

THE OSTRIH BIBLE  
1580/81 – 1980/81  
A Quadricentennial Exhibition



Houghton Library  
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**The Ostrih Bible, verso of the title page, with the arms of Prince Kostjantyn of Ostrih (1526-1608) and with verses in his honor.**

## Introduction

Once again the Harvard College Library is host to an exhibition of books relating to the civilization of the Ukrainian people. On this four-hundredth anniversary of its publication, the Ostrih Bible commands our attention for several reasons. It is, in the first instance, further evidence of the widespread influence of the new learning of the European Renaissance. Indeed the "new" or renewed interest in languages and textual criticism is the means by which the theological transformation of Europe was made possible. In the second instance, the Ostrih Bible has its origins in the often-interrupted but long-continuing dialogue between the Orthodox and Catholic branches of Christendom. In the third instance, the publication of the Ostrih Bible was not only a technological accomplishment of the first order from the press at Ostrih, but the product as well of Prince Kostjantyn's academic experiment in theological education at Ostrih. (He in some measure might equally be styled the "King James" of his Bible.) Finally, the Ostrih Bible represents yet another vital piece of the puzzle which is the history of Biblical scholarship, translation, and exegesis. Without it, the story told from a careful study of the traditions of Biblical scholarship in the West is incomplete. With it, the story, while not by any means complete, is considerably enriched. For all of these reasons, stimuli to further observation and study, we are grateful to the Harvard Ukrainian Studies Program and their benefactors around the world for making this celebration and exhibition possible. The text with which all classical exegetes began their work might well serve as the text for such an exhibition as this: *Te totum applica ad textum*,

*rem totum applica ad te*, which is “Apply yourself closely to the text, and the text closely to yourself.”

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Cambridge, Massachusetts  
May 1, 1980

**THE OSTRIH BIBLE**  
**1580/81 – 1980/81**  
**A Quadricentennial Exhibition**

Although it is the least rare of all the Cyrillic imprints from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Bible in the Church Slavonic language published by Prince Kostjantyn (Vasyl') Kostjantynovyč of Ostrih in the years 1580 and 1581 has long been regarded as one of the greatest treasures to adorn a collection of Ukrainian books, or indeed of Slavic books in general. The many-faceted personality of its printer, Ivan Fedorovyč, as well as the typographic excellence and the austere beauty of the book itself, attracts the notice and wins the admiration of every bibliophile whose interests extend beyond Latin imprints alone. Less easily recognized, but no less impressive, is the high level of textological scholarship displayed by Herasym Danylovyč Smotryc'kyj and the other editors of the Ostrih Bible, making it worthy to stand on the same shelves with the best sixteenth-century editions of the Bible in Greek and Latin letters.

**1. BYBLIA SYRÎČ KNYHŮ VETXAHO, I NOVAHO ZAVÎTA  
PO JAZŮKU SLOVENSKU** [The Bible, that is the Books of  
the Old and the New Testament, in the Slavonic Language].  
Ostrih; Ivan Fedorovyč, 12 July 1580 or 12 August 1581.  
2° [628] ff.

*References:* Karataev (1883) 101–102; Bykova (1972) 4.

*Prefaces and colophons:* Stroev (1829) 22 [first preface, by Prince Kostjantyn], Arxiv Ju.-Z. R., č. I. t. VIII, vyp. 1 (1914), pp. 45–58 [second preface, by H.D. Smotryc'kyj]; Ščepkina (1959) pp. 247, 249–251, 253 [colophon in two variants]. The copy of the Ostrih Bible in the Houghton Library has the later variant of the colophon, with the date 12 August 1581.

A gift of Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr.

Prior to the publication of the Ostrih Bible in 1580, only certain separate parts of the Bible in Church Slavonic had been printed: the Psalter (often with liturgical appendices), the Four Gospels, and the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles. Two such editions are exhibited.

2. PSALTIR [Psalter (with liturgical appendices)]. Cetinje [in Montenegro, Yugoslavia]: Hieromonk Makarije, 22 September 7003 = 1495. 4<sup>o</sup> [348] ff.

