

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE *POVEST' VREMENNYKH LET*

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I. Introduction

The Bible is a major source for the *Povest' vremennykh let* (*PVL*), as quotations from over 120 Biblical verses and phrases appear there. Comparison of the wording in the various copies of the *PVL* with the corresponding Biblical passages can help us to determine primacy of readings in the *PVL*, but they may also tell us from which redactions of books of the Bible quotations in the *PVL* derive.

In this article, I focus on the Psalms. With 42 quotations, the Psalter is the Biblical book most cited in the *PVL*,¹ probably because it was the book most memorized by monks. This familiarity helps to account for subsequent attempts to “correct” a reading in the *PVL* when scribes felt it did not accurately correspond to the psalmic passage from which it derives. In presenting how I determined the version of the Psalms that would have been available to whoever wrote and compiled the *PVL*, I first describe how I identified Biblical passages, then present the current understanding of the various redactions of the Slavonic Psalter, next propose from which redaction of the

¹ See Addenda A and B for a list of these citations and the accompanying locations in the *PVL*. Following Addendum B is a list of abbreviations used in this article. I am grateful to Mary MacRobert for reading an earlier draft of this article and for suggesting a number of valuable improvements, indicated with “(MacRobert.)”.

DONALD OSTROWSKI

Psalter quotations in the *PVL* derive, and finally discuss select quotations from the psalms in the *PVL* of special note.

2. What Constitutes a Quotation from the Psalms?

For a wording to be considered a quotation, it should have at least three substantive words in sequence (although not necessarily all of them connected) that correspond to a sequence in one of the psalms. Theoretically, though, it is possible for two connected words to be an identifying marker (as in a conflation of two verses) if those two words are differentiated sufficiently from any other similar use of those same two words elsewhere in the Bible. One may want to consider the citation of Ps. 21:13 in *PVL* 133,17 and of Deut. 32:29 in *PVL* 63,9–10 (see below) to be examples of such a two-word differentiated identity marker. Otherwise, the shortest quotation is: “ВЪСКЮЮ ШАТАША СЯ ЯЗЫЦИ” [Why do nations rise up?] (from Ps. 2:1 in *PVL* 101,11).² In four cases, this definition of what constitutes a single Biblical quotation requires further clarification since they involve the conflation of words from two separate verses, possibly as the result of memory error on the part of the writer of that passage. In two of those cases, *PVL* 133,17 (Ps. 21:13, 17) and *PVL* 133,9–11 (Ps. 37:3, 18), we find parts of two separate verses from the same psalm conflated to create one quotation:

² All numbers of psalms and verses are given according to the Septuagint as applied to the Slavonic Psalter of the Archaic Redaction by Vatroslav Jagić in his publication of the Bologna and Pogodin Psalters. *Psalterium Bononiense: Interpretationem veterem slavicum*, ed. V. Jagić (Vienna: Gerold, 1907). Psalms are numbered in Slavonic manuscripts, but individual verses are not numbered. All column and line numbers from the *PVL* are given according to *The Povest' vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, comp. and ed. Donald Ostrowski, associate editor David J. Birnbaum, senior consultant Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2003), an updated version is accessible at <http://hudce7.harvard.edu/~ostrowski/pvl>.

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

<p>Ps. 21:13 Обидоша мѧ тельци мнози. И оуньци тучьни одържаша мѧ.³</p>	<p>PVL 133,17: Обидоша мѧ уньци тучьни, и съборъ зълбивыхъ оспде мѧ;</p>
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Ps. 21:17
Ако обидаша мѧ пси мнози. И
съборъ зълбивыхъ оспде мѧ.⁴

<p>Ps. 37:3 Ако стрѣлы твоя оуньзоша въ мнѣ (Sinб: мъне)...⁵</p> <p>Ps. 37:18 Яко азъ на раны готовъ и болъзнь моя прѣдъ мною ксть выноу...⁶</p>	<p>PVL 133,9–11: Яко стрѣлы твоя уньзоша въ мъне. Яко азъ на раны готовъ, и болъзнь моя прѣдъ мъною есть;</p>
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In the third case, PVL 119,19–119,21, the writer conflated parts of verses from three separate psalms (Ps. 85:10, 138:14, and 144:3–4) to create one quotation:

<p>Ps. 85:10 Яко великъ еси ты. Твориши (Sinб: И твори) чудеса...⁷</p> <p>Ps. 138:14 Чюдьна дѣла твоя...⁸</p> <p>Ps. 144:3–4 И величию юго нѣсть коньца. Родъ и родъ въсхва- литъ дѣла твоя.⁹</p>	<p>PVL 119,19–119,21 Велики бо еси, и чюдьна дѣла твоя, и величию твоему нѣсть коньца. Въ родъ и родъ въсхва- литъ дѣла твоя.</p>
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³ Sinai 6, Leningrad fragment, fol. 5v (see fn. 27 below). For reasons explained *infra*, these passages are from the Rus'ian Redaction.

⁴ Sinai 6, Leningrad fragment, fol. 5v.

⁵ Sinai 6, fol. 16r; Harvard 221, fol. 40r.

⁶ Sinai 6, fol. 17r; Harvard 221, fol. 42r.

⁷ Sinai 6, fol. 73r; Harvard 221, fol. 151r.

⁸ Harvard 221, fol. 276v. (MacRobert.)

⁹ Sinai 6, fol. 127v.

In the fourth case, *PVL* 63,9–10, the conflation of a couple of words in a verse from a different book of the Bible, Deuteronomy 32:29, into a quotation from Ps. 81:5 occurred:

<p>Deut. 32:29 <i>не смыслиша разумѣти</i> сїа вса... Ps. 81:5 <i>Не оувѣдѣша ни</i> <i>разоумѣша въ тѣмнѣ</i> <i>ходатѣ.</i>¹⁰</p>	<p><i>PVL</i> 63,9–63,10 <i>Не смыслиша бо, ни</i> <i>разумѣша въ тѣмнѣ</i> <i>(L: тѣмнѣ) ходящии.</i></p>
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Deuteronomy 32:29 appears in the second canticle often found with the psalms,¹¹ but it may not be entirely clear that the substitution of “смыслиша” for “оувѣдѣша” was a conflation from memory error or an intentional innovation (as I will discuss below).

In the entire *PVL*, only one passage from the psalms, “И величию его нѣсть коньца” [His greatness has no end] (Ps. 144:3), is repeated, appearing in both *PVL* 119,20 (where *твоему* is substituted for *его*) and *PVL* 119,31–120,1 (where it appears as in the psalms).

I have not included in my study paraphrases of or implicit allusions to psalmic passages but have limited myself to direct quotations. For example, the following passage occurs in *PVL* 97,11–13: И угоди Давыдъ Богу. Сему Давыду кляся Богъ, яко отъ племени его родити ся богу. The verses in the psalms that this passage refers to are Ps. 88:3–5: На нѣсѣхъ оуготоваетъ са истина твоя. Завѣщахъ завѣтъ нзбранымъ моимъ. Класъ са дѣдоу рабу моему. До вѣка оуготовая съма твое. И сзидждъ въ родъ н родъ прѣстола твоя.¹² Although the meaning and some of the words are similar, it is not a direct quotation. Since my main goal in identifying source quotations is to better

¹⁰ Sinai 6, fol. 69v; Harvard 221, fol. 145v.

¹¹ See, e.g., *Kievskaja Psaltir' 1397 goda* (see fn. 36 below), fol. 211r, lines 13–14.

¹² Sinai 6, fol. 75v–76r.

inform editorial choices for readings in the *PVL*, I do not give consideration to paraphrases of and allusions to Biblical passages.

3. Identification Process

The task of identifying psalmic quotations has been made easier by the work of our predecessors. In particular, I consulted the identifications made by Samuel Hazzard Cross, Aleksei Aleksandrovich Shakhmatov, and Ludolf Müller. I chose to begin with Cross because I was impressed by the thoroughness of his scholarship on the *PVL* in other respects and presumed that he would have incorporated Shakhmatov's identifications into his own.¹³ When, however, I checked his identification of psalmic passages with those identified by Shakhmatov in his edition of the *PVL* published in 1916,¹⁴ contrary to what one might have expected, they do not completely coincide. It helps to be aware of these differences especially when trying to locate their respective identifications in the Psalms.

For one thing, Cross cited according to the numbering of the Hebrew Psalter (followed by the Protestant Bible), which mostly does not correspond with the numbering of the Septuagint Psalter (followed by the Eastern Orthodox and Catholic

¹³ Cross's translation and introduction first appeared in print in 1930: Samuel H. Cross, "The Russian Primary Chronicle," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* 12 (1930): 75–320. The translation and introduction were reissued by Sherbowitz-Wetzor in 1953 after Cross's death with additional notes by Cross. *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1953).

