

“Lessons of the Kurbskii Controversy”—some retrospective notes

Even though Inge Auerbach in this same volume and Serge Zenkovsky in his review of Prof. Keenan’s book sought to cast doubt on my dating of the manuscripts, in fact they did so without any basis. Auerbach’s suggested analogies for the watermarks are simply wrong; Zenkovsky’s suggestions were based merely on the assumption that, as a neophyte, I could not know as much about the matter as my senior Russian colleagues. The edition of the Kurbsky-Groznyi letters edited subsequently by Ia. S. Lur’e and Iu. D. Rykov (*Perepiska Ivana Groznogo s Andreem Kurbskim*. L.: Nauka, 1979) adduced no evidence to change in any significant way the datings I had proposed both in my appendix to Keenan’s book or in this article from the Banff congress in 1974 (which was known and cited by Lur’e and Rykov). The new edition of the letters did include, inter alia, a lot of references to previously unknown copies of the letters, none of which altered the basic picture presented in Keenan’s book (on the basis of my examination of key manuscripts) about the chronology of the manuscript history. Of course, the interpretation of textual filiations and authorship presented in the new edition reaffirmed the traditional attribution of the letters and rejected Keenan’s hypothesis about their date.

It is important to remember here that we are talking about manuscript dates, not the dates when the texts they contain might have been written. A late manuscript tradition does not necessarily mean there could not have been an earlier date of composition of the texts it contains. In fact, with early Russian materials, it is common not to have manuscripts as old as their texts.

It was only subsequent to the appearance of the 1979 edition of the “Correspondence” that a copy of the first Kurbskii letter was found which could fairly confidently be dated significantly earlier than any of the previously known copies. The publication of the information about the new discovery was by B. N. Morozov, “Pervoe poslanie Kurbskogo Ivanu Groznomu v sbornike kontsa XVI-nachala XVII v.,” *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1986 god* (M.: Nauka, 1987), pp. 277-289. Morozov lays out carefully the paleographical and codicological evidence (and includes photographs of the pages with the Kurbskii text). He admits that the particular quire with the Kurbskii text cannot be reliably dated from the watermarks on its paper, but suggests (persuasively, I think) that the adjoining material in the manuscript supports a case for dating the copy of the Kurbskii text to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, if he is right, this copy is roughly two decades earlier than previously known ones of any part of the “Correspondence.”

My purpose here is not to undertake a new review of the Kurbskii controversy, but merely to point out that what I wrote in my 1974 paper at that time was supported by all the then available evidence. Neither Auerbach nor Zenkovsky had evidence to the contrary, nor did the Russian scholars who produced the new edition of the “Correspondence” a few years later.

# RUSSIAN AND SLAVIC HISTORY

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THE LESSONS OF THE KURBSKII CONTROVERSY  
REGARDING THE STUDY AND DATING OF  
OLD RUSSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

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The purpose of this article is to underline the necessity of more careful study of Old Russian manuscripts than has hitherto been the case if some of the questions and misunderstandings that have arisen in connection with the Kurbskii controversy are to be resolved. Professor Keenan's book bears witness to the fact that even in the case of works as "well known" as the Kurbskii-Groznyi "Correspondence," their manuscript tradition is in fact incompletely known and erroneous conclusions are drawn from it.<sup>1</sup> Work which has appeared in response to Professor Keenan's questioning of the traditional attribution of the "Correspondence" displays uneven application of modern methods of manuscript study; as a result, if anything, our store of misinformation about the manuscripts may be increasing as rapidly as our fond of reliable information. The evidence that will be presented here, while not pretending to be exhaustive, will focus narrowly on issues pertaining to the manuscript tradition of the "Correspondence"; the major issues raised by Professor Keenan's book can best be approached by others once some of the spurious objections to his thesis have been put to rest.

I am dismayed by the quality of scholarly publications regarding the Old Russian manuscripts from which so much of our knowledge of medieval and early modern Russia ultimately comes. It is not entirely clear whether many of my colleagues, especially those who have had little or no opportunity to acquaint themselves firsthand with the manuscripts, are aware that such a problem exists. However, in recent years there has been growing concern in the Soviet Union over the proper study and description of Old Russian manuscripts--see, for example, the very strong statements on such matters by Academician Dmitrii Sergeevich Likhachev in his fundamental *Tekstologia* (1962) and most recently in his keynote address delivered at the Tikhomirov Lectures in Moscow in 1972.<sup>2</sup> These

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texts to replace those previous editions which have been based on only some of the important manuscript copies.

Yet even work that is now in progress may not meet all the high demands of modern scholarship. What many do not realize--although Likhachev and others have made these facts abundantly clear--is that the aids which are available to those working on manuscripts and/or the training of those same scholars, on whom we must rely for information, are often woefully inadequate to the task. Those who are trained as historians or literature specialists, as well as those who ultimately serve in manuscript repositories as librarians, rarely receive sufficiently thorough grounding in paleography or filigranology. Rarer still are the individuals who have the kind of acquaintance with what formed the bulk of old Russian literature--works that are normally termed "religious"--such as one could find among the scholars of the last century, whose descriptions of the contents of manuscripts are often exemplary. But even for well-trained scholars, the pressures of the plan may prevent the arduous job of describing and studying manuscripts from being done with requisite thoroughness. Leading specialists are often assigned to projects that have little to do with their specialties. When given time, these specialists may still be hindered by the simple fact that they are working with guides and techniques that have progressed little beyond what was achieved in the past century. Such is certainly the case for Cyrillic paleography--no reliable guide for dating is available; the card file of dated hands that is being planned will undoubtedly be long in realization. Likewise this is true in the study of paper, where, despite many recent additions to the literature and reference guides, there are glaring gaps, and the most modern techniques remain largely beyond the ken of most researchers. One can indicate any number of other important features of manuscripts--ornament and bindings, just to name two--where a similar picture is to be found.

