

## Introduction

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The compilation of chronicle entries known as the *Pověst' vremennykh lét* (*PVL*) is a fundamental source for the historical study of the vast eastern European and Eurasian lands that now include major parts of Ukraine and Belarus, as well as extensive parts of the Russian Federation and Poland. It is certainly our single most important source for the study of the early Rus' principalities.<sup>1</sup> Containing the bulk of our written information about the area inhabited by the East Slavs from the ninth to the twelfth century, the *PVL* has been the subject of many historical, literary, and linguistic analyses.

The *PVL* may have been compiled from a number of sources initially by Sil'vestr, the hegumen of the St. Michael's Monastery in Vydubychi (Vydobichi), a village near Kyiv (Kiev), in 1116. The attribution to Sil'vestr is based on a colophon in copies of the so-called Laurentian branch of later *PVL* recensions where he declares, "I wrote down (*napisakh*) this chronicle," and asks to be remembered in his readers' prayers (286,1–286,7).<sup>2</sup> It is possible that Sil'vestr merely copied or edited an already existing complete work by the Kyiv Caves Monastery monk mentioned in the title, but it is also possible that this monk merely began the work that Sil'vestr finished. An interpolation in the title of the sixteenth-century Khlebnikov copy has led to a popular notion that Nestor was the

<sup>1</sup> For the most up-to-date introduction to the history of the early Rus' principalities, see Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200* (London, 1996), in conjunction with my constructive criticisms in "Who Were the Rus' and Why Did They Emerge?" *Palaeoslavica*, vol. 7 (1999), pp. 307–312.

<sup>2</sup> Among the first scholars to advance this view of authorship were Kostomarov and Sreznevskii. See N. I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskie monografii i issledovaniia*, 20 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1872–1889), vol. 13, pp. 4–8; and I. I. Sreznevskii, *Stat'i o drevnikh russkikh letopisiakh, 1853–1866* (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 114. For a discussion of the sources of the *PVL*, see A. A. Shakhmatov, "'Povest' vremennykh let' i ee istochniki," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoi literatury (TODRL)*, vol. 4 (1940), pp. 9–150; and Samuel Hazzard Cross, "Introduction," in *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text*, trans. and ed. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, MA, [1953]), pp. 23–30.

name of that monk and that he had completed a now-lost first redaction of the complete text.<sup>3</sup> But that interpolation is not reliable evidence since it may have been the result of a guess by the interpolator, which means we do not know the name of the monk or when he compiled his text. So the simplest explanation is that Sil'vestr used an earlier (perhaps unfinished) chronicle by an unknown monk of the Caves Monastery along with other sources to compile what we now know as the *PVL*. We do not have Sil'vestr's original text. The earliest copy dates to over 260 years later. Therefore, we have to try to reconstruct what Sil'vestr wrote on the basis of extant copies that are hundreds of years distant from its presumed date of composition.

Despite the importance of the *PVL* as a historical source, the published versions of the *PVL* that have appeared thus far either have not been based on clear and consistent principles of editing or have not always relied on sufficient textual evidence. They also contain numerous errors and normalizations in representing the manuscripts. The current edition has attempted to remedy these failings by: (1) setting forth at the beginning the principles of textual criticism according to which variants were evaluated; (2) using a stemma to help in evaluating difficult variants; (3) consulting all the chronicles and manuscript copies that testify to readings in the *PVL*; (4) utilizing computers to assist in text editing and output to minimize human error; and (5) reducing normalizations to a minimum so as to more accurately represent the orthography of the manuscripts. In this way, the present edition allows scholars to check all significant variants of any passage with relative ease and without having to have recourse to several different editions, lithographs, and photographic facsimiles of the manuscript copies, or access

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., O. V. Tvorogov, "Nestor," "Povest' vremennykh let," "Sil'vestr," in *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevnei Rusi*, 3 vols. in 6 pts., ed. D. S. Likhachev (Leningrad, 1987–), vol. 1: *XI–pervaia polovina XIV v.*, pp. 276, 337–338, 390–391. For a discussion of this passage as interpolation, see below, p. LIX. Note that, to avoid confusion, I am using designations for the manuscript copies that are standard in American Slavistics. There is, however, much to recommend the suggestion of Omeljan Pritsak that we use the name "Ostroz'kyj" to refer to the Khlebnikov codex, as well as the name "Četvertyns'kyj" to refer to the Pogodin codex. See Omeljan Pritsak, "Ipats'kyi litopys ta ioho rolia u restavratsii ukraïns'koï istorychnoï pam'iaty," and idem, "The Hypatian Chronicle and Its Role in the Restoration of Ukrainian Historical Consciousness," in *Chomu katedry ukraïnoznavstva v Harvardi? Vybir stattei na temy nashoi kul'turnoi polityky (1967–1973)* (Cambridge, MA, 1973), pp. 45–51, 55–57; as well as his introduction to *The Old Rus' Kievan and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles: The Ostroz'kyj (Xlebnikov) and Četvertyns'kyj (Pogodin) Codices*, Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature, Texts, vol. 8 (Cambridge, MA, 1990) pp. xv, xxxiii–xxxvi.

to the manuscripts themselves, or without having to depend upon the idiosyncracies of an editor who decides which readings to report, as has been the case heretofore.

### *Interlinear Collation*

The present interlinear collation includes the five main manuscript witnesses to the *PVL* (see below, p. XVIII), three published versions of the *PVL*,<sup>4</sup> the corresponding passages from the published version of the Novgorod I Chronicle,<sup>5</sup> and the corresponding passages from the Trinity Chronicle.<sup>6</sup> It also includes a paradox (that is, a proposed best reading) based on the use of a stemma, or family tree showing the genealogical relationship of the manuscript copies, and on the principles of textual criticism as developed in Western scholarship. By the term “main witness,” I mean only those copies that have independent authority to testify about the archetype. Since most copies of the *PVL* (for example, those found in the Nikon Chronicle and the Voskresenskii Chronicle) are derivative from the main witnesses, I do not include them here.<sup>7</sup> The five main witnesses of the *PVL* reported here are:

<sup>4</sup> A. F. Bychkov, ed., *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 1–274; D. S. Likhachev, ed., *Povest' vremennykh let*, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), vol. 1, pp. 9–188; and A. A. Shakhmatov, ed., *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 1: *Vvodnaia chast'. Tekst. Primechaniia* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 1–374, 395–399.

<sup>5</sup> These passages of the Novgorod I Chronicle are taken from *Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'. Starshego i mladshego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950) and are given according to the following column and line numbers of the collation: (1) 54,16–58,10; (2) 60,1–71,23; (3) 73,20–122,9; (4) 124,6–131,5; (5) 131,27–137,9; and (6) 160,26–187,25. To date, there are no lithographs or photographic facsimiles of any manuscript of the Novgorod I Chronicle. For some of the drawbacks in presenting this information from the published version but why I decided to go ahead and do so anyway, see “Principles of Transcription.”

<sup>6</sup> M. D. Priselkov, *Troitskaia letopis'. Rekonstruktsiia teksta* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 51–65, equivalent to (1) 0,1–5,11; (2) 8,4–14,10; and (3) 19,10–31,22 of this collation.

<sup>7</sup> Lur'e and Miliutenko concluded that the Pereiaslavl'-Suzdal' Chronicle derives independently from the common protograph of the Radziwiłł and Academy Chronicles. Ia. S. Lur'e, “O proiskhozhdenii Radzivilovskoi letopisi,” *Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, vol. 18 (1987), pp. 64–83; N. I. Miliutenko, “Vladimirskii velikokniazheskii svod 1205 goda (Radzivilovskaia letopis'),” *TODRL*, vol. 49 (1996), pp. 36–58. But their analyses concern the post-1116 part of the chronicle, in particular, the entries for 1157 to 1205. In checking those passages of the *PVL* that appear in the Pereiaslavl'-Suzdal' Chronicle, I did not find evidence of its having value as an independent witness for the pre-1116 section. See *Letopisets Pereiaslavlia-Suzdal'skogo, sostavlennyi v nachale XIII veka (mezhdū 1214 i 1219 godov)*, ed. N. M. Obolenskii (Moscow, 1851), pp. 1–52.

1. Laurentian (RNB, F.IV.2), dated to 1377 (*Laur*, L);<sup>8</sup>
2. Radziwiłł (BAN, 34. 5. 30), datable to the 1490s (*Radz*, R);<sup>9</sup>
3. Academy (RGB, MDA 5/182), dated to end of 15th century (*Acad*, A);<sup>10</sup>
4. Hypatian (BAN, 16. 4. 4), dated to ca. 1425 (*Hypa*, H);<sup>11</sup>
5. Khlebnikov (RNB, F.IV.230), dated to the 16th century (*Khle*, Kh).<sup>12</sup>

In addition, in a few places, I have resorted to the Pogodin Chronicle to fill in lacunae in Kh:

6. Pogodin (RNB, Pogodin 1401), dated to the early 17th century (*Pogo*, P).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See G. M. Prokhorov, “Kodikologicheskii analiz Lavrent’evskoi letopisi,” *Vspomogatel’nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, vol. 4 (1972), pp. 83–104; and Ia. S. Lur’e, “Lavrent’evskaia letopis’—svod nachala XIV v.,” *TODRL*, vol. 29 (1974), pp. 50–67. A lithograph of the text of the Laurentian Chronicle up through 1110 was published by the Imperial Archeographic Commission as *Povest’ vremennykh let po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

<sup>9</sup> See A. A. Shakhmatov, “Issledovanie o Radzivilovskoi ili Kenigsbergskoi letopisi,” in *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis’*, Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis’mennosti, vol. 118 (St. Petersburg, 1902), vol. 2, pp. 86–91; and M. V. Kukushkina, “Predislovie k izdaniiu,” in *Radzivilovskaia letopis’*, 2 vols., ed. M. V. Kukushkina, vol. 1: *Faksimil’noe vosproizvedenie rukopisi. Izdanie podgotovleno po rukopisi khраниashcheisia v Biblioteke RAN*, vol. 2: *Tekst, issledovanie, opisanie miniatur* (St. Petersburg, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 5–12. See also G. M. Prokhorov, “Radzivilovskii spisok Vladimirskoi letopisi po 6714 (1205/6) god,” in *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 269–279, which is a corrected and supplemented version of the same author’s “Radzivilovskii spisok Vladimirskoi letopisi po 1206 god i etapy vladimirskogo letopisaniia,” *TODRL*, vol. 42 (1989), pp. 53–76; and M. V. Kukushkina, “K voprosu o meste proiskhozhdeniia Radzivilovskoi letopisi v spiske XV v.,” *TODRL*, vol. 50 (1997), pp. 374–383. A black-and-white photographic facsimile of the complete chronicle (with one folio containing two miniatures in color) was published as *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis’* (cited above). Ninety-two years later a full color facsimile of the complete chronicle was published as volume 1 of *Radzivilovskaia letopis’* (cited above). A separate edition of the Radziwiłł Chronicle appeared in 1989 as volume 38 of the series *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (PSRL)*, with a preface by Ia. S. Lur’e (pp. 3–10).

<sup>10</sup> See A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), pp. 222–230; B. M. Kloss, “Predislovie k izdaniiu 1997 g.,” *PSRL*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (1997), p. J. No facsimile of the Academy Chronicle has appeared to date.

<sup>11</sup> See A. A. Shakhmatov, “Predislovie,” *PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (1908), pp. vi–viii. A lithograph of the text of the Hypatian Chronicle up through 1110 was published by the Imperial Archeographic Commission as *Povest’ vremennykh let po Ipatievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1871).

<sup>12</sup> See Shakhmatov, “Predislovie,” pp. viii–xi. A black-and-white photographic facsimile of the complete chronicle was published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in *The Old Rus’ Kievan and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles*, pp. 1–393.

<sup>13</sup> See Shakhmatov, “Predislovie,” pp. xi–xii. A black-and-white photographic facsimile of the complete chronicle was published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute in *The Old Rus’ Kievan and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles*, pp. 395–723.

The three copies of the published version of Novg. I from which readings are reported here are:

1. Commission (Kommissionyi) (*Comm*, K)
2. Academy (Akademicheskii) (*NAca*, Ak)
3. Tolstoi (Tolstovoi) (*Tols*, T)

None of the previous published editions has been based on a stemma or used the principles of Western textual criticism to determine primary readings. Although Shakhmatov and Likhachev did draw up stemmata, they did not use them for determining primacy of readings, but only to show a possible way of looking at the relationship of the copies. The refusal to use a stemma to edit the text derives both from traditional (mainly) Russian concepts of text editing and from an early twentieth-century controversy concerning what a stemma is supposed to do.

#### *Previous Editions*<sup>14</sup>

Previous editors have encountered certain problems in publishing the *PVL*. Among the most serious have been: (1) which manuscript copies to use as witnesses to the *PVL*; (2) whether to publish the *PVL* as a separate text or as part of another chronicle; (3) what principles of textual criticism to employ in editing the text; (4) which variants from other copies to put in the critical apparatus; and (5) whether to be content with a modified extant copy or to strive for a dynamic critical text. In what follows, I discuss each of these problems, suggest reasons why they have been unresolved, and propose solutions that I have incorporated into this edition.

The classicist E. J. Kenney has remarked: “The very notion of textual exactness—let alone the possibility of achieving it—is for many people a difficult one, and respect for the precise form of a text even in a literate and cultured society cannot be taken for granted: the convention must be created.”<sup>15</sup> An apt illustration of this statement is the publication history of the *PVL*. Because all manuscript copies of the *PVL* are part of larger chronicle compilations, we find the earliest

<sup>14</sup> Earlier versions of the following sections appeared in my “Principles of Editing the *Povest' vremennykh let*,” *Palaeoslavica*, vol. 7 (1999), pp. 5–25, which the journal’s editor, Alexander B. Strakhov, has allowed me to include here; and in my “Textual Criticism and the *Povest' vremennykh let*: Some Theoretical Considerations,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 5 (1981), pp. 11–31.

<sup>15</sup> E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text: Aspects of Editing in the Age of the Printed Book* (Berkeley, 1974), pp. 23–24.

publications of what we are calling the *PVL* to be part of the publications of those larger compilations. The first attempt to publish the *PVL* was in 1767 as part of an incomplete edition of the Radziwiłł Chronicle.<sup>16</sup> Two other attempts (in 1804 and 1812) to publish a chronicle containing the *PVL* were abandoned before completion.<sup>17</sup> In 1846, Ia. I. Berednikov prepared the Laurentian Chronicle for volume one of the *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (PSRL)*.<sup>18</sup> Berednikov divided the text between the “Nestor Chronicle” (through 1110) and the Continuation of the Laurentian Chronicle (after 1110). He freely altered his copy text, the Laurentian copy, from each of the control texts—that is, the Radziwiłł, Academy, Hypatian, and Khlebnikov copies. Yet he presented no principles for correcting the copy text according to the control texts,<sup>19</sup> and the resultant edition is a jumble that besides being difficult to disentangle also contains many errors.

In 1864, Ivan Vahylevych published his text of the *PVL*, which he titled the “Chronicle of Nestor” (*Latopis Nestora*).<sup>20</sup> In contrast to Berednikov, Vahylevych brought the text of the *PVL* up through 1113, thus following the Hypatian line. But like Berednikov, Vahylevych created a composite text without providing the principles for his editorial decisions. He reported readings sparsely and not in any systematic way from L, R, H, Kh, the Pereiaslavl'-Suzdal' Chronicle as well as a few cases from what was known of the Trinity Chronicle.

Subsequently, S. N. Palauzov prepared an edition of H in 1871 with Kh and the Pogodin copy (P) as control texts.<sup>21</sup> In conjunction with Palauzov's edition,

<sup>16</sup> *Biblioteka Rossiiskaia istoricheskaiia, sodержashchaia drevniia letopisi, i vsiakiia zapiski, sposobstvuiushchiia k ob'iasneniiu istorii i geografii Rossiiskoi drevnikh i srednikh vremen*, pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1767).

<sup>17</sup> See R. P. Dmitrieva, comp., *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), p. 7, no. 12; p. 16, no. 61, and p. 26, no. 133; M. D. Priselkov, *Troitskaia letopis'. Rekonstruktsiia teksta* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), pp. 11–14.

