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## The Cyrillic Early Printed Books of Univ and Pochaiv: Peculiarities of Editions, Experience of Scientific Cataloguing

**Abstract:** The article deals with the Cyrillic early printed books and one-sheet prints of printing houses of Univ and Pochaiv monasteries (the middle of 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries) from the depository of V. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine, which were described for the scientific catalogues. During the copy-by-copy research of Univ and Pochaiv early printed books, many one-sheet editions and editions without titles and source data were discovered, catalogued for the first time, and included in the chronology of the Ukrainian Cyrillic printing. All findings are displayed in the article. *Letter* by Varlaam Sheptyckyi and counterfeit Univ editions of *Euchologions* are among them. Univ and Pochaiv publications form an important part of Ukraine's historical and cultural heritage.

**Keywords:** Ukrainian Cyrillic book printing, Cyrillic old-printed books, Cyrillic old-printed one-sheet editions, the printing house of the Univ Dormition Monastery, the printing house of the Pochaiv Dormition Monastery

**Słowa kluczowe:** ukraiński druk książek cyrylickie, cyrylickie starodruki, drukarnia klasztoru Zaśnięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny (Ławry Uniowskiej) w Uniowie, drukarnia klasztoru Zaśnięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Poczajowie

The middle of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries in the history of Ukrainian culture was marked by the activity of such important centers as the Univ and Pochaiv monasteries' printing houses. Both monasteries were founded as Orthodox, however, they changed their denomination due to historical vicissitudes and accepted the union. Religious affiliation influenced the publishing repertoire of both printing houses to some extent. Books published in Univ and Pochaiv during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries also were in demand in the following, 19<sup>th</sup> century due to both the subjects of the publications and the high level of their editorial preparation. The products of both printing houses form an important part of Ukraine's historical and cultural heritage.

The first mention of the Univ Dormition Monastery dates back to 1395. From the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century until 1770, a printing house operated at the monastery, its initiator was the Orthodox bishop of Lviv, Arseniy Zheliborskyi, who had moved the printing press that operated at the monastery of St. George in Lviv to this monastery<sup>1</sup>. The first known book printed at Univ is the Psalter of 1648. At the beginning of its activity, the Univ printing house produced books rather sporadically, the publishing business intensified during the archimandriteship of Fr. Varlaam Sheptytskyi. In 1669, a privilege had been received for a "Slavic and Ruthenian printing house" in Univ. In 1681, the monastery joined the union.

The change of denomination was to a certain extent reflected in the publishing repertoire: books of Feodosiy Sofonovych (1670) and Yosif Shumlyanskyi (1680) were published during the Orthodox period, but from the works of the authors, only the book by Kyril Tranquilion Stavrovetskyi, who was also the abbot of Univ (still Orthodox) monastery were printed at the time (*Mirror of theology* in 1692 and the *Teaching Gospel* in 1696). Such attachment of the union printing houses (for example, also Pochaiv) to the legacy of the outstanding preacher can be explained by the fact that K.T. Stavrovetsky converted to the union. However, the Univ printing house continued to produce mostly books for worship and private prayer. Mostly these were small-format books, relatively inexpensive – therefore, accessible – and, for instance, convenient to take on the road. In the bibliography, a miniature edition of the *Prayer Book* in 24° (1698) is known – a not too-common format for Cyrillic; this is the smallest currently known Univ book. An edition for church documentation was also published – *Church Metrics* (no later than 1671).

The Orthodox period of Archimandrite V. Sheptytskyi in the history of the printing house is marked by cooperation with Romanian co-religionists – two epoch-making publications in the history of Romanian literature came out in print here: *Akathist* and *Prayer to the Mother of God*, the *Resurrection Canon*, as well as the *Psalter* versed in Romanian translations of St. Dosoftei of Suceava (both

<sup>1</sup> Я. Ісаєвич, Українське книговидання. Витоки, розвиток, проблеми, Львів 2002, р. 276.

1673). Traditionally, researchers see a significant break in the activity of the Univ printing house, which lasted from 1699 till 1732. However, the edition of the *Letter* of Bishop V. Sheptytskyi from 1712 discovered in the VNLU depository calls into question, if not the very existence of such a break, then at least its chronological framework. Presumably, the printing heritage of those years consisted of small-format, small-volume, and sheet editions, occasional prints, which are generally characterized by poor preservation and difficulty in identification. It is quite possible that there were still editions that did not survive.

Renewal of systematic printing and book publishing in the Univ printing house of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was marked by a kind of "pirate copy" – the edition of the "table book" for priests *Sobraniye prypadkov* (1732), which first saw the light of day in Suprasl in 1722. The Suprasl edition contained a prohibition from the Union Metropolitan Leon Kishka for other printing houses to reprint this book, which, however, did not stop, as we can see, neither the Univ, nor later the Pochaiv monastery printing houses, nor the printing house of the Lviv brotherhood. The practical requirement for this book prevailed over the metropolitan prohibition so that some abridged ones were published alongside the full version.

