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The First Carpatho-Ruthenian Printed Book

Paul R. Magocsi and Bohdan Strumins'kyj

THE VOLUME analyzed in this study was written for the population of Subcarpathian Rus' or Carpatho-Ruthenia. Despite its exotic-sounding name, this land is located in the heart of Europe. In fact, if we look at a map of the European Continent as it stretches from the Irish and Portuguese coasts in the west to the Ural Mountains in the east, and from the Cape of Norway in the north to the island of Crete in the south, we see that Subcarpathian Rus' falls practically in the very middle of that land mass. At the present time, the territory is just within the westernmost borders of the Soviet Union and is officially known as the Transcarpathian Oblast of the Soviet Ukrainian Socialist Republic.

Subcarpathian Rus' has for generations been well known within learned circles, and almost half a century ago the distinguished Slavist, Roman Jakobson, could write: "In the whole East Slavic world, there is hardly any other marginal area whose past has been examined with such affectionate meticulousness and scholarliness as Subcarpathian Rus'." ¹ The growing number of works on all aspects of Subcarpathian Rus' make Jakobson's statement even more true today, and this can be easily substantiated by reviewing the holdings of the Harvard University Library, especially the Slavic collection housed primarily in Widener Library.

A recently prepared bibliography on Carpatho-Ruthenica at Harvard reveals more than one thousand titles in the collection, three fifths of which were acquired since 1968.² Among the rarer volumes are the oldest printed histories of the region: a copy of Antal Décsy's, *Az*

¹ Roman O. Jakobson, "Neue Arbeiten zur Vergangenheit Karpatorusslands," *Slavische Rundschau*, III (Prague, 1931), 512.

² *Carpatho-Ruthenica at Harvard*, compiled by Paul R. Magocsi and Olga K. Mayo (Cambridge, 1977). The post-1968 material has been acquired largely through the library fund of the Committee on Ukrainian Studies and the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute.

magyar oroszokról való igen rövid elmélkedés (Very Brief Thoughts on the Hungarian Russians) Košice, 1797 (Slav 7699.500.10) and a first edition of Joannicius Basilovits, *Brevis notitia Theodori Koriatovits, olim Ducis de Munkacs, pro Religiosis Ruthenis . . . in Monte Csernek ad Munkacs, Anno MCCCLX Factae*, 3 vols., Košice, 1799–1805 (Aus 87394.3). The collection also includes a copy of the third oldest printed book for Carpatho-Ruthenians — Bishop Manujil Ol'savs'kyj's *Elementa puerilis institutionis in Lingua Latina*, Cluj, 1746 (XLO 433.60) — and numerous other documentary collections, histories, statistical materials, linguistic studies, belles-lettres, and a solid collection of difficult-to-obtain nineteenth- and twentieth-century journals and newspapers.³

But the highlight of the Harvard collection is the first printed book intended for Carpatho-Ruthenians, the *Katexysys' dlja nauky Oubrouskym' ljudem'*⁴ (Catechism for the Instruction of the Hungarian-Ruthenian People) (Houghton *75–29) written by Bishop Joseph de Camillis.⁵ This first edition, published in 1698 in Trnava (Hungarian:

³The copy of Décsy was made available by Msgr. Basil Shereghy of McKeesport, Pa. The Basilovits first edition was purchased by the Harvard College Library in November 1919 from funds made available by the John Hatvey Treat (Class of 1862) Bequest. The copy of Ol'savs'kyj was donated to the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Reference Library in 1974 by Rev. Athanasius Pekar, OSBM, of Pittsburgh, Pa.

⁴The transliteration system from Cyrillic follows the International System with additions as developed by *Recenzija: A Review of Soviet Ukrainian Scholarly Publications* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970–). Further additions and changes for this study include: ѣ is transliterated as ou, і is left as i. Digital Cyrillic letters are not transliterated.

⁵Although the *Catechism* is mentioned in the writings of several authors, the only attempts at an analysis are the brief descriptions given by Hijador Stryps'kyj: "Z staršoji pys'mennosty Uhors'koji Rusy," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, CXVII–CXVIII (Lviv, 1913), 182–184, and under the pseudonym Beloň Rusínsky, "Trnavská univerzita v službe unionistickej idey," *Pamiatke Trnavskej univerzity 1636–1936* (Trnava, 1936), pp. 245–248; and by Jevhen Perfec'kyj, "Pečatnaja cerkovno-slavjanskaja kniga Ugorskoj Rusi v XVII-m i XVIII-mi věkax," *Izvěstija otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, XXI:2 (Petrograd, 1916), 286–287, and "Drukarni ta starodruky Pidkarpats'koji Rusy-Ukrainy," *Bibliolohični visty*, No. 4 (Kiev, 1926), 29–30. An excerpt from the introduction was reprinted in the first anthology of Subcarpathian (Ruthenian) literature prepared by Evmenij Sabov, *Xristomatija cerkovno-slavjanskix i ugro-russkix literaturnyx pamjatnikov* (Užhorod, 1893), pp. 13–14. In the historical survey appended to this last work, Sabov stated that de Camillis published in Trnava a *Kazuistyka* as early as 1692! This viewpoint appeared earlier in Ioann Duliškovič's *Istoričeskija čerty ugro-russkix* (Užhorod, 1877), III, 25–26, who based his information on the state-

Nagyszombat), a town just north of Bratislava in present-day Slovakia, was donated in 1975 to the Houghton Library by Dr. Ihor Galarnyk, a physician from Plain, Wisconsin. The receipt of this generous gift was made possible through the efforts of Edward Kasinec, Librarian-Archivist at the Ukrainian Research Institute. Harvard now holds one of the seven known extant copies.⁶

The second part of this study will analyze the basic bibliographic and linguistic features of the de Camillis text, but first it might be useful to describe the general historical context of Subcarpathian Rus' on the eve of the *Catechism's* appearance.

Carpatho-Ruthenians were one of the many Slavic peoples who lived before 1918 within the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire. They were linguistically and culturally related to the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) living north and east of the mountains in what was then part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Carpatho-Ruthenians received their name from the fact that they inhabited the upper slopes and valleys of the Carpathian Mountains and that they belonged to an eastern rite Ruthenian (in their language Rusyn or Rus') Christian church. They lived in portions of several counties located in the northeastern

ment made by Daniel Babila in his unpublished manuscript, *Historia diocesis*, composed at the end of the eighteenth century. The existence of such a work was already attested to by de Camillis' contemporary and Orthodox protagonist, Myxajil Andrella of Orosvyhovo (see below p. 297), who wrote in one of his polemics that a Uniate catechism was published in Trnava in 1692. See his *Obrona vîrnomu každomu človku*, reprinted in A. L. Petrov, in his *Materialy dlja istorii Ugorskoj Rusi*, VII, in *Sbornik russkago otdelenija jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk*, XCVII, Pt. 2 (Petrograd, 1921), 275. On the other hand, Hijador Stryps'kyj later argued that the so-called 1692 *Kazuistyka* never existed. Cf. his "VOLT-e könyvsajtó a máramarosi Körtvélyesen?," *Zorja-Hajnal*, II:1-2 (Užhorod, 1942), 24-25. In any case, de Camillis' *Catechism* is certain to be the oldest extant Carpatho-Ruthenian printed book.

