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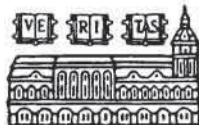
Камень Краєжгълънъ  
RHETORIC OF THE MEDIEVAL SLAVIC  
WORLD

Essays presented to  
EDWARD L. KEENAN  
on his Sixtieth Birthday  
by his Colleagues and Students

Edited by

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## Correspondence concerning the “Correspondence”

I no longer have to take the corrupt, incomplete, and dirty product of my mind, the marked-up draft, and hand it to a young woman to clean up—in effect—to wash the shirt. I do the cleaning myself, and can with the push of a key get the product printed as a letter, untouched by a secretary.

What changes we have seen since the Harvard Graduate Society *Newsletter* published those comments of Ned Keenan’s in 1980 in its lead story under the sensational title “Dean Keenan Uses Word Processor.” How fortunate I feel to have begun my acquaintance with Ned before the advent of the word processor. My Keenan file includes a version of his *Apocrypha* replete with cuttings, pastings, and handwritten editorial changes, and much of a correspondence that began in 1968 and like the book manuscript reveals something of the “corrupt, incomplete and dirty product of [both his and] my mind[s].” At one point, I scrawled across the top of one letter: “PS I hope you are saving all my letters—I would like copies as a Хроника for personal archive.” Ned responded with a PS of his own: “I am, of course, saving all of your letters. They’re more interesting than many Barsukov published.” It seems appropriate to share some of this correspondence now, since it provides interesting insights into the genesis of *Apocrypha*, its reception, and Ned’s response.

Although I have chosen few selections deliberately to emphasize this, the letters depict a mentor/graduate student relationship that I would venture was extraordinarily fruitful for both parties. On my side, I note, for example, his reminders about the interest of the Stroeve Collection, to which eventually I did devote some systematic attention. With the perspective of half a lifetime again and the privilege of having supervised the work of some excellent graduate students, I can appreciate perhaps even better than I did back then how much we were sharing the genuine excitement of discovery. At the time, I was still very much the learner and often failed to appreciate the nuances of Ned’s work or the positions taken by his critics.

Until I began rereading the letters for the present occasion, my memory had dimmed about what it was like to be thrown headlong into a heady world of scholarly debate and to experience the arcane pleasures of deciphering my first watermarks and *skoropis*’. My reaction to the world of Russian academia ranged from awe—at finding myself conversing with D. S. Likhachev, who

was seated at the desk bearing a plaque indicating this had been the desk of A. A. Shakhmatov!—to brash, youthful impatience that some might interpret as disrespect. These letters exhibit a frequent irreverence toward established authorities that may strike some readers as not always appropriate or even polite, but I would point out it is hardly out of keeping with the passions so evident in many of the Russian scholarly debates I witnessed. Now older and grayer, if not wiser, I encounter with some amusement lines such as those typed the day after my birthday in 1968: “I am beginning to feel old and gray, having just turned 27 yesterday with no end to the thesis in sight. I guess the aging aspirant, certainly here, is no strange phenomenon.”

The setting for the beginning of the correspondence was my arrival in the Soviet Union in August 1968 for an academic exchange year to work on my dissertation concerning Muscovite literature with Turkish themes. While the formal adviser for the thesis was Prof. Robert Lee Wolff, Ned Keenan provided much of the inspiration and actual guidance for the project. That year spent principally in Leningrad introduced me to Soviet academic meetings, which I attended with some regularity, especially in the Sector of Old Russian Literature of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Literature. While in retrospect I wonder whether my Russian was really up to the task, I sent back generally detailed reports on such meetings, including observations on the often heated discussions that never made it into print when the papers were published.

My first knowledge of Ned’s undertaking a major reevaluation of the “Correspondence” came from his letter of January 4, 1969. Since my research topic quite honestly involved me in studying many of the relevant manuscripts, and since much of what I wanted to see was in anonymous *sborniki*, I had the opportunity to examine many of the manuscripts relevant to his project. My initial response to the letter of January 4 was a nineteen-page single-spaced typescript, consisting largely of manuscript descriptions. Additional work involved checking manuscripts of the first Kurbskii letter for textual variants.

His book manuscript complete and in editorial process by summer of 1970, Ned left for a half-year sabbatical in England, which gave him the opportunity to check several of the significant collections of Muscovite manuscript material in Europe. Our correspondence for 1970–71 includes news of discoveries, discussion of the editorial work on the book, which I was facilitating back in Cambridge, and ample indication that Ned was keeping his eyes out for materials relevant to my thesis and spending time in, e.g., the British Museum checking materials I had requested he examine.



By late summer 1971, I was back in the Soviet Union, carrying proofs of the book and showing them around, correcting many of the oversights from my earlier work on the manuscripts and texts relevant to my thesis, and making arrangements (Ned alone knew my secret) to get married. Back in Cambridge, Ned was shepherding the thesis through the typing process and working hard to land me the job I still hold. Our letters of my second year abroad are full of material about the thesis and about the reactions of the Soviet academic establishment to the bombshell that had been thrown at it. Negotiations to have Ned deliver a paper on the book in Leningrad never worked out; even though there was some thought to my standing in for him, it was well that never happened.

The correspondence tails off after 1972, although there are occasional letters of interest regarding reactions to the book and regarding Ned's further work on the Kurbskii "History" and on the first Grozny letter to Kurbskii. Since much of the post-1972 give and take concerning Ned's "heresy" is in any event well known from numerous reviews and articles, my concluding selection is one from 1973 that indicates some of his thinking about the "History" and describes reaction to his book by a significant assemblage of largely American scholars in a seminar at Columbia.

There is a character to many of the letters that the printed page will not capture—while some of his letters are typed, Ned frequently wrote, often with fountain pen, in his characteristic neat calligraphic hand. He added diagrams and notes in the margins, some in different inks. I have used carbons of my letters, made as I typed the originals, or (in the case of the letters from 1971–1972) generally faint photocopies. Editorial intervention has been confined to an occasional explanatory note in brackets and the correction of some obvious typos and lapses in punctuation. I will have to live with the lapses in syntax, although my students today would never be permitted the same. Where needed, I have identified individuals, but in most cases, I felt it unnecessary to provide first names or initials, and similarly have not filled out references to publications that are easily identifiable. The interested reader will easily be able to locate in Ned's book identifications for the many abbreviations of redactions of the Kurbskii-Grozny texts or the manuscripts that contain them.

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*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, December 5, 1968, carbon copy of typescript. A significant portion of this letter reported on a seminar in Pushkinskii dom on November 25, devoted to discussion of a paper by Gelian Mikhailovich Prokhorov, "O Lavrent'evskoi letopisi." Following the formal presentation was a particularly acrimonious dispute between Prokhorov (who had, inter alia, defended the views of Komarovich) and Iakov Solomonovich Lur'e, in which the latter defended his mentor Priselkov's conclusions about the chronicle. Likhachev was forced to intervene in an unsuccessful effort to soothe frayed tempers. Obviously there was much more going on here in interpersonal relations than I understood.*

[...] Likhachev had been defending Prokhorov's conclusion and methods; Lur'e turned to the great man at one point and said rather rudely—"And here you are, the author of *Tekstologiia*, trying to tell me that what I am saying about methodology is wrong?" To which Likhachev calmly replied, "I refuse to say one word more to you, Iakov Solomonovich, so as not to overstep the bounds of propriety." Clearly no one present liked the way Lur'e had turned on Likhachev.

Usually after everyone has had his say about the doklad Likhachev makes his comments; it is simply unbelievable how clear and concise he is—even though I don't care about the topic of a doklad or don't understand half of what is going on, it is worth attending to hear what Likhachev has to say, since he usually sums up the essence of the discussion so perfectly. He pointed out how valuable the doklad was, since, as he indicated, people had done a lot of analysis of chronicles on the basis of purely textual evidence, but few studies had been done using paleographic analysis of the type Prokhorov had done. For this reason, Likhachev considered that Lur'e's comments were somewhat beside the point. He spent a couple of minutes commenting on how personal relations had clouded the work of Priselkov and Komarovich. Apparently relations between the two had always been strained. Likhachev recalled that just before the war as work on the multi-volume history of Russ. Lit. had begun, instead of writing his section on the Laurentian chronicle out of the top of his head, Komarovich had sat down to do a major study of the chronicle; the manuscript of it remains unpublished in the archives of Pushkinskii dom. He delivered a doklad summarizing the study; before the session, he asked Priselkov to read over the MS and comment on it. Priselkov returned the MS with no comments and indicated he would think about it and talk with Komarovich about it later. Then Priselkov never came to the oral presentation. A little later Priselkov's book [on the history of Russian chronicle writing—DW] came out; Likhachev



recalls meeting Komarovich in the book store of the University just after K. had bought a copy of the book. He looked through it on the spot and then turned to Likhachev and said rather sadly, "And he didn't even mention or give any consideration to my work." The war came; one of the two starved to death and the other met some equally grim fate; so Priselkov never did come to grips with Komarovich's view of the text. As Likhachev noted, Priselkov's work has to be considered with the context of all Russian chronicle writing in mind. His method was such that only in that context can some of his views be understood; as one can see on almost any page of his book, individual conclusions can be questioned and their source sought in vain [...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, January 4, 1969. Typed with marginal additions in blue, green and black ink; enclosed a one-page photocopy comparing relevant portions of Isaiah's "Complaint" with the first Kurbskii letter to Groznyi.*

[...] I am glad to see that you are having such a good stay, both in terms of hours logged with pervoistochniki and of your acquisition of a sense of things and people around the Pushkinskii Dom and elsewhere [...]

I can't comment on the Prokhorov doklad very intelligently, since I haven't studied the questions he treats—I would say, though, in general, that I would personally be inclined to trust Lur'e's istochnikovedcheskoe chu'e more than Likhachev's. I have recently been using some of his [*in margin*: Лурье] work and studying it very closely, and he is really very meticulous and honest—more so, in my view, than D. S., who is, of course, by far the more charming and "cultivated". While there is no question about D. S.'s contributions, I myself feel that sometimes his clever obobshcheniia are a bit too facile, and give the reader a false sense of knowing what we still have no way of knowing. In the long run, Lur'e's dogged "istochnikoved-shchina" will probably seem to have been of greater importance. (Cf. his recent articles.) By the way, L. is no blind admirer of Priselkov's work—he just wrote me in fact, about certain protivorechiia in P.'s analysis.

[...] It is wonderful that you are working in the Pogodin collection, especially the old Stroev part of it—for this is, I suspect, the key to many of our questions about the 17th century. (I have entered, in pencil, your comment about the change of hand in Pog 1558 in Widener's copy of Bychkov.) Anything you can find out about the origins of these mss. will be useful—I would say publishable, unless the local archive people plan a proper recataloguing. Especially watermarks, which are so fouled up. While I'm on

the subject: can you obtain any impression or information concerning the dates and origins of the following: Pog 1567, Pog 1573; Pog 1311. These are rather crucial, I suspect, to the matter of the Ivan-Kurbskii correspondence, and I would appreciate anything that a de visu impression would provide [...]

Tvorogov's work on the Khronograf 1617 [*in margin*: We have Попов, Изборник on film now] seems quite promising: even if he can come up with well established dates for the mss. he has seen, we shall be in his debt. I'd particularly like to see what he finally says about [BAN] Archang. Sobr. 139, because it has some interesting links with some of the best and earliest Kurbskii texts.

