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SCRIBES OF ANCIENT UKRAINIAN *VIENNA OCTOECHOS*: TOWARDS ACTUALIZATION OF ISSUE

The purpose of the study is to identify the scribes who worked on the creation of the Old Ukrainian Codex of Vienna (kept in the Austrian National Library, Vindob. Slav. 37). **The methodological foundations** of the study are based on the principles of historicism, scientific objectivity, and systematicity; the applied codicological, paleographic, and linguistic methods and a special methodology for analysing marginal records helped to obtain the latest data and critically analyse the previously obtained data, and allowed to systematically present information about the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos and the texts they wrote. **The novelty of the work** is due to the systematic multidisciplinary identification of the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos. For the first time, based on the results of a codicological and paleographic study of the writing, spelling, and language of the main part of the manuscript, marginal texts, and 121 records, nine scribes, the boundaries of their work, and, with a certain probability, the names of individuals have

been identified. The correctness of the attribution of the texts written by the scribes has been proved, which made it possible to clarify the dating of various parts of the codex. **Conclusions.** The Vienna Octoechos — a prominent ancient Ukrainian (Galician-Volyn) monument from the princely period — is a special convolute codex of the late 12th — early 15th centuries. The problem of the need for a new identification of the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos has not been raised before due to the established opinion in science that the manuscript was mainly worked on by two anonymous scribes. Our newest data show that different generations of scribes, probably nine scribes, were involved in the creation of the codex: five scribes worked on the main text — two scribes of the late 12th and early 13th centuries (most of the text was probably written by Petro) and three scribes who later supplemented the texts of the lost notebooks; three scribes worked on the texts in the margins (one of them is probably Polkoo), and another scribe wrote the title of the book and the text on the insert. Further research in this direction will contribute to a greater argument about the number of scribes of the codex.

Key words: Octoeuch, codex, Church Slavonic of the Old Ukrainian (Galician-Volynian) edition, scribe, uncial writing, marginal texts.

The relevance of the research topic is due to the importance of solving the latest problem of identifying the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos, which is written on parchment in the Church Slavonic language of the Old Ukrainian (Galician-Volynian) edition, kept in the Austrian National Library, Vindob. Slav. 37. This problem has not been raised before, due to the established scholarly opinion that only a few anonymous scribes worked on the codex. Resolving this issue is important for the codification of an uncertainly localised and undated monument, such as the manuscript. Research in this area of the outstanding manuscript, the return from oblivion of its scribes, whose efforts created it, is important for Ukrainian history, religion, culture, for the study of writing centres and the development of bookkeeping in the ancient national ethnic territories.

Analysis of research and publications. The Vienna Octoechos has been studied for more than 200 years, but the most important questions about its attribution remain ambiguous resolved and insufficiently studied. Scholars have not agreed on the final dating of the codex, nor have they established the number of scribes who worked on the main text of the manuscript and marginal texts, nor have they attempted to identify the names of the scribes. The codex became more accessible for scientific research when it was acquired by the Vienna Court Library (now the Austrian National Library) after the death of its owner Johann Alois Hanke von Hankenstein († 25 March 1806), who was also its first researcher [1] and provided the codex for study by professional scholars. Since then, the codex has acquired a significant historiography [2; 2a]. The study of the codex has changed dramatically only in our time with its digitisation and the first facsimile edition, which was published in Ukraine in autumn 2019 by the Kyiv publishing house "Horobets", accompanied by a research part [3—6]. The website of the Austrian National Library contains a digital electronic copy of the

manuscript (URL: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC14375711) and its Kyiv facsimile edition (URL: http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC15686221); unfortunately, the books are not freely available.

