

Directions of Cultural Transfer in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Pochaiv–Vilnius (18th–Early 19th Centuries)

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Summary. The article deals with the issue of cultural relations between Lithuania and Ukraine during the 18th and early 19th centuries on the basis of copies of old books preserved in Vilnius University Library. The object of the study is the Pochaiv Basilian Monastery printing house, one of the largest printing establishments in Ukrainian lands during the 18th century. A total of 152 books produced by the Pochaiv printing house have been identified in Vilnius University Library, of those: 48 books in Cyrillic script (86 copies) and 54 books in Latin script (66 copies). The earliest publication is a 1618-dated theological work by the theologian Kyrylo Tranquillion, which had been printed even before Pochaiv Monastery joined the Church Union. An analysis of the content and provenance of the books from Ukrainian lands reveals not only connections with the realities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but also the characteristics of their readers. Pochaiv books in Latin script circulated in the eastern lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with one even reaching western Lithuania; while most of the Cyrillic books bear the ownership marks of Ukrainian churches. The article includes an Annex presenting a bibliographical list of all Latin-script books from the Pochaiv printing house held in Vilnius university library.

Keywords: Pochaiv Basilian Monastery; printing house; the Basilians; book culture; Ukraine; the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 18th century.

1. Introduction

In the 14th century, the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter referred to as *GDL*) annexed a large part of Ukrainian lands to their dominions. After the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Kingdom of Poland took over responsibility for ruling the lands of contemporary Ukraine; but this did not prevent relations between Lithuania and Ukraine developing in various directions. One of the most prominent areas of cultural interaction to have developed since the late 16th century was book printing. In the historiography, there are several works which reveal that there was intensive book-related contact between the two regions. Most commonly, histori-

ans mention the intensified print communication between the citizens of Lviv and Vilnius at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries,¹ as well as the relations between Ruthenian printers and authors in the GDL and the Ostroh Centre for Printing and Theological Creation.² Also, much is known about the spread of products originating in Vilnius and other printing houses of the GDL to Ukrainian lands during the 16th and 17th centuries. The work of the 17th century engravers Leon and Aleksander Tarasewicz and Jan Szczyrski in both Vilnius and Ukraine has become the subject of extensive research.³ The connections between Lviv, Ostroh, and other printing centres in Ukraine, and the GDL, as well as the spread of printing production, reveal that there was an uninterrupted book tradition, enriched with new expressions, which extended across the region.

In the 18th century, the nature of cultural communication changed. A Ukrainian thread, however faint, still existed in the libraries of the GDL. Although book collections held by the clergy and secular elite of the GDL were dominated by books from Western and Polish printing houses, they also received books from the printing houses of Chernihiv, Kyiv, Univ, and Berdychiv, but mostly from the printing houses of Lviv. For example, in the Vilnius Jesuit Academy's library, which contained about 11,000 books, there were nine books from Lviv printing houses.⁴ The Jesuit College in Kražiai had 2,527 books, of which, 13 were printed in Lviv.⁵ The library of the Dominican Monastery of Paparčiai, which contained 918 books, included ten books from Lviv and four books from the Berdychiv printing house.⁶ In Troškūnai Monastery library, which belonged to the Bernardines, there were about fifteen hundred books at the end of the 18th century, of which, twelve were from the Berdychiv printing house and eleven from Lviv printing houses.⁷ Additionally, reviews of some of the nobility libraries reveal that books from Lviv printing houses predominated among Ukrainian publications. For instance, the Radziwiłł library in Nyasvizh contained twenty books from Lviv printing houses and six books from the Berdychiv printing house.⁸

1 Л. Тимошенко, 2020, с. 197, 204–205.

2 Я. Ісаєвич, 2002.

3 Д. Степовик, 2013.

4 *Catalogus auctorum ordine alphabetico dispositus in Bibliotheca Collegii Academiae Vilmensi S. I. reperibilium*, [Vilnius, 1772], access online: <https://virtus.mb.vu.lt>.

5 *Buvusios Kražių kolegijos knygų sąrašas*, 2018.

6 A. Pacevičius, 2005, p. 164.

7 Ibid., 2005, p. 238–239.

8 Библиотека Радзивиллов Несвижской ординации, 2013–2015.

The present study aims to broaden the theme of cultural relations between Lithuania and Ukraine during the 18th and early 19th centuries, and to examine in more detail the spread of books printed in the Pochaiv Basilian Monastery printing house to the GDL. Two reasons prompted the undertaking of this research. The first reason was a desire to draw attention to a little-known phenomenon which contributes to a deeper understanding of the extent of the cultural interaction between the two major ethno-political communities of Eastern Europe during the Early Modern period. In fact, no research into the spread of books from the Pochaiv printing house to the lands of the GDL has been carried out thus far. This printing house deserves attention because it was one of the largest producers of printed materials in Ukraine during the second half of the 18th century.

The second reason for carrying out the research was due to the results of a search for books from the Pochaiv printing house, which showed that they were not only being distributed among the Basilian monks of the GDL,⁹ but also among other communities – although the catalogues for collections of historical books do not reflect this. The search was conducted in the collections of Vilnius University Library (hereinafter referred to as *VUL*). First of all, 47 Cyrillic books (85 copies) from the Pochaiv printing house were identified; these were described in the 2013 catalogue of the *VUL* Cyrillic book collection.¹⁰ This Pochaiv group also includes one Cyrillic prayer book which was not included in the Cyrillic book collection's catalogue and which was instead preserved in the book collection of the old Vilnius University (i.e., 1822 Psalter, *VUL*, call number BAV D72). Additionally, 54 publications (66 copies) printed in Latin characters and Civil script between 1739 and 1818 were identified (see the Annex). Thus, to date, 102 publications (152 copies) which were printed in the Pochaiv Basilian printing house have been identified in the *VUL* collection.

