

Two Muscovite Chronicles

I have brought together here my article printed as “Two Unpublished Muscovite Chronicles” in *Oxford Slavonic Papers* XII (1979): 1-31, and the addendum “A Scriptorium in Kholmogory: Some Observations on Palaeography,” which had been submitted to *OSP* but by editorial decision not included with the rest of the article, as I had originally intended it should be.

My anonymous dedication in the article is to Iakov Solomonovich Lur'e; I had originally written it in the *tainopis* ' I had deciphered in RNB (then GPB) MS Pogodin 1311 (see Edward L. Keenan, *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha* [Cambridge, MA.; 1971]: 122). The editors of *OSP* decided that was too obscure even for their readers and insisted I render it in Cyrillic. Lur'e immediately understood I was probably referring to him and insisted that, even if he had “re-discovered” the Kholmogory Chronicle (which he then published in *PSRL*, Vol. 33), its discovery (or at least first use in scholarly publication) should be credited to the famous 19th-century historian Sergei M. Solov'ev. When he was preparing the chronicle for publication, Lur'e consulted with me concerning the dating of its manuscript (see *PSRL*, 33, p. 4n9); I also identified for him the appended text about the miraculous signs in the heavens over the “Serbian land” (see Ia. S. Lur'e, “Kholmogorskaia letopis',” *TODRL* XXV (1970), p. 136n4).

It is important to note that when the article for *OSP* was in press, I learned too late that one of my “unpublished” chronicles, the Bezdnińskaia letopis' had in fact already just been published by V. I. Koretskii, “Bezdniński letopisets kontsa XVI v. iz Sobraniia S. O. Dolgova,” *Zapiski Otdela rukopisei* (Gos. biblioteki SSSR im. V. I. Lenina) 38 (1977):190-208. Probably, had I been more attentive, I would have seen Koretskii's article in time to cite him or otherwise alter my article. Koretskii published the chronicle from copy D with variants from MS B. He also provided considerable information and some interesting hypotheses concerning the chronicle and Bezdniin, derived in part from manuscript sources not available to me. He concluded that Bezdniin indeed was the author/editor of the chronicle and did the work in the St. Joseph-Volokolamsk Monastery soon after he entered it in 1586 (the date is confirmed by a document of that year, but the entry in the service registers for 1589 concerning Bezdniin remains to be explained). While that conclusion is reasonable, I am not convinced that Bezdniin's authorship or the provenance of the chronicle have been satisfactorily proven.

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Two Unpublished Muscovite Chronicles

By DANIEL CLARKE WAUGH

Открывателю Холмогорской летописи посвящая

THE very numerous short Russian chronicles found largely in late Muscovite manuscript miscellanies have understandably interested scholars less than the larger narrative sources for the history of early Russia.¹ Too often the short texts contain no information that is not to be found in other sources, or if some information is unique, it is provincial in focus and often trivial. None the less, even where their content is meagre, such short texts can reveal a great deal about the process of historical compilation (especially in the period when it is generally accepted that chronicle writing in the strict sense was dying) and may illuminate the activities of individual scriptoria, the study of which has only begun. A short chronicle which illustrates these points is that found in three seventeenth-century Muscovite miscellanies: Moscow, State Historical Museum (GIM), Museum Collection, No. 2524 (hereafter *M*); Leningrad, Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library (GPB), Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 1573 (hereafter *P*); and Leningrad, Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN), 16.7.15 (hereafter *A*).²

The author is grateful to the Inter-University Committee on Travel and Grants and the International Research and Exchanges Board for supporting the research which made this article possible.

¹ For exceptions see, for example, A. A. Zimin, 'Kratkie letopisty XV–XVI vv.', *Istoricheskiĭ arkhiv*, v (1950), 3–39; Ya. S. Lur'c, 'Kratkii letopisets Pogodinskogo sobraniya', *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1962 g.* (1963), 431–44. M. N. Tikhomirov took a particular interest in such short chronicles. See his 'Zapiski o regentstve Eleny Glinskoi i boyarskom pravlenii 1533–1547 gg.', *Istoricheskie zapiski*, xlv (1954), 278–88, and his valuable descriptive catalogue, *Kratkie zametki o letopisnykh proizvedeniyakh v rukopisnykh sobraniyakh Moskv* (M., 1962).

² These manuscripts are described as follows:

1. GIM, Museum Collection, No. 2524—D. C. Waugh, 'De visu Description of Manuscripts Containing the Correspondence', in: E. L. Keenan, *The Kurbskii–Groznyi Apocrypha* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 114–19.

2. GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 1573—A. F. Bychkov, *Opisanie tserkovnoslavianskikh i russkikh rukopisnykh sbornikov Imperatorskoi Publichnoi biblioteki*, i (Spb., 1882), 139–46 (extracts from the chronicle, pp. 139–40), and Waugh, 'De visu Description', 126–30; for new information concerning the composition of the miscellany of which *P* was only a part, see D. K. Uo [D. C. Waugh], 'K izucheniyu istorii rukopisnogo sobraniya P. M. Stroeve' (pt. 2), *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), xxxii (1977), 135–8.

3. BAN, 16.7.15—*Opisanie Rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR*, iii, vyp. 2 (M.–L., 1965), 210–12. G. Z. Kuntsevich prepared for publication a lengthy description of *M*, which included quotation of sizeable portions of the chronicle. See the incomplete page proofs of vol. ii of his *Sochineniya knyazya Kurbskogo*, Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta istorii Akademii nauk SSSR, Russkaya sektsiya, fond 276, op. 1, No. 30, pp. 224–30.

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For convenience, I shall call the text the 'Chronicle of Iov Ivanov', after the owner of its earliest manuscript (*M*).

The purpose of this article is to analyse and publish the texts of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov and of another interesting short chronicle used in its second redaction, the so-called Bezdniin Chronicle.

Compiled most probably in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov has hitherto attracted attention primarily because it contains information about events on the Northern Dvina River in the second half of the sixteenth century and unique information (in its second redaction) about a *dumnyi dvoryanin*, M. A. Bezdniin (Bezdnin).³ The chronicle has not been published in its entirety, nor have scholars observed that in two of its three manuscripts we appear to have what we might term 'author's text' (that is, for each of the two redactions). Moreover, the content and palaeographic features of these manuscripts and a number of others suggest the existence in or near Kholmogory of an important scriptorium in the middle third of the seventeenth century, one where there appears to have been a particular interest in historical compilation.

The second of the texts to be published here was named the 'Bezdnin Chronicle' by its discoverer, the late Academician M. N. Tikhomirov, because of its information on the activities of M. A. Bezdniin in 1584.⁴ The portion of this chronicle copied in manuscript *M* was reworked into the text of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov in its second redaction (in *P*).

I. THE CHRONICLE OF IOV IVANOV

The Chronicle of Iov Ivanov is found in its first redaction in manuscripts *M* and *A*, while *P* is the only copy known to me of the second redaction. As will emerge from the study which follows, *M* is the author's text, containing ample evidence of cutting and splicing from a variety of sources.⁵ The seams evident in the palaeographic features of *M* have been smoothed over in *A* and *P*. The latter are, none the less, important for establishing the full text of the original, since two folios of *M* (preceding the current f. 1 and between f. 7 and f. 8) were lost between the manuscript's completion in the third quarter of the seventeenth century and its binding in the nineteenth century. There is every reason to believe that *P* and *A* reproduce accurately the missing portions of the text.

³ Ya. S. Lur'e, 'O neizdannoi Kholmogorskoj letopisi', *Issledovaniya po otechestvennomu istochnikovedeniyu. Sbornik statej, posvyashchennykh 75-letiyu professora S. N. Valka* (M.-L., 1964), 454, n. 17; Tikhomirov, *Kratkie zametki* (n. 1), 10.

⁴ Tikhomirov knew of only one full copy; I have located a second and one other fragment.

⁵ Authors' texts are quite rare; see the remarks of Ya. S. Lur'e in 'Lavrent'evskaya letopis' — svod nachala XIV v.', *TODRL*, xxix (1974), 57.

At the basis of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov is a 'core' text consisting of short entries concerning Russian—but especially Muscovite—history from the coming of Rurik and his brothers to the late sixteenth century. While one cannot be absolutely certain which articles came from this source, it seems likely that they included the ones for the following years: 6300 (an erroneous date for the calling of Rurik), 6496, 6666, 6745, 6875, 6888 (an erroneous date for the fall of Constantinople to the Turks), 6986, 6993, 7018, 7022, 7061, 7071, 7079(?), 7081, and 7085. Probably included as well were the entries for 7088, 7089, and the first of two entries for 7092. The entries in the text become more detailed for the later years, so that the bulk of the text is devoted to the reign of Tsar Ivan IV (1533–84) and, especially, the events of the Livonian War. If my assumption is correct about the inclusion of entries for 7088, 7089, and 7092, then the text ended at a logical point with the death of Ivan IV and the enthronement of his son, Fedor Ivanovich. I feel that the enumerated articles all come from a single source, chiefly because they follow one another in correct chronological sequence and without any palaeographic indications that they were being taken from different sources (the entry for 7079 is an exception—see below). In contrast, entries that apparently derived from different sources often were inserted in the margin by the copyist, are otherwise set off from the main text, or are found out of chronological order.

Among the entries in this core text, one is of particular interest for the unique information it contains. For 7088, the chronicle tells how a certain 'Doctor' Elisey advised Ivan IV against going to the aid of Polotsk. As a result, the Poles took the city and Ivan had the doctor executed for treasonous dealings with the enemy. As Ya. S. Lur'e has pointed out to me, the 'doctor' in question is undoubtedly the Elcazar Bomelius, whose torture and execution for treason are described in loving detail by Sir Jerome Horsey in his *Travels*.⁶ We cannot be sure whether the information about Polotsk has any basis in fact, but the detail of the chronicle entry suggests that it may have been composed near the time when the 'core' text was compiled.

The entry for 7079 draws our attention because it is found in the margin of f. 3^r, with a note by the copyist on f. 2^r indicating where it should be inserted. The entry is also curious because of its content: information about a battle on the River Shelon' on 14 July 1571, in which the Novgorodians defeated the Lithuanians. I have been unable to confirm that such a battle occurred. Furthermore, I find it a rather striking coincidence that the date is so close to that of the important

⁶ See L. E. Berry and R. O. Crummev (eds.), *Rude and Barbarous Kingdom: Russia in the Accounts of Sixteenth-century English Voyagers* (Madison, Milwaukee, and London, 1968), 274, 279, 292–3. Ya. S. Lur'e drew my attention to a passage in the Pskov III Chronicle, where the evil deeds of this Doctor Elisey are described somewhat differently, but with the same general thrust (*Pskovskie letopisi*, ed. A. N. Nasonov, vyp. 2 (M., 1955), 262).

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victory of Grand Prince Ivan III over Novgorod on the Shelon': 14 July 1471 (6979). Could not the entry for 7079 have been made up on the basis of confused information about the battle a century earlier? Be that as it may, it seems likely that the copyist came across that information only after he had begun f. 3. Either he found it in a separate source, or, if in fact the 7079 entry was part of the core text, he unwittingly overlooked it while inserting the entry for 7080 from a different source and then discovered the omission when he returned to the core text.

The entry for 7080, which concerns the Tatar invasion of 1571, stands out because of its length—two and a half pages, in contrast to the two-line entries that immediately precede and follow. Moreover, unlike all the preceding articles, the entry for 7080 begins *Лера*, instead of *В лера*. We know of a number of separate accounts in Muscovite manuscripts concerning the Crimean invasion; while most are longer than the one found here, clearly there is some textual connection between our entry and those accounts.⁷ It seems likely that the chronicler turned to a source other than the core text for this entry.

A second marginal insertion in manuscript *M* is the entry for 7087, which gives details of a fire in Kazan'. Both the content and position of this insertion suggest that it derives from a separate source consulted by the copyist only after he had recorded his core text. Textually this entry is related to one found in the later Mazurin Chronicle, two other entries of which (see below) are also very close to ones found in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov.⁸ Until more evidence is found, we can only posit that the two chronicles have a common source.

Following the first entry for 7092, there are indications of irregularities in the compilation. Note the sequence of dates in the entries from that point: 7091, 7092 (written in the margin and repeating in part the previous entry for 7092), 7099, 7093, 7105, and 7104. Certain physical features of the manuscript are also revealing, as the following table summarizes:

Folios	Watermarks	Lines per page	Cinnabar	Remarks
1 ^{r-v}	Type I	17	No	A separate sheet pasted in.
2 ^{r-4^f}	—	18	Yes	
4 ^{v-5^v}	—	17	Yes	
6 ^{r-v}	—	8	Yes	Text ends middle of f. 6 ^r ; f. 6 ^v blank.

⁷ The account in the chronicle could easily be a retelling of one of the texts published by V. I. Buganov in 'Povest' o pobede nad krymskimi tatarami v 1572 godu', *Arkhograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1961 g.* (1962), especially pp. 269-75. However, the information about the captured Divei Mirza being taken to Novgorod is found, to the best of my knowledge, only in the *Piskarevskii letopisets*; see *Materialy po istorii SSSR*, ii (M., 1955), 80-1. A seventeenth-century chronicle may eventually be discovered which will prove to be the source for this particular article in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov.

⁸ *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (hereafter *PSRL*), xxxi (M., 1968), 142.

Folios	Watermarks	Lines per page	Cinnabar	Remarks
7 ^{r-v}	Type II	18	Yes	A single folio (presumably once pasted in) missing between f. 7 and f. 8.
8 ^{r-v}	Type II (other half of preceding)	19	Yes/No	Extra line added to bottom of f. 8 ^r and lacking cinnabar; f. 8 ^v has regular spacing and no cinnabar.
9 ^r -12 ^v	Type III	17	No	Text ends after 4 lines on f. 12 ^r ; f. 12 ^v blank.

The copyist normally wrote 18 lines per page for the core text, as well as for a significant portion of the rest of the manuscript. Where he has only 17 lines per page or, more rarely, 19, there appears to have been a special reason. The easiest case to document is f. 1, which has a watermark that appears again only much later in the manuscript. With the exception of the first line (Васильевичъ Казань взяа), f. 1 is devoted entirely to information concerning the Northern Dvina region in the second half of the sixteenth century. The source of this information is the 'Short Chronicle of the Dvina *Voevody*', recently discovered by Ya. S. Lur'e in a manuscript containing the *Kholmogorskaya letopis*.⁹ It seems that the compiler of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov came across this Dvina information after he had already copied the now missing first folio of his manuscript and the present ff. 2 seqq. Although he had to violate chronology in order to include the new information and not throw away what had already been copied, he was able to do so by taking only so much of the Dvina information as would fit on one page, beginning that page with the line that began the current f. 2 (in order to complete the entry for the year 7061, which began at the bottom of the now missing first folio), and then erasing that line from the top of what is now f. 2^r (the erased Васильевичъ Казань взяа is still visible). The quotation from the 'Short Chronicle of the Dvina *Voevody*' is, incidentally, an exact copy of the beginning of that work.

We encounter once again a page (f. 4^v) with only 17 lines of text where the sequence of entries noted above (7091, 7092, etc.) begins. Unfortunately, it is here less easy to determine what material may have come from what source. Of some things, though, we can be certain. The second entry for the year 7092 undoubtedly came from a source different from that which supplied the first entry for that year. Both recount the enthronement of Fedor Ivanovich, but the dates they give differ (in the first, 28 May; in the second, 1 June; the correct date is 31 May). It is possible, but less likely, that the second of the entries came from the core account, in which case the preceding entry for

⁹ See Ya. S. Lur'e, 'Kholmogorskaya letopis', *TODRL*, xxv (1970), especially p. 135; K. N. Serbina, 'Dvinskii letopisets', *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, v (1973), especially p. 207. This short chronicle of the Dvina *voevody* is published as an appendix to the *Kholmogorskaya letopis* in *PSRL*, xxxiii (L., 1977), 145-7.

