

ROBERT ROMANCHUK (Tallahassee, FL, USA)

EFROSIN OF KIRILLOV AND AN INTERPOLATED PRINCELY GENEALOGY IN THE ZADONSHCHINA

The copy of the *Zadonshchina* made in fall 1475 by Efrosin, monk of the Kirillo-Belezerskii Monastery (Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086, ff. 123-130v) is the earliest and the shortest complete text – that is, one neither damaged materially nor consisting only of excerpts – of the famous fifteenth-century Muscovite epic of the Battle of Kulikovo Field (1380).¹ Efrosin is known primarily as an editor of texts, and the precise nature of his redaction of the *Zadonshchina* has been a matter of considerable (if oblique) debate. Thus, Rufina Dmitrieva considered that Efrosin epitomized a long ur-*Zadonshchina* (reflected more or less faithfully in three later copies: Muz. no. 2060 [mid-sixteenth century], Sin. no. 790 [mid-seventeenth century], and Und. no. 632 [1660s]),² characteristically abbreviating passages and neglecting altogether the text's second half, which includes the attack of the Rus' reserves, the rout of the Tatars, and an encomium to the dead, while Aleksandr Zimin held that the Kirillov monk transmitted essentially the whole *Zadonshchina* as it existed in the late fifteenth century – i.e., a short redaction, maximally close to oral performance or even transcribed by Efrosin himself – and that this short text was only expanded into a long redaction (and given a "second half") in the 1530s. Further, Zimin argued that Efrosin incorporated into the epic various bookish

1. Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086 is described in M. D. Kagan, N. V. Ponyrko, and M. V. Rozhdественская, "Opisaniie sbornikov XV v. knigopisista Efrosina," *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 35 (1980): 105-44; its component parts have been dated in S. N. Kisterev, "Kodikologicheskie nabludeniia nad efronovskim sbornikom s "Zadonshchinoj," *Arkhiv russkoj istorii*, no. 3 (1993). The best editions of Efrosin's *Zadonshchina* are D. S. Likhachev and L. A. Dmitrieva, eds., *Slovo o polku Igor'ev i pamiatniki kulikovskogo iskida: K voprosu o vremeni napisaniia "Slova"* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966), 548-50, and B. A. Rybakov and V. A. Kuchkin, eds., *Pamiatniki Kulikovskogo iskida* (St. Petersburg: Russko-Baltiiskii informatsionnyi tsentr BLITS, 1998), 88-94. Both give the old foliation (the reader should add one folio for the new numbering). Facsimile editions are found in Pavel Simoni, *Zadonshchina po spiskam XV-XVIII stoletii. Zadonshchina Velikogo kniazia gospodina Dimitriia Ivanovicha i brata ego kniazia Volodimira Andreevicha po Kirillobelezerskomu spisku 1470 g.*, vol. 3, *Pamiatniki starinogo russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti XV-XVIII stoletii* (Petrograd: RAN, 1922), plates i-xvi; Alekssei Shmarinov, ed., *Na pole kulikovskom: Rassказы russkikh letopisei i voinskie povesti XII-XV vekov* (Moscow: Molodaja gvardiia, 1980), 175-88 (incomplete).

2. For the most recent dating of these copies, see Rybakov and Kuchkin, eds., *Pamiatniki*, 124-25, 95-96, 110-11.

elements, including reminiscences of Josephus Flavius's *History of the Jewish War* and the "Judgments of Solomon"; these "hierarchy" passages are likewise found in all other – later – complete copies of the *Zadonschina*.³

Yet neither Zimin nor Dmitrieva were able to reach definite conclusions about Efrosin's editing of the *Zadonschina*. As distinct from her detailed findings concerning Efrosin's editorial work on Josephus, the *Palatia*, and the *Pilgrimage of Hegumen Daniil*, Dmitrieva could not identify or reconstruct the autograph of Efrosin's *Zadonschina* and thus demonstrate the long version's epitomization at the hands of the Kirillov redactor. Similarly, Zimin was not able to prove that the bookish amplifications from Josephus and the "Judgments" he detected in the *Zadonschina* originated with Efrosin at Kirillov; as compelling as their presence in the texts may be (both Josephus and the "Judgments" were indeed available at Kirillov's library by the 1470s, and both were copied and attentively redacted by Efrosin), these passages are only circumstantial evidence for the *Zadonschina*'s transcription and early editing at Kirillov, and its expansion in later decades.⁴