*References:* Karataev (1883) 8; Goff (1964) P-1069; Badalić (1966) 8; Bošnjak (1968) 52.

A gift of Philip Hofer.

Hieromonk Makarije († ca. 1525?) was the second printer to print books in Cyrillic, working at Obod and at Cetinje (in Montenegro) during the years 1493 to 1496. He was preceded only by Sveitpolt Fiol († 1526?) at Kraków in 1491. This Psalter is the very first edition of any book of the Bible in Church Slavonic. The copy on exhibit appears to be the only one held outside of the Slavic countries and Mt. Athos.

3. AP(O)S(TO)L . . . V NEYŽE DÎJANIJA AP(O)S(TO)L' SKAJA, Y POSLANIJA S''BORNAJA, Y POSLANIJA S(VJA)TAHO AP(O)S(TO)LA PAVLA [The Apostle, . . . in which are the Acts of the Apostles, and the General Epistles, and the Epistles of the Holy Apostle Paul]. L'viv: Ivan Fedorovyč, 25 February 1573–15 February 1574. 2<sup>o</sup> [278] ff.

*References:* Karataev (1883) 84; Isajevyč (1970) 1.

*Colophon:* Ščepkina (1959) pp. 234–247.

A gift of Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr.

Ivan Fedorovyč was the first printer of dated books in Cyrillic on Ukrainian soil, and the *Apostol*, published at L'viv in 1574, vies with his Primer, also on exhibit, for the honor of being the first Ukrainian Cyrillic imprint. For the most part, this *Apostol* is a reprint of Fedorovyč's initial publica-

tion, the *Apostol* which he printed at Moscow from 19 April 1563 to 1 March 1564; but he revised the orthography of his new edition with an eye to the preferences of the Ukrainian book market, and he added a long, powerfully written colophon in Church Slavonic in which he related how he fled from Moscow and took refuge first in Zabłudów and then in L'viv.

Even in manuscript, complete texts of the Church Slavonic Bible were extremely rare. No more than four such manuscripts older than the Ostrih Bible are extant today. The oldest of the four was written for Archbishop Genadij of Novgorod († 1505) in 1499; the other three, all copies of the first, were written in Muscovy during the sixteenth century. A published facsimile of a single page from the manuscript of Archbishop Genadij's Bible is included here.<sup>1</sup> The layout of this page and the corresponding page in the Ostrih Bible (both pages are exhibited and illustrated) differ greatly. The page from the Ostrih Bible owes much to the traditions of printing Latin Bibles in folio which had developed in Western Europe since the time of Gutenberg; Genadij's Bible follows earlier Eastern scribal practice.

4. KNIGA SIA, G(LAGO)LEMAJA BIBLIA REKŠE OBĚIX ZAVĚTOV VETXAGO I NOVAGO [This Book called the Bible, i.e. of both Testaments, the Old and the New]. Manuscript: Novgorod, 7007 = [1499]. 2<sup>o</sup> [1002] ff.

*Location:* Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal Collection, ms. no. 915.

*References:* Gorskij & Nevostruev (1855–1917) vol. I, pp. 1–164; Buslaev (1855) pp. 44–56, plate XVII; Savva (1858) pp. 160–161; Savva (1863) p. 31, plate 38; Evsëv (1916).

1. The facsimile on exhibit is Buslaev (1855) plate XVII, showing f.<sup>21r</sup> with the text of Genesis 1:1–16.





After repeated efforts, Prince Kostjantyn of Ostrih managed to obtain a manuscript copy of the complete Bible in Church Slavonic from Tsar Ivan IV (the Dread) of Moscow. This manuscript served as the principal source from which the Ostrih Bible was printed. Prince Kostjantyn also brought together an academy of scholars, with Herasym Danylovyč Smotryč'kyj († 1594) in charge, and provided the group with "many other Bibles in various alphabets and languages," some of which he had obtained from such distant places as Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian monasteries, and from Constantinople, Rome, and Crete.<sup>2</sup> His scholars examined the texts with care, and having observed the many differences between them, gave their greatest consideration to the "well corrected recensions, certified to be without any blemish" of the Septuagint, the canonical Scriptures of the Orthodox Church.<sup>3</sup> It was against these latter texts especially that they read and corrected the manuscript that Prince Kostjantyn had obtained from Moscow. In addition they made limited use of other texts as well, in particular a printed Greek Bible (probably the first edition of 1518) and a printed Czech Bible. It is not known which of the eleven editions of the Czech Bible printed between 1488 and 1577 were available at Ostrih.

