



## Малоизвестный скрипторий в Холмогорах? Опыт палеографического анализа

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**Аннотация.** В статье впервые публикуется палеографическое исследование, выполненное автором в 1970-е гг. Рассматривается группа рукописей, которые были написаны в одном скриптории города Холмогор или его окрестностей. Высказывается предположение, что этот скрипторий был связан с кафедральным собором Холмогор в период до поставления известного библиофила архиепископа Афанасия. Несмотря на появившиеся в последние десятилетия XX в. и в недавнее время многочисленные публикации, посвященные книжной культуре и библиотекам Русского Севера, идентификация книгописных центров этого региона остается актуальной проблемой.

**Ключевые слова:** славянская палеография, скрипторий, Холмогоры, древнерусские рукописи, Двинские летописи

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## ARCHAEOGRAPHY OF BOOK MONUMENTS

### Article

# A Little-Known Scriptorium in Kholmogory? An Essay in Palaeographic Analysis

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**Abstract.** This article makes available the author's half-century-old, previously unpublished palaeographic analysis of a group of manuscripts which, he argues, were probably copied in the same scriptorium in or near Kholmogory. The proposed location is the main cathedral of the town in the period prior to the appointment of the noted bookman Archbishop Afanasy to the episcopal see. Even though there is now a substantial literature on manuscript production and libraries in the Russian North, much additional study is needed to identify the output of individual scriptoria.

**Keywords:** Slavic palaeography, scriptorium, Kholmogory, Old Russian manuscripts, Dvina chronicles

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The essay which follows this introduction is the previously unpublished third part of an article I submitted to *Oxford Slavonic Papers* in 1977. The first two parts of the article, a study and the publication of the original Russian texts of two short chronicles, were accepted and published by the journal<sup>1</sup>. However, in response to my submission, the general editor Prof. I. P. Foote wrote on 14 September 1977: "As you rightly observed in your letter of 27 May, its length makes it impossible to consider publishing it in full [...] We feel that part 3 extends the scope and diversifies the interest of the article and for that reason could be most readily excluded [...] I think we should be able to manage a maximum of four plates (faces), and with this limitation it would hardly be possible to give an adequate illustration of your palaeographic discussion." In 2013, as an appendix to a scan of the published article, I included on my personal website a scan of my original typescript and plates of part 3.

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<sup>1</sup> Waugh D. C. Two unpublished Muscovite chronicles // *Oxford Slavonic Papers*. New Series. 1979. No. 12. P. 1–31.

This material in the first instance is an “archival document” which undoubtedly invites correction and expansion with reference to more recent publications. Indeed, much has been published on scriptoria and the palaeography of early Russian manuscripts in the half century since, as neophyte palaeographer, I was so bold as to write this piece. Apart from adding this short introduction, I am unable now to undertake the research to update the material with reference to recent scholarship. We still need to learn more about the scriptoria of Rus; I can but hope that some of this material will prove useful for those who will undertake that study. Issues with which I struggled are ones which still provoke lively discussion and disagreement<sup>2</sup>. The essay has been re-formatted, with minor stylistic changes. As necessary, some of the annotation has been updated. Unfortunately, a few of the manuscript illustrations are from less than ideal scans of photocopies.

My article in *Oxford Slavonic Papers* concerned two short chronicles. I argued that one, which I termed the “Chronicle of Iov Ivanov”, is known in two redactions, the first represented in the authorial original, MSS SHM, Museum Collection (ГИМ, Музейское собр.) № 2524 (hereafter, **М**), and in RNL, Collection of M. P. Rogodin (РНБ, Собр. М. П. Погодина) № 1573 (= **П**), and the second in RASL (Библиотека Академии наук), 32.8.4 (= **Б**). My study discussed a number of possible sources for that chronicle and pointed to important connections with the region of the Northern Dvina River. Unaware that the second of my “unpublished” chronicles had very recently in fact been published by V. I. Koretskii as the “Bezdnin Chronicle” (Безднинская летопись)<sup>3</sup>, I published its text from the same manuscripts he had used and argued that its text was a source used in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov<sup>4</sup>. Palaeographically, there was no evidence to connect the manuscripts of the Bezdnin Chronicle with the ones in my discussion which follows.

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Apart from its interesting content, manuscript SHM, Museum Collection (ГИМ, Музейское собр.) № 2524 (**М**) helps identify a group of manuscripts that may have originated in the same scriptorium. As the following material will demonstrate, that scriptorium was most probably located in Kholmogory, which can with some assurance be taken as the place where the “Chronicle of Iov Ivanov” itself was

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example (Ляховицкий Е. А. К проблеме типологии древнерусского письма // *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*. 2019. № 1. С. 78–94) and the several responses to him (including a brief, very general one of my own): Велинова В. [и др.]. Спор о древнерусском письме (форум) // *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana*. 2019. № 1. С. 103–123.

<sup>3</sup> Корецкий В. И. Безднинская летопись конца XVI в. Из Собрания С. О. Долгова // *Записки Отдела рукописей*. Москва, 1977. Вып. 38. С. 190–208.

<sup>4</sup> Koretskii's article, citing manuscript material not accessible to me, is the fullest treatment of the Bezdnin Chronicle, even though some of his hypotheses about its authorship and provenance may be questioned. My more limited contribution on the chronicle is of value mainly for the possible connection of its text with the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov. I learned of Koretskii's article when the volume of *OSP* was already in press.

compiled. The other manuscripts include the following: SHM, Collection of the Synodal (Patriarchal) Library (ГИМ, Синодальное [бывшее Патриашее] Собр.) № 127/77, hereafter designated **C**); RSL, Collection of N. S. Tikhonravov (РГБ, Собр. Н. С. Тихонравова) № 557 (**T**); RASL (Библиотека Академии наук), 32.8.4 (**B**); RNL, Collection of M. P. Pogodin (РНБ, Собр. М. П. Погодина) №№ 1405 (**X**) and 1573 (**P**), and F.XVII.15 (**Φ**)<sup>5</sup>.

