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The folk and Old Slavic motifs in the 17th century Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'

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THE FOLK AND THE OLD SLAVIC MOTIFS

IN THE 17TH CENTURY

FOLK BIBLE OF VASILII KOREN'

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the School of Art and Design

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Sofia Matrosova Khalil

May 2007

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ABSTRACT

THE FOLK AND THE OLD SLAVIC MOTIFS

IN THE 17TH CENTURY

FOLK BIBLE OF VASILII KOREN'

by Sofia Matrosova Khalil

The iconography of the illuminated pages in the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* relies on a mix of several sources: Western traditions, Russian Folk Art, and Staroobriad (Russian Orthodox Old Belief) traditions, as well as Old Slavic pagan traditions diluted and filtered through the Russian Folk Art. This manuscript was created at the end of the 17th century and reflects the dramatic changes in the religious, social, and political life in Russia during the reforms of Patriarch Nikon and Peter the Great.

This thesis will identify the art traditions of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*, which in the use of Folk imagery and Slavic motifs points to a Staroobriad audience.

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I would like to thank my husband Mohamad Khalil for all his support and the many thoughtful discussions and ideas that have enriched this work. I would like to also thank our daughters Leila and Nadia who were very patient while mom spent long hours at the computer and with the books.

My thanks also go to all my professors, members of my committee, who taught me so much - to Dr. Anne Simonson, Dr. Christy Junkerman, Dr. Pamela Sharp-ElShyeb, and Dr. Laree A. Huntsman for all their time and efforts. My thanks also go to Dr. Maria Cheremeteff of CCSF for her valuable advice with her genuine understanding of Russian Art History. I would like to also thank Dr. Linda J. Ivanits of PSU, author of *Russian Folk Belief*, for her kind recommendation of *The Bathhouse at Midnight* by Dr. W. F. Ryan.

My gratitude to the researchers at the Russian State Library - Dr. V. F. Molchanov, the Director of the Research Department of Manuscripts, who gave me special permission to work with rare Byzantine and Early Russian manuscripts dated as early as 6th and 7th centuries; Dr. A. A. Guseva, the Director of the Department of Rare Books; Dr. N. A. Artamonova, the Director of the Department of Printed Art. My special thanks to Dr. J. I. Ivanova, the curator of the 17th century Russian Art at the State Historical Museum, who gave me valuable advice on numerous occasions.

Most of all, I would like to thank God for showing me the beauty of intellectual hard work.

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THE COPYRIGHT CONSENT

The illustrations in this thesis are obtained from Russian books published in or before the year 2001. I did contact the Russian publishers over the phone, and I was told that I do not need to get their consent to use the illustrations of those particular books used in my thesis. The followed books are used in this thesis:

1. Sopikov, Vasiliĭ, Opyt Rossiiskoĭ Bibliografii ili Polnyi Slovar' sochineniĭ I perevodo napechatanykh na Slavianskom I Rossiĭskom iazykakh ot nachala zavedenia tipografii, do 1813 goda (The Experience of Russian Bibliography, or the Complete Dictionary of Books written in Slavic and Russian languages from the beginning of printing till the year 1813). Saint Petersburg: Typography of Emperor Theatre, 1813. The book is in public domain.
2. Sakovich, A.G. Narodnaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia (People engraved book of Vasily Koren'). Moscow: ART Publishing, 1983.
3. Pikhov, R. G., et. al. Knigi Starogo Urala (The Books of Old Ural of the 16th-19th century). Sverdlovsk: Sredne-Ural'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1989.
4. Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Muzei. Narodnaia kartinka Rossii I Germanii 19-nachala 20 vekov. Lubok – Bilderbogen (Popular Picture of Russia and Germany of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century). Moskva: Khudozhnik i KNIGA, 2001.
5. Gollerbakh E. *Istoriia Graviury I Litografii v Rossii* (A History of Graphics in Russia). Moscow: State Printing House, 1923, 31. The book in public domain.
6. Batygin, Aleksei. Smotri v koren' (Look into the root). Voice of Russia, October 23, 2003.
<http://www.rg.ru/2003/10/23/bibliya.html>

This information is true and correct to the best my knowledge as of March 16, 2007.

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INTRODUCTION

*"The Books are 'seeds for minds' ",
--Ivan Fedorov,
Russian printing pioneer¹*

The rich Russian traditions of illumination and decoration in manuscripts and later in printed books have long intrigued me. But which one should be the focus of my research? Given the wealth of artistically rich works, making the selection was not an easy task. My research direction crystallized when I came across the 17th century *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'* and acquired a 1983 facsimile edition of the original book that was published in 1692-1696 and is subsequently referred to as the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'*.

The choice of this particular book reflects my fascination generally with the Art of the Book. My background as a painter of miniatures was helpful to me in identifying the direction of this thesis, which studies the *Folk Bible of Vasilil Koren'* as an *Illustrated Bible*. In the summer of 2002 during a trip to Russia, which was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Graduate Studies and Research at San Jose State University, I

¹Pikhoia, R. G., et. al., *Knigi Starogo Urala* (The Books of Old Ural of the 16th-19th century) (Sverdlovsk, Sredne-Ural'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1989), 240.

conducted research in the Russian State Library and the State Historical Museum in Moscow. Also during that trip, I consulted with and discussed my intended topic of research with many prominent Russian historians, art historians, linguists, and bibliophiles.

In the Russian State Library, I began researching the collection of manuscripts and rare books.² I continued my research in the State Historical Museum's collection of 17th century printed books. The direction of the research narrowed when I acquired a 1983 facsimile edition of the original book of *Folk Bible of Vasilil Koren'* that was published in 1692-1696. The original and only copy of the book currently is in the holdings of the National Library of Russia in Saint-Petersburg.

The iconography in the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'* relies on a mix of several sources: Western traditions, Staroobriad (Russian Orthodox Old Belief) traditions, and Old Slavic pagan traditions diluted and filtered through the Russian Folk peasant traditions. This thesis will attempt to illustrate the presence of Old Slavic traditions in the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'*, as an example of its strong presence in the Russian Folk culture.

² There are many collections in this library which are considered, as claimed in the library's official website, to be among the largest collections in the world. With documents in 247 languages, it is unique in terms of completeness and universality; its current holdings exceed 43.3 million items.² In the library, I had the good fortune to work with rare Byzantine and Early Russian illuminated manuscripts dating from as early as the 6th and 7th centuries, with rare books and incunabula in the Department of Rare Books (Museum of Books), and with the collection of the Printed Art (Department of Printed Art).

CHAPTER ONE

A Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'

(The Book of Genesis and the Book of Apocalypse)

Engraved by Vasiliĭ Alekseev Koren', 1692-1696

The appearance of the *Folk Bible of Koren'* was stimulated by the changes in the religious, social and political life towards the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century in Russia, and by the confluence of Western traditions and the traditions of Old Believers and Russian Folk culture. The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* was made for a specific *Staroobriad*³ (Russian Orthodox Old Belief) audience who would appreciate Folk and Slavic traditions, as it used Folk traditions and Slavic motifs.

The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* which was printed in an edition of about one thousand copies today is preserved in only one original copy. Unfortunately, the Church officials concluded that this book did not conform to canonical Orthodox iconography and it contained “heretical motifs” in the depiction of God Savaof (Savior). The image of

³*Staroobriad* (Russian Orthodox Old Belief), the schism that took place inside the Russian Orthodox Church at the end of the 17th century, resulted in the division of the Church into two branches: Russian Orthodox Church of Old Belief (*Staroobriad*), and the Russian Orthodox Church. *Staroobriadtsy* were followers of the Russian Old Orthodox traditions developed during the centuries prior to the 17th century who refused to adapt the new “Greek” Church reform by Patriarch Nikon in 1652. Also *staroobriadchestvo* (*raskol*) reflected the dissatisfaction of the peasants against “corrections of the books and the icons” by Nikon and the total enslavement of the peasant by the Synod Law of 1649. The *staroobriadtsy* were proclaimed to be outlaws and had to hide or flee to the Ural and Siberia areas; even there, they were arrested and forced to adapt to the newly reformed Orthodox religion. Many of the leaders of the movement, such as the archpriest Avakum and the monk Avraam were captured and imprisoned in Solovetskii and other monasteries. The *staroobriadtsy* rescued and preserved many of the old books and icons, which they treasured through the years. To this day, Old Believers live in many regions in Russia, such as the city of Borovsk near Moscow.

God Savaof is depicted in the Staroobriad tradition in this book, while in the last page of the *Book of Apocalypse*, "Christ Makes War on the Antichrist," Peter the Great is depicted as the first rider of the group of people falling into Hell. The whole edition, by the order of the Church, was confiscated by the Synod censorship and disappeared during the reign of Peter the Great. Miraculously, one copy survived.⁴

While this book is called by Russian art historians the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'*, it is not a complete Bible, and it consists only of the *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of Apocalypse*, the beginning and the end, with nothing in between. Probably the choice of the author to show only the beginning and the end of life, was stimulated by the dramatic changes in the religious life (Church's reforms of Patriarch Nikon), in the social life (reforms of Peter the Great), and with the Westernization of the Russian way of life. Peter the Great was seen by many Russians as an apocalyptic figure, as he is depicted in Koren's book.

The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'* was designed as a single book and was printed in its entirety at the same time. This book was an independent project of engraver that he created, outside of the Moscow Printing House. The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'* is a 36-page block book, with large woodcut illustrations printed on only the recto side and with extracted bits of text influenced by Slavic *Palaea*.⁵ The book was printed during the end

⁴ Batygin, Alexander, *Zri v Koren'. Bibliia dlia bednykh* (Look into Koren'. Bible for Poor) *Rossiiskaia Gazeta* 10. 23. (2003). 03. March 2006. <<http://www.rg.ru/2003/10/23/bibliya.html>>.

⁵ Wheeler, Marcus, Unbegaun Boris, and Falla Paul., *The Oxford Russian Dictionary* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997), 329. *Palaea* is an early Russian literature form borrowed from Byzantine, comprising exposition of Old Testament texts. *Palaea* was a non canonic book, and it was not allowed in the church, but was permitted for home reading.

of the 17th century on paper from Holland. The paper displays two watermarks: a head of a jester and the coat of arms of the city of Amsterdam.⁶ The book is bound in brown leather binding, which was added later in the 19th century, when traditional 19th century golden ornamentation was applied. The restoration work showed that originally the book had an old paper cover, and it was used as a flyleaf of the bound book.⁷ The size of the binding is 41 x 33 x 2.5 cm; the size of the prints of the *Book of Genesis* is 36 x 29 cm and of the *Book of Apocalypse* is 39 x 30.5 cm. The differences in size of the pages of this book is explained by the fact that Koren' used different woodblocks as he started working on the book in 1692, continued in June 1695, and finished the book in November 1696.⁸

On the book's flyleaf appear inscriptions from several of the book's owners. The grammatical mistakes in the cursive writing allowed Sakovich to identify the 18th century owners as peasants or tradespeople of the Iaroslavl' area. One of the inscriptions, which date from the second half of the 18th century to the beginning of the 19th century, is in the hand of the owner Gavril Ivanovich Plugin, a peasant of Zvenigorod County in Moscow

Sakovich, A.G., *Narodhaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia* (Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren') (Moscow, ART Publishing, 1983), 68, contends that text in Koren's Bible is tightly connected with the illustration, but it is the illustration, that carries the main message, and the text is only complimentary. This is why the text in this book is not a quote, but an accompanying, sometimes shortened or abbreviated comment. This text was familiar to the viewers; it evoked in their minds the familiar context of the canonic Bible. Sakovich continued that in Old Russian Art, books with their text and illustrations together with icons and frescoes were not fine art, but an art of illustrating the Holy Texts. The artist was depicting subjects which he never saw and he used the canons of the established literature tradition based on the description of the prophets or sometime historical "witnesses."

⁶ Sakovich, A.G., *Narodhaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia* (Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren') (Moscow, ART Publishing, 1983), 13.

⁷ Ibid., 7. The leather binding was added by the restorers of the library of Count Tolstoï during the 19th century. Originally the book had a cover from paper of Iaroslavl' manufacture. The flyleaf displays writing by all of the book's owners.

⁸ Sakovich 8. Also during the restoration the decrepit edges of the pages were cut to unify the size of the pages.

province.⁹ The second inscription, dating from the first half of the 18th century, states that the book belonged to Savvatiĭ Andreev; no title is given for the owner. The third inscription indicates the book as belonging to Iov Ivanovich Rezanov. The final inscription is a 19th-century book-plate bearing the name of Count F. A. Tolstoĭ, who was a famous collector of Slavic manuscripts and incunabula. The *Folk Bible of Koren'*, as a part of the library of Tolstoĭ, was sold in 1830 to the Public Library of Saint Petersburg, today, the National Library of Russia, where it remains.¹⁰

Scholarship on 17th century Russian books classifies the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* as a *Folk Bible*, and the Book was first mentioned in 1829 by P. M. Stroevev in his *Detailed Description of Slavic Incunabula and Russian Books of the Library of Count F. A. Tolstoĭ*. In 1881, the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* was precisely described and reprinted by D. A. Rovinskiĭ in his work *Russian Folk Pictures*. Rovinskiĭ contends that this book was created within the circles of Old Believers.¹¹ In 1895, V. V. Stasov wrote about the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* in his review of the work by Rovinskiĭ. From contemporary scholars, we find a short article by D. M. Moldavskii *The Depiction of the Sun in the Engravings of Vasilii Koren'*, 1964, and a scholarly work of 1983 by A. G. Sakovich the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*, accompanied by the facsimile edition of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*.

I. The *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Count F. A. Tolstoĭ had to sell the book together with the rest of his collection (all together 1093 books, among them old printed books from 1491 to 1727, and manuscripts of 11th-17th centuries) in order to pay the debts of his daughter Countess A. F. Zakrevskaia.

¹¹ Sakovich, 59, 83.

On each page of the book, an illustration is incorporated with a short selected description of the main message. Each page is numbered according to the Slavic tradition with the letter of the Slavic alphabet that corresponds to its number.¹² The colors of the illustrations are earthy: red, brown, yellow, and red ochre with the addition of green, purple, blue, and black. The paint was applied by using a thin wash over a page that had previously been printed. Several pages were signed and dated by the author of the woodcuts with the name Vasiliĭ Koren'.¹³ Also, there is one signature of the *znamenshik* "GRĬ."¹⁴ That the engraver was undoubtedly Vasiliĭ Koren is supported by his many signatures and a statement that reads: "These woodblocks were cut by Vasiliĭ Koren'." He was an independent engraver and printer; he most likely had the printing equipment and was able to print his own book. But, who created the drawings for the woodblocks remains an open question. Traditionally, in bookmaking as well as in icon

¹² Vinokur, T.G., *Drevnerusskii iazyk* (Old Russian language) Moskva, Vyshaia shkola, 1961), 112.

¹³ Sakovich, 120-125.

Vasiliĭ Koren' was a *meshchanin*, who lived in the *Meshchanskaia Sloboda* of Moscow (an area created in Moscow from 1671 to 1699, where *meshchane* were living and working – people who relocated to Moscow from the Western-Russian territories, near Poland). *Meshchane*, by the definition of the Oxford Dictionary, are "petty bourgeois members of urban lower middle class comprising small traders, craftsmen, junior officials, etc". In *Meshchanskaia Sloboda* were living and working people of more than 30 professions. Sakovich contends, that name of Koren' is written in the census books of *Meshchanskaia Sloboda* of Moscow for the years of 1676 and 1684. He was born in 1640, in the city of Dubrovna, and in 1661 he relocated to Moscow. In 1676 he was an owner of a house, and in 1684 he was renting the rooms he lived in. He had three sons, but regarding his wife and whether he had daughters or not, there is no information, because female names at that time, were not written in the census books. One of Koren's sons, Alekseĭ, was also an engraver and a painter of books. Sakovich continues that, Koren', who relocated to Moscow as a young man, about twenty years of age, was trained as a master following the Russian traditions of engraving.

¹⁴ Ibid., 118. *Znamenshik* is an artist who created the outline drawings for icon or fresco paintings and later on for engravings. Koren', most likely followed the traditional method of book making, where the engraver used an outline of the composition prepared by *znamenshik*, and the coloring of the readily printed leafs was done by another artist, a painter. There is controversy regarding the reading of the name of the *znamenshik* because of the use of abbreviation of the name. *Moldavskii* reads "GRĬ" as Gregoriĭ, while Sakovich argues that this is a signature of Guriĭ Nikitin Kineshemtsev (1620/1625-1691), a *leading Russian master* of fresco painting.

The argument of Sakovich makes the most sense and in this thesis "GRĬ" reads as Guriĭ.

and fresco painting, different artists performed different jobs. This is why Koren' most likely followed the established tradition, and used for his woodblocks outline drawings from another artist - *znamenshik* "GRĬ". Sakovich states that the paint applied over the printed pages was also performed by a third master, probably Alekseĭ Koren', son of the artist, who was also an engraver and a painter of books.¹⁵

By accepting that Koren' most likely based his work on a hand-drawn version of the *Book of Genesis* and *Book of Apocalypse* made by "GRĬ", or as Sakovich argues, Guriĭ Nikitin Kineshemtsev, an outstanding fresco master,¹⁶ the unique iconography and the compositional decision of the book can be explained. Guriĭ Nikitin, the head of the Kostroma Guild of icon painters, was considered one of the most important masters of fresco painting in the second half of the 17th century.¹⁷ The idea for the creation of the engraved book could have come to Guriĭ from the printed paper-icons produced in the city of Suzdal', which were very popular among the peasants. Guriĭ died in 1691, just one year before Koren' began his engraving. Owing to his advanced years, Guriĭ could not participate in wall painting, but he could have worked on the drawings for the new projects and a new book, which Koren' could have used as designs for his engravings.

