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The printing-house of the monastery of Trei Ierarhi in Iași and its staff

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*The Printing-House of the Monastery of Trei Ierarhi
in Iași and its Staff*

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The history of the printing-house of the monastery of Trei Ierarhi in Iași, founded with the help of skilled craftsmen from Kiev by Peter Mohyla, Metropolitan of Kiev, Halyč and All Rus' (1599-1646) at the request of the Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu (1593-1661), is a shining example of co-operation between two neighbouring countries. Although the uncertainty of the period precluded any long existence for the printing-house, the few books printed there: *Decretul patriarhului Partenie* (1642), *Carte de învățatură* (1643), *Șapte taine* (1644) and *Pravile împărătesci* (1646),¹ illustrate the fertile influence of the traditions of Ukrainian printing and illustration on the practice of book production in Romania.

A new stage in Ukrainian-Romanian relations began when Peter Mohyla, son of the Moldavian Voivode Simon Mohyla and nephew of the Voivode Ieremia and the Metropolitan Gheorghe of Moldavia, became Archimandrite of the largest monastery in Ukraine, the Kiev Monastery of the Caves (Pečerska Lavra) in 1627, and Metropolitan of Kiev in 1632. This energetic man and enlightened patron tried in his activities to unite the old traditions of the Orthodox East with the achievements of Western culture.²

¹ J. Bianu, N. Hodoș, *Bibliografia romaneasca veche 1508-1830*, I, București 1903, p. 119, no. 41; p. 137, no. 45; p. 147, no. 47; p. 156, no. 50. In the Supplement, p. 23, no. 19 is the *Catechism* (1642), and p. 25, no. 24 is the *Bucoavnă* (1651), printed in Iași, but little is known about these publications. A few other rare books, not mentioned by Bianu and Hodoș, such as *Paraclis al născătoarei de Dumnezeu* (1645), can be associated with the Iași printing-house; see G. Stempel, 'Sprijinul acordat de Rusia tiparului Rominesc in secolul al XVII-lea', *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, I, 1955, p. 29.

² S. Golubev, *Kievskij mitropolit Petr Mogila i ego spodvižniki*, Kiev 1883-1898; A. Žukovs'kyj, *Petro Mohyla i pytannija ednosty tserkov*, Paris 1969; I. Shevchenko, 'The many Worlds of Peter Mohyla', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VIII, 1984, 1-2, pp. 9-40.

Thanks largely to his efforts, Kiev was reborn as a national centre for many fields of cultural life. In the Monastery of the Caves Mohyla founded a new school in which Latin was taught together with Church Slavonic and Greek. When in 1632 this school was united with that of the Kiev Brotherhood, there began the renowned College (from 1701 the Kievo-Mohylanska Akademij), for many years the only centre of higher education in the Eastern Slavic world. Mohyla was also the instigator of the rebuilding and restoration of many famous Kievan churches – the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the Desiatynna (Tithe) Church, the Church of St. Basil (the Three Hierarchs), St. Michael in the Kiev Vydubyc’kyi Monastery, and the Church of the Saviour on Berestovo (this last church was decorated by painters brought especially from Greece). The Lavra printing-house was particularly active during Mohyla’s time; here were printed such richly-illustrated books as the *Evanhelie učytel’ne* (*Book of homilies*, 1637), the *Great Trebnyk* (*Euchologion*, 1646), a series of wonderful panegyrics and many others. Mohyla’s great innovation was the printing of Latin and Polish works besides Church Slavonic. He was not interested solely in the restoration of Ukrainian institutions, however, but also used his huge power and resources to foster the growth of education and culture in his native land. In 1633 in response to a request from the Wallachian Voivode Matei Basarab, Mohyla sent to Cimpulung “a printing-house complete with five fonts of type, together with a skilful printer, Timofij [...] with others”,³ which means that the Kievan printers Tymofij Verbytskij, Ivan Hlebkovyč and others arrived in Wallachia and printed the *Trebnyk* in Cimpulung in 1635.

