

**SCIENTIFIC, NOT IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPT
OF THE ORIGINS OF UKRAINIAN PRINTING:
THE GENESIS OF CLAIMS AND FALSIFICATIONS**

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of the origins of the Ukrainian printed word, its close relationship and interdependence with European rather than Russian printing, its influence on the further development of Ukrainian society in general and the promotion of Ukrainian culture in particular, the role of its first creators and founders is now becoming particularly relevant. After all, we are talking about the culture of the entire nation, its role, and place in the general civilizational progress of mankind.

For a long time, primarily for political reasons, the development of this important issue has been monitored particularly closely. At first, by state officials of the Russian Empire, and later by those of the Soviet one. The history of Ukrainians, therefore, was not written by Ukrainian scientists. Furthermore, outside Ukraine, mostly in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

The urgency of this issue has intensified in recent years. And there are several reasons for this.

Firstly, in recent years, both in the scientific literature and especially in the national media, there have been more cases of attacks, which are unsubstantiated from the scientific point of view but are due to the political situation, by direct and hidden opponents of Ukraine as an independent state. These attacks are clearly aimed at reviewing the fundamental principles of Ukrainian statehood (history, language, culture), which have already been well-founded and defended, and scholars have already had heated and long disputes on this question.

Secondly, the beginning of the third millennium brought to Ukraine another series of the five-hundredth or close to this figure anniversaries that are directly related to the approval of the above-mentioned fundamental principles of the state's humanitarian policy. This is the 500th anniversary of the birth of Ivan Fedorovych, the 450th anniversary of the Lviv printing house of Stepan Dropan, the 450th anniversary of the Peresopnytsia Gospel, the 350th anniversary of the first edition of the then in Ukrainian "Kyivan Cave Patericon" and the 200th anniversary of the birth of the "one who awakened the Ukrainian thinking" in Galicia Markiian Shashkevych. These

dates could have become, but, unfortunately, did not become an important factor in the powerful promotion of the idea of “Ukrainian Ukraine” at the state level, belated not only decommunization but also de-Rusification of the national information space. As before, the significance of these dates turned out to be virtually unnoticed at the state level, and they were usually celebrated among the public. So, top statesmen continue to tolerate the hackneyed Russian and Soviet ideas.

Thirdly, under the conditions of permanent search, concretization, and protection in the difficult socio-political realities of the national idea of the young Ukrainian state, we need to finally write an honest and truthful history of Ukrainian printing, based not on the ideological concepts introduced from outside, but on the basis of the careful study and introduction of the previously prohibited archival materials into scientific circulation, as a significant component, according to Lina Kostenko, of the “humanitarian aura of the nation”.

Hence, the existence of two completely opposite approaches, and therefore concepts of different degree of scientific character for the study and interpretation of this issue.

Research of the problem

A significant number of publications on the issue of the emergence of Ukrainian printing, which appeared in the Soviet times, can be divided into two groups:

1. Publications, in which the authors continue to advocate a thesis that printing in Ukraine came from the East, from Moscow, and not from the West, and is associated with the first Russian printer Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovych). It was he who enlightened the Ukrainians with the power of the printed word, bringing to Lviv a hitherto unknown method of its multiplication ten years after he published his “Apostle” in Moscow in 1564.

2. Publications, in which authors not only deny this Russian-Soviet ideology but also provide convincing evidence that such printing in Ukraine, in particular in Lviv, had existed 112 years before Fedorovych came there. So, since 1460.

The first group includes supporters and defenders of the “common cradle of three fraternal peoples”. First of all, these are well-known Russian researchers E. Nemirovskii, A. Zernova, A. Kurbskii, T. Protaseva. And Ukrainian authors – Ya. Isaievych, O. Melnykov, S. Sokurov-Velychko.

The second group consists of foreign authors – Polish scholars J. Bandtkie D. Zubrzycki, V. Zimorowicz, and Ukrainians – I. Ohienko, I. Krypiakevych, H. Koliada, O. Matsiuk, M. Nyzovy, Ya. Zapasko, S. Hunko, M. Tymoshyk.

The activity of researchers from the second group was the most noticeable in those two short periods of socio-political life in Ukraine, in which, for tactical reasons, the repressive measures of the totalitarian system as to the national question were weakened. This is the so-called period of Ukrainization, which took place in the second half of the 1920s; a brief period after Stalin's death, called "the Khrushchev thaw"; the first decades of the restoration of Ukrainian independence.

Russian (Soviet) Concepts

Under the totalitarian regime of the former Soviet Empire, the concept of the origin and development of the Ukrainian printed word was not developed objectively. Soviet science was dominated by the ideological scheme approved in Moscow, according to which Ukrainian education, science, and culture were allegedly always developed only in close relationship with Russian, and moreover, were considered secondary, accidental, and devoid of independent features. In the 1930s, this scheme received an image-metaphor in the form of a tree trunk with three branches, symbolizing the unity and interdependence of the three Slavic peoples – Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian.

According to this theory, the core of this tree – its trunk, whose roots date back to the times of Kievan Rus – was unquestioningly appropriated by Russia. And two of its branches, which sprouted, according to this scheme, only in the 14th century, were given to Ukraine and Belarus.

That is why during all Soviet years, the emergence of the Ukrainian language, literature, culture in general, as well as Ukrainian history itself, was allowed to be considered from the 14th century. Until recently, anything that did not "fit" into this ideological scheme was considered anti-scientific, and therefore harmful. And politically unbiased scholars who dared to express their vision of the problem directly with their honest and deeply scientific research were declared fierce enemies of their people with the following ban on their works. In accordance with the above ideological metaphor, over the past more than eighty years, Ukrainian scholars have been forced to repeat in different versions a single postulate regarding the origin of the Ukrainian printed word.

The essence of the Russian (Soviet) concept of the beginning of Ukrainian book printing is as follows: *when the first printing house was founded in Russia in 1564 (the year of the publication of "Apostle" in Moscow), the first Russian printer Ivan Fedorov, eight years later, arrived via Belarus to Lviv, Ukraine and founded a printing house there and in*

1574 published “Apostle”. This date was set as the beginning of the foundation of Ukrainian printing.

Thus, according to this concept, printing came to Ukraine from Russia. It was brought by the Russian first printer Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovych, Khvedorovych) after the progressive invention had been established in Moscow. It turned out that Ukrainians were able to join the amazing work of the human mind – the printing press – thanks to the “big brother”.

This point was supported and strengthened by various events, widely promoted in the Soviet Union, in particular, celebrations on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of Russian printing (1964) and the 400th anniversary of the Ukrainian printed word (1974). This is confirmed in particular by the research of E. Nemirovskii¹, T. Protaseva², ЗернОВОЇ³ та ін. The first date was celebrated with much pomp. A number of political and scientific events were dedicated to this event. A number of ideological publications were carried out based on the materials of the sessions^{4 5}.

For many years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, when scholars of the former Soviet republics, including Ukraine, in new, politically neutral conditions were able to process and comprehend a lot of materials from the former special funds and involve them into scientific circulation, the position of Russian scholars on this issue remains almost unchanged. Despite the publication of some new archival documents in the scientific periodicals, many Russian scholars strongly refused to recognize the fact that the Ukrainian printed word appeared before the Russian one.

Two examples can be used as an argument for this thesis.

