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The Genesis of the Pomianyk as a Type of Manuscript Book in the Context of the Kyiv Metropolis Memorial Tradition (16th–18th centuries)¹

Abstract: This article studies the emergence of the Pomianyk (Synodikon) as a separate type of Cyrillic manuscript. The emergence of Pomianyk is analysed in the context of the funeral prayer practice used in the Kyiv Metropolis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the early modern period. Pomianyk and the memorial records in other books are seen as expressions of memory. The findings revealed that a practical necessity at the request of believers to save their souls in the 16th and 18th centuries was the reason for developing such a separate type of manuscript. The historical sources reflect the mindset of the people of that time, who believed that through charitable activities in favour of the Church, they would receive absolution and salvation of the soul after death. Hetman Ivan Skoropadskyi donated funds to restore the Great Church of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra because he wanted God's protection both during his life and after his death. The author explores the genesis of the Pomianyk in the donation records in church books and their memorial entries. This study analyses 14 manuscript Pomianyks used in the churches of Kyiv Metropolis, with particular attention paid to the 1741 "Nyzkynychi Pomianyk", which has not yet been the subject of a separate analysis. In addition, other manuscripts and early printed books of the early modern period, which best reveal the problems of funeral practice in the stated region and at the specified time, were involved in the study.

Keywords: pomianyk, synodikon, Cyrillic manuscript, source studies, donation records, memorial records, history of memory, margins, Kyiv Metropolis

Słowa kluczowe: pominkarz, synodyk, rękopisy cyrylickie, badania źródłowe, zapisy darowizn, zapisy pamiątkowe, historia pamięci, marginalia, Metropolia Kijowska

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Introduction

The history of memory and experience in contemporary historiography is an essential and priority area of research. Through the diversity of memory manifestations and the embodiment of experiences, the multidimensionality of the phenomenon of representation, and accordingly, cultural anthropology is revealed. Referring to funeral records, the article explores the history of memory in the Kyiv Metropolis of the early modern period. Then, it analyses the genesis of Pomianyk (Synodikon) as a separate genre of Cyrillic manuscripts. This study is based on diversified source material: 14 Pomianyky, 16 manuscript codices, and 26 early printed books of biblical, liturgical, theological, and preaching content from the 16th to 18th centuries, including records of funeral services, as well as icons and objects of liturgical use. These sources were selected due to their information potential and variety. The findings showed that the sample revealed the problems of the memorial tradition in the Kyiv Metropolis through the memorial records in the codices used in the church sphere and, in fact, the memorials.

The chronological boundaries of the study depend on the sample and are limited to the 16th to 18th centuries. However, two sources from the 14th and 15th centuries were also analysed, complementing the main body of sources from the early modern period – marginal records from the “Chełm Gospel” and “Lutsk Gospel”. The dates of entries in manuscripts or printed books or their production year determine the study’s chronological scope. It starts in the mid-16th century (the earliest record of the purchase of the “Korzenica Gospel” in 1554, with a detailed request for memorialisation and a family memorial) and ends in 1780, the beginning date of “Kaniv Pomianyk”.

Geographically, the study covers the vast Kyiv Metropolis, located on the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Crown of Poland, later united into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The territorial factor is determined by the places where manuscripts and early printed books were created and used, including their movement.

This article highlights three fundamental issues: 1) charity for the sake of salvation after death; 2) “memorial spaces” in manuscript codices and early printed books; and 3) Pomianyk, a book for recording the deceased names. Identifying these aspects paved the way for solving the scientific problem of the emergence and functioning of the Pomianyk in the memorial tradition of the Kyiv Metropolis. In the first part of the study, the author analyses the enclosures, enabling tracing of the donor’s prayerful need for the remission of sins and the salvation of one’s soul. In the second part, he demonstrates the variability of commemorations in manuscripts and early printed books of various content. As a result, the third component of the study provides an understanding of

the purpose of the memorial book, its varieties, and the methodology of its maintenance based on the materials of the manuscripts used in the churches of Kyiv Metropolis. As a result, the memory phenomenon is traced through various manifestations of charity and memorial records.

Research problems demanded methods adequate for source studies, including palaeography, watermark studies, textology, codicology, genealogy, and book studies. For example, historicism and chronology methods were applied to dating the Pomianyky from the Patriarchal Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate collection. It originated in the middle of the 17th century, not earlier than 1650 and not later than 1652, as evidenced by the names of family members of Alexei Mikhailovich Romanov, All-Russia Tsar. This dating is supported by the results of watermark studies: the codex paper made in the second quarter of the 17th century. The historicism and chronology method also enabled dating the commemorations of the families of Ukrainian hetmans Ivan Skoropadskyi (before 1722) and Danylo Apostol (before 1727) in this Pomianyky. Thanks to textual criticism and palaeography methods, it has been demonstrated that the family memorial of Demko Kreholets and Havrylo Lytchyna in the 16th-century Gospels from Piatnychany was a kind of parish memorial.

Charity for Salvation After Death

In the Eastern Christian religious tradition, caring for the salvation of one's soul after death was realised in advance during life and manifested in various areas of charity. Wealthy persons with substantial financial resources could fund the construction of churches and monasteries, provide land and money for their proper functioning, or buy and donate church utensils, liturgical sewing, icons, bells, books, etc.

The earliest sources from the Kyiv Metropolis territory that testify to charity for memory and commemoration date back to the Middle Ages. First, the insertion in the "Chelm Gospel" of the late 14th century is worth noting. It says that in 1376 (6884 from the creation of the world), after the death of his son, Prince Semen, the knyaz of Chelm, Yurii Danylovych, donated four villages to the Cathedral Church of the Virgin Mary in Chelm. The bequest of the prince's estates "for the sake of God's holy worship" was intended to ensure the functioning of the bishop's Church. At the same time, Yurii Danylovych needed prayers for his health and the eternal memory of his son.² Similarly, in the early

2 Russian State Library (hereinafter RSL), collection (hereinafter c.) 256 Collection of Mykolai Petrovych Rumiantsev (hereinafter c. Rum.), number of the unit (hereinafter n.u.) 106, Chelm Gospel, ff. 4–12, [online] <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f-256-106/#image-7> [accessed 30.10.2023]; A. Vostokov, *Opisanie russkikh i slovenskikh rukopisei Rumâncovskago muzeuma*, St. Petersburg 1842, pp. 173–174.

15th century, Porfyrrii Ivanovych Kyrdiievych, grandson of Vasko Kyrdiievych, concerned for the salvation of his soul, signed over the property right to Kudriavych land to the Transfiguration Krasnosel Monastery, near Lutsk, in Volyn. The corresponding entry is located under the main text of the 14th-century “Lutsk Gospel”.³ Instead, the monks had to enter the name of the donor and his wife Anastasia in their memorial “in the Synodikon” (perhaps it was meant to be in the necrology) after their deaths, thus ensuring their constant commemoration during the services in this monastic community (Ill. 1).

In the 18th century, Lukian and his son Dmytro gave their yard to the Church of St Nicholas the Wonderworker for personal commemoration “на дѣвицѣ”. At the same time, Sofia gave her yard to commemorate her husband Ivan Patiuk, her own, and those of the Church mentioned above. These two notes are on additional leaves pasted at the end of the printed *Gospels* (Vilnius 1600).⁴

The charity was manifested through monetary donations. Let’s recall the example of one of the benefactors of Lavryshiv Monastery (near the village of Gnesichi, Belarus), a man named Hryhorii, who felt the need for a church commemoration. He gave the threescore of money for the needs of the monastery, “далъ єсми копу гро оуписа”. He also promised to bring another threescore of money himself; others would deliver it on his behalf if he could not. This monetary contribution is recorded in the 14th-century “Lavryshiv Gospel”. Hryhorii concluded his inscription with a request for his commemoration, “мєнѣ помануть [I’ll be remembered]”⁵ (Ill. 2).

According to early modern people, soul salvation could be achieved by donating church utensils to religious institutions, which clergy used to conduct worship and rituals. On May 6, 1579, the married couple Lavryn Bohushevych and Matrona Semenivna Ivanytska donated “душє(в)наго ради сво(г) спасєния [for the sake of their spiritual salvation]” to the Church of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Ivanychi, Volyn, “сосуды сребрьные [silver utensils]”: “кєлє(х) [cup]”, a discus, a spoon, and a cross “во(з)двизалны(й) дєрєвяны(й) рыты(й) сребро(м) оправны(й) по(з)лотисты(й) [wooden, carved, framed with silver and gilded, for blessing]”.⁶ At the same time, these nobles also donated printed

3 RSL, c. Rum., n.u. 112, Lutsk Gospel, f. 153v, [online] <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f-256-112/#image-156> [accessed 30.10.2023]; A. Vostokov, op. cit., pp. 176–179.

4 Department of the Old Prints and Rare Editions of Institute of Bibliography of the V. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (hereinafter IBS VNLU), n.u. Cyr. 1260p, *Gospels*, Vilnius 1600; M. Shamrai, *Marginalias from the Cyrillic Prints of the 15th–17thcc. from the Collection of V. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine*, Kyiv 2005, pp. 92–93.