The Univ printing house produced primarily liturgical books and two occasional editions in the following years. However, even during this period, the activity of the printing house was unstable. Books were not published every year, there were also breaks from one or two to about ten years (between 1747 and 1757). The last chronologically published edition of the Univ printing house is recorded in the bibliography in 1765. Thus, we have another blank space in the printing heritage of Univ: between 1765 and the closing of the printing house.

The printing house of the Basilian Pochaiv Dormition Monastery was one of the most powerful Ukrainian printing houses that used Cyrillic fonts in the 18th century – a worthy competitor of the printing houses of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood both in terms of editions and in terms of the variety of the repertoire, as well as the high level of artistic decoration. Pochaiv Cyrillic editions had popularity and authority in the 18th century, they spread far beyond the borders of early modern Ukraine – to all areas where Church Slavonic was used in worship – from the Balkans and the Danube principalities to Russia. The long-established reputation of the Pochaiv printing house and its rich heritage contributed to the fact that Pochaiv early printed books became the objects of research much more often than those of the Univ. In recent years, several dissertations, the topics of which are directly related to the Pochaiv printing center, have been defended – by Valentina Bochkovska²,

<sup>2</sup> В.Г. Бочковська, Почаївський духовний осередок в історії і культурі українського народу XVIII – 30-х років XIX ст., Київ 2018.

Roman Kyselyov<sup>3</sup>, and many articles, in particular in the volume dedicated to the printing house of the Pochaiv Monastery and its early printed books<sup>4</sup>. Currently, the Pochaiv printing house and its heritage have been researched much better than the Univ printing house, this concerns both the history of the printing house, the typographic features of the editions, as well as the language of the Pochaiv early printed books and their literary analysis, primarily the publications of V. Bochkovska, Lyudmila Khaukha, Olena Zheleznyak, Yuliia Rudakova, R. Kyselyov, Joanna Getka, and the author herself.

The first Pochaiv book – *Hieratikon* – was published in 1734. In general, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the printing house produced about 500 editions: over 280 in Cyrillic script (Ukrainian and Church Slavonic), including one-sheet publications and editions of a small volume without titles, the rest of the editions – in Latin script (in Polish and Latin languages). This number also included several parallel editions. At the same time, the Univ printing house produced more than 50 editions during its activity, all in Cyrillic.

A printing house privilege regulated "The use of Cyrillic and Latin fonts". It means that, in Univ, they did not have Latin fonts, and accordingly they did not print books with them, because the privilege was granted to the "Ruthenian" (Ukrainian) printing house. Both institutions had facilities for printing sheet music. The Pochaiv printing house made the most use of them: its sheet music *Irmologions* (first edition of 1766) and a collection of spiritual songs in various languages *Bohohlasnyk* (the first edition is dated 1790) gained great popularity.

The genre-thematic repertoire of Univ printing products covers almost all areas characteristic of the heritage of the printing houses of the time, which used the Cyrillic alphabet. Primarily, this is liturgical literature, because the need to provide temples with the necessary books existed constantly. They also produced instructional and educational books for priests and laypeople, and textbook literature. The repertoire of the Pochaiv printing house also consisted of collections of sermons, publications on the monastery's history, collections of spiritual poetry, and advisors. The works of Western European theologians occupy a prominent place among Pochaiv early printed books.

Since the basis of the products of both printing houses were liturgical books, the Church Slavonic language was determined by canonical texts, which, according to the tradition of the age, could not yet be Ukrainian. The language of catechetical, didactic editions, and collections of sermons was mainly Ukrainian, Church Slavonic was used less often in these genres (also, quotations

<sup>3</sup> Р.Є. Кисельов, Лексика української мови в Почаївських виданнях XVIII— першої половини XIX ст., Київ 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Друкарня Почаївського Успенського монастиря та її стародруки. Збірник наукових праць, Київ 2011.

from the *Holy Scriptures* in the Ukrainian-language text were given in Church Slavonic). The same principle applies to translated literature, for example, the works of Paul-Gabriel Antoine. The Pochaiv printing house actively published theological and educational books in Polish and Latin, these products accounted for a significant part of the entire Pochaiv printing heritage. The University published the two mentioned books in Romanian, translated by St. Dosoftei of Suceava (Barilă).

An interesting and appreciated object of research is the design of the editions of both printing houses, which covers both the design of the typesetting – the use of fonts of different typographic units and typefaces, the location of the text on the page – and the use of numerous elements of book graphics traditional for the Cyrillic book. These are engraved title pages, illustrations, headpieces, tailpieces, ornamental initials, frames for printed marginalia, capital letter decorations, etc., and foundry ornament. Among the engravings are the works of such well-known masters as Nikodym Zubrytskyi, Yevstachii Zavadovskyi (in Univ), Yosif, Andrii Holota, Yosif and Adam Gochemski (in Pochaiv) and lesser-known engravers, including anonymous ones.

