

THE NAČAL'NYJ SVOD THEORY AND
THE POVEST' VREMENNYX LET

The Russian scholar A. A. Šaxmatov, in a series of articles and chapters in books, proposed that the Novgorod I Chronicle (Novg. I)¹ and the Compilation (Свод) of 1448 ultimately derive from a hypothetical text he termed the Načal'nyj svod (lit. 'Beginning Compilation'), composed no later than 1095 (Šaxmatov 1897, 1–58; 1900, 1–9; 1908a; 1908b; 1908c, 248–259; 1947, 119–160). Šaxmatov hoped that by comparing the readings of Novg. I with those of the Povest' vremennyx let (PVL), where their texts coincide (see Addendum), he could determine the readings in this lost source text for the PVL. 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 Načal'nyj svod (NSv) as a touchstone to determine which reading was the primary one. In practice, however, his edition of the PVL adopts only a few readings according to the Novg. I, because its relationship to the PVL is more complex than Šaxmatov had hoped.

Correspondences in text between Novg. I and the PVL are extant in only three copies of the Younger Redaction of Novg. I (НПЛМЛ). The НПЛМЛ contains a number of readings that are secondary in relationship to, and apparently derivative from, the PVL itself. Other readings of НПЛМЛ may ultimately be primary but only insofar as they represent PVL α better than extant PVL copies do. In brief, Novg. I does not provide the shortcut, in the sense of being a quick and sure determiner of primary readings, that Šaxmatov initially hypothesized for it. It does have certain value, nonetheless, in helping to establish what some of those primary readings might be.

The NSv Theory in its Present Incarnation

Šaxmatov's NSv theory has found present-day supporters, including A. Gippius (2002), A. V. Nazarenko (2002), A. Timberlake (2001), O. V. Tvorogov (1976), and T. Vilkul (2003, 2004). Until recently, L. Müller has not been a proponent of using the hypothetical NSv to evaluate variants of the PVL. In his translation of the PVL into German he constructed a virtual Rus'ian text to translate from, choosing not to translate from any of the existing editions (Müller 2001, XX–XXII). In creating his hypothetical Rus'ian text of the PVL, he did not

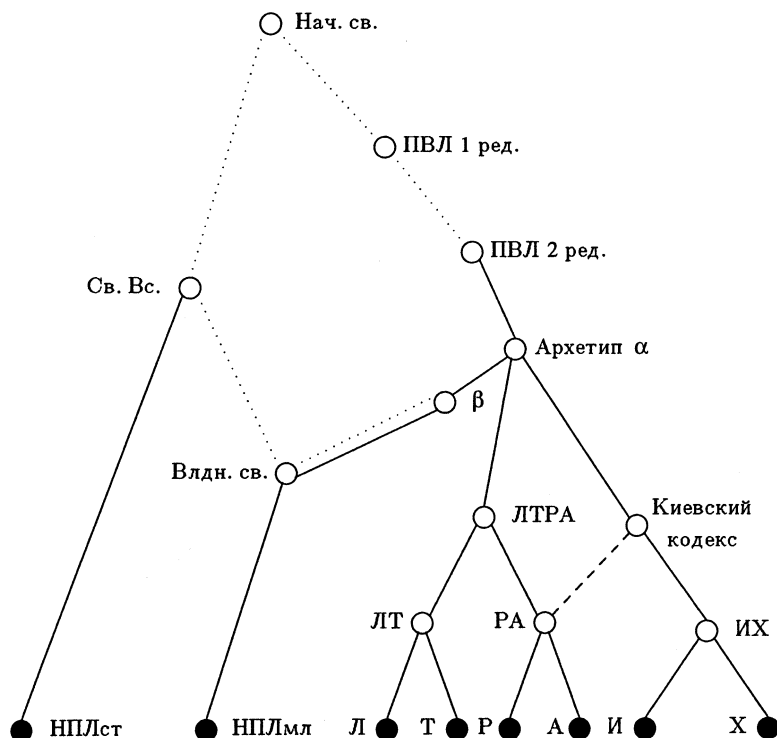


Figure 1. Ludolf Müller's stemma.

use readings from НПЛмл. Subsequently, however, he was convinced by the arguments of Gippius and Nazarenko, and in 2006 published an article in this journal detailing changes in his translation of the PVL that resulted from his acceptance of their arguments in regard to NSv (Müller 2006, 401–436). In addition, in 2006, Gippius finished his doctoral dissertation on the Testament of Volodimir Monomax. In it he devoted a chapter to discussing the relationship of the copies of the PVL to the NSv (Gippius 2006, 143–293). In the present article, I explain as best I can my reservations in regard to the NSv theory, and reaffirm an alternative way to understand the relationship of these texts and their MS copies that coincides closely to the understanding I had in mind when I prepared the paradosis of the PVL for the HURI 2003 publication. This alternative way is better, in my judgment, for explaining the textual evidence.

For purposes of this discussion, I will begin by examining the stemma that Müller (2006, 411) provides in his *Russian Linguistics* article and the stemma that Gippius (2006, 205) provides in his doctoral dissertation. These stemmata represent different applications of Šaxmatov's NSv theory.

According to Müller's stemma (see figure 1), the hypothetical NSv (which he dates to the period 1091–1095) is the common source in a free reworking (as shown by his use of a dotted line) for the hypothetical 1st redaction of the PVL (dating according to him 'before April 1113') and in a free reworking for the hypothetical Svod Vsevoloda (dated to the period 1115–1130). The Svod Vsevoloda (Св. Вс.), in turn, is a common source directly for the hypothetical Older Redaction of the Novgorod First Chronicle (dated to the 13th century) and in a free reworking for the hypothetical Vladyčnyj svod (dated to 1167). The Vladyčnyj svod (Влѣдн. св.), in turn, is a direct source for the hypothetical Younger Redaction of the Novgorod First Chronicle (dated to the 15th century). Moving back to the upper part of the right half of the stemma, we can see that he proposes the 1st redaction of the PVL is a source in a free reworking for the hypothetical 2nd redaction of the PVL (dated by him to 1116). The 2nd redaction of the PVL is, in turn, a direct source for the hypothetical Архетип α – that is, the protograph of all the reconstructed and extant copies of the PVL – (dated by him to the first half of the 12th century). Архетип α, in turn, is a common source directly for the hypothetical β (the exemplar that German Vojata used before 1167), directly for the hypothetical ЛТРА (the protograph of the Laurentian, Trinity, Radziwiłł, and Academy copies of the PVL, dated by him to the period 1177–1193), and directly for the hypothetical Kievan Codex (dated by him to 1200). β, in turn, is a source for the hypothetical Vladyčnyj svod, both directly and as the basis of a free reworking of it. ЛТРА (which he also refers to as the Vladimiro-Suzdal' Compilation of 1177/1193) is a common source directly for the hypothetical ЛТ (the protograph of the Laurentian and Trinity copies of the PVL, dated by him to 1305) and directly for the hypothetical ПА (the protograph of the Radziwiłł and Academy copies of the PVL, dated by him to after 1212). The Kievan Codex, in turn, is a source of contamination for ПА and directly for the hypothetical ИХ (the protograph of the Нупатian and Xlebnikov copies of the PVL, dated by him to ca. 1300). From these 12 hypothetical constructs derive 9 extant MSS (А, И, К, Л, НАК, Р, С, Тол, Х) and 1 MS fragment (Т, attested to in typeset plates prepared for publication).²

In Gippius' stemma (see figure 2), А represents NSv (which he dates to around 1091). В is equivalent to Müller's ПВЛ 1 ред. (but whereas Müller dates it to 1113, Gippius dates it to 1114–1115). С represents the Compilation of Mstislav Vladimirovič, while С₁ represents the archiepiscopal compilation of the 1160s (equivalent to Müller's Vladyčnyj svod). D is the Sil'vestr redaction of the PVL (dated to 1116) and is equivalent to Müller's ПВЛ 2 ред. D₁ represents D contaminated by E. E according to Gippius represents the 'princely' (*княжеский*) or *Mstislavov* exemplar of the PVL (redaction of 1117). The closest equivalent in Müller's stemma is the Kievan Codex of 1200. F is the archetype of the Laurentian group, equivalent to Müller's ЛТРА. G is equivalent

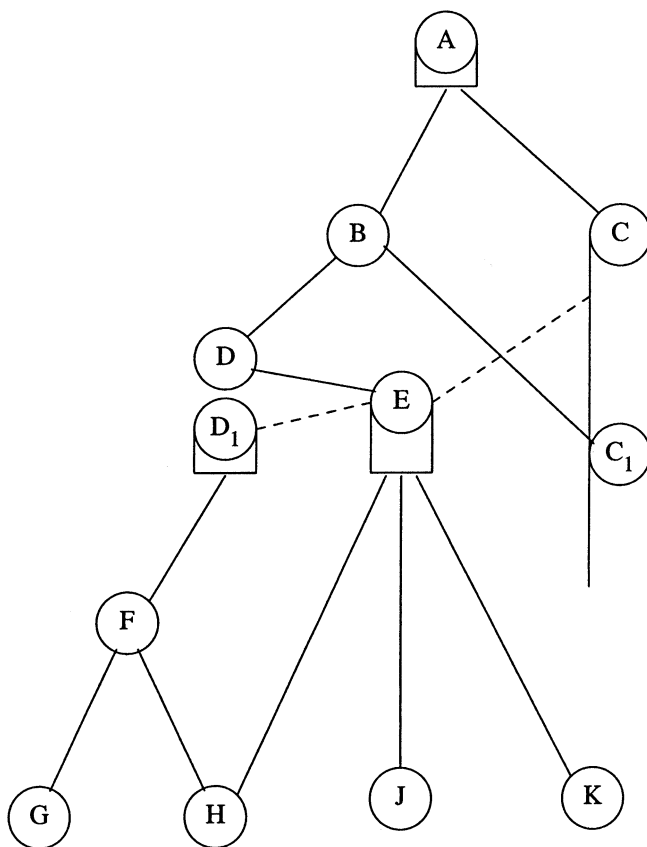


Figure 2. Aleksej Gippius' stemma.

to Müller's ЛТ. H is equivalent to Müller's P. J is equivalent to Müller's И (actually Ип). K represents the southern Rus' source of 1479.

Gippius (2002, 73, 85) used the siglum *v* to designate the protograph of ИХ. Thus, *v* was equivalent to what Gippius is designating E in this stemma and to what Müller is calling the Kievan Codex.

The Problem

One of the claims for these stemmata is that they help to explain how ЛТ and ИПЛМЛ maintain the primary readings of NS*v* against an agreed reading of PA and ИХ (Müller 2006, 404). Without the contamination of PA by the Kievan Codex (in Müller's stemma) or E (in Gippius' stemma), cases of Л = Т ≠ P = A = И = X or, more often, of Л ≠ P = A = И = X would have to be decided in favor of the agreed upon reading of PA + ИХ since any disagreement from Л

and, where we have evidence for it, T can be attributed to a secondary reading introduced in JT (in Müller's stemma) or in G (in Gippius' stemma). But with the contamination of PA by the Kievan Codex (Müller) or E (Gippius), then any secondary reading can be attributed to the influence of the Kievan Codex or E, respectively, which in turn allows Л or JT to carry the primary reading of the PVL and of NSv. The fact that there are cases where НПЛМЛ can be found to be in agreement with Л or JT when $Л = Т \neq P = A = И = X$ or, $Л \neq P = A = И = X$, support, according to proponents of the NSv theory, the contention that the cross-branch agreements of PA and ИX in these particular cases are the result of later contamination.