5 Princes Czartoryski Library (hereinafter PCL), c. MS, n.u. 2097 IV, Lavryshiv Gospel, p. 169.

6 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 770, *Gospels*, Vilnius 1575, ff. 106–120; N.P. Bondar, *Publications of Ivan Fedorov and Petro Mstyslavets from the Collections of the V. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Research and Description of Exemplars*, Kyiv 2002, pp. 134–138.

editions to this Church: *Gospels* (Vilnius 1575), *Didactic Gospel*, *Lviv Acts and Epistles*, *Psalter*, *Octoechos* “пе(р)вогласникъ”, and “патогласникъ”, set of twelve *Menanion*, *Lenten Triodion*, *Festal Triodion*, *Jerusalem Typikon*, *Euchologion* with calendar, as well as the bell.⁷ Mykola Havsovykh Shostakovskiy wanted to be remembered in prayers. For this purpose, in the *Gospels* manuscript, completed on May 21, 1618, he donated “to the east of the Lutsk brotherhood” 50 gold and a gilded silver chalice “to the chalice”.⁸ A silver cup with gilding was also donated by the nobleman Mykolai Kisiel of Brusyliv in 1643 to the Church dedicated to the Mother of God “ofiarowania Naswietszy Panny” in Lytovyzh, Volyn.⁹ Myron Kutsevych from the village of Vaskova donated a bell for the needs of the Church of the Resurrection in Kovel (Volyn region). The benefactor expressed his will to have prayers offered for his soul and, at the same time, to beg God. The depositor’s wish was fulfilled on August 14, 1668, when his and family members’ names were inscribed in the church memorial.¹⁰ On November 21, 1651, Sophia Pekarska, wife of Hryhorii Volodkiewicz, a resident of the Pinsk powiat, donated gilded “złotogłowowe” vestments, epitachelions, and armbands made of the same material as the felon, as well as a large aër and a sticharion to the Church of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary of Kupiaciçy Monastery (Kupiaciçy, Belarus). The purpose of her contribution was “aby iako za żywota, tak y po śmierci [so that both in life and after death]” “majestat Bozki był błagany [God’s majesty was begged]” for Sophia and her children.¹¹ Her donation record was noted at the end of the 1644 copy of the *Vilnius Gospel*, which was inscribed on May 25, 1649, by Yurii Neliubovych Tukalskyi of the “во(й)ского Пиньского [Pinsk army]” Kupiaciçy monastery.¹²

The spouses of Colonel Oleksii Lesevitskyi of the Okhtyrka Sloboda Regiment and his wife “[сожителницы]” Nataliia donated at their expense special liturgical utensils to the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. It is a large, silver-made vessel covered with a layer of gold, decorated with cast and chased ornaments, with an

7 Eadem, *Gift Copy of the Vilnius Gospel of 1575 as a Source of Research on the Foundational Activity of Lavrin and Motrona Ivanytsky*, [in:] *Diversity of Cultures. History and Social-Communicative Nature Books. Materials of the 4th International Scientific and Practical Seminar* (Kharkiv, April 12–15, 2011), Kharkiv 2012, p. 36.

8 PCL, c. MS, n.u. 1270 IV, Orel Gospel, p. 18.

9 Kharkiv Korolenko State Scientific Library, c. MS, n.u. 819108, Gospels, f. 144v.

10 Institute of Manuscript of V. Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (hereinafter IM VNLU), c. 1 Literary materials (hereinafter c. LM), n.u. 3956, Kovel Pomianyky, f. 56.

11 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 4346p, Gospels, Vilnius 1644, f. [1]v; M. Shamrai, op. cit., pp. 102–103.

12 N.P. Bondar, *On the History of Belorussia Book Culture of 17th Century on the Basis of Inserted Notes to Vilnius Evangel of 1644 from the Collection of Kupyatitsk Monastery*, [in:] *Berkov’s Readings – 2015. Book Culture in the Context of International Contacts. The Third International Scientific Conference* (Minsk, May 26–27, 2015), Minsk 2015, p. 67.

image of Jesus Christ blessing with both hands in the centre. The Lesevyskyi family included a record of this gift as a remembrance “[воспоминаніа]” of their beloved son, Captain Omelian Lesevyskyi, who died “[сномъ смерти оуспшавъ]” and was buried at the Great Church of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, during the reign of Archimandrite Roman Kopa. Currently, this Litiynyk is stored in the National Art Museum of Ukraine collection in Kyiv (Inv. No. ChP-224).

The permanent iconography exhibition at the Andrey Sheptytsky National Museum in Lviv features two 18th-century icons offered to churches to save the soul and forgive sins. The first one comes from the village of Ivashkivtsi (Lviv region) and depicts a Cross with a Crucifixion from the 1730s by Mark Shostakovych. Simko Matkovski and his wife Eva commissioned this image to absolve their deceased relatives, Andrii and Hanna, who were depicted under the frames of the cross (Inv. No. I-443). The second icon from the second half of the 18th century is from the village of Patsykiv in the Ivano-Frankivsk region and represents the image of St Onuphrius the Great. It was “cowружіл [ordered]” for the remission of the sins of “the noble origin” – “[шлахє(т) рожон(ий)]” Stefan Goszowski and his wife (Inv. No. I-1472). However, apart from Onufrii, the icon depicted only a nobleman in a prayerful pose – on his knees with his hands folded in prayer to the reverend father.

When studying the collection of manuscripts and early printed books of the M. Maksymovych Scientific Library of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, a unique manifestation of charity to record a family memorial by sponsoring the restoration of a church was discovered in the manuscript “Pamiat imeni kytorskoho”.¹³ In 1721, Hetman Ivan Skoropadskyi donated a thousand rubles to restore the Great Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra “зъ Бжого допущенія огнемъ разоренную [with God’s permission by fire devastated]” and paid for the restoration of iconostasis. The hetman’s generous “укладъ [gift]” provided for prayer for his lordship, wife, and children “во дни житѣя ихъ при бє(з)кровни(х) офѣра(х) о здравіи [in the days of their life with blood sacrifices for health]” and, after death, to commemorate their departed souls forever. A corresponding list of names was appended to this entry¹⁴ (Ill. 3). A long list of commemorations for “Родъ Блговѣрнаго Івана Скоропа(д)ского Гѣтмана [The family of the blessed Hetman Ivan Skoropadskyi]” was found in one of the manuscripts of the Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.¹⁵ This is a Pomianyk dating from the third quar-

13 Maksymovych Scientific Library of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (hereinafter MSL), c. MS, n.u. C-164842, Pamiat imeni kytorskoho.

14 Ibidem, f. 16.

15 The Library of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (hereinafter LEP), c. Panaghia (hereinafter c. Pan.), n.u. 163, Prothésis du monastère de Panaghia, ff. 34–35.

ter of the 17th century.¹⁶ Presumably, the manuscript was created earlier, in the middle of the 17th century, not earlier than February 17, 1650, the date of birth of Yevdokiia, the daughter of Alexei Mikhailovich Romanov, All-Russia Tsar, and not later than August 26, 1652, the birthday of Marta Alekseevna, who had not yet been born at the time of the book's creation, because her name was not included in the family memorial for her health.¹⁷ This dating is confirmed by the paper analysis, which bears the watermark of a jester's head (1643) and can be dated to the second quarter of the 17th century.¹⁸ The memorial record of the Skoropadskyi family consists of 13 names of living and 20 names of deceased persons. It was recorded in the first quarter of the 18th century but no later than 1722, when the hetman had already died, as he was listed as alive at the time of the commemoration. The record itself is made in brown half-lettering, characteristic handwriting of the Kyiv region (Ill. 4). This codex also commemorates the family of Myrhorod Colonel Danylo Apostol. It was written in a different hand, in light brown attrition in Ukrainian cursive, at approximately the same time as Hetman Skoropadskyi's. Still, no later than 1727, he took oath as hetman.¹⁹

Most requests for the commemoration and salvation of the soul were noted in the records, along with book donations to churches. They described the benefactor's identity, listed the family composition, and recorded the reason, location, time, and warnings to avoid encroachment on the book. People wanted to remain in history, have their names recorded, and be offered a funeral prayer after their death. Books were invested primarily as a memento of their souls and the salvation of their families. For example, the hermit Hieromonk Kasian donated the 1557 Gospels to the Transfiguration Church of the Univ Monastery in Lviv region for the forgiveness of his sins and his parents "бѣ да(й) и(м) вѣчнѹю памѧть [God grant them eternal memory]".²⁰ Like the monk Cassian, the couple Ivan and Maria Baran from Wierzbica (Poland) in 1624 offered a handwritten Jerusalem Typikon "на вѣчнѹю памѧ(т)кѹ", i.e. for the eternal

16 M. Kouroupou, P. Géhin, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat Œcuménique. Les manuscrits du monastère de la Panaghia de Chalki. Vol. 1: Notices descriptives*, Turnhout 2008, p. 399.

17 LEP, c. Pan., n.u. 163, f. 22v.

18 N.P. Likhachev, *Paleografičeskoe značenie bumažnyh" vodányh" znakov". Čast' 2: Predmetnyj i hronologičeskij ukazatelj*, St. Petersburg 1899, p. 415 (No. 3081); Idem, *Paleografičeskoe značenie bumažnyh" vodányh" znakov". Čast' 3: Al'bom" snimkov"*, St. Petersburg 1899, T. CDXVII (No. 3081).

19 LEP, c. Pan., n.u. 163, ff. 38–40v.

20 National Library of Poland (hereinafter NLP), c. MS, n.u. 11829 II, Univ Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item/ewangelia-tetr,ODgwOTAZNw/695/#item> [accessed 3.11.2023], f. 345v; A. Kaszlej (Comp.), *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Kapituły Greckokatolickiej w Przemyślu*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 48–49; A. Naumow et al. (Comps.), *Rękopisy cerkiewnosłowiańskie w Polsce. Katalog. Wydanie drugie zmienione*, Kraków 2004, p. 97.

memory of themselves and family members.²¹ The handwritten Gospels, copied in 1554 by priest Andrii, were bought by Hryhorii Mamai and Simeon Lahyncha in two copies for the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in the village of Korzenica near the city of Jarosław (Poland). The motive for the charity was the need for prayer for the salvation of their souls and the families of the two depositors.²² Specifically, the donors appealed to the priests, who “єв(г)лий стомь чти будє(т) то повинє(н) [will be obliged to read this holy Gospel]” and would ask the Lord God for the repose of their parents and to commemorate them at Vespers, Matins, and Liturgy. The depositors also listed the necessary names, and 16 people were mentioned.