VUL inherited many Pochaiv printing house books from Vilnius Public Library during the second half of the 19th century. The latter institution was a repos-

9 Surviving lists of books and other sources confirm that the Basilian monasteries of the GDL were adequately supplied with books from the Pochaiv printing house. For example, the Basilian monastery in Hrodna, which accumulated about 550 books, had seven books from the Pochaiv printing house in its collection. See: *Spisok knig naznachennykh dlya postupleniya v Vilenskuyu publichnuyu biblioteku*: 1) iz biblioteki byvshago Grodnenskago Borisoglebskago monastyrya; 2) iz Biblioteki byvshago Torokanskago monastyrya, Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos Rankraščių skyrius [Vilnius University Library, Manuscripts Division], F3–155, lap. 2v–18v, access online: https://kolekcijos.biblioteka.vu.lt/objects/VUBo1_000802056#00037.

10 *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos kirilikos leidinių kolekcija*, 2013.

itory for various private book collections and monastic libraries which operated throughout the western and eastern lands of the GDL. Thus, the historical collections of VUL today allow us to thoroughly examine the structure and peculiarities of the book culture in the GDL. The research aims, firstly, to ascertain the links between the books published by the Pochaiv printing house in VUL's collections along with the realities of the GDL – in other words, their relevance to the local audience; and secondly, to identify the characteristics of the readers and owners of the Pochaiv printing house's books.

2. Some Brief Information about the Printing House of Pochaiv Basilian Monastery

Today, Pochaiv is a small provincial town situated in the historical Volhynia region, located about 140 km from Lviv. Although Orthodox monks lived in the area since the 13th century, it was not until the end of the 16th century, with the support of the local nobility, that the conditions for the growth of the Monastery of the Assumption of the Mother of God were created. As of 1712, the monastery became the property of the Uniate Church; and, in 1773, Pope Clement XIV blessed the coronation of the Pochaiv Icon of the Mother of God. It was due to this icon that the monastery became famous as a pilgrimage centre. Recurring donations from the faithful ensured the monastery's material well-being and provided opportunities for it to distribute books more widely. In 1743, it became the administrative centre of the Basilian Ruthenian province, which further strengthened its position.

The Pochaiv Basilian Monastery printing house was established in 1730 by Teodosii Rudnytsky-Lubienietzky, an administrator of the Uniate Church and assistant to the bishop. All organizational work was carried out by the Basilian monastery's superior, Gedeon Kozubski.¹¹ The monastery's printing house quickly grew into a major enterprise in the Volhynia region, actively operating within the book market in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Over a period of 100 years, about 300 publications in Cyrillic and about 280 publications in Latin script were printed in this provincial area. It was also one of the largest printing houses belonging to the Order of St. Basil the Great. It was mostly religious literature and educational materials for Basilian schools which were printed there. The publishing directions

11 Я. Ісаєвич, 2011, с. 10–11.

of the Pochaiv printing house were influenced by the fact that it was the official printing house for the Lutsk Eparchy; therefore, liturgical books for Byzantine Rite Catholic churches were published in large numbers.

The activities of the Pochaiv printing house were hindered by conflicts with the Lviv Dormition Brotherhood over printing privileges.¹² However, even years of litigation did not prevent the printing press from taking a leading position in Ukraine lands. Its production distinguished itself from the Lviv printing house by its higher quality of editing and design. The Pochaiv printing house had four common presses, and one rolling press for printing book illustrations; whereas, most of the printing staff were the monks themselves.¹³ As the monastery participated in the 1831 uprising, Emperor Nicholas I ordered that Pochaiv Monastery be transferred to the Orthodox Church. The Uniate hierarchs tried to preserve the printing house by relocating it to Polatsk, where they intended to open a Uniate academy. However, this plan failed, and the printing house fell into the hands of the Orthodox believers.¹⁴

3. Features of Pochaiv Printing House Books in Latin and Civil Scripts from VUL Collections

Despite the title of this section, we will initially mention the very first publication printed in Pochaiv using Cyrillic script, which belongs to the period when Orthodox monks still controlled it. This work is the *Zercalo bogoslovii...* (*Mirror of Theology*) by the renowned theologian and printer Kyrylo Tranquillion, printed in 1618 by the author himself in the movable-print house at Pochaiv Monastery. Tranquillion's *Mirror of Theology* is considered to be the first fundamental compendium of dogmatic theology created in the Metropolis of Kyiv. On the other hand, this and other works by Tranquillion were condemned by Orthodox theologians in both Kyiv and Moscow. In 1626, Tranquillion joined the Uniate Church.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that, a century later, *Mirror of Theology* did not lose its relevance and was reprinted, again in Pochaiv in 1790.¹⁶

12 I. Kažuro, 2019, p. 53.

13 I. Almes, 2023, c. 65–69.

14 M. Radwan, 2000, s. 212, 214.

15 *Енциклопедія українознавства*, 1976, с. 3011; *Філософський енциклопедичний словник*, 2002, с. 646.

16 О. Железняк, 2011, с. 182.

