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# TEKSTINIS PRANCIŠKAUS SKORINOS BIBLIJOS EGZEMPLIORIŲ DAUGIASLUOKS- NIŠKUMAS XVI–XIX A., ATSIŽVELGIANT Į JŲ PAPLITIMĄ IR PANAUDOJIMĄ

Textual Multi-Layering of Copies of Francysk Skoryna's Biblia  
from the Point of View of their Distribution  
and Use in the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

## SUMMARY

The article reveals aspects of the distribution and use of copies of the Bible of Francysk Skoryna in the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The textual multi-layered nature of two convolutes containing the printed part (Books of the Bible of Francysk Skoryna 1517–1519) and handwritten parts of the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries are characterized. The Vernadskyi National Library of Ukraine (VNLU, Kyiv, Ukraine) keeps both collections. We analyzed the handwritten text layers of different times in these convolutes, the types of handwritten inserts in 1) marginalia, 2) “textual substitutions” of the Bible, and 3) “post-text” regarding the Bible. Manuscript layers reveal the readers’ dialogue with the text/texts, the social environment of using collections and the language practices implemented, and the specificity of interlinear entries.

## SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas Pranciškaus Skorinos Biblijos egzempliorių paplitimas ir panaudojimas XVI–XIX a. Aptariamas dviejų konvoliutų, apimančių spausdintą dalį (Pranciškaus Skorinos Biblijos knygos, išspausdintos 1517–1519 m.) ir XVI–XIX a. rankraštinės dalis, tekstinis daugiasluoksniškumas. Abu rinkiniai saugomi Ukrainos nacionalinėje V. Vernadskio bibliotekoje Kyjive. Išanalizuoti skirtingais laikotarpiais rašytų šių konvoliutų rankraštinį tekstų sluoksniai, aptarti rankraštinų intarpų tipai: 1) marginalijose; 2) Biblijos

RAKTAŽODŽIAI: Pranciškus Skorina, Biblija, knygų platinimas, konvoliutai, daugiasluoksniškumas, marginalijos.  
KEY WORDS: Francysk Skoryna, Bible, distribution of books, convolutes, multi-layering, marginalia.

„tekstiniuose pakaitaluose“; 3) Biblijos „potekstuose“. Rankraštiniai sluoksniai atskleidžia skaitytojų ir teksto / tekstų dialogą, nurodo socialinę aplinką, kurioje panaudojami rinkiniai, ir juose realizuojamas kalbines praktikas, taip pat tarplinijinių jrašų savitumą.

## INTRODUCTION

2022 in Lithuania was called the year of Francysk Skoryna, the occasion of which was the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his *Small Travel Book* publication in Vilna. This date again drew particular attention to the figure of Francysk Skoryna, revealing new aspects of reading and researching his publications.

One of the aspects of Skorynian research is the study of the distribution and use of the Prague edition of Francysk Skoryna's *Biblia Ruska* in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. These questions are revealed in the article, devoted to studying the unique History of convolutes with copies of Francysk Skoryna's *Biblia Ruska*, reading the manuscript layers of the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries in them through the prism of reader content.

As is known, Francysk Skoryna translated and printed the *Biblia Ruska* in Prague in 1517–1519, addressing it as “людемъ посполитымъ руского языка к(ъ) пожитку” (lit. “the common people of the Ruthenian language for their livelihood”). Copies of the Bible were actively distributed “к(ъ) пожитку” (lit. “for the benefit”) of the ordinary people. At the same time, they reflected the readers' intentions in the form of marginal notes. Readers appear not only more generally as “люди посполитий” (lit. “common people”) but as specific, simple people

who read the book and wrote down information that at the time of its fixation seemed to them random, in demand, and essential. The handwritten layers reveal specific names (owners, users), social groups, language choices, time and space of distribution, and book use.

As is well known, such records are “the main source of knowledge of the ways of distribution and the character of the book's perception by different strata of the population. At the same time, the reader's records are a valuable historical source, particularities in the field of cultural history” (Marginalia 2005: 7). Handwritten inserts (together with bibliographic information) reveal the “life” of convolutes concerning their owners and users, compilers.

The article characterizes convolutes in which the Books of the Skoryna Bible are the principal “primary” text, and the manuscript texts are “secondary” added. Both Skoryna's Bible and the content added to it (reader, compiler) are considered from the standpoint of texts “imbued with cultural values and intentions” (R. Barthes).

