



[DOI: 10.35549/HR.2026.2026.58.001](https://doi.org/10.35549/HR.2026.2026.58.001)

Original paper



Ivan A. Bulychev

Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow, Russian Federation

E-mail: fenix-zero@yandex.ru

On the Newly Discovered Horologion (Moscow, December 1689), Previously Known Only from Seventeenth-Century Documents

Abstract

This article is devoted to the attribution and dating of an incomplete copy of a printed *Horologion* (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, hereinafter *РГАДА*, Library of the Moscow Synodal Printing House collection, hereinafter *БМСТ*, subdivision, hereinafter *снк*, № 2342). Since traditional methods made it possible only to establish the Moscow origin of the book under study, documentary materials from the archival collection of the Department of Printed Books (*РГАДА*. Ф. 1182) were consulted in order to determine the exact date of its publication. Their examination made it possible to establish the period during which the edition in question was printed. The non-liturgical texts contained in the book — *Predislovie v Chasoslov* (“Preface to the Horologion”) and *Predanie o slozhenii perstov* (“Instruction on the Folding of Fingers”) — allowed 1684 to be identified as the lower chronological boundary for the search for the edition. The upper



boundary was set at 1700 because such characteristics of the examined copy as the number of quires, the typeface, and the number of lines in the type area differ from the corresponding features of the Horologia printed in the eighteenth century. As a result of the study, it was established that the book belongs to the December 1689 edition, previously known only from seventeenth-century documentary evidence. An analysis of the contents of these texts, together with the cultural and political context of the Muscovite Tsardom in the 1680s, sheds light both on the reasons for their inclusion in this Horologion and on the publishing policy of the Moscow Print Yard concerning editions used for teaching faith and literacy. The article also examines the peculiarities of the liturgical contents of the edition in comparison with other Horologia of the last third of the seventeenth century, as well as the free distribution of newly printed copies of the December 1689 edition. In addition, the article establishes the period during which Simeon of Polotsk wrote the work *Predislovie v Chasoslov* and clarifies details of the procedure by which the management of the Print Yard reported printing expenses to the Patriarch.

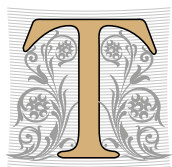
Keywords:

Moscow Print Yard; Early printed Cyrillic editions; History of the book; Horologion; Department of Printed Books

For citation:

Ivan A. Bulychev. On the Newly Discovered Horologion (Moscow, December 1689), Previously Known Only from Seventeenth-Century Documents // *The Historical Reporter*. 2026. Vol. 58. P. 10–37.
[DOI: 10.35549/HR.2026.2026.58.001](https://doi.org/10.35549/HR.2026.2026.58.001)





he collection of early printed books from the Library of the Synodal Printing House preserves an incomplete copy of a *Horologion* lacking publication information (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК № 2342)¹. The copy is a quarto-format volume (8°). The edition was printed in a single color. The *Horologion* was printed in the Arsenius typeface (84 mm)², cast by the hierodeacon Arsenius in 1687³ and widely used in Moscow editions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As is well known, this typeface derived from the Nikitin font (85 mm), which was widespread in Moscow book printing during the seventeenth century. Rubrics, lombards, and incipits were also set in the Arsenius typeface⁴. The type area contains 13 lines per page.

The book consists of two parts with separate foliations. The first part originally contained 13 leaves (folios) (2 quires without signature marks), while the second part contained 304 leaves (38 quires with alphabetic numerals as signature marks).

The first part lacks folio 1, which contained the imprint information, and folio 6, containing a fragment of the text from the *Preface to the Horologion*. In the second foliation, the 16th and 17th quires (folios 121–136, containing the conclusion of the Typika Sequence, the Rite of the Panagia, and the beginning of the Ninth Hour service) are bound after the 18th quire (folios 137–144).

The earliest recorded use of the only “large” headpiece ornament found in the *Horologion* dates to 1651–1652⁵, whereas all of the “small” ornaments belong to the 1680s⁶.

¹ For a more detailed description of the item see Appendix 1.

² Лукьянова Е.В. Московские кирилловские издания в собраниях РГАДА. Каталог 1626–1650. Вып. 2. С. 322.

³ Покровский А.А. Печатный Московский двор в первой половине XVII века. М., 1913. С. 42.

⁴ In surviving documents of the Printing Department from the late 1680s — early 1690s, editions in which this typeface was used were often described as printed in Nikitin’s “alphabet”.

⁵ Зернова А.С. Альбом орнаментики книг московской печати XVI–XVII веков. М., 1952. № 374; same author. Указатель к альбому орнаментики книг московской печати XVI–XVII веков. М., 1952. С. 39.

⁶ Some of them were not included by A.S. Zernova as used in printing of *Horologia*. Зернова А.С. Орнаментика книг московской печати кирилловского шрифта XVII–XVIII веков. 1677–1750 (Атлас). М., 1963. № 51, № 99;

The paper used for printing the *Horologion* bears the watermark “Jester’s Head with Seven Bells” (for example, on folio 7 of the first foliation and folio 7 of the second foliation), but the small size of these fragments, determined by the format of the edition, makes precise attribution of the watermark impossible.

The edges of the book block are decorated with a floral stamped design with traces of blue pigment. The leather covering of the binding boards is worn, and the lower clasp has been lost. Judging from surviving traces of paint, the upper board originally bore gold tooling. The binding is characteristic of editions from the last quarter of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. The width of the page margins makes it possible to state confidently that the copy retains its original binding. The fragment of the “Jester’s Head” watermark on the front pastedown does not permit its identification.

No ownership or donation inscriptions are preserved in the described *Horologion*.

On the front pastedown there is a label from the Library of the Moscow Synodal Printing House⁷ (Палата Д. / Шкаф 4 / Полка III / Место 14 / Каталог № 1368). Various labels with shelf numbers are also present on the spine and upper board. The information on this label corresponds to the data in the БМСТ card catalogue compiled at the end of the nineteenth century: “No. 1368, *Horologion*. Undescribed, second half of the 17th century, octavo, 13 and 304 f. Д. 4. III. 14”⁸. The old shelfmark, 1368, has been crossed out on the labels, and next to it a new number, 2342, has been added in ballpoint pen from the current inventory of the library collection “Library of the Moscow Synodal Printing House: Early Printed Books”, in which the book is identified as a *Chasovnik* printed in Moscow in 1654. However, the 1654 *Chasovnik*⁹ differs from the copy under examination in its typeface, number of quires, number of lines, and contents¹⁰.

same author. Орнаментака книг московской печати Кирилловского шрифта XVII–XVIII веков. 1677–1750 (Указатель). М., 1963. С. 32–33, 54.

⁷ Hereinfter БМСТ.

⁸ Card catalogue of БМСТ of the second half of the 19th — early 20th century under the letter «Ч».

⁹ Inventory of БМСТ/СПК. Кн. 1: № 1–4825 (manuscript). Л. 95.

¹⁰ Часовник. М., апрель 1654 г. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК № 2334); Cf.: Зернова А.С. Книги кирилловской печати, изданные в Москве в XVI–XVII веках: сводный каталог. М., 1958. № 254.

