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Zamość Style Unification: *Liturgicon* and *Euchologion* in the Basilian Monasteries of the Lviv Eparchy in Second Half of the 18th Century

Abstract: The paper studies the problem of the unification of the liturgical books in the Basilian monasteries of the Lviv eparchy in the second half of the 18th century. Research concentrates on the problem of Zamość council resolution implementation by analyzing the “church books” in the monasteries of Basilians. Investigating the “book lists” from inventory descriptions and protocols of visitations allows to trace changes in the monasteries concerning the “church books” as it was fixed in the documents, a major part of which used for this research are from the Lviv archives. Among the main indicators of a certain liturgical tradition are the texts of the *Liturgicon* and the *Euchologion*. In the second half of the 18th century, the presence of Univ and Pochaiv *Liturgicon* and *Euchologion* was selective since we do not have data for all decades for all monasteries. At the same time, such an analysis allows tracing a clear tendency – the full-fledged unification of liturgical literature in Basilian monasteries can be noted at the start of the 1760s.

Keywords: Zamość Council 1720, Basilian monasteries, Lviv eparchy, liturgical books, inventory descriptions, protocols of visitations

Słowa kluczowe: Synod Zamojski 1720, klasztory bazylikańskie, eparchia lwowska, księgi liturgiczne, inwentarze, protokoły wizytacji

The ordering of the Church life happens with the help of its highest governing structure, the local council. Zamość Council was held in 1720, and its resolutions regulated all spheres of ecclesiastic life, particularly religious services. Ecclesiastical disciplining foresaw the unification of liturgical literature, which became possible thanks to the publication of corrected religious service books¹. It should be mentioned that the absence of a single corpus of liturgical books was one of the permanent problems of the early modern Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate. One hundred years after the Brest council, the *Liturgicon* of 1692–1695 became exemplary for Uniates in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which was published at the time of Metropolitan Kypriian Zhokhovskiy. Later, this edition became the prototype for the majority of Uniate editions from the 18th to the first half of the 20th century². Therefore, liturgical reforms are crucial for the Church and must be ongoing because the Church, as “a living organism”, changes together with society, demanding a timely and relevant consideration of liturgical life. The following question is: Did Zamość Council resolutions succeed or fail? Did they were implemented throughout the Metropolitanate? For example, in 1729–1746, Lviv bishop Athanasii Sheptytsky reformed the clergy on this territory on so-called Zamość models of unification expressed in changes in liturgical life and the social discipline of the clergy³.

The paper concentrates on the problem of Zamość Council resolution implementation by analyzing the liturgical books in the Basilian monasteries of the Lviv eparchy in the second half of the 18th century. Research on the “book lists” from inventory descriptions and protocols of visitations allows to trace changes in the monasteries concerning the “church books” as it was fixed in the documents, a major part of which used for this research are from the Lviv archives. Basilian monasteries had certain institutional autonomy within the early modern Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate. From 1744, the Order of St. Basil the Great (*Ordo Sancti Basilii Magni*, OSBM) was a separate structure within the Uniate Church⁴. However, liturgical life in the monasteries

1 See the newest editions with commentaries of the Zamość Council Acts: *Замойський провінційний собор Руської Унійної Церкви 1720 року*. Vol. 1: *Діяння та постанови, упоряд.* Р. Паранько, Ір. Скочиляс, Ір. Скочиляс, Львів 2021; *Statuty Synodu Zamojskiego 1720 roku. Nowe polskie tłumaczenie z komentarzami*, ed. P. Nowakowski, Krakow 2020.

2 М. Ваврик, *До історії служебника в Укр. Католическій Церкві в 2-ій пол. 17-го ст.*, “Записки ЧСВВ” 1979, sect. 2, vol. 10(16), no. 1–4, p. 120; P. Nowakowski, *Problematyka liturgiczna w międzywyznaniowej polemice po Unii Brzeskiej (1596–1720)*, Kraków 2004.

3 І. Скочиляс, *Галицька (Львівська) єпархія XII–XVIII століть. Організаційна структура та правовий статус*, Львів 2010, pp. 615–640; I. Skoczylas, *Slavia Unita – the Cultural and Religious Model of the Archdiocese of Kyiv in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (the Discussion on Christian Heritage of the Nations of Eastern Europe)*, [in:] *East-Central Europe in European History. Themes and Debates*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, H. Łaszkiwicz, Lublin, pp. 243–254.