The basis for the interpretation of textual multilayeredness is the separate provisions on the relationship between text and social practice (M. Foucault), consideration of text as a type of social writing imbued with cultural values and intentions (R. Barthes), the peculiarities

of communication in the Polish-Lithuanian state during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation (Stančienė 2020), the use of the source study approach, which defines the “primacy of establishing the written and other sources used by the author and methods of working with them before a meaningful (especially philological) interpretation and an assessment of the result of his creative activity” (Temčinas 2022: 16), the results of the study of collections with Skoryna’s Bible in the Central Scientific and Cultural Library (P. Popov, I. Tsiborovska-Rymarovych, Y. Labyntsev, I. Stadyuchenko, N. Bondar, H. Kovalchuk, J. Isaievych, M. Shamrai, M. Boianivska, I. Lemeshkin, and others).

The study of the textual multilayeredness of collections with copies of Francysk Skoryna’s *Biblia Ruska* (from now on referred to as *Convolute 1*; *Convolute 2*) reveals the practices of distribution and use of the book, its perception by the compiler and readers, fixation of the discursive situation actualized in “secondary texts” concerning the “main text”.

In the collections, the handwritten parts are multi-layered and multiple. They may or may not relate to the biblical text, be variously implemented in it, or be outside it, depending on religious practices or combine a wide range of marginalia – from maxims to household records.

Handwritten text layers are characterized:

- chronologically. The most considerable period of marginalia is represented in *Convolute 1*: 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries.
- by linguistic characteristics: marginalia in Ruthenian, Polish, Latin, and interlinear inscriptions.
- by function and placement in the book:
  - 1) marginalia (marginal notes),
  - 2) “textual substitutions” of the Biblical text (in-textual inserts),
  - 3) “post-text” about the Skoryna Bible (insertions placed after the Bible),
  - 4) interlinear entries in the Skoryna Bible.
- by discursive practices:
  - 1) records of the owners and readers of the book,
  - 2) records of wishes/requests for the health and forgiveness of sins of believers,
  - 3) district records of deceased historical figures, apparently of a memorial nature.
  - 4) family chronicles,
  - 5) maxims.

Different readers and discursive situations determined the diversity and simultaneity of the marginalia. The manuscript layers in both collections have yet to be characterized and compared.

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ANALYZED CONVOLUTES WITH COPIES OF SKORYNA’S BIBLE

Common to both analyzed sources is that they contain in their composition

the Book of the Skoryna’s Bible and the added handwritten inserts, i.e., convo-

lutes. Despite some differences in understanding a convolute (publisher's or owner's), we use this term to refer to both collections: the first contains only Skoryna's printed texts, and the second contains various manuscripts added to Skoryna's Bible. The difference is related to their different textual content and time-based manuscript layers, which are related to the History of the functioning of the copies.

The *Convolute 1* contains 5 Books of the Skoryna's Bible, united by one (1519) year of their printing in Prague. The collection included the *Book of Genesis*, the *Book of Exodus*, the *Book of Leviticus*, the *Book of Numbers*, and the *Book of Deuteronomy*. Binding of the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> century convolute (Francisk Skaryna 1988: 256).

Copies of the Books of Skoryna's Bible functioned separately at first, explaining the non-preservability of some of the initial pages. Thus, in the copy of the *Book of Genesis*, the title page and preface have yet to be preserved; the text begins with the first chapter. Only on the reverse side of the convolute is it written in later handwriting that this is Skoryna's *Biblia Ruska*, Prague, 1519. On some pages, the printed lines have been restored.

The manuscript layers include marginalia (marginal entries), dated and undated by readers, the time of which entries fall in the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are diverse in content and language (Ruthenian language, Latin, Polish). *Convolute 1* is characterized by interlinear marginalia (Latin – Ruthenian, Polish – Ruthenian), as well as interlinear entries in Cyrillic/Latin of the opening lines of one of the Books of the Bible.

