



The Archetype of the First Edition of the "Igor Tale" (with an Appendix by William A. Jackson)

Citation

Jakobson, Roman. 1952. The Archetype of the First Edition of the "Igor Tale" (with an Appendix by William A. Jackson). Harvard Library Bulletin VI (1), Winter 1952: 5-13.

Link

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The Archetype of the First Edition of the *Igor Tale*

EARLY in the sixteenth century four secular literary texts of Kievan Russia were copied, apparently from one and the same old manuscript, by a scribe connected with Pskov, as his spelling reveals. His book included three translations made or reshaped in Russia before the Tatar invasion (*Legend of the Indian Kingdom*, *Tale of Akir the Wise*, and *Deeds and Life of Digenis Akritas*, all three in the most archaic of their Slavonic versions) and one original work, the *Tale of the Raid of Igor* (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*), mourning the ill-fated Russian expedition of 1185 against the Polovcians, and written soon after the event as an ardent and skillful appeal to the Russian princes to unify their forces against the menace of Polovcian aggression. The *Igor Tale* is the only integral epic monument of Kievan Russia which has reached us. A cornerstone of Russian literature, it stands as one of the most typical and refined achievements of the allusive and symbolic style which flooded nearly the whole of European literature in the second half of the twelfth century. Political eloquence and pure poetry, Christian eschatology and pagan survivals, oral tradition and sophisticated Byzantine patterns become whimsically entangled. The *Igor Tale* is intimately linked with many aspects of Old Russian art, both verbal and pictorial, but the familiar devices become here particularly pointed and condensed. The anonymous scribe by saving this masterpiece for posterity gave us an irreplaceable key to many literary and cultural puzzles of the Russian Early Middle Ages.¹

Toward the end of the eighteenth century this manuscript, hidden in a monastic library, was acquired for Count A. I. Musin-Puškin's renowned collection of Old Russian writings, and in 1812 it perished with the whole treasure-house of this cultivated dignitary in one of the fires which devastated Moscow under Napoleon's occupation.

¹ For the place of the *Igor Tale* in Russian and world literature and for a summary of the recent investigations see my paper, 'The Puzzles of the *Igor Tale*,' *Speculum*, XXVII, 1 (January, 1952).

Many old Russian texts have survived in a single copy. Thus of the *Igor Tale*, besides a number of approximate quotations and paraphrases in some writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we know only Musin-Puškin's manuscript or — more exactly — its two reproductions: (1) the so-called Archives version, a copy made toward 1796 for the Empress Catherine and found in her Archives; (2) the *editio princeps*, prepared from the original manuscript by the Count with two archivists, A. Malinovskij and N. Bantyš-Kamenskij, and issued in Moscow on the fifth of December 1800. Of this edition only a few copies have been preserved.² The Archives version, quoted usually as *A*, and the *editio princeps*, quoted as *P*, often differ from each other in the pattern of their mistakes and modernizing misspellings. We have based our critical edition of the *Tale*³ on a systematic comparative study of *A* and *P*, which permits a more accurate reconstruction of the original text.

In order to detect the deviations from the lost manuscript in its reproductions *A* and *P* we must make the best possible acquaintance with the laboratory work of Musin-Puškin and his collaborators. The printer S. Selivanovskij stated that the editors 'frequently made corrections in the proofs, to publish the original accurately, and therefore printing advanced slowly.'⁴ This testimony has now been corroborated by new material evidence.

First N. Zarubin, a specialist in Old Russian literature, described a copy strangely deviating from the standard of the first edition of the *Igor Tale*.⁵ In this copy, inherited by the Leningrad Public Library from Byčkov's collection, the long footnote (Ψ)⁶ on pp. 15–16 substantially differs from the standard. The footnote in the usual copies identifies the Prince Boris Vjačeslavlič mentioned in the *Tale*, whereas the corresponding footnote in Byčkov's copy offers nothing but groundless conjecture. Moreover, as Zarubin has exhaustively shown, the whole setting of both of these pages is different: in Byčkov's copy

² See *Literaturnaja Gazeta* (Moscow), 8 December 1950; also *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, published by A. Suvorin (St Petersburg, 1904), Preface.

