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## THE LIBRARY OF ALEKSEI MIKHAILOVICH

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What Muscovites read is of interest to any serious student of Muscovite cultural history and has attracted considerable attention in recent years. For convenience, one can separate the question into three parts — establishing what writings were available to individuals in Muscovy, determining what they actually read and knew, and analyzing the significance of that knowledge. The most valuable contributions in the current scholarship on Muscovite libraries and reading have been in the first of these three areas;<sup>1</sup> yet even there much remains to be done, as can be seen in the example of one of the important figures in the history of seventeenth-century Muscovite culture, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. The purpose of this paper is to bring together scattered material on what I term his “library” and to attempt a preliminary reconstruction of it. Since my decisions on what to include in that list are bound to be controversial, we cannot be certain what books he actually read, and the analysis of the content of his collection is a separate and time-consuming task, I have confined my remarks on the content and significance of his library to a few summary statements.

Not the least of the problems in attempting a reconstruction such as this one is to define what we mean in the given instance by a “library”. I have chosen a definition which, in the opinion of some of my colleagues at the International Conference on Muscovite History, may seem too broad. By the tsar’s library, I have in mind the sum total of books, pamphlets, drawings, maps, etc., which at one time or another in his life were among his personal possessions or were housed where he had regular and privileged access to them. This means that I do not insist on the “library” being consolidated in one place or arranged systematically, nor do I feel that the written materials he had access to at work in his daily attention to the affairs of state should necessarily be separated from his personal collection. As will be seen below, this last consideration is of particular importance when dealing with the materials of the tsar’s Privy Chancellery. Even acceptance of my broad definition leaves important choices about what to list in the reconstruction. At the risk of seeming arbitrary, I have included from his “working library” only those items which, in my opinion, might have been of interest as reference sources over and beyond their relevance to a specific item of business that

<sup>1</sup> E. g., M. V. Kukushkina, *Monastyrskie biblioteki Russkogo Severa. Ocherki po istorii knizhnoi kul'tury XVI–XVII vekov* (Leningrad, 1977); S. P. Luppov, *Kniga v Rossii v XVII veke* (Leningrad, 1970); M. I. Slukhovskii, *Bibliotechnoe delo v Rossii do XVIII veka* (Moscow, 1968); M. I. Slukhovskii, *Russkaia biblioteka XVI–XVII vv.* (Moscow, 1973).

had come to the tsar's attention. Granted that these considerations may suggest a lack of precise definition, I should stress that the point of this exercise is not to quibble over whether the tsar *owned* a book or another item in the strict sense and kept it at home but rather to provide a basis for investigating what he could have seen, read, or otherwise used.

Reconstructing the content of medieval and early modern libraries is often a difficult task, due to the erratic nature of the sources that are available to us. In numerous instances for Western Europe, we have library inventories dating well back into the Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>, but for Muscovy such sources are few prior to the seventeenth century, and those that do exist suffer from the laconic form of the entries, which often tantalize without revealing precisely what a particular book may have been. Even for the seventeenth century, using the inventories may be somewhat misleading at best, since we often cannot be certain that the inventory reflects the full extent of the "holdings" of any library. This is particularly true in the case of royal libraries, where several different court chancelleries may have contained books that, taken together, made up the tsar's collection. In the absence of inventories and/or as a supplement to the data they contain, we look for evidence such as owners' inscriptions, records of the receipt of books as gifts, records of expenditures for copying or binding, etc. Often difficult to come by, such evidence may be of questionable value. While there are a few early examples in Muscovy of the use of exlibris, unlike in the case of, say, Matthias Corvinus, there was no royal bookplate of the Muscovite tsars. Receipt of books as gifts does not, of course, mean that the books were kept by the royal recipient – in many instances, they undoubtedly were deposited in the archive of some government chancellery (e.g., the *Posol'skii prikaz*).<sup>3</sup> Commissioning of books or bindings likewise may not tell us what actually remained in a library, since the orders may have been for gifts.

A classic example of the difficulties in dealing with these and related source problems is the case of the library supposedly owned by Tsar Ivan IV.<sup>4</sup> The case of Ivan's library is confused, of course, by the expectations of those who would wish to reconstruct it, since a handful of sources suggests that somewhere one should be able to locate a collection of valuable Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew books that belonged to the tsar, even though no trace of those books has yet been discovered. Unfortunately, there is no inventory of Ivan's library, whatever it may have contained. Hence, it has been necessary to reconstruct it using the other kinds of evidence I have mentioned. The posthumously-published reconstruction by N. N. Zarubin is an impressive list of books that might somehow be associated with Ivan – because of inscriptions (note, not exlibris), records he gave or received the books as gifts, etc. – but raises serious doubts as to its completeness or whether the list represents in a true sense the tsar's

<sup>2</sup> James Westfall Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939).

<sup>3</sup> So notes S. A. Belokurov, *O biblioteke moskovskikh gosudarei v XVI stoletii* (Moscow, 1898), pp. 30–31.

<sup>4</sup> On the history of the controversy, see *ibid.*; David Arans, "A Note on the Lost Library of the Moscow Tsars", *The Journal of Library History*, Vol. 18 (1983), pp. 304–316; Daniel Clarke Waugh, "The Unsolved Problem of Tsar Ivan IV's Library", forthcoming in *Russian History*.

library.<sup>5</sup> Critics have suggested that what Ivan himself wrote should be included in such a list along with works cited in his purported writings, and so on. Its defects notwithstanding, Zarubin's list is at least a start in what may be a fruitful search to establish better than heretofore the "literary milieu" in which Ivan functioned.

In the case of Aleksei Mikhailovich we are fortunate not to have the problem of unreasonable expectations concerning lost Classical treasures. Nonetheless, there are some real puzzles to which we should attempt to find solutions. Most important, why is it that we have no more evidence than we do concerning the library of an individual who by all odds was the most "actively literate" Muscovite ruler down to his time? Here we have the first ruler of Muscovy to have left us much written in his own hand, a man who obviously was well educated (by Muscovite standards) and was intensely interested in matters ranging from liturgical practice to mining and sericulture. Yet once we attempt to move beyond the inventory of his childhood books, we draw a blank. At least so it would seem from an examination of the existing studies of Muscovite libraries. We are even more struck by this apparent incongruity if we remember that Aleksei Mikhailovich undertook to provide a good education for his children, two of whom, Aleksei and Fedor, owned libraries of some real substance that apparently far exceeded in their size and diversity anything that Aleksei Mikhailovich himself owned.<sup>6</sup> In short, if any Muscovite ruler prior to the last quarter of the seventeenth century *should* have had a library, it was Aleksei Mikhailovich.

If we use the same kind of approach employed by Zarubin for Ivan's library, I think we can demonstrate that in his later years at least, Aleksei Mikhailovich did, in fact, have a rather extensive collection of written and printed material which we may term his "library". In what follows I shall discuss the stages in the development of his collection and the kinds of problems which I have encountered in attempting my reconstruction of it. That reconstruction will be found in the appendix.

#### *The Library of Tsarevich Aleksei Mikhailovich*

In the first instance, this is the collection of books for which an inventory has been available in published form since the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> The inventory

<sup>5</sup> N. N. Zarubin, comp., *Biblioteka Ivana Groznogo. Rekonstruktsiia i bibliograficheskoe opisaniie* (Leningrad, 1982); reviewed by A. I. Kopanev in *Sovetskie arkhivy*, 1983, No. 5, pp. 83–85, and by me in *Slavic Review*, Vol. 43 (1984), p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> The inventories for these collections are published in Ivan Zabelin, *Domashnii byt russkikh tsarei v XVI i XVII st.*, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1915), pp. 594–607, and (for the music manuscripts of Fedor Alekseevich) V. V. Protopopov, "Notnaia biblioteka tsaria Fedora Alekseevicha", *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia. Piśmennost'. Iskusstvo. Arkheologiia. Ezhegodnik 1976* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 129–132. See also the summary discussion on these collections in Lupov, *Kniga*, pp. 113–117.