It is hard to disagree with Sakovich that there exists a striking similarity between the compositions of several pages of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* and the compositions of several frescoes by Guriĭ Nikitin. Among those are pages 25 and 34 of

¹⁵ Sakovich, 127.

¹⁶ Guriĭ Nikitin Kineshemtsev (1620/1625-1691) from Kineshma, near Sizdal'. This area is known as an Old Russian center of icon-painting and one of the first centers of the printed paper icons (as a loose page).

¹⁷ Sakovich, 118.

the Koren' *Book of Apocalypse* "Four angels standing on the four corners of Earth" (Plate 8), "Worship to the Beast" (Plate 9), and the fresco "Worship to the Beast" (Plate 10) from the Apocalypse series of frescoes by Guriĭ Nikitin from the Trinity Cathedral of the Danilov Monastery in Pereiaslavl'-Zalesskiĭ (1668).

Guriĭ Nikitin's distinctive style of composition, which features large masses of tightly overlapping kneeling figures, their arms, their gestures, and clear outline of the drawings, are found in both Koren' compositions. Furthermore, the images of the Beasts from Guriĭ Nikitin's fresco "Worship to the Beast" (Plate 10) occur in two analogous illustrations of the Koren' "Worship to the Beast," *Book of Apocalypse* page 34 (Plate 9) and "Wife arrayed in the Sun," *Book of Apocalypse* page 33 (Plate 11).

Another similarity between the works of Koren' and Guriĭ Nikitin could be seen in the head of Adam "Coats of skins" (Plate 12) found on page 14 of the Koren' *Book of Genesis*, and the Guriĭ fresco, "Union of Christ and the Church," the head of Youth (Plate 13) from the church of Il'ia Prorok in Iaroslavl'. The head of Adam (Plate 12) and the head of the Youth (Plate 13) seem alike in displaying the same foreshortening, the same outline, and the same character of the face.

A. The *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of Apocalypse*.

The *Book of Genesis* consists of 20 pages in numerical order. The title, the *Book of Genesis*, suggests the use of the Western iconographic tradition and choice of subjects. However, the first part of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* surprisingly differs in its free artistic interpretations of well-established Western traditions. The second half of the

book, the *Book of Apocalypse*, which consists of 16 pages (the first page is missing as well as the last), also seems to follow Western traditions of representing the *Apocalypse*. Are these differences accidental or did the artist intentionally use a different approach in the representation of the familiar Biblical subjects?

From its first page, the book's composition and ornamental rendering surprise the viewer: the large size of the illustrations, the clear-cut outline of the images, and, of course, the color scheme. Each signifies to the reader that this book is unusual, even unique. To gain a full understanding of its uniqueness, one should look to the origins of the creation of this Russian *Folk Bible*.

Sakovich mentions that the *Book of Apocalypse of Koren'*, which was started prior to the *Book of Genesis*, was influenced by the *Bible* of Piscator, (Amsterdam, 1650, 1674) which was popular in 17th century Russia, and probably Koren' was familiar with its engravings, since he used, to some extent, some of its compositions for his woodcuts. The *Book of Genesis* was influenced by Slavic *Palaea*¹⁸ and some of the Western materials.¹⁹ *Palaea* was known in Russia as an Apocryphal work; it was handwritten and contained no illustrations.²⁰

Buslaev in *Code of Images of the Illuminated Apocalypses Based on Russian Manuscripts of the 15th-19th Centuries*²¹ wrote that:

¹⁸ Wheeler, Marcus, Unbegaun Boris, and Falla Paul., *The Oxford Russian Dictionary* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997), 329.

Palaea is an early Russian literature form borrowed from Byzantium, comprising exposition of Old Testament texts.

¹⁹ Sakovich, 13.

²⁰ Sakovich, 13.

²¹ Ibid., 13.

Edition adopted in illustration of the Apocalypse in Luther's Bible (1523) was accepted in later illuminated editions...(and) illustrations of Luther's Apocalypse finally established that specific character of the Western traditions, which influenced, more or less, our Russian illuminated Apocalypse starting from 15th century until later times...(and) that tradition created an époque in history of our illuminated Apocalypses.²²

Next, Buslaev offers examples of the influence of Luther's *Apocalypse* in later European editions of the 16th-17th centuries: the *Wittenberg Bible* (1541); *Bohemian Bible* (Prague, 1549 and 1557); *Krakow Bible* (1561); *Köln Bible* (1564); *Frankfurt Bible* (1565); *Basel Bible* (1576); *Bible of Peter van der Borsht* (Brussels, 1582); *Apocalypse of Z. Kopistenskiĭ* (Kiev, 1625); *Apocalypse of Prokopiĭ* (Kiev, 1646-1662)²³ and *Bible of Piscator* (Amsterdam, 1650 and 1674).²⁴ Following Buslaev's ideas, Sakovich concludes that, the "*Apocalypse of Luther* (26 pages) which absorbs the *Apocalypse of Durer* (15 pages, 1498), became a European standard tradition during the 16th century."²⁵

The well-known illustration of "Four Riders" of the Apocalypse is a good example of the adoption of the European tradition and its reflection in Koren's *Book of Apocalypse* (Plate 1-7). Indeed, the composition developed by Durer, who used the early illustrations of the same subject of the manuscripts and early incunabula, became a standard tradition, and was repeated, with some variations, by succeeding artists, including Russian ones.

²² Ibid., 15.

²³ The first Russian *Biblia Pauperum* was printed in Kiev in 1645-1649. The 132 woodcuts were carved by Il'ia the Monk, who adapted the edition of the illustrated *Piscator Bible* and the German *Biblia Pauperum* of 1475. Another Kievan master, Prokopiĭ, engraved twenty-four *Apocalypse* plates in 1646-1661.

²⁴ Sakovich, 15.

²⁵ Ibid., 15.

All the similarities mentioned above support the hypothesis that the compositional schema and iconographic details of Western and Russian sources used by the engraver of the *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of Apocalypse* of Koren', were transformed into the decorative style of Russian Folk art of the 17th century. This artistic interpretation is what clearly distinguishes the *Folk Bible of Vasilli Koren'* as an original and unique work of art. The fact that this book was printed by Koren' outside the "official" Moscow Printing House during the second decade of the reign of Peter the Great makes this book truly unique. Perhaps it was the only way the book could have been published; it was politically charged and later confiscated. The book was created for a wide audience - tradespeople, craftsmen, peasants, and merchants. These people lived their whole lives surrounded by folklore: it pervaded their language and folk poetry; their socio-psychology and their collective imagination; their embroidered clothes and their decorative objects of daily life; and their wooden houses with decorative carvings and painted or printed pictures on the walls. The notion of beauty, the belief in beautiful and happy endings, as in Russian fairytales, runs through the pages of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'*. Quite simply, this book was *made by the folks and for the folks!*²⁶

²⁶ The phrase *made by the folks and for the folks* should be attributed to Dr. Pamela Sharp El-Shayeb, one of my professors at San Jose State University, who used it in the course of our long discussions on folk arts.

CHAPTER TWO

The Time of the Creation of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliï Koren'*:

Social and Political Climate in Russia

at the Close of the 17th Century

A proper understanding of the phenomena of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliï Koren'* requires an understanding of the time of its creation. The end of the 17th century in Russia was marked by the growth of a Russian national consciousness. It was also a period that saw the first insurrections in the large cities and the first peasant uprising under the leadership of Stepan Razin.²⁷ This period was also marked by tensions among the religious, social, and political forces at the beginning of the reign of Peter I the Great (1682–1721 as Tsar, 1721–1725 as Tsar and Emperor of Russia).²⁸ By this time, the study of Copernicus had reached Russia, and the Russian Orthodox Church experienced the *Raskol* (Schism), which eventually divided the Church into two branches:

²⁷ Razin, Stepan (1630-1671) is an important Cossack leader who led a rebellion in 1670 on the Lower Volga River. His forces were finally defeated at Arzamas, and the ataman of the Cossacks betrayed his whereabouts to avoid further confrontation. Razin was captured and taken in an iron cage to Moscow, where he was executed. Over time, Razin acquired mythic status as a folk hero. He was also popularly credited with magical powers (Raymond, Boris and Duffy Paul, *Historical Dictionary of Russia*, Lanham, Md., The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1998, 256).

²⁸ Ibid., 233.

*Staroobriad*²⁹(the Old Orthodox Belief), and the Russian Orthodox Church, modernized by the reforms of Patriarch Nikon and, later, Peter I the Great (see Appendix I).

Harshness and retaliation against those who opposed the reforms of the Patriarch Nikon resulted in the Raskol. All of these changes combined to mark the end of Medieval Russia and the beginning of Modern Russia.

I. The conflict between the Old and the New Church in Peter's time

The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* was engraved and printed in 1692–1696, when Peter I the Great had been ruling Russia for over ten years (1682-1725) and when his first reforms in political and social life were being implemented. The reforms of the Patriarch Nikon focused not only on the corrections of the liturgical texts, but also affected the religious art by proclaiming book illuminations, icons, and fresco paintings of Old Believers as non canonical. The new Church reforms were unpopular among the staroobriadtsy, who perceived them as a capitulation to a newer Greek Orthodox version that ignored Russian sensibilities.

²⁹ *Staroobriadchestvo* (the end of the 17th century) was a movement inside the Russian Orthodox Church. *Staroobriadtsy* were followers of the Old Orthodox Russian traditions developed during the centuries prior to the 17th century who refused to adapt to the new “Greek” Church reform by Patriarch Nikon in 1652. Also *staroobriadchestvo (raskol)* reflected the dissatisfaction of the peasants against “corrections of the books and the icons” by Patriarch Nikon and harsh treatment of the peasant by the Synod Law of 1649. The staroobriadtsy were proclaimed to be outlaws and had to hide or flee to the Ural and Siberia areas; even there, they were arrested and forced to adapt to the newly reformed Orthodox religion. Many of the leaders of the movement, such as the archpriest Avakum and the monk Avraam were captured and imprisoned in Solovetskii and other monasteries. The staroobriadtsy rescued and preserved many of the old books and icons, which they treasured through the years. To this day, Old Believers live in many regions in Russia, such as the city of Borovsk near Moscow.

Interesting historical figures bear witness to that time. One of them was Archdeacon Pavel Alepskiĭ, who was born in Syria. As a son of the Antioch Patriarch Makariĭ, he visited Russia in 1654–1656 as a member of the Syrian embassy. Pavel Alepskiĭ left in his memoirs detailed descriptions of Russian nature, customs, and the traditions of its people. These memories are especially valuable because they describe many monasteries, churches, frescoes, and icons that did not survive.³⁰

Pavel Alepskiĭ was a witness to the destruction of Old Style icons by Patriarch Nikon:

This Patriarch, known by his stern temper and as a follower of Greek Church ceremonies, sent his people to collect and to bring to him all the Old Belief icons from all houses and even from the houses of state officials During a sermon, Patriarch Nikon ordered brought to him both old and new icons painted by some Moscow icon-painters in the style of Western European and Polish paintings. Nikon put out the eyes in the images of the Old icons, and his messengers then carried those icons through the streets, shouting: “From now on, whoever paints icons in the Old tradition will be punished.” This happened in the presence of the Tsar.

Patriarchs proclaimed anathema on and excommunicated from the Church everyone who would make those icons or would have them at home. Nikon took the Old icons with his right hand and, one by one, showed them to the crowd and then threw them on the iron floor, so that the icons would be broken. Then he ordered those icons to be burned. Tsar Alexseĭ Michailovich stood next to us with uncovered head, with gentle look silently listening to the sermon.

Being a pious and a God-fearing man, in a soft voice he asked of the Patriarch: “No father, don’t burn them, but let them be buried in the ground.” His wish was carried out.³¹

Many of the foreign authors stated that in icons,³² Russian people appreciated the inner spiritual world rather than physical appearance. This is why Western European

³⁰ Riabtsev, U. S., *Khrestomatiia po istorii Russkoi kul' tury 11-17 vekov* (History of Russian Culture Reader: Artistic and Social Life in 11th -17th century) (Moskva: VLADOS, 1998), 552.

³¹ Ibid., 173. The author describes the deep respect for icons in the Middle Ages by Russian people. Phrase “to buy icon” was considered a blasphemy, but instead people were saying “to trade on money.” People did not throw away old, faded, or broken icons, but, like a dead body, cast them into a river or buried them in the ground.

religious paintings and sculpture were not popular at that time in Russia. There are interesting memoirs of Olearii³³ about rejection by Russians of sculptures in their churches:

They [Russians] are rejecting carved images, saying that God forbids carved objects and their worship, but not painted images. They [Russians] use paintings exceptionally, which are painted not artfully with brownish-yellowish paint on the wood... They do not worship and do not respect icons except those that are painted by Russian or Greek painters, as if other nations did not make them beautifully and artfully. As if the religion of the master could be transmitted through the icon!³⁴

Such contradictory remarks can be explained by noting that Olearii, who was a Catholic, was in general hostile to the Orthodox Church in several of his writings. Other Western writers, however, perceived the situation differently. Here is a testimony of Possevino:³⁵

They paint the Holy faces with exceptional modesty and restraint. Also, they avoid the icons without Slavic writings and those with indecent depiction of the naked parts of the body. This can serve as a reproach to our painters, who expose to the greatest degree the naked breasts, legs, and other parts of the body in order to show their mastery in painting. And by doing so, they are painting more indecent than sacred paintings.³⁶

³² Icons are representations of the holy personages that it depicts. Veneration of images directs prayer to the archetype represented in the icon.

³³ Riabtsev, 552. Adam Olearii, a German scientist and traveler, was the official mathematician in the court of Count Golshtinskiĭ. He twice visited Russia: with the Shlezvig-Golshtinskiĭ embassy in 1633–1634 and during his travel to Iran in 1635–1639. He left a memoir, “Description of the travel to Moskoviiia and through Moskoviiia to Persia and return back” whose manuscript is in the collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Russian State Library in Moscow (the author of this thesis had a chance to work with these memoirs during a research trip to Moscow – SMK). The memoirs contain interesting facts about Russian Medieval life and history and many beautiful illustrations of Old Russian cities, people, and their customs.

³⁴ Ibid., 181.

³⁵ Ibid., 553. Antonio Possevino was a secretary of the Society of Jesus and legate to the Pope. As head of a diplomatic mission, he visited Moscow in 1581–1582, where he met and conversed with Ivan the Terrible. Possevino, who was anti-Orthodox and anti-Russian, was interested in converting Russia to Catholicism.

³⁶ Ibid., 180-181.

Some of the witnesses also appreciated the mastery of the Russian artists. Among them was Pavel Alepskiĭ, who wrote: “Know that icon-painters in this city (Moscow) have no equal to them on Earth by their art, fine brush strokes, experience and mastery: they create icons which carry away the heart of a viewer.”³⁷

This controversial situation in Russian art at the end of the 17th century observed by Western authors was also reflected in the writings of Russian authors. The reforms of Patriarch Nikon in art and bookmaking were slowly taking place. But they met with strong resistance among the many followers of the Old Belief. Prosecuted staroobriadtsy fled to deserted areas of the Urals and forests of Siberia, looking for protection from the “demonic” Church and enslaving feudal statehood. In such remote areas, Old Books were preserved and were still being copied, and new polemic writings were written and distributed to villages and cities. One of the most important writers of staroobriadchestva was the disgraced archpriest Avakum,³⁸ whose denunciatory letters in many copies were distributed all over Russia. One letter, “About icon painting,” reveals Avakum’s horror at New Belief artistic license:

By the will of God in our Russian land are multiplying painters of indecent icon painting... They paint an image of Christ with a puffy face, red lips, curly hair, fat hands and muscles, and swollen fingers. The legs are also fat and He looks like a German with a big belly, lacking only a sword dangling at His leg. All of those painting are inspired by the flesh, so heretics will focus on human

³⁷ Riabtsev, 179.

³⁸ Ibid., 547. Petrov Avakum, one of the leaders of staroobriadchestva, was an active confronter of the reforms of the Patriarch Nikon. With his family, he had been sent to exile to Siberia where he fiercely continued to speak out against the reforms. In 1666, he was brought to the Moscow Church Council, where he was unfrocked, anathematized, and banished to the Pustozerskiĭ Monastery. There he wrote his famous “Life” and “Book of dialogues” in which he continued to defend not only the Old Belief but also Old art that was free from Western influence. In 1682, by the Tsar’s order, Avakum, along with his followers, was burned. Avakum is considered one of the most brilliant writers-propagandists of the 17th century.

flesh and forget about God. This is all done by that “cur” Nikon, who is an enemy. It is his idea to paint in the foreign, German style. ... Oh, oh, poor! Rus', why do you want German ways and customs!³⁹

This is a short description of the atmosphere preceding the creation of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*. Since the book was meant for common people, it absorbed and reflected on the most important issues of its time. The Church reform, and the new regime of the new Emperor Peter I was rather unpopular with the large masses of people. In the Urals, which became a center of staroobriadstva and opposition to the ruling Emperor, the scandalous behavior of the Tsar was explained by his substitution with a “Tsar-antichrist.” One of the famous staroobriabtsev, the *Staritsa* (elderly nun) Platonida wrote of Peter I:

He is a substituted Swiss, his deeds are against God's will. The Tsar does not fast; he wears the dress of the Swiss and eats and drinks with them, and lives in their kingdom. That is why he sent his wife, Russian Tsaritsa Evdokiia Lopukhina, away to the monastery, so he will not have heirs with her. With his own hands, he even killed their son and heir Alekseï Petrovich, so he will not be the Tsar. Tsar Peter married a Swiss loose woman, Tsaritsa Ekaterina Alekseevna, who is not able to have children. This is why he, the Tsar, made a law to swear allegiance to the future Tsar, who will be of course a Swiss, or a relative of Tsaritsa Ekaterina Alekseevna, or her brother.⁴⁰

Many of Old Believers left to remote areas seeking freedom to practice their way of life. They left the city of Moscow, which they perceived as the fallen “Third Rome”⁴¹ (Rome-Constantinople-Moscow), which they called “Babylon”. To strengthen their own communities, the Old Believers actively involved themselves in the Russian economy

³⁹ Riabtsev, 203.