¹⁴ A[leksei] A[leksandrovich] Shakhmatov, ed., *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 1: *Vvodnaia chast'. Tekst. Primechaniia* (Petrograd: Izdatel'stvo Imperatorskoi Arkheograficheskoi komissii, 1916). Note: The list of psalmic quotations in the *PVL* that Shakhmatov has in his article "'Povest' vremennykh let' i ee istochniki," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury* 4 (1940): 40, is incomplete. It is missing 16 of the identifications he made in his edition of the *PVL*.

Bibles) (see table 1). The Hebrew and Septuagint Psalters do correspond from psalm 1:1 through psalm 9:20. Then the Hebrew Psalter divides psalm 9 into two parts such that the second half of the Septuagint psalm 9 (i.e., verses 21–38) becomes Hebrew psalm 10:1–18. The numeration of Hebrew psalms remains one integer higher than Septuagint psalms through Hebrew psalm 114:1–8 (Septuagint 113:1–8), then the Septuagint Psalter appends Hebrew psalm 115 to the end of psalm 113 such that verse 1 of Hebrew 115 becomes verse 9 of Septuagint 113. Following that, Septuagint psalm 114:1–8 is equivalent to Hebrew psalm 116:1–8. Then Septuagint psalm 115 begins with Hebrew psalm 116:9, such that Septuagint 115:1–9 is equivalent to Hebrew 116:9–19 (the Septuagint Psalter conflates Hebrew 116:18–19 into one verse: 115:9). Subsequently, the numeration of Hebrew psalms remains one integer higher than Septuagint psalms through Hebrew psalm 147:11. The Septuagint Psalter then splits off Hebrew psalm 147:12–20 to create Septuagint psalm 147:1–9. The numbering of psalms 148, 149, and 150 is the same, thus, restoring the number of psalms to a total of 150.

Table 1: Equivalent Psalms and Verses in Septuagint and Hebrew Psalters

<i>Septuagint</i>	<i>Hebrew</i>
1:1–9:20	1:1–9:20
9:21–38	10:1–18
10:1–113:8	11:1–114:8
113:9–26	115:1–18
114:1–8	116:1–8
115:1–9	116:9–19
(115:9)	(116:18–19)
116:1–146:11	117:1–147:11
147:1–9	147:12–20
148:1–150:6	148:1–150:6

Cross seems not to have used Shakhmatov's identifications to make his own. Apparently he identified Biblical citations after translating the text of the *PVL* into English. That he

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

followed this procedure is testified to by his misidentification of Ps. 111:5 in *PVL* 125,22. Cross identified it as “Ps. xli, 1” (i.e., Ps. 40:2): БЛАЖЕНЪ РАЗУМЪВААИ НА НИЩА И ОУБѢ.¹⁵ The passage in Laurentian 125,22 is: “Блаженъ мужъ милуя и дая.” Cross translated these words as “Blessed is he that considereth the poor.”¹⁶ Instead, that passage coincides almost exactly with the reading found in the Ps. 111:5: БЛАГЪ МОУЖЪ МНЛОУА И ДААИ¹⁷ [The blessed man is compassionate and giving]. In addition, Cross missed eight identifications that Shakhmatov had noted: Ps. 9:7–8 in *PVL* 120,29–120,30; Ps. 73:13–14 in *PVL* 279,23–279,24; Ps. 78:10 in *PVL* 233,6; Ps. 79:15–16 in *PVL* 124,10–124,11; Ps. 81:5 in *PVL* 63,9–10; Ps. 117:24 in *PVL* 279,20–279,21; Ps. 123:6–7 in *PVL* 120,27–120,29; and Ps. 146:5 in *PVL* 80,15–80,16.

Shakhmatov used Septuagint Psalter numberings. His identifications, while better than Cross’s, are not entirely without error either. For his part, Shakhmatov identified Ps. 73:13–14 in *PVL* 279,23–279,24 as being 72:14 (which appears to be a misprint), and Ps. 79:15–16 as being Ps. 80:15–16 in *PVL* 124,10–124,11 (which corresponds to the Hebrew Psalter numbering). Also a probable misprint occurs where Shakhmatov identified *PVL* 63,11–12 as being from Ps. 6:10 whereas it should be Isaiah 6:10. Both Shakhmatov and Cross identified a quotation in *PVL* 27,15–27,16 as deriving from the Psalms, but each indicated a different verse—Ps. 70:17 (Cross) and Ps. 85:9 (Shakhmatov). Instead, the quotation derives from a third source, the *Life of Methodius*, which becomes clear when the entire passage is examined (see below).

In addition, Shakhmatov identified two other quotations from the Psalms that were most likely in γ (the protograph of the Hypatian branch and N1) or in ζ (the common exemplar of Hypatian and Khlebnikov)¹⁸ not in the archetype (hereafter

¹⁵ Sinai 6, fol. 20r; Harvard 221, fol. 48v.

¹⁶ *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, 121.

¹⁷ Harvard 221, fol. 224v. Sinai 6 has a lacuna here.

¹⁸ See stemma in *The Povest' vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation*, 1: XXXIX; 2: CXXXIII.

DONALD OSTROWSKI

*PVL*α) of the *PVL*: Ps. 36:14–15, 19–20 (137,2a–137,2e) and Ps. 51:4–7 (137,7a–137,7e).

After comparing Cross's and Shakhmatov's identifications, I then checked Ludolf Müller's translation of the *PVL* into German, where Biblical identifications are also made. In contrast to Cross, who indicated the identifications by means of in-text parenthetical markers, and Shakhmatov, who indicated them with in-margin markers, Müller used footnotes, which are not distinguished from other footnotes such as those that provide variant readings to the main text.¹⁹ As a result, one has to be careful in not missing any of Müller's identifications. On the plus side, Müller identified psalms and verses according to both Septuagint and Hebrew numberings. He has all the identifications that Shakhmatov has, and he included citations of paraphrases and allusions, preceded by the term *nach*.

4. Identifying Redactions

The Slavonic Book of Psalms was revised periodically from the 9th century, the time of Cyril and Methodius, through the 15th century. According to the Oxford scholar Catherine Mary MacRobert, one of the leading experts on the Slavonic Psalter, "a redaction is a version of the text whose variants exhibit systematic consultation of Greek, as well as characteristic choices of Church Slavonic wording, whereas a scribe's corrections may simply be taken from the various Church Slavonic redactions available to him."²⁰ She adds that

the redactions are differentiated from each other . . . by systematic grammatical peculiarities, by characteristic choices of vocabulary and translation technique, and occasionally by

¹⁹ *Die Nestorchronik*, trans. Ludolf Müller, in *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, 4 vols., ed. Ludolf Müller (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977–2001), vol. 4.

²⁰ Catherine M[ary] MacRobert, "The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century," in *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Jože Krašovec (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1998) 941.

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

substantive differences in interpretation. These divergences, which have parallels in the textual traditions of other Church Slavonic translations of Scripture, would be sufficient in themselves to suggest that revision proceeded on the basis of comparison with the Greek text; but in addition they are associated with sets of characteristic variant readings which clearly derive from Greek.²¹

Thus, for her, a redaction has to show intentional and systematic consultation with a Greek Psalter. The Hebrew Psalter was apparently not consulted by Slavonic redactors. She also distinguishes between an *izvod*, which is a linguistic version, and a *redaktsiia*, which is a textual redaction.²² MacRobert considered only textual redactions in her identification analysis.

In an article published in 1998 in which she summarized the work done on the Slavonic Psalter to that point, MacRobert stated that “[i]n the 11th century we already have clear evidence of four different versions” of the Slavonic Psalter.²³ In that same article, she identified “[s]even redactions of the Church Slavonic Psalter to the 15th century.”²⁴ Since then,

²¹ MacRobert, “Textual Tradition,” 925.

²² C. M. MacRobert, “Translation Is Interpretation: Lexical Variation in the Translation of the Psalter from Greek into Church Slavonic up to the 15th Century,” *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, 53 (1993): 254–258. E-mail communication of November 13, 2005, and February 19, 2006.

²³ MacRobert, “Textual Tradition,” 922.

