



Revue des études slaves

LXXXVII-3-4 | 2016

Chroniques et enluminures au temps des premiers tsars

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Electronic version

URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/res/919>

DOI: 10.4000/res.919

ISSN: 2117-718X

Publisher

Institut d'études slaves

Printed version

Date of publication: 6 December 2016

Number of pages: 337-349

ISBN: 978720405495

ISSN: 0080-2557

Electronic reference

Gail Lenhoff, « The *Book of Degrees* and the *Illuminated Chronicle*: a comparative analysis », *Revue des études slaves* [Online], LXXXVII-3-4 | 2016, Online since 26 March 2018, connection on 10 December 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/res/919> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/res.919>

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THE BOOK OF DEGREES AND THE ILLUMINATED CHRONICLE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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The *Book of Degrees* and the *Illuminated Chronicle* are often treated as independent literary projects, created in separate scriptoria and reflecting distinctive ideological programs. The patron who initiated the *Book of Degrees* and the writers who executed the order clearly had very different notions on the optimal form of historical narrative than the sponsor of the *Illuminated Chronicle*. A similar contrast can be observed in their thematization of the Tsardom's history. The *Book of Degrees*, written in the metropolitans' Kremlin scriptorium, celebrates the triumphs of the 1550s and conveys the interests of leading churchmen who worked closely with the young tsar. Its continuous, but selective historical narrative breaks off in 1560, although a short notice on the taking of Polotsk on February 15, 1563 is included.¹ The *Illuminated Chronicle*, produced in the tsar's scriptorium at Aleksandrovskaia Sloboda after the establishment of the Oprichnina (1565-1572), provides a much fuller annalistic record of universal history and the history of Rus'. In August of 1568, chronicle records were sent from the tsar's archive in the Kremlin to the Sloboda and work on the Chronographic codex began.² In 1576, work was abruptly stopped when the scriptorium's supply of paper was transferred to the Sloboda typography.³ Leading historians attribute

1. *Степенная книга царского родословия по древнейшим спискам: тексты и комментарий* [Stepennaia kniga tsarskogo rodosloviia po drevneishim spiskam hereafter SKDS] в трех томах, ed. Nikolai N. Pokrovskii, Gail Lenhoff, Moscow, Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur, 2007-2012, t. 2, p. 388-389 (Step 17, chapter 18). The project could have begun as early as 1555 and ceased work in 1563. On the dating, see: Platon G. Vasenko, "Книга Степенная царского родословия" и её значение в древнерусской исторической письменности, St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 213-214; Aleksei S. Sirenov, *Степенная книга: история текста*, Moscow, Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur, 2007, p. 3-4; Andrei S. Usachev, *Степенная книга и древнерусская книжность времени митрополита Макария*, Moscow-St. Petersburg, Al'ans-Arkheo, 2009, p. 196-197.

2. *Описи царского архива XVI века и архива Посольского приказа 1614 года*, ed. Sigurd O. Schmidt Moscow, Vostochnoi literatury, 1960, p. 43; *Государственный архив России XVI столетия*, ed. Aleksandr A. Zimin, Moscow, AN SSSR, 1978, p. 96.

3. For evidence in support of this date and a full survey of other opinions, see: Boris M. Kloss, *Никоновский свод и русские летописи XVI—XVII вв.*, Moscow, Nauka, 1980, p. 245-249; Elena V. Ukhanova, "Водяные знаки Лицевого летописного свода," in *Лицевой летописный свод. Русская летописная история* [Litsevoi letopisnyi svod XVI veka. Russkaia letopisnaia istoriia, hereafter LLS], 24 vols., Moscow, Akteon, 2009-2010, 24, p. 382-398.

this decision to the tsar's displeasure at the chronicle's political infelicities, some sharply criticized in editorial glosses on the margins of the Synodal codex and its partial fair copy, known as the *Book of the Tsardom*.⁴ The last yearly entry of the Synodal codex reports the construction of Kop'e, a fortress in the Polotsk district, in August of 1567.⁵

Despite these differences, researchers have documented intriguing points of intersection between the two histories. Among the links that deserve attention and invite us to investigate further correlations between the *Book of Degrees* and the *Illuminated Chronicle* are the following:

— Fragments and whole narratives from the *Book of Degrees* were copied for the *Illuminated Chronicle*;⁶

— Codicological and internal evidence indicates that some monks from the metropolitan's Chudov Monastery scriptorium later worked on the *Illuminated Chronicle* in the Sloboda scriptorium;⁷

—The ideology of the *Book of Degrees* and the *Illuminated Chronicle* volumes covering Rus' history through the reign of Vasiliï III conforms to that of a common annalistic source, the Nikon Chronicle, produced under the direction of Metropolitan Daniil in the 1520s.⁸

This paper seeks to reconcile the apparent differences between the two consecutive projects with their documented areas of convergence. Through systematic comparison of the format, themes and literary operations of the *Book of Degrees* with those of the *Illuminated Chronicle*, it extrapolates a pattern of direct and indirect influences and a consistently Orthodox bias. On the basis of this pattern, it considers what the decisions to abandon work on the *Book of Degrees* and to create an *Illuminated Chronicle* tell us about evolving views on history-writing during the reign of Ivan IV.