Until recently, the issue of identifying the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos has not been systematically addressed by researchers. Most scholars paid attention to the attribution of the time of writing and the study of the main part of the codex, written in the statutory script, and less attention was paid to marginal texts. Thus, in 1841, S. Stroiev attributed the manuscript to the 13th century, and considered the texts written in cinnabar in the margins to be younger in time, respectively written by another scribe [7, p. 52—55]. In 1882, G. Voskresenskyi, dating the codex to the 13th and 14th centuries, for the first time distinguished the handwritings of two scribes and noted that on fols. 203—240, the second handwriting is not as clear and the uncial is not as large; perhaps the second scribe later made cinnabar marginalia in the margins of the sheets, because the handwriting of these parts is very similar [8, p. 37]. S. Smal-Stotskyi, who was the first to thoroughly study the codex in 1886, dated the main part of the manuscript to the 13th century, texts in the margins to the 14th century, and texts on two sheets pasted at the beginning of the manuscript to the 15th century. The scholar was the first to observe that the paleographic and linguistic features are close to the Dobrylo Gospel of 1164, and thus the book is of Galician-Volynian origin. He also published individual texts written by different scribes, and planned a special paleographic study, which was not carried out [9]. The authoritative opinion of these scholars was used by their followers. Significant works appeared in the late 1990s by J. Zapasko and V. Liubashchenko, who date the codex to the late 12th and early 13th centuries in their archaeographic description, and also distinguish the uncial in two handwritings in its ancient part. V. Liubashchenko notes texts added in wide margins in small uncial, and Sunday stichera for 8 voices attributed in the first half of the 15th century by the senior semiuncial, as well as numerous marginalia records dating from the end of the 13th — first half of the 15th century [10, p. 218; 11, p. 79—80]. The work done by A. Khmelevska (in a number of articles), O. Zholobov, and H. Molkova in joint collaboration on the electronic edition of the text of the Vienna Octoechos on the basis of the Manuscript Internet platform enabled scholars to narrow the dating of the manuscript to the early 13th century. However, attention is mainly paid to the main text, which, according to the researchers, was worked on by two scribes: the first on fols. 1—202b., 241—290b., and the second on fols. 203—240 [12; 13; 14, p. 321—322]. In this, the scholars followed H. Voskresenskyi and did not conduct their own hand writing analysis of the text to determine the number of scribes, in particular the texts of the insertion of fols. 203—240, in which more than one scribe participated. They also note that the marginalia were made by another scribe in the 14th century. Although the results obtained by the scientists in their 2019 work are new and important, they are general in terms of the graphic and

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orthographic features of the main text of the manuscript, inaccurate in terms of the scribes and, accordingly, in terms of the paleographic and orthographic features of the texts they wrote. In his work of 2019—2020, A. Turilov tends to date the main text of the manuscript and the liturgical texts in the margins and the Menologium to the end of the 13th century, and possibly the last quarter of the 13th — early 14th century, emphasising that it is likely that the main and marginal parts of the Vienna Octoechos are contemporary with each other [15, pp. 293, 294—295, 296]. The scientist radically changed his position on the dating of the codex, which he had previously made in 2005: the main text dates back to the early 13th century, the textual additions in the margins — to the late 13th — early 14th century and the first half of the 15th century [16]. In 2021, more attention was paid to this issue in an international collective monograph, with the participation of Ukrainian and Austrian scholars, "The Vienna Octoeuch. Codex Vindobonensis Slavicus 37 / Studies", with the latest attribution of the time of writing of the codex by L. Hnatenko, its linguistic features by V. Moisiienko, and marginal records by V. Korniienko [17—20].

In solving the problem of identifying the scribes of the Vienna Octoeuch and the texts they wrote, the authors of this article analytically combined their previously acquired scientific data and obtained new reasoned results. This made it possible to take a systematic approach to this issue, which is presented below.

Summary of the main material. The manuscript received its modern name "The Vienna Octoechos" at the place of storage in Vienna, in the Austrian National Library. It is also commonly known, mainly in the West, as the Hankenstein Codex, as it belonged to Johann Alois Hanke von Hankenstein (1751—1806), a well-known bibliophile and collector, amateur researcher. The Vienna Octoeuch originates from Galicia-Volynia and is an extremely valuable ancient Ukrainian book, which is connected to the princely period of Rus-Ukraine by religious and written traditions. It is a kind of convolute codex [21] (as discussed below, when considering the dating of its parts). It is a 2° manuscript, 279 × 205 mm in size, consisting of two paper sheets inserted later to replace the faded text and 289 parchment sheets of good quality. The artistic design of the manuscript is simple, typical of the time of its composition. The main text opens with an initial polychrome teratological background made by a cinnabar: a wickerwork of two snakes and plants, with stylised flowers in the middle and sides. There are numerous capital initials of different periods of Old Byzantine, Balkan, and teratological types. The manuscript is written in various types of script, cinnabar, and dark brown ink. The large side margins of the pages were intended for writing additional texts necessary for worship, which was done later. The state of preservation of the manuscript is satisfactory, in line with its age. The main ancient text is well preserved, while the texts in the margins suffered more. The manuscript is in a 15th—century frame. For a description of the manuscript, see [9—11; 18]. The monument belongs to the oldest type of liturgical collections of mixed composi-