The theme of Tranquillion's work and the time of its creation suggest that it could have been read by the first Uniate saint, the Archbishop of Polatsk and martyr Josaphat Kuntsevych. On the eve of the Union of Brest, Tranquillion was living in Vilnius and teaching at the Ruthenian Brotherhood school. At that time, the young Ivan Kuntsevych arrived in Vilnius from Volodymyr to learn the profession of a merchant. The devout young man was able to watch and listen to this renowned theologian of the Ruthenian Church speak in the Orthodox Churches of Vilnius. Many years passed, and Josaphat became the leader of the Archeparchy of Polatsk. It is believed that this now high-ranking Church official may have been intrigued by Tranquillion's new theological work, especially since it was published in the native Ruthenian language. The copy of *Mirror of Theology* that is present in VUL originally belonged to Vilnius Basilian Monastery; the names of Brother Konstanty and the Basilian Yoakym Gostylovsky are mentioned in the manuscript entry (call number Rk 254).

The first book under the Basilians (*Leitourgikon*) was published in 1735. The engravings for this publication were created by the engraver Andrii Golota, who had previously worked in Vilnius.¹⁷ From the very first missal, the monks of Pochaiv began marking their publications with the image of the Mother of God, a copy of the local painting, which was claimed to wield miracle-working powers. This image was used to mark not only religious books but also publications on other topics. For example, in 1782, the printers adorned a Latin textbook by the Jesuit Manuel Alvares (*De institutione grammatica libri tres*) with an illustration of the Mother of God of Pochaiv (Figure 1). A copy of Alvares' textbook (call number IV 218) belonged to the Basilian Klymentii Grynevetsky who studied at Vilnius University at the beginning of the 19th century.

Among the numerous works printed at the Pochaiv printing house and preserved at VUL, it is relevant to highlight the Uniate authors' lesser-known literary legacy. Of the latter, it is worth mentioning the 1748 reprint of the first Latin poem dedicated to St. Josaphat Kuntsevych (*Iosaphatidos sive De nece B. Iosaphat Kuncewicz Archiepiscopi...*).¹⁸ The reprint of the poem was initiated by the Lithuanian Basilian province, dedicating the publication to the bishop coadjutor of Vilnius, Józef Sapieha. By reprinting the poem in Pochaiv, the Lithuanian Basilians were responding to the opinion spread by the Jesuits that the author of the poem was a

¹⁷ I. Almes, 2023, c. 67.

¹⁸ The first edition was published in Vilnius in 1628, with the author (or compiler) listed as the Basilian Iosaphat Isakowicz.

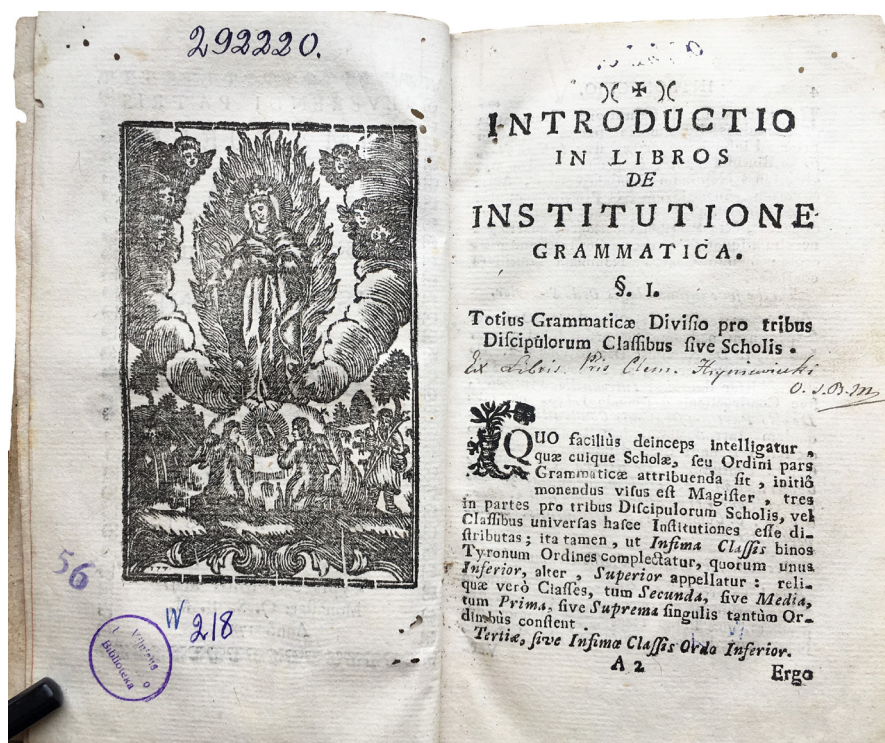


Figure 1. Manuel Alvares, Latin language textbook from 1782.

In: Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Retų spaudinių skyrius (Vilnius University Library, Rare Books Division), IV 218.

Jesuit.¹⁹ The Basilian Yosyf Narolsky defended Iosaphat Isakowicz's authorship of the *Iosaphatidos* in the poem's introduction. He argued extensively that the information attributing authorship to Mikołaj Kmicic,²⁰ published in 1737 in Augsburg by the Jesuit cartographer Heinrich Scherer, was incorrect. Narolsky's introduction demonstrates that the Basilian monks were well acquainted with the information being disseminated in Europe. Furthermore, the reprint of the poem attests to their efforts to cherish their spiritual, literary heritage. It is noteworthy that Vilnius Jesuit

19 The author thanks Ona Dilytė-Čiurinskienė for her assistance in researching the history of the poem *Iosaphatidos*.

20 Heinrich Scherer, *Geographia Politica: sive Historia Geographica Exhibens Totius Orbis Terrarum, t. 4: [Polonorum genius, indoles, et praerogativae]*, Augustae Vindelicorum et Dilingae: Sumptibus Joannis Caspari Bencard, 1737, p. 499–500.