Some time ago, while working with Efrosin's miscellanies at the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, I came across (in my opinion) probative evidence that Efrosin made substantial additions to the *Zadonschina*. As was the case with Zimin's bookish interpolations from Josephus and the "Judgments," the passage I wish to focus on in this article – a princely genealogy – is present in Efrosin's copy in Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086 and in all other complete copies of the *Zadonschina*; like Zimin's passages, the sources of the genealogy are well contextualized in Kirillov's library and its history. However, my evidence has two virtues that have not yet been (but conceivably could be) demonstrated for Zimin's passages: it is culled from a close – and closely datable – analysis of Efrosin's own codices, and the sources in question are reflected more than once in Efrosin's text of the *Zadonschina* itself. I may therefore assign the princely genealogy's appearance in the epic to Efrosin's hand with a high probability – and, by analogy, strengthen Zimin's case for

3. Cf. R. P. Dmitrieva, "Primeny redaktorskoj pravki knigopisca Efrosina," in *Slovo o polku Igoreve i pamiatniki Kulikovskogo iskida* (Moscow, 1966); A. A. Zimin, "Dve redaktsii Zadonschiny [K istorii teksta Zadonschiny]," *Trudy Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo istoriko-arkhivnogo instituta* 24 (1966). See also Zimin's edition: A. A. Zimin, ed., *Zadonschina. Dvenamenskaja pesnia-povest' o Kulikovskoi bitve* (Tula: Priokskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1980); text and translation of Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086 and Muz. no. 2060 copies, and reconstruction of the long redaction; and the recent publication of his long-unavailable monograph: A. A. Zimin, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), which has finally seen the light of day thanks to great efforts by the intellectually scrupulous Oleg Tvorogov.

4. For the availability of Josephus and the "Judgments" (the latter incorporated into the *Palatia*) and Efrosin's work with them, see, e.g., Dmitrieva, "Primeny," la. S. Lur'e, "Une légende inconnue de Salomon et Kitovras dans un manuscrit du XVe siècle," *Revue des Etudes Slaves* 43, no. 1-4 (1964).

the interpolations he identified; my evidence will also support Zimin's stemma of the *Zadonschina*. As genealogy is a topic beloved of Prof. Norman Ingham, recipient of this *Festschrift*, and moreover as sorting out the redactions of the *Zadonschina* will help shed light on the dating of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* – a problem that has engaged Norm for several years – I am delighted to publish this evidence, for the first time, in his honor.

I.

It has long been known that Efrosin copied chronicle entries that describe the events of several years (beginning with 1380) into the end of his text of the *Zadonschina* (Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086, ff. 129v-130v).⁵ He does not break the text or add a new rubricated heading at f. 129v, which indicates that he considered these entries to be an integral part of his *Zadonschina* – and that he considered the *Zadonschina* a historical text, as distinct from a work of *belle-lettres*, but that is a topic for another article. The source of these entries is Efrosin's short *Ruskoi letopisets'* (sewn ca. 1475-8 into Kir.-Bel. no. 22/1099; the whole text apart from its start [f. 14v] and end [f. 15], was cut out by Pavel Stroev and rebound into another codex, now Pog. no. 1554, as ff. 13-19v),⁶ which itself derives from the "Kirillo-Belozerskii *Svod*" or "North Russian *Svod*" compiled at Kirillov in 1472, based on records of the Rostov bishopric and partly preserved in the *Ermolin Chronicle* as well as other short chronicles.⁷ The only significant difference between these entries in Efrosin's *Ruskoi letopisets'* and in his *Zadonschina* is that the latter versions in most cases note the number of years that have passed since the Battle of Kulikovo Field (e.g., "a year after the *Zadonschina*," "on the third year after the *Zadonschina*," and so on).⁸

Yet to the best of my knowledge, it has never been noted that Efrosin also copied an excerpt from a princely genealogy that opens the very same *Ruskoi letopisets'* into the start of his *Zadonschina*. (Shakhmatov hypothesized that this genealogy was first edited and compiled into his proposed "*Svod* of

5. See Kagan, Ponyrko, and Rozhdstven'skaia, "Opisanie," 120-21.

6. Kir.-Bel. no. 22/1099 is described and dated in *ibid.*, 7-105. For the leaves cut out by Stroev see Kagan, Ponyrko, and Rozhdstven'skaia, "Opisanie," 12, with bibliography.