tion, which were quite popular in Rus-Ukraine from the earliest written period. At the same time, it has a general homogeneity of content, despite the different time of appearance of the main and marginal texts.

Our study of the manuscript, working with the original (V. Moisiienko) and a digital copy (L. Hnatenko, V. Korniienko), allowed us to identify many more scribes of the main text and marginalia in the margins, as has been proposed in Slavic studies devoted to the analysis of this manuscript. Most researchers distinguish three differently dated parts of the codex, which are dated accordingly: the oldest part of the codex is dated to the 12th / 13th century, the later inscribed texts in the margins to the 14th century, and the first two leaves to the 15th century.

We have established that the oldest part is actually the main text, on fols. 1—202b., 241—290b. (canons, apostolic, gospel readings, kontakia) — was most likely written by two scribes, in our study we mark this part as *Text I*; apparently, later it was rewritten by three scribes, the texts on folios 203—240 (apostolic, gospel readings) are marked as *Text II*; the newer part, the texts of which are inscribed by three scribes in the margins of separate leaves (Steps, Sittings, Stichy, Stichyra, Canons, and Menologium), are labelled *Text III*; and the newest part, the text of which is written by one scribe on two insertion leaves, is labelled *Text IV*.

Text I of the late 12th — beginning of the 13th century or early 13th century (fols. 1—202b., 241—290b.) — the main text of the manuscript is written in large, clear uncial of various sizes. The work was supervised by a scribe who wrote most of the texts; the handwriting of the second scribe is more distinct on fols. 158b.—202b. We believe that it could have been the scribe Petro (see Ill. 1), based on the marginalia with a prayerful appeal, which mentions a person named Peter: «помози гн҃ рабу своюму Петрови» (on the upper margin of folio 279b.), whose handwriting is similar to other marginalia of this scribe [20, p. 179]. This scribe could have made an entry in the margin of fol. 289b., which repeats the entire text of the first eight lines of the main text and was made before the appearance of the main text: «Ꙗко агна водимъ на [z]а[ко]лѣные бꙑ [хв҃а] мч҃нце и бл҃го[приꙗ]тна всѣхъ [твор]цю жьртва [пр]инесена бꙑ прч҃тою твою тѣло юго же [п]рилѣжно моли сп҃сти [д]оуша наша». According to our observations [18, p. 42], the writing graphics of this marginalia are very similar to the prayer record of the graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, which were studied and dated by V. Korniienko: "According to the form of writing ѣ, г and п with a protrusion from above, м and л with upper serifs, a straight ρ with a loop with an upward angle, and a straight ρ with a loop with an upward angle, the graffiti is most likely to be dated within the mid—12th to first quarter of the 13th century". Interestingly, the record indicates that «С[е ѱ](а)л[ъ] Петръ» [22, p. 110, graffiti No. 190 i 190a, table CXXXVII].

Text I is generally well transcribed, although with a considerable number of errors and corrections and probably with the least deviations from the protograph:

1) The iotated letters ꙗ, ѥ for the transmission of the diphthongs [ŭa], [ŭe] were used relatively consistently at the beginning of a word and after vowels in
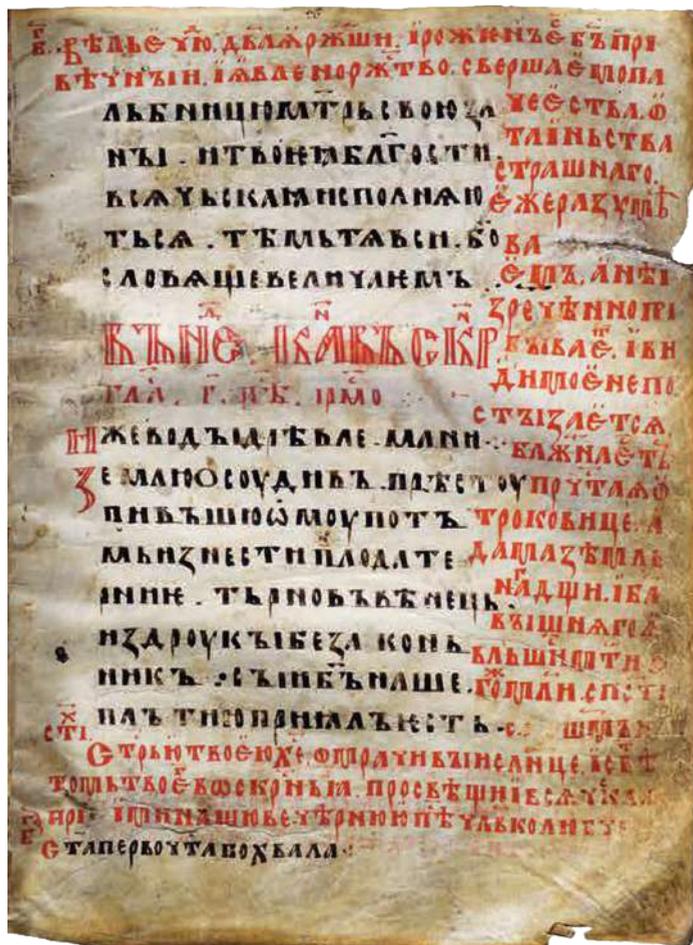
Ill. 1. Vienna Octoeuch, main text, probably in the handwriting of scribe Petro, fol. 26

Old Ukrainian monuments. In the studied monument in *Text I*, the letters ꙗ and ѥ are present in these positions: уꙋчѣниꙗ 265b., прѣꙋтаꙗ 86b., знамѣныꙗми 177b. etc.; ѡбновлѣные 4b., суѥтьѥмь 85, твоѥю 133b., имѣные 212, ѥсть 146b., ѥгда 238, ѥго 252 etc. The marking [ˀa] after a consonant is almost consistently marked with ѧ, there are isolated cases with сꙗ 259b.; є — there is a wide one, except for capital letters, attested only once — єдема 8, but apparently corrected later. V. Shchepkin emphasised that in the second half of the thirteenth century there are manuscripts where the use of the signs ꙗ — ѧ, ѥ —ѣѥ is already standardised, but ѹ is still preserved everywhere [23, p. 118].

2) There are only ы, и and no і, ї, except for a few spellings in the transmission of numbers and in some proper names, ї — at the end of a line: непокоривї 4b. (apparently added later), подвї//гы 265b. Between consonants and after vo-
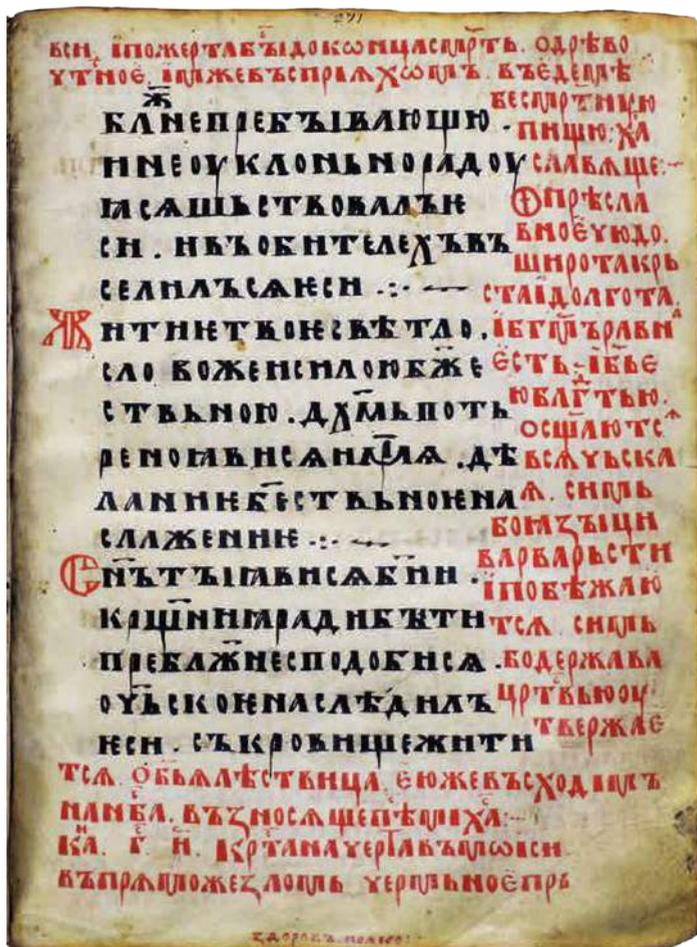
Ill. 2. Vienna Octoeuch, text in the margin, probably in the handwriting of scribe Polko, and the scribe's note in the lower margin, fol. 271