But let me get on to these texts, which have been very much on my mind lately. You will remember my doubts on the subject of authorship and date... I hadn't really been working on the problem, but as I began to prepare for my seminar this term (on the Perepiska) I returned to some old notes and to the texts, and as I puttered along, preparing a session on the composition of sborniki and the relations among different texts in the same sbornik, I came to Pog. 1573, which is, I would guess, one of the oldest texts of the probably original version of Kurbskii's first letter [*in margin*: It also contains the краткая ред. of Ivan's first letter, which may very well be earlier than the сокр. ред., as Лурье very scrupulously hints in his ed of «Послания»] (which is of course the key letter in the series, thematically). Here we find a "Spisok s pravoslavnogo spiska Isaina," the sad tale of a Ukrainian Orthodox monk who makes the mistake of coming to Moscow looking for books to print in Lithuanian presses in 1561, but gets denounced, arrested as a heretic and spends the rest of his days (some 30 years) in monastic incarceration (perhaps they called it monastlager). Going a little further, I checked out a few Isaiahs, and on a bibliographic tip from Omeljan [Pritsak—DW] even found one who had written some things, including a letter to Groznyi. He turned out to be the same chap as Mr. Pog. 1573, but what is more interesting, one of his works (not the letter to G) turned out to coincide, word for word, over roughly half its length, with imenno the better version of Kurbskii's letter (See enclosed texts). OK, so A>B; B>A [A is the Isaiah text, B the Kurbskii text—DW]; or both from X. To me, no longer an objective observer, but struggling desperately to be such, it appears that B has taken A, changed all the third persons to second and the referent to Ivan (vozda>vozda esi etc. throughout) leaving out only passages that can't be made to apply to the Kurbskii-Ivan relationship even with grammatical change (Dnes' az v temnitsy etc.), changed the order, and incorporated the passages. Assuming the opposite raises insoluble problems, I think: A has no reason to leave out the



passages which appear only in B—they are general complaints and would fit the Isaiah-Ioasaf relationship just as well as the K-Gr one; if we assume a consistent change of second to third person, why doesn't A change na tia, za tia and pred toboiu the same way? Finally, B was written, kak is supposed to be izvestno, in 1564, while the probable (only!) date of A is 1566–7. There are many other details, but the long and short of it is that I think the time has come to say, in print, that something is definitely fishy here. I have shown the texts to Pritsak, Ševčenko, Fennell, Cherniavskii and by mail (still no answers) to Fr. Florovskii [*in margin*: Answer today: no common source that he can recall, although of course many clichés—but texts so close as to make the question “striking & challenging”] and Lur'e. Unless these last two come up with some objections, I'm going to get the thing off my chest (the alternative is to go slowly mad over the thing). You could do me a big favor, if you will:

1) Publichka, O.XVII.70 [...]: this contains Isaiah's works and is rather crucial to my present pursuits. Are there any watermarks? Any vladetel'skie zapisi? Anything about the history of the Sbornik? It was bought from Pligin coll. (I think through an intermediary or heir) in 1905. Is there anything about the physical nature of the text (change of hands, marginalia etc.) which is of interest? In particular, how does the hand compare with Pog. 1567, 1573, 1311, and 1615? (in tetradi containing K/Gr.) Is a microfilm of ll. [*in margin*: i.e. лл.] 174–180 ob. possible? If not, could you copy for me the fragment on 180 ob. which begins with the rubric “Spisok s listochka...” and ends “Pisano roku [1562] v zemli moskovskoi na Vologdu”?

2) Could you check ll. 49ob.–53ob. of Pog 1573 against the enclosed xerox, in particular for variants in the places I have marked? Also Pog. 1615? (If they ask why you want the latter, tell them it has the “Povest' o dvukh posol'stvakh” in an interesting version.)

I hate to load you with these errands—anything will be a help. My last request: Before he died in 1925, Kuntsevich sent to the Arkh. kom. the second volume of his edition of Kurbskii, or rather the manuscript of same, which has never been published. It contains the arkheograficheskii obzor of the sborniki containing K's oeuvre. It should be among the Arkh. kom.'s legacy in the Archive of the Len. otd. inst. ist. AN. If you could film it, zdorovo—if not, can you steal a glance at what he says about the Pogodins mentioned above and Muz. 2524/42797 (He would have called it Imp. Ross. ist. Muzei im. Imp. Al—dra III)?

Well, enough. All is po-staromu here, although the SDS is raising hell—they broke up a faculty meeting just before Christmas and I suppose



something will have to be done with them. [*Added in pen:* Kritika is mailed tomorrow, & I'll send you one airmail to Moscow.]

[*Added in margin in pen:*]

PS: Is anyone working on Kurbskii? Let me know if you hear of anyone.

PPS: All of this is for the time a bit confidential—because, if it turns out as I suspect, it will raise bloody hell with the whole of what we pretend we know about both Kurbskii & Ivan. In view of the sad business w/ the Слово, and of the considerable chance that much of Kurbskii's work was written by learned Ukrainian Orthodox exiles [although I guess not by Isaiah] like poor old Йоль Биковський, I think we should go very slow with it. Лурье, I expect, will give me some hint of how to proceed—that is, if he doesn't just tell me to go back to "Go" & not collect \$200! Between you & me & the lamppost, I see no good evidence that either K. or Gr. was even literate! [...]

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, February 27, 1969, carbon copy of typescript. The letter was accompanied by original notes taken during description of manuscripts.*

I am tempted to put down Feb. 29—the sort of a joke that some one did on some govt. document for 1907 that an Englishman working in the archive in Moscow came across. After a 9 AM to 10 PM day with Grozny, Kurbsky, Isaiah et al., one is tempted to do lots of silly things. The story, and a dull one it is, of Pogod. 1311, 1573, 1567, 1615; O.XVII.70 and, last but not least, Muz. 2524, will unfold as this litter (sic) progresses over the next day or so [...][*Comments follow on Lur'e's paper/article on the Kholmogorskaia letopis' and on a paper delivered in Pushkinskii Dom by M. A. Salmina entitled "Slovo o zhitii Dmitriia Donskogo v letopisanii (k voprosu o datirovke)."*]

Turning now to what you have been impatiently waiting for, by way of introduction, let me suggest that you suggest to the Kritika editors, among them yourself, that I find it impossible to do a review for the third issue; I think it only fair that you write an extra one if there is great outcry at my shirking my duty. I think the Kurbsky material is at least one review's worth of time and effort [...]

A few procedural notes. I will try to summarize here in print the most important observations on each manuscript, partly because it helps me to rethink and reformulate what I have already written down and it may prove

that my original notes, which are coming along with this letter, are incomprehensible or contradictory (often I decide different things at different times on change of pocherk, for example). Please be sure to save all notes that come, since I need some of them on return for my work. In general my sketches of watermarks are not to scale and they vary in accuracy—some being better than sketches in some of the albums seem to be (eg., Geraklitov); others being worse or only partial, singling out features of the WM that are of interest. You might Xerox the watermark pictures and send the copy back to me right away, since I may want to have them to cross check should similar ones crop up later [...][*Thirteen pages of manuscript descriptions follow.*]

With regard to a rather crucial aspect of my watermarking—whether or not WMs on earlier listy are the same as ones later in the same MS. I try to check closely on this. Sometimes it is hard, as with some of the foolscaps in Muz. 2524; however, I try to be reasonably conservative in my conclusions. It seems to me this is something people don't take the time to do with these sborniki; to me it seems crucial for establishing the composition of the sbornik. For example, I am working on Pogod 1604 now, a huge thing of 900 listy, where Zimin noted the WM in the Peresvetov tetrad and the fact that the table of contents at start of MS indicates it was in one piece already in the 17th c. What he didn't notice is that the wm of the Peresvetov tetrad crops up later; though I haven't checked this yet, I think a good many of the foolscaps in various parts of the MS are the same. Damn time consuming, but where texts are all published, if you are going to work with the sbornik, you might as well spend a day or two on the watermarks if need be [...]

Best to all. Sorry about Kritika article. I think you can see from the above I haven't been wasting time lately and have little to spare....

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, March 15, 1969, carbon copy of typescript.*

Since I last wrote, I have turned up some more interesting things regarding Pogod. 1573 and Muz. 2524. I told you about Lur'e's doklad and planned publication of the Kholmogorskaia Letopis'. Well, I looked at the manuscript of it (Pogod. 1405) and discovered that in fact the first two pages plus a little of the letopisets dvinskikh voevod that forms an appendix to the main chronicle (ll. 446–447 are relevant listy) are identical with the northern information in the letopisets contained in the two other manuscripts. If one checks this against the text printed by Novikov in DRV, ch. 18, one finds the essence of this same information, much of it identical in wording, but with other material thrown in. It is also noteworthy that the pocherk in part of the



main Kholmogorskaia letopis', while not identical with that in part of Muz. 2524 and Pogod. 1573 is so similar that one might see in the three manuscripts the work of a school of copyists. This is only a wild idea perhaps, but I hope to have pictures for comparison sake; I will take snaps from the two here to Moscow with me in order to compare there. I would appreciate it if you can Xerox all the Muz. 2524 notes and send either the copy or the original to me in Moscow so I can have it to use there when I look at the manuscript again. Try to make the package small like a fat letter, or the embassy mail people may get angry.

In addition to that discovery, which is most relevant for you, I determined some other things about the manuscript which rather surprised me, since it leads me to be somewhat skeptical of the work that is going into some of the publication here—unfortunately Lur'e himself is the target of that remark in this case, since he did most of the work on the Kholmogorskaia letopis'. First of all, the last item in the MS is one some one should have caught as existing in another copy and in fact as having been published—it is the Znameniiia v tsaregrade 1652g., which Sobolevskii published, if imperfectly, from a GPB MS I have already looked at, in his *Perevodnaia literatura*. The title of the thing as given in Lur'e's article, even though it didn't mention Turks, made me suspicious that it was of interest; that is the reason I asked him to let me see the MS to begin with. Some interesting variants from the Sobolevskii version. The second find in the MS, and by far the more disturbing one, was about half dozen watermarks that Lur'e didn't see or couldn't make out and hence didn't mention in his introduction to the volume of PSRL. For the most part they are not uncommon 17th c. marks; I am rather shocked to find out that such a sloppy job of watermarking is being done. He was very grateful for my finds and is rewriting the relevant sections of the introduction to take them into account. To switch back to where I began, I feel quite certain that the two sborniki are of northern origin (as I recall there is a Kholmogory zapis' on the Muz. copy, which lends support to the idea) [...]

Incidentally, while still basking in the glow of all those extra watermarks in Pogod. 1405, let me pass on the conversation I had with Lur'e when I showed him what I had found. It went something like this: "How long have you been working with manuscripts?" "Just since I arrived here." "Really?" "Uh-huh." "Do you have any old Slavic manuscripts in the United States?" "I really don't know, I've never seen any." Of course one comes back down to earth after looking through notes on some of the first MSS I worked on here; in some cases I fear I have been sloppy in the watermarking, but I doubt I will have time to go back and pick up any loose ends [...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, March 12–20, 1969; typescript, with extensive hand-written additions in green ink, accompanied by photocopy from pp. 534–36 of Poslaniia Ivana Groznogo.*

I have just received your magnificent letter and the detailed notes, for which how can I thank you? They are of great value, and I think at first glance that they confirm all of my suspicions, which means either that I am going progressively madder or that we are really onto a vast international conspiracy [...]

Before I get on to comments about your excellent and really *virtuoznyi* MS description, let me give you a resumé of my present thinking about the K-G business, so you will have an idea of the way the land seems to lie. With reference to the enclosed diagram, a few general comments: on the basis of language and the coefficient of *konvoinosť*, and also on the crude dates of the manuscripts involved, it seems that we have here a typical apocryphal corpus, which grew by stages, and was written by a number of different people at different times: the kernel from Isaiah led to KIa (as in Pog 1573 & Muz 2524) which (maybe in same stage) is parent of Gkrat. and a (very slightly) different KIb. Probably in the next stage, Gpol. was written on the basis of Gkrat (with reference to KIa). Gpol. then, at still a later stage, produced, largely because of miserable corruptions, Gkhron and later Gsbor., the time of writing of the latter being roughly the same as the appearance of the rest of Kurbskii's letters. Ivan's second letter stands apart, although it too may have appeared at this stage—in any case, it is but a plain style (i.e. literary but not Slavonic) epitome of the contents of Gpol.