4 See more: М. Ваврик, *Нарис розвитку і стану Василянського чина XVII–XX ст. Топографічно-статистична розвідка*, Рим 1979; В. Lorens, *Vazylianie prowincji koronnej w la-*

was conducted according to the same religious service books the parishes had. An analysis of the holdings of the relevant literature in the monasteries of the Lviv eparchy allows to look at concrete examples of the challenges and particularities of confessionalization in centers of the OSBM and the eparchy in general. Suppose new liturgical books had indeed been published in printing houses at the Basilian monasteries, and the ecclesiastical authorities had ordered the literature of religious services to be replaced or corrected. Would the study of the liturgical literature at the monasteries witness the implementation of such measures and regulations in practice?

Basilian Monasteries and strategies of unification the liturgical books

After the Zamość Council of 1720, the unification of the liturgical books in the Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate required providing parishes and monasteries with the same approved texts for religious services. There was only one way to avoid book variant readings: printing the approved versions. Such unification was done throughout Europe: by the reformation movements of the 16th to 17th centuries and post-Tridentine Catholicism⁵ and by the Kyivan Orthodox Metropolitanate in the times of Petro Mohyla. Lviv Bishop A. Sheptytsky was given responsibility for the publication of corrected texts; though he was not a liturgist, he was to ensure and control the organization of publishing matters⁶. The activity was renewed at the monastic printing house in Univ and started at Pochaiv in the 1730s to distribute unified religious service books, primarily in the Lviv and Lutsk eparchies. Moreover, printing houses functioned in the Supraśl and Vilnius monasteries in the northern part of the Kyivan Metropolitanate⁷. They all became part of monastic life since the main work was done there “on obedience” (that is, at no charge) by the monks⁸. Even in the catechism

tach 1743–1780, Rzeszów 2014; *На перехресті культур: Монастир і храм Пресвятої Трійці у Вільнюсі. Колективна монографія*, ред. А. Бумблаускас, С. Кулявічюс, І. Скочиляс, Львів 2019.

5 On this topic, see more: T. Kaufmann, *Die Mitte der Reformation. Eine Studie zu Buchdruck und Publizistik im deutschen Sprachgebiet, zu ihren Akteuren und deren Strategien, Inszenierungs- und Ausdrucksformen*, Tübingen 2019.

6 І. Тилявський, *Літургійні напрямки Почаївського монастиря під час унії (1712–1831)*, Рим–Львів 1997, р. 305; and see: A. Gil, I. Skoczylas, *Kościół wschodnie w państwie polsko-litewskim w procesie przemian i adaptacji. Metropolia kijowska w latach 1458–1795*, Lublin–Lwów 2014, pp. 326–335.

7 М. Підлупczak-Majerowicz, *Bazylianie w Koronie i na Litwie. Szkoły i książki w działalności zakonu*, Warszawa 1986; I. Każuro, *The Practices of the Printing House of the Vilnius Basilian Monastery (1628–1839)*. Summary of doctoral dissertation. Social sciences, Communication and information S 008, Vilnius 2019.

8 See more: І. Альмес, *Practices of Monks in the Pochaiv Monastery Printing House of the 18th Century*, “Науковий щорічник. Історія релігій в Україні” 2023, no. 33, p. 65.

of Lev Kyshka *Собрание припадковъ краткое...* (Supraśl 1722), among the reasons for punishing monks was listed penance for monks “for publishing books without the bishop’s permission”⁹. As one can see, there was centralized hierarchical control over the publication of liturgical literature.

The four printing houses in the Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate were an accomplishment, and also a problem, since, on the one hand, a large number of the necessary books could be prepared, however, up to the 1770s, complete unification had not been achieved nor had a single corpus of liturgical books been released throughout the whole Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate. The activity of commissions and the publication of corrected texts from 1720 to the 1760s did not achieve the desired result. Even the *Euchologion* of Pope Benedict XIV, published in 1754 and edited according to Greek examples, intended to serve as a model for the Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate, did not become one¹⁰. In the eyes of papal clerics, liturgical disciplining, both external (Rome), and internal (the metropolitanate), had not been completely achieved.

