

## ***Slovo o polku Igoreve: The Text Critical Arguments***

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Doubts about the authenticity of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (hereafter, the *Igor' Tale*) have been expressed since its first publication in 1800.<sup>1</sup> Since 1940, those who have expanded the most time and effort on demonstrating it to be a fabrication are André Mazon, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zimin, and Edward L. Keenan. While traditional scholarship has viewed the *Igor' Tale* as an authentic text (non-deceptive) that was composed in the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century, another tradition has developed that argues the text was a forgery (i.e., intentionally deceptive) composed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Still others have recently proposed it to be an authentic text (although unintentionally deceptive) written at a later time in the pre-modern period, perhaps in the 15<sup>th</sup> century or even early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

One problem is the manuscript in which the *Igor' Tale* was supposed to be located. The circumstances of its discovery are unclear. According to Aleksei Ivanovich Musin-Pushkin, he acquired it in a chronograph (*khronograf*) from Ioil (Bykovskii), archimandrite of the Spasov hierarchical house (*arkhiereiskii dom*) in Iaroslavl'. The manuscript that Musin-Pushkin claimed to have acquired is not now extant; it was presumably lost in the Moscow fire of 1812. Before the publication of 1800, which may have been made from a copy of the original, a handwritten copy (apparently not from the manuscript but from a copy of it) was made. It has been named the Catherine copy, although it is doubtful this copy was made for Catherine II, and was discovered in 1864. The oddities of the publication of the *Igor' Tale* in 1800 have raised questions among the doubters, and the absence of a manuscript has raised a question whether such a manuscript ever existed. Thus, ongoing questions of research have included who claims to have directly seen the manuscript and what do they say about it?

Other questions concern the relationship of the three full copies (Sinod. 790, Muz. 2060, and Undol. 632), two incomplete copies (Muz. 3045 and BAN 1.4.1), short version (K-B 9/1086), and extract in a Kirillo-Belozersk Monastery reading service (K-B 382/639) of

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<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the early history of the skepticism, see Edward L. Keenan, *Josef Dobrovský and the Origins of the Igor' Tale* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, 2003), 4–12.

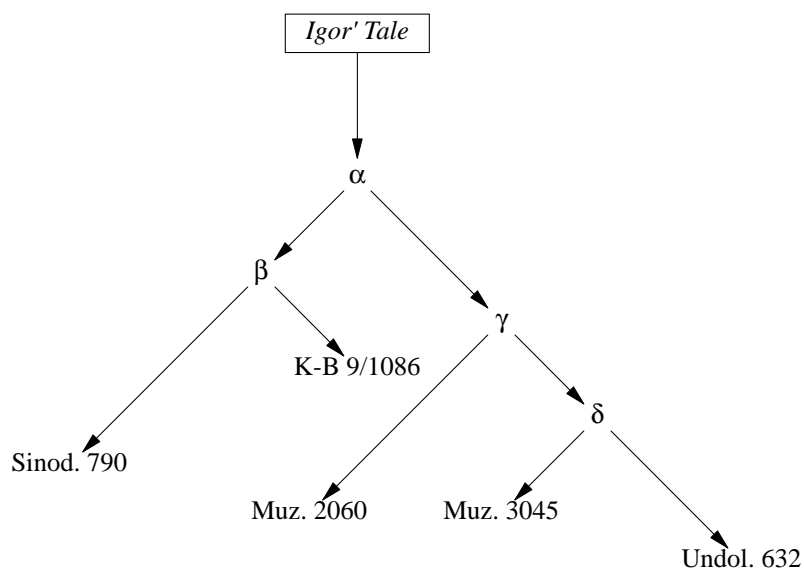
*Zadonshchina* with each other and with the *Igor' Tale*. The question whether K-B 9/1086 is a short redaction that preceded the long redaction or an abridged version of the long redaction is one of the issues in the text critical work on *Zadonshchina* and has immediate relevance for the relationship of *Zadonshchina* to the *Igor' Tale*. If the long redaction is secondary to a short redaction that K-B 9/1086 represents, then whoever composed the long redaction would have had to have independent access to a copy of the *Igor' Tale* since readings from it appear in the Long Redaction that do not appear in the short redaction.

As many as 65 similar passages exist between the long version of *Zadonshchina* and the *Igor' Tale*, such that it is likely that one borrowed from the other.<sup>2</sup> Different answers to the direction of borrowing have been proposed. Roman Jakobson, Rufina Petrovna Dmitrieva, and Oleg Viktorovich Tvorogov, for example, have seen the *Igor' Tale* as primary in relationship to the *Zadonshchina* copies. Zimin and those who consider it to be an 18<sup>th</sup>-century composition see the *Igor' Tale* as secondary in relationship to *Zadonshchina* copies. M. A. Shibaev and Aleksandr Grigor'evich Bobrov propose that *Zadonshchina* was composed at the same time as the *Igor' Tale* (or at least by the same author). Presented on the next three pages are five of the stemmata that have been devised to represent the possible relationships.

