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The Manuscript *Vat. slav. 14* as a Leiturgikon of Metropolitan Cyprian († 1406)[1]

1. *Introduction*

The study of the corrections made in the Sluzhebnik (first part of the Euchologion in the Slavic tradition containing the liturgies, daily services, and some prayers) and the Trebnik (Euchologion without liturgies) in Moscow Rus' under Metropolitan Cyprian in the late 14th century provides a number of controversial historical, liturgical, and philological questions with respect to the scientific works of the 19th century. A. V. Gorsky and K. I. Nevostruev raised a problem of the authorship of Cyprian's liturgical translations, when they described manuscripts of the State Historical Museum, the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601* (late 14th century), and the Trebnik *Syn. 326* (1481) with margin notes showing that the manuscripts were copied from Cyprian's translation 'word for word'. They concluded that the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian was *Syn. 601*, and *Syn. 326* should be taken for Cyprian's translation in the part relating to the Sluzhebnik.[2]

I. D. Mansvetov noted that the same services in Cyprian's Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601* and in Cyprian's Trebnik *Syn. 326* differ significantly both in the translation and in the liturgical details. Due to the fact that the Trebnik associated with the name of Cyprian was dated to the late 15th century, Mansvetov concluded that, after the death of Cyprian, they signed someone's texts with his name. Thorough a comparison of Vespers and Orthros in the Sluzhebnik and the Trebnik of Cyprian, Mansvetov was led to the conclusion that the Trebnik *Syn. 326* is a later version.[3] He expressed the opinion that the scribe of *Syn. 326* Sidko Molchanov used as a prototype a Trebnik with a margin on its composition by Cyprian, but, in fact, that manuscript contained other texts, and only some of them could be attributed to Cypri-

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[2] А. В. Горский – К. И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*. III, 1, Moscow 1869, 203-204.

[3] И. Д. Мансветов, *Митрополит Киприан в его литургической деятельности. Историко-литургическое исследование*, Moscow 1882, 50-51.

an with certainty. He argued quite emotionally that "not a hundred years passed after the death of Cyprian, and that misunderstanding happened, and the name of our metropolitan-liturgist was in the headsettings of articles not composed by him. The Trebnik *Syn. 326* included a number of services ascribed to Cyprian but not really connected with him, and others are so different from his Sluzhebnik, that they could be characterized at least as a new translation or a new version."[4]

The above mentioned scholars did not know of a Sluzhebnik kept in the Vatican Apostolic Library *Vat. slav. 14*, which was described for the first time by N. F. Krasnoseltsev in 1885.[5] That manuscript, written by expert scribes-calligraphers, without any doubts, had been made in a scriptorium in the capital; later, it belonged to Kievan Metropolitan Isidore (1436-1439), who took it to Rome after his failed attempt to accept the Florentine Union of 1439.[6] Currently, the manuscript is described in detail in the catalogue of Slavic manuscripts of Vatican[7] and published by O. Gorbach, who supposed its provenance as Novgorod or Pskov.[8] Recently, it has been placed on-line on the site of the Vatican Library, available to everybody, allowing for the opportunity to study the manuscript in a detailed way.[9] O. G. Ulianov noted that a part of the manuscript, the Diataxis of Philotheus Kokkinos, was written by Protodeacon Spyridon of the Assumption Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin. In 1396-1397, Spyridon accompanied Metropolitan Cyprian in his voyage to Kiev, where he had made the Kievan Psalter of 1397 for Michael, Bishop of Smolensk (Russian National Library, *OLDP F. 6*); afterwards, at the end of 1397, he returned to Moscow. In a list of dioceses, placed in the Vatican manuscript on the f. 111r, the Perm diocese, founded in 1383, is included; it testifies that the Diataxis presented in this book was composed in the time of Cyprian.[10] As opposed to the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601*, this manuscript had an obvious connection to the activity of Cyprian and the Metropolitan scriptorium. However, in contemporary Slavistics and

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[4] И. Д. Мансветов, *Митрополит Киприан в его литургической деятельности*, 56.

