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Attribution of Fragments of the 16th–18th Centuries’ Early Printed Books from the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine: Informational Potential and Practical Experience

Abstract: The publication describes various cases of attributing fragments of editions from the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. The attribution included the identification of extracts from the text, authentication of sheets used as flyleaves, and waste paper sheets. It is shown in the examples that the binding shops at the printing houses of Ostroh, Lviv, Kyiv, and Chernihiv actively used waste paper. The article describes cases when the attribution of editions assembled from fragments, the Vilnius *Gospel* in particular, became the reason for a scientific study and catalogue of the Gospels of 1575–1644 in the library collection. The attribution of fragments of several different editions allowed us to identify unknown printing variants, and to form the complete *Gospel* text.

Printed engravings inserted into books also provide interesting material for further research. The practice of studying them has shown that sometimes they are previously unknown artistic monuments by famous engravers, for example, Hryhorii Levytskyi and Ivan Myhura. The usage of various methods of work, such as the study of the history of engravings, a comprehensive analysis of their state of preservation, the establishment of the history of the copies’ use, and the study of paper filigrees, prove that book engravings were also printed for independent distribution. In particular, we are referring to images of evangelists associated with the names of Petro Mstyslavets and Pamva Berinda. The study of printed inserts of engravings, illustrations, and texts into manuscript codices is an interesting and promising area of research

Keywords: early printed books, Cyrillic editions, fragments of early printed books – waste paper folios, attribution of early printed books, Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine

Słowa kluczowe: stare druki, edycje cyrylickie, fragmenty starych druków – makulatura, atrybucja starych druków, Biblioteka Narodowa Ukrainy im. W.I. Wernadskiego

At the present stage of the study of publications and copies of early printed books, such areas of their research as the attribution of additional parts without source information, printed to be inserted into publications mainly for liturgical use, attribution of waste paper sheets used for gluing the flyleaves, strengthening the block, forming the cardboard frame, etc. are becoming more relevant. Also, interesting material for further research is provided by the printed engravings included in the books, as well as additional sheets to fill in the gaps and form complete copies of the publications.

Various fragments are studied as part of book studies, the history of book publishing, and bibliography research. A new special discipline, fragmentology, is studying such materials at the present stage. This research area is at the initial stage of development, forming its terminology, and accumulating an array of empirical studies, specifically in the study of Cyrillic editions. In the book history, such research is expanding the area of attribution and identification of single leaves from flyleaves, inserted parts of editions, and engravings.

The most relevant results are provided by studies of the archives of large book collections, where several copies represent one edition, there are several editions representing the products of one printing house, and there are traditions and experience in the attribution of fragments. We will try to analyse cases of attribution of various fragments of publications from the collections of the largest Ukrainian library, the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (hereinafter: the VNLU), and share our personal experience of identifying excerpts from the text, flyleaves, waste paper used to form cardboard bindings, etc.

In addition to the attribution of insertions in printed books, waste paper fragments of printed text used for technical purposes, mainly for glueing flyleaves, forming cardboard bindings, strengthening the spine and book block, glueing torn sheets, etc., also need to be identified. As a rule, bookbinders had waste paper sheets and used them for technical work when binding copies.

An overview of the history of attribution of fragments in the form of waste paper should begin with the story of the discovery of a previously unknown publication by the inventor of the European book publishing, Johannes Gutenberg, in the library's collections. It was discovered by Borys Zdanevych while preparing the catalogue of the library's incunabula. This short publication is known in the scientific literature as *Provinciale Romanum*. It is a list of metropolitanates and bishops of the Catholic Church intended for tax collection¹. The found copy was missing the first page with the beginning of the text and the last blank page. An unknown printing by Gutenberg was discovered in the binding of a 1557 *Geneva Bible* by Robert Etienne (shelfmark Et. 48), along

1 Б. Зданевич, *Provinciale Romanum*. Невідоме видання Йоганна Гутенберга, Київ 1941, pp. 12–13.

with fragments of nine other fifteenth-century publications printed in Cologne, Speyer, Strasbourg, Mainz, and Marienthal². A facsimile reprint was published, accompanied by a thorough study by Zdanevych of the text itself and a story about the search, attribution, and research of other fragments of incunabula found in the library’s collections as waste paper³.

The publication begins with a section with the eloquent title “Introduction. Book Waste Paper in Old Bindings”, where Zdanevych, based on his own experience and analysing the practice of his predecessors, states that thanks to studies of waste paper used for the paper base of bindings in the form of glued or pressed sheets of outdated, damaged or unsold editions, it was possible to discover several important remnants of early book printing⁴. In this way, it was possible to attribute other interesting and valuable publications of the Incunabulum period. A description of the copy of Gutenberg’s *Provinciale Romanum* and photographic reproductions of the sheets were published in the catalogue of the collection’s incunabula in 1974⁵. Unfortunately, the only known copy of an unknown publication by Gutenberg disappeared from the library safe in 1935–1937 under circumstances that are not fully understood⁶.

Often, bookbinders who worked at printing houses or cooperated with printing houses, receiving or purchasing the remnants of printed sheets for the circulation of publications, had an opportunity to use waste paper. Since the waste paper included sheets that were rejected during the process, such sheets often contained the original version of the print before any corrections were made, thus making it possible to reconstruct certain episodes in the history of publishing early printed books.

There is a noticeable increase in the study of such sheets, especially when it comes to sheets from the same printing house, as the discovered text fragments can expand information about its repertoire, editorial work, correction of typographical errors, amendments, additions to publications, etc. The practice of assembling books from fragments, including waste paper, was also actively used in Cyrillic printing houses such as that of Vasyl Kostiantyn Ostrozhsky in Ostroh, of Mamonych family in Vilnius, of the Lviv Brotherhood, of Balaban family in Stryatyn, and others.

The collection of Cyrillic early printed books of the VNLU includes fragments of Ostroh publications found as waste paper sheets in the frames of copies

2 Ibidem, pp. 11–12; Б. Зданевич, Каталог інкунабул, уклад. Б.І. Зданевич; упоряд. Г.І. Ломонос-Рівна, Київ 1974, р. 180.

3 Б. Зданевич, *Provinciale Romanum...*, op. cit.

4 Ibidem, p. 6.

5 Б. Зданевич, *Каталог інкунабул...*, op. cit.

6 Г. Ковальчук, *Борис Зданевич і його відкриття “Provinciale Romanum”*, “Наукові Праці Національної Бібліотеки України імені В.І. Вернадського” 2003, vol. 10, pp.75–79.

of Ostroh publications. These are two different fragments of the 1598 Ostroh printing of the “Book in Ten Chapters”⁷. The publication contains a preface dated June 1598, but the preserved waste paper sheets show an earlier typesetting, which took place in May of the same year. Some of the pages of the Book of May edition were found under the binding of the Ostroh edition of Khrystofor Filalet’s *Apocryssis* of 1599 (shelfmark Kol. Popov 157). According to references in the publications, these publishing sheets of the May edition of the Book were discovered by Yaroslav Isaievych — two copies of uncut sheets 2/7? and 4/5? During the book’s restoration in 1991, the sheets were bound at the end of the *Apocryphon*, along with six blank grey sheets of poor quality.

Ihor Mytsko, based on a comparison of the introductory material, pointed to the Ostroh publishing binding of this copy, for some reason noting⁸ that it was not found. The *Apocryphon* was framed in a brown leather case with gold embossing. An oval Jesuit item with a profile image of Jesus Christ is stamped in the middle of the book’s upper cover⁹. In addition to these sheets, the department also has seven other sheets in a separate folder 7? (the beginning of the Sixth Epistle on one side and the Seventh Epistle on the other), with the indication that they were removed from the binding of one of the restored books. They were probably discovered in a copy of the Book of the June edition (Cyr. 665) with Ostrogski’s super-ex libris on the upper cover, as this is the only Ostroh edition of the size of eight that was restored. These seven sheets have been restored and are now kept separately under the shelfmark Cyr. 1015.

One of the copies of the 1604 Service Book from the Balaban family’s printing house in Stryatyn (Cyr. 4474p) is also worth mentioning, composed of sheets of standard typesetting, and about 100 sheets of variant one¹⁰. The research and attribution revealed that these were proofreading sheets used to pre-print the text for proofreading and to make corrections to the typesetting, as well as sheets from the print run with printing errors.

