

SPECULUM

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Scribal Practices and Copying Probabilities in the Transmission of the Text of the *Povest' vremennykh let*

In the last issue of this journal, Tat'iana Vilkul wrote a review article in which she subjected the interlinear collated edition of the *Povest' vremennykh let* (PVL) that I compiled and edited to a thorough examination and critical evaluation.¹ Through her article, I was led to Aleksei Gippius' article in *Russian Linguistics* (2002), which is equally as thorough in discussing the new translation of the PVL into German by Ludolf Müller and also mentions my previous discussions about constructing a stemma for the PVL.² In the present article, I respond to a number of points raised in both Vilkul's and Gippius' articles. In particular, I focus on the understanding of scribal practices and copying probabilities in the transmission of the text of the PVL.

Vilkul cites and discusses examples from some 375 separate lines of the collation and my paradosis. She focuses primarily, however, on the line of text designated "*Ostr*", which represents my understanding of α – the text that the author of the PVL wrote. Although the parts that Vilkul discusses represent only 5% of the over 7500 column lines of text and over 78,000 lines overall in the edition, her discussion still presents a substantial amount of rich material. The attention to detail in Vilkul's article is impressive and I welcome her concurrence on a number of my editorial choices.³ The evidence, nonetheless, does not always support other contentions of hers where she came to conclusions that differ from my own. Basically, we are dealing here with two divergent approaches to editing a text, and I continue to think the approach I used is the better of the two.

Vilkul begins her evaluation by delineating three aspects to examine: (1) the principles on which the text is being edited; (2) the value of the proposed stemma "to correctly

¹ Татьяна Вилкул, "Текстология и Textkritik. Идеальный проект ...," *Palaeoslavica*, vol. 12, no. 1 (2004), pp. 171–203.

² Алексей Гиппиус, "О критике текста и новом переводе-реконструкции «Повести временных лет»,» *Russian Linguistics*, vol. 26 (2002), pp. 63–126.

³ I am also grateful to her for pointing out several inaccuracies in the edition. I have already incorporated those corrections into the on-line version of the PVL, located at <http://hudce7.harvard.edu/~ostrowski/pvl>. The required corrections are, however, far fewer than Vilkul claims. For example, she cites as "problems of inexactnesses and mistakes of the publication, connected with ignoring the given paleography" the absence of the second superscript letter in a different hand in the Radziwiłł copy. Yet we stated in the "Principles of Transcription": "Corrections that are obviously in a different hand (most notably in R [i.e., Radziwiłł]) are omitted from the transcription without comment" (p. LXXIX). Similarly her claiming the transcription does not represent capitalization in the Khlebnikov copy to her satisfaction (pp. 197–198) is also dealt with in the "Principles of Transcription": "Capitalization is used to represent large or decorative letters. We indicate only one level of capitalization.... [D]ecisions about whether a letter should be considered upper or lower case are necessarily impressionistic. The letter in question is often somewhat larger than usual or of a slightly different shape, but this larger or alternative form may on occasion be found elsewhere in the same text in a position that the scribe would have had no reason to emphasize through capitalization" (p. LXXVII).

reconstruct the text of the *Primary Chronicle*” (*Начальная летопись*); and (3) the accuracy of the transmission of the various copies and reconstructions by previous editors. Vilkul is modest in her approach to the first aspect declaring that she does not “feel prepared” to discuss these principles: “Я не чувствую себя готовой к первому аспекту – глобальной оценке принципов Textkritik (в интерпретации Автора) и проекта идеального издания” (p. 172). Indeed, she seems reluctant to discuss them in any depth and more or less dismisses them out of hand. As an example she cites the principle that a shorter reading is preferable to a longer reading. Both she and I acknowledge there are cases when a longer reading is preferred. But she finds such “principles to be always only principles, and for each most indisputable principle one finds a multitude of exceptions” (принципы – всегда только принципы, и на каждый самый бесспорный принцип найдется множество исключений) and leading to “endless arguments about what may be and what may not be” (бесконечные споры о том, что может быть и чего быть не может) (p. 172). Therefore, she decides “to move on to the second part” (перейти ко второй части), the question of the stemma.

In this moving on lies a crucial difference in our approaches. An edition such as this one should indeed be evaluated on the bases that Vilkul proposes. Yet there is also another criterion: the consistency with which the editor applied the enunciated *editio princeps*. Thus, a reviewer can question the editorial principles that an editor states he is using, but she should be explicit concerning which principles she does and does not accept and why. By avoiding discussion of the editorial principles, the reviewer risks substituting her own unarticulated and unexamined assumptions for reconstructing the authorial text. I attempt to demonstrate this point in what follows by discussing in turn the principles of editing, construction of the stemma, confluence (also called contamination), and control texts, all in relation to the examples she cites. In each case, I present my reasoning for the editorial choices I made, but also acknowledge where I made, or may have made, an incorrect choice. In this way, I hope to advance discussion of the issues involved.

Principles of editing

First, for the convenience of the reader, listed below are the principles of editing as I stated them in the Introduction to my edition.

- 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 underlying this principle 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.⁴ Acceptance of this principle allows us to 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.⁵
- 5) Finally, ... 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.

The principles are based on those developed by Biblical textual critics. Underlying those principles is the fundamental means of reconstruction, which, in the words of the Biblical scholar Bruce M. Metzger, is to “choose the reading which best explains the origin of the others.”⁶

Both Gippius and Vilkul question whether principles of textual criticism developed in the study of the Bible are applicable to Rus’ chronicle texts. Neither of them, however, discusses in detail why they think any particular principle does not apply. Vilkul agrees that the principle of geographical diversity of MS copies is relevant to the editing of the PVL but that “contamination” neutralized that diversity.⁷ Yet such contamination is limited and easily isolated from the mainlines of derivation.

Gippius disagrees with the principle that, when no other factors are involved, shorter readings are to be preferred to longer readings. He argues that in chronicle copying the copyists equally expanded and contracted the text.⁸ Yet, the difference in this respect between Bible copying and chronicle copying is only one of degree, not of quality. Chronicle copies may be less stable than Bible copies, but the additions and deletions only make establishing the relationship among chronicle copies easier than among MS copies of Biblical texts, where changes, for the most part, occur at the phrase, word, and morphological level. The traditions of transmission of both, in any case, are “closed.” Yet, even in regard to texts with an “open” tradition of transmission a stemma can be use-

⁴ Quentin began his comparisons not by judging whether a particular reading was “correct” or a “mistake” but by initially weighting all “variants” equally. Dom Henri Quentin, *Essais de critique textuelle* (Paris, 1926).

⁵ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London, 1924), esp. pp. 78, 106, 108, 148.

⁶ Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (New York, 1964), p. 207.

⁷ Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 200.

⁸ Гиппиус, “О критике текста,” p. 120 n. 4: “Кажется очевидным, что к летописям этот принцип критики библейских текстов не применим: летопись – не Священное писание, и текст ее был в равной степени подвержен сокращениям и распространениям при переписке и редактуре”.

ful and the principles of scribal copying can be fruitfully applied.⁹ Both Gippius and Vilkul, for example, on occasion use one or more of the principles (e.g., haplography due to homoioteleuton, *lectio difficilior*, etc.) formulated by Biblical text critics. These principles were developed to understand the nature of the readings in the various manuscript copies of the Bible and how they came to be the way they are. Such principles are not content or genre dependent, but copyist dependent. They are applicable to all our texts, whether Biblical, chronicle, documentary, epistolary, and so forth. If one were to accept Vilkul's and Gippius' qualification, that copying is somehow content dependent, then one would be led to the position that each genre has its own principles of copying, and that each scribe copied differently depending on the form and author's intent of the work he is copying.

Yet, such a position seems insupportable to me, and I doubt this is what either Gippius or Vilkul is proposing. Instead, it seems they are attempting to reconstruct an ideal text that is "correct." Their primary criterion for determining correctness is philology. Thus, when faced with a divergence of readings in a particular passage, they determine which one is the philologically correct reading, then declare that reading to be the primary one. They tend to assume that the author of the archetype wrote down "correct" readings and that subsequent scribes botched them. In contrast, I am trying to reconstruct, insofar as possible, the text that the hegumen Sil'vestr wrote in 1116 (which I am calling α). What this difference in approach means in practice is a difference in editorial choices as to what readings were in α . In that sense, each reading has to be thought about on its own terms. When given a choice between two readings, one that is philologically correct and the other not, I looked at the characteristics of these readings and did not assume that the author of the archetype always wrote impeccably or that ignorant, careless scribes always introduced errors. Instead, I acknowledged that at times scribes tried to correct errors they found in their exemplars and that some of those errors can be traced back to the author's text.

Construction of the stemma

Vilkul claims that my stemma "is developed from the conclusions of S. A. Bugoslavskii..."¹⁰ Gippius also asserts that my stemma "to a significant degree is based on the stemma of Bugoslavskii and is able to be looked at as its immediate elaboration."¹¹ Here they are mistaken for I had constructed my basic stemma before I read Bugoslavskii's article and did so on the basis of the evidence of the main MS witnesses. Furthermore, I cited available lists of common readings as a convenience for the reader

⁹ See my "Introduction," in *Povest' vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, edited and compiled by Donald Ostrowski, with associate editor David J. Birnbaum, senior consultant Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA, 2003), pp. XXX–XXXI.

¹⁰ Вилкул, "Текстология и Textkritik," p. 172: "является развитием обобщений С. А. Бугославского" and she goes on to add that "Бугославский был в известном смысле антагонистом Шахматова..."

¹¹ Гиппиус, "О критике текста," p. 71: "Необходимо иметь в виду, что стемма Д. Островского в значительной мере базируется на стемме С. А. Бугославского и может рассматриваться как ее непосредственное развитие."

rather than provide long lists in an Introduction that was long enough already, but I never intended my citing of those lists to be understood as indicating they were the only basis on which I formulated the stemma. I cited Shakhmatov for 4 of the 5 lists: (1) a list of readings ЛТр ≠ РА; (2) a list of common readings ИХ; (3) a list of readings ХРА ≠ ЛИ; and (4) a list of readings ХЛ ≠ ИРА. My only citation of Bugoslavskii here was for a list of readings of ЛРА ≠ ИХП.¹²

Both Vilkul and Gippius question the grouping of ИХ with Н1 in the same family. In particular, both of them point out that I merely cited Bugoslavskii in this regard and did not provide any additional evidence of my own for this grouping, thinking that I had followed Bugoslavskii's assertion "on faith" and his examples only. Let us first look at the examples that Bugoslavskii cited.¹³

- 1) 12,20 ЛРА: *Съжю*; И: *Ръжю*; X: lacuna; Н1: corresponding text not maintained here; Соф. I: *Ръшию*. Bugoslavskii had accepted Shakhmatov's claim that the Sofia I Chronicle provides evidence for the reading in the archetype of Н1. As is clear from my stemma that I provided in the "Introduction" (p. XXXIX), I do not accept Shakhmatov's claim. Therefore, I do not accept 12,20 as showing the proximity of ИХ to Н1.¹⁴
- 2) 54,28 ЛРА: ∅; ИХН1: *древляне*.
- 3) 58,7 ЛРА: *Свенелдъ*; ИХ: *Свениелдъ*;¹⁵ Н1: *Свънделдъ*; Соф. I: *Свентельд*. These examples are merely alternate spellings of the same name and do not show proximity of ИХ to Н1.
- 4) 64,24 ЛРА: *и легко ходя*; ИХН1: *бъ бо самъ храбръ и легко ходя*.¹⁶ Bugoslavskii presented the Sofia I and Nikon Chronicles as confirming this reading, but I do not accept these chronicles as providing independent evidence for readings of the PVL.
- 5) 65,11 ЛРА: ∅; ИХ: *прииде*; Н1: *приведе*.
- 6) 66,19 ЛРА: ∅; ИХ: *и люди*; Н1: *людии*.
- 7) 69,29 ЛРА: ∅; ИПН1: *ръкя / рече се городъ мюу*.¹⁷
- 8) 70,20a-b ЛРА: ∅; ИХН1: *и гръци противу и съразиста ся полка и оступиша Гръци русь*.¹⁸ Bugoslavskii presented the Sofia I and Voskresenie Chronicles as confirming this reading, but I do not accept these chronicles as providing independent evidence for readings of the PVL.