The names and temporal and spatial localization of the owners/users of the book are read from the marginal entries. Dated records attract attention. For example, in 1772, after Simeon Hozhevsky's death, priest Samuel Klitkovskyi handed over the book to the Kozlin church of the Rivne district of the Volyn province, and the record of Archpriest Ioann Opatovych from Horinhrod in Volyn in 1862. According to these dated records, it is evident that the convolute was stored in Volyn in the 70s of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 60s of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Later, its storage was the Church-Archaeological Museum of the Kyiv Theological Academy, and from 1923 – the museum of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, from where the collection entered the library collections.

*Convolute 2* contains four parts of Skoryna's Bible: *The Book of Jesus Sirachov*, *The Book of Judith*, *the Book of the Wisdom of God*, and *the Proverbs of Solomon* (1517–1519). The Description states that the Book of the Wisdom of God on sheet 1 contains the record “А то ся стало накладомъ Богдана Онкова, сына радци места Виленьскогого” (lit. “And that became an edition of Bohdan Onkov, the son of the councilor of Vilenskii”), which is attributed to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Books 1991: 25).

Researchers expressed early opinions about the dating/arrangement of the collection: 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Popov: 193), the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Kolossova 1992), and binding of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Francisk Skaryna 1988: 222–223). The dating also depended on the handwritten text layers at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> – the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The manuscript parts are significant in volume and exceed 4 Books of the Bible, so their writing could be non-simultaneous, “prolonged” in time.

The compiler of the collection needed to follow the principle of chronology. Therefore, *the Books of Jesus Sirachov and Solomon’s Proverbs* of 1517 are placed first and fourth, *the Book of Judith* of 1519 is the second, and *the Book of the Wisdom of God* of 1518 is the third. Such a sequence of placement also adds to the understanding of their use separately, and chronology was not a mandatory condition for the composition of these parts in the collection. In addition, as in the case of *Convolute 1*, the opening pages from *the Book of Jesus Sirachov* and *the Book of Solomon’s Proverbs* are missing here.

Last, the compiler added *the Book of Solomon’s Proverbs* to the convolute. This placement of this part may be explained by the degree of preservation of the copy and the absence of a large part of the initial pages. However, its beginning was restored from another source, not from the Skoryniv press. The initial storage of the books separately from each other is explained by the fact that the paper has filigrees to complement the printed books, which are not found on the pages of Skoryna’s Bible (Bondar 2017: 207).

*Convolute 2* was the first to be found and described by P. Popov. He described the story of as follows:

Four books of Fr. Skorina 1517–1519 and handwritten additions were initially kept in the Sofroniiv Molchan Monastery (20 km from the town of Putyvliia). In the 1980s, they were transferred to the Kursk Theological Seminary. After the liquida-

tion of the seminaries, the library of the Kursk Seminary was piled up in the choirs of the Kursk Znamensky Monastery. The clergy of the monastery sold and distributed books. This book was purchased by me in the 20s to transfer it to the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences...

P. Popov drew attention to the fact that the collection was found among a separate group of manuscripts not recorded in the catalog from the Sophroniiv monastery’s library. At the end of the collection, he underlined the note “Софрон. пуст.” (lit. “Sophron. Pust.”) and commented that it was “the former Sophroniyva Molchansk hermitage, formerly of the Putivl district of the Kursk province, now the Hlukhiv district, from which this collection, according to several features, originates” (Popov 1890–1971: 437). Now, this is the territory of the Sumy region (Ukraine).

*Convolute 2* comprises various handwritten text layers, with a predominance of such ones as 1) “textual replacements” of the pages of Skoryna’s Bible, 2) “post-text” placed after Skoryna’s Bible. The attached handwritten text is heterogeneous (261 sheets) and exceeds the volume of the Bible (178 sheets).

This collection attests to the polemical poem *Complaint of the Beggars to God* for the first time. Separate manuscript parts are copied from Ostroh editions (*Otpys* (lit. *The Answer*) of the Cleric of Ostroh, *Istoriia* (lit. *The Story of the Synod of Listerica*). Cleric Ostrozhsky’s Imprint’s initial pages still need to be preserved, which is also an argument about its functioning and storage peculiarities.

We consider both collections unique written monuments with common and distinctive characteristics.

The polemical works contained in *Convolute 2* show a connection with Ostroh publications (*Otpys* (lit. *The Answer*), *Istoriia* (lit. *The Story*)). The collection lacks the first pages of the *Otpys* with the title and author. It is understood in such a way that the beginning of this manuscript part has not been preserved.