⁴⁰ Pikhov, R. G., et. al., *Knigi Starogo Urala* (Books of Old Ural of the 16th-19th century) (Sverdlovsk: Sredne-Ural'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1989), 135-136.

⁴¹ Zenkovsky, Serge A. *Russkoe Staroobriadstvo* (Russian Old Belief). The book first was printed in Munich in 1970. In Moscow the book was reprinted in 1995. December 30, 2006. <http://www.sedmitza.ru/index.html?did=36293>

during Peter's time (Peter the Great valued their input in the development of the new metallurgical industry). The Old Believers were especially active in the Ural area and Pomor Area (North of Russia), where they helped develop the new economy of that area by building metallurgical factories. The Old Believers highly valued education, philosophy, and rhetoric and developed their own literature school that included such prominent scholars as Starets Avakum, Andreï Denisov, Semen Denisov, and many others. Later, many of followers of the Old Believers became prominent entrepreneurs, merchants, and patrons of arts. An example is Peter Shykin, a descendant of Old Believers (modern time) who patronized the Impressionists and collected their artworks, which are now in the Hermitage Museum.

The Old Beliefs did not disappear but instead grew stronger, forming the foundation for what is now the official Russian Orthodox Old Belief Church. The first step toward recognition of this Church was made on April 17, 1905, with the verdict of Tsar Nicolas II in his decree titled "Regarding the Reinforcement of the Toleration."⁴² In 1971, the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church officially recognized the Russian Orthodox Old Belief Church as an equal.⁴³

II. Anti-Peter the Great sentiment in the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*

The anti-Peter the Great sentiment spread across Russia and was reflected in Staroobriad conversations, writing, and manuscripts and printed books of the supporters

⁴² Complete collection of law of the Russian Empire. May 20, 2006.
<http://lib.babr.ru/index.php?book=251320>

⁴³ See history of Russian Orthodox Church of Old Belief. May 20, 2006.
<http://www.rpsc.ru/version/index.php>

of the Old Belief. The *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* addressed some of the most important issues of the time and was a great example of staroobriadcheskogo art. The anti-Peter the Great sentiment was brilliantly expressed in the illustration of the last page of the *Book of Apocalypse* "Christ Makes War on the Antichrist" (Plate 15). The illustration depicts two groups of riders, a group of righteous men on the right and a group of unfaithful on the left. The first rider on the left, who is falling into the fire, looks surprisingly like the Emperor Peter I; he has the same distinguished intense gaze and the exact same short mustache as is seen in the portrait of Peter the Great (Plate 16). What is more surprising is that similar composition and images are found in the *Apocalypse* of the illuminated manuscript of the first half of the 18th century, entitled "Emperor Peter I Chased by the Sky Forces" (Plate 17).⁴⁴ As in the *Book of Apocalypse* of Koren', in the later *Apocalypse*, the anti-Peter the Great sentiment reveals itself even more in the faces of the riders falling into the fire, which are easily recognizable as Peter I, his wife Ekaterina, and Aleksander Menshikov, the Emperor's "right arm." The similarity of the composition, the decorative details (the crown of the first of the righteous men), and the color scheme supports the assumption that the Book of Koren' was known and popular even in the distant Urals.

The intentional use by the authors of the Old style of imagery and public expression of the negativism to the contemporary regime of Peter the Great, allows placement of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* in the category of Old Belief Art. The fact

⁴⁴ The book was found in 1976 in the Ural area during a study and publication of early texts. See, Pikhoia, R. G., et. al. *Knigi Starogo Urala* (The Books of Old Ural of the 16th-19th Century) (Sverdlovsk: Sredne-Ural'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1989), 143.

that the whole edition (about 1000 copies) was confiscated by New Church officials and disappeared, with a single copy miraculously remaining, supports the supposition that this book was intended for the use of followers of the Old Belief.

As mentioned in Chapter III, Part A., the book was printed after ten years of political and social reforms and reforms in painting and book making. Despite that, Koren' used the Old two-dimensional icon style of images, which depicted Savaof with the Old Believers two-finger blessing gesture, and making the sign of the cross (canonically three fingers are used), and even publicly dared to express the negative sentiment toward the ruling Emperor, which was widespread in Russia among the Old Believers. Probably, author of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* felt free in the choice of subject and style because he was not directly employed by the Moscow Printing House, which was controlled by the Patriarch and the Tsar, but, instead, was occasionally engraved in private commissions. The fact that the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* was printed outside the Moscow Printing House suggests that Koren' most likely printed the book himself. As an independent engraver and printer, he most likely had the printing equipment and was able to print his own book. He lived and worked in *Meshchanskaia Sloboda*,⁴⁵ a district in Moscow of petty bourgeois craftsmen, engravers, printers, and traders; thirty-six different professions were represented among residents of the district.

⁴⁵ Sakovich, 13.

Meshchanskaia Sloboda was created in 1671 in Moscow, especially for the Western-Russians, mainly Belorussians. In the 17th century, many of the Western-Russian cities were gained back from Poland. In the archives of the 1676 and 1684 of the *Meshchanskaia Sloboda*, Vasilii Alekseev Koren' was written as born in the city of Dubrovka. Although Bogoiavlenskiĭ states that information in the archives was not always correct: in 17th century *meshchane* easily were changing names, dates and information about their past. Possibly Koren', as a young man, did move to Moscow to look for a good job. There he was developed as an engraver. The style of his engraving is similar to the style of the printed paper icons of the 17th century, but not to the engravings of Ukraine and Belorussia.

One of the sub-districts was and still is called *Pechatnaia Sloboda* (Printing District), surviving in what is now called Moscow's "Old Downtown." In this area, in May 1992, with the support of the Government of Moscow, the Museum of Folk Graphics was opened. The museum's main mission centers on the research, collection, and popularization of Russia's printed popular books, the Russian printed lubok.⁴⁶ In the summer of 2005, an exhibition entitled "Russian Orthodox Lubok 17th – 19th centuries" was opened. This exhibition gives a special place of honor to the recently recreated⁴⁷ *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* (Appendix VI).

⁴⁶ Lubok - is a popular picture, printed from a woodcut.

⁴⁷ Alekseĭ Batygin, *Voice of Russia*, October 23, 2003. <http://www.rg.ru/2003/10/23/bibliya.html>, May 15, 2006. During the celebration in the Vatican of the 25th anniversary of the service of the Pope Johan Paul II, the Russian delegation presented him with an unusual gift. Victor Penzin, a famous Moscow artist, presented the Pope with recreated lubok (my emphasis) *Biblia Pauperum*. Viktor Petrovich Penzin worked for ten long years on the reconstruction of the Folk Bible of Koren'. One person, Penzin, worked as three masters: master-engraver, printer, and master-painter. Each woodblock, total number of them is 36, took from three to six months to be completed. The master had to restore the Old Slavic text, as it was lost in some of the places of the original. Art historians, specialists in 17th century art, could hardly differentiate or identify the newly created leaves from the old original ones. Later, master Penzin uses his signature on his leaves, so it will be not confused with the originals. The gift of Penzin is now exhibited in the Library of the Vatican together with the Italian *Biblia Pauperum* of 1380.

CHAPTER THREE

The State of Book Publishing in Russia at the Time of Publishing the *Folk Bible of Vasiliï Koren'*

I. Prehistory of book printing in Russia

Before books were printed in Russia, beginning in 1553, manuscript illumination was already well established, having begun in the 10th century when Russia adopted Orthodox Christianity. By the 16th century, the Russian writing tradition of literary history had reached its height and continued into the 17th century. The manuscripts and, later, the printed books of these two centuries can be categorized as follows:

- *Chronicles* – historical narratives that include archival documents, literary essays, and lives of saints.
- *Stepennaia Kniga* – series of genealogical books about the Russian tsars.
- *Velikie Minei Chet'i* - 12 volumes, in which each volume comprises 1500-2000 pages (3 editions). This great codex, created by the initiative of Makariï, the Metropolitan of Novgorod and Moscow, required 25 years to be completed. In the introduction, Makariï gives an overview of the codex, which consists of “all books for reading” such as: *Evangelie (the Gospels)*; *Four Books of Evangelists*; *Apostle*; all messages of the *Apostles*; three *Psalters*; books of *Zlatoust*; and all other *Holy Books*. Also included are the

Lives of all Saints, and Lives of the Fathers. At the end, Makariï concludes that the codex is a “collection of all books which are in circulation in Russia.”⁴⁸

- *Kormchie Knigi (Guiding Books)* – general juridical Russian code of law.
- *Domostroï* – a collection of books that give detailed advice regarding religious, ethical, and moral behavior in the daily life of the Russian family.
- *Stoglav (One Hundred Chapters)* – a manuscript form of the collective writing of the one hundred decisions of *The Assembly of the Church and the Land of Russia of 1551*. The *Stoglav* consists of: *Bible, Canons of the Church, Kormchie Knigi, Nomokanon, Tipikon*, and other texts; collection of historical and moral writings such as *Izmaragd, Texts of Joann Zlatoust, Gregory Bogoslov*, and other *Church Fathers*; contemporary articles of social and political journalism.

Stoglav was used as the legislative document (the law of the land) until 1667.

By the order of Ivan IV (The Terrible), book printing began in Russia with the establishment of the Printing House in Moscow in 1553, one hundred years after it had begun in the West. On March 1, 1564, the first dated Russian book, *Apostle*, was printed by Deacon Ivan Fedorov Moscovitin and Peter Mstislavtsev and their assistants in Moscow.⁴⁹ The book, printed in an edition of approximately 1000 copies, took about one year to complete (see Appendix II). While book printing in the Slavic language in Russia

⁴⁸ Kukushkina, M. B., *Kniga v Rossii v 16 veke* (Book in Russia in 16th century) (Saint Petersburg: Library of Russian Academy of Sciences, 1999), 54.

⁴⁹ Librovich, S. F., *Istoria Knigi v Rossii* (The History of the Book in Russia) (Moscow: State Public Historical Library of Russia, 2000, reprint of 1914), 35.

had started late and developed slowly, books were printed much earlier in other Slavic lands. As Librovič states, the first Slavic book was the New Testament printed in Prague in the Czech language in 1475.⁵⁰ The *Bohemian Bible* was printed in 1489 in Germany; and in 1491, the *Book of Hours* was printed in Krakow. All of these books were printed in the Slavic language.⁵¹ Printing houses were established in different Slavic cities, beginning in 1474 according to Librovič, and in 1491 according to Sopikov (Appendix III). Librovič states that the first Russian book, *Educational Psalter*, was printed in 1517 in Prague by the talented scientist, astronomer, and physician, Frantsisk Skorina (Appendix III).

A. The need for new printed books

In 16th century Russia, with the development of literature and education and the growth of the new churches and monasteries, the need increased for books for both sacred and secular reading. The production of manuscripts could not fulfill the burgeoning need. Writing was not only produced by devoted and educated scribes, but also by business-scribes who cared only about finishing books as rapidly as possible and being paid. Frequently, owing to haste or ignorance, these scribes made mistakes or changed and altered text while recopying from the originals. As a result, an increasing number of books contained inaccurate information. In 1551, Tsar Ivan IV (The Terrible)

⁵⁰ Ibid., 23.

⁵¹ Sopikov, Vasilii, *Opyt Rossiiskoi Bibliografii ili Polnyi Slovar' sochinenii i perevodov napechatanykh na Slavianskom i Rossiiskom iazykakh ot nachala zavedenia tipografii, do 1813 goda* (The Experience of Russian Bibliography, or the Complete Dictionary of Books written in Slavic and Russian languages from the beginning of printing till the year 1813) (Saint Petersburg, Typography of Emperor Theatre, 1813).

was troubled by the quality of books: “Scribes are writing the *Holy Books* from incorrect translations, and they are not making necessary corrections, then mistakes are added to the mistakes, and then from those incorrect books people in churches are reading, singing, studying, and writing. For this great ignorance God is going to punish us by his rules.”⁵² This speech was addressed to the Assembly of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Boiarskaia Duma (Council of Nobles). In the Assembly, many issues were discussed, such as Church life, including the necessity for Church reforms, reforms in icon-painting, and book-writing. The Assembly received the name of Stoglav (Hundred Chapters) because of its acceptance of one hundred resolutions. The imperfect methods of the manuscript production of books, the limited quantities, and the growing demand for books for education were factors in moving from hand-made manuscripts to book printing.

B. Literacy in 17th century Russia

In Russia in the 17th century as well as in the 18th century, the majority of the population worked in agriculture; the census of 1897 shows that of Russia’s 127 million people, 67.8 million were occupied in agriculture.⁵³

⁵² Librovich, 22.

⁵³ Literacy statistics for 17th century Russia are really guesses, because the census did not begin counting individuals until 1897, although some attempts at a census were made as early as the 9th century. During the Tatar-Mongol aggression in Russia, the population was also counted for taxation purposes. The early censuses identified not individuals but, rather, the number of households, a practice continued until the time of Peter the Great.

See history of census in Russia.

<http://www.soc.pu.ru/publications/jssa/1999/1/9holsh.html>, May 24, 2006.

As Zenkovsky states, in 17th century Russia, literacy rates varied among different segments of society as follows:⁵⁴

- Clergy: 75%-100%
- Merchants: 75%-96%
- Nobles and landowners: 65%-78%
- Tradespeople (craftsmen): 16%-43%
- Peasants: 15%⁵⁵

Education had traditionally been left to families, churches, and monastic schools, but many new schools were opened in the 17th century, with the secondary private school established in Moscow. Students were taught foreign languages and philosophy as well as the standard curriculum of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In 1621, a Lutheran school in the German-speaking Sloboda area of Moscow was opened which accepted students from all social backgrounds, including Russian boys.

In 1640, a private school of the nobleman F. Rtishev was opened where young aristocrats studied Greek and Latin, rhetoric, and philosophy. In 1664, a state school for the education of government officials was opened in Moscow. In 1680, the Moscow Printing House opened a school that included Greek in its curriculum. In 1687, with the patronage of the Patriarch Makariĭ of the Donskoĭ Monastery, Moscow's, first higher education facility, the Slavic-Latin-Greek Academy was founded. This Academy opened

⁵⁴ Zenkovsky, Serge A. *Russkoe Staroobriadstvo* (Russian Old Believe). The book first was printed in Munich in 1970. In Moscow the book was reprinted in 1995. December 30, 2006. See a link – Library. <http://www.sedmitza.ru/index.html?did=36293>

⁵⁵ See literary statistics n 17th century Russia. May 24, 2006. http://www.history.krsu.edu.kg/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=44&Itemid=49&limit=1&limitstart=7

its doors to “all free people, of all classes, all nationalities, and all ages” and taught Russian and Slavic grammar in addition to Latin and Greek, theology, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.

During the 17th century, several editions of books of religious and secular nature were printed to teach Russian and Slavic grammar; these included the *Educational Psalter* and secular grammar books. Several editions of grammar books⁵⁶ were also printed: *The Grammar of Burtsev* (1633); *The Grammar of Polotskiĭ* (1679); and *the Grammar of Istomin* (1694 (1692 by Sopikov, Appendix IV). These books also included articles on theology, pedagogy, history, geography, philosophy, and dictionaries, including dictionaries of foreign words.

The *Grammar of Istomin* was a new type of educational textbook for it applied a new methodology of teaching literacy within the traditional family-based setting. Janna Ivanova, a prominent scholar of 17th century Russian art, a curator at the State Historical Museum of Moscow, and a consultant for this thesis, cites in an interesting article *From the History of Writing*, that the *Grammar of Istomin* is the first illustrated Russian grammar book. Istomin, a prominent educator of his time, was also a poet, publicist, translator, and writer of educational literature, and among the petitioners for the first university in Russia.⁵⁷ In 1692, his book of grammar was prepared especially for the two-year-old son of Peter the Great, Tsarevich Alexsei (1690-1718). In 1694, the *Grammar*

⁵⁶ Zenkovsky contends that in the second half of the 17th century, Moscow Printing House published over 300,000 grammar books and 150,000 of *Educational Psalter*. Books were rather inexpensive – the grammar book was only one kopeek. This fact helps explain the wide spread of literacy at that time.

⁵⁷ Ivanova J. I. *Is istorii pis'ma* (From the History of Writing). May 25, 2006. <http://www.websib.ru/~ic/articles/interest24.phtml>

of Istomin was printed by the Moscow Printing House from the copper engravings of Leontiï Bunin, one of the prominent engravers of the Armory of the Kremlin in Moscow. Istomin's innovation lay in designing an illustrated textbook his book for the education of all children: *boys and girls*. This sensitivity to girls as well as to boys represented a dramatic advance towards establishing equality in education early on in Russia. Also, the book was novel because, like Koren', Istomin included illustrations in the text.