Donating Gospels from the last third of the 16th century to the Church of the Cathedral of Archangel Michael in the village of Prylutske (Vinnytsia region), Yukhno Prokopovych and his wife Kateryna appealed to God to remember the soul of the depositor’s father, Prokop, as well as his mother Anna, and others deceased from the family.²³ A short family memorial was also included in another manuscript, Gospels, which Ihnatii Popovych copied on June 5, 1590. This manuscript was purchased by a “оуцтивый члкъ [respectable man]”, a townsman Ivan Khomyn of Babice (Poland), and offered to the Church of the Nativity in his town. At the end of the note, Ihnatii asks for the remembrance of his deceased relatives: “Помани ги раба бжїя іѡа(н) и вѣа єго Ѡомы и вѣи(с) ки(х) родителєй єго по имєномь и(х) [Remember the servant of God John and his father Thomas and all his relatives by their names]”.²⁴ A prayer for the repose of the deceased Clement was requested by the couple Mykhailo and Iryna, who purchased the “Yavoriv Gospel” of 1595 and donated it to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Lelekhivka, Lviv region.²⁵ A contributor of the Jerusalem Typikon of the last quarter of the 16th century addressed the future readers of the codex that whoever “по сєй кн҃гє станєть ходити [uses this book]

21 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. 229.

22 NLP, c. MS, n.u. 11828 III, Korzenica Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/3a26f56e-7f40-4dae-93e3-71a4e5e1d991?page=9> [accessed 3.11.2023], f. 8r; A. Kaszlej (Comp.), op. cit., p. 48; A. Naumow et al. (Comps.), op. cit., p. 110.

23 NLP, c. MS, n.u. 11844 III, Gospels, [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/ad6332cc-715b-4dae-a59c-0a2d02dca70e?page=114> [accessed 3.11.2023], ff. 57r–66r; A. Kaszlej (Comp.), op. cit., pp. 52–53; A. Naumow et al. (Comps.), op. cit., pp. 100–101.

24 NLP, c. MS, n.u. 11835 III, Babice Gospel, [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/0087a3d3-2fa7-4536-9f99-445989df26c1?page=28> [accessed 3.11.2023], ff. 17r–29r; A. Kaszlej (Comp.), op. cit., p. 50; A. Naumow et al. (Comps.), op. cit., pp. 101–102.

25 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 2789, Yavoriv Gospel, f. 76v; O.A. Ivanova et al., *Slavic Cyrillic Manuscripts of the 16th Century from the Collections of the Institute of Manuscript of Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine. Scientific Catalogue. Palaeography Album*, Kyiv 2010, pp. 170–173.

should pray for him, and when he dies, remember him in peace”²⁶. The donors of the printed Gospels called on the priests to pray for their health in life and for rest in heaven after death when they were “serving”.²⁷ Ivan Krymchak and his wife, Theodosia Burachkova, donated the book “хотяще обрѣсти милостивъ день судный [wanting to get a merciful day of judgement]” for their and the ancestors’ eternal memory.²⁸

In the 1620s, Vasyl Methodiiiovych, the priest of the Church of the Holy Virgin in Pereyaslav, during his last confession, bequeathed a copy of St Basil the Great’s *Knigi o postničestvi* to Metropolitan of Kyiv Job Boretskyi, asking him to pray for his repose. The priest’s son, Matthew, passed the book to the metropolitan. The will itself, written by the hand of Job Boretskyi, was enclosed by a commemoration of Vasyl by his hand: “Помѡни Ги дшѹ раба Своего ієреѡ Василіѡ въ крове(х) Правѣ(д)ны(х) [Remember the soul of your servant, priest Vasyl, in the houses of the righteous]”.²⁹ Later, the metropolitan deposited this codex in the Kyiv St Michael’s Golden-Domed Monastery.³⁰ On March 4, 1627, Cossack Yosyp Korovytskyi donated a handwritten Gospels, copied on November 30, 1626, by priest Pavlo, to the Church of the Transfiguration of the Lord in the town of Vilshanka “в мѣ(с)тѣ в(л)шѡ(н)цѣ” (now Mala Vilshanka village, Kyiv region) in memory of his deceased brother Danylo, who was buried “in the same church”.³¹

For the remission of sins and “въ памѡ(т) себѣ и родителе(м) своим [in memory of oneself and one’s parents]” on November 23, 1636, Metropolitan Petr Mohyla of Kyiv donated the *Liturgikon* of 1629 to the Church of the Miracle of the Archangel Michael of the Kyiv-Vydubychi Monastery.³² Hierodeacon Yoasaph presented *Vēnets' Khristov*, written by Antonii Radyvylovskyi in 1688, to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary of the Korets Convent in memory of his deceased parents, for whom he asked everyone who would use the book to pray.³³ Andrii Kharkovych, enclosing a copy of Acts and Epistles

26 S.A. Voloshchenko, *Gift Records on the Manuscript Codices of the Jerusalem Typikons of the 16th–17th Centuries*, [in:] *Church – Science – Society. Issues of Interaction. The Proceeding of the 17th International Scientific Conference (May 28 – June 1, 2019)*, Kyiv 2019, p. 58.

27 Museum of Old Ukrainian Books of B. Voznytskyi Lviv National Gallery of Art (hereinafter MOUB), Collection of Cyrillic early printed books (abbreviated c. Cr), n.u. 10, Gospels, Lviv 1636, ff. 134–140; n.u. 137, Gospels, Lviv 1644, ff. [5]v.

28 MOUB, c. Cr, n.u. 221, *Liturgikon*, Lviv 1712.

29 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 659, *Knigi o postničestvi*, Ostrih 1594, f. 44.

30 M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 71.

31 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 2404, Vilshanka Gospel, ff. 8–28.

32 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 20p, *Liturgikon*, Kyiv 1629, pp. 1–33 2nd account; M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 200.

33 S.N. Kreinin, *The Catalogue of the Cyrillic Printing of the Institutions of Volyn (1600–1825)*, Lutsk 2015, p. 99.

1630 in 1645, obliged the priest Stepan to ask the Lord for him at the throne of God and also for “ро(ди)човъ мои(х) зешълы(х) с того свѣта [my workers who have departed from this world]” during the performance of the Divine Services “набожънѣ [piously]” for eternity.³⁴ The Ostrih 1595 edition of *Margarit of John Chrysostom* was presented on December 20, 1673 by the widow of the Bratslav priest Venedikt to Roman Rakushka, the protopope of Bratslav, Tulchyn, Rashkiv, and Krasnian. The purpose of such a gift was to pay for the funeral rite and the “отправованѣ [service]” of funeral prayers for the deceased.³⁵ In 1690, Hryhorii (Hryts) Onskovych Melnyk from Smidyn donated a copy of the *Festal Triodion* (Lviv 1688) to the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the village of Smidyn, Volyn region.³⁶ For this charity, the names of his family members were recorded in the local memorial on January 21, 1694.³⁷

After Ivan Zherebko died in 1711, his wife Theodora donated the *Anthologion* (Lviv 1694) to the Moshnohirskyi Monastery in the Cherkasy region as a request for the eternal remembrance of the deceased husband and brother Theodore, the latter buried at the monastery.³⁸ The *Gospels* (Vilnius 1600) were purchased for 40 gold zlotys and half a thaler for the soul of Cornelius Malovovchyk, who died during the Apostles Peter and Paul feast in 1714. The book was intended for the Church of the Transfiguration of the Lord in the village of Yachnykova, where the donor's body was buried “и де же и са(м) тѣло(м) отпочивае(т) [and where he rests with his body]”. The inscription wishes that Cornelius's soul “да насла(ж)дае(т)сѧ Тро(й)чнагw немерзающа(г) свѣта [may enjoy the Trinity's light, which does not fade away]”.³⁹

The analysed sources, both in their content and form, show that according to the believers, the charity in favour of the Church a priori guaranteed the soul's salvation in eternity after the end of earthly life. Through donations of land, books, liturgical items, money, etc., to religious places, people expected forgiveness of sins and a prosperous eternal life in heaven. The depiction of themselves on the icons and the inscription of their names indicate a desire for church-wide commemoration, as they were located in a temple space accessible to all and to remain in history for future generations to remember.

34 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 17, Acts and Epistles, Kyiv 1630, ff. 19–20; M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 31.

35 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 661, John Chrysostom, *Margarit*, Ostrih 1595, ff. 1–13; M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 133.

36 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 622, *Festal Triodion*, Lviv 1688, ff. 1–6; M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 235.

37 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 4018, Smidyn Pomennyk, f. 26^{r-v}.

38 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 4932p, *Anthologion*, Lviv 1694, ff. 13–21; M. Shamrai, op. cit., pp. 25–26.

39 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 860, *Gospels*, Vilnius 1600, ff. 1–11 2nd account; M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 90.

Relatives of their deceased loved ones donated sacred objects to churches because they were buried at these places, for instance, Danylo Korovytskyi or Omelian Lesevytskyi.

“Funeral Spaces” in Manuscript Codices and Early Printed Books

Studying manuscripts and early printed books, one may notice names listed on the margins of the pages and flyleaves to be mentioned by the clergy during the service. In numerous examined early printed books, many examples of inscribing the names of the deceased on the folio margins have been found, most of them preserved in *Liturgikon*s.