The structure and theological allusions of the *Book of Degrees*, which mark a distinct departure from the traditional chronicle format, present the history of Rus' as a process driven by religious teleology. Annalistic, hagiographical and liturgical materials are arranged in seventeen chapters called "steps" (*stepeni*) or "facets" (*grani*). The primary compositional model for this narrative frame

4. Aleksandr E. Presniakov, "Царственная книга, ее состав и происхождение," *Записки Историко-филологического факультета Императорского Санкт-Петербургского университета*, vol. 31, St. Petersburg, Tipografia I. N. Skorokhodova, 1893, p. 10-21; Aleksandr A. Zimin, *Опричина*, 2nd ed., Moscow, Territoria, 2001, p. 59-62; Kloss, *Никоновский свод*..., p. 257-65.

5. *Полное собрание русских летописей* [Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei, hereafter PSRL], t. 9-14; *Летописный сборник, именуемый Патриаршей или Никоновской летописью*, St. Petersburg 1862-1910; repr. Moscow, Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000, 13/2, p. 408.

6. A concise list of these borrowings is provided in: Valentin V. Morozov, *Лицевой свод в контексте отечественного летописания XVI века*, Moscow, Indrik, 2005, p. 102, 121-22.

7. Kloss, *Никоновский свод*..., p. 261-264.

8. On the sources, see SKDS, tom 3, *Комментарии Составитель*, Gail D. Lenhoff, Moscow, 2012 (hereafter, SKDS 3) and Morozov, *Лицевой свод*..., p. 87-132.

is St. John Climacus' *Divine Ladder*, a treatise describing the ascending path to spiritual perfection in thirty chapters called steps. This guide to salvation, written for monks but also read by laymen, was widely circulated and frequently cited in sixteenth-century Muscovy.⁹ A second compositional model for the step structure is a variety of Muscovite genealogical tree, introduced during Ivan IV's minority to document the legitimacy of the Daniilovich princes, which shows twenty generations of grand princes from Riurik to Ivan IV.¹⁰ The designers of the *Book of Degrees* count seventeen generations of rulers back from the current tsar, through his direct paternal ancestors, Vasiliï III and Ivan III, and on to Vladimir I.¹¹ Omitting the three princes preceding Vladimir who were not Christians (Riurik, Igor', Sviatoslav), they focus attention on a parallel between two alleged tsars, Ivan IV and Vladimir I, that was stressed in diplomatic communications of the 1550s.¹² Vladimir's Christianization of Rus' and alleged conquest of the "Volga" Bulgars, it is claimed, prefigure Ivan's conquest of Kazan' and the subsequent conversion of its population.¹³ Ivan IV's reign is thus shown to be the fulfillment of a divinely ordained plan for Rus'.

In comparison with the compendious Nikon Chronicle, the *Book of Degrees* offers a highly selective picture of Russian history. Facts that might compromise the pious image of the Moscow princes and tales of conflicts over the succession are eliminated, where feasible, or rewritten to smooth over unpleasant details. Here are some examples. Graphic accounts in a number of chronicles confirm Gustave Alef's conclusion that Vasiliï II was denied deathbed tonsure in March of 1462 owing to his draconian treatment of his political rivals.¹⁴ The opening chapter of Step Fourteen characterizes Vasiliï as the Christ-loving heir of Vladimir I's dynasty, a righteous man who has borne his trials with the patience of Job.¹⁵ The editors omit the most egregious incident, the torture and execution of four servitors who had tried to free the imprisoned Prince Vasiliï Iaroslavich of Serpukhov-Borovsk during Lent of 1462, characterized by one chronicler as behavior "unfitting for a great Orthodox ruler," that horrified witnesses.¹⁶ A

9. Gail Lenhoff, "Степенная книга: замысел, идеология, адресация" in: *SKDS* 1, p.135-136.

10. The earliest known version of this genealogy is published in *PSRL*, t. 7-8, *Летопись по Воскресенскому списку*, St. Petersburg, 1856-1859; repr. Moscow, Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2001, 7, p. 239.

11. Vasenko, "Степенная книга...", p. 225.

12. Muscovite diplomats sent to Poland and Lithuania were instructed to claim that Vladimir I was crowned as the first Russian tsar by the Byzantine emperor and patriarch, thus setting the precedent for his descendant, Ivan IV. See *Сборник Императорского Русского исторического общества*, vol. 59/2, St. Petersburg, 1887, no. 28, p. 437 (1554); no. 31, p. 474 (1555); no. 32, p. 504 (1556).

13. For details, see Gail Lenhoff, "Politics and Form in the Stepennaia kniga" in *The Book of Royal Degrees and the Genesis of Russian Historical Consciousness*, eds. Gail Lenhoff and Ann Kleimola, Bloomington, Indiana, 2011, p. 157-174 (=UCLA Slavic Studies, new series, 7).