What do these manuscripts have in common? First, most of them may in some way be associated with the region of the Northern Dvina River and in particular with the area around Kholmogory. The colophon of **C** tells us it was copied in Kholmogory in 1670 (Fig. 1). Inscriptions on **M** identify two of its owners, the Kholmogory priests Iov Ivanov (Иов Иванов) and Aleksey Zolotarev (Алексей Золотарев) (Fig. 2). **Φ** was at one point owned by the *d'iak* Dmitrii Stepanovich Volotskii (Дмитрий Степанович Волоцкий), who served on the Dvina from mid-January 1678 to early February 1681<sup>6</sup>, a fact which is suggestive although it does not by itself prove anything about the provenance of **Φ**<sup>7</sup>. Several of the manuscripts contain chronicles or portions of chronicles with local Dvina information. **M** and **P** contain the opening entries of the "Short Chronicle of the Dvina vоеvody" (Краткий летописец двинских воевод), a work known in full from **X**, where it is appended to the *Kholmogorskaya letopis'* (Холмогорская летопись). **T** and **Φ** each contain entries also in the *Dvinskoy letopisets* (Двинской летописец), a work

<sup>5</sup> For descriptions of these manuscripts, see:

**M** – Waugh D. C. (1971). De visu description of manuscripts containing the correspondence // The Kurbskii-Groznyi apocrypha: the seventeenth-century genesis of the "Correspondence" attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV. With an appendix by Daniel C. Waugh / E. L. Keenan. Cambridge, MA, 1971. Appendix I. P. 114–119; Лурье Я. С., Рыков Ю. Д. (подгот. текста). Переписка Ивана Грозного с Андреем Курбским. Ленинград, 1979. С. 265–266;

**C** – Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) Космография 1670 г. Изд. ОЛДП. XXI, LVII, LXVII. Санкт-Петербург, 1878–1881. С. 2–3; Протасьева Т. Н. (сост.) Описание рукописей Синодального собрания (не вошедших в описание А. В. Горского и К. И. Невоструева). Ч. 1. № 577–819. Москва, 1970. С. 107–108;

**T** – Насонов А. Н. Летописные памятники хранилищ Москвы (новые материалы) // Проблемы источниковедения. Москва, 1955. Вып. 4. С. 273. My own estimate of dating, judging from watermarks, is as early as the 1640s but more likely the 1650s; note the late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century inscription indicating ownership by Ivan Afanas'evich Fan'fisin (Иван Афанасьевич Фаньфисин);

**B** – Покровская В. Ф. [и др.] (сост.). Описание Рукописного отдела Библиотеки Академии наук СССР. Т. 3, вып. 1. (Хронографы, летописи, степенные, родословные разрядные книги). Москва; Ленинград, 1959. С. 502–507;

**X** – Лурье Я. С. Холмогорская летопись // Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы. Москва; Ленинград, 1970. Т. 25. С. 135–136; Полное собрание русских летописей. Т. 33. Холмогорская летопись. Двинский летописец. Ленинград, 1977. С. 3–4. My estimate of the date, based on the watermarks, is late 1660s to mid-1670s;

**P** – Бычков А. Ф. (сост.) Описание церковно-славянских и русских рукописных сборников Императорской публичной библиотеки. Ч. 1. Санкт-Петербург, 1882. С. 139–146; Waugh D. C. De visu description of manuscripts ... P. 126–130; Уо Д. К. (Waugh D. C.). К изучению истории рукописного собрания П. М. Строева [ч. 2] // Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы. Москва; Ленинград, 1977. Т. 32. С. 135–139;

**Φ** – Waugh D. C. De visu description of manuscripts ... P. 135–138.

<sup>6</sup> Веселовский С. Б. Дьяки и подьячие XV–XVII вв. Москва, 1975. С. 492.

<sup>7</sup> Although the names of several owners of **B** are known. The earliest dated inscription (1 September 1671) is for Stepan Gerasimovich Dokhturov, son of an important state secretary. I have no information that any of the owners had a connection with the Dvina region.

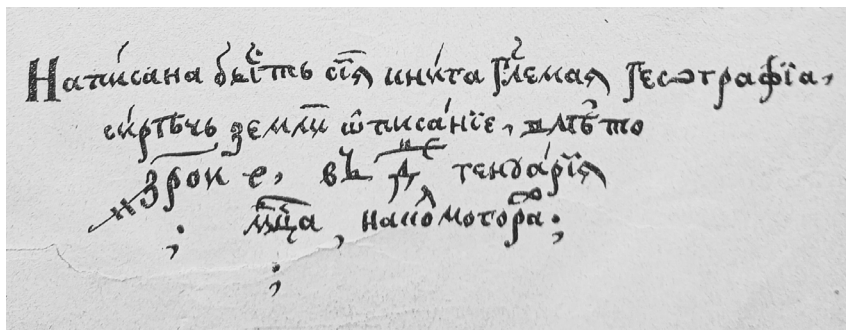


Fig. 1. Colophon of manuscript SHM, Collection of the Synodal (Patriarchal) Library, no. 127/77 (C). Reproduced from a photograph of the title page of (Charykov NV (ed. and foreword) *Cosmography* 1670. ...)

Рис. 1. Выходная запись рукописи ГИМ. Синодальное (бывшее Патриаршее) собр., № 127/77 (С). Воспроизведена со снимка на титульном листе (Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) *Космография* 1670 г. ...)

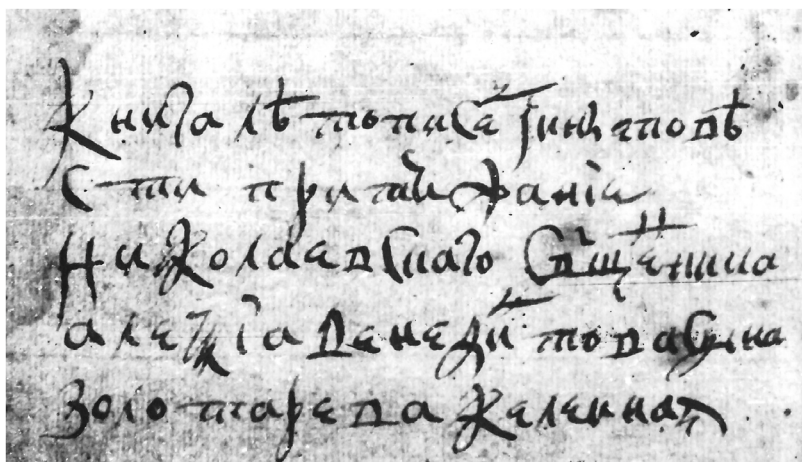


Fig. 2. The owners' inscriptions on manuscript SHM, Museum Collection, no. 2524 (M), fols. 6v and 1r-6r

Рис. 2. Владельческая запись на рукописи ГИМ. Музейское собр., № 2524 (М). Л. 6 об. и 1-6

for which most copies seem to have circulated (and probably originated) in the Arkhangel'sk/Kholmogory region<sup>8</sup>.

A second connecting link among some of the manuscripts is the fact that they have certain works in common other than the Dvina chronicle information. This is particularly striking for **М** and **П**, not merely because the latter apparently used the former as a source, but because the two seem to have had as a common source a manuscript miscellany containing many of the same works. **Ф** overlaps with those two to a lesser degree, but significantly contains a copy of the 1613 letter of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich to King Louis XIII, a work whose only other copy I know is in **П**, and a variant of the "Extracts from the Kizylbash Books" (~ Сказания о даре шаха Аббаса) that appears to be close to that in **М** and **П**. Not all the works in common to the three manuscripts are found in the same redaction in each one, but this fact of itself does not exclude the possibility of the three having used a common source<sup>9</sup>. It does seem that the copyists of these three manuscripts had access to a rich library of secular literature, a fact about which I shall say more later. **Б** is a copy of the "Book of Degrees" (Степенная книга), and **Т** contains excerpts from that work. This may be mere coincidence, but we cannot exclude the possibility, which could be checked by close textual comparison, that **Т** was made using **Б** or its source.

