

<https://doi.org/10.26565/2227-6505-2026-42-08>

УДК 930(470+571)"180/184":[002-051:929Fedorov]

**P. V. YEREMIEIEV**<sup>8</sup>, PhD (History),

Associate Professor of the Department of Modern Period and Contemporary History

e-mail: [p.v.eremeev@karazin.ua](mailto:p.v.eremeev@karazin.ua); ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0300-2645>

V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University

sq. Svobody, 4, Kharkiv, Kharkiv region, postal code 61022, Ukraine

## INVENTING IVAN FEDOROV: IMPERIAL HISTORICAL IMAGINATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

**Purpose.** *The article examines how the image of Ivan Fedorov was constructed in the historiography of the Romanov Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century and what role this figure played in shaping the imperial vision of the past.*

**Methods.** *The methodological framework of the study draws on the principles of the Cambridge School of intellectual history, the approaches of the “new imperial history,” and Maurice Halbwachs’s concept of the social conditioning of collective memory.*

**Scientific novelty.** *The study demonstrates that the ideological mechanisms underlying the formation of Ivan Fedorov’s image in the historical thought of the first half of the nineteenth century have not yet been subjected to a comprehensive and systematic analysis.*

**Conclusions.** *The article shows that historians of the first half of the nineteenth century integrated Ivan Fedorov into the grand narratives of imperial history, endowing his biography with features of progressivism and statism. His activity was interpreted as a step toward overcoming the state’s “backwardness” in relation to Western Europe, while the emergence of printing in Moscow was closely linked to the figure of Ivan the Terrible, reflecting the overall state-centered character of the discourse. In the biographies of the first printer, Church and Enlightenment were symbolically combined, whereas opponents of printing were rhetorically distanced from Orthodox tradition. A significant role in these interpretations was played by the Romantic concept of the “national spirit.” Ivan Fedorov’s life was inscribed into a general scheme of imperial history in which the Fatherland was defined in religious, political, and ethnic terms. At the same time, notions of the boundaries of “Russianness” remained blurred, which influenced interpretations of Fedorov’s activities on Ukrainian lands. The convergence of the concepts of Slavdom and Russianness reflected the impact of Pan-Slavist ideas, and his activity in Ukraine was presented primarily within the context of confrontation with Catholicism.*

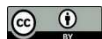
**Keywords:** *Ivan Fedorov, historiography, intellectual history, nineteenth century, Ukraine, Romanov Empire, Mykhailo Maksymovych, Orthodox church, religion.*

**Як цитувати:** Єремєєв П. В. Винайдення Івана Федорова: імперська історична уява в першій половині ХІХ століття. *Вісник Харківського національного університету імені В. Н. Каразіна. Серія: Історія України. Українознавство: історичні та філософські науки.* 2026. Вип. 42. С. 96-109, <https://doi.org/10.26565/2227-6505-2026-42-08>

**In cites:** Yermieiev P. V. (2026). Inventing Ivan Fedorov: Imperial Historical Imagination in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. *V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University Bulletin*

<sup>8</sup> The article was prepared with the support of the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia (Bulgaria) within the framework of the program “Sustaining Ukrainian Scholarships” (2024–2025).

©П.В.Єремєєв, 2026



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0)

*History of Ukraine. Ukrainian Studies: Historical and Philosophical Sciences*, Issue 42, (96-109), <https://doi.org/10.26565/2227-6505-2026-42-08> (in English)

The first half of the nineteenth century marked a new stage in the development of archeographic scholarship in the Romanov Empire. It was during this period that the first specialized studies of Ivan Fedorov's biography were published [7, pp. 16–22]. At the same time, historians of the empire were actively constructing grand narratives of imperial history, seeking to define what “Russia” was and which events and processes should be recognized as constitutive elements of Russian history [36, pp. 182–214; 45, pp. 3–117; 48, pp. 44–62; 50, pp. 303–325]. Within these narratives, Ukrainian and Belarusian lands were most often – though not always – symbolically incorporated into the “Russian” space. The modalities of this incorporation varied: some authors ignored local specificities, while others acknowledged regional distinctions yet framed them within a unified Russian identity [3; 14]. At the same time, an image of Ukrainian historical distinctiveness was gradually taking shape. Ukrainian historians were constructing national master narratives by selecting and interpreting events and processes as integral to Ukrainian history, while maintaining complex and ambivalent relations with the Russian imperial grand narrative – relations that cannot be reduced either to simple opposition or to complete assimilation [38; 51].

This article examines how the construction of Ivan Fedorov's image in the historiography of the Romanov Empire was intertwined with the broader process of inventing imperial historical grand narratives in the first half of the nineteenth century. It should be noted, however, that interest in Fedorov was not confined to the Romanov Empire. In Galicia, Denys Zubrzycki published “Historyczne badania o drukarniach Rusko-słowiańskich w Galicyi”, which included a discussion of Ivan Fedorov's printing house in Lviv and raised the question of printing in Lviv prior to Fedorov [57]. The image of Fedorov was also actualized in Polish historiography in the sense of a historiographical tradition associated with Polish intellectual and scholarly contexts, rather than merely the use of the Polish language [42]. These parallel developments deserve separate and systematic study and therefore fall outside the scope of the present article.

The chronological framework of this study is likewise limited to the mid-nineteenth century. This boundary is determined by several considerations. First, in 1849 Mykhailo Maksymovych published “Book Antiquity of South Russia” [15], a work that marked a milestone in the study of Ivan Fedorov's biography and opened a new stage in the historiography of early printing [7, pp. 17–18]. The interpretations that followed require independent examination. Second, from the mid-nineteenth century onward, the rise of modern national movements in Eastern Europe substantially transformed historical writing and collective imagination [38, pp. 132–178]. The impact of these transformations on the perception of Ivan Fedorov constitutes a distinct problem and is not addressed here.

The historiography of Ivan Fedorov's biography has already been examined in the works of several scholars [7; 16–19]. However, most studies in this field concentrate on methodological shifts in archeography and trace the gradual accumulation of knowledge about sixteenth-century book printing in Eastern Europe, including changing interpretations of Ivan Fedorov's role in this process. The influence of ideological factors on the construction of Fedorov's image, however, has remained largely unexplored.

Soviet historians addressed certain aspects of this issue, but exclusively within the framework of the “class approach” as it was understood in the Soviet Union [1; 31]. They interpreted nineteenth-century historiography as a reflection of the interests of the ruling classes and argued that historians in the Romanov Empire distorted historical facts and deliberately omitted evidence revealing the social foundations of early printing.