The Kievan metropolitan helped to restore printing in Moldavia as well. Not wishing to be outdone by his political rival Matei, the Moldavian Voivode Vasile Lupu also took thought for the spiritual renaissance of his country. After the period of internecine rivalry between Moldavia and Wallachia ended in 1639, Lupu, who ruled in “great peace and tranquillity”, was able to pay more attention to the life of Moldavia. Among other foundations of Lupu and his wife Tudosca was the monastery in Iași dedicated to the Three Hierarchs, John Chrysostom, Gregory the Theologian and Basil the Great, who was the Voivode’s patron saint.⁴ The famous traveller Paul of Aleppo left us a detailed description of this monastery, its fortifications, and above all the main church, its exterior wonderfully decorated with

³ H. Koljada, ‘Iz istorii knigopečatnyh svjazej Rossii, Ukrainy, Rumynii v XVI-XVIII vv.’, [in:] *U istokov ruskogo knigopečatanija*, Moskva 1959, p. 88.

⁴ N. Grigoraș, *Biserica Trei Ierarhi din Iași*, Iași 1962; A. Dobjanschi, V. Simion, *Arta în epoca lui Vasile Lupu*, București 1979.

carvings.⁵ The frescoes inside the church of Trei Ierarhi were created by Sidor Pospeev, famous for his work in the Uspenskij Sobor and Archangel-skij Sobor in the Kremlin, Iakov Gavrilov, Demian Iakovlev and Prokopij Nikitin, sent by Tsar Mihail Fedorovič.⁶ Paul of Aleppo described the frescoes of these Russian artists, where as well as religious subjects there were episodes of profane life: portraits of the donors, and pictures of the life of St. Parakeva of Epivat and the removal to Iași of her relics.⁷

Near the church of Trei Ierarhi, within the monastery grounds, stood a printing-house and a school for sons of boyars and others, founded by Lupu on the advice of Varlaam, following the example of the Mohyla Collegium. Archbishop Varlaam (1590-1657, christened Vasile Motok), a well-educated, enlightened scholar, was a faithful supporter of Vasile Lupu, and inspired the latter's ideas for reform.⁸ In 1629 Vasile's predecessor, Miron Barnovski, sent Varlaam to Moscow on a mission to buy icons for churches in Iași.⁹ On his way the metropolitan visited Kiev, where he became aware of the activities of Peter Mohyla, then archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves, in founding a College and directing the printing-house of the monastery, well-known in Romania.¹⁰ This undeniably significant visit inspired the growth of the idea of a Romanian enlightenment by creating a school and the printing-house in Iași according to the Kievan model.¹¹

It has been suggested that the first attempt to found the school and printing-house in Iași with the help of Ukrainian scholars and printers took place in 1632, but Sofronij Počaskij, professor of rhetoric in the Mohyla College and "some Kievan scholars" were unable to reach Romania because of destruction caused by the war, and had to return home.¹² On 7 April 1640 Peter Mohyla wrote to the Tsar in Moscow "Prince Vasile of Moldavia,

⁵ P. Aleppski, *Putešestvie antiohijskago patriarha Makarija...*, transl. G. Murkos, Moskva 1896, pp. 62-65.

⁶ N. Grigoraș, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; *Istoričeskie svjazi narodov SSSR i Rumynii v XV – načale XVIII v.*, II, Moskva 1968, p. 26, no. 5; p. 55, no. 15; p. 57, no. 16; p. 69, no. 20.

⁷ This can also be seen in the illustrations by Ilia of one of the best books from the printing-house, the *Carte de învățatură*.

⁸ For the literature on Varlaam see F. Dudaș, *Cazania lui Varlaam in Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca 1983, p. 24.

⁹ A. Rogov, 'Kul'turnye svjazi Rossii s Balkanskimi stranami v pervoj polovine XVII v.', [in:] *Svjazi Rossii s narodami Balkanskogo poluostrova*, Moskva 1990, pp. 127-128.

¹⁰ P. Panaitescu, 'L'influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les principautés roumaines', *Mélanges de l'École roumaine en France*, I, Paris 1926, p. 55.

