

HARVARD
UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Камень Краєжгълнь
RHETORIC OF THE MEDIEVAL SLAVIC
WORLD

Essays presented to
EDWARD L. KEENAN
on his Sixtieth Birthday
by his Colleagues and Students

Edited by

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ROWLAND

Volume XIX
1995



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“Anatolii’s Miscellany”: Its Origins and Migration

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Unlike the seasonal movement of Siberian cranes, the migration of manuscripts follows no predictable paths and they rarely return to their place of origin.¹ Like that of cranes, however, manuscripts’ very survival may be threatened by the destruction of habitat, a phenomenon that seems to have accelerated in the modern world. In the Russian case, manuscripts which had survived the vicissitudes of fire and invasion over the centuries came under threat as their keepers ceased to value their preservation or as even scholars (heaven forbid!), with allegedly lofty motives and cynical but not always misguided views particularly with regard to the responsibility of clerical repositories, stole or dismantled them.² Come the revolutions of the twentieth century, collections even in well-established institutions were under siege. As in the previous century, the repositories of the Church were particularly vulnerable. The result is that much indeed disappeared, but that manuscripts do turn up in quite unexpected places. A good example is the manuscript containing the “Reply to Rokyta” attributed to Tsar Ivan IV, which ended up in the Kilgour Collection of Harvard’s Houghton Library.³ “Anatolii’s Miscellany” (*Anatolievskij sbornik*) offers another interesting example; the manuscript is of interest as well for its origins and content. What follows here is a preliminary sketch of its history.

The name used to designate this miscellany is that bestowed on it by the noted scholar and then professor at Kazan’ University, Konstantin Kharlampovich, who seems to have been the first to discuss the manuscript

¹ On Siberian cranes and their fate, see George Archibald, “The Fading Call of the Siberian Crane,” *National Geographic*, Vol. 185, No. 5 (1994), 124–36.

² I have in mind, for example, Pavel Stroev, who claimed to be saving the manuscript legacy of old Russia from being lost while at the same time, on the Archaeographic Expeditions he organized under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, he used every opportunity to enrich his own collection, in part by theft. See my “K izucheniiu istorii rukopisnogo sobraniia P. M. Stroeva,” *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* (hereafter *TODRL*), XXX (1976), 184–203; XXXII (1977), 133–64.

³ The manuscript appears to be the presentation copy actually given to Rokyta when he left Moscow in 1570. It was discovered among discarded books in an attic at the Seminary in Szelm, from which it was removed to Galicia in 1916 and in 1921 sent to the United States. Now as MS Russian 19, it shares shelf space in the Houghton Library with the sole surviving copy of Ivan Fedorov’s 1574 *Azbuka*. For the history of the MS, see Valerie Tumins, ed. *Tsar Ivan IV’s Reply to Jan Rokyta* (The Hague and Paris, 1971), esp. 14–15. *Pace* Tumins, there is no compelling reason to attribute the text to the Tsar himself.

in print. In 1919, he published an article revising the history of the first printing of newspapers in Russia.⁴ The key new source which he used was an early eighteenth-century manuscript that had been donated to the Kazan' Theological Academy library in 1916 by its retired Rector, Anatolii Grisiuk. Kharlampovych indicated that he and Professor P. P. Mindalev of Kazan' University were preparing a description of "Anatolii's Miscellany," which was "rich in historical and literary materials."⁵ A few years later, Kharlampovych published additional interesting material from the manuscript, but with no reference to any planned description of it.⁶

I first learned of the manuscript from Kharlampovych's articles when working on my dissertation about Muscovite information on the Turks; I was particularly interested in the large collection of early newspapers and the several apocryphal correspondences with the Sultan which the manuscript contained. Kharlampovych's material enabled me to piece together and publish in 1978 an incomplete description, in which I noted that the manuscript's present location was unknown "but presumably in collections in the Soviet Union."⁷ When I received soon thereafter A. I. Mazunin's description of MS. Inv. No. 35176, a recent (1974) acquisition of the Alisher Navoi Public Library of the Uzbek SSSR in Tashkent, I failed to connect the two manuscripts.⁸ It was Mazunin's description which brought me to the Rare Book Division of the Alisher Navoi Library in 1991, while in Tashkent on an exchange program. Only somewhere in the middle of "rediscovering" the "America" Kharlampovych had found concerning the early printed newspapers did I realize the two were one and the same.⁹

⁴ K. V. Kharlampovich, "'Vedomosti Moskovskogo gosudarstva' 1702 goda," *Izvestiia Otdeleniia russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Rossiiskoi akademii nauk*, XXIII/1 (1918; printed in 1919), 1-18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 6 n. 1.

