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THE PROSOPOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF THE UKRAINIAN EDITOR IN FOREWORDS AND DEDICATIONS TO CHURCH BOOKS OF THE 17—18th CENTURIES

The aim of this article is to show the heuristic potential of comparative analysis of forewords, dedications, and afterwords in Ukrainian old-printed church editions for portraying the image of the baroque editor. **The research methodology** is based on a prosopographic analysis of the personality of the Ukrainian editor, as reflected in the forewords, dedications, and afterwords of old-printed church books. **The scientific novelty** of the research lies in the innovative utilization of forewords, dedications, and afterwords to Ukrainian old-printed church editions as historical micro-sources of editor's personality exploration. This kind of source is regarded as a manifestation of a value system and pragmatic intentions that are common for the social group, connected with the work of Ukrainian printing houses of the early modern period. **Conclusions.** The prosopographic portrait of the Ukrainian church book of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editor reveals in a complex of mutually exclusive characteristics. On the one hand, the baroque editor portrays himself as a spiritual leader who cares for the church community by performing tangible acts such as providing books, which are

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critical for the salvation of souls in the battle against sin. This edge of the editor's personality acknowledges God's help in all stages of book publishing and manifests a true belief in God's providence to take care of the book after its release. On the other hand, the editor of the church book reveals himself as a profit-seeker. This edge of the editor's personality is demonstrated by his readiness to use a powerful person's protection or, if relevant, his own social privileges to get financial advantages for the printing house. The image of a generous patron who supports the development of book printing is depicted in texts of dedications to church editions as an attempt to build up the fashion for financial support of church book printing, presenting it as a virtue worthy of a heavenly reward. The competitiveness of church book editors is evidenced by the discussions on the accuracy of translation and reliability of sources, which are seen in the forewords to particular editions of books for church ceremonies. Such a dualistic form of the editor's self-presentation reflects the typical worldview of the Ukrainian baroque connection of selfless service to God, with expectations not only for salvation in eternity but also for prosperity in the earthly life.

Keywords: *book history, editor personality, prosopographic analysis, Ukrainian book printing, the seventeenth century, Baroque, dedication, foreword.*

The anthropological approach to the study of pre-modern Ukrainian history necessitates the inclusion of all documents that depict the essence of the era through the prism of human creativity. The substantiation amount of available sources, their representativeness, informativeness, ability to reflect the values and ideas of various social groups are claimed to be the main criteria, demanded for making persuasive conclusions on the relevant cultural phenomenon. The documents, which represent the era of Ukrainian early modern culture, are characterized by historians as limited and slightly representative [1]. That is why all the generalizations about Ukrainian culture of that period meet fair criticism, based on failure to support the conclusions by appropriate historical sources. Natalia Yakovenko pays attention on the massive gap between intellectual creators and intended consumers of their cultural products, due to which the picturesque image of the culture which we used to imagine, was formed by researchers utilizing the finest aesthetic and intellectual accomplishments of an "elitarian type" [2, P. 107—108].

The dedications and forewords to Ukrainian editions of the 17—18th centuries belong to that "elitarian type" of historical sources, which reflect the values and intentions of a well-educated social group associated with the operation of various printing houses on ethnic Ukrainian lands. Although these sources do not represent a wide range of early modern society, they are quite significant for studying the manifestations of book editors' personalities.

The peculiarities of the forewords, dedications, and afterwords to the old-printed books as historical sources connected with their specific place in overall structure of a book. The typical arrangement of textual parts in old-printed books is as follows: "title page", "dedication", "foreword", "preface", "contents", "main body", "afterword". In this order, the "dedication" and "foreword" come before the "main body", while the "afterword" concludes the "main body" section. As a rule, "dedication", "foreword", and "afterword" had no pagination, and were not mentioned in the list

of book chapters (“Contents”). Hence, these sections were formally excluded from the entire structure of the old-printed book. Their function was to give some editorial comments.

In general, the purpose of the foreword, dedication, and afterword in an old-printed Ukrainian book is similar to their equivalents in modern book structure. In the dedication, the editors of the old-printed book recognized the assistance of a particular person or social group in the preparation of the edition. The foreword prepared the reader for the consumption of the book. It emphasized the book’s central concept, practical intent, distinctive structure, and peculiarities of the printing process. The aim of the afterword was to provide specific information about the text that the reader had already read. Some afterwords analyzed the history of the book’s publication and offered explanations for typographical errors. The common idea, reflected in afterwords to old-printed editions, was the acknowledgement of God’s assistance in the creation of the book.

In old Ukrainian books, however, the lines between the foreword and dedication were so blurred that each of them could contain any of the above-mentioned elements: information on the printing process, book-specific facts, glorification of God, and appreciation of benefactors. Besides the information on particular book, some forewords, afterwords, and dedications contained evidences of the history of a certain printing house, estimation of some historical events, and biographical data.

Yaroslav Isaevych identified certain dedications, forewords, and afterwords to Ukrainian old-printed editions as specific narrative sources of book printing history. However, he demonstrated the numerous inconsistencies that undermine these sources’ credibility. For instance, the publication date indicated in the introduction or afterword may differ from the publication date indicated in archive documents. The patron’s virtues are frequently exaggerated in dedications in order to attract the patron’s attention to the printing house [3, P. 9].

The literary style of “dedication”, “foreword”, and “afterword” in Ukrainian old-printed books is characterized by emotional appeals to the reader and the use of various language figures (allegory, metaphor, oxymoron, etc.). Under this rich artistic language, the forewords, dedications, and afterwords of old-printed Ukrainian books reveal the editor’s personality, his editorial policy perspective, and his vision of the ideal addressee, which was symptomatic of the book culture of the time. This type of sources is useful for microhistorical analysis of individual experience within the boundaries of a distinct social group, such as book publishers.