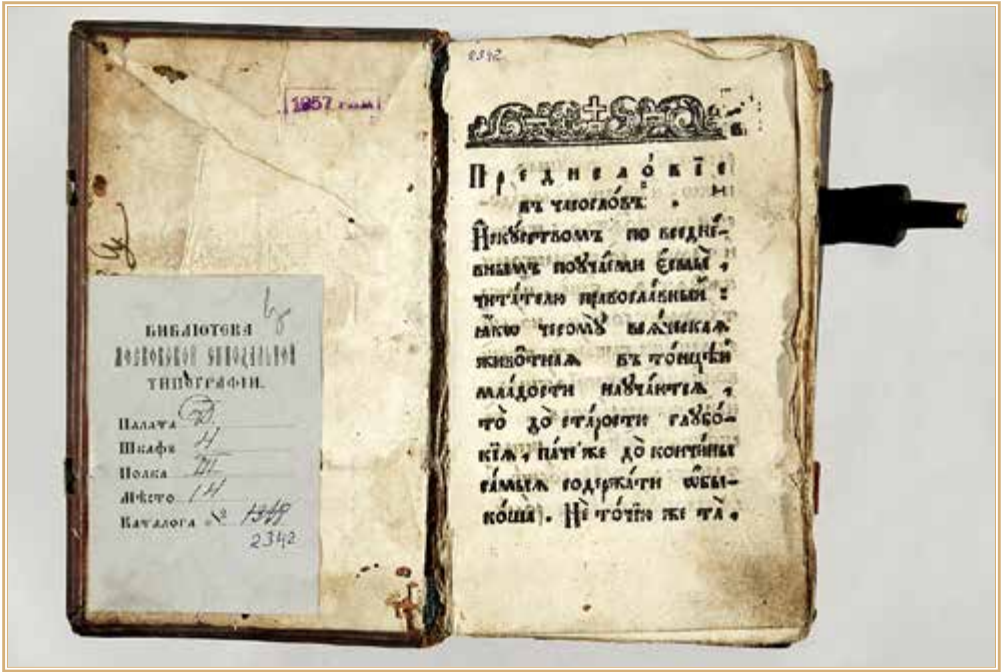


Copy of the Book of Hours, December 1689 edition.
RGADA. BMST/spk No. 2342. From open sources

Moreover, the first, introductory section of the *Horologion*, which lacks its imprint information, contains two texts that were printed in Moscow Horologia at the end of the seventeenth century: *Predislovie v Chasoslov* (“Preface to the Horologion”) (fols. 2a–7a), first attested in an edition published in February 1680¹¹, and *Predanie o slozhenii perstov* (“Instruction on the Folding of Fingers”) (fols. 8a–13b), which first appeared in printed books in September 1684¹². The text of the *Instruction* is an abridgement of *Iz’iavlenie kako vsiakomu pravoslavnomu khristianinu podobayet na izobrazhenie Khrista, i kiia persty slagati i krestnoe zname-nie na sebe izobrazhati* (“Explanation of How Every Orthodox

¹¹ Часослов. М., февраль 1680. Л. 2a–7a (foliation 1). <РГАДА. МГАМИД/спк № 813>. An article dedicated to this newly discovered edition is currently being composed.

¹² РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 100. Л. 81b; Белянкин Ю.С. Церковь и государство в полемике со старообрядцами во второй половине XVII в. (на примере деятельности Московского Печатного двора). Дисс. на соискание уч. ст. канд. ист. наук. М., 2013. С. 163–164 <manuscript>.



The first page of a copy of the Book of Hours (December 1689 edition), featuring the beginning of Simeon of Polotsk's "Preface to the Book of Hours".

From open sources

Christian Should Form the Fingers for the Sign of Christ and Make the Sign of the Cross upon Oneself”), first published in the Moscow instructional *Psalter* of March 1684¹³, and later included in the *Psalter with Offices* edition of September 1684¹⁴. Consequently, the *Horologion* under examination could not have been printed earlier than 1684. The upper boundary for dating the edition is 1700, since all *Horologia* printed at the Moscow typography during the first half of the eighteenth century contained fewer quires, were printed in a smaller typeface, and accordingly had a greater number of lines per type area¹⁵.

¹³ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп.1. Д. 100. Л. 80b–81a; Белянкин Ю.С. Церковь и государство в полемике со старообрядцами... С. 163.

¹⁴ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 100. Л. 81a; Белянкин Ю.С. Церковь и государство в полемике со старообрядцами... С. 163.

¹⁵ Гусева А.А. Свод русских книг кирилловской печати XVIII века типографий Москвы и Санкт-Петербурга и универсальная методика их идентификации. М., 2010. № 1780, 1782, 1783, 1786, 1788, 1799, 1802, 1805, 1812, 1814, 1816.

Since traditional methods of dating editions on the basis of typographic ornaments or paper watermarks do not provide a precise positive result in this case, the only possible way to establish the publication date of the *Horologion* under study is to consult the documentary materials of the Department of Printed Books (РГАДА. Ф. 1182)¹⁶.

According to the materials of the Department of Printed Books, twelve Horologia were printed at the Moscow Print Yard between 1684 and 1700 (Table 1), of which only two — the *Horologion with Kathismata* (No. 2)¹⁷ and the *Horologion* (No. 5) — have survived to the present day¹⁸.

Table 1. Main characteristics of the Horologia printed at the Moscow Print Yard from September 1684 to July 1700

№	Edition	Date of completion	Print run	Format	Type-face/ font	Number of quires	Source
1	<i>Horologion</i>	September 1684	4800	quarto	<i>Osipov</i>	32 ½	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 81. Л. 123a–126b
2	<i>Horologion with Kathismata</i>	20 March 1685	2400	quarto	<i>Nikitin</i> (font 85 mm)	39 ½	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 81. Л. 153a–160a
3	<i>Horologion</i>	20 September 1686	4800	quarto	<i>Osipov</i>	32 ½	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 81. Л. 230b–234b
4	<i>Horologion</i>	December 1687	4800	quarto	<i>Voskresensk</i>	24 ¼	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 81. Л. 291a–295b

¹⁶ For more on documentation of the Printing Book Office see: Дадыкин А.В. Документы приказа книгопечатного дела второй половины XVII в. как исторический источник // Поздеева И.В., Пушкин В.П., Дадыкин А.В. Московский печатный двор — факт и фактор русской культуры, 1652–1700 гг. Кн. 1. М., 2007. С. 39–59.

¹⁷ Зернова А.С. Книги кирилловской печати... № 392.

¹⁸ Ibid. № 418.

№	Edition	Date of completion	Print run	Format	Typeface/ font	Number of quires	Source
5	<i>Horologion</i>	January 1689	4800	quarto	<i>Voskresensk</i> (font 60 mm)	24 ¼	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. Л. 30а–35а
6	<i>Horologion without cinnabar</i> (without red ink)	December 1689	4800	quarto	<i>Nikitin</i>	40	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. Л. 70b–75а
7	<i>Horologion</i>	20 December 1691	7200	quarto	<i>Osipov</i>	25	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. Л. 114а–118b
8	<i>Horologion</i>	23 June 1694	4800	quarto	<i>Nikitin</i>	Not mentioned	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. Л. 184а–187b
9	<i>Horologion</i>	27 April 1696	7200	quarto	<i>Osipov</i>	Not mentioned	Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. Л. 237b–241а
10	<i>Horologion</i>	25 April 1697	2400	quarto	<i>Osipov</i>	Not mentioned	Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Д. 176. Л. 1а–4а
11	<i>Horologion</i>	April 1698	4800	quarto	<i>Nikitin</i>	Not mentioned	Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Д. 182. Л. 1а–5а
12	<i>Horologion</i>	6 July 1700	4800	quarto	<i>Osipov</i>	Not mentioned	Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Д. 194. Л. 1а–5а

It follows from Table 1 that the characteristics of the *Horologion* from the Moscow Synodal Printing House collection under examination — its format, typeface, number of quires, and absence of red printing — correspond to those of the *Horologion* whose printing began on 17 October 1689 and was completed in December of the same year (No. 6). All other Horologia differ in their combination of these parameters.