[5] Н. Ф. Красносельцев, *Сведения о некоторых литургических рукописях Ватиканской библиотеки с замечаниями о составе и особенностях богослужебных чинопоследований, в них содержащихся, и с приложениями*. Kazan 1885, 162-194.

[6] G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidore il Cardinale Ruteno, e codici a lui appartenuti, che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (= *Studi e Testi* 46), Roma 1926, 3-4.

[7] А. Джурова, К. Станчев, М. Япунжич, *Опис на славянските ръкописи във Ватиканската библиотека*, Sofia 1985, 83-85.

[8] О. Горбач, *Три церковнослов'янські літургічні рукописні тексти Ватиканської бібліотеки*, Roma 1966.

[9] URL http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.slav.14.

[10] О. Г. Ульянов, "Диатаксис патриарха Филофея: древнейшая редакция по афонским спискам и в переводе митрополита Киприана (Vat. slav. 14)," *Палеография и кодикология. 300 лет после Монфокона*, Moscow 2008, 211-225.

ecclesiastic history, the existing contradictions are not resolved; by default, though with some stipulations, the manuscript *Syn. 601* is taken for the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian. For instance, this can be seen in a recent article by M. S. Zheltov in the *Orthodox Encyclopedia*.[11] The aim of this article is to find out what in these manuscripts was connected with the liturgical and translation activity of Metropolitan Cyprian.

2. *The Content of the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian*

On our opinion, the MS *Syn. 601* is not a direct copy of the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian; it contains a number of texts not connected with the translations of the Cyprian's circle. So, in this manuscript, for instance, the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (f. 62v-71r) is presented in quite a rare version of the text, known in a few Russian copies only. No doubt, it is a corrected version created earlier than that of Cyprian. Its textological history in the Russian manuscript tradition, as well as the methods of translation, make this manuscript close to the translation of the New Testament from the Chudovo Monastery for our purposes called the Chudovskaya version.[12]

Vespers and Orthros in *Syn. 601* (f. 112v-122r) differ from those in the Trebnik *Syn. 326* both in the structure and in the translation; it allowed I. D. Mansvetov to conclude that the versions were different. Because I. D. Mansvetov took *Syn. 601* for the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian, on his opinion, Vespers and Orthros were not composed by Cyprian.[13] According to our point of view, Vespers and Orthros in *Syn. 326* reflected Cyprian's standards of translation, while in *Syn. 601* there was a more archaic version of those services. It is quite evident in variant readings shown in the attachment IV[14]: variant readings of the Trebnik include calques from Greek infinitives with prepositions (**єже подати величьство**), while in *Syn. 601* there are no such forms (**да подамы хвалоу**). In the Trebnik they consequently used *coniunctivus prohibitivus* as in Cyprian's translations (**да не обличиши, да не покажеши**), while in the Sluzhebnik they used the imperative with the negation (**не обличи, не покажи**).[15] Readings of the Trebnik demonstrate that Cyprian's translation of Vespers and Orthros is kept not in the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601*, but in the Trebnik *Syn. 326*.

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[11] М. С. Желтов, "Киприана служебник," *Православная энциклопедия*, XXXIII, Moscow 2013, 728-730.

[12] Т. И. Афанасьева, "Чудовский литургиарий 3-ей четверти XIV в.," *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 59 (2009) 191-200.

[13] И. Д. Мансветов, *Митрополит Киприан в его литургической деятельности,* 50-51.

[14] И. Д. Мансветов, *Митрополит Киприан в его литургической деятельности,* X-XIII.

[15] Т. И. Афанасьева, *Славянская литургия Преждеосвященных Даров. Текстология и язык.* St Petersburg 2004, 117-119.