At the Second International Congress on Slavic studies (October 1966, Andalusian International University, Baeza, Spain), the author of these lines spoke “On the concept of the origin and development of the Ukrainian printed word in the context of the spread of printing among the Slavic

¹ Nemirovskiy E. (1962) Istoriograficheskie zametki k voprosu o nachale knigopечатaniya na Rusi [Historiographic notes on the issue of the beginning of typography in Russia]. *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy* [Book. Research and materials] (ed. Sikorskiy N. M.), Moscow: Kniga, vol. 7, pp. 239–263.

² Protas’eva T. (1955) *Pervye izdaniya moskovskoy pečati* [The first editions of the Moscow press]. Moscow: Goskultprosvetizdat. (in Russian)

³ Zernova A. (1947). *Nachalo knigopечатaniya ya v Moskve i na Ukraine* [Start of printing in Moscow and Ukraine]. Moscow. (in Russian)

⁴ Pedaniuk I. M. (ed.) (1965) *Ukrainska knyha: 400 rokov rosiiskoho knyhodrukuvannia* [Ukrainian book: 400 years of Russian book printing]. Kyiv; Kharkiv: Redaktsiino-vydavnychiy viddil Knyzhkovoї palaty URSR. (in Ukrainian)

⁵ Sidorov A. A. (ed.) (1976) *Fedorovskie chteniya 1973: 400-letie knigopечатaniya na Ukraine* [Fedorov readings 1973: 400th anniversary of book printing in Ukraine]. Moscow: Gosudarstvennaya biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina. (in Russian)

peoples". (The report was based on materials from the former Soviet special funds). Because of the arguments concerning the earlier stages of the emergence of the Ukrainian printing and its primacy from the Russian one, Russian scholars, participants of the Congress, obstructed this speech. We should pay tribute to the well-known scholars in Slavic Studies and participants of the Congress from Poland, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria, who not only supported this Ukrainian concept but also protected it from overly politicized statements by some Russian colleagues ⁶.

Another example. The encyclopedia "Kniga", published in Moscow in 1999 with a circulation of five thousand copies, became the first thorough publication in the post-Soviet space, in the preface to which "the reliability, completeness, and novelty of the information provided" were declared as the main standard of the activity of the editorial board. However, just this novelty and reliability are often ignored regarding the articles and information on Ukrainian studies. As in the Soviet encyclopedias, this new edition still shows the imperial-great-power spirit. The dominant opinion is that Russians have always trained, instructed, enriched, and educated the "aliens" of their empire. Moreover, the achievements of Ukrainians (Malorosy) in the field of culture and books were secondary, considered to be "thanks to" and not "in spite of" the older brother. Ivan Fedorov is presented again as the first Ukrainian printer. Instead, not a word about the new arguments, facts, and new names. Again, the deliberate indication of Ukraine as a territory, and not a new State, by using the preposition "on" – *on Ukraine* ⁷.

The Concept of Western Scholars

But claims of Russian scholars are contrary to the historical facts. Namely, printing in Ukraine came not from the East, but from the West, and, moreover, long before the first dated printed book by I. Fedorov was published in Moscow in 1564 – "Apostle" and his arrival to Ukraine. Without diminishing the role and importance of I. Fedorov in the development of this business, however, today he cannot be considered the

⁶ Tymoshyk M. (1996) Do pytannia pro kontseptsiiu vynyknennia i rozvytku ukrainskoho drukovanoho slova v konteksti poshyrennia druzarstva u slovianskykh narodiv [On the concept of the emergence and development of the Ukrainian printed word in the context of the spread of printing in the Slavic peoples]. *II Jornadas Andaluzas de Eslavistica. Resumenes de ponencias y comunicaciones* [II Andalusian Slavic Conference. Summaries of presentations and communications] (Baeza, Espana, 1996). Baeza, pp. 101–102.

⁷ Zharkov V. M. (ed.) (1999) *Kniga. Entsiklopediya* [Book. Encyclopedia]. Moscow: Bol'shaya Rossiyskaya Entsiklopediya. (in Russian)

founder of Ukrainian printing, but only the founder of permanent printing in Ukraine.

The Western concept on the issue of Ukrainian printing is as follows: *there had been book printing in the Western part of Ukraine before I. Fedorov arrived in Lviv, founded the printing house (1572-1573), and published "Apostle" (1574).*

Among such Western authoritative scholars, who support this point of view, first of all, we should mention the Polish researcher J. Bandtkie. In his multi-volume thorough work "The history of printing in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in foreign countries in which Polish works were published" a separate section is devoted to the analysis of the origin and development of printing in Lviv. At the beginning of this section, the researcher stated: "Ivan Fedorov did not create, but updated the Russian printing house in 1573"⁸.

Another researcher of the history of Slavic Cyrillic printing, originally from Galicia, D. Zubrzycki in his work highlights the section, which is called: "Printing house before Fedorovych in Lviv". Here are Zubrzycki's arguments: "There is no doubt that there was a Russian printing house in Lviv before Ivan Fedorovych in 1574, although we are not able to show printed copy from this era. If there could be a printing house in Krakow in 1491, in Vilna (Vilnius) in 1525, why couldn't it be in Lviv, in the middle of Rus, where the demand for such books was far greater than anywhere else, because only in the dioceses of Lviv and Przemysl there were more than 4,000 churches"⁹.

It should be emphasized that the fact of the existence of printing in the Western Ukraine in the pre-Fedorov period is defended by scholars who are difficult to suspect of adherence to the Ukrainian national movement, and therefore of bias or subjectivism in favour of the primacy of Ukrainian printing over Russian. J. Bandtkie was a real Polish patriot, and D. Zubrzycki, a Galician, was one of the supporters of the idea of "unity of the Russian people", and actively denied the possibility of independent development of the Ukrainian language.

⁸ Bandtkie J. S. (1826) *Historia drukarn w Krolewstwie Polsskiem i Wielkem Ksiestwie Litewskiem i w kraiach zagranicznych w ktorych polskei dzela wychodzily* [History of printing houses in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in foreign countries where Polish works were published]. Krakowie, vol. 1, p. 382. (in Polish)

⁹ Zubrzycki D. (1836). *Historyczne badania o drukarniach rusko-slowianskich w Galicyi* [Historical research on Ruthenian-Slavic printing houses in Galicia]. Lviv, p. 12.

The Concept of Ivan Ohiienko

The first generalizing fundamental work that practically denied the dominant statements about the subordination of Ukrainian printing to Russian, was the book of I. Ohiienko “A History of Ukrainian Printing”,¹⁰

It was banned in the Soviet times primarily for its scientific concept. It came back to Ukraine after being for almost seventy years in special funds. It was published in 1994 by the Lybid publishing house at Kyiv University, had a wide circulation, and a recommendation seal of the Ministry of education of Ukraine as a textbook for students of Humanities¹¹. The second edition was issued in 1997 by the Kyiv publishing house “Our culture and science”¹².

The most valuable part of Ivan Ohiienko’s research is the justification of a new periodization of the emergence and spread of printing in Ukraine. Two periods of its emergence, defined by the author seem logically motivated:

- 1) outside of ethnic Ukrainian lands;
- 2) actually on Ukrainian lands.

In the first case, the argumentatively proven date of appearance of the first Ukrainian books outside the official borders of the then Ukraine – 1491 – is defined clearly and unambiguously. It was then in Krakow that the German printer Schweipolt Fiol, commissioned by the Ukrainian community, published Chasoslovets and Oktoikh (Octoechos) in Cyrillic script.

What gave Ohiienko reason to consider these printings Ukrainian? Two factors are convincing arguments in favour of this statement: *first*, the general style of design, and *second*, the language and spelling features of publications. Both the first and the second clearly indicate the original sources that formed the first printings – manuscripts created in the 14-15th centuries in the Hrushiv Monastery (the current territory of Tyachiv District, Zakarpattia Oblast).