Since the 1980s, just a few historical and cultural studies have examined the heuristic potential of forewords, dedications, and afterwords in Ukrainian old-printed editions. The article by Olena Dzuba was one of the few studies of the forewords and afterwords of Ukrainian old-printed editions as documents explicating the value orientations of early-modern education [4, P. 135—148]. In her articles, Ludmyla Sazonova examines the expansive scope of forewords and afterwords in old Ukrainian-printed editions [5]. Studying the literary form of these texts, she made valuable suggestions concerning the image of their author,

whose personality was specially stressed, compared to the forewords to Russian editions, which were focused mainly on glorifying the Tsar [5, P. 158]. According to L. Sazonova, the purpose of including the author's name in the foreword text was to identify a patron-pleasing individual [5, P. 159]. The image of the author that emerges from the forewords, dedications, and afterwords of Ukrainian old-printed editions is that of a person ready to make sacrifices and aware of the significance of his mission [5, P. 166—167]. Our analysis of the forewords, dedications, and afterwords to a large number of 17th- and 18th-century Ukrainian church books allows us to expand on L. Sazonova's conclusions regarding the Ukrainian editor's personality and demonstrate its correlation with the ethical and aesthetic values of the Baroque period.

The texts of Ukrainian old-printed books' dedications were considered as a historical document through which the editor revealed his expectations of the book's recipient and the values prevalent in book culture at the time [6]. Ludmyla Kvasiuk used the dedications to Kostiantyn Ostrozky that were included in editions of polemical works as a resource for identifying the ideal governor as seen by editors of the 16th century [7].

In foreign studies, the texts of dedications are analyzed in the context of book printing, as well as the history of everyday life. In the article of A. Spagnoletti, the dedications to Neapolitan books in the seventeenth century are revised as a manifestation of a customer relationship, patronage, and service between the author/publisher and the particular addressees of the books, as well as the evidence of the facts from the lives of intellectuals in the seventeenth century [8].

This study aims to demonstrate the heuristic potential of a comparative analysis of the forewords, dedications, and afterwords of Ukrainian old-printed church books for depicting the image of the baroque editor.

The existence of dedications, forewords, and afterwords in the numerous types of Ukrainian old-printed editions from the 16th to 18th centuries, such as church service books, theological works, hagiography, religious poetry, panegyrics, and educational publications, attests to their representativeness as historical micro-sources for studying the editor's personality of the early modern period. Our research was limited to dedications, forewords, and afterwords from old-printed church books. The high demand on the Ukrainian book market between the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in a large number of reeditions of this particular category of editions.

According to the consolidated catalogue of Ukrainian old-printed editions by Ya. Zapasko and Ya. Isaevych from 1576 to 1800, Ukrainian printing houses published more than 550 church editions. *Psalter* (130 reeditions) and *Horologion* (75 reeditions) demonstrate the greatest demand; however, the majority of reeditions of these types of books lacked forewords and/or dedications and afterwords. The most examples of foreword, dedication, and afterword appeared in editions of books used for church ceremonies: *Apostolos* (over 20 reeditions), *Gospel* (over 25 reeditions), *Sluzhebnyk* (over 45 reeditions), *Anthologion* (over 15 reeditions),

Octoechos (over 30 reeditions), *Triodion* and *Pentecostarion* (over 20 reeditions), and *Trebnyk* (over 40 reeditions)¹.

The availability of church old-printed book forewords, dedications, and afterwords as historical sources is a complex issue at present. Some of the church books containing such structural elements are stored outside the borders of Ukraine in unique copies. Not all the copies of old-printed church books in the collections of various libraries are complete, so not all of them contain the forewords, dedications, and afterwords. In this situation, the scientific reedition of their entire collection is essential for the facilitation of work with these sources. In the late 1920s, such a project was discussed [11], but it has not yet been implemented. The reeditions of the fragments from the most significant forewords to Slavonic old-printed editions in the catalogue by P. Stroev [12] and collected by F. Titov full-text reeditions of over 60 texts of forewords and dedications to books, printed in Kyiv Pechersk Lavra [13] are nearly unique collections of these sources.

On the basis of a comparative analysis of more than one hundred texts of forewords, dedications, and afterwords to Ukrainian church books of the 17th and 18th centuries, available in the collection of the V.I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, we can identify at least three major angles of the editor's personality, as revealed by these texts.

The good shepherd

Despite variations in content, forewords and dedications in early-printed Ukrainian church books have a largely constant purpose. In an effort to convince the reader of the book's importance, authors of forewords and dedications prove own competence by emphasizing theological expertise, high social standing and spiritual authority. In majority of the forewords and dedications in 17th century church books, the name and titles of the author are indicated in the beginning or at the end of the text.

Three social groups can be identified as being responsible for the content of forewords and dedications in Ukrainian church books based on the nature of the relationship between the author of the foreword or dedication and the printing house that published the book. These are: 1) representatives of the highest levels of the church hierarchy who patronized the printing house; 2) the heads of monasteries that founded the printing house; or 3) the printing house's employees.

Among the representatives of the highest level of the church hierarchy, the personalities of Hedeon Balaban, Petro Mohyla, Arseniy Zheliborsky, and Lazar Baranovych are indicated as authors of forewords to particular church books. The foreword to the first in Ukrainian publishing edition of *Sluzhebnyk* from 1604 (ZI № 65²) was written in the name of Hedeon Balaban, who is referred as a hum-

¹ The statistics is seen in indexes to the catalogues [9, P. 122—123; 10, P. 97—99].