¹² "Introduction," pp. XXXVIII, XL. For the abbreviations used in the present article, see below "List of Abbreviations" (p. 29).

¹³ С. А. Бугославский [С. О. Бугославський], "«Повесть временных лет» (Списки, редакции, первоначальный текст)," в кн. *Старинная русская повесть. Статьи и исследования*, ред. Н. К. Гудзии (М./Л., 1941), стр. 18–19. Bugoslavskii numbered his examples 1 through 17, but he actually provided 21 examples because № 11 and № 14 have three examples apiece. Since П is a direct copy of X, I do not render its readings here except where, as in the edition, its text replaces that of X. Note that in his reporting of readings, Bugoslavskii normalizes "ъ" to "е" and drops final "ъ". I have restored them here.

¹⁴ Where Bugoslavskii reads "Ръжю" for И, we read "<ръшию>". Bugoslavskii reported the reading of X as agreeing with И here, but in X there is a gap in the text from 10,5 to 15,20.

¹⁵ Bugoslavskii reported the reading of ИХП as *Свениелдъ*.

¹⁶ Bugoslavskii left off the final word *ходя* in reporting the reading of ИХПН1, Соф. I, and Ник.

¹⁷ Bugoslavskii reported this phrase to be in X, but X has a lacuna in this part of the text.

¹⁸ Bugoslavskii left off the final word *русь* in reporting the reading of ИХПН1.

- 9) 98,4 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *вєлми*.
- 10) 107,10 ЛРА: Ø; ИПН1: *и службу*.¹⁹ Bugoslavskii presented the Nikon and Pereiaslav' -Suzdal' Chronicles as confirming this reading, but I do not accept these chronicles as providing independent evidence for readings of the PVL.
- 11a) 112,17 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *и безначалєнь*.
- 11b) 116,4a ЛРА: Ø; ИН1: *тѣм же держать не въ едино съглашение въру но разно*; X: gap in the text.
- 11c) 116,6 ЛРА: Ø; ИН1: *ина же многа разно держать*; X: gap in the text.
- 12) 121,1 ЛРА: *вѣрныихъ*; ИХН1: *говѣниныхъ*.
- 13) 121,24 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *въ лѣто 6498 въ лѣто 6499*.
- 14a) 126,10 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *на обѣдь томь*. Bugoslavskii presented the L'vov Chronicle as confirming this reading, but I do not accept the L'vov Chronicle as providing independent evidence for readings of the PVL.
- 14b) 131,5b–j ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *аще бо ... погыбають*. Bugoslavskii presented the readings of the Sofia I, Voskresenie, and Novgorod IV Chronicles as confirming this reading, but I do not accept these chronicles as providing independent evidence for reconstruction of the PVL.
- 14c) 135,12a–b ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *рече бо [Н1: боиъ] кто идетъ прельститъ ахава и рече бѣсь се азъ иду*. Bugoslavskii presented the Sofia I, Voskresenie, and Novgorod IV Chronicles as confirming this reading, but I do not accept these chronicles as providing independent evidence for readings of the PVL.
- 15) 155,25 ЛРА: Ø; И: *фєврєля въ 10*. The corresponding text of Н1 is not maintained here.²⁰ Bugoslavskii presented the Sofia I, Sofia II, Voskresenie, and Tver' Chronicles as confirming this reading, but I do not accept these chronicles as providing independent evidence for readings of the PVL. Therefore, I do not accept 155,25 as showing the proximity of ИХ to Н1.
- 16) 175,14 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *или вѣверицю*.²¹
- 17) 186,6 ЛРА: *и болѣшию*;²² ИХ: *и болѣшию*; Н1: Ø. Bugoslavskii claimed that ИХ agrees with Н1 here in not having the words *и болѣшию*, but ИХ do have those words. Therefore, this example cannot be used to support the proximity of ИХ with Н1.

Thus, of the 21 examples Bugoslavskii cited, 4 (№№ 1, 3, 15, and 17) cannot be used to support the proximity of ИХ with Н1. The remaining 17 examples, however, do support that proximity. In addition, I do not accept much of the evidence he relies on for 8 of the examples.

To dispel that erroneous notion that I relied on Bugoslavskii's conclusions I provide here the other evidence on which I base my conclusion that Н1 is closer to ИХ than it is to ЛРА:

54,28 ЛРА *сдумавше*, ИХН1 *съдумавше древяне*.²³

¹⁹ Bugoslavskii reported this phrase to be in X, but X has a lacuna in this part of the text.

²⁰ Bugoslavskii reported the reading of XII as agreeing with И here, but in XII there is a gap in the text from 155,24 to 155,26.

²¹ Bugoslavskii reported the reading of ИХН1 to be “*и вєверицю*”.

²² Bugoslavskii wrote *и болѣшию* as the reading in ЛРА.

²³ Note that in presenting these examples, I have standardized the readings within each group according to the best attestation, and generally have not provided variants that are not significant for determining relationship of copies. So, e.g., where Л reads *сдумавше*, РА had *здумавше*. Where И reads *съдумавше*

- 54,28 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *древляне*.
 55,6 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *противу*.
 55,20 ЛРА: *бъ*; ИХН1: *бъше*.
 58,6 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *велми*.
 60,5 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *своею*.
 60,28 ЛРА: *зъло*; ИХН1: Ø
 62,16 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *стънъ*.
 62,17 ЛРА: *злюбиви* (А: *злюбиви*); ИХН1: *незлюбиви* (Н1: *незлюбии*).
 63,7 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *волею*.
 64,24 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *бъ бо самъ храборъ*.
 65,11 ЛРА: Ø; ИХ: *и прииде къ Киеву*; Н1: *и приведе* (Т: *+къ*) *Киеву*.
 66,2/3 ЛРА: *и рече имъ*; ИХН1: Ø
 66,3 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *подъ городъ*.
 66,9 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *съ себе*.
 66,19 ЛРА: Ø; ИХ: *и люди*; Н1: *люди*.
 68,6 ЛРА: *сеи*; ИХН1: *и тъи* (И: *тъ*).
 69,29 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *рече се городъ мои*.
 70,19 ЛРА: *свои главы*; ИХН1: *главы наша*.
 70,20а-б ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *и гръци противу и сразистася полка и оступиша Гръци*
 (Н1: Ø) *русь*.
 71,7 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *единою*.
 71,10 ЛРА: *любити*; ИХН1: *хвалити*.
 71,11 ЛРА: *ему*; ИХН1: Ø
 75,5 ЛРА: *брата*; ИХН1: Ø (Х: *его*)
 75,10 ЛРА: *еси хотъль*; ИХН1: *сею хотяше*.
 75,14 ЛРА: *бъ бо*; ИХН1: *юже бъ*.
 76,15 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *Ярополкъ*.
 77,11 ЛРА: *лъстя ему* (РА: *подъ нимъ*); ИХН1: Ø
 78,17 ЛА: Ø; Р: *Володимира с печенъгы*; ИХН1: *с печенъгы* (Т: Ø) *на Володимира*.
 79,21 ЛРА: *стоитъ*; ИХН1: Ø
 79,25 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *Перуна*.
 81,10 ЛРА: *простираетъ*; ИХН1: *отверзаетъ*.
 82,14 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *в таинъ*.
 82,25 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *секырою и ножемъ*.
 83,29 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *радимичи*.
 85,1 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *аще ли богатъ есть*.
 86,18 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *поливавшеся* (Н1: *поливавшие*) *водою*.
 87,23 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *исперва*.
 88,17 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *и онъ с ними*.
 89,25 ЛРА: *вземъ камень*; ИХН1: Ø.
 92,19 ЛРА: Ø; ИХ: *и поиди* (Н1: *и иди*).
 97,16 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *царствова*.
 98,4 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *велми*.
 98,19 Л: *ваша* (РА: Ø); ИХН1: *твоя*.

древляне, Х has *здумавше древляне*, К has *сдумавше же древляне*, Т has *здумавше древляне*.
 In a few cases, I do provide a variant within a line when it is substantial enough.

- 100,13 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *и родить*.
 100,21 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *се*.
 105,22 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ХН1: *и вся* (И: lacuna).
 106,4 ЛРА: *Володимиру*; ХН1: *ему* (И: lacuna).
 106,22–23 ЛРА: *о бытѣ всего мира*; ХН1: \emptyset (И: lacuna).
 107,26 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИН1: *цесарь* (X: lacuna).
 108,8 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИН1: *имъ* (X: lacuna).
 108,9 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИН1: *первое* (X: lacuna).
 108,12 Л: *онамо* (РА: *анамо*); ИН1: *овамo* (X: lacuna).
 109,19 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИН1: *воду* (X: lacuna).
 110,22 ЛРА: *тобою*; ИН1: \emptyset (X: lacuna).
 112,8 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *собьствомъ*.
 112,17 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *и безначаленъ*.
 115,5 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХ: *преже* (Н1: *прииде*)
 121,1 ЛРА: *вѣрныхъ*; ИХН1: *говъиныхъ*.
 121,16 ЛРА: *еже*; ИХН1: *естъ*.
 124,14 ЛРА: *твою*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 124,17 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *и отъпусти (вся) грѣхы его*.
 125,24 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИН1: *повель нищю всяку и* (positing haplography in X).
 126,10 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *на обѣдѣ томъ*.
 127,1 ЛРА: *имъ*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 130,15 ЛРА: *бо*; ИХН1: *же*.
 131,5b–j ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *аще бо ... погыбають*.
 132,7 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *яко*.
 132,9 ЛРА: *своимъ*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 132,12 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХ *то*; Н1: *того*.
 135,9 ЛРА: *дьявола*; ИХН1: *врага*.
 135,12a–b ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *рече бо* [Н1: *богъ*] *кто идетъ прельститъ агава и рече
 бѣсъ се азъ иду*.
 135,16a–f ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *тѣмже ... змиину*.
 135,18 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *уже*.
 160,30 ЛРА: *и нарече имя ему*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 161,14 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *свои*.
 162,2 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *мѣсяца февраля*.
 162,11 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *в лѣто 6563*.
 163,25b–f ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *и с нимъ бѣжа ... тматороканю*.
 164,13 ЛРА: *бѣше*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 165,6 ЛРА: *блистаючи*; ИХН1: *сияючи*.
 168,8 ЛРА: *каляющеся*; ИХК: *валяющеся*; АКТ: \emptyset .
 168,20 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *къ мнѣ*.
 169,8 ЛРА: *ихъ*; ИХН1: *ваше*.
 169,8 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *глаголетъ господь*.
 171,26 ЛРА: *бѣлью*; ИХН1: *скорою*.
 173,17 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *да*.
 174,23 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *глаголаше (яко) явили ми ся (естъ) 5 богъ*.
 174,27 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *земли*.
 175,3 ЛРА: *въвергыше*; ИХН1: *въринуша*.
 175,14 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *или въверицю*.