wels ı, ï entered the Old Ukrainian manuscript tradition only from the end of the 14th century, in Old Ukrainian codices, the letter ï (ı) was placed almost exclusively at the end of lines [24, p. 148].

3) There were no spellings with the grapheme ѡ in the middle of the word between consonants, which has been part of the Ukrainian writing tradition with a more consistent outline since the mid—14th century [24, p. 162].

4) The letter ꙋ in ancient Ukrainian texts was written occasionally, mostly at the end of lines, in *Text I* we have single cases of ꙋ: прѣвидꙋщее 70b., рꙋцѣ 146b., пропинꙋще 146b. The digraph оу in the monuments of Ukrainian writing was replaced by the monograph у only from the second quarter of the 14th century [24, p. 165—166].

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5) Reduced ь, ъ in combination with smooth ones are drawn in accordance with the etymology much more often than о and є: свьршенъ 6, мьрзъкаіа 14, мьртва 18b., въ плъти 15, тьрниє 26, кръвию 151b. There are also cases of the second full vowel умьрьцвѣниє 1, вьрьсту 39. Such spellings are typical of texts from the late 13th century [25, p. 254].

6) Almost without exception, the first scribe wrote ы in the letter combinations гы, кы, хы.

Text II of the first half of the 13th century (fols. 203—240). We do not share the reasoning of previous researchers who distinguished only two handwriting styles in the ancient part of the codex [8, p. 37; 10, p. 218; 11, p. 79—80; 12, p. 254—255; 13, p. 321—322]. The texts on fols. 203—240 are written in different handwritings. This part differs not only in the manner of writing but also in spelling; it was written by several scribes, we single out three [19, p. 198—199]:

The first scribe — folios 203—218b., $228_{6\text{-}16}$, 236—237b., $238_{1\text{-}17}$, 240 (grapheme ꙗ for [′a] after consonants, ѡ at the beginning of a word and as a preposition, characteristic outlines of the letters ѣ, ѳ, ҁ).

The second scribe — folios 219—$228_{1\text{-}5}$, $235_{1\text{-}7}$, which ends on a part of the word наши-, and folio $238_{1\text{-}8}$ (grapheme ѧ for [′a], о at the beginning of the word and as a preposition, ѡ mainly in the digraph ѿ, the presence of the initial є (wide) with the tongue extended and decorated with dots, otherwise the title is written, frequent cases of writing the letters ꙗ, ю with a membrane at the top of the graphemes, characteristic outlines of the letters ѣ, ч, ѳ, ҁ).

The third scribe — starting with the addition of the letter ми ꙗзы in line 7 of fol. 235 and the entire text on the reverse is distinctly different in its writing style. In addition, on folios 203—240, there is no dot above the misspelled letters: ꙗвгѡды 229b. дриузии 235b. etc., which is usually placed on the first two hundred folios and after the 240th. The last such correction is found on the back of folio 202 и дѥдинъ, and then immediately after folio 240b. въ лици 241. Obviously, the later "editor" did not work with the text of these 203—240b. folios.

