.

I refer to the issue of colophon decoration as a special graphic form of writing through which the scribe added aesthetics to the text. This technology was mainly based on reducing the text on both sides of the lines from top to bottom, resembling a V-shape. Typically, scribes shorten the bottom of the text by two⁶², three⁶³, nine⁶⁴, or even eleven⁶⁵ lines. V. Negalevskyi, for example, put down the entire text in a V-shaped form⁶⁶.

Another type of text design was found in two Volyn region manuscripts. The endings of the colophons of these codices are written in the form of a chalice.

53 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209; SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

54 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

55 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

56 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11829 II, Univ Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwOTAzNw/695/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022]; WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

57 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

58 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III; UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570.

59 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

60 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III.

61 KL, c. MS, n. u. 11985; NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III.

62 NOI, c. MS, n. u. 37/II; SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

63 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III.

64 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

65 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

66 IM VNLU, c. 307, n. u. 421.

These graphic techniques are typical for the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561⁶⁷ and the “Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles” 1568⁶⁸.

The human in the context of the divine

The anthropological block of the study of colophons is the analysis of a person who was the main character of these texts. The person was the author of the colophons, the customer, the buyer, and the donator of the codices. The person was mentioned even when they were not the subject of a particular scribe’s work, meaning that the names of secular and ecclesiastical rulers were mentioned. Depending on their role in the book’s production, each category of people was characterised especially. The vast majority of the characters in the colophons appeared in the context of the divine, as they were associated with a sacred book intended for church service. The source material allows us to analyse the peculiarities of these individuals’ ideas, mentality, and social roles. The study of the human factor in colophons enables us to look at the society of the early modern period through the prism of ordering and making books, and buying and giving them, which is an integral part of socio-cultural history.

Scribes

Perhaps the most important person in the colophons were their authors, the scribes of the codices. They are responsible for these unique texts that shed light on the original history of a particular manuscript. The study of the colophons has shown that the scribes were both church people and lay people. According to the available source material, scribes were classified into six groups: priests, deacons, monks, clerks, sons of priests, and lay people.

Priests. The study of this group of scribes showed that priests could either describe their sinfulness or not write about their sinfulness. Five scribes who were clergymen in the rank of priest indicated that they were sinners. This description of oneself as a sinner referred to the scribes of the “Sanok Acts and Epistles” no. 1 1502 by Pavlo, the governor of Sanok, who served in the church of the Martyr Demetrius in Sanok⁶⁹ (Illus. 4), to the sinner of many sins, the priest Andrii, the scribe of the “Korzenica Gospel” 1554⁷⁰ (Illus. 3), the scribe of the “Pawłokoma Gospel” 1571, the priest Theophanes⁷¹, the priest Andrii

67 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

68 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

69 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11882 III, Sanok Acts and Epistles no. 1, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/apostol,OTYwNzQwNQ/774/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022]; A. Naumow et al., op. cit., pp. 35–36.

70 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

71 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11832 III.

from Jarosław, the scribe of the “Lviv Didactic Gospel” 1585⁷² and the priest Petro from Yahilnytsia, who copied the “Jerusalem Typikon” of the last third of the sixteenth century at the Church of the Assumption⁷³.

Despite the positioning of oneself as a sinner, I recorded two cases when priests did not use this description regarding themselves. Firstly, it concerned Antonii Irynkovych, a priest from Lviv, who copied two codices at the Church of the Epiphany in the Lviv suburbs – the “Menaion” 1543 and 1548⁷⁴. Another priest from the Volyn region, Luke, the scribe of the “Kamianka Strumilova Gospel” 1567⁷⁵, did not consider it necessary to record the sinfulness of his soul.

Deacons. The next category of scribes from among the church people is the deacons, who constitute the first degree of the priesthood in the church hierarchy. They concelebrated and assisted priests and bishops during church services. Compared to priests-scribes, deacons-scribes were much more sinful, because in their colophons they depicted their sinfulness in a much more colourful way.

First of all, it is worth mentioning the example of deacon Jeremiah. He lived in the town of Horodok Solonyi and copied codices at the monastery of John the Baptist. In the colophon of the “Khyshchivychi Gospel” 1546, he described himself as reprobate, sinful, and unworthy while also mentioning that he was a knowledgeable man and the youngest among the deacons⁷⁶. The deacon Oleksii, conceived in sins, was a sinful, unworthy, and filthy servant of God, who produced the “Jerusalem Typikon” in the middle of the sixteenth century⁷⁷. The much-sinned and poor servant of the church, deacon Vasyl Popovych, from the noble Ternovskiy family, produced the “Gospel” in 1570⁷⁸. Another sinful deacon, Luka from Kulykiv, copied two codices from the end of the sixteenth century. In the colophon, the “Kulykiv Menaion” 1593, he defined himself as a very unworthy deacon, and the book was copied by his “брънная (“weak”)” and perishable hand⁷⁹. In the colophon of the “Jerusalem Typikon” 1594, the same Luke from Kulikov described himself only as a deacon of many sins⁸⁰. Deacon George, the scribe of the “Yavoriv Gospel” 1595⁸¹, identified himself as a sinful servant of God.

72 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

73 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 222.

74 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., pp. 19–20.

75 KKSSL, c. MS, n. u. 819081.

76 Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 336.

77 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 222.

78 IM VNLU, c. 301, n. u. 39L.

79 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 279.

80 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 223.

81 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789.

Monks. Scribes from among the monks considered themselves sinful, like the two previous categories of scribes. In almost half of the text of the colophon of the “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” 1514, Serhii, a Kyiv St. Nicholas monastery monk, describes his sinfulness. He described himself as gross, unworthy of God’s grace, full of all iniquity and unrighteousness, a man of many sins, distant from God, and enslaved to evil deeds. The monk Serhii also considered himself an example of humiliation and disgrace to people, a worm and a non-human being⁸². The humble hieromonk Arsenii from “чрънчища”, the son of “вльковыйсквѣ” Mr. Luka, noted that he had completed the “Dubno Gospel” 1539–1568 with his sinful hand. He stated in his colophon that he was copying the book with great “нѹждею” (“need”), headache, and even greater soul pain. The scribe noted that he produced the codex free of charge “писах безмезды” for his spiritual salvation and that of his parents for the benefit of the Dubno monastery⁸³. The monk Avertii, a scribe of the “Manasterzec Menaion” 1554 classified himself as sinful, useless, and last among monks⁸⁴. In the colophon by Jonah, a monk of the Univ monastery, compared to other scribes from the category of monks, the fewest elements of self-abasement were used – only that he was a man of many sins⁸⁵.

Diaks. These people belonged to the laity since they did not have church rank, but they were people of the church because they were church singers. According to the study, the diaks may or may not have written about sinfulness. The oldest codex, the “Lviv Gospel completed aprakos” 1477, which was used to write this article, was copied by the sinful diak Tryftakht Voloshyn⁸⁶. Another diak, Sevastian Avrahamovych, the scribe of the “Nobel Gospel” 1520, like Tryftakht, noted that he was a sinful servant of God⁸⁷. Diak Prokopii Popovych described himself in “Gospel” 1564 as a sinner with many sins and a small mind, a servant of God⁸⁸. Four diaks did not indicate their sinfulness: Sydorii from Liubachiv, son of Vasyl Smetanch, grandson of Yats⁸⁹; Anfym Saltan, a citizen of Sniatin⁹⁰; Fedko⁹¹; Vasyl Bohonosnyk from Drohobych⁹².

82 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

83 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131.

84 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 482.

85 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 66, Univ Studit.

86 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 21.

87 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

88 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 3.

89 SNSLU, c. 1, n. u. 241.

90 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 171.

91 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

92 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 191.

Sons of priests. Scribes, the children of priests, represent another category. The parental tradition of self-deprecation can be traced in many of their colophons. First of all, it is worth noting the example of the scribe Mykhailo from Sanok, the son of the governor of Sanok, priest Vasyl (Volynets?)⁹³. In the colophon of the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561, he called himself a sinner, he also noted that he copied the codex not out of love for perishable gold and silver but with zeal for the divine scripture, for which he prayed to God day and night to be granted the opportunity to see the end of his work⁹⁴. Another Sanok native, Vasyl Poroshkovych, a scribe of the “Sanok Gospel” in 1586⁹⁵, also positioned himself as a sinner. Another son of a priest, the servant of God Theodosii Popovych from Korytnytsia, who copied the “Didactic Gospel” of the middle of the sixteenth century, was a sinner⁹⁶. Theodore, the son and disciple of Archimandrite Arsenii of the Zymno monastery, described himself as a thin man burdened with the burden of sins and as a weak, useless slave of God. Despite this self-humiliation, the scribe hoped to receive special generosity from the Lord Christ through his work on creating the “Kormcha Book” 1565⁹⁷. Ihnatii Popovich Hostyslavnyi, a greatly sinned servant of God, wrote and edited the “Babice Gospel” in 1590. In the colophon of the codex, he stated that he was a friend, companion, book worker, and the lowest servant of the gracious Lord⁹⁸. Symeon from Lviv, who came from the family of Lviv bishop Makarii Tuchapskyi, was a sinner and unworthy. He copied the “Gospel” in Stryi 1591⁹⁹.

Only in two manuscripts did the children of priests not mention their sinfulness. Berezko Popovych “з новаго городка с литовського [from a New Town in Lithuania]”, the son of priest Symeon Dovbnuch “иже в нитрополи [from Nitropol]” copied the “Menaion” 1397 in the last quarter of the fifteenth century¹⁰⁰. The servant of God Stefan Popovych from Trushevychi did not mention his sins in his manuscripts either, as evidenced in his colophons in the “Gospel” 1594¹⁰¹ and the “Makowa Gospel” 1595¹⁰².

Secular persons. This category included scribes who did not indicate in their colophons that they were somehow connected with the church. Even though

93 A. Naumow et al., op. cit., p. 32.

94 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

95 M. Kuczyńska, M. Ivanova, *Cyrylickie Ewangelie XVI i XVII wieku ze zbiorów Biblioteki Kórnickiej*, “Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kórnickiej” 2020, no. 37, p. 40, [online] doi 10.34843/g6sz-4q35 [accessed 12.11.2023].

96 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 215.

97 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., pp. 36–37.

98 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11835 III.