² Here and after we make references to the number of bibliographic description of the editions in the Union Catalogue by Ya. Zapasko and Ya. Isayevych [9, 10].

ble bishop of Lviv, Halych, and Kamianets-Podilsky, exarch of the Constantinople throne [14, P. [2]]. This book was published in a small printing house, founded in Striatyn estate of Balaban's family. The bishop of Lviv, Halych and Kamianets-Podilsky, Arseniy Zheliborsky, addressed the church clergymen in a foreword to *Trebnyk* of 1645 (ZI № 335), printed in his own printing house. He also signed forewords to *Sluzhebnyk* (ZI № 352) and *Nomocanon* (ZI № 351) of 1646, printed by Mykhailo Sliozka on Arseniy Zheliborsky's request. The formula of self-naming at the end of these forewords is the following: "The one who wishes beloved all goods in this life and in the eternity" [15, Sh. [7] back]. From the position of the Orthodox archbishop, Metropolitan of Kyiv, Halych and all Rus, Exarch of Constantinople throne, and archimandrite of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, Petro Mohyla addressed all clergymen in his foreword to *Sluzhebnyk* of 1639 (ZI № 273), printed by Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. In dedication to the edition of *Triodion* of 1640 (ZI № 282), Petro Mohyla appealed to the secular men, Kyiv governor, Fedir Proskura Sushchansky. In both appellations, to clergymen and to Sushchansky, Petro Mohyla calls himself "our humblity" [16, Sh. [9] back]. Lazar Baranovych signed the foreword to the reader in the *Anthologion* of 1678 (ZI № 555), printed in Novhorod-Siversky. In contrast to usual custom, in which the name and titles of the archbishop were stated in the beginning of the foreword, Lazar Baranovych only lists his titles at the end of the text: "the archbishop of Chernihiv, Novhorod and all Siversk" [17, Sh. [4] back].

The most numerous group of church book foreword authors consists of archimandrites and hegumens from monasteries where printing houses were established. In the church editions of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra from the seventeenth century to the first decade of the eighteenth century, we can observe nearly the entire succession of archimandrites who supervised the printing process at that time. Inscriptions by the following individuals appear in the forewords of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra editions: Yelisey Pletenetsky (in *Horologion* of 1616 (ZI № 109), *Anthologion* of 1619 (ZI № 120), *Sluzhebnyk* of 1620 (ZI № 134); Zakhariia Kopystensky (in *Triodion* of 1627 (ZI № 160); Petro Mohyla (in *Sluzhebnyk* of 1629 (ZI № 193), *Pentecostarion* of 1631 (ZI № 220), *Anthologion* of 1636 (ZI № 252), *Sluzhebnyk* of 1639 (ZI № 273), *Trebnyk* of 1646 (ZI № 354); Yosyp Tryzna (in *Sluzhebnyk* of 1653 (ZI № 383); Innokentiy Gizel (in *Minea Zahalna* of 1680 (ZI № 584); Meletiy Vuyakhevych (in *New Testament and Psalter* of 1692 (ZI № 676); Yoasaf Krokovsky (in *Psalter* of 1697 (ZI № 716), *Octoechos* of 1699 (ZI № 744), *Sluzhebnyk* of 1708 (ZI № 837); Ilarion (in *Akathists book* of 1709 (ZI № 851), and Afanasiy Myslavsky (in *Horologion* of 1713 (ZI № 886). Varlaam Holenkovsky, who was nominated for a position of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra archimandrite, signed the foreword to *Psalter* of 1715 (ZI № 902). Several church books printed in Chernihiv Trinity-St. Elias Monastery include the forewords by archimandrite Lavrentiy Krshchonovych (in *Pentecostarion* of 1685 (ZI № 626), *Three Akaphists Prayer Book* of 1691 (ZI № 666) and 1697 (ZI № 715); archimandrite Herman Kononovych (in *New Testament* of 1717 (ZI № 925) and hegumen Kalist Menovsky (in *Prayer Book* of 1687 (ZI № 638). Being at the position of Univ archimandrite, Varlaam Sheptytsky signed the forewords

to the reader in the Univ *Horologion* of 1671 (ZI № 492) and 1674 (ZI № 523), *Akaphists book* of 1678 (ZI № 559), and the *Psalter* of 1678 (ZI № 561) and 1687 (ZI № 640). The hegumen of the Lviv monastery of Saint George, Dionisiy Sinkevych, wrote the dedication to the *Psalter* of 1688 (ZI № 644), and the further hegumenon, Yosyp Skolsky, wrote a foreword to *Irmologion* of 1700 (ZI № 752), printed in Lviv monastery of Saint George. The latest example of dedication, signed by clerical authority, was Pochaiv *Sluzhebnyk* of 1734 (ZI № 1229). It was signed by hegumen Hedeon Kozubsky.

Among the authors of seventeenth-century forewords to church books, there is also a small group of well-educated and talented people with no high titles in the church hierarchy. Damian Nalyvaiko, Konstiantyn Ostrozky's home prist, signed the foreword to Ostroh *Trebnyk* of 1606 (ZI № 69). The Lviv Brotherhood *Psalter* of 1615 (ZI № 99) had a dedication signed by hieromonk Kyryl. The foreword to the reader in the Kyiv Pechersk *Psalter* of 1624 (ZI № 141) was signed by monk Yosyp Kyrylovych. Filofey Kizarevych, the hieromonk of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, signed the foreword-dedication to the *Akaphists book*, printed in 1625 (ZI № 142). At the end of the foreword to Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Sluzhebnyk* of 1629 (ZI № 193), hieromonk Tarasiy Zemka called himself "preacher and proofreader of the typography" [13, P. 211]. The "proofreader" Yosafat was mentioned as an author of the foreword to the Kyiv Pechersk *Poluustav* editions of 1672 (ZI № 504) and 1682 (ZI № 606).