In the register book of newly issued books for 1689–1696, the term *Chasoslovets*¹⁹ is used in reference to this *Horologion*. During the

¹⁹ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. Л. 70b.

second half of the seventeenth century, this was the standard designation for quarto-format *Horologia* corresponding to the modern octavo format, although the more precise generic term *Chasoslov*²⁰ (“*Horologion*”) could also be used for such books. In the inventory book, however, the December 1689 edition was referred to as the “small *Chasoslovets*”²¹. The same designation appears in inventory books for *Horologia* printed in September 1682²², June 1694²³, and April 1698²⁴.

Another term used in the late seventeenth century in the records of the Department of Printed Books for quarto-format *Horologia* was “instructional *Horologion*” (*uchebnyi Chasoslov*). This designation appears in the expenditure book for September 1692 — August 1693 in the section recording books distributed free of charge: “on the 24th day of November ... presented ... to the Sovereign Lady, Tsarevna and Grand Princess Maria Alekseevna ... also an instructional, small *Horologion*, bound, without payment”²⁵. The most recently printed *Horologion* at that time was the December 1691 edition, which is evidently the one referred to in this entry. A.V. Voznesensky associated the appearance in the accounting records of the Department of Printed Books of the term “instructional” for quarto-format *Horologia* with the publication in March 1688 of the “large lectern *Horologion*,” printed in folio format²⁶. This circumstance probably also explains the more frequent use during the same period of the term “small” to characterize quarto-format *Horologia* in the records of the Department of Printed Books.

As Table 1 demonstrates, a notable feature of the *Horologion* under examination is its large print run, significantly exceeding the print runs of other liturgical books. Large print runs and repeated

²⁰ See: Андреев А.А., Мольков Г.А. Часовник—Часословец—Часослов: эволюция названия книги в XI—XVIII вв. // Славянская историческая лексикология и лексикография. 2023. Т. 6. С. 24–29.

²¹ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 90. Л. 59а.

²² Ibid. Д. 82. Л. 28b.

²³ Ibid. Д. 90. Л. 259а.

²⁴ Ibid. Д. 97. Л. 48а.

²⁵ Ibid. Д. 94. Л. 119b.

²⁶ Вознесенский А.В. К истории славянской печатной Псалтири. Московская традиция XVI—XVII веков. Простая Псалтырь. М., 2010. С. 61.

reprinting were also characteristic of other small-format *Horologia*, which was evidently connected with the specific functions of quarto-format editions.

The educational purpose of the book is also indicated by the inclusion of the *Preface to the Horologion*, which explicitly mentions the instructional process: “So that children, learning to read letters, may at the same time become accustomed to praying to the Lord God for all their needs and offering Him praise...”²⁷ It should be noted that this text was absent²⁸ from the “large lectern *Horologion*” (March 1688), which undoubtedly had a strictly liturgical purpose. The original text of the *Preface* survives in the manuscript miscellany of drafts by Simeon of Polotsk entitled *Collection of Congratulatory Speeches to the Tsar, the Patriarch, and Other Persons*, and he should evidently be regarded as its author²⁹. The inclusion of this text in the most widely circulated church book was clearly connected with the dispute of the late 1660s to early 1680s between the “Latinophile” and “Greeko-phile” factions concerning the paths and principles of organizing education in the Muscovite Tsardom: whether through the study of the Church Fathers or through the establishment of schools modeled on Jesuit colleges (*collegia*)³⁰. Although these groups differed in their understanding of the structure of the educational process, both agreed that learning contributed to a better knowledge of God. This positive attitude toward knowledge differed from the traditional Orthodox Russian ideal of “pleasing God in simplicity”, and found expression in the recognition of the importance of spreading literacy among the

²⁷ Часослов. М., декабрь 1689. Л. 5а (1 фолиация). <РГАДА. БМСТ/спк. № 2342>.

²⁸ Часослов. М., март 1688 (РГАДА. БМСТ/спк. № 988).

²⁹ ГИМ. Синодальное собр. № 229. Л. 255а–256а. Ср.: Татарский И. Сimeон Полоцкий. Его жизнь и деятельность. М., 1886. С. 249.

³⁰ See: Богданов А.П. К полемике конца 60-х — начала 80-х годов XVII в. об организации высшего учебного заведения в России // Исследования по источниковедению истории СССР XIII–XVIII вв.: сборник статей. М., 1986. С. 177–210; Сазонова Л.И. Восточнославянские академии XVI–XVIII вв. в контексте европейской академической традиции // Славяноведение. 1995. №3. С. 46–61; Панич Т.В. Писатели патриаршего круга в богословской полемике 80–90-х гг. XVII в. Новосибирск, 2007. Дисс. на соиск. уч. ст. докт. филол. наук. С. 42–48 (рукопись).

common people. The shared conviction that knowledge was necessary probably explains why this work by Simeon of Polotsk was printed at the Moscow Print Yard, unlike most of his other writings.

The *Preface* was written after June 1676, as indicated by the mention of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich at the beginning of the text: “By the command of the most pious, most peaceful, and most autocratic Great Sovereign, our Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Alekseyevich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia. And by the blessing of the great lord, His Holiness Kyr Joachim, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia”³¹.

The upper chronological boundary for the composition of the text is February 1680, when the work on the *Horologion* edition in which this *Preface* was first printed was completed. However, the printed text contains several differences from the original manuscript version (Table 2).

Table 2.

Preface to Horologion from Collection of Congratulatory Speeches to the Tsar, the Patriarch, and Other Persons (ГИМ. Синодальное собр. № 229)	Preface to Horologion from Horologion (Moscow, December 1689) ³²
“In vain games do they destroy the golden time of childhood, which cannot be returned at any price; but, as in the springtime of their life, they till the fields of their hearts with learning, and, joyfully receiving from their teachers the seed of the Word of God, they gladly accept it, so that they may gather the nourishing wheatheads of the soul at the time of harvest...” (fol. 255a)	“In vain games do they destroy the golden time of childhood, which cannot be returned at any price; but, as in the springtime of their life, they till the fields of their hearts with learning, and, joyfully receiving from their teachers the seeds of the Word of God, they gladly accept it, so that they may gather the nourishing wheatheads of the soul at the time of harvest...” (fol. 3b, first foliation)

³¹ ГИМ. Синодальное собр. № 229. Л. 255b.

³² Conjecture by author — I.B. The missing fragment printed on the absent folio 6 (1st foliation) in No. 2342 was compared with the Horologion of March 1685 (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2341). It should be noted that in all surviving Horologia of the 1680s the text of the Preface is identical, therefore such replacement is justified.