To make the description of the problem a little clearer, we can consider a hypothetical example and two hypothetical diagrams (figures 3 and 4) to explain it. Let us say that the reading *green* appears in Л and T, or just Л when T is not extant, and in НПЛМЛ. In contrast, the reading *blue* appears in P, A, И, and X. The proponents of the Načal'nyj svod theory would agree that, in general, the branch that Л and T represent is closer to the branch that P and A represent than either branch is to the branch that И and X represent. Thus, on first sight, when P, A, И, and X are in agreement on the reading *blue* against the reading *green* of Л and T or just Л alone, then the primary reading, the one that most likely derives from the archetype would seem to be *blue*. But, according to the Načal'nyj svod proponents, first sight is deceiving. In their view, what has actually occurred is contamination by the branch that И and X represent on the branch that P and A represent, so that *green* is the primary reading, and *blue* a secondary reading that originated in [ИX] (see figure 3). They point to the agreements of readings in Л with readings in the Younger Redaction of the Novgorod I Chronicle as evidence that a reading such as *green* in the hypothetical example derives ultimately from the archetype of the PVL and from the Načal'nyj svod.

It is my contention, in contrast, that better explanations exist for these agreements in each instance; in most cases that the Novgorod line is contaminating the Laurentian branch. Figure 3 represents in a simplified form the relationship of branches if the Hypatian branch contaminated the Radziwiłł-Academy branch showing how *green* could be the primary reading.³ Figure 4 shows the same relationship if the Novgorod line contaminated the Laurentian branch showing how *blue* could be the primary reading.

I will begin with two cases from the PVL that are the reverse of each other in terms of which copies carry the historically or contextually correct reading. I do so in order to demonstrate that we cannot rely on exterior considerations alone to determine primacy of readings. Instead, we need to consider the copying practices of the scribes and assess the likelihood of any particular scribe's willingness to attempt to correct an error or fix a rough reading in his exemplar.

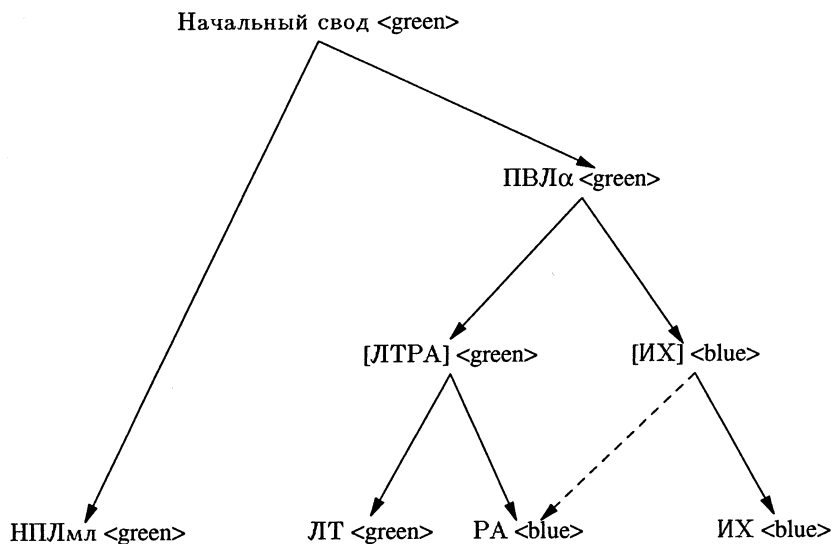


Figure 3. Hypothetical stemma No. 1 (contamination of Hypatian branch on Radziwiłł-Academy branch).

Then I will propose modifications in the stemmata of Müller and Gippius for purposes of testing our respective explanations against the evidence.

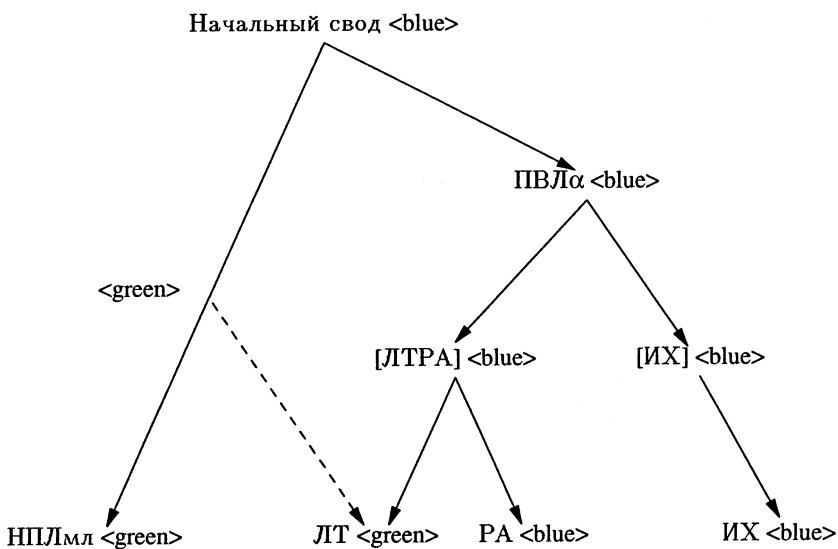


Figure 4. Hypothetical stemma No. 2 (contamination of Novgorod line on Laurentian branch).

The first case involves PVL 60,26/NPL 113,21–113,22 where, s.a. 955, Ol'ga goes to Constantinople and the name of the reigning emperor is given:

PVL 60,26

- Л: вѣ тогда | ц̄рь иманемь цѣмьскни.
 Р: и вѣ тогда ц̄рь ко|стантинъ с̄нъ лешновъ.
 А: и вѣ | тог^А ц̄рь ко|стантинъ с̄нъ лешновъ.
 И: и вѣ тог^А | ц̄рь ко|стантинъ. с̄нъ ле|шнговъ.
 Х: и вѣ тог^А ц̄рь ко|станти^И. с̄нъ лео|новъ.

NPL 113,21–113,22

- К: и бѣ тогда цесарь именовемь чемьскни
 НАк: и бѣ тогда цесарь именовемь чемьскни
 Тол: и бѣ тогда цесарь именовемь чемьскни

Since the emperor at the time was not Tsimiskes but Constantine, the reading *Костянтинъ сынъ Леоновъ* might be considered a correction of the primary but historically incorrect reading. Thus, in this scenario, Л maintains the primary reading of the PVL and of NSv, and НПЛмл maintains the same primary reading of NSv, because the correction, which is made in the Kievan Codex (Müller) or in E (Gippius) occurs at a place in the respective stemmata where it can influence PA and ИХ but not ЛТ or НПЛмл (Gippius 2002, 93; Müller 2006, 419; Nazarenko 2002, 131).

A case that is similar in principle, but reversed in terms of which witnesses testify to the correct reading, occurs in PVL 111,23–111,24/NPL 152,10–152,11 where in the entry for 988, after Volodimir is baptized, he is either married or betrothed to Princess Anna:

PVL 111,23–111,24

- Л: по кр̄щннн̄и же приведе ц̄рцю. | на браченъе.
 Р: по кре|щении же приве^А ц̄рцю на вбручание:-
 А: по кр̄ще|нн̄и же приведе ц̄рцю на вбручєнїе.
 И: по кр̄щннн̄и же приведе | ц̄рцю на вбручєнїе
 Х: по кр̄щенїи же при|веде ц̄рцю на вбручєнїе.

NPL 152,10–152,11

- К: по крещении же приведе цесарицю на брачение
 НАк: [lacuna]
 Тол: по крещении же приведе цесарицю на брачение

Here the expected reading is 'marriage' (*брачение*) since Volodimir had already been 'betrothed' (*обручение*) to Anna earlier in the narrative. The argument,

then, is that the mistaken change of *брачение* to *обручение* occurred in the Kievan Codex (Müller 2006, 419) or in E (Gippius 2002, 95) and that this mistake was adopted directly by IX and through contamination by PA. Thus, as in the reading for PVL 60,26/NPL 113,22, Л maintains the primary reading of PVL α and of NSv, while НПЛМл maintains the same primary reading of NSv. But now the situation of correctness is reversed. The contextually correct reading is carried by Л and НПЛМл whereas the contextually incorrect reading is carried by ПАИХ, just the opposite of the situation in PVL 60,26/NPL 113,22.

Certainly, both mistakes and corrections can be introduced in an intermediary copy, but in such cases one cannot use the status of contextual or historical correctness or incorrectness alone as a test for whether a reading is primary or secondary. Although it is possible the mistake was introduced in the intermediary copy of the Kievan Codex or in E as the result of a confusion of the sound and appearance of the two words, *брачение* and *обручение*, one may ask why the scribe of PA would adopt a contextually incorrect reading from the contaminating source to replace a contextually correct reading in his direct source. Likewise, one could argue that the reading *цѣмьскии* of Л in PVL 60,26 is the secondary reading and that the scribe of ЛТ accepted the historically incorrect reading of Влдн. св. because it harmonized with a similar reading in PVL 72,21:

PVL 72,21

- Л: к ивану нарицаемому цѣмь|скию црю грецьскому.
 P: ко ивану нарицаемому цемьскию црю грецкомом⁸
 A: ко ивану нарицаемому цемьскію црю. |грецкомом⁸.
 И: ко ивану нарицаемому. цимьскому | црю грѣцкому.
 X: къ ивану нарицаемому цискомому царю грѣцкомому.

P, A, И, X could be carrying the contextually incorrect primary reading of the PVL in 111,24 as well as the contextually correct primary reading of the PVL in 60,26 even given the stemmata that Müller and Gippius provide. All one need do is make two minor modifications in each stemma to bring them more in accord with Hypothetical stemma No. 2 (figure 4). First, in Müller's stemma, eliminate the dashed line between the Kievan Codex and PA. Then add a dashed line between the *Vladyčnyj svod* (Влдн. св.) and ЛТ (see figure 1). In that way, we can see that any cases of НПЛМл = Л = Т \neq P = A = И = X or even of НПЛМл = Л \neq P = A = И = X can be attributed to a modification in the hypothetical *Vladyčnyj svod* (or in the hypothetical *Svod Vsevoloda*). That modification is then passed on through contamination to ЛТ and directly to НПЛМл.

Second, in Gippius' stemma eliminate the line between E and H. Then draw a line between E and G (see figure 2). Doing so allows us to explain the appearance of the same secondary reading in Л and НПЛМл without necessitating any cross-branch contamination between ИХ and РА.

Let us look at other cases of НПЛ = Л ≠ P = A = И = X to see if these modifications in the stemmata of Müller and Gippius hold up, and, in effect, to test Hypothetical stemmata No. 1 and No. 2 (figures 3 and 4). For the purpose of this testing, I will focus primarily on Müller's stemma and use mainly the terminology of his sigla. But it should be understood that my findings apply to Gippius' stemma as well. So on what basis does one determine primacy of readings?

The Null Reading as Primary

I examine first those cases with null readings (\emptyset). In PVL 116,18–116,20/NPL 156,4–156,5, we find the following readings:

PVL 116,18

- Л: вѣсть же за вѣно грекомъ. курсунъ опятъ црци дѣла.
 P: дасть же за вѣно греко^м|| курсунъ. црци дѣла.
 A: дасть же за вѣно грекомъ ко|рсунъ. црци дѣла.
 И: вѣсть же за |вѣно курсунъ грѣкомъ. црци | дѣла.
 X: [lacuna]

NPL 156,4–156,5

- К: вѣсть же за вѣно в курсунъ град опятъ цесарицѣ дѣля
 НАК: вѣсть же за вѣно въ курсунъ град опятъ царици дѣля
 Тол: вѣсть же за вѣно въ курсунъ град опятъ царици дѣля

Both Л and НПЛМл have the reading *опятъ*, while P, A, and И have a null reading (\emptyset). About this, Müller (2006, 419) writes: “Чтение Л, очевидно, является первоначальным.” Gippius (2002, 76) writes: “Отсутствующее в РА/И слово *опятъ* несет здесь весьма существенную нагрузку, подчеркивая специфический характер свадебного дара Владимира, состоявшего в возвращении Владимиром грекам только что отнятого у них Курсуня.” I have written in regard to this and similar situations that seeing the influence of the protograph of Novg. I on Л “seems to be a better explanation” than either that Л contaminated the protograph of Novg. I or that contamination occurred between ИХ and РА (Ostrowski 1999, 20; Ostrowski 2003, XLV). Bugoslavskij (1939, 111), Lixačev (1950, 80) and Šaxmatov (1916, 148) chose *опятъ* as the primary reading in their respective editions of the PVL. Gippius provides a reason for the dropping of *опятъ* in both ИХ and РА, but one could also propose the opposite scenario

– that *опять* was added to make the giving of Korsun more in accord with the PVL narrative that Volodimir had taken it from the Greek emperors and was now giving it ‘back’ (*опять*). Here *опять* should probably not be understood as meaning ‘again’ since Volodimir had not given Korsun to the Greeks before, so he could not give it again.