99 Á.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 373.

100 L. Gnatenko, op. cit., p. 144.

101 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11836 IV.

102 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11837 III.

they did not associate themselves with the church serried, these scribes blamed their sinfulness. The scribe of the “Zhydychyn Gospel” 1491, Ihnatii, considered himself the last of sinners and unworthy of the whole world. He copied the “Zhydychyn Gospel” for the sole purpose of having the Lord, in His mercy, help him save his soul¹⁰³. Ivanets, who copied the “Triodion” 1521¹⁰⁴ with a sinful hand, appeared evil, unnecessary, lazy, and inept. Other lay scribes were also very sinful: Kalysh¹⁰⁵; Vasyliv¹⁰⁶; Vlasiv¹⁰⁷ (Illus. 2); Demian Fralevych from Smereky, son of Konstantyn¹⁰⁸; Gabriel¹⁰⁹; Joachim¹¹⁰; Theophanes¹¹¹; Vasiliiv¹¹²; Andrii Funiykovych from Przemyśl¹¹³ and Zacharias from Horodok, son of Kazky¹¹⁴. The sinful servant of God, Mysko Luchnykovych from Kremenets, “in a young mind with great thoughts”, copied the “Gospel” in 1563¹¹⁵. Havrylo Myntsevych, the son of Roman, a sinful and useless servant of God, was a scribe, engaged in the furrier’s trade in the Lviv suburbs, as well as in translation and rhetoric. He copied the “Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi” 1567¹¹⁶ sinful, little-needed, little-minded servant of God Stepan, originally from Halych, son of Ivan “Horodok Gospel” 1597¹¹⁷.

Another category of lay scribes comprised people who did not apply the label of sinfulness to themselves. These scribes were: Yakiv¹¹⁸ (Illus. 1); Philymon¹¹⁹ (Illus. 6); Mykhailo, son of scribe Ivanko from Rybotyche¹²⁰; Dmytro the scribe from Zinkiv¹²¹; V. Negalevskyi¹²² and I. Berezych¹²³.

103 Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 300.

104 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 24.

105 SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 1.

106 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 115.

107 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11887 III.

108 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 485.

109 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570.

110 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III.

111 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11830 III, Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODg-wNzUyMA/251/#item> [accessed 14.01.2022].

112 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 222.

113 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11833 III.

114 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 136.

115 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 2.

116 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

117 NOI, c. MS, n. u. 37/II.

118 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

119 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III.

120 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11944 II.

121 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 1290.

122 IM VNLU, c. 307, n. u. 421.

123 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

Customers

In my opinion, the second category of people after the scribes, in terms of importance, who were included in the colophons, were the customers of the codices. The production of books in the early modern period is largely due to these persons. The source material allows us to distinguish three groups of customers: government officials, clergymen, and ordinary citizens.

The princes were the first to be classified as government officials. A princess was the most famous and iconic customer of that time from the prince's category. It was the faithful and Christ-loving Princess Anastasiia (née Paraskeva) Yuriivna Zaslavska-Holshanska. This nun initiated and sponsored a project to translate the "Gospel" from the Bulgarian version of Church Slavonic into the literary Old Ukrainian language. This project resulted in the creation of a large-format parchment codex, the "Peresopnytsia Gospel" 1556–1561¹²⁴. In addition to the main founder, Princess Anastasiia Zaslavska-Holshanska, her daughter, Princess Yevdokiia Kuzmivna Zaslavska, and son-in-law, Prince Ivan Teodorovych Czartorysky, were among the commissioners of the codex. Ivan Czartorysky's half-brother, Prince Oleksandr Teodorovych Czartorysky, together with his wife, Princess Mariia Despotivna (daughter of the Serbian despot Jovan Brankovich), and their children, Princes Havriil and Maryna, funded the creation of "Kormcha Book" 1565¹²⁵. For the sake of bodily and mental health, and out of concern for their deceased relatives, the rulers of the Principality of Moldova, Mykhailo Zhupan and Logothet of Moldova, Mr. Duma and Mr. Symka, sponsored the production of the "Lviv Gospel completed aprakos" 1477¹²⁶. The "Radyvylyv Acts and Epistles" 1568 were created due to the generous foundation of the sub-commissar of the Kremenets district, Ivan Patrykiy Kurozvonskyi¹²⁷.

The second group of customers is made up of church people. The "Zhydychyn Gospel" 1491 was commissioned by the archimandrite of the Zhydychyn Lavra in the Volyn region, Iona. The scribe characterised him as a servant of God and St. Nicholas, whose dedication was to this monastic community¹²⁸. Priest Theodore, who performed services in the church of the Archangel Michael in Halych, across the river Lukva, ordered the "Gospel" from Dionysius Tropchanin, a sinner and a rude presbyter¹²⁹. The hegumen of the Horodysk monastery ordered the "Didactic Gospel" from T. Popovych from Koryntnytsia¹³⁰.

124 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

125 I.S. Svencickij, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

126 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 21.

127 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

128 Â.P. Zapasko, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

129 M.M. Kol'buh et al., *op. cit.*, p. 107.

130 *Ibidem*, p. 215.

Priest Ioaned from the village Humenets, governor of Shchyretsk, ordered the “Humenets Gospel” 1598¹³¹.

Books were also ordered by ordinary citizens, including burghers. A copy of the “Menaion” 1397 was made in the fifteenth century by Berezko Popovych on the order “повелѣнием” of slave of God Theodore¹³². Silvester Popovych, a Kyiv dweller, in honour, praise, and glory, singing in three persons to the one God: To the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to the Most Holy Mother of God, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, as well as to all the saints, he funded the “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” 1514¹³³. Symeon Batiievych Rak, whom the scribe additionally identified as “старца хвоењскаго [starosta of Khoinsky village]”, was the customer of the “Nobel Gospel” 1520¹³⁴. Theodore and Gervasius from Berezets, sons of the elder Manuel, ordered a “Gospel” from Zacharias from Gorodok for the Church of the Resurrection, for the sake of honour and praise of the triune deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and to make their charity known to all: the great and small powers, parishioners, and all Orthodox Christians¹³⁵. Lviv dweller Yakiv Moiseiovych and his wife Anna ordered the “Menaion” 1566 to receive salvation of the soul from God, forgiveness of sins, and after death to attain eternal life in the heavenly kingdom together with all the saints. In addition, the customer asked to live a quiet life on earth in purity and godliness with his wife and children¹³⁶. A resident of the Lviv suburbs, God’s servant Hryhorii, the son of the furrier Roman, and his wife Ahafia, ordered from his brother who was a scribe “Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi” 1567 for the remission of his sins¹³⁷. Zhydachiv dweller Ivan Petranevych and his wife Melaniia funded the “Zhydachiv Gospel” 1593¹³⁸, and the “Jerusalem Typikon” 1594 was ordered at their expense by members of the Kulykiv shoemakers’ shop¹³⁹.

Customers and investors

A study of the colophons showed that the texts of the colophons were often combined with records of purchase or donation. Accordingly, the colophons’ protagonists were the ones who bought and donated manuscripts to churches.

131 SNSLU, c. 2, n. u. 57.

132 L. Gnatenko, op. cit., p. 144.

133 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

134 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

135 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 136.

136 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., pp. 20–21.

137 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

138 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

139 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 223.

The predominant reason for such generosity was the need for spiritual salvation of the soul, thoughts of previously deceased family members, and absolution. Buyers and investors were clergy and lay people.

For example, the monk of the Univ monastery, hieromonk Kasian, bought the “Gospel” 1557 for the absolution of his sins and those of his parents, as well as for their eternal memory of them. The investor wanted this codex not to be moved in any way and resold from the Church of the Transfiguration of the Lord monastery under the fear of the curse of the Holy Fathers of the Council of Necea (318)¹⁴⁰ (Illus. 5).

The three brothers Matthew, Ihnatii, and Nestor Hyrych “put” the “Gospel” 1527 for the praise of God on the Lord’s table in the church of the Archangel Michael in the village of Ostriv because they wanted to receive from God salvation of the soul and bodily health in return¹⁴¹. The servant of God Ivan Yelenych “з волчег [from Vovche]” bought and put on the holy stand of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary the “Sambir Gospel” 1535–1549, to serve the merciful and sweet God, the Nativity of His Mother and all the saints for the living and the dead¹⁴² (Illus. 1).

Yelenych warned his family that they should not dare to take the book away from the church because they would be cursed in the present and future, and would stand with him in judgment in the presence of God. The spouses Andrii and Tetiana bought “твердо и не порүшено [firmly and steadfastly]” the “Gospel” 1544 for the Church of the Archangel Michael in the village of Milyniv for four Polish kopas¹⁴³. Their goal was the same as that of the previous customers — absolution and concern for the salvation of their parents’ souls. The God-fearing spouses Antonii and Domna Mytsiv and their sons Yusk and Senko bought a “Gospel” for the Church of the Resurrection from the scribe Vasyl in Slovit for five gold pieces to obtain bodily health and spiritual salvation, and after death to be eternally remembered¹⁴⁴. The servants of God Hryhorii Mamai and Symeon Lohynchia bought the “Gospel” 1554 for two kopas and presented it to the Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God in the village of Korzenica¹⁴⁵ (Illus. 3). The motive for charity remains the same: to save souls and to commemorate deceased relatives. The priests who will read this “Gospel” during the services “на вѣчрнѣх и на оутрѣнѣх и на службахъ [on the Vespers and Orthros services]” will pray to the Lord God for them. A “Оуцтивый [decent]” man, a burgher from Babytsi named Ioan Khomyn,

140 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11829 II.

141 SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 1.

142 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

143 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11834 III.

144 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., pp. 115–116.

145 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

son of Dmytro, bought the “Gospel” 1590 for six zlotys and six grosz for the Church of the Nativity of Christ in his town¹⁴⁶. This investor also wanted the priests and deacons to pray to Jesus Christ for his family.