²⁴ MacRobert, “Textual Tradition,” 922. In an article in the same book, Francis Thomson identified five redactions of the Psalms through the 15th century. Francis J. Thomson, “The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament,” in *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. Jože Krašovec (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1998), 803–825. Previously MacRobert had named them redactions I (Archaic or South Slavonic), II (Russian), III (Athonite), Norov (Special), and IV. Cf. Mary MacRobert, “The Greek Textological Basis of the Early Redactions of the Church Slavonic Psalter,” *Palaeobulgarica*, 14, no. 2 (1990): 7–9. Thomson named them redactions I, II (Symeonic), III (Athonite), IV (Norov), and V (Cyprianic). Thus, MacRobert’s redaction IV is Thomson’s redaction V, and Mac-

MacRobert has identified an eighth redaction also by the 15th century.²⁵ These eight redactions are:

1. Archaic (or I or South Slavonic) – 11th century
2. Commentated Psalter attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria – 11th century
3. Rus'ian (or II or Symeonic [according to Francis Thomson]) – 11th century
4. Commentated Psalter attributed to Theodoret of Cyrhus – 11th century
5. Athonite (or III) – 14th century
6. Norov (or IV [according to Thomson] or Special [according to MacRobert]) – 14th century
7. Cyprianic (or V [according to Thomson] or IV [according to MacRobert]) – 15th century
8. Iaroslavl' – 15th century [unnamed by MacRobert]

5. *PVL*-Psalms Collation

In my collation of the *PVL* passages with the source psalmic texts, I have tried to include a wide variety of representative Psalters but thus far have been limited almost entirely to published texts. Nonetheless, I have been able to include 13 Slavonic Psalters: Chudov (11th century),²⁶ Sinai 6 (12th

Robert's Norov Redaction is Thomson's redaction IV. I prefer to avoid using the Roman numeral designations since they can imply a relationship that does not exist among the redactions. For example, redaction II does not derive from redaction I but shares with it a common source—namely, Cyril and Methodius' translation. Likewise, redaction III does not derive from redaction II but from redaction I (see figure 1).

²⁵ C. M. MacRobert, "The Compilatory Church Slavonic Catena on the Psalms in Three East Slavonic Manuscripts of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *Slavia* 74 (2005): 213–238.

²⁶ *Chudovskaia Psaltyr' XI veka, otryvok Tolkovaniia Feodorita Kirrskago na Psaltyr' v drevne-bolgarskom perevode*, ed. V[alerii] A[leksandrovich] Pogorelov (St. Petersburg: Otdeleniia Russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi akademii nauk, 1910).

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

century),²⁷ Harvard (12th century),²⁸ Simonov (14th century),²⁹ Bologna (13th century),³⁰ Pogodin (13th century),³¹ Radomir (13th–14th centuries),³² Tomich (14th century),³³ Munich (14th century),³⁴ Norov (14th century),³⁵ Kiev (14th century),³⁶ Genadii (15th century),³⁷ and Ostrog (16th century).³⁸ These 13

²⁷ *An Early Slavonic Psalter from Rus'*, vol. 1: *Photoreproduction*, ed. Moshé Altbauer. With the collaboration of Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA: Distributed by the Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978); supplemented with additional folia published in Ioannis C. Tarnanidis, *The Slavonic Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Thessaloniki: Hellenic Association for Slavic Studies, 1988), 283–316.

²⁸ Houghton Library, MS Typ 221.

²⁹ *Drevle-slavianskaia Psaltir': Simonovskaia do 1280 goda*, 2nd ed., 3 vols., ed. Archimandrite Amfilokhii (Moscow: L. F. Snegirev, 1880–1881).

³⁰ *Psalterium Bononiense* (Jagić); and *Bolonski Psaltir. Bølgarski knizhoven pametnik ot XIII vek*, ed. Ivan Dučhev (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bølgarskata Akademiia na naukite, 1968).

³¹ *Psalterium Bononiense* (Jagić).

³² *Radomirov Psaltir*, ed. Liljana Makarijoska (Skopje: Institut makedonsi jazik "Krstе Misirkov", 1997).

³³ *Tomichov Psaltir*, 2 vols., ed. Aksiniia Dzhurova (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo „Kliment Okhridski“, 1990).

³⁴ *Der Serbische Psalter: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerrischen Staatsbibliothek München*, 2 vols., ed. Hans von Belting (Weisbaden: L. Reichert, 1978–1983), vol. 2: *Faksimile*.

³⁵ *Norovskaia psaltyr'. Srednebolgarskaia rukopis' XIV veka*, 2 vols., ed. E[lena] V. Cheshko, I. K. Bunina, V. A. Dybo, O. A. Kniazevskaia, and L. A. Naumenko (Sofia: Izdatel'stvo Bolgarskoï Akademii nauk, 1989).

³⁶ G[erol'd] I[vanovich] Vzdornov, *Issledovanie Kievskoi psaltiri*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1978), vol. 2: *Kievskaiia Psaltir' 1397 goda*, ed. T. V. Iurova.

³⁷ *Auszüge aus der Gennadius-Bibel (1499) Nr. 1: Der Psalter*, ed. Gerd Friedhof (Frankfurt am Main: Kubon and Sagner, 1974).

³⁸ *The Ostroh Bible, 1581: Reproduced in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Baptism of Ukraine into the Holy Orthodox Faith*,

psalmic texts represent 6 of MacRobert's 8 redactions. Not yet included in my collation are representatives of the Pseudo-Athanasian Commentated Psalter Redaction and the Iaroslavl' Redaction.

The texts fall into seven categories since one of the Psalters represents a mixed version: the Radomir Psalter represents a mixed Archaic and Rus'ian version. I consider the Kiev Psalter to represent the Cyprianic Redaction whereas the Book of Psalms in the Gennadii and Ostrog Bibles appear to be of that same redaction but with modifications. In this respect, I find myself not in complete agreement with the conclusion of Elena Cheshko. According to her, the Psalter of Kiprian (RBL, fond 173, № 142), which dates to the 15th century, is the true representative of the Cyprianic Redaction, whereas she considers the Kiev Psalter to represent a mixture of the Athonite and Cyprianic redactions.³⁹ In order to make this claim, she has to posit that the Cyprianic Redaction already existed at the time the Kiev Psalter was copied (1397) for it to adopt some of the Cyprianic readings. This positing may be unnecessarily complicated. A simpler and more direct explanation is that the Psalter of Kiprian has readings that reflect a later modification of the Cyprianic Redaction from what the Kiev Psalter represents.

6. From Which Redaction of the Psalms Do Quotations in the *PVL* Derive?

Psalmic quotations in the *PVL* derive from the Rus'ian Redaction of the Psalter. Three cases establish the *PVL*'s connection with that redaction in distinction from any other redaction ("*PVL*α = Rus'ian ≠ the rest"). The first case involves *PVL* 133,17 and the Younger Redaction of the Novgorod I

988–1988 (Winnipeg: St. Andrews College, 1983).

³⁹ E. V. Cheshko, "Ob afonskoi redaktsii slavianskogo perevoda Psaltyri v ee otnoshenii k drugim redaktsiiam," in *Iazyk i pis'mennost' srednebolgarskogo perioda*, ed. E. V. Cheshko, E. I. Demina et al. (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 86–92.

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

Chronicle, which contain a fragment of Psalm 21:17, compared here with the 13 psalmic texts I have collated.

PVL 133,17

LRAHKhNI: и с(о)боръ злобивыхъ (*H*: злобныхъ) осѣде
мя.

Psalm 21:17

Archaic Redaction

Bolog: Н сѣнемъ злобнвѣхъ осѣде ма·:- |

Pogod: Сѣнымъ злобнвѣхъ осѣде ма.

Commentated Psalter of Theodoret of Cyrrihus

Chud: [non-extant]

Rus'ian Redaction

Harv: [non-extant]

Sinb: Н сѣборъ злобнвѣхъ осѣде ма·:· |

Sim: сѣборъ злобнвѣхъ осѣде ма·:·

Mixed Archaic and Rus'ian

Rdm: [non-extant]

Athonite Redaction

Mun: Н сѣнымъ лѣкавнвѣхъ одрѣжаше ме.

Tom: сѣнымъ лѣкавнвѣхъ одрѣжаша ма.

Norov Redaction

Norov: сѣнемъ лѣкавнвѣхъ, | осѣде ма.

Cyprianic

Kiev: снемъ лѣ|кавы^ѣ одержаш ма.

Genn: сѣн^ѣ лѣкавы^ѣ одрѣжаша | ма, [added in lower
margin]

Ostr: сонмъ лѣкавыхъ одержаша | ма.

The 12th-century Sinai 6 Psalter and the 14th-century Simonov Psalter are in agreement with that of the *PVL* and of the Novgorod I Chronicle in transmitting the reading “сѣборъ.” MacRobert wrote that “manuscripts of the ‘Archaic’ redaction ... normally use the word *сѣнымъ*, while those of the ‘Russian’ redaction use *сѣборъ*; but ... that *сѣборъ* may occasionally insinuate itself even into” readings of

certain manuscripts that represent a “conservative tradition.”⁴⁰ The reading “СЪНЕМЪ” in the other Psalters here corroborates her statement. Even in the Rus’ian redaction from the 14th century on, according to MacRobert, “СЪНЬМЪ” tended to replace “СЪБОРЪ”.⁴¹ Given the relationship of redactions that MacRobert depicted, it seems more likely that СЪНЕМЪ was the primary reading in Cyril and Methodius’ translation and that СЪБОРЪ was a subsequent modification. Although Theodoret’s Commentated Psalter as represented in the Chudov manuscript is not extant for this reading, the Pseudo-Athanasian Commentated Psalter as represented by the Tolstoi manuscript is extant at this point and is in agreement with the Archaic Redaction.