Yet, some 30 years ago, A. Poppe (1976, 240–242) proposed that Volodimir most likely, according to an agreement he had with the Byzantine emperors, took Korsun from rebels who had sided with Bardas Phokas against the emperors. In that sense, then, Volodimir was, strictly speaking, not giving it ‘back’ to them since he took it from someone else, so the primary reading could have been the null reading of P, A, И, and X. The point is that anyone reading the PVL narrative with the null reading could come to the conclusion that Volodimir was giving the city ‘back’ to those from whom he had taken it. But it would be very difficult for anyone reading the PVL narrative with *опять* to conclude that the inclusion of that word was a mistake or somehow should not be there. And, most likely, it would have required special knowledge on the part of the scribes who would do the omitting. Such special knowledge would probably not have been available to a Rus’ chronicler or scribe 150 to 200 years after the event. What is more, for *опять* to have been the primary reading and then dropped in P, A, И, and X would have required two decisions. First, the scribe of the Kievan Codex would have had to have decided, for some reason, to omit *опять*. Second, the scribe of PA would also have had to make the same decision – to omit *опять* – because he would also have had the reading of ЛТРА, from which he was copying directly. He would have been confronted with the need to decide whether to include *опять* from his direct exemplar, ЛТРА, or omit it according to his contaminating copy, the Kievan Codex.

An almost diametrically opposite case to the preceding one occurs in PVL 118,6–118,8/NPL 157,6–157,7:

PVL 118,6–118,8

Л: и се оуже повѣ|женъ ксмь ѿ невѣгла. а не ѿ | аплъ ни ѿ мункь.
 Р: и се повѣжаемъ есмь ѿ невѣгла сего. | а не ѿ аплъ и мункь
 А: и се повѣжаемъ есмь ѿ не|вѣгласа сего. а не ѿ аплъ и мѹченікь.
 И: иже се повѣжае|мь есмь. ѿ невѣгла сего. а не | ѿ аплъ и мункь.
 X: [lacuna]

NPL 157,6–157,7

К: и се уже побѣжаемъ есмь от невѣглас а не от апостоль ни от мученикь

НАк: и се уже побѣжаемъ есмъ от невелиглас а не от апостолъ ни от мученикъ

Тол: и се уже побѣжаемъ есмъ от невелиглас а не от апостолъ ни от мученикъ

Here P, A, and И read *cego* whereas Л and НПЛМл maintain the null reading. If *cego* were the primary reading, then it would be unlikely Л or ЛТ would adopt the omission from the Влдн. св. If the null reading were primary, then that would seem to imply confluence between the ИХ and PA branches. Yet, Gippius makes the point that the superscript *c* in *невѣгла^с* should have a vowel after it and that the vowel can be either an *a* (genitive singular) or an *ъ* (genitive plural). Gippius (2002, 76–77) proposes that syntactically it should be plural. If the vowel is a *ъ*, then ‘the ignorant ones’ are the people of Rus’. If the vowel is an *a*, then ‘the ignorant one’ is Volodimir. Gippius’ observation is a good one, because without the accompanying *cego* in P, A, and И, we would not know whether singular or plural was intended (except in A, which adds the final *a*). Šaxmatov (1916, 150) chose the plural *отъ невѣгласъ* whereas Bugoslavskij (1939, 112) chose the singular *отъ невѣгласа cego*. Lixačev (1950, 81) chose the singular *отъ невѣгласа* but without the addition of *cego*. In my paradosis, I chose the singular *отъ невѣгласа* but with *cego*. On the basis of Gippius’ argument, I accept that the primary reading is the plural form *отъ невѣгласъ* carried by Л and НПЛМл, but I propose that a change to the singular occurred independently in PA and И with the adding of the word *cego*. A further change then occurred in A with the bringing down of the superscript *c* and the adding of the final *a*:

Ѡ невѣгла^с → Ѡ невѣ(и)гла^с cego → Ѡ невѣгласа cego

None of this do I consider evidence for or against contamination.

For Müller, if I understand his argument correctly, such choices as the omission of words or phrases were not made rationally or thoughtfully by the scribe of PA. Instead, Müller seems to be saying that the scribe of PA followed one exemplar and then the other randomly, abandoning correct readings when he ‘depends on the protograph of ИХ’ (Müller 2006, 415). In my article on scribal practices, I proposed a different way of looking at divergent readings when a null reading is involved. In terms of usual scribal practice, a scribe, when confronted with divergent readings in two copies, one of which is a null, will tend to choose the reading from the copy that does not have the null. In other words, the scribe will avoid adopting a blank (Ostrowski 2005, 60). Such a proposal is in keeping with the common practice of scribes to incorporate both of two divergent readings from exemplars into the manuscript they are copying. Since a scribe cannot include both a word and its not being there at the same

time, he would probably choose to include the word from one of his exemplars (especially if that is his direct exemplar) rather than a null reading from the other exemplar (especially if that other exemplar is a contaminating one). Admittedly, it is possible for a scribe to choose, based on the contaminating exemplar, to omit a word or phrase that is in his direct exemplar, but the probability in any given case is that he will not.

A number of other cases of the null reading's being primary when $\text{НПЛмл} = \text{Л} \neq \text{P} = \text{A} = \text{И} = \text{X}$ occurs in the PVL. The following phrases can be found in PVL 117,5/NPL 156,13:

Л + НПЛмл: бо не бяху (НПЛмл: бяху не) прияли *святого* крещения
 P, A, И: бо не бяху (P: бяху не; A: бяхе не) прияли крещения

It is less likely that a scribe would remove a word like *святии* from, than add it to, a passage. Yet, if the word *святии* were in PVL α and thus in the direct exemplar of RA, and if we accept the NSv theory, then the decision to remove it would have had to have been made twice: once by the copyist of the Kievan Codex, as testified to by IX, then by the copyist of PA in order to favor his contaminating source over his direct exemplar. More likely, the null reading was in PVL α , and *святии* was added in the common source of НПЛмл and ЛТ. Faced with having to make a choice between a null reading in his direct exemplar, ЛТРА, and the presence of the word *святии* in his contaminating source, the scribe of ЛТ chose what he probably thought was the safer procedure – include the holy word.

A similar case, but one that is a little more complex, occurs in PVL 117,12–117,13/NPL 156,17–156,18. When Volodimir returns to Kiev, he orders the idol of Perun to be beaten and thrown into the Dnepr River. After the idol floats through the rapids, it comes ashore on a bank. PA + И (X has a lacuna) then read: *яко и до сего дне слово перуна рѣнь*. In contrast Л + К, НАк, Тол read: *и оттолѣ прослу* (К, НАк, Тол: *прослыся и*) *перуна рѣнь якоже* (К, НАк, Тол: *яко*) *и до сего дне* (К, НАк, Тол: *дни*) *слово*. One notices that the appearance of both *оттолѣ* and *до сего дне* seems redundant. Bugoslavskij (1939, 112), Lixačev (1950, 80) and Šaxmatov (1916, 149) opted for the longer reading with *оттолѣ*. In his translation, Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 145) chose the shorter reading of PA + И. It might be argued by those who support the contamination of PA by the Kievan Codex that the scribe of the Kievan Codex did some editing and made the passage more elegant stylistically by eliminating the redundancy. That would certainly be a legitimate argument in regard to a modern editor. But, it has been my experience that Rus'ian scribes did not care much about whether a passage was stylistically elegant or not. Instead conscious editing on their part usually involved adding words even if some of those words replicated what was already there. Such was the case for copiers of biblical texts

as well. So, I suggest that the longer passage is a secondary reading found in НПЛМл and that the scribe of ЛТ, when faced with it in his contaminating source (which in Müller's stemma may be Влдн. св.) decided to opt for the longer, more wordy reading.

A null reading in the other direction occurs in PVL 117,14–117,15/NPL 156,19. After ridding Kiev of all idols, Volodimir sends messengers throughout the town that everyone is supposed to go to the river or risk incurring the prince's displeasure. The beginning of Volodimir's admonition in our witnesses reads:

PVL 117,14–117,15

- Л: **аще | не вбращетьсѧ кто рѣцѣ.**
 Р: **аще не вбращетьсѣ кто заоутра на рѣцѣ.**
 А: **аще не вбращетсѧ кто заоутра на рѣцѣ.**
 И: **аще не | вбращетьсѧ кто заоутра | на рѣцѣ.**
 Х: [lacuna]

NPL 156,19

- К: **аще кто не обрящется на рѣцѣ**
 НАк: **аще кто не обрящется на рѣцѣ**
 Тол: **аще кто не обрящется на рѣцѣ**

Here Л and НПЛМл do not have the word *заутра*. Л also does not have the word *на* before *рѣцѣ*. And НПЛМл puts the word *кто* before *не обрящется* rather than after as the PVL copies do. No mechanical copying error suggests itself as a reason for the absence of *заутра* in НПЛМл and of *заутра на* in Л, so the null reading seems to be primary and *заутра* a later addition. But this passage is not solid evidence in support of the Kievan Codex → PA contamination hypothesis. The word *заутра* could have been arrived at independently by the scribes of ИХ and of PA. Just a few lines further on, the text, with all copies agreeing, says: 'On the morrow (*наутрия*), Volodimir went to the Dnepr with the imperial priests and those from Korsun' (PVL 117,19–117,21). Without the *заутра* interpolated into PVL 117,15, the reader might think the people were ordered to go to the Dnepr immediately and wait a day for Volodimir and the priests to arrive. The insertion of *заутра* clarifies an elliptical passage and, therefore, seems to me a secondary reading independently arrived at.

Similarly, in PVL 117,26–118,1/NPL 157,2, when the people of Kiev are being baptized in the Dnepr, the chronicler writes that either there was 'joy' or there was 'great joy':

PVL 117,26–118,1

- Л: и баше си вѣдѣти радость на нѣси и на земли. |
 Р: баше видѣти ра^Асть | великоу. та^Ж на нѣси. и на земли.
 А: баше видѣти радость велик^В. таже | на нѣси и на земли.
 И: и баше | видити радость велика на | нѣси и на земли.
 Х: [lacuna]

NPL 157,2

- К: и баше видѣти радость на небеси и на земљи
 НАк: и баше видѣти радость на небеси и на земли
 Тол: и баше видѣти радость на небеси и на земли

The additions of the word *велика* in И and of *велику / великую таже* in PA are probably secondary, but turning ‘joy’ into ‘great joy’ is an addition that could well have been done independently by different scribes. As evidence I point to a similar addition of the word *великии* in PVL 118,12 in И and P:

PVL 118,12

- Л: нѣо х^Се бѣ ство|ривыи нѣо и землю.
 Р: нѣо и р^В. бж великыи сотворивыи нѣо и землю.
 А: нѣо и рече: | нѣо и землю.
 И: нѣо и рче бѣ великыи створи|выи нѣо и землю.
 Х: [lacuna]

- К: небо рече боже створивыи небо и землю и
 НАк: небо и рече боже сътворивыи небо и землю и
 Тол: небо и рече боже сътворивыи небо и землю и

Here the appearance of *великии* in P should probably not be attributed to contamination on PA because it does not appear in A. Instead, the only likely explanation is an independent scribal interpolation in P and in И. Thus, it supports seeing the addition of *велику / велика* in PVL 118,1 also as an independent scribal interpolation.