The third connecting link among the manuscripts – one which pertains to all seven of them – is their handwriting. I shall examine certain palaeographic features of the manuscripts in some detail in order to demonstrate that connection and to provide materials for further study of what I feel was an important scriptorium in the Kholmogory region, one which has hitherto been ignored by scholars. I should stress that the following examination must perforce be preliminary and its conclusions highly tentative. The reasons for this are several. I was not able to examine all the manuscripts in equal detail (in fact, I know two of them, **С** and **Б**, only from reproductions of small portions of text)<sup>10</sup>. I was not able to compare the manuscripts directly. Since my *de visu* palaeographic study was subordinate to other matters at the time, the bulk of my analysis was done later from microfilms and photographs, which have obvious limitations for such study. And finally, I have been unable to pursue leads to other manuscripts that

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<sup>8</sup> Сербина К Н. Двинской летописец // Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины. Ленинград, 1973. Вып. 5. С. 199. Although the Dvina chronicle fragments in **Ф** and **Т** for the most part overlap, each one contains entries not found in the other. Nonetheless, a common protograph is possible for the two; the source for that in turn was a source of the *Dvinskoi letopisets*.

<sup>9</sup> I am thinking especially of the "Tale of Two Embassies" [Повесть о двух посольствах], in different redactions in **Ф**, on the one hand, and **П** and **М** on the other. **П** cannot have copied only from **М** though, since the latter lacks the ending found in **П**. Also, note that the tale about Stefan Bathory's attack on Pskov in **Ф** is different from the version in manuscript RNL, Pogodin № 1629 (one part of the larger manuscript that included **П**).

<sup>10</sup> For **С**, see above. For **Б**, see the eleventh and twelfth (unnumbered) pages of plates at the back of (Моисеева Г Н. Ломоносов и древнерусская литература. Ленинград, 1971).

might likewise be associated with the seven treated here and throw more light on the palaeographic problems they pose<sup>11</sup>.

The accompanying table (see Appendix) should facilitate comparison of the hands in the seven manuscripts and help establish the features that we might associate with the scriptorium that I posit was their source. The table is not intended to represent all the hands in any one of the manuscripts (where more than one copyist may have been involved) but illustrates only certain of the hands that seem to share features in common<sup>12</sup>. Analysis of the remaining hands must be left for future study. Here it suffices to note that there is a wide variety in styles of handwriting found in the manuscripts taken as a whole. In some instances, changes in style occur more than once on a page, which may suggest that we are dealing with a copyist or copyists who were competent at writing in a number of styles, which, taken individually, would be virtually impossible to identify as being from the same hand (Fig. 3).

The hands that display the most common (and characteristic) features and have been illustrated in the table are not easy to classify according to the traditional designations used in Cyrillic palaeography. I. P. Sakharov termed the hand of **С** "Arkangel'sk semi-uncial" but I would be inclined to characterize it as "cursive tending toward semi-uncial" («скоропись, переходящая в полуустав»), which, as we know, is not a terribly helpful description for any hand that one would wish to identify with precision<sup>13</sup>. Clearly in the first style reproduced in the table for **П**, the hand is cursive (Fig. 4 – first hand), although when broken down into individual letters, that style is little different from what Sakharov called semi-uncial. Until someone has developed a better classification system than we now have for Cyrillic hands, it may be best that we simply put the question of terminology aside and proceed to a description of the hands' features.

The features that would seem to mark most clearly the common basis for the hands in all the manuscripts are several, and unfortunately the verbal description of these features individually is often insufficient to distinguish them from many other varieties of Muscovite cursive. Nonetheless, taken together they do form a distinctive style. For one thing, short vertical strokes (such as those found in **п**, **т**, **с**, and several other letters) tend to be concave to the right, with the curve

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<sup>11</sup> A hand in similar style is in the portion of manuscript РНБ, Породин № 1563 (fols. 101–105<sup>v</sup>) containing fragments of a Dvina chronicle for the years 7061–7134. My notes suggest that another manuscript with a similar hand in part may be ГИМ, Собр. А. С. Уварова № 1844 (756).

<sup>12</sup> The sources for the table are as follows: **С** – the reproduction of the colophon on the title page of (Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) Космография 1670 г. ...); **М** – fols. 1<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>r</sup>, 8<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>r</sup>; **Т** – fols. 191<sup>r</sup>, 195<sup>r</sup>, 197<sup>r</sup>, 200<sup>r</sup>; **Б** – fol. 69; **П** (first variant) – fols. 12<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>r</sup>; (second variant) – fols. 92<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>v</sup>; **Ф** – fols. 65<sup>r</sup>, 281<sup>r</sup>; **Х** – fols. 33<sup>r</sup>, 95<sup>r</sup>, 130<sup>r</sup>. In having the photographs made for the table and plates, I attempted to maintain approximately the size of each original manuscript. However, I did not have exact measurements; so clearly some size inaccuracy resulted. For **Б** in particular there is noticeable reduction.

<sup>13</sup> Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) Космография 1670 г. ... С. 3 прим.; Протасьева Т. Н. (сост.) Описание рукописей Синодального собрания ... С. 107 («русская скоропись»); Розов Н. Н. Скорописание или скоропись? (Об уточнении термина) // Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины. Ленинград, 1969. Вып. 2. С. 134–143.