The usage of sheets from older publications for newer ones, mixing sheets from several editions, and printing missing sheets was also common in European

7 Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам’ятки книжкового мистецтва: каталог стародруків, виданих на Україні 1574–1800*. Кн. 1: 1574–1700, Львів 1981, р. 31 (но. 38, 39).

8 І. Мицько, *Острозька слов’яно-греко-латинська академія (1576–1636)*, Київ 1990, р. 122.

9 Н. Бондар, *Острозькі оправи кириличних стародруків*, [ін:] *Історія музейництва та пам’яткоохоронної справи в Острозі та на Волині. Наук. збірник*. Вып. 3, Острог 2011, рр. 441–442.

10 Н. Бондар, *Кириличні стародруки 15–17 ст. у Національній бібліотеці України імені В. І. Вернадського: Каталог*, уклад. Н. Бондар, Р. Кисельов, за уч. Т. Росовецької, Київ 2008, рр. 20–24; Н. Бондар, *Стрятинська друкарня Балабанів: редакційна робота з текстами за примірником Службеника 1604 р. Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського*, “Дрогобицький Краєзнавчий Збірник” 2019, vol. 21, рр. 411–418.

printing houses, in Polish and Lithuanian printers in particular. For example, in copy In. 5430 of Martin Sennik’s *Herbarium*, published in Kraków by Scharfenberg’s printing house in 1568, two pairs of sheets (pp. 493/494+495/496 and 544/545+546/547) were found to be different in printing from the rest of the text. There were no other editions of this work; typographic and water-marks analysis of the inset sheets allowed them to be dated to the 1590s. It appears they were specially printed to complement the copy to sell it¹¹.

Analogies of assembling from fragments and waste paper remnants of different publications can be traced in the examples of some other collections of convolutions. Probably, some of them have not yet been identified and described.

The most interesting example of assembling a copy from different fragments is a copy of the *Gospel* of Vilnius printed with the shelfmark Cyr. 759¹². Its main part consists of 346 pages of the Vilnius *Gospel* with signatures from 1600 (in fact, the late 1610s and early 1620s), as well as 38 pages of the *Gospel* without signatures from 1600, 4 pages of the *Gospel* from 1575, and 16 more pages of different typesetting, which differ from all known Cyrillic early printed editions. All of these pages are inserted between the signature pages of the *Gospel*, and thus, a complete full-text copy is assembled. A detailed analysis of the set of this unusual copy, the study of its components, and the water-marks its paper allowed us to identify variants of the set and water-marks in its composition, which not only highlight the peculiarities of the copy but also allow us to show the possibilities and potential of such research¹³.

The most interesting in the collection are 16 inset pages of unknown printing, not identified with any old Cyrillic publications. Considering printing and paper characteristics, these pages are heterogeneous, and their peculiarities led to their division into two separate groups: the first (pp. 3–6, 146–147, 159, 166) and the second (pp. 376–383). The pages of the second group of unidentified prints make up a separate 50th notebook with the signature “ИИ”. It contains the “Index of Gospel Readings”. They are very similar to the *Gospel* pages with signatures, although they differ in the typesetting. A more detailed study of them showed that they are a variant type of the *Gospel* with signatures with corrected errors¹⁴. The printing consisting of the sheets of different typesetting, which belong to the first group, is an independent supplementary text to complete

11 Н. Бондар, *Філіграні примірників «Гербарія» М. Сенніка 1568 р. як джерело дослідження краківського паперу кінця 60-х рр. XVI ст.*, “Рукописна та Книжкова Спадщина України” 2015, vol. 19, pp. 293–294.

12 Н. Бондар, *Вільнюські Євангелія 1575–1644 рр. з фондів Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського: дослідження, попримірниковий опис, альбом ілюстрацій*, Київ 2021, pp. 98–108, 283–284, 358–364, illus. 84–99.

13 Ibidem, pp. 98–112.

14 Ibidem, p. 105.

a full copy of the *Gospel*. Its watermarks are also distinctive, roughly dated to 1625–1653. Given that the *Gospel* contains an insertion dated 1636, we assume that the pages were deliberately added when the book was formed shortly before that time, specifically for sale¹⁵.

A detailed analysis of the peculiarities of the copy, its components, paper water-marks, and the history of its origin was the impetus for the preparation of a catalogue and research of all copies of the Vilnius *Gospels* of 1575–1644 from the VNLU collections¹⁶. It is also worth noting that the Mamonych family's printing house, which was the largest publisher of Cyrillic books in the last decades of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, also became a leading centre for the production of counterfeit products, replicating twin editions marked with the same year, or reprinting editions without any date at all, which made it possible for readers to identify two or more editions of similar content as one. There were practices of printing books with incorrect source information, collecting copies from leftover editions, adding sheets of previous editions to subsequent ones, replacing titles and opening pages, etc.¹⁷ Liturgical and educational texts were mostly reprinted or supplemented with pages from other editions in this way. The same practice was applied by the printing house of the Holy Spirit Brotherhood, which received equipment from the printing house after it ceased operations and part of the circulation of out-of-print or unsold editions.

Fragments of different typesetting within copies can also help to identify such counterfeits. Using these fragments, which do not match the rest of the book, it was possible to identify two editions of the Vilnius *Service Books*, which, according to the bibliography, were published simultaneously in 1617, one by the Mamonych family's printery and the other by the Holy Spirit Brotherhood's¹⁸. The second edition is recorded in the bibliography as included in two anthologies only¹⁹. In six copies from the VNLU collections, pages of different printing attracted attention: in copy Cyr. 4336p, it is the title, the next [2] after the title, and page [12]. In another copy of Cyr. 4337p, the differences were demonstrated on pages 1–8 of the text of the Liturgy of John Chrysostom. A few pages were also printed in two copies from the Russian National Library collection²⁰. Such

15 Ibidem, pp. 102–104.

16 Ibidem.

17 Ibidem, pp. 99–102.

18 Н. Бондар, *К истории двух кириллических изданий вильнюсских Служебников 1617 г.*, [in:] *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины в современном научном знании: Материалы XXVII междунаrodn. научн. конф. (Москва, 9–11 апреля 2015 г.)*, Москва 2015, pp. 142–144.

19 Г. Галенчанка, *Книга Беларуси 1517–1917. Зводны каталог*, склад. Г.Я. Галенчанка та ін., Мінск 1986, no. 80, 81.

20 В. Лукьяненко, *Каталог белорусских изданий кирилловского шрифта XVI–XVII в.* Вып. 2: *1601–1654 гг.*, Ленинград 1975, p. 69.

observations of the inset pages of the different typesetting allowed us to conclude that the 1617 edition of the Service Book by the brotherhood’s printing house was not an independent publication but had a different title and several pages to supplement incomplete copies of the Mamonych family’s printing.

However, a critical analysis of the bibliographic sources and the books themselves showed that a full-fledged independent edition of the 1617 *Liturgikon* by the brotherhood’s printing house did not exist; there are now known individual pages of the brotherhood’s printing as part of several copies of the *Liturgikon* by the Mamonych family’s printing house, including the title with changed source information, which gave bibliographers grounds to describe the brotherhood’s *Liturgikon* as an independent edition.

Referring back to the folio of several Vilnius editions, we note that book studies and bibliography of early printed books have not yet developed a single clear terminology to refer to such collections of folios, especially complex ones, formed from mixed pages of often not two but 5–6 similar editions, sometimes from an unknown printing house, sometimes with manuscript inserts or separate engravings; no generally accepted algorithm for their scientific and bibliographic description has been developed. However, the phenomenon of collecting copies from waste paper fragments was widespread in most large printing houses. Thus, such copies require enhanced identification and description methods and more thorough research.

Such collections of pages from the same printing house are more often associated with the printing centres. We can name several collections of books from the VNLU holdings containing fragments of the publications of the Lviv Brotherhood. For example, these are two copies of the *Gospel* of 1670, where for some reason, unnumbered initial pages from the Gospel of 1644 by the same printing house were inserted. In Cyr. 591, these are pages 1–4, i.e., the title and preface of the book; in Cyr. 590, pages 2–12 (preface, “Table of Contents” and “Preface” of the Gospel of Matthew)²¹. Both pieces are ancient, and their origin can be linked to the printing house’s preservation of remnants of previous editions, which could be included in subsequent editions to save money or during restoration to supplement incomplete or damaged copies.