¹¹ F. Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹² H. Koljada, 'Ukrainsko-rumynskie knigopečatnije svjazi v oblasti knižnoj ornamentiki', [in:] *Problemy rukopisnoj i pečatnoj knigi*, Moskva 1976, pp. 205-206.

recognising the divine rewards which follow the founding of schools by pious and orthodox teachers and the profit which the sons of boyars gain in Poland [presumably by going to study there], has asked many times in letters that the Metropolitan of Kiev should send him learned monks and wise teachers, which has been agreed".¹³ V. Kiriak stated that the school in Iași was founded by Vasile Lupu on 28 March 1640. Sofronij Počaskij arrived from Kiev accompanied by four "teacher-bookmen", and was appointed as a head of the new school and abbot of the Trei Ierarhi monastery.¹⁴

The name of Sofronij Počaskij is well-known in the history of Ukrainian and Romanian culture of the 17th century. M. Maksymovyč's hypothesis (supported by S. Holubev), that Sofronij Počaskij and a pupil at the Kiev Brotherhood school, Stefan Počaskij, were one and the same person is now generally accepted.¹⁵ Stefan Počaskij was the first of the students ["spudei"] of the Brotherhood school whose declamation was published in *Virshi na žalosnyj pohreb zatsnoho rytsera Petra [...] Sahajdačnoho*. This collection of poems by the rector of the school, Kasjan Sakovyč, dedicated to the memory of the Cossack hetman and patron of the school Peter Sahajdačnij, was published in the printing-house of the Monastery of the Caves in 1622.¹⁶ Ten years later the same printing-house published a richly decorated panegyric in honour of Peter Mohyla, *Evkharistyrion albo vďiačnosť... Petru Mohyli*.¹⁷ The author of the preface of this example of the high poetic style was "the least of the community of brothers of the Pečersky monastery, your honour's son and servant, Sofronij Počaskij, Gymnasium staff of the monastery, professor of rhetoric". Probably between 1622 and 1632 Stefan Počaskij, one of the best pupils of the Brotherhood School, took holy orders in the Monastery of the Caves under the name of Sofronij, and headed the faculty of rhetoric of the newly-established Mohyla College. Before he left the Ukraine, he had become a Rector of the Collegium and abbot of the Kiev Brotherhood monastery.¹⁸ It is also possible that after the death of Taras

¹³ P. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁴ V. Kirijak, *Carte si tiparul in Moldova in secolele XVII-XVIII*, Chișinău 1977, p. 34.

¹⁵ M. Maksymovyč, *Sobranie sočinenij*, III, Kiev 1880, p. 695; S. Golubev, *Kievskij Mitropolit...*, I, Kiev 1883, p. 426-427.

¹⁶ F. Titov, *Tipografija Kievo-Pečerskoj Lavry*, I, Kiev 1916, p. 136; Idem, *Priloženija*, Kiev 1918, p. 37-51; Ja. Zapasko, Ja. Isaevyč, *Pamjatky knyžkovoho mystectva. Kataloh starodrukiv, vydanyh na Ukrajinі*, I, L'viv 1981, p. 41, no. 137.

¹⁷ F. Titov, *Tipografija...*, pp. 201-203; Idem, *Priloženija*, pp. 291-305; Ja. Zapasko, Ja. Isaevyč, *op. cit.*, p. 53, no. 228.

¹⁸ V. Askočenskij, *Kiev s drevnejšim ego učiliščem Akademieju*, I, Kiev 1855, p. 158; F. Titov, *Tipografija...*, p. 275.



Fig. 1. Iliia, St. Paraskeva Petka, from the *Carte de învățatură*, woodcut, 190 x 130 mm.

Zemka, he became a director of the Lavra printing-house.¹⁹ Sending to Moldavia such well-educated man, with experience in running a school and perhaps also a printing-house shows the earnest desire of Peter Mohyla for the success of cultural ambitions of Vasile Lupu and the Metropolitan Varlaam. Sofronij Počaskij used his experience from Kiev when setting up the new school in Iași, but, as P. Panaitescu discovered, he also took advice from a Greek, Theophilos Korydaleus, a friend of the Constantinople Patriarch Cyril Lukaris who had re-organised the Greek Academy in Constantinople.²⁰ Amongst the subjects taught at the new school were rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, music, astronomy, theology, Old Slavonic, Greek and Latin.²¹

¹⁹ I. Ohienko, *Istoriia ukrajins'koho drukarstva*, I, Kyjiv 1994, p. 267.