The known Ostroh printing of 1598 or 1599 consisted of *Apokrysys* (lit. Apocrysis), *Otpys* (lit. *The Answer*), and *Istoriia* (lit. *The Story*). *Convolute 2* did not include the *Apokrysys* (lit. Apocrysis), as did the 17<sup>th</sup>-century *Kormcha* (Sh 82P/104).

A separate printed copy of the *Apokrysys* (lit. Apocrysis) exists without the (*Otpys* (lit. *The Answer*) and *Icmopія* (lit. *The History*)). It was kept in the Sophronius Monastery of Movchansk, the same place as *Convolute 2*. These two

books were kept in the same monastery and later moved out of the monastery along with other books.

Since the *Apokrysys* (lit. Apocrysis) was already in the monastery library, *Otpys* (lit. *The Answer*) and *Istoriia* (lit. *The History*) could have been copied into *Convolute 2*. As N. Bondar suggests, “this argument is certainly not enough to assert that the analyzed convolute was written and compiled integrally in the Sofronievsky Molchensky Monastery. However, it can serve as a basis for such an assumption” (Bondar 2017: 205).

To characterize the post-text, it is crucial to understand the intentions of the compiler(s), scribe(s), and the practices of using the collection, the combination of texts, the choice of which depended on the author’s authority and the work, their popularity, etc. Convolute with the added manuscript part expanded the spiritual reading of the “commonwealth”.

## MULTILAYERDNESS OF MARGINALS IN THE *CONVOLUTE 1*

The History of *Convolute 1* is revealed by numerous cursive marginalia records, indicating that various readers actively used the book for a long time. The range of topics is quite broad: “They contain the names of the owners, information about historical events and figures..., maxims, and notes of a theological and domestic nature” (Books 1991: 7).

From the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1862), there is a record by Archpriest John Opatowicz, who identified this text as Skoryna’s Bible, with the exact date and place of printing.

According to discursive practices, the marginalia contained in the convolution are divided into:

### 1) RECORDS OF THE OWNERS AND READERS OF THE BOOK.

The priests Dioniziy Hryhorovych, Pavel Letsevych, and Oleksei left handwritten notes in *the Book of Leviticus*. They are structurally the same: a proper name (first name, surname, or just a name) + social status (priest)+own hand: *Гюле(к) се(и) священ(н)ик рука вла(с)ная* (Biblia 1519: 54)<sup>1</sup>; ...*Павель Лецевич священник рука власная* (Biblia 1519: 6)<sup>2</sup>.

These records were made in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries (Books 1991: 7).

The marginalia deixis is secondary and multiple, as it refers to different speakers and their system of deictic coordinates each time. Usually, the actualization of a particular speaker is conveyed implicitly. The past tense verb (was) is occasionally used, indicating that the book belonged to a previous owner in the margins of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries: *Byblya była swaszczyenka samb[o]rskocho o. Dioni[zija] Xrihorowiczca* (Biblia 1519: 48–50).

Each marginalization separately actualizes a particular speaker and his or her temporal deixis. The time marker is often an indication of the year of recording. Several marginalia are dated 1622 (New Style), recorded by Semen Popovycz. Building a temporal sequence based on the change of owners of the analyzed copy is possible. The spatial deixis is less represented; in *the Book of Leviticus*, there is an indication *swiete(go) Spasa ruskiego. A. D. 1622* (Biblia 1519: 9).

Personal deixis in the margins has its specificity, manifested in the absence of the personal pronoun I, while personalization is done with the help of an anthroponym. Indirectly, personal deixis is represented in the indication of a person's handwritten record. The characteristics of social deixis complement these markers.

2) RECORDS OF WISHES/REQUESTS FOR THE HEALTH AND ABSOLUTION OF BELIEVERS.

Priests left wishes/requests for health and absolution in the conviviality of the faithful or individual believers. The generalized addressee of the wish is ex-

pressed in the margins: *Богомольцом и христолюбцо[м] пресвитеро[м] богобоязненом ереемъ архидякономъ и дяконом на здравие и грихов на отъпущение..* (Biblia 1519: 6) <sup>3</sup>.