The V.I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (VNLU) has 20 Univ publications, of which four are not recorded in the catalogue of Yakym Zapasko and Yaroslav Isayevych<sup>5</sup>, which is fundamental for the Ukrainian bibliography, and 176 Pochaiv Cyrillic early printed editions, of which 30 were not included in the catalogue of Ya. Zapasko, Ya. Isayevych. These are more than 130 copies of Univ and more than 1,700 copies of Pochaiv Cyrillic early printed books, including alligates in convolutes and separately reprinted appendices. Descriptions of these early printed books were included in two scientific catalogues: *Cyrillic editions of the printing house of the Pochaiv Dormition Monastery of the 18th – the first third of the 19th century* authors Nataliia Zabolotna, O. Zheleznyak, R. Kyselyov (the catalogue is the publishing house of the Ukrainian Catholic University since 2019, we hope for its publication in 2024) and *Editions of the printing house of the Univ Dormition Monastery in the depository of the V. I. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine* by N. Zabolotna.

The construction of both catalogs is similar in general terms and includes a description of the edition behind which the descriptions of its copies in the VNLU are submitted. The description of the publication consists of the text of the title page (for publications without a title – the text of the headline), transcribed according to the original, the format of the publication, the signature marks and sheet/page formula, printing characteristics, including the

<sup>5</sup> Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні: в 2-х кн., 3-х ч., Львів 1981–1984.

number of lines on a page and the height of fonts, the texts of the initial lines of selected pages, the composition of the publication by chapters, a list of engraved elements of artistic design with links to pages and a bibliography.

Such detailed descriptions facilitate attribution and distinguishing of similar editions. It appears to be particularly efficient for counterfeit editions, for example, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Univ *Euchologions*. The description of the copy, in addition to the book storage code, includes the provenance, marginalia in the original writing, external characteristics, and the material of the cover. The catalogue of the Univ publications also contains a description of the physical condition of the copy and the dimensions of the sheet and the entire book. Both catalogues have a scientific reference apparatus and a bibliography.

Both catalogues included one-sheet editions from the VNLU depository. Usually, these publications on one sheet or a spread are not included in book catalogues, as they were not included in the mentioned catalogue of Ya. Zapasko, Ya. Isayevych in principle. One-sheet editions become objects of bibliography extremely rarely, because of the specifics of their form and the difficulties in their identification, caused by the formal features of these prints and the specifics of their use, and also because of their small availability in library depositories. Therefore, sheet editions are still sporadically reflected in the bibliography. On the one hand, this complicates the attribution of such publications in case of detection, on the other hand, it does not allow drawing a picture of the approximate total number and thematic repertoire of these publications. Since our catalogues represent the heritage of both printing houses, it was decided to include the sheet editions, not to separate them into a block, but to present them in chronological order, which illustrates their place among other early printed books, books of these institutions.

In addition to sheet editions, the bibliography was significantly supplemented by small editions without title pages. Most often, they occur among the Pochaiv heritage. These include separate services, akathists, and prayers, which were not present in the liturgical books of that time and were printed as additions. Usually, they are bound at the end or inserted inside the publication, the text of which is supplemented. This, of course, contributed to their better preservation, as compared to those that functioned as separate copies. However, it does not give clear reasons to consider them non-independent books.

The attribution of such publications has a certain specificity compared to the attribution of books. We will mention once again that, most likely, these editions will not be in the bibliography. Thus, in the catalogue of Ya. Zapasko, Ya. Isayevych, they are represented sporadically. The catalogue by Ilarion Svintsytskyi<sup>6</sup> can be useful for one-sheet editions' attribution. The corpus

<sup>6</sup> И. Свінцицкій, Каталогь книгь церковно-славянской печати, Жовква 1908.

of Cyrillic prints without titles and source data is abundant and diversified. Below we will consider the main methodological principles of identification of these editions by the "positions name", "city and printing house" (because there was only one printing house as in Univ, as in Pochaiv, that is, in this case, they are defined together) and "date of publication". Traditionally, the term "year of publication" is used, but, as comes from the practice of bibliography of the mentioned prints, we are dealing with a conditional date or a range of dates very often.

Since we are talking about publications that do not have title pages, their conditional name is established – it is advisable to take the headline of the text, or, if the text does not have a headline, a conditional unified name can be formulated based on the content.

