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The Lvov "Oktoich" of 1630 in the collection of the Jagellonian Library in Cracow

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Jagellonian Library in Cracow**

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There are many examples of artworks, in panel painting and in architecture among others, testifying to the mutual ties between Ruthenian, Polish and Moldavian art from medieval times to the Modern Age. Printed books are also a case in point.¹ The graphic, figural and ornamental prints included in their pages constitute a veritable manifestation of the tendency to unify eastern and western models. Russian Cyrillic prints, originating for the most part from the renowned Lvov, Kiev and Počayev printers, have engaged scholarly interest for a considerable time now. W. Deluga in particular has contributed to recognizing Western European models in Orthodox graphic art, indicating, as also recently A. Gronek, the influence Western European prints had on Ukrainian icon painting of the Modern Age.² It is noteworthy that painters chose to copy prints by the best masters of Western Europe, be they German or Dutch. Books from printing offices in

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¹ An excellent discussion of the nature of this particular heritage with regard to the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is to be found in M. Błońska, 'Polonica cyrylickie XV-XVIII wieku, czyli o drukach wydawanych w państwie polsko-litewskim', [in:] *Z badań nad dawną książką. Studia ofiarowane profesor Alodii Kaweckiej-Gryczowej w 85-lecie urodzin*, II, Warszawa 1993, pp. 433-544.

² Cf. W. Deluga, 'The Influence of Dutch Graphic Archetypes on Icon Painting in the Ukraine, 1600-1750', *Revue des Etudes Sud-Est Européennes*, XXXIV, 1996, 1-2, pp. 5-26; A. Gronek, 'Recepcja niderlandzkich wzorów graficznych w XVII-wiecznych cyklach pasyjnych w cerkwiach Zaśnięcia Matki Boskiej i Świętych Piatnic we Lwowie', [in:] *Ars Graeca. Ars Latina. Studia dedykowane Profesor Annie Różyckiej-Bryzek*, Kraków 2001, pp. 231-244; Eadem, 'On the dependence of western Russian passion presentations on the western graphics in the 16th to 18th centuries', *Vostočnoevropejskij Archeologičeskij Žurnal: Byzantine Studies*, III, 200, www.archaeology.kiev.ua/byzantine.

Ruthenian lands included in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are also frequently proof of the cultural and political links between the lands of Central and Eastern Europe.

One of these books is the *Oktoich* printed in 1630. This liturgical book issued by the Stauropegion Brotherhood office in Lvov is presently held by the Old Books Department of the Jagellonian Library in Cracow (fig. 1).³ The title page and the preface referred to the benefactor of the Orthodox brotherhood, Moldavian Voivod Miron Barnowski, who provided the funds for rebuilding the printing office after a calamitous conflagration. The *Oktoich* was to be the first book to be printed at the office after its renovation and it is dated to December 15, 1630.

The first Lvov printers was established by Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople, in May 1589; the patriarch was said to have come especially for this occasion to Lvov. In 1591 a Greek grammar intended for schools was printed there.⁴ The office “viesc mnohocenna”, built to spread noble ideas, burnt down in a conflagration that engulfed the whole town. The first book to appear following efforts by the Brotherhood to restore the office was the said *Oktoich*. The typesetter Andrzej Skulski was called in at this point to start printing books. Actually, the *Oktoich* was not the first: P. Panaitescu has proved that it had been preceded by the publishing of a small brochure, dated April 23, 1630, devoted to the Passion of Christ.⁵

³ *Oktoich* 1630, the Jagellonian Library, cat. 589055. This edition is noted in all the most important catalogues of Cyrillic prints: V. Sopikov, *Opyt rossijskoj bibliografii, ili polnyj slovar' sočinenij i perevodov, napečatannyh' na Slavenskom i Rossijskom jazykach ot načala zavedenija tipografij do 1813 goda*, St. Peterburg 1813, item 754; T. Tolstoj, *Obstožatel'noe opisanie staropečatnyh knig Slavjanskich i Rossijskich, v biblioteke grafa Th. A. Tolstova*, P. M. Stoeva, Moskva 1829, no. 80; I. Sacharov, *Obozrenie Slavjano-Russkoj bibliografii I. P. Sacharova*, St. Peterburg 1849, no. 270; I. P. Karataev, *Chronologičeskaja rospis slavjanskich knig, napečatannyh kirillovskimi bukvami. 1491-1730*, St. Peterburg 1861, item 305; K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska*, 15, Kraków 1897, p. 22; *ibid.*, 23, Kraków 1909, p. 314. One of those to mention it among the critical postwar catalogues is: T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *Ukrainskie knigi kirillovskoj pečati XVI-XVIII vv. Katalog izdanij, hranjaščihsja v Gosudarstvennoj biblioteke SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina (1574 - 1. pol. XVII v.)*, Moskva 1976, item 59, with description and references; Ja. Zapasko, Ja. Isaevyč, *Pamjatky knyžkovoho mystectva*, 1, Kyjiv 1982, p. 51, no. 205.

⁴ The oldest religiously dissentient printing offices in the Commonwealth included the Vilnius typography established by Doctor Skoryna from Połock in the early 16th century – in 1517 his translation of the Bible was published in Prague and in 1525 his *Apostle* in Vilnius. A Lutheran catechism was published by Mateusz Kawęczyński, Szymon Budny and Wawrzyniec Krzyszkowski at Nieświerz in 1562.

⁵ P. P. Panaitescu, *L'influence de l'oeuvre de Pierre Mogila, archevêque de Kiev, dans les Principautés roumaines*, [extrait des *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France*, V], Paris 1926, p. 49.