- 175,23 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *елу* (К: *суть*).
 176,16 ЛРА: *яневч*; ИХН1: *нелу*.
 176,21 ЛРА: *лжа то*; ИХН1: *лъжета*.
 176,22 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *бо есть*.
 177,17 ЛРА: *и ель его*; ИХН1: *во огни вьчномъ*.
 177,23 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *намъ*.
 178,20 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *и гадающа*.
 179,27 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *есть*.
 180,20–21 ЛРА: *противу моисъевч*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 181,7 ЛРА: *идоша*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 181,13 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *онъ же рече*.
 181,14 ЛРА: *рече*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 182,16 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХ: *си вся*; Н1: *вси*.
 183,3 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *съ женою уповая богатствомъ многымъ*.
 183,25 Л: *всю*; РА: *свою*; ИХН1: \emptyset .
 184,15 ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХН1: *всего*.

If H1 derived directly from α , then it would provide the primary reading when ЛРА and ИХ disagree with each other. In that case, whichever reading H1 was in agreement with would be the primary one. Yet we find that not to be so. When H1 agrees with ЛРА against ИХ, then indeed it usually does carry the primary reading.²⁴ When H1 agrees with ИХ against ЛРА, then it sometimes carries the primary reading, but in many cases it does not.²⁵

For purposes of constructing the stemma, I eliminated the following characteristics from consideration as determiners: morphological similarities and differences, presence or absence of prepositions, presence or absence of conjunctions, presence or absence of enclitics, common synonyms, and word order. Although each of these could indicate relationship among MS copies, they could just as easily be the result of individual scribal choice. I relied, instead, on substantive differences and similarities in content and meaning. Thus, the relationship of copies that best explains such evidence is the arrangement I have in my stemma (see below, page 57).

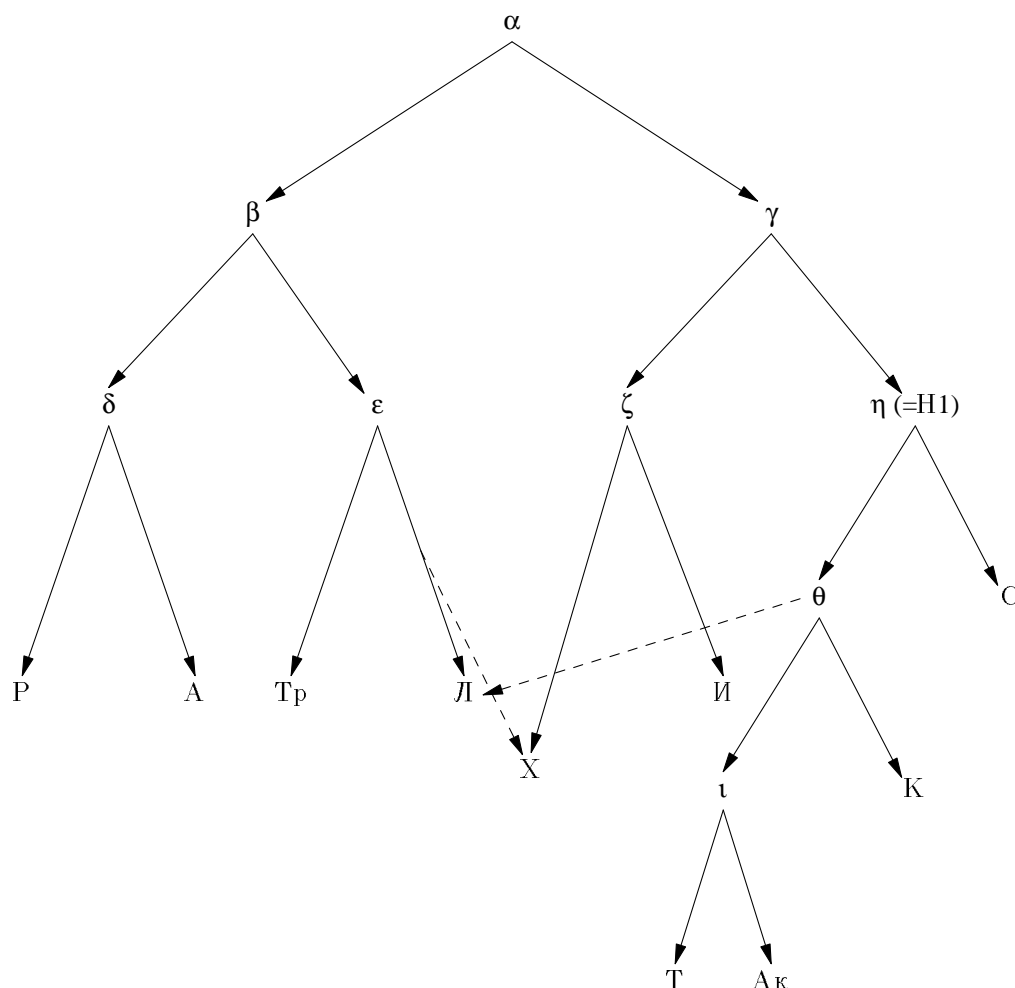
When ИХ \neq ЛРАH1, then we should expect the reading of ИХ to go back only as far as ζ , and the reading of ЛРАH1 then to derive from α .

When ЛРА \neq ИХН1, then the primary reading can be carried either by ЛРА or by ИХН1. We have to decide on its own merits the claim of each reading to be primary.

²⁴ Gippius understood my statement that “other readings of H1Л may go back to a source text of the PVL” (Ostrowski, 1999, 14) to be a “compromise” with the stemma. Гиппиус, “О критике текста,” p. 120 n. 5. But all I meant was this: in cases when H1=ЛРА, those agreed readings were most likely in α and may ultimately have derived from a source text of the PVL.

²⁵ Vilkul agrees that ИХН1 does not always carry the primary reading, which makes it difficult to assert that H1 derives directly from a source text of the PVL, the non-extant *Nachal’nyi svod*. Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 180.

Relationship of MS Copies of the PVL



Vilkul further claims that I “accepted on faith” Bugoslavskii’s contention that shared readings of IX and H1 are secondary: “С. А. Бугославский счел общие чтения IX и H1 вторичными слишком поспешно, а Д. Островский принял его утверждения на веру.”²⁶ In this claim, she is mistaken. First, I would like to assure her that in general I try not to accept anything “on faith.” Second, the stemma I constructed does not indicate secondariness of IXH1 against ЛРА, and it is certainly not the principle I followed in practice in reconstructing α. This is clear from the following examples, where, in each case, I accepted the reading of IXH1 against ЛРА as primary:

112,8 ЛРА: ∅; ИХН1: *собъствомь*.

116,4a ЛРА: ∅; ИH1: *тъм же держать не въ едино съглашение въру но раз(д)но*.

116,6 ЛРА: ∅; ИH1: *ина же многа*.

121,1 ЛРА: *върныхъ*; ИХН1: *говъиныхъ*.

²⁶ Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 179.

- 121,24 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *въ лѣто 6498 въ лѣто 6499*.
 135,9 ЛРА: *дьявола*; ИХН1: *врата*.
 160,30 ЛРА: *и нарече имя ему*; ИХН1: Ø.
 163,25b–f ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *и с нимъ бѣжа ... тмутороканю*.
 164,13 ЛРА: *бѣше*; ИХН1: Ø.
 165,6 ЛРА: *блистающуи*; ИХН1: *сияющуи*.
 169,8 ЛРА: *ихъ*; ИХН1: *ваше*.
 169,8 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *глаголетъ господь*.
 174,23 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *глаголаше (яко) явилми ми ся*.
 176,16 ЛРА: *яневи*; ИХН1: *нелму*.
 177,17 ЛРА: *и есмь его*; ИХН1: *во огни вѣчномъ*.
 178,20 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *и гадающа*.
 183,3 ЛРА: Ø; ИХН1: *съ женою уповая богатствомъ многымъ*.

In the following cases, I gave the reading of ИХН1 equal status with ЛРА:

- 171,26 ЛРА: *бѣлю*; ИХН1: *скорою*.
 175,3 ЛРА: *въвергъше*; ИХН1: *въринуша*.

Vilkul seems to notice only those cases where I accepted the shorter readings found in ЛРА as primary and concluded that I always dismissed longer readings in ИХН1 as secondary. Yet, examples of when I accepted the longer readings in ИХН1 are 112,8; 116,4a; 116,6; 121,24; 163,25b–f; 169,8; 174,23; 177,17; 178,20; and 183,3. Gippius and Vilkul,²⁷ on one side, and I, on the other, are disagreeing merely on which readings of ИХН1 derive from α , not on whether any readings of ИХН1 derive from α .

While I took Bugoslavskii's work into consideration in making my final conclusions, I reached my own conclusions on the basis of the evidence at hand, which is contained in the testimony of the edition itself.

Confluence

Vilkul writes that Shakhmatov recognized contamination between PA and IX in that the “2nd redaction” readings of PA “penetrated” into the “3rd redaction” as represented by IX (p. 173). She claims she is only paraphrasing Shakhmatov's “basic theses” (p. 173 fn. 6). It is a very loose paraphrase indeed as she does not cite any work of Shakhmatov in which he says this. Shakhmatov does come close to saying what Vilkul says he said in his *Razyskaniia* and in the Introduction to his edition of the PVL. But in those two places, he refers to PA as representing a reworking of the first (or Syl'vestr) redaction, and IX as representing the second (or Mstislav) redaction.²⁸

One notes that for there to be confluence, the hyparchetype of PA, represented by δ on my stemma, would have had to have been copied sometime between 1116, the date of Shakhmatov's first redaction represented by β on my stemma, and 1118, the date of

²⁷ Гиппиус, “О критике текста,” p. 120, n. 4; and Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 180 and fn. 30.

²⁸ А. А. Шахматов, *Разыскания о древнейших русских летописных сводах* (СПб., 1908), стр. 2–3; А. А. Шахматов, ред., *Повесть временных лет*, т. 1: *Вводная часть. Текст. Примечания* (Петроград, 1916), стр. II–III.

Shakhmatov's second redaction, the hyparchetype of the ИХН1 line, represented by γ on my stemma. It is, of course, possible for the hyparchetype of PA to have been copied between 1116 and 1118 and then be used in creating the hyparchetype of ИХН1 in 1118, but it is highly unlikely. By 1916, Shakhmatov had come to accept that PAИХ often carry “older readings” in relation to Л, whose readings he referred to as “later or corrupted”: “во многихъ случаяхъ Р. А. И. Х. сохранили старыя чтенія, свойственныя и Сильвестровской редакціи, между тѣмъ какъ Л. представляетъ чтенія позднѣйшія или испорченныя”.²⁹ Postulating confluence between PA and ИХ allowed him to designate either the reading of PAИХ or the reading of Л as primary as he saw fit. When he saw the reading of Л as primary then he could claim that the scribal corruption in PA contaminated ИХ, and when he preferred the reading of PAИХ, then he could claim scribal corruption occurred somewhere along the Л line. Although Shakhmatov's knowledge and skill usually served him well in choosing a primary reading, his method often led to idiosyncratic choices. The concept of contamination between PA and ИХ, thus, served as a post-facto justification for particular choices made on the basis of other considerations rather than as a means for helping determine those choices. A stemma, the use of which Shakhmatov rejected, helps make the editor's choices, at the very least, more consistent.

Bugoslavskii managed to complete his stemma-based edition of the PVL, but it has not been published.³⁰ Vilkul does acknowledge that my stemma goes beyond Bugoslavskii's stemma in representing contamination where his represents none. In my stemma, I proposed that the contaminatory influence goes from the Laurentian branch to the Hypatian branch. In particular, an Л-type copy influenced X or its exemplar. Vilkul accepts that the secondary influence exists between the Hypatian branch and the Laurentian branch but, following Shakhmatov, she asserts that it involves different copies — PA, on one side, and И, on the other — and that the direction of influence is the other way from the direction I propose. Most of the examples she cites involve only morphological similarities. Such similarities can be explained as scribal coincidentals (two or more scribes changing the same place in the text independently to conform to their understanding of correct morphology). Those few cases cited by her that involve substantive differences can better be explained by contamination between Л and X. An example of this occurs in the passage in 142,15–17 where the soldiers of Iaroslav are fighting the soldiers of Sviatopolk:

Л: притиснуша стополжа с дружиною къзеру и въступиша на ледъ и обломиса с ними ледъ и одалати нача ярославъ.

