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DIMITRIY ROSTOVSKY READING MENOLOGION BETWEEN KYIV, MOSCOW AND RILA MONASTERY:

**A page of the history of slavonic editing and establishing
a comprehensive publishing process in the Russian Empire
in the 18th century**

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Summary. *The article focuses on proofreading copies of Dimitriy Rostovskiy’s well-known Reading Menologion Lives of the Saints from the library of the biggest Bulgarian monastery – Rila Monastery. The Lives of the Saints was initially printed in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, then went under the Most Holy Governing Synod’s patronage in Moscow, and was published there in 1756-9. The Rila Monastery copies contain proofreading marks, and a detailed study shows that they represent the final stage of the editorial and publishing process of the first Moscow edition. The study of*

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Rila Library Menologion copies highlights an important issue from the book history of Eastern Europe.

Keywords: *Dimitriy Rostovsky, Lives of the Saints, Reading Menologion, Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, Moscow Synodal Typography, 18th century, editorial practices, Rila Monastery*

Dmitrijaus Rostoviečio menologijaus skaitymas tarp Kyjivo, Maskvos ir Rilos vienuolyno: istorijos intarpas apie slaviškų tekstų redagavimą ir visapusiško leidybos proceso kūrimą XVIII a. Rusijos imperijoje

Santrauka. *Straipsnyje nagrinėjami garsiojo Dmitrijaus Rostoviečio menologijaus Šventųjų gyvenimų skaitiniai korektūros egzemplioriai, saugomi Rilos vienuolyno – didžiausio Bulgarijos vienuolyno – bibliotekoje. Šventųjų gyvenimų skaitiniai iš pradžių buvo spausdinami Kyjivo Pečorų lauroje, vėliau pateko Rusijos sinodo globon į Maskvą ir ten buvo išspausdinti 1756–1759 m. Rilos vienuolyno egzemplioriuose yra korektūros žymių, ir išsamus tyrimas liudija, kad jie reprezentuoja paskutinį pirmos Maskvos laidos redagavimo ir leidybos etapą. Rilos bibliotekos menologijaus egzempliorių tyrimas išryškina svarbų Rytų Europos knygos istorijos aspektą.*

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *Dmitrijus Rostovietis, Šventųjų gyvenimų skaitiniai, skaitymo menologijus, Kyjivo Pečorų laura, Maskvos sinodo spaustuvė, XVIII a., redakcinė praktika, Rilos vienuolynas.*

INTRODUCTION

The Rila Monastery owns one of the most important collections of Slavonic printed books in Bulgaria. Notably, the collection stands out for its vast volume, thematic diversity, and extensive genres. The monastic library rare books division mainly consists of liturgical books used in Eastern Orthodox church rites and ceremonies, as well as homiletic and didactic works for the monastic free time reading. The collection is recognized as a historically noteworthy resource that holds considerable importance for examining Slavonic literary culture from the 16th to the 20th century. A substantial part of the printed collection consists of editions obtained from Orthodox monasteries or purchased on the free book market of the Russian Empire. The volumes in the present study are part of the *Reading Menologion* of Dimitriy Rostovsky's *Lives of the Saints* ("Knigi zhityi svetyih"), printed in Moscow between 1756 and 1759. The Rila Monastery library holds numerous volumes

of the Rostovsky's work.¹ While searching for marginalia in the collection of Cyrillic Slavonic old printed books, identical handwritten notes in red ink in nine copies of Rostovsky's compendium were discovered. The appearance and position of the notes led to the hypothesis that they were left by the hand of an editor and proofreader in Moscow Synodal Typography.²

This article aims to elaborate and validate an earlier hypothesis that Rila Monastery volumes are the proofreading copies of the final preprint version of the first Moscow edition of Dimitriy Rostovsky's Reading Menologion (1756–1759). The study outlines the significance of the discovered copies based on bibliographical and codicological analyses of the nine volumes. They were compared with published copies of the first and second Moscow editions. Full metric analyses of the proofreader's marginalia and a chronology of the proofreading process were provided. In-depth analyses of the proofreading marks in the text and compositor misconduct were also made. Some conclusions about the provenance of the copies were reached due to the bookbinding and reader's marginalia evidence. Additional sources were included to confirm the hypothesis.

In order to provide a historical background, it is important to describe the development of Russian book publishing, which differs from similar processes in Western and Central Europe regarding temporal, social, and technical aspects. The microhistory of the studied copies is also distinguished, which testifies to the linguistic disagreements between the printing house of Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and Moscow Synodal Typography. The Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA)³ houses the primary proofreadings of *Rostovsky's Menologions*, which underwent editorial intervention by the Moscow censors and editors.⁴ The nine volumes discovered in the library of the Rila Monastery contain factual evi-

1 For more information on title variations of the Menologions, see: ANGELOVA, Gabriela, HRISTOVA, Kamelia. Osobnosti pri bibliografskoto identificirane na slavyanski kirilski pechatni knigi (16–19 vek). In *Obshtestvoto na znaniето i humanizmat na 21 vek: 19 natsionalna nauchna konferentsiya s mezhdunarodno uchastie Sofiya, 1 noemvri 2022*. Sofiya: Za bukвите – O pismeneh, 2022, p. 94.

2 The early version of the hypothesis about Rila Monastery Moscow proofreading copies was presented in November 2022 Veliko Tarnovo conference – Libraries, Reading, Communication in Bulgarian: ZAGOROV, Vasil. Sluzhebните kopia na moskovski „Cheti-miney“ ot 1759 g. v bibliotekata na Rilskia manastir – mezhdu redaktsiyata i pechatnitsata“, 2022 available online: <https://libvt.bg/images/conferences/2022/Dokladi/12-Vasil-Zagorov-2022.pdf>

3 Russian State Archives of Ancient Documents (RGADA) is inheriting the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGADA) in 1992.

4 KRUMING, Andrey A. Chet'yi Minei svyatogo Dimitriya Rostovskogo: ocherk istorii izdaniya. In *Filevskiyе chteniya*, t. 9, Moskva, 1994, p. 35.

dence of the sequence and technology of the editorial processes in the Moscow Synodal Typography. Due to the research, it is confirmed that the volumes represent the final proofreading copy. The collected empirical evidence allows us to trace the complex interaction between the author's input, the editor's policy, and the printer's technical performance – a process barely mentioned by the specialists in the field of literature history, philology and text criticism. In the context of contemporary studies related to the editing of Slavic printed books in Russia during the 18th and 19th centuries, the role of book production and printing often remains unexplored field. Their primary focus is the linguistic aspects and the various dialects that are evident in the literary works from the different regions that constituted the Russian Empire. For instance, in an analysis of fragments from Church Slavonic texts of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles in Moscow Old Printed Books from the 16th to 19th centuries, 42 printed specimens were evaluated to trace the changes in linguistic, grammatical and orthographic features and their reflection in the printed editions. A comparative analysis of the proof copies and the official editions in terms of the publishing and printing processes would provide a very different perspective on the final outcome of the production of the sacred texts in the period.⁵

THE MICROHISTORY OF THE READING MENOLOGION OF DIMITRIY ROSTOVSKY

Reading Menologion (Cheti-Minei) is a hagiographic compendium containing texts for liturgical and nonliturgical purposes, which correspond to the canonical statute of the Orthodox Church. The included texts are arranged chronologically in accordance with the fixed holidays in the church calendar of the Orthodox Church. The Reading Menologions have a distinctive feature of being intended for “public or individual reading” while the General and the Full Menologions are usually used for singing during the Mass.⁶ The hagiographical narratives within the Reading Menologion are of biographical, historical, and homiletic character. The combination of historical realities, biographies of

5 KOROLEV, Panteleimon. Istorija redaktorskih izmenenii cerkovnoslavjanskogo teksta Dejanii i Poslanii apostol'skih v moskovskih pechatnyh knigah XVI—XXI vekov. In: *Lingvisticheskoe istochnikovedenie i istorija russkogo jazyka*. M.: Drevlehranilishhe, 2011, p. 119–135.