To identify the printing house, it is important to compare the fonts since each printing house had its own font sets of different points and typefaces – the same letters of the Cyrillic alphabet in the editions of different printing houses have slight differences in drawing. In addition, it is worth paying attention to the use of italics together with straight fonts – the Pochaiv printing house had italics in its cash register but the Univ one did not have them. In Univ there was also no bold font: the thickness of the lines in the letters more or less depended on the point itself. Letters of the Latin alphabet also indirectly indicate a printing house, narrowing down the range of possible institutions. After all, for example, the Univ printing house did not have Latin fonts – according to the mentioned royal privilege, only Cyrillic books were produced there. Instead, dozens of editions in Latin script were born in Pochaiv, as well as parallel Cyrillic-Latin printings and Latin script were also used there for Polish and Latin quotations in Cyrillic books.

Sometimes the place of publication can be additionally indicated by such features as the used printing ink or, for example, the design of column numbers. According to the observations of the VNLU depository, the red ink, cinnabar, used in the Univ, was of poor quality: the prints are often quite light, sometimes a little blurred. Column numbers at the Univ were marked with Cyrillic numerals, often followed by a dot. In Pochaiv early printed books, column numbers are without dots. The use of Arabic numerals in the Univ early printed books from the VNLU is not recorded. On the other hand, in Pochaiv Cyrillic early printed books in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Arabic numerals were used for column numerals (sometimes in parallel with Cyrillic ones), perhaps they were taken simply from the Latin set.

The presence of engraved elements of artistic decoration greatly simplifies the identification of the printing house. The place of publication can usually be unambiguously established by a comparative method based on headpieces, tailpieces, and initials. The successful use of the study of artistic design for the attribution of a printing house has been proven in practice<sup>7</sup>. Albums of artistic design of specific printing houses are dedicated to simplifying this painstaking, but extremely exciting work for researchers. Currently, researchers have at their disposal the catalogue of Oleksandra Guseva, Iryna Polonskaya<sup>8</sup>, which includes Univ editions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the catalogue of Pochaiv and Univ early printed books from the depository of the Museum of Books and Printing of Ukraine, compiled by V. Bochkovska and L. Khaukha<sup>9</sup>, both editions are equipped with voluminous and thoroughly arranged applications – albums of ornamentation. An album catalogue of Univ publications from the VNLU depository is currently being compiled for further work. The publication of such albums not only facilitates the attribution of early printed books, but also illustrates the richness and originality of the book graphics of Ukrainian printing houses.

To identify the printing house, it is also worth paying special attention to the engraver's signature if one happens to be in the decoration of the sheet edition. For example, many editions of the Pochaiv printing house were designed by Yosif and Adam Gochemski, while some others were by N. Zubrytskyi. Currently, the most concise way to find out which printing houses the artist cooperated with is to refer to the index of engravers in the catalogue of Ya. Zapasko and Ya. Isayevych.

Determination of the edition's publication date without source data is much more difficult. Usually, it is impossible to indicate the exact date, but only a time limit, when an edition could be printed. The starting points for determining the year of release can be the date in the filigree on the paper (if available), the year written on the form, or indicated as the one the document was signed. Considering the composition of the convolute, it is also advisable to include the year of publication of the main part (to which the appendix is attached) for the lower limit and the next reprint of the book, which could already include the text of the appendix, to establish the upper limit. Although, as practice shows, there are cases when prints published earlier were attached to editions. It is reasonable to consider such evidence on specific copies as dated records such as marginalia, dates in filled-in forms, as years of issue of dated alligates in a convolute with a sheet edition, as paper, etc. Again, this dating will be

<sup>7</sup> Ю.К. Рудакова, Встановлення вихідних відомостей видання за художнім оформленням як один із шляхів атрибуції (на прикладі палеотипа), [in:] Бібліотека. Наука. Комунікація: актуальні тенденції у цифрову епоху. Матеріали міжнар. наук. конф. (Київ, 8–10 жовтня 2019 р.). Т. 1, Київ 2019, pp. 209–213.

<sup>8</sup> Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI—XVIII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке СССР им. В. И. Ленина. Вып. 2. Ч. 2: Львовские, новгород-северские, черниговские, уневские издания 2-й половины XVII в., [еd. А.А. Гусева, И.М. Полонская], Москва 1990.

<sup>9</sup> В.Г. Бочковська, Л.В. Хауха, В.А. Адамович, Каталог видань Почаївського та Унівського монастирів XVIII–XX ст. з колекції Музею книги і друкарства України, Київ 2008.

conditional (given in square brackets in the description) if focusing on the marginalia, as there is a percentage probability that it could be a mistake in the year in the marginalia text (the author's own experience). On the other hand, the date inscribed in the editions of personal appointment – certificates and privileges printed to be filled out for a specific person or community – can be as trustworthy as a year before which this or that document was issued. If there are engraved elements of ornamentation, it may be useful to observe the condition of the board, if it is possible to compare this impression with impressions in dated editions.