14. Gustave Alef, "The Origins of Muscovite Autocracy. The Age of Ivan III," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* (hereafter *FOG*), 39, Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz, 1986, p. 15-17.

15. *SKDS* 2: 129, (Step 14, chapter 1).

16. *PSRL*: t. 23, *Ермолинская летопись*, St. Petersburg, 1910; repr. Moscow, Iazyki slavianskikh kul'tur, 2004, p. 157.

second example is the literary reframing of Ivan III's banishment of his oldest son Vasiliï for treason in December of 1497 and the ensuing coronation of his grandson Dmitriï as the heir apparent.¹⁷ Chapter twenty-four of Step Fifteen, entitled "The Naming of Grand Prince Vasiliï as Sovereign," reports that on March 21 of 1499, Ivan III officially designated his oldest son as his heir and gave him the grand principalities of Novgorod and Pskov. The arrest of Vasiliï and his mother, attributed to "slandorous accusations," and Dmitriï's coronation are discretely summarized in a flashback.¹⁸ Conflicts between Moscow princes and their relatives, for example the rebellion of Andrei Ivanovich Staritskii in May of 1537, are ascribed to the intrigues of "evil men."¹⁹

Because of the relatively compact format of the *Book of Degrees*,²⁰ some foundational events of great importance to both the state and the church are briefly referenced and others omitted altogether. Ivan IV's coronation as tsar on January 16, 1547 and his wedding to Anastasiia Zakhar'ina on February 3 of that same year, described in detail in the Nikon Chronicle, are mentioned only in passing. Neither the church councils convened by Metropolitan Makarii in 1547 and 1549 to recognize the new Muscovite wonder-workers nor the *Stoglav* council of 1551, convened by Ivan and presided over by Makarii, are mentioned. Official letters and speeches justifying the conquest of Kazan', included in the Nikon Chronicle entry for 1552,²¹ are not incorporated in the *Book of Degrees*.

A central theme of the *Book of Degrees* is the principle of *symphonia*, advanced in the preface to Justinian's sixth novella. Reasoning from the axiom that the powers of the emperor and the priesthood are bestowed by God, Justinian concludes that the *imperium* and the *sacerdotium* are by nature interdependent and must act in concert, according to God's will.²² Muscovy is represented as an Orthodox polity whose rulers will prosper as long as they follow the teachings of the church. The reign of Ivan IV is characterized as a time of unprecedented prayer and grace.²³

17. For a concise survey of primary and secondary sources on the banishment of Vasiliï and his mother for conspiring against the state, on the coronation of Ivan's grandson Dmitriï and on Vasiliï's rehabilitation see *SKDS* 3: 355-356.

18. *SKDS* 2: 273 (Step 15, chapter 24).

19. *SKDS* 2: 346-47 (Step 17, chapter 2).

20. The earliest copy (Томский областной краеведческий музей, 7903, no. 2) has 750 folia. The manuscript used as the base for *SKDS* (Государственный исторический музей, чудовское собрание no. 358) has 781 folia. For exact dimensions of the two manuscripts and comparative production statistics, see Gail Lenhoff, "The Economics of a Medieval Literary Project: Direct and Indirect Costs of Producing the *Stepennaia kniga*," *Russian History*, 34/1-4, 2007, p. 229-232.

21. Cf. *PSRL* 13/1: 177-178 (Ivan's justification for attacking the "godless and evil traitors," the Kazan' Tatars, April); p. 180-184 (Makarii's letter blessing Ivan and the troops at Sviiazhsk, the staging point for the invasion, May 21, 1552); p. 188 (Ivan's letter to Makarii, June), p. 192-198 (an exchange of letters between the metropolitan and the tsar in July); p. 219 (the tsar's prayer of thanks for the victory, October).

22. On this Byzantine Orthodox concept of sovereignty, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey, New Brunswick – New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1969, p. 30-31.

23. *SKDS* 2: 344-345 (Step 17, chapter 1).

A privileged place is accorded to hagiographical narratives. Extended redactions of princely vitae, including those of SS Boris and Gleb, Mikhail of Chernigov, Aleksandr Nevskii, and the vita of Metropolitan Petr, were compiled from versions in hagiographical codices and supplemented with material from the chronicles.²⁴ Others were substantially revised and some appear to have been commissioned for the *Book of Degrees*. An extended life of Ol'ga, who is identified as the forerunner of Christianity in Rus', precedes Step One, dedicated to Vladimir the baptizer of Rus'. Steps Nine and Twelve contain the first known biographies representing Prince Daniil Aleksandrovich, the founder of the Moscow royal line, and Evdokiia Dmitrievna, wife of Dmitrii Donskoi, as wonder-working saints.²⁵ Two new redactions of the lives of the holy metropolitans Aleksii and Iona were included in Steps Eleven and Fourteen. Tales of miracles worked by the icon of the Vladimir Mother of God are a centerpiece of Steps Six and Thirteen.²⁶