6 For more details on Cheti-Minei, see: PETROVA-TANEVA, Maya. Chety-Minei. In *Scripta Bulgarica*. [accessed 23 November 2023]. Access through Internet: <<http://scripta-bulgaria.eu/bg/terms/cheti-miney>>.

the saints and the didactic elements in the texts make the Menologions vastly popular and valuable among Orthodox communities. Since the stories describe the vicissitudes of the saints' life and thus outline the ideal of Christian behavior when witnessing to the faith, the content has a strong influence on the formation of the Christian ethics of the reader (or listener). The tradition of hagiographic narratives goes back to the Byzantine literature of the 6–7th centuries, as stated by Klimentina Ivanova. According to her, over time, the range of Menologions was gradually expanded and updated with the inclusion of biographies of new saints. The compendium became an omnipresent and canonical reading in East and South Slavic literary tradition.⁷

The Orthodox hagiographer Saint Dimitriy Rostovsky (1651–1709) was born in the Kyiv region under the secular name Daniil Savich Tuptalo. He was a theologian and preacher who was canonized nearly half a century after his death (1757). His vital contribution to the widespread use of Menologions in the Orthodox Cyrillic world via print is well-recognized. In 1668, Rostovsky joined St. Cyril's Monastery in Kyiv, where he became a member of the brotherhood and later ordained as a priest. He preached in several monastic communities in the Kyiv region. In 1702, Rostovsky was raised as Metropolitan Bishop of Rostov-Yaroslavl, as he remained until the end of his life.⁸ His most renowned work throughout the Orthodox world was the "Lives of the Saints". This hagiographical compendium is a work of extraordinary importance to the Orthodox Church and is still being reprinted nowadays due to its vast reception among the clergy and laity. According to Alexander Derzhavin, these biographies have a unifying function and establish the identity of Russian hagiography, following a prolonged reliance on the traditions of the Greek Patriarchate: *Published at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, Reading Menologion of Holy Dimitriy Rostovsky, completed the long period that Russian hagiography had gone through before them. ... Russian hagiography was not completely independent. It borrowed literary forms and techniques for describing the lives of saints from the Greeks in those lives and hagiographical stories that were brought to Russia from Bulgaria and Serbia in Slavonic translations after our adoption of Christianity.*⁹

7 IVANOVA, Klimentina. Chety-Minei. In *Kirilo-Methodievska entziklopedia*, vol. 4, Sofia, 2003, p. 506.

8 ZELENINA, Yana. Dimitriy Rostovsky. In *Pravoslavnaya entsiklopediya*. vol. 15, Moskva, 2007, p. 8–11.

9 DERZHAVIN, Aleksandar. Chetii-Minei svyatitelya Dimitriya, mitropolita Rostovskogo, kak tserkovno-istoricheskii literaturnyy pamyatnik. In *Bogoslovskie trudy*, t. 16, Moskva: Moskovskoy Patriarkhii, 1976, p. 67.

Andrey Kruming uses the *de visu* method to determine the sequence of the editions. His conclusions are supported by research of archival material in RGADA.¹⁰ The processes of compiling and publishing the printed version of the manuscript, first in Kyiv and then in Moscow, have been the subject of scholarly interest by both Fedor Titov and Aleksandar Derzhavin. In 1903, Alexander Solovyov provided a comprehensive overview of the historical events concerning the Kyiv and Moscow editions of the book, although the historical background presented in his study *State Printing House and Synodal Typography* is based on sources that are not historiographically and bibliographically traceable. Although the study unequivocally shows that the publishing of the Reading Menologion caused a strong response and dispute between the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra and the Moscow Patriarchate.

The publishing record of Dimitriy Rostovsky's Reading Menologion has been a focus of research regarding the Slavonic printed book and the historical evolution of the Orthodox Church. Kruming examines Rostovsky's compilation and editorial labor during the production of the initial Kyiv edition. The compendium is issued in Quarto format into four volumes following the Orthodox calendar: Book I (September–November), Book II (December–February), Book III (March–May); Book IV (June–August).¹¹

The September–November volume of Reading Menologion started to print in Kyiv on 2nd July 1688 and was completed in July of the following year. The remaining three volumes of the compendium were published in 1695, 1700 and 1705. The delay in the releases indicates that the work was slowly progressing and encountered organizational obstacles. One valid reason for this can be found in the annexation of the Lavra as a subordinate of the Moscow Patriarchate in 1688. Imperial regulations explicitly required the Lavra's printing house to imprint the names of the *Tsar* and the *Patriarch* in the published works. These requirements led to a more dynamic debate on the printing house's autonomy.¹² Adapting literary works to the guidelines of secular and religious

10 KRUMING, Andrey A. Chet'yi Minei svyatogo Dimitriya Rostovskogo: ocherk istorii izdaniya. In *Filevskiy chteniya*, t. 9, Moskva, 1994, p. 5–53.

11 Andrey Kruming makes a detailed analysis of the reprinting cycle of the Rostov's Reading Menologion until 1917. The bibliographic analysis clearly shows the publishing changes and the continuing interest in the publication. Kruming emphasizes that in the 19th century, the Reading Menologion is issued separately for the 12 months in the format of octavo. Subsequently, they began to be printed in civilian font. The changes in form and the democratization of the font are ostentatious in terms of the consumption of the Rostov hagiographical compendium. See KRUMING, Andrey. Chet'yi Minei svyatogo..., p. 7; p. 38–41.

12 KAGAMLYK, Svitlana. How Moscow Colonized Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. New Pages to

authorities in Moscow resulted in frequent modifications to previously printed texts. Hence, five versions of the initial Kyiv edition are known today. The variability of the first edition, as remarked by Kruming, was not uncommon during the era of the hand printing press.¹³ The printing process can be interrupted at any stage to revise, supplement, shorten, or rearrange the paratexts and body texts, which explains the existence of several versions within the same edition. The structure of the codex allows entire sections to be added or removed and revised, even after printing has begun.

Before Rostovsky passed away, he edited the first volume of the first edition (1689) issued for the second time in 1711. The other three volumes were revised by censors and editors, without the author's participation. The four volumes of the second edition of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra were gradually released between 1711 and 1718, but the print run of the fourth volume (1718) burnt during a devastating fire in the Kyiv Monastery.¹⁴

Since the book has gained popularity, there has been a demand for a third edition, but due to the material and economic damage caused by the fire, the printing house of the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra was unable to release it. The decree of Peter the Great of 5 October 1720 established rigorous new standards that imposed significant limitations on the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra's autonomy with the regard to the press. The Holy Synod required permission for each individual book and mandated the sending of a copy to Moscow for content verification. The Lavra was then obliged to appoint a member of the monastic community to undertake this administrative task. In 1726, the Lavra petitioned the Synod for permission to print prayer books intended for the religious needs of the local Orthodox population. However, Moscow insisted that communication continue in accordance with the terms set forth in the 1720 decree.¹⁵

The new regulations from the Holy Synod in Moscow have restricted the autonomy of Lavra's publishing activity by prohibiting printing new books without explicit permission. The Lavra requested to reprint the Reading Menologion in 1727; however, they received an unclear response from Moscow, which was

the History of the Ukrainian Printing of the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *East European Historical Bulletin*, 2020, (15), p. 57. More details about the Book History in Ukraine see: SOKOLOV, Viktor. Contemporary Bibliology Science in the Practice of the National Libraries of Ukraine. *Publisher*, vol. XXVI, № 1, 2024, p. 14–38.