<sup>18</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 1, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg, 1846). Berednikov, who prepared the first edition of volume 2 of the *PSRL* (the Hypatian Chronicle), typically chose to begin the Hypatian with the entry for 1111, that is, with the part that does not coincide with the Laurentian Chronicle. *PSRL*, vol. 2, 1st ed. (St. Petersburg, 1843).

<sup>19</sup> Note: A *copy text* is the text of the MS copy on which an edition is based. The *control texts* are the MS copies that an editor uses to edit the copy text. Readings from the control texts are usually listed in the critical apparatus as variants. An edited copy text plus critical apparatus constitute a *critical edition*.

<sup>20</sup> Ivan Vahylevych, “Latopis Nestora,” in *Monumenta Poloniae historica. Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, 6 vols., ed. August Bielowski (Kraków, 1864–1893), vol. 1, pp. 521–946.

<sup>21</sup> S. N. Palauzov, ed., *Letopis' po Ipatskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1871).

A. F. Bychkov prepared an edition of L in 1872 with A and R as control texts.<sup>22</sup> Both Palauzov and Bychkov published continuous texts without division into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts. Neither editor described his principles for altering the respective copy texts, and neither edition is reliable in reporting variants.

In 1871 and 1872, the publication of lithographic versions of the *PVL* portion of H and L, respectively, gave rise to another approach: the publication of the *PVL* as a separate text, rather than as part of another chronicle.<sup>23</sup> As Berednikov did before them, the editors ended the text at 1110 because it was the last entry before the colophon of 1116 in the Laurentian copy. The lithographic versions, however, did not require editing, except for deciding where the *PVL* text ends. Significantly the titles of both publications showed they each claimed to represent the *PVL*.

The approach of treating the *PVL* as a separate text was further developed by L. I. Leibovich in 1876 as well as by A. A. Shakhmatov in 1916. Both editors attempted to publish composite versions of the *PVL* based on all the earliest witnesses,<sup>24</sup> and they adopted readings freely from both the Laurentian and the Hypatian lines. Although Shakhmatov sometimes presented confusing and contradictory information about the interrelation of the early copies and their relationship to the archetype, his reconstruction of the *PVL* has been the most successful one published thus far. Leibovich's attempt, on the other hand, we can classify as a spectacular failure. Not only did he exclude from his text information about matters he did not consider part of "Russian history," but he also gave preference to passages from markedly late chronicles, such as the Nikon, because he believed that somehow this information had been dropped from intermediate codices and preserved only in later ones. Therefore, while I included Shakhmatov's version in the present interlinear collation, I decided not to include Leibovich's version because it provides no insight into what the original text might have been.

In 1926 the Belarusian linguist E. F. Karskii prepared a second edition of volume one (the Laurentian Chronicle) for the *PSRL*.<sup>25</sup> Karskii maintained

<sup>22</sup> A. F. Bychkov, ed., *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

<sup>23</sup> *Povest' vremennykh let po Ipatskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1871); *Povest' vremennykh let po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (St. Petersburg, 1872).

<sup>24</sup> L. I. Leibovich, *Svodnaia letopis', sostavlennaia po vsem izdannym spiskam letopisi*, vol. 1: *Povest' vremennykh let* (St. Petersburg, 1876); A. A. Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, vol. 1: *Vvodnaia chast'. Tekst. Primechaniia* (Petrograd, 1916).

<sup>25</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1926). Priselkov and Valk criticized Karskii's edition for being difficult to use because he did not expand abbreviations, modernize punctuation, or provide contemporary typeface. (M. D. Priselkov, "Istoriia rukopisi Lavrent'evskoi letopisi i ee izdaniia,"

Berednikov's division of the text into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts. Since he was publishing L rather than the *PVL* per se, Karskii decided to follow Bychkov's policy and limit his control texts to A and R—that is, to those copies he thought stood closest to L. But this division created an ambiguity in what best attested to the *PVL*. It could be interpreted that L, R, and A (which represented the Laurentian line) were the true witnesses to the *PVL*, whereas the copies of the Hypatian line were not. This interpretation may have influenced Shakhmatov in his decision, in publishing the second edition of volume two of the *PSRL* in 1908, to follow the procedure of Palauzov and *not* to divide the text of H into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts.<sup>26</sup> Also, at the time, Shakhmatov was of the opinion that the Hypatian line represented a derivative redaction, inferior to that of the Laurentian line. Later (by 1916) he seems to have revised this opinion, at least in practice, since he then accepted the Hypatian line as having independent value in assessing the readings of the *PVL* archetype.

In 1950, D. S. Likhachev published a new edition of the *PVL*.<sup>27</sup> Because of his belief that the two attempts to compile a usable composite version had failed and because of his distrust of “mechanistic textology,”<sup>28</sup> Likhachev adopted the procedure of Bychkov and Karskii—that is, he used L as the copy text and altered it according to the control texts A and R. Likhachev's published text is very close to Bychkov's version published in 1872. For example, in the entries for the year 1093, Bychkov made 85 alterations in the copy text (and suggested three others). Of these, 70 were based on A and R, 12 were conjectures, and only 3 were based on H. Likhachev accepted 71 of Bychkov's 85 alterations, incorporated 1 of

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*Uchenye zapiski Gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo instituta im. A. I. Gertsena*, vol. 19 [1939], p. 183; S. N. Valk, *Sovetskaia arkheografiia* [Moscow and Leningrad, 1948], pp. 135–137.) This criticism is unjustified, since even those who have not worked with manuscripts should have little trouble in learning to read Karskii's text. Valk also objected to Karskii's choice of control texts (A and R), because the Simeonov Chronicle, e.g., is closer to L than either A or R is. This objection of Valk's may be valid, but it is not relevant for our purposes, because the Simeonov Chronicle does not contain a version of the *PVL*. It begins with the entry for 1177. *PSRL*, vol. 18, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *PSRL*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908).

<sup>27</sup> *Povest' vremennykh let*, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950) (hereafter *PVL* 1950). In 1978, O. V. Tvorogov reprinted Likhachev's text, without the superscript numerals indicating variants, in *Pamiatniki literatury drevnei Rusi. Nachalo russkoi literatury XI–nachalo XII veka* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 22–276.

<sup>28</sup> See the chapter entitled “Krizis literaturovedcheskoi mekhanicheskoi tekstologii,” in D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiya. Na materiale russkoi literatury X–XVII vv.*, 1st ed. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962), pp. 6–20; 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1983), pp. 8–24.



Bychkov's 3 suggestions, and added only 1 of his own. Likhachev used A and R for 61 alterations, 7 were unattested, and 5 were based on H. By comparison, Karskii accepted only 34 of Bychkov's alterations and added none of his own. Of these alterations, 33 were based on A and R, while only 1 was based on H. These figures not only suggest a close connection between Bychkov's and Likhachev's texts but also show that Likhachev gave priority to A and R over H as a basis for modifying the copy text L.

The many efforts during a period of more than 200 years to publish the *PVL* have not succeeded in producing a single reliable edition that reports all the significant variants. E. F. Karskii's 1926 publication of volume one of the *PSRL*, for example, is generally regarded as the best edition of the Laurentian Chronicle, yet Ludolf Müller's *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik* points out thousands of readings (many of them significant) in the three witnesses Karskii used that were either not reported or reported incorrectly.<sup>29</sup> In fact, it is not clear on what basis variants were included or excluded in previous editions. It was necessary at times to go back to the manuscripts to obtain reliable textual evidence. Although the photographic reproduction of the Radziwiłł copy has been available since 1902, there was no separate publication or photographic reproduction of the Khlebnikov or Pogodin chronicles until the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard University published a facsimile edition of these codices in 1990. And one of the main witnesses, the Academy copy, still has no separate publication or photographic reproduction available. Until now, its readings appear only in lists of variants.

The first problem in publishing a satisfactory edition is the question of which manuscripts to use to determine the *PVL*. The titles of the various publications reflect the shifting positions on this question. Before 1871, the term "*Povest' vremennykh let*" was not used in any title. The 1846 edition of L used "Nestor Chronicle" to designate the *PVL* section of the text. In 1871, a lithograph of H was published under the title *Povest' vremennykh let po Ipatskomu spisku*. In 1876, Leibovich's composite version of the *PVL* used both H and L as witnesses, and was titled, simply, *Svodnaia letopis'*. In 1908, Shakhmatov published the text of H without the designation "*Povest' vremennykh let*," although he made free use of the Hypatian line in his reconstructed version of the *PVL* in 1916. In publishing his text a decade later, Karskii decided to accept Berednikov's division of the

<sup>29</sup> See *Handbuch zur Nestorchronik*, ed. Ludolf Müller, Forum Slavicum, vol. 49 (Munich, 1977); and my review in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 5 (1981), pp. 270–271.

text of L into *PVL* and non-*PVL* parts, rather than Bychkov's continuous-text policy. The result was that the Laurentian line appeared to represent the *PVL* whereas the Hypatian line did not. By 1950, Likhachev did not even represent the Hypatian line in his diagram showing the relations between the compilations that include the *PVL*.<sup>30</sup> In short, Likhachev merged the idea of publishing the *PVL* as a separate text, as Leibovich and Shakhmatov had done, with the method of publishing it as part of the Laurentian Chronicle, as Bychkov and Karskii had done. Since H and Kh have independent authority concerning readings in the *PVL*, ignoring them is not justified.

### *Use of a Stemma*

Another problem in publishing an adequate edition of the *PVL* is to determine the principles of textual criticism for editing a text. Here we can profitably make use of theory developed from the publication of ancient Greek and Latin texts, as well as Western medieval texts. The following discussion of fundamental principles may appear elementary to those who work with such texts, but it is exactly these principles that previous *PVL* editors have chosen not to use. The first stage of textual criticism is gathering the copies and grouping them. The *PVL* falls into two groups or families—the Laurentian and Hypatian. But can we establish a more definite relationship among the copies? That is, can we establish and use a stemma?

A stemma is a graphic representation of the relation of the extant copies to one another and of their hypothetical genealogical relationship to the archetype or author's original. The first stemma, as such, appeared in 1831.<sup>31</sup> The idea is inextricably linked, however, with the publication by Karl Lachmann of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* in 1850.<sup>32</sup> Although Lachmann did not actually draw a stemma, he described the principles of the genealogical method so clearly that he seemed to have resolved all the fundamental problems of textual criticism.

<sup>30</sup> "Skhema vzaimootnosheniia osnovnykh letopisnykh svodov, vkluchivshikh v svoi sostav 'Povest' vremennykh let,'" *PVL*, 1950, vol. 2, following p. 554. Likhachev's preference for the term *skhema* may be an attempt to distinguish between a stemma, which may be used to determine primacy of readings, and his diagram, which he does not use in this way.

<sup>31</sup> Karl Gottlob Zumpt, "Prooemium," in *M. Tullii Ciceronis Verrinarum libri septem* (Berlin, 1831), p. xxxviii, fn. \*.

<sup>32</sup> Karl Lachmann, "Commentarius," in *T. Lucretii Cari De rerum natura* (Berlin, 1850), pp. 3–15.

The basic idea of the genealogical method is that common errors or corrections that could not have been arrived at independently have a common source. Or as James Willis describes it, “if two people are found shot dead in the same house at the same time, it is indeed possible that they have been shot by different persons for different reasons, but it would be foolish to make that our initial assumption.”<sup>33</sup> The expectation is that mistakes are passed on to other manuscripts from the one in which the mistake first appeared—that is, copyists tended to add mistakes of their own rather than to correct previous mistakes. In general, this expectation was justified, for most copyists were not well educated. Also, their mistakes tend to be mechanical and easy to figure out. A. C. Clark praised such scribes: “In a copyist there is no more blessed quality than ignorance, and it is a commonplace, rather than a paradox, to say that the best manuscripts are those written by the most ignorant scribes.”<sup>34</sup>

The fly in the ointment, however, was the copyist who was not ignorant. He would freely make conjectures and, what is worse for the stemma, he would compare two or more manuscripts and select randomly from each. This comparison, now called contamination or confluence, occurred frequently enough to shake confidence in the genealogical method. A. E. Housman, for example, eschewed the use of a stemma in his edition of Juvenal’s *Satires*: “Authors like Juvenal, read and copied and quoted both in antiquity and in the middle ages, have no strictly separated families of MSS. Lections are bandied to and fro from one copy to another, and all the streams of tradition are united by canals.”<sup>35</sup> Then a few years later, it appeared that the death blow for the concept of the stemma was struck by a critic of medieval French texts, Joseph Bédier. Bédier pointed out that almost all the stemmata he examined had only two branches. His argument ran:

<sup>33</sup> James Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism* (Chicago, 1972), p. 14. Quentin improved upon the concept of common error by pointing out that “error” carries the implication of not having occurred in the archetype. Since archetypes are as prone to errors as anything else, one should probably use a neutral term, such as “common reading.” See Dom Henri Quentin, *Mémoire sur l’établissement du texte de la Vulgate*, *Collectanea Biblica Latina*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1922), p. 231; and idem, *Essais de critique textuelle* (Paris, 1926), p. 37.

<sup>34</sup> A. C. Clark, *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1914), p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> A. E. Housman, *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae* (London, 1905), p. xxiv. Housman was not, however, opposed to the use of a stemma where applicable; see, e.g., A. E. Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicum*, bk. 2 (London, 1912), p. xxxii (a fuller explanation appears in the smaller edition: London, 1932, p. ix).

It is natural that time, which has respected 116 copies derived from the two copies w and z of the *Roman de la Rose*, should have maliciously destroyed all those that might have derived from a third copy; and it is natural also that the same accident should have repeated itself, in similar fashion, for the *Roman de Troie*; but that it should have repeated itself, in similar fashion . . . for all the romances of all the romancers, and for all the chroniclers, and for all the moral tracts of all the moralists, and for all the collections of fables by all the fabulists, and for all the songs of all the song writers: there lies the marvel. One bipartite tree is in no way strange, but a grove of bipartite trees, a wood, a forest?<sup>36</sup>

Subsequent scholars attempted to defend this “law of bipartition” mathematically. For example, Paul Maas argued that of the twenty-two ways in which three texts could be arranged in relation to one another, only one involves a three-branch stemma.<sup>37</sup> Frederick Whitehead and Cedric E. Pickford published an article using the formula  $\frac{(a+b+c)^n}{\Sigma^n}$  in which “a + b + c” represents the total number of members of a family of manuscripts,  $\Sigma$  represents the total number of manuscripts in all families, and n the number of extant manuscripts. The formula shows that a two-branch stemma is more likely to occur than a three-branch stemma.<sup>38</sup> These

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Bédier, “La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l’Ombre*: Réflexions sur l’art d’éditer les anciens textes,” *Romania*, vol. 54 (1928), p. 172. In this article Bédier refers to 220 manuscripts of the *Roman de la Rose* that Langlois classified. But in a subsequent separate publication of the article, the number “deux cent vingt” has been changed to “cent seize.” Joseph Bédier, *La tradition manuscrite du Lai de L’Ombre: Réflexions sur l’art d’éditer les anciens textes* (Paris, 1929), p. 12. Although Langlois described over 200 manuscripts for the *Roman de la Rose*, he seems to have cataloged the readings from only 116 of them. Ernest Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: Description et classement*, Travaux et mémoires de l’Université de Lille, n.s. 7 (Lille and Paris, 1910), pp. 2, 238–239. For Bédier’s earlier presentation of his reasoning about stemmata, see Joseph Bédier, *Le Lai de l’Ombre par Jean Renart* (Paris, 1913), pp. xxiii–xlv.

<sup>37</sup> Paul Maas, “Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. 37 (1937), pp. 289–294. The article was reproduced in subsequent editions of his *Textkritik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1950), pp. 27–31; 3rd ed. (1957), pp. 27–31; 4th ed. (1960), pp. 26–30; and in Barbara Flower’s English translation, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 42–49.