In PVL 119,10–119,11/NPL 158,3, a quotation from Ex. 33:19 occurs. The quotation is complete in Л, К, and Тол, but incomplete in Р, А, and И:

PVL 119,10–119,11

- Л: поми|лѣи югоже аще хоцю помилѣ|ю. помилова
 Р: помило^Вю егоже аще хоцю. помило|ва
 А: помил^Вю егоже аще хоцю. помі|лова
 И: помил^Вю его|же хоцю. помилова
 Х: [lacuna]

NPL 158,3

К: пророкъ помилюю его аще хошу помилюю помилова

НАк: [lacuna]

Тол: пророкъ помилюю егоже аще хошу помилюю помилова

We can ignore the rendering by Л of *помилуи* for the first *помилую* as a scribal accidental. But the question is whether the primary reading is the absence of the second *помилую* in P, A, and И or its presence in Л, К, and Тол. Bugoslavskij (1939, 113), Lixačev (1950, 81), Šaxmatov (1916, 151) and I (HURI 2003, 927) opted for the shorter version (i.e., without the second *помилую*) as primary. Even Vyčkov (Letopis' 1872, 116), whose edition was of Л not of the PVL as such, excluded it from his text and justified the exclusion on the basis of P and A. Karskij (Lavrent'evskaja letopis' 1926, 119), on the other hand, kept the second *помилую* in the text unchanged in his edition of Л. Müller put the German equivalent 'mich erbarmen' into brackets (Nestorchronik 2001, 146). The reading in LXX is: ἐλεήσω ὅν ἄν ἐλεῶ. The reading in the Parimeinik (Ribarova, Hauptova 1998, 307) is: помѡдѡѡ егоже аще помѡдѡѡ. My reasoning for considering the second *помилую* secondary was that if the null reading were primary, then it would be easy for scribes to correct it according to the reading in Ex. 33:19. A mechanical copying error, instead, might better account for the reading in P, A, and И. Following this sentence in all texts is the word *помилова* introducing the phrase 'he had mercy on us in the baptism of life'. Haplography resulting in parablepsis could account for changing the primary phrasing *помил[ую помил]ова* into *помилова*. It would be odd for Sil'vestr to have rendered this quotation in an incomplete way when he wrote the PVL, but it would not be unusual for scribes to engage in eyeskip, not noticing the foreshortening even of a biblical quotation when copying. If the absence of the second *помилую* is indeed an omission, then it is still not evidence for a Kievan Codex → PA contamination since eyeskip is something scribes can and do engage in independently at the same place in the text.

In PVL 119,19/NPL 158,9 occurs a case that provides evidence in support of the hypothesis that Л or ЛТ is the contaminated copy, not PA:

PVL 119,18–119,19

Л: недооѡмѡѡ^М противѡ | даромѡ твои^М. възданыны | въздати.

Р: не оѡмѡемѡ проти|воѡ даромѡ твоимѡ въздати.

А: недооѡмѡемѡ про|тивѡ даромѡ твоимѡ [во]здати.

И: недооѡмѡѡ|емѡ противѡ даромѡ твои^М въздати.

Х: [lacuna]

NPL 158,9

К: и недоумѣмъ противу даромъ твоимъ въздания

НАк: [ласуна]

Тол: и недоумѣмъ противу даромъ твоимъ въздаани

P, A, and И read *въздати* while K and Тол read *възданиа/въздаани*. Л has *въздаянья въздати*. Both Šaxmatov (1916, 152) and Lixačev (1950, 82) chose the longer reading, of Л, as primary. Bugoslavskij (1939, 113), Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 147) in his translation, and I (HURI 2003, 929) in my paradosis opted for the shorter reading, of P, A, and И. What we may have here is a situation where the scribe of Л or ЛТ had a choice of two readings: *въздати* and *въздаянья*. Instead of choosing between them, he includes both, a common scribal practice. If that is the case, then it is likely the exemplar of НПЛмл (θ in my stemma, see figure 5 below) contaminated ЛТ (ε in my stemma) than that the Kievan Codex contaminated PA into dropping *въздаянья*. The absence of *въздати* in НПЛмл renders unlikely the explanation that eyeskip might have occurred here in PA and И.

Another instance of a primary null reading occurs in PVL 140,16–140,19/ NPL 174,14–174,15. I present the relevant passages in parallel columns for comparison purposes:

PVL 140,16–140,19

Ярославу же не вѣдущую отъни
сѣмьрти, Варязи бяху мьнози у
Ярослава, и насилие творяху
Новьгородьцемъ.

[Л adds: *и женамъ ихъ*.]

NPL 174,14–174,15

В Новѣгородѣ же тогда Ярославъ
кормяше Варяргъ много, бояся рати;
и начаша Варязи насилие дѣяти
на мьжзатыхъ женахъ.

Gippius suggested, and Müller accepted, that the presence of the words *на мьжзатыхъ женахъ* in НПЛмл was sufficient to corroborate the reading of Л, which includes *и женамъ ихъ*, as being the primary reading and the null reading of И, X, P, and A as secondary. As one can see, the two passages are not the word-for-word similarity that we have seen in our other comparisons. But enough similarity in content exists to justify Gippius' making his proposal. Bugoslavskij (1939, 130), Lixačev (1950, 95) and Šaxmatov (1916, 178) also accepted the reading of Л as primary. As with other cases of a null reading in И, X, P, and A, there does not seem to be a reason for the scribe of the Kievan Codex to have omitted it or, if he had, for the scribe of PA to accept that omission. On the contrary, it is more likely the scribe of ЛТ saw the phrase *на мьжзатыхъ женахъ* in Влдн. св. and decided to include *и женамъ ихъ* in his copying of the corresponding part of the text of the PVL.

A final example of primary null reading occurs in PVL 161,17/NPL 182,5. It involves the bequeathing of cities by Jaroslav to his sons. After giving Kiev to his eldest son Izjaslav and telling his other sons to heed him, Jaroslav says:

PVL 161,17

Л: а ст̄осла|вѹ даю черниговѣ.
 Р: а ст̄ославѣ черниговѣ. |
 А: а ст̄ославѣ черниговѣ.
 И: а ст̄ославоѹ | черниговѣ.
 Х: а ст̄ославоѹ черниговѣ. |

NPL 182,5

К: а святославу даю черниговѣ
 НАК: а святославу даю черниговѣ
 Тол: а святославу даю черниговѣ

Bugoslavskij (1939, 147), Liḥačev (1950, 108), and Šaxmatov (1916, 204) opted for *даю* as the primary reading. Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 198) included ‘gebe ich’ in angle brackets in the text of his translation. It seems to me the primary reading is *а святославу черниговѣ*, an elliptical construction to be sure, but one that is followed in the text by another elliptical one: *а всеволоду переяславль*. The scribes of the common exemplar of НПЛмл and of Л, or of ЛТ, added *даю* to make the construction a little less elliptical. The agreement of Л and НПЛмл here does not necessarily indicate contamination since scribes could have independently decided to insert *даю* at this point in the text.

Conscious Scribal Editing

One of the methodological issues that we need to consider involves conscious editing by copyists. The question is, to what extent did the stages of copyings and recopyings that resulted in the extant MS witnesses involve conscious editorial decisions and to what extent were they just blind copying of whatever text was in front of them? Timberlake (2001, 197) described the issue well: “On some exceptional occasions, a chronicler might edit the chronicle, revising the inherited text or interpolating external texts (chronographs, oral tales, homilies), or comparing and compiling multiple versions of related texts. When a chronicle was edited it was copied. Not all activities – composition, editing, compiling, copying – occurred at all times, or to the same extent. Still, one individual was responsible for the chronicle at a time, and that individual – the «scribe» (etymologically, one who writes) or the «chronicler», to use broad terms – could act not only as annalist but sometimes also as editor, compiler, and copyist.” My impression, indeed one of the basic principles of my reconstruction of

PVL α , after years of studying the various extant copies, is that each stage of copying involved informed, albeit conservative, editorial decisions. I depend on the scribes of extant copies or of their exemplars to tell me, through what they chose to write down, whether or not they discerned a problem with the passage they were copying. This issue begins with the very title of the work in question. I have argued that the correct reading is *Повесть временных лѣтъ* not *Повесть времен и лѣтъ*. Although the latter may be the source of the former (Lunt 1997), I do not accept that we should then emendate the title that appears in all our copies. The reason for my rejection of this view is my acceptance that the copyists of the PVL acted not only as copyists but also, on occasion, as ad hoc editors, who attempted to correct their exemplar when they considered something to be amiss in a particular passage. In this case, none of them gives any indication that they had a problem with the title as stated, even if they were aware of the other form of the title. We might draw attention to two modern-day examples for comparison. In 1969, Bob Dylan issued an album with the title *John Wesley Harding*. The allusion is to John Wesley Hardin, the gunfighter, but Dylan got the name wrong. It would be hypercorrect, however, for anyone, in referring to the album, to drop the final *g*, because the mistake of adding the *g* to the title was made in the author's text, and that is the way it stands. Likewise, in 1983, the band Judas Priest recorded a song titled *You Have Another Thing Coming*. This is a corruption of the phrase *If you think that, then you have another think coming*. Again, the corruption is in the authorial text and now has an established acceptance of its own. To be sure, pop albums and songs are a different genre from 12th-century chronicles, but the principle of naming is the same in both.

We can use the concept of the intelligent scribe to figure out which reading is primary and why the variant readings are the way they are. For example, PVL 119,1–119,2 describes under the entry for 988 the reaction of the mothers whose children Volodimir sent off for book learning:

PVL 119,1–119,2

Л: м̄т̄ре же | ѡдѣ сихъ плакаху по нихъ. |
 Р: м̄т̄ри^ж | ѡд^а свои^х плакаху^с по ни^х
 А: м̄т̄ри же ѡдѣ сво|ихъ плакаху^{сѡ} по ни^х.
 И: а м̄т̄ри же ѡдѣ | свои^х плакаху^{сѡ} по нихъ |
 Х: [lacuna]

NPL 157,20

К: матери же чад сихъ плакахуся по нихъ
 НАк: [lacuna]
 Тол: матери же чад сихъ плакахъся по нихъ

The distinction is between whether ‘the mothers cried for these [*сих*] children’ or ‘the mothers cried for their [*своих*] children’. Both Šaxmatov (1916, 151) and Lixačev (1950, 81) chose *сихъ*. Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 146) has ‘die Mütter ihrer Kinder’, but decided on the basis of Gippius’ arguments that “чтение Л [...] которое находит поддержку в НПЛ, является первоначальным” (2006, 419). Gippius (2002, 77) argues that *своихъ* is secondary because “сочетание «матери своих детей» и в древнерусском было невозможно”. According to Gippius (2002, 77): “переписчик поторопился и понял *чадъ сихъ* как объект при глаголе (*чадъ сихъ плакахуся*), что и позволило ему заменить *сихъ* на *своихъ*. В действительности же это сочетание относилось к существительному (*матере чадъ сихъ*), а глагол управлял формой местного падежа с предложением (*плакахуся по нихъ*). В результате в чтении РА/И (*матере чадъ своихъ плакахуся по нихъ*) один и тот же объект оказался выражен дважды, что и обличает вторичность этого чтения.” While I accept Gippius’ linguistic assessment, my conclusion is different concerning which reading is primary. The combination *матере же чадъ своихъ* may be awkward but not impossible. The evidence for this is its appearance in both А and И, so it is not just an erratic. One also notices the dropping of the reflexive *ся* in Л after *плакаху*. Putting these clues together, I suggest that *своихъ плакаху ся* was the primary reading. As a result of the awkwardness of the syntax, the copyist of the protograph of НПЛмл attempted to smooth out the passage by changing *своихъ* to *сихъ*. Then the copyist of Л or ЛТ attempted to correct the passage further by dropping the *ся*. Thus, I posit the following progression and, in doing so, invoke the principle of *lectio difficilior*: *своихъ плакаху ся* → *сихъ плакахуся* → *сихъ плакаху*.

In order to accept the reverse direction of change (from *сихъ* to *своихъ*) that Gippius et al. propose, one would also have to explain not only why the copyist of the Kievan Codex hurried and thereby misunderstood the original syntax but also why the copyist of RA would have adopted this awkward phrasing when he would have had the contextually correct, less-awkward reading in his direct exemplar.