Two main methods were used to unify liturgical texts: correcting old publications or printing new ones. The second variant is of higher quality. Both methods were used, however, since there was a lack of time and money to replace all the necessary books quickly and completely. Already in the constitution of the 1738 council of the clergy of the Lviv eparchy, Bishop A. Sheptytsky ordered the heads of the monasteries over eight weeks “to correct all [religious service] books according to a corrected copy” and also cautioned that “no church has books uncorrected or acquired outside the country”, because this would be grounds for “severe punishment”¹¹. According to the constitution of 1743, if services were celebrated according to an “old” *Liturgicon* or *Euchologion*, pastors and monasteries would be punished, and the copies would be “taken and burned”¹². Liturgical texts were being corrected even at the end of the 18th century; as the protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order, eventually the bishop of Chelm, Porfyrrii Skarbek-Vazhynsky wrote: “the verification of liturgical books is very boring and time-consuming”¹³. Concrete examples of textual changes can appear in examples preserved to the present. I analyzed the example of *Liturgicon* (Lviv 1712) in the Pidhirtsi monastery with several corrections,

9 *Собрание припадковъ краткое, и дховнымъ особомъ потребное имущее в себѣ науку о сакраментяхъ, о десяти бжїихъ приказаняхъ, о приказаняхъ церковныхъ...*, Супрасль 1722, p. [72].

10 I. Тилявський, op. cit., pp. 322, 327–335.

11 *Собори Львівської єпархії XVI–XVIII століть*, упор. та іст. нарис І. Скочиляса, Львів 2006, pp. 294–295. See more on the unification of the liturgical texts by A. Sheptytsky in the Chapter 3 of the forthcoming book: *Замойський провінційний собор...* Vol. 2: *Документи і матеріали*, упоряд. І. Альмес et al., Львів 2024.

12 *Собори Львівської єпархії...*, p. 302.

13 D. Wereda, *Biskupi unickiej metropolii kijowskiej w XVIII wieku*, Siedlce–Lublin 2013, p. 301.

particularly in the rubrics of the eucharistic canon of the Liturgy, but no corrections in the text of the Liturgy of Pre-Sanctified Gifts¹⁴. Since the correction of content demanded more time and was less effective, new books were more often acquired, at least in monasteries. Still, most monastic centers were wealthier than parishes and had the funds to acquire necessary liturgical codices.

Besides two ways to unify liturgical texts, to correct texts in old publications or to print new ones, the question arises: How did the monasteries get the newly printed liturgical books? What was the strategy of the church elite to distribute the books? Did monasteries buy these post-Zamość liturgical volumes, or were they spread for free? Monastery financial documents partly help to answer these questions. According to this kind of archival document, one can state that if Basilians bought any books, they were primarily liturgical ones. They acquired the *Gospel*, *Liturgicon*, *Euchologion*, *Triodion*, *Menaion*, the *Book of Psalms*, *Octoechos*, etc. In the 1740s – 1750s, *Euchologion* and *Akathistnik* cost relatively low – 8 zl. and 4 zl. The *Liturgicon* or the *Gospels* were more expensive, although the unbound prints were more affordable. For example, in 1723, monks in Dobriany monastery paid 12 zl. for a *Gospel* without binding¹⁵, while in 1751, Pidhirtsi monastery paid 20 zl. for the Univ *Liturgicon* purchased from the protohegumen heading the Ruthenian Basilian Province. The price depended on the book's format, layout, and binding. In 1756, Pidhirtsi monastery once more bought Univ *Liturgicon*, but at that moment, it was twice more – for 42 zl. Furthermore, one more notice: if one-volume, even expensive editions, monasteries bought immediately, then the acquisition of multi-volume large-format Pochaiv *Minea* or manuscript copies sometimes caused problems because monasteries could not immediately pay the total price of the book. In 1775, in Pochaiv, Krasnopushcha monastery bought eight books in 24 volumes; however, they did not specify the amount paid. Such expenses for not the wealthiest monastery were substantial, and donations made the purchase possible¹⁶.