7. For the bulk of the text of Efrosin's *letopisets'* see A. A. Zimin, "Kratkie letopisitsy XV-XVI vv.," *Istoricheskie arkhiv* 5 (1950): 22-27; for the beginning and end see Kagan, Ponyrko, and Rozhdstven'skaia, "Opisanie," 11-12; on the "Kirillo-Belozerskii *Svod*" see la. S. Lur'e, "Letopisanie XV v. i Kirillo-Belozerskii monastyr," in *Letopisi i khroniki. Spornik statei 1973 g.* (Moscow: Nauka, 1974); la. S. Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisi XIV-XV vv.* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1976), 201-09.

8. Cf. Simoni, *Zadonschina*, plates xiv-xvi, and Zimin, "Kratkie letopisitsy XV-XVI vv.," 25.

1448": an excerpt is preserved in the *Sofia First Chronicle*, and it is found in its entirety in the "young" recension of the *Novgorod First Chronicle*; Efrosin first copied the genealogy into Kir.-Vel. no. 9/1086, ff. 521-523 at the start of the 1470s, whence it was apparently compiled into the "Kirillo-Belozerskii Svoed" as well.⁹ The version of the genealogy from Efrosin's *Ruskoj Letopisets*' in Kir.-Vel. no. 22/1099 (f. 14v), written out between 1472 and fall 1475,¹⁰ begins:

Первыи кн(я)зь в Руси Рюриков(.) Рюриковичи Игорь(.) Игоревич С(в)я(т)гослав(.) С(в)я(т)гославич Володимерь Велики(.) Володимирович Ярослав(.) Ярославич Всеволод(.) Всеволодовиче Володимерь Маномак(.) Володимирович Юри(.) Юриевич Всеволод(. (Here and below, italics mine.)¹¹

Compare the passage near the opening of Efrosin's *Zadonskchina* in Kir.-Vel. no. 9/1086 (ff. 123v-124):

Тои бо вещи Боянь воскладеа свои златыи персты на живыи струны. пове ше славу рускыимь кн(я)земь. *Первому кн(я)зю Рюрику Игорю Рюрикович(ю), и С(в)я(т)гославу Ярославичю. Ярославу Володимировичю. восхваляя ихъ песни и гуслеными буйными словами. гна русскаго г(о)с(под)на кн(я)зя Дмитриа Иванович(а), и брата его кн(я)зя Володимера Одревевич(а).*¹²

The textual dependence of the passage in the *Zadonskchina* on the genealogy from the *Ruskoj Letopisets*' is apparent: Efrosin has even retained the formulaic opening "perstu kniaz'." The only significant differences are the removal of Volodimer the Great and the replacement of Sviatoslav I Igorevich with Sviatoslav II Jaroslavovich (probably carelessness on Efrosin's part). Without this bookish interpolation, the cola of what was certainly once an "oral text" seem to come back into balance:

9. See A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svoedov XIV-XVI vv.* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1938), 171-75. For Efrosin's copy in Kir.-Vel. no. 9/1086 see Kagan, Pomurko, and Rozhdestvenskaia, "Opisanie," 141-42 (with bibliography); for dating, see Kisteriev, "Nabludeniia."

10. Not only is this genealogy apparently a source for the *Zadonskchina*, securely dated to fall 1475, but the bestialy entries from the *Palata* copied into the same section of Kir.-Vel. no. 22/1099 (at f. 31v) precede Efrosin's copying of excerpts from John the Ekarch's *Hexateuch* in Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086, ff. 201-220, also dated to fall 1475 (see Kisteriev, "Nabludeniia"). The 1472 date of the "Kirillo-Belozerskii Svoed" serves as the first terminus.

11. Cited from Kagan, Pomurko, and Rozhdestvenskaia, "Opisanie," 11.

12. Cited from Simoni, *Zadonskchina*, plate ii.

воскладеа свои златыи персты на живыи струны.
повше славу рускыимь кн(я)земь.
восхваляя ихъ песни и гуслеными буйными словесы.