[*change of ink and margin width*] The second diagram, composed since I started this letter, indicates the textual relationships which I have been able to establish between the various Mss on the basis of all texts (i.e. in some cases not K-Gr., but e.g. "Pov. o 2-x posol'stvax" etc.). Although it is of course tentative, it has worked out amazingly well, and with the possible addition of some hypothetical *spiski* (largely as hedges) seems adequate. It is quite surprising, both for the fact that we seem to have so many of the mss involved (i.e. there are few, if indeed any, textual problems which have to be solved by hypothesis of missing copies) and for the chronological compactness of the crucial copies. Another interesting thing is the fact that the copies which are seemingly close in textual ways are in the same collections now (e.g. Pog 1573 and Pog 1567 both seem to come from Muz 2524, itself derived from Muz 4469; Pog 1311 and Pog 1567 seem to have been together etc.). Do we know anything about these Pog's before the Stroev stage? [*added in blue ink:*] (Now I do; see below.)



Also since I began this letter, I have used your materials: they are fantastic, better, as I am sure you know, than not only Bychkov etc. but voobshche any descriptions I know of. If you continue to collect such materials, I think they should be published.

I now have a letter from Lu'ë, in which he responds to roughly the same things (texts of Isaiah and K etc.) which I sent you [*written in margin, in place of crossed out: him*]. I am very much relieved and encouraged, because he cannot think of any possible common source of the two (always a possibility, although now I am all but certain that there could have been none). He hasn't really, however, understood the implications of what I wrote him, and his reasoning within the traditional frame is really remarkable. Although he can think of none, he thinks "vsë zhe" that there must be a common source, because "Predpolozhit' vliianie Isaii na Kurbskogo do 1564 deistvitel'no trudno—khotia možno bylo by dumat', chto on sochiril svoje oblichenie Ioasafa ran'she chem "list do v. k. Iv. Vas."...Kurbskii prochel ego mezhdru 1560–1564gg. i ispol'zoval." Possible, but unlikely, and besides I now have found new, fragmentary correspondences between K's letter and other things of Isaiah dated 1566. He goes on, later, "Predpolozhit' sochinenie vsei perepiski zadnim chislom (no ran'she nachala XVII v – daty Pog. 1567 [you agree that he's wrong about this]) sugubo somnitel'no (my znaem vymyshlennye pis'ma Groznogo—oni sovsem inye [does he really think that fabrications attributed to one man have to be as alike as one man's own writings?]; a tut vse skhodno s drugimi poslaniami tsaria [but they too are three dollar bills]). At least I'm relieved that I'm not entirely mad, and if, as Stalin said to Pasternak about Mandel'shtam, that is the best he can defend his friends, they are in bad shape.

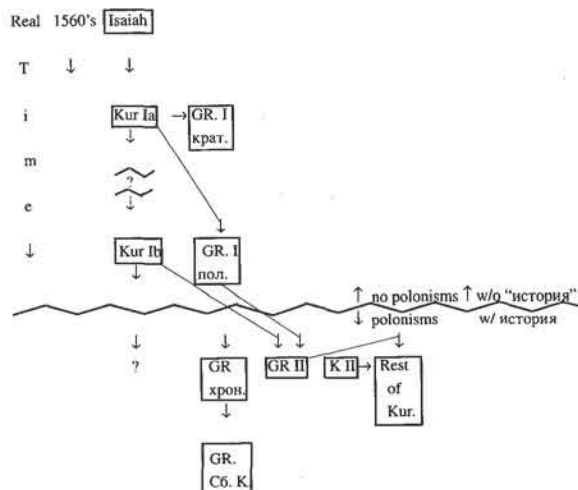
Lots of other things are coming out, and I wish I had more time to work on this...I'll keep you informed. Now I must go and check your Polish and Greek titles in Widener so I can send this in good conscience. While I think of it though—and please don't put yourself to the trouble of copying out whole texts—could you take a look at Muz 4469 (it has Peresvetov cf Zimin) and its copy of Kurbskii letter visàvis Lu'ë? I hate to ask it, but I'm getting pretty sure this is close to protograph and if you could compare K's letter to Vas'ian (it's short) visàvis Kuntsevich ed., I'd be very grateful. Or film...same goes for sister text Uvarov 1584, also Peresvetov...but for god's sake do it only if you're going to look at them anyway. Out of curiosity, by the way, you might sneak a glance at book 8 of the Pol'skii dvor (TsGADA f. 79). These are gramoty attributed to G., but fishy in that they are bound alone, and interrupt the normal chron. order (cf. book 7). Lu'ë calls hand and paper contemporary, but I wonder if they weren't slipped in later.

[change of paper, to letterhead of Park Plaza Hotel, Toronto] Excuse the pizhonistaia paper—it's the lightest I have, and I can see that I'm going to run into extra weight. I have completed your list, and enclose it—we have more than I suspected, but still far from everything, although some of these damn pamphlets may be bound together with other things and not catalogued. I have been doing some more work (since my last page) and have come on what seem to be some hot leads, which I shall try to set forth in simple form (but as hypotheses, they are very fuzzy in some respects, even tho' they seem very attractive to me now). The basic element is the close connection of some part of the K-G corpus with the Antonievo-Siiskii Mon. near Kholmogory. Study of the history of the Stroev-Pogodin mss. and of the Pligin coll. leads one there in a number of ways, and from the catalog of Stroev (Pub. by Viktorov) it is clear that many of the G-K mss. are sisters of ones in A-S Mon. (see also A-S mss. in Opis. BAN). In particular this is true of khronograf-type texts (incl Bielski) which, I am quite sure, were used in the comp. of the second version of Ivan's first letter, and in K's Istoriia. It is quite evident that in the middle and late seventeenth century at least, someone in A-S was very interested in history, and apparently in Turcica as well (thus you are right in drawing attention to the fragments of Dvinskaia let. in some G-K mss. and Lur'e is prescient in getting ready to publish Kholmogorskaia let.). The bit "Iz Kyzylbashskikh otpisok..." is also a constant companion both of GK and of many Ant-Siiskii mss., for what it is worth.

[change to handwritten text:]

Now some visual aids: first the basic chron.-literary history, on basis of texts.

"Literary time," i.e. references to "previous" letters etc. →





Over for 2nd chart. I am in an airplane, coming back from IUCTG meeting where I discussed these ideas w/ Backus & Dewey. Former has just been working on some legal docs. of K. in Vilno & says that he was so struck by childishness of K's signature on his will [NB in Latin characters] that he made a tracing of it which he will send.

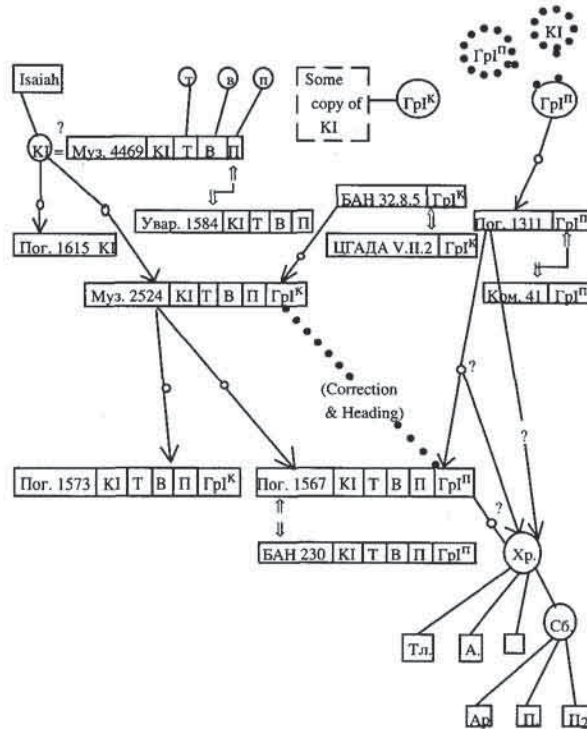
Keep your eye out for Ант.-Сийский мон. & for late [mid 1640's-1680's] copies of Пересветов connected w Романовы, also [for KI & GRI] Филарет. [!]

Ned

HYPOTHETICAL STEMMATA

- = Assumed protograph
- ◐ = Possible lost ms. [hedge]
- т = Тетерин
- в = К то Васьян
- п = Полубенского
- КI, КII, К\* = Kurbskii letters
- ГрI<sup>К</sup>, ГрI<sup>II</sup>, ГрII = Грозный
- ↑↓ = especially close links

Chronology implied only by arrows



I've done this out of my head, so there might be a few transpositions of numbers or описки, but in general this is how it looks now.

N.

PS. Каган mentions in “Легендарная переписка” a MS. Арх. 43 [*above line*: Арх. ком.? Арх. общ.?] which, she says, contains the переписка & also KI. This could be very important—Could you glance at it? Thanks.[...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, undated, reply to letter of March 15, 1969, typescript.*

[...] About our friend Kurbskii: as you have learned from the letter which crossed your most recent one, the whole Kholmogorskii milieu is, somehow, associated with at least some stages of the K-G saga. A number of new things have now arisen, including the discovery that other parts of K's first letter are verbatim parallels to parts of an introduction written by Iv. Khvorostinin—and precisely the parts which interrupt the otherwise sploshnoi citation from Isaiah. Indeed, all of these things are in one or another way connected with close friends of enemies of the Romanov family, at various stages of the 17th c., and people like Khvorostinin, Shakhovskoi, Katyrev-Rostovskii (all related, if distantly to one another, and to Kurbskii, for that matter) and even Griboedov, Asar'in, and our friend Almaz Ivanov are very much to be watched [...]

But getting back to Khvorostinin: I came to him just as I had to Isaiah: in reexamining the textual evidence, I realized that the so-called Khronograficheskaia redaktsiia of the first letter of Ivan is really nothing but a version of the polnaia redaktsiia, with a few list out of place, and then that one of the best copies of the khron red is Uvar. 330, which as Leonid points out, is in the same hand as what he calls the khronograf Khvorostinina. Thence to Khv., etc. I don't have, by the way, the pages where Leonid speaks of the khron. Khvor.: could you look at his opis. ruk. Uvarova, No 1581, and then at the khron khv. which he mentions? It probably contains something on Peresvetov, so you might get a look at it. For heaven's sake, don't squander your valuable time on a detailed description: your own impression after ten minutes will probably be all one needs unless your own feeling is that you're on to something [...]



*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 10, 1969, carbon copy of typescript. Most of three-page letter is a detailed description of MS. GPB, Sbornie Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva No. 43.*

[...] We head for the airport in an hour and a half and by tomorrow AM will be in Bukhara, so must run. Hope this will keep you fueled for a while. A couple of suggestions. Why not publish this thing as a small monograph and let me put an appendix in at end on the manuscripts? In general on my work I plan to start my Thesis with the appendices and have texts and a long hairy section describing manuscripts at the back, the total volume of which may exceed that of the text of the thesis. A second suggestion, what is the chance of getting together next spring semester on a course in Diplomats and Paleography? I would be willing to prepare the paleography (god knows where the time would come, since finishing said thesis will be touch and go) if you would do diplomats. Third note. Hope you will not have finished with this thing before I return. I undoubtedly will have more to add to what I will have sent by then. I plan to work the little chronicle in the three MSS mentioned earlier [Pogod. 1405, 1573; Muz. 2524—DW] up into an article where I can comment at length on the three MSS. May investigate the possibility of aiming it for the Trudy if they would have it [...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, May 22, 1969, typed on Park Plaza Hotel stationery.*

Excuse the purloined paper and the crowding which will follow, the reasons for which you surely understand [...]