The recent discoveries of the Transcarpathian researcher O. Oros advocate for the Ukrainian origin of the Fiol’s books printed in Krakow. According to his theory, these books were only reprinted in Krakow, and all

¹⁰ Ohiienko I. (1925) *Istoriia ukrainskoho drukarstva* [History of Ukrainian printing]. Lviv: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Shevchenka. (in Ukrainian)

¹¹ Ohiienko I. (1994) *Istoriia ukrainskoho drukarstva* [History of Ukrainian printing] (comp. Tymoshyk M. S.). Kyiv: Lybid. (in Ukrainian)

¹² Ohiienko I. (2007) *Istoriia ukrainskoho drukarstva* [History of Ukrainian printing] (comp. Tymoshyk M. S.). Kyiv: Nasha kultura i nauka. (in Ukrainian)

the draft work was carried out in the printing house of the Ukrainian village of Hrushiv¹³.

As for the emergence of printing in the actual Ukrainian lands, Ohienko outlined 1569 and named the town of Zabludiv, where Ivan Fedorov, on the way to Lviv via Lithuania and Belarus, published the “Teacher’s Gospel”. Zabludiv at that time was located on the mixed Ukrainian-Belarusian border, where the Ukrainian population prevailed. This allowed the researcher to classify this work as an achievement of Ukrainian culture.

Thus, according to the concept of Ivan Ohienko, *the time of the emergence of Ukrainian printing dates back to 1491, that is, 83 years earlier than the date officially set by Moscow.*

The state of Ukrainian printing, analysed in the mentioned book, gave Ukrainians the full right “not only to take an honourable place among the whole Slavic world but also to equal the quality of their publications to the cultural peoples of Europe”. Against the background of the spread of printing in Western Europe after Germany in 1450 (Italy – 1464; France – 1470; Holland – 1473; Hungary – 1473; Spain – 1474; England – 1480; Denmark – 1482; Portugal – 1484; Austria – 1492), Ivan Ohienko gives the following sequence of development of printing among the Slavic peoples: Czechs – 1478; Ukrainians – 1491; Montenegrins – 1493; Poles – the end of the 15th century; Belarusians – 1517; Serbs – 1553; Russians – 1564; Bulgarians – 1641¹⁴.

Thus, the Ukrainians were second after the Czechs in the Slavic world to introduce printing. Moreover, in contrast to, say, Russia, where the activities of printing houses were completely controlled by the Synod of the Church, one of the clauses (clause 8) of the Treaty of Hadiach (1658) between the Hetman of Ukraine I. Vyhovsky and the Polish king specially provided for the freedom of the Ukrainian printing: “Colleges, schools, printing houses, as many as they need, are free to establish and free to engage in science and print different books.”

Professor Ivan Ohienko, being extremely careful and responsible in the selection and analysis of empirical data, the formulation of scientific conclusions, repeatedly stressed the need for additional detailed research or thorough verification of certain theses and assumptions made by him and his predecessors. Without access to many sources, he could not find

¹³ Oros O. (2001) Hrushivskiyi monastyr i pochatky kyrylychnoho slovianskoho knyhdrukuvannia [Hrushev Monastery and the beginnings of the Cyrillic Slavic book printing]. Uzhhorod: Zakarpattia. (in Ukrainian)

¹⁴ Ohienko I. (2007) *Istoriia ukrainskoho drukarstva* [History of Ukrainian printing] (comp. Tymoshyk M. S.). Kyiv: Nasha kultura i nauka. (in Ukrainian)

confirmation of the existence of pre-Fedorov printing in Galicia. But at the same time, he seemed to be pointing out to his followers “where exactly more work should be done firstly”, hoping that the sources named by him, certain milestones in Ukrainian printing will encourage the appearance of “more special and thorough investigations on those issues that I have only superficially outlined”.

A new Ukrainian Concept Based on the Newly Discovered Documents

Despite the fact that during all the Soviet years, many Ukrainian researchers directed their efforts to repeat different versions of ideological clichés that are far from science, but beneficial to the totalitarian regime, there were still personalities in this environment. These were scholars for whom the scientific conscience was higher than the rewards promised by the authorities for diligent and obedient work within certain limits.

A few decades later after the final defeat of the powerful center of Ukrainian studies, which was the Ukrainian Institute of Bibliology in the 20-30s, it was these young at that time scholars who decided to deal with the issue, which, in the apt expression of Ivan Ohienko, was like an uncultivated land – the history of the ancient Ukrainian book. Knowing in advance that this issue has “low prestige” and “no prospects”, they still enthusiastically got down to work, separating the seeds of truth, historical justice, and true scientific approach from all kinds of fabrications, distortions, baseless accusations mixed with ideological bias, political speculation, and unscientific theories.

Orest Matsiuk was one of such scholars.

At the end of Khrushchev’s Thaw, which occurred in the second half of the 1960s, in the information space of the USSR there was an event, which produced the effect of a bomb. The journal *Archives of Ukraine* became its initiator. Despite its narrow-profile status as a scientific information bulletin of the Archives Department under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, this journal had an unusually high circulation: almost 21 thousand copies. Its second issue for 1968 contains an article by Orest Matsiuk with the following title: “Was there a book printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov?”¹⁵. At that time it was a bold move because the author gave a definite and affirmative answer.

A young researcher, who was getting ready to defend his dissertation on a purely technical topic – the history of paper in Ukraine, was the first to

¹⁵ Matsiuk O. (1968) *Chy bulo knyhodrukuvannia na Ukraini do Ivana Fedorova?* [Was there a book printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov?]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy* [Archives of Ukraine], no. 2, pp. 3–14.

find two documents in the Central State Historical Archive in Lviv that clearly indicated the existence of a printing house in this city... back in 1460, that is, 112 years before the arrival of Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovych) in 1572.

Both documents were written in Latin and dated July 23, 1791, and October 20, 1792.

The first document is “*Statement of the Fiscal College Monastery in Lviv with the request to take necessary measures in case of returning to its movable and immovable property and also printing house, that belong to the monastery from 1460 for the fulfilment of the brotherhood provisors of all the obligations towards the monastery*”.

The second document – “*Explanatory note by the Stauropegion Brotherhood provisors to Lviv Eldership (Starostvo) in connection with the Basilian claims to the printing house (founded in 1460 by the Ukrainian Stepan Dropan from Lviv)*” – sets out, of course, a different vision of the essence of the conflict and argues that the printing house itself, founded before 1460 by the Ukrainian Stepan Dropan, is now legally owned by the brotherhood, not the monastery.

After comparing and analysing these and other archival documents, in particular, those relating to the life and work of Stepan Dropan and his printing house (and there are several documents about this in the Lviv archives), O. Matsiuk reasonably believes that the fact of “the existence of the printing house in Lviv since 1460 is indisputable”, and Stepan Dropan – “is the initiator of Ukrainian printing”¹⁶.

How could it happen that two irrefutable documents that turned upside down the Russian (Soviet) concept of the emergence of Ukrainian printing were not removed from the archives by Moscow censors in summer 1939? After all, it is well known that in the first months of the accession of the Western Ukrainian regions to the Soviet Ukraine, all regional archives and library repositories were totally cleaned by numerous “experts” sent from Moscow in the uniform of the Red Army officers.

It may be assumed that these documents were saved from destruction by the fact that they were written in Latin and kept from the beginning of the 18th century in the numerous folders that related to the monasteries of the Order of St. Basil the Great. Thus, the Moscow censors deliberately ignored the documents of this church institution, which was quite far from politics. And the new rewriters of Ukrainian history couldn’t handle the Latin language, which dominated on the numerous pages of this archive.