<sup>7</sup> Zabelin, *Domashnii byt*, pp. 592–593 (first published in 1854). On the tsar's education, see Philip Longworth's excellent new biography, *Alexis. Tsar of All the Russias* (New York, 1984), esp. pp. 12–15.

was compiled some time after 1640 (when the tsarevich was eleven years old); it lists some dozen books – devotional (including three with liturgical music) and “instructional” (a primer, a grammar, and a cosmography). Most of the books were gifts to the tsarevich, apparently on the occasion of birthdays. One might add to this collection the broadsides that were purchased for the tsarevich and his siblings – what the sources list variously as “nemetskie (pechatnye) listy”, “poteshnye listy”, “russkie pisannye listy”.<sup>8</sup> It is entirely possible that these items were simply pictures with little or no text, and therefore, strictly speaking, do not belong among the “writings” available to the tsarevich. However, even a collection of pictures that might further his early education probably should be taken into account. While we lack copies of such items, we know from a document of 1664 concerning the illustration of a “poteshnaia kniga” for Aleksei Alekseevich that a picture book (or, presumably, the individual sheets that might make up such a book) could include a wide range of educational material (e. g., various animals including a crocodile, a Turkish galley, Arabs riding on camels and elephants – rather like an eclectic illustrated encyclopedia).<sup>9</sup> It may be that we should include as well (although I have not done this in my appendix) the 29 books on mathematics, military fortification, navigation, etc., which were ordered sent from the *Pushkarskii prikaz* to the chambers of the young tsarevich by boyar B. I. Morozov in 1637.<sup>10</sup> Whether these books remained in the palace or were returned to the chancellery is not known, although one notes that thematically several of the titles are similar to materials later found in the tsar’s Privy Chancellery collection.<sup>11</sup>

### *The Question of the Transmission of Royal Libraries in Muscovy*

When attempting to determine the history of the earliest collection of books owned by Aleksei Mikhailovich, we are confronted with an important question that is relevant to the reconstruction of his library as a whole. What, if anything, can be established about the fate of any previous Romanov or Riurikid libraries – did he inherit them – and what in turn was the fate of his books? If we could establish that the collections were passed down in the family, or if we knew of the bequeathing of books to, e. g., monasteries, we might be able to expand considerably the inventory of the tsar’s books. Belokurov and Luppov, who have given some thought to the question, both seem inclined to support the view that royal libraries were passed on in the family, and/or there was unrestricted borrowing within the family from the various collections.<sup>12</sup> In the seventeenth century, it seems to have become common practice that on the death of a member of the royal family, his or her books would be deposited in a court repository

<sup>8</sup> Zabelin, *Domashnii byt*, pp. 101, 103–104.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 174–177.

<sup>10</sup> S. Bogoiavlenskii, “O Pushkarskom prikaze”, *Sbornik statei v chest’ Matveia Kuźmicha Liubavskogo* (Petrograd, 1917), pp. 384–385.

<sup>11</sup> Luppov (*Kniga*, p. 210) seems to favor the idea that they were just on loan.

<sup>12</sup> Belokurov, *O biblioteke*, pp. 324–325, 329–332; Luppov, *Kniga*, pp. 116–117.

such as the *Masterskaia palata*, from which, of course, they might be borrowed or otherwise disposed of by the heirs. Thus, even though the books might not be kept right in the royal chambers in the palace, they indeed formed part of a permanent royal collection. However, our information on the transmission of the family's books is still fragmentary.

For our purposes here, it is useful to summarize what we know about the possible connections between Aleksei Mikhailovich's library and those of other members of his family. We have lists of his father's books that were in the royal treasury in the *Kazennyi dvor* and in the *Masterskaia palata* in 1634, 1640, and 1642.<sup>13</sup> If the inventories are complete, we can see how certain items disappeared over time and how others were added, but there is no overlap between these lists and the inventory for Aleksei Mikhailovich's early collection. It seems that Aleksei freely disposed of his father's books though, for we know that in 1649 he donated a book from the collection to the St. Savva-Storozhevskii Monastery in Zvenigorod. The court official in charge of this transferral was Fedor Rtishchev, who was also responsible in 1652 for the removal of another book from the same collection. Aleksei Mikhailovich's brother Ivan died young in 1639, leaving a *Stoglav* (odd reading for a six-year-old?) and an *Azbuka*. In 1649 or 1650, the *Stoglav* was taken to the tsar's chambers (presumably in connection with his active interest in church reform), but what happened to it after that is not known.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know whether Aleksei Mikhailovich in similar fashion freely disposed of his son Aleksei's extensive collection after his death at age sixteen in 1670.

Information regarding the fate of Aleksei Mikhailovich's own books is likewise not entirely satisfactory. We know that at least one of the items in his boyhood collection ended up in the Monastery of St. Savva (which enjoyed royal patronage), probably as the result of a donation by the tsar.<sup>15</sup> Are we to assume though that the early collection otherwise remained intact?<sup>16</sup> Or perhaps books such as his primer and grammar (if they had not disintegrated from use) were passed on to his children? We do know that several music manuscripts in the extensive collection of his son Fedor contained notations in Aleksei Mikhailovich's own hand, suggesting that they had at one time been in his library.<sup>17</sup> Whether they were given to Fedor by his father (Fedor seems to have had some musical talent, which his father undoubtedly encouraged) or were obtained by

<sup>13</sup> Zabelin, *Domashnii byt*, pp. 591–592; Belokurov, *O biblioteke*, p. 310.

<sup>14</sup> A. Viktorov, *Opisanie zapisnykh knig i bumag starinnykh dvortsovykh prikazov 1584–1725 g.*, vyp. 1 (Moscow, 1877), p. 198.

<sup>15</sup> Belokurov, *O biblioteke*, p. 311n2.

<sup>16</sup> One would like to know more about the source of information for the assertion that Aleksei Mikhailovich "often boasted in later years" of his first library (Joseph T. Fuhrmann, *Tsar Alexis: His Reign and His Russia* [Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1984], p. 4); likewise the statement by Longworth (*Alexis*, p. 204) that the tsar's library "was subsequently destroyed in a fire".

<sup>17</sup> Protopopov, "Notnaia", p. 130. It is possible that these were among the several music books that had been kept in the Privy Chancellery archive, although one should note that some of Aleksei Mikhailovich's music manuscripts remain in what is left of that collection (see Longworth, *Alexis*, pp. 69, 259n7).

Fedor after Aleksei died is not known. We note in addition that several of the other works known to have been in Aleksei's library were to be found as well in Fedor's, but without examining the books themselves (if they have survived), we cannot be certain whether we are dealing with the same copies. The one group of books about whose fate we have considerable information is the collection in Aleksei Mikhailovich's Privy Chancellery (see below), which Fedor and his successors actively disposed of. For the most part though, it appears that those books ended up in various government departments to the business of which they pertained.

### *The Growth of Aleksei Mikhailovich's Collection*

On assuming the throne, naturally Aleksei Mikhailovich continued to receive books as gifts. So far I have relatively little information on these, but one can assume that searches in the proper archival files will reveal much more. What is probably a typical example illustrates some of the problems in acquiring and assessing the data. In 1657, the tsar received from the Greek Orthodox community in Venice a polemical booklet in Greek encouraging him to join forces with the Venetians to fight the Turks.<sup>18</sup> Since the book was dedicated to the tsar and was presented to his ambassador, we can assume that it was in turn given to Aleksei when it arrived in Moscow. Yet there is no direct evidence that he kept the book in his library, acknowledged its receipt, or whatever. In this case as in others, it is entirely likely that the book was deposited in the appropriate file of the Diplomatic Chancellery (in this case, the *Grecheskie dela*). However, a translation was prepared by someone in Moscow, and it is possible that a copy of the translation remained in the royal library.

A similar example is that of the "Genealogy" prepared as a gift for the tsar by the Imperial Heraldmeister in Vienna and presented to the Muscovite ambassador there in 1673.<sup>19</sup> The elegant, illuminated original, in Latin, seems to have been consigned eventually to the files of the Diplomatic Chancellery, but the tsar ordered an illuminated manuscript translation (that almost exactly duplicated the original in its physical appearance). Presumably he intended to keep the translation in his own collection. Since it was completed only after his death in 1676, instead it went into the collection of his heir Fedor.

We also encounter such problems in assessing information on books acquired following the instructions of the tsar. There is ample evidence that beginning early in his reign Aleksei Mikhailovich took an interest in acquiring books from abroad. The oft-

<sup>18</sup> D. K. Uo, "'Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo' – pamiatnik antituretskoi publitsistiki XVII v.," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, Vol. XXXIII (1979), pp. 88–107.

<sup>19</sup> A. I. Rogov, "Russko-avstriiskie kul'turnye sviazi XVII v.," *Avstro-Vengriia i slaviano-germanskie otnosheniia* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 20–28; A. S. Myl'nikov, "'Rodoslovie' Lavrentiia Khureliicha," *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia. Pismennost'. Iskusstvo. Arkheologiia. Ezhegodnik 1976* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 21–31; I. M. Kudriavtsev, "'Izdatel'skaia' deiatel'nost' Posol'skogo prikaza (K istorii russkoi rukopisnoi knigi vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka)," *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy*, Vol. VIII (1963), pp. 205–206.

cited case of the instructions to Prince Repnin-Obolenskii in 1653 is one example, and the instructions issued on different occasions a few years later to the tsar's English agent, John Hebdon, are another.<sup>20</sup> In the first instance, the material sought seems to have been focussed primarily on matters pertaining to relations with Poland, and in the case with Hebdon, the emphasis was on military technology. One must ask, of course, whether the books ordered were actually received (in the example from 1653, documents confirm that most were indeed acquired), and once that is established, one must attempt to determine where the books were deposited. In 1653, it appears that the royal instructions were for the purpose of providing materials to be used by the Diplomatic Chancellery, rather than personally by the tsar, but in the case of the books Hebdon was to acquire, we cannot yet be sure of their final destination. It seems likely that they would have ended up in the files of the tsar's Privy Chancellery, since that is where matters of particular interest to him were considered and that is where the file of material on Hebdon's commissions abroad was kept.