³ *La Geste du Prince Igor*, ed. Henri Grégoire, Roman Jakobson, and Marc Szeftel (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, VIII, 1945–47; New York, 1948).

⁴ *Syn Otečestva*, III (1839), 17.

⁵ *Sbornik statej k sorokaletiju učenoj dejatel'nosti ak. A. S. Orlova* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 523–527.

⁶ In the present paper underlinings are used with Russian characters to indicate italic type.

they contain several printer's errors in the notes and single misprints in the upper part of p. 15 — in the Old Russian text of the left column (l. 9: Бладимиръ instead of Владимиръ) and in the translation of the right column (ll. 9-10: Влади / димиръ), while in the left column of p. 16 the standard copies have a blunder (l. 9: Kicey) absent from Byčkov's copy. Contrary to the latter, the standard copies use italics for personal names and for the city Tmutorokan'. Zarubin consulted Malinovskij's papers partly published by Barsov and Speranskij and detected that the substitution of a more accurate footnote (ψ) for a wrong one was an intervention by Malinovskij which made necessary a resetting of the entire two pages and the inserting of the new leaf to replace the old one. However, the errata added at the end did not take into account this change and still refer to a line of the canceled note.

Then, in April 1951, A. P. Struve, a distinguished Russian bibliographer in Paris, called my attention to a copy of the *editio princeps* which fully coincides with Byčkov's copy on pp. 15-16 and moreover considerably deviates from the standard specimens of this edition on pp. 1-2, 7-8, and 37-38. According to the French dealer who sold the book to Mr Struve, it had been bought at an auction in southern France some two decades ago, coming from the library of Prince Petr Aleksandrovič Oldenburg, the last of the Russian branch of this ancient family, Czar Paul's great-grandson and Czar Nicholas' brother-in-law, who after the revolution escaped from Russia to France, was there active under the pen-name Petr Aleksandrov, and died in poverty.⁷ Thanks to Aleksej Petrovič Struve, who immediately recognized the importance of this peculiar copy for the study of the *Igor Tale*, to the generosity of Bayard L. Kilgour, Jr, '27, member of the Visiting Committee of the Harvard University Library, and to the efficient cooperation of R. Gordon Wasson, member of the Visiting Committee for the Department of Slavic Languages and Literature at Harvard, this precious volume was acquired for the University and added to the collection of old Russian books and manuscripts in the Houghton Library.

Two copies of the standard form of the *editio princeps* have kindly

⁷ Born 1868, died 1924. Cf. I. A. Bunin, *Vospominanija* (Paris, 1950), pp. 130-140. It has been suggested by S. V. Šeremetev, a cousin of P. Oldenburg, that the book may well have come to the Prince from his lifelong close friend Count Vladimir Vladimirovič Musin-Puškin (born 1870). The Count's grandfather, Ivan Alekseevič (1783-1836), was the eldest son of the discoverer and editor of the *Igor Tale*, Aleksej Ivanovič Musin-Puškin (1744-1817). I am grateful to Countess E. K. Stenbok-Fermor for these genealogical data.

been lent to the Harvard Library for purposes of study. One, now in the collection of Mr Kilgour, was in 1890 owned by B. Molas; in the early nineteenth century it received the No. 232 of an unidentified private library and was provided with two pen-and-ink annotations on page [iii]. The other is in the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress (PG3300.S6. 1800) as a part of the famous Yudin (G. V. Judin) Collection; the spine of the binding bears the first two initials of a former owner, 'V. X.', the last name having been torn away. A close comparison of these standard copies⁸ with the new Harvard copy reveals that all four deviating leaves belonged to the original composition of the *editio princeps*; after the galleys had been destroyed and before the book appeared on the market these leaves were replaced by the substitutes newly set up. One unmodified copy of the original make-up has been preserved to us by chance, while in another, Byčkov's copy, only one of the rejected leaves has been preserved. The reason for all these replacements can be easily detected. While the *Tale* was still at the printer's, some of the initial comments and surmises expressed in the footnotes seemed to the editors to be too hasty and shaky; each of the four leaves which have been replaced contained such a risky footnote: one about Boris Vjačeslavlič on pp. 15-16, and the other three dealing with the singer and magician Bojan, the legendary 'nightingale of olden times' repeatedly apostrophized and cited in the *Igor Tale*.