While virtually all of the narratives and historical reports in the *Book of Degrees* can be traced to previously composed source materials, the book's teleological thesis demanded considerably more planning and labor than a traditional chronicle. Multiple sources of different genres and provenance were researched to select the most convincing evidence of the Tsardom's preordained ascent. Some passages were copied, but often the scribes rewrote and supplemented their sources with facts and rhetorical admonitions to advance the argumentation. Writers favored a complex style, marked by Church Slavic syntactic constructions and a bookish lexicon commensurate with the book's theological and political themes.²⁷

Each step is constructed according to a pattern, marked with titles and subtitles (called *titly*), that frames and overrides chronological order. Each begins with a eulogy and biography of a prince represented as saint-like and each features the story of one or more metropolitans. Historical events are subordinated to these focal points. Step One, which opens with a hymn of praise to Vladimir Sviatoslavich, backtracks to cover the history of the previous princes and leaps ahead to cover the murders of his sons Boris and Gleb in the war for succession after his death. A table of contents, the first finding device attested in a history written in Russia, provides an overview for readers to locate individual articles

24. For the sources, see *SKDS* 3: 67, 135-142, 143-156, 172-175.

25. Lenhoff, "Из истории почитания великой княгини московской Евдокии, в иночестве Евфросинии" in: *Духовный путь Московской Руси. Материалы научной конференции, посвященной 600-летию со дня блаженной кончины преподобной Евдокии-Евфросинии Великой Княгини Московской*, Moscow, Fond Evdokii Moskovskoi, 2007, p. 79-87.

26. On the reworking of the two new versions and their relationship to the theme of providential liberation from the Mongol lordship, see Andreas Ebbinghaus, "The Compilers of the Old Russian Book of Royal Degrees at Work: How the 'Povest' na sretienie chudotvornago obraza' Was Made" in *The Book of Royal Degrees...*, p. 175-200.

27. Viktor M. Zhivov, "On the Language of the Book of Degrees of the Royal Genealogy," *The Book of Royal Degrees...*, p. 141-153.

and draws attention to parallels between one step and the next that support the providential view of Muscovy as a new Israel.²⁸

Despite the attention to rhetoric and compositional structure, the earliest full copies of the *Book of Degrees* contain only a few ornaments in the neo-Byzantine style. They depict plants that correspond to the metaphorical comparisons of the rulers to trees, standing like holy men in the wilderness of this world but looking to the other world, and the dynasty to the orchard of paradise.²⁹ This negative evidence supports the theory that the authors of the *Book of Degrees* were more concerned with documenting the religious teleology of the Tsardom's history than with producing a showpiece.

In contrast to the *Book of Degrees*, the *Illuminated Chronicle* organizes its historical material incrementally, year by year. Genealogies of the princes do not inform its structure, but are placed within individual entries as they are in the Nikon Chronicle. There is no retrospective count of the royal generations similar to that placed at the beginning of each successive step in the *Book of Degrees*. The first surviving codex chronicling the history of Rus' begins in the year 1114 with the reign of Vladimir Monomakh, identified as the first grand prince of Rus' in Russian chronographic histories.³⁰ The editors do not assert that the reign of Ivan IV was the fulfillment of divine promises made to earlier rulers, as the *Book of Degrees* does, but common religious postulates can be discerned in the text of yearly entries which represent Rus' as a blessed land and the Moscow princes as God-fearing and religiously observant. For example, a yearly entry reporting on Ivan IV's reforms of *kormlenie* (the spoils system which functioned in lieu of official salaries) in the Synodal codex adds a description of the tsar's daily devotions and piety.³¹ The *Illuminated Chronicle* copies hagiographical narratives from the Nikon Chronicle, among them the vitae of Metropolitan Petr³² and Sergii of Radonezh³³ but commissions no new redactions of saints' lives or tales of miracles.

Source analysis confirms that the writers of the *Illuminated Chronicle* borrowed almost exclusively from annals (mostly the Nikon Chronicle) and that they tended to copy passages verbatim. Some annalistic passages, excluded or

28. For examples, see David K. Prestel, "Creating Redemptive History: the Role of the Kievan Caves Monastery in the Stepennaia kniga," in *The Book of Royal Degrees...*, p. 97-108. An example of its application to the narrative of the conquest of Kazan' is given in Lenhoff, "Politics and Form in the Stepennaia kniga," p. 170-171.

29. E. V. Zatserina, "К вопросу о происхождении старопечатного орнамента" in: *У истоков русского книгопечатания*, Moscow, AN SSSR, 1959, p. 119, 121, 123; Tat'iana V. Dianova, "Старопечатный орнамент," *Древнерусское искусство. Рукописная книга. Сборник второй*, Moscow, AN SSSR, 1974, p. 315.

30. *PSRL*, т. 22, *Русский хронограф. Часть первая. Хронограф редакции 1512 года*, St. Petersburg, 1911; repr. Düsseldorf, 1973, p. 381.