РАИ: притиснуша стополжа с (И: стополчь) вои къ озеру и въступиша на лед и одалати (И: одолтъвати) нача ярославъ.

Х: притисноуша стополчи вои къ озеру и въстоупиша на лед и обломиса лед с вои стополчи и мнѡзи потопоша въ водах и одалати нача ярославъ.

²⁹ Шахматов, *Повесть временных лет*, стр. LIX.

³⁰ The typescript was presumed lost, but recently Iurii Artamanov located it in Отдел рукописей ИМЛИ им. А.М. Горького РАН (фонд 573, оп. 1).

Сильв (87.15–16): *притиснуша ярослави вои святополково войско къ озеру и въступиша на ледъ и одолѣвати нача ярославъ* (abdefg).

Сильв (87.15–16): *приснуша (sic) вои стополциъ къ озеру и въступиша на ледъ и обломишася и одолѣвати нача ярославъ* (YCS).

Vilkul argues that *и обломисѣ с ними ледъ* is in α , that the reading in X “is an amplification on the basis of Л,” and that the phrase was dropped in PA as the result of haplography (due to the repetition of *ледъ*), which then led through contamination to its being dropped in И.

If one looks only at the mechanics of copying texts, then haplography would seem to explain the lacuna in PAИ. Yet if one looks at scribal practices as well as the meaning and context of the passage, one obtains a different understanding. In terms of scribal practices, it is highly unlikely that haplography would be evidence of confluence. A scribe generally copies the text in front of him and may add or change words according to another copy. This other copy is the contaminating copy but is not the direct exemplar. If the scribe has the words “и обломисѣ с ними ледъ” in his exemplar, it is unlikely he would avoid copying these words because they do not appear in the contaminating copy. A more likely explanation, although one still with low probability, is that two scribes independently engaged in eye-skip at the same point in the text and that both coincidentally eliminated the same words.

MS copies of Сильв testify to two traditions—one that is in agreement with PAИ, the other having “и обломишася” but without “с ними ледъ”. The sense of the passage argues against accepting the phrase about the ice breaking up. As far as meaning and context is concerned, the most likely explanation is that the phrase “обломисѣ с ними ледъ” was not in α . In this part of the PVL (under the entry for 1016), Iaroslav and his troops drive Sviatopolk and his troops onto a frozen lake. If one accepts that the ice began to break up under Sviatopolk’s troops (as ЛХ have), then that raises questions about what is being described here. Would we not expect them to have drowned? Or was the lake so shallow that they only found their movement impeded? Would not the soldiers of both sides be affected by the ice breaking up? Did they fight in the water? If they did so, then would not the chronicler tell us of such an unusual occurrence? Did Sviatopolk and his troops swim or wade to the opposite shore (in icy water?), for in the next sentence the chronicler tells us Sviatopolk fled to the Poles. Instead of the ice breaking up, it makes more sense to read the passage as telling us that Sviatopolk and his troops were driven out onto the ice where Iaroslav’s troops gained the upper hand. That way, Sviatopolk (probably with his retinue) was able to flee across the frozen lake and escape.

I suggest that the phrases *обломишася* (in one of the traditions of Сильв), *и обломисѣ с ними ледъ* (in Л) and *и обломисѣ лед с вои стополци и мнози потопоша въ водах* (in X) represent an interpolative progression (Сильв → Л → X). In addition, the *обломишася* of the Сильв (YCS) does not refer to ice breaking up but to the soldiers of Sviatopolk (since it is 3rd-person plural reflexive aorist), so that we can understand the verb to refer to the weakening or giving way of Sviatopolk’s forces.³¹ The

³¹ Cf. meanings of *обломитисѣ* in И. И. Срезневский, *Материалы для словаря древне-русского языка по письменным памятникам*, 3 тт. (СПб., 1893–1912), т. 2, столб. 527; and *Словарь*

point is that (following the principle that additions tend to be intentional; deletions, mechanical) it is more likely a scribe would change the *обломишася* form referring to soldiers to the *обломися* form and add the word *ледъ* to make the reference clear it is to the ice than change the *обломися* form referring to ice to the *обломишася* form and intentionally drop the word *ледъ*. A similar type of progression occurred in the accounts of Aleksandr Nevskii's victory over the Livonian Knights at Lake Chud'. The early chronicle accounts do not mention ice breaking up on the lake. In the *Life of Aleksandr Nevskii* appears a statement: "There was ... such a noise from the breaking of lances and clanging of swords that one could think that the ice itself on the lake was breaking" (И бысть съча зла, и трусь от копий ломления, и звукъ от сечения мечнаго, яко же и езеру померзъшю двигнутися).³² And in later chronicle accounts, there is mention of some people drowning.³³ From that phrasing, it was a short step to the notion that the ice broke up under the Livonian knights when they were fleeing (as in Eisenstein's film).

Finally, even if one were to decide that *и обломися с ними ледъ* is primary, and that this phrase was omitted in PAИ as the result of haplography, it would not necessarily be evidence for confluence between PA and И since haplography is a scribal accidental. In other words, the scribe of the common exemplar of P and A, on one side, and the scribe of И, on the other, could have made the same scribal mistake in the same place independently without its indicating influence or confluence of one branch on the other.

This passage appears in a discrete section of the PVL, following the change in hand in the Laurentian codex at 116,24, where I proposed confluence occurs from Н1 to Л. I cited a number of examples, each of which is secondary in relation to the reading of PAИХ: 116,18; 117,5; 117,12; 117,13; 117,15; 118,1; 118,7; 118,12; 118,13; 119,11; 119,17; 119,19; 120,26; and 161,17.³⁴ To these examples, I can add the following:

136,13–14 ЛН1: *с тобою жити*; PAИХ: *с тобою оумрети*.

That the agreement of ЛН1 on the reading *жити* instead of *оумрети* is the result of confluence is confirmed by Сильв here: *съ тобою оумрети*. Vilkul accepts that the reading *жити* is secondary. If it is indeed secondary, as I too think, then it is evidence

русского языка XI–XVII вв., главный редактор С. Г. Бархударов, 26 тт. (М., 1975–2005), т. 12, стр. 86–87. My thanks to David J. Birnbaum for this and other valuable observations.

³² Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales*, rev. and enl. ed. (New York, 1974), p. 231; "Житие Александра Невского," подготовка текста В. И. Охотниковой, в кн. *Памятники литературы древней Руси*, 10 вып. в 12 тт. (М., 1978–1994), составление и общая редакция Л. А. Дмитриева и Д. С. Лихачева, [вып. 3:] *XIII века*, стр. 432.

³³ The Moscow Chronicle Svod of the End of the 15th Century has the phrase "инии на езере истопоша" (ПСРЛ, 25: 135). The Sofia I Chronicle and the Nikon Chronicle (which incorporates the Sofia I account) has the phrase "иных вода потопи" (ПСРЛ, 6.1: стлб. 314).

³⁴ See my "Introduction," pp. XLIV–XLV. Gippius responded to my assertion that there exists confluence between Н1 and Л, but he did not address the issue of why agreements of ЛН1 against PAИХ occur only in this part of the PVL. Instead, he discussed four cases of ЛН1 agreements (116,8; 118,3; 118,25; 119,25). But in each case he argued that ЛН1 carried the primary reading on the basis of linguistic correctness, a criterion I do not accept for establishing primacy.

that confluence did not occur between PA and IX because their shared reading is primary. The confluence most likely occurred between H1 and Л.

In the end, I cannot agree with Vilkul's assertion that her "observations show that the proposed ... stemma is wrong" (в целом неверна).³⁵ She has not demonstrated that agreements of ЛХ against PAИ are primary, nor that agreements of PAИХ against Л are secondary.

Control texts

Vilkul introduces certain "control texts" that she says will allow us to distinguish primary from secondary readings in the MS copies of the PVL.³⁶ In her view, if the readings that PAИХ share can be shown to be secondary in relation to the control texts, then they must be the result of contamination between the two branches, because it is unlikely the copyists would come up with the same inferior reading independently.

The control texts she utilizes are the *Tale of Boris and Gleb* (*Сказание Бориса и Глеба*), the *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monasteries*, the *Life of Methodius* (*Житие Мефодия*), the translation of the *Chronicle of Georgii Harmatolus* into Slavonic, and the Church Slavonic Bible. When the copies of the PVL provide different readings from each other, looking at a source text in each case should assist in determining the reading in α . A sharp distinction needs to be maintained, however, between source texts and what Vilkul is calling "control texts." The *Tale of Boris and Gleb*, for example, is not a source text for the PVL but derives from the PVL account.³⁷ Therefore, the readings of the PVL can help decide differences between the copies of the *Tale* but not vice versa. Although Vilkul acknowledges that the *Tale* derives from the PVL, she promotes the *Tale* back to being a determiner of primary readings in the PVL by asserting that the *Tale* derives directly from α . Thus, in her view, whenever the *Tale* agrees with a reading in one of the PVL copies, that reading is primary.

Such a promotion of the *Tale* to the status of determiner of primary readings in the PVL is not justified. Vilkul provides a numerical breakdown of occurrences when the *Tale* (in the Sil'vestr redaction – the closest to the PVL) agrees with Л alone (14), with PAИХ (20), with IX (11), with ЛРА (6), with PA (4), with ИХН1 (2), and with ЛН1 (1) against the other MSS (p. 174, fn. 9). Her breakdown of agreements would seem to indicate the Sil'vestr redaction (Сильв) of the *Tale* occupied some kind of intermediate position between the branches of the PVL. Yet, most of these readings are morphological

³⁵ Вилкул, "Текстология и Textkritik," p. 183.

³⁶ Vilkul proposes a "reservation" in regard to control texts: "Контрольные тексты, в особенности древнерусского происхождения ... необязательно должны автоматически отражать протограф ПВЛ. Но при совпадении их чтений с чтениями какой-либо группы списков велика вероятность, что они восходят к протографу" (Вилкул, "Текстология и Textkritik," p. 174, fn. 8). Furthermore, she claims, "согласно общей тенденции, контрольные тексты отражают чтения протографа" (ibid., p. 177, fn. 19). So, although a "great probability" or "general tendency" exists for the readings of the control text to represent α , in any given case they might not.

³⁷ An extensive literature exists concerning whether the PVL derives from the *Tale* or the *Tale* from the PVL. See Paul A. Hollingsworth, "Rulership and Suffering in Kievan Rus': The Cult of Boris and Gleb," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1987, pp. 43–47, for a survey of the arguments.

or insubstantial variants and, thereby, provide no basis on which to determine primacy of readings:³⁸

135,6–7 Сильв (80.22): *анилъ члвку зла не стваряеть*; Л: *анилъ бо члвку зла не створяеть*; РА: *анили* (А: *анили*) *бо члвку зла не творяеть*; И: [*анилъ бо і*] *члвку зла не створяеть*; Х: *анилъ бѡ члкоу зла не сътворяет*; Н1: *анилъ бо чловьку не стваряеть* (АКТ: *сътворяеть / створяеть*) *зла*.

135,12b ЛХН1: *тѣцася*; Сильв (81.3): *тѣцася*; РАИ: *тѣцѣся*.