According to Ivanova, "by using illustrations in the grammar book, Istomin has changed the old vision of the textbook, and created a new visual educational aid." The book's text and the illustrations were carefully aligned, which helped children connect learning grammar with the world they knew. The carefully selected illustrations for each letter and syllable helped develop independent thinking in young children (Plate 14). Each letter of the alphabet was presented on its own individual page. Pages were divided in three parts: the top features the initials and fonts; the middle presents images of objects whose name began with the featured letter; and the bottom consists of the words beginning with the featured letter.

The top part presents a letter: to the left of the letter is shown the initial of the letter designed with human figures clad in different military and civil costumes. The initials are decorated with gold. Next to the initials are shown different fonts, which are used to point to the beginning of a paragraph, which are made in kinovar' (red) color. Below are shown cursive letters in black; also shown are the ways of connecting those letters in a word. In the middle are illustrations for the letter. These illustrations are artistically created miniatures, made by an unknown artist of the circle of Simon

Ushakov, a prominent artist of the Armory of the Kremlin in Moscow. The third part of the page displays different words that employ the featured letter. Also, for each letter there is a short poem which helps with learning the alphabet. Finally, Istomin's innovation lay in use of Latin and Greek in parallel with Russian, to introduce other languages to children.

Ivanova contends that Istomin was a pioneer by creating a children's encyclopedia, which was unknown in Russian or Western educational literature during that time. This work of Istomin could be compared with the work of Koren' for both works were completed at almost the very same time (1692-1696) and both used visual material to illustrate and convey their textual messages. While Istomin was a highly educated scholar and Koren' represented the spirit of the folk traditions of his time, it is of particular interest to note that both opted to use graphic materials as educational tools. It is possible that they shared the same motivation: the desire to popularize knowledge and bring it to wider circles of society.

C. Russia's printed books to the time of Peter the Great (1682-1725)

With the establishment of printing in Russia, the Moscow Printing House as well as other printing houses in Russia produced a variety of books for sacred and secular use.⁵⁸ According to Sopikov, "In the first one hundred eighteen years from 1564 to

⁵⁸ The date of the beginning of printing in Russia differs from source to source: the official opening in 1564 of the Moscow Printing House with the printing of *Apostle* by Fedorov and Mstislavtsev is considered the official date of the printing of the "first Russian book." Almost a century earlier, however, books were printed in Slavic and Russian languages: in Gutenberg in 1489, *Bible Bohemian*; in Krakow in 1491, *Psalter*; in Venice in 1506, *Bible Bohemian*; in Prague in 1517-1519, the *Bible* translated into

1682,” 498 books were printed in Russian and other Slavic languages like Czech, or Serbian (see Appendix IV).⁵⁹ The new style of literary historical writing that developed in the 16th century, together with the traditional early style of historical chronicles, ushered in a new genre of social and political journalism. The priority of printing was given to religious books, according to Stoglav. Sopikov states that of the 498 books that were printed, 448 were religious books with the remaining 50 books on different topics as detailed below:

- Articles of social and political journalism - 7
- Current historical articles - 2
- Greek grammar - 1
- Slavic/Russian grammar - 17
- Books of the four evangelists used to teach - 10
- Differences between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches - 1
- Catholic belief - 1
- Necrology - 4
- Military Tractate - 1
- Canons of the Church - 6

This distribution of topics, although representing a small percentage of the total books printed, indicates, and suggests the cultural and intellectual needs of the wider circles of society, and how these needs were fulfilled. The first printed books were more

Russian by Dr. Skorina; in Vil'na in 1525, *Apostle, Psalter, Kanonnik (Canon)* translated into Russian by Dr. Skorina. See Appendix IV.

⁵⁹ Sopikov.

expensive than manuscripts owing to the length of time required for the printing process, the high cost of skilled labor required to operate the new printing machines, and the high costs for the materials and equipment.⁶⁰ With the development of printing techniques and materials, the cost of printing decreased and printed books became increasingly affordable to wider circles of the population.

Although book printing was unquestionably a progressive revolution, as with everything new, however, it was at first received with caution and sometimes with hostility. Scribes, fearing the loss of their jobs, branded book printing “heresy,” and their claim was supported by many superstitious people. Later, as the reforms of Peter the Great continued, the attitude towards printing continued to evolve with the changes in social and political life, and were manifested in the manuscripts and printed books of Raskol (Schism), which opposed Peter’s regime, *The Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren’* is one example of such opposition publishing.

II. Book printing at the time of Peter the Great (1682-1725) and the time of the creation of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren’*

A. Printing: The close of the 17th century to the beginning of the 18th century

As the opposition to Peter’s regime grew, Peter the Great and his government clearly understood the necessity of providing the people with written explanations for the

⁶⁰ Kukushkina, 175.

meanings of the new reforms. This was one of the reasons for creating new publishing houses in the newly established capital of Saint Petersburg.

With the establishment of the new capital of Russia in Saint Petersburg, Peter the Great started to establish different government and education facilities there similar to ones existing in Moscow. In 1710, the Tsar sent an order to Count Ivan Alekseevich Musin-Pushkin, who was the Chief of the Moscow Printing House to send to Saint Petersburg “a printing press with the new fonts and all the necessities, and with the people.”⁶¹ In 1711, a state printing house was opened in Saint Petersburg.⁶² In the beginning, single orders, registers, and calendars were printed there. Book printing began two years later, in 1713, with the first edition of the Russian military history, the *Book of Mars or Military Achievements of the Russian Army of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and Victory over His Majesty King of Sweden*. The book is beautifully decorated with a portrait of the emperor and other engravings. The engraver, Picar, was invited from Moscow for this work, and he remained in Saint Petersburg and worked on preparing engravings for other books. Working with him was his pupil, Aleksei Zubov, who subsequently also became famous for his engravings. In 1714, the *Book of Order, or Naval Law* was printed in two editions with engravings on copper depicting the River Neva, the Petropavlovsk Fortress, and the Church of the Holy Trinity.⁶³ Peter the Great himself participated in the process of printing, engraving, and correcting prepared material for printing. In the State Hermitage Museum today is preserved the private

⁶¹ Librovich, 153.

⁶² Ibid., 153.

⁶³ Ibid., 155.

printing press belonging to Peter the Great along with pages of the printed books, corrected by Peter and some of his own engravings (Appendix V).⁶⁴

Among the reforms of Peter the Great was the wide distribution of the Bible – among peasants and tradespeople. Peter supported the printing of the *Popular Bible* (illustrated). In 1694 and 1700, in the Chudov Monastery in Moscow, the first block books intended for peasants and tradespeople were printed - *Grammar* and *Sinodik*.⁶⁵ At the beginning of the 18th century, the Moscow secular printing house of Vasiliia Kipriianova was printing block books.⁶⁶ More and more books were needed to supply the newly returned Old Russian territories of Kazan' and Azov and territories near Poland. With the acquisition of the Azov area (North of Azov Sea), the Tsar' made plans to relocate three thousand families from the Volga area and three thousand *strel'tsy*.⁶⁷ Sakovich states that the Russian people wanted to take with them their Folk Bible to remind them of the church frescoes of their native area since no Orthodox churches existed in the newly acquired lands at that time. Sakovich contends that the printing of the *Folk Bible of Koren'* was motivated by these circumstances. The appearance of the *Folk Bible of Koren'* was stimulated by the changes in social and political life towards the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century.

B. The repertoire of the books

⁶⁴ See info on the official website of the State Hermitage Museum. September 30, 2006.
http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/html_En/03/hm3_9.html

⁶⁵ Sakovich, 45.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 45.

⁶⁷ *Strel'tsy* – special members of military corps instituted by Ivan the Terrible who were given special privileges in Muscovite Russia of the 16th - 17th centuries.

As was mentioned in the first chapter, the *Folk Bible of Koren'* was printed by Koren' as a free entrepreneur, independently from the Moscow Printing House. Printing houses were established in many different Russian cities. Books were printed in eleven cities, including Moscow. From 1711, with the establishment of the State Printing House in Saint Petersburg, the repertoire of Russian books developed in the rich literary and historical traditions of 16th and 17th centuries was enriched by new types of translations of Western literature, military tractates, and books on geography and world history. In 1716, *Geography, or Short Description of the Earth* was printed. In 1717, *Truthful Mirror of Youth, or Book of Manners* was printed and became so popular that it was reprinted in two more editions. That same year were also printed: *Dutch Language; El-Koran, or about Prophet Mohammad and Turkish Law*; and a translation from the French, *History of the Defeat of Troy*. In 1718, a translation was printed of Giuigen's *Book of Philosophy*, the first printed book in Russia that explained the astronomical system of Copernicus.⁶⁸

In 1719, Peter the Great issued a decree that the State Printing House was to give one printing press to the Alexandro-Nevskiï Monastery for its newly organized printing house for printing Church books and educational books. The first book printed there was *Grammar for Children*. In the same year, the Senate created a publishing company for printing governmental decrees and explanations of the proposed reforms and actions of the government. In 1722, a special printing company was opened in Saint Petersburg by

⁶⁸ Librovich, 156.

the Academy of Sciences for the printing of academic books.⁶⁹ Because the new books sold well, in 1717 Peter the Great signed an edict that ordered all publishers “to save one corrected copy and two good copies in binding after printing of each new book.”⁷⁰ This was the first indication of an awareness of the importance of the need to take care to preserve books for future generations. Peter the Great was a great advocate of book printing, and the promotion of literacy and education in Russia increased despite Peter’s tendency to import foreign educators to Russia—or perhaps because of it. Most printed books in his time were translations from foreign languages. Foreign languages were not a part of the Old Russian educational system. In 1724, Peter the Great issued a decree about book translation:

For the book translation there needed translators, especially for the applied arts, such as: mathematics, mechanics, surgical, anatomical, botanical, and military sciences and others. The translator who is not able to perform that art can not make proper translation. This is why, from now on, people who can translate, but don’t know these arts, have to study them and those who know those arts, but are unable to translate, and have to learn languages (my italics). ”⁷¹

This decree was among those that changed the Russian education system from the old system to a new one.

Saint-Petersburg State Printing House mainly published books on military, politics, diplomacy, history, and education. Some of the religious books were printed by the printing press of the Alexandro-Nevskiĭ Monastery. Most religious books were printed in Moscow, Kiev, Chernigov, and some other cities and monasteries. In some of the books, the Synod found some mistakes, which accounts for why in 1720, Peter the

⁶⁹ Ibid., 155.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 159.

⁷¹ Librovich, 160-161.

Great issued a decree that all books printed in Moscow and other cities should be sent to the Synod for verification and necessary corrections. In 1721, Peter signed an additional law that required all religious books to be verified and approved by the Synod before they could be printed. This was the first law of censorship regarding printed books. The total number of editions printed during the reign of Peter the Great was about 600 books (Librovich sites 167; Sopikov sites 581 editions, Appendix IV).

Another important achievement of Peter the Great was the systematization of the collections of the libraries. Libraries or collections of books existed in Old Russia. The oldest was a collection donated in 1034 to the church of Holy Sofia in Kiev, by Iaroslav, Grand Prince of Kiev (reign 1016-1054). All monasteries possessed large libraries. Patriarchs, metropolitans, and other church clergy collected books. Tsars maintained their own libraries. The library of Ivan the Terrible was very large, and, in the words of Maxim the Greek, “the whole of Greece did not have such great a collection as the collection of the Tsar’.”⁷² Books in the libraries were different in character, including religion, history, and geography, and in different languages, including books on Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, Swiss, Spanish, English, Slavic, and Russian.

Peter the Great was himself a collector of books. In 1714, he brought from Northern Europe 2000 books of different topics: religious, medical, and historical.⁷³ Later, his collection became a basis of Russia’s Library of the Academy of Sciences. In Peter’s time, books were collected by church clergy: the library of Feofana Prokopovicha contained about 30,000 volumes, while the collection of Afanasii Kondoidi, Episcopo of

⁷² Librovich, 170.

⁷³ Ibid., 171.

Vologda and Suzdal', had 930 books. Large collections were also possessed by educated civilians: the library of Prince M. Golitzin consisted of 6000 books; General Iakov Brius's of 800 volumes; and Count A. Matveev's of 800 volumes. The collections had books from different fields such as: military, mathematics, philosophy, history, diplomacy, medicine, geography, and natural sciences.

C. Cost of books

As Librovič states, the first book store was opened in 1715 in Saint Petersburg. It sold books, magazines, decrees, maps, and engraved pictures printed in the printing houses of Saint Petersburg, Moscow, and other Russian cities. Store inventory records from the year 1715 state that "there are goods in the store amounting in value to 862 rubles, 28 altyn and 2 dengi." Librovič continued that "goods, with some exceptions, were quite inexpensive: a decree about "stone building" costs - 2 dengi; a book of grammar – 6 altyn; a portrait of the Emperor – 10 and 15 altyn, and 5 and 2 dengi; a map – 6 altyn; a book "The reasons of the war of 1700 of His Majesty Peter I against King Karl XII" – was 10 altyn."^{74 75}

D. Provenance of books

On the flyleaf of the *Folk Bible of Vasilli Koren'* appear inscriptions from several of the book's owners, which helps to understand who the readers of this book were. Ivanova in her article "Writings on incunabula of the Synod Collection of the State

⁷⁴ One ruble equals 10 altyn, one altyn equals 10 dengi.

⁷⁵ Librovič, 178.

Historical Museum” (SHM), states that the owners of the books used to leave different inscriptions in them.⁷⁶ The research conducted on the collection of incunabula of the Patriarch (Synod) Library of the 17th-19th centuries (which now resides in the SHM in Moscow), makes clear who read the books. These inscriptions helped researchers understand something about the history of each particular book, its life, and the people who read it. It also sheds light on the development of culture in Russia. Those inscriptions differed markedly in character, including writing about the sale and purchase of the book, writing in memory of the deceased, chronology writings, donation writings (to the churches and monasteries), also writings with the threat and curse for the thefts of the books. Of the collection of 374 books, 238 contain inscriptions. Most of the books were printed in the Moscow Printing House during the 17th-19th centuries.

Those inscriptions are categorized in the following ways:

- Names of Tsar’s – 4, and Patriarchs – 3;
- Printing house workers - 46;
- Donors: Fathers Superiors, priests, and other clergy - 23; kniaz’ – 3;
- Peasants – 7; others – 15;
- Owners of books: Fathers Superiors, priests, and other clergy - 28; peasants – 4;
- Merchants – 2; officers – 2; boyars (nobles) – 3; others – 31; female owners – 4;
- Priests who exchanged old books and manuscripts for new printed books – 5;
- Buyers of the books: Fathers Superior, priests, and other clergy – 8; officer – 1;

⁷⁶ Dianova, T. V., editor. *Ruskaia knizhnost’. Voprosy istochnikovedeniia i paleografii* (Russian knizhnost’) (Moscow: State Historical Museum, 1998). See article of J. Ivanova “Writings on incunabula of the Synod Collection of the SHM”, 151.

- Kniaz' – 1; merchant – 2; tradespeople – 1; others – 7;
- Sellers of the books: Fathers Superiors, priests, and other clergy – 8; peasants – 1;
- Merchant – 1; painter – 1; others - 7; females – 2.

This brief summary of the inscriptions found in 238 books of the 17th-19th centuries help to understand who were the owners and the readers of such books in addition to showing what kind of books were printed and how many copies. We find also that the printing houses were spread all across Russia and that at the end of the 17th century when the *Folk Bible of Vasilli Koren'* was printed, there was no established “central,” or “official” publishing house. In 1551, the Stoglav had pointed out the need for a center for the revision and necessary correction of all religious texts and that the corrected texts should be distributed throughout Russia. Such a center was created with the establishment of Moscow Printing House in 1564. But in just a few decades, many more printing houses were established in different Russian cities of Russia: in L'vov in 1573; in Ostrog in 1580; in Dermanskiĭ monastery, near Ostrog, in 1603; in Striatin in 1604; in Galich' in 1606; in Eviu, near Vil'na in 1611; in Kiev in 1614; in Mogilev in 1616; in Pochaev in 1618; in Ugorets in 1618; in Rokhmanov in 1619; and in Lutsk in 1628. This rapid spread of the publishing business and the distance from Moscow allowed more freedom in publishing. This can explain the appearance of independent publishers, who were not connected to any big printing house. Vasiliĭ Koren', author of the woodcuts and publisher of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* in 1692-1696, was such an independent entrepreneur. Not until 1720, during Peter's regime, was a law decreed that called for the censorship of all printed religious books in Russia.

CHAPTER FOUR

Russian Folk Culture

in the

Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'

By the end of the 17th century, the Russian art market was filled with printed Western products such as books for sacred and secular use and popular folk pictures. Russian artists used Western engravings creatively. They learned from them, adopted some of the subjects, and substituted others with Russian ones understandable to the Russian viewer. During 17th century in Russia, as well as in the West, “borrowing” iconography was an accepted and frequent practice. Popular and successful compositions were adapted and modified according to the artistic vision and understanding of the artist. Russian artists freely relied on different motifs creating distinctive new iconographic types, while retaining their own personal style. Yet, Russian Folk art maintained its presence in the decorative arts of the Russian peasants.

The *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*, which was created “by folks and for the folks,” has straight connections to the Russian folk culture and folk art. In the Old Russian language, the different types of decorative arts were called *uzoroch'e*,⁷⁷ which can be translated most closely as “decorated with pattern or design.” In Russian, *uzoroch'e* has a more poetic meaning, referring to *an ornament or a design that is masterly executed, flowing, fluid, and entertaining for eye and mind* (my italics). The objects of daily life -

⁷⁷ Rybakov, B., *Russkoe prikladnoe Iskusstvo 10-13 vekov* (Russian Folk Art of the 10th-13th century) (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Avrora, 1971), 71.

clothes, furniture, and buildings - were all infused with a passion for beauty and reflect the aspiration to make beauty enhance people's daily lives.