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7092 would have come from a different source. Whether or not the entries that follow, for 7099 and 7093, came from the same source as that for 7092 is uncertain;¹⁰ exactly what happened at this point in the compilation of the chronicle can probably be established only when we find more of the sources used.

The entries for 7105 and 7104 stand apart in that, like the entry for 7087, neither of them contains Moscow information. The first deals with an earthquake in Nizhny Novgorod; the second concerns the discovery of the relics of SS Gury and Varsonofy during the construction of a cathedral in Kazan'. The Nizhny Novgorod information appears to have derived originally from a Nizhny Novgorod chronicle, although in the version used by the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov it is textually almost identical with the same information reproduced in the late seventeenth-century Mazurin Chronicle.¹¹ Presumably, the two have a common source. The information about the discovery of the relics in Kazan' is found in a nearly contiguous passage in the Mazurin Chronicle. As with the Nizhny Novgorod entry, the texts about the Kazan' relics in the two chronicles are virtually identical—suggesting a common source, if not direct borrowing one from another. We may hypothesize that the copyist of *M* completed the first few pages of his chronicle, leaving the rest of one signature blank. On the blank pages (beginning with f. 4^v) he then added entries from various sources, including one that contained the two items for 7105 and 7104. Following the latter he left 1½ pages blank (f. 6^{r-v}), because he had in hand material already copied for a continuation of the text beginning with the year 7105.

Beginning at the top of f. 7 (the paper of which is different from that of f. 6), we find that continuation—an entry on the fortification of Smolensk in 7105 and a very interesting account of the death of Fedor Ivanovich and the election of Boris Godunov in 7106. In particular, the eulogy of Fedor Ivanovich stands out for its literary quality. A very poetic text, it reminds us of a number of famous laments from early Russian literature:

Яко солнце заиде в дальняя страны и земли, свеща русийская угасе, и яко камень драгий, адамант, лице свое сокры, во гроб вселися и в земли затворися, свет померче, и красный цвет християньский увяде. И яко кипарис крепкий ис корени исторжеся, и не остана отрасли ни мала от семени (f. 7^{r-v}).

I have not yet established its source, but I suspect that the chronicler simply adapted the lament from another work.¹²

¹⁰ The entry for 7093 is somewhat mysterious: presumably it is referring to what other sources report under 7094, the beginning of the construction of the stone 'White City' (Белый город) 'подле земляных осыпи' in Moscow. Cf., for example, *PSRL*, xxxi, 144.

¹¹ See A. S. Gatsisky, *Nizhegorodskii letopisets* (Nizhny Novgorod, 1886), 36-43; *Drevnyaya russiiskaya vivilofika*, 2 ed., xviii (M., 1791), 86-7; *PSRL*, xxxi, 146.

¹² Cf. another rather poetic passage, under 6888, where the chronicler records: 'безбожный Махмет власть греческую погаси, яко же ветр и буря зсана вся без вести сотвори.'

At the end of the account of Boris's election, once again there is a break in the manuscript. When he began f. 8, the copyist had planned for an 18-line page. The account of the election left space for 2 lines, but we find that 3 have been written in—by the same hand, in an obviously cramped style—in order to fill the space. F. 8^v likewise has an extra line, but with even spacing. From f. 9 to the end of the chronicle the pages contain only 17 lines each and the paper is different from any of the preceding folios. The text beginning at the top of f. 9^r (and ending on f. 12^r) deals with the Time of Troubles, from the death of the first false Dmitry in 1606 to the election of Mikhail Romanov in 1613, after which the chronicle jumps ahead to its last entry on Tsar Mikhail's death in 1645 (7153). Clearly, what the chronicler attempted to do on f. 8^{r-v} was to squeeze in whatever was necessary to provide the transition between Boris's election and the death of the false Dmitry I, either because the text beginning on f. 9 had already been copied or possibly because he simply hoped to reach a convenient stopping-point at the bottom of f. 8^v (the former seems the more likely alternative).

We can identify the source for the whole passage from the enthronement of Boris to that of Mikhail Romanov. Later in *M* (ff. 173^v–176^v) is the text of a letter written in 1613 in the name of Tsar Mikhail Romanov to two 'Megapolinsk' princes, 'Fionmarkon' and 'Rulyak'.¹³ As was common in letters during and immediately after the Time of Troubles, this one to the two French princes includes a short self-contained tale about events during the Time of Troubles. We know that many such tales were simply copied verbatim from one *gramota* to the next. Of all the accounts I have seen, the version found in the letter to Fionmarkon and Rulyak is textually closest to one included in a letter, also written in 1613, from Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich to King Louis XIII.¹⁴ Probably the editing of the letter to King Louis to the shorter form in the letter to the princes was carried out in the Diplomatic Chancellery. The further editing of the tale for inclusion in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov was probably done by the chronicler himself. He appears to have had access to both the letters of 1613 (that to Louis XIII is found in *P* and in GPB, F.XVII.15, manuscripts probably made in

¹³ On their identity, see Givi Zhordaniya, *Ocherki iz istorii franko-russkikh otnoshenii kontsa XVI i pervoi poloviny XVII vv.*, i (Tbilisi, 1959), especially pp. 339–47. The text of the letter has been published, from *P*, in *Akty istoricheskie, sobranyye i izdannyye Arkheograficheskoyu kommissiiyu*, iii (Spb., 1841), 4–7. The differences between copies *M* and *P* are trivial, except as noted in n. 15 below.

¹⁴ To the best of my knowledge, this letter remains unpublished. Copies are in *P* (lacking the ending) and in MS GPB, F.XVII.15, the texts of which contain only insignificant differences. A textually related but longer letter from Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich to King Louis XIII of 1615 has been published by V. N. Berkh, *Tsarstvovanie tsarya Mikhaila Fedorovicha i vzglyad na mezhdutsarstvie* (Spb., 1832), 116–59, and apparently exists in a manuscript copy in GIM, Collection of A. S. Uvarov, No. 1495 (752) (714). Textual comparison suggests that the text of 1615 was composed on the basis of the version of 1613.

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the same scriptorium as *M*), yet he chose the shorter text. He probably decided to use it only when he had copied on in manuscript *M* and come across in one of his sources the letter to the French princes. At that point, he made a complete copy of the letter for the manuscript, copied also a portion of the tale about the Time of Troubles (but in contracted form), and went back to fit the parts together.¹⁵ He then determined how much connecting text was needed (miscalculating slightly) and completed the task of editing by cramming in whatever would fit on f. 8. Significantly, the text of the full *gramota* on ff. 173^v-176^v and the extract from it inserted in the chronicle are distinct from the surrounding texts in that they contain no cinnabar initials. Moreover, the connection of the *gramota* with the editing which took place after the core text of the chronicle had been copied is suggested by the fact that the paper used for insertion of the Dvina information (see above, p. 5) reappears in the manuscript only from the section containing the text of the full *gramota*.

The nature of the editing in the account of the Time of Troubles can be seen from the following comparison of the chronicle with its source.

Chronicle of Iov Ivanov

И при его державе, по вражью действию, а по злomu умышленью, и по ненависти полского и литовского Жигимонта короля и панов рад, через многое его королевское крестное целованье, в Московьском государстве смута и межусобье учинилася. Некоторой вор, чернец, еретик, имянем Гришка Отрепьев, за некоторые богомерские его дела, с Москвы збежал в Литву, и сверг с себя черное платье, назвался царевичем Дмитреем углецким, великого государя, царя Ивана Васильевича всеа Русии сыном . . . (f. 8^{r-v}).

Letter to Fionmarkon and Rulyak

И при его державе, по вражью действию, а по злomu умышленью, и по ненависти полского и литовского Жигимонта короля и панов рад, через многое его королевское и панов рад крестное целованье, в нашем Московском государстве смута и межусобье учинилось. Некоторой вор, чернец, еретик, имянем Гришка Отрепьев, за некоторые богомерские и скаредные свои дела, из Московского государства збежал в Литву, и сверг с себя черное платье, и аггельский образ обруга, и врагом рукописание на себя дав, аще коснется царьского, то от Бога отлучен будет, назвался царевичем Дмитреем углецким, великого государя блаженныя памяти царя и великого князя Ивана Васильевича всеа Русии самодержца сыном . . . (f. 174^v).

¹⁵ While the letter is found in *P* in a copy nearly identical with that of *M*, one should note that a few readings suggest that the chronicler used the copy in *M* or its immediate proto-graph as his source rather than the copy in *P*.

For the most part, the chronicler simply omitted titles, extra epithets, parts of lists, and the like. There seems to have been no effort to change the sense of the text. When he reached the point where the letter referred to the Tsar in the first person, the chronicler changed that to the third person; he also added the date of the election of the first Romanov, something that was not needed at the same point in the letter, which was properly dated at the end. One could, of course, question whether the indicated changes are decisive in proving the direction of borrowing that I have indicated. Assuming the authenticity of the letter and given the other facts available concerning manuscript *M* and the author's text of the chronicle, a reverse relationship seems very unlikely.

The first redaction of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov seems to have existed in at least one seventeenth-century copy that has not come down to us. The evidence for this is provided by the late seventeenth-century copy *A*, which derived from a copy which lacked one folio. The copyist of *A* simply wrote on, regardless of the break.¹⁶ Otherwise *A* reproduces the full text of the first redaction, including the portion at the beginning and a later one which are now lost in *M* because of missing folios. *A* or its original did improve *M* in one respect, by placing the entries for 7093 and 7099 in correct chronological order. Also, the marginal notations of *M* were inserted in their proper places and the text copied through without leaving empty spaces. Manuscript *A* is, though, somewhat carelessly copied; furthermore, it is occasionally difficult to determine its original readings, since someone in the eighteenth century undertook to correct some of the mistakes in copying as well as some errors in dating that appear to have been present in the original chronicle.¹⁷ In using *A* for variant readings, I have therefore attempted to give only those readings that were in the original seventeenth-century text of that copy.

Unlike *A*, manuscript *P* is probably contemporary with *M*. Moreover, there is evidence that the copyists of *P* may have had direct access to *M*, since the editing that they undertook to form the second redaction of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov reflects knowledge of another text contained in *M*.¹⁸ In particular, we note in *P* two insertions, one for 7079 and the other for 7092. The first of these, concerning the burning of Moscow in 1571 by the Tatars, is inserted in correct chronological

¹⁶ The passage in question in *A* is: 'Лета 7089 литовской король Стефан Оботур приходил к государеву, цареву и великого князя городу. Лета 7091-го швейцкой король Ругодив взяли[!]' (BAN, 16.7.15, f. 85^r).

¹⁷ This hand of the marginal notations (and apparently the corrections) in the chronicle is identified in *Opisanie Rukopisnogo otdela BAN SSSR*, iii, vyp. 2, pp. 210, 212, as that of an army corporal, S. K. Smirnov.

¹⁸ I specify copyists, because the hand changes on f. 14^r beginning with the entry for 7089. It appears that the second hand is the one which added the headings throughout the manuscript.

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sequence. The second, concerning the activities of Mikhail Andreevich Bezdniin, is inserted out of sequence, between the entries for 7105 and 7106. In *M* both texts are found not in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov (ff. 1-12), but in another short chronicle copied in the same manuscript on ff. 73^v-76^r. That text is a portion of the Bezdniin Chronicle, the features of which I shall discuss below. In using the Bezdniin Chronicle, the copyists of *P* extracted information they did not already have in their basic text. The only change made in the borrowed material was the replacement of В лета 7079-го with Того же году (there was already an entry for 7079), and Того же лета with В лета 7092-го (there being no indication of the date in the preceding text). That this editing was done by the copyists of *P* is supported by the fact that three additional items of information from the text of ff. 73^v-76^r in *M* were inserted in *P* by its second scribe after he had already completed the copying of his text.¹⁹

Another feature of *P* which distinguishes the second redaction is the omission of the tale about the Time of Troubles. *P* concludes with two short entries on the death of Fedor Ivanovich and the accession of Boris Godunov. It seems likely that the two were created simply by contracting a longer entry in the first redaction of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov:

First Redaction (*M*)

Лета 7106-го генваря в 7 день преставися царь и великий князь Федор Иванович московский и всеа Русии, удобрение и самодержец государства Московского, своея великия отчины, и многих государств обладатель, в 13 лето государства его. Яко солнце заиде В лета 7107 сентября в 3 день по велению царицы . . . и по благословению . . . Иова патриарха московского . . . поставлен бысть на Москве Богом избранный государь, царь и великий князь Борис Федорович на превелицем престоле царства Московскаго . . . (ff. 7^r-8^r).

The reason for the contraction of the first redaction by *P* is easy to find. Later in *P* the copyist(s) included not only the letter of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich to Fionmarkon and Rulyak, but also the Tsar's

Second Redaction (*P*)

В лето 7106-го генваря в 7 день преставися царь и великий князь Федор Иванович московский и всеа Русии, в 13 лето государства своего.

[В л]ета 7107-го сентября в 3 день восприят скипетр [Москов]-ского государства и многих государств всеа [Русии] Борис Федорович Годунов (f. 16^{r-v}).

¹⁹ See the reproduction of f. 14^v in Waugh, 'De visu Description' (n. 2), 127, and the discussion there.

letter to King Louis XIII. Both texts contain accounts of the Time of Troubles, which, as we already know, were more detailed than that in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov. Moreover, *P* as it now stands is only part of a much larger manuscript, which contained, *inter alia*, two long and well-known accounts of the Time of Troubles, the so-called *Inoe skazanie* and the account written by the monk Avraamy Palitsyn.²⁰ To add yet another account which merely duplicated material to be included later in the manuscript clearly seemed to the editor pointless.