2. It is commonly believed that the Ostrih Bible was published to give Orthodox Christians a means of defense against Catholic proselytizing. This belief is false, as Sol'skij (1884) long ago demonstrated. It is clear from the second preface that the principal adversaries in view were those who expressly denied the divinity of Christ, that is, the Socinian Church. In point of historical fact it was Protestant (Calvinist and Socinian) proselytizing, not Catholic, that offered the greatest challenge to the Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Poland during the 1560s and 1570s. The Catholic initiative that led eventually to the Union of Brest in 1596 was still at its feeble beginning when the Ostrih Bible was published.

3. This quotation and the one immediately above are from Prince Kostjantyn's Preface to the Ostrih Bible, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>.

5. PANTA TA KAT' EKSOKHĒN KALOUMENA BIBLIA THEIAS DĒLADĒ GRAPHĒS PALAIAS TE KAI NEAS [All the Bible, properly so called, of the patently Divine Scripture, both the Old and the New]. Venice: A. Manuzio & A. Asolano, 1518. 2<sup>o</sup> [448] f.

*Reference:* Renouard (1825) vol. I, pp. 192-193.

With one doubtful exception (printed at Venice by N. Glykas in 1687). all editions of the Bible in Greek prior to the nineteenth century were the work of Catholic or Protestant publishers.<sup>4</sup>

The many talents of Ivan Fedorovyč inspire awe. He was far more than a master printer of consummate skill and artistic taste, and a powerful prose stylist in Church Slavonic. During his years at L'viv and Ostrih he initiated a modest reform in the prevailing practice of elementary education, and in connection with this published the first schoolbook ever to be printed in Cyrillic. Toward the end of his life he was to invent a powerful new military weapon, a multi-barreled cannon.

The Houghton Library is fortunate to possess three other books printed by Fedorovyč in addition to the Ostrih Bible. These books illustrate various stages of Fedorovyč's life and work. After fleeing Moscow and taking refuge in Zabłudów, Fedorovyč printed two books for the Grand Hetman of Lithuania, Hryhorij Oleksandrovyč Xodkevych, in the years from 1568 to 1570. The earlier of these books, in the present exhibition, is one of the fewer than three dozen copies that have survived to the present. It is open to the beginning of a sermon by Bishop Kiryl of Turaŭ, the eminent Belorussian writer of the late twelfth century.

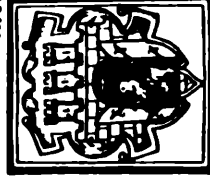
4. The sources underlying the text of the Ostrih Bible have been most carefully studied by Gorskiy & Nevostruev (1855-1917), and by Evseev (1912-1915; 1916). See also Mathiesen (1979).

ꙗко да дѣлаю дѣла .  
 Възлюбленныи члвчн  
 христѣанскѣи рѣкѣи на  
 родѣ, грѣшескаго закона .  
 сѣа еже пнеахъ ваи , не  
 ѿсеи , но ѿжтвенихъ  
 аплз ѿбѣиеныи стѣхъ  
 оцъ оучениа , и преродо  
 бного оцанлшего ѿваина  
 дамакѣна , ѿграмати  
 кѣи , мало мѣчто . радн  
 сѣсораго младѣньескаго  
 наоучениа . въ мале съ  
 крати въ сложи . ꙗже  
 сѣи трѣби моа блгоуоу

дны бѣдѣтъ ваши лю  
 бви . приимѣте сѣа сѣю  
 бови . аа ѿнныхъ пи  
 санихъ блгоуоудныи съ  
 вождѣнїе потрѣдѣти  
 сѣа хощѣ . ꙗже блговоли  
 бѣтъ , вашии стѣи

молѣтвами

амнь .