31. *PSRL* 13/1: 267-268.

32. *PSRL* 10: 190-194.

33. *PSRL* 11: 127-147.

summarized in the more concise *Book of Degrees*, detail ceremonies involving the court and the church, such as weddings, coronations and funerals. Other annalistic narratives, censured from the more politically correct *Book of Degrees*, tell of the disgrace, murders, executions and treachery of princes, as well as their conflicts with clergymen. Both the Synodal codex, which justifies and describes the political structures of the Oprichnina,³⁴ and its partial fair copy, the *Book of the Tsardom*, incorporate passages praising persons who had been identified by the tsar as enemies of the state. Among these are positive portraits of Aleksei Fedorovich Adashev (reportedly committed suicide after his disgrace and arrest in 1560), Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbskii (defected to Poland-Lithuania in 1564), Aleksandr Borisovich Gorbatiy (executed in 1565), Ivan Ivanovich Pronskii (executed in 1569), Ivan Mikhailovich Viskovatyi (executed in July of 1570) and Aleksei Daniilovich Basmanov (executed in 1570).³⁵

A series of corrections, attributed by some scholars to Ivan IV himself,³⁶ were entered in a single hand in the margins of the Synodal codex and in the margins of the *Book of the Tsardom*.³⁷ These interpolations include sharp attacks on the tsar's enemies that seem to reflect Ivan's repressive politics in the late 1560s or 1570s.³⁸ But whoever wrote them missed or disregarded the aforementioned political infelicities. These findings indicate that a primary function of the *Illuminated Chronicle* was archival, in distinction to the *Book of Degrees*, which presents selective historical scenes and idealized portraits of rulers and prelates as proof of its teleological thesis. There is little evidence to support the view that the entries in the *Illuminated Chronicle* were subject to consistent censorship. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how anyone working in the Oprichnina under close supervision of the tsar would have been that careless that often.

The editorial decision to borrow narratives from eight steps of the unfinished *Book of Degrees* marks a departure from the statistically verifiable preference of the *Illuminated Chronicle* for the mechanical reproduction of annalistic texts. Aleksandr Presniakov noticed that most borrowings concerned miraculous

34. *PSRL* 13/2: 391-395.

35. Zimin, *Опричнина...*, p. 60-61; Kloss, *Никоновский свод...*, p. 253-254.

36. Ivan IV was first named as the probable editor of the glosses in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, in: Sergei F. Platonov, *Ivan Groznyi*, St. Petersburg, 1924, p. 7. For a detailed review of the scholarship defending this position, which is no longer accepted by most scholars, see: Morozov, *Лицевой свод...*, p. 53-59.

37. The editorial comments on the pages of the Synodal codex are published in *PSRL* 13/1: 97-98, 108-109, 114, 237-238, 246, 264, 277. Comments made on the pages of the *Book of the Tsardom*, which cover only the period between 1543-1553, are published in *PSRL* 13/2: 443-444, 448-449, 506, 514, 517-518, 522, 528-532.

38. Stepan B. Veselovskii, "Интерполяция так называемой Царственной книги о болезни царя 1553 г.," in his *Исследования по истории опричнины*, Moscow, AN SSSR, 1963, p. 255-291. An attempt to identify Ivan IV as the author of the interpolations by comparing their style to the tsar's correspondence with Andrei Kurbskii was made by Sigurd O. Schmidt, "Когда и поному редактировались лицевые летописи времени Ивана Грозного," *Советские архивы*, no. 2, 1966, p. 46-51. For an astute critique, see: Aleksandr A. Zimin; "О методике изучения повествовательных источников XVI в.," *Источниковедение отечественной истории*, sbornik 1, Moscow, Nauka, 1973, p. 187-196.

phenomena.³⁹ The following updated, cross-referenced list allows us to confirm and refine this observation:

1. From Step Six, the tale of a miracle of the wonder-working icon of Our Lady of the Sign that saved Novgorod from Andrei Bogoliubskii's Suzdalian army in 1171⁴⁰ is incorporated in the Laptev codex of the *Illuminated Chronicle* with an additional genealogy of the Novgorod princes.⁴¹

2. From Step Seven, the life of St. Mikhail of Chernigov and his boyar Fedor⁴² is substituted for the Nikon Chronicle entry of 1246 in the Laptev codex.⁴³ The account of a wonder-working icon of the Savior in Pskov⁴⁴ and the following report of St. Varlaam Khutynskii's death⁴⁵ are added to the Laptev codex entries for the year 1243, which also contains the episodes of Aleksandr Nevskii's life borrowed from Step Eight (see below).⁴⁶

3. From Step Eight, the opening biography and account of Aleksandr Nevskii's battle on the Neva,⁴⁷ a prayer,⁴⁸ the story of Aleksandr's journey to the Horde⁴⁹ and the account of the Tatar commander Nevruï's campaign against Aleksandr's rival for the Vladimir throne, his brother Andrei Iaroslavich,⁵⁰ are added to the Laptev codex.⁵¹