The dedication of the book indicates that Miron Barnowski (-Mohyla, voivod from January 1626 until August 1629) upheld the tradition of patronage begun by his predecessors: the brothers Jeremiah (September 1600 – June 1606) and Simon Mohyla (June 1606 – September 1607), who contributed to the building of the church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary in Lvov.⁶ The value of this edition of the *Oktoich* was recognized already at the beginning of the 19th century by W. Sopikov, who referred to it as a rare work.⁷ The book was given to the Voivod by the Orthodox bishop of Lvov, Jeremiah Tyssarowski, who visited the governor (hospodar) at Ujście in December of 1630.⁸

The lengthy reasoning in the preface supports the need to retain in memory this great act of benefaction, the scholarly nature of the text emphasized with countless references to the Holy Scripture and even to the writings of Seneca, an ancient philosopher treated on equal standing with the Church Fathers. The literary juxtapositions cite pictorial parallels positioning the ancient philosophers, as the most respected thinkers of the ancient world, close to the Old Testament prophets in representations of the *Tree of Jesse* depicted on Athos or Moldavian paintings executed already in Post-Byzantine times.⁹ It is a known fact that Seneca's writings, just like Horace's *Odes (Carmina)*, were known in the Brotherhood's school, as well as in the later *Collegium Kijoviense-Mohilanum*, where dialectics and logic were both taught in Greek and in Latin with the support of the Orthodox printers.¹⁰

⁶ The Orthodox church was built on the spot of an earlier foundation of the hospodar Aleksander Łopuszanin, dated to the middle of the 16th century.

⁷ „[...] so izvodom' oktoicha opasno ispravlennym' v' blagov'rnom' carstvi Velikorossijskom', vo grad' Moskv', 1594 goda napečatanym', izsl'dovan', ispravisja, taže i Svjatopamjatnago Knjazja Vasilija Ostrazkago, Vojevody Kievskago, v' Dermani izobražennym' oktoichom' pril'žno izsl'divše; s' žitiem' sv. Ioanna Damaskina, i s' figurami; vo L'vov', 1630” – V. Sopikov, *op. cit.*, loco cit. This author also cited the content of the introduction to the book, *ibid.*, pp. 164-165.

⁸ P. P. Panaitescu, 'Fundatiuni religioase romanesti in Galitia', *Bulletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, XXII, 1929, no. 59, p. 6.

⁹ Cf. *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournas*, transl. from the Greek by P. Hetherington, London 1974, p. 31 [164].

¹⁰ I. Ševčenko, 'Różne oblicza świata Piotra Mohyły', [in:] *Ukraina. Między Wschodem a Zachodem*, Warszawa 1996, p. 29 [original version: 'The Many Worlds of Peter Mohyla', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VIII, 1984, 1-2, pp. 9-44]. Works by ancient authors were covered in the Brotherhood's school in Lvov, which was teaching a curriculum of liberated arts ever since the end of the 16th century – I. Szaraniewicz, 'Stavropigiska cerkov vo Lvove', [in:] *Geografičesko-Istoričeski Statii*, (from *Vremennik Stavropigijskogo Instituta*, 1875), Lvov, p. 17. Cf. *L'vivščyna, Istoryko-kul'turni ta krajeznavči narysy*, ed. J. Birjulov, L'viv 1998, p. 76.

As regards the literary aspect, another curiosity of the Lvov *Oktoich* from the Jagellonian Library is the text of the Uniate Service mentioned of St. Josaphat Kuncewicz, published by the Basilian Fathers' printing office at Počajiv in 1762 and added to the original book (fig. 6). This text refers to the "Holy Zamość Council".¹¹ Kameneva-Guseva's catalogue does not note any reprint, indicating instead that in 1634 a *Canon to the Virgin Mary* was reprinted and added to copies of the *Oktoich*.¹² The authors of the catalogue cite copies with a dedication to Moses Mohyla (son of Simon Mohyla; April 1630 – December 1631), Peter Mohyla and Miron Mohyla. One copy of the second version of the edition (with the added reprint) was dedicated to Katarzyna Konstantynowa-Jarmolińska. The supplement consisting of the Uniate text is proof of the specificity of the cultural environment in which the book was produced. Similar innovations are the topic of studies by Aleksander Naumow, an expert on old Orthodox prints related to the territories of the Polish state.¹³

Small Moldavia showed an uncommonly great vitality and creativity, in lavishing resources in support of its own rich and varied culture despite growing internal problems and a constant external threat, while at the same time promoting numerous foundations in Lvov, the most considerable one being the Orthodox church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, commonly referred to as the "Wallachian" church. The rulers also supported the brotherhood operating with the church.¹⁴ As regards the church, it was said that the above mentioned Jeremiah and Simon erected it at considerable cost and the Voivod Miron caused it to be finished and promised to endow (is furnish implied here?) it handsomely by a specified time. This is an important source in the light of the temple's less than clear construction chronology.

¹¹ Written sources to the life of Saint Josaphat, collected by G. Hofman, 'Ruthenica', *Orientalia Christiana*, III/2, 1924-1925, pp. 179-182. The beatification trial, or trials to be more correct, started in 1628 and were conducted in the Połock cathedral and at the death site in Vitebsk, to be completed finally in Rome in 1642. The beatification took place a year later, on February 16, 1643. The first feast was celebrated on November 12, 1644, at the Il Gesu church in Rome. The bishop of Połock was referred to as an apostle of union ever since the 19th century: A. Guepin, *Un apôtre de l'Union des Eglises au XVII siècle. S. Josaphat*, Paris-Poitiers 1898; A. Naumow, *Wiara i historia. Z dziejów literatury cerkiewnosłowiańskiej na ziemiach polsko-litewskich*, Kraków 1996, p. 113.