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<sup>2</sup> For these similar passages, see Olga Strakhov, "Parallels between *Slovo* and *Zadonshchina*" <[http://clover.slavic.pitt.edu/qdjb/2009\\_aaass/strakhov\\_parallels.pdf](http://clover.slavic.pitt.edu/qdjb/2009_aaass/strakhov_parallels.pdf)>, Cf. A. A. Gorskii, "*Slovo o polku Igoreve*" i "*Zadonshchina*": *Istochnikovedcheskie i istoriko-kul'turnye problemy* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia nauk, 1992), 32–69, where he listed 51 parallel readings. Zimin discussed 23 parallel readings (*fragments*). A. A. Zimin, *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (St. Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2006), 105–134.

## Roman Jakobson's Stemma



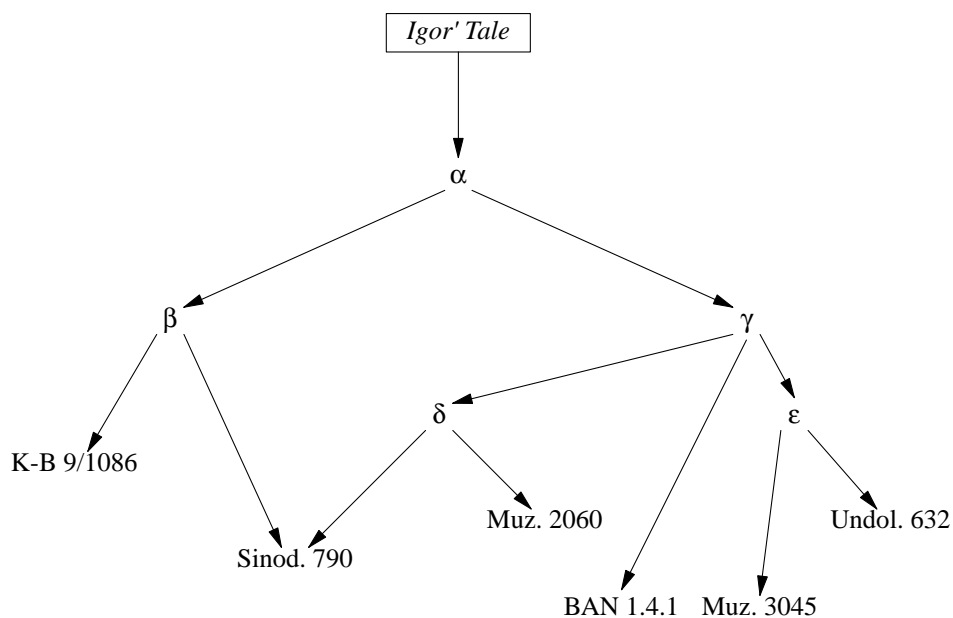
$\alpha$  = *Zadonshchina* (archetype)

$\beta$  = Synodal Version

$\gamma$  = Undol'skii Version

Source: Roman Jakobson and Dean S. Worth, eds., *Sofonija's Tale or the Russian-Tatar Battle on the Kulikovo Field* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), 13.

## R. P. Dmitrieva's Stemma



$\alpha$  = *Zadonshchina* (archetype)

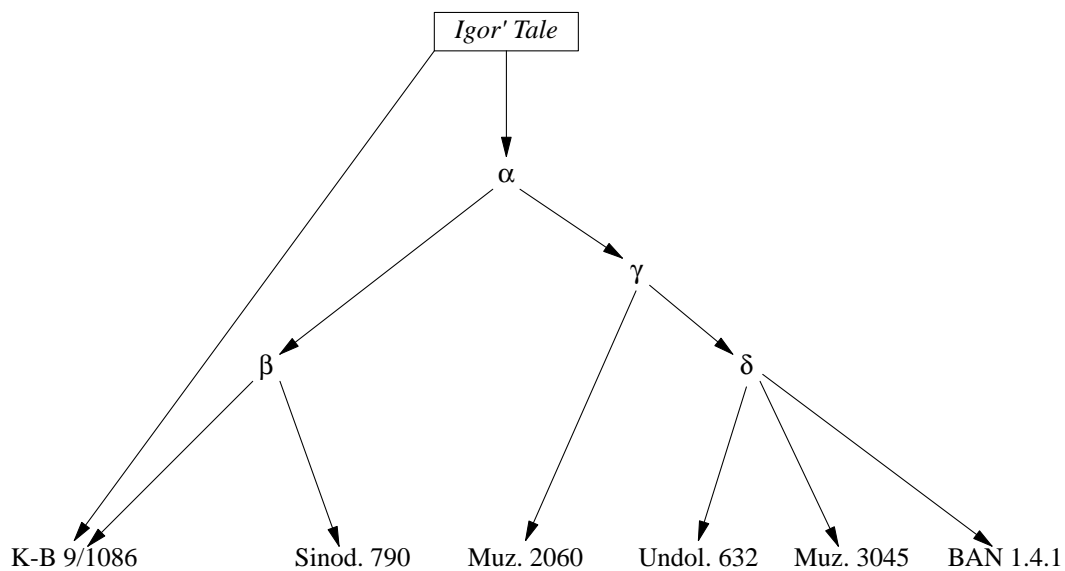
$\beta$  = Synodal Version

$\gamma$  = Undol'skii Version

$\delta$  = similarities of Sinod. 790 with Muz. 2060 and Undol. 632, not shared with K-B 9/1086

Source: R. P. Dmitrieva, "Vzaimootnoshenie spisikov 'Zadonshchiny' i 'Slovo'," in *"Slovo o polku Igoreve" i pamiatniki Kulikovskogo tsikla*, 262. Cf. A. A. Zimin, "Spornye voprosy tekstologii *Zadonshchiny*. Tekstologicheskaia skhema R. Jakobsona i ee modifikatsii," *Russkaia literatura*, no. 1 (1967): 92.