⁶ In 1913, Stryps'kyj, "Z. staršoji pys'mennosty," 194, n. 3, stated that there were five existing copies of the *Catechism*: two in Subcarpathian Rus' (in the Episcopal Library in Užhorod and the Basilian Monastery Library near Mukačevo) and three in Hungary (in Budapest's Széchényi National Library, in the Máriapócs Monastery Library, and in the personal library of Dr. Julius Todorescu in Budapest).

Today it seems that copies are no longer available in Carpatho-Ruthenia, because in the last of three comprehensive volumes on manuscripts and old imprints held in Transcarpathian libraries, the literary historian and bibliophile, Vasyl' Mykytas', wrote: "Joseph de Camillis also published a *Catechism* and *Primer*; however, we were not able to see these." *Davni rukopisy i starodruky: opys i kataloh*, Pt. 2 (L'viv, 1964), 9.

part of the Hungarian kingdom, and although their homeland was an integral part of Hungary, it came to be known in the literature as Subcarpathian Rus' or Carpatho-Ruthenia.⁷

The *Catechism* of de Camillis appeared at a time when Hungary was wracked by social, religious, and military upheavals. As in many other parts of Europe, the seventeenth century was an era which witnessed (1) the last phase of the devastating religious wars that had rocked the Continent since the days of Luther, and (2) the decline of small-scale feudal political entities which were rapidly being submerged by increasingly centralized, large, monarchic states. Besides sharing these general European characteristics, the Austro-Hungarian experience was also marked by the drive to turn the Ottoman Turks out of Habsburg territories, a goal which was not achieved until the end of the seventeenth century.

The period under consideration began in a real sense in 1526, when a powerful Ottoman force annihilated the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohács and killed the reigning monarch, László II. The Turks then proceeded to occupy Hungary and to establish an Ottoman administration that was to last for the next century and a half. Only in the northwestern corner of the kingdom, where the Habsburgs still held sway, and in the eastern province of Transylvania, where semi-autonomous Hungarian princes ruled, did the Turks not have direct con-

Besides the Harvard copy, there are six other copies known to us. Three are in Budapest and carry the same national registration (shelf list 1933): the two copies from Dr. Todorescu's library are in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár and in the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára; the copy from the Máriapócs Monastery Library is in the Központi Papnevelő Intézet Könyvtára. The other copies are in Slovakia: two in the Miestné pracovisko Matice Slovenskej, Bratislava (shelf list Kp 517ia and 517ib); one in the Matica Slovenská, Martin (shelf list ST.4652).

Catalogue descriptions of the *Catechism* appear in Károly Szabó, *Régi magyar könyvtár*, II (Budapest, 1885), 526-527; and in the forthcoming: *Régi Magyarország nyomtatványok*, III: 1650-1700 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó) and Jan Čaplovič, *Bibliografija tlači vydaných na Slovensku do roku 1700*, II (Martin: Matica Slovenská).

The author is grateful for the help provided him during a visit to eastern Europe in the summer of 1976 by József Vekerdi, Head of the International Exchange Service of the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, and by Jan Čaplovič, Lyceálna Knížnica, Bratislava.

⁷ For further literature on this subject, see Paul R. Magocsi, "An Historiographical Guide to Subcarpathian Rus'," *Austrian History Yearbook*, IX-X (Houston, Texas, 1973-74), 201-265, and the bibliography (2,300 entries) in his *Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

trol. However, instead of joining forces to drive out the "heathen" intruders, the Habsburg monarchs and Transylvanian princes fought with each other over the right of succession to the Hungarian throne. This struggle intensified during the seventeenth century and was played out for the most part in the northeastern portion of the kingdom, *i.e.*, in Subcarpathian Rus' and the immediately adjacent areas.

In this political and military struggle for the control of Hungary, religion played a crucial role. As might be expected, the rivals for power supported different churches: the Habsburgs became the bulwark of Roman Catholicism while the Transylvanian princes defended Protestantism. Thus, any act which might result in the strengthening of one church, would be violently opposed by the rulers supporting the other. The Carpatho-Ruthenians were neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, but, until the mid-seventeenth century, Orthodox. The diocese of Mukačevo, which had jurisdiction over the populace, was affiliated with the Orthodox Metropolitan See of Kiev.

In the early seventeenth century, however, the Orthodox Church was in a difficult position. In 1596, a segment of the Ruthenian Orthodox clergy and laity in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth swore allegiance to Rome and established the Ruthenian Uniate Church. This institution, also known as the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church, was permitted to retain the rites and traditions of Orthodoxy, but it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Pope in Rome. The Polish government subsequently outlawed the Orthodox Church on its territory.

During the 1620s, the hierarchy of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Poland-Lithuania, led by Metropolitan Ruc'kyj of Kiev, actively attempted to spread the idea of union among the Carpatho-Ruthenians in Hungary. For its part, the Hungarian Roman Catholic hierarchy favored such efforts, although they opposed the role of the Kievan Metropolitan. Buttressed by the counter-reformation activity of the Jesuit Order, the Hungarian Catholic leaders convinced the Habsburg rulers of the advantages that would result if the Orthodox Carpatho-Ruthenians could be united with Rome. After years of negotiations and delays, sixty-three Carpatho-Ruthenian priests swore an oath of allegiance to Rome at the Union of Užhorod (Hungarian: Ungvár) on 24 April 1646. Nonetheless, this did not immediately eliminate the Orthodox Church in the region, and for more than a

КАТЕХИСИСЪ.

Для нацки Оугорскимъ людемъ
Зложиннй.

Съ Пребелевннй: Гдѣи Ісусифа:
Декамилѣ Христо Елѣи Севаѣ: Моу.

Качо: и Про:

Намесника Апаского на Люми,
Восточн: Набже:

въ Кралѣствѣ Оугорскомъ, и его Предѣла.

Прескѣ: Цесѣ: и Кролѣ: Маѣ.
Статѣ: Собѣнника.



Торнакъ Типом: Академі: Свѣдѣніи Анъ-
дрѣи Коурманна, Рокѣ Вѣго, Яхѣи.

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PLATE I

TITLE PAGE OF THE KATECHYSYS"

Harvard University - Houghton Library / Harvard University. Harvard Library bulletin. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Library. Volume XXV, Number 3 (July 1977)

ⲛⲉⲛⲥ

лическои дѣлеи напокази, могутъ зван-
ми неумѣстныхъ безъ неспешности на-
учити, и злыхъ стробовати, и блуд-
ныхъ на правдоу добродѣтели. Тыхъ
свѣдѣнъ, тыхъ шлѣнъ, тыхъ сердечне
любѣте; анокѣмъ бѣнъ подѣ миломъ по-
казуочонемъ мудрости, кажеаютъ къ
сраца людскѣи презвѣнъ третнѣ заража-
ючю дѣлѣ; тѣнъ часа правостѣю наѣнъ
способными людѣи чыныхъ до обрѣманъ
лакии бѣнъ дѣлѣ шлѣкѣлючон.