Text II was transcribed by scribes less carefully than *Text I,* with much more graphic and spelling variations, though this part of the codex has fewer errors and corrections:

1) The diphthongs [ŭa], [ŭe] are not only represented by iotated letters. Occasionally, є-narrow occurs at the beginning of words — єсть 214, єда 231b., 236, єго 231b., and in this part we also see a narrow є inside words — ѿпадаеть 212b., the presence of є-wide — єи 205b., єда 211 with a significantly extended tongue, typical of the late 13th — and 14th century manuscripts. The symbol [′a] is followed by ꙗ after a consonant: хрьститесꙗ 203, семꙗ 203, идꙗше 204, во имꙗ 206, вьсꙗ 208b., вьстꙗзаѥтьсꙗ 209, грꙗдыи 210b., пославъшаго мꙗ 216, ходꙗи 236b., събудетсꙗ 237, можашесꙗ 237b. etc., from folio 219 we find in these positions ꙗ very rarely — градьцꙗ 235b., избавлꙗѥмꙗ 238b. In *Text II* here are se-

veral instances of ѥ after consonants: въ капѥрнаумѣ 207, вьсѥ 212 and in a word родитѥлѣ 222b., where ѥ, is probably, corrected from и.

2) Vocalised reflexes predominate ь, ъ combined with smooth ones: терпѣнью … терпѧцѧя 205, до верху … свершени 208, первѣѥ 214b., первоѥ 225, жрець 229, умершаѧ 239, кровь 210, волкъ 214b., скорпиѧ 216, волъсви 217b.

3) There are several cases of spelling with ѡ inside the word between consonants, though only in morphologically determined positions: къ ѥѳеимъ 213, младѣньцѡмъ 216b., моисѣѡвъ 231, къ архиерѣѡмъ 236.

4) Many examples of spelling ги, ки, хи: приставники … стоухиѧми 203b., ангѣльски 211b., погибъшимъ 212b., книжники 218, плотьски 227b., великии … книги, рѣки 235, слуги 236 etc.

5) The spellings with Ꙋ, as in *Text I*, are rare, the digraph оу is completely dominated.

Text II was probably transcribed a little later than *Text I*, since the drawing of separate graphemes (writing the letters ж, ч by one of the scribes) was not common for texts of the first half of the 13th century.

Text III of the late 13th and early 14th centuries (liturgical texts and the Menologium written in the margins of the sheets). The tests were written by three scribes, mostly in cinnabar, with dark brown ink only on fols. 8b.—9, 80b.—84b.

Characteristic features of the spelling of these texts are:

1) The sound combinations [*йа*], [*йе*], are usually transmitted: є — бываєть, ѧ — ѧко 9, iotated letters are attested to denote ю, rarely ѧ — ѧко 8 and in a number of cases ѥ after consonants in a new closed syllable: съхранѥнъ 17.

2) There are no examples of the second full vowel, and the vocalisation of reduced ь, ъ in combination with smooth ones is almost unexceptional: дверь ѿверзе 15, терпѣнье 108b., жертвы 134b., золъ 171b., плоть, волсви 221b., слезъ 262 etc. The preserved ь ъ occur only in some spellings of the words кръве 262b., сльзы 267b.

3) Within words і, ї are frequent: приїдоша 4, мюроносицамъ 4b., имена 5 etc.

4) The spelling with ѡ inside the word between consonants in a newly closed syllable are almost unexceptional (see examples below), which is a distinct orthographic feature of this scribe. This feature is also noted in two other 14th-century Galician-Volynian monuments — the Bybel Apostle and the Galician-Volynian Gospel [26], which confirms the idea of dating Text III to this period.

5) The spelling ги, ки, хи, are already prevalent.

6) The letter у is completely dominant. The spelling оу is found only at the beginning of words: оужасошаса 222b., на оунаѧ 274b.