In the marginalia of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the anthroponym *Wormiensky* was added to the absolution: *На о(т)[пущеня] грехо(в)* ("For the forgiveness") *Wormiensky* (Book of Numbers) (Biblia 1519: 14). We note the hybridity of the language of the ritualized record, which begins in Cyrillic and ends with the person's name in Latin.

3) RECORDS ABOUT HISTORICAL FIGURES, APPARENTLY OF A MEMORIAL NATURE.

The analyzed copy contains Polish-language marginalia from 1622 about historical figures: Polish Hetman Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, Kamianets-Podilskyi starosta Valent Oleksandr Kalynowski, and his son, prince, and commander Samuel Koretskyi.

It is known that Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, Grand Hetman of Lithuania, Polish Hetman of Lithuania, and Voivode of Vilna, died during the Khotyn War on 23 September 1621, as reported in the marginalia of 1622: *... zagařą hetman koronny Chotkeiwic polny hetman starosta sedomierski tam v obozie umarł hetman* (Exodus) (Biblia 1519: 72).

The next marginalia are mentioned by Valent Oleksandr Kalinowski, "Starosta Kamioncza Podolskie[go]". He and Samuel Koretsky participated in the Battle of Ciezora and died during the crossing (Kalinowski and his son in 1620) or in captivity (Koretsky in 1622).

The marginalia about historical figures who held high titles and were fa-

mous for their military victories are united in *the Book of Exodus*. One priest made them in 1622 to commemorate those who died in the military events of 1620–1622, participants in the Battle of Cetzora (1620) and the Battle of Khotyn (1621). They probably refer to family ties (Jan Karol Chodkiewicz and Samuel Koretsky).

#### 4) FAMILY CHRONICLES.

In a copy, the district records become family chronicles of entire generations of owners, recording important events and dates for the family. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the owners of the convolution were the Hozhevsky family, about whom district records have been preserved: Vasyl's birth, Simeon's marriage, and later Simeon's death (Biblia 1519: 24, 28). Vasyl Hozhevsky's birth record follows the interlinearity of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century marginalia contained in the copy.

#### 5) SENTENCES.

*The Books of Genesis and Leviticus* contain interlinear records of maxims that define the spiritual values of the readers of the *Bible Ruska* dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. For example, *the Book of Genesis* contains the following marginalia: Virtutes veras accipo iuitias / Не ест богатство и мечь досичь сребра злота / леч богатство гды чел[ов]ека рздзы сама цнота (Biblia 1519: 83). For comparison: Latin: Virtutes keras accipe divitias; Tradiderit oli hec cutibi cuncta Deus. / Порт убогих спизарна, уломнихъ оброна, заз для тебе лакомче вселка реч створона (Biblia 1519: 88). For comparison: Latin: Tradiderit soli hec ceu tibi cuncta Deus.

The readers of the copy considered it precedent setting to add spiritual statements on the margins of the Bible text,

broadcasting them simultaneously in both Latin and Ruthenian.

A unique feature of the copy is the interlinear notes to parts of the Skoryna Bible. The Latin lines are written in cursive above the printed text of the Skoryna Bible, i.e., they are superscript. Translating the Cyrillic text means the reader "sounds out" it in the Latin record and gives reading samples.

*The Book of Leviticus* presents the opening lines of chapter 12 in an interlinear fashion: Rece hospod Moiseewi hlagola i rci sinom izra/i/e1ewim zena zacensi porodil/i/ sina / Рече г(с)дь Моисееви гла, и рци сыном(ъ) израилевымъ. Жена зачен(ъ)ши породити сына... (Biblia 1519: 23 back)<sup>4</sup>.

Interlinear recordings served to memorise and reproduce entire phrases in different languages and were evidence of the multilingualism of readers who knew several languages (Latin, Polish, and Ruthenian) and for various reasons, resorted to their choice and parallel use.

Thus, beyond the margins, various readers of the convolution left records of religious and occasionally secular content. Most often, these were priests who wrote about themselves and included marginalia about commemorating those who died during wartime dangers, health, absolution, birth, and death. A unique feature of the collection is the marginalia about the fallen historical figures Jan Karol Chodkiewicz and Samuel Koretskyi (son of Prince Yukhym Koretskyi and Hanna Chodkiewicz), which unites them by their belonging to the Chodkiewicz family. This part of the marginalia is in Polish.