The Ukrainian historian and Orthodox cleric Ivan (Ilarion) Ohienko, in his book “The History of Ukrainian Book Printing”, emphasized that the historians in the Romanov Empire did not distinguish between Ukrainian and Muscovite printing, which resulted in conceptual confusion [19,

p. 36]. Nevertheless, he devoted relatively little attention to nineteenth-century historiography, focusing primarily on the historical developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Thus, although historiographical studies have documented the accumulation of knowledge about Ivan Fedorov, the problem has not yet been examined through modern methodological approaches in intellectual history or in light of recent scholarship on the history of the Romanov Empire.

### **Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

This research is grounded in the principles of the Cambridge School of intellectual history. Drawing on the approaches developed by leading representatives of this school, such as Quentin Skinner and John Pocock [46; 49], the study examines the historically contingent and locally specific meanings of the concepts employed by historians of the Romanov Empire to describe Ivan Fedorov's ethnic identity, as well as the political, cultural, and religious contexts of his activity. These issues are analyzed within the broader framework of intellectual life in the Romanov Empire, which Ilya Gerasimov has characterized as an "imperial situation" – that is, the coexistence of multiple social hierarchies and value systems within imperial borders, alongside attempts by the political and intellectual elites to appropriate and systematize this diversity [43].

Maurice Halbwachs's thesis on the social construction of collective memory has by now become widely accepted [37; 47]. Building on this perspective, the present study seeks to clarify the influence of historians' implicit mental frameworks, as well as the social and political contexts of their work, on their representations of Ivan Fedorov.

In using the terms "construction" and "invention," this article does not adopt a radical constructivist premise that would reduce historical narratives to purely arbitrary products of imagination. Historians working on Ivan Fedorov were limited by a certain body of available data, which, as will be shown below, gradually expanded over time, particularly in light of archeographic research. Admittedly, the very definition of what counted as a "fact" was itself partly shaped by interpretive frameworks. Nevertheless, the process cannot be reduced to imagination alone. Rather, the selection, arrangement, and evaluation of available evidence constituted an act of construction—or, in the sense employed here, "invention."

In this respect, one may observe certain affinities with Eric Hobsbawm's notion of the "invention of tradition." However, given the gradual institutionalization of historical scholarship in the nineteenth century, the construction of historical narratives, as will be shown, was constrained not only by broader social, political, and religious assumptions, but also by the emerging professional norms of the discipline.

### **Ivan Fedorov in the Scholarly Landscape of Early Nineteenth-Century Historiography**

The first specialized study devoted to Ivan Fedorov's biography was published in 1806 in the journal "Drug Prosveshcheniya" by Bishop Evgeniy Bolkhovitinov [4]. In subsequent publications (1813; 1818), Bolkhovitinov repeatedly revised and expanded Fedorov's biography, incorporating newly discovered materials and engaging with the findings of fellow scholars [5; 6].

Konstantin Kalaidovich studied the history of early East Slavic printing in parallel with Bolkhovitinov [9; 10]. In 1822, he published the first specialized study devoted to the "Uchitelnoe Yevangelie" ("Didactic Gospel"), printed by Ivan Fedorov in 1569 in Zabłudów [8].

Vasiliy Sopikov's "Opyt rossiyskoy bibliografii" ("Essay on Russian Bibliography") significantly influenced the study of the history of printing [27]. The preface to the first volume is especially relevant in the context of our research. Ivan Fedorov's biography presented there is textually close to Bolkhovitinov's 1813 article. For this reason, some historians have suggested that Bolkhovitinov authored the preface. However, Evgeniy Nemirovsky rejected this hypothesis, demonstrating differences between Sopikov's views as expressed in the preface and Bolkhovitinov's interpretations [18, pp. 37–39].

Pavel Stroev, Petr Köppen, Ivan Snegirev, and Ivan Sakharov also made significant contributions to the study of the books printed by Ivan Fedorov [12–13; 21–26; 29–30]. These

scholars worked in close collaboration and were attentive to each other's findings. Ivan Snegirev corresponded with Bolkhovitinov [24, pp. 128–133], and it is well known that Konstantin Kalaidovich and Vasiliy Sopikov were friends. From 1817 to 1826, they participated in archeographic expeditions financed by Count Nikolay Rumiantsev. Bolkhovitinov, Kalaidovich, Köppen, and Stroev were members of the so-called Rumiantsev Circle – an informal group of scholars gathered around the prominent statesman and collector Nikolay Rumiantsev [18, pp. 41–44]. While preparing materials related to Ivan Fedorov's biography, Kalaidovich sought assistance from Köppen, who made a copy of the printer's tombstone in Lviv [9, p. 302].

In 1849, Mykhailo Maksymovych published “Knizhnaya starina yuzhnorusskaya” (“Book Antiquities of Southern Rus”), a substantial portion of which was devoted to books printed by Ivan Fedorov [15]. Yaroslav Isaievych noted that Maksymovych's studies marked a new stage in the study of Ukrainian early printed books [7, pp. 17–18]. In the same year, Ivan Borychevsky published an article in the Journal of the Ministry of Public Education offering a general overview of Ivan Fedorov's role in the development of printing in Russia [2].

Ivan Fedorov's biography was also included in general histories of Eastern Europe. Prominent authors of Russian imperial historical narratives, such as Nikolay Karamzin and Nikolay Ustrialov, addressed the role of the first printer in the cultural development of the region [11, p. 49; 32, p. 57]. His activity was likewise discussed in Bishop Philaret (Gumilevsky)'s “History of the Russian Church” [34].

Thus, by the mid-nineteenth century, the study of Ivan Fedorov had taken shape within a relatively dense and interconnected scholarly landscape. His biography was addressed both in specialized archeographic and bibliographic works and in broader historical narratives of the Russian Empire. At the same time, research on Fedorov was embedded in networks of collaboration, such as the Rumiantsev Circle, which facilitated the exchange of materials, interpretations, and methodological approaches. This dual presence – at once as an object of specialized scholarly inquiry and as a figure incorporated into general historical narratives – created the conditions under which his image could acquire broader ideological and interpretative significance.

#### **Ivan Fedorov in Imperial Narratives of Progress, Authority, and Enlightenment**

The accumulation of scholarly knowledge about Ivan Fedorov was embedded within a specific imperial intellectual climate, which shaped the way his biography was interpreted. In most publications of this period, Fedorov's biography was framed within the broader paradigm of Russia's “backwardness in relation to the West”. For example, Vasiliy Sopikov described the period preceding Fedorov as “two and a half centuries, which were deadly for enlightenment, when we had become accustomed – or rather, indifferent – to our unfortunate condition” [27, p. 46]. Konstantin Kalaidovich opened his 1813 article with the remark that “The Germans, the English, the French, the Italians – in short, all peoples entitled to enlightenment – have already collected the early examples of their book printing and written studies about their first printers. Indeed, we Russians are so far behind them” [10, p. 92]. Bishop Evgeniy Bolkhovitinov, after outlining the early development of Slavic printing, emphasized that “Meanwhile, Russia did not have any printed book at that time” [6, p. 287].