My illustrations of such problems will concentrate in two areas--the dating of manuscripts and their codicological analysis, that is, the total study of the physical and textual history of individual books.

In the absence of dated inscriptions, which are the exception rather than the rule in Old Russian manuscripts, one relies among other things on the evidence of handwriting and paper for the purposes of dating. As Likhachev has pointed out, dating by the use of handwriting to

a precision of a quarter century is impossible given the available guides. Not only did copyists often have long productive lives, but one finds conscious anachronism in the Muscovite period, if not earlier. The existence of schools of copyists and scriptoria meant that a given style might have a surprisingly long life. Until a whole series of monographic studies has been devoted to such matters and as complete as possible a reference file compiled, using photographs of handwriting, one can expect little improvement in our ability to date by handwriting to an accuracy of less than half a century.<sup>5</sup>

What about paper evidence? Although so to state is an oversimplification, paper evidence means first and foremost the study of watermarks and specifically the attempt to match those in undated manuscripts with those found in dated ones or books and reproduced in albums. As the late Allan Stevenson, the foremost American filigranologist (watermark specialist) once wrote, "It is all too easy to class watermarks with tin soldiers and paper dolls."<sup>6</sup> Stevenson went on to suggest that even those who take paper evidence seriously rarely understand its significance, its possibilities for providing vital information, and, equally important, its limitations.<sup>7</sup> The result has been an unwillingness on the part of many scholars to trust paper evidence, and perhaps more serious, the tendency to fail to exploit to the fullest the possibilities for using it. While I may be overly optimistic, it seems that there is an immense potential for establishing more precise information about dating and provenance of our Muscovite manuscripts than that which we now have, and for doing so in part on the basis of paper evidence.<sup>8</sup> Yet the problems of essentially non-existent training and lack of needed finding aids mean that progress will indeed be slow. The mistakes that scholars make show that not only the describers of manuscripts, but also those using the descriptions have only the faintest idea of concepts such as "similarity" or "identity" of watermarks (there is a difference!), the significance of provenance of a dated paper to which one refers, the importance of runs, remnants, states, and so on. Even on the most basic level of rough matching, inexcusable errors are made, as the following examples will illustrate.

Generally conceded to contain among the earliest copies of both the first letter attributed to Kurbskii and the first of the replies attributed to Ivan, MS Leningrad Public Library (CPB), Pogodin Collection No. 1567 was

dated by Lur'e 1611-12.<sup>9</sup> However, as I have demonstrated and unfortunately at least one of the reviewers of *Apocrypha* has chosen to ignore, Lur'e dating is erroneous, something he himself has admitted in private communication.<sup>10</sup> My conclusion about the date of the MS was that it may be from the 1620s or early 1630s (the range of dates when one finds the *type* of watermarks in it), but given available guides and the fact that those watermarks have not been matched precisely with any yet known in dated books or documents, a more precise dating on the basis of paper evidence is at present impossible.

Nevertheless, in his book-length critique of *Apocrypha*, Professor Skrynnikov devotes some effort to arriving at a more precise dating of MS 1567.<sup>11</sup> While on the one hand he rightly points out that the present margin of error (depending on whose views one accepts, anywhere from five to fifteen years) makes precise dating by paper evidence risky indeed, on the other hand, he seems confident that given the similarity between the watermarks in MS 1567 and certain ones in T. V. Dianova's unpublished album, one might date MS 1567 to the early 1620s. The similarities to which he refers are those of the "decoration" of the watermark, but not the initials contained in it--a fact which means that the watermark in MS 1567 is not the same as any in Dianova's collection and therefore cannot be grouped with hers of the early 1620s on the basis of decoration any more than it can be fixed at around 1630 or so on the same basis.

One observation that should be added though is the following: while one must always be willing to allow considerable margin for error when using watermarks for dating, in certain circumstances we can be fairly certain of the *terminus a quo* even though we have not found the precise match for the watermark found in our undated book or manuscript. Such indeed is the case with MS 1567. The *type* of watermark found in it (a particular variant of a "pot") is apparently not known before ca. 1620, a fact reasonably well documented from the study of paper in printed Muscovite books. If the printing establishment in Moscow, which was one of the largest consumers of paper there in the seventeenth century, did not use any such paper prior to ca. 1620, it is extremely unlikely that such paper would have been used in a manuscript prior to that time. One is much more likely to find a situation where copies would be made on remnants of paper from a larger supply at a date later than that when the bulk of

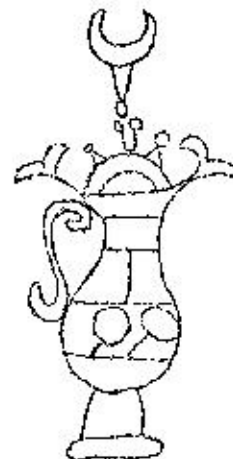
the paper was used, but not earlier than that date.