¹² T. N. Kameneva, A. A. Guseva, *op. cit.*

¹³ Cf. A. Naumow, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-141.

¹⁴ I. Szaraniewicz, 'Muzeum Instytutu Stauropigijskiego we Lwowie', *Teka Konserwatorska*, Lwów 1892, pp. 53-60.

“An artistic period forgotten: the epoch of Miron Barnowski” – the title of V. Drăguț’s article¹⁵ is extremely telling when considered in the context of the address of 1630 calling for special remembrance and gratitude to the governor in return for his acts of kindness. The Voivod’s activity was effectively brought out of oblivion, as indicated by a number of successive articles devoted to his founding activities. In an article of 1929 devoted to the Moldavian foundations in Galicia, P. P. Panaitescu mentioned one of the treasures of the church – a cross presented by the Voivod Barnowski, made of cypress wood in western baroque style, but of an Athos provenience presumably.¹⁶ The hospodar’s accomplishments and his ties with Poland were the subject of articles written in the 1930s by A. H. Golimas,¹⁷ S. Zotta,¹⁸ and Gh. Duzinchevici.¹⁹ The subject came up again in the 1970s, as Drăguț’s article (1973) indicates. A year later Drăguț highlighted the Voivod’s foundations in the capital of the Moldavian state and described his residence from the first half of the 17th century.²⁰ Somewhat later A. Golimas gave a historic overview of Barnowski’s times,²¹ describing the historic background of his rule and his mediation between Turkey and Poland; he followed this up with a monograph devoted to the Voivod (1980), covering all the literature on the subject to date.²² Shortly thereafter M. Sabados (1982) discovered in the museum in Suceava a votive portrait of the hospodar holding in his hands a model of the Dormition monastery at Iași, painted on the margins of a document of December 9, 1627, in

¹⁵ V. Drăguț, ‘O epocă artistică uitată: Epoca lui Miron Barnovshi’, *Biuletinul Monumentelor Istorice*, I, 1973, pp. 15-24. Review: S. Porcescu, ‘O epocă artistică uitată: Epoca lui Miron Barnovshi’, *Mitropolita Moldovei Sucevei*, L, 1974, 3-4, pp. 306-307.

¹⁶ P. P. Panaitescu, ‘Fundatiuni...’, p. 7.

¹⁷ A. Golimas, *Domnul Moldovei Miron Barnovschi: la tricentenarul morții sale: Ianuar 1626 – Aug. 1629, April 1633 – 21 Iulie 1633*, Iași 1933, pp. 1-75; Idem, ‘Domnul Moldovei – Miron Moghilă Barnovschi’, *Revista Istorică Română*, XIII, fasc. 14, Iași 1933, pp. 131-133.

¹⁸ S. Zotta, ‘Știri noi despre movilești și amănunte interesante despre viața lui Miron Barnovschi’, *Arhiva Genealogică*, 1912-1913, pp. 228-237; Idem, ‘Amănunte interesante despre viața lui Miron Barnovschi’, *Opinia*, Iași 1933. See also: I. Minea, *O inovație juridică a lui Miron Barnovschi*, Iași 1932, pp. 3-21 extras – “Integriri”.

¹⁹ Gh. Duzinchevici, ‘Miron Barnovschi Moghilă și Polonia’, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie – Cluj*, VIII, 1936-1938, pp. 166-222 [extras 1938].

²⁰ V. Drăguț, ‘Miron Barnovschi. Ctitor in Suceava’, *Revista muzeelor si monumentelor. Seria muzee*, XLII, 1974, 1, pp. 91-92.

²¹ A. H. Golimas, ‘Barnovschi, Miron. Foreign Relations. Moldavie’, *Magazin Istoric*, X, 1976, pp. 43-48.

²² Idem, *Un Domnitor, o epoca Vremea lui Miron Barnovschi Moghila, voievod al Moldovei*, Bucuresti 1980.

which he donates his family village of Toropowce (Toropauți) near Cernivsi to this monastery.²³ As the author has demonstrated, a portrait of the ruler was supposed to be found in the Lvov church of the Brotherhood – this according to Miron Costin, who wrote the *Moldavian Land Latopis* – and in a church erected by the hospodar in Iași, as confirmed by Paul of Aleppo, as well as in the Zograf monastery on the mountain of Athos, which was endowed frequently by this and other voivods.²⁴ In his last article on the subject, V. Drăguț recalled that the extensive monastic complex at Dragomirna – planned as a rectangle with towers above the southern entrance and at the four corners of the walls, surrounding the splendid church erected thanks to the metropolitan Anastasius Crimci – was completed thanks to Barnowski's endowment of 1627.²⁵

Interestingly, Barnowski, while he may have endowed architectural projects in Moldavia and patronized others in Ruthenia, decided to commission icons for his temples in far-off Moscow.²⁶ These commissions,

²³ M. Sabados, 'Un document cu portret votiv de la voievodul Miron Barnovschi', *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei. Seria Arta Plastică*, XXIX, 1982, pp. 55-57; Eadem, 'Un document cu portretul voievodului Miron Barnovschi și câteva observații privind arta miniaturii în actele emise de cancelaria moldovenească în prima jumătate a secolului XVII', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol*, XXIII, 1986, fasc. 1, pp. 255-262. The monastery at Iași was a foundation of the Voivode Barnowski, as confirmed by Paul of Aleppo in 1653 – loco cit., note 5.