The final change made in the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov by the author(s) of its second redaction was to remove the account of the Nizhny Novgorod earthquake and to make of it a longer and separate tale, which was then placed at the end of the chronicle. In expanding the description of the earthquake, the author of this new text seems to have taken as his main source an account very close to that found in a late seventeenth-century Nizhny Novgorod chronicle.²¹ He began by using the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov (Печерский трус бысть . . .), switched to the new source briefly (от монастыря к конюшенному двору . . .), returned to the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov (преж сего по летописцем . . .), and then filled in with details from his second source (Тако же ныне в наша лета . . .). Finally, the author of the text in *P* added references to an earthquake in Constantinople in the time of Emperor Justinian and another in Antioch as further evidence of the power of God's wrath. The source for these items was probably a Chronograph.²²

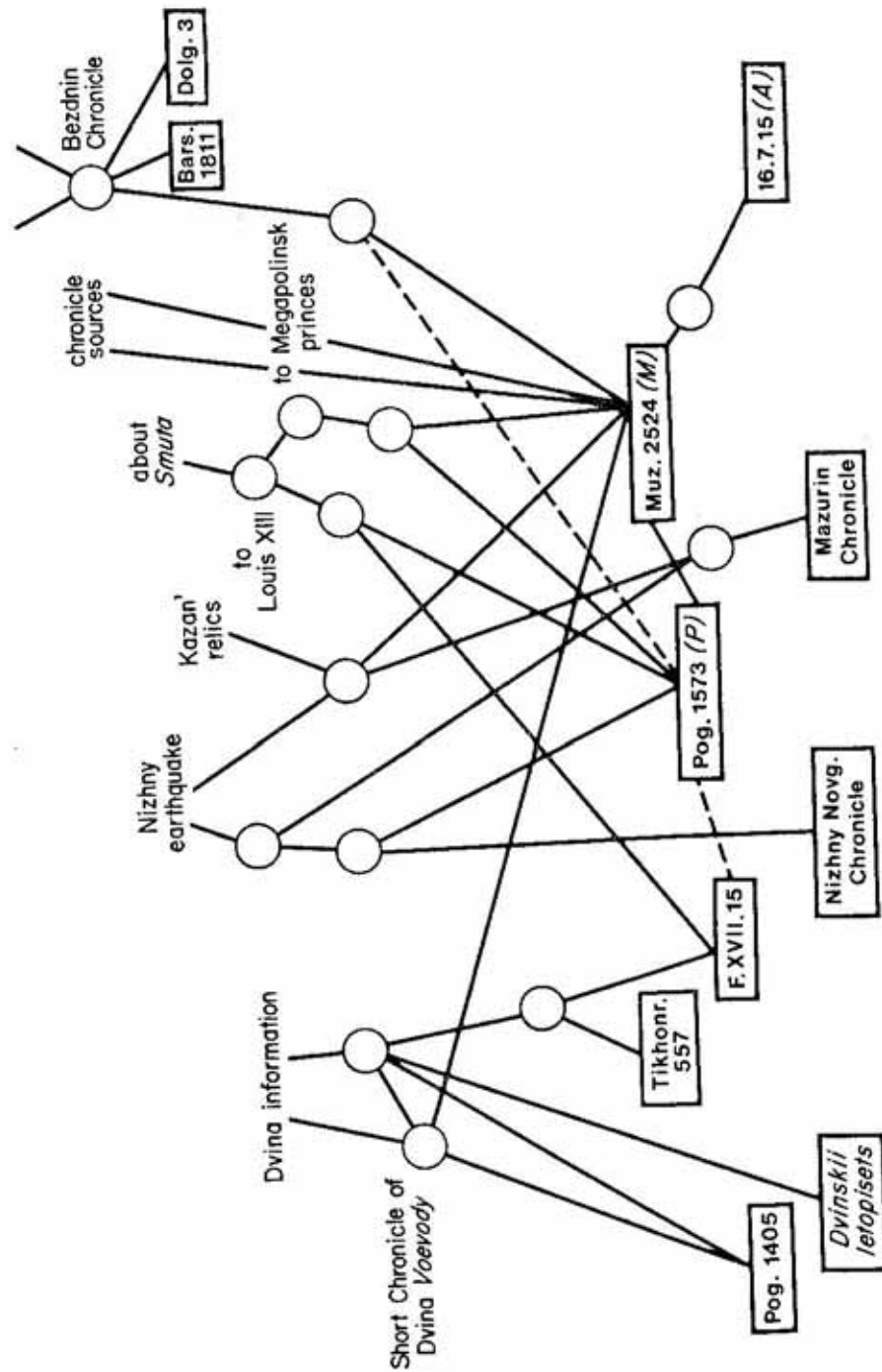
I have attempted to summarize in the accompanying stemma the relationships among copies *M*, *A*, and *P* of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov and their sources. That portion of the stemma dealing with the Dvina chronicle information may well become more complex than depicted; similarly, an investigation of the sources for the Mazurin Chronicle would undoubtedly provide a somewhat more complex scheme for the transmission of the entries on Kazan' and Nizhny Novgorod (for 7104 and 7105). The hypothesized copy of the letter to the Megapolinsk princes which served as a source for *M* and *P* is probably part of a large manuscript miscellany that contained also other works found in both *M* and *P*. However, since they are not directly related to the problem under discussion, I have not attempted to include these items in the diagram.

²⁰ Details are in my 'K izucheniyu' (n. 2); the two long works about the Time of Troubles are now in MS GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 1503.

²¹ See the texts published in Gatsisky, op. cit. (n. 11), especially pp. 36-9, and in *Drevnyaya rossiiskaya vieliofka*, loc. cit. (n. 11). One should note that the seventeenth-century Russian chronicles record under 7104 a different version of the account of what appears to be the same earthquake. Textually, this second account is related to that of the Nizhny Novgorod Chronicle for 7105. Cf. *PSRL*, xiv (*Novyi letopisets*), 48-9, and xxxi (Mazurin Chronicle), 146.

²² Both earthquakes are recorded in the 'Chronograph of 1512', which in turn took the information from a Byzantine chronicle. See *PSRL*, xxii (1), 295. The text of the Chronograph in that version lacks details included in the account of *P*.

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A few words should be said about the date and provenance of the Chronicle of Iov Ivanov. The death of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich in 1645 is a *terminus a quo* for the compilation; the paper of *M* suggests that it was copied in the mid 1650s or somewhat later. Several facts point to the work having been done in a scriptorium in Kholmogory. The two owners recorded in the inscriptions on *M* were Kholmogory priests associated with the most important churches of the town. The inclusion of information from the Dvina chronicle also suggests provenance from that region of Muscovy. Moreover, related Dvina chronicle extracts are found in several other manuscripts, as indicated in the stemma.²³ Some of those manuscripts have clear associations with the Dvina region, as revealed by owners' inscriptions; all have palaeographic features connecting them with *M* and *P*. Inscriptions and similarities in handwriting suggest that certain other seventeenth-century manuscripts may also be linked with this group.²⁴ While further study of all these related manuscripts is needed, and others undoubtedly will be found, the evidence I have seen so far indicates that they may be the products of an important but hitherto ignored scriptorium in the Russian north, one which contained an extensive library of Muscovite secular literature. Possibly, that scriptorium was associated with the main (Preobrazhenskii) cathedral in Kholmogory in the period between 1650 and 1680.

II. THE BEZDNIN CHRONICLE

The Bezdin Chronicle is contained in full in two manuscripts: GBL, *fond* 92, Collection of S. O. Dolgov, No. 3 (Museum Collection, No. 5890); GIM, Collection of E. V. Barsov, No. 1811.²⁵ Both manuscripts

²³ The manuscripts are: GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 1405, the bulk of which is taken up by the *Kholmogorskaya letopis'*, to which is appended the short chronicle of the Dvina *voevody*; GPB, F.XVII.15, a miscellany containing an interesting collection of secular literature, including several works found in *P*; State Lenin Library of the USSR (GBL), Collection of N. S. Tikhonravov, No. 557, a historical compilation which uses in part the *Stepennaya kniga*.

²⁴ Among them are: GIM, Collection of the Synodal (Patriarchal) Library, No. 127/77, the copy of the 'Cosmography of 1670' made in Kholmogory (see the facsimile of the hand on the cover of *Kozmografiya 1670 g.* (Izdaniya Obshchestva lyubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti, xxi, lviii, lxxviii (Spb., 1878-81)); BAN, 32.8.4, containing a 'Book of Degrees' (*Stepennaya kniga*)—see pl. [11] and [12] in G. N. Moiseeva, *Lomonosov i drevnerusskaya literatura* (L., 1971). MS GIM, Collection of Count A. S. Uvarov, No. 1844 (756) may also be associated with this group: this possibility should be checked, since I was unable to include it in my palaeographic comparison based on samples of the hands in other manuscripts. Unfortunately, limitations of space do not permit me to include the details of that study here.

²⁵ A brief description of the two manuscripts is as follows:

1. GBL, Collection of S. O. Dolgov, No. 3, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, 4°, 12 ff., unbound. The date may best be approximated on the basis of the paper and handwriting. The hand is a single cursive; the paper includes at least two small pot watermarks, one with a single handle and rosette top with the letter G(?) on the side, and the second an apparently single-handled pot, with the letters PB/O on the side. It is possible that the latter is a variant of the one depicted in E. Heawood, *Watermarks Mainly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia, 1) (Hilversum,

are similar in appearance and date (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century); it may be that they have a common provenance. A portion of the chronicle is also found in GIM, Museum Collection, No. 2524, ff. 73^v-76^r.

In content, the Bezdniin Chronicle resembles any number of other short chronicles compiled in Muscovy, especially those which have been found in miscellanies from monastery libraries. There is a heavy emphasis on events involving the Orthodox Church: the appointment and death of metropolitans, the death of important abbots, and so on. However, there is no concentration on a single monastery: the Troitse-Sergieiev, St. Kirillo-Belozerskii, Chudov, and other monasteries are all mentioned. It does seem likely, however, that we should associate the compilation with a monastery close to Moscow. In particular, one notes that the final entry concerns the fact that the visiting Patriarch of Antioch dined in the Chudov Monastery in 1586. The chronicle is full of events concerning the dynasty of the Moscow princes—births, deaths, marriages, conquests, etc., most of them recorded very laconically.

In the portion of the chronicle dealing with the period before the mid-sixteenth century, two articles stand out because of their length. The first, for the year 6496, recounts the establishment of the church hierarchy in the time of St. Vladimir. The text of this entry is very close to that found in a short chronicle compiled in the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery apparently by the elder Efrosin at the end of the fifteenth century.²⁶ In fact, a number of other entries in the Bezdniin Chronicle are also found (usually with somewhat different wording or detail) in

1950), No. 3575 (1608). However, since this is found only on f. 12, one should be cautious in using it to date the portion of the manuscript that contains the chronicle text. The chronicle occupies ff. 1^r-11^v, with a space left at the bottom of f. 11^v. On f. 12^r, which is otherwise blank, is a partially legible eighteenth-century inscription, dated 31 Aug. 1711, apparently containing some kind of tongue-twister. The first folio of the manuscript is damaged and quite dirty, suggesting that the manuscript lay around unbound and, if connected with a larger manuscript, came at the beginning of it.

2. GIM, Collection of E. V. Barsov, No. 1811, late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, 4^o, 12 ff., unbound. As with the Dolgov copy, dating is only approximate. The hand is a Muscovite cursive, very similar to that of the Dolgov copy. The paper includes two variants of a small single-handled pot, topped by a crown with a rosette and with letters IA on the side. Pencilled on the paper wrapper of the manuscript is a note, dated 1941, by M. Shch. (presumably Marfa Vyacheslavna Shchepkina): 'к. XVI в. по почерку и вод. зн.'. The chronicle occupies ff. 1^r-12^r, with one line left blank on f. 12^r. The manuscript may at one time have been the beginning of a larger one, as there are contemporary signatures, f. 1 = 1, and f. 9 = 2. Note that in the brief description by Tikhomirov, *Kratkie zametki* (n. 1), 10, references to watermarks in Briquet's *Les Filigranes* are useful only for approximating the type of those found in the manuscript and not for precise identification.

²⁶ What turns out to be the second half of that chronicle and the one of the greatest interest to use, because it contains the material pertaining to Russian history, is published in Zimin, 'Kratkie letopistsy' (n. 1), 22-7 (see especially pp. 26-7). Regarding the other half of the chronicle, see R. P. Dmitrieva, 'Vzaimootnoshenie spiskov "Zadonshchiny" i tekst "Slova o polku Igoreve"' in: *Slovo o polku Igoreve i pamyatniki Kulikovskogo tsikla* (M.-L., 1966), 251, n. 78.

Efrosin's chronicle.²⁷ Given the fact that such material could have been compiled independently from a number of sources, it would be precipitate to suggest a direct textual link between Efrosin's compilation and the Bezdniin one until further work has been done on the many short chronicles of Muscovy. The second article that stands out for its length is that for 6938 concerning the gathering in Lithuania summoned by Grand Prince Vitovt, at which were present not only the Lithuanian and Polish magnates and church leaders but also a host of foreign dignitaries, among them the Metropolitan and the Grand Prince of Moscow. A number of chronicles record this event, but none that I have found includes all the details of the Bezdniin Chronicle (especially concerning the presence of a Wallachian *voevoda*, Stefan, and the archbishops of Cracow, Vil'na and Polotsk, and regarding Vitovt's order that those present have their living expenses provided until they left the country).²⁸ It is not clear why such a lengthy entry, consisting largely of a list of dignitaries who attended, was included among the short entries of this portion of the chronicle, nor can one say for sure what its source was.

The Bezdniin Chronicle is of particular interest to us for the material it contains near its end under the year 7092. It is here that we encounter Mikhail Andreevich Bezdniin (or Beznin) fighting successfully against the Tatars, and then boldly confronting an unruly crowd in front of the Kremlin and persuading it to disperse. Bezdniin, a *dvoryanin* whom we first encounter in documentary sources in 1550, had a successful and active service career until around 1589.²⁹ His military service saw him fighting in the west during the Livonian War and on the southern and eastern borders against the Tatars. In the 1580s he was engaged in the reception of foreign ambassadors; it is during this same period that we find him involved in a number of *mestnichestvo* disputes, most of which seem to have been settled in his favour. The *razryadnye knigi*, in which one finds an extensive record of Bezdniin's service, contain no direct evidence of the events recorded in our short chronicle for the year 7092. The only other reference I have found to the campaign against the Tatars and Bezdniin's leading role in it is in an obviously fictionalized and uncertainly dated account in the *Novyi letopisets*, a work compiled

²⁷ See, for example, his entries for 6745, 6816, 6862, 6888, 6890, 6900, 6918, 6935, 6936, 6939, 6917, 6942, and, at the end also out of chronological order, 6953; in Zimin, 'Kratkie letopistsy' (n. 1), 22-7.

²⁸ What should be the earliest version of this entry is in the Nikanor and Vologda-Perm' Chronicles (*PSRL*, xxvi, 186, and xxvii, 102). A second version—one that is closer to the Bezdniin Chronicle text—is in the Contracted *Svod* of 1493 and the texts dependent on it (*PSRL*, xxvii, 269).

²⁹ On his career, see V. B. Nirbok, 'Mikhail Beznin — oprichnik, monakh, avanyurist', *Voprosy istorii*, 1965, No. 11, pp. 214-16; S. P. Mordovina and A. L. Stanislavsky, 'Sostav osobogo dvora Ivana IV v period "velikogo knyazheniya" Simeona Bekbulatovicha', *Arkheograficheskiy ezhegodnik za 1976 g.* (1977), 181. His last recorded function was to receive a Crimean tsarevich in February 7097 (1589)—see *Razryadnaya kniga 1559-1605 gg.*, ed. L. F. Kuz'mina and V. I. Buganov (M., 1974), 245.

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in the 1620s.³⁰ There Bezdniin is the only military commander mentioned; his victory comes in response to a prophetic command of Tsar Fedor Ivanovich: 'Go, slaughter all the Tatars'. This account and that in the Bezdniin Chronicle could well have a common source; the *Novyi letopisets* could even have used the Bezdniin text. However, we have insufficient material to prove such a relationship.

The Moscow rebellion of 1584 is recorded in the *Novyi letopisets* and the early seventeenth-century *Piskarevskii letopisets* at greater length than we find in the Bezdniin compilation.³¹ The mention of Bezdniin in connection with the rebellion is unique to the Bezdniin Chronicle: whereas there we find him and the *dumnyi d'yak* Andrey Shchelkalov pacifying the mob, in the Piskarev Chronicle we learn only that the boyars somehow settled their differences and that certain of them—unnamed—went to the Frolov Gate to quieten the crowd. The *Novyi letopisets* names Shchelkalov and others, and creates quite a dramatic scene of the crowd's shouting for the head of Bogdan Bel'sky. However, Bezdniin is absent in that version too.