Unlike MS 1567, MS Lenin State Library (GBL) Undol'skii Collection No. 720 has remained essentially unstudied, even though it contains a copy of the first Kurbskii letter that is textually of some interest. Referring to the unpublished second volume of Kuntsevich's "Sochineniia kniazia Kurbskogo," Dr. Iuge Auerbach indicates that this copy may be from the sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> K. A. Uvarov, in a rotaprint publication of 1972, rather triumphantly concludes on the basis (apparently) of his own *de visu* examination of MS 720 that it is in fact a sixteenth-century MS.<sup>13</sup> Uvarov finds one of the watermarks in it to be of the type of that published by N. P. Likhachev as No. 2718 (second half of the sixteenth century).<sup>14</sup> It is instructive to compare a drawing (freehand, but a reasonably good representation) of the watermark in question with a tracing of the one cited by Uvarov and with yet another mark published in the album of Tromonin, referred to in a pencilled note of the turn of the century on the MS (a reference ignored by Uvarov).<sup>15</sup>

MS 720, fols.  
99-136



Tromonin, No. 807  
(1634)



Likhachev, No.  
2718



Allowing for inaccuracies in scale and minor detail in my freehand drawing, I think it is painfully obvious that Uvarov's identification is erroneous, but that there are striking similarities between the mark in MS 720 and that in Tronomin, taken from a manuscript book of 1634. Demonstrating convincing identification would of course demand the use of photographs, beta radiographs or the like and going back to Tronomin's source rather than using his tracing. However, my visual examination of the paper and comparison of the watermark with that published by Tronomin suggests that the two are "good likenesses" and hence it seems likely that MS 720 may be dated to the 1630s, a dating which examination of the other watermark in it would seem to support.<sup>16</sup> Admittedly the hand in the MS is archaic for the 1630s, but there is absolutely no way to push these watermarks back into the sixteenth century, when one finds "pot" watermarks, but none of the type found here.

MS GPB, Collection of the Solovki Monastery No. 962/852 contains what Professor Skrynnikov quite correctly indicates are the oldest and best copies of the first two letters which Kurbskii is supposed to have written to the elder Vas'ian and a third work attributed to Kurbskii and addressed to one Ioann Mnogouchenyi.<sup>17</sup> In *Apocrypha* Professor Keenan incorrectly lumped this manuscript with the other copies of the first two letters to Vas'ian as being from the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup> Skrynnikov in his critique provides at least partial watermark evidence suggesting that MS 962/852 dates from around the turn of the seventeenth century; my own findings suggest the first decade of that century.<sup>19</sup> Despite the fact that Professor Skrynnikov has given us valuable additional information about the manuscript, a proper codicological study of MS 962/852 remains to be published.

What is the significance of this MS, containing works identified elsewhere as Kurbskii's and in copies dating prior to the time when Shakhovskoi is suspected of having initiated the "Correspondence" between Kurbskii and Ivan? While certainly not totally irrelevant to the question of the attribution of that "Correspondence," MS 962/852 provides no evidence that helps decide the Kurbskii controversy one way or the other. In terms of the relationship of the texts, it is the third "Kurbskii Letter to Vas'ian," not the first two, that is directly tied to the first "Kurbskii Letter to Ivan." Skrynnikov appropriately undertakes to demonstrate that there is a connection among

all three letters to Vas'ian, but even if such a connection exists, as seems to be the case, one must ask whether it proves Kurbskii's authorship of all three. I am not persuaded that such is the case. For one thing, it is important to remember that the attribution of the works in MS 962/852 to Kurbskii is not found in that MS but only in the later copies of those works--the Solovki MS leaves spaces where the headings were supposed to have been. Secondly, one should keep in mind the fact that the third letter to Vas'ian exists in a totally distinct manuscript tradition, one which does not appear to have begun until the 1620s or early 1630s.<sup>20</sup> By themselves these facts do not, of course, disprove the assertion of the seventeenth-century headings that Kurbskii wrote the letters, but nevertheless, one has reason to suggest that further examination of the attribution of the Vas'ian letters is in order. The early date of the Solovki MS, as one can see from the foregoing, thus really provides no firm evidence pro or con regarding the Keenan thesis.

Not only paper evidence but a variety of data must be taken into account in the description of Muscovite manuscripts, as one can see in the example of MS GPB Pogodin Collection No. 1494, one of the well-known "Kurbskii Collections," which is commonly dated around the end of the seventeenth century. While the following information does not substantially change that dating or the consequences of it, nevertheless it serves to illustrate the importance of studying ornament. MS 1494 contains two printed *zastavki* on pages of its table of contents (fols. 1, 2). Using the album of Zernova, the foremost student of the Slavonic imprints of Muscovy and the early Imperial period, one determines that these *zastavki* are known in printed books in one case for the period from 1678 until the middle of the eighteenth century, and in the other case appearing for the first time in 1706.<sup>21</sup> If one is correct in assuming that Zernova's guide is complete and that the use of such printed ornament on a separate sheet made for a manuscript book would not precede the use of that same ornament in a printed edition, then the obvious conclusion is that MS 1494 cannot antedate 1706.<sup>22</sup> Even though the handwriting and the watermarks (which can be identified with dated ones used over a period of decades, and then only roughly) could be from the seventeenth century, they do not contradict the evidence of ornament.<sup>22</sup>