Прѣго абы и мойи доситѣ зучилъ по-
винности, и вы абы знали и лѣтеѣи мо-
гли зучити людѣи ващомѣи полчѣнѣю по-
рѣчѣныхъ того, що мѣнѣся сѣлѣтѣи и чы-
нитѣи шѣи Христовыхъ кѣрныхъ, сѣю кнѣжкѣ
зложыламы, въ котрой коротко и прос-
тымъ дѣлѣнѣомѣи кѣдѣте понѣтѣи наро-
дѣ, въ сѣ артыкулѣи кѣрны, Прѣказанѣи
Бѣнѣи и Црковнѣи, Сакрамѣнты кобого
Тѣсхлѣмѣнѣи, Мѣтѣи гѣнѣи, и иныѣи рѣ-
чы знаѣнѣи гѣнѣи, и гѣнѣи неѣкото-
рѣи, зѣлаѣнѣи котрѣи гѣнѣи зѣнѣи прѣ-

А 5

кодѣи

ⲛⲉⲛⲥ

кодѣи прѣтѣнѣи Рѣмлянѣи, розвѣнѣи зѣнѣи
сѣи. Тѣю чынѣи тѣи сѣи дѣбѣи сѣчѣи,
тѣи наѣнѣи, бѣи сѣи прѣдѣнѣи наѣ-
ка Сѣи Сѣи Апоѣолокѣи Цркви,
къ котрой кѣрѣнѣи прѣзнаѣемѣи, ко-
ли чытѣемѣи Испѣданѣи кѣрны, шѣ-
рѣнѣи и зѣнѣи сѣрѣнѣи шѣи мѣнѣи
кѣмѣи подѣнѣи, котрѣи сѣнѣи шѣи
мѣи шѣи и шѣи шѣи; а вы къ на-
корѣи моѣи гѣнѣи и Пѣстѣрѣкѣи сѣи
ранѣи прѣсѣи зѣи мѣи милѣи бѣи,
сѣи шѣи подѣнѣи всѣи чѣнѣи и сѣи
въ кѣи бѣи аминѣи.

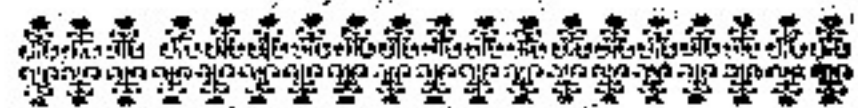


шѣи

Houghton Library

PLATE II

THE KATEXYSYS: LAST TWO PAGES FROM THE AUTHOR'S
"PREFACE TO THE PRIESTS"



Въ чѣмъ, перекладывая твою благопо-
 трѣбную Книжкѣ съ Латинскаго на Рус-
 скій языкъ, для нецѣлности, и цѣ-
 ломъ науки моеи повѣдѣлимъ, немо-
 гучи менѣйши вшыткнухъ термѣнокъ въ-
 разити, прошу Святую Кадолическую
 Црковъ авыми простила, и своєю мѣ-
 дростию мое недоумѣнїе исправила, и
 покрыла, яко Мати ласкаемъ, котрой
 Силою признаюся хакши быти.

Нидостѣннїи Герїи

Иванъ Корницкїи.

ОГЛАВЛЕНІЕ,

Которыяже какнижница сіи оверста-
 ються.

Що мають чинити Духовнїи подлючи людми тѣто Наука,	Листъ д.
Ѡ Вѣрѣ и Непокѣданїи Вѣры Апостоль- скаго.	Глава а. Листъ вѣ.
Ѡ Надѣи, и Молитвѣ Господни.	Гла- ва б. Листъ ѳн.
Ѡ Любви и Девствѣ. Показанїю Бо- жю.	Глава г. Листъ ркв.
Ѡ Сакраментехъ Црковныхъ	Глава д. Листъ рмд.
Ѡ Крещенїи.	Листъ рнз.
Ѡ Миропомазанїи.	Листъ рзд.
Ѡ Евхаристїи.	Листъ род.
Ѡ Покаянїи.	Листъ ед.
Ѡ Елипомазанїи Последномъ.	Листъ ел.
Ѡ Сквищенствѣ.	Листъ слз.
Ѡ Заручивахъ, и Маллетствѣ.	Листъ снл.
Въ Главѣ Пяттой ѡлождается на роз- нїи Питанїи.	Листъ сов.

Уи-

Houghton Library

PLATE III

(LEFT) THE KATEXYSYS: TRANSLATOR'S POSTSCRIPT

(RIGHT) THE KATEXYSYS: CONTENTS

Чытаю ласкаві памяці тая
папараці.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста мокаці
вэнна, мока мокаці вэнна.
Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста, пркунна
бо.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста Бокаці ў
члокаці ў, мока Бокаці ў улокаці ў,
натна Анстэ Кёрш ў. За машно, прк-

чунна.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста шенна ў,
мока шенна ў.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. За, фараданаці-
наці пркунна воста.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. За, і таці ў,
пркунна, лкунна.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста ўнн, мока
рунн.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста татон, мо
нашон.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста тат, мока
лат.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста дк-
кисна, мока дккисна.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста ўнн, мока
ўнн.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста вккисна ў,
мока вккисна ў.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста стк-
стк, мока сткстк.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста кастю,
мока кастю.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. За, шного пркунна
котрого.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста строфал, мока
строфал.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста вккисна ў,
мока вккисна ў.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. За, шкка прк-
чунна.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. За, жанаго, прк-
чунна фчунна донного.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста дккисна ў,
мока дккисна ў.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста почитку
мока почитку.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. За, подз час, прк-
чунна котрого.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста дккисна, мока
дккисна.

Анстэ ў. Кёрш ў. Гдэ іста вккисна ў,
мока вккисна ў.

листъ ѿг. кѣршѹ ѿ. За, скѣта, прѣхуиѹ,
 тѣмъ.
 листъ ѿг. гдѣ іствъ [а] Мад. Глак, ѿг.
 мовѹ кѣ.
 листъ ѿг. кѣршѹ ѿ. ѿдѣтъ, а кшык-
 ко іствъ дѣбро чѣстностѣи напѣшѣи.
 листъ ѿд. кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ напѣ, мовѹ
 ннѣ.
 листъ ѿз. кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ ѿ ѿкѹплѣ-
 нѣ, мовѹ ѿ ѿкѹплѣнѣи.
 листъ ѿр. кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ Благооудѣ-
 скнѹ, мовѹ Богооудскнѹ.
 листъ ѿн. кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ нѣмѣтнѣ-
 нѹ, мовѹ нѣмѣтнѣнѹ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, процо, прѣ-
 чнѣ тѣмъ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, абы,
 прѣчнѣ нѣкѹ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ потѣрн,
 мовѹ потѣрн.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, тѣмъ, прѣ-
 чнѣ напѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ рыкѣли,
 мовѹ рыкѣлѣи.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ покѣр-
 нѹ, мовѹ покѣрнѣнѹ. ам

листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ [а] ѿнѣмѣтнѣ. Дѣ, мовѹ ѿѿ. ѿнѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. попазѣи, мовѹ
 топазѣи.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ прѣражаю-
 чого, мовѹ кѣрѣжающого.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, скѣтѣи, прѣ-
 чнѣ нѣнѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, мовѹ, прѣ-
 чнѣ прѣднѣи.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, подѣлѣшѣи,
 прѣчнѣ За лѣпшѣи.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, достѣи,
 то, прѣчнѣ нѣкѹ ѿзѣнтѣкѣ подѣ-
 зѣи нѣшѣмѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. За, кѣ дѣлѣнѣнѣ,
 прѣчнѣ Апѣстѣлѣскнѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ коѣннѣнѣ-
 сѣ, мовѹ покѣннѣнѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ скѣкнѣ,
 мовѹ скѣкнѣнѣ.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ адмѣнѣтра-
 цѣи, мовѹ адмѣнѣтрацѣи.
 листъ ѿнѣмѣтнѣ кѣршѹ ѿ. гдѣ іствъ (2) мовѹ
 ѿ. Кор. ѿ.