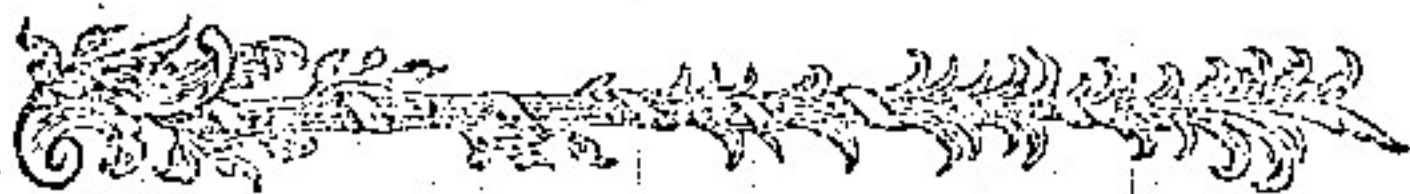
On p. 2 of the Harvard copy (which may be lettered *H*) footnote (©), devoted to Bojan, says: 'There is no evidence whether his lyre rang under Rjurik or Svjatoslav.'⁹ In *P* the corresponding passage is worded much more cautiously: 'There is no evidence when and under which ruler his lyre rang.'¹⁰ The puzzle of Bojan, supposed to be the oldest native poet, preoccupied the first editors of the *Igor Tale*, and Malinovskij, the most active among them, seems to have worked on a special paper about Bojan.¹¹ There were notable oscillations in dating

⁸ We also consulted the phototypic reproductions of the *editio princeps* published by A. Suvorin (St Petersburg, 1904), M. Speranskij (Moscow, 1920), and V. Adriaņova-Peretc (Leningrad, 1950).

⁹ При Рюрике иль Святославде гремѣла лира его . . .

¹⁰ Когда и при которомъ Государѣ гремѣла лира его . . .

¹¹ See E. Barsov, *Slovo o polku Igoreve kak xudožestvennyj pamjatnik Kievskoj družinnoj Rusi*, I (Moscow, 1887), 72; M. Speranskij, 'Pervoe izdanie Slova o polku Igoreve i bumagi A. F. Malinovskogo,' pp. 6-7, in *Slovo o polku Igoreve* (Moscow, 1920).



С Л О В О

П Ъ С Н Ъ

О ПЪЛКУ ИГОРЕВЪ (а)
ИГОРЯ СЫНА
СВЯТЪСЛАВЛЯ
ВНУКА ОЛЬГОВА.

О ПОХОДЪ ИГОРЯ
СЫНА СВЯТОСЛАВОВА,
ВНУКА ОЛЬГОВА.

Не лѣто мнѣ бляхтѣ, бра-
тѣ, на гнѣти старѣ мнѣ словес-
сы трудныхъ повѣстѣй о
пѣлку Игоревѣ, Игоря
Святъславля! нага-
ти же ся тѣмъ пѣснѣ по

Прѣлично намъ, братцы, на-
чанъ древнимъ слогомъ при-
скоубную повѣсть о походѣ
Игоря, сына Святослава!
начать же сѣю пѣснѣ по бы-
тѣямъ того времени, а не по

(а) Игорь Святославичъ родился 15 Апрѣля 1151 года; во Святомѣ
Крещенїи нареченъ Георгій; женился въ 1184 году на Княжнѣ Есф-
росинѣ, дочери Князя Ярослава Володимировича Галицкаго. —
Въ 1185 году имѣлъ сраженіе съ Половцами, а въ 1201 году
скончался, оставивъ послѣ себя пятеръ сыновей.