A convenient place for noting the dead was the outer bank of the folio after the text ‘It is truly right to bless you, Theotokos’ of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom, next to the secret prayer said by the priest.⁴⁰ For example, more than 20 names are listed in this part of the liturgy on the margins of the Lviv copy of the 1637 *Liturgikon*, which was presented in 1653 by Cossack Roman Kulynych to the Church of the Nativity in the village of Kalnyk in Vinnytsia region “кү вѣчно(й) Памѣти [for the eternal memory]”. The names of the local parishioners were mentioned by the priest during the recitation of the secret prayer after the words: “И помани всѣх прежде усопши(х) в надежди въскрсѣнїа живота вѣчнаго [remember all those who have departed before in the hope of the resurrection of eternal life]”.⁴¹ In the same part of the liturgy, more than 60 commemorations are inscribed in the Kyiv-Pechersk copy of the *Liturgikon* of 1620 from the Church of Borys and Hlib in Vyshhorod (Kyiv region) and later the Church of the Prophet Elijah in Kyiv’s Podil district.⁴² In the copy of the same 1620 edition, which comes from the village of Malniv (Lviv region), two folios for recording the commemorations of the faithful (living and deceased) were sewn between pages 114 and 115. On the back of these sheets are individual memorials to the families of local priests Roman and Theodor Podziatskyi. The latter’s memorial is dated 1670.⁴³ In the 1646 copy of the *Liturgikon* published by Mykhailo Sliozka, commemorations fill the margins and interlinear spaces of the main text.⁴⁴

40 MOUB, c. Cr, n.u. 43, *Liturgikon*, Lviv 1712, ff. 104, 105; n.u. 444, *Liturgikon*, Lviv 1646, f. 146v; n.u. 456, *Liturgikon*, Lviv 1691, ff. 104–105.

41 MSL, Collection of Rare Books, n.u. B-164834, *Liturgikon*, Lviv 1637, f. 72^{r-v}.

42 Vilnius University Library (hereinafter VUL), n.u. Rk 260, *Liturgikon*, Kyiv 1620, pp. 113–114; I. Kažuro (Comp.), *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos kirilikos leidinių kolekcija 1525–1839. Katalogas*, Vilnius 2013, pp. 319–320.

43 MOUB, c. Cr, n.u. 206, *Liturgikon*, Kyiv 1620.

44 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 1246p, *Liturgikon*, Lviv 1646, ff. 146v–147.

The publishers of the Lavra 1629 *Liturgikon* provided free field for writing names, two lines wide of the regular text in the place where the priest was supposed to list the names, after the words “Помани Ги дшѹ Оусопшарѡ раба твоегѡ, им(р)къ [Remember, Lord, the soul of thy departed servant, name]”. In the copy now stored in the Vilnius University Library collection, this open space was inscribed with the names of the deceased.⁴⁵ In the copy of the 1629 *Liturgikon*, which was presented to the Vydubychi monastery by Metropolitan Petr Mohyla, his commemoration is inscribed in cinnabar on the lower banks of the quire on pages 66 and 67 of the second account: “Помани Гд(с)и преосвяще(н)наго митрополита Петра Могилу [Remember the Lord, the Most Reverend Metropolitan Petr Mohyla]”.⁴⁶ This ancient practice was also used in the 20th century; for example, the head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (1992–2014), Metropolitan Volodymyr Sabodan of Kyiv and All-Ukraine, personally wrote the names of the clergy whom he ordained to the priestly or deacon’s rank between 1973 and 1982 on specially designated folios of the book *Činovnik" arhierejskago svâsennosluženîâ* (Džordanvil' 1965).⁴⁷

The commemorations could be located near the text of the funeral litany before *The Cherubic Hymn*, as in the case of the 1629 copy of the Kyiv-Pechersk *Liturgikon* from the town of Krasne in Ternopil region, which commemorates the nun Seraphim and the child Joseph.⁴⁸ In the *Liturgikon* (Lviv 1712) from the Zhabokruky village in Ivano-Frankivsk region, the same place contains memorials of residents dated 1720–1730.⁴⁹

Another “memorial space” in *Liturgikon* was the outer bank of the pages in the Prothesis part. The copy of the 1620 *Liturgikon* from Vyshhorod and Kyiv mentioned above commemorates the priest Joseph, his wife Melania, and their children on page 31.⁵⁰ In another copy of the 1646 *Liturgikon*, the margins of 8 folios are filled with commemorations.⁵¹

Another variant of memorial records is found in the 1691 copy of the *Lviv Liturgikon*, used in the Church of the Transfiguration village of Oleksandriia in the Rivne region. During the rectorate of priest Partenii Lohvynovych, six folios for keeping the parish Pomiany were pasted at the end of the book,

45 VUL, n.u. Rk 38, *Liturgikon*, Kyiv 1629, p. 66 2nd invoice; I. Kažuro (Comp.), op. cit., pp. 320–321.

46 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 20p, pp. 66–67 of the 2nd account.

47 *Činovnik" arhierejskago svâsennosluženîâ*, [Džordanvil'] 1965, ff. 45–47, [3] ff. between ff. 47 and 48.

48 VUL, n.u. Rk 38, p. 25.

49 MOUB, c. Cr, n.u. 221, ff. 84–84v.

50 VUL, n.u. Rk 260, p. 31.

51 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 1246p, ff. 90–97v.

where the records date back to the first half of the 18th century.⁵² Two folios for a Pomianyky are left at the end of the 1646 copy of the *Liturgikon*. These folios were drawn with margins and a plot background depicting St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, but they remained unwritten.⁵³

In addition to the *Liturgikon*, other church books were used to record the names of the deceased. The thought of the soul's salvation after death and related eschatological experiences prompted people to leave their names in the margins of the books used in church services. These records often appeal to future generations to pray for them.⁵⁴ For example, in a copy of the *Gospels* (Vilnius 1575), the names of 10 dead people are placed on the outer margin of the first page of the Gospel of Matthew.⁵⁵ The manuscript Gospels of the last quarter of the 16th century, deposited in the Church of Paraskeva in Pyatnychany, Lviv region, by Demko Kreholets and Havrylo Lytchyna, include a self-contained memorial to their families.⁵⁶ The names are inscribed under the heading “ПОМАНИ ГИ ДША РА СВОИ(Х) [remember the souls of your servants]” on a page free of text in front of a page with a miniature of the evangelist Mark.⁵⁷ This family memorial was prepared on the depositors' wish, as can be seen from the final part of the codex's entry, in which they asked that God grant absolution, eternal memory, and good peace after death.⁵⁸ In the 17th and 18th centuries, other names were added to the memorial of Demko Kreholets and Havrylo Lytchyna. Still, they had nothing to do with the families of the original contributors, as the manuscript changed owners at least three times in the 17th century. This folio became a typical memorial in this particular Gospel.⁵⁹

By a similar analogy, the Gospels of the late 16th–early 17th centuries, which since 1656 belonged to the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary in Troianivka (Volyn region), contain three separate memorials to Yakiv Shovkovych, Makarii Yarmolovych, and Andrii Shovkovych, a townsman of Troianivka, located in places free of text.⁶⁰ It is worth noting that in 1665, the couple

52 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 1105, *Liturgikon*.

53 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 1246p.

54 O. Okhrimenko, S. Voloshchenko, *Between the Man's Hands and God's Eyes: The Psalter Of 1437 from the Collection of the Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine*, “Hiperborea” 2019, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 26–27, doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/hiper.2019.952>.

55 VUL, n.u. Rk 59, Gospels, Vilnius 1575, p. 2; I. Kažuro (Comp.), op. cit., pp. 174–178.

56 S. Wołoszczenko, *The Four Gospels BJ 941 from the Jagiellonian Library Manuscript Collection: Social History of the Codex*, “The Studies into the History of the Book and Book Collections” 2022, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 201, doi: [10.33077/uw.25448730.zbk.2022.712](https://doi.org/10.33077/uw.25448730.zbk.2022.712).

57 Ibidem, p. 208.

58 Ibidem, p. 210.

59 Ibidem, p. 201.

60 KKSSL, c. MS, n.u. 819173, Troianivka Gospel, ff. 93v, 95, 95v.

Andrii and Iryna Shovkovych funded the new binding for the codex, which was the reason for the inscription of their family names.⁶¹ The same Gospels in the lower banks of folios 147v–148, 149v–150v and on entire folios 148v–149 contain a lengthy Pomianyky (116 names) combined with an insert record of Theodore's family. He initially purchased the codex from the “тѣшило(в)ского попа [priest from Tishylovychi]” for ten gold pieces and put it “у кипѣтин(ъ) чохъ [in Kyptynychy]” in the Church of the Nativity located on the territory of the Khrustovski's estate.⁶²

The Gospels of the last quarter of the 16th century contain a memorial to the family of Teodor Melnyk, who took care of the re-binding of this codex in 1614. He bought the necessary velvet and silver for the cornerstones and paid for the bookbinder's work.⁶³ The priest or deacon who “из сѣй Книги бѹдет Служити [from this Book will serve]” at the holy throne should ask the Lord for the Donator's father Daniel, mother Yevdokiia, and brother-in-law Hryhorii Melnyk. A commemoration for the repose of Hryhorii, Tekla, Anna, and Mykhailo is inscribed next to it (Ill. 5). In a copy of Ioannyykii Galiatovskyi's 1659 edition of the *Klûč*” *Razuminiâ* from the collection of the Kyiv St. Nicholas Monastery, one of the folio contains a commemoration of an unidentified Mary: “помѣани гд(с)и ѹسوبшю Рабѹ свою марыю в ца(р)ствѣ нб(с)нѹмѣ [remember the Lord your departed servant Mary in the kingdom of heaven]”.⁶⁴

In the 17th century, the printed book tradition was adopted, which evolved from the written tradition. The printed Liturgikons used by priests responded to people's needs: the publishers inserted additional folios for recording names. In other books, believers created spaces of remembrance for their deceased relatives on the pages of their books, turning the practice of prayer into a practice of remembrance that unites generations.