Efrosin's interpolation of this excerpt from a Kievan genealogy into the Muscovy-centric *Zadonskchina* does not make any claim on behalf of the Moscow grand princes to the "Kievan succession," such as Muscovite scribes were beginning to advance at about the same time – indeed, this "succession" is implied by the genealogy in Efrosin's *Ruskoj letopisets*, which lists the Rus' grand princes from Riurik to Vasilii II [the Blind] and is interrupted between Vsevolod III and Jaroslav I with the words "От того зхе Vsevoloda Moskov'skue kniazia."¹³ In the *Zadonskchina*, Efrosin is not providing Dmitrii Donskoi's pedigree, a point that Volodimer's absence from the list makes abundantly clear. Rather, he is using the genealogy as a historical gloss, specifying the Kievan princes to whom "Boian" sang, just as the narrator – presumably Sofonii Riazanets, named in Efrosin's rubric – writes, or perhaps sings, to the Moscow princes Dmitrii and Volodimer in the line that follows (which I emend differently than does Zimin): "Potom zhe narisa-khom zhalost' i rokhvalu] na tusskago g(о)с(под)на кн(я)zia Dmitria Ivanovich(а), i brata ego кн(я)zia Volodимера Одревевич(а)."¹⁴

II.

Let us now glance at the corresponding place in the later manuscripts of the long redaction: Muz. no. 20660, Sin. no. 790, and Und. no. 632. The mid-sixteenth-century Muz. no. 20660 has the following list at ff. 215v-216:

13. Cited from Kagan, Pomurko, and Rozhdestvenskaia, "Opisanie," 11. Note, however, that Efrosin seems to foreground the Muscovite "Kievan succession" inadvertently: he has copied only the first portion of the genealogy, which continues with the rubrics "A ot togo zhe Vsevoloda Rostov'skia kniazia"; "A ot togo zhe Vsevoloda Tver'skia kniazia"; "A ot togo zhe Vsevoloda Belozerskia kniazia." See A. N. Nasonov, "Letopisnyi svod XV veka (po drugim spisкам)," in *Materialy po istorii SSSR. II. Dokumenty po istorii XV-XVII vv.*, ed. A. A. Novoselskii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1955): 320-21.

14. There is a lacuna in Efrosin's text here (which indicates that the Kir.-Vel. no. 9/1086 copy of the *Zadonskchina* is, at least in part, an apograph of an already edited text): I fill it, like Zimin, with material from Sin. no. 790: cf. Likhachev and Dmitriev, eds., *Slovo*, 551 (f. 36v). In his translation (only), however, Zimin emends the *previous* line with a *later* passage from Sin. no. 790 (f. 37): "I pomianem pēsni i guslenymi bуйnymi slovesi na russkago gosподna kniazia Dmitria . . ." (my back-translation: cf. Zimin, ed., *Zadonskchina*, 29). Zimin's emendment does not follow Efrosin's punctuation (I assume that the eye-skip occurred at a punctuation mark), nor does it attempt to deal with the preposition *na*, which my version does (albeit poorly).

Тот боюн воскладше гораздыи своя персты на живыя струны и поше кн(я)земъ рускимъ сл(а)вы: *первѹю славу великому кн(я)зю киевскому Игорю Рюриковичю*, 2 – великому кн(я)зю Владимиру С(вя)тославичю), *третью – Ярославу Володимировичю*.¹⁵

At f. 37, the mid-seventeenth-century Belarusian manuscript Sin. no. 790 offers:

Тотъ бо деи похваля вещи бунныи накладыетъ свои белыя руцы но злоты струны, поше руским князем похвалу: *первому князю рускому на земли Киевскон Рюрику*, великому князю Володимеру Светославичу, *великому князю Ярославу Володимировичу*.¹⁶

Finally, the somewhat younger Ind. no. 632 has the following variant at ff. 172-172v:

Тот боярин воскладше горазная своя персты на живыя струны (sic), поша руским кн(я)зем сл(а)ву: *первому кн(я)зю киевскому Игорю Буриковичю*, и великому кн(я)зю Владимиру Всеславевичю, и *великому кн(я)зю Ярославу Володимировичю*.¹⁷

The progression from Efrosin's list to the variants found in the manuscripts of the long redaction is as evident as that of the transmission of the same passage from Efrosin's *Ruskoj letopisets'* into his *Zadonschina*. Most tellingly, the formulaic "pervui" (and, in two of three cases, the full "pervui kniaz") that opened the princely genealogy and was copied into Kir.-Bel. no. 9/1086 is retained: in Sin. no. 790 it is attached to Riurik's name, while the name of his son has dropped out; the other two manuscripts, bizarrely, refer to Igor' Riurkovich – or some variant of his name, or some trait – as "first," while the dynastic founder Riurik himself has been forgotten. The little-known and out-of-place Sviatoslav II Jaroslavovich has been, understandably, replaced by Volodimer the Great, a focus of Muscovite legends of legitimation.¹⁸ Volodimer's name, which must have entered the protograph of the long redaction while both Riurik's and Igor' Riurkovich's names were still

present, is unlikely to have been derived from the princely genealogy; a part of Efrosin's academic milieu at Kirillov.¹⁹