Although such statements had a factual basis, they were actualized within a broader intellectual tendency of the period. Richard Wortman has shown that in the first half of the nineteenth century the concept of Russia's “backwardness” vis-à-vis Western Europe was widespread even among conservative thinkers [53, p. 259–280]. In this context, the image of Ivan Fedorov served to dramatize the delayed emergence of printing in Russia and to integrate this delay into a narrative of eventual progress.

At the same time, Fedorov's image was employed to underscore the progressive role of Russian autocracy. Kalaidovich stressed the positive influence of Ivan IV on the establishment of the Moscow printing house, noting that “The tsar spared nothing in promoting craftsmen and erecting the building” [9, p. 298]. Sopikov likewise described the emergence of printing through the prism of the ruler's initiative. After referring to errors in church manuscripts, he wrote: “Ivan Vasilievich

perceived this evil, and at the Stoglav Council of 1551 he raised the issue". He then emphasized that "the tsar, finding these measures insufficient, decided to establish a printing house in 1553" [27, p. 54].

Importantly, this emphasis on the tsar was not a mechanical repetition of the afterword to the 1564 *Apostle*, the principal primary source for these historians. In the afterword, the initiative to establish printing is described as a joint undertaking of Ivan IV and Metropolitan Makariy [34, fol. 260]. However, nineteenth-century historians consistently foregrounded the tsar's role while minimizing or marginalizing that of the metropolitan. Kalaidovich mentioned Makariy only once in his 1813 article [10, p. 96], and Bolkhovitinov referred to him only within direct quotation, not in his own narrative [6, p. 263–267]. Nikolay Ustrialov described the foundation of the printing house entirely through the prism of royal policy, without mentioning Makariy in this context [32, p. 57]. Ivan Snegirev likewise emphasized the role of autocracy in Fedorov's career [25, pp. 57–62].

This selective accentuation reflects the intellectual climate of the first half of the nineteenth century. Living in a society far more secularized than that of the sixteenth century, historians highlighted those elements of the sources that resonated with their own political and ideological assumptions.

An important exception is Archbishop Philaret Gumilevsky's *History of the Russian Church*, where the establishment of printing is primarily framed within the context of ecclesiastical reform. Although Ivan IV is mentioned, the initiative is closely connected with the Stoglav Council and the authority of Metropolitan Makariy [34, pp. 170–172]. This shift reflects the clerical orientation of Philaret's narrative, in which the Church – rather than the state – occupies the central interpretative position.

The consistent emphasis on the role of autocracy in the historiography of Russian printing formed part of a broader discourse that represented the monarchy as a progressive force. Unlike the state ideology of the early twentieth century, the monarchy of the first half of the nineteenth century frequently legitimated itself through narratives of reform, cultural advancement, and rational governance. Conservative intellectuals articulated reasoned arguments in support of monarchical necessity and historical mission [53, pp. 259–280; 56, pp. 325–358].

All historians of the first half of the nineteenth century described Ivan Fedorov's activity within a broader narrative of the struggle between "ignorance" and "enlightenment". They interpreted sixteenth-century events through conceptual frameworks that had taken shape during the Age of Enlightenment. It is important to note that Enlightenment thought was not inherently, and the older depiction of the Enlightenment as a purely "age of reason" has been criticized as overly reductive [39; 52]. Religious ideas could be integrated into Enlightenment paradigms, allowing historians to apply notions of progress to the emergence of printing and to Fedorov's role in that process.

In the works of early nineteenth-century historians, Orthodox faith and enlightenment were presented as mutually reinforcing. Ignorance was portrayed as a source of doctrinal error. Vasilii Sopikov, for example, wrote about mid-sixteenth-century Russia: "There was not a single printed book. Manuscripts were gradually corrupted, losing their authority, as numerous errors crept into ecclesiastical and civil books due to the ignorance, superstition, and other shortcomings of the scribes" [27, p. 53]. Konstantin Kalaidovich similarly emphasized the accumulation of textual distortions in church books by the time of Fedorov [10, p. 94].

This emphasis was particularly significant in the context of the critique of the Old Believers. In nineteenth-century historiography, the Old Belief was frequently depicted as a product of ignorance – an interpretation that modern scholarship has substantially revised [41]. For representatives of the Orthodox Church, the criticism of ancient Russian manuscripts – texts that lay at the core of Old Believer identity – also carried contemporary confessional implications.

The persecutions of Ivan Fedorov in Moscow were likewise framed within a broader condemnation of superstition. Superstition was rhetorically detached from the Church and associated instead with backwardness and the darker aspects of the past. Sopikov wrote: "Ivan Fedorov and his

companions were condemned as harmful persons, even as heretics, through envy and slander. Such was the reward for their important and fruitful work. It was the usual fate of innovators in ignorant times” [27, p. 55]. Kalaidovich similarly stated that both civil and ecclesiastical figures sought to defame Fedorov “out of ignorance” [10, p. 101].

Historians of the period frequently used the term “enlightened” in close association with piety and true faith. Nikolay Karamzin described the establishment of printing in Moscow as “an important measure inspired by Christian enlightened zeal,” which provoked opposition from scribes who profited from manuscript copying, aided by “superstitious people” [11, p. 50]. Notably, the material interests of scribes are not mentioned in sixteenth-century sources; Boris Sapunov has shown that Karamzin was the first historian to attribute economic motives to Fedorov’s persecutors [20, p. 431].

The close linkage between true faith and enlightenment can also be observed in the works of Bolkhovitinov, Kalaidovich, and Philaret Gumilevsky [6, p. 267; 10, p. 101; 34, pp. 170–173]. This synthesis reflects the development of a rationalizing approach to church tradition that had been taking shape in Russia since the reign of Peter I [55]. Combined with Enlightenment rationalism, this tendency enabled historians to situate Ivan Fedorov within a broader paradigm of Russian historical development in which religious imagery, knowledge, and progress were integrated into narratives legitimizing the Russian monarchy.

Enlightenment elements were combined with features of Romanticism, particularly the concept of the “people’s spirit” and the anthropomorphic metaphor of the nation as a person passing through childhood, maturity, and old age [35, p. 9]. This framework made it possible to interpret the delayed emergence of book printing in Moscow as a consequence of the “dormant” or weakened state of the national spirit following the Mongol invasion. Vasilii Sopikov, for example, wrote: “In the times of the Tatar invasion, when the spirit of the people, weakened in its strength and overwhelmed by general gloom, plunged minds into insensibility, enlightenment withdrew behind the solid walls of monasteries; from that time evident distortions and corruptions began to penetrate spiritual and historical books and chronicles; the surviving literary monuments bear witness to the weakness of the people’s spirit” [27, pp. 47–48]. Within such a framework, historical decline and cultural delay were reinterpreted as phases in the life cycle of a collective organism. The Romantic concept of the “people’s spirit” thus functioned as a mediating device: it reconciled the Enlightenment narrative of progress with the empirical reality of Russia’s later adoption of printing, embedding both within a teleological vision of national development.