<sup>38</sup> F[rederick] Whitehead and C[edric] E. Pickford, “The Two-Branch Stemma,” *Bulletin bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne*, vol. 3 (1951), pp. 83–90. See Edward B. Ham’s critical dissection of their method in “Textual Criticism and Common Sense,” *Romance Philology*, vol. 13 (1959), pp. 207–209. Whitehead and Pickford subsequently restated their argument, without directly responding to Ham’s criticism. See Frederick Whitehead and Cedric E. Pickford, “The Introduction to the *Lai de l’Ombre*: Sixty Years Later,” *Romania*, vol. 94 (1973), pp. 145–156; reprinted as “The Introduction to the *Lai de l’Ombre*: Half a Century Later,” in *Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism*, ed. Christopher Kleinhenz, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, vol. 173, Essays; Texts, Textual Studies and Translations; Symposia, no. 4 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1976), pp. 103–116 (hereafter *Medieval Manuscripts*).

“proofs,” however, succeeded only in telling text critics what they already knew, not in explaining why the archetype or original of almost every text appears to have been copied only twice. Clearly, to accept this nonsensical proposition was impossible. Textual criticism went into a period of crisis, so that by 1939 the medievalist Eugène Vinaver wrote:

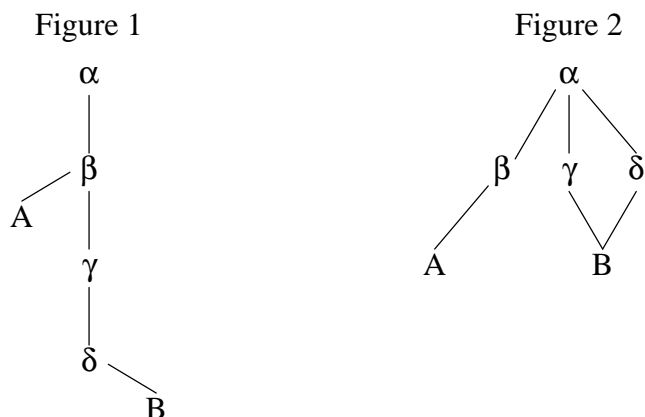
Recent studies of textual criticism mark the end of an age-long tradition. The ingenious technique of editing evolved by the great masters of the nineteenth century has become obsolete as Newton’s physics, and the work of generations of critics has lost a good deal of its value. It is no longer possible to classify MSS on the basis of “common errors”; genealogical “stemmata” have fallen into discredit, and with them has vanished our faith in composite critical texts.<sup>39</sup>

But no new method came to the fore. The critic was supposed to choose the “best” copy and edit it eclectically from other copies, an approach the biblical scholar E. K. Rand referred to as “a method of despair.”<sup>40</sup>

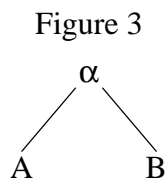
The use of stemmata never fully died out because the stemma worked in many cases, even without adequate theoretical explanation for why it almost always had only two branches. Nonetheless, there may be a fairly simple explanation at hand. The prevalence of the two-branch stemma may lie in the fact that a stemma is a hypothetical construct. We know that the extant manuscripts of a given text are real, and we know that in most cases there must have been an author’s original (holograph) or archetype. Between the archetype and extant copies we have only hypotheses and lost copies. But we should not confuse a hypothesis with a lost copy. In other words, the Greek sigla of a stemma do not necessarily represent lost copies, but instead may represent hypothetical stages in the transmission of the main text. In order to “locate” a reading in any hypothetical stage, we can use the method of triangulation, which requires readings from only two copies or branches. For example, given that figure 1 and figure 2 represent the reality of transmission for two different texts,

<sup>39</sup> Eugène Vinaver, “Principles of Textual Emendation,” in *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature* (Manchester, 1939), p. 351 (reprinted in *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 139–159). Without overdrawing the parallel, I think it not inappropriate to point out that this reaction against the standard nineteenth-century method matches attitudes of pessimism, disillusionment, and revolt apparent in post–World War I literature, music, philosophy, art, chess, and other manifestations of high culture.

<sup>40</sup> E. K. Rand, “Dom Quentin’s Memoir on the Text of the Vulgate,” *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 17 (1924), p. 204.



the text critic represents their relationship hypothetically with figure 3, unless he or she has some good reason to propose an intervening stage.



Both A and B have independent authority for  $\alpha$  no matter how many stages intervene.<sup>41</sup> Ockham's razor applies here.

A stemma will work in cases where the transmission is closed or vertical, that is, where little or no confluence occurs among the copies. It will also work when the transmission is open, so long as the contamination is not great. It will not work when the transmission is horizontal or wild,<sup>42</sup> that is, where "all the streams of tradition are united by canals," as in the case of Juvenal's *Satires* (men-

<sup>41</sup> When I first made this suggestion in 1981, I thought it was an original and different explanation. Since then, I have discovered that Jean Fourquet had preempted me by some 35 years in proposing the same explanation in 1946. See his "Le paradoxe de Bédier," in *Mélanges 1945*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946), vol. 2: *Études littéraires*, esp. pp. 4–9. Whitehead and Pickford dismissed Fourquet's suggestion as "appeal[ing] to uninstructed common sense" and criticized him for constructing a diagram that illustrated the point he was trying to make. Whitehead and Pickford, "The Introduction to the *Lai de l'ombre*," pp. 105–106.

<sup>42</sup> For a general discussion of open and closed transmissions, see R. Pop [Richard Pope], "Nekotorye mysli po povodu izdaniia srednevekovykh slavianskikh tekstov," *TODRL*, vol. 50 (1997), pp. 242–251.

tioned above), the plays of Aeschylus,<sup>43</sup> the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius,<sup>44</sup> or Claudius Claudianus' *De Raptu Proserpinae*.<sup>45</sup> Otherwise, it will work as a tool if properly handled. A stemma is no substitute for thought. We set up a stemma on the basis of those significant readings of manuscripts that show clear primacy. In other words, we construct a stemma to demonstrate graphically the relationship of copies based on easily perceived primary and secondary readings. Then it can be used to help determine the better reading in instances where primacy is not so clear. This example is from the entry for 1093 (218,20–218,24):

RAHKh	L
He said, "I have about <i>eight hundred</i> of my men who can stand against them." . . . But the thoughtful ones spoke: "Even if you had eight thousand [RA: 800], it would not be enough."	He said, "I have about <i>seven hundred</i> of my men who can stand against them." . . . But the thoughtful ones spoke: "Even if you had eight thousand, it would not be enough."

From the sense of the passage it is clear that "eight hundred . . . eight thousand" is the preferred reading (unless the Rus' had a different sense of parallel construction) and that the copyist of L wrote *sem'sot'* instead of *osm'sot'* (or *vosm'sot'*) because of a mishearing in either external or internal dictation.<sup>46</sup>

As soon as these significant readings yield a pattern, we begin to construct a stemma. We soon discover that L is an unreliable copy not to be trusted, especially in regard to discrete or singular readings (*lectiones singulares*). Although it is possible to construct scenarios whereby the singular reading may have been in the archetype, such imaginative constructs are usually complex, convoluted, and highly unlikely, and must give way in each case to the simpler explanation. It is notable that Bychkov, Karskii, and Likhachev all persisted in maintaining the inferior "700," apparently for the sole reason that L has it. W. W. Greg calls such

<sup>43</sup> R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge, 1964), especially pp. 1–14.

<sup>44</sup> Edward Schwartz, "Einleitung zum griechischen Text," in *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 2: *Die Kirchengeschichte*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, vol. 9, pt. 3 (Leipzig, 1909), pp. cxliv–cxlvi.

<sup>45</sup> J. B. Hall, "Introduction," to Claudius Claudianus, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, ed. J. B. Hall (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 62–63; Claire Gruzelier, "Introduction," to *Claudian De Raptu Proserpinae*, ed. and trans. Claire Gruzelier (Oxford, 1993), pp. xxix–xxx.

<sup>46</sup> Ihor Ševčenko has suggested a damaged manuscript might also explain the corruption—i.e., [о]сѣмьсотъ → сѣмьсотъ. This is possible if the copyist of the exemplar had written the number out, осѣмьсѣтъ, instead of providing a letter designation, e.g., ѿ as in AR or ѣ сот as in H.

bias “the tyranny of the copy-text.”<sup>47</sup> Many examples of this tyranny can be found in the editing of both classical and medieval texts.

In the chronicle entry for 1093, Likhachev chose to change the copy text according to A and R 61 times. We find that H and Kh are in agreement with 34 of these changes. That is, Likhachev changed L 34 times when it has a *lectio singularis*. The entry for 1093 has at least 93 other instances where the reading of L is a *lectio singularis*—that is, where all the other main witnesses are in agreement against it—but Likhachev did not change the copy text. On what basis could he alter L 34 times when a certain situation exists, but not 93 other times when that same situation arises? The most likely explanation is that he gives greater weight to L than to all other copies combined. It is significant that Likhachev learned textual criticism during the time when Bédier’s ideas of despair had their greatest popularity in the West. This helps to explain his unwillingness to use a stemma to edit the text. Since the transmission of the *PVL* is essentially a closed one, however, a stemma should be applicable for editorial purposes.

#### *Proposed Stemmata of the PVL*

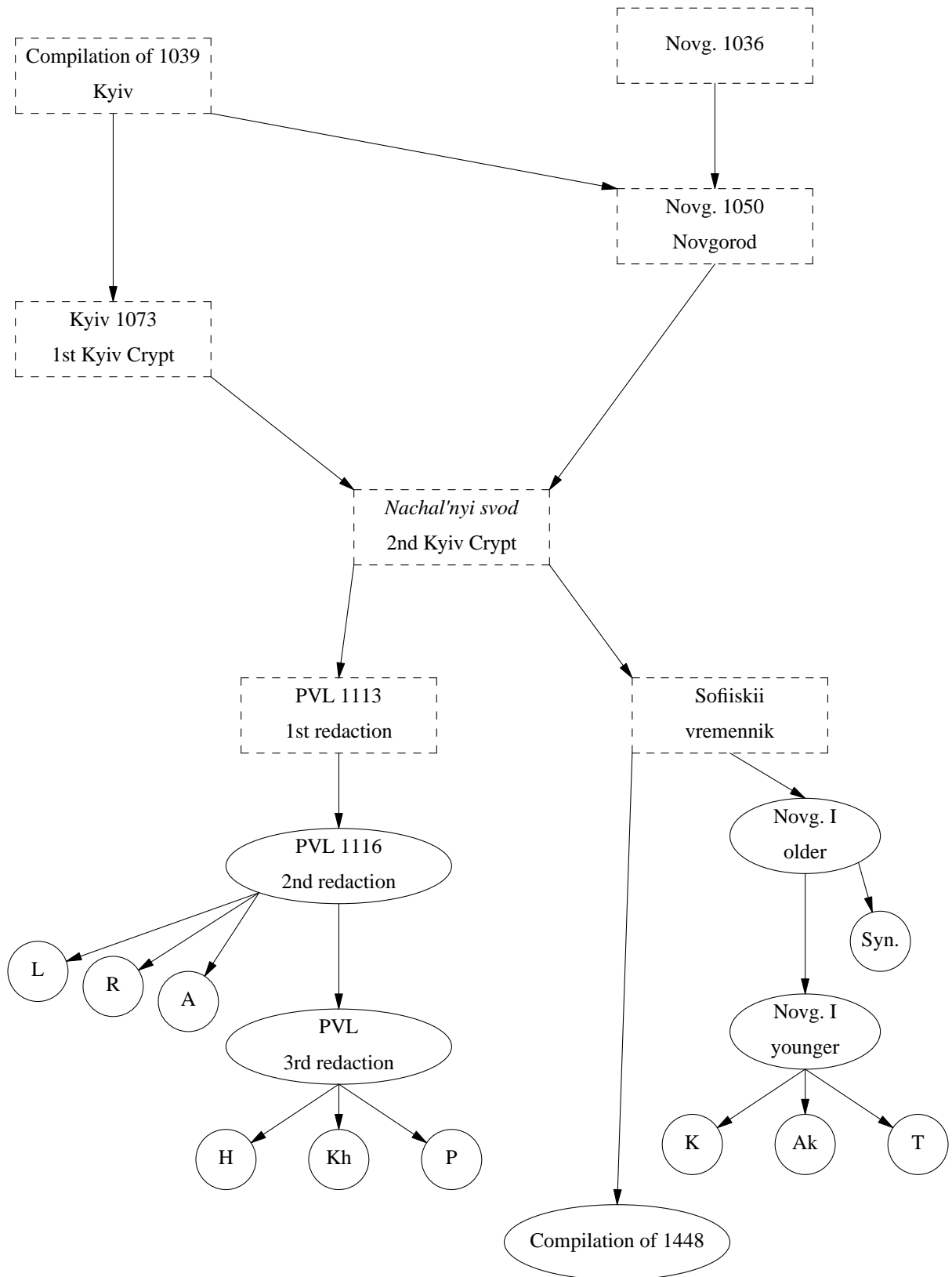
A number of stemmata have been proposed to show the relationship of the copies of the *PVL* and other chronicles testifying to the *PVL*. A. A. Shakhmatov proposed the following stemma (fig. 4) in which he hypothesized three redactions of the *PVL*.<sup>48</sup> For him, none of the extant manuscripts testifies to the first redaction. He then prioritized the readings of LRA, on the one hand, and HKhP on the other. Thus, L, R, and A, although they have elements of third-redaction material in them, in general testify to a second redaction closer to the text of the first redaction than the third redaction that H, Kh, and P testify to. As a result, if one were to use Shakhmatov’s stemma, one would prefer the common readings of LRA to the common readings of HKhP, when they differ from the former. In his compilative edition of the *PVL* published in 1916, Shakhmatov did not, however, always

<sup>47</sup> W. W. Greg, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” *Studies in Bibliography*, vol. 3 (1950–1951), p. 26; reprinted in *Bibliography and Textual Criticism: English and American Literature, 1700 to the Present*, ed. O. M. Brack, Jr., and Warner Barnes (Chicago, 1969), pp. 41–58.

<sup>48</sup> In an earlier version of this stemma, Shakhmatov postulated only two redactions, the first from 1116 and the second from 1118. A. A. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniia o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (St. Petersburg, 1908), insert following p. 536.



Figure 4. Shakhmatov's Stemma



give particular preference to LRA over HKhP, choosing instead to decide readings on their individual merits. In addition, he identified passages in LRA that he thought belonged to the third redaction,<sup>49</sup> so the equating of the second redaction with LRA and the third redaction with HKhP was not so clear a distinction in his editing of the text as it appears in his stemma.

Another significant aspect of Shakhmatov's stemma is that it shows the extant copies of the Novgorod I Chronicle (Novg. I) and the Compilation (*Svod*) of 1448 ultimately deriving from what he termed the *Nachal'nyi svod* (lit., "Beginning Compilation"). Shakhmatov hoped that, by comparing the readings of Novg. I and the Compilation of 1448, he could determine the readings in the lost source text for the *PVL*.<sup>50</sup> Such a determination would allow him to approach the readings in the *PVL* not only on the basis of the extant copies of later redactions of the *PVL* but also on the basis of copies that testify to a pre-existing text. That way, when he found a disagreement among the copies of the *PVL*, he could use the readings of the *Nachal'nyi svod* as a touchstone to determine which reading was the primary one. This hope that Novg. I could give us access to the *Nachal'nyi svod*, which in turn would tell us the primary readings in the *PVL*, was one of the reasons Shakhmatov called the relationship between the *PVL* and the Novg. I Chronicle "the most important question of our historiography." In practice, his edition of the *PVL* rarely adopts a reading according to Novg. I or the Compilation of 1448, because the relationship of Novg. I to the *PVL* is more complex than Shakhmatov had hoped. The undeniable fact is that Novg. I contains a number of readings that are secondary in relationship to, and apparently derivative from, the *PVL* itself. Other readings of Novg. I may go back to a source text of the *PVL*, but these readings have to be determined individually on their merits. In brief, Novg. I does not provide the shortcut, or quick and sure determination of primary

<sup>49</sup> Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, p. 330 (K283,3–K283,4); p. 331 (K284,2); and p. 333 (K284,15–K285,7).