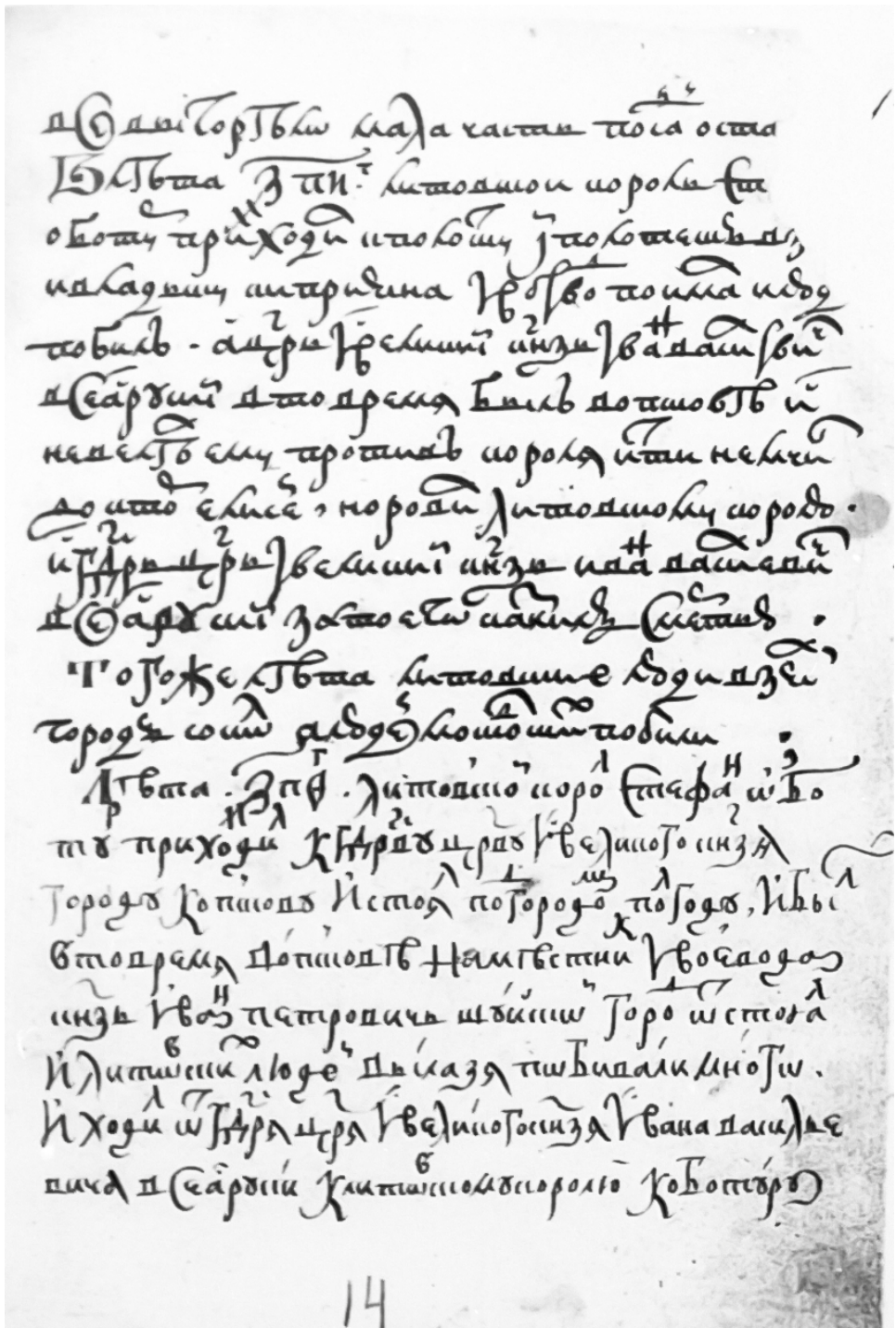


Fig. 4. RNL, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, no. 1573 (П), fol. 14<sup>r</sup>

Рис. 4. РНБ. Собр. М. П. Погодина, № 1573 (П). Л. 14

being especially pronounced at the thickened bottom (that is, the end) of the pen stroke. The letter **p** in all cases is attested in a variant formed by a long, nearly vertical stroke, thick in the middle and thinner on the curves, and shaped like an elongated Latin "S", with the head formed by a second stroke that often begins slightly concave to the right and then curves rather sharply left with a slight downward slant. The superscript **p** in most cases is of similar shape, formed by a roughly horizontal "S" stroke that is curved sharply enough at the beginning so that the head of the letter may be completed by a nearly straight stroke on a diagonal down to the right. A second variant of the superscript **p** that seems characteristic for the scriptorium is vertical with a short, straight stem and formed (possibly – this is not entirely clear from the pictures) by a single stroke (attested in **М, Т, Б, П**).

A second letter that is a mark of this scriptorium is the **д** with a long single tail drawn diagonally from top right to bottom left and ending with a gently curving horizontal stroke back to the right. The only manuscript for which this is not attested is **С**, an omission which may reflect merely the small size of my sample from that manuscript. In all cases, this characteristic **д** seems to have been formed by a short, curving first stroke that creates the left side of the letter's head, with the second stroke forming the right side and then sweeping down without break into the tail. This letter shows well one feature of the scriptorium, the angling of the pen so that the lines drawn at approximately a 45-degree angle down from right to left are thin and the ones angled from upper left to lower right contrastingly thick. The drawing of this **д** also can suggest which of the hands definitely are different. In **Х**, the second stroke angles from upper left to lower right at its beginning and continues to do so beyond the end of the first stroke (and hence the line of the text) before curving back to the left in the tail. In **Ф** the break left in the tail occurs well below the line, which gives a markedly vertical appearance to the letter, in contrast to the examples in the other manuscripts.

A third letter that is characteristic for the scriptorium is the **з** with an extended horizontal tail ending in a slight to marked hook. The letter seems to be formed in every case from a single pen stroke, with the lines in the top of the letter showing a distinct angle downward<sup>14</sup>. The version of this letter in the first style of **П** is quite distinct from the others – the letter ends in an extreme hook back to the right. Another letter which seems to be drawn in similar fashion in all the manuscripts is the **б**, formed by three strokes, one a usually straight vertical on the left (in the case of **П**, characteristically hooked at the bottom), and with the stem on the right rising only slightly, if at all, above the horizontal stroke. In some cases, the letter has been formed by only two strokes, with the horizontal one moving right into the stem of the letter, often with a marked loop. Manuscripts

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<sup>14</sup> While this form is not attested in the colophon of **С**, which I used for the table, it is found in the cinnabar heading at the beginning of the manuscript, apparently written by the same hand.

**M** and **T** are marked by variants of this letter made without the vertical bar on the left; and manuscript **Φ** contains numerous examples of a variant that is drawn like a **Ъ** and is not attested in the other manuscripts.

The hands of all the manuscripts contain two characteristic variants of the **Ъ**: one is formed probably from a single stroke beginning with a slight to marked hook at the top of a long stem and then moving at an angle back under the hook before curving back around for the base. The angle of the stem seems to vary considerably within each manuscript, although we note in **Π** a tendency toward the vertical. In **Φ** a characteristic of the hand is a shallow angle from the vertical for the stem and the virtual absence of the hook in a great many examples of the letter. The second main variant of this letter is of particular interest for the way in which the hook at the top is treated in **Π** and **Φ**, where it has been curved up to open to the right in a number of instances rather than simply open upward as in the other manuscripts. Another thing that can be seen clearly from the second style in **Π** is the tendency of that copyist to make the loop in the base with a sharp angle rather than a rounded stroke as in most other cases. A similar thing can be observed in **Π** for the **Ъ** and **Ы** and helps distinguish the hand(s) of that manuscript from the others.

It seems to me that four of the seven manuscripts (**C**, **M**, **T**, and **B**) probably contain the work of a single copyist. Of the four, the most difficult to associate with the group is **C**, partly because my acquaintance with its hand is limited to a very few lines of text. Some letters found in the other three manuscripts in several variants are known to me for **C** in only a single variant, which need not necessarily be typical for the hand. Moreover, of the four manuscripts, **C** seems to be the youngest: it has a definite date of 1670, whereas watermark data for **M**, **T**, and **B** suggest that they may have been copied as much as two decades earlier. One might hypothesize that a copyist in his prime around ca. 1650 may have been physically failing two decades later; such a supposition would help to explain the apparent shakiness of the hand in **C** (note especially the letters **з** and **т**).