### **Ivan Fedorov and the Boundaries of Imperial Identity: Concentric Circles of Belonging**

For historians of the Romanov Empire, the construction of Ivan Fedorov’s biography inevitably entailed defining the boundaries of “Russianness”. This issue was central to the historiography of the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century. While Nikolay Karamzin and Nikolay Ustrialov described Ukrainian lands as an essential component of Russian historical space, others – such as Nikolay Polevoy and Mikhail Pogodin – treated Ukraine as ethnographically distinct [14]. Nevertheless, for all Russian historians of this period, Ivan Fedorov belonged to their imagined community.

In their narratives, identities were implicitly structured as a series of concentric circles. This was not formulated as an explicit theoretical scheme, yet it operated as a latent organizing principle of historical imagination. Depending on the context, historians positioned Ivan Fedorov within overlapping layers of belonging – Muscovite, Russian, Slavic, and Orthodox – each activated selectively in relation to specific narrative needs. These circles did not function as fixed categories; rather, they emerged through interpretive choices, semantic shifts, and the recontextualization of early modern terminology within nineteenth-century national frameworks.

The innermost and most intimate circle was the Muscovite state, presented as Fedorov’s native land. Although his birthplace remains debated in historiography [7, pp. 33–34], and Kalaidovich himself admitted that it was unknown [10, p. 101], historians consistently treated Moscow state as

his homeland. Both Kalaidovich and Sopikov described Fedorov's departure to Belarusian and Ukrainian lands under the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth as a “removal from the Motherland” [9, p. 300; 27, pp. 60–61].

This interpretation was partially grounded in Fedorov's own afterword to the 1574 “Apostle”, where he wrote that envy and hatred had driven him “from my land, my Fatherland, and my kin into foreign countries” [34, fol. 260–264]. Yet nineteenth-century historians did not simply reproduce this formulation; they resemanticized it, integrating Fedorov into a Russian ethnonational narrative.

The notion of “native land” in these works combined ethnic and political dimensions. Historians acknowledged distinctions between “Great Russians” and “Little Russians” when discussing Fedorov's activity in Ukraine [10, pp. 300; 27, pp. 60–61], yet they simultaneously upheld the Muscovite state as the core of political continuity and unity.

The second concentric circle encompassed the “Russian” lands within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Ukrainian and Belarusian populations were frequently described as Russians. Kalaidovich, for example, noted that Fedorov “received assistance from Russians and Greeks” in Lviv [13, p. 104]. This terminology drew upon Fedorov's own reference to the local population in Lviv as the “Russian people” [33, fol. 260–264]. However, in the sixteenth century the term “Russian people” in Lviv had distinct meanings and was not semantically linked to Muscovite identity [28]. In the nineteenth century, as historians were constructing a national historical narrative [36; 47; 51], such early modern terminology acquired new semantic weight.

The fluidity of these boundaries is evident in Sopikov's usage. Describing the prehistory of printing in Moscow, he wrote that “Russia... could not compete with Little Russia in the sphere of education during this time” [27, p. 53], treating them as distinct political entities. Yet elsewhere he referred to Volhynia and Galicia as “the southern part of Russia” [27, p. 70]. Similarly, Kalaidovich described Fedorov as founding printing first in Great Russia, then in Galicia, and finally in Volhynia [10, p. 94], placing these regions on a comparable conceptual level. The imagined borders of Russianness were thus flexible and context-dependent, even within a single text.

The third concentric circle was defined by the sphere of Church Slavonic culture. At times, Slavic and Russian identities were nearly conflated, with Slavs described collectively as a single “people” (*narod*). Kalaidovich wrote of the “Slavic language” and the “great people” whose ancient writings were shrouded in mystery [10, p. 94].

This tendency coincided with the growing influence of Pan-Slavism in the Russian Empire during the first half of the nineteenth century [40, p. 156]. The Polish scholar and Pan-Slavist Zorian Dołęga-Chodakowski (Adam Czarnocki), who studied Fedorov's biography and corresponded with Kalaidovich, informed him about the printer's tombstone in Lviv [9, pp. 302–303]. Dołęga-Chodakowski's early vision of Slavic cultural unity significantly influenced the development of Slavic studies [48]. It is therefore unsurprising that the study of Fedorov in the Russian Empire intersected with early Pan-Slavist intellectual currents.

The broadest circle of identification was that of Orthodox peoples. This perspective was particularly evident in narratives emphasizing the struggle against Catholicism. Kalaidovich interpreted the establishment of the printing house in Ostroh as part of Prince Prince Konstantin Ostrozhsy's anti-Catholic efforts [10, p. 113]. Karamzin similarly portrayed Fedorov's activity as contributing to the defense of Orthodoxy against Catholic influence [11, p. 49].

In 1849, Mykhailo Maksymovych published “Book Antiquity of South Russia” [15], a work that became a milestone in the study of Ivan Fedorov's biography [7, pp. 17–18]. Maksymovych interpreted Fedorov's activity in Ukraine primarily through the prism of the struggle against Catholicism. Describing the intellectual climate of the period, he wrote: “The turbulence of minds, produced by dissemination of Western new-thinking, opened the way for the Jesuits to catch Western Russian youth like fish in troubled waters: and they quickly spread their nets” [15, p. 663].

Such anti-Catholic rhetoric was characteristic of Maksymovych's broader intellectual position. Kyiv University, where he served as the first rector, had been established in part as an

instrument of resistance to Polish and Catholic influence [36, pp. 199–207]. Contemporary processes in Right-Bank Ukraine thus shaped his interpretation of Fedorov's life and activity.

Maksymovych used the term “Westerners” (Zapadniki) to describe Polonized representatives of the Ukrainian population [16, p. 666]. Writing at a time when debates between Slavophiles and Westerners were particularly intense, he symbolically linked his contemporary ideological opponents with earlier historical actors portrayed as betraying Orthodox and “Russian” interests.

In discussing the history of book printing, Maksymovych emphasized the distinction between “Northern Russia” and “Southern Russia.” He described the development of book culture in Ukraine and Belarus in the sixteenth century as evidence that “the Russian South and Northwest lived together in difference with Northeast or Moscow Rus” [15, p. 662]. His interpretation of intellectual life in these regions was framed in Romantic terms, employing the anthropomorphic imagery of a people's awakening and decline.