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PLATE V
THE KATEXYSYS: CORRECTION OF ERRORS, THIRD AND FOURTH (LAST) PAGES

century a struggle ensued in Subcarpathian villages between supporters of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches.⁸

The Protestant Transylvanian princes were not willing to sit by idly while, from their point of view, Habsburg Catholicism was making inroads among the Carpatho-Ruthenian population. As a result, the areas controlled by Transylvania, including the diocesan seat of Mukačevo, remained until 1661 in Orthodox hands. Even when some Transylvanian rulers reconverted to Catholicism, they still refused to allow the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church to be subordinated to the pro-Habsburg Roman Catholic Hungarian prelates. By the late seventeenth century, the situation became extremely complex, with discontented Subcarpathian peasants joining the anti-Habsburg rebellions of Thököly and the Rákóczi princes, with the Imperial armies ravaging the now war-torn region, and with local Orthodox adherents like the polemicist Myxajil Andrella-Feodul of Orosvyhovo (1637-1710) maintaining their opposition to Greek Catholicism from their stronghold in the eastern part (Máramaros County) of Subcarpathian Rus'.⁹

In such a situation, it was soon realized that if the Greek Catholic Church was to survive among the Carpatho-Ruthenians it would need a competent and far-sighted leader. He was found in the person of Joseph de Camillis (1641-1706). De Camillis was a Greek from the Aegean island of Chios, who studied in Rome and later became a monk in the Order of St. Basil the Great. After completing his studies, he was appointed procurator of the Basilian Order in Rome and secretary to the Vatican Library. It was at this time that de Camillis came to the attention of Cardinal Leopold Kollonits (Kolonich), the powerful Hungarian prelate who had great influence at the Habsburg Court, and who was himself an avid leader of the counter-reformation

⁸ Atanasij V. Pekar, *Narysy istoriji cerkvy Zakarpattja*, *Analecta OSBM*, ser. 2, sec. 1 (Rome, 1967), 22-41; Michael Lacko, *The Union of Užhorod* (Cleveland and Rome, 1966).

⁹ For details on these complicated developments, see Oleksander Baran, "Cerkva na Zakarpatti v rokax 1665-1691," *Boboslovija*, XXXII (Rome, 1968), 4-67. The priest, Myxajil Andrella, who returned to Orthodoxy in 1669 and then wrote four polemical works attacking the idea of union with Rome, was particularly critical of Bishop de Camillis and his *Catechism*. Andrella's writings were not published until the twentieth century. See the editions prepared by Petrov: *Materialy*, VII, and *Duxovno-polemičeskija sočinenija ijereja Mixajla Orosvigovskago Andrelly protiv katoličestva i Uniji* (Prague, 1932); and the more recent analysis of his writings by Vasyl' L. Mykytas', *Davnja literatura Zakarpattja* (L'viv, 1968), pp. 149-214.

and a strong supporter of the Greek Catholic Church. Kollonits opposed any consideration that a candidate for bishop in Hungary might come from the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Kiev, and instead he journeyed to Rome to find a suitable person. There Kollonits met de Camillis and prevailed on the Pope to appoint him to lead the Subcarpathian Church. Thus, on 5 November 1689, de Camillis was made a bishop and named "Apostolic Vicar for the Greek Catholics of the Mukačevo Eparchy and other places in Hungary." Although he was a bishop in his own right, de Camillis was in fact subject to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Eger. In the spring of 1690, he arrived in Mukačevo and was to remain there until 1704, when he was forced to leave the city because of the disturbances resulting from the last major Transylvanian revolt against Habsburg rule, led by Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II.¹⁰

From the very beginning of his tenure in Mukačevo, de Camillis undertook to improve the status of the Greek Catholic Church. He faced the problem by attempting (1) to improve the legal position of the clergy; (2) to maintain the autonomy of his church from encroachments by the Hungarian Roman Catholic prelates at Eger; and (3) to raise the educational level of the Ruthenian priests. He was successful in all three areas.

It was upon his urging that in 1692 the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I issued a decree guaranteeing the Greek Catholic clergy the same immunities that were accorded to the Roman Catholic priesthood.¹¹ These immunities had originally been provided for in the Union of

¹⁰De Camillis fled farther westward to territory still held by Habsburg forces. Until his death in August 1706 he resided in the village of Ruská Nová Ves and for a while in the nearby Minorite Monastery in Prešov (Hungarian: Eperjes). De Camillis has subsequently been hailed by some as the savior of Greek Catholicism in Subcarpathian Rus'. Duliškovič, *Istoričeskija čerty*, III, 1-33; Pekar, *Narysy*, 34-75 *passim*; Baran, "Cerkva," 52-67; and Basil Boysak, *The Fate of the Holy Union in Carpatho-Ukraine* (Toronto and New York, 1963), pp. 52-53. At the same time, he has been attacked by pro-Orthodox and Marxist writers. The latter criticize the bishop for supporting a church that they consider to be a Vatican-inspired westernizing force among the eastern-oriented Slavic population. Thus, the anti-Uniate polemicist, M. Andrella, is considered a hero, while de Camillis is branded an "enemy of the people," who according to some archival sources was "stoned to death" by the people. Cf. Mykytas', *Davnja literatura*, p. 107; and Ivan Šlepec'kyj, "Stara-vira i unija," *Družno vpered*, XV:6 (Prešov, 1965), 19-20.

¹¹The decree of Leopold was reprinted in Antal Hodinka (ed.), *A mukácsi görög szertartású püspökség okmánytára* (Užhorod, 1911), doc. 268. Cf. comments on the decree in de Camillis' *Catechism*, as translated at the end of this article.

Užhorod, but now they were formally recognized by the highest governmental authority. The passage of the imperial decree proved to be very attractive to Subcarpathian priests who saw that by joining the Greek Catholic Church they might improve, even if moderately, their dismal material plight. It should be recognized, however, that this decree increased the burdens on the peasants, so that in times of social upheaval they frequently favored the Orthodox Church where these privileges did not apply. De Camillis was also able to administer his Church independently of the Bishop at Eger, an achievement which distinguished him from his less fortunate successors. Finally, he was convinced that the union with Rome could be secured only if books and instructional manuals were made available to help improve the educational standards of his clergy. With this in mind he composed a *Catechism* in 1698 to educate priests in the precepts of the Roman Church and the following year urged the publication of a *Primer* to teach them Church Slavonic.¹²

Since de Camillis was a Greek, he did not know the local language of his Carpatho-Ruthenian parishioners nor the contemporary variety of Church Slavonic which was used for ecclesiastical writings. Hence, he called on the services of a Galician-Ruthenian monk, Ivan Kornyc'kyj,¹³ who translated the *Catechism* from Latin. The next problem was to have the work printed. Although some Carpatho-Ruthenian writers have surmised that in the mid-seventeenth century a Cyrillic script printing press existed at the Orthodox Basilian Monastery of Hrušovo (Hungarian: Körtvélyes) in eastern Subcarpathian Rus', the research of Hijador Stryps'kyj has proved beyond doubt that it was not in fact until the second half of the nineteenth century that the region was to receive its first Cyrillic script printshop.¹⁴

¹² The 40-page *Boukvar" jazyka Slaven'ska*, often erroneously attributed to de Camillis, was recently reprinted in facsimile in Myxajlo Mol'nar, *Slovaky i ukrajinci* (Bratislava-Prešov, 1965), pp. 119-158. Cf. below, note 17.