MacRobert’s stemmatic representation of this relationship shows an independent derivation of the Archaic Redaction and the Rus’ian Redaction from the translation of Cyril and Methodius.⁴² The following stemma (see fig. 1) is a simplified and slightly modified version of the stemma MacRobert provided in her 1998 article. A progression occurs within the Archaic Redaction branch from the $\zeta\lambda\omicron\beta\eta\nu\beta\iota\chi\zeta\ \omega\varsigma\ \beta\ \delta\epsilon\ \mu\ \alpha$ reading of the Bologna and Pogodin Psalters (shared by the Sinai 6 and Simonov Psalters) to the $\lambda\upsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\iota\chi\zeta\ \omicron\delta\rho\zeta\ \beta\ \alpha\ \mu\ \alpha$ / $\omicron\delta\epsilon\rho\ \beta\ \alpha\ \mu\ \alpha$ reading of the Athonite, Norov, Cyprianic, and Iaroslavl’ Redactions. The wording of the verse changes significantly through the various redactions. Without the evidence of the Sinai 6 Psalter or the Simonov Psalter, a researcher could be misled by the reading in the *PVL* and in the

⁴⁰ C. M. MacRobert, “A Missing Link in the Early Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter (the Tolstoy, Sluck, Eugenius and Vienna Psalters and MS 34 of the Moscow Synodal Typography),” *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch* 39 (1993): 57–81, see 65–66; cf. table on 66.

⁴¹ Catherine M. MacRobert, “The Historical Significance of the Frolov Psalter (Russian National Library F.II.I.3),” *Die Welt der Slaven* 42 (1997): 34–46, see 41, where she refers to the “general standardizing tendency of the 14th-century revisions, as in the frequent replacement [among other things] . . . of СЪБОРЪ by СЪНЬМЪ.”

⁴² MacRobert, “Textual Tradition,” 928.

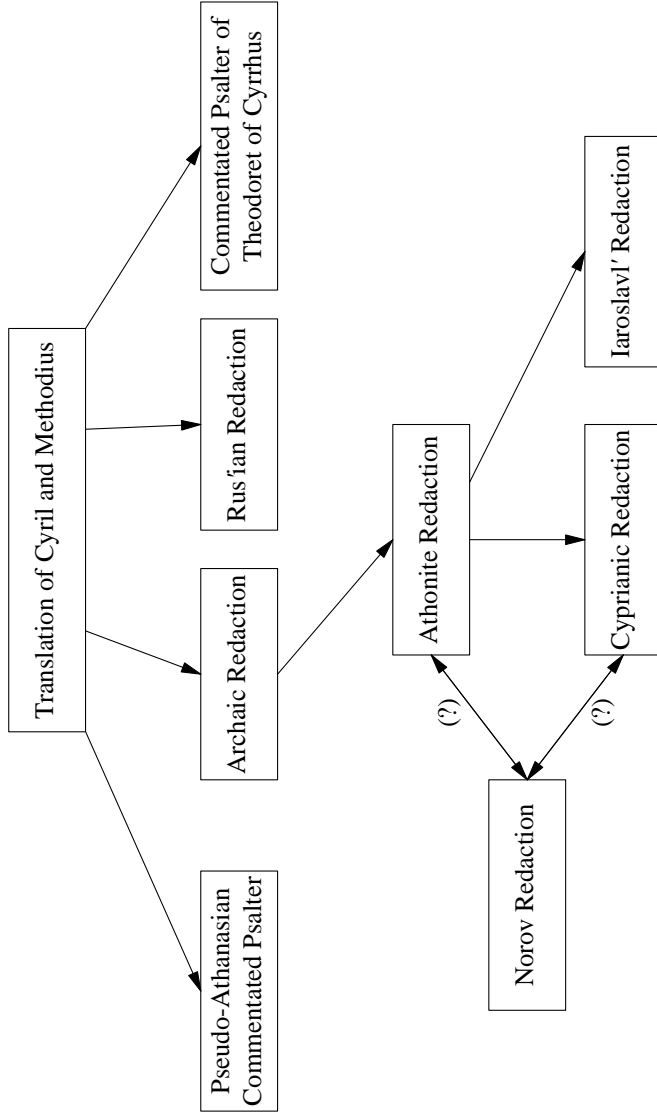


Fig. 1: Relationship of Slavonic Redactions of the Psalter through the 15th Century

Novgorod I Chronicle, and might not even be aware that it is from Psalm 21.

A second case of “*PVL*α = Rus’ian ≠ the rest” is Ps. 18:5 in *PVL* 83,18–83,19. *PVL*α testifies to the phrase “Въ вьсю землю изидоша въщанья ихъ.” The “изидоша” of *PVL*α coincides with the *нзидоша* of the Rus’ian Redaction, as represented by *Sinб* and *Sim* (*Harv* is non-extant here), and differs from the readings of the representatives of the other redactions: *нзыдѣ* (*Bolog*, *Pogod*); *нзыдє* (*Tom*, *Mun*, *Norov*, *Genn*, *Ostr*); and *нзыдѣ* (*Kiev*). *Chud* and *Rdm* are non-extant here.

The third case of “*PVL*α = Rus’ian ≠ the rest” is Ps. 40:10 in *PVL* 76,26–76,27. *PVL*α testifies to the phrase “Ядѣи хлѣбъ мой възвеличилъ естъ на мя льсть.” The “льсть” of *PVL*α coincides with the *льсть* of the Rus’ian Redaction, as represented by *Harv*, *Sinб*, and *Sim*, and differs from the readings of the representatives of the other redactions: *ковѣ* (*Bolog*, *Pogod*, *Norov*); *ковѣ* (*Rdm*, *Tom*, *Mun*); and *патѣ* (*Kiev*, *Genn*, *Ostr*). *Chud* is non-extant here.

These three cases demonstrate that the writers and compiler of the *PVL* is quoting from the Rus’ian Redaction of the Slavonic Psalter.⁴³

⁴³ Two other cases show the proximity of a *PVL* reading to the Rus’ian and Archaic redactions in contrast to the reading of the Cyrhric, *Norov*, Athonite, and Cyprianic redactions. In the first of these, *PVL* 233,23 shows the proximity of the *PVL* reading “досажения” in Ps. 82:17 to the Rus’ian and Archaic redactions’ reading of *досажения* in contrast to the reading of the Cyrhric, *Norov*, Athonite, and Cyprianic redactions: *безъестнѣ*. In the second of these, *PVL* 136,22 shows the proximity of the *PVL* reading “коль” in Ps. 132:1 to the Rus’ian and Archaic redactions’ reading of *коль* / *колъ* in contrast to the reading of the Cyrhric, *Norov*, Athonite, and Cyprianic redactions: *же что* / *ннѣ что*. One case of the coincidence of a reading in *PVL*α 279,23 with a reading of Ps. 73:13 in the Athonite Redaction against the reading in all the other redactions can be discarded for identifying which redaction was used in the compilation of the *PVL*. The Athonite redaction first appeared in the 14th century, 200 years after the *PVL* was compiled so it was not available at the time the *PVL* was compiled (see below).

Furthermore, if we accept MacRobert's construction, then the later East Slavic redactions—the Cyprianic and the Iaroslavl'—do not derive from the Rus'ian redaction⁴⁴ but from the 14th-century Athonite Redaction, which in turn derives from the Archaic Redaction. Thus, comparing psalmic passages in the *PVL* with equivalent passages in only the Gennadii or Ostrog Bibles or with other Psalters that represent a different redaction is faulty methodology.

7. Singular Readings of Psalmic Quotations in the *PVL*

Five cases tell us of the appearance in the *PVL* of a reading in a psalmic quotation that is not found in any of the extant manuscript copies of the Slavonic Psalter. The first case involves *PVL* 101,15 and its quoting of Psalm 81:8. All copies (*LRAHKh*) of the *PVL* and the Commission copy (*K*) of the Novgorod I Chronicle are in agreement, but two copies (*Ak* and *Tol*) of the Novgorod I Chronicle have a different reading.

PVL 101,15

LRAHKhK: ВЪ ВСѢХЪ СТРАНАХЪ.

AkTol: ВЪ ВСѢХЪ ЯЗЫЦѢХЪ.

All the Psalter copies of the collation testify to some form of “ВЪ ВСѢХЪ ЯЗЫЦЕХЪ” [among all nations]; *LXX*: ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.⁴⁵ Although the stemma tells us “ВЪ ВСѢХЪ СТРАНАХЪ” is the reading in *PVL*α, someone basing their determination of the primary reading in the *PVL* on the reading in the Psalters might conclude the reading of *Ak* and *Tol* belongs to *PVL*α. We do find СТРАНА interchanged with ЯЗЫКЪ to translate ἔθνος as early as a 10th-century Bulgarian

⁴⁴ For a lexical analysis of some later manuscripts of the Rus'ian Redaction, see Arleta Szulc, *Leksykalne i słowotwórcze zróżnicowanie cerkiewnosłowiańskich psalterzy redakcji ruskiej z XI–XIX wieku*, part 1: *Zróżnicowanie leksykalne* (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2000).