In PVL 119,26/NPL 158,14, a phrase appears that continues a quotation from Ps. 132:24: ‘He saved us from our enemies’. Then comes:

PVL 119,26

- Л: рекъ|ше ѿ идолъ сретнь^х.
 Р: рекше ѿ идолъ слоужитель.
 А: рекше ѿ идолослужитель.
 И: рекше ѿ идолъ служит^{ель}.
 Х: рекше ѿ идолослужит^{ель}. |

NPL 158,14

К: ркуше от идоль суетных

НАк: [lacuna]

Тол: рекуше от идоль суетных

Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 147) had translated the continuing phrase as ‘das heißt von den Götzendienern’, from *отъ идоль служитель*, but now he is in agreement with Gippius that the German should be ‘von den eitlen Götzen’, from *отъ идоль суетныхъ* (Müller 2006, 419). Both Šaxmatov (1916, 152) and Lixačev (1950, 82) chose *идоль суетныхъ* as the primary reading. Bugoslavskij (1939, 113) accepted *идоль служитель* as primary. Gippius (2002, 78) refers to the form *идоль служитель* as ‘unusual’ and, therefore, secondary: “необычное написание *идольслужитель* в Акад. и Ипат. объясняется вторичностью этого чтения по отношению к *идоль суетныхъ*”. Once again, I agree with Gippius’ assessment of the linguistics of the case but come to a different conclusion concerning what it means in terms of which reading is primary. And once again, I invoke the principle of *lectio difficilior*. If the combination *идоль служитель* (or *идольслужитель*) is unusual, then one has a clear explanation why the scribe of the protograph of НПЛмл would want to change it to something more familiar – that is, to *идоль суетныхъ*. Then the scribe of Л or of ЛТ adopted the change to a more familiar phrase. The scribes of А and Х also felt a need to smooth over a phrase that may have seemed to them a bit jarring. Their solution, no doubt independently arrived at, was to change *идоль служитель* into *идолослужитель*. Thus, I propose this progression:



Note that if one accepts *идоль суетныхъ* as the primary reading, then the likelihood that it would have been changed into *идоль служитель* in the Kievan Codex is small. Even smaller would be the subsequent adoption of it by the scribe of PA who would have the more familiar form *идоль суетныхъ* in his direct exemplar.

In PVL 130,22/NPL 169,3, the reading of Л, НПЛмл, and Tale of Boris and Gleb coincide, against an agreed reading of P, А, И, and X:

PVL 130,22–130,23

Л: вбертѣвше в коверѣ. и оужи свѣсиша на землю.

Р: в коврѣ. впрѣтавши свѣсиша оужи на землю. |

А: в коврѣ впрѣтавшѣ | свѣсиша оужи на землю.

И: в коврѣ. впрѣ|тавши и оужи свѣсиша и на зе|млю

Х: в коврѣ впрѣтавшѣ. | и оужи свѣсиша на зе^млю

NPL 169,3

К: въ коверъ обертѣвше и ужи свѣсиша и на землю

НАК: въ коверъ обертѣвше ужи свѣсиша и на землю

Тол: въ коверъ обертѣвше ужи свѣсиша и на землю

This passage refers to the wrapping of Volodimir in a tapestry after his death and the lowering of his body through the floor of the building he died in so as to place it on a sleigh for transport to the burial place. Šaxmatov (1916, 165) and Lixačev (1950, 89) chose *обертѣвше*. Bugoslavskij (1939, 122) has *обертѣвше* in his text, but it would appear from the footnote variant 8–9 that he meant to accept *опрятавшѣ/у* as primary instead. Müller (2006, 420) originally considered *опрятавшѣ/у* to be primary, but then was convinced by Gippius' argument that *обертѣвше* is the primary reading. Gippius' reasons for considering *обертѣвше* to be primary are: “Чтение Лавр. [...] выступает между тем в Н1, а также в Сказании о Борисе и Глебе. Есть все основания считать его первичным, а общее чтение РА и ИХ объяснять переключением РА на свой второй источник (типа υ), обнаруживающий себя и далее в рассказе о событиях этого года” (Gippius 2002, 96). Yet, as Müller has amply demonstrated, and as I was able to confirm for myself independently, the Tale of Boris and Gleb derives from the PVL (Müller 1956, 329–363; 1959, 274–322; 1962, 14–44; Mjuller 2001, 22–33; Ostrowski 2005, 62–65). Since it is a derivative text, readings in it should not be used to determine primacy of readings in the PVL. In addition, Gippius' ‘second source (type υ)’ for PA is the equivalent of Müller's Kievan Codex, which I hold is not a source, contaminating or otherwise, for PA. There may be nothing inherent in the readings *опрятавшѣ/у* and *обертѣвше* to distinguish primary from secondary.

Two examples of how the principle of using scribes' modifications to reconstruct the PVL_α text occur in PVL 172,24–172,27/NPL 190,14–190,16 in a digression on the power of the cross for those who believe in it:

PVL 172,24–172,27

- Л: крѣмъ бо князѣ^м в бра|нѣ^х пособить. въ бранѣ^х крѣмъ |
согражаеми вѣрнии люде. | побѣжаютъ супостаты проти|вныа.
- Р: крѣмъ | во князѣ^м и вѣрны^м люде. въ бранѣ^х победа. и
огражае|ми крѣмъ. побежаютъ супостаты противныа. |
- А: крѣмъ во княземъ и вѣрнымъ лю|демъ. во бранехъ побѣда. и
вгража^аеми кре|стомъ. побежаютъ супостаты противныа. |
- И: крѣмъ | во гъ княземъ пособить в бране|хъ. крѣмъ
вгражени вѣрнии че|ловѣци. побѣжаютъ супоста|ты противныа. |
- Х: крѣмъ вв гъ князѣ^м пособи^т въ бранѣ^х. крѣмъ^м
огражаеми вѣрнии лю^{аи}е. побѣ|жаю^т супостаты противныа.

NPL 190,14–190,16

- К: крестъ бо княземъ въ бранех крестомъ бо
огражаеми вѣрнии побѣжаютъ супостаты противныа
- НАк: крестъ бо княземъ въ бранехъ победа крестомъ
огражаеми вѣрнии побѣжаютъ супостаты противныа
- Тол: крестъ бо княземъ въ бранехъ победа крестомъ
огражаеми вѣрнии побѣжаютъ супостаты противныа

Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 210) translated the first part of the passage as ‘durch das Kreuz hilft Gott den Fürsten im Streit’. И and X read *Господь* before *княземъ*. I consider this reading to be a secondary scribal addition in an attempt to amplify the text. Müller (2006, 425) designated the double appearance of *въ бранехъ* in Л as dittography as did Šaxmatov (1916, 218–219) whereas Bugoslavskij (1939, 157) and Lixačev (1950, 115) accepted it as primary. I agree with Müller and Šaxmatov that the double *въ бранехъ* in Л is a secondary reading but propose that it may result from a confluence of readings; that is, of *въ бранехъ* in Влдн. св. (as passed on to К) and of *пособить въ бранехъ* in PVL α (as represented in И and Х). Р, А, НАк, and Тол read *въ бранехъ победа*. Müller (2006, 425) states: “Список РА содержит чтение НПЛ АТ. Я оставляю открытым вопрос о том, перешло ли оно из НПЛ в РА или наоборот.” It may represent neither the influence of НПЛмл on РА or РА on НПЛмл but an independent substitution of the word *победа* in РА on one side and in НАкТол on the other for *пособить*. It seems to me likely that the appearance of *пособить* (‘helps’) in Л, И, and Х derives from PVL α because of the relatively unusual nature of the word. In contrast, the word *победа* (‘victory’) is a common enough word when speaking of a struggle and it harmonizes with the appearance of the verb *побѣждати* (‘to conquer’) later in the same passage, so that different scribes could have interpolated it independently.

The second example from this passage involves the word *вѣрнии*, which appears in all copies but in various combinations. These various combinations represent attempts by scribes to make the text clearer. The word *вѣрнии* is an elliptical expression meaning ‘faithful ones’. As is, though, it can be seen to be only an adjective without an accompanying modified noun. The scribe of PA thought something was misplaced, added the word *людие*, moved the phrase to after *княземъ*, and changed the case to the same dative plural that *княземъ* is in. The scribes of Л and X independently added *людье / людие*, while the scribe of И added *человѣци* all in an attempt to make the passage clearer. I propose then that the primary reading was simply *вѣрнии* as НПЛмл has it. This passage is an example of scribes being active in exercising their editorial prerogative when they believe the reading of their exemplar requires it of them.

Long vs. Short Narratives

Müller (2006, 404) states that “рассказы о княжении Олега, Игоря и Ольги в Новгородской летописи значительно короче, чем в ПВЛ”. In itself, the shorter narratives of НПЛмл do not distinguish primary from secondary. But Müller (2006, 404) goes on to add: “При этом фрагменты ПВЛ, отсутствующие в НПЛ, часто производят впечатление вставок, нарушающих смысловую связь.”

The ‘fragment’ of text that Müller is referring to as an insertion appears between PVL 58,9 and PVL 60,1. In PVL 58,9, in a passage that also appears in НПЛмл (NPL 113,3), the forces of Ol’ga defeat the Derevljany in battle (*И побѣдиша Деревляны*), and in PVL 60,1, in a passage that also appears in НПЛмл (NPL 113,3), Ol’ga imposes a heavy tax on them: *и възложи на ня дань тяжьску*. In the text that appears only in the PVL beginning in the second half of PVL 58,9 and ending at the start of PVL 60,1, the Derevljany, after being defeated in battle, repair to their cities. After besieging the towns for a year, Ol’ga comes up with the stratagem of asking for three pigeons and three sparrows from each Derevljanian household in return for lifting the siege. The Derevljany are overjoyed and supply the required pigeons and sparrows. Ol’ga has her soldiers attach sulfur cloth strips to the birds, which then return to their respective homes in the Derevljany towns and burn the buildings down. Although the tale of the birds appears to be an insert, it does not indicate the НПЛмл account derives from NSv because no reading in the НПЛмл (NPL 110,7–116,26) for the surrounding text (PVL 54,16–58,9 and PVL 60,1–64,13) about Ol’ga is clearly primary in relation to any reading in the PVL witnesses. If НПЛмл derived from NSv, one would expect some indication of that within the text itself, but there is none. Besides, the НПЛмл reading at NPL 110,7 begins в *лѣто 6453. В то же лѣто рекоша дружина ко Игоревѣ*. In the PVL, the equivalent reading in Л, Р, and А begins в *лѣто 6453. В се же*

лѣто рекоша дружина ко Игоревѣ. In the PVL, *в се же лѣто* makes sense since it is a continuation of the same year (6453) that begins at PVL 46,11. In НПЛМЛ, instead, the year entry 6452 immediately precedes the beginning of the narrative for 6453, which makes the phrase ‘In that same year’ somewhat mysterious. The wording *в то же лѣто* in НПЛМЛ could not be part of the original narrative because it is not a continuation of the same year’s narrative. Thus, we can suppose that the phrase ‘in that same year’ in this section of НПЛМЛ most likely derives from the PVL narrative, and that the story of the birds was dropped from the Novg. I account, not added to the PVL account.

Timberlake (2001) took issue with Bugoslavskij’s and my seeing a close relationship between the Hypatian branch and Novg. I. Citing Bugoslavskij’s examples “in which the southern and Novgorod traditions share readings as opposed to the northeastern tradition”, Timberlake (2001, 214) points out that “these (usually longer) readings are interpreted as additions made in the hypothetical antigraph of the southern and Novgorod traditions.” Allowing that “[i]n principle, it is of course conceivable that a textual tradition might enrich the inherited text. In the case at hand, however, the differences involve words or phrases or short passages that are typically lost, not added, in the transmission of texts.” As an example of this loss of text in ЛРА as against the adding of text in ИХ and Novg. I, he focuses on a phrase concerning the deceiving of Ahab that appears in PVL 135,12a–135,12b and in NPL 172,10–11:

PVL 135,12a–135,12b

Л: ∅

Р: ∅

А: ∅

И: рѣ^ѹ бо кто и<д>еть | прелестить ахава. и рѣ^ѹ вѣсь | се азъ идѹ.

Х: рѣ^ѹ бо кто идѣ^ѹ прельстити аха|ва. и рѣ^ѹ вѣсь се азъ идѹ.