The question of dating is merely one aspect of the

codicological study of manuscripts. One should recognize that codicology is a relatively recent "discipline."<sup>21</sup> But how important it is, especially when we are dealing with manuscripts such as those containing the "Correspondence" or related works, manuscripts that are usually miscellanies including other works as well and which have passed through the hands of those who mutilated the books, altered their original contents and the like. The study of the so-called "convoy"--the works accompanying in the manuscript tradition the one of particular interest to us--can be of considerable importance for dating, attribution, or determining how a copyist or patron understood the work in question.<sup>25</sup> Yet we can say very little about convoy if we cannot establish when the manuscript miscellany as we now have it was put together, whether that happened at the time of copying of the individual parts or at some later date. Even if one takes such thorough descriptions of Muscovite manuscripts as those found in Bychkov's exemplary volume on parts of the Pogodin Collection, published nearly a century ago, one finds the best that most scholars have managed to do then or since: indications based on the evidence of handwriting that such and such a miscellany consists of a certain number of independently-copied shorter manuscripts, or perhaps that the miscellany is one and in a single hand.<sup>26</sup> Yet a closer examination of the Pogodin Collection, some of whose manuscripts contain works in the Kurbskii corpus, suggests that the independent parts are not always independent and that many whole manuscripts are in fact parts.

Certainly one cannot suggest that MS GPB Pogodin Collection No. 1573 is not well known to scholars: its contents were admirably described by Bychkov, and even before his time works contained in this MS were published in the *Акты* of the Archaeographic Expedition.<sup>27</sup> Among others, Kuntsevich and Lur'e have used MS 1573 in their work on the Kurbskii-Groznyi corpus. Certain aspects of MS 1573's connections with other Muscovite MSS have been indicated only recently, however, in my Appendix to *Apocrypha*, and since the writing of the description there, some additional striking evidence regarding the history of MS 1573 has come to light.<sup>28</sup> It turns out that this miscellany is only one portion of a large and immensely interesting seventeenth-century *sbornik*, which the noted archaeographer P. M. Stroev acquired apparently in the 1830s, divided into several parts, the order of which he rearranged, and then bound in at least four separate bindings,

all now found in his collection (part of the Pogodin Collection). While the bearing of this fact on the Kurbskii controversy is not yet clear, I can think of no better example of the way in which the history of even the "best-known" Muscovite manuscripts is still relatively little known and the way in which proper codicological analysis can extend the horizons of our knowledge of them.

MSS GPB Pogodin Collection Nos. 1567 and 1494 exhibit similar evidence of alteration, evidence whose significance for the study of these manuscripts struck me only after returning to them following the publication of *Apocrypha*. Stroev commonly added a table of contents to his manuscripts before he had them bound; the inscriptions he made on these tables of contents generally indicated the place and date when the manuscript was prepared by him for binding. MS 1567 is an exception to the rule that Stroev prepared his manuscripts for binding in Moscow; on its table of contents, one finds the indication of Tver' in 1832, suggesting possible provenance of the manuscript in the region of Tver'. Furthermore, given the existence of internal breaks in the MS and the knowledge we are acquiring about the methods Stroev used, it seems entirely possible that other portions of this MS exist, possibly bound separately or with other MS fragments in the Stroev *sborniki* that are now part of the Pogodin Collection. In MS 1494 of that collection, also once part of Stroev's library, one notes that the original foliation has been altered and that there was once another work contained between the current folios 258 and 259, a work that is now missing.<sup>29</sup> This fact should be taken into account when comparing MS 1494 with the other "Kurbskii Collections"; it may be that the missing part will still turn up in the other manuscripts of the Pogodin Collection.

Sometimes the question of whether or not certain works were always in convoy can be solved simply by looking at the pencilled notations made on the MS by some scholar at the turn of the century but not published. Sadly modern scholars have tended to ignore such things and often read only the one work of which they are preparing the edition. A case in point is MS Central State Archive of Ancient Acts (TsGADA) Collection of the Library of the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*fond* 181), No. 60. This book is another of the well-known "*sborniki Kurbskogo*," used by Kuntsevich as the basis for his edition of many of the works attributed to Kurbskii and examined subsequently by Lur'e and others. Among the

many works found in these Kurbskii Miscellanies are translations of chapters from the widely-known "Chronicles" of Strykowski and Guagnini. Lur'e attempted to deal with the question of when these Kurbskii Miscellanies first appeared in their present form.<sup>30</sup> While recognizing that none of them has been shown to date earlier than the second half of the seventeenth century, he suggested that the protograph was one compiled by Kurbskii or his "*edinyi-sklepniki*" and included the Guagnini translations. As Lur'e correctly pointed out, the Strykowski translations can be excluded, since they are indicated in the MSS to be the work of Andrei Lyzlov in 1682. Yet the Guagnini translations might likewise have been excluded, for a pencilled note on fol. 322 of MS 60 in a hand of the turn of our century indicates "Po perevodu Pashkovskogo 1611 g. v 1., s 510-1 po 559-iu stranitsu zdes' perevedeno."<sup>31</sup> As I have already suggested in Appendix Ic to Professor Keenan's book, there is ample evidence for asserting that the Guagnini translations are from the first Polish edition of 1611 (edited and expanded by Paszkowski), not from the first Latin edition of 1578 or subsequent sixteenth-century republications of portions of it.