⁴⁵ *A Comparative Psalter: Hebrew – Greek – English*, ed. John R. Kohlenberger III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 147.

redaction that accompanies the translation into Church Slavonic of Theodoret of Cyrillus' commentary on the Psalms.⁴⁶ Yet, our representative of the Commentated Psalter of Theodoret of Cyrillus—that is, the Chudov Psalter—has the reading АЗЫЦѢХЪ not СТРАНАХЪ in Ps. 81:8. The interchange of СТРАНА with АЗЫКЪ occurs only in the early numbered psalms, not in middle numbered psalms of the Theodoret Commentated Psalter. Either another Psalter existed that interchanged СТРАНАХЪ with АЗЫЦЕХЪ in Ps. 81:8 or the compiler of the *PVL* innovated here, hamonizing with the early numbered psalms of the Commentated Psalter of Theodoret of Cyrillus. His innovation, if such it was, may not have been intentional but rather the result of a misremembering of that particular verse. Then the copyist of the protograph of *AkTol* “corrected” СТРАНАХЪ to АЗЫЦЕХЪ , because АЗЫЦЕХЪ was the more familiar reading.

The second case of a reading in the *PVL*'s quoted version that does not appear in the Psalters available to us occurs in *PVL* 63,9–10, which quotes from Ps. 81:5 (the following psalmic interlinear collations are from <http://hudce7.harvard.edu/~ostrowski/pvl/psalms-pvl.pdf>):

PVL 63,9–10

LRAHKh: Не смыслиша бо, ни разумѣша въ тмѣ (*L*: тѣмѣ)
ходящии (*RAKh*: ходящеи).

KAkTol: Не смыслиша бо, ни разумѣша въ тмѣ (*AkTol*: тѣмѣ)
ходяща (*AkTol*: ходять).

Ps. 81:5

Chud: Не оувѣдѣша ни разоу||мѣша въ тѣмѣ ходатъ:-

Harv: Не оувѣдѣша ни разоумѣ|ша въ тѣмѣ ходятъ:-

Sinб: Не оувѣдѣша ни разоумѣша въ тѣ|мѣ ходатъ:-

⁴⁶ V. A. Pogorelov, *Tolkovaniia Feodorita Kirrskogo na Psaltyr' v drevne-bolgarskom perevode. Rassmotrenie spiskov i issledovanie osobennosti Psaltyrnogo teksta* (Warsaw: Tipografia Varshavskogo uchebnogo ogruga, 1910), 226–227; cf. Jacques Lépassier, *Les Commentaires des Psaumes de Théodoret* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale Institut d'études slaves, 1968), 305. (MacRobert.)

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

- Sim:* Не оувѣдѣша ни разумѣша въ тмѣ ходатъ··
Bolog: Не оувѣдѣшѣ ни | разумѣшѣ въ | тѣмѣ ходатъ··
Pogod: Не оувѣдѣша ни разумѣша, въ тѣмѣ ходатъ.
Rdm: не оувѣдѣшѣ ни разумѣшѣ | въ тѣмѣ ходатъ··
Tom: не оувѣшѣ ни разумѣшѣ въ тѣмѣ ходатъ.
Mun: не оувѣше ни разумѣше въ тѣмѣ ходетъ.
Norov: не познашѣ ни^{жѣ} разумѣшѣ | въ тѣмѣ ходатъ.
Kiev: Не оувѣдѣша ни разумѣша во тѣмѣ | ходатъ.
Genn: не ѡвѣдѣша ни^{жѣ} разумѣша. въ тѣмѣ ходатъ. |
Ostr: Не оувѣдѣша | ниже разумѣша, въ тѣмѣ ходатъ. |

Here in the *PVL* we find “Не смыслиша бо” instead of the Psalters’ Не оувѣдѣша. The scribe of the common exemplar of *AkTol* did not change the reading in his exemplar to the more familiar Psalter reading as he did in 101,15. But he had not fallen asleep here for he did change the “ходящии” of *PVL* α to conform to the Psalters’ “ходятъ”. As pointed out earlier in this article, the *PVL* reading may simply be a conflation of “не смыслиша разумѣти” from Deut. 32:29 with the quotation from Ps. 81:5 “не оувѣдѣша ни разумѣша” to obtain “не смыслиша бо, ни разумѣша.” But the possibility of an intentional innovation in the *PVL* in substituting “смыслиша” for “оувѣдѣша” (as Norov does with познашѣ) cannot be discounted since the word “бо”, not found in the psalms or in Deut. 32:29, is added. The same thing occurs in *PVL* 80,15 where “бо” is added to the Psalters’ Велии гѣ нашъ и велию крѣпость его (146:5) to arrive at: “Велии бо Господь, и велия крѣпость его.”

The third case of a singular reading occurs in *PVL* 233,21–22 of a quotation from Ps. 82:14:

PVL 233,21–22

- L:* яко ѡгнь прѣ^А лицемъ | вътру нже попалаеть дубра|вы·
R: акн прѣ^А лицѣ^М вътрѣ ѡгнь. нже попанть доу|бравы·
A: акы прѣ^А лицемъ вътрѣ ѡгнь. нже попан|тъ дѣбравы·
H: акн ѡгнь прѣ|дъ лицемъ вътру. нже по|панть дубравы·
Kh: яко <ѡгнь> прѣ^А | лицѣ^М вътроу. нже попан|т доубравы.

Ps. 82:14

Chud: ꙗко стьбланѣ прѣдъ лицемъ вѣтра:· | [ѡ]ко огнь. нже
попалнѣть доубравы.

Harv: ꙗкы стьбальѣ прѣдъ лиць|мъ вѣтроу:· | ꙗкы огнь
нже попалають | доубравы:· |

Sinб: ꙗкзы стьбальѣ прѣдъ лицьмъ вѣтроу:· | ꙗкзы огнь
нже попалнтъ | доубравы:· |

Sim: н ꙗкзы стьбланѣ прѣдъ лицемъ вѣтроу:· Н ꙗкзы огнь
нже попалають доубравы:·

Bolog: ꙗко стьбланѣ прѣ|дъ лицемъ вѣтроу:· | ꙗко огнь
нже по|палнтъ дѣбра|вы:· ||

Pogod: ꙗко стьбланѣ прѣдъ лицемъ вѣтроу. ꙗко огнь нже
попалнтъ дѣбравы.

Rdm: ꙗко стьбланѣ прѣдъ лицемъ вѣтрѣ:· | ꙗко огнь нже
попалнтъ дѣбравы:· |

Tom: ꙗко тръсть прѣ^А | лицемъ вѣтроу. | ꙗко огнь нже
попалають дѣ|бравы.

Mun: ꙗко тръсть прѣ^А лицѣ^М вѣтроу. | ꙗко огнь нже
попалають доубра|ви.

Norov: ꙗко тръстъ, прѣ|дъ лицемъ вѣтроу. | ꙗко огнь | нже
попалнтъ дѣбравы.

Kiev: ꙗко трѣсть прѣ^А лицемъ вѣтроу. ꙗко огнь | нже
попалають доубравы.

Genn: ꙗко тръ|стъ прѣ^А лицѣ^М вѣтрѣ ꙗко огнь попалаан
дѣбравы

Ostr: ꙗко трѣсть прѣ^А лицемъ вѣтрѣ ꙗко | огнь
попалаан дѣбравы,

In representatives of the Cyrrhic, Rus'ian, and Archaic redactions, some form of стьбланѣ (*Chud*, *Harv*, *Sinб*, *Sim*, *Bolog*, *Pogod*, and *Rdm*) occurs. In representatives of the Athonite, Norov, and Cyprian redactions, some form of тръсть (*Tom*, *Mun*, *Norov*, *Kiev*, *Genn*, and *Ostr*) occurs. The substitution of “огнь” (fire) for стьбланѣ (stubble) or тръсть (reed) “before the wind” represents a conflation of two connected phrases: “like a reed before the wind” and “like a fire that fells trees” to obtain “like a fire before the wind that fells trees.”

A fourth case of a singular reading in the *PVL* occurs in *PVL* 119,20–21 of a quotation from Ps. 144:3–4.

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

PVL 119,20–21

LRAHK^{Tol}: и величїю твоему нѣсть коньца в родъ (*H*: роды)
и родъ въсхвалимъ (*L*: въсхвалить; *RA*: хвалимъ;
K: и въсхвалимъ; *Tol*: всхвалимъ) дѣла твоя

Ps. 144:3–4

Chud: [non-extant]

Harv: [non-extant]

Sinb: Н величїю юго нѣсть коньца. | Родъ и родъ
въсхвалѣтъ дѣла твоя.