At the same time, Maksymovych symbolically united Ukrainian and Russian lands through the concept of the “Russian world.” Quoting the afterword to the 1574 *Apostol*, he described it as expressing “the soul of the Russian artist” [15, p. 664]. Characterizing Fedorov's activity in Ostroh he wrote of “the Russian book-printer, who had worked in all countries of the Russian world with such love for his craft” [15, p. 667].

This ambivalence reflects Maksymovych's broader historical worldview. On the one hand, he stressed ethnic and historical distinctions between Northern Russia and “Southern Russia” (a term he often used synonymously with Ukraine). On the other, he insisted on their cultural and historical unity, opposing the “Russian world” to the European West [35, pp. 182–184]. This synthesis of differentiation and unity was closely connected with Maksymovych's attempt to reconcile faith and knowledge within a Romantic and Orthodox framework, which shaped his vision of Ukraine-Russia relations. It was precisely his deep personal religiosity that led him to perceive Orthodox commonality between Ukraine and Moscow as more decisive than the historical and cultural distinctions he himself highlighted [54].

His conviction of the continuity between Kyiv Rus' and Ukraine is evident in his assessment of Prince Konstantin Ostrozhsky's role in Fedorov's life. Maksymovych described Ostrozhsky's activity as “the second epoch of South Russian enlightenment,” paralleling Yaroslav the Wise's love of books as the first epoch [15, p. 667]. By linking sixteenth-century book culture to the era of Yaroslav, Maksymovych symbolically connected Southern and North-Eastern Rus' within a unified historical narrative – a unity embodied in the figure of Ivan Fedorov, who worked in Moscow, Belarus, and Ukraine alike.

**Conclusions.** Thus, in the historiography of the Romanov Empire, the image of Ivan Fedorov was embedded within broader imperial narratives of Russian history. The philosophical and religious transformations of the early nineteenth century, together with archaeographic discoveries, methodological innovations, and the intellectual climates of Enlightenment and Romanticism, shaped the ways in which Fedorov was represented.

Progressivism and Eurocentrism – characteristic features of the Romanov imperial ideology in the first half of the nineteenth century and distinct from the later conservative turn – significantly influenced these representations. Fedorov's activity was framed against the perceived “backwardness” of sixteenth-century Russia in comparison with Western Europe and interpreted as a step toward overcoming this lag.

The etatist orientation of the dominant discourse manifested itself in the consistent foregrounding of Ivan IV's role in the establishment of printing in Moscow. At the same time, Enlightenment categories were incorporated into interpretations of Russian Orthodoxy: the Church was symbolically aligned with progress and enlightenment, while opponents of printing were rhetorically separated from Orthodoxy and associated with ignorance and superstition.

Historians of the period inscribed Ivan Fedorov into their imagined Russian community. The boundaries of “Russianness” were defined through shifting combinations of ethnic, political, and

religious criteria, which shaped interpretations of Fedorov's activity in Moscow, Belarus, and Ukraine. The convergence of Slavism and Russianness reflected the early formation of Russian pan-Slavist thought. His activity in Ukraine was primarily framed within narratives of confrontation with Catholicism, corresponding to the expanding discursive role of Orthodoxy in legitimizing modern Russian national identity.

### Conflict of interest

*The author declares that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this manuscript. In addition, the author fully complies with ethical standards, including the inadmissibility of plagiarism, data falsification, and duplicate publication.*

### Reference

1. Берков П. Развитие истории книги как науки: Опыт историографического обзора. *Труды Музея книги, документа и письма. I. Статьи по книговедению*. Ленинград, 1931. С. 47-79.
2. Боричевский И. Исторический взгляд на историю книгопечатания в России. *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения*. 1849. Ч. 61. С. 162-169.
3. Верстюк В. Ф., Горобець В. М., Толочко О. П. Українські проекти в Російській імперії. Україна і Росія в історичній ретроспективі: Нариси в 3-х т. / Інститут історії України НАН України; відп. ред. В. А. Смолій. К.: Наук. думка, 2004. 504 с.
4. Евгений (Болховитинов), митр. Иоанн Федоров. *Друг просвещения*. 1806. № 4. С. 147–156.
5. Евгений (Болховитинов), митр. О славяно-русских типографиях. *Вестник Европы*. 1813. № 14. С. 124-129.
6. Евгений (Болховитинов), митр. Словарь исторический о бывших в России писателях духовного чина Греко-Российской Церкви. Т. 1. 2-е изд. Санкт-Петербург, 1827. 759 с.
7. Ісаєвич Я. Українське книговидання: витоки, розвиток, проблеми. Львів: Інститут українознавства ім. І. Крип'якевича НАН України, 2002. 520 с.
8. Калайдович К. Библиографическое известие о Евангелии учительном, напечатанном в Заблудове 1569 года первыми московскими типографщиками. *Дополнение к Вестнику Европы*. 1822. № 11–12. С. 294-302.
9. Калайдович К. Записка об Иване Федорове. *Вестник Европы*. 1822. № 123 (11). С. 294-302.
10. Калайдович К. Иван Федоров, первый московский типографщик. *Вестник Европы*. 1813. № 18. С. 92-123.
11. Карамзин Н. М. История Государства Российского. Т. 9. Санкт-Петербург: в типографии Н. Греча; иждивением братьев Слениных, 1821. 472, 296, [4] с.
12. Кеппен И. Хронологическая роспись первопечатным славянским книгам. *Библиографические листы*. 1825. № 1. С. 9-12; № 6. С. 77-84; № 11. С. 149-156; № 16. С. 221-228; № 21. С. 293–300.
13. Кеппен П. И. О памятнике Ивану Федорову. *Список русских памятников*. Москва, 1822. С. 38.
14. Кравченко В. Україна, Імперія, Росія: Вибрані статті з модерної історії та історіографії. Київ, 2011. 544 с.
15. Максимович М. Книжная старина южнорусская. *Собрание сочинений М. А. Максимовича*. Т. 3. Языкознание. История словесности. Киев, 1880. С. 661-716.
16. Немировский Е. Л. Иван Федоров в Белоруссии. Москва: Книга, 1979. 176 с.
17. Немировский Е. Л. Начало книгопечатания на Украине. Иван Федоров. Москва: Книга, 1974. 224 с.
18. Немировский Е. Л. По следам первопечатника: Памяти первопечатника Ивана Федорова в год 400-летия со дня его смерти. М.: Современник, 1983. 216 с.
19. Огієнко І. І. Історія українського друкарства / упоряд., авт. іст.-біогр. нарису та приміт. М. С. Тимошик. Київ: Либідь, 1994. 448 с.
20. Сапунов П. К вопросу о прекращении деятельности первых типографий в Москве. *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы*. 1956. Т. 12. С. 431-441.
21. Сахаров И. П. Обзорение славяно-русской библиографии. Т. 1: Летопись славяно-русского книгопечатания. Санкт-Петербург: тип. Имп. Акад. наук, 1849. [2], VIII, 184 с.
22. Сахаров И. П. Первые русские типографщики. *Сборник на 1838 год А. Воейкова*. Санкт-Петербург, 1838. С. 1-10.