Among individual letters in these four manuscripts, we note in particular **б**, with a curving stem angled up to the right and ending in a hook (attested only in **C**, **T**, and **B**), the variant of the superscript **м** with the clearly crossing vertical strokes (in **M**, **T**, and **B**), the **ц** with its long hooked tail below the middle mast of the letter (in **M**, **T**, and **B**), the **з** with a short tail that flattens out or begins to curve downwards (in all four), the **п** in which the top of the left vertical stroke is curved to the extent that it almost meets the right one (in **M** and **T**). Aside from what comparison of individual letters reveals, perhaps of equal significance is the fact that the overall appearance of the hand in question in all four manuscripts is strikingly similar but somewhat distinct from that of the remaining three (for **C**, see Fig. 1; for **M**, Fig. 5, Fig. 6; for **T**, Fig. 7; and for **B**, the plates cited in note 7).

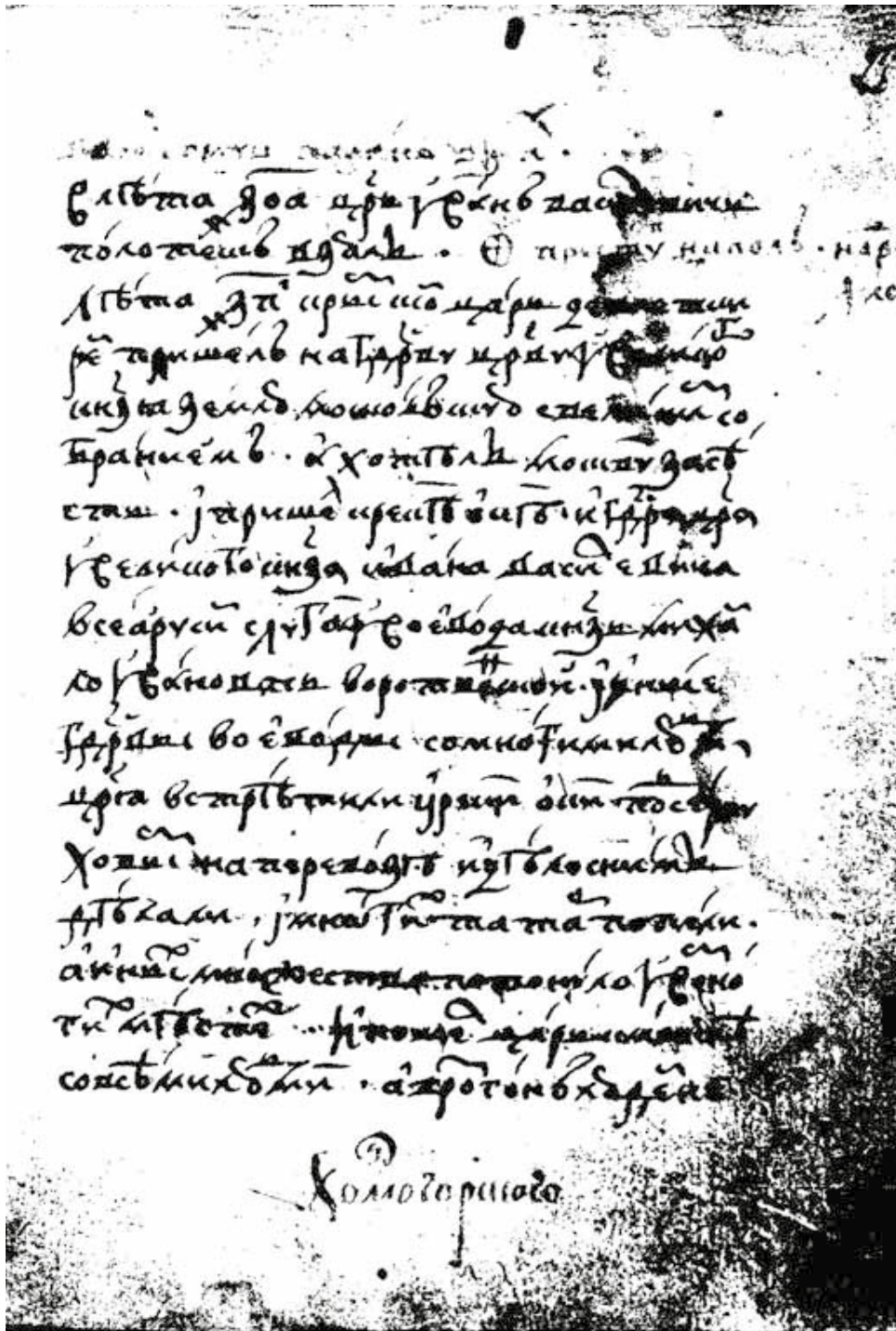


Fig. 5. SHM, Museum Collection, no. 2524 (M), fol. 2<sup>r</sup>

Рис. 5. ГИМ. Музейское собр., № 2524 (М). Л. 2

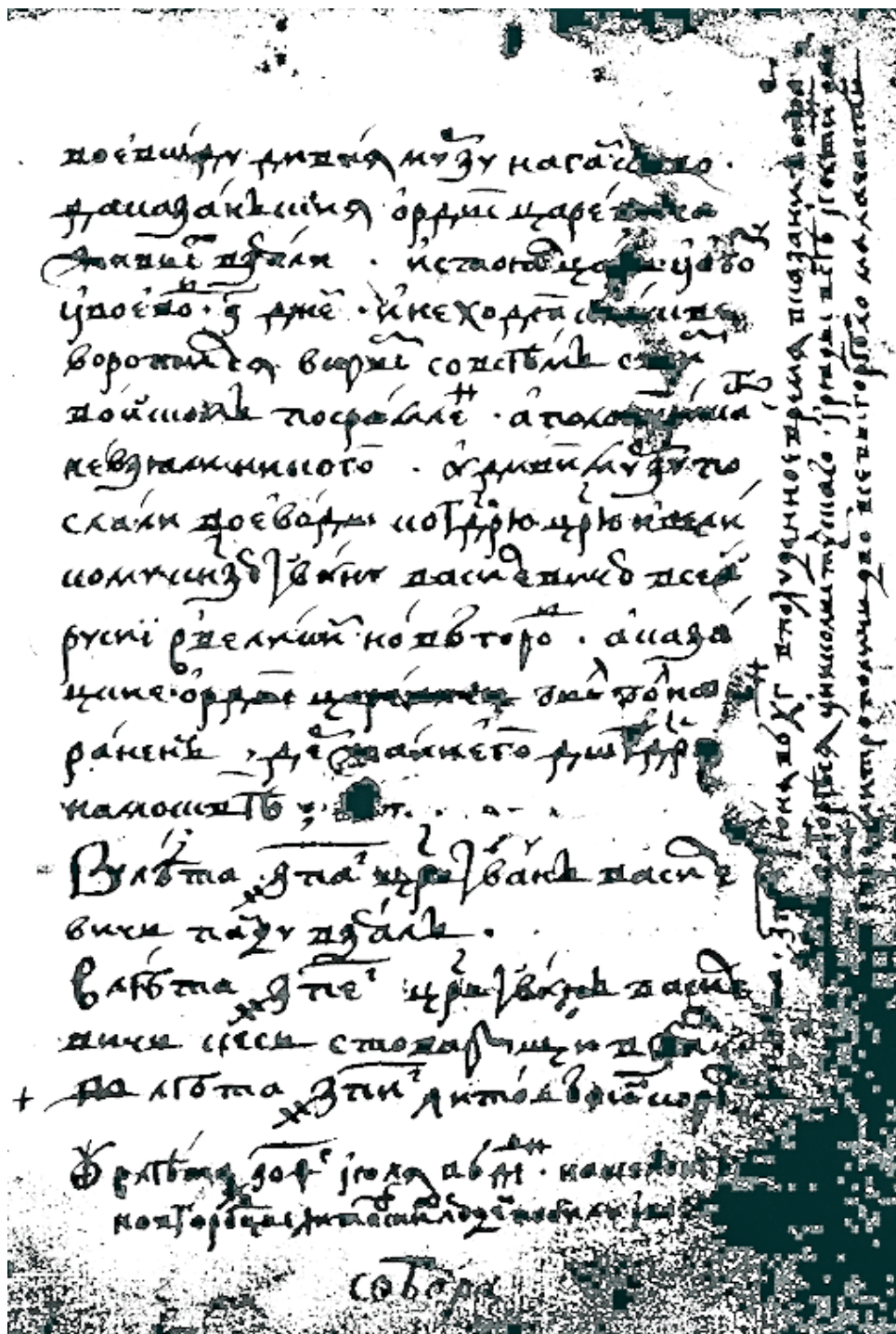


Fig. 6. SHM, Museum Collection, no. 2524 (M), fol. 3

Рис. 6. ГИМ. Музейное собр., № 2524 (М). Л. 3

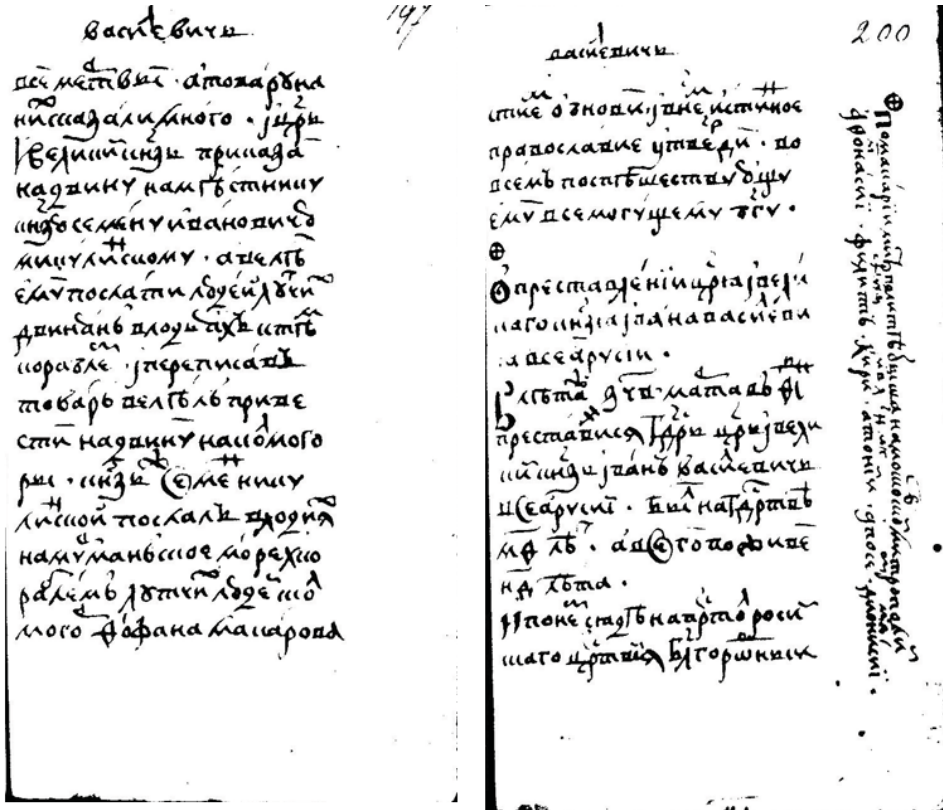