## O. V. Tvorogov's Stemma



$\alpha$  = *Zadonshchina* (archetype)

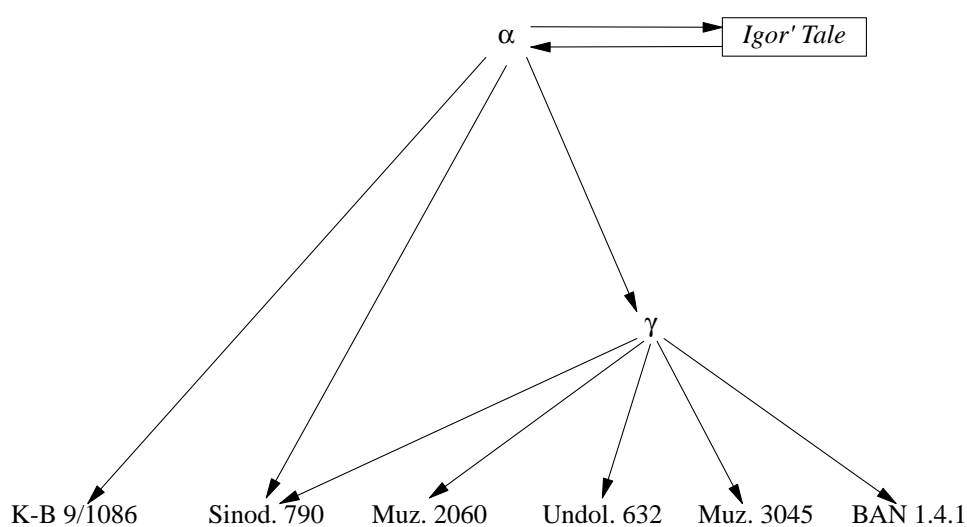
$\beta$  = Synodal Version

$\gamma$  = Undol'skii Version

$\delta$  = Protograph of Undol'skii 632

Source: "*Slovo o polku Igoreve*" i pamiatniki Kulikovskogo tsikla, 305; Zimin, "Spornye voprosy tekstologii *Zadonshchiny*," 94.