23. Снегирев И. Древнейшие памятники славянских типографий. *Учёные записки Императорского Московского университета*. 1835. № 9. С. 168-169.
24. Снегирев И. М. Старина русской земли: Историко-археологические исследования, биографии, учено-литературная переписка, заметки и дневник воспоминаний Ивана Михайловича Снегирева. Т. 1. Кн. 1 [и единств.]. Санкт-Петербург: изд. А. Д. Ивановского; тип. Ф. С. Сущинского, 1871. XVI, 492, [2], 32 с.
25. Снегирев И. О первой Псалтыри, напечатанной Невежею Тимофеевым и Никифором Тарасиевым при царе Иоанне Васильевиче. *Вестник Европы*. 1830. № 13. С. 57-62.
26. Снегирев И. Трёхсотлетие духовной типографии в Москве. *Московские ведомости*. 1840. № 147. С. 1507.
27. Сопиков В. С. Опыт российской библиографии: В 4-х ч. Ч. 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1813. [CL], 314 с.
28. Старченко Н. Люблінська унія як ресурс формування концепту політичного «народу руського» (1569–1648 рр.). *Український історичний журнал*. 2019. № 2. С. 4-45. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2019.02.004>
29. Строев П. М. Библиотека Императорского Общества истории и Древностей Российских. Москва, 1845. 354 с.
30. Строев П. М. Обстоятельное описание старопечатных книг славянских и российских, хранящихся в библиотеке тайного советника, сенатора графа Федора Андреевича Толстого. Москва: изд. Павел Строев, 1829. XXIV, 593 с.
31. Тонкова Р. Иван Федоров в юбилейной литературе 1864–1924 гг. *Иван Федоров первопечатник*. Москва; Ленинград, 1935. С. 179-200.
32. Устрялов Н. Г. Русская история. Ч. 2. Древняя история: изд. второе, исправленное. Санкт-Петербург, 1839. 429 с.
33. Федоров И. Послесловие к «Апостолу». *Апостол*. Львов, 1574. С. 260-264.
34. Филарет (Гумилевский), еп. История Русской Церкви в пяти периодах. Период III: От разделения митрополии до учреждения патриаршества (1410–1588). Изд. 2. Москва: Тип. Готье, 1851. 256 с.
35. Ясь О. Історик і стиль. Визначні постаті українського історіописання у світлі культурних епох (початок XIX – 80-ті роки XX ст.): монографія: у 2 ч. / за ред. В. А. Смоля. Ч. 1. Київ: НАН України, Ін-т історії України, 2014. 587 с.
36. Andriewsky O. The Russian-Ukrainian Discourse and the Failure of the 'Little Russian Solution', 1782–1917. *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600–1945*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2003. P. 182–214. DOI: 10.2307/1520444.
37. Apfelbaum E. Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010. P. 77-92.
38. Bilenky S. Laboratory of Modernity. Ukraine between Empire and Nation, 1772–1914. London; Chicago; Edmonton; Toronto, 2023. 596 p.
39. Boucher G., Lloyd G. M. (eds.). Rethinking the Enlightenment: Between History, Philosophy, and Politics. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017. 280 p.
40. Bushkovitch P. What Is Russia? Russian National Identity and the State, 1500–1917. *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600–1945*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 2003. P. 144–161. DOI: 10.2307/1520444
41. Crummey R. Old Belief as Popular Religion: New Approaches. *Slavic Review*. 1993. Vol. 52, No. 4. P. 700–712. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2499648>
42. Dąbrowska M. Samuel Bogumił Linde a kultura i nauka rosyjska (na materiale czasopism początku XIX wieku). *Acta Polono-Ruthenica*. 2014. Nr 19. S. 191-205.
43. Gerasimov I. The Russian Imperial Situation: Before and after the Nation-State. *Ab Imperio*. 2022. No. 4. P. 31–59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/imp.2022.0087> .
44. Halbwachs M. On Collective Memory / trans. L. A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. 254 p.
45. Historiography of Imperial Russia. The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State / ed. T. Sanders. Armonk, New York; London: M. E. Sharpe, 1999. 521 p.
46. Pocock J. G. A. Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. 278 p.

47. Saunders D. Historians and Concepts of Nationality in Early Nineteenth-Century Russia. *The Slavonic and East European Review*. 1982. Vol. 60, No. 1. P. 44–62.
48. Saunders D. Zorian Dolega Chodakowski (1784–1825) and the Unity of Slavonic Culture. *Nationalities Papers*. 1983. Vol. 11, No. 2. P. 284–297. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905998308407973>.
49. Skinner Q. Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas. *History and Theory*. 1969. Vol. 8. P. 3–53. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2504188>.
50. Szvák G. The Golden Age of Russian Historical Writing: The Nineteenth Century. *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. P. 303–325. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199533091.003.0016>
51. Velychenko S. *National History as Cultural Process. A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1992.
52. Wirtschafter E. Religion and Enlightenment in Catherinian Russia: The Teachings of Metropolitan Platon. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2013. 259 p. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501757464>
53. Wortman R. *Russian Monarchy: Representation and Rule*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013. 325 p. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt21h4wbq.174>
54. Yermieiev P. The Relationship Between Faith and Knowledge in the Works of Mykhailo Maksymovych. *The Yearbook of Balkan and Baltic Studies*. 2024. Vol. 7, No. 1. P. 266–288. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7592/YBBS7.12>
55. Zhivov V. Cultural Reforms in Peter I's System of Transformation. "Tsar and God": and Other Essays in Russian Cultural Semiotics. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2012. P. 191–238. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zxsjpf.7>
56. Zorin A. *By Fables Alone: Literature and State Ideology in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Russia*. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2014. 420 p. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zxsj45>.
57. Zubrzycki D. *Historyczne badania o drukarniach rusko-słowiańskich w Galicyi*. Lwów: w drukarni Instytutu Staupigiańskiego, 1836. 90 s.