соколом занесе чрезъ поля
широкая; галлицы стады
бѣжать къ Дону велико-
му; или вѣспѣти было
вѣщей Бояне, Велесовъ (и)
енуте: конюхи ржущи за
Сулою; звенитъ слава въ
Кыевѣ; трубы трубятъ
въ Новгородѣ; стоятъ
стязи въ Путьчелѣ; Игорь
ждетъ мила брата Всесо-
лода. И рече ему Буй
Туръ (i) Всесолодъ: одинъ
братъ, одинъ свѣтъ свѣт-
лый ты Игорю, оба все
Святъславился; сѣдай,
брате, свои борзые коню-
хи, а мои ти готови, осѣд-
ланн у Курьска на пер-

внуку Ольгову: не буря
соколовъ занесла чрезъ поля
широкія; слетающа галки
стадами къ Дону великому.
Тебѣ бы, мудрый Боянъ,
внукъ Велесовъ! сіе воспѣть:
ржущи кони за Сулою, гре-
мятъ слава въ Кіевѣ, тру-
бятъ трубы въ Новгородѣ,
разиваютъ знамена въ Пу-
тивелѣ; ждетъ Игорь ми-
лаго брата Всесолода. Бо-
ганпырь же Всесолодъ вѣ-
щаетъ къ нему: „О Игорь!
„ты одинъ у меня братъ!
„ты одинъ у меня ясный
„свѣтъ! и мы оба сыновья
„Святославовы; ты сѣдай,
„брате, своихъ борзыхъ ко-

(и) Велесъ, Славянскій въ язычествѣ Богъ, повротившій снадь. Его считали вшорымъ по Перуну. Моженъ быль *Боянъ* былъ пасхухъ, и онъ того названъ внукомъ *Велесовымъ*. Названіе *Боянъ* внукомъ *Велесовымъ* доказываетъ, что онъ жилъ до принятія въ Россіи Христіанской вѣры.

(i) Буй значить дикій, а туръ вола. И такъ *Буйтуромъ*, или *буйволомъ*, называюща здѣсь *Всесолодъ*, въ смыслѣ Метафори-

PLATE II

THE Igor Tale, 1800 (H) : p. 7

Bojan's activity. *P* censored the allusions of *H* to the time of the first famous rulers — Rjurik (†879) and Svjatoslav (†972). At the earlier stage of these studies, Bojan was guessed to have been active about the time of the Prince Vseslav (†1101). In *A* the corresponding footnote states: 'There is no indication in the chronicles as to what time he lived. But from the later part of this Tale it is seen that he had sung Vseslav's deeds.'¹²

On p. 7, *H* develops a surmise regarding the pre-Christian frame of Bojan's activity. The footnote (¶) remarks that Veles was the Slavic pagan god protecting the cattle: 'He was considered the second after Perun. Perhaps Bojan was a shepherd and is therefore named the grandson of Veles. Since Bojan is called the grandson of Veles, this proves that he lived before the conversion of Russia to Christianity.'¹³ *P* changes this categorical assertion to a mere supposition and strikes out the conjecture as to Bojan's being a shepherd: 'Judging from Bojan's being called grandson of Veles, it seems that he lived before the conversion of Russia to Christianity.'¹⁴

In total discrepancy with the opinion supported on pp. 2 and 7, *H* then suddenly agrees with *A* in timing Bojan's life to the reign of Vseslav. The translation of the *Tale* in *H*, p. 37, follows *A*, which assumes that Bojan made a song for Vseslav.¹⁵ The footnote (⊃), referring to Bojan, explains: 'Here it is clearly revealed that Bojan sang about Prince Vseslav.'¹⁶ *P* rejects this interpretation. The translation arbitrarily replaces 'him' (i.e., Vseslav) as the addressee of Bojan's

¹² See P. Pekar'skij, 'Slovo o polku Igoreve po spisku najdenomu meždu bugami imperatricy Ekateriny II,' Supplement No. 2 to *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk*, I (1864), 21.

¹³ Его считали вторымъ по Перунѣ. Можетъ быть Боянъ былъ пастухъ, и отъ того названъ внукомъ Велесовымъ. Названіе Бояна внукомъ Велесовымъ доказываетъ, что онъ жилъ до принятія въ Россіи Христіанской вѣры.

¹⁴ Его считали вторымъ послѣ Перуна. По названію Бояна внукомъ Велесовымъ, кажется, что онъ жилъ . . .

¹⁵ *A*: Тому вѣщій Боянъ и справедливо разумную прищѣвку сдѣлалъ . . . *H*, p. 37, right, ll. 2 ff.: Ему-то мудрый Боянъ издавна составилъ сей разумный прищѣвъ . . . This passage is similarly interpreted in the translation made by or for Prince A. Belosel'skij toward the end of the eighteenth century and published by L. П'инскій in *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti i iskusstva*, CLXXXIX (1920), 77: ему вѣщій Боянъ изъ начала разумный составилъ сѣтъ прищѣвъ . . .