Another task that arose during the cataloguing of the Univ and Pochaiv Cyrillic early printed books, is a distinction between editions, and their variants (as in the case of the Pochaiv *Prayers* of 1793: there are two different editions, one of which has variants of the artistic design) or counterfeit prints (as in the case of the Univ *Euchologions*, dated 1739).

Obviously, in distinguishing edition variants and individual editions, one must take into account the number of differences: if the differences between two arrays of copies concern a large number of sheets, significant differences in the typesetting, the presence and location of elements of artistic design, then, most likely, it will be about two different editions. If the differences between the copies are not so striking, most likely, we are talking about variants.

Corrections directly in the typesetting (errors in words, missing words/ lines, errors in foliation and page headers, if they were typed simultaneously with the main text) could belong both to proofreading and editing, and to changes in content caused by canonical reasons<sup>10</sup> or, less often, by the will of the author. Sometimes the elements of artistic design are replaced with other pieces when the text typesetting is the same. Sometimes the differences in the typesetting of identical text are purely visual and relate to different sizes of spaces, different drawings of the same letters, etc. It can be assumed that in such a case the divergences in typesetting are caused by external shocks, the folded forms were broken, and scattered, and the text of the page or part of it had to be reassembled.

Among the Pochaiv early printed books from the VNLU, variants were found while editing an already set and printed text. They are embodied in the presence of pasted sheets (in place of removed sheets with noticed errors in the text), pasting of the erroneous text with a piece of paper containing the correct printed text; pasting over extra words and letters with pieces of white paper, whitewashing the erroneous text and stamping the correct text over the blanks

<sup>10</sup> Read in: Р.Є. Кисельов, Специфічні особливості розкриття фондів стародруків (на прикладі варіантів почаївського Трефологіона 1737 р.), "Наукові Праці Національної Бібліотеки України імені В.І. Вернадського" 2002, vol. 9, pp. 290–294.

by hand, stamping the correct text directly over the erroneous text without pasting or whitewashing.

Usually, there are variant sheets or chapters in the edition (the title in the Pochaiv *Oktoichos* 1774, the beginning in the Univ *Hieratikon* 1747). If the differences occur on many sheets in the book, then these are separate editions that can be visually very similar (for example, the Univ *Psalters* of 1678) or can differ significantly even with the same format, fonts, design style (for example, the large-format Pochaiv *Trefologions* of 1777).

There are also editions with a false year of publication in the VNLU depository. Thanks to copy-by-copy comparison, namely, careful page-by-page comparison of copies, two counterfeit Univ editions of *Euchologion* from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were singled out. Presumably, both were published between 1739 and 1744 – the years of publication of the "legal" Univ *Euchologions* closest in time. Among the numerous differences in the typesetting and use of elements of artistic decoration of the counterfeit and closely related editions of 1739 and 1744, there is no blessing for printing from the local hierarch in the counterfeit books, which was necessary for the products of the monastery printing houses. In general, counterfeit editions of *Euchologion* are very similar to each other, as well as to the edition of 1744, however, they differ significantly from the authentic edition of 1739 (the year of which is indicated on the title page).

Therefore, both catalogues include publications not yet recorded in the bibliography, both one-sheet publications and books, including those without titles.

Chronologically, the first such edition found in the collections of the VNLU is the second Univ *Psalter* of 1678. Its copy was recorded in the catalogue of Cyrillic early printed books of the VNLU in 2008<sup>11</sup>, later, during the compilation of our catalogue, another copy of this edition was discovered. The Univ *Psalters* of 1678, despite their great external similarity, have some differences in the typesetting composition and artistic design.

Then the aforementioned counterfeit Univ *Euchologions* were singled out. In general, they are very similar to the legal ones. The most noticeable differences were found in the title (for counterfeits with a false year) and the composition of the initial sheets, however, given the defective condition of many *Euchologions*, they are insufficient to identify the editions. The initial lines of the pages given in the prepared catalogue of the Univ Early printed books of the VNLU will help determine if the copy belongs to one of the editions.

For the first time in the scientific catalogue, the *Letter* of V. Sheptytskyi 1712 is represented. It was discovered among undescribed fragments in the

<sup>11</sup> Кириличні стародруки 15–17 ст. у Національній бібліотеці України імені В. І. Вернадського, уклад. Н.П. Бондар, Р.Є. Кисельов, за участю Т.М. Росовецької, Київ 2008, по. 469; р. 7.

Department of Early Printed and Rare Books. This edition has come to us in a damaged state: in the form of two sheets of 2° format. The top part of the initial sheet is lost, so the exact title of the publication is unknown. The "letter" is the genre of the work: a message in terms of content and a letter in terms of formal features, including a personal signature and seal. More information about the *Letter* of Bishop V. Sheptytskyi is in the article dedicated to this edition<sup>12</sup>.