⁶ Kostiantyn Kharlampovych, "Lystuvannia zaporoz'kykh kozakiv iz sultanom," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichno viddilu Vseukraïns'koi Akademii nauk*, IV (1923), 200-212. It is possible that Kharlampovych's papers contain his apparently unpublished description. There is a collection of his papers in the Nezhin branch of the Chernihiv regional archive (see *Lichnye arkhivnye fondy v gosudarstvennykh khranilishchakh SSSR. Ukazatel'*, comp. E. V. Kolosova et al., II [M., 1963], 271).

⁷ *The Great Turkes Defiance: On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in its Muscovite and Russian Variants* (Columbus, O., 1978), 275.

⁸ A. I. Mazunin, "Slaviano-russkie rukopisi nauchnoi biblioteki Tashkentskogo universiteta i respublikanskoi biblioteki imeni Alishera Navoi," *TODRL*, XXXII (1977), esp. 380-82. Mazunin did not attempt a really thorough description of the manuscript, and what he did provide, which gives at least a reasonably thorough idea of its contents, is badly in need of correction and supplement. To do a thorough description here would occupy more space than is available.

⁹ Even with Mazunin's description in hand, actually locating the manuscript was not straightforward. Users of his descriptions (*ibid.*, and his earlier "Rukopisnye i

We will probably never know how the manuscript arrived in its present location. There was no information available concerning the transaction by which the library acquired the book, and an examination of the other rare Cyrillic books acquired in the same year provided no clues.¹⁰ The acquisitions had probably been made in a local bookstore; there is no obvious connection suggesting that the individual items formed part of a single collection. I have not yet attempted to study the fate of the library of the Kazan' Theological Seminary, although we know that the Collection of the Solovki Monastery, which had been transferred there during the Crimean War, was obtained in 1928 by the Leningrad Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library via Tsentrarkhiv.¹¹ Since many of those sent to Central Asia as teachers in the early Soviet period were Kazan' Tatars, and for others Central Asia was a place of exile or, during World War II, of refuge, there are many possible ways the manuscript could have found its way to Tashkent.¹²

staropечатnye knigi Gosudarstvennoi biblioteki imeni Alishera Navoi v Tashkente," *TODRL*, XXVI (1971), 349–51) should be aware that the collection was reorganized since Mazunin worked in it. There is no proper catalogue of the Cyrillic manuscripts. I had to read through the manuscript "Inventarnaia kniga No. 4" to locate the items I wished to see. The handlist there is in the order in which the books were re-processed. The old inventory numbers are given first, in the form "74-35176" (where the first digits indicate the year of acquisition and the last the old inventory number). Mazunin's No. 1 (inv. no. 35176) is now designated as **Пи 9250**. I am grateful to the staff of the Rare Book Division, headed by Rakhim Faizullaev, which was most solicitous of my many requests.

¹⁰ I examined the following items in the current collection:

Пу 8820 (Inv. No. 74-35177), a printed nineteenth-century Chasoslov;

Пи 9271 (Inv. No. 74-35180), a printed early twentieth-century Kanonik;

Пу 9255 (Inv. No. 74-35175) (=Mazunin, *TODRL*, XXXII, p. 382, No. 5), which contains an inscription, "На молитвенную память послушнику Феодору от собрата послушника Георгия 18 марта 1961 года в память совместной жизни в Троице-Сергиевой лавре." The back end paper bears a price notation of six rubles.

Пи 9267 (Inv. No. 74-35174) (apparently Mazunin's No. 4, *loc. cit.*)

Пе 9268 (Inv. no. 74-35167) (Mazunin No. 2), which contains inscriptions, "Вознесения что за Волгою церкви 1830 года," "1830-го года ноября," "Сия книга церкви Вознесения Господня, что за Волгою." A modern hand has added in ballpoint pen a price of three rubles.

Пи 9263 (Inv. No. 74-35166) (although he looked at this, Mazunin did not publish its description), eighteenth-century MS, 4^o, containing, according to Mazunin's note, "философские размышления о душе и теле (пер. с французского)," and with inscriptions "1905 мар. 10," "1888 году Аркадий Хлебников," "29 июня 1888 года."

Пи 9266 (Inv. no. 74-35179) (Mazunin No. 3) could not be located.