In the forewords and dedications to church editions, the archimandrite's and hegumen's authorship was often shared with all the stuff of the monastery. Quite common the author of the foreword was defined in a formula "Hegumen [name] and brothers of the [name of the monastery]". For instance, in the foreword to edition of *Sluzhebnyk* of 1637 (ZI № 258) the addresser of this text is named as "all together brothers of the brotherhood church of Dormition, and the lessest in the typography Mykhailo Sliozka" [18, Sh. [4] back].

In Ukrainian book printing of the 17th century, Lviv private publisher M. Sliozka played the unique role, as he managed to form a competition for the biggest publishers of church book: Lviv Brotherhood and Kyiv Pechersk Lavra printing houses. During 1639—1667 the private printing house of M. Sliozka published highly demanded church books: *Apostolos* of 1639 (ZI № 270), *Psalter* of 1639 (ZI № 272), *Octoechos* of 1640 (ZI № 280), *Pentecostarion* of 1642 (ZI № 302), *Trebnyk* of 1644 (ZI № 325), *Nomocanon* of 1646 (ZI № 351), *Sluzhebnyk* of 1646 (ZI № 352), *Trio-dion* of 1664 (ZI № 417), *Gospel* of 1665 (ZI № 421), and others. Some of these books were printed in violation of an agreement stating that M. Sliozka was not permitted to publish books that were in the repertoire of the Lviv Brotherhood printing house. The distinction between M. Sliozka's forewords lies in the position of the narrator, who pays close attention to both his own presentation and the glorification of his patrons. We will later revise the nuances of such an editor's position.

In addition to church editions, where the signature of an individual enhances the credibility of a text, there are numerous editions where the editor's appeal is concealed by a collective author. This occurs frequently with Lviv Brotherhood printing

house editions. The forewords to the reader in all reeditions of Lviv *Anthologion* of 1638 (ZI № 259), *Octoechos* of 1630 (ZI № 205), *Psalter* of 1697 (ZI № 717), *Triodion* of 1664 (ZI № 416), *Horologion* of 1642 (ZI № 303), and forewords to clergymen in reeditions of *Sluzhebnyk* of 1666 (ZI № 432), *Trebnyk* of 1682 (ZI № 608), and in *Apostolos* of 1666 (ZI № 430) are signed by the formula “*The brothers of church brotherhood in the church of Dormition/Stauropegion church of Dormition*”. In Kyiv Pechers Lavra printing house, the dedication to the second edition of *Triodion* 1648 (ZI № 371) is signed by “*humbled acolytes, all in Christ brothers of Pechersk Kyiv monastery*” [19, Sh. [5] back]. The collective author, referred as “*monks from Kyiv Pechersk monastery*” [20, Sh. [6]], addressed the reader in forewords to edition of *Poluustav* of 1691 (ZI № 667) and *Apostolos* of 1695 (ZI № 696). In Univ *Sluzhebnyk* of 1747 (ZI № 1588) forewords to clergymen was inscripted by “*the gathering of Univ monastery*” [21, Sh. [2]]. In Pochaiv edition of *Pentecostarion* of 1747 (ZI № 1594) the foreword is inscripted by “*monks of holy order of Saint Basil the Great, dormitory of Pochaiv monastery*” [22, Sh. [3] back].

Only in a small number of church book forewords, the author's signature is missing. These are: the texts of prayers to God in Lviv *Gospel* of 1644 (ZI № 322) and its reeditions, and Kyiv *Gospel* of 1697 (ZI № 712); foreword to the reader in Derman *Octoechos* of 1604 (ZI № 64), Lviv *Octoechos* of 1639 (ZI № 271), 1644 (ZI № 323), and 1765 (ZI № 2367), Novhorod-Siversky *Psalter* of 1675 (ZI № 525), Kyiv-Pechersk *Trebnyk* of 1652 (ZI № 380) and its reedition of 1681 (ZI № 599), Kyiv *Octoechos* of 1704 (ZI № 797), Kyiv *Horologion* of 1747 (ZI № 1595); the prayer to Divine Mary in Lviv *Octoechos* of 1686 (ZI № 630) and 1700 (ZI № 754) and 1733 (ZI № 1217) that were used as dedication.

Regardless of the precise authorship of the foreword, afterword, and dedications to church books, the fact that the majority of them were signed by representatives of the highest level of church hierarchy enables their content to be perceived as the shared worldview of this social group. And this worldview demonstrates the dominance of pastorship mode in building communication with the reader.

From the position of a pastor, the editor places great emphasis on highlighting the significance of his mission. In church book dedications and prefaces, the task of book printing is portrayed as one of the greatest social demands. In a dedication to Yosyp Tryzna in the 1640 edition of *Triodion* (ZI № 371), Petro Mohyla expresses this concept metaphorically by comparing the church book to nutrition. He compares the printing house of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra to a warehouse, and editions of *Triodion* to loaves of bread that are periodically revised to satisfy the hunger of all starving people: “*...Literary Storehouse, by which I mean local printing-house, for feeding by spiritual bread from it ... for Orthodox Sons for lack of copies do not starve ... because not all Orthodox sons got that Bread to feed enough, that's why we make it frequently, for the third time this year, before the lenthen, Saint Quinquagesima, Spiritual Bread, Triodion or Three Songs book.*” [19, Sh. [2]]. Lavrentiy Krshchonovych's dedication to Lazar Baranovych in Chernihiv *Pentecostarion* of 1685 employs the shepherd metaphor, which compares the church book to sheep nutrition: “*...like*

the head of the Pastors, Christ, herding in flowers, and herding them by God's blessing, when so many Inspired and useful Books to his herd gave. The books are the green pastures for wordy sheep according to Ambrosius thoughts" [23, Sh. [3]].