<sup>50</sup> Shakhmatov later backdated the Compilation of 1448 to the 1430s on the basis of a personal letter from A. V. Markov. A. A. Shakhmatov, "Kievskii Nachal'nyi svod 1095 g.," in A. A. Shakhmatov 1864–1920. *Sbornik statei i materialov*, ed. S. P. Obnorskii, *Trudy Komissii po istorii Akademii nauk SSSR*, vyp. 3 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), p. 135. Lur'e, after many years of accepting the 1448 date for the common protograph of the Novgorod IV and Simeonov Chronicles, in the end also backdated it to the 1430s. Ia. S. Lur'e, *Dve istorii Rusi 15 veka. Rannie i pozdnie, nezavisimye i ofitsial'nye letopisi ob obrazovanii Moskovskogo gosudarstva* (St. Petersburg, 1994), p. 113. My thanks to Charles Halperin for bringing Lur'e's change of view to my attention.

readings, that Shakhmatov initially hypothesized for it, although it still has value in helping to establish what some of those primary readings might be.<sup>51</sup>

S. A. Bugoslavskii (S. O. Buhoslavs'kyi) proposed another stemma (see fig. 5), and, in keeping with the principles he described in his manual, edited the text of the *PVL* according to this stemma. His edition of the *PVL* has not been published.<sup>52</sup> Bugoslavskii provided some of his results in an article he published in 1941.<sup>53</sup> His stemma does not prioritize the testimony of LRA in relation to the testimony of HKhP. What Bugoslavskii determined was that, although the archetype of HKhP (Shakhmatov's third redaction) contained a number of changes, these changes were made not from the archetype of LRA (Shakhmatov's second redaction) but more or less directly from the archetype of the *PVL*. Thus, HKhP carried equal weight with LRA in testifying to readings of the *PVL* in the uninterpolated passages. In addition, Bugoslavskii determined that the readings of the Novgorod branch and the Sofiia I Chronicle (Sof. I) do not derive from a source text of the *PVL* but from the same branch that H, Kh, and P do. This means that, barring contamination, a reading from Novg. I can be used to support a disagreement of LRA with HKhP but not vice versa. Thus, when LRA = Novg. I ≠ HKhP, then we can accept the reading of LRA because the disagreement of HKhP with the others could have occurred in the common exemplar of HKhP alone. When, however, HKhP = Novg. I ≠ LRA, then we cannot, as a matter of course, accept the reading of HKhP because that agreement could derive from the proto-graph of HKhP and Novg. I, and not necessarily be representative of the *PVL*.

<sup>51</sup> S. V. Alekseev has been trying to revive the notion that the Novgorod Chronicle provides direct evidence of a pre-*PVL* recension. *Nachal'naia letopis'*, ed. and trans. S. V. Alekseev (Moscow, 1999), pp. 5–7.

<sup>52</sup> See N. K. Gudzii, "S. A. Bugoslavskii (Nekrolog)," *TODRL*, vol. 6 (1947), p. 411. Bugoslavskii's edition was supposed to be published by Uchpedgiz. For decades the whereabouts of the typescript was unknown. Yuri Artamonov has recently located it in IMLI im. A. M. Gor'kogo RAN (f. 573, op. 1).

<sup>53</sup> Sergei Bugoslavskii, "‘Povest’ vremennykh let’ (Spiski, redaktsii, pervonachal'nyi tekst)," *Starinnaia russkaia povest'. Stat'i i issledovaniia*, ed. N. K. Gudzii (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941), pp. 7–37 (his stemma appears on p. 34). Later, Müller drew up a slightly different stemma. See Ludolf Müller, "Die 'dritte Redaktion' der sogenannten Nestorchronik," in *Festschrift für Margarete Woltner zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Brang et al. (Heidelberg, 1967), p. 185. A simpler version of this stemma appeared in Müller, *Handbuch*, vol. 2, p. iv. In a review of the *Handbuch*, J. L. I. Fennell stated this stemma could be used to determine "primacy of readings" (*Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 57 [1979], p. 124).

Figure 5. Bugoslavskii's Stemma

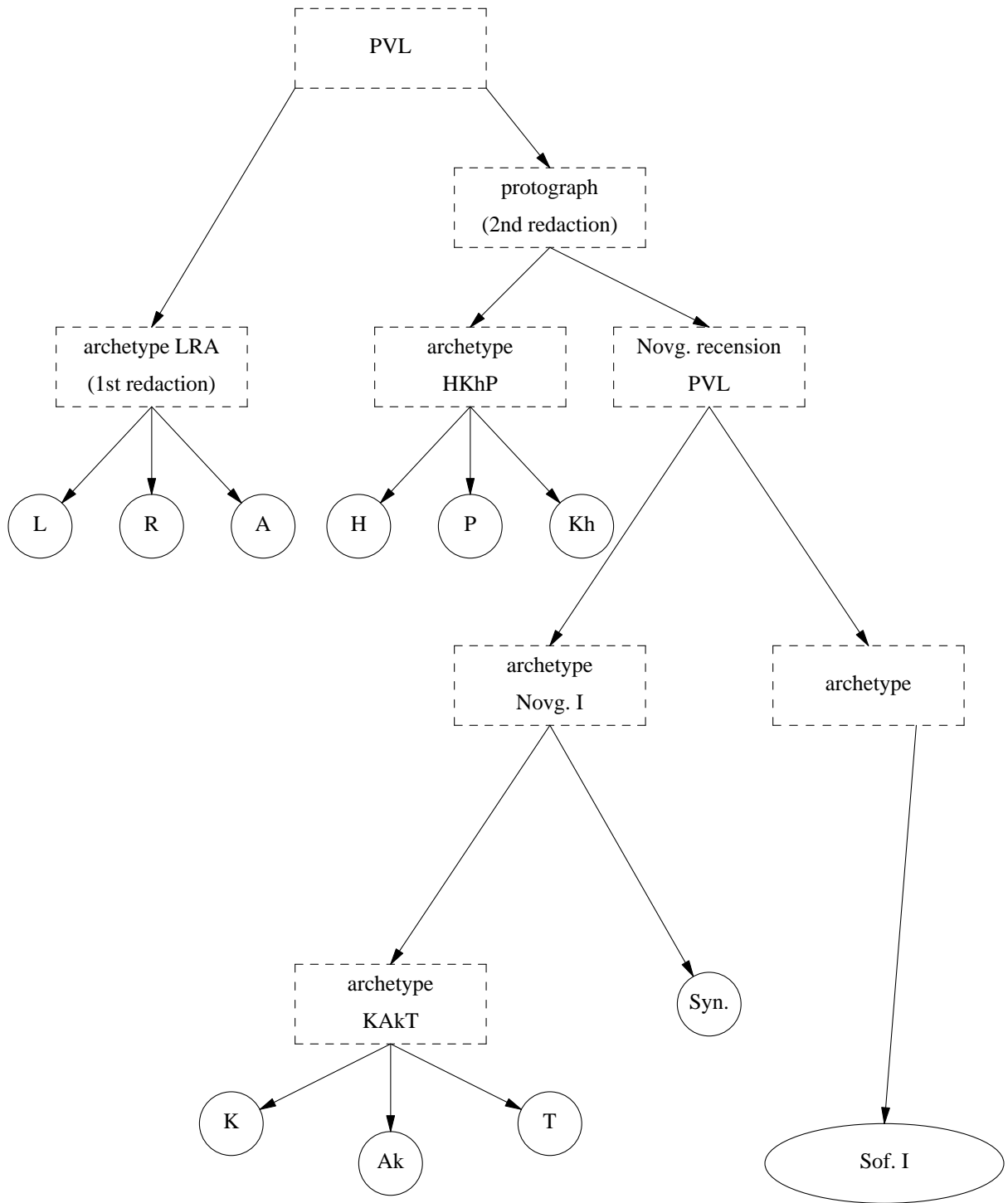
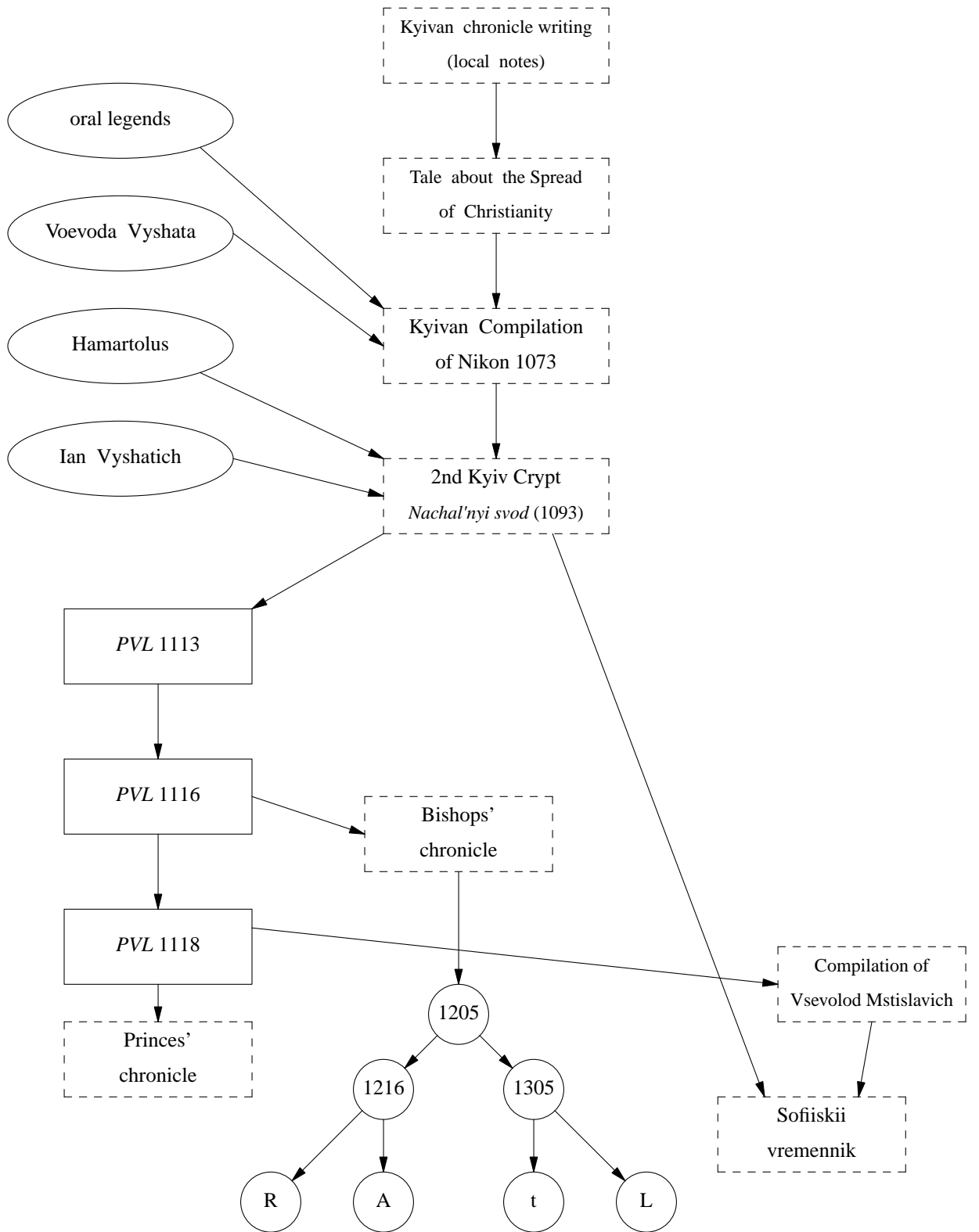


Figure 6. Likhachev's Stemma



Likhachev's stemma, which I present here in a modified form (see fig. 6), accompanied his edition of the *PVL* in 1950.<sup>54</sup> He accepted Shakhmatov's arrangement of three redactions of the *PVL*, but he saw contamination of a later version (the Compilation of Vsevolod Mstislavich) of the third redaction on the *Sofiskii vremennik* and, thereby, on all subsequent Novgorod chronicles. In other words, Likhachev did not accept the readings of Novg. I and the Compilation of 1448 as a touchstone for determining what was in the *PVL*. In practice, Likhachev tended to accept the reading of L as the primary reading. He resorted to A and R only when he was dissatisfied with L. When he was still dissatisfied with the result of consulting L, R, and A, then he would examine H and Kh for help. In that respect, Likhachev's practice in choosing readings corresponded closely to Shakhmatov's stemma for the relationship of these copies, but not to Shakhmatov's own practice in choosing readings.

By examining the most obvious differences of the main witnesses of the *PVL*, I feel that I have been able to improve on these stemmata. L, R, and A have similar entries that run through 1110.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, we can group those three together. In addition, L and those few readings of the Trinity copy (t) that are attested show a greater similarity between the two of them than with R and A,<sup>56</sup> which themselves seem to derive from a common ancestor.<sup>57</sup> H and Kh also derive from a common ancestor.<sup>58</sup> My stemma (fig. 7) is closer to Bugoslavskii's than it is to the other two. I define  $\alpha$  as being as close an approximation of Sil'vestr's authorial text as possible. As Bugoslavskii did, I accept that H and Kh should be given equal weight with L, R, and A in determining the paradosis ( $\alpha$ ) of the *PVL*. I disagree, however, that P should be given any attention, except when Kh has a lacuna. The reason for this is that P is completely derivative from Kh and provides no better readings than Kh already has. In my stemma, I also included

<sup>54</sup> *Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. D. S. Likhachev, 2 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), vol. 2: *Prilozhenie*, p. 556. I have simplified his stemma somewhat to highlight the correspondences relevant for our discussion here. I have also added in the ellipses the influences he sees on the compilations of 1073 and 1093.

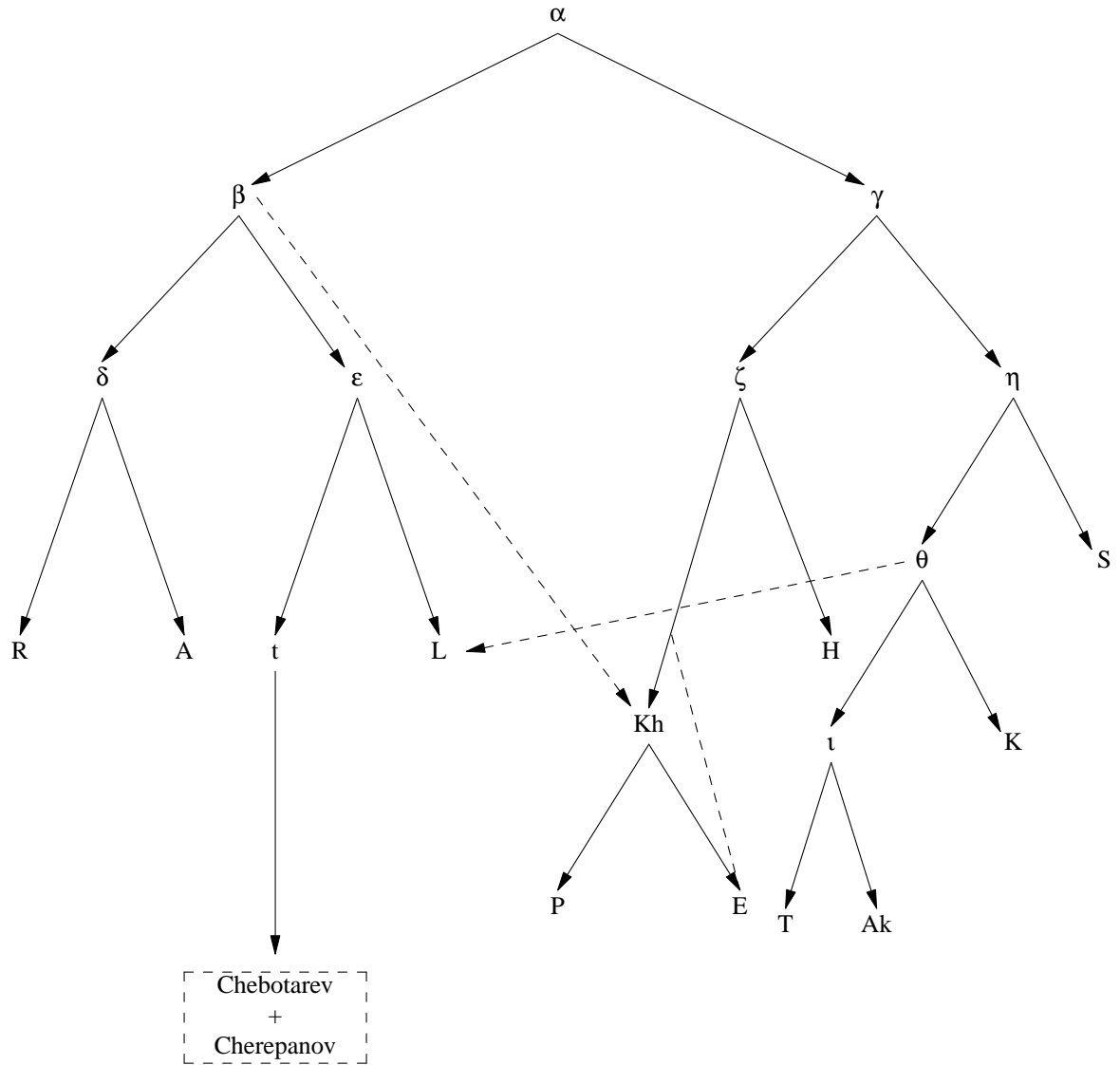
<sup>55</sup> For a list of agreed readings of LRA against HKhP, see Bugoslavskii, "Povest' vremennykh let," pp. 26–28.