Some prayers in *Syn. 601* did not belong to the translators of the Cyprian's circle. So, the prayer on the exaltation of the cross (f. 123r) and the prayer on the opening of a church after desecration (f. 123v) are presented in a parchment Sluzhebnik of the Russian National Library, *Sof. 524* (f. 87v-88r and 86r-86v), which contains Old Russian versions of the liturgy; their texts completely coincide with those ones in *Syn. 601*. Obviously, these prayers in *Syn. 601* are copies from ancient Sluzhebniks, wide-spread in Rus' in the time before Cyprian.

The prayer over the church wine (f. 123r) is presented in Serbian Sluzhebniks of the late 14th century — Russian National Library, *Q.p.I.60*, f. 55r, and *Q.p.I.61*, f. 85r; it allows us to suppose the Southern Slavic provenance of the text. Only one prayer on the purification of a church, i.e., when a dog runs inside (f. 122r), is not found either in Southern Slavic or in Old Russian Trebniks. It was wide-spread only in Russian Trebniks of the 15-16th century; however, an issue on its belonging to Cyprian is still open because in the later written tradition it is not adjacent to his works.

The ritual of washing relics (f. 133r) is quite different from that ascribed to Cyprian in some manuscripts of the 16th cent. (for instance, Russian National Library, *Sof. 844,* f. 200v and *Sof. 878,* f. 167r). That ritual was wide spread in Russian Trebniks of the 16th century, but its connection with the metropolitan is doubtful, as it was attributed in a few copies only, and the greater part of the MSS does not contain any attribution. In *Syn. 601* this ritual is very short; it is rare in later manuscripts: the same akolouthia was found only in one manuscript of 16th century: Russian National Library, *Sof. 637,* f. 130v.

Thus, it seems to us that the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601*, attributed to Cyprian thanks to the margin notes by its scribe Hilarius, was completed with other texts, taken from other sources by Hilarius. There are several notes made by that scribe not in the beginning nor in the end but in different parts of the MS. So, the first margin is: **сии слꙋжебникъ преписанъ ѿ грецкыхъ книгъ на рꙋскии ꙗзыкъ рꙋкою своею киприанъ смиреныи митрополитъ кыевскии и всеꙗ рꙋси** (the Sluzhebnik is copied from Greek books into the Russian language by the hand of Cyprian, the meek Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia) is on the f. 72v, after the texts of the liturgies. The second margin **съписание семꙋ ѿ гречьскыхъ книгъ смиренымъ митрополитомъ киевьскымъ и всеꙗ роуси кипреꙗномъ** (it is a copy from Greek books by the meek Metropolitan of Kiev) is on the f. 132r, after the akolouthia of wedding.

Cyprian's translations in the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601* can be associated with the liturgies of St John Chrysostom and St Basil the Great, but in this copy the liturgy of St John Chrysostom has been already combined with the

Diataxis by Philotheus Kokkinos; this made it different from the original translation. The Vatican Sluzhebnik Diataxis is presented as a separate text written after the liturgies; here we can find the initial variant of the text.[16]

The prayers of the genuflection at the Vespers of the Pentecost in *Syn. 601* can also be connected to Cyprian. The same rite is written in the Pentekostarion — the State Historical Museum, *Usp-parchm. 7*; it was made by order of Cyprian, according the colophon on f. 177v. There is also a prayer of Patriarch Philotheus on the Holy Spirit; there is a difference between Cyprian's version of that service and other Slavic versions. In the following written tradition, that very akolouthia dominated; it was included into the majority of Russian Trebniks since *Pogod. 75a* (early 15ᵗʰ century).[17] The Great and the Small blessing of water can also be connected with Cyprian. These two akolouthia were copied in the Russian tradition through all of the 15ᵗʰ century; the same texts were found in the so-called Sluzhebnik of St. Sergius of Radonezh (State Historical Museum, *Syn. 952*), as well as in the Trebnik (Russian National Library, *Pogod. 75a*) with the translations by Cyprian.[18] The akolouthia of the sacrament of betrothal and wedding (f. 124v-133r) was also connected the Cyprian's version;[19] they were widespread on the whole territory of the Moscow Rus' in the 15ᵗʰ century.