I can't now remember whether I wrote to you about it at the time or not—I had precisely the same idea as yours about the “Appendix” to my little knizhechka. There is really no other way: the descriptions are yours; you might as well get a biblio entry out of them. (Thinking ahead to the time when some department chairman is reviewing your curriculum...) I'm really pretty well along on the book now, which is to be “The Genesis of the Correspondence...” As you remember, in our last episode we discussed the candidacy of Khvorostinin and Shakhovskoi (or at least I think I did). It now seems pretty clear from textual, manuscript and other evidence that Shakhovskoi is the author of Kurbskii's first letter written around 1622 not as a fabrication, but as a letter of complaint to Mikhail Fedorovich. Less probable, but possible, is Shakhovskoi's authorship of at least the first version of Ivan's first letter. After that we trail off into a number of stages, spread in time and involving I believe a number of authors. Khvorostinin

comes into the act because Shakhovskoi used a letter of his for part of the original letter of 1622. All of this is for your information and thoughts: I'd just as soon that you keep it in pectore for a time, until I can get something out. I don't expect it's going to go down very easily just at the moment, and it will have to be provided with "overkill" argumentation.

I do have one little final request, which may reach you too late: in 1625 Shakhovskoi was asked by Filaret to write a letter to Abbas, apparently as part of a Muscovite attempt to screw other foreigners in Persia, and particularly Catholics. As a part of the same exchange of ambassadors (I don't remember now whether it was before or after) Abbas sent what was represented as Jesus' robe (riza gospodnia or elsewhere srachitsa) as a little giftee to Mikhail (Muscovy was the last of the great relic markets in Europe by the way). Now in addition to the letter to Abbas (ref. in Rus biogr. slovar' art. Shakhovskoi or Platonov's Drevneruss skaz i pov. o smutnom vr.=ZhMNP 1888 i itd.) Shakhovskoi wrote, according to Stroev (Bibliogr. slovar' art. Shakhovskoi) a "Povest' preslavna,...o prenesenii...rize Spasa...v Moskvu". Now a similar story, variously titled, often accompanies or may even be a part of the "vypiska iz kyzylbashskikh knig" which appears in a number of our manuscripts, such as Pogod 1615, Muz 4469 and 2524, and, I suspect, Pog 1573 (the obliterated fragment on l. one) (I think this is also called the posol'stvo Korob'ina i Kuvshinova). It would seem that the similarity of these povesti etc with the Ottoman belletristika-diplomatika might permit you to get a film of this text of texts...in any case I'd like your impression of them (ll. 146ff. in Muz 2524).

I very much like your idea about a seminar on paleography and diplomatics, and would very much like to give it in the spring of next year. I have been tinkering with some new ideas about paleographic identification (perhaps even using machine analysis) which seem, on the face of it, promising...we'll talk [...]

*Postcard from ELK to DCW, mailed August 20, 1970, from Copenhagen. The picture on card is a page from the sixteenth-century MS. of Jonsbok, the Icelandic statute book of 1282, in Det Kongelige Bibliotek. Note that my files for 1970-1971 contain ELK's letters from Europe but not my responses.*



Dear Dan,

Wow! I walked into the “Kongelige” on a hunch [*added in margin in green ink*: I was on my way to the Rigsarkivet] & discovered all sorts of treasures—including MSS. of—get this—Kurbskii’s letters, the “Повесть о двух посольствах” [*added in margin in green ink*: “ходил...Шеин; Селенбеку] [haven’t seen this yet: tomorrow] and many others, includ. what seems [*added in margin in green ink*: “Theatrum Vitae Humanae” attrib to “A. A. B”] to be a trans. by Vinius [!]. All hunches to be checked tomorrow & seq., if I can. Of course, the only copies of Briquet, Тромонин *et al.* are on the other side of town. More soon.

Ned

[*added in green ink as postscript:*]

Today—Russian WM of 1564: “Царь Иван Васильевич Всеа Руси, Князь Великий Московский”. They are making  $\beta$ -radiograph.

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Wheatley, Oxford, postmarked September 7, 1970, handwritten. Letter includes further detail on Copenhagen watermark, including a sketch.*

[...]I was glad to see that the new information on the Риза confirms your previous conclusions. What an enormous amount of work lies ahead for those who will unravel the history of liturgical literature! I’m reading that Kanonnik book now, and the poor man has to say in almost every ¶ “but the final judgement must await...”

I much appreciate your shepherding of the Kurbskii MS. through the Press—don’t bother about detail, that can be more time-consuming than is justified. There really are only a couple of main notions in the book, and they won’t stand or fall on the basis of additional details. [Judging from Fennell’s brief remarks yesterday—I saw him just for a moment—Лурье & Зимин just haven’t gotten the point yet—I wonder if they ever will...]

As to your подложные грамоты [by the way, I am beginning to think that we should find another term: it was not really подлог, but a kind of literary travesty, don’t you think?—I mean the Russian ones—as to the translations, I don’t know, but I do wonder sometimes how seriously these things were meant to be taken.], things do seem to become more complicated, but it may just be the normal problem of mass, rather than complexity—sort

out the significant—the singular fact, Freud used to say—and as you do—even if your original guess as to what is significant was off—the minor business will sort itself [...]

More news: Milan provided no surprises—I was able to look through stuff very quickly, since they were on vacation and I was working in the Director's office with the aid of his staff. As it turns out, their materials are very [*written in place of crossed out: rather*] disorganized, but it seems that they have only one original Muscovite document [with no WM!] plus a lot of Latin and Italian materials which indirectly reflect Muscovite affairs. There is an article in it [mostly to correct Barbieri's errors], but not much more. But there is an enormous amount of material about Hungarian affairs [Corvinus etc.] including piles of cyphered messages [with keys] and in general the impression of the level of sophistication of the Sforza chancelleries is, for a poor Muscovite, staggering. One fascinating [and beautifully written] volume, for example, contains formularies with intitulationes & salutations for dozens of rulers, & probably hundreds of English, French, Spanish & Italian dukes, barons, merchants & gentlemen (&women!). I had hoped to find our Albus Imperator there, but found only "Illustrissimo Principe Joanni Volodymirae Novgorodie Pascoviae Magno Duci Rossiae" for Ivan III & "Magno Duci Rhossiae...Illus. et potentissimo Domino Joanni Magno Domino totius Rhossiae" for Ivan IV.

The most interesting item from Milan is that Luigi [?] Luongo, nephew of the head of the CPI, who lives in Moscow and is apparently a medievalist [do you know anything about him?] recently visited on a командировка and took microfilms of everything concerning Russia. So we should see something on the subject soon [...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Oxford, September 16, 1970 (postmarked September 21), handwritten. The beginning of the letter is responding to my informing him of my "discovery" of the Belosel'skii-Belozerskii collection of Muscovite svitki in Harvard's Houghton Library, a collection that apparently had not been studied and was in need of restoration for that to be possible. The reference to the paper by Ihor Ševčenko is to his proof that the so-called "Fragments of the Gothic Toparch" is a nineteenth-century forgery.*

An exciting find, indeed! I remember vaguely R.O.J. [Roman O. Jakobson—DW] talking about them, but I somehow got the impression that they were some kind of дворянское гнездо of family relics of the XVIII–XIX вв., and never gave them a thought. I become more convinced each day that



there is plenty to be done in Western collections—and if done right, it can show the way for some proper “коллективные” big jobs on the other side. When I say “each day”, I mean it literally; yesterday Simmons showed me five calligraphic azbuki from the Bodleian, some of them very fine, XVI & XVII century which he is in the process of publishing. There are three others in the B. M.—and God knows what all else.

I have just written a brief note to Miss Jakeman, mainly to support what you say in your letter and to urge her to be guided by what you say. I shall see Simmons again tomorrow, and ask him for any special ideas he might have about the preservation of свитки. The ones here, which, being prize specimens of calligraphy, are probably on better paper, have been kept rolled since they were acquired [in the XVI & XVII cents.!] but have been “backed” with new paper. The important thing, I believe, is a kind of paper preservative which can be “painted” on—I saw them doing it in Copenhagen—without smearing or discoloring anything, and “feeds” the paper somehow.

I would be chary of separation just yet—especially if the свитки were pasted as, & not after, the texts were written. If [as in the cases in the Bodleian] the seams bear no text, it is less important, but the sheets should be numbered before separation—in fact, every sheet should be numbered now, before the restoration people begin shuffling them about, & catalogued briefly—as archeologists “tag” items & photograph them, with tag, in situ.

They will be a good thesis topic—maybe more than one—and great aids in training [...]

Your citation from Скрынников’s letter re Ševčenko’s доклад is really baffling. If they don’t believe Ihor, I don’t have a chance.—The more so now that Лихачев [so he writes Simmons] is preparing an edition of an unknown канон [as I mentioned] & no less an authority than Сигурд О. Шмидт is coming out with a “Сочинения Курбского”, presumably in the standard series. Now there’s a book I will do for Kritika.

I had better get back to Носов. [But should add that, since I wrote the above, I spent yesterday with Max Hayward, who bought from an old bookseller a свиток of Але—ей Мих—ч, ca. 1650—so you see what I mean. Another odd bit of lore—one of the Bodleian scrolls was attributed to Иван IV himself on the basis of the inscription in Horsey’s hand, although the attribution is false & impossible, since the scribe gives his name in the text & it was written in Холмогоры.

Final note: when you tire of James Bond—if you do—try the latest Jahrbücher, where—in the back—you will find a fascinating desc. of Крупская’s illness and the fact that in April 1917 the “Patientin” was “an

Klimacterium". Now it is clear—Nadezhda's premature & apparently traumatic menopause is the cause of it all!

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Oxford, September 26, 1970, handwritten.*

[...]I judge by your despair that you must indeed be close to finishing. Please keep in mind that this version is "для служебного пользования"; I'm sure that even now the textological base is adequate & indeed impressive. Don't worry about the non-Russian scope—in fact you are in history & all of what you discuss is germane. Certainly I would be surprised if RLW [Robert Lee Wolff—DW] would complain of "non-Russianness". The occasional comments one hears about that usually have to do with the problem of making clear to prospective employers that Russia is the main field, etc., no problem in your case. So plow ahead, mixing, if you can, hours of paperwork [copying, editing, checking] with writing on an empty pad, and you will find that it is finished before you expected. And don't worry about the book's literary or even "general interest" value at this stage. Think how dull, really, are the great & useful similar studies of a complex "swatch" of literature [e.g., Ключевский, "Жития"; Платонов, "Повести"; Попов, "Хронографы"]. But such studies must be done, and this is really the way to cut one's teeth. Later, you might write a shorter лит-ист. essay on this stuff, but if the thesis were a glittering & speculative salon piece on "The Crescent & the Onion Dome," based on secondary stuff, the wrong people would be impressed for the wrong reasons, and you would be the loser [...]

Simmons is a mine of odd bibliographical knowledge. Told me an interesting sidelight yesterday: "Беспамятная собака" appears in Б & Э [Entsiklopedicheskii slovar', ed. Brokgauz & Efron—DW], oddly, because the editor, one Марголин, was cheap, and, when reminded by contributors that he had not paid them, he would strike his forehead & say, "Ах, какая беспаятная собака, забыл совершенно". They got their revenge, with the help of the typesetter. Look at the definition [*added in margin*: NB old orthog. "з"].