¹⁶ Здѣсь ясно открывається, что Боянъ пѣлъ о Князѣ Вsesлавѣ.

'ditty' by the indefinite addressee, 'such kinds of people.'¹⁷ *H*'s footnote referring to Bojan's name is replaced by an entirely new note referring to the 'ditty': 'It is likely that this ditty was introduced into the original text from Bojan's songs.'¹⁸

Now, when both our acquaintance with the Old Russian language and the study of Slavic written and oral traditions against a vast comparative background have greatly advanced, neither the translation nor the exegesis of the passage connecting Bojan with Vseslav should present any difficulties. The songs of 'Bojan the seer' are seen in the *Igor Tale* as prophetic. He 'had wisely made afore the ditty' of Vseslav's epilogue, he had predicted the heroic end of Vseslav's descendant Izjaslav, and he had 'bespoken even' Igor's tragedy.¹⁹ In the songs and saws attributed to Bojan by the *Igor Tale* he recalls events of the eleventh century and foretells those of the twelfth century. However, any dating of Bojan's life is vain, since his name and image belong to a migratory myth of Altaic provenience which reached Russia most probably through Bulgaria.

When, because of the four controversial footnotes, four leaves were ordered to be reset, a few additional small corrections and ameliorations were made.²⁰ In the footnotes:

	<i>H</i>	<i>P</i>
p. 1, l. 2	нареченъ <u>Георгій</u>	нареченъ <u>Георгіемъ</u>
p. 1, l. 4	имѣлъ сраженіе	имѣлъ онъ сраженіе
p. 2, l. 4	Боянъ	<u>Боянъ</u>
p. 2, l. 7	<u>Владімира</u> ²¹	<u>Владиміра</u>

In the translation *P* adds an appropriate comma at the end of the second line of the title (p. 1), substitutes the modern form братъ for the Old Russian vocative брате which in *H* slipped in from the original text (p. 7, l. 19), changes a comma into a more suitable semicolon (p. 8, l. 8),

¹⁷ *P*, p. 37, right, ll. 2 f.: Для такихъ-то мудрый Боянъ . . .

¹⁸ Вѣроятно что сей припѣвъ подлинникомъ внесень сюда изъ Бояновыхъ пѣсней.

¹⁹ See 'verses' 145 f., 162 f., and 209 f., in S. H. Cross's translation (*La Geste du Prince Igor*, pp. 171, 173, 179).

²⁰ The changes on leaf 15-16 have been discussed above. Here we deal only with the other three reset leaves.

²¹ This typographic metathesis seems to indicate that the compositor of *H* and of the substitute leaves for *P* was one and the same person, because the same peculiar misprint, Владімиръ, appears in the resetting of p. 15, in l. 6 of the footnotes.

abolishes the unmotivated spacing з а т м ѣ н і е м ѣ (p. 8, l. 19), and approximates the original in comparison with *H* (p. 38, ll. 16–17)²² and *A*. In the Old Russian text, at the left, the superfluous spacing of *H* (p. 8, l. 13) has likewise been eliminated.

On the other hand, new mistakes were made at the resetting. In the footnotes *P* omits punctuation marks [.—] (p. 1, l. 3), and uses capitals out of place: ПОЛЪ-СЫТА (p. 2, l. 21), Буйволомъ (p. 7, l. 6). In the translation *P* improperly substitutes a period for a colon (p. 7, l. 1),²³ a comma for a semicolon (p. 7, l. 11, and p. 37, l. 18). As for the substitution of Давыду for Давиду (p. 37, l. 17), both of these variants occur on p. 29 (the first in footnote и and the second in the translation), and both occur also in the original text of the *Tale*, according to the common testimony of *P* (p. 29, l. 5, Давыде; p. 37, l. 15, Давыдовы) and *A*.

