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Practices of monks in the Pochaiv monastery printing house of the 18th century*

The paper studies the practices of monks in the Pochaiv Basilian monastery printing house in the 18th century. It was one of the typical Ukrainian monastery typographies of the premodern time. Monks-professional, together with other non-monks' staff (engravers, foundries, etc.), ensured the functioning of the mentioned printing house. Research on the visitation descriptions of the 1730s and 1770s has found that up to seven monks worked in the typography. The cited archival sources traced the dynamics of monks' practices in the printing house of that time. In the 1730s, young 20 years old Basilians operated the Pochaiv typography under the chief elder hieromonk called prefect. They all worked without any payment because of some obedience within the monastery community life. In the 1770s, learners of the local monastery printing house still provided most of its activities. These Basilians started their monastery life in Pochaiv and learned printing crafts there. Because the type of monastery printing house strictly regulated its activities without non-monastic practices, monks had to learn printing affairs and be effective in typography without breaking *clausura* rules. That was impossible if they left monasteries (disobeyed *clausura*) and had lessons in craftsman, for instance, in Lviv. If Basilians with local primary schooling carried out almost all technical issues in the typography, then more educated and skilled monks censored and corrected editions there. They also started monks' life in the local Pochaiv monastery but later graduated from philosophical and theological studies within Ruthenian Basilian province or, less often, in Rome. The paper concludes that monks-professionals fixed out a successful Pochaiv printing house that was approved not only by high-quality editions but by a simple fact – 40% of all monastery incomes in some decades from the typography.

Keywords: Pochaiv monastery, Basilians, monastery printing house, prefect of typography

Іван Альмес

Діяльність ченців у Почаївській монастирській друкарні XVIII ст.

Досліджено діяльність ченців Почаївської василіянської монастирської друкарні у XVIII ст., одного з типових українських чернечих осередків друкарства домодерної доби. Функціонування закладу забезпечували монахи з фаховими знаннями за участі світських осіб (граверів, ливарників та ін.). Аналіз візитаційних описів 1730-х і 1770-х рр. дозволив з'ясувати, що у друкарні працювало зазвичай до семи ченців. Вони виконували такий чернечий послух у друкарні з благословення й за розпорядженням настоятеля монастиря в період між молитвою та трапезою, що в часовому вимірі варіювалося залежно від молитовного розпорядку дня.

Ключові слова: Почаївський монастир, василіяни, монастирська друкарня, префект друкарні

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The Pochaiv printing house is one of the monastic printing centers in early modern Ukraine. This article does not investigate the history of the book itself but concentrates on the printing activity of monks within the functioning of Pochaiv monastic community. The questions of the paper are as follows: what was a monastery printing house (or a printing house at the monastery); how did it function; who worked there; how did such monk's printing practices relate to their monastic life; what did monk's practices mean to the printing house functioning.

Historiography of the early modern Pochaiv monastery [4, p. 27–48] and its printing house, in particular, includes tens or even hundreds of items, which have already been reviewed in other studies [2]. Two research studies regarding the topic of this paper should be mentioned. Firstly, the book by Beata Lorens about the Basilian monasteries of the Ruthenian province in 1743–1780 also includes passages about the monks' publishing activity focusing on unknown archival sources. In particular, she studied the protocols of visitations and indicated the names, surnames, and functions of the monks who worked in the printing house [21, p. 410–411]. Secondly, Valentyna Bochkovska, in her dissertation, also provided a general overview and named the monks, translating fragments from protocols of visitations from 1739–1741 and 1802. [4, p. 177–180]. However, she partly analyzed these archival sources [4, p. 239–241, 247–248], which is why it does not detail the monks' activities in the printing house. Therefore, this paper aims to present the practices of monks in more fact, tracing how they correlated with their monastic life in Pochaiv.