### *The Privy Chancellery and Its Archive*

In studying Muscovite libraries, scholars have noted in passing the collection of materials in the Privy Chancellery archive but have tended to dismiss them without sufficiently close examination.<sup>21</sup> I would argue that the Privy Chancellery collection is of crucial importance if we are to acquire an understanding of what reading the tsar had available to him (and in fact was doing) in his middle and later years. Whether one should go so far as to assert that the Privy Chancellery archive was in fact the royal library as well is a matter that will be considered below.

The Privy Chancellery (*Prikaz Velikogo gosudaria tainykh del*) was created by Aleksei Mikhailovich at the beginning of the long war against Poland in 1654 to enable him more effectively to manage the war effort and to cut through some of the bureaucratic red tape that slowed the functioning of the already unwieldy central administration and

<sup>20</sup> For the 1653 list, see Belokurov, *O biblioteke*, pp. 33–34; for the Hebdon instructions, I. Ia. Gurliand, *Prikaz Velikogo gosudaria tainykh del* (Iaroslavl', 1902), pp. 108–109, and I. Ia. Gurliand, *Ivan Gebdon. Kommissarius i rezident* (Iaroslavl', 1903), pp. 10–11, 48. On Hebdon's commissions, see also Longworth, *Alexis*, esp. pp. 120–121, 132–133.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Slukhovskii, *Bibliotechnoe delo*, p. 89, and Luppov, *Kniga*, pp. 211–212. Slukhovskii clearly has some appreciation of the value of the collection, which he sketches in a paragraph; Luppov's criticism of Slukhovskii is misdirected. Slukhovskii proceeds to discuss the *Zapisnoi prikaz* (pp. 90–92), which was subordinated to the Privy Chancellery and acquired some books, apparently on temporary loan. It may be that these books should be taken into account in reconstructing Aleksei Mikhailovich's library. For details, see S. Belokurov, "O Zapisnom prikaze ('Zapisyvaty stepeni i grani tsarstvennye'). 1657–1659 gg.," in his *Iz dukhovnoi zhizni moskovskogo obshchestva XVII v.* (Moscow, 1902), pp. 53–84. Longworth's *Alexis* is commendable for the serious attention he has given the Privy Chancellery, the importance of which he fully recognizes for the study of the tsar's reading interests (see esp. pp. 1, 204–205).



often prevented the tsar from obtaining the information he needed rapidly.<sup>22</sup> Over the years, he assigned a wide range of functions to the Privy Chancellery, ranging from the writing of official history to the management of royal estates and the prospecting for precious metals. Clearly one of the most important functions of the chancellery was to obtain information for the tsar, a function that is exemplified by his establishment under its supervision of a regular postal system in 1665 that was primarily intended to provide up-to-date and regular news from abroad. The tsar had a desk in the offices of the Privy Chancellery and apparently worked there on a regular basis, which meant, of course, that he would have had regular and direct access to its archive. Since the institution was the personal creation of Aleksei Mikhailovich (one that in fact was resented by some of the regular government functionaries who saw it to be encroaching on their spheres of jurisdiction), it was closed when he died in January 1676 and its accumulated records inventoried for redistribution to the departments to which they pertained. The process of transferring the Nachlass of the chancellery dragged on over a number of years, during which additional inventories and documentation were compiled.<sup>23</sup> After the transfer of the material had been completed, there remained a still substantial collection of manuscripts and books which apparently could not be placed with the records of another department. This collection was inventoried again in 1710–13, when it was discovered mouldering in a basement in St. Petersburg, and with (apparently) relatively few losses, it has survived to our day (now housed in TsGADA, f. 27).<sup>24</sup>

The history of the Privy Chancellery and its archive is of considerable interest to us for two reasons. First, the institution was intimately connected with the tsar and reflected his personal interests. Among other things, it appears to have acted as his personal secretariat and the repository for his private papers. Second, the process of inventorying following his death (and the extensive publication of the records) provides us with a rich record of the holdings of this uniquely important institution. Even though the nature of the records makes it difficult to perceive the rationale for the organization of the archive (that is, the inventories do not necessarily reflect the original organization of the material in the archive), the number of books and amount of written material it contained that would be of more than passing interest (and hence might constitute the core of a good working and reference library) was considerable. One should not dismiss the collection, as Luppov does, for its supposed lack of well-defined acquisition criteria, its apparent storage in various places, and its supposedly small size.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The basic studies of the Privy Chancellery are Gurliand, *Prikaz*, and A. I. Zaozerskii, *Tsarskaia votchina XVII v.: Iz istorii khoziaistvennoi i prikaznoi politiki Tsaria Alekseia Mikhailovicha*, 2nd ed. (Moscow, 1937).

<sup>23</sup> These are published in *Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*, Vol. 21 (= *Dela Tainogo prikaza*, I) (St. Petersburg, 1907).

<sup>24</sup> The inventory completed in 1713 is "Opiś delam Prikaza tainykh del 1713 goda", *Zapiski Otdeleniia russkoi i slavianskoi arkheologii Imperatorskogo Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, Vol. 2 (1861), pp. 1–43.

<sup>25</sup> Luppov, *Kniga*, pp. 211–212.

I have included in my preliminary reconstruction of Aleksei Mikhailovich's library a great many items that were in the archive of the Privy Chancellery. I have singled out items that would appear to have cultural or literary interest transcending their association with some particular item of business that was dealt with through the Privy Chancellery. Thus, strictly diplomatic documentation (such as ambassadorial reports, which were numerous in the collection) is not included, even though some of those reports undoubtedly would have been of continuing interest in Muscovy for the information they contained about otherwise little known cultures. Also, even though some of the items I have included were acquired through the new postal system and might simply be lumped with the collection of *vesti* and *kuranty* (collections of foreign news), they would appear as well to have had broader connections with Muscovite cultural affairs. Perhaps one should include in the list the complete run of the *kuranty* the archive contained, since they obviously have a great deal of information that might be of use for reference some years after the event. However, I have chosen instead to single out the more substantial individual pamphlets (e. g., the ones dealing with the false messiah, Shabbetai Zevi). Obviously, as the files of the *kuranty* are more thoroughly searched (I have examined only a portion of them for the 1660s), more such material will be identified.

We are struck by the diversity of the materials in the Privy Chancellery archive. There are writings pertaining to Orthodox practice and belief, many of them undoubtedly related directly to the religious reforms and controversies of Aleksei Mikhailovich's reign. There is material on genealogy, history and applied sciences (to use what for Muscovy are somewhat anachronistic terms). Obviously much of this material too pertained to the particular tasks of the chancellery – for example, works on mining. To use another modern category of knowledge, we note material that pertains to geography – among other things, a rather extensive collection of maps. Some items must be considered *curiosa* – the sort of oddities that perhaps were more for the amusement of the tsar than anything else. In short, there is the same kind of diversity of subject matter in this collection that Luppov and others have so lovingly broken down into exact percentage categories of areas of knowledge for other Muscovite libraries.

In my mind the question therefore arises whether we are not in fact justified in seeing the Privy Chancellery as a kind of royal book repository that for all practical purposes fulfilled the function of a library for Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. It is entirely likely that he kept some kind of book collection in his chambers, but we have no record of its existence in an era when documentation is good enough so that one would think some trace should have been preserved. His son, Fedor, actually had enough books so that he had a room that the sources designate as a library (*komnata knigokhranitel' nitsa*). Again, no such information exists for the father.<sup>26</sup> But the fate of the two collec-

<sup>26</sup> We do know that a box was purchased for tsarevich Aleksei Mikhailovich's books on December 8, 1636 (Zabelin, *Domashnii byt*, p. 105). Note that Juraj Križanić offered to become librarian for Aleksei Mikhailovich and put his books in order. Whatever the library he may have had in mind, this proposal of Križanić's presumably had no more chance of being

tions is similar – when Aleksei died, his books in the Privy Chancellery were gradually distributed to other departments, with the exception of the file of miscellaneous papers that remained intact. His heir, Fedor, obviously was active in reviewing, using, and disposing of the Privy Chancellery materials. When Fedor died, his books likewise were divided up, with one portion going to the *Masterskaia palata* (from which some were removed to the Diplomatic Chancellery in 1683) and the other portion apparently remaining in the royal chambers, where Fedor's heirs, in their turn, used the books.<sup>27</sup> In short, I feel that there is ample justification to suggest that, insofar as Aleksei Mikhailovich had a working library, it was that in the Privy Chancellery.