On the one hand, the financial documents of some monasteries did not fix any records about the purchase of books or the allocation of funds for such needs. On the other hand, monks did not always record all expenses or profits¹⁷. In general, profit and loss records demonstrate the panorama of the financial life in monasteries. In some places, the frequency of book purchases ranged from one to a dozen over several tens of years. Even if one can assume that

14 Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Scholar Library of Ukraine NAS of Ukraine (Львівська національна наукова бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаника НАН України – ЛННБ), Відділ рідкісної книги, СТ–IV 93.

15 Central Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (Центральний державний історичний архів України у Львові – ЦДІА України у Львові), ф. 684, оп. 1, спр. 1320, арк. 21 зв.

16 ЦДІА України у Львові, ф. 684, оп. 1, спр. 1990, арк. 17–17зв.

17 See more: I. Альмес, *Practices of Monks...*, pp. 63–72.

all cases of purchase are recorded and there are no “gaps” in monastic documents, it should not be surprising that they are very often small, and peripheral monasteries did not need even new liturgical copies at their money; after all, they could be presented¹⁸. Although Pochaiv and Lviv have already been mentioned as places where books were bought, it is worth emphasizing a few more points. The leading book publisher gradually changed religious service literature for parishes and monasteries of the Lviv eparchy instead of the Lviv brotherhood; it became the Pochaiv printing house. Therefore, it is not surprising that monastic information from the 1750s–1770s mostly fixed the acquisition of Pochaiv liturgical prints¹⁹. However, the question of the mechanisms, ways, and prices of the purchase of liturgical products in the Pochaiv printing house, as well as in other trading points, remains open for further research.

Liturgicon and Euchologion in the monasteries

The place where religious service books were published is one of the indicators of confessional affiliation, therefore I will analyze Basilian collections from this point of view. Orthodox literature was published in Kyiv, Lviv (up to the first third of the 18th century), and Moscow. Even after the Lviv Stauropegion Brotherhood went over to the Union in 1709, for a time its printing house continued to publish texts not entirely in accord with the decrees of Zamość²⁰. In the 18th century, Uniate books were prepared, as already mentioned, in Univ, Pochaiv, Vilnius, and Supraśl, though, for example, in Pochaiv, most often they re-printed liturgical literature from Orthodox editions. This was due to two factors: the desire to make their products appropriate for Orthodox, and the conviction that the texts of Orthodox printing houses at that time were sufficiently canonical. That is, the activities of the Basilian printing house in Pochaiv were not limited to confessional boundaries²¹. An example of the continuing preservation of Orthodox traditions in Pochaiv presses is the appearance of the *filioque* in Service Books only starting in 1765,²² which is yet another demonstration of the time that the process of confessionalization required in the Uniate

18 І. Альмес, *Від молитви до освіти. Історія читання ченців Львівської єпархії XVII–XVIII ст.*, Львів 2021, pp. 139–140.

19 І. Isaievych, *The Book Trade in Eastern Europe in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by J. Brewer, R. Porter, London–New York 1994, pp. 381–392.

20 Т. Шманько, *Богослужбові книги унівської друкарні*, “Калофонія: науковий збірник церковної монодії та гимнографії” 2004, no. 2, p. 102.

21 Я. Ісаєвич, *Книговидання та друкарство в Почаєві: ініціатори та виконавці*, [in:] *Друкарня Почаївського Успенського монастиря та стародруки. Збірник наукових праць*, Київ 2011, pp. 12, 17.

22 І. Тилявський, *op. cit.*, pp. 173–178.

Church. On the other hand, a lack of consistency is demonstrated in the Univ *Liturgicon* (following the publication of K. Zhokhovskyy), which already 1733 included some texts of a spoken (not sung) Liturgy²³.