¹⁶ Matsiuk O. (1968) Chy bulo knyhodrukuvannia na Ukraini do Ivana Fedorova? [Was there a book printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov?]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy* [Archives of Ukraine], no. 2, pp. 3–14.

Orest Matsiuk's historical discovery, published in a specialized publication on archival affairs, turned out to be so significant and long-awaited that it could have been a stunning sensation in other circumstances. However, it did not happen.

Why?

The ideologists of the Communist regime considered the article about pre-Fedorov printing in Ukraine absolutely dangerous. The circulation of the journal *Archives of Ukraine*, where this article was published, was removed from libraries of all levels of subordination. Usually, the system left one copy of such particularly "seditious" publications and created special funds for this purpose at the largest libraries of the country, access to which was allowed only to the official reviewers verified by the authorities.

Such copies were also withdrawn from the subscribers – according to the lists provided to specially authorized post offices on the ground. The history of the existence of the Ukrainian printed word in the pre-Soviet times, and especially in the Soviet times, is full of dramatic examples of such withdrawals. A former student of the Philological Department of the Rivne Pedagogical Institute Borys Berezovets from the city of Berezhne in the Rivne region told about one of them, connected with the so-called Dropan's edition of *Archives of Ukraine* on the pages of the newspaper *Literary Ukraine*¹⁷. A copy of the journal from his father's home library with an article by O. Matsiuk, which accidentally caught the eye of a graduate student, prompted him to choose the history of printing in Ostroh before Ivan Fedorovych as the topic of his graduation work. This topic was certainly rejected by the Dean's office, and the student's father had to hide this copy of the journal far away in the attic of the old house. It was found there by Mr. Boris and handed to the author of these lines a few years ago¹⁸.

Orest Matsiuk, the discoverer of the name of the first Ukrainian printer Stepan Dropan, almost paid with his scientific career for this publication, according to the memories of his former colleagues.

From the late 1960s, the authorities imposed a strict taboo on the topic of pre-Fedorov printing in Ukraine, as well as on the origins and main stages of the development of the Ukrainian handwritten book. Instead, topics related to the activities of the Russian first printer Ivan Fedorovych in Ukraine were strongly encouraged and supported.

¹⁷ Berezovets B. (2012) Publikatsiia naviiala spomyn [The publication brought back memories]. *Literaturna Ukraina* [Literary Ukraine], p. 5.

¹⁸ Berezovets B. (2012) Publikatsiia naviiala spomyn [The publication brought back memories]. *Literaturna Ukraina* [Literary Ukraine], p. 5.

Modern Critics of Ukrainian Patriotism in Book Science

It seemed that there was a completely normal process when, in the absence of censorship and party control, Ukrainian scholars finally had the opportunity to study, summarize archival materials, express hypotheses, have discussions at various scientific forums, and publish their works written “not by an instruction from above”. After all, to repay debts to their predecessors, who, due to the political circumstances and the inability to access archival repositories, did not have a chance to do this for centuries.

However, opponents of the Ukrainian revival were not satisfied with this state of affairs.

The first attempt to expose the too “zealous patriotism” of the individual Ukrainian researchers of the ancient Ukrainian book was made... by the assistant of the Department of Printing and Packaging Technologies of the Ukrainian Academy of Printing, PhD in Technical sciences O. Melnykov. The monthly journal “Bulletin of the Book Chamber” (№ 4) for 2006 published his article with the title “Was printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov?”¹⁹.

It is noteworthy that the title of this article word by word repeats the title of the article in Archives of Ukraine performed by another author almost forty years ago. The main difference is only in the content emphasis of publications. If the former Director of the Lviv Historical Archive, unfortunately, the late Orest Matsiuk, a man highly respected among archivists and historians, gave an affirmative answer to the question posed in the title of the article on the basis of his analysis of the documents, the assistant of the Department of Printing and Packaging Technologies of the Ukrainian Academy of Printing O. Melnykov set a goal to turn everything upside down and, of course, say a categorical “no” to the attempts of the Ukrainian scholars to write their own, not approved in Moscow, not agreed with Moscow reviewers, the history of Ukrainian books.

Moreover, to say the least, such a revelation is far from the genre of a scientific article, because it is unprofessional and incorrect. The author does not know the historiography of the question because having included in the subtitle of the article the words: “A review of recent publications” he did not bother to find out at least the quantitative parameters of publications that should be included in the “review”. It is obvious that he has never seen the majority of them because he builds his criticism around only two or three publications that he dislikes.

¹⁹ Melnykov O. (2006) *Chy bulo knyhodrukuvannia v Ukraini do Ivana Fedorova: ohliad publikatsii ostannikh rokiv* [Were book printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov: a review of recent publications]. *Visnyk Knyzhkovoï palaty* [Bulletin of the Book Chamber], no. 4, pp. 10–13.

Approaches to the revealing criticism are also chosen from the arsenal of the bad old times: using a quote outside the context of the narrative, cutting it off in a place favourable for the critic, attempts to “catch” the opponent in small things, inappropriate exclamations like “And this is a Ukrainian philologist!”, which are simply unacceptable in scientific publications. Categorically denying what has already been proved, Mr. Melnykov, in the spirit of the recent Soviet times, even put labels on both the author of the new concept of the origin and development of Ukrainian printing Matsiuk, and on his followers. What for? It turns out that only for the fact that they “directly accused Russian and Soviet researchers of bias”.

Let’s not dwell any more on the illogical and unconvincing places of such “scientific” work, because the Kharkiv scholar – Professor, Head of the Department of Bibliography, Information and Bibliographic Activities of the Kharkiv State Academy of Culture Mykola Nyzovyi has already made it in the extremely professional, prudent and at the same time acute way. We must pay tribute to the editorial board of the “Bulletin of the Book Chamber”, which published an article by Professor M. Nyzovyi²⁰.

By dividing the answers of all respondents to the question posed in the title of the article into three main groups (1. Those, who answer the question negatively; 2. Those, who give a positive answer and 3. Those for whom this topic is the subject of manipulation and speculation, depending on the general situation and their personal intentions), as well as carefully stating his arguments based purely on scientific positions, Professor Nyzovyi comes to three conclusions.

We present them in full since they are fundamental in the analysis of further disclosure of the topic of this publication:

1. Accumulated direct and indirect evidence... give grounds to state that pre-Fedorov book printing existed in Ukraine.

2. A further challenge is to continue the search for samples of pre-Fedorov printing or documentary evidence of their existence.

3. Ivan Fedorov, regardless of possible and desirable discoveries in the future, was and remains the founder of permanent printing in Ukraine”²¹.

²⁰ Nyzovyi M. (2006) “Chy bulo knyhodrukuvannia v Ukraini do Ivana Fedorova?” (Khto stavyt tse pytannia i yak na noho vidpovidaiut) [“Was there a book printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov?” (Who is asking this question and how are they answering it)]. *Visnyk Knyzhkovoï palaty* [Bulletin of the Book Chamber], no. 9, pp. 32–37.

²¹ Nyzovyi M. (2006) “Chy bulo knyhodrukuvannia v Ukraini do Ivana Fedorova?” (Khto stavyt tse pytannia i yak na noho vidpovidaiut) [“Was there a book printing in Ukraine before Ivan Fedorov?” (Who is asking this question and how are they answering it)]. *Visnyk Knyzhkovoï palaty* [Bulletin of the Book Chamber], no. 9, pp. 32–37.