Fig. 7. RSL, Collection of N. S. Tikhonravov, no. 557 (T), fols. 197<sup>r</sup>, 200<sup>r</sup>

Рис. 7. РГБ. Собр. Н. С. Тихонравова, № 557 (Т). Л. 197, 200

We might characterize the common element here as a certain roughness or lack of polish, which means that the copyist tended to be rather casual about angles of strokes, preserving horizontal lines, spacing, and uniformity of size. In contrast, both styles represented for **П** in the table are more regular – one with a marked flowing horizontal line (Fig. 4 – first hand) and the other with a distinct regular verticality. **Φ** has a rather consistent emphasis on the vertical (due especially to the prominence of long, practically straight stems for the letter **ѣ**) although the hand is much more similar in overall appearance to that of **С**, **М**, **Т**, and **Б** than is that in **П**. Finally, **Х** is in a class by itself, since it most closely approaches semi-uncial and has a formal, squarish and solid appearance lacking in the other manuscripts (this reflects, among other things, use of a different pen – Fig. 8).

One other aspect connects **С**, **М**, **Т**, and **Б**: the treatment of diacritical marks and accents. The accents in all four cases are placed with strokes that are similar in shape, angle and thickness. Similarly, the form and positioning of diacritical marks seems to be the same in these four manuscripts. In contrast, the first