In the *Vat. slav. 14* the Greek word βασιλεύς was always translated as цр҃ь (tsar), not as кнѧѕь (prince), as was common in Rus'. So, in the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great, during the litanies, they mentioned tsars: **Єще молимъсѧ ѡ бл҃говѣрныхъ и хрс҃толюбивыхъ цр҃еи нашихъ** (we prayer for the most Orthodox and Christ-loving tsars; f. 9v); **ѠϹ бл҃гочс҃тивыхъ и б҃охранимыхъ цр҃еи нашихъ** (about pious and God-protected tsars of ours; f. 41v).[20] The initiative to mention Orthodox tsars at the liturgy came from Cyprian. At first, the initiative had no support from the Great Prince Vassily Dmitrievich, but later Anthonius, Patriarch of Constantinople, reacted. Around 1393, he wrote to Vassily Dmitrievich a reproach for the phrase: "we have the Church, but no tsar".[21] In 1395, thanks to the efforts of Cyprian, the commemoration of tsars of Constantinople was included in the Moscow liturgy: it was fixed in the Synodicon of the

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[16] Т. И. Афанасьева, *Литургии Иоанна Златоуста и Василия Великого в славянской письменности (по служебникам XI-XV вв.)*, Moscow 2015, 179-186.

[17] Т. И. Афанасьева, "Чинопоследование Великого освящения воды на Богоявление в славянских служебниках XI–XV вв.," *Palaeobulgarica* 28 (3), 2004, 25-45.

[18] Т. И. Афанасьева, "Молитвы коленопреклонения в Пятидесятницу в славянских служебниках XI–XV вв.," *Palaeobulgarica* 27 (4), 2003, 15-24.

[19] М. С. Желтов, "Чины обручения и венчания в древнейших славянских рукописях," *Palaeobulgarica* 34 (1), 2010, 41.

[20] Б. М. Клосс, *Избранные труды*, Moscow 2001, Т. 2, 33.

[21] Митр. *Макарий (Булгаков)*. История Русской церкви. Кн. 3. Отд. I. М., 1995, 514.

Assumption Cathedral – *Syn. 667*.[22] The same litanies are presented in the Trebnik *Syn. 326*, in the litany at the Great Vespers, f. 109v: Ѥще молимсѧ ѡ блговѣрныхⁱ и бгохранимыхⁱ наших ц(с)рen державы побѣды · пребыванїа · мира · ꙁдравиа · спсенїа · и ѿпущенїа грѣховъ ихъ (Also, we pray for pious and God-protected tsars of the state, victory in this world, health and salvation and absolution).

Taking the manuscript *Vat. slav. 14* as the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian, we would get a consistent picture of the Sluzhebnik and Trebnik in the late 14th century. In our opinion, those contradictions described by Gorsky and Nevostruev, as well as Mansvetov, were connected with the fact that they *a priori* took the MS *Syn. 601* as the closest copy of the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian. The Sluzhebnik of Cyprian contained only three liturgies and rules for them; it was thus a classic Leiturgikon. The Rule of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (Diataxis of Patriarch Philotheus) was written separately from the liturgy; perhaps, it was bound to the manuscript somewhat later. This can be seen from the different quantity of lines on pages which contain Diataxis (16) and the liturgies (14).[23] There were no margin notes in composing those texts of Cyprian; but the very fact of the production of the manuscript in the Metropolitan scriptorium is eloquent in itself. Copies of that Sluzhebnik could contain notes by scribes about copying the manuscript from a Metropolitan manuscript, which made their work more important. Perhaps, the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601* was written from one of the metropolitan copies, but it was completed with services taken from other sources.