The bibliography of Pochaiv Cyrillic early printed books has been significantly expanded compared to the Univ ones. Three one-page publications were discovered and included in the catalogue: the *Privilege and Fraternal Statute* – Pochaiv (between 8 V 1750 and 4 VII 1760) of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>13</sup>; on two sheets – and two editions of the *Charter* of Bishop Sylvester Lubenetskyi-Rudnytskyi to the priest on ordination, the right to serve the Liturgy and perform the sacraments – Pochaiv, the 50s and 60s of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; each in two copies<sup>14</sup> – which, like V. Sheptytskyi's *Letter*, are historical documents at the same time. Pochaiv *Charters* and *Privilege* are typed forms, there are gaps in their printed text for entering the name and location of the temple, dates, names, etc., filled in by hand.

One-sheet print *Obraz obnovleniya inocheskykh obitov* (the renewal of monastic vows) – Pochaiv, II half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – is also known only as part of one copy of the VNLU: it was pasted into the Pochaiv *Hieratikon* 1765. The publication is intended for Basilian monks – most likely, it could be an independent print, which was sent to the monasteries of the order of St. Basil the Great, maybe it has been given to a monk who was renewing his vows. The copy of *Obraz*... from VNLU has a trace of a transverse bending in the middle. This testifies that the print functioned separately for a long time until the old owners pasted it to the book for better preservation.

Among the publications without titles and source data, small books with the texts of some akathists, songs, etc., make up a large part. They were actively produced by the printing house of the Pochaiv Dormition Monastery. Many of them have come down to our time especially attached to larger editions of similar content. This contributed to their better preservation as compared to those that functioned as separate copies, but it does not give clear reasons to consider them as non-independent books.

<sup>12</sup> Н. Заболотна, До історії служіння роду Шептицьких. Рідкісна друкована грамота єпископа Варлаама, [in:] Матеріали Міжнародної наукової онлайн-конференції до 155-річчя від дня народження Митрополита Андрея Шептицького, Львів 2021, pp. 19–25.

<sup>13</sup> About the copy of VNLU read in: Б. Лазорак, «Оуставы братскія съ послушаніемь должнымъ хранити имамъ». Друкований статут братства Воскресіння Христового в Острозі (1760), "Острозька Давнина: науковий збірник" 2013, vol. 2, pp. 175–218.

<sup>14</sup> The photograph of one copy is pubished in: В.Е. Лось, Уніатська Церква на Правобережній Україні наприкінці XVIII— першій половині XIX ст. Організаційна структура та культурно-релігійний аспект. Монографія, Київ 2013.

The *Life of Blessed Iov Zhelizo* by Hieromonk Dosyfey, on 16 unnumbered sheets in octavo (the 70s-80s of the 1<sup>8th</sup> century), conventionally dated according to the artistic design elements used. It was discovered as an independent book.

Pochaiv book *Kratkoye na kratkiya voprosy i otvity sposobom katykhisma Bohosloviya o taynakh tserkovnykh i censurakh sobraniye...* (1781) is a concise summary of a chapter from the work of the French theologian, Jesuit P.-G. Antoine<sup>15</sup> *Bohosloviye nravouchytelnoye...* (*Theologia Moralis* in original), intended for students who received spiritual education – about this, as well as about the intentions to publish similar summaries of other chapters of the book by P.-G. Antoine, it was announced in a concise afterword of advertising nature. At first, the publication was discovered only in a bundle of early printed and handwritten books and brochures bound together by the old owner, however, in the process of researching Pochaiv early printed books of the VNLU, five more copies and one fragment of the edition were added. These five copies were inserted into the Pochaiv *Bohosloviye nravouchytelnoye...* 1779 after the preface before the main text. The publication is conventionally dated by year in the filigree on paper.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Pochaiv printing house produced editions of individual akathists, mostly added to the large books of akathists of this printing house of different years in different combinations<sup>16</sup>. In addition, small publications of individual akathists also occur as part of proprietary convolutes. This is evidence that such small-volume books were also sold separately, and were not exclusively supplements to other editions. Due to the visual similarity to the books where they were inserted, they were not reflected in the bibliography for a long time. Identifying similar editions without titles inside a larger book will help not only by carefully looking at the copy – watching the correlation between the end of the chapter and the beginning of the next one, the correspondence of the catchword to the beginning of the next sheet, the sequence of the sheet/page and the signature formula, the uniformity of the design of the page headers, the fonts used.