140,27–28 Л: *сѣдитъ ти Кыевъ*; РАИХ: *сѣдитъ в Кыевъ*; Сильв (86.10): *ти сѣдитъ в Кыевъ*.³⁹

141,3 ЛХ+Сильв (86.12): *нов(о)городецъ*; РАИ: *новгородцевъ*.

142,13 Л+Сильв (87.13): *сступишася / сосступишася*; РАИХ: *совокупшася / съвокупшася*.

143,1 Л+Сильв (88.2): *русь*; АИХ: *руси*; Р: *роу*.

In Vilkul's references one substantive agreement of the Sil'vestr redaction of the *Tale* with ЛН1 against РАИХ occurs and two substantive agreements of the Sil'vestr redaction with Л against РАИХ occur:

134,5 ЛН1: *снъ оуѣрескъ / сынъ угорескъ*; РАИХ+Сильв (78.27): *оуѣринъ*.

142,26 Л+Сильв (88.1): \emptyset ; РАИХ: *множество*.

143,9 Л+Сильв (88.7): *къ* (Сильв: \emptyset) *дружинъ своеи*; РАИХ: \emptyset .

To these last two one can add three more such cases of Л=Сильв \neq РАИХ:

140,19 Л+Сильв (86.4): *и женамъ и* (Л: *их*); РАИХ: \emptyset .

141,2 Л+Сильв (86.12): \emptyset ; РАИХ: *и по брату* (РА: *брати*).

141,25 Л+Сильв (87.4): *начати*; РА: \emptyset ; И: *наити*; Х: *ити*.

We, thus, have five cases where Л and Сильв are in substantive agreement against the others. Yet, to get an accurate understanding of the relationship of Сильв to the PVL, we should look not only at cases of agreement of Сильв with Л but also at cases of agreement of Сильв with the others against Л. In nine cases, substantive agreements place the Sil'vestr redaction in proximity to РАИХ and РАИХН1 against Л:

134,9 Л: *и ины отроки*; РАИХН1: *отроки*; Сильв (80.7): *и отроки*.

134,10 Л: *селу*; РАИХН1+Сильв (80.7): \emptyset .

134,12 Л: *и тѣмъ же*; РАИХ: *лаву отвергоша / отвергъше прочь тѣмъ же*; Н1: *отвергъша* (АКТ: *отвергъ*) *лаву его прочь тѣмъ же*; Сильв (80.8): *лаву и отвергоша кромѣ да тѣмъ*.

140,27 Л: *си*; РАИХ+Сильв (86.9): \emptyset (Р: *а*).

141,19–20 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ+Сильв (87.1–2): *руси и печенгъ и* (Сильв: \emptyset) *изыде противу* (Р: *add ему к*; А: *add к*) *любичю*.

142,15 Л: *стополка с дружиною*; РА: *стополка с вои*; ИХ: *стополчъ / стополчи вои*; Сильв (87.15): *вои стополчъ*.

³⁸ Readings of Сильв are from Сергій Бугославський, *Україно-руські пам'ятки XI–XVIII в.в. про князів Бориса та Гліба* (Київ, 1928), стр. 72–93.

³⁹ The Н1 version of the *Tale of Boris and Gleb* ends at 137,9.

142,20 Л: *и дѣдни*; РАИХ+Сильв (87.17): \emptyset .

143,4 Л: *именемь*; РАИХ+Сильв (88.4): \emptyset .

143,24 Л: *по ѿ грив*; РАИХ: *по ѿ гривен*; Сильв (88.16): *по осмидесять гривенъ*.

In two cases, Сильв is closer to ИХ than it is to ЛРА.

137,7e–h ЛРА: \emptyset ; ИХ+Сильв (85.11–14): *яко же и (Сильв: \emptyset) соломонъ рече азъ
вашей погыбели посмѣюся по (Сильв: яко) радую же ся вънегда (Сильв: егда)
грядеть на вы пагуба тѣм же снѣдять своего пути (X: труда; Сильв: \emptyset)
плоды и своя нечести насытятся.*

141,1 ЛРА: *се слышавъ*; ИХ+Сильв (86.11): *се слышавъ ярославъ*.

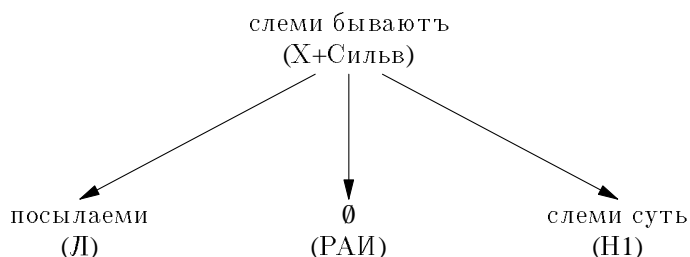
Therefore, we can say that the Sil'vestr redaction of the *Tale* is substantively closer to РАИХ than it is to Л or an Л-type copy. But there seems to be no correlation between primacy of readings and the reading found in Сильв.

In one place where Сильв is in agreement with X against the others, Vilkul argues for the primacy of that agreement. Yet there are good reasons for thinking that agreement is secondary.

135,6 Л: *посылаемь*; Н1: *слеми суть*; X+Сильв (80.22): *слеми бываютъ*, РАИ: \emptyset .

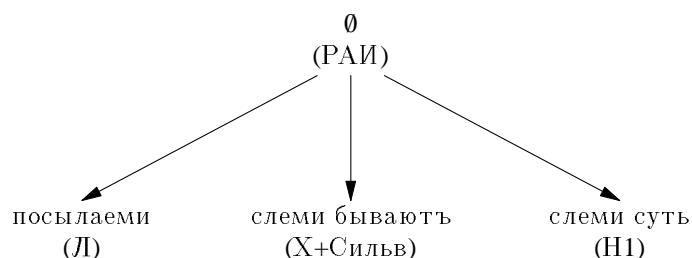
According to Vilkul, the reading of X+Сильв should be accepted as primary because of the “symmetrical construction” of the wider passage: *бѣси бо на злое посылаемь бываютъ, ангелы на благое слеми бываютъ*. If the symmetrical construction *посылаемь бываютъ / слеми бываютъ* is primary, then we have no explanation for at least three different scribes independently destroying the symmetry, each in a different way.

Three Independent Mistakes Hypothesis



If, on the other hand, we take the lacuna in РАИ as primary, then we have an explanation for scribes subsequently trying to restore the lost symmetry. But they do so differently. The scribe of Л or its exemplar chooses *посылаемь*; the scribe of Н1 tries *слеми суть*; and the scribes of X and Сильв independently come up with *слеми бываютъ* (or perhaps the scribe of X borrows from Сильв), all in an attempt to correct what they perceive to be an error in their respective exemplars.

Three Independent Corrections Hypothesis



The three-corrections hypothesis has a much higher probability than the three-mistakes hypothesis of representing scribal practice.

Thus, in no case can *Сильв* be used as an adjudicator of primacy in α . In order to understand the relationship of *Сильв* to the PVL, one needs to evaluate methodically the agreements and differences in readings with all the main witnesses not with just one copy or another.

The *Patericon of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, which was compiled in the 13th century, at least 100 years after the PVL, is also not a source text for the PVL. The parts of the Caves (Печерский) *Patericon* that coincide with the PVL may derive from a common source, which Shakhmatov called the Caves Chronicle (Печерская летопись).⁴⁰ Although a Caves Chronicle probably existed, his postulation of what that chronicle contained remains conjectural and may not be as Shakhmatov described it. Since, as with *Сильв*, there is no correlation between primacy of reading and the reading in *Пат*, it is highly unlikely *Пат* and the PVL derive from a common source.

As with *Сильв*, Vilkul cites a number of cases of morphological coincidences, which themselves are not evidence of relationships among copies:⁴¹

157,9 Л: *ему еже на потребу въ*; X: *еже въ на потребу*; РА: *ему потребная*; И: *ему на потребу*; Пат (17.23): *яже (ему иже) на потребу*.

159,2 ЛРХ+Пат (19.1): *бысть*; АИ: *бывъ*.⁴²

193,20 ЛИ: *изъ / изо всеслава*; РАХ: *за всеслава*; Пат (186.21): *про* (О: *изо*; Т: *и князя всеслава*).

193,21 ЛХ: *в ночь / в ночи*; Пат (186.21–22): *въ ноци* (Т: \emptyset); РАИ: *нощью / ноцию*.

196,16 ЛХ: *изльзе*; Пат: *и снидъ (изльзе)*; РАИ: *и сльзе*.

And, as with *Сильв*, some substantive readings of the Caves *Patericon* (Пат) show a closer proximity to Л than to the other copies.

196,7 Л: *на нь*; РАИХ: \emptyset ; Пат (188.9): *на них*.

196,23 Л+Пат (188.20): *моего*; РАИХ: *нашего*. Vilkul argues that *моего* is the correct reading because “Бог не может «нашим» для печерского схимника и бесов” (Вилкул,

⁴⁰ А. А. Шахматов, “Киево-печерский Патерик и Печерская летопись,” *Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской Академии наук*, 2 (1897), стр. 795–844.

⁴¹ The readings for Пат come from Дмитро Абрамович, *Киево-Печерський Патерик* (Киев, 1930).

⁴² As Vilkul pointed out, I should have reconstructed a “ъ” instead of a “ь” here for α .

“Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 176). If so, then that does not explain the “incorrect” reading of РАИХ. If as she says, there is contamination between РА and ИХ, then two separate scribes would have had to make the “incorrect” choice of моего → нашего, first in whichever branch she sees as the contaminating branch, then by the scribe in the branch that copied the mistake when the “correct” reading was before him in his direct exemplar. The simpler and more likely explanation is the mistake was in α and was corrected by the scribe of Л’s exemplar and in Пат to “моего” as making more sense. Here the principle of *lectio difficilior* should prevail.

196,24–25 Л+Пат (188.20): \emptyset ; РАИХ: на христа.

197,18 Л: *бъсте*; Пат (189.3): *бъсте*; РАИХ: \emptyset .

197,23–24 Л+Пат (189.6): *ациже и сами есте*; РАИХ: *ациже и сами бысте скверни и зли въ видѣнии и абие погыбоша бѣси от него*. The presence of the phrase *скверни ... от него* could support Vilkul’s claim of contamination between РА and ИХ, because it could have been added by a scribe who saw it in a MS other than the one he was directly copying from. Yet, as she points out, this phrase is generally considered primary: “все исследователи считают первоначальным” (ibid.). For this phrase to be used as evidence of contamination between РА and ИХ she would have to show that it is secondary. Otherwise, we can conclude only that РА and ИХ independently testify to the phrase in α , not to confluence between branches.

212,1 Л+Пат (82.16): *о дшахъ ихъ*; РАИХ: *дшамл*.

212,2 Л: *о двныхъ снхъ своихъ*; Пат (82.17): *о сновох своихъ двныхъ*; РАИХ: *о снхъ (А: снох) своихъ дешныхъ*.

212,6 Л+Пат (82.20–21): *подружью*; РАИХ: *женъ*.

212,8 Л+Пат (82.23–24): *в любви межи собою пребываста*; РАИХ: *в любви живяста*.

212,23 Л+Пат (83.5): *шюеи*; РАИХ: *лъвои*.

212,29 Л+Пат (83.9): *бдя за не*; РАИХ: *бдѣнемъ*.

213,2–3 Л: *уже и по ошестви твоель от сея жизни молишися*; Пат (83.10–11): *уже и по отшестви своель от сея жизни молиться*; РА: *уже/юже по отшестви его молятся*; ИХ: *уже (Х: +и) по ошестви его моляся*.

213,12 Л+Пат (83.16–17): *в тишинъ*; РАИХ: \emptyset .

213,18–19 Л+Пат (83.21): *в словесхъ книжныхъ веселюся*; РАИХ: \emptyset .