<sup>56</sup> For a brief discussion of this point, see Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, p. 40.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, pp. 44–45, 65–66.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, pp. 99–100, 103–104; Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, pp. xlv–xlv, fn. 4.

Figure 7. Proposed Stemma for This Edition



the Trinity copy (t), but not from the entirety of Priselkov's 1950 reconstruction of the text. That reconstruction, for the most part, is conjectural and needs to be tested. Instead, I have included readings from Priselkov's reconstruction only up to the entry for 906. These readings are based on the plates of the early nineteenth-century attempt by Chebotarev and Cherepanov to publish the chronicle while the manuscript was still extant. The Trinity manuscript was subsequently lost in the Moscow fire of 1812. Since Chebotarev and Cherepanov worked directly from the manuscript, the readings they present have a high probability of actually having been in the Trinity Chronicle, in contrast to the readings Priselkov has after 906, which, because they are conjectural, have a lower probability.<sup>59</sup>

As Bugoslavskii did, I acknowledge the importance in some places of the readings from Novg. I for deciding disagreements between LRA on one hand and HKh on the other, but only when KAKT agree with LRA. Otherwise, when KAKT agree with HKh against LRA, it testifies only to what was in  $\gamma$ , not what was in  $\alpha$ . My stemma also acknowledges contamination between branches. Shakhmatov cited examples of agreement among KhRA against LH,<sup>60</sup> but he also cited examples of agreement between KhL against HRA.<sup>61</sup> He concluded that contamination is due to the so-called Vladimir *Polychronicon* of the early fourteenth century—that is, to a common source for L, R, and A.<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere, however, he suggests that the contamination may have come from the common source of R and A.<sup>63</sup> At first, I accepted the latter explanation because the agreements of Kh and L that Shakhmatov gives can be explained as coincidentals, e.g., скорописца instead of борзописца (898), перея славу/перея славъ (993), божественымъ/божественъ (1015), имъже/иже (1051), etc. The only agreement Shakhmatov

<sup>59</sup> Priselkov's reconstruction must be used cautiously because we do not know whether he always checked his readings against the manuscripts. For example, in the entry for 1064, Priselkov assigns the reading “Всеславъ же въ се лѣто почаль” to his reconstruction with the assertion that all the other copies arrange the phrase differently (*Troitskaia letopis'*, p. 142, fn. 3). But R has exactly that same wording (see *Radzivilovskaia ili Kenigsbergskaia letopis'*, fol. 95). This suggests that Priselkov relied on either Bychkov's or Karskii's editions, neither of which reports the variant wording in R (Bychkov, *Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu spisku*, p. 160; *PSRL*, vol. 1 [1926], col. 164). Karskii's attributing the reading “копилъ” to R is an error; it should be attributed to A. Noteworthy is the fact that Berednikov reports the variant in R correctly (*PSRL*, vol. 1 [1846], p. 71, variant *d*).

<sup>60</sup> Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, pp. 106–107.

<sup>61</sup> Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, pp. 104–105, 107–108; Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, p. xlv.

<sup>62</sup> Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, p. 105.

<sup>63</sup> Shakhmatov, “‘Povest' vremennykh let' i ee istochniki,” p. 18.



gives that could not be a coincidental—i.e., *письмо/племя* (1037)—turns out to be a typographical error, where the MSS read *письмо/писмя*. In editing the text for publication, however, I found too many instances of LKh agreement against RAH that Shakhmatov did not give and that cannot be explained as coincidentals. In any case, one must be cautious about instances where Kh agrees with either AR against HL or with L against RAH. The Ermolaev copy (E), on the whole, derives from Kh. But the copyist of E or of its exemplar used another Kh-type manuscript to make changes.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, in some places E might be used to support a reading of H against Kh. Similarly, P derives directly from Kh and can be used as a substitute where Kh has lacunae from folios lost after P was copied.<sup>65</sup> Thus, I indicate the influence of a  $\beta$ -type copy on Kh to account for cases when  $LRAKh \neq HKAkT$ , and the influence of a  $\theta$ -type copy on L to account for cases when  $LKAkT \neq RAHKh$ . Finally, I have eliminated the Compilation of 1448 from consideration because I found no indisputable case where it testifies to a primary reading over the copies in hand.

With this stemma in mind, we can establish certain standard situations—that is, cases when certain copies agree (=) while others provide dissident readings ( $\neq$ )—and the preferred readings in each case:

Choice of Readings for the *PVL*

<i>where</i>	<i>prefer</i>
1. $L = R = A = H = Kh$	LRAHKh
2. $L \neq R = A = H = Kh$	RAHKh
3. $L \neq R \neq A = H = Kh$	AHKh
4. $L \neq A \neq R = H = Kh$	RHKh
5. $L = R \neq A = H = Kh$	AHKh
6. $L = A \neq R = H = Kh$	RHKh

<sup>64</sup> A. A. Shakhmatov, “Predislovie,” *PSRL*, vol. 2 (1908), pp. xv–xvi. Likhachev claimed that E is a reworking of P. See D. S. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul’turno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), p. 431; *PVL*, 1950, vol. 2, p. 159. But whenever Kh does not have the same reading as P, then E follows Kh. See, e.g., the lacuna in Kh for 969–971 (*PSRL*, vol. 2 [1908], pp. 56–58) where E also has a lacuna; and the lacuna in P for 1095–1096 (*PSRL*, vol. 2, [1908], pp. 219–221) where E again follows Kh. Likhachev also states that E was used in the edition published in 1871, but that statement is an error. B. M. Kloss, in an unpublished article, titled “Spiski Ipat’evskoi letopisi i ikh tekstologii,” analyzes more in depth the relation of Kh, P, and E. My thanks to Omeljan Pritsak for making Kloss’ article available to me.

<sup>65</sup> Shakhmatov, “Predislovie,” *PSRL*, vol. 2 (1908), p. xii.

7. $R = A \neq L = H = Kh$	LHKh
8. $R \neq A \neq L = H = Kh$	LHKh
9. $R \neq A = L = H = Kh$	ALHKh
10. $A \neq R = L = H = Kh$	RLHKh
11. $L = R = A = H \neq Kh$	LRAH
12. $L \neq R = A = H \neq Kh$	RAH
13. $L \neq R \neq A = H \neq Kh$	AH
14. $L \neq A \neq R = H \neq Kh$	RH
15. $L = R \neq A = H \neq Kh$	AH
16. $L = A \neq R = H \neq Kh$	RH
17. $R = A \neq L = H \neq Kh$	LH
18. $R \neq A \neq L = H \neq Kh$	LH
19. $R \neq A = L = H \neq Kh$	ALH
20. $A \neq R = L = H \neq Kh$	RLH
21. $L = R = A = Kh \neq H$	LRAKh
22. $L \neq R = A = Kh \neq H$	RAKh
23. $L \neq R \neq A = Kh \neq H$	AKh
24. $L \neq A \neq R = Kh \neq H$	RKh
25. $L = R \neq A = Kh \neq H$	AKh
26. $L = A \neq R = Kh \neq H$	RKh
27. $R = A \neq L = Kh \neq H$	LKh (when not the result of contamination)
28. $R \neq A \neq L = Kh \neq H$	LKh (when not the result of contamination)
29. $R \neq A = L = Kh \neq H$	ALKh
30. $A \neq R = L = Kh \neq H$	RLKh
31. $L = R = A \neq H = Kh$	?
32. $L \neq R = A \neq H = Kh$	?
33. $L \neq R = A \neq H \neq Kh$	?
34. $L \neq A \neq R \neq H = Kh$	?
35. $L \neq A \neq R \neq H \neq Kh$	?
36. $L = R \neq A \neq H = Kh$	?
37. $L = R \neq A \neq H \neq Kh$	?
38. $L = A \neq R \neq H = Kh$	?
39. $L = A \neq R \neq H \neq Kh$	?
40. $L \neq Kh = R \neq A = H$	?
41. $L \neq Kh = A \neq R = H$	?
42. $L = Kh \neq A = R = H$	RAH (only when contamination of L on Kh)

43. L = Kh ≠ R ≠ A = H	AH	(only when contamination of L on Kh)
44. L = Kh ≠ A ≠ R = H	RH	(only when contamination of L on Kh)
45. A ≠ Kh = R ≠ L = H	?	
46. R ≠ Kh = A ≠ L = H	?	
47. L = Kh = R ≠ A = H	?	
48. L = Kh = A ≠ R = H	?	
49. A = Kh = R ≠ L = H	?	(if contamination is present, then LH)

Basically, when an agreement that is not a scribal coincidental occurs between any two or more separate family copies without any other agreement occurring between the other separate family copies, we should prefer the agreed reading. A problem arises when no agreement occurs between the families or one agreement is countered by another agreement between the families. Then we must start applying the principles of *selectio* that have been developed over the years in textual criticism—for example, *brevior lectio potior*, *difficilior lectio probior*, and so forth.<sup>66</sup> In general, we should choose the reading that explains the others. But we should also realize that each case contains its own characteristics and that these may override any given principle at any given time. Housman compares a textual critic going about his business to a dog searching for fleas: “If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique.”<sup>67</sup> In other words, we can accept, with qualification, Bentley’s maxim: “with us, good Sense and the Reason of the Thing are of more Weight than a hundred *Copies*.”<sup>68</sup> While these are sound words of advice,

<sup>66</sup> For various discussions of these principles, see Maas, *Textkritik*; Willis, *Latin Textual Criticism*; Bruce Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York and London, 1964), pp. 119–246; Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, 1st ed. (Florence, 1934), 2nd ed. (1952); Alphonse Dain, *Les manuscrits*, 1st ed. (Paris, 1949), pp. 87–171, 2nd ed. (1964), pp. 95–186, 3rd ed. (1975), pp. 95–186; M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart, 1973).

<sup>67</sup> A. E. Housman, “The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism,” *Proceedings of the Classical Association*, vol. 18 (1921), p. 69; reprinted in *A. E. Housman: Selected Prose*, ed. John Carter (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 131–150 and in *The Classical Papers of A. E. Housman*, ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 1058–1069.

<sup>68</sup> Richard Bentley, *The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace* (London, 1712–1714), pt. 17, p. 16 (emphasis in the original). See the comment concerning this statement by Rudolf Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 153–154.

we must remember that they apply mostly to those cases where the stemma does not provide a clear preference. We constructed the stemma for very good reasons, which means that if we want to override the stemma in any particular case we must have even better reasons for doing so. An example of where I overrode the agreed testimony of all five *PVL* manuscripts in regard to a substantive reading occurs in 112,9, where I have accepted the emendation of R. F. Timkovskii that  $\alpha$  read: “раздѣляетъ бо ся нераздѣльно” instead of the testified-to “раздѣлно/а”.<sup>69</sup> This means that I accept as more likely the occurrence here of independent parablepsis in both  $\beta$  and  $\zeta$ , whereas  $\gamma$  had to maintain the fuller reading for it to be preserved in the Novg. I line.

Since the initial publication of my stemma for the *PVL* in 1981, I have further refined the general principles and made them more specific to the *PVL*. In particular, I noticed more contamination between copies of different branches than I at first thought, but only at specific sections of text, not throughout. Approximately at the point, for example, where a change of hand occurs in L, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> (in the entry for 988), L begins to agree with copies that testify to the younger redaction of Novg. I in places where they disagree with the common reading of RAH (both Kh and P have a lacuna from 115,7 to 119,23). In particular, the change in hand occurs in 116,24 with the word *пристави*. Then we find the following realignments:

<i>Place</i>	L, Novg. I	RAH(Kh)
117,5	святого	∅
117,12	и ѿтолѣ прослу перуняна рѣнь	∅
117,13	∅	перуняна рѣнь
117,15	∅	заутра
118,1	∅	велику/а
118,7	∅	сего
118,12	∅	великыи
118,13	сия/а	свои/я
119,11	помилую	∅
119,17	∅	ты
119,19	въздаянья, възданиа, въздааня	∅

<sup>69</sup> *Letopis' Nesterova po drevneishemu spisku mnikha Lavrentiia*, ed. R. F. Timkovskii (Moscow, 1824), p. 77.

120,26	възопъемъ/возопиемъ	вопиемъ
161,17	даю	∅

In such cases, I have taken the agreement of L with Novg. I to be the result of contamination of L by a  $\theta$ -type copy, and therefore secondary. This seems to be a better explanation than the idea that an L-type copy contaminated the common ancestor of Novg. I copies. Also, it seems to be a more likely explanation than one that proposes contamination between R and A (or  $\delta$ ), on one side, and H (or  $\zeta$ ), on the other.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that Kh is contaminated by a  $\beta$ -type copy. So, even though Kh in places agrees with the Laurentian family against H and Novg. I, most of those agreements must be secondary. Some of these readings may be better, but I cannot decide solely on the basis of the stemma.

Finally, the contamination of L by Novg. I may begin to occur a few lines *before* the change in hand. That is, in line 116,19 the following readings occur: LKAkT: оПЯТЬ whereas RAH: ∅. In addition, an agreement of L with Novg. I seems to occur in line 116,18, but that may have other causes. Since this cross-branch contamination is evident only in sections of the text, it does not affect the essential nature of the transmission of the *PVL* as a closed one.

### *Textual Criticism vs. Textology*

Textual criticism as practiced in the West has operated on principles different from *tekstologiia* (< текстология, текстологія) as practiced in Russia and Ukraine. This latter practice I will refer to henceforth as “textology.” The differences create difficulties for those outside Russia and Ukraine who are dependent on editions published on the basis of textology.<sup>70</sup>

Perhaps, the most striking indication that a split exists between text critics and textologists lies in the statement made by Likhachev in 1976 that Soviet textology had advanced to “first place in the world.”<sup>71</sup> Likhachev’s statement bears special consideration because it emanated from the pen of the leading scholar of

<sup>70</sup> Michele Colucci makes this point in his “‘Textual Criticism’ Versus ‘Tekstologija’: The Case of *Daniil Zatočnik*” (unpublished paper). I would like to thank Professor Harvey Goldblatt of Yale University for providing me a copy of this paper.

<sup>71</sup> D. S. Likhachev, “O nekotorykh neotlozhnykh zadachakh spetsial’nykh filologicheskikh distsiplin,” *Vestnik AN SSSR*, 1976, no. 4, p. 69.