### *The Tsar's Final Years*

We know that with the death of Aleksei Mikhailovich's first wife and his remarriage to the ward of Aretmon Matveev, Nataliia Naryshkina, the cultural life of the court took something of a new turn. There seems to have been a conscious movement away from some of the entrenched Muscovite cultural traditions and a quickening of interest in things Western, as exemplified by the establishment of a court theater in 1672. During this period, we also see noteworthy activity in the building of the royal library, for it was under Matveev's tutelage (so it seems) that the tsar began to order a series of translations and illuminated manuscripts, the texts for which in several instances being produced by the learned translator of the Diplomatic Chancellery, Nikolai Milesco-Spafarii. We have ample documentation about the ordering of these books, the payments to the illuminators, binders, and so on.<sup>28</sup> Yet curiously we do not know precisely where the royal copies were kept once they had been finished. They do not seem to have been in the Privy Chancellery. Were they simply the seventeenth-century equivalent of "coffee-table books" in the royal chambers, were they intended more for the instruction of the tsar's children than for the tsar himself, or what? In any event, it seems likely that the diversity and size of the royal library increased in the last few years of the tsar's reign.

### *Conclusions*

There is much yet to be done before we can claim to have reconstructed satisfactorily the library of Aleksei Mikhailovich. One of the most basic tasks is to reach some consensus on the question of what legitimately might be included in such a reconstruction, for not all scholars currently would accept the idea that gifts, to name one exam-

accepted than did his other suggestions to the tsar. See. Belokurov, *Iz dukhovnoi zhizni*, pp. 175–177.

<sup>27</sup> Zabelin, *Domashnii byt*, pp. 602–607; Luppov, *Kniga*, pp. 116–117; Belokurov, *O biblioteke*, pp. 74–75.

<sup>28</sup> See the important article by Kudriavtsev, "'Izdatel'skaia' deiatel'nost'".

ple, necessarily belong in such a list. I do think though that we must not be limited by the idea that a royal library need to have been preserved in one location in the tsar's chambers: whatever was in the government departments that had close connections with the person and property of the ruler should be fair game. This undoubtedly means as well that more attention needs to be given to the question of the transmission of the property of the royal family. Was it treated as family property or state property, and does that make a difference insofar as the composition of an individual's library was concerned? Keeping some of these considerations in mind, we need a lot more work on the documents in the archives – especially the diplomatic files and the files from the Privy Chancellery. In addition, concerted efforts should be made to identify and locate the books that belonged to any members of the royal family. As Belokurov clearly perceived in his study of the sixteenth-century library of the Muscovite rulers, such a study should not be undertaken without considering much more broadly the history of Muscovite libraries.

What we have discovered so far (assuming that one can accept most of what I have included in my preliminary reconstruction) to a considerable degree confirms observations that have been made by Belokurov and others on the cultural changes in Muscovy that lead to the growth of real diversity in the subject matter of libraries, the inclusion of many foreign books, etc., only as one gets into the last third of the seventeenth century. There still seems to be a considerable contrast between Aleksei Mikhailovich's collection and those of his children, especially Fedor Alekseevich. In part this undoubtedly reflects their education – for example, the fact that they learned foreign languages – and the fact that their cultural perceptions seem to have been a bit more sophisticated than their father's. While one might make a case that Aleksei Alekseevich and Fedor had some “intellectual” pretensions, I think it is much more difficult to make such a case for Aleksei Mikhailovich. True, he had seemingly unlimited curiosity and a willingness to turn abroad for the knowledge and technology that might strengthen the Muscovite state. But, as Zabelin noted, his concerns seem to have been largely practical, whether in running his household or the state.<sup>29</sup> This aspect of his character thus makes all the more plausible what I have suggested about the archive of the Privy Chancellery. It seems quite in keeping with what we know about Aleksei Mikhailovich that he might not have kept more than a few devotional books in his personal library in his chambers; the rest of his library quite logically could have been in his “office”, the Privy Chancellery. The fact that the books and other materials in that collection do not form a thematically unified group should hardly disturb us, for such was the nature of the institution, and such were the interests of the tsar that materials pertaining to disparate concerns would find a place there. For the most part, the materials I have singled out from the Privy Chancellery archive are items that undoubtedly were acquired or generated in conjunction with one of the specific concerns of the tsar and that

<sup>29</sup> Iv. Zabelin, “Tsař Aleksei Mikhailovich (Ego piśma i uriadnik okhoty)”, in his *Opyty izucheniia russkikh drevnostei i istorii. Issledovaniia, opisaniia, i kriticheskie stat'i*, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1872), pp. 218 *et passim*. Concerning this aspect of the tsar's character, see also Longworth, *Alexis*, esp. pp. 133–135, 206.

institution. And the institution itself cannot be separated from the man who was the real supervisor of its affairs. Of course to emphasize the importance of the Privy Chancellery as the tsar's main book repository leaves unanswered important questions about the disposition of his other books, among them the series of illuminated manuscripts that were produced in the 1670s. Whatever the solution to such problems may turn out to be, I think we can at least be confident that we have filled some of the void that hitherto has existed in consideration of Aleksei Mikhailovich's library between about 1640 (the date of the inventory of his childhood collection) and his death in 1676.

## APPENDIX

The following listing of written and printed materials that might be included in the reconstruction of Aleksei Mikhailovich's library contains: 1. materials listed by approximate date of acquisition; 2. items whose date of acquisition cannot be determined and which are therefore grouped according to similarity of content (insofar as that can be determined from the titles); 3. books commissioned by the tsar but not completed in his lifetime; and 4. books ordered from abroad that may or may not have been received and added to his library. I have not included in the list books which were distributed as gifts through the Privy Chancellery. Most such instances involved devotional books, occasionally in large quantities (e. g., in July 1674, payment was authorized for the binding of 110 Psalters ["Raskhodnye stolbtsy Prikaza tainykh del 1674 g., iul'", *RIB*, Vol. 23, col. 320]). The 1713 inventory noted the existence of a canvas bag with unspecified books and records of the distribution of books through the chancellery to various religious institutions and individuals (Opiś PTD 1713, pp. 33–34). Obviously such items cannot be considered part of the tsar's library.

### *Sources and Abbreviations Cited in Appendix*

- BAN – Biblioteka Akademii nauk SSSR (Leningrad)  
 Belobrova, O. A., ed., Nikolai Spafarii, *Esteticheskie traktaty* (Leningrad, 1978)  
 Belokurov, S. A., "Deianie moskovskogo tserkovnogo sobora 1649 goda (Vopros o edinoglasii v 1649–1651 gg.)", in his *Iz dukhovnoi zhizni moskovskogo obshchestva XVII v.* (Moscow, 1902), pp. 29–52  
 Belokurov, Sergei, *O biblioteke moskovskikh gosudarei v XVI stoletii* (Moscow, 1898)  
 Belokurov, S. A., "Skazanie ob Uspenii presv. Bogoroditsy, pravlennoe tsarem Alekseem Mikhailovichem", in his *Iz dukhovnoi zhizni*, pp. 1–28  
 ChOISR – *Cheniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*  
 Derzhavina, O. A., "Velikoe zertsalo" i ego sud'ba na russkoi pochve (Moscow, 1965)  
 Eingorn, V. O., "O snosheniakh malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanii Alekseia Mikhailovicha", *ChOISR*, 1893, bk. 2; 1894, bk. 3; 1898, bk. 4; 1899, bks. 1–2 (continuous pagination)  
 Eremin, I. P., ed., Simeon Polotskii, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1953)  
 GBL – Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina (Moscow)  
 GIM – Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei (Moscow)  
 GPB – Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (Leningrad)  
 Gurliand, I. Ia., *Ivan Gebdon. Kommissarius i rezident* (Iaroslavl', 1903)  
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- Longworth, Philip, *Alexis. Tsar of All the Russias* (New York, 1984)
- Luppov, S. P., *Kniga v Rossii v XVII veke* (Leningrad, 1970)
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- Opiś PTD 1671/2 – [untitled], *RIB*, Vol. 21 (= Dela Tainogo prikaza, I), cols. 850–873.
- Opiś PTD 1676 – “Perepiśnaia kniga dokumentov Prikaza tainykh del”, *RIB*, Vol. 21, cols. 1–190
- Opiś PTD 1677 – “O razsvlke dokumentov Prikaza tainykh del po drugim prikazam v 1676–1683 godakh”, *RIB*, Vol. 21, cols. 337–365
- Opiś PTD 1683 – *Ibid.*, cols. 499–806
- Opiś PTD 1713 = “Opiś delam Prikaza tainykh del 1713 goda”, *Zapiski Otdeleniia russkoi i slavianskoi arkheologii Imperatorskogo Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva*, Vol. 2 (1861), pp. 1–43
- Poslaniia Ivana Groznogo*, ed. D. S. Likhachev et al. (Moscow–Leningrad, 1951)
- Prikhodo-raskhodnye knigi Prikaza tainykh del, in *RIB*, Vol. 23 (= Dela Tainogo prikaza, III)
- Protopopov, V. V., “Notnaia biblioteka tsaria Fedora Alekseevicha”, *Pamiatniki kul'tury. Novye otkrytiia. Pismennost'. Iskusstvo. Arkheologiia. Ezhegodnik 1976* (Moscow, 1977), pp. 119–133
- Ranniaia russkaia dramaturgiia XVII-pervaia polovina XVIII v.*, Vols. [1–2] (Moscow, 1972)
- RIB – Russkaia istoricheskaia biblioteka*
- Russko-indiiskie otnosheniia v XVII v. Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow, 1958)
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- TsGADA – Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (Moscow)
- Uo [= Waugh], D. K., “Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo' – pamiatnik antituretskoi publitsistiki XVII v.”, *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury*, XXXIII (1979), pp. 88–107
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- Zapisnaia kniga PTD 1665 – “Zapiska o vsiakikh delekh 174-go”, *RIB*, Vol. 21, cols. 1105–1220