In the editions of *Trebnys* and *Sluzhebnyks* addressed to clergymen, the pastor's primary responsibility is to instruct in the proper worship of the ceremony. In Yelisey Pletenetsky's introduction to Orthodox clergymen, the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra archimandrite convinces the reader to use this book as the only source for liturgical ceremony preparation. He compares the contents of the book to the waters of Jacob's well, from which a good minister should fill the cup with holy gifts: "...do not drink from an alien source. But here is for you (honoured fathers co-servants, and our beloved brothers) Jacob's fountain. This is the pious' well of Holy Mother of God's church, from the God's blessing makes and pronounces the book of Saint God's Liturgies ... It is worthy and righteous to dissolve and drink the cup from this well" [13, P. 29—30].

By declaring the significance of prayer in the spiritual life of a believer, the forewords and dedications of church books illuminate the role of the editor as a pastor for the reader. The obvious concept regarding the significance of prayer is frequently illustrated with highly emotional examples. In the dedication to Lviv Octoechos of 1686 (ZI № 630), for instance, the strength of a prayer is illustrated by mentioning the Blessed Virgin Mary's assistance in defending the city of Lviv: "*We got to know bountifully your Intercession, Virgin Mary, to all of us, who sought for you and prayed. And your great blessing and grace protection and defendance in Rus God-forsaken city Lviv, and all its citizens, this way before from enemy barbarian invasions were saved only due to your protection*" [24, Sh. [3]]. The author of the dedication enhances the emotional effect of this example by mentioning a more recent instance of the city being saved by the Blessed Virgin Mary: "*In year 1672, as soon as Asyrians Turcs Scytovs as a seven-headed dragons from Tartaria and from their Asian and Tavruda lairs with their numerous and countless strangers attacked, besieged this city Lviv, strung their bows, and attempted great and horrifying assults, tunnels to the city, shooted, launched grenades with flame, threatened to rob brutally and empty by sword and fire*" [24, Sh. [3]]. Due to the sincere prayer in the church of Dormition, the enemy retrited: "*the enemy was frightened by the thunder from the sky*" [24, Sh. [3]].

In the 1713 Kyiv edition of *Horologion* (ZI № 886), the editor's preface to the orthodox reader emphasizes the significance of prayer during battle: "*For the reason that during the fightings, the prayer is the most useful, Orthodox reader, because it is the invincible fortresses for warriors, courage to warlords, and gives good advices*" [25, Sh. [2]]. This text was signed by archimandrite Afanasiy Myslavsky. As proof of the magical power of prayer, the author recalls a naturalistic episode from the Old Testament story about Judit, who went to the enemy camp unarmed and cut off the enemy commander's head: "*Who is more infirm in a struggle than a woman? Though a prayer fortifies woman's infirmity and woman's lake of courage in such a way, and gives her such a great boldness, that as ...she didn't feel scared to enter enemy regiments ... she didn't feel scared to take the sword out of scabbard, not only she felt unterrified, not only she felt unfrighten to cut down the head of the scariest abuser, but also she took*

his bloody head and dared to bring it through many enemy regiments to her city. How could she get such bravery? The Scripture evidences that it was due to a prayer" [25, Sh. [2]]. As the entire life is compared to a battle, this story explains the necessity of the *Horologion* edition in the present circumstance: "*I made this useful book Chasoslov for you, Godly Reader, as I'm telling to you, who live in battles: the human's life on the earth is a struggle (according to Job Righteous)*" [25, Sh. [2]].

In the forewords and dedications of church book editions, all evidences of the importance and power of prayer are used to confirm the importance of the book and thus to substantiate the reason for its publication.

In the forewords to 17th-century church books, representatives of the highest level of church hierarchy addressed their readers as true believers in need of spiritual guidance. These oversights are conducted not only through words, but also through truly good deeds, such as the publication of books for spiritual growth. The mode of the sermon, which predominates in the texts of forewords and dedications to church editions, employs biblical stories and life events to illustrate theological postulates. The style of writing in various forewords and dedications may be more or less emotional and contain more or less figurative language. However, the author's position remains unchanged. It reveals a self-assured author who asserts the critical significance of church book printing. Such a high editor's self-assessment in a baroque way is combined with another edge of his personality — humbleness in front of the God's face.

The humbled slave

The art decoration of significant number of church books expresses the editor's strive of getting the support from the one, who has a power. According to the baroque worldview, the reason for everything, including men's creativity, is God. Almost every old-printed church book holds in its artistic structure the expectation of God's existence in every stage of book production and distribution. The engraving, which pictures the divine patron of the monastery where the printing house is established, is presented on title leaves and in the frontispieces of most church books. Aside from that, there is a verbal tradition that glorifies the divine addressee as a patron of book printing.

In the 17th century, Jesus Christ and Saint Mary were frequently addressed in dedications to church books. The main message of such dedications to the divine addressee was to present the book as a sacrifice. In the first short foreword to Kyiv Pechersk Lavra printing house *Sluzhebnyk* of 1629, signed by Petro Mohyla, this book is presented as a metaphorical contribution to Jesus Christ, comparable to the payment a tribute to the owner of a the vineyard or to the loaner: "*...instead of given to me the first year fruits of vine, and given from your mercy the rest of talents, the tribute sign ...*" [13, P. 197]. The authors of the dedication to the Mother of God in the 1663 Lviv Brotherhood printing house edition of *Pentecostarion* state that this book was written with God's blessing and the help of the Virgin Mary, which is why it is a gift to Her [26, Sh. [2] back].

M. Sliozka composed the foreword to the Lviv *Gospel* of 1665 in the form of a prayer of gratitude. This text's title states the following: "*The grateful prayer to Sovereign Lord, one in three persons, the creator of this book*" [27, Sh. 2]. The editor requests that God be credited as the book's author, referring to himself as a mere instrument: "...*To You this book Saint Gospel I prescribe, sacrifice, and give for Your protection, because You helped me while I was making this Book, and it was produced through me, as a weak vessel, You've made it as it is, so take it, as a thankful gift from me...*" [27, Sh. 3].