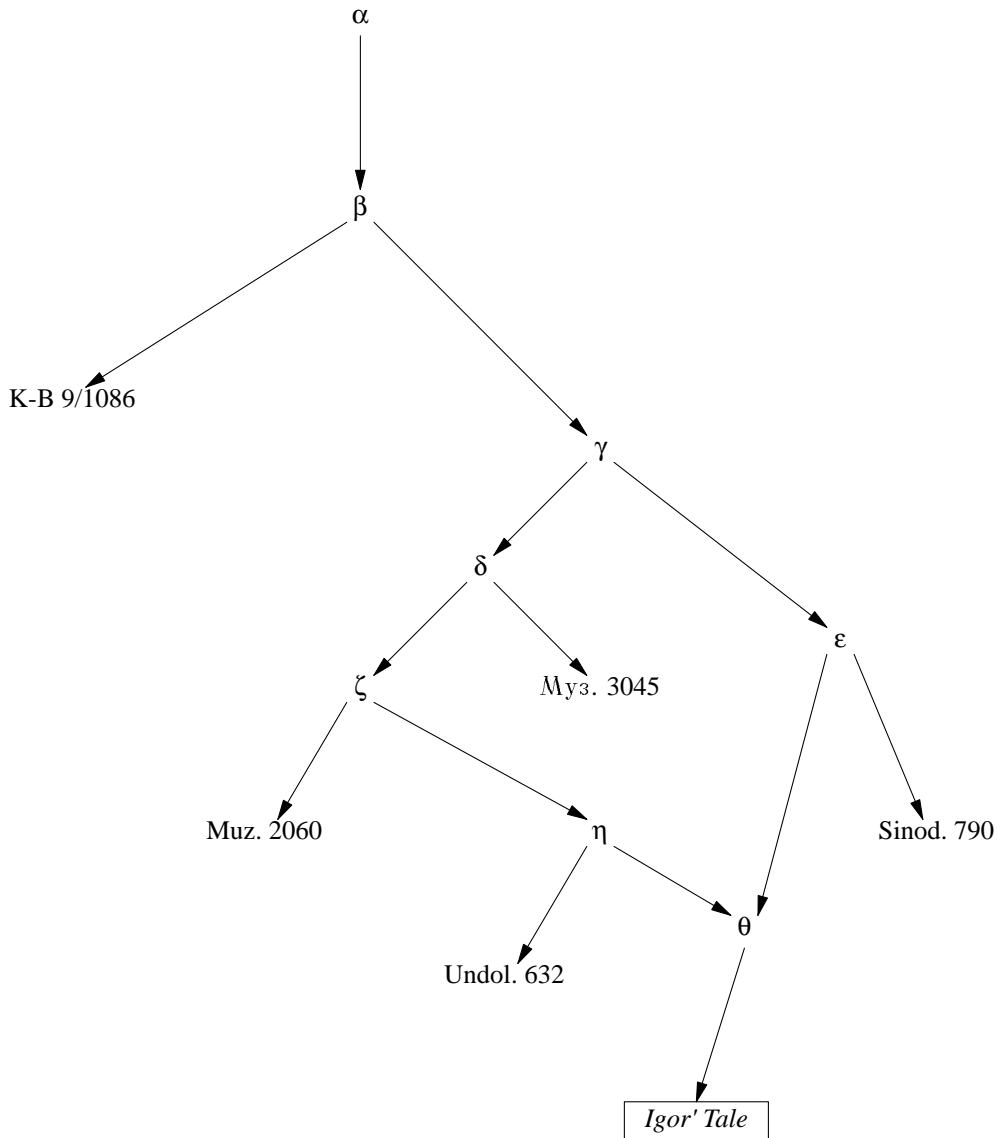
## M. A. Shibaev's Stemma



$\alpha$  = *Zadonshchina* (archetype)

$\gamma$  = Undol'skii Version

Source: M. A. Shibaev, "'Zadonshchina', 'Slovo o polku Igoreve' i Kirillo-Belozerskii monastyr,'" in *Ocherki feodal'noi Rossii. Sbornik statei*, vol. 7, edited by S. N. Kisterev (Moscow: URSS, 2003) 56.

A. A. Zimin's *Stemma*

α = Archetype of *Zadonshchina*

β = "Short Redaction" of *Zadonshchina*

γ = "Expanded Redaction" of *Zadonshchina*

δ = Undol'skii Version

ε = Synodal Version

η = Protograph of Undol'skii 632

θ = similarities of Sinod. 790 with Muz. 2060 and Undol. 632, not shared with K-B 9/1086

Source: Zimin, "Spornye voprosy tekstologii *Zadonshchiny*," 97.

The readings of the *Igor' Tale* are closer to the readings in Sinod. 790 and Undol. 632 than to the readings in the other copies. For example, the following comparison can be seen as evidence of that proximity.<sup>3</sup>

117-1 (№ 51 on Strakhov's list)

*P1800*: А чи диво ся, братіе стару помолодити?

*EkaII*: А чи диво ся, братіе стару помолодити?

К-Б 9/1086: того даже, | было нелѣпо староу помол|дитися (fol. 127–127<sup>v</sup>)

Muz. 3045: туто брета стару помо|лѣися а мо|лому чти добы|ши (fol. 72<sup>r</sup>)

Muz. 2060: добро бы бра|те в то время стару помолѣт|ся а уда|лы<sup>м</sup> плечо попытати (fol. 220<sup>r</sup>)

туто стару помолѣт|ся а мо|лоду чти добыти (fol. 222<sup>r</sup>)

Undol. 632: и в то время ста|роу надобно помолодѣ|ти. а оудалым || плечь своих попышати. (fol. 183<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>v</sup>)

туто |брате стару помолодѣ|ть, а молодому чести | добыть. (fol. 187<sup>r</sup>)

Sinod. 790: добре ту<sup>т</sup> брате помолодет а молодому шести добыти (fol. 40<sup>r</sup>)

тута нодобе стару помомодети, а молодому чти достати (fol. 41<sup>v</sup>)

In addition, similar readings exist between the K-B 9/1086 (K-B) copy of *Zadonshchina* and the *Igor' Tale* that do not appear in any other copy of *Zadonshchina*.

*Three cases of similar readings of K-B 9/1086 and the Igor' Tale that are distinct from readings of Sinod. 790, Muz. 2060, and Undol. 632.*

44-2 (no. 29 on Strakhov's list)

*P1800*: а въ нихъ трепещуть синѣи мльни,

*EkaII*: а въ нихъ трепещу<sup>т</sup> Синѣи молніи,

К-Б 9/1086: а из нихъ па|шють синѣе молньи (fol. 125<sup>v</sup>)

Muz. 3045: *non-extant*

Muz. 2060: и в нихъ тре|пещуть синѣи мо|лнии (fol. 218<sup>r</sup>)

Undol. 632: а в | них трепѣщутся синѣи|е молыньи (fol. 177<sup>v</sup>)

Sinod. 790: а в ни<sup>х</sup> ѣ трепещу<sup>т</sup> синѣи мо|лния (fol. 38<sup>v</sup>)

168-1 (no. 36 on Strakhov's list)

*P1800*: Ярославнынъ гласъ слышитъ: *зеизицею* незнаемъ, рано кычетъ:

<sup>3</sup> Section numbers in the *Igor' Tale* are given according to Roman Jakobsen, "Edition critique du *Slovo*," in in *La geste du prince Igor': Épopée russe du douzième siècle*, prepared under the direction of Henri Grégoire, Roman Jakobson, and Marc Szeftel (New York, 1948), 38–78. "P1800" represents the edition of 1800. "EkaII" represents the so-called Catherinian copy. One does find a similarity in passage 131-2–132-2 (Strakhov, "Parallels," № 54) in the *Igor' Tale* with Muz. 2060 ("стрѣляи... за землю Рускую") that is closer than the reading in Undol. 632. This reading is absent in Sinod. 790, which allows Zimin and others to claim that it would have been there if a better copy of the exemplar of Sinod. 790 were extant. In other words, Undol. 632 is the outlier here and does not accurately convey the  $\gamma$  reading in the reconstruction of Zimin's stemma given above.