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Oxford, November 25, 1970, handwritten. The discussion here concerns the title for the book—the Harvard Press editor had suggested that there should be something short and catchy; Ned's first choice was "Post Scriptum." I have a vague recollection of being the one to propose "Apocrypha," a title which turned out, of itself, to be very annoying to Ned's critics.*



Just got yours about “Post Scriptum.” I guess I should have trusted Joan’s first reaction, which was just the same as yours. If Miss D. [Dexter, the editor—DW] has the same, I shall begin to wonder what I did mean in choosing it. Obviously, it won’t float—but did what I intended come through? I didn’t mean “P.S.” or “Postscript”, but “Post Scriptum,” i.e. a notation meaning that the text so marked was “written later.” If it were for “Nauka” we would write “Написано позднее, другой рукой”, & make a title out of it. Cf. “Address Unknown” etc.

Fact is I just don’t think any gimmicky title is going to make any difference in the fate of the book, but I’ll keep trying. How about “Best wishes from all of us” or “Yours, Semen and Artamon and Vasilii and the boys”?

More seriously, I may settle for “The Groznyi-Kurbskii Apocrypha” which is no poetry, but will make sense to potential readers [both of them] [...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, undated, with my notation “rec’d Dec. 23” [1970], typescript.*

[...] I agree with you about Lu’r’e [*added note in margin*: i.e. that he is marvellous], but wonder why he is not scratching his head a little more over some of the things we’ve sent him. These arguments about “a kak togda byt’ s drugimi poslaniami Groznogo” as you know do not intrigue me very much. I understand that Valerie Tumins is publishing her dissertation on the Rokyta “answers,” which eventually will probably require a separate treatment, if only to satisfy Roman Osipovich (although I don’t expect it will). I had a long—three-hour—talk with Nørretranders in Copenhagen this time—he was not prepared for the type of tack I took, but seemed at least willing to accept the possibility—although later, after Schnaps, he allowed as how he could accept the business about the first letter of Kurbskii and the *Istoriia*, but that first letter of Ivan’s must be genuine, on psychological grounds. (??) Same with Grobovsky (of the *izbrannaia rada*) whom I see a lot of. He’s now writing an essay on Sil’vestr, but he just won’t listen to me about checking up on the *Delo Viskovatogo* etc (at the very least, a poorly published and studied text, and at the outer limit, a *mistifikatsiia* of one kind or another) and although he agrees about most “revisionist” views of *historiography*, he just won’t take the texts and bite into them. He thinks, in spite of my passionate arguments and I think adequate proofs, that Al’shits was right on all counts about the *pripiski* [...]

I read Kashtanov [*Ocherki russkoi diplomatiki*—DW] instead of sleeping in my hotel room—some pretty good stuff, and well worth reviewing—especially good on the Troitse-Serg 518ff vs Pogod 1905 (I think those are the numbers). Did you see what he says about Stroev? (cf. ukazatel'). As I read it—although he doesn't say so in so many words—the old boy is accused and convicted of stealing parts of mss. and doctoring the remaining pages, so as to fill up his own collection and this explains [*handwritten note above the line*: (I think—Каштанов is very polite)] the “repaired” portions of so many of our sborniki. If you haven't noticed this, look at it (ca pp 350ff) via index, because it might give some clues about 2524/1573. Have you ever wondered where in Hell Stroev got all the mss from which he “filled in” the sborniki we have? The answer seems to be that like the counterfeiters who split a bill and forge half of it, he was supplementing his income without damaging nauka, in the manner of so many penurious nineteenth-c. scholars who hated their rich patrons and loved to fool them and any amateurs [...]

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, October 4, 1971, handwritten. This is a response to my first letters from my second academic year in Leningrad. The check from Literaturnaia gazeta was payment for a short article published there about the “first Muscovite watermark” which Ned had discovered in Copenhagen (see above).*

[...] I should write Лурье, but I must write you, so perhaps you can pass on—on second thought, no, don't—the following thoughts: As you report his comments, I am, like yourself, disappointed. As you know I am familiar w/ the “stylistic” arguments, and don't find them very convincing. As to the “common source” and “influence” of Kurbskii arguments, they don't begin to answer the questions I pose in the text about how the “borrowed” sections were “borrowed” in a mutually exclusive way. I don't worry about the chronicles; the “parallels” are nothing like what I have cited. Of course I read his “Был ли Иван Грозный писатель?” but [if I didn't in fact cite it] disregarded it because it was a part of the foolishness involving Дубровский, with whom [although of course I agree with some of his notions] I didn't want to be associated. As to the question of why С. И. Ш. [S. I. Shakhovskoi—DW] addressed Мих. Фед., he should read fn. 60, Ch II, where [I think] it is pointed out that the letter goes together with those to Филарет and Киприан, and with them forms a kind of Compleat Petition to all власть имущие.



And in general, if this (and the comments of Скрынников in «Неделя» reprinted [tell him!] in *Новое р. слово*) is the best they can do, I doubt that we'll even get a "Son of Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha" out of the whole thing.

I'm game for a доклад, providing they send me some concrete antithesis. I wonder whether it might not be interesting to try to get some money from IREX & make a short trip. I'd be interested in various reactions to that—But, unless they come up with something more substantive than what you report, I'm inclined to think that we might as well just let the primary message of the book sink in for a time. Zimin writes—did you know this?—via Greg [Shesko—DW] that he won't review the book, but will send a detailed отзыв [...]

You won't believe it, but Литгазета sent, unsolicited and unannounced, a dollar check on the Bank of America for \$33.00 for the little WM. piece! Adam [Ulam—DW] says only Howard Fast ever got such treatment [...]

*Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Hancock, N. H., October 24, 1971, handwritten; responding to my letter of October 12, which included information on a piece of MS. GPB Pogodin 1311 now found in MS. Q.IV.172.*

[...] Interesting about 1311 and Q.IV.172. You ought to keep track of Строев's little tricks, and write a заметка about him as a kind of warning to those who must use stuff which passed through his hands [...]

*Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Moscow, December 9, 1971, photocopy of typescript.*

[... ] I am to start receiving archival material on Monday—at the head of the list are all the Kurbskii-Groznyi materials; Likhachev's letter will, I think, get them for me. Would love to find just a tail of a foolscap on the paper of the petition to Simeon Bekbulatovich. Marfa Viacheslavna [Shchepkina—DW] was very hospitable—perhaps because of Likhachev's letter; or the letter from Dmitriev....Her comment regarding my work on the apocryphal letters: to the effect that she wasn't surprised; all the old views were too tied up with Repin's painting. Regarding K-G and the authorship of Shakhovskoi, K. and G., especially the latter, who was a pupil of Makarius, were too well educated for us to doubt that they wrote the letters. I didn't press the issue, for reasons

of tact—one does not lightheartedly undertake to disagree with her even in the best of circumstances...

Incidentally, since Greg looked at Shakhovskoi's works in the MDA MSS on my request, no one else has touched them...

I am going to try looking at all the relevant 17th century (and 16th century) editions in TsGADA that might have been used in the compilation of KG works—just to see what zapisi there are [...]

*Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Moscow, December 18, 1971, photocopy of typescript. Regarding the reference to a letter addressed to King Stefan Bathory allegedly by Ivan IV, I should note that I had "discovered" it in 1968–1969 but not looked at the text carefully enough to determine that it was not one of the published letters. When I sought further information from Cambridge in 1970, A. A. Zimin was the one who checked the letter and recognized it for what it was, but he generously did not attempt to publish it. My concern here over whether S. O. Shmidt would be as honorable was obviously unfounded; I owe him an apology. He was the one who kindly arranged to have the letter published in *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik*. Here I should also note the particular generosity of Iu. D. Rykov in sharing his unpublished work and in keeping me and Ned informed of new manuscript discoveries.*

[...] Just returned from AAZ [Zimin—DW] and his critique of the book. All his comments must be read in the light of what he wrote in that *Istchnikovedenie* book you reviewed, and more recently repeated in a little piece in—hold your hat—*Znanie—Sila*, 1971, No. 8, entitled: "Sushchestvoval li 'nevidimka' XVI veka?", doing in the dogadki of one Nikitin published in the two previous numbers on the imaginary son of Solomonia. In short, on the prerequisites of a satisfactory historical proof—the differences between dogadka and gipotez, the need to consider all vozmozhnosti, etc.

First, on the plus side for the book, his opening comments were that it is "blestiaschaia i vazhnaia"; he lists 12 reasons: 1. New postanovka. 2. Metodika. 3. Paleograficheskoe issled. of rukop. and relating question of time of MSS to time of appearance of works. 4. genealogia tekstov at basis of work; new and kompleksnaia genealogiia (in sense of inclusion of convoy genealogies etc. too). [Handwritten note added here in margin: But NB he did not attempt to check your re-ordering of GKI redactions, nor do I think he fully realized the import of that for basic arguments.] 5. proof the Kurbskii



sborniki of late origin—although this does not necessarily prove late origin of the works therein. 6. consideration of iazykovye plasty (but later noted you never gave any of the evidence for the separation of texts by language—I pointed out this was done by Damerau, although I haven't read his book). 7. Use of evidence of convoys and owners and demonstr. of value of this evid. 8. Textual closeness of KGI to the three "sources" shown—but not necessarily direction of borrowing; he added here, note that the texts of Isaiah and Vas'ian letter perekreshchivaiutsia. 9. Proof that text from Apostol is a second redaction vstavka—and in general proof that second redaction is such. 10. Once again proof of our need to study Posol'skii prikaz lit. activities. 11. Indic. of impt. of Shakhovskoi and the many other questions this raises. 12. Literaturovedcheskie and ideologicheskie voprosy posed by work need to be examined again now.

Basic weaknesses: gives one of several possibilities calling it the only possible or the most possible—does not treat, if only to dispose of them—the other possibilities for each point.

legkomyslennyi podkhod to many important problems—eg. question of whole lit. deiatel'nost' of Ivan and K. Garmonii of slovo i delo of what we know about Ivan from other sources and from the perepiska. Other letters etc.—specifically Teterin, Polubenskii etc. dismissed too casually.

AAZ concluded he could not prove you wrong, but you have not proven your point and the fact so many questions were only touched on in passing leaves the work incomplete. neobiazatel'nost' of conclusions.

He also added later to above list a third point—what other examples in 16th and 17th c. do we have of works written under pseudonyms?

Specifically regarding chapters:

I. Haven't proven paleographically that kratk. red. GKI is in earlier group. Noted here his own view in descr. of [GBL, Muz.—DW] 4469 in Soch. Peresvetova that K. letter first separate and only later united with G. letter—Z. feels Ivan took the K. letter and related works in [?] Pechory and then added his reply to the collection, with the final stage in the growth of the material coming with addition of materials from Kurbskii archive in 17th c. Haven't proven that letters were not in the Tsar's archive; this possibility that they were is in his view equally likely.

II. Strongest point is textual argument on 1st letter. But need to search in church literature of time. Z. misunderstood here an important point—that Isaiah wrote in Muscovy not in Ukraine; here he indicated that the location of Isaiah and Kurbskii outside of Muscovy suggested possible connection—I corrected his misunderstanding. Possible that Shakhovskoi knew the works of Kurbskii—I objected here about the direction of borrowing shown by the

textology, but Z. didn't buy that. Regarding the spletenie tekstov he referred me to his article on the Pskov apostol and Slovo. A strong argument, but here not convincing. Biographical facts of the letters—he insists nothing in K's biography contradicts possibility that he wrote letters—which means coincidence with Shakhov. biog. does not weight arg. in your favor. Also noted sources better for 17th c. to establ. facts of Shakhovskoi biog. Specifically passage in letter to Vas. about potrebota zhizni—K. could have asked for them before left.