Mykhailo and Tetiana Oliinyk from Dobromyl used their own money, of 5 zlotys and 12 grosz, as well as other gifts, to buy a “Gospel” 1594 for the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary forever and unbreakable to the day of the second coming of Jesus Christ¹⁴⁷. Jeremiah from Makiv purchased the “Gospel” 1595 from St. Popovych for the local church of John the Baptist for eternal storage¹⁴⁸. A God-fearing man, Mykhailo, his wife Iryna, and his son Illia purchased the “Gospel” 1595 for their absolution and “donated” it to the Church of the Assumption in Lelekhivka¹⁴⁹. The priest who serves in this book should ask God for the forgiveness of their sins and the deceased Klymentii. Kostiantyn and Agafia bought the “Gospel” 1596 from a scribe in Dovzhok for 6 zlotys for the local church of Saint Basil the Great to save them from their sins¹⁵⁰. The servants of God, Pylyp and Mykhailo, who wanted bodily health and absolution for themselves and their parents, bought “Acts and Epistles” for the Church of the Archangel Michael for 18 zlotys¹⁵¹. The couple Matthew and Anastasiia Zhbonovych with their sons Senko, Timothy, Hryts, and Tadei bought the “Gospel” 1600 for the church of Symeon Stovpnyk in the village of Kotsuriv from a scribe for 10 zlotys¹⁵². The family wanted their gift in the form of a book to be kept close to this particular place, and those who would dare to violate their will would be warned to stand trial in the presence of the just judge, Jesus Christ.

Secular and church officials

A special place within the colophons was given to the names of secular (kings, princes, local leaders) and spiritual (patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, priests) leaders. The vast majority of these individuals had nothing to do with the production of any of the codices. They were mentioned according to the region where the manuscript was created, both secular and spiritual. Thanks to this, manuscripts that do not contain a place of creation can be localised within the boundaries of a voivodeship/powiat or diocese. Another aspect of the notation of their names was an additional/confirming and, in some cases, the main time

146 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11835 III.

147 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11836 IV.

148 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11837 III.

149 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789.

150 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 368.

151 M.M. Kol'buh et al., op. cit., p. 93.

152 SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 33.

signature indicating the time when the codex was created. Thanks to the scribes' recollection of the rulers, several manuscripts have been dated that do not have a specific date of creation¹⁵³ (Illus. 1) or whether the date was clarified when a mistake was made when writing the year¹⁵⁴. In addition to the purely practical significance associated with the territory and date, the references to government officials are evidence of the power and its positioning in the reception of early modern people, particularly scribes.

Monarchs. The highest-ranking persons that the scribe could mention in the colophon text were those of royal descent, such as Polish kings, Lithuanian grand dukes, etc. The earliest mention of the king is found in the fifteenth-century colophons. This king was Casimir IV Jagiellon (1427–1492), whom the scribes called the great “въ дни великаго [in the days of the great]” lord and king of Poland¹⁵⁵. The “Manasterzec Gospel” of the beginning of the sixteenth century was created during the reign of the great king of Poland and Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon (1461–1506) and the great queen, pious and Christ-loving Helena of Moscow (1476–1513)¹⁵⁶. The “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” 1514 copied “тѣгда же оубо прѣдрѣжашѹ скипетро гедръства литовьскаго [when he held the scepter of the Lithuanian state]” to the great king “жиггимонтоу” Sigismund I the Old (1467–1548)¹⁵⁷. During the reign of this king, several more manuscripts were completed, in which Sigismund I is referred to as the great king¹⁵⁸.

Most of the codices were copied during the reign of the Polish king Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572). In almost every colophon, this ruler is titled differently. In most manuscripts, scribes mention him in a few words – at the time of King Sigismund¹⁵⁹ (Illus. 3), or at the time of the great Polish king¹⁶⁰. Instead, in the “Jerusalem Typikon”, diak Oleksii called Sigismund II the great king of Ruthenia¹⁶¹. In the “Potylicz Acts and Epistles” 1559, the scribe mentions this ruler more extensively: in the days of the pious and Christ-loving king of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania Sigismund Augustus¹⁶². In the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561, M. Vasylevych used his full title: Sigismund Augustus – Polish king,

153 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III, 11809 III; SNSLU, c. 5 National Ossoliński Institute, n. u. 3617, Strashevychi Menaion.

154 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131; SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 1.

155 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 21; А.Р. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 300.

156 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

157 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

158 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11834 III; WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6); I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 24.

159 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III, 11833 III; UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 485, 570; I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 36.

160 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23); M.M. Kol'buch et al., op. cit., p. 215.

161 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 222.

162 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III.

Grand Duke of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Zhmud, and Mazovia. In addition, he called the king lord and ruler “на том чась боудочомь [at that time was]”¹⁶³. The scribe of the “Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles” 1568 called the king the most gracious master and provided his full title¹⁶⁴.

The priest Andrii from Jarosław addressed King Stephen Bathory (1533–1586) as the most lordly master of us, by the grace of God the king of Poland, Ruthenia, Prussia, Zmud, Mazovia, and Livonia¹⁶⁵. The “Sanok Gospel” 1586 was also completed during the reign of His Grace the Polish King Stephen Bathory¹⁶⁶.

King Sigismund III Vasa (1566–1632) was called the Great Polish King¹⁶⁷ by diak Fedko in the “Zhydachiv Gospel” 1593. In the “Dovzhka Gospel” 1596, the copyist noted that Sigismund III was a Swede “жикмонта шведа”¹⁶⁸, and Ioan Berezich called him so “швенда”¹⁶⁹.

The unique fact is worth noting that A. Saltan mentions several rulers in his colophon of the “Gospel” 1576–1581. The scribe listed four rulers as he began writing the book in the lands of the Principality of Moldova. The ruler at that time was the Grand Duke of Moldova, Ioan, and he finished it in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, so he listed the great Polish king Stephen Bathory. Additionally, he mentioned the secular rulers being in power at the time of the book’s purchase in 1589: Sigismund III Vasa and, for some reason, the Grand Duke of Moscow Vasiliy¹⁷⁰. This Grand Duke of Moscow could have been Vasili IV Shuyskiy (1552–1612), who, from 1587, was hiding from the persecution of Boris Godunov in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, thus the scribe could have recorded the name of this ruler in exile.

Local government officials. The category of local leaders included princes, voivodeship rulers, and castellans, who were mentioned by scribes in the colophons. In “Zhydychny Gospel” 1491, the scribe mentioned Prince Semyon Yurievich from Halshany, starost of Lutsk (died in 1505 or 1506)¹⁷¹. S. Avrahamovych, the scribe of the “Nobel Gospel” 1520, wrote in the colophon that he completed the book during the local government of the Pinsk prince Theodore Ivanovych Yaroslavych Borovskyi (died in 1520 or 1521)¹⁷². Prince Konstantyn Vasyi of Ostrih was mentioned in the “Dubno Gospel”¹⁷³. Under the

163 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

164 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

165 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

166 KL, c. MS, n. u. 11985.

167 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

168 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 368.

169 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

170 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 171.

171 A.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 300.

172 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35(6).

173 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131.

authority of their majesties Prince Oleksandr Czartorysky (died in 1571), his wife Princess Maria Despotivna (died after 1570) and their children – Princes Havryiil and Maryna, Theodore produced the “Kormcha Book” 1565¹⁷⁴. The colophons of other manuscripts mention the Voivode of Kyiv, Mr. Andrii Nemyrovych (1462–1540)¹⁷⁵, the Kraków castellan Spytek Jordan (1518–1568)¹⁷⁶, and Andrian Hrab, voivode of Kraków, ruler of Stryi¹⁷⁷.

Church leaders. The category of church rulers includes references in colophons to the highest-ranking leaders such as patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, their governors, and heads of monastic centres.

The names of the highest hierarchs of the Christian world were mentioned by A. Saltan in the “Gospel” 1576–1581¹⁷⁸. It refers to two Eastern patriarchs, Ecumenical Patriarch Jeremias II Tranos (c. 1536–1595) and Patriarch Joachim V of Antioch (died 1592). Besides, Saltan wrote down the name of the Metropolitan of Bethlehem, Joachim (died after 1593). All three of these hierarchs from the East were in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in particular, in Lviv, so their mention testifies to the significance of their visit to the territory of the ancient Metropolis of Kyiv and was an important event in the life of society and was reflected in the scribe’s record.

The leaders of the Kyiv Metropolitan Church, who belonged to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, were mostly referred to in colophons as archbishops. In the “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” 1514, Metropolitan Joseph II Soltan of Kyiv (1506–1521) was titled Archbishop of Kyiv and All Rus¹⁷⁹. Hierarch Sylvester Belkevych (who died in 1568) was listed in the codex of 1565 from the Zymno monastery as the archbishop and metropolitan of Kyiv, Halychyna, and All Rus¹⁸⁰. The same title was applied to Onysyphor Divochka (c. 1510–1592), by the grace of God Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halychyna, and All Rus in the colophon of the “Lviv Didactic Gospel” 1585¹⁸¹.

The largest number of references to the government of local church administrators belong to the bishops of Przemyśl and Sambir, which is explained by the great preservation of codes from this particular spiritual area. The first hierarch of Przemyśl and Sambir to be mentioned in the colophons is A. Onyki (ruled in 1499–1520). This bishop was named ruler and saint in the “Manasterzec

174 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 36.

175 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

176 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

177 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

178 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 171.

179 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

180 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 36.

181 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

Gospel” 1501–1506¹⁸². The same archbishop was inscribed with special reverence in the colophon of the “Festal Triodion” 1521 by the scribe Ivanets, calling him a consecrated bishop and, at the same time, his father¹⁸³. The scribes did not ignore the successors of Onyki, noting in the colophons that the manuscripts were completed “при еписѣ нашем [at the time of our bishop]” L. Terletskyi (died in 1549)¹⁸⁴ (Illus 1); at the time of the Bishop Arsenii of Sambir and Przemyśl¹⁸⁵ (Illus. 6); at the time of our Bishop Antonii Radyvylovskyi (died in 1586), the Bishop of Przemyśl and Sambir¹⁸⁶ (Illus. 3), at the time of Bishop A. Radyvylovskyi, Bishop of the God-saved cities of Przemyśl and Sambir¹⁸⁷, at the time of Bishop Antonii¹⁸⁸, or at the time of Bishop Mykhailo Kopystenskyi (died in 1610)¹⁸⁹. The “Sanok Gospel” 1586 was produced by V. Popovych¹⁹⁰ during the reign of Bishop Arsenii Brylinskyi of Przemyśl and Sambir. The scribe confused the name of this bishop because, at that time it was not Arsenii who ruled, but Stepan Brylinskyi (1581–1591).