Pomianyky — a Book for Recording the Names of the Deceased

In response to the demand for caring for believers' souls, so-called “memorial books”, commonly called “Pomianyky” or “Pomennyky”, were established at monastic, parish, and cathedral churches. The book's title comes from the headings of the memorial records, where the first words were “Remember the soul of your servant, Lord”. Pomianyky are books in which the names of the

61 Ibidem, f. 15.

62 Ibidem, ff. 147v–151.

63 NLP, c. MS, n.u. 11814 III, Stare Selo Gospel, f. 14v, [online] <https://polona.pl/item-view/990e36da-e269-41ec-9b6c-e945a73b6368?page=15> [accessed 3.11.2023]; A. Kaszlej (Comp.), op. cit., p. 44; A. Naumow et al. (Comps.), op. cit., pp. 97–98.

64 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 32, *Klûč*” *Razuminiâ*, Kyiv 1659, f. 15.

deceased were recorded for church commemoration during services and were intended for church use.⁶⁵

At the St. Onuphry Lavriv Monastery, this kind of book was called the Пом(ен)никъ Pomennik, which was kept from 1661 to 1896.⁶⁶ The book started on March 1, 1744, in the Transfiguration Church in Podil, Kyiv and was titled “Помінікъ” [Pominik].⁶⁷ A copy of the Pomianyk of the Kyiv Sophia Metropolitan Cathedral, titled “Поманикъ усопшыхъ [Pomianyk of the Deceased]”, was preserved⁶⁸ and published in 2004 by Oksana Prokopiuk.⁶⁹ The title page of the Pomianyk of the Cathedral Church of the Resurrection of the Lord in Kovel contains the title “Помі(н)нікъ дшъ змє(р)ли(х) [Pominnik of the Souls of the Dead]”.⁷⁰ The Pomianyk of the Assumption Monastery in Kaniv, transcribed on February 25 1780, by monk Bonifatii Tikhonskyi with the blessing of Makarii Tatarkovych, the head of the monastery, has three titles. The Kaniv manuscript contains the following headings: “Поманикъ [Pomianyk]”, “Поманикъ или памать о дшъ [Pomianyk or memory of soul]” and “Поминалница или Синодикъ” [Pomynalnytsa or Synodikon].⁷¹ The 8-folio manuscript, which includes commemorations of the families of painters Petr Kulchytskyi and Atanasii Liubarskyi, as well as other individuals from Ostrih, Liubar, Ostropol, Kyiv, Polonne, Proskurnia, Bila Tserkva, and Buniv, is entitled “Помяновєніє [Pomianovenie – Commemoration]”.⁷²

The title Subotnyk “соуббо(т)ныкъ” was also used. An example is the Pomianyk of the Church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the Smidyn village, founded in 1691 (another date is indicated on the title page – October 17,

65 N.V. Ponyrko, *Sinodik*, [in:] *Dictionary of Scribes and Bookishness of Ancient Rus*, Iss. 2 (Second half of the 14th–16th Centuries), part 2 (L–la), Moscow 1989, p. 339; L. Tymoshenko, *Tradition and Practice of the Commemoration of Dead People in Kyiv Metropolis in the second half of the 16th – first half of the 17th Centuries. Contribution of the Church Fraternities*, “Drohobych Regional Studies” 2011, iss. 14–15, pp. 116–132; S.Voloshchenko, *Book of the Deceased People of the Lavriv St. Onufriy Monk Monastery 1661–1896. Codicology and Archaeography Description*, “Drohobych Regional Studies” 2017, Iss. 19–20, pp. 375–385.

66 Ibidem, p. 379.

67 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 5515, Pomianyk of Transfiguration Church on Podil in Kyiv, f. 1.

68 Ibidem, c. 312 Saint Sophia Cathedral (1017–1919). Collection of manuscript books of the 15th–19th centuries, n.u. 377(705), Pomianyk of Sophia of Kyiv, f. 1; N.I. Petrov (Comp.), *Opisanie rukopisnyh "sobranij, nahodäsishä v" gorodě Kyiv. Vyp. 3: Biblioteka Kievo-Sofijskago sobora*, Moscow 1904, pp. 125–126.

69 O. Prokopiuk (Comp. and introduction articles), *Pomennik of Sophia of Kyiv. Publication of a Manuscript of the second half of the 18th – the first quarter of the 19th Century*, Kyiv 2004.

70 IM VNLU, c. LM, n. u. 3956, f. 1.

71 Ibidem, n.u. 148, Kaniv Pomianyk, ff. 1–3.

72 Ibidem, n.u. 4017, Pomianyk, ff. 4v–5.

1694) at his own expense by Priest Danylo Stefanovych.⁷³ The Pomianyk of the Church of the Archangel Michael in the Perevalivka village (Belarus), begun in the spring of 1633, is also called Subotnyk.⁷⁴ The Synodikon “албо Поми(нъ) нѣкъ [or Pomianyk]” was the name given to the “новоспоражєны(й) [newly started]” list of the Pomianyk of the Mezhyhiria Monastery in 1625.⁷⁵ The nuns of the monastery of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Zolotonosha, Cherkasy region, called their Pomianyk almost identically, “Свѣнодикъ” and “Поминальникъ [Synodikon, Pomynalnyk]”. Priest Nestor Kozmych completed this book on January 22, 1777.⁷⁶

The original definition of Pomianyk was given in the early 16th century by Hieromonk Pafnutii Sehen, hegumen of the Supraśl Monastery. Hegumen Pafnutii started running a Pomianyk in the monastic community of Supraśl in 1500⁷⁷ (Ill. 6). In the introduction to the Pomianyk, the monk stated that “these books [сїа книги]” are salutary and useful for the soul because “those who want to enrol in, wish to obtain salvation for their souls [в(ъ) них же написашася хотящей дша(м) своимъ сп(с)нїа]” and help on the terrible and great day of “the dreadful and trembling [грѣзънаго и трепе(т)наго]” Judgement of Christ. He then continued that through these books, one can be delivered from torment and partake of the company of the saints and the righteous “who have pleased God and laboured for Jesus Christ [оутѣдивши(х) боу и потрудивши(х)ся хр(с)та ра(ди)]” and those who have suffered for the sake of the kingdom of heaven and the cause of their salvation. For this purpose, “and to attain the crowns of heaven [и въспрїаша вѣнца нетлѣн(н) ыа]”, and to enjoy the kingdom of heaven. Hieromonk Pafnutii also explained the reasons for the establishment of the monastery’s Pomianyk and his work as a scribe “to write down the memorial for the sake of comfort [пвноуди(х)ся съписати пвминанїе се, на оутѣшєнїе]” to the faithful Christians and to help their souls, and also for pardon in the terrible time of the dreadful and trembling day, which the faithful “having the great day in their thoughts [и имѣюще въ ум(ѣ) свѣ(м) днь великїй]” should remember, that they are written in the

73 Ibidem, n.u. 4018, Smidyn Pomianyk, ff. 1v, 27v.

74 IM VNLU, c. 301 Collection of historical documents and collection of Church Archeology Museum of Theology Academy of Kyiv, n.u. 566L(Muz. 822), Pomianyk, f. 4; A. Lebedev, *Rukopisi Cerkovno-arheologičeskago muzeâ Imperatorskoj Kievskoj Duhovnoj Akademii*, t. 1, Saratov 1916, pp. 227–228.

75 IM VNLU, c. 312, n.u. 375(374), Pomianyk of Mezhyhiria monastery, f. 5; N.I. Petrov (Comp.), op. cit., p. 125.

76 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 696, Zolotonosha Pomianyk, f. 1.

77 Wroblewski Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter WLLAS), c. 19 Foundation of Ruthenian Manuscripts, n.u. 89, Supraśl Pomianyk, f. 6; F. Dobrianskiy, *Opisanie rukopisej Vilenskoj publičnoj biblioteki, cerkovno-slavenskikh i russkikh*, Vilnius 1882, pp. 179–186.

books of life “[сѣа животныа]”. According to Pafnutii, those wishing to enrol in the Pomianyky should donate a part of their wealth and a tithe of their income to the holy Mother of God “[сѣѣй г(с)пѣжи бг(с)рѣдици]”, through whose prayers they will receive absolution and be freed from terrible torments, and “получити [receive]” the kingdom of heaven and eternal life.⁷⁸

Particularly valuable is the Pomianyky of the Mezhyhiria monastic community mentioned above, maintained by the efforts and work of local clergy at the behest of hegumen Komentar.⁷⁹ The book contains a title page with background information, preceded by the history of the monastery’s restoration in the late 16th century.⁸⁰ The verso of the title page includes four quotations from the New Testament, the works of St Andrew of Crete and St John Chrysostom on memorials.⁸¹ The compilers of this Pomianyky took care to include a preface (ff. 6–8), an appeal to those who wished to be enrolled in the book (f. 8v), instructions to the scribe on how to keep a book (ff. 8v–9v), the systematic register of names (ff. 11–14), and words to the reader (ff. 15–16). The preface states that the holy and God-bearing fathers of the Church established the commemoration in common (conciliar) and individual prayers of all those who recognised the Holy Trinity, “who lived in the Orthodox faith [в(ъ) православной вѣрѣ пожив(ъ) шимъ]”, as well as of those who have died in the hope of resurrection and eternal life. The author of the preface refers to the biblical texts, in which, according to him, many “valid testimonies have been left [свѣдѣтел(ъ)ства сѣщаа оставл(ъ)ше]”. He also quotes works by Dionysius the Areopagite, Athanasius the Great, Gregory the Great, Macarius the Great, John Chrysostom, and John Damascene, which dealt with Christian death and prayerful remembrance. At the end, it is stated that for this purpose, “we sinners have worked hard to create this memorial [мы грѣшніи пот(ъ)щахо(м)са ѡ сѣчиненіи помин(ъ) нѣка сего]” in which the names of the deceased will be entered, starting with the patriarchs and ending with ordinary Orthodox believers of both sexes. The author emphasises that all those recorded in the Pomianyky will receive help and mercy at the Last Judgement of the Lord through prayer and donations left by themselves or their loved ones. The opportunity to stand at the right hand of Jesus Christ will be given to all who work in the “renewing [исправленіи]” of this book.⁸² For those who wish to record the commemoration, it is noted that the priests are required to pay a salary “for food and clothing [на препитаніе