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
1632/3	<i>Azbuka</i>	gift: Patriarch Filaret	Zabelin, p. 592
18 September 1633	<i>Apostol (pechatnyi)</i>	gift: Filaret	Zabelin, p. 592
before 11 May 1634	<i>Azbuka</i>		Zabelin, p. 103. Books sent for binding. The <i>Azbuka</i> same item as above?
16 June 1634	<i>Chasovnik</i>		Zabelin, p. 103
10 December 1634	<i>Nemetskie pechatnye listy</i>	purchase	Zabelin, p. 592
9 January 1635	<i>Apostol (pismennyi)</i>	willed by Filaret	Zabelin, p. 104
29 November 1635	<i>32 nemetskie i russkie pechatnye listy</i>	purchase	Zabelin, p. 101
1636/7	<i>9 poteshnye listy</i>	purchase	Zabelin, p. 101
between 1633 and ca. 1640	<i>Psaltyr' s pesn' mi . . . pisana knizhnym pismom</i>	gift: d'iak Vasilii Prokof'ev	Zabelin, p. 593
between 1633 and ca. 1640	<i>Glaviznyynakazatel'nyo mravouchitel' stve — tsaria Vasiliia grecheskago synu svoemu L'vu</i>	gift: Patriarch Iosif	Zabelin, p. 592. Same work in libraries of Aleksei Alekseevich and Fedor Alekseevich.
before ca. 1640	<i>Akhtai da Stikhery znamenny</i>		Zabelin, p. 592
before ca. 1640	<i>Stikharal znamennyi</i>		Zabelin, p. 593
before ca. 1640	<i>Stikharal znamennyi</i>		Zabelin, p. 593
before ca. 1640	<i>Triodi znamennye</i>		Zabelin, p. 593
before ca. 1640	<i>Grammatika litovskoi pečati</i>		Zabelin, p. 592. Aleksei Alekseevich owned two copies of a <i>Grammatika slovenskaia</i> .
before ca. 1640	<i>Leksikon, litovskaia pečat'</i>		Zabelin, p. 593. Aleksei Alekseevich owned <i>Aleksikon [sic] pečatnoi</i> .
10 March 1640	<i>Psaltyr' pismennaia</i>		Zabelin, p. 593.
1641	<i>Ellenogrecheskaia kniga</i> [Sochimenie Meletia patriarka aleksandriiskogo protiv zhidov]	gift: Gavrilos Blasios of Iași	Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 30.

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
5 December 1648	2 pisma ezuvitskikh, odno o Slovenskom narode i o ispravlenii Slovenskogo iazyka, drugoe o ucheñe gramatiki inykh filosofskikh knig, a to pismo podal on vo 156-m godu dekabria v 5-m chisle, a imiani i proz-vishcha emu ne napisano Sluzhba i zhitie Savvy chudotvortsya (pechatnaia)	from collection of tsarevich Ivan Mikhailovich commissioned	Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 871.
by November 1649			Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 224. Two copies illuminated. <i>Zhitie Savy Storozhevskogo</i> owned by Aleksei Alekseevich; <i>Sluzhba i zhitie prepodobnomu otsu Save Storozhevskomu Chudotvortsu</i> by Fedor Alekseevich. Viktorov, 198
1649/50	Stoglav		
1650/1	<i>Rados' gosudarskaia</i>		Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 228.
17 March 1652	<i>Chasoslov</i>		Stroev, <i>Opisanie</i> , I, p. 289. Fedor Alekseevich owned a <i>Chasoslov kievskie pechatii</i> ... 134 godu.
1657	<i>Gerasimos Blachos, Thriambos kata tes ton Tourkon Basileias</i> (translated as <i>Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo</i> ) <i>dve knigi Simvol</i>	gift: author	Uo, "Odolenie", pp. 91–92.
October 1662			Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 228. Illumination ordered by tsaritsa (books for sons or other gifts?).
after 1663	<i>Tetrat', a v nei 2 spiska z gramot Turskogo saltana k tsesariu Rimskomu i s evo tsesarskoi k saltanu</i>		Opis' PTD 1677, col. 364; Waugh, <i>Great Turkes</i> , pp. 155–157; cf. Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 854.
1664	<i>Letopisets Kazanskogo gosudarstva (Istoriia kazanskaia)</i>	commissioned from copy owned by N. I. Odoevskii	Prikhodo-rashodnye knigi PTD, <i>RIB</i> , Vol. 23, col. 467; <i>Zapisnaia kniga PTD</i> 1665, col. 1121. Copies owned by Aleksei Alekseevich and Fedor Alekseevich.



Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
ca. 1664	<p><i>Kniga v kozhe, Grecheskogo pis'ma, za rukami i za pechat' mi trekh vselenskikh patriarkhov i inykh vlastei, ne perevedena; v nei pisan Simvol pravoslavnye very</i></p>	gift	Opis PTD 1671/2, col. 851.
1663/4	<p><i>2 knigi obolocheny v chervchatoi barkhat, a v nikh Grecheskogo pisma nekotorye voprosy i otvety i tolkovanie is pravil, za rukami vselenskikh patriarkhov Dionisiia Konstantinopolskogo, Paisiia Aleksandriiskogo, Makarii Antiokhiiskogo, Nektariia Ierosalimskogo i inykh vlastei, i s togo Grecheskogo pis'ma perevod Perechnevaia vypiska v tetratekh, iz Nemetskogo kalendara na vpredbudushchii 1665-i god posle Rozhestva Khristova</i></p>	gift	Opis PTD 1671/2, col. 851; Opis PTD 1713, p. 14 (apparently same item, with indication brought from patriarchs in year 7172 [1663/4]).
1664 or 1665	<p><i>Perevod s pisma, kakogo prislano iz Nemetskoj zemli o zvezdakh</i></p>	gift: author	Opis PTD 1676, col. 5
1665	<p><i>Simeon Polotskii. Blagoprivestvovanie o novo-Bogom-darovannom syne gosudare nashem tsareviche i velikom kniaze Simeone Alekseeviche</i></p>	received in <i>Posol'skii prikaz</i> from Johann Plus; translation sent to PTD	Opis PTD 1677, col. 362; Opis PTD 1683, col. 629–30; copy: TsGADA, f. 155, 1665–1666 g., No. 11, fols. 6–9. Eremin, pp. 243–244.
5/15 January 1666	<p><i>Perevod snemetskogo pečatnogo lista, chto podal v Posol'skom prikaze torgovyi inozemets Ivan Plus v nyneshnem vo 174-m godu, gennaria v 5 deñ. Ob'javlenie kakim obychaem velikoi i slavnoi gorod Mekha osazhen, vziat, vyplen, tako zhe kak grob Istivogo proroka Magmetia so vseiu kaznoi i s dragim kamenem iz mecheti ego turskogo saltana ot buntovchikov, ot arapljan i turkov vziat, izobran est'</i></p>	received in <i>Posol'skii prikaz</i> from Johann Plus; translation sent to PTD	Waugh, "News", p. 306; text published there, pp. 310–311. Item included among <i>kuranty</i> .