13 KRUMING, Andrey. Chet'yi Minei svyatogo..., p. 12–18.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 30–31.

15 KAGAMLYK, Svitlana. How Moscow Colonized Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. New Pages to the History of the Ukrainian Printing of the Second Half of the XVIIIth Century. *East European Historical Bulletin*, 2020, (15), p. 57–58.

interpreted negatively.¹⁶ In the period between 1727 and 1728, the conditions for printing books were liberalized as a result of the Lavra's persistent efforts to negotiate more favorable agreements with Moscow. Subsequently, the Synod permitted the free printing and sale of published works that had already been approved. In 1728, the Lavra was granted permission to reprint their older works, which had not been published in Moscow, on the condition that their content was accurate and met the standards set by Moscow in terms of language and canon. Despite the permission and the absence of a Moscow edition of Rostovsky's work, F. Titov identifies the Moscow authorities' requirements as a factor impeding the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra from reworking the compendium before 1740, citing the necessity for a more precise redaction.¹⁷ Then Archimandrite Timothy Shcherbatsky sent another request to Moscow. On 10 July 1741, the Holy Synod in Moscow allowed him to print a third edition of the Menologion, but obliged him to make certain revisions. Along with the editing and the correcting, the text had to be proof-read to the *Velikorussian*¹⁸ language norm.¹⁹ In 1751, the Lavra encountered evasive responses and conflicting opinions from Moscow, resulting in the abandonment of plans to print the book in Kyiv Lavra. Shortly after, the Holy Synod in Moscow commissioned Archimandrite Timothy Shcherbatsky to thoroughly review and edit the problematic sections of the Reading Menologion, as its republication was already crucial. The proofreading process was completed by Manasiy Maksimovich and Toma Girgich, both alumni of Kyiv Seminary, who were assigned to the task. It was approved by T. Shcherbatsky and presented to the Holy Synod in Moscow (c. 1753).²⁰ In 1755, Shcherbatsky requested to be relieved of his obligation to prepare a new edition and suggested the formation of a council in Kyiv to undertake the task. His request to continue the work in Kyiv was denied, and the Holy Synod in Moscow transferred the editing of the text to Yoasav Mitkevich, the rector of the Novgorod Seminary, and Nikodim Puchenkov, the rector of the

16 TITOV, Fedor. Sv. Dimitriy, Metropolitan Rostovskiy, byvshiy uchenik Kyivskoy dukhovnoy akademii. In *Trudy Kyivskoy dukhovnoy akademii*, vol. III, Kyiv, 1909, p. 222.

17 See TITOV, Fedor. Sv. Dimitriy, Metropolitan Rostovskiy, byvshiy uchenik Kyivskoy dukhovnoy akademii... p. 222–226.

18 The Great Russian linguistic norm is part of the concept for cultural differentiation between the nationalities within the East Slavic population of the Russian Empire – Great Russians, Little Russians and Byelorussians. See LESKINEN, Mariya. *Velikorossy/velikorusy v rossiyskoy nauchnoy publitsistike (1840–1890)*, *Slavyanovedenie*, Vol. 6, RAN, 2010.

19 The problems related with language misconception between Kyiv and Moscow editions are discussed by: TITOV, Fedor. Sv. Dimitriy, Metropolitan Rostovskiy... , p. 228–229.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 228–229.

St. Petersburg Seminary.²¹ Between November 1755 and May 1756, Mitkevich and Puchenkov worked on the four volumes of the compendium. F. Titov emphasizes that despite the slow work on the editions in Kyiv, the clergy in the Lavra made profound and qualitative changes to the texts, which allowed the Moscow officials to work faster. According to Titov, the primary focus of corrections involved substituting *Malorossiyan* words with *Velikorussian* equivalents. The Reading Menologion texts were subject to a significant Russian revision, which involved altering word sequence and changing suffixes. The Moscow Synodal Typography Proofreading Chamber copy editors (*spravchitsi*)²² undertook this final publication stage. The printing of the first Moscow edition began at the end of 1756 and ended in 1759.²³

The Moscow Synodal Typography printed three editions of Dimitriy Rostovsky's Reading Menologion in the 50s and 60s of the 18th century: the first in 1759, the second in 1762 and the third in 1764. According to the title pages of these editions, they were based on the Kyiv editions of 1689–1705 and 1711–1718. Kruming states that volumes one to three were reprinted from the second Kyiv edition published in 1711, 1714, and 1716, while the fourth volume was reprinted from the first Kyiv edition from 1705. He notes that the official proofreading copies with the remarks of the members of the Proofreading Chamber have been preserved in a collection of the RGADA (f. 1251), dated from 21st September 1756 to 6th January 1758.²⁴ The names of the proofreaders, Grigoriy Kondakov and Feodor Pomortsev, can be found in the margins. The gatherings of the books with proofreading marks were bound into monthly volumes – a practice observed in the Rila Monastery copies as well.²⁵

Solovyov's historical analysis explains that the first Moscow edition was based on heavily edited proof copies. However, the notes of the censors, editors and proofreaders were so numerous that they provoked a backlash response from the compositors. The dissatisfaction stemmed because there was not a single page, not even a single line, without editorial intervention.²⁶ In the Rila copies, on the other hand, there are fewer corrections. Some pages are almost left intact. The amount of linguistic and grammatical corrections is minimal.

21 Ibid., p. 230–238.

22 The archaic job position combined the roles of censor, editor, and proofreader in the Proofreading Chamber in the Russian Empire.

23 Ibid., p. 238–239.

24 RGADA fund no. 1251 holds the old printed books of the Moscow Synod Typography.

25 KRUMING, Andrey. *Chet'yi Minei svyatogo...*, p. 35.

26 SOLOV'YEV, Aleksander. *Gosudarev pechatny dvor i Sinodal'naya tipografiya v Moskve: Istoricheskaya spravka*, Moskva: Sinodal'naya tipografiya, 1903, p. 86.

The most frequent marks concern the proofreading procedure itself, replacement of worn movable type elements (letters, numbers, punctuation marks) inaccuracies in the numeration of sections, and foliation, and other flaws in the layout of the text.

In this situation, it is logical to ask: to which part of the editorial-publishing process are the copies of the Moscow Reading Menologion of 1759 directed in the Rila Monastery Library collection?

BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF BOOK PRINTING AND EDITING IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

To elucidate the aforementioned, it is necessary to examine the circumstances under which this significant Orthodox work was written and published, as well as the key features of the history of book printing and publishing in the Russian Empire (Russian Tsardom 1547–1721; Russian Empire 1721–1917). The introduction of printing technology to the Russian territories was over a century later, in 1564, during the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible (1533–1584). The Russian printed book differs from Western book, which were mainly a result of private initiative. In contrast, the Russian book is under the complete control of both the State and the Church. The printing of liturgical and religious works, such as biographies of Greek, Slavic, and Russian saints, biblical stories, and homiletic tales, is prioritized by both secular and religious institutions. During the 17th century, the manuscript book remained the most typical medium for spreading secular and religious texts. The influence of manuscripts on the clergy prompted a reform under the supervision of Patriarch Nikon (1652–1666), who, following the Moscow Council of 1654, edited and revised books, and rites in the Russian Orthodox Church. After the mid-17th century, scholars started seeking canonical manuscript samples to correct the printed liturgical texts.²⁷

The accurate and canonical printing of texts required the implementation of a special proofreading procedure. The Print Yard in Moscow established the Proofreading Chamber after 1642, where manuscripts and printed texts underwent comparison and correction. This department was responsible simultaneously for censorship, editing and proofreading. The preparation of qualified personnel and the establishment of editorial procedures took time before the

27 For more detailed review of the Russian book printing in the epoch from Ivan Fyodorov to Peter I, see: KISELEV, Nikolai. O Moskovskom knigopechatanii XVII veka, *Kniga: Issledovaniya i materialy*, vol. LXXX, Moskva, 2002, p. 13–56.

Chamber fully accepted the assigned functions. The editorial-publishing process at the Moscow Printing Yard became more systematized in the mid-17th century.²⁸ Regarding the specialized linguistic education and procedure training of the copy editors, the Yard became more effective in the final quarter of the 17th century. At the time of the printing of the Menologion, editorial practices in Moscow had already spanned a 100-year history. During the reign of Peter I (1682–1725), secular books were increasingly printed, but this did not diminish the influence of the three distinct Orthodox literary centers of Moscow, Kyiv and St. Petersburg. The accomplishing leading role of Moscow in liturgical book publishing was personal initiative of Peter I. In 1721, by his decree, the Printing Yard was converted into a Synodal Printing House, thus indicating Moscow's dominance in religious printing. Following the fire in the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra in 1718 and Peter's I demise in 1725, the Synodal Printing Yard in Moscow took the lead as the primary center for editing and publishing Orthodox works.²⁹ Part of this dominance is also evident in the publishing procedure of the Moscow first edition of Dimitriy Rostovsky's Reading Menologion.

The procedure did not change much until the 19th century – a handwritten prototype of the text (typescript) was prepared, corrections were made to the first printed version of the text, then the book was printed. The process stability can be attributed to the reliability of the screw press printing technology. This is confirmed by the documents analyzed by A. Kravetsky, which demonstrate that the editing procedure, with its inherent advantages and disadvantages, remained a stable practice throughout the latter half of the 19th century.³⁰ The study makes direct reference to the work of the synodal printing houses in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and identifies the issue of spelling and grammatical inconsistencies in liturgical books as a persistent challenge. The two officials in the cited documents – Peter A. Giltebrand, editor-in-chief at the St. Petersburg Synodal Typography, and Mikhail Nikolsky, senior editor at the Moscow Synodal Typography, perceive the act of publishing of texts as an ideal system. However, they do not dedicate much attention to the fact that, within

28 For more information about the historical development of Proofreading Chamber, see: NAKORYAKOVA, Kseniya. *Ocherki po istorii redaktirovaniya v Rossii XVI–XIX vv.: opyt i problem.* Moskva, 2004.; KHROMOV, Oleg. Moskovskiy pechatny dvor pri patriarhe Nikone: osobennosti repertuara i khudozhestvennogo oformleniya izdaniy. *Izvestiya Ural'skogo federal'nogo universiteta.* ser. 2: Gumanitarnye nauki, t. 23, 2, 2021, p. 110–127.

29 SOLOV'YEV, Aleksander. Gosudarev pechatny dvor..., p. 67.

30 KRAVETSKIY, Aleksandr. Lingvisticheskie i tekstologicheskie standarty sinodal'nykh tipografii. In: *Lingvisticheskoe istochnikovedenie i istoriya russkogo yazyka.* M.: Drevlehra-nilishhe, 2010, p. 470–502.

this system, the printers and the typesetters also played a significant role. In the view of Giltebrand, the presence of omissions and errors can be attributed to the consequence of careless editorial work. He cites the example of omitted words in the 1882 Bible, but does not consider the possibility that the printer may intentionally omit words in order to facilitate the composition of certain lines, paragraphs, pages, or even entire gatherings. This process is illustrated in clear detail in the work on proof copies that have been preserved in the Rila Monastery.

P. A. Giltebrand provides further examples of issues encountered in liturgical editions printed between 1879 and 1883. He concludes that these problems were prevalent during the period of manual typesetting: *On top of that, the diligence in the proofs of synodal and Lavra editions was compromised: intolerable errors, misses, and striking carelessness appeared.*³¹ It is not uncommon for workers in printing offices to refrain from correcting errors to cut labor. The reluctance of printers to comply with the demands of editors is evidenced by the existence of the secondary Rila proof, which was designed to reduce the hard work involved in the challenging typesetting and printing process due to the extensive corrections required in the initial proof copy of the Menologion. Even if the typesetters were to comply the editors' requirements and devote a significant amount of time to add new words and letters – there was no guarantee that they would be able to correctly interpret the instructions left in the proofs. In this situation, the typesetters remain persistent in their work flow, because they are obliged to cover a fixed outputs in a certain time schedule. As will be evidenced, the typesetter is more prone to drip ink on the typographical errors than to retype the text. In the process of creating a new version of the text, the typesetter may address previous mistakes, but inevitably introduces new ones. The impact of printing procedures has not been addressed as an important aspect by Kravetsky, nor has it been mentioned in previous or contemporary scholarly works on Slavonic Cyrillic old printed books.³²

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS AND EDITORIAL NOTES METRICS IN RILA MONASTERY COPIES

The four books of the first Moscow edition of the Reading Menologion contain biographies of the saints for each of the three quarters of the year. These volumes' composition follows the generally accepted publishing

31 Ibid., p. 474.

32 Ibid., p. 475–476.

pattern for the Menologions, and they cover all the months from the beginning of the indict to the end of the Orthodox ecclesiastical year (1 September–31 August).³³ The proofreading copies from the Rila Monastery are bound for every month. The editorial marks are found in the volumes for September, January, February, March, April, May, June, July and August (C–13; C–27; C–28; C–15; C–29; C–30; C–17; C–31; C–32). Respectively, the proofreading copies with biographies for October, November and December are missing. The nine copies have identical bindings with marbled boards tinted in classical pattern and leather spines. In the Rila Monastery Library identical binding design in volumes of the Menologion from 1815 can be observed. The copies from 1815 are stamped with gilt ornaments on the leather spine, while the 1759 edition's spines are plain. Based on binding materials patterns and layout similarities, it can be inferred that the Menologions were bound using the same bindery in the early- to mid-19th century. The materials and techniques used in Rila Monastery Rostovsky's Menologion bindings vary – some are authentic and aged with leather-covered wooden boards, and other copies are bound lately in cardboard and partial leather coverage.

The copies mentioned have two types of editorial marks, named Type 1 (T1) *Monogram of the proofreader + K chteno obshtim chteniem* or *Obshtim chteniyam* (Figure 1), and Type 2 (T2) *Delaty ispravnou* (Figure 2a, 2b).³⁴ T1 marks were written on the verso of the last leaf of each gathering (2^o), and T2 is placed below each recto side of the gathering.³⁵ The different handwriting and spelling indicate that at least two proofreaders worked simultaneously from 23rd January 1757 (C–13, 8^v) until 7th June 1759 (C–32, ΦΝΗ^v).

The Rila Menologions proofs were compared with the four volumes of the first Moscow edition (1759) regarding typography, paratexts (title pages, prefaces, indexes) and foliation. The comparison is based on the data in the bibliographies³⁶ and *de visu* study of the Menologions in the Rila Monastery Library.