In response to this reasonable article by the well-known Ukrainian scholar, an article by another non-expert-falsifier soon appeared in the same "Bulletin of the Book Chamber". He was S. Sokurov-Velychko²².

I will not analyse the content of this publication. I will highlight only some say for a fact phrases that strike the eye through the whole text so that the reader can see for himself the content emphases and the position of the author. So: "*the real Ukrainians, fed from the broken pots of Trypillia culture*"; "*the Subcarpathian descendants of the ancient ukry*", who "*got a cruel stroke on their pride*"; "*support of the imposing, but unsteady building of national exclusivity*"; "*locals separated nationally conscious Ukrainians long ago, the fighters of the universal dissociation from the ancient frame of ukry from their own (with unclean blood) of traitors*"; "*someone ominously whispers behind my back*"; "*transatlantic virtues of the world Ukrainians*".

And here are the epithets, which "worth" Ukrainian scholars – researchers of the history of Ukrainian books: "*diligent ruiners*", who write or "*ominously whisper*", "*accusers of using dirty technology*", "*disputant M. Nyzovyi*", etc.

And it is absolutely absurd to end this material with a claim to a scientific view: the disappointed author of the "Bulletin of the Book Chamber" as if he heard someone whispering ominously behind his back: "Yes, he's a Muscovite, the biggest enemy, a colonizer!" – decided to turn... to God.

After careful reading of the works by O. Melnykov and S. Sokurov-Velychko – the main initiators of a new controversy about the origins of printing in Ukraine and attempts to understand the logic of the appearance of such publications in the respected state scientific edition, I wanted to learn more about the scientific and creative achievements of these authors.

The assistant of the Department of Printing and Packaging Technologies of the Ukrainian Academy of Printing O. Melnykov is the author of several articles on certain aspects of modern book publishing, as well as the co-author of the Russian-Ukrainian dictionary "Polygraphy and publishing" (Lviv: Afisha, 2002, 440 p.) and the compiler of the "Author's Reference book" (Sumy: University book, 2004, 396 p.). Regarding the latter, it is not secondary to note that it is based on either excerpts from current legislative and regulatory documents related to publishing, or various (and largely outdated today) instructions of the non-existent State Publishing Committee of the USSR, especially those about the editorial and technical requirements for preparing text originals for printing.

²² Sokurov-Velychko S. (2007) Pro pershist vzhali i zokrema [About primacy in general and in particular]. *Visnyk Knyzhkovoï palaty* [Bulletin of the Book Chamber], no. 1, pp. 25–27.

The direction of the search for the information about Serhii Sokurov was simplified by the signature under his last name in the article – the writer. The bibliographic reference book “Writers of Ukraine” (2006) gives the following brief information about this author: “He was born in Minusinsk, Krasnoyarsk Krai, Russia. Graduate of the Geological Faculty of Lviv University. Writes in Russian. Author of collections of short stories “The Stone Sea”, “Tethys”, “the First Day of Youth” and publications in periodicals”.

I have found a collection of novels and short stories by this author, which was not listed in the new writer’s reference book – “The Sign of the Pure Sun” published in the Lviv publishing house “Kamenyar” in 1990. The title story of the collection – “the Crow” – can explain the reason for this no longer covered anti-Ukrainian attitude, which marked the so-called bibliographic publication of this writer in the “Bulletin of the Book Chamber”.

The story tells about a soldier of the Ukrainian insurgent army, who, according to the story, refused to surrender at the plea of his mother and blew himself up with a grenade in the UPA hiding place. This “work of fiction” mixed with bile intolerance and hatred of a member of the National Writers’ Union of Ukraine to the bearers of other ideological views, is marked by an elementary disrespect for the history of Ukraine.

In the context of this discussion imposed by comrades Melnykov and Sokurov, I would like to ask myself, my fellow scholars, and the readers the following three questions:

1. Should any specialized publication designed for experts contain publications on socially important scientific issues, the authors of which are clearly not experts?

2. Is it appropriate to excite the scientific community with far-fetched polemics that have already taken place, around which certain scientific and political accents have already been identified, whose participants on both sides have long gone further in their scientific search?

3. Are articles whose content and lexis have nothing to do with science admissible in the publications registered by the Higher Attestation Commission, in which publications are taken into consideration in the process of the dissertation defence?

It is quite obvious that the respected Editorial Board of the “Bulletin of the Book Chamber” will answer these three questions with an unequivocal “no”. If so, then the position of the Editorial Board of this body, with the knowledge of which such publications appeared there, is all the more incomprehensible.

The First Ukrainian Printing House of Stepan Dropan in 1460 from the Pages of Archival Documents

The above-mentioned publication by O. Matsiuk refers to the two sensational archival documents only in general and quotes only some parts. The author of these lines managed to copy them completely, translate them from old Latin into Ukrainian, and publish them – more than half a century later. The first printing of these two documents, translated by M. Lietskin, was carried out by the Editorial Board of the scientific journal “Ukrainian information space”²³.

Based on a thorough analysis of these documents, we will try to find out the basic facts about the first Ukrainian printing house in Lviv of 1460.

Stepan Dropan presented his printing house to the monks of the Basilian order of St. Onuphrius Monastery in 1460. This printing house, or rather the income from it, have caused conflict between the two legal parties: monks and trustees of the Monastery (in documents they are called *procurators*) – on the one hand, and shareholders of the monastery, members of the Lviv Stauropegion brotherhood (in the documents – *collators*, *provisors*, *Stauropegian*) on the other.

It was a long-standing dispute, somewhat confusing in its essence due to the intransigence of both sides and completely opposite interpretation of a number of facts. Having not agreed for a long time on the ownership of the printing house and the distribution of profits, both sides went in search of the truth to the highest levels of justice in the region.

On July 28, 1791, the Monastery and Church of the Basilians of Lviv of St. Onuphrius filed a complaint against their abusers – shareholders of the Stauropegion Catholic Church to the Imperial-Royal Fiscal College of the Lviv District. The proceedings were delayed for unknown reasons²⁴.

²³ Tymoshyk M. (1996) Do pyttannya pro kontseptsiiu vynyknennia i rozvytku ukrainskoho drukovanoho slova v konteksti poshyrennia drukarstva u slovianskykh narodiv [On the concept of the emergence and development of the Ukrainian printed word in the context of the spread of printing in the Slavic peoples]. *II Jornadas Andaluzas de Eslavistica. Resumenes de ponencias y comunicaciones* [II Andalusian Slavic Conference. Summaries of presentations and communications] (Baeza, Espana, 1996). Baeza, pp. 101–102.

²⁴ Zaiava monastyria Fiskalnii kolehii u Lvovi z prokhanniam vzhyty zakhody v spravi povernennia yomu rukhomoho i nerukhomoho maina i v tomu drukarni, prynaleznoi monastyriu vid 1460 roku na vykonannia provizoramy bratstva vsikh zoboviazan vidnosno monastyria [Statement of the Monastery of the Fiscal College in Lviv requesting measures to be taken to return to it a movable and immovable property and in a printing house belonging to the monastery from 1460 on the fulfillment of the fraternity by the provosts of the fraternity]. (1791) (F. 684.Op. 1. Od. zb. 2601 na 2-kh stor.). Pochatok 1791. Zakinchennia 1791. Stavropihiiske bratstvo u Lvovi, Lviv.

Almost a year later, the registry of the District College sent two letters to the leadership of the Stauropegion Brotherhood: from July 5 (No. 2003) and from August 6 (No. 2499), 1792, with the obligation to clarify all the points set out by the Basilian monks. On October 20 of the same year, the response of the Stauropegians on five pages of the sheets of that time was sent to the Imperial Collegium²⁵.