²⁴ M. Sabados, *op. cit.*, note 5. A nineteenth-century full-figure portrait of the hospodar by an anonymous painter has survived, depicting him holding a model of the church in his hands; it was alleged to be a copy of a votive painting made for the monastery at Iași – A. H. Golimas, *Un Domnitor...*, ill. on the inside cover.

²⁵ V. Drăguț, 'Un programe architectonique non commenté de la Moldavie des XV^e-XVII^e siècles', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux-Arts*, XXV, 1998, p. 3. On the successful reforms of the hospodar and metropolitan, cf.: N. Grigoraș, 'Situația clerului moldovenesc în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea și reforma domnitorului Miron Barnovschi și mitropolitul Anastasie Crimca', *Mitropolita Moldovei și a Sucevei*, I-II, 1957, pp. 71-79.

²⁶ In a letter sent from Iași on December 9, 1628, Miron Barnowski availed himself of the mediation of the archimandrite Varlaam and Paul Ureche to request from the tsar Mihail Fedorovič icons for three very important churches: one of the Holy Trinity in the Dragomirna monastery and two others at Iași: of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary and of St. George, as well as a church of St. John the New in Suceava; with the letter he sent to the tsar the relics of St. Jacob the Persian. The delegation reached Moscow in March of 1629, picking up on the way in Kiev envoys sent by the archimandrite Peter Mohyla, who wrote to the tsar on December 30, 1629, entreating that the delegation be received well – Moskva, Central'nyj Gosudarstvennyj Archiv Drevnich Aktov, fol. 68, op. 2, d. 1. First publication: S. Dragomir, *Contribuții privitoare la relațiile bisericii românești cu Rusia în veacul al. XVII-lea*, București 1912, pp. 81-84. L. E. Semenova was mistaken in stating that the original letter had been written in 1629 – Eadem, 'Relațiile Bisericii din Moldova și Muntenia cu Biserica

which are confirmed in the sources, may be proof of the renown of Moscow ateliers, the works of which were popular in Poland as well, if their spreading through the churches is any indication, especially in the period following the expeditions against Moscow in the first half of the 17th century.

In the foreword to the “Orthodox reader”, following the introduction there is mention of the beauty of the church, which surpasses even that of a woman. The church is praised as a teacher of divine, Orthodox, paternal dogmas, ornamented with golden robes and hymns. A list of names follows a full-page apotheosis of the church and includes the patriarch Joachim of Antioch, Meletius of Alexandria, and the ecumenical patriarch Jeremiah of “New Rome”.²⁷ Thanks to the patriarchs, “Our Fathers and Shepherds”, and to two other benefactors, as it is stated, the Brotherhood could start in the town of “Liondopoli of Lesser Ruthenia” the work of revival, as confirmed by the letters of “our Lord, the gracious King Sigismund” (1587-1632). Three conditions concerning the activities and the future of the Brotherhood were listed:

1. The Brotherhood is to exist “eternally” with the church of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary of the patriarchal Stauropegion.

2. The Brotherhood’s printing office should print books for the teaching of the Word of God.

3. A gymnasium for youth is to be established.

Mentioned next in the foreword to readers is the patriarch Cyril Lucaris, referred to as “archbishop” of Constantinople, the exarchs of the ecumenical

Rusă în secolul XVII’, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol*, XXXI, 1994, pp. 564-565. The church in Iași, begun in the times of Miron Barnowski, was dedicated under Basil Lupu on November 4, 1635 – S. Vacaru, ‘Contribuția lui Vasile Lupu la dezvoltarea arhitecturii moldovenești’, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol*, XXXI, 1994, p. 88. These determinations are based on a Russian publication of correspondence exchanged between Polish royalty, Muscovy princes, and Moldavian hospodars, collected in three volumes under the telling title: *Istoričeskie svjazi narodov SSSR i Rumynii*, eds. J. Grosul, A. Oțeteta, A. Novoselski, L. Cerepnin, I, Moskva 1965; II, Moskva 1968; III, Moskva 1970.

²⁷ Thus the Brotherhood addressed the patriarch in a letter of October 30, 1629: „Sanctissime Domine D. Pater archiepiscopo Constantinopolitane Novae Romae et oecumenice patriarcha D. Pater in Spiritu et Pastor noster summe honorande” – G. Hoffmann, ‘Patriarch Lukaris und die Römische Kirche’, [in:] *Griechische Patriarchen und römische Päpste. Untersuchungen und Texte*, II/1, [= *Orientalia Christiana*, XV, fasc. 1], Roma 1928, p. 75. The figures of Joachim of Antioch and the patriarch of Constantinople Jeremiah II were characterized against a broad background in Borys Gudzak, *Kryza i reforma. Kyjivska mytropolija, Cargorodskij patriarhat i geneza Berestejs’koj unii*, L’viv 2000, pp. 205-217.

throne (prestol)²⁸ and the bishop of Lvov, Jeremiah Tysarovski. It was also said that the book that was published was meant to serve the needs of the Orthodox Church, as well as the veneration and glory of the Lord's Resurrection.