4. From Step Twelve, an abbreviated version of the vita of the holy princess Evdokiia Dmitrievna with miracles⁵² is included in the Osterman II codex entry for the year 1407.⁵³

5. From Step Thirteen, the extended tale of the Wonder-Working Vladimir Icon⁵⁴ is selected for the Osterman II codex instead of the shorter, less ornate version in the Nikon Chronicle entry for the year 1395.⁵⁵

39. Aleksandr Presniakov, "Московская историческая энциклопедия," in *Известия отделения русского языка и словесности академии наук*, t. 5, kn. 3, 1900, p. 824-876. A list of miraculous signs common to chapter 10 of Step Seventeen in the *Book of Degrees* and the *Book of the Tsardom* is supplied in: Georgii Z. Kuntsevich, *История о Казанском царстве, или Казанский летописец. Опыт историко-литературного исследования* (= Летопись занятия археграфической комиссии XVI), St. Petersburg, 1905, p. 546. Cf. Morozov, *Лицевой свод*..., p. 102, 121-22.

40. *SKDS* 1: 468-70 (chapter 12, titla 13).

41. *PSRL* 9: 241-244.

42. *SKDS* 1: 340-353 (chapter 14).

43. *PSRL* 10: 237-244 (prilozhenie).

44. *SKDS* 1: 551 (chapter 15).

45. *Ibid.* (chapter 16).

46. *PSRL* 10: 128.

47. *SKDS* 1: 516-519 (chapters 1-2).

48. *SKDS* 1: 522 (chapter 2).

49. *SKDS* 1: 525-526 (chapter 3).

50. *SKDS* 1: 527-528 (chapter 5).

51. *PSRL* 10: 118-120, 121-23, 134-35, 138-139.

52. *SKDS* 2: 65-66, 68-70 (chapters 14-15, 18-20).

53. *PSRL* 11: 198-201.

54. *SKDS* 2: 88-108 (chapter 24).

55. *PSRL* 11: 243-254 (prilozhenie).

6. From Step Fifteen, the report of the death of Iona, archbishop of Novgorod, identified as a wonder-working saint, and the account of Novgorod's fall⁵⁶ are the bases for the Golitsyn codex entries for the years 1471 and 1472.⁵⁷ The account of the miraculous birth of Vasiliï III⁵⁸ was added to the Shumilov codex entry for 1479.⁵⁹ The epistle of Rostov Archbishop Vassian Rylo, borrowed from the Voskresenskaia Chronicle and supplied with two captions and the characterization of Ivan's return to the divinely saved town of Moscow⁶⁰ are included in the Shumilov codex account of the standoff on the Ugra river.⁶¹ The tale of the successful campaign against Prince Asyka of the Mansi tribe, led by Prince Fedor Semenovich Kurbskii in 1483,⁶² is borrowed for the yearly entry for 1484 in the Shumilov codex.⁶³ The account of the Novgorodian church council exposing heretics in 1490 and the deposition of Metropolitan Zosima for heresy in 1494⁶⁴ provides the basis for the Shumilov codex account.⁶⁵ The witness to a miraculous vision of Aleksandr Nevskii, prophesying the conquest of Kazan',⁶⁶ is identified as the priest Andrei (the tsar's confessor, tonsured as Afanasii and metropolitan from 1564 to 1566) in the passage borrowed for the Shumilov codex entry of 1491.⁶⁷ A fragment noting that, following the arrest of Ivan's brother Andrei for treason on Sept. 19, 1491, the tsar sent his commanders to occupy Uglich⁶⁸ is added to the Shumilov codex entry for 1492.⁶⁹

7. From Step Sixteen, the narrative on how Makhmet Girei, having allied with the Lithuanian king, marched against Moscow and was miraculously driven away⁷⁰ is added to the entry for 1521 in the Shumilov codex.⁷¹ A slightly edited account of the miraculous birth of Ivan IV⁷² and his baptism is copied for the Shumilov codex entry for the year 1530.⁷³ The account of the defeat of the Crimean Tatar tsarevich Islam, who had requested asylum with Vasiliï III in 1532, then marched on Riazan' with a large army in August of 1533,⁷⁴ was

56. *SKDS* 2: 220-234 (chapter 4).

57. *PSRL* 12: 125, 127-142.

58. *SKDS* 2: 250 (chapter 15).

59. *PSRL* 12: 190-192.

60. *SKDS* 2: 253-262 (chapter 16).

61. *PSRL* 12: 203-212.

62. *SKDS* 2: 264 (chapter 17).

63. *PSRL* 12: 215.

64. *SKDS* 2: 266-269 (chapter 20).

65. *PSRL* 12: 224-227.

66. *SKDS* 2: 269-70 (chapter 23).

67. *PSRL* 12: 229-230.

68. *SKDS* 2: 271 (chapter 22).

69. *PSRL* 12: 231-232.

70. *SKDS* 2: 306-312 (chapter 16).