*Ekall*: Ярославнымъ гласъ слышитъ: *Зезицею* незнаемъ, рано кычетъ:

К-В 9/1086: толко | часто ворони грають. зо|зици кокують на троу||пы падаючи (fol. 127<sup>v</sup>–128<sup>r</sup>)

Muz. 3045: *non-extant*

Muz. 2060: но ѿ|днѣ воронѣ грають труппу па<sup>д</sup> члчьскаго (fol. 220<sup>v</sup>)

Undol. 632: но | едины вороны граю<sup>т</sup> труппи пади члческия (fol. 184<sup>r</sup>)

Sinod. 790: но то<sup>д</sup>ко ча<sup>с</sup>то вороны играю<sup>т</sup> труппу человек<sup>с</sup>ка<sup>г</sup> чаю<sup>т</sup> (fol. 40<sup>v</sup>)

178-1 (no. 61 on Strakhov's list)

*P1800*: о Днепре словутицю! ты *пробилъ* еси каменные горы

*Ekall*: о дне пресловутицю! ты *пробилъ* еси каменные горы

К-В 9/1086: *пробилъ* еси берези хараоу|жныя (fol. 128<sup>v</sup>)

Muz. 3045: прорыла есѣ ка|мѣныя горы (fol. 70<sup>r</sup>)

Muz. 2060: прорыла еси | горы ка<sup>м</sup>ѣныя (fol. 220<sup>v</sup>)

Undol. 632: прорыла еси ты ка|менные горы (fol. 184<sup>v</sup>)

Sinod. 790: прорыла е<sup>с</sup> ка<sup>м</sup>еняя горы (fol. 41<sup>r</sup>)

If these similar readings of K-B 9/1086 and the *Igor' Tale* are coincidental readings (Jakobson, Dmitrieva, and Zimin), then they create no problem for the traditional scholarship or for Zimin. For Jakobsen and Dmitrieva, K-B 9/1086 is merely an abridgement of the *Zadonshchina* archetype; for Zimin, K-B 9/1086 represents the “Short Redaction” of *Zadonshchina*, which was later revised into the “Expanded Redaction.” If these similar readings are not coincidental and if *Zadonshchina* is secondary to the *Igor' Tale*, then the copyist of K-B 9/1086 had to have independent access to a copy of the *Igor' Tale* (Tvorogov). If the readings between K-B 9/1086 and the *Igor' Tale* are not coincidental, then it is vital to determine whether K-B 9/1086 represents an early version of *Zadonshchina* that was later expanded on (Zimin) or it represents an abridgement of the archetype (Jakobson, Dmitrieva, and Tvorogov). In John Fennell's opinion: “This is the great question that has to be answered.”<sup>4</sup>

If the *Igor' Tale* is secondary and the above similar readings of K-B 9/1086 and the *Igor' Tale* are coincidental, then whoever compiled the *Igor' Tale* either had access to at least 2 extant copies (Undol. 632 and Sinod. 790) of *Zadonshchina* (Mazon) or had access to a non-extant copy of *Zadonshchina* that combined features of Undol. 632 and Sinod. 790 (Zimin). If the *Igor' Tale* is secondary and similar readings of K-B 9/1086 and the *Igor' Tale* are not

<sup>4</sup> 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. by Lyman H. Legters (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 10.

coincidental, then whoever compiled the *Igor' Tale* had access to at least 3 extant copies (Undol. 632, Sinod. 790, and K-B 9/1086) of *Zadonshchina* (Keenan).<sup>5</sup> In that case, work on the *Igor' Tale* would have been done in three (not two) stages:

(1) *Zadonshchina* Kirillo-Belozersk. 9/1086 = St. Petersburg stage (which would also account for Hypatian Chronicle influence).

(2) *Zadonshchina* Sinod. 790 = 1st Moscow stage

(3) *Zadonshchina* Undol'sk. 632 = 2nd Moscow stage.

Another unresolved question concerns why any fabricator of the *Igor' Tale*, who would of necessity have had access to any manuscript copy of *Zadonshchina*, would have left it unpublished since *Zadonshchina* was not published until 1852. It means that a fabricator would have passed over publishing an authentic text that celebrates a Rus' victory to pass off an inauthentic "pastiche" ("une oeuvre récente en forme de pastiche," in Mazon's words)<sup>6</sup> that describes a Rus' defeat.

#### Possible Authorship

Those who think the *Igor' Tale* is a fabrication have proposed various candidates as the author. Over the course of several decades in writing about the *Igor' Tale*, Mazon tabbed three candidates in turn.

<sup>5</sup> Keenan, *Josef Dobrovský*, 127, 161, 163, and 398. Keenan is ambiguous on the point of how many MSS of *Zadonshchina* Dobrovský examined. On page 127 of his book, after he wrote that "one can confidently assume that Dobrovský saw" the Kirillo-Belozersk copy of *Zadonshchina*, he wrote: "The record shows that Dobrovský used and took notes on Sin. 790 and in particular knew the *Zadonshchina* from that copy, although he seems to have kept the information to himself." Keenan did not tell us how he knows Dobrovský knew *Zadonshchina* from that copy. His claim that Dobrovský took notes on Sin. 790 turns out to be based on a faulty conclusion of Moiseeva's. Keenan did not say anything there about Dobrovský's having access to Und. 632 or any other copy of *Zadonshchina*. Then on page 395, he wrote: "Josef Dobrovský utilized at least two, and probably several, copies of the *Zadonshchina* and the closely related *Skazanie*." This is where the ambiguity comes in because he claimed on page 127 that Dobrovský saw two copies (K-B and Sin. 790) of *Zadonshchina*, but there is no statement there that Dobrovský may have seen "several" copies (i.e., more than two) of *Zadonshchina*. So if one interprets "and probably several" to apply to *Zadonshchina*, then Keenan does not state that earlier. If the "and probably several" applies to the *Skazanie*, then the parenthetical phrase is misplaced and should occur after *Zadonshchina*, thus: "at least two copies of the *Zadonshchina* and probably several copies of the closely related *Skazanie*."