As Academician Tikhomirov suggested, we might logically conclude that the Bezdniin Chronicle is somehow to be associated with the Bezdniin family.³² We might go one step further and hypothesize that Mikhail Andreevich Bezdniin himself had something to do with the chronicle's compilation. So far I have been unable to determine the circumstances which brought Bezdniin's service career to an end (one may guess that he fell victim to one of the purges carried out by Godunov). In any event, after 1589 he is no longer recorded as being in state service. In 1591, though, there appears in our sources an elder of the Volokolamsk Monastery, Misail Beznin, who has been identified as the same individual.³³ It is of some interest that this newly appeared elder seems to have occupied a prominent place in that monastery's affairs. But at some time in the mid 1590s he appears to have quarrelled with his fellow monks.³⁴ The next (and so far, the last) place where I have encountered the elder Misail Beznin is as one of the signatories, this time for the Troitse-Sergiev Monastery, of the charter confirming the election of Boris Godunov in 1598.³⁵ The *dumnyi dvoryanin* Bezdniin thus appears to have spent his last years in a monastery. And it is in monasteries that short chronicles most closely resembling in content the

³⁰ *PSRL*, xiv, 48.

³¹ *Ibid.* 35; *Materialy po istorii SSSR*, ii (n. 7), 87.

³² Tikhomirov, *Kratkie zametki* (n. 1), 10.

³³ See *Akty feodal'nogo zemlevladieniya i khozyaistva* (hereafter *AFZKh*), ii, ed. A. A. Zimin (M., 1956), 437, 440, 446, 456, 492. Cf. Nirbok's assertion, without precise documentation, that Bezdniin is recorded in the documents of Volokolamsk Monastery as early as August 1586 ('Mikhail Beznin' (n. 29), 215).

³⁴ *AFZKh*, ii (n. 33), 456.

³⁵ *Akty, sobrannye v bibliotekakh i arkhivakh Rossiiskoi imperii Arkheograficheskoyu ekspeditsieyu Imperatorskoi Akademii nauk*, ii (Spb., 1896), 42, 47.

Bezdin Chronicle were compiled. True, as I have already suggested, there is no one monastery that is singled out for particular attention in the Bezdin Chronicle, but other short monastery chronicles do not always focus merely on local news. I would suggest then that the Bezdin Chronicle, which ends with an item for 1586 and is found in manuscripts which might be dated as early as the 1590s, may have been compiled in one of the monasteries housing the *starets* Misail and possibly by the elder himself. If such is the case, then a search for texts that may be related directly to this compilation might begin in the collections from the Volokolamsk and Troitse-Sergiev Monasteries.

Alternatively, one might argue that the chronicle was undoubtedly completed in the 1580s, before Bezdin's disgrace. If such were the case, one would have an explanation of why his role in the events of 1584 was singled out (whereas the silence of later sources could reflect censorship connected with knowledge of his subsequent career). Another argument in favour of the compilation dating from the 1580s is that any chronicler so intensely interested in church affairs would hardly have remained silent about the establishment of the Patriarchate in 1589, if writing after that event. The final item in the chronicle concerning the visit of the Patriarch of Antioch to the Chudov Monastery in 1586 has a kind of immediacy to it that might point us toward that monastery as the place of compilation, even though otherwise the Chudov Monastery is by no means singled out by the chronicler. Clearly, on the matter of provenance as well as on the question of how the chronicle found its way to Kholmogory in the middle of the seventeenth century, we are still unable to provide definite answers.

In preparing the critical text of the Bezdin Chronicle, I have used as my base copy GBL, Dolgov, No. 3. There is really little to choose, though, between that copy and the one in GIM, Barsov, No. 1811. The number of copyist's errors and minor additions or omissions in each is about the same. The Dolgov copy does include one entry (for 7024) not found in the Barsov copy. I have no way of ascertaining whether that entry was part of the protograph for the two manuscripts, but in the absence of information to the contrary I have included it as part of the text. The fragment of the chronicle found in GIM, Museum Collection, No. 2524 is removed by a considerable time, and presumably by intermediary copies, from the two full copies and the protograph; it is clearly inferior to the copies in the earlier manuscripts.

TEXTS

The texts have been prepared according to the form used in *TODRL*, with the standard substitutions for Slavonic letters but preserving the original orthography and noting all but purely orthographic variants from the second and third copies. Notes designated by letters pertain to peculiarities of the published copy; notes with numerical superscripts pertain to the other copies.

THE CHRONICLE OF IOV IVANOV

Text given according to MS GIM, Museum Collection, No. 2524 (abbreviated *M*), with variants from MSS GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 1573 (abbreviated *P*) and BAN, 16.7.15 (abbreviated *A*).

[л. 11]^{a, 36} В лета 6300³⁷ избрашася три брата от немец: Рюрик, Синеус, Трувор.³⁸ Рюрик убо седе в Новгороде, а Синеус на Белозере, а Трувор во Изборске.

В лета 6496-го крестися Владимир киевский.

В лета 6666-го³⁹ постави град Москву князь Юрь^b Владимирович.

В лета 6745-го приходил царь Батый, и грех ради наших всю землю поплени.

В лета 6875-го князь великий Дмитрий Иванович Донский основа Москву град каменной на успех при митрополите Алексее апреля в 5 день.

В лета 6888-го⁴⁰ месяца⁴¹ мая при царе Константине нарицаемаго Дрогоса, грех ради наших, народа христианского, безбожный Махмет власть греческую погаси, яко же ветр и⁴² буря зельна вся без вести сотвори. А всех царей [[л. 11 об.] [г]реческих^c от великого царя Константина до турского взятия 86.⁴³ Последний царь Константин сын Мануилов,⁴⁴ сего убиша турки.

Лета 6986-го князь великий Иван Васильевич⁴⁵ Новъград великий за себя взял.^{d, 46}

В лета 6993-го князь великий Иван Тверь взял.

В лета 7018-го князь великий Иван Васильевич Псков взял генваря в 24 день.

В лета 7022 князь великий Василей Смоленск взял.

В лета 7061-го царь и великий князь Иван^a [[л. 1] Васильевич^e Казань взял.

В том же году был на Двине наместник князь Семен Микулинской а Пунков. Той же^f и оброк збирал на себя, а дань государю збирал. А как он к⁴⁷ Москве съехал, и после были выборной голова колмогорской а с ним Двинсково уезду судьи, ⁴⁸и судили⁴⁸ на Колмогорах верхние ⁴⁹и нижние⁴⁹ половины.⁵⁰

^{a-a} Text from *P*; omitted in *M*. ^b Corrected from *A*; in *P* Юрь. ^c Corner of page torn off. ^d Written in the margin in a different hand. ^e *M* begins here. ^f Corrected from *A*; in *M* and *P* тоже.

³⁶ *A* adds О начале русской земли. ³⁷ 6370 *A*. ³⁸ Трувор *A*; corrected later to Трувор. ³⁹ 6664-го *A* (apparently a later correction). ⁴⁰ 6960-го *A* (apparently a later correction). ⁴¹ Omitted *A*. ⁴² или *A*. ⁴³ *A* adds было, а. ⁴⁴ *A* adds было. ⁴⁵ *A* adds взял. ⁴⁶ Omitted *A*. ⁴⁷ с *P*. ⁴⁸ осудили *A*. ⁴⁹ онижные *A*. ⁵⁰ половинь *A*.

И⁵¹ в 62-м году пришел аглинской карабль проведывать⁵² двинское устье и зашел в Унскую губу и зимовал. И судьи о том писали ко государю, а немец поили и кормили на Колмогорах, а отпуску им не было.

И⁵³ в 63-м году пришли⁵⁴ на двинское устье аглинских четыре карабли. || [л. 1 об.] А вологодские суды с немецкими товары ходили к караблям на корельское устье и по 95-й год.

А в 92-м году присланы с Москвы⁵⁵ на Двину воеводы Петр Афонасьевич Нащескин да Залешанин Никифорович Волохов, и Архангельской город поставили однем годом и съехали к Москве. И после того присланы на Двину приказные дети боярские.

В 93-м году пришли к Архангельскому городу галанские карабли, а на них торговые иноземцы Ондриянов брат Тимоха с товарищи.

А в 95-м году пришли к городу аглинские карабли. || [л. 2]

^aВ лета 7071 царь Иван Васильевич Полотеск взял.^b

¹В лета 7079-го июля в 14 день на Шелоне бой был. Новгородцы литовских людей побили и воевод взяли.^{i, 56}

Лета 7080-го крымской царь Девлет Кирей пришел на государеву, цареву и великого князя землю московскую с великим собранием, а хотел Москву засесть. И пришел к реке Оке, и государя, царя и великого князя Ивана Васильевича всеа Русии слуга и воевода князь Михаил Иванович Воротынской и иные государевы воеводы со многими людьми царя встретили у реки Оки под Серпуховым на перевозе⁵⁷ и дело с ним делали, и многих татар побили, а иных⁵⁸ множество потонуло и во многих местех. И пошел царь к Москве со всеми людьми а в розгон людей не || [л. 2 об.] роспустил. И воеводы князь Михаил Воротынской с товарищи пошли за царем к Москве и взяли с собою город гуляй, что обоз именуется, и с⁵⁹ снарядом⁶⁰ и с пушками. И сошли царя у Воскресения в Молодах, и обоз поставили. И сведал царь, что за ним московские воеводы пришли, и воротился⁶¹ со всеми своими людьми на московских воевод. И пришли ко обозу с великою яростию, и⁶² учали приступати накрепко. И Божиим милосердием и пречистые Богородицы и святых русских чудотворцов молитвами, воеводы на том деле убили у царя да у сынов его царевичев и ширинских князей шурью его и мурз и татар многих, и⁶³ большего || [л. 3] воеводу Дивия мурзу⁶⁴ Нагайсково да Казаньский⁶⁴ орды царевича в^j живых взяли. И стоял царь у обозу у воевод 6 дней и, не ходя к Москве, воротился в Крым⁶⁵ со всем своим⁶⁶

^a One line erased: Васильевич Казань взял. ^b Added in the same hand in cinnabar a mark and the note приступ на поле, after which is written in a different hand на друг[ом] лист[е]. ⁱ⁻¹ Written at the bottom of f. 3^r in the margin by the same hand, following a mark like that added on f. 2^r. ^j Corrected from *A*; omitted in *M* and *P*.

⁵¹ *A P*. ⁵² проведывать *A*. ⁵³ *A P*. ⁵⁴ *A* adds и. ⁵⁵ Москве *P*.
⁵⁶ The second redaction (*P*) adds Того же году в приход крымского царя Девлет Кирей Москва вся погорела, а Москвы не взял, побежал Божиим гневом гоним. В той же пожар преставися князь Иван Дмитриевич Белской з дьму и от великого пожару, а был ранен во многих местех от татар, месяца мая в 24 день; *P* then adds *B*. ⁵⁷ порозе *P*. ⁵⁸ ных *A*; corrected later to иных. ⁵⁹ Omitted *A*.
⁶⁰ санарядом *A*. ⁶¹ воротилися *A*. ⁶² Omitted *A*. ⁶³ а *A*.
⁶⁴⁻⁶⁴ Нагайской во Дазанския (later corrected to Казанския) *A*. ⁶⁵ Рым (later corrected to Крым) *A*. ⁶⁶ свом (later corrected to своим) *A*.

войском посрамлен, а полону рускаго не взяли никого. А Диви мурзу послали воеводы ко государю, царю и великому князю Ивану Васильевичу всеа Руси в великий Новгород. А казацкие орды царевич был больно ранен; держали его до государя на Москве.

В лета 7081-го царь Иван Васильевич Пайду взял.

В лета 7085-го царь Иван Васильевич Кесь с товарищи взял.

^kВ лета 7087-го июня⁶⁷ в 23 день в полуденное время в Казани пожар бысть⁶⁸ велик. Загореся⁶⁹ у Николе Тульского, и ряды все и гостин двор и в каменном городе митрополич двор все⁷⁰ выгорело,⁷¹ мала⁷² часть посаду остася.^k

В лета 7088-го литовской король || [л. 3 об.] Стефан Оботур приходил к Полтску и Полтеск взял, и владыку Киприяна и воевод поимал и людей побил. А царь и великий князь Иван Васильевич всеа Руси в то время был во Пскове, и не велел ему против короля ити немчин, доктор Елисей, норовил литовскому королю, и государь, царь, и великий князь Иван Васильевич ¹всеа Руси¹, ⁷³ за то его казнил смертью.

Того же лета литовские люди взяли городок⁷⁴ Сокол, а людей московских побили.

Лета 7089-го литовской король Стефан Оботур приходил к государеву, цареву и великого князя городу ко Пскову⁷⁵ || [л. 4] ⁷⁶и стоял под городом полгоду, и был в то время во Пскове наместник и воевода, князь Иван Петрович Шуйской. Город отстоял и литовских людей вылазя, побивали много. И ходил от государя, царя и великаго князя Ивана Васильевича всеа Руси к литовскому королю к Оботуру посол князь Дмитрей Елецкой. Сменял города: московской государь взял Луки Великие, а литовской король взял немецкие города.

Того же лета ноября в 18 день преставися царевич князь Иван Иванович в слободе Александровской, и привезен на Москву и положен в церкви архангела Михаила в приделе.⁷⁷

Лета 7092-го марта в 18 день преставися царь и великий князь Иван Васильевич || [л. 4 об.] московский⁷⁸ всеа Руси, во иноцех Иона, и положен на Москве в церкви архангела же Михаила в том же приделе.⁷⁹

Того же лета мая в 28 день⁸⁰ поставлен бысть на превелицем престоле царства Московскаго, и Владимирском и Казанском и Астороханском и многих государств великия Руси царевич князь Федор Иванович, и венчан венцем царским, и помазан святым миром.⁷⁶

Лета 7091-го свейской король Ругодив взял.⁸¹

^mВ лета 7092-го государь, царь и великий князь Федор Иванович всеа Руси седе на царство Московское и венчася царским венцем июня в⁸² 1 день.^m

^{k-k} Added in the margin in the same hand. ^{l-l} Repeated, the second time having been crossed out. ^{m-m} Written in the margin by the same hand.

⁶⁷ июля *A*. ⁶⁸ был *P*. ⁶⁹ загорелося *A*; загорел *P*. ⁷⁰ Omitted *A*.
⁷¹ *A* adds же и. ⁷² малая *A*. ⁷³ *A* adds и. ⁷⁴ город *P*. ⁷⁵ Added later in margin in *A*. ⁷⁶⁻⁷⁶ Omitted *A*. ⁷⁷ Added in second redaction (*P*): жил 29 лет, 7 месяц. ⁷⁸ *P* adds и. ⁷⁹ Added in second redaction (*P*): жил 53 лета, 7 месяц. ⁸⁰ *P* adds in margin в 31 день. ⁸¹ взяли *A*; added in margin in different hand В лето 7091-е государевым повелением донской атаман Ермак Тимофеев взял Сибирское царство *P*. ⁸² Omitted *A*.

⁸³В лета 7099-го приходил к Москве крымский царь, и Божиим милосердием государевы воеводы царя побили.⁸³ || [л. 5]

В лета 7093-го во царство Феодора Ивановича всеа Русии основан бысть на Москве град каменной⁸⁴ около земляново града мая в 9 день.