33 The Indict is the census used by the Orthodox church. The civil year begins on 1 September, and the ecclesiastical year on 23 September. See: PETROVA, Denitsa, Indiction. Scripta Bulgarica. [accessed 23 November 2023]. Access through Internet: <<http://scripta-bulgarica.eu/en/terms/indikt>>

34 T1. “K chteno obshtim chteniem” or “Obshtim chteniyam” is translated as “Read in general reading” or “General readings”. T2. “Delaty ispravnou” is translated as “To be corrected”.

35 In the course of the research, it was discovered that editorial mark T2 came before editorial mark T1. Because of the rebounding, the T2 marginalia can be fully traced only in copy C–31.

36 For complete bibliographic data of the Reading Menologion (1759), see SREZNEVSKIY, Vsevolod, BEM, Alfred. *Izdaniya tserkovnoy pechati vremeni imperatritsy Elizavety Petrovny. 1741–1761*, Petrograd: tip. Akad. Nauk, 1914, p. 387.

The most complete description of the Menologion's first Moscow edition is in the inventory of Vsevolod Sreznevsky and Alfred Bem. In order to know the organization and the procedure of the proofreading work, the chronological and the metrical extraction of the editorial marks in the nine proofreading copies is described leaf by leaf and section by section.

Dimitriy, mitropolit Rostovskiy (1651–1709). *Knigi zhitiy svyatih*: [vol. 1–4]. Moscow: Sinodal'naya tipografiya. 1759 (ЗСЖИ), 2°.

Книга Житій Сѣтыхъ: [vol. 1]. На три мѣца первая, еже есть: Септемврїи, Октомврїи и Ноемврїи. [1] f. + 6 ff. (ā-s̄) + 4 ff. (ā-ā) + [1] f. + 444 ff. (ā-γ̄м̄а) + 4 ff. (ā-ā). 1759.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-13. *Knigi zhitiy svyatih*: [September]. [1] f., 4 [ā-а] ff., 1–134 (ā-ρ̄л̄а) ff., 4 (ā-а) ff.³⁷

According to V. Sreznevsky, the first part (September–November) contains a title page valid for the entire four-volume edition, followed by a separate title page devoted particularly to the first volume. In the proofreading Rila copy (C-13) only the individual title page exists. The first edition has six sheets with a preface for all four parts (ā-s̄), which does not appear in the Rila copy. The C-13 copy contains 134 f. of body text (ā-ρ̄л̄а), which matches the foliation and text of the first Moscow edition. Both have a 4 f. (ā-ā) index at the end. The typographic decoration and layout of the proof copy and the first official edition are entirely identical. The edition is monochrome, the title page is surrounded by a typographic frame. The main text is surrounded by a frame³⁸ with a plain rule border.³⁹ Opening and closing typographic elements are ornamented in the same manner.⁴⁰ The text of the last 4 index sheets is in two columns. Changes have been made to the paratexts, the main text and the foliation of the sheets and gatherings of the proof copy. Editorial mark T1 appears 68 times at the end of each gathering. Only five editor marks of T2 survived because the edges have been trimmed. The proofreading of the copy C-13 (September) began on 23rd January 1757 (f. с', е'). The body text was revised regularly and consecutively for eight months until 1st September 1757 (f. ρл', ρлв'). The most intensive work on

37 October and November issues are absent in the Rila Monastery Library.

38 I.e. border – a frame round part or whole of a printed page, as in 'title within rule border' or 'engraved border'. See CARTER, John, BARKER, Nicolas. *ABC for Book Collectors*. Oak Knoll Press: The British Library, 2004, p. 51.

39 I.e. a continuous line, thick or thin (or both), is printed from a strip of metal called a rule; the name is also applied to the printed result. Title pages in the 17th and early 18th centuries were often enclosed in plain rule-borders. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

40 The typographic features of the first Moscow edition and the remaining volumes of the proof copies are common.

the main text was in July 1757, when fourteen gatherings were revised in six days (two to three gatherings per day). In the other months, the count of the revised gatherings does not exceed ten.

Dimitriy, mitropolit Rostovskiy (1651–1709). *Knigi zhitiy svyatih*: [vol. 1–4]. Moscow: Sinodal'naya tipografiya. 1759 (ЗСЖИ), 2°.

Книга Житїй Сѣыхъ: [vol. 2]. На три мѣца вторыя, еже есть: Декемврїй, Іаннѣдарїй, и Феврѣдарїй. [1] f. + 5 ff. (ā-ē) + 514 ff. (ā-φΔī) + 3 ff. (ā-γ̄). 1759.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-27. *Knigi zhitiy svyatih*: [January]. 214–402 (сΔī-γ̄Ѣ) [188] ff.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-28. *Knigi zhitiy svyatih*: [February]. 403–514 (γ̄Г-φΔī) [111] ff.

Only the proofs for January and February are available from the second book of the Menologion. Therefore, it's impossible to compare the content of the individual title pages and the paratexts at the beginning as they precede the part for December. The foliation and overall volume of the body text of the proofreading copy correspond to the bibliographical description of the second book of the first edition (514 f. ā-φΔī). The only noticeable difference is that the last three sheets with indexes are missing in the Rila copy. In the January proof copy of C-27, there are 93 visible editorial marks of T1 and no T2 marks were left untrimmed. The earliest correction is dated March 19th, 1758 (f. сei^v). The proof copy was processed within 8 months until November 26th, 1758 (f. γ̄Ѣ^v). The most intensive work on the text took place in September when 28 gatherings were corrected in 6 days, which averages out to 5 sections per day. Concerning interventions in C-28, it contains 52 editorial marks of T1 and 20 remaining traces from T2 corrections. The February copy of the Menologion has a significantly smaller volume – almost half the size compared to the December and January volumes. The February copy was processed a year later than the other two copies. The progress was evenly spread out over the first four months of the year, with the most dynamic period in March 1759 when, according to the T1 marks, 30 gatherings were worked on. The proofreading was completed in April 1759.

Dimitriy, mitropolit Rostovskiy (1651–1709). *Knigi zhitiy svyatih*: [vol. 1–4]. Moscow: Sinodal'naya tipografiya. 1759 (ЗСЖИ), 2°.

Книга Житїй Сѣыхъ: [vol. 3]. На три мѣца третїа, еже есть: Мартъ, Априлїй и Маїй. [1] f. + 480 ff. (ā-γ̄п̄) + [3] ff. + 8 ff. (ā-п̄). 1759.⁴¹

⁴¹ There is no information on the copy from which Sreznevsky extracts his bibliographical description on the third volume. According to the references, five sheets of front paratexts are absent from the first edition, but five sheets are collated at the end. The proofread-

Rila Proofreading Copy C-15. Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [March]. [1] f., 5 [ǎ-ě] ff., 1-167 (ǎ-ρǔз) [167] ff.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-29. Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [April]. 168-297 (ρǔи-сѣз) [129] ff.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-30. Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [May]. 298-480 (сѣи-γн) [182] ff., [3] ff. + 3 ff. (ǎ-н).