78 WLLAS, c. 19, n.u. 89, ff. 10v–11.

79 IM VNLU, c. 312, n.u. 375(374), f. 5.

80 Ibidem, ff. 1–2v.

81 Ibidem, f. 5v.

82 Ibidem, ff. 7v–8.

тѣмъ и вдѣаніе”], the necessity of which is explained by saying that those who serve at the altar abstain from the altar since the Levites of the Old Testament and their families also ate from human offerings and sacrifices.⁸³

“Mezhyhrya Pomianyk” clearly spells out the principles that should guide the scribe who enters the names of the deceased. Foremost, the name of his family, nickname, place of origin, and occupation should be recorded. Cossacks were to be recorded as Cossacks, “если простый до простыхъ [if ordinary to ordinary]”, bishops to bishops, archimandrites to archimandrites, and all other people according to their social origin. All names should be submitted without any title in the genitive case. The author gives examples of how to write it correctly. It is emphasised not to include the words “младенца [baby]” or “дѣвицѣ [girl]” next to the names, although, according to the compiler, this was the practice in ancient memorials. Names should be entered following the Monthly Book, not as the person is recorded in the metric book. Before the commemoration, it is necessary to write the title: “Помани Ги дша рабъ своихъ [Remember the souls of your servants, O Lord]”. The author warns the scribes to be careful, lest “до помѣшанья, и до зеп(ъ)сованья [this book come to errors and spoilage]” due to inattentive writing.⁸⁴ In the preface to the reader, the compiler noted that memorial records should be read with love: “трудолюбнѣ не бо(р)заса ни прѣскакуа [diligently, thoughtfully and slowly]”, and with the belief that this is the work of the Lord. It is recommended to read the commemoration from the beginning on Sunday evening and complete it on any day of the week, on Saturday at the orthros and at the liturgy from the start of the Prothesis to “It is truly right to bless you, Theotokos”; on Friday at the parastas; commemorations are not read on the Lord’s feast days or saint memorials with polyeleos, at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, from Palm Sunday to St Thomas Sunday.⁸⁵

The fact that Pomianyk was kept in the church may indicate the importance of the religious community since the book brought together people from different social strata, professional backgrounds, and geographical locations. Believers wanted to be inscribed at the “prayerful place” because they believed in the special holiness of a particular place (St Sophia Cathedral, Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, Derman, Lavriv, Pochaiv, Supraśl, Zhyrovichy monasteries, Manyava Skete, etc.).

One of the “prayerful places” was the monastery of the Intercession of the Virgin in Nyzkynychi in Volyn, which kept its own Pomianyk.⁸⁶ It is believed that

83 Ibidem, f. 8^{r-v}.

84 Ibidem, ff. 8v–9v.

85 Ibidem, f. 15^{r-v}.

86 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 1107, Nyzkynychi Pomianyk; V. Los, *The handwritten heritage of Greek and Roman Catholic monasteries in the collection of the Manuscript Institute of the Ver-nadskyi National Library of Ukraine*, “Hereditas Monasteriorum” 2015, vol. 6, pp. 240–241.

the monastery in Nyzkynychi was founded in 1643, according to the foundation record of the Chernihiv castellan Adam Kisiel. According to Serhii Horin's research, this monastery could have been founded between 1621 and 1627.⁸⁷ The sacredness of this place is evidenced by the prayer requests of believers who donated holy things in anticipation of receiving God's help or in gratitude for the grace they had already received. An example is a vestment (felon) with two 17th-century epitrachelions donated by Kisiel to the monastery in Nyzkynychi. They are now stored in the National Historical Museum of Ukraine in Kyiv.⁸⁸ Another artefact from this monastery is an old Cyrillic book, the *Liturgikon*, published in Univ in 1740. The couple Yakiv and Anna Maksymiuk donated the copy on January 10, 1744, and it is now kept in the Lutsk State Historical and Cultural Reserve collection.⁸⁹ In 1754, the Maksymiuk family of Vytktiv submitted a family memorial to the "Nyzkynychi Pomianyk".⁹⁰

The "Nyzkynychi Pomianyk" (Поминник – Pominnyk), since its inception in 1646 and renewal in 1741, has united many past generations: more than a thousand names from more than 70 settlements mentioned in the source are recorded there. From the manuscript title page, we learn that the original Pomianyk was founded on March 5, 1646, during the lifetime of its founder, Kisiel, and the first hegumen, Joel Malkowski. The "renewed [вновлений]" Pomianyk was restored; that is, the commemorations of 1602–1716 were rewritten in the 18th century by the monastery vestry, Hieromonk Silvester Tymonovych, under the direction of Hieromonk Hieronymus Ozymkevych. The handwritten text of the title page of the Pomianyk is recorded on a printed wood fort (Ill. 7). It is identical to the title page used in the printing of the *General Menaion* in Pochaiv in 1737. However, the 1737 *General Menaion* has an engraving of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the verso of the title page, while the Pomianyk has no text or engraving on the title page verso.⁹¹ This fact may indicate the printing of "blank" title pages, which were sold and could be used in a manuscript. In the manuscript of the 1618 Gospels, Yakiv Danylovych of

87 S. Horin, *Monasteries of Western Volhynia (Second half of the 15th – first half of the 17th century)*, Lviv 2007, p. 200.

88 O. Tereshchuk, *Gifts of Belongings of Adam Kisel – the Kyiv Voivode (1649–1653) in the Collection of the National Museum of the History of Ukraine*, [in:] *Museum Readings: Proceedings of the Scientific Conference "Jewelry Art – a View Through the Ages"* (November 9–11, 2009), Kyiv 2010, pp. 141–150.

89 S.N. Kreinin, op. cit., p. 133.

90 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 1107, f. 52.

91 V.H. Bochkovska, L.V. Khaikha, V.A. Adamovych (Comps.), *Catalogue of Editions of the Pochaiv and Univ Monasteries of the 18th–20th Centuries from the Collection of the Book and Printing Museum of Ukraine*, Kyiv 2008, pp. 25, 70.

Horodok Solonyi used printed miniatures instead of handwritten ones,⁹² which is not a unique case.⁹³

Sylvester Tymonovych is also the author of the manuscript “Forma razdrěshenię sovershennaho inokom” v” nuzhdě smertenno obrětaiushchymcę” bliudenie that Nyzkynychi monks later passed into the Cyrillic old book *Poslědovanie pohrěbanię inocheskaho* published in Pochaiv between 1780 and 1790. The manuscript and supplement are now in the Department of Old Prints and Rare Books of the Institute of Bibliography collection at the Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine.⁹⁴ According to a watermark study of the “Nyzkynychi Pomianyk” paper, it can be assumed that the production of this copy began in the 1720s and lasted until 1794,⁹⁵ with the efforts of at least six scribes who continued the work of Hieromonk Sylvester.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, making copies of the previous (ancient) Pomianyks was common practice. This phenomenon can be explained by the active use of this genre of manuscripts, which directly affected their physical state of preservation. For example, the 1500 “Supraśl Pomianyk” “for the length of time [за вѣт(ъ)хость лѣтъ]” was rewritten “with due diligence in the skill of writing books [прилѣжнымъ же т(ъ)щаниѣ(м) в(ъ) худо(ж)ствѣ рукописаниѣ]” by hieromonk Stefan Kohanevych on August 4, 1631⁹⁶ (Ill. 6). A similar happened to the Pomianyk of the Lutsk Brotherhood Church, which was founded in 1618 but was listed in 1677.⁹⁷ It was rewritten by Hieromonk Yeremiah Savytskyi “word for word by my hand [слово в слово рүкою моею власною]” for the absolution of his sins.⁹⁸ The “Kovel Pomianyk” was also a list of the previous one, although the title page shows the date of the book’s beginning on March 7, 1674, and the codex contains entries for 1633, 1638, 1646, 1653–1654, 1668.⁹⁹

92 NLP, c. MS, n.u. 11864 IV, Stryi Gospel, ff. 26v, 138v, 212v, 331v, [online] <http://polona.pl/preview/d0f93e1b-06c4-4511-ae45-a7afce465db7> [accessed 21.03.2024]; A. Kaszlej (Comp.), op. cit., p. 58; A. Naumow et al. (Comps.), op. cit., pp. 121–122.

93 S. Voloshchenko, *The Ukrainian Gospels of the 17th Century from the Chester Beatty Library: The History of Creation, Usage, and Migrations*, “Konštantínove listy” 2022, 15(1), pp. 81–82, doi: 10.17846/CL.2021.15.1.76-96.

94 IBS VNLU, n.u. Cyr. 5520p, *Poslědovanie pohrěbanię inocheskaho*, Pochaiv [1780–1790].

95 E. Laucevičius, *Popierius Lietuvoje 15–18 a. Atlasas*, Vilnius 1967, pp. 303, 342, 377, 468 (No. 2338, 2466, 2754, 3445); Idem, *Popierius Lietuvoje 15–18 a.*, Vilnius 1967, pp. 207, 209, 213, 221 (No. 2338, 2466, 2754, 3445); N.P. Likhachev, op. cit., *Čast’ 2*, p. 49 (No. 3568); Idem, op. cit., *Čast’ 3*, T. CCCCLXXXII (No. 3568).