In addition to the Przemyśl and Sambir hierarchs of the Kyiv Metropolis, other religious and administrative unit leaders were also mentioned. The manuscripts from the Volyn region mention the bishop of Lutsk, Jonah¹⁹¹, and the bishop of Volodymyr and Brest, John, nicknamed Borzobahatyi (who died in 1585) were mentioned¹⁹². The “Nobel Gospel” 1520¹⁹³ was written at the time of Bishop John, Bishop of Tura and Pinsk.

Vasiian Baka produced the “Didactic Gospel” during his rule at the Chełm and Belz cathedrals¹⁹⁴, and his successor Theodosii Lazovskyi, bishop of the God-saved cities of Chełm and Belz the “Potylicz Acts and Epistles” 1559 was created¹⁹⁵.

Lviv bishops, particularly Hedeon Balaban (1530–1607), were also included in the colophons Lviv’s bishop was titled Bishop of Halychyna, Lviv, and Kamianets-Podilskyi¹⁹⁶, or simply as a bishop without any indication of title¹⁹⁷.

182 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

183 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 24.

184 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

185 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III, 11834 III.

186 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III; SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

187 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 482.

188 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570.

189 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

190 KL, c. MS, n. u. 11985.

191 Ā.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 300.

192 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 36.

193 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

194 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 215.

195 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III; A. Naumow et al., op. cit., p. 20.

196 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

197 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 368; c. TA, n. u. 33; M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 171.

Scribes rarely mentioned the clergy of the lower ranks. They were considered worth mentioning only in a few colophons. Serhii, a monk of the Kyiv St. Nicholas monastery, mentioned two abbots of the city's monastic communities: hieromonk Protasii, archimandrite of the Kyiv Cave monastery, and hieromonk Ihnatii, abbot of the St. Nicholas monastery¹⁹⁸. Among those mentioned were the vicars of the church administrative units of the dioceses: the Jarosław vicar, priest Ioan¹⁹⁹ (Illus. 3), and the Zhydachiv vicar, priest Petro²⁰⁰.

Territory and time

A separate section of this study is devoted to analysing the peculiarities of localisation and dating systems in colophons. Studying these two important aspects allows us to clarify the concepts of territory and time in scribes' minds. Attention to these categories brings us closer to understanding the perception of the territory in which an individual and chronology produced books. Within the stated problem, I have identified three subsections: the location of rewriting, the place of purchase, and the time of creation.

Location of rewriting

The study of colophons has demonstrated that the scribes defined the territory in which they worked on creating the codices in different ways. According to my research, books were produced in towns, villages, parish churches, and monasteries.

In towns. “Lviv Gospel completed aprakos”²⁰¹ and “Lviv Didactic Gospel” 1585²⁰² were copied in Lviv. Two codices were copied in Sanok: the first – “Sanok Acts and Epistles” no. 2 was copied by Vlasii at the Sanok school²⁰³ (Illus. 2), and the second – “Gospel” 1586 by V. Popovych, and called the city of Sanok as glorious²⁰⁴. “Sambir Gospel” 1535–1549 was copied in the city of Sambir²⁰⁵ (Illus. 1), “Gospel” 1567 – in Kamianka Strumylova²⁰⁶. “Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles” 1568 was completed in the house of the noble Mr. Symeon Borshchiv in the city of Radyvyliv²⁰⁷. A. Saltan began to copy the “Gospel”

198 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

199 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

200 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

201 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 21.

202 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

203 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11887 III.

204 KL, c. MS, n. u. 11985.

205 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

206 KKSSL, c. MS, n. u. 819081.

207 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

in 1576 in the God-given city of Chernivtsi, “въ молдавскои земли [on the territory of Moldova]”, and finished it in 1581 in the no less God-given city of Sniatin²⁰⁸. In the God-given city of Stryi, in the school “в школь”, the scribe Symeon completed the “Gospel” 1591²⁰⁹, and in 1594, in the same place as I. Berezych²¹⁰. Deacon Luka completed the “Kulykiv Menaion” 1593²¹¹ in the evil city “въ ненарочитом и х҃удом градищи” of Kulykiv. In the colophon of the “Jerusalem Typikon” 1594, this same deacon Luka described his city of Kulykiv as “градъ х҃удом [evil city]”²¹². The “Yavoriv Gospel” 1595²¹³ was produced in the city of Yavoriv. In the city “на има [called]” Horodok, Stepan from Halych copied the “Horodok Gospel” 1597²¹⁴.

In villages. In addition to the city, books were made in the countryside. The first manuscript of this category, the “Gospel” 1548, was produced in the village of Ulazov²¹⁵ (Illus. 6). In the Slovita village, the scribe Vasiliï produced the “Gospel” of the second quarter of the sixteenth century²¹⁶. In the Korzenica village, Jarosław County, “въ арославской власти”, the “Korzenica Gospel” 1554 was begun and completed by priest Andriï²¹⁷ (Illus. 3). The “Strashevychi Menaion”²¹⁸ was copied in the estate “в селъ и в дворъ” of the Przemyśl and Sambir bishop A. Radyvylovskiy in Strashevychi. “При градъ дынове”, in the village of Pawłokoma, priest Theophan copied the “Pawłokoma Gospel” 1571²¹⁹. V. Negalevskiy²²⁰ copied the “New Testament” 1581 in the Khorosheve village. The “Dovzhka Gospel” 1596²²¹ was produced in the Dovzhka village, in the Dolyna District, “У панствѣ еи млстн” in the estate of Mrs. Koshchyna. The “Humenets Gospel” 1598²²² was copied in the Humenets village.

At the church. In the village of Sozan, at the church of the Archangel Michael, the scribe Havryil “заложеніе [started]” and copied the “Sozan Liturgikon” 1557²²³. In the glorious city of Potelych, at the church of the Holy Great

208 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 171.

209 Â.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 373.

210 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

211 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 279.

212 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 223.

213 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789.

214 NOI, c. MS, n. u. 37/II.

215 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III.

216 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 115.

217 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

218 SNSLU, c. 5, n. u. 3617.

219 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11832 III.

220 IM VNLU, c. 307, n. u. 421.

221 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 368.

222 SNSLU, c. 2, n. u. 57.

223 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570.

Martyrs, Princes of Rus Borys and Hlib, in baptism – Roman and Davyd, the “Potylicz Acts and Epistles” of 1559²²⁴ were created. The “Jerusalem Typikon” of the last third of the sixteenth century was copied at the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in Yagilnytsia by priest Petro²²⁵.

In the monastery. The “Manasterzec Gospel” 1501–1506²²⁶ was transcribed in the monastery of the Transfiguration of the Lord “с҃го прѣсвѣтлѣшиаѣ г҃а б҃а и с҃҃ца нашеѣ и҃с҃ х҃а костела [The Church of the Holy and Glorious Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ]” in Manasterzec. In the same monastic community “in the church” in Manasterzec, the monk Abertius copied the “Manasterzec Menaion” 1554²²⁷. At the Saint Nicholas monastery in Kyiv, monk Serhii copied the “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” 1514²²⁸. The “Wilcze Gospel” 1544²²⁹ was produced “в҃лчи въ обители [in Wilcze, in the monastery]” in the Wilcze monastery of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the outskirts of Przemyśl “при градѣ премшли”. In the city of Dubno in the Volyn region, in the monastery of the “оу чстного крста [The Holy Cross]”, the monk Arsenii created the “Dubno Gospel” 1539–1568²³⁰. D. Fralevych made the “Menaion” 1556²³¹ in the monastery of the “оу с҃гой прчстои матере бж҃й [The Holy Mother of God]” located on the Opir river, near Stryi. In the Horodyshche monastery, T. Popovych copied the “Didactic Gospel” in half of the sixteenth century²³². The “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561 was started by M. Vasylevych in the Dvirtsi monastery “в дворци манастыри Жеславскѣм [in Dvirtsi, Zaslav monastery]”, at the church of the “с҃гѣя и живоначальныя [Holy and Life-giving]” Trinity, and finished in the Peresopnytsia monastery, at the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary²³³. In the Univ monastery “въ обители прстыя влчца ншеа б҃ца прсно двы мр҃а чстнаго и славнаг҃а ел [in the monastery of the Most Holy Mother of God and the Assumption of Mary, honest and glorious]” the Assumption the “Univ Gospel” 1557 was completed²³⁴ (Illus. 5). Theodore, the son of the archimandrite of the monastery, started and completed the “Kormcha Book” 1565 in the Zymno monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary, near the city of Volodymyr in the Volyn region²³⁵.

224 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III.

225 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 222.

226 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

227 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 482.

228 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

229 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11834 III.

230 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131.

231 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 485.

232 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 215.

233 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

234 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11829 II.

235 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 36.

Place of purchase

While classifying the colophons, I discovered that many scribes combined records of book production and records of purchases and donations to a particular parish or monastery church. This practice opens up prospects for tracing a more complete history of the codex since at the beginning of the manuscript's functioning, its scribe provided information on where the book was taken.

Parish churches. The “Nobel Gospel” 1520 was given to the church of Nicholas the Wonderworker in the village of Nobel in the “пинскаго повѣта [Pinsk povit]”²³⁶. The “Sambir Gospel” 1535–1549 was purchased for the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in the village of Vovche by I. Yelenych²³⁷ (Illus. 1). The “Korzenica Gospel” 1554 was presented in the Korzenica village, actually, the location where the codex was rewritten, the church of the Holy Mother of God “чстномУ еѧ рождествУ [To her honest Nativity]”²³⁸ (Illus. 3). The “Menaion” 1566, as Deacon Andrii wrote in the colophon, was donated by the customer to the Church of the Epiphany in Lviv, which was located in his suburb “на галицкоѧ предмѣстя [the Halychyna suburb]”²³⁹. The “Gospel” 1576–1581 was given to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin of the God–saved city of Pidhaitsi “въ подолскои земли [in Podillia land]”²⁴⁰. The “Babice Gospel” 1590 was presented to the Church of the Nativity of Christ, in the city of Babice²⁴¹. The “Yavoriv Gospel” 1595 was placed in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin in the village of Lelekhivtsi²⁴². The “Humenets Gospel” 1598 was donated by the governor of Shchyretsk, Ioan, to the Krasiv village church, under the priest Hryhorii²⁴³. Two subsequent manuscripts were produced and donated within the same locations where they were developed. Thus, the “Makowa Gospel” 1595 was donated to the church of Prophet John the Baptist in the Makowa village²⁴⁴, and the “Dovzhka Gospel” 1596 to the Dovzhok village church of Basil the Great²⁴⁵.