NPL 172,10–172,11

К: рече бо богъ кто идет прельститъ ахава и рече бѣсь се азъ иду

НАк: рече бо богъ кто идет прельститъ ахава и рече бѣсь се азъ иду

Тол: рече бо богъ кто идет прелститъ ахава и рече бѣсь се азъ иду

According to Timberlake (2001, 214–215), the “quote makes sense if one already knows the context, which deals with spirits sent to incite evil, [...] [b]ut given the context without this phrase, it is hard to understand why a chronicler would add this quotation out of the blue, as would be required under Bugoslavskij’s hypothesis.” He goes on to indicate that this phrase also appears in the Tale of Boris and Gleb. Citing Šaxmatov, Timberlake (2001, 215) states that the Tale “as a whole was assembled in connection with the translation of Boris and Gleb’s

relics in May 1115, and its factual narrative about the martyrdom of Boris and Gleb is based on a stage of the Kievan chronicle dating to no later than 1115.” Thus, in his view, holding “the belief that the northeastern tradition is older than the southern and older than Novg. I, one would have to hypothesize three events in rapid succession: creating the common text of the Primary Chronicle; editing and enriching specifically the southern tradition; and then using the revised southern tradition as the basis for the *Skazanie*.” He concludes that “[t]here is not enough time to do all that by May 1115, particularly if the middle event is dated to the 1120s” (Timberlake is referring here to Bugoslavskij’s dating of the common protograph of ИХ and Novg. I ‘before 1125’). Timberlake (*ibid.*) proposes instead a “[m]ore likely” scenario in which the Ahab passage was in NSv and “in the first redaction of the Primary Chronicle (hence it appears in the Hypatian chronicle), but was subsequently deleted from the northeastern tradition (by Silvestr or some later scribe).” Timberlake (*ibid.*) explains that “[t]he reason why the southern and Novgorod traditions share readings as opposed to the northeastern tradition is that both have preserved older readings where the northeastern tradition has deleted phrases.” He sees these as “shared archaisms, not shared innovations” and dismisses such “shared archaisms” as “grounds for positing a close genetic affiliation” (*ibid.*).

The implication of Timberlake’s argument is that when the situation И = X = НПЛМЛ ≠ Л = P = A arises, then we should accept the shared reading of И, X, and НПЛМЛ. As ingenious as his argument may be, I find that I am not ready to accept it. First, I have followed the principle that text, in general, is consciously added and mechanically deleted. There are exceptions, to be sure, but the default scenario means that if we believe a passage was consciously deleted, then we need to supply reasons for our thinking so. No reason for the deleting of the allusion to Ahab and the demon in JPA is apparent here. Second, the context for adding the allusion to Ahab and the demon, even if derived from Harmartolos, would have been clear to almost any monk, especially a literate one who was charged with copying (and editing) a chronicle manuscript. Finally, insertions into the text of the PVL in the protograph of the southern tradition do not necessarily mean that those insertions occurred later in time than the copying of the protograph of the northeastern tradition. Since these two traditions or branches of the PVL are separate, one does not derive from the other. So the event that led to ИХ and Novg. I could have preceded in time the event that led to ЛТРА without one having any impact on the other. When the textual evidence does not corroborate the dating framework of Šaxmatov or tentative dates assigned by Bugoslavskij, I do not feel obliged to change the textual evidence to fit the framework or tentative datings, but would prefer to change the framework and tentative datings to fit the textual evidence.

The stemmata of Müller and Gippius do not allow for proximity of readings of И and X with those of НПЛМл. Elsewhere, I identified 124 cases where НПЛМл = И = X ≠ Л = P = A; that is, where И and X share a discrete reading with НПЛМл against Л, P, and A (Ostrowski 2005, 52–56). Yet there seem to be only 16 cases of НПЛМл = Л ≠ P = A = И = X; that is, discrete agreements of Л with НПЛМл against P, A, И, and X. To be sure, in constructing the stemma, one should not count the number of shared readings but weigh them. When one weighs them, however, one is inexorably led to the same conclusion – namely, the readings of И and X are closer than Л is to the readings of НПЛМл. The weight of the readings in those 16 cases does nothing to negate the weight of the readings in the 124 cases, and, indeed, as I have tried to show, most of those 16 cases support the idea of contamination of the protograph of НПЛМл on Л and speak against the contamination of the hypothetical Kievan Codex on PA.

The Lectio Singularis as Secondary

In addition, Gippius, Müller, and Nazarenko, as the result of the positing of a hypothetical contaminator, the Kievan Codex (in Müller’s stemma) and the Princely redaction of 1117 (in Gippius’ stemma), and the respective contamination by these hypothetical constructs on PA, even when НПЛМл does not provide agreement with a reading in Л or ЛТ, then proceed to accept as primary the reading in Л when Л ≠ P = A = И = X (that is, when НПЛМл carries no corresponding text). I will deal with the examples that Müller and Gippius provide of their preference for the reading of Л against an agreement of P, A, И, and X when no corresponding text appears in НПЛМл.

In PVL 10,5, P, A, И, and X have the line *не свѣмы, нъ тѣкмо о семь вѣмы*, which does not appear in Л or T:

PVL 10,5

Л: приходившю емѹ ко цр̄ю. якоже сказють.

Т: приходившю ему и ко царю якоже сказють

Р: прох^од^ившю емоѹ ко цр̄ю не свѣмы. | но токмо в сѣв^мѣмы
яко^ж сказ^оють.

А: приш^ѣш^ѣш^ѣ емѣ | кѣ цр̄ю не свѣмы. но токмо в семь вѣмы.
якоже | сказ^ѣють.

И: приходившю емѹ кѣ цр̄ю | не свѣмы. но токмо в се|мѣ вѣмы
якоже сказ^ѣють.

Х: прих^ѣвшю емоѹ кѣ цр̄ю, не свѣмы ||

Gippius (2002, 89) characterizes the passage as “синтаксис фразы граничащий с абсурдом” and concludes that the words appearing in P, A, and И, and

(partially) in X that do not appear in J and T must, therefore, be secondary. Müller, who had included this phrase in his translation (Nestorchronik 2001, 9) as a parenthetical expression, then agreed with Gippius that it must be secondary and that the Kievan Codex contaminated PA (Müller 2006, 413). Šaxmatov (1916, 9) recognized a difficulty with the syntax and added the word *кото-рого* before *не съвѣмы* to make the meaning clearer. Bugoslavskij (1939, 36) included the phrase as it is from P, A, and И. Lixačev (1950, 13) followed J in not including the phrase at all. If, as Gippius and Müller argue, the phrase *не съвѣмы, нѣ тъкъмо о семь вѣмы* itself must be secondary because its syntax 'borders on the absurd', then what that involves is the scribal editor of the Kievan Codex adding a parenthetical phrase, whose syntax 'borders on the absurd' to the text. Subsequently, the scribes of ИХ, not to mention И and X, as well as П and E, copy it without any attempt to correct it or make it smoother. In addition, the scribe of PA incorporates it (through contamination) and the scribes of P and A also copy it down without any attempt to correct it or make it smoother. Such a complex scenario seems highly unlikely. Gippius and Müller would be on more substantial ground if they were to argue that the phrase *не съвѣмы, нѣ тъкъмо о семь вѣмы* was a colloquialism that appears ungrammatical to us but was acceptable and understandable at the time. Languages are full of such colloquial expressions that syntactically and grammatically would not pass technical inspection by some scholar 900 years later. One can think, for example, of the expression *I should of stood in bed*, a Yiddish idiom popularized in American English by the fight promoter Joe Jacobs. The syntax of this expression borders on the absurd and the grammar is nonsensical, yet native English speakers know what it means: 'I should have stayed in bed'. If we are dealing with such an idiom here, then that would explain the willingness of subsequent scribes to copy the phrase in tact.

In response to a query of mine about this passage, M. Flier provided the following analysis: "I don't see a major problem here. There is a modal meaning of 'able' that correlates with perfective, so the [не] *съвѣмы* is not simply 'we won't know' but rather 'we can't know' = we can't understand (cf. Russian [не] *пойму* 'I don't understand', lit. 'will not understand'). Therefore, the whole construction looks to relate something on the order of 'If Kyi had been a ferryman, then he would not have gone to Tsar'grad. But lo, Kyi was head of his clan and [precisely] when he came to the tsar', we cannot determine, but one thing/this we do know, as they say, that he received great honor from the tsar.' Note how the passage contrasts Kyi [as] mere ferryman (and therefore no global traveler) and Kyi as statesman, an analogous contrast to detailed knowledge of the timing of the trip and the result of the undertaking. I prefer the readings with *ce* 'lo' to those with *ceu / cuiu* 'this' because the writer is not contrasting

two people with the same name so much as underscoring the fact that this Kyi was no slouch: he was the head of his clan, after all.”⁴

If the phrase’s absence in JT is not an attempt to correct an awkward phrasing, no matter whether it is a grammatical or non-grammatical idiom, then how do we explain that absence? The phrase itself occupies almost exactly one line of text in manuscript. Although haplography due to similar beginnings, middles, or endings is not operative here, what is possible is a damaged exemplar either at the top or bottom of the folio thus dropping a line. If that was the case, the phrase would not have been missed by the copyist of JT. Although a damaged or missing folio may seem unlikely, note that X drops the end of the phrase after *не свѣмы* as a result of the next folio having been lost.

In PVL 47,1, in the list of envoys and the person each of them represents for the Treaty of 944, Л includes the combination *Прастѣнь Берновъ*, which does not appear in P, A, И, or X:

PVL 46,29–47,1

Л: в<оико>въ. истръ. амин<о>до<въ>. | <прастѣнь. берновъ.

нѣтагъ. г҃нарѣвъ>

Р: вѣисковъ. ико|въ. истро аминдовъ. нѣтагъ. г҃нарѣвъ.

А: вѣисковъ. ико|въ. истръ ѡминдовъ. нѣтагъ. г҃нарѣвъ.

И: воистовъ. | иковъ истръ ѡминдовъ^h. | нѣтагъ г҃нарѣвъ

Х: воистовъ иковъ. и|стре ѡминдовъ. нѣтагъ. н҃нарѣвъ.

Bugoslavskij (1939, 63), Lixačev (1950, 34) and Šaxmatov (1916, 52) followed Л in including *Прастѣнь Берновъ*. Müller also included *Прастѣнь Берновъ* in his list, but stated that since “[n]ur in L, darum schwach bezeugt” (Nestorchronik 2001, 56 fn. 6). Nazarenko (2002, 131–132) took issue with Müller’s saying the reading was ‘weakly attested’ and argued in favor of the primacy of the reading on the following basis: “Крайне трудно представить себе, на основании каких источников составители свода 1305 г. или, тем более, «Лаврентей мних» могли внести такое добавление (имена выглядят вполне аутентичными)”. Müller accepted Nazarenko’s argument and attributed the null reading of P, A, И, and X to contamination of the Kievan Codex on PA. Although copying such lists is not always done accurately and one can imagine that the copyist of the Kievan Codex could have skipped the names *Прастѣнь Берновъ* as a result of the same ending, *-овъ*, of the preceding name, *аминодовъ*, it is difficult to imagine why the copyist of PA would have chosen to adopt the eyeskip of the hypothetical Kievan Codex when he would have had the testimony of *Прастѣнь Берновъ* in his exemplar. Despite that, we do not know the source of Л’s inclusion of *Прастѣнь Берновъ* into the text, and unless we posit an independently parallel eyeskip at the same point in the text for the scribes of

both PA and the Kievan Codex, we must consider the reading of Л a lectio singularis and, therefore, a secondary interpolation.

In PVL 142,16–142,17, in regard to the battle on the ice between the forces of Jaroslav and those of Svjatopolk in 1016, a phrase that appears in Л and X does not appear in P, A, and И:

PVL 142,16–142,17

- Л: и въстѹпиша на ледѣ. | и обломисѧ с ними ледѣ ѡдалати наѡ харославѣ.
- Р: и въстѹпиша на лѣ. и ѡдалати на харославѣ.
- А: и востѹпиша на лѣ. и ѡдолати наѡ харославѣ. |
- И: и въстѹпиша на ледѣ. и ѡдолѣвати наѡ харославѣ.
- Х: и въстѹпиша на лѣ. и обломисѧ лѣ с вои стѹпоуи | и мнѡзи потопоша въ вода. и ѡдолати наѡ харославѣ.