Academy also became involved in the controversy over authorship. *Iosaphatidos* was also reissued by its printing house. However, the place and date of printing were omitted, and the author was listed as a Jesuit named Kmicic.²¹

VUL has eight books from the Pochaiv printing house authored by the renowned Basilian missionary and theologian Tymoteusz Szczurowski. All these publications were issued during the time when Szczurowski lived in Volodymyr (1768–1775).²² Most of the publications relate to his work as a teacher at Volodymyr Basilian College. For example, two school dramas by Szczurowski on the history of the Byzantine Church have been preserved in Vilnius: one about St. John of Damascus (*Widok mądrości w obrazach od pogan wyśmiany...*, 1771), and the other about St. John Chrysostom (*Jan Złotousty pokoy z wygnania niesie...*, 1769). The latter drama has a dedication to Józef Cieszkowski, the Castellan of Chernihiv; the author's name is not given on the title page. Since there is no evidence that any other person was writing and publishing school theatre dramas for Volodymyr College at that time, it is natural to attribute it to the young, creative Basilian author Szczurowski.²³

The leadership of the Uniate Church trusted Szczurowski. In addition to his work as an active teacher at the school, he was entrusted with taking care of the Basilian nuns who had moved from Hrodna to Volodymyr. In 1772, Szczurowski published a special spiritual guide which had been commissioned by the nuns: *Wzor doskonałości panienskiej* (*The Model of Perfection*). The book was intended to commemorate the establishment of these Basilian nuns in their new location. In this book, the nuns expressed their gratitude to the metropolitan of the Uniate Church, Felician Wołodkowicz, for his help in resolving the issue of the building of the monastery. Szczurowski adapted this spiritual guide for a female audience by writing its text in verse. The VUL copy has an interesting testimony concerning the dissemination of the booklet among women. It contains a note with the fol-

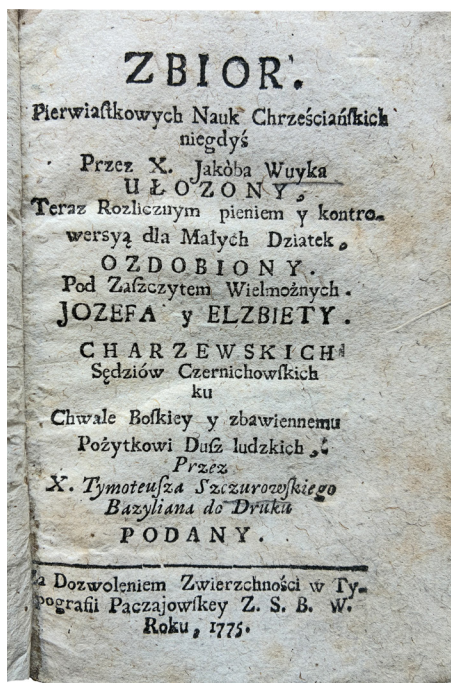
21 Mikołaj Kmicic, [*Iosaphatidos, sive De nece Josaphat Kunciewicz... Libri tres*], [Vilnius: Academy Press, the first half of the 18th century], 4°. The only copy known so far is from VUL (call number III 18716). The title page and the end are missing. The printing house has been identified by the ornamental tailpiece. The author's name is printed in the header of each page: "NICOLAI KMICIC SOC. JESU".

22 D. Wereda, 2011, s. 509.

23 In earlier bibliographies, the publication *Jan Złotousty pokoy z wygnania niesie...* is dated 1770 based on secondary sources, and is also described as anonymous and is printed in octavo format (see: Ю. Рудакова, 2011, с. 206). The VUL copy bears a publication date of 1769 and is printed in quarto format (call number IV 25844).

Figure 2. Children’s religion textbook by Tymoteusz Szczurowski from 1775.

In: Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Retų spaudinių skyrius (Vilnius University Library, Rare Books Division), IV 3183.



lowing text: “*Za smażone jabłka JeMsci Pannie Konstancyi posyła się sześć jabłek, ale ja jabłek smażonych więcey jeść niechce*” (“Six apples are sent to Her Ladyship Konstancja for her baked apples, but I don’t want to eat any more baked apples”). It is possible that the name ‘Konstancja’ refers to a nun from Vilnius Basilian Monastery. There were two women in the 18th century who had this name – these were Konstancja Sudnicka and Konstancja Jeleńska.²⁴

Szczurowski also wrote a religious textbook for children titled *Zbiór Pierwiałkowych Nauk Chrześcijańskich... dla Małych Dzieci* (*The Compendium of Fundamental Christian Truths ... for Young Children*, 1775) (Figures 2, 3). This unique publication is not recorded in either Estreicher’s or in the Ukrainian bibliography. The two aforementioned books, *The Model of Perfection* and *The Compendium of Fundamental Christian Truths ... for Young Children*, both contained religious songs in the Ukrainian language. For example, a song in the children’s book ti-

²⁴ M. Borkowska, 2008, s. 174.