Вѣдрѣсвано волѣѣтъ ,  
 роиѣ , а , фѣа .

6. KNYHA, ZOVOMAJA JEV(AN)H(E)LIJE UČYTELNOJE. OT VSÍX ČETYREX JEV(AN)H(E)LYSTOV YZBRANNA. Y OT MNOHYX B(O)Ž(E)STVENÝX PYSANIY [The book called the Didactic Gospel, selected from all four Evangelists and from many divine writings]. Zabłudów: Ivan Fedorovyč & Petro Tymofijovyč Mstyslavc', 8 July 1568–17 March 1569. 2° [407] ff.

*References:* Karataev (1883) 75; Golenčenko (1961) 7; Luk'janenko (1973) 4.

*Preface:* Ščepkina (1959) pp. 221, 224–234.

A gift of Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr.

The Didactic Gospel is the last book printed by Ivan Fedorovyč and Petro Tymofijovič together. Tymofijovič, who had collaborated with Fedorovyč at Moscow, subsequently settled in Vilnius, where he printed several more books. Fedorovyč printed one more book at Zabłudów, and then moved to L'viv, where he printed the *Apostol* in 1573–1574 and the *Primer*, also in 1574. The copy of this epoch-making booklet in the Houghton Library is the only original copy known to be extant today, but at least three reprints of it have been published in the Soviet Union since 1964.

7. [PRIMER.] L'viv: Ivan Fedorovyč, 1574. 8° [40] ff.

*References:* Jakobson & Jackson (1955); Isajevyč (1970) 2.

*Colophon:* Ščepkina (1959) pp. 247–248.

A gift of Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr.

After he left Zabłudów Fedorovyč entered the service of Prince Kostjantyn of Ostrih. For him he established a press with Cyrillic and Greek fonts of type and began to train other printers in their use. The most important of the Ostrih publications are the Ostrih Bible, of course, and the octavo edition of the Psalter and the New Testament that he printed concurrently. There are copies of both these editions in the Houghton Library. The Houghton copy of the Ostrih Bible is one of eight copies known to be in the United States. The Houghton copy of the Ostrih Psalter and New Testament is





# ДЪВРКАНЧЕ ПЪСНЪКЪ

УЛЛМЪ, ДЪВЪ, А, НЕСТЫСАМЪ,  
ШЕВРЪ.

**В**ЛѢНЪ МЪЖЪ, ИЖЕ НЕИДО НАСѢВЪ  
НЕЧЕСТИВЫ, ИНАПѢТИ ГРѢШНИ  
НЕИЛА, ИНАСѢ ДАЛНИ ГРѢШНИ  
НЕИДО. НА ВЪЗКАНИТЪ ГНѢ БОЛАГО, И  
ВЪЗКАНИТЪ ЕГО ПОУЧИША ДНО ИНОЦЕ. ИЖЕ  
ДОПЪ ИЖЕ ДРЕВОСАЖЕНО ПРИСХОДНИЦЪ БО,  
ИЖЕ ПЛОДЪ СВОИ ДАСТЪ ВЪВРЕМЯ СВОЕ. И  
АНЕПЪ ЕГО НЕИПАДАТЪ, ИБСАЛНКА АЩЕ  
ИВЕРИША, ОУСПѢЮТЪ. НЕТАКО НЕЧЕ  
СТИВЪ, НЕТАКО. НО ИЖЕ ПРАХЪ, СТОЖО  
ВЪЗМѢПЛОТЪ ВЪТРЪ, ШАНЦА ЗЕМЛИ.  
ЕТО РАДИ НЕИПАДАТЪ НЕЧЕСТИВЪИ НА  
СЪДЪ, ИИ ГРѢШНИЦЫ ВЪСВѢТЪ ПРАВЕ  
ДИХЪ. ИЖЕ СВАБСТВО ГО ПОДЪ ПРАВЕ  
ДИХЪ, ИНАПѢ НЕЧЕСТИВЫХЪ ПОГНѢ.  
УЛО, ДЪВЪ, А.