Pochaiv Basilian Monastery and "Uniate triumphalism" of the 18th century. The Kyivan Uniate Metropolitanate of the 18th century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth created the cultural and religious space so-called *Slavia Unita* [22]. The Metropolitanate also included the Lutsk eparchy, whose local bishops patronized the Pochaiv monastery during the 18th century. After all, the monastery in Pochaiv of that time is one of the bright representatives of creating the uniate confessional culture of the pre-modern era. In 1712–1831, the Pochaiv monastery was Uniate (Catholic of the Byzantine-Slavic rite); that is, the monks recognized the supremacy of the Pope of Rome and the Uniate Metropolitan of Kyiv. The end of the transitional period from Orthodox to Basilian piety can be tentatively dated to the entry of this monastic community into the Order of Saint Basil the Great (OSBM) in 1743. The monastery became one of the residences of the proto-archimandrite of the Order. Such an administrative center of the whole OSBM, Pochaiv became when the proto-hegumen of the Ruthenian province resided there [10]. In such years, the provincial administration (consultants, secretary), the Order's archive, etc., were usually located here [12, c. 24–25]. In other words, in the second half of the 18th century, the Pochaiv Monastery was the administrative center of the Basilians of the Ruthenian province, and, in some years of the entire OSBM.

The centrality of the Pochaiv monastery for the Order meant its material well-being as well as religious and cultural practices. The "uniate triumphalism" of the 18th century can be demonstrated by the following dimensions of that time Pochaiv: its printing house; large-scale construction of a baroque complex (Holy Assumption Cathedral and monastic buildings); coronation of the Pochaiv Theotokos icon in 1773. The last event became the

culmination of both the Uniate Pochaiv itself and the entire Ruthenian province of OSBM. On the one hand, it was only one of the 26 papal crowned icons of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but on the other hand, it was only the second icon of the Basilian Order. Such a massive event as coronation symbolically confirmed the parity of the Ruthenian province with the older, administratively more influential and, due to the Latin implementations, more "own" for the Catholic Church, the Lithuanian one [17].

Another visualization of the apogee of Pochaiv as a religious and cultural center during the Uniate period was the construction of a magnificent baroque sacred complex – the Holy Assumption Cathedral and monastic buildings. This became possible thanks to the patronage and foundations of Kaniv's hetman Mykolai Pototsky, who spent more than 2 million Polish zlotych on it in 1771–1778, although the work continued until 1829. The architect Gottfried Hoffmann began setting up the complex, and after 1775 Francysk Ksaveriy Kulchytskyi continued its creation. As a result, the Pochaiv monastery complex became one of the best late Baroque architectural projects, at least in Volyn [21, s. 232, 277, 284].

Monks in typography and "printing people." The king document of August II, dated 18 October 1732, officially founded the Pochaiv printing house because the Uniate Church lacked "Ruthenian books" for services [13, c. 2]. The main reason for starting publishing in Pochaiv was the publication of liturgical literature, so it is not surprising that the central mass of books printed here were liturgical publications (of course, texts on other topics were also published, but mainly in the second half of the 18th century). I will consider the staff of the printing house at the first stage of its activity – in 1730–1740s, and during its high point – in the 1770s. Such a comparison will help clarify the peculiarities and dynamics of changes in the work of this publishing house.

In 1739, the Pochaiv monastery joined the Holy Protection Province created for the Uniate monasteries on the Ukrainian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This year, Basilians made the general visitation of all monastic centers of the Ruthenian congregation, which included, among other things, the recording of personal information [6]. Two years later, in 1741, monks' governance did the visitation again to verify the implementation of the previous instructions in 1739 [15].

According to the 1739 visitation, 30 persons lived in the Pochaiv monastery. Among them, 11 were novices who got acquainted with monastic life to become monks. The following fact verified the importance of the printing house for the monastery at that time: 7 of 30 persons worked for publishing in a certain way. Several moments attract attention in this first decade of the institution's activity. First, it was staffed by 20-year-old monks under the leadership of an older prefect, also a monk. They obeyed in the printing house without receiving any wages for their work. Since these young people practiced the monastic lifestyle for only a few years and became monks precisely in Pochaiv, this may indicate the existence of a purposeful policy of searching for young and promising persons capable of printing work. Secondly, almost all of them "knew Ruthenian and Polish", at a basic level (literacy) [6, fol. 5–6]. Such an educational minimum belonged to the primary conditions for working in a printing house in the first decades.