213,28–29 Л+Пат (83.29): *подобяся житью его*; РАИХ: \emptyset .

None of these examples shows that confluence necessarily exists between РА and ИХ, because none of the readings of РАИХ is demonstrably secondary in relation to the readings of Л+Пат.

In addition, we also find a number of cases when the reading of Пат is in closer proximity to РАИХ than to Л:

158,3 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ+Пат (18.10–11): *иленемъ*.

158,8 Л: *съ игуменомъ*; РАИХ+Пат (18.14): *игумень / игумень*.

158,10 Л: \emptyset ; РА: *и не илуцимъ вльстити*; ИХ: *и не могуцимъ / могущемъ иль (Х: \emptyset) вльстити в пещеру (Х: в пещеру вльстити)*; Пат (18.15): *и не могуцимъ въ пещеру вльстити*.

159,4 Л: *а съ столпьемъ*; РАИХ: *столпиемъ*⁴³; Пат (19.3): *стлѣпиемъ*.

⁴³ The morphology of this word varies from MS to MS (thus, Р: *столпеемъ*; А: *столпиемъ*; И: *столпьемъ*; Х: *стлѣпиемъ*), but none of these has the preceding words *а съ* that Л does.

- 192,19–20 Л: *яко от слнца осья*; РА+Пат (185.23): *яко от слнца*; ИХ: *яко слнце*.
 193,6 Л: *и живного*; Р: *оле жива*; А: *и оле жива*; И: *и ле жива суци*; Х: *его еле жива*;
 Пат (186.9): *его еле* (О: *едва*; ДНРС: *елико*) *жива суца* (ОТ: \emptyset).
 193,10а Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ: *гласа ни послушания и много / многажды гла антонии и не быс*; Пат (186.12–13): *гласа ни послушания и многажды глагола антоние и не бысть*.
 193,21 Л: *и присла*; РАИХ: *и приславъ стославъ* Пат (186.21): *и присла Святославъ* (Т: *Изяславъ*).
 193,22 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ: *антонии же пришед къ чернигову и*; Пат (186.22): *Антоній же пришед к Чернигову и*.
 194,3 Л: *тъломъ*; РАИХ: *тъломъ и умомъ*; Пат (186.27): *умом и тълм*.
 194,19–20 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ: *и тако по малу научиша и*; Пат (187.8–9): *и тако по малу нача ходити въ церковь*.
 195,2 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ+Пат (187.15): *и от прелести его* (И: \emptyset).
 195,6 Л: *быль*; РАИХ+Пат (187.17): \emptyset .
 196,21 Л: *в печерь*; РАИХ+Пат (188.18): \emptyset .
 196,25 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ+Пат (188.21): *васъ*.
 197,8 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ+Пат (188.28): *тя*.
 197,11 Л: *и т<м>а вы ятъ*; РАИХ+Пат (188.30): \emptyset .
 213,15 Л: \emptyset ; РАИХ+Пат (83.19): *и мирьскую*.

Vilkul provides one more example that, although it does not invoke a source or “control” text, does help make my point.

237,12 Л: *сна Володимеря внука Всеволожа*; РАИХ: *сна Всеволожа*.

As Vilkul points out: “Речь идет об Изяславе ВолодимERICHE, сыне Мономаха, в РАИХ ошибка, общий пропуск.” The question, however, is determining where the mistake occurred. Was it the result of contamination between РА and ИХ, as Vilkul supposes, or was the mistake in α , which the scribe of Л or its exemplar corrected? It may seem counter-intuitive to choose a mistake to be the primary reading. Yet, if we suppose a scribe has the correct reading (*сна Володимеря внука Всеволожа*) before him and he sees an obviously incorrect reading in another manuscript (*сна Всеволожа*), it is difficult to conceive why he would choose the obviously incorrect reading (confluence) from the other manuscript, especially when it is clear from the chronicle he is copying which Iziaslav is being referred to. Another possibility to be considered is two scribes independently made the same mistake by coincidentally dropping the words *Володимеря внука* from the passage, but if that occurred it would not be evidence of confluence between branches.

In the end, we must choose the reading that explains the others. If the longer reading was in α , it would not explain the shorter reading in РАИХ. But if the shorter reading was in α , then that does explain the reading of Л as a scribal correction. Vilkul concludes her discussion of the relationship of the PVL to the Caves *Patericon* with the statement that “the absence of contamination of РАИХ is not justified” (“Таким образом, положение об отсутствии контаминации РАИХ не оправдывается”).⁴⁴ But

⁴⁴ Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 177. In a footnote, Vilkul recognizes that Л and the “con-

her examples do not show this at all. Instead of a common source for ПаТ and the PVL, I hypothesize a confluence of a later Л-type copy and the γ branch on the composition of ПаТ. For example:

158,1 Л: *ити единъ*; РАИХ: *състи одинъ*; ПаТ (18.9): *ити и тамо състи единъ* (ПаТ-Т: *състи единъ*).

The compiler of ПаТ or perhaps a later redactor (if Т represents an earlier version) combined the *ити* reading of Л with the *състи* reading of РАИХ and added the word *тамо*. Further study is required to test this hypothesis.

The *Life of Methodius*, in contrast, is indeed a source text for the PVL, but the single example Vilkul cites from only one MS copy,⁴⁵ is hardly decisive:

28,5 ЛХ+МеФ (108В10–11): *скорописца*; РАИ: *борзописца*.

These synonyms are interchangeable by any scribe and do not affect the meaning. The single MS copy of the *Life of Methodius* she cites is not definitive, and other copies of the *Life* could well have had the reading *борзописца*.

The translation of the *Chronicle of Georgii Harmatolus* (ГА) into Slavonic,⁴⁶ as does the *Life of Methodius*, counts as a source text for the PVL, but unlike that *Life*, we have large chunks of textual borrowing to analyze. Vilkul cites the following cases showing a proximity of Л to ГА:

2,2 Л+ГА (59.4): *текущи*; РАИХ: *текущая / текущаа*.

3,1 Л+ГА (59.10): <а>*фету / афету*; РАИХ: *афетови*.

3,2 Л: *алъванья*; ГА (59.10–11): *давония* (С: *алваниа*); РАИХ: *олъвания*. This case is not really an example of proximity between Л and ГА because only one MS copy of ГА is similar to Л. Yet the difference between Л and РАИХ here is only a dialectical choice of spellings (*а* or *о*).

3,13 Л: *всячьския*; ГА (59.18): *всячьскыя*; РАИХ: *всякоя / всякоа*.

3,15 Л+ГА (59.19): <ме>*жю / межю*; РАИХ: *межы / межи*.

14,16 Л+ГА (49.25): *исписанъ законъ есть*; РАИ: *законъ исписанъ есть*; X: lacuna.

14,17 Л+ГА (49.26): *безаконьникомъ*; РАИ: *безаконнымъ*; X: lacuna.

14,22 Л+ГА (50.2): *весьма*; Р: *всема отнуд*; А: *весма отну*; И: *всема отинудъ*; X: lacuna.

15,1 Л+ГА (50.3): *прадъдъ*; РА: *предъль*; И: *предъль* → *прадъдъ*; X: lacuna.⁴⁷

15,17 Л+ГА (50.13): *весьма*; РА: *отнюд*; И: *отинудъ*; X: lacuna.

16,2 Л+ГА (50.16): *ни*; РАИХ: *и не*.

trol texts” in these cases “могут поддерживать и вторичные чтения” but then she articulates a classic error for determining primary readings—that older MSS contain older readings: “древнейшие списки поддерживают начальные, а более новые – вторичные чтения” (ibid., p. 177, fn. 19). A textual critic, in contrast, does not consider the age of a MS to be a criterion for determining primacy of readings.

⁴⁵ *Успенский сборник XII–XIII вв.*, издание подготовили О. А. Князевская, В. Г. Демьянов, and М. В. Ляпон, под редакцией С. И. Коткова (М., 1971).

⁴⁶ В. М. Истрин, *Книги временныя и образныя Георгия Мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славянорусском переводе*. т. 1: *Текст* (Петроград, 1920).

⁴⁷ Vilkul pointed out that my edition reports only the correction in И to *прадъдъ* but it should also have included the word that was being corrected — i.e., *предъль*.

16,3 Л: *но и*; ГА (50.17): *но*; РАИХ: \emptyset .

21,24 Л: *вельямъ*; ГА (511.18) *велиемъ / велиим*; РАИХ: *великимъ / великымъ*.

To these, Vilkul could have added:

22,2/3 Л+ГА (511,20): *избынути*; РАИХ: *избыти*.

Of these 14 cases, 9 are morphological (2,2; 3,1; 3,2; 3,13; 3,15; 14,17; 16,2; 21,24, and 22,2/3); 2 involve word order correspondence (14,16 and 16,3); and 3 indicate different word choices (14,22; 15,1; and 15,17). For the reasons indicated above (p. 56), I focus mainly on word choices, in particular those that result in a different meaning (rather than just synonym substitutions). For comparison purposes, presented below are the word choice similarities of ГА and РАИХ against Л for the same portion of text:

1,9 РАИХ: *силная кулии колони (X: *колагины*) финикия (РА: *фика*) вся*; ГА (59.1–2): *силая кулии сурия колагини и финикии вся*; Л: *на вся*.

2,3 РАИХ: *даже / доже до / ко куриния*; ГА (59.5): *доже и до кюриния*; Л: *до куриниа*.

2,4 РАИХ: *суриту (И: *сурить*; X: *си<р>и<т>и*) ливуи*; ГА (59.5): *сурти ливии*; Л: *асуритисиу*.

2,10 РАИХ+ГА (59.9): *островы паки имать / имать*; Л: *островъ неки имать*.

3,6 РАИХ: *далматия молоси / малоси фесалия (РА: *феласия*)*; ГА (59.9): *далматия молоси фесалия*; Л: *алма<ти>я луеи фесалья*.

14,19–20 РАИ: *имуть отецъ / оць своих и обычаи / обычая*; ГА (49.27): *имуть оць своихъ обычаи*; Л: *имуть от своихъ обычаи*; X: *lacuna*.⁴⁸

14,21 РАИ+ГА (50.1): *клеветати*; Л: *оклеветати*; X: *lacuna*.⁴⁹

15,13 РАИ: *любо аще (И: *+и*) далече*; ГА (50.10): *любо аще и далече*; Л: *любо далече*; X: *lacuna*.

15,21–22 РА: *спять тако и многа мужи*; ИХ: *спять такоже и многа жены*; ГА (50.15): *спять и многи жены*; Л: *спять и жены*.⁵⁰

21,21 РАИХ+ГА (511.16): *с пьсьми (РА: *+и*) изнес(ъ)ше*; Л: *изнесъше*.

Thus, we find 9 cases of word-choice coincidence of РАИХ+ГА against Л as opposed to only 3 of Л+ГА against РАИХ. There are two other cases that are less clear:

16,4 Л: *вѣчнымъ*; РАИ + one copy of ГА: *вешнимъ*; X: *весненим*; 6 other copies of ГА: *веснь(е)нымъ*.

⁴⁸ Gippius used this passage as evidence for the similarity of ГА with Л against РАИХ. Гиппиус, “О критике текста,” p. 80. He focused on the presence of *и* in РАИ, absent in both ГА and Л. But that word does not change the meaning of the passage and was most likely added by the author of the PVL. More significant is the difference between the *отець* of РАИ+ГА and the *от* of Л.

⁴⁹ Gippius cites the reading *оклеветати* in Л as being the same reading in ГА and differing from the reading *клеветати* that appears in РАИ, but here he is mistaken. Гиппиус, “О критике текста,” p. 81. Note that I am not counting *оклеветати* as a different word from *клеветати* since they do not have significantly distinctive meanings.