Z. claims never did buy open letter argument of Lur'e and hence nothing added by what you said on score. Much lost argument—opis' after 1626 fire shows why some things lost and some not (incidentally the opis' is coming out soon—in index compiling stage Shmidt has told me—expect it in the coming year). Argument from silence here not disposed of—Z. says he has similar passage about lost copies in his work on Slovo and there the argumentation sound but here it is not: No Fedorov copy if 2nd red. is in fact 17th c. No Isaiah copy if obshchii istochnik—etc.—all would disappear but for Ivan's copy in the archive and Kurbskii's copy. Here according to Z you have 2-oi etazh dogadki.

Does not buy the textology of Lyzlov to Istoriia, but thinks in fact comparison shows reverse (says he checked this). EG. ty/my opposition or mili/versty proves nothing for you.

In general feels you have too many dogadki instead of gipotezy and in this respect puts the work in the category of "romanticheskie" works (he would include work of Skrynnikov here).

A couple of specific refs.: note A. P. Barsukov, Spiski gorodovykh vovod for Shakhovskoi refs. and note Tikhomirov, Russkaia kultura collection of articles, p. 339 on Fedorov/Kurbskii connection or lack thereof. Mentioned also his (Z's) article on Pesni ob Ivane as works of 1630's—but this in connection now fuzzy. He used as one example of onesidedness in considering possibilities your passing disposal of Ivan's library, without mentioning views to contrary such as his and Tikhomirov's articles.

Z. concluded when I pressed the point that he will continue to accept the traditional datings and authenticity of texts as supported by the complex of the other writings, facts of 16th c. etc. etc.—at least for now.

I spent most of the time listening and didn't attempt to rebut each of his points—for what does one say when the argument has all been laid out clearly and the opponent in the debate says that there is this and this alternative each or all of which might be considered in his view equally likely. A couple of times I tried insisting that his alternatives were not equally likely, but he wouldn't buy that. While I would in general agree with his and Lure's views



on dogadka, gipotez, need to consider all sides and dispose of the contrary ones, etc., I don't think in most cases he applies such points fairly to the book, and I sense a certain tendency toward a nihilism that says anything is equally likely and hence you can't prove a thing. If someone wants to argue that way, what can one say?

Anyway, so much for today's session (at which, incidentally, Rykov was present—will get to him in a minute). Last week spent a delightful 5 or 6 hours with AAZ on first meeting—having both obed and uzhin u nego and running over a range of topics from the book and Rykov's work to a checklist of which Soviet colleagues in Z's view are good historians and which bad, to some remarks in the direction of one R. Jakobson of a nature you can well imagine, to philosophizing on human existence, to problems of raising or as it were not being able to raise a hippie-inclined teenager, etc.

[...] All in all he is such a marvellous person one wonders what the hell the Inst. Ist. SSSR did to deserve someone like him.

Shmidt—one of Z.'s enemies to whom he does not speak—is, as one might expect, a different type. Vague, a bit condescending, ready to polemicize with your book before he sees it etc. He introduced himself to me in the library. His book is in final stages and will appear in the coming year. When I offered to show him yours, he took a look (after informing me it would be easier for him in German) and then quickly remarked, perhaps he had better not as he might want to hold up his own to polemicize with you. Among other things in his work, he peels off several sections of the K. history and concludes that it was probably put together from unfinished notes left by K. at his death. Z. tells me S. has dated the litsevoi svod to 1580 at earliest on basis of WMs; this of course affects conclusions on the supposed relationship of pripiski to History. One ref. from S. that you may have missed: S. D. Balukhatyi, "Perevody kn. Kurbskago i Tsiseron," *Germes: illustrirovannyi nauchno-pop. vestnik antichnago mira*, t. 18 (1916), Nos. 5/6, 109–122. He did compare carefully the translation with Latin original, but with the original given by Kunts.—noting that the variants suggest a definite ed. but among those he knew of prior to time of translation (late 3rd quarter 16th c) one did not find them. Notes translation not very accurate. Article of course sidesteps the big issue, but will collect a Xerox for future ref. I finally decided to tell Shmidt about the new letter to Bathory [in MS. GIM, Muz. 1551—DW]—he suggested publishing it here; I told him fine, providing I would be permitted a skeptical introduction. The question of publ. may be more firmly answered this week. If S. steals the letter I will raise holy hell. Incidentally, Z. was the one who checked it out last year for me via NNB [Bolkhovitinov—DW]. Shmidt clearly has nothing new for us

and his book probably will be a sorry affair. He has given considerable attention to translations supposedly by Kurbskii; remains to be seen what he has to say on that score. Is checking the 16th c. copies of *Novyi Margarit*, of which there would appear to be some—I must look at them too sometime.

Rykov, to change to a more likeable person, but hardly personality, did his work as a senior thesis under Zimin's direction. It is more substantial than his article or other article in similar publication would lead one to believe—he has studied around 70 copies of the *ist.* (many of them late), and a preliminary classification of the redactions is to appear in *AE* some time in the near future. His textology is spotty though and he has not really sorted on the fine level—eg. ideas about the Golitsyn series being the earliest one had not really crossed his mind. He is presently working in *RO GBL* describing *MSS* and has little time for independent *nauchnaia rabota*. Have gotten a number of new *MS* numbers from him—including a 17th (?) c. copy in *Khar'kov* with the *Gol.* inscription, and another archival copy he thinks might be the oldest on the basis of *WMs*. The work is focussed on the *Istoriia* as a source for the *oprichnina*; he is carefully comparing its information with that of all other sources. I don't think he is terribly sharp, but it would appear he is head and shoulders above *Konstantin Andreevich Uvarov*, who had been working on the *Slovo*; whose work with *MSS* raises doubts among previously mentioned individuals; whose advisor, incidentally, is *Robinson*. People I have talked with so far would not be at all surprised if he erred in dating the *Undol'skii MS* [*GPB*, *Undol.* 720—*DW*] which I hope to see tomorrow—have looked at the *pocherk* on film and it is very suspicious for 16th c.[...]

Despite *Likhachev's* letter, *Archive* is refusing me material in the *Pol'skie dela*, claiming it has no relevance to a literary topic. Also, *Avtokratova*, the head of the place, lied to my face about one *delo* I got a ref. to from *Belobrova*—in *Grecheskie dela*—claimed they have no such work [...] Did check *Simeon Bekbulatovich* and for some reason did get the *poslaniia ot imeni boiar*. The former has a fragment of a 16th century *WM*, and in my opinion, even though this does not tell us whose joke, it must be considered from paper and *pocherk* to be 16th c. The *poslaniia ot imeni boiar* are correctly dated on paper evidence by *Lur'e*; only other note is that title of *Ivan*, which *L.* did not give in texts includes *vseia sibirskie zemli*. Regarding the *chelobitnaia*, it is probable that the article indicating that was 17th c. term is simply in error. In other words, we have added plus and minus, as *Zimin* does in weighing your work, and arrived at zero [...]

I am systematically checking all editions of *Guagnini* in *GBL*—surprised there are so many *Swiss*, *Dutch* and other eds. Did find one passage you may have missed in the 1578 *Latin* original:



Quidam etiam Wlodimirus Morozow cognominatus, vir celebra te famae insignio & maturae aetatis, grauitateque plenus Palatinus, semel quadam misericordia motus cedere fecit humi miserum hominem, qui Magni Ducis imperio interfectus fuerat. Is autem homo fuerat famulus Ducis Curpiskij, qui ad Regem Poloniae defecerat. Hanc itaque ab causam Magnus Dux arguebat hunc Wlodimirum perfidiae, acsi a partibus fugitui Curpiskij staret, & in Lithuaniam ad ipsum literas dedisset. Itaque subito coniectus est in carceres, ubi cum longissimo temporis interuallo haesisset, extractus & oblatus est Magni Duci, cum esset in suo palatio & aula Regia, Alexandrowa dicta, discruciatuque est maximis tormentis, cum ab eo nihil extorquere potuissent, tandem mortuus & cadauer in aquas coniectum est. (Descr. of Muscovy, fol. 37).

Also have begun to check L'vov Apostol. Only one copy in TsGADA and it tells us nothing—a late acquisition. There apparently [are] no eds. of Cicero of what one needs—if there is one, it is misshelved and cannot be located. I have gotten the librarian there to cooperate with me in searching for these; so the information should be ok. I plan to check Fedorov in GIM (4 copies) and GBL before returning to Leningrad where will do the same in repositories there.

I am in passing getting some of own work done [...]

Regarding Zimin's comments on the book—the above is all you get—he had me take notes as he is not going to write them to you himself [...]

I am toying with the idea of trying to get Likhachev to accept for the Trudy a "Reply to D. N. Al'shits" on the question of manuscript descriptions (new AE I sent you). If you have any ideas po etomu povodu, please send them. I can of course do a review for Kritika—including the new BAN vol. that is nearly out, the continuation of G&N [Gorskii and Nevostruev—DW] by GIM and Al'shits own Erm. Sobr. along with his article. But I really think we must come down hard on that here in print. Someone else well may, but perhaps they need a push. I am told that they had a three day conference in Leningrad a year ago on the problems of MS descriptions—in particular with regard to this union catalogue of pre-15th c. MSS; the various khranilishche could not agree on a standard form and left with the understanding that each would follow its own rules. There really is no rationality in the world. Likhachev proposed to Shmidt long ago the beginning of a kartoteka of pocherki under central auspices (arkheografich. kom. for eg.); I mentioned this to Shmidt when I saw him, along with the idea of a kartoteka filigranei. He clearly is not interested.

Spent a delightful evening with Klepikov, who is well into his 70's but still actively working on the history of paper manufacture in 18th c. Russia [...]

Undol'skii No. 720 is from the 1630's—good WM identifications. That Uvarov clearly must be an idiot judging from his notes on the WMs and moreover, had he looked at the pencilled note from Undol' or some reader of half a century ago, he would have seen a ref. to precisely the Tromonin mark one finds on the pp. with the Kurbskii letter. It is dangerous to have someone like Uvarov around. Incidentally, Zimin does not expect we will ever find a 16th c. MS of the perepiska—but for rather different reasons—his vymysl' about the archive.

I have Rykov's dissertation in hand and will try to go through it by the beginning of next week. Uvarov has apparently stolen some of Rykov's work—beginning his study of the "Istoriia" and K. works at a later date and not doing independent searching at first to find MSS. All concerned missed the pencilled note in MGAMID no. 60 telling the last 50 or 60 years of scholars that the Guagnini translations there are from the Polish edition of 1611....Likhachev clearly was right in his lament for the decline of philology, etc. Come to think of it, undoubtedly his remarks on that occasion were as much directed against Z. as anyone else [...]

*[Added in pen: ]*

P.S. Have found Egyptian Hieroglyphs in w/ papers of Приказ Тайных дел—need to date though...

*[Added in pen at top of p. 1 of letter:]*

PS I hope you are saving all my letters—I would like copies as a Хроника for personal archive.

*Excerpts from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, January 5, 1972, typescript.*

Just got yours of Dec 18, with news of AAZ's reaction, about which more later [...]

Obviously AAZ read the thing more sympathetically and more attentively than anyone so far over there (although judging from a few of the misconceptions which you corrected for him, maybe a few points still haven't gotten to him). It was nice of him to find 12 plusy. As to the basic weakness—giving only one of the several possibilities, he is right, of course,



but I agree with you that not all of the the possibilities are ravnoznachny, and I just didn't want to go into every little point, since the purpose of the whole exercise was to make one, I think major, point.

He is annoyed by my legkomyslennost' in general—he mentioned it in some other connection in a nice letter he sent me before you saw him. But better legkomyslennost' than tiazhelodumnost', I would say, and as to the lit. deiatel'nost' of K & G, nous verrons. As to his question of other pseudonymous works of the 16th and 17th centuries, I would be only half-joking if I were to name, naprimer, Ivashka Peresvetov....