Rus' studies. At the other extreme, Western works on text criticism make little mention of Russian or Ukrainian work in the field, seemingly unaware of textology's first-place position. In what follows, I outline the development of Western textual criticism and Russian imperial, Soviet, and post-Soviet textology, define the differences between the two, and demonstrate how these differences affect the editing of the *PVL*. This discussion is not intended as a catalog of errors of textology—a task beyond the scope of this presentation and outside my inclination. Nor do I wish to leave the impression that all textology-based editorial work is flawed—there have been some excellent editions of early texts.<sup>72</sup> The difficulty is that one cannot tell the difference between the excellent and the flawed without resorting to the original manuscripts. This discussion then is intended to identify the flaws and to provide clear examples of the types of problems one faces in using editions of early East Slavic texts.

The development of modern textual criticism in Europe began with the Renaissance, when humanists strove to uncover the works of the ancient Greek and Roman writers, whether in poetry, philosophy, law, or history. For the humanists, it was important to determine the exact words that the ancient writers used.<sup>73</sup> The invention by Gutenberg of the reusable mold for making printable characters and his integration of “off-the-shelf technology” to create a practical printing press gave impetus to this task, because scholars in distant parts of Europe could then discuss the same text word for word.<sup>74</sup>

The importance of uncovering the exact text spread to Biblical studies. Until the dispersion of the printing press, the task of standardizing the wording of the Bible was extremely difficult. It was common practice for early Christian text critics and scribes, feeling themselves imbued with the Holy Spirit, to alter the words of their manuscript exemplars, because they “knew” what the correct wording should be.<sup>75</sup> With the development of printing, the Church (or other

<sup>72</sup> Nasonov's edition of the Pskov Chronicle comes immediately to mind. *Pskovskie letopisi*, 2 vols., ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1941, 1955).

<sup>73</sup> John Anthony Scott, “Introduction,” *Utopia. Sir Thomas More* (New York, 1965), pp. vi–vii.

<sup>74</sup> See Eugene F. Rice, Jr., *The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460–1559* (New York, 1970), pp. 8–9.

<sup>75</sup> On intentional changes by copyists that led to error, see Metzger, *Text*, pp. 195–206. Origen, e.g., dismissed the reading “Jesus Barabbas” in favor of “Barabbas” in Mt. 27:16–17 because he believed an evil person could not be named “Jesus.” Metzger, *Text*, p. 152. Early Hebrew scribes were also known to alter Biblical passages for theological reasons. See, e.g., John H. Hayes and Carl R. Holladay, *Biblical Exegesis: A Beginner's Handbook* (Atlanta, 1982), p. 33.

authorities) could more easily disseminate a normative text. Erasmus' publication of a Greek New Testament became the *textus receptus* for Protestants,<sup>76</sup> while the Clementine revision of the Vulgate in 1592 became standard for Catholics.<sup>77</sup> This split, as well as further splits within Protestantism, led to a competition of texts that eventually resulted in Westcott and Hort's version of the New Testament first published in 1881.<sup>78</sup> Although the Westcott and Hort text was a milestone in rational text criticism, it was another seventy years before Protestants officially accepted a version of their text as the norm in the Revised Standard Version (RSV). During the centuries between the publication of Erasmus' text and that of the RSV, humanists engaged in fierce debates concerning proper methods of editing and emendation. In the course of these debates, Biblical scholars established certain principles of textual criticism. Among these are the following:

- 1) The shorter reading is preferable to a longer reading, unless one can attribute the shorter reading either to scribal haplography or to some other physical cause. The rationale is that a copyist is more likely to have added his own clarification to a text than to have intentionally deleted words from an already clear text to make it less clear. Unintentional deletions through mechanical copying errors occur relatively frequently. Unintentional additions can also occur through repetition of words or phrases (dittography), but that occurs much less frequently and is more readily apparent. Thus, additions tend to be intentional; deletions, mechanical.
- 2) The more difficult reading is preferred to a smoother reading, except, again, where a mechanical copying error would explain the roughness. The rationale is that a copyist is more likely to have tried to make a rough reading smoother than to have made a smooth reading more difficult to understand.
- 3) The original may have contained mistakes. This principle, so obvious on the face of it, was not fully acknowledged until the early twentieth century with the work of Dom Henri Quentin.<sup>79</sup> Acceptance of this principle allows us to

<sup>76</sup> Metzger, *Text*, pp. 98–103.

<sup>77</sup> Metzger, *Text*, p. 78.

<sup>78</sup> *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, text revised by Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort (Cambridge, 1881).

<sup>79</sup> Quentin's method of comparing manuscript copies by threes ("la comparaison des manuscrits par groupes de trois," *Essais*, p. 44) has been criticized by, among others, Rand, Bédier, and Severs (see "Works Cited"), and was rejected by Likhachev as "mechanical." That is not our concern here. It is, instead, how Quentin *began* his comparisons that warrants our attention, i.e.,

account for subsequent attempts by different copyists to introduce corrections at common places in the text they are copying. The corrections may take various forms and can be explained only on the basis of the recognition of error in the common exemplar.

- 4) Common readings in copies from diverse geographical areas are more likely to have been in the original than a reading common to copies from only one area. Again, this is a principle that text critics accepted only in the early twentieth century with the work of B. H. Streeter on the locations of Gospel manuscript copying.<sup>80</sup>
- 5) Finally, the idea arose that a stemma, a genealogical relationship of the copies of a text, could be constructed on the basis of simple variants and then used to help determine the primacy of more complex variants.

In Russia, the principles of textology developed almost exactly the reverse of those of textual criticism. Thus, longer, fuller readings tended to be accepted over shorter, elliptical readings. Smoother readings tended to be accepted over rougher readings. The editor tended to “correct” the text either with or without variant support from other copies in an attempt to create an exemplar that was without error. Preference was given to those copies of texts that originated in the Center, that is, in or near Moscow. And the stemma was seen not as a tool for editing the text, but merely as a possible way to represent the relationship of the copies.<sup>81</sup>

How did these differences occur and why did they develop the way they did? First, Muscovy was relatively untouched by Renaissance humanism. Although humanism did reach Ruthenian territory, research on the extent of that influence on Muscovy has shown very little evidence of any impact. What influence there was affected only a few isolated individuals. Symptomatic is the fact that the

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not by judging whether a particular reading was “correct” or a “mistake” but by initially weighting all “variants” equally.

<sup>80</sup> B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London, 1924), esp. pp. 78, 106, 108, 148.

<sup>81</sup> Examples abound, but, for our purposes, one might point out that neither Shakhmatov nor Likhachev used their respective stemmata (constructed to show the relationship of copies of the *PVL*) to edit the text of the *PVL*. Another example is N. A. Kazakova’s editions of works attributed to Vassian Patrikeev in N. A. Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), pp. 223–281 and the corresponding stemmata, pp. 146, 163, 182, and 208. In addition, in choosing a copy text for the *Slovo otvetno, Otvet kirillovskikh startsev*, and the *Pre-nie s Iosifom Volotskim*, she gave preference to copies made in or near Moscow to those made in more outlying areas.



writings of Aristotle did not begin to be translated into Russian until the eighteenth century. Second, neither in Muscovy nor in the Russian Empire was there a tradition, as such, of “lower” criticism of the Bible. When the first complete Slavonic Bible was compiled in Novgorod in 1499, it was based in part on the Latin Vulgate.<sup>82</sup> By invoking the Vulgate, compilers of the Slavonic Bible may have unknowingly rejected, as Bruce Metzger suggested, some superior readings from the Alexandrine tradition in Slavonic lectionaries and Apostols.<sup>83</sup>

The printing press did have an impact upon Muscovy by the seventeenth century when “book correcting” became both figuratively and literally a burning issue. As in the West, a split in the Church occurred, but in the West the Protestants were able to establish rival centers of learning.<sup>84</sup> In Muscovy and the subsequent Russian Empire, in contrast, the religious dissenters maintained an animosity toward “external learning,” an attitude that proved barren for new research. To be sure, the Russian Church leaders had a broader agenda than just book correcting. In the decisions of the Church Council of 1654, the introduction to the *Sluzhebnik* of 1655, and revisions to the *Skrizhal'*, one can find the outline of a broad plan for “enlightening” society as a whole.<sup>85</sup> In addition, those who disagreed with particular aspects of this plan and opposed its implementation did so for a wide variety of reasons.<sup>86</sup> This diverse opposition was subsumed later under the rubric “schimastics” or “Old Believers.” But our main concern here is not to revisit the controversies surrounding the *Raskol* but to understand the methods of text editing that developed at this time.

Book correcting in seventeenth-century Muscovy became a matter of authorizing a standard to bring the liturgy and ritual of Muscovy into greater conformity with the Orthodox Ruthenian and Greek Churches. The goal was to make

<sup>82</sup> A. Gorskii and K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavianskikh rukopisei Moskovskoi Sinodal'noi biblioteki*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1855–1917), vol. 1, § 1, p. 50; E. Wimmer, “Zu den katholischen Quellen der Gennadij-Bibel,” in *Forschung und Lehre. Festgruss Joh. Schröpfer 1974* (Hamburg, 1975), pp. 444–458.

<sup>83</sup> Bruce Metzger, “Survey of Research on the Old Slavonic Version,” in his *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden, 1963), p. 96.

<sup>84</sup> See, e.g., John Dillenberger, *Protestant Thought and Natural Science* (Notre Dame, IN, 1960).

<sup>85</sup> Cathy Jean Potter, “The Russian Church and the Politics of Reform in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century,” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1993, pp. 11, 137–162.

<sup>86</sup> Potter, “The Russian Church,” pp. 162–166, 188–190.

certain readings the norm, not to determine primary or earliest readings.<sup>87</sup> Disputes had occurred over the issue of whose readings to accept—the Muscovite, Ruthenian, or Greek. Some Muscovites argued in favor of their texts on the basis that God had given assent to their kingdom over the other two. After all, they claimed, the Greeks had been overrun by the Turks, the Ruthenians by the Poles. In 1627, for example, Muscovite censors declared to the Ruthenian archpriest Lavrentii Zyzanii that they did not accept the new Greek texts because they had been corrupted by the Greeks living among “nonbelievers,” whereas the Muscovite Slavonic texts had been translated from old Greek texts and thus had remained uncorrupted.<sup>88</sup> Although Patriarch Nikon declared in the 1650s that the Muscovite books were being corrected according to old Greek manuscripts,<sup>89</sup> he may not have been aware that the Printing Office was “correcting” according to recently published Greek service books,<sup>90</sup> nor does he seem to have cared. As Georges Florovsky describes it:

The books were being “corrected” to meet practical needs and for immediate use. A “standard edition,” a reliable and uniform text, had to be immediately produced. “Office” [*chin*] should also be fully and exactly defined. The concept of “correctness” implied primarily the idea of uniformity.<sup>91</sup>

Clerics in the Printing Office thus established a de facto standard of uniformity that prevailed in Russian textual work, initially in the editing of religious texts for publication, then in scholarly publications as well, from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. This standard of uniformity was characteristically summed up in the Council of 1667’s pronouncement about the Church’s recently published *Sluzhebnik*:

<sup>87</sup> Georgii Florovskii, *Puti russkogo bogosloviia* (Paris, 1937), p. 63.

<sup>88</sup> “Prenie litovskogo protopopa Lavrentiia Zizaniia s igumenom Ilieiu i spravshchikom Grigoriem po povodu ispravleniia sostavlenogo Lavrentiem katikhizisa,” in *Letopisi russkoi literatury i drevnostei*, ed. N. S. Tikhonravov, 5 vols. (Kyiv, 1859–1863), vol. 2, p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> Sil’vestr Medvedev, “Izvestie istinnoe pravoslavnym i pokazanie svetloe o novopravlenii knizhnom i o prochem,” ed. Sergei Belokurov, in *Chteniia v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete*, 1885, bk. 4, § 2, p. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Florovskii, *Puti*, pp. 64–65; Potter, “The Russian Church,” p. 151. These Greek service books had been published, among other places, in Kyiv, Lviv, Striatyn, Venice, and Vilnius (Potter, p. 129).

<sup>91</sup> Florovskii, *Puti*, p. 59.

Let them print it thus in the future, and from now on let no one dare add, remove, or change anything in this sacred work. And even if an angel should say anything differently, do not believe him.<sup>92</sup>

As a result of this influence, rarely were variants reported. A manuscript with a full text, nicely written, preferably from Moscow (the center of Orthodoxy, from their point of view) was usually the basis for publication. Russian scholars, in turn, developed a tradition of arguing in favor of the primacy of Muscovite copies over those from outlying areas and for accepting the readings of manuscripts with fuller texts.

Parts of the Nikon Chronicle, for example, contain more text than the equivalent sections of the *PVL*. Rybakov and Zenkovsky, among others, have made the argument that the sixteenth-century compiler of the Nikon Chronicle, working in Moscow, had access to sources about the earlier period that we do not now have.<sup>93</sup> According to this view, the additions that the compiler of the Nikon Chronicle made constitute reliable information about the first Rus' principalities centuries earlier. The fuller text from the Center prevailed. Another example, this time of just accepting the fuller text, is P. G. Vasenko's publication of the *Stepennaia kniga* in 1913, in which he had a choice among four copies to use as the basis for the edition. He chose RGB, Piskarev 612 as his copy text, apparently for the sole reason that it contained more text than the others.<sup>94</sup> Although the readings of Sinod. 56/358, where it differs from Piskarev 612, are primary, the fuller but secondary readings prevailed in the publication. A third example is Nasonov's publication of the Novgorod I Chronicle (Younger Redaction) using as copy text the Commission copy, which in a number of places has more text than either the Tolstoi or Academy copies.<sup>95</sup> Yet, most of that additional text is made up of secondary interpolations. Once again the longer readings prevail, whereas the shorter readings are relegated to the critical apparatus as inferior variants.

In the early twentieth century, just before World War I, this textological tradition was challenged by S. A. Bugoslavskii in a small book that foreshadowed Paul

<sup>92</sup> *Deianiia moskovskikh soborov 1666 i 1667 godov* (Moscow, 1893), pt. 2, fols. 15<sup>v</sup>–16.

<sup>93</sup> B. A. Rybakov, *Drevniaia Rus'* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 62–173, 182–187. S. A. Zenkovsky, "Introduction," *The Nikonian Chronicle*, 5 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1984–1988), vol. 1, p. xxxvi. Leibovich had incorporated this later information into his text of the *PVL*.

<sup>94</sup> See the introduction to *PSRL*, vol. 21, pt. 1, pp. III–VII.

<sup>95</sup> *Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'. Starshego i mladshego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950).

Maas' classic work *Textkritik* by fifteen years.<sup>96</sup> Bugoslavskii's book has been at times ignored and at other times ridiculed. Prevailing Russian and Soviet opinion about Bugoslavskii has been that he was completely wrongheaded.<sup>97</sup> Yet the principles of stemmatics he describes are within the mainstream of textual criticism. In contrast, when Likhachev began his studies of textual criticism in the 1920s and 1930s, he adopted the anti-stemmatic arguments of Bédier.<sup>98</sup> Anti-stemmat-ics, so controversial an idea in the West, was accepted without question in Russia during the Soviet period, most likely because no tradition of stemmatics existed in Russia in the first place.

For all practical purposes, this means that Russian and Soviet editions often: do not report all substantive variants;<sup>99</sup> provide insufficient and unclear information about the principles of editing used;<sup>100</sup> provide the reader no way of judging whether the editor has made the correct choices in editing the text;<sup>101</sup> and tend to create hypothetical exemplars, redactions, compilations (*svody*, *zvedennia*), and works in order to push back the date of composition and to create a "perfect" text.<sup>102</sup> Thus, although the manuscript copies may all testify to one particular reading in the common exemplar, the textologist will imagine a theoretical

<sup>96</sup> S. A. Bugoslavskii, *Neskol'ko zamechaniĭ k teorii i praktike kritiki teksta* (Chernihiv, 1913).

<sup>97</sup> See, e.g., Likhachev, *Tekstologĭia*, 1st ed., pp. 46, 161–162; 2nd ed., pp. 51, 176–177.

<sup>98</sup> For Likhachev's rejection of what he calls "mechanical methods" of text editing, see *Tekstologĭia*, 1st ed., pp. 6–20; 2nd ed., pp. 8–24.