According to the 1741 visitation, 26 monks inhabited the Pochaiv and similar to two years ago seven of them engaged in book printing. Moreover, the same monks continued

to work in the printing house. Four of them – Paisiy Hrybovskyi, Dionysiy Sherekhovych, Gabriel Dronchevskyi and Isaia Lipovych – during two years of such work, grew professionally as "printing people" and, as the visitor wrote, were "very necessary", so they "do not need to be taken from Pochaiv" [15, fol. 125 v., 127–127 v.]. Therefore, despite the practice of frequent changes of monastic residence, which was typical for Basilians, several employees of the printing house stayed in Pochaiv for an extended period. This made it possible for monks-professionals in printing to gradually improve their skills in producing books. Their spiritual career also changed: novices quickly became deacons who no less quickly became hieromonks.

In 1741, three new monks strengthened the Pochaiv printing house slightly. If one of them, deacon Samuel Kontsevych replaced a previous worker with similar qualifications, then the other two should improve the quality of the printing house. Thus, hieromonk Tadei Zaltuskyi, who came from the Lithuanian lands, became "perfect" in the locksmith field, allowing him to specialize in creating Cyrillic letters. At that time, the 37-year-old hieromonk Inokentiy Boiarskyi was the prefect who graduated from theological studies in Lviv and received ordination in Dobromyl. [15, fol. 124 v., 127]. As the monks reports show, he did not manage the printing house too successfully. Hieromonk Toma, for example, reported to the visitor that the prefect "w drukarni bardziey zabawie czeladz anizeli doglada" [15, fol. 129]. Another monk during the visitation claimed that Fr. Inokentiy drank, which is why he often did not attend religious services: "się rad napija y za bramę chodzi, chimery ma cudowne, iak pijany do cerkwi rzadko bywa" [15, fol. 129 v.]. After Fr. Boiarskyi until 1743, the printing house was managed by Adrian Gromachevskyi – a 23-year-old monk, "perfect" in writing in Ruthenian ("w ruskim pismie, w czytaniu, spiewaniu, pisaniu ustawem doskonały, y po polsku czytać y pisać umie, do Blichu sposobny, y do odlewania świec pochodni") [15, fol. 126 v.]. He was succeeded in this position by Paisiy Hrybovskyi, a learner of the Pochaiv printing house, who learned the printing trade here since the novitiate. He served as prefect for a long time (until 1759 [21, s. 410]), although he probably did not complete any monastic studies, except for the novitiate: "po rusku czytać y spiewać bardzo dobrze umie, po polsku czytać y pisać umie, w szkołach nie był, ale trzezwy y do posłuszanija wszelkiego sposobny" [15, fol. 126].

So, it seems regularly that the employees of the newly established printing house were young monks, but could they ensure its efficient operation and the production of quality books? It is also interesting how much time the monks spent on this work and what exactly did they do? Life in the monastery is strictly regulated, and the Pochaiv monastery lived according to the statutes of St. Basil the Great, edited by Yosyf Velamyn-Rutskyi [23]. Usually, a monk's day began with prayer, a monastic common rule that could last several hours. Monks practiced some activities in the period between the prayer (cell and community) and *trapeza* with the blessing or order of the monastery's abbot. At that time, the monks worked in the printing house, which, in terms of time, could vary depending on the prayer schedule of the day. It was evident that the monks did not work physically on holidays. Still the question remains whether they were engaged in such activities as studying or rewriting books during church holidays.

In the printing house, the monks carried out different activities. For example, in 1739, the 29-year-old hieromonk Alimpiy Liskovskyi was the proofreader who reread and corrected mistakes. "Letters were composed" by newly ordained priest Serhiy Glowatskyi. In the same year, another printer's worker – deacon Gabriel Dronchevskyi – complained to a visitor that he "had much work" [6, fol. 5–6]. Isaia Lipovych was the introligator. He was the young son of a master from Lviv who had already mastered rhetoric [15, fol. 127]. And the monks Dionysiy Sherehovych and Paisiy Hrybovskyi "stood next" to the printing press [15, fol. 125].

A few workers from outside the monastery were also involved in the work at the printing house. For example, in 1730, master Ivan Dolykevych from Kyiv and two more Sokal craftsmen were invited to launch its activities, particularly for fonts. The problem of producing high-quality Latin fonts was solved by concluding an agreement in 1743 with the Jewish master Zeilik Liudkevych from Sokal, who had to make such letters and teach this craft to two monks. The engraver was Andriy Golota, who had previously worked in Kyiv, Lviv and Vilnius [8, c. 279], and later, in the 1740s–1760s, Yosyf Gochemskyi, who had experience working in the Kyiv-Pechersk and Univ monasteries [12, c. 168]. Unlike monks, persons outside the monastery worked in the printing house for payment. For example, "printing boys," i.e., assistants received monthly remuneration of 5 Polish zlotych for specific household tasks [21, s. 409, 411].