I can't say I'm flattered to be a "romantik" along with Skrynnikov....

I did see Barsukov, Spiski... while in Oxford, but didn't think it added anything worth stopping the presses for. I'll add it in "Son of G-K Apocrypha". Also saw Tikhomirov on Fedorov, and AAZ on the library. Perhaps should of mentioned them, but it would just have involved space and time devoted to citing them then putting their arguments down, and I didn't want to include AAZ in the rather sharptongued things I said about the mythical library. Legkomyslennost'.

Of course if Isaiia pereklikaetsia with Vas'ian (it is not too striking, as I recall) then my dogadka that Sh. is somehow involved with the Vas'ian letters becomes, by' mozhet, a gipotez?

Your account of your encounter with S. O. Sh. is classic, but I do look forward to the things he is publishing. I hope he has some good evidence about the Litsevoi svod [*handritten addition in margin*: Grobovsky writes that he is not convinced about K-G, because of the Al'shits приписки business, which he takes as proof of ca 1565 existence of переписка...] and the "layers of the Istoriia". They will be useful in the next round.

Don't get a xerox of the Balukhatyi because I read it and got a xerox in Helsinki last year. I didn't add it because as you say, it sidesteps the big issue [...]

[*handwritten note in margin*:]

PS. I am, of course, saving all of your letters. They're more interesting than many Barsukov published.

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, February 9, 1972, photocopy of typescript.*

[...] Talked at length with Luře yesterday, agitating him a bit on the subject of the book. I stressed the importance of his sending you his critique as soon as possible. He has made some progress in his thoughts about it (perhaps under the influence of conversation with AAZ?), and is at least willing to concede you raise many important questions that cannot be swept under the rug. It is incredible though how little he knows about some of the sticky problems raised by the manuscript traditions. Eg., the difference in trad. of the Vas'ian letters 1 and 2 from No. 3, the fact the best MS of 1 and 2 not attributed to Kurbskii, and of course all the new questions raised about the composition of the original Kurbskii sborniki (see my somewhat incomplete and perhaps not entirely accurate supplement to the material for my chapter 4 that I sent with corrections a week or so ago). It appears that Likhachev is going to review the book for Russkaia literatura; since in recent memory they have printed both sides of a hot argument, perhaps they would give you space for a reply... I made it clear to Luře (who is talking in terms of an article or the like in Jahrbücher [rather than a review here?]) that it was important above all if one was going to say the book raises many important questions that must be answered, to say that in print here where people can get to the MSS. He of course still does not buy the arguments, but I am beginning to wonder how carefully he has read it—he did not remember that in the book you spelled out the reasons why Isaiah must be first and Kurbskii second (he did recall you had written this in a letter); I really think he has not come to grips with a lot of the argument. He still falls back on stylistic things, the connection with apparently real letters (eg., cited Johann) in the sense of style and manners or lack thereof. He says this would have to mean that the author of the letters looked in the archive (I said, why not?). He then went on to say he was quite sure Ivan personally probably did not put pen to paper but worked through secretaries. He keeps falling to Ivan's letter as the point d'appui, but I reminded him that the Kurbskii letter is the one that has to be dealt with first, and that that is precisely the reason why you did not treat fully (and as Z would have it, treated legkomyslenno) the remainder of the "corpus" [...]



*Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, undated (between February 9 and February 23, 1972), photocopy of typescript. The paper given by Gol'dberg appeared subsequently in TODRL.*

[...] Gol'dberg doklad in PD last week brilliant: thorough textual and manuscript analysis of letters of Filofei reveals he did not write any but for the one to Misiur-Munekhin. That is dated po Gol'dbergu ca. 1523; others probably ca. 1526 and ca. 1550. Latter two dates not too solid, but in general a marvellous piece of work, despite Likhachev's comment that it was "similiruiushchii [sic], no nichego ne dokazano." With that thought, I close for now. D.

[*Added handwritten note in margin:*]

P.S. In commentary about doklad more намеки about the book without specifying whom they were referring to—seem to think you have improperly used convoy analysis & imply you have placed its evidence above textual evidence.

*Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, February 14, 1972, typescript.*

[...] Very interesting to hear of Gol'dberg's doklad. Your typewriter produced DSL's comment as "similiruiushchii, no nichego ne dokazano". As is, I would apply to certain well known works. DSL must wonder whether the times are out of joint [...]

*Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, March 13, 1972, handwritten.*

[...] I have a long letter at last from Лурье. He doesn't like "порядок изложения" because it would lead the reader to believe that the basic argument "исходит" from the absence of MSS.—and, of course, many things have not survived... He does see that Ch. II is crucial, tho' he does come around to "Действительно...трудно отстаивать соотношение К" but

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Исайя Хвор

he ends, after some arguments I haven't checked, "значит, возможны либо соотношение Исая→К→Хр, (если Исая писал до 1564 г.) либо предположение об общем источнике Х. He continues, with ссылка to

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И К Хр

Панченко, to disagree about the break in prosodic organization. He seems more inclined to accept Лызлов - История. But he gives most space to general arguments, esp. stylistic & things like "если принять Вашу гипотезу, то придется предположить колоссальную работу авторов «апокрифов» над памятниками [...XVI в] лицевые своды, послания от бояр," etc.

I'll show this to you—soon, I hope—I'll xerox it in fact—& send it—the most important thing, I think, for now is that there were no big surprises, & he takes it all seriously—Otherwise no reviews [...]

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Moscow, March 14, 1972, photocopy of typescript.*

[...]Uvarov has published the first of his pirated work on Kurbskii: K. A. Uvarov, "Istoriia o velikom kniaze moskovskom' A. M. Kurbskogo v russkoi rukopisnoi traditsii XVII–XIX vv. (Arkheograficheskii obzor spiskov pamiatnika)," in Mosk. gos. ped. inst. im. Lenina, Kafedra russk. lit., Uchenye zapiski, t. 455: Voprosy russkoi literatury (k semidesiatiletiiu doktora filologicheskikh nauk professora kafedry russkoi literatury Nikolaia Vasilevicha Vodovozova), M., 1971, 61–78. There are two or three other articles of interest in the same Festschrift. No surprises in Uvarov's list—he claims to have divided the History into three redactions, but the work that did that was Rykov's, not Uvarov's; there are some other sweeping statements about how he does this or that on the basis of studying the language, style, etc. etc. of the History and other K. texts, but he of course hasn't done any of that. Rykov has put me on to another copy or two of KGI—of no particular interest but 17th c [...]

Have found in the Undoľskii collection a partial opis' of the books in fond 181 (MGAMID) of the archive. There is a typescript by Shumilov now for that fond, but I have yet to see it... Also have looked at Stroev's opis' of his MSS, also in Undoľskii. Barsukov published most of it as is; the entries for the sborniki, which he did not publish, merely give the no. of "articles" and the format, date and no. of folios. I do hope to do some matching of Stroev



pieces when I return to Leningrad. I have a third piece of the 1573 sbornik now, the last page of which, crossed out and pasted over, is the first page of my *Povest' o Pakhomii* from 1573. Pogod. 1503, 1573, and 1629 were thus all part of the same sbornik; my guess is that there is at least one more part of it to go. I hope to get permission to poke in the khranilishche so I can pull the things down off the shelf and match them more quickly. NB that in the big black "Slovo" book, Dmitrieva has a note about Stroev cutting out a piece of a Kirillov-Belooz. mon. sbornik and putting it in what is now Pogod. 1556 (if I recall correctly). I am going to try doing a little soobshchenie for the Trudy if I get some additional material [...]

*Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 5, 1972, photocopy of handwritten text.*

[...] Finally in LOII where have looked at Cossack переписка—just like куранты physically but nothing in text that helps much. Can only be a copy I think—not the orig. for other copies. Began on the Лихачев copy of *Посл. Кирилло-Белозерск. мон.*—MS of mid-17th c. (WM two-headed eagle of G. types 1640's & ca. 1650, w. cm PDB). Very suspicious for what Лихачев (Д.С.) claims it to be—1st 10 or 12 лл. are normal neat скороп. with the marginalia & instructions on 3-4 pp. in text & in margin; then at end final portion of text, which seems to have been copied separately with 1st part of text—again neat & normal. Will check more closely soon. MS was in Александрo-Свирский мон. in last century & passed through Stroev's hands at one pt. [...]

*Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, April 11, 1972, typescript.*

[...] As you can imagine, I am not astonished that that Likhachev copy of the Poslanie v KBM turns out to be as you describe—indeed I would be astonished if it were to be as he described it...Also not surprised at Rykov's article on the spiski, which I have now read in Greg's copy of AE: I am in particular struck by the so-called "kompilativnaia redaktsiia" which "omits" precisely the portions which I assume to have been taken from the Skifskaiia (or the Zasekina, as you suggest) istoriia and also the description of the Livonian campaigns which will eventually, unless I miss my guess, be identified with one or another of the Polish accounts of those campaigns. Thus again we have a [*handwritten addition in margin: double*] textological

triangle, and the preferred assumption is that Rykov's is not kompilativnaia, but kompilatorskaia, i.e. used by the compiler of the so-called polnaia. The komp. red. is known in only three copies (GIM sinod 483; GBL Nevostruev, 42; GPB F.XVII, No. 11/iz sobr F. A. Tolstoia) of which I know the convoy only of the last. If you get a glance...

Another mad idea, about Peresvetov. If one speaks only of spiski which have the chelobitnye (esp. kratkaia), one gets a ranniaia gran' of perhaps ca. 1640, n'est-ce pas? Now take a few minutes to read the Moldovskaia perepiska of A. L. Ordin-Nashchekin recently published by someone whose name I can't recall [*handwritten note added in margin*: И. В. Галактионов, Ранняя переписка А. Л. О-Н. (1642–45) Саратов, 1968], and tell me whether his letters—esp. the more obsequious and opportunate ones—aren't a parody of Peresvetov (or byť mozhnet naoborot?). How do you like those apples? Tut i izrecheniia moldavskogo voevody i opisanie turetskogo dvora i vsevozmozhnye "kak tebe nravitsia moia sluzhbishka..."

Another review, Novoe russkoe slovo: "Perepiska Kurbskogo s Grozным—apokrif." Nothing very serious (rets. Arkadii Borman) but likes it: "(Trud prof. Kinnena) otkryvaet shirokie gorizonty dlia obdumyvaniia predmeta dazhe ne spetsialistami."

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 11, 1972, photocopy of typescript*

[...] I had a long session with Skrynnikov about the book—rather a peculiar affair, but typical I guess—he insisted that I recount for him the major points before he reads it (the question then arises, will he actually read it) and indicate to him what pages certain things are found on. He had some explanation or another for all the points you raise about the letter to Vas'ian: eg., the profound peace is due to the successes in the war that put all of the territory SE of Pechory in Muscovite hands and cut off attacks from that direction; he insists on Kurbskii being forced to leave without his valuables (including wife and son); he cites Adashev being sent to Iur'ev effectively in exile as an example of using it as a place of exile. And in general, he falls back on citing KGI to support authenticity of Vas'ian or vice versa. Thinks you didn't read his article carefully—but it seemed to me he had a hard time finding the arguments he thought were there. And, of course, he has yet to read the book (much less, carefully, which one doubts he will do). I will undoubtedly have a long session with him in another couple of weeks, but I don't expect much [...]