Monastic churches. “Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi” 1567 was donated to the monastery of St. George for honour and praise to the great Lord God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and for learning useful

236 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

237 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

238 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

239 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 20.

240 M.M. Kol'buch et al., op. cit., p. 171.

241 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11835 III.

242 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789.

243 SNSLU, c. 2, n. u. 57.

244 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11837 III.

245 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 368.

for the soul of all Orthodox Christians²⁴⁶. Hieromonk Kasian donated the “Univ Gospel” 1557 to the Church of the Transfiguration of the Lord of the Univ monastery²⁴⁷ (Illus. 5). The “Przemyśl Gospel” 1571 was dedicated to the “сѣоу столечной [holy capital]” church of the Wilcze monastery near the city of Przemyśl²⁴⁸. The scribe of the “Univ Studit” 1577 presented it to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin of the Univ monastery²⁴⁹. Due to the lack of source information, it is unknown for which church the scribe Symeon sold the “Gospel” 1591 for 7 zlotys. In the colophon, he indicated only that he sold the book to the city of Mykolaiv²⁵⁰.

Date of creation

The study of the colophons showed that it was important for the scribe to record the codex’s creation time. The analysis of the methods of transferring the year of creation of a particular book showed heterogeneity. In the vast majority of manuscripts, scribes indicated the year, month, and day of completion of the work exclusively using Cyrillic numerals. According to the available sources, manuscripts can be divided into four groups: from the creation of the world; from the Nativity of Christ; a combination of both chronological systems; and manuscripts without a year of creation.

From the creation of the world. The colophon of the oldest codex within the proposed study is the “Lviv Gospel completed aprakos”, dated 25 July 6985 from the creation of the world, i.e. 1477 AD²⁵¹. The date of completion of book production is also reproduced in the “Wilcze Gospel” – 8 November 7052 [1544]²⁵², the *Menaion* – 3 February 7064 [1556]²⁵³, and the “Sozan Liturgikon” – 1 April, on the day of Mary of Egypt, 7065 [1557]²⁵⁴.

In eight other books, scribes added time delineations to established practices. Thus, in the “Zhydychn Gospel”, created on 23 April 6999 [1491], the polytheistic Ihnatii complemented that this year fell on the 9th indiction²⁵⁵. The “Kyiv Didactic Gospel” was completed at 22 Solar cycles, 11 lunar cycles, 2 indications, 6 in the summer hand – on 24 June 7022 [1514]²⁵⁶. The “Nobel Gospel”

246 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

247 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11829 II.

248 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11833 III.

249 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 66.

250 Ā.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 373.

251 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 21.

252 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11834 III.

253 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 485.

254 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570.

255 Ā.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 299.

256 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

was copied in the year 7028 [1520], on the 8th indiction, on 1 June – the day of memory of the martyr Justin the Philosopher²⁵⁷. The “Anthologion”, by the will of God, was copied on the 6th indiction, on 6 August that is on the day of the Transfiguration of the Lord, which in 7071 [1563] was Friday²⁵⁸. The next three manuscripts are dated only by the year and with an indication of the indiction. It is worth noting that additional information about the time of the manuscript’s creation gave rise to inaccuracies, in the “Ostriv Gospel”. The scribe Kalysh reported that the codex was completed in 7000 [1492] 35 indiction (*sic*), but 35 indiction did not exist, so “35 indiction” was rather a decimal year, so the year of creation of the book was 7035 [1527], and the indiction was 15²⁵⁹. The monk Avertii also put an incorrect indiction in the “Manasterzec Menaion”: instead of the 12th indiction, which was in 7062 [1554], the year of the codex’s completion, he wrote down the 13th indiction²⁶⁰. In the other two manuscripts, the scribes successfully identified the indictions: the “Khyshyevychi Gospel” was completed by the deacon Jeremiah of Horodok in the 4th indiction 7054 [1546]²⁶¹, the priest Andrii copied the “Korzenica Gospel” in the 12th indiction 7062 [1554]²⁶² (Illus. 3).

Three codes were dated only by the year: the “Sanok Acts and Epistles” no. 1 – 7010 [1502]²⁶³ (Illus. 4), the “Triodion” – 7029 [1521]²⁶⁴, and the “Yavoriv Gospel” – 7104 [1595]²⁶⁵. The “Dubno Gospel”²⁶⁶ deserves special attention. The scribe wrote that the manuscript was completed “въ лѣт бжїа рок по #3 тисацѣ”, that is, in the year of God 7000 [1492]. This date is incomplete or incorrect, as there are no decimal digits. He may have copied this manuscript between 1539 and 1568. The basis for this dating is the reference to the governance of Prince Konstantyn Vasyl of Ostrih in Dubno and the investment record for the monastery. The upper chronological boundary is determined by the beginning of the reign of Konstantyn Vasyl Ostrozkyi in 1539, after the death of his brother Illia Oleksandr Ostrozkyi (1510–1539). The upper limit is 1568, due to Ivan Kopytka’s entry of 27 December 1568 on providing rye and wheat to the monastic community²⁶⁷.

257 WLLAS, c. 19, n. u. 35 (6).

258 SNSLU, c. 1, n. u. 241.

259 SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 1.

260 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 482.

261 Ā.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 336.

262 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

263 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11882 III.

264 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 24.

265 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 2789.

266 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 131.

267 A. Vostokov", *Opisanie russkikh" i slovenskikh" rukopisej Rumâncovskago muzeuma*, St. Petersburg 1842, p. 189.

From the Nativity of Jesus Christ. Similar to the first group of manuscripts, with colophons dated from the year of creation, the books in the second group are dated according to the same algorithm: year, month, and day. The oldest manuscript was presented in the “Lviv Menaion” in November and December, completed by priest A. Irynkovych from Lviv. The first part of the codex was completed on 25 September 1543, the day of memory of Euphrosyne of Alexandria. He also noted that the Polish–Moscow War was taking place at the time, “there was a great war in Moscow with the Polish king Sigismund”. The scribe completed the second part of the books on 26 December 1543, the day of Alypius the Stylite, but the memory of this Saint was celebrated a month earlier – on 26 November. Nevertheless, the war with Muscovy, according to him, continued, “There was great bloodshed in Moscow”, Polish troops managed to conquer Starodub on the day of the memory of the martyr Lupa [26 October], as well as other towns²⁶⁸.

The scribe of the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” began his work on 15 August 1556, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and finished on 29 August 1561, the day of the Beheading of John the Baptist²⁶⁹. As a result, the work on the 380×240 mm parchment manuscript, which consists of 482 folios lasted less than five years. On the day of Saint Titus, the Wonderworker, 2 April 1561, the scribe Theodore copied the “Gospel”²⁷⁰. Another scribe named Theodore at the Zymno monastery in the Volyn region completed the “Kormcha Book” 1565 on 26 March “after the birth of the Lord God our Saviour Jesus Christ, who was clothed in flesh and born of the Virgin Mary, his mother”²⁷¹. In the year of our Lord 1570, on the day of the holy martyr Vasii (20 January?), the deacon Vasylii copied the “Gospel”²⁷². The “Zhydachiv Gospel”²⁷³ was copied on the day of Xenophon’s memory, 26 January 1593, and the “Kotsuriv Gospel” on the day of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8 September 1600²⁷⁴.

The colophons of the other eight codices do not contain additional information about the date of the end of the work, as the scribes provided the date, month, and year. For example, the “Kamianka Strumilova Gospel” was finished on 8 December 1567²⁷⁵, the “Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles” – 4 September 1568²⁷⁶, the “Przemyśl Gospel” – 4 July 1571²⁷⁷, the “Bibles” translated by

268 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 19.

269 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

270 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11830 III.

271 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., pp. 36–37.

272 IM VNLU, c. 301, n. u. 39L.

273 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

274 SNSLU, c. TA, n. u. 33.

275 KKSSL, c. MS, n. u. 819081.

276 IM VNLU, c. 18, n. u. 766.

277 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11833 III.

Dr. Francisk Skoryna – 19 November 1575²⁷⁸, “New Testament translated” by V. Negalevskiy – 20 June 1581²⁷⁹, the “Lviv Didactic Gospel” – 5 April 1585²⁸⁰, the “Dovzhka Gospel” – 21 November 1596²⁸¹ and the “Humenets Gospel” – 8 July 1598²⁸².

Scribes used to date their manuscripts only by indicating the year of completion of the codex. I revealed this tendency in seven following books: the “Potylicz Acts and Epistles” was finished by Joachim in 1559²⁸³, the “Stryi Gospel” by Symeon in 1591²⁸⁴, the “Gospel” by St. Popovych in 1594²⁸⁵, the “Kulykiv Menaion” and the “Jerusalem Typikon” by Deacon Luke in 1593 and 1594, respectively²⁸⁶, the “Makowa Gospel” – St. Popovych in 1595²⁸⁷ and the “Horodok Gospel” – Stepan of Halych in 1597²⁸⁸.

Instead, the scribe of the “Ułazów Gospel” Filimon, like the scribes who dated books by the year from the time of the creation of the world, indicated the number of the indiction and the year of completion of the work on the codex – 6 indiction 1548 “под лѣтм рождества хсва [from the Nativity of Christ]”²⁸⁹ (Illus. 6). This case was not typical of the scribes who used the date from the Nativity of Christ.

Dates from the creation of the world and the Nativity of Christ. In my opinion, the use of both chronological systems within the same text can be interpreted as a tribute to the past and the preservation of the ancient dating tradition. The first occurrence of combining both production dates can be found in the “Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi”. The scribe first wrote down that he completed the manuscript in 7078 from the creation of the world, and then indicated that it was 1567 from the Nativity of Christ, and in addition to the year, he wrote down a specific day – 13 October²⁹⁰. The “Pawłokoma Gospel” was completed in the summer of 7079 from the world’s Creation, and from the Nativity of Christ – 1571²⁹¹. A. Saltan had been writing the “Chernivtsi & Sniatyn Gospel” for five years. He used

278 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 1290.