A similar arrangement of pages assembled from different editions is demonstrated in the copies of the *Anthologion* or the festive and general Menaеas of the Lviv Brotherhood printing house. For example, the copy of Cyr. 2520p contains pages from two consecutive editions of 1638 and 1643²². There is a leaf at the beginning of one of the copies of the *Anthologion* of 1632 (Cyr. 2523p). The second excerpt from the next fraternal edition of the same book in 1638. It is

21 Н. Бондар, *Кириличні стародруки...*, p. 68, no. 174.

22 Ibidem, p. 65, no. 161; p. 66, no. 164.

possible to ascertain how widely such collections of excerpts from different editions were formed in the Lviv Brotherhood printing house only through further research of the widest possible array of Lviv editions from different collections.

More complicated cases of composing copies of Lviv printing, assembled from different sheets of the same edition, have also been introduced into scientific circulation. For example, the VNLU has a copy of the *Gospel* (Cyr. 5692p), composed of fragments of seven Lviv editions of the 17th and 18th centuries mixed²³. The main part of the book consists of pages from the Lviv Gospel of the Brotherhood's printing house of 1644, with other pages from other Brotherhood publications, including 16 pages from the 1636 edition (7–12, 14, 17, 247–252, 391–392), 6 pages of 1670 (1, 6, 49, 54, 56, 59), 16 pages [1704] (2–5, 47v. 50–56, 60, 314–317); 3 pages of 1722 (57–58, 394) and 4 pages of Mykhailo Sliozka's printing house of 1665 (157, 159, 160, 162). The book begins with the text of the “Gospel of History” (beginning of the eighteenth century), which will be discussed later. The book now lacks the beginning and end pages, but when the copy was assembled, the beginning and end pages were probably there, but they were lost in the process of use.

As seen from the list, the fragments are neither entire notebooks nor even two-page manuscripts but separate sheets. Since the text in different editions had different arrangements, it had to be aligned in some way when combining sheets. Thus, for example, page 312 of the 1644 edition is followed by page 314 of the 1704 edition, as it continues the previous text. After page 392 of the 1644 edition, where the back of this page is sealed, there is page 391 of the 1636 edition. To ensure that the text of the pages of different editions was presented sequentially, it sometimes had to be added, or the excess text had to be crossed out or sealed. For example, at the junction of the 1670 and 1636 editions, 2 lines of text were added to folio 6v at the bottom and 7 at the top. On page 17 of the 1636 edition, two words are crossed out, which were repeated. To combine page 47 of the 1644 edition with page 49 of the 1670 edition, an engraving of the Evangelist from the 1690 or 1704 edition was glued to the overleaf of page 47.

The copy contains a mixture of sheets in and without engraved ornamental frames, i.e. the aesthetic appearance of the *Gospel* text was not a concern of the copy's “designers”. Many pages, e.g. 17, 31, 42, 110, 149, 176, etc., are clearly marked with old handwritten corrections in the text. This copy needs to be examined more closely. It could probably have been assembled in the printing house of the Lviv Brotherhood no earlier than in 1744, as the book has a page-by-page insertion of this year.

Another similar Lviv collection-convolute, which includes excerpts from the *Gospels* 1670, 1690, 1704, and 1722, is in the collections of the Museum

23 Ibidem, pp. 29, 66, no. 165.

of Books and Printing of Ukraine²⁴. This suggests a widespread practice of producing such collections from the remains of editions or incomplete sheets in the brotherhood’s printing house after the 1720s.

It is interesting to study the editorial work on the identified variants of typesetting from the flyleaves in the process of preparation for printing and after the start of printing in the editions of the works by Lazar Baranovych, Yoanikiy Galyatovskyi, Antonii Radyvylovskyi, Dymytrii Tuptalo, and Mykhailo Kozachynskyi of the Kyiv Pechersk printing house of the 17th – early 18th centuries. The facts of the editorial work with the text of the *Key of Understanding* by Y. Galyatovskyi (Kyiv: Printing House of the Pechersk Lavra, 1659) have been known for quite some time²⁵. The sheets with the old text version, which was reprinted, were actively used for the flyleaves of many copies of the same edition²⁶. For example, in the VNLU collection Cyr. 32, these are pages 24, 42, 47, and 162; in Cyr. 73p, three identical pages. 162, glued with fragments of two pages of 47; in the copy of Cyr. 74p – two pages of 38, pages 3, 47. Copies with flyleaves from reprinted pages have Kyiv bindings made shortly after publication. The copies with the ciphers Cyr. 32; Cyr. 74p come from the Pustynno-Mykylskyi Monastery, Cyr. 73p – from the Kyiv-Mykhailivskyi Monastery.

Variants of the printing of Baranovych’s work *The Spiritual Sword*, published in the Kyiv Pechersk printing house in 1666, were also discovered. Instead of the flyleaves of Cyr. 38, two pages [10] of the first account were used²⁷. Their typesetting is a variant of printing the penultimate line not listed in the bibliography. In it, Yevdokia Alekseevna was mistakenly titled Grand Duchess, but the mistake was later corrected, and she was called Princess. The sheet with the erroneous text was reprinted and replaced with a corrected one. Nine copies of the VNLU collection contain this text in a corrected version, two others do not have this leaf, and only one copy of Cyr. 959 contains the page twice in both typeset versions. This copy includes Baranovych’s contribution to St. Sophia Cathedral, which may have been deliberately left with pages with both printing versions.

Fragments of the edition of sermons *The Garden of Mary the Virgin* by Radyvylovskyi, published in Kyiv in 1676, were also discovered. Two fragments with pages 1–8 and 1001–1004 turned out to be the original printing versions of the corresponding parts of this work²⁸. They differ in typesetting, artistic design, and significant changes in the text. This variant does not occur in complete copies, as it was not found in any of the 18 copies of the VNLU

24 Museum of Books and Printing of Ukraine, SD-136. I am grateful to Valentina Bochkovska for the information about the copy.

25 С. Маслов, *Етюди з історії стародруків: I–VIII*, Київ 1925, pp. 6–7.

26 Н. Бондар, *Кириличні стародруки...*, pp. 25, 53, no. 89, illus. 32–33.

27 Ibidem, pp. 26, 53, no. 93.

28 Ibidem, pp. 220–221, illus. 34–35.

collection. In the first case, the sheets with the original text of Radyvylovskiy's work were, for some reason, added to the Lviv Brotherhood edition of the *Gospel* of 1636, Cyr. 2512p. In the second case, they were sewn at the end of the Kyiv copy of the festive and general *Menaeus* of 1680, Cyr. 119p. Both of these early printed books also come from the library of St. Sophia Cathedral, Kyiv. The existence of variants of the author's text is noted in the publications²⁹, but the variants of the original pages are not indicated here. The information on the editorial changes to the text is interesting not only from the perspective of studying the history of Kyiv Pechersk book publishing but also of great importance for the study of the creative heritage of Radyvylovskiy and other authors, especially since these works were prepared for publication with their active participation. We hope that the facts about the variability of the texts of their works will be of interest to specialists in the study of textual studies of ancient literature.

Another example of fragments from the flyleaves was found in a copy of the Kyiv edition of the book *Lives of the Saints* for September–November by D. Tuptalo of Rostov in 1689. In the copy of Cyr. 1146p, two identical two-page copies of the rare Kyiv *Astronomical Calendar* for 1731 were used instead of both flyleaves³⁰. In this case, we see a significant time gap between the main publication and the time of printing of its “flyleaves”. The book's binding was likely made after 1731 when calendar pages became obsolete.

A variant typeset was found on the flyleaves of the *Catechism* of the Kyiv Pechersk printing of 1712. Cyp. 270p are two pages of the book *Lives of the Saints* December–February by D. Tuptalo of Rostov in 1714. These are pages 161 and 422; in this case, the quadruple-page copy is glued with fragments of the quadruple-page edition. There are no differences between the typesetting of the waste paper used for the flyleaves and the main typesetting of the publication.