Prefects of the printing house. It is most likely that in the first decades of the printing house's operation, the bishop of Lutsk Teodosiy Lubenetskyi-Rudnytskyi himself "recruited" the new employees for the Pochaiv printing house, ven before becoming the bishop, he was the Pochaiv monastery's abbot, so he took special care of it [12, p. 24], among other things, organizing the activities of its printing. The protocols of visitation in 1741 indirectly confirm this supposition. In 1739–1741, ten monks worked in the printing house, six of whom were ordained as deacons and priests by the bishop of Lutsk. On the one hand, nothing is surprising because the Pochaiv monastery was located on the territory of the Lutsk eparchy and was prioritized here according to ordination. Still, on the other hand, not all Pochaiv monks were ordained by bishop Teodosiy. The active participation of this bishop in finding workers for the printing house is demonstrated by the following episode. In February 1741, in Rozhyshchi, in his episcopal residence, bishop Teodosiy ordained about ten residents of the Pochaiv monastery as deacons and priests, five of whom worked at the printing press: Dionysiy Sherehovych and Paisiy Hrybovskyi, who then became deacons, and the newly ordained Tadei Zaltuskyi, Isaia Lipovych and Gabriel Dronchevskyi [15, fol. 124–129]. Nevertheless, the question of the role of bishop Teodosiy in organizing the work of the Pochaiv printing house requires separate research.

The prefect, mostly a hieromonk, headed the monastery printing house. During the heyday of Pochaiv book printing (the second half of the 18th century), for about forty years, from 1760 to the beginning of the 19th century (notes as early as 1802 [3, p. 129]), hieromonk Spyrydon Koberskyi (1723−?) managed it. Not much is known about his biography, but it can be assumed that Koberskyi was also a learner of the Pochaiv printing house. He entered the monastery in 1746 and a year later became a monk [9, № 1040]. As early as 1754, monastery documents fixed him as a hieromonk without

indicating concrete monastic functions [5, p. 111]. At that time, he likely had already worked in a printing house because, according to the monastery catalog of the 1770s, Koberskyi had been in Pochaiv for 30 years. Firstly, such the exclusive right to stay here without changing the monastic residence had, let's remind, only "essential" printing monks. Secondly, in 1760, Koberskyi became the prefect of this publishing house, and, therefore, already had some printing experience, which he could gain within thirteen years after he became a monk.

The next task is to trace the professional dynamics of the development of the printing house by comparing its personnel in the 1770s and at the beginning of its activity. It is immediately noticeable that in the 1770s, the number of monks working at the institution remained approximately the same as three decades earlier when five or six monks obeyed it. Even though in this later period, the monastery was much more numerous (from 42 to 47 monks [5, p. 166]), as well as in the first decade of the printing house, its workers mainly were learners of Pochaiv who began monastic life and studied printing in this monastery. After all, the Pochaiv typography was one of the best monastic book printing houses in this region, and the question of whether there was an opportunity for the monks of the Ruthenian province to learn the craft of printing books in a monastic environment elsewhere has not yet been clarified. The model of the functioning of the monastery typography imposed clear restrictions: the monks had to simultaneously follow clausula, grow spiritually, and master the professional skills of printers. And this would be impossible if the monks, having left the monastery's walls, went to learn from Lviv or other masters (after all, in this way they would violate the rule about the confinement).

The following point is that local learners – prefect Spyrydon Koberskyi and his assistants deacon Antoniy Sorochynskyi, novices Isydor Lavrovskyi and Pankratiy Itsevych – supported the "technical" activities of the typography in the 1770s, as thirty years ago. Then, more educated and experienced monks were the censors and proofreaders who were primarily required by the publication of Latin- and Polish-language books. Such qualified specialists usually became those monks who, after completing the novitiate in Pochaiv, continued their education (primarily monastic studies in philosophy or theology) within the borders of the Ruthenian province, less often in Rome. An excellent example in this regard is the life story of Hieronim Streletskyi (1732–1804).