⁸⁵В лета 7105-го при благочестивом царе Феодоре Ивановиче июня в 18 день в 3-м часу ночи, в Нижнем Новгороде в Печерском монастыре бысть потрясение монастырю. Многия кельи повалилися, и храм⁸⁶ каменной Вознесения Христова и с колокольнею весь розвалился, а теплой храм Покрова пречистые Богородицы в землю осел по нижние окошка.⁸⁷ А людей Бог измиловал, ни един человек не изгиб. А то все розломало ограду и ворота || [л. 5 об.] монастырские и службы все. Бысть же сий трус при архимарите Трифоне. А^н преже сего в том же Нижнем Новгороде за 400 лет была слобода вверх по Оке реке под старым городом,^о и также опользла гора, яко и печерская, и зазыпало полтораста дворов с⁸⁸ людьми и со скотом, и ни един человек оттуду не избыл.

В лета 7104-го повеле государь, царь и великий князь Феодор Иванович всеа Русии в своей отчине в Казани в каменном нутри городе⁸⁹ в Преображенском монастыре каменную церковь заложити⁹⁰ боголепное Преображе- || [л. 6] ние Господа нашего Иисуса Христа. И начаша ров копати, и обретоша честныя мощи иже во святых отец наших Гурия архиепископа казанскаго и Варсунофия епископа тверскаго новых чудотворцов октября в 4 день при митрополите казанском Ермогене и при архимарите Арсении Высоком.⁹¹ || [л. 7] Лета 7105-го июня в 12 день заложен бысть в Смоленску град каменной а окладывал его по государеву, цареву и великого князя Федора Ивановича всеа Русии веленью⁹² шурын его, боярин и конюшей Борис Федорович Годунов.⁹²

⁸ In the margin in cinnabar and the same hand is written at this point зри.

^о Corrected from *A*; in *M* городом.

⁸³⁻⁸³ This entry follows the next one in *A*. ⁸⁴ *A* adds белой. ⁸⁵⁻⁸⁵ Omitted in second redaction (*P*). ⁸⁶ *A* adds холодной. ⁸⁷ окошко *A*. ⁸⁸ и *A*.

⁸⁹ города *A*. ⁹⁰ заложил *A*. ⁹¹ Omitted *P*. ⁹² Годунов *A*; added in second redaction (*P*): В лета 7092-го приходили крымские и нагайские люди 40,000, а с ними Араслан мурза Дивиев сын з братьею, и по грехом Оку реку перешли, и Козелеск и Мещеск и Масалеск и можайских и дорогобужских земских мест захватили по Угре реке и были в государьской [зе]мле две недели, и полону бесчисленно взяли, [к]нягини и боярыни многие поймали и де[тей] их, и пошли из государевы земли.

[И] мая в 7 день на праздник являшагося знаменна на небеси честнаго и животворящаго креста Господня. На реке на Оке, на перелазе Усть Высы реки выше Колуги верст з десять пришло на крымских и на нагайских людей государев, царев и великого князя Феодора Ивановича всеа Русии воевода Михаило Ондревич Безнин, а с ним государевы выборные дворяне большие князь Ондрей Васильевич Трубедкой да князь Ондрей Дмитриевич Хилков и иные многие большие дворяне и городовых детей боярских и стрельцы государевы дворовые, з головами, з Григорьем Микулиным да с Ондреем Митковым, и крымских и нагайских людей многих побили и потопили, и Дивиева сына убили и языки многие поймали, и полону отпозвоили больши 70,000, и княгинь и бояринь и детей их и вся[ких] людей и к Москве пришло, дал Бог, здорово со в[семи] государевыми дворяны. А в те поры на М[оскве] посол литовской Лев Сопега.

Того же месяца мая в 22 день по грехом, чернь московская приступали к городу большому кремлю, и ворота Фроловские выбили и секли, и пушку большую,

Лета⁹³ 7106-го генваря в 7 день преставися царь и великий князь Федор Иванович московский и всеа Русии, ⁹⁴удобрение и самодержец государства Московского, своея великия отчины, и многих государств обладатель,⁹⁴ в 13 лето государства его.⁹⁵ Яко солнце заиде в дальняя страны и земли, свеща русийская угасе, и яко камень драгий адамант лице свое сокры, во гроб вселися и в земли затворися, свет померче, || [л. 7 об.] и красный цвет христианьский увяде. И яко кипарис крепкий ис корени исторжеса и не остана отслаи ни мала от семени.⁹⁶

Сия же патриарх Иов московский виде, и с митрополиты и архиепископы и со всем освященным вселенским собором, и государевы, царевы и великого князя большие бояре и дворяне и гости и народ всея земли виде,⁹⁷ яко в Московском государстве царского сродника ни единого несть, кому на Московском государстве царем быти, а во иноверных⁹⁸ земли во орды царя а в варязи короля просити на государство не изволиша послати, сидевы ради вины имея⁹⁹ во уме ужас¹⁰⁰ и страх в сердцах. Цари || [л. 87]^P убо бохмичи имеют скверную бусорманскую веру, а короли еллини, своим изволением от Бога отпадоша и благоверия отвергошася, имеют богомерскую латынскую и люторскую ересь, дабы на Московском государстве будучи христианьские правые веры не исказили, и к своей прелести к бусорманской вере и к богомерской латынской ереси благоверных христиан насильством не превратили. И били челом благоверному государеву, цареву и великого князя Федора Ивановича шурина, боярину и конюшему⁴ Борису Федоровичю Годунову || [л. 87 об.] чтобы Борис Федорович пожаловал, принял престол Московского и Владимирского и Казанскаго и Астороханьскаго царства и сдержал скипетр всеа Русии на государево, цареву и великого князя Феодора Ивановича всеа Русии место. И Борис Федорович челобитья их не презрил и просил срока, дондеже государю, царю и великому князю Феодору Ивановичю блаженные памяти 40 дни преидет, и от царицы и великие княгини Ирины Федоровны, сестры своей, получить благословение.

Тое же зимы царя и великого князя Феодора Ивановича царица Ирина пострижеса на Москве в пречестнем девечем монастыре пречистые Богородицы честнаго ея Одигитре и нареченна баше Александра.

В лета 7107 сентября в 3 день по повелению царицы и великия княгини^P || [л. 8] иноки Александры и по благословиению и челобитью святейшаго Иова патриарха московского и по челобитью же всего освященнаго вселенскаго собора и царевых и великого князя бояр и дворян и всего

^{P-P} Text from A; omitted in M.

⁴ Corrected later from кошему.

которая стояла против Фроловских ворот на Лобном месте под город подворотили, и дети боярские многие на конех из луков на огрод стреляли. И в малые во Фроловские воротца выходили ко всей черни думной дворяни Михаилу Ондревичу Безнину да дьяк Ондрей Шелкалов, и чернь уговорили и с мосту сослали. При том же после литовском Лве тово же дни посол был у государя с утра.

⁹³ В лето P. ⁹⁴⁻⁹⁴ Omitted P. ⁹⁵ своего P; P adds [В л]ета 7107-го сентября в 3 день восприят скипетр [Москов]скаго государства и многих государств всеа [Русии] Борис Федорович Годунов. The second redaction (P) ends with that line.

⁹⁶ A adds ego.

⁹⁷ видевше A.

⁹⁸ инои верныя A.

⁹⁹ имеяху A.

¹⁰⁰ ужас A.

воинства и гостей и христианства поставлен бысть на Москве Богом избранный государь, царь и великий князь Борис Федорович на превеликом престоле царства Московьскаго, и благословением и рукоположением святейшаго Иова патриарха московскаго и вселенского венчан венцем царским и помазан святым миром.

И при его державе по вражью действию а по злomu умышленю и по ненависти полскаго и литовскаго Жигимонта короля и панов рад || [л. 8 об.] через многое его королевское крестное целованье в Московьском государстве смута и межусобье учинилася. Некоторой вор, чернец, еретик именем Гришка Отрепьев,¹⁰¹ за некоторые богомерские его дела, с Москвы збежал¹⁰² в Литву, и сверг с себя черное платье, назвался царевичем Дмитреем углецким, великого государя, царя Ивана Васильевича всеа Русии сыном. А царевича Дмитрея не стало до того времени за 13 лет. И вражым действием, тот вор Гришка дошел до царствующаго града Москвы и царского престола достиже, и государем московским именовася. И видя его злую прелесть, Московскаго государства бояре и всяких чинов люди съехався изо всех государств в царствующий град Москву, и соединяся единомысленно и облича того вора, злой смерти предали. || [л. 9]

И по убийстве того вора Гришки, по избранию всяких чинов и всего Росийскаго государства учинилася на Московском государстве государем, царем из бояр от рода суждальских князей Василей Иванович Шуйской. И после того Жигимонт король умысля Московское государство смутити больши прежнего. И поруша перемирье, и преступив свое крестное целованье, и после послов[†] своих, которые учинили на Москве мир с царем Васильем и[‡] крестное целованье. Наслал другово вора родом жидовина, назвав его царевичем Дмитреем же, будто он тот Гришка, что был на Москве и с Москвы убежал[†] к ним в Польшу жив. И тот другой вор собрався, с литовскими людьми || [л. 9 об.] пришед, под Московью стоял таборами, и города и уезды воевал, и кровь напрасную проливал, и к Москве приступал. А польской Жигимонт король через крестное целованье город Смоленск взяв, и умысля с изменники Московскаго государства, с¹⁰³ Михаилом Глебовым Салтыковым и с его советники, которые изменили царю Василью, отехали к королю, писал и приказывал в Москву к бояром и всяких чинов к людем, бутто он, жалеючи о христианстве пришел в Московское государство, чтоб государство успокоить и кровь уняти, а быти б на Московском государстве сыну его коро- || [л. 10] левичю Владиславу в нашей вере греческаго закона и никоторого зла в Московском государстве не делати. И царь Василей, для покою христианскаго, государство свое отставил. А на Московское государство избрали были польскаго королевича Владислава и з гетманом корунным с Станиславом Желковьским, и о том о всем договор был учинен, и крестным целованьем с обе стороны укреплен. И Жигимонт король сына своего на Московское государство не дал, и сам от Смоленска не

^{†-†} Corrected from *A*; in *M* и послов.

[‡] Corrected from *A*; omitted in *M*.

[†] Repeated, the second time having been crossed out.

¹⁰¹ Отрепьев *A*.

¹⁰² безжал *A*.

¹⁰³ и *A*.

24 TWO UNPUBLISHED MUSCOVITE CHRONICLES

отшед,¹⁰⁴ и по его веленью литовские люди и изменник Михайло оманом вошли в Москву. И царя Василья взяв, х королю отослали, а Москву велел || [л. 10 об.] польским и литовским людем выжечь и высечь, и церкви Божии и монастыри осквернили. И святейшаго Гермогена, патриарха московскаго и всеа Русии, с престола свергли и в заточенье уморили и всяких чинов людей множество побили и Москву засели. И Московского государства бояре и всякие люди, за ту¹⁰⁵ его королевъскую многую неправду, против его стали, и стоя под Москвою гетмана Карла Хоткеева побили, и з запасы в Москву не пропустили, и Московское^u государство очистили. И на великих государствах, на Владимирском и Московском и Ноугородцком и на царствах Казанском и Астороханском и Сибирском и на всех великих || [л. 11] и преславных государствах Росийскаго царствия по Божией воли и по племени великих государей, царей росийских а по благословению матерню великие государыни старицы иноко Марфы Ивановны и по избранию и по челобитью Московского государства царей и царевичев, которые служат в Московском государстве и бояр и окольныхчих и дворян¹⁰⁶ и всего Московского государства учинился государем, царем и великим князем Михайло Федоровичь всеа Русии самодержцем¹⁰⁷ в лето 7121-е, понеже он государь великого государя славные памяти царя и великого князя Ивана Васильевича всеа Русии самодержца¹⁰⁸ законные супруги а сына его царя и великого князя Федора Ивановича всеа Русии¹⁰⁹ || [л. 11 об.] матери великие государыни¹¹⁰ царицы и великие княгини Анастасей Романовны Юрьева родного племянника Федора Микитича Романова Юрьева сын.

Лета 7153-го году июля¹¹¹ против 13-го числа в ночи волею Божиею великого государя, царя и великого князя Михаила Федоровича всеа Русии самодержца не стало, оставя земное царства, отиде в вечное блаженство небеснаго царствия, а отходя сего света, великий государь, царь и великий князь Михайло Федоровичь всеа Русии благословил сына своего великого государя, царевица князя^v Алексея Михайловича быти на своем царском престоле на Влади- || [л. 12] мерском и на Московском государстве и на всех великих государствах Росийскаго царствия царем и великим князем всеа Русии.

THE TALE OF THE NIZHNY NOVGOROD EARTHQUAKE

GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin, No. 1573

[л. 17] Печерский трус бысть в Нижном Новеград[е при]^a благочестивом царе и государе и великом князе Ф[едоре] Ивановиче всеа Русии в лето 7105-го [июня] в 18 день в третий час ноци. От монастыря к конюш[ен]ному двору и в монастырьскую слободку вверх по Волге рекс, и на

^u Corrected from московсковьское. ^{v-v} Written above the line.

^a Here and in other places indicated by brackets the text has been restored, since the corner of the manuscript has been torn off.

¹⁰⁴ отшел А. ¹⁰⁵ то А. ¹⁰⁶ дворян А. ¹⁰⁷ самодержец А. ¹⁰⁸ саморжца А.
¹⁰⁹ А adds самодержца. ¹¹⁰ Omitted А. ¹¹¹ июня А.

монастыре и ниже монастыря до пещер, вниз по Волге реке всего на версту появились щели великия. И на всех пришел страх и ужас великой, яко же бысть преже сего по летописцем за четыриста лет. В Нижнем Новеграде под старым городом вверх по Оке реке была слобода, и Божий гнев в те лета были знамения такова: опользла гора сверху и засыпало полтораста дворов с людьями и со скотом, оттуду никаков человек не избыл. Тако же ныне в наша лета, грех ради наших, вся таковая страждем праведным судом, монастырь стоял в полу горе под большою горою, и почала большая гора под монастырем осыпаться и с лесом. Архимарит же || [л. 17 об.] [Трифон] з братьею и весь освященный собор нача [моли]ти милостиваго Бога, дабы укротил пра[ведн]ый свой гнев, и взем пречистыя Богородицы [об]раз и прочия чудотворныя иконы, вышли за монастырь с плачем и с песньми духовными. И противу большие горы нача быти шум великой и треск от лесу, и Божиим милосердием и пречистыя Богородицы заступлением тоя милостию, прошла гора под монастырь под землею, и обявился гора та в Волге реке. А которые суды были у берегу, и те стали на горе от воды далече, а в Волге учинилися бугры великия. И на монастыре и в слободе землю изломало, и монастырское основание все здвинулося с места в Волгу реку, и храм большой каменной Вознесение Христова от того разрушилося до основания. Токмо остался един верх, которой был над жертвеником, и колокольница разсыпалася. А теплый храм Покров пресвятыя Богородицы спатнуло на сторону и обнизился в землю || [л. 18] сажени с три блиско о концѣ олтарн[ы, свята] ворота повалилися, и поварни и ледни[ки и су]шила, и хлебни и отграда монастырское . . . строение переломало, и на берегу Волги хр[ам] Николы чудотворца здвинуло с места и паперть обломало, и в слободе дворы и[с]шатало. Аримарита же Трифона з братиею и монастырских слуг и христиан от смерти Бог помиловал, ни един человек не изгибл, яко же и преже сего, грех ради наших, при царе Иустинияне бысть трус в Константине граде, по различных местех прият казнь.