Marginalia of various subjects has parallel records in which Polish and Latin-language statements are written in Ruthenian. In the latter, there is a noticeable Polish influence; in particular, Polish nasal vowels are reproduced: мо(н)дры – maḍry “wise” (Book of Numbers) (Biblia 1519: 2).

It has been established that most of the parallel records date from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and are found in different parts – in *the Book of Genesis* (Biblia 1519: 82), *the Book of Leviticus* (Biblia 1519: 46), *Deuteronomy* (Biblia 1519: 31), which indicates the existence of the whole collection in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## MANUSCRIPT LAYERS IN SKORYNA’S BIBLE FROM *CONVOLUTE 2*

*Convolute 2* contains handwritten sheets inside the Bible text, which we characterize as intratextual substitutions. Not all pages of Skoryna’s Bible were preserved in this convolute. So, at the beginning of the first book, the first eight sheets still need to be included. The fourth book does not have a preface (7 pages), an interlude, and a title, as in Skoryna. As we can see, the compiler of the convolute omitted sheets of unsaved beginnings (preface) or end (afterwords) but restored parts of the actual biblical text.

The convolute contains two handwritten inserts: 1) in the first part (the Book of Jesus, son of Sirahov), instead of the printed 16 numbered sheet, a handwritten one is inserted, which is the corresponding page of the Skoryniv print; 2) in the fourth part, the Book of Proverbs of Solomon, instead of the missing first nine printed numbered sheets, pages with a handwritten text are inserted, executed in the same handwriting and ink as the first handwritten insert (Popov 1890–1971: 439).

All the manuscript inserts to Skoryna’s Bible books are in the same handwriting, so the compiler restored the

missing pages or had them restored before combining them into a convolute. The compilation of this convolute, particularly its manuscript parts, was influenced by Ostroh’s old printed books. The absence of 9 pages in the fourth book prompted the compiler to add them from another source, *the Ostroh Bible* (1581).

While working on *the Ostroh Bible*, “the creators used Skorynin’s texts as one of the additional sources” (Temčinas 2022: 170). For various reasons (including the presence of a copy of the Ostroh Bible in the library of the Sofronivsky Molchensky Monastery, from which *Convolute 2* originates), the Ostroh edition of the Bible was later used to restore the missing pages of the Skoryna Bible in the analyzed copy. Accordingly, the general arrangement of Skoryna’s Bible parts in *Convolute 2* occurred no earlier than the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The absence of many pages (9) in the fourth part prompted the compiler to add the missing pages, so he copied them (or was copied on his instructions) from the Ostroh Bible. From here, we can determine the peculiarities of the text/

language choice of the compiler, for which the “restoration” of the pages turned out to be urgent and possible from another edition.

All the handwritten insertions to the books of the Bible were done in the same handwriting, so the same person looked over the four parts before they were bound in one convolute. For this purpose, those missing pages in the copy of the Skoryna Bible were restored in different ways: from the Skoryna Bible or the Ostroh Bible.

Here we begin with the Book of Proverbs of Solomon, restored from the Ostroh Bible in *Convolute 2*:

Зачало прит(ъ)чамь Соломонимь гла-  
(в)ѣ. При(т)ча соломона сѣна Дв(ѣ)ва  
и(ж) пр(ѣ)ствова во иілътъ(х). разумѣти  
прем(д)ро(ст) и наказаніе. разумѣти же  
словеса м(д)рости. Пріати (же) извитіе  
слове(с). и ра(з)дрѣшеніе гаданій. Раз-  
умѣти (ж) прав(ъ)ду і истин(ъ)ну, и  
соу(д) испра(в)лати. да да(ст) незлоби-

вы(х)мь (!) хо(у)до(ж)ство. о(т)року (ж)  
юноу, чю(в)ствіе. и прем(д)ро(ст) сего  
послушавъ прем(д)рый прем(д)рѣ бу-  
де(т) (Collection 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries: 135)<sup>3</sup>.

The “restoration” of pages in the analyzed copy turned out to be necessary and possible from a later edition, which reveals the peculiarities of the textual/linguistic choice of the compiler of the convolute. For example: in the restored part, which was copied from the Ostroh Bible, ѣ is consistently written by the book tradition: разумѣты “understand” (Collection 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries: 135), во вратѣх “at the gate”, совѣты “advice” (Collection 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries: 136).