Let's pay attention to the facts that are not questioned by either party:

– the printing house, donated to the Monastery by Stepan Dropan in 1460;

– the act of this donation was approved by a letter of Casimir IV, King of Poland in 1469;

– stable profit from the printing house and an annual interest in the amount of 7,000 forints;

– the obligation of the brotherhood, after the fire in the Monastery and the transfer of the printing house to another place, to allocate annually 200 forints to support the poor;

– the well-known book – Works of St. John Chrysostom was published in the Ukrainian type twice in this printing house; a copy from the second edition of 1614 has been preserved.

Now let's highlight the facts that each side interprets in its own way or denies:

– the act of founding the Monastery in 1300 (the monks point to the Latin manuscript of the historian Zimorowicz; the Stauropegians question it);

– the act of donating the Monastery to the Basilians (the monks point to Constantine of Ostroh, the Stauropegians claim that the monastery of St. Onuphrius was built by provisors, but later they could present it to the prince out of respect;

– modern ownership of the printing house of Stepan Dropan (the monks insist that it was given to the Monastery for ever; the Stauropegians claim that it is temporary only to help the Monastery, and that after repeated fires they actually restored the printing equipment at their own expense, so they now have the right to own it).

– money that each party allegedly owed to each other (by the way, a large part of the documents is devoted to this issue).

²⁵ Poiasniuvalna zapyska provizoriv Stavropihiiskoho bratstva Lvivskomu starostvu u zviazku z pretenziiami vasylian na drukarniu, zasnovanu shche 1460 rotsi lvivskym ukrainsem Stepanom Dropanom [Explanatory note by the Stavropigian Brotherhood's provosts to the Lviv Eldership in connection with Basilian claims to a printing house founded in 1460 by Lviv Ukrainian Stepan Dropan]. (1792) (Fund 684, Op. 1. Od. zb. 2602. Na 5-ty stor.) Pochato 20 zhovtnia 1792. Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, Lviv.

It is worth noting the following.

The style of the second document – the response of the Stauropegion Brotherhood to the statement of the Basilians – seems openly contemptuous towards monks. Here are some sentences: “the Monastery extracted from the oblivion”; “the Monastery whose origin is derived from heaven”; “in the past, local monks were so unfairly “awarded”, that they were able to lead their life only in the form of the Order of the “Begging Knights of Mary”.

In some parts of the text, the authors of the response do not hide their emotions. Therefore, instead of the explanatory tone that defines such documents, they used the accusatory and evaluative tone. Just like in this part: “Here the Procurator ... considers it a valid order, direct concealment is the same as if through manipulation a benefactor protected his own”²⁶.

Now, having separated the main and secondary facts from the two analysed archival documents, we come to the conclusion: the fact of the existence of the Ukrainian printing house in Lviv before 1460 is indisputable.

Moreover, information about this printing house and its owner can be found in a number of other documents that have been preserved in the Lviv archives and have survived to our time, as well as in a considerable number of works by researchers of the history of Ukrainian printing, published in the pre-Soviet period.

Here are the most important ones:

1. Handwritten materials that can be called “Chronicle of the Monastery”. They were also firstly discovered by O. Matsiuk. This chronicle was collected at the end of the 19th century by the famous theologian and Church historian, Professor, and Rector of Lviv University Modest Hrynevetskyi. As a proto-abbot of the Basilian Monasteries, he had the opportunity to find the documents, as well as to write down the stories of the monks about the history and the stages of development of the St. Onuphrius Monastery. On one of the pages of this “Chronicle”, there is a record about the printing house of S. Dropan: “1460 – A small privilege with a hanging seal, granted by Stepan Dropan, a Lviv burgher of the Monastery of St. Onuphrius... This privilege is mentioned in the Stauropegian book called the Album in the register of St. Onuphrius’ privileges, where it was noted. In the same book, there is a mentioning in the margin that it has been lost.

²⁶ Poiasniuvalna zapyska provizoriv Stavropihiiskoho bratstva Lvivskomu starostvu u zviazku z pretenziiami vasylian na drukarniu, zasnovanu shche 1460 rotsi lvivskym ukrainsem Stepanom Dropanom [Explanatory note by the Stavropigian Brotherhood’s provosts to the Lviv Eldership in connection with Basilian claims to a printing house founded in 1460 by Lviv Ukrainian Stepan Dropan]. (1792) (Fund 684, Op. 1. Od. zb. 2602. Na 5-ty stor.) Pochato 20 zhovtnia 1792. Tsentralnyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy, Lviv.

What was its essence – it was impossible to find out then... 1469 – in this year King Casimir confirmed the Dropan Foundation with a privilege. The privilege is also mentioned in a book called the Album, but in 1771 the privilege itself could not be found”²⁷.

2. Inventory of books of Slovistskyi Monastery. It was also firstly found by O. Matsiuk. This document records the six editions, available among other various books in the library of this Monastery, printed in the Ukrainian language before the time of the publication of “Apostle” by Ivan Fedorovych in 1574 – the officially recognized date of the Foundation of Ukrainian printing in the Soviet years²⁸.

3. Among the politically unbiased authors of fundamental works on this issue in the pre-Soviet period, it is worth noting a Polish scholar J. Bandtkie and another researcher of the history of Slavic Cyrillic printing, born in Galicia, D. Zubrzycki. In his multi-volume thorough work “The history of printing in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in foreign countries in which Polish works were published” J. Bandtkie devoted a separate section to the analysis of the origin and development of printing in Lviv. At the beginning of this section, the researcher stated: “Ivan Fedorov did not create, but updated the Russian printing house in 1573”²⁹. Another researcher of the history of Slavic Cyrillic printing, originally from Galicia, D. Zubrzycki, in the detailed work on the history of printing houses in Western Ukraine (published in Polish), highlights a separate section, which is called “printing house before Fedorovych in Lviv”. Here are his arguments: “There is no doubt that there was a Russian printing house in Lviv before Ivan Fedorovych in 1574, although we are not able to show printed copy from this era. If there could be a printing house in Krakow in 1491, in Vilna (Vilnius) in 1525, why couldn’t it be in Lviv, in the middle of Rus, where the demand for such books was far greater than anywhere else, because only in the dioceses of Lviv and Przemyśl there were more than 4,000 churches”³⁰.

²⁷ Khronika monastyria. Zibrav M. Hrynevetskyi [Chronicle of the monastery. Collected by M. Hrynevetskyi]. (n.d.) (Fond M. V. no. 132. ark. 2). Lvivska natsionalna naukova biblioteka imeni V. Stefanyka. Viddil rukopysiv, Lviv.

²⁸ Matsiuk O. (1971) Shche pro pochatky knyhodrukuvannia na Ukraini [More about the beginnings of book printing in Ukraine]. *Arkhivy Ukrainy* [Archives of Ukraine], no. 1.

²⁹ Bandtkie J. S. (1826) *Historia drukarn w Krolewstwie Polsskiem i Wielkem Ksiestwie Litewskiem i w kraiach zagranicznych w ktorych polskei dzela wychodzily* [History of printing houses in the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in foreign countries where Polish works were published]. Krakowie, vol. 1, p. 382. (in Polish)

³⁰ Zubrzycki D. (1836). *Historyczne badania o drukarniach rusko-slowianskich w Galicyi* [Historical research on Ruthenian-Slavic printing houses in Galicia]. Lviv, p. 12.