Proper codicological study of the manuscripts would not only have prevented certain wrong assumptions about the original composition of the "Kurbskii Miscellanies" but also the erroneous assertion so eagerly put forth by Nikolay Andreyev that the so-called "Khvorostinin Chronograph" somehow proves knowledge of the "Kurbskii Correspondence" prior to the time that Shakhovskoi could have begun it.<sup>32</sup> This manuscript, State Historical Museum (GIM), Uvarov Collection No. 1386 (116) is so called because of its contents and the fact that it belonged to Prince I. F. Khvorostinin in the middle of the seventeenth century. As a number of scholars have failed to notice, MS 1386(116) is only one portion of the Khvorostinin Chronograph; the remaining three portions are found in other bindings in the Uvarov Collection.<sup>33</sup>

Does the Khvorostinin Chronograph in fact prove knowledge of the "Correspondence" prior to Shakhovskoi's time? Ivan Andreevich Khvorostinin, the presumed author of one of the works Professor Keenan posits was a source for the first Kurbskii letter to Ivan, was a cousin of the owner of MS 1386(116), Ivan Fedorovich. While definite proof is lacking, the most reasonable hypothesis, given the appearance of the MS and the owner's inscription, is that the book was compiled for Ivan Fedorovich. While the

date of copying cannot be determined precisely, there seems little reason to question a date of ca. 1640; in any event, a date of earlier than ca. 1625 cannot be supported by any evidence. The claims that have been made or implied on the basis of this manuscript regarding early knowledge of the "Correspondence" come from a line following the description of the events of the latter 1540s (a passage that is apparently condensed from the *Stepanovaia kniga*), where the copyist has noted, "a prostrannee o sem pishet o pozharekh i o smiatenii boiarskon v gosudareve tsaria i velikogo kniazia Ivana Vasil'evicha vsea Rusii gramote chto pisal v Litvu ko kniaziu Ondreiu Kurbskomu protiv evo otpiski" (fol. 320 verso). If one reads on, one finds reference to the fall of Kazan' and then a similar statement, "a prostrannee pishet o vsem Kazanskim tsarstviu v knize Kazanskogo vziatia..." (fol. 321). Now if one examines the other portions of the manuscript of which MS 1386(116) is one part, one finds copies of the first two letters in the Kurbskii-Groznyi "Correspondence," the *Kazan' History* and a variety of other works. The evidence of the passages cited above is then quite clear: they are simply cross-references to other works in the same manuscript, which the copyist of ca. 1640 knew were there. There is no reason whatsoever to see those cross-references as coming from earlier than the date of the manuscript itself, nor is there any reason to connect the manuscript or its contents with Prince Ivan Andreevich Khvorostinin, the cousin of its owner. This example demonstrates very well the need for codicological analysis of Muscovite manuscripts by any scholar using them for whatever purpose; even without the completion of some much needed paleographical and filigranological studies and reference works, much more can be done with codicological analysis.

My conclusions from the foregoing may seem to provide little of positive value for resolution of the Kurbskii controversy. The less than satisfactory study of the Old Russian manuscripts containing the "Correspondence" and related works must improve if the controversy is to be resolved and it is incumbent upon those who have no access to the manuscripts to be extremely wary of conclusions they cannot check themselves, even where those conclusions are based on the *de visu* examination of the manuscripts. I tend to agree with Professor Crumney's assertion in his thoughtful review of *Apocrypha*, that "the careful study of the manuscripts has not--and probably cannot--provide

conclusive grounds for a precise redating of the Kurbskii text" (the first letter to Ivan).<sup>34</sup> But he might have gone one step further and suggested that neither has it provided any grounds whatsoever for a convincing confirmation of the traditional attribution.

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Edward L. Keenan, *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha: The Seventeenth-Century Genesis of the "Correspondence" Attributed to Prince A. M. Kurbskii and Tsar Ivan IV*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971.

<sup>2</sup>D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologia na materiale russkoi literatury X-XVII vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1962, esp. pp. 102ff.; "Zadachi sostavleniia metodik opisaniia slaviano-russkikh rukopisei," *Arkheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik za 1978 g.* (1974), pp. 234-242. See also the papers by Zhukovskaia, Liublinskaia, Granstrem, Lebedeva and Fonkich, and the ensuing discussion, published in *loc. cit.*, pp. 243-258.

<sup>3</sup>For the Academy of Sciences Library, several volumes have appeared as part of the *Opisanie rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR*. The Lenin Library has published, *inter alia*, *Muzeinoe sobranie rukopisei. Opisanie*, T. I. No. 1-No. 3005, Moscow, 1961; *Sobranie 1. Ia. Lukasevicha i N. A. Markevicha. Opisanie*, Moscow, 1959; and a number of "thematic" descriptions such as Iu. D. Rykov, "Spiski 'Istorii o velikom kniaze Moskovskom' kniazia A. M. Kurbskogo v fondakh Otdela rukopisei," *Zapiski Otdela rukopisei*, vyp. 34 (1973), pp. 101-124. One should note as well that the State Historical Museum is the process of completing (but on a much less ambitious scale) the description of the important Synodal Collection of Old Russian and Slavic manuscripts begun in the classic work of Gorskii and Nevostruev in the last century; see, T. N. Protas'eva, comp., *Opisanie rukopisei Sinodal'nogo sobraniia (ne vozhedshikh v opisanie A. V. Gorskogo i K. I. Nevostrueva)*, pt. I, No. 577-819, Moscow, 1976. The technical quality of this edition, which is offset from typescript, is a good indication of the low priority which such enterprises receive in the eyes of the state publishing authorities. I am not aware of any intentions to publish descriptions of other undescribed

collections in GIM, but one should note that a card catalogue of individual works in the collections there may be consulted by those working in the Manuscript Division.