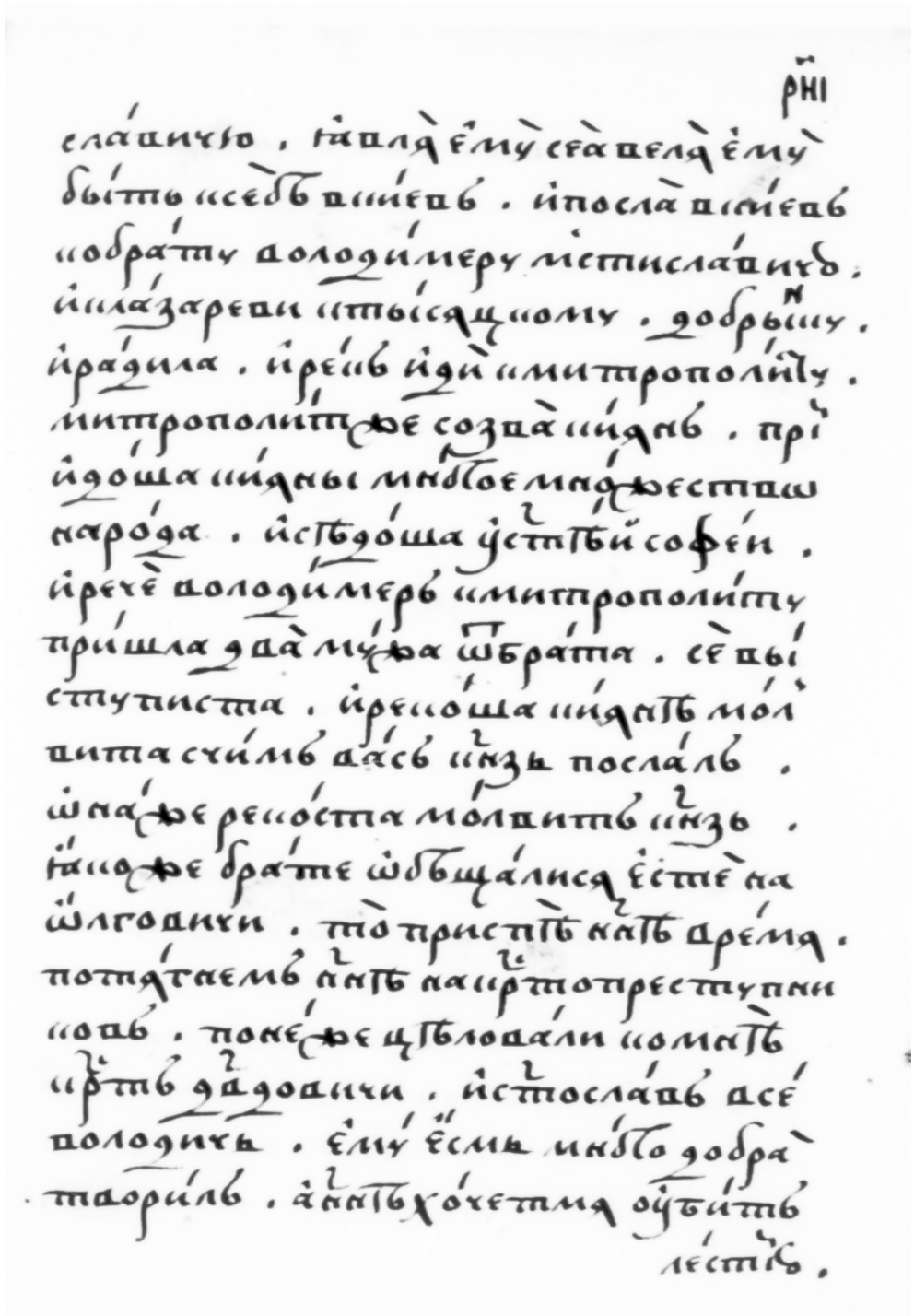


Fig. 8. RNL, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, no. 1405 (X), fol. 118r

Рис. 8. РНБ. Собр. М. П. Погодина, № 1405 (X). Л. 118

style of **П** has a distinctive treatment of the **ист** or **исо** (with the accent at a shallow angle from the horizontal and the **звателцо** under it approximately horizontal). Also, in the first style of **П**, the accents for the most part have been eliminated. In contrast, the second style of **П** has the accents but only rarely the diacritical marks. In **Ф** the treatment of the accents and diacriticals is essentially that of the first group of four, although the lines of the accents tend to be drawn with a somewhat thicker stroke than in that group. Finally, **Х** is characterized by heavy lines in its accents and frequent use of the **вариа** (the *accent grave*).

I have not attempted to do a systematic analysis of the letter combinations found in the manuscripts but should nonetheless note briefly that certain combinations quite common to late Muscovite cursive may be found in many or most of our samples. We note especially the combination of **с** and **е** (in which the first loops down and around to the beginning of the second), the run-together **ї** and **в**, various combinations involving **о** and **г** (especially in genitive endings), **о**, **е** and **в** in the word **воевода**, and so on. Ligatures are rare (one example in a marginal note in **Т**). The letter combinations are, of course, most frequent in the hands that are most genuinely to be classified as cursive – namely the first hand of **П** illustrated in the table and parts of **М** which clearly were written hurriedly.

One final aspect of this group of manuscripts that is worth noting is the matter of decoration<sup>15</sup>. In all cases, we find rather liberal use of cinnabar, although in at least some instances this would appear to have been added by a hand other than that of the main scribe (certain initials in **М**; headings in **П** and perhaps in part in **Ф**). Both **С** and **Ф** contain examples of rather careful **вязь**, which appears to have been executed by two different scribes although it is basically in one style and with the same width-to-height ratio of 1:7 (Fig. 9, Fig. 10). Moreover, in **Ф**, a manuscript on which clearly a considerable amount of care was lavished, we have a fine, large decorated initial **в** in the old printed floral style (Fig. 11) as well as some other smaller but elegant initials (for example, the **б** on fol. 65<sup>r</sup> (Fig. 10), where we also find the **вязь**)<sup>16</sup>. While such decoration appears relatively infrequently in view of the total number of manuscript pages involved in the seven books we have discussed, nevertheless, it would seem that the scriptorium where the seven all probably originated was capable of producing work of high aesthetic quality.

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<sup>15</sup> Another potentially revealing datum for establishing the provenance of the manuscripts might be their paper. However, with the exception of a few sheets of paper containing the Arms of Berne in **Х** and **М** (whose identity I have not been able to establish through direct comparison), there is apparently no overlap in paper usage for the five manuscripts I have examined (**М**, **Т**, **П**, **Ф**, **Х**) and the ones for which information has been published (**С**, **Б**). There is enough likelihood that their copying was spread over a number of years so that we should not necessarily expect overlap in a place where new paper supplies presumably were available at the start of each navigation season.

<sup>16</sup> For **С**, (Протасьева Т. Н. (сост.) Описание рукописей Синодального собрания ... С. 108) makes a special note of the opening initial.

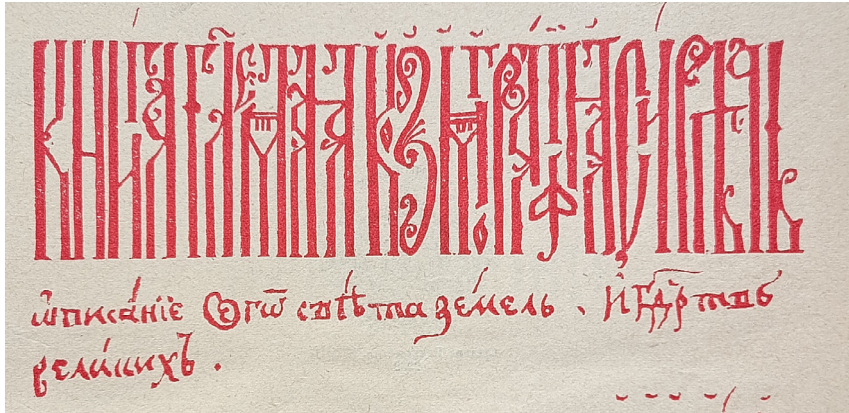


Fig. 9. The *вязь* heading at the beginning of SHM, Collection of the Synodal (Patriarchal) Library, no. 127/77 (C). Reproduced from a photograph of the title page of (Charykov NV (ed. and foreword) *Cosmography* 1670. ...)

Рис. 9. Вязь в начале ГИМ. Синодальное (бывшее Патриаршее) собр., № 127/77 (С). Воспроизведено по снимку на титульном листе (Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) *Космография* 1670 г. ...)