Sim: н величїю юго нѣ коньца. | Родъ и родъ въсхвалѣтъ
дѣла твоя.

Bolog: Н величїю его | нѣсть коньца. | Родъ и родъ
въсхвалѣтъ дѣла твоя.

Pogod: величїю его нѣ коньца. Родъ и родъ въсхвалѣтъ дѣла
твоя. |

Rdm: н величїю его нѣ коньца. | рѡ и рѡ въсхвалѣтъ дѣла
твоя.

Tom: Н величїю его нѣ коньца. | Рѡ и рѡ въсхвалѣтъ дѣла
твоя. |

Mun: н величїю юго нѣсть коньца. | Рѡдъ и рѡдъ
въсхвалѣтъ дѣла твоя. |

Norov: н величїю его нѣсть коньца. | Рѡ и рѡ похвалѣтъ
дѣла твоя. |

Kiev: н величїю его нѣ коньца. рѡ и рѡ въсхвалѣтъ дѣла
твоя,

Genn: н величїю его нѣ коньца. рѡ и рѡ въсхвалѣтъ дѣла твоя.

Ostr: н величїю его нѣсть коньца. родъ и родъ | въсхвалѣтъ
дѣла твоя,

In this passage in the *PVL* we find “его” changed to “твоему” and “въсхвалить” to “въсхвалимъ”. The copyist of *L* left the “твоему” untouched but “corrected” “въсхвалимъ” to the more familiar “въсхвалить”.

A fifth case of a singular reading in the *PVL* occurs in the quotation from Ps. 146:5 in *PVL* 80,15:

PVL 80,15

LRAHK^h: Велии бо (*L*: \emptyset) господь и велия крѣпость его

KAk^{Tol}: Велии господь нашъ и велия крѣпость его

DONALD OSTROWSKI

Ps. 146:5

Sinb: Вєлнн г̃ъ нашъ и вєлнѹ крѣпость єго

The writer in the *PVL* substituted “бо Господь” for г̃ъ нашъ, and the compiler of the Novgorod I Chronicle restored the more familiar “Господь нашъ”.

These five cases provide examples of the *PVL* stemma’s telling us of a reading in the *PVL* different from the reading of the extant Slavonic Psalters. The different readings in these cases represent either a memory error or an innovation, intentional or otherwise, on the part of the writer in the *PVL*. But they should not be interpreted as his having a familiarity with a different version of the Rus’ian redaction because there is insufficient evidence of any specific pattern to these differences.

8. Quotation within a Quotation

We find one case of a psalmic-like quotation within another quotation. In *PVL* 27,12–27,18, the following reading occurs:

Се же слышавъ папежь Римьскыи, похули тѣхъ,
иже рѣпъщутъ на кънигы Словѣньскыя, река:
“Да ся испълнить кънижьное слово, яко
въсхвалять Бога вьси языци”; другое же: вьси
възглаголють языки различны величия Божия,
якоже дасть имъ Святый Духъ отъвѣщевати.

Both Shakhmatov and Cross detect a psalmic quotation within this passage, but they identify different sources:

Cross:

When the Pope at Rome heard of this situation, he rebuked those who murmured against the Slavic books, saying, “Let the word of the Scripture be fulfilled that ‘all nations shall praise God’ (*Ps.* lxxi, 17), and likewise that ‘all nations shall declare the majesty of God according as the Holy Spirit shall grant them to speak’ (*cf. Acts*, ii, 4).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, 63; *cf.* idem, “The Russian Primary Chronicle,” 148, where he identified “all

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

Shakhmatov:

Се же слышавъ папежь Римьскыи, похули тѣхъ, |
 иже рѣпъщють на кѣнигы Словѣньскыя, река:
 „да ся испълнить [(Ж. Меф.) in margin] |
 кѣнижьное слово, яко "въсхвалять Бога въси
 языци"; другое же: [(Д. 2, 4) in margin] | "въси
 възглаголють языки различны величия Божия,
 якоже дасть [(Пс. 85,9) in margin] | имъ Святыи
 Духъ отвѣщавати".⁴⁸

Cross's identification of "all nations shall praise God" ("въсхвалять Бога въси языци") with Ps. lxxi, 17 (LXX Ps. 70:17) seems to be based on only a tangential connection: н до нзынѣ възвѣщю чюдеса твоа.⁴⁹ In Shakhmatov's edition the marginal glosses "Д. 2, 4" and "Пс. 85,9" should be reversed. That way, the former gloss coincides with Cross's identification of the second quotation, "all nations shall declare the majesty of God according as the Holy Spirit shall grant them to speak" (въси възглаголють языки различны величия Божия, якоже дасть имъ Святыи Духъ отвѣщавати), with Acts 2:4. And the latter gloss by Shakhmatov refers to the same quotation that Cross identified as from Ps. lxxi, 17 (LXX Ps. 70:17). Yet, like Cross's identification, Shakhmatov's identification has only an approximate connection with Ps. 85:9: Въси азыци юанко сътвори прѣдътъ. Н поклонатъса прѣдъ тобою гн̄. Н прославатъ нма твоє...⁵⁰

Like Shakhmatov and Cross, Müller identified the second quotation in the passage as being from Acts 2:4, and Müller also referred to Ps. 85:9 in regard to the first quotation, but acknowledged the connection to be only approximate at best:

nations shall praise God" as being from Luke 23:38, and "all nations shall declare the majesty of God..." as being from John 19:20.

⁴⁸ Shakhmatov, ed., *Povest' vremennykh let*, 27. I have included line-break indicators here and quotation marks exactly as they appear in Shakhmatov's text.

⁴⁹ Sinai 6, fol. 51v.

⁵⁰ Sinai 6, fol. 73r.

“Nicht wörtlich nach Ps. 86 (LXX: 85),9.”

Müller:

Da dies der Römische Papst hörte, schmähte er diejenigen, die gegen die slavischen Bücher murren⁹, <⁹ In allen Handschriften steht das Verbum im Präsens.>, indem er sagte: ²⁹ Es werde erfüllt das Wort der Schrift: Es werden Gott loben alle Völker¹⁰ <¹⁰ Nicht wörtlich nach Ps. 86 (LXX: 85),9.> [= Zungen]. ³⁰ Und das andere: Alle werden mit verschiedenen Zungen die gro-||ßen Taten Gottes preisen, wie der Heilige Geist es ihnen geben wird, auszusprechen.¹ <¹ Nach Apg. 2,11.4. – „verschieden“ nur in IpCh. So auch in Apg. 2,4. – „Zungen“ im griech. Text „glōssais“.>⁵¹

The phrase “вѣси възглаголють ѡзыки различными величїа Божїа” is similar to a phrase in the *Encomium (Pohvala) to Cyril and Methodius*: вѣси възг̃лѡтъ рѡзлнѣны ѡзыки велнѣнїа б̃жнїа.⁵² The text in the *PVL* indicates this phrase is from Scripture (слово к̃нижное). Similar phrases appear in the Psalms (“all the nations will praise you”), but I could find no instance of “all the nations will praise God” or of “all the various nations will declare the majesty of God” in the Bible. These “phrasings” may be paraphrases (or echoes), perhaps from a combination of different Biblical verses. In any case, the entire passage both in the *PVL*, as Shakhmatov pointed out, and in the *Encomium* most likely derives from a third source—the *Life of Methodius*:

Life of Methodius

ДА СА Н|СПЗЛННТЬ КННЖЬНОЮ | СЛОВО ЯКО
ВЗСХВАЛАТЬ | Г̃А ВѢСИ ѡЗЫЦН· Н ДРУГО | НДЕ ВѢСИ
ВЗЗГ̃Л̃ТЬ ѡЗЫКЫ | РѡЗЛНѣНЫ ВЕЛНѣНїА БО|ЖНїА· ЯКО
ЖЕ ДАСТЬ НМЪ || С̃ТЫН Д̃Х̃З· ѠВѢЩАВАТИ.⁵³

⁵¹ *Die Nestorchronik* (Müller), 27. Müller does not include the reference to the *Life of Methodius* that Shakhmatov has. Square brackets [...] are in the original. Angle brackets <...> set off footnote text.

⁵² *Uspenskii sbornik*, fol. 110 col. a, line 18. (MacRobert.)

⁵³ *Uspenskii sbornik*, fol. 106 col. б, line 26–fol. 106 col. в, line 1.

Here the reading from the source text tells us “различьны” belongs in *PVL* α (see below).

9. Improvements to the Paradosis

Identification of the Rus’ian Redaction as the source of psalmic quotations in the *PVL* allows improvement in my choice of *PVL* α readings in five cases.