Preface to Horologion from Collection of Congratulatory Speeches to the Tsar, the Patriarch, and Other Persons (ГИМ. Синодальное собр. № 229)	Preface to Horologion from Horologion (Moscow, December 1689) ³²
“By the command of the most pious, most peaceful, and most autocratic Great Sovereign, our Tsar and Grand Prince Fyodor Alekseyevich, autocrat of all Great, Little, and White Russia. And by the blessing of the great lord, His Holiness Kyr Joachim, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia”. (fol. 255b)	<i>No corresponding text</i>
“For the common benefit of all Orthodox Christian youths, this book has been printed...” (fol. 255b)	“Therefore, for the common benefit of all Orthodox Christians, this book has been printed...” (fol. 4b, first foliation)
“So that children, while learning letters and reading together, may also become accustomed to pray to the Lord God in all their needs and to send up glory to Him for the good deeds continually done. And may this custom take its deep root in their hearts, so that it may remain in them until the end of life, with the sprouting of branches of piety”. (fol. 255b)	“So that children, while learning letters and reading together, may also become accustomed to pray to the Lord God in all their needs and to send up glory to Him for the good deeds continually done. And may this custom take its own deep root in their hearts, so that it may remain in them until the end of life, with the sprouting of branches of piety”. (fol. 5a, first foliation)

The *Predanie o slozhenii perstov* (“Instruction on the Folding of Fingers”; hereafter, the *Instruction*), which followed the *Preface* in the first section of the December *Horologion*, provided a justification for the use of the three-finger sign of the cross (*troeperstie*). This text was first published in the *Horologion* (Moscow, September 1684) by decree of Patriarch Joachim³³. It represents an abridged version of the *Iz’iavlenie o slozhenii perstov* (“Explanation on the Folding of Fingers”; hereafter, the *Explanation*), which, by order of Patriarch Patriarch Joachim of Moscow, was first included in the instructional *Psalter* (March 1684)³⁴ and subsequently in the *Psalter with Offices* (September 1684)³⁵.

³³ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 100. Л. 81a.

³⁴ Ibid. Л. 80b.

³⁵ Ibid. Л. 81a.

*Table 3. Comparison of the texts
of the Explanation and the Instruction*

Explanation on the Folding of Fingers from Psalter of August 1684 r. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 845)	Instruction on the Folding of Fingers from Horologion of December 1689 (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2342)
“A brief exposition of how every Orthodox Christian, according to the ancient tradition of the holy apostles and holy fathers, ought to form upon his own face the sign of the holy cross with the fingers of his hand, and which fingers to use, the arrangement of which we have here depicted by printed impression; and how one should make this sign upon oneself”. (fol. 11a)	“The ancient tradition of the holy apostles and holy fathers, concerning how every Orthodox Christian ought, when making the sign of the holy cross upon his face, to arrange the fingers of his hand, which fingers to use, and how to make that sign upon oneself”. (fol. 8a, first foliation)
“Every devout and Orthodox Christian ought, when making the sign of the cross, to arrange the fingers of his hand in this manner: first, he should bring together the first three fingers of his right hand, as an image of the Holy Trinity—the thumb and the two fingers next to it”. (fols. 11a–11b)	“First, therefore, it is fitting for an Orthodox Christian to bring together the first three fingers of his right hand, as an image of the Holy Trinity—the thumb and the other two fingers next to it”. (fols. 8a–8b, first foliation)
“With these we clearly proclaim the equality and unity of the Holy Trinity, both together and without confusion. Equality, because in the Holy Trinity there is neither first nor last, nor greater nor lesser; but the three hypostases are whole, co-eternal with one another, and equal. In the same way, in these three fingers, there is neither greater nor lesser, but all are in order, admitting nothing between them, and they have equality both among themselves and toward one another, as can be seen in them. And by such our confession of the Holy Trinity we condemn the accursed Armenians who think falsely about the inequality of the Holy Trinity, and therefore, when they make the sign of the cross upon their face, they join the first finger with the fourth and fifth, thereby showing through the inequality of those fingers the inequality of the equal divine persons; thus we reject them as wrong-thinking, and we do not agree with them as Orthodox Christians (православнии)”. (fols. 11b–12a)	“With these we proclaim the equality and unity of the Holy Trinity, together and without confusion. And by this we reject the false teaching of the accursed Armenians concerning the inequality of the Holy Trinity, and by this when make the sign of the cross upon their face, they join the first finger with the fourth and fifth, thereby showing through the inequality of those fingers the inequality of the equal divine persons; thus we reject them as wrong-thinking, and we do not agree with them as, as Orthodox Christians(православныя)”. (fols. 8b–9a, first foliation)

Explanation on the Folding of Fingers from Psalter of August 1684 r. (РТАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 845)	Instruction on the Folding of Fingers from Horologion of December 1689 (РТАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2342)
But we flee far away from such destructive vain wisdom of theirs. And by joining the first fingers together, not as some who divide them by place with the little fingers, but extending the great finger past the two middle ones and joining them together, as the Armenians do. Yet, fleeing their evil doctrine and the malicious division of Arius’ destructive pit, we do not confess a unity of essence in the Holy Trinity. But by preaching the distinction of the persons without confusion, we reject the heretical reasoning of Sabellius. (fols 12a-12b)	But we flee far away from such destructive vain wisdom of theirs. Fleeing from Arius’ destructive pit, we do not confess a unity of essence in the Holy Trinity. But by preaching the distinction of the persons without confusion, we reject the heretical reasoning of Sabellius. (fols 9a-9b, first foliation)
No corresponding text	And sixth, in the year 7192, in the Psalter folio book, in the preface or exposition concerning how every Orthodox Christian ought to make the sign of the cross, and which fingers are to be arranged, and how one is to make the sign of the cross upon oneself (leaf 12b, foliation 1).
The passage between: <i>“Now then, let a brief interrogative and exhortatory word be extended by us to those who think contrary to the Holy Church, concerning the use of their sign of the cross—whether they rightly hold to it or not”</i> (fol. 14b) and <i>“Cease now, O opponents of the Holy Church, from listening henceforth to your unrighteous false teachers, or rather deceivers, who think contrary to the Holy Church, and from partly practicing piety; for that is not piety, when one partly holds with the Eastern Church and partly does not. For this is deemed by those of understanding to be more impiety than piety”</i> (fol. 21b) is found only in the <i>Explanation</i> .	No corresponding text

Explanation on the Folding of Fingers from Psalter of August 1684 r. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 845)	Instruction on the Folding of Fingers from Horologion of December 1689 (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2342)
And turning away from this soul-destroying deception, let us turn to the holy, synodic, and apostolic Church; and, by joining together the first three fingers of the right hand, let us praise the Holy Trinity and the dispensation of the Incarnation, according to the true dogmas handed down to us from those who have pleased God, and let us all together in agreement glorify Him. So that, by Her grace, after a long and peaceful life here, we may be deemed worthy to behold Her directly, together with all the heavenly powers and saints, and in endless ages to glorify and magnify Her with joyful voices. May it be granted to all of us to attain this, amen (fol. 21b).	And submitting to the true teaching of the holy, synodic, and apostolic Church, let them likewise, together with us who are orthodox, glorify the joining together of the first three fingers of the right hand, the Holy Trinity, and the dispensation of the Incarnation, according to the true dogmas handed down to us from those who have pleased God. So that, by Her grace, we may be deemed worthy to attain both temporal and eternal blessings, amen (fols. 13a–13b, foliation 1).