In church editions, the words of thanksgiving were typically placed at the end of the text section as an afterword. The final page of Kyiv Pechersk *Sluzhebnyk*, published in 1692, includes a brief prayer for assistance in producing this book: "*To God one in Saint Trinity and undividable cherished, Father, and Son, and Saint Spirit, who gave us to begin and to make this Book, let it be honor, glory, and worship, now and forever, and ever. Amen*" [28, Sh. 120 back].

The insertion of prayer into editorial texts conceals a desire for certain benefits. Initially, it presents the publication of the book as a doing God's will, for which the editor can attain salvation. Second, by proclaiming God to be the true author of the book, the editor is able to absolve himself of all the inconsistencies and typographical errors in the text. The forewords to one of the earliest editions of Ukrainian book printing, the *New Testament and Psalter* of Ostroh from 1580, vividly illustrate this aspect of the editor's self-presentation. The author of the foreword, Herasym Smotrytsky, one of the most intelligent philologist and polyglots of his time, called himself a "*sinful and impotent person*", who "*was afraid of initiating*" translation of the Bible into Church-Slavonic language, as he was "*aware of his brain wideness and lack of language competence*" (cited by [12, P. 47]). The same author in the foreword to Ostroh Bible postulates himself as "*sinful and worthless slave*", who humbly asked God to use somebody, who "*was awarded better gifts*", to correct mistakes that were made in text [29, Sh. [2]].

In lieu of dedications to divine addresses, many church books contained dedications to human patrons. The engravings with the patron's coat of arms displayed the patron's glorification within the artistic structure of the old-printed book. Frequently, these engravings were placed on the reverse side of a title leaf and, on occasion, in the frame of the title leaf. In a number of Ukrainian church editions, the patron's family coat of arms is accompanied by poetry and a dedication text that praises the family's virtues and nobility. During the 17th and 18th centuries, editors of Ukrainian church books used such dedications to appeal to specific groups of influential people.

In the bibliography, there are references to over 25 dedications to patrons that were published in Ukrainian church books during the first part of the 17th century. These dedications were addressed to representatives of Ukrainian nobility and church authorities. For instance, Konstantyn Ostrozky (in Derman *Octoechos* of 1604 (ZI № 64), Yanush Ostrozky (in Ostroh *Horologion* of 1612 (ZI № 87), Hanna Hodkevychivna Koretska (in Lviv *Psalter* of 1615 (ZI № 99), and Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Akaphists book* of 1625 (ZI № 142), Yelisey Pletenetsky and family of

Dolmats (in Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Psalter* of 1624 (ZI № 141), Petro Mohyla (in M. Sliozka's printing house *Apostolos* of 1639 (ZI № 270), Hrygoriy Chetvertynsky (in printing house of Pavlo Telytsia *Psalter* of 1625 (ZI № 147), and *Horologion* of 1629 (ZI № 194), Yov Boretsky (in printing house of Tymofiy Verbytsky *Horologion* of 1625 (ZI № 148) and 1626 (ZI № 151), Bohdan Stetkevych (in printing house of Spyrydon Sobol *Apostolos* of 1630 (ZI № 203), Oleksandr Balaban (in part of circulation of Lviv *Octoechos* of 1630 (ZI № 205), Myron Barnavsky (in part of circulation of Lviv *Octoechos* of 1630 (ZI № 205), Moisey Mohyla (in part of circulation of Lviv *Octoechos* of 1630 (ZI № 205); in part of circulation of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Pentecostarion* of 1631 (ZI № 220), Kateryna Bohovytna Yarmolynska (in part circulation of Lviv *Octoechos* of 1630 (ZI № 205), family of Kropyvnytsky (in part of circulation of Lviv Anthologion of 1632 (ZI № 227), Ivan Boyarsky (in part of circulation of *Anthologion* of 1632 (ZI № 227), Tomash Zamoysky (in part of circulation of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Pentecostarion* of 1631 (ZI № 220), Fedir Proskura Sushchansky (in Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Triodion* of 1640 (ZI № 282), Maksymilian Brozovsky (in Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Poluustav* of 1643 (ZI № 314), Isaia Suliatsynsky (in M. Sliozka's printing house *Octoechos* of 1640 (ZI № 280), Petro Mohyla, Adam Mefodiy Kysil, Vasyl Lupul, and Matey Basarab (in different parts of circulation of M. Sliozka's printing house *Pentecostarion* of 1642 (ZI № 302), Yosyp Tryzna (in Kyiv Pechersk Lavra *Triodion* of 1648 (ZI № 371).

Since the second half of the seventeenth century, the number of dedications in Ukrainian church editions has decreased significantly. The circle of individuals to whom church books were dedicated was narrowed to include only the highest-ranking members of the church hierarchy. Between 1650 and 1750, the bibliography identifies eight dedication texts with the following addresses: Arseniy Zheliborsky (in M. Sliozka's printing house *Apostolos* of 1654 (ZI № 385), Afanasiy Zheliborsky (in M. Sliozka's printing house *Triodion* of 1664 (ZI № 417), Yosyp Shumliansky (in Lviv monastery of Saint George printing house *Psalter* of 1688 (ZI № 644), Lazar Baranovych (in Chernihiv *Pentecostarion* of 1685 (ZI № 626), Feodosiy Uglytsky (in Chernihiv *Prayer Book* of 1693 (ZI № 684), Feodosiy Rudnytsky (in Pochaiv *Sluzhebnyk* of 1735 (ZI № 1236), Leon Sheptytsky and Fylyp Volodkovych (in different parts of circulation of Lviv brotherhood printing house *Sluzhebnyk* of 1759 (ZI № 2085). Besides that, there are dedications, signed by Univ archimandrite Varlaam Sheptytsky addressed to his father, Zakharia Sheptytsky (in Univ *Psalter* of 1678 (ZI № 561), to his uncle, Anatoly Vynnytsky (in Univ *Akaphists book* of 1678 (ZI № 559), and to Andriy Zhuravsky (in Univ *Psalter* of 1687 (ZI № 640). Beginning from the 1660s, members of the royal Romanov dynasty were lauded in dedications to some Ukrainian old-printed books. Church books contain only a few such dedications: to tsar Fedir Oleksiyovych (in Kyiv Pechersk *Mineia Zabalna* of 1680 (ZI № 584), and Oleksiy Petrovych (in Kyiv Pechersk *Poluustav* of 1691 (ZI № 667).