¹¹ See "Komplektovanie fondov Otdela rukopisei Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki v 1917–1941 gg.," *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, Vol. VIII (11) (1960), 272.

¹² Cf. the notes by Mazunin on the peregrinations of the Tashkent library's copy of the 1581 Ostroh Bible published by Ivan Fedorov (A. I. Mazunin, "Rukopisnye i staropечатnye knigi," 351 n4).

“Anatolii’s Miscellany” is a large folio book, largely handwritten by various scribes (there are a few printed sheets) in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. As we shall see, there is ample evidence that the book was assembled in one place and largely by a single individual. The manuscript opens with a “Kozmografiia” and extracts from Polish chronicles. A chronicle with a focus on local events follows; then there are copies from published books and leaflets beginning with items about Peter I’s victory over the Turks at Azov. As Kharlampovych pointed out, the collection is remarkable especially because it contains so many copies from the Petrine *Vedomosti*, Russia’s first printed newspapers. In addition to the *Vedomosti*, the book contains copies of other news reports concerning the Northern War, extracts from various other Petrine printed books, copies of important decrees, examples of what we might term “documentary belles lettres,” a few contemporary notations made apparently by the editor/compiler of the manuscript, and finally extracts from several books of religious content.

A careful examination of the manuscript enables us to establish a great deal about its provenance, an issue that neither Kharlampovych nor Mazunin addressed. There can be no doubt that the compilation occurred in Viatka (Khlynov, Kirov), and apparently was the work largely of one individual attached to the staff of the local bishop.¹³ Various indicators point in this direction, among the more interesting being chronicle extracts with Viatka information, including notations on the first bishops (through Dionisii, who occupied the see from 1700 to 1718) (fols. 63 ff., 595). There is some debate in the literature as to when the so-called “Tale about the Viatka Land” (Повесть о стране Вятской) was compiled, with one of the most prominent specialists on the history of Viatka arguing for there having been no serious history writing in the town before the 1720s.¹⁴ Quite apart from textual considerations, which need to be explored further, the fact that “Anatolii’s

¹³ The same copyist was at work on texts or wrote inscriptions on fols. 31v–38, 88v, 292, 334, 374, 376, 376v, 381v, 435, 531, 539–539v, 556, 569–70, 574–75v, 578–86, 593–96, 600v. His dated inscriptions are between 1704 and 1714. We cannot be certain that the current order of works in the manuscript was his responsibility—they have been organized thematically, with the result being that inscriptions of the earliest date come late in the book.

¹⁴ See P. N. Luppov, *Istoriia goroda Viatki* (Kirov, 1958), esp. 41–43, where he questions the views of A. A. Spitsyn and A. S. Vereshchagin, who argued for an earlier dating. I have not yet had the opportunity to read Luppov’s “K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii ‘Povesti o strane Viatskoi’,” *Zapiski Udmurtskogo nauchno-issledovatel’skogo instituta istorii, iazyka, literatury i fol’klora*, vyp. XII (1949), 70–82. For a critique of Luppov’s views and reaffirmation of the earlier dating, see A. V. Emmauskii, *Istoricheskii ocherk Viatskogo kraia XVII-XVIII vekov* (Kirov, 1956), 205–207.

Miscellany” likely was completed soon after 1715 suggests we may need to re-examine the history of these interesting chronicle texts.¹⁵

A variety of other evidence also points to Viatka. The manuscript includes a copy of a proclamation, dated December 28, 1711, by the local “Камендат [sic] Вятцкий князь Иван Иванович” concerning the marriage of Tsarevich Aleksei Petrovich (fol. 540).¹⁶ One of the news items from 1713 has a heading, “Список которой получен на Вятке марта 5-го 713-го году” (fol. 553). The still anonymous compiler of the manuscript, whose hand appears at various points throughout and in several dated inscriptions, at one point noted having received one text “у Афонася Максимова Неволлина 704-го августа 1 день” (fol. 600v). We find Afanasii Maksimov syn Nevolin recorded in the 1710 census for the town as a forty-two-year-old подьякон “во дв. архiereйской.”¹⁷ Finally, we note on fol. 587 a diagram of a “Церковь Стретеня Господня,” which contained a chapel labeled “Церковь великой мученицы.” The diagram is accompanied by measurements that were verified on May 15, 1710. A Church of the Presentation of the Lord with a chapel dedicated to St. Paraskeva had existed at least from the early seventeenth century in Viatka. Between 1705 and 1709 several petitions were filed with the bishop for permission to re-build the church in stone; the new construction was completed in 1712.¹⁸