During at least 1773–1777, Streletskyi was the censor of the Lutsk eparchy and, simultaneously, the master of novices in Pochaiv. His path to these governments turned out to be quite long. From 1753, he studied at the Pochaiv novitiate, and only five years later, he became a deacon [11, p. 385; 18, p. 472]. In the 1770s, he was a master of novices, given that in 1761, he studied only logic at the Greek Collegium in Rome without theological disciplines and did not receive a doctorate. At the same time, in February 1761, he became a priest in Rome [16, fol. 11v–12r]. Streletskyi became the hero and, at the same time, the author of the story of the rescue of the Basilians near Naples in 1762, recorded in the book of Miracles of the Pochaiv icon ("Hora Pochaivska", 1793) [14]. He had experience in missionary work in Zamosc in 1763. After working as a censor, in 1777, he went to Vienna, where he was appointed abbot of the Church of St. Barbara and custodian of the Basilians who studied in the capital of the Habsburgs [21, p. 259,

413]. For comparison, in 1754, two decades before the heyday of the 1770s, Varlaam Kakoilovych was the censor [5, p. 111]. In the early 1740s, he briefly served as abbot of the Pochaiv monastery. Still, to unworthy behavior (not attending services, drinking, etc.) and mismanagement, he was removed from this function of the monastic community. For instance, deacon Samuel Kontsevych reported the following about Kakoilovych: "przez siedm miesięcy tylko raz miał mszę w cerkwi, na nabożeństwie bardzo rzadko bywa, ustrawicznie się prawie upija, gospodarstwa nic nie rozumie" [15, fol. 124 v.]. During the visitation, other monks emphasized that Father Varlaam could "read and write Ruthenian" well; he also taught philosophy and moral theology [15, fol. 130]; on the other hand, they did not say anything about the knowledge of Latin or Polish, as well as about the place of the mentioned studies.

The last point is to briefly present the success of the work of the monks-employees of the Pochaiv printing house, analyzing its profits. If, in the first years of the institution's activity (1737–1739), its annual income was slightly more than 7,000 Polish zlotych, then in its heyday, it could reach 20,000 zlotych (recorded in 1773). It was for 15% of all monastery incomes, although in some years, such as in 1760, the printing house provided 40% of the finances of the Pochaiv monastery [21, p. 223]. Average profits from sales ranged from 2 to 7 thousand Polish zlotych per year. There was even its own book sales network – the Basilian monasteries in Dobromyl and Lavriv (Peremyshl eparchy), Lutsk, Uman, and Milcha (on the border with the Kyivan Orthodox Metropolitanate) [21, p. 411–412]. Pochaiv editions were also distributed in the Mukachevo eparchy since it was not possible to organize the printing of the necessary Cyrillic, primarily liturgical, books there [7, p. 21].

Another indicator of the quality of the published products was the growth of the role of Pochaiv as a center of printing during the second half of the 18th century. In 1756–1763, it was in Pochaiv that hetman Wacław Rzewuski published his Polish works under the control of his representatives (one Capucin). Therefore, in 1760, the prefect of the printing house handed over 18,000 Polish zlotych to the monastery funds [21, p. 415]. During the 1780s and 1790s, Pochaiv typography printed 40 editions for Old Believers from the Chernihiv region [7, p. 15–16]. They continued to fulfill orders from outside even at the beginning of the 19th century. All this convincingly testifies to the successful functioning of the printing establishment, which was primarily the merit of the professional monks.

The Pochaiv typography is a demonstrative example of a pre-modern Ukrainian monastic printing house provided by clerics (hierarchs and monks with the participation of such lay persons as engravers, etc.). Therefore, the following quantitative coincidence is probably not accidental: in the 1730s or 1770s, usually, seven monks each worked in the Pochaiv and the Vilnius Basilian printing houses [1, p. 210]. Although a preliminary, very general acquaintance with the functioning of the printing establishments of the Basilians in Suprasl and Vilnius shows that laypeople prevailed there, not monks [18, p. 130; 19, p. 24; 20]. However, such a comparative analysis of the activities of monks in monastery printing houses, for example, regarding the standard number of people involved (7–8 monks), is a matter for further research.

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