One of the scribes was probably the scribe Polko [18, p. 45—46; 20, p. 189—190] (see Ill. 2). He may have written the texts on fols. 5b.—8b.$_3$, fol. 53$_2$ (from the word избави) — 53b., 191b.—228, font 4—5 mm, fol. 228b.—235b., font 5 mm, fol. 236—259b., font 4 mm, fol. 260—269, font 5 mm, fol. 269b.—274, font 4 mm, fol. 274b.—277b. This idea is suggested by the cinnabar record on the

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lower margin of the fol. 271: здоровъ. Полко, as well as a large number of marginal notes made by him in different parts of the text. One emotional marginal note by Polko, made in red ink, is quite interesting: то тье лихо . аица сего нѣтоутъ ∵ *"that's a disaster — this egg is not there"* (fol. 95, lower margin). Most likely, the text does not refer to the food stolen from Polko, but to the absence of an additive — a binder for red ink, which was egg white; therefore, the scribe tried to test the quality of the ink without it. This additive was recorded in the red ink of the main text [6, p. 602, 604], but given the single region of rewriting and adding to the text, we can assume that the structure of the ink did not differ so significantly.

In our opinion, after the additions made by the scribe Polkoo and other scribes, the Vienna Octoechos was used as a protograph. It is not possible to establish whether the entire text or its individual parts were rewritten at that time.

The fact that the manuscript was in the hands of other scribes is evidenced by a number of marginalia, the letters of which do not find close analogues both among the additions of the scribes of the main text of the 13th century and the additions of the text of the 14th century.

The master's instructions can be attributed to the black ink with light pressure or erased marginalia left at the end of lines to indicate what should be rewritten and what should be omitted. For example, on the right margin, before the part of the main text that began with the words made with black ink пѣ . ҁ . ірмо ∵ written in two lines сие створишь (арк. 87). On the right margin before the part of the text written in red with the words инъ ірмо is noted — а сего не пѣ (fol. 88). On the right margin before the part of the text written in red with the words инъ ірмо, is noted — а се сьтворешъ (арк. 90). In addition, on the right margin in front of the inked part of the main text with the words пѣ . ҁ . ірмо . о тѣлѣ ҁла ∵ written: с бо (fol. 274b).

In addition to these very poorly preserved marginalia, marginalia of three other 14th-century scribes were found on the margins of the manuscript. The first left pen samples on the pages of the manuscript in the form of the beginnings of alphabets in bright black ink (fol. 64b., 65, 65b., 66, 66b., 67, 69, 132). The name of this author is unknown. Another scribe left three marginalia, made in black and brown paint in small letters. These include two prayers: ги помоҁи рабу своемоу Суме[ону] (fol. 91) and another prayer without a name: ги помоҁи рабу своемоу. He also, as evidenced by the colour of the ink, made pen tests that somewhat resemble letters, but cannot be identified with certainty (fol. 92).

While the marginalia of Simeon and the unknown author mentioned above are located compactly, the four marginalia of the third scribe are actually scattered throughout the book. In particular, we can attribute to his authorship a seven-line prayer written in red along the main text of the 13th century: ги помҁи рабу своемоу федо[ру] (fol. 82). The same author could have performed the pen test on fols. 22b., 284b., 80b.

The possibility of a triple copying of the same text in the fourteenth century seems unlikely, although not impossible. It is most likely that, in order to save

time, three scribes worked on copying different parts of the book (as in the thirteenth century on folios 203—240), two of whom are known to us through marginalia. Fedir, like Petro, rewrote most of the book, which explains the scattering of his marginalia on different pages. It is possible that the manuscript was bound for copying.

Text IV of the late 14th — early 15th century (fol. Ib. — IIb., fol. I blank). At the beginning of the book are two folios with the title of the book «Восмоглⷭ҇асникⷭ҇» and the text of the Saturday evening service. The text was written by a single scribe in an senior Ruthenian semiuncial with a slight rightward slant, in dark brown ink, and with saturnine red. The writing can be attributed to the period in question by its graphic and spelling features. The inset folios contain no information about the person who completed the codex and gave the book its title.

The novelty of the work is due to the systematic multidisciplinary identification of the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos. For the first time, based on the results of a codicological and paleographic study of the writing, spelling and language of the main part of the manuscript, marginal texts and 121 records, nine scribes, the boundaries of their work and, with a certain probability, the names of individuals have been identified. The correctness of the attribution of the texts written by the scribes has been proved, which made it possible to clarify the dating of various parts of the codex.