<sup>4</sup>See Rykov, "Spiski"; also his "Redaktsii 'Istorii' Kurbskogo," *Arkheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik za 1970 god* (1971), pp. 129-137. The most complete listing of manuscripts containing the *Istoriia* attributed to Kurbskii is that by K. A. Uvarov, "'Istoriia o velikom kniaze moskovskom' A. M. Kurbskogo v russkoi rukopisnoi traĭtsii XVII-XIX vv. (Arkheograficheskiĭ obzor spiskov pamiatnika)," *Voprosy russkoi literatury (k semi-destituletiu doktora filologicheskikh nauk, professora Kafedry russkoi literatury, Nikolaiia Vasil'evicha Vodovosova)* (= Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii institut im. V. I. Lenina, Kafedra russkoi literatury, *Uchenye zapiski*, T. 455), Moscow, 1971, pp. 61-78; see also Uvarov's "Neizdannii trud G. Z. Kuntsevicha (obzor granok vtorego toma 'Sochineniia kniazia Kurbskogo')," *Arkheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik za 1971 god* (1972), pp. 315-317.

<sup>5</sup>One such study that has been completed in recent years is the dissertation of L. M. Kostiukhina, which has been only partially published as "Iz istorii rukopisnogo dela Rossii XVII veka," *Arkheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik za 1981 god* (1983), pp. 56-76. Evidence of the growing concern over development of paleography is to be found in the proceedings of a conference held in 1971, "Konferentsiia, posviashchennaia metode identifikatsii pocherkov v drevnerusskoi rukopisnoi knige," *Arkheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik za 1971 god* (1972), pp. 393-398. Two recent studies which illustrate the refinement of paleographic analysis that at least occasionally is being applied, with very interesting results, are I. V. Sinitsyna, "Knizhnyi master Mikhail Medovartsov," *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo. Rukopisnaia kniga*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 286-317, and B. M. Kloss, "Deiatel'nost' nitropolich'ei knigopisnoi masterskoi v 20-40-50 godakh XVI veka i proiskhozhdenie Nikonovskoi listopisi," *ibid.*, pp. 318-337.

<sup>6</sup>Allan Stevenson, *Observations on Paper as Evidence*, Lawrence: The University of Kansas Libraries, 1961, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup>For a brilliant example of the refinement of filigranology and the valuable results which proper paper study can produce, see Stevenson's *The Problem of the Malesale Speciale*, London: The Bibliographical Society, 1967 (1969).



<sup>8</sup>For an elaboration of these views, see my "Soviet Watermark Studies--Achievements and Prospects," *Kritika*, Vol. VI (1969), esp. pp. 87-91, 107-110. See also the remarks of Edward L. Keenan on the lack of proper study of paper use in Muscovy and on some possible patterns of use that deserve further investigation: "Paper for the Tsar: A Letter of Ivan IV of 1570," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, N.S., Vol. IV (1971), esp. pp. 21-23. The interesting critique of Keenan's article by S. A. Klepikov, "O dopetrovskoi bumage i 'bumage dlia tsaria (pis'ma Ivana IV)' E. Kinana," *Kniga: Issledovaniia i materialy*, Vol. 28 (1974), pp. 157-161, misses the point entirely in taking Keenan to task for suggesting that the use of paper in sixteenth-century Muscovy has not been properly studied. Klepikov's comments are symptomatic of the sad fact that even the leading experts on paper study in the Soviet Union are too little aware of what needs to be done in paper study for the Muscovite period if the needed guides are to be produced. Cf., however, the remarks by Likhachev, "Zadachi," p. 241, and the summary of the comments by T. V. Dianova in the "Preniia po dokladam," *Arkhheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik za 1972 god* (1974), p. 257.

<sup>9</sup>*Pis'ma Ivana Groznogo*, Podgotovka teksta D. S. Likhacheva, Ia. S. Lur'e, perovod i kommentarii Ia. S. Lur'e, Moscow-Leningrad, 1951, p. 537.

<sup>10</sup>Waugh, "Soviet Watermark Studies," pp. 99-101; cf. Serge A. Zenkovsky, "Prince Kurbsky-Tsar Ivan IV Correspondence: Reflections on Edward Keenan's *The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha*," *The Russian Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (1973), p. 303. Zenkovsky has been properly chastised for his oversight by Charles J. Halperin, in his "A Heretical View of Sixteenth-Century Muscovy. Edward L. Keenan: The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha. Review Article," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F. Bd. 22, Heft 2 (1974), pp. 161-186, where one finds as well some sober skepticism about my own results from studying the relevant manuscripts.