Тако же и великий град Антиохия Божиим гневом напрасно весь падеся, и гроб бысть живущим в нем, инии же под землею падошася и погребошася, нещии же живи суще, и огонь из земли пришед и пожре их, и тако же от асра огонь сходяи, яко молния, и последи обретающихся попадающе. Понтийский же град разседеся на полы, пол его паде с живущими || [л. 18 об.] . . . под землею, взываху милости, прося . . . пребысть земля трясуцися лето все.

THE BEZDNIN CHRONICLE

Text given according to MS GBL, *fond 92*, Collection of S. O. Dolgov, No. 3 (Museum Collection, No. 5890) (abbreviated *D*), with variants from MSS GIM, Collection of E. V. Barsov, No. 1811 (abbreviated *B*), and Museum Collection, No. 2524 (abbreviated *M*).

[л. 1] В лето 6463 крещение блаженныя Ольги бабы великого князя Владимира.

В лето 6496 во царство Василья и Костятина греческих от патриарха Фотия крестися князь велики Владимир в Корсунѣ. И приведе с собою из

грек первого митрополита Леона в Киев и с ним 4 епископы, и крести русскую землю. И се бысть в Киеве первый митрополит Леон, а четырех епископов посадил по градом. Перваго посади в Белеграде и нарече архиепископом.^a Второго архиепископа посадил в Ростове; посла его с сыном своим со князем Борисом. Третьяго епископа посади в Чернигове. Четвертаго епископа посади в Волинской земли. Сей же митрополит Леон и сии 4 епископы крестиша рускую землю. Теи первопрестолпицы нарицаются, якоже от сих нача || [л. 1 об.] множатися правоверная вера крестьянская, и от Леона митрополита поставлени быша по иным градом епископы в Новгород, в Полотеск, в Волинскую землю.

Ярослав, сын Владимиров,¹¹² постави в Новгород первого епископа Якима Волошенина. Тогда же и сына своего^b старейшаго Владимира в Новеграде посади. Той же князь великий Ярослав постави по Акиме¹¹³ втораго епископа Жидягу в Новеграде, нарицаемаго Луку.

В лето 6700 преставися преподобный игумен Варлам чудотворец Футьинский.^c

В лето 6742 царь Батый приходил на Русь.

В лето 6754 убьение князя Михаила Черниговского и боярина его Феодора.

В лето 6791 поставлен бысть в митрополиты Максим гречанин. Жил || [л. 2] 22 лета.

В лето 6816 поставлен бысть в митрополиты Петр, и прииде в Володимер. Жил 20 лет в митрополитех.

В лето 6862 поставлен бысть во Цареграде Алексей митрополит, и¹¹⁴ жил 23 лета, и положены бысть честныя его мощи в его созданной обители на Москве, в Чюдове монастыри в лето 885.

В лето 6879 родися князь Василей Дмитриевич Донскаго.

В лето 6888^d побоище бысть великаго князя Дмитрея Ивановича Донскаго. Побил за Доном Момая царя.

В лето 6890 взял царь Тахтамыш град Москву оманом и много зла сотворил.

В лето 6897 преставися князь || [л. 2 об.] великий Дмитрий Иванович Донской месяца мая в 19 день.¹¹⁵ Был на великом княжнение московском 29 лет и 6 месяц, а всех лет жил 38 и 5 месяц.

В лето 6898 преставися Пимин митрополит, что был по Алексее чудотворце. Вооружился был на Олексеево место прияти престол митропольский Митяй, от Спаса с нового архимарит,¹¹⁶ и мантию со источники на ся возложил самоволством. И пошел к Царюграду ставитися, и Богу не попустившу ему таковаго престола святельска восприяти гордости ради.

В лето 6899^e женился князь Василей Дмитриевич Донскаго. Понял Софию, дщерь Витовта Кестутевича, короля литовскаго. || [л. 3]

В лето 6900 преставися преподобный игумен Сергей чудотворец

^a Corrected from *B*; in *D* архиепископав. ^b Corrected from *B*; in *D* его. ^c *Sic*.

^d Corrected from *B*; in *D* 6088. ^e Corrected from *B*; in *D* 6800.

¹¹² Владимир *B*.
¹¹⁶ архимандрит *B*.

¹¹³ Якиме *B*.

¹¹⁴ Omitted *B*.

¹¹⁵ Omitted *B*.

радонежский. Того же году преставися преподобный игумен Дмитрий прилутцкий чудотворец. Того же году окаанный Темир Аксак приходил на Русь, и Елец град взял, и князя елеческово полонил при благочестивом великом князе Василье Дмитреевиче Донского внука Ивана Ивановича а правнука Ивана Даниловича московского Калиты,¹¹⁷ при митрополите Киприяне киевском и всеа Русии.

В лето 6903 прииде образ пречистые Богородицы из Володимера на Москву при великом князе Василье Дмитреевича Донъского.

В лето 6904 преставися Стефан пермьский епископ на Москве || [л. 3 об.] и положен бысть у Спаса на государеве дворе.

В лето 6915 преставися великая княгиня^f Евдокея княже Дмитреева Донского, во иноцех Ефросинья, месяца июня в 7 день. Она же идучи до манастиря Вознесенского к постриганью простила 30 человек, различными недуги одержимыя, а у князя Дмитреева гроба Донского в Архангиле на площади да у княгини Ефросинии в Вознесенском монастыре у гробов свечи сами о себе возгарахуся.

В лето 6916 поиде князь великий Василей Дмитреевич к Смоленску и взя град Дмитровец, и поиде к Вязме, и взяша с тестем своим с великим князем Витовтом перемирье от рождества святыя Богородицы до Петрова дни.

Того же лета погоре град Ростов, и церковь || [л. 4] каменная соборная падеся, и колоколы разлишася, и людей много погоре и истопе месяца июня в 21 день.

В лето 6917 прииде князь великий Витовт на зятя своего, на великого князя Василья Дмитреевича московского, и то слышав, князь великий Василей поиде противу его. И снидошася о реце о Угре и ту взяша мир промеж собою, занеже нелзе было снитися войском о том месте, дуброва частая и путь узок, и разыдошася.

На ту же зиму поиде безбожный князь Едигей на великого князя Василья Дмитреевича, идучи к Москве сожже град Серпухов, а людей множество ссече, а иных в полон поведе, и прииде к Москве декабря в 5 день, и земле русской много зла сътворил, || [л. 4 об.] а граду Москве ничтоже успе.

В лето 6918 выиде преосвященный митрополит Фотий киевский из Царяграда на Москву и на всю рускую землю, ¹¹⁸и прииде на Москву¹¹⁸ в Велик день, апреля в 22 день.

В лето 6930 глад бысть силен по всей русской земли, на Москве оков ржи ^gпо рублю а Коломне оков ржи^g по два рубля.^h

В лето 6935 мор бысть силен на люди на Москве и по всей земли русской. Того же году преставися Кирил чудотворец.

В лето 6936 преставися игумен Никон троецкий, Сергеев ученик, ноября в 17 день.

В лето 6938 съезд был в Литве к королю Витовту Кестутевичю, от многих земель великие князи и короли, митрополиты и владыкы от

^f Corrected from княгини. ^{g-h} Corrected from B; omitted in D. ^h Corrected from B; in D рублн.

¹¹⁷ E adds и. ¹¹⁸⁻¹¹⁸ Omitted B.

различных || [л. 5] земель, послы и воеводы и князи местнии, и множество папов и бояр от многих царств, и многие гости и много бесчислено людства. Первой был внук его князь великий Василей Васильевич московской, второй Гаило Олгирдович, король великопольский, третьей князь великий Борис Александрович тверский, четвертой Уньшгер, великий воевода неметцкий, пятой ардинал, посол от папы из Рима, шестой и семон¹ Лишъ да Стефан, воеводы волошские, осмой король чешский, девятый Фотий, митрополит московский, десятой архиепископ краковский, первой на десять бискуп виленский, второй на десять бискуп полотцкий, князи местнии, бояре и панове || [л. 5 об.] и гости великие от различных стран. Князь же великий Витовт Кестутевич, почтив великими честями и дарами, и здарив коегождо по достоинству, и кормы посылая нарядные¹¹⁹ по выписем, и учреженке велие творя по вся дни, и урядив всех о которых потребах съехалися, отпусти с миром коегождо во свояси с великою честию, и в своей земли литовской по всем станом повелел събирати кормы великие, дождеже кождо их во свою землю прииде.

В лето 6939 преставися Фотий митрополит. Того же лета мгла стояла 6 недель, рыбы в воде мерли, тако же и птицы на землю падали, не видели летати. Того же году марта в 14 день преста- || [л. 6] всия игумен Христофор, Кирилов ученик.

В лето 6946 бой был на Белеве с великим князем Васильем Васильевичем царю Амету, и великого князя обили.

В лето 6948 родися князь великий Иван от великого князя Василья Васильевича.

В лето 6953¹²⁰ бысть бой¹²⁰ под Суждалем с татары и великого князя Василья в полон взяли.

В лето 6954 князь великий Василей Васильевич вышел от царя ис полону. Тоеже зимы князь Дмитрий Шемяка да князь Иван Андреевич Можайской великого князя Василья Васильевича поймали у Троицы в Сергиеве монастыре и очи у него выняли. И дали ему Вологду в кормление в удел. || [л. 6 об.]

В лето 6961 турский царь взял Царьград.

В лето 6980 после рождества Христова явися звезда велика, от нея же луч долог велми. Тоеже зимы генваря явися звезда хвостата. Того же лета приходил царь Ахмут и Олексин выжег.

В лето 6985 преставися преподобный игумен Пафнотий боровьский мая в 1 день.

В лето 6986 князь великий Иван Васильевич взял Новьград.

Того же году зиме родися великому князю Ивану Васильевичю сын Иван от великие княгини тверягьки.

В лето 6987¹ марта в 25 день родися князь великий Василей Иванович московский и крестиша его у Троицы || [л. 7] в Сергиеве монастыре.

В лето 6990 октября в 6 день родися великому князю Ивану Васильевичю сын Дмитрий.

¹ Sic. ¹ Corrected from B; in D 6087.

¹¹⁹ нарядные B.

¹²⁰⁻¹²⁰ бой был B.

В лето 6992 родися великому князю Ивану Ивановичю сын Дмитрей а внук великому князю Ивану Васильевичю.

В лето 6994 сентебря в 12 день князь велики Иван Васильевич взял Тверь.

В лето 6995 князь великий Иван Ивановичь взял Казань, и от себя посла на царство в Казань Магмедиямина царя.

Того же лета родися великому князю Ивану Васильевичю сын Семен.

В лето 6997 преставися Геронтей митрополит всеа Русии. || [л. 7 об.]

В лето 6998¹²¹ преставися князь Иван Ивановичь всеа Русии.

Того же году родися великому князю Ивану Васильевичю сын Ондрей.

В лето 6999 собор был на Москве на наугоротцких еретиков при великом князе Василье Ивановиче всеа Русии.

В лето 7013 июня в 24 день¹²² царь казанский Магмедеми гостей русских иссек в Казани, и отложился от великого князя, а Михаила Кляпика¹²³ поимал.

В лето 7014 преставися князь великий Иван Васильевич всеа Русии самодержец, а был на великом княженье 43 лета, а всех лет живота его 66.

Тоеже осени сын его князь велики Василей Иванович женился 26 лет. || [л. 8] Понял Соломонею, дщерь Юрья Сабурова.

Того же году князь великий Василей послал брата своего князя Дмитрея углетцкаго да князя Федора Борисовича володцкаго под Казань а с ними множество воевод и воинства, и людей русских обили и запас отлучили.

В лето 7022 князь великий Василей Ивановичь взял у литовского короля град столный Смоленск месяца июля.

Того же лета побили московских воевод в литовской земли под Оршею.

¹²⁴В лето 7024 преставися преподобный игумен Иосиф волоцкий сентебря в 9 день.¹²⁴

В лето 7029 преставися князь Дмитрей Иванович углетцкой.

Того же лета обретоша монди Макария чудотворца колязинскаго месяца июня. || [л. 8 об.]

Того же лета июля в 26¹²⁵ приходил царь Магмет а силы с ним было 130 тысяць и много зла сотворил крестьянству.

В лето 7039 августа в 25 день¹²⁶ с среды на четверг родися великому князю Василью Ивановичю сын, и нарекоша имя ему Иван.

В лето 7042 преставися князь великий Василей Иванович самодержец всеа Русии. На государстве был 28 лет, а всех лет жил 54 и 8 месяць и 9 дней.

В лето 7043 июля в 3 день родися благоверному князю Ондрею Ивановичю старитцкому сын Владимир.

В лето 7046 преставися благоверная великая княгиня Елена апреля в 3 день в 2 час дни. || [л. 9]

В лето 7048 апреля в 7 день в первый час тма была до четвертаго часа дни.^k

^k Added and crossed out и снег пал по многим местом.

¹²¹ 6098 B.

¹²² Omitted B.

¹²³ Клепика B.

¹²⁴⁻¹²⁴ Omitted B.

¹²⁵ B adds день.

¹²⁶ Omitted B.

В лето 7050 августа в 22 день студь была велика и снег пал по многим месгом.

В лето 7061 царь и великий князь Иван Васильевич взял Царство казанское и обеих царей Семиона и Александра свел к Москве и учинил вся по своей воли, и воевод своих посадил и людей¹ многих воинских оставил.

В лето 7068 преставися благоверная великая княгиня Анастасья августа в 7 день.

В лето 7071 царь и великий князь Иван Васильевич взял литовский столный град Полотеск.

В¹²⁷ лето¹²⁸ 7079¹²⁹ в приход крымского царя Девлет Кирей Москва вся погорела, а Москвы не взял, побежал Божшим || [л. 9 об.] гневом гоним. В той же пожар преставися князь Иван Дмитриевич Бельской з дымом и от великого пожару, а был ранен во многих местех от татар, месяца мая в 24.¹³⁰

В лето¹³¹ 7080¹³² июля той¹³³ же царь крымский Девлет Кирей приходил на Русь с великою похвалою и хотел аки лев похитити¹³⁴ все царство Московское, и не чаял¹³⁵ окаанный злодей противу себе московские рати. И Бог человеколюбец и пречистая Богородица отврати гнев свой праведный от православнаго крестьянства и великие чудотворцы руские¹³⁶ молитвою помогли, и от града Москвы царь побежал никем же гоним, и как будет на Молодях и государские воеводы князь Михайло Иванович Воротынской с товарищи да князь Иван Петрович Шуйской, царя крымского обили,¹³⁷ и большово воеводу Дивия мурзу взяли жива. || [л. 10]

В лето¹³⁸ 7090¹³⁹ преставися царевич князь Иван Иванович ноября в 19¹⁴⁰ в 13 час ноци а всех лет живота его 29 лет^m и 7 месяц.

В лето¹⁴¹ 7091 у царя и великого князя Ивана Васильевича всеа Русии родися сын и нарекоша имя ему царевичь Дмитрий, месяца октября в 19¹⁴² на память святаго пророка Иоиля.

В лето¹⁴³ 7092¹⁴⁴ преставися царь и великий князь Иван Васильевич всеа Русии самодержец марта в 18 день с среды на четверг в пятом часу ноци, а всех лет живота его 53 лета и 7 месяц.

Того же году седе на царство на Москве сын его царевич князь Феодор Иванович¹⁴⁵ месяца мая в 31 день¹⁴⁶ в неделю 7 по Пасцеⁿ а от рожества его 28 лет.

Того же лета приходили крымские || [л. 10 об.] и нагайские люди¹⁴⁷ 40,000 Аросла¹⁴⁸ мурза Дивиев сын з братею, и по грехом Оку реку перелазили,¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰и воевали многие города за Окою рекою,¹⁵⁰ и Козелеск, и

¹ Corrected from *B*; in *D* люде. ^m Corrected from *B*, *M*; omitted in *D*.