Bugoslavskij (1939, 132), Lixačev (1950, 96), Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 176) and Šaxmatov (1916, 180) all accepted the reading of Л, which implies that the absence of the phrase *и обломися с ними ледѣ* in P, A, and И is the result of haplography due to the repetition of the word *ледѣ*. Gippius (2002, 98) argued that the haplography is evidence for contamination between the ИХ branch and the PA branch and Müller (2006, 420) accepted his argument. I continue to hold the view that the null reading here is primary, the reasons for which I stated elsewhere (Ostrowski 2005, 59–61).

In PVL 236,7–236,8, a passage occurs that derives from the Revelations of Pseudo-Methodios of Patara about the closing up of unclean people in a mountain by Alexander of Macedon according to a commandment of God:

PVL 236,7–236,8

- Л: и тѹ створишасѧ врата мѣдѧна. и помазашасѧ сѹнкли|тѹ.^М
- Р: и сотвори врата мѣдѧнаѧ. и помаза соѹнкли|томѣ.
- А: и сотвори врата мѣдѧнаѧ. и по|маза сѹнкли|томѣ.
- И: и створиша врата мѣ|денѧ. и помазаша сѹнкли|томѣ.
- Х: и сътвориша врата мѣденѧ, | и помазаша сѹнкли|тѹ.^М

In this passage, Л differs from P and A, on one hand, and И and X, on the other. In its passive construction, Л implies that God made the brass gate, while P, A, И, and X, with their active construction, has Alexander of Macedon making it. Šaxmatov (1916, 294–295) and Lixačev (1950, 168) accepted the reading of Л as primary. Bugoslavskij (1939, 202) accepted the passive voice of Л for *створишасѧ* but the active voice of И and X for *помазаша*. Müller, in his translation, preferred the active voice readings of P, A, И, and X: “Und

man machte ein ehernes Tor und bestrich es mit Sunklit” (Nestorchronik 2001, 275). Gippius challenged Müller’s preference, pointing out that the reading of Л corresponds to the reading in the Slavonic translation of the Revelations. Gippius (2002, 109) argued that this case is evidence for the contamination of PA by v. Müller (2006, 428) accepted Gippius’ argument. In my edition, I followed Šaxmatov and Lixačev in accepting the reading of Л, although this overruled my stemma (HURI 2003, 1860–1861). I now think I was mistaken to do so and that the active voice is the primary reading. The reading of Л does indeed follow the passive voice and wording of the Chronograph version of the Slavonic translation of the Revelations and not the active voice or wording of the Synodal or Hilandar versions (Istrin 1897, 89–90):

Откровение Мефодия Патарского

Хронограф: сотворишася отъ Бога врата мѣдныя и помазана быша суньклитомъ
 Синод.: и заковаша а враты желѣзны и замазаша аоункитомъ
 Хиланд.: и оковаше врати желѣзныи и замазашесе синкытомъ

Although in this passage Л coincides closely to the Chronograph version, in other passages that derive from the Revelations, Л and the Chronograph version do not coincide so closely. Both P. Potapov and V. M. Istrin proposed that the compiler of the PVL used a no-longer-extant Slavonic translation (Istrin 1924, 380–381; Potapov 1911, 97–103). S. H. Cross (1929, 337–338) disagreed and proposed that the compiler of the PVL was merely citing from memory. Šaxmatov (1940, 97) proposed that the compiler of the PVL combined the two oldest Slavonic translations. None of these scholars seems to have looked beyond the reading of Л in this passage, which they assumed to be primary. While the choice of words would appear to indicate that the author of the PVL followed the Chronograph version of the Slavonic translation and thus adopted the passive voice construction, in fact, another possibility needs to be considered. The reading of P, A, И, and X is closer to the first redaction, version b, of the Greek text of this passage in the Revelations: καὶ κατεσκεύασε πύλας χαλκᾶς καὶ ἐπέχρισεν αὐτὰς ἀσυγήτην (‘he constructed brass gates and coated them with an indestructible adhesive’) (Istrin 1897, 18–20). If we posit that P, A, И, and X carry the primary reading, then we can see that it derives either from the Greek version or from an unknown Slavonic translation that follows the Greek more closely than the known translations. Thus, I propose that contamination does take place here but not between the PA and ИХ branches. Instead contamination is probably by a Chronograph-like Slavonic translation of the Revelations on Л or ИТ.

In the entry for 1096, when the army of Mstislav Volodimirovič battles the army of Oleg Svjatoslavič, Mstislav’s father sends Polovecjan troops to support his son. Mstislav then puts a Polovecjan in charge of Volodimir’s Standard. The

textual issue is the name of this Polovcjan. In PVL 239,20, Л names him *Кунуй*, whereas P, А, И, and X name him *Куманъ*:

PVL 239,19–239,23

- Л: и вѣдѣсть мѣстиславъ стагъ во|лодимеръ половчинѹ имене^М | кунѹи
 P: и вѣдѣ мѣстиславъ стагъ | свои володимеръ. половчинѹ. имене^М.
 кѹманѹ.
 А: и вѣдѣ мѣстиславъ ста|гъ свои володимеръ. половчинѹ иманемъ
 кѹ|манѹ.
 И: и вѣдѣ мѣсти|славъ стагъ володимеръ | половчинѹ. имене^М
 кѹманѹ.
 X: и вѣдѣ мѣстиславъ стагъ свои вол^Аѹ|мероѹ половчиноѹ имене^М
 коѹманоѹ.

Л goes on a line later to include the phrase *заведѣ кунуи пѣшыиѣ*, which does not appear in P, А, И, and X. Both Šaxmatov (1916, 298) and Lixačev (1950, 170) follow Л in naming the Polovcjan ‘Kunui’ and in including the phrase from Л about Kunui’s leading the infantry. Bugoslavskij (1939, 205) followed the reading of P, А, И, and X in naming the Polovcjan ‘Kuman’ and in not including the phrase about his leading the infantry. Müller, in his translation, also followed P, А, И, and X with “mit Namen Kumanu” (Nestorchronik 2001, 278). Gippius challenged Müller’s acceptance of ‘Kuman’ as the name for the Polovcjan, arguing that the scribe of the protograph substituted *Куман* for *Кунуй*, conflating the name of the Polovcjan with the ethnographic name *Cumans* (‘Кумани’) for the Polovcjans. Then, according to Gippius (2002, 110–111): “Поскольку, однако, в следующей фразе то же имя встретилось еще раз, писец, осознав свою ошибку, но не желая противоречить уже написанному, просто пропустил это второе упоминание, в результате чего предложение оказалось без необходимого подлежащего.” Subsequently, in Gippius’ view, the scribe of PA copied it from his contaminating source.

Although Müller (2006, 429) accepted Gippius’ argument, I find that I cannot. Even if one were to grant the scenario of the scribe of the protograph of ИХ eliminating the phrase about Kunui’s leading the infantry because he did not want to admit he made a mistake a line earlier in writing ‘Kuman’ rather than ‘Kunui’, I do not see why the scribe of PA, who presumably had the correct reading of ЛТРА in front of him, would choose also to cover up the mistake of the scribe of the protograph of ИХ. In addition, we have to look at the name itself. As Gippius noted, ‘Kunui’ may be a normal Polovcjan name, but so too is ‘Kuman’. In PVL 279,6, under the entry for 1103, where there appears a list of Polovcjan princes killed in battle, the name ‘Kuman’ appears. One might even suggest that this Prince Kuman is the same Kuman who assisted Mstislav Volodimirovič in

1096. One reason I think this might be the case is Mstislav's entrusting the Polovcjan with Volodimir's Standard. Such a prestigious responsibility would most likely be assigned only to someone of very high status, such as a prince among the Polovcians. I think we can reverse Gippius' argument and propose that it was the scribe of Л or ЛТ who made the mistake in writing 'Kunui' for 'Kuman', then tried to coverup his mistake by adding the phrase about Kunui's leading the infantry. So, this is yet another case (two cases, in fact) where the lectio singularis of Л must be rejected.

There are many more cases of Л carrying the singular reading. In the entry for 1093 alone, I counted 127 cases of Л ≠ P = A = И = X (Ostrowski 1981, 20). Lixačev accepted 34 of those cases as representing the primary reading in Л. In the other 93 cases, he considered the singular reading of Л to be secondary. In other words, in 26% of the cases, Л, according to Lixačev, carried the primary reading (in which case the contrary agreement of P, A, И, and X is explainable by contamination), while in the other 74% of these cases, Lixačev considered Л's reading to be idiosyncratic.

The reading of Л is, thus, used to determine whether contamination between the ИХ branch and the ПА branch has occurred. If the reading of Л agrees with ПА, then no contamination is considered to have occurred. If the reading of Л disagrees with ПАИХ and if the reading of Л is thought to be contextually primary, then contamination is considered to have occurred on ПА. If the reading of Л disagrees with ПАИХ and the reading of Л is thought to be idiosyncratic, then no contamination on ПА is thought to have occurred. In effect, Л is given a privileged status as determiner over and beyond all other MS witnesses to the PVL. Or, as Müller (2006, 404, 415) wrote: "В вопросе о первоначальном чтении Л теперь имеет такой же вес, как все другие списки вместе взятые", and "Л имеет такую же ценность, как четыре других списка вместе взятых". Müller (2006, 404) does acknowledge, however, that "не все особые чтения Л (в отличие от ИпХРА) являются «правильными»: речь может идти и об особых ошибках Л или ЛТ." In my edition, I tried to give equal weight to all the main witnesses to the PVL and not to privilege any one over the others. I must admit, however, that I did tend to give more weight to an agreement of Л and И against the others even when the others were in agreement among themselves. So, when Л = И ≠ P = A = X, I chose Л = И.

An example occurs in PVL 229,1–229,2 where Svjatopolk Izjaslavič and Volodimir Vsevolodovič are angry with Oleg Svjatoslavič for not joining them in their expedition against the Polovcians in 1095:

PVL 229,1–229,2

Л: и бѣ^с межи ими ненави|сть·:
 Р: и бѣ^с межи има ненави|сть.
 А: и бѣ^с|межи има ненависть·
 И: и бѣ^с межи ими ненависть· |
 Х: и бѣ^с межи има ненависть.

Both Л and И carry the plural form *ими* while Р, А, and Х carry the dual *има*. Bugoslavskij (1939, 198), Lixačev (1950, 149) and Šaxmatov (1916, 287) opted for the plural *ими*. Müller (Nestorchronik 2001, 268, fn. 3) also chose the plural *ими* in his translation and justified his choice on the basis that there were three princes involved. Gippius questioned that choice drawing attention to a parallel construction in the entry for PVL 74,16–74,17 where the dual form is used:

PVL 74,16–74,17

Л: и ѡ то бѣ^с мю ими | ненависть. ярополкѹ на вльга.
 Р: ѡ то^м бѣ^с межи има не<нависть> | И <на>рость ярополкѸ на влга.
 А: ѡ томъ бысть межи има ненависть. | ярополкѸ на влга.
 И: и ѡ то^м. бѣ^с межи има нена|висть ярополкѹ на вль|га.
 Х: и ѡ | то^м бѣ^с ме^{жи} ими ненависть. ярополкоѹ на влга. |

NPL 124,14

К: и оттолѣ бысть межи ими ненависть яропольку на олга
 НАК: и оттолѣ бысть межу ими ненависть ярополку на олга
 Тол: и оттолѣ бысть межу ими ненависть ярополку на олга

Müller accepted Gippius' argument about the parallel with PVL 74,16–74,17 and decided the dual *има* in PVL 229,16–229,17 was the primary reading. I think Müller was correct in initially choosing the plural form *ими* in PVL 229,16–229,17 to be primary. One notes a couple of problems with PVL 74,16–74,17 as a parallel. First, the reference in PVL 74,16–74,17 is to two individuals, Jaropolk and Oleg, whereas the reference in PVL 229,16–229,17 is to three individuals. Second, the dual form *има* in PVL 74,16–74,17 is carried by Р, А, and И, whereas the plural form *ими* is carried by Л, Х, and НПЛМл. One of the arguments that Gippius et al. have been making is that when НПЛМл is in agreement with Л against a cross-branch agreement of Р, А, and И, then we can expect that latter agreement to be the result of contamination from the protograph of ИХ. In this scenario, the reading of Х would be seen as a correction of the obviously incorrect plural reading in ИХ. To be consistent, they should be arguing that the primary reading in PVL 74,16–74,17 is carried

by $\text{НПЛМЛ} = \text{Л}$, which is the plural. As such, it should not be used as a parallel for choosing the dual elsewhere in the text.