96 WLLAS, c. 19, n.u. 89, f. 6.

97 L. Tymoshenko, op. cit., p. 122.

98 IM VNLU, c. 30 Collection of manuscript books of the 10th–20th centuries, n.u. 50, Pomianyk of Lutsk Brotherhood of the Elevation of Cross, f. 1.

99 Ibidem, c. LM, n.u. 3956, ff. 47, 48–49v, 51, 53v–56, 58v.

The Pomianyky of the Pustynno-Mykilskyi Monastery¹⁰⁰ in Kyiv dates back to the last third of the 17th century, confirmed by watermark studies of the paper.¹⁰¹ The rewriting of the ancient Pomianyky and the continuation of their maintenance testify to their particular purpose of accumulating and preserving memory.

The “Nyzkynychi Pomianyky” contains 216 general and individual memorial records dating from the early 17th to the late 18th centuries. First, there are the commemorations of the deceased Kyivan metropolitans, bishops, archimandrites, Nyzkynychi hegumens, hieromonks, hierodeacons, and monks without priestly rank. The next part includes entries from the Volyn gentry, including the Kisiels, the Ostrogscy, the Krupskis, the Ivanickis, and other families. The initiators of individual records were also local hegumens – Joel Malkovskyy (1646), Theodosius Volynets (1658), Sofronii Pidhaetskyi (1676),¹⁰² Paisii Sirkivskyy (1686), Sylvester Tyrava (1695), and others. The heads of the neighbouring Volsvyn, Zahoriv, Turobyn and Popiv Mlyn monasteries expressed a desire to be included in the Pomianyky. There are personal memorial records of the families of Nyzkynychi monks, monks and nuns from nearby monasteries, and white clergy — parish priests of Volyn. The last group of inscriptions consists of memorials to local government leaders (“wojty”, “burmistry”), judges, townsmen, and peasants. The vast majority of the commemorations are records of residents of the present-day Volyn region (Volodymyr, Kovel, Lutsk, Kamin-Kashytskyi), as well as Zhytomyr, Lviv, Rivne, and Ternopil regions. In addition to the commemorations of people from the present-day territories of Ukraine, there are many records of residents of what is now Belarus and Poland, as well as Romania: Ignatius of Herculanea, lieutenant of the banner of the Vlach lord (1682), and two Moscow soldiers, Vahmistr Ivan Shostakivskyy and Mykhailo Hrabovskyy.

It cost a great deal of money to be recorded in a Pomianyky and for the monks to perform services for the repose of the souls of the dead. In 1742, the couple Prokopii and Yevdokiia Karas donated a gilded silver chalice and other items to the Nyzkynychi monastery, and the hieromonks were to perform a parastas for their loved ones on St. George’s Day every year.¹⁰³ In 1746, Petr and Mel-

100 Ibidem, n.u. 1789, Pomianyky of St Nicholas Pustynnyi monastery in Kyiv.

101 T.V. Dianova (Comp.), *Watermarks of the 17th Century in the Early Printed Books of Ukraine and Lithuania from the Collections of the State Historical Museum. Catalogue*, Moscow 1993, p. 126; T.V. Dianova, L.M. Kostyukhina (Comps.), *Watermarks of the Manuscripts of the 17th Century Russia. Based on the Materials of the Department of Manuscripts of Moscow State Historical Museum*, Moscow 1980, p. 147.

102 He donated the Cyrillic old print St John Chrysostom, *Homilies on St Paul’s Epistles*, published by Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in 1623, to Zahoriv monastery. Now this copy is kept in IBS VNLU under call number n.u. Cyr. 4p; M. Shamrai, op. cit., p. 130.

103 IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 1107, ff. 32v–33v.

ania Margas from Vytktiv donated a certain amount of money to the monastery, the amount of which is not specified, so that the parastas would be sent to the monastery annually on the feast of the Intercession of the Virgin Mary for the repose of their relatives.¹⁰⁴ In 1762, Mykhailo and Mariia Novostavskyi donated 200 gold zlotys to the monastery, in return for which the monks were obliged to perform two funeral liturgies every year.¹⁰⁵ In 1765, Danylo and Anastasiia Padkovskyi donated 300 gold zlotys to the monastery for three annual readings of the (silent) liturgy.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, Ignatius Koval of Hrybovych donated 100 gold zlotys to the monastery for one yearly liturgy.¹⁰⁷ Mykhailo Prystupa donated the most considerable amount for the commemoration in 1791 – 500 gold for the annual sung liturgy and parastas on Friday after the Descent of the Holy Spirit feast.¹⁰⁸ To compare prices, in 1762, *Festal Triodion* (Lviv 1746) cost 36 gold zlotys; in 1767, the same book cost 40 gold zlotys and *Gospels* (Lviv 1743) in 1792 – 58 gold zlotys.¹⁰⁹

Pomianyk, as a separate book genre of the Kyiv Metropolis, evolved from memorial records in manuscripts or prints. This book was mainly called Pomianyk, which came from the word “pomiany”, but the names Subotnyk, Synodikon, or Pomynalnytsia were also used. The 1625 “Mezhyhirya Pomianyk” proves that Pomianyk had his detailed bookkeeping model: a title page, preface, introduction, index, and various instructions. This book genre was important for the local community, as it was rewritten after becoming “old”. The “Nyzkynychi Pomianyk” records the amount of financial donations for the entry of names and shows the number of funeral services and their type depending on the amount paid.

Conclusions

The findings allow us to draw several conclusions. Pomianyk evolved as an independent genre of book in the parishes of the Kyiv Metropolis due to ensuring memory in life and after death. In human consciousness, there was the

104 Ibidem, f. 49v.

105 Ibidem, f. 53v.

106 Ibidem, f. 54v.

107 Ibidem, f. 54v.

108 Ibidem, f. 60.

109 Special Collection Department of Jagiellonian Library, n.u. 589843 III, *Gospels*, Lviv 1743, ff. 1–11; S. Voloshchenko, *Collection of Metropolitan Volodymyr (Sabodan). Manuscripts, Old Printed Books and Rare Editions. Catalogue*, Kyiv 2017, p. 190; Idem (Comp.), *Cyrillic Early Printed Books in the Collections of the Basilian Fathers Library of Saint Onuphrius Monastery of Lviv of the 16th–19th Centuries. Catalogue*, Zhovkva 2015, p. 70.

desire to obtain salvation for one's sinful soul, and absolution from sins arose, activated by the feeling of the inevitable end of earthly life. According to the study, these two integral concepts were satisfied through charity. Most donation records from the 16th to the 18th centuries contained requests for the salvation of the soul and the remission of sins. It was not uncommon for these records of donations to be supplemented by self-contained memorials, particularly in the 16th and 17th centuries Gospels. The growth in the number of "memorial spaces" and the variability of their manifestations in manuscript codices and early printed books, particularly the printed *Liturgicon* (1600–1712), required the development of a separate book to meet these needs. This was the Pomianyky, a book for recording the names of the dead. Its name comes from the first word of the priest's funeral proclamation, "Remember the souls of your servants, Lord...". The analysed materials of the 17th to 18th centuries showed that other names were also used, such as Subotnyky, which originates from the day of the week, Saturday, on which the commemoration of the dead was usually performed and, less often, Synodikon. An analysis of the structure of the Pomianyky from the Kyiv Metropolis territory in the early modern period has revealed their diversity.

The study of 1631 "Supraśl Pomianyky" and 1625 "Mezhyhirya Pomianyky" demonstrated a specific practice of keeping this type of book. It consisted of chapters, as in books of the time, with a preface, an introduction to the reader, the central part, and an index. The "Mezhyhirya Pomianyky" compiler urged subsequent scribes to be careful when keeping the book. It indicated that names should be entered in the genitive case according to the Monthly Book. The names of the Pomianyky were strictly in line with their local background, such as in "Lavriv Pomianyky", "Mezhyhirya Pomianyky", "Nyzkynychi Pomianyky", and "Supraśl Pomianyky". Pomianyky played an essential role in preserving memory and, after active use, were subject to material wear and tear, so they were necessarily rewritten in the 17th and 18th centuries; this is evidenced by the "Supraśl Pomianyky" (1500/1625) the Pomianyky of the Lutsk Brotherhood of the Elevation of the Cross (1618/1677), the Pomianyky of St Nicholas Pustynnyi monastery (last third of the 17th century), the "Kovel Pomianyky" (1633/1674), and the "Nyzkynychi Pomianyky" (1646/1741). The study of the material involved showed that the entry of names was paid for, which appealed to the Levites of the Old Testament: those who serve at the altar must abstain from the altar. The frequency and type of memorial services depended on the amount of money, as evidenced by the monument records of the second half of the 18th century in the "Nyzkynychi Pomianyky".