ⁿ Corrected from *B*, *M*; in *D* Пас.

¹²⁷ *M* begins here. ¹²⁸ лета *M*. ¹²⁹ 7079-го *M*. ¹³⁰ *B*, *M* add день.
¹³¹ лета *M*. ¹³² 7080-го *M*. ¹³³ тот *M*. ¹³⁴ восхитить *M*. ¹³⁵ чаяв *M*.
¹³⁶ московские *B*. ¹³⁷ отбили *M*. ¹³⁸ лета *M*. ¹³⁹ 7090-го *M*.
¹⁴⁰ *B*, *M* add день. ¹⁴¹ лета *M*. ¹⁴² *B*, *M* add день. ¹⁴³ лета *M*.
¹⁴⁴ 7092-го *M*. ¹⁴⁵ *M* adds всеа Русии самодержец руския земли и всея области.
¹⁴⁶ Omitted *B*. ¹⁴⁷ *M* adds а их. ¹⁴⁸ Араслан *M*. ¹⁴⁹ перешли *M*.
¹⁵⁰⁻¹⁵⁰ Omitted *M*.

Мещовск,¹⁵¹ и Мосалеск, и можайских и дорогобужских¹⁵² и вяземских¹⁵² мест захватили по Угре по реке, и были в государьской земли 2 недели, и полону безчисленно взяли, и княгини и боярыни многие поимали и детей их, и пошли из государевы земли. И мая в 7 день¹⁵³ являшагося знамение¹⁵⁴ на небеси честнаго и животворящаго креста Господня на реце на Оке на перелазе Усть Высы реки свыше¹⁵⁵ Колуги¹⁵⁶ десять верст.¹⁵⁶ Пришел на крымских и на нагайских людей государев¹⁵⁷ воевода Михайло Ондреевич Безднин, а с ним государевы выборные дворяне большие князь Ондрей Васильевич Трубетцкой да || [л. 11] князь Ондрей¹⁵⁸ Дмитриевич Хилков, и иные многие большие дворяне, и города¹⁵⁹ детей боярских, и стрельцы¹⁶⁰ дворовые государевы¹⁶⁰ з головами з Григорьем с Микулиным да с Ондреем с Митковым, да¹⁶¹ крымских и нагайских людей многих побили¹⁶² и потопили,¹⁶² и Дивиева сына убили и языки многие поимали и полону отполонил боле¹⁶³ семидесят тысяч, и княгинь и боярын и детей их¹⁶⁴ и к Москве пришел, дал Бог, здорово со всеми государевыми дворяны. А в те поры был¹⁶⁵ на Москве посол литовской Лев Сопега.

И¹⁶⁶ того же месяца в 22 день по грехом чернь московская приступали к городу большому,¹⁶⁷ и ворота Фроловские выбивали¹⁶⁸ и секли, и пушку болшую, которая стояла¹⁶⁹ на Улобном¹⁷⁰ месте, на¹⁷¹ город поворотили,¹⁷² и дети боярские || [л. 11 об.] многие на конех из луков на город стреляли.¹⁷³ В малые во Фроловские вородца выходили ко всей черни думной дворянин Михайло Ондреевич Безднин да дьяк Ондрей Щелкалов, и чернь уговорили и с мосту сослали при том же после литовском Льве. Того же дни посол был у государя с утра.¹⁷⁴

В лето 7093 приехал царевич Мурат Кирий крымской, Девлет Киреев¹⁷⁵ сын, царю государю служити, Федору Ивановичю московскому.

В лето 7094 приехал к Москве патриарх антиохийский Иоаким, а в Чюдове хлеба ял месяца июля в 16 день в воскресный день.

¹⁵¹ Мещеск *M*; Мещевъск *B*. ¹⁵²⁻¹⁵² земских *M*. ¹⁵³ *M* adds на праздник.
¹⁵⁴ знаменья *M*. ¹⁵⁵ выше *M*. ¹⁵⁶⁻¹⁵⁶ версть з десять *M*. ¹⁵⁷ *M* adds царев и великого князя Феодора Ивановича всеа Русии. ¹⁵⁸ он *B*.
¹⁵⁹ городовых *M*. ¹⁶⁰⁻¹⁶⁰ государевы дворовые *M*. ¹⁶¹ и *M*. ¹⁶²⁻¹⁶² Omitted *B*.
¹⁶³ больши *M*. ¹⁶⁴ *M* adds и всяких людей. ¹⁶⁵ Omitted *M*. ¹⁶⁶ Omitted *M*.
¹⁶⁷ *M* adds х кремлю. ¹⁶⁸ выбили *M*. ¹⁶⁹ *M* adds против Фроловских ворот.
¹⁷⁰ Лобном *M*. ¹⁷¹ под *M*. ¹⁷² подворотили *M*. ¹⁷³ *M*, *B* add и.
¹⁷⁴ *M* ends at this point. ¹⁷⁵ Киев *B*.

A Scriptorium in Kholmogory: Some Observations on Palaeography

Daniel C. Waugh

This previously unpublished essay was written to accompany the rest of my article that was published in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, N.S., Vol. XII (1979), pp. 1-31, as “Two Unpublished Muscovite Chronicles.” As the general editor, I. P. Foote, in his letter dated 14 September 1977 explained, “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. An important consideration too is the saving in plates that this would allow. 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 any adequate illustration of your palaeographic discussion.”

I reproduce here the original typescript of that part 3 of the article as submitted to OSP, the pagination and numbering of the endnotes thereby beginning as they did in the typescript (with p. 22 and n. 35). To a limited degree, when the rest of the article was revised for its eventual publication, some material from this part 3 was incorporated into notes. The two pages of palaeographic tables and the 15 additional plates follow the notes. In this pdf file, where they have been scanned from a photocopy, the plates are less than ideal quality, but I could not now reproduce them from the original photographs, which, in any event are not much better.

My interest in this material developed from my examination of two of the manuscripts, Pogod. 1573 (and its related parts) and Muz. 2524, whose northern connection intrigued Edward Keenan when he was writing his *Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha*. There has been additional work on Russian scriptoria which might be brought to bear if this essay were to be revised. Undoubtedly some corrections are needed here; it may well be that I was somewhat optimistic in specifying the northern provenance of all the manuscripts I discuss. However, I would at least hope this material, dated as it is, would contribute to the as yet necessary examination of Muscovite scriptoria, most of whose histories have yet to be written.

June 2012

III. A Scriptorium in Kholmogory: Some Observations on Paleography.

Apart from its interesting content, manuscript GIM, Museum Collection No. 2524 is of value in helping to 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 compiled. The manuscripts in question include the following: GIM, Collection of the Synodal (Patriarchal) Library No. 127/77 (hereafter designated S) and Museum Collection No. 2524 (hereafter M), GBL, Collection of N. S. Tikhonravov No. 557 (= T), BAN, 32.8.4 (= B), GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin Nos. 1405 (= X) and 1573 (= P), and F.XVII.15 (= F).³⁵

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. An inscription by the copyist tells us that S was copied in Kholmogory in 1670 (plate 6); inscriptions on M identify two of its owners, the Kholmogory priests Iov Ivanov and Aleksey Zolotarev (plate 7). F was at one point owned by the d'yak Dmitry Stepanovich Volottsky, who served on the Dvina from mid-January 1678 to early February 1681, a fact which is suggestive, although it does not by itself prove anything about the provenance of F.³⁶ Several of the manuscripts contain chronicles or portions of chronicles with local Dvina information. As indicated earlier, M and P contain the opening entries of the "Short Chronicle of the Dvina voevody," a work known in full in X, where it is appended to the Kholmogorskaya letopis'. T and F each

contain entries found also in the Dvinskii letopisets, a work for which most copies seem to have circulated (and probably originated) in the Arkhangelsk/Kholmogory region.³⁷

A second connecting link between 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 M and P, not merely because, as I have suggested above, 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. F 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 P, and a variant of the "Extracts from the Kizylbash Books" that appears to be close to that in M and P. 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.³⁸ It does seem that the copyists of these three manuscripts had common access to a rich library of secular literature, a fact about which I shall say more later. B is a copy of a "Book of Degrees" (Stepennaya kniga), and T contains extracts from that work. This may be mere coincidence, but one cannot exclude the possibility, which could be checked by close textual comparison, that T was made using B or its source.

The third connecting link among the manuscripts--and this is one which pertains to all seven of them--is their handwriting. I shall examine certain paleographic features of the manuscripts in some detail in order to demonstrate that connection and in order to provide materials for further study of what I feel was an important scriptorium in the Kholmogory region, one

which hitherto has 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, two of them, S and B, I know only from poor reproductions of small portions of text);³⁹ I was not able to compare them directly; since my paleographic study of the manuscripts de visu 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 might likewise be associated with the seven treated here and throw more light on the paleographic problems they pose.⁴⁰

The accompanying table 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. I should stress that 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.⁴¹ Analysis of the remaining hands must be left for future study. Here it suffices merely 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 (plate 8).

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 paleography. I. P. Sakharov termed the hand of С "Archangel semi-uncial," but I would be inclined to characterize it as "cursive tending toward semi-uncial," which, as we know, is not a terribly helpful description for any hand that one would wish to identify with precision.⁴² Clearly in the first style reproduced in the table for Р, the hand is cursive (plate 9--first hand), although when broken down into individual letters, that style is little different from what Sakharov called semi-uncial. It may be best then, until someone has developed a better system than we now have for classifying Cyrillic hands, 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 н, т, с, and several letters) tend to be concave to the right, with the curve being especially pronounced at the thickened bottom (that is, the end) of the pen stroke. The letter р 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 р 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 and 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 M, I, B, P). A second letter that is a mark of this scriptorium is the a 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 S, an omission which may reflect merely the small size of my sample from that manuscript. In all cases, this characteristic a 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 a also can suggest which of the hands definitely are different: in X, 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 F 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 z 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.⁴³ The version of this letter in the first

style of P 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 Ѡ, formed by three strokes, one a usually straight vertical on the left (in the case of P, 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 M and T are marked by variants of this letter made without the vertical bar on the left; and manuscript F contains numerous examples of a variant that is drawn like a ѡ and is not attested in the other manuscripts. The hands of all the manuscripts contain two characteristic variants of the ѡ: 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 P a tendency toward the vertical. In F 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 P and F, 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 P 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 P for the Ѣ and ѣ and helps to

distinguish the hand(s) of that manuscript from the others.

It seems to me that four of the seven manuscripts (S, M, T, and B) probably contain the work of a single copyist. Of the four, the most difficult to associate with the group is S, partly because my acquaintance with its hand is limited to a very few lines of text in a reproduction of somewhat dubious quality. Some letters found in the other three manuscripts in several variants are known to me for S in only a single variant, which need not necessarily be typical for the hand. Moreover, of the four manuscripts, S 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 S (note especially the letters g and τ).

Among individual letters in these four manuscripts, one notes in particular o, with a curving stem angled up to the right and ending in a hook (attested only in S, T, and B), the variant of the superscript m with the clearly crossing individual strokes (in M, T, and B), the u with the long hooked tail below the middle mast of the letter (in M, T, and B), the g with a short tail that flattens out or begins to curve downwards (in all four), the n 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 S see plate 6, for M plates 1-3, for I plate 10, and for B the plate cited in n. 39). One 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 P in the table are more regular--one with a marked flowing horizontal line (plate 9--first hand) and the other with a distinct regular verticality (plate 11). F has a rather consistent emphasis on the vertical (due especially to the predominance of long, practically straight stems for the letter ѿ) although the hand is much more similar in overall appearance to that of S, M, I, and B than is that in P. Finally, X 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 (plate 13)).

One other aspect connects S, M, I, and B, 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 style of P has a distinctive treatment of the исть or исо (with the accent at a shallow angle from the horizontal and the звяренцо under it and approximately horizontal). Also, in the first style of P, the accents for the most part have been eliminated. In contrast, the second style of P has the accents but only rarely the diacritical marks. In F 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, X 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 sample. We note especially the combination of c and e (in which the first loops down and around to the beginning of the second), the run-together l and B, various combinations involving o and r (especially in genitive endings), o, e and v in the word воевода, and so on. Ligatures are rare (one example in a marginal note in T). 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 P illustrated in the table and parts of M which clearly were written hurriedly.

One final aspect of this group of manuscripts that is worth noting is the matter of decoration.⁴⁴ 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 M; headings in P and perhaps in part in F). Both S and F 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 (plates 14, 15). Moreover, in F, a manuscript on which clearly a considerable amount of care was lavished, we have a fine large decorated initial B in the old printed floral style (plate 12) as well as some other smaller but elegant initials (for exam-

ple, the B on fol. 65^r, where one also finds the вязь).⁴⁵ 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 appear that the scriptorium where the seven all probably originated was capable of producing work of high aesthetic quality.

One should note by way of caution though what Nikolay Charykov pointed out regarding the copyist of S: namely that he was rather sloppy in reproducing his text.⁴⁶ 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 skilfully 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 S 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.

One would like to be able to specify the precise scriptorium in which these manuscripts were produced. However, so far we can do no better than to agree with Charykov that we probably are dealing with a church or monastery in Kholmogory.⁴⁷ As he correctly points out (for S), the manuscripts are too early to be associated with the most famous bookman of the area, Archbishop Afanasy.⁴⁸ It is likely though that those working in the scriptorium were associates of the two priests who owned M. Iov Ivanov was a priest of the Church of the Epiphany and in 1701 became

klyuchar' of Afanasy'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 klyuchar' 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 Dvinskii letopisets.⁴⁹

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 we can at the minute 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 Stepennaya kniga, the "Chronograph of 1617," a Kozmografiya, the first two letters in the "correspondence" attributed to Prince Kurbsky and Tsar Ivan IV, the "Tale of Two Embassies," 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," Trifon Korobeinikov's "Journey," 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, 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-Siisky 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 1680's 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 Soviet manuscript collections.

35. As I have demonstrated elsewhere, three other manuscripts now in separate bindings were part of a miscellany that included P, namely GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin Nos. 1503, 1576 (the last portion) and 1629). See Uo; "K izucheniyu." Descriptions of the manuscripts under discussion may be found as follows: 1) S--Kozmografiya 1670 g. (Izdaniya OLDP, XXI, LVII, LXVIII) (St. Petersburg, 1878-1881), pp. 2-3; T. N. Protas'eva, comp., Opisanie rukopisei Sinodal'nogo sobraniya (ne voshedshikh v opisanie A. V. Gorskogo i K. I. Nevostrueva), pt. 1 (No. 557-819) (Moscow, 1970), pp. 107-108; 2) T--A. N. Nasonov, "Letopisnye pamyatniki khranilishch Moskvy (novye materialy)," Problemy istochnikovedeniya, IV (1955), p. 273 (my own estimate of dating, judging from watermarks, is as early as the 1640's but more likely the 1650's; note the late seventeenth or early eighteenth-century inscription indicating ownership by Ivan Afanas'evich Fan''fisin); 3) B--Opisanie Rukopisnogo otdela BAN SSSR, Vol. III, vyp. 1, 2nd ed. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959), pp. 502-507; 4) X--Ia. S. Lur'e, "Kholmogorskaya letopis'," pp. 135-136 (my estimate of date from watermarks is late 1660's to mid-1670's); 5) F--Waugh, "De visu Description," pp. 135-138. For M and P, see n. 2 above.