At the end of the foreword addressed "to the reader" in the Lvov *Oktoich* there is a very valuable note on the sources of the typesetting for the book. As said in the text, its "izvod" was prepared in the "blagoviernym Bogolubivym i vesesvetlom grade velkorosyjskym Moskve v leto ot stvorenia mira zrb, napiečatanym [...]" It was also said that "prince" Konstanty ("Wasyli") Ostrogski, Kiev voivod in Derman, and Miron Barnovski, Moldavian voivod, helped in the publication, the latter sending an *Oktoich* written down once in the "Serb-Bulgarian" tongue from the "Moldavian-Wallachian" monastery of Neamț (Niamc). The Greek "izvod" came from the patriarch Cyril Lucaris. The text is supplemented with the information that the *Oktoich* is a translation from the Greek of the "tropar", "kondak" and "ikos" for eight voices, for every week, and it ends in a prayer.

The liturgical book mentioned here is worthy of attention not only because of its cultural and historic context, emphasized by the person of the patron listed in the dedication. The extraordinary richness of the ornaments in the *Oktoich* cannot but attract attention. Their nature and variety provide the grounds for remarks of a more general kind concerning traditional attributes and those which have been adopted, observable in the literary sphere, but primarily in the ornamental one.

The frontispiece of the book was given an architectural frame of obviously monumental nature (fig. 1). The same block had already been used once in the title page of the *Evangeliiar tetr*, published in Krylos in 1606.²⁹ There, the frame has survived in its entirety except for a slightly torn edge; in the Lvov book the top and bottom margins had been cropped. A significant difference is the coat-of-arms in the bottom field of the frame. The *Evangeliiar tetr* has the ensign of Lvov bishop Gedeon Balaban, while in the *Oktoich* we see the coat-of-arms of the Stauropegion Brotherhood with the initials of its name on either side of the Lvov tower of Korniakt. The two examples

²⁸ Cyril I (Lucaris) was patriarch of Constantinople repeatedly in the years 1612, 1620-1623, 1623-1633, 1634-1635, 1637-1638 – P. Meienberger, *Johann Rudolf Schmid zum Schwarzenhorn als kaiserlicher Resident in Konstantinopel in den Jahren 1629-1643*, Frankfurt a. M., s. 206, note 1. A growing closeness to Calvinism characterized his politics (correspondence with the King of Sweden Gustavus II), hence he was referred to often as the „Calvinist” patriarch.

²⁹ Cf. G. N. Lohvyn, *Z hlybyn. Hravjury ukrains'kyh starodrukiv XVI-XVIII st.*, Kyjiv 1990, ill. 20.



Fig. 1. *Oktoich*, printed in Lvov, 1630, Cracow Jagiellonian Library – frontispiece.

indicate that the composition of the title-page block left the center field empty for the title and the description of the book's function to be placed there, along with the place and date of publication and the armorial shield intended for the founder. The making of this card is currently attributed to an unknown Lvov wood-engraver, who is also thought to be the author of other graphic-art prints included in some preserved Lvov books of the first half of the 17th century, such as a few Gospel scenes in the *Časoslov* and the *Psaltir* published by the Church Brotherhood in 1615.³⁰

The title page decoration of the two books is worthy of comparison with the sumptuous frontispiece of the *Kiev' Evangeliar* of 1697.³¹ The two

³⁰ G. N. Lohvyn, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³¹ Ja. Zapasko, Ja. Isaevyč, *op. cit.*, ill. 712.

models are comparable in terms of composition, which emphasizes in the Lvov case the more Renaissance-like elements of the architecture with clearly accentuated columns and an arch, and an effort at spatial drawing using a geometric perspective drafted in the lines of the squares of the floor. The Kiev illustration was dominated by figures of the Apostles and exuberant cartouches, which screen architectural forms in keeping with the Baroque rules of composition, with each element depicted three-dimensionally. Characteristically, in the first case the figures and decorative elements are subordinated to the architecture, while in the second case they have become a primary feature.

In the Lvov *Oktoich* seated angels in tunics have been inscribed symmetrically into the space inside the arches. One of the angels extends a hand holding a wreath, the other a glass. In their lowered hands they both hold lilies. Corresponding to them are angels set against the column bases; the one on the right plays the harp, the other a lute, an extremely popular instrument at the sixteenth-century courts. Their presence emphasizes the musical nature of the book's content, at the same time bringing to mind Biblical connotations, linked mainly with the Psalms, and secular ones that were close to the courtly culture of the times: "From ivory palaces stringed instruments make you glad" (Psalms 45, 9). The fields of the columns or pilasters perhaps are filled with candelabra-like stylized vegetal forms recalling Renaissance panels of balustrades and pilasters filled with a similar acanthus-leaf design in relief. The plinth and arch are marked with a simplified Ionian kymation. In keeping with an overall trend Renaissance border design was adopted, becoming an important decorative element also of manuscripts made in the Ruthenian territories of the Commonwealth in the 16th century.³²

The woodcuts placed at the beginning of the book thus contain elements bringing the publication up to date with respect to the destination of the book and the person of the founder. One of these is the tower of Korniakt, the motif indicating the Dormition church and the Stauropegion Brotherhood, seen at the bottom of the frontispiece, and a practically full-page coat-of-arms of the Mohyla family, "the very famous jewel of His Graciousness" Ioan Barnovski, voivod of Moldavia and Wallachia, below which comes an apology for the Voivod in rhymed six-line verse (fig. 2). A similar coat-of-arms appears on the back of the title page of the *Triod Cvetnaja*, published

³² W. Deluga, A. Kaszlej, *Sztuka iluminacji i grafiki cerkiewnej. Katalog wystawy, październik - listopad 1996*, Warszawa 1996, p. 14.