I will conclude with an excursus. The question of *utrum in alterum* here – which came first, the short or the long *Zadonschina*? – is of more than just specialist interest, as the answer is (of philological necessity) bound to the question of the twelfth-century provenance of the *Slovo o polku Igorevě*. Simply put: according to all existing stemmata, if the short *Zadonschina* (as represented by Efrosin's text) has precedence, and was only expanded into its long redaction at a later date, then the *Slovo* must post-date that long redaction, as it is far closer to it – in particular, it shares material with the second half of the long *Zadonschina*, not present in the short version.²⁰ If, on the other hand, the long *Zadonschina* has precedence, and if Efrosin was responsible only for its epitome, then this particular objection to the *Slovo*'s antiquity falls away. The reader may consult the following stemmata, kindly provided to me by Donald Ostrowski.²¹ I do not discount the possibility that, following a thorough examination of the texts of the *Zadonschina* and their sources, some scholar will build a better stemma.²²

Florida State University

19. For this milieu see chapter 5 of Robert Romanchuk, *Byzantine Hermeneutics and Pedagogy in the Russian North: Monks and Masters at the Kirillo-Belozerskii Monastery*, 1397-1501 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2007).

20. For a detailed discussion see A. A. Zimin, "Tekstologiya Prostrannoj Zadonschiny," *Uchenye zapiski NI pri Sovete Ministrov Chuvaskoi ASSR* 47 (1969).

21. These stemmata are slated to appear in the introduction to the publication of three of Ostrowski's articles in *Studies in Russian History*, edited by Russell Martin and Donald Upton at the Eighth Annual Winter Workshop in Medieval and Early Modern Slavic Studies, UCLA. They are based on those in J. L. I. Fennell, "The Recent Controversy in the Soviet Union over the Authenticity of the *Slovo*," in *Russia: Essays in History and Literature*, ed. Lyman H. Legiers (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 11-12, 15, which in turn are partly based on those in Likhachev and Dmitriev, eds., *Slovo*.

22. Two recent, substantially documented proposals have been made by M. A. Shibaev, "'Zadonschina,'" *Slovo o polku Igorevě* i Kirillo-Belozerskii monastyř, " *Ocherki feodalnoi Rossii* 7 (2003) (the *Zadonschina* and *Slovo* were both composed at Kirillov Monastery in the third quarter of the fifteenth century by Sofonii Riazanets) and Aleksandr Bobrov, "Problema podlinnosti 'Slova o polku Igorevě' i Efrosin Belozerskii," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 22 (2005) (the *Zadonschina* and *Slovo* were both composed at Kirillov Monastery in the third quarter of the fifteenth century by Efrosin).

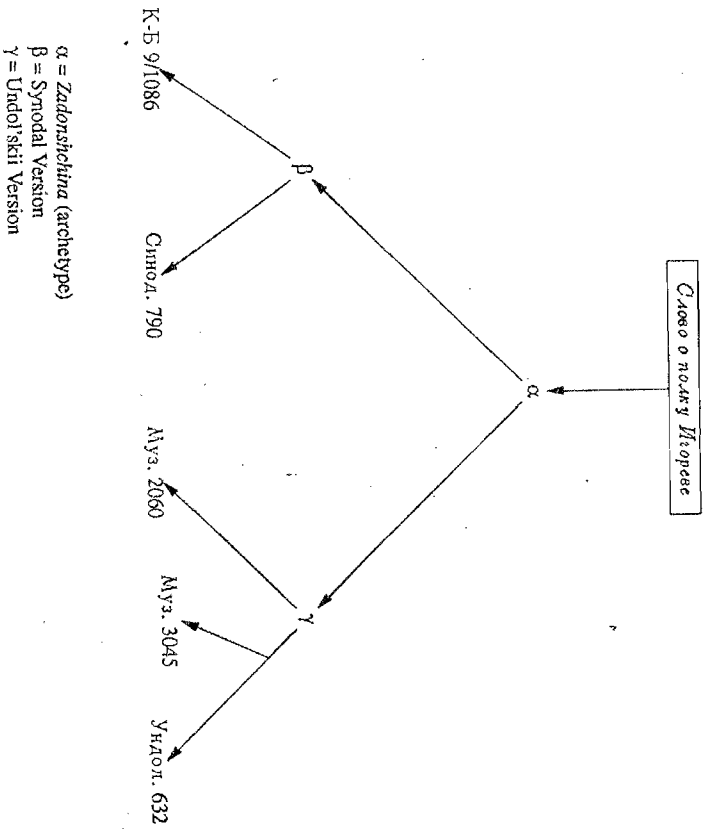
15. Cited from Likhachev and Dmitriev, eds., *Slovo*, 541.