3. *The Language Peculiarities of the Codex* Vat. slav. 14

The above mentioned Trebnik of Metropolitan Cyprian *Syn. 326* (1481) contains services, the greater part of which is included into an earlier manuscript — a parchment Trebnik from the Synodal collection of the State Historical Museum, *Syn. 675*: they were placed in the same order and in the same translation. The Trebnik *Syn. 675* was written in the time of Cyprian, i.e., at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries; it is a noteworthy manuscript. The codex has been known in the research literature for a long time; it contains rare liturgical services.[24] Some of them were published, but the codex,

[22] А.И. Яковлева, "Синодик Успенского собора," *Палеография, кодикология, дипломатика. Современный опыт исследования греческий, латинских и славянских рукописей и документов: Материалы международной научной конференции в честь 75-летия доктора исторических наук, члена-корреспондента Афинской Академии Б. Л. Фонкича*, Moscow 2013, 391-392.

[23] А. Джурова, К. Станчев, М. Япунжич, *Опис на славянските ръкописи във Ватиканската библиотека*, 83.

[24] А. В. Горский – К. И. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, III, 1, Moscow 1869, 128-149.

as a manuscript with its specific liturgical content, has not been studied. Nevertheless, it contains the Slavic translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church, made by the scribes of the Cyprian's circle in Constantinople in 1380s.[25] Their translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church made was a serious novelty in the Russian Church, directly connected with the Constantinople worship based on the liturgical rites in St. Sophia. The graphic and orthographic system of the eldest manuscript of that translation *Syn. 675* has a number of peculiarities; they allow us to conclude that the manuscript reflects one of the early steps of influence of the Southern Slavic orthography in the Russian written tradition.[26]

Accordingly, the handwriting and orthographic peculiarities of the Trebnik *Syn. 675* and the Sluzhebnik *Vat. slav. 14* are quite similar; both manuscripts were written in the time of Cyprian, the late 14 – early 15th cent. They are written on parchment, in the traditional Russian liturgical Uncial; the handwritings of the scribes are rather similar. The orthography of both manuscripts demonstrates a number of common innovative features. In both manuscripts, they used a grapheme ы with ь in the left part of the letter, not with ъ, as it was habitual for Russian manuscripts. In both codices they wrote a digraph оу in the middle of the word, which was also typical for the Southern Slavic written tradition. There are consistently used commas, diacritic signs as *paerok* (ʼ), and a complete assortment of accent signs: *oksia* ´, varia `, kendema ¨, iso ʼ, kamora ˆ, big apostroph ʼ´ — however, the function of these signs in both manuscripts was not a systematic one; obviously, Russian scribes only accepted those peculiarities but were not sure how to use them. On the opinion of M. G. Gal'chenko, a complete assortment of accent signs could be found in the only manuscript of the 14th cent. — 'Narrations by St. Basil the Great', the State Historical Museum, *Uvar. 506* (1397), copied at Athos; constant usage of that assortment has been found in handwritings since 1410s.[27] The Sluzhebnik and the Trebnik of Cyprian, as we see, were the earliest Russian manuscripts written in Moscow, where they made an attempt to introduce a new system of the superlinear signs into the Russian written tradition.

There are rare and noteworthy orthograms in both manuscripts; some of them have not been adapted in further Russian orthography.[28] Such

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[25] T. Afanasyeva, "The Slavic Version of the Euchologion of the Great Church and its Greek Prototype" OCP 81, 2015, 169-194.

[26] Г. А. Мольков, "Орфографические принципы Киприановского кружка (на материале рукописи ГИМ Син. 675)," *Труды института русского языка им. В.В. Виноградова* (at press).

[27] М. Г. Гальченко, *Книжная культура. Книгописание. Надписи на иконах Древней Руси. Избранные работы,* Москва – Санкт-Петербург 2001, 124.