Fig. 2. Coat-of-Anus, *Oktoich*, Lvov 1630, Cracow, Jagiellonian Library.

a year later in Kiev.³³ The differences, however, are telling. In the Kiev book one of the letters of the monogram has been changed (“M” instead of “B”) and a Latin font was used for the letter “3”, while the cartouche resembles a scrolled-metalwork ornament. The rich vegetal ornamentation of the coat-of-arms in the Lvov edition is here restrained to the bottom of the armorial field.

After the introduction and the foreword, a long section of the book is devoted to a discourse on the “great” John of Damascus. He was the most popular of the Byzantine hymn writers and at the same time the alleged

³³ K. Witkowski, *Katalog starodruków cyrylickich Muzeum Zamku w Łańcutie (Dział Sztuki Cerkiewnej)*, Kraków 1994, fig. 6.

author of this type of book. Hence, it is understandable that his apology precedes the text proper of the *Oktoich*, and is illustrated with prints of a religious nature. The book contains four full-page prints which are portrait representations of St. John of Damascus depicted in keeping with the convention of the writing Evangelist (fig. 6). Below each of the prints there is a different stanza of an apologetic nature, praising John for his piety, deep wisdom, inspiration coming from the Holy Spirit, and propagation of the glory of the Virgin Mary through hymns that are eternal teaching for posterity. The verses also reminded that the creator of canons and Orthodox hymns offered to the Lord in Trinity, lost an arm, cut off by the iconoclasts. In the case of each of the four blocks with representations of St. John of Damascus, a similar measure was taken, leaving a space free for a new text to be included every time, just as in the case of the frontispiece. The architectural motifs in the background betray a dependence on western European print models which were then penetrating without interference into Orthodox art. The Lvov *Oktoich* of 1630 clearly demonstrates the characteristic balance between the Orthodox nature of the figurative conventions, which frequently borrowed from the old Byzantine and even Early Christian pictorial tradition (the image of St. John of Damascus depicted as an Evangelist occupied with writing), and the adaptation of contemporary models of Western architecture and ornamentation belonging to the repertory of modern styles: renaissance, baroque and rococo. Surviving parallels from other books printed during this period in Lvov and Kiev illustrate a variety of approaches to the use in these representations of Western architectural forms.

The elements of Renaissance architecture visible in the architectural background are clearly archaic, but they have been used with an understanding of their function, quite the contrary to the use of the same motifs in images of the Evangelists printed in the *Evangeliiar* published in Vilnius in 1575 by Piotr Mścislawiec at the Mamonicz printers, all imbued with mannerist characteristics and copied in much later books. For example, in St. Luke's image used in a *Gospel* of the late 16th century and now held in the collection of the National Library in Warsaw (fig. 7).³⁴ the forms are more fantastic: the rustication is symmetrically distributed on the pedestals, as well as imposts. Sprouting from the vases on the pedestals are freely modelled leafy tendrils. Attention is drawn to the image of St. Luke, which appears to be

³⁴ *Luke the Evangelist*, full-page print, 315 x 185 mm, *Tetracvangliar*, Warsaw, National Library, acc. 2539 – W. Deluga, A. Kaszlej, *op. cit.*, item 5, ill. 11

lost against the accumulated architecture in the background. The leaning Apostle with his slender body and ascetic face is overwhelmed by the fantastic entablature supported by an architrave resting upon two great pillars covered with a fish-scales motif. Another example of this kind of adaptation of selected forms and ornaments from Western styles is a colored woodcut of the Evangelist Matthew from the above-mentioned *Gospel Book* from Vilnius and surviving in a *Gospel Book* of the late 16th or early 17th centuries (fig. 8).³⁵ In this case a similar accumulation of forms has place, the forms intertwined in a manner that is far from obvious. Compared to the previously analyzed print, the figure of the Evangelist is more strongly emphasized along with the accompanying angel who holds the book the saint is writing in.

Drawing attention among the illustrations in the *Oktoich* are two smaller prints with the Crucifixion (fig. 3), as well as two others with the motif of the Cross itself, depicted in monumental form against a background of the walls of Jerusalem and accumulated clouds, rising on Golgotha. Driven into the ground on either side of it stand the instruments of the Lord's passion: a spear and a lance with sponge. While the Crucifixion prints are of a historical nature highlighted by the architecture of Jerusalem depicted clearly in the background, the figures of one Mary and the other, St. John and the centurion with raised hand introduced on either side of Christ, as well as by the verses John 19, 25-27 placed under one of the prints, the other two prints with the cross are of a completely different, hieratic and dogmatic character. One of these two was given an additional frame consisting of an ornament composed of two intertwining tendrils with flourishes, echoing late Gothic branch-work. A number of letters was inscribed into this scrolling ornament: at the top "Č", "K", "H" ("Čestnomu", "Krestu", "Hvala"); on the sides "K" and "T" ("Kopie", "Trost"); and at the bottom "M", "L", "R", "B" ("Mesto", "Lobnoe", "Raj", "Byst"). The abbreviations clearly emphasize the soteriological and eschatological aspects of this representation.

The decoration of the vignettes is extremely interesting and striking. It takes on the form of abundant flower-and-plant scrolling at the beginning of each voice and separately for the Sunday hymns. The character of the vignettes determines their belonging to the so-called vegetal style which was developing with exceptional vigor from the second half of the 16th

³⁵ *Matthew the Evangelist*, full-page print, 355 x 225 mm, *Tetraevangeliar*, Warsaw, National Library, acc. 2880 – W. Deluga, A. Kaszlej, *op. cit.*, item 28, ill. 12.