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
23 May/2 June 1666	<i>Ob"iavlennie novogo zhidovskogo korolia Sabeta Sebi, ego prizozhete i parsunu, i vse ego sotvorenie, primimanie i chiudotvorenie, i kak zhidam turskogo saltana pismeno i inym obavlenu. I pri tom my vam posylaem korolia zhidovskogo istinnyi obraz, kotoryi pechatan v 1666-m godu. Perevod s polskikh kurantov. Divnoe nachalo i strashnyi konets nevdavne nastavshago zhidovskogo proroka Nafana Levi i cherez nego pomazannogo isaria i mesii Sabeta Sebi . . .</i>	foreign post	Waugh, "News", pp. 306–307; text, published pp. 313–315. Item included among the <i>kuranty</i> .
late June 1666	<i>Perevod s polskikh kurantov. Divnoe nachalo i strashnyi konets nevdavne nastavshago zhidovskogo proroka Nafana Levi i cherez nego pomazannogo isaria i mesii Sabeta Sebi . . .</i>	foreign post	Waugh, "News", p. 307; text published pp. 316–317.
1667	<i>Simeon Polotskii. Orel rossiskii</i>	gift: author	Eremin, pp. 243–244.
1667 (?)	<i>Pismo chinovnoe o koronovanii korolei Pol'skikh</i>	diplomatic courier (?)	Opis' PTD 1676, col. 14; Opis' PTD 1683, col. 627; Opis' PTD 1713, p. 21 ( <i>Tetrat' v pol-desi', pisan chin . . .</i> ).
1667 (?)	<i>Rospis' mezham kniazhestvu Litovskomu i Belye Rosii</i>	diplomatic courier (?)	Opis' PTD 1676, col. 14; Opis' PTD 1683, col. 627.
1669	<i>Simeon Polotskii. Freni, ili Plachi vsekhsanov i chinov pravoslavno Rosiiskogo gosudarstva</i>	gift: author (?)	Eremin, pp. 243–244.
1669	<i>Ioannikii Galiatovskii. Mesia pravdivy i Isus Khristos syn Bozhii . . . (Kiev, 1669)</i>	gift: author	Eingorn, "O snosheniakh", p. 665; copy owned by Fedor Alekseevich.
after September 1669	<i>Stolpik, a v nem pisano Pol'skogo korolia Mikhaila o koronovanii</i>	foreign post (?)	Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 856; Waugh, <i>Great Turkes</i> , pp. 157, 305–6n26. Copy owned by Aleksei Alekseevich.
before 1671/2	<i>Perevod s lista, kakov pisal Turskoi saltan k Pol'skomu koroliu</i>	foreign post (?)	Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 856; Waugh, <i>Great Turkes</i> , pp. 155–157.
September 1672	<i>Nikolai Milesco-Spatarii. Kniga izbrannata vkratse o deviatikh musakh i o sedmi svobodnykh khudozhestvakh</i>	commissioned	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 194; text publ. Belobrova, pp. 25–47. Royal copy apparently MS GIM, Sinod. No. 527.

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
9 November 1672	<i>Znamennye perevody: demestvennye, trest-rochnye, znamennye i grecheskie pisma</i>	from deceased <i>pev-chii d'iaak</i> Mikita Kazanets in payment of debt	<i>ChOIDR</i> , 1902, bk. 2, sec. IV, pp. 40–41. Same item (?) listed in <i>Opis' PTD</i> 1713, p. 28.
December 1672	Tituliarnik	commissioned	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", pp. 187–188; MSS: GPB, <i>Ermitazhn. sobr.</i> No. 440; Gos. Ermitazh No. 78172.
1673	<i>Lechebnik, v tetrat'ekh . . ., a v nei tetrat'ei porozn': kniga pervaiia — Travnik uchitel'ia i doktora Simona Sirenniia, 30 tetrat'ei, a v nikh 101 glav; tut zhe na osobom listu nachato pisat' o kropu Italiianskom. kniga drugaia — o prostykh lekarstvakh, z Dioskorida i mnogikh inykh sobranykh chrez uchitel'ia Simona zh Sirenniia, 13 tetrat'ei, a v nikh 14 glav. kniga tret'iaia — Travnik doktora Simona Sireniusa, 23 tetrat'ei, a v nikh 152 glav. kniga chetvertaia — Zel'nika Simona Sireniusha, 1 tetrat', a v nei 6 listov. kniga piataia — Travnik doktora Simona zh Sirenniia, 23 tetrat'ei, a v nikh 214 glav.</i>	transfer from <i>Ap-tekarskii prikaz</i>	<i>RIB</i> , Vol. 21, cols. 383–385 (document on Fedor Alekseevich's order of 24 June 1679, that books be sent back to <i>Aptekarskii prikaz</i> ); Luppov, p. 206. Fedor Alekseevich owned a <i>Kniga lekarstvennaia</i> and a <i>Lechebnik pismennoi</i> .
January 1673	<i>Paisios Ligarides. Khrismologion na ot-krovenie sna Daniilom prorokom Navukhodonosoru o chetyrekh monar-khiakh</i>	commissioned	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 191
February 1673	<i>Izobrazhenie znaka, iavl'shagosiia na nebesi v Vengerskoi zemle 1672 g.</i>	sent from Ukraine	Uo, "Tekst"; publ. from MS TsGADA, f. 27, No. 312, by Gurliand, <i>PTD</i> , pp. 380–382; Longworth, pp. 211–212.

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
February 1673 (?)	<i>Znaki ... cherviam v toi zhe [vengerskoi] zemle, kotorye byli s velikim snegom vo 181 godu</i>	sent from Istanbul	Uo, "Tekst"; MS: TsGADA, f. 27, No. 312
February 1673 (?)	<i>Azbuka znakami lits</i>	sent from Istanbul	Waugh, "Azbuka", where published from MS TsGADA, f. 27, No. 312.
April 1673	<i>Kniga o izbiranii velikogo gosudaria tsaria i velikogo kniazia Mikhaila Fedorovicha vsea Rusi</i>	commissioned	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 196; MS now in Gos. Oruzheinaia palata.
April 1673	<i>Nikolai Milesu-Spararii. Kniga o sivil-lakh, kolika bysha i kiimi imiany i o pre-drechenii ikh</i>	commissioned	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 197; text publ. Belobrova, pp. 48–86. MS: GBL, Rumiantsev No. 227.
before July 1674	<i>dvoi irmosy</i>	commissioned	Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 311. Books sent for binding.
after 5 September 1674	<i>Nikolai Milesu-Spararii and Petr Dolgov. Vasiliologion</i>	commissioned	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 201. Original returned to <i>Posol'skii prikaz</i> (TsGADA, f. Drevekhramilishche, otd. V, rubr. 2, d. 44, 1674); two copies made for royal family.
by 2 December 1674	<i>Artakterskovo deistvo</i>	gift (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 90; MS now GBL, f. 354, Vologod. sobr. No. 208.
by 2 December 1674	<i>Leksikon polskogo i latynskogo iazyku</i>	gift (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89. Book sent for binding.
by 2 December 1674	<i>Karty cheyrekh chastei sveta, v kotorykh opisany vse okrestnye i musulmanskie gosudarsva</i>	gift	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89; cf. Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 311. Maps sent for mounting/binding.
1674	<i>Laurentio de Churelichz. Genealogia Serenissimorum ac Pottentissimorum Magnorum Moscoviae Ducum</i>	gift	Myl'nikov, "Rodoslovie"; MS now in TsGADA, f. 135, otd. 5, rubr. 2, No. 27. On translation, see below.
by 1675	<i>Rospis' kudy put' konnoi ot Kamennogo goroda do indeiskikh zemel'</i>	gift	Opis' PID 1713, p. 23; publ. in <i>Russko-in-ditskie</i> , pp. 218–219; cf. note by Belokurov to accompanying text, <i>ChOIDR</i> , 1893, bk. 4, smes', pp. 13–14.

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
by 1–5 February 1675	<i>Komediia Temir-Aksakova deistva</i>	commissioned (?)	Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 311 (mistake? – perhaps meant <i>Artakskovo deistvo</i> ; cf. Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89). Book sent for binding.
by 1–5 February 1675	<i>Chertezhi Galanskoi zemle</i>		Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 311; sent for binding.
by 1–5 February 1675	3 <i>obikhody</i>		Belokurov, <i>O b-ke</i> , p. 311; binding.
by March–April 1675	3 <i>knigi pevchikh</i>		Belokurov, <i>O b-ke</i> , p. 311; binding.
by March–April 1675	3 <i>knizhitsy v chetvert'</i>		Belokurov, <i>O b-ke</i> , p. 311; binding.
by March–April 1675	2 <i>malen'kiia knizhitsy, a v nikh pisan velikodenskoii kanun</i>		Belokurov, <i>O b-ke</i> , p. 311; binding.
11 May 1675	<i>Bibliia pechatmaia v litsakh bolshe ruki</i>	purchase	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 225.
17 May 1675	<i>Bibliia pechatmaia nemetskaia v litsakh</i> [the "Piscator" Bible?]	purchase	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.", p. 225; cf. Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 311 (this book probably the one bound in July). Fedor Alekseevich owned several illustrated Bibles.
by July 1675	<i>kniga, a v nei napisany v litsakh vsekh nemetskikh gosudarstv kamennykh stroenii chertezhi</i>		Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 311; sent for binding at end of July.
by July 1675	4 <i>knigi pevchie</i>		Belokurov, <i>O b-ke</i> , p. 311; binding.
by July 1675	dve <i>knigi porozhiiia</i>		Belokurov, <i>O b-ke</i> , p. 311; binding.
between February 1673 and December 1675	<i>Iudif</i> ( <i>komediia</i> )	commissioned (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89; <i>Ranniaia dramaturgiia</i> , Vol. I, p. 475. Sent for binding.
between November 1673 and December 1675	<i>Komediia Georgieva deistva</i> [?] = <i>Komediia o Egorii Khrabrom</i> ]	commissioned (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89; <i>Ranniaia dramaturgiia</i> , Vol. I, p. 12. Sent for binding.
in November or December 1675	<i>Malaiia prokhladnaia komediia ob Iosife</i>	commissioned (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89; <i>Ranniaia dramaturgiia</i> , Vol. II, p. 297. Sent for binding.