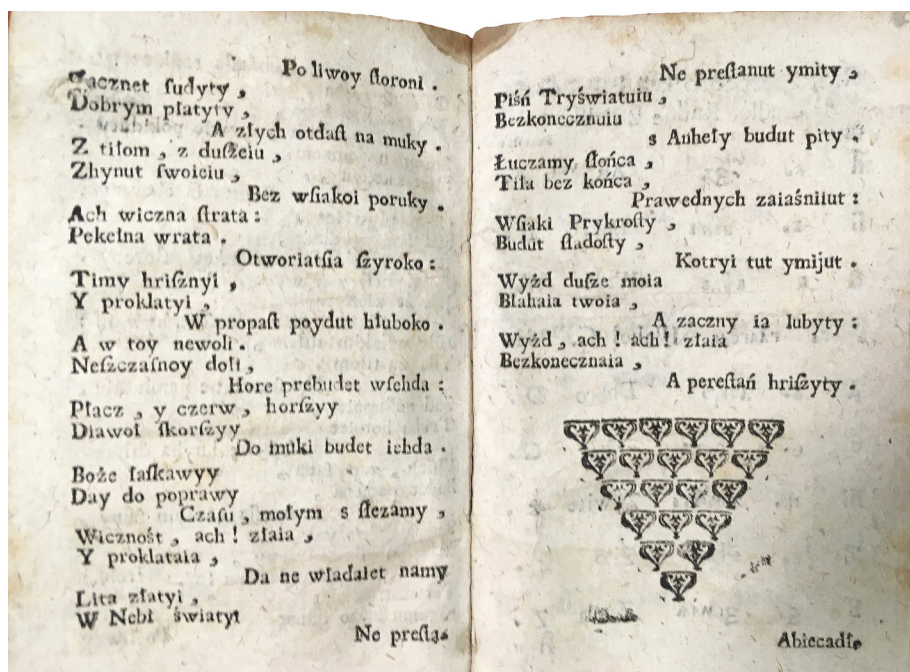


Figure 3. Fragment of Tymoteusz Szczurowski's 1775 religion textbook.

In: Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Retų spaudinių skyrius (Vilnius University Library, Rare Books Division), IV 3183.

tled "About Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven" (*Zbior Pierwiastkowych Nauk Chrześcijańskich*, 1775, s. [113–116]), begins with the words "Pridet hodyna / Dla vsich iedyna // Kohdasia razluczaty / Ot tila treba" ("The hour will come / The same for everyone // Someday we'll have to part with the body"). Szczurowski's creative talent was recognized by his Basilian superiors, and, in 1776, he was sent to Rome to continue his studies. There, the Apostolic See granted Szczurowski the privilege of organizing parish missions.²⁵ Upon returning to the GDL, he served in the Lithuanian Basilian province, and his new books were printed in the Basilian printing houses in Vilnius and Supraśl.

Szczurowski's books have quite a few ownership marks which allow their readers to be identified. In the aforementioned books, *The Model of Perfection* belonged to female nuns, while *The Compendium of Fundamental Christian Truths* ...

25 D. Wereda, 2011, s. 509.

for *Young Children* had ownership inscriptions for Gedeon Pusłowski and the Basilian Konstanty Zhaba (call number IV 3183). Szczurowski's religious primer *Ethologia czyli Nauka dla młodzi szkolney* (*Ethologia or Teaching for School Youth*, 1772) belonged to the Dominican monastery in Hrodna (call number IV 22734).

Textbooks by other authors printed in the Pochaiv printing house testify to the active use of these books in the environment of Roman Catholics in Lithuania. For example, a Latin rhetorical textbook by an anonymous Basilian author (*Summula praeceptorum rhetoricorum*, 1778) belonged to Bernardine school in Telšiai (call number IV 4363).²⁶ The textbook contains the names of three students from Telšiai school: Wojciech Kruczkowski, Maurycy Rahalski, and Paulus Wolski. Another copy of the same edition of this textbook was in the possession of Vilnius Trinitarian College in Antakalnis (call number IV 1291).

It is noteworthy that the copy of the *Summula praeceptorum rhetoricorum* textbook, which belonged to the Trinitarian College in Vilnius, has a binding of Ukrainian origin: the cover is made of waste paper from a book about the miracles of the Pochaiv Icon of the Mother of God. Also, the 1804 Slavic-Polish primer (*Bukvar dlya obucheniya yunoshstva chitat na rossijskom i polskom dialekte* = *Elementarz dla uczenia młodzieży czytać po rusku i po polsku*; call number D3-7/53), which belonged to the Bernardine monastery in Slonim, used waste paper from a Pochaiv Slavic prayer book, and its covers were pasted over with special paper produced in a local workshop.²⁷ These cases convince us that at least some of the books arrived in Lithuania already bound, with the bindings being made in Pochaiv itself.

Three copies of the Russian language textbook *Grammatyka Rossyjska*, published in Pochaiv in 1778 and dedicated to the patron of arts and literature Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, found their way to VUL from various locations in the GDL. Two of the three copies have inscriptions indicating ownership of Jesuit colleges in Orsha and Vitsyebesk (call numbers IV 15630(2) and IV 15630(3)). It is known that, after 1773, Jesuit colleges only operated within the territory of the Russian Empire. The Jesuits successfully adapted to the new political realities by introducing Russian language courses into their college curriculums, while using the new Pochaiv textbook.