²⁰ P. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

²¹ A. Dobjanschi, V. Simion, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

We do not know the names of all the teachers who accompanied Počaskij, but one of them was the monk Ihratij Ievlevyč. From Ievlevyč's autobiographical notes, added to the collection of manuscripts in the former Moscow Synodal typographic library, it is known that in 1630-1632 he was a student of the school of the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood, where the Rector was his uncle Tomaš Ievlevyč. He studied later at Zamość and other places.²² He was in Iași in 1644-1645, and by 1647 returned to Kiev.²³

The printing-house at Iași started to work a bit later than the school. At first Moldavian ecclesiastics tried to get help from Moscow in order to print books in Moldavian. In 1636/7 Metropolitan Varlaam wrote to the Tsar Michael Fedorovič "the book of St. Callistus, the Exposition of the Holy Gospel, translated into Romanian ["voloski"], to be read by priests in church to teach orthodox Wallachs, is now ready, and only needs to be printed and published".²⁴ After this unsuccessful attempt to get printing equipment from Moscow, Vasile Lupu and Varlaam asked again for help from the Ukraine. On 12 January 1641 Lupu wrote to the Lviv Brotherhood to thank them for a type for the printing-house in Iași.²⁵ Later another letter, dated 17 February 1642, was sent to Lviv, from Sofronij Počaskij.²⁶ Writing to the members of the Lviv Brotherhood, Počaskij stated "When I recently was sent by His Highness, our founder and benefactor, to Lviv to collect printing equipment for church use among the people of Romania ["Moldowallachia"], not only I did receive no help from Your Honours [...] but I was even insulted". This means that in the end of 1641 or the beginning of 1642 Počaskij had visited Lviv to buy printing materials for the Voivode. Probably the quarrel that arose at this time between Peter Mohyla and the Lviv Brotherhood prevented members of the Brotherhood from giving any help to one of Mohyla's supporters. In the end we know from the introduction of the *Carte de învățatură* (1643), that "the Most Holy Father Peter Mohyla, son of the Moldavian Voivode [...] sent a printing-press with all the equipment". The printing-house was established in the monastery of Trei Ierarhi, and became subordinate to its abbot, Sofronij Počaskij.²⁷

²² For the text of the autobiography and bibliographical notes, see S. Golubev, *Istoriija kievskoi duhovnoi akademii*, I, Kiev 1886, pp. 74-79.

²³ P. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

²⁴ *Istoričeskie svjazi...*, p. 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50, no. 13.

²⁶ E. Titov, *Priloženija...*, pp. 203-205.

²⁷ H. Koljada, 'Ukrainsko-rumynskie knigopečatnye svjazi...', p. 206.



Fig. 2. Iliia, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, 1641, from the *Carte de învățatură*, woodcut, 64 x 146 mm.

Besides Počaskij, among the specialists who arrived from Kiev were the printers: Father Samuil Rohalia and a monk Mihail, and an engraver Iliia. The name of Mihail is given by Kirijak, but we know nothing more of him.²⁸ Much more is known about Rohalia, who was referred to be Andrij Skolskij, a famous Lviv printer who also worked in Wallachia in 1635-1637, as "Father Samuil, from Vilnius, German ["nemets"], printer".²⁹ In 1636 among those who signed the *Žalostnyj list* (declaration in defence of the Orthodox church) by Afanasij Filipovyč was "Samuil Rohalia, printer of the Brotherhood of Vilnius".³⁰ Later he lived in Lviv, where he took part in the election of Arsenyj Želyborskyj as Bishop of Lviv, and in Kiev.³¹ Not later than November 1642 Rohalia arrived to Iași. This date can be determined on the basis of letters of the Russian diplomat and secret agent at the court of Vasile Lupu, Afanasij Ordin-Naščokin, whose spiritual father and probably collaborator was Rohalia. The first letter is dated 20 November 1642; in another letter Ordin-Naščokin wrote "My spiritual father, the 'black priest' Samuil [...] in Iași [...] until my arrival was living at Vasile's court to print books".³²

²⁸ V. Kirijak, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁹ Ja. Isaevyč, *Preemniki pervopečatnika*, Moskva 1981, p. 81. "Nemets" at this period could refer to any non-Slavonic speaker, so Samuil may have been Lithuanian.

³⁰ V. Koršunov, *Afanasij Filipovič; žizn' i tvorčestvo*, Minsk 1965, p. 128.