<sup>6</sup> André Mazon, *Le Slovo d'Igor* (Paris: Droz, 1940), 41.

A. I. Musin-Pushkin was Mazon's first candidate. In contrast, Zimin proposed that Musin-Pushkin's involvement was limited to making three interpolations into the text before publication. Musin-Pushkin moved from St. Petersburg to Moscow in the 1790s, so he could have had access to multiple copies of *Zadonshchina*. He was vague about his involvement with the first publication of the text in 1800. Nor do we have evidence he was directly involved with the preparation of it for publication.

Nikolai Nikolaevich Bantysh-Kamenskii (1737–1814) was Mazon's second candidate.<sup>7</sup> The possibility of his having been the author was rejected, among others, by N. K. Gudzii (1950), who considered Bantysh-Kamenskii to be lacking in sufficient skill to fabricate a 12<sup>th</sup>-century text.<sup>8</sup> Gudzii noted Bantysh-Kamenskii's difficulty in translating the text. Presumably he would not have had difficulty translating the text if he had composed or helped compose it.

Zimin proposed Archimandrite Ioil (Ivan Bykovskii) (1726–1798), who also became Mazon's third and final candidate.<sup>9</sup> Zimin claimed Ioil wrote it in the 1770s and that he must have had access to a no-longer-extant copy of *Zadonshchina* that combined elements of the Undol'skii and Synodal versions. Since Zimin dismissed similar readings of K-B 9/1086 and the *Igor' Tale* as coincidental, he thus absolved both Musin-Pushkin and Ioil of needing to have access to K-B. If Ioil had access to a no-longer-extant copy of *Zadonshchina* that combined elements of the Undol'skii and Synodal versions, then either Ioil destroyed it to conceal the source of his falsification or it just disappeared of its own accord since then. Zimin argued that Musin-Pushkin went forward with publication of the interpolated text only after Ioil's death in 1798.

Aleksei Fedorovich Malinovskii (1762–1840) was directly involved with publication of the text of the *Igor' Tale* in 1800, and he worked in the archives in Moscow a long time. His fragments (*bumagi*) show evidence of correspondence with at least 2 copies of *Zadonshchina*.

<sup>7</sup> André Mazon, "L'auteur probable du Poème d'Igor," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, no. 2 (1944): 219–220.

<sup>8</sup> N. K. Gudzii, "Nevoiatnye dogadki prof. A. Mazona o veroiatnom avtore 'Slova o polku Igoreve'," *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSSR* 9, no. 6 (1950): 495–497.

<sup>9</sup> André Mazon, "Ivan Bykovskij, Ioil' L'archmandrite et l'auteur de *La Vérité* ou extraits de notes sur la Vérité," *Revue des Études Slaves* 44 (1965): 59–88; idem, "Étapes d'un Mythe: Le 'Slovo d'Igor', Épopée Russe du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle," *Slavonic and East European Review* 44 (1966): 35

He was involved in a bungled attempt to pass off a forgery by Anton Ivanovich Bardin (d. 1841) of the *Igor' Tale* in 1815. Malinovskii claimed he paid Bardin in good faith for what he thought was a genuine text. He could just have easily been paying him for manufacturing a forged copy of a fabrication. Like Bantysh-Kamenskii, however, he is considered to be lacking in sufficient skill to fabricate a 12<sup>th</sup>-century text, and also like Bantysh-Kamenskii, he had difficulty in translating the text. As Aleksandar Vasiljević Solovjev wrote:

We see that the [Musin-Pushkin] circle (i.e., primarily Bantysh-Kamenskii, but also his assistant A. F. Malinovskii) did not understand the simplest verb forms, did not know the rules of Russian pleophony, did not comprehend such words as “shelomia, boronь, lada”; certain phrases they could not translate at all. The historical knowledge of the circle’s members was limited to what they had read “in Tatishchev’s chronicle” and in Stritter’s genealogical tables. It is obvious that they had not even read those chronicles that had already been published. They refer only once (in the edition of 1800) to the Nikon chronicle (edition of 1767) and once to a comment of Boltin’s.<sup>10</sup>

Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766–1826) was argued for by Klaus Trost primarily on the basis of stylistic correspondences between the *Igor' Tale* and certain works of Karamzin written between 1789 and 1793, especially his short stories *Evgeniia i Iuliia*, *Bednaia Liza*, and *Ostrov Bergol'm*.<sup>11</sup>

Prince Nikolai Aleksandrovich L'vov (1751–December 2, 1803) was suggested by Charles A. Moser (1973).<sup>12</sup> He thought L'vov was an apt candidate because, besides being an architect, artist, and scientist, as well as being a poet and having an interest in history, he was also a “dilettante” and “unscrupulous.” Moser claimed L'vov and I. N. Boltin (1735–October 1792) worked on composition of the *Igor' Tale* before 1792. L'vov, according to Moser, “somehow located [a copy of *Zadonshchina*] early and then destroyed or concealed [it]” (153).