<sup>99</sup> Compare, e.g., Kazakova's edition of the *Prenie s Iosifom Volotskim* (in Kazakova, *Vassian Patrikeev i ego sochineniia*, pp. 275–281) with my version in Donald Ostrowski, "A 'Fontological' Investigation of the Muscovite Church Council of 1503," Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1977, pp. 493–516.

<sup>100</sup> See, e.g., Lur'e and Rykov's edition of the letters of Andrei Kurbskii and Ivan Groznyi where they write: "we do not provide variants according to all copies of the letters. However, we do not limit ourselves only to the correction of clearly mistaken readings of the copy texts according to other copies of those same groups and types (*vidov*), but we also provide variants that are characteristic for entire groups of copies." Ia. S. Lur'e and Iu. D. Rykov, eds., *Perepiska Ivana Groznogo s Andreem Kurbskim* (Leningrad, 1979), p. 351. In fairness to Lur'e and Rykov, one should point out this was not entirely their fault, as they were obliged to conform to the editorial policies of the "Literaturnye pamiatniki" series in which the *Perepiska* was published.

<sup>101</sup> The best examples of this practice are the previous editions of the *PVL* itself.

<sup>102</sup> See, e.g., Iu. K. Begunov, "'Slovo inoe'—novonaidennoe proizvedenie russkoi publitsistiki XVI v. o bor'be Ivana III s zemlevladieniem tserkvi," *TODRL*, vol. 20 (1964), p. 361; and N. A. Kazakova, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli* (Leningrad, 1970), pp. 78–79. They hypothesize a lost *Skazanie o sobore 1503 g.*, which they say was written near the time of the Council of 1503, for no reason that I can see other than to claim that the author of a later source, *Slovo inoe*, must have had access to reliable information about the Council by borrowing from it.

archetype from which the exemplar common to all the copies derives. The postulated “correct” readings of this theoretical archetype then take precedence over the readings attested by the manuscript copies. Instead, it would be better to accept the reconstituted common exemplar as being more or less identical with the archetype, and that archetype to be more or less identical with the author’s or compiler’s version. As with almost any generalization in textual criticism, there are exceptions. For example, a number of ancient Latin works are maintained in copies that derive from only one or a few ninth-century manuscripts (those being preserved as the result of the innovation of Carolingian miniscule). All earlier copies have since been lost. For such texts, one may be justified in trying to reconstruct a hypothetical ideal text, since the likelihood of errors in both the copy that survived to the ninth century and the single copy or copies made in the ninth century is great. In this case, it is difficult to distinguish between errors of the copyists and errors of the author. This exception does not, however, apply to the transmission of the *PVL* (see below, p. LV).

Western textual criticism is certainly not flawless in practice. After all, A. E. Housman made a career out of finding fault in the textual work of his contemporaries.<sup>103</sup> Nonetheless, Western textual criticism generally has the greater achievements to its credit. There is, for example, no definitive version of the Slavonic Bible in the East Slavic redaction, nor is there a textual history of the Bible in that redaction. Biblical work is the *sine qua non* for textual work in the medieval field, yet we have little against which to check the Biblical quotations of our sources. Work on the text of the Slavonic Bible in the Russian Empire was only beginning to get under way just before World War I, but then fell by the wayside. Recently, scholars have begun studying the Slavonic Bible again.<sup>104</sup> Yet, the words of Robert P. Casey and Silva Lake remain as true today as when they wrote them over 60 years ago: “the text of the Slavonic still remains one of the most obscure problems in the history of the text of the New Testament.”<sup>105</sup>

It is one thing to identify the problem; it is another to define a solution. An edition of the *PVL* based on a stemma, is, I believe, a step in the right direction. And an edition that provides as much of the textual evidence as possible is an

<sup>103</sup> Housman, “Application of Thought to Textual Criticism,” pp. 67–84.

<sup>104</sup> An extensive bibliography of recent as well as older work can be found in Anatolii A. Alekseev, *Tekstologiya slavianskoi biblii* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 234–249.

<sup>105</sup> Robert P. Casey and Silva Lake, “A New Edition of the Old Slavic Gospels,” *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 55 (1936), p. 209.

even better step because then the reader can decide for him- or herself what reading is preferable.

*Principles of Editing the PVL*

As I pointed out above, the Hypatian line has been almost totally eliminated from editions of the *PVL*. Its omission is based on the argument that the Hypatian line represents an inferior, derivative redaction and that, therefore, the readings from it should not be mixed with readings from the “superior” Laurentian redaction. It is true that the Hypatian line shows clear signs of having been reworked. But most of the reworkings are in the nature of simple interpolations and expansions of detail.<sup>106</sup> They are easily recognizable. The reworkings do not, for the most part, affect the reliability of the Hypatian line as a witness to the archetype. In other words, the Hypatian line has independent authority. Why, then, has its reliable evidence been ignored?

The decision to eliminate one of two fairly equal traditions has been a common phenomenon in Western editorial practice. The idea is to simplify the decision-making process. The obvious error in this practice has been vividly described by Housman:

An editor of no judgement, perpetually confronted with a couple of MSS to choose from, cannot but feel in every fibre of his being that he is a donkey between two bundles of hay. What shall he do? . . . He confusedly imagines that if one bundle of hay is removed he will cease to be a donkey. So he removes it. Are the two MSS equal, and do they bewilder him with their rival merit and exact from him at every other moment the novel and distressing effort of using his brains? Then he pretends that they are not equal: he calls one of these “the best MS,” and to this he resigns the editorial functions which he is himself unable to discharge.<sup>107</sup>

Responding directly to Housman’s comment (and to Rand’s criticism of Bédier’s “method of despair”), Likhachev charged that neither Housman nor Rand understood the concept of copy text (*osnovnoi tekst*), and that they confused the copy

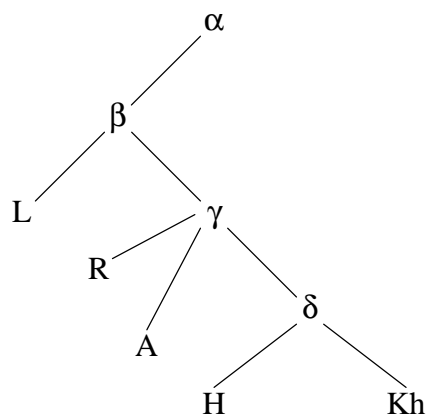
<sup>106</sup> For lists of these modifications, see Bugoslavskii, “Povest’ vremennykh let,” pp. 26–28 and Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie*, pp. 93–94.

<sup>107</sup> Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicon*, bk. 1 (London, 1903), p. xxxi. Housman elsewhere restated this idea more succinctly and with less rodomontade: “the indulgence for love for one manuscript and dislike for another inevitably begets indifference to the author himself.” A. E. Housman, *M. Annaei Lucani Belli civilis* (Oxford, 1926), p. vi.

text with the source itself.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, he stated in his edition of the *PVL*: “we print not a ‘composite text’ ‘according to all copies’ and not a hypothetical reconstruction of the original text but a text that really has reached us in the Laurentian Chronicle.”

At least three objections can be raised to Likhachev’s statements on this matter. First, in matters of textual criticism it seems unlikely that Housman and Rand confused much of anything, let alone the copy text with the source. Second, the numerous alterations that Likhachev made in the Laurentian copy belie the assertion that he printed “a text that really has reached us.” Not only does Karskii’s edition represent the text of L better than Likhachev’s, but also the lithographic version of 1872 is closer to the manuscript than either edition. And third, if we were to construct a stemma solely on the basis of Likhachev’s preferred readings, we might come up with the stemma in figure 8.

Figure 8. Hypothetical Stemma for Likhachev’s Edition



That is, in cases where L needs correction the  $\gamma$  reading is accepted. In the few cases when R and A do not represent  $\gamma$ , then the  $\delta$  (i.e., H and Kh) reading is taken. Thus, the agreements of RAHKh could be theoretically assigned to  $\gamma$  not  $\beta$ . And L becomes the single most important witness for  $\alpha$ . Clearly this stemma distorts the relationship of the copies as shown by a comparison of all their readings.

It seems to me that the crux of the difference between Housman and Rand, on one side, and Likhachev, on the other, is the difference between the concept of a dynamic critical text and that of a static critical text, and the question of when to use each concept. As Angiolo Danti wrote:

<sup>108</sup> Likhachev, *Tekstologiia*, 1st ed., pp. 495–496; 2nd ed., pp. 505–506.

there is a widespread disdain of the problems of textual criticism, because the literary text is considered as an objective certain source, which the scholar must approach as found. This point of view is no longer acceptable. . . . [A] “critical” text cannot be considered “canonical,” “definitive,” or the fruit of a scientific process of a nomothetic kind. It is the fruit of a hypothesis based upon the entire series of data found in the manuscripts, and is recognized as reliable as long as that hypothesis is not substituted by a better conjecture.<sup>109</sup>

Danti’s argument is generally correct with the only qualification that at times a static text based on an extant copy may be justified. Many medieval works have been relatively well transmitted through the manuscripts. For example, the subsequent discovery of the authorial copy of the *Tale about Peter and Fevroniia* showed that no primary reading had been lost in the manuscript transmission.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, the choice of printing an extant copy with little or no alteration, as M. O. Skripil’ had done previously, was the best decision.<sup>111</sup> The static text was justified.

Yet, many other medieval works and most classical texts have not been well transmitted. Classical texts often reached the Middle Ages in a trickle of a few copies or even only one faulty copy. Then the trickle turned into a torrent as texts were copied and recopied through the Renaissance.<sup>112</sup> The subsequent copies, however, were no better and often worse than the relatively late common ancestor. For textual critics to be satisfied with one of the subsequent copies or even the corrupt ancestor would be irresponsible. In the transmission of the *PVL* an apparently similar, but not identical, situation prevails. None of the extant manuscripts

<sup>109</sup> A[ngiolo] Danti, “On a Dinamic [*sic*] Conception of Critical Texts,” in *VIII Medjunarodni slavistički kongres Zagreb 3–9. IX 1978. Ljubljana knjiga referata* (Zagreb, 1978), p. 166. See also Danti’s apt comments in his “O znaczeniu tekstu krytycznego,” *Slavia*, vol. 66 (1977), pp. 395–398, reprinted in his *Fra Slavia orthodoxa e Slavia romana. Studi di ecdotica*, ed. Alda Giambelluca Kossova (Palermo, 1993), pp. 189–195. Asher states a similar idea: “the reconstruction of texts, i.e., the arrival at the author’s ‘approved’ or ‘definitive’ text must surely constitute the first and most fundamental step in all literary work whatsoever, classical, medieval, and modern. Literary criticism in the usual sense of the term is—at the best—an unsatisfactory exercise, and—at worst—an absurdity, if the text under discussion is itself corrupt. Not all scholars and students are aware of this obvious truth.” J. A. Asher, “Truth and Fiction: The Text of Medieval Manuscripts,” *Aumla*, vol. 25 (1966), p. 8. And again Maas laconically: “Aufgabe der Textkritik ist Herstellung eines dem Autograph (Original) möglichst nahekommenen Textes (constitutio textus).” Maas, *Textkritik*, 4th ed. (1960), p. 5.

<sup>110</sup> R. P. Dmitrieva, *Povest’ o Petre i Fevronii* (Leningrad, 1979), pp. 105, 209–223.

<sup>111</sup> M. O. Skripil’, “Povest’ o Petre i Fevronii (teksty),” *TODRL*, vol. 7 (1949), pp. 215–256.

<sup>112</sup> See the description of this process by West, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 13–14.



adequately represents the *PVL* per se. A gap of over 260 years separates the presumed time of compilation from the earliest copy. But, in the case of the *PVL*, in contrast, we can distinguish between copyist errors and author errors. Clearly, then, we must attempt, through emendation, conjecture, and educated guess, to recover the author's text (with whatever errors were in it) in a way that explains the origin of subsequent readings, rather than impose what the author should have written had he been perfect.

By using L as copy text and RA as control texts, we might come close to their common exemplar ( $\beta$  on my stemma), but we would have difficulty choosing between readings where RA oppose L. There would be a fifty-fifty chance of choosing the better reading, provided that we were not "tyrannized by the copy text." But the resultant text would be midway between an extant copy and  $\beta$ . Instead, in order to attempt to reconstruct the *PVL*, we need to prepare a dynamic critical text as the paradosis. This paradosis, in turn, must be more in accord with the manuscript relationships than previous editions have been.

How then should one proceed to create the paradosis? What criteria should be used to select a copy text? Or should there be a copy text at all? Should a composite version be compiled, as Shakhmatov and Leibovich tried to do? If the *PVL* were a wild or horizontally transmitted text, then picking and choosing readings from here and there among the manuscripts by means of editorial intuition would probably be the best solution. The *PVL*, however, is essentially a vertically transmitted text. Therefore, we must at least consider the possibility of choosing a copy text. Likhachev seemed to suggest that a copy text be chosen according to its better "content" (*po sostavu*), which leaves the editor free to correct mechanical errors.<sup>113</sup>

Greg provided a better solution. His recommendation concerns early published editions of Shakespeare's plays, but it can with equal validity be applied to the publication of manuscripts. Greg suggested that we make a distinction between substantive readings—that is, those "that affect the author's meaning of the essence of his expression"—and accidentals—"such . . . as spelling, punctuation, word-division"—which affect "mainly its formal presentation."<sup>114</sup> Greg pointed out that "it is only on grounds of expediency, and in consequence either of philological ignorance or of linguistic circumstances, that we select a particular

<sup>113</sup> D. S. Likhachev, *Tekstologiya. Kratkii ocherk* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), p. 86.

<sup>114</sup> Greg, "Rationale of Copy-Text," p. 21.

original as our copy-text.” Therefore, “it is only in the matter of accidentals that we are bound (within reason) to follow it, and that in respect of substantive readings we have exactly the same liberty (and obligation) of choice as has a classical editor. . . .”<sup>115</sup> In other words, “whenever there is more than one substantive text of comparable authority, then although it will . . . be necessary to choose one of them as copy-text, and to follow it in accidentals, this copy-text can be allowed no overriding or even preponderant authority so far as substantive readings are concerned.”<sup>116</sup> The copy text takes care of the accidentals, and the editor takes care of the substantive readings.

Although L is the earliest extant copy of the *PVL*, it is idiosyncratic in regard to accidentals, because the copyists may have been trying to “archaize” the orthography. R and A are worse, because they contain late-fifteenth-century spellings. We must eliminate Kh because of its sixteenth-century spellings. But is H (around 1425) much of an improvement? Not really, since it was reworked. Yet most, if not all, of these reworkings have already been identified. If we were able to eliminate the reworked parts, then a fair copy of a good tradition would remain. If we were able to check the accidentals against the other copies in much the same way that substantive readings are compared, then a copy text might be based on H. The difference would be that in doubtful cases, the accidentals of the copy text would be left as they are. With substantive readings we would follow Greg’s advice to edit the copy text as a classical editor should—that is, we would try to recover the original wording. In the end, the number of accidentals left to H to determine are fairly few. Since we have standardized the orthography, punctuation, and word division, H becomes the default only for types of accidentals not already covered, such as word order and some word endings.

Thus, I followed these principles for creating my paradosis:

- RAHKaKt are relatively uncontaminated copies.
- L is contaminated by Novg. I in places between 988 and 1054.
- Kh is contaminated by β-type copy in various places.
- The agreement of L with H is to be preferred to an agreement of RAKh.
- The agreement of RAH is to be preferred to an agreement of LKhKaKt.

<sup>115</sup> Greg, “Rationale of Copy-Text,” p. 22.

<sup>116</sup> Greg, “Rationale of Copy-Text,” p. 29.