Stepan Dropan's printing house played its role effectively because the printing business in St. Onuphrius Monastery has been actively continued after him – until the arrival of Ivan Fedorovych. There is a strong evidence of this fact. In 1518, Prince Ostroh allocated a significant amount of money for the reconstruction of this Monastery with stone structures (until then the Monastery premises were wooden) and allocated funds for the purchase of new equipment for the printing house. This fact in the context of the attempts of the Lviv authorities to restore the city after another fire draws the attention of the Polish researcher I. Chodynicky, whose works were dedicated to the Lviv history under the rule of Polish kings, and not the history of Ukraine³¹.

Overcoming the Ideological Stereotypes

In this context, it is impossible not to raise questions that are now becoming fundamental:

– would the outdated ideological stereotypes and dogmas imposed from the outside and from the inside, which have been maintaining in the minds of our people the humiliating complex of little Russia for many years, be finally overcome?

– would we have progress in the analysis of archival sources, to which not indifferent predecessors for political reasons had no access, and would we remain the ordinary interpreters of the theses of scientific authorities of the Soviet era and follow the inertia of the landmarks once approved from above, moreover, outside our home?

The main argument of the opponents of the earlier periodization of the origin and development of the Ukrainian printed word, which was officially approved in the Soviet years, was the lack of copies of old printed books that have survived to this day, which would clearly indicate the place and time of their appearance. However, this argument cannot be taken literally in science. After all, at the dawn of printing, the book creators did not always leave on their pages, to use contemporary words, the source data.

There were different reasons for this: some printers did not consider it obligatory, some deliberately avoided such records, fearing all sorts of legal proceedings or claims from competitors (as in the case of Johannes Gutenberg). The founders of the Hrushiv printing house were apparently forced to remain anonymous in a completely Catholic environment so as not to face imminent arrests. (as happened with Schweipolt Fiol).

³¹ Chodynicky I. (1829). *Historia stołecznego królestw Dalcicy i Lodomeryi miasta Lwowa od założenia jego aż do czasów teraźniejszych* [History of the capital kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria of the city of Lviv from its founding until now]. Lviv, pp. 58-59. (in Polish)

Therefore, in science, there are several other ways with the help of which Dutch scholars have proved the involvement of their countryman Laurence Coster to some first printings, German – Johann Gutenberg, and Italian – Pamfilio Costaldi. The Czech historical science has given a worthy place in the history of national culture to the first printer Procopius Waldvogel. It is interesting to note that most of the printings do not indicate the authorship of these first printers. Why can't Ukrainian researchers follow this path?

This path has long been verified and tested in the world practice: when there is no source data, the following criteria are taken as a basis: language and stylistic, lexical features of the publication, introduction of dialectisms to works that were republished from translations by compilers, editors or proofreaders (it is worth recalling in this context how many so-called “ukrainisms” were introduced to Ivan Fedorov's Lviv printing by his Galician assistants, in particular Sachko Sidliar and Senko Korunka – both from Lviv Pidzamcha). The “connection” of the authorship to a specific locality, the author's belonging to a particular ethnic group, the origins of artistic handwriting can also be witnessed by artistic ornaments, capital letters, overlays, and various signs.

Actually, the author has taken all these features as basis arguments for the new periodization of Ukrainian printing.

It is worth noting the following. Provocative in their intentions and unsubstantiated at the level of argumentation, the publication by O. Melnykov and S. Sokurov in the “Bulletin of the Book Chamber”, in which attempts were made to reanimate once again the ideological scheme of the Ukrainian second-classness approved in Moscow, including in the context of the emergence of printing, did not go unnoticed in the scientific and journalistic environment. The controversy spilled over on the pages of the other respected scientific and literary journals (in particular, “Library Science. Record Studies. Informology”, “Scientific Notes of the Institute of Journalism”, the Bratislava monthly “Dukla”). Arguments of the respected all-Ukrainian newspapers “Mirror of the week”³² and “The Day”³³ strengthened the content of previous publications on this topic. (I. Ohienko, S. Siropolko, O. Lototskyi, Ya. Zapasko, Ya. Isaievych, M. Nyzovyi, N. Chernysh V. Stasenko S. Hunko, and others).

³² Tymoshyk M. (2007, October 26) *Ukrainska knyzhka yak ob'ekt falsyfikatsii* [Ukrainian book as an object of falsifications]. *Dzerkalo tyzhnia* [Mirror of the week], no. 40, p. 19.

³³ Nyzovyi M. (2011, January 21–22) *Khto takyi Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovych)?* (Nashchadky tykh, khto vyshytovkhav drukaria-prosvitnyka za mezhi svoiei krainy, nyni predstavliaiut sebe yedynymy y nezaperechnymy spadkoiemtsiamy yoho tvorchoi spadshchyny [Who is Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovich)? (The descendants of those who pushed the Enlightenment printer out of their home country are now the sole and undisputed heirs of his creative heritage)]. *Den* [Day], p. 20.

Such reasonable research by the authors listed above dispels the stereotypes that for a long time did not allow us to go beyond the politically biased discussions on a very important issue: whether Ivan Fedorovych was the first for Ukrainian printing or not? This circumstance made it impossible to raise this issue in a broader sense: what is the real place of Ivan Fedorovych in the Ukrainian cultural and educational space and what was the impact of the Ukrainian, in particular Lviv and Ostroh, environment on the formation of Ivan Fedorovych as a professional of the highest standard, as a printer of European level?

To answer these questions, we must first say goodbye to the stereotypes we are used to. Here are the main ones:

- the great son of the Russian people Ivan Fedorovych arrived in Ukraine on an educational mission from the Moscow principality;
- Lviv “Apostle” of 1574 is the first printed book in Ukraine;
- the Russian printing pioneer Ivan Fedorovych established a printing house in the lands of Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania;
- the spread of printing in Ukraine was prompted by the activities of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, an active collector of Russian lands, regarding the organic inclusion of all the peoples who inhabited Russia in one state and the establishment of a Christianized world.

These statements are clearly outdated from today’s point of view.

So, it is time not only to confirm the origins and stages of the development of Ukrainian printing in the context of Stepan Dropan’s printing house of 1460, but also to rethink what we knew so far about Ivan Fedorovych.

Ivan Ohiienko in his “History of Ukrainian Printing” devoted 60 pages out of 490 to this figure. Complaining about the fact that though it has been written a lot about this figure, but for the most part it is not specific, the author notes: “Everyone, of course, took interest in Khvedorovych in the time of the anniversary. The anniversary passed, and the great figure of the printer was again forgotten till the next anniversary ...Maybe this anniversary (it was about the 300th anniversary of the birth of the printer – author’s note) will bring us something new in the study of the life of the great emigrant who chose Ukraine for his homeland and rested forever in the Ukrainian soil. This great honour also imposes on us a responsible duty – to write a much-needed scientific monograph about Khvedorovych”³⁴.

It is worth adding that not only a monograph, but also a special scientific collection, a series of diploma and master’s studies of graduates in the field of training in journalism, publishing, and editing.

³⁴ Ohiienko I. (2007) *Istoriia ukrainskoho drukarstva* [History of Ukrainian printing] (comp. Tymoshyk M. S.). Kyiv: Nasha kultura i nauka. (in Ukrainian)

Topics for the Politically Unbiased Researcher

We will focus on the most important and most relevant topics at the moment, the scientific understanding of which has been unjustifiably delayed.

About pre-Fedorov printing in Lviv as a forerunner of the appearance of Fedorovych's "Apostle" and "Primer".