Date of Acquisition	Title/Description of Item	Source of Acquisition	Remarks and References
between February and December 1675	<i>Temir-Aksakovo deistvo</i>	commissioned (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89; <i>Ranniata dramaturgiia</i> , Vol. II, p. 293. Sent for binding.
in November or December 1675	<i>Zhalobnaia komediia ob Adame i Eve</i>	commissioned (?)	Kudriavtsev, <i>Art. deist.</i> , p. 89; <i>Ranniata dramaturgiia</i> , Vol. II, p. 310. Sent for binding.
by December 1675	<i>4 knigi . . . pisany v nikh Rimskiiia bytiia</i> [= <i>Rimskie deianiiia</i> ]		Belokurov, <i>O biblioteke</i> , p. 312; Fedor Alekseevich owned a <i>Letopisets Rimskikh tsarei</i> ; see also below.
by end of 1675 (?)	Nikolai Milescu-Spafarii. <i>Arifmologiia</i>	commissioned (?)	Belobrova, p. 13; text publ. pp. 87–124; MS now GPB, Pogod. No. 1691.

Title/Description of Item	Remarks and References
<p><i>Tetrati, a v nich pisano ot Apostolskogo predaniia o Sviatem duse Sviatzka, a v nei pismo, vybranoe iz knig, o voskresnom dni i o prazdnikakh Gospodskikh, chto ne rabotal i v riadekh ne trgovat', krome s'estnogo, posle obedni, a khodit' vsem v iserkov' na molitvu Sviatzka, a v nei o edimoglasii tserkovnom i o chudesakh chudotvoritsa Savy</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1676, col. 180 Opis' PTD 1713, p. 6</p>
<p><i>Zapiska o chiudesi ikony Presviatye Bogoroditsy, kotoraiia priniesena s Moskvy v Polotsk ...</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1713, p. 6. The text on <i>edimoglasie</i> is probably that published by Belokurov, "Deianie".</p>
<p><i>Knizhitsa, v poldest', a v nei pisany pokhvalnye slova cheloveku Bozhiiu Aleksieiu</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1681 (materials sent to <i>Razriadnyi prikaz</i>). <i>RIB</i>, Vol. 21, col. 420.</p>
<p><i>Stolpik, a v nem vypiska iz Posolskogo prikazu o svidetel'stve moshchei Gri-goria Bogoslova i inykh sviatykh</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 853.</p>
<p><i>Skazanie ob Uspenii presv. Bogoroditsy</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1713, p. 23.</p>
<p><i>Tetrad' v poldest', a v nei pisan perevod s frantsuskogo pokaiannogo psolma 2 stolbika, a na nikh vypisano na odnom iz knig stikhi Bogorodichny, a na drugom stikhera Evangelskaia na rospev po kriukam</i></p>	<p>Belokurov, "Skazanie", where text published. MS has corrections in Aleksei Mikhailovich's hand. Probably same work listed in Opis' PTD 1713, P. 6 (<i>Pismo iz knig o Uspenii Presviatye Bogoroditsy</i>).</p>
<p><i>Tetrati pevchie znamennye, trestroshnye, demevstvennye, kriukovye</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1713, p. 21</p>
<p><i>6 tetrati, 13 listkov v chetvert', 25 stolpisov, a na nikh raznye stikhi ...</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1713, pp. 7-8.</p>
<p><i>Tetrati v poldest', a v nikh: 2 praznika rozhdestvu Khristovu - 1 v tri stroki na peregovorkakh, a drugot nizom ...</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1713, p. 28. All in one box - possibly the books of <i>pevchii d'iak</i> Mikita Kazanets acquired in 1672 and listed above.</p>
<p><i>Knigi, i tetrati, i stolpitsy, i zdirki narechnomu i prezhnemu strochnomu i znamennomu penitii i vsiakiye pevchie perevody</i></p>	<p>Protoptopov, "Notnaia", p. 130. This and next item contain notes in Aleksei Mikhailovich's hand; listed in inventory of Fedor Alekseevich's music MSS compiled in 1682.</p>
<p><i>4 knigi rodoslovnykh tsarstvennykh i o kniazhenii, pismennyye v pereplete</i></p>	<p>See preceding.</p>
<p><i>Kniga Lestvitsa tsarei i velikikh kniazei Ruskikh ot velikogo kniazia Riurika i inykh rodov;</i></p>	<p>Decree on removal of items from PTD Nachlaß for copying, 5 June 1676, <i>RIB</i>, Vol. 21, pp. 299-300. May include foregoing music MSS. Longworth notes music MSS with corrections in the tsar's hand in the PTD materials of TsGADA, f. 27, No. 337 (<i>Alexis</i>, p. 259n7).</p>
<p><i>Knigi rodoslovnyye i rozriadnyye:</i></p>	<p><i>RIB</i>, Vol. 21, col. 954. Sent to Fedor Alekseevich 24 July 1681; to unspecified chancellery in 1685.</p>
<p><i>Kniga Lestvitsa tsarei i velikikh kniazei Ruskikh ot velikogo kniazia Riurika i inykh rodov;</i></p>	<p>Decree of 26 April 1676, on removal of books to <i>Razriadnyi prikaz</i>, <i>RIB</i>, Vol. 21, col. 294.</p>

Title/Description of Item	Remarks and References
<p><i>Kniga rozriadnaia s 7034 godu z genvaria s svad'by velikogo kniazia Vasil'ia Ivanovicha vseia Rusii sentiabria po 1 chislo 65-go godu;</i>  <i>Kniga o velikikh kniazekh Vladimerskikh velikiia Rosii i inykh rodov. V toi zhe knige i rozriady s 7065 godu maiia po 10 chislo 96-go godu;</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 20; cf. Sobolevskii, p. 98.
<p><i>Da ... kniga rodoslovnaia.</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 21.
<p><i>O kazni korolia Aglinskogo, kak emu svoi liudi golovu otsekli vo 157 godu</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 23.
<p><i>Izobrazhenie na listu o koronovanii tsesaria Leopoldusa</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 19.
<p><i>Zapiska imenam Datskogo korolia detem</i></p>	
<p><i>Perevod s polskogo pisma s pechatnykh tetratzi, kak priezhdali Polskie velikie posly vo Frantsuzshkuiu zemliu v gorod Parizh v koroleve kniazhne Liudovike Mar'e narechennoi koroleve Polskoi na sgovor</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 29.
<p><i>Perevod s Latinskogo pisma o strasti primosa Nikolaita Priazhmoskogo v Liublina</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 19.
<p><i>Perevod s polskogo pisma o poddannii pod gosudarevo vladeiie velikogo kniazhestva Litovskogo</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 29.
<p><i>Sviazka pisem poteshnykh rodstva narodu Litovskogo</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 20.
<p><i>Sviazka grechenina Ivana Anastasova o Turetskom gosudarstve</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 29; Waugh, <i>Great Turkes</i> , pp. 155–158.
<p><i>Spisok s perevodnogo pisma saltana Turetskogo k tsesariu Rimskomu i Polskomu koroliu</i></p>	Published, <i>Poslaniia</i> , pp. 372–3, from MS TsGADA, f. 27, No. 12; listed in Opis' PTD 1713, p. 5 ( <i>Proshenie kniaz' Ivana ...</i> ).
<p><i>V 7084 godu 30 oktiabria velikomu kniaziiu Simeonu Bekbulatovichu vseia Rusi podali etu chelobitnuiu kniaz' Ivan Vasil'evich Moskovskii i deti ego ...</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 7.
<p><i>Zapiska o vykhode Bukharskogo khana v mechet' i o khlebe, kakoiiu isenoiu tam prodaiut</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 5; text publ. from this copy in <i>ChOIDR</i> , 1893, bk. 4, smes', pp. 13–14.
<p><i>Sviazka, a v nei opisanie, chego radi ne vozmozhno ot Arkhangel'skogo goroda morem prokhodit' v Kitaiskoe gosudarstvo i ottudy k Vostochnoi Indei, tut zhe tetratka o izyskanii prokhodu mimo Novyia zemli v Kitaiskoe gosudarstvo i ottudu k Vostochnoi Indii</i></p>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 28.
<p><i>Zapiska na listu sukhomu puti okolo Khvalynskogo moria</i></p>	