There are four Pochaiv editions of individual akathists in the collections of the VNLU, each of which is represented by several copies. These are the *Akathist to the Holy Cross* (1776) on 14 sheets, the *Akathist to the Intercession of the Theotokos* (1786) on 17 sheets, the *Akathist of Sts Archangels Michael* 

<sup>15</sup> P.G. Antoine (1678 – 1743), author of many works, including *Theologia Moralis*, which was originally published in 1726 in three volumes; the first volume of this work, the reference to which is given in the headline of the *Kratkoye ... sobraniye...*, was published by the Pochaiv printing house under the title *Bohosloviye nravouchytelnoye* in 1776. The works of P.-G. Antoine were repeatedly republished in Pochaiv, probably they were translated there.

<sup>16</sup> Н. Заболотна, Почаївські видання Акафістів у XVIII ст. Приклад компонування видавничих конволютів, "Рукописна і Книжкова Спадщина України" 2009, vol. 13, pp. 152–168.

and Gabriel and other bodiless powers also (1786) on 12 sheets, as well as the *Akathist to St. Barbara*, attributed to the authorship of Yoasaf Krokovskyi (1788) on 20 unnumbered sheets, conventionally dated by years in filigree. Although these editions of selected akathists are now known to have been bound to collections, there is no reason to believe they could not have existed independently. For example, the *Akathist to St. Barbara* is known in many independent editions of various printing houses, including one more publication in Pochaiv, in 1773.

Pochaiv edition of the *Service on Thursday of the fifth week of Fasting* on 32 sheets. It also mostly occurs bound to a larger edition, which also has a title. There are seven copies of this small book in the collections of the VNLU, all of which are bound to the small-format Pochaiv *Lenten Triodion* 1784. The *Service*, according to the latest data, was published no later than 1773, as established based on a record in one of the copies of the library of Basilian monastery in Warsaw<sup>17</sup>.

Instead, the small book *Poslidovaniye pohribaniya inocheskaho* (Pochaiv 1780–1790), which has 23 sheets, is known mainly in independent copies.

Two small editions (respectively three and six sheets in folio) for monks *Chyn malaho odiyaniya monakhom* (Pochaiv, II half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) and *Poslidovaniye velikaho obraza siest professii* (Pochaiv, end of the 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) are currently known in the VNLU only as components of the bundles. Each of the two editions is known in two printing versions. The differences concern small changes in the text, there are copies intended for one person, and there are copies for several, so the text uses singular and plural.

Among the prints without title pages, works of spiritual poetry also stand out. We are talking about songs published in Pochaiv in honor of the miraculous Pochaiv icon of the Holy Virgin *The Song to the Holy Virgin Mary to the transference of her miraculous icon...* (1791)<sup>18</sup>. This small edition (four unnumbered sheets in quarto) is present in VNLU in four copies, all of them inserted into the copies of the first edition of the Pochaiv *Bohohlasnyk* before the part with songs in honor of the Holy Virgin. Printed in parallel Church Slavonic and Polish, the publication also contains sheet music. Unlike the rest of the editions analyzed here, *The Song...* has a title, in two languages, but no source data. Instead, the date of the song's performance is indicated on the title – September 8 (i.e., on the holiday of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary) in 1791, the bibliography logically dates the publication to this year.

<sup>17</sup> Bazyliańskie Studia Historyczne. T. 3: Katalog druków cyrylicznych XVI – XVIII wieków w zbiorach biblioteki klasztoru oo. Bazylianów w Warszawie = Каталог кириличних друків XVI – XVIII століть бібліотеки монастиря оо. Василіан у Варшаві. оргас. R. Lepak, Warszawa 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва: Каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні: в 2-х кн., 3-х ч.* Кн. 2. Ч. 2., Львів 1984, по. 3576.

At the same time, there are many Pochaiv editions of different numbers of volumes, most likely printed as additions to already existing books. Therefore, the title page was not necessary for them. Such editions are mostly bound or inserted into "usual" books, where they fit thematically - Hieratikons, Euchologions, Menaions, etc. Let's consider those of them that are available in the VNLU depository. Chronologically first is the Pochaiv Sluzhba vo vremva bezdozhdiva (the 30s of the 18th century) weather on three sheets that complemented the first Pochaiv printed book – the *Hieratikon* 1734 and 1735. Instead, the single-sheet edition *Otpusty Strastnovi nedili* (the 30s of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) was found in only one copy, in the *Hieratikon* (Pochaiv 1735) at the end of the book. With a long time interval, the repertoire of typographical applications is supplemented by the Rite of Blessing Bees (1771), which was added to Pochaiv Trebnyk (1771)<sup>19</sup>. The Service to St. Varlaam and Joasaph (Pochaiv 1777). printed on two sheets, is an appendix to the *Trefologion* (Pochaiv 1777, ed. B<sup>20</sup>). The same combination is also known for other book collections, among them those in the Warsaw University Library.