There is ample evidence to connect the compiler with the bishop’s court. Several items are taken from books of religious content, in some cases copied by the same individual who wrote inscriptions regarding the sources for material that forms the bulk of the manuscript. Among works of interest to this copyist/editor were a table of contents to a compilation of teachings of Saint John Chrysostom (fol. 569), extracts from a Moscow edition of 1700 entitled *Сборник, си есть собрание слов нравоучительных и торжественных, собрание от учителей восточныя церкви, святых*

¹⁵ The item with the latest date is a “Relation” published in St. Petersburg on November 28, 1715 (fols. 567–567v; the original is that listed in *Opisanie izdaniia grazhdanskoi pečati 1708–ianvar’ 1725 g.* [hereafter abbreviated *OIGP*], comp. T. A. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich [M.-L., 1955], No. 109, p. 156).

¹⁶ Presumably the local commandant referred to here is the *voevoda* Prince Ivan Ivanovich Shcherbatov. See Aleksandr Veshtomov, *Istoriia viatchan so vremeni poseleniia ikh pri Reke Viatke do otkrytiia v sei strane namestnichestva, ili s 1181 po 1781-i god chrez 600 let* (Kazan’, 1907) (= *Izvestiia Obshchestva arkheologii, istorii i etnografii pri Imperatorskom Kazanskom universitete*, Vol. XXIV, vyp. 1–2), 122.

¹⁷ *Viatka. Materialy dlia istorii goroda XVII i XVIII stoletii* (Moscow, 1887), 61.

¹⁸ See A. Spasskii, “Istoricheskoe opisanie tserkvei g. Viatki,” an appendix to his article “Postепенное razvitie vneshniago vida goroda Viatki i zaniatii ego naseleniia,” in *Stoletie Viatskoi gubernii 1780–1880. Sbornik materialov k istorii Viatskogo kraia*, I (Viatka, 1880), esp. 195–96.

отцев... (fol. 578), and extracts from Lazar Baranovych's *Мечь духовный* (fol. 586). It is worth noting that our compiler had at least a passing interest in Latin, as evidenced by interlined Latin and Russian texts (fols. 588–89) that include some basic vocabulary. We might conclude from this that he was a beginner in the language (someone in Viatka undoubtedly knew some Latin), rather than one of the learned Ukrainians who were assuming the important positions in the Orthodox Church. The compiler of the manuscript was also the scribe who recorded the short chronicle of Viatka bishops (fol. 595), and who jotted down notes in 1705 that are worth quoting in extenso concerning the New Year's Day celebration he very probably witnessed in the suite of his bishop in Moscow:

1705-го года летоначатца ианнуариа 1-го числа. В новой год Великий Государь был у Воскресенской церкви у литоргии в Кадашеве и у молебна архиереи прилучившиися на Москве все были. В них был и вятцкий и архимандриты и собор весь. И бояря все и сам Государь на правом крылосе с певчими своими пел бас а на левом крылосе пели патриарши певчие.

После литоргии изволил кушать Государь на Царицыне лугу в светлицах, и царевич и архиереи, откушал Государь во 3-м часу ночи. Царицы и царевны кушали тут же. И тут в светлицах за царевым обедом была потеха неудобно сказаема и играли в скрипицы и органы и на трубах. И в тех светлицах прохладжались до 15 часов ночи. На розезде сам Государь из светлиц вышел и царевич и архиереи все и бояря, и изволил сам Государь выпалить из мартира и такие огни розсыпалися неудобно человеческому разуму сказать.

И изволил сам Великий Государь изрещи будити отцы святии здаровы и весь народ, и почал сам Государь своими руками в тот мартирь вливать ренсково два ушата ведро вотки и сам Государь выкушал про свое здоровье два ковша золотых, и почину царевичь и бояря и митрополиты // и архиереи по ковшу и весь освященный собор.

И изволил сам Государь выговорить про освященный чин и про поповых детей и церковников, не будет де впред по трое у церкви, чтоб был един дьячек он и пономар он и сторож. (fols. 374-374v)

The occasion was of special interest because of Peter's decree forcing "excess" clerics into service; the attitude of the scribe is quite clear from the passage which then follows:

И известие о том, что будет де на Вятку столник выбирать салдатов поповых детех и церковных причетников от лица губернатора Александра Даниловича Меншикова жестокой человек. А состоялся о том государев указ на Москве и во всех городех поповых детей и у дьячков и у пономарей и у просфирниц детей брать в салдаты: у кого трое, у тово взять двоих, и у которой церкви трое дьячков и пономарей и тут взято будет двое, а суде два сторожа и тут взять одново. И тот государев указ к Вятке будет вскоре, и по тому указу все переписаны будут вскоре.