The most difficult cases are when the flyleaves are glued with pages of editions, not of the author's original text, which is usually easy to attribute, but with fragments of texts of church use that were repeatedly reproduced by printing houses, especially when these editions are rare, preserved in a limited number of copies, or not preserved in complete editions at all. Most often these are excerpts from the *Psalms* and the *Book of Hours*. For example, in one of the copies of Abba Dorotheus' *Directions on Spiritual Training* (Kyiv 1628; Cyr. 11), instead of flyleaves, fragments of the *Psalms* in quadruplets, a rather early

29 Украинские книги кирилловской печати XVI–XVII вв. Каталог изданий, хранящихся в Государственной библиотеке имени В. И. Ленина. Вып. 2. Т. 1: Киевские издания 2-й половины XVII в., сост. А.А. Гусева, Т.Н. Каменева, И.М. Полонская, Москва 1981, р. 21, no. 130.

30 Н. Бондар, *Фрагменти кийських кириличних видань як джерело доповнення та уточнення бібліографії стародруків*, [in:] *Бібліотека. Наука. Комунікація: формування національного інформаційного простору. Матеріали міжнародної наукової конференції (Київ, 4–6 жовтня 2016 р.)*, Київ 2016, р. 92.

Kyiv printing similar to the Lavra editions of the 1620s, are used³¹. The upper flyleaf is glued with a single page with the signature “I”, similar to the signature in Dorotheus’ *Directions*. The lower flyleaf is glued with two pages – 139 and 138. The text consists of 17 lines per page and is placed in a double-line frame. The size of the 10 lines is 84 mm (as in Dorotheus’ *Directions*). The sheets are decorated with initials and moulded decorations in the headers and footers.

Identical moulded decorations in the footers are found in several Lavra publications of the time, primarily on individual pages of Dorotheus’ *Directions*, *Lexicon*, Pamvo Berynda’s *Lexicon* of 1627, and Agapit’s *King Justinian’s Chapters of Instruction* in 1628. The *Psalter* pages are also similar to the editions of the same period in terms of font features, such as the ligature double letter “ТВ”, also seen in the *Directions* and other Lavra publications of the time. All these features are closest to the *Directions* by Abba Dorotheus of 1628. However, the *Directions* use different rectangular initials, stylistically similar, with white ornamentation on a black background, but somewhat smaller and more aesthetically pleasing.

In general, editions of the *Psalms* are rare, as they were widely used as teaching aids, and today, they are preserved in small numbers, significantly less than those published in the 17th and 18th centuries. According to the bibliography, the earliest edition of his work by the Kyiv Pechersk printing house is the *Psalter*, published on 24 June 1624³². It is published in a quadruple-page format, with 17 lines per page, and linear borders frame the text. The publication consists of [24], 456 pages. The title and opening pages were printed in two colours. The size of the 10 lines of the font is 85 mm (84 mm in the flyleaves of the *Psalter*). It contains engravings of the fort, the Assumption (title), the coat of arms of Yelysei Pletenetskyi (p. [3]), the coat of arms of the Dolmaty family (p. [4]), and King David (p. [24]), as well as inserts, initials, and mouldings. The text includes verses on the coats of arms of Pletenetskyi and the Dolmaty family. The preface of the *Psalter* was composed and signed by the Lavra scribe Joseph Kyrylovych. The *Psalter* of 1624 has been preserved in two copies at the Russian National Library (St. Petersburg) and the Uppsala University Library.

The following Kyiv editions differ significantly from the fragments from the flyleaves of Abba Dorotheus’ *Directions*, so we can assume that these sheets either belong to the *Psalter* of 1624, copies of which are not available for research, or to another Lavra edition of similar time, not preserved to date and not reflected in the bibliography and require further attribution.

Sometimes, waste paper sheets of Cyrillic publications are used instead of flyleaves in Latin script publications, and vice versa. As a rule, such publications

31 Ibidem, pp. 89–94

32 Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам’ятки книжкового мистецтва*. Кн. 1..., pp. 42–43, no. 141.

originate from the same printing house and are close in time of printing. Thus, in one of the copies of Galiatovsky's Polish-language work *Messiasz Prawdziwy* (KPL, V 6/98), printed in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in 1672 in a quadruple format, a waste paper sheet with fragments of the work *Doctrine of the Mystery of the Holy Repentance* published in Kyiv in 1671 in a miniature format of a twelfth of a sheet is glued to the upper flyleaf. As the edition is small, the text of full pages 109, 115 and fragments of pages 110 and 114 are placed side by side on the waste paper. It is quite logical that the later edition used as waste paper the pages from the year of the earlier edition.

During the attribution of the fragments, variant sheets of the trilingual eulogy to the Russian Empress Elizabeth of Russia *Августѣйшей непобѣдимой императрицѣ ея священнѣйшему цесарскому величеству Елисавет Петровнѣ самодержицѣ* composed by M. Kozachynsky and published in Kyiv at the Pechersk printing house in 1744, were also discovered. They are used instead of flyleaves in the 1680 copy of the Kyiv printing of the festive and general *Minea* (Сур. 49). The upper flyleaf is glued to folio 17v with an engraved endpaper, the lower flyleaf to folio 14, and folio 17 is also placed at the end of the book. Comparison of these sheets with the text of the complete copies of the eulogy revealed significant differences in the typesetting. The entire edition was probably reprinted, as evidenced by the difference in the layout of the text and, accordingly, in the foliation of the text in copies and fragments from the flyleaves. Text pages 14, 17–17v from the flyleaves in the edition correspond to pages 16–16v, 19–19v. In the version with a flyleaf, fol. 17v, the endpaper is placed on the free space after the text; in the complete copies, there is no endpaper, as the text reaches the end of the page (fol. 19v). An analysis of the differences between the text versions shows that the reason for the reprint was a significant editing of the text of the work³³. The copy comes from the Church of the Resurrection in Podil.

Svitlana Potapenko, while studying a complex of panegyric editions of the Kyiv printing house dedicated to the Russian Empress Elizabeth of Russia and Kyrylo Razumovskyi, discovered other proofreading sheets of the panegyric to Elizabeth of Russia of 1744 while looking through copies of various collections³⁴. They were used for the upper flyleaf of the publication “Mykhailo Kozachynsky. Aristotle's Philosophy according to the Peripatetic Reasoning. Lviv: Brotherhood Printing House, 1745” from the collection of the Scientific Library of the Dnipro Historical Museum, named after Dmytro Yavornytskyi. Waste paper sheets from the same edition were used for the lower flyleaf of this copy. As Potapenko notes, this is proved by the fact that copies of *Aristotle's*

33 Ibidem, pp. 11, 192–194, illus. 6–8.

34 С. Погапенко, *Віденський архів...* Vol. 2, Київ 2020, pp. 64–65.

Philosophy, printed in Lviv, were bound in Kyiv at the printing house of the Pechersk Lavra³⁵. As a rule, such copies, which used fragments of the same printing house’s editions for glueing the flyleaves, require research and locally made frames.

The practice of using waste paper sheets to glue the flyleaves is also recorded in Chernihiv publications. For example, in the copy of Cyr. 2017p *Bedewed Fleece* by Tuptalo (Chernihiv 1702), both flyleaves were glued with fragments of a smaller *Polustav* from 1703, printed in the format of a twelfth of a sheet. The edition of the miniature *Polustav* is rare; the attribution shows that the upper flyleaf is reinforced with unidentified pages 411, 412, and 2, and the lower flyleaf – with pages 410, 413, 409, and 414. The sheets contain the text of the Menologium. The frames are locally made in Chernihiv.

In the copy Cyr. 2039p of the 1709 Chernihiv edition of *The Royal Way of the Cross of the Lord* attributed to Heften, printed in a quadruple format, four initial pages of the 1711 edition of *Meditaciones sacrae* in a smaller quadruple format are used instead of flyleaves, including the title page for the lower flyleaf. In another copy of *The Royal Way* Cyr. 2027p, both flyleaves are glued with woodcuts from the Kyiv Pechersk *Patericon*. The upper flyleaf features an image of Reverend Nikon and the lower flyleaf of Reverends Feodor and Basil. These engravings, believed to be made by Illia, were used in three editions of the *Patericon* published in 1661, 1678, and June 1702. However, the set of two lines of both engravings does not match any of the three editions. In the engraving of Nikon, a vertical crack in the middle of the image is quite noticeable. This crack is not yet present in the 1678 edition, and it is slightly larger in the June 1702 edition. Therefore, we can assume that we are dealing with individual prints of *Patericon* illustrations depicting the Pechersk saints, made between 1678 and 1702.