Josef Dobrovský, the Czech linguist who has been called the father of Slavonic philology, has recently been proposed by Keenan. On the surface, Dobrovský would seem an

<sup>10</sup> A. V. Solov'ev [Solovjev], “Ekaterininskii spisok i pervoe izdanie Slova,” *Slovo o polku Igoreve v perevodakh kontsa vosemnadtsatogo veka* (Leiden: Brill, 1954), 29.

<sup>11</sup> Klaus Trost, “Karamzin und das Igorlied. Ein Beitrag zur Kontroverse um die Echtheit des Igorliedes,” *Anzeiger für slavische Philologie* 7 (1974): 128–145.

<sup>12</sup> Charles A. Moser, “The Problem of the Igor Tale,” *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 7 (1973): 135–154.

obvious choice. One of the claims of those who defend the authenticity of the *Igor' Tale* is that no one in Russia in the 1790s had the knowledge and ability to fabricate such a work.<sup>13</sup> Dobrovský, however, had been in Russia briefly in the early 1790s. Keenan proposed that Dobrovský made some notes in 1792–1793, then gave them to Ivan Perfil'evich Elagin. Later Dobrovský made some more notes and sent them to Elagin. When Elagin died in September 1793, according to Keenan, Elagin's papers must have fallen into the hands of Musin-Pushkin, who then must have made up the story of his obtaining the manuscript from Ioil. When Musin-Pushkin called in Malinovskii and Bantysh-Kamenskii to help him edit the text for publication, according to this scenario, certain passages, called the “Malinovskii fragments,” also composed by Dobrovský (203), were added. When the text was published, Dobrovský, according to Keenan, either was disingenuous or just forgot he had written it.<sup>14</sup> He exhibited little interest in the publication. The explanation offered by Keenan is that Dobrovský's being on drugs and suffering from some psychology malady (severe depression?) may have caused it to slip his mind. This hypothesis has been brought into question by Olga Strakhov on the basis of linguistic analysis. She posited that, if Dobrovský wrote the *Igor' Tale*, it should reflect at least some of his linguistic views about 12<sup>th</sup>- or 13<sup>th</sup>-century Slavonic. But, after a close analysis of Dobrovský's views and a comparison of them with the linguistic forms in the *Igor' Tale*, Strakhov concluded there is no correspondence between them.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, there is no direct evidence Dobrovský had access to any copy of *Zadonshchina*. For example, no mention of any copy of *Zadonshchina* appears in his notes. The reference to the *Igor' Tale* in his review of Karamzin's *History* is based on reading it in Karamzin. Dobrovský does mention a manuscript in the Synodal Library, which led Galina

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<sup>13</sup> Pushkin claimed none of the “18<sup>th</sup>-century [Russian] writers had enough talent” to compose the *Igor' Tale*, except for Karamzin, but he was not a poet. Derzhavin “did not even know the Russian language,” and the rest “did not possess as much poetry as one can find in Iaroslavna's lament. . . .” A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, 16 vols. (Moscow and Leningrad: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1937–1959) 12: 147–148.

<sup>14</sup> Keenan, *Josef Dobrovský*, 421 and fn. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Olga Strakhov, “The Linguistic Practice of the Creator of the *Igor' Tale* and the Linguistic Views of Josef Dobrovský,” *Palaeoslavica* 11 (2003): 36–67. See also her “A New Book on the Origin of the *Igor' Tale*: A Backward Step,” *Palaeoslavica* 12 (2004): 204–238.

Nikolaevna Moiseeva to conclude, and Keenan to accept, that Dobrovský had seen the manuscript in which the Synodal copy of *Zadonshchina* was. As it turns out, there are 12 manuscripts in the Synodal Library collection that fit the description Dobrovský gave. And even if Dobrovský had seen Synod. 790, he did not take note that he saw *Zadonshchina* in it. Dobrovský spent a relatively short time in the Russian archives, so he could not have seen everything. His exposing a forgery later in Bohemia shows he was not interested in supporting forgeries or fabrications. If he had known something he had done while doodling in the archives was being used as an authentic text, he probably would not have remained silent.

Tatiana Fefer proposed Feofan Prokopovich was the author of the *Igor' Tale* in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of similarity in wording and theme between it and Feofan's play *Vladimir* and some of his other works.<sup>16</sup> She speculated that he wrote it for "someone in the future, or ... simply for personal satisfaction" because "Feofan's talent, superior erudition and critical mind could not possibly have found their literary expression in his time" (111). She made no attempt, however, to explain how he could have had access to *Zadonshchina* or how his "forgery" would have wound up in a chronograph in a Iaroslavl' monastery.