The *Iz"iavlenie* ("Explanation") should be dated to the period between the publication of the *Slovo blagodarstvennoe o izbavlenii ot otstupnikov* ("Thanksgiving Sermon on Deliverance from the Apostates") — the latest book mentioned in the text — in October 1683³⁶, and 19 January 1684, the date of Patriarch Joachim of Moscow's decree ordering the inclusion of the *Explanation* in the instructional *Psalter*. Accordingly, the abridgement of the *Explanation* that resulted in the *Instruction* was produced, as noted above, no earlier than March 1684, since the *Instruction* mentions the March edition of the instructional *Psalter*. The text of the *Instruction*, printed in the *Horologia* of September 1684 and March 1685, was later used by Adrian, Metropolitan of Kazan from 1686 to 1690, in a printed pastoral instruction issued under his name, the sole surviving copy of which is preserved in a late seventeenth-century miscellany³⁷. It should be noted that E.V. Belyakova identifies the future Patriarch of Moscow as the author of this work³⁸.

³⁶ Зернова А.С. Книги кирилловской печати... № 384. Ср.: РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 81. Л. 75а–77а.
³⁷ ГИМ. Синодальное собр. № 904. Л. 278а–287b.
³⁸ Белякова Е.В. Адриан // Православная энциклопедия. Т. I. М., 2000. С. 312–313.

A.V. Voznesensky regarded the appearance in the first half of the 1680s of the anti-Old Believer texts *Explanation/Instruction* in the most widely circulated church books as a consequence of “the Streltsy uprising of 1682, the ideological justification of which was provided by the epistle of Nikita Pustosviat, who devoted considerable attention to the issue of the sign of the cross...”³⁹ At the same time, it should be emphasized that among the highest circles of authority the idea of combating the spread of Old Believer teachings through publications of the Print Yard had been articulated even before the summer of 1682. Thus, Article 14 of the Church Council of 1681–1682 contains a proposal by Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich to the assembled fathers of the Council, stating that “common people, not knowing the true writings, accept falsehood as truth and thereby fall into sin; moreover, from this there grows opposition to the Holy Church: and therefore His Holiness Joachim, Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, should order this to be monitored and verified through the Print Yard”⁴⁰. Thus, the emergence of mass-produced anti-Old Believer texts was connected both with the general intensification of anti-schismatic policy in the 1680s and with the recognition of the need to eradicate popular ignorance, since supporters of the Orthodox Church regarded the lack of education among the population as the principal reason for the popularity of the schismatics.

A significant feature of the principal liturgical section of the *Horologion* under study is the absence of the complete texts of the seventeenth kathisma in the weekday Midnight Office, the ninth kathisma in the Saturday Midnight Office, and the canon to the Holy Trinity in the Sunday Midnight Office (despite the presence of the corresponding incipits), as well as the omission of the canon to the Guardian Angel. The same structural features are found in the surviving *Horologia* of February 1680 and January 1682⁴¹, as well as in the *Horologion* of December 1683⁴² (32 quires, Osipov typeface). Judging from the identical number of quires and use of

³⁹ Вознесенский А.В. К истории славянской печатной Псалтири... С. 164.

⁴⁰ Акты исторические, собранные и изданные Археографическою комиссиею. Т. 5. 1676–1700. СПб., 1842. №75. С. 117.

⁴¹ Часослов. М., январь 1682 г. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2338).

⁴² Часослов. М., декабрь 1683 г. (ГИМ. Синодальное печатное собр. № 204).

the same typeface, the now-lost *Horologia* printed in September 1684 and September 1686⁴³ evidently had the same contents as the December 1683 edition. The surviving *Horologion* of January 1689⁴⁴ (24¼ quires, Voskresensky typeface) also contained similar contents. Since the records of the Department of Printed Books indicate the same principal characteristics — number of quires and typeface — for the now-lost *Horologion* of December 1687, it may be assumed that the same reductions in the liturgical section were present there as well. It should be noted that these compositional features had appeared earlier in small-format *Horologia*, for example in the editions of November 1668⁴⁵ and April 1675⁴⁶.

The reasons why many *Horologia* in the late seventeenth century were printed with incomplete forms of the Midnight Office and without the canon to the Guardian Angel remain unclear. One possible explanation is that Moscow printers wished to preserve the original purpose of the *Horologion* as a book containing the unchanging services of the daily cycle. This intention may have motivated both the exclusion of those parts of the Midnight Office that varied according to the day on which the service was celebrated and the omission of the canon to the Guardian Angel, which was read before Communion. At the same time, it should be noted that the practice of printing *Horologia* without these texts was not entirely consistent. Thus, surviving copies of the *Horologia* printed in September 1682⁴⁷ and March 1685 contain the complete text of all three versions of the Midnight Office, as well as the canon to the Guardian Angel.

The documents of the Department of Printed Books also shed light on other aspects of the publication of the *Horologion* under examination. The expenses associated with its publication amounted

⁴³ Although the *Horologion* editions of September 1684 and 1686 had 32½ quires, in this case this difference is not significant, since it can be explained by the inclusion of the Instruction.

⁴⁴ Часослов. М., январь 1689. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2343).

⁴⁵ Часослов. М., ноябрь 1668 г. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2335).

⁴⁶ Часослов. М., апрель 1675 г. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2337).

⁴⁷ Часослов. М., сентябрь 1682 г. (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК. № 2339).

to 712 rubles, 21 altyns, and 4 dengas⁴⁸. The largest expenditure was the purchase of paper for printing. Four hundred reams were bought at the price of 26 altyns and 4 dengas per ream, amounting in total to 320 rubles (Д. 91. л. 71a).

In the surviving expenditure books of the second half of the 1680s, the first recorded purchase of blank paper at this price occurs in August 1687. The expenditure book for September 1686 — August 1687 contains the following entry: “By order of hegumen Sergius and clerk Ivan Arbenev, one hundred and six reams of imported paper were purchased from the Kadashi merchant Fyodor Kharitonov ... at the price of twenty-six altyns and four dengas per ream...” (Д. 86. л. 104a–104b). On 28 September 1687, paper (28 reams) at the same price was acquired from another Kadashi merchant, Kondraty Lukyanov (Д. 88. л. 98a), and in February 1688 from the Kargopol merchant Semen Kirilov (90 reams) (*ibid.*, л. 102a). The largest purchase took place on 1 January 1689, when 1,910 reams of blank paper were bought from the Kadashi merchants “Feoktist Kostyantynov and associates” at the price of 26 altyns and 4 dengas per ream, for a total sum of 1,528 rubles (Д. 89. л. 112a). It is highly probable that the December 1689 *Horologion* was printed on paper from this consignment⁴⁹.

The printing of the December 1689 *Horologion* took place in the Spassky and Nikolsky chambers of the Print Yard on eight presses⁵⁰. Work on the edition began one day earlier than the date recorded in the register book of newly issued books (17 October 1689), as evidenced by records of material distribution: “On the 16th day of October 198 [1689], typesetter Petr Efimov received from clerk Petr Artemyev in the Spassky chamber for the books of the small *Horologia* without red ink four formes per press for eight quires, eighty reams...” (Д. 90. л. 59a). The final issuance of materials for this edition occurred on 30 November (*ibid.*, л. 61b).