The scribe reproduced this missing part but occasionally made his own phonetic and spelling substitutions, opened titles, and even changed the order of words in the text, etc., which characterizes the scribe’s understanding and reproduction of the language norms of the text.

## CONCLUSIONS

The textual multilayeredness of the analyzed copies of *the Bible Ruska* by Skoryna indicates their active use and distribution in the Polish-Lithuanian state during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation: *Convolute 1* is dominated by the 17<sup>th</sup> century marginalia, and in general, their time range is more comprehensive and covers the 16<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The marginalia of this convolute is analyzed according to various features: chronology, linguistic characteristics, functions and placement, and discursive practices.

The language of the marginalia testifies to the multilingualism of the readers, who used Latin, Polish, and Ruthenian and consciously used interlinear. Parallel entries in Latin and Ruthenian or Polish and Ruthenian indicate the medium of use of the collection, which presents a hybrid Ruthenian language with signs of Polonisation. There are few non-linear Polish-language marginalia, thematically informing about the book’s owner and historical figures who died in battles.

Regarding the function and placement, the manuscript inserts from Con-

volute 1 include marginalia notes and the transliteration of the opening lines of the Bible in Latin. A single reader could have left one or more notes, placed distantly on different pages of the Bible, relating to different events that the speaker perceived as relevant and vital to record in writing. The functions of such messages include informing, authorization, and optionality.

The transliteration of biblical lines is a type of interlinearity in the text that could be better represented, unlike marginalia in the analyzed instance.

According to discursive practices, marginalia inform the owners and readers of the book, conveys wishes/requests for believers' health and absolution, mentions deceased historical figures, records family chronicles, and represents maxims. The marginalia records show the "life" of the copy and the circle of owners and readers in the socio-cultural dimension. Over time, the collection changed owners/readers, and territories: in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a Sambir priest left the margins, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a Volyn archpriest. Specific persons who identified themselves as owners/readers belonged to the clergy, so the wishes for health and absolution were ritualized. The ritualized records are those intended to commemorate famous historical figures who died during the military battles of 1620–1622. 18<sup>th</sup>-century marginalia on the births, marriages, and deaths of members of the same family record the lives of several generations. Such marginalia constitute a complete family chronicle. Sentences complemented spiritual reading and were a precedent-set-

ting intertext that revealed the education and intentions of Bible readers.

The various situations about which the district records were left show their heterogeneity and polyphony. The deixis of the readers' statements is revealed through anthroponyms, indications of temporal and spatial actualization. The marginalia reflect the intentions of the owners, the readers of the text, who also testified to their "communicative involvement" in the precedent text.

Handwritten insertions characterize *Convolute 2* in the biblical text and post-text. The composition of the *Convolute* and the absence of records of owners suggest that this book was used for monastic reading and did not have owners like *Convolute 1*.

Ostroh's old printed books influenced the choice of the compiler of *Convolute 2*; the manuscript parts were included in the Skoryna Bible. The analyzed copy lacked the opening pages of Proverbs, which were restored from the Ostroh Bible. A comparison of the restored part in this copy and the Ostroh Bible shows that the scribe copied the text, sometimes changing it (phonetics, spelling, word order, etc.). Adding the manuscript parts of the text after the biblical part intentionally became a "textual continuation" of the spiritual reading for believers.

The prospects of the research are to determine the written sources from which individual interlinear marginalia in *Convolute 1* was made, to study in more detail the handwritten parts, in particular the Apocrypha in *Convolute 2*, to compare the set and variants of textual layering in other copies of the Francisk Skoryna's *Biblia Ruska*.

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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> “Oleksei, a priest, own hand”.
- <sup>2</sup> “Pavel Letsevych, a priest, own hand”.
- <sup>3</sup> “For the pilgrims and Christ-lovers, for the God-fearing priests, for the archdeacons and deacons in health, and for the forgiveness...”
- <sup>4</sup> “The Lord said to Moses, “Say to the Israelites: “A woman who becomes pregnant and gives birth to a son...”
- <sup>5</sup> “The proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel; To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding; To receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, and judgment, and equity; To give subtlety to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion. A wise man will hear and increase learning, and a man of understanding shall attain unto wise counsel”.