[28] Г. А. Мольков, "Орфографические принципы Киприановского кружка (на материале рукописи ГИМ Син. 675)", *Труды института русского языка им. В.В. Виноградова* (at press).

orthogramm is, for instance, writing **оу** after vowels without iotacism, not only in foreign names like **мои́сеоу** (*Syn. 675*, f. 16r), but also in such Slavic words as **мл҃твоу вечернюоу** (*Syn. 675*, f. 91r), **мл҃твоу предложенноу, оставленіоу, сп҃сеніоу** (*Vat. slav. 14*, f. 1r, 11r, 38v). In both manuscripts we find frequent writing of the double **н** with a diacritic sign of double varia: **в таиннѣи, огнⷩⷩыхъ** (*Syn. 675*, f. 10r, 119r), **превⷢ҇гословеннⷩⷩоую, смѣреннⷩⷩыхъ** (*Vat. slav. 14*, f. 3v, 5v, 7v, 10v). In the Sluzhebnik *Vat. slav. 14*, as well as in the Trebnik *Syn. 675*, they use new orthograms taken from Southern Slavs. Also, in *Syn. 675* the pronoun **сь** is consistently written with non-etymological **ъ** in the form **съ̏,** (to escape any confusion with the homographic preposition, they put a superlinear sign over the form of the pronoun). Similar writing variants could be found also in *Vat. slav. 14*: **хлѣбъ съ̏** (f. 64v), **градъ съ̏** (f. 72r). Noteworthy is their usage of the letter **ъ**, which was corrected from **о**. In *Syn. 675* they set numerous samples of the same kind (let us take note of such a correction as **Ъ**): **превЪсходѧ** f. 31v, **непретЪкновени** f. 47v, **сЪ сѣавшимъ** f. 52r. In *Vat. slav. 14* such corrections are rare, but there are few: **храмЪсь** f. 4r, 68r. Those peculiarities can testify to the common provenance of both manuscripts, in spite of the fact that they were written by different scribes; those scribes had common ideas of the orthographic rules, and similar habits of book-writing.

In the language of the translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church in the manuscript *Syn. 675* there are Russianisms in phonetics, lexics, and some grammatic forms, which was typical also for the translation of Diataxis in the manuscript *Vat. slav. 14*. Russianisms are found in rubrics only, but not in litanies and prayers; in general, there developed the established Slavic tradition not to use regional vocabulary in ecclesiastic texts. So, for instance, in *Vat. slav. 14* there are the following Russianisms: **правага страна** (f. 112r) instead of the normative **деснага страна**, a Russian diminutive **крошки** (f. 121r), the Russian meaning of the word **полъ** ('bottom, basement') — **покланга́еться до полоу** (f. 124v). The Russian prefix **вы**- could be found in the Rule of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts in *Vat. slav. 14*: **выходоу, выход** (f. 84v), as well as the phonetic Russianism **свѣтило горючее** (f. 85r). In *Syn. 675* there are more Russianisms, because many services from the Euchologion of the Great Church were translated for the first time; and translators introduced Russian equivalents for some concepts and objects, not Church Slavic ones.[29] The Manuscript *Vat. slav. 14,* as well as *Syn. 675,* does not contain specific characteristics of Novgorod

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[29] T. Afanasyeva, "On Russian Translations of the Period of the 'Second South Slavic Influence," *Zeitschrift fur Slawistik* 61(3), 2016, 433-447.

and Pskov, as O. Gorbach thought[30]; this manuscript comes doubtlessly from Moscow. Thus, linguistic peculiarities of both manuscripts are similar in numerous aspects; it allows us to take these two manuscripts for products of the same scriptorium, where new norms of Russian writing and language have been shaped.

Finally, the decoration of both manuscripts has many common elements. There are 'flourishing' cinnabar initials, fragments of ligature calligraphy in headings. Those peculiarities were typical for the Southern Slavic manuscripts of that epoch. In the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian *Vat. slav. 14* there are several empty pages, obviously left for illumination.[31] The manuscript *Syn. 675* was not illuminated, which is logical, because Trebniks have been never illuminated. All known Trebniks, even the most famous Euchologion of the Great Church from Constantinople (Paris, *Coisl. 213*), were decorated quite modestly.