⁵⁰ Gippius used this passage as evidence for the similarity of ГА with Л against РАИХ. Гиппиус, “О критике текста,” p. 81. He focused on the presence of *так* / *также* of РАИХ, absent in both ГА and Л. But that word does not change the meaning of the passage and was most likely added by the author of the PVL. More significant is the absence of *многа* in Л, which does alter the meaning somewhat, and its presence in ГА, which was not mentioned by Gippius.

21,22 ЛРАИ: *в рѣку*; X+ГА (511.17): *въ море / в мори*.

In this last case, Vilkul claims that the reading in X was a scribal conjecture for correcting the PVL arrived at “по смыслу” rather than from checking ГА. In this she is probably right, but she does not consider the possibility that the readings of Л were corrections to the PVL made later by a scribe’s familiarity with ГА. In fact, there is evidence that the scribe of Л or its exemplar directly used a later copy of ГА, which would explain the few similarities that Vilkul finds between ГА and Л. In the PVL at the beginning of the borrowing from ГА occurs an unusual reading in Л:

1,2–3 РАИХТр: *ѣ е снве ноеви раздѣлиша землю*.

Л: *первие с<нве> ноеви раздѣлиша землю*.

The sense of the passage calls for the “three sons” to be dividing the land, so from where does the scribe of Л get the word “first”? The author of the PVL may have telescoped the passage immediately preceding the word-for-word borrowing:

ГА (58.20–25)	ПВЛ
По размѣшении оубо и столпоу разроушении призваша <i>ѣ е сн̄ве</i> <i>Ноеви</i> вся родившая ^с от нѣ и дадять имъ написание страну свою имена имъ, ихъже от оѣа прияша, откоудѣ соуть кождо ихъ и комоуждо свое колѣно и старостьство мѣсто и вѣтви и страны и острови и рѣкы, комоуждо что прилежить. наслѣдствоуетъ же <i>первънець</i> <i>сн̄ь Ноевъ Силмъ</i> от <i>Персиды</i> и <i>Вакторономъ</i> ...	По потоупѣ <i>ѣ е</i> (Л: <i>первие</i>) <i>сынове Ноеви</i> раздѣлиша землю, Симъ, Хамъ, Афетъ. И вся въстокъ <i>Силмови: Персида,</i> <i>Ватръ</i>

I propose that the α text took its 3-е *сынове Ноеви* from the beginning of this section in ГА, but the scribe of Л noticed that in ГА immediately preceding the word-for-word borrowing of the names of the lands, the phrase *первънець сн̄ь Ноевъ* occurs and mistakenly changed 3-е to *первие*.

This preceding analysis of the relationship of the PVL to the *Chronicle of Harmatulus* demonstrates that the readings carried by РАИХ are closer to the readings of the source text than the readings of Л are. By presenting only those cases where Л and ГА are similar, Vilkul provides a distorted view of that relationship. One must analyze both the similarities of РАИХ and ГА against Л, on the one hand, and of Л and ГА against РАИХ, on the other, to provide an accurate representation.

The Bible, likewise, is a source text for the PVL, and comparison of the citations in the PVL with the corresponding Bible passages may help us to determine primacy of readings. We need to ascertain, however, the readings in the Bible that would have been available to the author of the PVL. The Ostrog Bible, which Vilkul takes as her Bible copy of choice, was not available in 1116; it is from 1581. Vilkul justifies her choice of a “rather late” Bible on the basis that the text of the Slavonic translation of the Bible “was stable”: “привожу библейские чтения по довольно поздней Острожской

Библии, т.к. древние славянские переводы св. Писания рассыпаны по множеству источников и изданий, часто малодоступных, а текст в принципе устойчив; в данном случае Острожская Библия несколько расходится с ПВЛ, наиболее близкий ПВЛ вариант см. в Паремейнике; далее наличие разночтений оговорены.”⁵¹ In fact, the readings of the Ostrog Bible diverge more than “somewhat” from those of the PVL and the Prophetologion, comparatively speaking. Not all Bible readings were the same in the late 16th century as in the early 12th century, and the readings in the various books of the Bible underwent significant changes in East Slavic lands during this time.

Two cases taken from the Psalms should be enough to make my point. The PVL and Novgorod I Chronicle contain a fragment of Psalm 21:17, which I also give according to a 12th-century Slavonic Psalter, two 13th-century Slavonic Psalters, the Gennadii Bible, and the Ostrog Bible:

133,17 ЛРАИХН1: и с(о)боръ злобивыхъ (И: злобныхъ) оспде мя.

Psalm 21:17

Sinai 6: и съборъ злобивыхъ оспде мя.⁵²

Bonon: И сънемъ злобивыхъ оспде мя.⁵³

Погод: Сънымъ злобивыхъ оспде мя.⁵⁴

Геннадий: съньм лукавых одръжася мя.⁵⁵

Острог: сонмъ лукавыхъ одержаша мя.⁵⁶

The reading of the 12th-century Psalter, Sinai 6, is in agreement with that of the PVL and of the Novgorod I Chronicle. Yet, the Ostrog and Gennadii Bibles in the same place have a very different reading. Without the evidence of the 12th-century Sinai Psalter, one could be confused by the reading in the PVL and in the Novgorod I Chronicle, and might not even be aware that it is from Psalm 21. MacRobert and Thomson have identified 5 redactions of the psalter.⁵⁷ It is clear that the author of the PVL is citing from redaction II

⁵¹ Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 176.

⁵² *An Early Slavonic Psalter from Rus'*, edited by Moshe Altbauer with the collaboration of Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA, 1978), p. 7 (РГБ Q p I 73, fol. 5^v).

⁵³ *Psalterium Bononiense: Interpretationem veterem slavonicam*, edited by V. Jagić (Vienna/Berlin/СПб., 1907), p. 96.

⁵⁴ *Psalterium Bononiense*, p. 96.

⁵⁵ Gennadii Bible, fol. 383^v.

⁵⁶ *The Ostroh Bible, 1581: Reproduced in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Baptism of Ukraine into the Holy Orthodox Faith, 988–1988* (Winnipeg, 1983).

⁵⁷ Catherine M. MacRobert, “The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century,” in *Interpretation of the Bible*, edited by Jože Krašovec, (Sheffield, 1998), pp. 922–924, 928; Francis J. Thomson, “The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament,” in *Interpretation of the Bible*, edited by Jože Krašovec (Sheffield, 1998), pp. 803–825. MacRobert refers to them as redactions I (Archaic or South Slavonic), II (Russian), III (Athonite), Norov, and IV. Cf. Mary MacRobert, “The Greek Textological Basis of the Early Redactions of the Church Slavonic Psalter,” *Palaeobulgarica*, vol. 14, no. 2 (1990), pp. 7–9. Thomson refers to them as redactions I, II (Symeonic), III (Athonite), IV (Norov), and V (Cyprianic). So MacRobert’s redaction IV is Thomson’s redaction V, and MacRobert’s Norov Redaction is Thomson’s redaction IV.

whereas the Gennadii and Ostrog Bibles represent a later redaction (IV or V, depending on whether one uses MacRobert's or Thomson's classification system).

Another case involves Psalm 81:8, where all copies of the PVL and the K copy of H1 are in agreement, but Ак and T of H1 have a different reading.

101,15

ЛРАИХК: *въ всьх странахъ.*

АкТ: *въ всьх языцехъ.*

In the Ostrog Bible we find: *въ всьхъ языцехъ.* Although the stemma tells us *въ всьхъ странахъ* is the reading in α , someone using the Ostrog Bible as the representative of the source text might conclude the reading of АкТ belongs to α . If so, that conclusion would be mistaken because we find both *страна* and *языкъ* used interchangeably to translate ἔθνος as early as a 10th-century Bulgarian redaction that accompanies the translation into Church Slavonic of Theodoret of Cyrrhus' commentary on the Psalms.⁵⁸

Vilkul uses the Ostrog Bible as though it accurately transmits 12th-century readings for all books of the Bible. Yet the Ostrog Bible derives from the Gennadii Bible, which itself drew heavily on the Latin Vulgate. In Thomson's view: "The resultant Biblical text is not merely defective with many minor omissions and errors, it is also obviously uniquely eclectic."⁵⁹ Vilkul's quotations from the Bible each present a different problem depending on the book she is citing. The reason there are different problems for various books is the Bible developed in Slavonic translation not as a complete text but as separate parts of the Bible and separate books – the Octateuch, the Prophets, the Psalms, the Gospels, and so forth. Not until 1499 is there a text of the complete Bible in East Slavic territory. Thus, one cannot agree with her assertion that the text of the Bible "was stable" during this period.

A case in point involves Vilkul's discussion of a citation in the PVL from Micah:

100,14–16

Л: *ты вифлеоме доме ефрантовъ и да не многи еси быти в тысяцахъ иудовахъ.*

РАИ: *ты вифлеоме доме ефрантовъ егда / еда не моглъ еси быти в тысуцах / тысяцахъ иудовахъ.*

Х: *ты вифлеоме доме ефрантовъ ничимъ же менши еси въ влдахъ иудовахъ.*

Н1: *вифлеомъ домъ ефрантовъ еда многъ еси быти в тысуцахъ иудовахъ.*

Micah 5:2–3:

Острог: *и ты вифлеоме доме ефрава еда малъ еси ты яко же быти в тысуцахъ иудиныхъ.*

⁵⁸ В. А. Погорелов, *Толкования Феодорита Киррского на Псалтырь в древне-болгарском переводе. Рассмотрение списков и исследование особенностей Псалтырного текста* (Варшава, 1910), стр. 226–227; cf. J. Lépiessier, *Les Commentaires des Psaumes de Théodoret* (Paris, 1968), p. 305. My thanks to Mary MacRobert for allowing me to consult with her on these passages and for pointing out the above citations to me.

⁵⁹ Thomson, "Slavonic Translation," p. 664 (see also *ibid.*, pp. 673, 658–664 for a discussion of Vulgate influence on the Gennadii Bible and subsequently the Ostrog Bible).

She asserts that the *не моглъ* reading of PAИ “contradicts the sense of the Biblical text.”⁶⁰ She also points out that none of the other copies exactly corresponds with the reading of the Ostrog Bible either (instead of *еда мал*, Л has *и да не многи*; X has *ничим же менши*; and H1 has *еда многи*). Nonetheless, according to her, both Л and X convey the meaning of the Biblical text better and are, thus, more acceptable than the reading of PAИ, which reading she sees as a corruption and evidence of contamination of PA on И.

Yet, when we consult the Prophetologion (Паримейник), we find both the *не многоъ* and the *не моглъ* readings are attested in early MSS.⁶¹

Григоровичев: *еда не многоъ еси быти* (XII или XIII вв.)

Захарьинский: *еда не многоъ еси быти* (1271 г.)

Перфирьевский: *еда не многоъ еси быти* (1378 г.)

Лобковский: *еда не моглъ еси быти* (1294–1320 гг.)

Ляпуновский: *еда не моглъ еси быти* (1511 г.)

Стефановский: *еда моглъ еси быти* (XIV в.)

The Grigorovichev and Lobkovskii copies of the Prophetologion are representative of the Bulgarian recension (извод); the others, of the Russian recension, as defined by the editor Roman Brandt.⁶² Although the reading *не моглъ* may not be “correct” in relation to the reading *ολιγοστος* in the Septuagint, it does satisfy the grammatical requirements of the sentence (masculine singular 1-participle of the verb “мочи”).⁶³ The *малъ* reading of the Ostrog Bible is attested in Brandt’s publication only in a later printed Bible, which most likely was based on their common source, the Gennadii Bible. So, instead of being evidence of confluence between PA and И, this reading is evidence that the author of the PVL had access to a Prophetologion that drew on one of the versions of the Bulgarian recension.