**П.В. ЄРЕМЄЄВ**, канд. істор. наук, доцент

доцент кафедри історії модерної доби та новітнього часу

e-mail: [p.v.eremeev@karazin.ua](mailto:p.v.eremeev@karazin.ua) ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0300-2645>

Харківський національний університет імені В. Н. Каразіна  
майдан Свободи 4, м. Харків, Харківська область, 61022, Україна

## ВИНАЙДЕННЯ ІВАНА ФЕДОРОВА: ІМПЕРСЬКА ІСТОРИЧНА УЯВА В ПЕРШІЙ ПОЛОВИНІ ХІХ СТОЛІТТЯ

**Мета.** У статті простежується, як у першій половині ХІХ століття в історіографії імперії Романових формувався образ Івана Федорова і яку функцію він виконував у конструюванні імперського бачення минулого.

**Методи.** Методологічною основою роботи є принципи Кембріджської школи інтелектуальної історії, підходи «нової імперської історії» та концепція Моріса Альбваса про соціальну зумовленість колективної пам'яті.

**Наукова новизна** полягає в тому, що ідеологічні механізми формування образу Івана Федорова в історичній думці першої половини ХІХ століття досі не були предметом спеціального комплексного аналізу.

**Висновки.** Історики першої половини ХІХ століття інтегрували постать Івана Федорова до гранд-нарративів імперської історії, наділяючи його біографію рисами прогресизму та етатизму. Його діяльність інтерпретувалася як крок до подолання «відсталості» держави щодо Західної Європи, а поява книгодрукування в Москві тісно пов'язувалася з постаттю Івана Грозного, що відображало загальний державницький характер дискурсу. У біографіях першодрукаря символічно поєднувалися Церква та Просвітництво, тоді як противники друкарства на рівні риторичних прийомів відмежовувалися від

православної традиції. Важливу роль у цих інтерпретаціях відігравав романтичний концепт «народного духу». Життя Івана Федорова вписувалося в загальну схему імперської історії, де Вітчизна визначалась у релігійних, політичних та етнічних координатах. Водночас уявлення про межі «російськості» залишалося розмитим, що впливало на трактування діяльності Федорова на українських землях. Зближення понять слов'янства і російськості відображало вплив панславістських ідей, а його діяльність в Україні подавалася передусім у контексті протистояння з католицизмом.

**Ключові слова:** Іван Федоров, історіографія, інтелектуальна історія, XIX століття, Україна, імперія Романових, Михайло Максимович, Православна церква, релігія.

### Конфлікт інтересів

Автор заявляє, що конфлікту інтересів щодо публікації цього рукопису немає. Крім того, автор повністю дотримувався етичних норм, включаючи неприпустимість плагіату, фальсифікації даних та подвійної публікації.

### References

1. Berkov P. (1931). The Development of the History of the Book as a Science: An Experience of a Historiographical Review. *Proceedings of the Museum of the Book, Document, and Letter*. I. Articles on Book Studies. Leningrad. Pp. 47-79. (in Russian).
2. Borichevsky I. (1849). A Historical View on the History of Printing in Russia. *Journal of the Ministry of Public Education*. Part 61. Pp. 162-169. (in Russian).
3. Verstiuk V. F., Horobets V. M., Tolochko O. P. (2004). Ukrainian Projects in the Russian Empire. *Ukraine and Russia in Historical Retrospective: Essays in 3 Volumes*. Kyiv: Naukova Dumka. 504 p. (in Ukrainian).
4. Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov), metropolitan. (1806). Ioann Fedorov. *Friend of Enlightenment*. No. 4. Pp. 147-156. (in Russian).
5. Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov), metropolitan. (1813). On Slavic-Russian Printing Houses. *Herald of Europe*. No. 14. Pp. 124-129. (in Russian).
6. Evgenii (Bolkhovitinov), metropolitan. (1827). Historical Dictionary of Writers of the Clerical Rank of the Greco-Russian Church Who Lived in Russia. Vol. 1. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg. 759 p. (in Russian).
7. Isaievych Ya. (2002). Ukrainian Book Publishing: Origins, Development, Problems. Lviv. 520 p. (in Ukrainian).
8. Kalaidovich K. (1822). Bibliographical Notice about the Didactic Gospel Printed in Zabludov in 1569 by the First Moscow Printers. *Supplement to the Herald of Europe*. No. 11-12. Pp. 294-302. (in Russian).
9. Kalaidovich K. (1822). A Note about Ivan Fedorov. *Herald of Europe*. No. 123 (11). Pp. 294-302. (in Russian).
10. Kalaidovich K. (1813). Ivan Fedorov, the First Moscow Printer. *Herald of Europe*. No. 18. Pp. 92-123. (in Russian).
11. Karamzin N. M. (1821). History of the Russian State. Vol. 9. St. Petersburg. 472, 296, [4] p. (in Russian).
12. Koeppen I. (1825). Chronological List of the First-Printed Slavic Books. *Bibliographical Sheets*. No. 1. Pp. 9-12; No. 6. Pp. 77-84; No. 11. Pp. 149-156; No. 16. Pp. 221-228; No. 21. Pp. 293-300. (in Russian).
13. Koeppen P. I. (1822). On the Monument to Ivan Fedorov. *List of Russian Monuments*. Moscow. P. 38. (in Russian).
14. Kravchenko V. (2011). Ukraine, Empire, Russia: Selected Articles on Modern History and Historiography. Kyiv. 544 p. (in Ukrainian).
15. Maksimovich M. (1880). Book Antiquity of Southern Russia. *Collected Works of M. A. Maksimovich*. Vol. 3. Linguistics. History of Literature. Kyiv. Pp. 661-716. (in Russian).
16. Nemirovsky E. L. (1979). Ivan Fedorov in Belarus. Moscow: Kniga. 176 p. (in Russian).
17. Nemirovsky E. L. (1974). The Beginning of Printing in Ukraine. Ivan Fedorov. Moscow: Kniga. 224 p. (in Russian).