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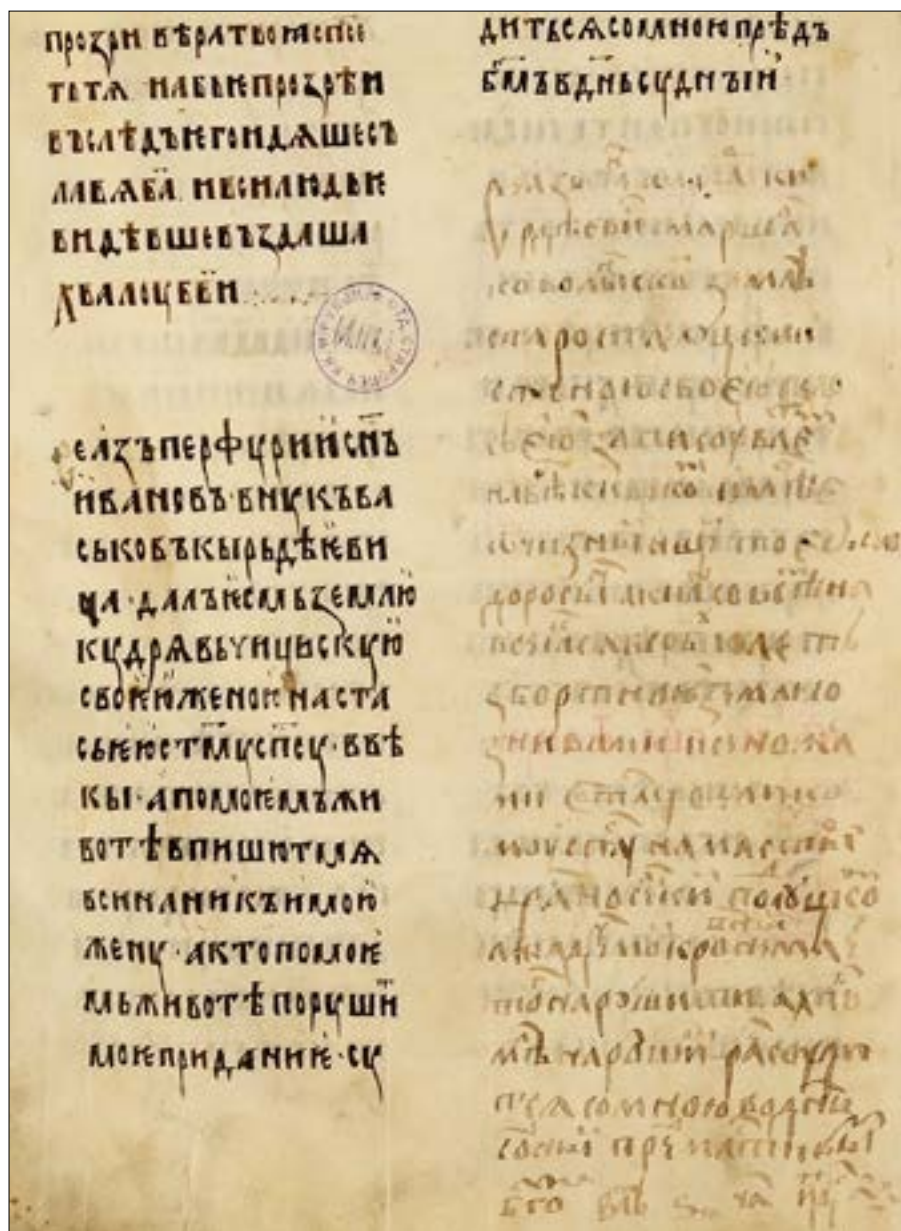
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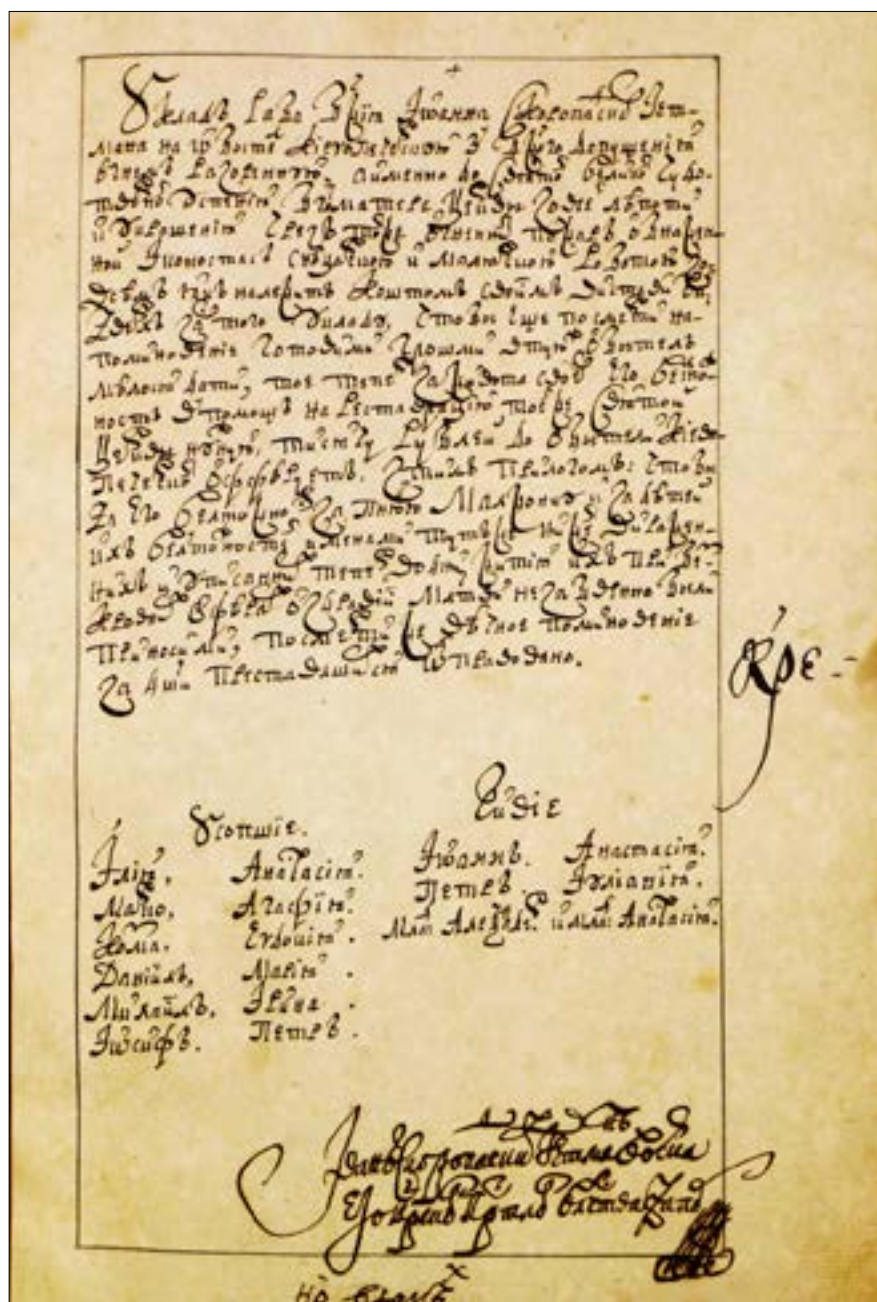
Source: RSL, c. Rum., n.u. 112, f. 153v. Photo: RSL





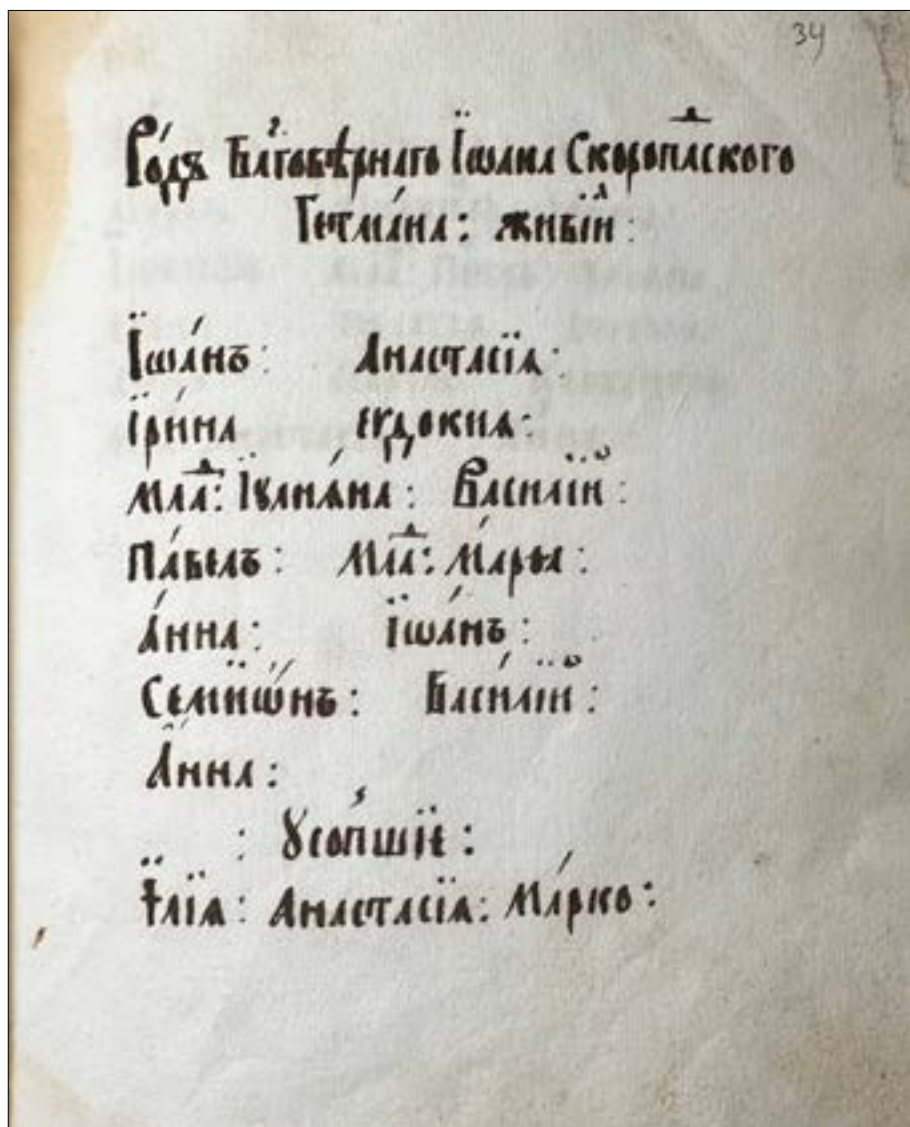
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Source: MSL, c. MS, n.u. C-164842, f. 16. Photo: MSL



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Source: IM VNLU, c. LM, n.u. 1107, f. 2. Photo: VNLU