71. *PSRL* 13/ 1: 37-43.

72. *SKDS* 2: 315-316, 317-320 (chapter 22).

73. *PSRL* 13/1: 48-49, 50-53.

74. *SKDS* 2: 321 (chapter 23).

copied for the Shumilov codex entry for that same year.⁷⁵ Some details in the account of Vasilii's illness and death⁷⁶ were incorporated into the account for the Synodal codex and the *Book of the Tsardom* before the interpolations.⁷⁷

8. From Step Seventeen, narratives of prophecies and miracles connected with the 1552 conquest of Kazan⁷⁸ were incorporated in the Synodal codex and the *Book of the Tsardom* before the interpolations.⁷⁹

No miracle narratives were borrowed from steps 1-5, from the opening of Step 6 (featuring the reigns of Vladimir I through Iurii Dolgorukii) or from steps 9-11 and 14. These omissions cannot be accounted for by thematic or ideological considerations. It is not clear, for example, why the editors of the *Illuminated Chronicle* selected the vita of Princess Evdokiia Dmitrievna (albeit with cuts), but passed over the vitae of the princes Daniil Aleksandrovich, the dynasty's founder,⁸⁰ and Feodor Rostislavich,⁸¹ recognized among the "new" Muscovite wonder-workers at Makarii's council of 1547 and named by Ivan IV in his correspondence with Kurbskii as a special patron of the royal family.⁸²

The list of borrowed narratives, however, shows some consistent patterns. The selection confirms that the editors of the *Illuminated Chronicle* were familiar with the *Book of Degrees* and regarded it as an authoritative historical source on manifestations of God's grace in the Tsardom's history. The versions of miracle tales and saints' lives borrowed from the *Book of Degrees* were fuller and written in a more lofty style than the versions in the Nikon Chronicle. A significant portion of the borrowed texts documents miraculous victories against the Mongols, a central theme in the historical teleology of the *Book of Degrees*.⁸³ The reordering of the materials, in contrast, accords precedence to incremental chronological organization over the more cohesive narrative structure of the *Book of Degrees* that portrays the segment of history from Vladimir I to Ivan IV as the realization of a goal-driven divine plan.

While the chronological format and the size of the *Illuminated Chronicle* thus effectively divest Russian history of the religious teleology ascribed to it in the *Book of Degrees*, the unprecedented quantity of miniatures modeled on icons creates the visual impression of a manuscript with religious content.⁸⁴

75. PSRL 13/1: 70.

76. SKDS 2: 323-327 (chapter 24).

77. PSRL 13/2: 409-419. See also note 37 above.

78. SKDS 2: 359-362, 364-365 (chapter 10, titly 11-13, 19-20).

79. PSRL 13/2: 440-463, 465-466, 496, 502-503.

80. SKDS 1: 536-541 (Step 9, chapters 1-8).

81. Ibid.: 550-559 (Step 9, chapters 18-21).

82. *Переписка Ивана Грозного с Андреем Курбским*, ed. Iakov S. Lur'e and Iurii D. Rykov (=Literaturnye pamiatniki), Leningrad, Nauka, 1979, p. 45.

83. On these providential themes, see notes 13 and 26 above.

84. Oblique references to religious models and contents are made by Artemii V. Artsikhovskii, *Древнерусские миниатюры как исторический источник*, Moscow, MGU, 1944, p. 44, 104, 132; and by

Valentin Morozov states forthrightly that the iconographic miniatures shift the *Illuminated Chronicle*'s center of gravity into the religious sphere and invest every detail of the historical accounts with sacred authority. At the same time, he assesses the use of copious illustrations depicting the details of yearly entries in the Nikon Chronicle as a significant aesthetic innovation.⁸⁵ This assessment requires context and some correction. Iconographic canons are primarily associated with noumenal images of Christ, the Mother of God, the saints, biblical stories, holidays, religious traditions and theology. In this sense, their use as historical illustrations marks a departure from dogma. But in Ivan IV's day, iconographic conventions were still viewed as the only authoritative pictorial options for official commissions. The artistic choice to embellish the text with illustrations based on traditional iconographic forms, which impress religious templates on worldly events and persons, is consistent with the conservative editorial choice to restore the Nikon Chronicle text and annalistic structure, while supplementing it with narratives of religious miracles from the *Book of Degrees*. Within the context of the literary decisions documented above, the miniatures represent a further step in a deliberate process of foregrounding archaic forms. They can most convincingly be explained, not as an innovation, but as an alternative to the theological narrative framework in the *Book of Degrees*.