26 The 1778 textbook *Summula praeceptorum rhetoricorum*... is a reprint of the earlier publication of the Pochaiv printing house which had a slightly different title (*Epitome praeceptorum rhetoricorum selectissimis exemplis distinctorum*) and was printed twice (in 1764 and in 1771); it was intended for Basilian schools.

27 The covers of the VUL copy (call number D3-7/53) are identical to the covers published in the article Г. Ковальчук, 2011, с. 27.

The spread of books from Ukrainian territories to western Lithuania is evidenced by a 1775 calendar printed in Pochaiv (*Kalendarz polski y ruski*). Its author, the Ukrainian Basilian professor of theology Gimnazy Lewicki collected information about the liturgical feasts of Greek- and Latin-Rite Catholics; he also created an astrological calendar which covered the next 231 years. Papal indulgences are printed at the end of the calendar; actually, the Basilian Order had the right to grant these to Uniate believers. Lewicki's calendar originally belonged to the printing house of the Basilian monastery in Vilnius, and later, to a townsman of Kretinga called Zygmunt Marciejewski (call number IV 43114/1775). Zygmunt Marciejewski purchased the calendar from the Basilian monastery in Vilnius for three złoty and 10 groszy. Thus, the book travelled from Pochaiv to Vilnius, and from Vilnius onwards to a town in Samogitia. Marciejewski specifically notes that the calendar is valid for 231 years. It might be that it was this which attracted the attention of the resident of Kretinga, and he purchased the publication, which contained indulgences intended for the faithful of the Uniate Church. During the first half of the 20th century, this copy was kept at Vytautas the Great University Library in Kaunas, Lithuania, and, after World War II, it was transferred to VUL.

Three publications featuring secular content authored by members of the noble Rzewuski family have been preserved in VUL. First of all, there are two works by Wacław Rzewuski: the publicist's treatise in Polish about the state of society in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Mysli w terazniejszych okolicznościach Rzeczypospolitey*, 1756) and a Latin funeral panegyric *Monumentum Doloris Divae Memoriae Serenissimae Mariae Josephae...* on the death of Maria Josepha, the wife of the ruler Augustus III (*Monuments of Grief*, 1757). Rzewuski's funeral panegyric became popular immediately; it was soon reprinted by printing houses in Warsaw, Kraków, and Lviv. VUL also preserves a Latin political poem by Wacław Rzewuski's son, Seweryn Rzewuski, Field Hetman of the Crown, titled *Supplex libellus, populorum ad reges* (*A Humble Petition of the People to the Rulers*, 1762). In this book, Seweryn speaks out against the actions of European rulers in the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Seven Years' War.

The spread of Ukrainian noblemen's books to the GDL was not accidental. First of all, Wacław Rzewuski's children were related to powerful families in the GDL. For example, in 1766, Jan Mikołaj Chodkiewicz, the Elder of Samogitia, married Rzewuski's daughter, Ludwika Maria, and in 1764, Prince Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, the voivode of Vilnius, married Rzewuski's daughter, Teresa Karolina. Close relationships between the Rzewuski family and the Basilian monastic institution are

also well known. Wacław Rzewuski built a castle in Pidhirtsi and commissioned the Basilians to celebrate a mass in the castle's church.²⁸ It is also known that Rzewuski personally supported the talented Basilian artist Antonii Hrushevsky.²⁹ Thus, the Rzewuski family was well-known in literate circles of the GDL, both among the nobility and within the Basilian community, creating favourable conditions for the dissemination of the family's works in the GDL.

Continuing with the theme of the nobility, mention should be made of a 24-page folio publication by the Pochaiv printing house which described a unique phenomenon in Baroque culture – a noble's funeral (*Relacya Apparencyi, y samego aktu pogrzebowego...*, 1745). Its author was a renowned Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth artist and architect who built several dozen shrines in Ukraine – the Jesuit Paweł Giżycki. Giżycki's *commemorative* architecture (i.e., funeral decorations) had distinct features of Sarmatism. Powerful noble families in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth invited the architect to organize funerals appropriate to their social status. In 1745, Giżycki created ornate decorations for the funeral of Prince Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki, the Grand Hetman of Lithuania and Voivode of Vilnius, which took place over four days at Vyshnivets Discalced Carmelite Monastery.³⁰ He then had the Pochaiv printing house publish a description of these decorations. According to the architect's idea, the artistic highlight of the funeral was the number 12, symbolizing the end of the twelfth generation of the Wiśniowiecki family with the death of Michał Serwacy.³¹ This idea was revealed by 12 portraits of the Wiśniowiecki family arranged around the ornate catafalque of the deceased: the *Castrum doloris*. Almost the entire Giżycki publication is taken up by biographies of the nobles depicted in the portraits, while the description of the actual funeral fitted into just a few pages at the end of the book.³² The printing of the Jesuit architect's work in the Pochaiv Basilian printing house was most likely influenced by practical considerations, related to the proximity of the printing house to the location of the funeral. The Lithuanian background of the deceased determined the distribution of the publication in the GDL.

28 K. Paduch, 2018, s. 258.

29 В. Бочковська, 2018, с. 146.

30 It should not be surprising that there is a year between the date of the nobleman's death and the date of the burial, as such a practice was common among the nobility, see: M. Paknys, 2008, p. 81; A. Mariani, 2013, s. 181, footnote 15.