³¹ Ja. Isaevyč, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

³² N. Mohov, 'Novye dannye ob organizacii pervoj tipografii v Moldavii', [in] *Učenyje zapiski Instituta istorii Moldavskogo filiala AN SSSR*, Kišinev 1959, p. 172; I. Galaktionov, *Rannaja perepiska A. L. Ordina-Naščokina*, Saratov 1968, pp. 13, 69-71.

We do not know the exact functions of Samuil Rohalia or Mikhail; their names do not appear in books printed at Iași, in contrast to the usual practice in Ukrainian and Romanian books at this time. But probably Samuil Rohalia fulfilled the most important role; we know from a letter of Ordin-Naščokin from July 1643 that “the Metropolitan [i.e. Mohyla] sent for him to return to Kiev, in order to correct printed books”.³³ Rohalia died shortly afterwards in Lviv, in 14 January 1644, after a journey from the Pečerska Lavra to attend a book fair.³⁴

The illustrator of the first books published by the Iași printing-house, Ilia, was one of the most famous Ukrainian engravers of this period, a protege of Peter Mohyla and other members of the church hierarchy. His life and artistic journeys can be reconstructed thanks to the large number of his signed and dated woodcuts. He started his work in 1637-1639 in the printing-houses of Lviv, and was probably a monk of the monastery of St. Onuphrius, subordinated to the Lviv Brotherhood, and a pupil of the Jerodijakon Georgij.³⁵ A talented and industrious engraver, he was soon invited to the Kievo-Pečerska Lavra printing-house where he made some woodcuts dated 1640.³⁶ No woodcuts by him dated 1641 or 1642 appear in Ukrainian books (very unusual for such a prolific artist), but woodcuts by him from these years appear in a book from the Iași printing-house.³⁷ We can assume that Ilia was one of the specialists sent by Mohyla to Iași, and

³³ I. Galaktionov, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

³⁴ Ja. Isaevyč, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³⁵ O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, ‘The Monk Ilia – Illustrator of seventeenth-century Ukrainian and Romanian Books’, *Solanus*, XIII, London 1999, p. 25-43. On the illustration of the Baptism of the eunuch of the Emperor of Abyssinia in the *Apostole* (Lviv 1639) Ilia’s signature is followed by the word ANAKZNOZ (elsewhere shortened to ANAK or even A), which probably represents the Greek *anaxios*, “unworthy”. Other instances of such additions to the names of Ukrainian printers of this time are known – see T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *Ukrainskie knigi kirillovskoj pečati XVI-XVIII vv. Katalog izdanij, hranjašihsja v Gosudarstvennoj biblioteke SSSR im. V. I. Lenina*, I, Moskva 1976, p. 13. In works of Romanian art historians another explanation of ANAKZNOZ is given: “Anagnoste”, a surname from the northern Dobruđa, in order to prove that Ilia was of Romanian origin – see D. Morărescu, ‘Ilie Anagnoste, xylographe de Petru Movilă et de Vasile Lupu’, *La Roumanie d’aujourd’hui*, VII, 1982, p. 35. This idea seems to be unacceptable, as is his suggestion that Ilia came to Kiev as one of Mohyla’s retinue, and that his artistic career started there in 1630. Ilia arrived to Kiev not from Moldavia but from Lviv, and no woodcut of his is known in books from the Pečerska Lavra before 1640.

³⁶ T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *op. cit.*, p. 49, nos. 200, 201; p. 64, no. 706.

³⁷ *Carte de învățatură*, Iași 1643, title and ll. 86v and 124r. See also F. Dudaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-87.



Fig. 3. Ilia, St. George Killing the Dragon, from the *Carte de învățatură*, woodcut, 77 x 125 mm.

that he returned to Kiev not later than 1643.³⁸ In Ukraine Ilia created almost 500 woodcuts for such famous books as the *Great Trebnyk* of Peter Mohyla (1646), the *Pateryk Pečerskij* (1661), the unique blockbook Bible (1645-1649),³⁹ and many others.