While the traditionalists argue that the *Igor' Tale* is primary in relation to *Zadonshchina* and the skeptics argue that the *Igor' Tale* is secondary in relation to *Zadonshchina*, some scholars have argued that the *Igor' Tale* is not primary but not a fabrication either. Both Shibaev and Bobrov consider it to be an authentic work of the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but attributed its composition to different authors. Shibaev attributed authorship to Sofonii of Riazan,<sup>17</sup> and Bobrov attributed authorship to Efrosin of the Kirillo-Beloozerskii Monastery.<sup>18</sup> Both scholars argue that their respective candidate worked on it while he was working on *Zadonshchina*. In this way, they can explain readings in *Zadonshchina* that seem to be secondary in relation to the *Igor' Tale* and vice versa.

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<sup>16</sup> Tatiana Fefer, "Did the 'Heretic' Feofan Prokopovič Write the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*?" *Russian Literature* 44 (1998): 41–115.

<sup>17</sup> M. A. Shibaev, "'Zadonshchina', 'Slovo o polku Igoreve' i Kirillo-Belozerskii monastyr'," in *Ocherki feodal'noi Rossii. Sbornik statei*, vol. 7, edited by S. N. Kisterev (Moscow: URSS, 2003) 29–57.

<sup>18</sup> Aleksandr Bobrov, "Problema podlinnosti 'Slovo o polku Igoreve' i Efrosin Belozerskii," *Acta slavica iaponica* 22 (2005): 238–298.

One problem with the single-author-of-both-works theory is the presence of certain passages that would seem to suggest the author of one text did not understand what the author of the other text wrote. In the *Igor' Tale*, we find two mentions of *Шеломянемъ*:

32-1 (Strakhov, "Parallels," № 25)

*P1800*: О руская земле! уже за Шеломянемъ еси.

*Ekall*: О Руская земле! Уже за Шоломянемъ еси

47-1 *P1800*: О Руская земль! уже не Шеломянемъ еси.

*Ekall*: О Руская земле! уже не шеломянемъ еси.

The meaning of *Шеломянемъ* (or *шеломянемъ* or *Шоломянемъ*) is not clear here. It could mean a hill, a ridge of mountains, a ridge pole of a tent, the roof ridge of a house, a helmet, a place name, a person's name, or something else entirely.<sup>19</sup> Bohdan Struminski suggested "hill ridges" derived from *соломянемъ*.<sup>20</sup> If *шеломянемъ* means *hill*, then the skeptics raise the question, what hill? One response by the believers in the authenticity of the *Igor' Tale* is that there was a hill that was on the boundary between Polovtsian territory in the steppe and Kievan territory. No other source, however, refers to such a hill. Another suggestion has been that an attempt is being made here to distinguish between the flat steppe where the Polovtsians live and the hilly terrain of Kiev.<sup>21</sup> Thus, *шеломянемъ* should be understood as a plural meaning *hills*. If so, then that creates a problem because in one case (32-1) the Rus' land is already beyond the hills, but in the second case (47-1) presumably later in time as the Rus' princes are moving further into the steppe, the Rus' land is already not beyond the hills. Zenkovsky, among others, treats the second rendering (in 47-1) as a corruption of the earlier passage (32-1), which itself is already unclear, and translates both passages as "O Russian land! You are already far beyond the hills."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Max Vasmer, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo iazyka*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1964–1973), 4: 424–425.

<sup>20</sup> Bohdan Struminski, "Provenance and Transmission of the *Slovo* Text," *Russian Review* 47 (1988): 254, 257.

<sup>21</sup> *Slovar'-spravochnik "Slova o polku Igoreve"*, comp. V. L. Vinogradova, 6 vols. (Leningrad, 1965–1984), 6: 177–178.

<sup>22</sup> Serge A. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, rev. ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), 172 and 174.

In *Zadonshchina* we find a parallel phrasing

К-В 9/1086: земля еси роу<sup>с</sup>ская. ка|къ еси была доселева за пре|мь за соломо<sup>н</sup>  
(fol. 126<sup>r</sup>)

Muz. 3045: *not extant*

Muz. 2060: ру<sup>с</sup>кая земля. то ти е<sup>с</sup> ка<sup>к</sup> за соломо|номъ црмъ (fol. 218<sup>v</sup>)

Undol. 632: роуская земля то | первое еси ка<sup>к</sup> за царем | за соломо<sup>н</sup> побывала. |  
(fol. 178<sup>v</sup>)

Sinod. 790: зель<sup>н</sup> реза<sup>с</sup>кая тепе<sup>р</sup> бо е<sup>с</sup> коко зо соломо<sup>н</sup> цар<sup>е</sup> побывали (fol. 38<sup>v</sup>)

To be sure, the meaning of this line in *Zadonshchina* is at best elliptical. It might be understood to mean something like “the Rus’ (or Riazan’) land is as that which first occurred in the time of Tsar Solomon.” This meaning could be seen to fit in with the notion that all of history is merely a recapitulation of biblical history. The point is, however, no matter whether one thinks the *Igor’ Tale* reading (either one) or the *Zadonshchina* reading is primary, and that one borrowed from the other, one has a problem in attempting to explain how the borrower seemed to misunderstand the passage he is borrowing from if he composed both texts.

Those who have done text critical work on the *Igor’ Tale* are divided as to its authenticity and its relationship to *Zadonshchina*. Those who have doubted the authenticity of the *Igor’ Tale* have been quick to raise tough questions about the text and that relationship but slow to provide convincing answers. Those who have accepted the authenticity of the *Igor’ Tale* have been quick to presume they have provided convincing answers to the text puzzles but slow to accept that the questions may be tougher than they are willing to acknowledge.