⁴⁸ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 1. Д. 91. л. 74a. Further references to files of this inventory will be given in the text.

⁴⁹ The expenditure book for September 1689 — August 1690 has not survived.

⁵⁰ For more on the buildings with printing presses of the Moscow Printing Yard in the 17th century, see: Румянцов В.Е. Древние здания Московского печатного двора. М., 1869. С. 11–17.

The printing of the December 1689 *Horologion* almost exactly coincided with work on a *Psalter* printed without red ink, issued in the same month. Interestingly, the breakdown of monetary expenditures for the *Psalter* did not include incidental expenses — primarily heating costs for the chambers of the Print Yard — which were instead included in the expense estimate compiled for the December *Horologion* (Δ, 91. Λ. 73a).

The receipts for the materials issued for the printing of the December 1689 *Horologion* preserve the names of the typesetters who worked on the book: in the Spassky chamber worked Petr Efimov, Khariton Evfimyev, and Vasily Markov, while in the Nikolsky chamber worked Semen Mordvinov, Fedot Minin, and Merkul Lebedev (Δ, 90. Λ. 59a–61b). The total amount of the “sovereign’s compensation” paid to the employees of the Print Yard⁵¹ for the edition amounted to 283 rubles, 28 altyns, and 4 dengas (Δ, 91. Λ. 73b)⁵².

After the completion of printing, the administration of the Moscow Print Yard determined the number of copies to be distributed free of charge. The number of such copies was usually divided into two unequal parts: the smaller portion was given to the tsar and the patriarch, while the larger portion was distributed to employees of the Department of Printed Books in recognition of their work on the edition. In the case of the December *Horologion* of 1689, the number of presentation copies was limited to three bound and specially decorated books prepared for the Moscow Patriarch Patriarch Joachim of Moscow, of which one was “a book with gilt edges, two books with floral decoration” (D. 91, fol. 74a). The practice of presenting copies solely to the patriarch became typical in

⁵¹ The sum of the “allocation” for printing in the Moscow printing house (“tsar’s salary”) was determined by a sworn officer or chief clerk who maintained financial reporting of the Department of Printing Books. The total funds included portions of annual payments to workers involved in book production (see: Пушков В.П. Книжное дело на Московском Печатном дворе по отчетам целовальников за первую половину 1660-х гг. // Поздеева И.В., Пушков В.П., Дадыкин А.В. Московский печатный двор — факт и фактор русской культуры. 1652–1700 гг. Кн. 1. М., 2007. С. 181).

⁵² It should be noted that this sum also included financial support for teachers and students of the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy, which was partially funded through the Department of Printing Books.

the 1680s–1690s, when such books were practically no longer offered to the tsars. Only among the editions of March 1681 (D. 75, fol. 176a), December 1683 (D. 81, fol. 85a), and April 1696 (D. 91, fol. 237b) were there copies presented to the monarch.

Another feature of the free distribution of copies of the December 1689 *Horologion* was the absence among its recipients of the Order of the Great Palace, which was connected with a decree issued by Patriarch Joachim of Moscow on 27 November 1689. This decree clarified the procedure for the free distribution of copies of the newly issued *Psalter with Offices*. In the Patriarch's directive, it was stated that "those newly issued books in quires which are not presented to the great sovereigns shall not be issued free of charge from the Order of Printed Books to the Order of the Great Palace"⁵³. It should be noted that the last *Horologion* edition whose copies were distributed both to the tsar and to the Order of the Great Palace was the December 1683 *Horologion* (D. 81, fol. 85a), which indicates that such a distribution regime had existed several years before Patriarch Joachim's decree. As in the case of presentation copies to the tsar, the situation changed in the following decade, when among the *Horologia* printed in the 1690s only the July 1700 edition did not allocate 50 copies to this state institution⁵⁴.

In addition to payment for their work, copies of the December 1689 *Horologion* were distributed to the following employees of the Department of Printed Books: the supervisors — hegumen Sergius⁵⁵ and clerk Andrei Mikhailov⁵⁶ — each receiving "four bound books with floral decoration" (Д. 91. Л. 74b). Three proofreaders were

⁵³ Поздеева И.В., Пушков В.П., Дадыкин А.В. Московский печатный двор — факт и фактор русской культуры. 1652–1700 гг. Кн. 2. М., 2011. С. 557.

⁵⁴ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Д. 194. Л. 1а–5а.

⁵⁵ The former hegumen of the Putivl Molchensky monastery Sergius worked for many years at the Moscow Printing Yard as a corrector. He held a leading position in the printing house from 23 August 1687 to August 1694, and also from September 1695 to August 1697. See: Дадыкин А.В. Сотрудники Московского печатного двора второй половины XVII века. Именной список // Труды Научной библиотеки МГУ им. М.В. Ломоносова. М., 2017. Вып. 2. С. 62.

⁵⁶ Andrey Mikhailov was a clerk at the Moscow Printing Yard from 7 November 1688 to 1689, from September 1690 to August 1694, and from September 1695 to 18 January 1700 (ibid. p. 59).

granted “four bound books each” (ibid.); “three clerks, two readers, and one scribe received four books in quires each” (ibid.). In the Correcting Chamber, “two books were kept: a clean copy and an annotated copy, bound, for translation” (ibid., A. 75a). The colouring of the book-block edges and the floral blind-stamping, as well as traces of gilding on the binding boards of the БМСТ copy under study, indicate that it belonged to the group of ten copies issued with floral-decorated bindings. However, the incorrect sequence of quires excludes the possibility that this copy belonged to Patriarch Joachim, to whom two copies of this type of binding were presented.

After determining the number of copies distributed free of charge, the sale price of an unbound copy (“in quires”) was established. The price was determined on the basis of expenditure data submitted by the Print Yard administration to the patriarch. A “Book Extract” in tabular form⁵⁷ was presented to him for review. After the report, the clerk of the Department of Printed Books entered in the Book Extract a note indicating the fixed sale price. In most cases, for small-format Horologia of the 1680s–1690s, the markup amounted to one third of the production cost. The December 1689 edition was no exception: with a production cost of 5 altyns (15 kopecks), its selling price was set at “two grivnas per book” (20 kopecks) (ibid. A. 75b). The data on printing costs together with the fixed selling price were recorded in the copy books of the Register of Newly Issued Books.