18. Nemirovsky E. L. (1983). In the Footsteps of the First Printer: In Memory of the First Printer Ivan Fedorov in the Year of the 400th Anniversary of His Death. Moscow: Sovremennik. 216 p. (in Russian).
19. Ohiienko I. I. (1994). History of Ukrainian Printing. Kyiv: Lybid. 448 p. (in Ukrainian).
20. Sapunov P. (1956). On the Question of the Cessation of the Activity of the First Printing Houses in Moscow. *Proceedings of the Department of Old Russian Literature of the Institute of Russian Literature*. Vol. 12. Pp. 431-441. (in Russian).
21. Sakharov I. P. (1849). Survey of Slavic-Russian Bibliography. Vol. 1: Chronicle of Slavic-Russian Book Printing. St. Petersburg. 184 p. (in Russian).
22. Sakharov I. P. (1838). The First Russian Printers. *Collection for the Year 1838 by A. Voeikov*. St. Petersburg. Pp. 1-10. (in Russian).
23. Snegirev I. (1835). The Most Ancient Monuments of Slavic Printing Houses. *Scholarly Notes of the Imperial Moscow University*. No. 9. Pp. 168-169. (in Russian).
24. Snegirev I. M. (1871). Antiquity of the Russian Land: Historical and Archaeological Studies, Biographies, Scholarly-Literary Correspondence, Notes and Diary of Memoirs of Ivan Mikhailovich Snegirev. Vol. 1. St. Petersburg. XVI, 492, [2], 32 p. (in Russian).
25. Snegirev I. (1830). On the First Psalter Printed by Nevezha Timofeev and Nikifor Tarasiev under Tsar Ioann Vasilievich. *Herald of Europe*. No. 13. Pp. 57-62. (in Russian).
26. Snegirev I. (1840). The Three-Hundredth Anniversary of the Spiritual Printing House in Moscow. *Moscow Gazette*. No. 147. P. 1507. (in Russian).
27. Sopikov V. S. (1813). An Experience of Russian Bibliography: In 4 Parts. Part 1. St. Petersburg. 314 p. (in Russian).
28. Starchenko N. (2019). The Union of Lublin as a Resource for the Formation of the Concept of the Political “Ruthenian People” (1569-1648). *Ukrainian Historical Journal*. No. 2. Pp. 4-45. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15407/uhj2019.02.004> (in Ukrainian).
29. Stroev P. M. (1845). Library of the Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquities. Moscow. 354 p. (in Russian).
30. Stroev P. M. (1829). Detailed Description of Early Printed Slavic and Russian Books Kept in the Library of the Privy Councillor, Senator Count Fedor Andreevich Tolstoy. Moscow. XXIV, 593 p. (in Russian).
31. Tonkova R. (1935). Ivan Fedorov in Jubilee Literature of 1864–1924. *Ivan Fedorov the First Printer*. Moscow; Leningrad. Pp. 179–200. (in Russian).
32. Ustrialov N. G. (1839). Russian History. Part 2. Ancient History: Second Edition, Revised. St. Petersburg. 429 p. (in Russian).
33. Fedorov I. (1574). Afterword to the “Apostle.” *Apostle*. Lviv. Pp. 260-264. (in Church Slavonic).
34. Philaret (Gumilevsky), bishop. (1851). History of the Russian Church in Five Periods. Period III: From the Division of the Metropolis to the Establishment of the Patriarchate (1410-1588). 2nd ed. Moscow: Gautier Printing House. 256 p. (in Russian).
35. Yas O. (2014). Historian and Style. Prominent Figures of Ukrainian Historiography in the Light of Cultural Epochs (Early 19th Century - 1980s): Monograph in 2 Parts. Part 1. Kyiv, 2014. 587 p. (in Ukrainian).
36. Andriewsky O. (2003). The Russian-Ukrainian Discourse and the Failure of the ‘Little Russian Solution’, 1782–1917. *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600–1945*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press. P. 182–214. DOI: 10.2307/1520444.
37. Apfelbaum E. (2010). Halbwachs and the Social Properties of Memory. *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*. New York: Fordham University Press. P. 77.
38. Bilenky S. (2023). Laboratory of Modernity. Ukraine between Empire and Nation, 1772–1914. London; Chicago; Edmonton; Toronto. 596 p.
39. Boucher G., Lloyd G. M. (eds.). (2017). Rethinking the Enlightenment: Between History, Philosophy, and Politics. Lanham: Lexington Books. 280 p.
40. Bushkovitch P. (2003). What Is Russia? Russian National Identity and the State, 1500–1917. *Culture, Nation, and Identity: The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter, 1600–1945*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press. P. 144–161. DOI: 10.2307/1520444
41. Crummey R. (1993). Old Belief as Popular Religion: New Approaches. *Slavic Review*. 1993. Vol. 52, No. 4. P. 700–712. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2499648>
42. Dąbrowska M. (2014). Samuel Bogumił Linde a kultura i nauka rosyjska (na materiale czasopism początku XIX wieku). *Acta Polono-Ruthenica*. Nr 19. S. 191–205.

43. Gerasimov I. (2022). The Russian Imperial Situation: Before and after the Nation-State. *Ab Imperio*. No. 4. P. 31–59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/imp.2022.0087>.
44. Halbwachs M. (1992). On Collective Memory / trans. L. A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 254 p.
45. Pocock J. G. A. (2009). Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 278 p.
46. Sanders T. (ed.). (1999). Historiography of Imperial Russia. The Profession and Writing of History in a Multinational State / ed. Armonk, New York; London: M. E. Sharpe. 521 p.
47. Saunders D. (1982). Historians and Concepts of Nationality in Early Nineteenth-Century Russia. *The Slavonic and East European Review*. Vol. 60, No. 1. P. 44–62.
48. Saunders D. (1983). Zorian Dolega Chodakowski (1784–1825) and the Unity of Slavonic Culture. *Nationalities Papers*. Vol. 11, No. 2. P. 284–297. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905998308407973>.
49. Skinner Q. (1969). Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas. *History and Theory*. Vol. 8. P. 3–53. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2504188>.
50. Szvák G. (2011). The Golden Age of Russian Historical Writing: The Nineteenth Century. *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 4: 1800–1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. P. 303–325. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199533091.003.0016>
51. Velychenko S. (1992). *National History as Cultural Process. A Survey of the Interpretations of Ukraine's Past in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian Historical Writing from the Earliest Times to 1914*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press. XXXV+283 p.
52. Wirtschafter E. (2013). Religion and Enlightenment in Catherinian Russia: The Teachings of Metropolitan Platon. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 259 p. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501757464>
53. Wortman R. (2013). Russian Monarchy: Representation and Rule. Boston: Academic Studies Press. 325 p. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt21h4wbq.174>
54. Yermieiev P. (2024). The Relationship Between Faith and Knowledge in the Works of Mykhailo Maksymovych. *The Yearbook of Balkan and Baltic Studies*. Vol. 7, No. 1. P. 266–288. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7592/YBBS7.12>
55. Zhivov V. (2012). Cultural Reforms in Peter I's System of Transformation. "Tsar and God": and Other Essays in Russian Cultural Semiotics. Boston: Academic Studies Press. P. 191–238. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zxsjpf.7>
56. Zorin A. (2014). By Fables Alone: Literature and State Ideology in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Russia. Boston: Academic Studies Press. 420 p. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1zxsj45>.
57. Zubrzycki D. (1836). Historyczne badania o drukarniach rusko-słowiańskich w Galicyi. Lwów: w drukarni Instytutu Stauropigiańskiego. 90 s.

Текст надійшов до редакції 15.02.2026 / The text was received by the editors 15.02.2026

Текст затверджено до друку 08.04.2026 / The text is recommended for printing 08.04.2026

Текст опубліковано 30.05.2026 / The text was published on 30.05.2026