**В**ПЪСНЪКЪ ПЪСНЪКЪ ИЖЕ БОГО, ИЛИ ДО  
ПОУЧИШАША ТИШЕТИМЪ, ПРЕСТАША  
ЦРЬЕ СЕИСТЪИ, ИКНАВЪИ СЪВРАШАША ВЪКЪ  
ПЪ, НАГА ИНАХЪ ЕГО. РАСТРЪГНОВЪ

one of two copies in the United States. The Newberry Library holds the other copy.

8. KNYHA NOVAHO ZAVĬTA. V NEYŽE NAPREDY PSALMŶ BL(A)ŽENNAHO D(A)V(Y)DA PROR(O)KA Y C(A)RJA [The Book of the New Testament, with the Psalms of the Blessed David, Prophet and King, in front]. Ostrih: Ivan Fedorovyč, 1580. 8<sup>o</sup> [547] ff.

*References:* Karataev (1883) 100; Bykova (1972) 1-2.

*Colophon:* Ščepkina (1959) pp. 252-254.

Purchased from the Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr. Fund, 1970.

Ivan Fedorovyč left Ostrih after printing the Bible and died several years later (5/15 December 1583).<sup>5</sup> However, the Ostrih press that he had established continued to function until 1612, printing eighteen further volumes. The Houghton Library owns a copy of one of these eighteen volumes, the Book of St. Basil.

9. KNIHA YŽE V S(VJA)TŶX OTCA NAŠEHO VASILIA VELIKAHO, ARXYJEP(Y)S(KO)PA KESARIA KAPPADO-KIYSKIJA [The Book of our Holy Father Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia]. Ostrih: [anonymous printers], 3 March 7102 = 1594. 2<sup>o</sup> [604] ff.

*References:* Karataev (1883) 132; Bykova (1972) 9.

Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Ihor Galarnyk, Mr. and Mrs. Ivan Zapuchlak, Mr. and Mrs. Osyp Zapuchlak, and the Ukrainian Studies Fund, November-December 1975.

For more than two and one-half decades after Ivan Fedorovyč's death, the flame of Ukrainian Cyrillic printing remained alive at Ostrih, but when Prince Kostjantyn died, full of deeds and days, on 13 February 1608, his press began to decline. It produced only two more books, both in 1612. By that time, however, the torch had been passed on to the press of the Stauropegial Brotherhood at L'viv, which

5. For a review of Fedorovyč's work, see Nemirovskij (1974), Zapasko (1974), and Isajevyč (1975). See also Mathiesen (1977-1978). For recent scholarship see the articles by E. Keenan and E. Kasinec in *Recenzija* 5:1 (1974).

was founded in 1586 and which published its first book in 1591, and to the press of the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev, which was founded ca. 1606 by Archimandrite Jelysej Pletenec'kyj († 1624) and appears to have published its first book in 1616. The Kievan press had acquired the equipment of the short-lived press of Feodor Balaban († 1606) and Bishop Hedeon Balaban († 1607), which published three books at Strjatyn and at Krylos (both in Galicia) in the years from 1604 to 1606. The seventeenth century was the golden age of Ukrainian Cyrillic printing: in addition to the two great presses at L'viv and Kiev, which continued to publish books into the twentieth century, there were thirteen lesser presses operating at L'viv, Uhorci, Počajiv, Raxmaniv, Luc'k, Čorna, Kremenec', Kiev, Černihiv, and Novhorod-Sivers'kyj. By the end of the century much of this independent activity had come to a halt, and in the early eighteenth century the Russian Imperial Government made a concerted effort to bring the remaining presses under its control.

Although several thousand copies of the Ostrih Bible were printed, it soon became a rare and costly book, as the demand for it outstripped what Prince Kostjantyn's press had printed. Petro Mohyla began to plan for a new and revised edition of the Ostrih Bible soon after he became Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev, but the difficulty of the revisions delayed the work and his plan remained unfulfilled at the time of his death in 1646. Eventually the Ostrih Bible was reprinted, with only minor textual revisions, at Moscow in 1663, at a time when the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church was largely dominated by Ukrainian churchmen. A copy of this Moscow reprint is included in this exhibition.