Voronov, one of the prominent researchers of Russian folk art, in his book *Folk Art* contends that "peasantry way of life is a depository of the *oldest traditions of Russian art*, which insured preservation and life of the basic and typical forms of Old Russian material culture." He points out those peasant master-artists displayed great creative abilities in mastering and preserving the inherited artistic styles in the objects of daily life. Artists transferred those forms into different environments unchanged and undisturbed.⁷⁸

I. Folk traditions in the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'*

A. Novelty in the depiction of God Savaof

As discussed earlier, the origins of Koren's *Book of Genesis* and *Book of Apocalypse* can be traced to oral and written traditions of Slavic *Palaea*. This Slavic *Palaea* was a retelling of the *Book of Genesis* and the *Book of Apocalypse* that is not a canonical Orthodox text, but permitted for private use. Koren's use of the apocryphal source brings his Bible close to the folk free-thinking, and traditional representation of the Creation of the World, as well as the folk traditional representation of permanent values. The free-thinking authors of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* is seen in the choice of such subjects as the depiction in the *Book of Genesis* of God Savaof (Creator) as an Angel of the Great Council. Traditionally, Savaof was depicted as a man with white hair

⁷⁸ Ibid., 303.

and beard. Koren' flouts tradition by depicting his Savaof as a young angel with wings (Plate 17).

Sakovich contends that the depiction of Savaof as an angel was traditional in 14th-15th century Byzantine, Western, and Russian art but not in the compositions of the Creation. She continues that until the 16th century, the Savaof was never depicted with wings. In Russian iconography the identification of the Savaof and the Angel of the Great Council as a young angel with wings, is probably an innovation of Moscow theologians and the icon-painters of Pskov lead by Metropolitan Makariï, ex-Bishop of Novgorod, who was in his youth an icon-painter and was raised in the spirit of Novgorodian free-thinking. One of the first depictions of the Savaof as an angel of the Great Council was found in the icon of "The Seventh Day of the Creation" (1547-1551) of the Cathedral of the Annunciation in the Moscow Kremlin. This depiction was so unusual that it was discussed, explained, and finally officially approved by the Moscow Synod of 1554.

The *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* includes fourteen images of Savaof. The first seven depict the seven days of the Creation, and the remaining seven depict the Creation of the first people, Adam and Eve. In the first seven illustrations, Koren' creates a new image of the Savaof in the moment of active creation. He soars through the newly created sky with arms raised in a gesture of blessing. This gesture corresponds to the words of the Savaof depicted in the aureole enclosing the figure.

B. Representation of Adam and Eve as peasants (Adam and Eve with their children)

The scene depicting Adam and Eve as peasants with their children is most unusual (Plate 20). This particular illustration is rather eclectic, combining Western and traditional Russian motifs on one page. The central figure of little Cain wrestling with the goat resembles some Italian Renaissance illustrations, and Cain resembles a chubby Italian cupid. The difference is that Cain is wrestling not with a sheep, traditional to Italian art, but with a common Russian goat. Adam is represented with the traditional beard of a Russian peasant; and as a reminder of Adam's ancient nature, the artist shows Adam's draped naked body and an olive branch crowning his head.

The most unusual image is that of Eve. She is depicted as a Russian peasant woman nursing her child. She wears a long shirt, similar to the undershirts of peasants. Her head is covered with the scarf wrapped around her head in the manner of Russian married women. But, what is the most unusual is that the artist places behind Eve a distaff (a spinning wheel), the necessary attribute of a Russian peasant woman. This distaff is a very simple one, probably as a reminder of the ancient time. On the distaff, tighten prepared for the spinning fibers of linen. Traditionally, linen and wool fibers were used by Russian peasant women for spinning.

C. Similarities between *Koren's* woodcuts and traditional woodcarvings of the Volga region

The similarities of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren* and traditional wood carvings are apparent in several examples. The Russian peasant masters traditionally used several styles of wood carving. One of them, called a *triangular sunken carving*, created designs

or ornaments by a series of small triangular cuts arranged in certain patterns; an example is that seen in the carved distaffs of the Volga region (Plate 21). This particular style harks back in time to the cradle of Slavic culture. Koren' uses this style in the halo of fire surrounding the figure of God and the images of the sun (Plate 22).

The triangular sunken carving of the round or oval halos and the sun of Koren' is very similar to the circular decoration on the *prialki* (distaff) and *vialki* (laundry beetles, a prolonged wooden tool used to "beat" laundry). These circular decorations are the depictions of the sun, which was respected by the Old Slavs.

Another example is a 17th century carved woodblock for a *prianiki*⁷⁹ mold for spiced bread (gingerbread) with a prayer to the Virgin. In the woodblock of the gingerbread which depicts the prayer "O pure Virgin, rejoice!" (Plate 23), Sakovich observes that this work stylistically resembles the traditions of the first printed paper icons of the Moscow Printing House of the same period.⁸⁰ The ornamentation of the border, the clouds surrounding the figures, and the figures itself are similar to those in the woodcuts of the Moscow school and the woodcuts of Koren'. Also, the images of the Sun and the Moon depicted on the left and right top corners are similar to Koren's. The

⁷⁹ *Prianiki*- spiced bread, which are imprinted from a wooden block, are called "*prianiki pechatnye*," meaning "printed gingerbread." The history of the use of *prianiki* in sacred customs goes back to Old Slavic Russia. In the Old Slavic language, *prianiki* were called "*kovriga*." The oldest wooden mold for *prianiki* was found among Novgorodian carved wood of the 12th-13th century. They are small (from 7.5 x 6.8 cm to 19x19 cm), high wooden blocks with the same ornament, and the floral cross (Zhizhina, S. G. *Pamiatniki Russkoi narodnoi kul' tury XVII-XIX vekov*. Moscow: State Historical Museum, 1990, Goncharova, 131.). Bread in Slavic culture, as in many cultures, was used as a part of religious rituals. Later, with the adoption of Christianity, the pagan word *kovriga* was united with the word *prianik*, but it preserved the folk philosophy and traditional customs of the Old Slavs. The *prianiki* played an important role in public or private celebrations in villages, cities, and in the court of the Tsar. During the celebration of the birth of Peter I, tables were set out with huge *kovrishki*; the biggest was decorated with the Coat of Arms of Moscow State. To this day, *kovrishki* or *prianiki* are very popular in Russia.

⁸⁰ Sakovich, 112.

striking detail of this particular woodblock is the large size of the images, especially the use of the large font, which was intended to be printed on the specially prepared spiced bread dough for ceremonial use.

This woodcut, as well as the woodcuts of Koren', has distinctive and clear outlines similar to the outlines of the fluid floral ornaments cut as a flat relief, with the taken-away background, or sunken relief, which were traditional to the peasant wood carving of the Volga River, Iaroslavl', and Kostroma regions. It was typical for the masters of those regions to combine subjects and floral motifs. Such a combination is found in Koren's "Fifth day of Creation" (Plate 24), which gives the image of a lion with a flowering as a decorative interpretation of the tail. Almost identical images are found on the friezes of 19th century peasant houses in Nizhniĭ Novgorod Province (Plate 23). The similarity of the motifs can be explained by the fact that the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* was widely known and popular: about one thousand copies were printed during his time, although the book is now preserved only in a single copy. The motifs of this book were used by later artists in different areas of Russia. Koren's genuine work of art, by absorbing the moral, philosophical, and religious beliefs of the people, itself became a part of the folk culture.

The stylistic closeness of the fluid, and flowing designs of the peasant wood carving and the designs of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* can perhaps be explained by the fact that the *znamenshik* (author of the drawings) of the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren' Gurii* belongs to the Iaroslavl' and Kostroma school (one school with a joint name, generally is known as Iaroslavl' school, of Iaroslavl' and the neighboring cities) of fresco

and icon painting, and that Koren' himself was very familiar with that school. Moreover, the exact place of the engraving and printing of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* is unknown; it could have been printed in Moscow or Iaroslavl'. As a free entrepreneur, Koren' with his son, Alekseiĭ, who probably was the painter of this book, were working in Iaroslavl',⁸¹ which, at the end of the 17th century, was the second largest and most important trade city after Moscow.⁸²

The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* is as indivisible from folk art as it was the source of its nourishment; and in return for borrowing from folk traditions, the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* influenced folk arts and created a tradition for the *Book of Genesis* in Russian folk pictures and folk books and also gave an impetus for the development of the Russian popular picture known as *lubok*.⁸³ The earliest *Lubki* (c.1619) were copied from German and Dutch editions, especially from the popular *Bible of Piscator*, the *Wittenberg Bible* of 1541, and the engravings of Durer. The Western traditions were adapted to the Orthodox ones and, as Pronin points out:

It was this combination of Orthodox iconographic mannerisms together with the unsophisticated copying of West European engravings that produced the "lubok style," which ultimately shed both parents, retaining only the crude stroke, laconic drawing, and clear-cut composition that characterized the Russian broadside through most of its history.⁸⁴

⁸¹ In 17th century Russia, people moved freely from place to place, looking for better jobs.

⁸² Sakovich, 132.

⁸³ Name *lubok* most likely comes from *lub*, the soft inner side of birch bark, from which were made big boxes for carrying to market a wide range of objects including a variety of religious products such as icons painted by folk painters of Suzdal', Palekh, Mstera and Kholui, and printed paper icons and lubki.

⁸⁴ Pronin, Alexander and Barbara, *Russkoe Narodnoe Iskusstvo* (Russian Folk Arts) (South Brunswick and New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1975), 11.

The first *lubki* were large, approximately 20”x 27” and were intended to be hung on walls and viewed from a distance like a fresco painting. The similarity of the *lubki* and fresco painting is seen in their use of a strong and clear outline, iconic colors, and depiction of similar subjects.

Much of the research connected with the development of the *lubok* is associated with the name Vasiliï Koren’. One of the few surviving *lubok* of the late 17th century is “The Cat of Kazan” attributed to Koren’ (Plate 25). The writing on the left states: “Cat of Kazan’, his mind is Astrakhanskii’, his logic is Sibirskii’, and he lives and eats very well...” This subject was most likely a caricature of Peter I. This particular *lubok* was very popular in Russia up to the beginning of the 20th century and was repeated in many compositions. One of them was produced during the First World War, this time mocking the German Emperor. The picture is identical to Koren’s; just the head of the cat is representing a caricature of the Emperor (Plate 26). The writing on the left states: “Vasiliï Prussian cat – Russian enemy.” The role of this *lubok* is clear: it aims at reflecting and educating the people about the most important political issues of the time, as the *Folk Bible of Vasiliï Koren’* is made to reflect on the dramatic changes in the religious, social and political life in Russia at the end of the 17th century.

CHAPTER FIVE

Motifs from Pre-Christian Slavic Culture

Reflected in

the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'*

Spiritual and cultural life in Russia prior to the appearance of the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĭ Koren'* can be described as a *duality*, a mix of Orthodox and pagan traditions where popular beliefs and practices were “reshaped into a “Christian” model, a process well-known in other parts of Christendom.”⁸⁵ Filiushkin contends that “several centuries after the official adoption of the Orthodox Religion in Russia, we find adherence to the orthodox beliefs in official circles, but a tendency to the Pagan customs in daily life.”⁸⁶ Filiushkin further argues that religion in Russia had a different formula: paganism + Orthodox + “something else.” He defines this “something else” as a “third culture,” which, together with the relics of paganism and with the spread of Orthodoxy, had a great value in the spiritual life of the Russian people. This “third culture” was neither pagan, nor Christian, nor anti-Christian. Filiushkin writes of this culture:

[It] was connected with the appearance in Russia of so-called “renounced texts,” officially forbidden by the Church, as texts out of the tradition. Those texts include translated Greek and Hebrew *Apocrypha*, which were divided into books allowed for reading and keeping at home, but not in church, plus forbidden

⁸⁵ Ryan, W. F., *The Bathhouse at Midnight. An Historical Survey of Magic and Divination in Russia*. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 12.

⁸⁶ Filiushkin, A. I., *Osobennosti Dykhovnoiĭ i Kul'turnoiĭ Zhizni v Kievskoĭ Rusi* (Peculiarity of spiritual and cultural life in Kievan Russia) (Lecture 6. 2005). March 5, 2006. <http://www.history.pu.ru/struct/cathed/russian/zao/6.rtf>

books. Such books were *Book of Enoch*, *Proto-Evangeliē of Jacob*, *Tale of Afroditiān* (retold second chapter of the Epistle of Mathew) and others. Also popular were various fortune-telling books, Hebrew chronological tables, books of dream interpretations, books of home cures, and others. The city carnival and fair culture, buffoonery and lubok culture were also connected with those texts. Those texts can not be attributed to paganism, or Christianity, or anti-Christianity and would allow us to talk about the triple structure of the spiritual consciousness of the people of Medieval Russia.

As discussed earlier in Chapter One, the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* was based on the Slavic Palaea, which is an apocryphal work. The Old Slavic beliefs and culture established in the course of centuries could not disappear but became interlaced into the new Orthodox religion and culture. Ivanits points out that such duality exists not only in Russia, but in Western Europe as well, "it cannot be denied that in Western Europe as well elements of Christianity were grafted onto a pre-Christian heritage."⁸⁷ She continues that "still, the Russian case was extreme," because "Russian peasant more than his European counterpart was isolated culturally and, in some instances geographically". Ivanits contends that "over the centuries ancient beliefs and rituals acquired many additional layers, and it is often difficult to determine what is a later accreditation and what is truly ancient."⁸⁸ The distinctive characteristic of Russian art and culture is the duality it expresses, reflecting both Old Slavic culture and the Byzantine one adopted by Russia in the 10th century. Old traditions became interlaced with new ones to produce unique Russian art forms.

At first glance, the *Folk Bible of Vasilii Koren'* surprises the viewer: the titles of the two parts of the Book, the *Book of Genesis* and the *Apocalypse*, suggest the usual

⁸⁷ Ivanits, Linda J., *Russian Folk Belief*. (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1989), 4.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 5.

representation of the well-known subjects, – the beginning and the end of the world. The author of the Book of Koren' illustrates only the beginning and the end, and nothing in between. The existence of a creator, and the manifestation in earthly life of the will and power of that creator shown in the Book, are corresponding to the essence of Old Slavic beliefs. The *Folk Bible of Koren'*, which was made “by folks and for the folks,” is permeated by folk philosophy and belief in the goodness and kindness of a Creator, who was the essence of the life and beliefs of Old Slavs. As Afanas'ev in his book *Mythology of Old Russia*, points out:

Early in the dawn of history, the Slavic tribes as a part of the Indo-European tribes emerged into that simple life established by Mother Nature. They loved nature and at the same time were scared of it. With the naivety of a child, and with a tense attention, they were following its signs on which they were dependent for their daily needs. In nature Slavs saw a live creature, which was always ready to respond to their sorrow and to gaiety.⁸⁹

The first observations and the first conclusions of the intellectual and religious beliefs of the Old Slavs belonged to the physical world. Religion by itself was poetry, and it enclosed the Old Slav's comprehensive wisdom and knowledge of nature.⁹⁰

Afanas'ev discusses the metaphoric language of the Old Slavs, in which words had “materialistic, vivid character.” Many of those words are still used in daily Russian language. It includes such expressions as “the wind is whistling,” “silent desert,” or “the sun is walking,” as if the sun could walk on legs - as we find that it does in the illustration of Koren's Apocalypse. The Old Slavs saw in the forces of nature personifications of the human character full of life and energy. The Old Slavs used the characteristics common

⁸⁹ Afanas'ev, A. N., *Mifologia Drevnei Russi* (Mythology of Old Russia) (Moskva: EKSMO, 2005, reprint of c. 1860-1870), 23.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 24.

to disparate entities and events in nature and created vivid images of mystical creatures in oral and folk art.

A. The sun: an embodiment of Old Slavic mythology

In the *Folk Bible of Koren'*, out of 36 pages, there are thirty-three images of the sun; among them are eleven individual sun images and twenty-two sun images arraying the figures of an angel, God, or “Wife arrayed in Sun.” Also, seven images of the moon and seven images of the stars are represented in the work (Plate 27, 28, 29). The sun in Old Slavic mythology was perceived as an active, live creature. This personification of the sun is reflected in Koren’s illustration of the sun walking on legs (Figure 26), and over two hundred years later, influenced by Koren’, the image of the walking sun was echoed in the 20th century poem of the Russian Avant-Garde poet Vladimir Maiakovskiĭ.⁹¹

Dmitriĭ Moldavskiĭ, in his article, the *Depiction of the sun in the engraving of Vasiliĭ Koren' (Durer's influence on Koren', and influence of Koren' on Maiakovskiĭ)*, examines page 31 of the *Book of Apocalypse* of Koren’ entitled “The Angel arrayed in the cloud.” He states, that Maiakovskiĭ was inspired by Koren’s “The Angel arrayed in the cloud.” This particular engraving influenced Maiakovskiĭ to write his famous poem titled “The Unusual Adventure that Happened to Vladimir Maiakovskiĭ at his Summer

⁹¹ Moldavskiĭ, D.M., *Izobrazhenie solntsa v gravure Vasiliia Korenia* (The depiction of the sun in the engravings of Vasiliĭ Koren') (Moskva: Akademia Nauk SSSR: Otdel Drevnerusskoi Literatury, Trudy, xxii, 1960), 447–449. Moldavskiĭ contends that Maiakovskiĭ, as a youth, paid strong interest to the Lubki, which were collected in his home.