279 IM VNLU, c. 307, n. u. 421.

280 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

281 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 368.

282 SNSLU, c. 2, n. u. 57.

283 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11889 III.

284 Ā.P. Zapasko, op. cit., p. 373.

285 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11836 IV.

286 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 279; S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 223.

287 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11837 III.

288 NOI, c. MS, n. u. 37/II.

289 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11811 III.

290 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

291 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11832 III.

the date of the beginning of the work from the creation of the world, and the end – from the Nativity of Christ. He started the manuscript in 7084 [1576] and finished it in 1581²⁹².

In the “Univ Studit” colophon, the monk Iona mistakenly indicated the year 7000 from the world’s Creation because he then stated that this year corresponds to 1577 after the birth of Christ. The scribe had to specify 7085, which corresponds to 1577 AD. In addition to recording the years according to two chronological systems, the scribe also provided the exact date of 10 March, the day of the martyr Kondrat²⁹³. V. Popovych from Sanok copied the “Sanok Gospel” on 25 August 7094, which corresponded to 1586 from the birth of Jesus according to his calculations. In addition, the scribe noted that the work was completed on the day of remembrance of the apostles Bartholomew and Titus²⁹⁴. I. Popovych finished the “Babice Gospel” on 5 June 7098 from the world’s Creation and in 1590 from the Nativity of Christ²⁹⁵. In 7102 years after the world’s Creation, and 1594 after the birth of Jesus Christ, I. Berezich rewrote the “Stryi Gospel” on 7 July²⁹⁶.

Without a year. Colophons did not always provide the recording of the date of manuscript production. Notably, the scribe Berezko Popovych is worth mentioning, who copied the “Menaion” 1397 in the fifteenth century. Despite the absence of a specific year in the colophon, he noted that he had been working on it for six months. He began on the day of Symeon the Stylite’s memory “ѡ сѣго сѣмиѡна [1 September]” and finished on the day of the 40 saints “до сорок сѣыхъ [9 March]”²⁹⁷.

A month and a half later, “въ нестроєнїи землї рѸскої гонєнїє ѡ поганыхъ [when lawlessness reigned on the territory of Rus when foreigners invaded]”, the “Manasterzec Gospel” was rewritten to Christians²⁹⁸. This codex can be dated between 1501 and 1506 because, despite the absence of a year, the colophon indicates that the codex was completed during the reign of King Alexander Jagiellon (1501–1506), the ministry of Bishop A. Onyki (1499–1520) in Przemyśl, and the Tatar offensive (1501?). A similar model of dating the codex was used to determine the time of creation of the “Sambir Gospel”²⁹⁹ (Illus. 1). It was made by God’s servant Yakiv in Sambir, during the time of L. Terletsky’s leadership of the diocese of Przemyśl in 1535–1549.

292 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 171.

293 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 66.

294 KL, c. MS, n. u. 11985.

295 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11835 III.

296 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 26.

297 L. Gnatenko, op. cit., p. 144.

298 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11804 III.

299 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11809 III.

The “Sanok Acts and Epistles” no. 2 could have been created in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, but no later than 6 June 1551 because it was then that Vlasii’s brother-in-law, the priest V. Volynets, restored this manuscript, as evidenced by the relevant entry below the colophon³⁰⁰ (Illus. 2). On 9 March in the middle of the sixteenth century, scribe T. Popovych completed the copying of the “Didactic Gospel”³⁰¹. The “Strashevychi Menaion”³⁰² also has no exact creation date. This codex can be dated by the end dates mentioned by the scribe in the colophon. In the scribe’s opinion, they related to important events in the life of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, during which this manuscript was created. First, he recorded a great famine in 1570, and then, in 1572, the great Polish king Sigismund II Augustus died, and there was no king for a year. According to the scribe, a Electoral Sejm was organised in Warsaw to elect a new leader of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, where everyone unanimously decided to choose the “французского индриха кгафл андегавенске” – Henry of Valois (1551–1589), later King Henry III of France. Based on these references, the manuscript is dated between 1570 and 1573³⁰³. Priest Petro pointed out that on 19 December, the day of remembrance of the prophet Obadiah, the “Jerusalem Typikon” of the last third of the sixteenth century was completed. However, this holiday was a month earlier – on 19 November³⁰⁴.

Instructions

The final section of this study deals with the attitudes of the scribes to their work, their interpretation of their craft, and how they presented themselves. The author’s instructions, instructions to readers, and maxims expressed by scribes in the texts of colophons helped to come closer to clarifying these aspects.

Analysing the scribes’ instructions for future users enables tracing their attitude towards the potential reader, but also the product of their activity – the production of manuscripts. First of all, it is worth mentioning M. Vasylevych from Sanok, the creator of the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561. This scribe, in my opinion, masterfully characterised the content of his codex: the books of the four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which contain the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, the Annunciation, Christmas, Baptism, teaching and miracles, the Transfiguration, the Passion, the Entombment, the Resurrection, the Ascension into heaven, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and

300 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11887 III.

301 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 215.

302 SNSLU, c. 5, n. u. 3617.

303 M.M. Kol’buh et al., op. cit., p. 284.

304 S.A. Voloshchenko, op. cit., p. 144.

the Seating at the right hand of God the Father, and the second glorious and terrible coming of Christ, when he will judge the living and the dead, the just and the unjust. The “Peresopnytsia Gospel” was translated from Bulgarian into Ruthenian for the honour of God in the glorious Trinity, for reading in the churches of God, and for people for good knowledge and understanding of the word of God³⁰⁵.

The scribe of the “Kormcha Book” 1565 interpreted his manuscript as the Rules of the Holy Fathers in the manner of the seven ecumenical councils, specifically, the Nicene Council with the participation of 318 Church Fathers, who gave church legislation³⁰⁶. The “Studyt iz dodatkovymy stattiamy i Torzhestvennyk mineinyi” 1567 was defined by the scribe as a preaching book that begins with the Sunday of the tax collector and the Pharisee and is a collection of divine words of St. John Chrysostom and other authors for science, useful teaching of the soul to all Orthodox Christians, common people and scholars³⁰⁷.

The “Strashevychi Menaion” 1570–1573 scribe noted that the manuscript consists of two parts. The first part is composed of texts from September to February. In these texts, at each service, on the seventh song on the Lord’s Day, there are useful teachings for the soul, and on the days of remembrance of the holy saints of God, there are their biographies. In the second part of the codex, the texts to be used between February and September are taught in seventh songs, as in the previous first part, which the scribe called “bukati”³⁰⁸. The “Univ Studit” 1577 Iona scribe noted in the colophon that his manuscript also consists of two parts, the “Studit” proper and the “Psalter” with explanations³⁰⁹. This is an important detail because the codex has reached our days in one part, the part with the “Psalter” and the explanation has been lost.

Priest Andrii from Jarosław described the “Lviv Didactic Gospel” as a guide-book, collected for all four gospels and many other divine works. It was developed for the Church of God to be read every Sunday, on the feasts of the Lord and other saints. The Codex was intended to be useful for instructing all those who claimed to be Christians, as well as for the renewal of body and soul³¹⁰. Instead, the deacon Fedko the “Zhydachiv Gospel” 1593 wrote a codex exclusively for the glory of the Lord God in the Trinity³¹¹.

Of particular importance are the requests, exhortations, and instructions of the scribes in the colophons. Often these statements are justifications of scribes who

305 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

306 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 37.

307 SNSLU, c. BM, n. u. 134 (23).

308 SNSLU, c. 5, n. u. 3617.

309 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 66.

310 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 5.

311 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 81.

felt that their text was flawed and appealed to readers not to blame them for their mistakes. To avoid curses from church officials, customers, and the public, come up with various options through which mistakes could be made. In addition, the scribes emphasised the harm to the soul of a person who dared to curse him.

The monk Serhii from Kyiv justified himself by making typos because he was talking to a friend, had some unworthy considerations in mind at the time, or because of his foolishness. He kindly asked the readers who would find mistakes, as follows: you, gentlemen, correct them with your piety, and bless and forgive me, a sinner, and do not curse³¹². According to a similar model, the scribe of the “Menaion” 1556 wanted to avoid negativity. He asked the priests, deacons, and diaks to correct the mistakes of the text if he made any somewhere while talking to a friend or was in unworthy thoughts. He asked not to curse because a person whose works should not be cursed³¹³.

”If I have used a rude word or missed it, correct it when you read it and do not curse me, a sinner, because it is a sin to curse someone who works”, the scribe Andrii addressed the readers of the “Korzenica Gospel” 1554 with these words³¹⁴ (Illus. 3). Another scribe, Havryil, repeats this appeals almost word-for-word, however, he adds an explanation for his mistakes: “For secular thoughts come to us, strange thoughts, about the Holy Scriptures, do not be surprised at the mistakes, I wrote far from home, I thought about my parents”³¹⁵.

The scribe Ivanets urged the readership of the “Triodion” 1521 to use their high intelligence to correct the existing errors in the text, and not to curse the sinful one because every untruth is a sin, and the curse is on the devil³¹⁶.

In the “Potylicz Acts and Epistles” of 1559, the scribe asks readers to correct a line, title, or period if he has written a mistake, “for Christ’s sake, correct it when you read it and do not curse me, a sinner, but forgive and bless me, and God will forgive and have mercy on you in this and the next age”³¹⁷.

M. Vasylevych was worried about his mistakes, as he could have made them through conversations with a friend or through his thoughts. In this case, he appealed to those who would find errors, to correct them, and not to speak ill of the scribe. Vasylevych asked that God be prayed for with the words: let everything be pleasing and consistent with his manliness and mercy. In the end, the scribe of the “Peresopnytsia Gospel” 1556–1561 addressed the readers, “Do not be sad, dear friend”³¹⁸.

312 RSL, c. Rum., n. u. 209.

313 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 485.

314 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 11828 III.

315 UzNU, c. MS, n. u. 570.

316 I.S. Svencickij, op. cit., p. 24.

317 NLP, c. MS, n. u. 1188 III.

318 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 15512.