During the 1690s and 1710s, the structure of church books was influenced by the tradition of cherishing the new social elite, kosak authorities. Dedications to Ivan

Mazepa (in Chernihiv *Three Akaphists Prayer Book* of 1691 (ZI № 666), and *Poluustav* of 1703 (ZI № 788), Ivan Obydovsky (in Chernihiv *Three Akaphists Prayer Book* of 1697 (ZI № 715), and Ivan Skoropadky (in Chernihiv *Psalter* of 1712 (ZI № 876), *Prayer Book* of 1714 (ZI № 894), *Psalter* of 1716 (ZI № 915), and *New Testament* of 1717 (ZI № 925) were the only surviving traces of this tradition.

By praising the recipients of dedications from whom the editor of a church book seeks financial support, he encourages them to make future contributions. When describing a patron's qualities, the editor highlights those that benefit the printing house [6, P. 303]. According to rhetorical tradition, in a dedication, the addresser's self-nomination is frequently used in contrast to the addressee's nomination. The diversity of the patronage is reflected in the diversity of the nomination formulas. In the dedication to Tomash Zamoysky, the addressee is referred to as "*Royal sir*," while Petro Mohyla refers to himself as "*By God's will, archimandryt*" [30, Sh. [2]]. The archimandryte Lavrentiy Krshchonovych in dedication to colonel Ivan Obydovsky, uses the contrastive naming: "*Your Nobility*" — "*an unworthy praying person*" [31, Sh. [10] back]. The contrastive pair "*Father and Shepard*" [19, Sh. [2]] — "*humble brothers*" [19, Sh. [5] back] is used in the dedication to the newly elected archimandrite, Yosyp Tryzna, signed by his subordinates, brothers of the monastery. In addressing their bishop, Feodosiy Rudnytsky-Liubynetsky, the monks of Pochaiv monastery employ a pair of emotional contrastive nominations: "*Royal Chief Shepherd and our Benefactor*" — "*True prayers and the lowest of slaves*" [32, Sh. [3] back].

In dedications to secular and religious authorities, the addressers position themselves as grateful prayers for the wellbeing of the donor. Regardless of their position in the church hierarchy, authors of dedications frequently position themselves as someone whose prayer can bring the addressee both heavenly and earthly benefits. The editors of Ukrainian church books sought to establish a tradition of patronage for book printing as a highly profitable action for the donor. By funding a church book edition, the patron becomes a participant in the realization of God's will. So he gains a chance to obtain his own salvation.

The modest self-nominations covered the church book editor's Christian position as God's slave and grateful beneficiary of patrons' fundings. However, the desire for self-profit is visible in this "humbled" position. The editor saw this profit as God's reward for printing a church book and receiving funds from the patron, providing him with God's reward in exchange for financing the church book. Nevertheless, the texts of forewords, dedications, and afterwords demonstrate that these were not the only forms of profit anticipated by the editor of the church books.

The profit-maker

The mode of the editor is formed by the contrast between the positions of humble god's slave and a trader, who views the book as a commodity. As reflected in the prefaces of church books, the position of a book seller is foremost concerned with addressing the reader. Commonly included in the title of the foreword, the nomi-

nation of the reader expresses the editor's expectations regarding the religious and ethical characteristics of the recipient. Earlier editions emphasized participation in the Orthodox church: "*the sons of the Eastern Church*," "*Orthodox Christians*," etc. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, general nominations such as "*pious reader*," "*affectionate reader*," and "*beloved reader*" were prevalent.

When the church book became profitable in the 1640s, the attitude toward it as a commodity in a competitive market became increasingly apparent in forewords and dedications. However, it was seen in earlier period as well. In the foreword to the 1616 first edition of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, *Horologion*, the book is compared to a commodity that is in high demand on the book market. Yelisey Pletenetsky, the author of the foreword, asserts that he desires to nourish the hearts of Eastern Church sons through church books (cited by [13, P. 3]). In response to possible arguments regarding the irrelevance of such an edition, Pletenetsky draws a metaphorical comparison between repeated editions of *Horologion* and the constant production of musical instruments: "*Let no one assume that such a book has already been printed by many typographies, because it still has its buyers on the market, as does food, and pipe organ is frequently used and is always created by the artist. Isn't it true that prayer is greater than a pipe organ, that it is a daily duty, and that it requires more effort... because we must pray until our last breath*" (cited by [13, P. 4]). The arhimandrite also mentions the high demand for *Horologion* from educational institutions: "*I was begged by pious believers to answer the request of schools in Orthodox Kyiv city and other cities*" [13, P. 4].