36. I am assuming that he is the Dmitry Stepanov whose career is described in S. B. Veselovskii, D'yaki i pod'yachie XV-XVII vv. (Moscow, 1975), p. 492. Unfortunately, although the names of several owners of B

are known (the earliest dated inscription is for Stepan Gerasimovich Dokhturov, son of an important state secretary, on 1 September 1671), so far I do not have any information that any of the owners had a connection with the Dvina region.

37. See Serbina, "Dvinskii letopisets," p. 199. Although the Dvina chronicle fragments in F and T 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 Dvinskii letopisets.

38. I am thinking especially of the "Tale of Two Embassies," in different redactions in F, on the one hand, and P and M on the other. P cannot have copied only from M though, since the latter lacks the ending found in P. Also, note that the tale about Stefan Bathory's attack on Pskov in F is different from the version in manuscript GPB, Pogodin 1629 (one part of P).

39. For S, see above; for B, see the eleventh and twelfth (un-numbered) pages of plates at the back of G. N. Moiseeva, Lomonosov i drevnerusskaya literatura (Leningrad, 1971).

40. A hand in a similar style is in the portion of manuscript GPB, Collection of M. P. Pogodin No. 1563 (fols. 101^r-105^v) containing fragments of a Dvina chronicle for the years 7061-7134; my notes suggest that another manuscript with similar hand in part may be GIM, Collection of A. S. Uvarov No. 1844 (756).

41. The sources for the table are as follows: 1) for S--the reproduction of the colophon on the title page of Kozmografiya 1670 g.; 2) M--fols. 1^r, 3^r, 8^r, 11^r; 3) T--fols. 191^r, 195^r, 197^r, 200^r; 4) B--

fol. 69; 5) P (first variant)--fols. 12^r, 14^r; (second variant)--fols. 92^v, 117^v; 6) F--fols. 65^r, 281^r; 7) X--fols. 23^v, 95^r, 130^r. 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 B in particular, there is noticeable reduction.

42. Kozmografiya 1670 g., p. 3n. Cf. the remarks of N. N. Rozov, "Skoropisanie ili skoropis'?' (Ob utocnhenii termina)," Vspomogatelnye istoricheskie distsipliny, II (1969), pp. 134-143.

43. While this form is not attested in the colophon of S, 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.

44. Another potentially revealing datum for establishing the identity of provenance for the manuscripts is their paper. With the exception of a few sheets of paper containing the Arms of Berne in X and M (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 (M, T, P, F, X) and the ones for which information has been published (S, B). 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.

45. For S, Protas'eva makes a special note of the opening initial (Opisanie rukopisei Sinodal'nogo sobraniya, p. 108).

46. Kozmografiya 1670 g., p. 82

47. Cf., however, the observations of K. N. Serbina ("Dvinskii letopisets," p. 205), who feels that the Dvinskii letopisets was compiled in

the voevoda's chancellery 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 chancellery, which is not likely to have had the resources needed for work of the scope evidenced in these manuscripts. In any event, the manuscripts do not contain what one might consider to be typical Muscovite chancellery hands. One cannot exclude the possibility that the "scriptorium" in question was several locations, whose scribes had been trained in a single center.

48. Kozmografiya 1670 g., pp. 82-83.

49. See my "De visu Description," pp. 115-116, and the literature cited there; also, K. N. Serbina, "Dvinskii letopisets," passim.

поєшиду днвца мѣду нагайдо
 днаца днвца орди царя
 днвца днвца . негано днвца
 цроево . д днвца . и неход днвца
 воровидеа вѣрне советник снвца
 поїшома посрѣде . а похотиши
 не вѣта мншного . орди мнвца
 слави доевѣри црѣдѣ црѣдѣ
 цомтнцѣ днвца пасидѣмѣ псе
 руснї рѣлнїи ко пѣторѣ . а цаца
 цнвца орди царя днвца днвца
 ракенї днвца днвца днвца
 напома тѣ днвца
 + Вѣта днвца црѣдѣ вѣде пасидѣ
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 ко днвца днвца днвца днвца
 соборѣ

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Plate I: MS Muz. 2524, fol. 3r.

Слѣта доа армѣи въ паче
положенъ и даде . О при ступи на полѣ . на рѣ
Лѣта хри сти со царя дѣлаше
рѣ прише въ катѣран и рачу
и кѣ да деид . кошо въиуд еста
брани е в . а хотѣла кошау да ст
стаи . жарше креатѣ вѣтѣ и
вѣсно то инда илака да си е
вса рѣси сѣтѣ а рѣ е бо да
доу вѣсно да си вора па
сѣрѣси во е вѣрѣ си со мѣ
и рѣ вѣспрѣтѣ си и урѣ си
хотѣ на прѣзѣдѣ и урѣ си
дѣла си , жарше та та по
а и кѣ си вѣсно та по рѣ
ти и тѣ да си . жарше си
со вѣсно та си . а рѣ си вѣсно

Холодорского

икоина александрии побѣдоносца
 жекопитио стѣишаго жоана
 ахамоиса шото ипохелоди
 исео осцеиного аселекисаго
 бога иураи ивеликого иу
 иуриорань кесевоинвста
 стае ихраисаства поста
 двиста камоисаго бо
 фари ири и великий ии
 дороича напревекитъ и
 столъ ири амоисоваго и
 влосквенне ирукополо
 стѣишаго жоана напри
 коисаго исекеесого а
 штикеи ири икома
 стѣишаго ири
 ири исекеесого а
 иуишири ииокиа виста
 ииокиа ири исекеесого а

Plate III: MS 2524, fol. 8r.

21
 Вѣста. **С**то израшаю три брата онѣнацѣ
 рдрнѣ инеуѣ ітравшрв рдрнѣ уѣш (бдѣ пшшѣ
 Горше аинсѣ навелѣ сѣзере атрашрв понборнѣ
Вѣста **С**утъ прѣтнѣя пддннѣ инѣпннѣ
Вѣста **С**хѣ пштаннѣ градѣ номѣднѣ инѣ юрѣи
 пладннѣ рѣтнѣ марѣмѣхѣ сѣрѣновѣ сѣлѣ
Вѣста **С**унѣ прѣхнѣднѣ Црѣ батнѣ и сѣрѣхнѣ
 радннѣ нашнѣ пшзѣнѣ пшдѣннѣ
Вѣста **С**ѣсѣ инѣ Пѣлннѣ дннѣтѣсѣ ітравнѣ
 доннѣсѣ ітнѣшѣ мннѣшѣ ітѣ пѣмѣннѣшѣ науднѣтѣхѣ
 прнннѣтѣрѣшѣннѣтѣ асѣтѣннѣ а прѣвѣ пѣ а дѣннѣ
Вѣста **С**ѣхѣ нѣя прнцѣртѣ пшпнѣтннѣтѣ нарн
 цѣсѣмѣшѣ дѣрѣшѣннѣ ітѣхѣ радннѣ нашнѣ наршѣдѣхѣртн
 нѣннѣшѣсѣ бѣсѣшѣрѣннѣ нѣсѣ пѣлѣтѣ ітѣрѣтннѣшѣдѣ
 пѣлѣннѣ нашѣдѣ пѣтѣрѣвѣ кнѣ бурѣннѣ зѣлѣнѣ пнѣ бѣлѣтѣ
Снѣ Сѣпѣшѣннѣ а нѣ Црѣ ітѣрѣтннѣ овалннѣшѣ
 Црѣннѣ шннѣтннѣтннѣ дѣпѣрннѣшѣсѣ пѣзѣтннѣ нѣсѣ бѣлѣ
Вѣста **С**цѣлѣ тѣшѣннѣ дѣрѣшѣ ітѣ ітѣрѣшѣннѣ бѣзѣннѣ
 ітѣнѣнѣ нарѣсѣннѣ ітѣтѣннѣ нѣсѣлѣннѣ ітѣрѣшѣннѣ бѣзѣннѣ

Грѣдѣ
 ітѣсѣнѣсѣ
 ннѣтнѣ пѣлѣ
 ннѣ сѣнѣ сѣсѣлѣ
 хннѣннѣ асѣтѣ
 прннѣсѣннѣ шѣ
 бѣсѣрѣтннѣ пѣлѣ
 прѣсѣннѣ мѣннѣ
 ітѣ ітѣрѣшѣннѣ
 ннѣ ітѣрѣшѣннѣ
 ітѣсѣннѣ прѣсѣ
 ннѣ ітѣрѣшѣннѣ
 дннѣ ітѣрѣшѣннѣ
 нѣсѣ бѣлѣтѣ
 нѣсѣ бѣлѣтѣ

Plate IV: MS BAN 16.7.15, fol. 82r.

Написана бѣтъ сѣа инѣта Рѣмаа Геѡтрафѣ.
скрѣчь земли ѡписаніе, плѣто
нзрок е, вѣ ~~ѣ~~ тендаріа
; мѣа, накомотора;
;

Plate VI: Inscription at the end of MS Syn. 127/77.

Книга въ пописѣ синагогъ
 съимъ приписана
 Николдарию Свѣтлицы
 а къ ней да нези по рѣшѣ
 по указу Заключенъ

Книга Колодецкого Собора
 Преподобнаго Мѣвѣго Яковлева

Plate VII: Owners' inscriptions on MS Muz. 2524, fols. 6^v, 1^r-6^r.

и Свѣтлѣиша мѣла кѣмъ поѣа оста
Лѣтѣмъ 7211^л литовскому королю
обѣщанъ приходи и поѣмъ ꙗкоже мѣла,
накладши итаридина ꙗкоже поѣмъ идо
поѣмъ - аири ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви
и Свѣтлѣиша мѣла поѣмъ и
наѣмъ смъ арѣмъ королю ити нели
до ити елиса, порою литовскому королю
и ꙗри и ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви
и Свѣтлѣиша мѣла поѣмъ и
Г'о ꙗже ꙗвѣмъ литовскому королю
городъ смъ ꙗдоꙗ поѣмъ и
Лѣтѣмъ 7211^л литовскому королю
и ꙗри и ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви
Городъ Литовскъ и Стол поѣмъ поѣмъ, и бы
в поѣмъ поѣмъ и ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви
иже ꙗвѣмъ поѣмъ и ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви
и Литовскому королю ꙗвѣмъ поѣмъ и
и ꙗри и ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви
и ꙗри и ꙗслиши иже ꙗвѣмъ сви

Васильвичь

дѣиствыи атоларьна
нисада алуиного . иже
вѣршиици приада
каданиу каиѣстниу
иже семениу иконопид
кииу иконоу . аже каѣ
елу послати лубеи рди
даниане плуи сѣи стѣ
иорале . иеретисаѣ
тебарь пелѣлѣ призе
сти кадану каионого
ри . иже . Се же кнѣ
иной послалъ дорна
на му манбсе море хю
рди в рдѣи лубеи
ного дѣана каиарова

197

200

Помагарини итѣрпимтѣвѣши на мѣшѣи итѣрпиди
дрокаси . фижитѣвѣ . хри . атомѣи . дросе . дикониси .

дасидичь

итѣе о знопи итѣе итѣиное
прпосламе итѣе . по
псемь послѣтѣи стѣи дѣи
елу дѣе мѣи стѣи .

Престарѣни итѣи дѣи
наго итѣи дѣи на паси итѣи
и асе арси .
Рѣтѣ дѣи . мѣта дѣи
Престарѣни итѣи дѣи
и итѣи дѣи . вѣи стѣи
и сарни . ии каѣ рѣтѣ
и дѣи . а дѣи по дѣи
и дѣи .
и по не итѣи каѣ рѣтѣ
и то рѣтѣи дѣи

198

Plate X: MS Tikh. 557, fols. 197r, 200r.

Великого индѣя мѣтаполкиаго индѣя
дѣлѣннѣя Дно маршонѣ дѣрѣдѣу мѣтѣае
наше иршоє слово. Внѣшнѣя во. рѣа. гѣ
Притѣхѣ инѣя величѣннѣя сѣрѣо сѣрѣи на
наше иршоє ия фѣрѣ дѣжѣннѣя мѣнолѣн Дѣ
дѣннѣя, ия дѣжѣннѣя нѣши принѣннѣя дѣрѣя.
тѣо яки дѣжѣннѣя полкиаго дѣжѣннѣя корѣя
ипѣнолѣя рѣа, Перѣнѣннѣя мѣнолѣннѣя сѣрѣо
линогѣо непраѣду нашея мѣнолѣннѣя сѣрѣя
Дѣрѣо хѣтѣе. А тѣо мѣя величѣннѣя сѣрѣя
Пѣрѣнѣннѣя мѣти, и поибраннѣя величѣннѣя тѣо я
дѣжѣннѣя. Пѣрѣо роѣннѣя сѣрѣя. Утѣннѣя
наша величѣннѣя ирѣсѣннѣя сѣрѣя величѣннѣя
сѣрѣя дѣрѣя ия величѣннѣя индѣя я сѣрѣо сѣ
сѣрѣя дѣрѣя, ия дѣжѣннѣя дѣжѣннѣя.
Дѣжѣннѣя дѣжѣннѣя ия нѣши принѣннѣя
дѣрѣя дѣжѣннѣя, тѣо тѣо мѣя дѣжѣннѣя
тѣо корѣя, ия величѣннѣя сѣрѣя корѣя
Утѣннѣя дѣжѣннѣя ия величѣннѣя мѣнолѣннѣя сѣрѣя
сѣрѣя величѣннѣя дѣжѣннѣя ия величѣннѣя.
тѣо

СЛОВА
Я

15

История.



лѣта, зде, шодрѣно бѣлоуѣнаго
 иѣтолго бѣлаго Юра црѣ величѣ
 инга Иѣанна, даемь санга шѣа
 рзени самодевоца. И при бѣо алѣны
 его црѣднѣхъ, црѣднѣ Иоаннѣ Иоан
 анѣ, Де шдоре Иоанноднѣ, правдѣ
 щимъ же илѣ Юрѣмъ нашимъ добрѣ
 православное хрѣстисское роки
 сское црѣво, шоколнѣхъ илѣ
 аѣрнѣхъ црѣи илѣрлѣи
 е илѣстнѣхъ нѣгалнѣхъ лѣорѣ
 доводѣхъ, илѣслѣнѣхъ его
 Юрѣво роки сское црѣво ш
 патѣ же православное, пово
 црѣ шото дѣсоиото дѣспнѣцо
 дѣстѣхъ доидѣхъ оборонѣдѣще
 илѣщнѣдѣще. На илѣпатѣ же застѣнѣ
 илѣтри илѣрлѣи, илѣа православного аѣврѣ
 илѣа днѣ нѣадрѣи стога шѣ шѣо барѣмѣ.
 обѣво шѣга нѣдопрѣстѣновнѣ хрѣстисснѣи
 црѣ доидѣтѣ гѣтѣнѣре илѣнца шѣлѣнѣнѣа
 илѣнаоашѣсѣа, шѣа дѣшнѣнѣа шѣо ради стѣнѣа
 хрѣстисснѣа аѣврѣ хрѣнѣащѣаго, шѣащнѣго дѣ
 жѣтнѣ илѣрлѣи нѣпорѣкнѣтѣ по дѣлѣа дѣагощѣаго.

Бѣа
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 шѣо
 патѣ
 нѣтѣ
 нѣока
 лѣтѣ
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 обѣо
 илѣтѣ
 охѣ
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Вспомни еѡсѡ сѡтъ тѡа земель . и ѡсѡ тѡа
вельмихъ .

география
писана въ
документѣ
синагоги.

Plate XIV: *Vias'* at beginning of MS Syn. 127/77.