The scribe Theodore asked noble princes and lords, bishops, monks, priests, deacons, and ordinary readers who would examine his unworthy writing, rewrite or read his book, notice his mistakes, correct them, and not speak ill of him³¹⁹. The monk Iona from the Univ monastery asked to correct errors if they were found during reading and to bless and not curse him as a sinner³²⁰.

The original justification was used by the scribe of the “Gospel” 1591, Symeon. He believed that possible errors were explained by the fact that he was not an angel, but that the codex was written by his wicked hand³²¹. The priest Petro, the scribe of the “Jerusalem Typikon” in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, asked readers to read and correct the codex, and not to curse it if he made mistakes, for which the Lord would forgive and pardon him in life and after death³²².

In the “Didactic Gospel” colophon of the late sixteenth century, the scribe Theodosii approached the problem of errors in his text in a rather creative way. He appealed to the fathers and brothers to correct possible textual mistakes if there were any. The scribe asked not to curse him because cursing is like an eagle: it will land where it wants, and where it does not want it will not land³²³.

Conclusions

The study of more than seventy colophons from Cyrillic codices of the early modern period from the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (the Crown of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania) allows us to draw several conclusions. Colophons were integral to the Cyrillic codices of biblical, liturgical, and preaching texts. Colophons were written exclusively by scribes of books. According to the author’s research, these records are classified into six types with two subtypes. The defining feature of this typology was the introductory formula placed at the beginning of each colophon. The majority of the colophons included references to God to some extent (Type No. 1, 1.1, 2, 2.1, 4, 6), and only in two groups of colophons did I find that they tended to begin with a date (Type No. 3) or record of the completion of the codex production process (Type No. 5). The analysis of all the colophons showed the similarity of the elements of textual contrast despite their division into six types. The overwhelming majority of colophons contained the time and place of the book’s creation, the names of the scribe, customer, investor, or buyer, the

319 I.S. Svencickij, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

320 SNSLU, c. ASP, n. u. 66.

321 Â.P. Zapasko, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

322 S.A. Voloshchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

323 M.M. Kol’buh et al., *op. cit.*, p. 215.

rulers of the time, the scribe's self-deprecation with a call to correct mistakes, and the motivations of customers and investors. To a lesser extent, the motives of the scribes, explanations of the books' purpose, and the scribes' statements were recorded.

Cyrillic colophons in the early modern period did not have a stable arrangement within a single codex. They were located at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of the book block. They could be written on a specially designated place in the book either on a separate page or several pages, depending on the length of the text, as well as under the text of structural parts of the book or on the margins of pages. The colophons were written in three types of writing: Uncial, Semi-Uncial, and skoropys (cursive). It is extremely rare to find colophons written in the same type of script as the main text of a manuscript. Most colophons were notated in a different type of script, such as the "Peresopnytsia Gospel" 1556–1561, where the text is written in Uncial and the colophon in Semi-Uncial. Instead, in the "Radyvyliv Acts and Epistles" 1568, the main part and colophon are done in the luxurious new Uncial. The text was written mainly in brown ink, like the main text, but could be interspersed with cinnabar, which was intended to emphasise important places. As an exception, the colophon of the "Nobel Gospel" 1520 is almost entirely written in cinnabar. Colophons were decorated with borders, initials, and endings like the main text of manuscripts, but this was rather an exception. Combining all decorative elements was only characteristic of the "Peresopnytsia Gospel" 1556–1561 colophon.

A unique source potential for the study of socio-cultural history characterises colophons. This text allows us to get to know the person: the scribe, the customer, the buyer, and the donator, who were active characters in the colophons. This knowledge is connected with how they identified themselves, positioned themselves, and related to God, each other, the world around them, historical events, and rulers. The study of colophons has shown that in the early modern period, both clergy and laity wrote codices, and for the latter, this craft was the basis of their professional focus. Customers for the handwritten products included church people, government officials, and ordinary citizens. These people were united by the desire to save their souls, atone for their sins, and ensure a decent resting place for their families as they prayed for heavenly rest by ordering, buying, and donating books to churches.

Manuscripts were made in towns and villages, at churches and monastic centres, and only cities such as Chernivtsi, Sniatyn, and Stryi were saved by God. In addition to the cities saved by God, books were written in the glorious cities of Potelychi and Sanok. For some reason, Kulykiv was interpreted by the scribe as an evil city. The books were dated in Cyrillic numerals according to two chronological systems – from the world's creation and the

Nativity of Christ. Indictions or days of remembrance of saints were used to indicate additional time. There were also codices without a year of creation, such as the “Manasterzec Gospel” of the early sixteenth century, in which the scribe conventionally marks the time through the reigns of King Alexander Jagiellon and Bishop A. Onyki.

The analysis of the colophons showed that the scribes were committed to their craft. They diligently copied the books, were afraid of making mistakes, and used diversified self-deprecating and insulting terms to avoid being cursed by readers. The scribes cared about their target audience, which is evident from how they addressed their readers affectionately in their colophons, provided a separate paragraph explaining the content of the codices, and included instructions and advice to the readers.