PVL 27,16: In the published version of the *PVL* interlinear collation, I posited that “различьными”, as testified to by the Hypatian and Khlebnikov copies, was omitted in *PVL* α and that a “correction” was made in ζ (the common protograph of the Hypatian and Khlebnikov copies).⁵⁴ As a result of the analysis presented above, I have come to agree with Shakhmatov’s proposal that “различьны” was in *PVL* α . A scribe is more likely to have attempted to harmonize with the familiar psalmic “All the nations will praise you” by dropping “различьны” if it were in the exemplar (i.e., различьны \rightarrow \emptyset) than try to harmonize with the less familiar *Life of Methodius* by adding it if it were not in the exemplar (i.e., $\emptyset \rightarrow$ различьны).

PVL 120,30: In Ps. 9:7, we find an interchange of the pronouns “ихъ” and “его”, such that the Archaic (*Bolog*, *Pogod*) and Rus’ian (*Sinb*, *Sim*) redactions prefer “ихъ”: ПОГЪБЕ ПАМЯТЬ НХЪ СЪ ШОУМОМЪ. The Athonite (*Tom*, *Mun*), Cypriatic (*Kiev*, *Genn*, *Ostr*), and Norov redactions prefer “его”: ПОГЪБЕ ПАМЯТЬ ЕГО СЪ ШОУМОМЪ. *Chud*, *Harv*, and *Rdm* are non-extant. *LXX* reads: ἀπόλετο τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν μετ’ ἡχουζ.⁵⁵ The stemma indicates “его” in *PVL* α , but *его* is associated with later redactions (Athonite and Cypriatic) of the Psalter. The earlier redactions (Archaic and Rus’ian) testify to *нхъ*, which *N1* also has. I explored the idea that “его” was possible in the Rus’ian redaction and that *PVL* α indicated this. Yet, according to MacRobert, other copies of the Rus’ian

⁵⁴ See *The Povest' vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation*, 27,16.

⁵⁵ *Comparative Psalter*, 13.

Redaction testify to $\text{H}\chi\text{Z}$, but not to epo .⁵⁶ Thus, it is highly unlikely the reading “ epo ” appeared in any copies of the Rus’ian Redaction that would have been available to Sylvestr’. Also the evidence of the Psalters strongly indicates epo did not appear in any redaction of the Psalter until some time after the *PVL* was compiled. Therefore, I have to conclude that “ ИХЪ ” was in *PVL* α and that the scribes of the protographs of the Laurentian and Hypatian branches changed “ ИХЪ ” to “ epo ” independently.

PVL 136,28: In the quotation from Ps. 132:1, I had posited in the paper-copy version that “ братома ” (the reading in *LH*) was primary in relation to “ братии ” (the reading in *RAKh*) because in cases of $LH \neq RAKh$, I tended to give priority to *LH*. As a result of my investigation of the Slavonic Psalters, I now conclude that “ братии ” is primary because *Sin6* and *Sim* testify to that reading. The only one of my collated Psalters to read БРАТОМА is *Rdm*, where it is secondary. Although a secondary reading in the source text is not necessarily secondary in the target text (“ братома ” would be primary here in the *PVL* if the compiler had used a *Rdm*-type Psalter), in this instance, the same scribal practice is at work making “ братома ” secondary in both cases—namely, independent hypercorrection.

PVL 224,11: In the quotation from Ps. 102:10, I posited “ въздасть ” as primary over “ въздаль есть ” because it

⁵⁶ E-mail, May 2, 2006. MacRobert provided me evidence for the reading $\text{H}\chi\text{Z}$ in three South Slavonic Psalters that follow the Rus’ian Redaction: Sinai 7 (13th century), the Pljevlja Psalter (late 13th century), and the Athens Psalter (early 14th century). $\text{H}\chi\text{Z}$ is also found in the East Slavonic Psalters of the 13th–14th centuries that she examined: “*Typ* 27 (13th century), *FpI1* (13th or 14th century); *FpI2*, *FpI3* (in spite of later corrections), *Fp14*, *Sof.* 60, *Typ.* 34, *Pog.* 2, *Pog.* 3, *MS* 8662 (all 14th century, and apparently not influenced by the new South Slavonic revised redactions). The only exception is the Lutsk Psalter of 1384, which shows signs of influence from a redaction close to the Cyprianic one at the start of the text and so has ‘ego’ in Ps. 9.”

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

seemed more likely that “въздалъ есть” was a later expansion of “въздасть”. This was probably incorrect since all the Psalters in my collation testify to “въздалъ есть”. Therefore, it is more likely the reading “въздасть” is the result of a parablepsis: възда[лъ е]сть → въздасть.

PVL 279,23: In the quotation from Ps. 73:13, *LRAHKh* all testify to “съкруши”, which coincides with the reading in the Athonite Redaction against the readings in representatives of the other redactions (*Chud, Harv, Sin6, Sim, Bolog, Pogod, Norov, and Kiev*: съкроушилъ юси; *Genn*: сътрылъ and *Ostr*: стєрлъ) The editor/author who compiled the final version of the *PVL* in the 1110s, could not have had access to the Athonite Redaction, composed in the 14th century. Thus, the reading in *PVLα* must have been “съкроушилъ юси”. The change to “съкруши” can be attributed to an independently coincidental change in the Laurentian and Hypatian branches to coincide with the reading in the Athonite Redaction when that redaction became available in Rus’.

I have now made the corresponding changes of these places in the on-line version; see <http://hudce7.harvard.edu/~ostrowski/pvl>.

10. Changes Not Made in the Paradosis

In nine other cases, some explanation may be necessary for my not making a change in the on-line version of the *PVL* as a result of this study of the psalmic quotations. For convenience to the reader, I present those readings in a table below.

Table 2
Places Where I Decided Not to Change the Paradosis
(Although a Change Might Be Thought to Be Indicated)

<i>Reading in PVL and N1</i>	Reading in Psalters
<i>PVL</i> 100,6	Ps. 2:7
<i>LRAHKh</i> : Рече Господь	<i>all</i> : Γ̃ ρε̃ε
<i>KTol</i> : Господь рече	<i>Harv, Sin6, Rdm</i> : non-extant
<i>Explanation</i> : The word order in <i>LRAHKh</i> testifies to the word order in <i>PVLα</i> . The word order in <i>K</i> and <i>Tol</i> represents	

a correction to the more familiar word order in the psalms.

<i>PVL</i> 101,14	Ps. 81:8
<i>LRAH</i> : Вѣстани	<i>all</i> : ВЪСКРЪСНИ
<i>Kh</i> : ВЪСКРѢ	

Explanation: The *PVL* stemma testifies to “Вѣстани” in α . The agreement of the reading in *Kh* with the Psalters is the result of secondary harmonization.

<i>PVL</i> 125,22	Ps. 111:5
<i>LRAKAKTol</i> : блаженъ	<i>all</i> : БЛАГЪ
<i>HKh</i> : благъ	<i>Chud, Sin6</i> : non-extant

Explanation: The reading “благъ” in *HKh* is probably an attempt on the part of the copyist of their common exemplar to harmonize with the familiar Psalter reading. Otherwise, we would have to posit the less likely change of “благъ” to “блаженъ” in *LRA* and *N1* independently.

<i>PVL</i> 133,7	Ps. 3:2
<i>RAHKAKTol</i> : умножиша ся	<i>all</i> : УМЪНОЖИША
<i>LKh</i> : умъножишя	<i>Harv, Sin6, Rdm</i> : non-extant

Explanation: The presence of the enclitic in *RAHKAKTol* testifies to its presence in *PVL* α . The absence of the enclitic in *LKh* does not necessarily represent a correction to the more familiar non-enclitic form in the psalms or a connection between *L* and *Kh*; it could have been dropped independently in *L* and *Kh*.

<i>PVL</i> 133,8	Ps. 3:3
<i>AHKhKAKTol</i> : ми	<i>Sim, Bolog, Pogod, Norov</i> } МН
	<i>Tom, Kiev, Genn, Ostr</i>
<i>LR</i> : МНѢ	<i>Chud</i> : МНѢ
	<i>Mun</i> : М superscripted and conflated with previous word
	<i>Harv, Sin6, Rdm</i> : non-extant

Explanation: The only evidence of the Russian redaction here is *Sim*. Although it might be possible to posit МНѢ in the non-extant *Harv* and *Sin6* to be in agreement with the Cyrhlic redaction as represented by *Chud*, and a subsequent change in *Sim*, it is a stretch because the Russian Redaction agrees more

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

often with the Archaic Redaction when the Archaic differs, as it does here, from the Cyrhlic.

PVL 137,1

Ps. 9:18

LRA: възвратятъ ся

Sin6, Sim, Bolog, Pogod, Tom,

HKh: възвратиша ся

Norov, Kiev, възврататъ сѧ

Genn, Ostr, Mun: възвратетъ се

Chud, Harv, Rdm: non-extant

Explanation: The reading “възвратиша ся” could be either an innovation in *HKh* of the primary reading “възвратятъ ся” in *PVLα* or a correction in *LRA* of the primary reading “възвратиша ся” in *PVLα*. I prefer the latter explanation because, if we posit “възвратятъ ся” as the primary reading, then we have no explanation for the change to “възвратиша ся” in *HKh*, but, if we posit “възвратиша ся” as the primary reading being the result of misremembering on the part of the writer, then we have secondary harmonization as an explanation for “възвратятъ ся” in *LRA*.