¹³ Unfortunately, no further biographical information is available on this figure. Cf. below, pp. 303-304.

¹⁴ Stryps'kyj, "Volt-e könyvsajtó," 5-32. The theory of a seventeenth-century printshop at Hrušovo was first advanced by A. Baludjans'kyj in *Cerkovnaja istorija*, II:13 (Vienna, 1851), 206, and elaborated upon by Anatolij Kralyc'kyj, "K primečanijam na stat'ju: 'Spisok Monastyrej suščestvovavšix inogda v Maramoroše,'" *Naukovyj zbornik Galicko-Russkoj Maticy*, I:2 (L'viv, 1865), 111-114. Kralyc'kyj mentioned that supposedly four books were printed there. This legend was repeated by Sabov, *Xristomatija*, p. 126, Perfec'kyj, "Drukarni," 27-28, and even at first by Stryps'kyj, "Z staršoji pys'mennosty," 182, although it was questioned by A. L.

In such a situation, de Camillis was forced to turn to the town of Trnava, which since 1684 had been the site of a Central Seminary administered by the Jesuit Order. This institution was to have great significance for Carpatho-Ruthenian intellectual development in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the request of de Camillis for a seminary at Mukačevo was denied, Cardinal Kollonits did want to assure that young Greek Catholic seminarians would be educated according to the teachings of the Catholic Church, and thus he made sure that a fixed number of places would be guaranteed at Trnava for future Carpatho-Ruthenian priests. In a few years, an endowed fund was also established to provide even more scholarships for Greek Catholic seminarians.¹⁵ It was in this spirit that the Seminary printshop was provided with Cyrillic typefaces (for more about this Cyrillic printshop see below). The result was that the first institution of higher learning and the first printed book for Subcarpathian Ruthenians appeared in the Slovak town of Trnava.

The Harvard copy of *Kátexýsýs". Dljà nauky Oubroroúskym" ljudem" zložémij* has the stamp of its former owner on the front page (see Plate I) and on pp. мк , жк , пк (sheet K) and рнв (sheet L₂) which reads: *Ujhelyi Antal. Dombói g.k. lelkész esperes, i.e. Anthony Ujhelyi, Greek-Catholic priest/dean of Dubove (now the Transcarpathian Oblast of the Ukrainian SSR). On p. н the word sja zaprít" (denied) has a pencil gloss above the line in Hungarian: kitagadni (to deny).*

Pages тв – дв (13–14) are missing. Instead there is a repetition of the pagination, but not of the pages, from жк to рнв because the printer mistook рнв (p. 159) for рнв (p. 119, allowing for a confusion of $\text{н} = 8$ with $\text{и} = 10$). Consequently, рнв was followed by жк (p. 120), thus repeating the pagination of 40 pages. To differentiate the two paginations between pp. 120 and 159, we have in addition to indicate the sheet numbers; the first pagination is on sheets H_{5v}–L and the sec-

Petrov, *Stat'i ob Ugorskoj Rusi*, in *Zapiski istoriko-filologičeskago fakul'teta Imp. S.-Peterburgskago universiteta*, addendum to Vol. LXXXI (St. Petersburg, 1906), 27; and has been rejected in the most recent scholarship: Mykytas', *Davnja literatura Zakarpattja*, p. 133; O. V. Myšanyč, *Literatura Zakarpattja XVII–XVIII stolit'* (Kiev, 1964), pp. 20–23.

¹⁵ Vasilij Shereghy and Vasilij Pekar, *The Training of Carpatho-Ruthenian Clergy* (Pittsburgh, 1951), pp. 78–84; Antal Hodinka, "Naši kleryky v Tyrnavi ot 1722 do 1760 r.," *Zorja-Hajnal*, I:1–2 (Užhorod, 1941), 18–29.

ond on sheets L_v-N_v. As a result of the printing error, the last page number — 788 (362) is too low. The real number of pages in the book is 402 plus six unnumbered pages.¹⁶

There is also a mistake in the date on the title page (see Plate I): ⱁⱄⱁⱄ is printed instead of ⱁⱄⱁⱄ (1698), i.e. the symbol of nine units (ⱁ) was confused with that of nine tens (ⱄ). This kind of mistake was common in old Cyrillic manuscripts and imprints. It seems, however, that the printers of Cyrillic books in the Trnava University printing office particularly indulged in such errors. Another Cyrillic book published there in the next year, *Boukvar* "jazýka Slaven'ska, has a similar error; this time the type ⱄ is used not only in its correct meaning, "90," but also for "9" (*ⱁⱄⱄ instead of *ⱁⱄⱁ).¹⁷ Evidently, the printers did not read the books they printed because the whole system of the transformation of Cyrillic letters into digits was explained quite clearly in the above-mentioned *Boukvar* on p. 1.

One would like to know more about the Cyrillic branch of that printing office than is evident from scant data. We know that four years after the establishment of the Catholic university in Trnava, the Pressburg (Bratislava) printing office was transferred to Trnava and became the university press (1639). We also know that it was Cardinal Kollonits who financed its modernization and who took care of its being equipped with Cyrillic types to publish religious literature for Greek-Catholic Slavs of the Austrian empire,¹⁸ and that it was

¹⁶ Stryps'kyj, "Z staršoji pys'mennosty," 183, unaware of this printing mistake, argued with the correct view of Szabó, *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*, II, 526-527, that the *Catechism* contained more numbered pages than 362.

¹⁷ As its facsimile shows in Mol'nar's *Slovaký i ukrajinci*, p. 119. Stryps'kyj ("Z staršoji pys'mennosty," 183) attributed the authorship of that *Primer* to Joseph de Camillis as well but it is questionable that a Greek who needed a Galician-Ruthenian translator for his Latin *Catechism* could have written a Church Slavonic primer. There is no mention of de Camillis in the *Primer*'s text. What may actually be his work are the Greek prayers printed "in Ruthenian letters for children's exercise in Greek" (dlja Cvícenja Dítij pohrečeskou, Lítérany Rouskymy). The language, identical (particularly in view of its Polonisms) with that of the *Catechism*, also betrays I. Kornyc'kyj's hand in parts of the *Primer*. Thus Stryps'kyj's assumption (*ibidem*) on Kornyc'kyj's participation in this book is plausible.

¹⁸ However, the Orthodox conservative Myxajil Andrella of Orosyhovo thought that it was not equipped adequately. In his *Obrona vîrnomu každomu člôku* (1698-1710) he made the following accusation against I. Kornyc'kyj and the Trnava printers: "As a feeble man, with a sick soul, Janos Kornyc'kyj, Janyk, dear monk, condemns himself in his lack of conscience. Why don't your printers, Roman scribes, have the ⱁ, ⱄ and ⱄ letters? You don't expel even a dog ex Te/m/plo.

under the administration of Johann Andreas Hörmann (1693–1704) that the printing office was at its peak of activity. We even know that there were eight type-setters,¹⁹ but who they were is unknown. However, some spelling features of the *Catechism* may provide a clue.