House.”⁹² In the poem, the poet describes the sun, which comes to visit the poet upon his invitation. What are the characteristics of the depicted sun? The poet’s use of personification describes the sun as a human: it has a “golden forehead;” it lives “pampered in the clouds,” and it walks on “stretched beams-legs.” The common Russian saying “sun is walking,” Maiakovskii takes further, inquiring, “Why walk without any business, come to me for a cup of tea.”

Moldavskii contends that Maiakovskii depicts the sun in the traditions of Russian folklore, and specifically in the tradition established by the engraving of Koren'. Koren' in his engraving “The Angel arrayed in the cloud” uses Old Slavic oral traditions in combination with the Western traditions established by Durer. Koren's composition is similar to Durer's in general: the diagonal division of the two parts of the illustration: the water and the land, the kneeling figure of St. John with the opened book, and the figure of an angel. Koren' to some extent follows Durer's style: his angel has legs as columns of fire, a body as a cloud, with outstretched arms, one of them in a blessing gesture and the other giving a book to St. John. But the head of the angel, who carries the main message, is quite different: Durer's angel is a young man with an intense gaze, while Koren's angel, with his head as a sun, resembles folk oral and visual images of the sun. Why does Koren' personify the sun, and why does he do it so frequently? The answer can be found in the connection of Koren's image and the representation of the sun as a personage of Russian oral folklore.

⁹² Maiakovskii, V. V., *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii (The complete works)* (Moscow, Politizdat, 1956, Book 2), 35-38.

In Old Slavic culture, as in many other Indo-European cultures, people worshipped the sky as a source of life: from the sky fall down warm rays of the sun; from the sky shines the moon and the stars and from the sky fall drops of rain required for life and fertility. Afanas'ev offers a beautiful example of the poetic vision of the sky in "Verses from the Dove Book" in which "the sun appeared from the face of God, the young-light crescent from his chest, the stars from the garments of God, the white dawn from his eyes, the dark nights from the cape of God, the turbulent winds from his breath, the thunders from his speech, and the rain and the morning dew from his tears." In Slavic mythology, the sky received the name of *Svarog*, the owner of the universe, and the forefather of all Gods.⁹³ The *Sun*, or *Dazh'bog*, was the son of Svarog, named in several early Russian Chronicles.⁹⁴ Adoration of the sun by Old Slavs is reflected in many legends and tales. Disappearing in the evening and resurrecting in the morning with all its glory, the sun became a symbol of immortality. The sun was perceived as a good and merciful God who awakens life. In Russian fairytales, the sun, the moon, and the stars help personify and animate the stories. The sun punishes all evil in nature, dispelling darkness and cold, and in people, finding a way to make those who are unethical or dishonest suffer. In the heavenly bodies of the sun, the moon, and the stars, Old Slavs saw a warrant of the fertility of the earth. The observations of the moon and the stars, the different phases of the moon and the movement of the stars in the sky—all were used by Old Slavs in their calendar, time identification, and navigation. Observation of the

⁹³ Afanas'ev, A. N., *Mifologia Drevnei Russi* (Mythology of Old Russia) (Moskva: EKSMO, 2005, reprint of c. 1860-1870), 27.

⁹⁴ Nestor (1056-1114), a monk of Kievo-Pecherskiĭ monastery, mentions those names in his Chronicle. Also those names mentioned in Ipat'ev Chronicle and "Tale of Prince Igor."

heavens also helps people predict the weather: if the sun at dawn is red, the weather will be windy; the ring around the sun predicts bad weather; a ring around the moon would mean the day will also be windy.⁹⁵ Many of these beliefs are still held in Russia. In Slavic tales, the sun and moon were relatives: in some versions, they are brother and sister; in others, the sun is the wife and the moon is the husband. As Afanas'ev points out, these relationships were not permanently established but, instead, were diverse, mobile, and interchangeable, as the poetic visions of their creation of people were diverse and changing.

As Slavs worshiped the creative forces of nature, which bring goodness and beauty, they instinctively realized the presence of nature's negative forces, the dark and the cold. Afanas'ev contends that this realization at first was dictated by the physical conditions surrounding ancient people, who perceived everything in relation to themselves and their needs as individuals. This situation created a belief in *duality* of the forces of nature, the good and the bad. Ethical norms were created later, and they were added to the dual perception of nature. This dual perception of nature, in which good and evil forces interacted, was transferred to all religious beliefs of the Slavs, and later on, as Afanas'ev contends, mingled with the holy concepts of the new Orthodox religion.

Regardless of whether the beliefs of the Old Slavs were "right" or "wrong," the sincere notions of goodness and beauty in life were present in the souls of Old Slavs and live still in the souls of Russian people today.⁹⁶ This appreciation for goodness and

⁹⁵ Afanas'ev, 29.

⁹⁶ On May 1, 2006, I had a long distance telephone conversation with my mother, who resides in Moscow. Among the many things mother said, one was astonishing:

beauty accounts for why many Old Slavic customs are alive today. They are reflected in some Church celebrations such as Easter (in Old Slavic times what is now known as Easter was a celebration of spring); in folk culture (oral and visual); and in the Old Slavic traditions reflected in the *Folk Bible of Koren'*.

-
- Mother: "Sofia, tomorrow am going to visit the grave of your father, and make a special prayer in the Cemetery Church. As you know that tomorrow is *Radunitsa*, the day of the remembrance of the dead, and many people will visit the cemeteries and make prayers.
 - Sofia: "Mom, but *Radunitsa* is a Pagan celebration!
 - Mother: "Yes, maybe. But it is a very important and respectable Russian Orthodox celebration.

Even though we are in the 21st century we are still celebrating the Old Slavic *Radunitsa*.

CONCLUSION

The appearance of the *Folk Bible of Koren'* was stimulated by the dramatic changes in the religious, social and political life in Russia during the reforms of Patriarch Nikon and Peter the Great towards the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. The iconography in the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'* relies on a mix of several sources: Western traditions, Staroobriad (Russian Orthodox Old Belief) traditions, and Old Slavic pagan traditions diluted and filtered through the Russian Folk peasant traditions. The Book was made for a specific Staroobriad (Russian Orthodox Old Belief) audience. The author uses in the main image of God Savaof of the *Book of Genesis*, the iconography accepted by the followers of the Old Belief - the Savaof is depicted with the two finger blessing gesture. This Book was created forty years after the reforms of Patriarch Nikon were implemented, and after ten years of the reign and the reforms of Peter the Great. The author clearly expresses the negative moods of large masses of people towards the ruling Emperor and the Westernization of the Russian way of life, as he depicts in the last page of the *Book of Apocalypse*, "Christ Makes War on the Antichrist," Peter the Great as the first rider of the group of people falling into Hell. Peter the Great was seen by many Russians as an apocalyptic figure, and he is depicted as such in Koren's book.

The questions discussed in the beginning of this thesis and their answers that followed allow one to conclude that duality in the Russian Orthodox religion and culture did and still does exist. The *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ Koren'* is a great example of the

manifestation of the Old Slavic traditions fused together with the Russian Folk peasant culture.

Research on the *Folk Bible of Vasiliĩ* opens a door to an area of great interest: the nature of Old Slavic culture and religion. The fact that the distant Slavic culture has survived in folk practices and folk art until this day supports the claim that it is genuine and sophisticated. Further research is warranted to gain a fuller understanding of the nature of Old Slav culture.

Appendix I

A Chronology of the reforms of Patriarch Nikon

toward the end of the 17th Century

(in relation to the publication of *Folk Bible of Koren'*)

(the information is obtained from the official site of the Russian Orthodox Church of Old Believe and a book of Serge Zenkovsky *The Russian Old Believe*)⁹⁷

- 1652 – A Synod elected a Novgorodian Metropolitan Nikon as Patriarch.
- 1652 - A Synod was held to re-examine the service-books, ceremonies, icon painting and “tent-like” church constructions. The reforms were aimed to achieve uniformity between Russian and New Greek Orthodox Church practices.
- 1654 – Patriarch Nikon gained absolute control over Moscow Printing House.
- The re-printing of the Russian service-books following the example on the New Greek service-books started on April 1, 1654.
- 1655 – A Synod approved the New Church Regulations prepared by Patriarch Nikon. Here are some of the main ones:
 - The Old Russian two-finger gesture for making the sign of the cross and for blessing was changed to three-finger gesture to unify with the New

⁹⁷ Russian Orthodox Church of Old Believe <http://www.rpsc.ru>
Zenkovsky, Serge A. *Russkoe Staroobriadstvo* (Russian Old Believe). The book first was printed in Munich in 1970. In Moscow the book was reprinted in 1995.
<http://www.sedmitza.ru/index.html?did=36293>

Greek custom. The two-finger gesture was adopted from Byzantine in 10th century with the Orthodox Christianity.

- The name of the Savior “Isus”, which was written and pronounced in accordance with the Slavic grammar, was changed to Greek “Iesus”.
 - The procession during the baptizing, wedding ceremony, and prayer was moving with the direction of the Sun (as moving after the “Sun-Christ”), in the new ceremony the procession had to move against the Sun.
 - The church singing was changed from mono singing to Polish chorus singing, by the request of the Tsar’ Aleksey Michailovich.
- 1655 – A Synod pronounced anathematization, and canceling of all civil rights of the Old Believers.
 - 1658 – The voluntary deposition of Patriarch Nikon (as a result Russian Orthodox Church had no Patriarch for eight years).
 - 1660 – A Synod was held to choose a new Patriarch. The decision was not made.
 - 1666 – A Synod pronounced Patriarch Nikon guilty and deprived him of all his sacerdotal functions. Nikon as a simple monk was sent to the Ferapontov monastery on the White Sea. He died in 1681, near Iaroslavl’, while returning from his exile.
 - 1666 – 1667 - Old Believers separated from the hierarchy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and continued the liturgical practices which the Russian Orthodox Church maintained before the implementation of the reforms of Patriarch Nikon.

- 1682-1725 – Old Believers had to pay double taxation and a special tax for wearing a beard.

Appendix II

Approximate editions of first Russian printed books (1554-1600)

By Kukushkina

Title of the Book	Place of printing	Edition (# of copies)	Volume of the Book (pages)	Number of the existing copies
<i>Apostle</i> 1564	Moscow	1000-1017	268	50
<i>Book of Hours</i> 1565	Moscow	1078-1068	173	2
<i>Book of Hours</i> 1565	Moscow	1138-1202	172	5
<i>Psalter</i> 1568	Moscow	1617-1639	297	8
<i>Psalter</i> 1577	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	1369-1412	281	21
<i>Service-book</i> containing liturgy from Septuagesima to Easter 1589	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	1203-1206	470	41
<i>Service-book</i> containing liturgy from Easter to All-Saints' week 1591	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	669- 675	566	32
<i>Oktoikh</i> 1594	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	515-520	976	45
<i>Apostle</i> 1597	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	1050-1050	323	26
<i>Book of Hours</i> 1598	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	1015- 981	248	2
<i>Minea obshchaia</i>	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near	1079-1100	598	24

(general) 1600	Moscow)			
<i>Mineia obshchaia</i> (general) 1600	Alexandrovskaja Sloboda (near Moscow)	960- 978	340	23

Editions of first Russian printed books of the last 13 years of the 16th century

By Bubnov, N. U. (Kukushkina)

Title of the Book	Date of the beginning of the printing	Date of the ending of the printing	Length of the work
<i>Service-book</i> containing liturgy from Septuagesima to Easter	December 20, 1587	November 8, 1589	20.5 month
<i>Psalter</i>	1590 (?)	1591	?
<i>Service-book</i> containing liturgy from Easter to All-Saints' week	August 26, 1590	November 24, 1591	15 month
<i>Service-book</i> containing liturgy from Easter to All-Saints' week	1590	1592	?
<i>Oktoikh</i> , part 1-2	June 8, 1592	January 31, 1594	20 month
<i>Service-book</i> containing liturgy from Easter to All-Saints' week	1593	1594	?
<i>Lakuna</i>	End of 1594	May 24, 1596	17 month
<i>Apostle</i>	May 1596	July 4, 1597	13.5 month
<i>Lakuna</i>	July 4, 1597	May 17, 1598	10.5 month
<i>Book of Hours</i>	May 17, 1598	July 27, 1598	2 month and 10 days
<i>Lakuna</i>	July 27, 1598	July 4, 1599	12 month
<i>Mineia obshchaia</i> (general)	June 4, 1599	June 29, 1600	13 month
<i>Mineia obshchaia</i> (general)	June 13, 1599	August 19, 1600	13 month
<i>Book of Hours of Archbishop</i>	?	1600	?
<i>Book of Hours</i>	December 1, 1600	January 9, 1601	39 days

Appendix III

List of Old Slavic typographies (printing houses),
by their location and the year from the beginning of the printing,
by Sopikov, V. (1813)

1. Krakow, 1491.
2. Ugrovlakhia, 1512.
3. Prague, 1517.
4. Vilna, 1525.
5. Venice, 1527.
6. Serbia, 1547.
7. Tubing, 1554.
8. Moscow, 1564.
9. L'vov, 1573.
10. Ostrog, 1580.
11. Dermanskiĭ monastery, near Ostrog, 1603.
12. Striatin, 1604.
13. Galich', 1606.
14. Eviu, near Vilna, 1611.
15. Kiev, 1614.
16. Mogilev, 1616.

17. Pochaev, 1618.
18. Ugorets, 1618.
19. Rokhmanov, 1619.
20. Rome, 1621.
21. Lutsk, 1628.
22. Stockholm, 1628.
23. Kuteinskiĭ monastery, near Orsh, 1632.
24. Kremenets, 1628.

Appendix IV

Table of printed Old Slavic books
from the establishment of typographies to the eighteenth century,
by Sopikov, V. (1813)

#	Year	Place of printing	Title of the book
1	1489	Gutenberg	<i>Bible Bohemian</i>
2	1491	Krakow	<i>Psalter</i>
3	1491	Krakow	<i>Book of Hours</i>
4	1506	Venice	<i>Bible Bohemian</i>
5	1512	Ugrovlakhia	<i>Evangelie (Gospel)</i>
6	1517-19	Prague	<i>Bible. Translation of Dr. F. Skorina</i>
7	1525	Vil'na	<i>Apostle (Books of Apostles). Translation of Dr. F. Skorina</i>
8	1525	Vil'na	<i>Kanonnik (Canon). Printed by Dr. F. Skorina</i>
9	1525	Vil'na	<i>Psalter, Printed by Dr. F. Skorina</i>
10	1527	Venice	<i>Katekhizes (Catechizes)</i>
11	1545	Serbia	<i>Psalter with afterward in Serbian language</i>
12	1547	Serbia	<i>Prayer-book</i>
13	1554	Tubing	<i>New Testament</i>
14	1555	Prague	<i>Bible Bohemian</i>
15	1557	Tubing	<i>New Testament</i>

16	1557	Prague	<i>Bible Bohemian</i>
17	1561	Prague	<i>Bible Bohemian</i>

The rest of the items are photocopied in their original Russian version (about 1000 books).

годъ	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.	годъ	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1554	Тубингъ	Новый Заветъ, подъ № 1714	1590	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Чешмредешницъ.
1555	Прага	Библия Богемская.	1592	Москва	Псалтирь.
1557	Тубингъ	Новый Заветъ.	1591	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятницъ.
1557	Прага	Библия Богемская.	1592	Москва	Грамматика Греческая.
1561	Прага	Библия Богемская.	1591	Альва	Оклоухъ.
1561	Венеція	Псалтирь, подъ № 1728.	1592	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятницъ.
1562	Венеція	Катихизисъ Силона Бучаго.	1594	Москва	Псалтирь.
1562	Венеція	О оправданіи грѣшнаго человека.	1593	Москва	Мелешія Папприарха о Христіанскомъ
1562	Грайчуръ	Евангеліе воскресенья и праздническихъ.	1593	Вильна	благочестіи.
1562	Тригурія	Новый Заветъ Глаголицескій.	1593	Альва	Василій Великаго книга о послѣднихъ
1563	Тубингъ	Новый Заветъ, подъ № 1717.	1594	Острогъ	Евангеліе подковное.
1563	Тубингъ	Новый Заветъ.	1595	Вильна	Оброне Бреснскаго собора.
1564	Венеція	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятницъ.	1596	Вильна	Грамматика Славенская Л. Званія.
1564	Москва	Апостолъ.	1596	Прага	Виблія Богемская.
1566	Тубингъ	Псалтирь, подъ № 1731.	1596	Острогъ	Иванна Златоуста Маргаритъ.
1573	Амстердамъ	Апостолъ.	1597	Вильна	Апокризисъ, соч. Мелешія Смогряцкаго.
1575	Вильна	Псалтирь.	1597	Москва	Апостолъ.
1577	Москва	Псалтирь.	1598	Острогъ	Опись о разности Воспощныхъ церкви
1577	Тубингъ	Новый Заветъ, подъ № 1719.	1598	Острогъ	съ Западною.
1577	Прага	Библия Богемская, подъ № 1703.	1598	Острогъ	Книжица, содерж. десять разныхъ спл-
1578	Амстердамъ	Полнолннкіе Моисеево, на Іудеяск. яз. подъ № 1698.	1598	Острогъ	пей.
1579	Моравія	Библия Богемская, подъ № 1704.	1598	Острогъ	Псалтирь съ возсѣдожаніемъ.
1580	Острогъ	Новый Заветъ.	1600	Вильна	Евангеліе нагреспольное.
1581	Острогъ	Библия.	1600	Москва	Миней обща — въ апостъ и въ 4.
1581	Вильна	Псалтирь, подъ № 1733.			XVII вѣка.
1581	Тубингъ	Новый Заветъ, подъ № 1720.			
1583	Вильна	Наука Христіанскаго честнаго наученія.			
1583	Вильна	Служебникъ			
1583	Острогъ	О единой истинной Хр. вѣрѣ.	1602	Москва	Служебникъ.
1584	Вильна	Библия, Адамская, подъ № 1695.	1603	Москва	Псалтирь.
1585	Вильна	Катихизисъ	1603	Дерманскій М.	Оклоухъ.
1586	Вильна	Слупиушъ Княжества Литовскаго.	1604	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятницъ.
1588	Острогъ	Исследование о происхожденіи св. Духа.	1604	Острогъ	Служебникъ.
			1605	Москва	Евангеліе нагреспольное.