Among the main indicators of a certain liturgical tradition are the texts not only of the *Liturgicon*, but the *Euchologion* as well. As has already been noted, the publication of corrected Service Books was intended to bring about the unification of the liturgical life of the Uniate Church of the 17th and 18th centuries. In the first half of the 18th century, it is possible to follow the publication of the liturgical literature in eight monasteries: Dobriany (1720), Zolochiv (1737), Kolomyia (1745), Kosiv (1745), St. Elias in Krylos (1740), St. George in Lviv (1719), Pidhirtsi (1714), and Tovmach (1745). In their inventories, Orthodox and Uniate publications were distinguished even by their titles: the former was called “Służebnik” (Liturgicon), the latter “Mszał” (Missal). In the first half of the 18th century, the majority of liturgical books were Lviv publications, that is, generally Orthodox. From the 1740s, Univ *Liturgicon* appeared in Kosiv and Krylos and, in the latter, Pochaiv publications also.²⁴ Only in larger monasteries – St. George of Lviv and Pidhirtsi – and Vilnius itself, Uniate publications already appear from the 1710s.²⁵ In other monastic centers of the Lviv eparchy, if they did carry out the instructions of the higher authorities, it was by making changes in Orthodox samples because there were still no new Service Books. Generally, in the monasteries, they used the Lviv *Euchologion*, though in Pidhirtsi also the Kyivan²⁶, in Krylos that of Striatyn²⁷, and in Lviv, they used publications of P. Mohyla²⁸. One more particularity, recorded in the first half of the 18th century in the researched monasteries, is the presence of Muscovite editions. An expensive Muscovite *Menaion* was noted in the records of two monasteries (Lviv and Pidhirtsi).²⁹

The protocols of visitations of 1748–1749 allow designating this as a transitional time in the disciplining of religious services in Basilian monasteries, since at precisely this time now in seven of 11 monastic centers, the presence of the Univ *Liturgicon* is recorded. In the records of the other four monasteries, the place of the publication of this book is not noted, though it is possible to suppose that Univ publications were also kept there. The fact that there were two

23 Т. Шманько, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–103.

24 Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv (Національний музей у Львові імені Андрія Шептицького – НМЛ), Відділ рукописної та стародрукованої книги, Ркл-16, арк. 425; ЦДІА України у Львові, ф. 201, оп. 46, спр. 613 (1917), арк. 21.

25 ЛННБ, Відділ рукописів, ф. 3, од. зб. 129, арк. 42; од. зб. 76, арк. 32 зв.–33.

26 *Ibidem*, од. зб. 76, арк. 33 зв.

27 ЦДІА України у Львові, ф. 201, оп. 46, спр. 613 (1917), арк. 23 зв.

28 ЛННБ, Відділ рукописів, ф. 3, од. зб. 129, арк. 42.

29 *Ibidem*, од. зб. 129, арк. 42; од. зб. 76, арк. 32 зв.

or three copies in the monasteries in Vitsyn, St. George in Lviv, Terebovlia, and Sharhorod indicates that the Univ publications were not simply kept but also used. At the same time, in some, particularly smaller, peripheral monasteries, they continued to use Orthodox editions, for example, in Rudnyky. The transfer of the *Euchologion* to Univ editions was also gradual – they are recorded in four of the 11 monasteries (Vitsyn, St. George in Lviv, Univ, and Sharhorod). Financially wealthy monasteries (Vitsyn, St. George in Lviv, Univ) also had examples of the *Great Euchologion* of P. Mohyla in their collections. Mohyla's publication was exemplary not only for Orthodox but also for Uniate editions in the 18th century³⁰. Other religious Service Books in monasteries were generally Lviv publications and, in separate cases, Kyiv and Muscovite *Gospels* or *Menaion*.

It is only possible to speak of a full-fledged provision or transfer to Univ Liturgicon from the 1750s, when these publications were in seven of eight monastic centers – Bar, Kamianets-Podilsky, Krekhiv, St. George in Lviv, Pidhirtsi, Pidhorodyshe, and Sharhorod (in Sataniv the place of publication is not noted in the record). At the same time, Pochaiv publications, in individual Service Books, appear in the monasteries – ones see them in Bar, Kamianets-Podilsky, Krekhiv, and Sharhorod. Finally, at the same time, Uniate (Pochaiv or Supraśl) *Books of Hours* are gradually being introduced. Still, marked tendencies of the unification of other religious service literature are not noticed. Only in the Sharhorod monastery in Podillia, geographically distant from the center of the eparchy, were Kyivan and Lviv publications approximately equal³¹.