If we review the *corrigenda* at the end of the book (entitled *Čyťatelju laskavij pomýlký ták" popravouý*) we see the following interesting corrections: *móvjacý* (ѣт) is corrected into *móvjáčý*, *dívýkeska* (ѣн) and *kastju* (ѣт) are corrected into *dívýčeska* and *častju* respectively. The *c* instead of *č* can also be found on some pages of the *Catechism* where errors remained unnoticed by the proofreader (perhaps Kornyc'kyj himself): *výtjabajucobo* (ѣѣѣ), *pocátkou* (ѣѣ), *ocysčénna* (ѣѣ), *xócbý Pryčástija* (ѣѣѣ). The *č*–*k* confusion betrays a person of Croatian or Serbian origin, and the *č*–*c* confusion indicates an origin in the Croatian Čakavian dialectal territory (Adriatic coast).²⁰ The possibility of a Croatian type-setter is also suggested by the fact that there was an "Illyrian College" in Trnava where Illyrian (Croatian), Rascian (Serbian), Valachian (Rumanian) and Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Uniates studied (Cardinal Kollonits' letter to Rome of 1703).²¹ The confusion of "jers" also speaks in favor of a south Slavic type-setter. For example, the preposition "v" is usually spelled *v'* and the hard "jer" often replaces the soft one in a final position (*hodnost*" ѣѣт etc.). For that matter, "jers" are generally

You have expelled many living letters: ж, з, л, ѣ, ѓ, х, ѣѣ, ч, ѣ, ѣѣ, ѣѣѣ, ѣѣѣѣ, ѣѣѣѣѣ, ѣѣѣѣѣѣ, ѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ, ѣѣѣѣѣѣѣѣ and others" (Petrov, *Materialy dlja istorii*, 285). Most of these accusations are unfounded (only ж, ѣ and ѣѣ were really not used in the *Catechism* and the *Primer*).

¹⁹ J. Repčak, *Prehľad dejin kníhtlače na Slovensku* (Bratislava, 1948), pp. 56–60; J. Princ, *Polygrafia na Slovensku* (Bratislava, 1958), p. 16. However, we have no access to *Catalogus librorum qui in Academica Societatis Jesu Typographia venales habentur* (Trnava, 1710), which might tell us just how many and what books were published in Cyrillic in that printshop. Stryps'kyj ("Z staršoji pys'mennosty," 187, 192, 195) suggested the existence of only four Cyrillic books: the Ruthenian *Katechysys*" (1698), *Boukvar*" (1699), the Rumanian *Katekysmous*" (1726, a translation from de Camillis-Kornyc'kyj) and Bizantij's *Kratkoe Prypadkov" Moraľ'ných" yly nravných" Sobranie* (1727). Between 1744 and 1746 the Cyrillic types from Trnava were transferred to Cluj in Transylvania (Kolozsvár), where Bishop M. Ol'savs'kyj's Ruthenian-Latin *Elementa puerilis institutionis in Lingua Latina—Načalo Pysmen" Dítenu" k" nastaveniju na Latynskom" jazýki* was published in 1746 (*ibidem*, 194).

²⁰ The Croatian "Čakavism" ("Tsetacism") has been attested in Glagolitic records since the seventeenth century (Mieczysław Małecki, *Čakawizm z uwzględnieniem zjawisk podobnych*, Cracow, 1929, pp. 55–58).

²¹ Ju. Gadžega, *Istorija užgorodskoj bogoslovskoj seminarii v ee glavnyx čertax* (Užhorod, 1928), p. 13.

overused in this work. They tend to be placed after any consonant in a syllable final position (*Hos'pod''*, *vlás't''*, *ed'nák''* Ɱ Ɱ, *s'vjat'kovaly* Ɱ Ɱ etc.). Some grammatical mistakes may also be due to that Croatian type-setter (e.g., *vtroúčeny boúdou* Ɱ Ɱ instead of *boúdou''*).

The language of the *Catechism* is the typical Ruthenian "simple speech" of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of that time in its Ukrainian variant, most easily recognizable by the confusion of *i* with *y* (*poúblíce* Ɱ Ɱ = Latin *publice*; *ysty* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ, *Мѣ*, instead of *isty* etc.).²² In the author's "Preface to the Priests" (*Predmóva do dĕóvnŷx''*), the language of the book is called "a simple dialect according to people's understanding" (see Plate II). In the translator's postscript it is called "Ruthenian language" (see Plate III).

The generally accepted view is that the translator, Ivan Kornyc'kyj, was a Galician.²³ It is quite natural to assume that a Uniate priest using many Polonisms came from nearby Galicia but so far no direct proofs have been given to substantiate that location. The only confirmation that he was from the Polish kingdom (*i.e.*, from its Ukrainian territories) can be found in the writings of his Orthodox opponent Andrella, who calls him "Polc" (*Jan''*, *Ijaše*).²⁴ This does not automatically mean Galicia. However, an analysis of the language of the *Catechism* provides some corroboration of the accepted view of Kornyc'kyj's Galician descent. He uses neuter -'a nouns, typical of many southwestern dialects (western Galician, Podolian and Volhynian): *vzjátja* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ (*K*), *zbóžja* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ (*M*), *spravóvanja* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ, *pozvolínja* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ, *podejzrínja* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ, *podývlínja* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ (all these examples are in nominative and accusative singular). This southwestern location can be narrowed even further if we take into consideration some other details: western Galician *ohén''* Ɱ Ɱ, cf. *ohen'* (fire) in Bojkian Ivan Franko versus *ohon'* or *vohon'* in other dialects; western Galician *výtĭbájut'* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ and *výtĭbájut''* Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ versus *vytjabaty* (to pull out) in most

²² Georgij Gerovskij in "Jazyk Podkarpatské Rusi" (*Československá vlastivěda*, pt. III, Prague, 1934), 490, calls Kornyc'kyj's language in the *Catechism* "an ugly mixture of the Little-Russian dialects and the Polish language." As a matter of fact, Polonisms were the most important part of the Commonwealth's Ukrainian-Belorussian "simple speech."

²³ For example, Sabov, *Xristomatija . . .*, p. 187; Stryps'kyj, "Z staršoji pys'mennosti," 183; Perfec'kyj, "Drukarni," 29; Evgenij Nedzel'skij, *Očerk karpatorusskoj literatury* (Užhorod, 1932), p. 80; Mol'nar, *Slovaky i ukrajinci*, p. 18; I. Macyns'kyj, "Slovnyk istoričnoho žyttja zakarpats'kyx ukrajinciv," *Duklja*, XV:3 (Prešov, 1967), 75.

²⁴ Petrov, *Materialy dlja istorii*, 280.

Ukrainian dialects; *otkal*" (from where) $\tilde{r}i$, known to us from Lemkian dialects; *zoxabyt*" *ljubáskou* (will abandon his lady-love) $\rho\tilde{u}e$; both words are Galician but seem to be particularly characteristic of western Galicia; *žadnoy v' tómi rožnosti ne est*" (there is no difference in it) \tilde{r} : this syntactical usage of *est*" is now characteristic of the Lemkian area; *ktò trymat*" (who keeps) δz has the Lemkian contraction of *-ajet*. To this we can add *dírva* (wood) $\rho\tilde{u}e$ (K_7) with a development of proto-Slavic $r \nu$ in a weak position in a manner typical of mountainous southwestern Ukrainian dialects. Other linguistic features worth mentioning are the gemination of *l*' in a former *l v j* group (*polljávšy* $\rho\tilde{u}e$, K_7 and *výlljata* $\tilde{m} a$); the development of an augmented *uv-* prefix in place of the former *v-* (*ouvojšly* $\tilde{r} \tilde{a} z$); and the simplification of the word *svjatyj* (holy) as encountered in many Ukrainian dialects (*Doux*" *Sjatij* \tilde{z}). On the basis of the linguistic data we can assume that Ivan Kornyc'kyj came from western Galicia, possibly the Lemkian area.