The third book of the edition was published without a preface, according to the inventory references and the electronic catalog of the Russian State Library. The March (C-15) proof contains five sheets with a preface (ǎ-ě), corrected on 1 March 1764, five years after the first edition was printed. The volume of the body text (480 f. ǎ-γн) of the copy is identical to the first Moscow edition. Although there is a significant difference between the proof copy and the first edition. The first edition contains 3 unnumbered sheets with a calendar and 8 numbered sheets of alphabetical index of the saints ([3] f. + 8 f. ǎ-н). The proofreading copy comprises three unnumbered sheets featuring a calendar and only three sheets with an alphabetical index to the letter “V”.⁴² Like the preface, it passed final proofing on 2nd March 1764. The text of the March C-15 copy contains 83 T1 editorial marks and 9 remains of T2. The correction started on 13th June 1757 (f. в^v) and was completed after 8 months on 24th January 1758 (f. ρǔз^v). Corrections to the copy are made at regular intervals, with no marked ups and downs in the process. The correction in the April copy (C-29) continued in 1758 on 2nd February and ended after 5 months on 30th June. This volume includes 61 editorial marks of T1 and 95 remains of T2. The lowest activity in the correction procedure is observed in February and May, while work intensity peaks in June. The copy contains a T1 mark from July 1764 (f. сѣз^v), which is evidence of the later revision and the reuse of the main text of the 3rd Moscow edition (1764).

The revision of the main text of the May copy (C-30) started on 12th October 1758, after a gap of three and a half months following the revision of the April copy. It includes 94 marks of T1 and 67 remains of T2 made within 4 months up to 10th March 1759. The copy editor did not review the text during November and December 1758. According to the correction pace metrics in the text, the copy was ultimately corrected in March 1759 when 73 editorial marks of T1 and T2 were written.

Dimitriy, mitropolit Rostovskiy (1651-1709). Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [vol. 1-4]. Moscow: Sinodal'naya tipografiya. 1759 (ЗСѢИ), 2°.

ing copy (C-15, 29-30) contains five sheets of paratexts collated at the beginning, which aren't present at the back.

42 *Izhitsa* V letter corresponds to the roman letters as *i*, *ü* according to Transliteration international system.

Книга Житїи Сѣыхъ: [vol. 4]. На три мѣа четвертыа, еже естъ : Юнїи, Юлїи, Августъ. [1] f. + 558 ff. (а-фнн) + 4 ff. (ѧ-ѧ). 1759.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-17. Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [June]. [1] f., 6 [ѧ- ѧ] ff., 1-201 (ѧ-ѧ) [201] ff.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-31. Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [July]. 202-406 (ѧ-ѧ) [204] ff.

Rila Proofreading Copy C-32. Knigi zhitiy svyatih: [August]. 407-558 (ѧ-ѧ) [151] ff., 4 (ѧ-ѧ) ff.

The fourth book of the 1759 edition was also published without a preface, as documented in Sreznevsky's and Bem's Slavonic old printed books inventory. In the proofreading copy for June (C-17), there are 6 sheets of preface (ff. ѧ-s). The text was corrected on 14th June 1764, five years after the release of the first Moscow edition, and similar to the previous example with the copy for March (C-15). The number of folios and the first edition are identical (558 f. а-фнн). The index sheets at the end are also matching (ff. ѧ-ѧ). The index underwent revision on 12th May 1764. The main text of the proofreading contains 101 marks of T1 and no remains of T2. The proofreading process started on 30th January 1758 and finished on 5th October 1758 (f, сѧ^v). The work was systematically done within 8 months. It paused in February, April and July, due to the absence of the editorial marks in this period. The July copy (C-31) has the highest number of editorial marks – 100 of T1 and 188 of T2. The procedure started on 23 October 1758 and finished after 4 months on 16th February 1759, with no distinct periods of slower or more intense activity.

The proof copy for August is the last volume of the Menologion and contains only 77 marks of T1. Correction began on 16th March 1759, a month following the completion of the copy for July. The work was undertaken regularly during the months of March, April and May. The last date mentioned in the marks on the main text is 7th June 1759, which shows that the August copy was the last to be corrected. The individual title page for the first volume of the Menologion's proof copy (September–November) was revised on 24th September 1759. All front matters in copies C-13, C-15, and C-17 contain a T1 mark dated 24–25th September 1759. These dates are close to the official publishing date of the Moscow first edition in September 1759. The pattern of the editorial marks supports the argument that the front-matter sheets were revised shortly before the first impression. The preface of C-13 has a correction dated 29th September 1761. The index of the copy was corrected three years later, on 8th May 1764. It can be assumed that the following Moscow editions of 1762 and 1764 were also based on the Rila Monastery proofreading copies of the first edition (Figure 3).

In his presentation of the methods of work of the Moscow and St. Petersburg Synodal Printing Houses, Kravetsky highlights an noteworthy detail regarding the work on liturgical editions in Moscow: *A considerable number of proofs were preserved to reflect the history of the emergence of new editions of liturgical books.*⁴³ The presence of such a library provides an explanation for the continued preservation of the proof copies after 1759. This raises the question of why, if the procedure for consulting the old proofs at the Moscow Synodal Printing Office was still in use in 1892, the printing office chose to dispose of the copies found at the Rila Monastery?

The chronology of the proofreading process and the release of the three editions shows that the earliest possible date of the proofs' departure from the Synodal Typography is May 1764. The earliest trace of their presence in Bulgaria is dated in 1877, at the time of the Russo-Ottoman war (1877–1878) which resulted in the Liberation of Bulgaria. Copy (C–29) has provenance marginalia note at recto of the front endpaper: *Siya zhitii prinadlezhi Germana monaha Antona Stoichkov, Sofia Oktomvriya II – 1877, i.e. This hagiography belongs to German [village near Sofia] monk Anton Stoichkov, Sofia, October II–1877.* The proofreading copies of the Menologion were brought to the Rila Monastery Library after the war when the Monastery became a part of newly established Principality of Bulgaria. Their expedition from Moscow to Bulgaria requires further archival research in Russia and Bulgaria, which is problematic considering the geopolitical reasons. The question of how the Menologion proof copies reached Bulgaria remains a topic for a further research. Dilevsky examines the routes of the Russian books to Bulgaria for an earlier period.⁴⁴ Anisava Miltenova presents a similar survey, focusing almost entirely on the transmission of the texts themselves.⁴⁵ E. Kuzina studies Russian-Serbian literary relations presented through the microhistory of a particular copy.⁴⁶ Nevertheless,

43 Ibid., p. 472.

44 DYLEVSKIY, Nikolay. Russkie i ukrainskie rukopisi i staropechatnye knigi v bolgarskikh knigokhranilishchakh. *Issledovaniya istoch-nikov po istorii russkogo yazyka i pismennosti.* Moskva: Nauka, 1966, p. 206–224;

DYLEVSKIY, Nikolay. Dogovor 1466 goda mezhdu bolgarskim Ryl'skim monastyrem i obitel'yu Panteleymona – Russikom na Afone. *Études balkaniques*, 2, 1969, p. 81–98;

DYLEVSKIY, Nikolay. Ryl'skiy monastyr' i Rossiya–Ukraina v KhVI–KhVII vekakh. Sofia, 1974.

45 MILTENOVA, Anisava. Russian Manuscripts and Old Printed Books in the Bulgarian Lands during the Late Middle Ages. Routes of literary communication of the Eastern and Southern Slavs (XI–XX century). Sofia, 2020, p. 337–357.

46 KURZINA, Elena. A 17th-century Russian printed Menaion: Its journey to Serbia and back. *Prilozi za knjizevnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 2018 Issue 84, p. 19–33.

the Rila Monastery Menologion provides only limited geographical and historical information, necessitating considerable effort to track their historical route.