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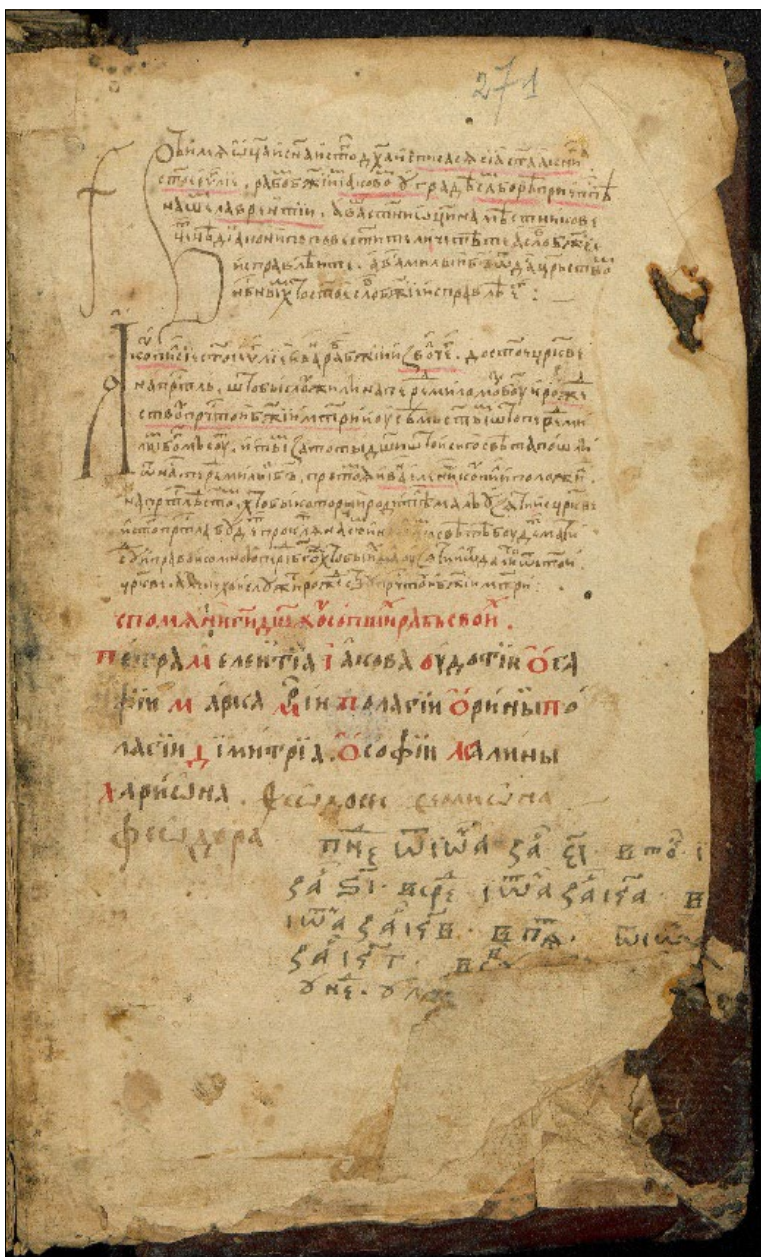
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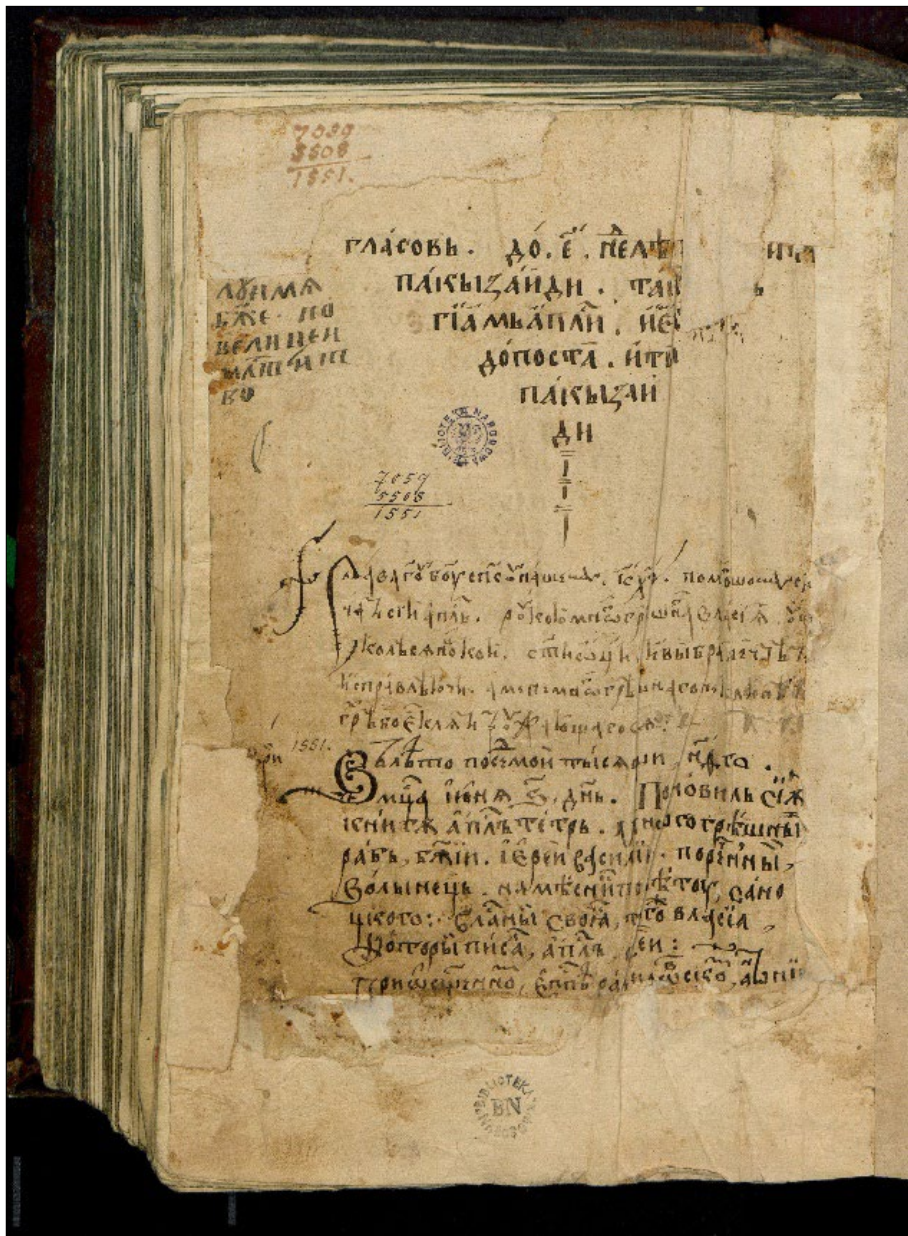
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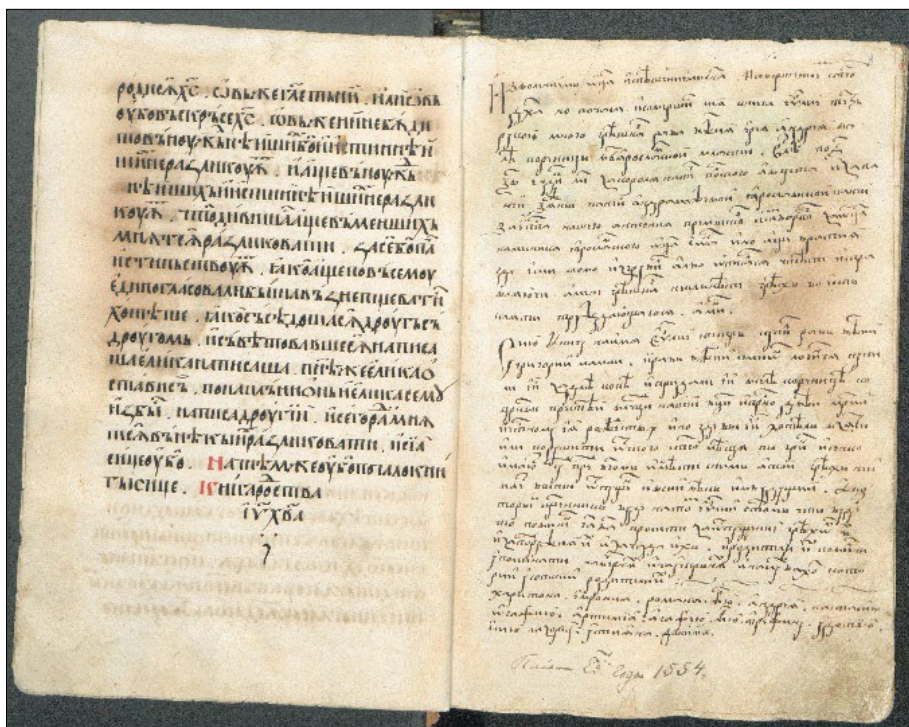
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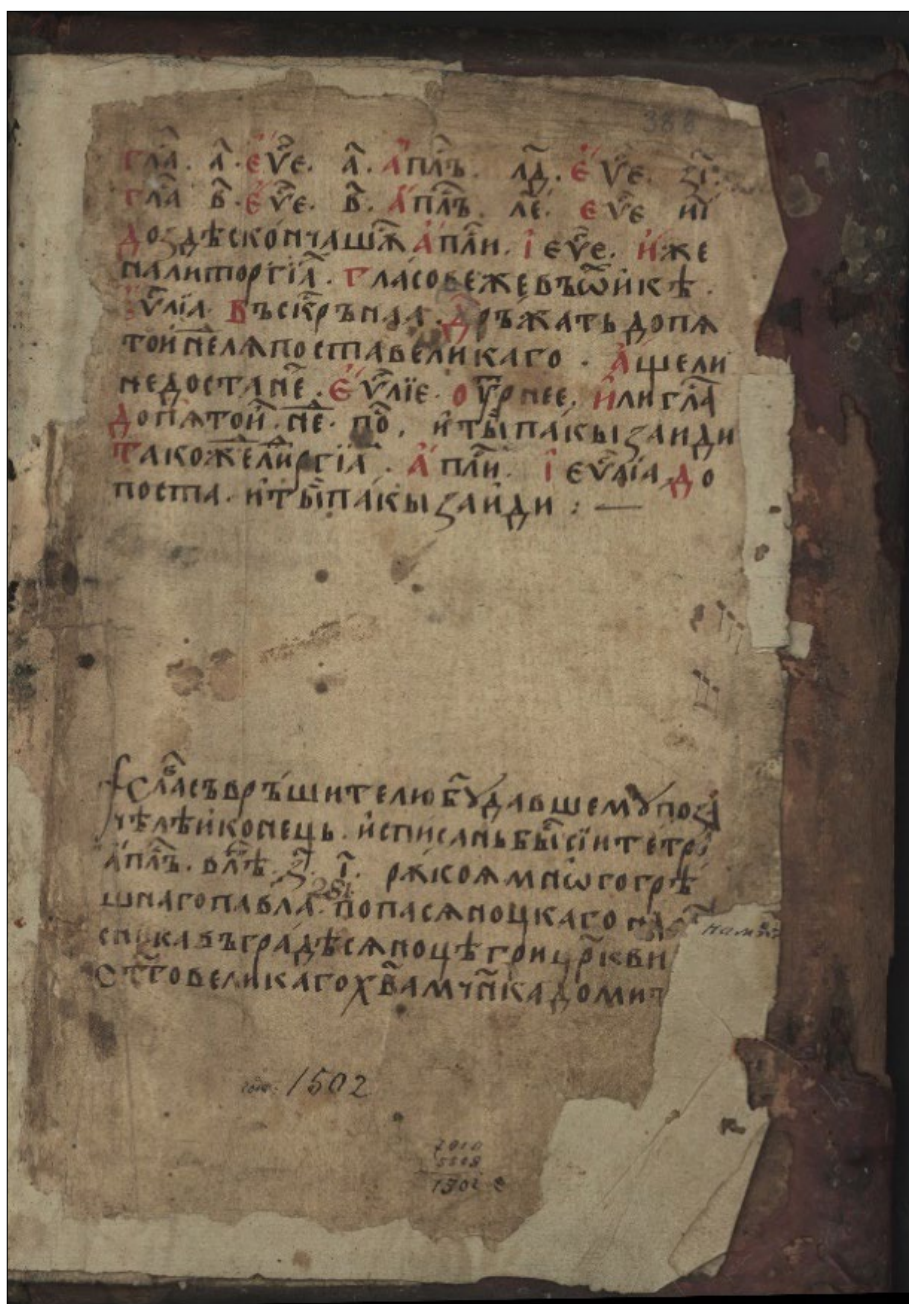
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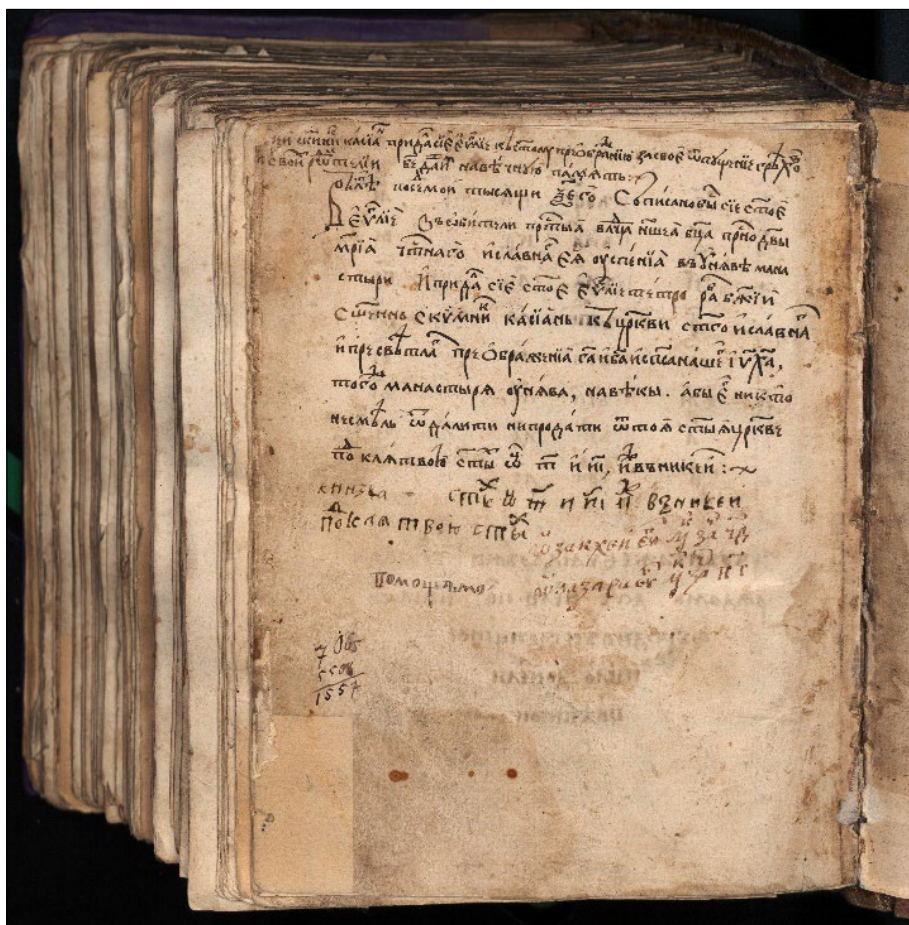
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