Fig. 3. Crucifixion, *Oktoich*, Lvov 1630, Cracow, Jagiellonian Library

century and which could have been influenced by manuscript ornaments from the times of Ivan the Terrible.³⁶ The ebullient plant motifs differed from the vignettes in Ruthenian manuscripts of the 15th century, which were executed in the so-called Balkan style, based on plaiting as a motif.³⁷

The book contains in the beginning of each part ten large vignettes (fig. 4). The narrower vignettes separate successive days of the week for particular voices. An analysis of the published plates reveals that the redactors of the book used for the major vignettes the same woodcut blocks that had already been in circulation fifty years earlier. The vignettes opening the Sunday hymns of voices 2 and 5 are the same as the vignettes included

³⁶ W. Deluga, A. Kaszlej, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12. I. Svencickyj published drawing copies.

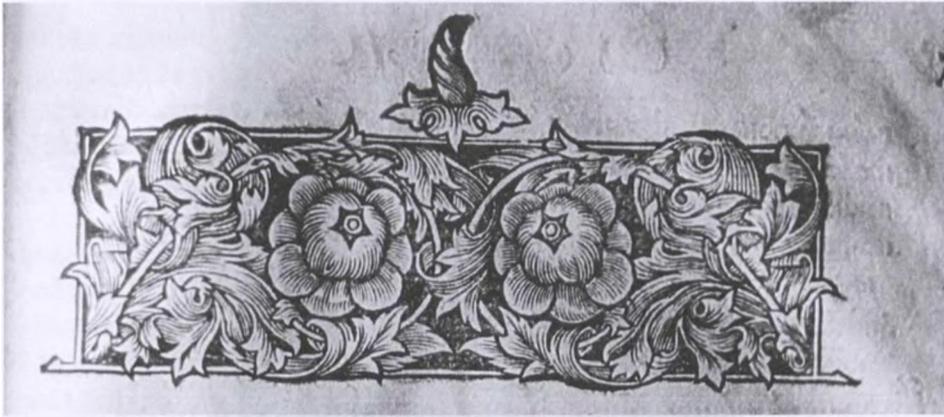


Fig. 4. Big vignette, *Oktoich*, Lvov 1630, Cracow, Jagiellonian Library.

in the *Apostle* of 1574 from the Lvov print-shop of Ivan Fedorov, a “Muscovite”, and are close in style and form to the vignettes from the Moscow *Apostle* of 1564,³⁸ that is, from the period when Fedorov was still in Moscow just before leaving for Vilnius.³⁹ The identical ornamentation of the form of the title announcing the hymns for particular days placed under the vignette⁴⁰ indicates that the archaic character of the Lvov *Oktoich* was not the consequence solely of a secondary use of the same blocks, which were quite clearly in circulation, but also of a fairly meticulous study of specific books published in Lvov circles half a century earlier. One cannot escape the impression that the publishing of this book, the first in the restored printing house, was done with utmost care and a desire to add splendor by using the best of the blocks in circulation at the time.

Of the minor vignettes, one draws attention by its ornament. It was repeated several times in the text, for example, before the Monday evening hymns for voice 2. The ornament is composed of lions holding up a cartouche in strapwork ornament, betraying thus a predilection for this frequent and well-liked motif in Lvov applied art. The strapwork ornament is linked to the northern Renaissance, the Mannerist trend in general; it was present primarily in the architectural relief carvings of the first half of the 17th

³⁸ Cf. G. N. Lohvyn, *op. cit.*, ill. 105-106.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19. Having established a printing office in Vilnius, Fedorov opened another one for Jerzy Chodkiewicz in Zabłudowo, and operated in Lvov from 1572. The next office he founded for Konstanty Ostrogski at Derman near Ostróg.

⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, ill. 104.



Fig. 5. Addition: Frontspiece of Uniate Service printed in Počaev, 762, Cracow, Jagiellonian Library.

century in Lvov churches and chapels, occurring also in the Orthodox painting and graphic art of Lvov and Kiev as well.⁴¹ At the top of the pages, or else at the end of the subchapters, a plant ornament printed in red is repeated frequently; it is particularly common in Lvov books.⁴²

The graphic design of the book also includes small initials which are enchanting in the fineness of the minute vegetal scrolling strictly subordinated to the rules of symmetry. This, just like the symmetry and nature of

⁴¹ Cf. *Dormition*, print by Tymofei Petrovyč in *Homilies* of John Chrysostom, Kiev print of 1624; title page of the *Služebnik*, Kiev 1629 – D. V. Stepovyk, *Ukrajins'ka grafika XVI-XVIII stolit'. Evoljucija obraznoi systemy*, Kyjiv 1982, ill. on pp. 44, 244.

⁴² K. Witkowski, *op. cit.*, model L9 in the table in the appendix.



Fig. 6. St. John of Damascus, *Oktoich*, Lvov 1630, Cracow, Jagiellonian Library.

the architectural images, recalls the significance of Western motifs as an interpretation of early Renaissance ideals. At the same time the twining branches with flourishes scattered throughout the book recall the past epoch of late Gothic art, while cartouche motifs in the minor vignettes are an expression of predilections characteristic of the Mannerist era, in view of the fact that the book's printing falls in the times of a maturing Baroque. The vegetal scrolls of the major vignettes, which are closer to Orthodox ornamentation, are merely a visually richer version of the Byzantine vegetal style, filtered through the Moscow milieu.

The iconographic and stylistic features of the illustrations in this and other modern Orthodox books published in the printing offices of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth are one more manifestation of the assimilation of Western imagery and style into the Eastern tradition, an

assimilation that is best observable in icon painting. In the modern age the attachment to the old Byzantine pictorial tradition gave way as regards the style to trends coming from western Europe. The clash or rather interpenetration of the two tendencies is evident in the ornamental aspect of the books which is clearly twofold. Western ornament occurs in the figurative graphic art, while the Eastern one dominates in the vignettes.