Thus, our research demonstrates that the Sluzhebnik *Vat. slav. 14* came from the circle of manuscripts of the Metropolitan scriptorium of the time of Cyprian. It was written by scribes with a similar approach to orthography (one of those scribes was Protodeacon Spyridon of the Assumption Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin). The Trebnik *Syn. 675* with the Slavic version of the Euchologion of the Great Church made by translators of the Cyprian's circle was produced in that scriptorium as well. Both manuscripts have common novelties in orthography and Russian vocabulary was used in the texts of liturgical notes. Their methods of translation were also similar. The Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601*, which has been taken for the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian since Gorsky and Nevostruev, was not that one, in fact; some of its texts were inserted into it by the scribe Hilarius from other sources. The manuscripts *Vat. slav. 14* and *Syn. 675* are the Leiturgikon and the Trebnik with Cyprian's version of those liturgical books; they were designed for the liturgical service in the cathedrals of Moscow in the late 14th century.

Sources

Vat. slav. 14 – Sluzhebnik, late 14th century, Vatican Apostolic Library.
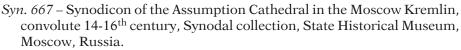*Syn. 326* – Trebnik, 1481, Synodal collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia.
Syn. 601 – Sluzhebnik, late 14th century, Synodal collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia.

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[30] О. Горбач, *Три церковнослов'янські літургічні рукописні тексти Ватиканської бібліотеки*, Roma, 1966, 12-34.

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Syn. 667 – Synodicon of the Assumption Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, convolute 14-16th century, Synodal collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia.

Syn. 675 – Trebnik, late 14th century, Synodal collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia.

Syn. 952 – Sluzhebnik, early 15th century, Synodal collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia.

Usp-parchm. 7 – Pentekostarion, 1403, Assumption Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin collection, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Russia.

Pogod. 75a – Trebnik, early 15th century, Pogodin's collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Sof. 524 – Sluzhebnik, late 14th century, Sofiiskoe collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg.

Q.n.I.60 and *Q.n.I.61* – Serbian Trebniks, late 14th century, Main collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

Sof. 673, *Sof. 844*, *Sof. 878* – Trebniks, 16th century, Sofiiskoe collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, Russia.

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Summary

The article argues for the idea that the Leiturgikon of Cyprian is a manuscript preserved in the Vatican Apostolic Library *Vat. slav. 14*, written at the Moscow Metropolitan scriptorium in the late 14th century. Traditionally, the Sluzhebnik of Cyprian was identified as a manuscript of the State Historical Museum, *Syn. 601*, late 14th century; that opinion was based on margin notes by the scribe Hilarius. The language and the composition of some services in *Syn. 601* differ from those in the Trebnik of Cyprian, which is traditionally identified as a manuscript of the State Historical Museum, *Syn. 326*, of 1481. Those contradictions were discussed in the research works of the 19th century; I. D. Mansvetov concluded that the Trebnik *Syn. 326* contains some services not connected with the translations of Cyprian's circle — they were ascribed to him by mistake in the 14th century. A study of the manuscripts with Cyprian's liturgical translations has shown that a number of services in the Sluzhebnik *Syn. 601* were not connected with the Cyprian's activity and that they were taken by Hilarius from other sources. The Sluzhebnik of Cyprian was a classical leiturgikon containing only the texts of the Liturgies and their rules, while the Trebnik of Cyprian is a MS *Syn. 675* — it contains a Slavic translation of the Euchologion of the Great Church. Both manuscripts were made in the same scriptorium; they have similar handwriting and orthographic systems; they were designed for the liturgical services in the cathedrals of Moscow in the time of Cyprian.

Keywords: the Sluzhebnik and the Trebnik of Cyprian, the liturgical reforms in the Moscow Rus' in the late-fourteenth century, the Metropolitan scriptorium, orthography of manuscripts.