The first publication of the Iași printing-house, the *Decretul* of the patriarch Parthenius (20 December 1642) has a title-page with a woodcut head-piece and frame which can be attributed to Ilia.⁴⁰ The *Decretul* was published in Greek type, which probably came from Father Berežanskij in Lviv.⁴¹

The next publication, the *Carte de învățatură*, a collection of commentaries on the *Gospels* attributed to St. Callistus, Patriarch of Constantinople, and translated into Romanian by Varlaam, is decorated with many woodcuts which are either similar to exact copies of those in Ukrainian books

³⁸ Woodcuts dated 1643 by Ilia in books from the Pečerska Lavra, see T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *op. cit.*, p. 64, no. 716; 2, 1, p. 69, no. 1592.

³⁹ O. Yurchyshyn, 'Master Ilia's Lytseva Bible', *Print Quarterly*, XV, 1998, pp. 389-395.

⁴⁰ This ornamental frame is very similar to those on maps from the Lavra printing-house, such as that in the *Teratourgema* of Athanasius Kalnofojski (1638).

⁴¹ F. Titov, *Priloženija...*, pp. 203-205.

printed by Ivan Fedorov, Peter Mstyslavec, Fedir and Gedeon Balaban, Kyrylo Trankvilion Stavrovetskij and many others.⁴² The second of the two variants of the title frame, and 17 (19 in some copies) woodcuts are signed by Ilia.⁴³ In comparing Ilia's title frame with the first variant by an unknown artist it is possible to see his considerable professional skill in engraving. Ilia's illustrations in the text are not all of the same quality; beside such masterly woodcuts as the *Entry into Jerusalem* or *St. George killing the dragon*, and others, in the second part of the book (which has a separate pagination), the *Baptism of Christ* and the *Holy martyr Theodore Tiron* were apparently executed in haste. Special attention should be paid to the full-page illustration of St. Paraskeva Petka of Epivat, whose relics Lupu had purchased at great expense, and had transferred with great pomp from Istanbul to Iași. The woodcut of St. Petka by Ilia follows the pattern of a hagiographical icon, and includes three scenes of the transfer of the relics, where we see Lupu, the Turkish Sultan and their escorts.⁴⁴ In later books from the Iași press we can assign to Ilia the title frame and coat of arms in the *Pravile înpărătescî* (1646), which appeared long after Ilia's return to Kiev.⁴⁵ In the Iași printing-house there was also published one of the first Romanian prints – a large woodcut panegyric signed by Ilia in honour of Lupu and his family. The unique surviving copy of this print was found by F. Dudaș.⁴⁶ As Romanian scholars have noted, Ilia opened the line of artist-illustrators of Moldavia; no other named engravers are known in this period.⁴⁷

The activity of the printing-house in the Trei Ierarhi monastery forms a very short episode in the extensive and many-sided cultural exchanges between the Ukraine and Romania during the time of Peter Mohyla, when after a long interval book printing was restored in both Moldavia and Wallachia with an assistance of many Ukrainian printers and artists. On the

⁴² H. Koljada, 'Ukrainsko-rumynskie knigopečatnye svjazi...', pp. 205-206 contains a detailed survey of borrowings in the *Carte de învățatură* and other Romanian books.

⁴³ Among surviving copies some have additional pages, which contain the two extra woodcuts. See F. Dudaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82, figs. 14, 16.

⁴⁴ A close parallel to this woodcut can be found in an icon from the "local" range of the iconostasis of the church of Sts. Paraskeva Pjatnytcja and Paraskeva Petka in Lviv, which was rebuilt after a fire in the 1640s at the expense of Vasile Lupu. See O. Yurchyshyn-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 31, figs. 2-3.

⁴⁵ At the foot of the text of the title-page are the initials "S E. Cz.", which P. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 53 and G. Stremmel, *op. cit.*, p. 31 assume to be those of the engraver; but because these are not part of the woodcut, but printed from type, it seems more likely that they are those of the printer.

⁴⁶ F. Dudaș, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-166.

⁴⁷ A. Dobjanschi, V. Simion, *op. cit.*, p. 64; G. Stremmel, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

wider impact of the Ukrainians at Iași, Vasile Lupu's successor, Gheorghie Stefan spoke about the "fine teachers, full of enthusiasm for learning" whom Mohyla had sent, and continued "we know [...] what benefits our country has received from their scholarship".⁴⁸

Author's translation revised by Nicholas Smith

⁴⁸ P. Panaitescu, *op. cit.*, p. 66.