We should note by way of caution though what Nikolay Charykov pointed out regarding the copyist of **C**: namely that he was rather sloppy in reproducing his text<sup>17</sup>. If this was indeed the same copyist as for **M**, which I tend to think, we might suggest that his rough draft of the “Chronicle of Iov Ivanov” is consistent with the picture of a copyist who was not overly skilled. Given the shortness of the texts involved, his rough draft might have been somewhat more skillfully put together than it was, instead of having insertions that seem to have come as something of an afterthought. Be that as it may, as Charykov also indicates, the scriptorium in which **C** was produced (or, possibly, the one in which it was housed) contained a highly skilled and very careful editor, apparently a cleric, who corrected the mistakes of the scribe and glossed the text.

It would be desirable to specify the precise scriptorium in which these manuscripts were produced. However, so far we can but agree with Charykov that we probably are dealing with a church or monastery in Kholmogory<sup>18</sup>. As he correctly points out (for **C**), the manuscripts are too early to be associated with the most

<sup>17</sup> Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) *Космография* 1670 г. ... С. 82.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., however, the observations of K. N. Serbina (Сербина К. Н. *Двинской летописец* ... С. 205), who feels that the *Dvinskoy letopisets* was compiled in the *voevoda's* chancery of Kholmogory, an observation based primarily on considerations of language and style and on the chronicler's use of the short chronicles of the *voevody* and *namestniki* but relative lack of concern over church affairs. While her observations may hold for the chronicles, I think it somewhat unlikely that the scriptorium with which I am dealing could be the *voevoda's* chancery, which presumably would not have had the resources needed for work of the scope evidenced in these manuscripts. In any event, for the most part the manuscripts do not contain what one might consider to be typical Muscovite chancery hands. We cannot exclude the possibility that the “scriptorium” in question was several locations, whose scribes had been trained in a single center.





Fig. 11. RNL, F.XVII.15 (Φ), fol. 209v

Рис. 11. РНБ. F.XVII.15 (Φ). Л. 209 об.

famous bookman of the area, Archbishop Afanasy<sup>19</sup>. It is likely though that those working in the scriptorium were associates of the two priests who owned **M. lov Ivanov** was a priest of the Church of the Epiphany and in 1701 became ecclesiarch (ключарь) of Afanasii's Cathedral of the Transfiguration. When Aleksey Venediktov *syn* Zolotarev owned the manuscript, he was a priest in the Church of St. Nicholas in the lower *posad* of Kholmogory (prior to 1682), after which he preceded Iov Ivanov as ключарь of the cathedral. We know that Zolotarev was involved in compiling the official records of the cathedral (the *chinovnik*) and was interested in versification. Also, his son-in-law appears to have been one of the compilers of the *Dvinskoy letopisets*<sup>20</sup>.

We have in this group of manuscripts an indication of a serious interest in history and historical compilation as well as material suggesting that the copyists had access to a very rich library of Muscovite literature. Zolotarev's circle would seem to qualify as a possible source for our manuscripts insofar as historical records are concerned, but at the minute we can only speculate on the identity of the library in question. That library contained, *inter alia*, the following: a chronicle or chronicles of all-Russian scope and size, the Book of Degrees (Степенная книга), the "Chronograph of 1617" (Хронограф 1617 г.), a *Kosmografiya*, the first two letters in the "correspondence" attributed to Prince Kurbsky and Tsar Ivan IV, the "Tale of Two Embassies" (Повесть о двух посольствах), Ivan IV's apocryphal correspondence with the Turkish sultan, letters of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich to foreign princes and kings, letters of government and church leaders to religious leaders in the North, the "Kazan' History" (Казанская история), Trifon Korobeinikov's "Journey" (Хождение Трифона Коробейникова), a tale about the conquest of Siberia, an account about China, the tale concerning the taking of Pskov by King Stefan Bathory, Fedot Kotov's journey to the Near East, various tales about the Time of Troubles (Смутное время), and much more. It may be, of course, that we are dealing with material copied from books loaned from the two largest libraries in the region, those of the Antoniev-Siysky and Solovki Monasteries, but it seems as likely that we should seek the source for the material in Kholmogory itself. The cathedral which was built for Archbishop Afanasy in the 1680s under his aegis obviously came to have a rich library, but the nucleus for that library undoubtedly was there before. Whether or not we can identify precisely what I venture to suggest was a significant center of Muscovite book production in Kholmogory awaits further research in the yet poorly charted treasures of Russian manuscript collections.

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<sup>19</sup> Чарыков Н. В. (ред. и предисл.) Космография 1670 г. ... С. 82–83.

<sup>20</sup> See (Waugh D. C. De visu description of manuscripts ...) and the literature cited there; also (Сербина К. Н. Двинской летописец ... С. 196–219, *passim*).

*Автор прочитал и одобрил окончательный вариант рукописи.  
The author has read and approved the final manuscript.*

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ГИМ. Собр. А. С. Уварова № 1844 (756). Сборник. XVII в. 4°. 250 л.

ГИМ. Синодальное (бывшее Патриашее) собр., № 127/77. Космография. 1670 г. 1°. 258 л.

РГБ. Собр. Н. С. Тихонравова (ф. 299), № 557. Летописец русский. 248 л.

РНБ. Собр. М. П. Погодина (ф. 588), № 1405. Сборник. Вторая половина XVII в. 4°. 454 л.

РНБ. Собр. М. П. Погодина (ф. 588), № 1503. Сборник. XVII в. 4°. 391 л.

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Summary Table of Handwriting Styles

Приложение

Сводная таблица почерков

	С	М	Т	Б	П	Ф	Х
А	aa aa	ada aa	ad	a	aa aa	aa a	aa aa
Б	б б	бб бб	ббб бб	ббб бб	ббб ббб	ббб бб	ббб бб
В	вв вв	вав вв	ввв	ввв	вав вв	вав вв	вав вв
Г	гг гг	ггг ггг	ггг	ггг	ггг ггг	ггг ггг	ггг ггг
Д	дд дд	ддд ддд	ддд	ддд	ддд ддд	ддд ддд	ддд ддд
Е	ее е	ее	ее	ее	ее е	е е	еее
Ж	жж	жж	жж	жж	жж жж	жж жж	жж
З	зз зз	зз зз	зз	зз	зз зз	зз зз	зз зз
И	ии ии	ии ии	ии	ии	ии ии	ии ии	ии
І	іі іі	ііі ііі	ііі	ііі	ііі ііі	ііі ііі	ііі
К	кк кк	кк кк	кк	кк	кк кк	кк кк	кк
Л	лл лл	лл лл	лл	лл	лл лл	лл лл	лл
М	мм мм	мм мм	мм	мм	мм мм	мм мм	мм
Н	нн нн	нн нн	нн	нн	нн нн	нн нн	нн
О	оо оо	оо	оо	оо	оо оо	оо оо	оо
П	пп пп	пп	пп	пп	пп пп	пп пп	пп

	С	М	Т	Б	П	Ф	Х
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