<sup>11</sup>R. G. Skrynnikov, *Peropiska Groznogo i Kurbskogo: Paradoxy Eduarda Kinana*, Leningrad, 1973, pp. 8-9.

<sup>12</sup>Inge Auerbach, "Kurbskij-Studien: Bemerkungen zu einem Buch von Edward L. Keenan," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F. Bd. 22, Heft 2 (1974), p. 209.

<sup>13</sup>K. Uvarov, "Maloizvestnye i novonaidennye spiski sochinenii Kurbskogo," *Tezisy dokladov I nauchnoi studencheskoi konferentsii. Istoriiia, Filologiiia,*

Novosibirsk, 1972, p. 97:

One of the most convincing arguments refuting the opinions of E. Keenan is the manuscripts of original works of Kurbskii of the sixteenth century preserved in the USSR, which remained unknown to the foreign scholar... It is pertinent to give our dating of the copy of the first letter of Kurbskii to Ivan Groznyi (GBL, Undol'skii Collection, No. 720, fols. 135-136v). The copy is written in a single hand in a careful semi-uncial of the second half of the sixteenth century; the watermark on fols. 135, 138, 139, etc., is a pot with a crescent of the type Likhachev No. 2718. Thus even a random short example plainly shows the complete lack of substance in the hypothesis of E. Keenan concerning the indicated correspondence as a literary phenomenon of the seventeenth century.

I am grateful to a kind colleague in Moscow for providing me with a copy of Uvarov's article.

<sup>14</sup>N. P. Likhachev, *Paleograficheskoe značenie bumazhnykh voliannykh znakov*, St. Petersburg, 1899.

<sup>15</sup>The pencilled notation is on the page facing fol. 1 of the MS and reads: "Trom. 807 zdes' l. 229." (The reference to fol. 229 is erroneous, however, since that particular folio does not contain the indicated watermark.) The Xerox of watermark No. 807 is from K. Ia. Tromonin, *Is"iazenie znakov, vidimyykh v pis'makh bumage* ..., Moscow, 1844 (republished in facsimile under the editorship of J. S. G. Simmons and with supplementary materials provided by S. A. Klepikov as *Tromonin's Watermark Album*, Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1965).

<sup>16</sup>The appropriate comparison is on the following page. The representation of the watermark in the MS is a freehand drawing, smaller in scale than the actual watermark; the Xerox copy from a tracing on the right is from the album of A. A. Geraklitov, *Piligrani XIII veka na bumage rukopisnykh i pečatnykh dokumentov russkogo proiskhozhdeniia*, Moscow, 1963. Regarding the obvious differences between the two pictures, one should note that while *de visu* comparison suggests that the size of the two marks is the same, the quality of Geraklitov's drawings is quite suspect. In particular in the given mark, the top letter, which I read as C, could easily be mistaken for S or O. The fact of the reversal of the letters so that

MS 720, fols. 3-98,  
137-end.



Geraklitov, No.  
666 (1631)



they face the handle of the pot is important (usually for single-handled pots, the handle is on the left with the letters reading left to right). It would be advisable to check Geraklitov's source, an *Oktoikh* published in Moscow in 1631, to see whether in fact the watermark there is not closer to that in MS 720 than Geraklitov's drawing would seem to indicate. This comparison should, of course, be made directly with the MS or with photographs made from it. One might note as a desideratum that in the case of manuscripts whose dating may be of particular importance, any proper scholarly edition should include accurate reproductions of the watermarks in the paper, if such exist, since whether or not they can be identified with dated marks, their publication would remove some of the uncertainties that exist given merely verbal descriptions. Some scholars half a century or more ago did publish photographs of watermarks in editions of texts (e.g., A. S. Orlov, *Domostroï po konshinskomu spîsku i podobnym*, Moscow, 1908), but sadly this felicitous precedent has not been followed.

<sup>17</sup> See R. G. Skrynnikov, "Kurbaskii i ego pis'ma v Pskovo-Pecherskii monastyr'," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, Vol. XVIII (1962), pp. 99-116.

<sup>18</sup> Keenan, *Apocrypha*, p. 204, n. 66.

<sup>19</sup> The contents of MS 962/952 have been detailed in I. Ia. Forfir'ev, et al., *Opisanië rukopisei Solovetskogo monastyrja, nakhodiashchikhsia v biblioteke Kazanskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, pt. 2, Kazan', 1885, pp. 553-559; for Professor Skrynnikov's further observations, see his *Perepiska*, pp. 26-27. My own observations on the MS include the following: despite a number of changes in hand and numbering of the gatherings, paper evidence suggests that most of the MS is the work of one scriptorium at one time. The watermarks are numerous; one notes in particular in the section containing the works attributed to Kurbskii (fols. 228-254) a single-handled pot topped by a rosette and with letters on the side P/DB, a good likeness of which is Likhachev, *Paleograficheskoie srazhenie*, No. 1952 (1594). This paper is the primary one to be found from fol. 68 to the end of the MS. Among other watermarks is a similar pot with letters ID/I on fols. 76, 81, etc. (similar to the mark that appears to have been drawn with distortion in Geraklitov, *Piligrani*, No. 426 [1600]); a one-handled pot with D9 (?) (fols. 261, 263, etc.), a good likeness of which is Likhachev, No. 1949 (1594); a two-handled pot with a date 1596 (fols. 322, 457, etc.)--Geraklitov Nos. 755 and 756 (1600) are good likenesses; a two-handled pot with somewhat unusual top decorated by a rosette, on the side the letters AG and on the base the date 1595 (fols. 128, 130, etc.). It is pertinent to note that Likhachev Nos. 1952 and 1949 were taken by him from a single dated MS, the Gošunov *Psaltir'* now in the Solovki Monastery Collection; Geraklitov Nos. 426, 755, and 756 are also from a single book, a *Minea obshchata* printed in Moscow.