Inventory records of the 1760s give grounds for considerations about the transformation of liturgical literature, for at that time the visitations of now 23 monasteries are known: in Buchach, Horodenka, Zavaliv, Zadariv, Zbarazh, Zolochiv, Krasnopushcha, Krekhiv, Krylos, Lytvyniv, Luka, Lukvytsia, St. Onuphrius and St. George in Lviv, Pitrychi, Pidhirtsi, Pohonia, Sataniv, Sokiltsi, Terebovlia, Uhornyky, Ulashkivtsi, and Chortkiv. Of these monasteries, only in Krasnopushcha and Lukvytsia³² are Univ or Pochaiv *Liturgicon* not noted – the compilers of documents did not speak at all about the place of publication of these books. So it is possible to assert that from the 1760s the Basilians of the Lviv eparchy were completely provided with Uniate Service Books. It is clear that in the monasteries, they continued to keep and, likely, use Orthodox publications of Lviv or Kyiv. From the 1760s, Univ or Pochaiv Books of Needs prevailed over Lviv publications in Basilians monasteries.

30 J. Getka, *U progny modernizacji. Ruskojęzyczne drukarstwo bazylińskie XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2017, p. 98.

31 Ternopil Oblast State Archives (Державний архів Тернопільської області – ДАТО), ф. 258, оп. 3, спр. 1254, арк. 242 зв.–243.

32 ЛІННБ, Відділ рукописів, ф. 3, од. зб. 379/1, арк. 3 зв.; ЦДІА України у Львові, ф. 201, оп. 46, спр. 613 (1917), арк. 64 зв.

In the 1770s, the amount of Pochaiv publications (Psalters, Octoechos, Triodion, and Menaion) continued to increase. For example, in the Krekhiv monastery in 1771, Lviv publications still prevailed (7 books), 33 whereas in 1777, Pochaiv publications (12 tomes) already dominated.³³ Most noticeable then was the replacement of the manuscript or Muscovite *Menaion* for Pochaiv four-volume editions. Earlier, the spread of the mentioned liturgical books in monasteries in manuscript variants was due to their large content and, correspondingly, the high cost of the publications. Before that, multi-volume and expensive *Menaion* were published in Ukrainian lands in the early modern period only four times – three times in Kyiv (1750, 1774, 1787) and once in Pochaiv (1761)³⁴.

The presence of books which generally are noted as *Troie nabożeństwa* (Three devotions) can be considered another attribute of the Uniate character of liturgical practices in monasteries. This is one of the publications of the order of services dedicated to the Most Holy Eucharist (the Feast of *Corpus Christi*), the Co-Suffering of the Most Holy Mother of God, and Blessed Josaphat Kuntsevych. *Troie nabożeństwa* were published in Univ (1738, 1745), Pochaiv (1741, 1742, 1762), and Lviv (1746)³⁵. In monasteries, these publications appeared in the 1740s (Vitsyn, Lviv, Univ, and Sharhorod). In both Univ and Pochaiv Service Books, the collection of such services became obligatory from the 1760s, when *Troie nabożeństwa* was recorded in the lists preserved of most monasteries (16 out of 23).³⁶

Inventory descriptions and protocols of visitation of the Basilian monasteries of the Lviv eparchy allow for identifying and analyzing the theme of unification of the liturgical books within the monastic centers after the Zamość Council of 1720. In the second half of the 18th century, the presence of Univ and Pochaiv *Liturgicon* and *Euchologion* was selective, since we do not have data for all decades for all monasteries. At the same time, such an analysis allows tracing a clear tendency – the full-fledged unification of liturgical literature in Basilian monasteries can be noted at the start of the 1760s. If such, a Zamość-style unification is observed through the 30 years after the decisions made at the Council in 1720, it is worth considering that, in the less disciplined and less institutionally organized parishes, the replacing of the most important liturgical books took even longer. However, this is still a question for further, separate research.

33 Ibidem, арк. 52 зв.–53, 58.

34 Я. Ісаєвич, *Книговидання та друкарство в Почаєві...*, р. 11.

35 Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Каталог стародруків виданих на Україні*. Vol. 2. Р. 1: 1701–1764, Львів 1984, по. 1310, 1395, 1421, 1509, 2241.

36 І. Альмес, *Від молитви до освіти...*, р. 201.

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