Title/Description of Item	Remarks and References
<p><i>Tetrati v poldest', a v nei pisano pro Indeiskoe gosudarstvo, vybrano iz roznykh pistov; a po russkomu letopistsu 7140-go godu Stolp, a v nem Letopisets o Rimskikh tsesarakh, i chto pri nikh delalos' i ob ynikh delekh</i></p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 850. Opis' PTD 1676, col. 2; Opis' PTD 1677, cols. 348–349; Copy owned also by Fedor Alekseevich. Opis' PTD 1713, p. 20.</p>
<p><i>Sviazka tetrati v poldest' pisana letopis' tsarstva pervago kesaria Iuliiia ezhe est' Gaie</i></p>	
<p><i>Stolp, a v nem perevod s pechatnye Nemetskie knigi o Khineiskoi voiny ot Tatar. 164-go godu.</i> [tr. of Martino Martini, <i>De bello Tatarico historica</i>]</p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1676, col. 2; Opis' PTD 1677, col. 348. Fedor Alekseevich also owned a copy (<i>Povest' o Bogdoiskikh tatarakh i o zavladenii imi Kitaiskogo gosudarstva</i>). On source for translation, see Sobolevskii, pp. 92–93, although his conclusion that it dates from 1677 is obviously in error.</p>
<p><i>Sunduk nebolshoi . . . , a v nem v dvu knigakh bolshikh i osobo v listakh chertezhi, a kakie porozn', pisano nizhe sego:</i> [various maps of Muscovy, and]</p>	<p>Opis' PTD 1713, pp. 25–28. The diagrams of Moscow from this collection were published in <i>Zapiski Otdeleniia russkoi i slavianskoi arkhologii Imperatorskogo Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva</i>, Vol. 2 (1861). Cf. <i>RIB</i>, Vol. 21, cols. 490–491; note transfer of maps of lower and mid-Volga region to <i>Prikaz Kazanskogo dvorisa</i>, 29 November 1682 (<i>RIB</i>, Vol. 21, col. 956).</p>
<p><i>Chertezh Kvalynskogo moria i k nemu rekam i gorodam</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Rimskii</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Dvine reke i inym rekam, kotorye iz nee vyshli i gde kakie ponikh ugod'ia i gorody i monastyri</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh ot Vologdy Kubinskomu ozeru i rekam, na kotorykh stoiat Vago, Kholmogory i inye gorody i sela i derevni</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Azovskomu i Chernomu moriam i Azovu i Cherkaskomu da Krymu i inym gorodam</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh ozeram Ladozhskomu, Imeni s inymi ozerami i rekami</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezhi v listakh bolshe:</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Sibirskim gorodam . . .</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Volzhskoi i Dneprovskoi verшинam</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Ruskim i Shvetskim gorodom do Variatzhskogo moria</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Kitaiskomu gosudarstvu</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Sibirskim gorodam</i></p>	
<p><i>Chertezh Azovu i Cherkaskim gorodam</i></p>	
<p><i>Kniga isyfirnaia</i></p>	

*RIB*, Vol. 21, col. 953. Among materials sent to Fedor Alekseevich in 1680.

Title/Description of Item	Remarks and References
<i>Tetrat' Latynskogo pišma i s nee perevody o mednykh rudakh</i>	Opis' PTD 1671/2, col. 853.
<i>Rospis', chto nadobno k pereplavke serebrenoi rudy i k tkaniu polotena priпасov i opyt iz rud i osmotr mestam po priznakanam, gde takie rudy est'</i>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 24. Preceding item in inventory is <i>Stolpik o sysku na Olontse serebrenoi rudy</i> .
<i>Perevod o anatomii</i>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 24.
<i>Kniga pismennaia . . . lekarsvennaia</i>	<i>RIB</i> , Vol. 21, col. 954. Book sent to Fedor Alekseevich, 24 July 1681.
[In same collection of maps and drawings listed above:]	Opis' PTD 1713, pp. 26–28.
<i>Chertezh s rospisiiu, kak stoiali polki, a v kotorom meste v rospisi ne napisano</i>	
<i>Chertezh, kak postavit' polki k boiu protiv nepriatelii po Nemetski</i>	
<i>Chertezh granate</i>	
<i>Chertezh bombam, granatam</i>	
<i>Chertezh ko altilerii</i>	
<i>Chertezh mortirnoi</i>	
<i>Chertezh granatam i bombam</i>	
<i>Chertezh izobrazheniia v litsakh otpusk strel'som v sudakh vodianym putem na Razina</i>	
<i>Chertezh v stolbisakh pushkam so stankami</i>	
<i>Kniga o selitrenom varene i o porokhovom dele, 161-go godu, chto podnes velikomu gosudariu boiarin kniaz' Iurii Alekseevich Dolgorukovo</i>	Opis' PTD 1676, col. 179.
<i>Kniga sudebnaia, i o ratnom opolchenii i o vsiakikh uriadstvakh, 114-go godu; perevedena s nemetskogo iazyka na Ruskoii iazyk pri tsare i velikom kniaze Vasil'e Ivanoviche vsea Rosii</i>	Opis' PTD 1676, col. 179; Sobolevskii, pp. 104–105. Fedor Alekseevich also owned a copy.
<i>Kniga o nariade i o ognestrelnoi khitrosti, v dest'</i>	Opis' PTD 1683, col. 681. Luppov (p. 210) indicates that this and books immediately below had come from the <i>Pushkarskii prikaz</i> , to which they were returned in 1683.
<i>Rospis' obrasovavaia artaloreiskim pushkam so vsiakimi zapasy, chto k tomu stroeniū nadobno, i pochemu te pushki tsenoiu stali</i>	Opis' PTD 1683, col. 678.
<i>Kniga v dest', v pereplete, o Oruzheynom domu, v chem byl' ustroennym nariadu i vsiakim ratnym priпасom</i>	Opis' PTD 1683, col. 681.
<i>Knizhka v poldest' v pereplete pechatnaia Grecheskie voennogo artikula 2 korob'i, a v nikh tetraiti i listy stolp'tsy i loskutki Grecheskie i Latinskie i</i>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 19.
<i>Polskie i Russkie pechatnye i pismennye vsiakiie, pisma sgnili i myshi poeli i rozobrat' nevozmozhno</i>	Opis' PTD 1713, p. 43.

Books commissioned by Aleksei Mikhailovich but not completed during his lifetime

Date ordered	Title/Description of Item	Remarks and References
1674	<i>Velikoe zertsalo</i>	Derzhavina, p. 27. Translation from Polish completed in 1677.
July 1675	<i>Aleksandriia</i>	Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.," p. 204. Illuminated MS completed mid-1676 (now apparently in BAN, Coll. of Peter I, No. 99).
August 1675	Laurentio de Churelichz. <i>Rodoslovie Presvetel'shikh i velmozhneishikh velikikh moskovskikh kniazei i prochaia i vseia Rosii nepobedimeishikh monarkhov</i> . . .	Myl'nikov, "Rodoslovie"; Kudriavtsev, "Izdat.," pp. 205–206. Completed in 1676; copy in Fedor Alekseevich's library. For original, see first part of table above under 1674.
Books ordered by Aleksei Mikhailovich through his agent John Hebdon		
1658	<i>Dostovernaia kniga Travnik ruskim i pol'skim travam i ikh, nemetskim</i>	Gurland, PTD, pp. 108–109; Gurland, <i>Gebdon</i> , p. 10.
1658	<i>Kniga pushechnym dvorom</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>
1658	<i>Kniga ognestrel'naia v verkh, chetyrekh chastei, svidetel'stovannaia</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>
1658	<i>List pechatnoi o gosudareve pokhode i vsem gosudarevym trem pokhodom</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>
1660	<i>Kniga ratnaia, po kotoroi sudy voinskie derzhat'</i>	Gurland, <i>Gebdon</i> , App. 2, p. 48.
1660	<i>Drugaia po kotoroi vsiakiie khitrosti delat', kak gorod imat' i iz goroda, v osade buduchi, oboronitisa</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>
1660	<i>Tret'ia — kakie pushki nadobna ko vsiakoi voine pokhodnoi o oboznoi, i polkovye, i gorodovogo vziat'sia, i kakimi snast'mi lehkimi vozit' ikh</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>
1660	<i>Obraztsov obozov mudrykh i ostorozhnykh kak stavit' mastera, chtob umel po tem knigam vsiakiie sostavy sostavlivat' i delat'</i>	<i>Ibid.</i>