Conclusions. The study of the outstanding ancient Ukrainian (Galician-Volynian) monument of the princely era — the Vienna Octoechos — is a special convolute codex of the late 12th — early 15th centuries. This problem of the need to identify the scribes of the Vienna Octoechos has not been raised before due to the established scholarly opinion that only a few anonymous scribes worked on the manuscript. The different times of writing the main text and additional marginal texts in the margins are evidenced by the peculiarities of their graphics, spelling, and language. This is also confirmed by the fact that the marginal texts are written on the margins, which are soiled by prolonged use of the manuscript, and sometimes they are inscribed on them to the torn edges. Our newest data allow us to date the main text to the late 12th — beginning of the 13th or early 13th century, the additions to the lost notebooks of texts (fols. 203—240) to the first half of the 13th century, the liturgical texts and the Menologium inscribed in the margins to the late 13th or early 14th century, and the textual insertion at the beginning of the codex with the title of the book «Восмоглⷭ҇асникⷭ҇» dates to the late 14th — early 15th c. Despite the different time of appearance of the main and marginal texts, the codex has a general homogeneity of content. Different generations of scribes worked on its creation. According to our observations, there are nine scribes: five scribes worked on the main text — two scribes of the late 12th and early 13th centuries (the text was probably written by Petro) and three scribes who later supplemented the texts of lost notebooks; three scribes worked on the texts in the margins (one of them is most likely Polkoo), and one scribe wrote

the title of the book and the text on the insert. The name of the last compiler of the codex remains unknown. The study of the inscriptions also revealed that after the liturgical texts and the Menologium were written in the margins, the manuscript served as a protograph for rewriting, which resulted in the marginalia of four authors, including two who indicated their own names: Simeon and Fedir. We hope that further research in this area will contribute to a more comprehensive argument about the scribes of the codex.

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ПИСЦІ ДАВНЬОРУСЬКОГО ВІДЕНСЬКОГО ОКТОЇХА:
ДО АКТУАЛІЗАЦІЇ ПИТАННЯ

Мета роботи — встановити писців, які працювали над створенням давньоукраїнського Віденського кодексу (зберігається в Австрійській національній бібліотеці, Vindob. Slav. 37). **Методологічні засади** дослідження ґрунтуються на принципах історизму, наукової об'єктивності й системності; застосовані кодикологічні, палеографічні, лінг-

вістичні методи та спеціальна методика аналізу маргінальних записів посприяли в отриманні новітніх даних та у критичному аналізові раніше набутих даних, дозволили системно представити відомості щодо писців Віденського Октоїха й написаних ними текстів. **Новизна роботи** обумовлена системним різнофаховим виявленням писців Віденського Октоїха. Вперше за результатами кодикологічно-палеографічного дослідження письма, орфографії й мови основної частини манускрипту, маргінальних текстів та 121 запису встановлено дев'ять писців, межі їхньої роботи й, з певною імовірністю, імена окремих з них. Доведено правильність атрибуції писаних писцями текстів, що дало можливість уточнити датування різних частин кодексу. **Висновки.** Віденський Октоїх — визначна давньоукраїнська (галицько-волинська) пам'ятка періоду княжої доби — є особливим конволютним кодексом кінця XII — початку XV ст. Проблема щодо необхідності новітнього встановлення писців Віденського Октоїха раніше не піднімалася через усталену в науці думку, що над рукописом переважно працювали двоє анонімних писців. Отримані нами новітні дані засвідчують, що до створення кодексу долучалися різні покоління доброписців, вірогідно, дев'ять книжників-писців: над основним текстом працювало п'ять писців — два писці кінця XII — початку XIII ст. (переважно текст писано, ймовірно, Петром) та три писці, які пізніше доповнювали тексти втрачених зошитів; над текстами на полях — троє писців (одним з них, вірогідно, є Полко), а назву книги і текст на вклейці виконав ще один писець. Подальші дослідження у цьому напрямі сприятимуть більшому аргументуванню щодо кількості писців кодексу.

Ключові слова: Октоїх, кодекс, церковнослов'янська мова давньоукраїнської (галицько-волинської) редакції, писець, уставне письмо, маргінальні тексти.