Shelf No.	Months	Title Page	Prefaces	Main Text	Indexes
C-13	September (pt. of vol. 1)	1f. individ. for vol. I	1 individ. for vol. I, 4 ff. pref.	444 ff.	4 ff. ind.
C-27	January (pt. of vol. 2)	x	x	214-402 [188] ff.	x
C-28	February (vol. 2)	x	x	403-514 [111] ff.	x
C-15	March (vol. 3)	1 f.	5 ff. pref.	1-167 ff.	x
C-29	April (vol. 3)	x	x	168-297 [129] ff.	x
C-30	May (vol. 3)	x	x	298-480 [182] ff.	[3] ff. calend. + 3 ff. ind.
C-17	June (vol. 4)	1 f.	6 ff. pref.	1-201 ff.	x
C-31	July (vol. 4)	x	x	202-406 [204] ff.	x
C-32	August (vol. 4)	x	x	407-558 [151] ff.	4 ff. ind.

FIGURE 3. A bibliographic analysis of the Rila Monastery proofreading Reading Menologion copies

A CROSS-ANALYSIS OF THE MARGINALIA IN PROOFREAD COPIES OF READING MENAION IN THE RILA MONASTERY LIBRARY

The nine volumes of the Reading Menologion at Rila Monastery Library possess clear signs of proofreading interventions and fewer editorial ones (compared to the proofreading copies mentioned by A. Kruming). However, after the edges were cut out and the volumes were rebound, most of the editorial markings of T2 and insignificant parts of T1 were lost (Figure 2b). To determine the course of the editorial and printing process, the copies were compared with other editions of the Menologion from the collection of the Rila Monastery: 1759 (C-1323), 1762 (C-18), 1764 (C-21). For the editions of

1762 and 1764, a new preface was prepared, which also includes the contribution of the Synodal Typography and the decree of Empress Elisaveta Petrovna stating that due to the errors made in the 1759 edition, it was necessary to prepare a new edition of the Menologion (pref. 1762; 1764). The second edition was published in 1762 and reflected the corrections of the proofreading copy of 1759 (C-13).⁴⁷

The handwritten notes T1 and T2 bring strong evidence that this was a pre-print proofreading copy of the first edition. To illustrate the type of corrections, some typical examples will be given from C-13 copy. On folios A'-D' several corrections have been made to misspelled letters, line spacing and superscripts. These corrections are reflected in the first edition of 1759. Sometimes, the corrections are made verbatim. On sheet "A'" of the same volume, the proofreader corrects the word "срамъ" to "с^мрадъ" by adding "м" as a superscript and correcting the letter "д" over the letter "м" – "с^мрамдъ". The correction is reflected in the first edition (C-1323) but instead of adding "м" to the word, the typesetter also placed it as a superscript (Figure 4a-4c).

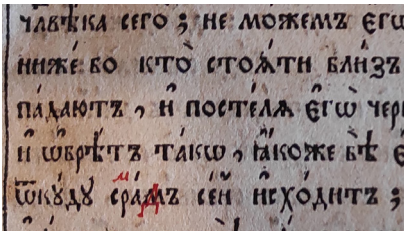


FIGURE 4A. Corrections in proofreading copy.

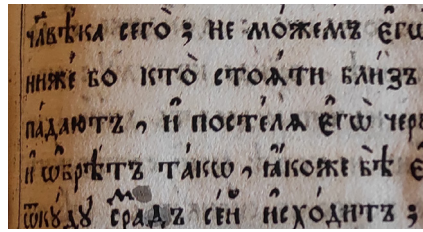


FIGURE 4B. Mistake of the typesetter in the 1st ed. (1759).

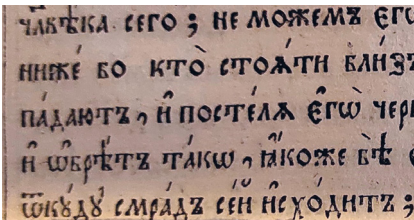


FIGURE 4C. Reflected proofreading corrections in the 2nd ed. (1762)

⁴⁷ The 1764 edition was reissued with a new typeface and smaller type, resulting in a new set of typographical errors and omissions. After the new edition was released the proofreading copy 1759 was no longer needed.

In the later editions of 1762 and 1764, this misunderstanding between the proofreader and typesetter was resolved. There are cases where the proofreader has made a correction that has been crossed out. These changes were not taken into account by the typesetters, who traditionally try to reduce their workload. Furthermore, the typesetter has not considered the suggested corrections, which can disrupt the planning of the text and cause misalignment of lines, columns and pages. In the C-13 example (f. “з”), there are corrections to reduce the word length by one or two characters. In the first case, the typesetter omitted the correction note, and in the second case, he covered the omission with a drop of printer’s ink, since the lack of correction would have been more visible. In the 1759 edition, there were frequent artificially staged typographical defects to cover up the typesetter’s *skipping* of the marks in the proofreading copy (Figure 5a–5c).

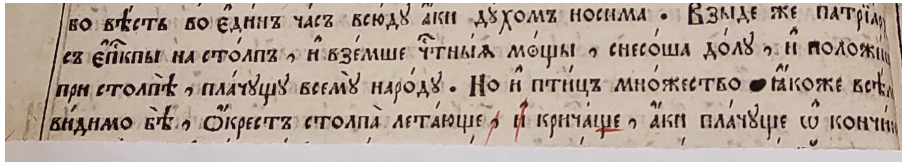


FIGURE 5A. Corrections in proofreading copy.

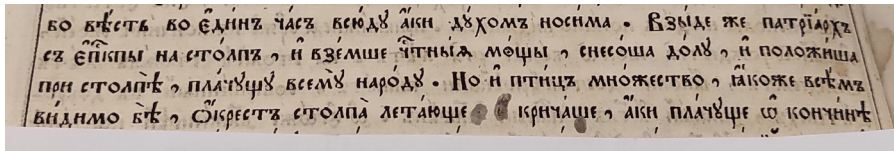


FIGURE 5B. Staged typographic defects in the 1st ed.

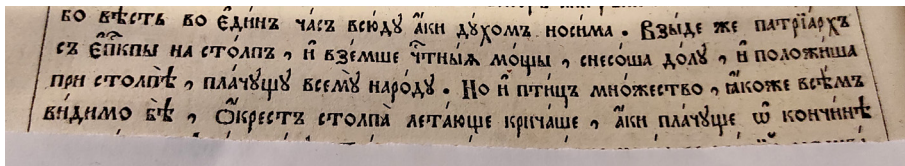


FIGURE 5C. Reflected proofreading corrections in the 2nd ed. (1762)

The comparison of f. “ks” in the proofreading and the three Moscow editions provides an insight. The printer dropped two drops of ink on the preposition “w” and the conjunction “ж”. He did not want to rearrange the text, so

he crossed the proofreading out. The reasons why the typesetters of the first edition may have ignored the proofreader's notes are many: exhaustion due to the hard labor on the first proofreading, as reported by Kruming,⁴⁸ the lack of good communication between proofreaders and print house workers, misunderstanding of some of the proofreading signs due to poor language proficiency of the typesetters, the reluctance of the printer to rearrange the typesetting form. Finally, the institutions admitted that the 1759 edition was not a success. Despite attempts to conceal the typographical errors with ink, no significant progress was made. As a result of the failure to meet the will of Empress Elisaveta Petrovna, the 1762 edition was initiated. For example, the three types of revisions made in C-13 on ff. "иі'-дї'" – changed pronouns, reversed word order and omitted letter – are not reflected at all in copy C-1323 (1759) but are fully reflected in copy C-18 (1762).