Have been having some interesting conversations in the Publichka lately on questions of descriptions in general and the Pogodin coll. in particular. I do hope to have time to sort out the Stroevev sborniki before I leave; I am rounding up some support for the effort (Granstrem is particularly enthusiastic). They are still discussing the fate of the description project for the collection—the woman who has been working on it has let the thing drag on over years (if I heard G. correctly—17 to date) and is simply not up to putting things in order so that any of what she has done can be used. I gather they are talking now about reproducing her cards—making usable copies of them or the like—but that still covers only the first 1000 MSS or so. G. and others are really down on the head of the person who has been working on the collection (Kopreeva). Judging from the conversation with Kop. I can see why. I didn't realize that she is the author of a couple of articles on Russo-Polish relations in the 1660's—which was the subject of her dissertation [...]

Have indirectly Crummey's reaction to the book—perhaps will be able to give you a quote next time I write. At its worst—and he seems to feel this goes for a lot of it I gather—it is cavalier, and at its best stimulating but not convincing. He advised his grad student here to beware of the Harvard school of sceptical textology or whatever he called it. His grad. student (Rowland), has discovered an interesting link for the Khvorostinin tale about the smuta in Q.IV.172. The zapis' there appears to be part of a much longer one found on at least two MSS now in BAN that were given to the Antoniev Siiskii Monastery by Patr. Adrian in the last quarter of the 17th c. The hand in the Khvorostinin may well be the same as in one of the BAN MSS that apparently was copied in the Patriarchal scriptorium late in the 17th c.

Made a not half bad lemon meringue pie recently that was quite a revelation to those here who had never seen such a thing before, much less tasted one...

On that mouthwatering note, I remain, etc.

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, April 21, 1972, photocopy of typescript.*

Thanks for yours of the 11th, which came today. I think somewhere I wondered the same about the 'kompil. red.'; I tried to get the Sinod. 483 text on film but was refused it because of the state of the MS I gather. It is short enough so that if I get back, which I hope to do, I will try to copy it and describe the MS properly. I have looked at that MS a couple of times but never got around to doing a description. It is fascinating—contains Dorofei

and or Kigala (see the passing reference somewhere in Lebedeva [*handwritten note added in margin*: See also Савва under Хрон. Дорофеея]) in a copy full of all sorts of corrections, pasted in listy, notations in Greek Latin and Georgian etc. The MS also contains adjoining the Kurbsky (sic) a fragment from Guagnini, the tale of Two Embassies and I don't know off hand what else. It undoubtedly holds clues to the circle responsible for the Kurbskii; the dating is 1680's or thereabouts—but I doubt earlier [...]

I am preparing a doklad on the Stroev MSS—at present am looking at as many as I can get my hands on and hope to shove the bezdel'tsy here off in the right direction. Has created a flap in GPB that I am doing this—they fear my paper will be another revelation to their embarrassment as was the one by Joan Afferica a couple of months ago. They have not gotten over that. I hope to give the paper in the OR to be able to show examples (latest finds: last part of Pogod. 1576 is first part of 1503, 1573, 1629; some of that MS is still missing. Rowland, Crummey's student, has established to my satisfaction that Khvorostinin in Q.IV.172 is from the beginning of BAN D.412 (descr. in Op. III, 1 or IV, 1 - Khronography etc.). A few pieces in Pogod. 1568 and in 1562 or thereabouts were cut out of Sinod. 850, which Stroev gives extensive contents from throughout bibliol. slovar'). It is clear that the vast majority of the Stroev sborniki consist of fragments stolen from all hell and gone all over the place—it is really incredible. And what a job to put everything back together again. There is bound to be some general obsuzhdenie of the problems of descriptions which will mean that Al'shits will get it in the other ear—Kukushkina is preparing a blast against his AE article in an obsuzhdenie of the last three years of AE coming up in a week [...]

I'm afraid you will have to throw the petition to Simeon Bekbul. out of the 17th century at least for the time being and at least for the reason you gave for putting it there. See S. S. Volkov, "Iz istorii russkoi leksiki. II. Chelobitnaia," LGU, Russikaia istoricheskaia leksikologiya i leksikografiia, I, Izd. LGU, 1972, esp. 53–54. Appears term used in 16th c.; the Petition is not the only evidence. Will send you that sbornik if I get to another copy—some other interesting materials.

Interesting that Lur'e even confessed that his first impression of the Letter to Stefan Bathory from Muz. 1551 is that it is too good to be true and might well be a 17th c. forgery. Progress? Likhachev wanted to publ. it in Trudy and was I think a bit peeved that Shmidt got it first. Hope to give them my Stroev coll. piece and the Vlachos pamphlet Odolenie before leaving. Granstrem compared the latter for me with the Greek fragment of the original and sees the peculiarities of the language largely as due to the slavish



rendering from the Greek—didn't note any particular South Slavisms or the like and thinks most likely the trans. is the work of one of the Greeks in Muscovy of mid-century [...]

*Excerpts from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, May 9, 1972, photocopy of typescript with long handwritten addition.*

[... ] Skrynnikov is up to his ears in your book, but it is clear he simply does not understand the language, much less more serious questions. We will hash the whole thing over before I leave, if he gets through it by then. Have met one of his studentki who is working on the "History"—trying to show that the author of it used GKI and K-Vas'ian. Her work I would guess is too much that of studentka to be of interest—judging from the general trend of conversation. Rykov is defending his piece (basically the diplomn. rabota that I looked through) as a kandidat: it is interesting to note some of the changes made as a result of his conversations with me. Will give you a comparison of texts at some point. I am to talk about my G.-Bathory letter in the kafedra this week, raising of course the issue of authenticity of other works, which I think will be quite new to all present who probably have not yet heard of the book. Have a copy of the komp. red. of the Istoriia from F.XVII.11; have ordered a film of that text from the Nevostruev MS, without any guarantee I will get it. Have more on Sin. 483 from Kuntsevich's partial description in the proofs for Vol. II [...]

Incidentally, we know at least that Скрынников has had the book on his mind—that студентка says he has been talking about it all year. The session in LOII devoted to обсуждение of АЕ за последние три года was rather dull. Альшиц was only partially kicked around as Шмидт carefully diverted a full-scale discussion [...]

*Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, May 15, 1972, typescript.*

[... ] Have I told you about Grobovsky's letter about Skrynnikov? S. wrote him asking about my book, more precisely about where on which pages the main points were...I have already sent something like ten copies of the book, and heard not a word about any arriving. I think I shall have to get a subsidy and some plain brown wrappers...No comments from any western colleagues yet, save a cordial but noncommittal note from Fennell [...]

*Excerpt from DCW to ELK, Leningrad, May 15, 1972, photocopy of typescript.*

[...] Gave my otchet today, expecting at least a question or two about The K-G Apocrypha, which I very pointedly brought into the discussion of my Groznyi-Bathory letter. There was utter, total and dead silence when I finished talking, but for a rather peculiar commentary on me and my work (as is customary) by my advisor Demkova. She has really been getting on my back lately; I sense that either because I push too hard and am trying to cover too much ground, or for some other reason, there is a certain frost in the air where I go here these days. Had a long talk with Dvoretkaia, now heading the old MS group in GPB; it took a while to convince her I needed to see something with Shakhovskoi in it and in general to explain why I was looking at such a wide variety of things under such a broad topic—I'm not sure she was convinced either. Clearly my presence there has upset some people in the organization...Dvoretkaia, as I understand it, is a good friend of Kagan and apparently thinks I've done the latter in [...]

*Excerpt from ELK to DCW, Cambridge, April 7, 1973, typescript with added handwritten note dated April 23 and enclosed photocopies showing textual relationships of the "first Kurbskii letter" to its sources (including the short chronicle published by Koretskii) and the "Relation of presumed sources to 'Istoriia o vel. kn. moskovskom', both of which appeared in print later in approximately the same form. I seem to have mislaid the third enclosure which he describes. Some of the comments refer to the account of K. A. Uvarov's dissertation defense which Iu. D. Rykov sent me in a letter dated March 8, 1973.*

[...] Since our friend Uvarov seems to specialize in otkrytie razlichnikh amerik, I suppose the Ukrainian archival documents he mentions are those published in Ivanishev (i.e. not Kuntsevich) or in (less likely) Akty Vil'enskoi kommissii or the Kiev kom dlia razbora... I'll take a look when I get time (probably not until summer, which I hope to devote entirely to my own work). As to Uvarov's thesis (IMLI I suppose is Inst mirovoi lit. i iskusstva) I can't say much other than to express my tentative agreement with you and Rykov that that feller's mighty strange. All of that business about the Swedish diplomat is in fact mentioned in the book (p. 91) [...] I enclose a tentative chart of the way the Istoriia seems to go together—I have pages and pages of parallel examples—although since reading Kappeler's book (actually I have not finished it) I want to look again at some possible other sources.



The full historical evolution of the text is of course much more complex than that shown here; there are [*crossed out*: almost] certainly sources which I haven't yet noticed. The striking thing is how little of what one might call original matter there is in a text that is in a number of ways—in zamysel and genre—something of an innovation. One thinks of course of *Istoriia skifov*...

Other enclosures: one a graphic spread gotten up for the Columbia seminar about which more below. It shows—the only thing of interest for you—how the piece from that Koretskii “letopisets” fits in. The ms is interesting in a number of ways, as you know, including a rather extensive textual relationship with the “second” letter to Vas'ian NB esp Kuntsevich col 391 etc. And, as you know, the rest of the convoy...

The other thing enclosed is a graphic representation of the probabilities of preservation of mss of the *Istoriia* given a) fixed rate of reproduction (i.e. avg.) based on number of copies in existence (i.e. probability not of appearance but of copying); b) fixed probability of destruction in any year between base year (1570 or 1670) and present. What the thing seems to show is that under the same rates of production and presentation [*sic*] exhibited by the known extant mss the number of extant mss for years before 1670 should be as on the second curve (the lightest one; somewhat illegibly marked “Estimated extant number of copies, base 1570”). As you can see, the curve goes off the chart fifty or so years before the real one, and as I understand what the statisticians say the odds that all pre-1670 copies of a text that behaves the way this one does after ca 1670 being lost are very small. Now if one were to be consistent about degrees of probability and certitude in such matters, one might think of this evidence alone as sufficient to place the burden of proof on the yea-sayers. But everyone—really quite universally—rejects this notion, and even the attempt, so I shall not pursue it further.

I took this and other items to the Columbia seminar the other day (Ševčenko, Roublev, Cherniavsky, Haimson, Monas, Mathewson, Picchio, Raeff, Belnap, Levin, Wortman, Kaminski, and a couple of others [*added in margin*: also Peter Scheibert]) but what they really wanted to talk about was the Correspondence, so we went at it hard and heavy for about four hours. Little to report for the annals of science, but it was a good tussle and people had done their homework (with the aid, particularly, of DSL's review). Principal objections concern *cui bono* and particularly the “whole ‘kitaiskaia rabota’” of the seventeenth century, and resistance to the “directions” indicated in the textual quadrangle or polygon. Most interesting to me were Kaminski's report that, beginning as a skeptic, he set out to find in the Polish documentation of the various elections to the throne for which either Ivan or any Russian was a candidate, on the assumption that works like Kurbskii's if

they existed must have been known to members of the Sejm and would have been mentioned. He says he kept going, having found no mention in the 16th c., and found nothing until after the election of 1668. This he feels is a kind of independent negative evidence—in a well-documented context—that makes him accept my basic thesis. Also, Ševčenko finally declared himself that “as a matter of belief” he now held to the view that, whatever the other problems involved in the genesis and growth of the Corr., it must be later than the Khvorostinin text. [*Added in pen in margin: Since then—indication that Cherniavsky coming over.*] [...]

[*In handwritten note of April 23 at end, giving various advice concerning in part my career:*] [...] And it probably would not be a bad idea to get yourself firmly established in people’s minds independently of Keenan’s mad fantasy [...]