The prints from the Lvov book were modeled on the ornamentation present in the earlier, Moscow books of Ivan Fedorov and Peter Timofeev Mścislawicz, published in the times of Ivan the Terrible and the Moscow metropolitan Makarios, under the supervision of Hans from Copenhagen.⁴³ They are exactly the same as in the Moscow *Apostle* of 1564, the first Moscow book, and the successive one published already in Lvov in 1573 (the *Apostle* was published in Moscow several more times and also in Kiev in 1630 “z licevnymi figurkami” and in the typesetting of Michał Sliozka in Lvov in 1639). The printer himself left Moscow.⁴⁴ He continued printing books, first in Vilnius where he was received by the hetman Jerzy Chodkiewicz, and then in the “bogospasajemago grada” Lvov, where he published the above-mentioned *Apostle*, and finally in Ostrog, at the court of Prince Konstanty.⁴⁵ The Holy Book was created in 1580 (*The New Testament*) and 1581 (*The Holy Bible*), as a compilation of old translations, which the prince had collected, asking for them even from the tsar Ivan Vasilevič, from whom he received a Slavic *Bible* translated by Prince Vladimir.⁴⁶ In 1598 a book was published in Ostrog, explaining the differences between the Eastern and Western Churches.

The Lvov book is a testimony, one of many, of the strong ties between the Lvov Orthodox church Brotherhood and the Moldavian rulers of the last and simultaneously the nearest Orthodox state lying in the way of the Turkish conquest. The hospodars played an important role as patrons of the arts, benefactors, endowers of the activities of the Stauropegion Broth-

⁴³ Ibid., p. LVI.

⁴⁴ „Ivana Fedorova i tovarišcej ego, v” nagradu stol’ važnyh” i poleznyh” trudov’ [...] oglasili ljud’mi vrednymi i daže eretikami. [...] on” prinužden” byl” ostavit’ svoe otečestvo i udalit’sja v” Pol’shu, gde on” s” bol’šim” ješče uspjehom upražnjalsja v’ svoem’ hudožeštve” – V. Sopikov, *op. cit.*, p. LX-LXI.

⁴⁵ The Prince „ne men”e Carja Ioanna Vasil’eviča čyvstvujja neobhodimost’ ispravnyh” cerkovnyh” knig”, dlja utišenija razdorov”, načavšihsja v” cie vremena meždu pravoslavnyymi, v” Pol’skih” krajah” prehyvajučimi, r”ešilsja pristupit’ k” pečataniju Biblii” – *ibid.*, p. LXIV. Ivan Fedorov described his adventures [perypetie] in the afterword to the Lvov *Apostle* of 1573.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. LXV.



Fig. 7. St. Luke, woodcut, *Tetraevangeliar*, late 16th century, Warsaw, National Library.

erhood, supporting it as frequently and generously as possible, as evidenced by a rich collection of letters kept in the archives of the Brotherhood.

In turn, the books from the Brotherhood's printing office served all of the churches in the Carpathian foothills. There exist documents to prove their purchase by the inhabitants of settlements in the Przemyśl and Sanok regions in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁴⁷ The benefactors were often depicted on the margins of these books.⁴⁸ For instance, it is known that a book

⁴⁷ R. Biskupski, 'Inspiracje grafiką malarstwa ikonowego XVII i I połowy XVIII wieku', *Materiały Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Sanoku*, XXIII, 1977, p. 11.

⁴⁸ J. Gienza, curator of Orthodox art at the Museum-Castle in Łańcut, has prepared for publication a full set of marginal notes from several dozen books kept in the Łańcut book collection.



Fig. 8. Evangelist Matthew, woodcut, *Tetraevangeliiar*, late 16th or early 17th century, Warsaw, National Library.

commissioned by Ivan Bojarski became a possession of Peter Mohyla.⁴⁹ At the same time, members of the Mohyla family donated books as well: in 1643, the said Peter Mohyla, referred to as “archbishop metropolitan of Kiev, Halyč and all of Rus’”, gave a Lvov *Služebnik* of 1639 to the Holy Trinity monastery at Ulucz.⁵⁰

In view of their separate character, the illustrations of the Cyrillic books of the discussed printing offices undoubtedly deserve special attention. The individuality of these books is highlighted foremost in the literary sphere

⁴⁹ V. S. Aleksandrovyč, I. Z. Mycko, ‘Arherejskij služebnik i trebnik Ivana Bojarskoho: unikal’nyj rukopisnyj kodeks 1632 g’, *Pamjatniki kulturny. Novye otkrytija*, 1993, pp. 138-147.

⁵⁰ R. Biskupski, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

and draws from a variety of local curiosities occurring in Orthodox books, as well as from the need to adapt these books to the demands of the Greek-Catholic church. Hence, every initiative designed to identify the content and the features of particular books is extremely valuable, including the publication of surveys, such as the research in Polish libraries done by A. Rogov in the 1970s, which gave an overview of Ruthenian books, as well as a number of Moldavian copies,⁵¹ and projects to publish monograph studies of Cyrillic books in the various library and museum collections, the catalogue of old books at the Museum-Castle in Łańcut, prepared by K. Witkowski,⁵² being a good example here.

Translated by Iwona Zych

⁵¹ A. Rogov, 'Kiriličeskie rukopisi v knigohraniliščah Pol'si', *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, 14.

⁵² K. Witkowski, *op. cit.*