<sup>20</sup> The earliest copies are in MSS GPH, Pogošic Collection No. 1567, and GIM, Museum Collection No. 1551.

<sup>21</sup> A. S. Zernova, *Ornamentika knig moskovskoi pečati Kirillovskogo shriftna XVII-XVIII veka, 1677-1756*, Moscow, 1963, Nos. 13 and 286 respectively. This book is another illustration of how a fundamental reference work receives such low priority that it is poorly published in a miniscule edition.

<sup>22</sup> How easily one can be misled by the data in a manuscript can be seen from the comment made by a scholar on the *list ispol'sovanija* inserted in MS 1494, to the effect that this is a dated copy of 1677. The reference was to a partially completed copy of an inscription on the top of fol. 238v: "185-go genvaria v 23 den' po" (the numbers are written with Cyrillic letters). As this

inscription exists in complete copies in other MSS "Kurbskii Miscellanies," it obviously is not here the original, and in any event, it does not appear at the end of the book, where it would have been found in the original.

<sup>23</sup> The paper and handwriting would suggest that the table of contents at the beginning of the MS was compiled at the time the copy was made and not later, as frequently is the case in Old Russian manuscripts.

<sup>24</sup> For a survey of the subject, see I. N. Lebedeva, "Kodikologiya--nauka o rukopisnykh knigakh," *Zapomogatel'nye istoricheskie dissipliny*, Vol. IV (1972), pp. 66-77. An excellent detailed example of codicological analysis may be found in S. M. Kashtanov, *Ocherki russkoi diplomatiki*, Moscow, 1970, Chapter 4.

<sup>25</sup> Regarding the study of "convoy" see D. S. Likhachev, "Izuchenie sostava sbornika dlia vyiasneniia istorii teksta proizvedeniia," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, Vol. XVIII (1962), pp. 3-12.

<sup>26</sup> A. F. Bychkov, *Opisanie tsarkovno-slavianskikh i russkikh rukopisei imp. Publichnoi biblioteki*, Ch. I, *Opisanie tsarkovno-slavianskikh i russkikh rukopisnykh sbornikov imp. Publichnoi biblioteki*, St. Petersburg, 1882.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-146.

<sup>28</sup> Keenan, *Apocrypha*, pp. 126-130: my "K izucheniiu istorii rukopisnogo sobraniia P. M. Stroeva," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, Vol. XXX (1976), pp. 184-203, and forthcoming in Vol. XXXII.

<sup>29</sup> The original foliation (in Cyrillic) jumps from 257 (on present fol. 258) to 300 (on present fol. 259), but beginning with the latter an effort was made to erase the numbers sufficiently to "correct" them to follow from 257. Similarly the signatures were altered. This is precisely the kind of alteration of MSS that Stroev engaged in.

<sup>30</sup> *Poslania Ivana Groznogo*, pp. 549-551.

<sup>31</sup> Another example demonstrating how attention to pencilled marginal notes would have prevented the publication of erroneous information is that of the published description of MS Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN), No. 32.14.12 in the usually reliable *Opisanie Rukopisnogo otdela Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR*, T. 3, vyp. 2, Moscow-Leningrad, 1965, pp. 327-329. The published description, apparently relying on the label on the manuscript's binding, indicates that the manuscript

contains *kuranty* (translated newspapers and pamphlets) for 1686, whereas in fact, as some scholar determined from content analysis and noted in pencil on the margins, the period covered is 1686-1689, with the chronological sequence violated by the fact that the folios were bound in arbitrary order.

<sup>32</sup> See Andreyev's letter to the editor of *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 111 (1973), p. 300, written for the benefit of all those "komu doroga istoricheskaia istina." The ultimate source for his information was probably S. O. Shmidt; cf. the latter's *Stanovlenie rossiiskogo samoderzhavstva*, Moscow, 1973, pp. 35-36. While Andreyev has written a lengthy review of *Apocrypha* (knizhnaia tema: o spekuliativakh E. Kinana," *Novyi zhurnal*, No. 109 (1972), pp. 258-272), one can only regret that a scholar of his reputation has allowed emotion to becloud his judgment, as one can see in the letter to the editor cited and in another to the editor of *Russkaia mysl'* of 23 April 1972, in which Andreyev objected first of all to the fact that "sredi 'uchenykh sovetnikov' Kinana ne nazvano ni odnogo istorika, kotoryi byl by russkim po kul'ture."

<sup>33</sup> The other parts of the MS are Uvarov Collection Nos. 1453(108), 1442(113), and 1581(330); for details, see Keenan, *Apocrypha*, pp. 109-111.

<sup>34</sup> Robert O. Crumney, "The Kurbskii Controversy," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (1972), p. 686.