PVL 137,6

Ps. 51:4

LRA: въсь днь

all: въсь днь неправдѧ

HKh: ∅

Chud: non-extant

Explanation: If the reading ∅ as in *HKh* is primary, then it is not clear why the scribe of the exemplar of *LRA* corrected it only to “въсь днь” rather than “въсь днь неправду”. If the reading “въсь днь” is primary, then it is not clear why the scribe of the exemplar of *HKh* omitted it. If the reading “въсь днь неправду” is primary, then it is not clear why the scribe of the exemplar of *LRA* omitted the “неправду” and the scribe of the exemplar of *HKh* omitted the phrase “въсь днь неправду” entirely. It seems to me that the null reading of *HKh* is primary and that an incomplete correction occurred in *LRA*. Given that no clear indication of primacy is present and that no mechanical copying error would explain the null reading of *HKh*, I saw no reason to change it.

PVL 224,10

Ps. 102:10

LRH: и

Harv, Sin6, Sim, Bolog,

A: но

Pogod, Tom, Rdm, } нн

Kh: и не

Mun, Kiev, Genn, Ostr

Norov: ннже*Chud*: non-extant

Explanation: Although нн appears in 4 of the 6 redactions of the Psalter in my sample (with ннже appearing in one and another being non-extant), the reading “и” is found in 4 of the 5 copies of the *PVL* and only *A* has “но”. *Kh* adds “не” after “и”. The readings in *A* and in *Kh* can be explained as attempts to harmonize with the reading in the Psalter.

PVL 279,23*RAHKh*

съкруши главы змиевыя,
и дальсть Господь
брашно ихъ намъ

L

скруши главы змиевыя
и дальсть юси сих брашно
людем русьскимъ

Ps. 73:13

Sin6 (others)

Ты съкроушилъ (*Tom, Mun*:
съкроуши) юси (*Tom, Mun*: ∅)
главы змиюмъ (*Harv*:
змиювы; *Norov*: змиювж) въ
(*Norov, Mun*: ∅) водѣ (*Sim*:
водахъ). Ты сътълаче главу
змиювоу (*Chud*: змиювоу).
Далъ (*Sim*: ты далъ) юси
того (*Chud, Bolog, Pogod*,
Kiev: ∅; *Norov*: его) брашно
людьмъ юнопъскымъ
(*Chud*: муръскымъ)

Explanation: The reading “людем русьскимъ” in *L* most likely represents a change from “ихъ намъ” by the scribe of *L* to bring the *PVL* text more in line with the Psalter and to make specific who “we” are. If the reading “людем русьскимъ” were primary in *PVL* α , then there would be no reason for the scribes of the common exemplars of *HKh*, on one side, and *RA*, on the other, to change the reading to “ихъ намъ”, making it less specific. Therefore, “ихъ намъ” is most likely the primary reading in *PVL* α .

11. Summary of Findings

In incorporating quotations from the psalms into his text, the writers of parts of the *PVL* and its final editor/compiler drew on the Russian Redaction of the Psalter. The evidence for this is the coincidence in three cases of a reading in *PVL* α with a

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

reading in the Rus'ian Redaction as represented by three extant manuscript copies of that redaction—Sinai 6, Harvard Typ 221, and Simonov. There are no cases where a reading of *PVL* α agrees with another redaction against a reading in the Rus'ian Redaction. It is likely that whoever was citing those quotations that went into the *PVL* were quoting from memory than that they had a written Psalter before them when they wrote. Nonetheless, the coincidence of psalmic passages in the *PVL* with the Rus'ian Redaction of the Slavonic Psalter, with the exception of singular readings, is fairly exact.

We should be aware, however, of three caveats. First, we do not know if a quotation from a psalm that contains a reading different from any known Psalter is the result of an innovation/misremembering on the part of the writers and editor/compiler of the *PVL* or their use of a version of the Rus'ian Redaction not known to us. Second, we should be careful about identifying a quotation as being directly from the Psalter when it may be from a third source. And, finally, researchers need to be careful about analyzing psalmic passage readings in the *PVL* based on a Psalter that is representative of a redaction other than the Rus'ian Redaction.

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Addendum A
Index of Psalmic Passages Quoted in the *PVL*

Psalms, Chapter:Verse	<i>PVL</i> , Column,Line
2:1	101,11
2:7	100,6–100,7
2:11	120,24–120,25
3:2–3	133,7–133,9
5:10–11	76,29–77,2
7:2	133,18–133,19
9:7–8	120,29–120,30
9:18	137,1–137,2a
9:33	101,18
18:5	83,18–83,20
21:13, 17	133,16–133,17
37:3, 18	133,9–133,11
40:10	76,26–76,27
51:3–4	137,5–137,7a
54:24	77,2–77,3
67:2	101,16–101,17
73:13–14	279,23–279,24
77:65	101,16
78:10	233,6
79:15–16	124,10–11
81:5	63,9–63,10
81:8	101,14–101,15
82:14–17	233,20–233,23
85:10, 144:3–4	119,19–119,21
94:1–2	119,22–119,24
95:1–4	119,27–119,31
102:10	224,9–224,11
103:4	284,18–284,19
109:1	100,4–100,6
109:3	97,14–97,15
111:5	125,22
111:6–8	68,27–68,29
116:1	99,27–99,28
117:24	279,20–21
118:137	223,23–223,24
123:6–7	120,27–120,29
132:1	136,27–136,29
135:1	119,24–119,25
135:24	119,25–119,26
142:1–3	133,11–133,14
144:3	119,31–120,1
146:5	80,15–80,16

IDENTIFYING PSALMIC QUOTATIONS IN THE PVL

Addendum B
Index of PVL Passages with Quotations from the Psalms

<i>PVL</i> , Column,Line	Psalms, Chapter:Verse
63,9–63,10	81:5
68,27–68,29	111:6–8
76,26–76,27	40:10
76,29–77,2	5:10–11
77,2–77,3	54:24
80,15–80,16	146:5
83,18–83,20	18:5
97,14–97,15	109:3
99,27–99,28	116:1
100,4–100,6	109:1
100,6–100,7	2:7
101,11	2:1
101,14–101,15	81:8
101,16	77:65
101,16–101,17	67:2
101,18	9:33
119,19–119,21	85:10, 144:3–4
119,22–119,24	94:1–2
119,24–119,25	135:1
119,25–119,26	135:24
119,27–119,31	95:1–4
119,31–120,1	144:3
120,24–120,25	2:11
120,27–120,29	123:6–7
120,29–120,30	9:7–8
124,10–11	79:15–16
125,22	111:5
133,7–133,9	3:2–3
133,9–133,11	37:3, 18
133,11–133,14	142:1–3
133,16–133,17	21:13, 17
133,18–133,19	7:2
136,27–136,29	132:1
137,1–137,2a	9:18
137,5–137,7a	51:3–4
223,23–223,24	118:137
224,9–224,11	102:10
233,6	78:10
233,20–233,23	82:14–17
279,20–21	117:24
279,23–279,24	73:13–14
284,18–284,19	103:4

Abbreviations

- A* = Academy copy of the *PVL*
Ak = Academy copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
Bolog = Bologna (13th-century Slavonic) Psalter, facsimile published by V. Dujčev and I. Dučev
Chud = Chudov (11th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by V. A. Pogorelov.
Genn = Gennadii Bible of 1499
H = Hypatian copy of the *PVL*
Harv = Harvard (12th-century Slavonic) Psalter, MS Typ. 221 in Houghton Library, Harvard University (Ps. 23:7–Ps. 143: heading)
K = Commission copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
Kh = Khlebnikov copy of the *PVL*
Kiev = Kiev (14th-century Slavonic) Psalter, facsimile published by G. I. Vzdornov and T. V. Iurova.
L = Laurentian copy of the *PVL*
LXX = Septuagint Bible
Mun = Munich (14th-century Slavonic) Psalter, facsimile published by S. Dufrenne et al.
N1 = Novgorod I Chronicle
Norov = Norov (14th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by E. V. Cheshko et al.
Ostr = Ostrog (Ostroh) Bible of 1581
Pogod = Pogodin (13th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by V. Jagić
PVL = *Povest' vremennykh let*
PVL α = Reconstructed *paradosis* of *PVL*
R = Radziwiłł copy of the *PVL*
Rdm = Radomirov (14th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by L. Markarijoska
Sim = Simonovskaia (14th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by Amfilokhii
Sin6 = Sinai (12th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by M. Altbauer and Horace G. Lunt; supplemented with additional folia published by I. S. Tarnanides
Tol = Tolstoy copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
Tom = Tomich (14th-century Slavonic) Psalter, published by A. Džurova