In focusing their attention on the reshaping of the footnotes, the editors did not observe the new negligences and distortions arising from the recomposition. Thus in *P* the title of the Old Russian text on p. 1 has commas after ИГОРЕВЪ and СВЯТЪСЛАВЛЯ which are absent in both *H* and *A*, and were lacking in the lost manuscript.²⁴ Likewise in the spelling ПЪЛКУ in this same title *H* proves to be closer to the orthography of the lost manuscript. *A* uses here the modern Russian form, ПОЛКУ, and *P*, with ПЛЪКУ, succumbs to the well-known Church Slavonic pattern which under the Balkan Slavic influence fashionable in Muscovy predominated in Musin-Puškin's manuscript of the *Igor Tale*. But in the initial lines of the *Tale* the scribe was more passive and faithful to the model he was copying. In particular, only the archaic Russian spelling 'semi-vowel plus liquid' occurs in the first four 'verses' of the *Tale* and it still prevails up to 'verse' 25.²⁵ It is most probable that the spelling of the title, too, was in agreement with the spelling of the initial 'verses,' as *H* suggests.

Again, *H*, on p. 7, l. 1, writes чресъ поля. *P* and *A* use the modern spelling form чрезъ, perhaps influenced by the identical word sequence in the translation column. *P*, p. 6, ll. 18–19, spells чресъ поля; like-

²² *H*: тамо нося корабли по синему морю! *P*: тамо, делѣя корабли на синемъ морѣ!

²³ *H*: Ольгову: не *P*: Ольгову. Не

²⁴ There were no punctuation marks, according to Musin-Puškin (see *La Geste du Prince Igor*, p. 22). Incidentally, the vignette of the title is inverted in *P* as compared with *H*.

²⁵ See *La Geste du Prince Igor*, p. 25.

wise *A*. Other slips in *P* are evident: p. 7, l. 3, доу (*H A*, Дону); p. 7, l. 6, внуче! Комони (*H A* внуче: Комони). Any future critical edition of the *Igor Tale* must consult *H* in addition to *P* and *A*, and the readings ПЪЛКУ in the title (see Plate I) and чресъ in 'verse' 16 (see Plate II) should enter into the emended text.

The secondary origin of the four recomposed leaves could be detected even if no deviating copy were available for comparison. There is first of all the physical evidence of the cancellations, including paper differences, discussed by Professor William A. Jackson in an appendix to this article. But an inquiry into the use of italics is likewise revealing. Let us assume for the moment that we have only *P* available. We find italic type employed throughout for the Old Russian text and for key words and personal names in the footnotes. In the translation, italics are more or less consistently used for personal names from p. 25 to the end, and also on pp. 1-2, 7-8, and 15-16.²⁶ In other words, italics were used more freely toward the end of the work, and the occurrence of this freer use on certain earlier leaves might suggest that these leaves had been recomposed. The matter of geographic names in the translation is more complicated. Italics for them appear only from p. 41 to the end, and on pp. 7-8. There are no place-names on pp. 1-2, but it is noteworthy that such names are not italicized on pp. 37-38 or, with one exception (Тмуторокань), on pp. 15-16.

Pages 7-8 in *P* seem in general to be particularly close to the typographic pattern of the final leaves. A check of *H* discloses that in the translation up to p. 39 the typesetter (with one single exception: p. 6, l. 11) placed the period outside the final quotation marks [...]: e.g., p. 6, l. 2; p. 20, l. 15; p. 24, l. 13; p. 38, l. 6. But with p. 39 the procedure suddenly changes, and the period is thenceforth included within the quotation marks [...]: p. 39, l. 8; p. 41, l. 19; p. 42, l. 15; p. 43, ll. 17 and 22; p. 44, l. 16. Presumably the handwritten translation supplied to the printer placed the period within the quotation marks but before p. 39 the typesetter automatically inverted the order. In one instance, p. 24, l. 2, he seems to have misunderstood the sequence [...], and divided into two separate symbols — period plus *initial* quotation marks [.,,]. Another misinterpretation, of [...], p. 37, l. 9, appears in *P* as [...]. But the regular sequence [...], up to p. 39 is deliberately replaced in *P* at p. 8, l. 15, by [...]. The double affinity of *P*, pp. 7-8, with the

²⁶ Outside these pages italics occur only twice: p. 4, Боянъ; p. 19, Троянову.

final pages, as well as the double difference between all these pages and pp. 37-38, is striking indeed.