The analysis of an array of publications by one printing house, the flyleaves of which were found to be pasted with fragments of publications by the same printing house, shows that paper was saved while providing interesting information on the history of publishing, sometimes outlining its episodes that cannot be established from other sources. The practice of using fragments of previous editions to paste over the flyleaves and strengthen the blocks was widespread in the Pochaiv printing house³⁶. The attribution and detailed analysis of such fragments allow us to introduce new materials on the history of this printing house into scientific circulation.

35 Ibidem, p. 65.

36 Ю. Рудакова, *Макулатурні аркуші почаївських друків як джерело доповнення латиношифтного репертуару почаївської друкарні*, “Наукові Праці Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського”, 2021, vol. 62, pp. 464–478.

There are cases of using flyleaves of books and fragments of publications of other times from other printing houses. For example, one of the copies of the *Ostroh Bible* of 1581, Cyr.788, is reinforced on both flyleaves with two sheets of a Polish and Latin-language eulogy in honour of Afanasii Sheptytskyi. It was not immediately possible to establish that these were fragments of a rare edition of “Narolski J. Meta infulati honoris illustrissimo ac reverendissimo Domino Athanasio Szeptycki... Leopoli, Typis Confraternitatis SSS. Trinitatis, [1716]”, known only in two copies in the Polish collections of Lublin and Kórnik³⁷. There is a verso of the title with a coat of arms engraving on the verso of the upper cover, and a sheet with the signature C2 and text in Polish on the verso³⁸ of the lower cover.

In a copy of the 1609 Vilnius edition of the *Triodion of the Flowers* by the Mamonych family’s printing house Cyr. 4335p, it was possible to attribute the pages of the *New Testament* from the Kyiv printing of 1692, including the last page (1 of the third account) of this edition with the source information, which is glued to both flyleaves.

In the Pochaiv edition of the *Послѣдованіе погрѣбанія иноческаго* (Pochaiv: Printing House of the Assumption Monastery, 1780–1790) – 4 °Cyr.1206p (3), the upper part of the folio is used to glue the upper flyleaf. [1–1v.], i.e. the title and its reverse of the *Apostle* of the Kyiv printing of 1784.

Fragments in the form of engravings attached to early printed books as illustrations require special attention, attribution, and identification. The set of engravings depicting the Evangelists, supplemented by two copies of *Ostroh Bibles* from the VNLU’s collection, are also noteworthy. One of the copies of Cyr. 651 has frontispiece images of the evangelists, the production of which is attributed to P. Berynda³⁹. The engravings are brightly coloured with bright red, burgundy, blue, green, and yellow. Three of the four engravings have been preserved – Luke, Mark, and Matthew; the image of John, which bears the date and signature, is unfortunately missing. The engravings are included at the beginning of the respective Gospels in the fifth account: Matthew – between f. 1 and f. 2, Mark – between f. 16 and f. 17, Luke – f. 26 and f. 27. The engravings are much more damaged than the neighbouring pages of the book, and their paper is yellow, which may indicate that they were used independently before they were pasted into the *Bible*.

In general, a set of such engravings is known to researchers because of their addition to the Galician manuscript “Gospels” of the early 17th century. Until

37 Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам’ятки книжкового мистецтва...* Кн. 2. Ч. 1: (1701–1764), Львів 1984, р. 30, no. 919.

38 I thank my colleague, Yuliia Rudakova, for her help with the attribution.

39 Н. Бондар, *Видання Івана Федорова та Петра Мстиславця з фондів Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського: дослідження, попримірниковий опис*, Київ 2012, pp. 49–51, 189–192.

today, the prints have been preserved as part of the manuscript “Gospels” of the time, made in Lviv or nearby (for example, in Yavoriv). We have information about 8 such Gospels – 7 are in the Lviv collections, and one is in the Khilandar Monastery on Mount Athos⁴⁰. The precise date of the woodcuts is given by the date on one of the sheets, which indicates 1616, and the name of Berynda as the printer.

An analysis of the frontispieces by P. Berynda from this copy of the Ostroh *Bible* shows that the condition of the boards is somewhat better compared to the engravings of the Lviv Gospel of 1636, i.e. these illustrations were printed earlier. In particular, the frame of the image of Mark in the Gospel of 1636 is cracked, while the frame of the corresponding engraving in the Ostroh *Bible* is intact. However, in general, the condition of the boards gives the impression of their rather active use. Perhaps the reproduction and sale of such engravings in the first decades of the 17th century was one of the sources of income for the printing house of the Lviv Assumption Brotherhood, which was in a difficult financial situation at the time. However, the surviving documents of the time concerning the activities of the Brotherhood and the printing house do not confirm the production of engravings there. But this seems quite possible, given that in the mid-seventeenth century, independent prints of iconic type were printed here, in particular, in the fraternal archival files of that time, among the printing equipment and materials, there are “tables” with images of the Virgin Mary, saints, including the evangelists, that is, boards from which engravings of images were imprinted.

We tried to establish the time of Berynda’s engravings by studying the watermarks of the sheets with images of the evangelists. The discovered watermarks also indicated that the engravings were reproduced in the middle of the second decade of the 17th century, most likely in Lviv or nearby settlements⁴¹.

The approach to attribution of Berynda’s engravings as part of one Ostroh *Bible* provided tools for research on the insertion engravings of the evangelists as part of another copy of the VNLU’s collection, Cyr. 76⁴². These engravings were made for the Vilnius *Gospel* of 1575 by Mstyslavets with the participation of the Zaretskyi and Mamonych families⁴³. Three of them are placed at the beginning of the respective Gospels (Matthew – between folios. 1 and 2, Mark – between

40 Я. Исаевич, *Издательская деятельность Львовского братства в XVI–XVIII в.*, [in:] *Книга. Исследования и материалы*. Вып. 7, Москва 1962, pp. 228–230; Г. Коляда, *Пам’ятки Берьинда – архитипограф*, [in:] *Книга. Исследования и материалы*. Вып. 9, Москва 1964, p. 126; Я. Запаско, *Пам’ятки книжкового мистецтва. Українська рукописна книга*, Львів 1995, pp. 92–93, 407, 412.

41 Н. Бондар, *Видання Івана Федорова...*, p. 50.

42 *Ibidem*, pp. 47–49, 207–210.

43 Н. Бондар, *Вільнюські Євангелія 1575–1644...*, pp. 112, 116–118, 380–383.

folios. 17 and 18, Luke – between folios. 27 and 28), John – after the “Epistle of John” as part of the Apostle – between fols. 23 and 24.

These engravings have their history of existence in the “artistic environment”, as they were inserted into a copy of the Ostroh *Bible* from the collection of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra with the owner’s inscription of the prominent Ukrainian engraver Antonii Tarasevych⁴⁴. It should be noted that these engravings by Peter Mstyslavets are characterised by a much more worn state of preservation compared to the neighbouring pages of the book text. This indicates that they were first used as separate illustrations and were only later added to the book. The engraved sheets have significant paper loss, creases and dirt stains, and traces of ancient restoration by gluing fragments. The prints are painted with watercolours in rather bright shades — dark green, deep red, brown, and yellow. The state of preservation of the boards, as far as the quality of prints of the illustration enables their evaluation as good, approximately the same as in the 1575 *Gospel* engravings, without cracks or partial loss.

The comprehensive study of the engravings replicated from the 1575 *Gospel* boards by Mstyslavets also included the analysis of their watermarks. He showed that the watermarks date back to the 1590s⁴⁵. In the context of the active distribution of the discovered types of paper in Ostroh and the facts about the transfer of P. Mstyslavets’s printing and decoration tools there, these engravings with images of the evangelists, first used in the printing of Mstyslavets’s Vilnius *Gospel* of 1575, can be considered hypothetical progenitors of Ukrainian book engraving. In general, printed images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and saints were actively used as paper images. Studies show that such images could decorate private homes and be used in temples⁴⁶.