In the 1680s, a Book Extract was submitted to the Patriarch after the completion of a publication in two versions: a short and an extended one. The short version contained only the total sum spent on the edition. This version was read aloud to the Patriarch,

⁵⁷ A Book Extract is the self-designation of the final accounting document containing a breakdown of printing expenses. It was compiled on the basis of the expenditure and inventory books (see: Дадыкин А.В. Документы приказа книгопечатного дела... С. 53.) This self-designation, for example, appears in the final summary document compiled upon completion of the printing of the April 1688 edition of the *Apostle* (РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Д. 85. Л. 1а). Another self-designation for this document was *Smetnoy spisok* (‘Estimate List’), as noted by A.V. Dadykin (Дадыкин А.В. Документы приказа книгопечатного дела... С. 53). The *knizhnaya vypiska* (‘book statement/extract’), which contained information on the expenses for printing the December 1689 *Horologion*, has not survived.

as indicated by the explicit heading “for report” on the short copy (see: *Book records concerning the publication of instructional Psalters* <M., March 1684> and <M., August 1684>, *the large lectern Horologion* <M., 24 March 1688> and the *Apostle* <M., 18 April 1688>)⁵⁸. It should be noted that in the short versions of the Book Extracts concerning the instructional Psalters of March and August 1684, price notes were recorded, unlike in the comparable documents for the large lectern *Horologion* and the *Apostol*⁵⁹. *The extended version contained detailed information on production costs and was typically the one in which the clerk entered the note specifying the selling price.*

The profit from the sale of the December 1689 Horologion in the Print Yard bookshop amounted to 237 rubles, 18 altyns, and 2 den-gas (Δ. 91. Λ. 75b). This sum is comparable to the revenue from ten days of trade in the *Horologia* printed in December 1683 and September 1684, which amounted to 234 rubles, 10 altyns (*ibid.*, Λ. 86b) and 236 rubles, 10 altyns (*ibid.*, Λ. 126b), respectively. Given the identical pricing of all three books, it may be assumed that the profit from the December 1689 edition likewise corresponds to the same time span. Another conclusion that can be drawn from comparing the revenues of these editions is that small-format *Horologia* printed without red ink were in equally high demand among buyers of Print Yard publications as books printed in two colours.

Thus, the *Horologion* (РГАДА. БМСТ/СПК № 2342) was issued in December 1689. At present, it is the only known surviving copy of an edition otherwise attested solely in the documents of the Department of Printed Books. The discovery of a previously unrecorded edition with precisely established publication data provides new possibilities for dating defective copies of *Horologia* and broadens our understanding of the repertoire of the Print Yard. This, in turn, sheds light not only on the history of book printing in Moscow but also on aspects of the development of seventeenth-century Russian culture. It is noteworthy that only materials from this archival fund made it possible to establish the time of publication of this *Horologion*.

⁵⁸ See, respectively: РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Δ. 237. Λ. 6a; Δ. 55. Λ. 7a–8a; Δ. 275. Λ. 8a; Δ. 85. Λ. 9a.

⁵⁹ РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Оп. 3. Δ. 237. Λ. 6a; Δ. 55. Λ. 7a–8a

Appendix 1⁶⁰

Horologion. — Moscow: Print Yard, October 17 — December 12, 1689 (7198)

Signatures: [*]⁶⁺¹—[*]⁴⁺², 1⁸—38⁸. — 8⁰. — 1—13, 1—304.—
Lines: 13.

Typeface (Arsenius): 10 lines = 84 mm.

Type area: 105 x 69 mm.

Printing: Single-color (black ink).

Running titles: Without decorative embellishments.

Page numbers (catchwords/folio numbers): Placed in the upper right corner of each leaf.

Copy condition: Incomplete — leaves 1 and 6 of the first foliation are missing. Due to a binding error, the order of quires is mixed up: quires XVI and XVII (leaves 121–136) are bound after quire XVIII (leaves 137–144). On leaf 12b, there is the only inscription found in the book. Traces of blue pigment application remain on the edges of the book block, with small "flowers" stamped/embossed into it. The binding shows traces of gilding. The structural integrity of the book block is compromised, and the leather on the covers is noticeably worn. The lower clasp is missing.

Decorative ornamentation:

— Engravings: leaf 8a (1st foliation) — (Hand with the sign of the cross/hand making the sign of the cross).

— Headpieces (ornamental vignettes):

— leaf 2a (1st foliation), 244b, 279b, 299a (2nd foliation) — <Зернова (Zernova) 1963, No. 28>

— leaf 8a (1st foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 91>

— leaf 1a, 31b, 35a (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 106>

— leaf 4a (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 65>

⁶⁰ Since to date the December 1689 edition of the *Horologion* is known only from the copy held at БМСТ/СПК № 2342, its description necessarily serves simultaneously as the description of the edition itself. Possible corrections to the leaf formula of this *Horologion* can only be made after the discovery of other copies of the December edition. The description of the copy has been carried out under the influence of the principles for processing early printed books proposed by A.A. Guseva.

— leaf 27a, 109b, 168a, 253b (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 104>

— leaf 83a (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 99, not previously listed as used in the *Horologia*>

— leaf 97a, 134a (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 105>

— leaf 127b (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 104a>

— leaf 169b, 225b, 275a (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1963, No. 51, with trimmed/cropped edges, not previously listed as used in the *Horologia*>

— leaf 146b (2nd foliation) — <Зернова 1952, No. 374>

— Lombards (ornamental initials):

Leaf 8a (1st foliation) — (Π), 4a (ΙΙ) (2nd foliation), 6a (Π), 8b (Β), 14b (Β), 15a (Γ), 18b (Β), 19b (C), 21b (Π), 35b (Υ)??, 36b (Γ), 40b (Γ), 41b (Γ), 44a (Β), 46a (Γ), 48b (Β), 51a (Γ), 57b (X), 59b (Β), 60b (X), 71b (Γ), 73b (Γ), 75b (M), 80b (ΙΙ), 83a (ΙΙ), 85a (Υ), 87a (K), 89b (Π), 95a (ΙΙ), 96b (Β), 97a (Β), 97b (Β), 100b (Ж), 106b (Β), 109b (Β), 112b (X), 117a (Β), 125a (Β), 131b (Β), 134a (K), 136a (Β), 137b (Π), 142b (ΙΙ), 144a (Β), 147a (Β), 152a (Γ), 154a (Γ), 170a (Β), 171a (Γ), 172b (Δ), 173b (K), 176a (H), 179b (Ж), 186b (Β), 193a (Γ), 194b (Π), 197a (Γ), 200a (Γ), 204b (Β), 205a (Β), 205b (Γ), 215a (H), 218a (ΙΙ), 220a (Β), 222b (H), 225b (ΙΙ), 227b (Π), 230a (Β), 230b (Γ), 235a (Β), 238a (ΙΙ), 239a (H), 242a (ΙΙ), 288b (Β)

Contents

Leaf 1a (1st foliation) — Title page / imprint leaf (containing publication data); (*missing*)

Leaf 2a–7a — Preface to the *Horologion*;

Leaf 8a–13b — The ancient tradition of the h(ol)y ap(o)s(t)les and holy fathers: how every Orthodox Christian ought to arrange the fingers of his hand upon his face for the sign of the h(ol)y cr(oss), and which fingers to join together, and how to depict it upon oneself;

Leaf 1a–34b (2nd foliation) — Midnight Office;

Leaf 35a–82b — Matins and the First Hour;

Leaf 83a–96b — The beginning of the Hours. The Third Hour;

Leaf 97a–109a — The Sixth Hour;

Leaf 109b–127a — The Typica;

Leaf 127b–133b — The Rite of the Panagia;

Leaf 134a–146a — The Ninth Hour;

Leaf 146b–167b — Vespers;

Leaf 168a–169a — [Prayers upon entering the refectory] "When entering the refectory, we say...";

Leaf 169b–225a — Great Compline;

Leaf 225b–244a — Little Compline;

Leaf 244b–253a — S(u)nday Dismissal Troparia of the Eight Tones, with Theotokia (hymns to the Mother of God);

Leaf 253b–274b — Dismissal Theotokia sung throughout the entire year, at Vespers, at "God is the Lord," at Matins, and again at the end of Matins;

Leaf 275a–279a — Daily Dismissal Troparia for the entire week;

Leaf 279b–298b — The Order of the General Prayer;

Leaf 299a–304a — S(u)nday Troparia sung after the "Blameless" on Sundays throughout the entire year.