A summary of the various stages in the printing of the *editio princeps* may now be attempted. It is probable that leaf 7-8 was reset immediately after the composition of the final pages. Because of typographical similarities, it seems likely that leaf 1-2 was reset at the same time. These two cancel leaves may well have been inserted before the printing of the errata leaf and the genealogical table of Russian princes, both of which are missing from *H*.²⁷ Leaves 15-16 and 37-38 were reset later, when the typographical pattern, stabilized in the setting of the final pages, was no longer fresh in the printer's memory. Leaf 37-38 came first, and seems to have been reset in a hurry, with some gross misprints. These misprints were noticed by the editors when a number of the copies had already been printed, and they were corrected on the press. Thus the copy phototyped by Speranskij has шпкцей on p. 37 right, l. 7, and своею-не трудною on p. 38 left, l. 12, while the Kilgour and Library of Congress copies and the copies phototyped by Suvorin and by Adrianova-Peretc have correctly пшкцей and своею не трудною. Leaf 15-16 was reset latest of all, as Byčkov's copy proves. This occurred after the revision of the problem of Bojan had been completed, and after the errata page was printed. At least for a part of the edition, this recomposed leaf used a quite different blue-colored paper, as seen in the Kilgour and Library of Congress copies and in a few others cited by Zarubin.

The Harvard copy reveals to us the archetype of the *editio princeps*, while Byčkov's copy uncovers the second of the two intermediary aspects between this initial phase and the definitive form *P*. Thus, of four stages which the edition went through, the first and the last two are directly documented, while the second can be discovered only by a comparison of *H* with *P* in their typographical peculiarities.²⁸

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²⁷ The errata leaf appears in *P* either before the table, as in the Kilgour copy, or after it, as in the Library of Congress and Speranskij copies. *H* has a photographic reproduction of the table, inserted by one of its previous owners.

²⁸ I am indebted to G. W. Cottrell, Jr, and William A. Jackson for their efficient help in this inquiry into the archetype of the first edition of the *Igor Tale*.

APPENDIX

Although it is easy to boast of hindsight, it is not unlikely that if a competent bibliographer had examined a copy of the normal state of P, that is, one with the four substituted leaves, before the discovery of this new Harvard copy containing the uncanceled settings, he would have been able to detect the existence of the cancels. The first two of these, pp. 1-2 and 7-8, which occur as the first and last leaves of quire 1, in both the Kilgour and Library of Congress copies have chain-lines which do not fit; are pasted to the two inner conjugate leaves; and are printed on paper slightly thinner than was originally used in that quire. He might at first be uncertain if both were cancels or only one, but a comparison of the typography of these leaves, which have the proper names italicized, with that of the inner half-sheet would probably convince him that both were cancels, particularly when he considered the evidence of the paper.

The third cancel, pp. 15-16, is the last leaf of quire 2. In both the Kilgour and Library of Congress copies it is printed on a paper of a distinct bluish tint and is tipped in on the stub of 21. From the fact that it is on paper which occurs nowhere else either in the original setting or in the other cancels, and since at least one copy, besides the newly discovered Harvard copy, viz., the Byčkov-Leningrad copy, has this leaf in its uncanceled form, it is not unlikely that this cancellation and substitution were made later than in the case of the three other cancels. The last cancel, pp. 37-38, is the third leaf of quire 5, and in both the Kilgour and Library of Congress copies is pasted to the stub of 52.

The errata leaf, which is a disjunct leaf, occurs in both the Kilgour and Library of Congress copies but not in the Harvard copy. Since it refers to an erratum which occurs in the uncanceled leaf 24, it provides further evidence that that leaf was canceled later than the others. The Harvard copy evidently represents the earliest state, before the errata leaf was printed and probably before the folding leaf of genealogical tables of Russian princes was prepared. The Harvard copy, in what may be original marbled boards, is — except for the insertion of a photographic reproduction of the folding table printed on wood-pulp paper and slight strengthening of some inner margins — in the condition it first came from the press, with the original blank leaf, 64, still intact. This leaf is also to be found in the Kilgour copy, which is in original mottled calf, blind tooled on the spine; but is lacking in the Library of Congress copy, which is in a mid-nineteenth-century black cloth.

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