Another case involves Vilkul’s citation of two Biblical passages relating to her assertion that PA contaminated ИХ. The first passage is from the book of Isaiah:

168,10–11 ЛК: *шия желъзная / желъзныя твоя*; PAИХ: *шия желъзна вяя твоя*.

Острог: *жила желъзна вяя твоя* (Isaiah 48:4).

If, as Vilkul asserts (“Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 182), the primary reading here is carried by PAИХ, then this would provide evidence against the shared readings of PAИХ being the result of confluence and could be considered evidence of confluence between the hyparchetype of H1 and Л (see above, “Confluence”) as I indicate in my stemma, for the secondary reading is shared by К and Л.

⁶⁰ Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 176.

⁶¹ Роман Брандт, *Григоровичев Паримейник. В сравнении с другими паримейниками*, ЧОИДР, выпуск 1, т. 168, кн. 1 (1894), стр. I–IV, 1–90; выпуск 2, т. 170, кн. 3 (1894), стр. 91–178 and т. 193, кн. 2 (1900), 179–290; выпуск 3, т. 197, кн. 2 (1901), стр. [v–vi], 291–308, вып. 1, стр. 5.

⁶² Брандт, *Григоровичев Паримейник*, вып. 1, стр. II.

⁶³ My thanks to David J. Birnbaum for allowing me to consult with him on this passage in particular and on some of the other passages in general.

The second passage is from Genesis. The readings of the PVL MSS in comparison with the Ostrog Bible are:

89,17 Л: *от плода земли*; РА: *от плодовъ земныхъ*; ИХ: *от плодъ земныхъ*; К: *от плода земныхъ*.

Ostrog: *от плодовъ земля* (Genesis 4:3).

Vilkul points to the plural form of РАИХ as being closer to the Ostrog Bible reading.⁶⁴ If РАИХ do carry the primary reading here, as Vilkul seems to be indicating, then that argues against the notion that shared readings of РАИХ are the result of confluence. Yet, any conclusions based on a comparison of the PVL with the Ostrog Bible alone are inherently faulty. The Septuagint has the genitive plural form for *fruit* and the genitive singular for *land* as a noun: *απο των καρπων της γης*. None of the PVL MSS renders this grammatical relationship exactly. Л has the corresponding equivalent genitive singular for the noun *land* (i.e., *земли*), but renders the noun *fruit* as a genitive singular (i.e., *плода*). РАИХ have the equivalent genitive plural for the noun *fruit* (i.e., either *плодовъ* or *плодъ*) but have turned *land* into a genitive plural adjective (i.e., *земныхъ*). All these grammatical forms of the PVL MSS, however, can be found in early Slavonic copies of Genesis and of the Prophetologion, including the *отъ плодъ земныхъ* reading of ИХ.⁶⁵ Thus, appeal to the Slavonic translation of Genesis does not aid us in determining the primary reading of this passage in the PVL.

Vilkul cites two other quotations from Genesis that appear in the PVL, but in doing so she ignores the history of the transmission of this text in the Slavonic translation. According to Thomson, the Octateuch, of which Genesis is the first book, went through three redactions – a South Slavic (SS), an East Slavic (ES), and an Intermediate (I) redaction. He sees the Gennadii Bible as representing a family of ES and the Ostrog Bible as also representing ES but having made corrections from SS.⁶⁶ Thus, in any given passage in Genesis, the Ostrog Bible may be rendering a derivative reading and we need to understand Vilkul's use of the Ostrog Bible from that perspective. According to Vilkul, ЛРА transmit the Biblical reading of Genesis 3:5 correctly because the reading they have corresponds to the reading in the Ostrog Bible:

89,1–2

Л: *отверзетася очи ваю и будета яко и бѣ*
 Р: *отверзитес <о>чию ваю и боудета яко бѣ*
 А: *отверзетася очи ваю и будета яко бѣ*
 И: *отвързостася очи ваю и будета яко бѣ*
 Х: *отвързостася очи ваю и будета як бѣ*
 К: *отверзостася очи ваю и будета яко богъ*

Ostrog: *отверзутся очи ваши, и будете яко бси* (Gen 3:5).

⁶⁴ Вилкул, "Текстология и Textkritik," p. 182.

⁶⁵ А. В. Михайлов, *Опыт изучения текста книги Бытия пророка Моисея в древнеславянском переводе, часть 1: Паримейный текст* (Варшава, 1912), стр. 164; Брандт, *Григоровичев Паримейник*, вып. 2, стр. 132.

⁶⁶ Thomson, "Slavonic Translation," 730–734.

She sees the form *отвързостася / отвързостася* in IX and K to be “a rather typical mistake of scribes” (Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 185). Yet, the Septuagint form of the verb “open” is the 3rd person dual aorist-future passive: *διανοιχθήσονται*, which is accurately rendered in Slavonic by either the root aorist with the ending (-ета / -ете) of Л and А or by the productive aorist with the ending (-оста) of ИХК. Early MSS of the Slavonic translation of Genesis attest to both *отвързетася* and *отвързостася*.⁶⁷ This means that the “rather typical mistake” most likely did not occur in copying the PVL but in the source text the author of the PVL used.

The copies of the PVL differ in their rendering the verb in quoting from Genesis 12:1 The readings of the PVL MSS are:

92,19 ЛРА: ∅; ИХ: *и поиди*; Н1: *и иди*.

Ostrog: *и иди* (Gen 12:1).

Prophetologion: *приди*.⁶⁸

Vilkul points out that the reading of ИХН1 is closer to the Ostrog Bible reading. The absence of these words in ЛРА could have been from the result of a scribal haplography or derive from an earlier Bible available to Syl'vestr. The reading in the Prophetologion testifies that the prefix was variable. We may have to await further research on the various redactions of the Octateuch before we can reach any definite conclusions about this passage, keeping in mind, however, that authors of this time generally cited Biblical quotations from memory rather than from a particular text. So even if the null reading of ЛРА is not found in any extant MS, that does not necessarily mean that Syl'vestr wrote this passage without those words in α.

Vilkul uses citations from the Prophets in an equally questionable way:

168,19–20 ЛРА: *то и тако (Л: ту) не обратистеся* ИХН1: *то и тако не обратистеся ко / къ мнѣ*

Vilkul identifies this passage as being “a paraphrase of the Biblical expression” found in Joel 2:12 (Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 181) where the word *обратистеся* also occurs. But we can consider this a misidentification on her part for two reasons. First, the PVL author quotes Joel 2:12 directly a few lines earlier in the text:

168,4–5 ЛРАИХН1: *обратистеся ко мнѣ всѣмъ сердцѣмъ вашимъ*.

Острог: *обратистеся къ мнѣ всѣмъ сердцѣмъ вашимъ* (Joel 2:12).

Here all PVL witnesses are in agreement. Second, the phrase that appears in 168,19–20 is a refrain that occurs 5 times in Amos 4:6–10 (“you do not return to me” RSV):

Острог: *и не обратистеся къ мнѣ* (Amos 4:6)

и не обратистеся къ мнѣ (Amos 4:8)

⁶⁷ Михайлов, *Опыт изучения текста книги Бытия*, стр. 139. Copies of the Prophetologion testify variously to *отвързеться*, *отвързетася*, and *отвързутся*. Брандт, *Григоровичев Паримейник*, вып. 2, стр. 119.

⁶⁸ Брандт, *Григоровичев Паримейник*, вып. 3, стр. 280.

и такожде не обратистеся къ мнѣ (Amos 4:9)
и такожде не обратистеся къ мнѣ (Amos 4:10)

As is clear from this comparison, the wording of Amos 4:9 and 4:10 is closer to the PVL rendering in 168,19–20 than is the wording of Amos 4:6 and 4:8. Yet, one also notices a difference between the *то и тако* of PAИXH1 (as well as the *то и ту* of Л) and the *и такожде* of the Ostrog Bible. This difference indicates that the author of the PVL probably used a redaction of Amos different from the one the compilers of the Ostrog Bible used, and it raises the possibility that the redaction of Amos used by the PVL author did not have the *къ мнѣ* phrase. Thus, the presence of *къ мнѣ* in ИXH1 could be a correction by the scribe of γ in my stemma, whereas the scribe of β maintained the reading in α .

Vilkul uses the Ostrog Bible to compare with other citations in the PVL seemingly unaware of the problems involved in doing so (Вилкул, “Текстология и Textkritik,” p. 181). I saw my task in regard to Biblical quotations in the PVL, as indeed I saw it throughout the text, as one of reconstructing, aided by the stemma, the reading that the author of the PVL wrote, not the reading that was closest to the Ostrog Bible (or to one or another redaction of a particular book, or to the most “correct” reading, of the Bible). As such, the stemma-preferred readings of the PVL can help us determine from which redactions of the various Biblical books the author of the PVL derived his readings. To be sure, understanding of those various redactions of the Biblical books can also inform the decision-making process of determining which reading is primary. Yet, it is insufficiently rigorous methodology to compare readings in the PVL only with the equivalent places in the Ostrog Bible. Vilkul concludes that her citations from the Bible “contradict the thesis of the primacy of short readings” (p. 180), but it does not show that at all, especially if one is citing, as she does, a later redaction of the Bible instead of the redactions of the various Biblical books that would have been available to the author of the PVL.

Conclusion

I would be remiss were I not to once again express my gratitude to Tat’iana Vilkul for her detailed review and evaluation of my edition of the PVL. In the end, however, most of her and Gippius’ disagreement with my conclusions derive from different approaches to text editing. Vilkul and Gippius at times embrace the approach of determining primary readings according to philological correctness, while I attempt to apply the principles of textual criticism (as I understand them) and choose the reading that explains the others. The mistakes that Vilkul found in my edition and the inaccuracies I pointed out in her review demonstrate, nonetheless, one of the central principles that I applied – authorial texts contain errors.

List of Abbreviations

- α = Proposed *paradosis* of the PVL
 A = Academy copy of the PVL
 Ак = Academy copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
 ГА = Chronicle of Gregory Hamartolus
 И = Hupatian copy of the PVL
 К = Commission copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
 Л = Laurentian copy of the PVL
 Н1 = Novgorod I Chronicle
 П = Pogodin copy of the PVL
 Пат = Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 (Д) = МАМИД, Обол. № 38 – copy of Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 (Н) = БАН 45.11.17 – copy of Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 (О) = РГБ, ОИДР № 157 – copy of Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 (Р) = РГБ, Румянц. № 305 – copy of Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 (С) = РНБ, Соф. № 1363 – copy of Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 (Т) = РНБ, Соф. № 1365 – copy of Kievan Caves *Patericon*
 ПСРЛ = *Полное собрание русских летописей*
 ПВЛ = *Повесть временных лет*
 Р = Radziwiłł copy of the PVL
 RSV = Revised Standard Version
 С = Synod copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
 Сильв = Sil'vestr Redaction of the *Tale of Boris and Gleb*
 (a) = ГИМ, Син. № 182 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (b) = РНБ, Погодин. № 645 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (d) = РГБ, Троиц. № 679 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (e) = ГИМ, Син. № 996 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (f) = РНБ, Q.I.1001 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (g) = ГИМ, Син. № 807 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (У) = ГИМ, Успенск. № 3 – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (С) = Sakharov copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 (S) = РНБ, Солов. № 616(518) – copy of the Sil'vestr Redaction
 Т = Tolstoy copy of the Novgorod I Chronicle
 Тр = Trinity copy of the PVL (according to typographic plates)
 X = Khlebnikov copy of the PVL
 ЧОИДР = *Чтения в Обществе истории и древностей российских при Московском университете, Moscow, 1845–1918.*