31 A. Betlej, 2003, s. 44.

32 K. Estreicher, 1899, s. 155.

4. Features of Pochaiv Printing House Books Printed in Cyrillic Script from VUL Collections

From the data presented above, it is evident that books printed in Latin script at the Pochaiv printing house were most often distributed in the Lithuanian Basilian province, or else they would find their way to various Catholic institutions of the GDL. A completely different distribution area is characteristic of the Pochaiv printing house's Cyrillic books. This group includes prayer books and liturgical books in Church Slavonic (Figure 4), as well as several pastoral manuals in Ukrainian.

Some of the Cyrillic books from the Pochaiv printing house were distributed in the eastern lands of the GDL (a total of 9). For example, the liturgical hymnal *Trefologion...* (*Festive Triodion*, 1777) belonged to the church in Pyshniki in Belarus (call number Rk 142). In 1823, Bishop Adrian Hołownia of Orsha wrote in the margins of the hymnal, which he had donated to the parish from which he himself had come. In the same year, a priest from Hubina (Vitsyebsk Governorate), Antoni Ławecki, received, as a gift from Standard-Bearer Kosov of Dzisna district, two hymnals from the Pochaiv printing house, specifically, *Triodion ... chetyredesyatnicy...* (*Lenten Triodion*, 1744) and *Triodion... pyatdesyatnicy...* (*Festive Triodion*, 1747). As revealed by the detailed ownership record, Kosov purchased these books from the superior of Berazvechcha Basilian Monastery, Josaphat Cywiński, and paid 15 silver roubles (call number Rk 88).

What is completely unexpected is that many Ukrainian ownership marks have been revealed within the Cyrillic books. For example, in 1759, a Gospel belonged to the church in Pysarivka (call number Rk 47); while, in 1777, the hymnal *Trefologion...* (*Festive Triodion*, 1777) belonged to the church in Lemeshivka (containing an inscription dated 1790) (call number Rk 134). The liturgical *Apostle*, printed in 1783 in Pochaiv, was donated to the church of Tsymbalivka by a woman named Maria, who indicated that she had paid 33 złoty for the book in 1817 (call number Rk 137). The Basilian nuns of Vinnytsia purchased several volumes of the monthly *Kniga mineya...* (*Menaion*, 1761) for 130 złoty. The books were purchased in 1789 with donated funds and personal contributions from the Basilian superior Ewhenyja Zavadovska (call number Rk 68). Other Cyrillic books also provide information about the price of these gifts, the individuals who contributed to their purchase, the shrines to which these donations were made, among other information. In total, the provenances of the books from the Pochaiv printing house preserved in VUL mention 15 Ukrainian locations, including Radomyshl (with an inscription



Figure 4. *Apostle*, 1759.

In: Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka, Retų spaudinių skyrius (Vilnius University Library, Rare Books Division), Rk 139.

dated 1775), Khreshchatyi Yar (Kyiv) (with an inscription dated 1779), Chaikivka (with an inscription dated 1852), Brylivka, Horodets, Kopachivka, Maly Stepantsi, Stadnytsia, Shaliivka, Shkarivka, and Tereshky.

On the other hand, the provenance of some copies is quite difficult to determine, as the names of settlements recorded in the provenances are common to both Ukraine and Belarus (formerly part of the GDL). For instance, a 1750 Psalter from the Pochaiv printing house belonged to Ivan Sawczuk, a resident of Antopal in 1836 (call number Rk 261); yet, publicly available information on the internet indicates there are at least two villages with that name in Belarus and at least five more in Ukraine.

The question arises as to how these books could have ended up in the capital of Lithuania, i.e., in Vilnius Public Library. One of the answers to this question

is related to the Ukrainian historian Professor Yakiv Holovatsky, Rector of Lviv University. This historian spent the second half of his life in Vilnius, and, from 1868 until his death, he headed the Vilnius Archaeographic Commission.³³ In 1871, Holovatsky took office as the Chairman of the Commission for the Management of Vilnius Public Library and, on this occasion, donated 14 Cyrillic books to the library.³⁴ His donation, however, did not include the above-mentioned Pochaiv liturgical books. Thus, the question of how the liturgical books were brought from Ukrainian Orthodox churches to Vilnius remains open.

5. Conclusions

The Vilnius University Library holds 152 books which were printed at Pochaiv Monastery, one of which was printed in 1618 and the others between 1735 and 1823. It is believable that the monastery's publications can also be found in other libraries in Lithuania. The considerable number of identified books suggests that, during the 18th century, the Pochaiv printing house supported the transmission of the Ukrainian culture in the lands of the GDL, including Samogitia. These books introduced Lithuanian readers to Ukrainian authors – along with their original works and ideas. The books of the Pochaiv printing house appealed to local readers for a variety of reasons, among which, the more universal ones were for their educational content and Christian themes. The spread of books to the West was encouraged by kinship within the nobility. Through book decorations, readers in the GDL became acquainted with the art of Ukrainian lands. Overall, the circulation of Pochaiv books in the GDL shaped a shared cultural space between the two nations. This certainly deserves greater attention from researchers and calls for new, more detailed studies.

As an incentive to continue exploring the topic of Lithuanian-Ukrainian intercultural communication, and not stop at the present study, a bibliographical list of books of the Pochaiv printing house in the VUL is presented in the Annex. This list allows us to explore both the Pochaiv printing house itself (VUL holds several unique items which are not mentioned in bibliographies) and issues related to the Ukrainian Christian tradition and its influence on the Lithuanian culture.

33 “Vilniaus archeografijos komisija”, 2024.

34 *Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos kirilikos leidinių kolekcija*, 2013, p. 83.