The thesis about the widespread use of woodcuts from early Ukrainian printed books as independent sheet engravings in the last decades of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries can be confirmed by an interesting case of illustrating one edition with engravings from another. This is the *Book of Fasting and Feasts* by St Basil the Great (Ostroh, 1594), Cyr. 656, which comes from the collection of St Michael’s Monastery, supplemented by images of St Calistus and St. Gregory the Dialogist. The two illustrations are placed side by side on a single, double-sided sheet of paper. Both woodcuts were used in the Balaban family’s prints: the engraving with Gregory the Great in the Stryatin *Liturgikon* of 1604 and St. Calistus in the Krylos *Gospel of the Teacher* of 1606,

44 Н. Бондар, *Видання Івана Федорова...*, pp. 207–210.

45 Н. Бондар, *Вільнюські Євангелія 1575–1644...*, pp. 117–118.

46 В. Александрович, *Гравійовані ікони зі збірки Володимира Вуйцика у фондах Наукової бібліотеки Львівського національного університету імені Івана Франка*, “Вісник Львівського Університету. Серія : Книгознавство, бібліотекознавство та інформаційні технології” 2008, vol. 3, p. 237.

i.e. in two editions of different times. Therefore, a sheet with engravings cannot be considered incomplete, i.e., left over from a print run or removed from one of the copies. It is not known how the Balaban boards ended up in the possession of the book’s owner – the woodcut depicting Gregory the Great is found later in Lviv fraternal publications, in particular in the 1637 and 1666 *Service Books*; the engraving of St. Calistus was not used in any Ukrainian printing later. The copy also includes the “Life” of St Basil the Great by Amphilochius. The owner of the copy was probably a scribe involved in the publishing circles of Ostroh, Striatyn, and Krylos.

Sometimes the owners inserted illustrations from other publications or engraved works of their own, which were actively distributed by printing houses in Kyiv, Lviv, Chernihiv, and Pochaiv. When attributing engravings inserted into early printed books, it sometimes turns out that they were previously unknown to researchers. For example, during the preparation of the catalogue of Cyrillic early printed books, which required a frontal review of all copies of the VNLU collection, an unknown engraving by Hryhorii Levytskyi was discovered in a copy of the Moscow edition of the so-called “Book of the Great Pastors” of 1665, Cyr. 5191p, a collection of works by Hryhorii Theologii, Basil the Great, Athanasius of Alexandria, and John Damascene⁴⁷.

An illustration with a rather unusual image of the Holy Virgin and Child is pasted into the book at the beginning after several blank pages⁴⁸. Levytskyi’s authorship is beyond doubt, as the engraving bears the characteristic signature at the bottom “Gregorius Lewitskj Kijowiae in Podol scul[psit]“, i.e. “Hryhorii Levytskyi in Kyiv in Podil was carving”. The size of the engraving is small, 13 x 18 cm. The author was probably guided by the arguments of preserving the engraved image since the plot of the engraving with the Virgin and Child does not correspond to the texts of the church fathers.

Further study of the engraving revealed that it was previously known to researchers as an engraved frame without a central image from the title of the 1736 manuscript course on Latin poetics by Mytrofan Dovhalevskyi, “Hortus poëticus”⁴⁹ (IM VNLU, coll. 307, No. 521(1710)), and has been published many

47 The early printed book comes from the collection of St. Sophia Cathedral, with an old storage shelfmark of 118v. It does not contain any provenance that could indicate its previous owners. First published: Н. Бондар, *Невідоме гравіроване зображення Богородиці з Богонемовлям Г. Левицького як оригінальний твір українського сакрального мистецтва XVIII ст.*, [in:] *Моглянські читання 2007. Зб. наук. праць*, Київ 2008, p. 218.

48 Н. Бондар, *Невідомий мідерит визначного українського гравера Григорія Левицького*, “Наукові Праці Національної Бібліотеки України Імені В. І. Вернадського” 2006, vol. 16, pp. 354–364; idem, *Невідоме гравіроване зображення...*, pp. 217–227.

49 Н. Петров, *Описание рукописных собраний, находящихся в городе Киеве*. Вып. 2: *Собрания рукописей Киево-Печерской Лавры, киевских монастырей Златоверхо-Михайловского, Пустынно-Николаевского, Выдубецкого и женского Флоровского, и Десятинной церкви*,

times⁵⁰. The title of Dovhalevskiy's textbook is manually inscribed in a copperplate frame; the central image is absent in this engraving. The title of the manuscript also bears the year 1736. The discovery of the engraving with the Virgin Mary showed that Levytskyi did not carve such an independent work as a frame with floral ornaments for the title. Since the engraver's list of works also included two other engraved frames, a thorough examination of them showed that they also contain traces of removing the central images and thus were originally complete works, probably on panegyric subjects related to the activities of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy⁵¹.

An engraved image of the Great Martyr Barbara by Ivan Myhura made in 1702 is found in a copy of Baranovych's Kyiv edition of *Tubes for Days of Narrative* in 1674, shelfmark Cyr. 44. The engraving is woven into the book between pages 83 and 84 before the "Word on the Holy Great Martyr Barbara" and is thus used directly to illustrate the author's text. This illustration is known to researchers from a single print preserved in a copy of Baranovych's work from the VNLU collection⁵².

Two engravings of the Western model, which have not yet been precisely attributed, are used instead of flyleaves in the Moscow edition of Symeon Polotskyi's *Rhymed Psalter* of 1680: The Virgin Mary over the Body of Christ and Carrying Crosses.⁵³

Several examples of independent prints of icons-engravings of the so-called folk type were discovered during the review of the collection of Cyrillic early printed books. In the Lviv Brotherhood edition of the *Lenten Triad* of 1688, Cyr. 622, fragments of large poster-type engravings were used to paste the flyleaves – "Prayer of Jesus Christ in a Crown of Thorns" and "St Nicholas in a Miter" – and the book also contains an inserted part of another engraving depicting St Nicholas without a headdress. The engravings were cut to the size of a book and coloured with ochre red, yellow, and brown inks. A fragment of a folk icon engraving of the "Assumption of the Virgin" is used instead of the upper flyleaf in the Lviv Brotherhood *Liturgikon* of 1637, Cyr. 4950p.

Москва 1896, pp. 239–243, no. 521(1710).

50 П. Попов, *Матеріяли до словника українських граверів*, Київ 1926, р. 69; В. Фоменко, *Григорій Левицький і українська гравюра*, Київ 1976, р. 62; М. Довгалевський, *Поетика (Сад поетичний)*, Київ 1973 (illustration at the beginning of the book) and other publications.

51 Н. Бондар, *Невідоме гравіроване зображення...*, pp. 223–225.

52 О. Максимчук, «Лілея серед терня». Акафіст святій великомучениці Варвари Йоасафа Кроковського і його флористичні образи-домітанти, "Наукові Праці Національної Бібліотеки України Імені В. І. Вернадського" 2019, vol. 51, pp. 137–138, illus. 4.

53 Н. Бондар, *До історії побутування книжкових ілюстрацій у якості самостійних естампних гравюр наприкінці XVI–XVII ст.*, "Рукописна та Книжкова Спадщина України" 2005, vol. 10, pp. 226, 231.

The attribution of early printed book monuments and their fragments as part of manuscript books is effective, though rarely used, and requires experience and practical skills in working with both types of documents.

Sometimes complete printed texts are preserved as part of manuscript convolutions. Often, such printed copies are rare or even unique. It is worth mentioning a copy of John Chrysostom’s *On Our Father’s Exposition* by the Kutein Epiphany Monastery printing house in 1636, printed in an eight-sheet format on 26 pages⁵⁴. The copy is unique, preserved in a convoluted envelope with manuscript materials related to the collection of the Kyiv Theological Academy (IM VNLU, coll. 301, No 8861). Also, among the unique copies of Ukrainian publications discovered among the manuscript materials is a fragment of the *Bukvar* printed in Kyiv in 1628 by Verbytskyi⁵⁵. It was revealed in a convolution of manuscript materials from the Church and Archaeological Museum (IM VNLU, coll. 301, No 1811), and published⁵⁶.