Да еже де ныне состоялся государев указ по всем городам и на Вятку будет ис приказов и из Земской избы подьячих всех переписать и высланы будут к Москве.

Смотр им будет у Александра Даниловича Меншикова и которые прожиточные люди будут и тем подьячим отпуск будет на вечное житье в города в Питербурх а иные будут сосланы в Юревец Ливонской и в иные новозавоеванные города в Ливонии. (fol. 374v)

While modern historians give the impression that Viatka was a cultural backwater until the arrival of its Ukrainian bishop Lavrentii Gorka in 1733, “Anatolii’s Miscellany” offers interesting evidence that suggests we should not simply dismiss provincial towns as out of touch with the publications and events of the wider world.¹⁹ We can learn a lot from this one example about the nature of those contacts and the range of materials available to our local cleric/editor.

The reader is impressed by the extent of communication between Moscow or St. Petersburg and the provinces. While the news reports for events prior to 1702 are fragmentary, the series of copies made from the published Petrine *Vedomosti* begins with the first unnumbered issues of December 1702 and continues with a complete set for 1703 and the first two months of 1704. It is possible that this collection was an already completed unit when it was copied, for we find that for the remainder of 1704 and for succeeding years up through 1715, the coverage is fragmentary, albeit interspersed with various other copies of printed pamphlets on significant events of the Northern War and news items concerning especially the activities of Peter’s Field Marshal Boris Petrovich Sheremetev.²⁰ The quantity of the Sheremetev material

¹⁹ Cf., for example, Emmausskii, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, 214–16, which is merely a Soviet Marxist version of the same sentiments expressed by the first serious historian of Viatka back in the early nineteenth century, Veshtomov (*Istoriia viatchan*, 152).

²⁰ The coverage simply for the *Vedomosti* (that is, the usually numbered newspapers) can be seen from the following table, in which the references are to the standard catalogues of Petrine editions compiled by T. N. Bykova and M. M. Gurevich (*OIGP*; *Opisanie izdanii napechatannykh kirillitse 1689–ianvar’ 1725 g.* [Moscow-Leningrad, 1958] [here abbreviated *OINK*]):

- 1702 *OINK*, Item 24, Nos. 1–2 (all published)
- 1703 *OINK*, Item 31, Nos. 1–39 (all published)
- 1704 *OINK*, Item 42, Nos. 1–8, 18, 20, 22, 25 (of 35)
- 1705 *OINK*, Item 53, Nos. 30–32 (of 46)
- 1706 *OINK*, Item 57, No. 24 (of 28)
- 1707 *OINK*, Item 62, Nos. 18–19 (of 27)
- 1708 *OINK*, Item 69, Nos. 5, 6, 10–15 (of 15)
- 1709 *OINK*, Item 79, Nos. 3–5, 11, 12 (of 13)
- 1710 *OINK*, Item 86, No. 1 (of 2);
OIGP, Item 47, Nos. 2–5, 7, 11–15, and one unnumbered (of

suggests that a correspondent in Viatka may have had a direct connection with someone in Sheremetev's chancery or household. One of these letters (fol. 229), dated June 25, 1703, is addressed to a certain Iosif Titovich, upon whom Sheremetev rather generously bestowed booty from a recent victory. The compiler of the manuscript noted on another Sheremetev item (fol. 381v): "Списана у пристава Матвея Кунгурцова, привез ис Москвы тетратку 706 мая 15-го." It is a reasonable hypothesis that the compiler made a consistent effort to obtain copies of news as it arrived in the chancery of the local governor, which presumably would also have been the source of Petrine decrees, among them the one establishing the new calendar (December 21, 1699) and the Law of Entail (March 24, 1714).