годы	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.	годы	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1605	Дерманскій М.	Мелетіа Патріарха левша къ Ипатію Епископу.	1610	Москва	Евангеліе толковное Воскресное.
1605	Москва	Тригиснець св. Чепырдесятиницъ.	1610	Розлиновъ	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.
1607	Острого	Требникъ.	1610	Могилевъ	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное; Анеологионъ.
1608	Острого	Требникъ.	1610	Кіевъ	Миней мѣсячная, первые 4 мѣсяца.
1608	Палитъ	Евангеліе толковное Воскресное.	1610	Москва	Грамматика Славенская М. Смотрицкаго.
1608	Москва	Евангеліе напостольное.	1610	Еяю	Казанье на погребеніе, Леонтіа Карповича.
1608	Москва	Апостолъ.	1620	Вильна	Служебникъ.
1607	Острого	Молитвословъ.	1620	Кіевъ	Служебникъ.
1607	Вильна	Служебникъ.	1620	Москва	Верпоградъ душевный.
1607	Острого	Іоанна Златоустого декретиво на оспандѣ умиасъ чюдотвѣщій.	1620	Вильна	Іоанна Златоустого выкладъ молитвыи ошче нашъ.
1608	Москва	Миней мѣсячная м. Сентябръ.	1620	Вильна	Тригиснець св. Чепырдесятиницъ.
1610	Москва	Успавъ церковный.	1622	Москва	Псалтирь Сербская.
1610	Москва	Чиновикъ Архіерейскаго священнослуженія.	1621	Сербія	Апостолъ.
1610	Вильна	Эринонъ.	1621	Москва	Кассіана Савомича Вирше на погребеніе Петра Конашевича Сетайдачаго.
1611	Москва	Миней мѣсячная мѣсяць Нолбрь.	1622	Кіевъ	Успавъ церковный.
1611	Еяю	Новый Заветъ.	1622	Вильна	Миней мѣсячная, 9 мѣсяцовъ.
1612	Острого	Пасословъ.	1622	Москва	Новый Заветъ.
1612	Еяю	Дюптра.	1623	Москва	Служебникъ.
1613	Порога	Вибліа Богемская.	1623	Вильна	Требникъ.
1614	Львовъ	Іоанна Златоустого книга о священствѣ.	1623	Москва	Тригиснець св. Чепырдесятиницъ.
1614	Кіевъ	Канонникъ.	1625	Кіевъ	Іоанна Златоустого бестѣм на 14 посланій Апостольскихъ.
1615	Москва	Служебникъ.	1625	Кіевъ	Его же бестѣм на дѣлнія Апостольскія.
1616	Москва	Служебникъ.	1625	Кіевъ	Требникъ.
1616	Москва	Служебникъ.	1625	Кіевъ	Номоканонъ.
1616	Москва	Служебникъ.	1625	Вильна	Служебникъ.
1618	Москва	Оклонъ.	1625	Москва	Требникъ.
1618	Еяю	Евангеліе учительное св. Каллпша.	1625	Могилевъ	Вѣра св. Каволитескіа церкви.
1617	Москва	Служебникъ.	1625	Кіевъ	Казанье на годовую память Еансея Пещенецаго.
1618	Вильна	Зерцало Богословіи.			
1618	Погасевъ	Собраніи словесъ отъ божественихъ писаній.			
1618	Вильна	Требникъ.			
1618	Почаевъ	Масима Грета слово на Лашинѣвъ.			

Ш. 17

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№ п/п	Место	Наименование
1601	Киев	Академия наук
1602	Москва	Исторический музей
1603	Киев	Музей
1604	Москва	Музей
1605	Киев	Музей
1606	Москва	Музей
1607	Киев	Музей
1608	Москва	Музей
1609	Киев	Музей
1610	Москва	Музей
1611	Киев	Музей
1612	Москва	Музей
1613	Киев	Музей
1614	Москва	Музей
1615	Киев	Музей
1616	Москва	Музей
1617	Киев	Музей
1618	Москва	Музей
1619	Киев	Музей
1620	Москва	Музей
1621	Киев	Музей
1622	Москва	Музей
1623	Киев	Музей
1624	Москва	Музей
1625	Киев	Музей
1626	Москва	Музей
1627	Киев	Музей
1628	Москва	Музей
1629	Киев	Музей
1630	Москва	Музей
1631	Киев	Музей
1632	Москва	Музей
1633	Киев	Музей
1634	Москва	Музей
1635	Киев	Музей
1636	Москва	Музей
1637	Киев	Музей
1638	Москва	Музей
1639	Киев	Музей
1640	Москва	Музей
1641	Киев	Музей
1642	Москва	Музей
1643	Киев	Музей
1644	Москва	Музей
1645	Киев	Музей
1646	Москва	Музей
1647	Киев	Музей
1648	Москва	Музей
1649	Киев	Музей
1650	Москва	Музей
1651	Киев	Музей
1652	Москва	Музей
1653	Киев	Музей
1654	Москва	Музей
1655	Киев	Музей
1656	Москва	Музей
1657	Киев	Музей
1658	Москва	Музей
1659	Киев	Музей
1660	Москва	Музей
1661	Киев	Музей
1662	Москва	Музей
1663	Киев	Музей
1664	Москва	Музей
1665	Киев	Музей
1666	Москва	Музей
1667	Киев	Музей
1668	Москва	Музей
1669	Киев	Музей
1670	Москва	Музей
1671	Киев	Музей
1672	Москва	Музей
1673	Киев	Музей
1674	Москва	Музей
1675	Киев	Музей
1676	Москва	Музей
1677	Киев	Музей
1678	Москва	Музей
1679	Киев	Музей
1680	Москва	Музей
1681	Киев	Музей
1682	Москва	Музей
1683	Киев	Музей
1684	Москва	Музей
1685	Киев	Музей
1686	Москва	Музей
1687	Киев	Музей
1688	Москва	Музей
1689	Киев	Музей
1690	Москва	Музей
1691	Киев	Музей
1692	Москва	Музей
1693	Киев	Музей
1694	Москва	Музей
1695	Киев	Музей
1696	Москва	Музей
1697	Киев	Музей
1698	Москва	Музей
1699	Киев	Музей
1700	Москва	Музей

годы.	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1637	Кіевъ	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.
1637	Купчинскій М.	Испови о Варлаамѣ пустыинникѣ.
1637	Москва	Служебникъ.
1637	Москва	Требникъ.
1637	Москва	Псалтирь.
1637	Москва	Триодіонъ.
1638	Кіевъ	Акаѳистъ св. Николаю.
1638	Вильна	Служебникъ.
1638	Кременецъ	Трагмамена Славенская.
1638	Кіевъ	Служебникъ.
1638	Москва	Миней общаѣ.
1638	Москва	Номоканонъ.
1638	Львовъ	Апостолъ.
1638	Купчинскій М.	Тришестъ духовное.
1639	Москва	Служебникъ.
1639	Москва	Требникъ, въ листъ и въ 4.
1639	Москва	Триодіонъ.
1639	Москва	Часословъ.
1639	Кіевъ	Акаѳистъ св. великомуч. Варварѣ.
1639	Москва	Тришестъ св. Пятидесятницы.
1640	Москва	Опкой.
1639	Москва	Опкой.
1640	Львовъ	Евангеліе на престольное.
1640	Москва	Служебникъ.
1640	Кіевъ	Тришестъ св. Четырдесятицы.
1640	Оспрогъ	Книга Пр. Никона Игу. Черная гор.
1640	Москва	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.
1640	Москва	Часословъ.
1640	Вильна	Посланіе св. Апостола Павла къ Римлянамъ и къ Галатамъ, подъ № 1725.
1641	Москва	Акаѳистъ св. Николаю.
1641	Кіевъ	Казаніе на погребеніе Князя Четвертинскаго.
1641	Москва	Канонникъ.
1641	Елѣо	Новый Заветъ.

годы.	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1641	Львовъ	Опкой.
1641	Москва	Прологъ.
1641	Москва	Служебникъ.
1641	Вильна	Служебникъ.
1641	Москва	Уставъ церковный.
1641	Львовъ	Тришестъ св. Пятидесятницы.
1641	Москва	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.
1641	Москва	Соборникъ.
1641	Москва	Житіе св. Іоанна Златоуста.
1641	Москва	Іоанна Златоуста Маргаритъ.
1641	Москва	Поученіе къ новопосвященному Іерек.
1641	Львовъ	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.
1641	Елѣо	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.
1641	Москва	Псалтирь.
1641	Купчинскій М.	Псалтирь.
1641	Москва	Тришестъ св. Четырдесятицы.
1641	Львовъ	Тришестъ св. Пятидесятницы.
1641	Вильна	Діонисъ.
1641	Львовъ	Анеологионъ.
1641	Москва	Ефрема Сирія поученія.
1641	Москва	Миней общаѣ.
1641	Кіевъ	Полууставъ.
1641	Кіевъ	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.
1641	Москва	Соборникъ.
1641	Москва	Апостолъ.
1641	Москва	Кирілла Іерусалимскаго поученія. слога.
1641	Львовъ	Опкой.
1641	Вильна	Евангеліе.
1641	Вильна	Опкой.
1641	Вильна	Требникъ.
1641	Москва	Миней мѣсячная.
1641	Москва	Собрание коронной науки объ арміюлахъ и др.
1641	Кіевъ	Номоканонъ.
1641	Львовъ	Псалтирь.
1641	Москва	Псалтирь.

годы.	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.	Званія книгъ.	Мѣста изданія.
1646	Черниговъ	Слова похвальныя Кирилла Транкви- ліона.	Октоихъ.	1649 Москва
1646	Москва	Служебникъ.	Псалтирь.	1649 Москва
1646	Львовъ	Собрание короткой науки объ аршину- лахъ вѣры.	Апостолъ.	1649 Москва
1646	Кіевъ	Требникъ Петра. Могилы.	Миней общія.	1650 Москва
1646	Могилель	Требникъ.	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.	1650 Москва
1646	Москва	Требникъ.	Служебникъ.	1650 Москва
1646	Кіевъ	Требникъ.	Анолологія.	1651 Львовъ
1646	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Четырдесятиницъ.	Діоптра.	1651 Купчинскъ, М.
1647	Москва	Шестодневъ.	Евангеліе.	1651 Москва
1647	Москва	Моливословъ.	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.	1651 Вильна
1647	Дельскій М.	О подражаніи Іисусу Христу.	Служебникъ.	1651 Москва
1647	Москва	Святцы.	Требникъ.	1651 Москва
1647	Москва	Службы Преподобнымъ Сергію и Ни- кону.	Трипѣснецъ св. Четырдесятиницъ.	1651 Москва
1647	Москва	Служебникъ.	Уставъ церковный.	1651 Москва
1647	Москва	Соборникъ.	Шестодневъ.	1651 Москва
1647	Москва	Требникъ.	Требникъ.	1652 Москва
1647	Купчинскъ, М.	Триологія.	Требникъ.	1652 Кіевъ
1647	Москва	Ученіе и хитрость спросенія пѣхоцъ ныхъ людей.	Часословъ.	1652 Москва
1647	Москва	Дѣспвица возводила на небо.	Азана Дороеа поученія.	1652 Москва
1648	Москва	Благовѣстникъ.	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.	1652 Москва
1648	Москва	Вѣра Православныя церкви.	Псалтирь.	1652 Москва
1648	Москва	Грамматика Славенская.	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.	1652 Москва
1648	Москва	Псалтирь.	Книга Кормчаа.	1652 Москва
1648	Москва	Святцы.	Апостолъ.	1653 Москва
1648	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Четырдесятиницъ.	Дидаскалія.	1653 Купчинскъ, М.
1648	Рига	Псалтирь подъ № 1735.	Ефрема Саргана поученія.	1653 Москва
1648	Москва	Капихизисъ Петра Могилы.	Ирмологій.	1653 Москва
1649	Москва	Уложенье.	Лексиконъ Славено-Російскій.	1653 Купчинскъ, М.
1649	Терговицъ	Трипѣснецъ св. Четырдесятиницъ.	Псалтирь.	1653 Москва
1649	Кіевъ	Собрание короткой науки объ аршину- лахъ вѣры.	Служебникъ.	1653 Москва
1649	Лорепто	Сокровище Славенскаго языка.	Служебникъ.	1653 Кіевъ
1649	Москва	Требникъ.	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятиницъ.	1653 Москва
			Грамопа успавная Ц. Алексѣя Михай- ловича.	1654 Москва

годъ.	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1654	Москва	Евангеліе Напреспольное.
1654	Москва	Минея общаѣ.
1654	Москва	Псалтирь.
1654	Купельск. М.	Диоптра.
1655	Москва	Апостолъ.
1655	Москва	Служебникъ.
1655	Москва	Требникъ.
1655	Москва	Чинъ освященія водъ въ навечеріе Богоявленія Господня.
1656		Никона Патриарха о созданіи Крест- наго монастыря уѣзданіе.
1656	Купельск. М.	Новый Заѣтъ.
1656	Москва	Похвала кресту Господню.
1656	Москва	Псалтирь.
1656	Москва	Тригласнецъ св. Четырдесятищны.
1656	Кіевъ	Псалтирь.
1656	Иверскій М.	Рай мысленный.
1656	Москва	Скрижаль.
1656	Москва	Служебникъ.
1656	Москва	Часословъ.
1657	Москва	Апостолъ.
1657	Москва	Букварь Славенскій.
1657	Москва	Евангеліе напреспольное.
1657	Москва	Ирмологій.
1657	Кіевъ	О сакраментѣхъ, или тайнахъ въ пос- лоиноспн.
1657	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованіемъ.
1657	Иверскій М.	Часословъ.
1658	Кіевъ	Новый Заѣтъ.
1658	Кіевъ	Панигирикъ на погребеніе Симеона Косова.
1658	Кіевъ	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованіемъ.
1658	Новгородъ	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованіемъ.
1658	Москва.	Свящцы.

годъ.	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1658	Москва	Служебникъ.
1658	Москва	Требникъ.
1658	Иверскій М.	Часословъ.
1658	Венеція	Псалтирь, подъ № 1735.
1658	Москва	Посланіе Памсія П. къ Никону П.
1658	Кіевъ	Ключъ разумѣнія.
1658	Москва	Требникъ.
1658	Кіевъ	Требникъ.
1659	Москва	Прологъ.
1660	Москва	Акселогіонъ, переводъ Арсенія.
1660	Кіевъ	Ключъ разумѣнія.
1660	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованіемъ.
1660	Спиритинъ	Требникъ.
1660	Москва	Тригласнецъ св. Пятидесятищны.
1660	Кіевъ	Казана Юанника Галлшовскаго.
1661	Иверскій М.	Враншо духовное.
1661	Москва	Букварь Славенскій.
1661	Москва	Ефрема Сирина поученіе.
1661	Кіевъ	Паперникъ Печерскій.
1661	Москва	Минея общаѣ.
1662	Москва	Акселспъ св. Николаю.
1662	Москва	Евангеліе напреспольное.
1662	Москва	Канонникъ.
1662	Москва	Требникъ.
1663	Кіевъ	Акселспъ и проч. молишамъ.
1663	Москва	Библия.
1663	Москва	Минея общаѣ.
1663	Москва	Минея Праздничная.
1663	Москва	Предѣлъ священнаго собора.
1663	Кіевъ	Часословъ.
1664	Москва	Букварь Славенскій.
1664	Кіевъ	Букварь Славенскій.
1664	Москва	Поимна Запоуста книга о свещенствѣ.
1664	Кіевъ	Тригласнецъ св. Четырдесятищны.
1664	Кіевъ	Тригласнецъ св. Пятидесятищны.