To see better the peculiarity of Kornyc'kyj's language we compare it with that of the Transcarpathian *Catechism* written by Ioann Kutka (1750–1814) and printed in Buda in 1803. Although the first edition was not available to us, we had access to its new 1910 edition printed in Užhorod (the date of *imprimatur*: 1909) under the title *Velykij katyxyzm*", *sostavlen*" *v'* *oupotreblenie narodnýx*" *škol*" *Eparxiy Mukáčevskoj*. Some additions to it were made by Aleksandr Mykyta. Below is a list of comparisons of phrases of similar content (the relevant differences are italicized):

<i>Kornyc'kyj (1698)</i>	<i>Kutka-Mykyta (1803–1909)</i>
<i>try</i> <i>Bozkij Persóny</i> $\tilde{z}i$	<i>Boh</i> " <i>v'</i> <i>trix</i> " <i>osobax</i> " 16
<i>y tóe vsè potveržaemo mójjačy amyn</i> ", <i>amyn</i> ", <i>tó est</i> ", <i>tak</i> " <i>est</i> ", <i>ták</i> " <i>nexáy boudet</i> " <i>vsjúdy y závše</i> $\tilde{m}i$	« <i>Amyň</i> » (...) <i>tol'ko značyt</i> ", <i>jak</i> " <i>bý rek</i> ": <i>tak</i> " <i>jest</i> ", <i>yly</i> : <i>tak</i> " <i>naj bou-</i> <i>det</i> "; <i>amyn</i> ' <i>jest</i> ' <i>outverždenie víry</i> <i>našej</i> 19
<i>na pamjatkou dvox</i> " <i>natour</i> <i>Boz'kŷx</i> " <i>y človeckŷx</i> " <i>v' Xristí</i> $\tilde{r}-\tilde{r}a$ (corrected into: <i>Bos'koy i človečoy</i>)	<i>Na znak</i> ", <i>čto v'</i> <i>Iysousí Xrystí</i> (...) <i>dví sout</i> ' <i>natourý</i> : <i>božaja y čeloví-</i> <i>českaja</i> 16
<i>Try peredný / pa'cî/</i> \tilde{r}	<i>try perviy perstý</i> 16
<i>Víra, poviž</i> " <i>ščò ona est</i> "? $\tilde{r}a$	<i>Čto jest</i> ' <i>víra</i> 10
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- znák" výdýmij nevydýmoy *Lásky*, ot
Xristà Hospoda *postanovlénij* dlja
osvjašćenija človika p̃ā & (M₈)
Ktò est" Sloužýtel" Myromázanija?
(...) *Sloužýtel" ordýnarijnij*
est" Eppyskop", à za vtoučénim"
vlásty ot ordýnarijnoho, est"
Svjašćenmyk" p̃ōe
Vyno z' jáhod" ljúbo bíloe, ljúbo
čer'vónoe, enò ábý čýstoc
neprýprávnoe p̃π
skrouxa s' ver'sénnaja cāi
z' *bójaz'ny* káranja pekél'noho cāi
Ščò est" Svjašćenstvo? (...) *Ěst"*
Sakráment" prez" *kotrij čolovikovy*
podaét'sja vlást" na sloužénie
Cerkóvnoe cāz
Koľko est" Stépenij Čýnou
Svjašćenstva? cāz
ábýsja množýl" *národ"* *ljúdkij* cāe
- Kotrij říčý* souť" *perepónamy* dò
vážnosti Malžénstva? cāz
čnótý cāb
hríxy protývko Douxou
S'vjatómou cāb
s"protývlénie ýstyni *poznánoj* cāb
- Zbýtečnaja Nadíja v' myloserdij*
Božom" cāb
Kotrij souť" *hríxy volájučij* do
Boha b pomstvou? cāi
Oúbístvo *samovol'noe* (...) *Oúkryvžénie*
vdovýc" ý syrot"
- vydýmýj nevydýmoy *blahodaty* Božiej
ot" Xrysta dlja našeho osvjašćenija
oustanovlennýj 120²³
Kto možet" výsloužyty *Mýropomaza-*
níc? *Porjadočnýj vysloužyteľ* jest'
Jepyskop", čezvýčajnýj *Ierej* 124
- Vyno maet" býty čýstoe y pryrodnoe
t.je. yz" vynohrada, možet" býty tak"
bíloe, jak" y *červenoe* 130
žal' (...) *yzoupol'nýj* 139
yz" *straxa ot"* mouk" pekél'nýx" 139
Čto jest' Svjašćenstvo? Jest'
Tajna (...), v" *kotoroj* osvjaščaemýj
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douxovnoe slouženie 147
Skol'o / sic, Skol'ko in other places /
stepenej ymíet" Svjašćenstvo? 148
Dlja rozmnoženija *roda čelovičeskaho*
149
Kotorýja souť" *preponý*, pro *kotorýja*
(...) nevažno jest' Malžénstvo? 151
dobrodítely 167
hríxy protyv" sv. *Douxu* 164
- Ouporčyvost' yly holovatstvo *protyv"*
poznatoj xrystianskoj *ýstyný* 164
Výšémirnoe dovirie na myloserdie
Božie 164
Kotrij souť" *hríxy do neba*
vopijuščij? 165
Dobrovol'noe oubijstvo (...) *Outisnemie*
syrot" y *vdovýc"* (...)

* Thanks to a sample reproduction in Perfec'kyj, "Drukarni," 30-31, we also know a similar formula from another Trnava Cyrillic imprint, otherwise inaccessible to us, *Kratkoe Prypád'kov" Moral'nýx" yly nravnýx" Sobranie Douxovnym" Osobam" potrebnoe* by Bishop Heorhij Henadij Bizantij, de Camillis' successor, published in 1727. It says: *Čto est' Sakráment?"* (...) *Sakráment"* est' znak" vydýmýj (...), *dajučij nam" laskou Bžouju* (...) *Hd' nš" Iš Xs, postanova* *Sakrámenta.*" As we can see, its language, laden with Polonisms and Latinisms, is closer to that of the 1698 *Catechism* than to the more Church Slavonic language of Kutka and Mykyta.

(...) <i>Zatrýmánie zasloúhy ý plátý naležýtoy slouhám"</i> . cñr	<i>Ouderžanie platny naemnykov"</i> . 165
<i>Aľmoúžna cñ s</i>	<i>mylostýnja</i> 170
<i>Alčoušého nakormýty;</i>	ā) <i>Holodnaho nakormyty.</i>
<i>prahnoučoho napoýty;</i>	ḡ) <i>Žaždouščaho napoyty.</i>
<i>náhabo odity; (...)</i>	ī) <i>Holabo priodity.</i>
<i>xóroho navídýty;</i>	ī) <i>Xvoraho navydity (naščyvyty).</i>
	(...)
<i>podoróžnobo v'dóm" svój ouvestý,</i>	ā) <i>Podorožnjaho v" dom" prijaty.</i>
<i>mértvoho pohrebstý. cñ</i>	ḡ) <i>Mertvaho pohrebsty.</i> 171
<i>Napomynáty hrišnýx";</i>	ā) <i>Sobrišajučého yspravljaty.</i>
<i>naoučáty neoumíetnýx";</i>	ḡ) <i>Neoukaho naoučyty.</i>
<i>vontpjáčým" dóbrouju daváty rádou;</i>	ī) <i>Somnivajuščemousja dobri poradyty.</i>
	ī) <i>Za blyžnjaho Boha molyty.</i>
<i>molýtysja Bohou za blýžnyx",</i>	ē) <i>Smoutnaho potišyty.</i>
<i>outišáty oskorblénnýx";</i>	ḡ) <i>Kryvdý preterpity.</i>
<i>terplýve znosýty krývdý;</i>	ḡ) <i>Vyný otpouščaty.</i> 171
<i>otpouščáty ourázý. cñn</i>	ā) <i>moudrost', (...)</i> ē) <i>oumiren-</i>
<i>Rostrópnost", Spravedlývost",</i>	<i>nost',</i>
	ḡ) <i>spravedlyvost' y</i> ḡ) <i>kripost',</i>
<i>Skrómnost", ý Moužestvo. cñr</i>	167
	<i>Kotoriy sout' sovítý Evanhel-</i>
<i>Kotriy sout" rádý Eýanhelskiy? ī</i>	<i>skiy?</i> 172
	ā) <i>Dobrovol'noe xoudobstvo.</i>
<i>v' dobrovol'nom" oubóztví, v'</i>	ḡ) <i>Vsebdášnaja čystota.</i>
<i>čýstosty oustavýčnoj, ý v'</i>	ī) <i>Soveršennoc poslouženstvo.</i>
<i>posloušánny s"veršénnom" ī</i>	172