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Annex

A list of books in Latin script from the printing house of Pochaiv Basilian Monastery preserved in VUL (by year of publication).

Explanations. The bibliographic description of each book consists of the following elements: year of publication, information about the author, the title of the publication, its format, and reference to the bibliography and information about the copies in VUL (call number and provenance). If the author is not named in the publication but is identified from other sources, the author's name is written in square brackets. If the publication does not contain any information about the printer, the title of the publication is followed by [S. l.]. Bibliography: Рудакова – Ю. Рудакова, 2011; Железняк – О. Железняк, 2011.

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1745. Giżycki, Paweł SJ (1692–1762). *Relacya Apparencyi, y samego aktu pogrzebowego ostatniego z Domu S.P. J.O. Xiążęcia JMCI Wisniowieckiego Michała Serwacego Korybuta*. 2°. (Рудакова, с. 195). – IV 16719, IV being revised.
1748. Isakowicz, Iosaphat OSBM (1606–?). *Iosaphatidos sive De nece B. Iosaphat Kunczewicz Archiepiscopi Polocensis Ritus Graeci... Libri Tres*. 4°. (Рудакова, с. 195). – IV 12954, IV 12954(2) (owners: Maximilian Narolski OSBM, Joseph Narolski OSBM).
1751. *Summariusz reguł świętego oycy naszego Bazylego Wielkiego z reguł obszerniejszych y krotszych, z konstytucyi mniskich, y nauk iego zakonnych, w krotce zebrany*. 8°.

- (Рудакова, с. 196). – IV 467, IV 4467, IV 4493, IV 9829, IV 9525, IV 22968 (owner: Sylwester Antonowicz OSBM).
1754. *Sława Zaczego Narodu Polskiego Niegdyś w Janie III. Naiśnieyszym Monarsze Polskim z wielkim wszystkich podziwieniem widziana, a Teraz znowu na publiczny widok okazana od Prześwietney Młodzi Krasomowskiej Szkoł Włodzimierskich Zakonu S. Bazylego W.* [S. l.]. 2°. (Рудакова, с. 245). – IV 32096.
1756. *Akathist do Nayświętszey Bogarodżicy Pięćdziesięciodniowemi Odpustami, od Stolicy Apostolskiej świeżo Uprzywiliowany.* 8°. (Рудакова, с. 198). – IV 22971 (owner: Vilnius Bernardine Monastery).
1756. Jagmin Jerzy od S. Hieronima (trynitarz; 1722–1786). *Droga do Boga... Na Solenney Professyi, Wielebney Iey Mci Panny Łucyi Strutynskiej... Pokazana... á Wielkiemu Imieniowi y Honorowi Wielmożnego Imci Xiędza Ignacego na Strutynie Strutynskiego Kanonika Katedralnego Łuckiego... Poświęcona.* 2°. (Рудакова, с. 198). – IV 16622 (owner: R. P. [?] Makowski).
1756. Jagmin Jerzy od S. Hieronima (trynitarz; 1722–1786). *Droga do Boga... Na Solenney Professyi, Wielebney Iey Mci Panny Łucyi Strutynskiej... Pokazana... á Wielkiemu Imieniowi y Honorowi Jaśnie Wielmożney Ieymci Páni Iulianny z Rosciszewskich Strutynskiej Starościny Horodelskiej... Poswięcona.* 2°. (Рудакова, –). – IV 16622a.
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1759. Antonin (kapucyn). *Siedm kazań pokutnych.* 4°. (Рудакова, с. 200). – IV 22724.
1759. *Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Domino Domino Nicolao... Potocki... suo Fundatori et Protectori Scholae Buczacenses... hanc Sinopsim rectefactorum Constantini Magni Caesaris Magnam similitudinem sibi in praesentiarum tenore explicantes D. D. D.* 2°. (Рудакова, с. 201). – IV 41103.
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1771. Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *Mowy Cycerona przeciwko Katylinie i za Markiem Marcellem. Przekładania X. Ignacego Nagurczewskiego... w Warszawie R. 1763 drukowane. teraz*

- z przylozeniem do nich textu Lacinskiego przedrukowane. 8°. (Рудакова, с. 206). – IV 39999.
1771. Szczurowski, Tymoteusz OSBM (1740–1812). *Widok mądrości w obraziech od pogan wyśmiany, od Leona Izawryka Cesarza zdeptany, od Jana Damascena wślawiony... tragedia*. 4°. With an annex: *Głos pochwalny nieba i ziemi rymotworskim...* 1770 D. 25 martii... (Рудакова, с. 207, 246). – IV 22919.
1772. Szczurowski, Tymoteusz OSBM (1740–1812). *Ethologia czyli Nauka dla młodzi szkolney pod rządem powszechnym całego zakonu w ruskim narodzie bazylińskiego...* 4°. (Рудакова, с. 209). – IV 22734 (owner: Hrodna Dominican Monastery).
1772. Szczurowski, Tymoteusz OSBM (1740–1812). *Gospodarz chrześcijański Dom swoy według Przykazań Boskich szczęśliwie rządzący*. 4°. (Рудакова, с. 209). – IV 4880 (owners: Hrodna Dominican Monastery, Dominican Dominicus Siwicki).
1772. Szczurowski, Tymoteusz OSBM (1740–1812). *Perillustri... Porphyrio Skarbek Wazynski... Lyceum Vladimiriense in perenne grati Animi Studium Ex Universa Philosophia Theses... D. D. D.* 4°. (Рудакова, –). – IV 5731h.
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