годъ	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.	годъ	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1665	Москва	Григоріа Назанзіана поученія.	1672	Грець	Евангеліа и посланія Апостольскія, подъ № 1908.
1665	Москва	Іоанна Златоуста бесѣды на Евангеліе св. Іоанна.	1673	Москва	Ирмодогій.
1665	Львовъ	Каювъ разумѣніа.	1673	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Четырнадцатиницъ.
1665	Львовъ	Небо новое.	1674	Унескъ. М.	Выкладъ о церквѣ св. святой.
1666	Москва	Жезъ приженія.	1674	Кіевъ	Синописъ.
1666	Москва	Ожонихъ.	1674	Кіевъ	Трубы словесъ.
1667	Москва	Псалтирь.	1674	Кіевъ	Акаѣисты и прочія молитвы.
1667	Москва	Миней мѣсячнамъ.	1675	Москва	Василія Великаго бесѣды на несподненъ.
1667	Москва	Ефрема Сиріа поученія.	1675	Москва	Прологъ.
1667	Москва	Псалтирь.	1675	Новгородъ	Псалтирь.
1667	Кіевъ	Псалтирь.	1675	Черниговъ	Часословъ.
1667	Москва	Саужбникъ.	1677	Москва	Часословъ.
1667	Москва	Свящца.	1678	Черниговъ	Смартница пошребная.
1668	Кіевъ	Выкладъ о церквѣ св. святой.	1678	Москва	Саужбникъ.
1668	Москва	Саужбникъ.	1678	Кіевъ	Акаѣисты.
1668	Львовъ	Требникъ.	1677	Москва	Іоаннѣ Пампирѣа извѣщеніе чудесе о сложеніи першовъ.
1668	Львовъ	Часословъ.	1677	Черниговъ	Небо новое.
1668	Москва	Часословъ.	1677	Москва	Послѣдованіе молебныхъ пѣній.
1668	Москва	Чинъ Архіерейскаго служенія.	1677	Черниговъ	Служба на день Казанскія Богородицы.
1669	Кіевъ	Мессія правдивый.	1677	Москва	Саужбникъ.
1669	Кіевъ	Миръ челоуку съ Богомъ.	1677	Кіевъ	Требникъ.
1669	Москва	Псалтирь.	1677	Москва	Чиновицъ Архіерейскаго служенія.
1669	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованіемъ.	1678	Москва	Анеодогіонъ.
1670	Кіевъ	Вукваръ Славенскій.	1678	Черниговъ	Анеодогіонъ.
1670	Кіевъ	Ирмодогій.	1678	Новгородъ	С.
1670	Градцикъ	Словаръ, или рѣчи Славенскія.	1678	Москва	Евангеліе на престоупное.
1670	Москва	Службникъ.	1678	Кіевъ	Огородокъ Маріи Богородицы.
1670	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятиницъ.	1678	Кіевъ	Патерикъ Печерскій.
1670	Москва	Евангеліа св. Маттея и св. Марка подъ № 1710.	1678	Кіевъ	Синописъ.
1670	Будинъ	Апостолъ.	1678	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Четырнадцатиницъ.
1671	Москва	Наука о тайнѣ покаяніа.	1678	Москва	Шестодневъ.
1671	Москва	Псалтирь.	1679	Москва	Апостолъ.
1671	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованіемъ.	1679	Москва	Вукваръ Славенскій. — Slav.
1671	Москва	Требникъ.	1679	Москва	Каноникъ.
1672	Кіевъ	Полууспаваъ.	1679	Кіевъ	Требникъ.

годъ	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.	годъ	Мѣста изданія.	Званія книгъ.
1679	Кіевъ	Трубы словесъ.	1682	Кіевъ	Часословъ.
1679	Унѣвскій М.	Зерцало Богословій.	1682	Москва	Призѣшество брачное Царю Ѡ. А.
1679	Москва	Поученіе къ новопоспавленному Іерею	1683	Москва	Вечера душевна.
1680	Черниговъ	Благодыти и испинна.	1683	Москва	Ирмологій.
1680	Черниговъ	Букварь Славенскій.	1683	Черниговъ	Руно орошенное.
1680	Кіевъ	Миней обща.	1684	Москва	Иоакима П. Слово на Никиту пусто- свяпа.
1680	Черниговъ	Псалтирь.	1684	Москва	Его же слово благодарственное.
1680	Яссы	Псалтирь.	1684	Москва	Псалтирь.
1680	Кіевъ	Синописиъ.	1685	Москва	Апостола.
1680	Москва	Сказаніе яко о святыхъ не достопны молилися.	1685	Черниговъ	Грѣхъ собрание.
1680	Москва	Теснаменшъ Василія П. Греческаго	1685	Москва	Евангеліе напрестольное.
1680	Кіевъ	Гожъ.	1685	Черниговъ	Трипѣснецъ св. Чепмредесятиницъ.
1680	Москва	Требникъ.	1686	Черниговъ	Бога поганскіе.
1680	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Чепмредесятиницъ.	1686	Москва	Календарь Астрономическій.
1680	Москва	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятницъ.	1686	Москва	Оконхъ.
1680	Москва	Псалтирь стихами.	1686	Москва	Оконхъ.
1680	Черниговъ	Руно орошенное.	1686	Москва	Псалтирь.
1681	Москва	Евангеліе напрестольное.	1686	Львовъ	Трипѣснецъ св. Пятидесятницъ.
1681	Москва	Исторія о Варлаамъ пустынникъ.	1687	Черниговъ	Души людей умершихъ.
1681	Москва	Миней обща.	1687	Москва	Евангеліе напрестольное.
1681	Москва	Обѣдъ душевнй.	1687	Москва	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.
1681	Вильна	О посладованіи Іисусу Христу.	1687	Москва	Екменія о побѣдѣ на сопосташъ.
1681	Москва	Псалтирь.	1687	Москва	Ирмологій.
1681	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.	1687	Москва	Миней обща.
1681	Москва	Требникъ.	1687	Черниговъ	Минейвословъ.
1681	Москва	Часословъ.	1687	Львовъ	Псалтирь
1682	Москва	Евангеліе напрестольное.	1687	Львовъ	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.
1682	Унѣвскій М.	Евангеліе учительное Воскресное.	1687	Москва	Требникъ.
1682	Москва	Иоакима П. узнѣтъ духовнй.	1687	Москва	Азбука святаго пѣнія.
1682	Москва	Полууставъ.	1687	Москва	Апос.
1682	Кіевъ	Полууставъ.	1687	Москва	Акафисъ и служба св. Николаю.
1682	Москва	Поученіе къ новопоспавленному Іерею	1687	Москва	Ванецъ Христовъ.
1682	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсладованіемъ.	1687	Москва	Дары Душъ (вѣлаго.
1682	Москва	Считаніе удобное.	1688	Москва	Иоакима П. поученіе въ нашествіе зар- вара.
1682	Москва	Уставъ церковный.	1688	Москва	Требникъ.
			1688	Кіевъ	Трипѣснецъ молищеніе.

годъ изда- нiя.	Званiя книгъ.	Мѣ- сто изд.	Званiя книгъ.
1683 Москва	Чинъ Архiерейскаго служенiя.	1693 Рудинъ	Посланiя св. Апостола Павла, подъ № 1724.
1683 Азовъ	Тридесяти св. Пятидесятищизнъ.	1694 Москва	Акаѣстъ и служба св. Николаю, Анохотонъ.
1683 Москва	Шестодневъ.	1694 Азовъ	М. Молившимъ погребеннымъ.
1683 Москва	Канонъ на престольное.	1694 Унскъ	Молившася.
1683 Киевъ	Имѣи свѣтъ, часъ первая.	1694 Москва	Псалтирь съ возсѣдованiемъ.
1683 Москва	Молившася.	1694 Киевъ	Апостолъ.
1683 Москва	Омонокъ.	1695 Москва	Житiя свѣтъ, часъ вторая.
1683 Москва	Пролокъ.	1695 Киевъ	Житiя свѣтъ, часъ вторая.
1683 Москва	Псалтирь.	1695 Унскъ	М. Зерцало Богословъ.
1683 Москва	Слѣдъ.	1695 Унскъ	Миня обща.
1683 Киевъ	Тридесяти св. Пятидесятищизнъ.	1695 Рудинъ	Полноуспенъ.
1683 Москва	Миня обща.	1695 Москва	Псалтирь.
1683 Киевъ	Полноуспенъ.	1695 Киевъ	Псалтирь съ покровенiемъ.
1683 Азовъ	Псалтирь.	1695 Москва	Слѣдъ.
1683 Киевъ	Псалтирь.	1695 Азовъ	Тридесяти.
1683 Киевъ	Полноуспенъ.	1695 Рудинъ	Посланiя Апостольскiя, подъ № 1726.
1683 Черниговъ	Руно орошенное.	1695 Москва	Уставъ церковный.
1683 Азовъ	Слѣдъ.	1695 Москва	Акаѣстъ и служба св. Николаю.
1683 Москва	Букварь Славенскъ, К. Исполнъ.	1695 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и служба св. Николаю.
1683 Азовъ	Букварь Славенскъ.	1695 Киевъ	Вънѣшъ молишь седмичныхъ.
1683 Москва	Миня обща.	1695 Оксфордъ	Грамматика Россiйская.
1683 Киевъ	Зерцало Богословъ.	1695 Москва	Евангелiе покое всенное.
1683 Азовъ	Миня обща.	1695 Москва	Миня обща.
1683 Киевъ	Новый Заветъ.	1695 Москва	Почтенiе къ новопоставленному Герою.
1683 Москва	Омонокъ.	1695 Москва	Православное исповѣданiе.
1683 Киевъ	Псалтирь.	1695 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ всенные.
1683 Киевъ	Слѣдъ.	1695 Москва	Анохотонъ.
1683 Киевъ	Слѣдъ.	1695 Москва	Евангелiе на престольное.
1683 Москва	Тридесяти св. Пятидесятищизнъ.	1695 Москва	Евангелiе учительное Носкресное.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Москва	Канонъ св. Алексiю Митрополиту.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Киевъ	Миня обща.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Черниговъ	Молившася Трехъсвятый.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Черниговъ	Псалтирь съ покровенiемъ.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Черниговъ	Руно орошенное.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Киевъ	Слѣдъ.
1683 Киевъ	Акаѣстъ и Канонъ.	1695 Москва	Гребень.

годъ.	Мѣста изданія.	Званіе книгъ.
1697	Москва	Трипѣнецъ св. Четырѣдесятиницъ.
1697	Москва	Тропарь св. Алексію Митрополиту.
1698	Кіевъ	Анагностъ великомуч. Варваръ.
1698	Могилевъ	Акаѳисты всесѣдмичне.
1698	Москва	Влагодѣшникъ.
1698	Москва	Букварь Славенскій.
1698	Могилевъ	Діоптра.
1698	Москва	Евангеліе напрестольное.
1698	Москва	Евангеліе толковое всѣдневное.
1698	Москва	Іоанна Злат. Маргаритинъ.
1698	Москва	Псалтирь съ возсѣданіемъ.
1699	Амстер- дамъ	Введеніе во вселенную Исторію.
1699	Амстер- дамъ	Краткое рукоу. въ Архимешку.
1699	Могилевъ	Нѣбо новое.
1699	Москва	Октоихъ.
1699	Могилевъ	Перло многоцѣнное.
1699	Унскъ. М. Паламиръ	Трипѣнецъ великопостный.
1699	Москва	Трипѣнецъ великопостный.
1699	Львовъ	Трамманшка Латинская.
1700	Амстер- дамъ	Жизнь святыхъ, часть шрестія.
1700	Кіевъ	Ирмолоній.
1700	Могилевъ	Ирмолоній съ нотами.
1700	Львовъ	Молитвословъ.
1700	Москва	Октоихъ.
1700	Львовъ	Припчи Езоповы.
1700	Амстер- дамъ	Слѣпцы.
1700	Москва	Собрание краткое Лѣта Митворца.
1700	Амстер- дамъ	Шестодневъ.
1700	Москва	Слава норжествъ.
1700	Амстер- дамъ	Сія послѣдняя книга ошибкою пропу- щена въ первой части, а помѣстилась уже во второй.

II РОСПИСЬ

ДРЕВНІЕ СЛАВЕНСКІЕ ТИПОГРАФИИ, СЪ ПОКАЗАНІЕМЪ
ВЪ КАКИХЪ МѢСТАХЪ ОНИ НАХОДИЛИСЯ, И СЪ КОТОРАГО
ВРЕМЕНИ КАЖДАЯ ИЗЪ НИХЪ, ПО НАПЕЧАТАНЫМЪ КНИГАМЪ,
ОДЪЯЛАСЯ ИЗВѢСТНОЮ.

1. Въ Краковѣ, съ 1491 года.
2. — Угровлахѣмъ, съ 1512 —
3. — Прагѣ, что въ Богеміи, съ 1517 —
4. — Вильнѣ, съ 1525 —
5. — Венеціи, съ 1527 —
6. — Сербіи, съ 1547 —
7. — Тубингѣ, съ 1554 —
8. — Москвѣ, съ 1564 —
9. — Львовѣ, съ 1573 —
10. — Острогѣ, съ 1580 —
11. — Дерманскомъ монастырѣ, близъ Острога, съ
1603 —
12. — Спратинѣ, съ 1604 —
13. — Галичѣ, съ 1606 —
14. — Елю, близъ Вильнѣ, съ 1611 —
15. — Кіевѣ, съ 1617 —
16. — Могилевѣ, съ 1618 —
17. — Почаевѣ, съ 1618 —
18. — Угорцахъ, съ 1618 —
19. — Рохмановѣ, съ 1619 —
20. — Римѣ, съ 1621 —
21. — Луцкѣ, съ 1628 —
22. — Споягольцѣ, съ 1628 —
23. — Купчинскомъ монастырѣ, близъ Орши, съ 1632 —
24. — Кременцѣ, съ 1638 —

Часть I.

Appendix V

Engraving of Peter the Great

“The Victory of the Orthodox over Islam”

(Source: Gollerbakh E. Istoriia Graviury i Litografii v Rossii (A History of Graphics in Russia). Moscow: State Printing House, 1923, 31.)

«Торжество христианства над магометанством».
Офорт, исполненный Петром Великим

Appendix VI

Pope Johan Paul II

Receives from Viktor Penzin a recreated

Folk Bible of *Koren'*

(Source: Batygin, Alekseĭ. Smotri v koren' (Look into the root). Voice of Russia,
October 23, 2003

<http://www.rg.ru/2003/10/23/bibliya.html>

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Plate 1. Four Riders of Vasiliia Korenia.

(Source: Sakovich, A.G. Narodhaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia.
 (People engraved book of Vasiliĭ Koren')
 (Moscow: ART Publishing, 1983), 22.)

Plate 2. Four Riders from the Köln Bible (c. 1478).

Ibid., 14.

Plate 3. Four Riders of Durer (1498).

Ibid., 14.

vnd ich höre eu-
 stimme mitter vns
 der den vier chie-
 ren sage/ ein maß
 weynen vmb eys-
 nen pfennig/ vnd
 drey maß gersten
 vmb eynen pfens-
 nig / vnd dem ole
 vii wein chñ kein
 leyb.

Vnd daz es das
 vierde sigell auff-
 thet/ höret ich die
 stimb des vierdē
 chieres sage/ küb
 vnd sihe zu. Vnd
 sihe ein falsß pferd
 vnd d drauff saß/
 des name hieß d
 eode/ vnd die hel-
 le folgte im nas-
 ch/ vnd im ward
 mache geben zu
 edden / auff den
 vier orten der er-
 de / mitter dem sch-
 werde vnd huns

ger vnd mitter dem eode von den chieren auff erden.

Plate 4. Four Riders of Martin Luther Bible (Basel, 1523).

Ibid., 14.

Plate 5. Four Riders of Krakow Bible (Krakow, 1561).

Ibid., 15.

Plate 6. Four Riders of Master Prokopii (Kiev, 1646-1662).

Ibid., 15.

Plate 7. Four Riders of Piscator Bible (Amsterdam, 1650).

Ibid., 15.

Plate 8. Four Angels Standing on the Four Corners of Earth of Koren's Bible.

Ibid., 117.

Plate 10. Worship to the Beast of Gurii Nikitin.

Ibid., 117.

Plate 12. The head of Adam.

Ibid., 117.

Plate 13. The head of the Youth.

Ibid., 117.

Plate 14. Grammar of Istomin.

(Source: Is istorii pis'ma (From the History of Writing).
<http://www.websib.ru/~ic/articles/interest24.phtml>)

Plate 15. Christ Makes War on the Antichrist.

(Source: Sakovich, A.G. Narodhaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia.
(People engraved book of Vasiliĭ Koren')
(Moscow: ART Publishing, 1983), 22.)

Петр I

Plate 16. The Emperor Peter I.

(Source: Knigi Starogo Urala (The Books of Old Ural of the 16th-19th century)
(Sverdlovsk: Sredne-Ural'skoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stvo, 1989), 126.)

Plate 17. The Emperor Peter I Chased by the Sky Forces.

Ibid., 143.

Plate 18. The First day of Creation.

(Source: Sakovich, A.G. Narodhaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia.
 (People engraved book of Vasiliĭ Koren')
 (Moscow: ART Publishing, 1983), 1.)

Plate 19. And on the Seventh Day God ended his work.

Ibid., 7.

Plate 20. Adam and Eve with their Children Avel' and Kain.

Ibid., 16.

188 TO 195 CARVED WOODEN LAUNDRY BEETLES ("VALKI")

196 TO 202 CARVED WOODEN LAUNDRY BEETLES ("VALKI") AND DISTAFFS ("PRALKI")

Plate 21. Prialka (distaff).

Ibid., 16.

Plate 22. The Fifth day of Creation.

Ibid., 5.

Plate 24. Koren's lion with the flowering tale (top) and the carved wooden panels of Volga River region of the 19th century (below).

Ibid., 107.

Plate 25. The Cat of Kazan'.

(Source: Folk Picture of Russia and Germany of the 19th – beginning 20th centuries. Catalog of the State Historical Museum. (Moskva: Khudozhnik i KNIGA, 2001), 99.)

Plate 26. Vasiliĭ, the Prussian Cat – Russian Enemy.

Ibid., 99.

Plate 27. The Angel Clothed in the Cloud:
left: Durer; right: Koren'

(Source: Narodhaia gravirovannaia kniga Vasiliia Korenia.
(People engraved book of Vasiliĭ Koren')
(Moscow: ART Publishing, 1983), 31.)

Plate 28. Images of the sun, the moon and the stars.

Ibid.

Plate 29. Images of the sun, the moon and the stars.

Ibid.

Plate 30. Images of the sun, the moon and the stars.

Ibid.

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