- The agreement of LRAKAKT is to be preferred to an agreement of HKh because it cannot be the result of a contamination of Novg. I on L alone.
- When we have determined the readings in the branch protographs  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ , and they agree, then, unless we have a compelling extraneous reason to think the copyists of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  arrived at the same reading independently, we have to accept their agreed-upon reading as having been in  $\alpha$ . For example, in the *PVL*, St. Andrew discusses the saunas of the Novgorodians. He tells us they put something on their bodies before lashing themselves with branches (8,22). In L and t, that something is “tanning fluid” (квасъ усняныи), but in R, A, H, and Kh, it is “soap” (мытѣль). The stemma tells us that “tanning fluid” could not be the reading of  $\beta$  because it is unlikely the copyists of both  $\delta$  and  $\gamma$  changed “tanning fluid” to “soap” independently. It is more likely the copyist of  $\epsilon$  changed the “soap” of  $\beta$  to “tanning fluid.” In contrast, when  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  disagree, then the stemma cannot provide an answer. We are thrown back on our own resources to try to determine the primary from the secondary reading or whether both are secondary.
- A shorter reading is to be preferred to a longer reading, unless a clear case of a mechanical copying error that created the shorter reading can be shown. A mechanical copying error such as eyeskip occurs not infrequently in our manuscripts. For example, in 11,20–11,20a, L and t leave out the phrase “прогънавъше волохы иже беже преже прияли землю словѣньску” because the word immediately preceding that phrase is the word словѣньску—the same as the last word of the dropped phrase. Clearly the copyist of  $\epsilon$  had allowed his eye to skip from the first словѣньску to the second словѣньску before continuing his copying. Another example is the phrase “и монастырѣ и села пожгоша” dropped by H and Kh in 44,16 because of *homoioтелеuton* (i.e., words with similar endings). A third example is in 70,20 where LRA omit the line “и Гръци противу и съразиста ся пълка и оступиша Гръци Русь” resulting from the repetition of the word “Русь” immediately before and at the end of this line. A similar dropping of a line occurs in 177,9 where RA omit “рече има Янь то кьи есть богъ съдяи въ безднь” because of the appearance of the word “безднь” immediately before this line.
- A reading attested to by all the copies is to be preferred to a hypercorrect emendation. Thus, a garbled Biblical quotation that all copies attest to is preferable to a quotation corrected according to our understanding of the best Biblical

reading. This principle also applies to a reading that is testified to by copies in both branches against the reading in one copy or one sub-branch only. The example cited above (p. XXIX) from 218,20–218,24 favoring the reading “eight hundred” over “seven hundred” invokes this principle. The exceptions to this rule are those cases where positive evidence exists that the change occurred independently in the branch protographs rather than in  $\alpha$ . An example of where I accepted the probability of independent branch changes occurs in 49,12, where L reads  $\kappa\rho\beta\eta\epsilon\tau\eta$  whereas RAHKh read  $\kappa\delta\pi\eta\tau\eta$  (with  $\gamma$  and  $\sigma\gamma$  as orthographical variants of  $\delta$ ). The words are synonyms, but  $\kappa\rho\beta\eta\delta\tau\eta$  is much rarer than  $\kappa\delta\pi\eta\tau\eta$ .<sup>117</sup> Since nowhere else does L have  $\kappa\rho\beta\eta\delta\tau\eta$  where the other MSS have  $\kappa\delta\pi\eta\tau\eta$ , we can be fairly certain that no intentional “archaizing” is occurring in L. Therefore, there is a relatively high probability that the copyists of the common exemplars of R and A, on the one hand, and of H and Kh, on the other, independently changed the rarer form to the more common form in this case.

- Wherever possible I present the paradosis in early twelfth-century Rus’ orthography. Scholars have a fairly accurate understanding of what that orthography was from surviving twelfth-century manuscripts. On occasion, we can better comprehend in what way scribes of later copies corrupted the text if we take into consideration what the orthography of the text was that they were attempting to change.

To demonstrate clearly how this procedure operates in practice, we can analyze the heading to the text that appears in each of the five main witnesses plus the existing evidence of the Trinity Chronicle:

A	R	L
Повѣсть временны <sup>х</sup> лѣтъ. Черноризца феоодосьев<а>. монастыра пѣтерьскаго. Ѡкогда е <sup>с</sup> пошла р <sup>с</sup> <каѧ> земля кто в неѧ поу <sup>а</sup> первое кнѧжити.	повесть временны <sup>х</sup> лѣтъ черноризца феоодосьева монастыра пѣтерьскаго, Ѡкоуда е <sup>с</sup> пошла роускаѧ земля и кто в неѧ поу <sup>а</sup> первое кнѧжити.	Се повѣсти врем <sup>а</sup> нны <sup>х</sup> лѣ <sup>т</sup> . Ѡкуда е <sup>с</sup> тъ пошла рускаѧ земля. кто въ кнѣвъ наѧа первѣе кнѧ<жнѧ> и Ѡкуда рускаѧ земля стала е <sup>с</sup> тъ.

<sup>117</sup> A. S. L’vov, *Leksika “Povesti vremennykh let”* (Moscow, 1975), pp. 255–256.

t	H	Kh
се повѣсти временныхъ лѣтъ отъкуду есть пошла русская земля кто въ ней поча первое княжити и отъкуду русская земля стала есть	повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ. черноризца феодосьева монастыря печерскаго. отъкуду есть пошла русская земля [и хто в нем почалъ первое княжи]. стала есть	Повѣсти врѣмennyхъ лѣтъ. нестера черноризца. феодосіева монастыря печерскаго. отъкудоу есть пошла русская земля и кто в нем почалъ первое княжѣ. и отъкудоу русская земля стала е:

If “се,” which appears in L and t, was in  $\alpha$  (see the stemma on p. XXXVII), then one would have to explain why it was dropped in  $\delta$  and  $\gamma$  (or  $\zeta$ ). There is certainly no reason to think that it was dropped independently in R, A, H, and Kh. It is more likely that “се” was added in  $\epsilon$ . The word “Нестера” was added in Kh, and thus cannot be used as evidence for the name of the compiler of the *PVL*.

The phrase “черноризца Феодосьева монастыря печерскаго,” which appears in RANKh, can be placed in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , and  $\delta$ , but not in  $\epsilon$ , from which it was dropped. Haplography due to *homoioteleuton* occurs in H after the word “земля.” This was corrected with the marginal gloss: “и хто в ней почаль първое княжити.” The reading “в Киевѣ нача” appears only in L; the phrase “в ней поча(лѣ)” is in the other copies. Therefore, the mutation belongs not in  $\epsilon$  but in L. This mutation is of special interest to us because it appears in the heading of all the published versions of the *PVL*, presumably for the sole reason that L has it. Clearly, the manuscript evidence testifies to “в ней почаль” in  $\alpha$ . Finally, RA drop the phrase “и откуду русская земля стала есть,” whereas it most likely appeared in  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ , and  $\epsilon$ . Therefore, the heading best attested by the extant manuscript evidence is: “Повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ черноризца Феодосиева монастыря печерскаго отъкуду есть пошла русская земля и кто въ ней почаль първое княжити, и откуду русская земля стала есть.” When one compares this paradosis based on application of a stemma with the preferred heading in other editions, one can see a significant difference.

### *What Is the Text of the PVL?*

This discussion of editing principles leads us to the question of what we are calling the *Povĕst' vremennykh lĕt*. How do we know which readings belong to the archetype when we see them? Not only do we have to distinguish  $\alpha$  from the corruptions and mistakes that were introduced later, but also we have to distinguish it from its sources. The issue begins with the very title of the work. In a recent article, Horace Lunt conjectures that the phrase “повѣсть врѣмень и лѣтъ”

came to be transformed into “повѣстѣ врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ.”<sup>118</sup> Yet, the existence of an earlier form of the phrase does not mean that we need to emend the text of the *PVL* itself. Since my concept of the text of the *PVL* is  $\alpha$ , according to the stemma, then whatever preceded  $\alpha$  is not  $\alpha$ , but part of the text’s sources. If we emend the title to read “врѣмень и лѣтъ” in spite of the attestation of all the extant manuscript copies, then we have to explain how and why the copyists of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  managed to change “врѣмень и лѣтъ” to “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ” independently of each other. In other words, if “врѣмень и лѣтъ” is in  $\alpha$ , then how does “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ” show up in both  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ ? It is possible that the copyists of these two protographs made the same change independently of each other, and we do have other instances of similar coincidence. But there must be a compelling reason for us to accept in any particular case that our copyists did so. Such a compelling reason is absent here.

Another possible explanation is that Sil’vestr wrote “врѣмень и лѣтъ” in his authorial version. Then that authorial version was copied once and lost. The scribe of the copy changed “врѣмень и лѣтъ” to “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ” and all the other copies maintained the mistaken reading. At least two problems arise with this scenario. First, there is no convincing reason to think that Sil’vestr wrote anything different from what is in the common exemplar of all the other copies. Thus, the only apparent reason to suggest that Sil’vestr, in contrast to the scribal copyist, wrote “врѣмень и лѣтъ” is for us to create a more “correct” version. This line of thought assumes that Sil’vestr was somehow more correct than the copyist, but we have no basis for making this assumption. Second, if an error occurred, the more likely place is for it to have occurred in translating the Greek phrase,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\kappa\rho\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , into Slavonic rather than in copying the Slavonic words from one manuscript to another. In other words, it is unlikely the change occurred at the copying level. Subsequent copyists seem to have had no problem with this phrase since they do not try to correct it in any way, although in numerous other cases they do try to make corrections when they perceive their exemplar as being in error. Instead, they are comfortable with “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ,” and do not perceive it as being an error. To change “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ” to “врѣмень и лѣтъ” would, in my opinion, be a hypercorrection and completely unnecessary.

<sup>118</sup> Horace G. Lunt, “*Pověst’ vrěmennykh’ lět’?* or *Pověst’ vrěmen’ i lět’?*” *Palaeoslavica*, vol. 5 (1997), pp. 317–326.

A more plausible explanation than these two scenarios is that “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ” was in  $\alpha$ . Perhaps Sil’vestr made the change or perhaps someone before him made it. If we accept this as the case, then we need to postulate a change at only one point—that is, in  $\alpha$ . This is simpler and explains the reading better than trying to account for how two copyists came up with the change independently or postulating a “correct” authorial version and an “incorrect” first copy. To be sure, it is interesting that, as Lunt pointed out, Karamzin seems to have proposed “врѣмень и лѣтъ” as the correct reading, but that does not really have anything to do with what the compiler of  $\alpha$  wrote in the early twelfth century. That is, it does not “reinforce . . . the plausibility of the emendation” in  $\alpha$ , although it could help support the contention that “врѣменьныхъ лѣтъ,” at some pre- $\alpha$  point, developed from “врѣмень и лѣтъ.”

Instead, I prefer Lunt’s alternative proposal—that is, “leave the attested words, but . . . insist on accurate translation, that is either *The Tale of the Years of Time*, or *The Tale of Passing Years*.” As Dom Quentin pointed out, we need to accept the possibility that authors sometimes made mistakes. We can certainly point out their mistakes and how they might have made them, but he recommends that we avoid the temptation to change the archetype to what a perfect author would or should have written.

A good example of this principle can be found in col. 5, line 22 of the text.

**5,22:**

*Laur*: племенѣ афетѣва нарци еже суть словѣне

*Radz*: племенѣ\* афетова нарицаемн нновѣрци еже соуть словене

*Acad*: племенѣ же афетова нарицаемни норци еже сѣтъ словѣне

*Нур*: племенѣ же афетова нарѣ<ц>аемѣн норци нже суть словенѣ

*Khle*: племенѣ\* афетова нарицаемѣн норци нже сѣт словене

*Bych*: племени Афетова, Нарци, еже суть Словѣне.

*Shakh*: племени Афетова нарицаемии Норици, иже суть Словѣне.

*Likh*: племени Афетова, Нарци, еже суть словѣне.

*Ostr*: племени же Афетова нарицаемии Норци, иже суть Словѣне.

In that line, the Slavic tribe Noritsi is mentioned. *Laur*, however, refers to the tribe as the “Nartsis” (нарци). And both Bychkov and Likhachev follow that spelling in their published versions. *Radz* says the tribe “is called another faith” (нарицаемн нновѣрци), which does not make much sense in this context. *Acad*, *Нур*, and *Khle* have “are called the Nortsis” (нарицаемни норци), which makes it clear that the reading of *Laur* is a parablepsis, a telescoping of нар[ицаемни нор]ци into нарци due to eyeskip from the letter  $\rho$  in нарицаемни to the letter  $\rho$  in норци. But should we then reconstruct  $\alpha$  as containing “Норици” as Shakhmatov does?<sup>119</sup> If we did that, however, we would

lose the reason for the parablepsis, since the eyeskip would have to be from the letter ρ in *НАРНЦАЕМНН* to the letter н in *НОРНЦН* (*НАР[НЦАЕМНН]НОРНЦН*), which is unlikely. It also would leave unexplained how *НОРНЦН* was transformed into *НОРЦН* in both branches of the stemma. In other words, because both *Acad* of the Laurentian family and the two witnesses of the Hypatian family have *НОРЦН*, we have to reconstruct the “incorrect” *НОРЦН* in α. Then we have a ready explanation both for the eyeskip in *Laur* and for the attempt at correcting the text in *Radz*.

### *Creating the Paradosis*

In constructing the substantive readings of α, I followed, insofar as possible, the indicated reading of the stemma. When the two branches stood in disagreement, I chose readings according to the principles of textual criticism described above. When I had no critical means of deciding priority in cases of standoff, I gave both branch readings within curly brackets. In regard to orthography, I followed the lead of Shakhmatov and presented words in the standard orthography of the time. In contrast to Shakhmatov, I treat the reflexive enclitic *ся* as a separate word, and I expand the manuscript abbreviation *црь* into *цъсарь* instead of *цъсарь*. By the early twelfth century, when Sil'vestr compiled his text, that orthography was already changing, but I resisted guessing how that particular monk may have been using transitional orthographic forms. Thus, I maintain *градъ* throughout although Sil'vestr may have, on occasion, used *городъ*. In regard to what α (as indicated by the *Ostr* line) represents, we might say that orthographically it represents a pre-Sil'vestr ideal type that never existed, since no doubt he was already transitioning to later orthographic forms. Substantively, it represents a post-Sil'vestr, pre-earliest-common-ancestor-of-all-extant-copies version since I have allowed myself conjectural emendations only when the stemma and manuscripts do not clearly attest to a preferred reading. And in proposing those, I kept to the principle of trying to explain subsequent manuscript readings. I strongly resisted the temptation to try to create an ideal (i.e., without error) substantive text. The paradosis then, in these few cases, represents substantive readings in a zone somewhere between the author's text and the earliest common ancestor of the extant manuscript copies. Otherwise, it coincides with a reconstruction of that earliest common ancestor, the readings of which I equate with the author/compiler's text (except in those few cases where, as I just stated, I have a specific reason to think they might differ).

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<sup>119</sup> See also Horace G. Lunt, “What the Rus' Primary Chronicle Tells Us about the Origin of the Slavs and of Slavic Writing,” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. 19 (1995), pp. 339–340.



*Conclusion*

The creation of a dynamic critical text of the *PVL* based on all the main witnesses will benefit the study of the early history of eastern Europe and Eurasia by bringing into question many of the long-accepted but inferior readings of previous editions. It will also open the door to re-editing other texts that are similar to the *PVL* in transmission, but that have been edited inadequately. I hope this edition will also lead to the input of all East Slavic chronicles and texts into machine-readable form. Finally, it should provoke debate, discussion, and new thinking about this extraordinary historical and literary source.

Since the Renaissance, the basis of humanistic studies has been the preparation of the best possible editions of primary sources. From Erasmus to Lachmann to Housman, editors of texts have made the main breakthroughs in humanistic studies. Now we are on the threshold of a new era—an era of computer-assisted scholarship. The computer can do the tedious sorting processes more quickly and accurately than any human being or team of humans. The computer, thereby, liberates us for the job we can do better—that is, thinking. Using the computer along with a stemma for editing closed-transmission texts allows us to improve on previous editions of those texts.

By providing an interlinear collation of the *PVL*, I am able to resolve the question of deciding which variants to report in a critical apparatus; the collation reports all differences. By basing my proposed paradosis on a stemma, I have provided what I believe to be the closest approximation of Sil'vestr's early twelfth-century text. By establishing at the outset my principles of text editing, I provide a clear explanation of how the paradosis was constructed. Thus, scholars have all the evidence they need to decide where they agree with my choices and where they think they can improve upon them.

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