I accepted the plural *ими* of PVL 229,16–229,17 because Л and И carry it as against the *ума* reading of P, A, and X. Since I am not bound by the contamination of PA hypothesis, I can accept *ума* as the primary reading of PVL 74,16–74,17 and suggest that the dual reading *ума* of P, A, and X was a scribal error independently committed in PA and X by scribes familiar with the *межи ума ненависть* construction. In my view, Л and И together carry greater weight than P, A, and X together, but no single MS carries greater weight than, or even equal weight to, the others combined. In addition, instead of choosing the contextually correct reading as primary and dismissing the others as scribal mistakes, I tried to choose the reading that would explain the others.

In any stemma of two or more branches, a lectio singularis is by definition secondary. But with the NSv theory and the superstructure of hypothetical copies that preceded and extraceded transmission of the PVL text, Gippius, Müller, and Nazarenko are, in effect, making the attempt to justify some of the lectiones singulares of Л as primary. As in my discussion of those cases where $\text{НПЛМЛ} = \text{Л} = \text{T} \neq \text{P} = \text{A} = \text{И} = \text{X}$ or $\text{НПЛМЛ} = \text{Л} \neq \text{P} = \text{A} = \text{И} = \text{X}$, I cannot agree that Л alone always or usually carries the primary reading. It is only on rare occasions, as in PVL 118,7 (described above), that I see it doing so. The superstructure of hypothetical copies involved in the NSv theory (as depicted especially in Müller's stemma) indicates that contamination can occur. The question is when and where. Given the nature of the readings $\text{Л} = \text{T} \neq \text{P} = \text{A} = \text{И} = \text{X}$ and $\text{Л} \neq \text{P} = \text{A} = \text{И} = \text{X}$, I would have to say that it is more likely ЛТ (in figure 1) or even at ε in my stemma is the place where the contamination occurred.

In my modified stemma (see figure 5), I have moved the line representing contamination from $\theta \rightarrow \text{Л}$ (HURI 2003, XXXIX) to $\theta \rightarrow \varepsilon$ because by assigning dates to the different events leading up to the creation of the extant MS copies, Müller led me to realize that the event leading to the creation of НПЛМЛ (θ in my stemma; Влдн. св. in his) could have occurred as early as 1167. The event leading to the creation of Л and of T is generally agreed to be 1305, plenty of time for θ to contaminate ε . Otherwise, I have moved the sigla representing hypothetical copies and extant MSS into an approximate chronological relationship if one were to accept the provisional dating that has been assigned to them and their equivalents. Thus, my α dates to 1116, the date of Sil'vestr's colophon. Bugoslavskij (1941, 36) provisionally dated the equivalent of γ to 'before 1125'. Müller (2006, 411–412) provisionally dated the equivalent of θ to 1167; of β to 1177–1193; and of δ to after 1212. The equivalent of ε has been dated to 1305, and of ζ to ca. 1300. Л is dated to 1377; T to 1408 (Serbina 1950, 3); И to ca. 1425 (Lixačev 1891, 52–53); P to ca. 1487 (Kloss 1997, I); A to the

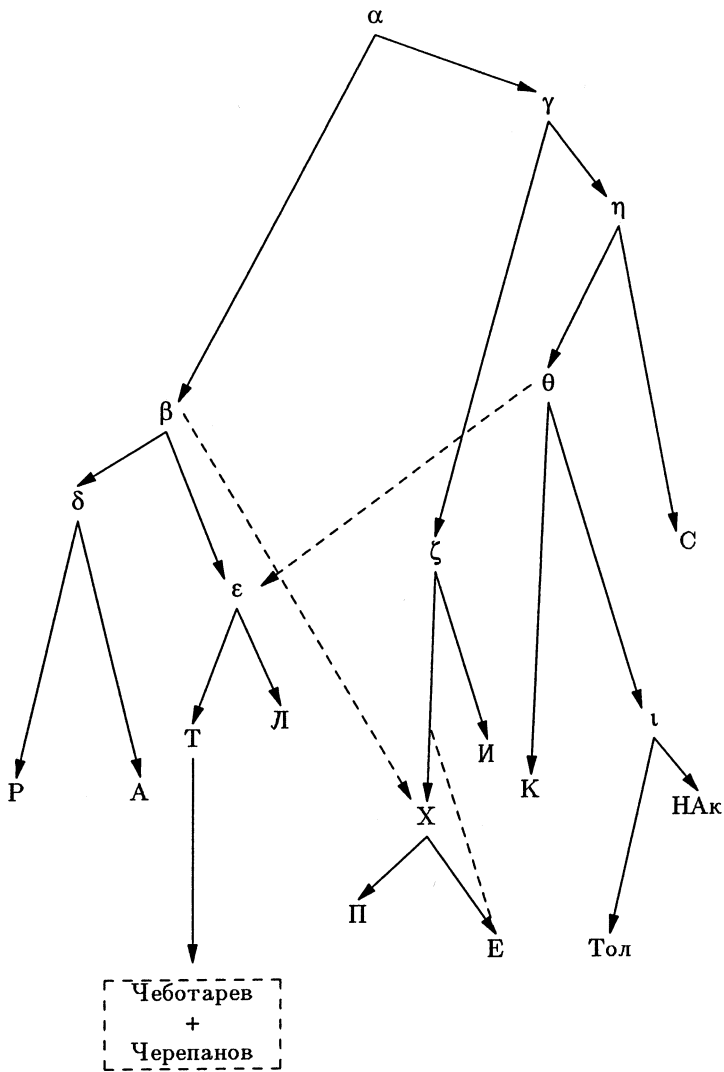


Figure 5. My PVL stemma (modified to chronological approximations).

end of 15th century (Kloss 1997, J); X to the end of the 1550s/beginning of the 1560s (Kloss 1998, G); C to the second half of the 13th – ca. 1330 (Kloss 2000, V; Gimón 2001, 59); Π to the end of the 1610s/beginning of the 1620s (Kloss 1998, H); E to the beginning of 18th century (Kloss 1998, K); K to ca. 1450 (Kloss 2000, VI); НАк to ca. 1445 (Kloss 2000, VI); and Тол to the 1720s (Kloss 2000, VI–VII).

If NSv existed, it probably would have had characteristics different from the ones generally assigned to it. As it is presently described, readings in it are dependent on two scribes changing the readings of the authorial text as represented in their direct exemplars. One scribe (of the Kievan Codex) made the change, the other (PA) adopted the change. Yet, the nature of those changes makes it implausible that two intelligent scribes would have chosen to do so, such as the adoption of a null reading replacing a word or phrase, when there is no evidence of a mechanical copying error and when, on occasion, the word being eliminated is a word with special sacred significance like *святому*. My proposal, that such contamination occurred not here but elsewhere in the stemma, also involves the notion of two changes in each instance (i.e., in θ and in ϵ), but the nature of the changes is different. Thus, when a mechanical copying error cannot account for a null reading, then we need to give attention to the probability that it is primary, especially when the word involved could easily be arrived at by two scribes independently or when the word being added has sacred significance. These are, after all, monks who are our copyists. Nonetheless, the particular monks who were assigned to copy texts such as the PVL were probably the most capable ones.

One other possibility can be considered. Instead of contamination occurring at only one place or the other – either on PA or on ЛТ – it is possible that contamination occurred at both places. If one is inclined to accept that contamination occurred on ЛТ but is uncomfortable with my suggestion that simple scribal interpolations involving commonly used words that could have been arrived at independently occurred in PVL 117,15 (with the addition of *зутра* in P, A and И), in PVL 118,1 (with the addition of *велику / велика* in P, A and И), and in PVL 118,7 (with the addition of *сего*), as well as my positing a damaged folio in PVL 10,5 (to explain the absence of *не съвѣмы, нѣ тъкъмо о семь вѣмы* in Л and Т), then one might accept these cases as evidence of contamination between the PA and ИХ branches, without negating other cases of contamination on ЛТ. Although my personal view is that such a double contamination is unnecessarily complicated and that everything can be explained by simple contamination on ЛТ, I hope at the very least I have been able to convince the reader to keep an open mind in regard to the relationship of the PVL to НПЛМл and to the hypothetical NSv.

ADDENDUM

PVL–NPL Correspondending Lines of Text

PVL	NPL
9,7–9,21	104,22–105,7
16,21–17,24	105,20–106,8
19,7–19,21	106,12–106,22
19,24–20,12	106,22–107,2
23,13–24,4	107,11–107,21
29,13–29,15	107,22–107,22
30,1–30,5	108,9–108,12
30,5–30,7	107,27–108,1
30,9–30,9	108,1–108,1
30,10–30,23	108,12–108,21
32,7–32,18	108,23–109,3
54,16–58,9	110,7–113,3
60,1–121,23	113,3–159,25
121,24–122,8	165,1–165,12
124,6–127,10	165,13–168,1
129,13–137,9	168,2–174,12
160,26–187,25	181,19–201,20

ABBREVIATIONS

α	Reconstructed archetype of PVL
A	Academy copy of the PVL
Вл. св.	Vladyčnyj svod
E	Ermolaev copy of the PVL
И	Hypatian copy of the PVL
К	Commission copy of the NPL
Л	Laurentian copy of the PVL
НАк	Academy copy of Novgorod I Chronicle
НПЛст	Older Redaction of Novgorod I Chronicle
НПЛмл	Younger Redaction of Novgorod I Chronicle
П	Pogodin copy of the PVL
ПСРЛ	<i>Полное собрание русских летописей</i> . Т. 1–42–, 1846–2002–.
Р	Radziwiłł copy of the PVL
С	Synod copy of Novgorod I Chronicle
Св. Вс.	Svod Vsevoloda
Т	Trinity copy of the PVL

Тол	Tolstoj copy of Novgorod I Chronicle
X	Xlebnikov copy of the PVL
Ex.	Book of Exodus
HURI	Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
HURI 2003	<i>The Povest' vremennyx let: an interlinear collation and paradosis</i> , compiled and edited by Donald Ostrowski, associate editor David J. Birnbaum, senior consultant Horace G. Lunt, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 2003.
LXX	Septuagint
MS	Manuscript
MSS	Manuscripts
Novg. I	Novgorod I Chronicle
NPL	<i>Новгородская первая летопись. Старшего и младшего изводов</i> , Насонов, А. Н. (ред.), Москва, Ленинград, 1950.
NSv	Načal'nyj svod
Ps.	Book of Psalms
PVL	Povest' vremennyx let

NOTES

¹ Cf. ABBREVIATIONS.

² Note: I have modified one of the sigla that Müller used in his *Russian Linguistics* stemma. I use И instead of his Ип to designate the Hypatian Chronicle copy. I have, however, adopted here his capital T for the Trinity Chronicle copy, whereas I had used lower-case τ in my stemma (HURI 2003, XXXIII). Likewise, his ЛТРА is equivalent to β in my stemma. His ЛТ is equivalent to ε in my stemma. And his ИпX is equivalent to ζ in my stemma. In addition, I use the modified forms НПЛст and НПЛмл instead of his НПЛ ст. and НПЛ мл. for stylistic reasons. Finally, my PVLα is more or less equivalent to his ПВЛ 2 ред.

³ This diagram is an adaptation of one drawn for me by Gippius on a napkin in the lobby of the Hotel Alberto Aguilera in Madrid, Spain, on Saturday, October 21, 2006.

⁴ E-mail communication, February 26, 2007.

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