16. *Ibid.*, 551.

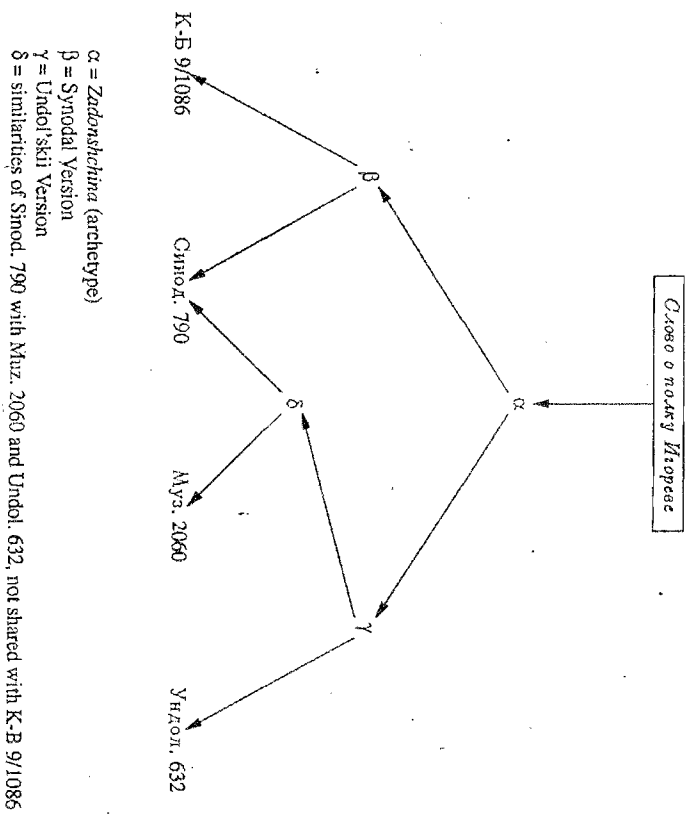
17. *Ibid.*, 536.

18. See the essays in Jaroslav Pelenski, *The Contest for the Legacy of Kievan Rus'* (Boulder, Col.: East European Monographs, 1998).

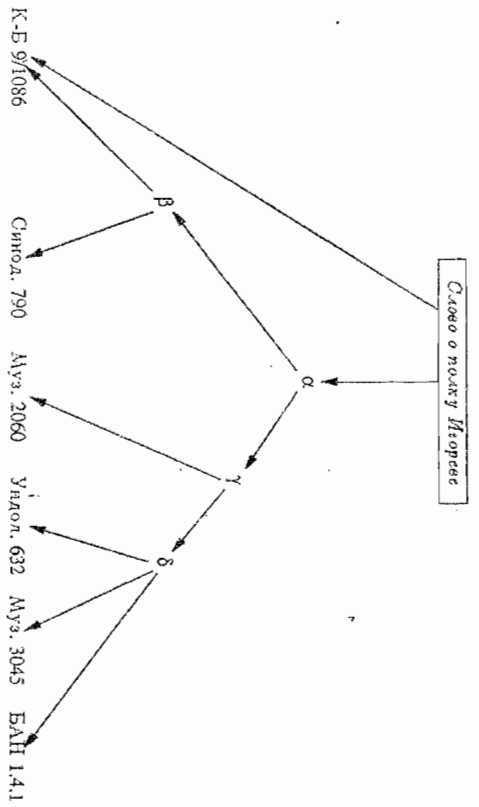
Roman Jakobson's *Stemma*



R. P. Dmitrieva's *Stemma*



O. V. Tvorogov's Stemma



Efrosin of Kirillov and an Interpolated Princely Genealogy in the Zadonshtchina

A. A. Zimin's Stemma