The brightest manifestation of church book editors' competition are the forewords to Lviv and Kyiv *Sluzhebnyks* of the 1630s—1640s. In the foreword to Lviv *Sluzhebnyk* of 1637, the editor states that the text of this book accurately repeated the text of the previous Kyiv edition [18, Sh. [4] back]. However, in the foreword to the next Kyiv edition, published in 1639, Petro Mohyla claims that the Lviv editors did not seek permission to publish the *Sluzhebnyk* and they made irrelevant changes to this sacred text [16, Sh. [4] back]. Therefore, Petro Mohyla urges priests not to purchase the Lviv edition of *Sluzhebnyk*, but obtain a new Kyiv edition of *Sluzhebnyk* instead [16, Sh. [5] back]. In the 1646 foreword to Lviv *Sluzhebnyk*, Arseniy Zheliborsky responds to Petro Mohyla's criticism by comparing a church community to a flock of sheep in need of a shepherd and sufficient food. He exhorts his rival to cease philosophizing and warns him not to be the cause of the death of his infirm brothers, which may result from their inability to receive communion due to a lack of *Sluzhebnyk* copies [33, Sh. [2] back, 3].

Discussions regarding the accuracy of the *Sluzhebnyk* translation continue into the 18th century. In the foreword to Kyiv *Sluzhebnyk* of 1708, Yoasaf Krokovsky expresses a very strict and critical estimation of church book scribes' expertise: "*All Slavonic books for several hundred years were copied by ignorants, who could only smear with ink but had no mind, didn't know the language, and didn't feel the power of the words*" [34, Sh. [8]]. The editor gives witty advice to all of his opponents: "*If you lack knowledge due to a lack of education, consult an expert. If you have the skills, fix it*

yourself. But if you do not know and do not wish to learn, you should not be envious of those who create excellent things" [34, Sh. [8]].

In the forewords, dedications, and afterwords of Ukrainian church editions, the commercial mode of the editor's personality is not readily apparent. Such emotional discussions, which took place on the pages of some editions, are the most revealing. In opposition to the competition, the editor positions himself as a self-assured, well-educated, and highly moral defender of orthodox belief who is confident that his edition is the best available on the book market. The baroque editor uses critical and sarcastic appeals to the competition to prove his arguments, but always disguises them with metaphorical and allegorical language figures.

* * *

The edges of Ukrainian church book of seventeenth-eighteenth century editor's personality reveals itself in the complex of mutually exclusive characteristics. From the one hand, the baroque editor presents himself as a spiritual leader, who takes care of church community by real deeds: provision with books, critically demanded for salvation of the souls in the battle with the sin. This edge of editor's personality acknowledges the God's help in all stages of book publishing and manifests the truly belief in God's providence to take care of the book after its release. From the other hand, the editor of church book reveals himself as a profit seeker. This edge of editor's personality is demonstrated by his readiness to use the powerful person's protection or, if relevant, own social privileges to get financial advantages for the printing-house. The image of generous patron, who supports the development of book printing, portrayed in texts of dedications to church editions, shows the attempts to build up the fashion for financial support of church book printing, presenting it as a virtue, which deserves the heavenly reward. The competitiveness of church book editors is evidenced by the discussions on the accuracy of translation and reliability of sources, which is seen in texts particular editions of books for church ceremony. Such a dualistic form of editor's self-presentation reflects the typical for Ukrainian baroque worldview connection of selfless service to God with expectations not only for the salvation in eternity, but also for prosperity in earthly life.

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ПРОСОПОГРАФІЧНИЙ ПОРТРЕТ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО ВИДАВЦЯ В ПЕРЕДМОВАХ ТА ПРИСВЯТАХ ДО БОГОСЛУЖБОВИХ ВИДАНЬ XVII—XVIII ст.

Мета — розкрити евристичний потенціал компаративного аналізу передмов, присвят і післямов до українських стародруків богослужбових видань для реконструкції образу барокового видавця. **Методологія дослідження** базується на просопографічному аналізі особистості українського видавця, віддзеркаленої в передмовах, присвятах і післямовах до українських богослужбових книг. **Наукова новизна** дослідження полягає в інноваційному використанні передмов, присвят і післямов до українських богослужбових видань як історичних мікроджерел дослідження особистості видавця. Цей вид джерел розглядається як маніфестація системи цінностей і прагматичних інтенцій, типових для тієї соціальної групи, яка була пов'язана із роботою українських друкарень ранньомодерної доби. **Висновки.** Просопографічний портрет видавця української богослужбової книги XVII—XVIII ст. виявляється через комплекс взаємно виключних характеристик. З одного боку, бароковий видавець позиціонує себе духовним лідером, який дбає про церковну громаду, забезпечуючи її книгами, критично необхідними для спасіння душ. Через цю грань особистості видавця виказується його вдячність Богові за допомогу на усіх етапах видання книги і щира віра в те, що Боже провидіння сприятиме схваленню книги читацьким загалом. З іншого боку, видавець богослужбової книги виявляє і своє прагнення до отримання прибутку. Цей вимір особистості видавця демонструється його готовністю скористатися протекцією впливової особи, або, якщо можливо, власним соціальним статусом для отримання фінансової вигоди на потреби друкарні. Образ щедрого мецената, який підтримує розвиток книгодрукування, відображений у текстах присвят до богослужбових видань, виказує прагнення видавця сформувати моду на меценатську підтримку книгодрукування, презентуючи меценатство як чесноту, що заслуговує винагороди на небесах. Конкурування за книжковий ринок між видавцями богослужбової книги засвідчується їхніми дискусіями щодо точності перекладу та достовірності джерел, закарбованими у текстах передмов до окремих богослужбових видань. Ця дуалістична форма самопрезентації видавця відображає типове для барокового світобачення поєднання самовідданого служіння Богові з очікуваннями не лише на спасіння на небесах, але й добробуту в земному житті.

Ключові слова: історія книги, особистість видавця, просопографічний аналіз, українське книгодрукування, сімнадцяте століття, бароко, присвята, передмова.