Among the Pochaiv prints, there also were discovered two Pochaiv editions *Tropari i Kondaky* (between 1778–1787) and (1789) on 4 unnumbered sheets, which differ in typesetting; the *Service to St. Gregory the Great*, printed in Pochaiv no earlier than 1790 (conditionally dated by the year in filigree) on 3 unnumbered sheets, most likely, the service was issued as a separate supplement, which was included in the *March Menaion* 1761; in addition to the considered *Service to st. Gregory*, the Pochaiv *Menaions* 1761 have appendices with the texts of *Hymns to the Holy Virgin* (*Bohorodychni*), tentatively dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, discovered in two different editions. Edition "A" is printed on 10 sheets in two colors, 90 copies of this publishing supplement are known in the VNLU in various combinations with the Menaion volumes. Edition "B" of the *Hymns* is published on 8 sheets using monochrome printing, this print was also added at the end of *Menaions* 1761 in different configurations, it is available in VNLU in 43 copies.

Editions of the *Hymns to the Virgin Mary* are almost the most numerous printed additions with dozens of surviving copies. However, most often such prints occur in several or only one copy. It is difficult to say if in favor of their independent existence, and not only in combination with a large "traditional" book, but this fact most often confirms the appearance of additions already after the completion of the work on the text and the printing of the book to which it

<sup>19</sup> Н. Заболотна, *Видання почаївського Требника 1771 р. у відділі стародруків та рідкісних видань НБУВ*, "Наукові Праці Національної Бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського" 2006, vol. 16, pp. 331–335.

<sup>20</sup> Н. Заболотна, *Почаївські Трефологіони 1777 р. у відділі стародруків та рідкісних видань НБУВ*, "Рукописна і Книжкова Спадщина України" 2007, vol. 12, pp. 70–79.

was added. Thus, only one copy of the *Evangelia utrennyaya* (Pochaiv, II half of 18<sup>th</sup> century) on 4 unnumbered sheets of monochrome printing is presented, it is bound to the Pochaiv *Hieratikon* 1765. Presumably, this is a separate edition – an appendix to other liturgical books. It contains Gospel morning readings for the great holidays and other occasions. Surprisingly, the edition of the *Molytva v preshcheniye hlada* (*Prayer against famine*; Pochaiv, 90s of the 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) on four pages, two sheets in quarto survived on its own – not being attached to a larger book. This independent edition of the selected prayer could have been conceived as an appendix to *Euchologion*, and was distributed among parishes. Regarding the edition of the *Prayer to the Holy Communion* (Pochaiv, II half of 18<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century) on 4 unnumbered sheets in folio, it is also impossible to establish unequivocally whether it was an independent print or an attachment to liturgical books. The only copy of VNLU was found in one copy of *Horologion* (Pochaiv 1777).

Therefore, both monastery printing houses – Univ and Pochaiv – contributed significantly to the development of Ukrainian culture in the 18th century, and to books provision to church parishes and lay readers. Although the heritage of the Pochaiv printing house was more diverse and much larger in quantity, the Univ publications are more interesting because they reflect different periods in the confessional history of the printing house: Orthodox and Union. Cyrillic books printed in both institutions include liturgical literature, instructional and educational books for priests and lay people, and textbooks, i.e. an offer characteristic of all Ukrainian printing houses of Eastern Rite monasteries of that period. In the Pochaiv heritage, sermons, publications on the monastery; s history, spiritual poetry, and advisors are added to this range of topics. The language repertoire of Univ Cyrillic early printed books is richer than that of Pochaiv: Cyrillic books were printed here not only in Church Slavonic and Ukrainian, but also in Romanian. Both printing houses had facilities for printing sheet music. The Pochaiv printing house used them especially effectively, periodically producing sheet music editions, and liturgical and spiritual music for performance outside the service. Instead, Univ musical heritage consists of one work in the Book of Pontifical (1740). The products of both printing houses are characterized by the traditional artistic design of the Ukrainian early printed book, and prominent engravers of the time worked with these institutions. The collections of the NBUV are very indicative of the research of Univ and Pochaiv early printed books because they contain a large percentage of publications of both printers of different years and subjects, including such books and sheet publications that until recently were not reflected in the bibliography and did not become subjects of scientific research. Many of them lack title pages and source data, which makes their attribution difficult. Counterfeit editions are also presented. The principles of attribution of Univ and Pochaiv editions of this kind were

developed and applied to the material of these early printed books, which can be used in further research of the publications of these printing houses.

More detailed information about the editions without title pages and counterfeit editions of the Univ and Pochaiv printing houses, which were discovered during the copy research, will be published in the prepared catalogues, as well as detailed descriptions of the already known editions, many of which have been found to have variants, various specific features of printing, typesetting, and design, which could be paid attention to only during the comparison of copies. It can be assumed, and we hope, that during the copy-by-copy research of the heritage of these and other Ukrainian printing houses, it will be possible to come across no less interesting finds, especially one-sheet editions, which will complement the picture of Ukrainian printing in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

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