10. BIBLIA SIRĚČ' KNIGI VETXAGO I NOVAGO ZAVĚTA, PO JAZYKU SLAVENSKU [The Bible, that is the Books of the Old and the New Testament, in the Slavonic language]. Moscow: Pečatnyj dvor, 12 December 7172 = 1663. 2<sup>o</sup> [540] ff.

*Reference:* Zernova (1958) 306.

*Prefaces:* Stroev (1829) 133.

ΕΥΓΕΙΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΕΛΙΚΕΥΣ





ПРЕДЪПИСАНО

ЕТОГО ВАСІІА, АРХІЕПІСКОПА КЕСАРІА  
КАППАДОКІНСКАГО.

**М**НѢГОМЪ СЪЩЫМЪ ИЖЕ  
ШЕГО ДУХОВЕННАГО ПИСАНІА  
ПОВѢДѢМЫ, ШЕ НЕ ПРА  
ВЛѢНІА ДѢЛЪ НЫХЪ  
ПОТЩАВШИСЯ БЛАГО  
УГОДНѢТИ БН ОДНѢХЪ ИЖЕ БНА  
ЕТО ОЩЕМЪ ПОВНГШЕ МІА ШНАРЪ.  
ИКОЖЕ НАБЫКОУМЪ ШЕ СМОГО ЕГО  
ДУХОВЕННАГО ПИСАНІА. ВКРАТЦѢ  
ЩИ НБЪ ПОМАЛЮТИ ПРЕУМЫСЛ  
НОУЖНО. ЕЖЕ ОКОМЪ СЪДѢТЕЛ

This remained the only other printed edition of the complete Bible in Church Slavonic until the middle of the eighteenth century when the Russian Orthodox Church published Empress Elizabeth's Bible (St. Petersburg, 1751; with revisions: Moscow, 1756). With respect to language, this Bible departs much more from the Ostrih Bible than did the Moscow edition of 1663. Indeed, the great majority of the revisions were purely linguistic. With respect to text, however, Empress Elizabeth's Bible largely follows the Moscow Bible, and thus also the Ostrih Bible. All subsequent editions of the Bible in Church Slavonic, whether printed at Moscow or St. Petersburg, Kiev or Počajiv, Peremyšl or even Budapest, whether published by Orthodox or Catholic Slavs, have reprinted the text of Empress Elizabeth's Bible. Thus, the Ostrih Bible, one of the greatest monuments of sixteenth-century Ukrainian culture, has become part of the common heritage of all Slavs of the Byzantine Rite, Orthodox and Catholic; and there is good reason to think that this was precisely what Prince Kostjantyn intended when he published it four hundred years ago.

Robert Mathiesen

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In the last decade more than 150 items have been added to the Ucrainica collections in the Houghton Library. Materials have been either donated by, or purchased from, Michael Bazansky, Ihor and Jenny Galarnyk, George Kossatch, Bohdan and Neonila Krawciw, Myron Malaniuk, the Onufrij Murmyluk Family, Dmytro Mykytiuk, Anna Nykyforiak, Athanasius Pekar, O.S.B.M., Bohdan Tomkiw, and Valentin Zabijaka.

The rare books and manuscripts in the Houghton Library are only a small part of the Ucrainica held by the Harvard University Library. Since the creation in 1973 of the Ukrainian Research Institute Reference Library, hundreds of private gifts, including the Chopek, Dmytriw, Dubitsky, Lysohir, Pasternak, Salyk, Shandor, and Vlach collections have been acquired and processed. In addition, endowed book funds in honor of John Bonk, Theodor Balko, Osyp Hladun, and the Wasyl Kyj Family have been established to ensure the future of Ucrainica at Harvard.

Edward Kasinec



This exhibition accompanies  
the fourth Bohdan Krawciw Memorial Lecture on  
“The Making of the Ostrih Bible” by Robert Mathiesen,  
Associate Professor of Slavic Languages, Brown University,  
Friday, May 30, 1980.

The exhibition and the lecture are sponsored by the  
Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University.  
These events are the first in a decade-long series of  
events that will commemorate the millennium of Christianity  
in Rus'-Ukraine, 988-1988.