The attributed copy of the *Life of St. Volodymyr* is included as a separate fragment in the collection of hagiographic manuscripts of Kyivan origin from the collection of the Central Academy of Arts of Kyiv State Administration (IM VNLU, coll. 301, No 4161)⁵⁷. The copy required attribution, as it was not completely preserved, lacking the initial page, which was restored in manuscript form. Other pages contain traces of soaking and damaged edges, indicating that the work was actively read and even “read out” as an independent text, and later included in a collection-convolute for preservation purposes. There were only two independent Cyrillic editions of the *Life* in the early printing period – ca. 1670 and 1700⁵⁸, both editions had no titles, they were dated according to additional sources⁵⁹. The study of the printed folios showed that this is a 1670 edition of the *Life of St. Volodymyr*.

There are known facts of the preservation of printed texts by Francysk Skoryna among manuscripts. Such a mixed set from the Popov collection includes four books of Skoryna’s famous *Bible – Jesus of Sirach* in 1517, *Proverbs of Solomon* in 1517, *Wisdom of God* in 1518, and *Judith* in 1519. The printed parts are accompanied by manuscript texts, including John Chrysostom’s Discourses on the

54 Н. Бондар, *Кириличні стародруки...*, р. 62, no. 143.

55 Ibidem, р. 60, no. 131.

56 О. Дзюба, *Буквар Тимофія Вербицького 1627*, упорядн. О.М. Дзюба, В.Я. Фрис, Київ 1995.

57 Н. Бондар, Т. Бургомістренко, *Рідкісний примірник «Життя святого Володимира» (Київ, 1670) у складі рукописного збірника житій святих як джерело вивчення київської агіографії XVII ст.*, “Рукописна та Книжкова Спадщина України” 2017, vol. 21, pp. 3–19.

58 Я. Запаско, Я. Ісаєвич, *Пам’ятки книжкового мистецтва*. Кн. 1..., р. 83, no. 469; р. 116, no. 758.

59 Н. Бондар, Т. Бургомістренко, *Рідкісний примірник...*, pp. 8–9.

Gospel of John, Reply to a Letter of Hypatius Potheus, Complaint of the Poor to God, and The Mirror of the Eternal Belly. This collection-convolution has long been in scientific circulation and is known to researchers⁶⁰. The handwritten parts were inserted after the printed ones, and the collection was arranged to preserve individual parts. Folios of printed parts, including the initial ones, have been preserved in fragments and attributed by the first researchers of the monument, primarily Pavlo Popov⁶¹. Skoryna's books were stored individually, as evidenced by the uneven wear of the folios, and the printed texts lack some folios, replaced by handwritten ones. Thus, the unification of the collection contributed to the preservation of a group of manuscripts and printed monuments.

There are also cases of using fragments of printed text as an additional material for strengthening the book block. These folios also need to be attributed, if possible. We noticed small fragments of one or two lines and a few letters in the handwritten New Testament of Valentyn Negalevskiy (IM VNLU, coll. 307, No. 421)⁶². This is the text of the New Testament books written in clerical italics, believed to be a translation from the Polish Socinian *Bible* by Martin Ciechowicz, published in Rakiv in 1577. The translation language is close to the business Ukrainian of the time⁶³. The codex was rewritten in double-spaced format on 261 pages by Negalevskiy personally, and the work lasted from May to June 1581.

The attribution of the fragments showed that they belong to the Ostroh *Bible* of 1581. The direct connections of this manuscript text with the Ostroh edition are unknown; the codex was written in the village of Khoroshiv, located near Ostroh, where at that time work was underway to print and bind a huge edition of the Ostroh *Bible*, the title of which bears the year of publication 1581, and two colophons of the afterwords – 12 July 1580 and 12 August 1581. No direct contacts of Negalevskiy with the Ostroh centre are recorded, however, fragments of folios of Ostroh printing are a signal for researchers to search for documentary evidence of the possible connection of monuments or persons involved in their creation. It is unknown whether the author was

60 І. Ціборовська-Римарович et al., *Книги Франциска Скорини у зібранні Центральної наукової бібліотеки Академії наук УРСР*, Київ 1991, pp. 24–27; Н. Бондар, *Рецепція книг «Біблії русскої» Ф. Скорини в українській книжній культурі XVI–XVII ст. на прикладі конволюта печатних і рукописних текстів із зібрання П. Н. Попова*, [in:] *Франциск Скаржина: асоба, дзейність, спадщина*, Мінск 2017, pp. 195–211.

61 П. Попов, *Початки друкарства у слов'ян*, Київ 1924, p. 13.

62 О. Іванова, О. Гальченко, Л. Гнатенко, *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XVI ст. з фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені В. І. Вернадського: науковий каталог. палеографічний альбом*, Київ 2010, pp. 285–288, no. 162; illus. 669.

63 Л. Гнатенко, Т. Добрянська, *Новий Завіт у перекладі українською мовою В. Негалевського 1581 року: опис кодексу та кодиколого-орфографічна розвідка*, “Наукові Праці Національної Бібліотеки України Імені В. І. Вернадського” 2011, vol. 31, pp. 398–409.

connected with the Ostroh centre in any way, or whether he gave his manuscript to a bookbinder that had waste paper folios of the *Bible* for binding. The binding of the manuscript has a rather primitive appearance. The surviving scraps of text are small, so it has not yet been possible to identify which folios were used as waste paper. The use of Ostroh printing’s fragments in the manuscript binding poses the question of whether this Protestant translation was one of the auxiliary sources in forming the Bible’s text in 1581. In any case, Ostrogski was favourably disposed towards the Protestants who participated in his educational and publishing projects, so the attribution of fragments of the Ostroh *Bible* edition to the New Testament by Negalevskyi can be considered an impetus for further research on this episode.

A small fragment of the Cyrillic edition was used to strengthen the book block of the manuscript *ustav* of the third quarter of the sixteenth century from the VNLU collection⁶⁴. The attribution of the fragment showed that it is the middle part of leaf 163 of the Protestant *Catechism* of Simon Budny, printed in Nesvizh in 1562⁶⁵. The manuscript itself comes from the collection of the Myletskyi St. Michael’s Monastery and does not demonstrate any thematic connection with the text of the *Catechism*, however, it can be assumed that the waste paper folios of the publication were mechanically used by the bookbinder when binding the copy.

The practice of supplementing handwritten texts with engraved illustrations is also known, though not very common. Sometimes these illustrations are excerpts from early printed books, more often engraved illustrations intended for independent distribution.

Sometimes ancient manuscripts use illustrations cut out of printed books or engraved on engraved boards. In all cases, they require careful research.

In the context of the study of inserts of printed editions in manuscripts, the extraordinary case of the opening page of the manuscript *Irmologion* decorated with an ornamental insert from the *Bible* by Skoryna is also worthy of attention. This is the famous musical *Irmologion* (IM VNLU, coll. 1, No. 5391)⁶⁶, transcribed in the Supraslava Annunciation Monastery in 1596–1601 “by the handiwork of Bohdan Onysimovych, a singer from Pinsk”. The manuscript is well-known to researchers and has been carefully studied⁶⁷. The framed

64 О. Іванова, О. Гальченко, Л. Гнатенко, *Слов’янська кирилична рукописна книга...*, pp. 411–412, no. 252. The manuscript description does not mention the use of print fragments.

65 С. Волощенко, *Історія створення і побутування кириличних кодексів Єрусалимського Уставу на теренах Волині*, [ін:] *Острозький краєзнавчий збірник*. В. 10, Острог 2018, p. 144.

66 О. Іванова, О. Гальченко, Л. Гнатенко, *Слов’янська кирилична рукописна книга...*, pp. 227–230, no. 120.

67 *Ibidem*, p. 228; І. Ціборовська-Римарович et al., op. cit., pp. 28–29, 49; Ю. Ясиновський, *Українські і білоруські нотолінійні Ірмологіони 16–18 ст. Каталог і коликологічно-па-*

insert of the Irmologion is organically integrated into the text of the manuscript's first page, depicting Skoryna's symbols in the form of the sun and crescent moon and empty armorial shields held by two mysterious mythical fauns. It is one of four Renaissance inserts used in the Prague *Bible*. It has not yet been possible to establish from which book of the *Bible* Skoryna cut the insert, since identical prints are used in the books of Joshua, Exodus, Kings, Song of Songs, and Wisdom of God. We can assume that the insert page was cut from a copy that had fallen out of use by the end of the sixteenth century as being read out, and thus it was possible to use the surviving illustrations. The insert page was glued to the sheet when the manuscript was written. The artistic decoration had no thematic connection with the texts; on the contrary, Renaissance images, in particular, of fauns, looked dissonant in the conservative monastic environment. However, the insert remained in place even when the manuscript Irmologion, according to the evidence of the time, ended up in the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra in the collection of the Near Caves of St. Anthony.