Scholars have missed this connection because they have sought a more direct pictorial model for the miniatures. The rule that medieval artists assigned to illustrate new manuscripts typically try to simplify their task by copying miniatures from older illuminated manuscripts has deflected attention from the *Book of Degrees*, which has no illustrations. Some general analogies that might have provided a precedent have been posited. Although only one earlier surviving chronicle is illuminated with miniatures and they are executed in a completely different style,⁸⁶ art historians theorize that lost manuscripts must have provided archetypes to be copied.⁸⁷ Frank Kämpfer finds a parallel between the descriptions of lost monumental frescos illustrating texts from chronicles on the walls of the Golden Palace, which represented idealized rulers within the universal history of salvation, and the iconographic miniatures illustrating Russian history in the *Illuminated Chronicle*.⁸⁸

Ol'ga I. Podobedova, *Миниатюры русских исторических рукописей: к истории русского лицевого летописания*, Moscow, Nauka, 1965, p. 105-106, 115-116, 122-123, 211.

85. Morozov, *Лицевой свод*..., p. 259.

86. The miniatures are reproduced in *Радзивилловская летопись*, 2 vols., Moscow – St. Petersburg, Isskustvo, 1994, vol. 1. A clear example of the different approaches, cited by Podobedova, are the respective illustrations of the omen of the "three suns" that appeared in the sky as the body of Vladimir Monomakh's son, Andrei "Dobryi", was being carried to his grave in Pereiaslavl' on January 23, 1142 (s. a. 6649); Podobedova, *Миниатюры*..., p. 211-213.

87. Artsikhovskii, *Древнерусские миниатюры*..., p. 44; Podobedova, *Миниатюры*..., p. 184-185, 195-197.

88. Frank Kämpfer, *Das russische Herrscherbild von den Anfängen bis zu Peter dem Grossen: Studien zur Entwicklung politischer Ikonographie im byzantinischen Kulturkreis*, Recklinghausen, A. Bongers, 1978, p. 98, 196-198.

Studies of the miniatures show, however, that illustrators did not use ready models for many themes, but fulfilled their commission by combining iconographic forms with varying success. The miniatures supplied for the lives of saints, such as Sergii of Radonezh, which differ from the scenes in surviving icons and illuminated manuscripts, have been singled out as some of the finest examples of their art.⁸⁹ But the artistic language of iconography, developed to illustrate theological concepts, was not designed to depict the range of historical realia covered in the chronicle text and many of the miniaturists were neither particularly resourceful nor ideologically discriminating in their choice of the images at their disposal. Defeats are depicted like victories. For example, Prince Feodor Rostislavich “the Black” is shown triumphantly failing to take Smolesnk from his nephew, Aleksandr Glebovich, who had usurped the throne in 1297.⁹⁰ The same yellow crowns with five points are worn by Ivan IV, before and after his coronation, and by Mongol khans and khanshas, by Old Testament kings, by Greek and Western emperors and by Russian princesses. Three wives of Vladimir I are pictured in such crowns, but others are shown wearing headscarves.⁹¹ The sumptuous miniatures illustrating the annulled coronation of Ivan III’s grandson Dmitrii in 1497,⁹² which temporarily deprived Vasiliï III of his status as heir-apparent to the grand principality, are roughly equivalent in style and quantity to the outlines of the unfinished miniatures depicting Ivan IV’s coronation as tsar in 1547.⁹³ Even legendary wonder-working icons like the Our Lady of the Sign⁹⁴ and the Vladimir Mother of God⁹⁵ are drawn schematically in terms of general types. Sometimes there is an inadvertently ironic disconnect between the religious associations and the contents of the miniatures. One illustration shows the coronation of Vasiliï I as the grand prince of Vladimir by the envoy of the Mongol khan, rather than by the metropolitan.⁹⁶ Ivan III is depicted on a throne, like Christ in Glory, redistributing lands confiscated from the church to his boyars.⁹⁷

Our findings can be summarized as follows. The compilers of the *Illuminated Chronicle* used the *Book of Degrees* as a source and were profoundly influenced by its religious themes, but rejected its formal innovations. Mechanical copying of authoritative texts took precedence over considerations of style, thematic nuances and narrative consistency. Faced with the challenge of illustrating

89. Pierre Gonneau, “La Chronique enluminée d’Ivan le Terrible (1568-1576). Études et perspectives,” *Comptes rendus de l’Académie* 2013, IV (novembre-décembre), p. 1511-1530.

90. *LLS* 7: 52-53.

91. *LLS* 1: 113.

92. *LLS* 17: 359-383.

93. *LLS* 20: 300-21.

94. *LLS* 2: 481, 483-487.

95. *Ibid.*, 200, 209; *LLS* 11: 177-308.

96. *LLS* 10: 433; Artsikhovskii, *Древнерусские миниатюры*..., p. 130.

97. *LLS* 17: 398.

worldly subjects, miniaturists limited themselves to traditional iconographic conventions and thus imposed religious templates on historical events. Their conservative approach stands in striking opposition to that of Western Renaissance illuminated chronicles, executed a century earlier, where miniatures are enhanced by individual details of faces and clothing, landscapes, buildings and the mathematically calculated illusion of three-dimensional space. In these respects, the abandonment of work on the *Book of Degrees* and the commission to supplement and embellish the Nikon Chronicle under Ivan IV must be assessed as a movement backward toward archaic, more conventionally Orthodox forms of representing history.