Appendix 2⁶¹

Entry from October 16, 1689, from the Inventory Book for 1689–1696

On October 16, in the year 198, the typesetter Petr Efimov received from the clerk Petr Artemyev, in the Spasskaya Chamber, for the printing of small *Horologia* without cinnabar (red ink), for four runs per press, for eight quires, eighty reams. For the packing/blanketing: two quires; and for the [inking] padding: eight quires; sixteen [sheep]skins for the press blankets; 260 nails; and for the press counterweights, two pieces of cloth per press — 200 arshins. Large candles: ninety-six; and smaller ones: eighty; oil: five pounds; wheat flour: a quarter, five altyns; for the cloth [used] on each press: four straps. Additionally, for lye: three baskets of ash, one bucket of drying oil, two bundles of large candles; and to the (Print) Office: two rolls of [fine calfskin] for the seventh press⁶².

РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Д. 90. Л. 59a

⁶¹ This publication has been prepared in accordance with the recommendations of *Правила издания исторических источников* (Moscow, 2020) for preparing documents from the 17th century for print.

⁶² Written in a different hand.

**Entry on the commencement of printing of the *Horologion*
without cinnabar, dated October 17, 1689, from the *Registry*
Book of Newly Published Books for 1689–1696**

In the current year 198, on October 17, by the decree of the Great Sovereigns, Tsars and Grand Princes Ioann Alekseyevich and Peter Alekseyevich, Autocrats of all Great, Little, and White Russia, and with the blessing of the Great Lord, the Most Holy Patriarch Kyr Joachim of Moscow and all Russia and all the northern lands, at the Book Print Yard, work commenced on printing the *Horologia* in quarto, using the Nikitin typeface, in the Spasskaya and Nikolskaya Chambers, on eight presses, at a run of 4,800 books. These *Horologia* without cinnabar came out of the press in the current year 198, on December⁶³. Each book contains 40 quires.

РГАДА. Ф. 1182. Д. 91. Л. 70b

Conflict of interests

The author declares no relevant conflict of interests.



References

1. Andreev A.A., Mol'kov G.A. Chasovnik—Chasoslovets—Chasoslov: The evolution of the book title in the 11th–18th centuries. *Slavic Historical Lexicology and Lexicography*. 2023;6:9–38 (in Russ.).
2. Belyakova E.V. Adrian, in: *Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. Moscow: Church–Science Center «Orthodox Encyclopedia», 2000. P. 312–313 (in Russ.).
3. Belyankin Yu.S. *The church and the state in polemics with the old believers in the second half of the 17th century* (A case study of the

⁶³ Date not indicated.

- activities of the Moscow Printing Yard*). PhD Diss. Hist. Sci. Moscow, 2013. 289 p. (in Russ.).
4. Bogdanov A.P. On the polemic of the late 1660s – early 1680s concerning the establishment of a higher educational institution in Russia, in: *Studies in source studies of the history of the USSR, 13th–18th centuries: A collection of articles*. Moscow: Institute of History of the USSR, 1986. P. 177–210 (in Russ.).
 5. Dadykin A.V. (Compil.). The staff of the Moscow Printing Yard in the second half of the 17th century: A name list, in: *Proceedings of the Lomonosov Moscow State University Scientific Library*. Moscow, 2017. Iss. 2. P. 52–238 (in Russ.).
 6. Dadykin A.V. Documents of the Chancellery of book printing of the second half of the 17th century as a historical source, in: Pozdeeva I.V., Pushkov V.P., Dadykin A.V. *The Moscow Printing Yard – fact and factor of Russian culture, 1652–1700*. Book 1. Moscow: Nauka, 2007. P. 39–59 (in Russ.).
 7. Guseva A.A. *A corpus of Russian Cyrillic-print books of the 18th century from the printing houses of Moscow and Saint Petersburg and a universal method for their identification*. Moscow: Indrik, 2010. 1251 p. (in Russ.).
 8. *Historical acts, collected and published by the archaeological commission*. Vol. 5. 1676–1700. St. Petersburg: Printing house of the Second Department of His Imperial Majesty's Own Chancellery, 1842. 576 p. (in Russ.).
 9. Lukyanova E.V. (Compil.). *Moscow Cyrillic editions in the collections of RGADA (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts). Catalogue, 1626–1650*. Iss. 2. Moscow: Archaeological Center, 2002. 374 p. (in Russ.).
 10. Panich T.V. *Writers of the Patriarchal circle in the theological polemics of the 1680s–1690s*. Diss. ... Dr. Philol. Sci. Novosibirsk, 2007. 437 p. (in Russ.).
 11. Pokrovsky A.A. *The Moscow Printing Yard in the first half of the 17th century*. Moscow: Printing house of V.I. Voronov, 1913. 71 p. (in Russ.).
 12. Pushkov V.P. Book production at the Moscow Printing Yard according to the reports of sworn men for the first half of the 1660s, in: Pozdeeva I.V., Pushkov V.P., Dadykin A.V. *The Moscow Printing Yard – fact and factor of Russian culture, 1652–1700*. Book 1. Moscow: Nauka, 2007. P. 171–226 (in Russ.).

13. Rumyantsov V.E. *The ancient buildings of the Moscow Printing Yard*. Moscow: Synodal printing house, 1869. 38 p. (in Russ.).
14. Sazonova L.I. East Slavic academies of the 16th–18th centuries in the context of the European academic tradition. *Slavic Studies*. 1995;(3):46–61 (in Russ.).
15. Tatarsky I. *Simeon of Polotsk: His life and work*. Moscow: Printing house of M.G. Volchaninov, 1886. 343 p. (in Russ.).
16. Voznesensky A.V. *On the history of the Slavonic printed Psalter: The Moscow tradition of the 16th–17th centuries. The simple Psalter*. Moscow: Alyans-Arkheo, 2010. 678 p. (in Russ.).
17. Zernova A.S. *Album of the ornamentation of Moscow printed books of the 16th–17th centuries*. Moscow: V.I. Lenin State Library of the USSR, 1952. 26 p. (in Russ.).
18. Zernova A.S. *Cyrillic-print books published in Moscow in the 16th–17th centuries: A union catalogue*. Moscow, 1958. 150 p. (in Russ.).
19. Zernova A.S. *Index to the album of the ornamentation of Moscow printed books of the 16th–17th centuries*. Moscow: V.I. Lenin State Library of the USSR, 1952. 78 p. (in Russ.).
20. Zernova A.S. *The ornamentation of Moscow Cyrillic-type books of the 17th–18th centuries. 1677–1750 (Index)*. Moscow, 1963. 362 p. (in Russ.).
21. Zernova A.S. *The ornamentation of Moscow Cyrillictype books of the 17th–18th centuries. 1677–1750 (Atlas)*. Moscow, 1963. 166 p. (in Russ.).



Ivan A. Bulychev

Master of Theology; leading specialist
of the Russian State,
Archive of Ancient Acts

Received
30.10.2025

Revised
01.12.2025

Accepted
12.01.2026