The usage of artistic decorations on printed books in manuscript codices is more often associated with the origin of manuscripts from centres where printing houses operated. The practice of decorating manuscripts with engraved illustrations was widespread in the 17th and 18th centuries among the publications of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. For example, Pater's illustrations are found in several handwritten selections of the Mineas, or Services to the Monastic Fathers of the Caves. Pages with copperplate engravings by Leontii Tarasevych, made for the 1702 edition, were used to design them⁶⁸. We are talking about collections originating from the collection of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra. The earliest is a manuscript with a date on the title page of 1733, titled "Minea, containing the Services of the Venerable Fathers of the Caves"⁶⁹ – IM VNLU, coll. 304, No. 46(14). The quarto manuscript consists of 268 pages of text, it contains 44 patera copperplate by Tarasevych, and 24 woodcut inserts that adorn the beginning of each text. The book has an engraved title and an illustration of the Assumption Cathedral on its back.

The second manuscript in fours on 270 pages is a little later than the first – IM VNLU, coll. 304, No. 47(13), it is undated, created in the first half of the eighteenth century, written under Elizabeth of Russia, i.e. in 1741–1762. It contains

леографічне дослідження, Львів 1996, pp. 100–102; Н. Бондар, *Скориніана Национальной библиотеки Украины имени В. И. Вернадского*, [in:] *Франциск Скорина – личность, деятельность, наследие, современные образы. Материалы Международного научного семинара (Полоцк, 24 мая 2017)*, Минск–Москва 2017, p. 23.

68 Н. Бондар, "Киево-Печерський Патерик" у виданнях XVII–XVIII ст. як текстово-візуальна пам'ятка, [in:] *Українська писемність та мова в манускриптах і друкарстві. До 50-річчя Музею книги і друкарства України*, Київ 2022, pp. 85–88.

69 Н. Петров, *Описание рукописных собраний...*, pp. 17–18, no. 46(14).

40 pateric engravings by Tarasevych⁷⁰. It has no title and contains differences from the previous manuscript in the composition and location of the services. The codex has engravings on loose pages and 14 engravings at the end of the book. It’s decorated with just one screen saver, there is space left for other inserts.

The third manuscript, with the date on the title page of 1759, is written in a double-page format, on 233 folios, and includes 28 engravings by Tarasevych and other engravers – IM VNLU, coll. 304, No. 48(12). The number of services has been increased compared to previous codices⁷¹. Another undated manuscript of similar content from the collection of the Kyiv-Mikhailivskiy Monastery – IM VNLU, coll. 307, No. 428(1663) – is written in a deuce format, has an engraved title and 21 illustrations of trees with Cave monks, and is decorated with 19 engraved backgrounds⁷². All four monuments show that the bookish circles of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra actively used printed elements to decorate manuscripts.

The handwritten large-format musical hymnals from the collection of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, including engravings, printed screens, initials, and elements of music printing, require further thorough research. Ya. Isaievych called one of these Irmoloigons a “semi-printed” edition⁷³. Our attention was drawn to these Irmoloigons by Ivan Kuzminskiy, a researcher of the ancient Ukrainian musical heritage, who planned to continue researching these unique monuments from the VNLU collections but died defending Ukraine against Russian aggression in the Luhansk region on 17 May 2023.

Noteworthy is the usage of the Kutein printing plates in the manuscripts of the Orsha Kutein Monastery, which had a printing house. Originally founded by the printer Spyrydon Sobol at the expense of Solomyretskiy, the printing house worked as a monastery after Sobol left for Mogilev.

Engraved prefaces are also found among manuscripts originating from the circle of the Kutein monasteries⁷⁴. In particular, in the Menaeen Celebrant of the collection of the Orsha Kutein Monastery of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 18 images of several sizes, stamped from 8 different boards, were used to decorate the text⁷⁵. They are of various shapes and subjects, stylistically diversified; most used boards were in quite poor condition due to active use.

70 Ibidem, p. 18, no. 47(13).

71 Ibidem, p. 18, no. 48(12).

72 Ibidem, p. 137, no. 428(1663).

73 Я. Ісаєвич, *Українське книговидання. Вітоки, розвиток, проблеми*, Львів 2002, р. 256.

74 Н. Бондар, *Минейный Торжественник середины XVII века в контексте изучения книгописания в Оршанском Кутейнском Богоявленском монастыре*, [in:] *Берковские чтения 2021. Книжная культура в контексте международных контактов. Материалы VI Международной научной конференции*, Москва 2021, pp. 46–52.

75 Ibidem, pp. 48–49.

Also, printed Kutein images are used in one of the lists of the “Spiritual Mirror”, the authorship of which is attributed to the abbot of the Biziukivka Holy Cross Monastery of Gideon⁷⁶. The monastery was also part of the circle of monasteries under the Kutein guardianship. Researcher of the monument Nataliia Savelieva suggested that the manuscript of the “Spiritual Mirror” was decorated with engraved screens, as the text of this work was planned to be printed in Kutein. In our opinion, the usage of insets and the design of the handwritten text similar to the printed text are insufficient arguments to conclude that the Kutein printing house planned to publish the work. Rather, they point to the attempts of scribes of the local scriptorium or customers close to the printing house to make the manuscript resemble a printed book. Prints or engraved inserts are perceived as pieces of artistic design, easier to use than drawing.

The fragments of early printed books described in this publication have shown their high information potential. These fragments were discovered as components of book monuments, either as inserts of sheets from one edition into another, or waste paper sheets used for gluing flyleaves.

These may include fragments of a previously unknown edition (*Ostroh Book of May 1598*), proofreading sheets with corrections (*Stryatyn Service Book of 1604*), and sheets of a separate set for the compilation of a complete copy (*Vilnius and Lviv Gospels*). The *Gospel*, compiled from fragments of various Vilnius editions, also contains leaves specially printed to complete the full copy. Sometimes the attribution of fragments allows us to establish that one of the two editions recorded in the bibliography (the *Vilnius Service Books of 1617*) is complete, while the other is presented in separate sheets. There are interesting variants with corrections of the author’s text in the editions of works by L. Baranovych, Joanikiy Haliatowski, A. Radyvylovsky, D. Tuptal, and M. Kozachynsky.

Engravings inserted into early printed books also require attention. Sometimes they proved to be unique examples of previously unknown author’s illustrations, such as engravings by H. Levytskyi and I. Myhura. The use of various methods – research into the history of the usage of engravings and copies, detailed analysis of their state of preservation, and study of paper filigrees – demonstrates that book engravings were replicated for independent distribution. In particular, we are talking about images of evangelists associated with the names of P. Mstyslavets and P. Berinda.

An interesting and promising area in the research on fragments is the study of printed inserts of engravings, illustrations, and texts into manuscript codices.

⁷⁶ Н. Савельева, *Издания Кутейнской типографии и сборник «Зерцало духовное» Гедена, игумена Бизюкова монастыря*, [in:] “*Вертоград многоцветный*”. Сборник к 80-летию Бориса Николаевича Флори, Москва 2018, pp. 465–476.

For example, the attribution of a fragment of the Ostroh *Bible* of 1581, used to strengthen the book block in the New Testament by V. Nehalevskyi, may evidence contacts between the bookmakers from Ostroh and Khoroshev.

These could be separate plot illustrations from early printed books, for example, from F. Skoryna’s *Bible*. To illustrate manuscripts, the resources of printing houses, such as the Kyiv Cave Monastery, were used. This refers to the illustrations in the Minor Prophets from the printed *Paterikon* of 1700. The toolkit of the Kyiv Cave Monastery printing house was also used to design the musical *Irmologion*. The article also describes the case of illustrating manuscript texts with engraved screensavers from other publishing centres. For example, the proximity of several monastery scriptoria to the Kuteyn printing house.

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