One of the noteworthy features about this collection of news is that it contains unique or very rare copies from certain of what had originally been published texts. The very first Petrine *Vedomosti* are known only from this manuscript; at least one of the later numbers found here in a manuscript copy also escaped the attention of A. Pokrovskii, when he prepared the nearly complete edition of the texts.²¹ A long sequence of texts relates to events leading up to and including the Battle of Poltava. Two of the rarer items are copies from the Tsar's proclamations printed in Ukraine in connection with Hetman Mazepa's "treason."²² The second of these follows extracts from Ioan Maksymovych's explication of the Lord's Prayer, which he published in Chernihiv in August 1709 and dedicated to Peter and Hetman Skoropads'kyi.²³ The sequence also contains copies of a pamphlet about the battle itself and two descriptions of festivities celebrating the victory.²⁴

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1711 *OIGP*, Item 54, Nos. 2, 7 (two different items are numbered 7),
8–10, 12 (of 16);

OINK, Item 90, No. 11 (of 14, only 4 of which extant)

1712 *OIGP*, Item 65, No. 2 (of 13)

1713 *OIGP*, No. 74, Nos. 3, 6 and 3 unnumbered (of 22, several
unnumbered)

1714 *OIGP*, No. 138, unnumbered (of 5)

1715 *OIGP*, No. 177, unnumbered (of 11).

²¹ See Kharlampovich, "Vedomosti." The edition is *Vedomosti vremeni Petra Velikogo*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1903–1906).

²² The texts are on fols. 415–17 and 441–47v. The text of the first has been published in *Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikogo IX*, vyp. 1 (M.-L., 1950), 38–41, from one of multiple copies in the "Malorossiiskie dela." For some reason, this edition is not recorded in *OINK* (it is not identical with item 70 there; thus presumably it is not item 845 listed in Iakim Zapasko and Iaroslav Isaevych, *Pamiatky knyzhkovoho mystetstva. Katalog starodrukiv, vydanykh na Ukraïni II*, pt. 1 [1701–1764] (L'viv, 1984), 24). The second text is that described in *Opisanie izdaniï napechatannykh pri Petre I. Svodnyi katalog. Dopoleniia i prilozeniia*, comp. T. A. Bykova et al. (L., 1972), No. 328, p. 86.

²³ See Zapasko and Isaevych, *Pamiatky*, No. 848, p. 24, and V. P. Grebeniuk, ed.,

We know the names of several individuals from whom the compiler obtained his material. In 1704, he copied from a certain Osip Tepliashin texts celebrating victories of Peter—in one case a description of triumphal gates erected in 1703 that were decorated with various mythological figures, and in the second case an allegorical theatrical presentation given in Moscow at Shrovetide 1704.²⁵ In 1704 he also copied a tale about a miraculous appearance of the Virgin Mary in Solikamsk from a manuscript of the text owned by Afanasii Maksimov *syn* Nevolin, who, as noted above, a few years later was a "подьякон" in the court of the bishop. In 1706, our compiler copied "у ратушского подьячего Михаила Автамонова ис Хорошево" the "Arithmetic" published for Peter in Amsterdam in 1699 by Tessing (fol. 88v).²⁶ While he does not specify the individuals who provided him with texts in other cases, the same copyist left an inscription as late as July 16, 1714, on a copy from a decree published in St. Petersburg a month earlier.²⁷

In summary, we can see from the example of "Anatolii's Miscellany" the value of examining closely the cultural life of Russia's provinces in the Petrine era, a study that means we must examine provincial chanceries and libraries and track down the materials they once contained which have since been dispersed. A study of Church administration in Viatka during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, with an examination of the manuscript hands and paper used by the various secretaries, likely will enable us to identify the compiler of "Anatolii's Miscellany," who wrote in a distinctive cursive. At a time when the archbishop was allegedly distinguished for his lack of education, at least one individual working for him seems to have had rather broad interests and even (by the standards of the day in Muscovy) some pretense of learning. Church and secular administration seem to have worked closely together, in the interest of keeping well informed about the news and sharing books. It may turn out on close examination that even the condemnation of Bishop Dionisii as "ill-educated and unenterprising" will have to be revised.²⁸

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Panegiricheskaia literatura petrovskogo vremeni (M., 1979), 58–59.

²⁴ These texts are on fols. 425–34v, 448–49v, and correspond to *OINK*, Nos. 72–74.

²⁵ See inscriptions on fols. 292, 334. Note that Mazunin, "Slaviano-russkie rukopisi," 381, mis-read the year in both inscriptions as 1709. The texts are from the books described in *OINK*, Items 28, 32.

²⁶ The book is that described in *OINK*, App. I, 279–81.

²⁷ "Списано июля 16" (fol. 556). The text is the decree listed in *OIGP*, No. 109, p. 156.

²⁸ The characterization is that by Emmausskii, *Istoricheskii ocherk*, 214.