As can be seen from the above paradigms, the variations most often lie in a different choice of borrowings or agreements with a foreign language: in Kornyc'kyj these are borrowings from Polish or words shared with Polish, whereas Kutka-Mykyta uses borrowings from Church Slavonic or native (often archaic) words shared with it. In some cases, however, purely local words are Kutka's and Mykyta's equivalents to Kornyc'kyj's Polonisms or words shared with Polish (*nexáy, Bos'koy, prez", šanovály, zakázouet'sja* /is forbidden/, *prý-námniý, čer'vónoe, poznánnoj* in Kornyc'kyj and *naj, božaja, čerez", čestovaly, zakazouet"* /orders/, *xotja, červenoe, poznatoj* respectively in Kutka-Mykyta). Some of the differences are due to Slovakisms or words shared with Slovak used by Kutka-Mykyta (*Artýkouli, vstrý-moujučýsja, navídýty, oubóztví* in Kornyc'kyj as against *členkou, perestaly* /ot"/, *naščyvyty, xoudobstvo* in Kutka-Mykyta). Slovakisms

were also used by Kutka-Mykyta in the phrases where Kornyc'kyj employed Church-Slavonisms (*yzbavyl'*, *s' ver'sémaja* in Kornyc'kyj but *zavaroval'*, *yzoupol'nyj* respectively in Kutka-Mykyta).

Judging by this comparison, Kornyc'kyj's translation of de Camillis' *Catechism* had little influence on the language of the later comparable Carpatho-Ruthenian religious literature.

Some passages in the *Catechism* pertain not only to general religious subjects but also shed some light on local developments and customs in northern Hungary, particularly Carpatho-Ruthenia. It is of interest to provide them here in translation:

Although it is said that Christ sits in the capacity of judge /by the Father's side/ to be equal to the Father, it is also said that He stands, just as Saint Stephan saw Him, because He saves us from the present-day war²⁶ and from sorrows of this life and, while showing to His Father His stigmata, advocates the absolution of our sins and the granting of mercy to us. (Ā - ĪA)

Both unleavened and leavened /church bread/ is used, particularly in the Hungarian, German, Transylvanian, and Polish territories and other lands and countries; leavened bread is rarely eaten but either unleavened bread or one made with hops or beer yeast (which is not actually considered leavened) is eaten. (pĪA - pĪr)

Question: What are the privileges of the clergy?

Answer: Nobody is allowed to beat a clergyman because an anathema would be cast upon the wrongdoer, unless this is done by the clergyman's own Bishop or his church officials or, if he happens to be a monk, by his own superiors as a corrective measure for a fault. Secular judges are not supposed to take clergymen to prison or to arrest or punish or try or bring suit against them; this can be done only by their own Bishop and his officials and subordinates. They are not liable to public duties and to taxes imposed by secular Princes, except when such duties and taxes, for indispensable purposes of the state, are permitted by the Church authority as applicable to clergymen as well. The clergymen enjoy the prerogatives of nobility because, according to the Scriptures, priesthood is Cacsatian; therefore landlords are not supposed, without great offense to Christ, the Lord who is the Supreme Priest, to treat clergymen as simple peasants and to force them to work as serfs or laborers. Indeed, landlords could have used the possession of peasant lands by priests in the Hungarian country as an excuse to treat them as serfs. But now that our most pious and invincible Emperor Leopold, persuaded by the most reverend and zealous Lord Cardinal Leopold Kollonits, has told in his Decree issued in Vienna on 23 August 1692 that free lands for churches, cemeteries, and parishes sufficient for the local needs should be apportioned by landlords who, deriving incomes every year from their serfs with which they sustain themselves glori-

²⁶ Allusion to the war between the Holy League (Austria, Poland, the Papal State, Venice, and Muscovy) and Turkey, 1684-1699.

ously and splendidly, are thus also obliged to recognize God, the gracious giver of all goods, and should take care themselves for the means of salvation they need — now they are no longer allowed to treat, at their discretion, as serfs those clergymen who are only holders of church lands or make their only living from priesthood. Because just as one landlord has no right to the serfs of another landlord and as one colonel cannot give orders to soldiers of another colonel, landlords have no right to priests because these belong to the jurisdiction of their Bishop. (сѣа-сѣа)

Since priests are forbidden to marry and this has always been observed and is being observed in the East where the Greek rite originated, both in Valachia and in Poland and in Muscovy, it is right to observe it also here, in the Hungarian country. Therefore everybody should know that if henceforth any subdeacon or deacon or priest gets married he will be forbidden to perform any priestly activity and will become a peasant among other commoners, under the decree of the Carthaginian Council. (сѣа-сѣа)

Because /lenten/oil is not easily available in the German and Hungarian territory and one has to pay expensively /for it/, it is allowed that butter be used so that at least the meals of the nobility might have some seasoning. (тѣа)

Because of that difference in the calendar many Ruthenians here, in the Hungarian country, observe no holidays, neither when the Roman Church celebrates them because they say that they should not do so then, nor when the Greek Church does because they are then forced to work by lords. Thus they live very immorally and it is probably because God is even more angered about this that he does not cease to penalize these people in various ways. Therefore they would do better if they fulfilled the desire of the Christian, faithful, and invincible Emperor Leopold as expressed in his pious Decree of 23 August 1692, issued in Vienna in favor of the Uniate priests, and if they conformed to the old law of this Kingdom which orders everybody to accept and to observe the Gregorian calendar.

Question: The Ruthenians who have learned their faith and rites from Greeks would not argue about these things if they knew that Greeks are inclined /to do so/. But Greeks are as steadfast as pillars in their customs. (тѣа-тѣа)

It is not strange that not all the canons established by other Fathers (which I have not cited here for brevity) are observed by Roman Catholics, for after all, you Ruthenians, too, and the Greeks themselves, for whom they were in principle established in the East, do not observe all of them. (тѣа-тѣа)

This analysis of the first Carpatho-Ruthenian printed book is just one of many potential studies that could be undertaken on the basis of materials held in public, university, and private libraries in the United States. These rich collections, like that at Harvard University, contain in some cases materials that are not even available in the Carpatho-Ruthenian homeland, and for this reason deserve more attention than they have received until now.

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