The corrections marked as "прд" (prd) in the margin of all the copies (e.g. C-13 f. "ис") indicate the need to replace some worn-off letters because they are affecting the clarity of the print. A similar mark was added to f. "л" to replace a worn letter "ѣ", which was reflected in both C-1323 and C-18. At the same time, on the adjoining sheet "ла", a word, incorrect endings and pronouns were corrected twice. These corrections were not reflected in copy C-1323 (1759), but were revised in the second edition of 1762 (C-18).

The proofreading process, and later the work on the second edition, is an excellent example of the significant gap between the skills of the editor/corrector and the linguistic skills of the typesetter, which requires the study of old printed books beyond their philological and textual discourse.

The Rila copies contain the earliest editorial and proofreading marks, dated January 23rd, 1757, and the latest from June 07, 1759. The working process described by Kruming in the copies of the Central State Archive of Early Acts (TsGDA) precedes the work on the Rila copies. Fewer editorial and censorship remarks in the text are the evidence that the Rila copies represent a final proofreading correction. This claim is further supported by the fact that the title pages of C-13, C-15 and C-17 were proofread between 24 and 25 September 1759, near to the official release date of the first Moscow edition. Also, according to Kruming's research of the RGADA proof copies, they contain numerous essential interventions in the text while the Rila proof copies have only one significant correction concerning the ecclesiastical purity of the text.⁴⁹

48 KRUMING, Andrey. *Cher'yi Minei svyatogo...*, p. 36–38.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 36–38. In the biography of St. Onuphrius (онѣ-иі'), there is a comment that states that nothing is mentioned about the Slavonic origin and parents of St. Onuphrius. However,

It should be noted that after November 1759 the Synodal Typography continued to work on the preparation of the Moscow edition. The front matter texts and indexes underwent further corrections in the period after the official publication of the first edition. The corrections in the prefaces in C-13 were made on 29th September 1761 and in C-15 on 1st March 1764. In particular, the corrections to the index in C-13 were made on 8th May 1764 and in C-32 on 12th May 1764 (Figure 6). This implies that they were simultaneously prepared for the later Moscow editions, and that the Synodal Typography kept and worked continuously with the proofs that are now in the Rila Monastery Library.

Shelf No.	Months	Marginalia periodization in the main texts	Marginalia periodization at the title pages	Marginalia periodization in the prefaces	Marginalia periodization in the indexes
C-13	September	23.01.1757 – 01.09.1757	24.09.1759	29.09.1761	08.05.1764
C-27	January	19.03.1758 – 26.11.1758	x	x	x
C-28	February	04.01.1759 – 22.04.1759	x	x	x
C-15	March	13.06.1757 – 24.01.1758	25.09.1959	01.03.1764	x
C-29	April	05.02.1758 – 30.06.1758	x	x	x
C-30	May	12.10.1758 – 10.03.1759	x	x	02.03.1764
C-17	June	30.01.1758 – 05.10.1758	25.09.1759	14.06.1764	x
C-31	July	23.10.1758 – 16.02.1759	x	x	x
C-32	August	16.03.1759 – 07.06.1759	x	x	12.05.1764

FIGURE 6. Marginalia periodization in the proofreading copies of the 1st Moscow ed. of Rostovsky's Reading Menologion (1759).

an editor/proofreader deemed this passage schismatic and decided to remove it. As a replacement, a larger initial was added and the spacing after the first three lines of the following paragraph was increased.

CONCLUSIONS. KYIV, MOSCOW AND BEYOND THE SACRED MOUNTAIN OF RILA

The historiographical, codicological and bibliographical analysis of Rila Monastery Reading Menologion confirms that the nine volumes are the final preprint Synodal proofreading copies of the Lives of the Saints by Dimitriy Rostovsky, published in 1759 by the Synodal Printing House in Moscow. Owing to the proof copies based on the earlier Kyiv editions, and Moscow proofreadings found by Kruming and the copies of Rostovsky's menologion, a complete factual reconstruction of the processes of publishing and printing books in the 18th century is possible.

The research has proven one of the fundamental postulates of book history as a scientific field of study: that there is a profound disconnect between the author's concept, the publisher's intention and the printer's skills, which affects the final literary product in a way that diverges from the traditional scientific narratives of literary historians and philologists. In the context of the prominent theological and linguistic disagreements between Moscow and Kyiv regarding the publication of Rostovsky's hagiographical work, it is essential to recognize the crucial role of the less renowned figures behind the publishing processes of the book, which continues to have strong influence within the Orthodox community. A significant insight of book history scholarship is that printers and typesetters were willing to disregard the instructions of their superiors and even introduce typographical errors into the edition if it would reduce the amount of labor involved. In light of the discussed case, the official statement that the Menologion was commissioned with the authorization of the Emperor, scrutinized by theologians of the Holy Synod, and supervised by the Proofreading Chamber appears somewhat ironic. It is clear that miscommunication at the lowest level of the executive hierarchy has the potential to disrupt the entire production process. Moreover, it could lead to the production of an entirely new edition, which might also be subject to similar mistakes. The corrections made in the Rila proof copies are adopted as legitimate tool in the editorial preparation of new editions until 1762. This is evidenced by the Rila Monastery proofreadings, which contain paratext corrections dated within the same year.

The dispute between Kyiv and Moscow over the rights and language of the Menologion's publication resulted in a delay of nearly four decades. Furthermore, the lack of communication between the various parties involved in the book's communication cycle resulted in another ten-year prolongation.

The cumbersomeness of the book production process is not solely a technological issue; rather, it is shaped by a complex interplay of geopolitical, canonical, linguistic, and craftsman factors. The latter category, in particular, has a significant impact on the final outcome but has not been sufficiently emphasized in previous studies. The article demonstrates that responses to the question “How is the book printed?” are essential for a comprehensive understanding of the book as a multilayered social, content, and material phenomenon.

A comparison between the aforementioned professional practices and analogous procedures from the era of the hand-press in Western Europe can provide insights that enhance our understanding of premodern European book production. Furthermore, Rostovsky’s *Menologion* represents an example of the displacement of cultural layers, a geographic and temporal transmission of literary work, and one of the many significant findings that the field of book history can offer.⁵⁰

The editor’s corrections of the typesetters’ errata are apparent in the Rila proof copies of the *Menologion* and in its following editions. The workflow described by Kravetsky in the *Moscow Synodal Typography* up to the mid-19th century can be traced in detail in Rostovsky’s *Menologion* editions until 1762. This process was characterized by an ongoing endeavor between the editor’s attempts to refine the text and the printers’ efforts to meet the deadlines. It is important to acknowledge that some of the linguistic inconsistencies and numerous variations observed in the ecclesiastical texts are not solely the result of ignorance regarding linguistic norms. Rather, they are often the consequence of technical shortcomings in the typesetting process. The typesetting phase is often overlooked, yet it is primarily responsible for meeting deadlines and reducing costs. However, the linguistic competencies of typesetters are insufficient to maintain both absolute precision and pace. Despite the rigorous control procedure, the typographical errors identified in the proofreading of the Reading *Menologion* and the first edition indicate that the text in old printed books exhibits language beyond the scope of pure linguistic norm. Such conclusions support Anisava Miltenova’s suggestion that an interdisciplinary

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approach is essential for the text criticism studies of old printed books. The experience gained in the field of book history and book studies is particularly valuable in this context. In the field of book publishing, alongside the will of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities and the linguistic proficiency of the editors, the typesetter is the artisan under whose skills the book is crafted, and sometimes, a drop of ink could mean a whole other story.

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