The absence of books with the source data of Stepan Dropan's printing house does not mean that it did not exist or could not exist. After all, in science, there are several ways to justify the emergence or existence of a particular information. There are many examples of this. For example, the "Chronicle of Askold", as the predecessor of "The Tale of Bygone Years" by St. Nestor, has not survived, but the prominent Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Braichevskyi was able to reconstruct it and we have a reprint of this outstanding ancient Ukrainian literary and historical heritage³⁵. On the contrary, the chronicles of the beginning of the construction of the oldest stone temple in Europe – St. Sophia Cathedral did not allow us to confirm the much older age of this monument. But the persistence, honesty, and courage of a group of enthusiasts from among Ukrainian historians broke through the wall of distrust and resistance of influential opponents of this idea. And the recent millennial anniversary of Kyiv Sofia is already celebrated at the UNESCO level, although according to the available chronicle data, this date should have been only in half a century³⁶.

As for the sensational discovery of Orest Matsiuk about the printing house of Stepan Dropan in 1460 (two archival files written in Latin), the history of their existence in our science resembles the well-known phrase that was born in Ukrainian society in the 1970s after the widespread public condemnation of Oles Honchar's novel "The Cathedral": "I have not read the work, but I categorically condemn it".

An interesting detail. After Orest Matsiuk's work on the mentioned above two archival documents in 1968, they were not touched by any other researcher until 2010. Confirmation of this can be found on the "Letter of use of the document".

What is this letter?

A kind of accompanying paper, which, according to the long tradition of Russian censorship departments, and later the Soviet regulatory authorities,

³⁵ Braichevskyi M. (2002) *Pokhodzhennia slovianskoi pysemnosti* [The origin of Slavic writing]. Kyiv: KM Akademia. (in Ukrainian)

³⁶ Nikitenko N., Kornienko V. (2012) *Drevneishie graffiti Sofii Kievskoi i vremena ee sozdaniia* [The oldest graffiti of Sofia of Kiev and the time of its creation]. Kyiv. (in Russian)

was attached to each archival document. It had to be filled out by every researcher who expressed a desire to order and work on the document. This letter should be filled in and signed in the following columns: date of use; the number of sheets used; for what purpose the document was used; nature of use – if a copy or extract is made). Using this kind of paper, it was possible at any time to see the range of scientific interests of a researcher and track their further implementation. In the Lviv archive's letter of use of the document about the Stepan Dropan printing house, the first is the signature of Orest Matsiuk. And the date is 1968. The author of these lines is the second researcher who set the goal not only to make extracts from these documents but also to copy them for the purpose of full translation into Ukrainian. The date of the order this time was 2010, almost half a century after the discovery of these documents by Orest Matsiuk.

About the true reasons for the appearance of Ivan Fedorovych on Ukrainian lands.

Not for educational purposes, not on the instructions of the “zealous collector of Russian lands” Tsar Ivan the Terrible to enlighten the people of Little Russia, but due to the forced circumstances. After all, the boyars of Moscow did not accept Gutenberg's invention, revived by Fedorovych. Having burned down his printing house, they closed the way for the printer to return to the Russian capital.

On the special effectiveness of the Ukrainian period (1572-1583) of Ivan Fedorovych's life and activity. 11 Ukrainian years instead of two Moscow years. Half of his works known to us today are printed here, the circulation of which reaches 70 percent of all his printed products, including the Moscow and Lithuanian-Belarusian periods.

About like-minded people, assistants, and patrons of Fedorovych. The magistrate of Lviv, the Lviv brotherhood, tradesman Senka Sidliar, artist Lavrentii Pylypovych, the abbot of the Monastery of St. Onuphrius Leontii – all of them willingly accepted the new printer into their society, because they knew the power and importance of a new way of spreading the printed word among the people, felt a strong need for books.

About the role of Prince K. Ostroh in the life of Ivan Fedorov. It is worth removing, finally, the stamp imposed by the Soviet researchers on this true educator of the Ukrainian land as an arrogant and limited man, who, according to Ye. Nemyrovskiy, “hoped to introduce the Orthodox Patriarchate in Ostroh, wanted to extend its influence to the Ukrainian-Belarusian lands and even the Moscow state”.

About the nationality and citizenship of Ivan Fedorovych. So far, no documentary evidence of his Russian origin has been found. Moreover, the creators of a recent documentary film about the life and work of Ivan

Fedorovych, first shown in Lviv during the International Scientific Conference dedicated to the 500th anniversary of Ivan Fedorovych, clearly state that this public figure was born in Poland and did not have Russian roots.

This publication should not be regarded as the attempts by Ukrainians to “privatize” Fedorovych, as the Russians did, the desire to impose subjective ideologies, and according to O. Sokurov, “to overthrow the authority of the Russian first printer”. We are talking about defending the moral right of Ukraine to be directly involved into the emergence of the achievements of Ivan Fedorovych’s “Ukrainian” period, that is, the main period of his life and creative activity, and to consider him not only as the founder of permanent Ukrainian printing but also as an outstanding figure in the cultural and national revival of Ukraine in the second half of the 16th century. Because, so far, we have, according to Kharkiv Professor Mykola Nyzovyi, a paradoxical situation: “the descendants of those who, figuratively speaking, pushed Ivan Fedorov out of their country, now represent themselves as the only and indisputable heirs of his creative heritage. And those among whom and with whom he spent the most productive years of his life, creating his main works and becoming a printer and educator of the European level, remain robbed and disrespectful”³⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be drawn on the basis of a thorough study of newly discovered archival documents, and written records left by the contemporaries.

1. Printing in Ukraine came not from the East, from Moscow, but from the West, from Germans.

2. The time of its appearance should be dated to 1460, that is, 114 years earlier than it was determined for the ideological reasons by the Russian (Soviet) concept.

3. The name of the first Ukrainian printer is Stepan Dropan, who, according to archival documents preserved to this day, donated his printing house to the Lviv St. Onuphrius Monastery.

4. Today it is possible without any reservations to unambiguously interpret the inscription on the I. Fedorov’s tombstone as a recognition of the existence of Ukrainian printing in Lviv (and other cities of Ukraine) long

³⁷ Nyzovyi M. (2011, January 21–22) Khto takyi Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovych)? (Nashchadky tykh, khto vyshtovkhav drukaria-prosvitnyka za mezhi svoiei krainy, nyni predstavliaiut sebe yedynymy y nezaperechnymy spadkoiemtsiamy yoho tvorchoi spadshchyny [Who is Ivan Fedorov (Fedorovich)? (The descendants of those who pushed the Enlightenment printer out of their home country are now the sole and undisputed heirs of his creative heritage)]. *Den* [Day], p. 20.

before the arrival of Ivan Fedorovych. In the translation of I. Krypiakevych, this inscription reads as follows “Ivan Fedorovych, printer Moskvytyn, who **renewed the abandoned printing house** with his activity (bold type added by the author), died in Lviv. The printer of books before unknown...”.

5. Without detracting from the merits of Ivan Fedorovych, he should not be considered the founder of Ukrainian printing, but the founder of permanent printing in Ukraine. Nowadays it is expedient to impartially comprehend the life and creative way of this personality in the context of the role of Ukraine and the Ukrainian environment of that time in the formation of Ivan Fedorovych as a publisher of the European level.

6. The Latin translation of the so-called court case as to the printing house of Stepan Dropan of 1460, found in the Lviv archives and published in the scientific journal “Ukrainian Information Space” (p. 2/4, 2019) for the first time would definitely encourage the ending of political but not scientific discussions on this issue and would inspire a new generation of researchers to discover new mysteries of the history of this significant for the state issue.

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